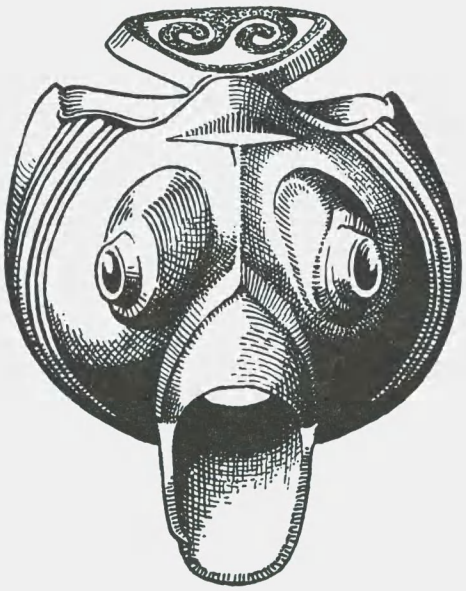
BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL



VOLUME III 1966

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BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

Volume III 1966

EDITED BY
JAMES DYER

THE BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COUNCIL
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Sites on the North Bedfordshire and South Northamptonshire border

D. N. HALL and N. NICKERSON

THIS PAPER is the result of some spare time field work over the last five years. It is intended mainly to give an idea of the distribution of sites for a group of parishes around the north-west Beds. border. Little will be said here about such things as folk movements and interactions.

Not a lot of detailed field work is going on elsewhere; where it does, as for example west of Grendon, sites are being found in about the same number as here—about ten per parish.

North-west Harrold, Bozeat, Strixton, Wollaston, Easton Maudit, Grendon, Farndish, Lavendon, and Warrington, have been surveyed field by field both on the ground and by aerial photography. Also all building sites, quarries, and gravel pits being worked on are visited regularly. Thus there are probably not many more sites to be found in these parishes.

After a summary of the main periods that are represented by all the sites, an appendix is given which lists concisely all that is known about each site. Medieval sites are not listed unless they are away from the modern village.

Our thanks are due to our friends E. Corby and R. Thomas, for much help in the field; also to all farmers and farm workers who have been of assistance to us.

Method of coding sites

Code numbers are made up of letters from the parish name, followed by a number. Thus the third site found in Harrold is coded Hd.3; the first in Wollaston W.1, etc.

An isolated site is given a single code even if it stretches across more than one field. Complex sites, probably of several periods and stretching over many fields, have a separate code number for each field involved. As a result, a different number of sites than has been coded, may be proved in these cases by future excavation.

SUMMARY OF THE PERIODS

The sites are grouped and summarised here into the main periods that they represent, beginning with the late Ice Age and working up to and including medieval.

Immediate post-Ice Age

On top of the gravel and underneath the flood plain alluvium at Higham Ferrers (H.2), and Harrold (Hd.1), remains of the flora and fauna from just after the Ice Age hereabout have been found. At the Higham site, a human skull vault of this period was discovered.

This topic has only just been begun, so no details can be given yet.

Pre-Iron Age (Bronze Age?)

Barrows have only been found on the river gravel so far, mainly by aerial photography, as at Grendon (G.1 and G.3). These sites are cemeteries rather than single tumuli, and most barrow types are to be found. The round barrows are almost certainly Bronze Age, and others may be older or younger.

There may be more barrows to be found on the claylands, a type of soil where aerial photography does not give good results. As will be seen no other period limits itself to a particular soil.

Iron Age

This is divided into three stages as is usual. It is hoped to publish details of Iron Age pottery in the next issue of this JOURNAL.

Iron Age A. Remains of this period have been found at Irthlingborough (Ib.1) on a hilltop on the limestone. Like all Iron Age village type sites it is a complex of ditches. The period has also been recognised at Irchester (I.1), under the Belgic and Roman levels there (ref 1). These are the only two sites at present known in the area.

Iron Age B. This period is well represented. Most of the parishes which have been thoroughly surveyed have each several Iron Age B village type settlements. They can be found on all kinds of soil, and usually take the form of a ditched enclosure. Examples are at Irchester (I.1), Strixton (S.1), Easton Maudit (E.10) and Bozeat (E.2).

Iron Age C (Belgic). At Irchester (I.1) is a rich Belgic settlement underneath the Roman levels. We have put forward elsewhere (ref 1) that the site of the Roman town was formerly a defended Belgic town. Another large site is at Harrold (Hd.1).

Belgic pottery is found only twice in the plough-soil, at Strixton (S.8), and Wollaston (W.16). But some Roman sites excavated (see refs 1 and 2) have produced Belgic under them.

Romano-British

Roman settlement was fairly early according to

finds at Irchester (ref 1), this being the largest of the areas occupied by the Romano-British.

Villa sites are at Podington (P.1), Wollaston (W.1 and W.3), and Easton Maudit (E.6). Other sites with building stone present are at Grendon (G.1), Harrold (Hd.5), and Wollaston (W.5). Larger complexes are at Grendon (G.2), Irchester (I.2), and Lavendon (L.7).

The site at Bozeat (B.12) is a circular stone building having four central pier bases (ref 2). Only two or three similar buildings are known in this country.

Anglo-Saxon

The only site of this period has been found at Wollaston within the modern village. Surface scatter of pottery in a back garden led to excavation and proof of Saxon occupation.

Medieval

All the modern villages in the area were flourishing by medieval times, and have around them in *all* cases some fields containing medieval earthworks. These have been left as a result of shrinkage or displacement of the village, and correspond with the earthworks to be found on the sites of lost villages. Lost villages in this area have been found at Santon (Hd.2), Cotton (G.9), Akeley (L.9), and Olney Hyde (Wn.4).

NOTES ON FEATURES OF UNCERTAIN DATE

Iron slag, and charcoal patches. These patches are found on the claylands about 275 ft above sea level; all are about thirty to sixty feet across. The slag patches have a black part with a lot of dense slag and charcoal, and a red part stained by iron oxide; these are places where smelting furnaces stood. Charcoal patches occur close by the former, being places where charcoal was made.

The patches when plotted probably represent an area of ancient woodland. Their period is not yet known, but they are pre- or early medieval as is shown by the ridge and furrow that runs over them.

Celtic field systems. Aerial photography shows on gravel soils traces of fields delineated by their ditch boundaries. The period of these is not known yet, but by analogy with those from other parts, they are most likely to be Celtic.

CONCLUSION

The survey has shown that the area around the north Beds. and south Northants. border is rich in sites from pre-Iron Age times onwards. At Higham Ferrers there is perhaps a unique site in this area where human remains of the immediate post-Ice Age have been found.

Of the seven periods discussed from Bronze Age to medieval, it can be seen that Iron B, Romano-British, and medieval settlements are the most numerous found. The in-between periods of Iron A, Iron C, and Saxon, are however not common surface finds. Thus the periods can be grouped off into pairs of: not numerous sites, with numerous ones. Arranged chronologically in a table they are as follows:

Not numerous		*Numerous*
pre-Bronze Age	:	Bronze Age
Iron Age A	:	Iron Age B
Iron Age C	:	Romano-British
Anglo-Saxon	:	Medieval

From this it can be concluded that there was a break in continuity of settlement, at a particular site, after each of the periods in the second column of the table. Otherwise these periods would have been buried by the succeeding ones, and no pottery scatter, etc., seen in the top soil.

Conversely, it is likely that at the end of each of the periods in the first column, there was no break in continuity of settlement and the succeeding period therefore buried it. Thus although their sites may have been as numerous as those in the second column, they cannot be seen on the surface. This is confirmed by excavation at several sites; *e.g.* Belgic under Roman at Bozeat (B.12; ref 2), and Irchester (I.1; ref 1); Saxon under medieval at Wollaston village.

The result of this may be stated as follows: that generally

Iron A people *did not* settle on pre-Iron Age sites;
Iron B people *did* settle on Iron A sites;
Iron C people *did not* settle on Iron B sites;
Romano-British people *did* settle on Iron C sites;
Anglo-Saxon people *did not* settle on Romano-British sites;
Medieval people *did* settle on Anglo-Saxon sites.

Of the two techniques used in this survey, *i.e.* field work on the ground, and aerial photography, the latter has serious limitations in that it is only really effective on light gravelly soils. For example, some 29 sites have been found by field work on the clay soils at the south end of Bozeat and Easton Maudit parishes, which did not show up on aerial photos, as opposed to one site which the photography detected (B.2).

Although barrows and Celtic fields are more suited for detection by aerial photography than by ground work (being represented by crop marks rather than by earthworks or pot scatter, etc.), there is no reason to believe that they lay on gravel soils only. This is particularly true for Celtic fields, since Iron Age occupation on the claylands is extensive,

and some field ditches may have already been excavated on clay soils without quite realising what they were.

Nothing has been said about sites of a particular period being in any alignments or grouping; *e.g.* Roman sites which may have been thought to lay in certain places suggesting the line of a road or roads. On the scale of the present work the distribution of sites appears almost entirely random, and therefore such conclusions must be left until others have done this type of field-by-field work in many more districts.

References

(1) Irchester 1962-63, D. N. Hall and N. Nickerson, *Archaeological Journal,* Vol CXXII, forthcoming.

(2) Bozeat 1964, D. N. Hall and N. Nickerson, *Journal of Roman Studies,* Vol LV, (1965), 210.

APPENDIX

THIS GIVES a brief description of each site in turn, including its soil type and grid reference (these all being in the Ordnance SP grid). Symbols in brackets concluding an entry are explained in the key below:

(*) sites found by J. K. St Joseph, by aerial photography.

(P) sites excavated and published by the present authors.

(X) sites where preliminary excavation has taken place by the authors.

(B) sites found during modern building site operations.

(Q) sites found at modern gravel pits.

A mention of 'cropmarks' in an entry means that the site was found by aerial photography. All other sites without any concluding symbol were found by normal field work.

A few of the sites listed are not on the map (fig 1) but have been included on account of general interest *e.g.* the Iron Age A remains at Irthlingborough (Ib1).

Earls Barton

Bt.1 Roman and Iron B pottery, found in various pits and ditches. Soil type, Ironstone. Grid ref 856635. (B).

Bt.2 As above, but on clay and sand-ironstone. Also medieval road and ford. Grid ref 853634. (B).

Bozeat

B.1 Romano-British pottery found. Soil, glacial sand. 895602.

B.2 Three enclosures (*). Iron B sherds, and an iron slag patch. Glacial Clay. 900566. (X).

B.3 Ramparts of medieval deer park. Glacial gravel and clay. 917554.

B.4 Three patches of iron slag. Glacial clay. 904563.

B.5 Part of site B.2, iron slag patches and Iron B pottery. Glacial clay. 900565. (X).

B.6 Charcoal patch on glacial clay. 900570.

B.7 Romano-British sherds, pebbles, limestone, and a quern-stone.. Glacial clay. 928601.

B.8 Iron B sherds and blackened pebbles. Glacial clay. 911579.

B.9 Iron B. sherds found. Glacial clay. 909575.

B.10 Charcoal patch on glacial clay. 907562.

B.11 Iron slag patch and charcoal patch. Glacial clay. 900575.

B.12 Late Iron C ditches under a third century circular Roman building. Glacial sand. 896600. (P; ref 2).

B.13 Iron Age pottery, ironstone lumps. Glacial clay. 906576.

B.14 Charcoal patch on glacial clay. 901568.

B.15 Romano-British sherds and building stone. Glacial clay. 910604.

Chellington

Ch.1 Two slag patches on glacial clay. 973559 and 975558.

Easton Maudit

E.1 Earthworks, probably part of E.10. Medieval road. Glacial clay. 894570.

E.2 Road, building rubble, and pottery of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries A.D., part of medieval Easton. Soil, limestone. 892577.

E.3 Three iron slag patches. Glacial clay. 895563.(X).

E.4 Charcoal patches, on the glacial clay. 898564.

E.5 Charcoal patches and Iron B pottery; patches of blackened pebbles. Glacial clay. 897566.

E.6 Roman villa; a lot of sherds and building stone, one brooch found. Soil, limestone. 895582.

E.7 Iron Age sherds. Glacial clay. 894567.

E.8 Romano-British sherds, quernstone, tile, and dark patches. Glacial clay. 892568.

E.9 Two iron slag patches on the glacial clay. 895575.

E.10 Two slag patches, charcoal patches, enclosure earthworks, and Iron B pottery. Glacial clay. 897571.

E.11 Dark areas and channels, charcoal and burnt pebbles. Glacial clay. 881570.

Grendon

G.1 Ring ditches and other enclosures (*). Roman pottery and building stone. Soil, river gravel. 873617.

G.2 Small Roman settlement, about two acres

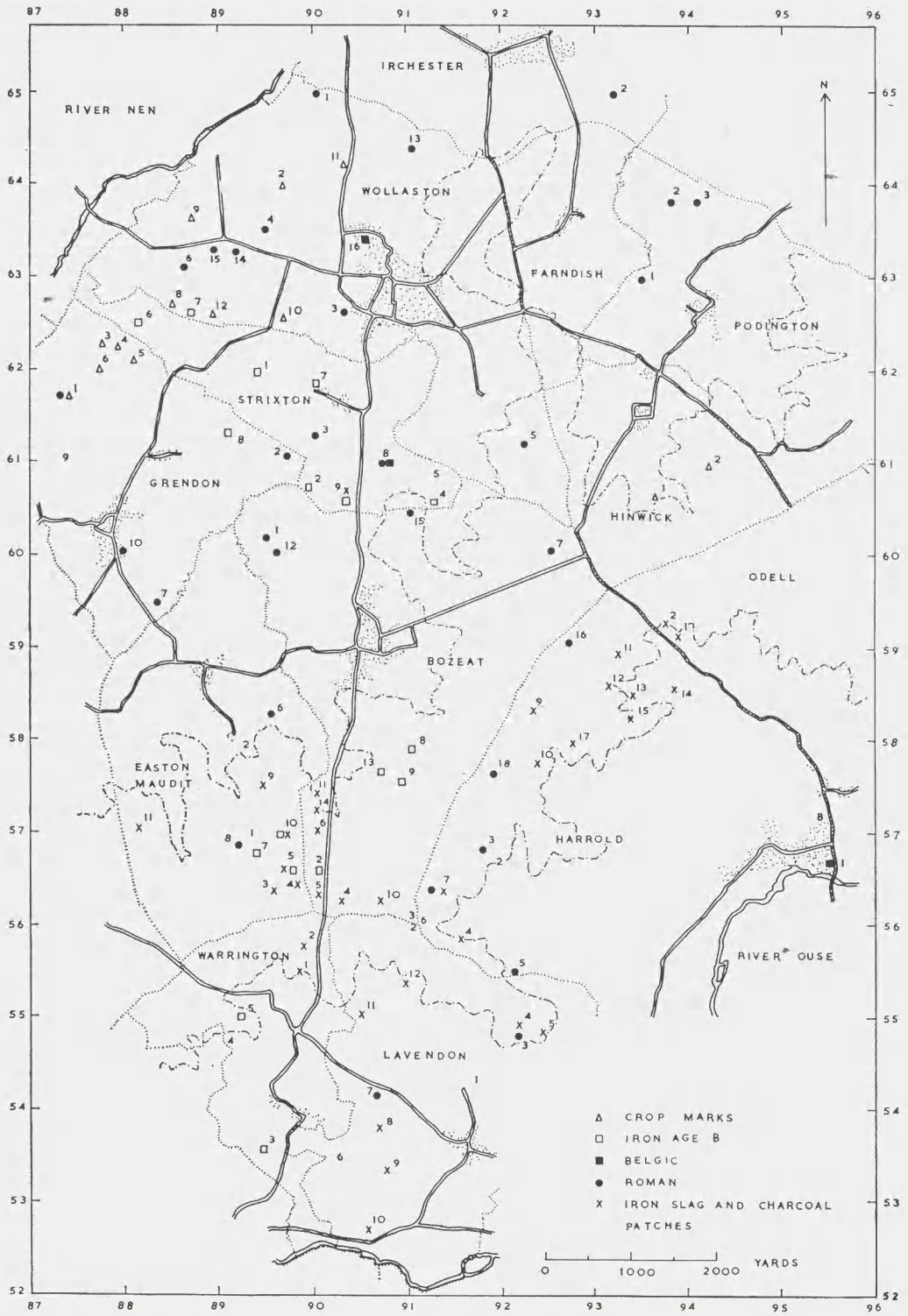

Fig 1. Distribution of sites in north Beds. and south Northants.

of building stone and sherds. Soil, limestone. 898611.

G.3 Ring ditches and other enclosures (*). River gravel. 878623.

G.4 Cropmarks (*). Ditches and parallel lines of pits. River gravel. 580623.

G.5 Alignment of pits (cropmarks). Double ditched enclosure. River gravel. 881621.

G.6 Cropmarks, lines of pits. River gravel. 878620.

G.7 Romano-British pottery, a little building stone.
Soil, limestone. 883594.

G.8 Iron B sherds. Soil, limestone and clay. 891613.

G.9 Earthworks, sunken roads, and building stone of the lost village of Cotton. Clay and river gravel. 875610.

G.10 Iron B pottery and fourth century Roman wood and plaster building. Soil, limestone. 880600. (B).

Harrold

Hd.1 Belgic pits and ditches, etc., with pottery and bronze fragments; Roman sherds; remains of medieval Nunnery. Post-Ice Age flora and fauna. River gravel. 956566. (Q and B).

Hd.2 Lost medieval village of Santon; ponds, earthworks and building stone. Limestone. 920567.

Hd.3 Romano - British pottery. Glacial clay. 917568.

Hd.4 Two charcoal patches, one mixed with pieces of burnt pebbles. Glacial clay. 915558.

Hd.5 Roman sherds, stone and tile. Glacial clay. 922544.

Hd.6 Part of B.3 (*q.v.*).

Hd.7 Roman pottery, dark patches and pebbles; two iron slag patches. Glacial clay. 913564.

Hd.8 Iron Age, excavated *c.* 1952 for Ministry of Works by Miss Bennet-Clarke. River gravel. 954573.

Hd.9 Two slag patches on the glacial clay. 923584 and 924583.

Hd.10 One slag and five charcoal patches. An Iron Age sherd with the slag. Glacial clay. 925578.

Hd.11 Slag patch on the glacial clay. 933589.

Hd.12 Seven charcoal patches. Bulldozed medi eval(?) rampart. Glacial clay. 930586.

Hd.13 Two charcoal patches on the clay. 934585

Hd.14 Slag patch on the clay. 939585.

Hd.15 Two slag heaps in the woods. Glacial clay. 938585.

Hd.16 Romano-British sherds on dark occupation area. Glacial clay. 927591.

Hd.17 Slag patch on the glacial clay. 928581.

Hd.18 Romano-British pottery, dark areas and pebbles. In Templegrove spinney, the medieval road from Santon (Hd.2). Glacial clay. 920577.

Higham Ferrers

H.1 Roman building area found over several acres. Soil, ironstone. 955690. Excavated by the Ministry of Works 1961. (B).

H.2 Post-Ice Age flora and fauna. Vault of human skull. (Gravel pits). 949687. (Q).

Hinwick

Hk.1 Cropmarks of pits. Glacial clay. 936605.

Hk.2 Cropmarks of pits and ditches. Glacial clay. 942609.

Irchester

I.1 Iron A, B, and C, and Roman settlement. Belgic defended site. Soil, ironstone and clay. 917666. (P ref 1).

I.2 Several acres of Romano-British building stone, sherds, etc. Soil, limestone. 933561.

Irthlingborough

Ib.1 Iron Age A, B, and C ditches. Soil, limestone and clay. 946712. (B).

Lavendon

L.1 The medieval castle site. Limestone. 917544.

L.2 Part of B.3 (*q.v.*).

L.3 Roman sherds and tiles. Glacial clay. 922548.

L.4 Charcoal patch on glacial clay. 923548.

L.5 Two iron slag patches. Glacial clay. 925548.

L.6 Lavendon Abbey site. Limestone. 903535.

L.7 Several acres of Romano-British building stone with hypocaust tile, etc. Limestone. 906542.

L.8 Slag patch. Soil, limestone and clay. 906538.

L.9 Two slag patches : the lost medieval village of Akeley. Limestone. 906533.

L.10 Slag patch on the limestone. 905527.

L.11 Two slag patches on the glacial clay. 905551.

L.12 Seven slag patches. Glacial clay. 910554.

Odell

O.1 Iron slag patch. Glacial clay. 938592.

O.2 Charcoal patch on the glacial clay. 937593.

Podington

P.1 Roman villa; tile, stone and sherds. Limestone. 935629.

P.2 Romano - British pottery, Glacial clay. 938638.

P.3 Romano - British pottery, on the glacial clay. 942638.

Strixton

S.1 Cropmarks, enclosure (*). Iron B hill fort ? Limestone/clay. 894618. (X).

S.2 Iron B pits. Glacial sand. 898607. (X).

S.3 Roman sherds. Limestone. 900614. (X).

S.4 Iron B sherds. Glacial clay. 913605.
S.5 Patch of burnt daub. Glacial clay. 913608.
S.6 Iron B sherds. River gravel. 882625.
S.7 Iron B ditches with pottery, antler, etc. Limestone/clay. 900618. (X).
S.8 Belgic and Roman pottery scatter. Glacial clay. 907610.
S.9 Charcoal patch and Iron Age pottery. Glacial clay. 903605.

Warrington

Wn.1 Two iron slag patches. Glacial clay. 898555.
Wn.2 Five slag patches on the glacial clay. 898557.
Wn.3 Iron age pottery. Limestone. 895535.
Wn.4 Lost medieval village (part of Olney Hyde). Glacial clay. 890545.
Wn.5 Iron B and Roman sherds, pebbles and limestone. Two slag patches. Glacial clay. 892550.

Wollaston

W.1 Roman villa, sherds, building stone, etc. Cropmarks (*). Soil, ironstone. 900650.
W.2 Cropmarks, enclosures, pits. Gravel/clay. 896620.
W.3 Roman sherds, stone and tile (villa?). Limestone. 904625.
W.4 Romano-British pottery. River gravel. 894635.
W.5 Romano-British pottery; one small area of building stone; quernstone. Glacial gravel. 922613.
W.6 Romano - British pottery. River gravel. 886630.
W.7 Iron B pottery, dark areas. River gravel. 887626.
W.8 Cropmarks (*); various enclosures; two parallel lines of pits. River gravel. 885627.
W.9 Cropmarks (*); a double ditched enclosure. River gravel. 887635.
W.10 Cropmarks (*); enclosure. Soil, limestone. 897625.
W.11 Cropmarks (*); enclosure. Ironstone. 904645.
W.12 Cropmarks, ditches and pits. River gravel. 889626.
W.13 Romano-British sherds; patch of charcoal with burnt pebbles. Soil, limestone. 911644.
W.14 Romano-British sherds, some building stone. River gravel. 894632.
W.15 Roman pottery and building stone. River gravel. 889633.
W.16 Late Belgic sherds and ditches. Ironstone and clay. 905634. (B).

The Anglo-Saxon Churches of Bedfordshire

TERENCE P. SMITH

EXAMPLES of the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons are rare, and this national situation is reflected in our own county. It is due mainly to the tradition inherited from northern Europe of building in timber rather than in stone; indeed, it is well known that the only Anglo-Saxon word for 'to build' was *timbr(i)an*. The large halls with their outbuildings were nearly always of wood, and it was not until the spread of Christianity during the latter part of the sixth century that buildings of stone were erected by the Anglo-Saxon builders. Even so, it is probable that the majority of these early churches were still of wood and have thus disappeared. Moreover, the new fashion for building in stone was largely confined to churches, most secular buildings still being constructed in the traditional timber.[1] Where churches were built of stone their survival has been largely a matter of chance; alteration throughout the medieval period and sometimes later has often destroyed all traces of Saxon work; occasionally a window, an arch, or perhaps as much as a tower may survive. Very rarely does a church remain almost intact, and none such is known from Bedfordshire. As regards dates, Anglo-Saxon churches can be divided into two main periods—the early period which lasted from St Augustine's mission of 597 A.D. to about 885, and the later period which lasted from about 885 to about 1100. Bedfordshire's examples are confined entirely to the latter period. It will be noticed that this latter period lasted into Norman times. The Norman invasions may have been fairly rapid, but the conquerors were concerned particularly with the construction of castles[2] and the great churches. The Saxon villagers throughout the country were no doubt left free to build their own churches without interference from their Norman overlords, and examples of the indigenous style of building must have been erected for many years after Senlac. Any Norman building activity that did take place in relation to the local parish churches during the latter part of the eleventh century often took the form of an additional storey to a Saxon tower, as at Clapham in our county. The importance of this for dating purposes will emerge later.

As stated above, surviving Bedfordshire examples are very few, there being only five churches with indubitable Saxon work: St Peter's, Bedford; St Mary's, Bedford; St Thomas's, Clapham; St Mary's, Stevington; and All Saints', Turvey; in addition, there is a somewhat doubtful corbel at St Mary's, Luton. Arthur Mee's Bedfordshire guide mentions Anglo-Saxon work at St Mary's church, Podington;[3] however, this has not been included in the latest list of English Saxon churches in H.M. & Joan Taylor's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*,[4] and the *Victoria County History of Bedfordshire* writes[5] that 'an earlier [*i.e.* than thirteenth century] state of the building is shown by angles of an aiseless nave still to be seen on the outside, which are in small irregular stones and may be of twelfth century date or even earlier.' No mention is made of Saxon work, and the present writer can find no work in the structure of Podington church which could be ascribed definitely to the Anglo-Saxon period.

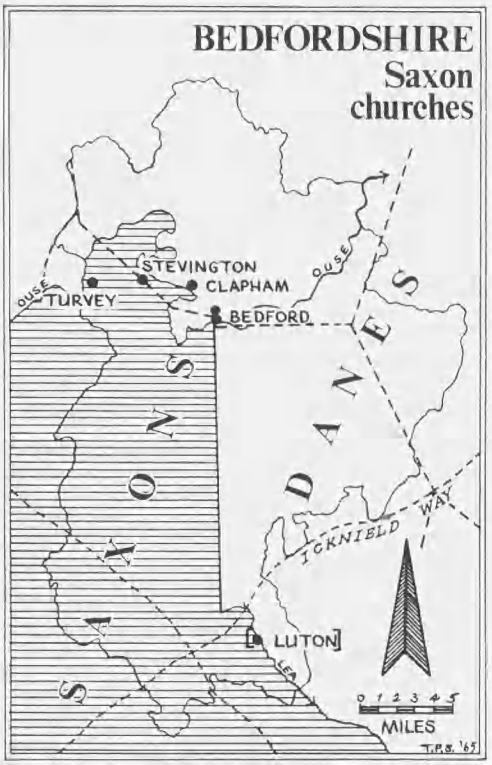

Fig 1. Churches in which Saxon work still exists. The map also shows the Danelaw boundary (after Dyer) and Roman roads then in use.

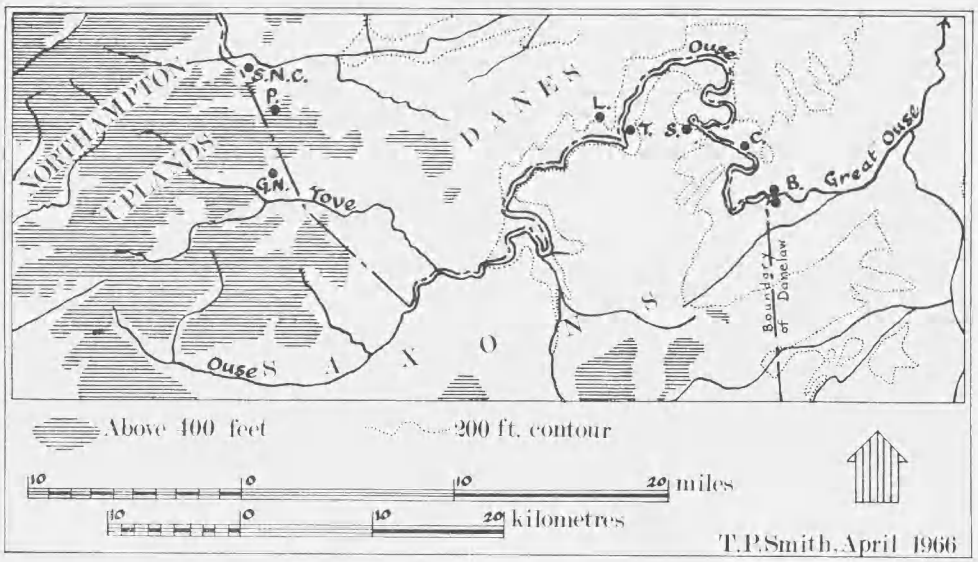

Fig 2. Relationship between Bedfordshire Saxon churches and their building stone sources. Existing Saxon churches in the area: B, Bedford; C, Clapham; GN, Green's Norton; L, Lavendon; P, Pattishall; S, Stevington; SNC, Stowe-Nine-Churches; T, Turvey.

If one leaves aside for a moment the doubtful example at Luton, one can see that all other examples are close to each other and along the Ouse valley west of Bedford (figs 1 and 2). This is an interesting distribution, but one whose significance needs some discussion; it must not be thought that the present distribution *necessarily* represents a former greater number of churches in this region. The 'Bedfordshire Ouse region' is the closest portion of the county to the Great (Oolitic and Liassic) Limestone Belt which runs from Salisbury Plain and the Mendips in a north easterly direction towards Lincolnshire. Where this belt forms the Northamptonshire Uplands it is penetrated by the Ouse and its tributary the Tove, plus some lesser tributaries (fig 2). It is extremely likely that the Saxon builders were able to transport building limestone along routes roughly following these river valleys. Thus, we may agree that the original distribution of Saxon churches in Bedfordshire was probably fairly even[1], and we can also say that if the present distribution of Saxon architectural remains represents anything it represents a former greater number of *stone* churches in the Ouse valley west of Bedford.

The best preserved of this group of churches is that of St Peter at Bedford, where a two-cell church has been incorporated in a later medieval building. The Saxon church consisted of a porch-tower (now the central tower) and, east of this, a nave/chancel (now the chancel); the ground floor of the tower in such churches, as the name implies, formed a porch antecedant to the nave, and is characteristically narrower than the nave (see plan, fig 3). It is certain that at St Peter's the church first consisted of the nave and a single-storey west porch, upon which the tower was later built; this is indicated by the construction of the quoins: from the inside of the present nave it may be seen that the lower quoins of the tower are of the so-called long-and-short work (*i.e.* of flat square stones and long upright stones laid alternately (fig 4), whereas, from the outside, it is clear that the quoins of the upper part of the tower are of flattish stones just a little larger than the rubble which forms the rest of the wall. The long-and-short work of the lower part of the tower is of extremely large stones, one being over 6 ft. high. These stones rest on a square plinth. Of the original fenestration of the ground floor of the tower little can be said since later windows now penetrate the north and south walls, and an arch now takes the place of whatever original doorway opened into the west end of the porch-tower. We can say a little more about the fenestration above this. Over the chancel arch is a triangular-headed doorway, with the head and imposts of through-stones (*i.e.* stones which pass right through the thickness of the wall), which undoubtedly led into the tower from a gallery in the nave. Traces of two windows, one each side of the clock face, can be seen in the south wall and, in better condition, in the north wall; one of these was clearly double-splayed, and it is likely that the other three were of similar type. Certainly all four were round-

headed and constructed in the so-called Tredington fashion (*i.e.* the flattish stones forming the arch were not used as true voussoirs, which are set radially, but were so used that the lowest stones were at a sharp angle to the impost, and the others were arranged roughly parallel to these so that a v-shaped gap resulted at the top of the arch. (fig 4). The method of construction was named by Professor Baldwin Brown after the church at Tredington in Warwickshire where particularly fine examples of the construction are found). At belfry level another, larger arched head is visible in the west face of the tower, above a later square-headed window. As H.M. & Joan Taylor write:[7] 'This may be taken as indicating with some certainty that the original Anglo-Saxon belfry windows were tall, round-headed, single openings. . . .' The tower is built entirely of limestone rubble with some herring-bone work.

The former nave is wider than the tower by some 18 in. The quoins at the south-west corner are of long-and-short work, and the general construction, which is also of limestone rubble, is of stones somewhat larger than those used in the tower. The windows are later, except for one, now blocked on the outside, in the north wall close to the east end. This is a small double-splayed window arched in Tredington fashion. So close is it to the east end that it is likely that the original nave was at least a few feet longer than the present chancel. It is possible also that the Anglo-Saxon church was in fact three-celled, with a chancel adjoining the east end of the nave. This is a point which could perhaps be determined by future excavation.

The walls of both tower and nave are about 2 ft. 9 in. thick, a relative thinness which is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period. The walls built by the Normans were nearly always much thicker than this, due to the inferior cement which they employed and to the 'shell' method of wall construction in which the two exterior faces of a wall were built of dressed stone and the resulting cavity was filled with rubble, or even rubbish! Later building operations have altered the appearance of the original St Peter's both in medieval times and during the last century when the top of the tower was rebuilt in pseudo-Norman style. Nevertheless, sufficient remains for the church to be regarded as the best preserved of Bedfordshire's Anglo-Saxon churches. It can be dated to the latter part of the tenth century or the early part of the eleventh century.

No mention of Saxon St Peter's would be complete without reference to a carved stone above the chancel arch and set into the north jamb of the Saxon doorway. The stone measures about 10 in. by 15 in. and shows a pair of dragons with wolf-like heads, protruding tongues, wings, and knotted tails. Like the church, this carving is late in date, though pairs of beasts, and ornamental knots, are common enough motifs throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. The carving is similar to others of Anglo-Saxon as well as Danish type, a fact which may be significant in view of the position of Bedford on the boundary of the English Danelaw.[8]

Only half a mile south of St Peter's and across the river is the church of St Mary the Virgin. No Saxon work was known here until 1959, though it had seemed likely that an earlier, and probably Saxon, church had stood on exactly the same spot. The plan (fig 5) of the present crossing and transepts shows considerable irregularity, with only about three right angles. Now the Saxons were often drastically inaccurate in setting out a building, as is to be seen, for example, at Chickney in Essex, where there is not a single right-angle in the Saxon work. Thus the irregularity of the Norman and later planning suggests that, in the words of the *Victoria County History*,[9] '. . . this work, early as it is, is not the first on the site, and that the tower is probably set over the lines of an earlier chancel'. Even so, the recently discovered work[10] cannot be said to be definite Anglo-Saxon work without careful consideration. The tall, narrow transept with its rubble walling, side-alternate quoining (see diagram, fig 4), and herring-bone masonry suggests Saxon work, but it has to be admitted that this is no real criterion, since such features could equally well belong to the Norman period. The work uncovered in 1959 was found as a result of alteration work necessitated by the appearance of large cracks in the masonry. A blocked Norman window was being removed, and was found to have been cut through another window, which therefore must be of earlier date; this was in the east wall of the south transept, and later in the west wall of this transept was found another window of similar type. These windows are not easily ascribed to a particular period: the side-alternate construction of their jambs is not definitive, and whilst the single splay with no rebate is very suggestive of Anglo-Saxon date, the neatly cut voussoirs of the round-arched head are just as suggestive of Norman work. On the other hand, the fact that one was cut through by a fairly early Norman window makes it abundantly clear that the windows are very early in date. The writer's view is that they should be considered as belonging to the Saxo-Norman overlap; that is, they were erected between 1066 and about 1100, in the indigenous style, but influenced by that of the conquerors.

What type of church was St Mary's? With such

SAINT PETER'S, BEDFORD

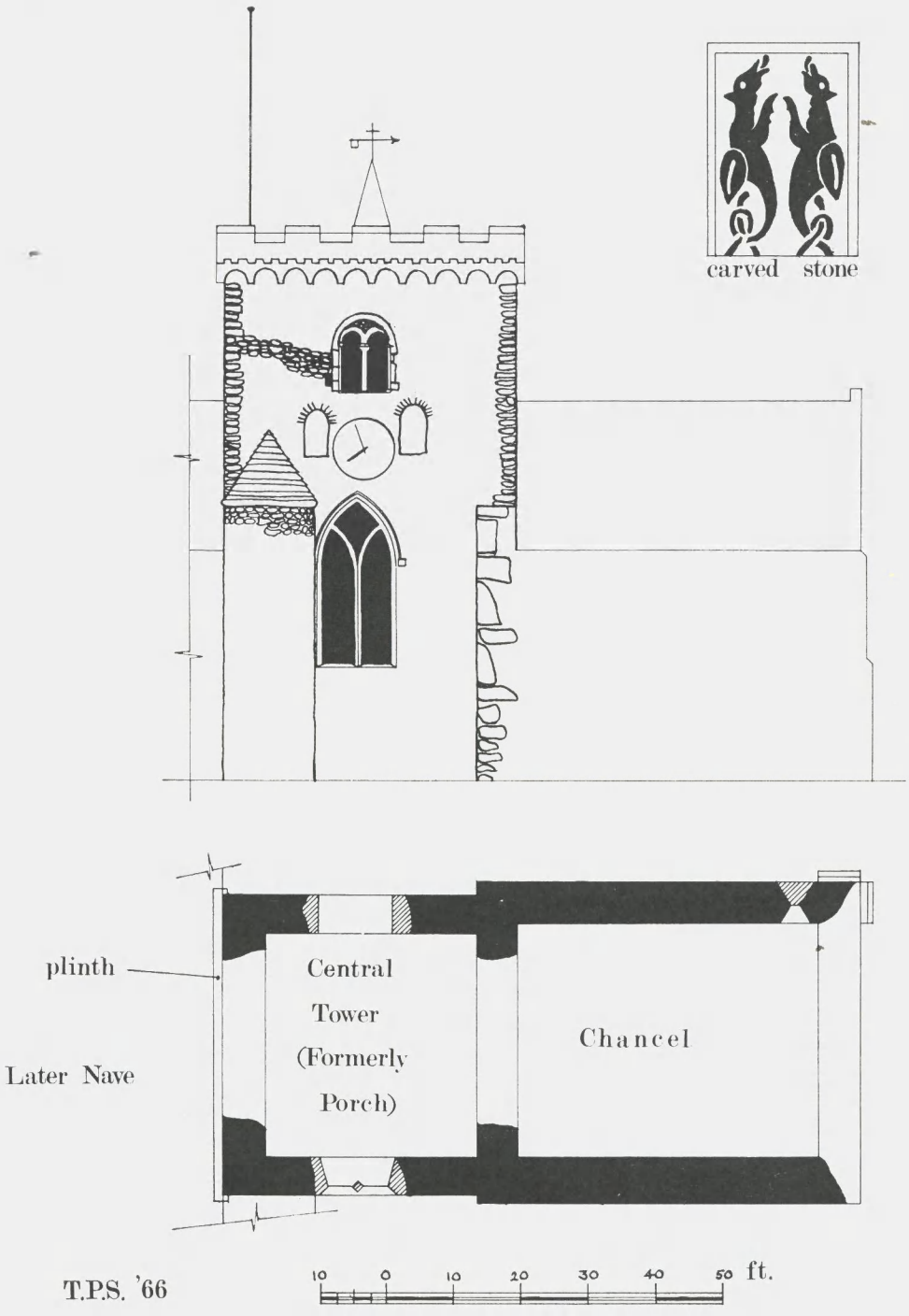

Fig 3.

slender evidence any proposal must be speculative in the extreme, but we can be sure that the present south transept stands in the position of an earlier one, and the irregular plan at the crossing and the north transept would appear to indicate that these too are built over original Anglo-Saxon walls. The *Victoria County History* was probably near the mark when it wrote that '. . . the tower is probably set out over the lines of an earlier chancel'. Alternatively the tower could be built over an earlier nave which had a chancel at its east end. In either case the church would have been either winged or transeptal (the difference between wings and transepts being that the latter reached to the height of the nave whilst the former reached only to the height of aisles), and may well have resembled the well-known little church at Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire. The walls of St Mary's were about 3 ft. thick.

Less than two and a half miles from the centre of Bedford is the splendid towered church of St Thomas of Canterbury at Clapham, Bedfordshire's most important example of Anglo-Saxon building, for it is one of relatively few English Saxon churches which can serve for primary dating of the architectural characteristics of such churches. (None other is known from Bedfordshire.) The difference between primary and secondary dating in the field of architectural history is most important: primary dating means that certain work in, say, a church may be assigned to a specific period without one's knowing anything whatsoever of the architectural style of that period. When several buildings have been primary-dated their common characteristics may be used to date other buildings which show these characteristics but which are unable to be primary dated—such buildings are secondary-dated. The method used for primary dating, which is particularly useful when little or no documentary evidence exists to provide a basis for dating, is analogous to the archaeologist's use of stratification for dating earthworks and the like. Anglo-Saxon work may be primary-dated *if, and only if, it has work above it which is known to be very early Norman or later Saxon.* The fact that primary dating could be applied to St. Thomas's was first noted by the great Thomas Rickman in his *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* (1819). He stated that since the top part of the tower was clearly early Norman the lower work, which is of completely different character, must be pre-Norman, that is, Anglo-Saxon.

The 85 ft. tall tower is indeed magnificent, its Saxon section rising sheer for sixty feet uninterrupted by any string-course or setting back. It is completely of rubble, and so confident were the Saxon builders in the strength of their cement that they did not use dressed stone even at the quoins where strengthening might have seemed necessary. Indeed, it is only the jambs of the west door and the tower arch that have been constructed with dressed stone, all other openings having been formed in rubble. Inside, the Saxon part of the tower is divided into three storeys; at the level of the topmost of these each wall is pierced by a small, rounded-headed, double-splayed window, whilst the floor below is lighted by a similar but wider window in each wall except the east wall. On the ground floor in the west wall is a doorway which, though characteristically Saxon in form, is nevertheless either a later addition or an alteration of an earlier doorway, as is shown by the stones of its jambs. The tower arch is semi-circular with square imposts which are chamfered below. A triangular-headed doorway above the tower arch is now partly hidden by the roof, and originally led from a gallery to the first floor of the tower (*cf.* St Peter's Bedford, above). It has been suggested that there was originally no doorway into the tower from the exterior and that this small triangular-headed doorway was approached by a ladder, thus giving the tower something of a defensive nature, the local inhabitants retreating thereto in time of war. Though this idea has no lack of plausibility it must remain hyopthetical since we can never be sure that there was not a doorway in the west wall of the tower before the present doorway was inserted. The church was probably built during the latter part of the tenth century, corresponding to the time of the renewed Viking wars under the bellicose Sweyn Forkbeard (978 onwards). The Danish invaders spared the English Danelaw which was, of course, their own territory, but they far from spared Wessex; Clapham, situated on the boundary of the Danelaw, may well have been the scene of several skirmishes, local but nonetheless fierce, and a defence tower would therefore have been of considerable importance (the boundary is shown in fig 1).[11]

The later Saxon doorway may have been added as late as the Saxo-Norman period; the top of the tower is certainly post-Conquest, and the crennellated parapet even later. There is other Saxon work to be seen in the church. The responds of the west end of each arcade are the vestiges of the former nave walls, and the chancel arch, though rebuilt, contains most of its original material and is in its original form. As is the case with the tower arch, the arch head is a little wider than the distance between the jambs. The re-building of the whole of the rest of the church was executed in 1861 by Gilbert Scott, who records that a window similar to those in the tower formerly existed in the chancel but was ". . . destroyed recently by a stupid

builder".[12] This is undoubtedly the window referred to by Bloxam[13] as being ". . . on the north side of the chancel . . . [and] covered with rough plastering".

The walls of the tower are some four feet thick, an unusual thickness for Saxon walls, but probably necessitated by the height and the method of construction. The nave walls were about 2 ft. 8 in. thick.

In his *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Architecture and Sculpture*[14] Dr E. A. Fisher wrongly classifies Clapham as a church of porch-tower type (*cf.* St Peter's, Bedford, above); it should more correctly be termed a turriform church, that is, one in which the ground storey of the tower formed the main body of the church with the chancel/nave opening from the east wall of the tower and being narrower than it. The plan (fig 5) of St Thomas's clearly shows the narrowness of the early chancel/nave—just over 12½ ft. width internally, as opposed to the internal width of the tower, a matter of some 16 ft. north-south.

St Mary's church at Stevington is only three and a half miles up-river from Clapham, once more on a bank of the Ouse. All that remains of the Saxon work is the lower one-third of the tower, built of large limestone rubble with extra large stones in long-and-short work at the quoins, and today flanked by the later nave aisles (see plan, fig 5). A tall, narrow doorway in the south wall of the tower gives access from the south aisle; the jambs of this doorway are of rubble, except at the foot where they are constructed in the so-called Escomb fashion (*i.e.* with through-stones laid alternately flat and upright (fig 4). The method was named after the church at Escomb in Co. Durham by Professor Baldwin Brown). There is a double-splayed window in the south wall and another (in poorer condition) in the north wall. The south window has in it an original wooden window board with a circular aperture cut in it. The walls of the tower are about 2½ ft. thick. The original form of this church is not determinable from what exists. The fabric of Stevington church has been somewhat over-restored and the north and south chapels are in poor condition. The Saxon work at Stevington belongs to the latest period of building, after the middle of the tenth century, and possibly post-Conquest.

About four miles west of Stevington is the church of All Saints at Turvey where the three westernmost bays of the thirteenth century south arcade have been cut through the original Anglo-Saxon nave wall, as is indicated by the round-arched heads of two double-splayed windows which remain in the wall above the arcade. The third pier from the west of this arcade and the corresponding pier of the north arcade are Saxon-looking, and perhaps represent the east end of the former nave; the walls are about 2½ ft. thick. The jambs of a now-blocked doorway above the tower arch and the lines of a former steeply-pitched roof suggest that this western wall may be coeval with the side

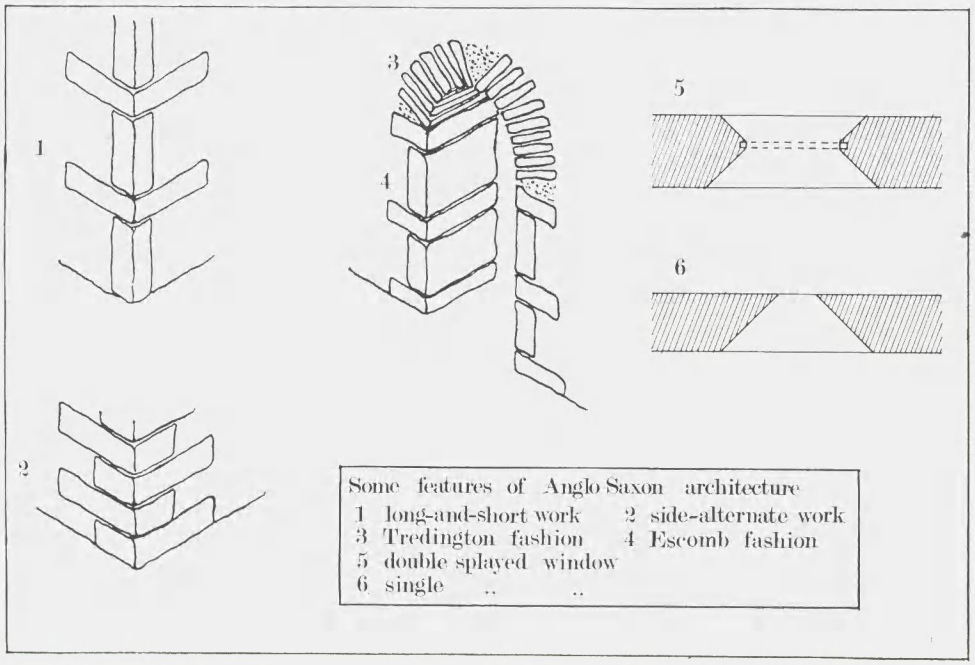

Fig 4.

BEDFORDSHIRE SAXON CHURCHES

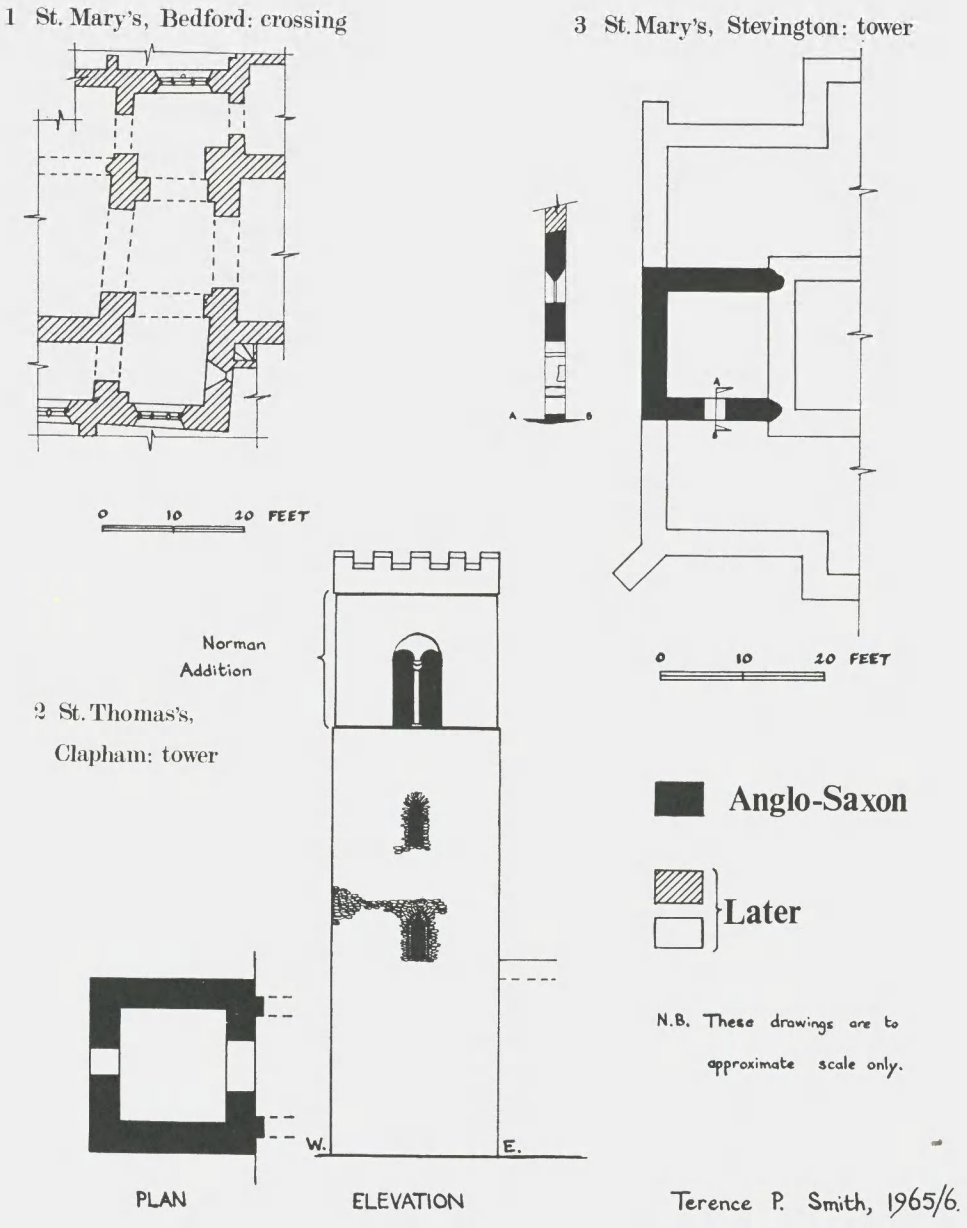

Fig 5.

walls. All Saints' has been dated to about the middle of the eleventh century.

Our survey of the Anglo-Saxon churches of Bedfordshire may be concluded with a consideration of the corbel in St Mary's church, Luton.[15] This corbel, which is very worn, shows what appears to be a human face, originally quite deeply cut. The eyes (with their splendid 'bags'!) and nose are the only distinguishable features except for what may have been the chin. But it has to be admitted that such sculpture as this is extremely rare from the Anglo-Saxon period; simple relief was the predominant form of Saxon architectural sculpture. The worn appearance of the corbel gives it an ancient look, but Totternhoe stone, from which the corbel is carved, is not a hard wearing stone, and a corbel of it from the Norman period would look just as worn. The Norman church of Luton was started in 1131, altered in the thirteenth century, and almost totally rebuilt during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it seems likely that any very old work surviving in the present structure comes from the twelfth century church. On this one corbel rests the question as to whether the Saxon church at Luton was of wood or stone, and it is clear that no answer can be given to this question in the present state of knowledge. Perhaps future archaeological excavation may reveal a clue; a hopeful note is struck by the fact that development in this area of Luton may make it possible for investigations to be undertaken into this problem.

ADDENDUM

Since this paper was written the writer has been reminded that Dr Fisher's county list[16] differs from the writer's own and that of H. M. & Joan Taylor's book.[17] First, he neglects to mention St Mary's, Bedford. Secondly, he *does* mention Kensworth church as exhibiting Saxon work. Presumably this is included on the strength of the carved interlaced design on certain of the capitals. However, these could equally well be early Norman in date, as are those illustrating the fables of the Greek writer Babrius. For this reason the writer finds it unnecessary to alter the text of the article; but he wishes to record in this Addendum the fact that a scholar of Dr Fisher's standing does consider it at least likely that the capitals are Anglo-Saxon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank particularly Mr Bernard B. West, DIP.ARCH., A.R.I.B.A., who read my work in typescript and made a valuable comment on St Mary's church, Stevington, which I have incorporated in the text. Mr F. W. Kuhlicke, B.A., F.S.A., A.M.A. kindly checked my list of churches some years ago, and Mr James Dyer M.A. advised on typographical matters. One of my sources was brought to my attention by Mr David H. Kennett, B.A.

REFERENCES

[1]Secular buildings of stone were not unknown even relatively early, but they must be regarded rather as the exception than the rule. As an example *vide* the report of the excavation by Mr Rupert Bruce-Mitford of a tenth century village at Mawgan Porth, Cornwall, in R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (Ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain,* (1965), 167ff. Dry-stone walls of up to 5 ft. high were uncovered in this predominantly stone district. Houses and fortifications of stone are referred to in Asser's *Life of Alfred,* para. 9. Occasionally, when a Roman town was sufficiently close to form a convenient 'quarry', Roman bricks were re-used for church building in stoneless areas, *e.g.* St Michael's, Colchester, constructed with bricks from Camulodunum. In the years before the Norman conquest the Saxon abbots of St Albans had been collecting bricks for re-building from the ruins of Verlulamium about a mile distant.

[2]See James F. Dyer, 'The Castles', in *Beds. Magazine,* Vol 8; 267, 345.

[3]Arthur Mee (Ed.), *The Counties of Bedford and Huntingdon,* (1948), 132.

[4]H. M. & Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture,* (1965), Vol II, 726.

[5](1908), Vol 3, 86.

[6]E. M. J. Campbell, M.A., 'Bedfordshire', in H. C. Darby and E. M. J. Campbell (Eds.), *The Domesday Geography of South-East England,* (1962), *passim,* and in particular figs 8 and 9, 22-3.

[7]*Op.cit*, Vol. I, 59.

[8]Traces of burning are visible on both the interior and the exterior of the Saxon work at St Peter's. This represents the partial burning of the town of Bedford by the Danes under Thurkill in 1010. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Thurkill had been entrusted with 40 ships by Sweyn, and attacked Bedford by journeying along the Ouse from Buckinghamshire.

[9]Vol 3, 27.

[10]See *The Bedfordshire Times,* 6th Feb., 1959.

[11]See above, footnote 8. This boundary is that of the 'Frith between Alfred and Guthrum' of 886 which gives the boundary as going 'up on the Thames and then up the Lea to its source, then in a straight line to Bedford, then up the Ouse into Watling Street.' Thus, as is shown on my maps, the Saxon territory around Bedford formed a projection into the country of the Danes, making this area particularly liable to attack. Bedford itself is recorded in the *Chronicle* as a scene of fighting in 921 and again in 1010. The Luton-Bedford section of the Danelaw is discussed by James F. Dyer in 'Danish Earthworks', in *Beds. Magazine,* Vol 8; 235, and in Dyer, Stygall, & Dony, *The Story of Luton,* (1964), 37-40.

[12]Gilbert Scott, *Mediaeval Architecture,* (1879).

[13]Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture,* (1843), 44.

[14]E. A. Fisher, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Architecture and Sculpture,* (1959), 57.

[15]Photograph at p 42 of William Austin, *A History of Luton and its Hamlets,* (1928), Vol. I. Dated as Anglo-Saxon on p 42 of that volume. The most recent account of Saxon Luton is by James Dyer in Dyer, Stygall, & Dony, *op.cit.,* 32-42.

[16]E. A. Fisher, *The Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches,* (1962), 406.

[17]*op.cit.; cf.* Appendix B.

A Ringwork and Bailey at Biggleswade, Bedfordshire

P. V. ADDYMAN

with a note by J. K. St Joseph

A PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN ringwork and bailey on the west bank of the river Ivel about ¼ mile west of Biggleswade (TL 184445) was observed from the air as a cropmark by Dr J. K. St Joseph in 1954, and photographed by him then and in subsequent summers. The photographs indicate that the ringwork and bailey, which has several unusual details, is only one of many archaeological features on the gravel 'island' between the Ivel and a tributary stream. St Joseph's description of the complex, a part of which is reprinted below, appeared with a photograph and interpretation diagram in *Antiquity* XL, June 1966, 142-4. The main site recently narrowly escaped destruction by road construction when the line of the Biggleswade A.1 by-pass impinged upon it. It is now further threatened in the long term by gravel quarrying and has been scheduled as an ancient monument by the Ministry of Public Building and Works. The purpose of the present note is to add to St Joseph's account the result of a brief trial excavation to establish the date of the monument undertaken under the auspices of the Archaeology Department of Queen's University, Belfast, as part of a programme of research on ringworks; and to provide a plan (fig 1) of the surface indications on the north part of the site where, after harvest in 1962, thicker stubble indicated the general position of the cropmarks, and slight hollows rarely more than 1 ft. below the general level of the field showed the position of the main ditches.

Dr St Joseph has kindly allowed us to draw on his description of the site in *Antiquity,* and we are also grateful for permission to reproduce two air photos,[1] Plates 1 and 2. Plate 1 shows the site before road construction obscured many of the features, and indicates clearly the gravel islands, 650 ft by 900 ft. 'picked out in the photograph by the differential colouring of the crop, which at the date of photography (13 July 1957) had begun, as it ripened, to turn colour only over the higher and better drained gravel. The present course of the river Ivel lies 350 ft. east of the island; a small stream visible on the photograph flows in a curving course a little to the west. Thus, under natural conditions this gravel island would have been surrounded by a flat alluvial plain liable to flood, with the Ivel to the east, and a streamlet to the west, giving added protection. This is the kind of site likely to attract settlers in any age, and in fact the crop marks suggest a long history of occupation.

The most prominent features on the photograph, as on the ground, are the two broad, closely spaced, concentric, circular ditches 150 ft or more in diameter, to which two outer, less regularly shaped enclosures are attached. The ditch system can still be traced on the surface though the relief has been much smoothed by long-continued ploughing. These remains show strong resemblance to a motte and bailey defensive enclosure; on some photographs the line of a rampart accompanying the ditch of the 'bailey' can be distinguished. The entrance to the ringwork seems to have been from the right-hand 'bailey' (pl 1), at a point where two circular ditches unite to form one broad feature. However, the curious subdivision of these ditches, particularly marked in the outer ditch, which appears partitioned into a series of compartments, and the fine parallel striations within the right-hand bailey, are not easy to explain. On some photographs the 'subdivisions', which must be narrow baulks of firm ground, appear so regularly spaced that there can be no doubt that they are a primary feature of the design. Gang-work, with the construction left unfinished, is hardly the explanation; here interpretation can proceed but so far—full knowledge can only come from digging. No archaeological feature is marked at this point on the maps of the Ordnance Survey,[2] and all record of the site has evidently long been lost, for the eighteenth century large-scale county maps are equally uninformative.[3] Considered as a castle site, the position is a good one from which to command this reach of the Ivel and a crossing of the river near Biggleswade. Before the Domesday Survey, Biggleswade Manor was held by Archbishop Stigand, but by the time of the Survey it belonged to Ralph de Lisle who held it of the king in chief.[4] There seems no record hitherto of a castle at Biggleswade.'

The northern part of the castle site was under corn in 1962 and the crop-marks were readily visible from the raised A.1 causeway for most of the summer. The remarkable features of the site

Fig 1.

A POSSIBLE RINGWORK AND BAILEY at BIGGLESWADE, Beds.
Heavy Stubble
e.p.
t.p.
t.p.
t.p.
Biggleswade By-pass (A1)
10 0 metres 30
25 0 feet 100

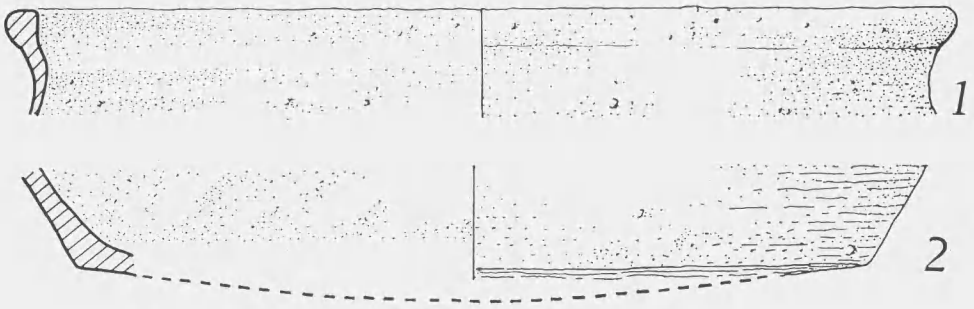

Fig 2.

led to a brief excavation and survey by a team then engaged on a rescue excavation for the Ministry of Public Building and Works at Eaton Socon, with the strictly limited aim of establishing the date of the site, and the state of preservation of structures, if any, within it. It did not attempt to solve any of the problems of interpretation posed in Dr St Joseph's note.

The plan (fig 1) was restricted to the part of the site north of the farm road which cuts it; the field to the south was under plough, and only vague soil marks were visible. In the northern part the general position of the ditches was fixed. Dr St Joseph's suggestion of the position of the entrance from northern 'bailey' into the 'ringwork' is supported by the gap in the hollow representing the ringwork ditch at this point; and an entrance into the northern 'bailey' itself may be suggested by a similar gap, to the north, in the hollow representing the 'bailey' ditch. The area within the ringwork' is a low domed platform, and this, together with the cropmarks within it, suggest, as Dr St Joseph implicitly indicates, that the monument is a ringwork and bailey, rather than a motte and bailey. Ringworks and their derivatives seem increasingly to be a feature of the Norman military scene both in England and in Normandy, and the systematic excavation of this remarkable apparently skeletal example could well answer a number of the problems they pose.

The 1962 excavation consisted of one superficial 48 ft by 3 ft trench cut obliquely across the line of the ringwork ditches (fig 1) and on to the edge of the ringwork platform. It revealed the top of two ditches, not apparently quite on the line of those on the air photos, with an interspace between them. The interspace was covered with a layer, from 6 ins to 12 ins deep, of gravelly yellow-grey soil with charcoal, pottery and considerable amounts of burnt daub and clay. It looked much like a destruction layer derived from timber and daub buildings. The excavation was suspended at this juncture, since the relation of the trench to the crop-mark features was not clear; the presence of timber structures and the cultural milieu of the monument had been established; and further excavation on such a limited scale was likely to destroy more than it could reveal and was therefore unjustified on a site which was not then threatened.

The finds were few; some decaying wood in the outer ditch suggested that, though perhaps never recorded as an ancient monument, the ditches must long have been deeper, and have only relatively recently been levelled. The eight sherds of pottery from the interspace between the ditches were all in thin sandy fabric, though one (fig 2, 1) contained much rounded quartz-like grit which protruded from the surface to give a very harsh feel. All the sherds propably come from cooking pots, perhaps of medium size. Some of the fabrics are similar to the 'early medieval' wares recently defined by Hurst,[5] and the form of the rim (fig 2, 1) could be paralleled amongst these wares. Such wares are normally found in the Ouse valley in association with shell-filled fabrics of 'St Neots' and 'developed St Neots' type. The Great Paxton assemblage[6] indicates that sandy fabrics begin to appear in the area in the later eleventh century. If the Eaton Socon Castle assemblage[7] is truly dateable to years immediately after 1144, then such fabrics form a considerable, though not overwhelming, proportion of those current in the area in the mid-twelfth century. A rather different series of wares and fabrics succeed in the late twelfth and thirteenth century. The preferred date of the Biggleswade sherds is probably somewhere in the early twelfth century, but the apparent anomaly remains that the little assemblage contains no developed St Neots ware, though from the heartland of that type. An explanation may lie in the proximity of Biggleswade to the east Bedfordshire sands; subsequent work may well show that in a restricted area the entirely suitable local sands were preferred as tempering material to the (probably fossil) shell otherwise used in the Ouse clay vale.[8]

The trial excavation has shown that the ringwork and bailey at Biggleswade almost certainly dates from the century following the Norman Conquest and that it contained wattle-and-daub clad timber structures associated with ditched defences. It may well be a member of the considerable local group of anarchy castles.[9] The site potentially contains the answers to many problems associated with ringworks and mottes, and if it is to be destroyed even in the distant future its prior excavation in a leisured and systematic manner seems entirely desirable.

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[1]Published by kind permission of the University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography.

[2]Ordnance Survey maps, Scale 6 in to 1 mile, Sheet TL148E.

[3]W. Gordon, *Map of the County of Bedford,* 1736, Scale 1 in to 1 mile: T. Jefferys, *County of Bedford,* c 1765, Scale 2 in to 1 mile.

[4]*V.C.H. Bedfordshire,* II (1908), 210.

[5]*Med. Archaeol.* V, 1961, 259.

[6]*Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.,* XXXV, 1935, 102-3, and XLIX, 1955, 51, n 2.

[7]*Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.,* LVII, 1965, 70-2.

[8]*Dark Age Britain* (Ed. D. B. Harden), London, 1956, 254-5.

[9]*J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.* 3rd series, XXVII, 1964, 89-91.

Some St Neots ware Socketed Bowls from Bedford

DAVID H. KENNETT

RECENT WORK on medieval pottery from Bedford has brought to light a new form in St Neots ware. This we propose to call the *socketed bowl.* It appears to be peculiar to Bedford in St Neots ware but is found in other fabrics elsewhere.

Terminology

A number of names have been used to describe this form. Neither *pipkin* nor *skillet* seems strictly accurate as is shown by reference to the definitions given in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*:

Pipkin—1565, (origin obscure), a small earthenware pot or pan chiefly used in cookery, (formerly including metal pots, now local).

Skillet—late Middle English, (origin obscure), cooking utensil of brass, copper or other metal, especially having three or four feet and a long handle, used for boiling liquids, stewing meat, or as a saucepan; also stewpot.

Our form is not accurately described by either of these, though culinary use can be envisaged from the presence on most complete examples of external sooting. Pipkin, however, implies a handle such as on a post-medieval example from Winchester,[1] while the dictionary definition restricts skillet to metal vessels like the one from Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire.[2] Mis-applied to ceramics a skillet requires feet as on a post-medieval one from Winchester.[3] *Spouted bowl* was used of the two from Northolt[4] but experiments with the restored example from Bedford (2), demonstrate that the sockets are not spouts. Quite how liquid was extracted from these vessels is a problem as the rim forms do not suggest facility of pouring. Perhaps some form of ladle was used to extract the stew or other tasty dish out of the bowl. The socket is eminently suited to take a wooden handle, and would have done so with ease.

The St Neots ware Socketed Bowls from Bedford

Nine St Neots ware socketed bowls have been found in Bedford. Some are represented by the socket only. But even so two sizes can be seen. The first is a miniature bowl with a rim diameter of 5 in. to 7 in. akin to miniature bowls from Bedford,[5] Cambridge,[6] and Northampton[7], but with a socket applied to the rim. The larger ones appear to have a bowl like the usual St Neots ware bowl though our only complete example from Bedford, (3) has an oval bowl with the socket on the long axis. Our sockets were probably built round a tapering stick as they are in the form of a truncated cone, with a diameter of between 1 in. and 1½ in. at the mouth narrowing to about ½ in. over a length of between 1 and 2 in.

Catalogue of Socketed Bowls from Bedford

(vessels figured are marked by an asterisk).

*(1) Socket and adjacent part of rim; dark grey shell gritted core, pink-brown surfaces; bowl rim diameter 8 in.; no provenance.

*(2) Restored socketed bowl; dark grey shell-gritted core, purple-brown surfaces, externally blackened; bowl diameter 5¾ in., height 2¾ in.; Offa Street, Bedford; (3765).

*(3) Reconstructed from fragments; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces, slightly sooted; oval bowl, rim 10½ in. by 8¾ in. base 5¾ by 4¼ in., height 4¾ in.; socket on long axis; Silver Street, Bedford, July 1937; (3759), previously figured G. C. Dunning, *Med. Arch.* 3, (1959), fig 15,4.

(4) Socket and small part of rim; black shell-gritted core, black surfaces; St Peter's Street, Bedford; (3744).

(5) Broken socket; dark grey shell-gritted core, pink surfaces; St Peter's Street, Bedford; (3745).

(6) Socket only; dark grey shell-gritted core, orange surfaces; no provenance.

(7) Socket and adjacent part of rim; dark grey shell-gritted core; grey surfaces; no provenance.

(8) Socket only; dark grey shell-gritted core, grey surfaces; Taylor, Brawn and Flood Ltd, High Street, Bedford; (TBF).

(9) Socket only; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces; Bedford; in Cambridge Museum.

Excepting the last all these vessels are in Bedford Museum.

The Socketed Bowl in Medieval Pottery

No St Neots ware socketed bowls have so far as I know been previously published. Ones have been noted in the other Saxo-Norman wares. There are Thetford ware examples from Thetford[8] and Ipswich,[9] which are plain, while one from Cambridge[10] has rouletted decoration. Stamford,[11] Glaston[12] and York[13] have produced Stamford ware socketed bowls with flanged bowls, which is also the form of an example in a hard, dark grey ware from the Hungate, York.[14] All of these have the socket applied below the rim, whereas the St Neots ware

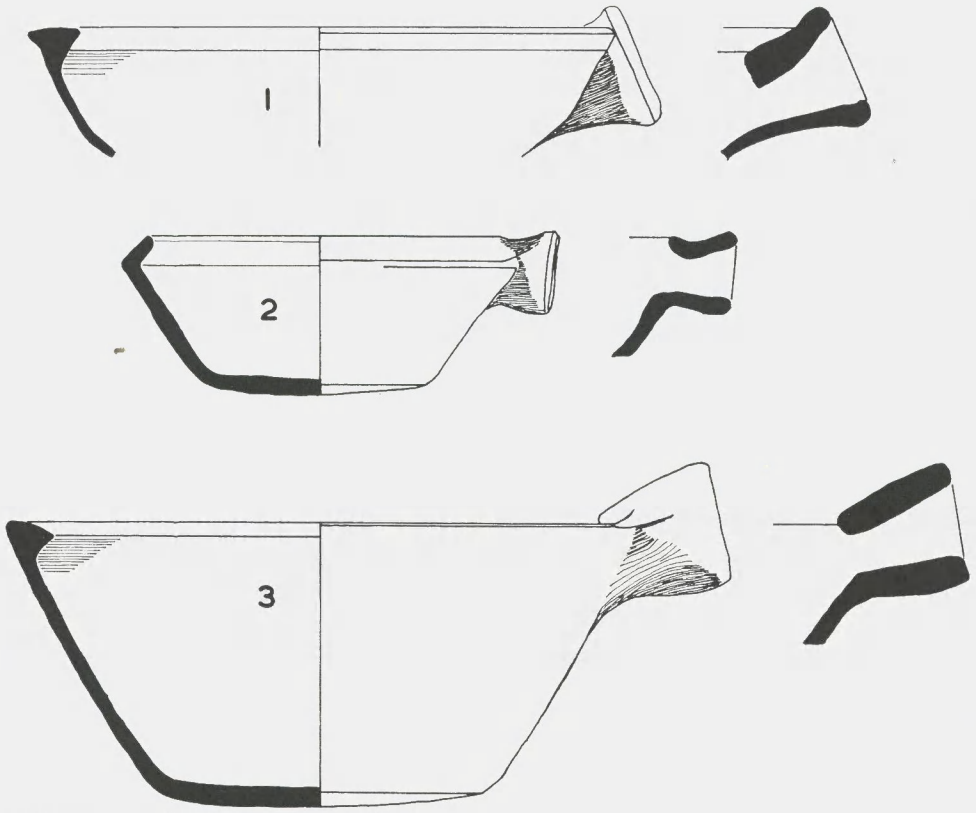

Fig 1. St Neots ware socketed bowls from Bedford.

ones from Bedford have the socket applied on to the rim. This latter position is adopted on both a York ware example from York[15] and a Torksey ware one from Torksey.[16] It is found also on the socketed bowl which held the Wedmore[17] coin hoard of *c.* 1042 whose socket is closely comparable to that of our (3).

Bowls with simple rims are found on socketed bowls of the period of those from Bedford in the series from Seacourt,[18] and a single example from the Clarendon Hotel, Oxford.[19] Long sockets have been found on two examples from York[20] and two in Early Medieval ware from Northolt,[21] one of which has erratic stabs.

Winchester has produced a series of socketed bowls, two of the tenth century,[22] one of the eleventh century[23] and one with a long socket of the fourteenth century.[24] It was a fourteenth century example from Crowmarsh, Buckinghamshire,[25] with a long socket which was the first of the later series to be recognised. One had been figured earlier, from the Rye kilns in Sussex.[26] This introduces a series from Sussex which includes examples from Hangleton,[27] Tarring,[28] and Goring-by-Sea,[29] besides one from the Bentley kilns near Farnham, Surrey.[30] Such a concentration in fourteenth century Sussex would seem to betoken the beginnings of a regional type akin to the one at York or the St Neots ware group from Bedford.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank Mr F. W. Kuhlicke for permission to publish these vessels from Bedford Museum and Mr L. Alcock and Dr M. G. Jarrett for their advice and encouragement during the compilation of the dissertation on St Neots ware of which this is part.

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Excavations at Elstow Abbey, 1965-66

First Interim Report

DAVID BAKER

INTRODUCTION

THE MODERN VILLAGE of Elstow lies immediately outside the southern boundary of Bedford, on the A.6 road to Luton. The site lies to the south of the parish church which was the nave of the Abbey. Some excavation was carried out by the Elstow Youth Fellowship in 1956, but this work has not been published. In April 1965 excavation commenced under the direction of the writer and Mr P. G. Tilson, with the purpose of exploring the sequence and development of occupation on the Abbey site. This report is a preliminary statement on the work to the end of May 1966.

Permission to excavate was kindly given by the Vicar of Elstow, Rev P. Hartley, by the farmer of the land (Mr C. Prudden), by the Ministry of Public Building and Works, and by the Lord Bishop of St Albans. The work is sponsored by the Bedford Archaeological Society and by Bedford School; it has been helped by a grant from the Carnegie (United Kingdom) Trust Fund. Thanks are due to many advisers and helpers, in particular to Messrs L. A. Speed, A. Chrystal, A.R.I.B.A., M. J. Long, and J. Knights, A.R.I.C.S. Mr G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., has advised on the pottery, Mrs Elizabeth Eames, F.S.A. on the medieval tiles, and Mr Bernard West, A.R.I.B.A. on architectural details. Miss P. Bell, of the Bedfordshire County Record Office, has been helpful at all times. Mrs Evelyn Baker has looked after the finds. Mr R. Carpenter undertook a preliminary survey of the human bones. The writer's gratitude and thanks are owed to his pupils at Bedford School, whose interest and enthusiasm are accounting for nearly all the excavation carried out; the encouragement of the Headmaster (Mr W. M. Brown, M.A.) and of many colleagues, has been equally invaluable.[1]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND[2]

The Benedictine Abbey of St Helen and St Mary was founded at Elstow in the reign of William I by his niece, Countess Judith. Its dissolution in 1539 was one of the later surrenders to Henry VIII's commissioners. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 showed Elstow to be the eighth richest Benedictine nunnery and the eleventh richest of all nunneries in England and Wales.[3] The Abbey church was mentioned in an abortive scheme by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, as a possible cathedral for Bedfordshire following the departure of the nuns. At some time in the latter part of this century, no doubt partly resulting from the failure of this scheme, most of the church was demolished. The nave was left standing, presumably by the assertion over it of parochial rights deriving from the period before the Dissolution. Dunstable Priory is a similar local instance of this practice.

The church and the conventual buildings which survived the Dissolution passed successively to the Hervey, Radcliffe and Hillersden families. The last-named built an 'L' shaped mansion in the early seventeenth century over some of the foundations for the latest claustral buildings.[4] All other conventual buildings were probably demolished by this time. The mansion was occupied until the late eighteenth century when most of it was dismantled.[5] The church was extensively restored in the 1880s. The present-day churchyard was extended to the south and east in 1892 by the incorporation of the northern part of the latest medieval cloister garth.

SITE DESCRIPTION (*fig 1*)

The site lies to the south of the village green. It is bounded on the south by a stream that supplied the nunnery fishponds which can be seen to the south-west of the site, although some have been partially levelled. The ground to the south-east and east of the parish church is raised a few feet above the level of the remainder of the field. A drive-way to the seventeenth century mansion was cut through this platform, to run from east to west, connecting it with the modern road from Bedford to Luton. The area within the churchyard immediately to the east of the present parish church[6] is the site of the demolished part of the medieval conventual church. This was used as a burial ground for about the first fifty years of this century. The natural subsoil consists of gravels in the top of which are occasional patches of sand and chalk rubble from the boulder clay.

Excavation began with trial trenching (*fig 2*) (pl 4a, 4b). The position of the ruined mansion

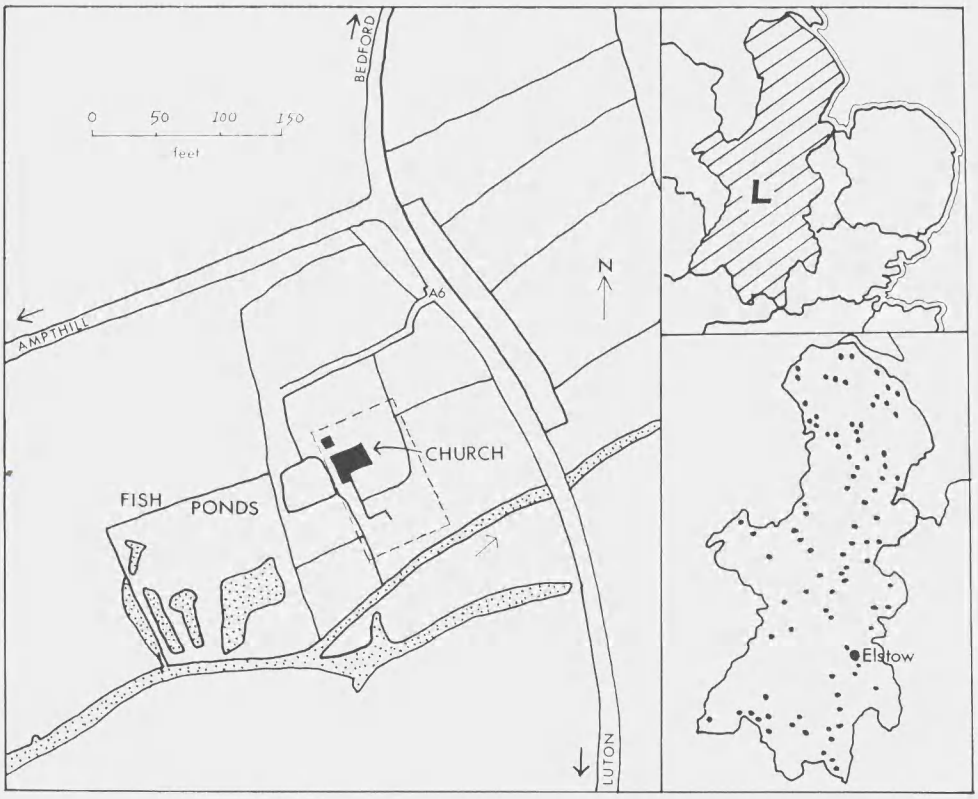


Fig 1. Site plan of Elstow. Insets show Eastern England with the early 16th century Diocese of Lincoln, and sites of religious houses in the Diocese.

suggested the hypothesis, which was subsequently demonstrated, that the general lay-out of the latest Abbey conformed to the usual Benedictine plan. One series of trenches was intended to cut across this latest southern claustral range and any buildings between it and the stream. A second series, at right angles to the first at its northern end, was intended to cut across the latest eastern claustral range as far as the area then available for excavation permitted. These trials have been followed up by a series of area excavations, concentrating initially on those parts of the site occupied by the latest cloister garth and adjacent structures.

SEQUENCE OF OCCUPATION : SUMMARY

The sequence of occupation suggested by these trenches is detailed below, though it must be emphasised that work on other parts of the site may necessitate its modification.

Roman : 2nd - 4th centuries.

Abbey : (1) *c.* 1080 - mid/late 13th century.

(2) mid/late 13th century - ? mid 14th century.

(3) ? mid 14th century - 1539/*c.* 1625.

Mansion : *c.* 1625 - *c.* 1775.

Three points about this sequence should be noted.

(*a*) The Domesday Book entry for Elstow implies the existence of a pre-Conquest settlement. The Norman Abbey church may have had a Saxon parish church predecessor on or near the site of the same building, though no archaeological evidence can yet be produced for this structure.

(*b*) The recognition of at least three periods in the life of the Abbey for the area excavated is fairly secure, but for reasons elaborated below their dating limits must be regarded as tentative.

(*c*) The Abbey 3 period presents some difficulty. Dissolution of the institution and possibly some demolition of the buildings occurred in 1539, though no mansion was built until *c.* 1625. It seems likely that the purchasers of the site lived in some of the conventual buildings, modified for their own use.[5] There is no other suitable site known nearby, and this practice has been recognised at other ex-religious houses, such as Herringfleet, Walsingham[7]

and Hailes. No archaeological distinction has yet appeared between the Abbey in use as such, and a post-Dissolution re-use prior to final demolition and modifications for the seventeenth century mansion. Future work may make a subdivision of this period necessary.

ROMAN (pl 3a)

Features cut into the natural sand and gravels were found in the area covered by the southern part of the Abbey 3 cloister garth. They consisted of slots, a pit, and several postholes. In the black earth fill of these features and on the surrounding gravel surface were found several sherds of coarse, soft, grey ware.[8] A sherd of Samian ware of Antonine date was also found.[9] In the trial trenches to the south of this area two further Samian sherds were found, but not in stratified contexts. A trench in a private garden[10] to the west of the modern vestry has produced further postholes and slots, one of which contained a coin of Constans, with a date of *c.* A.D. 350.

The Roman layers are immediately above the natural gravel and have only been seen in small areas so far; they have also been disturbed in places by burials interred at later dates. Just to the south of the main Roman occupation the natural gravel slopes down under a layer of silt and pebble which increases in thickness the further down the field it has been sectioned. It is likely that this represented a marshy area forming at this point a southern limit for the Roman occupation. The features seen so far do not provide much evidence for interpretation. One arrangement of postholes might suggest a corner and two adjacent sides of a timber building. Little more can be said at this stage about their character and purpose. Not all the series of features are in direct association with Roman finds.

ABBEY 1. c. 1080 - mid/late 13th century

The Norman arcade of the parish church nave may belong to the last decade of the eleventh century, and thus be the oldest extant part of the Abbey. There are a few other examples of Norman work in the church. The early land endowments of the Abbey were generous but the evidence for conventual buildings is not yet clear.

The ground occupied by some of the buildings of both Abbey 2 and Abbey 3, prior to their construction, was used as a burial ground (figs 2, 3). The relationship between the burials and these two building periods was clearly demonstrated at a number of points along the Abbey 3 garth on its southern side. Here burials were cut either by this wall itself or by the earlier robber trenches of Abbey 2. In one instance a pre-Abbey 2 burial had been obliterated above the mid-tibia by both features. (pl 3b).

The southern, eastern, and possibly the western limits of this burial ground have been observed.[11] Close interment in the medieval period has caused disturbances, making the identification of individuals in places difficult. Later building has had a similar effect. Males, females and children have been identified: the total of individuals has reached 70. (October 1966). In nearly all cases the burial position, where not obscured by *post-mortem* disturbances, was uniform: the skeletons were laid on their backs with heads to the west, fully extended, with their arms by their sides. In three cases earth staining suggested the existence of wooden coffins; in another there was some evidence for a shroud, a third had a bronze disc near its skull, and a fourth a shale bead. No coffin nails were found.

These remains suggest themselves to be associated with a secular community rather than with an enclosed nunnery. It was initially thought that these burials were contemporary with the Abbey, and that they were part of an early graveyard predating the mid/late 13th century. If the burials appear to be secular, they would presumably be parish burials: the parish probably had use of the nave of the Abbey church. However, burials have been found in positions which make difficult the contemporary existence of claustral structures to the south of the church. A number of possibilities present themselves, and these can only be checked by future excavation. One is that the burials are pre-monastic, and associated with a Saxon parish church preceding the Abbey church: this theory would require a Norman superstructure in this Abbey I period on the wall foundations which in Period 2 supported the thirteenth century cloister arcade discussed below. Against this theory is the noticeable lack of architectural fragments from the Norman period, and the lack of positive evidence for the siting of an earlier parish church. Alternative explanations would involve Norman cloister and domestic ranges sited elsewhere, or the subdivision of this Period 1 into an earlier, burial, phase and a later, claustral building phase.

ABBEY 2. mid/late 13th century - ? mid 14th century (figs 2, 3)

The area between the mansion ruins and the modern churchyard wall was covered by conventual buildings from at least the thirteenth century until the Dissolution. The foundations of two successive structures were dug down above, and occasionally into, the earlier burials.

The walls of the first building, here called Abbey 2, had been thoroughly robbed with the exception of one corner; elsewhere only a few

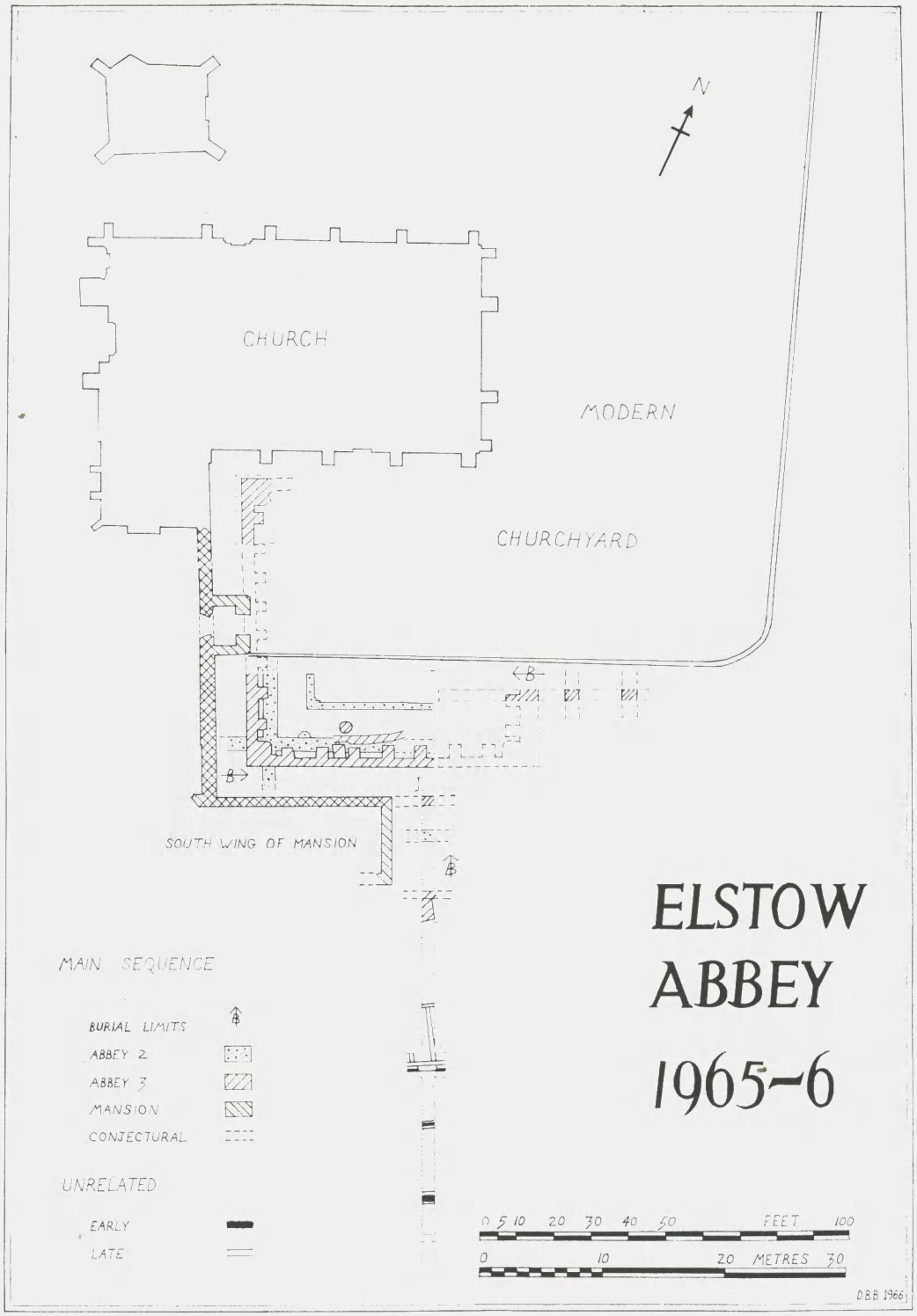

N
CHURCH
MODERN
CHURCHYARD
SOUTH WING OF MANSION
ELSTOW
ABBEY
1965-6
MAIN SEQUENCE
BURIAL LIMITS
ABBEY 2
ABBEY 3
MANSION
CONJECTURAL
UNRELATED
EARLY
LATE
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 FEET 100
0 10 20 METRES 30
D.B.B. 1966

Fig 2.

rough limestone blocks remained as the lowest foundation course bedded on the natural gravel. The filling of the robber trenches was mixed: in places it contained sandy mortar and building rubble; in other places it appeared as an orange gravel. The robbing of these walls, and the construction afterwards of those belonging to Abbey 3 combined to destroy any Abbey 2 occupation layers.

Three substantial robber trenches for walls of this building have so far been discovered. A fourth almost certainly ran east-west in a trial trench to the south of those already noted. At first sight the ground plan suggests a southern and a western cloister walk with a south range built against the former, the internal width of the alleys both being 7 ft. 8 in. The width of the robber trench and the absence of substantial buttresses might suggest that the garth walls bore a simple arcade built against the main ranges rather than a walk with an upper floor extended over it. The ground plan has been obscured in two places by later work. The drain and tank of the Abbey 3 *lavatorium* were built over one east-west robber trench (fig 3). The excavations by the Elstow Youth Fellowship destroyed the same robber trench further to the east for about 14 ft. The southern cloister garth wall of Abbey 3 had cut into the surviving clay packing for two wooden pipes to the south of it. A hearth with a large burnt area surrounding it was found in the south-west corner of the south-west trench (fig 3). Both it and the robber trench of this period to the north of it were sealed by a thin line of debris from the demolition of the building.

Masonry fragments indicate that much of the Abbey 2 superstructure was built of Totternhoe clunch, a chalk which carves easily but weathers poorly. The main source of these fragments, apart from the robber trenches, has been the cloister wall of the next period. In particular, this wall contains four moulded arcade blocks, each built into the foundations of a buttress. More blocks may await discovery. Their shapes were similar and consistent with a date in the mid thirteenth century. Two had shields on their spandrels; the heraldic charges were: (i) (*argent*) *a bend lozengy* (*gules*); *on a chief* (*azure*) *three escallops* (*argent*). (ii) *quarterly per fess indented*; (*or and azure*).[12] The two other blocks had later carvings on the earlier basic shapes, the spandrel of one had foliate decoration in an irregular trefoil with a central rosette (pl 5a), and a reveal of the second bore three ballflowers. The undersides of two blocks taken to Bedford Museum were seen to be plain. They may be said to range in date from about 1250 to about 1330. The blocks probably formed part of the Abbey 2 cloister arcade which was constructed in stages during the Abbey 2 period, thus explaining the development of styles.

The dating limits of this second Abbey period thus rest for the moment on the dates derived from these moulded blocks. This assumes that they come from the same site: the robber trenches and other contemporary architectural fragments would seem to support the assumption. A construction date in the mid thirteenth century cannot be directly substantiated by pottery evidence since the burial layer and Abbey 1 were not clearly sealed, yet the end of the range is not inconsistent with such a date. The destruction should postdate the latest re-used masonry of *c.* 1330. Pottery in the robber trenches which were sealed by the construction of the Abbey 3 wall extended in date to about 1300, but the sample was small.

It is possible that this cloister arcade, on which the dating at present rests, had a Norman predecessor, but little direct evidence can be produced for this at the present stage.

ABBEY 3. ? mid 14th century - 1539/c. 1625.
The structures of the second Abbey period were superseded by another stone-built ground plan of ranges built against a cloister, but apparently on a slightly larger scale than the previous building (pl 6b).

The cloister walks. The cloister wall bounding the garth has been seen in parts on all four sides, although work has been mostly concentrated on the southern side. The buttresses were external and regularly spaced. Two corner buttresses have been seen: the north-western was at a diagonal to the main wall and the south-western could have been either square or diagonal. The wall was partially constructed with re-used stone and mortar, including the Totternhoe clunch discussed above, and partly with limestone in hard sandy mortar. The latter was in the upper parts of the wall and clearly built on top of the re-used material. This wall varied in depth below surface from 4 ft. 3 in. on the south side to 3 ft. 0 in. on the east. A join of working parties was seen on the southern wall. It is not clear whether this represents two contemporary parties working towards each other, or a lapse of time in building over a long period.

The trial trenches sectioned the southern and eastern cloister walks: later trenches took in parts of the southern and western walks, but in neither case were they completely excavated owing to the proximity of the mansion ruins. In all cases the latest floors had been destroyed, either in the course of robbing the adjacent walls, or by later disturbances. The absence of appropriate debris in the walks suggests that they were not tiled. The widths of the walks where examined were: about 8 ft. 0 in. wide on the southern and western sides, 7 ft. 6 in.

wide on the eastern, and 8 ft. 10 in. on the northern. The size of the garth wall foundations would permit two stories on the southern, western and eastern sides. Insufficient evidence has been seen for this point on the northern side. There is an indication that the eastern walk was contained within the eastern range, rather than built separate from it.

The lavatorium. In the southern part of the third Abbey garth were found a drain, a well, and a tank (pl 6a and fig 3). The well was stone-lined and had at least 6 ft in depth surviving. No evidence for any superstructure was found. It had been built in a roughly circular construction pit and was packed round with gravel. The stones were curved internally to form the round well mouth, and the aperture was splayed to give a width increasing with depth. The upper 3 ft. 7 in. of the well was deliberately filled with fragments of masonry ranging in date from the middle of the thirteenth century to the early fifteenth century.

A stone tank had been built butting up to the north face of the southern garth wall. Only a few courses of it survived and it had no drain hole either in its floor of cornbrash slabs or in its sides; there was no surviving evidence of lead lining. The offset of the main wall was used as part of its south side.

In between the tank and the well was a stone drain cutting into the edge of the construction pit for the well and laid over the filled robber trench for the previous Abbey period, as was the tank in its northern part. The drain emptied to the west, but this end had been disturbed by the Youth Fellowship trench. The eastern surviving floor stones of the drain were at the bottom of a steepening incline, and the surrounding area of disturbed ground contained many large unshaped stones. The drain may have ended here in a soakaway. To the west of the tank was an irregular channel cut through the cloister wall adjacent to the westernmost point of the drain. Extensive robbing of the wall and the drain at this western end has obscured their exact relationship to each other. This western part of the drain contained in its fabric two re-used architectural fragments of the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

These features can perhaps be seen as details of the *lavatorium* arrangements, the basins or trough of which were usually sited in the southern cloister walk near the entrance from it to the frater. Any evidence for basins in the cloister walk itself has been destroyed by robbing down to below the contemporary ground level. Similarly, the dressed blocks which probably lined the outflow through the wall have disappeared. The simplest explanation for the operation of the complex would entail the temporary storage of well water in the tank, followed by transference from it over a dwarf wall or through an opening in the cloister wall to the basins perhaps by taps or pipes. After use, it returned through the wall to the drain. No top covering for this drain was found, but its increasing depth below the contemporary ground level implies enclosure. There was no evidence for any structure containing these features to form a *lavatorium* built in the garth against the southern cloister walk.

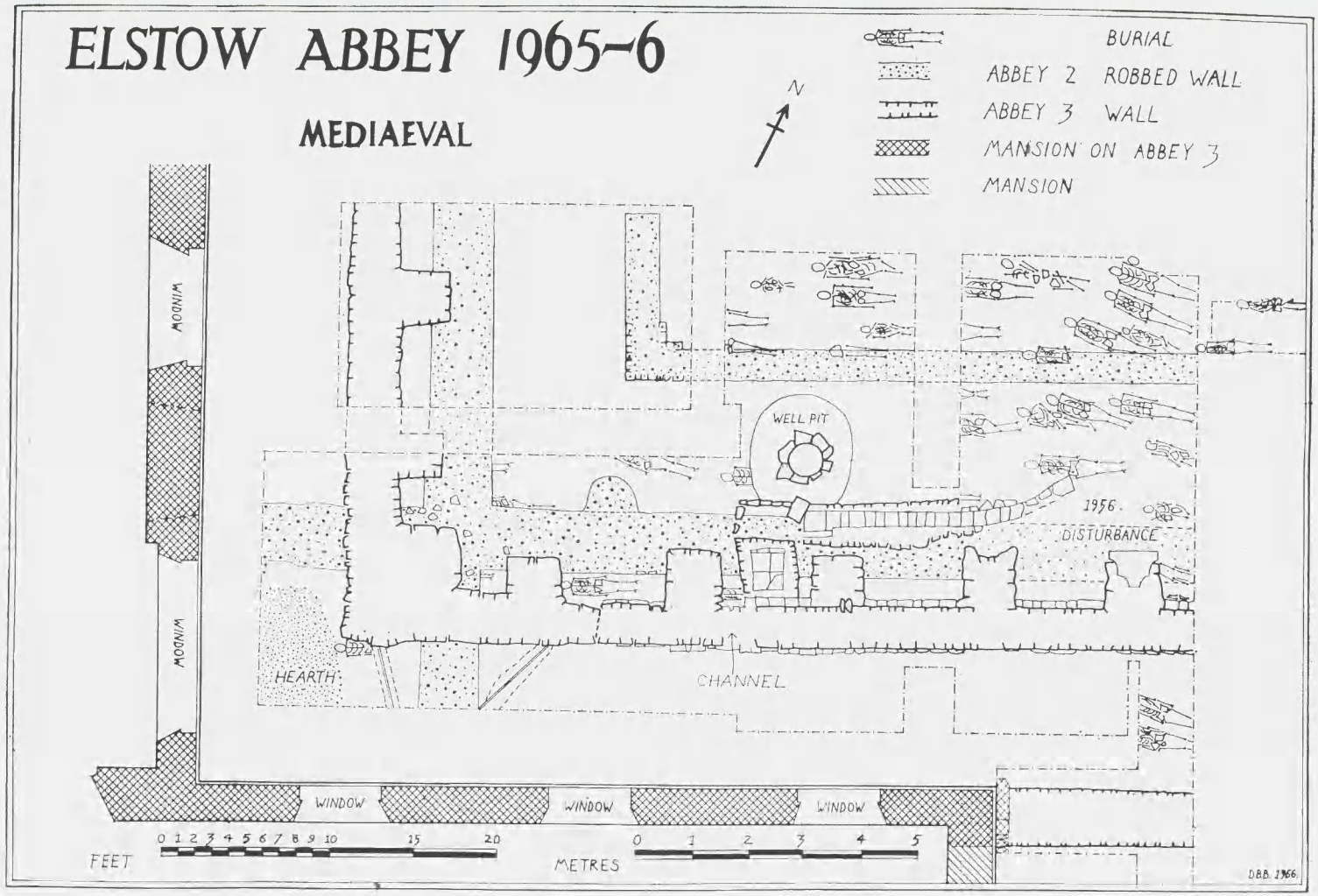
The south range. A range of buildings was constructed against the southern cloister walk with a shared northern wall. The southern wall of this range was particularly deep: 6 ft. 0 in. of foundations were observed. Its exterior had been strengthened by the addition of a massive but shallower buttress (pl 4b). The disturbed latest floor level for this building produced several floor tiles of both the incised and printed types. These mostly dated to the first quarter and the middle of the fourteenth century. The floor make-up contained further tiles and some painted wall-plaster, presumably from the earlier Abbey 2, whose possible robber trench was sealed by this make-up and by a thin mortar spread.

The presence of washing arrangements in the southern cloister walk would support the thesis that this building was the frater or refectory range in its customary position. There is no clear evidence of whether the refectory proper was on the ground floor of a one-storey building, or on the first floor. The thickness of the walls, the evidence of the buttress, and the two storeys of the seventeenth century mansion built upon them might suggest that the foundations were designed to take an upper chamber.

The east range (pl 4a). The trial trench across the eastern side of the garth cut across a wall 11 ft. 0 in. east of the eastern walk wall. Level with its western offset was a discontinuous occupation layer. This width seems rather narrow for a range of buildings. Two possible explanations present themselves. The wall under discussion was found at the limit of the area available for trial trenching; a further wall could exist, making this a central, and possibly a sleeper wall for columns in the ground floor of the presumed dorter range. Alternatively, this wall, with its size and strength, could still be the eastern wall of the eastern range, whose dorter, customarily on the first floor, extended over the cloister walk also, as at Wilberfoss.[7] This latter explanation could account for the size of the buttress on the garth eastern wall, but not for the shallowness of its construction, with its lowest course only 3 ft. 0 in. from the modern ground surface.

The construction of Abbey 3 is presumed to have commenced soon after the demolition of Abbey 2. The needs of conventual life might be expected to

Fig 3.


ELSTOW ABBEY 1965–6
MEDIAEVAL
N
BURIAL
ABBEY 2 ROBBED WALL
ABBEY 3 WALL
MANSION ON ABBEY 3
MANSION
WINDOW
WINDOW
WELL PIT
1956
DISTURBANCE
HEARTH
CHANNEL
WINDOW
WINDOW
WINDOW
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 15 20
FEET
0 1 2 3 4 5
METRES
DBB. 1966

require this. The latest evidence for Abbey 2 extends to about 1330. A number of floor tiles and other architectural fragments belonging to the mid fourteenth century were found, but not in well-stratified positions. At this stage in the work, a date in the middle of the fourteenth century can be tentatively advanced. Further architectural fragments, particularly from the filling of the well, indicate sporadic rebuilding during this period. Its end can be ascribed to the Dissolution or to the construction of the mansion, or to a series of dates between them.

MANSION. c. 1625 - c. 1775

The ground plan of the Hillersden mansion was 'L' shaped. The top of the 'L' abutted on to the western end of the south aisle. The house was strongly influenced by its monastic predecessor: materials were re-used and the conventual foundations re-employed. This is not the place of a detailed description of the surviving parts of the mansion—its gateway, and the eastern and northern faces—but rather for an indication of how it relates to the current excavations.

The western part of the third period southern range adjacent to the cloister was used as the basis for the foot of the 'L'. The monastic width of range was evidently too great for the Hillersdens, for their return wall, now demolished, made a narrower structure, externally 24 ft. 3 in. instead of 29 ft. 6 in. (excluding the buttress). The shared wall of the third period south range and cloister walk as seen in the trial trench was a direct continuation of the north front of the mansion. Similarly the west wall of the Abbey 3 western cloister walk has the eastern front of the mansion upon its foundations. (pl. 5b).

Excavation in the mansion forecourt has uncovered some drainage features. A lead pipe with its top sealed over was laid down before one of a series of brick and tile drains, the direction of whose outflow was to the south, and in this instance, apparently underneath the foot of the 'L'. One of these drains carried water from the roof of the southern portion of the mansion. Many of the constituent tiles were re-used from the nunnery. The drains were in places sealed by a gravel path around the front of the mansion.

BUILDINGS SOUTH OF THE ABBEY CLAUSTRAL AREA (fig 2)

The trial trenches to the south of the third Abbey claustral buildings cut almost at right angles across two buildings. These are discussed separately from the main part of the site since there is at present insufficient dating evidence to relate them to the main chronological sequence.

The northern building had at least two phases of construction. The later plan consisted of a passageway with at least one room on either side, entered from the south over a small step. The clay floor of this phase was laid over debris from an earlier structure whose southern wall had been covered by gravel make-up for the step.

The southern building also had two phases. For the second, the northern and southern walls had been broadened by shallower additions to the width of the deeper constructed walls of the first phase.

The evidence obtained from a trench 3 ft. wide was insufficient to date these structures with any security. The narrowness of the walls and the shallowness of some of their foundations suggest that their superstructures were of timber rather than of stone. The normal domestic arrangements of buildings, such as kitchens, to the south of the main claustral complex, may indicate an Abbey date for these buildings; similarly, planning considerations relating to the view from the mansion might preclude the existence of cottages close to the main house.

The walls of the southern building were built above and over a shallow depression which contained a large quantity of pottery, mostly of St Neots and other wares, with sherds of Stamford and derived Stamford wares also. The latest dates for the whole group were in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Just to the north of this was a pile of dry stones. The relationship of these features cannot be determined without further excavation. The black silt containing the pottery, which belongs to the first part of the Abbey's life, may represent a ditch or an earlier course of the stream marking the southern boundary of the site.

CONCLUSION

The first year's work has given an indication of the complexity of this site. Roman Elstow has been established, but awaits closer dating and description. The Abbey has shown three distinct periods: within them the range of architectural fragments indicate that re-building was a frequent rather than a rare event. The apparent enlargement of a thirteenth century cloister in the fourteenth century is an interesting feature. The replacement of nunnery by mansion, of nuns by squire, follows a familiar pattern. At Elstow the post-Dissolution adaptation of monastic remains has been noticeably thorough.

Several years' work will be needed to excavate enough of the site for a coherent picture to emerge. It is hoped that during this time it will be possible to build up a range of medieval pottery groups which will expand and clarify the knowledge of local wares. Already Elstow can add to the distri-

bution maps of Stamford ware, twelfth century stamped pottery, and bar-lip pottery.[13] Grimston ware, Cistercian ware, and various continental imports also occur on the site. This is perhaps to be expected in a house with such a lengthy history, one whose latest cloister dimensions rivalled those of Lacock and Barking, and which supported at least 24 nuns at the Dissolution.

REFERENCES

[1]I am indebted to Professor Barry Cunliffe, F.S.A., and Professor S. S. Frere, F.S.A., for reading this report in typescript and making a number of valuable comments.

The section on Abbey I has been revised to incorporate important modifications arising from work carried out since going to press. (Oct. 1966).

[2]For more detailed accounts, see: *V.C.H. Beds.* i, 353-8; iii, 279-84. S. R. Wigram: *Chronicles of the Abbey of Elstow.* (1885).

[3]D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock: *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales.* (1953), 209-33.

[4]*Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.* V, (1919-20), 80.

[5]Beds. Co. Rec. Office: X 1/6/I,2; W 2864. Dugdale says Sir Humphrey Radcliffe lived at 'Abbey House': *Monasticon Anglicanum,* iii, 412.

[6]Detailed descriptions of the church can be found in: Wigram: *op.cit.,* 193-206 (M. J. C. Buckley): *V.C.H. Beds.* iii, 279-84.

[7]J. C. Dickinson: *Monastic Life in Medieval England.* (1961), 139.

[8]The surface scatter around an unexcavated kiln site to the east at N.G.R. TL 058476 may suggest an origin for the grey ware.

[9]Thanks are due to Mr H. Pengelly who saw the Samian sherds.

[10]By kind permission of Mr R. George.

[11]*Fig* 3 shows the possible western limit. At the time of writing excavation of the north-western trench had not yet reached the burial level. The Abbey 3 southern cloister walk was not excavated to the earlier burial level owing to the proximity of the mansion ruins.

[12]The colours are placed in brackets on the assumption that these shields, found in a largely uncoloured condition, were originally painted, as indicated by traces still surviving on the blocks. They represent the arms of respectively Gamage and Pirot, both of which families no doubt had some connection with the Abbey. I am indebted to Mr F. W. Kuhlicke, F.S.A., for kindly seeing the shields, and supplying heraldic information.

[13]R. Gilyard-Beer, F.S.A.: *Abbeys.* H.M.S.O. (1958): 25, *fig* 38.

[14]G. C. Dunning, F.S.A. et al.: *Anglo-Saxon pottery, a Symposium. Med. Arch. III (1959) figs* 11, 17, 22.

Excavations at Beaulieu Priory, Clophill

KEVAN FADDEN

THE EXACT SITE of Beaulieu Priory was unrecorded and apparently forgotten in the spring of 1963, when the Ampthill and District Archaeological and Local History Society was formed. Inspired by Mrs Mary Phillips' articles in *The Bedfordshire Magazine* (Vol 8, pp 224, 281), the Society decided to search for, and if possible excavate, the site of this small cell.

According to Mrs Phillips, the Rev A. J. Foster, in his *Tourist's Guide to Bedfordshire* (1889) recorded that traces of the foundations could still be seen at Clophill, but by the time that the *Victoria County History* was published in 1908 the remains had been destroyed. Some glazed floor tiles and a thirteenth century base had been discovered, and a fourteenth century coffin lid could be seen at the farm nearby. Today these have all disappeared.

Beaulieu Priory or Bello Loco was founded between 1140 and 1146 by Robert D'Albini and established under the rule of Abbot Geoffrey (1119-1146). It remained a small cell until poverty finally forced the monks to leave in 1428.

The task of locating the site was not difficult, as the farmer, Mr R. Gobey, had just ploughed a field for the first time from pasture, turning up considerable amounts of medieval roof tiles and mortar. The debris was on a slope to the east of the buildings at Top Farm, Beadlow (TL 105385). With the co-operation of Mr Gobey some trial excavations were made to establish the extent and condition of the site. Full excavation was not possible as the ground was to be cropped within six weeks. Subsequent excavations were made on a rescue basis between cropping, until Autumn 1965.

Buildings

The extent of the buildings excavated are shown on fig 2. The walls follow a north-south and east-west pattern. The foundations of the walls were constructed from roughly shaped sandstone blocks

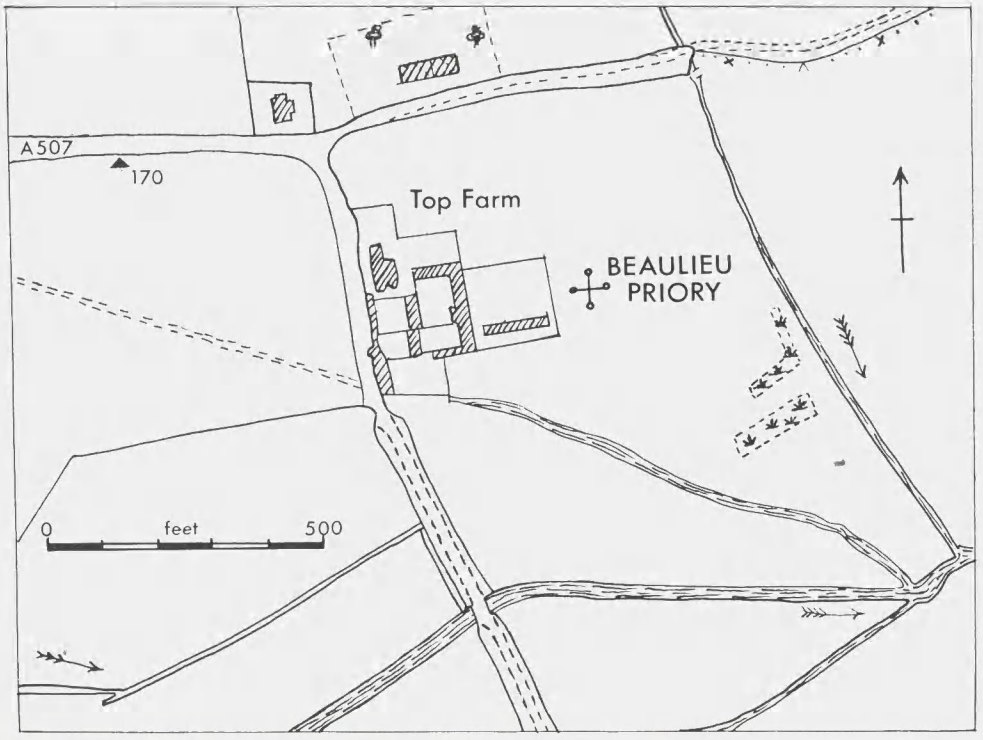


Fig 1. The site of Beaulieu Priory at Top Farm, Beadlow.

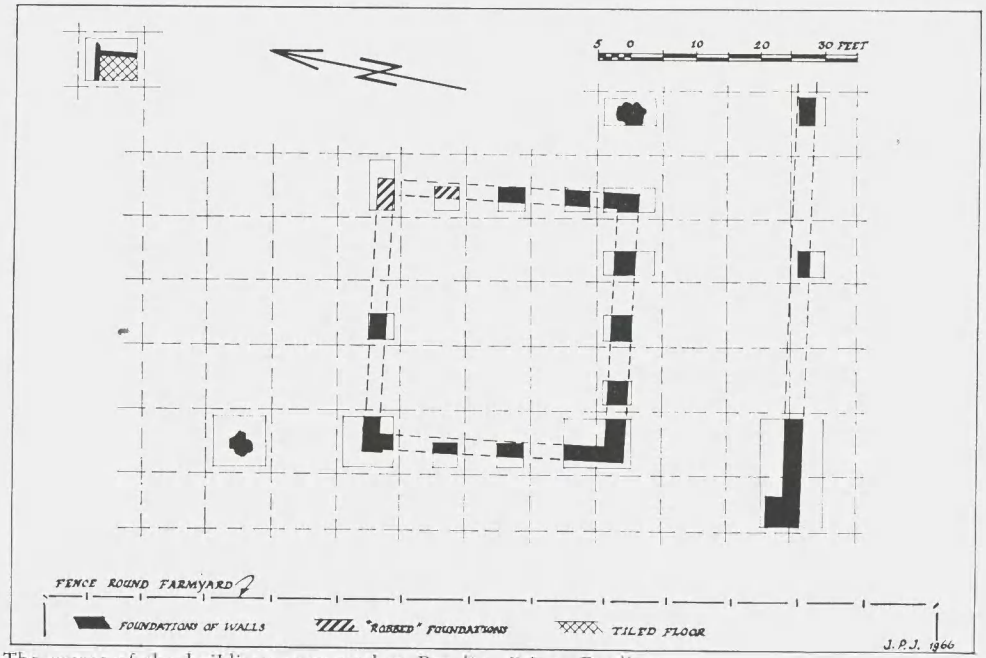


Fig 2. The extent of the buildings uncovered at Beaulieu Priory, Beadlow.

and mortar. Fragments of Totternhoe stone tracery and mullions were found throughout this site.

Bones

A collection of bones were found including bones from horse, ox, dog, sheep, deer, pig and rabbit. Oyster shells were also abundant.

Glass

Fragments of glass including the neck of an apothecary's phial and stained window glass were found.

Metal Objects

The following metal objects were discovered: iron roofing nails between 2 and 6 in. long, several knives, an iron key, a bronze letter *S* of a type for setting in stone and small strips of lead from windows.

Coins

Only one coin was found, a Mary groat 1553-1554. The inscription read *Veritas Temporis Filia Maria D G Ang Fra Z Hib Regina* and is translated: Truth of Time Daughter, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland.

Miscellaneous Objects

These include pumice stone, whet stone and a mill quern made from Hertfordshire conglomerate of the type found locally on Roman sites.

Decorated tiles

The site yielded a small number of decorated floor tiles. They were scattered in a manner which suggests that the floors were extensively robbed before the building was finally destroyed. Three main types of tile were discovered: (a) incised, (b) encaustic, (c) embossed.

(a) The earliest are the incised tiles as shown in fig 3, nos 3, 4, 5, 6, made in varied shapes and stamped with rosettes and fleur-de-lys. The shapes obviously fitted together to form a mosaic. They are coarse textured and unevenly fired with a greenish yellow glaze. The thickness varied from 1 in. to 1½ in. suggesting they were individually cut from a block of partly-dried clay using a template and not made in a mould. Tiles of a similar texture but with a green glaze were found in several geometric shapes, including a regular six-pointed star 9 in. across the points. These were probably from the same mosiac. Incised tiles were common throughout Ireland but in England were confined to the Midlands and Eastern Counties. Cranden's Chapel at Ely Cathedral provides the finest example of these tiles which are dated early fourteenth century. Similar examples have also come from St Michael's Cambridge, and the churches at Higham Ferrers and Icklingham.

(b) Only two patterns of encaustic tiles were found, both reddish brown with yellow decoration fig 3: 1, 2. The clay was finely textured, fired to a light red colour with a blue grey core. They were 4⅛ in. square and ⅞ in. thick. The method of decoration is unknown but was probably effected by pressing a stamp coated with liquid white clay into a partly dried tile. Tiles of similar pattern to fig 4: 1 have been found in a kiln site at Penn in Buckinghamshire. Tiles manufactured at this site

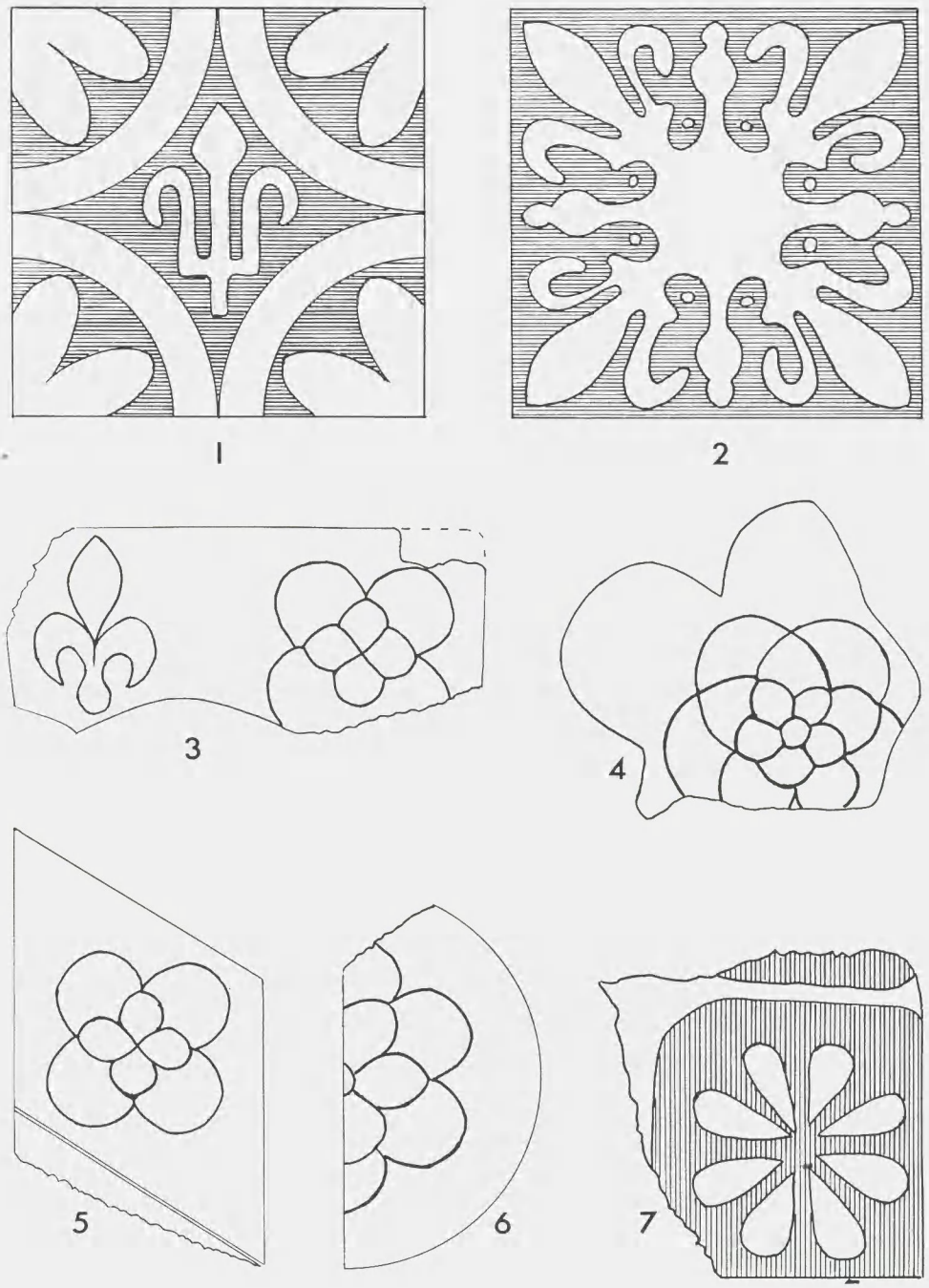


Fig 3. A selection of decorated floor tiles from Beaulieu Priory, Beadlow.

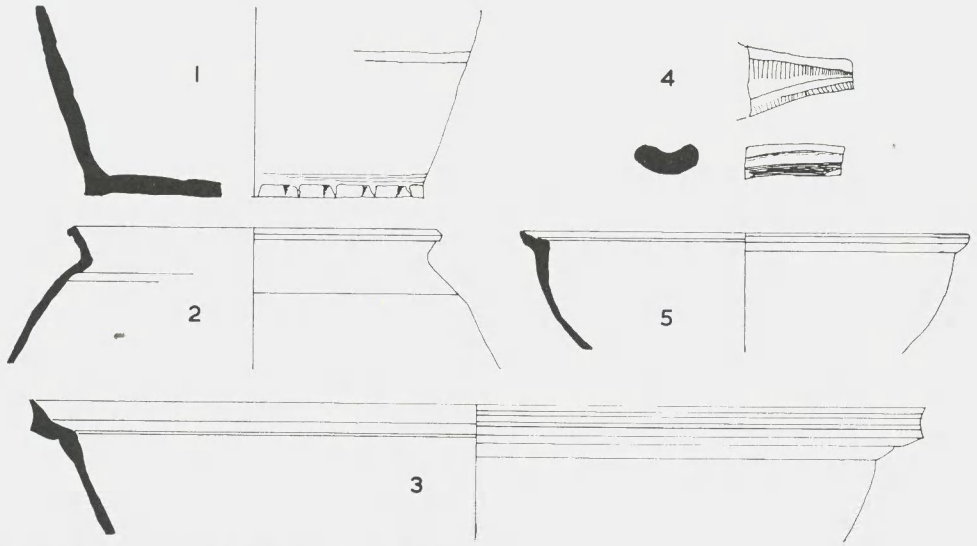


Fig 4. The pottery from Beaulieu Priory, described below.

have been found in churches and monastic sites throughout the Thames basin. The size and material remain fairly standard but show many different patterns. Fig 3 : 1 showing a small fleur-de-lys between four quadrants enclosing two petals also occurred at Crowell, Chinnor, North Moreton and Ewelme churches. These quick-to-manufacture tiles became popular after the Black Death when labour was scarce.

(c) Only one fragment of an embossed tile was found, fig 3 : 7. This was 7/8 in. thick, fine textured, and fired to an even grey core with a light green glaze. The pattern was pressed on to the tile leaving an uneven surface which must have been unpleasant to walk on and difficult to clean. These were the least common of all medieval tiles and belong to the perpendicular period.

Plain tiles

The only tiles found in position were plain with a yellow glaze. They were 1 in. thick, some 7 in. square and others triangular 7 in. on two sides. Firing and appearance suggest a similar date to the incised tiles.

THE POTTERY

by David H. Kennett

THE SHERDS of pottery range over the full length of the occupation of Beaulieu Priory, both as a monastic foundation and a farm. Two principal medieval fabrics are present; a hard, sandy ware with black surfaces and a smooth, black fabric with red or buff surfaces. These are both found at Bedford.[1] All of the vessels appear to have been wheel-made and many still have internal rilling from the potter's hand. A feature of the assemblage is the wide, deep pan, of a form known in thirteenth century contexts at Northolt[2] and Manor of the More[3] and found unstratified at Bedford. To this pottery we can probably assign a tentative date within the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, whilst the post-medieval material includes stonewares and Jacobean combed wares, but is all very fragmentary.

(1) Jug; base; black ware with buff to light red surfaces, sparsely gritted; no decoration; type known from Bedford.

(2) Cooking pot; rim sherd; black sandy ware with grey surfaces.

(3) Wide deep pan; rim and part of wall; hard black sandy ware with black surfaces. (B4/9.8.).

(4) Pipkin; handle; black ware with light red surfaces and slight trace of brown glaze on top. (B/H3A/2).

(5) Bowl; profile; buff ware largely fired light red throughout. (B4/1).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Society gratefully acknowledges the help and co-operation of many people, especially Mr R. Gobey the owner of the site, Mr D. H. Kennett for his report on the pottery, Mr T. H. Gardner for his help and advice, and the staff of the Bedfordshire Record Office and Bedfordshire County Library.

NOTES

[1]Unpublished material in Bedford Museum.
[2]*Med.Arch.* 5, (1961), 270 and fig 67, 49.
[3]*Arch.J.* 116, (1959), 163, and fig 8, 14, fig 9, 1.

Someries Castle

TERENCE P. SMITH

ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS of a mile east of the Vauxhall motor works, and within the parish of Hyde, near Luton, are the remains of two sites of archaeological interest, both of which bear the name 'Someries Castle'. Most prominent are the ruins of a brick manor house of the fifteenth century, but in a field to the south of these is an earthwork of an earlier, thirteenth century, moated manor. Both sites are at Grid Ref TL/119201.

In 1963 the writer was able to study the building in detail whilst it was in a reasonably tidy state as a result of clearance work by members of the Luton Grammar School Archaeological Society.[1]

Space will not permit an historical survey to be included, so for this the reader should consult either William Austin, *The History of Luton and its Hamlets*, or James Dyer, John Dony, and Frank Stygall, *The Story of Luton*.

TOPOGRAPHY

The sites are within a few yards of each other on a fairly flat hill-top some five hundred feet above sea level. The development of Luton Airport may be a future threat to the sites, but at present they are on land belonging to Sir Harold Wernher. They are close to an eighteenth century farmhouse, built of bricks from the ruins, and a row of eighteeth/nineteenth century cottages. To the south-east of the earthwork was a medieval village, connected with it, and probably deserted in the fourteenth century.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY EARTHWORK

This earthwork formed the home of William de Someries.[2] It has been described in a number of books or journals, but the latest descriptions[3] have been made without reference to Fowler's plan of 1889[4] which raises an interesting discrepancy.

The plan as it is today, and as it has been described by later writers, is as follows: a central mound 110 ft. square is surrounded by a lower area about 55 ft. wide on the north-east and south-west sides but much less on the other two sides. This is surrounded by a bank which is broken in the north-east side by the entry gap. Outside this bank is a ditch on the south-west and south-east sides (fig 1).

Fowler's plan not only shows the north-west and traces of the north-east ditches, but, more significantly, it shows the central mound as 125 ft. by 161 ft., thus considerably reducing the inner lower areas. These areas have been described by Dyer[5] as ". . . a small yard . . . (and) . . . a larger yard . . . "; if we accept Fowler's plan, however, these must be interpreted as forming an inner ditch. With this arrangement the site is even more similar to the destroyed Gibbet Stretch Close at Limbury.[6]

The outer bank would have supported a wooden palisade with a gateway at the entry gap. On the central mound would have stood the house and such other buildings as were necessary; these may have been of wood or stone. As Manning writes:[7] 'Whether this original building was of wood or stone can only be determined by excavation, but if Leland's remark that "part of the Olde Place standeth yet" refers, as seems probable, to a building on the moated site, it must have been of stone. It is surprising that traces of its material have not survived in the later mansion, for mediaeval builders would have shown few antiquarian scruples in using the older building as a quarry for the new one!' Actually, of course, we have very little of the later mansion to judge from.

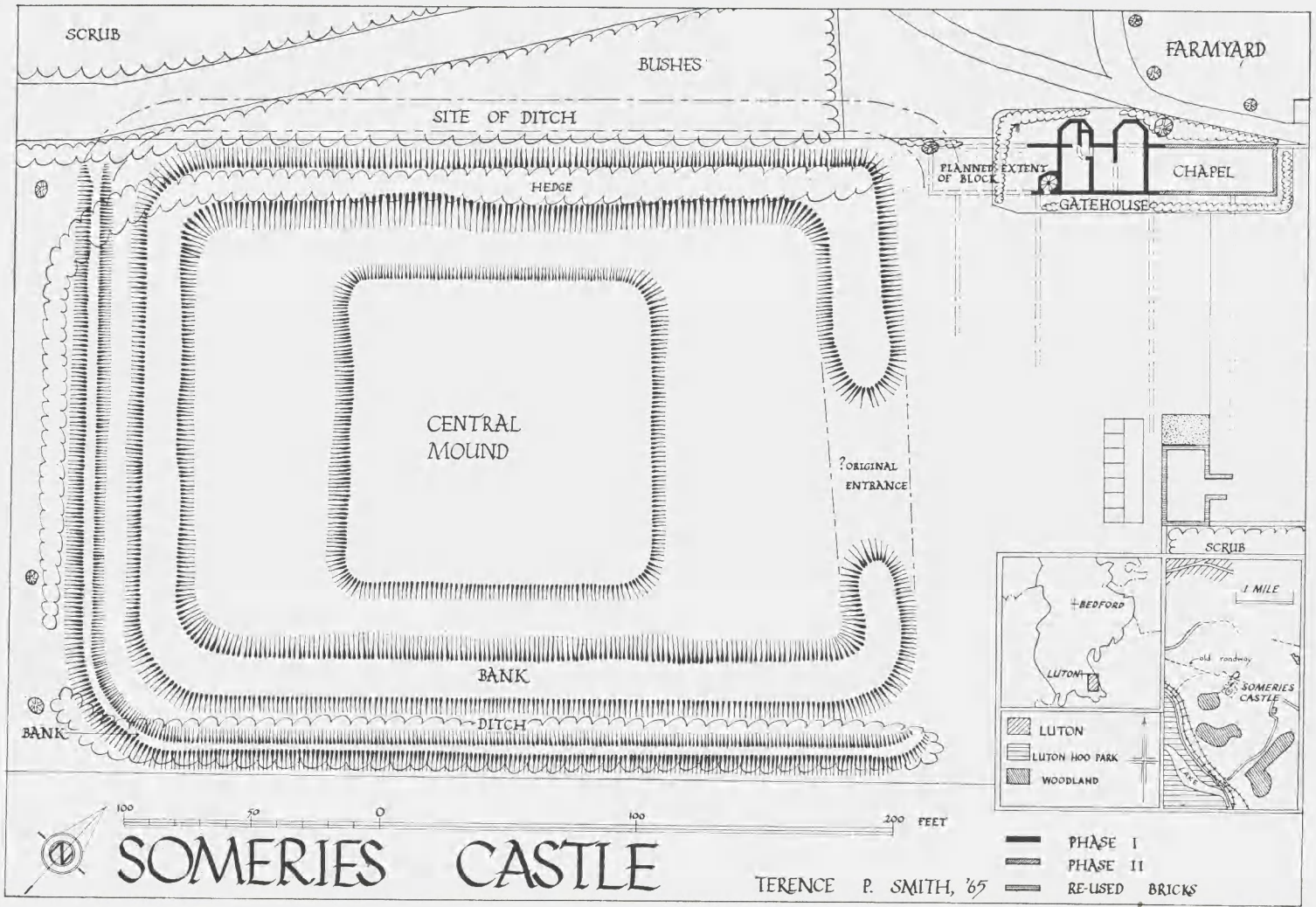
Such moated manors are typical of the period all over England and are symptomatic of the not inconsiderable internal unrest of these times. Almost a hundred such sites are known from Bedfordshire alone, although this includes later examples (up to the sixteenth century); Dyer has plotted them and discussed them briefly, but there is a need for a county corpus of material concerning these sites.[8]

At Someries the earthwork seems to have been levelled at some time, perhaps just before the building of the fifteenth century mansion, for the heights of the mound and banks are extremely low. The depth of the inner ditch from the top of the central mound is a matter of some 3 ft. only.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINING FIFTEENTH CENTURY BUILDINGS

The estate of Someries came into the possession of Lord Wenlock, perhaps in the fifteenth century[9] when the original moated manor was probably in a very poor condition; Wenlock started to build

Fig 1.


SCRUB
BUSHES
SITE OF DITCH
FARMYARD
PLANNED EXTENT OF BLOCK
CHAPEL
GATEHOUSE
HEDGE
CENTRAL MOUND
?ORIGINAL ENTRANCE
SCRUB
BANK
DITCH
BANK
BEDFORD
LUTON
1 MILE
old roadway
SOMERIES CASTLE
LUTON
LUTON HOO PARK
WOODLAND
100
50
0
100
200 FEET
SOMERIES CASTLE
TERENCE P. SMITH, '65
PHASE I
PHASE II
RE-USED BRICKS

a new house on a grand scale, the chapel and gatehouse of which form the present ruins.

The brick remains are interesting because they are an early use of the material after its reintroduction from the continent, although there are earlier examples, such as Herstmonceux (1440). Wenlock may have been influenced by Archbishop Rotherham in his choice of brick as a building material: Rotherham was responsible for a number of brick buildings,[10] and gave rise to the once famous saying 'as red as Rotherham College', quoted by Manning. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that Rotherham *alone* may have been responsible for the building at Someries, and this view has been discussed below.

Before going further with our description it is helpful to quote an early description of Someries. In describing certain property, Leland writes, some eighty years after the building had been started: 'He had . . . Luton in Bedfordshire and 300 marks of land thereabouts, and a faire place with in the Paroche of Luton caullyd Somerys, the which house was sumptuously begon by the Lord Wennelok but not finischid. The Gate House of Brike is very large and faire. Part of the residew of the new Foundations be yet seene and part of the Olde Place standeth yet. It is set on a Hille not far from St Anne's Hill.'

Only the gatehouse and chapel survived the demolition of 1742. These buildings are of well-made bricks (see Appendix) of two types belonging to Phase I and Phase II of the building operations.

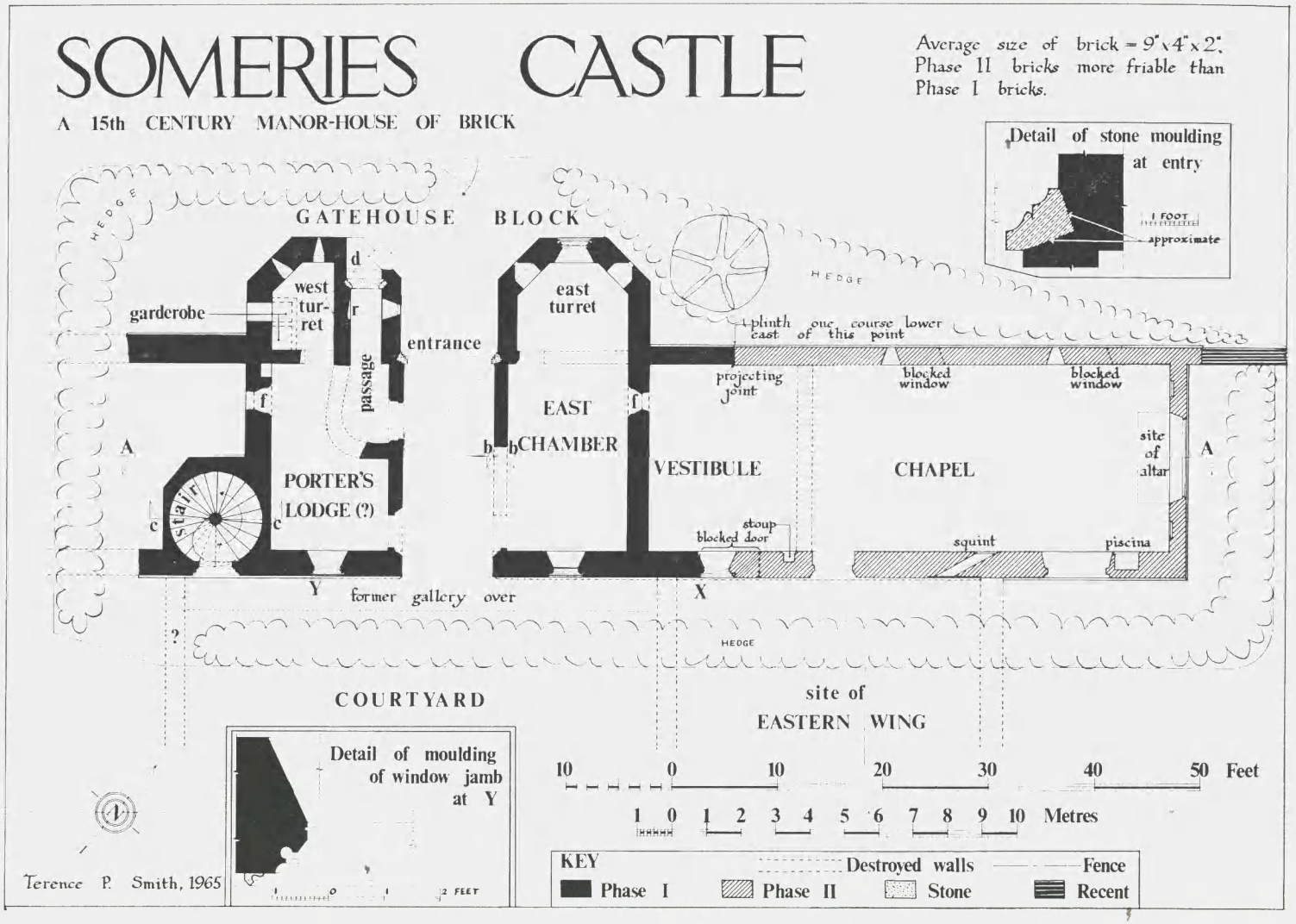
The entrance passage (fig 2) was entered from outside the building by a stone archway which was closed by large doors: the hinge pins upon which these swung can still be seen in the stone jambs. The entry was flanked by two half-octagonal turrets. Above the arch, at first-floor level, is a corbel table of eight cinquefoiled arches, upon which the wall above is partly built. A large window once lighted the first storey, but it appears to have been blocked at some time, perhaps soon after its completion, since the blocking is of similar bricks to the rest of the gatehouse. The entrance passage was originally vaulted, and eighteenth century prints[11] show the vault as intact, though they show no details. From what remains, however, it is possible to reconstruct the form of the vault (fig 3). Vault-springings exist in the four corners of the entry passage in the form of responds; the entry passage measures 9 ft. by 18 ft. so it is clear that there were two other springings in the side walls; that these springings were in the form of corbels is proven by the fact that no pillar-footings exist. The vault consisted of two 9 ft. square bays of simple ribbed-vaulting with two intersecting diagonal ribs to each bay. Above the vault the side walls are constructed in the form of a false-bearing.

From the entrance passage opened three doorways: two in the south-west wall and one in the north-east wall. The south-west jambs of the two doorways near the courtyard arch still stand, but only the footing remains of the other doorway. This doorway, as is clear from its position and mouldings, never held a door.

The southernmost of these doorways leads into a fairly large room, 18 ft. by 11 ft., which has been called by all writers, except Dyer, the Porter's Lodge: its position suggests that it may well have been this. In the northern corner is the curved wall of the small passage in the turret (this passage is considered more fully later). In the wall which overlooked the courtyard is a square-headed window; it is deeply moulded (see Detail at Y on plan, fig 2) and has a label on the outside. The wall opposite the door had in it a fireplace with a brick arch, now knocked through, though a few feet of the flue are preserved. To the right of the fireplace is a small cupboard built into the wall. A doorway in the north-west wall, now destroyed, gave access to the west turret; this has oillets in it whose purpose was decorative only. Part of the west turret is occupied by the passage mentioned above, and some of the rest by the garderobe: this was used from first-floor level, and the excrement would have passed down one of two chutes. The bonding (only one brick's width in thickness) of these chutes is visible. The thin wall separating one chute from the other finishes at a point about 4 ft. above present ground-level. The chutes continue below ground-level to allow the excrement to percolate; even so, a considerable stench must have resulted, and to obviate this an arched opening was provided at ground-level. Above the chutes was a wooden seat: a piece of wood which once projected to support the seat may be seen in the wall; the hole for a similar support is a few feet from the first and at the same level.

A passage, (?) for the use of the porter, is in the north corner of the turret and (?)Porter's Lodge. By dusting away loose earth the writer and certain colleagues were able to show that all previous plans are, at least slightly, erroneous: in fact, the wall base forms an almost bulbous projection into the (?)Porter's Lodge. An angle in the passage is chamfered to a height of 5 ft. above present ground-level so that there would have been no sharp angle to knock against in the narrow dark passage. *The Victoria County History* mentions a stair here but there was *not* one. At the north end of the passage is a doorway to the outside of the building; this doorway has jambs of

Fig. 2.


SOMERIES CASTLE
A 15th CENTURY MANOR-HOUSE OF BRICK
Average size of brick = 9" x 4" x 2".
Phase II bricks more friable than Phase I bricks.
Detail of stone moulding at entry
1 FOOT
approximate
GATEHOUSE BLOCK
HEDGE
garderobe
west turret
d
r
entrance
passage
f
A
PORTER'S LODGE (?)
stair
c
east turret
EAST CHAMBER
b
plinth one course lower east of this point
projecting joint
blocked window
blocked window
site of altar
VESTIBULE
CHAPEL
stoup
blocked door
squint
piscina
former gallery over
Y
X
?
COURTYARD
site of EASTERN WING
Detail of moulding of window jamb at Y
2 FEET
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Metres
KEY
Destroyed walls
Fence
Phase I
Phase II
Stone
Recent
Terence P. Smith, 1965

stone. The open door would have swung back into a recess provided for it. As the recess is in the south-west wall of the passage it is evident that the door was hung on the south-west jamb, and this is corroborated by the holes in the jamb left by the original hinge pins. When the door was in this recess it would not have obstructed the passage, which it certainly would have done had there been no recess.

Outside this doorway and above it is the most ornate work in the whole of the remaining building, a pointer to the not inconsiderable skill of the builders. From a small trefoiled arch in the angle a curved face of brick rises outwards to what was originally a corbel-table of four trefoiled arches (fig 3). Visually, this serves to continue the line of the corbel-table above the main entry arch, whilst its practical purpose was to support the 45°-angle wall above it. Prints and Goodwin's drawing[12] show that up to 1875 all four of these trefoiled arches were intact, but none survives undamaged today. The curving brickwork must have been constructed on a wooden formwork.

In the (?)Porter's Lodge, the west turret, and the passage are the joist holes of the first-floor: these holes are backed by roofing tiles. As stated above the garderobe was used from this level. Present remains, together with the old prints, enable us to reconstruct the first-floor at this part of the building (fig 6). Above the (?)Porter's Lodge was a rectangular room, slightly wider than the room below due to the false-bearing above the vault (fig 3); this western chamber, as it may conveniently be called, was entered from the gallery running at this level across the north-west side of the courtyard (see right) by the entrance in the south corner. Another doorway, in the north corner, gave access to the central chamber, above the entrance passage, though narrower than it because of the false-bearing above the vault. This chamber had in its north-west wall the window referred to above (p 37). The jamb of the doorway separating the western from the central chamber still remains as an ogee moulding which also formed the jamb of the arched entrance to the garderobe: this arch, now fallen, can be seen in old prints and photographs as well as in Sandby's water-colour.[13]

The curved wall of the passage was not continued above the ground-floor. Yet another doorway existed in the south-west wall of this chamber just above the ground-floor fireplace, so that the flue must have been narrowed and deflected. The doorway, which had an arched top (the tiles in the wall at the springing are still visible), may never have been used, since the building into which it was intended to lead may not have been completed (see p 41).

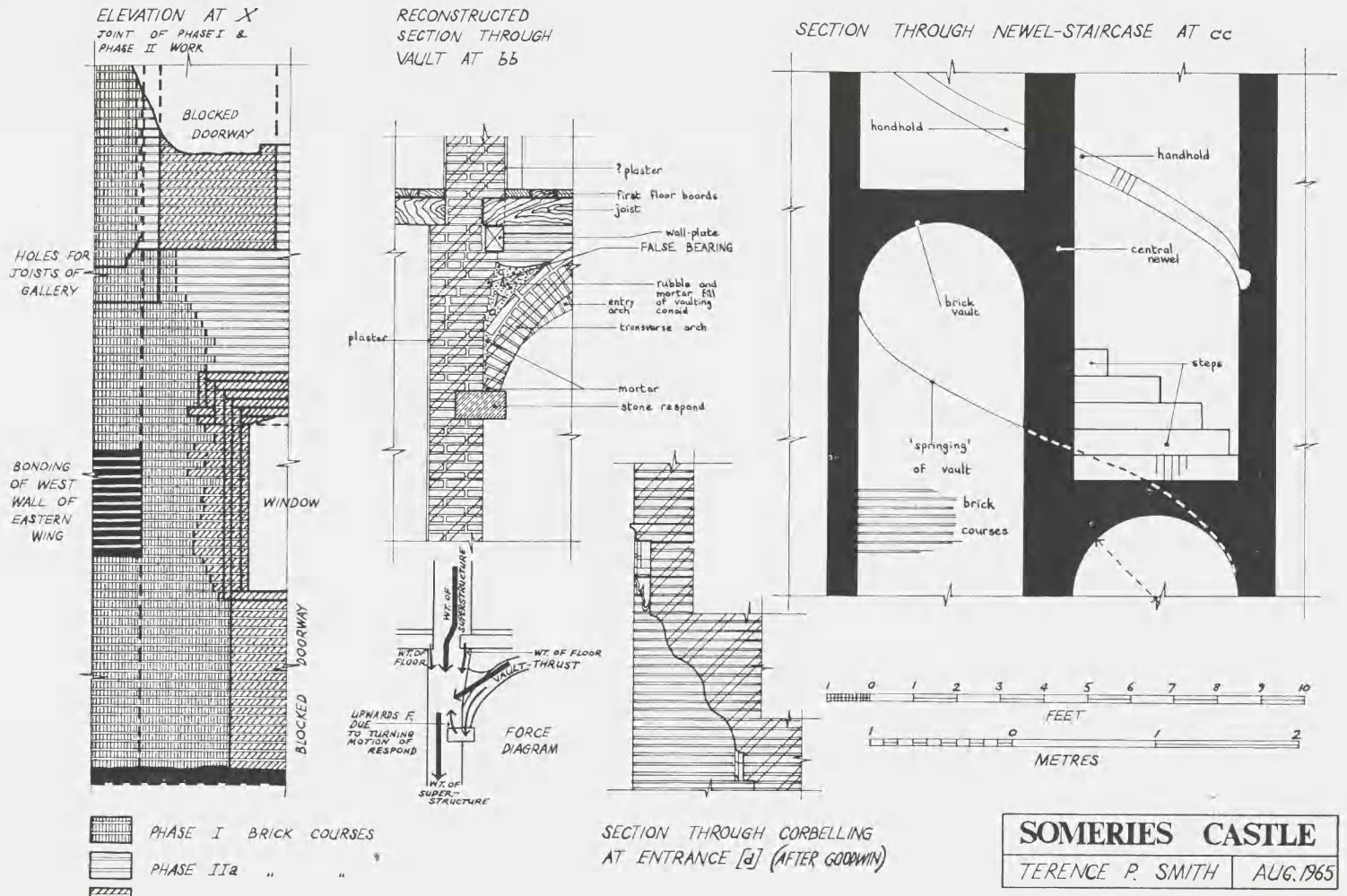
Manning states that this chamber, together with the other two at first-floor level, was vaulted,[14] but the writer can find nothing in the existing structure or in old illustrations to substantiate this. There appear to have been no windows to the chamber proper (the window of the central chamber was blocked, see above, p 37) but the turrets had fairly large windows.

To return to ground-level: from the east doorway of the entry passage opens a room similar to the (?)Porter's Lodge, but with no passage. The wall dividing the room from the entry passage is destroyed, only its footing remaining. This room too had a square-headed window overlooking the courtyard. In the north corner, in the north-east wall, was a fireplace, like that in the (?)Porter's Lodge, now completely knocked through and forming, as Manning pointed out, 'a convenient entry to the chapel'. Dyer prefers to call *this* room the Porter's Lodge. A thin wall divided this room from the east turret, with a doorway at its south-west end. The small, half-octagonal room so formed has a large square-headed window in its north-west wall, and oillets in the diagonal walls.

In the east chamber also may be seen the joist holes of the first-floor. The first-floor room was entered *via* the western and central chambers through a doorway at the west corner. Another doorway led into the turret which had a large window with a stone jamb. In the north corner, in the north-west wall, was a further doorway giving access, down a brick step since there is a change in level (fig 6) to the chapel gallery (see p 41); this doorway is immediately above the ground-floor fireplace so that, as in the (?)Porter's Lodge, the flue would have been deflected. A recess is provided, in the north-west wall of the chapel gallery, to take the open door, thus indicating that the door was hung on the north-west jamb and opened into the chapel gallery.

To return again to the ground-floor: the courtyard was south-east of the existing buildings; the intention of the architect(s) was that this should be surrounded completely by buildings, though it is doubtful whether this plan was ever realised. The courtyard was entered from the entrance passage by the brick arch at its south-east end; above this arch, outside, is a diamond pattern of black, vitrified bricks. Also visible here is the row of beam holes in which rested the beams of the gallery which originally ran across the north-west side of the courtyard from the 'western wing' (if indeed this were completed) to the 'eastern wing' for a length of some 48 ft. *The Victoria County History* suggests that there was a pentice roof above this gallery, but there are no indications of

Fig 3.



SOMERIES CASTLE

TERENCE P. SMITH	AUG. 1965

this in the brickwork and any such roof would have obscured the view of the black diamond pattern; probably there was just a wooden parapet. From this gallery opened the doorway already mentioned in connection with the chamber above the (?)Porter's Lodge, and another doorway, similar in size and next to the first, which gives access to the newel stairway. Both doorways have four-centred arched heads, simple mouldings, and labels. The arched top to the eastern-most doorway has fallen completely.

At ground-floor level below these doorways and a few feet to the west of them is another doorway, just outside the site of the 'western wing'; this doorway, which gives access to the newel stairway, is wider than those above and has more complex mouldings; it, also, has a label. A few inches above ground-level here can be seen the plinth, which is not visible a few feet further to the east owing to a rise in ground-level. The stairway has a central newel and radiating steps (except for the bottom step which is constructed tangential to the newel) of brick and tile carried up on an extremely well-built vault, semi-circular in section and constructed partly of 'ploughshare forms'. This vault carries on for a few feet below ground, and it is this fact that has given rise to tales of a secret tunnel from Someries to St Mary's Parish Church, Luton Hoo, and various other places. None of these fanciful tales is, of course, true. Davis[15] writes that 'from the foot of the stairs is a subterraneous passage, which is now blocked up, . . . '. Manning[16] writes: 'it seems . . . probable that any opening there may have been would lead to the cellars that one might expect to find under the gatehouse.' Dyer[17] states: 'a circular staircase . . . led . . . down into the cellar, the entrance of which has been filled-in.' Close examination shows that there is no room for a sensibly-sized entrance, and there is no sign of one, even blocked. The taking of the vault below ground can be explained by the fact that such measures would have been necessary to allow the stairs to descend to floor-level. A hand-hold is provided: built into the wall (fig 3), it is semi-circular in section and rises in a spiral to follow the rise of the stair; and it is surely significant, in regard to the suggested cellar, that this hand-hold finishes at the ground-floor doorway.

The height of a single riser in the stairs is 7 in. and there are twenty steps to a complete circle (thus, each step occupies an 18° sector of a circle). Today, the stair can be mounted to first-floor level with difficulty, but it formerly rose at least one storey, and probably two storeys, higher.

The building westwards of the stair may have been destroyed, or may never have been completed. Dyer[18] writes: 'the ruined walls on the western side of the gatehouse never extended further west [*i.e.* south-west, T.P.S.] than they do today. Their foundations end quite clearly at this point, and the wall at the northern angle has been constructed as a buttress. . . .' Sandby's painting[19] shows a low wall at this point which may indicate that the *foundations did* extend further than they do today. On the other hand, as Mr David H. Kennett pointed out to the writer in conversation, this wall may be later and simply joined on to the ruin. And, of course, even if the foundations *did* exist here that is no proof that the building here was completed: indeed, one recalls Leland's remark that '. . . part of *the residew of the new Foundations* be yet seen . . . ' (writer's italics). Fowler[20] has something to say on the matter, but it must be remembered that he is frequently inaccurate. He states: 'the western wing . . . extended about 50 ft., as far as [a] tree, under which, Mr Purrett informs me, there are foundations.' Fowler's information, it will be noted, was not first hand. He was on the site but seems not to have attempted to corroborate the information. Dyer argues that had the 'western wing' been completed '. . . the remains of . . . de Someries thirteenth century home which adjoins the mansion . . . would have been destroyed'. Strangely enough, he says earlier in the book[21] that '. . . on the eastern side . . . the earthwork is somewhat irregular; perhaps the result of site clearance *in preparation for Lord Wenlock's mansion*' (writer's italics). A consultation of fig 1 shows that the wing *could* have been built with no damage to the earlier earthwork. This, of course, is far from being proof that the wing *was* built, and Dyer may well be correct.

The chapel may now be considered: the entrance to this is well-moulded with a semi-circular arch. Inside the chapel, immediately south-west of the doorway, can be seen the bonding of the wall of the chapel vestibule, which occupied the south-western third of the chapel block, and which measures 18 ft. by 14 ft. A similar bonding is in the north-west wall exactly opposite. The bonding indicates that the wall separating the vestibule from the chapel stood to a height just above the first-floor level of the vestibule: this first-floor was undoubtedly used as a gallery. The joist holes of the first-floor are visible in the south-east and north-west walls, the holes at the extreme north-east end of the row having supported a massive beam 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. in section by about 20 ft. long; the other holes took smaller joists than this. The idea that the first-floor was a gallery is confirmed by Fisher's drawing of 1812, by Sparrow's print, and by Sandby's water-colour. These show that the gallery was divided from the chapel by two high arches with a central (no doubt brick)

pillar. In the north-west wall was a 6 ft. wide window now destroyed, and close by a smaller window also destroyed: both appear from old prints to have been square-headed. It will be recalled that the gallery was entered from a doorway in its western angle (see above, p 39). Another doorway in the south angle in the south-east wall was intended to have opened from the gallery across the north-west side of the courtyard (see above, p 39) but this doorway was blocked, probably at the time of the alterations to the ground-floor of this part of the building (see p 44). The south-west jamb of the doorway, like the blocking and the chapel work north-east of the doorway and over 6 ft. above present ground-level, is of a different type of brick to the work immediately south-west of the jamb (fig 3).

On the ground-floor level the entrance to the vestibule from the chapel proper was probably just inside the chapel entry (fig 2) for just to the south-west of the chapel doorway is an arched stoup which one would expect to find near an entrance; the position of the stoup in the vestibule is an oddity, and is dealt with further below (p. 46). The existence of a blocked doorway some feet south-west of the chapel entry was early noted: it is only partly visible from the outside but from the inside it can be seen to have had a segmented arched head like that of the present doorway to the chapel (though on the exterior the chapel doorway has a semi-circular head, see above). A square-headed window, exactly similar in style to those in the gatehouse, was inserted to take the place of the doorway. Both Manning and *The Victoria County History* state that the blocked doorway 'is equidistant from the centre line of the gateway with the west face of the stairway at the north-west [*i.e.* the northern corner, T.P.S.] of the court,'[22] but in fact this observation is erroneous as consultation of the plan (fig 2) will show. Above the blocked door, rising towards the gatehouse, is a joint in the brickwork which meets with the joint at the jamb of the first-floor blocked doorway mentioned above: the work to the north-east of the joint, except for the bottom 6 ft. on the outside, is of bricks lighter in colour and more friable than those of the gatehouse.

In the north-west wall of the vestibule is another joint 7 ft. 11 in. from the western corner. This joint is straight and vertical as far as the first-floor: the joint is poorly made, for the work to the north-east projects about an inch from that to the south-west. Above the first-floor the joint is bonded and rises towards the gatehouse, like the joint in the opposite wall already mentioned. On the exterior the joint is vertical but bonded to first-floor level: above this it slopes as it does inside. Towards the bottom of the wall the plinth is one course lower to the north-east. The work to the north-east of the joint, except for the lower 6 ft. of the exterior, is of the lighter (in colour), more friable bricks. The north-east wall (liturgical 'east wall') of the chapel is similarly of these poorer bricks, again excepting the lower 6 ft. of the exterior face. From this evidence it is possible to divide the building history of the existing building into two main phases with two sub-divisions (see *Interpretation*, p 44).

The chapel itself measures 34 ft. by 18 ft. In the south-east wall, about 18 ft. from the 'east end' is a squint, which would have provided a view of the altar from the now destroyed 'eastern wing'. The squint is an arched opening set obliquely in the wall; on the outside of the chapel it is set in the western end of a rectangular, 1 in. deep recess.

North-east of the squint is a window originally of three lights and with a three-centred arched top; none of the mullions stands today.[23] Immediately north-east of this, at the lower level, is the piscina: this has an arched top and a stone base showing traces of the bowl. Originally, the piscina was ornate, having a brick half-pillar supporting two trefoiled arches within the larger arch.[24]

In the 'east wall' of the chapel is the large 'east window', under which would have stood the altar. The window was originally of four lights, though none of the mullions stands now.[25] The brick arch inside is segmental and on the exterior the window has a square label. Either side of the window about two-thirds of the way up is a small niche with a trefoiled arch; the edges are chamfered.

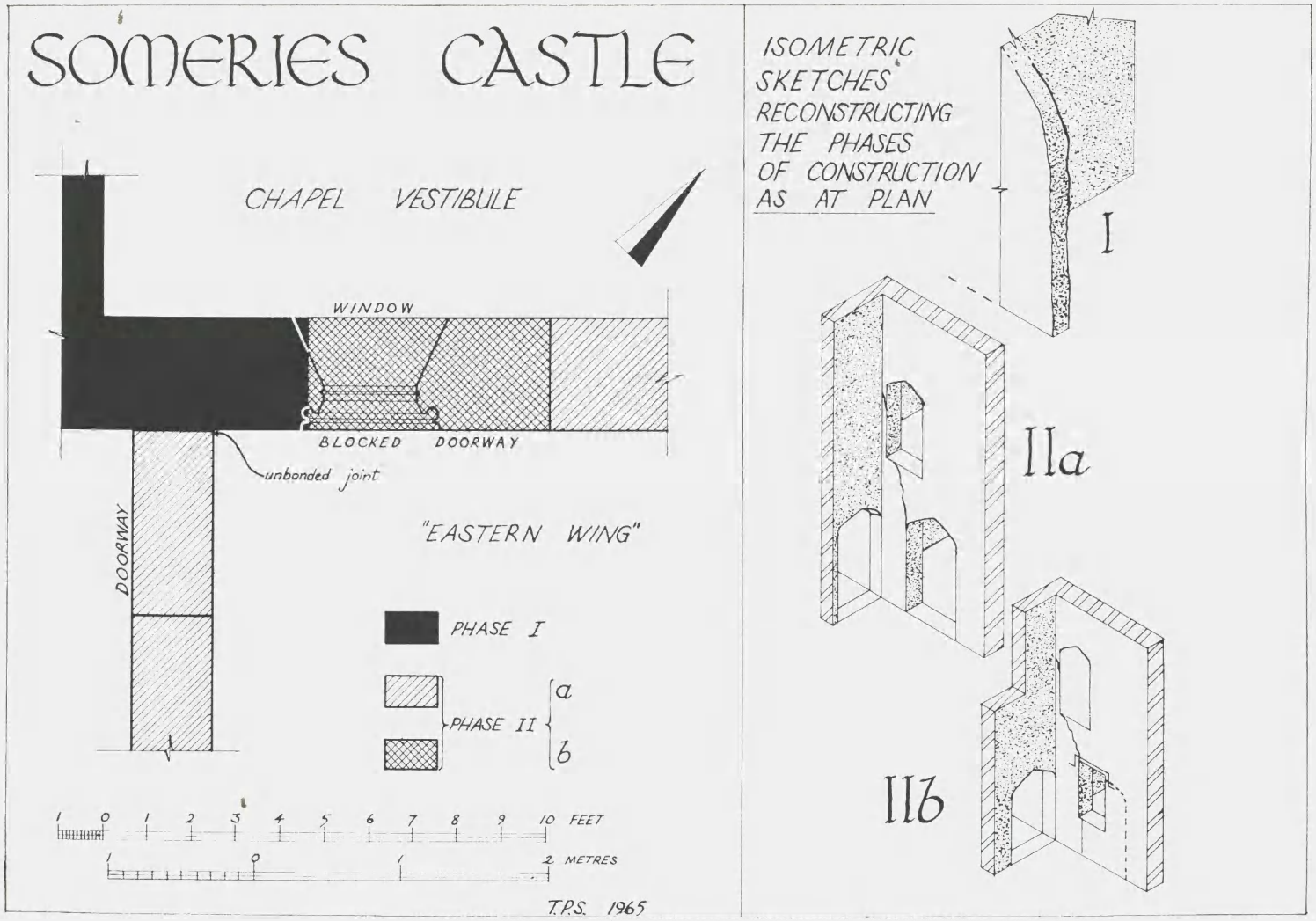
In the north-west wall of the chapel are two partly-blocked windows. Both have their heads at the same level, but the western one has its sill at a lower level than the other. Unblocked, both would have had segmented heads and been about 6 ft. wide: they are now splayed to the inside where they are about 2 ft. wide.

The floor of the chapel was covered with glazed tiles, a number of pieces of which have been found by Mr David Clark and the writer (see Appendix).

In several places the chapel stands to its original full height. Outside, above the 'east window' and along the south-east wall is a moulded brick cornice which originally continued right round the chapel and vestibule. Inside, about a foot below the wall-plate level, along the 'east wall' and the north-east ends of the north-west and south-east walls, are some shield-shaped corbels of brick, set at about 26 in. centres, which originally continued round the whole of the chapel, and helped to support the roof structure (see below, p 48).

Outside can be seen where the north-east wall of the chapel continued in a north-easterly direc-

Fig 4.


SOMERIES CASTLE
CHAPEL VESTIBULE
WINDOW
BLOCKED DOORWAY
unbonded joint
DOORWAY
"EASTERN WING"
PHASE I
PHASE II
a
b
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET
1 0 1 2 METRES
T.P.S. 1965
ISOMETRIC SKETCHES RECONSTRUCTING THE PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION AS AT PLAN
I
IIa
IIb

tion: part of the continuing wall still stands today and resembles a buttress. Next to the squint recess on the outside of the south-east chapel wall is the bonding of the north-east wall of the 'eastern wing'. This wall stood almost to the full height of the chapel. The south-west wall of this wing was *not* bonded to the vestibule wall, which it abuts, except for the springing of the arch of the doorway in the wall immediately adjoining the vestibule wall, which was bonded in a form resembling modern block-bonding (figs 3 and 4).

INTERPRETATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The Phases of Construction

From an examination of the structural features, in particular the joint, blocked doorways, and inserted window, at X on the plan (fig 2), it is possible to establish the building sequence. As mentioned above, the gatehouse, the walls of the vestibule south-west of the joints, and the lower 6 ft. of the outer thickness of the chapel wall are of dark, hard, well-baked bricks, whereas the rest of the chapel and vestibule is of lighter, more friable bricks. The joints immediately point to two phases of building activity: the second of these may be subdivided into three, or possibly only two, building phases. *The Victoria County History* and Manning both date the gatehouse as the earlier structure, though they give no reasons for their views;[26] Dyer,[27] however, attempts a reversal of this sequence and does give his reasons; the writer wishes to show that Dyer's reasons are untenable, and that there is considerable evidence for dating the gatehouse as the earlier structure. Dyer writes: 'there is good reason to suspect that it [*i.e.* the chapel] was the earliest part of the building'; he adds: '. . . the holes for the chapel gallery floor joists have been built into the gatehouse construction, but have had to be hacked out of the brickwork of the existing chapel wall.' Dyer is mistaken in this latter statement: the holes have *not* been hacked from the chapel wall; certain of them have the appearance of having been hacked, but, as close inspection reveals, this is due to the friable nature of the chapel bricks. The two large joist holes almost directly above the site of the dividing wall show beyond any doubt that they have been built into the wall. One wonders also if it would be constructionally possible to insert the joists into holes hacked, as Dyer suggests, from a pre-existing wall.

That the gatehouse is, in fact, the earlier structure is indicated by the joints of the two builds. It will be recalled that both joints slope *upwards towards the gatehouse* (see above, p 42, and figs 3 and 4) and this indicates that the gatehouse was built first and that when work temporarily ceased (probably when Wenlock died) the walls were racked;[28] later, the chapel and the rest of the vestibule were added, the joint in the north-west wall being constructed straight (*i.e.* with no bond). At the first-floor level in the south-east wall the jamb of the now blocked doorway was built straight on to the plain-toothed gatehouse wall. If we accept Dyer's proposal we must also accept that when the builders ceased work on the chapel vestibule they deliberately constructed an overhang of some 3 ft. about 8 ft. above the ground! Furthermore, the change of bricks also supports the idea that the chapel was built first: the bricks in the outer skin of the chapel wall which are of the same type as those in the gatehouse (the hard bricks) must represent the bricks left on the site or at a nearby brick-working when the Phase I build came to an end. When work was resumed (Phase II) these better bricks were used for as long as possible for facing, whilst the newer, poorer bricks were used for the internal wall faces which were to be plastered. There were sufficient to build the lower 6 ft. of the chapel walls, but thereafter the inferior bricks had to be used for facing. That the older bricks were indeed desired for facing is proved by the fact that they have not been used at all inside the chapel, the walls of which were plastered, and that they have not been used between the two walls of the 'eastern wing' (*i.e.* on the wall which would have been *inside* this wing, and hence plastered). Yet further evidence supports the writer's thesis: at stated above, the south-west wall of the 'eastern wing' (see above, p 42, and figs 3 and 4) was not bonded to the vestibule wall, whilst the north-east wall of the wing *was* bonded. This suggests that the north-east wall was built contemporaneously with the chapel (Phase II); the south-west wall, on the other hand, was built *onto* the earlier structure by the structurally unsound method of making an unbonded abutment.[29]

Phase II (the chapel build) may be further subdivided into what the writer has called Phases IIa, IIb, and IIc, although IIc may well be coterminous with IIb.

To Phase IIa belong the chapel and the 'eastern wing'; the 'eastern wing' is shown to be of this period by the bonding of the north-east wall as detailed above: the abutment of this wall on to the gatehouse structure provides a *terminus post quem*, since the gatehouse can be dated fairly accurately (see p 46, under *The Builders of Someries*). Phase IIa *excludes* the chapel doorway and the *blockings* of the vestibule door from the 'eastern wing' and of the doorway from the courtyard gallery to the chapel gallery. A reconstruction of the chapel doorway area is given in fig 6. Thus, during this phase the chapel was entered *via* the

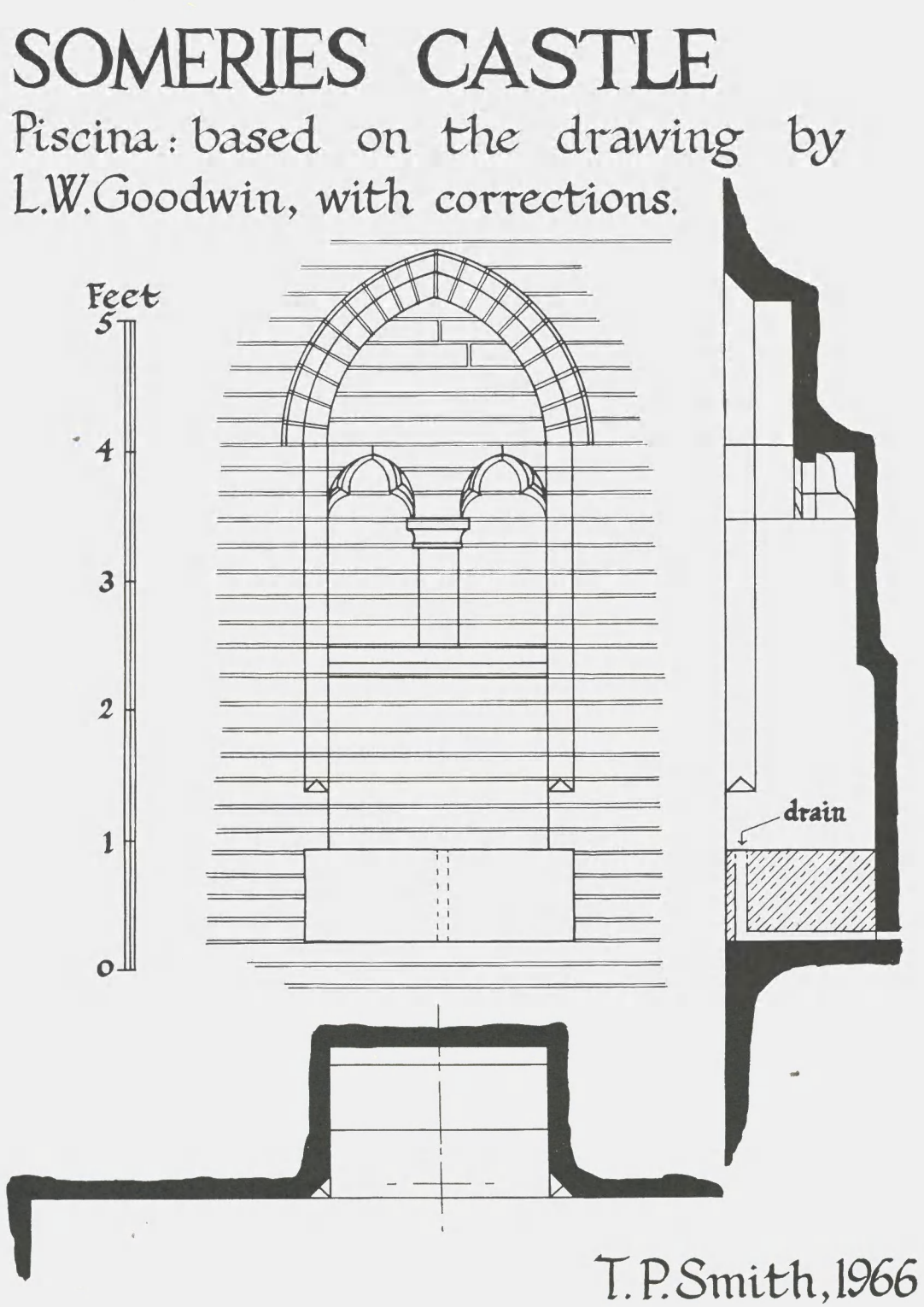

SOMERIES CASTLE
Piscina: based on the drawing by L.W.Goodwin, with corrections.
Feet
5
4
3
2
1
0
drain
T.P.Smith, 1966

Fig 5.

vestibule, the stoup being passed as one entered.

During Phase IIb the gallery doorway and the vestibule doorway were blocked, a window, similar in style to those of the gatehouse, being inserted where part of the ground-floor doorway had been. The present chapel doorway was added to provide access to the chapel (and the vestibule). That the chapel doorway belongs to Phase IIb rather than to Phase IIa is indicated by the position of the stoup. Had the present chapel doorway been part of the IIa build, then the stoup would have been placed to the north-east of it so that the stoup would have been passed on entry to the chapel: with the present arrangement the vestibule would have had to be entered in order to reach the stoup, a peculiarly incongruous arrangement. The plan under IIa is clearly that originally intended. The similarity in style between the window taking the place of the vestibule entrance and those in the gatehouse (Phase I) is indicative of a fairly short time-lapse between the phases.

Into Phase IIc may be put all other blockings, *viz.* the blockings of the two large windows in the north-west wall of the chapel (see above p 42) and the blocking of the large window above the entrance passageway (p 37). Clearly, other possibilities arise here; first, all the blockings were not necessarily carried out at the same time; however, this does not invalidate the phase, which must simply be extended over a longer period to cover the first and the last blockings. Secondly, the window in the gatehouse could have been blocked even before Phase II had been begun; in this case Phase IIc must be considered still as a separate phase but running parallel to the Phase I-IIa-IIb sequence. Lastly, it is possible that all or some of these blockings belong to the same alteration in plan as the vestibule and gallery doorway blockings (Phase IIb); if *some* belong to IIb, then IIc is still valid, whereas if *all* belong to IIb then IIc will be superfluous. Only documentary evidence can answer these problems, and none is known at present.

The Builders of Someries

Wenlock may have acquired Someries in 1464, though this date is not certain.[30] He may well have begun work soon after this on his new mansion. However, at least one person was of the opinion that the whole of the work was by Rotherham, whom, it is the writer's contention, was responsible for the Phase II work. Mr F. G. Gurney says[31] that Leland's is the only document connecting Wenlock with Someries, but in fact a Mr Tavener of Harlington wrote in 1648[32] that Wenlock built Someries with spoils from the French Wars. Whilst this account was being rewritten *The Story of Luton* was published and the writer was pleased to find that Dyer accepts Wenlock's connection with the mansion.[33] He writes: 'since it [*i.e.* Leland's account] was written within two generations of Lord Wenlock's death, it is likely to contain some truth that it was begun, but not finished, by Lord Wenlock.' Added to this we have the fact that there were two phases of construction: and what better time for a temporary break in work than when the estate changed hands from Wenlock to Rotherham? Thus we can, with reasonable safety, conclude that soon after (?)1464 Wenlock started the gatehouse and the south-east end of the vestibule. Work must have ceased on his death at Tewkesbury in 1471,[34] which date thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for the gatehouse. The estate then passed to Archbishop Thomas Rotherham, and became fully legally safeguarded by him on May 4th, 1475[35]. It is to the period of legalisation of the acquisition by Rotherham that we must date the period of inactivity between the two main phases. Rotherham probably started work soon after 1475; the date provides a *terminus post quem* for the Phase II work. It is of interest to note that the chapel at Someries bears the same relationship to the gatehouse as the chapel at Rotherham College, a point first noted by Manning,[36] and this would seem to support the idea that this work was by Rotherham. Manning also pointed out, in conversation with the writer, that the chapel is unusually large and that an archbishop is the person most likely to build an exceptionally large chapel. If we may judge from the great number of Phase II bricks in the nearby 18th century farmhouse, the builders of which used the mansion as a 'quarry', Rotherham was responsible for a considerable amount of building at Someries.

Summary of Building History

From conclusions arrived at above it is possible to summarise the building history as follows:

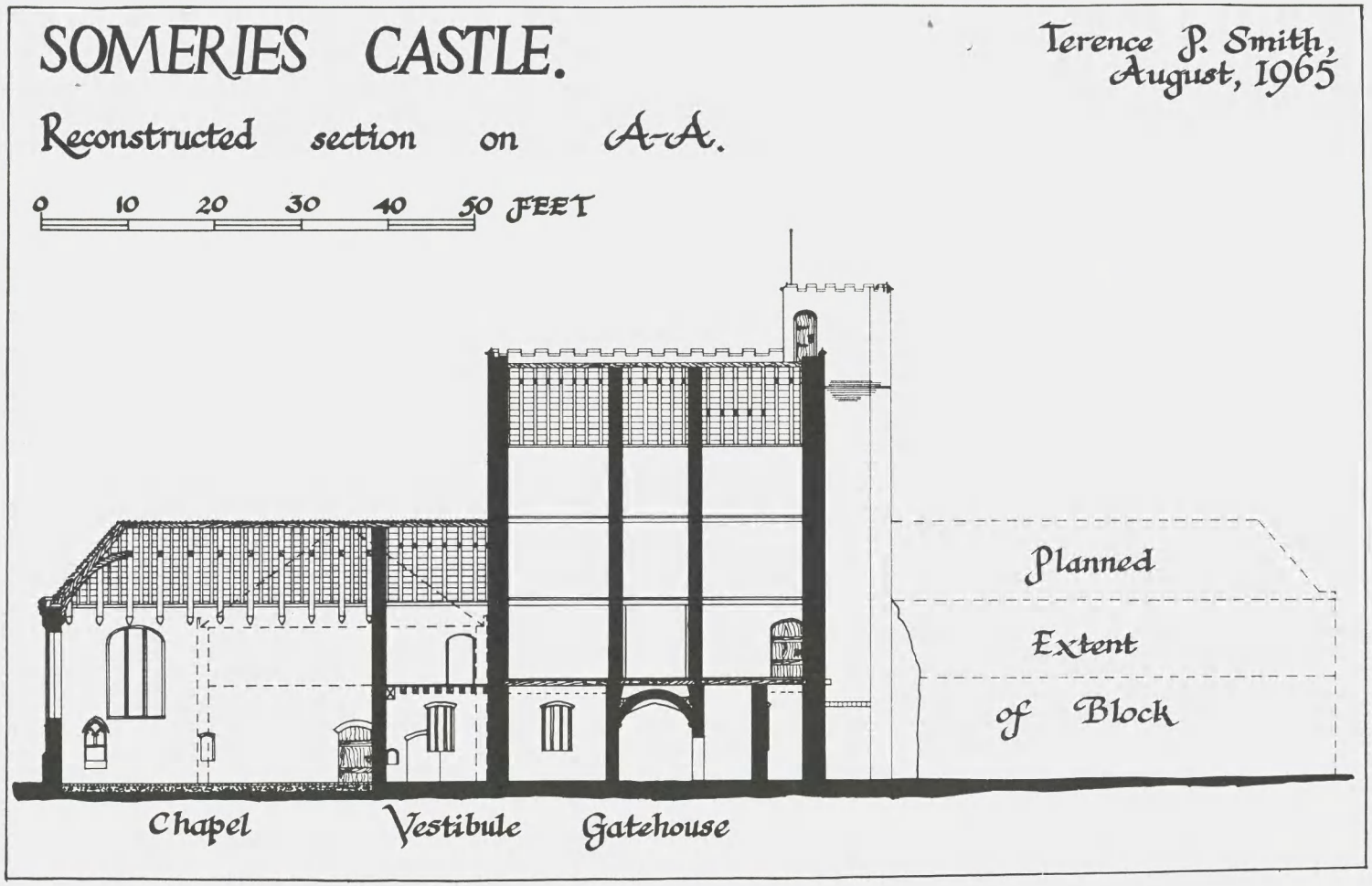
Phase I
(?)1464-71. Wenlock's build.
Gatehouse and south-west end of vestibule.
(?)Westward extension of gatehouse.
(?)'Western wing'.

Break in work
1471-75.

Phase IIa
1475ff. Rotherham's build.
Chapel, 'eastern wing', and any work adjoining the latter. Vestibule and gallery doorways (now blocked).

Phase IIb
Shortly after IIa.
Blocking of vestibule and gallery doorways. Vestibule window and chapel entrance.

Fig 6.


SOMERIES CASTLE.
Terence P. Smith, August, 1965
Reconstructed section on A-A.
0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET
Planned
Extent
of Block
Chapel
Vestibule
Gatehouse

Phase IIc

Probably soon after IIb.

Blocking of windows in north-west chapel wall and of window above gatehouse entry arch.

Reconstruction

It is possible to gain some idea of what Someries was like originally. It is clear from the chapel that the buildings north-east of the gatehouse stood to a height of two storeys. Probably, then, most of the rest of the building stood to this height also. The gatehouse with its two turrets must have stood to a height of at least three, and probably four, storeys. The newel stair tower may have stood above this. This would give a gatehouse typical of numerous mansion and college gatehouses of the period.[37]

Probably the gatehouse and the rest of the building were crennelated. Manning[38] says that the roof was flat, but this is a mistake; Dyer[39] in his reconstructional sketch shows a pitched roof. The absence of a gable at the 'east end' of the chapel, together with the corbel table to support a parapet on the outside of the 'east end' and the shield-shaped corbels along this wall inside, indicate that the wall was hipped at this end. The weight of the principals and common rafters would have been supported by the wall-plate, whilst the corbels probably supported arched braces. What the roof-covering was is not known for certain, but since roofing tiles (see Appendix) were used in the building (to back joist holes) they were no doubt used also for the roof.

Inside, some of the walls were plastered, as we know from traces, *e.g.* in the newel stair, of the original plaster (see Appendix). Fireplaces and mouldings were probably left as bare brickwork.

Of the rest of the building little can be said. An inventory of 1606[40] of the 'household stuff and furniture' at Someries mentions: 'the dairy; poultry house, farmhouse; Queen's chamber, inner chamber; Grey's chamber; chamber at the gallery end; gallery end next the great chamber; great chamber; clock chamber; children's chamber; maid's chamber; inner chamber next the maid's chamber; Miss Elizabeth, her chamber; Mr Cheyney, his chamber; chamber next Mr Cheyney's; the great parlour; the little parlour; hall; smith's chamber; well's chamber; cook boy's chamber; the kitchen and buttery.' There are, of course, the chapel, vestibule, and gatehouse to be added to this, and, indeed, it is difficult to see why they were not included. Another document, dated 1616,[41] mentions: 'the great dovehouse, standing within the great yard at Someries, the smythes forge and the bellows . . . likewise the new impaled yard lying on the south of the . . . farmyard, one parcel of ground called "the Hempland", one called "Ashen Grove", a messuage and pasture lying behind the great barn, 40 acres, more or less.'

It will be noted that the mansion had attached to it a farmyard and a dovecote; the dovecote may well have been like the one at Chiltern Green: this is of timber framing with a nogging of bricks very much like those at Someries. It is clear, also, that there were two courtyards. Altogether we are given a total of twenty-six rooms and farm buildings, despite the fact that Someries was 'not finischid'.

The Demolition

The last family to occupy the mansion was the Crawley family, who sold it to Sir John Napier of the Hoo in 1724: thus we have a period of occupation of about 250 years. Napier[42] never lived at Someries, and a document[43] states that in 1742 he demolished a great deal of 'the House at Someries'. Austin considered that the document refers to The Tower on St Ann's Hill, nothing of which now remains, for the two sites frequently were confused in the 18th century.[44] Dyer[45] accepts the document, as does the writer. We know that the demolition must have taken place around that time: the selling of the mansion in 1724 provides an exact *terminus post quem* and the print of 1778 by M. A. Rocker, which shows the ruin much as it is today, provides a clear *terminus ante quem* for the demolition. There is nothing in the document to suggest that The Tower was meant rather than Someries.

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APPENDIX

BUILDING MATERIALS FROM SOMERIES

Brick

The buildings are of Statute bricks: the average measurement is 9 in. by 4 in. by 2 in. The bricks are laid in English bond, though not without a little variation: occasionally a stretcher replaces two headers. The bricks are laid with five courses to a foot, thus giving a mortar width of just less than ½ in. The bulk of the bricks can be divided into two types: those of Phase I are dark and rich in colour, and have a hard, smooth surface texture. Included in these are several very dark bricks—those nearest the fire during baking. Most of these are a very dark purplish colour, several are black. There are also some 'flared headers', some of which are completely vitrified. A few of these are even glazed, a greenish-black colour, which may indicate that the wood used in firing was of a type yielding potash (potassium carbonate). These glazed 'flared headers' form a diamond pattern over the inner arch of the gatehouse passage and overlooking the courtyard. Elsewhere in the Phase I build they and the other darker bricks are used haphazardly. The Phase II bricks are lighter in colour and extremely friable, a fact which indicates that they were insufficiently baked. Accordingly, there are very few dark bricks in the Phase II structure.

Dyer pointed out[46] that the poorer type of bricks '. . . suggests the work of brickmakers unfamiliar with local clay'. Local writers have attempted to locate the brick-workings that supplied Someries. 'The earliest reference to brickmaking in the Luton area', writes Dyer,[47] 'occurs in 1541. At that time Barnard Spayne was manufacturing bricks and tiles. We don't know where his land was, but it may have been in the area of the Mixes Hill pits at Round Green. As Lord of the Manor, Sir Thomas Rotherham claimed that clay was a mineral, and that only he had the right to extract it. He sent his men to break up the freshly-made tiles and to remove . . . newly dug clay.' The suggestion that the Mixes Hill pits were they from which the Someries bricks came seems unlikely since these are a good way from Someries although in the same parish. Austin[48] suggested the Stopsley pits, but Mr James Dyer has told the writer in conversation that he has been unable to trace these pits further back than the mid-nineteenth century. In any case, the writer feels that these pits also are too distant to have supplied the great demand from the builders of Someries: usually in medieval and early Tudor times brick buildings were supplied from workings close to the site which were shut down on completion of the building, the semi-itinerant brickmakers then moving on.[49] The writer has noted a large area of dips resembling scoopings, now completely overgrown with nettles and filled with stagnant water, only 100 yards south-east of the present ruins, at Grid Ref TL/120202, and covering an area of approximately 500 square yards. This is very probably the site of the brick-workings which supplied Someries (a close examination is precluded by the nettles and the (evil-smelling!) water). And it is possible that this represents the beginnings of the local brick industry which reached its zenith in the late nineteenth century (at the Stopsley pits). Rotherham's connection with the unlocated workings mentioned above is interesting. Further, the workings at Someries lie on an old trackway or road joining Luton to Chiltern Green[50] where there is a dovecote of Someries-type bricks belonging to the same period.[51] The existence of an early brick industry at Luton is evidenced by, beside the Rotherham incident, local brick buildings, *e.g.* a house, now demolished, which formerly stood in Upper George Street, Luton.[52]

The mortar used was a sand-lime mixture, buff in colour and friable.

Plaster

This has a dirty buff colour. It is a lime compound produced from local chalk. Most of the plaster has reverted to the original calcium carbonate by combination with carbon dioxide from the air:

$$Ca(OH)_2 + CO_2 \longrightarrow CaCO_3 + H_2O.$$

Tiles

Floor tiles. Several pieces of floor tile have been found in the chapel. One piece was found in the vestibule but may have 'strayed' from the chapel. One set of pieces has a black glaze with a greenish tint in places. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find the full size of a tile, but they may well have been square, with sides not less than 4¾ in. All those pieces showing two adjacent sides show a bevel on both these sides, so probably all four sides were bevelled. The depth of a tile varies considerably from 9/10 in. to 1 1/16 in. The top and bottom surfaces are not always parallel. Mortar can be seen on some tiles. In one case small patches of glaze are on the side of the tile due to the glaze dropping there during firing. In general the glaze has more of a sheen than a glassy effect; it is patchy and, in places, very thin, showing that the tiles have been subjected to considerable wear. One piece shows traces of a brown glaze near its outer edge, and spots of this on the side. Other pieces have a beige glaze on white slip. This glaze is hard but brittle and in consequence little remains except on one tile piece. Other pieces have a brown

glaze, glassy but extremely badly worn. One piece shows the beige glaze and the brown glaze but it is not possible to identify any pattern. Again it was not possible to measure the full size of a tile, but the length of a side of a brown-glazed tile is 6 in., so its original size would have been not less than this. The depth varies from $\frac{4}{5}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{10}$ in., and the tops and bottoms are not exactly parallel. One piece formed part of a triangular tile with one angle of 54°. Another piece may have had one curved side though this is not certain. Possibly such tiles were used round door mouldings. Only the largest piece with a brown glaze has bevelled sides (two adjacent); none of the beige-glazed pieces shows bevels on its sides.

Roofing tiles. As stated above, these have been used in the construction as backing to the joist holes of the first-floor and were undoubtedly used for the roof covering. A tile measures $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, measurements which agree closely with those of the 'Act for the Making of Tile' (1477).[53] Each tile has two peg-holes asymmetrically placed, round, and tapering towards the upper side (underside diameter = *circa* $\frac{5}{8}$ in., topside diameter = *circa* $\frac{3}{8}$ in), and there are no nibs. There is a camber in its width and also in its length. The texture of a tile is very gritty with two or three small stones in it; but otherwise the tiles have been well made. It appears that a tile was made in a mould, the scratches resulting from the scraping off of the excess clay clearly being visible on the underside of a tile. The upper surface is very pitted, showing that the tile was in use for a considerable period. It would have been hung on wooden battens by the pegs which would have occupied the holes.

Stone

There is little of this in the present ruins: the arches of the main entry and the doorway to the small passage are of stone; stone is also used to hold the original latches of the chapel doorway and the newel stair doorway on the ground floor, also for the termination of the newel stair handhold at a doorway, for the base of the piscina, and for the responds supporting the vaulting ribs. It is 'clunch', a very hard form of chalk: it is found at the Totternhoe quarries which are known to have been working in medieval times, and Wenlock used it for his chapel in St Mary's Church, Luton. However, for the very small amount of stone at Someries, a closer pit might have been used.

Timber

There is little of this indeed in the present structure: there is a small piece built into the wall which originally held the garderobe seat (see above, p 37), and two pieces which fell from a doorway probably held a door hinge. It might be appropriate to say here a word about the flooring. The joists were large, averaging some 6 in. square in section; as well as being let into the wall they were supported by a wall-plate, of similar dimensions to the joists, also let into the wall. The joists were spaced at 1 ft. centres, thus giving a very strong though unnecessarily heavy floor structure. Floor-boards would, of course, have been supported by the joists. The joists of the chapel gallery, in contradistinction to those elsewhere in the building, were built into the holes with no wall-plate to bear upon.

Metal

All that exists is that used for the iron hinge pins of the main entry arch.

Glass

None of this has been found at Someries as yet, but the large windows must have been glazed, and the square-headed windows in the gatehouse show, in places, a rebate intended to take glass. Glass was fairly widely used in the fifteenth century even for small buildings.[54] It is possible that the large chapel windows once contained stained glass.

Excavation would undoubtedly supplement this appendix, providing the size of floor tiles as well, probably, as additional material on such things as glass, metal, chimneys, and roof finials.

REFERENCES

[1]*Vide The Luton News,* August, 1963.

[2]Dyer, Stygall, and Dony, *The Story of Luton* (1964). All material which is germane to this paper is by James Dyer. (The book is referred to as SOL.) p 66. In the 2nd Edition (1966) he has made a number of changes and accepts this writer's dating of the building sequences (see p 46).

[3]William H. Manning, 'Someries Castle', in *The Bedfordshire Magazine,* Vol. V, No. 36, p 157. (Referred to as WHM: SC.) SOL., pp 66-7.

[4]Rev H. Fowler, 'Someries Castle', in *Transactions of the S. Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society for 1889* (1891). (Referred to as HF: SC.) Plan facing p 36.

[5]SOL., p 66.

[6]*Ibid.,* p 67. Sketch plan given in William Austin, *History of Luton and its Hamlets* (1928) (referred to as WA: HLH.) Vol. I, p 124.

[7]WHM: SC., p 157.

[8]James F. Dyer, 'The Moated Homesteads', in *The Bed-*

fordshire Magazine, Vol. IX, No. 65, p 7ff. The present writer is collecting plans of all the known Bedfordshire sites for a future consideration.

[9]WA: HLH., I. p 185; II, p 249. Frederick Davis, *History of Luton* (2nd Edition, 1874) (referred to as FD: HL(2)), p 91.

[10]*E.g.* Lincoln College, Oxford.

[11]M. A. Rocker, 1778, and H. G. Taylor, 1790. Copies of these prints are in Luton Museum and in Luton Public Libraries (Reference Library).

[12]*Vide supra,* n 11. L. W. Goodwin, drawings of brick details in *The Building News,* Jan. 22, 1875.

[13]*Vide* n 11 and n 12. FD: HL (1st Edition), facing p 22; photograph in WA: HLH., I, facing p 188. The Sandby watercolour is now in Birmingham City Art Gallery; a reproduction is given at p xii of SOL.

[14]WHM: SC., p 160.

[15]FD: HL(2)., p 92.

[16]WHM: SC., p 161.

[17]SOL., p 97.

[18]*Ibid.,* p 99.

[19]*Vide supra,* n 13.

[20]HF: SC., p 67.

[21]SOL., p 67.

[22]*The Victoria County History of Bedfordshire* (referred to as VCH.), Vol. II, p 365; WHM: SC., p 160.

[23]VCH., II, p 365; apparently, there was sufficient to establish the number of lights when this account was written.

[24]Our knowledge of this comes from Goodwin's drawing, *Vide supra,* n 12.

[25]As for n 23.

[26]VCH., II, p 365; WHM: SC., p 159. Manning, of course, was writing for a magazine which aims at being popular: a careful examination of the structure clearly would be out of place in such a magazine. VCH, which attempts comprehensiveness, ought to have justified itself.

[27]SOL., p 98. In the 2nd Edition of SOL (1966) Dyer accepts the writer's sequence given in this paper.

[28]The purpose of this being to obviate the effects of irregular settlement. A modern builder would construct a racking no more than 3 ft., but at Someries this was exceeded considerably; hence, there is some irregular work in the N.W. wall of the chapel at the joint owing to unequal loading of the foundations (the irregular work is in the Phase II build).

[29]This would have caused a weakness in the building due to the considerable increase of the stress upon the arch of the doorway next to the vestibule wall. It appears, therefore, that the builders were not familiar with block bonding proper and so were forced to adopt a method which they must surely have realised was undesirable.

[30]*Vide supra,* n 9.

[31]In unpublished notes in Luton Museum. I recall reading a short article on Luton's history in the magazine of a local manufactory written about ten years ago by the late Mr Charles Freeman in which he stated that Rotherham built Someries: he made no mention of Wenlock.

[32]WA: HLH., I, p 192.

[33]SOL., pp 98-9.

[34]WA: HLH., I, pp 192, 193-4.

[35]*Ibid.,* I, p 201.

[36]WHM: SC., p 160.

[37]*E.g.* the gatehouse, slightly later, at Hertford Castle. The remains at Someries exhibit a remarkable similarity to Nether Hall, Roydon, Essex, and may well have been designed by the same architect(s). Other examples are numerous.

[38]WHM: SC., p 160.

[39]SOL., p 97.

[40]FD: HL(2)., p 92; quoted in WA: HLH., I, p 188

[41]*Ibid.,* II, p 14.

[42]*Ibid.,* II, p 64.

[43]*Ibid.,* II, p 68.

[44]*E.g.* in the 18th century prints; see n 11.

[45]SOL., p 99. See Dyer's new interpretation in the 2nd edition (1966).

[46]*Ibid.,* p 96.

[47]*Ibid.,* p 102.

[48]WA: HLH., I, p 187.

[49]Alec Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building,* p 216. See also p 208.

[50]This roadway was one of the several 'radial' roads which connected Luton with its hamlets and manors. It started at the Park Square area of Luton (where was situated the medieval town), but its course is now obliterated until the Vauxhall Works where the straight stretch of Kimpton road follows the course for 300 yds.; it is then obliterated again for 700 yds., but thereafter can be followed as far as Someries as a footpath and a track (hedged); it is followed by a metalled road probably as far as Kimpton. It passes through the medieval hamlet of Chiltern Green, where, in fact, its junction with another road, apparently old, is the origin of the green which is a feature of the present hamlet.

[51]See above, p. 48. Photograph at WA: HLH., I, facing p 198. William Austin, *The History of a Bedfordshire Family* (1911), pp 59-60.

[52]WA: HLH., I, photograph facing p 178.

[53]Alec Clifton-Taylor, *op.cit.,* pp 255-6.

[54]D. B. Harden, 'Domestic Window Glass: Roman, Saxon and Medieval' in *Studies in Building History* (1961), ed. E. M. Jope, p 57.

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Chandeliers in Bedfordshire Churches

ROBERT SHERLOCK

BRASS CHANDELIERS, as the answer to the practical problem of providing artificial light, were being placed in English churches from about 1580 onwards, but the practice does not seem to have been adopted in Bedfordshire until considerably later. In any county the first buildings likely to have had chandeliers are the large and wealthy churches in towns, and it is fitting therefore that the earliest recorded chandeliers in Bedfordshire should have been those in the main church of Bedford itself. A pair was bequeathed to St Paul's in 1711, and even at this date a chandelier was something of a novelty. The donor seriously miscalculated the size required and the relationship of size to cost, and such ignorance may be held to show that no chandeliers for comparison existed in the neighbourhood.

This is not to say that chandeliers ever became a familiar item of church furniture. The fact that they were called indiscriminately 'candlesticks', 'branches', 'sconces' or 'chandeliers' testifies to their exotic nature. Even so most churches in towns and large villages did in due course acquire chandeliers. This was so in Bedfordshire where London, the greatest centre of manufacture until about 1770, was near enough to be a convenient source of supply. The only notable exception—and this may be for lack of evidence—is Dunstable.[1] By about 1820 there were chandeliers in at least nine Bedfordshire churches, and in addition there may have been some in nonconformist chapels. At any rate, the Moravian chapel in Bedford contained 'branches' of unspecified material, which between 1757 and 1760 had a disturbing tendency to keep on fa'lling.[2]

Regardless of the setting, the introduction of gas and to a lesser extent paraffin oil led the way to the destruction of chandeliers. Only in the country —and not always even there—did the use of candles continue. The result is that Milton Ernest is the one church in Bedfordshire known to retain its ancient chandelier.

SURVIVING CHANDELIER

MILTON ERNEST—Nave (pl 7)
Diameter of globe: 12¼ inches.
2 tiers of 8 branches.
Inscription on globe: EX DONO T.R. DE MILTON IN COM BEDFs. 1728.

The history of chandelier design during the first forty years of the eighteenth century is predominantly one of gradual change. After 1707 branches and suspension-rings begin to be ornamented with scrolls, and the separate S-scrolls instead of being plain are stepped. By 1725 globes are flattened, the branches instead of being octagonal in section are circular, and a new dove finial with scale-like feathering to the body is introduced.[3] The chandelier at Milton Ernest represents the next stage in evolution where the globe has a double curve at top and bottom. In the final stage, reached by 1729, there are no separate scrolls and the characteristic feature of the body is a trumpet moulding between the tiers of branches.

Such is the typological context of the chandelier at Milton Ernest. It fits so neatly into the national sequence that without doubt it would have been made in London which is where national trends originated until the second half of the eighteenth century. Despite all the conformity the chandelier does not exactly correspond with any other. However, the two main castings between the finial and globe are similar to those at Godalming, Surrey (1722),[4] while the lower branches are the same as the lower tier at Ringwood, Hampshire (1729).

The donor of the chandelier, whose initials appear in the inscription, was Thomas Rolt. In 1822 the tradition lingered that, in 1730, the church had been 'repaired and beautified throughout' at the charge of Thomas Rolt.[5] The acquisition of the chandelier was evidently an integral part of this restoration, and the unusual beneficence explains the presence of so large and early a chandelier in what would otherwise be an unexpected setting.

The gift of Thomas Rolt would have included also the present hangings. These consist of two iron rods, of which the lower and longer ends in a serpent-head and is decorated on two sides with foliage and scrollwork. The chain that now forms the bottom part of the hangings is a later addition: it runs over a pair of pulleys and was originally hooked to a hemispherical counterweight. The chandelier suffered damage from a fall in 1955, and when it was re-hung after restoration the counterweight was not retained.

The cleaning of the chandelier or 'scornch' was

formerly undertaken by the clerk. In 1806 it was agreed that he should be paid 5*s.* a year,[6] which was the amount he had in fact been paid since at least 1787.[7]

CHANDELIERS FORMERLY EXISTING

AMPTHILL[8]

The payments of the churchwardens for 1762-3 included:

for A Church Branch &c. 15 15 0

By 1851-2 gas-lighting had been introduced, but the chandelier apparently remained in use for it was still being cleaned by the clerk in 1852-3.

On 17 July 1874 a vestry meeting was held partly 'for the purpose of deciding whether the broken Chandelier should be sold'. It was carried unanimously 'that the Brass Chandelier now broken be sold for what it will fetch', and in due course the churchwardens incurred the following receipt:

6 Aug. 1874 Hon Wm Lowther for the broken Chandelier 5 0 0

The purchaser had a connection with Ampthill through his wife who was a daughter of Baron Wensleydale of Ampthill Park. In 1874 the Hon William Lowther was residing at Lowther Lodge, Kensington Gore, London, and this is presumably where the chandelier was moved. In 1912 Lowther Lodge and its contents were sold, but High House, Campsea Ashe, Suffolk, which William Lowther had acquired after 1874, remained in the family ownership, and it is significant that a chandelier, adapted for electricity but answering the description of one that might have cost fifteen guineas in 1762-3, was hanging in the library here until 1949. The contents of High House were then dispersed. The chandelier was purchased by Messrs Pratt & Sons Ltd of Brompton Road, London, and sold by them to the late R. W. Symonds, acting on behalf of a client.[9]

BEDFORD, ST CUTHBERT

'One branch chandelier brass the gift of Alderman Haven to the Parish dated 1792' existed on 26 June 1822.[10]

The donor would have been John Heaven, an Alderman of Bedford, who in 1793 was residing in the London parish of St Andrew Holborn.[11]

BEDFORD, ST MARY

There was apparently no chandelier in 1724, but on 27 June 1822 it could be said:[12]

> There are hanging in the Aisle Two Brass Chandaliers, with Sixteen Branches to each, on which is engraved, "A Gift from Henry Flemming Surgeon, and one of the alderman of this Corporation to the parish of Saint Mary, Bedford 1761".

The chandeliers would have hung in the centre aisle, and the branches would have been divided into two tiers of eight.

BEDFORD, ST PAUL[13]

By his will dated 28 November 1711 and proved 5 February 1711/2,[14] James Harvey, Doctor in Physic, made the following bequest:

> Item I leave the Sum of thirty pounds to the Minister and Church Wardens for the time being of the parish of St Pauls in Bedford to be laid out by them for One or two Sconces holding each of them Six or Eight Candles more or less as they shall think fitt, for the Use of the said Church of St Pauls.

Terriers from 1724 to 1828[15] show that in fact two chandeliers were purchased and that each held as many as eighteen candles. An inventory of 1835[16] adds the information that they were suspended in the body of the church and were 'the gift of Jas Harvey M.D. 1711'.

The two chandeliers would have corresponded in size with the surviving example at Buckingham, which was given in 1705 and has the eighteen branches arranged in two equal tiers. They were retained even after the introduction of gas, and their removal probably coincided with the restoration of the nave roof in 1848-9. On 31 March 1849 £27 3*s.* 3*d.* was received for the 'old Materials Timber from Church Roof &c.'

The cleaning of the chandeliers involved an annual payment of 10*s.* from 1761 to 1765. During the summer it would seem that they were stored, for in 1835 there were 'Two brown holland covers for the Chandeliers', and in 1837 the sexton was paid 1*s.* 6*d.* 'for Covers to Chandaleers'.

HARROLD (pl 8)

The chandelier that had been acquired by 1822[17] is no doubt the same as that shown in a photograph at the church.[18] It appears hanging by a chain in the position still marked by a block and wooden pulley just east of the centre of the nave roof. The photograph is badly affected by halation, but even so the chandelier is recorded sufficiently clearly for the main details to be recognised. There was a dove finial, an oval pendant ring and two tiers of six branches without any scrolls to the outer ends. All these features and the basic profile of the body are repeated in three chandeliers that still exist. They are those at Worthenbury, Flintshire (1816),[19] Broughton, Lancashire (1817),[20] and Eynsham, Oxfordshire (undated) (pl 9). The Eynsham chandelier seems to have been identical in all respects with that at Harrold; the other two differed slightly in certain of the body sections.

If the Harrold chandelier was comparable with those at Eynsham, Worthenbury and Broughton it presumably belonged to the same group and dated from about 1815. Where the group was made is not known, but this may have been Birmingham, which is where the general style seems to have originated about 1770. The chandeliers at Chirbury, Shropshire (1769-70), St Harmon, Radnorshire (1771), and Berkswell, Warwickshire (1780), are all to be ascribed to Birmingham makers.

The chandelier at Harrold evidently remained at the church until at least 1869. The photograph that shows the chandelier shows also the organ that was erected in this year.

LEIGHTON BUZZARD

A sepia drawing of the church, as it was shortly before restoration began in 1840 (pl 10),[21] shows a chandelier hanging towards the east end of the nave. This would have been the one that already existed in the body of the church in 1822.[22] Only the general form is indicated in the drawing, but it is clear that there were two tiers of branches, and because these radiated from globes the chandelier would have dated from about 1740, at the earliest.

The lower end of the hangings was decorated with wrought-iron scrollwork.

LUTON

On 28 June 1822 the furnishings included 'one large Brass Chandelier suspended from the Roof by an ornamented Chain and consisting of Branches for Eighteen Lights'.[23]

The number of branches is unfortunately no indication of date. There could have been two tiers of nine, or two tiers of twelve and six.

TODDINGTON[24]

The following entry appears in the churchwardens' accounts for 1781-2:[25]

Paid Mr Horseley & Son for a Chandlier and Branches	24 3 6

The 'branches' may have been the 'two candlesticks' that figure in the terriers of 1788 and 1797.[26]

In 1809-10 £6 4*s*. was paid for mending the chandelier. There is no record of its removal, but this is likely to have taken place when the nave roof was restored, shortly before 1876. The hook by which the chandelier would have hung still remains, just east of the centre of the roof.

The suppliers of the chandelier would have been the London brassfounders, John Horsley & Son.[27] The father moved to Haberdashers Walk from another part of Hoxton in 1765-6 and continued there until Thomas Catherwood succeeded him in 1797-8. John Horsley was a liveryman of the loriners' company;[28] he was in partnership with his son between 1780 and 1789,[29] and seems to have died in 1798-9.

Besides that at Toddington, John Horsley is known to have made four other chandeliers. In 1782-3 the churchwarden of Ewell, Surrey, paid 'Housely' £21 9*s*. 6*d*. 'for a new Chandelier',[30] and in 1784 'John Horsley & Son' supplied three six-branch chandeliers for St Giles's, Reading.[31] None of these chandeliers has survived, but the one at Ewell, which cost about the same at that at Toddington, is shown in a water-colour painting to have had two tiers of branches.[32]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Especial thanks are tendered to custodians of records, including the Bedfordshire County Archivist, and to Mr S. C. Tongue, Archivist of Shoreditch Central Library, who searched Assessment Ledgers and interpreted the significance of references to John Horsley.

NOTES

[1]Terriers from 1708 to 1822 and vestry minutes from 1819 contain no references.
[2]'Conference Book' at Bedfordshire Record Office.
[3]*Connoisseur Year Book*, 1959, plate 24.
[4]*Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol xlvii, plate iv.
[5]Terrier at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[6]Wardens' accounts at the vicarage.
[7]Wardens' account at Bedfordshire Record Office.
[8]Wardens' accounts, bills and vestry minutes at Bedfordshire Record Office.
[9]Information kindly given by the Hon. Mildred Lowther and Mr H. J. Pratt.
[10]Terrier at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[11]Will proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury (507 Holman).
[12]Terriers at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[13]Wardens' accounts at Bedfordshire Record Office.
[14]At Bedfordshire Record Office.
[15]At Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[16]Wardens' accounts, vol ii, p 550.
[17]Terrier at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[18]Faithfully reproduced as an engraving in W. M. Harvey, *The History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Willey*, opp p 335 (Plate 8).
[19]*Connoisseur Year Book*, 1962, plate 6.
[20]*Connoisseur Year Book*, 1960, plate 15.
[21]In the custody of the vicar.
[22]Terrier at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[23]Terrier at Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[24]Wardens' accounts at Bedfordshire Record Office.
[25]Not 1783, as given in J. H. Blundell, *Toddington: Its Annals and People*, p 162.
[26]At Lincoln Diocesan Record Office.
[27]Biographical details from Land Tax Assessment Ledgers at Shoreditch Central Library, unless otherwise stated.
[28]Poll-Books, 1768-1796.
[29]*Kent's Directory*, 1780 and 1789.
[30]Churchwardens' accounts at Guildford Muniment Room.
[31]Churchwardens' bill at Berkshire Record Office.
[32]At British Museum: O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Topography of the County of Surrey*, vol vii, between pp 464 and 465.

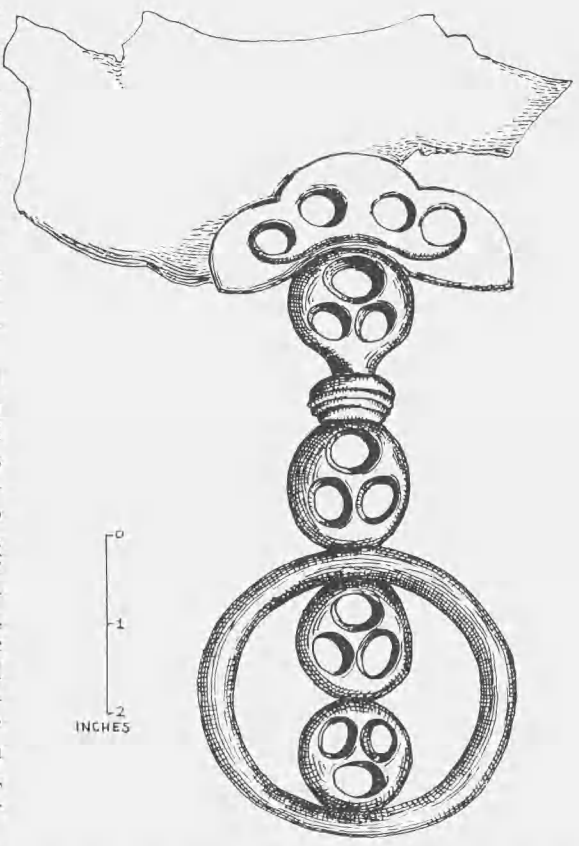
Notes

A second Iron Age mirror-handle from Old Warden

AN INTERLEAVED COPY of the Bedfordshire volume of Lyson's *Magna Britannia* (1813 edition) which was formerly the property of the Rev Frederick Pawsey (1784-1843), vicar of Wilshamstead, recently came into the possession of Mr Harold White J.P., the publisher. The book, hand-dated 1841, has been copiously illustrated in line and water-colour, presumably by Pawsey, and numerous early photographs have also been added to it by a later hand.

One of the most interesting items archaeologically is a water-colour drawing of an Iron Age mirror-handle. The only information on the drawing are the words 'Old Warden'. When the handle was found, or where it is now, remain unknown.

A group of late Iron Age material was found at Quint's Hill, an earthwork north of Old Warden Church, a year or two before 1845. It was associated with cremation burials and included 'two hoops of iron, one on the other's edge' which were presumably the remains of a situla or cauldron, two 'earthen urns of large size, with long handles' which sound like amphorae and two cordoned vases of Kimmeridge shale that were inverted and contained 'ashes and earth'. (*C.A.S.* 4to. pubn. VIII), (1845). The report mentions earlier finds from the same spot and it is likely that the handle described here, belongs to these earlier discoveries. The well-known La Tène III mirror from Old Warden, now in Bedford Museum, is supposed to have come from another site in the same parish, (*Arch* LXI, 333-4), although it looks as though we are probably dealing with a single homogeneous group.



The new handle (Old Warden II) belongs to Sir Cyril Fox's type 3b double-looped group (*Arch. Camb.*, (1948) 24). This form stems from the Colchester mirror handle, and has horizontal central moulding similar to the Great Chesterford mirror (*Ant.* (1960) 207), though that on the latter is more refined, Old Warden II being rather bulbous and quadrified. The original Old Warden mirror (Old Warden I) also has a central horizontal moulding, but the design is a simple single disc. The single loops of the stem in the Colchester design are replaced in Old Warden II by rather clumsy-looking triple perforations—an interesting variant on the original. The addition of a disc within the terminal loop of the handle occurs at Old Warden I, and at Birdlip, but the double perforated disc of Old Warden II is unique. The mirror attachment, which may have been slotted to take the mirror plate, is also related to Colchester and Great Chesterford, by the apparently moulded line that unites the two outside circles of the decoration. Its lobed outline also relates it to Old Warden I. From the water-colour drawing it is impossible to tell if the perforations in the handle held enamel, or completely pierced the metal work. It seems reasonable to suppose that those in the attachment were enamel filled or they would considerably have weakened the connection; though the artist gives them the appearance of piercing the mirror plate. No decoration is shown on the surviving piece of the kidney-shaped plate. Because of the elaboration Sir Cyril Fox considers the handle a very late example, made *c.* A.D. 30-40, and thus presumably

later than Old Warden I.

Assuming that the painting of the handle was made full size (and there are suggestions that the artist drew round the original), then the mirror must have been one of the largest of the British mirrors. It measures 7·6 in. from attachment plate to terminal loop: a size comparable with Birdlip. The Old Warden I handle is only 4·8 in. long.

In preparing this note I must acknowledge a great debt to Sir Cyril and Lady Fox, whose kind observations I have here extended. I must also thank Mr H. O. White for allowing me to publish the details of the drawing.

JAMES DYER

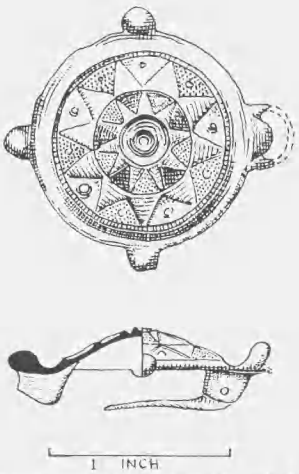
A second century Roman brooch from Carlton

THE BROOCH illustrated here was found in a field at Carlton, Bedfordshire, some time in 1965. It was on the surface and not associated with any other object or site.

Carlton lies on the Great Ouse (Grid ref 9555) and adjoins the larger parish of Harrold (9546) where a Bronze Age to Saxon continuum has been established and a considerable number of Roman coins, ranging from Trajan to Constantius has been found. Here too occurred the Bedfordshire Roman occulist's or apothecary's stamp, now in Bedford Museum. Another stamp found at Sandy is in the British Museum. The 'Viatores' discovered evidence of a Romano-British trackway passing near Harrold and Carlton.

The brooch is of bronze, circular with four diametrically opposed knobs to two of which are attached the pin and catch. The diameter is 29 mm. and the whole is deeply convex. Within a grooved rim there are two concentric circles of triangles. In the outer band the bases of the triangles are against the rim and are filled with dark red enamel in the champ-levé technique and have a small bronze knob, about the size of a large pin-head in the centre. The intervening triangles are bronze. The inner band of decoration consists of alternating red and blue triangles of enamel, their bases outward. The intervening isosceles triangles are of the bronze of the brooch. The centre of the brooch has a small circular groove surrounding a round depression which may have been filled with enamel, but now bears no trace of it. There were very faint traces of blue enamel in the outer groove.

A brooch almost identical with this one and of the same size was found in London some years ago and is now in the British Museum and illustrated in the Guide to *The Antiquities of Roman Britain* (no 52. 3-22.1) illustrated on p 23. It is of a fairly common second century type although as far as we know the only local specimen. Two similar brooches, with more knobs on the rim, were found, one at Ixworth, Suffolk, and the other at Pakenham in the same county. (*Collectanea Ant.* IV, 95).



The rectilinear geometrical style of decoration in these brooches is in marked contrast with both the curvilinear ornament of the La Tène and Belgic work, and also with the post-Roman interlaced and arabesque zoomorphic designs employed by the late Celtic and also the Anglo-Saxon workmen, who worked in cloisonné technique.

The Carlton brooch is now on permanent loan in the Bedford Museum and it is hoped that there may yet be further finds from the same locality.

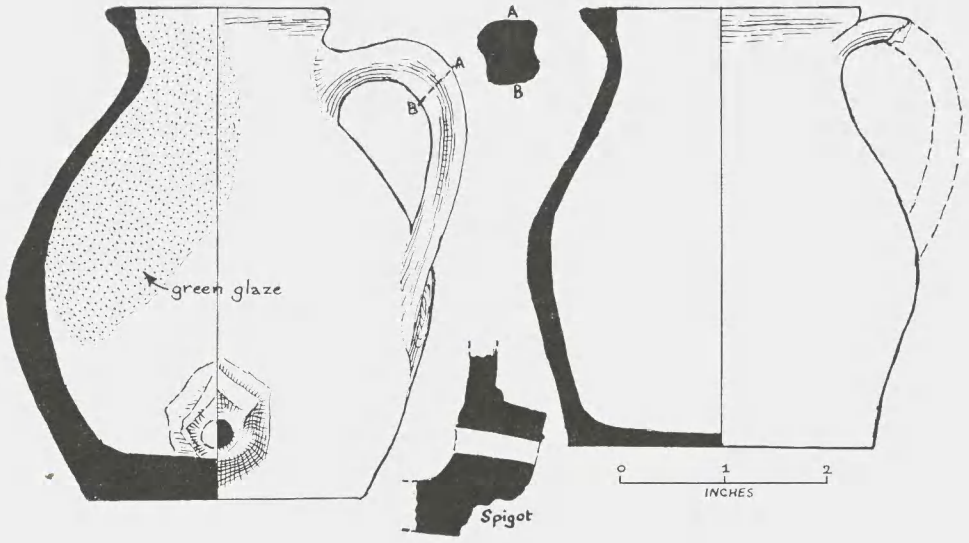
F. W. KUHLICKE

Recent pottery finds now in the Bedford Museum

1. A late XIVth century Jug from Wheathampstead

THE SMALL JUG illustrated has a flanged rim with a slightly pinched lip. It stands 4½ in. high upon a plain flat base and is 4 in. broad at its greatest width. The ware is orange-buff and it has a splashing of mottled green glaze on the front just below the lip. The handle is almost square in section but a little narrower on the underside and slightly concave or grooved on the sides. The lower end shows thumb impressions and at the top it is dowelled into the neck.

The provenance is by Wheathampstead near



Left: Orange-buff jug from East Lane, Wheathampstead, Herts. Right: Black ware jug from 44 High Street, Bedford (site of 14th-15th century hostelry). Both in Bedford Museum.

Gustard Wood and it bears close affinity to the squat jugs from Hugh Cross, Standon, some ten miles away. (Marked HX4 in D. F. Renn's *Potteries in Medieval Hertfordshire.*

2. A jug and potsherds from High Street, Bedford

This jug is complete except for the handle and a small piece of the rim and neck on one side. The handle was dowelled at the top and thumb pressed at the bottom where it joins the jug at its greatest width. There is a flanged rim and slight pinch for a lip. The ware is dull black and rather heavy; height 4⅜ in. and greatest width 3¾ in.

The jug was discovered during excavations on the site of the Jacobean house, once the Market House in the High Street, which was ruthlessly demolished in 1964. The jug is of fourteenth century type and must be associated with an earlier building known to have stood on this site. Much of the excavation revealed the cellars and foundation of this building which was contemporary with and adjoined a stone building that was standing until the mid-twentieth century, familiarly known as the 'Old George', once the property of the Priors of Newnham. This whole group of buildings must once have presented an imposing appearance, and their demolition, which might have been prevented, is a great loss to Bedford.

Other pottery fragments revealed during later building on the site include two large fragments of a vessel of St Neots ware and part of a late Tudor belarmine. There were also pieces of cups or beakers of a very dark brown highly glazed ware. It is most probable that this ware was of local production as many sherds of it were discovered in the sludge dredged from the Great Ouse when the stone bridge was widened in 1939. These were all from cups or beakers of the same pattern and several of them were obviously rejects or wasters, being covered with excess of glaze. It is significant that the road running almost parallel to the river near the bridge was once known as Potter Street.

44 High Street, Bedford

EXCAVATION on the site of the Jacobean building in High Street, Bedford, recently demolished, have revealed a number of cellars of a much earlier period and a square-headed fifteenth century doorway. Owing to the manner of demolition and later excavation for a new building it has not been possible to make proper records of the site. The demolition firm were, however, as co-operative as they could be, and it was possible to redeem the upper central oriel window for Bedford Museum, where it has been carefully restored and used as a showcase. In the process of 'pickling' the old paint a fine oak carving of a Tudor rose was revealed. It is triangluar and appears to have come from a church, possibly a spandril from choir stalls or a rood-screen. The jug illustrated above was found during the digging for new foundations. The ware is dull black.

F. W. KUHLICKE

An Ipswich ware Pitcher from Bedford

BEDFORD MUSEUM contains a single example of an Ipswich ware pitcher. This was found before the last war in Horne Lane but its precise find spot is not known.

Description

Pitcher; a quarter of the rim and upper part of body below a distinct shoulder, including a U-spout; mid-grey ware core, with sparse grey filler of coarse sand, black undecorated surfaces; inside surface left rough and harsh to touch, outside more smooth; fient girth grooves on inside indicate vessel thrown either on a tournette or a slowly rotated wheel; spout luted on, above a vertically placed elliptically shaped incision immediately below the shoulder, with outer surface smoothed into that of the vessel but inside left rough. (Bedford Museum, 3954).

Discussion

This is the most westerly Ipswich ware pitcher yet found,[1] and its Bedford find spot is outside the area of St Neots ware finds.[2] The distinct shoulder with a short upright rim can be paralleled on a sherd from St Neots.[3] The U-spout is found on two pitchers from Falcon Street, Ipswich.[4] The generally accepted dating for Ipswich ware is A.D. 650 to 850 and it is to this that we should assign this sherd.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank Mr F. W. Kuhlicke for permission to publish this interesting sherd and Mr J. G. Hurst for discussing it with me.

D. H. KENNETT

NOTES

[1]Distribution map, J. G. Hurst, *P.Cambs.A.S.* 51, (1958), fig 5.1, revised J. G. Hurst, *Med.Arch.* 3, (1959), fig 8.

[2]See D. H. Kennett unpublished thesis on St Neots ware from Bedford, University College Library, Cardiff.

[3]J. G. Hurst, *P.Cambs.A.S.* 49, (1956), 67, and fig 8.3. and J. G. Hurst, *Med.Arch.* 3, (1959), 19.

[4]J. G. Hurst, *P.Cambs.A.S.* 50, (1957), 36, and fig 3.3. and 3.11.

The problem of the Gascoigne brasses at Cardington

THE BRASSES in Cardington Church hitherto ascribed to Sir William Gascoigne and his two wives present several problems both genealogical and heraldic. There is no inscription upon the tomb upon which the brasses are laid though there is evidence that a marginal inscription has been lost. The ascription to Sir William seems to have been based mainly upon the evidence of the heraldry upon his tabard, the known date of his death which corresponds roughly with the costume portrayed on his and the ladies' dress and the letters W.G. on the carved frieze near the tomb. There is also the pedigree in the Visitation of Bedfordshire of 1566). (Harleian MS. 1531. Mundy's Additional Pedigrees in *Publications of the Harleian Society Vol XIX*). This, however is misleading.

Indeed the genealogy of the Goscoignes is complicated as no two pedigrees are alike and there are inconsistencies throughout.

First let us look at H. K. Sanderson's account in the *Transactions of the Monumental Society Vol. I (N.S.)* 1894. Here he says: 'The male figure gives the only example in the county of a tabard and is itself a late instance of that costume. His (*i.e.* the knight's) tabard is charged on the breast . . . with the following arms: *Quarterly I and IV, argent on a pale sable, a demi-luce* (or conger's head) *erect, couped or, charged with a mullet of the second*; (Gascoigne), II *Gules three picks argent* (Picot or Pigott), III *Quarterly, or and gules, over all a bend of the second,* Beauchamp. . . . The armour is generally that in vogue 1510-1540 and Haines assigns the (latter) date to the memorial. . . . The wives are almost exactly alike, both ladies

wearing pedimental headdress and a heraldic mantle with a heraldic dress beneath. 'The husband's arms on the mantle or cloak, the wife's on the kirtle or gown (Haines I p cxiii)'. 'The arms of the dexter wife are *Ermine a lion rampant charged on the shoulder with a mullet argent* (?Mowbray); of the other *Quarterly, I & IV, Or five lozenges in fesse, II & III Argent a fesse on a chief, a canton of the field (?) charged with a cinquefoil pierced* (? for Pickering). As shown on the brass this latter coat might be also blasoned, *Barry of four (colour) and argent on a canton of the second a cinquefoil or*'. Sanderson adds 'The personality of this brass is not quite clear. Haines gives 'Sir William Gascoigne Comptroller of the Household to Cardinal Wolsey and two wives, Jane daughter of William Pickering (?) of Northumberland and Elizabeth daughter and heiress (of Richard Mowbray *c.* 1540'. Sanderson also gives the pedigree from Harl. 1531 and says, farther on 'the presence of the Pigot and Beauchamp quarters in the knight's coat seem to show that he cannot represent Sir William Gascoigne who lived before these coats came into the family. I can only suppose the pedigree to be in error and that Dorothy Pigot was married to an earlier Gascoigne'. So much for the brass experts, except that in Mills Stephenson's *List of Brasses in the British Isles, 1926,* he gives the wives as 'Eliz. dau. of Sir John Pennington and . . . (?) dau. of John Winter'. This is heraldically nearer the mark.

A careful comparison of the Bedford and Yorkshire pedigrees confirms the inaccuracy of the genealogy in several instances but not the inheritance of the Picot and Beauchamp coats before Sir William. Something has happened at some time to cause the confusion and to the present writer it seems that the brass at Cardington is not entirely that of Sir William Gascoigne and his two wives but a composite memorial of a slightly later date in which the arms of the great Sir William Gascoigne, the Lord Chief Justice who died in 1419, are somehow involved. Briefly the Gascoigne pedigree is this :

From Gaskon of Harwood in Yorkshire we get,
William Gascoigne who married Jane (or Maud) the heiress of Gawthorpe,
their son, William of Gawthorpe who married Elizabeth, heiress of Bolton,
their son, William who married Margaret (or Agnes) Franke,
their son William (IV) knight, Lord Chief Justice under Henry IV & V who was born about 1350 and died 1419. His brother John was at that time in the commission of the peace. Up to this time the Gascoigne arms were, *Argent on a pale sable a conger's head of the field.* Now this Sir William is credited with two wives. The Yorkshire and Bedfordshire pedigrees give him Jane Pickering (*arms, Ermine a lion rampant*) and Elizabeth Mowbray (*arms Gules a lion rampant within a bordure gobony or and sable*). According to Foss's *Lives of the Judges* Jane Pickering survived Sir William and married Henry de Greystock. Elizabeth Mowbray, whose father was also a justice, was therefore the first wife and by her Sir William had several children of whom the eldest was a son William (V) from whom the Yorkshire line continued. By Jane Pickering Sir William had a third son who correctly bore his father's arms with the cadency mark, a mullet, of the third son. This was James Gascoigne who married Jane Pigot. Now the Pigots held that part of the old Beauchamp barony of Bedford which included Cardington and quartered their arms (*Gules three picks argent*) *with Beauchamp* (*Quarterly or and gules a bend gules*). The Bedford pedigree calls this wife Dorothy but Jane is the correct name. Now these arms of Gascoigne, with the mullet and impaling the Pigot quarterings, are the arms on the Cardington brass and would indicate that the wearer was an heir (son) of the Gascoigne-Pigot union, and these arms would remain personal to all eldest sons in succession, subject to further quarters being added to indicate later inheritances.

James Gascoigne's surviving son George settled in Cardington which his father had acquired by his marriage and there married Elizabeth Rufford. Their son William was later knighted and became, among other things, master of the household to Cardinal Wolsey and was in the Commission of the peace for Yorkshire. To him the Yorkshire pedigree assigns Elizabeth daughter of John Winter of Cardington as wife. (arms of Winter, *Ermine a bull passant sable*). However, other records, *e.g.* Foss's Judges, assign to him Joan Neville, daughter of Neville of Oversley as a wife and in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol *XVI*, we find references to his having fees in the manors of Roxton and Oversley once part of the estates of the attainted Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex. The arms of this Neville family are *Gules, three fusils in fess argent, a bordure engrailed or.* He is also credited with a wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pennington who bore *Or, five fusils in fesse azure.*

Sir William's (eldest?) son Sir John Gascoigne married Margaret Scargill (*Ermine a saltire engrailed gules*) and she bore him John, Elizabeth, Dorothy and George the heir. This last became both famous and notorious in Elizabeth's I's reign and married a relation of Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of Lord Bacon. George's son William was the last of the male Gascoignes of the Bedfordshire line

and his brother John, who had a daughter, having predeceased him, the Cardington manor passed to this daughter's husband Sir Jarret or Garard Hervey. The Herveys were a Thurleigh family descended from an ancient Bedfordshire family from Riseley. This was the last male Hervey of Thurleigh, and his daughter and heiress Elizabeth married Cecil Bussy who therefore became a co-heir of the Cardington estate.

Now to show their relation to the Gascoignes, both the Hervey and Bussy monuments in Cardington display achievements of arms all placed on or adjacent to Sir William's elaborate tomb.

These arms include quarterings of Gascoigne, Pigot, Beauchamp, Wake, Scargill, Winter, Bussy, Herevy and Nernuit. The inclusion of the arms of Winter seems to confirm the ascription of Elizabeth Winter as a wife of Sir William. We have now to sort out the arms on the brass and check with those of the pedigrees.

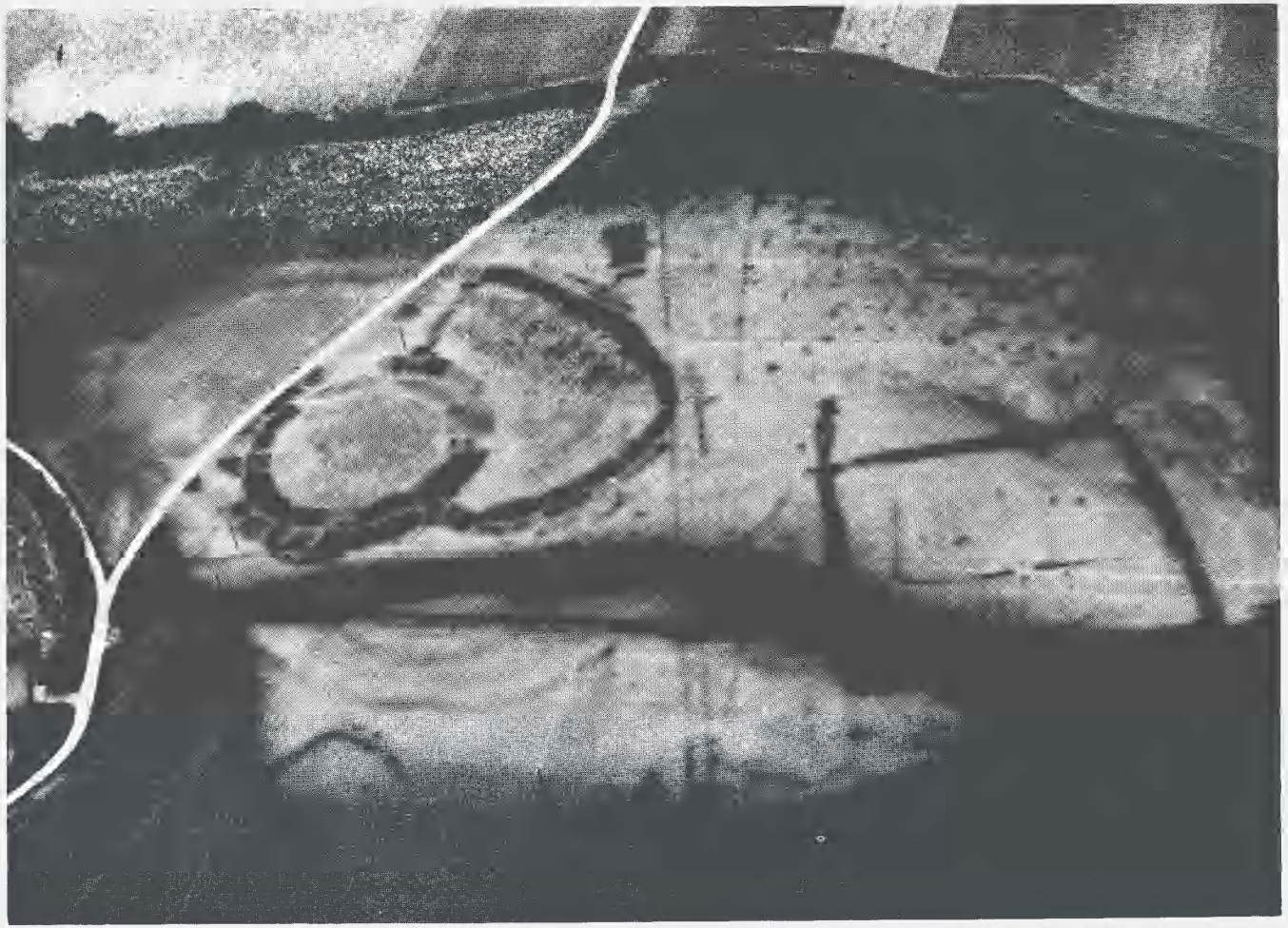
Let us first take the knight's tabard. This has been described as a late example of a tabard and would suggest that it was not strictly contemporary with the knight. The arms on it show that he was a third son, or descended from a third son, of the Yorkshire family of Gascoigne, and as he quarters the Pigot-Beauchamp coat he must be either James or more likely the son of James, namely George, who married Elizabeth Rufford, and the arms could therefore be inherited by George's son Sir William. But when we come to the ladies the problem gets more involved. The lady on the left (dexter of the male) wears a cloak of the same arms as the man and therefore she should be his wife, be he James, George or William, but the arms on her kirtle are those of Pickering differenced by a mullet on the lion's shoulder. Now the pedigrees give Pickering as the name of the second wife of Chief Justice Sir William whose arms are not those upon her cloak! The other lady also bears the Gascoigne-Pigot arms on her mantle but on her kirtle she bears the arms of Pennington quartering Stamford with an unrecorded 'difference' in the canton. This 'difference' I attribute to the engraver of the brass. As we have seen, a Pennington lady was assigned to the Cardington Sir William and so was Joan Neville. What has happened? The Neville arms certainly occur in the achievement of Sir William's descendants the Hussys and so do those of Winter.

What are we to make of the brass? Do we follow Mills Stephenson and say Sir William and his two wives, Elizabether Pennington and a daughter of Sir John Winter or do we follow the heraldry and say 'between a Pickering and a Pennington'? Is the Pickering coat a mistake due to the fact that the first Sir William married a Pickering and that the arms of the Pickering were confused with those of Winter inasmuch as both coats are ermine and that a clumsy engraver (and the engraver of this brass *was* careless, if not clumsy), mistook a lion rampant for a bull passant? The engraver certainly seems to have muddled the Stamford arms quartered with the Pennington coat and they are far from clear, as Sanderson has remarked. They should be *Argent three bars azure and on a canton gules a gauntlet or grasping a broken sword argent hilt and pommel sable.*

A careful study of the brasses reveals the fact that the dexter figture is by a finer craftsman and that the sinister, Pennington, is an afterthought as it is later, poorer in style and not attached in the same way. Indeed it is rather insecurely rivetted and could be removed for inspection.

We still, however, cannot account for the dexter lady's wearing the arms of the first Sir William (ob. 1419) and those of his great-grandson! Nor can we yet resolve whether Sir William the second had two or three wives. Were they Elizabeth Winter, Elizabeth Pennington *and* Joan Neville or any two of them? The later heraldic achievements point to the possibility of his having had all three, but do not solve the problem of the wearing of a Pickering coat by one of them.

F. W. KUHLICKE



University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography

Plate 1. Aerial view of the ringwork at Biggleswade, looking west (13th July 1957).

University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography

Plate 2. The ringwork at Biggleswade, looking north, after the construction of the by-pass.
BIGGLESWADE RINGWORK

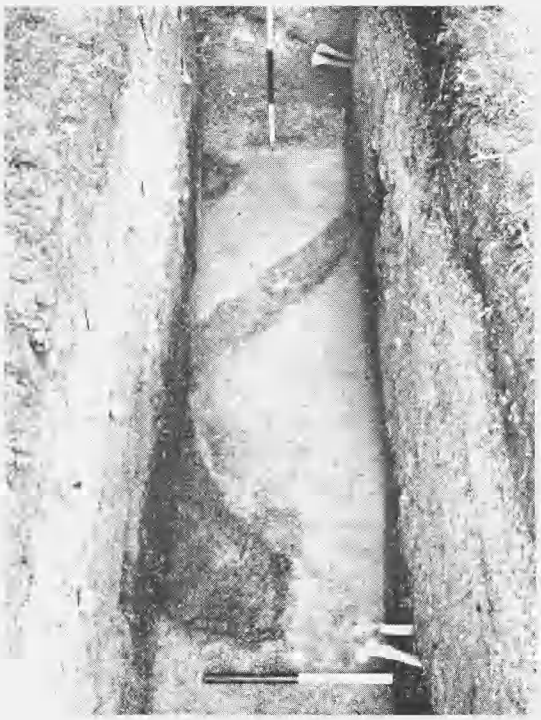


Plate 3a. Roman features below medieval burials.
3b. Burial cut by Abbey 2 robber trench and Abbey 3 cloister wall.

Plate 4a. View facing east across eastern side of Abbey 3 claustral buildings.
4b. View facing north across south side of Abbey 3 claustral buildings.

Opposite:

Plate 5a. Reused Abbey 2 cloister arcade block in Abbey 3 buttress foundations.
5b. Composite picture facing south, of mansion ruins and south-west of Abbey 3 cloister garth.

Plate 5a.

Plate 5b.

Plate 6a. Abbey 3 'lavatorium' showing well, drain and tank, set against cloister wall. Facing south.
6b. South-western corner of Abbey 3 garth and robber trenches for Abbey 2.

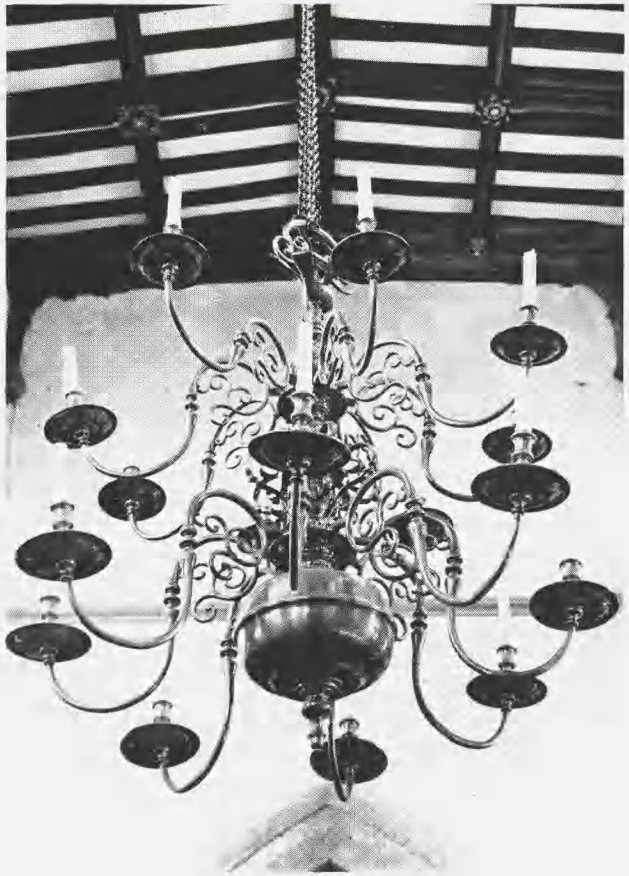


Plate 7. Milton Ernest, Bedfordshire.

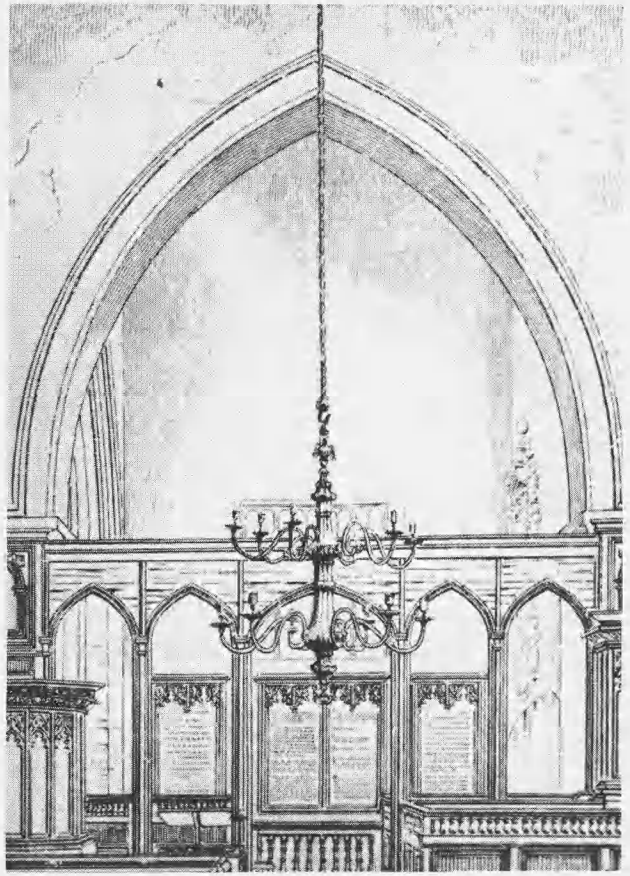


Plate 8. Harrold, Bedfordshire.

Plate 9. Eynsham, Oxfordshire.

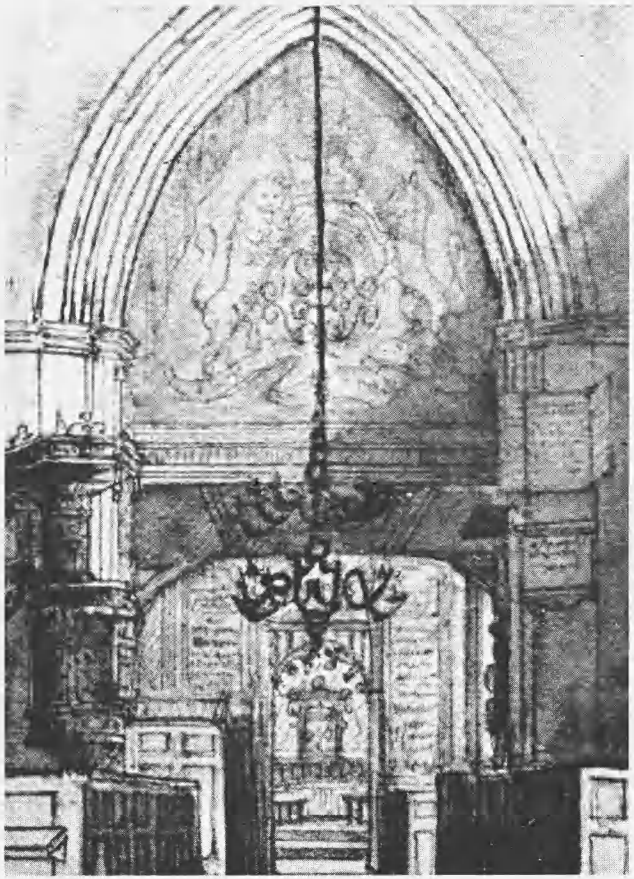


Plate 10. Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire.

RINGWORK AND BAILEY AT BIGGLESWADE

Errata: Page 17, Fig 2. Pottery in gritty fabric from the 1962 excavation: both probably from 12th century cooking pots.
The Editor regrets that the block for this figure has been incorrectly reduced. The upper pot, as reconstructed, measures $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter, and the lower sherd is reproduced at the same scale.

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