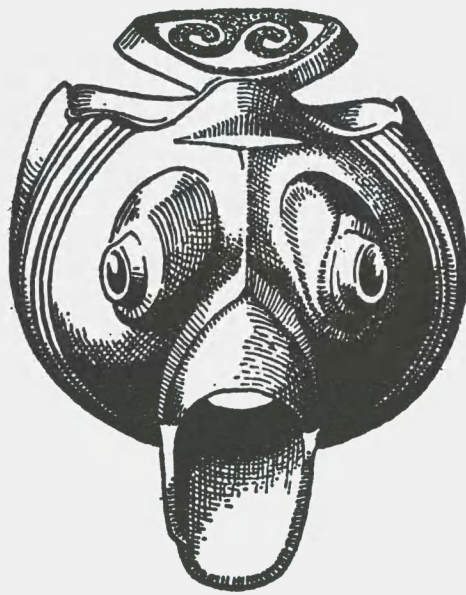


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VOLUME IV 1969

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BEDFORDSHIRE
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Iron Age Pottery from north Bedfordshire and south Northamptonshire

D. N. HALL & N. NICKERSON

INTRODUCTION

LITTLE IRON AGE POTTERY from north Bedfordshire and south Northamptonshire has been previously published. This paper covers pottery of the greater part of the pre-Roman Iron Age, deriving from several sites. The material was found as a group in a pit, or has been selected from more extensive excavations.

The distribution of sites and the method of coding them has been given elsewhere (1). This paper gives a brief description of the nature of each site, the details of the pottery, and a discussion.

THE SITES

Bozeat 2 and 5 (B.2 and B.5), Northants. These sites are part of a great Iron Age complex in this area. The principal remains are three approximately circular enclosures of about 350, 250, and 170 ft. in diameter. Pottery from B.2 came from a part-excavation of the smallest enclosure. The ditch was 8 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep; it yielded little pottery. Within the enclosure was found a hut circle ditch 3 ft. wide, 1½ ft. deep, enclosing an area of 50 ft. diameter. Another ditch 4 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep, intersected the hut circle ditch. Part of the area in the hut circle was covered with large pebbles. Most of the pottery came from the hut ditches.

Pottery from B.5 came from the outer ditch of the second largest enclosure, which was 10 ft. wide and 8½ ft. deep. Abutting to the outer ditch were the entrance arms of a smaller hut circle ditch 7 ft. wide and 5½ ft. deep. These ditches and the surviving occupation layer yielded pottery.

Easton 10 (E.10), Northants. This is part of the same complex as B.2, but separated from it. Several irregular enclosures and other ditches cover an area of about 6 acres. No excavation has been made, but some large sherds have been ploughed out.

Harrold 1 (Hd. 1), Beds. A Belgic site which runs into the parish of Odell on the east side of Harrold bridge. A sand quarry revealed a pit with a quantity of pottery. Building operations between the bridge and the Church yielded ditches containing iron slag and pottery.

Irthlingborough 1 (Ib.1), Northants. Building works showed a superimposed complex of small ditches, mostly of the hut circle type, which yielded fragments of pottery representing most of the Iron

Age. It was possible to excavate only one ditch, which produced a useful related group.

Strixton 1 (S.1), Northants. The principal enclosure contains an area of about ⅓ acre (170 ft. x 100 ft.) in a rectangle with rounded corners. The ditch is 10 ft. wide and 7 ft. deep. The entrance is to the east. Inside the enclosure is a semi-circular ditch of about 35 ft. radius, 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep, which has been recut at least once. A large part of this enclosure has been excavated.

Wollaston 18 (W.18), Northants. This site is a new one at Wollaston (SP 913630). Building works revealed several pits, the most interesting one being bottle-shaped. At the level of the sub-soil the pit top was 2½ ft. across, the maximum diameter, 1 ft. from the bottom, was 4 ft. The depth was 4 ft. The pit yielded a group of pottery.

THE POTTERY

Irthlingborough 1 (Late A)

Much of this pottery is very roughly finished and is all hand made. None of it is well fired; several pots do not have the usual 'sandwich' appearance with a dark core, the colours of the inside and outside penetrate the surfaces until they meet in the middle. All the pottery is calcite gritted or shelly. It is a single group found in a hut circle ditch entrance arm.

1. Large storage jar. Outside black, yellow and red, penetrating to meet the inside black and red. A coarse vessel with fairly deep scoring, and a deep finger nail pattern on the rim. Similar to Maiden Castle 22 p 198 in shape (2). Similar deep scoring is found at Draughton (Grimes, 160 (3)).
2. Rim of similar large jar. Red with blue-grey core. A few shells in the 'paste'. Thumb print pattern on top.
3. Another flat thumb print pattern rim. Buff and black, with blue-grey core. About 8 in. diameter.
4. Handled jar. Buff and black, with black core. Handles can be paralleled at Hunsbury. L7 p 78 (4).
5. Brown throughout, with blackened outside. Rough finish. Similar to Maiden Castle 56 p 201.
6. Black with tinge of red. A devolved form

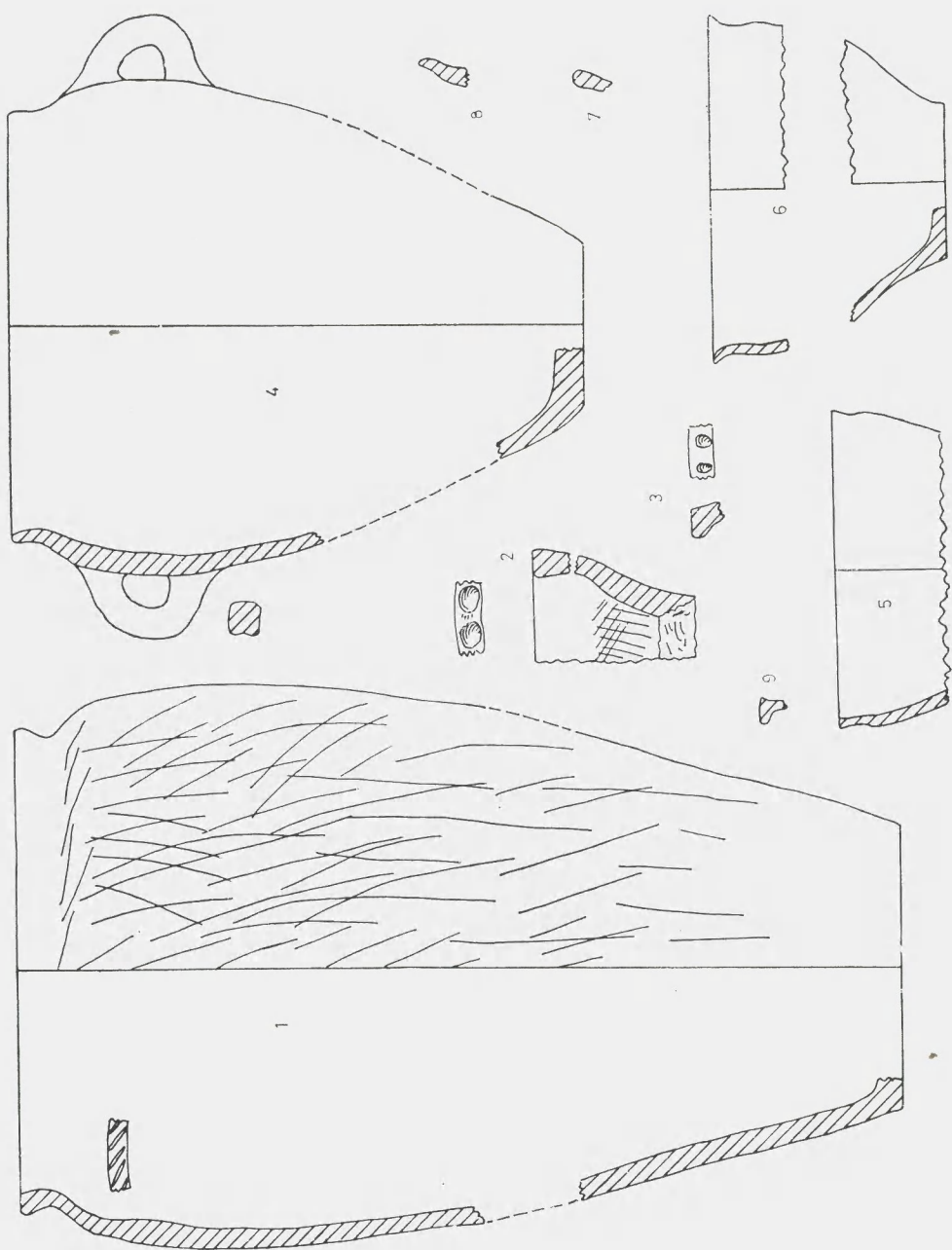


Fig 1. Late Iron Age A pottery from Irthlingborough, Northants.

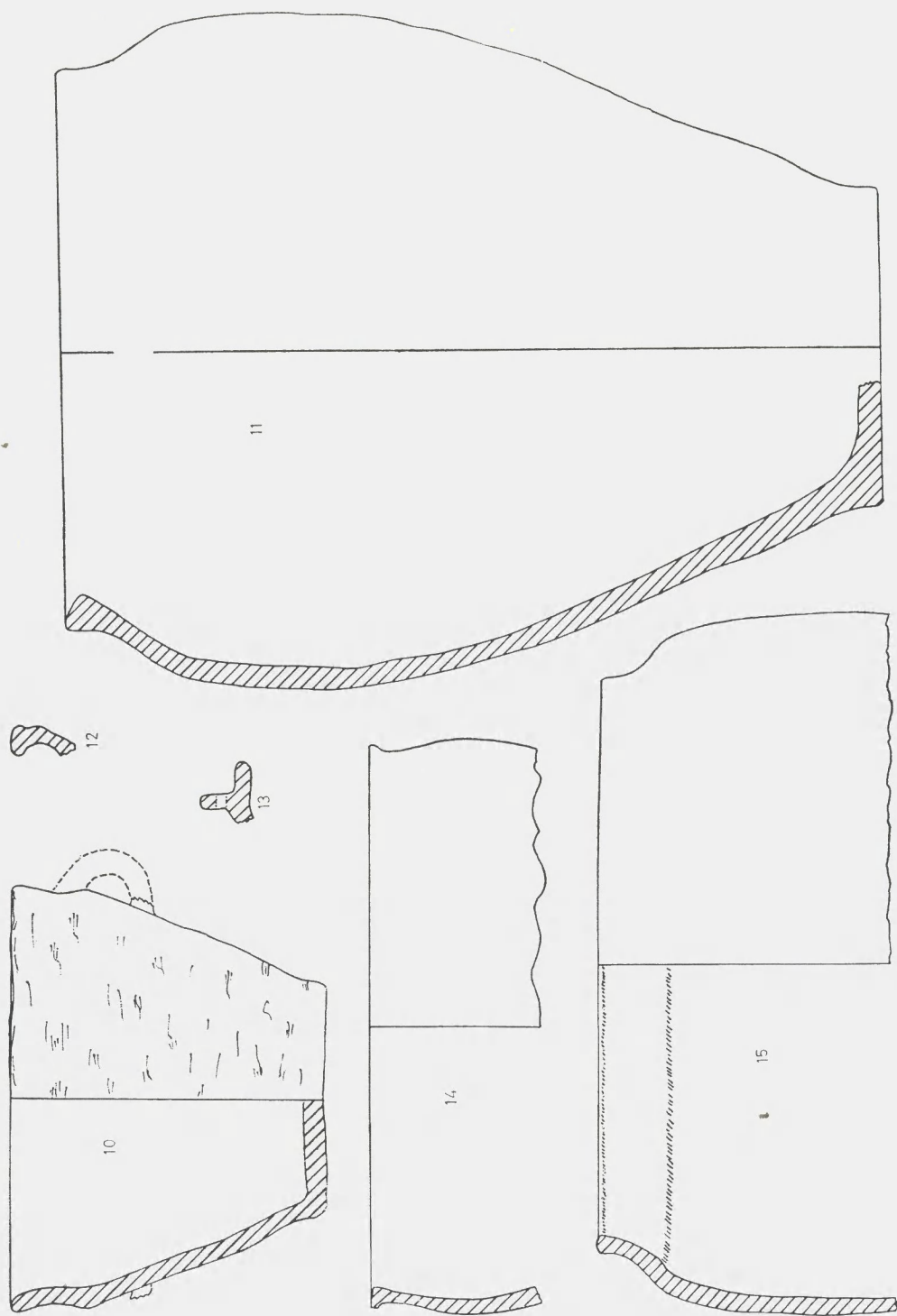


Fig 2. Late Iron Age A pottery from Irthlingborough (10) and Iron Age B pottery from Easton Munduit (11) and Bozeat (12-15).



Fig 3. Iron Age B pottery from Bozeat, Northants.

comparable with Maiden Castle 18 p 195, and Fengate U5 (5).

7, 8, 9. Dark. Other rim types, all about 10 in. diameter.

10. Red and blackened throughout. Roughly made. Devolved situla.

Easton 10, Bozeat 2 and 5 (Late B)

This pottery comes mainly from two hut circle ditches. It is all hand made and calcite gritted. Sherds lying in the clay derived from the subsoil (rather than from ashy ditch silts) have the calcite leached out giving a dull 'corky' appearance; however, shells are exposed in fresh breaks. The pottery, especially the smaller vessels, is well made and fired.

In the ensuing colour descriptions of the pots, a typical entry might be: orange: black: brown. The first of these is the colour of the outside of the pot, the second the colour of the core, and last the colour of the inside. Radii of sherds not drawn in full are given in inches. Should a sherd be of the same colour throughout, only the one colour is noted.

Large vessels

11. Orange/yellow and brown: dark blue: brown. This single example from Easton 10 is likely to be of similar date to sites B.2 and B.5. Flat rimmed storage jar. Top part of another exactly similar vessel found, but made in orange ware and smoothed.
12. Orange: black: brown. Leached. 5 in.
13. Black. About 5 in. Internal lip, presumably for a lid. The hole was made before firing. Examples at Hunsbury L6 p 78 (4).
14. Brown: black: brown. About 6½ in.
15. Brown: black: black. Devolved rim.
16. Buff and black: grey: black. Coarse ware with large shell fragments up to ¾ in. diameter. Rim form similar to Maiden Castle 120 p 222 (2).
17. Orange and black: black: black and brown. A well made smoothed vessel. Like a large butt beaker.
18. Brown: blue/grey: black. Compare Maiden Castle 123 p 222 (2).

Patterned vessels

19. Black: light brown: light brown. About 3 in. Finger nail pattern, very simple rim. See Hunsbury FT6, FT7, p 84 (4).
20. Black: black: brown. About 1½ in.
21. Red: grey: brown. Thumb print pattern.
22. Brown: black: black. About 5½ in. Finger pattern; grooves about ⅛ in. deep.
23. Black, brown and buff: black: black and brown. Large jar with different scoring from 16 above. Probably had two handles.

Handled pots

24. Orange: black: black and buff. Polished well made vessel, fabric almost Belgic quality. Vessels of this type were found at Hunsbury, e.g. L3, L7, p 78 (4).
25. Orange: black: light brown.
26. Buff: black: black.

Medium-sized vessels—cooking pots

27. Orange: black: brown. Very well made polished pot, similar finish to 24 above. Bead rim.
28. Brown: black: brown. Leached. Globular bowl, simple variant of Maiden Castle form 92 p 219 (2).
29. Buff: black: orange. Leached. As 28.
30. Orange and brown: black: brown.
31. Black and brown: black: brown. Leached.

Small vessels

32. Red: black: black: coarse. Very similar to Belgic forms, e.g. 99 below.
33. Black. Fine quality smooth polished ware.
34. Black and brown, coarse. A lot of crushed shell in the paste.
35. Black, highly polished. Rim form paralleled at Hunsbury D13 p 78 (4); vessel shape is similar to Maiden Castle 112 p 219 (2).
36. Brown: blue/grey: brown. Leached, contains sand in the fabric. Compare Hunsbury SP1 p 78 (4).
37. Buff: black: buff. Smoothed. Similar to Hunsbury LC3 p 81; also see 5 above.

Other rim forms

38. Black, polished. 2½ in.
39. Black, polished. 4 in. Everted rim, see Hunsbury LC2 p 81.
40. Brown: black: black. 2½ in.
41. Black, leached coarse ware. About 4½ in.

Bases

42. Darkened buff: black: black, coarse.
43. Orange. 1½ in. Belgic wheel made.
44. Brown: black: brown. Pedestal base.

Strixton 1 (late B)

The material from this site was found in the main enclosure ditch, principally from the entrance area, and in the hut-circle ditch arcs. It is all hand made and calcite gritted, except for a few sherds with a sandy paste. The scheme of colour descriptions used here is the same as that for Bozeat, above. Much of the Strixton pottery duplicates the Bozeat, therefore only new forms are illustrated. The appendix gives a statistical analysis of the pottery from these two sites.

45. Brown: black: brown. Compare 15 above.
46. Brown: black: brown. See 13 above.
47. Reddish-buff: black: black. Rim 5 in., base

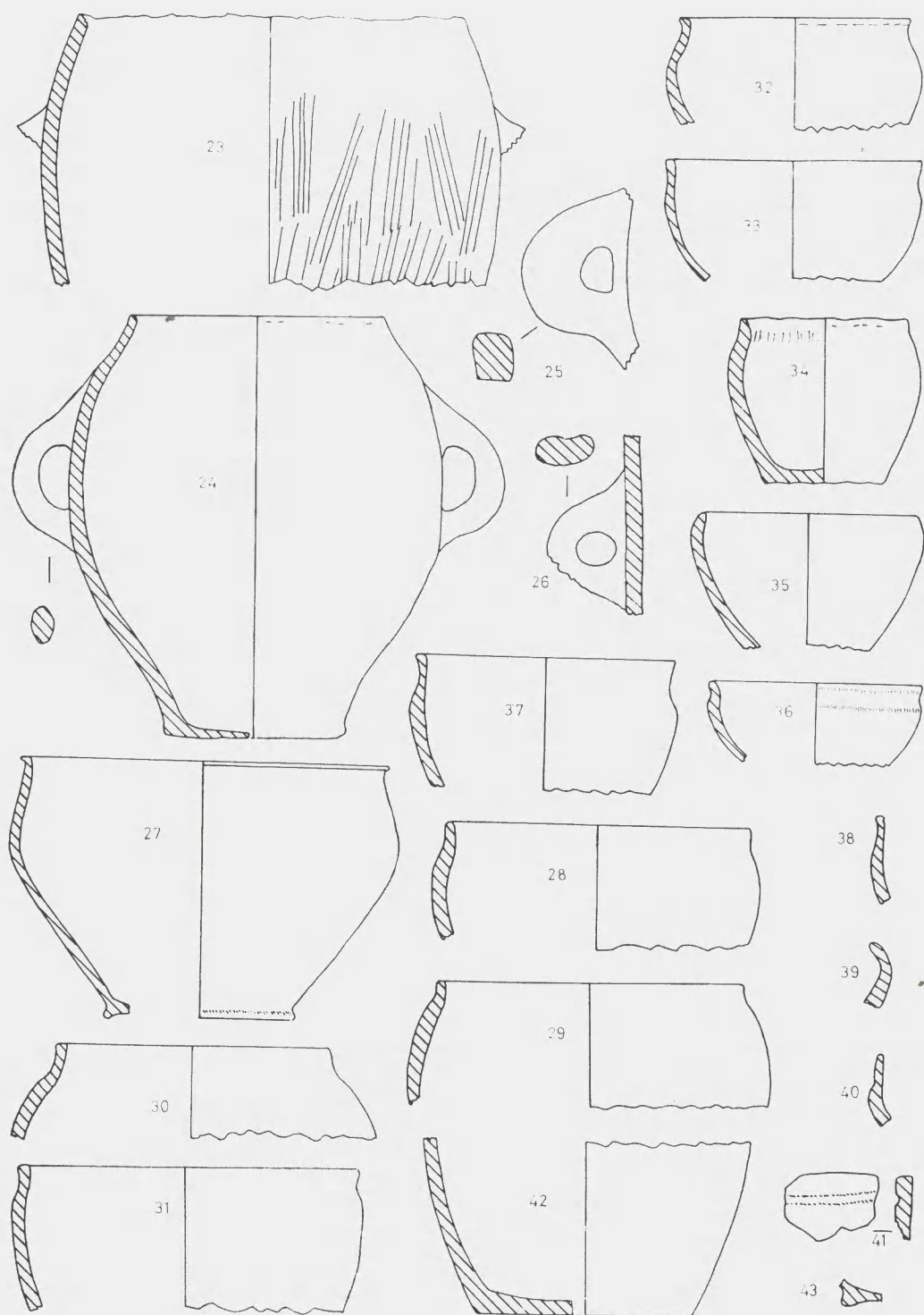


Fig. 4. Iron Age B pottery from Bozeat, Northants.

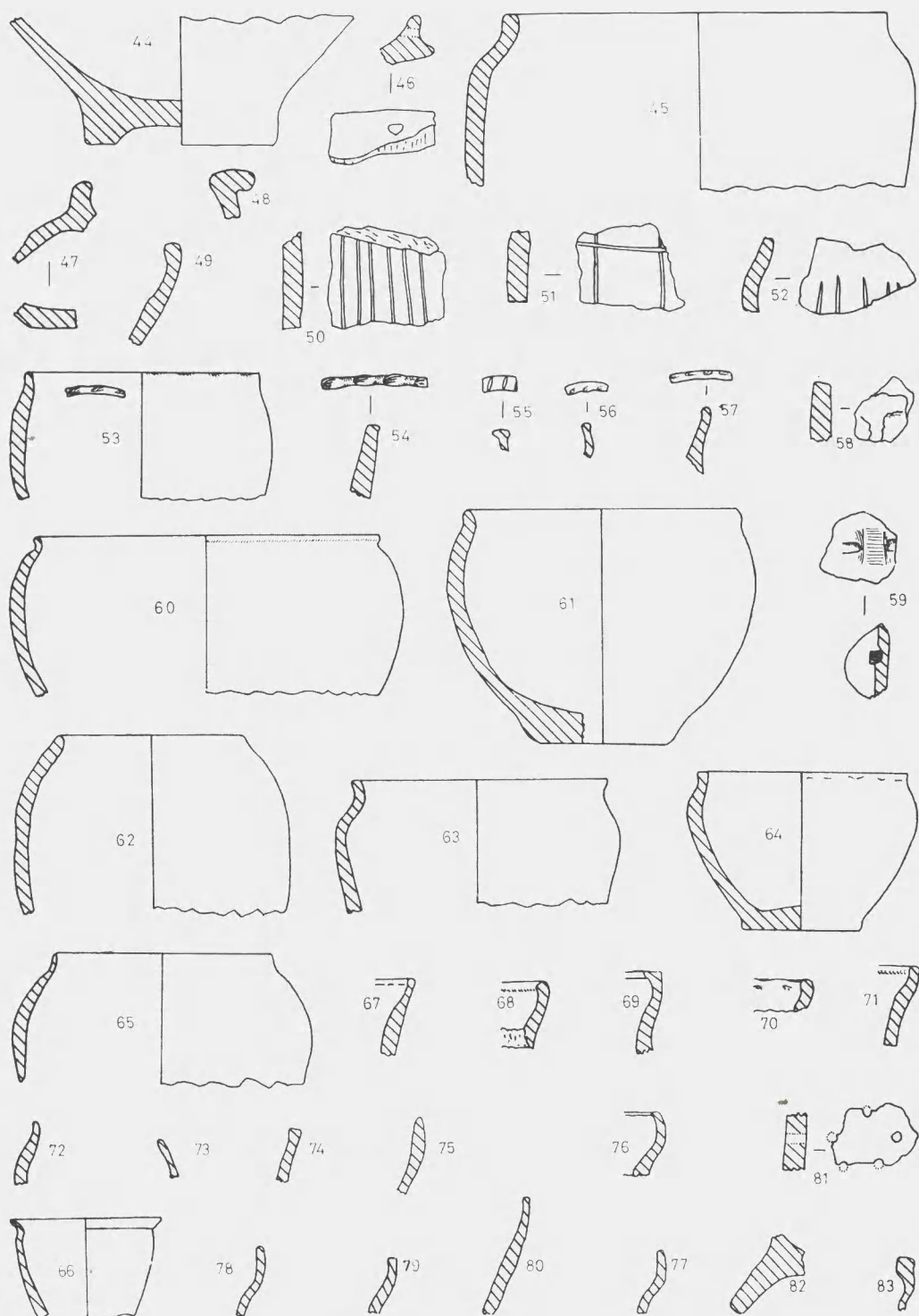


Fig 5. Iron Age B pottery from Strixton, Northants.

2 in. Support for a lid. Probably had holes like 46.

48. Buff, coarse, a large jar.

49. Orange: black: dark grey. 7½ in.

Patterned vessels

50. Red/brown: black: black. 7 in. Simple vertical scoring.

51. Dark grey: brown: light brown. Deeply incised lattice (?) pattern.

52. Pink. 3½ in. max. Deeply incised pattern.

53. Black, rough finish. Light finger tip decoration. Compare Hunsbury FT7 p 84 (4).

54. Black: purple: red. 6 in.

55. Buff: grey: buff. 2½ in. Finger nail decoration.

56. Brown: buff: brown. 1½ in.

57. Black. 2 in.

58. Black. About 7 in.

Handle

59. Red: black: brown. A small form of Nos. 24 to 26 above.

Cooking pots and small vessels

60. Buff: black: red. Bead rim. Like Hunsbury CP5 p 84 (4).

61. Grey/brown: dark grey: grey/brown. A simple globular vessel.

62. Black, polished. For the simple rim compare Hunsbury D13 p 78 (4).

63. Black. Similar to Maiden Castle 88 p 219 (2).

64. Black, polished. Very well made.

65. Black, smoothed. About 2½ in.

66. Red. Small vessel with everted rim.

Other rim forms

67. Buff/grey: black: black. 5 in. Bead rim.

68. Red: grey: red. 3½ in. Bead rim.

69. Black, polished. 3½ in. Bead rim.

70. Black, polished. About 3 in. Pinched rim.

71. Black, smoothed.

72. Buff/red: black: brown.

73. Black. 2 in.

74. Black, polished. 3½ in.

75. Black. 3½ in.

76. Black, smoothed.

77. Black, smoothed. 3½ in.

78. Black, polished. 3½ in.

79. Buff: blue: orange. 2½ in.

80. Black: buff: black and red. 4 in. Light finger tip pattern on the top of the rim.

Bases

81. Black: black: brown. At least five holes. Base of a strainer. Compare Hunsbury PB3 p 90 (4).

82. Buff: black: buff. Pedestal vessel base. See Hunsbury B1 p 90 (4).

Wheel made

83. Buff: black: buff. About 3½ in. Belgic

wheel made rim.

Wollaston 18

The pottery illustrated represents a single group from a pit. Again all sherds are calcite gritted and hand made. The colour scheme used is the same as for Bozeat, above.

84. Buff/brown and blackened: dark blue: red. Large flat-rimmed decorated jar.

85. Grey, orange and black: black: buff, grey and black. Flat rimmed jar, for general shape compare 15 and 45 above.

86. Buff and black: dark blue; buff and black. About 5 in. Some sand as well as calcite present in the paste. Parts of a large flat rimmed jar, with deeply incised pattern.

87. Blackened, red at the rim: dark red: dark red and black. For decoration compare Hunsbury D13 p 78, and for shape Hunsbury FT1 p 78 (4), and Breedon 1 p 31 (6). Roughly made. Texture similar to 10 above.

88. Brown and buff: black: brown. About 3 in. Contains one hole in an unusual position.

89. Dark brown: black: black. Could be the base of 94 below.

90. Orange: black: buff. 2½ in.

91. Black: black: brown. 4½ in.

92. Black: black: brown. About 2½ in. Lightly marked cable pattern on the rim top. Compare 56 above.

93. Black, polished. 3 in.

94. Buff: black: buff. Possibly the upper part of 89.

95. Black: black: brown. Base of very tiny vessel.

96. Dark brown: black: buff/red. About 3½ in.

97. Chocolate brown: black: brown. Highly polished, hard, and well made. 3½ in.

98. Black, smoothed. 3½ in.

Harrold 1 (Belgic)

Pots 99-109 came from a pit. Remaining*sherds were found in various pits and ditches. The colour descriptions follow the scheme used above. All the pottery is very well made, hard, and has the characteristic soapy touch: it is wheel-thrown.

99. Light brown: blue: light brown. Hard. Compare Verulamium 1 p 151 (7).

100. Orange: blue: orange. Shelly. Well made bowl. An approximate parallel is found at Verulamium, 9 p 153 (7), and at Felmersham No 12 (8).

101. Orange/brown: blue: orange. Carinated beaker, similar to the Verulamium series 35 p 162 (7).

102. Black and brown: black: orange and darkened. Fine smoothed finish. Sand and crushed shell in the paste.

103. Pink: blue: pink. Polished. Fine crushed shell present. Similar to Verulamium 3 p 153 (7), and Felmersham No 1 (8).
104. Pink: dark: pink. Shelly. Cooking pot. Similar to Felmersham No 8 (8).
105. Black: blue: darkened pink. Sandy. Approximate parallels are found with Verulamium 3 p 151 (7), and Felmersham No. 3 (8).
106. Blackened orange: dark: blackened orange. Some shells.
107. Blackened pink: grey: pink. Shelly. Cooking pot.
108. Dark pink: blue: pink. Shelly. Roughly made with deeply scored pattern.
109. Buff and black: blue: buff. Hand made base.
110. Black: buff: buff. 4 in. Shelly. Cooking pot rim; grooved for a lid. Common at Irchester (9).
111. Buff. 7 in. Storage jar rim.
112. Pink: blue: pink: Hard and coarse. An example from Colchester (10).
113. Darkened orange: blue: darkened orange. Hard. A few fine shells present in the paste. Polished finish. See 101 above.
114. Black, shelly. An approximate parallel at Camulodunum, pl L (11).
115. Orange: blue: light brown. Hard. A butt beaker. Compare Verulamium 31 p 160 (7).
116. Pink: blue: pink. Shelly. 2½ in.
117. Pink: grey: pink. Shelly. 11 in. Very large storage jar.
118. Black: black: blackened pink. Everted dish. A similar vessel from Saffron Gardens, Bletchley, Bucks. (12).
119. Brown: grey: brown. Shelly. High polish. Probably the upper part of a carinated beaker like 101 and 113 above.

DISCUSSION

Iron Age A—Irthlingborough

Several of the vessels have sufficient affinity with published collections to place the group in an Iron A culture. Thus No 10 is a very devolved situla shape, and No 6 is probably derived from the carinated bowl so characteristic of Fengate (5). No 1 is tall in proportion to its width in the manner of many late Bronze Age urns. The thumb and finger-nail pattern, with or without scoring decoration, usually taken to be characteristic of A cultures, is found on three of the ten vessels.

It is not yet clear if the lug handles are of genuine A origin, or whether they represent an intrusive B element.

Local analogies are not yet available. Insufficient material from the Iron A site at Draughton (eight miles north-east of Northampton) is yet published to establish a connection, other than the use of

'scratch' decoration.

From the devolved forms it is likely that the collection is late A. At this stage it would be unwise to assign a date.

Iron Age B—Bozeat and Strixton

Both these sites, which are about four miles apart, yield pottery very similar to the well known Iron B hill fort at Hunsbury (4)—they are only ten miles from it. At the same time there are many archaic influences. Thus the large jars still have flat rims with thumb, nail, and scratch decoration, e.g. No 16. Some of the decoration is more sophisticated, Nos 22, 51 etc. The small wide bowl 36, is also in the A tradition. Nevertheless the B characteristics are quite plain, particularly in the fine black polished wares, and the rounded vessels from Strixton, often with bead rims.

Handles are all of the type illustrated, there being no countersunk varieties.

Both sites produced a single piece of wheel-made Belgic pottery, Nos 43 and 83, deep down in well stratified contexts. It is not likely that these sherds are intrusive, especially as neither site is nearer than a mile to a Belgic site (the nearest are B12 and S8 (1)). Therefore it is likely that both these B sites are contemporary with the Belgic period farther south. Supporting evidence is supplied by the shapes of 17 and 32, which appear to be hand made copies of Belgic pots. At Irchester, three phases of Belgic occupation were recognisable (9), two of them before about 10 A.D. It is then likely that these Iron B sites were flourishing about the middle of the first century B.C. A statistical analysis of the pottery from these sites is given in the appendix.

Iron B ?—Wollaston

The material from this site presents a problem. No 84 is entirely in the A tradition with a flat rim, thumb nail decoration, and carination. No 85 also has a carination, but the shape is found both at Bozeat, 15, and at Strixton, 45. No 87 has parallels at Hunsbury, yet the poorly baked paste is exactly like Irthlingborough 10. Nos 91, 92, 93 and 98 are finely smoothed black wares of the B tradition, and No 92 is exactly like the Bozeat rim 56. Hence it is evident that both A and B influences are present.

Culturally, it falls between the A of Irthlingborough and the B of Bozeat/Strixton; thus the date may be intermediate.

Belgic—Harrold

The group from the pit (99-109) is paralleled at Verulamium (7), Sharnbrook (8) and Irchester (9). In the absence of even a single sherd of late Belgic ware influenced by Roman pottery techniques, we may safely assign this collection to before about 10 A.D. (See Hawkes and Hull (11)

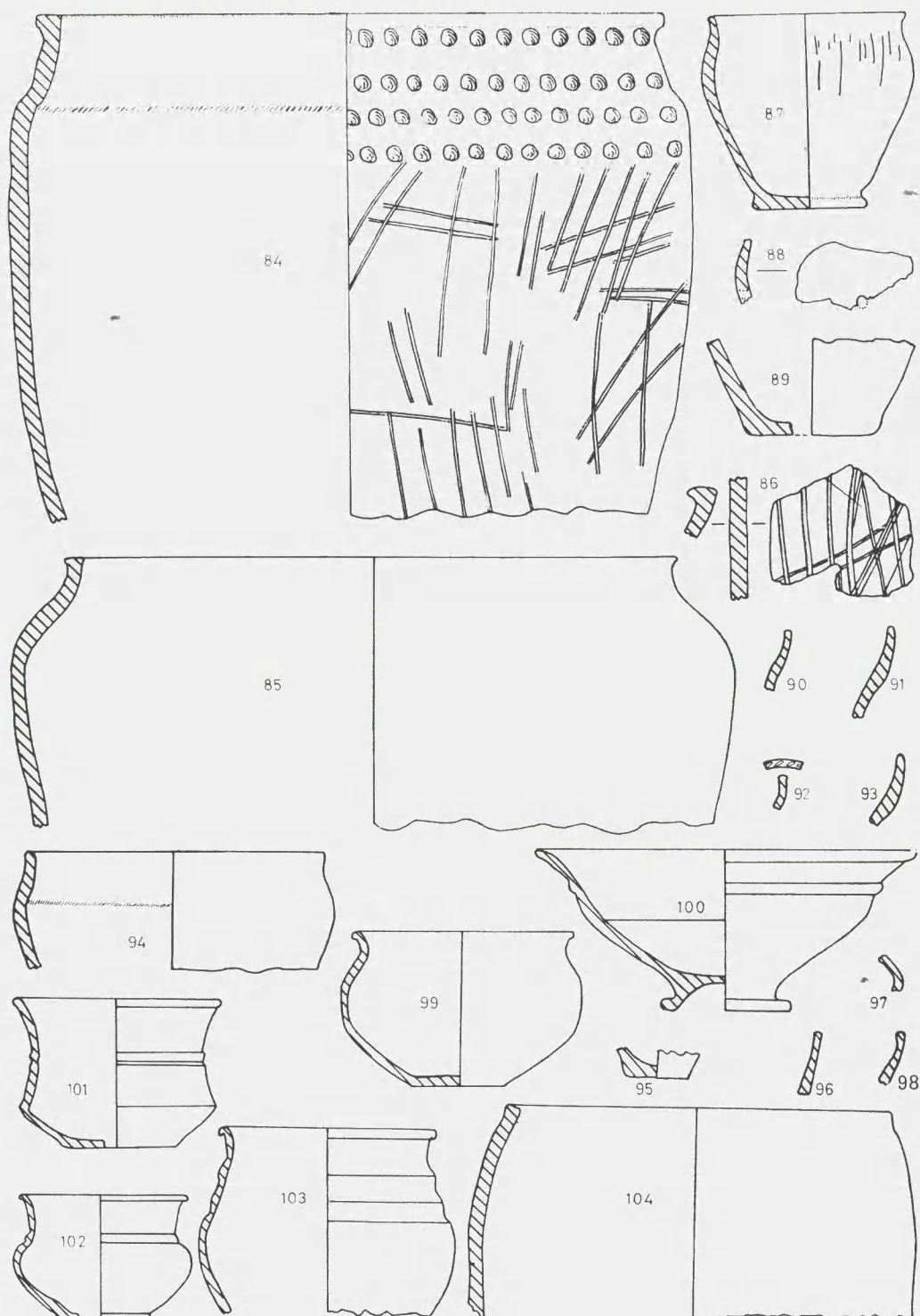


Fig 6. Iron Age B pottery from Wollaston, Northants (84-98) and Belgic pottery from Harrold, Beds (99-104).

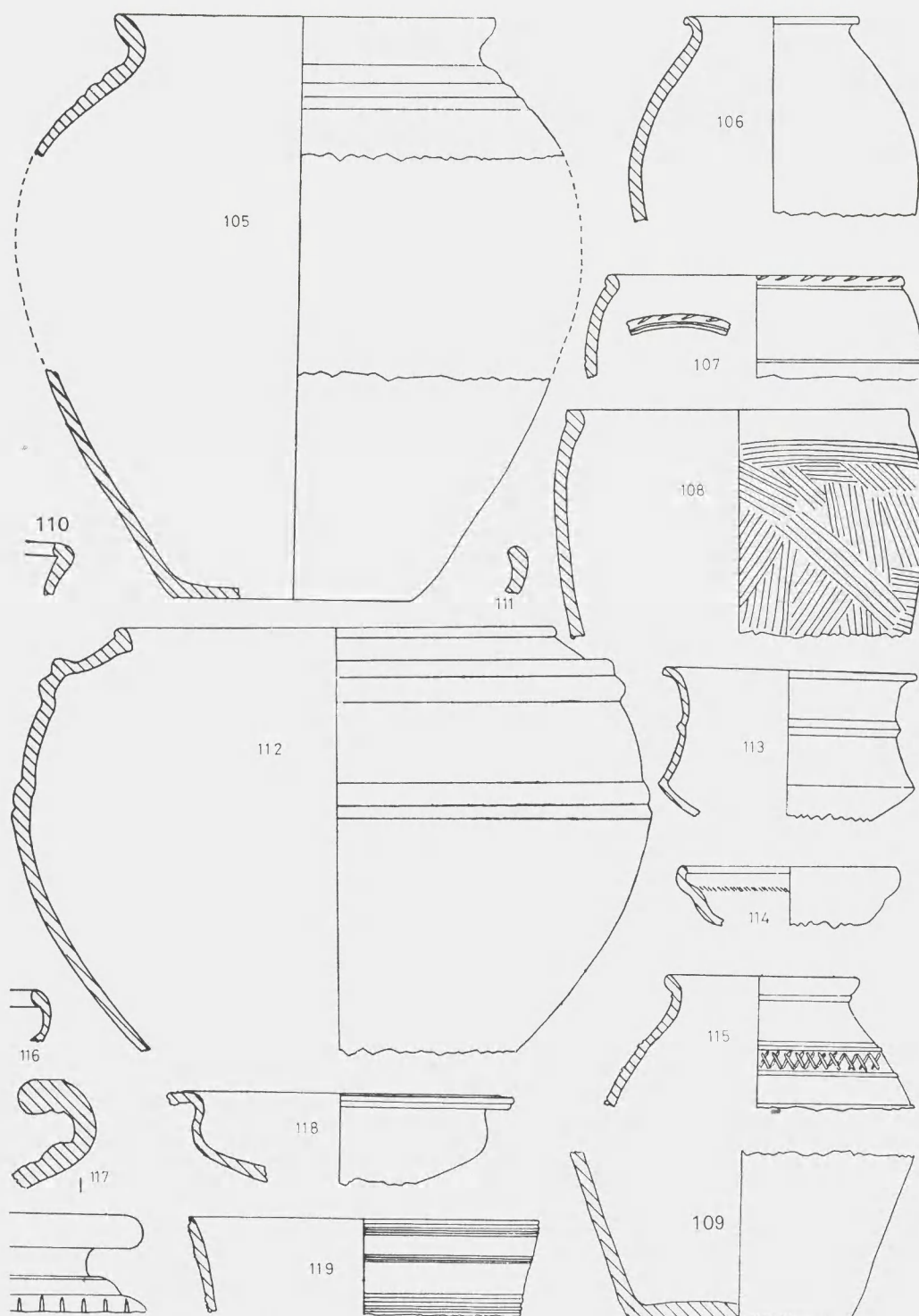


Fig 7. Belgic pottery from Harrold, Beds.

for the dating of the late Belgic). The early date is supported by the finger nail decoration of 107, the rough vessel with scratch decoration 108, and the hand made base 109. Thus the end of the first century B.C. would appear to be the date of this material.

A butt beaker 115, occurs amongst the unstratified material, so that this at least would be in the period about 10—43 A.D.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from these pottery groups that unambiguous classification into A or B cultures cannot always be given on the basis of rim types or pattern alone. These collections often represent archaic cultures, which must be classified by the latest cultural elements present. Consequently the Wollaston site must be contemporary with B sites farther south (or east) since some B influences are present.

APPENDIX

Analysis of all the pottery from Bozeat and Strixton
Table 1, below, lists all the important sherds, many of them are not illustrated because they duplicate examples drawn. The total number of pots is taken as the number of rims. For convenience the rims are divided into six main groups. It is stressed that this does not mean that only six types of vessel occur; thus a given rim type can be found on several vessel shapes, and vessels with the same overall shape can have different rims. These remarks are particularly applicable to rim classes 3, 4, and 5.

Table 1. Types of sherd

Group	Strixton		Bozeat	
	Number	% of total (86)	Number	% of total (61)
Bases				
Form 1	6	7	3	5
2	10	12	12	20
3	3	3	2	3
	19		17	
Rims				
Form 1	4	5	6	10
2	14	16	5	8
3	4	5	4	7
4	30	35	29	48
4a	3	3	3	5
5	29	34	12	20
6	2	2	2	3
	86		61	
Patterns				
Type 1a	13	15	4	7
1b	3	3	1	2
2a	6	7	2	3

2b	1	1	3	5
	23		10	
Handles	9	10	4	7
<i>Bases</i>				
Form 1	Vessel wall rising from the base convex to the centre axis, e.g. 42.			
2	Lower vessel side rising with an inflection, e.g. 17.			
3	Pedestal, e.g. 82.			
<i>Rims</i>				
Form 1	Large jars with flat or rounded rims; 15, 16.			
2	Smaller vessels, flat rims; 21, 41, 63.			
3	Very everted rims; 39, 60.			
4	Slightly everted rim on globular shaped vessels; 29, 31, 61.			
4a	Slightly everted rim on other vessels; 37.			
5	Rounded neutral rim, in- and everted; 35, 62.			
6	Rims made for lid location, often with holes; 46.			

Patterns

- Type 1a Lattice and vertical parallel line scoring on the vessel body; 16, 50.
1b Other decoration on the vessel body.
2a Finger print decoration on the side, or upper surface of the rim; 16, 21, 53.
2b Finger nail pattern on the upper surface of the rim; 20.

Handles

Nos 24, 25, 26.

References

- (1) Hall and Nickerson, in *Beds. Arch. J.*, III (1966), 1-6.
- (2) Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943).
- (3) W. F. Grimes (Ed.), *Aspects of Archaeology* (1951), 144-171.
- (4) Fell, The Hunsbury Hill-Fort, Northants; a new survey of the material, *Arch. J.* XCIII (1936), 57-100.
- (5) Hawkes and Fell, An Early Iron Age site at Fengate, Peterborough. *Arch. J.* C (1943), 188, 223.
- (6) Kenyon, Excavations at Breedon-on-the-Hill, *Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc.*, XXVI (1950).
- (7) Wheeler, *Verulamium, A Belgic and two Roman cities* (1936).
- (8) Belgic Bronzes and Pottery found at Felmersham upon Ouse, *Beds., Ant. J.* XXIX (1949), 37-61 [although near Felmersham this site is in the parish of Sharnbrook].
- (9) Hall and Nickerson, Excavations at Irchester 1962-3, *Arch. J.* CXXIV (1967), 65-99.
- (10) P.P.S. XXXI (1965), 348 No 208.
- (11) Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947).
- (12) Information from Miss H. Waugh, 35 Beaumont Street, Oxford.

A Late Eighth Century Disc from Mavourne Farm, Bolnhurst, Bedfordshire

ANN SMALLRIDGE

IN 1962 a small disc was brought into Bedford Museum by Mr John White. The gilt bronze disc is an isolated surface find from Mavourne Farm, Bolnhurst, (N.G.R. TL/071575), and is now in Bedford Museum, accession number 62/B/70.

border the disc is divided into quadrants by an equal armed cross in slight relief. The designs in the four panels are skilfully executed in the chip-carving technique, the surface of the ornament being cut back in places to express low relief. The

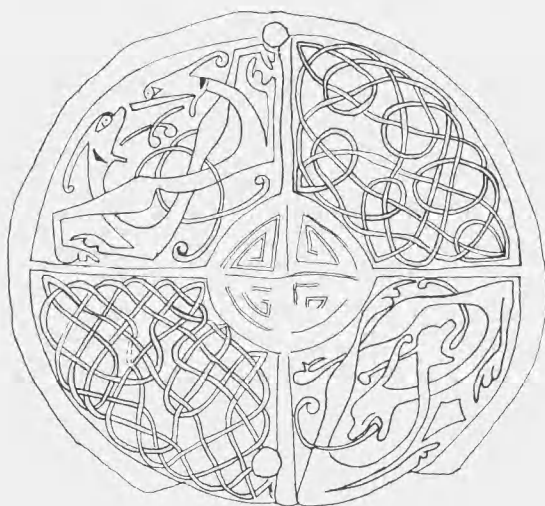


Fig 1. The Mavourne Disc.

The disc (pl Ia; fig 1) is 3.6 cm. in diameter. It is of gilt bronze, with traces of gilding still remaining on the back. There is no sign of a catch and pin, but the corrosion which has pitted the back of the disc might have destroyed traces of any fastening device. Two holes have been bored opposite each other towards the edge of the disc. This work has been carelessly carried out. Neither hole is integrated into the design: both are to the left of the vertical rib (fig 1). The holes are probably secondary, made after the damage to the rim, since one hole is on the raised border, the other a comparable distance in from the broken edge.

In the centre of the disc is a slightly raised boss with a lightly incised design. The boss has been divided into quadrants, each containing a key spiral. The disc has a raised border which probably extended around the circumference of the disc. The border is much pitted by corrosion. Within the

panels are filled alternatively with ribbon interlace and animals patterns. The animals in the top left-hand quadrant face in opposite directions but are almost identical in form and stance. One animal appears to be in front of the other, but its tail entwines with the body and tail of its partner. Each animal has a long neck which arches back over its body, confronting the other animal with its backward-facing head. The heads have sharply truncated snouts; the line of the lip is indicated, and the curved cheek line is pronounced. There is a distinct bump over the eye. The heads have short pigtailed, turning down to end in a scroll. The eye is almond-shaped; the pupil is indicated by a dot, the iris by a curved line. From the open mouth of each animal a short tongue is produced, which crosses the tongue of its partner to end in a scroll. The animals have slender bodies with the back leg protruding to give a rampant position. The tail

curls round, interlacing with the tail and body of the other animal, to end in a scroll. The feet of the animals are three-toed, the divisions between the toes being exaggerated.

The two animals in the lower right-hand quadrant are almost identical. However, unlike the superimposed animals of the opposite panel, they face each other, only their hind foot and head extend into the other's half of the area. These animals are more attenuated; their necks are longer, as are their tongues, which interlace with the body of the other animal. The shoulders of the animals have been distorted to fit into the right-angle of the field. The tapering body swells into the hip, which narrows again to a backward-turning three-toed foot. The heads of these animals are squarer than those of the animals in the opposite quadrant, with blunter, more rounded snouts. The space between the animals' forepaws is filled by an irregular lozenge. In this quadrant naturalism has been subordinated to the decorative filling of an area.

The two remaining panels are filled with interlace ornament. In both panels all strands of the design are subject to a strict over/under order. The interlace in the right-hand quadrant is more elaborate, with five whorls worked into the pattern; that in the left-hand quadrant appears as an irregular basket-weave design.

The holes may have been bored so that the disc could be attached to others by an arrangement of plates and links as with the Witham pins¹ or the pinhead from Kegworth, Leics.² However, there is no pin attached to the Mavourne disc. The disc may have been originally a mount from a box or binding, but it is not in the usual form of objects that can be identified as mounts, (see the Whitby Abbey mounts³ of a similar date and technique). It seems probable that the Mavourne disc was originally used as a brooch, since, in size and general configuration, it resembles most closely the Ixworth brooch⁴ among comparable material. However, it should be noticed that the catch and pin on the Ixworth brooch are secondary.

In material, technique and form of design, the Mavourne disc is closely paralleled by the Witham pins. These are also of gilded, chip-carved bronze, but the craftsmanship is probably surpassed by that of the Mavourne disc. Like the Mavourne disc, the three discs of the Witham pins are divided into four fields. The centre pin also has raised ribs, rim and central boss. The rim is decorated by punched dots, a feature which cannot be confirmed on the Mavourne disc due to corrosion. The careful interlace in the lower left-hand quadrant of the left-hand pin is similar to that in the lower left-hand

quadrant of the Mavourne disc. The animals on the centre pin have the same bump over the eye, sharply truncated snout, defined upper lip and open mouth with protruding tongue as the Mavourne disc animals in the left-hand quadrant. They have a similar swelling at the hip with the hind leg turned upwards against the natural body line as the animals in the right-hand quadrant of the Mavourne disc. Both discs bear examples of animals with long, arched necks and backward or forward facing heads.

Another close parallel to the Mavourne disc is the Ixworth brooch, although the latter is slightly dished in form. This again is circular, divided into quadrants by raised, but flat, ribs, has a central boss and is surrounded by a raised border. Animal and interlace ornament is again portrayed by chip carving, but all four panels show one animal surrounded by interlace. The Ixworth brooch animals are less disciplined and formalised than those on the Mavourne disc, but there are similar features. The eyes of the animals on the Ixworth brooch are portrayed in a similar manner, although the corners of the eye turn downwards and the eye is more exaggerated as a feature. Both sets of animals have arched necks, a swelling hip which tapers to end in three-toed paws with exaggeratedly arched knuckles. The Mavourne disc is a richer object executed more finely than the Ixworth brooch.

The Witham pins and Ixworth brooch are two of a series of gilded objects which includes a gilt-bronze mount from Bjørke churchyard,⁵ Norway. Again, this is an object with chip-carved animal and interlace ornament. There is a marked similarity to the Mavourne disc in that the interlace in the four corners of the mount is developed into whorls like that in the top right-hand quadrant of the disc.

This series of gilded objects can be dated to the eighth century on the basis of parallels cited here. The Witham pins and associated material can be dated by reference to the Tassilo chalice.⁶ This was made for presentation by Duke Tassilo to the monastery of Kremsmünster, between 777 and 788. The Tassilo chalice has been shown to belong to the Anglo-Carolingian school of metalwork and is not native Anglo-Saxon work, but general parallels can be drawn. The Bjørke mount can be dated to the early Viking period by accompanying grave goods, and was probably taken to Norway in the Viking raids at the end of the eighth century, which gives a *terminus ante quem* date.

The Witham pins have parallels in eighth-century stone carving. The animal seen from above on the right-hand pin is found on the Thornhill,

Dumfries, cross fragment.⁷ The sharply pointed wing of the animals on the centre pin is found on a carving of an eagle from Brixworth, Northants.⁸ and on an animal whose general configuration is very similar to that of the Witham pin animals. This animal occurs on a cross fragment from Elstow, Beds.⁹ (this journal, pl 1b), and its head and tongue form a close parallel to those of the animals in the left-hand quadrant of the Mavourne disc. The interlace on the Witham pins and the Mavourne disc can be compared to that on the Bakewell cross,¹⁰ dated by Kendrick to the second half of the eighth century, and to the interlace on the Gandersheim ivory casket,¹¹ which is also of eighth-century date. It should be pointed out that these parallels can only be dated on stylistic grounds, grounds which are questionable.

There are parallels among manuscripts to the Witham pins/Mavourne disc series, particularly to the general principle of division of an area into small fields filled with decoration, and to the interlace designs. Parallels to the pointed wings of the Witham pin animals are found in the Book of Cerne,¹² and the Leningrad gospels.¹³ The Leningrad gospels (c. 746) also show an animal seen from above. The pigtail feature of the Mavourne disc animal heads is found in the Lindisfarne gospels (c. 698). It is not a common feature on metalwork, but is much in evidence on the drinking-horn mounts of the Trewiddle hoard, deposited c. 873.

The design of the Mavourne disc frees the animals from the demands of interlace patterns. The bodies of the animals, although formalised, do not develop into ribbon interlace, as on the centre disc of the Witham pins, neither are they shown against a background of interlace, as on the Ixworth brooch. Unlike the sceatta of 700-750, where the animal bodies are completely subordinate to the interlace design, the portrayal of the animals on the Mavourne disc moves towards the naturalistic style of the animals in the roundels of manuscripts of the Canterbury school (c. 750-825). As on the Mavourne disc, these manuscripts employ interlace and animal ornament in separate panels. The key patterns of the Royal I E IV (Folio 4a)¹⁴ suggest those incised on the boss of the Mavourne disc. However, manuscripts like the Royal I E VI

must be dated later than the disc because of the degeneration of their animals into floriate forms, quite apart from the fact that they have their own established series of parallels in later silver work. However, if the comparatively naturalistic portrayal of the Mavourne disc animals could be taken as evidence of a date later than that of the Witham pins, then the disc could be dated towards the end of the eighth century. A later date seems unlikely in view of the appearance of discipline and balance which the design of the disc retains, and which is not often met with in the ninth century manuscripts and metalwork.

The Mavourne disc, then, is one of a series of gilded chip-carved objects which includes the Witham pins, Ixworth brooch and Bjorke mount as its closest parallels. These objects are to be dated to the second half of the eighth century, and the Mavourne disc is probably to be dated to the end of this period. The series of objects has been used to define an Anglian or Mercian school, and the provenance of the Mavourne disc comes within this area. The Mavourne disc is an important object in this series, bearing comparison as it does in richness and technique with the Witham pins, Ixworth brooch and Bjorke mount.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Mr F. W. Kuhlicke for permission to publish the disc and for discussing it with me, and Mr David Wilson for his help and advice.

NOTES

¹D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100*, (1964), 11-14, 132-134, pl 18.

²*Ibid.*, 14, 57, 58, 106, pl 3.

³*Ibid.*, 192, pl 38.

⁴*Ibid.*, 137.

⁵*Ibid.*, pl 1; *Antiquaries Journal* xii, 440 f.

⁶D. M. Wilson, (1964), 10 with fig.

⁷D. M. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons*, (1960), pl 61.

⁸T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, (1938), pl 93, 4.

⁹D. M. Wilson, (1964), pl 2.

¹⁰D. Baker, 'Recent discoveries at the Benedictine Abbey of Elstow', *The Bedfordshire Magazine*, Vol 11, no 87 (1968), 289.

¹¹J. Brondsted, *Early English Ornament*, London, 1924, fig 57.

¹²D. M. Wilson, (1964), pl 1.

¹³D. M. Wilson, (1964), 22, pl 3.

¹⁴D. M. Wilson, (1964), 11.

¹⁵D. M. Wilson, (1964), pl 5.

St Neots ware from Bedford: Jugs and Bowls

DAVID H. KENNETT

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT in Bedford in the 1930s brought to light a very large collection of St Neots ware. Most of this has hitherto lain dormant in Bedford Museum, though four pots were published in 1937 by Mr Kuhlicke¹ and a type series given by Dr Dunning in 1959.² In his corpus of St Neots ware from East Anglia Hurst mentioned three jugs,³ but did not figure any vessels. The collection of Bedford St Neots ware, though unassociated, unstratified and dug-up by non-archaeological means, does have some value as it provides a large number of complete profiles of vessels. In the hope that these will be of value to excavators reconstructing pots from sherds, and in view of the size of the sample, two forms of commonly found St Neots ware vessel are considered here: the jug and the bowl.

(Vessels figured are marked *.)

JUGS

*1 Jug; body only, none of neck or rim, sole trace of handle is scar on body at point of junction (marked on drawing by a heavy stipple); black, lightly shell-gritted core, red surfaces, undecorated; four surviving ridges on neck. Silver Grill Hotel, High Street, Bedford. (4101).

*2 Jug; rim and neck, lacks spout and handle; black shell-gritted core, red surfaces. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

*3 Jug; handle, plain; black shell-gritted core, dull, light red surfaces. Cauldwell Priory, Bedford. (3941).

*4 Jug; restored from fragments, lacks spout and most of handle, of which insufficient remains to attempt a reconstruction, and some of body is missing also; black shell-gritted core, undecorated surfaces fired dark brown to dark grey. Rogers Porters shop, St Peter's Street, Bedford, 1929, at 12 ft. down. Kuhlicke, 1937, fig 1; Hurst, 1956, 54. (3732).

*5 Jug; most of upper part, including lip spout, but not top of handle, plus the lower part of handle; grey sparsely tempered fabric with grey monotone undecorated surfaces, inner heavily pitted, outer smooth, but feel is less soapy than normal, Royal Insurance Company building, St Peters Street, Bedford. (3740).

*6 Jug; rim and neck with simple lip spout but no handle; black shell-gritted core, red surfaces, un-

decorated. Silver Street, Bedford (4090).

*7 Jug; body with beginnings of neck and base of handle; black shell-gritted core with more shell grit than usual, light grey to mid-grey surfaces with shell fragments showing; undecorated, except for an external groove at the greatest diameter of the body and faint, irregular girth grooves on neck. Granada site, St Peter's Street, Bedford, 1934, with (12) at a depth of 24 ft. (3729).

*8 Jug; sherd, mostly neck but with a small section of rim surviving; dark grey shell-gritted core; light grey-brown to buff surfaces, feeling more soapy than usual; decoration of surviving sherd is five single and one double row of square rouletting, fairly widely spaced except for the double row which has the appearance of having been retouched on both upper and lower rows. Dene Holes, between Wickhampstead and Houghton Conquest, further details unknown, but apparently found with other Saxon pottery. (—).

*9 Jug; wall, including base of handle; dark grey shell-gritted core, red surfaces. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

*10 Jug; wall, including base of handle; black shell-gritted core, buff-brown surfaces. Bedford, details unknown.

11 Jug; handle; black shell-gritted core, red surfaces; 18 punctuations, like handle of (15). Pavenham, Bedfordshire (marked on handle).

*12 Jug; virtually complete, half of spout with adjoining piece of rim missing, also two pick gashes in side; black shell-gritted core, with shells pounded into small fragments and not burnt out in the firing, generally arranged parallel to the sides of the fabric, surfaces undecorated, generally from very dark purple-brown to almost black, but one or two lighter patches of dark grey; walls very thin, in places only 4 mm. thick; spout lipped out from sharply undercut rim, done when vessel was still on the wheel-head, from regularity of execution, handle of plain strap type, but not placed vertical, has two large thumb pressings at its junction with body. Granada site, St Peter's Street, Bedford, 1934, at 24 ft. down, with (7). Kuhlicke, 1937, fig 3; Hurst, 1956, 54; Dunning, 1959, fig 15.1. (3730).

13 Jug; rim sherd; black shell-gritted core, red surfaces. Bedford details unknown (—).

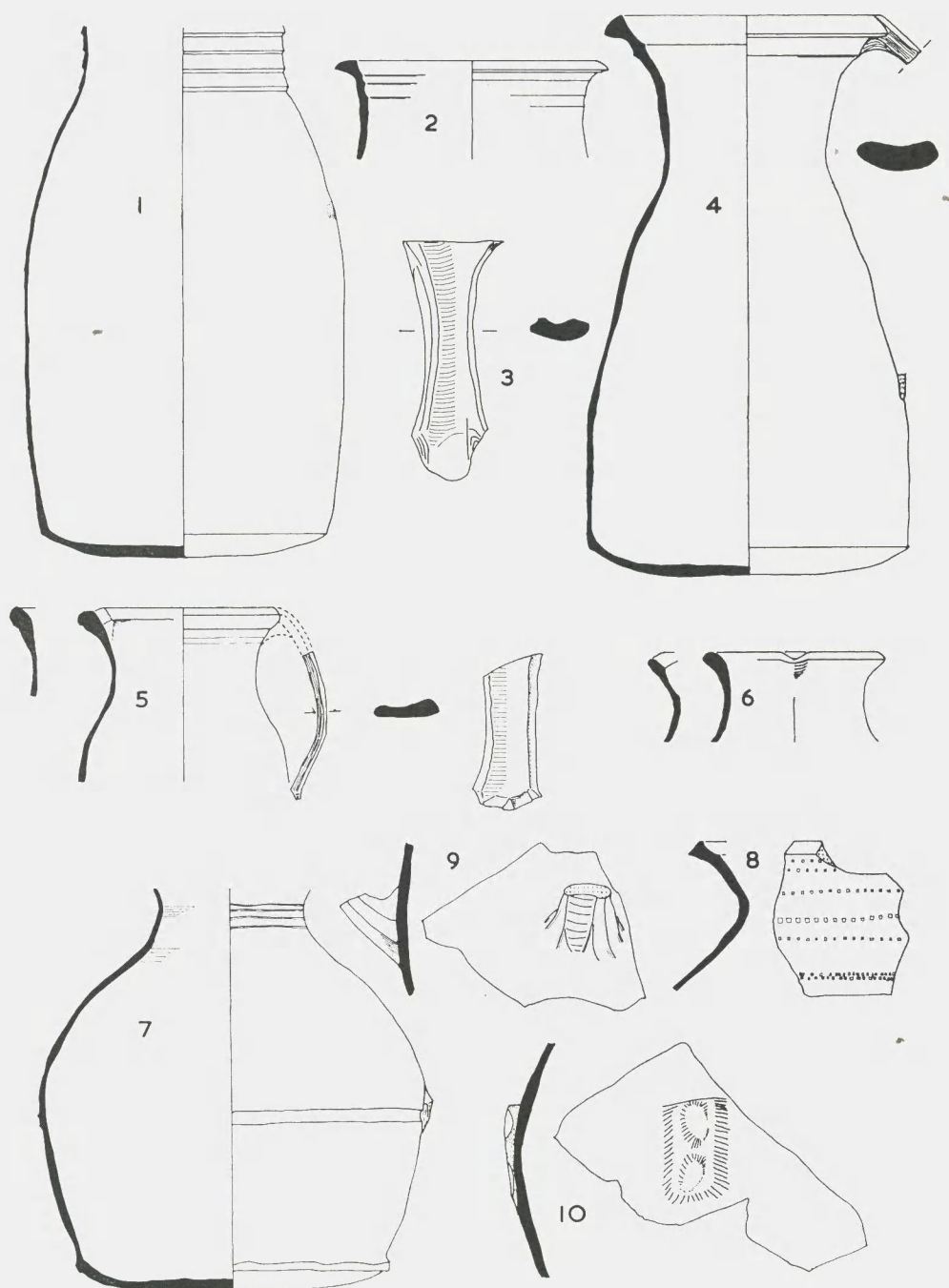


Fig 1.

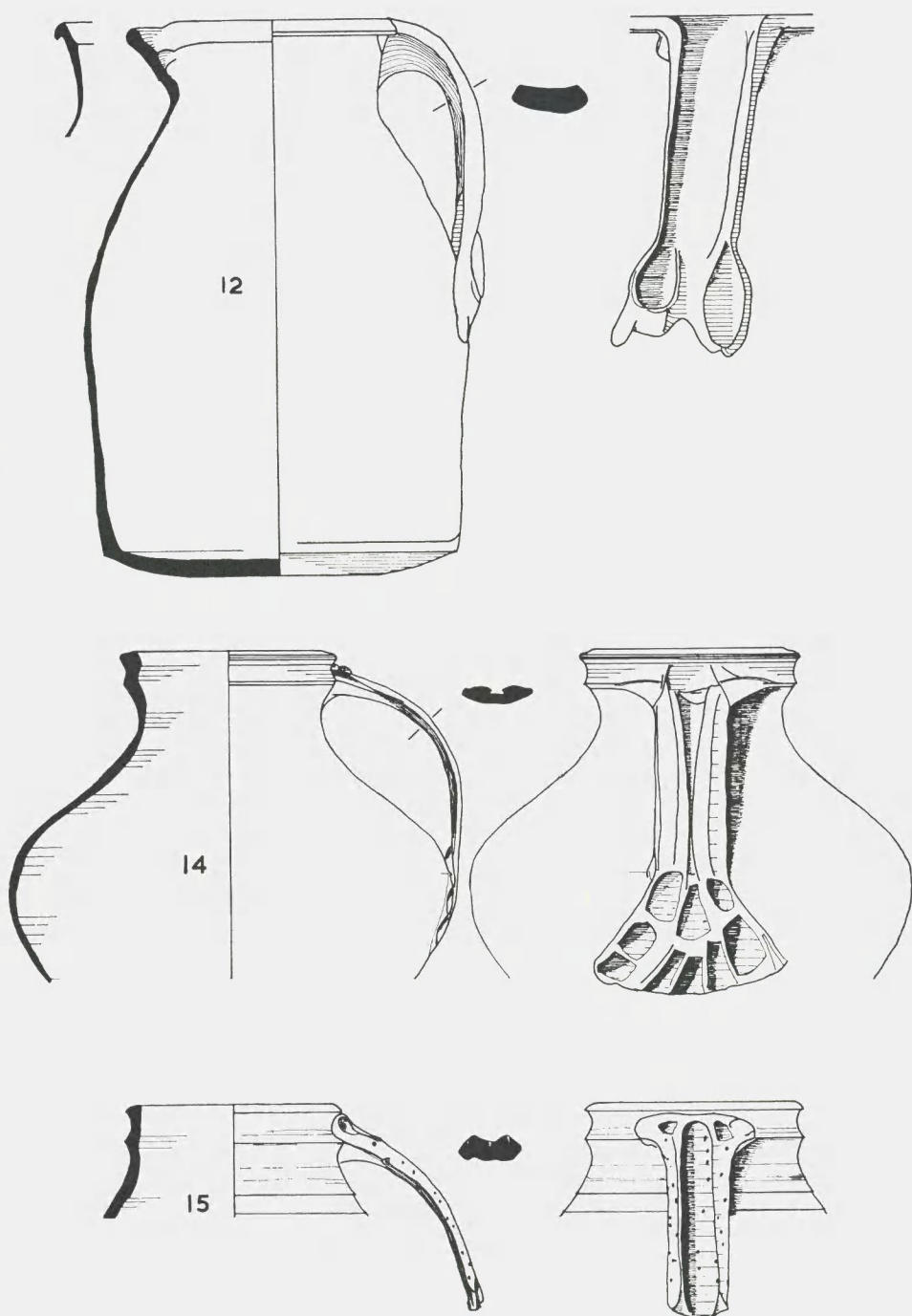


Fig 2.

*14 Jug; half of vessel with complete handle, reconstructed from fragments, lacks any indication of base or spout; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces, sooted. Bedford, Mr Kuhlicke tells me it came from the Silver Grill (—).

*15 Jug; rim, neck, and handle, no spout; black shell-gritted core with light red surfaces; 29 punctuations on the handle. Black Knight public house, St Mary's Street, Bedford. (3978).

16 Jug; rim and beginnings of handle; black shelly core, red surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (—).

17 Jug; base sherd, showing clearly the marks of the potter's hand; dark grey shell-gritted core, deep purple-brown surfaces. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

18 Jug; rim and neck with beginnings of spout of indeterminate form; black shelly core with red surfaces. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

19 Jug; rim and neck; black core with much shell grit, buff-brown surfaces. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

20 Jug; strap handle; black shelly core, red surfaces; plain. Bedford, details unknown. (—).

BOWLS

*1 Bowl; rim and side; dark grey shell-gritted core, grey surfaces, contaminated with green fungus. High Street, Bedford. (3723).

*2 Bowl; rim and wall to base angle; dark grey shell-gritted core, brown surfaces. Possibly from Silver Street, Bedford. (—).

*3 Bowl; profile, almost complete vessel; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3769).

*4 Bowl; profile, lacks centre of base; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3770).

*5 Bowl; profile, including complete base, but lacks most of rim; dark grey shell-gritted core, purple-brown surfaces, contaminated by green fungus. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3771).

*6 Bowl; rim and wall to base angle; dark grey shell-gritted core, purple-brown surfaces, contaminated by green fungus. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3771).

*7 Bowl; almost complete; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces, blackened in places. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3768).

*8 Bowl; five conjoining sherds, no base and lacking also part of the rim; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces, contaminated by green fungus. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3767).

*9 Bowl; rim and most of wall; dark grey shell-gritted core, buff surfaces. St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3773.1).

*10 Miniature bowl; almost complete, chip in rim; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces; underside of base very irregular within a definite foot-ring. Rogers Porters shop, St. Peter's Street, Bedford; (previously published, Kuhlicke, 1937, 121, and fig 4). (3739).

*11 Bowl; almost complete; dark-grey shell-gritted core, buff surfaces. The Old House, St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3766).

*12 Bowl; two large fragments, restored to complete vessel; dark grey shell-gritted core, buff to light purple-brown surfaces; rim undercut with knife; Bedford, further details unknown. (—).

*13 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces. The Old Jail site, Silver Street, Bedford. (3766.1).

*14 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, purple surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (—).

*15 Bowl; profile, represented by two large sherds, no base; black shell-gritted core, light grey surfaces. High Street, Bedford, 1926. (3724).

*16 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, dark purple-brown surfaces, blackened in places. High Street, Bedford, 1926. (3720).

*17 Bowl; rim sherd; black shell-gritted core, dark purple-brown surfaces; St Peters Street, Bedford. (3741).

*18 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, yellow surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (SC.30).

*19 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light grey surfaces; Bedford, further details unknown. (SC.26).

*20 Bowl; complete profile, half of base and walls with part of rim; black shell-gritted core, purple-brown surfaces. High Street, Bedford, 1926. (3718).

*21 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, grey surfaces. High Street, Bedford (3722).

22 Bowl; rim and wall; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces. St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3738).

*23 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (SC. 22).

*24 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (SC. 22).

*25 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light brown surfaces. Palace Cinema, Bedford. (Vessel marked).

*26 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, grey surfaces. St Peter's Street, Bedford. (3773.2).

27 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light purple-brown surfaces. High Street, Bedford. (3760).

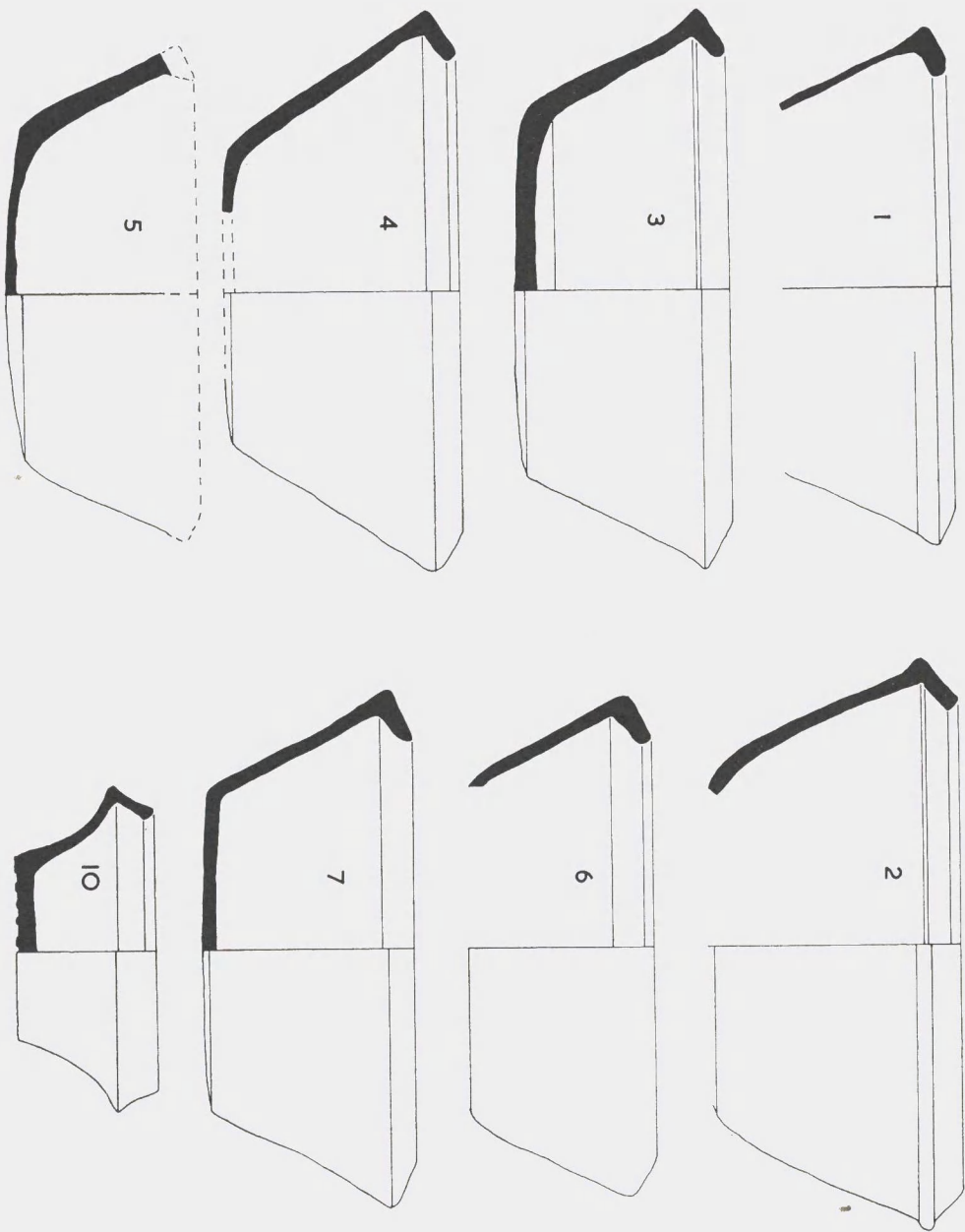


Fig 3.

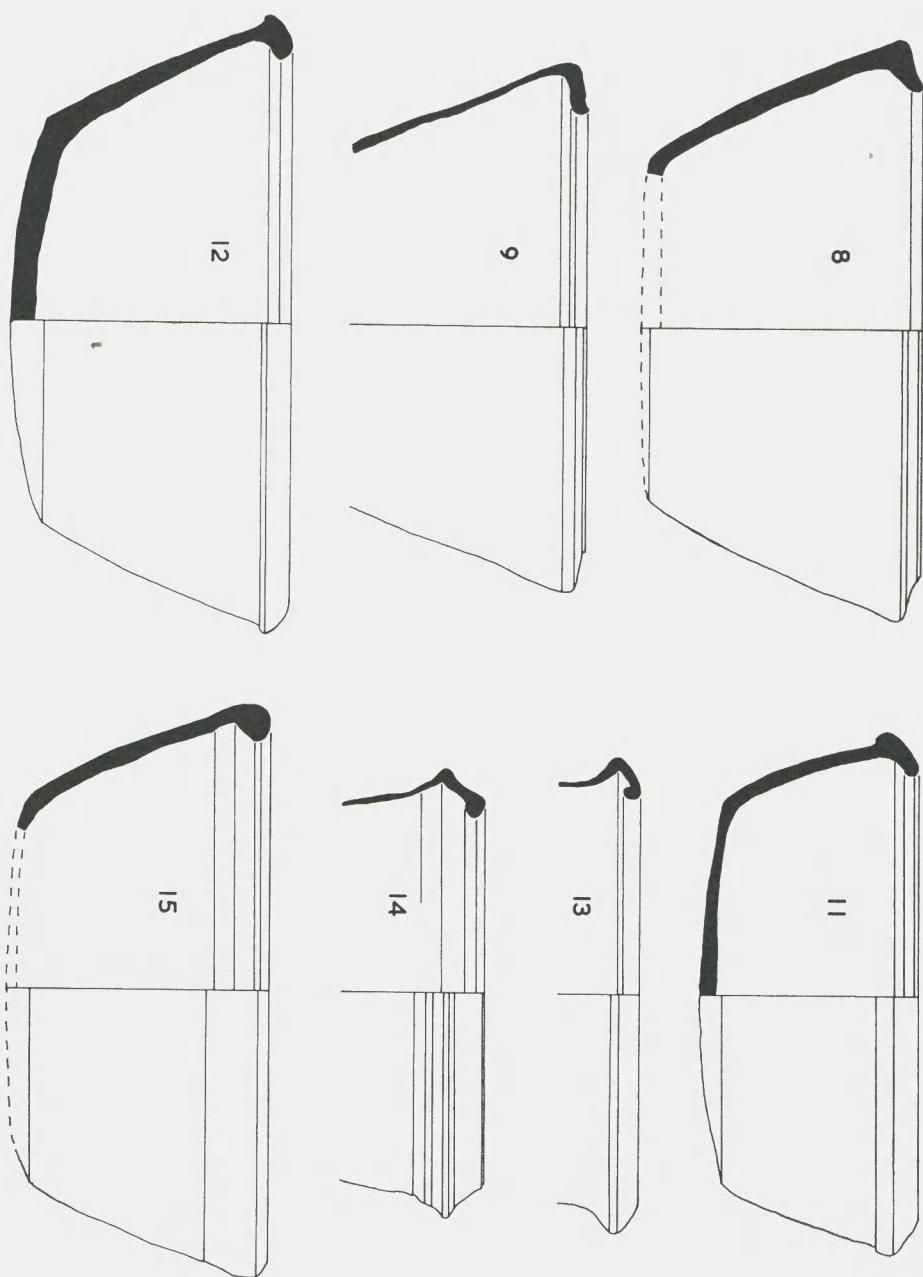


Fig 4.

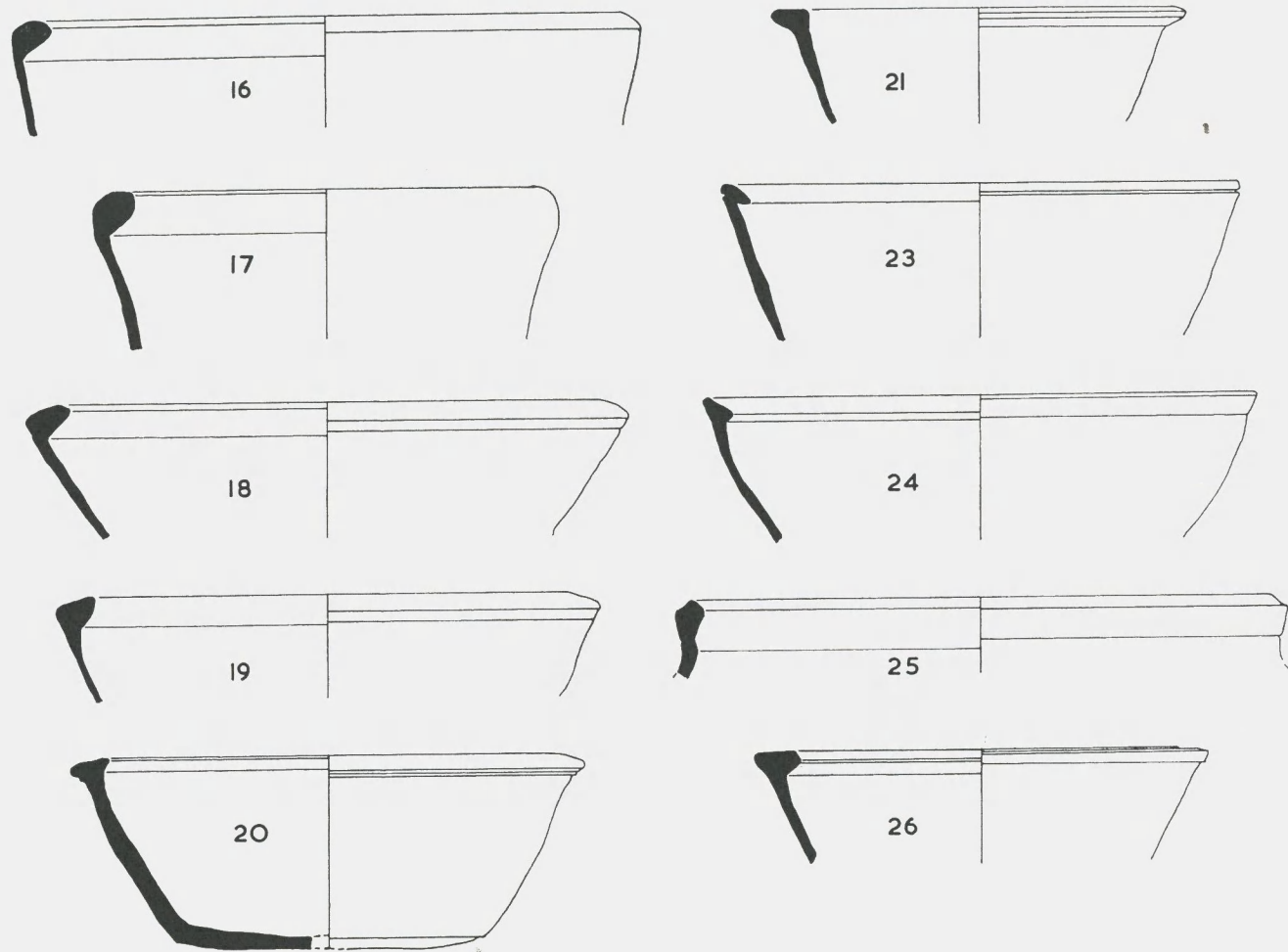


Fig 5.

28 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, grey surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (—).

29 Bowl; rim sherd; dark grey shell-gritted core, light grey surfaces. Bedford, further details unknown. (SC. 27).

All these vessels are in Bedford Museum, to whose catalogue the numbers quoted refer. These numbers are marked on the vessel.

ST NEOTS WARE JUGS

The general shape of the St Neots ware jug has been regarded as a tall, slightly bulbous vessel, about 30 cms. high and with a maximum girth of 25 cms. This impression, gained from the Ely jug,⁴ carries with it an implication of a heavily decorated vessel, with a slight lip spout and a broad strap handle.

Perusal of the figures accompanying this paper will show that this is only a partial impression. From these we can see that a tall bulbous jug is found as at Bedford, (12), and Ely,⁴ and also in a coarse, gritty, grey ware, fired light red on both surfaces and grey toned outside at Jewry Wall, Leicester.⁵

The tall form of jug is seen too in a type with a narrower body. Three certain examples are figured, (1), (4), (5), and this shape is found also on the Radcliffe Square, Oxford, jug,⁶ and a further jug from Oxford.⁷

One feature of these tall jugs, both bulbous and narrow, from Bedford is their plain necks, though one, (1), has slight ridges encircling its neck, for which feature I know of no parallel.

In sharp contrast is the pronounced neck corrugation of our other jug shape, the globular. This has previously only been given passing notice, but as may be seen, six have been figured, (7), (8), (9), (10), (14), (15). This shape is to be found on more than one jug from Northampton⁸ and it survives in the tripod pitchers of the Oxford region.⁹ The globular form would appear to vary somewhat in size, and, as yet, it is not possible to say what the norm is.

One seemingly constant feature of all St Neots ware jugs would, however, appear to be the rim diameter. This varies little from a norm of around 14 cms., and could well represent the optimum diameter.

It is a feature of the jug which distinguishes it from the bottle that the jug possesses a means whereby the liquid contained therein can be poured out. This usually is some form of spout, and on our jugs these are of simple form. The lip spout was probably made by pressing a finger or a stick against the rim of a still plastic vessel at a

point opposite the handle though not always central to its median line.

Mention has just been made of the handle, and this too serves to distinguish a jug from a bottle. Our handles are of the plain strap variety and seem to have been made separately from the jug body, to which they are joined by luting with an adhesive slip. Often this is carefully disguised at the rim join but is more evident on the body join. Two slightly thicker handles are noted, one from Bedford, (15), the other from Pavenham, (11), which exhibit the frequently found phenomenon of punctuations stabbed into the handle to let the air out during firing. In St Neots ware this can be paralleled in an ovoid cross-sectioned handle from Olney¹⁰ and also from the handle of firecovers from Sharnbrook, Beds.¹¹ and Brafield-on-the-Green, Northants.¹²

Hitherto, we have regarded the St Neots ware jug as a heavily decorated vessel, mainly on the strength of the Ely jug, (13). But, as may be seen from the figures, the St Neots ware jugs from Bedford are undecorated. The jug in an allied fabric from Leicester is also undecorated and so are those from Northampton. A contrast can therefore be adduced between these two areas of the Cambridge region and a Bedford-Northampton-Leicester axis, with the former possessing decorated jugs and undecorated jugs as a feature of the latter. That the two are not mutually exclusive is demonstrated by the sherd of a jug from Dene Holes (8), whose square-notched rouletting can be paralleled on sherds from Comberton¹³ and on the ovoid handle from Olney. The Radcliffe Square, Oxford, jug is likewise roulette-decorated with a pattern of triangles and diamonds. The complete repertoire of shapes is best exemplified by the Ely jug, and contains triangles, quadrilaterals, rhomboids, diamonds, rectangles and squares. But these it must be emphasised are all absent from the St Neots ware jugs from Bedford.

ST NEOTS WARE BOWLS

The collection of St Neots ware from Bedford includes a series of 29 bowls, which are published here. For convenience, it is customary to divide vessels of shallow height and wide mouth into bowls and dishes: the former have a height greater than one-third of their rim diameter, while the latter are less than one-third of their rim diameter high. Fifty-seven St Neots ware dishes on these criteria are known from Bedford.

The characteristic St Neots ware bowl is a deep vessel, about 12 to 15 cms. high, with an overall diameter of 25 to 30 cms. Its rim is usually heavily inturned, with an internal rim diameter of 20 to

25 cms, above sloping sides to a sagging base, with a basal diameter, calculated at the base angle, of between 15 and 18 cms. The fabric is shell-tempered, with a white flecked, black to dark grey core, and surfaces varying in colour from pink and light red, through purple and purple-brown, both light and dark, to buff, yellow and grey. All vessels have a soapy feel to their surfaces, caused by the shell grit. They were wheel-made, as is indicated by their regular rims and by the internal rilling marks left by the potter's hands as the vessel spun on the wheel. Our collection includes a number of complete profiles of vessels, and these clearly show the concentric wheel marks of the sides continuing on to the base, though not present at the centre of the base. This feature was first observed by Dunning at Exeter and can be further noted on the bases of St Neots cooking pots from Bedford. Removal from the wheel-head was probably by 'cheese-wire' or similar type of cutter.¹⁴

Within these vessels there is considerable variation in rim form. This is more acute than in other forms as the potter had greater diversity in placing his fingers and thumb when forming the rim. The rough typological division which follows is based on the diversity of rim forms within St Neots ware. It may or may not stand the test of time. It is proposed merely as a guide to the typological classifications of St. Neots ware bowls and stems from apparent groups within the diverse rim forms.

We may describe the first group as the inturned flange rim type. This is represented by nine examples, (1-9), some of whose rims show a development towards the form displayed by a bowl from the 1879 excavations at Northampton Castle,¹⁵ where the flange overhangs the side of the vessel, developing in some ways towards a hammer-headed rim form, as in our second group. This first group has parallels at Cambridge,¹⁶ and from an eleventh century pit or cellar at the Clarendon

Hotel, Oxford.¹⁷ In some vessels, such as (8) and (9), and again the Northampton Castle vessel, there are developments towards a top bead to the rim. This likewise is more prevalent on those vessels with a hammer-headed rim form. One other variant within those vessels with inturned flange rims may be seen, that is the acquisition of a marked internal bead as shown on (13) and (14). A dish from Cambridge,¹⁸ with rather a hammer-headed rim, has this feature also.

There are 11 examples of the bowl with a hammer-headed rim. Within these there is considerable variation of rim form. A rounded hammer-headed rim is represented by (11) and (12), and this can be paralleled at St Neots.¹⁹ The flat-topped, slightly outward sloping form of (21) and more especially (26) is to be found also at Paxton.²⁰ The turned-down hammer-headed form of (23) and (24) is well represented at Bedford in dishes, but would seem to have no outside parallel.

Our third group is represented at Bedford by five vessels (15-19). Of all the groups this one, with clubbed rims, seems closest within itself. It is a type found also at St Neots²¹ and the Clarendon Hotel, Oxford.²² The upright rimmed bowl, as seen in (25), is found also at Felmersham,²³ and the small bowl is a form known in single examples from Cambridge, the 1879 excavations at Northampton Castle, and a late Saxon rubbish pit beneath Kybald Street, Oxford,²⁴ as well as at Bedford (10).

As all these vessels were dug up by commercial excavations in Bedford in the 1930s, one can make no closer definition of date beyond placing them within the generally accepted range of c. 850 to c. 1150, where it is customary to place all St Neots ware.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Mr F. W. Kuhlicke, Director, Bedford Museum, for permission to publish the pottery and Mr J. G. Hurst for his interest.

NOTES

¹F. W. Kuhlicke, 'The Founding of Bedford' *Bedford Modern School Field Club Journal* 4 (1937) 116-123, figs 1-4, (cited as Kuhlicke, 1937).

²G. C. Dunning, 'Pottery of the late Anglo-Saxon period in England', *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959) fig 15.1, (cited as Dunning, 1959).

³J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia: part I, General discussion and St Neots ware' *P. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 49 (1956) 54, (cited as Hurst, 1956).

⁴*Ant. J.* 4 (1924) 371-3; Hurst, 1956, 54, fig 2.1.

⁵G. C. Dunning in *Excavations at Jewry Wall* (1948) 226, fig 60.7.

⁶*Berks. A. J.* 50 (1947) 56, fig 2.10.

⁷Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

⁸*J. Northampton Mus.* 3 (1968), 8, fig 1.1-2 and 2.3.

⁹*Ant. J.* 20 (1940) 103-112; *Arch. J.* 119 (1962) 190, fig 10.

¹⁰Bedford Museum, unpublished.

¹¹Bedford Museum, publication forthcoming.

¹²*J. Northampton Mus.* 6 (1969) forthcoming.

¹³Hurst, 1956, 54.

¹⁴Bases: Exeter, *Ant. J.* 37 (1957) 48-50; Bedford, unpublished in Bedford Museum.

¹⁵*J. Northampton Mus.* 3 (1968) 6 and 9 with fig 4.14, and pl 2.

¹⁶Hurst, 1956, 63, fig 5.39.

¹⁷*Oxon.* 23 (1958) 67, fig 15.C3.1.

¹⁸Hurst, 1956, 63, fig 6.42.

¹⁹Hurst, 1956, 67, fig 8.6.

²⁰Hurst, 1956, 67, fig 7.9.

²¹Hurst, 1956, 67, fig 8.5.

²²*Oxon.* 23 (1958) 68, fig 13.A6.1.

²³*Ant. J.* 31 (1951) 49, fig 2.11.

²⁴Small bowls: Cambridge, Hurst, 1956, 61, fig 5.1.; Northampton, *J. Northampton Mus.* 3 (1968) 9, fig 4.15; Oxford, *Oxon.* 26/27 (1962) 58, fig 10.20.

Excavations at Elstow Abbey, Bedfordshire, 1966-68

Second Interim Report

DAVID BAKER

INTRODUCTION

INVESTIGATION OF this site has continued without pause since the first report was written in May 1966;¹ in particular, seasons of work were organised at Easter in 1967 and 1968, and in July and August 1968. This report summarises the evidence from trenches completed up to August 1968. Attention was concentrated particularly upon the claustral buildings of the medieval Abbey, the east end of the nave, and the east end of the church itself.

SEQUENCE OF OCCUPATION: SUMMARY

A more complex and detailed sequence of Abbey building is appearing as excavation proceeds. It is best described at this stage by assigning building activity to specific centuries primarily; building periods may then be discerned within this framework, yet will be easily modifiable in the face of future discoveries. Of the three Abbey periods proposed after the first year's investigation only the third now remains clearly defined.

<i>? Pre-Roman</i>	Circular ditch
<i>Roman</i>	First—fourth centuries
<i>Saxon</i>	(1) Pagan: Cremation burial (?)s: fifth—sixth centuries
	(2) Christian: inhumation burials: parish graveyard ending c. 1080
<i>Medieval</i>	c. 1080-c.1539. Benedictine Abbey (Nuns); (fig 1)
	(1) late eleventh century: apsidal presbytery with rectangular aisles ² nave of abbey church ? temporary domestic timber buildings
	(2) early to mid twelfth century: earlier stone claustral buildings ? timber cloister walks present north door of church

- (3) mid / late twelfth century:
eastward extension of
south quire aisle to
form chapel
- (4) late twelfth century:
squaring of apsidal pres-
bytery
consequent modification
of south quire aisle
chapel
- (5) early thirteenth century:
westward extension of
church
? westward extension of
outer parlour
- (6) mid-late thirteenth cen-
tury:
reconstruction of cloister
walks
construction of detached
tower
- (7) mid fourteenth century:
claustral expansion
destruction of old ranges
rebuilding of cloister
walks
rebuilding of west range
(? except part of old
outer parlour retained)
rebuilding of south and
east ranges
reflooring of south quire
aisle chapel
- (8) fifteenth century:
extension of north quire
aisle chapel
? construction of vestry
to north of nave
- (9) late fifteenth/early six-
teenth centuries:
modifications to detached
tower

Post-Monastic

c. 1539-c. 1625
demolition of eastern part of
church

	construction of new wall at east end of nave
	? demolition of eastern range
<i>Post-Medieval</i>	c. 1625-c. 1775. Mansion adaptation of western and western half of southern ranges to form Hillersden mansion
	dismantling of mansion
<i>Post-Mansion</i>	c. 1775 to present day restoration and rebuilding of parish church

More periods and more details have been added to the scheme outlined in the first report. The main bulk of burials can now be clearly shown to pre-date the Abbey, apart from the obviously monastic ones at the east end of the church. The growth and rebuilding of the Abbey appears as a more convincingly continuous process, though attention must still be focussed on the major change of the fourteenth century.³ The sequence published here has been expanded to include the evidence provided by the parish church and by the detached tower. Some points however are uncertain, and obviously there is much more evidence to be gathered, which may make significant additions to this scheme.

2 PRE-ROMAN

Two lengths of ditch were seen, both cut 2 ft. to 3 ft. (0.7 m. to 0.9 m.) into the natural gravel. One, in trenches to the east of the present parish church, was sealed by Christian Saxon burials. The other, cut by the Norman presbytery, was sealed by a turf line containing early Saxon pottery (fig 2). The silted contents of the two lengths was similar, as were the profiles, with regular sides and flat bottoms. The only finds were a few fragments of animal bone. Some slight curvature of alignment could be detected on the two lengths.

These ditches are clearly the earliest features yet found on the site. Production of their southern ends could result in their junction to form part of a circular feature. The eastern of them must be pre-fifth to sixth century, and, since Roman material was completely absent from within them, a pre-Roman date is a strong possibility. Further investigation is largely restricted by the modern churchyard. However, if the ditch lengths can be shown to be part of a circular feature, an explanation such as a ring ditch, perhaps of the Bronze Age, might be advanced for lack of an alternative. Unfortunately modern graves would have obliterated any central burials.⁴

ROMAN

Little can be added to the previous report for the Roman period.⁵ A thin scatter of pottery, including the occasional samian ware sherd, has continued to appear, but no further evidence of structures has been discovered. The disturbance of the natural gravel and of the layers immediately above it by the Saxon burials and the medieval footings was perhaps too thorough to allow survival of structures, whilst the ground to the south of the Abbey refectories was probably too marshy at this time to have been suitable for occupation. A coin of Valentinian I was found in a posthole within a gully cut into the turf line under the monastic presbytery⁶ (fig 2). The proportionally small volume of finds may reflect the proximity or border of a settlement rather than its actual location here.

SAXON : PAGAN

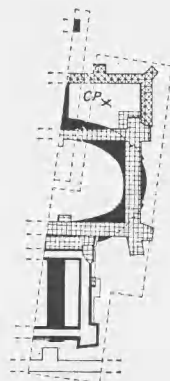
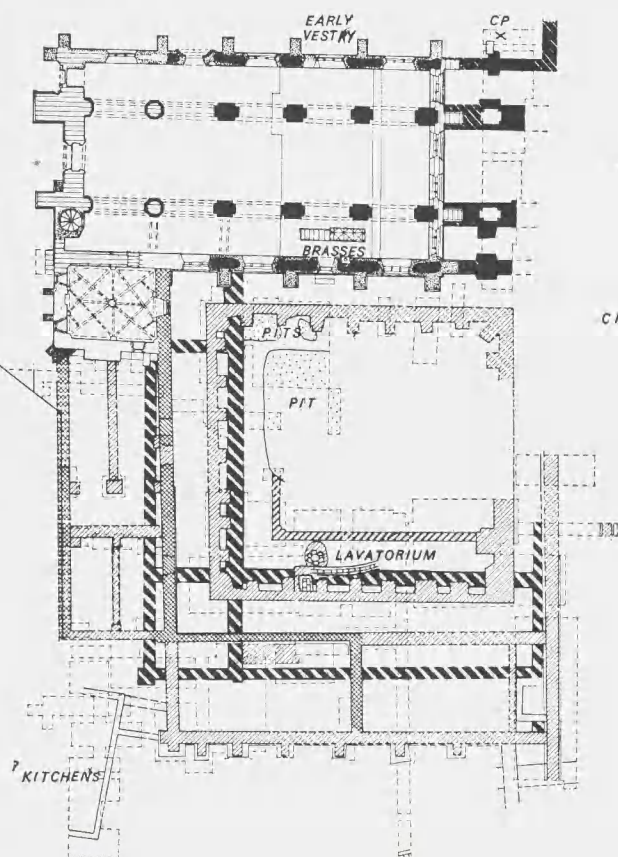
The evidence for this period has come exclusively from the trenches designed to investigate the east end of the church. While an area almost 85 ft. x 25 ft. (25.9 m. x 7.7 m.) was totally excavated, much of the pre-Abbey stratigraphy had been disturbed, either completely by monastic walls, or partially by monastic burials. Fig 2 shows the extent of this disturbance represented by cross-hatching laid over features which had not been destroyed.

A quantity of pagan Saxon pottery was recovered from the upper part of the turf line sealed by the apse and its floor levels. This included a complete undecorated domestic type pot containing a cremation, probably dating to the late sixth century. The remainder of the pottery consisted of a number of sherds belonging perhaps to two or three pots on which bosses and deep heavy grooves had been conspicuous. Dr J. L. N. Myres suggests that the dating here is of the later fifth century, and the context also that of cremation. The absence of any similar sherds in the nearest trenches to the west and the south raises hopes that the centre of the cremation area lies to the north and east, where it would be accessible to excavation.

Other groups of features definitely predating the Abbey were seen in these trenches, and are conveniently mentioned here. Perhaps the earliest was a narrow regular slot with a right angled turn, cut into natural gravel. The dating evidence was small and inconclusive: the northernmost part of the slot appeared to be cut by the ditch discussed above, though this was not absolutely clear, and the few sherds of pottery from the western arm did not provide a coherent picture, and could be the result of contamination. Slots and gullies were seen cut into the undisturbed turf line within the monastic apse. Of two north-south slots, one was associated

ELSTOW ABBEY 1965-8

MEDIAEVAL



CP charnel pit
— date uncertain

	WALL OR FOOTING OR ROBBED	?
late 11th		
early-mid 12th		
mid-late 12th		
late 12th		
early 13th		
mid-late 13th		
mid 14th		
15th		
17th on 14th		
16th		
19th		

FEET
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

METRES
0 10 20 30



DBB 68

Fig 1. Medieval General Site Plan.

with some fragmentary floor levels which in turn sealed the other. To the north of these, but without any observable relationship, was a complex of gullies. An apparent posthole at the junction between them contained the coin of Valentinian I. The last two of these three sets of features cut into orientated pre-Abbey burials: while these skeletons need not be part of the main Christian late-Saxon cemetery, they seem to place these features in a later, rather than an earlier, pre-Abbey context.

SAXON: CHRISTIAN (fig 3)

The medieval Abbey was built partly over a graveyard which must have previously served the village of Elstow. The alternative pre-monastic and monastic datings for the burials discussed in the previous report⁷ can be resolved as a result of further excavation. At the time of writing over 250 individuals or parts of individuals have been exhumed, not counting the liberal scatter of unassociated human bones found in various layers of the site.

Many burials were sealed or cut by walls or floors belonging to the Benedictine Abbey, whose foundation can be placed at about 1080 on documentary evidence.⁸ Several skeletons were earlier than robber trenches for footings belonging to the pre-fourteenth century Abbey buildings. The location of other burials in the monastic plan would have put them in most unusual positions under the claustral buildings. Stratigraphically the burials could all be associated together, though in some instances identifiable Abbey layers did not exist to provide a positive seal over them. One individual was buried in association with sherds of a pot dating between the mid eighth and ninth centuries. There have been only two instances where post-Saxon burials were cut into the Saxon graveyard, apart from those at the east end of the church: these two were in rough stone coffins and so placed as to suggest north cloister walk burials (pl 1c).

The density of burial varied within the limits of the graveyard. The skeletons were more spread out at the southern and eastern limits, though more tightly packed towards the centre; one trench of 60 sq. ft. produced 25 individuals. Limits to the north and west cannot be clearly defined because skeletons have been seen up to the modern and medieval upstanding structures which border the area available to excavation. There was some evidence for burying in rows, and intensive over-burying, one individual being cut into another previously deposited. In few cases were wood coffins detectable; and the density of burial precluded the discovery of grave cuts except in the cases of those interred deepest, going into the natural gravel.

Some care was taken when the Abbey was first

built to provide for burials disturbed by construction trenches. Two substantial charnel pits were found, one outside the east end of the original north quire chapel and the other to the north of the east end of the nave, the accessible portion of the latter producing at least 20 skulls as well as a large number of long and other bones. This pit had been dug just outside the church, and was partly sealed by a spread which might be associated with its construction. The former sealed other, undisturbed, burials of Abbey date, and could thus be the result of an Abbey rebuilding episode.

The austerity, piety and uniformity of burial conditions has been consistent and must place this group within a Christian period. Strict orientation with the heads at the west and in nearly all instances the absence of grave goods should be characteristic of the later Christian Saxon period, the stage beyond the intermediate phase represented by the Leighton Buzzard (Chamberlain's Barn) Cemetery.⁹ Thus the dating limits of this graveyard can be reasonably defined as falling within a bracket between about the eighth and the late eleventh centuries. It is hoped that this will permit some systematic study of what the distribution of individuals shows to be a parish population.

A graveyard of this size must have been associated with a church built either in stone or timber, or with both materials. Excavation has not yet provided any signs of a church but burials have appeared in nearly all trenches, and are thus likely to have been outside a church. The Abbey church may have been built on the site of the earlier structure, but only Saxon burials were found in trenches at the east end of the original nave; nor was there any indication of such a building under the main east end. There is no hint in the documentation of a pre-Conquest monastic establishment.

Restoration of the present parish church at its eastern external face in 1967 brought to view a complete portion of a Saxon cross shaft, of limestone, height 22 in. (56 cms.) (pl 1b). This had been reused in the wall made to block up the east end of the nave when the conventual section further to the east had been demolished after 1539. The stone had been placed on its side about 12 ft. (3.7 m.) above the ground, and its exposed face had been weathered. Even so, it is surprising that its existence had not apparently been noted prior to cleaning by the restorers bringing it out into clear relief. This wall was the only external face left untouched by the major nineteenth century restoration. The stone was removed from the wall and placed inside the church after cleaning.

Photographs of the stone were submitted to Dr

D. M. Wilson who kindly made the following comments:

"... it is of late eighth century date and ... fits into a series of ornament and sculpture from Mercia. It is extremely rare to find a base as complete as this, but there is a parallel at St Andrew, Auckland. The quality of the decoration is quite high but not uniquely so. An interesting feature is the panelling on the body, which is rare in this period of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, but much more are the almost direct parallels of the animals with those that appear on the Witham pins in the British Museum."

A full account of this stone will appear in the final report.

MEDIEVAL: BENEDICTINE ABBEY (fig 1)

A more detailed picture of Countess Judith of Huntingdon's foundation as it developed during the medieval centuries is emerging, though much has yet to be examined. It is clarified by the separation of the burials into specific pre-Abbey and monastic periods. Also the further exploration of the robber trenches for the earlier claustral buildings has helped to establish the mid-fourteenth century reconstruction as the major building change.¹⁰

(1) late eleventh century Church

Most of the eastern half of the Norman Abbey church at Elstow has been destroyed by modern graves cut into the footings left after the sixteenth century demolition. The surviving part of the nave is mostly Norman and belongs to this first period of construction. Possibly the western front of the church came immediately to the west of the surviving Norman arcade piers, giving a Norman nave of six bays, and an original internal length of about 185 ft. (56.4 m.). Excavation would be needed to establish this thesis. There is no evidence at present that a Saxon parish church was converted into a monastic church.

The original presbytery (fig 2), (pl IIa), making an eastern limit to the Abbey church, was found to project beyond the present graveyard limits, despite the assertion of T. J. Jackson during his restorations in the 1880s, that the church terminated in a short apse with a rectangular shaped, diagonal buttressed Lady Chapel added.¹¹ The wide footings for this main apse were distinctively constructed of alternate courses in gravel and stone laid in rough herringbone style. This particular technique, seen also at the east end of the nave, is more characteristic of the late eleventh century rather than the early twelfth century, and may be taken as the earliest work in the Abbey, which

would anyway be expected at this part. The apse footing had been built up from natural gravel, and where this had been cut by the ditch discussed above, it went down deeper to respect it. The footing in plan was horseshoe shaped rather than semi-circular, but was capable of taking a narrower, properly apsidal, superstructure. There were two shallow clasping buttresses on the outside of this apse. Seen in relationship to other known parts of the church it suggests a fairly well extended presbytery. The north and south sides of the presbytery lined up with the nave of the present church and the excavated part immediately to the east of it.

The north and south quire aisles originally terminated just to the east of the present churchyard. Robber trenches show both butting up to the sides of the presbytery, with the termination for the southern built square both internally and externally: only the straight external side of the termination for the northern aisle was visible. The north aisle lined up with the equivalent aisle against the nave, but the south wall of the south aisle extended further south than its equivalent. The relationship of south quire aisle to south transept and its chapel has probably been lost under modern graves.

A section across the nave of the Abbey church was investigated, between the modern graveyard burials, and the present parish church east end (pl IIb). Four walls were seen, with three surviving as footings, and the sleeper wall for the north side of the nave as a robber trench. Irregular widenings of the footings occurring in places confirmed the evidence from within the parish church that the Norman nave arcade continued for a further bay to the east. They also suggested the aisle walls had shallow clasping buttresses on the outside and widened footings opposite on the inside, to take the lateral thrust of the vaulting. Remains of up to three mortar floor levels were seen, sealing about 45 burials, which must have predated the Abbey.

The west face of the west wall for the north transept was seen only a few feet from the line of twentieth century graves, which had probably been dug through the centre of the wall. The digging of a fresh grave in one of the few vacant plots nearby showed part of what may have been a post-Norman buttress footing on this wall. The main part of the north transept projected into what has been used as a graveyard for many centuries. The digging of graves in the last century may have struck other parts of it.

The Norman buttress arrangements on the north aisle wall were probably changed at some date, as the present day, albeit restored, arrangement would

require. A long narrow buttress footing was seen overlying a shallower broader footing. No dating evidence was obtained directly for these, but the earlier buttress was bonded into the main Norman footing; also, if the later buttress was contemporary with the north aisle fenestration, fairly faithfully restored by Jackson, it could belong to the fourteenth century.

Timber buildings

Occupation layers have been found in the general area later used by cloisters and cloister garth. These layers sometimes sealed burials but were cut in turn by robber trenches for the earlier claustral buildings. What may have been a beam slot was recorded at one place, though generally the soil conditions made it difficult to see much more than the simple limits to occupation spreads. The pottery in this occupation was of St Neots and early medieval wares: pending detailed study an early twelfth century date seems appropriate. It is unlikely that such occupation would be contemporary with the use of the area as a graveyard, though a termination date for this function in any given part of the yard is not known; nor can it yet be clearly associated with any remains of stone monastic buildings. It is therefore tentatively suggested that this stratigraphy represents a temporary timber phase at the commencement of the Abbey's life. Such buildings must have been needed during the delay before the completion of the first stone claustral complex. It is hoped that future work will locate something more structurally definite.

(2) early to mid-twelfth century (fig 1)

Claustral buildings: first stone plan

On present evidence, rebuilding in stone need not have occurred until well into the twelfth century, though the almost complete robbing of the earlier stone plan to the south of the church has denied us evidence as to whether its construction was in one or several phases. The plan of robber trenches conforms with the usual Benedictine plan as far as they have been investigated.

Cloister walks

Very few architectural fragments of the Norman period have come from extensive area excavations in the claustral regions. The majority are in Totternhoe clunch or Melbourne rock and date from the thirteenth century or later. Elstow Abbey's first cloister walks may have been built of timber against the stone buildings surrounding them. The narrow robber trenches for the first cloister wall stone footings, and their lack of buttresses could mean that they had supported a timber superstructure. Alternatively these footings could have been thirteenth century products associated with the stone arcade discussed below. A third possibility

combines these two, with stone footings doing service first for timber and later for stone superstructures. For dating, the only clue was provided by the south west corner of the cloister wall, the only part not totally robbed, which was composed of the alternate gravel and stone layers seen at the east end of the church. It is suggested that this footing could date from the twelfth century, though fig 1 shows it as thirteenth century, reflecting the more positive evidence of reused cloister arcade blocks.

Alleys on the south and west sides of the cloister have been clearly defined by robber trenches. The east side was obscured by the rebuilding or by the retention of the cloister walk and dormitory range on the same lines in the fourteenth century reconstruction. At one point, the robber trench for the earlier wall of the eastern walk was cut by the construction trench for its fourteenth century successor. Under the western wall of the later eastern cloister walk there was no trace of an earlier footing or robber trench surviving. The north west corner of the earlier cloisters had been confused by the digging of pits contemporary with the demolition of the earlier stone plan. The present state of evidence on the north side points to several possibilities. There may have been a walk attached to the church in the usual way, but rebuilt on the same lines, thus destroying the earlier one. There may have been one built freestanding with a slype between it and the church; again it could be argued that most of the evidence for an earlier north cloister walk is an illusion produced by the pits dug probably for gravel. Modern drains and oil heating equipment obscure many of the vital points, though the usual solution may prove to be the correct one.

West range

The main outline plan of the western range against the cloisters has been recovered, except where the building now used as the modern vestry obscures its relationship to the church. The western wall of this range could line up closely with the Norman west front of the church if it is accepted that the two existing bays represent a thirteenth century extension rather than a rebuilding. This would then place the present north door of the church in a more convincingly original position in the westernmost bay of the north aisle.

It has been suggested that the modern vestry was originally the Norman outer parlour at the top of a Norman west range which projected westwards from the west façade of the church¹² as at Thetford Priory. The main evidence comes in an engraving of 1803 showing apparently Norman features in the west wall of this building before

restoration. Two later versions of the same view show thirteenth and sixteenth century features in the same spot. A fourteenth century architectural fragment was found in the original footings of the south wall of this building. The west end of the thirteenth century south aisle and the west wall of this building were constructed on a continuous footing. These points, and others elaborated below, seem to rule out a twelfth century Norman origin for this building.

The length of the first western range was about 78 ft. (23.8 m.) from the outside wall of the church to the northern side of a partition or sleeper wall enclosing a section at its south end, which may have been part of either *cellarium* or *frater*. The full length to the external southern limit was about 107 ft. (22.8 m.) and the width was about 19 ft. (5.8 m.) internally. Another cross partition or sleeper wall was seen robbed about 18 ft. (5.5 m.) from the north end. In nearly all cases the robber trenches had gone down to remove all stones; at best they left only one or two rough courses. No evidence has yet been seen for a central sleeper wall to take piers. To the west of this range, and seen in two trenches, was a hard packed gravel and pebble surface, which may represent the surfacing of a service road to move stores into the ground floor *cellarium* storage space.

South range

The western part of the southern range has been considerably excavated, and the eastern limit has been seen. The walls had been robbed out almost completely in the fourteenth century, except for the south-west corner common to west and south ranges. Here survived a solid, mainly ashlar, footing, for a Norman clasping buttress (pl IIIa). No internal partition walls have been seen as yet, apart from that discussed above. The internal width of this range was about 21 ft. (6.4 m.) and the internal length about 76 ft. (23.1 m.), discounting the unit at the west end. A footing appropriate to a shallow pilaster buttress was seen on the south side externally.

The extreme eastern end of this range was seen where it butted up against the west side of the dormitory range undercroft in this period.

East range

The eastern range in this early construction period was seen where its western wall was shared by the south range. The footing construction technique of alternate gravel and stone layers was again used. Occupation layers were excavated in the ground floor of this range. The west wall of this early dormitory range diverged westwards from the line of its successor towards the bottom of the range: this may explain why it was seen clear of

the later wall at the present southern limit of excavation, but not seen at all in the northernmost trench permitted by modern burying.

(3) *mid to late twelfth century (fig 2)*

Church

The first modification to the east end of the church came perhaps in the middle of the twelfth century, with the extension of the south quire aisle termination out to the east (pl 1). On plan, the interior gained about an extra 8 ft. (2.4 m.). The new chapel was not attached to the main apse in the way its predecessor had been; instead, its northern wall returned, running nearly parallel with the south side of the presbytery until the two joined somewhere about the western limit of possible excavation. The footings of the extended chapel have survived; its internal north-eastern corner was in one build. Characteristic buttresses on the centre of its eastern exterior and at the south eastern corner suggest a Norman date.

Within this chapel there is evidence that the floor was initially at one level. A child burial in a wooden coffin in the south-east corner was deposited fairly early in the life of this new building, but cannot be definitely associated with its construction; the mortar layer it was cut through could be seen as either a building spread, or the residue of several worn-out floors.

(4) *late twelfth century (fig 2) (pls IIa, IIc)*

Church

The second modification to the east end of the church was on a larger scale, involving at least the presbytery and the south quire aisle termination. The original main apse was demolished, and the building reconstructed on the same footings, but with a square superstructure. The superimposed footings were much narrower than the old, and the south side of the new presbytery was placed well over on the northern side of the old Norman footings. The pairs of buttress footings at the two main corners suggested an Early English date. Excavation of this filling between chapel and presbytery showed a substantial concealed buttress on the outside of this new wall, presumably functional rather than visible and decorative. The small amount of surviving ashlar superstructure was more Transitional in character, and goes towards suggesting a late twelfth century date for this remodelling. This conservative rebuilding on the same footings, rather than the more familiar extension of a Norman presbytery, may perhaps be accounted for by the considerable existing length of the church east of the crossing, some 50 ft. (15.2 m.). More conventual church space may not have been needed particularly since there would be limited pressure for new altars in a house of un-

ELSTOW ABBEY

EAST END OF CHURCH

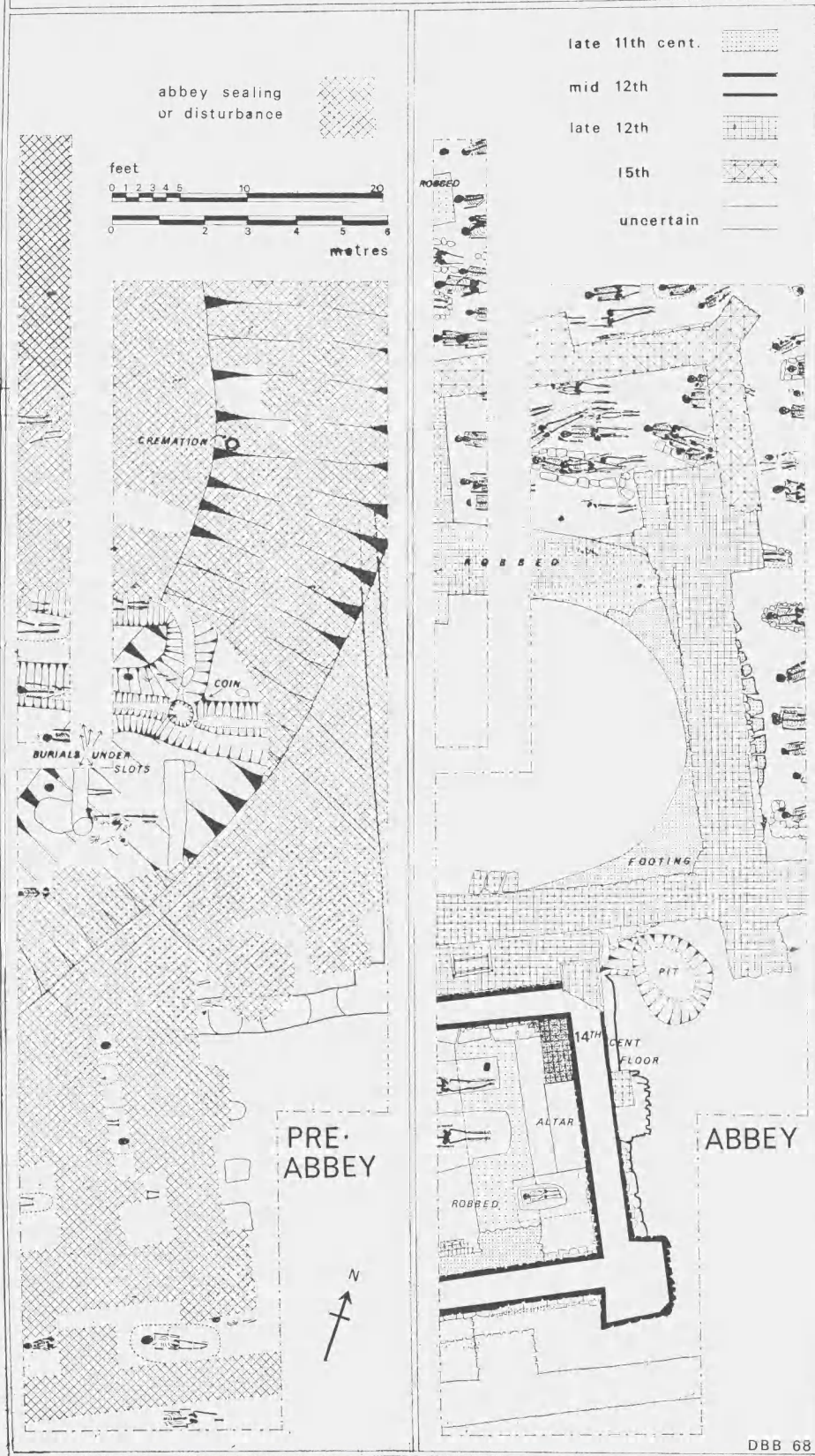


Fig 2.

ordainable women.

Changes to the presbytery affected the south quire chapel termination. The space between the two structures was increased by the placing of new walls on old footings in the presbytery. The north-east corner of the southern chapel was partly demolished to help the main rebuilding, though the inside face does not seem to have been affected. The eastern wall of the southern termination was then extended to be attached to the new south presbytery wall, building from the new to the old. The infill between the two walls was laid down about the same time as the newer wall was built. In this way the problem of external façade was solved without altering the internal arrangements of the south chapel. The creation of the longer eastern exterior made the later Norman buttress on the middle of the outside wall no longer central. A smaller, Transitional-style, buttress, like the one concealed between the two buildings, was placed hard over on the north aisle of the original footing, thus restoring symmetry to the superstructure.

(5) *early thirteenth century (fig 1)*

Church

The nave was extended to include two Early English bays at its west end, making a total of seven bays westwards from the crossing. This was more probably an extension of length rather than a static rebuilding following structural collapse. The end of the church was thus brought out from the general line of the west front for the claustral buildings. Such an enlargement, to a total internal length of about 205 ft. (62.5 m.), may represent an expansion for the easier accommodation of both parochial and conventual worship in the same church. Whatever the motive, surviving relics of the original west front hint at an imposing façade, only a ghost of which has escaped the iconoclasts, contemporary with Bunyan, and the restorers of more recent centuries.

The thirteenth century work in the nave marches in time with the door at the west end of the south aisle wall, and with such vaulting in the modern vestry that is undisturbed: this work includes a Purbeck marble column in the centre of the room. The west wall of the vestry (albeit with a nineteenth century superstructure) and the new thirteenth century west wall of the south aisle run on a continuous footing, suggesting that the two pieces of work were executed together. The vestry could have first been built as an extended outer parlour at the head of the west range. On the other hand, a fourteenth century architectural fragment was found in the footings for the south wall of this building, and must weaken the theory that the

vestry originally belonged to this period. Also there are planning difficulties to reconcile the east of this structure with what is known of the claustral plan in the thirteenth century. A full discussion of all the evidence must await further excavation and the final report.

(6) *mid/late thirteenth century (fig 1)*

Cloister walks

All or part of the cloister garth wall was rebuilt in the thirteenth century to replace a predecessor in either wood or stone. The main evidence for this came from Totternhoe clunch arcade blocks found reused in the footings for the post fourteenth century buttresses on the cloisters¹³. Their general shapes were consistent with a date in the middle of the thirteenth century. A fifth, similar, block has been found; the heraldic charge on the shield mounted on the spandrel was: *Argent a fesse three garbs azure*, or else *Argent a fesse azure between three garbs gules*, depending on the original but now vanished tinctures. These arms belong to the family of Ridell or Rydel, known benefactors of the Abbey.¹⁴ Twenty-three of a possible total of 31 buttresses on this later cloister have now been examined, including all on the south side where these blocks were re-used, so these five stones may be all that will be found.

Detached tower

The first construction date for this is uncertain, since the extensive fifteenth or sixteenth century modifications have obliterated all but the barest evidence. The writer's architectural advisers tentatively advance a later thirteenth century date for the lower part behind its alterations.

(7) *mid fourteenth century (figs 1 and 2)*

Church

Evidence for internal arrangements at the east end of the church has only survived in the termination of the south quire aisle chapel. It seems that this began in the late twelfth century with a floor at one level. A later stage involved raising a dais at the east end on which the altar was centrally placed, with some kind of superstructure over a child burial, at the east end between altar and south side. Make-up for this dais contained architectural fragments of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At a further stage, in the fourteenth century, the west end of the chapel was built up to the height of the dais, and a tiled pavement laid across, but respecting both altar and superstructure of the burial. Two burials cut deeply through the make-up for this chapel floor were most likely contemporary with, or later than, the tiled floor, which can be dated to c. 1350. The floor was missing over this burial area, but general post-Dissolution disturbance by the mansion driveway could explain

this as easily as could a deliberate cut through the tiled floor. Fig 2 shows the chapel in this latest phase.

Destruction of earlier claustral plan

Demolition and robbing of the earlier stone cloisters was thorough. Motive is still not clear, though the likeliest possibility is difficult to verify: the superstructure may have become unsafe due to settlement into the marshy area to the south of the main buildings. A large pit was found in the north-west corner of the later garth, containing many architectural fragments of up to fourteenth century date, and many scattered human bones. The western limit of this pit corresponded with the expected position of the western face of the cloister garth wall on the western side. Two other pits were seen, one being an extension westwards from another robber trench. The simplest explanation for these irregular features is that they represent excavations for gravel to be used in the rebuilding, cutting through any Saxon burials that happened to be in the way.

The rebuilding must have caused a major dislocation in conventual life. The scale of change, yet the smallness of expansion, would have required a range to be completely demolished before its successor could be built. This suggests that while the work took time, it may have been continuous construction rather than sporadic outbursts.

The western range moved about 22 ft. (6.7 m.) outwards, and the southern range about 16 ft. (pl IIIa). Examination of part of the west side of the east range suggests a complete rebuilding but with the ground position of the new clearly deviating from the old only at some distance south down its length. Presumably it had still to be fixed to an unchanged transept at its north end.

Dating evidence for this major rebuilding relies on material re-used in the footings of the later plan, on the content of robber trenches which must have been filled before the later walls cut them and on finds in the earlier floors or make up for the later ones. It is not possible to advance a more precise date than the middle of the fourteenth century, or the later part of it,¹⁶ without a greater body of material to provide a *terminus post quem*.

Cloister walks (pl IIb)

The four cloister walks have been further explored, but there is still a lack of information on particular kinds of flooring. The northern walk narrowed slightly towards its eastern end which is under modern graves and thus was not seen. The south-eastern corner buttress, the first buttress north from that corner, and the first two west from it, all showed signs of additions to their plan size, which

may denote some superstructural defect at this point. The five buttresses seen on the northern side had markedly shallower footings as opposed to those on the southern side. If the northern walk was probably of one storey and against the church, it is less clear whether the others were leant against their respective ranges, or included within them, and divided on the ground floor by another load-bearing wall. Another join of two styles of footings was seen on the north side, though this need be no more than the join of two working parties. The two walls for the eastern walk were rebuilt in this period on the same position, though the walk was lengthened to the south with the general expansion of the cloisters; the robber trench for part of the earlier east wall was cut by the construction trench for the later.

West range

The new west range was slightly shorter (96 ft. compared with 105 ft. (29.3 m. with 32.0 m.) and slightly broader (24 ft. compared with 19 ft.) (7.4 m. with 5.8 m.) than the full length of its predecessor. Its main walls did not continue to run at right angles to the orientation of the church, but in their new position were angled slightly so that the south ends diverged away to the east. In plan it seems to have been divided into three main sections, of which the northern, perhaps originally an outer parlour, survives much altered as the modern vestry. A sleeper wall ran down the middle for part of its length (pl IVa). Robber trenches or footings for imposts have been found at intervals against the footings or robber trenches for the outside walls.

The northern unit of this range, traditionally but incorrectly called the chapter house, is less easy to understand due to the many rebuildings it has suffered, concluding with its conversion to a vestry. Possibilities of a thirteenth century origin for it have been discussed above. In this case, the rest of the west range would have been rebuilt in the fourteenth century on the line dictated by the part extended in the thirteenth century. Alternatively this northern unit was part of the rebuild, and the conspicuously thirteenth century work may have come from a demolished building. Whatever its construction date, it probably filled the part of the outer parlour, in the scheme of the later cloisters.

The west wall of this range has been obscured by almost total robbing after its re-use in the mansion period. There may have been a large feature of Abbey or mansion date on it just south of the vestry. Evidence for this was confused, however, and came from a limited area. More work generally is needed to clarify detail within this range, but excavation is limited to small trenches because

access is needed by cars.

Refectory

Most of the later refectory has been examined. Its west wall was a continuation southwards of the east wall for the west range, and cut the south wall for the earlier refectory (pl IIIa). The range was sited at right angles to the new west range, and thus the main axis of the refectory was not quite parallel to that of the church. At the south-west corner was a pair of corner buttresses, with some ashlar blocks surviving, the whole built upon a massive footing with three offsets. Parts of four external buttress footings have been seen on the south wall.

It is likely that the upstanding eastern wall of the mansion represents a re-use of a wall dividing the ground floor of the range into two parts. This wall, equidistant between the west and east limits of the refectory undercroft, shows on its inner west face the same use of stone up to first floor level with post-medieval brick above as can be seen on the internal face of the re-used refectory north wall. A trench in the north internal angle of the mansion's east end showed solid footings bonded round the corner and clearly strengthened with a post-medieval mortar above a certain level. A wide construction trench had been dug for this latter purpose. The ground at other significant points was too disturbed by the mansion construction to give any clear picture. This wall was designed to bear a load in the medieval period rather than to be just a partition and could fairly easily have been adapted in a shortened condition to make an outside wall after the Dissolution.

The eastern limit of the refectory undercroft was formed by the west wall of the dormitory undercroft. An area $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (2.3 m.) wide was partitioned into a narrow small room, with a hearth apparently built against a substantial west wall (pl IIIc). In any monastic house the dimensions of this room would suggest a passage through the frater range, giving access to the buildings beyond. The presence of the hearth might imply a different use as a warming room, though this feature filled a good third of the area. Again, the room could have seen both uses, with the insertion of heating arrangements here being part of the decline from austere standards as recorded by the visitation documents.¹⁶ The hearth looked more permanent than one created just to expedite stripping the buildings after 1539.

Floor levels for the refectory were seen in places with some tile elements scattered upon them. A footing contemporary with the refectory was seen running parallel with the north wall a few feet south of it. Its purpose was not immediately clear,

but it may relate to some superstructural need of this range at ground or first floor level. The east side of a massive footing was seen running south from the south refectory wall at its east end. It lined up with the narrow room partition wall but both these walls butted against the two sides of the refectory's south wall.

The south and west ranges in the rebuilt period did not directly connect with each other except probably through the cloisters: there was a space, presumably open, at their respective west and south ends. In the construction of the new ranges, demolition and building spreads were laid outside them, on the gravel surface which had been outside the earlier west range.

East range

North of the modern churchyard wall, the area of the dormitory range and the south transept is almost entirely covered by modern graves. There was however room to excavate a trench immediately north of the churchyard wall. It was hoped to see the south wall for the Chapter House; the lack of any indication for it presumably means it was placed further to the north, though perhaps only by a few feet. Part of the west side of the dormitory undercroft was excavated for a length of 45 ft. (13.7 m.), showing make up and floor levels for the later structure. There was no evidence for impost footings relating to roof support on the east side of this wall, though they could have been sited on the wide offset and totally robbed.

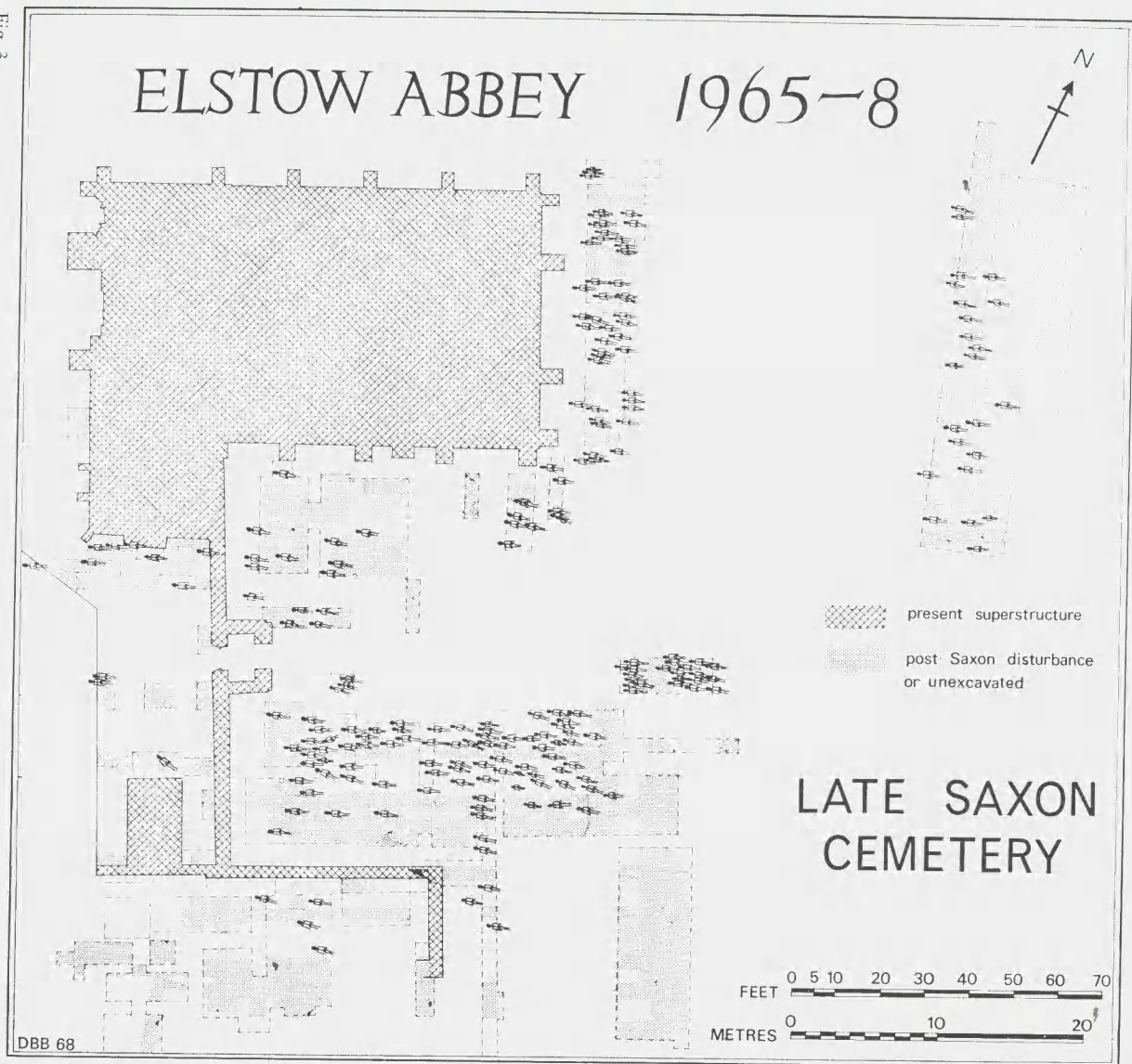
(8) 15th century (figs 1 and 2) (pl IIa)

Church

The third substantial change of plan at the east end of the church involved the eastward extension of the north quire aisle termination. Until the fifteenth century this had preserved its original Norman position; how it was reconciled to the rebuilt presbytery is uncertain because less of this north termination could be excavated than on the south, and because robbing was almost complete. The new chapel extended no further north, but came out beyond the line of the main east end. It butted up to the north-east corner of the presbytery, and had a diagonal buttress at its north-east corner, with another buttress on its north side. The footings were shallow and much of the buttresses ashlar work, and may be taken as characteristically fifteenth century.

To this century may also belong the construction of a small building, perhaps a vestry for the parish priest, attached to the north side of the aisle of the parochial part of the church. It is shown on engravings, and the doorway from the church is behind the modern organ.

Fig 3.



(9) late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries

The detached tower at the north-west of the church was given a major renovation in the last century of the convent's existence. A smaller doorway was inserted into the original and many other changes made. It may have been heightened with the addition of one more floor and the roof above, or alternatively a timber superstructure on the bottom storeys may have been replaced in stone. Little can be seen on the outside, but there is a broad offset running round the inside of the second floor chamber, made by the wall above being slightly thinner and set back outwards.

BURIALS AT THE EAST END OF THE CHURCH (fig 2)

A large number of human burials were encountered in the area excavation at the east end of the church. Some were definitely pre-Abbey, some contemporary with it, and some postdated it, but the absence of clear sealing layers everywhere has caused some confusion. The following categories can be advanced, but not every burial can be placed with assurance into a particular category.

(1) Pre-Abbey: cremation burial.

(2) Pre-Abbey: below Abbey floors, or cut by Abbey Norman walls: some probably part of the main Christian Saxon graveyard; others cut or sealed by pre-Abbey slots or gullies may be of the same date but do not have to be; the lack of dating evidence for the features clouds this issue.

(3) Abbey: outside the presbytery and the original northern quire aisle termination: in rough stone coffins: probably pre-fifteenth century at latest, if the use of rough stone coffins and proximity to the church are any guide.

(4) Abbey: as (3) but not buried in stone coffins: those sealed by the fifteenth century extension will be pre-fifteenth century, and those outside the east end may be early by virtue of their position.

(5) Abbey: burials not in stone coffins: outside and not cut by the fifteenth century extension. These do not have to be post-fifteenth century since there is no clear criterion for distinguishing between (4) and (5).

(6) Abbey: burials associated with south quire aisle termination chapel.

(7) Post Abbey: shallow burials cut through latest Abbey floor levels from about 18 in. below modern ground surface.

BUILDINGS TO SOUTH OF CLAUSTRAL AREA

The area to the south of the later west range was intensively investigated since a church hall is to

be built on that spot. Evidence was found for two successive buildings in different positions. The earlier had been mostly levelled and destroyed to its bottom footing course, after which a compacted layer of gravel had been laid upon it. The later building, with floor levels and foundations surviving, featuring ovens and hearths, may ultimately have been burnt down as floors were covered with a thick layer of burning. There was some evidence for a passage leading from the north end of this later building to the south end of the west side for the later refectory, though robbing of the post-medieval mansion had removed conclusive proof. This, and the position of the building together with its contents may represent the kitchens with the usual serving access to the refectory. It cannot be shown that destruction of the earlier building and construction of the new coincided with the major fourteenth century rebuild, but planning logic might require it. Pottery evidence does not help with this problem.

POST-MONASTIC: c. 1539-c. 1625

Excavation has not produced any more relevant facts for the interval between convent dissolution and mansion creation in c. 1625. In this period some of the claustral buildings, probably on the south and west sides of the cloisters, were used by the Hervey, Radcliffe and Hillersden families, during the rest of the sixteenth century. It is not clear at what stage the church was truncated: the windows in the east end were probably re-used from some demolished portion. The eastern range may have been pulled down at the same time, since it would have been attached to the south transept. Both events could be placed quite close to 1539 given that these were the essential areas whose removal would effectively hinder any refoundation in a period of religious reaction such as occurred under Mary. However, the Radcliffe tomb, of 1566, now over the altar of the present church, may have had an original position in part of the church no longer standing.

MANSION: c. 1625-c. 1775

House

Some more details are known about the main re-modelling of the claustral buildings in the seventeenth century. The revised dating for the extreme eastern wall of the mansion has been discussed above. The robber trench for the south wall of the mansion, built anew with the house, has been seen for a distance of 85 ft. (25.9 m.) west from the south-east corner of the building. There was a layer of disturbed earth in several places along its length between the robber trench for it and the rob-

ber trench for the south wall of the later Abbey refectory. (pl IVb). This may suggest that the Abbey wall had already been robbed when the mansion wall was erected; in any case, the Abbey robber was sealed by a mansion gravel path. The robber trench for this southern wall of the mansion was also seen in the area shortly to be built upon with a parish hall. It gave no indication of turning a corner northwards on a line with the other robber trench for the mansion west wall which had been seen a short distance to the north. Thus the generally accepted idea of an 'L' shaped mansion may need reassessment. An underfloor cavity was found in the mansion south wing, filled with destruction rubble, but too shallow to be a cellar. Bricks from the mansion period had been intentionally placed on the footing for the south-west corner of the early refectory and west range; they may relate to a flue. The mansion porch has been shown to be butted up against the main re-used Abbey wall: footings for the porch had cut into those for the western garth wall. The northern unit (? outer parlour) in the later Abbey cellarium was incorporated into the mansion with its east side altered to conform to the seventeenth century façade, but its west wall either unaltered or merely concealed.

Environment

A gravel spread associated with the mansion has appeared in many trenches, making paths, and gravel surfaces as part of the landscaping around the house and making the sunken drive from the main road westwards to the porch. The last part of this formal drive probably came round in a sweep in front of the house rather than in a direct path up to the porch.

Several more drains have been found, including a series dug into the old cloister garth in front of the mansion. At least three drains took water away southwards from the base of the mansion south wall: two of them were constructed over the robbed footings for the south wall of the later refectory. A full description and discussion will appear in a final report.

Destruction

The mansion was mostly pulled down after 1781 when Thomas Fisher F.S.A. drew it with the roof off and the western half almost certainly gone.¹⁷ Walls, where robbed, were removed right down to the lowest footing course. In the south wing, demolition took place in at least two stages, producing an initial destruction layer separated from a later thinner one by a turf line.

POST-MANSION: c. 1775-PRESENT DAY

A detailed description of the church before its late nineteenth century restoration is difficult to recon-

struct, and does not belong in an interim report. It is fortunate that Elstow's associations with John Bunyan had concentrated nineteenth century artists upon it. The restoration by T. J. Jackson in the 1880s was most extensive, leaving a construction spread seen under the turf in many adjacent trenches. Regrettably there appear to be no records made by him of the church as he found it: he left it with an inextricable mixture of faithful and neo-Gothicised restorations.

The present day vestry was arranged as a result of these works. Watercolours show that externally it was considerably repaired, with new buttresses on the west; excavation showed the south-west angle to have brick in the buttress footings. Previously it had been a Sunday school room, and served this purpose as the only intact part of the mansion to survive the dismantling. The vestry had been sited in the small building attached to the north of the nave until the first part of the nineteenth century when it was pulled down. The western bay of the south aisle was screened off to act as vestry between that time and the main restoration.

Churchyard

The restoration programme was followed up by the church acquiring a new area of churchyard from Samuel Whitbread, who had financed most of the recent work. Before 1892, the southern wall of the churchyard had run eastwards from the northern buttress on the church's east end. The footings for this wall had been inserted into the core of the robbed wall for the north wall of the north aisle. As a result of this new enclosure, graves were dug into the remains of the eastern bay of the nave, the crossing, both transepts, and eastwards into the quire. Only a strip 20 ft. wide to the east of the sixteenth century blocking wall, and the extreme east end of the church, were untouched.

CONCLUSION

In the last 18 months most of the answerable questions concerning the church have been tackled. The cloisters and the south ranges have been explored in detail, with progress being made on the other main claustral buildings. Future work must be concentrated on the dormitory ranges, the buildings to the south of the claustral area, and the possible Saxon cremation area east of the presbytery.

The amount of detail which such a thoroughly robbed site can produce is encouraging. The variations within a standard monastic plan, particularly the major fourteenth century rebuilding which could not have been detected without excavation, may imply that a full investigation of such sites

could produce a more complex general picture. It is premature to generalise about the continuity of occupation at this stage of the project, but the religious or funerary character of settlement at Elstow is impressive, from pagan Saxon cremations through Christian inhumations, Catholic Benedictine nuns, to a truncated Anglican parish church.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the co-operation of many people. The Rev P. Hartley, Vicar of Elstow, and Mr C. Prudden, who farms the land, gave permission to excavate; Mr B. Norman gave permission for a trench on his land. The Lord Bishop of St Albans has continued to allow excavation under terms of a Faculty in the modern churchyard. The Verger, Mr J. Bray, has been helpful at all times. The Ministry of Public Building and Works has permitted excavation of this scheduled site.

The excavation is sponsored by the Bedford Archaeological Society. A full list of donations will appear in the final report. Generous financial support has come in particular from the Harpur Trust and from Humphrey Whitbread, Esq. Organisation has been greatly facilitated by Messrs A. Chrystal, M. J. Long, and Bernard West.

Nearly all the work has been done by pupils of the writer from Bedford School, and by pupils of other schools in Bedford: to the Headmaster

of Bedford School, Mr W. M. Brown, and to colleagues from other schools, a special debt is owed. Particular thanks for supervisory assistance and valuable discussion at various times are due to Mrs Evelyn Baker, Mrs Annie Grant, Miss Ann Heard, Messrs Jeremy Brent, Robin Ferguson, Marcus Grant, George Nell, Peter Tilson and Thomas Ward. Of the volunteer helpers, Susan Linger, Katherine Nicholls, Andrew Cooper and Andrew Lovell deserve special mention.

Advice has been gratefully received by the writer from many quarters. On architectural matters, discussions with Mr R. Gillyard-Beer and Mr Bernard West have been most helpful; Mr West must be thanked for his constant interest and constructive discussions; Dr G. C. Dunning and Dr J. N. L. Myers have advised on pottery of their respective periods. Mrs Elizabeth Eames has advised on floor tiles. The staff of the Bedfordshire Record Office, particularly Miss Patricia Bell and Mr Alan Cirket, have gone out of their way to find relevant material. Mrs Annie Grant has commenced a study of the skeletal material in co-operation with Dr D. R. Brothwell of the British Museum (Natural History). Excavation of the skeletons was only possible through the kind permission of H.M. Coroner for North Beds, and the Lord Bishop and Chancellor of the Diocese of St Albans. Professor Barry Cunliffe kindly discussed this report in typescript.

FOOTNOTES

¹*Beds. Arch. J.* III (1966), 22-30. Below referred to as *BAJ*.

²For the sake of clarity throughout this report it is proposed to refer to the structures flanking the presbytery as quire aisles. They clearly underwent changes of function during the life of the Abbey, but the interim nature of this report and the destruction of evidence between nave and presbytery by the modern churchyard preclude a full discussion at this stage.

³*BAJ*, 24.

⁴Dr J. N. L. Myres kindly discussed these features with the writer, and suggested various interpretations.

⁵*BAJ*, 25.

⁶I am grateful to Mr Richard Reece for identifying this coin.

⁷*BAJ*, 24.

⁸Discussed in: S. R. Wigram: *Chronicles of Elstow* (1885), 1-2, 11-14.

⁹Miranda Hyslop. 'Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Chamberlain's Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.' *Arch. J.* CXX (1963), 161-200.

¹⁰*BAJ*, 24-9.

¹¹Wigram: *op. cit.*, 193.

¹²By Mr P. G. M. Dickenson, to whom I am grateful for discussion of aspects of superstructural remains. His plan of standing buildings and proposed reconstruction (1966) is deposited with the National Building Record.

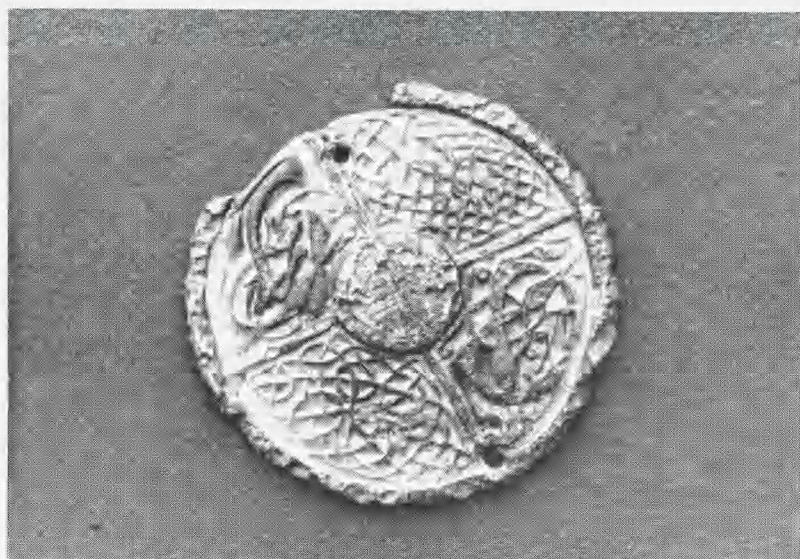
¹³*BAJ*, 26.

¹⁴I am grateful to Mr F. W. Kuhlicke for supplying this information.

¹⁵*BAJ*, 26.

¹⁶A. Hamilton Thompson: 'Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-31', II: 124-9; [*Lincoln Record Society* XXXV (1944)]. Also Wigram: *op. cit.* 130.

¹⁷Thomas Fisher: *Collections Historical, Genealogical and Topographical for Bedfordshire*. (1836) plXXXIV.



a

c

b

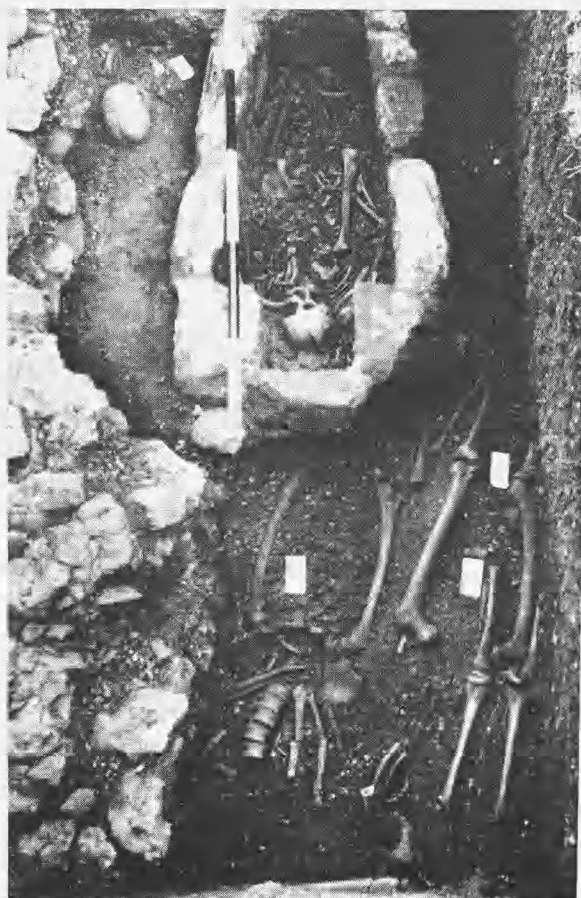


Plate I. a The Mavourne Disc.

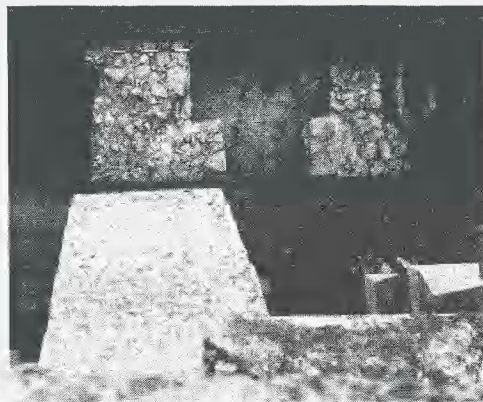
b Base of late eighth century Saxon cross-shaft.

c pre-Abbey burials cut by Norman footings for south wall of south aisle, to south of east end of nave; stone coffin burial of Abbey period, a north cloister walk interment.

MAVOURNE DISC ELSTOW ABBEY



a

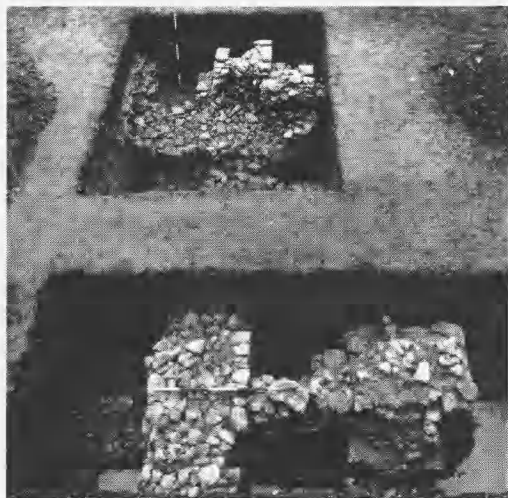


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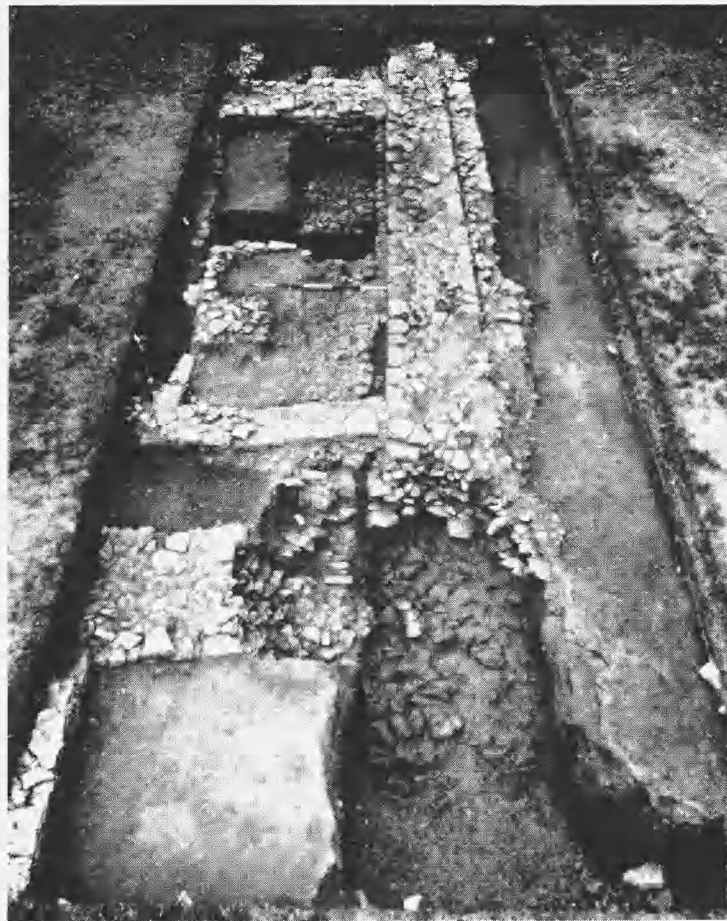
Plate II. a General view, facing southwest, of excavations at east end of Abbey church: fifteenth century extended north aisle in foreground.
 b Norman footings for south nave aisle just west of crossing.
 c south quire aisle eastern termination completely excavated: view from west shows relationship with presbytery at right and Norman robber trenches within.



a



b



c

Plate III. a View from south of southwest corner of Norman claustral ranges, with south wall cut by west wall of fourteenth century refectory with southwest corner of refectory in background.
 b Northwest corner fourteenth century cloisters, showing unexcavated robber trenches for Norman footings and Saxon burial cut by both.
 c Junction east ends refectories and west sides of dormitory undercrofts, seen from south.



a



b

Plate IV. a View facing east of partition wall across fourteenth century cellarium, with pier base to right, cutting earlier drain.
 b View facing east along south walls of mansion (at left) and fourteenth century refectory (at right) showing narrow interspace and external Abbey buttress.
 c General view of east end of church and present-day mansion ruins.

ELSTOW ABBEY



c



a

Plate V. a E3, Ford House, west elevation to road.
b E2, Paynes, east elevation to road.

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS

b





a

Plate VI. E1, 115-7 Great North Road.
a East elevation to road.
b Hall roof truss.

[R.C.H.M.]

b

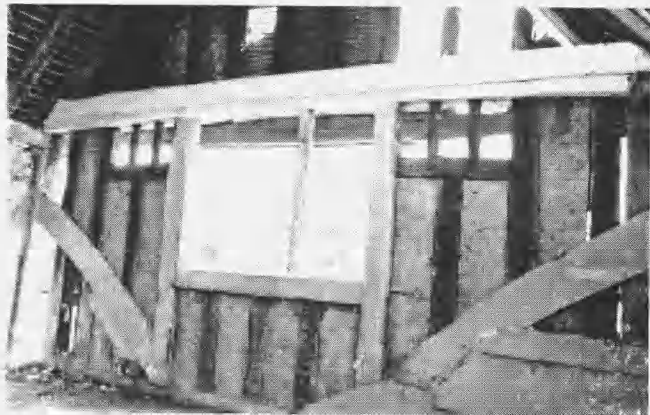
TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS

[R.C.H.M.]





a



b



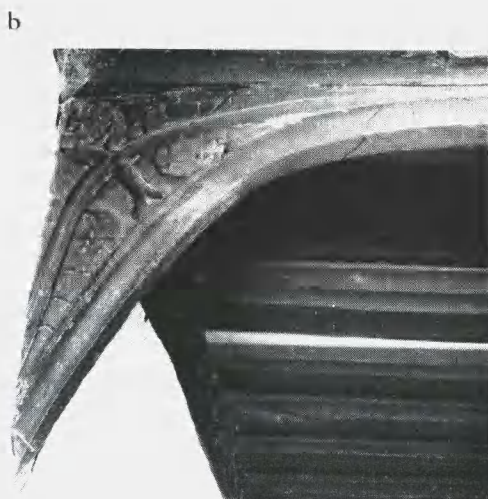
c

Plate VII. EI, 115-7 Great North Road.
 a Wing roof.
 b First floor windows to wing.
 c Ground floor fireplace in the wing.

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS



a



b



c

Plate VIII. E4. Basmead Manor.

- a East end.
- b Spandrel, N₁
- c Spandrel, S₁

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS



a



b



c



d

Plate IX. a E7, originally a two room house of one floor with open hearth.
 b T18, a two room house originally of one floor with a timber fireplace.
 c E35, a Type I house, probably floored originally.
 d E28, eighteenth or nineteenth century Type I house.

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS



a



c



b

Plate X. a T18, timber fireplace.
b T2, timber fireplace.
c T2, nineteenth century timber-framing.



a



b



c



d

Plate XI. a T3, nineteenth century Type I house.
 b E26, gable end, seventeenth century Type I house.
 c T1, large Type I house.
 d T1, timber fireplace.

TIMBER-FRAMED BUILDINGS



a



b



d

Plate XII. a Type J house.
b E37, Type J house.
c E36, seventeenth century, house of unusual plan.
d T19, nineteenth century squatter's cottage of clay.

Timber-framed Buildings in north Bedfordshire

N. W. ALCOCK

with a contribution from P. V. Addyman*

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Sir Cyril Fox, pioneer of the study of vernacular architecture.

PART I. MEDIEVAL HOUSES IN EATON SOCON.

DURING THE EXCAVATION of a Saxon house at Eaton Socon¹ a derelict medieval house in the village was noticed and surveyed, and this provided an incentive to examine further houses. The aim was to study the development of smaller houses in the area as illustrated by standing examples, which should give a complementary picture to that obtained by excavation. One would like eventually to define the development throughout the medieval period, an ideal far from being achieved yet.

Only four certainly medieval houses were found in Eaton Socon. One has an unusual plan, but three are of the well known late medieval hall-and-crosswing type, and they do not throw any light on the development of house types. (In this respect the smaller houses described in Part II are much more helpful.) However these larger houses are individually of sufficient interest to merit description. All four are late medieval.

Roofs

All the houses have main trusses of the same type with crown posts and collar purlins, the posts having curved downward braces (fig 2, pl VIb). This type of truss is also found in Berkshire and another example occurs in the Hansa warehouse, Kings Lynn, dated to 1474. It does not occur in west Cambridgeshire² and so may have been disseminated along the Ouse valley.

Ford House (E3)³, pl Va, fig 1

This is a large hall-and-crosswing house and still retains an impressive façade. However, internally there are almost no visible original features, and only an outline plan can be recovered. The two wings are of unequal size; the larger, presumably

the solar wing, has an original stone chimney with moulded plinth. The only original internal roof truss is in the north wing. It is of the same type as those in the gables, but has braces to the collar purlin as well as to the post. The south wing has original common rafters but replaced trusses. Both gables were originally jettied but have been underbuilt. The south gable has the arrangement of one large window flanked by two small ones found also at E.1 and like the latter may have had an oriel. It is possible that traces of similar small windows in the east gable have been covered up. The house dates from the mid- to late fifteenth century.

Of the many alterations, the large stair turret and the chimneys shaded on the plan are probably seventeenth century. Then, or later, the hall roof was raised and the walls either cased or rebuilt in brick. (The fine panelling in the hall is a recent import from Netherstead Priory.) There is also a long extension of fairly modern date to the west wing.

Payne's (E2), pl Vb, fig 1

This, in complete contrast to E3, must be one of the smallest hall-and-crosswing houses known. It is completely cased in brick and from outside only the characteristic shape reveals its nature. The hall is a single bay, 12 ft. by 16 ft., with a 4 ft. screens bay (into which a chimney was inserted when the hall was floored). The smaller crosswing was divided on the ground floor and presumably contained service rooms. All the posts in this wing have curved downward braces to the sills and mid-rails.

The roof of the larger wing is of the type already described, with cranked braces to the crown post. The short crown post for the hall roof stands on the wall-plate of the crosswing, and its only brace is to the collar purlin. Unusually, the hall wall-plates are not supported by the wall-plate of the wing, but are at a lower level and their actual supports could not be identified. The hall roof is ruinous, with the collar purlin broken in two

* Part I is jointly by N.W.A. and P.V.A.; Part II solely by N.W.A. When this contribution was submitted (1965) Eaton Socon was still in Bedfordshire—the conclusions apply to the whole of north Bedfordshire.

places, and at the service end only the brace to the purlin and part of the crown post remain, the tie-beam having been cut away when the chimney was inserted. The only surviving original decorative feature is a chamfer on the vertical posts of this truss, continuing with a mason's mitre, on what is left of the tiebeam. The inserted floor beam is

chamfered with straight cut stops.

The house probably dates from the fifteenth century. (It has now been demolished.)

No. 115-7, Great North Road (E1), pls VI-VII,⁴ fig 2

This house could be examined in unusual detail as it was completely stripped before demolition. It is now T-shaped. The hall is of two bays, with a single crown-post truss with the typical bracing (pl VIb). The truss is very unusual in having a lower cross-beam, certainly original as the moulding of the beam (fig 2) is carried down the lower parts of the posts; the upper parts of the posts and the tiebeam are chamfered. In the east wall there are diamond mortices for a large five light window, and there was a smaller window on the other side. On both sides at the north end of the hall the middle rail rises 6 ins., presumably for doorways. The wall at this end is of brick and there are traces of burning in the roof, suggesting that this end of the house was burnt down. There is an inserted floor in the south bay, cutting across the large window, with a chamfered beam and joists, both with stepped stops, and with deeply chamfered unstopped half beams.

At the junction between the hall and the cross-wing on the east side the end post of the hall has been removed, but it was apparently independent of the wing; on the west side the hall wallplate and middle-rail are tenoned into the corner post of the wing.

The wing also has two bays; its roof has collared rafter trusses with side-purlins and wind-braces (pl VIIa). There is a beam on the ground floor with a similar moulding to that of the crossbeam in the hall; it rests on a jowled post. The joists are hollow moulded with stepped stops. There is a large transomed window in the east wall with octagonal mullions with rebates on the outer side. This, though early, is probably not original as the window lintel is not jointed into the main structure. There is also an ogee shaped doorhead between the wing and the hall, probably inserted in the later sixteenth century. The fireplace must also be inserted because the main ceiling beam passes straight into it. It is of unusual construction (pl VIIc), with two hollow relieving arches over the chamfered lintel. Its stack has diamond projections on two sides; beside the chimney are a few decorated ridge tiles.

On the first floor of the wing in the east wall there are mortices for an oriel, which is flanked by two small three-light windows (pl VIIb); there is a two-light window in the south wall and there was also a window in the west wall. All the small

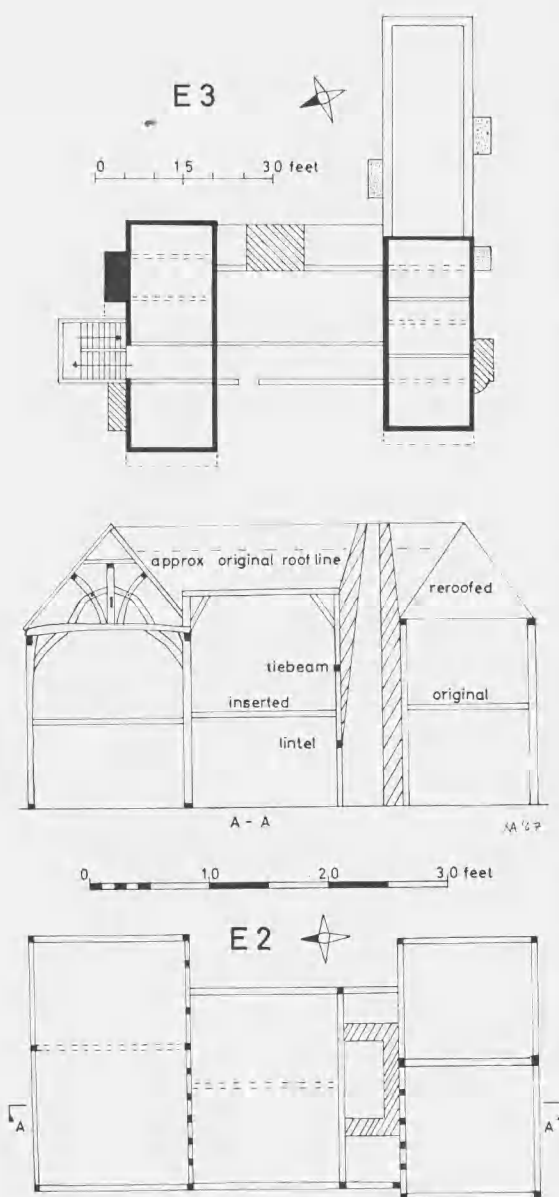


Fig 1. E3. Ford House; shading indicates seventeenth century chimneys, stippling nineteenth century ones. E2. Paynes Plan and Sections: inserted Fireplace indicated by shading.

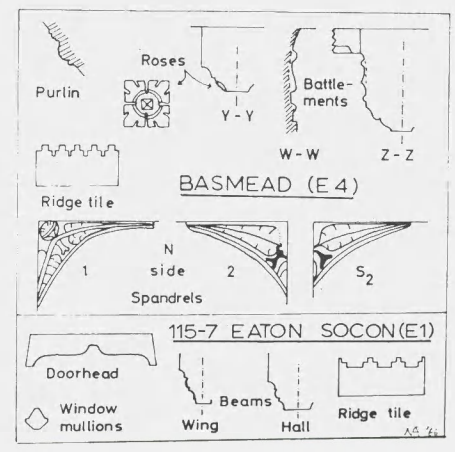
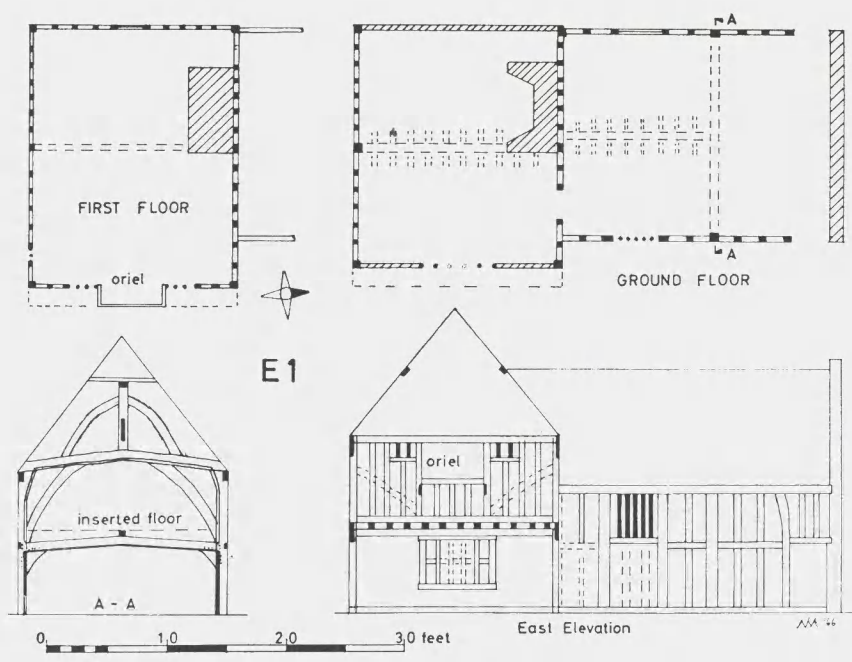
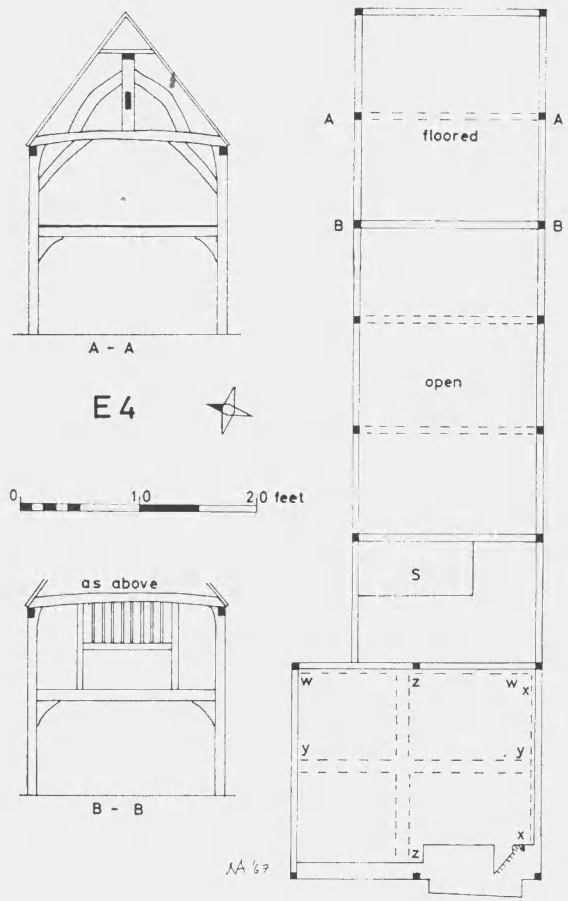


Fig 2. E1. 115-117 Great North Road and E4 Basmead Manor.

windows have mullions of the same section as the large window on the ground floor (fig 2).

All the structural evidence indicates that the hall and the wing are contemporary and this house is therefore remarkable in having both the medieval roof type in the hall and its successor in the wing. From the decoration the house dates from the early sixteenth century. This is late for crown post trusses, and also for the use of open halls in houses of this type. This may explain why the hall truss has the very unusual crossbeam, which looks as if it was meant to take a floor, although the floor is certainly inserted, probably in the later sixteenth century. At this date the fireplace in the wing was also added.

Basmead Manor (E.4), pl VIII, fig 2

This house is of particular interest as it is situated within a moat, although the house probably post-dates the moat. It has a long range with one later crosswing.

The east end of the long range is of two bays with a floor. The inner truss has what can only be an internal window in it, looking into the hall. This is of three bays, originally open to the roof. The third truss is now closed and the bay beyond it contains the stairs. The roof of this range is of the crown post type with typical braces; the gable truss, however, is studded (pl VIIIa). There are still some decorated ridge tiles on the roof. This range is probably of the later fifteenth century.

The plan seems to be functionally similar to that of hall-and-crosswing houses. The east end can be interpreted as a solar with its window looking down onto the high end of the hall, and the bay now containing the stairs might have been the original screens bay, with service rooms beyond. (Alternatively the screens may have been within the hall, just partitioned off, and the staircase bay may have held service rooms.)

The hall was later floored and the functions of the rooms reversed, with a parlour and chamber at the original lower end in an added crosswing. The main feature of this is the highly decorated ground floor room. The main beam (Z—Z) and one half beam (W—W) are battlemented; beam Y—Y is ornamented with roses, while the other half beam (X—X) is moulded. The joists are hollow moulded with straight cut stops. Beam Z—Z is supported by brackets with curiously carved spandrels. Two of these (S₂ and N₁) are rather similar with outlined human figures beside large leaves or feathers. A third (N₁, pl VIIIb) shows a winged figure, though the wings are given the same treatment as the feathers of S and N₂. All these are carved more or less in outline, but the

fourth (S₂, pl VIIIc) has much fuller carving. It shows a human face and the two feathers are carried in the corners of its mouth. What these strange designs signify is not at all clear. Similar spandrels can be seen at Southoe Manor.

This room also has a fragment of a stone fireplace with a large roll moulding on the jamb. This is much earlier than the rest of the wing, probably pre-thirteenth century. It is likely to be an import, perhaps from the neighbouring Bushmead priory.⁵ There is also an eighteenth century brick extension of the wing to the north and further nineteenth century additions to the north side of the main range.

The roof of the wing has moulded side-purlins and the tie-beams are steeply cambered. There are traces of two small windows under the tiebeams on the north side. This wing can be dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

We would like to thank Mr and Mrs Ratcliffe and Mr and Mrs Squire for letting us study their homes in great detail.

PART II. POST-MEDIEVAL HOUSES IN EATON SOCON AND THURLEIGH

INTRODUCTION

WHILE STUDYING Eaton Socon, a survey of seventeenth century houses in Thurleigh was examined which is most important for understanding the post-medieval houses of north Bedfordshire. The fieldwork was therefore extended to Thurleigh so as to relate the survey as closely as possible to existing houses. Dealing with such a small area as two parishes has the disadvantage that only the commonest types can be defined and any rather unusual houses will not be readily understood, but it gives the certainty that a coherent culture is being studied, even if its geographical extent is uncertain.

The late medieval houses (Part I, see above, pp 43-46) can be related to others in a large part of south-east England, but the smaller houses vary much more from place to place and detailed geographical and geological factors are very important. According to Foster's *Observations on the Agriculture of North Bedfordshire* (Bedford 1807), beside the Ouse there is gravel, with next a belt of good brown-black earth about a mile wide. The soil of the rest of north Bedfordshire is clay, which he finds very bad: 'Its properties are such as generally to keep its cultivators poor. . . . This soil is also productive of the worst of grasses, so coarse that the most part remains untouched by the cattle all winter.' Eaton Socon spans all three types of soil, while Thurleigh lies solely on the clay. Both

parishes had at enclosure a mixture of open fields and closes (figs 4, 5) and most holdings seemed to include land of both types.

In the next village to the west of Thurleigh, Milton Ernest, the stone belt that extends through Northamptonshire is reached and this village contains only stone-built houses. However, the transition is remarkably sudden and in Thurleigh the houses are still of timber (except for a few cottages of clay).

In the post-medieval period the houses have little decorative carpentry and they are structurally very alike. The most significant classification is therefore by plan. This is aided by the work of the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in west Cambridgeshire. They have identi-

while most are $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 storeys high. There are a few individual rooms only 1 storey high.

A general description of the houses can be given (fig 3). Most are thatched, though a few may have been tiled. Almost without exception they are plastered externally and this means that rather little information can be found about original door and window positions. Box-frame construction is used and the roofs have side purlins and principal rafter trusses with collars. Several houses show traces, at least, of wattle and daub chimneys. The floors are supported by beams (usually chamfered and stopped, fig 3) along the long axis of the house, sometimes with two half-beams applied to the side walls; this construction is used for original and inserted floors.

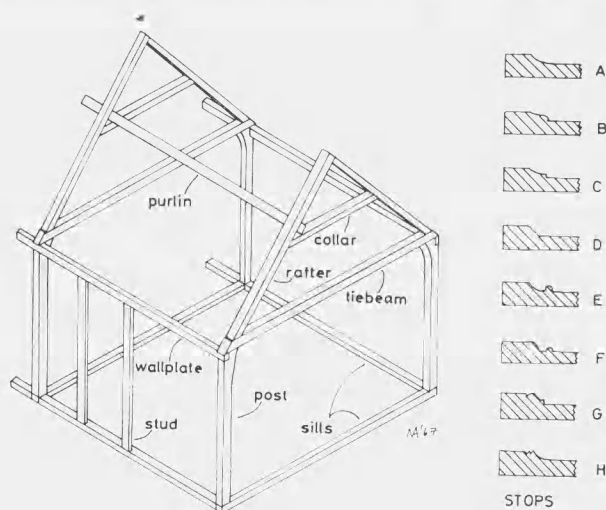


Fig 3.

Left: Framework of a typical Bedfordshire post-medieval house.

Right: Stops to chamfered beams drawn as sections through the beams perpendicular to the chamfer.

A-D simple stops: A, draw; B, scroll; C, step (wren hir stop); D, straight cut. E-H, complex stops. E, bar and draw, at E18; F, bar and roll, at E2; G, at E2; H, at E7.

fied the commonest plans, most of which occur in Bedfordshire as well.⁶

The main post-medieval types have two, three or four rooms usually in a single straight block. Type I houses have two rooms and a central chimney (serving one or both rooms) with the door onto a lobby beside the chimney; type S houses have two rooms with one gable end chimney. Type J houses have three rooms with a chimney between two of the rooms, and also have lobby entrances. A variant of the three-room plan is the L-shaped house (type L). Type K houses have four rooms with a central chimney serving two rooms. Type H houses, are still larger, with an H-plan.

In Bedfordshire it is useful to subdivide each type by height. Here the upper storey is called a half storey if the windows are in dormers or in the gable only, or a full storey if the windows are below the eaves. The largest houses go up to $2\frac{1}{2}$

THE 1604 THURLEIGH SURVEY

This is printed in Appendix B and some subsidiary documents are described in Appendix D. All documents are in the Bedford Record Office unless otherwise noted. House numbers beginning with S (e.g. S3) refer to the survey in which each description has been numbered. Numbers beginning with E or T refer to Eaton Socon or Thurleigh. The houses are identified in Appendix A and their positions are shown on figs 4 and 5.

The Houses

The survey gives details of 20 houses and these have been summarised in table 1 and drawn out in figs 6-7. Normally the survey gives the overall length and breadth for each block and the rooms it contains are listed (in standard order). This is done for the main house and then for subsidiary and farm buildings. Whether the main rooms were lofted

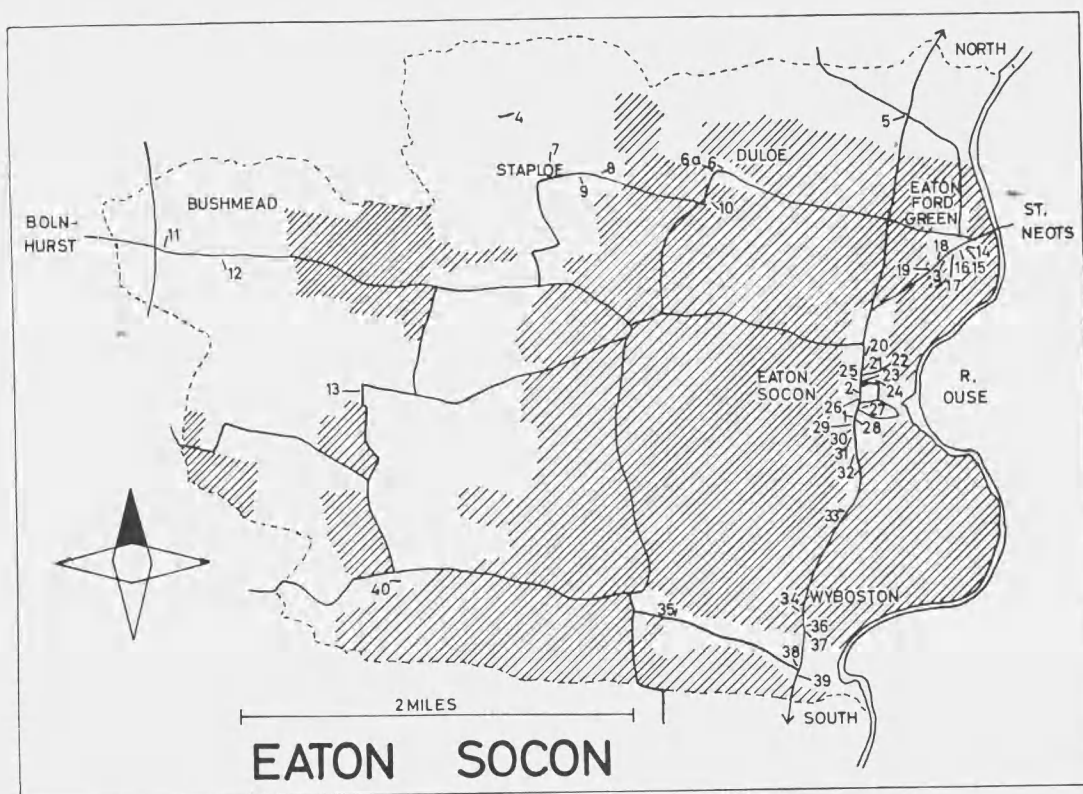


Fig 4. Plan of Eaton Socon.

or not is also noted. In the figures the layout of the various blocks is arbitrary and when the lengths of individual rooms are not given the overall length has been divided evenly. (The grouping by number of rooms is only approximate; kitchens have been counted as main rooms only when they are part of the main block, and stables which are often in the main block have not been counted.)

The bays of the houses are fairly uniform. Widths vary from 14 ft. to 16 ft. and the lengths lie mostly between 12 ft. and 16 ft. although S2 has only 9 ft. in its 'little bays'.

Only one of the houses can be more closely dated than pre-1604. This is S2 which was erected some time after 1583 'on a parcel of waste in Cross end which by consent of the inhabitants is set forth for Thomas Gale to build his house on'. (L15/9.) This house is very small. There is a similar reference to another house, not covered by the survey (Appendix D).

Four houses have non-linear plans. S8 is apparently a two room house with a very small added bay. Both the chamber and stable of S5 must from their length (24 ft.) have been of two bays and it

is possible that it had a central hall with two wings, i.e. a medieval house. S13 might also be a remnant of a medieval hall-and-crosswing house, though if so one would expect the crosswings to be floored. S4 was almost certainly T-shaped (see below, p 55).

The linear houses are evenly divided between two, three and four room plans, and they correspond generally with the Cambridge types I/S, J, K. Actual types cannot be fixed because the chimney positions are known and some houses may not be of one build. (For example the three lofted rooms with a single storey kitchen of S20.)

All the houses have halls and ground floor chambers as their basic rooms. (For S1, S2 and S8a not all the rooms are named.) The most common other room is a kitchen (ten houses) of which five are in the main range while the other five have their dimensions given separately and can be presumed to be detached. Parlours occur in five houses (with two, three and four main rooms) and two houses have butteries, one of which is not in the main range. There are two killhouses, i.e. kilnhouses for drying barley for malting;⁷ one of these shares a building with the kitchen. The house S16 is a converted killhouse (Appendix D), very much the

Table 1. Main block and domestic buildings

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8a	9	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Totals
2 rooms					+			+				+				+			+		5
3 rooms			+			+			+	+			+				+	+			7
4 rooms	+	+		+			+				+			+	+					+	8
non-linear plan				+	+				+				+								4
lofted rooms	2		1	1		1		1	2										1	3	
Parlour	+		+	+		+	M	+						S	M						5
Kitchen	S			M		S	M			S	M	S		S	M				M		M5 S5
Buttery						S													M		M1 S1
Killhouse	S			S																	S2
Sometimes part of main block																					
Stable				M	M		M					S		S	M						M4 S2
Hayhouse	S			S				S						S	S			M			M1 S4
Shop																			M		M1

M = in main block S = separate

same size as the killhouse of S4.

What is particularly striking in the survey is that few of the rooms were lofted, only 12 rooms in 7 houses. The general pattern is obviously one of single storey houses, with a change just beginning to two storeys. It is noticeable that all the parlours are lofted. This suggests that with the development of a second living room there was a need for more upstairs accommodation.

From inventories the uses of the various rooms can be discovered, although none survive that can be associated with any of the houses surveyed. There are some of the same date from elsewhere in Bedfordshire.⁸ These show that halls were of general use, chambers were for sleeping, lofts for storage and sleeping. Butteries were used to store food and drink and parlours were used in the larger houses as sitting rooms, but were also for sleeping and in some houses seem to be equivalent to chambers. A killhouse is named in only one of 166 inventories but from the lists of contents must have been present in others.

Farm Buildings (Table II)

The survey offers an unusual chance to see a series of complete seventeenth century farmsteads, supplementing the very incomplete information from surviving buildings and the uncertainties of inventories. There is naturally a strong correlation between number of buildings and size of holding. There are a few exceptions; the tenant of S18, Oliver Harvey, also owned Whitwick Green Farm in the same End; S10 has no buildings at all and must have been held with another property, and the same was probably true of S14 with only four bays of buildings for 72 acres; S8a is a single house belonging to S8. Excluding these, a histogram

of the number of bays of farm buildings shows three peaks, at 0, 3 and 5-8 bays; the average areas of holdings with 0-1, 2-3 and 5-8 bays are 10, 21 and 44 acres for 6, 6 and 5 holdings respectively. This grouping is interesting and could repre-

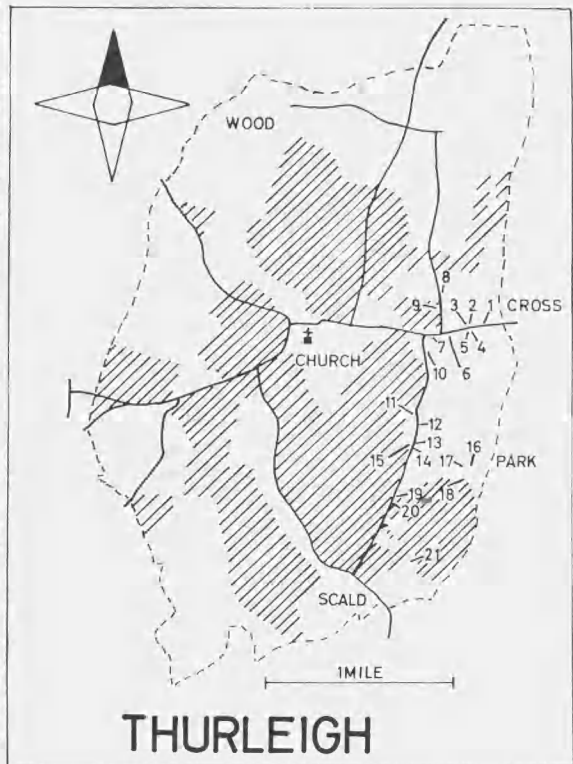


Fig 5. Plan of Thurleigh.

Table 2. Farm buildings

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8a	9	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Totals
Barn	+			+	+			+		+		+	+	+	+					+	10
Hayhouse				+				+													
Haybarn	+			+				+							+			+			5
Hogscoats	1			2		2				2		2							2	2	7
Stable				+	+		+	+				+		+	+						7
Cowhouse				+																	1
Carthouse	+																				1
Lean-to																		+			1
Shop																			+		1
Total No of bays (excluding hogscoats)	6	0	0	8	3	0+3*	1	5	0	2	0	5	2	4	7	0	0	2	1+2*	3	
Areas in Acres																					
Arable	28	2	6	36	21	6	20	33		26	2	20	24	30	24	0	4	21	10	8	
Pasture	31	12	0	21	4	0	5	5		3	9	7	10	42	17	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	24	5	9	
Total	59	14	6	57	25	6	25	38		29	11	27	34	72	41	$\frac{1}{4}$		49	15	17	

*6 and 19 have bays of unspecified use.

sent social subdivisions, but the sample is too small to be sure that it is real.

Four holdings have no buildings, while two have only hogscoats (pigsties) and one each a haybarn and a stable. All the others have barns and most had stables. No oxbouses are mentioned, which suggests that horses were used for drawing and ploughing (and for the carrying duties that were part of the rent for some holdings). S1 has a cart-house.

The farms with a large area of pasture have haybarns, so hay was taken off these fields. Only S4 has a cowhouse, which suggests that sheep predominated. By and large the husbandry must have been mixed and forced to be so by the mixture of open and enclosed land.

The Survey Itself

The survey was taken in 1604 by the agents of the Earl of Kent (Lord Grey) of tenements whose 21 year leases had just fallen in. The first question answered was what was the size of the house and was it in good repair (as most were). Then the surveyors listed the enclosed fields, noting and valuing the trees they contained. The maximum value given to the trees was £36 (S15); some of the leases give permission to fell a specified number of trees. The land was then valued, enclosed at 5s. per acre, open at 3s., though these figures do not seem to have been used either for fixing the new rents or the fines. Marginal notes record the rent and fine for the old lease and give occasional comments and queries.

In general the information concerning the houses appears to be accurate and consistent, checking, is impossible. The dimensions are given

to the nearest foot. An easy place for errors would be in the listing of lofted rooms, but the way that parlours are always lofted suggests that it is correct. The only obvious standardisation is in the order of the rooms, with the hall always given first.

Identifications

The houses are located in Aspye(1), Cross(9), Church(2), Park(5), Scald(1) and Wood Ends(2). Wood End is now covered by Thurlleigh airfield, while Aspye End is lost. (It is just possibly represented by Ashpole meadow near Brook Farm, T21.) One holding (S4) can be identified from documents (Appendix C). Thomas Maxy's holding in Scald End (S8) had four acres of enclosed and 38 of open land. This does not correspond with any holding in 1805, but it possibly formed part of Scald End Farm, which was known as Meggs Farm (with only post enclosure buildings).

The few houses described in Church and Scald Ends are all small and so fieldwork was concentrated on Cross and Park Ends. Three houses were found probably dating in part from before 1600. One is likely to be S4 from the documentary evidence and one of the others can be identified by its dimensions.

THE EXISTING HOUSES

NOTE: In the plans S = stairs, C = chimney, F = fireplace.

Two Rooms

As with the houses described in the survey a simple division is on number of rooms. Houses with only two rooms are most common.

One cottage (E7, pl. IXa, fig 8), originally two

roomed, shows very early features. It is apparent from the outside that the roof has been raised in the nineteenth century, when it became almost a *cottage orné*, and a third room was added in brick. Of the original house the posts, wallplates and tiebeams remain. There is a fireplace with chamfered and scroll-stopped lintel, and a ceiling beam with an unusual stop (fig 1). However, the tiebeam in front of the fireplace has the mortices for deep braces which show conclusively that the fireplace itself is an addition. There must previously have been an open hearth and in the seventeenth century the chimney and the ceiling were inserted. Probably of this period is the trimmer for a ladder in one corner; this was replaced later by a proper stair. The original house may be of the sixteenth century.

A certain amount can be deduced about the original structure, from the peg-holes in the beams (fig 8, elevations). The central closed truss must have had its door in the middle as both ends were blocked by braces (since cut through). The original entry might have been in the west gable wall but was most likely in the south wall (west bay) facing a now vanished lane. On both long sides there were upward braces from each post.

The east bay on the south side probably had a large window, though some of the pegholes may be due to later work. On the north side there was possibly a window in the east bay and probably one in the west bay. (A door is unlikely as a cross-entry would be very impractical in such a house.) The wall-plate at its west end supports the inserted fireplace beam. The east end wall seems to have been studded, with diagonal braces. The roof structure is unknown, but the evidence is consistent with a collared truss with studs below.

Two other houses, in Thurleigh, appear originally to have had no upper floors. Hilltop (T18, pl IXb, Xa, fig 9) in Park End is a Type 1 house (apart from a small extension) with only a single chimney. Its fireplace is of timber, with the lintel renomed into a post (with chamfer and cut stop), and with sides of stud and daub (pl Xa). (The south end of the fireplace has been rebuilt in brick, leaving a small alcove outside.) The roof is of collar and side-purlin construction; there is only one truss, in front of the fireplace line, and the fireplace post is set into a second tiebeam. Above it the studs of the chimney slope back towards the other side, which is set against a second collar probably with a concealed tie-beam.

The floors in each room are carried on crude chamfered beams. These are probably late insertions, as otherwise the main tiebeam (which has been cut away) would be 18 in. above the floor in the middle of the upstairs room. Further evi-

dence for insertion is that the end of the ceiling beam in the west wall is almost unsupported. There is a small single storied timber-framed extension at the west end of the house and a modern one to the south. Beside the house there is a fairly late barn, 23 ft. long by 15 ft.

It is very likely that this house predates the 1604 survey but the only possibility of identification is by the dimensions, as there are no useful documents. This house is 15 ft. wide by 28 ft. long. In Park End S12 and S13 were two roomed, each with a hall and a chamber; S12 was 28 ft. by 15 ft., with a kitchen, presumably separate, 15 ft. by 14 ft.; S13 was 26 ft. by 14 ft. with a crosshouse 16 ft. by 14 ft. Neither had any lofted rooms. It is very reasonable to identify T18 with one of these, particularly S12, and even if the identification is not actually correct, T18 must resemble these houses closely.

The second early house (T2, pls. Xb-c, fig 9) possibly had a third room to the east where there is now a nineteenth century brick extension. Its earliest part, though small, is of very good construction, with, for example, 9 in. tie beams. In the east room there is a timber-framed fireplace (pl. Xb) of better quality than that in T18. The ceiling beam in this room is chamfered with a complex stop (fig 3); in the west room the floor is supported by a very rough beam and two half-beams. The main posts in the first room are chamfered and draw-stopped under the wallplate, but not at floor level. This suggests that the floor in the main room, though early, is inserted; even if it is original the other floor must be later. There are short straight braces to wallplates and tiebeams from the corner posts. In the west wall on the underside of the collar there are mortice holes for diamond window mullions.

This house is certainly seventeenth century and may be earlier, particularly if both floors are inserted. It measures 29 ft. by 13 ft. There is no obvious identification with any of the surveyed houses in Cross End, all of which are wider.

To the west a timber-framed room of much worse construction with a half-hipped roof was added, probably in the eighteenth century. It was later given a chimney, probably in the nineteenth century, when the house must have been divided in two. A very badly constructed room was built beyond this, probably as a stable or store; it can hardly have been for human habitation. It has timberwork of very mean scantling, with long upward braces to the corner-posts (pl Xc). This construction can be dated to after 1805 by its occurrence in other buildings. In the later nineteenth century a brick part was added at the east end of the building and

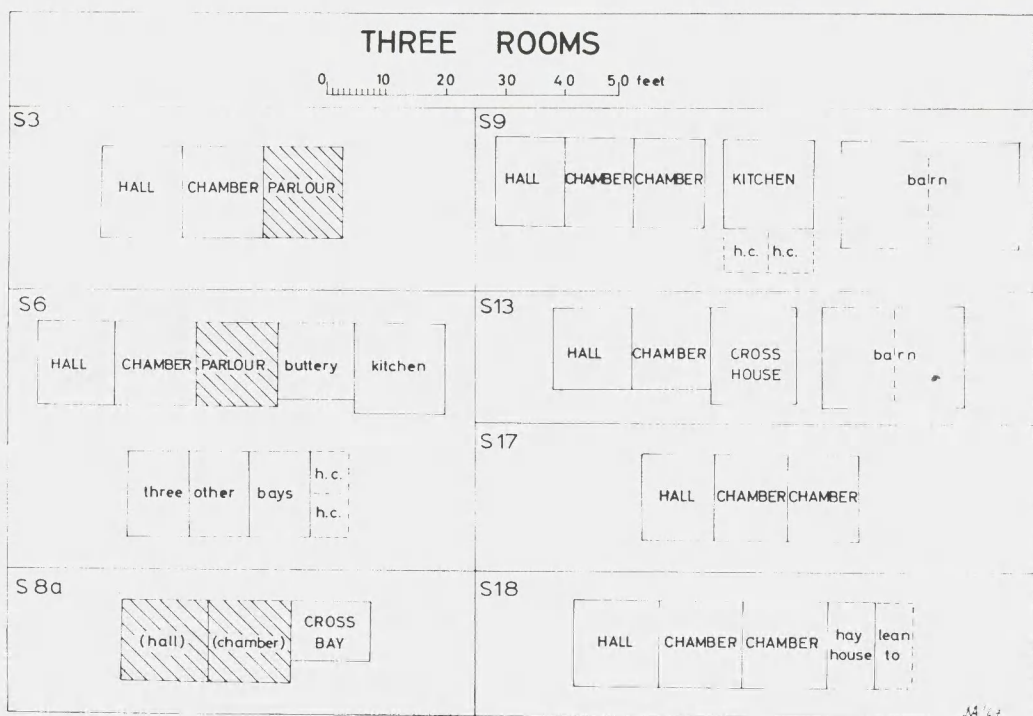
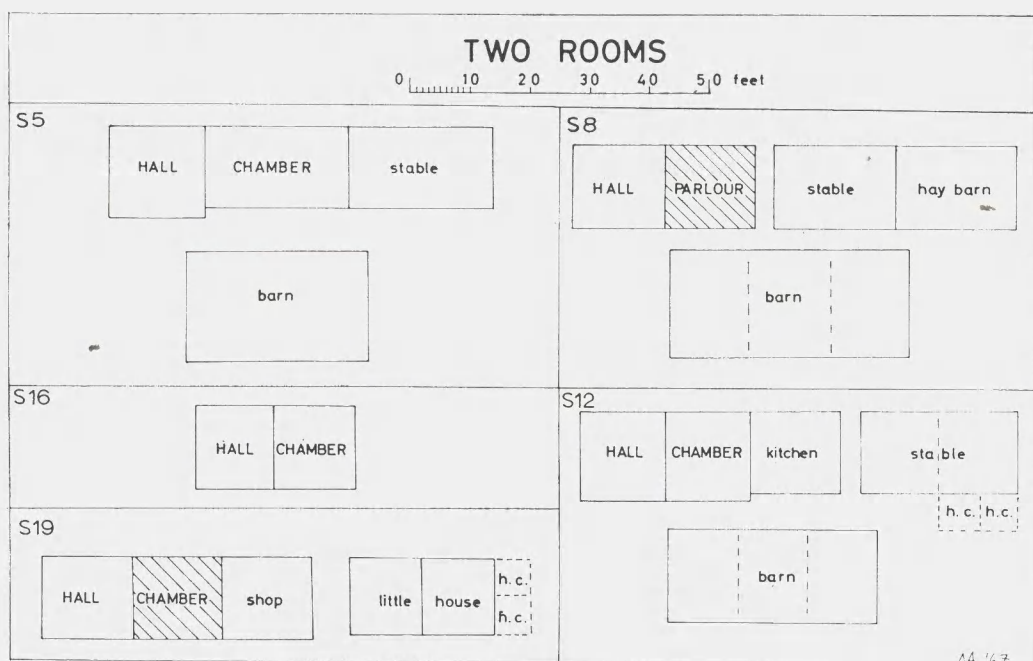


Fig 6. Two and three room houses from the Thurleigh survey. Main rooms named in capitals. ancillary rooms in lower case. Shading indicates lofted rooms. For rooms whose outline is dotted no dimensions are given and names in parenthesis are inferred. h.c. = Hogscoat.

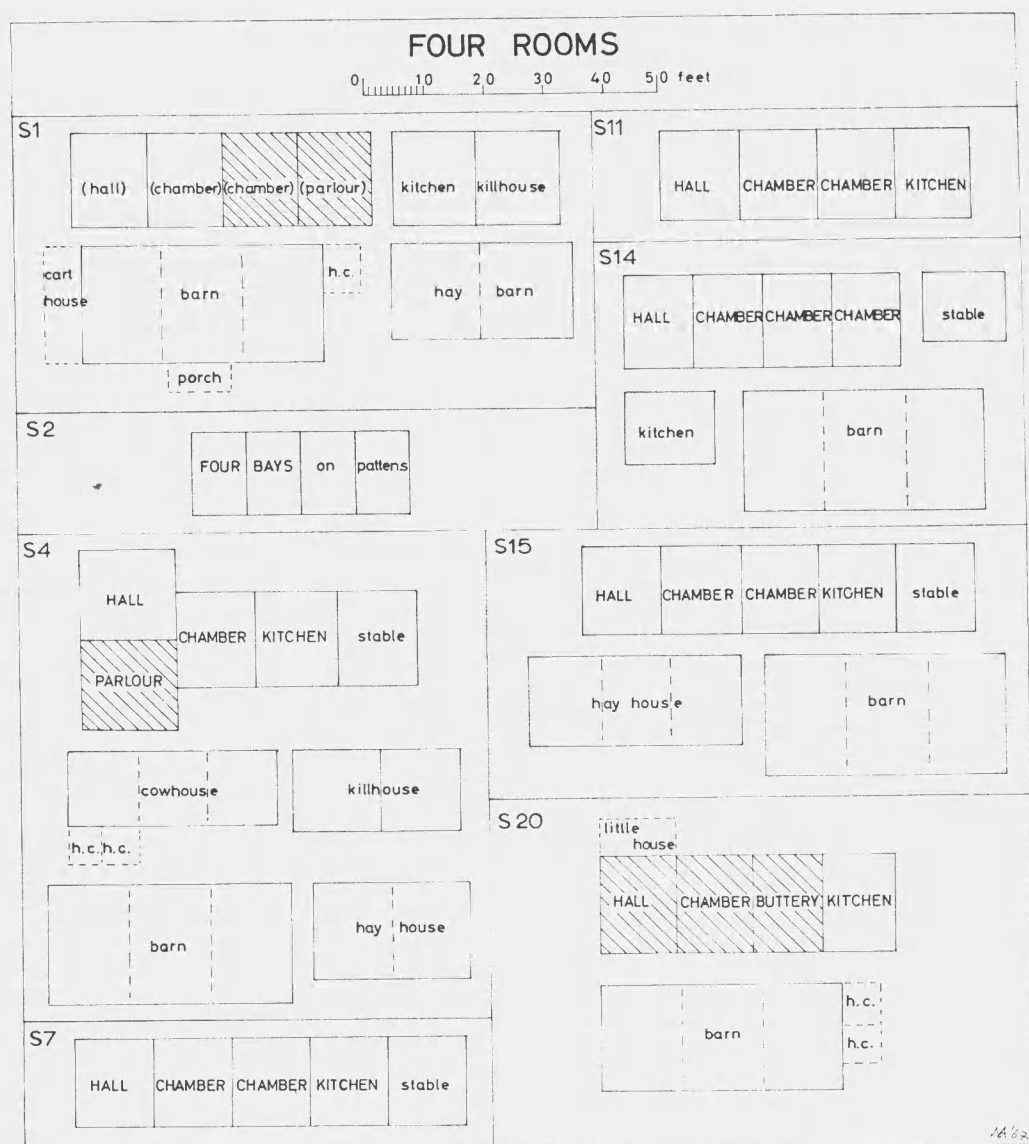


Fig 7. Houses from the Thurleigh survey with four rooms; legend as Fig 6.

recently the south wall of the original house was removed and rebuilt in brick further out.

E35 (pl IXc, fig 9) is slightly later than T2. The longitudinal section (fig 9) shows the small chimney bay, which had wattled sides, the holes for the wattles still showing in the collar-beam. (The chimney was later replaced in brick.) The framing makes it certain that there was originally no communication at first-floor level. However the rather larger roof-space (than T2) makes it likely that there was at least one loft. One of the floor beams has scroll stops and there are short braces between the

posts and wallplates; both of these suggest a seventeenth century date.

Several smaller houses are rather similar to this, Type I, with very steep thatched roofs and low eaves (E19, E21, E22, E28, pl. IXd), probably of eighteenth and early nineteenth century date. E19 was examined during rebuilding. The timberwork was of very small scantling, with the characteristic upward braces (cf. T2) but it still had the double trusses for a daub chimney. There must have been lofts in these low-eaved houses, or there would have been no need to have such steep pitched roofs.

In Thurleigh the later Type I houses are rather different (pl XIa, fig 11). There are six, all post 1805, and they are very similar, all $1\frac{1}{2}$ storeys with either gable-ended or half-hipped roofs, but not with the same low eaves as the houses in Eaton Socon. They obviously represent a standard type, probably all erected by the same carpenter shortly after Enclosure.

LARGER HOUSES

There are a few larger Type I houses. One is E26 (pl XIb, fig 11), $2\frac{1}{2}$ storeys and of good construction, the roof including windbraces. It has two fireplaces with diagonally set brick stacks and is presumably of seventeenth century date.

The main block of Cross End House (T1, pls XIc-d, fig 10) is also of Type I, $2\frac{1}{2}$ storeys high, although the house is in fact T-shaped. On the ground floor are two almost identical rooms, both with axial ceiling beams with bar-and-roll stops. In the centre of the block is a double fireplace whose stud, wattle and daub chimney still survives. Beside the chimney is the newel stair leading all

the way to the attic. The fireplace is framed, with the lintels tenoned into vertical posts. The ones at the back of the block are straight, but beside the stair the posts curve elegantly in at their heads to meet the ceiling beams (pl XIc). One fireplace extends back to the rear wall, but the other stops short with a space between it and the wall, perhaps for a cupboard. Between the two fireplaces is a stone wall.

On the first floor the arrangement is very similar. The ceiling beams have scroll stops, as do the posts of the twin stairway doors. The chimney is narrowed on the north side, presumably to prevent the wallplate being scorched. There is only one truss, with large posts and heavy braces to the tiebeam, but there is a second tiebeam and collar on the other side of the chimney. This part of the house was probably built late in the first half of the seventeenth century.

There is access to the rear wing by one door on each floor, both original as there are corresponding gaps in the peg-holes. There are now no timbers supporting the south wall of the rear wing,

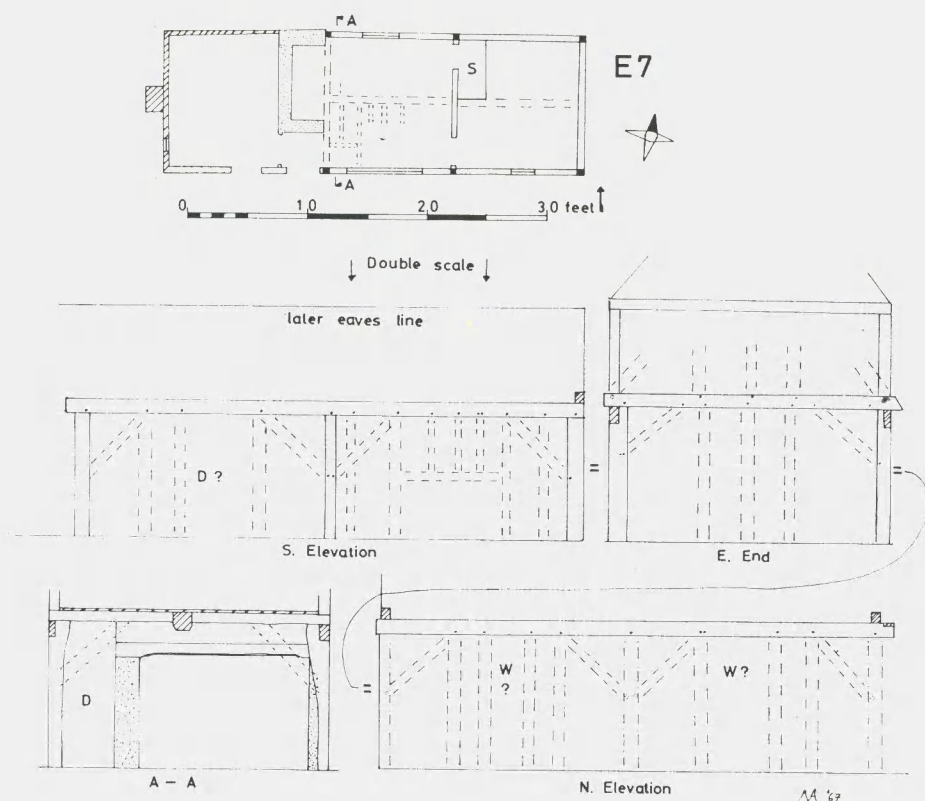


Fig 8. E7: Plan, elevations and sections. W = window, D = door, Shading = brick.

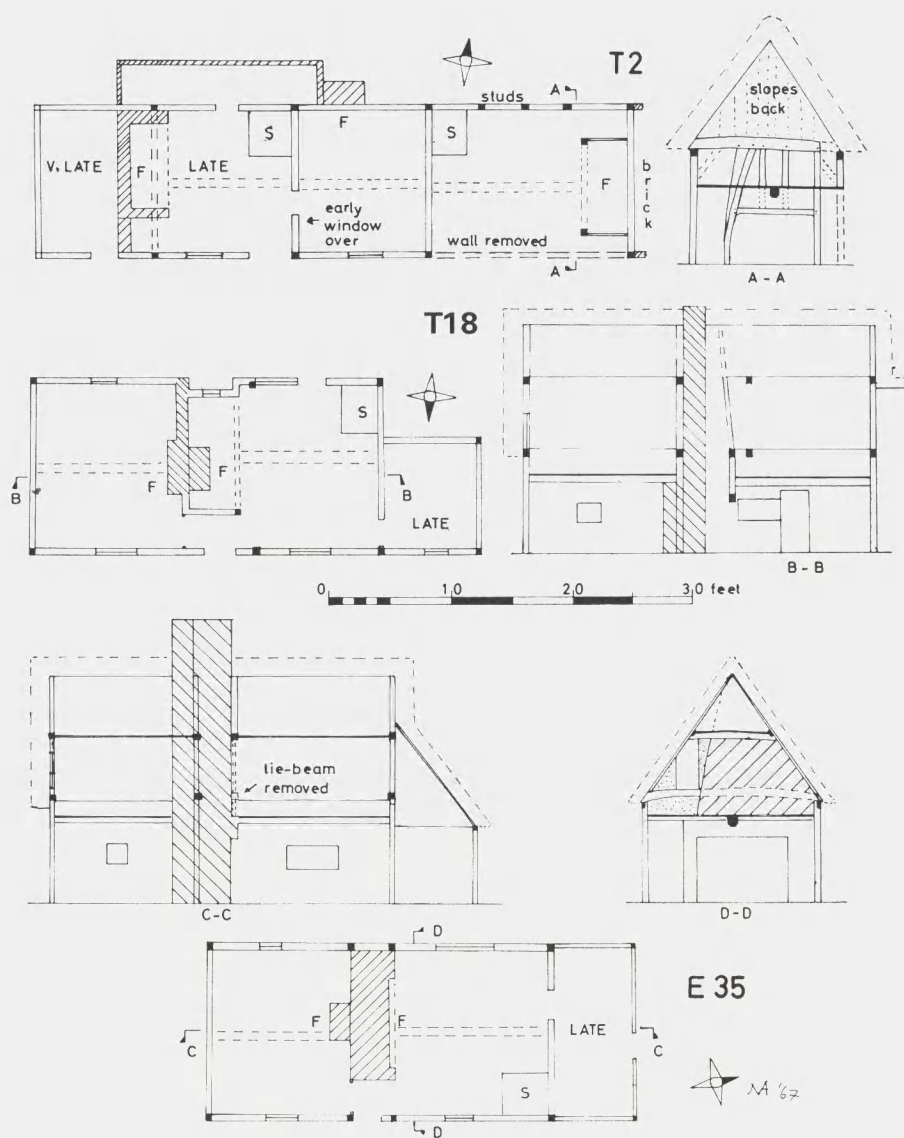


Fig 9. Two room houses, plans and sections. Shading = brickwork.

though a mortice remains on the end of the ceiling beam, and it seems that the front part of the house is a replacement for another building joined to the present rear wing. The original entry was probably into the rear wing, as at present.

The first room in the back wing had its roof raised in 1841 (date on the new tiebeam), but the other two are $1\frac{1}{2}$ storeys high. All the axial beams have stepped stops. This part of the house was built perhaps 50 years earlier than the front; the bend in the range suggests two periods of construction.

The documentary evidence (Appendix D) suggests that Cross End House may be S4 and the latter, a hall and parlour, 30 ft. by 16 ft. with three other bays 40 ft. by 16 ft., sounds very like a T-shaped building. The present front block is exactly 30 ft. by 16 ft., but it cannot be the one described as that had only the parlour lofted. That the present block is a higher replacement is therefore likely and consistent with the structural evidence. The back wing can then be equated with the other range described.

A third house (T10, pl XIIa, fig 11) is also basic-

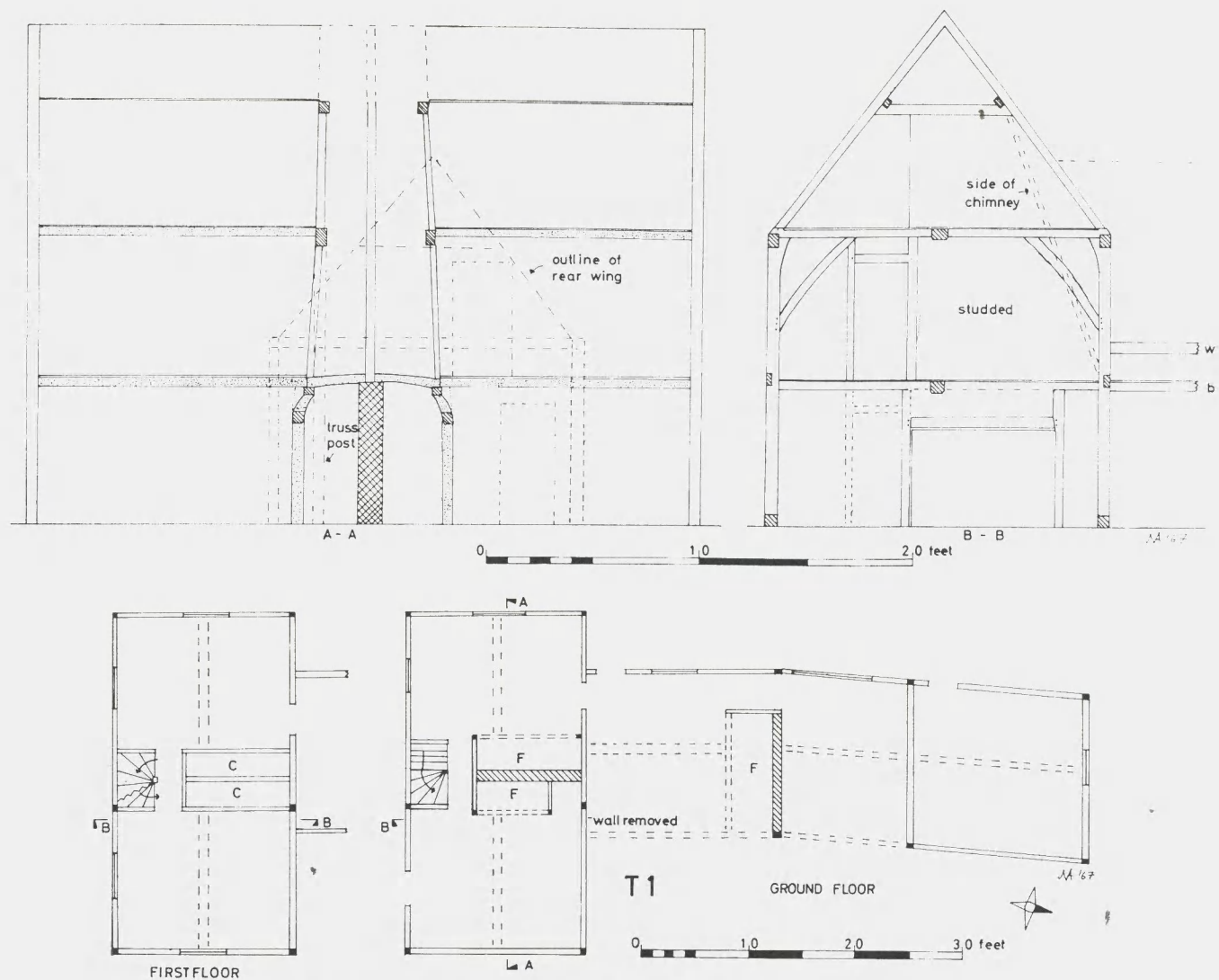


Fig 10. T1: Plans and sections. Shading = stone firebacks, W = wall plate, B = ceiling beam of rear wing.

ally a large two storey Type I, though a further bay was added at an early date. Much later a small room was also added at the other end. The central double brick chimney still has its original brick stacks. There is an axial chamfered beam in the present central room with a large scroll stop. This is supported on the fireplace wall by a chamfered half-beam of unusual shape, doubled in depth for about 2 ft. in the centre and with nicks at each end of this part where it narrows down. The truss between the chimneys has large curved braces from post to tiebeam; the roof is of collar and purlin construction. In the central part there are small straight braces from the posts to the wallplate, though these are missing from the added room. The front room on the ground floor of the added part had, and still has, no windows, and so must have been a cellar.

This house probably dates from the later seventeenth century; an externally similar house can be seen in Bolnhurst parish (N.G.R. TL/089598).

Three or More Rooms

Other rather larger houses are of Type J. A typical early example is E18 (fig 11). The ceiling beams have ovolo mouldings with drawn-down stops, and the chamfered chimney lintel in the kitchen has a bar-and-draw stop. In the east wall there are heavy braces from the sill to the posts. These features indicate a date in the first part of the seventeenth century.

This house is of 1½ storeys, but another, E37 (pl XIIb, fig 11) with stepped, scroll and draw stops on its ceiling beams is of two storeys; it is of much the same period. Several other Type J houses occur. Most are of two storeys and they generally show little or no decorative detail.

Type L houses, of the same size as Type J, seem to be just a minor variation of the latter, caused by the site or the owner's whim. The few dating features of the examples examined again suggest the seventeenth century. (Both E5, fig 11, and E9, fig 11, have scroll stops on all ceiling beams.) Another variant is E36 (pl XIIc) which is T-shaped. The main block is rather low and in the crosswing, which is divided into two rooms, the front one is not even lofted. The house has no visible dating features, but is probably seventeenth century.

Two houses, E20 and T8, are of Type K. The former, according to tradition, was built in 1720, and the other (not examined inside) is also believed to be of the eighteenth century. The timberwork of the former is very plain, entirely consistent with such a date.

One house, E25 (fig 11), is of Type H. Superficially it rather resembles a medieval house but its

roof of collared rafter construction shows that it is later. There are no datable features visible at all. The two wings are structurally independent of the main block, so it is possible that they are additions to a Type J house.

Clay Cottages (fig 11)

Among the post-Enclosure houses in Thurleigh are a few built by a quite different method, using clay lumps. One of these (T19, pl XIId) is basically only a one room cottage with a slip of a second room. It was built after 1814 (on neither the Enclosure map nor the first edition of the Ordnance Survey), and later was extended with 3 in. timber studs infilled with large (9 in. by 4 in.) bricks—the very end of the timber framing tradition. Another house, T7, has a straightforward Type S plan. Internally it has no decorative details. At the east end there is an addition of very poor timber-framing, showing the typically late long struts from sill to corner-posts. This house also dates from after 1814.

CONCLUSIONS

Poverty

If the post-medieval houses of north Bedfordshire are compared with those of other areas it immediately appears that they are very mean; they resemble houses in some of the backward areas in the north of England rather than in most of southern England.⁹ This poverty is confirmed by the hearth tax returns. A statistical analysis of these (Appendix C) shows that by far the commonest number of hearths is one per house, while the average number is only 1.5. There are even three houses recorded with no hearths at all! (Cf. for example 2.2 hearths per house in Devon.¹⁰) The inventories also support this. The median value of 145 inventories is only £26 19s. (Cf. £53 for inventories from Essex.¹¹)

The reason for this must primarily be the poor quality of the soil illustrated by Foster's remarks (pl 1). Individual holdings must also have been small. There is no direct information on this, but the Thurleigh survey is consistent with such a pattern. It covers 20 holdings with an average area of only 25 acres, and these are not widely scattered but cover a complete part of the parish. Further, as these are tenancies, not freeholds, part of their profits will in any case have gone as rent.

One might expect Eaton Socon to be rather richer than Thurleigh as it has good land beside the Ouse, and also a possible additional source of revenue in the Great North Road. This is supported by the relative proportions surviving of three and two room houses. In Eaton Socon there

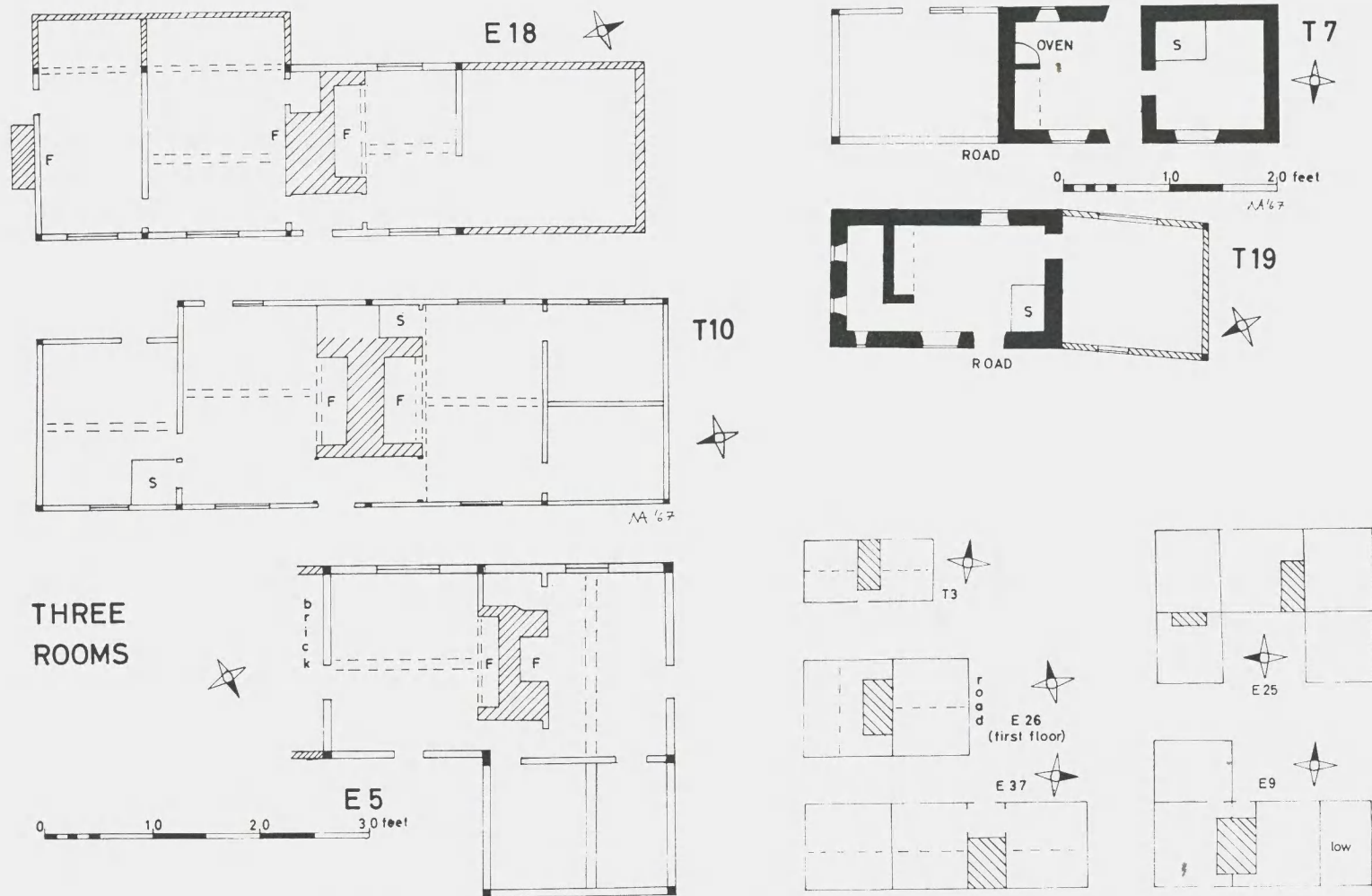


Fig 11. Plans of three room houses (left), clay cottages (top right) and outline plans (lower right).

are 14 two room and 18 three room houses; in Thurleigh there are 14 two room houses and only five larger ones. The hearth tax figures (Appendix C, table 1) indicate the same trend. However, in view of the small numbers involved this hypothesis cannot be fully substantiated.

House Types

The houses examined fall very well into the Cambridgeshire types and the assignment is straightforward. This typology may be rather rigid, particularly for classifying the houses of the 1604 survey, and it might be more generally useful to have a broad subdivision by number of rooms, within which specific types can be identified when possible. It does appear that this part of Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire is part of an almost uniform culture (as regards houses) stretching from the edge of the stone belt of Northamptonshire across to south Norfolk.

There is one specific feature which seems to be a local variant and which is of great interest because of its apparently primitive nature. In Cambridgeshire chimneys are almost universally of brick, but in Thurleigh all but one of the early houses have chimneys of studs and daub, and traces of these are also found in Eaton Socon. These chimneys are generally attached on one side to the main truss and on their other side have a second collar and tiebeam, but no posts in the wall. Even more remarkable are the 'timber-framed' fireplaces (T1, T2, T18). They are very striking to look at and must represent a very powerful local tradition for them to be found even in such a sophisticated building as Cross End House.¹²

There is one type of house, known in Cambridgeshire, of which no examples have been found. This is the sixteenth century house with considerable decorative detail, in one range, but often with a jetty along one complete side.¹³ Its absence from the area surveyed may be accidental, but it may be another reflection of the general poverty.

Development

A remarkably complete development can be traced for the simple two and three room houses, from a primitive form through to the nineteenth century. The earliest type is a single storey house with open hearth. Such houses are often postulated as precursors of existing types, or from documentary evidence,¹⁴ but Basmead Park Cottage (E7) is an actual example. It appears to be the only one so far reported from this East Anglian cultural area.

The first development, which must have occurred in the sixteenth century, was to build a chimney, and T18 is an example of this stage. From the evidence

of the Thurleigh survey the use of upper floors starts rather later, in about 1600. T18 was originally without floors, as was T2 though, there, a floor was added in the early seventeenth century in one room. In Basmead Park Cottage a chimney and floor in one room were added in the early seventeenth century. These houses confirm the survey's evidence that floors did not necessarily cover a whole house.

It is not certain where the entrance was in houses with open hearths, but as soon as there is a fireplace it becomes sensible to have the door at its side to reduce the draughts. This is clearly seen in T18. A small extra screen with a door gives the typical lobby entrance.

A seventeenth century variation found in the Type J houses but not with the smaller Type I ones, is to have a double chimney, serving both rooms. Many of the Type I houses have had a second chimney added at a late date in brick (e.g. E35).

The further development of the two room houses is the use of 1½ storeys, occasionally two full storeys, and the type then continues into the nineteenth century with no great changes, even retaining the stud chimneys. A specific 'sub-type' is found in Eaton Socon, very low, with a strikingly steep-pitched roof, and a standardised pattern also occurs in Thurleigh.

With these houses there is very little sign of a sixteenth or seventeenth century 'housing revolution'.¹⁵ The larger seventeenth century houses do show quite a lot of sophistication in their construction and carpentry and it would be more reasonable to speak of a 'revolution' if they developed from the smaller houses. However, other influences are likely, in particular from the decorative carpentry seen in the late medieval houses (Part I).

The Thurleigh survey includes no one-room houses. If such existed their owners must have been even poorer than any of the tenants of the Earl of Kent. No timber framed, one-room cottages survive, but one of the clay cottages (T19) has only one room with a very small slip beside it.

Late Expansion

Thirteen of the houses in Thurleigh can be dated after 1805 by their absence from the Enclosure map. The dating is confirmed by the houses being in the typical positions of squatters' cottages, on the verges of the broad roads laid out at Enclosure, and in some cases they stand on what was actually part of the open fields. Most of the houses show no differences in construction from the earlier ones and are good evidence for the late survival of the timber-framing tradition.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF HOUSES

In Eaton Socon (Code letter E). Encl.=post Enclosure (1799). S.N.R.=St Neots Road. E.F.G.=Eaton Ford Green. G.N.R.=Great North Road. National Grid square TL.

No.	G.R.	Name	Type	Height	Remarks
1	169587	115-7, S.N.R.			Medieval; dem. 1967
2	169589	Payne's (shoemaker)			" ; dem. 1964
3	176600	Ford House, E.F.G.			"
4	140612	Basmead Manor			"
5	173612	Cross Hall	L	1½	} Part I
6	158608		I	1½	
6a	158608		S	1½	
7	144608	Basmead Park Cott.	S	1½	
8	148607		S	2	Two chimneys
9	146606	Old Farm Cott.	L	2	
10	158604	Duloe Butts	S	1½	Encl. Not on a map of 1624 (GY4/1)
11	112601		I	1½	
12	117600		J	2	
13	128590	Honeydon	J	1½	17th cent. detail, including a chamfered beam and windbraces Dem. 1963
14	179601	166-8, S.N.R.	J	1½	
15	178601	160, S.N.R.	J	1½	
16	178601	156-8, S.N.R.	J	2	
17	177600	144, S.N.R.	J	2	Extended in brick; timber part rebuilt 1966
18	176600	2, E.F.G.	J	1½	
19	178601	95-7, S.N.R.	I	1½	
20	170592	212-4, G.N.R.	K	2	Extra back wing
21	170591	188, G.N.R.	I	1½	
22	170591	180, G.N.R.	I	1½	
23	170590	174, G.N.R.	J	2	Dem. 1964
24	171590	Peppercorn Lane	S	1½	
25	170590	Old Sun	H	2	17th cent. ?(no structural evidence visible) Georgian exterior with older structure
26	169588	Townsend's (baker)	I	2	
27	170588	Falcon Cott.	J ?	1½	
28	169586	134, G.N.R.	I	1½	Encl. Row of one up, one down cottages
29	169586	174, G.N.R.	H	2	
30	169586	White Horse Inn	?	2½	
31	169585	Old Plough	J	2	Encl. Two chimneys
32	169584			1½ + 2	
33	168579	Crown Inn	J	2	T-shaped (no longer a public house)
34	164571		S	1½	
35	150571		I	1½	Much altered
36	165569			1½	
37	165569	Queens Head	J	2	
38	164566	S. Corner	J	2	
39	164565		J +	1½	
40	131573		L ?	2	

In Thurleigh (Code letter T). Encl.=post Enclosure (1805).

No.	G.R.	Name	Type	Height	Remarks
1	067585	Cross End Ho.	I +	2½	Encl. gable-ended Encl. Possibly brick or clay Encl.
2	066585		S +	1½	
3	065585		I	1½	
4	066584		I	2	
5	065584	Willow Cott.	S	1½	Encl. Clay? prob. orig. 1½ storey Encl. clay and timber
6	064584		S	1	
7	063584	Tinkerbell	S +	1½	18th cent.? Encl. Half-hipped
8	063588		K	2	
9	063587		I	1½	Encl. } Half-hipped
10	062582		J	2	
11	061578		I	1½	
12	061577		I	1½	Encl. Small, gable-ended
13	061575		I	1½	
14	060575		I	1½	Encl.
15	060575	Robins Folly	J	1½	
16	068573		J	1½	Encl. Clay Encl. Two chimneys
17	065572		S	1½	
18	065573	Hilltop	I	1½	Buried in undergrowth
19	059571			1½	
20	059571		S	1½	
21	061565	Brook Farm	S ?	1½	

A few of these late houses are of clay. Their plans are similar to those of the timber houses, except for the use of end chimneys rather than central ones. This building technique is a late intrusion in this area, probably coming from the south. (There is documentary evidence for a considerably earlier date for the use of clay in Berkshire.)¹⁶

The expansion can only have been caused by population pressure. The population of Thurleigh was 411 in 1801 and it rose to 538 in 1831 and 617 in 1841. It appears that these people were accommodated in new houses rather than by subdividing old ones. In Eaton Socon the population also rose rapidly, and at least one range of timber cottages was built (E32). However, in the centre of the village a number of houses were built or rebuilt in brick instead.¹⁷

The two houses built on the waste just before 1600 suggest tentatively that there was population pressure then as well.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude to the people of Eaton Socon and Thurleigh, who have let me study their homes, is immense. Without their kindness this work would have been impossible. I am also indebted to the staff of the Bedford Record Office for their help, in particular for drawing my attention to the Thurleigh survey and for checking the transcript.

APPENDIX A, see opposite.

APPENDIX B: THE THURLEIGH SURVEY

This consists of three portions. Two are pinned together and are numbered L26/1442. The third is L26/1443.

Document A

L26/1442(a) consists of one and a half double sheets of paper of which five sides (1—5) are written. It is dated 19 October 1604 and the endorsement also states that it covers seven tenements. However there are actually only five, numbered from 1 to 5. The missing two are on L26/1443. This is one double sheet, two sides written (16 and 16) which covers two holdings numbered 6 and 7, and it ends with the signatures of the surveyors.

Document B

L26/1442(b) consists of four double sheets with nine sides (6—14) written. It covers a further 13 holdings (not originally numbered).

Transcription

Both documents have marginal notes of the old rents and fines (collected at the head of each description) and occasional queries (inserted into

the main text). These are in parenthesis (). Comments (in italics) and illegible words are in brackets []. Contractions have been extended wherever possible. The Ends in which each holding lay have been added from L26/1441 (Appendix C).

The handwriting of the main parts of both documents, and the marginal notes of B is apparently uniform; the marginal notes of A are in a second less legible hand, while the endorsements are in several hands.

Document A

[Side 5—inverted]

the surway taken at Thurlye
for my .lo. of Kent by Mr fytes
Thomas Pete bayly there and
Thomas hare of vij tenimentes
in Thurly october xixth of 1604

[Side 1]

Thurlyghe

A servay made by George Fitz gent
Tho: Peate and Tho: Hare the xixth of
October 1604

In primis

(l. nowe)

(Peter Silbie) [S1—Wood End]

(the lo. rent per annum vijli xijs ix d ob i Capon ij
hens and 3 lodes of carige fyne to the lo. liijli vjs
viij d in his olde leace)

The dwellinge house beinge 4 bayes: in length
50 foote: in widenes 16 foote: Whereof on bay
being a parler is lofted over And one other bay is
lofted over: One other house of 2 baye in length
28 foote: in widenes 16 foote, the one bay a
Kichin and the other a Kill house.

One Barne beinge 3 bayes with a porch: 40 foote
in length and 20 foote in breadth. One haybarne
2 bayes 30 foote in length 16 foote in breadth.
At one end of the Barne a Cart house, and at the
other end Hoggescotes.

One Orchard addioyninge to the dwelling house.

One Close addioyninge to the yard by estimacion
xiiij acres whereof viij of them are arreable,
and the other vj pasture.

(quere wheather the viij acres weare in Pasture
pate [*sic*] of the xiiij acres when the laste leace
was graunted)

In the same close we find of Ash, Oake and
Elme 71 tres with 2 pertrees which are valued
at viijli xijs iiij d

On close of pasture caled Spurreauntes by estimacion
3 acres and a halfe, trees and Spyres of Oake
and ashes 29 values at iiijli

One close caled Lilliansse by estimacion 7 acres
of the which 5 are arreable: it hath in tres of Oak
and asshes 40 valued at iiijli

(quere wheather the v acres parte of the vij acres weare not pasture at the graunting of his leace)

One close called Lillianse pightell by estimacion one acre; it hath of Oake and Ashes 30 valued at iiijli vjs viijd

The Home pightell by estimacion 1 acre: it hath in Oake and Asshes 38 valued at iiijli

The nether Lay close by estimacion 3 acres it hath in Oake and asshes 20 valued at xxxvs

The over Lay close by estimacion 14 acres it hath in Oake and Ashe 19 valued at xxs

Bothe the houses and fences in good repayre

[Side 2]

Peter Silbie hath of pasture 31 acres and a halfe which cometh after the rate of vs the acre to viijli xvijs vjd

12 acres of Arreable in severall which cometh after the rate of vs the acre to iiijli

15 acres and 3 quarters of a roode in the Common feylds which come after the rate of iijss the acre to xlvs vjd ob. qr.

Summa totalis est xiijli iijss ob. qr.
(2 Thomas Gale) [S2 Crosse End]

(the .lo. rent per annum iiijli xijd[sic] and no carige fyne to the lo xxvli xs in his olde leace)

The dwellinge house of Thomas Gale beinge 4 litle bayes contayninge 36 foote in length and 14 foote in breadth which house he sett up himself upon pattens, it wanteth groundsellinge round aboute the charges whereof will be xxiiijss (note that this howse is the los although it standes upon pattens) The Walinge and underpninge will come to xs

One close caled pages by estimacion 12 acres it hath of tres and spires of Oake and Asshes /50/ valued at iiijli xs

(quere wheather the erable was inclosed when the leace was taken or not)
there is also one pertree in the same close

One close caled Brickills contayninge by estimacion 2 acres and a halfe it hath of oake and Ashes 26 valued at xxxvs

The Hedges are decayed which charges wilbe xxs

Thomas Gale hath 2 acres and a halfe of pasture after the rate of 5s the acres xijs vjd

12 acres of arreable inclosed after the rate of vs the acre come to iiijli

Summa totalis est iiijli xijs vjd

[Side 3]

(3 Willyam Ward beinge an old lame man)

[S3 Crosse End]

(note that this man is not able to travele but willinge to do as his neighborowes fyne to the .lo. viijli xs in his olde leace)

The dwellinge house of William Ward beinge

3 bayes 40 foote in length. 15 foote in breadth. one Halle, one chamber and a parler which parler is lofted over

One orchard adioyninge unto the sayde messuage

The homestale by estimacion 2 acres it hath of Oake and Asshes 25 valued at xls

All in good repayre

The Homestall and vj acres and one roode of arreable land in the Common feylds after iijss the acres come to xvijss ix d

Summa totalis est xls

(4 nowe Thomas Luffe) [S4 Crosse End]

(the .lo. rent per annum iiijli xijs jd j capon and ij hens and 3 lodes of carige / fyne to the lo xlii in his old leace)

The dwellinge house of Tho: Luffe: the hall and the parler are in length 30 foote, in breadth 16 foote the parler is lofted over all which are in good repayre. 3 bayes a chamber, a Kitchin and a stable in length 40 foote, in breadth 16 foote which chamber Kitchin and stable are decayed in theching groundselling and underpininge, the charge thereof will come to xls

On barne 3 bay 40 foote in length 20 foote in breadth

On hay house 2 bayes 26 foote in length 16 foote in breadth

Both which are in good repayre

One cowhouse of 3 bayes 35 foote in length, 13 foote in breadth the charges to repayre it xs

Two Hogescootes. On killhouse 28 foote in length, 14 foote in breadth: which kill house is 2 bay and is in good repayre.

The homestalle is by estimacion 3 acres and a half it hath of Oke and Ash spires and tres 66 and one pertree valued vjli xs

One close caled Hobscin close by estimacion x acres it hath of Oake and Ash 75 tres and spires valued at vli xs

[Side 4]

One pightell caled longe pightell by estimacion i acre it hath of Oake and Ashes 37 valued at iiijli vs

One close caled the hale close by estimacion 7 acres it hath of oake and asshes 63 valued at vjli

Thomas Luffe holdeth 21 acres and a halfe of pasture which cometh after the rate of vs the acre to 5li 7ss 6d

36 acres and halfe a roode of arreable land lieng in the comon Feilds after the rate of iijss the acre come to 5li 8ss 4d ob

Summa totalis est xli xvjs[?] iiij d ob

(/5/ John Slade) [S5 Park End]

(note that this man is a pore man [erasure: and hath an undertenante which is his sonne in lawe] consider wheather this shalbe letten to the nowe

tenant or not)

(the lo rent per annum xxvijs fyne to the .lo. xjli)

The dwellinge house of John Slade 3 bayes in length a hale a chamber and a stable the hale 16 foote square the chamber 24 foote longe and 15 foote wide, the stable 24 foote longe and 15 foote wide. One barne 2 baye 30 foote in length 19 foote in widenesse

The home stall by Estimacion on roode, it hath of elme tres in it x valued at xvs

One Pightell caled sheepecoote pightell by estimacion 3 acre it hath of oake and ashtres 40 valued at vli

One pightell caled Souland by estimacion 3 rood it hath 9 ashes in it valued at xvs

the houses want theching and underpininge the charges whereof will come to xs

John Slade holdeth of pasture 4 acres which come to after the rate of 5^{ss} the acre to xx^s

21 acres of arreable land in the Common Feylds which come to after the rate of 3^{ss} the acre to iijli ijs

Summa totalis est iijli ijs

[Side 16]

[top] Thyrleigh

[center] Thurly note

november 1604

[Side 15]

(/6/ Richard Sanders [S6 Church End]

(quere wheather this man shall holde this tenement or not)

(the .lo. rent per annum xs iij^d fyne to the .lo. vjli)

The dwellinge house of Richard Sanders 3 bay 40 foote in length and 15 foote in breadth a hal a chamber and a parlor which parler is lofted over. One baye for a buttery 13 foot square on baye for a kichin 15 foote square 3 other bayes 30 foote longe 14 foote wide 2 hogscoots

The home stall by estimacion 1 rood with 12 asshes growing upon it vallued at xvs

All in good repayre

Richard Sander holdeth 6 acres and halfe a rood of arreable land after the rate of 3^s the acre come to xvij^s iij^d ob

Summa totalis is xxx^s viij^d ob

(/7/ Allen Luffe) [S7 Park End]

(This man is by report a pore man and hath a sonne in lawe dwellinge within him [sic] as an under-tenaunte)

(the .lo. rent per annum xxxvijs jd fyne to the .lo. xijli)

The dwellinge house of Allen Luffe 5 bay in lengthe 65 foote in breadth 15 foote which are divided into a hall 2 chambers a Kichin and a stable

One close caled the home close by estimacion

2 acres it hath of Ashe and Elme 15 tres and spires valued at xvjs

One close caled the Nether close by estimacion 8 acres of the which 5 acres is arreable and is inclosed and the other thre in pasture it hath iij^j Asshes vallued at xs

(note that this land hath bene eared and turned from pasture to erable)

There is an Orchard adioyning to the house

Allen Luffe holdeth 5 acres of Pasture and 5 acres of arreable inclosed after the rate of 5^s the acre come to ls

15 acres and 3 roodes of arreable lienge in the comon Feildes come to after 3^s the acre to xlvij^s iij^d

Summa totalis est iijli xvijs iij^d

[Signatures]

George Fitz Thomas Peet

Sign' Thome T Hare

DOCUMENT B

[Side 14] [An illegible note in the top left corner]

[Centre] Thyrleigh

a surveye thereof

[Base - inverted] Thurlyghe Surveye
for the fynes

november

1604

[Side 6]

Thurelye

(Thomas Maxe) [S8 - Scald End]

(The fyne of the old lease was xvjli The Yearely rent was xliij^s ix only)

The Mansion house 2 bay one hall and a parlor, which parler is lofted over which are in length 30 foote and in breadth 14 foote

One stable and one haybarne of two bayes which are in length 40 foote and in breadth 14 foote

On barne contayninge 3 bayes 40 foote in length 18 foote in breadth

The homestalle is by estimacion 2 acres, it hath growing upon it 16 oakes and asshes valued at xxxvijs

The close caled pightles lane by estimacion 2 acres it hath growinge one it 20 of oakes and asshes valued at xxx^s

There is 3 partres in pightles lane close and one in the homstall

We find the houses and fences decayed the charges to repayre them will be xs

There is a close called Litle England by estimacion 3 roodes it hath growinge upon it 19 ashes valued at xs

[S8a]

There is a dwelling house in it of two bay 28 foote longe 14 foote wide which are lofted over. There

is also a crosse bay adioyninge unto it of 10 foote longe / 13 foote wide

We find the houses and fenses decayed the charges to repayre them wilbe ^{xs}

Thomas Maxe holdeth iiij acres and iij roodes of pasture which come after the rate of 5^{ss} the acre to ^{xxiijs ix^d}

He holdeth also xxxviiij acres and iij roodes of arreable land lieng in the comon feyldes which come after the rate of 3^{ss} the acre to ^{vli xvjs iiij^d}

Summa totalis ^{vijli}
(Thomas Browne) [S9 *Park End*]
(The fine payd for the old lease was xiiijli The yearly rent was xxxiiij^s iij^d and i capon ij hennes iij load of carriage)

The mansion house 3 bayes a hall and 2 chambers which are in length 35 foote and in breadth 15 foote: One other bay for a Kichin in length /15/ foote in breadth 15 foote

There are 2 hogscotes adioyninge thereunto
There is one barne of 2 bay which are in length /30/ foote and in breadth 18 foote

There is one orchard adioyning thereunto
The homestalle by estimacion is 3 roods it hath growinge upon it 15 ashes valued at ^{xxs}

[Side 7]
There is a close caled Sowland Close by estimacion thre half acres it hath of Oake and ashes growing upon it xx valued at ^{ls}

There is a pightle caled Wardes wige by estimacion on acre it hath of Oake and ashes growinge upon it 9 valued at xiijs

There is one Paretre in it
Thomas Browne holdeth iij acres and on rood of pasture which come after the rate of ^{vs} the acre to ^{xvjs iiij^d}

He holdeth also 26 acres and a half of arreable land lieng in the comon feylds which come after the rate of iijs the acre to ^{iiijli xixs vjd}

Summa totalis ^{iiijli xvs ix^d}
(John Darlinge) [S10 *Cross End*]
(note that this man maye spive [*sic*] his grownd)
(The fine payd for the old lease was vli ^{xs} The yearly rent was xijs iiij^d ij hennes and iij load of carriage)

The ground which John Darlinge doth hold is a close caled the bushclose, it is by estimacion iij acres it hath growinge upon it /100/ of Oakes and ashes which are valued at xjli ^{xs}

We find the fences decayed the charges to repayre wilbe ^{xiijs iiij^d}

John Darling holdeth iij acres of pasture which come after the rate of ^{vs} the acre to ^{xvs}

He holdeth also ij acres and one roode of arreable land lieng in the Comon feylds which come after

the rate of iijs the acre to ^{vjs ix^d}

Summa totalis ^{xxjs ix^d}
(John Allen) [S11 *Cross End*]
(The fine payd for the old lease was ^{ixli} The yearly rent was xxvjs and iij^d and ij henns)

The mension house 4 bayes a hall two chambers and a Kichin which are in length 52 foote and in breadth 15 foote

The homeclose by estimacion viij acres and a half it hath of Oake and ashes growinge uppon it 97 valued at xiiijli ^{v s}

There is a pightle caled pages pightle by estimacion iij roods it hath of Oake and ashes growing upon it xj valued at ^{xvs}

There is one partre growing upon it
John Allen holdeth ix acres and one rood of pasture which come after the rate of ^{vs} the acre to ^{xlvs iiij^d}

He holdeth also on acre thre roods and a half of arreable land lieng in the common feylds which come after the rate of iijs the acre to ^{vs viijdob}

Summa totalis ^{ljs x^d ob}
[Side 8]
(John Rawlings) [S12 *Park End*]
(The fine payde for the old lease was xjli The yearly rent was xxxiiij^s and ij henns)

The mension house 2 bay a halle and a chamber which are in length 28 foote, in breadth 15 foote. On bay for a Kichin 15 foote longe, 14 foote wide. There is one barne of 3 bay 35 foote longe 16 foote wide. One stable of 2 bay 26 foote long 14 foote wide

There are 2 hogscotes adioyninge thereunto
The homestalle by estimacion 4 acres it hath growinge upon it iiij ashes valued at ^{xs}

There are six aple trees and partres
There is a close caled the harne close by estimacion 3 acres a [*sic*] a half it hath growinge upon it 6 ashes valued at ^{xxs}

There is one partrye in it
There is a double hedge caled hillgreene Hedge which contayneth by estimacion on rood it hath growing within xliij ashes valued at ^{iiijli}

There is also on partrye
The houses want theching the charges to repayre them wilbe ^{vs}

John Rawlings holdeth vij acres and a half of pasture which come after the rate of 5^s the acre to ^{xxxvijs vjd}

He holdeth also xx acres and the fourth parte of a roode of arreable land lienge in the common Feilds which come after the rate of 3^{ss} the acre to ^{iiijli ijs qr}

Summa totalis ^{iiijli xvijs viij^d qr}
(Thomas Slade) [S13 *Park End*]
(The fine payde for the old lease was xxiiijli ^{xvjs}

The yearely rent was iijli ijs j capon and ij henns iij load of carriage)

The mension 2 bayes a hall and a chamber which are in length 26 foote and in breadth 15 foote. One crosse house in length 16 foote and in breadth 14 foote. One barne of 2 bayes which are 24 foote longe and 17 foote wide

The Parke close by estimacion vij acres it hath of Oakes and asshes 22 valued at 1s

There is a close caled the crose close by estimacion 3 acres it hath of Oake and Ashes /66/ valued at ixli xs

Thomas Slade holdeth 10 acres of pasture which come after the rate of 5s the acre to 1s

He holdeth also xxiiij acres and a half of arreable lieng in the comon feylds which come after the rate of 3ss the acre to iijli xiijs vjd

Summa totalis vjli iijjs vjd

[Side 9]

(Georg Gale) [S14 Cross End]

(goode grownde)

(The fine payd for the old lease was lxiiijli vjs viijd The yearly rent was vijli xvjs xd j capon ij henns iij lood of carriage)

The mension house: 4 bayes a halle and 3 chambers which are in length 46 foote and in breadth 16 foote. On stable 14 foote longe, 12 foote wide. On Kichin 15 foote longe 14 foote wide.

One Bare [sic] of 3 bayes 40 foote longe 20 foote wide

The homestall by estimacion viij acres it hath of Oake and Ashes 14 valued at xxs

The Lay close by estimacion on acre it hath of Oake and Ashes growinge on it 9 valued at xs

The west meade by estimacion iij acres it hath of oake and ashes 20 valued at xxvs

The Caules cloase by estimacion on acre it hath of Oake and Ashe xvij valued at xls

The Westland close by estimacion ix acres vij of the which are arreable and the other ij pasture it hath of Oake and ashes growinge upon it /21/ valued at xxxs

The overclose by estimacion iiij acres ij and a half of the which are arreable and the other pasture there is of Oake and ashe growinge upon it xx valued at xxxs

The Bush close by estimacion xiiij acres it hath of Oake and ash 240 valued at xxvli

Georg Gale holdeth 30 acres and a half of pasture which come after the rate of 5ss the acre to vijli xijs vjd

He holdeth also 9 acres and a half of arreable which are inclosed which come after the rate of 5ss the acre to xlvijjs vjd

He holdeth also 32 acres 3 roods on half roode

and the fourth part of a roode of arreable land lieng in the common feyldes which come after the rate of iijjs the acre to iijli xvijjs ix d ob qr

Summa totalis 14li 18s 9d ob qr

[Side 10]

(Richard Whitman) [S15 Cross End]

(note the spires ar to be preserwed)

(The fine payd for the old lease was xxxijli The yearly rent was iijli xvs ij hens and iij load of carriag)

The Mansion house 5 bayes a hall 2 chambers a Kichin and a stable which are in length 65 foote and in breadth 15 foote On hay house of 3 litle bay which are in length 35 foote and in breadth 16 foote. On barne of 3 bayes which are in length 40 foote and in breadth 20 foote

The homestalle is by estimacion vij acres it hath of Oake and Ashe growinge upon it /91/ valued at xli vs

The new close is by estimacion ij acres

Boniste close is by estimacion vij acres it hath of Oake and Ash growinge upon it /205/ valued at xxijli

The Upper close by estimacion viij acres it hath of Oake and ash growinge upon it 28 valued at iijli xs

Richard Whiteman holdeth xxiiij acres of pasture which cometh after the rate of vs the acre to vjli

He holdeth also xvj acres of arreable land lieng in the common feylds which come after the rate of iijjs the acre to xlvijjs

Summa totalis viijli viijs

(Agnis Dawson) [S16 Cross End]

(The fine payde for the old lease was xxxiijs iiijd The yearly rent was ijs vjd only)

The Mension house 2 bayes a hall and a chamber which are in length 26 foote and in breadth 14 foote

The homestall is by estimacion half a roode it hath a litle orchard and iiij ashes growing on it which ashes are valued at xs

(Robert Norris) [S17 Church End]

(The fine payd for the old lease was xxxs The yearly rent was vs ijd ob:.)

The mension house 3 bayes a hall and ij chambers which are in length 36 foote and in breadth 14 foote

The homstall is by estimacion on roode it hath on ash growinge upon it valued at ijs

Robert Norris holdeth iij acres iij roods and a half of arreable land lieng in the Common Feylds which come after the rate of iijjs the acre to xjs vijd ob

xiijs viijd ob

[Side 11]

(Olypher Harvy Esquier) [S18 Wood End. Called "Wyse" in L15/17] (good grownde)

(The fine payd for the old lease was xxxviijli The yearly rent was vli xs iiijd / ij henns iij load of carriag)

The mension house 4 bayes a hall and 2 chambers and a litle bay for a hay house which are in length 50 foote and in breadth 15 foote, there is a leantooe adioyninge thereunto

The close called Wisses is by estimacion xiiij acres half of the which are arreable and the other pasture it hath of Oake and ashes /111/ valued at vijli xs

The homestall is by estimacion one half acre

The further pightell by estimacion is iij roods it hath of Oake and Ashes /30/ valued at xlvs

Little land close is by estimacion iiij acres iij of the which are arreable and the other pasture it hath of Oakes and Ash xx valued at iiijli

The close called Parkers close by estimacion /10/ acres it hath of Oake Ash and Poplar 27 valued at vli

Gillynaws close is by estimacion iiij acres it hath of Oake and Ashe 27 valued at xxxvs

Mr Harvie holdeth 23 acres and 3 roods of Pasture which come after the rate of vs the acre to vli xviijs ix^d

He holdeth also 10 acres of arreable inclosed which come after the rate of vs the acre to ls

He holdeth also xj acres of arreable land lieng in the comon feylds which come after the rate of iijs the acre to xxxiijs

Summa totalis xli xxjd

[Side 12]

(John Covington) [S19 Cross End ?]

(The fine payd for the old lease was xli iijs The yearly rent was xxvs xjd ob)

The mansion house 3 bayes a hale and a chamber which is lofted over and a Shope which are

in length 45 foote and in breadth 14 foote. On other litle house of 2 bayes which are in length 24 foote and in breadth 13 foote and 2 hogscotes

There is on orchard adioyninge to the messuage

The homestall is by estimacion iij acres and one roode it hath growing upon it of oake and ashe xli valued at iiijli vs

The Bush close by estimacion iiij acres it hath of Oake and ashe 75 valued at viijli

John Covington holdeth 5 acres and one roode of pasture which come after the rate of vs the acre to xxvs iij^d

He holdeth also 9 acres 2 roods and a half of arreable land which come after the rate of iijs the acre to xxixs iij^d

Summa totalis lvs vjd

(Tho: Darlinge) [S20 Aspie End]

(The fine payd for the old lease was xijli xviijs The yearly rent was xxxijs iij^d and on henne)

The mension house 4 bayes a hall a chamber and a Buttery all which are lofted over and the other bay is a Kichin all which are in length 50 foote and in breadth 16 foote. On barne contayninge iij litle bayes which are in length 40 foote and in breadth 18 foote / on litle house adioyninge to the hall and two hogscotes

The homestall is by estimacion iij half acres it hath of Oake and Ashe 7 valued at xxs

There is alsoe on pertree

The bush close by estimacion iij acres it hath of Oake and Ash 12 valued at xxs

The close called lay close is by estimacion iij acres it hath on ash valued at iijs iiij^d

The longe pightell by estimacion 5 roods it hath of Oake and Ash 7 valued at xxxs

The Orchard close is by estimacion 3 roods it hath of Oake and Ashe 20 valued at iiijli vs

Tho: Darling holdeth 8 acres and a half of pasture which come after the rate of vs the acre to xlijs vjd

He holdeth also 9 acres and on roode of arreable land which come after the rate of iijs the acre to xxvijs ix^d

Summa totalis iiijli xs iij^d

[Side 13]

The names of those that are appointed to come to compound / as the rest have done / upon the xiiijth day of november are those that follow

Olypher Harvy esquier	the fine
John Gale	xxxviijli
	lxiiijli vjs viij ^d

John Witeman	xxxijli
Gerrerde wroutham	xvjli
John Covington	xli iijs
Robt Norris	xxxs
John Allaine	ixli

the rent
vli xs iiij ^d ij hens and iij loade of carriage
vijli xvjs x ^d j capon ij hens iij load of carriage
iiijli xvs ij henns iij load of carriag
xliiij ^s ix ^d
xxvs xjd ob
vs ijd ob
xxs ijd and ij henns

APPENDIX C: The HEARTH TAX

The surviving assessments have been examined, from a statistical point of view only, without any attempt to identify individual houses.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Public Record Office No.</i>
14 Charles II, 1664	Eaton Socon (E.S.)	E179.72/297a f.24d
	Wyboston (W.)	" f.22d
21 Charles II, 1671	Thurleigh (T.)	E179.72/301
	E.S.	"
	W.	"
25 Charles II, 1675	T.	E179.72/302

The very few houses (five in Eaton Socon, two in Thurleigh) with more than six hearths have been excluded from all the calculations. In 1664 the assessments show only those who paid the tax, but in the later years the people who were excused on grounds of poverty were also listed. In Table I the second figure in the column for those with one hearth relates to the people excused.

TABLE I

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Number with the stated number of hearths</i>							
		6	5	4	3	2	1		0
1664	E.S.	6	6	6	19	13	96		0
	W.		3	2	6	7	40		0
1671	E.S.	3	6	3	13	20	91	+55	2
	W.	1	3	3	8	11	30	+19	1
	T.		1	1	6	12	28	+21	0
1675	T.		1	1	6	14	24	+20	0

The averages for the various years are given in Table II. The figures in parentheses for 1664 assume there to have been the same number of people not charged in that year as in 1671; the main figures relate to the data as given in Table I.

TABLE II

<i>Year</i>	<i>E.S.</i>	<i>W.</i>	<i>E.S. + W.</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>All</i>
1664	1.92 (1.68)	1.60 (1.44)	1.83 (1.53)	—	—
1671	1.47	1.68	1.54	1.45	1.52
1675	—	—	—	1.74	—

APPENDIX D:

DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE THURLEIGH SURVEY

The main subsidiary is L26/1441. This is dated 16 October 1604 (c.f. 19 October for L26/1443) and contains a list of the Thurleigh leases that had fallen in at Michaelmas, with notes on other leases. Its chief importance is that it gives the Ends in which each holding lay. It also notes of S16 'One cottage with a curtylage thereunto adioynninge which cottage was a kyllhouse or backhouse and late was in the occupation of one John Covyngton as parcell of his messuage in Crosse Ende' and of S6 'one cottage with a backhouse stable ortecheyarde and curtylage . . . S3, 6, 11, 16, 17 are distinguished as cottages rather than messuages and it does not mention S19.

There are also some of the original 21 year leases of 1583 and of the new leases made in 1604. These were also for 21 years; the rents were unchanged but the fines were rather smaller than previously. A further series of 21 year leases were made in 1614 even though the 1604 ones had not fallen in.

The leases contain very little extra information apart from a few alternative versions of the field names.

L15/13 (1604) is a lease to John Covington, smith, of a holding and a house which his father had built on the waste. The property is not, apparently, identical with S19 or any other in the main survey.

C1334 contains an abstract of the sale in 1620 of S15 by Lord Grey to Richard Wightman (probably the then tenant), and of a sale in 1625 of S4, which had already left the Greys' estate. WG418 shows that by 1649 S7 was also out of the estate, probably being owned by the son of the 1604 tenant. All this suggests that even though some leases had been re-negotiated in 1614, the Greys still needed money, and they almost certainly sold off the whole estate in about 1620, apparently to the sitting tenants. Because the holdings no longer formed part of a single estate there are no further documents covering most of them.

However S4 and S15, in Cross End, can be followed right through to 1805 (the date of

Enclosure) in C1334 and C1339-40. They were then part of the Crawley farm in Cross End, centred on the present Cross End House (T1). S15 seems to have been to the south of the Thurleigh-Bolnhurst road, judging from several field names containing the name Wightman, in which case S4 must have been to the north of the road. From the area of the Crawley farm in 1805, it probably included a third property, mentioned in C1339 but not to be identified with any described in 1604.

A comparison of the areas of enclosed land in Park End and Cross End in 1604 and 1805 suggests that the Greys' estate included most of the holdings in Cross End in 1805 and probably all those in Park End.

No.	End	Documents and Dates
1	Wood	
2	Cross	L15/9 (1604), L15/33a (1614)
3	Cross	L15/4 (1583), L15/11 (1604), L15/28 (1614)
4	Cross	L15/23 (1604), L15/31 (1614), C1334 (1625 +)
5	Park	L15/2 (1583), L15/7 (1596), L15/12 (1604)
6	Church	Possibly L15/8 (1604)
7	Park	L15/3 (1583), L15/10 (1604), WG418 (1649)
8	Scald	L15/16 (1604), L15/30 (1614)
9	Park	L15/5 (1583), L15/18 (1604)
10	Cross	
11	Cross	L15/32 (1614)
12	Park	L563 (1583), L15/22 (1604)
13	Park	L15/6 (1583), L15/19 (1604)
14	Cross	L15/14 (1604), L15/25 (1614)
15	Cross	L15/27 (1614), C1334 (1620 +)
16	Cross	
17	Church	
18	Wood	L15/17 (1604)
19	Cross ?	Possibly part of the property leased in L15/29 (1614)
20	Aspie	L15/1 (1583), L15/21 (1604), L15/26 (1614)

NOTES

- ¹P. V. Addyman *Proc.Camb.Ant.Soc.* 58 (1965) 38-73.
- ²Except for an isolated example at Madingley Manor, Cambridge. We thank A. P. Baggs for this information.
- ³All N.G.R.s in Appendix A.
- ⁴The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (Threatened Buildings section) holds a complete file with description and photographic record of this house.
- ⁵Mr C. F. Tebbutt believes that when he visited this house in the 1920s or 30s he saw a 'Norman doorway with dog-tooth carving' in the wall beside this fireplace. There is now no trace of such a door and the present owners know nothing of one. This part of the wall is, however, of recent brick with a french window.
- ⁶R.C.H.M. *West Cambridgeshire* (1968) xlv-xlix.
- ⁷M. W. Barley in *Culture and Environment* (1963) 488.
- ⁸P. G. Emmison (ed.) 'Jacobean Household Inventories' *Bedf.Hist.Rec.Soc.* 20 (1938). The only Thurleigh inventories are four in the Lincoln Record Office. One of these concerns Henry Rawlins but the house, not well described, does not seem to be S12.
- ⁹M. W. Barley *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (1961) *passim*, and, by contrast, R. B. Wood-Jones *Traditional Domestic Architecture in the Banbury Region* (1963).
- ¹⁰W. G. Hoskins *Devon* (1954) 172.
- ¹¹M. W. Barley *op.cit.* 150, 139.
- ¹²According to M. W. Barley and A. G. MacCormick similar fireplaces can be found in Northamptonshire.
- ¹³R.C.H.M. *West Cambridgeshire* (1965) xlviii.
- ¹⁴R. K. Field 'Worcestershire Peasant Building' *Med.Arch.* 9 (1965) 105-145.
- ¹⁵M. W. Barley, *op.cit.* part 2.
- ¹⁶Information from Miss Bell, Bedford County Record Office.
- ¹⁷J. Harvey (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York) has provided interesting information about one squatter family. William Asplin, who died in 1940 aged 85 or over, told him: 'I was born on the Common at Thurleigh in a little cottage my father and mother built with their own hands before any of us were born. In those days they could put up a little hut overnight and so long as they had some sort of a roof on it and smoke coming out the next morning, nobody couldn't turn them out. Of course they made the cottage bigger as time went on.' He was one of a family of 10 or 12 and they all spent their childhood in the squatter's cottage.
The family cannot unfortunately be identified; in the 1851 census return three Asplin families are listed, two of which include a child named William.

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Milton Ernest—A Field Survey

J. B. HUTCHINGS

INTRODUCTION

DURING THE period Spring 1965 to Spring 1968 the whole parish of Milton Ernest was surveyed to determine the extent and pattern of the medieval farming and to find ancient sites.

By about the fourteenth century the population of the area had reached a maximum and every available acre of land was cultivated right up to the parish boundary. The river meadow was the flooding land and probably it was the minimum required to overwinter the ploughing animals. The method of ploughing used resulted in ridge and furrow, easily seen where it has laid undisturbed by modern ploughing. However even where the original ridge and furrow has been ploughed out the furlong boundaries are still visible. Modern deep ploughing techniques are destroying evidence of the medieval system but the extent of this fourteenth century organisation can be deduced from a detailed survey of the modern fields. Hall and Nickerson¹ first realised the potential of this technique and have developed it over a number of years in south Northamptonshire.

Most of the present arable land is clay and hence no sites have been found as a result of air photography.

There is a lamentable lack of known pre-Enclosure documents relating to the land of the village; however references have been made in the paper to existing documents where relevant.

I wish to record my thanks to D. N. Hall, who has helped me considerably with the field work; to N. Nickerson, who completed this paper by writing the appendix on the origins of Milton names; and to Miss Bell of the Bedfordshire Record Office for drawing my attention to the documents to which I have referred in the text.

My grateful thanks are also extended to the farmers and landowners of the parish, all of whom permitted me to survey their land.

THE MEDIEVAL FIELD PATTERN AND VILLAGE

The medieval open field pattern is shown in the figure. The positions of the observed boundaries are shown by solid lines and the direction of the

strips indicated. Where the boundaries have been obscured by modern developments such as gravel workings or buildings they are shown by dashed lines. Boundaries tend to be obscured also where they run along the bottom of a slade and these are also indicated by dashed lines with arrows showing the direction of slope of the slade. The modern fields are shown by the fainter dotted lines. The greatest area of the medieval vill corresponds to the hatched area, the modern village being stippled. The letter Q denotes the positions of quarries and includes gravel and clay pits.

At Enclosure (1803) most of the parish fields were open, only about 230 acres being anciently enclosed. The size of the village itself has greatly shrunk and is still only about half of its fourteenth century area. This decrease in size originated with the overpopulation of the land and consequent undernourishment of the villagers. The population of the village did not completely recover after the ensuing epidemics, because of the increase in the profitability of sheep farming in the fifteenth century and the consequent need for less labour.²

An account of the open field terminology has been written by Fowler.³ The number of furlongs is approximately 80. An approximate figure can only be given because on occasions a boundary describes an intricate pattern the detail of which has been largely obliterated by modern deep ploughing. These intricate patterns are generally found where the surface gradient changes rapidly and in different directions, the ridge and furrow always lying in the direction of the steepest gradient. This tends to occur in the more complicated slady country of which Milton appears to be a good example. Furlong 38 contradicts the above relation between the direction of ridge and furrow and the gradient; however the Milton ridge and furrow shows the same behaviour as that of Northamptonshire.¹

An additional reason for giving only an approximate number of furlongs is that where the lands of two adjacent furlongs run side by side, and not abutting each other, there can be no visible furlong boundary. Hence a long furlong, such as number 1, could have been two separate furlongs.

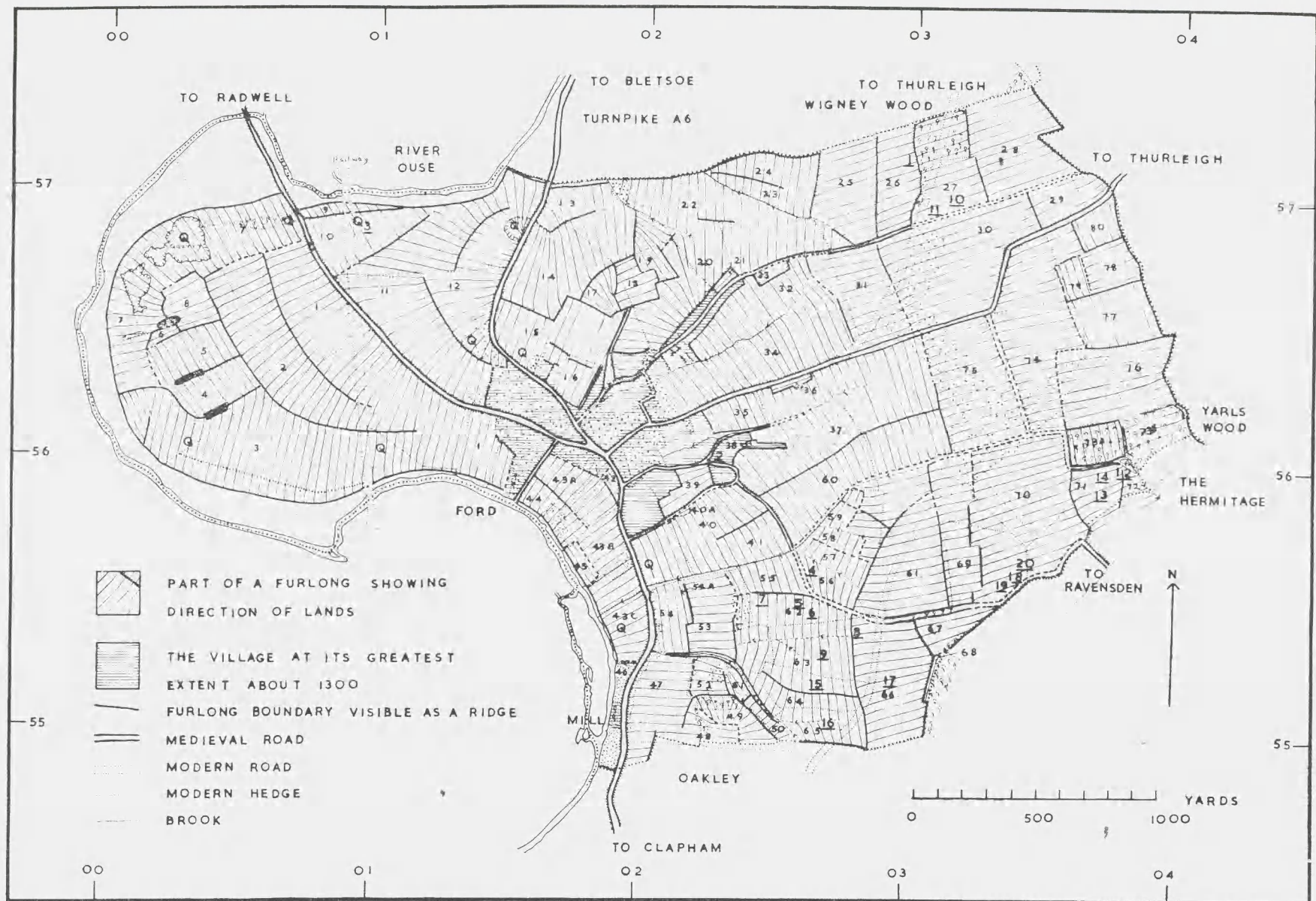


Fig 1. Milton Ernest 1968, showing the medieval field system. The modern built up area is stippled. Q = quarry.

For example, using the furlong number system in the figure, furlongs 54 and 54a would have been described by a single number. On the pre-Enclosure map of 1803, however, it is shown as two separate furlongs.

The areas of the different functional parts of the parish have been estimated and are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Land Distribution in Fourteenth Century Milton

Land Use	Area (acres)
Arable	1,405
Meadow	81
Village	84
Roads	28 (approx)
	1,598

The furlong patterns found have been used to detail the approximate boundaries of the large fields named in the Enclosure Award of 1803. The type of open field system in existence at the time of Enclosure is difficult to determine without supporting documentary evidence. There are nine fields mentioned in the Enclosure allocations and their areas are listed in groups of territorial proximity in Table 2.

Table 2
Open Field Areas

Field	Area (acres)	Possible grouping for four field system
Low	228	253
Sand	25	
Ashtree	280	294
The Green	5	
Wigney	9	
Upper	147	260
Sallow Bush	53	
Skernidge	30	
Church Green	30	
Mill	394	394

As can be seen, there are four main fields and from the groupings it may appear that a four field rotation system was in operation at this time. However, it is almost certain that in 1708 a three field system existed because the land listed in the Glebe Terrier of that date was divided between Ashtree, Over and Mill fields. This apparent contradiction is because no allowance has been, or can be made of the amount of permanent grass which may have existed. A large area of permanent grass or woodland could alter the above open field acreages sufficiently to fit a three field system. One hundred years later⁴ there were 820 acres of permanent grass as against the fourteenth century 81 acres. It is likely that the area of grass (820 acres) was approxi-

mately the same in 1708, thus making the Table 2 four field system unlikely. Unfortunately we cannot infer, without separate evidence, details of the open field boundaries as they existed in the fourteenth century. It is likely that a three field system was used but it is unlikely that the open field boundaries have remained unchanged.

At the parish boundary the furlong pattern precisely fits the modern ordnance survey boundary except at two points, the Hermitage and along the western end of the southern boundary. The survey boundary is the same as that shown on the Enclosure map hence the changes took place after 1803. At Enclosure, Lawn Wood, Yarlswood and some fields adjacent to the Hermitage were noted as ancient enclosures. Since then the parish boundary has changed and the enclosures have been divided between the parishes Milton, Thurleigh and Clapham. The southern boundary has been straightened so that a small part of furlong 48 is now in Oakley parish.

The above mentioned division of the Hermitage ancient enclosures between the adjacent parishes could indicate that the Hermitage was independent of any parish and beholden only to the monastery of Cauldwell to which it was a grange.⁵ Another possible indication of this is given by the shape and size of furlong 69. The very short lands of this furlong are not caused by a sharp gradient because in this eastern part of the parish the ground is fairly level. One interpretation of the presence of 69 as a separate furlong is that the boundary of the Hermitage ground was the western boundary of furlong 69 and that 69 was a filling-in furlong.

In dealing with open field systems the question arises whether the four separate manors of the Domesday and later periods¹ held distinct areas of land as separate lordships within the parish or whether the manorial land was distributed throughout the parish. The only direct documentary evidence existing occurs in the Glebe Terriers of 1608 in which there are three separate references to church land being adjacent to 'Bassete lande'. This was the name of one of the village manors and from this it would appear that the lordships did not hold separate blocks of land. This follows the conclusion of Kosminsky⁶ who has found that it is much more usual for the agricultural organisation of a village to be settlement based and not manorially based.

There are earthworks to be seen in the permanent grass within the boundary of the medieval village. Many are property boundaries and most have been omitted from the field plan because of the small scale of the map. Earthworks are present in the meadows in the form of abnormally high

furlong boundaries. On a flat stretch of land furlongs tend to be large with their boundaries running for relatively long distances. An example of this is the southern then western boundary of furlong 2. As can be seen from the figure the ordered plan of furlongs 1, 2, 3 and 7 gives way to the relative disorder of furlongs 4, 5, 6 and 8. The hatched boundaries of these latter furlongs are very high and much more substantial than those normally found. These boundaries predate the setting of the furlongs which were designed to fit these earthworks as well as possible. Their origin is unknown. Other earthworks in Milton dating from the Second World War are present in furlong 43b and in furlongs 67, 71 and southern part of 70.

Two partial furlong maps of the parish are in the possession of the Bedfordshire Record Office. They are, part of the map from which the Enclosure map was made and shows part of the southern area of the parish, and a map showing the land belonging to William Gery in 1783. The latter shows a very small part of the eastern area of Milton. The value of this type of field survey work is shown by the excellence of the agreement between the survey and the two existing partial furlong maps.

Roads

The modern roads in Milton were named in the Enclosure Award as: The Turnpike, the course of the present A.6; the Radwell Road; the Thurleigh Road, leading from the Turnpike to the Church; the continuation to Thurleigh Road, from the Church to the Thurleigh boundary; Ashtree Field Road, leading from the Turnpike and bearing north between furlongs 15 and 20; and Bletsoe Road joining the Turnpike and the Radwell Road. Part of the continuation to Thurleigh Road is now closed, the detour leading to Thurleigh through Wigney Wood. There is also a new road from Clapham into the south of Milton. These latter two roads were built after the Second World War.

All the roads mentioned in the Enclosure Award date from before 1803 with the exception of Bletsoe Road. The lands of furlongs 11 and 12 can be seen as soil marks going across the Bletsoe Road and it can be seen from the map that the boundary ends of furlongs 11 and 12 were probably used as sighting marks for the new road.

Parts of the roads noted on the pre-Enclosure map have been found in the survey. Where roads run along the bottoms of slades they are often impossible to see on the ground, hence the pre-Enclosure map has been used to fill in those parts of the roads not visible. It can be seen from the survey map that the number of roads has dwindled from

the medieval pattern. The main additional roads are a second, northern, road from Milton to Thurleigh through the northern 'wing' of the medieval village, a road to the Hermitage and one from Milton to Ravensden.

It is of interest to compare this survey road pattern with Jeffries road map of 1756. This is the earliest known map showing any detail of the parish. It is of the whole county of Bedfordshire and shows roads, woods, indicates the higher ground and outlines the hundred, but not the parish, boundaries. The comparison of the road pattern found during this survey with the Jeffries map is not straight forward since his scale appears to be rather variable. It is likely that this variability was caused by the very short sighting distances due to the many slades in the parish. The hundred boundary, which coincides with the parish boundary between Milton and Bletsoe, is incorrect at least at the western end by approximately one-third of a mile, in this case by one slade. This tends to cast doubt on the relative siting and destination of the profusion of roads which led off the Turnpike in a north-easterly direction and shows that care must be taken when using this map to infer the positions of pre-Enclosure roads.

Woods

There are two woods now in the parish, Wigney Wood (8 acres) and Yarl's Wood (16 acres). It is interesting to speculate on their history as far as this can be done by a surface examination. Both areas are shown as wooded on the Enclosure map of 1803.

Wigney Wood is now bisected north to south by a modern road. It is ramparted on the north, east and west sides. In 1803 there was an ancient enclosure, now arable, called Mockbeggar Close on the south of the wood. There is a bank marking the eastern boundary of the Close so that if the Wood once included the Close and had been fully ramparted this bank could be the continuation of the rampart. The bank marking the western boundary of the Close is very poorly defined and has been marred by the throw-out from the new road. The southern boundary of the Close forms the boundary of the original Thurleigh Road. A careful examination of the ground in the Wood showed only traces of ridge and furrow in one corner; hence if it was ploughed in the fourteenth century it was not ploughed for a sufficient length of time for the ridge and furrow to have survived. However traces can be seen as soil marks in Mockbeggar Close and the area of the Wood and Close have been included in the arable area in Table 1.

In 1803 Yarl's Wood was joined on its northern side by another wood, Lawn Wood (29 acres),

which is now arable. Yarl's Wood itself is divided into two parts by a ditch running north and south. The northern end of the ditch runs into a moat-like ditch, much of which is double. Much of both halves of the wood is ramparted around the outside but the full continuity of the ramparts cannot be followed. This is because there has been some alteration of the original boundaries on the north-west side and south-east corner. Part of the rampart on the northern and eastern sides forms one boundary of a sunken road. Ridge and furrow is clearly visible in both parts of the wood, the furlongs running at right angles to each other. This shows that although the dividing ditch itself could be modern it does run along an ancient boundary.

Hence it would appear that both woods were ploughed at one time, that Yarl's Wood is probably not as old as Wigney but both were probably ramparted for the keeping of animals, since the ramparts are exactly similar to those enclosing Higham Park, Northants and Lavendon Park, Bucks.

The third wood existing at Enclosure was Lawn Wood. Lawn is a medieval word meaning wood, and such a pleonasm would indicate that the word Lawn had been used to describe that wood for such a long time that the original meaning of the word had been forgotten. After this the word wood was added. This suggests that Lawn Wood was wooded in medieval times and that perhaps it should not be included in the area of fourteenth century arable as shown on the survey map. When

the site of Lawn Wood has been visited the ground has always been rather rough and strips have not been seen as soil marks. Therefore the age of this wood remains undecided at present.

FIELD NAMES

The main documents in which Milton field names have been found are: the partial pre-Enclosure map (1803), the Enclosure Award (1803), and the none too detailed Glebe Terriers (1608, 1708, 1711 and 1745). Other documents are the incomplete terriers of land owned by Rolt and Orlebar families (1664, 1731 and 1800), the strip map of Gery land (1783) and wills (1528, 1581, 1587 and 1611) which contain a few furlong names but no information as to the situation of the furlongs. All these documents are in the possession of the Bedfordshire Record Office.

An attempt has been made to place as many of the field and furlong names as possible. The names mentioned in the Enclosure Award are shown on the Enclosure maps but the sites of those names taken from the terriers and wills must be deduced where possible. These deduced sites must be treated with caution, but they are probably the most accurate estimates which can be made on the available documentary evidence. Table 3 lists the names and actual, or suggested, locations using the furlong number system in the figure. The ancient enclosure names are taken from the Enclosure Award and only those outside the medieval vill area are included in the Table.

TABLE 3. MILTON ERNEST NAMES

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Source Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>Open Field Names</i>			
West & Mid 1 & 3, 2 & 4 to 7	Low	1803.2	Mainly from Award Map, detailed boundaries deduced from furlong map
East 1 & 3	Sand*		
9 to 25 (inc.)	Ashtree		
About 5 acres between Church & A.6	The Green		
26	Wigney		
28-30, N74, N75, 77-80	Upper		
61, 69, S74, S75	Sallow Bush		
55, 62	Skermidge		
70	Church Green		
31-38, 40, 41, 43c, 46-54, 56-60, 63-77	Mill		
<i>Other Roads</i>			
Radwell Road	Radwell Ford Way	1708, 1711	Deduced
Turnpike at Bletsoe boundary	Bletsoe Gap	1803.2	Map
Lane north of 39	Babbs Lane	1803.2	Map
possible that south & west bound of 2 was road called	Midleam Way*	1708, 1731	Deduced

TABLE 3. MILTON ERNEST NAMES—cont.

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Source Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>Brooks</i>			
bound Milton & Bletsoe	Bletsoe Brook & Humberdale*	1708	Deduced Modern
north of 53 & 54	May Brook*	1711	Deduced
south of 53 & 54	Stripe Brook*	1711	Deduced
east continuation of May Brook	Schirmage Brook*	1731	Deduced
<i>Hills and Slades</i>			
bound 23 & 24	Harehill	1708	Modern
Slade south bound 23	Hudds Hole*	1708, 1745	Deduced
60	... berry Hill Furlong	1803.1	Map
east of 39	Ivory Hill Close	1803.2	Map
south 1/3 of 61	Sallow Bush Hill	1803.1	Map
Mid 1/3 of 61	Middle Sallow Bush Hill	1803.1	Map
north 1/3 of 61	Sallow Bush	1803.1	Map
59	Tyre Devil Hill	1803.1	Map
<i>Other meadow and furlong names</i>			
54	Three Ashtrees Furlong	1708	Deduced
54	Between the Brooks	1745	Deduced
41	Lower Lynch Furlong*	1731	Deduced
41	Backside Furlong	1803.1	Map
Field W39 & N40	Tainter Leys*	1731	Deduced
Field W39 & N40	Greens Close	1803.2	Map
south 53	Straight Corner Piece	1803.1	Map
9	The Linch*	1711	Deduced
10	High Linch*	1711	Deduced
south part 27	Mockbeggar Close	1803.2	Map
west bound 54	Longhedge	1803.2	Map
west end 20 next 25	Coopers Close	1803.2	Map
Between 15 & 16	Williams Close	1803.2	Map
north 9 at road	The Patch	1803.2	Map
east 43b	South Warren	1803.2	Map
west 43b	The Orchard	1803.2	Map
south 43a	The Crofts	1803.2	Map
north 43a	Top Crofts	1803.2	Map
44	North Warren	1803.2	Map
39	Babbs	1803.2	Map
To west of 35	Home Close	1803.2	Map
east end 29	Peacocks Pightle	1783	Map
south-west corner 60	Short Lane	1803.1	Map
46	Triangular	1803.1	Map
47	Mill Piece	1803.1	Map
Along road next 61 & north 56	Long Close Side	1803.1	Map
west end 56	Fourteen Lands	1803.1	Map
south corner 47	Mill Pightle	1803.1	Map
64, 66 & 67	Cow Pastures	1803.1	Map
22, 13 or north-east 11 & 12	Burstead*	1708, 1745	Deduced
43bc	Mill Lynch*	1731	Deduced
43c	Congrave Leys	1803.1	Map
55	Short Lands	1803.1	Map
53	Horse Croft Furlong	1803.1	Map
54a	Five Lands	1803.1	Map
Meadow east of 1	Mead Nocket*	1708, 1745	Deduced
Meadow east of 3, 7 or 43, 44, 45	The Stripe*	1708, 1745	Deduced

TABLE 3. MILTON ERNEST NAMES—cont.

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Source Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Furlongs 3 or 7 or 43 or 44 or 45	Stripe Grass*	1708, 1745	Deduced
Meadow to north of 7 &/or 9	Radwell Ford Meadow	1731	Deduced
35	Churchway Furlong*	1608, 1708, 1745	Deduced
15	Claypitt Furlong	1708	Deduced
14	Longland*	1608, 1708, 1731	Deduced
Part north bound 15	Pipers Headland*	1731, 1745	Deduced
south bound 15	Bulstred Balk*	1731	Deduced
11	Over/Upper Stalling*	1708, 1611	Deduced
Part 74	Broad Hedge* or Wood Close	1581, 1783, 1803.2	Map
south 74 or south 75	Wood Furlong	1803.2	Map
The situation of the following three furlongs depends upon the existence of the road, Midleam Way, along the south and west boundary of furlong 2			
1	Neither Stalling*	1587, 1708	Deduced
		1711	
2	Lower Stalling*	1731	Deduced
3	Great Midleam*	1708, 1731	Deduced

* denotes those names which are listed in the Appendix.

ANCIENT SITES

The number and type site found are typical of those found by Hall and Nickerson⁷ in the parishes of Northamptonshire.

Iron Age. Two Iron Age B, or possibly A, sites (11 and 19) were found on the highest ground in the parish, above the 275 ft. contour. There were also many signs in that area typical of these sites, i.e. dark areas with large burned pebbles, but pottery was only found on two. One of these sites (11) was isolated the other being on the edge of a large slag patch.

Romano-British. There are two Romano-British sites, one of which (3) is isolated on and near a small quarry. Sherds from the other site (14) were scattered over a large area of furlongs 71 and 72. The same furlongs also contained a large amount of slag and medieval sherds.

Isolated Medieval Sites. Apart from the medieval village and the mill there are two medieval sites, one of which (6) is small, in a suitable place for a windmill and is near the old road from Milton to Ravensden. There was also a scatter of iron slag on this site. The other isolated medieval site (12) is the Hermitage occupying the partially double ditched moat to the south of Yarlswood. This site is currently being excavated by the North Bedfordshire Archaeological Society.

Iron Slag Patches. These patches of slag were formed as a by-product of an iron smelting process and, as there is no iron ore in the district, their presence indicates that the ore was brought to an area abundant in wood. Hence it is likely that the contours of the patches depict the extent to which

the area was wooded at the time of the slag manufacture. The nearest iron ore is found at Higham Ferrers and Irchester, Northamptonshire, a distance of about ten miles. The age of these patches is not known at present but they are likely to be pre- or early medieval.⁷ The present survey has not clarified the position, as in Milton slag has been found with sherds of medieval (6), medieval and Romano-British (13) and Iron Age (19) pottery. There are 14 slag patches in Milton and they are all on the higher claylands mainly above the 225 ft. contour. They vary in size and in slag concentration. On the slades they tend to be thinly concentrated and scattered over a wide area. Those on the higher land, particularly (18) and (20), tend to be of high concentration and occur over an area of approximately one hundred square yards.

Catalogue of Ancient Sites

The Ordnance Survey references are those of grid TL (52).

1	Slag Patch, concentrated, edge of Wigney Wood	022572
2	Slag, dug out of permanent ley by rabbits	022560
3	Romano-British	009569
4	Slag Scatter, over wide area	026556
5	Slag Scatter, thin	026554
6	Isolated Medieval	026554
7	Slag Scatter, thin	025555
8	Slag Scatter	028554
9	Slag Scatter	027553
10	Slag Scatter, from two patches	032571
11	Iron Age B or A	031569
12	Isolated Medieval, the Hermitage	038561

13	Slag Scatter, concentrated, over wide area	038560
14	Romano-British, over wide area	038560
15	Slag Patch	027552
16	Slag Patch	027551
17	Slag Scatter, from two patches	029552
18	Slag Patch, concentrated	034556
19	Iron Age B or A	034556
20	Slag Patch, concentrated	035557

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APPENDIX

MILTON ERNEST PLACE NAMES

compiled by N. Nickerson

Bassete land (1608)

Probably a person's name 'Basset' which is traceable back to at least Norman times. (c.f. PNN 172), (Sutton Bassett).

*Broadage Piece** (1581); (Broad hedge close (1783)?), (Broad hedge 1803).

Probably here the later forms are the correct rendering. The first form probably represents the local pronunciation of *e* sound as *ai* (c.f. 'Tainter leys') with the customary dropping of the 'h'.

ME *brad hegge pece*.

Bulls pit (1711)

Too modern a form to say much about. 'Pytts' were usually referring to quarries in Medi. times as now.

*Burstead** (1708); (Bulstead balk, 1731?)

The usual evolution of the first element is to 'berry'.

ME *Burk stede* etc.

Lit. *Castle or fort place*; probably in this case the site of Manor house?

If the second form is to be associated with the first, it is rather an involved metathesis.

Byway Piece (1664)

ME *bi-weie pece* etc.

A piece of land taking its name from a by-way to somewhere.

*Churchway Furlong** (1608), (1708), (1745)

A furlong taking its name from a lane to the Church.

Clarks Bush (1587)

Bush is a common landmark for use in open field nomenclature.

In this case compounded with a surname. (ME *busch*. etc.).

Crowslin; *Crowsling Furlong* (1664)

Possibly named after a local plant species name.

C.f. with *Crowtoe*, *Crowflower*, *Crow berry*.

The second element derives from ME *lin* (flax) or *ling* (heather), etc.

Doales Brook (1608)

Most probably a personal name.

Drowis (1528); *Drewes Ditch* (1587)

Most likely a personal surname.

Francis Willows (1711)

A personal name (surname?) compounded with the willow (tree); a common eighteenth century place name/landmark.

Godacre bush (1611)

Probably *Good acre* (i.e. land) bush.

ME *god æcer busch* etc. The bush again a landmark.

Great Meadow (1711) (*Great Holme* (1803))

To distinguish from some lesser meadow.

*Great Midleam** (1708); *Great Middle Holme* (1711); *Great Midlam* (1731).

ME *Holme*—a meadow.

The first and third forms are typical oral contractions.

C.f. in *Wollaston* place names '*Scarteholme* (1426)' which by the eighteenth century appears as '*Scortholm*', and also '*Scortum*'.

Highbury (1581)

High burrow

Burrow probably a barrow, rather than a fort or castle, etc., on account of the adjective.

ME *hei bury* etc.

Homebrook (1708)

Meadow brook. (ME *holme brook* etc.).

Hop Holme (1711)

Probably *Hop Meadow*.

ME *Hoppe holme*.

They still grow in meadow land (as at *Bozeat*). (Alternatively ME *hop*—a valley; c.f. PNN 285).

*Hudds Hole** (1708), (1745)

A personal name compounded with ME *Hol*; a hollow (small valley, etc.).

*Humberydale** (1608); *Humberdale* (1708)

A doubtless interesting name, but difficult on account of the paucity of forms, and the absence of old versions. The last element is clearly ME *dale* (from OE *dael*; ON *dalr*)—a valley. Most likely the first part of the name is an old personal name.

Hurdleford Meadow (1608)

A meadow taking its name from a nearby ford which at one time would be partly constructed

of hurdles.
Lawn Corner; *Lawn Pightle* (1783)
Lawn Wood (1803).
Lawn is a standard evolutionary variant from ON *landr*—a wood. Thus the 1803 version is pleonastic.
Pightle is ME *Pightel* etc.—a little enclosure.
*Linch** (1608); (*Highlinch* (1708), (1711), (1745)); and (1711); (*Lower Lynch Furlong* (1731)).
A Linch—a balk, land left unploughed as a boundary—OE *hlinc*. High and lower appear to be locational prefixes, as is normal.
Lincroft close (1803).

Flaxcroft close

ME *lin* *croft*.

*Longe lande Furlong** (1608); *Longland* (1708), (1731), 1745).

A common furlong name referring to the length of strips (*landes*) comprising the furlong.

Longstile (1731)

Probably *Long path*.

Without further forms it is difficult to be certain on this. But the adjective would seem not to fit ME. *Stigele* (*stile*). Rather the second element is a corruption of ME. *Stiy* (a path, a way).

Little Meadow (1711) (*Little holme* 1803)

No comment. (c.f. *Great meadow*).

*Maybrook** (1708), (1711), (1731)

Possibly *Maiden brook* ME *maei broc*.

This is only like by analogy to other 'Maiden ford(s), wielle' etc. (C.f. PNN 41, 117). But the form 'Maei'—maeiden is itself dubious (v. *Stratmana*).

Mead Headens (1708), (1731); *Mead heardings* (1745)

Meadow heads (i.e. headland).

ME *mede heueden* (OE *heafdu*). The form *heueden* is a rare weak form of the ME plural *heafde* (*vide* PNN 273 'Hades').

Also c.f. '*Sand Heardens*' in this set which is like a Wollaston place name (q.v.) '*Lambs Hearden*' (1789). Perhaps the mere usual evolution of *heueden* is to *haddon*—*hades* etc. (as in Wollaston place names etc.).

The second form ending in *-ing*, is a usual confusion.

*Mead Nocket** (1708); *Mead Nocut* (1745)

Meadow nook

ME *Mede* (mead, meadow); *Nok* (nook, corner, angle) (probably a diminutive form of the Sb.).

*Midleam way** (1708), (1731)

Middle meadow way

ME *Midel holme weie* etc. *Vide* 'Great Mid-

leam'.

Mill Lynch (1731)

Mill balk or boundary

ME *Milne*. OE *Linc* (v. 'Linch').

Milme Field (1608), *Mill Field* (1708, 1711), (1803)

Mill field (likely one of the 'great fields').

The 'm' in *milme* is curious, and is presumably a local variation on the actual ME which is *Milne*.

Milme Holme (1608)

Mill Meadow

ME *Milne holm* etc. for the substitution of *m* for *n* in *milne*, c.f. *Milme field*.

Moor Grass (1708)

Marshy grass.

ME *mor* *graes* etc.

*Neather Stawlinge** (1587); Upper *St(a)wlinge* (1611); *Neither stalling* (1708); *Over stalling* (1708); *Lower stalling* (1731)

The first word is well represented by the variants meaning 'upper' and 'lower'.

The second word despite the irregular early form spellings must contain as its first element ME. *Stal* (OE *Steall*)—a stall, stable, sty etc. The second element is ME *eng* (Prov. Eng. *ing*)—a meadow. Thus (*Upper and/or lower*) *Stable meadow*.

Oaken (1711)

Presumably the adjective, but what does it describe?

Vide 'Oakley close'.

Oakley Close, *Hockley close* (1803)

Presumably refers to the nearby settlement of 'Oakley'.

The second form is a typical local oral rendering spelt out.

*Pipers Headland** (at Longland Claypitt Furlong) (1708); *Pipers Headland* (1745)

Personal Surname compounded with 'headland'.

Portway Field (1664); *Portway* (1708) (1711)

Where this name occurs in a parish, it usually refers to a main road passing through it—as opposed to inter-connecting village type roads. Rather like 'Strete' field names.

Mostly always an ancient if not Roman road. The 'port' in reference, is nearly always obscure or non-existent.

ME *Portweye* etc.

*Sand Heardens**, *Sand Headens* (1708)

Sand heads (i.e. headland) referring to the nature of the soil of a headland. (But *vide* 'Sand furlong'). ME *Sand heueden* (*vide* *Mead headens*, for details of this second element).

*Schirmage brook**, *Schirmage piece* (1731); *Sker-*

(n)midge field (1803)

Difficult without older forms. Probably from ME *scarmoche*; (*skarmysh*, *scarmich*, *scharmus*, etc.)—skirmish. But the application to brook and piece etc. is necessarily vague.

Stripe,* *The* (1708) (1745); (*Stripe grass* (1708) (1745); (*Stripe brook* (1708) (1711))

From ME *stripe* (Sb.)—a stripe. The general sense is something that is much longer than it is wide, and this could refer to shape of a plot of land (or brook). A more remote alternative is to 'strip', in this case in the sense of grazing (the grass).

Sward Ground (1745)

ME *Swarde* (OE *Sweard*)—sward, skin. Turf or grassy ground.

*Tainterleys** (1731)

A ley is a 'land' that has been laid down to grass (ME *lei*; OE *leah*). Tainter most probably is used to describe the appearance of the lands, being like the slats of a 'Tenter machine'—a machine used in the making of cloth. (ME *tente*—from *tenten*). Not an uncommon field name.

Tokelys ford (1711)

Probably a personal surname.

Whirlbrooke (1608)

Winding brook. ME *hwirl-broc*. (OE *hwyrfel*

broc).

A fairly common adjective applied to a brook (PNN 278, 285 eg.).

*Williamsons Close** (1731); *Williams close* (1803)
Less than a century has abbreviated the first form.

Self explanatory.

Abbreviations

PNN J. E. B. Gover; A. Mawyer; F. M. Stenton, *The Place Names of Northamptonshire* (English place name Society vol. x. Cambridge 1933).

ME Middle English, (mainly from F. H. Strattmann, *A Middle-English dictionary* (new ed. by H. Bradley, Oxford 1963))

OE Old English, mainly from J. Bosworth, *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (Longman, London 1838)

ON Old Norse.

Medi. Medieval.

Prov. Eng. Provincial English.

Sb Substantive.

* Those names placed in Table 3. The names placed in Table 3 but not listed in the Appendix are those which are self explanatory or later names (1803) which have no known precursors.

Notes

Bronzes in Bedford Museum

DAVID H. KENNETT

THE COLLECTION of bronzes in Bedford Museum is not large. It does, however, deserve to be better known. The collection consists of part of the large Wymington hoard; an unprovenienced dirk; a spearhead found between Kempston and Elstow; several lumps of ingot bronze; a palstave from Rickmansworth, Middlesex; and a socketed axe from Scarborough, Yorkshire. Six of the Wymington axes, the spearhead and some of the lumps of raw bronze were illustrated by the Rev P. G. Langdon on plate 5 of the *Bedford Modern School Museum Guide* of 1925.

1. Dirk—unprovenienced

The dirk (1) has no history and its find-place is not known. It is complete, but is broken in two pieces. The total length is 32.5 cm. The dirk has a narrow blade and a trapeze-shaped butt with two notches.

Rapiers and dirks have been the subject of a number of studies by Mrs B. A. V. Trump.¹ She has classed weapons less than 21.6 cm. in length as daggers; those of 21.6 cm. to 35.5 cm. as dirks; and those longer than 35.5 cm. as rapiers. On this basis the Bedford Museum weapon is a dirk. Its butt form was classed by Mrs Trump as of the 'Thetford class', though our weapon is omitted by her. This class, named after a well-known rapier in the Sir John Evans collection of the Ashmolean Museum² is known in approximately equal numbers from the Fenland area and Ireland. If the Bedford Museum example is a local find, the former area can be extended into the middle Ouse, but without more exact knowledge of its provenience we cannot be certain of this. These weapons are thought to date to around the twelfth century B.C.

2. Spearhead—between Kempston and Elstow

The spearhead (2) has little history. Found before 1925, at an unknown spot between Kempston and Elstow, it was accessioned by P. G. Langdon (museum number, 3441). It has a flat blade, originally leaf-shaped, but now with some damage to the edges. The socket is circular-sectioned, but becomes diamond-shaped on the blade. There are two slight loops on the base of the socket. The

spearhead is 11.5 cm. long.

There is a similar but slightly longer example of this middle Bronze Age form of spearhead from Northampton,³ and Luton Museum have one from Sundon.⁴

3. Socketed Axe—Scarborough

The Scarborough socketed axe (3) was presented to Bedford Museum by P. G. Langdon, curator 1919-33, and accessioned by him (museum number, 3604). The exact find-spot is unknown. The axe has a square socket, and there are three broadly-spaced ribs on the face, which widens into a splayed cutting-edge.

This is the common Yorkshire type of late Bronze Age socketed axe, found in a wide range of hoards.

4. Palstave—Rickmansworth

This palstave is another object presented to the collections of the old Bedford Modern School Museum by P. G. Langdon, and accessioned by him (museum number, 3605). Save for a note that it was found at Rickmansworth, the details of its history are unknown. The axe has a single rib on the face below the stop-ridge and there is a loop in the side.

This middle Bronze Age form of palstave is found in Northamptonshire in looped examples from Aston-le-Walls⁵ and Everdon,⁶ and in an un-looped example from Arlingworth.⁷ I know of no Bedfordshire examples.

5. Bronze fragments (not illustrated)

Langdon⁸ illustrated fragments of lump bronze from Toddington and Fancot. Bedford Museum has these and a fragment from Ickwell, of unknown history. This last named does not appear to be either of the pieces of bronze in the hoard once owned by John Harvey of Ickwell Bury and now lost.⁹ John Harvey seems to have been something of a collector for he had material from Sandy, of the pre-Roman Iron Age, the Roman period, and also the two fine Anglo-Saxon Buckelurnen, now in the British Museum;¹⁰ and the finds from a Roman burial found at Ickwell in 1845, now in Bedford Museum, and including the beautiful deep red-purple glass jug.¹¹ It is possible that the frag-

ment of lump bronze from Ickwell came from his collections, and equally it is to be asked if the provenience is not more accurately described as 'east Bedfordshire' in view of Harvey's collecting.



Fig 1. Bronzes in Bedford Museum.

6. Wymington Hoard (not illustrated)

The *Bedford Modern School Museum Guide* Bronze Age plate, (pl 5), shows six of the axes from the Wymington hoard. This is the only large hoard of the late Bronze Age from Bedfordshire, or as far as I am aware from the Nene valley.¹² It was found in 1860 on a site variously described as 'Manor Farm' and 'Mr Goosey's Farm',¹³ in all probability the same place. The hoard was split up

soon after finding, but some of it came into the possession of Sir John Evans who recorded the hoard for the first time in the first edition of his *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1872), and who stated he had some of the axes.¹⁴ Two of these were later presented by his son, Sir Arthur Evans, to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but the whereabouts of any other axes Evans may have had are unknown to me. Neither the City Museum, St Albans, nor the British Museum, both of whom have material, including Bedfordshire finds, donated by Evans, include any axes from Wymington in their collections.

Thomas George, writing in *V.C.H. Northants*,¹⁵ did not record that Northampton Museum, of which he was curator, 1885-1921, had two of the axes in their collections, though he mentions the hoard. Worthington Smith, in *V.C.H. Beds.*,¹⁶ had no knowledge of the hoard's whereabouts. Langdon¹⁷ illustrated six of the eight axes in Bedford Museum, but seemed to be unaware that many of the axes were in the collections of the old Bedford Literary and Scientific Institute. These, we may assume, were once the property of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society. Casts of 38 of these axes were made by Mr F. G. Howard for the late Mr C. E. Freeman in 1931, and for many years these casts formed the principal exhibit of bronzes in Luton Museum. The dispersion of the collections of the Bedford Literary and Scientific Institute in 1959 allowed Mr Freeman to acquire 19 of the originals, and some of these are now exhibited in the new Bronze Age exhibit of Luton Museum.¹⁸

The five surviving casts which match originals demonstrate the accuracy of Mr Howard's work; and allow good and useful drawings of the axes to be made. Nineteen axes are known from the 1931 casts, and the various museums with parts of the hoard have 31 axes. Of all the known axes, both extant and known from casts, it is hoped to provide illustrations and a discussion in a future issue of the *BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL*. Perhaps by then the remaining axes of the 'about 60' which the Wymington hoard is known to have contained will have been traced.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Mr. F. W. Kuhlicke for allowing me access to Bedford Museum's collections and for permission to publish the objects. Professor R. J. C. Atkinson was kind enough to read this note in draft form and to make a number of helpful suggestions.

NOTES

¹*P.S.A.S.* 93 (1959-60) 1-15; *P.P.S.* 28 (1962) 80-102.

²Evans *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1872) fig 316.

³Northampton Museum, D68/1938-39, unpublished.

⁴*Beds. Arch. J.* 2 (1964) 22 and 32 (not illustrated).

⁵Northampton Museum, D85/1954-55.

⁶Northampton Museum, D76/1954-55; Northampton Museum also have an unlooped palstave from Everdon with a plain face (no. D77/1954-55) but there is no evidence of association between these two.

⁷Northampton Museum, ZL 7 (154).

⁸*Bedford Modern School Museum Guide* (1925) pl 5.

⁹*Ant. J.* 34 (1954) 232 and pl 26.b.

¹⁰B.M. 1937, 11-11, 1-9.

¹¹*P.S.A.* 1 (1850) 74; *V.C.H. Beds.* II (1908) 9.

¹²Wymington is nearer to being a Nene rather than an Ouse parish; there is a large Ouse valley hoard from New Bradwells, Bucks., (*Rec. Bucks.* 9 (1909) 431-440 with pl opp. 431; and *J. Northampton Mus.* forthcoming).

¹³respectively Evans and George; see notes 14 and 15.

¹⁴Evans *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1872) 113 and 466.

¹⁵*V.C.H. Northants.* I (1902) 143.

¹⁶*V.C.H. Beds.* I (1904) 169.

¹⁷*loc. cit.* in note 8.

¹⁸Luton Museum 71/59 (originals).

Postscript on the Iron Age finds from Felmersham Bridge

F. W. KUHLCHE

THE BRONZE FISH-HEAD SPOUT and handle with bovine escutcheons found in the gravel near Felmersham Bridge in January 1942 were accompanied by a much damaged bronze bowl with a riveted base and fragments from the vessels of the fish-head spout and the bovine-headed handle. With these were a large quantity of pottery, mainly of a thick coarse buff ware. These are all now in Bedford Museum.¹

During January 1969, a lorry driver (name unknown) delivering a Roman sarcophagus from Eaton Socon to Bedford Museum observed the Felmersham collection and volunteered the information that he was present at the time the finds were made. He stated there were 'lots of other things', including a bronze bowl, diameter 3 ft., with drop handles.² He did not know whither they went. A few days later he sent to the museum a small bundle containing sherds of pottery and a small shale ring, which it is the intention of this note to publish.

¹ Fragment of a small shale ring, diameter 5.25 cm., oval in cross-section, 1.2 cm. by 0.8 cm.

It is difficult to suggest an exact use for this object. It does not seem large enough for a bracelet for it is less than half the diameter of the shale bracelet from the woman's grave at Stanfordsbury.³ The object does, however, make an interesting addition to the known corpus of shale objects in Belgic contexts. Rich Belgic princes who could afford costly imports of wine and bronzes from the Roman world also imported shale vessels and trinkets, originating in the shale industry of the Kimmeridge outcrop, Dorset. Apart from the Stanfordsbury bracelet, Bedfordshire finds include the two tall vases from a burial at Old Warden,⁴ while two fragmentary vases and what could be either a rim fragment from a third vase or perhaps a bracelet were found in a rich grave at Harpenden, Herts.⁵ There is a tazza from Barnwell,

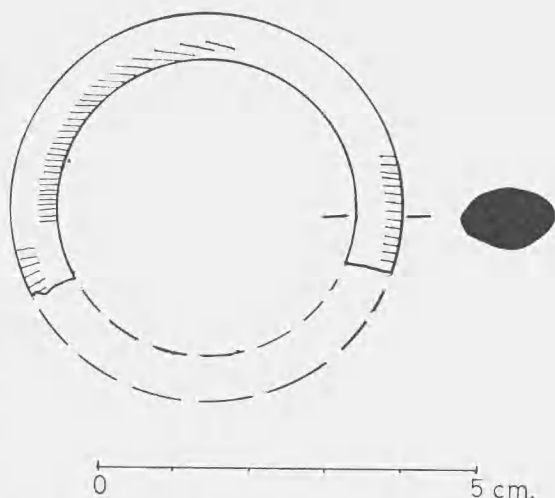


Fig 2. Shale ring from Felmersham.

near Cambridge,⁶ and two graves at Great Chesterford, Essex, had tazza-like vessels without the foot-stand.⁷

- 2 Large wheel-made vessel of grey ware with sandy inclusions giving rough surface. The vessel, which is about two-thirds extant has a well-formed out-turned rim, and a slight but distinct collar at the base of the neck. The only decoration is two deep grooves well up on the shoulder. The base is flat with a distinct foot-ring. Height 22.5 cm. Rim diameter 8.8 cm.
- 3 Rim sherd of bowl of dark grey, smooth surfaced ware, with an almost black, burnished external surface with regular horizontal striations. Rim diameter 13.6 cm.
- 4 Large rim sherd of dark pink-brown ware with fading steely grey almost metallic finish. Grooving on the body of vessel from which this came. Rim diameter 24.0 cm.
- 5 Base and body sherd of flat based vessel of black, corky ware with brown surfaces. Groove

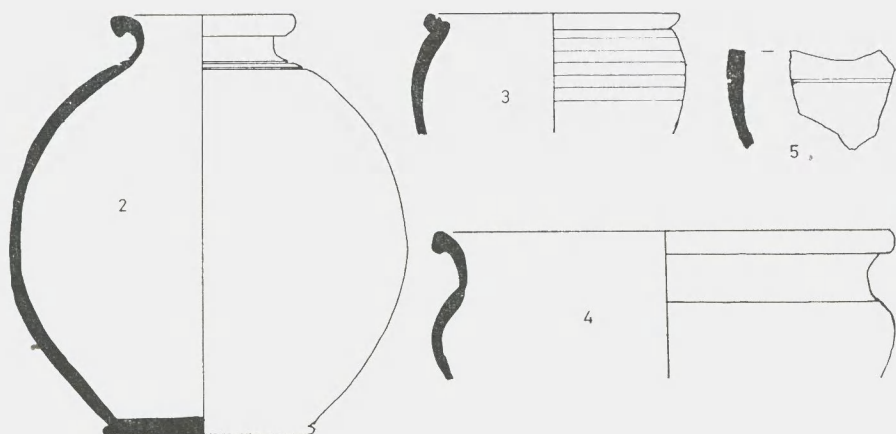


Fig 3. Iron Age pottery from Felmersham.

on body sherd.

- 6 Body sherds of fine white ware with light grey metallic surface.

The 'new' pottery from Felmersham makes an important, if small, addition to our knowledge of the site. The complete vessel (2) is comparable in ware to vessels found by Mr G. Dring at Mile Road, Bedford, and comparisons for the others may be found in the pottery originally published from Felmersham. Our (3) for example compares with Watson's 9.

NOTES

¹W. J. Watson 'Belgic Bronzes and Pottery found at Felmersham-on-Ouse, Bedfordshire', *Ant.J.* 29 (1949) 37-61.

²This sounds very much like a cauldron from the size, though these are nearer 10-20 in. diameter; Stanfordsbury 1 had a cauldron 3 ft. diameter (ed).

³*Camb.Ant.Soc.* 1, 10 (1945) 19, pl 1.6.

⁴*Later Prehistoric Antiquities of the British Isles* (1953) 71 pl 23.3; Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923) 96-98, pl 15.3.

⁵*Ant.J.* 8 (1928) 520-522; 29 (1949) 196-7, fig 1 a-c.

⁶Fox, *Pattern and Purpose* (1958) 63, pl 45a.

⁷*Arch.J.* 14 (1857) 85-87, with vignette.

A Roman patera from Biggleswade

DAVID H. KENNETT

AMONGST THE recent purchases of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, is a patera from Biggleswade. It was found by Mr J. Harrington, a scrap metal dealer, on a builder's dump on a new housing estate between the railway and the Old North Road, near Stratton Park (approx. N.G.R. TL/196436). The exact find spot, and the associations, if any, are unknown.

The patera is bronze with no trace of gilding. The low bowl has a thickened rounded rim. The inside of the base is flat and there are concentric circles cast underneath. The handle is separately made and stuck to the bowl on the outside below the rim. The reeded sectioned handle terminates in a ram's head. The diameter of the bowl is 20.7 cm., and the height 6.85 cm. The overall length of the handle is 13.8 cm., of the reeded part 7.3 cm., which has a diameter of 2.2 cm. (Cambridge Museum 65.81.)

The patera belongs to an early and widespread

type of vessel, common both inside and outside the Roman Empire.¹ In Britain, at least 25 examples are known, though some are represented by their handles only. These include some of the earliest examples in Britain, such as that from the Claudian fort of Hod Hill² and the handle from a pit at Richborough associated with Claudian coins.³ The handle with a dog's head termination in the Santon hoard⁴ was probably buried in the face of the Boudican uprising of A.D. 60.

The latest examples include two deposited in the group of bronzes found at Welshpool in 1959, for which a date of c. A.D. 150 has been suggested, but these were old when buried and could have been made some time earlier.⁵

Locally the type is common in rich Roman cremation graves where it is often associated with a trefoil-lipped jug as in the Shefford burial.⁶ These bronzes, for long reconstructed as one, have recently been disentangled from the waisted reconstruction of Sir Cyril Fox, who attempted to im-

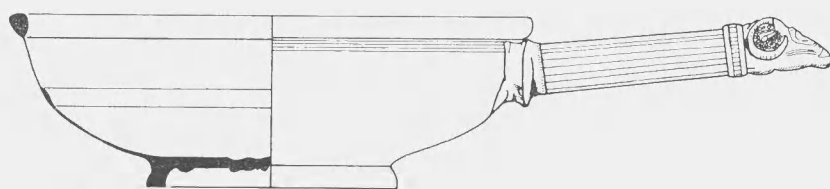


Fig. 4. Roman patera from Biggleswade.

prove on the original reconstruction of a patera with two handles. Another burial with both types is Thornborough, Bucks.,⁷ and others are known from Essex, though the objects themselves are lost.⁸ One Essex burial, that at Topplesfield, contained a variant type, with a central umbo to the bowl of the patera.⁹ Town sites, too, have produced handles, such as the two very fine examples from Verulamium,¹⁰ though neither of these is dateable. Of itself, the Biggleswade patera cannot be dated to within the limits for the type, which are first to second century A.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, for permission to publish the Biggleswade patera, and Miss M. D. Crafter for assistance at the museum. Mr W. H. Manning

was kind enough to read this note in draft and made a number of helpful suggestions.

NOTES

- ¹Eggers *Der Römische Import in Fränk. Germanien* (1951) typ. 154-155; den Boesterd *The Bronze Vessels (Catalogues of the Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam, Nijmegen, V, 1956) nos 68-75*, with refs for continental examples; Nijmegen, no 72 is particularly close to Biggleswade.
- ²Hod Hill, I (1962) 4, A152, fig 5, pl 10.
- ³Richborough II (1928), 31, pl 14.2.
- ⁴*P.Camb.Ant.Soc.* 13 (1909) fig 11, pl 17.2.
- ⁵*Ant.J.* 41 (1961) 13-31, esp. 23-25, with fig 4, pl 8-9.
- ⁶*Pub.Camb.Ant.Soc.* 10 (1845) 12, pl 1.3; *V.C.H.Beds.* II (1908) 11-13 with fig; *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923) 213-4, pl 26.2; *Beds.Mag.* (forthcoming).
- ⁷*Rec.Bucks.* 16 (1954-60) 29-32, pl 3-4.
- ⁸*V.C.H.Essex* III (1963) for Black Notley, Pleshey, Rivenhall, Bartlow Hills.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, pl 27.
- ¹⁰Verulamium Museum.

Two imported Medieval vessels in Bedford Museum

DAVID H. KENNETT

THE FIGURE right shows two tall vessels¹ in the collections of Bedford Museum. Though without provenience, it would seem on available evidence that they are local finds.

They are both examples of Malines type jugs. As their name suggests they are products of kilns at Malines, or Mechelen, in Belgium, or possibly some other kiln in the Low Countries producing a very similar ware. They are characterised by a tall, thin body, more bulbous at the centre, and decorated with indistinct rilling. Above the body is a broad collar. The ware is hard, black, and seemingly with few grits. A handle goes from the base of the collar to the widest part of the body, and there is a slight kick to the base.

The jug, or beaker, for one of the two Bedford Museum vessels has no lip spout, has been recognised in England also at Kings Lynn and London.² Three sites—Colchester, Newcastle and Ford-Wooler in Northumberland—have produced

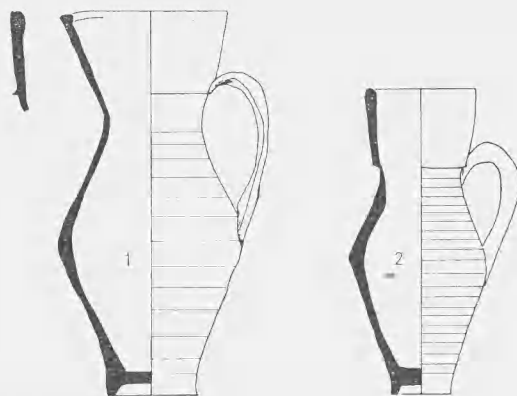


Fig. 5. Two imported pots.

cooking pots of a similar ware.³ The Kings Lynn find is useful because it suggests a possible route of import, as Kings Lynn was the out-port for the

towns of the river Ouse in Medieval times.⁴

A number of other imported wares have been recognised from Bedford Museum's collections. These are better documented. They include stone-ware jugs originating in Raeren and Frenchen, from more than one site in Bedford. The widening of Bedford Bridge in 1939 produced much pottery including a fragmentary altar vase of south Netherland Maiolica,⁵ and the museum collections include other imports including some from Italy. These are all however later than the suspected thirteenth century dating which has been given to the Malines type jugs. They do however confirm the presence of imported Medieval pottery at Bedford and suggest that the two Malines type jugs in Bedford Museum are local finds.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Mr F. W. Kuhlicke for study facilities at Bedford Museum, and for permission to publish these two pots. I also wish to thank Mr Hurst for pointing these out to me and for parallels and information.

NOTES

¹They have no number; they are 20.5 cm. and 16.4 cm. high

²Information from Mr J. G. Hurst; see Hurst, J. G., Dunning, G. C., and Barton, K. J., 'List of Saxon and Medieval Imports into Britain', cyclostyled, January 1968.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Carus-Wilson, E. 'The Medieval trade of the ports of the Wash', *Med.Arch.* 6-7, (1962-63), 182-202.

⁵To be published by Mr Hurst.

Bedfordshire Archaeology, 1966-69

Compiled by DAVID H. KENNETT

THE SUMMARIES below are intended to serve as a guide to current fieldwork and excavations being conducted in Bedfordshire. Important isolated finds and museum acquisitions are also included. The compiler wishes to thank all those who have contributed notes for this section and hopes that future work and finds will be brought to his notice for subsequent issues of the *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*.

BEDFORD TO CAMPTON

A possible alignment of a Roman road between Campton, near Shefford, and Bedford, is being investigated by G. J. and M. E. Dring. This is an alternative route to that suggested by the Victories, *Roman Roads in the S.E. Midlands* (1963).

A section of the road, ditched on its west side, and with side-way, was observed during pipe-laying operations at Silver End near Haynes, Bedford (TL/102425). A terrace-way, on the alignment descends the hills to the south of Bedford (TL/094434). The route is well-marked near Cotton End, Bedford, by a low but defined 'agger' which passes through a wide scatter area of Romano-British pottery at TL/073458. (Dring—unpublished). This 'agger' probably marked the boundary between the Hundreds of Wixamtree and Redbournstoke in 1086 A.D. and later became the Parish boundary between the Parishes of Wilstead and Eastcotts and Elstow and Eastcotts.

Immediately south of Bedford a large 'agger',

sectioned at TL/061476 to reveal a well-defined metallated surface, passes the late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement and pottery kiln site at TL/058476. The alignment enters Bedford at St. John's Street. Investigation continues.

BEDFORD: various

D. H. Kennett catalogued St Neots ware found in the 1930s (*Beds.Arch.J.* 3 (1966) 19-21; above p 17-25). Much of the material had no identifiable provenance, but the following sites produced sherds:

High Street:

Barclays Bank
Westminster Bank
Leonards
The Silver Grill
Roses Extension, 1936
Taylor Brawn Ltd.

Silver Street:

Meakers Cellar
Old Jail site.

St Peter's Street:

The Old House
Royal Insurance Company
Rogers Porters shop
Granada cinema.

Offa Road

Cauldwell Priory
St Mary's Street.

Owing to limitations of space, the general conclusions arrived at from the study have not been included in this issue of the *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*. As these are to some extent out of date, being completed in April 1966, a typescript has been placed in Bedford Museum for general reference use (ed.).

BEDFORD: CAULDWELL AND ST. JOHN'S STREETS 1967. TL/051493

A rescue excavation for M.P.B.W. and the Bedford Archaeological Society was directed by David Baker in July 1967, with the kind permission and co-operation of Bedford Borough Council and Westminster Bank Ltd. Trial trenches at right angles to the two streets in the area between them were intended to sample occupation within the area of the late Saxon and medieval town, bounded by the Kingsditch to the south of the river. No medieval structures were positively identified fronting on to either main street due to extensive recent disturbances. A series of pits were excavated, some of them medieval, containing St Neots and Early Medieval wares. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

BEDFORD: CASTLE TL/052497

A small trial trench was supervised by David Baker at a point possibly just inside the north outer bailey wall, where a car park ramp was due to destroy the stratigraphy. Permission was kindly granted by Bedford Borough Council. An occupation layer was found at about 2 ft. 6 in. depth, containing St Neots ware, perhaps contemporary with the Castle, whose demolition was ordered by Henry III in 1224.¹ The trench was at 4 ft. 6 in. and still in archaeological layers when the available time ended. It is earnestly hoped that, as a result of this promising start, the archaeological investigation of this most important castle site can be integrated with redevelopment programmes.

¹H. M. Colvin *et al.*: *History of the King's Works*, ii 558-9.

BLETSOE. TL/020584

The North Bedfordshire Archaeological Society are conducting excavations on the Roman villa.

BOZEAT. SP/896600

D. N. Hall excavated a circular Roman building, diameter 50 ft., with stone footings and internal walls. Its pottery suggests a third century date, but the function of the building is uncertain. No votive objects were found, thus ruling out a shrine. Use as a tomb or a dovecote have been suggested. No animal droppings were found but there were parts of a cremation. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

CAMPTON. See Bedford

CHICKSANDS PRIORY. TL/122393

J. Dyer investigated an unstratified area on this Gilbertine Priory, producing fourteenth century pottery, when five skeletons were discovered.

DUNSTABLE

The Manshead Archaeological Society continued rescue investigation of sites in the Dunstable area and work on the Roman levels below the Dominican Priory of Dunstable. (*Manshead Magazine* 15-19, 1965-69). An important find at the latter is a swan jewel of the first half of the fifteenth century, of gold with white enamel. (*Report of the Trustees of the British Museum*, 1966, 31, pl 2; J. Cherry in *J.B.A.A.* 32 (1969)).

EATON SOCON. TL/170590

Two stone Roman coffins were discovered in 1966. One was retained by the farmer, the other is in Bedford Museum (*P.Camb.Ant.Soc.* 62 (1969)).

ELSTOW. TL/058476

Excavations by G. Dring at an Iron Age (Belgic) and Romano-British settlement near Elstow enter their third season. The following phases of occupation have been established:

- I. Iron Age C (Belgic) ciii. 1-43 A.D.
- II. Romano-Belgic. 43-c. 90 A.D.
- III. Romano-British (R-B). c. 90-c. 120 A.D.
- IV. R-B. c. 250-c. 300 A.D.

From ditches, gullies and pits of Phases I and II examples of butt and double-cordoned beakers and a fragment of painted ware (red pattern on a cream slip) are noteworthy.

Pottery kilns, located during proton magnetometer surveys by Dr M. J. Aitken, Research Laboratory for History of Art and Archaeology, Oxford, have been examined. The kilns are of up-draught construction and were active during Phases II/III and IV. Pottery from Phase II/III kilns (four kilns) embody vigorous cordons and pronounced girth grooves, features typical of late Belgic forms suggesting post-conquest Roman supervision or influence of indigenous potters. Pot types from a kiln of Phase IV are, in general, similar to those manufactured in the earlier kilns, but as a group are weaker in profile and, where present, grooves and cordons are devolved.

Whether there was continuity of occupation between Phases III and IV is not yet known. Excavation continues. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

ELSTOW: ABBEY

Excavations by D. Baker continue at the Benedictine Nunnery (see above p 27-41).

ICKWELL. TL/152455

The glass jug, like Isings type 55b, but with rounded profile and plain body (no corrugations) of deep purple colour, has been traced in Bedford Museum, with the two ungentaria and iron lamp stand from the Romano-British burial found in 1845.

KEMPSTON. TL/031474 and others

The watercolour notebook of T. G. Elger, now in Bedford Museum, was found to contain a sketch of a collared urn found at Kempston in 1888 and now lost. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

Pots of the 1913 Belgic grave circle have been located in Bedford Museum, together with other Belgic pottery, including types not hitherto recognised in Bedfordshire. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

D. H. Kennett in 1968 completed a survey of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery found in 1863-4. (Summary in *Bedfordshire Times* for 27 March, 4 April and 11 April 1969.)

LUTON

The British Museum in 1963 acquired a saucer brooch and a cremation urn, both finds from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery found in 1925 (*Ant.J.* 8 (1928) 177-192) which had remained in private possession.

M. Brown catalogued the brasses of Luton Parish Church, 1968-69.

MAULDEN: Ruxox Farm. TL/051363

The Ampthill Archaeological Society under K. Fadden are excavating at Ruxox Farm, Maulden, in an attempt to establish the extent and period of a Romano-British settlement in the area. A considerable scatter of second and fourth century pottery and coins have been turned up by the plough over 30 acres. Isolated finds of pipe clay figurines, bronze pins, fibulae, intaglios and wall plaster indicate a large and rich occupation, but to date excavations have only revealed cobbled floors, with some evidence of decayed sandstone walls. To assist digging a Resistivity Meter Survey has been taken over several acres.

RAVENS DEN. TL/078544

In February 1969 the nave and aisle floors of Ravensden Church were replaced, and this allowed a thorough investigation of the early building stages by D. N. Hall, G. Dring and J. B. Hutchings. The oldest feature was an elongated pit, predating the first building. It contained pottery of the twelfth or possibly eleventh centuries. Soon after this pit was filled the first church was built. It formed a rectangle 30 ft. by 15 ft., corresponding

approximately to the present nave. The door was 4.5 ft. wide, near the present south entrance. The long walls were 4.5 ft. thick and built entirely of flint and pebbles. The floor was earth covered with a thin layer of sand. According to the layer of burning, found in most parts and particularly in the south-west corner, the building suffered extensive fire damage before the floor level had built up very far. The south wall had to be rebuilt and still survives as the nave south wall. Immediately on the burned floor level, and therefore contemporary with the rebuilding, was a stonework base 4.5 ft. square. The position, at the centre of the west end makes it likely that it was the site of the later twelfth century font. Also on the same level at the north-east was a heap of subsoil approximately 2 ft. by 6 ft. aligned east-west. It is likely that this was the base of a stone tomb or monument.

In the thirteenth century the north aisle was added, and the nave north wall knocked down. The later floor layers of earth and sand spread over the footings of this wall. The tower and chancel may have been added at the same time. (*Beds.Arch.J.* forthcoming).

SANDY. TL/185480

J. Dyer with the Archaeological Group of the Putteridge Bury College of Education investigated a Mesolithic site at Sandy Warren (*Beds. and Hunts. Naturalist Trust Report*, 1968).

The group of Roman bronze bowls found in 1856 were found to be Gallo-Roman imports of the fourth century. (*Jb.R.G.Z. Mainz* forthcoming).

Finds from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery found in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries now known are 12 pots (4 British Museum; 5 Bedford Museum; 1 Mus.Arch.&Eth. Cambridge; 2 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), bone pin and two knives (Bedford Museum) and silver armlet (Cambridge Museum).

SEWELL. SP/995229

The Manshead Archaeological Society of Dunstable under C. L. Matthews investigated a double beaker burial, with a beaker of Clarke's Wessex/Middle Rhine type, a bone toggle and a bronze pin with a double loop head. (*Manshead Magazine* 19, 1969, 3-8; *P.Prehist.Soc.* forthcoming).

SHEFFORD. TL/135388

The bronze vessel fragments from the burial discovered in 1826 were examined and found to be from a ram's head patera (base, sides, rim, and handle extant) and a trefoil-lipped jug (handle, some body pieces extant). (*Beds.Mag.* forthcoming).

Reviews

Discovering Archaeology in England and Wales
by James Dyer. (Shire Publications, 1969,
4s. 6d.).

IN 80 pages with 31 photographs our previous editor has successfully managed to give a succinct introduction to the archaeology of England and Wales, designed essentially for the layman. The professional will however find something that is new for him as well. For this book, unlike many, gives prominence to Bedfordshire and the surrounding area, yet without forgetting its title. The plates include many objects in Bedford Museum, and these will be new to many. How many archaeologists have ever visited Bedford Museum?

Yet it is for the layman this book is designed and he would do well to heed the remarks about irresponsible and ill-conducted excavations. It is better to look and to learn, to be fascinated by the past and its monuments, than to destroy.

We trust James Dyer's book will reach a wide audience; and anticipate with pleasure the regional volumes we are informed that will follow it.

D.H.K.

Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands by the
Viatores. (London, Victor Gollancz, 1964.
Pp 526, pls 16, 139 maps. 70s.)

THE publication of this book in 1964 changed the south-east Midlands from a region in which little was known of the Roman roads into one of the most fully surveyed and published areas of Britain. In this respect it remains almost unique; here, almost for the first time, were recorded not merely the major roads, but a host of minor ones, often little more than tracks, of a type which we knew must have existed but which had never been studied in detail before. A measure of the success of the Viatores' work can be seen if one compares the edition of I. D. Margary's *Roman Roads in Britain* published before the appearance of this book with that published after. The Viatores were all amateur archaeologists or students, and in this they have continued the long line of amateur fieldworkers who have done so much to establish the Roman road system of Britain. In combining their work for publication they have set an example which could be followed with great profit by many other fieldworkers.

As the title of the book indicates the area covered is the south-east Midlands, a rather nebulous region, which the Viatores define as Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, west Hertfordshire and

south Northamptonshire, and which they suggest can be equated with the territory of the Catuvellauni. Each road or route is described separately, with a general map showing its course, and a series of detailed maps, based on the O.S. 2½ in. series, covering the detailed route. All the routes are numbered on a system based on that used by Margary in his *Roman Roads*. The Viatores each tended to cover a separate area; Bedfordshire being largely the work of D. E. Johnston and R. W. Bagshawe, and the authorship of each section is indicated by the use of the author's initials.

It is impossible to discuss the routes in detail in a short review, but it should be pointed out that the value of the work varies considerably from section to section. On a number of occasions the authors have been too ready to accept dubious evidence for the course of a road, and the routes generally lack the confirmation of excavated sections, without which they are hypotheses and not certainties. In reading the book one feels rather too often that the writers were not sufficiently critical of their evidence, nor fully aware of the possibilities of alternative explanations: Roman roads are not the only monuments met with in the field. The ultimate value of this book is likely to lie in its being an inducement to further work (to which it will be a very great aid), rather than as a finalised piece of research in itself.

W. H. MANNING

Eight Thousand Years—A Kempston History,
edited by H. A. Carnell, T. Booth and H. G.
Tibbutt. (Published by Kempston Urban
District Council, Pp 118, pls VIII. 21s. hard
cover; 8s. 6d. paper.)

'EIGHT THOUSAND YEARS—A KEMPSTON HISTORY' was produced in 1966 under the auspices of the Urban District Council who felt the need for a comprehensive and accurate guide to the story of Kempston from earliest times up to the present day. The Council are to be congratulated on their initiative and achievement.

The opening chapter on the geology and archaeology of Kempston is by Mr F. W. Kuhlicke, Curator of Bedford Museum, authoritative as always. In the following chapters Miss Patricia Bell of the County Record Office has produced material of considerable human interest, notably on the administration of parish charities.

Shorter essays deal with Kempston since Waterloo, Schools, The Barracks and Grange Camp, the

history of all denominations in Kempston, Architecture in Kempston, Kempston Urban District, Business and Industry. With some ten authors, some lack of integration in material and style is inevitable. Detailed work on subjects of wide interest, for example, the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, out of place in a work like this, have still to be written. Maps of Kempston in its various stages of growth might have been helpful.

After these comments, it only remains to be grateful for a pleasant and interesting book, whose ease of reading belies the number of hard facts it contains.

ANN SMALLRIDGE

The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough by Nikolaus Pevsner. (Penguin Books, 1968, £1 15s. 0d.).

PROFESSOR PEVSNER'S magisterial single-handed survey of the Buildings of England has with its thirty-fourth volume reached Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough. For once Bedfordshire has escaped the position of being the first county of a series, because of its position in the alphabetical list of English Counties. But there is a serious complaint to be levelled at this work. The reorganisation of English counties transferred the Soke of Peterborough from Northamptonshire to a joint county of Huntingdon and Peterborough. The Soke had already received attention in 1961 in the *Northamptonshire* volume of the series. The result is that when the illustrations are looked at one finds 49 for Bedfordshire, 39 for Huntingdon and 17 for the Soke. The 17 plates illustrating the Soke are all reprints for the *Northamptonshire* volume. The result for Bedfordshire is some peculiar omissions. Is not Clapham as representative as Barnack of pre-Conquest church towers? One looks in vain for an illustration of the Chalgrave Church wall paintings. Longthorpe Tower is thought to suffice. And why, might we ask, is there no illustration of the surviving fragment of the manor house built on the site of Warden Abbey? Surely its fine Elizabethan chimney deserved a plate?

These comments, which can be multiplied, may seem excessively parochial, but this reviewer feels that Bedfordshire would have been better served by a volume to itself and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough by a further volume. While it may not be possible to illustrate everything, a fairer representation of the two counties could have been achieved by two volumes each of 200 pages and 60 plates.

Like the other volumes of the series, there is an introduction to the Prehistoric and Roman remains

of the area. The two counties are given a separate prehistory, but the Roman section is less than a page for both counties. Would not separate treatment, bearing in mind the importance of the Nene valley potteries, have been more suitable? Mr Simpson's separate prehistories are both useful concepts, but one item on Bedfordshire must be corrected. It is stated (p 34) that no undoubted burial of a Catuvellaunian chieftain is known from Bedfordshire. What about the two Standfordbury burials? and while we are on the archaeological, could a plea be made for the inclusion in future volumes and reprints of old volumes for a note on the Anglo-Saxon remains of each county? In Bedfordshire the large cemeteries at least deserved mention as did those at Woodston for the Nene area.

On architectural matters, there does seem to be an unfortunate bias against nineteenth century restorations of churches. This does seem, to me at least, the only explanation why none of the major churches of Bedford are illustrated. Indeed, Bedford for illustrations comes off badly: only three—the old Town Hall, the High School for Girls, and the Swan Hotel. Huntingdon gets only one, and Peterborough has to make do with the five allotted to the Cathedral.

Professor Pevsner's book will for a long time remain a standard work of reference for the architecture of the county. It embodies the result of careful and considered judgement of a large scale undertaking. As such it must be welcomed. It has, unfortunately, some peculiar statements and omissions in the text. The Swan Hotel has part of the wall of Bedford Castle built into its structure, but, like the Danish earthworks of the county, this is not mentioned, though the prehistoric and Roman sites are described in the catalogue. Warden Abbey is treated to a strange dismissal in 13 lines, yet *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 2 would have answered Professor Pevsner's doubts about the context of the surviving fragment. Similarly our volume 3 should have underlined the local, if not the national, importance of Someries Castle. Thomas Rotherham, the builder of part of the building, was a figure of national importance in the fifteenth century and is to be remembered as a builder of brick buildings.

In bibliographical matters, it is surprising to find neither the *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* nor *A Bedfordshire Bibliography* and its *Supplement* mentioned. Any future edition by Professor Pevsner should include these in however brief the bibliography. Perhaps we may hope too for a volume devoted to Bedfordshire alone.

D.H.K.

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