A Secondary Neolithic Camp at Waulud's Bank, Leagrave

JAMES F. DYER

WAULUD'S BANK has been well known as an earthwork in southern Bedfordshire for many years and has from time to time produced archaeological remains of various periods. It is situated between a quarter and half a mile due north of Leagrave Railway Station, at a height of approximately 400 ft above sea level, (National Grid: TL092247) and consists of a much denuded bank and ditch surrounding the north, east and south sides of an oval enclosure, some 18 acres in extent. The west side is formed by the River Lea which rises inside the earthwork.

The site, which is no longer marked as an earthwork on the 1 in. Ordnance Survey maps, is scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act. The land was owned by Messrs. Ford of March Farm, Leagrave and the Parks Department of the Corporation of Luton. The excavations, directed and financed by the writer were carried out during July and August 1953 by members of the South Bedfordshire Archaeological Society.

SUMMARY

Waulud's Bank is a large semi-circular domestic enclosure which was probably constructed during the late Neolithic period by people using Rinyo-Clacton and undecorated pottery, leaf-shaped and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, and apparently breeding large numbers of oxen. The foundations of a small scooped-out hut, possibly constructed of wattle and daub, were also found.

During the early medieval period a prolonged occupation of the site is attested by hand-made and early glazed pottery fragments, numerous iron nails and metal scraps. The ditch of the earthwork appears to have been enlarged in Norman times perhaps in connection with the Leagrave watermill.

THE EARTHWORK PRIOR TO EXCAVATION (Fig 1 and Pl I)

The earthwork is situated on the middle chalk which is capped by a deposit of river terrace gravel to form a ridge on the east. This creates a natural slope with a drop of about 25 ft from east to west. In a long basin some 10 ft deep and 100 ft wide on the northern side of the enclosed area are five springs which form the present source of the River Lea, In July 1953 the water level was 8 ft below the surrounding land and formed a long weed-choked pond, which made a natural boundary to the site on the western side; beyond it lies the Leagrave Common, a large area of once marshy ground which has been drained and built-up in recent years. The Common was cut in half by the Midland railway line in 1868.

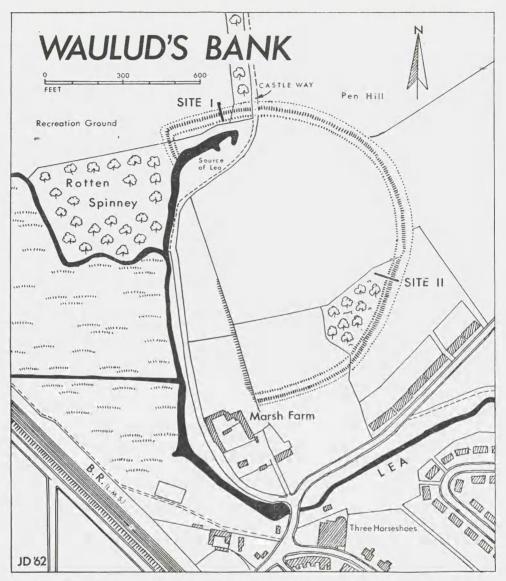


Fig 1. Map of Waulud's Bank, Leagrave, showing the positions of Sites I and II excavated in 1953.

As it now exists, the earthwork is semi-circular in plan and consists of a bank and external ditch crowning the circumference of a natural ampitheatre. The bank is much flattened but rises at one point to a height of 8 ft above the original ground surface. In many places the bank is completely obliterated and since the site has only been ploughed once in living memory it seems probably that much of it was lowered by ploughing in the medieval period. The ditch is heavily silted and its maximum existing surface depth is 3 ft. There are no indications of an entrance, but it may have been on the northern side where a farm track and public footpath called 'Castle Way' now passes through the site. At this point there are no surface indications of either a bank or a ditch, but this may be due to continual use and wet-weather rut filling.

West of 'Castle Way' the bank and ditch are continued in the recreation ground north of the river for just over 100 yards before turning abruptly south into Rotten Spinney where they end at the water's edge. How the bank met the river on the southern side it is impossible to say since that area is now occupied by Marsh Farm and all indications have been destroyed. It is possible that the steep cliff-like lynchet east of Marsh Farm represents an artificially straightened river terrace, to the edge of which the bank and ditch originally ran. Frederick Davis, writing in 1855 described the ditch as "Very broad and deep, and perfect in many places". William Austin (1928) refers to a second bank outside the ditch. No trace of this survives today and it may have been the river terrace which is pronounced 50 yards south of the southern bank of the Camp. Accounts of the earthwork have been published from time to time, most notably by Brandreth in the 19th century.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES

Until the Second World War the interior of Waulud's Bank was used almost continuously for sheep grazing. The shepherd on the site for fifty years was the late Thomas Cumberland of Leagrave, a friend of Worthington G. Smith, the local antiquary. During the time that he shepherded the site he amassed a large collection of flint implements, mainly of Neolithic date, which he picked up on the surface. Amongst the implements were polished flint axes, scrapers and numerous arrowheads.

Two crouched burials were found to the south of Waulud's Bank in 1882 in the field due east of Marsh Farm called Barn or Burnt Close. (Nat. Grid: TL 062-243). They were apparently buried in a shallow pit with heads to the east; together with deposits of "black cinders, burnt bones, teeth of animals, broken pottery and charred wood". There is no satisfactory report of the discovery or what became of the finds.

Gold coins of Tasciovanus, Addedomaros, and Cunobelinus are all recorded

from the immediate vicinity of Leagrave Marsh.

In July, 1905 two Saxon burials were found a quarter of a mile west of Waulud's Bank in the region of what is now Onslow Road. (Nat. Grid: 057243). The local authorities ordered their reburial in the Biscot Churchyard at Luton, together with numerous animal bones.¹

LEGEND

Waulud's Bank was known by the older generation as 'The Castle' and the cart-track leading northwards from the carthwork as 'Castle Way'. The name Waulud's Bank (Ordnance Survey 1823) also appears as Wayland Bank, Waller's Bank and Wallards. In his *History of Luton Church* (1899) Henry Cobbe argued in favour of Wayland Bank, suggesting a West Saxon occupation of the camp, and William Austin (*History of Luton*, 1928) echoed a belief that the Saxons founded the town of Lygeanburgh inside Waulud's Bank before its destruction in A.D. 571; this idea was upheld by Beauchamp Wadmore in his *Earthworks of Bedfordshire* (1920). It was partly in order to establish the truth of this theory that the excavations here recorded were undertaken.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Two trenches were cut at right angles across the bank and ditch, one on the northern side of the earthwork in the Sundon Road Recreation Ground (known as White Field on the Tythe Map), and a subsidiary section on the eastern side in Marsh Farm Spinney, where the bank is still 8 ft high.

Section I: Sundon Recreation Ground (Fig. 2 and Pl II)

At this point the ditch surface was 1 ft below the level of the rest of the field and about 40 ft. wide. The top of the bank was about 4 ft above the centre of the ditch surface, and 10 ft above the water-table in the river Lea.

A trench 85 ft long and 5 ft wide was laid out at right angles to the length of the ditch, on an axis pointing due north. The filling was everywhere removed down to the undisturbed chalk. The bottom was 6 in. below the water table.

The primary silting of the ditch was 18 in. thick and contained three recognisable sherds of Rinyo-Clacton ware together with many fragments of decayed coarse kahki-coloured ware of Neolithic character. The layer was an evenly deposited chalky silt, showing signs of having been under water for a long time,

¹Proc. Soc. Ant. (2nd S.) XXI, 59.

thus indicating a higher water-table in the past. At one time the bottom of the ditch must have been almost marsh-like, and three sherds of Roman ware had worked their way into the top of this Neolithic layer. As the layer was forming, a slight amount of chalk rubble slipped back into the ditch from the bank.

A thick layer of orange clay next formed, quite devoid of finds. Darker brown flecks in the material suggest that it was the product of the natural decomposition

of vegetable material.

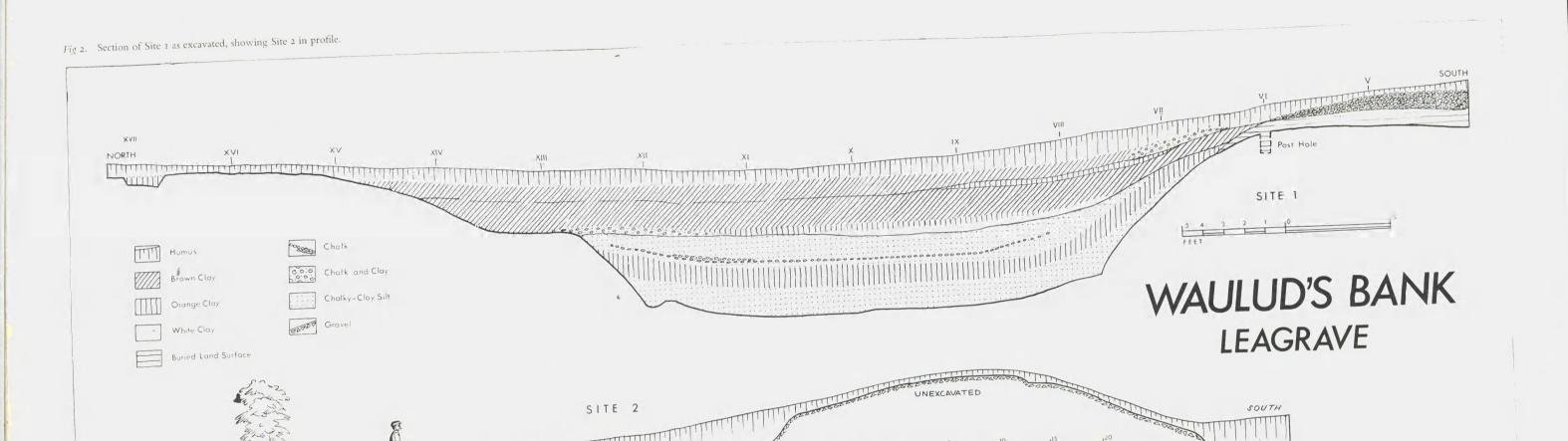
A layer of grey silt some 2 ft thick now covered the whole of the exposed ditch bottom. This was similar in character to the primary silting. Shortly after this layer had begun to form a thin tip of chalk seemed to have slipped across the ditch from the outside, at its thickest about 7 ft from the outer edge. In this chalk

and the silt above it further Neolithic sherds were found.

A layer composed of a little chalk with much pure white water-logged clay extended half across the ditch from the inner side. It appears to represent the natural 'primary' sediment after the recutting of the ditch in Norman times. At this point the ditch was widened from a width at its silted bottom of 25 ft to 32 ft. the other 7 ft were added by cutting a step in the outer edge of the existing ditch, with a gently sloping back. The date of the cutting of this step is indicated by sherds of smooth black Norman ware, and above it sherds of 12th to 15th century pottery were thickly scattered, including glazed wares, roofing tiles and iron nails. These suggest the presence of some early medieval building in the area. Similar 11th century sherds were found close by in 'Rotten Spinney'. It may be possible to identify this enlarging with the well-head for the Leagrave Water Mill.¹

Today the bank consists of about 2 ft of chalk rubble piled onto a former land surface represented by orange clay. This buried surface was almost 3 ft thick at the southern end of the section and may indicate that a turf core was piled up there, perhaps using material from the then undug ditch. (The southern 15 ft of the bank are not shown on the section, fig. 2). At the front of the bank a single post hole, 6 in in diameter and 1 ft deep, may indicate that the bank was supported by a timber revetment. It is interesting to notice that the chalk composing the bank was only 2 ft thick, whilst the amount of chalk that had fallen back into the ditch was negligible. The question arises what had happened to the remainder of the chalk originally dug from the ditch? Since the timber revetting held the front of the bank in position, it is possible that the bank slipped backwards down the slope into the river. It must be remembered that whilst the ditch, probably waterfilled, stood in front of the bank, the river, which it was doubtless wanted to enclose, lay immediately behind it. An alternative explanation might suggest that the bank was never higher than 2 ft, and that the surplus chalk was used in constructing a

¹Mentioned in the Close Roll: 9 Henry III, Part 1. m.19 (1224).



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¹Mentioned in the Close Roll: 9 Henry III, Part 1. m.19 (1224).

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causeway, now utilised by the 'CastleWay' as it passes through the earthwork, but originally intended to prevent the river from flooding into the interior of the camp.

Section II Marsh Farm Spinney (Fig 2).

The bank is best preserved in the spinney, although very overgrown with trees and bushes. Section II was cut at a point where the bank was relatively free from vegetation. Here it rose steeply from the outside to a height of 8 ft and then sloped gradually down to ground level again some 55 ft inside the earthwork.

The ditch was not visible on the ground and excavation showed that it had been completely destroyed by a recent gravel quarry. The filling consisted of modern animal bone, china and an 18th century clay pipe. The bank dropped sharply into the old quarry and had been constructed of tightly rammed gravel. Close to the top was a slight step which seemed to indicate the position of a stockade, though no signs of post-holes were detected. The bank sloped gently on the inside, but at 25 ft from the crown dropped rather sharply to the natural slope of the field.

The Neolithic Hut (Fig 3 and Pl III)

The northern end of Section I was extended so that the whole of a small hut found on the eastern edge might be investigated; even so the complete hut was not uncovered. The hut consisted of a small irregular kidney-shaped hollow, 2 ft wide, 4 ft long and 8 in deep, surrounded by a flat berm of chalk approximately 2 ft in width and then by an irregular circle of stake holes. The holes averaged 6 to 8 in in depth into the chalk, and would have been considerably deeper with the original top-soil replaced. There was an entrance with incurved walls on the west side, 3 ft wide. The average diameter of the hut was 8 ft. The stakes of the hut walls may have been daubed with clay, but ploughing had removed all trace of it. The central pit was filled with a uniform orange clay, and also contained the knee joint of an ox, four small flint flakes and a blade flake found in two halves on opposite sides of the pit. There were no signs of fire. At first sight, the hut would appear to be a temporary affair, - a hut built by workmen constructing the ditch perhaps. We must, however, remember that huts of this type are not uncommon in the Late Neolithic, the best parallel probably being Pit 3 from The Croft, Winterbourne Dauntsey, in Wiltshire excavated by J. F. S. Stone in 1932.1

¹ W.A.M. CLX (1934) 445ff.

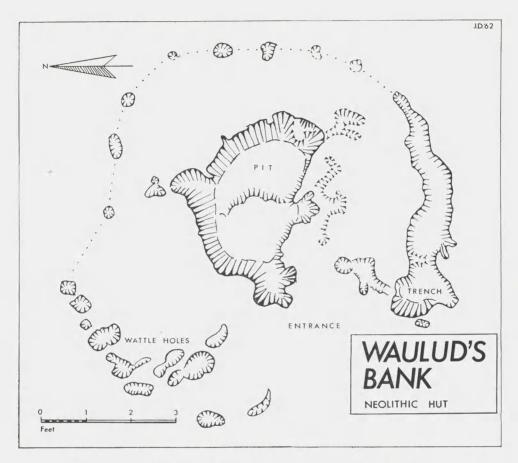


Fig 3. Ground plan of the Neolithic Hut uncovered at the northern end of Site I.

INTERPRETATION (Fig 4)

The interpretation of a site after only one season's excavation must be treated with a certain amount of caution, and since little has yet been published on the numerous other Neolithic sites and finds in the central Chilterns, these must be summarized so that Waulud's Bank may be fitted into its correct context.

CAUSEWAYED CAMPS

Maiden Bower, Dunstable (SP/996225)

In its first phase of occupation this represents one of the two probable causewayed camps in the Chilterns and underlies the bank and ditch of the Iron Age plateau camp. A chain of five sections of the Neolithic ditch was observed in 1898 by W. G. Smith outside the western edge of the Iron Age camp and have since been quarried away. The northernmost of the chain was 8 ft long and 10 ft deep and was filled with chalk rubble, the next was only 4 ft square and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft deep, and contained broken human bones. The next was 20 ft long and 20 ft wide. Many of the bones in the latter two pits had been split 'for the extraction of marrow'. These same pits contained flakes, polishing stones, chalk rubble and 'rude British pottery'. The fifth excavation was very large, but only 4 ft deep and filled with chalk rubble, split bones and flint, ¹ The site was first recognised as a causewayed camp by Piggott² who has illustrated sherds of Abingdon ware found there (now in Luton Museum) and refers to an antler comb of the Windmill Hill culture.³ The causewayed ditches can clearly be seen in the sides of the chalk quarry which lies to the north-west of the Iron Age camp.

Pitstone Hill, Buckinghamshire (SP/950142)

A length of causewayed ditch on Pitstone Hill may be of Neolithic origin. It seems probably that it was intended to isolate the northern end of the hill, where there are indications of a settlement within the 700 ft contour, as at Hambledon Hill in Dorset.⁴

Neither site throws any light on the fuction of the causewayed camps. Whilst the Pitstone ditches may well be defensive in outlook, the presence of so many human bones in the causewayed ditches at Maiden Bower support suggestions that such camps were used for 'religious' fairs, in which 'relics' played an important part. Some of the bones may have originated in an ossuary connected with the Mill Hill long barrow at Dunstable.

LONG BARROWS

Mill Hill, Dunstable (TL/012222)

There originally stood a long barrow in Union Street, Dunstable which has

¹P. Soc. Ant. XXVII (1915) 143 ff.

²Arch. J. LXXXVIII (1931) Fig. 6.

³V.C.H. Beds. 1, 169. Fig 60.

⁴Records of Bucks (1961) XVII, 51 ff.

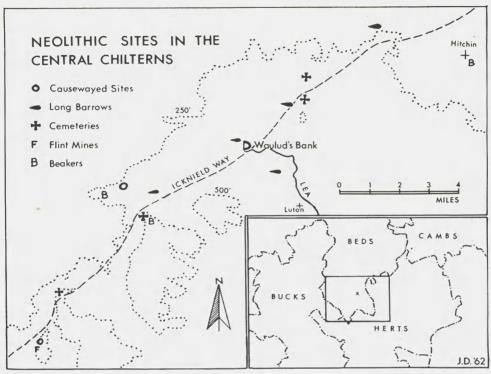


Fig. 4. Distribution of Neolithic sites and finds in the Central Chilterns between Pitstone and Hitchin

been destroyed in recent years. Described by Stukeley ¹ and W. G. Smith it, was never excavated. It seems to have been about 100 ft long and was orientated from east to west. Another long barrow which is reported to have stood on the Dunstable Downs close to the Five Knolls barrow cemetery is more likely to be a pillow mound, or perhaps a mortuary enclosure associated with the barrows.

Galley Hill, Streatley (TL 068268)

This barrow, destroyed about 1900, lay to the west of Galley Hill, where the Icknield Way is deflected round its eastern end. The destruction of the barrow was witnessed by the late Mr A. Cumberland of the Dartford Antiquarian Society. No finds were observed. Air photographs suggest that the barrow was 300 ft long, but this is much larger than normal in the Chilterns, and 150 ft is more reasonable.

¹Itinerarium Curiosum, (1724) 109.

Knocking Knoll, Pegsdon (Tl/133311)

This large long barrow lies astride the county boundary and its Hertfordshire half has been ploughed away. This gives it the appearance of a large round barrow 100 ft in diameter. A chalk cist containing a crouched burial was incorporated in the eastern end. It was opened by William Ransom about 1855, but the only record is a watercolour painting in Hitchin Museum. Both Stukeley and Gough referred to the barrow.

Biscot Mill, Luton (TL/079232)

This barrow, referred to by William Austin ¹ has been destroyed and its site is unknown. It may well have been the mound on which the Biscot Windmill was erected, and which stood behind what is now the Biscot Mill Public House. Two polished greenstone axes were found nearby and are now in Luton Museum.

Waulud's Bank, Leagrave (TL/057247)

It has been suggested that a mound in the recreation ground north-west of Waulud's Bank indicates a ploughed-out long barrow. The mound is 100 ft long, 60 ft wide and about 3 ft high.

ROUND BARROWS

A number of barrow cemeteries containing Neolithic material exist in the central Chilterns. Here, only those close to Waulud's Bank are considered.²

Five Knolls barrow cemetery (TL/006209)

This cemetery contained ten barrows, three of which were outliers, and two of which were destroyed in 1887. Barrow No. 5 of the group contained a crouched primary female burial accompanied by a polished-edge flint knife of Secondary Neolithic type. Barrow No. 2 has produced sherds of Abingdon, Ebbsfleet and Beaker wares, although only a cursory excavation took place in 1925. Beaker sherds have also been obtained from Barrows No's 3, 8 and 9; again these have not been properly excavated.

Galley Hill, Streatley (TL/092270)

This cemetery appears to contain at least four bowl barrows, although one, situated low on the side of the hill, must be regarded with some caution. Barrow

Austin: History of Luton (1928) 15.

²All the cemeteries are described in Dyer: Arch J. CXVI (1959) 1.

No. 3 produced two dismembered but articulated male burials together with Windmill Hill ware, and is reminiscent of the ritual burial in the Long Mound at Maiden Castle, Dorset. Barrow No. 4 contained Windmill Hill pottery associated with the primary build of the barrow.

HENGE BARROW

Barton Hill Farm, Streatley (TL/094282)

This henge barrow was discovered from the air by Dr J. K. St Joseph in 1948 and has been fully described in this Journal.¹

The footing-trench of a wooden mortuary enclosure and two crouched burials were enclosed within a circular ditch, 100 ft in diameter. This ditch and its external bank were broken by an entrance causeway from which a row of posts led to a site consisting of a number of interlocking pits, which may have been of a domestic nature, but which have not yet been fully excavated. The site exhibits features of Middle Neolithic origin. Whiteleaf type of Windmill Hill ware occured in a primary position in the ditches, which also produced Peterborough ware.

Maulden Firs, Streatley (TL/095275)

What appears to be a large Henge monument, some 500 feet in diameter was discovered by the writer during 1962. Revealed as a crop mark, it appears to have an entrance on its southern side. A rectilinear site to the south-west is described elsewhere in this Journal (page 47). A continuous line of pits leads from these two sites in a southerly direction for at least half a mile. A section cut across the pits in 1962 produced sherds of Neolithic pottery.

THE ICKNIELD WAY

The Icknield Way is the linking factor between each of the sites referred to above. Most of the sites are situated within half a mile of the trackway which followed the belt of relatively open country on the northern escarpment of the Chilterns.

DISCUSSION

Western Neolithic cultures are represented in the central Chilterns by Windmill Hill ware from Galley Hill, Abingdon ware from Maiden Bower and Galley Hill, and Whiteleaf ware from Barton Hill Farm, a site which also produced Secondary Neolithic Peterborough ware. The Secondary Neolithic cultures are

¹Beds. Arch. J. (1962) 1.

attested by the polished flint blade from Five Knolls No. 5 and the Rinyo-Clacton ware from Waulud's Bank. One of the most important sites is Five Knolls No. 3 which produced Western Abingdon ware, Secondary Ebbsfleet ware and sherds of Bell Beaker. Although no records have ever been published showing the stratification of finds from the barrow, it is highly probable that all sherds are broadly contemporaneous. Collared urn and Windmill Hill ware, together with sherds of indeterminate neolithic pottery, all lay on the old land surface below Galley Hill Barrow 4, and occured in the material of the mound. Rinyo-Clacton ware with fragments of cord-zoned Bellbeakers, have been found close to the Icknield Way at Lodge Hill, Saunderton in Buckinghamshire, on the surface of a bell-barrow with apparent entrance causeway. The only complete cord-zoned Bell beaker from Bedfordshire was found with a dolicocephalic female burial in the ditch of a cursus at Kempston near Bedford in 1936.1

CONCLUSIONS

The choice of site for Waulud's Bank at the source of a river and on the edge of a marsh where fish and game were abundant, is quite unlike any other known Neolithic site in the Chilterns. It is reminiscent of the habitation places favoured by Mesolithic hunter-fisher folk. The large number of fragments of cattle bones found in the ditch, together with Thomas Cumberland's discovery of about 500 flint scrapers in the immediate vicinity indicate that the builders were now stockbreeders. Here is demonstrated the fusion of a Mesolithic choice of settlement site with Western Neolithic ideas of farming, resulting in a Secondary Neolithic domestic site of a type at present unique in Great Britain. Much more excavation is required before we can work out the relationships which exist between Waulud's Bank and the large group of sites in the Barton Hill Farm - Galley Hill area. The Windmill Hill pottery from Galley Hill No. 4 must be broadly contemporary with that from Waulud's Bank, and this may indicate that the builders of both sites are one and the same people. It is likely that these two sites were constructed somewhere about the beginning of the second millenium B.C. What does emerge quite clearly, is that by 2000 B.C. both Western and Secondary Neolithic cultures were existing side by side with Bell Beaker cultures in Bedfordshire and the central Chilterns, and continued (as demonstrated at Barton Hill Site III)2 well into the middle of the first millenium B.C.

¹Ant. J. XVIII, 285.

²Beds. Arch. J. (1962) 1ff.

APPENDICES

I: THE POTTERY (Fig 5 and Pl IIIb)

The pottery from the ditch filling and on the old land surface beneath the bank of Site I is all of Neolithic type. Of seventeen sherds preserved in Luton Museum most are small and undecorated wall sherds. Two distinct grooved sherds (138a and b) are illustrated in Fig. 5, whilst two others 152 and 132) show signs of similar grooved ornamentation.

The decorated sherds are unmistakably late Neolithic Rinyo-Clacton ware, with deep horizontal grooves well paralleled at Clacton, Pishobury and Woodhenge. Sherds 138a and b are relatively hard, loose textured and brown in colour. Sherd 132 is black in colour, very weathered and exhibits slight, rather indistinct traces of grooving. Other Rinyo-Clacton sherds have come from Lodge Hill at Saunderton, where they were associated with cord-zoned Bell Beaker sherds.¹

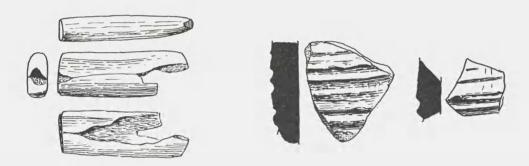


Fig 5. Bone Object and Rinyo-Clacton sherds (138a and b). (23)

The remaining thirteen sherds are undecorated and although undoubtedly of Neolithic fabric, it is not possible to say of which particular type. The majority are finely laminated and black or brown in colour. No. 169, a black sherd, has an almost burnished surface. Four fragments contain quartz particles, and others are considerably weathered.

A large number of khaki coloured sherds in the waterfilled bottom of the ditch were too soft to move and disintegrated on touch. Specimens embedded in clay have been preserved in the

High in the ditch four sherds of orange colour-coated ware of the late 3rd century A.D. (e.g. 115, 146) were found, together with a single Belgic sherd (139). Fragments of medieval pottery were also found.

¹Head: Early Man in South Buckinghamshire (1955) 52, Fig 13.

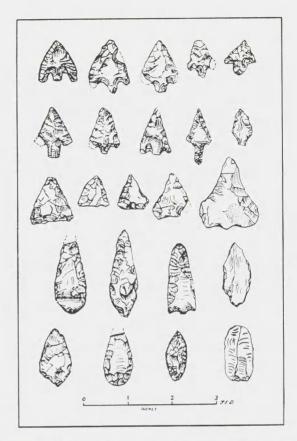


Fig. 6. Part of the collection of flint arrowheads from Waulud's Bank, found by Thomas Cumberland and now in Luton Museum.

II: FLINT AND STONE (Fig 6)

Unworked flint flakes were found throughout the filling of the ditch, but none showed any secondary working or serration as at Barton Hill Farm. Thomas Cumberland had collected a large number of arrowheads from the interior of the earthwork during the early years of this century. They included leaf shapes and petit tranchet derivatives – both at home within the Rinyo-Clacton culture. The surface also produced both distinct and rudimentary barbed and tanged arrowheads.

High in the ditch filling a Mesolithic core-axe of the Thames pick variety was found. It had clearly been thrown there in historical times, and may well have been picked up from beside the marsh, where as hinted above, it may have been used by people of Mesolithic stock who had adopted a Neolithic way of life.

At a depth of 3 fect in the ditch of Site I a small piece of oolitic limestone, quite foreign to the area, was found. Oval in section and I in thick, it appeared to have been roughly flaked and smoothed on opposite sides. It is conceivable that it formed part of a stone disc of the type associated with the Severn-Cotswold and Clyde-Carlingford chambered tombs.¹

III: BONE OBJECT (Fig 5)

A piece of bone 2.0 in long, 0.7 in wide and 0.35 in thick was found at a depth of 6 ft in the ditch of Site I. It has been cut and smoothed at each end and resembled a small knife handle. Since the bone is split longitudinally, and is partially broken, it is not possible to say whether it ever acted as a haft as its appearance would suggest, or was bored at one end to form a bone pendant.

IV: ANIMAL BONES AND SHELLS

As in other Neolithic habitation sites the most striking feature is the large number of ox bones; dentition indicates both fully grown and immature animals. Pig is represented in a much smaller quantity. Three worn horse incisors from near the bottom of the ditch may represent wild species which could well have been common towards the end of the Neolithic period.

Oyster shells some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the modern surface of the ditch presumably can be related to the Medieval period.

V: METAL WORK

Some eighteen iron nails, probably connected with the water-mill were found in the upper $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft of the ditch-filling, whilst the frame of an iron buckle measuring 1 · 9 in by 1 · 2 in occured at a depth of 18 in in the centre of the ditch.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank the South Bedfordshire Archaeological Society for permission to reproduce this report in extended form from the cyclostyled *Bedfordshire Archaeologist*. He is indebted to the owners of the site, and the Borough Engineers Dept. of Luton Corporation for the loan of equipment and fencing. Mr and Mrs Fensome of Bramingham Road, Luton were a constant source of assistance. Miss Joan Kirk (now Mrs David Clarke), Mr Nicholas Thomas and Mr Charles Freeman gave help and advice whenever possible. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Mr A. C. Jordan, the excavation photographer, and Miss Freda Smith (now Mrs Norman Walker) who capably acted as Assistant Director. Dr Isobel Smith kindly confirmed the writer's identification of the Neolithic pottery and Mr William H. Manning identified the Roman sherds.

The publication of this report has been made possible by a grant from the Council for British Archaeology.

1cf. Piggott The West Kennet Long Barrow (1962) 48-9.