

Medieval occupation at 'Danish Camp', Willington

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With contributions by Paul Blinkhorn, Tora Hylton, Eden Hutchins and Stephen Coleman

SUMMARY

A small scale excavation of the footings for a new visitor centre was undertaken at the Scheduled moated site called 'Danish Camp', Willington. The trenches revealed structural evidence in the form of post-holes, possible beam slots and stone wall-footings suggesting a fairly complex sequence of build-

ing. Pits and other features were also present. The pottery indicated that this occupation was quite tightly defined between the early 12th century and mid 13th century. The results confirm that the site was a medieval moated settlement which may have been an early manor.

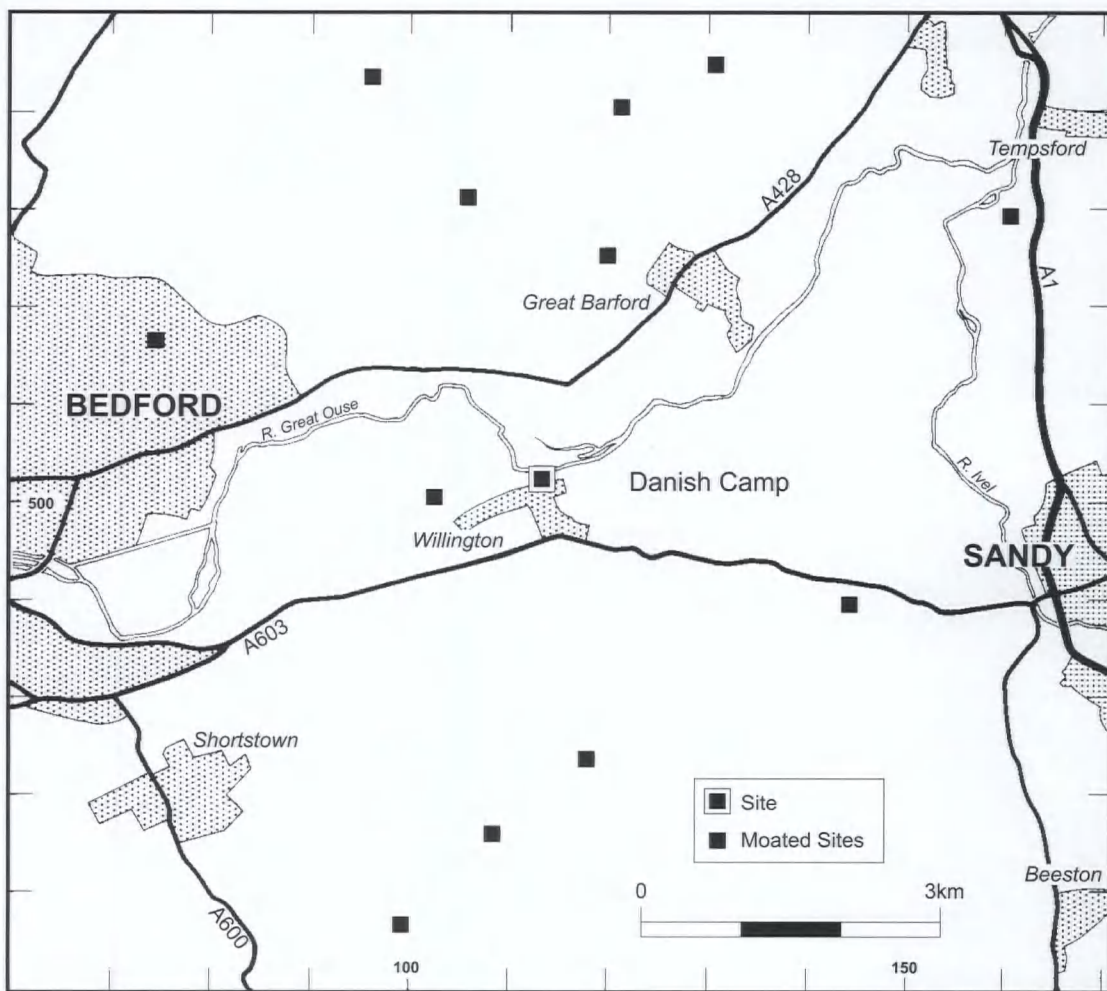


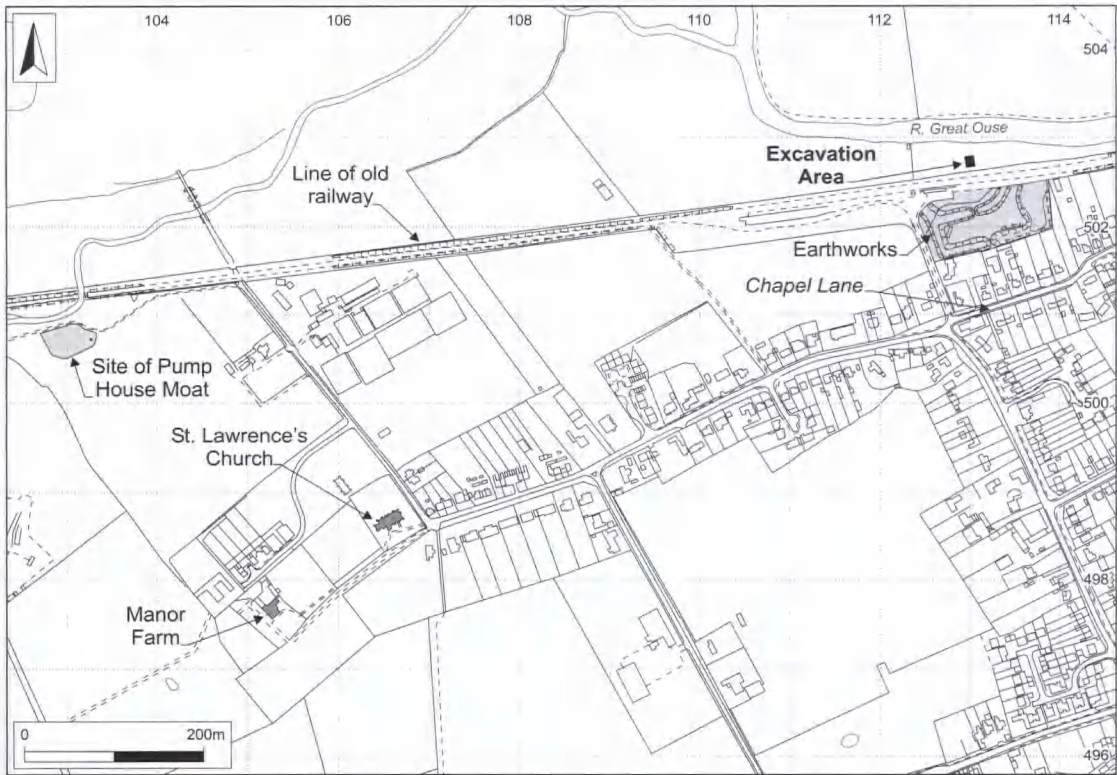
Figure 1 Site location in relation to surrounding moated sites (information from Bedfordshire Historic Environment Record, 2000)

INTRODUCTION

The earthworks known as 'Danish Camp' or 'Danish Dock' lie on the southern bank of the River Great Ouse at Willington, some 5 miles downstream from Bedford (Fig 1; TL 11285027). The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (Monument No. 11535) and in its original form appears to have comprised a pair of moated enclosures with outlying earthworks, now seriously disfigured by a former railway line which bisects the site (Fig 2). Small scale excavations were carried out by Northamptonshire Archaeology in May 2000 in advance of the construction of a visitor centre by the landowners, Mr and Mrs Lee. The work was conducted to a Specification submitted to Bedfordshire County Council's Heritage and Environment Section and English Heritage's Eastern Region (Northamptonshire Archaeology *Project Design: Archaeological Investigation, Recording, Analysis and Publication at Danish Camp, Willington, Bedfordshire*, April 2000).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The name 'Danish Camp' derives from its identification as a possible base for Danish raiders during their 10th-century incursions into the Ouse Valley (Dyer 1972). The site was investigated in 1973 in response to fears of erosion caused by market gardening and a poplar plantation. Medieval occupation was discovered and the site was confirmed to be a medieval moated homestead (Hassall 1975). The main part of the site consists of a raised rectangular area, about 70 m long and 20 m wide, surrounded by a ditch (Fig 3). To the N of this lies a roughly D-shaped enclosure, measuring c.70 m E-W by 50 m, formed by two linear banks which run towards the river and meet a now barely perceptible bank along the river edge. The former Cambridge to Bedford Railway line (now a cycle track) bisects this enclosure. Two roughly rectangular enclosures are reported to have lain to the S, but are now difficult to discern due to the housing built along Chapel Lane. The depression to the E of the site, originally the 'Danish Dock' and



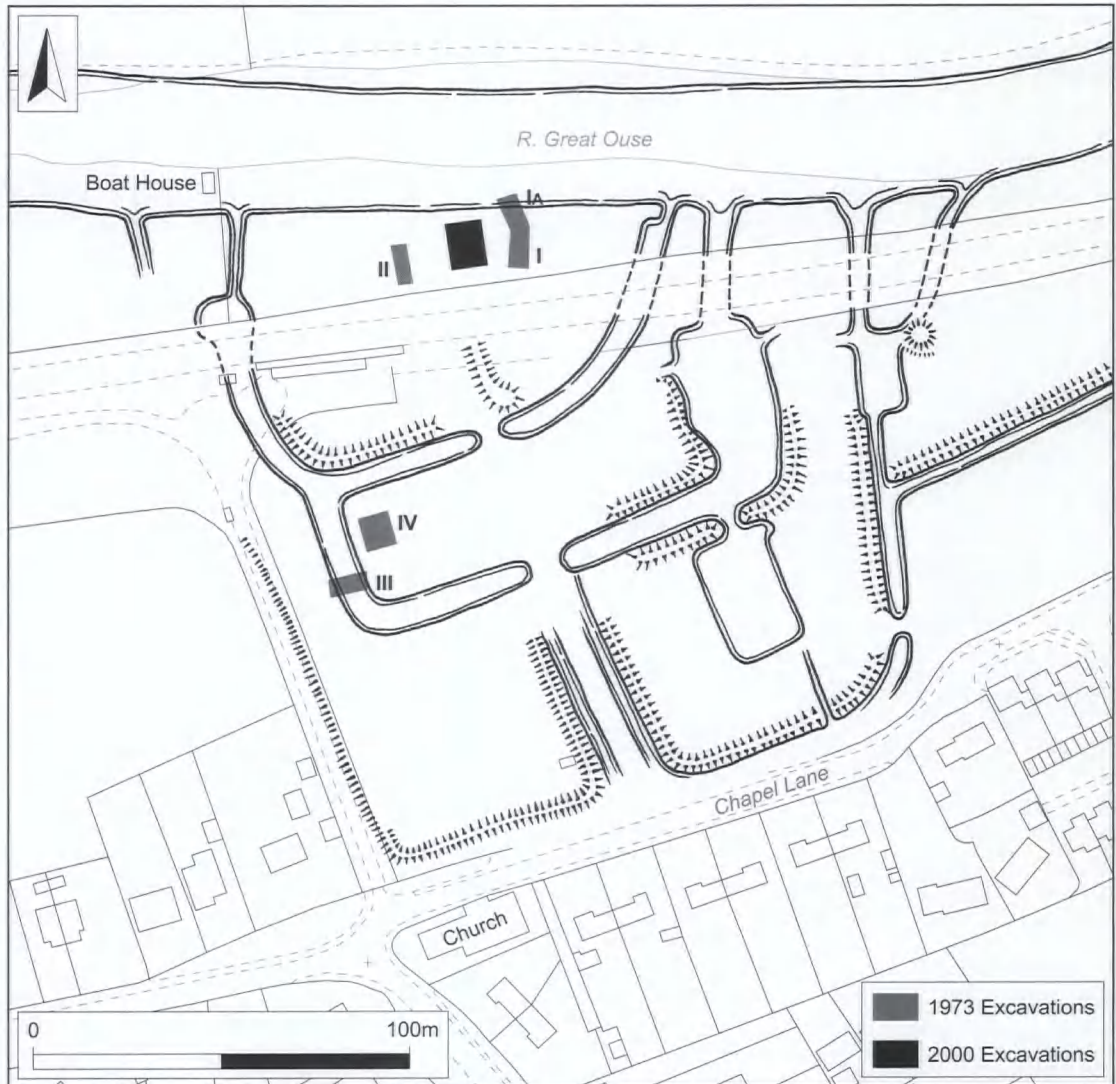
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Figure 2 Excavation area and adjacent sites.

later interpreted as possible fishponds (*ibid.*) is now thought to result from 19th-century gravel quarrying (Stephen Coleman, *pers. comm.*).

The 1973 excavations were limited in extent. Four trenches were opened up, two in the central rectangular enclosure and two in the D-shaped enclosure to the N of the railway line (Fig 3, Trenches I-IV; Hassall, *op. cit.*). Medieval pottery, predominantly of the 12th to 13th centuries, was found in all the trenches and some evidence for structures was also

discovered. Trenches I and II were located N of the railway line. Trench I, which was dug across the slight riverside bank and down towards the river, yielded preserved timbers associated with medieval pottery which were interpreted as coming from a riverside jetty (*ibid.*). It appears likely that the moats would have been flooded naturally by the river. The results from Trench II are of particular relevance to the present investigation as the western footing of the visitor centre was deliberately sited on the trench



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Figure 3 Plan of former extent of earthworks, after Beauchamp Wadmore (1920), with locations of 1973 (Hassall 1975) and 2000 excavations.

in order to prevent further disturbance to archaeological deposits. (Note that there are inconsistencies in the mapping sources and Trench II appears well to the west of the 2000 excavations in Fig 3. The earthwork survey also depicts the river too far S). Here, in a trench about 13 m long and up to 3.5 m wide, were a series of masonry wall-footings and isolated pits and post-holes. The evidence appeared to indicate at least one substantial early medieval structure on the site (*ibid.*, 28 & Fig 4). The present report incorporates the results from this earlier trench.

THE EXCAVATIONS

METHODS

The excavation was located on the edge of the river terrace at 22.6 m OD. The river gravels here are overlain by alluvial clay. The excavation was limited to the wall foundations for the development comprising some 52 m of 0.45 m-wide trenching defining the perimeter of the rectangular structure, with an additional central longitudinal trench (Fig 4). The footings were 1.5 m deep.

The trenches were excavated using a mini mechanical excavator as far as the uppermost archaeologically significant deposits. These were generally encountered just below the turf line. Thereafter excavation continued by hand. Recording was undertaken using the standard Northamptonshire Archaeology single context recording system.

On completion of the excavation the site archive was compiled and an assessment report produced in accordance with the Project Design (*Northamptonshire Archaeology Willington Danish Camp, Bedfordshire: Post-excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design*, July 2000). The assessment identified little further work to be undertaken on the finds and environmental remains. This report therefore comprises a summary of the excavated evidence and abstractions from the finds assessment reports. The site archive and finds are deposited with Bedford Museum (Accession No. BEDFM: 2000/133), with a selection of artefacts being displayed in the site visitor centre.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

General

Although the trenches were narrow and an overall plan of activity on the site could not be ascertained, it was possible to identify at least three structural

phases on the basis of stratigraphy. Phases of timber construction comprising post-holes and possible beam slots were replaced by masonry wall footings of at least two phases. It was possible to correlate the features in Trench II of the 1973 excavations with those identified in the current work, amplifying the picture on the western side of the site (Fig 4). The great density of features suggests a more complex sequence of activity than is outlined below.

A total of 33 features were identified, including five lengths of walling. Two of these (Walls 44 and 43) correspond to walls in the 1973 excavations (F1 and F2 respectively). Others followed the same E-W and N-S alignments. Linear features were also found, at least two of them with sharply rectangular profiles suggesting beam-slots. One of these (F62) was sealed beneath Wall 43. Another possible beam-slot (F77), on a slightly different alignment, was sealed by Wall 44. There were at least eight post-holes and nine pits of varying size and uncertain function. The edge of a possible ditch (which may alternatively have been the natural break of slope to the lower river terrace) was found in the NW corner of the site (Ditch 10).

The ceramic dating indicates a relatively short-lived occupation spanning the early 12th to mid 13th centuries (Blinkhorn, this report). It has not been possible to phase the site on the basis of the pottery which is too long-lived to help refine, or indeed confirm, the stratigraphic sequence.

Early phases of post-hole and ?beam slot construction (Phases I and II)

The longest sequence of stratigraphy was found sealed by Wall 43 (Fig 4; Fig 5a; Fig 6 Section 5). Here the earliest feature was a substantial post-hole, about 0.5 m deep (F58). This was succeeded by a later, shallower, possible post-hole (F64) in approximately the same position, and a possible beam slot (F62) lying a short distance to the N. There were no finds from any of these features. This sequence suggests that the earliest phase of building comprised earth-fast posts of fairly substantial size.

Similar post-holes include F69 to the N (sealed by Wall 44); F37, in the eastern trench, cut by F35; and F21, in the SE corner, (which may have been later than the adjacent pit F23). There were also other shallower post-holes. These, and the density of post-holes discovered in the wider Trench 2 of the 1973 excavations, indicate that there are likely to have been several phases of construction in which earth-fast posts were used. There is no obvious pattern to the distribution of these features, other than the fact

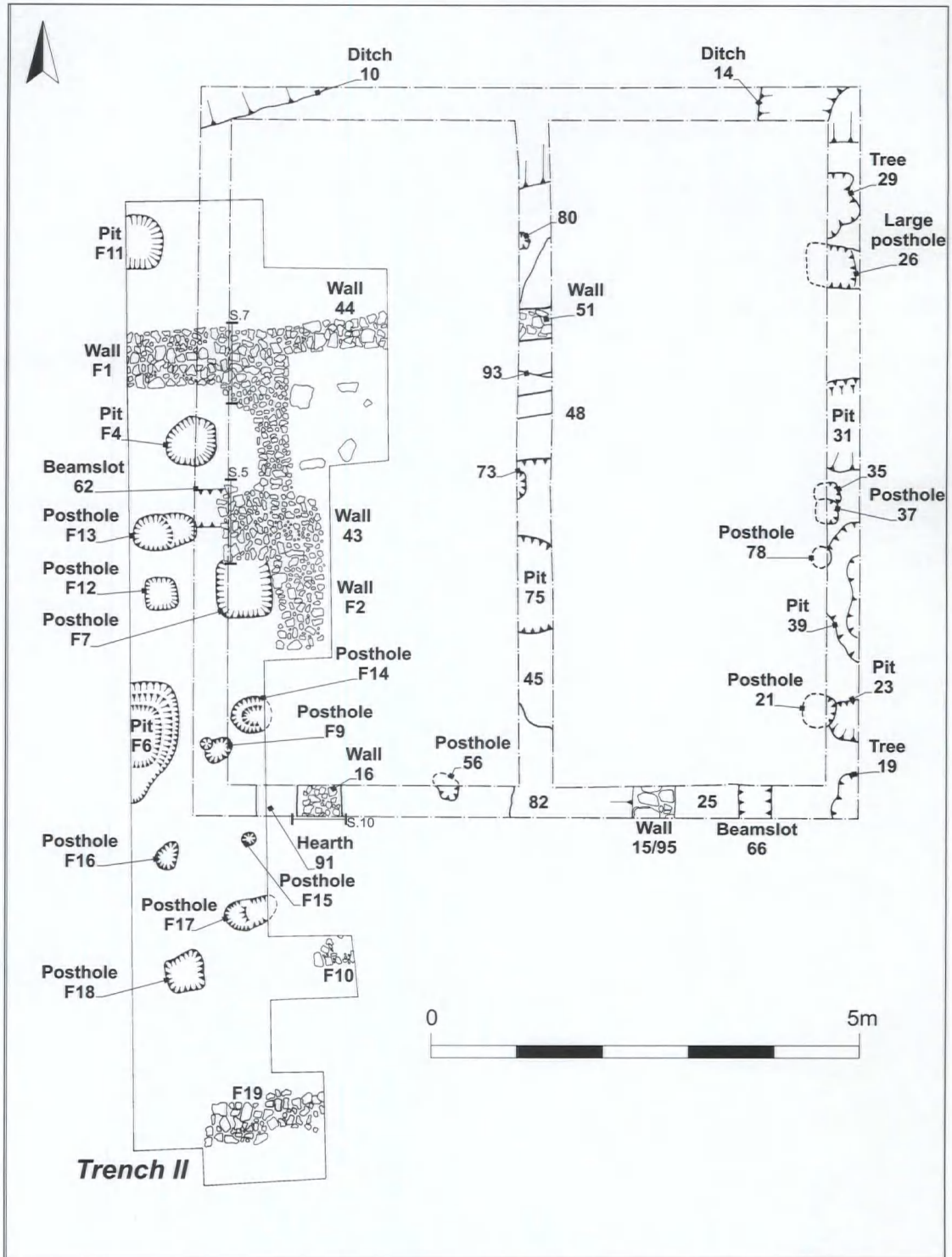


Figure 4 Plan of footings trench with Trench II taken from Hassall 1973. All features except concealed ones

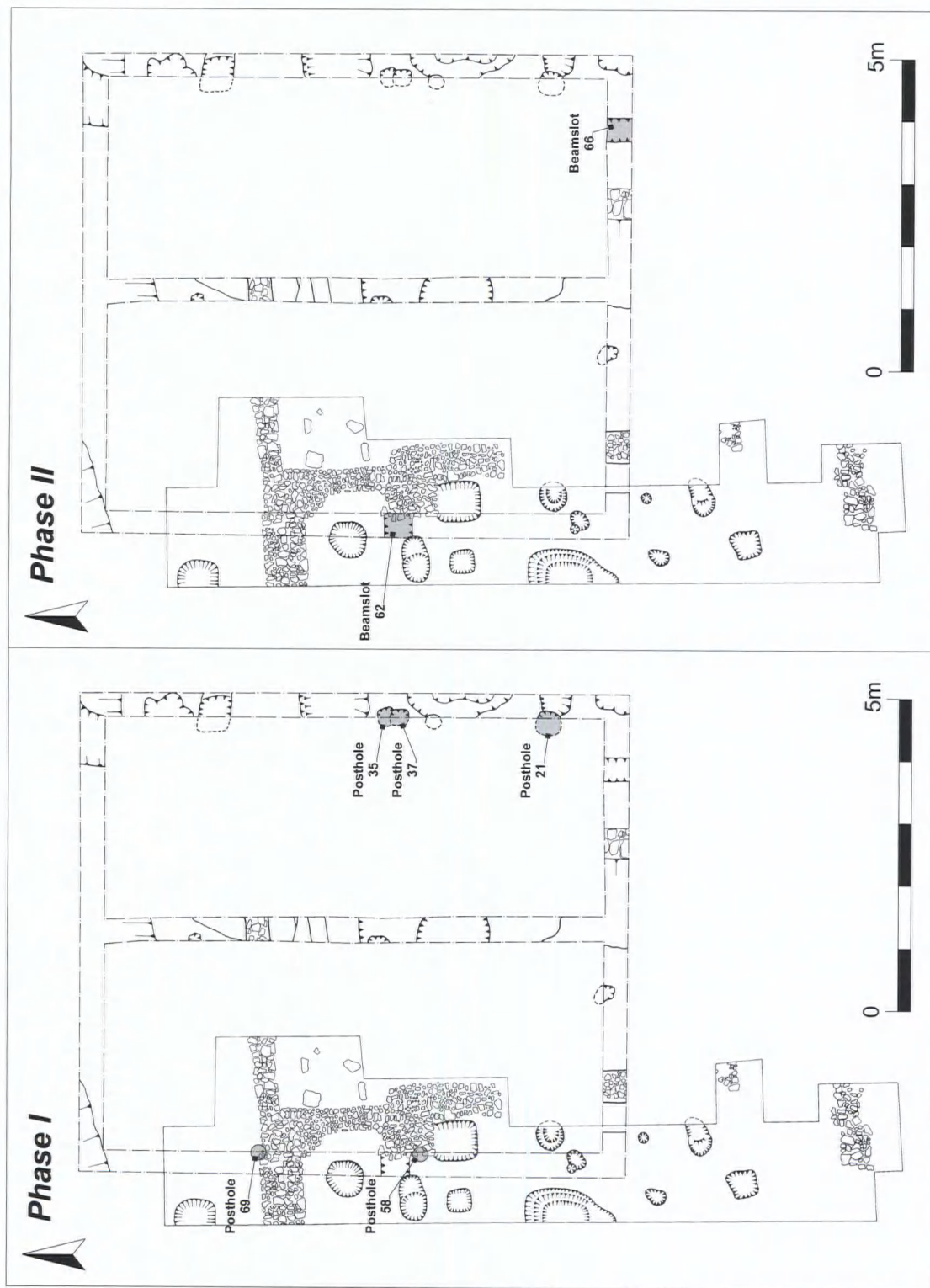


Figure 5a Trench plan: Phases I (post-hole structures) and II (beam slot structures)

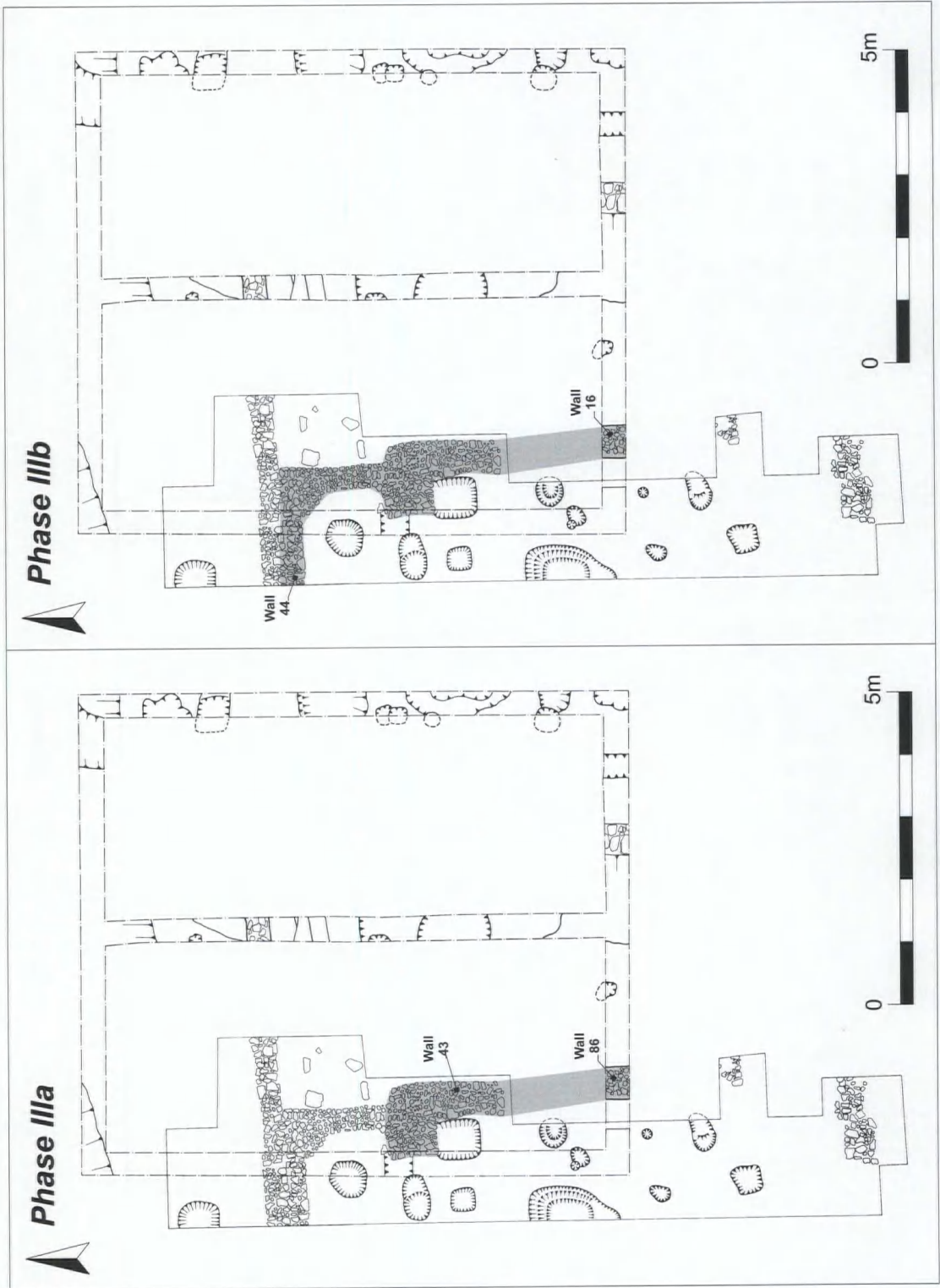


Figure 5b Trench plan: Phases IIIa and IIIb (stone founded structures)

that they tend to be found in the southern part of the site, where most other features are located.

The earliest post-built structures may have been succeeded by a timber frame technique using uprights tenoned to a base-plate, or perhaps posts in a trench. Two possible beam-slots were identified, F62 running E-W and F66 running N-S (Fig 5a). Both these features were a little under 0.5 m wide with sharply rectangular profiles. While F66 was the deeper its base was shown to be at a nearly identical level to that of F62 (c.21.75 m). This feature was not found in the central trench where it would have been truncated by a large pit or ditch F73 which had been cut to a deeper level.

Another possible beam slot (F77) was identified under Wall 44 (Fig 6, Section 7). This had more gradual sides and may rather have been a drainage gully. It ran on a south-easterly alignment and could represent a phase of building on a different alignment. A smaller linear feature (F93), also relatively early and on approximately this alignment, was discovered in the central trench, although again this is doubtful as a beam-slot.

Other early features include a probable hearth (F91) of uncertain form, and a possible rubbish midden (Layer 25) in the SE part of the trench. Layer 25 was cut by both Wall 15 and Beam-slot 66. As well as containing quantities of 12th century pottery and bones of deer, goose and chicken, the deposit contained a number of roof tiles, indicating that the earliest structures in this area were probably so roofed.

Later stone-founded structures (Phases IIIa – IIIc)

The phases of timber building appear to have been replaced by buildings with solid stone foundations. The evidence for this comes from Wall 86, directly underlying Wall 16 (Fig 5b; Fig 6, Section 10). This ran N-S and was constructed of pitched stone and tile within a trench 0.6 m wide and over 0.5 m deep. Wall 43 was of similar construction which suggests that it is of this phase, even though the foundations were substantially shallower. Wall 43 corresponded to F2 of the 1973 excavations and the plan supports this suggestion by indicating that it formed a broad L-shaped wall running S on alignment with Wall 86. It may have served as the eastern wall of a building with an entrance to the N.

Later, Wall 86 was replaced by a wall with a much shallower foundation (Wall 16), with a single surviving course of horizontally laid stone slabs on a cobble foundation. This construction technique was similar to that used in Walls 44, 51 and 15. It may be sig-

nificant that heat-reddened stone was used in these walls indicating a re-use of material previously affected by fire. The amplified picture from the 1973 excavations indicates that this building was constructed in two episodes, wall F1 clearly being of two builds. It is impossible to tell from the evidence presented whether the eastward extension of F1 was in contemporary use with the N-S wall (which continued as Wall 16), or whether it was earlier or later. However, the fact that Wall 15 in the SE corner was the only feature probably built no earlier than the 13th century (on pottery evidence) may suggest a building sequence in which the addition of Walls 51 and 15 and the expansion of F1 represented the final phase of activity in this area, extending the building northwards and eastwards. Wall 16 and an earlier phase of F1 would then have formed the eastern side of a structure lying mostly to the W of the excavations (Fig 5b). Contemporaneous features almost certainly include a compact surface of fine gravel (45) in the central trench. This was about 60 mm thick sealing all the other features here. An underlying pit (75) contained pottery dated to the later 12th century. It is not clear that the surface need have been inside the building, and it may have been a yard. It was probably bounded by Walls 15, 16 and 51.

The southern edge of a possible ditch (Feature 10) was found in the NW corner of the excavation. It reached a depth of about 1m but its overall dimensions were not visible within the confines of the trench. It had a dark grey-brown main fill (9) containing a pottery assemblage datable to the later 12th century. A silver penny of Henry II (AD 1158-1180) and an iron arrowhead were also recovered.

THE FINDS

POTTERY

Paul Blinkhorn

Introduction

The pottery assemblage comprised 183 sherds with a total weight of 2,049g. The minimum number of vessels, by measurement of the combined rimsherd length, was 1.50. One sherd (10g) was Romano-British, the rest medieval. The range of pottery types present are all well-known, and indicate activity at the site from the earlier 12th through to the earlier 13th century.

Fabrics

Where appropriate, the codings and chronology of the Bedfordshire Ceramic Type Series (BCTS) were

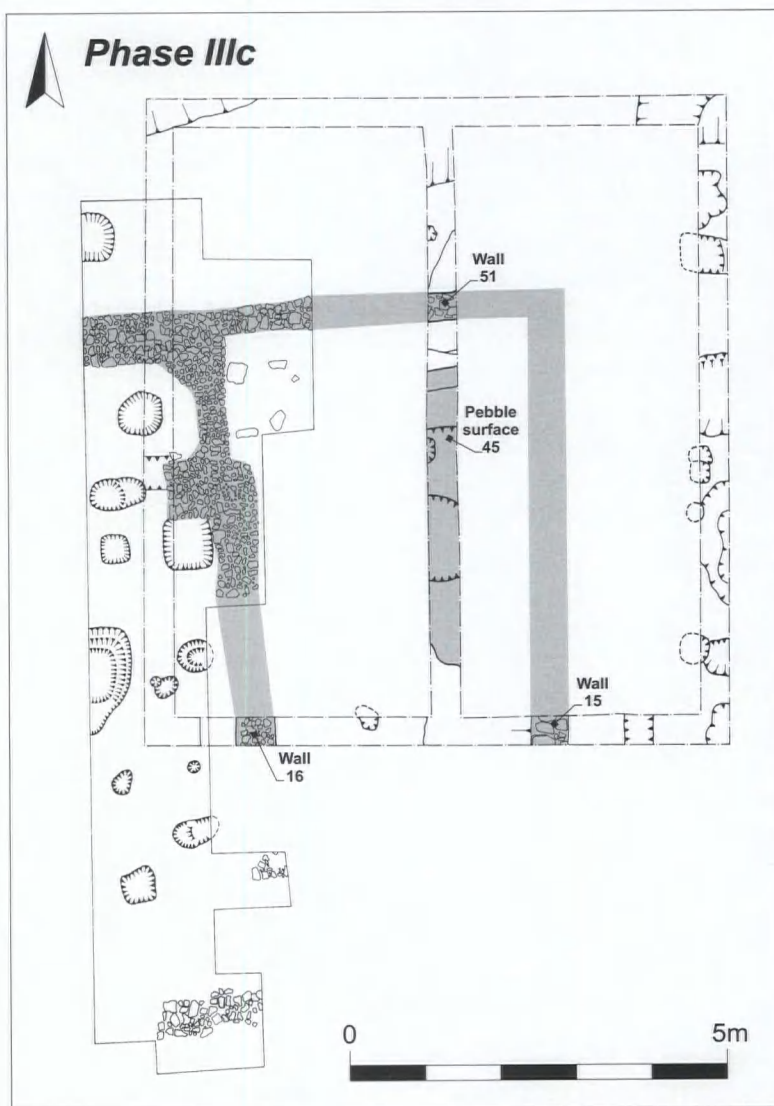


Figure 5c Trench plan: Phase IIIc (stone founded structure)

used. The following ware is not covered by this:

Lyveden/Stanion 'A' Ware (McCarthy 1979). c. AD1150-?1400. Handmade/Wheel finished. Moderate to dense, ill-sorted shelly limestone platelets up to 3mm, sparse to moderate red ironstone up to 10mm, occasional quartz, oolites, black ironstone. Produced at numerous kilns in the villages of Lyveden and Stanion in north-east Northants. Fabric usually grey with blue-grey or brown surfaces, although other surface colours, such as buff, red, purple or orange are not uncommon. 15 sherds, 134g, MNV = 0.23.

The following are coded according to the BCTS system:

BO7: Medieval shelly ware, c. 1100-1400. 66 sherds, 924g, MNV = 0.95.

B09: Lyveden/Stanion 'B' Ware. c. AD1225-?mid14th C. 1 sherd, 16g, MNV = 0.

C03: Fine sandy reduced ware, 12-13th C. 29 sherds, 172g, MNV = 0.

C59a: Coarse sandy ware, 12-13th C. 14 sherds, 158g, MNV = 0.

C59b: Sandy ware, 12-13th C. 56 sherds, 633g, MNV = 0.32

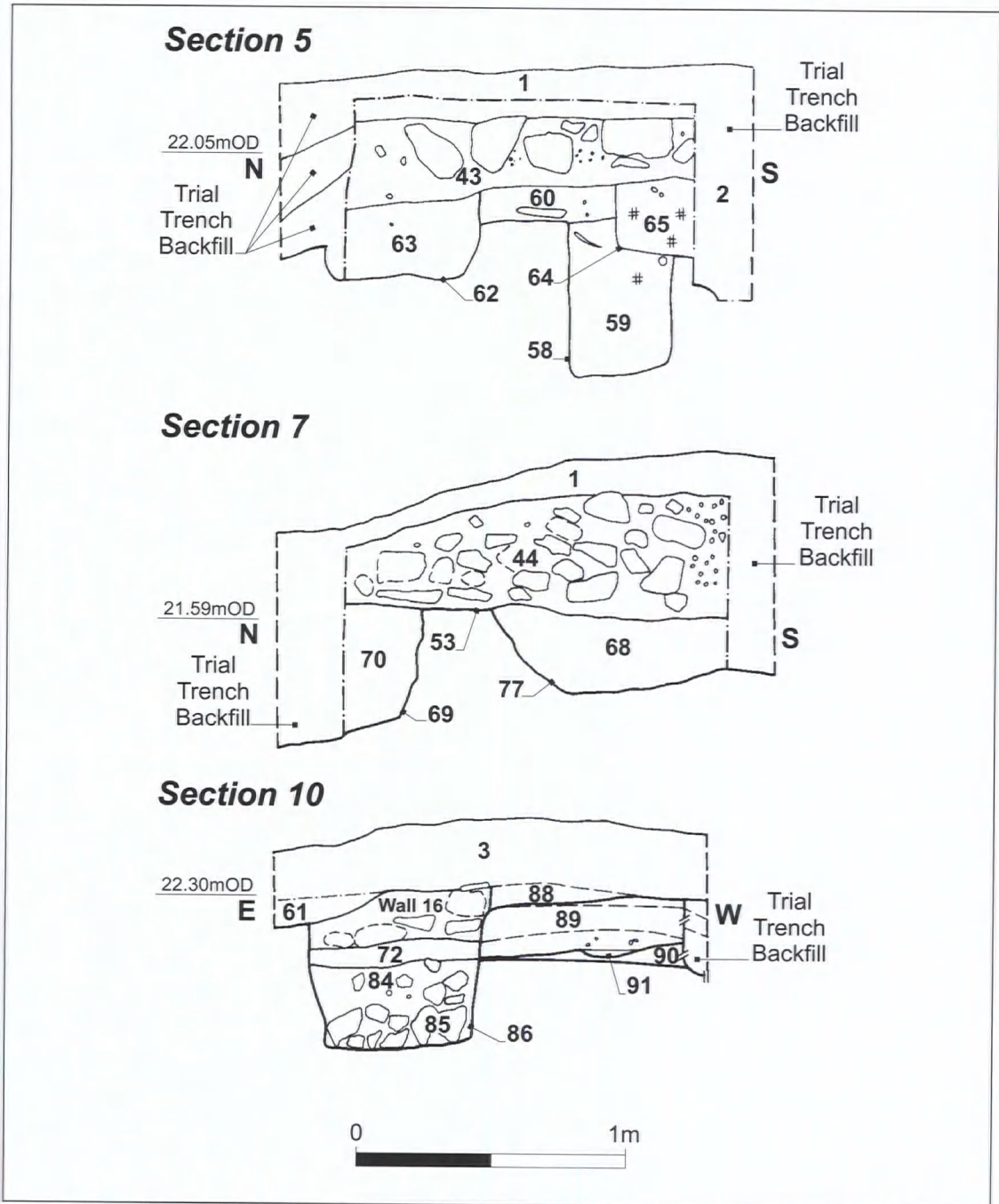


Figure 6 Sections 5, 7 and 10. (See Figure 4 for section locations)

A single sherd of Romano-British pottery (10g) was also noted. The pottery occurrence by number and weight (in grammes) of sherds per context by fabric type is shown in Table 1.

All the wares are well-known in the region, and can be paralleled at numerous sites in Bedfordshire and beyond (e.g. Baker et al. 1979; McCarthy 1979; Denham 1985). Similarly, all the vessels are well-

Context	RB		B07		Lyveden 'A'		B09		C03		C59a		C59b		DATE	
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt		
1												1	26		12thC?	
3			1	3									1	14	12thC?	
8													1	5	12thC?	
9			5	88	9	93				5	79		4	128	L12thC	
12			5	93						2	3		2	21	12thC?	
13			8	84						1	15	1	10	13	121	12thC?
15	1	10	2	8	3	23	1	16	5	19	1	6	7	61	13thC	
17			2	56												12thC
18			1	16	1	7					1	8				L12thC
20			1	2					1	1			1	2		12thC?
22			3	17												12thC?
25			15	214					15	55	6	53	10	103		12thC?
28			3	13												12thC?
30			2	12												12thC?
32			1	8												12thC?
33			8	262							2	37	5	71		12thC?
36			1	9												12thC?
41													4	27		12thC?
45			3	12							2	18				12thC?
74			3	16									2	6		12thC?
76			2	11	2	11							6	74		L12thC
	16	224	66	924	15	134	1	16	29	172	14	158	56	633		

Table 1 Pottery occurrence by number and weight (in g) of sherds per context by fabric type

known forms, and generally fragmentary, with no decorated sherds or cross-fits noted. Consequently, none of the material is illustrated.

Chronology

Other than the single Romano-British sherd, the range of pottery types present indicate that the activity at the site was relatively short-lived, and spanned the period from the early 12th to the early-mid 13th century. The chronology of the known wares has allowed the pottery to be seriated into a series of phase-groups, as shown in Table 2. The significant drop in the mean sherd weight of the pottery during the 13th century suggests that at least some of the material from that phase is residual.

Date	No	Wt	MNV	Mean wt
12thC	127	1391	0.97	11.0
L12thC	36	515	0.49	14.3
13thC	20	143	0.04	7.2
Total	183	2049	1.50	

Table 2 Pottery occurrence by number and weight of sherds per ceramic phase, all fabrics

Vessel Use

The range of vessel types present, despite the small assemblage size, appear typical of medieval sites of the period in the region, with jars dominating the assemblage. Usually, jugs begin to be used in quantity during the 13th and 14th century. The data in Table 3 demonstrate this fairly well, although that for the thirteenth century material is distorted by the small size of the group. However, two bodysherds from jugs (one sherd of B07, the other a glazed sherd of B09) were noted amongst that assemblage. A single rim from a cylindrical jar was noted in a 12th-century context. Such vessels appear to be largely confined to the SE midlands, and were a product of the shelly ware industries of the region during the Saxo-Norman and early medieval periods, although their exact source is still unknown. They appear to have been specialist cooking vessels (Blinkhorn forthcoming).

OTHER ARTEFACTS

Tora Hylton

A small collection of medieval and post-medieval artefacts were recovered. The assemblage comprised

Phase	Jars	Bowls	Jugs	Cylindrical Jars	Total MNV
12thC	94.8%	0	0	5.2%	0.97
L12thC	100%	0	0	0	0.49
13thC	0	100%	0	0	0.04
Total	1.41	0.04	0	0.05	1.50

Table 3 Vessel Occurrence per phase, expressed as a percentage of each phase assemblage

mainly structural debris, together with a small collection of individually recorded small finds. The majority of material was retrieved from stratified deposits dating to the 12th century.

In total there were seven small finds, represented by objects of silver, copper alloy and iron:

	QUANTITY
SMALL FINDS	
Silver	1
Copper alloy	1
Iron	5
BULK FINDS	
Tile – ceramic	6.13kg
Tile – stone	5.30kg
Fired clay	0.35kg
Bone – animal	1.33kg
Shell – oyster	0.67kg
Glass	3 sherds

Table 4 Quantity of finds (except pottery)

Of particular interest is the presence of a silver coin and an iron arrowhead retrieved from Ditch 10 (context 9). The coin is heavily clipped and worn, and has been identified by Mark Curteis (Northampton Borough Museum) as a silver penny of Henry II, minted in Bury St Edmunds 1158-1180. (Cross-and-crosslet [Tealby] type, moneyer: Raul).

The arrowhead has a short circular socket which tapers into a long, thin, point with a diamond cross-section. It displays similarities to Jessops Type M6 (1996, 198) which dates from the 11th to 14th centuries. Arrowheads of this type were generally for military use; they were designed to pierce armour.

Other small finds include a fragment copper alloy rod and four nails. A catalogue of finds is retained within the archive.

The bulk finds are of little intrinsic value. The assemblage is represented by fragments of ceramic and limestone roof tile, undiagnostic fragments of fired clay, three sherds of post-medieval bottle glass and a small assemblage of oyster shell.

Most of the ceramic roof tile was retrieved from deposits dating to the 12th/13th centuries. The fabric is coarse sandy and fired to an orange/ buff-pink colour, sometimes with a grey core. The entire assemblage is unglazed and there are three fragments furnished with peg holes. In addition there are fragments of perforated limestone roofing slates.

ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL INDICATORS

Eden Hutchins

Nine soil samples were taken for the recovery of economic and environmental indicators. Charred plant remains and mollusca were present in low quantities in most of the samples. The assemblages were assessed and it was concluded that there would be little value in undertaking detailed analyses of the material. The full assessment reports are retained in archive.

Animal bone

The animal bone was largely hand retrieved during excavation; 1.328 kg came from 19 contexts. Species represented included cattle, sheep/goat, pig and goose. There were also two bones from a small chicken and a deer bone. The assemblage is unremarkable apart from the presence of chicken. Chickens have been present in Britain since Roman times and gradually increased in importance through time. They became increasingly common during the medieval period, as did geese. Geese increased in popularity during Anglo-Saxon times. From the start of the 16th century chickens became the predominant poultry in Britain.

Mollusca

The molluscan fauna are not particularly diagnostic of the local environment. They include *Cochlicopa lubrica*, *Trichia sp.*, and *Vallonia sp.* All are catholic species, preferring a home that is not too hot or cold, wet or dry. A moist garden, meadow or pasture would be ideal. The one example of *Bithynia* (the Common Pond Snail) indicates that some permanent

body of water was present in the base of Ditch 10. The examples of *Ceciloidea*, from six samples, are common in this area. This is a burrowing species whose presence can often indicate that some bioturbation has taken place.

Charred Plant Remains

Some charcoal and a few wheat seeds were recovered. The few seeds were of a very degraded quality, making them difficult to identify with any certainty.

DISCUSSION

The excavations, although limited, confirm the early medieval dating of the site demonstrated by the 1973 investigations. The date of occupation, at least within the relatively small area examined, is quite tightly defined from the early 12th to mid 13th centuries. Despite this, the present excavations suggest some complexity to the site.

The phasing of activity (summarised in Fig 5a-c) is to some extent conjectural, but there is evidence of timber construction of both post and beam-slot construction in two or more phases, which was succeeded by stone-founded buildings of two or three phases. The building alignments would appear to have been N-S and E-W throughout (although this cannot be shown for the post-hole phase(s) of construction), and the buildings generally occupied the southern and western part of the trenches (although some post-holes were found in the eastern trench). There is thus the suggestion of a shifting pattern of building in the south-western part of the site extending for an unknown distance outside the excavated area. There were few features in the northern part of the site and it appears that activity towards the river edge was limited. The density of pits would seem to have increased eastward so it is possible that this reflects a general zoning of activity. There was no particular indication of what any of the pits were used for. It can be noted that Trench I of the 1973 excavation, which lay about 15 m further E, revealed no structural evidence of any kind.

The superstructures of the buildings here were probably in timber in all phases. Roof tile came from some of the earliest contexts and it is therefore likely that roofs of all periods were tiled. Wattle-and-daub would appear to have been the method of wall construction. A moderately large quantity of daub (1.85 kg), some bearing wattle impressions, was found in Trench II of the 1973 excavations. To this may be added the smaller quantity of more amorphous fired clay from the current work.

The sequence as well as the methods of construc-

tion would appear to be typical of settlements of this period where a number of sites have shown a move away from buildings with earth-fast posts towards walls built of stone, or of timber on stone sills, in the 13th century (Dyer 1986, 40; Beresford 1977, 211).

The evidence would indicate that the site can be regarded as an example of a settlement which is quite common in Bedfordshire, a county which has the densest distribution of medieval moated sites in the country (Brown and Taylor, 1991, 2; Coleman 1990, 3-5). Its situation on the bank of a major river is unusual but explicable given the requirement for the moats to be filled with water. It need not imply that the site had importance as a node of river communication. If the presence of a dock can now be discounted, as seems likely, the site falls within a more normal category of moated homesteads.

The site has been much disturbed by 20th-century development and the best indication of its original form comes from the plan of the earthworks reproduced by Beauchamp Wadmore (Fig 3, after Beauchamp Wadmore 1920). This shows the D-shaped enclosure and smaller rectangular enclosure with slight internal banks. Both entrance causeways are aligned to the south with a banked and ditched pathway leading to them through outer earthworks (now destroyed by building and gardening along Chapel Lane). The internal area of the D-shaped enclosure is about 0.35 ha and that of the rectangular enclosure about 0.14 ha. Assuming both moats to have been in contemporaneous use, the area enclosed would appear to be on the large side for this type of site.

The presence of two linked moats is slightly unusual but a form well-attested nationally (Taylor 1978, 10-12), and there is an example at Mogerhanger 3 km to the SE. It may be assumed that one moat enclosed the principal dwelling of a manor or lesser homestead (typically with a house and domestic offices grouped around a courtyard) and the other was for various other buildings and perhaps gardens (Taylor, *op. cit.*). It is worth mentioning that since the 19th century the D-shaped enclosure on the river side has been labelled the 'outer ward' and the rectangular enclosure the 'inner ward', with the implication that the site was approached from the river. It is, however, more plausible to see the site orientated towards the land. If that were the case the D-shaped enclosure may well have been the 'inner ward' containing the principal dwelling. To date the archaeological evidence indicates buildings of unknown function in both enclosures and there is little basis for further speculation on this matter.

The excavations have suggested that the occupation within the D-shaped enclosure may have been relatively short-lived and also relatively early. Moat construction is thought to have expanded in the 13th century (Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 48), at a time when occupation at Willington appears to have been drawing to a close. It is, of course, not known whether the moats were original features and there is excavated evidence from sites such as Wintringham (Beresford, *op. cit.*) and Tempsford Park (Maull and Chapman, forthcoming) that the moats were constructed in the mid 13th century, enclosing earlier buildings. This may also have been the case at Willington.

The historical context of the site is unclear although it has been linked to the medieval manor of the Mowbrays and the predecessor of the later Gostwick manor site adjacent to St Lawrence's Church. Willington Manor passed by marriage from the Beauchamp to the Mowbray family in 1265 (VCH 1912, 262). Surveys of the Mowbray holding in 1366 and 1376 indicate a general state of disrepair. In particular, the Inquisition of 1376 describes a large number of decaying buildings including, interestingly, three gates, a drawbridge, a hall and bakehouse, both of 'ancient fashion', and a mill (VCH 1912, 263; De Banco Rolls 425, m.114; Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, iii, 392-3; Godber, 1969, 81).

However, while the size and complexity of the enclosures at 'Danish Camp', as well as their location close to the village, suggest the site may have been of manorial status, the late 13th century date for the Mowbray's tenure appears to be too late to be linked to it. Unless archaeological evidence for later occupation is to be found in any future investigations, it is more probable that this and the 14th-century documentary references to Willington Manor concern the Gostwick site.

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