

Anglo-Saxon work at Carlton and other Bedfordshire churches

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SUMMARY

A discussion of the Anglo-Saxon work in the nave and chancel of St Mary the Virgin, Carlton, and subsequent Anglo-Saxon work in the tower of the same church, forms the main part of this paper which also reviews Anglo-Saxon work in a number of other Bedfordshire churches: Kempston, Riseley, Harrold, Shelton and Biddenham; and rejects claims made for Anglo-Saxon work in others: Thurleigh, Great Barford and Caddington.

INTRODUCTION

In a recent article¹ T.P. Smith gave descriptions of those Bedfordshire churches in which Anglo-Saxon work has been recorded. The present article proposes to add the churches of Carlton and Kempston to his list and to discuss briefly the claims to an Anglo-Saxon date of a number of other Bedfordshire churches.

At both Carlton and Kempston, as at most of the churches described by Smith,² the early work is distinguished by the almost total absence of dressed stones from quoins and facings, which are formed of the same rubble fabric as the walling. As Dr and Mrs Taylor have noted,³ this characteristic occurs very frequently in Anglo-Saxon churches and may often provide a fairly reliable indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. Similar rubble quoins and facings are also found in a number of other Bedfordshire churches, and brief accounts of these churches are given below. Not all of them are necessarily of Anglo-Saxon origin; their date is considered further at the end of this article.

CARLTON

The church of *St Mary the Virgin, Carlton* (SP 952549) contains in its fabric clear evidence of a two-cell late-Saxon church and a late-Saxon or

Saxo-Norman west tower (fig 1). A south aisle was added to the original church about 1275, and a north aisle about 1310. A south chapel, later demolished, was built about 1330 when the chancel was extended eastwards.⁴

Of the original two-cell church the most complete remains are visible in the chancel. Its walls, which are 2ft 8in thick, are constructed of roughly coursed rubble. The quoins of the original chancel may be seen clearly as straight vertical joints, marking its junction with the later extension; these quoins are of the same rubble fabric as the walling, with specially selected large stones. In the lower part of the north wall there is a considerable amount of herring-bone masonry. In the upper part of the wall in the exterior face there survives a blocked round-headed window 2ft 1in wide and 3ft 10in in height at the wall-face (fig 2a). The jambs and head of this window are of rubble and the head shows the common Anglo-Saxon characteristic of non-radial setting of its stones. The *Victoria County History* described this window as probably double-splayed; this is a distinctive Anglo-Saxon form, and occurs in several of the Anglo-Saxon churches in the Bedford region. However, it cannot be asserted with complete certainty that the window is double-splayed unless it is unblocked or the plaster removed from the interior face of the wall. The possibility of a single internal splay cannot be discounted entirely, but the width of the window, taken in conjunction with its rubble construction, makes this very unlikely. But whether the window is single- or double-splayed, its rubble jambs and head give a strong indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. If there was originally a similar window in the south wall of the chancel it was destroyed when an arch was cut through this wall to the south chapel in the fourteenth century. The original chancel-arch was replaced by the present arch in the same century.

Little evidence of the original nave can now be found at Carlton, but the partial survival of the south-east and north-west quoins shows that it was

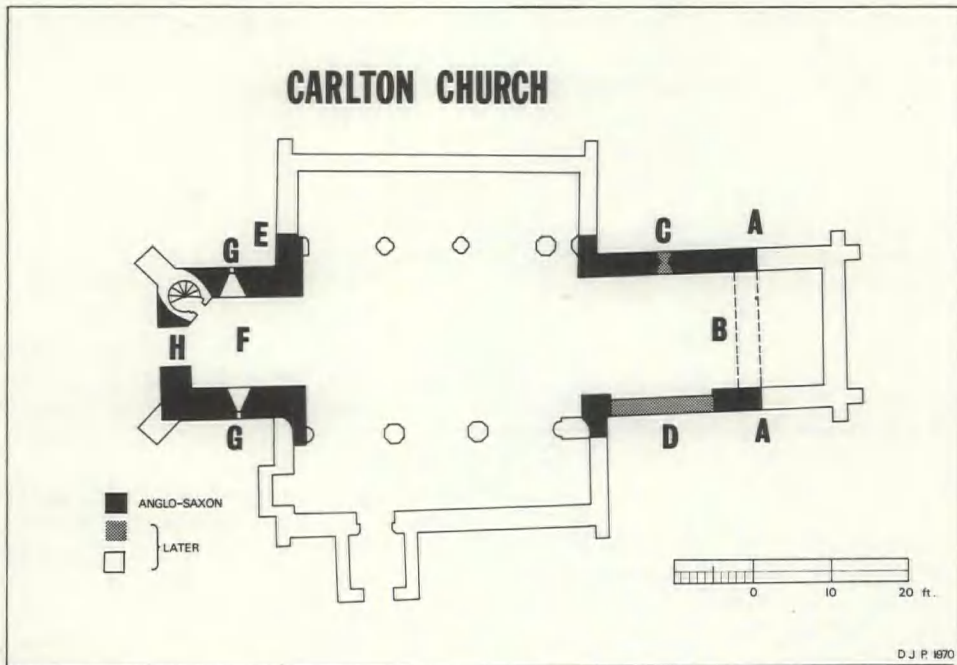


Fig 1 Ground plan of Carlton church, showing the surviving Anglo-Saxon fabric. Later wind have been omitted. A, original east quoins of chancel; B, line of former east wall of chancel, destroyed fourteenth century south chapel; E, north-west quoin of original nave, not aligned with the present nave wall; F, west tower; G, original ground floor windows of tower; H, west doorway, possibly original.

aisleless. These quoins appear to have been of similar character to the east quoins of the original chancel. Examination of the north-west quoin shows that the clerestory wall of the present nave is not aligned with the original nave, and it therefore seems likely that the nave walls were rebuilt completely when aisles were added. Both nave and chancel show the irregular setting-out⁵ so common in Anglo-Saxon churches. Before the north wall of the nave was rebuilt on a slightly different line the nave was some 20in wider at the west than at the east, and the axis of the chancel diverges slightly to the north from that of the nave.

The positive indications of Anglo-Saxon workmanship in the nave and chancel may be summed up as follows: the use of rubble for all quoins and facings; the thin walls⁶ of the chancel; the non-radial setting of stones in the arched head of a blocked window; the almost certainly double-splayed character of this window; and the irregular setting-out of the ground plan. These features, taken in conjunction, constitute a clear case for an Anglo-Saxon date. Double-splayed windows are

usually considered as an indication of late-Saxon workmanship,⁷ and it therefore seems likely that the early work in the chancel was built at some date between 950 and 1100. Harvey in his brief account⁸ of Carlton church described the early work as Saxon or early Norman, but the *Victoria County History*, in 1912, ascribed the church to a late eleventh or early twelfth century date. The reluctance of the *Victoria County History* to assign an earlier date is perhaps best explained by the presence in the chancel of herring-bone masonry, which was in 1912 widely believed to be an indication of Norman workmanship. This belief has now been shown to be mistaken,⁹ and herring-bone masonry is in fact fairly frequent in Anglo-Saxon work; local examples occur at St Peter's, Bedford and Lavendon.

The original west tower survives only in part, for the belfry stage was rebuilt in the fifteenth century; diagonal buttresses were added at the same time and a spiral staircase inserted in the north-west angle. The original tower-arch has been replaced by a fourteenth century arch. The fabric

of the earlier part of the tower is different in character from the walling of the chancel; in both parts limestone rubble is used, but in the tower it consists of thin, flat stones, without any use of herringbone work, and is uncoursed. Until the fifteenth century remodelling the tower was unbuttressed. The original quoins survive only at the east above the roof of the nave, where they can be seen to have been of the same rubble as the walling, with a few larger stones. The ground and first floors of the original work survive, rising without any string-course or off-set. The tower was no doubt originally similar to the tall, gaunt western towers at Clapham and Lavendon. The walls are 3ft 7in thick, unusual for an Anglo-Saxon tower, but by no means unprecedented; the walls of the tower at Clapham are 4ft thick. There are no original openings in the first floor, but the north and south walls of the ground floor each have a very narrow round-headed window with a single internal splay (fig 2b). The splays are shallow and stop about two inches short of the wall-face, at which point the glass is set. Inside the tower the walls are plastered so that the construction of the head and jambs of the windows is not visible, but externally the jambs are of the same rubble as the walling and the heads are formed from a single stone. On the north side this is little more than a rough lintel; on the south side it is carefully shaped below, but left irregular above. This type of splay occurs in both the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman periods, but the primitive construction of these windows provides a further indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. In the west wall of the ground floor there is a square-headed doorway which the *Victoria County History* described as of "uncertain date". A noticeable break in the masonry between the jambs and the adjacent walling round much of this doorway indicates it is probably a later insertion, perhaps of post-medieval date. However, its jambs are partly of rubble and it is cut straight through the wall without a rebate, in the manner of many Anglo-Saxon doorways. It may therefore represent the partial survival of an original doorway. There is a thin modern lintel, immediately above which is a two-light thirteenth century window.

The tower was not built at the same time as the early work in the chancel. This is established both by the difference in character between the masonry of the chancel and of the tower, and by the different types of window used. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the exact relationship between the two building periods, for insufficient

evidence has survived of the original nave; all that is visible at the west is a small section of much patched masonry between the north-west quoin and the tower. However, in the normal sequence of development a west tower would be built last, and this suggests that the chancel is the earliest part of the surviving fabric. But the possibility that the present chancel replaced an earlier chancel after the tower was built cannot be eliminated. With the disappearance of the original belfry-openings and tower-arch, any clear evidence of the date of the tower has vanished, but it is unlikely to be later than 1100, for by this date Norman techniques had fairly generally superseded those of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Dimensions: The chancel is 15ft 2in (4.62m) wide internally. The external length to the original quoins is 19ft (5.79m); as the walls are 2ft 8in (0.81m) thick, the internal length of the original chancel must have been about 16ft 4in (4.98m), giving a chancel nearly square in plan. The walls stand to a height of 16ft 7in (5.05m). The blocked window in the north wall of the chancel is 2ft 1in (0.63m) wide and 3ft 10in (1.17m) high. The sill is 8ft 6in (2.59m) above the ground. The internal measurements of the nave are 34ft 11in (10.64m) long and 21ft 2in (6.45m) wide at the east; originally it was about 20in (0.51m) wider at the west. The west tower measures 11ft 6in (3.50m) from north to south and 12ft 4in (3.76m) from east to west internally, with walls 3ft 7in (1.09m) thick. The original work survives to a height of 33ft (10.06m). The windows in the ground floor are 2ft 6in (0.76m) high by 6in (0.15m) wide externally, splayed to 4ft 1in (1.24m) by 3ft 11in (1.19m). The west doorway is 3ft 10in (1.17m) wide and 6ft 6in (1.98m) tall in its present form.

KEMPSTON

In the chancel walls at *All Saints, Kempston*, (TL 015480), there are to be seen two blocked windows similar to that noted in the north wall of the chancel at Carlton. These windows afford very strong evidence in favour of an Anglo-Saxon date for Kempston church, although there is little additional corroborative evidence. Nevertheless it may be fairly asserted that there were two periods of early building at Kempston, for the work in the undoubtedly Norman west tower is different in character from that in the chancel walls, both in the form of the windows and in the nature of the

CARLTON CHURCH : WINDOWS

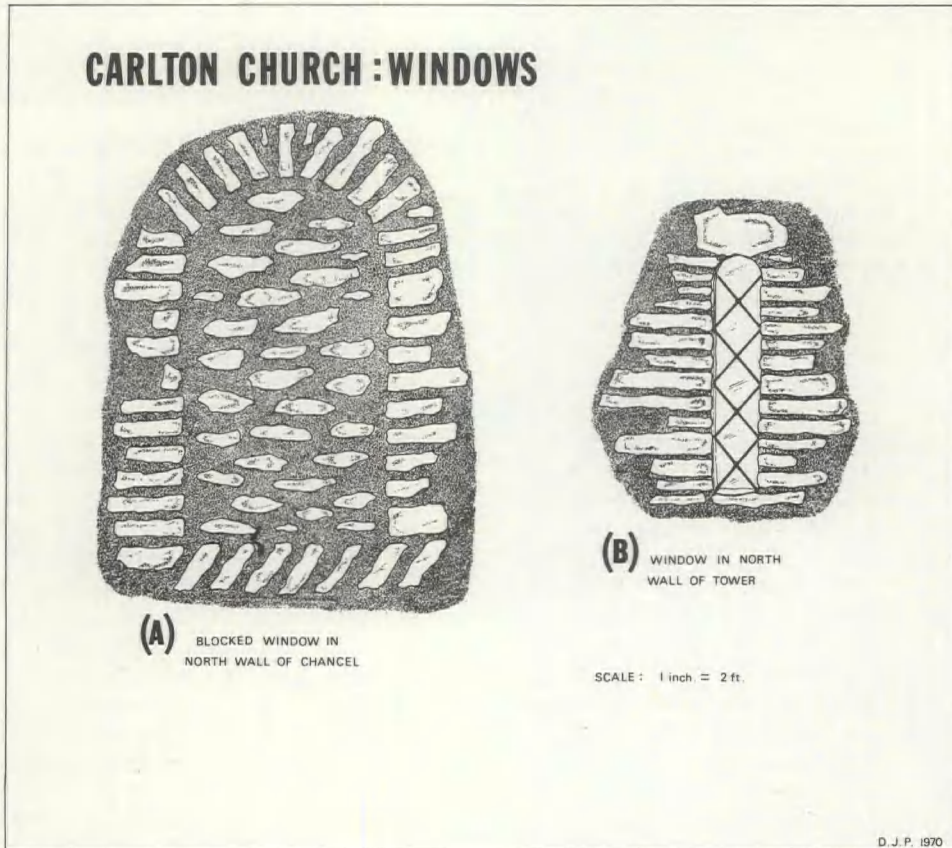


Fig 2 Charlton church : windows.

rubble walling.

In its present form the church consists of a west tower; an aisled nave with a south porch; and an aisleless chancel with a vestry and mausoleum to the north.¹⁰ The chancel walls, which are 2ft 10in thick, consist of uncoursed rubble. On both the north and south sides there are traces of blocked round-headed windows set high in the walls. These traces are clearest on the south side, where the blocked window is above and to the east of a two-light fifteenth century window. The blocked window, which is 2ft 5in wide at the wall-face, has jambs of the same rubble as the walling and the head is turned in flattish pieces of rubble laid with considerable disregard for radial setting. The window is not visible on the interior face of the wall, which is heavily plastered, nor could the window be unblocked owing to the position of one of the wall-posts of the nineteenth century roof. As at Carlton, this window can be assumed with reasonable con-

fidence to have been double-splayed; its width makes it very unlikely that there was a single internal splay. Directly opposite this window in the north wall of the chancel more fragmentary remains of a similar window are visible above the roof of the mausoleum built in 1823; the head, very irregularly laid in flattish pieces of rubble, and part of the eastern jamb, are all that remain of this window. There is nothing to determine the exact eastward extent of this early chancel, but the random rubble extends some 19ft from the east wall of the nave; at this point it is superseded by coursed rubble belonging to a later extension, probably of the thirteenth century.

The church was considerably enlarged in the late eleventh or early twelfth century; the west tower and the chancel-arch date from this period. The nave was probably rebuilt at the same time,¹¹ for the outline of its gable is visible on the east wall of the nave above the roof of the chancel, and

seems to be in the same coursed rubble as the west tower. The east wall of the nave is, nevertheless, in part contemporary with the walls of the chancel, and is of the same thickness. A small section of walling, in bond with the chancel walls, survives between the chancel and the original south-east quoin of the nave. Some of the stones which formed this quoin have been removed for the better bonding of the south aisle, which has been built against the quoin at this point; however, it is clear that this quoin was originally of rubble. This quoin serves to show that the early, and probably Anglo-Saxon church, at Kempston was of two-cell type.

Dimensions: The chancel is 17ft 1in (5.21m) wide internally; its original external length was at least 19ft (5.79m). Its walls are 2ft 10in (0.86m) thick and 21ft 6in (6.55m) high to the base of the later parapet. The blocked windows are 2ft 5in (0.74m) in width at the wall-face. Their original height is difficult to determine but must have been about 3ft (0.91m). The apex of the window on the south side is 17ft 8in (5.38m) above ground level.

RISELEY

The church of *All Saints, Riseley* (TL 039631) consists of a west tower; a nave with south aisle and south porch; and a chancel with south chapel. However, until the fifteenth century the present south aisle and south chapel formed the nave and chancel of the church.¹² The south wall of this original nave (the present outer wall of the south aisle) contains masonry of early, probably Anglo-Saxon character.

The wall, which is built of uncoursed limestone rubble, is tall and thin, and has been considerably patched in parts. There are thirteenth century buttresses at both south-east and south-west corners of this early wall, and no traces of the original quoining are now visible. At first sight there are no openings in this wall earlier than the south door and two three-light fifteenth century windows, one on either side of the porch. However, a close examination reveals a blocked window behind the east wall of the south porch. The western jamb and part of the head of this window are visible inside the porch. Outside, to the east of the porch, a small part of the head can also be seen, but the rendering which covers parts of the south wall of the nave hides any traces that may remain of the eastern jamb of the window. The aperture of the window

is concealed by the porch, and no traces of the window can be found on the plastered internal face of the wall. The jambs and round-arched head of the window are built of thin pieces of rubble, and the head appears to have been turned with reasonable regard to the principle of radial setting. The dimensions of the window cannot be accurately determined, and it remains uncertain whether the window was originally single- or double-splayed.

The description of the church in the *Victoria County History* attributes the south wall of the south aisle to the twelfth century. However, the tall and thin character of the wall makes this unlikely and suggests an earlier date. This inference is supported by the rubble construction of the newly discovered window, which is a strong indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. The fragmentary nature of the surviving remains precludes any accurate dating, but the prevalence of late-Saxon and Saxo-Norman churches in the area suggests a tenth or eleventh century date. The outer wall of the south aisle almost certainly represents the south wall of an aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave, probably with a short and narrow chancel to the east. No the plan in the *Victoria County History* shows the west wall of the south aisle as contemporary with the south wall. The west wall of the aisle is, however, 8in thicker than the south wall, and therefore unlikely to be of the same date. The most puzzling feature of the early church is the position of the surviving window, the head of which is only about 7ft above ground level. The tall, thin walls of early churches were usually lit by windows set high up, and the position of this window presents a problem for which there is no immediately obvious solution.¹³

In a footnote to his description of Riseley church in the *Buildings of England*, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner wrote,¹⁴ 'Rev F.J.C. Davis tells me that very recently, embedded in the east wall, part of a Saxo-Norman arch has been found'. This refers to a re-used stone found embedded in the thirteenth century east wall of the south chapel during repairs in 1966. The stone, which measures 7.5in by 3.5in by 3in, has raised ornament on its slightly curved surface. In the writer's opinion, the stone is too fragmentary to permit an accurate interpretation, and there are no good grounds for describing it as part of a Saxo-Norman arch.

Dimensions: The south wall of the south aisle is 2ft 3in (0.69m) thick and 21ft 6in (6.55m) high from the floor of the nave; however the wall was probably heightened a little in the fifteenth century.

If the present walls of the south aisle follow the lines of the original nave, this was about 48ft (14.63 m) long by 16ft 5in (5.00m) wide at the west, broadening to 17ft 4in (5.28m) at the east. The window behind the east wall of the south porch seems to have been about 1ft 8in (0.51m) high, with its apex about 7ft (2.13m) above ground level. Its width cannot be accurately measured, but would seem to have been between 1ft 4in (0.41m) and 1ft 9in (0.53m). Unfortunately this is insufficient to determine whether the window was single- or double-splayed.

OTHER CHURCHES OF EARLY DATE

Although no original features have survived, considerable evidence can be adduced to show that the nave walls of *St Peter's, Harrold* (SP 954567) belong to a building of Anglo-Saxon date. It has long been recognised¹⁵ that the north arcade of the nave was cut through the wall of an earlier aisleless nave; this is shown by the clumsy square piers and unequal spans of the arcade, and by the survival of the original eastern quoins of this nave. As the arcade belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century, this earlier church must have been either Anglo-Saxon or Norman. The nave walls which formed this earlier church were tall and thin; as they stand today the nave walls are 2ft 5in (0.74 m) thick and some 25ft (7.62m) tall to the bottom of the later clerestory wall. Tall, thin walls are rare in Norman building, but are a common characteristic of Anglo-Saxon churches. Moreover, the south-east quoin of the nave provides some confirmation of these indications, for it is built of rubble. Clearly this is an argument which must be used with caution; however, these observations do give grounds for a tentative acceptance of the nave at Harrold as Anglo-Saxon. The nave is 46ft (14.02 m) long and 20ft (6.10m) wide internally.

Similar evidence for an early church survives at *St Mary the Virgin, Shelton* (TL 034688). The present nave arcades probably date from the late twelfth century,¹⁶ but the survival of a quoin at the south-east corner of the nave indicates an earlier aisleless nave. This quoin, which survives in its original form to a height of about 15ft (4.57m), is built of the same limestone rubble as the surrounding walling. The present nave walls are 2ft 6in (0.76m) thick, and define a nave measuring 36ft (10.97m) long and 16ft (4.88m) wide internally.

At *St James', Biddenham* (TL 014499) a rubble-built quoin occurs in conjunction with work of early Norman character.¹⁷ The south-east quoin of an early aisleless nave survives and seems to be contemporary with the Norman chancel-arch and the small single-splayed Norman window in the south wall of the nave. The nave walls are 2ft 7in (0.79m) thick, and the nave measures 36ft 8in (11.20m) long by 19ft 7in (5.97m) wide internally.

THURLEIGH, GREAT BARFORD AND CADDINGTON.

In his volume on Bedfordshire, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner advanced claims for a pre-Conquest origin for three churches previously regarded as Norman. These claims require careful examination. Of *St Peter's, Thurleigh* (TL 051584) Pevsner wrote:¹⁸ 'The crossing tower is Anglo-Danish, that is certain from the proportions of the doorway on its S side which must have led into it from outside or from a porticus'. This ignores the evidence of Thomas Fisher's engraving, dated 1813,¹⁹ in which architectural features now much weathered are still quite distinct. The engraving shows that the doorway was decorated with billet-ornament on the hood-mould and zig-zag on the imposts, both of which are Norman features. Moreover the doorway is constructed in two orders, which was rare before the Norman Conquest. In fact the doorway is twelfth century in date, and must be regarded as a rare and late example of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of the tall and narrow opening occurring in Norman work. The tower itself is Norman in appearance with its short and squat proportions and its quoins of small dressed stones.

Of *All Saints, Great Barford* (TL 134517) Pevsner wrote:²⁰ 'The nave E quoins have long-and-short work, i.e. must be Anglo-Danish'. Careful examination shows that long-and-short work as such is not present. On the south side the whole of the south-east quoin of the formerly aisleless nave is visible. The lower ten feet contains three 'long' stones of oolitic limestone, but no binding 'short' stones.²¹ No trace of long-and-short work is visible at the north-east quoin, although its lower part is heavily plastered. The 'long' stones in the south-east quoin do give a strong presumption of Anglo-Saxon workmanship at Great Barford, but there is insufficient evidence to determine whether this is as original work or as re-used material. Unfortunately the chancel arch, described as 'early

Norman',²² was destroyed in 1849.

Pevsner also claimed that the western quoins of the formerly aisleless nave at *All Saints, Caddington* (TL 064198) "look Anglo-Saxon and may be of the eleventh century".²³ In fact these quoins are of the side-alternate type common throughout the medieval period and contain in themselves no clear indication of date. The stones forming the quoins are mostly 9 - 12in (228-305mm) in height.

CONCLUSION

In a considerable number of the churches discussed above, attention has been drawn to quoins and facings built in rubble. Quoins and facings of this type are frequently found in churches of the pre-Conquest period, especially in regions lacking good quality building-stone such as Kent and East Anglia. The present writer has noticed this feature in the following Bedfordshire churches: Bedford St Peter, Biddenham, Carlton, Clapham, Harrold, Kempston, Riseley, Shelton, Stevington and Turvey.²⁴

In six of these²⁵ this feature appears in churches showing Anglo-Saxon characteristics, while in one case (Biddenham) it is found in conjunction with Norman work. The remaining examples (Harrold, Riseley and Shelton) are of uncertain character, but all date from before 1200. Such rubble quoins and facings therefore seem to occur above all in the early churches of the county; from the Norman period onwards local masons appear to have been careful, as a general rule, to use dressed stone for quoins and facings. It should be stressed that this feature does not in itself indicate the presence of early work, for occasional examples of later churches with rubble quoins and facings can be instanced.²⁶ However, this concentration in the Ouse Valley of early churches does show that in this area the use of this technique is a strong indication, if not proof, of Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman workmanship.

There can be little doubt that the use of this essentially Anglo-Saxon technique continued into the period after the Conquest. The church at Biddenham, with its rubble quoin and thin walls, shows how traditional methods continued in use alongside the new Norman techniques. In a later paper the writer hopes to be able to show that the tower at Clapham, which has rubble-built quoining and double-splayed windows, belongs in its entirety to the period of Saxo-Norman overlap. There is no evidence to determine how long such Anglo-Saxon

techniques continued in general use after the Conquest, but their absence from other Norman churches in the area such as Bedford St Mary, Milton Ernest, Thurleigh and Knotting would suggest that they had probably died out by the beginning of the twelfth century. One may surmise that Norman methods probably became normal in the area after the building of the important church at Elstow Abbey in the last quarter of the eleventh century.²⁷

It is more difficult to arrive at a *terminus post quem* for this group of early churches. A number of them (Bedford St Peter, Carlton, Clapham, Kempston, Stevington and Turvey) contain double-splayed windows, which are usually considered as a late-Saxon feature, dating from after 950.²⁸ The remaining churches probably also belong to the late-Saxon or Saxo-Norman overlap periods, but, strictly speaking, there is no architectural reason why they should not be earlier.

Smith noted²⁹ that the Anglo-Saxon churches of Bedfordshire were grouped 'close to each other and along the Ouse valley west of Bedford', and he concluded that this represented a former greater number of stone, as opposed to wooden, churches in this area. This pattern is now quite unmistakable, for Carlton, Kempston, Harrold and Biddenham are close to the River Ouse, while Riseley and Shelton are in the same part of the county, though not in the Ouse valley itself. However, Smith's suggestion that this distribution is explained by the transport of building limestone along the Ouse valley from the Northamptonshire Uplands must be considered as doubtful in view of the fact that the long-and-short quoins of St Peter's, Bedford are of Barnack-type limestone, quarried near Stamford.³⁰ Moreover, very little fine freestone was in fact used in most of these early churches, while ordinary limestone rubble for walling was easily available in north-east Bedfordshire itself, especially in the Ouse valley which cuts down into the underlying limestone beds.³¹ This ready availability of walling material is a much more likely explanation of this striking distribution of early churches.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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REFERENCES

- 1 T.P. Smith, 'The Anglo-Saxon Churches of Bedfordshire', *Beds Arch J* 3, 1966, 7 - 14. Smith is now preparing a monograph entitled 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture in Bedfordshire Churches' in which fuller treatment will be given to these churches.
- 2 Of the churches described by Smith, those at Bedford St Peter, Clapham, Stevington and Turvey display this characteristic. The Anglo-Saxon church at Lavendon, just across the Buckinghamshire border from Carlton, also has rubble quoins and facings, H M and J Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 1965, 376-7.
- 3 Taylor and Taylor, 1965, 7 - 8.
- 4 *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 52 - 4.
- 5 Irregular setting-out occurs in churches of all periods, but it is a particularly frequent trait of Anglo-Saxon churches; typical examples are at Chickney and Hadstock in Essex. A brief discussion of this irregularity in Anglo-Saxon and later churches is to appear in T P Smith, *The Anglo-Saxon Churches of Hertfordshire*.
- 6 Anglo-Saxon walls were commonly less than 3ft in thickness, whereas Norman walls tend to be thicker than 3ft. Many Norman churches can, however, be found with walls between 2ft 6in and 3ft in thickness.
- 7 Taylor and Taylor, 1965, 9 - 10.
- 8 W M Harvey, *History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Willey*, 1872-8, 256. Harvey records that the blocked window in the north wall of the chancel and the two small windows in the ground floor of the tower were discovered in 1871-2.
- 9 Taylor and Taylor, 1965, 12-13 and 211-4.
- 10 *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 303-4, including plan.
- 11 An alternative sequence of development is that after the chancel and east wall of the nave had been built in the Anglo-Saxon style, there was for some reason a delay in building operations; when resumed, the work was in the Norman style. The chancel-arch is puzzling and contains a number of Saxon-looking features: non-radial setting of the stones of its arch; the springing of the arch set back well behind the line of the jambs; and imposts of through stones. As it stands at present, the chancel-arch can be dated with some probability to the late eleventh or early twelfth century by the ornament on its imposts, particularly on the south side, where the mouldings are very similar to those in the nave at nearby Elstow Abbey. (For the date of the nave at Elstow Abbey see note 27).
- 12 The complex history of the church is clearly explained in *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 160-1, including plan.
- 13 It is just possible that the surviving traces originally formed the head of an exceedingly narrow doorway.
- 14 N Pevsner, *The Buildings of England : Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, 1968, 137.
- 15 *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 67 - 8. There is a plan of Harold church in Harvey, 1872 - 78, 336.
- 16 There is some doubt as to the date of the south arcade. In *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 163-4, the arcade is described as fourteenth century, but the present writer agrees with Pevsner, 1968, 142 - 3, that it belongs to the late twelfth century, like the north arcade.
- 17 *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 38 - 9.
- 18 Pevsner, 1968, 154.
- 19 Thomas Fisher, *Collections, Historical Genealogical and Topographical for Bedfordshire*, 1836, 140. The same features appear in a drawing of the doorway dated 1843 in the Dryden Collection in the Northampton Public Library.
- 20 Pevsner, 1968, 94.
- 21 Similar irregular quoining with very large stones is found at the east end of the chancel of Everton church, *V C H Beds*, 2, 1908, 228 - 9. There can be no doubt about the mid twelfth century date of the present church at Everton; however, these quoin-stones may well be re-used material from the earlier church on the site mentioned in Domesday Book.
- 22 W. Airy in *Assoc Arch Soc Rep* 1, 1850, 147. It is clear from contemporary correspondence preserved by the Incorporated Church Building Society that a drawing of the chancel-arch was made before its destruction; however, the present whereabouts of this drawing is unknown.
- 23 Pevsner, 1968, 61.
- 24 The quoining at Poddington church deserves a brief mention. All four quoins of an originally aisleless nave survive, and must be earlier than 1200, when the present nave arcades were built, *V C H Beds*, 3, 1912, 86-7. The small stones used for the quoining are roughly dressed on the two exterior faces only, but not on their upper and lower surfaces.
- 25 Bedford St Peter, Carlton, Clapham, Kempston, Stevington and Turvey.
- 26 For example, the thirteenth-century tower at Lower Halstow in Kent has rubble quoining. Minor internal facings in the upper storeys of towers were also frequently built without dressed stone throughout the medieval period.
- 27 For Elstow Abbey see D B Baker, *Beds Arch J* 4, 1969, 31 - 2.
- 28 See note 7.
- 29 Smith, 1966, 8.
- 30 E M Jope, 'The Saxon Building-Stone Industry in Southern and Midland England', *Med Arch* 8, 1964, 101. Barnack stone was also used for the early eleventh century tomb-slab at Milton Bryan, *ibid.*, 101.
- 31 Geological Survey One Inch Maps, Sheets 186 and 203.