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OCTOBER 1923—MAY 1924

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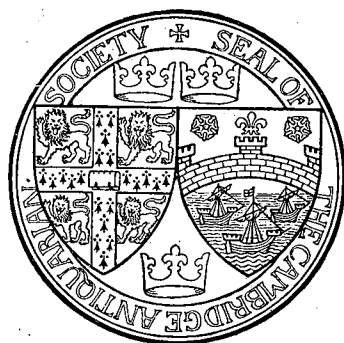
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS

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CAMBRIDGE CASTLE BUILDING ACCOUNTS.

By WILLIAM MORTLOCK PALMER, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read 3 December, 1923.)

Cambridge Castle has been the object of study by several local antiquaries of the past, and it might at first be supposed that what Professor Hughes, Sir William Hope and the Master of Jesus College did not know about the castle must be a negligible quantity, but I do not think that the documents which I have the honour to introduce to you this evening were ever seen by my predecessors in this field of study. I make no claim to any new discovery in these documents; their existence has been made public for the last 30 years and more in the official calendars and lists and indexes, and I made my extracts therefrom about 28 years ago, but as far as I know they contain entirely unpublished matter.

My extracts were taken from the Pipe Rolls, the Exchequer Accounts and the Sheriffs' Administrative Accounts.

Pipe Rolls exist from the year 1156, and during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contain records of the money spent on Cambridge Castle, and sometimes the part of the castle, such as the hall, chapel, walls, or gate, is mentioned¹. The Exchequer Accounts and Sheriffs' Accounts are the details of the bills of which only the totals are on the Pipe Rolls. Only three of these relating to Cambridge Castle have survived.

I intended to give an account of the castle from its origin to its destruction in the late sixteenth century, but the documents relating to the subject in the Public Record Office are so many and so varied, and contain so many points of interest, that it is impossible to deal with them in one evening's lecture, so I shall confine myself this evening to Cambridge Castle when it was

¹ The only mention of the chapel found is on the Pipe Roll for Mich. 1308, "Spent in repair of the buildings of the castle and the chapel £5."

treated as a Royal possession, and only just touch upon the records, just as plentiful and as full of interest, which tell of its destruction, or degeneration from a valuable historical monument to its present sordid condition¹.

The first castle at Cambridge was built by William the Conqueror about 1068. The reason of his choice for this site can

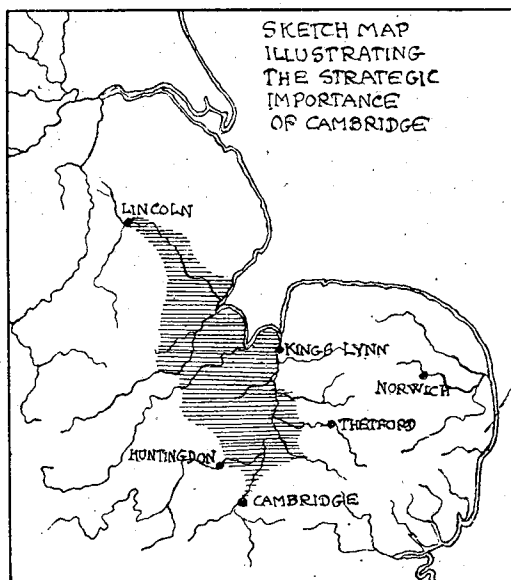


Fig. 1. By Dr Cyril Fox. The shaded portion represents impassable fen.

be seen on reference to Fig. 1. It was the most northerly point at which an army could pass from the eastern counties to the middle of England, the fens forming an impassable

¹ It was suggested by the author that the publication of this lecture should be postponed until the later history of the castle had been worked out, but it was decided that the lecture should appear as it is, and space and expense did not permit of the building accounts being printed. In the seventeenth century the site of the castle was let to speculators in fee farm rents, and sublet again and again. The speculators or their lessees objected to the squatters in the moat and on the sides of it, whose habitations were claimed by the lord of the manor of Chesterton, and much litigation ensued. The details of this litigation are of great interest, and, if followed through

barrier to the north. The castle was of the usual kind, the motte and bailey type; that is to say, there was a raised mound, the present Castle Hill, surrounded by a moat with a bank on the far side and attached to this moat was a horse-shoe shaped moat with a double bank enclosing the bailey, a space or field of about five acres¹. On the mound was a wooden keep and along the top of the bank inside the moat of the bailey was a wooden palisade. The reason usually given for the existence of the inner moat round the motte is that these castles were built in a more or less hostile country, and the Commander of the castle was not always sure of the loyalty of his retainers, some of whom might have been recruited from the natives, and the keep could be defended against them. It seems rather surprising that the bailey here was surrounded by a moat containing water, as the ground falls away from it on nearly every side, particularly on the south-east, where the motte was situated, but it is a fact that the moat contained water until about the year 1600. Under the arch leading from the gatehouse to the barbican water ran continually in its course to a "postern," through which it passed to get to the bottom of the motte². Along the north-east side was also running water, fed by a spring at the north angle. This was existing in Kerrich's time, about 1800, and was called "Drake's Well." The north-east side of the moat seems to have been originally a natural watercourse as it was continued in a ditch to Monk's Lane. And not only was the motte surrounded by a moat, but on the east it broadened into a pond. This bordered on the property of Dr Thomas Copley, the well-known Fellow of Trinity College, and about 1600 he filled it up and made it into a rose garden³. The remains of earthworks of similar castles as the corporation records, might throw light on the external parts of the castle, such as the barbican.

A fully annotated list of the plans and drawings of the castle, published and unpublished, should also be made. Kerrich had seen the foundations of the towers exposed, and he made a sketch called "Cambridge Castle as it probably was." This was thrown on the screen at the lecture.

¹ See Plan, *Com. N.S.* Vol. II, p. 186.

² Exchequer Special Commission, 3612.

³ Exchequer Special Commission, 5170.

this may be seen at Ely, Castle Camps and Bishop-Stortford, but the best example of all within reach of Cambridge is at Thetford in Norfolk.

Cambridge Castle was built on ground taken from the Saxon town. Domesday Book tells us that many houses were pulled down to make room for it, and perhaps a church was destroyed also, as we know that a churchyard is included in the site, as Dr Fox has described to us the Saxon monuments which stood in it. The ground taken from the borough was added to the King's Manor of Chesterton which adjoins. Thus the castle, although topographically in the borough, was legally in the county outside the borough in Chesterton. These facts had an important bearing on the history of the site, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The same state of things existed with regard to the castles of Norwich and Colchester, and probably elsewhere¹.

If we compare the amount of money spent on Cambridge Castle during the reign of Edward I with the money spent in previous reigns as disclosed by entries on the Pipe Rolls, the difference is very marked. During the first 23 years of King Henry II, £43 was spent, during the last 12 years nothing was spent; in King Richard's reign it becomes a yearly charge, amounting in 10 years to £23. In King John's reign of 18 years £60 was spent in various yearly sums, reflecting the disturbed state of the kingdom, but in the first 17 years of King Henry III, only £1. 17s. 2d. was spent, and not only that, but an old house in Cambridge Castle was sold for 22s., so that the castle cost less than a shilling a year. In 1237, there was no treasury at the castle, because the money raised as a present to the king's sister when she married the Roman Emperor, was lodged in Barnwell Abbey.

Towards the end of the reign of King Henry III the castle had become merely a prison, and a poor one, as the prisoners frequently escaped. In the year 1285 it was stated that five prisoners at the same time had escaped and taken sanctuary at All Saints by the castle². The state of neglect into which the

¹ Round, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* Vol. xxxv, p. 210.

² Assize Rolls, 86.

castle had fallen is reflected in an inquisition concerning the castle warren made in 1275, when a local jury stated that it was worth nothing, and was in the custody of the king's bailiff of the Hundred of Chesterton because no one else was willing to keep it¹.

The first hint of any re-building of the castle is on the Close Roll for October 1283, when the Keeper of the Forest of Waubergh (Weybridge in Huntingdonshire) is ordered to allow the Sheriff to have six oaks fit to repair the king's jails in Cambridge and Huntingdon and to build a Chamber in Cambridge Castle. In May 1285 there is another order for twelve oaks. The Sheriff claimed no allowance on the Pipe Roll for moneys spent on the castle until Michaelmas 1286, when he claimed to have spent in the previous twelve months over £408 in making the hall and on works about the gates and walls. The building was now far enough advanced to require victualling, for in November 1287 the Sheriff was ordered to spend £5 on dead garniture for the castle². The comparatively small importance of Cambridge Castle is shown by the fact that at the same time the Sheriff of Kent was ordered to spend £100 on the garniture at Dover Castle. In 1287, £407 was spent on building a new gate and in work on the walls. The work went on all through the year and we have fairly minute details of the expenditure. At Michaelmas 1288 there is a claim of £376 for making the hall, chamber and gate, and for repairing the walls. Details of this expenditure exist, beginning at the point where the previous account left off and continuing up to Michaelmas 1289. Next year £161 was spent on roofing or thatching (*cooperiendum*) the walls and buildings in the castle, after which the work was discontinued by the king's orders and not resumed until October 1291. Henceforward for five years there is an annual charge of from £116 to £300. None of these entries on the Pipe Rolls say what the works were, but amongst the Exchequer Accounts is a document giving details of the expenditure for 1296, when the north tower and the new wardrobe were built. Nothing was spent in 1297 and 1298, but in 1299 a new kitchen and bakehouse were built. That was the end of the Edwardian building. Building

¹ Ch. Misc. Inq. 23.

² Close Roll.

was going on almost continuously from Michaelmas 1285 to Michaelmas 1299, but the only accounts which have survived are for the period November 1286 to November 1289 and for about six months of the year 1295. There are three separate documents, one for the period Nov. 11th, 1286 to November 1287¹, another from November 1287 to October 1289², and another from June to November 1295³. That the details of the first year's re-building are lost, is unfortunate, as we have no means of knowing if the whole of the castle was built from the foundations, but instead of bemoaning our losses, we perhaps ought to be thankful that so much has survived the risk of six-and-a-half centuries. These accounts were not made for the purpose of providing twentieth century antiquaries with interesting details, but only as vouchers for the money spent, so that the greater part of them consists of statements of payments for labour and building materials, without however usually showing any indication as to what the labour and materials were used on. A full transcript has been made of one account⁴, that of Geoffrey Andrew and Roger of Withersfield, burgesses of Cambridge, who were viewers and gangers of the work under the Sheriff. This account is divided up into periods of five or six weeks; the first period is from the Monday after St Martin (November 11th) to Christmas 1287. The following translation of the items of that period will serve as a sample of the whole :

	£.	s.	d.
"To Master Thomas the Mason and his twelve men for five weeks, the master 2/6, the men 1/6 each per week"	5	2	6
"To three stone squarers (<i>cubatoribus</i>) each 1/6 for one week"	4	6	
"To eight labourers (<i>minuti operarii</i>), each 8½d. per week, for five weeks"	1	8	4
"Total cost of bricklayers and labourers"	£6	15	4

¹ Exchequer Account $\frac{4}{15}^{\frac{5}{9}}$.

² Sheriffs' Administrative Account $\frac{3}{8}$.

³ Exchequer Account $\frac{4}{16}^{\frac{5}{9}}$. Exchequer Account $\frac{4}{17}^{\frac{5}{9}}$ also relates to Cambridge Castle. It is short, undated, but late thirteenth century, when Stephen de Pe..cester was Sheriff.

⁴ This account ought to be printed, as few such documents of this early period are accessible in print. The Sacrists' Rolls at Ely begin later, and the accounts quoted in Willis and Clark are later still.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	6	15	4
"To Master John the Carpenter, at 2/- per week for a month"		8	0
"To his three men, of whom two had 1/6 per week, and the third 12d. for fifteen days"		7	4
"To William Puf and Robert, son of the Smith, for Barnack stone, bought from them" ...	2	15	4
"For straw bought, that is to say, reeds for thatching (<i>cooperiendum</i>) the walls of the castle, and beyond the great gate," i.e. towards the barbican, "and in thatching the houses"		17	11½
"For eight boards bought for the windows beyond the gate" leading to the barbican ...		2	4
"To Henry the Smith, for hinges, hooks and nails"		16	10½
"For carriage of stone from the bridge to castle" a constant and great expense ...	1	10	0
"For mending the louvre (<i>louvre</i>) of the Knights' chamber (<i>camera armigeriorum</i>)" ¹			7½
"Total of all expenses"	£13	13	9½

The rates of wages paid in this account may be noted and compared with Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices*:

		Rogers
The master mason	2/6 per week	2/-
The masons	1/6 " "	1/6
The cubators	1/6 " " 1/10 in harvest	1/6
The bricklayers' labourers	8½d. " " 1/2 " "	9d.
The master carpenter	2/- " "	2/-
His man	1/6 " "	1/6
The tiler	2/- " "	2/9
His man	1/- " "	1/1½
The whitewasher	1/4 " "	1/4
His boy	10d. " "	
The sawyer	1/6 " "	1/7½

The amount of wages are the chief point of interest about the labourers in this account, but in that of 1295 much more detail is given. In the latter account a weekly method is

¹ This mention of the chamber of the Knights is interesting and will be referred to later.

followed, and the names of all the labourers are given, many of whom seem to come from outside the town from such places as Ickleton, Gamlingay, Impington, Sharnbrook (Beds.), Clare, Stafford and Rougham (Norfolk). There were sometimes over a hundred men at work. During the period 1286 to 1288 the numbers varied from 18 to 61, average 37. In 1295 the average was 100 per week. It is noted each week how many fresh men were taken on, and who were sick. In the week ending St Peter and St Paul, three men were fined 3*d.* a day each for having been away from work for three days. They had only been enjoying themselves at Midsummer Fair. In harvest time, William of Stapleford is stated to be absent *in patria sua*. He went home probably to cut his strips of wheat or barley. In the week ending All Saints' Day 1295, which contained the two saint's days of All Souls and All Saints, the skilled labourers only got 1*s.* 3*d.*, but the labourers had the same as usual. There are several breaks in the work, *e.g.* work was discontinued at Christmas 1287 until Epiphany, perhaps the annual holiday ending on Plough Monday, and at the following Easter work ceased for 13 days. In the next winter work ceased from November 13th until Epiphany; this may have been due to a long frost; and at Easter 1289 there was cessation for a week.

I will now give a brief account of the various buildings mentioned in these accounts in chronological order, but before doing so I will show six early plans and pictures of the castle, bearing in mind that a Cambridgeshire man born in 1558 deposed on oath that he could remember the walls standing with six towers on them¹.

The Great Hall.

This was the first part to be built by King Edward. He wanted a place of his own to sleep in and keep his treasure in, instead of claiming the hospitality of the Prior of Barnwell. Up to Midsummer 1286 over £400 was spent on the hall and the curtain wall. There are no details of the expenditure for this year, but in the following year we have several references to the hall. In

¹ Exchequer Spec. Com. 5170.

May and June 1287 wood was bought in Cambridge market for making a stable beneath the hall, and for making the walls of the hall and solar (spelt "ascoler" in these accounts). In July white straw was bought for plastering the walls and a "dauber" (*daubator*) and his man spent a week whitewashing

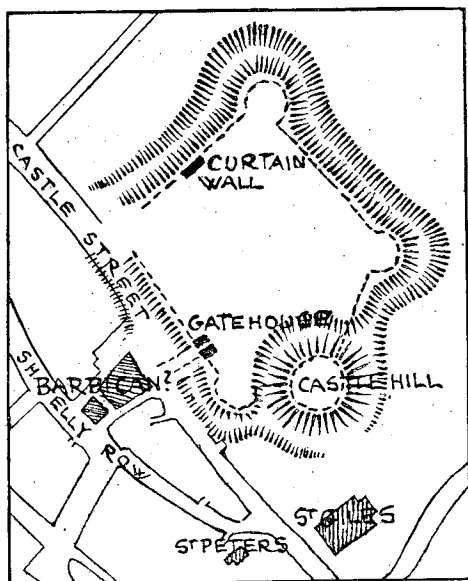


Fig. 2. The plan has been drawn according to documentary evidence by Dr Cyril Fox. The date is 1295, when there was no tower at the N.W. angle. The bank on either side of the ditch is shown, with the curtain wall on the top of the inner bank, three angle towers and the keep. Castle Street appears as running along part of the moat, the way to Huntingdon being by Shelley Row. The situation of the gate, drawbridge and barbican is also shown.

the walls, ceilings and corbels. By July 25th the solar was thatched with reeds and next month John le Verrier was making glass windows in the hall. The building as originally finished contained three storeys, a hall with a stable below and a solar above¹, not an unusual arrangement in a fortified house,

¹ "Prolanis ad parietes infra aulam et de super aulam et ad stabulam...."

or the keep of a castle. Early in 1288 a chamber was built in the hall, perhaps to one side, and Saloman of St Ives was paid 2s. 9d. for bringing timber from the forest of Weybridge for it. In July glass was put in the windows of the chamber at a cost of £1. 1s. 2d., and next month a plumber was laying lead behind the chamber of the hall. I think the hall was built on

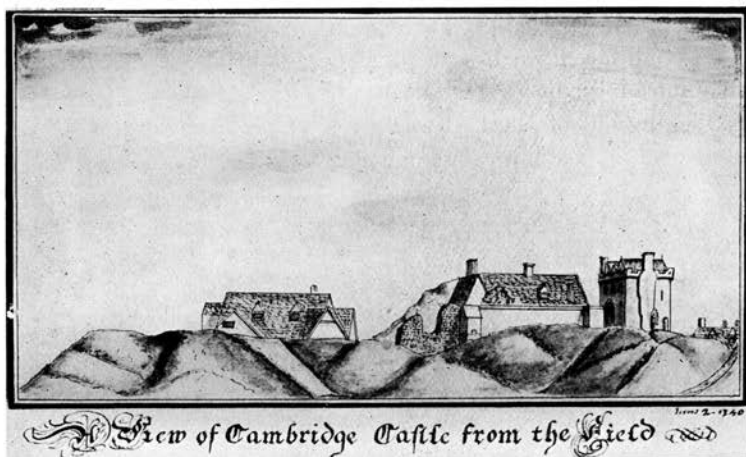


Fig. 3. A view in Indian ink of Cambridge Castle "from the field," drawn by James Essex, 2 June, 1740, 6 inches \times 4. B.M. Addit. MSS. 6770, p. 64. Shows the gatehouse with a chimney on the N. side; to the left of this, the jury house or barrack; again to the left a ruin, which is the piece of the original curtain wall mentioned in 1606 as having had a jury house built against it; just behind this is the motte, and further to the left the law courts.

to the wall on the north-west side of the bailey. One reason which causes me to think this is that in the year 1606 only one piece of the curtain wall remained, and that was on the north-west side, and against it a Jury House had been built¹. A piece of wall which was only exposed to the weather on one side would be likely to last longer than the parts of the wall exposed

¹ Exchequer Spec. Com. 3612. This piece of wall is shown in both the sketches by Essex, Figs. 3, 4, also in Kerrich's plan of Cambridge Castle preserved in Bowtell MSS. and reproduced in *Com.* Vol. II, N.S. after p. 252.

on both sides. Or it may be quite possible that the hall was built before the wall, and made of better material, such as stone, than the rest of the curtain, which may have been only blocks of clunch. It seems that the three-storeyed arrangement with a stable below did not last very long, for in 1295 a new stable was built¹, and there is a later reference to the "chamber under the Great Hall." In 1288 there is a charge for mending the arch near the hall, but I cannot say what that was.

The hall faced south-east; our ancestors thought more of the early morning sun than we do.

Opening out of the hall was a room called the wardrobe. In mediaeval domestic arrangements a wardrobe, or a garderober, is



A View of Cambridge Castle from y Hill

Fig. 4. A similar view "from the Hill," 6 inches \times 4. Addit. MSS. 6770, p. 63. The same ruin is seen to the right of the large central building. The S. and E. sides of the gatehouse are shown and the law courts. Much could be written about these sketches, but it belongs to the later history of the castle. The following buildings stood within the bailey at this period:—the courts of *nisi prius* and common law; the house of correction; the jury house; the "house of office," York House and "the house where the justices dine."

¹ King Edward stayed at Cambridge Castle for two nights, March 24–5, 1293; perhaps he objected to the stench from the stable underneath him. Barnwell Book, p. 227.

understood to mean a small room which contained the cloaca, but this is a restricted use of the term. In Cambridge Castle it was something more. In 1288 John the Carpenter spent a week making the wardrobe and Roger of Withersfield, a thatcher, was paid 6s. 8d. for the roof. The wages of a thatcher were 3d. a day, so 6s. 8d. must have included the material of the roof. This one would have supposed to have been reeds, but in June, 1295, there is a charge for taking off the slates from the roof of the old hall wardrobe. The tiler was paid 6d. for two days' work. The pay for putting on slates was 4d. a day. In August of the same year 10 joists were bought at St Radegund's Fair for 8s. for making a new wardrobe. At the end of the month the carpenter and his men spent four days putting in these joists and in making the settle of the cloaca in the wardrobe, and at Sturbridge Fair 2s. 9d. worth of iron was bought for making hinges and bars for the windows. One entry in November shows that our Rulers were getting nice in their habits. John the Carpenter and his man spent five days in making boards (*bord de saap*) into a "speer," to stand before the settle of the cloaca in the wardrobe. One of the peculiar sergeancies in Cambridgeshire was that by which an estate at Longstowe was held, viz. to provide a truss of hay for the king's cloaca in Cambridge Castle. It was commuted in Edward I's reign for 10s. a year. A *camera forinseca* is mentioned in one account. It was appropriately situated outside the Great Gate.

The Curtain Wall.

It is not clear whether this was made of stone or clunch. It was begun in 1286 and finished in 1287, when it was thatched with reeds, as also was the wall leading from the gatehouse to the barbican. In 1291 the walls were thatched again, and in 1295, 120 loads of clunch were bought to put beneath, or to fill in, the walls.

The Great Gate.

This was always the great feature of the Edwardian Castle and is the chief item in the Sheriff's Account for the year ending 1287. We know where this stood as it was in existence

until 1840, the year of the birth of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. In 1896, during some excavations, the foundations of the gatehouse were laid bare, and Mr Fawcett presented to the Society a drawing shewing a section of the plinth¹. In July 1287 a great lock and iron for the window bars were bought for it. In August

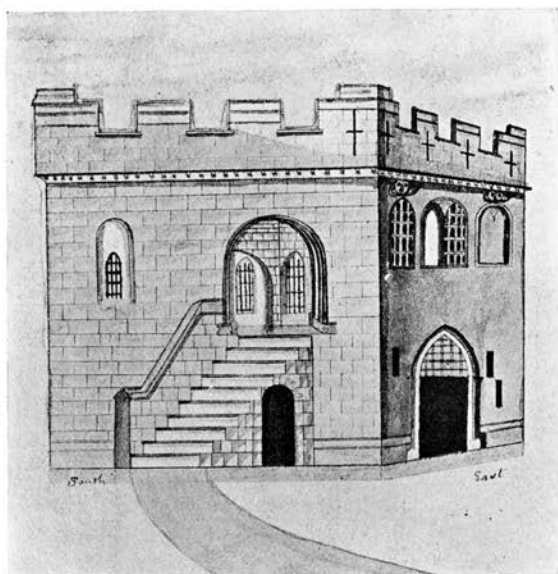


Fig. 5. "S.E. view of Cambridge Castle as it appeared in 1808." Bowtell MSS., Downing College, Vol. II, p. 107. Reproduced for comparison with the many other representations of the period.

two gargoyles were bought costing 2s. Boards for covering the roof and making a door cost 50s. at Lynn in September², and in October, Henry the Smith was busy with hinges, hooks and vakering (ornamental iron work). In July 1288 lead was bought at Lynn for covering the Great Gate and cost £4, and the Plumber (*le Plomer*) was paid 21s. for spreading it.

¹ *C.A.S. Proc.* IX, p. 349. This has only lately come to light, and not in time to be reproduced.

² These were Baltic deals ; they are called estrich boards elsewhere.

The Barbican.

This stood on the west side of the present Castle Street, which represents the south-west side of the castle moat. It was finished, even to the thatched roof, by September 1288. Outside the portcullis of the gatehouse (the grooves for which could be seen in Bowtell's time) parallel thatched walls with windows led to the drawbridge, and hence to the barbican, a distance of 37 yards. By the walls having windows, I suppose they were double, with a passage along the middle. In one account there is a charge for repairs to the way (*via*) leading from the gate to the bridge. In later times the bridge ceased to be a drawbridge, and in Elizabeth's reign the moat was spanned by a great arch of stone, big enough to drive a cart through. When the moat was getting filled up, a squatter built a cottage under the arch and ran his chimney up alongside it. The barbican is referred to in the Barnwell Book in 1295. Some part of it may have existed until the seventeenth century, because a witness in a lawsuit of 1631, stated that he had known the prisoners in the castle to be removed by the gaoler to the block on the west side of Castle Street, which I think can only have meant the barbican¹. Most of the block bounded by Shelley Row, Castle Row, Castle Street, and Whayman's Lane, is now Corporation property, so it may be possible to find out if there are any foundations of the barbican left. The "three Tuns" at the corner of Whayman's Lane and Castle Street

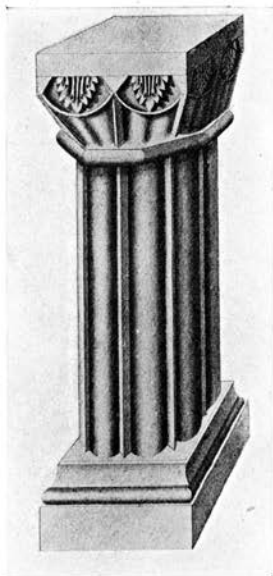


Fig. 6. "A pillar found amongst the ruins of the ancient Castle at Cambridge, November 25th, 1806." Length, 26 inches; circumference of shaft, 20 inches. MSS. Bowtell, Downing College, Vol. II, p. 163.

¹ Exchequer Spec. Com. 5174.

must have been built when the castle banks were still crowned with a coronet of towers, and has outlasted them by several centuries.

The New Tower towards the East.

The foundations of this were being dug in March 1287 and wood was bought for it at Midsummer and Sturbridge Fairs. In January 1287/8 John the Carpenter and his two men were working for 15 days making a canopy for the tower, out of boards, keylaths and reeds. I am not sure of the word translated canopy, whether it is *pallium* or *pallicium*, but I do not see of what use reeds would be for a palisade, so think it must mean a thatched roof over an open loggia at the top of the tower, a look-out towards the hills.

The Great Tower.

This is the tower which stood on the motte at the top of Castle Hill. I have been able to find few references to this. In July 1288, 16 men were working for 15 days "seeking" the foundations of the tower and making the foundations of the postern¹, and in September, 12 men were working for six weeks at the foundations of these parts. During these months 20 bricklayers and masons with 20 assistants were working on something in the castle, and perhaps they were on this tower and the postern. If these accounts were printed in full it might be possible to extract more information about the Great Tower than I have been able to do.

The Postern.

This contained the castle prison. I have identified it with the tower at the east angle of the curtain wall for several

¹ *ad fundum posterne faciendum et fundum turris querendum.* In connection with "seeking" the foundations of the tower, it is interesting to note that Bowtell in 1807 says that a fragment of the north-east tower was then standing, 30 yards square, and 3 feet high, and great labour was required to demolish it. The foundations were 3 feet lower in the ground than in the other parts of the castle, and consisted of regular courses of flagstones, similar to the Roman method. Perhaps the men in 1288 were seeking for these flagstones.

reasons. (1) Both this tower and the postern were near the Great Tower, as they were built at the same time. (2) By process of exclusion, we can identify the tower east of the gate, the tower near the hall and the corner of the wall near "Le Howse." (3) The postern must be somewhere opposite the Great Gate, and this is the only tower in that position. In February 1288 a well was dug near the postern at a cost of 4s., and, as we have seen, in the summer the foundations were being dug. About Midsummer 10 men were engaged for three weeks in making lime for the postern. It had extremely thick walls composed of rag, clunch and other stone firmly cemented, according to Kerrich's description. Work was being done to the postern all next summer. In June the carpenter was engaged in putting joists and bars in the prison. Iron and steel were bought at Midsummer and Sturbridge Fairs, which the smith made into hinges, hooks, fetters and chains. In August John the carpenter and his two men were working at the postern gate for 17 days, and at Midsummer Fair a lock and keys were bought of Roger Merchant of Lynn for 4s. 10d. This represents about £5 of our money. Another reason for supposing that the postern and prison were on the east side of the castle is, that in 1352 when three men escaped from this prison, they made their way across the fields to Chesterton Church and took sanctuary there¹, whereas in the preceding century escaped prisoners took sanctuary in All Saints by the castle. In an account of 1368 there is a list of repairs to the Constables' Chamber above the prison². The cost of re-roofing with lead and making a slated porch, and greseyns, that is staircase, or steps, was £40. [In 1744 W. Cole uses the term grise to indicate the chancel steps.] Here we have apparently the same state of things as at the Great Gate, in later years, when a gaoler lived above the prison. The Great Gate with chamber above it, and a prison with the Constables' Chamber above it, were two different buildings as they are both mentioned separately in the 1368 account.

¹ *Coroner's Roll*, 18.

² *Sheriff's Administrative Account* $\frac{10}{23-4}$.

The New Tower near the Hall.

This was finished in November 1295. There are many items referring to it in the accounts for that year. 6*d.* was paid for iron for making bars for the lower windows. Fir boards (*bords de saap*) were bought for the doors and windows. Fifteen joists were bought at Sturbridge Fair for 37*s.* 6*d.* and the carpenter was paid 2*s.* 4*d.* for four days' work on them. Stephen, the locksmith, was paid 7*d.* for making a lock for the door or "vyr" (*ad hostium vel vyr*). At the end of November 1295 nine cubators spent three days levelling the walls of the New Tower to enable the thatch to be put on. The thatch cost one mark and was put on by task work. This is the only reference to task work I have noticed in these accounts. Seven hundred bundles of marsh straw (*Cladium mariscus*) were used. One item seems to suggest that the kitchen and larder had some connection with this tower: "To a Maſon 3 days making clasps (*claustr'*) for the windows of the New Tower, larder and kitchen."

Howes Corner.

The only corner of the curtain wall unaccounted for now, is that on the west. There was no tower here in 1295, for in August of that year there is a charge for four willow boards (*bordis de salice*), and for hinges, fastenings and nails for making a gate in the broken wall of the castle at the corner next "le hows¹." Perhaps some may desire to know the whereabouts in the castle of the Office of the Sheriff, where he kept his lists of knights' fees referred to in the *Barnwell Book*. It may have been in the Constables' Chamber above the prison, or in the chamber above the gate. Both of these had leaden roofs with boards underneath, iron barred windows and stout doors with locks, but perhaps it is most likely to have been identical with the *camera armigeriorum* already mentioned, which had the central chimney. There is only one mention of slight repairs to this, and no reference to building it, so it must have been in existence when Edward built his castle, and the Chamber of the Knights of the Shire might have well contained the Office of

¹ The Free Chapel on the Huntingdon Road in the parish of Girton.

the Sheriff¹. As for the Sheriff's original list of knights' fees itself, that is, or was, in the eighteenth century, according to Cole, in Corpus College Library.

Carriage.

All the materials for building the castle were brought by water from Harlton, Peterborough, Lynn and Reche. In each week's account there is a charge for carting material from the bridge to the castle. Whether this bridge was over the Cambridge watercourse or over the main stream, I leave for the Master of Jesus College to determine. The exclusive use of a quay was hired of Richard Dunning for half a mark a year. The entry which records the first payment of rent is dated March 1286 and is as follows:

"Paid for the quay where the stone lay near the bank of the Caunt (*juxta ripam Cañt*) in part payment from the first day of re-building the Castle, until this date, 1 mark."

This is a much earlier instance of the word Caunt than has hitherto been found². (See illustration on next page.)

In connection with the river Cam and the castle, the following incidents are worth notice:

In June 1350 a groom was watering a pair of horses by the Great Bridge, riding one horse and leading the other. The current was so strong that they were carried away and the groom was drowned. The horses got to land at Loder's Bridge in Cambridge, but the body of Thomas was found after some days within the town liberties, in the high river called the Ree, and not the Caunt as in 1286. The body was dragged in the water for about 10 rods and tied to a stake near "the Falling" (or sluice gate) in the castle dole, which was within the Royal franchise. We get these particulars because the inquest was held in the county, in Chesterton, instead of in the borough. As a contrast to this state of the river is the following incident. In 1357 provisions were being collected in the county for the

¹ But Miss Helen Cam thinks it was a guard chamber.

² "The common bank called Cant" is mentioned in 1372 in connection with the site of Trinity Hall. Willis and Clark, Vol. I, p. 211.

beginning of the 100 years' War. Wheat was bought in the villages, ground into flour at the King's Mill at Newnham, and taken to Cambridge Castle to be dressed. Eighty ells of canvas were bought for the sides and bottom of the boulding or dressing chamber. When the flour was ready to be sent to Lynn to be put on board ship the river was so low at the Great Bridge that it had to be carted to Ditton Weir, so the summer of 1337 must have been something like that of 1921.

Materials Used.

Those mentioned are stone, clunch, lime, sand, white straw, marsh straw, reeds, wood, iron, steel and lead. The stone used was Barnack stone, or slate stone from Peterborough in about equal proportions, the former being used for quoins, corbel tables, crests and ridges. Four hundred quoins of Barnack stone cost £2. Rowestone from Peterborough is once mentioned. The two gangers made frequent journeys to Peterborough to buy stone. It took three days for the double journey on horseback and cost 5s. Clunch hard enough for quoins was also got from Harlton, these are called "coin-urnel." This sometimes came down the Granta, for there is a charge for carting it from the Great Bridge. The stone bought of William Thede cost 10s. and it cost 21s. to load it on to carts and bring it from the bridge. At another time there is a payment to a local carter for bringing stone direct from Harlton. Lime and white stone came from Reach and Burwell. You can still see the lofty quarries from the Reach end of the Devil's Ditch. Timber (*meremium*) was bought in Cambridge Market and at Barnwell, Sturbridge and St Radegund Fairs. I can find no mention of oak, but some of this came from the king's forest at Weybridge in Huntingdonshire; fir, ash, willow, alder and poplar are mentioned, and Baltic deals occur several times. Special timber was bought for making a manger or crette. At these fairs were also bought spiking nails, lath nails, dure nails, mill-stones for grinding the axes of the masons, and iron for various purposes. One piece was for making a "crowe." Coal and logs were bought "for the furnace" in December 1288,

costing £2. 12s. 6d. They may have been for the lime kiln or for the hall fire.

Other purchases were, wax and pitch, wool or hair for mixing with plaister, and 1000 tiles (*tegule*) cost 22d.

The gangers had four horses for the work which seem to have often got worn out, for several fresh ones were bought, costing about a mark each. One was bought at Ickleton Fair in July 1287, for 13s. 4d. A new waggon (*biga*) with iron shod wheels cost 11s. 10d. As regards the whole cost: between 1286 and 1296, £2525 was spent in yearly sums varying from £144 to £407. This is equal to about £40,000 of our money. As regards the relative cost: in the period Nov. 1287 to Mich. 1289 the only period for which I have worked it out, out of a total of £376, £187 was spent in labour, £50 each on Barnack and burgh stone, about £50 on other materials, and the balance, about £40, chiefly on carriage.

			£	s.	d.
Labour	...	...	187	0	0
Stone	...	...	100	0	0
Lime	...	...	22	0	0
Timber	...	...	7	6	0
Iron and steel	...	...	3	12	0
Lead	...	...	14	0	0
Glass	...	...	1	12	0
Straw	...	...	1	10	0

One item of interest is that at Christmas 1288 a new robe was given to the master mason and the two gangers, costing £1 each. This gift seems not to have been an unusual one as it occurs in the Sacrists' Rolls at Ely.

In 1295 a name of frequent occurrence in these accounts, is Norman the cooper, a mender of tubs and vats used by the bricklayers. He lived in a house belonging to the Prior of Barnwell opposite All Saints by the castle, for which, with two acres of land, he paid 7s. rent.

With regard to the later architectural history of the castle I cannot tell you much. I have not had time to go through the Pipe Rolls for every year of the fourteenth century, but there

are some short accounts for the years 1368 and 1370¹. The Great Gate was then re-leaded. One-and-a-quarter fother of lead were used costing £8. 10s. 0d., and the plumber was paid 6s. for his journey to Lynn for buying and bringing it back. The removal of the old lead and putting on the new cost £2. 13s. 4d. by contract, and all the other work in these years was done by contract. The roof was covered with estriss boards or Baltic deals under the lead. For mending the wall of each turret, two boys were picking up stones at 3½d. a day for several days. A barrow cost 1s. 3d., and the way or *via* towards the bridge beyond the Great Gate was mended.

The inconvenient custom of borrowing tools existed in the fourteenth century just as it does now. In 1368 the workmen at the castle wanted a long ladder for putting on two new gargoyles, a leaden spout and two tabbards (? tar boards) to the roof of the Great Gate, so they borrowed a long ladder from the Friars Minors, giving the Friar, who brought it, 4d. When they had finished with it they gave him 3d. for taking it back. Of course it was down hill, but also of course, they had had all they wanted out of the ladder.

At this time the Great Hall was covered with slate by contract, costing £20, and a porch and greycynge or stairs were made, costing 18s. In the earlier accounts there is no mention of the roof of the hall, only of the roof of the sollar. In 1369 the chamber beneath the Great Hall and the chamber towards the west are mentioned. In 1370 a chamber called the "nurserie"² was built round the Great Hall costing £10, and Geoffrey Cooper the carpenter³ was paid 20 marks by contract for making all things about these rooms very comely or neat and tidy (*bien convenablement*). In 1368 a block of buildings called kitchen, stable and small chamber were built. Was the latter a harness room? These were built of wattle and daub on a stone foundation. The cost was about £7. 10s. 0d. of which £3. 13s. 4d. was

¹ *Sheriff's Administrative Account* $\frac{10}{23-27}$.

² The document is in French.

³ Trade names have become personal, i.e. we get John Slater, Thomas Mason, William Smith without the "le."

for thatching with reeds. The daubers were paid 14s. 8d. for making the walls, which included covering them with (Stockholm) tar (*ter*) the carriage of which was 1s. 8d. The wooden chimney of the kitchen was bound to the wall with withies. The chimney itself was made of ryngold boards. Perhaps these boards stood in a ring of iron or withy, like the staves of a barrel. No wonder the kitchens in these days were not usually joined to the Great Hall because of the danger of fire. Locks and keys for kitchen, stable and small chamber cost 10d. each. The only items for building during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerned the gaol, that is the gatehouse, and the walls. The Great Hall and chamber were without a roof in 1441, when the king gave the stones of these buildings to King's College. The curtain wall was deemed worthy of being repaired in 1585, and men living in the reign of Charles I could remember the six towers on the walls, but in 1606 only the gatehouse remained of the castle of Edward Longshanks, and a small piece of the curtain wall on to which the Jury House was built.

Most of you have stood on Castle Hill, the motte of the Norman Castle, and admired the prospect therefrom. The Cathedral Church of Ely on the north, the towers of the Churches and Colleges of the University Town rising out of a forest of trees below, and a stretch of fair cultivated land to the south. There is perhaps no fairer and certainly no more interesting prospect in England, or even in the world, but the immediate surroundings of the castle are shameful, for in this wealthy centre of the highest culture, the site of the castle, which is intimately connected with three of our greatest rulers, William the Conqueror, Edward Longshanks and our own great rebel Oliver Cromwell, is allowed to lie desolate, and worse than desolate, encumbered with a prison, mean tenements, rubbish, and a cinema.

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