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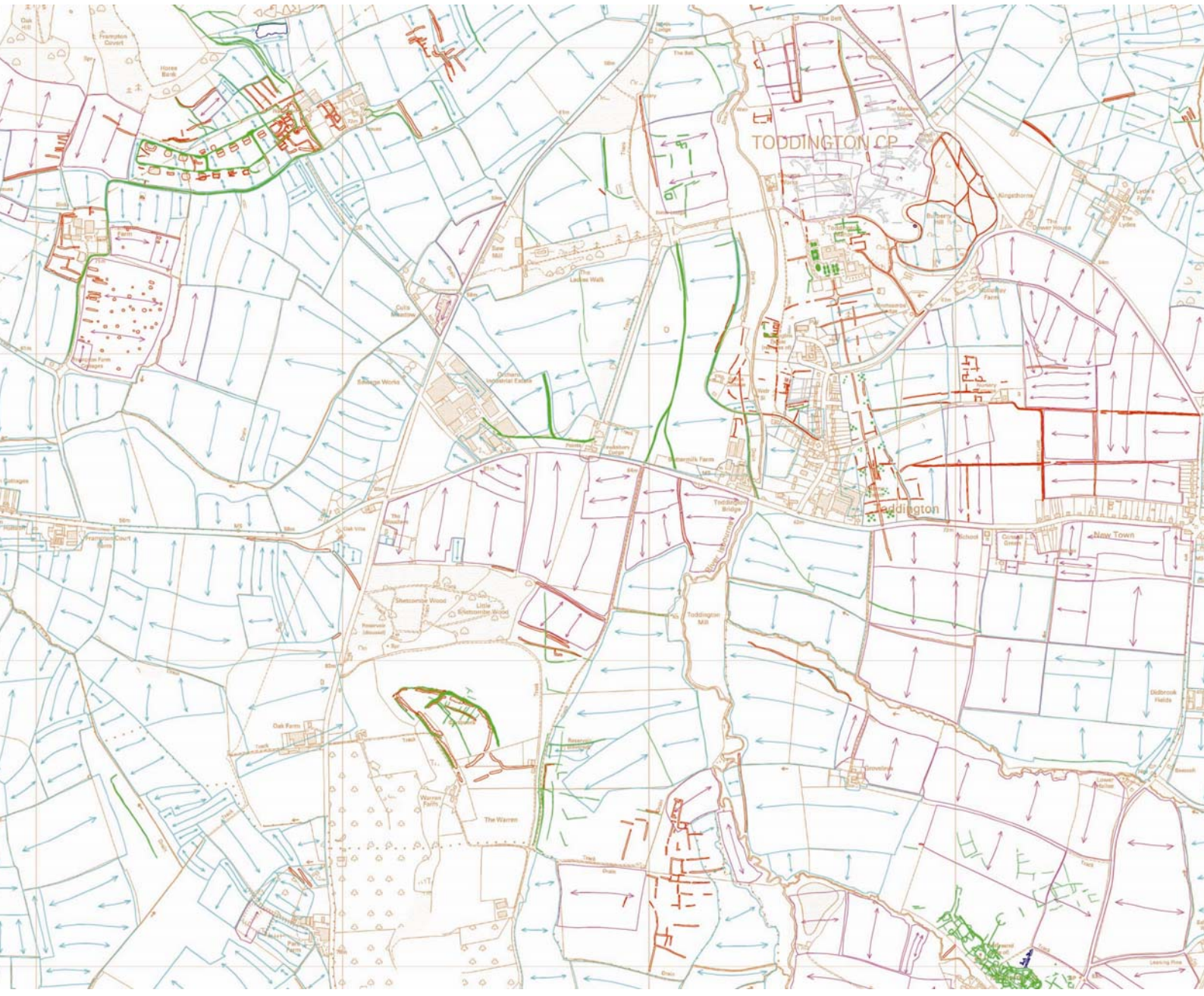
THE NORTH COTSWOLDS
A HIGHLIGHT REPORT FOR THE NATIONAL MAPPING PROGRAMME

Cathy Stoertz



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The North Cotswolds
A Highlight Report for the National Mapping Programme

Cathy Stoertz

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SUMMARY

This report describes the methods and results of the North Cotswolds National Mapping Programme (NMP) project. The English Heritage Aerial Survey team (Swindon) carried out this archaeological survey from aerial photographs between 2004 and 2008. The results of the project provide consistent baseline data, from aerial photographs, to aid heritage protection and planning.

CONTRIBUTORS

Simon Crutchley prepared the specification for the project. Edward Carpenter, Sharon Bishop, Fiona Small and Cathy Stoertz carried out most of the interpretation, mapping and recording. Krysia Truscoe worked on the project as part of a Bristol University student placement. Cathy Stoertz and Helen Winton prepared this report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to those who provided aerial photographs at the English Heritage National Monuments Record (now the English Heritage Archive) Enquiry and Research Services team, in particular Luke Griffin, and the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs (CUCAP). Thanks to Tim Grubb at Gloucestershire County Council for providing Historic Environment Record data and assistance.

This project was carried out in collaboration with the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography (CUCAP) formerly part of Cambridge University's Unit for Landscape Modelling (ULM): their contribution being the loan of material from the Air Photo Library.

Cover image: Archaeological features near Toddington. Base map © Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

ARCHIVE LOCATION

The English Heritage Archive
The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue
Swindon SN2 2EH

DATE OF SURVEY

2002 TO 2008

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes the methods and some results of the North Cotswolds National Mapping Programme (NMP) project. The English Heritage Aerial Survey team (Swindon) carried out this archaeological survey from aerial photographs between 2004 and 2008.

The main aim of the North Cotswolds project was to provide consistent baseline data, from aerial photographs, to aid heritage protection and planning. The main project products comprised a digital map and monument records of all archaeological features visible on aerial photographs, and this report. The project team created 1240 monument records, and updated a further 564, during the course of the project.

The project data complements the results from other work in the region (Figure 1). Of particular relevance are the Cotswold Hills NMP project (Janik, Dickson and Priest 2011) and the Carrant Valley NMP project (Bishop 2009).

The character of the archaeology seen from the air is broadly different in each of the distinctive landscape zones of the northern Cotswolds. The predominance of pasture until relatively recently resulted in the preservation of large areas of contiguous medieval and post medieval ridge and furrow, interspersed with settlement remains, across the lower lying parts of the project area in the Severn and Avon vales. Glimpses of sites from earlier periods, mainly prehistoric or Roman settlements, are revealed as cropmarks where the ridge and furrow is ploughed level. The archaeological features visible from the air are more varied on the Cotswolds edge and plateau. Prehistoric and/or Roman funerary monuments and settlement remains survive as earthworks in pasture and are revealed as cropmarks in areas of modern arable farming. On the plateau the medieval and post medieval remains reflect the predominance of sheep farming and a different pattern of settlement through these periods, and there are few areas of ridge and furrow. There were Second World War military remains throughout the project area.

Project Area

The project was originally conceived as part of a wider survey covering the Forest of Dean and the whole of the Cotswolds (Crutchley 2002). The project was reprogrammed to include the Forest of Dean (Small and Stoertz 2006) and the northern Cotswolds only. The Gloucestershire County Council NMP team surveyed the central and southern areas of the Cotswold Hills (Janik, Dickson and Priest 2011).

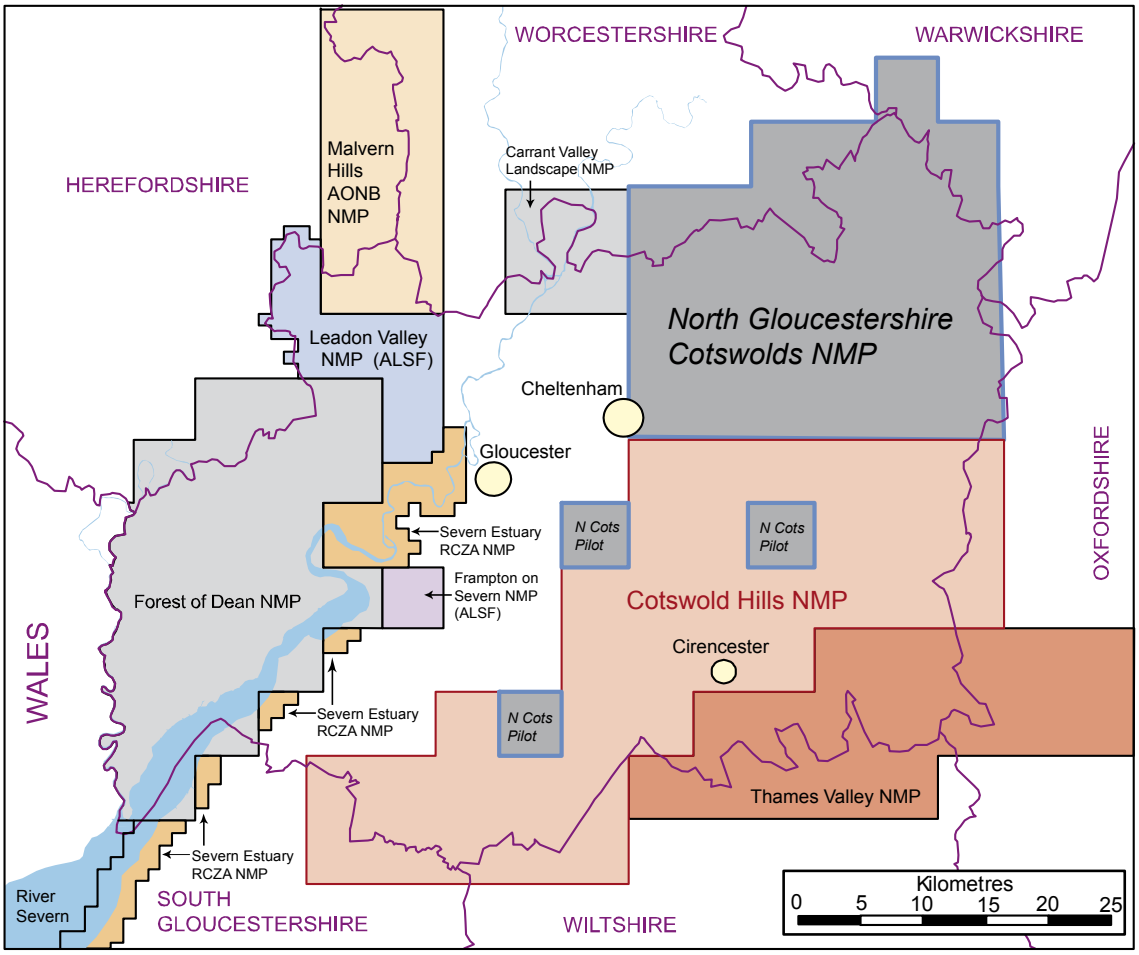

Figure 1 North Cotswolds project area and other NMP projects in the region. Base map derived from Ordnance Survey data © Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

The revised project area, characterised as the North Cotswolds, comprised 28 Ordnance Survey Quarter Sheets (700 square kilometres) between Cheltenham, Tewksbury, Evesham and Chipping Norton. The project area mainly lies in north Gloucestershire but takes in parts of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire. The landscape varies across the project area and includes, from west to east, the low lying Severn Vale, the Cotswold scarp and the Cotswolds plateau. The northern extents of the project include parts of the Avon Vale or Vale of Evesham.

The Cotswold scarp, where it rises up from the Severn Vale, is a striking landscape feature that forms the western edge of the Cotswold escarpment (Crutchley 2002, Natural England 2012). It

is an abrupt face of limestone and lias clay rising in a concave profile from the plain below, steepening towards the top edge, and sometimes forming outcrops of exposed rock. The slopes are typically steep, irregular and indented by springs, stream gullies and coombes. The landscape is pastoral in character with a patchwork of broad-leaved woodlands and fields within hedgerows. The slopes themselves are predominantly grassland with little development.

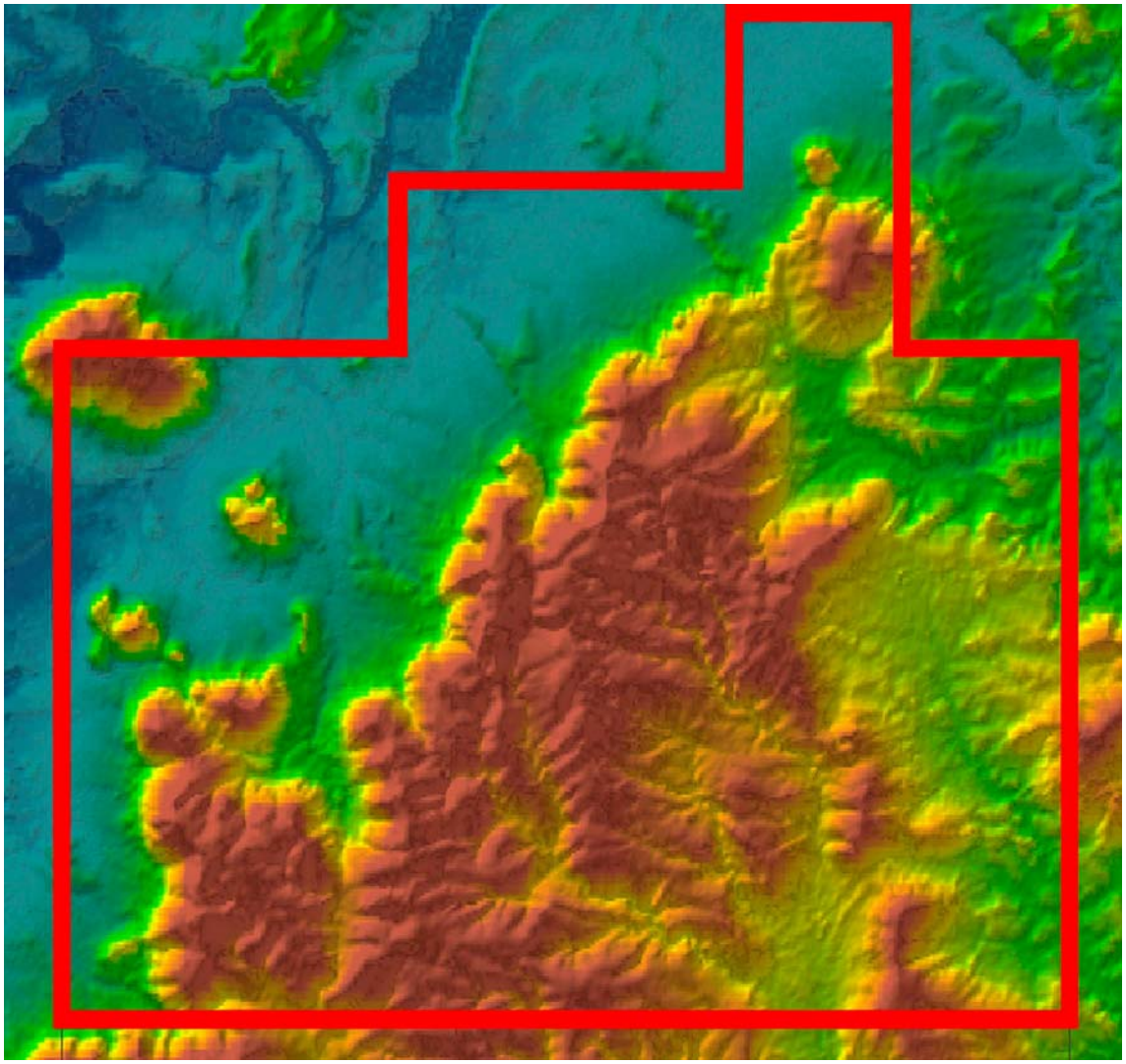

Figure 2 Relief map of project area. Derived from Ordnance Survey data © Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012.

The high land of the dip slope of the Cotswolds escarpment is mainly flat and plateau like (Crutchley 2002). To the east and north the topography becomes more gentle and sloping, the valleys smaller and narrower and there are broad plateau tops. On the plateau tops the landscape is characterised by large arable fields and blocks of woodland and grassland divided in many areas by local Cotswold stone walls. The valleys contain small villages with associated pasture fields. Small, nucleated villages are generally found along the spring line centred around small greens and commons while on higher ground there are small hamlets and isolated farmsteads.

In the western edge of the project area, in the Severn Vale, the landscape is relatively flat and open and comprises mixed arable and pasture, including some market gardening. North of the Cotswold Hills, the Avon Vale forms part of the same broad character area as the Severn Vale but with some distinct local characteristics (Natural England 2012). The project area beyond the foot of the north Cotswold scarp covers the edge of this intensively farmed broad clay vale. A variety of crops are grown in this area giving a varied character to the landscape (ibid).

Figure 3 Looking south west along the Cotswold scarp at Cleeve Common. NMR 23331/15 17-MAR-2003 © English Heritage. NMR

Methods

The project scope included all archaeological features visible on aerial photographs. These ranged in date from the Neolithic period to the 20th century and included sites visible as cropmarks and/or earthworks but also structures, in particular those relating to early twentieth century military activities. All aerial photographs from the English Heritage Archive (formerly the National Monuments Record (NMR)), Cambridge University, and relevant HER collections were consulted. All vertical photographic prints were viewed using a stereoscope. Readily available documentary sources (historic maps etc) and synthesised background information on the area (published material, NMR and HER records) were also consulted.

Rectified and georeferenced digital images were produced by transforming scans of oblique and vertical photographs using the University of Bradford AERIAL5 programme. Control information was taken from digital 1:2500 scale Ordnance Survey Mastermap data. The relevant scanned photograph(s) were usually rectified to an average level of accuracy of 2m or less to the base map. This gives an overall accuracy of plotted features, to true ground position, dependent on the accuracy of the map base, usually guaranteed by the OS to be within ±5-15m. A digital terrain model function, using OS 5m interval contour data, was used to compensate for undulating terrain.

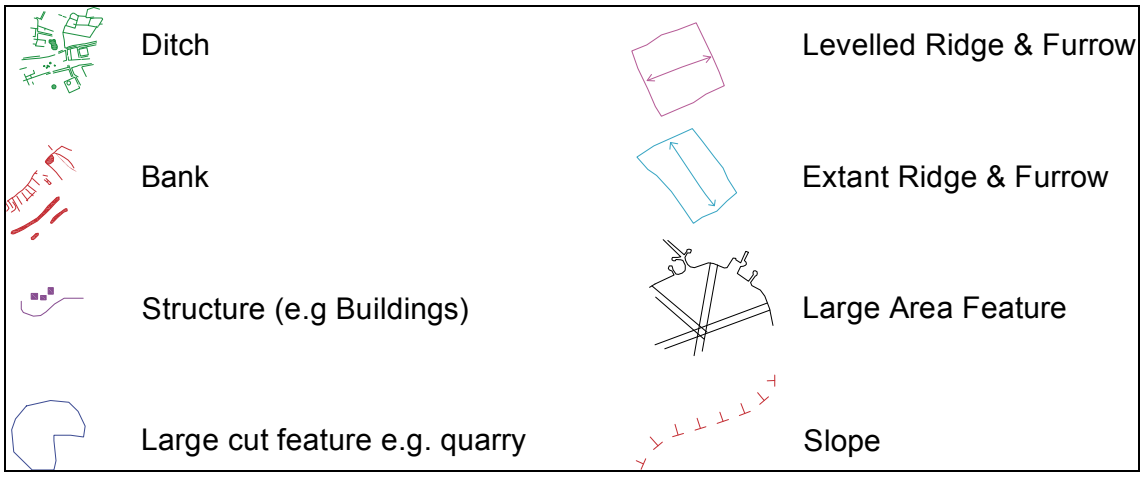

Figure 4 Mapping conventions.

Archaeological features were traced from georeferenced and rectified photographs using AutoCAD Map. Archaeological features were depicted on different layers based on the form of remains (e.g. bank, ditch etc). A monument polygon was created for each site. Basic indexing information (e.g. period, monument type, photo reference) was attached to groups of objects, in AutoCAD, to aid analysis of the mapping. A unique identifier number was attached to each group of objects corresponding to the monument description in the English Heritage AMIE database.

Monument records in the EH AMIE database were created or amended where appropriate. The monument record consisted of a textual description of the site linked to indexed location, period,

type and form of evidence. The record also included digital cross references to other monuments and datasets (usually the HER or scheduling information) as well as a list of the main aerial photographs and other sources for the site. An Event record in the EH AMIE database was created to provide data on project scope and procedures. NMR archive records were created for each quarter sheet. The Event and archive records are linked to each monument record.

All data and documentation relating to the project was archived at the English Heritage Archive (formerly the NMR). The mapping and parts of the monument records are available on the EH corporate GIS (for internal EH use only). Full monument records are available via Pastscape (www.pastscape.org.uk). Mapping and monument records are available on request from the EH NMR Enquiry and Research Service. All data was supplied to the relevant HERs.

THE NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE

The survey provided accurate mapping and information on aerial photograph sources for a range of sites ascribed to the Neolithic and Bronze Age. The distribution of sites and some of the key themes are described below (Fig 5).

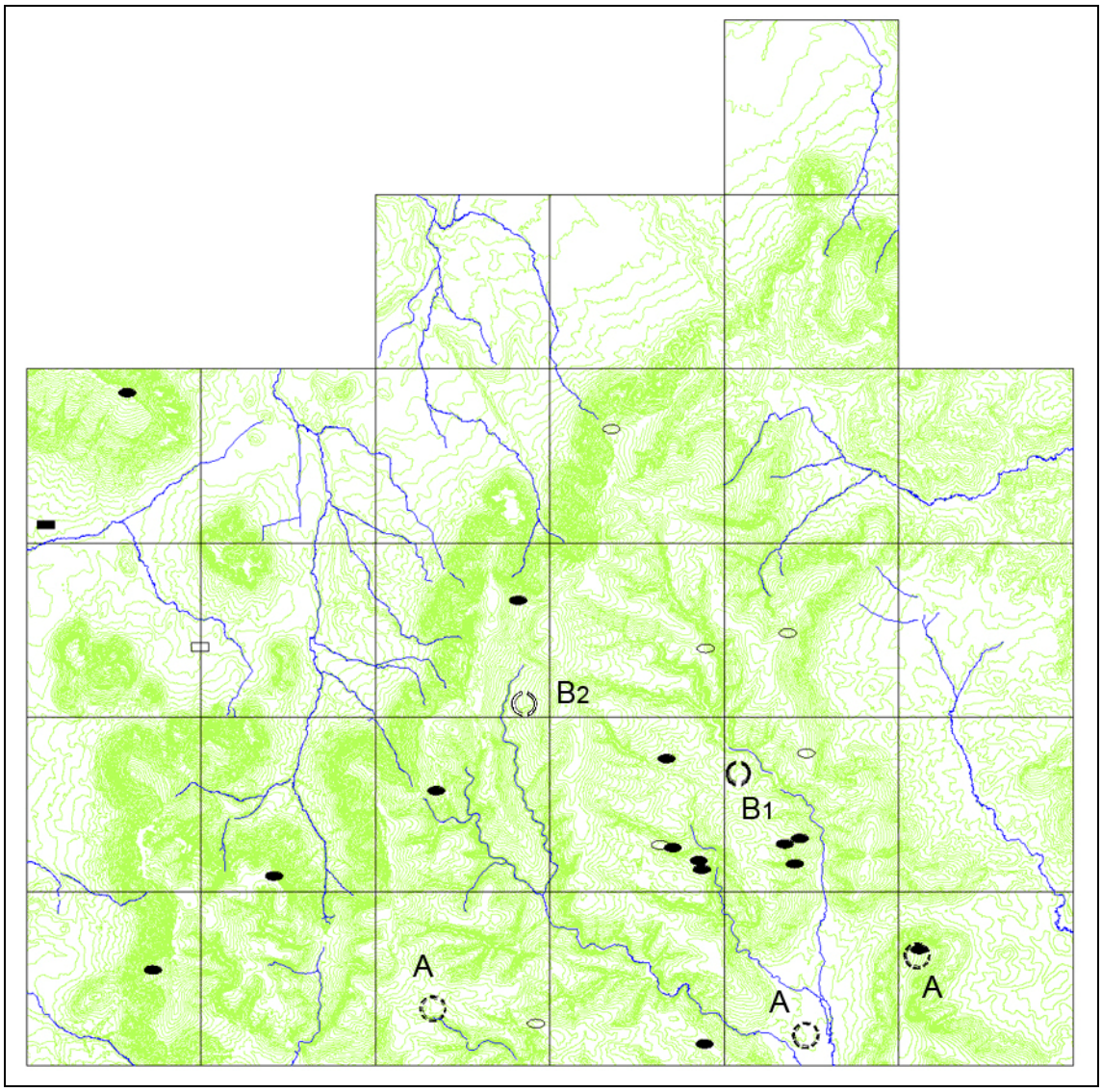

Figure 5 Neolithic sites on the North Cotswolds. A = causewayed enclosures; B1 = henge; B2 = possible henge. Solid ovals = long barrows (mapped); open ovals = long barrows not mapped from aerial photographs. Solid rectangle = mortuary enclosure; open rectangle = possible cursus. Base map © Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Causewayed enclosures

The northern part of the circuit of the Salmonsbury causewayed enclosure, near Bourton-on-the-Water (Figure 6, centre)„ was identified via geophysical survey in 1994 (Marshall 1995, Darvill in Holbrook and Jurica 2006, 24 fig 5). The western end was mapped from 1984 aerial photos as part of very complex tangle of probable later prehistoric enclosures, pits etc and boundaries. Using the geophysics plot as a guide, traces of the interrupted ditches could be confirmed – they were faintly visible on 1983 aerial photos. The Salmonsbury causewayed enclosure is located on low ground just to the north of the confluence of the Rivers Dikler and Windrush, and very close to where the Dikler is joined by a minor river, the Eye.

Another possible causewayed enclosure is at Icomb Hill, four kilometres to the north east of Salmonsbury. This feature appears as a segmented ditch which seems to form the southern side of a large oval enclosure although, alternatively, it could be part of an Iron Age hill top enclosure. Surface finds of Neolithic material have been recovered, but there were no finds from a small scale excavation in 1975. 'Within the enclosed area, a group of faint cropmarks first noted by Darvill as a possible inner causewayed enclosure are now believed to be geological in origin.' (Oswald, Dyer, Barber 2001). A small oval enclosure within the eastern end of the large enclosure could be an associated oval barrow or long barrow, or could indicate the underlying geology.

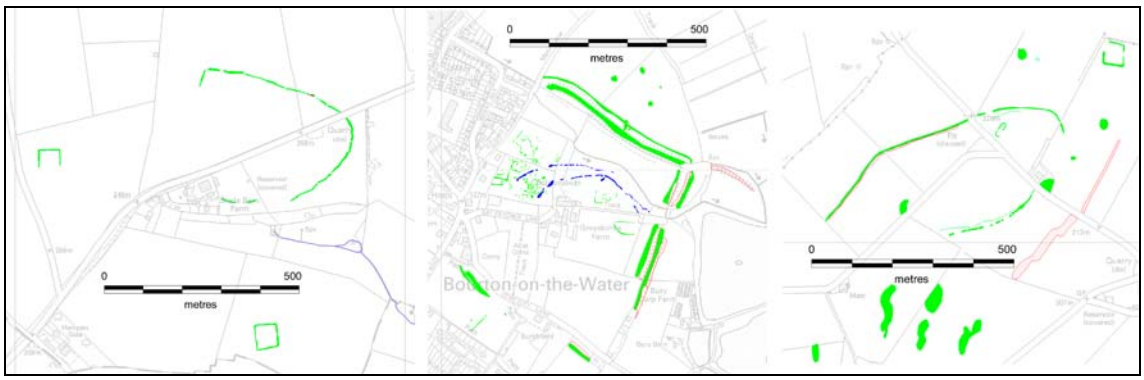

Figure 6 Possible causewayed enclosures in the North Cotswolds region. Salmonsbury, the certain example, is shown in blue in the centre image. Slade Barn Farm is on the left; Icomb Hill is on the right.

A possible discontinuous enclosure is situated on the spur north and east of Slade Barn Farm which is between Hawling and Shipton. The enclosure is located on a south facing slope at the head of a valley bearing a small stream. The enclosure is visible as the cropmark of a ditch (possibly with an internal palisade trench visible at the east end) with a number of possible entrance gaps. Its date is uncertain, but its form and finds of pottery in a nearby quarry, appear to suggest a Late Bronze Age date (Information from EH AMIE database monument record) even though it has superficial similarities to Neolithic causewayed enclosures.

The function of causewayed enclosures is still unclear. Occupation debris and the suggestion of defensive enclosure have been recorded at Crickley Hill, and evidence of occupation, either permanent or temporary, has come from Peak Camp, Birdlip (both outside the North Cotswolds survey area). No excavation has yet focussed on the Neolithic enclosure at Salmonsbury, although the excavation of the large Iron Age enclosure there included two pits which seem to coincide in location to the causewayed enclosure, and recovered 4th and 3rd millennium BC pottery and worked flint (Darvill 2006, 23 in Holbrook and Jurica).

Long barrows

The long barrows which lie within the limits of the North Cotswolds NMP survey area represent the northern extent of the Cotswold-Severn chambered long barrow group. Eleven barrows and three possible barrows were mapped from aerial photographs, while another five long barrows known or suggested from other sources were either masked by trees or badly abraded, probably by ploughing, and could not be identified on aerial photographs. While a handful of the long barrows in this part of the Cotswolds are located along the western scarp edge, the majority appear on the upland plateau towards the south east of the area. Within this upland group, there is a notable concentration near the headwaters of the Rivers Dikler and Eye, on the High Cotswolds around Swell and Temple Guiting.

Cursus (possible)

No cursus monuments are known on the Cotswolds uplands (Darvill 2006, 33), but a possible example was mapped below the north western scarp, near the beginning of a watercourse. It comprises a rectilinear enclosure with internal subdivisions, a narrow contiguous enclosure or annex at its eastern end and an incomplete or open western end (the southern ditch possibly continues to the west). In view of this possible continuation, it is possible that this enclosure may represent the incomplete remains of a potential Neolithic cursus monument extending down to a stream fed by another stream to the south of the site. It is located on low ground between water courses, overlooked by several hills to the west of the main scarp edge. It is situated 1500m to the south of the possible timber circle.

Timber circle (possible)

A roughly circular setting of pits, 28m in diameter, with a possible central pit was identified as a cropmark. This feature lies within a rectilinear enclosure, and may be part of a complex comprising another enclosure and several perpendicular linear ditches (Fig 12). An alternative interpretation is that the enclosures and linear ditches are not contemporary and instead date to the Iron Age. The site is located on lower slopes on the south west side of Alderton/Dumbleton Hill, on or near the spring line and close to several minor water courses, to the west of the main scarp edge. It lies 1500m to the north of the possible cursus.

Henges

The henge at Condicote partly survives as earthworks and is partly visible as cropmarks but damage from modern development means the entire circuit cannot be identified. Excavations in 1938 showed a bank between two ditches. Small excavations in 1977 found possibly Beaker pottery. Two radiocarbon dates were obtained from charcoal and burnt wood, both falling in the 18th century bc (uncalibrated), suggesting the possibility of a later Neolithic origin (information from EH AMIE database monument record). Roman pottery came from the upper fill (and a single Iron Age sherd had been reported on an earlier occasion). 'Built in a small clearing in an essentially wooded landscape.' (Darvill in Hollbrook and Jurica 2006, 33). Located on the north or north east facing shoulder of a ridge, overlooking the possible head of the River Dikler (which lies c 1.3km to the south east), between that and the possible head of the River Eye (a tributary of the Dikler, 2km to the south west of the henge).

A possible henge at Cutsdean, mentioned in Saville's gazetteer of archaeological sites in Gloucestershire, was not mapped by the North Cotswolds NMP project. Saville noted that this site was 'postulated on the basis of an aerial photograph' (Saville 1980, 27), but he had not included it in his main gazetteer, because it 'is not visible on the ground, and requires further research to establish it existence…' The Cutsdean feature (B2, Fig 5 above) lies on the plateau above the western escarpment and its location, close to the head of a stream that feeds into the River Windrush, is similar to that of the Condicote henge (B1, Fig 5 above). It was included in Harding and Lee's compendium of henge monuments, where it was described as a 'sub-oval enclosure, known from cropmarks…' Those authors also commented that there was 'insufficient information, but [it] cannot be ruled out as henge-related' (Harding and Lee 1987, 159-161, Fig 160). The photograph on which identification of the Cutsdean enclosure was based was not available for examination during the NMP survey.

Round barrows

Round barrows in the region are often found clustered around long barrows (Darvill 2004 222) and could indicate a possible ancestral or conceptual link to the past. Examples can be seen at Cow Common and Eyford Hill (both near the head of the River Eye), Snowshill, and Guitinghill Farm.

Other striking associations can be seen at Salmonsbury where a possible flattened round barrow (a circular ditch 14m in diameter) is situated between the ditches of the causewayed enclosure. There is a linear group of ring ditches about 1km to the east, at the confluence of the Rivers Eye and Dikler. A relationship may also be seen between round barrows and other monuments, for example a number of round barrows appear in loose association with the Condicote henge.

Most of the barrows seem to have comprised simple mounds, although a possible barrow, with a berm and an outer ditch, has been excavated at Bevan's Quarry, Temple Guiting. Additional possible ditched-and-bermed barrows appear as cropmarks on Kineton Hill and Eyford Hill. A large loose grouping of plough levelled round barrows appears on the low ground to the south of Moreton-in-Marsh, to the west of the River Evenlode near its confluence with tributary streams. Another group along the Carrant Brook, seems to be associated with a possible mortuary

enclosure (Bishop 2009, 16). There are three single ring ditches, probably indicating the sites of ploughed mounds, along the River Isbourne on lower land to the north of Toddington. A cluster of plough levelled round barrows at Notgrove, are situated 1.4km to the east of a long barrow.

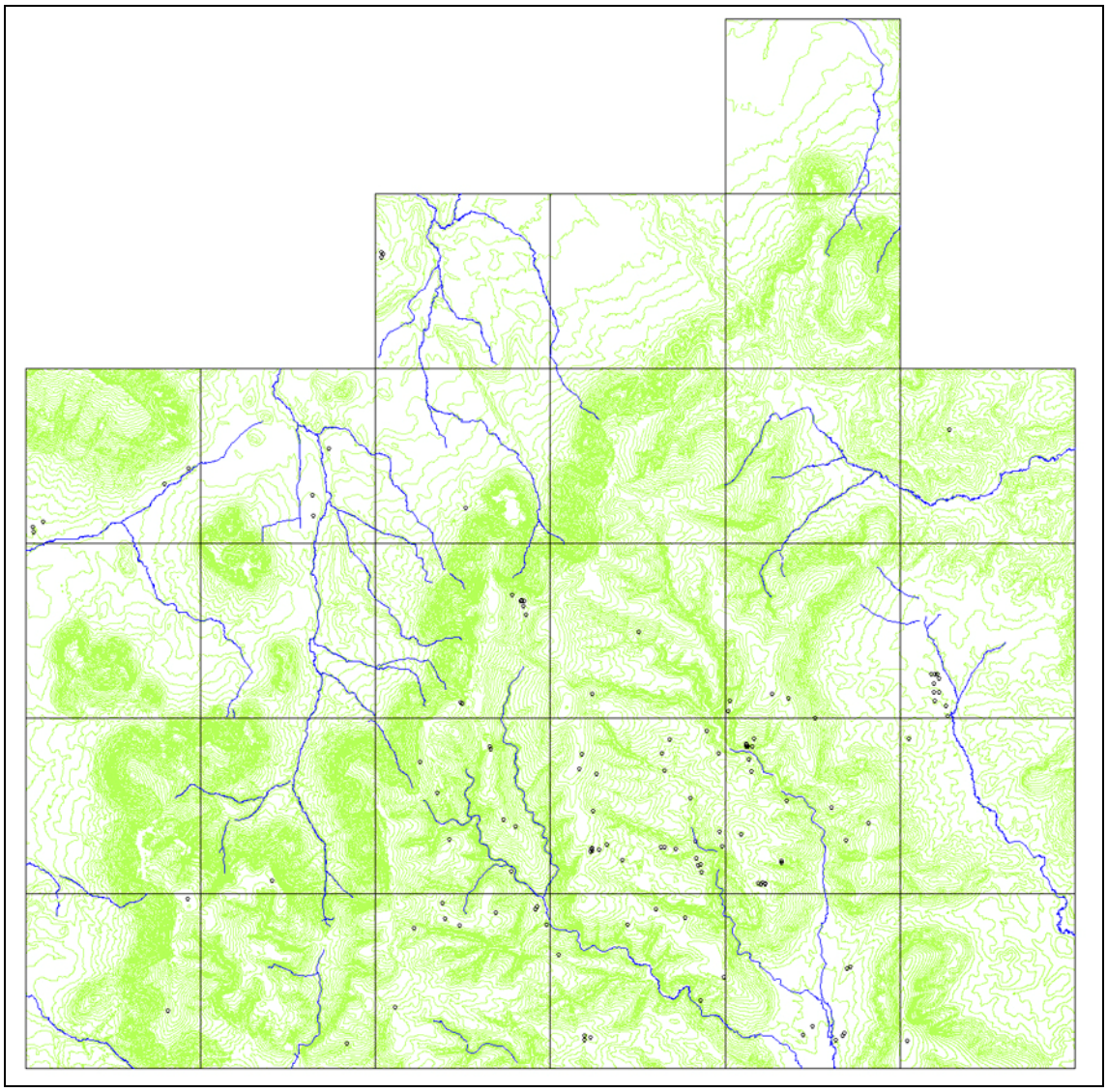

Figure 7 Distribution of round barrows in the North Cotswolds survey area. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Prehistoric monuments between Salmonsbury and Condicote

A possible monument group, or two adjacent or overlapping groups (on a very large geographical and temporal scale) is associated with the Rivers Dikler, Eye and Windrush (Fig 8). The Salmonsbury causewayed enclosure is situated on low land between the rivers Dikler and the Windrush. A possible causewayed enclosure to the north east on Icomb Hill, overlooks this basin. The Condicote henge is near the source of the Dikler. There are numerous long barrows and round barrows in this region, possible referencing the other monuments, or the local topography.

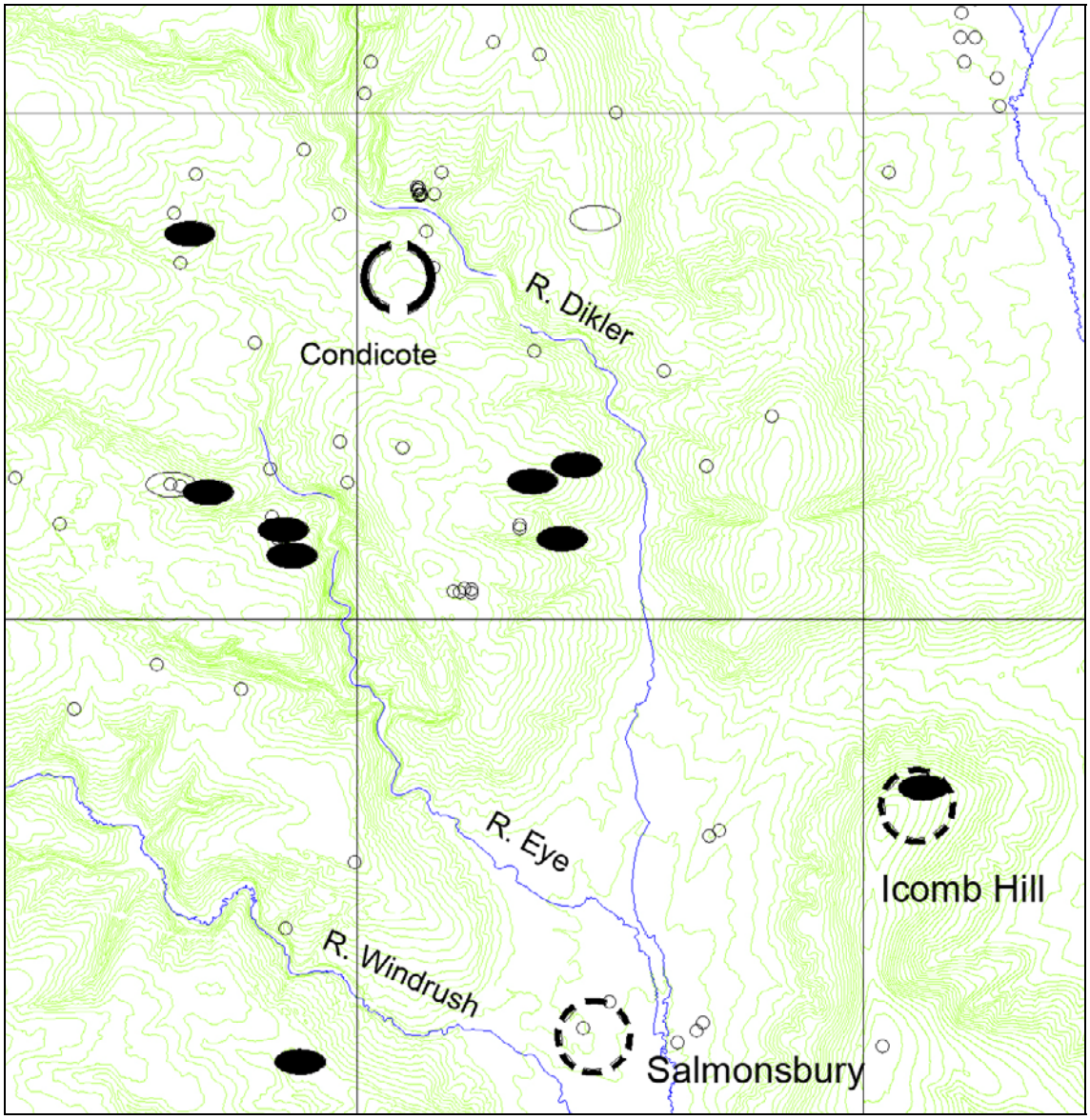

Figure 8 Early prehistoric funerary and ritual monuments between Salmonsbury and Condicote.

Black grid lines are at 5km intervals. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

IRON AGE AND ROMAN

The Iron Age period in the Cotswolds is characterised by enclosures associated with both defence and farming. Hillforts, mainly dating to the earlier Iron Age, were constructed predominantly on the scarp edge; smaller settlements appear to have been well-distributed, although the pattern is rather fragmentary. There is evidence of one or two long distance routes (the Salt Way and the Jurassic Way), and many examples of local trackways, land divisions and relatively small areas of field system earthworks.

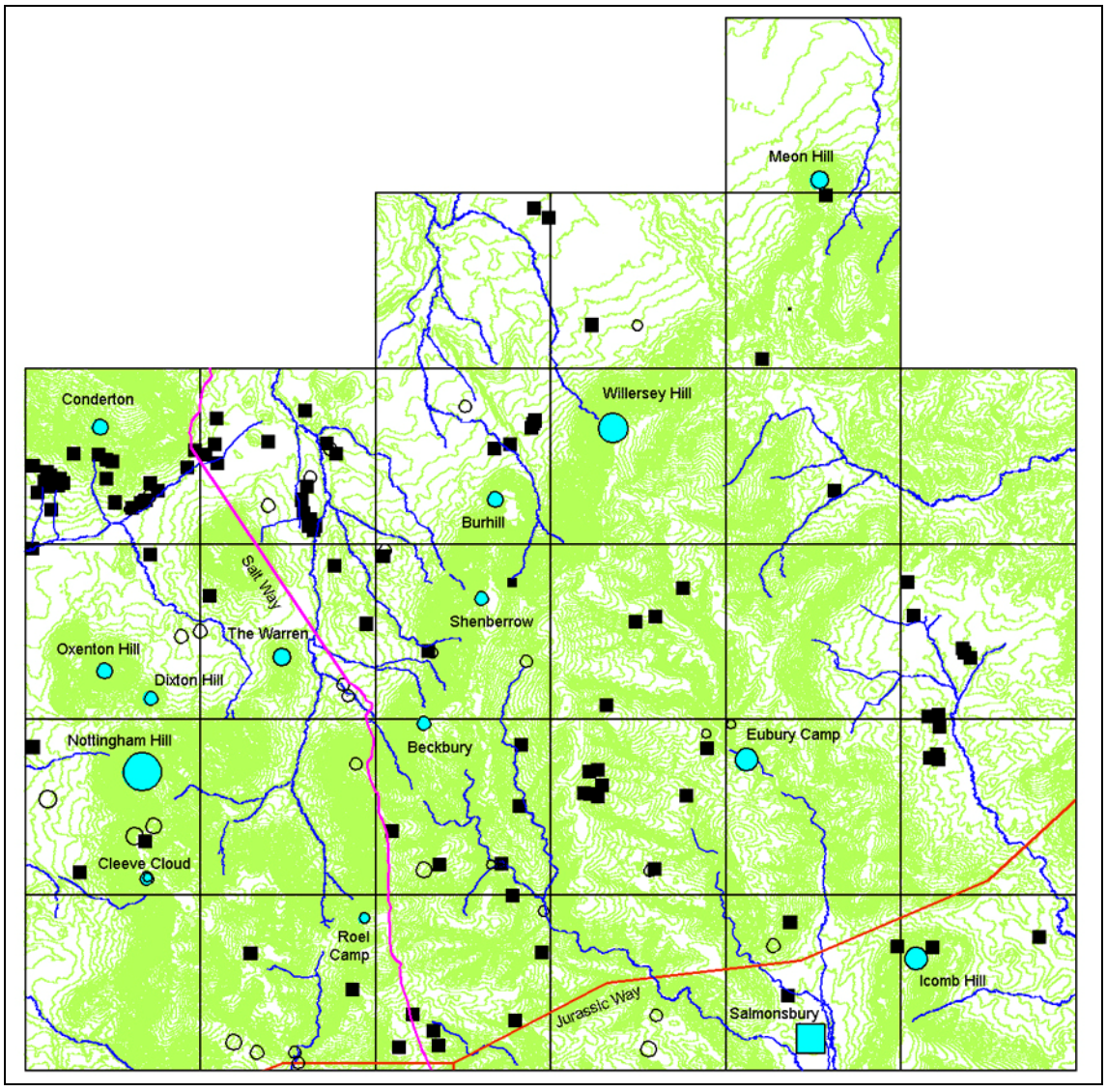

Figure 9 Iron Age sites in North Gloucestershire. Blue spots - relative sizes of hillforts; squares- relative sizes of rectilinear enclosures; open circles - find spots. Possible long distance trackways - purple and brown lines. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Hillforts

Most hillforts in the study area were located along the north-western scarp edge, as if looking out towards the lower land of the Vale of Evesham to the west, and on outlying knolls to the west of the main Cotswold uplands. It is thought that the hillforts of this region could be regarded as defended villages, or even small towns, in some cases but as yet there is little direct evidence of this (Saville 1984, 147).

Two hillforts in this region, Nottingham Hill and Roel Camp, appear to have had late Bronze Age beginnings, but most of the area's small fortified sites appeared in the 8th–6th centuries BC (Moore 2006a, 68). Many seem to have gone out of use before the late Iron Age (Saville 1984, 146) and, although some Roman material has been recovered at one or two hillfort locations, there is no evidence of wide-spread re-fortification at the time of Roman arrival in this part of the Cotswolds (RCHM1976, xxxiv). Traces of late Bronze Age and/or early Iron Age enclosure earthworks have also been reported, but not seen on aerial photographs, at the towns of Stow-on-the-Wold and Moreton–in-Marsh, both of which are located farther to the north along the eastern dip slope of the Cotswold uplands.

Cleeve Cloud, a hillfort with finds of early Iron Age pottery, perches on the edge of the scarp. The western half of the earthwork has possibly been lost over the scarp edge, where there is much quarry damage. Beckbury, like Cleeve Cloud, is located on the edge of a steep slope and may be one of a number of hilltop enclosures which appeared in about the 4th century BC, after some earlier sites had been abandoned (Moore 2006a, 74); finds of Roman coins of Severus and Aurelius have also been reported. Another scarp-edge fort with early Iron Age pottery is Shenberrow, which also has secondary finds of 2nd century Romano-British pottery. Here, as at Beckbury, the stronger defences are on the more open eastern side. Burhill, above Buckland, has surface finds of early and middle Iron Age pottery, but has not been excavated. This hillfort is defined by a bank which cuts off the neck of a ridge, and three banks along the scarp top. Finds of early Iron Age pottery outside the rampart suggest an extramural settlement or possibly an earlier unenclosed settlement (Moore 2006a, 68), but no evidence for this was visible on the aerial photographs.

Willersey Hill, towards the northern end of the escarpment, dates to the middle Iron Age. It covers a very large area, with an inner oval enclosure on the highest part of the hill and a larger outer enclosure running along the top of the steeper slope to the west and north. At the northernmost extent of the survey area is Meon Hill, a multivallate hillfort whose defensive earthworks closely follow the contours of the hill and comprise traces of an inner rampart and ditch, and an outer ditch. The continuation of the defences along the contour on the ploughed-out east side shows clearly as a cropmark on aerial photographs. There is an entrance in the Western face, but a break in the southern defences appears to be modern. A hoard of 394 currency bars, found in 1824, suggests a date in the 1st century BC (Thomas 1960, 205).

Eubury Camp on the central Cotswold uplands probably represents a large defensive earthwork of Iron Age origin. It lies on an east-facing slope above the head of the River Dikler. A series of banks and scarps following the contours has been interpreted alternately as archaeological and natural features over the past hundred years, but aerial photographic evidence from 1996 and surface finds of Iron Age and Roman or Romano-British pottery over its interior seem to support its authenticity as an archaeological feature. (see Fig 18 and Cast Study below p??.)

To the north of the Cotswold escarpment, on outlying knolls at the edge of the Vale of Evesham, are four hilltop earthworks whose interpretation is less certain. Conderton (see Bishop 2009), on the south-eastern end of Bredon Hill, may be subsidiary to Bredon hillfort and contemporary with its second phase. There were two phases at Conderton: the outer, earliest rampart with an entrance at north end; and an inner, smaller enclosure with an entrance at the south end and six huts (not visible on photos). This hillfort was probably abandoned in the second century BC (Moore 2006b, 143), although Samian sherds and Roman coins have been found in and around the camp.

The Knolls, on Oxenton Hill, may more accurately be described as an unenclosed hilltop settlement defined by cross dykes. Surface finds of Hallstatt and mid-La Tene pottery, as well as briquetage, support its interpretation as an Iron Age settlement. Those features that have the appearance of defensive linear earthworks around the hilltop may instead result from a combination of natural scarps, geological strata and extensive quarrying on the hilltop. From the air, however, the scarps and banks on the southern sides appear to form coherent linear features. This site may be another of the group constructed in the 4th century BC (Moore 2006a, 74; Moore 2006b, 127). The origins of the earthworks on Dixton Hill, just to the east of Oxenton, may also be partly geological and partly artificial, the latter possibly the result of quarrying (RCHM 1976, xxxi). This site has also been identified as a possible motte and bailey, but there are no historical records of a castle at this location.

The Warren (sometimes known as Toddington Camp), is situated on a slightly detached knoll to the south of Toddington. Although lacking in either surface finds or excavation evidence, field surveyors in 1883, 1919 and 1973 observed earthworks which they considered to be substantial and man-made (Witts, 1883, 48; Burrow 1919, 146; OS field surveyor 1973, information from EH AMIE database monument record).

Two enclosures are situated to the south-east of the Cotswolds uplands on Icomb Hill and at Salmonsbury. On Icomb Hill, fragmentary banks and ditches appear on the end of a promontory, overlooking low land that runs roughly west-east between the confluence of the Rivers Dikler and Windrush and the course of the River Evenlode. These features seem to enclose the hilltop, and could be interpreted as a possible hillfort, but Darvill suggests that the very slight earthworks on the hilltop represent linear banks, rather than an enclosure, and favours a late Bronze Age interpretation (Moore 2006b, 128; Darvill 1987, 121). The enclosure by Salmonsbury is an extremely unusual Iron Age fortified enclosure which lies at the south-eastern corner of the North Cotswolds survey area, on the dip slope below the central uplands. Salmonsbury is a large rectilinear enclosure defined by two substantial ramparts (now levelled) and covering an area of about 23 hectares. Excavation has revealed middle–late Iron Age huts and storage pits and late Iron Age pottery within the enclosed area (Saville 1984, 145), and middle Iron Age pottery was found beneath the rampart (Moore 2006b, 149). Salmonsbury is located on comparatively low-lying ground between the Rivers Dikler and Windrush, near their confluence and is adjacent to, and partly beneath, the modern town of Bourton-on-the-Water. The site was clearly of considerable importance for many centuries – a Neolithic causewayed enclosure lies within the area delineated by the later earthworks. An unenclosed early-middle Iron Age settlement has also been recorded nearby, as well as a substantial Roman settlement to the west, outside the rectilinear enclosure.

Smaller enclosures – farmsteads and strongholds

Many small non-hillfort enclosures were recorded throughout the North Cotswolds survey area; most are rectilinear, although there are a few curvilinear examples. Most were recorded as cropmarks and their perimeter ditches only were visible but they were probably also defined by banks. Such enclosures appear both singly and in groups, and have been found along the escarpment, on the central uplands and the dip slope, and below the scarp on the edge of the Vale of Evesham. Very few of these enclosures have been dated securely, whether by surface finds or excavation: their interpretation rests largely on morphological characteristics.

A possible exemplar for the interpretation of small rectilinear enclosures in this region may be found in a pair of linked sites in the parish of Guiting Power. Known as The Park and Bowsings, they have been the subject of a detailed campaign of geophysical survey and excavation by Alistair Marshall (Marshall 2004) but, frustratingly, were not visible on aerial photographs because the fields in which they lie are under long-term pasture. Marshall interpreted the single sharp-cornered rectilinear enclosure called Bowsings as a 'stronghold', dated by excavation to the mid-late Iron Age, with a suggestion of survival into the Roman period. The small group of less defensive contiguous rectilinear enclosures to the west, referred to as The Park, were found to be of early-middle Iron Age date and were interpreted as a 'farmstead', apparently the precursor of the later defended site (Fig 10).

The Park and Bowsings are located on the central uplands of the North Cotswolds. During his work on the Guiting Power sites, Marshall undertook geophysical survey on a small number of nearby enclosures which he also interpreted as 'strongholds': Middle Ground, at Temple Guiting, a mid-late Iron Age to Roman enclosure very similar in form to the Bowsings site, was visible as a cropmark, although its alleged associated 'farmstead' to the south was not.

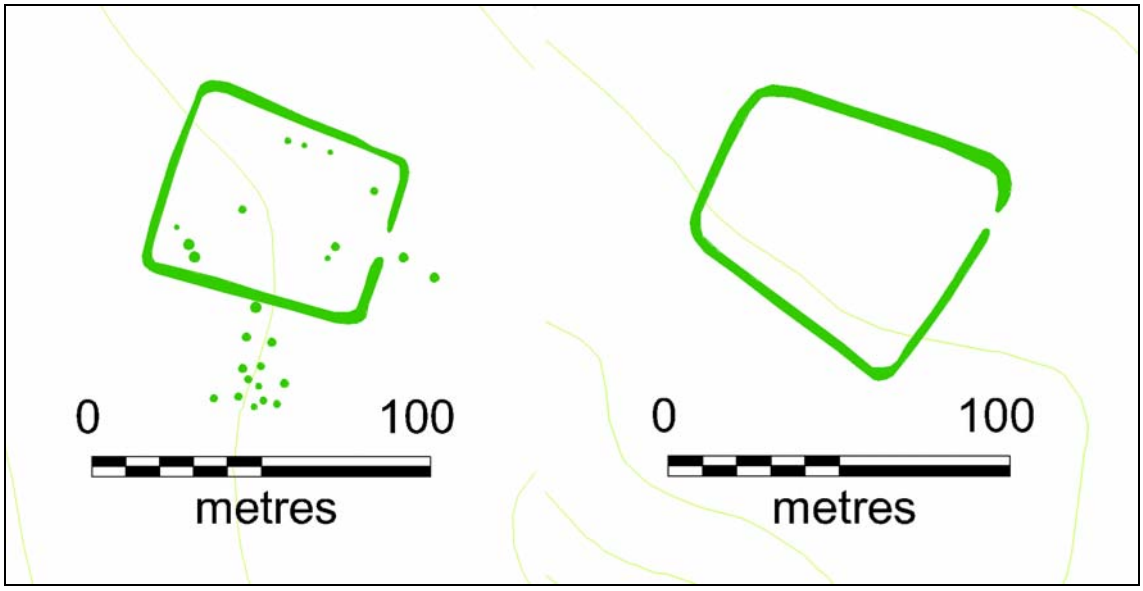

Figure 10 Two enclosures, at Middle Ground (left) and near Ford (right), on the River Windrush.

Good examples of similar sharp-cornered rectilinear enclosures were identified through aerial photographic evidence on a ridge overlooking Brockhampton and the River Coln, between the river and the Salt Way just over 2km to the south of Roel hillfort; and to the south of Cutsdean above the River Windrush, about 1.8km upstream of the Middle Ground 'stronghold'. In Blockley parish, on a ridge to the east of Ryknild Street, there is a possible stronghold perhaps associated with fragmentary linear earthworks to the east, which cut off part of the next ridge. At Hidcote Boyce, near the northernmost extent of the survey area, another possible rectilinear stronghold appears on a west facing slope.

Possible examples of 'farmstead' enclosures associated with 'strongholds' appear on the lower parts of the dip slope along the valley of the River Evenlode. At Crawthorn Wood there are three rectilinear enclosures with rounded corners, one of which has possible internal divisions and an external annex. Adjacent to these enclosures are five very small enclosures and a number of possible linear field boundaries.

Figure 11 Possible 'farmstead' and 'stronghold' enclosures near Southfield Barn, west of the River Evenlode. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

About 1km to the north, near Southfield Barn there is a rectilinear enclosure with a possible annex; a large enclosure with a small enclosure in its south west corner; and another rectilinear possible stronghold (Fig 11). A group of contiguous smaller enclosures, possibly representing a 'farmstead' similar to the Park site, lies between the latter large enclosures, with possible field boundaries, a short length of trackway and many very small enclosures or ring ditches in the immediate vicinity

Sites on the lower land at the edge of the Vale of Evesham appear to include more 'farmstead'-type groups of enclosures, although many also appear to be associated with rectilinear possible 'strongholds'. A good example can be found at Alderton (Fig 12), where a possible stronghold lies at one end of a group of rectilinear enclosures, one of which contains a possible pit circle. Two possible farmstead groups appear in Toddington parish between the River Isbourne and one of its tributaries; one is near New Town, and the other is to the north of Toddington Park.

Figure 12 Possible 'farmstead' and 'stronghold' enclosures at Alderton. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Agglomerated settlements

The enclosure groups on the lower land to the north of the Cotswold escarpment appear to represent a different form of settlement from those on the main uplands. The lowland groups comprise many small enclosures, both rectilinear and curvilinear, which are closely spaced and often overlapping; many of the enclosures ditches appear to have been re-cut several times. The appearance of enclosures within these sites is very similar to the agglomerated settlement of the Thames Valley – they appear to represent a more open type of settlement with less emphasis on obvious defensive structures, and many are associated with traces of fields and trackways.

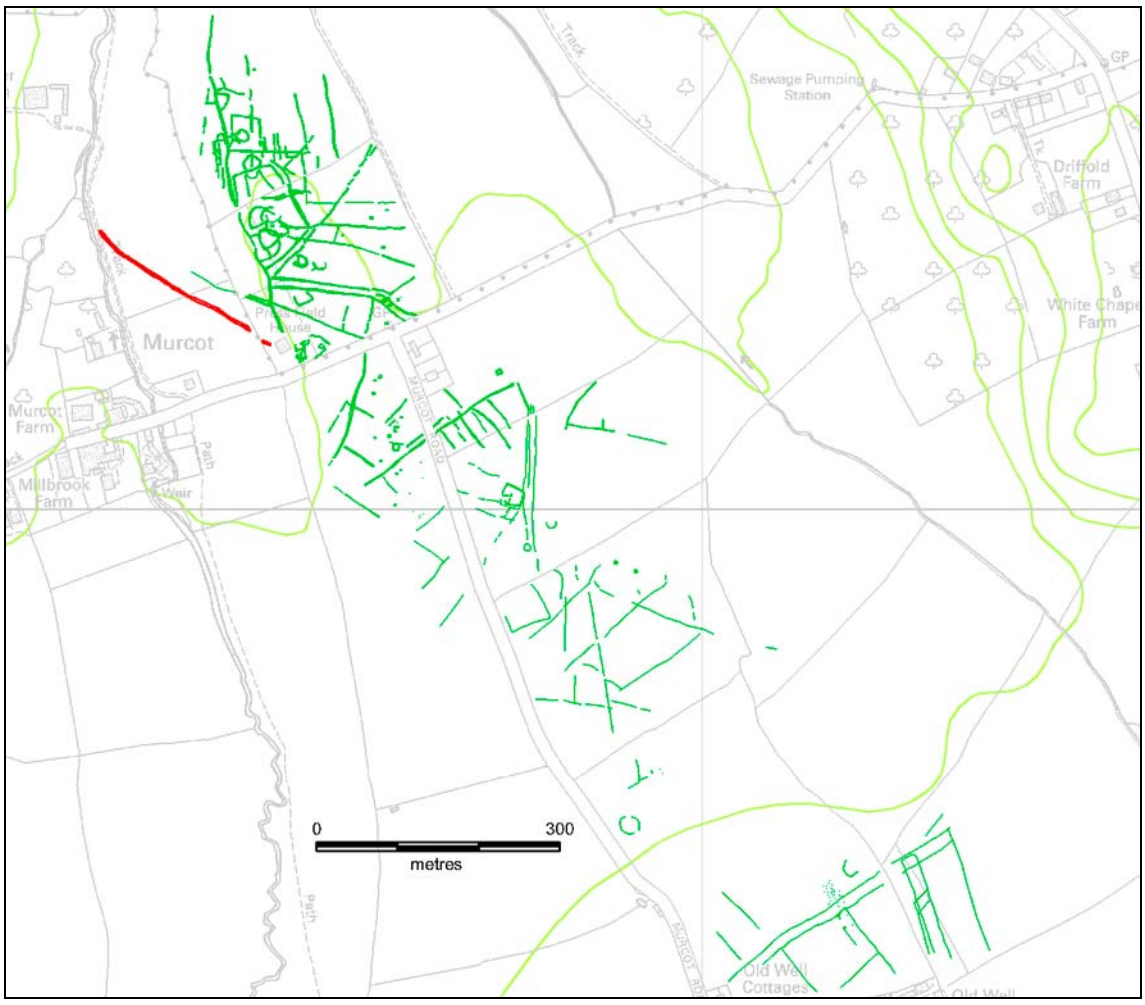

Figure 13 Agglomerated settlement enclosures near Childswickham. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Settlements of this type appear most readily where arable cultivation in recent times has allowed the formation of cropmarks: at the edge of the Vale of Evesham at Millhampost (see below), Stanway, Stanton, Broadway, Wormington, and Murcot; in the Carrant Valley at Beckford, Great

Washbourne, Ashton under Hill; and to the east of the central uplands to the south and east of Moreton-in-Marsh along the Evenlode Valley.

A good example of the agglomerated type of settlement can be found at Childswickham in the Vale of Evesham (see above Fig 13). A cluster of contiguous and overlapping enclosures associated with field boundaries and short trackways extends for about 1.5km along a very slight ridge between two streams. The trackways run at right angles to one of the streams and appear to act as boundaries dividing the ridge into several sections.

Surface finds and excavation results from similar sites suggest that these agglomerated enclosures date to the late Iron Age into the Roman period: Iron AgeRomano-British and Roman settlement remains have been excavated 700m upstream of the Childswickham complex (Britannia 33 (2002) 311); at Beckford there is evidence of occupation in the first century AD (Moore 206b, 143); and Iron Age and Roman material has been found at Millhampost.

Land divisions

The only North Cotswold examples of territorial division in the form of substantial cross dykes are the two which appear on Cleeve Common, on the western escarpment. These are situated between Cleeve Cloud hillfort and the earthwork enclosure called the Ring. The longest of these runs across a ridge for over 600m and is probably Iron Age (RCHM 1976, 107), but could be Bronze Age. The Cleeve Cloud dykes occur in apparent isolation, and do not seem to be part of a larger pattern of land division. Although additional possible land boundaries have been recorded, in the form of dispersed linear banks, ditches and pit alignments, it has not been possible to identify extensive, coherent patterns of land division or territorial demarcation in this region.

The best example of land division over a relatively large area lies between Eubury Camp and Temple Guiting (see below, Fig 19), where linear ditches, banks and pit alignments are associated with a hillfort (Eubury), field systems and settlement enclosures (Temple Guiting). The pit alignments may indicate a late Iron Age or early Romano-British date; the example at Hinchwick Manor Farm runs parallel with the course of the Roman Ryknild Street, perhaps suggesting that the course of the Roman road was influenced by the location of a long-standing boundary.

The results of field work and excavation in the Carrant Valley have suggested that, in the vale below the scarp edge, water courses may have been used to identify land parcels which were further divided by cross ditches or trackways (Moore 2006b, 135). Examples of this practice can be found at Beckford and possibly between Childswickham and Murcot.

Field systems

The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, in its survey the Gloucestershire Cotswolds published in 1976, suggested that the high limestone plateau to the north-east of Cirencester was comparatively waterless, and served primarily as pasture in later prehistoric times (RCHM 1976 xxiii); for this reason, it lacked the field systems associated with arable farming. Although extensive co-axial systems of the type common farther to the south have not been recorded in the North Cotswolds, fragmentary traces of possible field systems have been

identified in a few places, as have hill-side lynchets. The largest and most extensive fields were found in the parish of Temple Guiting, in the central uplands (see below Fig 19). Here, five or six clusters of rectilinear enclosures and strips marked out by linear earthworks strongly resemble the co-axial fields which are typical of Iron Age and Romano-British agriculture in southern Britain. Smaller field systems can be seen near the scarp edge above Cheltenham, on the lower slopes between the Warren and Millhampost (see below Figure 17), and on the low land alongside the River Evenlode to the south of Moreton-in-Marsh. The boundaries of the lowland field enclosures appear on aerial photographs as ditches rather than banks.

Pre-Roman trackways

The course of the Salt Way, an ancient long distance trackway, crosses the western part of the North Cotswolds as it runs from Droitwich to Lechlade (see above Figure 1). Its probable route, reconstructed using a combination of Saxon charter references, parish boundaries and modern roads, crosses the Vale of Evesham below the eastern side of Bredon Hill and climbs up onto the Cotswold uplands somewhere to the east of Winchcombe. From there it follows the upper edge of the west-facing escarpment along the parish boundaries of Temple Guiting, Winchcombe, Hawling, Sudeley and Hazleton, and heads south-east towards the Thames. The date of the Salt Way, like its exact course, is uncertain, but the salt springs in Cheshire are known to have been exploited in the middle Iron Age. Finds of 'briquetage salt-containers … alongside middle Iron Age pottery at virtually every Gloucestershire middle Iron Age site of any size' (Saville1984, 157) provide evidence of the importation of Cheshire salt during this period, and strongly suggest an Iron Age date for the establishment of the Salt Way.

In the North Cotswold region, the suggested route of the Salt Way passes close to the hillforts at the Warren, Beckbury and Roel, as well as smaller possible 'stronghold' enclosures in the parishes of Temple Guiting, Hawling and Sudeley. Although no certain traces have been identified on aerial photographs, double ditched trackways associated with Iron Age and Roman period settlement enclosures at Millhampost, below the Warren hillfort, and on Dumbleton Hill lie close to its supposed route, and may represent elements of the long distance trade route.

Many short lengths of double ditched trackway have been recorded on both the central Cotswold uplands and the lower lands to the north and south. Most of these are associated with settlement or field enclosures and do not extend far enough beyond the settlement groups to give a clear indication of a developed rural road network, although small rural roads were undoubtedly part of the Iron Age landscape.

Roman period changes

The first Roman frontier in the region was established on the line of the Fosse Way in about 47 AD (RCHM 1976, xxxiv). No temporary camps have been recorded in the immediate vicinity of the North Cotswolds, although there is one at Asthall, 10km to the south-east of the survey area near Burford, and several at Alchester, near Bicester. Major Roman military centres were established at Gloucester and Alchester (to the east near Bicester) and, of course, at Cirencester (*Corinium*), which was made the capital of the new province of *Britannia Prima* in about 300 AD.

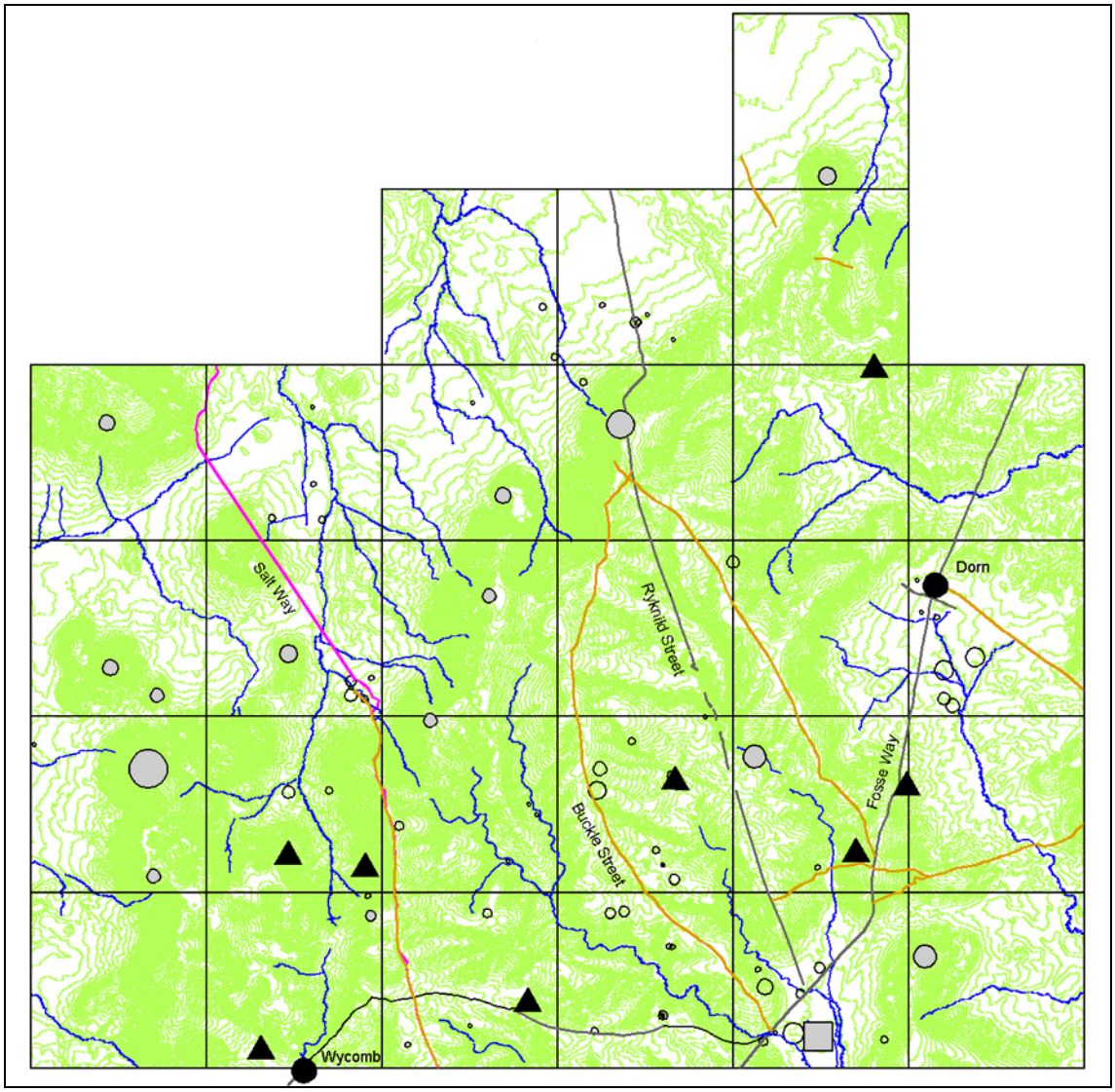

Figure 14 Distribution and relatve sizes of Roman sites in North Gloucestershire. Principal roads shown in black; secondary roads shown in brown; towns shown as black filled circles; villas shown as triangles; additional Roman period sites shown as open circles. Hillforts shown as grey circles. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Roman roads

The military road system comprised three major roads – the Fosse Way, Akeman Street and Ermin Street – radiating outwards from Cirencester. Further possible routes of Roman origin have been traced through place name evidence and Saxon charters (RCHM 1976, xlv). Salt-trading routes, prehistoric long distance trackways and many minor rural roads were probably still used in the Roman period also.

Three long distance routes cross the North Cotswolds: the Fosse Way (Exeter to Lincoln), Ryknild Street (aka Icknield Street: Bourton-on-the-Water to Templeborough, Rotherham), and an unnamed road which strikes out perpendicular to the Fosse Way from the town at Dorn and runs eastwards to Little Compton, Warwickshire.

The Fosse Way runs across the eastern part of the survey area. Having come from Cirencester via the high Cotswolds to the south, it crosses the rivers Windrush, Eye and Dikler at Bourton-on-the-Water, climbs onto high ground south of Stow-on-the Wold, then drops down to the lower land around Moreton-in-Marsh where it crosses the Evenlode and the Knee Brook. The Fosse Way runs past the large Iron Age settlement enclosure of Salmonsbury, a Roman settlement at Lower Slaughter, a villa at Stow-on-the-Wold and the Roman fortified town at Dorn. Where the Fosse Way passes Dorn's eastern gate an un-named Roman road strikes out at right angles eastwards to Little Compton, in Warwickshire.

Ryknild Street starts from a near-perpendicular junction with the Fosse Way at Slaughter Bridge and climbs north-westwards up the slopes to cross the eastern part of the high Cotswold plateau through the parishes of Condicote, Bourton-on-the-Hill and Snowshill. It then descends the scarp slope at Saintbury and continues northwards across the lower ground into the Vale of Evesham towards the Roman town of Alcester in Warwickshire. Short stretches of this road are visible on aerial photographs as earthworks and cropmarks at Lower Slaughter, Condicote and near Snowshill. Parts of Ryknild Street, in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, are called 'Buckle Street' and are mentioned in Saxon charters of AD 709 and AD 968 (Gloucestershire SMR area 2724).

In addition to the main military roads, many rural trackways were undoubtedly used during the Roman period. A map in the RCHM inventory of 1976 shows several likely routes (RCHM 1976, xlvi), including one which diverges from Ryknild Street just to the south of Willersey Hill and follows a roughly parallel course to the west, to meet the Fosse Way at Bourton-on-the-Water. Confusingly, this route is also labelled 'Buckle Street'. The same map also depicts a number of routes, called 'Sealt Straet' in Saxon documents, which were probably already old when the charters were written, and are likely to have been of Roman or earlier origin. In addition to the documented routes, there is aerial photographic evidence for short lengths of double ditched trackway within and close to a number of settlement enclosure groups.

Roman settlements

Surface finds of Roman material have been made at a handful of hillforts, although there is no evidence of major reoccupation or refortification to coincide with Roman arrival in the region. Samian sherds and Roman coins were found at Conderton; Roman coins were found at Beckbury; there are surface finds of Romano-British and Roman pottery from the interior of Eubury; and there is evidence of considerable Roman activity in and around the large enclosure at Salmonsbury.

Corinium was the most important Roman centre in the region; although it lies over 5km to the south and beyond the present study area, its influence over the whole of the western province was immense. Dorn, on the Fosse Way, is the only walled Roman town in the North Cotswolds (RCHM 1976, xliii). Two other substantial Roman settlements are located on the same Roman road: one is at Bourton-on-the-Water, where the road crosses the River Windrush (mostly now beneath later development); the second is at Lower Slaughter, near the crossing of the River Dikler. Wycomb, a large unwalled town with a regular layout of paved streets, is located 14km to the west of Bourton.

The Roman villas of the North Cotswolds are not as elaborate or numerous as those farther to the south around Cirencester, although at least eight have been found. Two sites – at Wadfield, near Sudeley, and Abbotswood, near Stow-on-the-Wold – appear to have originated in the first century. Four had second century beginnings – at Whittington, 1.4km west of Wycomb, now beneath the earthworks of a deserted medieval village; at Rook Pool Piece, near Condicote on the high Cotswolds; at Broadwell, adjacent to the Fosse Way; and at Ebbrington, near the escarpment in the north (for the last two, there was no photographic evidence). A second villa near Sudeley, at Spoonley Wood, was third century in date. A villa or farmstead to the east of Westfield House, near Notgrove, is possibly associated with ditched enclosures.

Two villa sites have produced especially good aerial photographic evidence. One is on the western side of Stow-on-the-Wold at Abbotswood, between the Fosse Way and the River Dikler; the other is on the central Cotswolds uplands between Temple Guiting and Condicote, about 1.5km to the west of Ryknild Street. The former appears as slight earthwork evidence of buildings and enclosures, and yielded first century finds (Fig 15). The latter represents an extensive establishment comprising a main villa building, several subsidiary buildings and enclosures suggestive of gardens, yards and paddocks (Figs19-20).

The villa estates must have been established within an existing pattern of rural life, and many of the rectilinear enclosure groups recorded from aerial photographic evidence undoubtedly represent settlements which were part of this landscape. Enclosures ditches just to the south of Winchcombe may be associated with a Roman farmstead, whose presence was suggested by finds from a small evaluation excavation nearby (Gloucestershire County Council HER record 20493). Roman period material has been found at sites in Guiting Power and Temple Guiting on the central uplands, and at several sites at the edge of the Vale of Evesham, including Millhampost and Ireley Farm, Childswickham, and sites along the Carrant Valley.

Figure 15 Abbotswood Roman villa, where finds indicate first century origins; buildings and enclosures survive as slight earthworks. Top: detail of NMR SP 1827/7 (15148/36) 28-JUL-1994 © Crown copyright. NMR. Bottom: Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Iron Age and Roman period landscape case studies

Three areas illustrate the potential of air photo mapping for landscape studies (Fig 16). A possible sequence of enclosures spanning the Iron Age and Roman periods extends to the south of Toddington, at the interface between the Cotswold escarpment and the lower land of the Vale of Evesham. Perhaps the clearest indication of land division and apparently associated settlement enclosures can be seen on the central uplands in the parishes of Temple Guiting and Condicote. The lowland basin on the dip slope of the Cotswolds around Dorn and Moreton-in-Marsh appears to have been a major focus of settlement during the Iron Age and Roman periods.

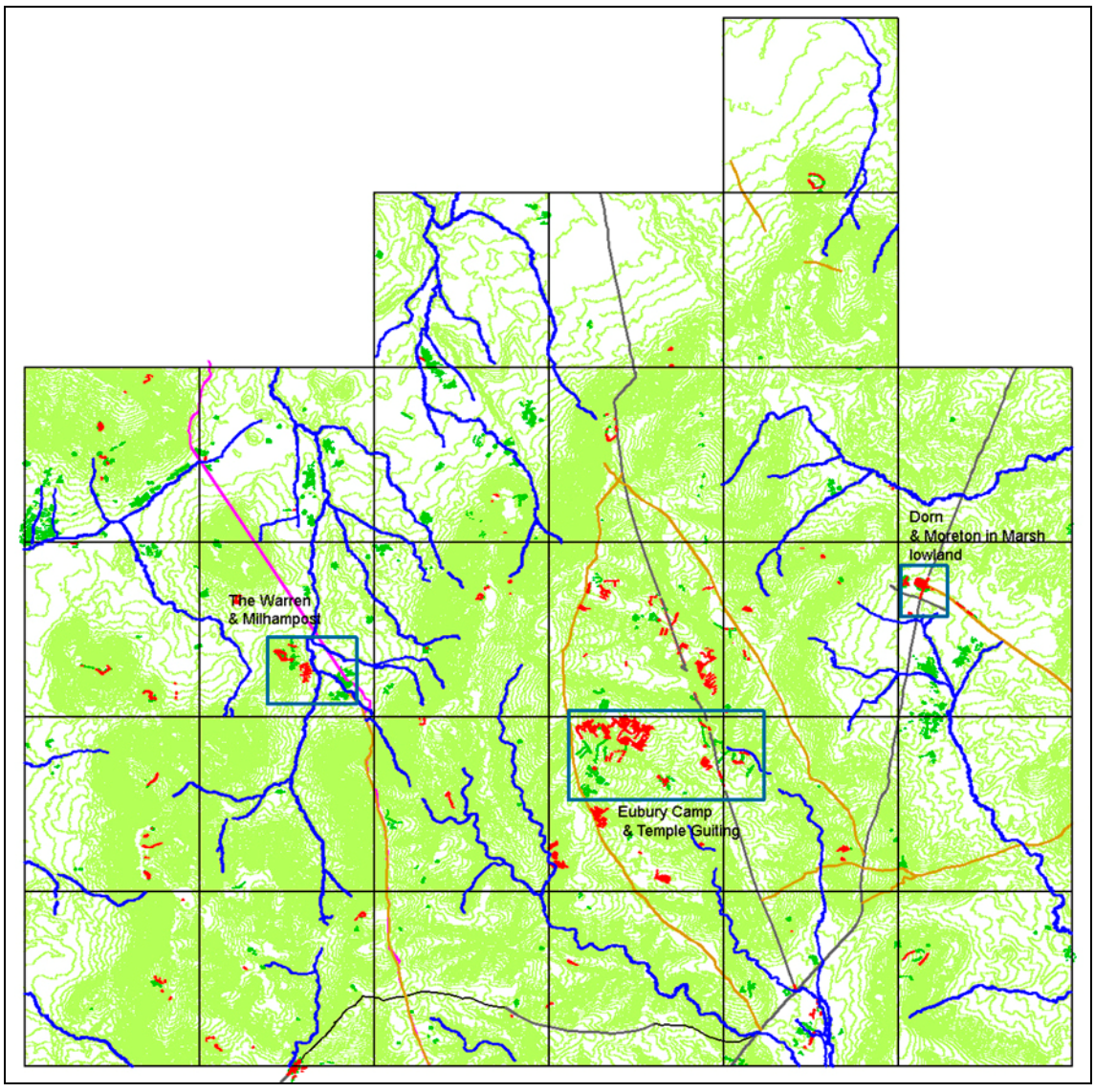

Figure 16 Iron Age and Roman period landscape case studies. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

The northern slopes – The Warren and Millhampost/Ireley Farm

The hillfort, unnamed but referred to here as 'the Warren', occupies a knoll which is slightly detached from the main Cotswold escarpment, overlooking the River Isbourne. Earthwork banks and ditches forming a large enclosure with an entrance on its eastern side were first surveyed and identified as a probable hillfort in the 1880s (Witts 1883, 48).

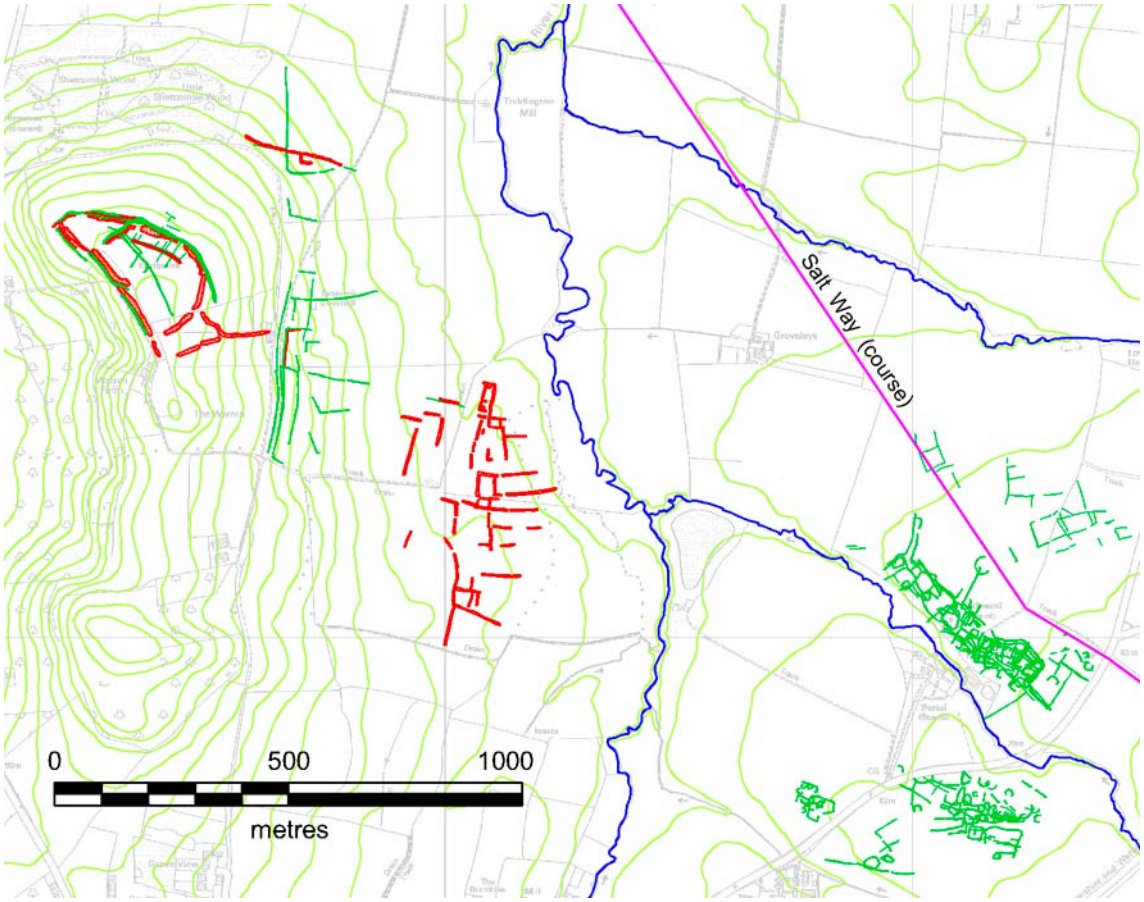

Figure 17 The Warren hillfort, field systems and Iron Age and Roman settlement at Millhampost. The course of the Salt Way is shown in purple. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

On the east-facing slopes of this knoll, between the hillfort and the River Isbourne, are fragmentary rectilinear enclosures defined by ditches and plough levelled earthworks whose pattern is characteristic of a later prehistoric field system. The most coherent enclosures were recorded in an area formerly covered by Greet Grove Wood, and were revealed some time between 1955 and 1972, when the wood was felled. The enclosures cover an area of about 13 hectares and resemble rectangular fields of a form that could be prehistoric or Roman or medieval in date; the presence of the probable hillfort 800m to the northwest encourages a preference for the earlier dates.

About 1km to the south-east of the field system, on either side of a tributary stream of the Isbourne at Millhampost and Ireley Farm, are two clusters of closely grouped enclosures defined by ditches. Both sites comprise some enclosures which are fairly regular and broadly rectilinear in plan and other enclosures which are less regular and more curvilinear; in each case, the enclosures overlap each other in a manner that suggests several phases of development and rebuilding, and each enclosure group includes trackways defined by double ditches. To the north of the Millhampost group are rectilinear enclosures of a more regular pattern, which may represent a small field system. The pattern of enclosures at Millhampost and Ireley Farm is similar to the unenclosed or agglomerated settlements of the Thames Valley.

The enclosures are associated with finds of Iron Age, Romano-British and Roman pottery. Malvernian middle Iron Age pottery was found at Ireley Farm (Saville 1984, 157-8), as well as later Iron Age and Romano-British pottery (Moore 2006a; RCHM 1976, 110). Evidence of at least one substantial Roman building was identified at Millhampost, and further Roman building remains were revealed in a gas-pipe trench about 500m to the east (RCHM 1976, 110).

It is tempting to regard this group of features – hillfort, field systems and settlement enclosures all within a space of 2km – as an example of a community's changing land use and settlement needs over several centuries. Perhaps the hillfort builders also created the field system on the slopes below the fort, and their descendants moved onto the lower ground to build a more open settlement which eventually included stone buildings in the Roman style.

The final element in this picture is the suggested route of the Salt Way, which crosses the Vale somewhere in this region and climbs the Cotswold escarpment at Hailes, just to the south-east of the settlement enclosures. Although the route northwards from the foot of the Cotswold slope is unclear, the Millhampost settlement lies near its projected line and includes a double ditched trackway, raising the possibility that this settlement and its predecessors were positioned in order to take advantage of the ancient trade route.

The high Cotswolds – Eubury Camp and Temple Guiting

The landscape elements in this area, covering over 1500 hectares, encompass an Iron Age hillfort, several possible farmstead and stronghold enclosures, land boundaries and field systems and a substantial Roman villa. These features raise many questions about the succession of settlement types and the relationship between pre-Roman and Roman period populations and land tenure.

The remains of Eubury Camp hillfort, situated to the north of Condicote, have gone through a number of interpretations (Fig 18). Lynchet-like scarps around the eastern end of a ridge were identified as the ramparts of an Iron Age hillfort and depicted as such on Ordnance Survey maps from 1902. These earthworks were reinterpreted in the mid 1970s when field investigators felt that they 'did not form a clear association' (OS field notes recorded in EH AMIE database monument record), and were more likely to be natural features created by weathering of the limestone strata. The subsequent reinterpretation of the site as a hillfort is based on the combined evidence of aerial photographs, field survey and surface finds.

Figure 18 Eubury Camp Iron Age hillfort. The defended enclosure lies at the centre of the photograph, visible as earthworks and cropmarks, with the possible annex, partly under trees extending to the left. The dramatic circular cropmarks to the right are caused by the underlying geology. NMR SP 1528/21 (15515/28) 17-JUL-1996 © Crown copyright. NMR

Hints of ditches around the higher western part of the ridge were visible on OS verticals taken in 1973 and, in 1996, colour oblique aerial photographs revealed a much clearer view of double ditches crossing the ridge and running along the sides of the hilltop, with a possible entrance to the east. These photographs allow the identification of what appears to be a genuine enclosure after all, while the original, discounted, enclosure can be interpreted as a possible annex, perhaps incorporating natural hill scarps. Surface collection during field walking has recovered finds suggestive of prehistoric settlement – a concentration of flint work including a stone axe fragment, fire-cracked pebbles, saddle quern fragments and daub – from the area to the east of the hilltop enclosure, within the possible annex. To the west, an area of about 3 hectares within the hilltop enclosure produced early- and middle-Iron Age pottery, Romano-British pottery and occupation debris. The latter included a concentrated scatter of RomanoBritish red, grey and Samian ware, as well as a scatter of stone possibly representing the site of a building of the Roman period.

Eubury Camp is flanked to the east and west by linear ditches which cut across the sides of the ridge and may represent boundaries established at some point between the Bronze Age and Roman periods. Farther to the west, traces of more land divisions can be seen: a pit alignment runs along the edge of the ridge, its course paralleled by the later Ryknild Street, and a shorter one runs down the slope near Eubury; seven or eight roughly perpendicular ditches and banks forming possible large blocks of land can be seen on the high Cotswolds above Temple Guiting, about 4km to the west of Eubury around Lot's Barn and Trafalgar Farm (Fig 19).

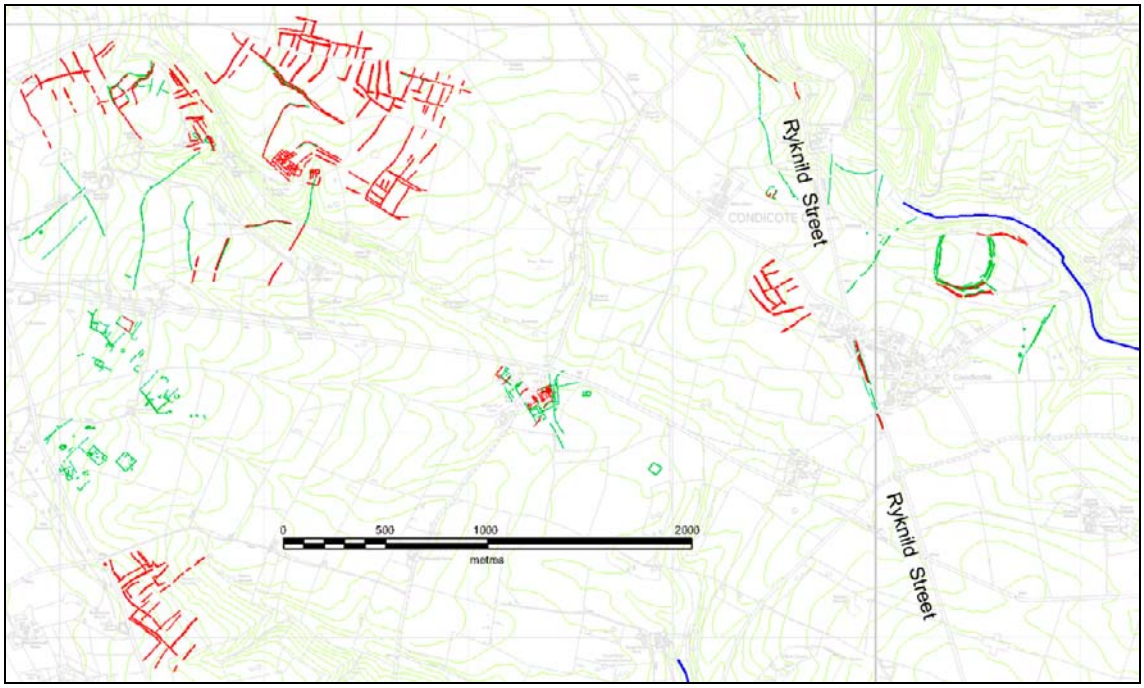

Figure 19 The multi-period landscape on the central Cotswolds above Temple Guiting. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

A cluster of rectilinear enclosures at Lot's Barn may be late Iron Age or early Romano-British in date, on the basis of their association with one of the pit alignments (far left centre Fig 19). They share a common alignment and are interspersed with linear ditches and more fragmentary enclosures. To the north and south of this enclosure group are possible field systems, the northern group apparently fitting into land blocks defined, at least in part, by the long linear boundaries. Other field systems can be seen to the south, on the western slopes of Kineton Hill, and to the west of Condicote village (close to the western end of Eubury Camp).

Probably the first Roman period developments in the Temple Guiting landscape are represented by Ryknild Street. This is aligned south-east to north-west and runs past the western end of Eubury Camp, within which surface scatters of Roman occupation debris were found. Near Eubury, the line of the road echoes that of one of the pit alignment boundaries, perhaps suggesting that an existing land boundary influenced the road's position.

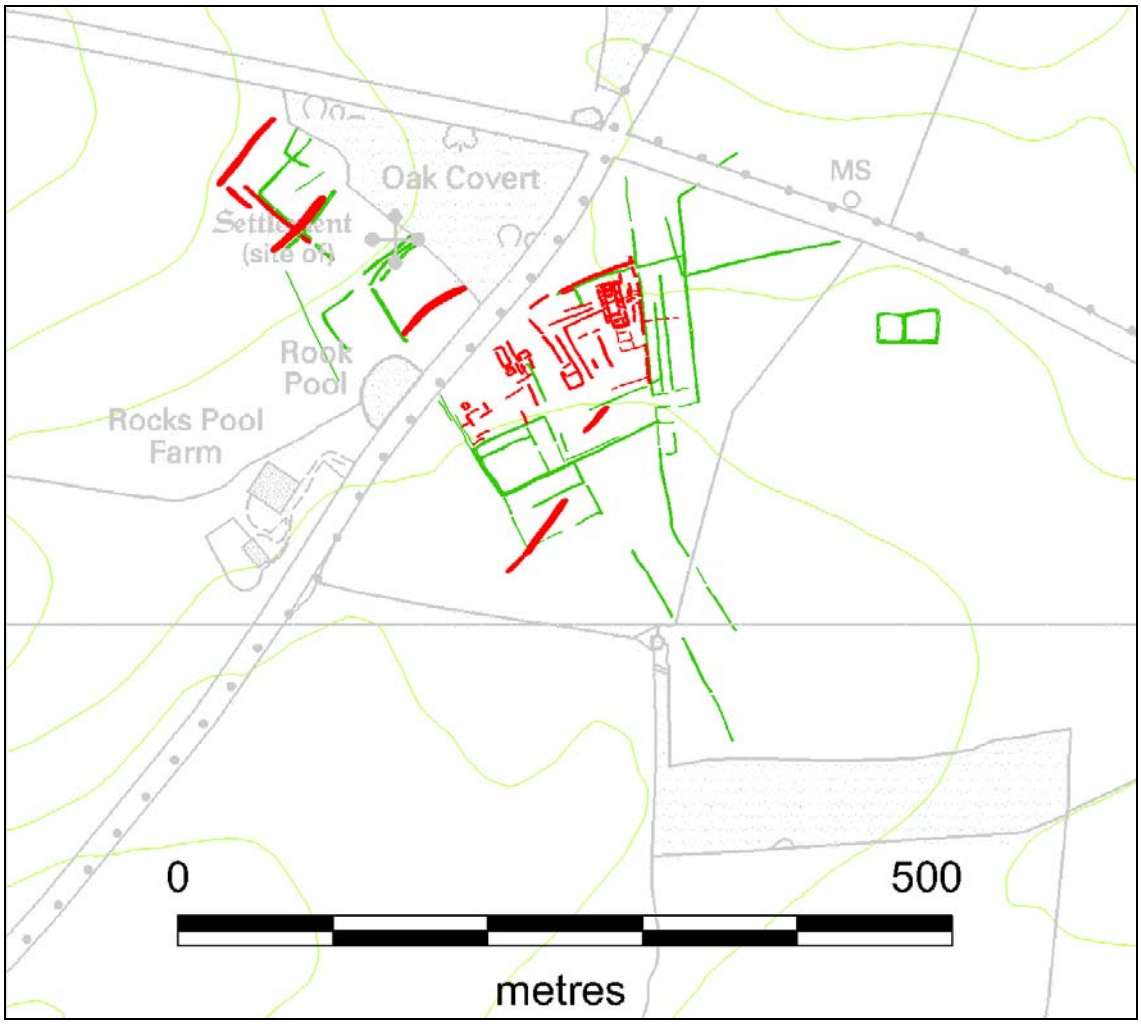

Figure 20 Roman villa complex on the high Cotswolds at Rook Pool Piece, near Temple Guiting. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

A Roman villa complex, comprising several buildings and rectilinear enclosures, is visible as cropmarks 1500m to the west of Ryknild Street, about mid-way between Eubury and the Lot's Barn enclosures (Figs 19- 20). Occupation debris from the 2nd-4th centuries, suggesting several buildings, was identified at this site between Rook Pool and Oak Covert (RCHM 1976, 117). Conventional villa buildings and outbuildings with associated rectilinear precinct enclosures were recognised in the field to the east on 1996 aerial photographs (Fig 21). There is, as yet, no evidence for a trackway to connect this villa with Ryknild Street, but that road would have provided easy access between the Rook Pool villa and the Fosse Way at Bourton-on-the-Water. The enclosures around Lot's Barn may also have access to the important Iron Age and Roman sites at Bourton-on-the-Water via a possible rural route of Roman or earlier origin (sometimes called 'Buckle Street') which runs along the ridge just to the west of the Lot's Barn group.

Figure 21 The central building and enclosures of the Roman villa at Rook Pool, Temple Guiting. NMR SP 1328/13 15524/09 17-JUL-1996 © Crown copyright. NMR

The sequence of development and even the degree of association between the enclosures within the Temple Guiting area is extremely unclear. One possible scenario is that Eubury provided an early focus for a system of land blocks defined by linear earthworks and pit alignments. The land bocks were occupied by field systems and rectilinear settlement enclosures and linked to the river valley to the south by one or more long distance ridgeways. The settlement enclosures represent a pattern of farmsteads and strongholds, their number and common alignment perhaps indicating a succession of settlements shifting in location over time, or perhaps a proliferation of enclosures due to rising population. The Roman villa complex could represent simply another phase of settlement by the local population, or a new establishment expressing some sort of economic relationship between the villa's inhabitants and those of the rectilinear enclosures.

The dip slope – Dorn and the Moreton-in-Marsh lowland

The lowland basin on the dip slope of the Cotswolds around Moreton-in-Marsh appears to have been a major focus of settlement during the Iron Age and Roman periods. Several groups of enclosures which may represent farmsteads and strongholds are scattered over more than 3.5km along the River Evenlode and its tributaries; agglomerated enclosures and field systems are also present. The Fosse Way runs through this basin, linking it with *Corinium*, Bourton-on-the-Water and Lower Slaughter, to the south and the Roman town at Chesterton in Warwickshire, to the north, by way of the fortified town at Dorn.

Figure 22 The walled Roman town at Dorn, by Moreton-in-Marsh, with Iron Age or Roman settlement enclosures. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Despite its location on a major military road, there does not seem to be any evidence that Dorn was a military base, although the regular layout of paved streets surrounded by strong defences clearly identifies it as a major Roman settlement. It appears to be a walled town rather than a fort, with occupation evidence from the later 2nd century into the 4th century AD. Dorn is well placed within the Roman road network:; the Fosse Way passes very close to the eastern gate of the town, and a second Roman road, aligned on a that gate, runs eastwards to Little Compton in Warwickshire. Timby suggests that Dorn served an official rather than military function, perhaps as a centre for administration and tax collection, or as a posting station: it lies mid-way between

Corinium and Chesterton, in Warwickshire about 35km (a day's journey) from each (Timby 1998, 430-431).

Dorn is associated with compact groups of rectilinear enclosures and short trackways which lie to both the east and west of the town walls and could represent broadly contemporary extramural settlement. While most of the enclosures share the same alignment as the town's street grid, aerial photographs taken in 1996 show that the enclosures to the south of Dorn seem to disappear beneath the defences and therefore to pre-date the construction of the town walls. Perhaps the choice of site for this substantial Roman presence was influenced by the location of an existing settlement.

To the south of Moreton, close to the Evenlode and its tributaries, are more traces of Iron Age and Roman period settlement and field systems. To the east of the Fosse Way, between 3.5km and 5km to the south of the Dorn complex, along the west side of the stream which flows past Dorn, are several single enclosures, possibly representing farmsteads and strongholds, in close proximity to many small square and circular enclosures, at least some of which are probably huts indicative of open settlement. To the north of these are two more agglomerated rectilinear enclosure groups, accompanied by traces of double ditched trackways and larger enclosures which could be fields. Another group of enclosures and fields lies between this stream and the Evenlode, near the river's source.

Batsford Camp, a small earthwork enclosure located close to the River Evenlode on the north-western fringes of Moreton-in-Marsh, is likely to be the earliest feature in the Iron Age and Roman sequence in this area. Its date and purpose have not been confirmed by material evidence, nor is it obviously directly associated with other enclosures, but its size, shape and form are similar to many proven small Iron Age defended enclosures and strongholds. The presence of the Fosse Way 165m from Batsford Camp's eastern side and the large Roman fortified site at Dorn only 800m to the north strongly suggest that Batsford may have functioned as a defended site around the time that a Roman military presence was established in the area.

The continuing potential for discovery of prehistoric and Roman sites

Differences in past and present agricultural practice have influenced the ability to record archaeological features through aerial photography. Much land on the high Cotswolds has been sheep pasture since the medieval period although a significant area has been under arable since the mid-20th century. Any further changes from pasture to arable in this region may reveal unrecorded features as cropmarks.

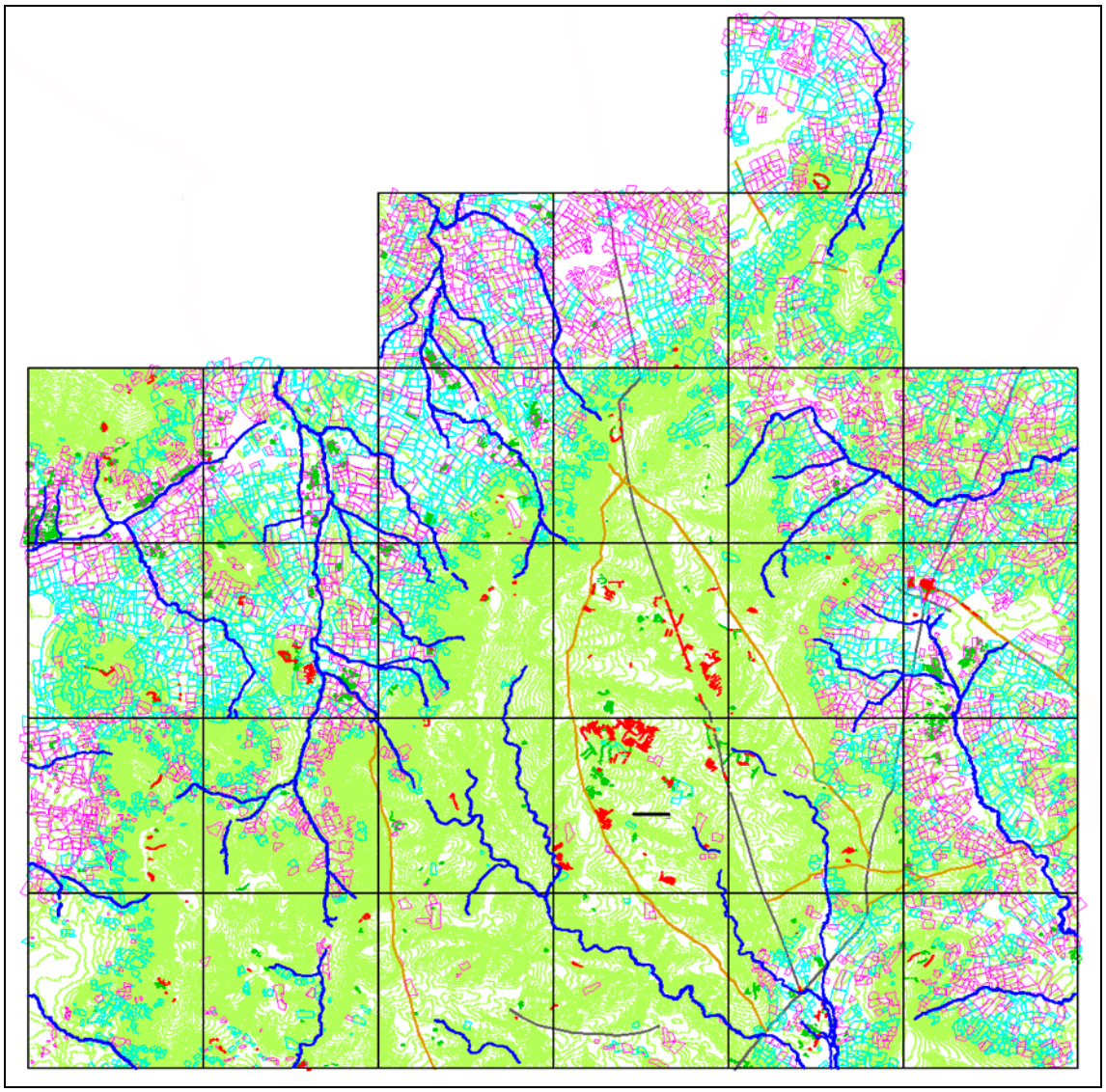

Figure 23 Iron Age and Roman features mapped by the North Cotswolds. Many were visible as cropmarks where ridge and furrow (shown in cyan and magenta) was ploughed level.

On the lower slopes, which were covered by ridge and furrow in the medieval period, many of the Iron Age and Roman features mapped by the NMP survey have been revealed by cropmarks after the medieval ridges have been removed. As the ridges continue to be levelled, it is probable that further earlier features will be recorded (Figs 23 and 24).

Figure 24 Cropmarks of a possible Iron Age enclosure, once hidden beneath medieval ridge and furrow. NMR SP 0631/4 (15510/23) 24-JUL-1996 © Crown copyright. NMR

A rare survival of possible Iron Age or Roman earthworks on the high central Cotswolds has appeared on the northern edge of Huntsman's Quarry, near Naunton (Fig 25). The first specialist oblique photographs of a complex of rectilinear enclosures and trackways were taken by English Heritage in April 2002.

A possible parallel for this enclosure group may have been found in the adjacent field to the north-west. There, a ditched enclosure of remarkably similar size, shape and alignment, was excavated in the mid-1990s by Gloucester County Council Archaeological Service. The results of that work revealed an enclosure which originated in the middle Iron Age and was used into the Roman period.

These results suggest that the recently photographed earthworks nearer to the quarry may also be Iron Age or Roman in date. The enclosure seen on the aerial photographs could perhaps be associated with, or could even be part of the fuller extent of, the excavated site.

Figure 25 Rectilinear enclosures and trackways, visible as earthworks at the edge of Huntsmans Quarry, near Naunton. First identified through aerial reconnaissance in 2002. NMR SP 1325/10 (21550/00) 08-APR-2002 © English Heritage. NMR

MEDIEVAL

The early medieval North Cotswolds

In contrast to the comparatively abundant Roman settlement evidence on the North Cotswolds, evidence for the post-Roman or sub-Roman landscape is extremely difficult to recover in quantity (see Heighway 1984). There is no evidence of post-Roman continuity of urban life at Cirencester or Gloucester (Leech 1984, 295), and there was apparently only small-scale occupation at Salmonsbury in the 6th and 7th centuries (Dyer 1987, 167). There have been some finds of grass-tempered pottery and pagan Saxon burials in the region (Heighway 1984, 230, map Fig 1), but the meagre distribution of such material cannot be representative of the nature or extent of early medieval settlement and population.

The village of Whittington, on the southern edge of the North Cotswolds study area, provides a possible example of continuity of occupation, or periodic re-use, from Roman to medieval times. Excavation evidence showed that the medieval settlement, whose earthworks can be seen to the south of the modern village, was built over a Roman villa, and Anglo-Saxon finds were also recovered (O'Neil 1952, 13-87). The aerial photographic evidence was not sufficient to allow the identification of specifically Anglo-Saxon features.

According to Aston and Viner, the deserted village of Hawling, about 6km to the north east of Whittington, was associated with a prehistoric or Roman field boundary pattern (Aston & Viner 1984, 289). However, the earlier field boundaries to which they referred were not identified from aerial photographic evidence by the North Cotswolds survey.

Evidence for a late Saxon manor (7th-10th centuries) has been excavated at Lower Slaughter (Kenyon and Watts 2006) but no trace of associated features could be identified from aerial photographic evidence. There is also place name evidence for Saxon period settlements and manors (see Dyer 2002, 13-15) – for example, the name 'Maugersbury' implies a pre-Norman foundation (VCH vol 6). No securely diagnostic evidence, such as sunken-floored buildings, has been recorded through aerial photographs by the NMP survey, although one such building was excavated at Bourton-on-the-Water, and traces of Anglo-Saxon settlement were found at Upton (Heighway 1984, 234).

The medieval North Cotswolds

By the late 11th century much of the woodland in the region was cleared, with a band remaining along the escarpment from Winchcombe to Minchinhampton. While the broad distribution of population for the medieval period seems to have been established by the time of the Domesday survey (Dyer 1987, 168) nucleated villages were probably formed in the Cotswolds between the 10th and 12th centuries. This was not entirely at the expense of small settlements which continued to exist, particularly in the west (Dyer 2002).

Very few large defensive structures of the medieval period have been recorded in the North Cotswolds. The existence of two possible 'castles', at Sudeley and Hailes Abbey, is suggested by written sources; the aerial photographic evidence, however, is inconclusive for both sites. Similarly, no traces remain of a mid-12th century adulterine castle (ie one erected without permission) said to have been located on or near the site of Winchcombe Abbey (Leland; Dent; Cathcart-King. see the EH AMIE database monument record 327810).

The incomplete remnants of two possible motte and bailey sites are located along the western escarpment, on Dixton Hill and on high ground above Saintbury, while a third – the best example – lies on the eastern dip slope at Upper Slaughter. About two dozen moated sites have been identified, the majority lying along or below the escarpment.

Castles

Sudeley Castle, in its present form, is a late medieval high status residence constructed primarily as a decorative structure in 1442. Although Sudeley was a royal estate in the mid-9th century, there is no clear evidence that any substantial fortified structure preceded the 15th century castle. Two features in the grounds have been identified as 'moats' on early Ordnance Survey maps but cannot be linked to an early defended site. The first is a crescent-shaped ditch of uncertain origin which is located near the north-west corner of the 15th century building; this feature is labelled 'Moat' on the 1:2500 map of 1884 but is not shown on later maps. The second, a long rectangular pool to the northeast of the castle, identified as 'Moat' on the map of 1902 and in the current guidebook, is a garden feature which may have originated as a fishpond and was present in 1793 (Register of Parks and Gardens entry 1000784).

There was an earlier manor house on the site of Sudeley Castle but it was no longer present by the mid-16th century. However, when the traveller John Leland visited in 1543, he noted that the manor house site '…can still be seen in Sudeley Park' (Chandler ed 1993, 170). A square mound about 200m to the east of the existing building, labelled 'Manor House (site of)' on OS 1:2500 maps of 1884 and 1902, can still be identified on the ground and is partly visible on aerial photographs. There is, however, no evidence of a 'castle' before the present building.

An early 20th century book on Hailes Abbey refers to a small castle 'at Hailes', built or strengthened in the mid-12th century and demolished on or before the construction of the Abbey in 1245 (Baddeley 1908, 8-17); other sources, however, cast doubt on the exact location of the castle (EH AMIE database monument 328152). A D-shaped enclosure ditch about 150m to the north of the abbey ruins is shown on OS 1:2500 maps of 1902 and 1923 as a 'Moat', and the area within it is labelled 'Castle (site of)'. The enclosure depicted by the OS is visible on aerial photographs, although no traces of internal structures have so far been recorded. This earthwork could represent a ringwork attributable to an early castle, or it could be a boundary or enclosure associated with the abbey. A possible earthwork enclosure 500m to the east in Hailes Wood, which was suggested (by an Ordnance Survey field investigator in 1973) as an alternative site for Hailes castle, seems to be equally problematic in its interpretation (EH AMIE database monument 328161).

Mottes

Three possible motte and bailey sites were recorded during the North Cotswolds survey. The most convincing is situated on the eastern dip slope at Upper Slaughter, within a bend in the River Eye. The site occupies a flat-topped mound, with an irregular bailey and a partial moat on its east side. Finds in the village, which surrounds and now encroaches upon the motte and bailey, yielded 11th century occupation evidence, while excavations at the castle mound produced 12th-13th century pottery. It is probable that the motte and bailey earthworks were built for local defence and only used for a short period – there is no reference to the castle in late 12th–early 13th century Pipe Rolls (VCH Gloucester vol 6, 1965, 134-142).

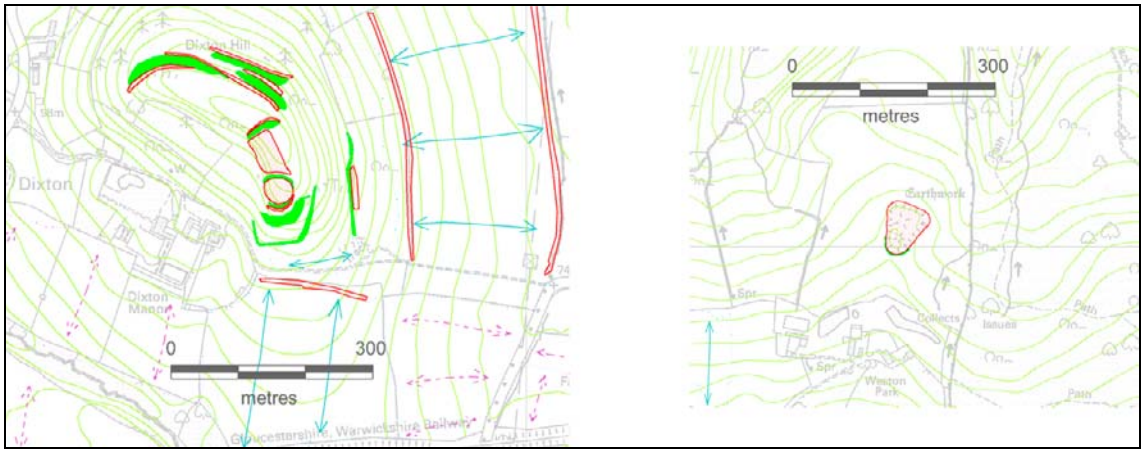

Figure 26 Plans of the possible motte and bailey sites at Dixton (left) and Weston Park (right). Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

A possible motte and bailey sits on Dixton Hill, an outlying knoll off the northern escarpment (Fig 26). The earthworks comprise a round mound with a ditch around its base, flanked by linear banks and ditches to the north, south and, less certainly, east. There is some doubt about the interpretation of these earthworks. No other associated features, which might clarify the interpretation of the Dixton Hill earthworks, could be found on aerial photographs of the surrounding landscape. Although a manor house in the adjacent village appears to be of medieval foundation, and was associated with tenants of Winchcombe Abbey in 1166 (VCH Glos vol 6 1965, 189-197), no deserted settlement remains were recorded in the vicinity.

The third possible motte, a roughly triangular earthwork apparently comprising two conjoined mounds, lies within Weston Park on the escarpment above Saintbury (Saville 1980, 32). This appears to be an isolated feature with no obvious associations; Willersey hillfort lies higher up on the escarpment to the west, and the moated site at Weston Subedge lies below to the north. An Ordnance Survey field investigator commented that the ground at Weston Park had been 'artificially scarped' and there were 'traces of walling' along the edge of the knoll, as well as indications of recent quarrying (DJC Chapman 11 April 1973, EH AMIE database monument 330610).

Moated sites and manorial earthworks

The moated sites in the North Cotswolds vary in size and shape: many are rectilinear, although curvilinear examples were also found. There are two contrasting examples at Daylesford and Prestbury (Fig 27). At Daylesford there is a simple small moated platform. At Prestbury there was a very high status site with a double moat, probably representing a garden. Prestbury was a manor house of the Bishop of Hereford, mentioned in Domesday. The earliest excavated pottery on the site was late 11th century; the wall foundations were dated to late-12th or 13th century.

Figure 27 Two square moated sites at Daylesford (right) and Prestbury (left). Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Moat construction appears to combine elements of both fortification and display, demonstrating status as much as defensibility (Le Patourel & Roberts, in Aberg 1978, 48) and incorporating both the symbolism and the decorative nature of water (Everson 1998, 32-8). Moated sites afforded protection to gardens and orchards as well as to houses (Le Patourel & Roberts, in Aberg 1978, 47); the ornamental aspect would have been particularly important in the context of garden design. Moats probably also had a role in resource and land management, for the collection of fresh water, the rearing of fish and the drainage of land (Le Patourel & Roberts, in Aberg 1978, 48).

Good examples of moats which probably served a decorative function are found at Weston Subedge and Mickleton (Fig 28). At Weston, a square moated site, described as a moated manor house, is associated with additional water features described as fishponds, adjacent to the church. The crescent-shaped pond appears to be a decorative feature, perhaps the remains of a medieval garden. At Mickleton, a small circular moat attributed to a short period in the 13th and possibly early 14th century, was probably constructed in order to display the status of the site and its owner (Carpenter 2008).

Figure 28 Two moated sites, probably built for decorative and display purposes. Weston Subedge (left) and Mickleton (right) are both located on the lower slopes of the western escarpment at the edge of the Vale of Evesham. Left: NMR SP 1240/2 (15214/11) 02-FEB-1995 © Crown copyright. NMR Right: NMR OS 81052 011 29-JUN-1981 © Crown copyright Ordnance Survey

Moated sites often indicate the presence of a manor house, the central place of a landed estate (Fig 29). At Aston Magna the possible manor house site is situated alongside the existing village and is enclosed by a bank and a ditch which may have been a moat. This site is thought to have been connected with a family who were tenants of the Bishop of Worcester in 1182. Some internal enclosures or platforms have been recorded from aerial photographic evidence. The earthworks at Saintbury church may also be manorial in origin. They are similar in size and shape, although there is less evidence of a ditch or possible moat.

Figure 29 Two possible manorial sites at Aston Magna (left) and Saintbury (right).

Left: NMR SP 2035/14 (24483/47) 21-NOV-2006. Right: NMR SP 1139/21 (23275/24) 07-NOV-2003. Both images © English Heritage. NMR

In regions of mixed agriculture, moated sites were integrated into the local settlement pattern. They dominated the villages within which they sat, although they were often adjacent to, rather than central to, the main area of settlement. During the 13th century, manor houses sometimes migrated to the edge of their village, in order to make way for village expansion (Le Patourel & Roberts, in Aberg 1978, 48-9). A good example can be seen at Norton Subedge (Fig 30). Here the moated site is integral to the village (Dyer 2002, 20 and Fig 4), although located at the eastern end of the settlement, rather than at its centre.

Figure 30 Moated site (upper left) and village. North is at the bottom of the frame. NMR SP 1343/17 (15214/15) 02-FEB-1995 © Crown copyright. NMR

Fewer moats tend to be found in areas where the manors were held by ecclesiastical lords (Le Patourel & Roberts, in Aberg 1978, 50), and this appears to be the case in the North Cotswolds. The majority of moats were found along the western slopes at the edge of the Vale or on the lower dip slope to the east. On the monastic holdings of the high central Cotswolds, only the deserted village of Taddington appears to include a possible moated site among its earthworks.

Village earthworks – Deserted or shrunken settlements

Medieval settlement on the North Cotswolds is characterised by nucleated villages, with comparatively few isolated farms and small hamlets. The villages were widely distributed except for the highest central zones within the parishes of Temple Guiting, Condicote and Cutsdean. The process of settlement shrinkage or total desertion began in the Cotswold in the early 14th century. Causes for this change include a worsening climate, and the reduced profits from arable farming after 1320. Although plague was a factor villagers were also leaving voluntarily for other villages or towns (Dyer 2002, 31). Documentary evidence indicates that tenants 'withdrew' and houses were 'allowed to fall into ruin' rather than being deliberately destroyed. Many landlords tried to keep tenants in place and carried out repairs or tried to compel tenants to do so, in order to keep villages going, but some villages reverted to demesne land (lands managed directly by the manor rather than by tenants). An excess of arable land and a shortage of grazing, also meant that deserted villages were frequently turned over to pasture for sheep (Dyer 1982, 25-8).

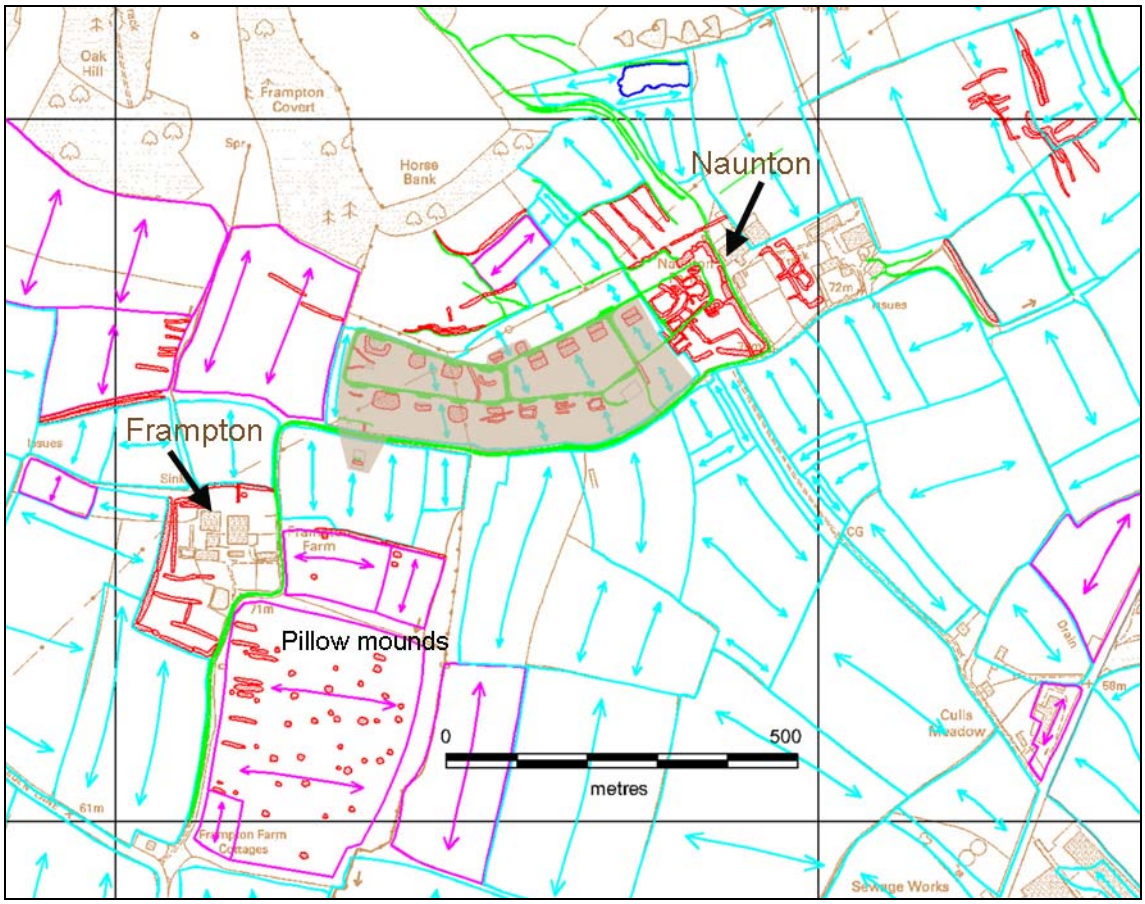

Figure 31 The deserted medieval villages of Frampton (left) and Naunton (right). The shaded area is a Second World War munitions store. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

There was a general increase in livestock farming, sometimes to the detriment of vulnerable settlements. A good example can be found in the villages of Frampton and Naunton (Fig 31), where Henry Tracey and men from Toddington were 'accused, in 1466, of keeping 1400 sheep on the pasture of Frampton and Naunton' presenting a threat to the declining village of Frampton (Dyer 1982, 32). Both sites are now occupied by single farms. Within the earthworks at Naunton are enclosures which may belong to a sheepcote, possibly of later date. The round mounds in the field south east of Frampton may indicate a post-medieval rabbit warren. Between the two deserted villages lie the remains of a Second World War munitions store, whose earthworks could easily be confused with those of the medieval village.

Three villages on the eastern dip slope, Upper, Middle and Lower Ditchford (also referred to as Upper and Lower Ditchford and Ditchford Frary) were noted by a priest, John Rous, in 1491 to have 'tumbled down' in his lifetime (Beresford & St Joseph 1979, 17). At Middle Ditchford – now shown on OS maps as Lower Ditchford – Dyer notes that 'the area under crops was reduced by 1383, arable cultivation ceased abruptly in 1480s, as if there had been some sudden enclosure or eviction' (Dyer 1982, 26: Econ Hist Review). The village was abandoned in the last quarter of the 15th century, when the fields were turned over to sheep (Beresford & St Joseph 1979, 17). At Upper Ditchford, corn production halved in value between 1384 and 1419; arable farming stopped there in about 1475, and the site became sheep pasture (Dyer 1982, 24).

The earthwork remains of the Ditchfords, like many other deserted settlements on the Cotswolds, were preserved as pasture, and not returned to arable cultivation. The two long, narrow buildings, shown as A and B on Fig 32, may be later sheepcotes, built among the deserted house platforms.

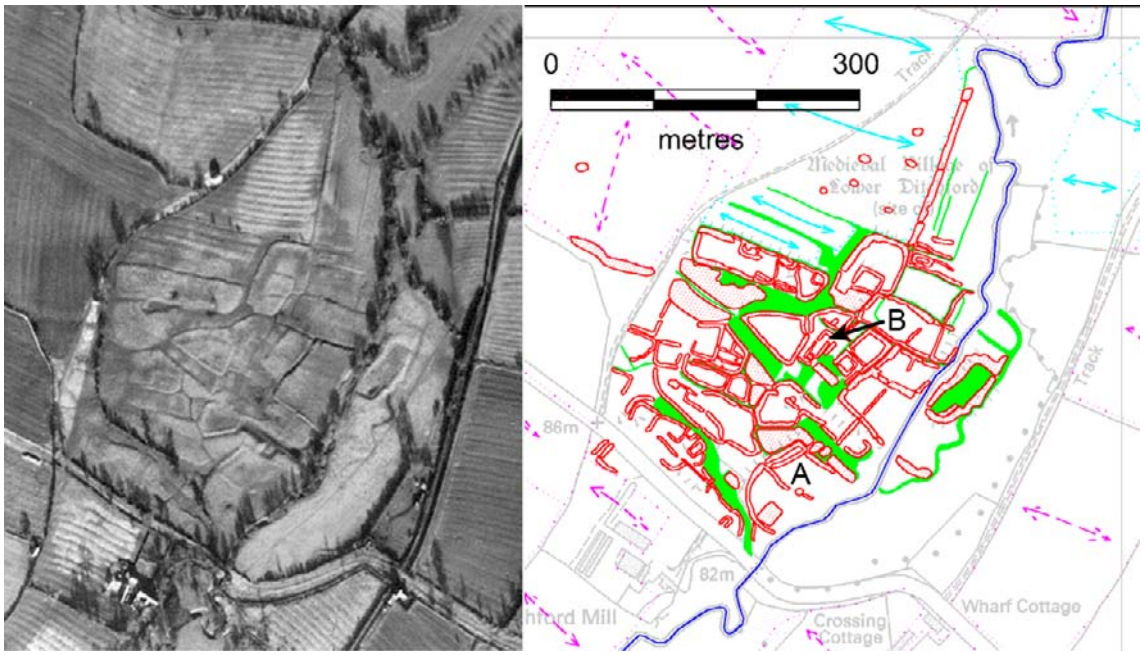

Figure 32 Medieval settlement remains at Ditchford. Detail of NMR RAF CPE/UK/1926 5169 16-JAN-1947 English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography (left), Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012 (right).

Agriculture

Earlier medieval agriculture on the Cotswolds was characterised by mixed arable and pastoral farming; arable cultivation was extensive by the 10th and 11th centuries. Later, sheep rearing came to predominate on large parts of the Cotswolds, with extensive flocks under the management of specialist shepherds. At Temple Guiting on the high central Cotswolds, for example, there is documentary evidence of extensive arable in the 11th century (Dyer 1987, 170), but later the village lay at the edge of an extensive sheep pasture (Dyer 1996, map p26).

Problems in agriculture began to develop around 1300; both the human population and the extent of cultivated land declined between 1300 and 1520. In the Windrush valley, for example, although land was cultivated in large holdings there were increasingly poor yields, which suggests a decline in the fertility of the land. At the same time, the size and number of sheep flocks was increasing; conflict may have developed between grazing and arable, due to the need, by both regimes, for large tracts of land (Dyer 1987, 177-9).

In the North Cotswold region, the greatest extent of medieval ridge and furrow was recorded below the escarpment and on the eastern dip slope. Most of the high central plateau became extensive sheep pasture, although sheep were also folded on arable land during fallow periods in order to remove stubble, and to provide manure to restore fertility.

Figure 33 shows the farthest extent of medieval arable and the location of villages, whether extant, deserted or shrunken. The location of the high pasture can be seen in the centre of the area. The presence of surviving ridge and furrow, shown in light blue, may indicate earlier medieval arable, which was converted to later medieval pasture and was not taken back into arable after the decline of the great sheep flocks.

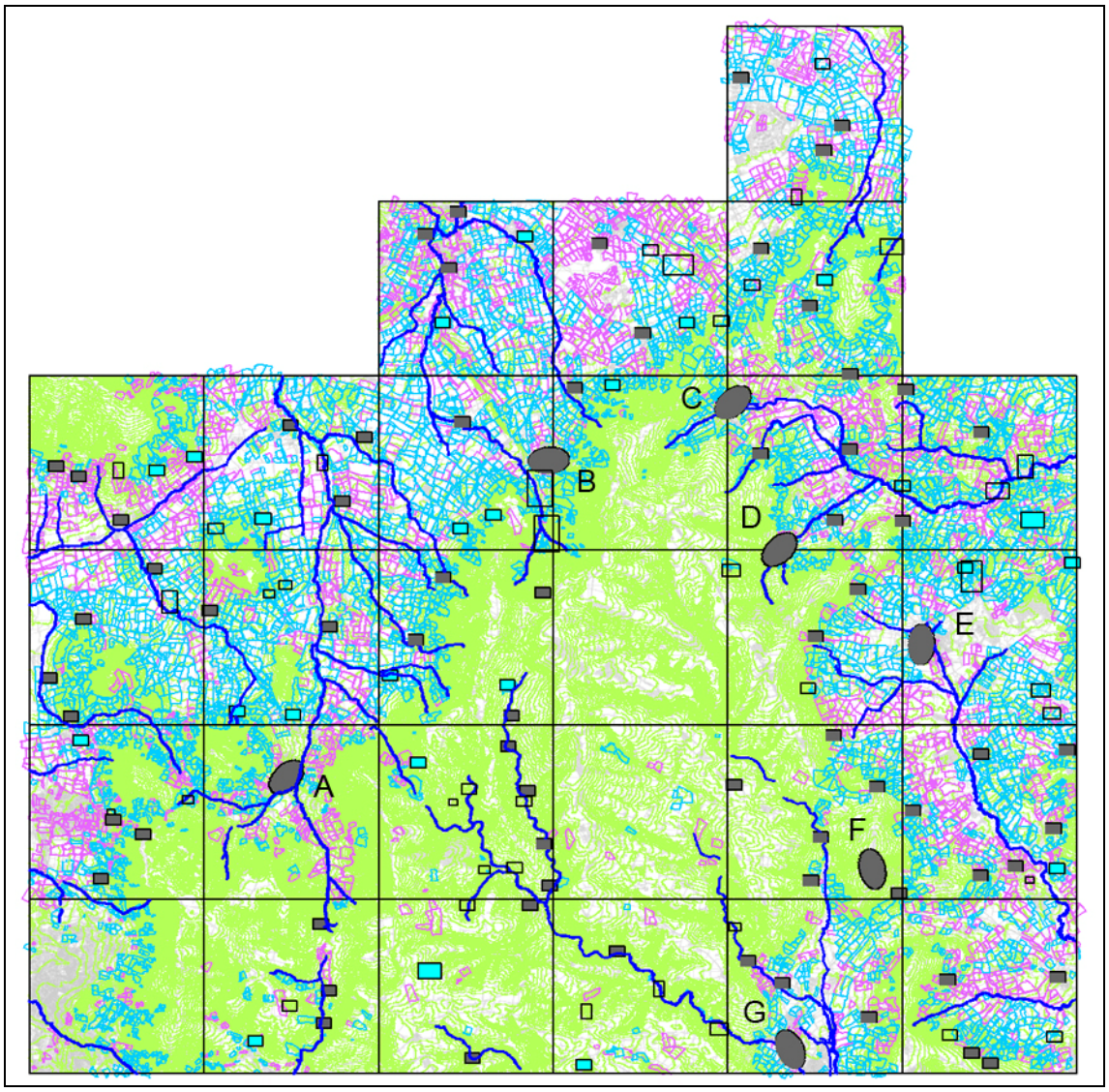

Figure 33 Ridge and furrow and relatve sizes of medieval settlements. Plough levelled ridge and furrow is shown in purple, earthworks in blue. Solid grey rectangles are extant villages of medieval foundation; open black rectangles are deserted villages; light blue rectangles are shrunken villages. Grey ovals are towns: A – Winchcombe; B – Broadway; C – Chipping Campden; D – Blockley; E – Moreton-in-Marsh; F – Stow-on-the-Wold; G – Bourton-on-the-Water. Black grid lines are at 5km intervals.

Monastic land holdings

During the medieval period, vast tracts of Cotswold land were held by the great monastic houses. Predominant among these were the three abbeys centred in or near the region – the Benedictine abbeys of Winchcombe and Tewkesbury, both founded in the 8th century, and the 13th century Cistercian establishment of Hailes Abbey.

Winchcombe Abbey's principal land holdings lay in the south western third of the NMP survey region and also farther south towards Cirencester, with additional lands in the far north of the North Cotswolds area (VCH Glos vol 2 1907, 66-72). The abbey itself was located within the town of Winchcombe, in what is now a public park – no traces could be recorded from aerial photographs. The greater part of Tewkesbury's holdings lay to the west, northwest and south of the Cotswolds, mainly below the escarpment at the edge of the Vale of Evesham and on the lower dip slope around Moreton-in-Marsh (VCH Glos vol 2 1907, 61-66).

Hailes Abbey had lands on the west central Cotswolds in the area around the monastery itself, around Stow-on-the-Wold on the dip slope, and also farther to the south and west in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire (VCH Glos vol 2 1907, 96-99). It is clear from the location of the land holdings that Hailes Abbey derived much of its income from wool (Hurst 2005, 65,). This monastic establishment has been surveyed on the ground and is the onle site of influence in the North Cotswolds for which any remains were visible on aerial photographs (Brown 2006).

Other monastic landlords had lesser, but still significant, holdings on the North Cotswolds. The Bishop of Worcester, the Cistercian house of Bruern Abbey (Oxfordshire), Evesham Abbey, Bordesley Abbey, the Benedictine abbeys of Eynsham (Oxfordshire) and Westminster, and the Gloucestershire priories of Llanthony and Westwood all held lands in the region. The Knights Templars held the area around Temple Guiting, on the high Cotswolds, until their dissolution in 1312. (VCH Glos vol 6 1965, 63-72)

Sheep rearing and wool production

The export of English wool to Flanders was first documented in 1100, and Cotswold wool soon became the most highly prized product of this trade. Italian and Flemish merchants frequented the markets in Northleach, Cirencester, Tetbury and Burford, and Cotswold wool was also sent to markets in Winchester, Boston and London. By about 1200, Winchcombe Abbey derived one-third of its income from wool produced on its Cotswold estates. An English cloth industry also developed, with cloth from the Cotswolds and Herefordshire having a particularly high reputation (Hurst 2005, 52, 57-9, 73).

By the end of the 13th century about half of England's export earnings were derived from the wool trade, and both Flemish and Italian merchants and weavers competed for the product (Hurst 2005, 63-4). Wool exports peaked in the 14th century, and English cloth production also increased at that time. The wool business was not much affected by the Black Death, despite the death of individual producers and customers (Hurst 2005, 99).

The number of sheep may have reached 15 million in the 1390s (Hurst 2005, 91). Exports decreased somewhat in the first half of the 15th century, and then recovered in the later 15th century; throughout this time, Cotswold wool held its quality and value (Hurst 2005, 119-20, 122). Sheep farming expanded again in 15th century and, in 1510-15, the combined value of cloth and wool exports made up 80% of all English export revenue (Hurst 2005, 126, 161). By the mid-16th century, cloth export had increased greatly, although wool export declined (Hurst 2005, 176). Cotswold wool increasingly went to the home cloth industry, and cloth production increased in the areas around the fringes of the Cotswolds, such as the Stroud valley (Hurst 2005, 168-9).

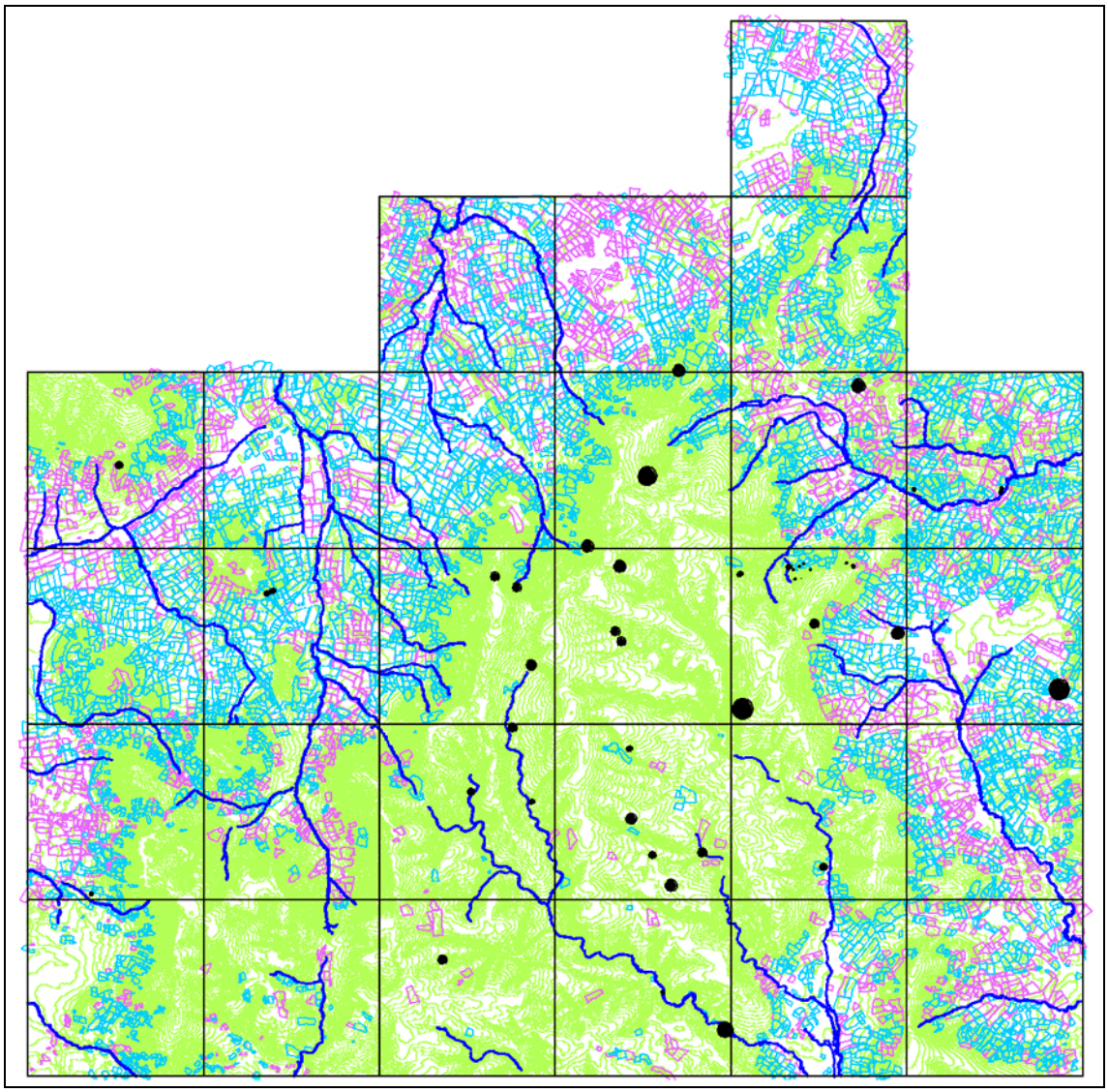

Figure 34 Sheepcotes and arable on the North Cotswolds. Ridge and furrow cultivation is shown in light blue (surviving earthworks) and purple (plough levelled); relative sizes of sheepcotes are shown as black spots. Black grid lines are at 5km intervals. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

There were occasional contemporary allegations that people were driven from the land to make way for sheep – an act of parliament in 1533 blamed sheep farming for rural depopulation because of the 'great profit that cometh from sheep' (Hurst 2005, 161-3). However, Dyer is of the opinion that, on the Cotswolds, people generally left the less successful settlements of their own accord, and that the majority of deserted villages had been in decline for some time before abandonment (Dyer 2002, 31-2).The growth of sheep farming reached its peak at the end of the 16th century, and corn growing began to return to prominence from about 1600 (Hurst 2005, 170).

The high quality of Cotswold wool in the medieval period was due partly to the breed of sheep and partly to the sheep husbandry practices of the time. Today, sheep are left to graze out of doors all year round, and are generally brought under cover only for lambing in the late winter or early spring. In contrast, the recommended practice on the medieval Cotswolds was to keep the sheep indoors from Martinmas (11 November) until Easter (Hurst 2005, 101) and to provide housing at night during other times. This ensured the quality and fine texture of the wool, and also kept the animals well protected and in good condition. Both wool and sheep were valuable commodities and, in 1350-1400, the best prices for wethers (castrated males) were paid for animals from the Cotswolds and Upper Thames Valley (Hurst 2005, 98).

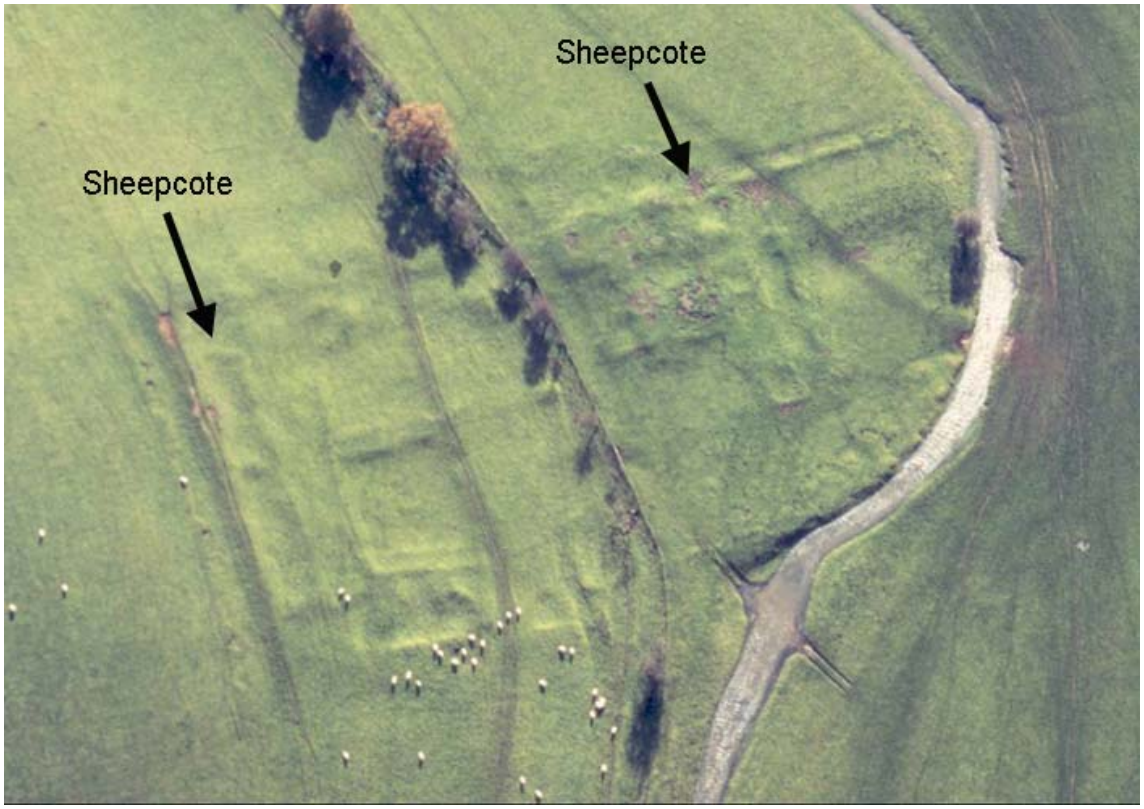

Figure 35 Sheepcotes at Compton Abdale, just outside of the North Cotswolds survey area. Detail of NMR SP0514/11 (18833/26) 16-NOV-2000 © English Heritage. NMR

The distinctive structures, known as sheepcotes or sheep houses, which were associated with this form of sheep husbandry, have been recognised at many locations in the North Cotswolds survey area, both on the high Cotswolds and on lower-lying deserted settlement sites (Fig 34). They consist of long narrow buildings between 39-46m long, often accompanied by smaller barns and storage buildings, as well as paddocks and enclosures. Many sheepcote complexes are still visible as earthworks (Fig 35). Their superficial appearance suggests houses or agricultural buildings within deserted villages or farmsteads, and many were initially interpreted as human habitations. Sheepcotes were recorded on 45 Gloucestershire manors between 1200 and 1540 (Dyer 1995, 138-139); at sixteen sites, traces of these long narrow buildings have been identified on aerial photographs. At a further eleven sites there are square enclosures which may represent sheep folds or enclosures. Sheepcotes are known to have been used into the 17th and 18th centuries (Dyer 1995, 147).

Lowland and upland sheepcotes seem to have had varying functions and different seasonal uses. Lowland sheepcotes were more often built near or within villages (sheep houses in village settings may have been converted for other uses at a later date, so perhaps they are not easy to identify now); while upland structures were situated on their own, with accommodation for shepherds and milkmaids, and ancillary sheds, barns and storehouses. The sheepcotes were also associated with enclosures, possibly used to separate different groups of sheep: ewes, lambs, hoggasters (ie yearlings) and wethers.

There was a concentration of sheepcotes and pasture on the high Cotswolds between the Rivers Windrush and Dikler (Dyer 1996, 26), many of which have been recorded by this survey, along with possible new examples.

A site near Trafalgar Farm, Temple Guiting perhaps represents the sheepcote known, from documentary evidence, to have existed at a place called 'Northcumbe' in the late 13th century (Fig 36). The Northcumbe sheepcote belonged to the Bishop of Worcester in 1299 (Hurst 2005, 60) and was said to be able to carry 300 wethers (Dyer 1995, 151), which indicates a very large complex. The Trafalgar Farm site has been alternatively interpreted, on morphological grounds, as an Iron Age or Roman period site. A possible further example has been mapped at Swell Wold Cottages, and another possible sheepcote may exist among the earthworks at Huntsmans Quarry. The latter site, like Northcumbe, has also been identified as a possible Iron Age or Roman period settlement.

At Kineton Hill a sheepcote complex, comprised buildings and closes (Fig 37). The sheepcote was very long and could have held about 500 sheep (Dyer 1995, 139-151). Many of the Cotswold sheepcotes which survive as earthworks have been misinterpreted as deserted villages – this is not difficult to understand, due to the morphological similarities between the two types of site, and practice of building sheepcotes on deserted settlement sites during the rise of sheep farming in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is possible that a closer study of deserted medieval villages on the Cotswolds, via detailed field survey, geophysics and excavation, will identify more sites which were devoted to sheep rearing rather than, or as well as, human habitation.

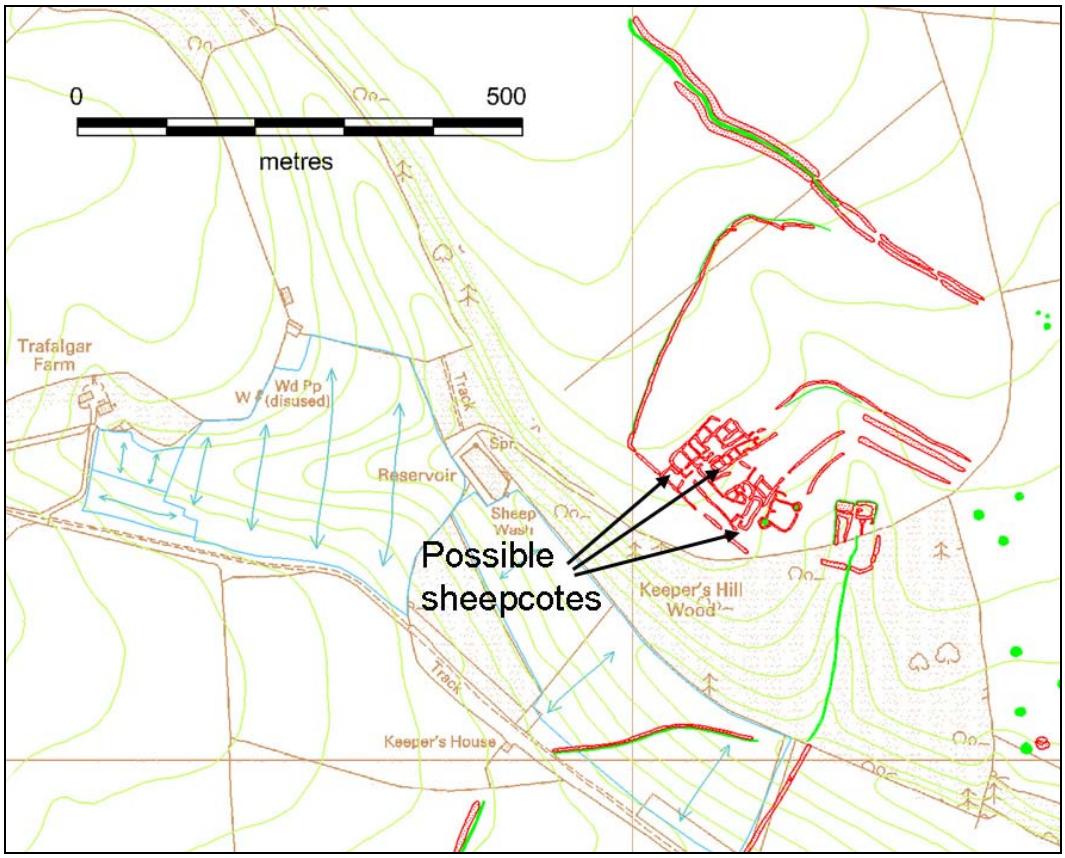

Figure 36 Northcumbe sheepcote. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

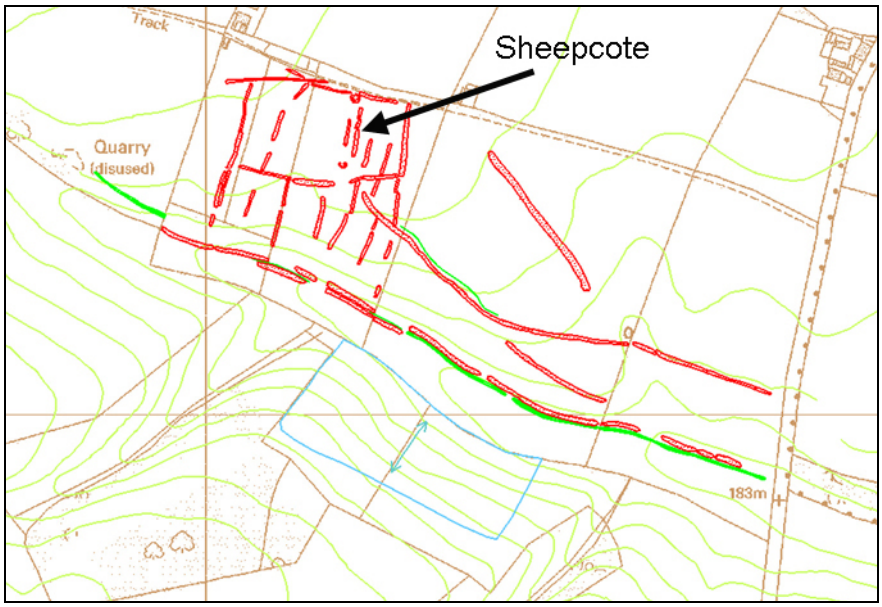

Figure 37 The sheepcote at Kineton Hill, on the high Cotswolds at Temple Guiting. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

GARDENS AND DESIGNED LANDSCAPES

The formal gardens and designed landscapes of the North Cotswolds are located on the lower slopes of the northern and western escarpment and on the dip slope in the east, with the exception of Snowshill Manor, which lies near the upper edge of the escarpment. It is no real surprise that the highest land of the central Cotswolds, dominated in medieval times by sheep pasture, was not chosen as a location for high status residences and grand garden schemes.

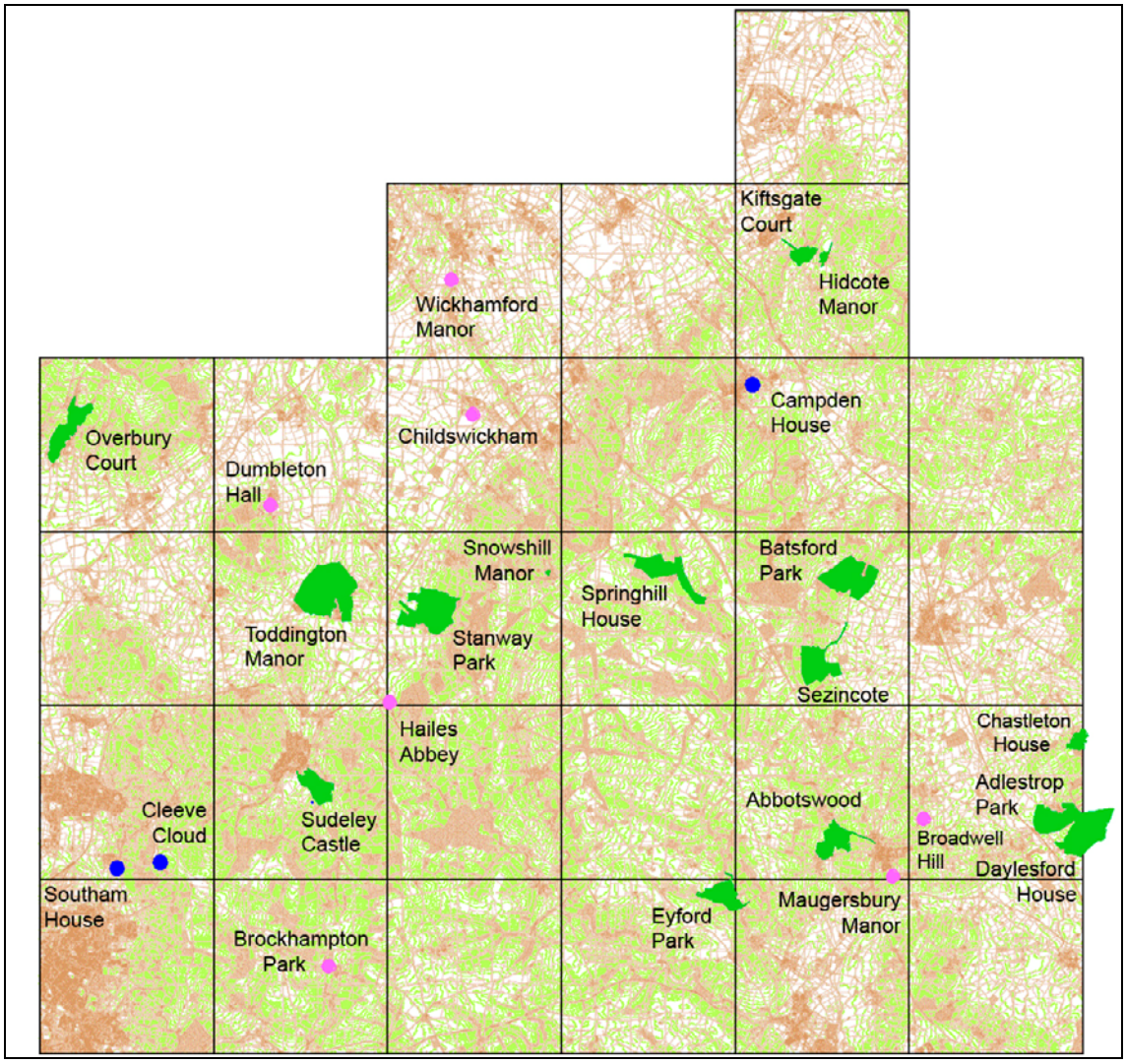

Figure 38 Registered Parks and Gardens in the North Cotswolds. Green areas are sites listed in the Register of Parks and Gardens; Blue spots are non-registered sites mentioned in the text; Purple spots are other non-registered sites with garden features. Black grid lines are at 5km intervals.

Fifteen sites in the North Cotswolds survey area are included on the Register of Parks and Gardens (Fig 38), and there are also about a dozen manor houses and smaller properties where traces of un-registered garden features were recorded. Not all of the registered sites possess surviving landscape features, such as paths, earthwork terraces or parterres, which would normally be mapped for the National Mapping Programme. Sezincote, Spring Hill House and Batsford Park,

for example, are all known to have received the attentions of well-known landscape designers in the 18th and 19th centuries, although no corresponding garden earthworks could be identified on aerial photographs at any of these houses. Traces of 'soft landscaping', such as tree avenues, specimen trees and wooded areas are, however, evident at each site.

Aerial photographs have many uses in the study of gardens and designed landscapes. They are particularly useful in giving an overview and providing a landscape context for features within the design scheme. They can help to identify and interpret elements of early landscaping schemes and to assess the impact of more recent 20th century changes. The use of aerial photographs as a research tool can both inform decisions about conservation and management and illustrate a site for research and conservation professionals and the public.

Sudeley Castle - Remains of a formal garden of the late medieval or Tudor period

Figure 39 The earthworks at Sudeley Castle. Once interpreted as a deserted medieval village, they are probably the remains of a Tudor garden. Detail of NMR SP 0327/42 (23333/19) 17-DEC-2003 © English Heritage. NMR

Sudeley Castle appears today as a restored late medieval and Tudor building with formal gardens of relatively recent design (Mowl 2002, 134-6). To the south and east of the present house and gardens lie rectilinear enclosures defined by earthworks which were previously interpreted as fish ponds and a deserted medieval village (Beresford & Hurst 1971, 188).

Evidence obtained from aerial photographs taken by English Heritage in December 2003 (Fig 39) suggests that the earthworks are more likely to represent the skeleton of a formal garden. The remains comprise several rectangular sunken areas, which probably represent parterres and garden compartments, enclosed by flat-topped linear banks which could have served as walkways and viewing terraces. The enclosures are interspersed with ditches which appear to be the remains of water channels, some of which perhaps supplied ponds or fountains.

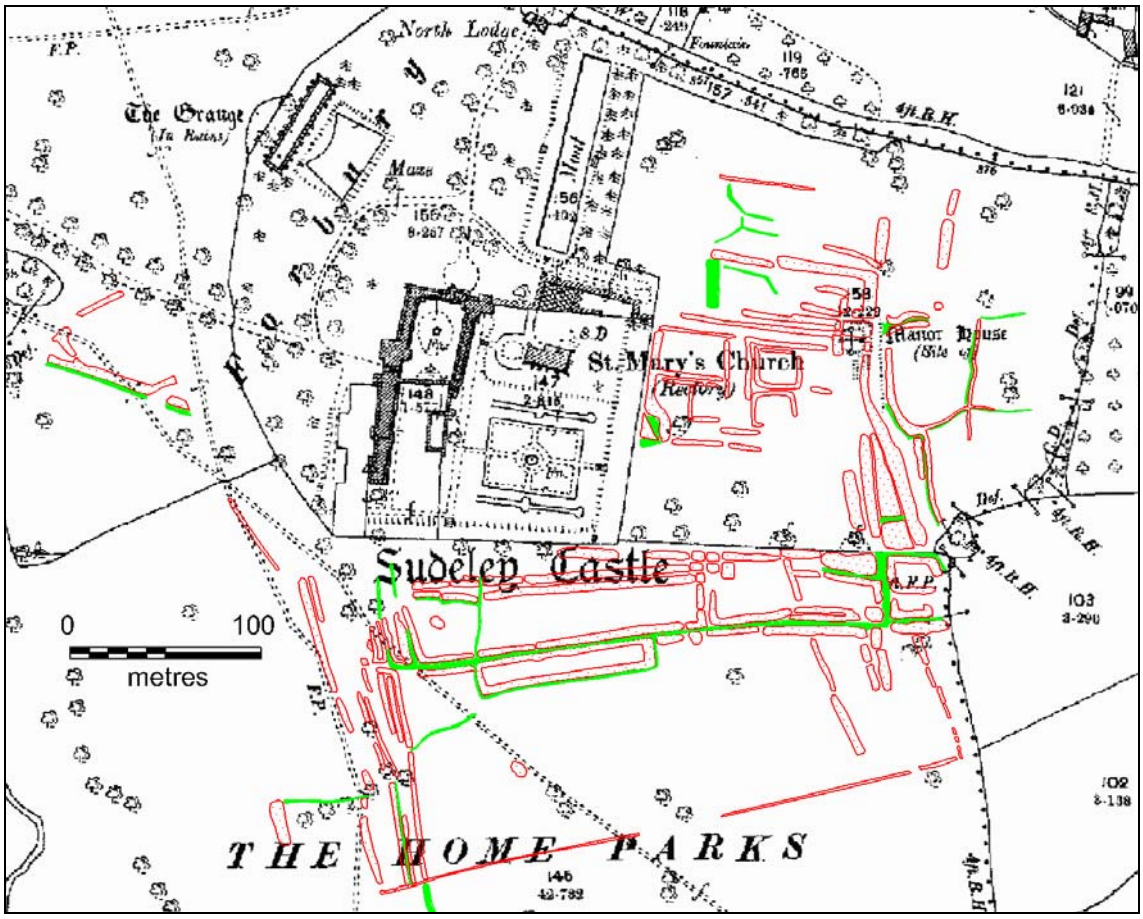

Figure 40 Transcription of the garden earthworks at Sudeley. The background map is the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of 1902, showing the supposed manor house site (upper right). Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Sudeley Castle has had a long and complex history. There was a medieval manor house on the site, which was replaced by the present castle in 1442. The castle, in its turn, was renovated at least twice during the Tudor period. Gardens of both the medieval and Tudor periods were characterised by enclosed compartments connected and separated by walkways and terraces – the earthworks in the park could be the remnants of garden schemes associated with either the original manor house, the building of the present castle, or one of its subsequent renovations.

The medieval manor house was probably located about 150m to the east of the church, at the spot where Ordnance Survey maps of 1884-1923 depicted a square mound or enclosure with sides about 20m long, labelled 'Manor House (site of)'. Its ruins were noted by the traveller and antiquarian John Leland, who visited the Sudeley Castle in about 1543. Leland's account states:

'The site of the former manor house, which existed before the castle was built, can still be seen in Sudeley Park' (Chandler ed 1993, 170). Excavations of the manor house site in 1875 revealed 'house, road and wall foundations' (Dent 1877, 59).

A small rectilinear feature within the pattern of garden earthworks corresponds fairly closely with the manor house site (Figure 40) and could represent its remains. Conclusive interpretation is difficult, however, because the earthworks at this point are fragmentary and partly obscured by trees. There are other possible interpretations for this feature: it could, for example, represent a garden feature such as a parterre or prospect mound. If that were the case, it is possible that occupants of the castle incorporated the remains of the manor house into their own garden. Alternatively, it is possible that at least some of the earthworks are associated with gardens belonging to the early manor house.

Ralph Boteler, who built the present Sudeley Castle in 1442, could have created a garden during his twenty five years of ownership; the rectilinear earthworks are consistent with a garden in the late medieval style.

Boteler sold the castle to Edward IV in 1469 and, after nearly eight decades of royal ownership, Edward VI granted Sudeley to his uncle Thomas Seymour in 1547. Seymour carried out extensive renovations to the building before moving in with his wife, Katherine Parr (widow of Henry VIII). Those works could have extended to the gardens, although the present author could find no reference to contemporary garden developments. In any case, Seymour only lived there for a year or two. After his disgrace and execution for treason in 1549, ownership was granted to Katherine Parr's brother (Katherine having died in 1547). Parr in turn lost his estates, including Sudeley, on the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 (Kingsley 1989, 185).

In 1554, Queen Mary gave Sudeley to John Brydges, the first Baron Chandos. His son Edmund and grandson Giles, who owned the property in the last quarter of the 16th century, seem most likely to have been responsible for the garden developments represented by the surviving earthworks. Edmund, the second Lord Chandos, carried out extensive alterations and additions to the building in 1572 (Sudeley Castle website), but did not live long at the castle. Giles, who inherited the property the following year, entertained Elizabeth I at Sudeley in 1576 and 1592 (Oxford DNB). The latter visit, during the royal summer progress, was the occasion for a 3-day celebration on the anniversary of the defeat of the Armada (Sudeley Castle website).

Most of the earthworks near the castle probably belong to a formal garden of the Tudor period. Gardens of that era retained the medieval pattern of enclosed compartments, but often also allowed views of the surrounding parkland and countryside. A typical Tudor garden comprised raised beds, knot gardens and pond gardens, and ornamental orchards (Jennings 17, 25-41). The specialised areas within the garden were defined and linked by hedges, walks and terraces and punctuated by viewing mounts, fountains and topiary (Mowl 2002, 17-20). The earthwork-defined compartments and raised banks at Sudeley are consistent with a garden of this type, and are likely to have been created some time in the latter half of the 16th century.

Either Edmund Brydges' improvements of 1572 or one of Elizabeth I's visits during Giles' tenure could have inspired the creation or renovation of Sudeley's gardens. If the garden earthworks were laid out in 1572 or 1576, they would be roughly contemporary with Dudley's garden at Kenilworth, which was created in 1575 (Morris 2006, 30-35). The rectangular compartments and

raised viewing terraces at Sudeley are similar in style to those at Kenilworth, although Sudeley's gardens are not confined within castle walls.

The Tudor period seems to have been Sudeley's high point. The castle was slighted in 1648-50 and lay in ruins until the mid-19th century, when it was again substantially rebuilt for a new set of owners. Renovations by George Gilbert Scott in the 1850s included a new garden in the angle formed by the castle and the church. According to T Mowl this garden, known as the Queen's Garden, was 'among the very earliest …Tudor revival gardens' (Mowl 2002, 134-6). The framework of the Queen's Garden survives today, comprising a sunken area with an octagonal pool and formal flower beds, enclosed by dense double hedges of yew. A guide to Sudeley Castle notes that this garden is 'sited on the original Tudor parterre' (Sudeley Castle website), and Mowl states that it was planted 'supposedly on the site of the castle's original Tudor pleasance' (Mowl 2002, ibid), although the evidence for these assertions is not given. The 19th century garden forms a compartment similar to those delineated by the earthworks, and on the same alignment (see above Figure 2): it could perhaps occupy part of the original Tudor garden. It is clear from the aerial photographic evidence, however, that the Tudor garden was a much more extensive and elaborate creation than the 19th century replica.

Campden House – a 17th century formal garden and water features

Exceptionally well-preserved earthworks of an early 17th century formal garden and water features were extensively investigated on the ground (Everson 1989). Campden House was built about 1613 by Sir Baptist Hicks, an extremely wealthy mercer (textile merchant) and money lender. The house was situated to the south of the church in Chipping Campden, on a broad level platform of land whose sides slope away to the south and east. The platform and slopes were sculpted into a series of garden terraces and water features, inspired by French and Italian traditions which were popular in the early 17th century (Everson 1989, 118) (Figure 41). The garden earthworks and pavilions are all that remains of the once grand property – in 1645 Royalist defenders set fire to Campden House, to keep it from falling into the hands of the Parliamentarians. The resulting damage was so severe that the house was demolished and never rebuilt – the garden earthworks became orchards and pasture, and were thus preserved (Everson 1989, 109).

Figure 41 The 17th century garden earthworks at Campden House. MR SP 1539/15 (3152/17) 06-NOV-1986 © Crown copyright. NMR

Everson illustrates that the overall scheme at Campden House gardens is based on rectilinear areas balanced about a north-south axis which runs through the middle of the upper platform and

down the slope. On the platform, there are two square compartments: the ruined front wall of the house (Figure 41 – A) stands midway along the south side of the northern square, while a broad raised terrace (B) passes in front of the house, dividing the northern and southern squares. This terrace acts as a walkway, linking two terminal pavilions (which survive intact - C) and providing a view into the Great Garden (D), which occupies a sunken area in the southern square. The central parterre area can be viewed from the pavilion terrace and also from raised walkways along its eastern and western sides.

Sir Baptist Hicks laid out the flower beds and paths to form a Union Flag, in honour of King James I, whose reign united the thrones of England and Scotland. An engraving of the house and gardens shows two Union Flag parterres (Kingsley 1989, fig 35; Mowl 2002, fig 14), but all surviving depictions of the house seem to have been produced a century after its destruction (Kingsley 1989, 70) and were presumably based on second-hand information. Aerial photographic evidence shows that the paths at the centre of the Great Garden did indeed form a Union Jack (see above, Figure 41 – D), but the design may have been executed as a single large flag, rather than two smaller ones.

Below the Great Garden, alternating broad and narrow terraces (E) descend the slopes to the valley floor. In this area, known as the Great Orchard, the terraces provided tree-lined walks, giving views both along the levels and from one level to another.

The lowest terrace forms the northern edge of a straight water feature, or canal (F), with angled returns at each end. Within the eastern return, at the end of the Orchard terraces, is a 'water parterre' formed by a square arrangement of ponds and earthworks (G). To the east of this lies another basin or small lake (H) with a circular mount or prospect mound to the south (I), and a small enclosed park occupies the area to the east of the lake and the main garden. At the western end of the canal, a rectangular platform (J) surrounded by a broad ditch probably represents another water feature. Most of the water features are now dry most of the time.

Below the canal lies the valley bottom, where two streams flow from west to east on either side of a meadow. The designed landscape of Campden House is completed by a circular mound, located on the south side of the valley (about 180m to the south of the canal), which may have been a prospect mound or the site of an ornament such as a statue (Everson 1989, 115-118).

The earthworks at Campden House now appear to form a single geometrical garden scheme, but Mowl suggests that they represent two designs. In his opinion, the very rectilinear 'architectural' compartments – the house platform, the Great Garden and the Orchard terraces (A-E) – belong to Sir Baptist Hicks' original plan of 1613, while the less formal water garden elements (F-J) appear to have been added by his daughter Juliana Noel and her husband, who inherited Campden on Hicks' death in 1629 (Mowl 2002, 38).

The remarkable survival of the garden site is at least partly due to the fact that the Noels, as prominent Royalists, suffered financially after the Civil War and never attempted to rebuild the house or presumably remodel the garden.

Adlestrop Park - two late 18th century garden and landscaping schemes

Remnants of more than one garden scheme have been recorded at Adlestrop Park, to the east of Stow-on-the-Wold. In front of the house, a serpentine earthwork and the flattened base of a circular mound are visible as very slight earthworks on photographs taken in November 2000 (Fig 42). These features represent a ha-ha and viewing mound which were part of a Rococo garden designed in 1759 to accompany a Gothic Revival make-over of the house (Mowl 2002, 75-6, fig 33).

The Rococo scheme was swept away in 1799 when the park was up-dated by Humphrey Repton, whose improvements included the diversion of a turnpike road that cut across the park to the south of the house (Mowl 2002, 113-4). The many linear earthworks which appear between the Rococo terrace remains and the modern line of the road (the A436 to Stow-on-the-Wold) are probably traces of Repton's scheme (Figure 43). They include banks and ditches of the former turnpike road, and relict avenues extending to the south east and north east of the house.

Immediately adjacent to the south west front of the house, very faint suggestions of a nineteenth century parterre can be seen on vertical aerial photographs of 1 April 1946. The 1946 photographs also show the remains of a Second World War military camp, including several prefabricated buildings, the footprints of at least twenty-one large tents in the parkland and several huts camouflaged by the row of trees along the Stow road (Figure 44).

Figure 42 The serpentine edge of the Rococo garden at Adlestrop Park. NMR SP 2426/31 (18985/26) 16-NOV-2000 © English Heritage. NMR

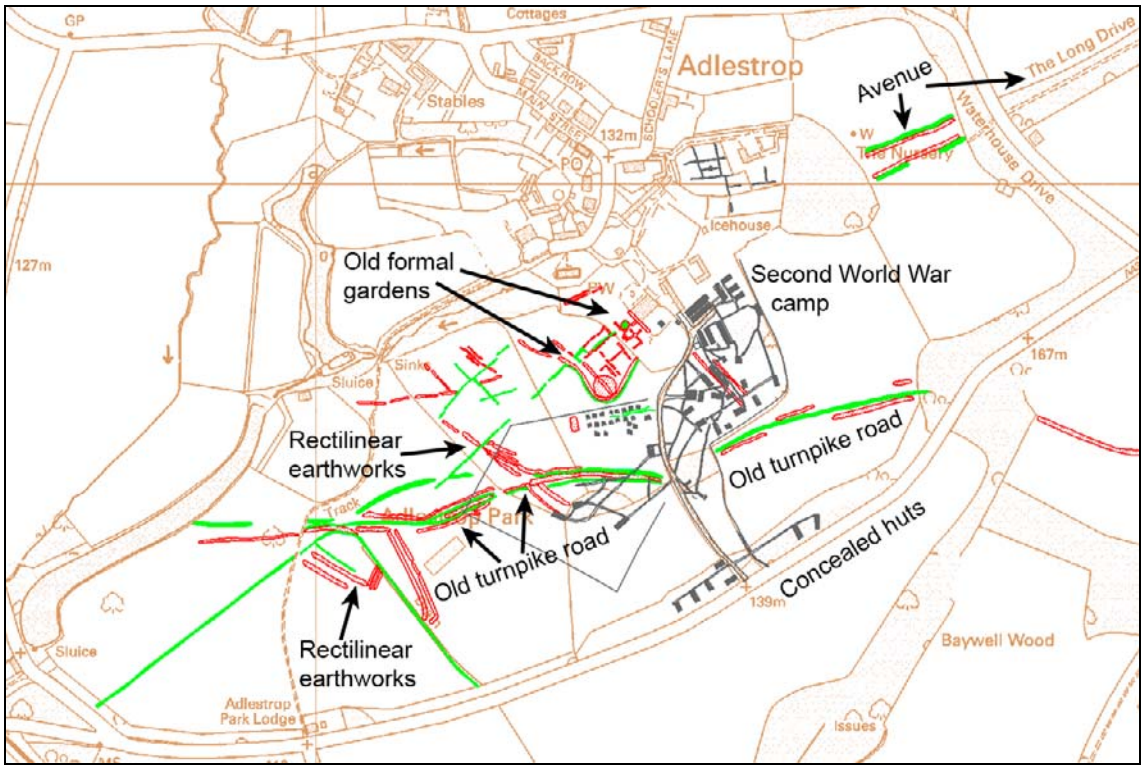

Figure 43 Garden and later remains at Adlestrop Park. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

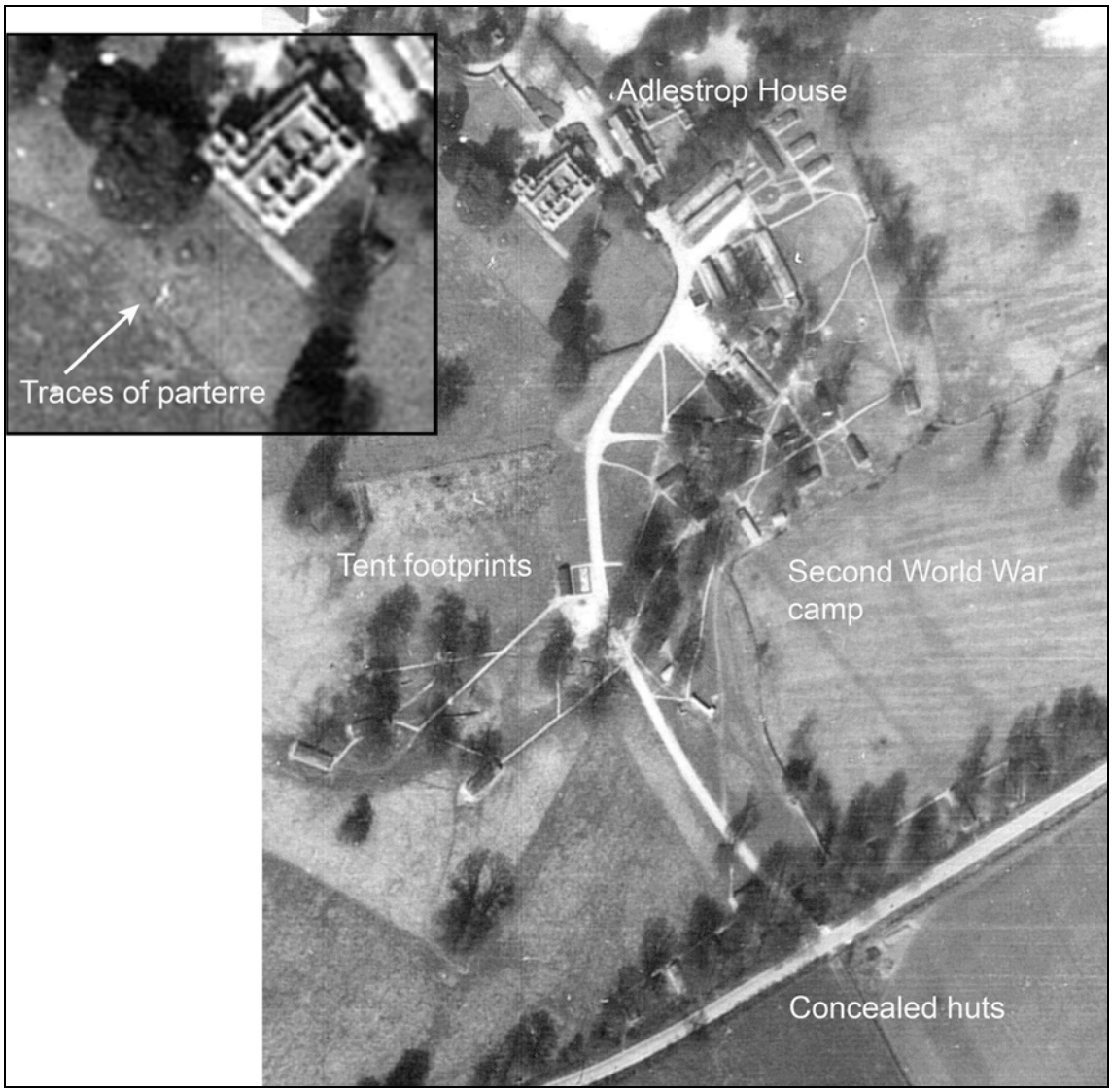

Figure 44 Adlestrop House, with traces of a temporary military camp. Detail of RAF 106G/UK/1347 5203 01-APR-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Toddington Manor – 19 century landscaping

The first high status residence on the Toddington estate, known as Toddington House, was built, in about 1620, on low ground close to the River Isbourne – too close, according to some contemporary accounts (Kingsley 1989, 190-192). The house was rectangular in plan, its east side formed by an ornate gatehouse. Today the ruined gatehouse is all that survives – a campaign of refurbishment in the early 1800s revealed extensive dry rot and Toddington House was abandoned in favour of a higher and drier site. Linear parchmarks between the gatehouse ruins and the River, photographed from the air in the dry summer of 1996, possibly represent traces of garden wall footings and garden features belonging to that early house (Fig 45). Alternatively, they may simply be traces of later activity.

Figure 45 The gatehouse and Jacobean house at Toddington. The ruined gatehouse of Toddington House (c.1620) lies just below the church. Linear marks between the ruins and the river may be traces of garden walls belonging to the Jacobean house. Detail of NMR SP 0332/9 (15510/27) 24-JUL-1996 © Crown copyright. NMR

The Toddington estate was developed by Charles Hanbury (1778-1858; created First Baron Sudeley of Toddington in 1838), whose family wealth came from ownership of the Pontypool Iron Works. He acquired Toddington through marriage to his cousin Henrietta Tracy whose father, the eighth Viscount Tracy of Rathcoole, owned large estates in Gloucestershire. Upon their marriage,

Charles changed his name to Hanbury-Tracy and the couple settled at Toddington in the original 1620 house.

When restoration of the Jacobean mansion proved impracticable, Hanbury-Tracy designed its replacement in Gothic Revival style. The present Toddington Manor was built in 1820–1835 and its setting was adorned with formal parterres, terraces and a pleasure ground (Kingsley 1989, 192).

The landscaping of the park was probably completed in the 1870s (Figs 46- 47). Traces of terraces and paths within the park to the south of the house can be identified as earthworks on aerial photographs, particularly the RAF verticals of 1946 and 1947. The park was furnished with many specimen trees, including quincunx groups of trees forming an avenue, with a central path, leading south from the main terrace. The avenue is clearly visible on the photos of the 1940s, when most of the trees survived. Although the avenue has all but disappeared, archaeological evidence for the position of the trees appeared in 1986, 1989 and 1996, when cropmarks formed over the holes where the trees had been (Fig 46 – A). The footings of the central path also created a parchmark at the same time (B).

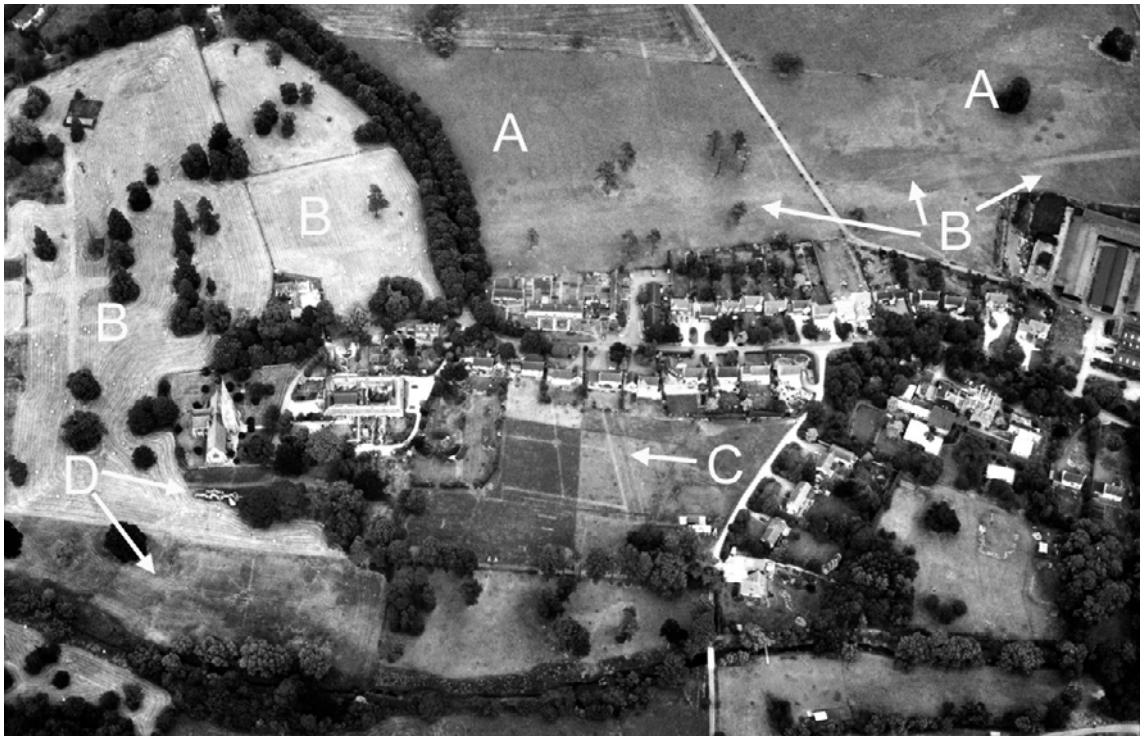

Figure 46 Toddington - the remains of the cedar avenue. Tree planting holes and paths appearing as cropmarks. (North is to the left.) Detail of NMR SP 0332/7 (15538/13) 24-JUL-1996 © Crown copyright. NMR

A walled kitchen garden was built to the south of the original 17th century house (respectively C and D on Fig 46). Like the tree avenue, the kitchen garden is no longer in use, but its paths and walls survive as sub-surface features and can be seen as parchmarks on photos taken in 1986 and 1996. The Toddington estate was engaged in large-scale fruit production in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with extensive orchards and many large, heated glasshouses (Sudeley 1969, 165).

There was even a jam factory, located at the southwest corner of the park. Fragmentary foundations of the largest group of glasshouses appeared as cropmarks on aerial photographs, while the footings of a small tramway that served the glasshouses and orchards were identified as slight earthworks on the 1947 photographs.

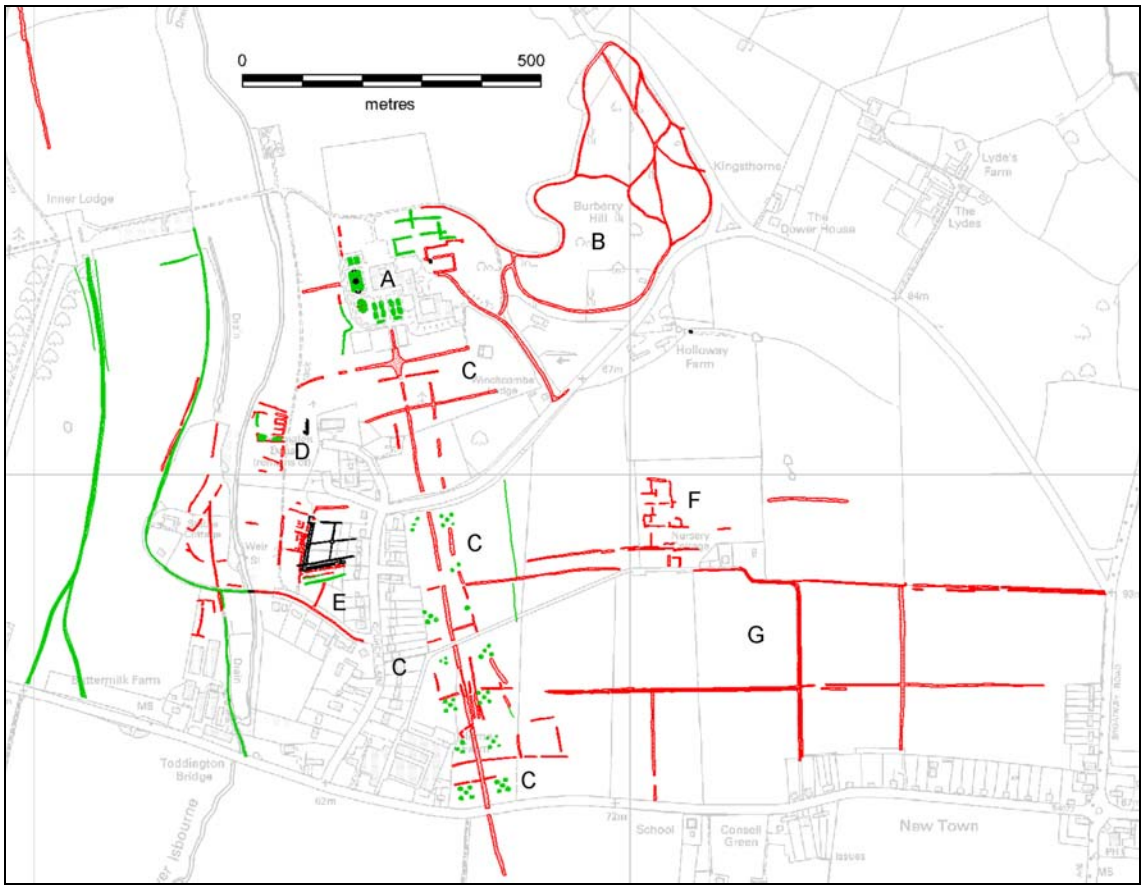

Figure 47 19th century landscaping at Toddington. Parterres near the house (A); woodland walks to east (B); terraces, paths and cedar avenue to south (C); Toddington House ruins (D) and walled kitchen garden (E) to west; glasshouse footings (F) and orchard paths and tramway (G) to east. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Toddington's fortunes declined in the late 19th century – agricultural depression and a series of unfortunate business ventures bankrupted the 4th Baron twice, and Toddington Manor passed from the Hanbury-Tracys' ownership in 1901 (Sudeley 1969, 127-172). The estate continued in private hands until 1935, since when it has had a number of owners and uses. During the Second World War, the house and grounds were used by the US Army as a training and transit camp in preparation for the Allied invasion of occupied Europe in 1944 (Francis, P and Crisp, G 2008, vol.5, pt , 31) (Fig 48). An extensive complex of Nissen huts and support buildings, linked by paths and tracks, sprang up in the park to the north of the house. The camp complex appears on RAF photographs of 1946 and 1947 – by 1946, it had become a decommissioning facility. By 1949, the military structures had been dismantled and Toddington Manor returned to civilian use.

Figure 48 Toddington in 1946. An RAF photograph showing both the 19th century landscaping scheme and the Second World War military encampment. Detail from RAF 106G/UK/1488 3292 09-MAY-1946. English Heritage RAF photography. NMR. **Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012**

In 2005, following more than half a century of neglect and decay in the ownership of various institutions and potential developers, the house and its remaining park land were bought by the artist Damien Hirst. This current owner has undertaken an extensive programme of restoration, with the intention of using Toddington as both a family home and a gallery for his own art collection.

A site for further research - Southam House and Cleeve Cloud

A possible example of 'landscape borrowing' is found on the western Cotswold escarpment. The ramparts of Cleeve Cloud Iron Age hillfort, perched on the edge of the scarp, seem to have been embellished by three low circular enclosures, one on each side of the earthworks and one within the fort (Figure 49). All three enclosures are situated right on the scarp edge and were thought, by Witts (Witts 1883, 12), to be associated with the fort. The compiler of the Victoria County History doubted Witts' interpretation, noting that 'the remains of two watch-towers near the camp are thought not to be connected with it.' VCH Gloucestershire 8, 3). The interpretation of the ringworks was reconsidered during the North Cotswolds survey and they are more likely to be tree enclosure rings, perhaps constructed to protect ornamental copses on the scarp edge.

Figure 49 Cleeve Cloud hillfort and tree enclosure rings. NMR SO 9825/31 (23331/07) 17-DEC-2003 © English Heritage. NMR

It is possible that the hillfort earthworks were 'borrowed' as a picturesque view by the owner of a house below the escarpment. If this were so, the most likely candidate seems to be Southam House (also known as Southam de la Bere), originally built in 1500-1547 and rebuilt in the neo-Gothic and Norman style in 1833-71 (Kingsley 1989, 167-9; 2001, 293-4). A prehistoric earthwork, augmented with artistically placed clumps of trees, could have provided a sky-line focal point to suit either the 18th century fashion in designed landscapes or a romantic make-over in the 19th century Gothic style.

SECOND WORLD WAR

The outbreak of war in September 1939 brought a surge in military activity and construction to the Cotswolds, as it did to the whole of Britain. During the next six years even the most rural parts of the region were mobilised for the war effort, and every aspect of life was affected by the European conflict. Many features associated with military activity were recorded by the North Cotswolds NMP project – the fact that so many of those remains were visible on aerial photographs taken in 1946 and 1947 gives some indication of the intensity of the military presence during the war itself.

Airfields

The most extensive wartime structures recorded by this survey were airfields. Aviation was already established in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire: several airfields had been built around the fringes of the Cotswolds during the 1930s (including Abingdon in 1932, Staverton in 1936, Brize Norton and South Cerney in 1937, Little Rissington, Kemble and Kidlington in 1938) while Upper Heyford and Bicester, farther to the east, dated to the First World War (Willis and Holliss 1987). During the Second World War, central England was thought to be far enough from the reach of German attack to provide a base for airborne operations including training, transport and development (Delve 2006, 15-17). Many Bomber squadrons also moved from the 'front line' of Yorkshire and East Anglia to the comparative safety of the Midlands (Bowyer 1983, 19). As a result, the central counties became home to scores of rapidly constructed aerodromes and landing strips.

Three airfields were built in the North Cotswold region (Fig 50): Honeybourne and Long Marston below the north-western escarpment at the edge of the Vale of Evesham; and Moreton-in-Marsh on the dip slope to the east of the central uplands. All three were assigned to Bomber Command and were used by Operational Training Units dedicated to providing a regular output of bomber crews and ferry pilots (Delve 2006, 15-17).

Honeybourne airfield, situated below the escarpment between the villages of Honeybourne, Bretforton and Weston Subedge, was opened in December 1940; it was used first for ferry training and later for bomber training. Aerial photographs taken in 1946 and 1947 show its pattern of runways and dispersal bays, hangars and maintenance buildings (Fig 51). A weapons storage site lies in a detached position to the south-west. The main instructional facilities, accommodation for RAF personnel and WAAFs, and a hospital complex, occupy clusters of temporary buildings on dispersed sites to the south-east of the airfield around Weston sub Edge (Willis and Holliss 1987, 106).

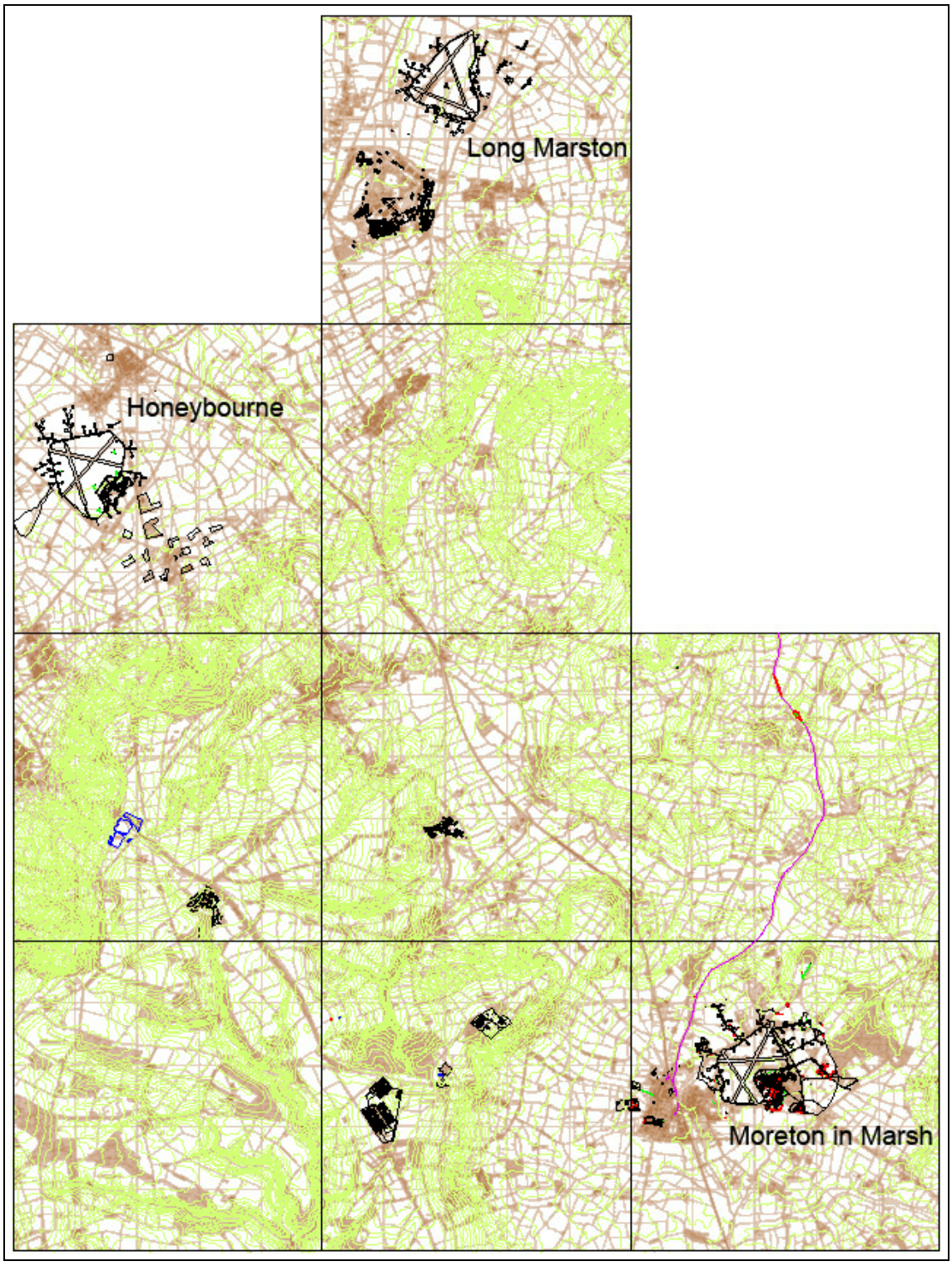

Figure 50 The Second World War airfields and camps built in the North Cotswolds. The black grid lines are at 5km intervals. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

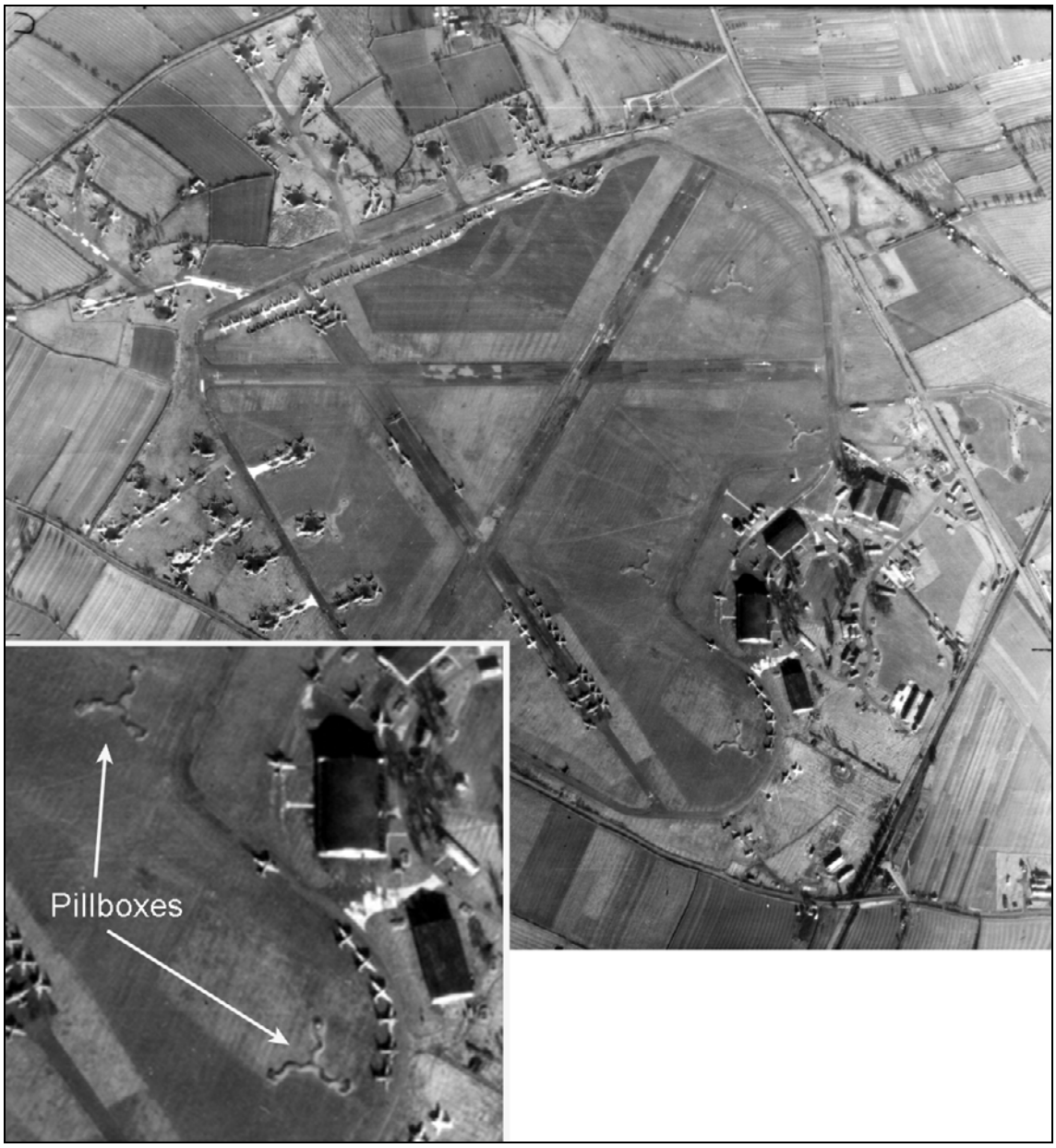

Figure 51 Honeybourne airfield in January 1947. The inset shows two Oakington pillboxes and associated trenches positioned in front of the hangars. Detail of NMR RAF CPE/UK/1926 1152 16-JAN-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

The post-war aerial photographs of Honeybourne also recorded smaller features associated with the operation of the airfield – a structure that housed a High Frequency Direction Finding (HF/DF) approach beacon was located 965 metres from the north end of the main runway, and the site of a wireless transmitting station was recognised to the north of the airfield. Five ground defence features of a type known as 'Oakington pillboxes', comprising 'mushroom' pillboxes associated with trenches, were positioned on the airfield in front of the hangars and near the dispersal pads as protection from possible ground attack (Fig 51).

The airfield at Long Marston was constructed in 1941 as a satellite to Honeybourne, about 8.5km to the north-east, and assigned to Bomber Command as a training facility. As at Honeybourne, runways, dispersal pads and hangars were recorded from aerial photographs taken immediately after the war. Instructional facilities and accommodation for personnel were housed in clusters of temporary buildings in dispersed sites to the east of the airfield. Two ground defence trenches were recorded, one at the centre of the triangle formed by the runways, and a second at the north end of the main runway. A structure associated with the HF/DF system was visible 600 metres from the southern end of the main runway.

The largest and most complex airfield in the North Cotswolds area was located at Moreton-in-Marsh, on the eastern Cotswold dip slope (Figs 52-54). Construction took place during 1940 and the RAF took possession in January 1941. Moreton was assigned to Bomber Command, and is best known for its association with the Wellington aircraft. It was the home of an Operational Training Unit dedicated to the 'production' of bomber crews: by May 1942, Moreton was sending 20 six-man crews into active service each month.

Aerial photographs taken in 1946 and 1947, as well as a handful of frames from a USAAF sortie of May 1944, show runways, large hangars and extensive aircraft parking bays. There are numerous support buildings near the hangars and around the parking bays. A bomb storage site comprising ten earth-sheltered bunkers can be seen in woodland at the eastern side of the site (Fig 53). High frequency direction finding (HF/DF) beacons are located at each end of the main runway; the remains of a gun emplacement or searchlight battery (A on Fig 52) and a roadblock (B on Fig 52) to the north of the airfield represent elements of the defensive system.

The accommodation for Moreton's personnel lay within the perimeter of the main airfield – with the exception of the WAAF quarters, which were located in a separate camp 2.4km to the west, on the other side of the town. Many earth-covered air raid shelters were provided close to the personnel quarters on both sites, and many more can be seen among the hangars and maintenance buildings on the main site, and around the perimeter near the dispersal areas and their support buildings. A number of rectangular Emergency Water Supply tanks can be seen in the maintenance and accommodation areas.

Moreton's defence against air attack was provided by numerous gun emplacements around the edges of the airfield and among the maintenance and dispersal areas. Ground-level protection appeared in the form of a road block on the public road that runs through the northern part of the site, and pillboxes in the fields on the northern and western edges of the airfield. Sections of the perimeter fence could also be identified in several places, supported by guard posts at the entrance gates.

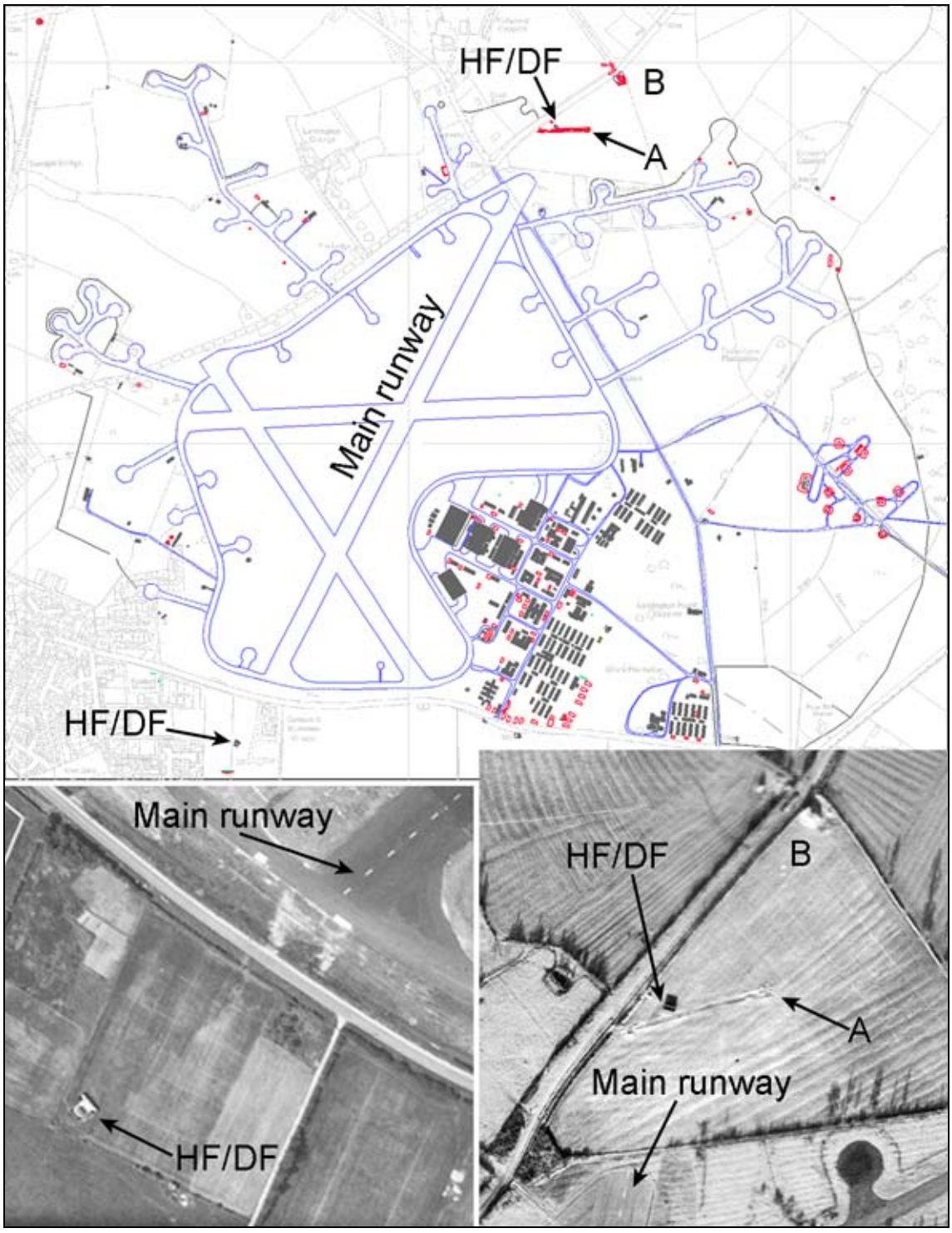

Figure 52 Some features associated with Moreton-in-Marsh airfield. Lower left: detail of NMR US7GR LOC349 3040 27-MAY-1944. English Heritage (NMR) USAAF Photography; lower right: detail of NMR RAF CPE UK 1929 3119 16-JAN-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography. Grid lines at 1km intervals. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Figure 53 The bomb store at Moreton-in-Marsh. It was built in woodland to the east of the airfield and the storage bunkers are effectively concealed beneath the trees in 1947 (Left: detail of NMR RAF CPE/UK/1929 3121 16-JAN-1947) but in 1952, with the trees removed, the bunkers are easily seen (Right detail of NMR RAF 540/835 5026 14-AUG-1952)

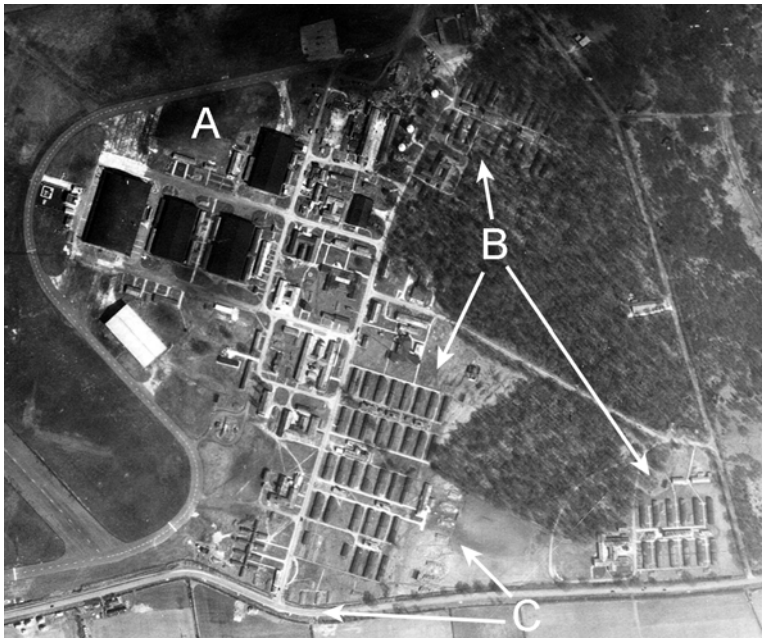

Figure 54 The buildings at Moreton-in-Marsh airfield in 1947. The large hangars (A) are accompanied by many smaller support buildings to the right and below, accommodation huts (B) and earth covered air raid shelters (C). Detail of NMR RAF CPE UK 1960 4147 16-JAN-1947

When photographed in 1947, Moreton retained many elements of its HF/DF system. Beacon buildings were recorded at both ends of the main runway, about 180 metres from the south end and 140 metres from the north end. A further HF/DF station was located about 450 metres from the runway's north end, accompanied by small support buildings and a trackway.

The NMP survey maps give a clear indication of the impact that wartime airfield construction had on the Cotswold landscape and the patterns of rural life (Fig 55). Large tracts of farmland were requisitioned: over 500 hectares were taken at Honeybourne (including the detached accommodation sites) and over 250 hectares at Long Marston. The construction of Moreton took at least 400 hectares and required the demolition of a small farm; when complete the footprint of the airfield was more than ten times that of the adjacent market town. The areas given here are conservative estimates only – the road blocks, pillboxes, gun emplacements and dispersed accommodation are a reminder that much of the countryside around the airfields must have been under military control and subject to movement restrictions.

Figure 55 Dispersed accommodation and instructional facilities at Honeybourne airfield. The south east corner of the airfield (with hangars) can be seen on the left of the frame. Detail of NMR RAF CPE/UK/1926 1154 16-JAN-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

The airfields were constructed rapidly: the laying of concrete runways and the importation of large numbers of pre-fabricated buildings involved a great deal of machinery and mess, and undoubtedly caused dramatic changes to the rural landscape. In addition, the construction and operation of the airfields involved a huge influx of people, mainly young men. Honeybourne was built to accommodate 1873 RAF and 382 WAAF personnel; Long Marston had 919 RAF and 107 WAAFs; and Moreton housed 2087 RAF and 436 WAAFs (Willis and Holliss 1987).

Temporary military camps

Rural areas all over Britain provided locations not only for airfields but also for training and transit camps used by thousands of ground-based troops (Fig 56). In the early 1940s these facilities were occupied by British units while, from the late summer of 1942, American soldiers arrived in rapidly increasing numbers.

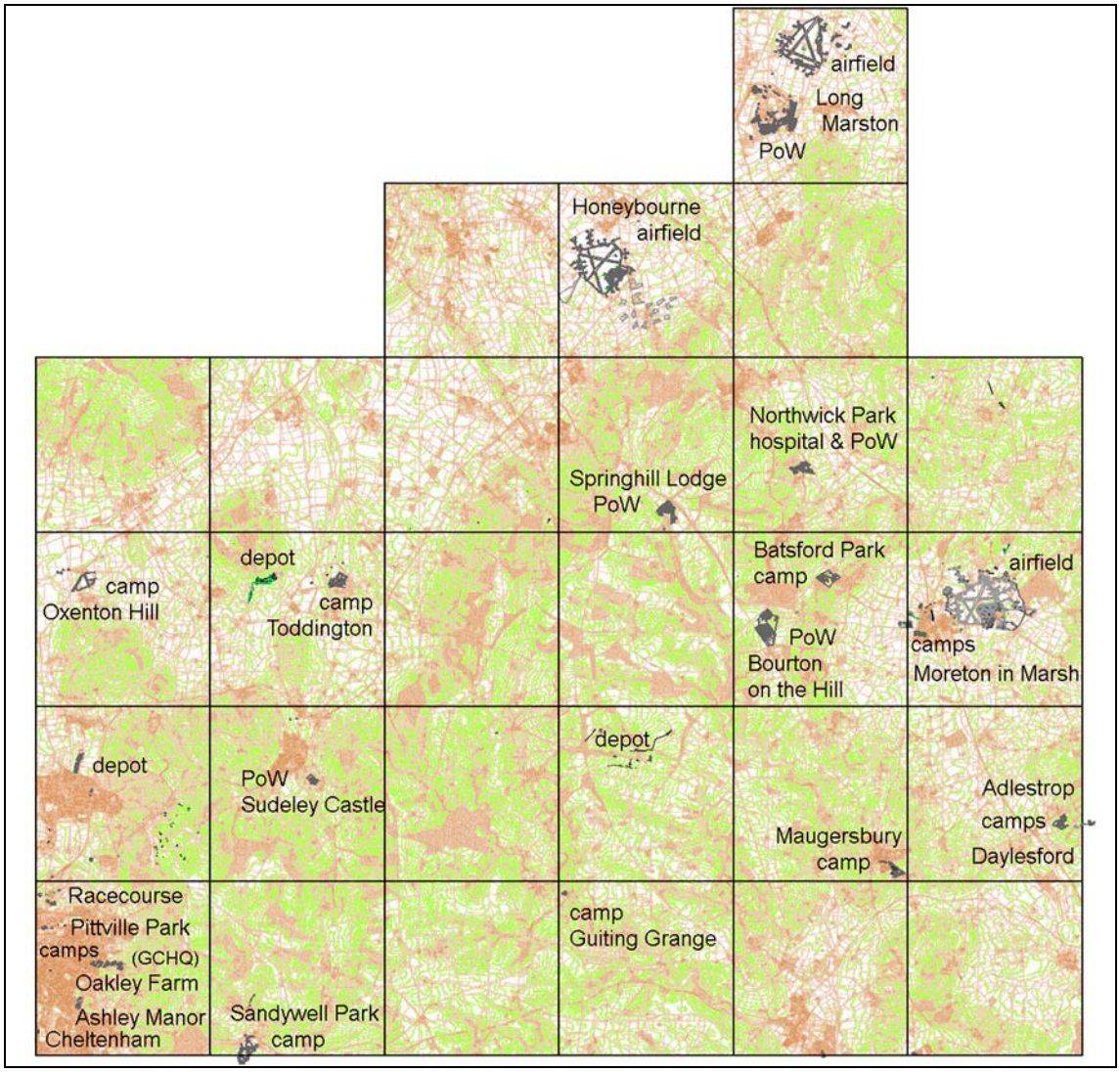

Figure 56 Temporary military camps, Prisoner of War camps and storage depots in the North Cotswolds. Black grid lines at 5km intervals. Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012

Many temporary camps in North Gloucestershire were built in the requisitioned grounds of country houses. One of the first appeared some time in late 1939 or early 1940 in the adjoining parks of Adlestrop House and Daylesford House (Ball 2008; Schofield 2006), about six kilometres to the east of Stow-on-the-Wold (Fig 57). A soldier from the Royal Army Service Corps who arrived at the camp in the spring of 1940 described the neglected state of Daylesford house and the primitive conditions endured by the troops, both in the house and under canvas in the

grounds (J Nicholls, BBC Peoples War archive). Aerial photographs taken in 1946 show scores of huts in the parkland at Adlestrop and hidden in a copse at Daylesford, indicating that slightly more substantial accommodation was eventually provided, although traces of tents can also be seen in the grass of Adlestrop Park.

Figure 57 Temporary military encampments in the grounds of Adlestrop House (right) and Daylesford House (left). Two details from NMR RAF 106G/UK/1347 5203 01-APR-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Several early camps were constructed around Cheltenham. Elements of an extensive reinforcement camp at Cheltenham Racecourse, begun in 1940, could be seen on aerial photographs taken in 1946, including evidence of a tented encampment (Fig 58). Temporary buildings belonging to military camps were also recorded in Pittville Park and between Coltham Fields and Ashley Manor, the latter site now covered by the post war housing of Beaufort Road. At Oakley Farm, on the eastern outskirts of Cheltenham, the US Army's Services of Supply were headquartered in a large complex of temporary buildings until 1944; since 1949, the site was home to the UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) (Schofield 2006, Francis and Crisp 2008).

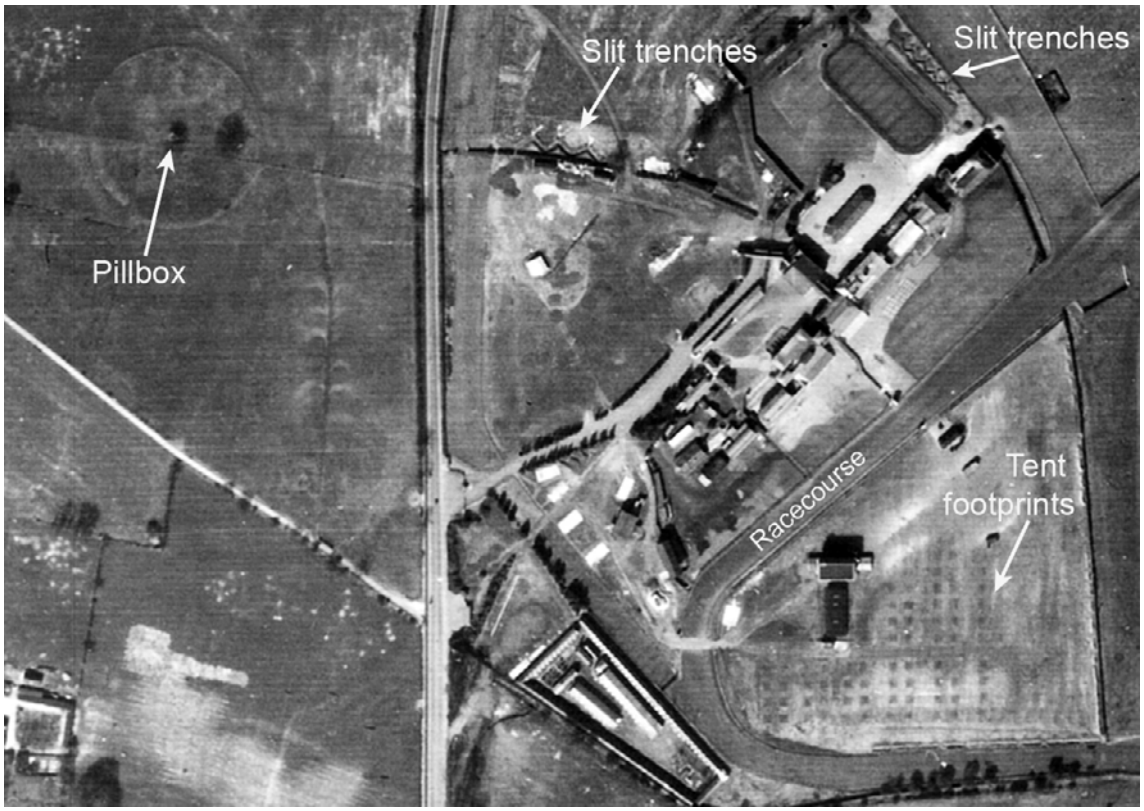

Figure 58 Traces of a tented encampment at Cheltenham Racecourse. Slit trenches (top of frame) served as air raid shelters. The pillbox to the left, sited on a slight hill, defended a camp and the railway line further to the west. Detail of NMR RAF 106G/UK/1347 5336 01-APR-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Maugersbury Manor, a 17th century house and grounds on the eastern edge of Stow-on-the-Wold, was used as a British army camp in 1942 (Fig 59). On this site, the Nissen huts and other temporary buildings were carefully arranged along the edges of a triangular field to the north of the house, shielded from aerial observation by road-side trees. Traces of tents could also be seen in a field to the west of the main site on 1946 photographs.

American forces occupied Maugersbury from early 1944, and evidently felt that the facilities were fairly basic: a soldier of the 773rd Tank Destroyer Battalion, who arrived in February of that year, recalled '… Maugersbury Manor, the 600 year old crumbling house with its one bath tub. However, the new Lords and Earls of Maugersbury managed with the Nissen huts and tents.' (http://www.geocities.com/virgo1122/index.htm)

Toddington Manor, below the north-western escarpment, was also turned over to American forces. An extensive hutted camp of about 100 buildings housed a succession of US Army units, possibly as early as the summer of 1942 (Len Francis, BBC Peoples War archive), but certainly from August 1943. GIs who passed through Toddington also recorded Spartan conditions. (Carl Condon http://www.kansasguardmuseum.org/635TDB.html)

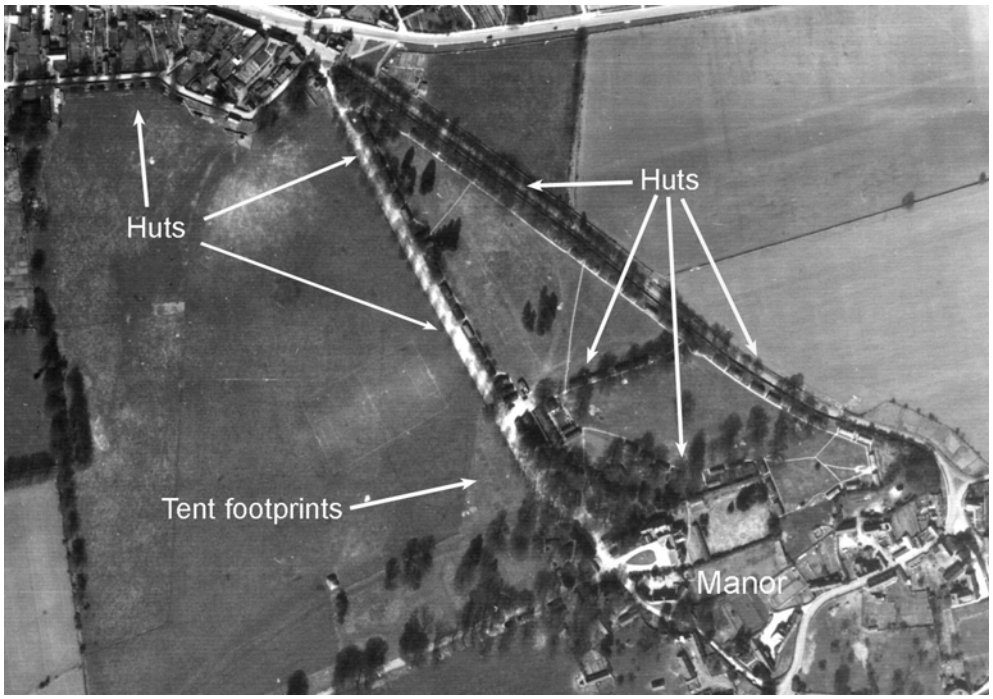

Figure 59 Camouflaged military camp in the grounds of Maugersbury Manor, Stow-on-the-Wold. Detail of RAF 106G/UK/1347 5194 01-APR-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Figure 60 Temporary encampment in Batsford Park. Former tent locations visible as rectangular marks in the grass. Detail of RAF CPE/UK/1960 4155 09-APR-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

The influx of American troops continued to increase in late 1943 and early 1944. An extensive US Army hospital was established in Northwick Park in 1943, and the area between Chipping Campden and Moreton-in-Marsh became associated with the US Sixth Armored Division. Peyton House (now called Paxton House), in the centre of Blockley, became their headquarters, as did the nearby Batsford Park (Fig 60). Batsford had been a British HQ Reinforcement Camp from 1940 (Schofield 2006); from 25 February 1944, it was occupied by the Sixth Armored Division. An extensive camp of temporary buildings and tents in the parkland was recorded by the NMP survey, and military personnel were also accommodated in some of the outbuildings of Batsford House, including the stables. Units were also billeted in and around villages in the Oxford-Stratford-Cheltenham area, in hotels and private houses as well as in camps.

Dramatic photographs from a sortie flown over Moreton-in-Marsh by the US Army Air Force in late May 1944 show an American tented encampment at the southern edge of the town, and provide evidence of the extent of the Sixth Armored Division's presence in and around Moreton. Vehicles bearing the American star can be seen throughout the town, and there is a row of Sherman tanks parked in the High Street to the north of the Town Hall. An encampment with forty tents, housing 8-10 men each, was situated at the southern end of Moreton-in-Marsh. By 16th January 1947 the camp was dismantled but the dark square 'footprints'' of the tents can still be seen (Fig 61).

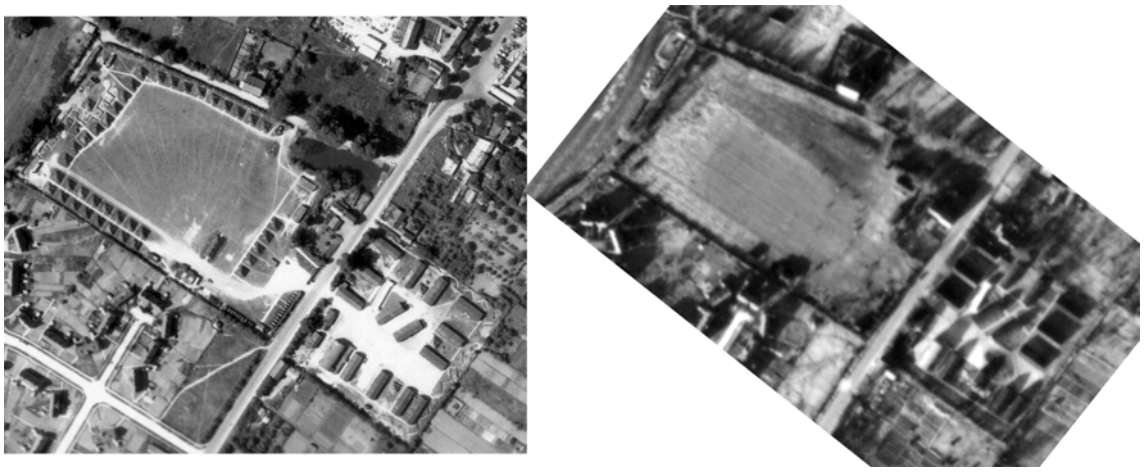

Figure 61 Temporary military accommodation at Moreton-in-Marsh during the war (left), and the imprint after the war (right). Left: Detail of USAAF US/7GR/LOC349 3041 27-MAY-1944. English Heritage (NMR) USAAF Photography. Right: Detail of RAF CPE/UK/1929 2116 16-JAN-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

The number of troops massing in the Cotswold region in preparation for the invasions of occupied Europe was so great that there were probably other camps for which aerial photographic evidence was not available, or whose evidence was not recognised. Some are known from lists: there was, for example, a camp and a reinforcement depot at Ebrington Manor. Others, particularly tented camps, may not have left a recognisable trace in the landscape.

Prisoner of War camps

Temporary accommodation in the North Cotswolds was constructed to house Prisoners of War beginning, in the autumn of 1942, with prisoners from the North African campaign. A camp at Bourton-on-the-Hill, to the west of Moreton, was located just over 1km from the village and opened in December 1942. This facility eventually comprised six compounds; its extensive barracks, perimeter fence and guard towers were recorded from aerial photographs taken in April 1947 (Fig 62).

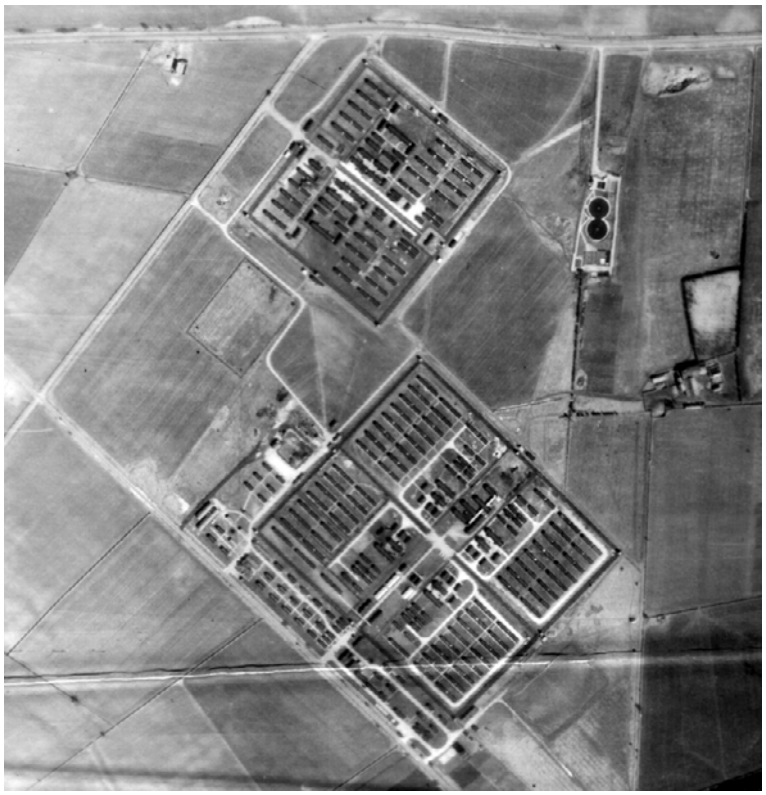

Figure 62 The Prisoner of War camp at Bourton-on-the-Hill, photographed in 1947. Detail of RAF CPE/UK/1960 3157 09-APR-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography (Note: The two horizontal lines across the bottom of the frame are creases in the original photographic print.)

Another large camp was located 4.5km to the north-west at Springhill Lodge, and Northwick Park hospital site also accommodated PoWs. A camp at Sudeley Castle housed Italian prisoners from the summer of 1942, and later became a German working camp, while two locations at the large depot at Long Marston also became German working camps. A number of the camps, including one at Bourton-on-the-Hill, were controlled by the American forces and many prisoners were sent on to the United States after processing in Britain.

Supply depots and dumps

Aerial photographs have provided evidence of other types of military activity in the Cotswold region. A very large REME depot was established at Long Marston, to the south-west of the airfield. Smaller munitions storage sites were identified at Bishops Cleeve and at Naunton Farm, near Toddington (Fig 63). The latter site, comprising separate earth-sheltered bunkers linked by a trackway, had been mistakenly identified, by an early archaeological photo interpreter, as a possible deserted medieval village.

Figure 63 Earthwork remains of a dismantled munitions storage site at Naunton Farm, to the west of Toddington Park. The irregular platforms on the far right are probably the remains of a deserted medieval village. Detail of RAF CPE/UK/1929 1023 16-JAN-1947. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Civilian memoirs suggest that road-side storage of supplies and ammunition was a common practice (RA Maby, BBC Peoples War archive), and evidence of this was recorded at several Cotswold locations. At Whittington Lodge near Sandywell Park, and at Teddington below Oxenton Hill, small road-side dumps of supplies could be seen on photographs taken in 1946 and January 1947. In fields to the east of Temple Guiting, another supply dump could be identified by small areas of hard standing arranged along a field boundary, with two sites of military buildings nearby. At Moreton-in-Marsh, the 1944 USAAF photographs showed deposits of supplies in a public park and in a yard near the railway station, the latter concealed with netting.

Searchlight batteries, gun emplacements and control structures

Small defensive structures were sited in rural locations throughout the region. In a fairly remote spot in Temple Guiting parish, adjacent to the supply dump noted above, and not far from the tank training area, a searchlight battery has been recorded. The layout of this site suggests that it was staffed by women: a small building near the accommodation huts has been identified as a toilet hut, a luxury not generally provided for male operatives (RJC Thomas, pers com). Figure 64 shows a plan and photograph of the searchlight battery, a military depot and supply dumps. By the

time of the photograph, 1946, the sites had been dismantled – only traces of their footings remained.

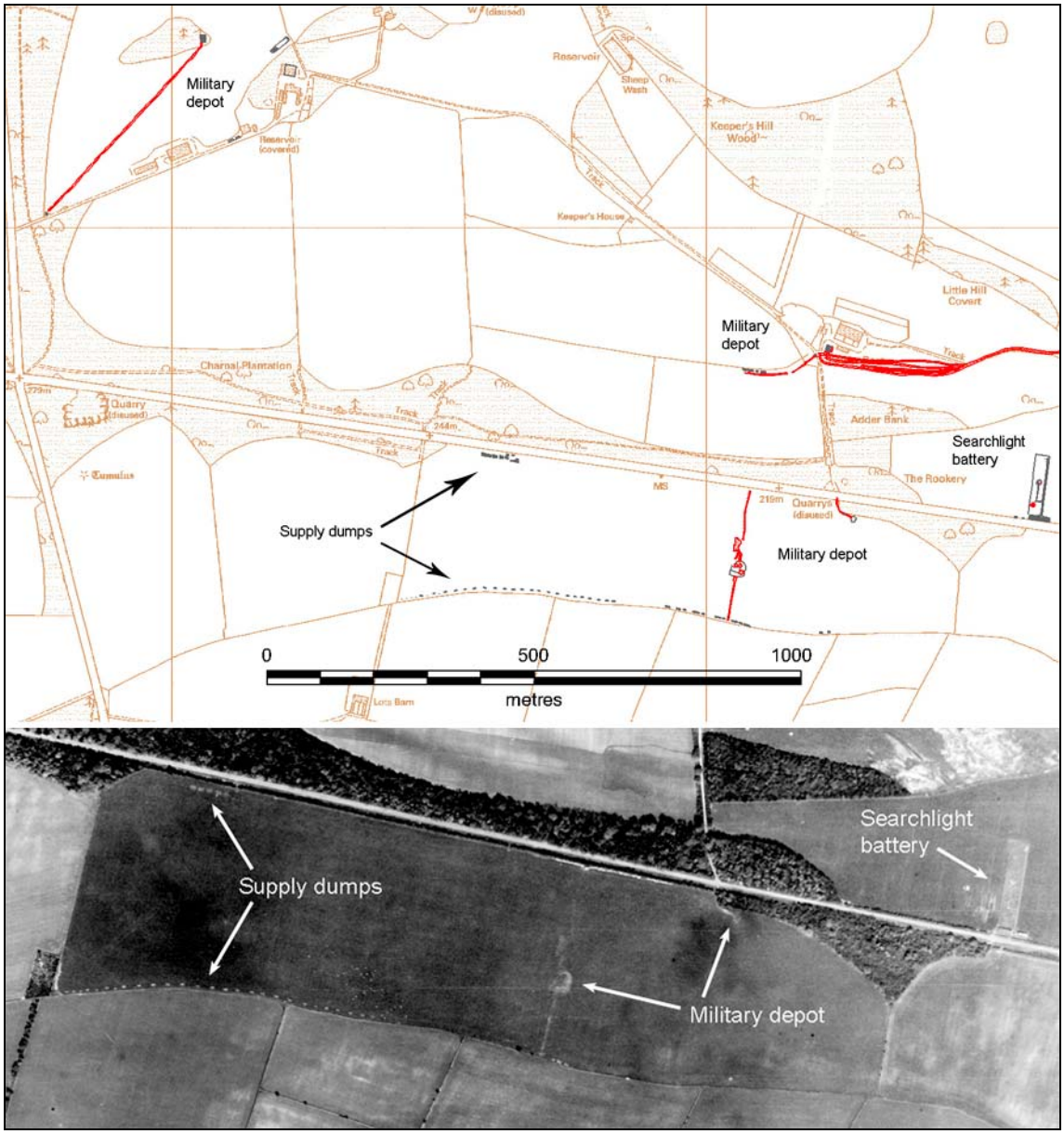

Figure 64 Small military sites on the remote high Cotswolds in Temple Guiting parish. Photograph: detail of RAF 106G/UK/1480 4056 09-MAY-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography. **Base map© Crown Copyright. All rights reserved. English Heritage 100019088. 2012**

Another searchlight site was recorded to the north of Winchcombe near a railway line. Five more appeared between Stanton and Broadway; one searchlight, or possibly a gun emplacement, was located at the top of the escarpment, two were on the slopes and two were below the scarp at the edge of the Vale of Evesham. A gun emplacement or searchlight site was located at Southam,

just to the north of Cheltenham, overlooking a railway line and not far from the Racecourse camp and a large manufacturing site at Bishops Cleeve.

Defence and control of vulnerable points such as railways and strategic road junctions was also provided in the form of pillboxes: examples were recorded between Cheltenham Racecourse and the adjacent railway line, and several were associated with Moreton airfield. Road blocks were also clearly visible at Moreton along the north side of the airfield and at the northern end of the town, on the railway bridge, at the entrance to the railway yard at the junction of the High Street and the Batsford road. Another may be visible at the entrance to the American tented camp at the southern end of Moreton. Figure 65 shows the concrete drums to be used as road blocks – visible as small white spots – waiting in position on either side of the railway bridge (upper right – A), at the Batsford Road junction (upper left – B) and at an entrance to the railway yard (far top right – C). A circular Emergency Water Supply tank is visible lower left (D).

Figure 65 Defence structures at Moreton-in-Marsh. Detail of USAAF US/7GR/LOC349 3041 27-MAY-1944. English Heritage (NMR) USAAF Photography

Civil defence structures

Although the Cotswolds were not subject to air attack on the scale of urban and manufacturing centres such as London, Birmingham and Coventry, air raids were a real possibility. The region's airfields provided an obvious objective for German bombers, and Moreton was attacked twice (Bowyer 1983, 209); earth-covered shelters are evident within the airfields' perimeters, and also in the many temporary camps.

The city of Cheltenham and the adjacent manufacturing sites at Bishops Cleeve were also vulnerable. Air raid shelters were recorded in several school playing fields and recreation grounds within the town. Many of the shelters provided for factory workers at Bishops Cleeve were also recorded by the NMP survey. Seven Emergency Water Supply tanks could be seen among the streets of Cheltenham, and one appeared on the other side of the Cotswolds, at the northern end of Moreton-in-Marsh High Street. Figure 66 shows Naunton Park in Cheltenham where three large air raid shelters are located adjacent to the school buildings, and a circular Emergency Water Supply tank is visible towards the top of the frame.

Figure 66 Civil defence structures in Naunton Park, Cheltenham. Detail of RAF 106G/UK/1354 7390 02-APR-1946. English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography

Aerial photographs provided evidence that the rural Cotswolds did experience occasional air raids: a group of four bomb craters was recorded on the western side of Dumbleton Hill. The bombs which caused them may have been intended for the camp at Toddington or the nearby munitions storage site. Alternatively, a bomber may have been dumping unused stock after a raid on a more northerly target such as Birmingham.

The social landscape

The military features recorded by the North Cotswolds NMP survey are, almost entirely, those which survived to be photographed by the RAF sorties of 1946 and 1947 (Fig 67). They undoubtedly represent only a proportion of the structures and facilities which appeared in the region during the Second World War, and yet they give a very clear indication of the extent to which the rural landscape and population must have been affected and altered by the worldwide military conflict.

Temporary camps, defensive and storage sites, training activities and military vehicles could be found even on the most remote hills of the high Cotswolds. Of course the greatest impact must have been caused by the enormous numbers of young men who arrived in the region to occupy those sites. The aerial photographic evidence has enabled the location and extent of sites to be identified, and has also provided a link to both official historical records and more personal histories.

Memories of many of the Cotswolds' military sites have been recorded recently on the internet, both by civilian residents and by servicemen and women who were stationed there. The BBC Peoples War archive and several websites devoted to various US military units have each provided clues to the social and cultural impact of the 'friendly occupation' of the Cotswolds.

Many civilian reminiscences comment on the manners, as well as the numbers, of American troops; several also make special note of the presence of black soldiers. Most of Britain's black population were concentrated in the London and the major seaports (Wynn, NA 2006, 6). The African-American GIs were probably the first black people many of the rural inhabitants of north Gloucestershire had ever seen, and those who passed through the camps at Adlestrop and Maugersbury were viewed with interest by local children and remembered many years later (Fay Smith, BBC Peoples War archive). The black GIs seem to have been generally welcomed, although potential misunderstandings sometimes arose: a paper on the African-American experience in the Second World War carries the following story: 'The Stow-on-the-Wold Parish Council Minutes reported in August 1944 that "the impression seems to have spread that the inhabitants ... do not desire the USA coloured troops in Maugersbury Park to come into the Town". However, the clerk was to write to the American commanding officer "to say if the coloured troops are allowed in moderate numbers", the Parish Council would raise no objection.' (Wynn, NA 2006, 7).

The vast increase in population in and around those small towns and villages must have caused social stress at times. Such great numbers of young men were clearly a source of potential conflict, both with local residents and between themselves. The daughter of the Moreton-in-Marsh police Sergeant recalled: 'Normally a quiet country town, this was now a real garrison town… My dad was by then Sergeant in charge of this area and was supported by two police constables who lived in, and several special constables. The guardroom was also Head Quarters to the various Military police belonging to the different units. I have seen the station surrounded by aggrieved servicemen demanding the release of their mates who had been arrested. Eventually the different factions were allowed certain times for access to the town to try and keep them apart.' (Fay Smith, BBC Peoples War archive)

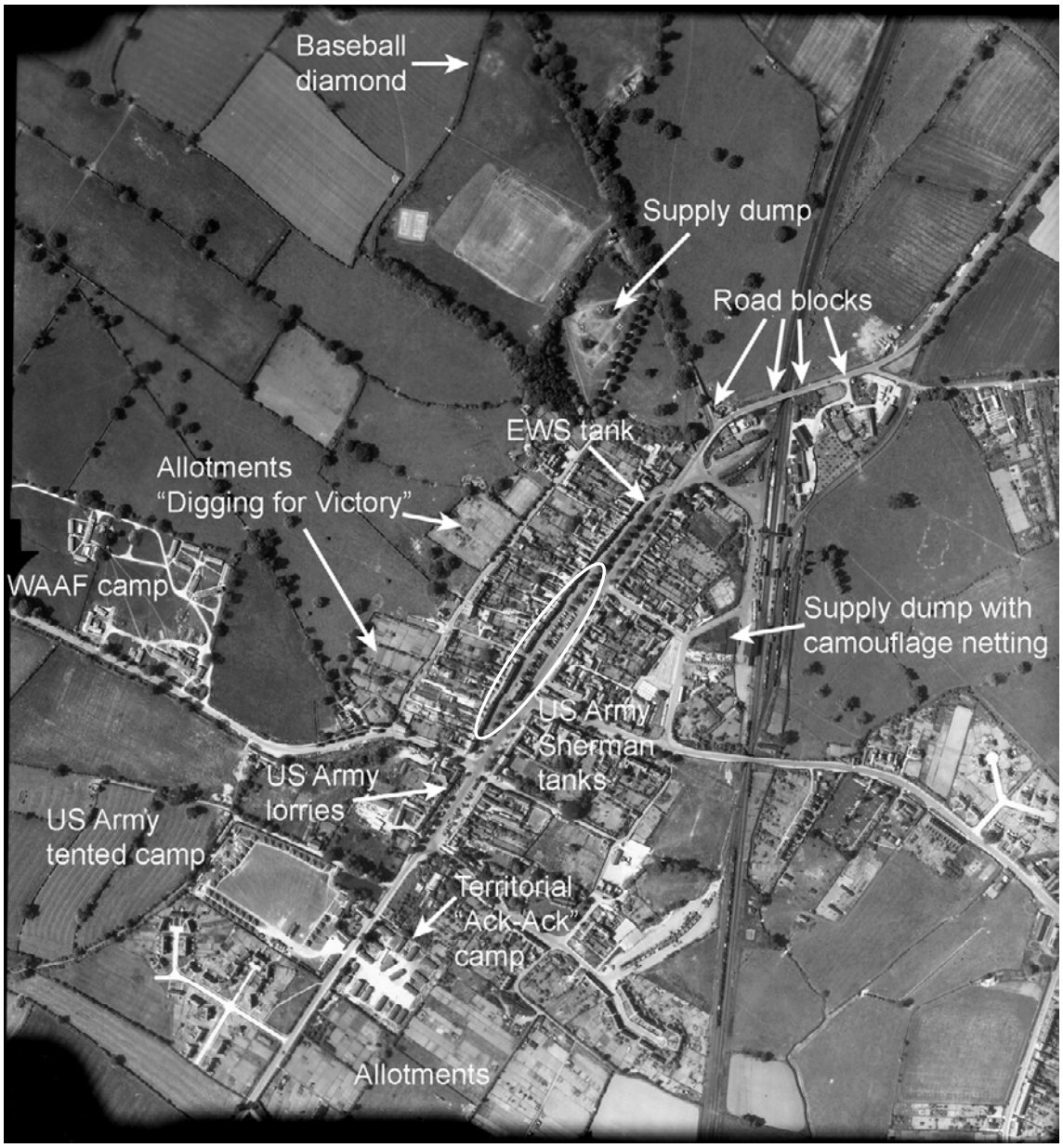

Figure 67 The impact of the military presence on a small Cotswold market town, Moreton-in-Marsh, in 1944. US/7GR/LOC349 3041 27-MAY-1944. English Heritage (NMR) USAAF Photography

The changes and tensions in the physical and social landscape of the Cotswolds during the Second World War were repeated throughout Britain. The physical evidence which has been recorded by the North Cotswolds NMP survey provides clues to the experience of people in one region, which were undoubtedly repeated in many other parts of the country.

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