

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

OCTOBER 20, 1890, TO MAY 27, 1891,

WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXXIII.

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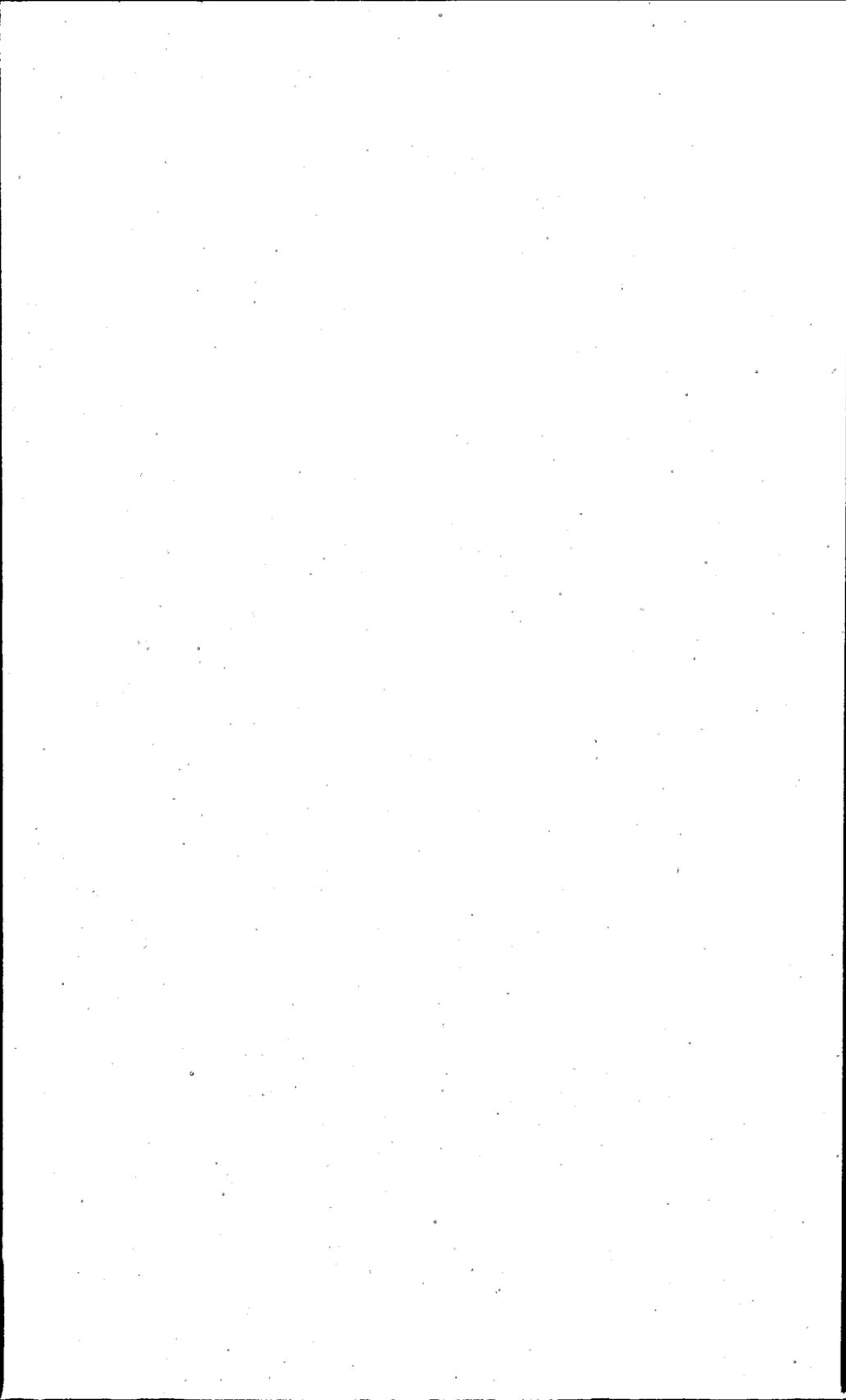
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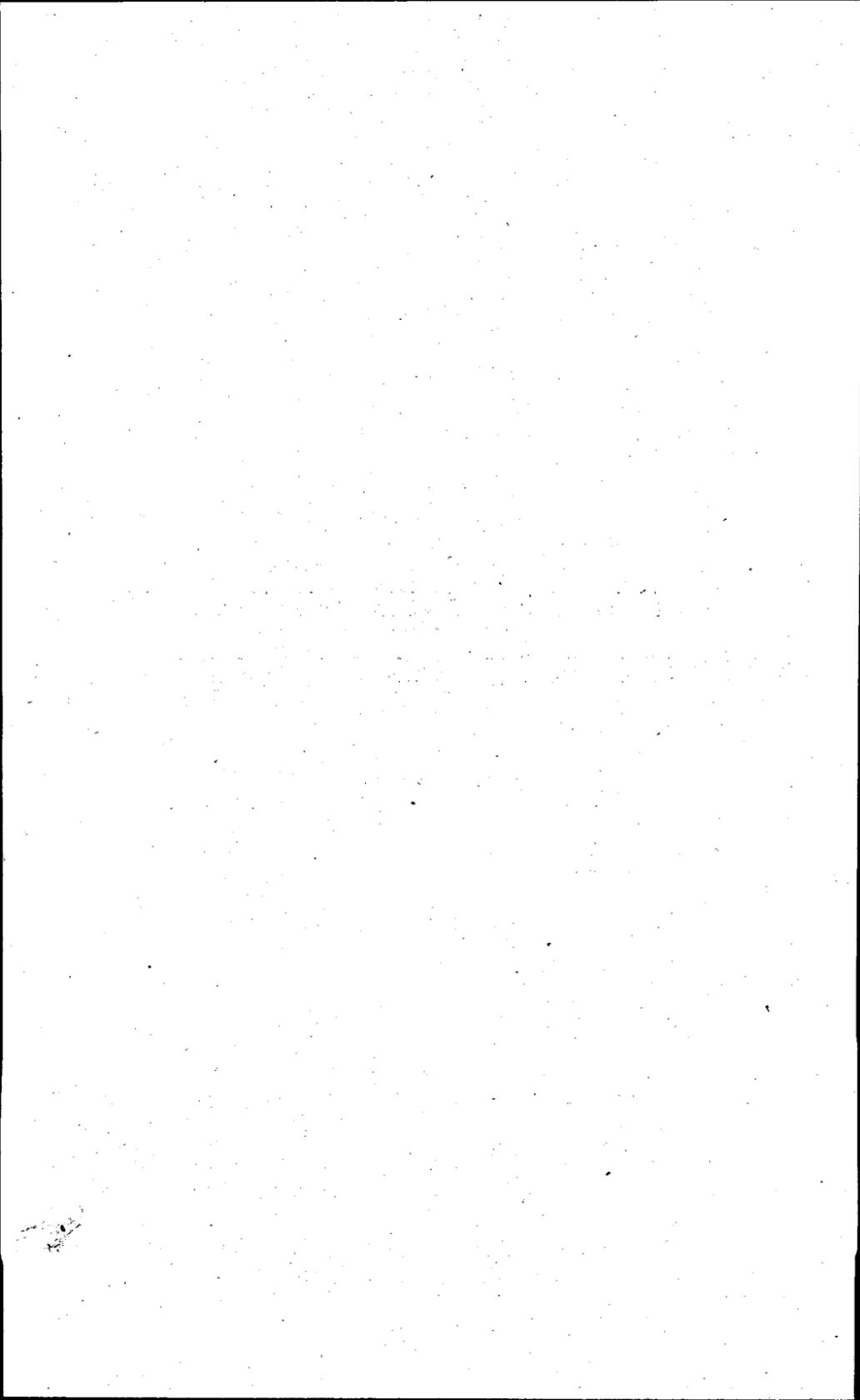
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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,
WITH
COMMUNICATIONS
MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

VOL. VII.



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1888—1891.

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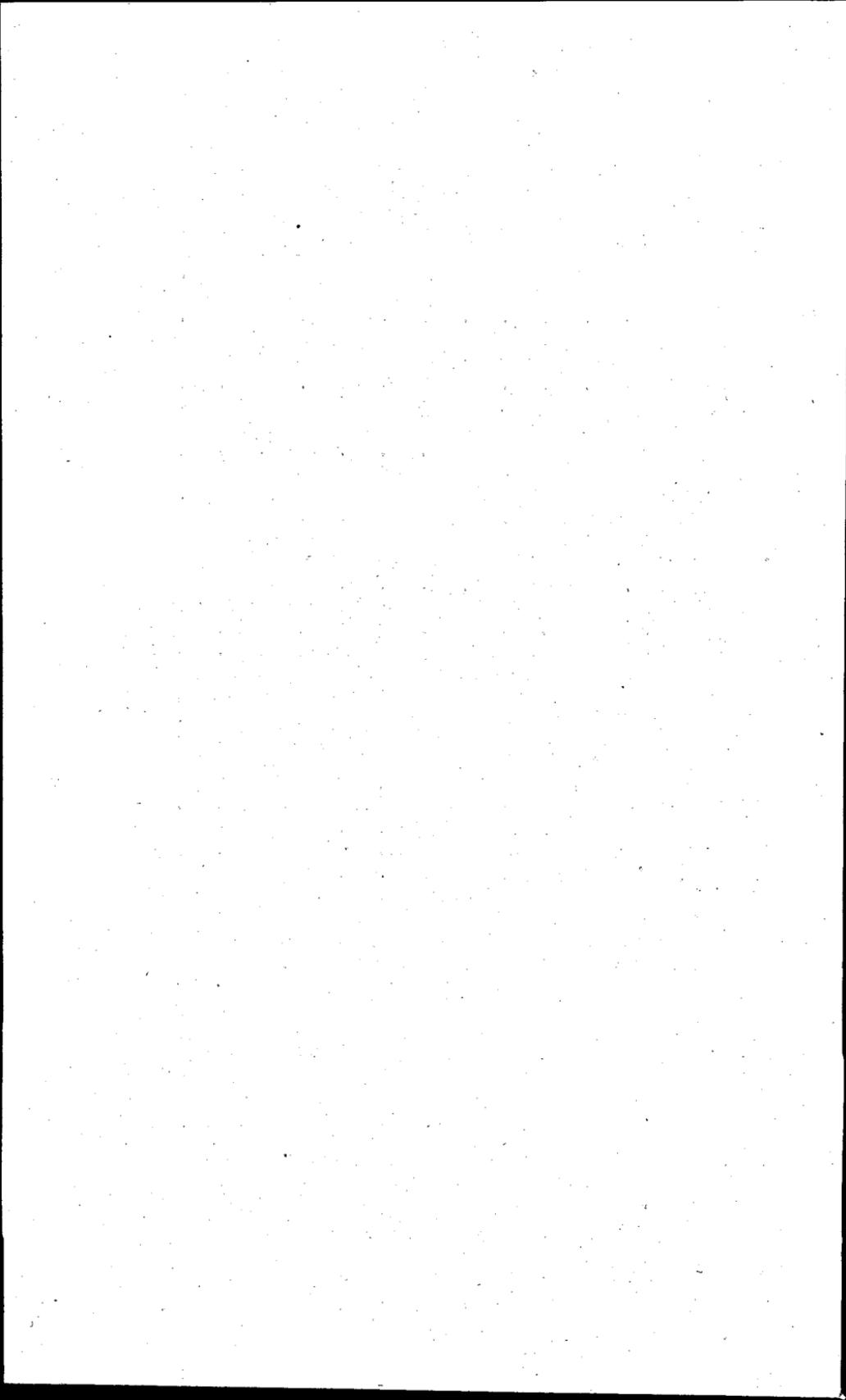
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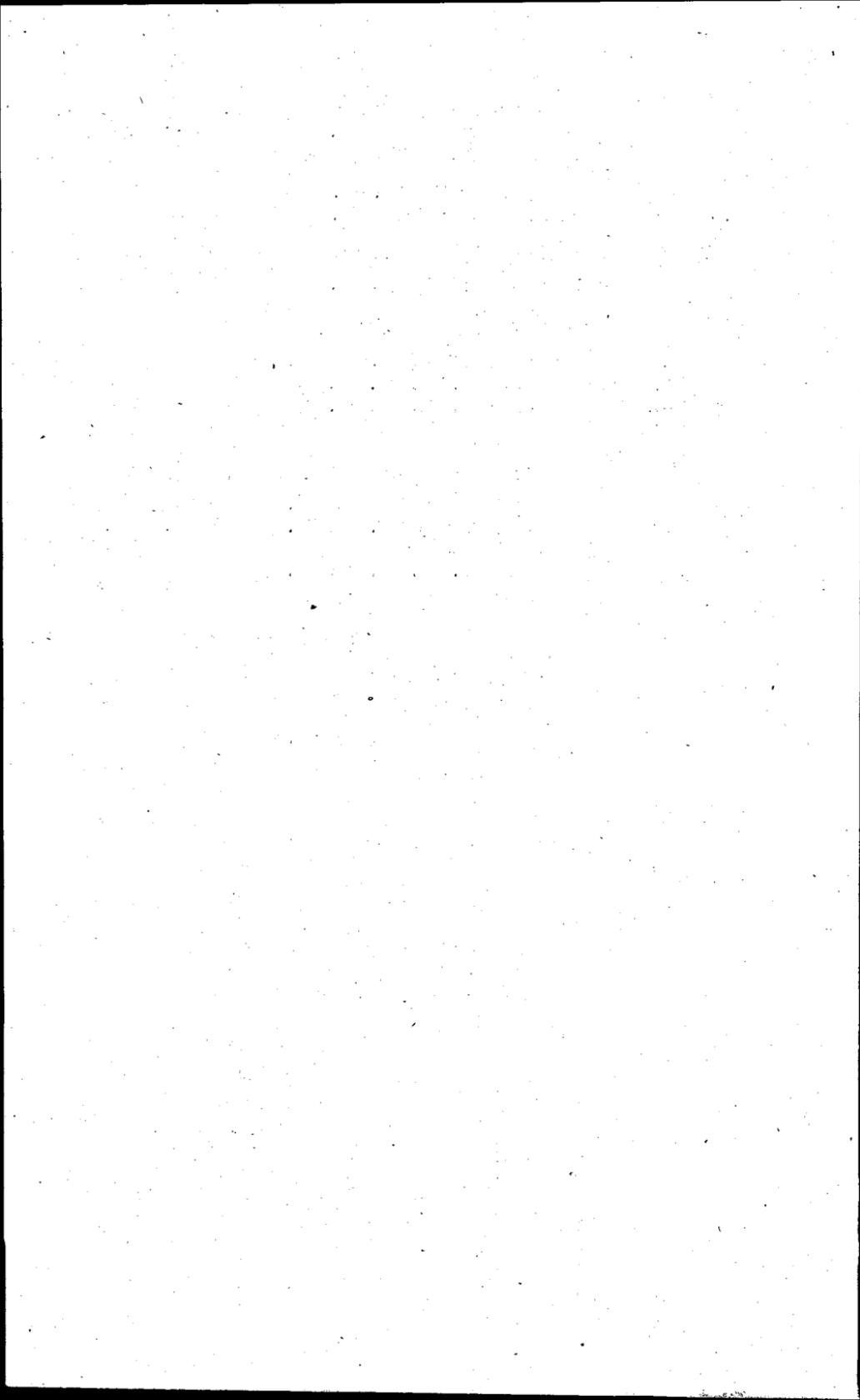
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society;
WITH
COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

1890—1891.

MONDAY, *October 20th*, 1890.

Professor HUGHES, M.A., President, in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. Alfred Caldecott, M.A., St John's College.

William Cassie, M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. Charles White Underwood, M.A., St John's College.

The PRESIDENT exhibited some of the stakes and pottery from a wattle-hut on Loch Maree, and (for comparison) a pile and some pottery from the lake-dwelling of Robenhausen, and also a rude earthen vessel from Hauxton, which in the texture of the ware and the plainness of the rim much resembled the urn from Loch Maree.

Mr HURRELL exhibited a bronze ring, a Roman bronze coin of the IVth century A.D., a local token, and the cruciform head of a scabbard, all found recently at Newton, near Cambridge.

Mr JENKINSON made the following communication :

ON A LETTER FROM P. KAETZ TO J. SIBORCH,
PRINTER AT CAMBRIDGE.

The letter which is the subject of the present notice was found by Mr E. Gordon Duff in the binding of a book in the Chapter Library at Westminster. The book itself is a copy of Clichtoveus *De vita et moribus sacerdotum*, 4°, printed at Paris by H. Stephanus in 1519; but it was evidently bound by John Siborch, the first Cambridge printer. The pads consisted partly of printed leaves, including the first sheet of the 1522 Papyrius Geminus and sheet D of a hitherto unknown Cambridge edition of Lily and Erasmus *De octo partium orationis constructione libellus*¹; and partly of scraps of manuscript. The most interesting of these is the letter now exhibited:

Mr Hessels, who takes a special interest in the subject, has made the following transcript and translation: some of the allusions it seems now impossible to understand.

Wetet Jan Siborch dat ick wuen brijff vntfangen heb soe².. ||..... pisten³
van wuer letter ende sij is seer goet kundt gij anders pro.. || ende w wel
regiren soe suldi genoch to drucken crigen soe ick blyff noch to || londen
mys myn meyster compt ick vach hem van dag tot daeg soe en k[an] || ick
selfs neyt veten van dat ick ouffer reyss mer soe baldt als ick || ouffer reyss
sal ick dat beest doen al wat in mynder macht is. || Item ick heb peter
rinck 3 of 4 reysen gesacht vanden pater noster soe hy seg[t] || mij dat
hij see neyt vynden en kan ende gibkerken⁴ en heft Jacob pas[tor] || den

¹ Exhibited at a former meeting: see above, p. 104.

² As the right margin has been slightly clipped, and a portion of the second line has also been cut away, about half-a-dozen letters are lost after this word.

³ The sign of contraction attached to the *t* allows us to read -pisten or -pister; these six letters would seem to be the ending of a word.

⁴ The commencement of this word is not clear. The curl underneath the line seems to be that of *g*, though it would be possible to take it as the sign of contraction attached to *v*. (= ver). Judging from the context, the word appears to be a proper name.

rinck noch neyt gedaen mer hij draegt hem alle dage aen syn ha[ndt] ||
 ende hij en villes Jacob pastor neyt geuen. Item ick syndt w 25 pronos[ti]||
 cation ende 3 nouum testamentum parvo¹ costen dy pronostication dat
 25 shl ste[r]l || ende dye 3 nouum testamentum kosten sh2 d6 sterling
 soe rest w noch d6 blyff || ick w dan schuldich ick en heb neyt mer nouum
 testamentum anders [soud] || ick w mer hebben gesonden. Anders en
 weet ick w neyt mer || toe schriuen dan leuert niclas dyt bij gebonden
 paxken ende grutet || mij baetzken myt alle w huys gesyn ende vildt w selfs
 neyt || vergeeten. Walete per me. PETRUS KAETZ.

(Address) Dem ersamen ende vromen Jan
 van Siborch boeckdrucker
 in cambritz. H^c lf (?)

The letter may be translated as follows :

Know, Jan Siborch, that I have received your letter, as(?) [well as specimens] (?) of your letter [type], and it is very good ; if you can otherwise... (?) and conduct yourself well, then you will get enough to print. So I remain still at London because my master comes ; I expect him from day to day ; therefore I cannot even know when I cross, but so soon as I cross I shall do the best that is in my power. Item I have told Peter Rinck² three or four times of the pater noster, but he tells me that he cannot find it, and Gibkerken(?) has not yet given Jacob pastor the ring but he carries it every day on his hand and he will not give it to Jacob Pastor. Item I send you 25 pronostication[s] and 3 New Testaments small[size]. The pronostications cost one sh. sterling the 25 and the 3 New Testaments cost 2sh. and 6d sterling, so there is still 6d due to you, which I remain in your debt. I have no more New Testaments, otherwise I should have sent you more. I know nothing else to write except [to ask you to] deliver the accompanying packet to Niclas and greet Baetzken for me with your whole family, and do not forget yourself.

There can be no doubt about the identity either of the writer of this letter or of the person to whom it is addressed. Jan Siborch, or Jan van Siborch, as we here for the first time find him called in the vernacular, is the "Joannes Siberch" who introduced printing into Cambridge in the year 1521. In the

¹ The stroke attached to the *p* should represent *par* or *per*, and the reading *parvo* suggests itself to indicate the size of the Testaments. At the same time if we could read *primo*, and join this word to the next sentence, the latter would run more naturally.

² The copy of the *Secunda secundae* of Thomas Aquinas (F^o Mentelin, ab. 1466) in the Fitzwilliam Museum has on the first cover the name and mark of P. Rinck, probably the owner of the volume.

form now before us the name seems to confirm the identification of the Cambridge printer with the "providus vir Joannes Lair de Siborch" at whose expense Eucharius Cervicornis (Hirschhorn) printed at Cologne in 1520 Richard Croke's *Introductiones in rudimenta graeca*, of which a copy at Lincoln has the initials I. S. on the binding. Mr Bradshaw believed that Siborch's residence in Cambridge was connected with the appointment of Croke as Professor of Greek and Public Orator. Curiously enough one of the scraps of writing now before us is part of a paradigm of the Greek verbs in $-\mu$ beautifully written. Is Croke's Greek handwriting known? And has this scrap anything to do with the *Introductiones* mentioned above?

Petrus Kaetz, the writer of the letter, is known to us as the publisher of more than one Sarum service-book in the year 1524. We are indebted to M. J. Tidemann, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Royal Library at the Hague, for the following information:

"Peter Kaetz était apparemment un réfugié¹ néerlandais, qui s'était établi à Londres et avait une succursale dans la maison dite thuy van Delft (la maison de Delft) à Anvers. Cette habitation, située dans la rue dite Cammerstraete, avait été occupée antérieurement par Henri Eckert van Homborg. Son nom se trouve sur la Bible dont le titre suit :

Hier beghint die Bibel int duitsche neerstelick overgheset ende gecorrigeert, tot profite van allen kersten menschen ; die welck in vier principael deelen gedeylt is als Genesis, der Coninghen boeck, Paralipomenon, ende die Propheten. (Suit une marque typographique avec le nom de Petrus Kaetz.) Men vintse te coope int huys van Delft bi Peter Kaetz.

À la fin du premier volume de cette Bible (il y en a quatre) on lit :

Gheprent Tanwerpen (*sic*).. doer Hans van Roemundt int huys van Wachtendonck op die Lombaerde veste... Int iaer ons heeren .1525. op den 18 dach van Meye.

Il resulte de tout cela que P. Kaetz était éditeur et H. Roemundt imprimeur de cet ouvrage."

At the time when he wrote this letter, P. Kaetz was not yet doing business on his own account. It may still be possible to discover who was his 'master.' The fragment of Papyrus,

¹ Is not the supposed date of the letter a little too early to allow us to regard Kaetz as a refugee?

being in what Mr Bradshaw calls the *third* state, points to the end of 1522 or beginning of 1523 as the time when these pieces of paper were put together in the form of paste-board. John Siborch may very probably have remained in Cambridge as a bookbinder and bookseller, although as a printer we know nothing of him after December, 1522.

Mr Bowes, who stated that he had for many years been in search for some information about Siborch, congratulated Mr Jenkinson on the discovery of this letter, and hoped that other discoveries might follow. Mr Bradshaw had made an examination of the eight known books printed at Cambridge 1521—22, and had determined their order of issue, with the result that Linacre's translation of Galen *De Temperamentis*, the book that had been accepted by all writers as the first book printed in Cambridge, was not really the first, but Dr Henry Bullock's *Oration*. Mr Bradshaw's paper had been printed, and told everything that could be learned from the books. But by the present letter we were for the first time brought into touch with the man, John Siborch.

The Rev. H. W. P. STEVENS read some interesting notes on the history of the Parish of Tadlow, Cambridgeshire. It is hoped that these will form the foundation of one of the Society's *Octavo Publications*.

Mr J. W. BODGER, of Peterborough, exhibited and described one gold and two silver Celtic coins, found in Peterborough in 1886, associated with bronze coins of Hadrian, Claudius, Domitian, and others; also bronze fibulæ, men's and women's finger-rings; a bangle, a bodkin with eyelet slit in, pottery and tiles, intermingled with bones of ox, sheep, boar, hare, &c.; bronze of Philip the Elder struck at Alexandria, found at Castor; bronze of Constantine the Great struck at Constantinopolis, found at Castor; silver and bronze coins from Gallienus to Constantine the Younger, found at Castor; silver coin of Antoninus Pius, found at Water-Newton; silver coin of Julius Cæsar, found at Connington; one silver and seven bronze coins found at Woodstone Hill; sixteen bronze coins, from Nero to Gordianus the Third, including one of great beauty of Faustina the Younger, found at Sandy.

WEDNESDAY, *November 19th*, 1890.

Professor HUGHES, M.A., President, in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

- Rev. Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Gonville and Caius College, *Regius Professor of Divinity*.
- Edward Seymer Thompson, M.A., Christ's College.
- William Ingham Whitaker, B.A., Trinity College.
- John Edleston Ledsam Whitehead, M.A., Emmanuel College.

Mr E. GORDON DUFF exhibited a recently discovered fragment of an unknown book printed by John Lettou, on which he made the following remarks ;

John Lettou was the first printer in London, and may be classed in some ways apart from all other English printers.

The works of Caxton, thanks to Mr Blades and Mr Bradshaw, have been fully chronicled, but Lettou has received no notice ; Mr Bradshaw, who of all others could have given us information, has left few notes on this printer, so that such information as I can give you (and very meagre it is) comprises all that is known, at present, on the subject.

Lettou commenced to print in London in 1480, and began his career with three editions of John Kendale's Indulgence asking for temporal assistance, and promising spiritual reward, to such as would fight at the siege of Rhodes against the Turks. Caxton was the first to issue this Indulgence, but his edition was printed in a large ragged type which he used for English books ; Lettou followed with his edition in a small, neat, compact type much more suitable for Indulgences, and it was probably this competition which caused Caxton to cast his smaller type.

Apart from these Indulgences, Lettou only printed two books.

1. Antonius Andreæ's Commentary on part of Aristotle,

which was printed in 1480; and

2. Thomas Wallensis upon the Psalms printed in 1481, but we have evidence in the two leaves exhibited this afternoon, lately found in Corpus Christi College, that a third book issued from his press, probably in 1481.

The rarity of Lettou's productions is extraordinary.

Of the Antonius Andreæ of 1480 one perfect and three imperfect copies are known. The perfect copy is in Sion College, and has only remained perfect owing to parts having been misbound.

Of the Wallensis only two perfect copies are known, in the University Library and the Bodleian.

Of the Indulgences: of one edition one copy is known; it is in the British Museum: the other two editions are known only from fragments, used to line the quires of a bible printed by Nicholas Götz of Cöln, but bound by Lettou, discovered by Mr Bradshaw in the Library of Jesus College.

There are two things to be noted about Lettou. His methods of work are very different from those of his contemporaries. He used a type quite distinct from, and opposed in character to, any English xvth century type; and so little is this type known that it is quite possible that there are other books printed by him which have escaped notice.

The type resembles very closely that used by Moravus at Naples, and by Christopher Arnoldus at Venice.

Dibdin calls Lettou's work very careless and slovenly, and the appearance of his type very rude; but it is really far in advance of any other English printer of the time, and shows that he must have had some experience before he settled in England.

Lettou was also a bookbinder, as most printers then were, but only two specimens of his work are known. One is in the Bodleian, the other, belonging to Jesus College, is now here.

After 1482 Lettou ceased printing by himself, and went into partnership with W. de Machlinia; from this press six books were issued.

About 1484 Lettou disappeared, and W. de Machlinia printed in future alone.

We know nothing about Lettou except what we learn from his books. He would seem from his name to have been a Frenchman, and he was assisted with money by a merchant named W. Wilcock.

There are exhibited to day :

- Fragments of the Indulgences,
- A leaf of the Ant. Andreae of 1480,
- A copy of the Wallensis of 1481,

and the two leaves of the unknown book from Corpus. So then you have before you specimens of all Lettou's known productions.

Mr WOOD observed, with regard to the subject-matter of these fragments, that the book of which they formed part was clearly a collection of canonico-legal forms for use in Ecclesiastical Courts : such collections were very common in mediæval times under the name of *Ordines Judiciales* ; they were the work of private doctors. The book was not, as had been suggested, the "Regulæ, Constitutiones, et Ordinationes" of the Roman Chancery. These fragments bore no resemblance to them whatever, though of course they were based upon the Regulæ so far as the latter applied to the subject-matter in hand. The Regulæ as a code were due to John XXII. They were enlarged by John XXIII. (whose edition is the first that was printed), by Martin V. (1417) and Nicolas V. (1447). The latter Pope practically settled them in the form in which they have since existed, though the present text is that of the edition confirmed and promulgated by Clement XIV., May 20, 1769. The Regulæ are 72 in number. They relate to the procedure of the Chancery to which is entrusted the drafting and expediting of Bulls and Briefs (Bouix, *De Curia Romana*, 266). They are in fact what we should call rules of Procedure. They, and the principles of Canonico-legal practice deducible from them, are applicable to the proceedings of Courts which acknowledge the Roman jurisdiction, except so far as they may be contrary to the provisions of Concordats or to local custom sustained by legitimate prescription (Bouix, 271). They are only of force during the lifetime of each Pope. The long-established custom has been for each new Pope on the day after his election to confirm and republish the *Regulæ*. (Rigantius, *De Reg. Canc.* l. p. 7.) The book from which these fragments came was for the use of the proctors and others practising in the Courts. They are common forms, intended to be filled in with the names of persons and places as each case might require. The blanks are here filled in with letters of the alphabet, except in one or two cases of officials, and of the name of Sixtus IV., and of the Church of Cologne. The fragments may be briefly described thus. One leaf begins

on the side which has been marked *a* with two concluding lines of some document. Then comes the form for a petition regarding admission to a benefice (in this case a chaplaincy in a cathedral) for which the petitioner had obtained a *gratia expectativa in communi forma pauperum*, i.e. he had during the lifetime of the previous incumbent obtained from the Pope a presentation, called technically *gratia expectativa*, and issued in this case "in forma pauperum" in contradistinction to the issue "in forma dignum." Amongst other things which are directed to be set out in full is the brief containing this *gratia*, and it is to be recited that it was granted by Sixtus IV. Usage requires that this form was intended to be used during the pontificate of Sixtus IV., i.e. between 1471 and 1484, otherwise there would have been an allegation of a brief or grace technically called "*Rationi congruit*." Hence it appears that these fragments were printed between those two dates. The next form is for use in a suit concerning disturbance in the quiet enjoyment of a benefice. The third is concerning diminution in the fruits of a benefice by what the canonists call "*spoliatio*" or "*spolium*." This form is broken off after a few lines by the conclusion of this leaf. The other leaf consists entirely of one document with the exception of four words at the commencement. The document is entire. It is an application "*super attemptatis*," i.e. to restrain the defendant from certain acts and from taking further proceedings during the hearing of the cause or during appeal, and concludes by praying sentence of excommunication against him should he offend. In this form there is mention of "Jo. officialis Coloniensis," and he is also referred to as "officialis curiæ C." i.e. no doubt Cologne. It is suggested that this mention of Cologne would indicate that this book of forms was intended for use in the Province of Cologne. In the other forms when a diocese is mentioned it is simply designated the diocese of N. so as to be applicable to any diocese of the province. But in this form, which was for use in the Appeal Court of the Province (corresponding to the Canterbury Court of Arches), there was no reason for putting simply a letter, as no other name would have to be inserted except Cologne. A confirmation of this suggestion is derivable from certain words in the first-named form, "*publicum imperiali auctoritate notarium*," which of course would at that period only be applicable to Germany. It is suggested then as probable that these fragments were printed by Lettou before he came to England (circ. 1480) and that they were most likely printed at Cologne. If this supposition be correct, it is interesting as giving a little additional glimpse at Lettou's history, as well as showing us a fragment of his work done elsewhere than in London.

Professor MIDDLETON exhibited a large signet in the form of a very massive silver thumb-ring, English work, of the 15th century, which he described as follows:

On the *bezel*, which is octagonal in shape, are, deeply incised, the letters M D, probably the initials of the owner. Over the letters is a crown, and round them are three small ornamental branches.

On the inside of the ring, extending all round the hoop, is the following inscription :

✠ OGA ✠ OHORA ✠ OGVM ✠

a meaningless combination of letters, such as often occur on medieval rings, but having a supposed cabalistic or magical virtue. Inscriptions of this class are often derived from Hebrew words, in a highly blundered form, through repeated copying and recopying.

The ring is a very fine and well preserved example of medieval jewellery. It has been first cast, and then the device and letters have been cut on it. On one of the shoulders of the ring is a minute star, probably a maker's mark.

Mr J. W. CLARK exhibited an embroidered canopy, on which he commented as follows :

The canopy which I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society this afternoon is said by tradition to have been carried over Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her visit to the University in 1564.

Nichols¹ printed two accounts of this visit. The writer of what I will term the first account, after describing the Queen's progress on horseback to the west door of King's College Chapel, and the speech of the Public Orator, says: "Then she alighted from her horse, and, asking of what degree every Doctor was, offered her hand to be kissed. And then four of the principal Doctors, viz. Edmund Hawford, S.T.P., Master of Christ's College, and at that time Vice-Chancellor; Andrew Perne, S.T.P., Master of Peter House; John Porie, Master of Corpus Christi College; and Francis Newton, S.T.P., bearing a canopy, she, under the same, entred into the Church, and kneeled down at the place appointed, between the two

¹ *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. 1823, i. 151—189.

doors north and south; the Lady Strange bearing the train: and all the other ladies followed in their degrees¹."

After a short service at a temporary lectern erected between the north and south doors of the antechapel, "her Majestic arose," says the writer of the second account, "and went into the Quayre, under the canopy.... Here she remayned in a travesse of crimson velvet prepared for her until the Sermon was ended. And from thence her Highness was brought to a syde door in the Quayre, under the canopie, and so went to the Master's lodginge of that House, ordered for her Grace²." It should be remembered that the Provost's Lodging was at that time between the east end of the Chapel and the High Street, and that a temporary entrance to the Chapel had been made for the Queen's use through the east end of the north vestry.

On the following day, Sunday, to quote the same account, "the Queene's Ma^{tie}, with her Nobilitie, came to the Kinge's Colledge Chapel, about ix^{ne} of the clock in the morning, under a canopie carried by four Doctors³"; and at the end of the service the canopy was again used to conduct her to the Provost's Lodging.

The first account adds: "the footmen as their fee claimed [the canopy]; and it was redeemed for £3. 6s. 8d.⁴" The second account states the matter more fully: "the Queen's footmen challenged the canopie, as a duty for delivering of the Bedills staves. They required, in like manner, for the mace of the town a certain fee for redeeming thereof; the town gave them xi^{tie} shillings⁵." The delivery of the bedells staves is thus described in the same account. On the Queen's arrival at the west door of King's College Chapel "the thre Squire Bedills' staffes were offered unto her Ma^{tie} by M^r Secretary, and forthwith delivered to him, and soe to the Bedills againe."

The canopy, which had evidently been provided by King's College, was redeemed by that body; for the *Mundum Book*

¹ Nichols, *ut supra*, p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

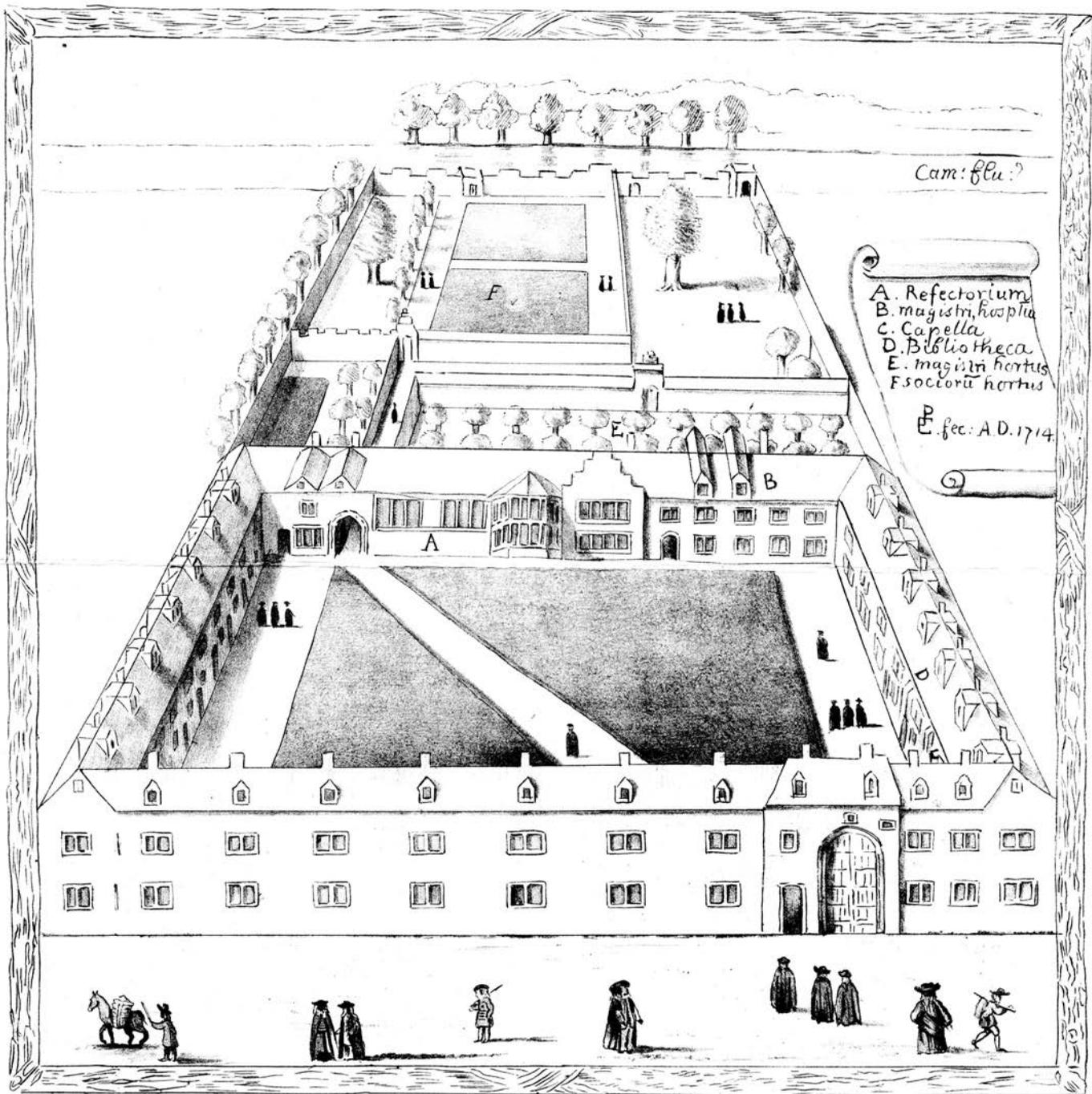
of 1564, under the heading *Expense facte super adventum domine Regine*, has the following entry:

Item paid to y^e Queenes Footmen for their fee for ye)
 canabye wych was carried over the queene's maiestie } iij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d.

It may be conjectured that the canopy was given by King's College to the University, for it was preserved, until last June, in the University Library, where it was fixed to the ceiling of the music-room. Mr Cooper (*Annals*, ii. 192, *note*) says: "the canopy was long preserved in the Schools, and afterwards in the Registry's office." It is well known that the Schools, as the University Building, were used from very early times as a picture-gallery and a museum; and it was natural that an historical relic, such as the canopy before us, should be kept there. When the Registry was removed, it remained behind, and I think that it was fixed in the above-mentioned place by the care of Mr Bradshaw. It has now been deposited in the Museum of Archaeology by a resolution of the Syndics of the Library.

It measures 12 ft. by 5 ft. A strip of red velvet, 10 in. wide, divides it into two equal parts. This is crossed by a second strip of the same width, so that it consists of four quarters. The material appears to be silk, crossed by threads of gold. An elaborate pattern is still faintly discernible on the silk, portions of which were further enriched by raised velvet pile, which has now worn off. The places, however, to which it was attached, can still be readily distinguished by the threads hanging from them. At the crossing of the two strips of velvet are the arms of Queen Elizabeth, England and France quarterly, supported by a lion(?) and a dragon. The other devices, of which there are twelve in the length, and eight in the width, are a portcullis crowned, and a rose of five petals in two rows, also crowned.

The canopy, when first received, was thickly encrusted with dirt and torn in places. It has since been carefully washed, and placed in a frame, folded in such a manner that the least damaged portions are before the public.



Edmundus Pridmore filius Notariorum Dignissimi
 & Celebratissimi Decani Norwicensis hanc veterem
 Collegij Formam delineavit;

Mr J. W. CLARK exhibited also a bird's-eye view of Clare Hall, executed in 1714, which he had lately discovered in a copy of the College statutes in the Library of Gonville and Caius College¹.

This volume is a thin folio measuring 11 in. by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. It consists of two parts, which have been bound together in modern times—say in the last century or at the beginning of this. These are:

1. *Regula Aulæ de Clare*, 1359, as printed, *Comm. Docts. ii.* 121—146, "*Universis—die Martii anno domini prenotato*," paged 1—48, with an initial leaf containing on *a* the above words (*Regula* etc.); on *b* the list of chapters of the statutes. The contents are written throughout in a late sixteenth century hand on thick cartridge paper.

2. A more modern volume, paged 1—75, written in a hand of the last century on thinner paper. Leaf *1a* has the view painted on it. Leaf *1b* is blank. Leaf 2: Table of contents. On leaf 3 begin the Statutes as printed *Comm. Docts. ii.* 150—185, "*Universis Christi fidelibus—Robert Golding*." There are a few blank leaves at the end.

Mr Clark shewed that the view—which has been reproduced in facsimile (Plate xxxiv—is unquestionably that referred to by Cole, who, writing on Feb. 15, 1742, says:

"I have seen a plan of y^e old College as it then stood, by y^e Favour of my Friend y^e Rev. Mr Goddard Senior Fellow of y^e College...in a Statute Book of y^e College neatly painted, w^{ch} is quite different from the present Building, etc."²

The copy of the statutes here referred to was believed to have been lost.

The inscription at the bottom of the plate must next be considered. The words are: "Edmundus Prideaux Filius natu maximus (erased) unicus Dignissimi et Celeberrimi Decani Norvicensis³ hanc veterem Collegii formam delineavit."

Dr Atkinson, Master of Clare College, has kindly furnished me with the following information. He writes, 14 November, 1890:

¹ The volume has now been restored to Clare College.

² MSS. Cole ii. 9 (Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5803).

³ Humphrey Prideaux, D.D. Dean of Norwich, 1702—1724.

"I gladly tell you all that I can about Edmund Prideaux, but it does not amount to very much.

"First, from our Admission Book I take: "Anno 1711 [admitted] May 22. Mr Edmund Prideaux, Fellow Commoner and Pupil to Mr Laughton." Next, in the list of donations to the rebuilding of our Chapel, I find: "Edmund Prideaux, Esq., Fellow Commoner, £10. 0. 0."

"In a Life of Dean Prideaux, published anonymously in 1748, the following paragraph occurs (p. 147):

"In the seventy-fourth year of his age [A.D. 1722, two years before his death] finding himself so much weakened by his infirmities growing upon him that he could no longer use his books as formerly, and being desirous that his Collection of Oriental Books should not be dispersed, but kept together in some public Library, he permitted his son, who had been educated at that College, to make a present of them to the Society of Clare Hall in Cambridge: and accordingly they were sent thither, and placed in the College Library, to the number of three hundred volumes and upwards."

"Edmund Prideaux seems to have kept up his friendly feeling to the College, and to have sent his son also there as a Fellow Commoner, as appears by the following admission: 'Anno 1737. May 18. Mr Humphrey Prideaux born at Norwich admitted Fellow Commoner and Pupil to Mr Goddard.'

"Humphrey Prideaux's name also appears in the list of donations to the rebuilding of the Chapel: '1739. Humfrey Prideaux, Esq., Fellow Commoner, £10. 10. 0.'

"The correction in the inscription 'filius unicus' for 'filius natu maximus' is probably due to the circumstance that Prideaux's elder brother had died as a child (*Life, ut supra*, p. 95).

"My conjecture as to the way in which the MS. got into Gonville and Caius College Library is, that it was lent, about 1763, by Dr Goddard, then Master, to Sir James Burrough when he was engaged upon the plans for our Chapel. Sir J. Burrough died rather unexpectedly, almost before the building of the Chapel was actually commenced. His executor seems to have been a nephew who was not a member of the University, and I suppose that he sent the book (probably with others belonging to the College) to the Library."

The note on the scroll in the right-hand corner of the plate, "E. P. fecit A.D. 1714," proves that the drawing must have been taken from an older sketch or picture, as the primitive quadrangle had by that time wholly disappeared.

Mr Clark then explained—by the help of an enlarged copy of the view—what the arrangement of the old College was.

It was situated in Milne Street, opposite to King's College in its old position, and was entered through a gatehouse which, in medieval fashion, was not in the middle of the east front. This gatehouse had a large and small gate, like Trinity Hall as shewn in Loggan's print, and was set slightly in advance of the range of which it formed part. The east and south sides of the quadrangle were occupied by chambers; the west side by the

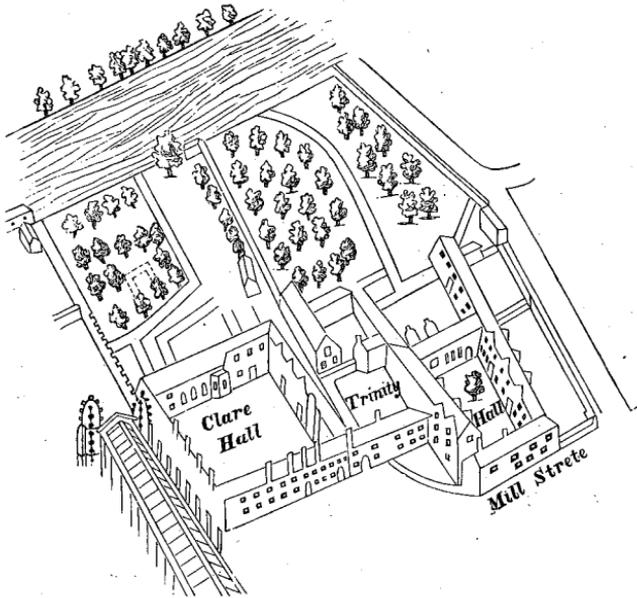


FIG. 1. Hamond's plan of Clare Hall, dated 1592.

Kitchen, Butteries, Hall, Combination-Room, and Master's Lodge; the north side by chambers, and by the Chapel, over which was the Library. This latter building is shewn by Loggan, and was used as the College Chapel down to 1763,

when the existing Chapel was built. Beyond the quadrangle were the Master's garden, the Fellows' garden, and the Cook's garden. Towards the river the College was bounded by an embattled wall.

Until the discovery of this view, the only authorities for the ancient arrangement of the College were the map of Hamond, dated 1592 (fig. 1), and a ground plan probably drawn just before the rebuilding begun in 1638. These are both figured in *The Architectural History of the University*¹.

MONDAY, *January 26th*, 1891.

Professor HUGHES, M.A., President, in the chair.

The following new member was elected :

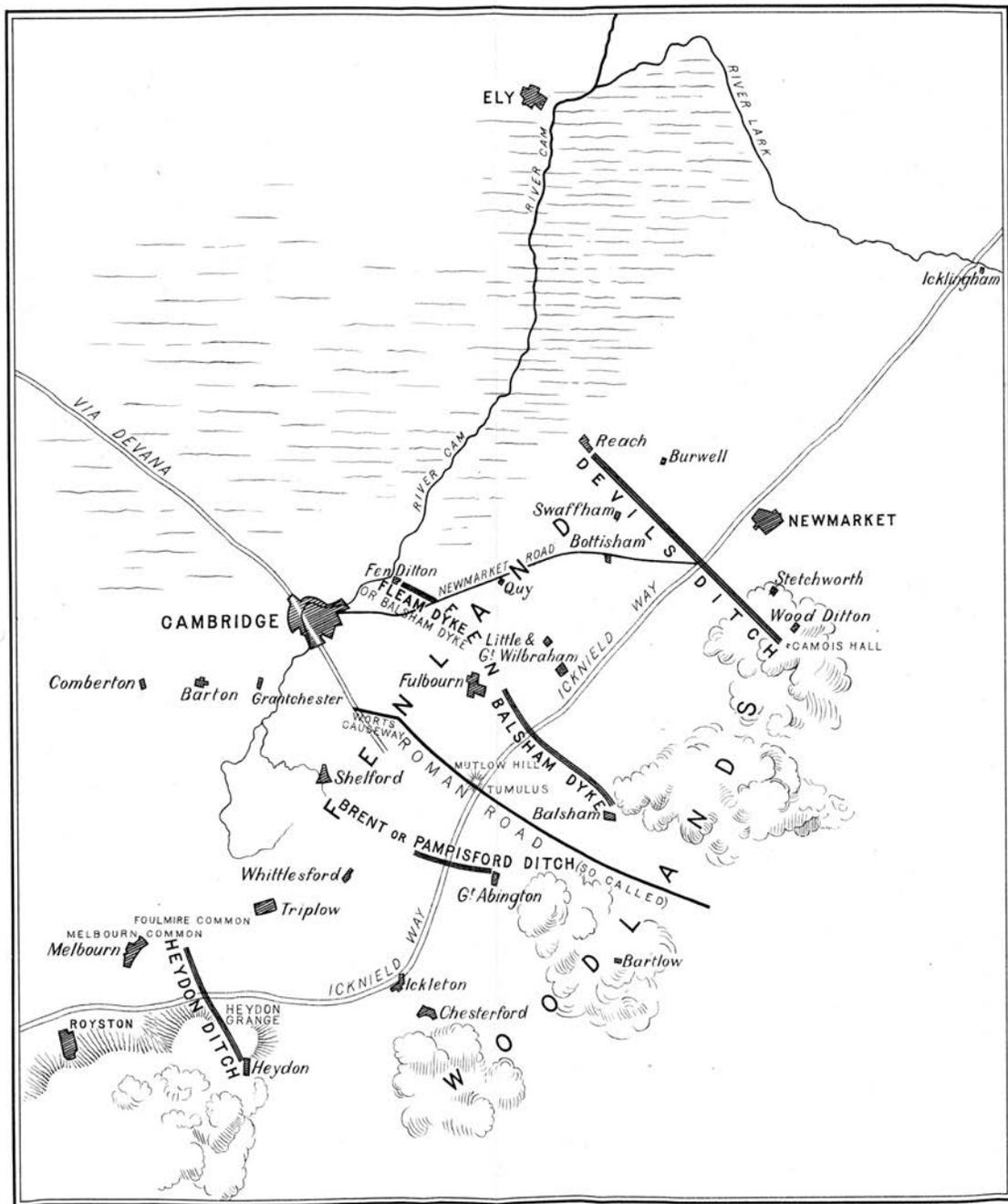
William Luard Raynes, B.A., Pembroke College.

Professor WILLIAM RIDGEWAY made the following communication.

ARE THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE DITCHES REFERRED TO BY
TACITUS (ANNALS XII. 31) ?

In the *Annals* (XII. 31) Tacitus gives a brief account of the overthrow of the powerful British tribe of the Iceni (or *Ececi* as some prefer to spell their name from the inscription ECE on some of the coins found in the districts which they once occupied). When P. Ostorius Scapula arrived in Britain A.D. 50 as propraetor in succession to Aulus Plautius he found things in a very disturbed condition. The still-unconquered tribes had overrun the territories of those in alliance with Rome. Although the winter had already set in, he determined to strike a vigorous blow without delay. He fell upon the marauders, followed them up in their flight, set about disarming those

¹ History of Clare Hall, figs. 2, 3. Hamond's plan is reproduced here by the kindness of the Syndics of the University Press.



who could not be trusted, and kept in check all the district between the rivers Antona (or, adopting Mr Bradley's clever restoration, Trisantona) and Sabrina with a series of forts. The Sabrina is of course the Severn, whilst the Trisantona of Ptolemy flows out at Southampton¹. The Severn alone is sufficient to indicate the region in which Ostorius was operating, and, admitting the reading *Cis Trisantoniam* as right, we can define more closely the quarter from which he would advance against other tribes.

The first of the Britons who resented his policy were the Icenii, a powerful tribe, who held Norfolk, Suffolk, and at least part of Cambridgeshire. Their military resources were unimpaired, as they had become the allies of the Romans, without offering any resistance, on the invasion of Claudius A.D. 43. At their instigation the neighbouring tribes rose, and they chose a field for battle fenced with a rude dyke, and with a narrow approach to prevent the attack of cavalry. Ostorius, although he had not his legionaries, but only some auxiliary forces, determined to attack their fortifications, and succeeded in routing them with great slaughter. The actual words of Tacitus are as follows:

hisque [Icenis] auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere septum agresti aggere, et aditu angusto, ne peruius equiti foret. ea munimenta dux Romanus, quanquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere aggreditur, et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque illi conscientia rebellionis, et obseptis effugiis, multa et clara faeinora fecere.

The difficulty of fixing ancient topography from the accounts given by Tacitus is well known. As far as I am aware no one has ever attempted to fix the site of this battle. There are apparently no guide-marks. Let us, however, see if we can get any reasonably probable locality for the fight.

A glance at the ancient map of East Anglia (Pl. xxxv) will show us that it was bounded on three sides by the sea and its inlets; the fenland of Cambridgeshire defended it on the west;

¹ Mr Bradley thinks the Trent is the river called Trisantona by Tacitus.

and the great forest region of Essex on the south-west. Thus the only approach was the narrow strip of open chalk country lying between the fens and the woodland. Along this strip passed the ancient British road, the Icknield (or Icenhilde) Way, in which we recognize the name of the people whose highway it formed into the west and south. East of Newmarket its direction is uncertain, although it probably went to Thetford. The Icknield Way, says Professor Babington, "may easily be traced from near Thetford [a British stronghold, as the huge earthwork there still testifies] to Icklingham,...then crossing the river Lart at Lackford, and falling into the line of the present road at Kentford."¹ It passed by Newmarket, across the Newmarket Heath to Ickleton, passed not far from Great Chesterford, on by Royston and Baldock to Dunstable. There can be little doubt that the Icknield Way is pre-Roman. The Iceni possessed chariots, as we shall see below, and the keeping of chariots implies the use of some regular and well-defined roads, or at least tracks. If the Icknield Way had been made in Roman times it is hardly possible to imagine why it should have carefully avoided the important Roman station at Great Chesterford. Since it may be assumed without hesitation that there was some chariot-way along the chalk downs into East Anglia, and since we have a road of undoubtedly great antiquity running along this strip of chalk and yet shunning a great Roman camp, we may well follow Professor Babington and all the older authorities in regarding the Icknield Way as British. Now this road in its course passes through the four famous dykes, which ran right across from the fenland to the woodland, the Brand or Heydon Ditch, the Brent Ditch, the Fleam or Balsham Dyke, and the Devil's Ditch—to take them in order from west to east. "Each of these ditches extending from fen or marshy land to a wooded country, and quite crossing the narrow open district which lay between the woods and the fen, by which alone East Anglia could be approached without great difficulty, must have presented a formidable obstacle

¹ Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, ed. 1883, p. 55.

to the usual predatory inroads which formed so large a part of the warfare of those ages¹."

The Heydon Ditch runs from a fen called Melbourne Common to the village of Heydon, a distance of three miles. The rampart is on the east side, and was seven feet above the level of the surrounding country, and its extreme breadth from the western side of the foss to the eastern edge of the vallum was about eighty feet. It was crossed by the Icknield Way, near Heydon Grange. The road is more ancient than the dyke.

The Brent or Pampisford Ditch extends for about a mile and three-quarters from the fen at Brent-ditch end to Abingdon, where the woodland began. It is shallow, and much effaced. It seems difficult to decide on which side the rampart was, as Mr Hartshorne says it was on the east, Professor Babington maintains it is on the west, while Mr Beldam considered the earth to have been thrown up equally on both sides. It is crossed at about the middle by the turnpike road, which represents the old Icknield Way, and it is said that the ditch has been filled up to allow the road to pass. Consequently the ditch is older than the road.

The Balsham or Fleam Dyke ran from the Cam at Fen Ditton for nearly two miles to Quy bridge. There Wilbraham Fen formed a sufficient defence as far as Great Wilbraham, within half a mile of which it commences again, and runs for six miles on to Balsham, where the woodland began. The depth of this ditch from the top of the rampart, which is on the eastern side, is about twenty feet. "It crosses the supposed line of the Icknield Way near to a tumulus called Mutlow Hill, and is said to have been filled up to allow it to pass, but of that, however probable it may be, there is no proof²."

The Devil's Ditch extends from the fen at Reche, across Newmarket Heath to Camois Hall near Wood Ditton (Ditch town, like Fen Ditton). The rampart is about thirty feet above the bottom of the ditch, and is on the eastern side. It is crossed by the Icknield Way. Professor Hughes has shewn

¹ Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, ed. 1883, p. 97.

² *Ibid.* p. 99.

from the discoveries made when the railway from Cambridge to Mildenhall was in progress, and a cutting was carried through the Ditch, that the evidence, as far as it goes, from the Roman coins being found on the upper part of the earthwork and not down at the original level of the soil, is in favour of the Ditch being pre-Roman.

To these four great dykes Professor Hughes would add a fifth—the so-called Roman Road, which passes along the Gogmagog Hills¹.

I need make only one or two remarks respecting these Ditches.

First, the ramparts of three, and these the most important, are on the *eastern* side. Consequently the builders of these fortifications lived in East Anglia. As we saw above there is a conflict of authorities in the case of the Brent Ditch. Secondly, it is most important to note that they all cross and defend the line of the Icknield Way. In one case at least the dyke is older than the Way, and probably the Balsham Dyke is also older than the Way. But, whilst it is a good proof that the dykes are British, if they are older than the ancient British road, it by no means follows that the other dykes are later than British times if they are later than the Icknield Way. There is no reason why the Britons should not have made the dykes at a period later than the road. Thus in the case of the Devil's Ditch, as it is ascertained to be pre-Roman, it matters not if it is more recent than the Way.

From what has now been said it is plain that Ostorius Scapula, when marching against the Iceni, could only approach East Anglia through the narrow strip between the fens and woodland. It surely is not unreasonable to suppose that he actually marched along the Icknield Way. This way was crossed probably by all four ditches at that time, most certainly, as we have seen above, by the Brent Ditch. Tradition states that the Balsham Dyke was filled up to permit the road to cross it. Of the relative age of the Devil's Ditch and the Icknield Way we have no evidence. But the evidence at hand

¹ *The Cambridge Review*, 6 May, 1885, p. 292.

is sufficient to prove that the Romans met at least one dyke, and it is not going too far, if we suppose that Tacitus by the words *septum agrestis aggere* refers to these ditches, or at least to one of them. Anyone who has ever walked along the Devil's Ditch or the Fleam Dyke will recognize the appropriateness of the term *agrestis agger* to these ramparts of plain earth. Again, from the words of Tacitus we may probably infer that the place selected by the Iceni was already fortified by the *agger*. At all events when two chapters later Tacitus relates how Caractacus fortified a stronghold in the land of the OrdoVICES his turn of expression is quite different :

Sumpto ad proelium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis inportuna et suis in melius essent, tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa praestruit¹.

This gives us a clear notion of the distinction in the mind of Tacitus between an *agrestis agger* and a *vallum*, the term applied to the stockaded rampart of a regular camp. The words of Tacitus indicate clearly that it was not a regular British camp or fortress. The very term *saeptum*, which is employed instead of some term like *munitum* points clearly to something quite different from an ordinary fort. But that which puts the question beyond doubt is the statement that they selected, as a field for battle, a place fenced by a rude dyke, and with a narrow approach, to render it impassable for cavalry. What historian ancient or modern, when about to describe a regular fortress, would say that it was fortified in such a way as to render it inaccessible to cavalry? Would it not be ridiculous if Kinglake were to write that the Redan or the Malakoff fort at Sebastopol was so fenced that it was impassable for horse soldiers? On the other hand, if an historian were describing a position in a plain, nothing is more natural and common than to say that a large ditch or stream protected the place from the enemy's horse. The reason is perfectly obvious, every historian assumes that his readers will at least be aware that cavalry are not employed in storming regular forts.

The use of the word *locus* in the second passage quoted

¹ *Annals*, XII. 33.

shows that it includes a wide area of country, and does not merely mean a fortified camp or fortress of small extent. This use of the word would very well suit any of the areas between any pair of the ditches. The distance measured on the map from the point where the Ickniel Way crosses the Brent Ditch to that at which it cuts the Balsam Dyke is less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Iceni undoubtedly possessed chariots (like the tribes who fought against Julius Caesar in the preceding century), as we learn from the story of Boudicea, or Boadicea (to give her a more familiar if less accurate name) in *Annals*, XIV. 35.

When once then their first line of defence was stormed, if they turned to flight, such a barrier as the Balsam Dyke, or Devil's Ditch, lying in their rear, would offer a formidable obstruction. The words *obseptis effugiis* would well express their position shut in on the flanks by forest and fen, and with a huge earthwork behind them, with but one narrow gap in it through which the Ickniel Way passed, and towards which the victorious Romans would press quickly along the direct road. Moreover the foss of this ditch in their rear lay on the wrong side for them, as it was on the western side of the rampart, and thus it was still more difficult for them to cross the latter.

It would be vain to speculate which of the great Cambridgeshire Ditches witnessed the overthrow of the gallant Iceni. Even if the topographical description was more explicit than it is, we must remember that Tacitus, writing many years later, would simply write down certain impressions concerning the place perhaps derived from his father-in-law Agricola. But I think that a certain amount of probability can be established that the battle took place at one of these four ditches. There is evidence that the regular road into the land of the Iceni passed through all those dykes, there is also evidence that at least three of them existed before the Roman Conquest. Was Ostorius likely to march by any other route? Certainly not through the forest or fen, when he could find a regular roadway leading across a high strip of chalk-land, where there

was no danger of surprise or ambushade. These considerations alone would point to the site of the battle lying somewhere within the limits described. Finally, we have the words of Tacitus giving a description of the place which suits very accurately any of the four great ditches, each in turn approached and passed through by the Ickniel Way.

I venture then to submit that there is a reasonable probability that the passage of Tacitus refers to two of those great earthworks which still exist. The Fleam Dyke and Devil's Ditch, fit best the historian's description, and they certainly were the strongest positions, and thus the most likely to be occupied by the Iceni at such a juncture.

Professor E. C. CLARK expressed the gratitude of the Society to Professor Ridgeway for his most happy and interesting identification, which almost commanded acceptance; he further noted the vague and fragmentary style in which battles are generally described by Roman historians (with few exceptions, such as Livy's account of the battle by lake *Trasimenus*), and suggested that Tacitus probably gained his ideas of British topography from his father-in-law Agricola.

The Rev. W. G. SEARLE commented as follows upon the origin and date of Ingulf's History of Croyland Abbey:

The chief part of the 'Historia Croylandensis,' published by Fulman in 1684, consists of the history of the monastery from 716 to 1095, compiled by the then abbot of the house, Ingulf, writing thus at the very end of the 11th century. It made its appearance in the literary world early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, being first mentioned by Dr Caius in 1568. It was not, however, printed till 1596, when it was at once welcomed as an interesting and valuable addition to our historical materials by our leading historians, Camden, Dugdale, Fuller, and others, an example followed by many important historical writers in France. In England it has been used by countless writers, and so has made its way into standard works on English history. But, though so widely accepted as genuine, there have not been lacking more sceptical students, who have brought forward such anachronisms in the signatures to the charters contained in it, such mis-statements in the historical

parts, and examples of such use of words belonging to much later date, that historians like Bishop Stubbs and Professor E. A. Freeman condemn it as a work of absolute worthlessness as an authority.

Yet the work, though an invention, is one of medieval times, some writers putting it in the time of Edward II., others in that of Henry V.; and besides this, the writer, whoever he may have been, though ignorant, in many points, of the real facts of the assumed date, and at times very careless, was clever enough, or lucky enough, to introduce details which receive very often most unexpected corroboration from perfectly authentic sources.

The author, who is supposed to be writing about 1095, was evidently acquainted with the chief historians of the 12th century, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury and others, and this is sufficient to place the composition of the *Ingulf* late in the 12th century at the earliest, or in the reign of Henry II.; while, as he knew a *Chronicle of Peterborough* (MS. Cott. Claudius A. v.) which breaks off in the year 1368, it cannot be earlier than the end of the reign of Edward III. From the Patent Rolls in the Public Record Office we know that two of the charters, that of 716 of the foundation, and that of 948 of the restoration, of the Monastery, were in existence in 1393; but as these are more than extremely doubtful, if their genuineness be not absolutely impossible, this only shews that the process of manufacture had begun before that date, in the reign of Richard II. The book, though apparently in existence in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., was unknown to Bale, the diligent investigator of English literary history; and this is the more remarkable as two, if not three, copies were in existence, one which yet remains at the British Museum of about 1490, and another, the so-called *Autograph of the Ingulf*, which was kept at Croyland in the Church chest about 1610, but has since disappeared. A writer, who has contributed much to the compilation of the *Ingulf*, is a monk, *Ordericus Vitalis*, who visited Croyland in 1115. But here the difficulty presents

itself that, although Ordericus was of English birth, yet Bale does not mention him, and apparently, like Leland, Henry the Eighth's historiographer, who inspected the library of the Monastery before the Dissolution in 1539, had never seen a copy of the work bearing his name; and further, that, while there is only one early MS. in France, there is none in England of sufficiently early date. A MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Vitell. B. xi.) contains a history of the abbats of Croyland, extending to the year 1427, extracted as to the Anglo-Saxon part of the Croyland History from Ordericus Vitalis only, a work which must have been written by a person interested in Croyland, while the Ingulf itself exists in another MS. (MS. Cott. Otho B. xiii.) written about 1490. The date of the composition of the Ingulf seems then necessarily to fall between those two periods, or somewhere about 1450. The *author* there seems no possibility of even guessing at.

Ingulf, according to Ordericus Vitalis, was a monk of the monastery of St Wandragesilus or of Saint-Wandrille in Normandy, and died in December, 1108, having been abbat for 24 years. This brings his appointment to 1086. In Domesday, among the tenants *in capite* in Surrey, is found: 'Abbas S. Wandragesili tenet Wandesorde per Ingulfum monachum,' which would seem to refer to our abbat, as the monastery, the monk, and the date, are all right, since Domesday was in course of being made in the spring of 1086, when Ingulf would still be monk, just before his appointment to the abbacy. It would be strange if there were another Ingulf of that monastery in England at that time. Ingulf had been secretary before the Conquest to Duke William, and so, living at Wandsworth close to London, he might easily obtain his promotion.

The riddle of the Ingulf is not an easy one to solve. In spite of long investigation, much yet remains to do, which yet is worth doing, that future works of history, and new editions of earlier ones, may be purged from statements derived from the Ingulf, which have no real claim to be considered other than the offspring of the fertile and ingenious brain of the unknown medieval writer of that work.

Dr LUARD stated that even that pioneer of historical investigation, Dr Maitland, had quoted stories from Ingulf as if they had been undoubtedly genuine, and mentioned that the XIth century was the usual time for forgeries of this kind rather than the XIVth. With regard to *Charters*, he thought that genuine charters had frequently the names of false witnesses attached to them, which had been introduced at a later time in order to give a higher value to the document; so that often charters were a better test of the witnesses than the witnesses of the charters.

Mr T. D. ATKINSON made the following communication :

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF HORHAM HALL, ESSEX.

The general history of the manor of Horham and of the families who have possessed it has been written very fully by Mr H. W. King, Honorary Secretary of the Essex Archaeological Society¹. In these notes, therefore, no more will be attempted than an outline of the architectural history. It may be useful, however, before describing the building, to quote from Mr King some of the principal facts about its various owners.

Horham² is one of the five manors into which Thaxted was divided shortly after the Domesday Survey. Its history down to the end of the fourteenth century can be traced in some detail, but this is succeeded by a gap of fifty years, during which nothing is known of its owners. In 1451 the manor was held by Richard Large, of London, who was probably heir of Robert Large, Mercer, Lord Mayor in 1349, but when and how it came into the possession of this family does not appear. It was sold by the executors of Alice Large in 1494 for eight hundred marks to Richard Quadryng of Lincolnshire, who sold it again in 1502 to Sir John Cutte.

¹ "The descent of the Manor of Horham and of the family of Cutts." *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.* First Ser., Vol. iv.

² The name Horham is said to be derived from the Saxon *Ora*, a skirt or border, and *Ham*, a house, i.e. the house on the boundary. If this be so, a more appropriate name could not have been chosen, for the boundary between the Parishes of Thaxted and Broxted passes through the Hall.

The Cutte family is the most interesting of those who possessed Horham. This Sir John was Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VIII., and he seems to have been the founder of the family fortunes. It is not known who his father was. He is said to have built the greater part of the present house, but he left it—or at least the chapel—unfinished at his death in 1520; for he directs in his Will that his body shall be buried in Thaxted Church until his own chapel shall be finished. His large possessions passed to his eldest son, a boy of thirteen, who married, when seventeen, Lucy, widow of Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer to Henry VII., and daughter and coheiress of the Marquess of Montacute. But he died on reaching manhood (1528), leaving a son three years old, who died when he was but thirty (1555) leaving a son of ten. This latter, John, the last of the family to possess Horham, lived to the allotted threescore and ten years, being born in the reign of Queen Mary and dying in that of King James. He appears to have lived chiefly at his other seat, Childerley, in Cambridgeshire; and, his magnificence finally obliging him to part with Horham, he sold it in 1599 to Thomas Kemp. Kemp sold it to Sir William Smijth of Hill Hall, Essex, in whose family it remained till 1854, when it was exchanged for another estate, with the present owner.

The present house forms a part only of the original building, or at all events of the original design, of Sir John Cutte. It is said that the moat¹ surrounded the house; that on the bridge which crossed it opposite the porch there stood a gateway tower; and that adjoining the north wing there was a chapel. Of course there must also have been large outbuildings. I do not know that there is any evidence that all these buildings were ever finished, but I believe there is no reason to suppose that they were not, and the foundations of some of them, at least, may be traced on the turf in a dry summer. We know that Sir John died before his chapel was finished, and it is possible that no building-work was done during the long

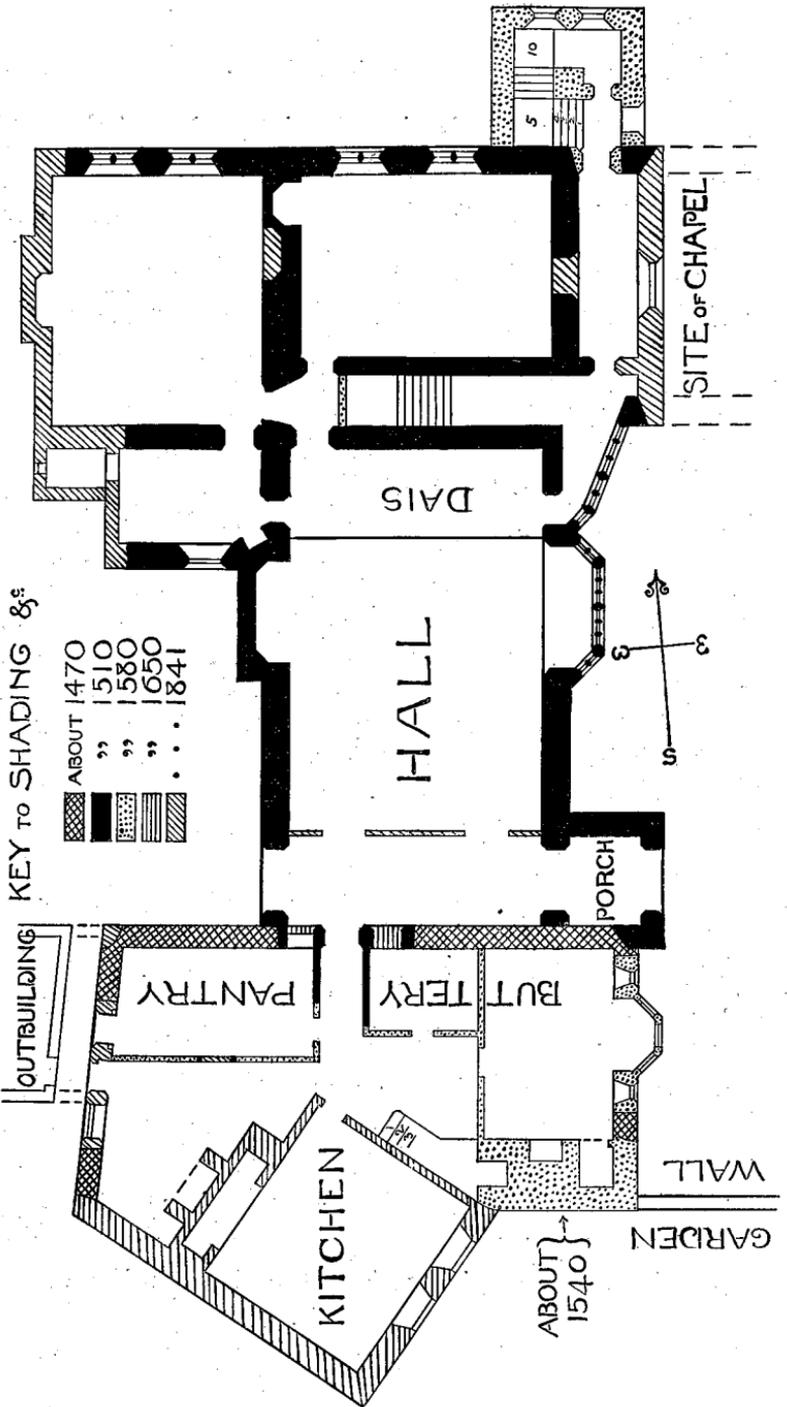
¹ At present the moat begins opposite the porch, encircles the northern half of the house, and ends again about opposite the western entrance.

HORHAM HALL GROUND PLAN

SCALE 12 5 0 10 20 30 40 FEET

KEY TO SHADING &c

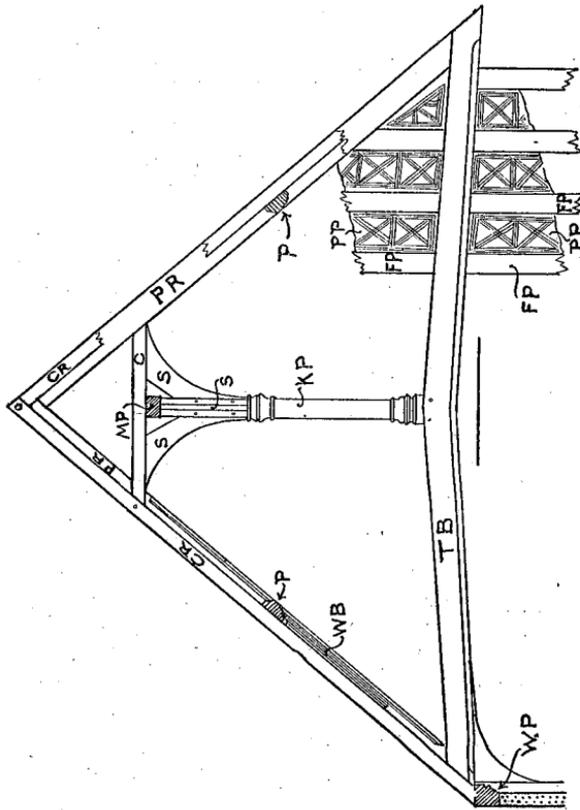
	ABOUT 1470
	" 1510
	" 1580
	" 1650
	" 1841



minorities of his son and grandson. If this be the case perhaps the buildings were never finished.

The general arrangement of the house, and the periods to which the different parts may be referred, will be understood from the ground-plan (Pl. XXXVI). It still retains the general arrangement of a typical medieval house, as shewn, for instance, in the block of buildings between the upper and lower courts at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire. The hall, as the principal and most important apartment, occupies a central position. At the south end are the kitchen and offices, at the north end the private rooms of the owner of the house. Each of these wings is in two floors. The hall is of the same height as the wings, and, having no rooms over it, forms the only means of communication between them. The inconvenience of this arrangement was in some houses avoided by constructing a gallery along the side of the hall at the level of the upper storey; but no such gallery exists at Horham. The irregular bay window at the north-east corner of the hall, which makes such a pretty feature outside, was no doubt designed to light the passage leading to the chapel. On the upper floor it lighted a ladies' gallery, which had also a window commanding the hall. From the screens there were originally three doors leading to the offices; one—still used—leading to the kitchen, and two others, now blocked, opening into the pantry and buttery respectively. Over these are two windows, one of which was perhaps a door to the gallery over the screens. The hall has a flat ceiling, with an opening communicating by a shaft with the lantern in the roof.

There are some peculiarities in the plan, due in most cases to the alterations that have been made at different times. The position behind the dais of the stairs leading to the cellar is unusual, though I am not sure that this is not a part of the original design. If so, the stairs leading to the upper floor may have been in a straight flight over them, a landing at the top giving access to the ladies' gallery, to the bedrooms, and probably also to a gallery for the use of the family in the chapel. On the other hand we might

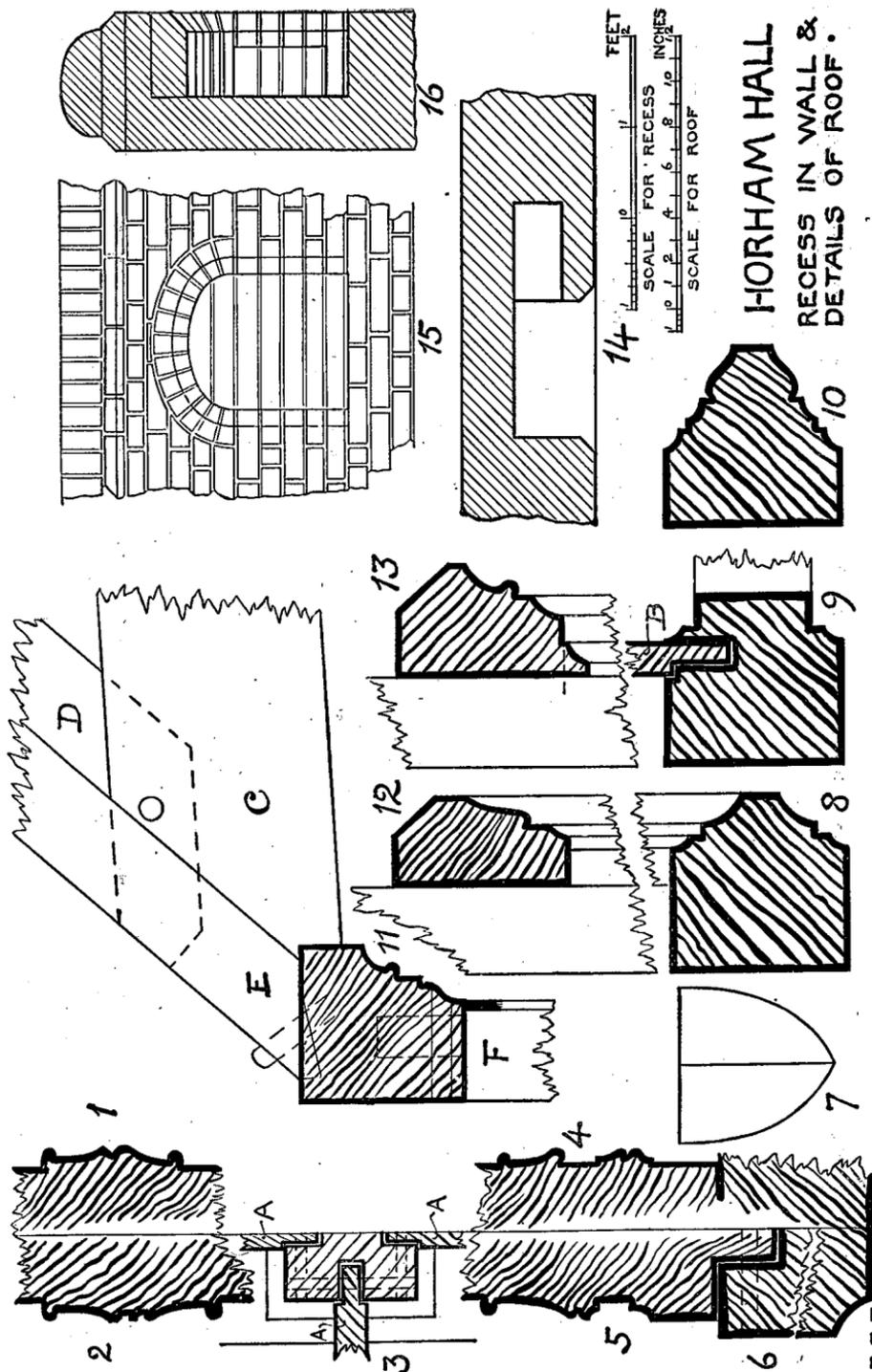


- NAMES OF TIMBERS &c**
- TB Tie-beam.
 - KP King-post.
 - S Shrubs.
 - MP Middle purlin.
 - C Collar.
 - PR Principal rafter.
 - CR Common rafter.
 - P Purlin.
 - WB Wind-brace.
 - WP Wall-plate.
 - FP Framing of Partition.
 - FP Furring in Partition.

HORHAM HALL

ROOF OVER SOUTH WING





have expected to find these stairs in the angle between the west side of the hall and the north wing, where there is now a small room; but, in the present instance, I am inclined to put them over the stairs leading to the cellar. The arrangement of the existing principal staircase is also unusual. It occupies a tower at the north-east corner of the house, with a room at the top from which a turret-stair leads to the roof.

I am quite unable to explain the irregular setting-out of work of two distinct periods in the south wing, namely the west wall and the kitchen. Possibly the position of the moat, or of some buildings now removed, may have had something to do with it.

In the south face of the garden wall, part of which is shewn on the plan, are three recesses, of which illustrations are here given (Plate xxxviii, figs. 14, 15, 16). What their use was, I cannot positively say. It has been suggested to me that they are nests for pigeons. This is extremely probable, as the plan is exactly that of a cell of a pigeon-house. If this be so, they would, presumably, have been used for a few specially valuable birds, as they would only accommodate six birds in all. There must moreover have been a lean-to shed against the wall, forming a coop, but the wall now shews no signs of this.

The Architectural History, to which we may now proceed, has been generally supposed to begin with Sir John Cutte in 1502, the hall and the two rooms to the north of it, built by him between 1502 and 1520, being thought to be the oldest part of the house. I think that there is good reason for believing that the greater part of the south wing is older, and that it was built by Richard Large, some fifty years before (Plate xxxvi). The general architectural character of this part of the house is that of about a century later, new windows having been inserted, and a very beautiful chimney-stack built, at that period. The remains of the earlier work are (1) the roof, the existence of which was not known till I had the good fortune to discover it in the summer of 1890, (2) the gable walls.

(1) The very beautiful and richly moulded open timber

roof (Pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII), at present hidden by a modern ceiling, clearly once belonged to one of the best rooms of the house—probably the solar—and not to any part of the offices, as at present. Now this part is, and always has been, allotted to the servants in the house as it now exists, for it is contrary to all known arrangements of medieval houses that any of the family rooms should be placed at the kitchen-end of the hall. The roof in question must therefore have belonged to an earlier house. That it is in its original position, and has not been brought from another building, is certain, for, in the first place, the spaces between the timbers of the central truss are filled in with upright timbers and pugging covered with plaster, so as to form a partition (Pl. XXXVII), and this would hardly have survived a removal. Moreover there is a partition of the same character, and clearly contemporary with the roof, below the tie-beam. In the second place the trusses are connected by the original wind-braces¹, and these would probably not have been so carefully refixed in a roof over butteries. Thirdly, these wind-braces shew that the trusses are at the proper distance apart, and as the latter divide the length of the building into four equal intervals, it follows that the roof must have been designed for the present building, or for one of exactly the same length.

But, in addition to the evidence afforded by its situation, the character of the roof itself points to its being earlier than the rest of the house. The central truss is ornamented with a small shield² of early form (Pl. XXXVII, fig. 2, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 7); and, though the mouldings are late in style, the method of construction is also early. A tie-beam carrying a central post and cross-beam to support the middle part of the principal rafters is characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, later roofs dispensing with the tie-beam and post, and supporting the principal rafters more directly from

¹ The rafters are carried by horizontal pieces called *purlins* (Pl. xxxvii, *P*) resting on the trusses. These purlins are strengthened by diagonal struts called *wind-braces* (*Wb*).

² It is unfortunately not charged with any arms, but is quite blank.

the walls. I was at first surprised to find late mouldings and an early method of construction employed together, but I presently discovered why the early method of construction had been adopted. There is just room to pass the hand between one of the old wall-plates and the modern ceiling, and on doing so I found that there were large mortices, or holes to receive the ends of upright timbers, at regular intervals in the wall-plate (Pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII, fig. 11), shewing that the south side at least of the building had been constructed of timber. Thus it was necessary to have a tie-beam to prevent the feet of the rafters from spreading outwards, and pushing over a slight timber-wall. But for all this the roof can hardly be later than the last half of the fifteenth century—let us say 1470.

Clearly then—from its position and richness taken together, and from its architectural character—the roof must have covered some of the best rooms of an earlier house, not improbably a house with a hall in a similar position to the present hall and with kitchens where the present sitting rooms are.

(2) To this may be added some evidence of a technical character—not as to the use, but as to the early date of the building—namely, that afforded by the gable-walls. This evidence is afforded by the irregular character of the brickwork. It is common enough to find the use of either of the two systems of bricklaying known as *English bond*¹ and *Flemish bond* accepted as evidence as to date, but I have nowhere found it observed that no system at all was followed till brickwork had been in general use for some little time, namely (in East Anglia) till about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work is quite irregular, and generally there are far too great a number of “stretchers.” It was evidently done by masons—men accustomed to work in a material too irregular to allow of a rule of thumb. This is true not only in the rarer instances of thirteenth and fourteenth century brickwork, but down to quite the close of the

¹ It may be explained that in English bond (the earlier system) one course of bricks shews only the ends (*headers*), the next only the sides (*stretchers*) and so on, while in Flemish bond every course shews sides and ends alternately.

fifteenth century. Of course the two methods—or rather the method and the want of method—overlap, according as a good or bad bricklayer was employed; and so we sometimes find irregular brickwork of a later date than a piece of good English bond. It should also be observed that in early examples of English bond, the bricklayer was easily put out by having to form a chequer pattern of blue bricks, which rather interfered with his system, and so the work, at first sight, looks like the early irregular walling; later, he was able to form this pattern without allowing it to make any material irregularity. Both the gable-walls of this wing are of this unsystematic character, and in strong contrast with the work of 1510, which is in good English bond with a chequer pattern. Also the bricks used at the two periods are of a different size.

These facts, namely, that brickwork of this description occurs alongside a piece of early brickwork in good English bond; that the roof is of an early character; and that one so ornamental covers buildings which were used early in the sixteenth century as butteries, lead me to put the date of this part of the house in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

For what use it was originally designed is a matter of pure speculation. It may have been the chapel (it runs east and west) or it may have been the hall and solar of the Large family; the partition under the middle truss forming the division—partly open—between the chancel and nave, or between the solar and hall, as the case may be. It should be mentioned that the eastern half of the roof is more richly ornamented than the western, as will be seen by comparing the drawings of the western principal and purlin (Pl. XXXVIII, figs. 8, 12) with those of the eastern principal and purlin (Ibid. figs. 10, 13).

In 1502 comes Sir John Cutte, builds his grand new place, and converts the older building into what we should call his offices, his kitchen probably occupying a position somewhat similar to that of the present one, and his buttery and pantry being to right and left of the passage leading to it, very much as they are at present, but with the doors, now blocked, opening into the

screens. Sir John, as befits a high court official, has rather advanced notions on the subject of personal comfort, and builds three rooms, besides the hall, on the ground-floor—unless the smaller one was the space occupied by the staircase—two or three bedrooms and a private chapel.

His short-lived son and grandson did little or nothing in the way of building during their long minorities, and possibly did not even finish the chapel. The staircase-tower was probably added by his great grandson, whose extravagant hospitality, however, obliged him to part with the manor. Except the rebuilding of the kitchen in about 1650, and some alterations made in 1841, there are no further architectural changes to record.

The house has suffered severely at the hands of the vandals. The panelling has been removed from the hall and all the rest of the house has been fitted up in a style suited to the taste of fifty years ago.

Mr A. P. HUMPHRY mentioned that early in the present century the panelling had been removed from Horham Hall to the House of Commons.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

(Pl. XXXVI—XXXVIII.)

PLATE I. *Ground plan.*

(Names of rooms shew their *original*, not their *present* uses. Of the dates assigned to the different parts, 1510 (approximately) and 1841 are derived from documentary evidence; the others are conjectured from the style of the buildings to which they are attributed.)

PLATE II. *Roof over south wing (Buttery and Pantry).*

Fig. 1. Centre truss, shewing part of the partition.

Fig. 2. One bay, shewing centre truss and east truss.

PLATE III. (a) *Details of roof over south wing* (Figs. 1—13); (b) *One of the recesses in the garden-wall* (Figs. 14—16).

- (a) Fig. 1. Section of capital of king post : centre truss.
 " 2. Do. do. west truss.
 " 3. Plan of king post : west truss : shewing struts (A.A.) tenoned in.
 " 4. Section of base of king post : centre truss.
 " 5. Do. do. west truss.
 " 6. Section of tie-beams.
 " 7. Elevation of shield on east side of tie-beam of centre truss.
 " 8. Section of principal rafter : west truss.
 " 9. Do. do. centre truss : shewing wind-brace (B) tenoned in.
 " 10. Do. do. : east truss.
 " 11. Section of wall-plate : shewing (C) end of tie-beam : (D) foot of principal rafter : (E) foot of common rafter : (F) top of timber framing (now removed), which formed the south side of the building.
 " 12. Section of purlin : west of centre truss.
 " 13. Do. : east of centre truss.
 (b) " 14. Plan of recess in garden wall.
 " 15. Elevation do. do.
 " 16. Section do. do.

N.B. In the details of the roof, the dotted lines shew tenons and pins.

Mr T. D. ATKINSON then made a preliminary report, illustrated by a plan, on the excavations made by Mr C. P. Allix in 1890 on the site of a Priory of Benedictine nuns at Swaffham Bulbeck, Cambridgeshire.

Mr ALLIX mentioned that some interesting ironwork and pottery had been found at Swaffham, and expressed a hope that he would be able to continue his excavations next autumn.

WEDNESDAY, *February 18th*, 1891.

Professor MIDDLETON, M.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

Ronald William Heaton, B.A., King's College.

Robert Prior, Esq., Peterhouse.

Mr J. W. Clark made the following communication :

AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY
AND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND CONVENTUAL
BUILDINGS OF BARNWELL PRIORY, CAMBRIDGE.

As the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell—with the exception of one small fragment now the property of this Society—has been wholly swept away, and the site parcelled out into building-lots, most of which are already covered with rows of dwelling-houses, there is a danger that the very existence of what was once a large and opulent monastery should be forgotten. I am therefore anxious to gather together the records of its Architectural History, and by the help of the ground-plans of other houses of the same Order, to suggest what may have been the style and extent of the church and buildings. I must, however, admit, at the outset, that the materials are extremely scanty; and I am afraid that I shall incur the charge of having drawn somewhat largely upon my imagination.

The principal authority for the history of Barnwell is a manuscript volume in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 3601), usually referred to as "The Barnwell Cartulary," or "The Barnwell Register."¹ The author's own title, however, "Liber Memo-

¹ A free translation of a considerable portion of this work forms the foundation of Nichols' *History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey*, 4to. London, 1786. His work was used by Mr Marmaduke Prickett for his *Some Account of Barnwell Priory*, 8vo. Cambridge, 1837, who, by a strange blunder, states that the original MS is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The MS there preserved relates solely to the Manor of Chesterton. In its present state it begins in the sixth year of Edward I. (1277—78),

randorum ecclesie de Barnwell," is far more appropriate, for the contents are by no means confined to documents relating to the property of the house, nor is it a register of daily or yearly events. It contains a short account of the foundation of the house; biographical notices of the early Priors; a list of the different pieces of property, with their yearly values; some particulars relating to the kings of England; extracts from the statutes of the realm; and miscellanea likely to be useful for reference. These matters are roughly sorted into seven books, prefaced by an excellent table of contents and a calendar. The eighth book—which, so far as I know, has hitherto passed unnoticed—contains a *Consuetudinarium*, or Book of Observances, of the Order.

The whole MS. is written in a large, uniform, and very clear hand. Internal evidence enables us to assign an exact date to it. The list of the rents, tenants, etc., given in Book VII. is dated 1295. Again, in the life of Edward I. (fol. 21 *b*), the last event recorded is the Welsh war, ending with the surrender of Madoe (May, 1295). After this two-thirds of a page are left blank. Further on (fol. 90 *a*) the arrival of two papal legates is recorded *anno domini M^o.CC^o. nonagesimo quinto*; and finally, on the next leaf (fol. 91 *a*) the capture of John of Baliol (8 July, 1296). This was originally succeeded by three blank leaves, now occupied by documents in a later hand. We may conclude therefore that the work was begun in 1295, and completed in July or August, 1296. The writer of the MS. was evidently not the author, for there are numerous clerical errors—words omitted in the text and inserted in the margin—words written

and then proceeds regularly to the thirty-fifth year (1306—7), at the end of which we read: "Explicit annus xxxv^o R. E. filⁱ Regis Henrici. Et sic explicit omnes gersume facte in Curia de Cestreton per singulos annos Regni ipsius Regis Edwardi predicti a primo videlicet vsque ad vltimum." On the next page is the heading: "De Anno R. Regis E. filⁱ R. E. primo. [1 Edward II. 1307—8]. Hic incipiunt gersume et fines terrarum omnium tenencium Prioris de Bernewell in Cestreton de toto tempore Edwardi filⁱ R. Edwardi extracto (*sic*) a rotulis Curie videlicet a primo anno vsque ad xx^o. annum eiusdem [1326—27]." The whole MS ends in the forty-fourth year of Edward III. (1370—71).

twice—and occasionally curious misspellings, as though the scribe did not understand Latin or only imperfectly. The author, on the contrary, was a learned and cultivated person, who wrote a good style, and was well acquainted with classical Latin.

For my present purpose I shall quote those passages only that throw light on the history of the site and buildings.

In the year 1092¹, Picot, the Norman sheriff of Cambridge-shire, and Hugolina his wife, in fulfilment of a joint vow made when her life was despaired of, built a church close to the castle in honor of S. Giles, together with buildings sufficiently extensive for that period, and soon after established therein six canons regular, over whom they placed Canon Geoffrey of Huntingdon, a man of great piety². Some vestiges of this small house were still extant in Leland's time³.

Before this congregation had been thoroughly established, Picot and Hugolina died, committing their foundation to the charge of their son Robert. He, however, being implicated in a conspiracy against Henry I., fled the country, and the house was reduced to poverty. In this extremity, one Pain Peverel, who had been standard-bearer to Robert Curthose in the Holy Land, and who had received the confiscated estates of Picot's son Robert, declared that as he had become Picot's heir, so he would succeed him in the care of his foundation. By his energy the canons were translated to Barnwell. This transaction is related as follows :

Perceiving that the site on which their house stood was not sufficiently large for all the buildings needful to his canons, and was devoid of any spring of fresh water, Pain Peverel besought king Henry to give him a

¹ Book I. Chap. 18. Ad ecclesiam sancti Egidii de Cantebrig' vt predictum est Picotus vicecomes canonicos fundavit anno domini .m. nonagesimo secundo.

² Ibid. Chap. 4. Ecclesiam in honore beati Egidii et officinas satis eo tempore competentes Cantebrigie iuxta castrum construxerunt et sex canonicis regularibus illic in breui adunatis ad eorum curam gerendam Galfridum de Hunte done canonicum magne religionis uirum prefece- runt.

³ *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, iii. 14. Extantque adhuc veteris cœnobioli aliquot vestigia.

certain site beyond the Borough of Cambridge, extending from the highway to the river, and sufficiently agreeable from the pleasantness of its position. Besides, from the midst of that site there bubbled forth springs of clear fresh water, called at that time in English Barnewelle, the children's springs—because once a year, on S. John Baptist's Eve, boys and lads met there, and amused themselves in the English fashion with wrestling matches and other games, and applauded each other in singing songs and playing on musical instruments. Hence, by reason of the crowd of boys and girls who met and played there, a habit grew up that on the same day a crowd of buyers and sellers should meet in the same place to do business. There too a man of great sanctity called Godesone used to lead a solitary life, in a small wooden oratory that he had built in honour of S. Andrew. He had died a short time before, leaving the place without any habitation on it, and his oratory without a keeper¹.

King Henry I. granted to Peverel thirteen acres of land round the above-mentioned springs; and, when the proper legal instruments had been obtained, the canons were removed from S. Giles's Church, where they had lived for twenty years, and established at Barnwell, "on a site far more convenient for them." This took place in 1112. Peverel at once set about building "a church of wonderful beauty and massive work, in honour of S. Giles²." To this church he gave "vestments, ornaments, and relics of undoubted authenticity which he had brought back from Palestine³;" but, before he could carry out his intentions of completing it, and of raising the number of canons to thirty, he died in London of a fever, "barely ten years after the translation of the canons. His body was brought to Barnwell, and buried in a becoming manner on the north side of the high altar⁴."

¹ Book I. Chap. 9.

² Ibid. Chap. 18. *Ad predictum locum de Bernwelle memoratus uir egregius Paganus canonicos regulares...a primo fundacionis loco postquam ibi steterant per viginti annos transtulit et translatos in predicto loco de Bernewelle multo magis eis oportuno cum gaudio magno collocauit anno domini .M^o. C^o. xij^o. Ecclesiamque mire pulchritudinis et ponderosi operis in honore beati Egidii ibidem inchoauit.*

³ Ibid. Chap. 19.

⁴ Ibid. Chap. 20. *Verumptamen antequam propositum suum de triginta canonicis constituendis complisset, uel sufficientem sustentacionem eis prouidisset, a translacione canonicorum decennio nondum decurso London*

Meanwhile Prior Geoffrey had also died. The precise date is not recorded. We are merely told that :

He ruled the church for twenty years, and after the removal to Barnwell died old and full of days in great sanctity, and was buried in the entry leading to the chapel of S. Mary, in front of the tomb which now belongs to Prior Laurence¹.

Prior Geoffrey—whose death may be placed in 1112²—was succeeded by Prior Gerard.

In his days many buildings were erected, lands were bought, and by the help of Pain Peverel work on the church was carried vigorously forward. It was begun of wondrous dimensions, and, as is said, was to have extended itself as far as the high road. Moreover he built the dormer. But, after Pain Peverel's death, William Peverel his son was not so eager for the building of the church as his father had been, but went to the Holy Land, and presently died there. And so the church remained unfinished during the whole period of Prior Gerard, and Richard Norel, and Hugh Domesman, his successors³.

Hugh Domesman, fourth Prior, the last of the three above-mentioned Priors, died in 1175. He was succeeded by Canon Robert, fifth Prior, "a man of unheard-of strictness and austerity." He ruled the convent for thirty-three years, finished the church, and got it consecrated.

He associated with himself in the construction of the buildings and the church a distinguished soldier named Everard de Beche, a man to be respected, and in all things to be commended, by whose advice and assist-

febre correptus migrauit ad dominum Bernewellamque delatus in aquilonari parte magni altaris decenter est collocatus.

¹ Book i. Chap. 39. *Ecclesiam rexit per .xx. annos. Et post eorum translacionem usque ad Bernewelle senex et plenus dierum obiit in magna sanctitate et in introitu erga capellam beate marie sepultus est coram tumba que nunc est Laurencii Prioris.*

² The dates to be assigned to the different Priors have been discussed in the Appendix, p. 247.

³ Chap. 40. *In diebus eius fiebant officine multe, terre adquisite, et uiriliter operabatur super Ecclesiam, que erat incepta mire magnitudinis, et ut dicitur se extendebat vsque ad magnam plateam, per auxilium Pagani Peuerel, et fecit dormitorium. Set mortuo Pagano Peuerel, Willelmus Peuerel filius eius non ita feruens erat ad ipsius ecclesie erectionem sicut pater eius, set in terram sanctam proficiscens cito sublatus est de medio. Sicque remansit ipsa ecclesia infecta toto tempore Gerardi prioris et Ricardi Norel et Hugonis Domesman successorum suorum.*

ance he pulled down to the foundations the church which had been nobly commenced of wondrous dimensions and massive work by that noble person Pain Peverel aforesaid, and completed another of more suitable character. When completed he got it consecrated, and when consecrated he embellished it with many ornaments....

When thirty-three years had elapsed, of his own free will, contrary to the wishes of the brethren, he resigned his office. He lived happily afterwards for three years and three months, and then, the brethren standing in his presence and praying, he slept with his fathers. He was buried in the church which he had built in front of the great rood. Everard de Beche, his fellow-worker in the completing of the church, was buried on the south side, opposite to the tomb of Pain Peverel¹.

The church, as thus completed, was consecrated by William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, in honour of S. Giles and S. Andrew, 21 April, 1190²; the name of S. Andrew being added, we may conclude, to commemorate the departed hermit.

William of Devon, sixth Prior, died on Saturday, 25 May, 1213. "He was buried in the cloister near the door of the church on the west side of the door³."

His successor, William of Bedford, seventh Prior, lived for only a few days after his election, and was "buried in the chapter-house, on the north side⁴."

¹ Chap. 43. Hic uero uirum uenerandum et per omnia commendandum militem egregium Euerardum de Beche ad officinarum et ecclesie constructionem sibi associans et eius consilio et auxilio vtens Ecclesiam mire magnitudinis et ponderosi operis a iamdicto Pagano egregio uiro egregie inchoatam funditus euertit, aliamque decenciolem compleuit, completam dedicari fecit, dedicatam multis ornamentis decorauit.... Post decursum triginta trium annorum inuitis fratribus et reclamantibus sponte et pure illud resignauit; qui postea tribus annis et tribus mensibus feliciter uiuens coram positus fratribus et orantibus dormiuit cum patribus suis. Et sepultus est in ecclesia quam fecit coram magna cruce. Euerardus autem de Beche eius coadiutor ad perficiend' ipsam ecclesiam sepultus est a parte australi ex opposito sepulcri Pagani Peuerel.

² Book iv. fol. 85. Willelmus de Longo Campo Episcopus Elyensis anno ab incarnatione domini .M. C. XC. primo dedicauit ecclesiam conuentualem de Bernewelle in honore sancti Andree et sancti Egydii in octauis pasche .xj. kal. maii, et concessit .xl. dies indulgentie.

³ Book i. Chap. 44. Sepultus est in claustro iuxta hostium ecclesie in parte occidentali. Chap. 45. Mortuo autem Willelmo Deuoniensi .vij. kal. Junii die sabbati proxima post ascensionem domini anno supradicto [etc].

⁴ Ibid. Chap. 45. Sepultus est in capitulo ex parte aquilonari.

Richard de Burgh, eighth Prior, held office for an equally short time, and was buried in the same place.

Laurence of Stanesfeld, ninth Prior, held office for 38 years (1213—1251).

He built the frater and the farmery, the great guest hall, the granary, the bakehouse and brewhouse, the stable for horses, the inner and outer gate house, and the walls of the new work almost to the top. He finished the chapel of S. Edmund and covered it with lead.... He was buried with due honour on the right as you enter the chapel of S. Mary, and was covered with a marble slab bearing a lamb¹.

John de Fontibus, Bishop of Ely, consecrated the chapel of the infirmary in honour of S. Peter, 2 October, 1222, and the chapel of S. Mary in honour of S. Mary and S. Edmund, 21 January, 1229².

Henry of Eye, tenth Prior (1251—1254), "was buried in the great church between two piers, in front of the lesser rood³."

Jolanus of Thorley, eleventh Prior (1254—1266)

built a handsome chamber and a chapel for himself, and rebuilt the west pane of the cloister. He would have accomplished more important works, had not the war before the battle of Lewes brought great trouble upon him, etc.

He resigned his office, but continued to reside in the convent, and prosecuted his building-works:

After his resignation he completed the greater part of the chapter-house, and two panes of the cloister.... He was buried in the church in front of the altar of S. Thomas, martyr⁴.

¹ Book i. Chap. 47. Fecit refectorium et infirmariam et magnam aulam hospitem granarium pistrinum et bracinum stabulum equorum januam interiorem et exteriorem et muros noui operis fere usque ad summum. Capellam sancti Eadmundi perfecit et ipsam plumbo cooperuit.... Obiit autem iste Laurencius bone memorie senex et plenus dierum et sepultus est honorifice a dextris ad introitum capelle beate Marie et coopertus lapide marmoreo cum agno anno videlicet Prioratus sui .xxxviii^o.

² Book iv. fol. 85.

³ Book i. Chap. 48. Sepultus est in magna ecclesia inter duas columnas coram cruce minore.

⁴ Ibid. Chap. 49. Cameram pulchram et capellam sibi edificauit, et panellum claustris versus occidentem de nouo construxit, et maiora quidem fecisset set superueniens guerra ante bellum de Lewes magna dampna ei intulit.... Post resignacionem perfecit maiorem partem capituli et duos panellos claustris.... Sepultus est in ecclesia coram altari sancti Thome martiris.

In the time of Simon de Ascellis, twelfth Prior (1266—1297), a serious fire took place in the church, which is thus described :

In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1287, on the day of S. Blaise, Bishop [3 February], after sun-set, whilst the canons were singing compline, a violent storm arose, and a terrible bolt struck the upper part of the cross which stood on the summit of the tower. Instantly flames burst forth from it so fiercely that sparks as big as golden apples fell into the middle of the quire, to the great dismay of the canons. After compline, however, the canons came outside, and saw sparks flying from the upper part of the cross. Thereupon several canons and laymen ascended to the top of the tower on the inside, and found nothing wrong there, because the fire was above the cross on the outside. So they came down, and said that there was no cause for alarm. The fire, however, kept continually making its way downwards, consuming the cross as far as the neck, in which it burnt for a long while without shewing on the outside, so that the brethren took heart a little, and thought that the fire had gone out. But when the neck had been burnt, the iron which carried the vane fell down together with the cross, and then there flew out with terrible violence fiery sparks like arrows, and melted lead like flakes of snow, and burnt the houses of our neighbours, first the more distant, afterwards those nearer to us. The wind meanwhile was so violent and so cold that no one could help either himself or others. The fire too kept on raging, and burnt all that night and through the next day till sunset. From the tower the fire fell upon the quire, and consumed it. God knows what losses we then sustained in respect of stone-work broken, of the clock, of lead, of windows, of bells cracked, of damage done to our neighbours, and of expenses incurred in repairing everything¹.

This fire is commemorated in the Dunstaple Chronicle under the year 1287 :

In the same year the very noble tower of Barnwell was struck by lightning, and all the woodwork in it consumed².

After the fire "divine service was celebrated in the chapel of S. Mary, which had been dedicated before...for a whole year and more, up to the day of reconciliation, which took place on the 6th of March³." The chronicler then proceeds to relate a

¹ Book iv. fol. 84.

² *Chron. Dunstaple*, ed. Hearne, p. 550. Eodem anno, quicquid lignearum fabricarum in nobilissima turri de Bernewelle fuerat, ictu fulguris est combusta.

³ Book iv. fol. 84 b. Post incendium conuenerunt fratres ad faciendum obsequium diuinum in capella beate marie que prius erat dedicata... per totum annum integrum et supra [etc.].

quarrel between John de Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, and Prior Symon as to whether the church should be reconciled, or whether a new consecration was required, in which the Bishop lost his temper, and used very unepiscopal language.

While the dignitaries were thus engaged,

“the sacrist, Robert de Hokiton, bestirred himself, and set to work like a man to get the church repaired, which he finished in about two years by great painstaking.”

Finally the Bishop was mollified, and on the first Sunday in Lent, 6 March, 1288, came to Barnwell

“and reconciled the church with great solemnity. He went thrice round the church on the outside and thrice on the inside, sprinkled the walls and the foreheads of bystanders copiously with holy water mixed with wine and ashes, and celebrated High Mass at the altar of S. Giles¹.... [Prior Symon] resigned his office into the hands of the Bishop of Ely about the feast of S. John Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1297. He died before the same year was fully complete, namely on the eighth day after the dedication of our church, and was buried in the pavement before the altar of S. Katerine².”

This terminates the list of passages that deal with building-operations, and, as the component parts of a monastery have all been mentioned, it may be taken for granted that the house was now complete. It will therefore be useful, before proceeding farther, to take note of the buildings mentioned, and of their dates. These fall very conveniently into three periods.

¹ Book iv. fol. 85. *Interea sacrista qui tunc temporis erat nomine Robertus de Hokitone multum anelabat et uiriliter laborabat circa reparacionem ecclesie et consumauit fere infra biennium cum sollicitudine magna.... Postea episcopus uenit pacificus et ecclesiam reconciliauit cum magna sollempnitate, aquam benedictam cum uino et cinere ter ecclesiam circuiens interius et ter exterius large dedit in parietibus et populo circumstanti largissime in frontibus, et missam celebrauit ad magnum altare de Sancto Egidio.... Facta est hec reconciliacio dominica prima quadragesime pridie nonas marcii anno domini m°. cc°. lxxx°. octauo.*

² Book i. Chap. 50. Part of a passage added in a different hand. “Resignauit prioratum suum in manus Episcopi Elyensis, circa festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno domini m°. cc°. nonagesimo septimo. Et obiit eodem anno nondum reuoluto uidelicet octauo die dedicacionis ecclesie nostre et sepultus in pauimento coram altari sancte katerine.” In the Calendar prefixed to the MS the “Dedicacio ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle” was kept “xj kal maii (21 April)”; and the “Oct’ dedicacionis” was kept “iiij kal maii (28 April).”

I. 1112—1175.

Pain Peverel begins the church in 1112 on a grand scale, and of massive construction. These words, as well as the date, indicate a Norman style. The first work undertaken was, apparently, the lady chapel, for in 1113 or 1114 Prior Geoffrey is buried "in the entry leading to the chapel of S. Mary." In 1122, when Pain Peverel dies, he is buried "on the north side of the high altar," which shews that the eastern part of the church must have been built by that time. Up to this date—10 years from the foundation—the church had been carried vigorously forward—but after Peverel's death little or nothing appears to have been done, and the building remained unfinished until work was resumed on a grand scale in 1175.

II. 1175—1208.

The munificence of Everard de Beche having supplied funds, Prior Robert completed the church, which was consecrated in 1191. In the course of the work a great change was introduced; but I feel bound to suggest that the words *ecclesiam inchoatam funditus evertit*, which I have translated "pulled down to the foundations the church which had been commenced," may merely refer to the nave, which was often called *ecclesia*, for it is neither probable, nor in accordance with medieval practice, that the entire building should have been destroyed, altar, tombs, and all. In favour of this view it may be urged that the vast size of the church, as originally planned, "which would have extended," we are told, "as far as the high-road," would render such alteration necessary. Moreover the *ponderosum opus* executed by Pain Peverel (1112—1122) had gone out of fashion long before the end of the century. Further, the completion of the nave during this period is proved by the notice of Prior Robert's burial in 1211 "in front of the great rood," which of course stood on the rood-loft in the nave.

We may assume that Prior Robert's work, having gone on continuously for 26 years, would be carried out on a uniform plan; and the dates shew that it would be in the Early English style.

III. 1213—1265.

In the two previous periods we hear of little else than the church. It is indeed recorded of Prior Gerard that he built the dorter; and the burials of William of Devon (sixth Prior) and of William of Bedford (seventh Prior) indicate respectively the existence of a cloister and a chapter-house. Now, however, the conventual buildings are taken in hand. Between 1213 and 1251 Prior Laurence builds, or rebuilds, the frater, the farmery, the guest hall, the granary, the bakehouse, the stable, the inner and outer gatehouse, and the chapel of S. Edmund, which probably adjoined the church. We read also of "a new work," but the chronicler is provokingly silent as to its destination. Lastly, between 1254 and 1265, the Prior's chamber and chapel are built, three sides of the cloister are rebuilt, and "the greater part of the chapter-house" is completed.

The pieces of history that remain to be collected will not detain us long.

The Inventory of the house, taken in 1538 under the direction of Drs Thomas Legh and William Cavendish, the King's Commissioners for the dissolution, has lately been printed¹. This document is so interesting for my purpose that I make no apology for reprinting it here, omitting only a few passages that have no reference to the buildings.

Herafter foloweth all suche parcelles of Implementes or houshold stuffe, Corne, Catell, ornamentes of the Churche, and suche otherlyke found wythin late monastery at tyme of the dissolucion therof, sould by vs the seid commissionors to John Lacy, fermor ther, the vij day of October in the xxx yere of our soueraigne lorde King Henry the viijth.

The Churche. Fyrst at the hygh alter ij images of wood, ij lampes of laten, j sacryngbell, ij great candlestykes of laten, j payr of orgaynis, sould for xxvi s. viii d. Item iiij grates of ieron in the same quere, j ould clocke and the stales in the quere ar sould for vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. Item at Seint Johns alter j table of alebaster and the particion of tymber sould for v s. Item in Seint Thomas Chapell certein ould images of alebaster and the particion of wood sould for ij s. iiij d.

¹ *Archæologia*, Vol. XLIII. p. 224. I have collated the transcript there printed with the original in the Public Record Office.

Item in Seint Nicholas Chapell j table of alebaster and the particion of tymber sould for ij s. Item in our Lady Chaple j table of alebaster, j image of our Lady, ij braunches of ieron, ij litell candlestykes of latten, j lytell ould chest, j lytell galery of tymber, and the particion of tymber, and ij tumbes of marble sould for liij s. iiij d. Item at Seint Kateryn's alter one table of alebaster, ij imagis, j grate of ieron, ij laumpes of latten sould for iij s. iiij d. Item in the lytell Chapell of our Lady j table of alebaster and the alter of woode sould for xii d. Item the glasse, ieron, pauement of the church and chapelles, and the roffe of our Lady's Chapell sould for vj li. x s.

[Total] xvj li. xjs. iiij d.

The Cloyster. Item ther the Roffe and certein ould seates j lytell ould lauer of brasse the pauement and certein ieron in the new wall sould for xls. Item j lauer of laye mettell whyche as yett Rem'

The Chapter House. Item the roffe, glasse, ieron, and pauement ar sould for lxxvj s. viij d.

The Vestrye. Item j sute of grene baudkyn and j cope to the same; j sute of redd baudkyn and j cope to the same; j sute of blue baudkyn and j cope to the same; j sute of sylke wyth lyons and a cope to the same; j sute of counterfett baudkyn; copes of dyuerse sortes; ij ould single vestmentes; v frunttes for alters; j crosse of copper; j holywater stoke of brasse and j sprynkull; ij ould alter clothes; j sencer of latten; j shypp; j stander of ieron to sett a fier pann in; ij chestes and the tryangle for the same ornamentes to be hengyd in and ij latten candlestykes sould for iiij li. xvij d.

The Frater. Item ther vij tabulles j particion of woode the roffe glasse ieron and pauement ar sould for vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

The Buttery. Item v hogghesheddes j ould tubbe j bread huche j stalle to ley drynke on and a particion of wode, sould for xij d.

The Kychen. Item j great braspott in a furneshe ij brasptotes iiij brasspannes iij ketulles ij rakes of ieron j beme of ieron iij hokes vi spyttes one grydyron j colender j ladull and a skomer of brasse xiiij platters vj dysshes vj saucers j skaldynglead in a furnessh and a sestiron, sould for l s.

The Brue House. Item ij bruing leades j lytell brasspanne in a furneshe j mashfatt and a kymnell, sould for iiij li.

The Bake Howse. Item j mouldyngborde and iij knedyng troffes sould for xvj s.

The Halle. Item j table and certein ould hengynges, sould for ij s.

The Perlore. Item j pece of ould hengynges or grene saye j form ij anndirons, s(ould) f(or) ij s. viij d.

The Inner Chamber. Item j tester, j bedstedd, iiij tableclothes, ij towelles, iiij candlestykes; and iiij napkyns, sould for iij s. iiij d.

The High Chamber. Item sould to Doctor Legh j fetherbedd j boulster

j pyllow j blankett j couerlett of ould baudkyn j tester of ould baudkyn and courteins of sarsnet j table ij chayres j ould carpett and j forme xls.

Roffes soude to Mr. Doctor Legh. Item the roffe of the ould Hall with the tyllles ther vpon, are sould to Doctor Legh for . . . liij s. iiij d.

Item the tyllles and roffe of the lytell kyche ar sould for the summe of xx s.

The Dorter. Item the chanons celles, the roffes and the jakes of the dorter, sould for c s.

Shetes soude. Item ij lynyon payr of shetes sould for ij s.

Roffes sould. Item to Mr Doctor Legh sould ther the roffes of the high chamber and the floer of the nether chamber, with ij wyndowes, glasse and ieron x li.

The summe total of all the guddes sould late apperteyning to the seid late priory lxi li. xv s. ij d.

Certain guddes or stufte latte apperteyning to the seid priory :

Gylte Plate. Item one salte and ij chaleses gylte, weyeng xxxij oz.

Whyte Plate. Item iij spones whyte, wayen iij oz.

Lead remayneng vnsould. Item ther ys estemed to be six fotheres of lead at the fother. [nothing set down]

Belles rem' vnsould. Item vi belles wayeng xxv^o at the C whych amounteth to [do.]

Md. Ther remayneth all the housys edyfyed vpon the scite of the seid late monastery, the glasse, ieron, and pauement of the churche and chapelles, wyth the roffe of our Lady Chapell; the roffe and pauement of the cloyster, certain ieron in the newe wall, the roffe, glasse, ieron, and pauyng of the chapterhouse, the roffe, glasse, ieron, and pauement of the Frater, the roffe of the dorter, the roffe of the ould hall and tyllles ther vpon, the roffe of the lytell kyche and tyllles ther vpon, the roffe of the hygh chamber, the roffe of the nether chamber vnder the same, with ij wyndowes, glasse and ieron sould and only excepted.

In 1578 the ruins were being used as a quarry. When the new chapel of Corpus Christi College was being built "Mr Wendy sent 182 loads [of stone] from Barnwell Priory, besides what the Collegé tenants at Landbeach and Wilbraham could bring in two days with their teams from the same place¹."

Notwithstanding this organised destruction a considerable portion of the abbey was still standing at the beginning of this century; but between the years 1810 and 1812 a general digging up of the foundations took place, and the whole site

¹ Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, etc. i. 290.

was levelled. A valuable description of the remains, as they appeared just before this final destruction, was drawn up in 1812 by Mr John Bowtell.

“A.D. 1540 there were found in the priory six bells which weighed 25^{ct}. and the materials of the church were then valued at £61. 15. 2.

The tower in which those bells were hung, adorned (it seems) the intersection of the transepts.

Ever since that time, the monastery has been destroyed by piecemeal, and the spoils occasionally applied in the erection of different buildings thereabouts.

Scanty, however, as the remains of the priory were in the year 1810, there was enough left to prove it a work of great magnitude; and vestiges of ancient magnificence were then traceable in sundry parts of its walls:—by these remains, and the help of the prominent soil under which the stone foundations lay, the annexed ground-plan was taken.

The interior of the north aisle, or cloister, till the year 1810 exhibited a range of ornamental pilasters, from which sprang the groins or vaulting of the roof, all of stone, as are the other roofs that now remain in different parts of the convent: roofs of timber not having come into use till about the reign of King Edward the Third.

Within the walls of the priory some years ago there was dug up a squared pavement of freestone, supposed to have been the floor of a cloister, and which was used by the tenant, Mr Bullen, to pave the hall of the manorial house.

Fragments of indented gravestones that had been richly embellished (*sic*) with brass plates were lying in the cemetery as late as the month of April, 1812: a mutilated stone had represented at each corner one of the Evangelists with the symbolical animal as ascribed to him by the prophet Ezekiel, Chap. i. v. 10.

That is to say ye image of the	{	Man for St. Matthew Lion for St. Mark Calf for St. Luke Eagle for St. John
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At this time, 1812, I believe only two of these fragments are to be found.

In the years 1810—1812, when the ancient foundations belonging to this fabric were dug up, and part of the remaining walls ransacked in view of procuring building materials, the whole site of the priory was covered with fragments of octagonal stone-pillars of various dimensions, and slender round columns of green marble, mingled with pilasters and other architectural ornaments which had decorated the several structures that constituted this spacious monastery.

In one of the capitals was sculptured a Syren, whose figure is often found in buildings erected about the time of the Norman Conquest¹.

In the year 1229, on St Agnes' Day (12th Kal. Jan.), the chapel of St Mary was consecrated in honour of the blessed Virgin and St Edmund king and martyr: an indulgence of 40 days being granted, the mass of dedication was annually celebrated in the chapel on St Agnes' day, and also the mass of the martyr, yearly on St Edmund's day (12th Kal. Dec.).

'Tis probable that this was the chapel, the side walls of which remained till the year 1811, being then 36 feet nearly square, with conveniences in them for administering the usual ceremonies of the catholic church: the roof entirely gone.

The entrance to it was on the south side, through a pointed arch doorway, four feet wide, and to which the priory had a direct communication.

About the middle of the west side was a triangular recess, the back thereof had a stone circular projection beyond the face of the wall.

On each side of this recess, a little elevated, was a narrow window, 4 feet 4 inches long, and 8 inches wide, each having a trefoil head.

On the north side there was another window, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, evidently more modern, being separated in the middle by a mullion, an architectural (*sic*) innovation about the year 1330, and scraps of glass were found there rebated into the stone; a practice that was continued until towards the end of that century, when the method of setting windows in grooves was first adopted².

Unfortunately the plan mentioned by Mr Bowtell does not now exist. In fact, as he died in 1813 (1 December), not long after he had written the above description, it is doubtful whether it was ever executed.

In 1886 the Barnwell Priory estate was bought by Mr J. Sturton, who generously presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society the building which forms the solitary remain of the house. A subscription³ was set on foot, by means of which, together with a considerable outlay from its own funds, the Society was enabled to put the building, then in a very ruinous condition, into a state of security.

I now propose to attempt to shew the probable arrangement of the buildings of which we have been tracing the

¹ MSS. Bowtell, in the library of Downing College, Cambridge. From the volume lettered *St Andrew the Less. Commonly called Barnwell.*

² *Ibid.*

³ The names of the subscribers, with the sums contributed, are printed in the Appendix to this paper, No. II.

history. But, as this must be in the main conjectural, it will be best to begin by a detailed account of the above fragment. Of this I am able to show a ground plan (Pl. xxxix) and three elevations (Pl. xl), made for me by my friend Mr T. D. Atkinson, who has also furnished the following architectural description.

Plate xxxix shews the ground plan of the building in its present state, except that the brick and stone filling up the west windows has been omitted, and that the building is shewn as absolutely rectangular, whereas, actually, it is somewhat irregular, as will be seen by the figured dimensions of the diagonals. Further, the arrow shewing the points of the compass is only approximately correct.

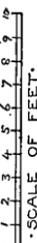
In Plate xl (figs. 1, 3) the vaulting is indicated by a single line only, for the sake of clearness. For the same reason a buttress at the N.W. angle, similar to one at the N.E. angle, and the filling-in of the lancet at the N.E. angle, are omitted. The floor, shewn by shading, is approximately at the original level. The present floor-level is slightly higher.

To judge by the style, the building dates from the first half of the 13th century. The walls are of rubble clunch, but all the dressings are of Barnack stone, with the exception of the 15th century door in the east wall, which is of clunch. These dressings are of excellent workmanship, with joints one eighth of an inch thick. The vaulting, both ribs and spandrils, is entirely of clunch, except the springers, which are of Barnack stone.

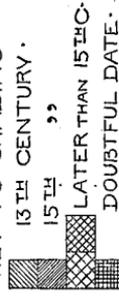
The building at present forms a single room, but a portion was originally divided off by a wall—shewn by dotted lines on the plan (Pl. xxxix)—perhaps not carried up to the vaulting, though the height is uncertain. The existence of this partition is indicated on the north wall by the ragged angle of the recess (Pl. xl, fig. 1), and by the following slight indications of the way in which the two walls were bonded together. A plumb-line on the north wall about 1 ft. 9 in. to the left of the recess coincides in alternate courses with upright joints, and with faint upright chisel-marks. The latter were to guide the mason in setting the work, and the joints were between work flush with the north wall and stones projecting into the partition. When the partition was removed, the ends of these were left in, and dressed flush with the face of the wall, though not by so careful a workman as the original builder, as is shewn by the character

BARNWELL PRIORY.

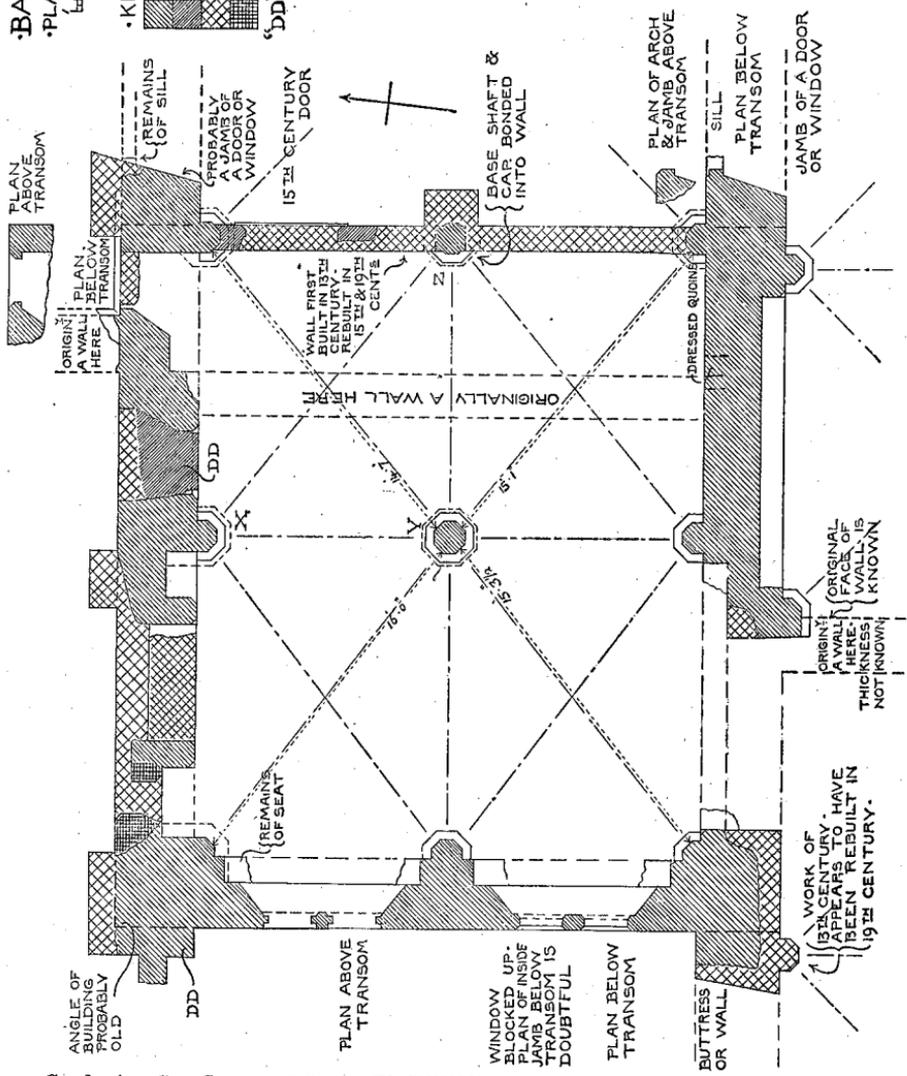
PLAN OF REMAINS. 1891.



KEY TO SHADING.



'DD' MEANS " " " "



Camb. Ant Soc. Proc. and Comm. Pl. XXXIX.

BARNWELL PRIORY

FIG 1.

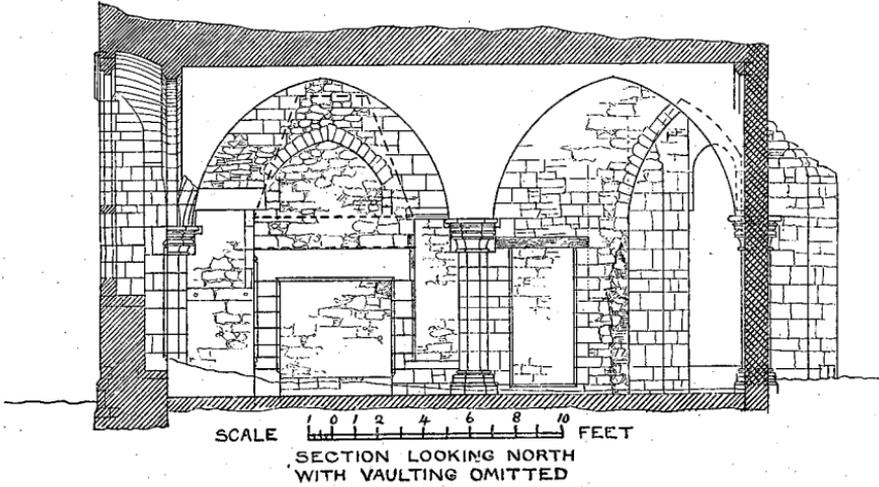


FIG 2.

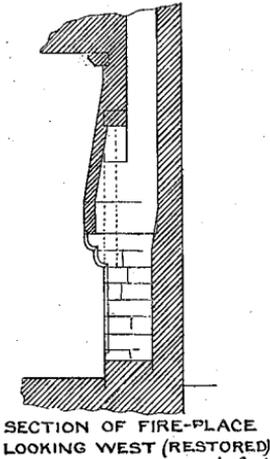
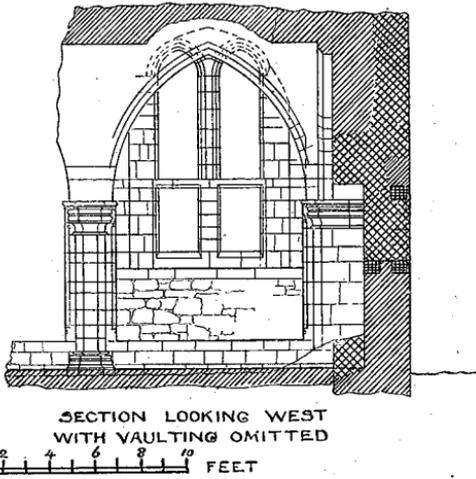


FIG 3.

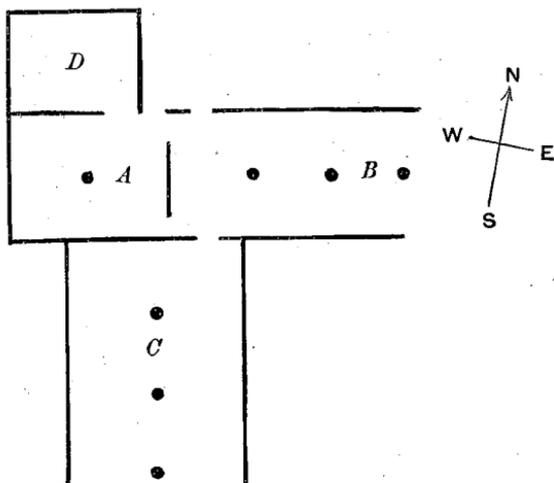


of the tooling. The amount of care expended shews, however, that the partition was probably removed before the Dissolution of the Priory. In the south wall, at the other end of the partition, there are bond-stones of a similar character, but not worked with so much regularity. It is not improbable that this partition was removed soon after the building was finished, for the east wall shews a similar change of mind on the part of the builders. It may be guessed that the progress of the work was somewhat as follows.

The intention being from the first that the room should be vaulted, shafts and arched ribs were built up with the wall. The building would then be roofed, and the vaulting done at leisure. Up to this time it was intended to make the room extend from the partition-wall further to the east. This is proved by the shafts in the north-east and south-east angles being complete, having no bond with the east wall, and the mouldings of their caps and bases being buried in it. But, when the vaulting was begun, it was decided that the room should be ended by the present east wall. The third shaft (Pl. xxxix, *Z*) was therefore built up with, and bonded into it. Here the mouldings of the cap and base stop on the stones on which they are worked, flush with the surface of the wall. The central shaft (Ibid. *Y*) was built at the same time. An interesting indication of the growth of art at that period is to be found in the greater refinement of the mouldings which the delay in building these two shafts produced. It was now, very probably, that the original partition was pulled down. A modern buttress unfortunately prevents us from discovering if there is a similar shaft on the other side of the wall, and, as a consequence, if the vaulting originally contemplated for the adjoining room was carried out after this change of plan had been effected. A doorway with a four-centered arch was made in this wall in the 15th century, but, whether or not it replaced an earlier one, we cannot say. Though the wall is now, to all intents and purposes, modern, it is probable that it has never been entirely destroyed and rebuilt, but has been patched bit by bit, and strengthened by bands of brickwork alternating with the courses of stone.

It will be well to notice the adjoining rooms, and their communications with the one which remains, before describing the latter in detail. These points will be made clearer by the accompanying block-plan of the rooms mentioned. The room to the east, already mentioned (*B*), had in its north and south walls two openings, of

each of which one jamb remains. To the south there are remains of another vaulted room (*C*), which probably ended, towards the west, at the wall shewn on the plan (Pl. xxxix) of which there are clear indications. There is indeed another vaulting-shaft, at the south-west corner of the building, but this is obviously modern work—old materials piled up by a bungling restorer in a line with the other columns. The capital is at a lower level than the others, the beds of the masonry are more than an inch thick, and the base does not belong to the shaft. Remembering how, in medieval times, buildings were arranged in long narrow ranges, not in square masses, it is probable that, as the main axis of the remaining building ran east



and west, that of the adjoining one (*C*) ran north and south. It has been suggested that this latter may have been part of a cloister, but, if that had been the case, the opening into the room north of it (*B*) would probably have had its recess towards the room, and its door towards the cloister. Of the room to the north (*D*) the position of the east wall is known; the west wall was probably in a straight line with the west wall of the remaining room (*A*), and the two rooms communicated with each other by a door and a hatch (Pls. xxxix, xl, fig. 1). The date of the hatch is doubtful. I believe it to be of original work, as it is of exactly the same character as the rest of the work of the 13th century, though even in the small

amount left of it, two stones shew signs of having been used before. That the opening at the east end of the north wall of room *A* did not lead into another room, but into the open air, is proved by the existence of a chamfered plinth on the external surface of the walls forming the angle. There is also a plinth on the west side, of a more elaborate character. The lowest set-off is chamfered; above this is a course of plain ashlar, succeeded by a moulded set-off. On this plinth is laid another course of ashlar flush with the rubble walling immediately above it. None of these courses are horizontal, but slope regularly downwards towards the north, following, no doubt, the natural inclination of the ground. This sort of work is very unusual in walls so carefully built as these. The beds are levelled up by a wedge-shaped course a little above the plinth.

In the north wall is a fire-place, now blocked, with a narrow recess on each side (Pls. xxxix, xl). This fire-place has evidently been much altered, and it presents some features which were not accounted for till my friend Mr J. T. Micklethwaite visited the building, and found the clue to their interpretation.

It will simplify matters to leave out of consideration the narrow recess on each side of the fire-place, and to look upon the latter as simply a recess in the wall. The original builders would form this recess, and at a height of about 5 ft. from the ground would build into each jamb a projecting corbel. They would continue the recess to a height of about 9 ft. from the floor, and then arch it over on the face of the wall, but carry it up at the back, gradually narrowing it, to form a chimney. Then they would rest a lintel on the corbels, and on this build a pyramidal canopy or hood, the sides bonded into the wall, and with both front and sides sloping inwards until they met the wall above the top of the recess (Pl. xl, fig. 2). These hoods often became ruinous, and for this or some other reason this one was removed in the 15th. century, and the fire-place rebuilt according to the altered fashion. The hood was knocked down, the corbels cut out, the lintel supported directly on the jambs of the recess, and the opening between it and the arch filled in with rubble stone-work. Since then the recess has been filled up and the back rebuilt, leaving the fire-place as we now see it. It will be observed in the elevation (Pl. xl, fig. 1) that the walling outside the dotted lines, that is, the part not hidden by the hood, is in ashlar masonry, except a small piece of modern work over the left-hand recess. This

lintel is also modern. The lintel over the right-hand recess is formed of a piece of plinth-mould turned upside-down. This recess is not carried down to the floor like that in which the hatch is situated.

Something remains to be said of the windows. Though glass windows which would open were not unknown in the 13th century, they did not become common till much later. When it was required that a window should open, part of it, generally the lower half, was fitted with a shutter, the glass being stopped by a stone transom. People who had houses in different parts of the country sometimes had the glass fitted into wooden frames which were wedged into a rebate in the stone-work. By making the windows of the different houses of the same size the owner could have the glass taken out and carried with him when he changed his residence. In the thirteenth century this would only be done for a few rooms in the best houses, and perhaps in the granges belonging to a convent, and visited in turn by the abbot. For inferior rooms similar frames, with oiled parchment stretched upon them, were sometimes used, though these would not be carried from place to place.

It is not easy to see what arrangement was adopted in the principal windows (those facing west) in this building. The upper part is rebated on the outside and has a sort of splayed rebate on the inside, and there is also a hook, as if for a hinge, also remaining on the inside of one window. Below the transom there is no groove, but there may be a rebate on the inside, hidden by the masonry which blocks up the window. On the whole, then, it would seem that an outside shutter was used above; and below, a frame, filled with glass or with parchment stretched on it, fitted into a rebate on the inside. The jamb of the window in the N.E. angle is chamfered outside, and may be said to have a sort of rebate on the inside, above the transom; it is square and ungrooved below. The jamb remaining in the continuation of the south wall has the same sort of rebate on the inside both above and below; and on the outside a chamfer above and a rebate below.

It has been thought worth while to discuss this point at some length, as the degree of comfort or luxury indicated by the details of the building is the best clue we have to the use for which it was intended. But on this point it seems impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. It is clear that it formed a living-room where refinement and comfort were thought of; its fire-place, its

windows with seats, in their recesses, and its carefully finished masonry, telling us this much.

Although not a fragment of the church has come down to our time; and its very site is unknown, we are yet able to determine with some degree of accuracy its size, arrangement, and position with reference to the rest of the conventual buildings. On the accompanying plan (Pl. XLI), which has been reduced from the Ordnance Survey and shews the full extent of the site, I have attempted, with the help of my friend Mr W. H. St John Hope, to lay down all the component parts of an Augustinian House. The building just described, and the fragments discovered during the recent excavations, are distinguished by a darker tint¹.

That the church stood to the south of the conventual buildings is evident from two considerations. First, we are told that it was originally planned of so great a size that if finished it would have extended to the high road (*ad magnam plateam*). Secondly, the account of the fire says that the wind carried the sparks in such a direction as to ignite the "houses of our neighbours." At that period these could only have stood to the south of the monastery.

The church was begun, as usual, at the east end, with the lady-chapel, which was so far completed by 1112 that Prior Geoffrey was buried in the entry leading to it. It may be assumed that Peverel's church "of wondrous dimensions" would have included aisles to the presbytery; but whether the presbytery had an apsidal or a square end cannot be determined. The presbytery was obviously short, as was customary when it was built, and we know, from the account of the fire, that the quire extended under the central tower. There can be little doubt that the church had transepts. The length of the nave must remain uncertain. It had at least one aisle, from the description of the burial of Prior Henry de Eye "in

¹ The limit of what we suppose to have been the precinct is indicated by a line of dots. The extent of ground within this limit is about 26 acres, or nearly double the quantity originally granted.

the great church (i.e. in the nave) between two piers, in front of the lesser rood."

The foregoing conclusions are confirmed by some of the items in the Inventory of 1538, which enumerates the high altar and four other altars, in addition to the lady-chapel and the little chapel of our Lady. The high altar was of course at the east end of the presbytery, and was flanked by the tombs of Pain Peverel on the north and Everard de Beche on the south. Of the four altars two, those of S. Thomas and S. Nicholas, are described in connexion with a chapel which had a "particion of tymber," or "a particion of wood," dividing it from the church. These chapels probably stood on the east side of either transept. The other two altars, those of S. John and S. Catharine, probably stood in the aisles of the presbytery. The former was protected by "a particion of tymber," and the latter by "a grate of ieron."

The list of the furniture of the lady-chapel shews that it was of some importance, and the "particion of tymber" at its western end was probably surmounted by the "lytell galery of tymber," the whole forming a quasi-roodloft like that still remaining in the same position at Winchester.

The two tombs of marble sold may have been those of the two Priors recorded to have been buried in the entry to the chapel.

It will be noticed that the Inventory makes no mention of the chapel or altar of S. Edmund; and yet it must have been a building of some importance, as it had an independent roof of lead. As it was finished by Prior Laurence of Stansfeld (1213—1251), in whose time the lady-chapel was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Edmund (1229), it probably adjoined, and was considered part of, the lady-chapel, and may be identified with the building described in the Inventory as "the lytell Chapell of our Lady," the position of which is otherwise uncertain.

The cloister stood on the north side of the nave, and until the thirteenth century was probably of wood. The south alley (or pane) was probably rebuilt in stone when the nave was reconstructed by Prior Robert. The west alley is recorded to

have been rebuilt by Jolan de Thorleye before his resignation in 1265. He afterwards built two other alleys of the cloister, probably the east and north.

Of the buildings round the cloister the eastern range was built by Prior Gerard, as he is recorded as the builder of the dorter, which occupied the first floor. The position of this range has been determined by the bases of three columns discovered during the excavations. These were about thirty feet apart; and with intermediate and other columns, now lost, evidently formed part of a range running north and south¹. This range has been identified with the undercroft of the dorter. Prior Gerard's work must also have included the chapter-house, which stood between the dorter and the north transept of the church. The dorter, however, does not appear to have extended, as was generally the case, over the chapter-house, since the latter, according to the Inventory, had a separate roof. It is not easy to understand the exact meaning of "the completion of the greater part of the chapter-house," ascribed to Jolan de Thorleye (1254—1265). It is extremely unlikely that a chapter-house, in which two Priors were buried in 1213, should have been left unfinished until 1254, or that a Norman chapter-house should have required reconstruction. Possibly the sentence may refer to the imposition of a stone vault, or the reconstruction of the east end.

The Inventory mentions the canons' "celles" or cubicles in the dorter; and the jakes. These latter were probably contained in a separate building adjoining the north end of the dorter.

The frater stood on the north side of the cloister, probably over a range of cellarage. Some massive foundations discovered in the course of the excavations (A, B on the plan) may have supported its west wall. Its screen, tables, and roof, as well as its paved floor, are mentioned in the Inventory. Close to its west end stood the buttery and kitchen.

The range of buildings on the west side of the cloister was

¹ The position of the columns found during the excavations has been marked by a cross on the plan (Pl. xli).

usually under the charge of the cellarer, and may have contained, on the first floor, the guest-hall. At the north end of the guest-hall, on the ground floor, room may be found for the parlour. In the same block would be placed the "high chamber" or the "inner chamber" of the Inventory. The existing building, which has been already described in detail, may have stood in the angle formed by the frater and the cellarer's range, divided from the former by a passage leading from the kitchen-yard to the parlour. This building was most likely the cellarer's office or "checker," with the kitchen on the north side, the frater on the east, and the guest-hall on the south, thus placing the cellarer in direct communication with the various sections of his department. The Inventory mentions a kitchen and a little kitchen; but, from the entries referring to the latter, there seems to be no reason for supposing that they were different buildings.

Some remains of what appeared to be ovens may perhaps indicate the position of the bake-house. The brew-house would probably adjoin it, and the granary would not be far off.

The farmery, built 1213—1251, with a chapel dedicated in honour of S. Peter 1222, is not mentioned in the Inventory. It may have already fallen into ruins before the suppression of the monastery. Its usual position was east of the range containing the dorter.

No evidence exists to enable us to assign any definite position to the Prior's lodging and chapel, built by Jolan de Thorleye (1254—1265). The corresponding building at Bridlington stood on the west side of the cloister, adjoining the church.

APPENDIX.

I. *On the Succession of the Priors* (see p. 226).

The dates of the first six Priors have been determined by help of the following pieces of information. The first certain date occurs in the account of William of Devon, sixth Prior.

We read of him (Ch. 44) that "multa bona fecisset...si ei dominus vitam prestitisset et pacem, set tota terra Anglie et Wallie eius tempore erant sub generali interdicto...mortuus est...anno domini m^o. cc^o. xiii^o. interdicti anno sexto." This interdict began 23 March, 1208, and the sixth year would be 1213, given independently for the year of his death, as quoted above. He therefore became Prior in 1208. His predecessor, Robert, fifth Prior, held office for 33 years. "Post decursum triginta trium annorum...sponte...resignavit." Chap. 43. He was therefore elected in 1175. Hugh Domesman, fourth Prior, "post susceptum Prioratum anno vicesimo migravit ad dominum." Chap. 42. He therefore was elected in 1155. Richard Norel, third Prior, who "infra biennium sponte recessit," Chap. 41, was therefore elected in 1153. With regard to the remaining two we are told that Geoffrey, first Prior, "ecclesiam rexit per.xx. annos et post eorum translacionem ad Bernewelle senex...obiit." Chap. 39. The foundation, as we have seen, took place in 1092; and, according to the above statement, we must place Geoffrey's death in 1112—the very year of the removal to Barnwell. About Gerard, his successor, no information is given which can enable us to determine with certainty his length of office. We are obliged, therefore, to assign to him the interval between the death of Geoffrey and the election of Richard Norel, viz. 41 years. If these calculations be correct, the succession and dates of the first six Priors are as follows :

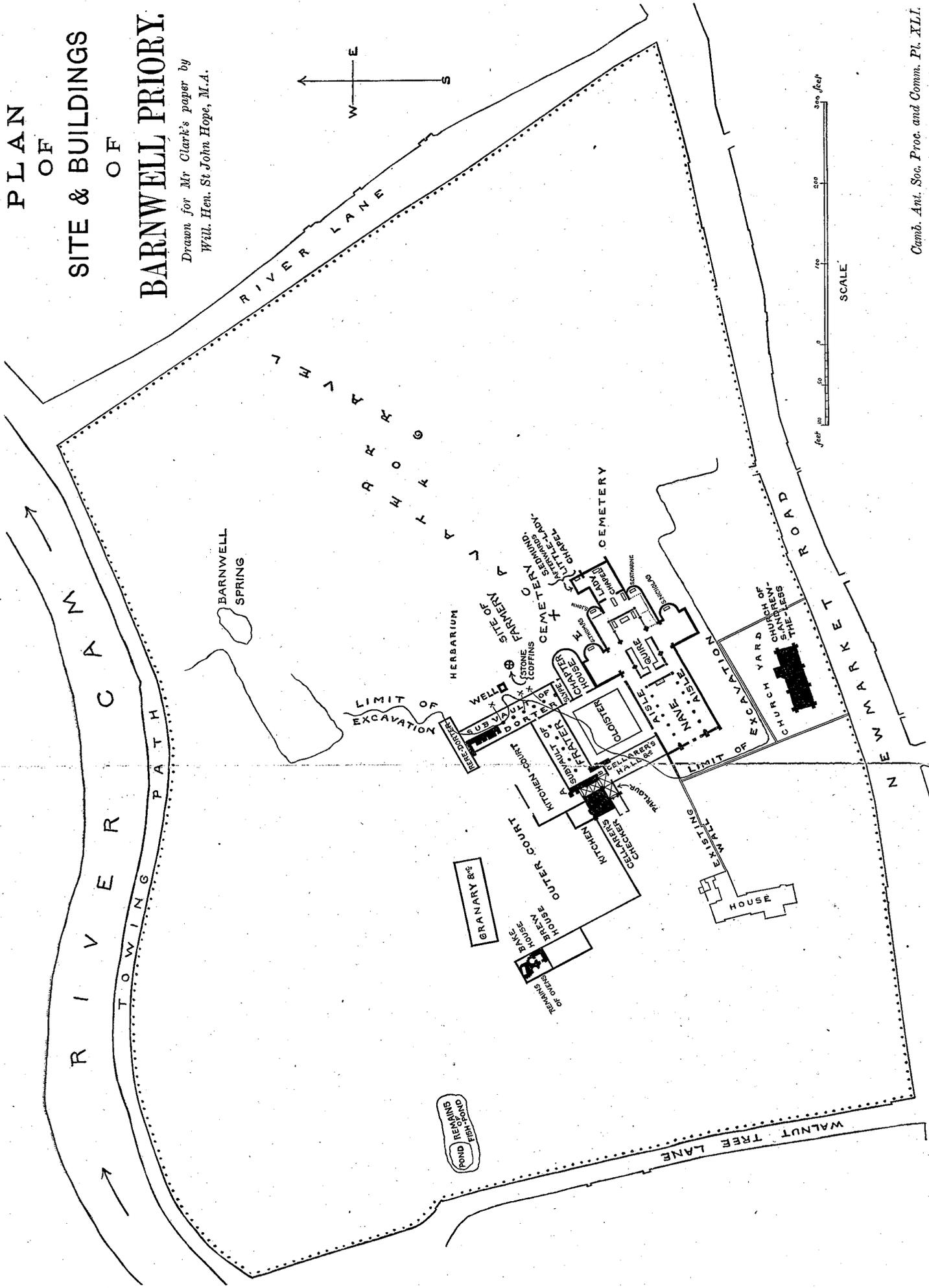
1. Geoffrey, 1092—1112.
2. Gerard, 1112—1153.
3. Richard Norel, 1153—1155.
4. Hugh Domesman, 1155—1175.
5. Robert, 1175—1208.
6. William of Devon, 1208—1213.

The periods for which the remaining Priors mentioned in the narrative held office are more easy to determine.

After the death of William of Devon (25 May, 1213) the office remained vacant until 23 October, when the sacrist, William of Bedford, was elected. He died almost immediately

PLAN OF SITE & BUILDINGS OF BARNWELL PRIORY.

Drawn for Mr Clark's paper by
Will. Hen. St John Hope, M.A.



afterwards: "Qui, ut fertur, post installacionem suam semel ingressus est capitulum...Infirmirate correptus post paucos dies migravit a seculo." Chap. 45. His successor, Richard de Burgh, had an equally short tenure of office: "cito sublatus est de medio." Chap. 46. The brethren next elected Canon Laurence, who had been chaplain to his three predecessors. He died, an old man, after he had held office for 38 years. (Chap. 47.) His death may therefore be placed in 1351. His successor, Henry of Eye, "Prioratus sui anno tercio...dictum Prioratum in manus officialis Cantuarenensis uacante sede Elyensi resignavit." (Chap. 48.) The vacancy here mentioned must be that which occurred after the death of Hugh Northwold, 6 August, 1254. His successor, William of Kilkenny, though elected, according to Bentham (*History of Ely*, p. 148), "about the middle of October, 1254," was not consecrated until 15 August, 1255. The see was therefore without a Bishop for a full year, and the Prior's resignation may have taken place either at the end of 1254 or the beginning of 1255. The successor of Henry of Eye was Jolanus de Thorleye, who "resignavit Prioratum in manus episcopi Elyensis anno Prioratus sui xj^o." (Chap. 49.) He was therefore Prior from 1254 or 1255 to 1265 or 1266. His successor was Symon de Ascellis, who "In prioratu vixit per .xxx. annos et amplius et...resignavit prioratum suum in manus Episcopi Elyensis circa festum Iohannis baptiste anno domini .M^o. CC^o. nonagesimo septimo." (Chap. 50.) The number of years here allotted to him, if added to 1266, brings us to the assigned date with remarkable exactness.

The following dates may be assigned to the last six Priors who enter into our narrative.

7. William of Bedford, 1213.
8. Richard de Burgh, 1213.
9. Laurence de Stanesfeld, 1213—1251.
10. Henry of Eye, 1251—1254.
11. Johanus de Thorleye, 1255—1266.
12. Symon de Ascellis, 1266—1297.

II. *List of Subscriptions to the Repair of Barnwell Priory, 1886.*

	£.	s.	d.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., LL.D., Trin., <i>Chancellor of the University</i>	5	0	0
The Lord Bishop of Ely	5	0	0
Joh. Couch Adams, M.A., Pemb., <i>Lowndean Professor</i>	1	0	0
Rev. Aug. Austen Leigh, M.A., <i>Provost of King's</i>	1	0	0
Will. Austen Leigh, M.A., King's	3	3	0
Ch. Cardale Babington, M.A., Joh., <i>Professor of Botany</i>	3	3	0
Mrs Bateson	1	1	0
Walt. Geo. Bell, M.A., Trin. Hall	2	0	0
Rev. Anchitel Harry Fletcher Boughey, M.A., Trin.	1	0	0
Mr Rob. Bowes	1	1	0
Rev. Geo. Forrest Browne, B.D., Cath., <i>Disney Professor</i>	3	3	0
Mr T. B. Bumpsted	1	1	0
Mr Ja. Carter	2	2	0
Rev. Will. Chawner, M.A., Emm.	1	1	0
Edwin Ch. Clark, LL.D., Joh., <i>Regius Professor of Civil Law</i>	2	2	0
Joh. Willis Clark, M.A., Trin.	5	0	0
Gerard Fra. Cobb, M.A., Trin.	1	0	0
Sidney Colvin, M.A., Trin.	1	0	0
Rev. Alf. Hands Cooke, M.A., King's	5	0	0
Geo. Howard Darwin, M.A., Trin., <i>Plumian Professor</i>	1	0	0
Mr J. Edlin	1	1	0
Lucas Ewbank, M.A., Cla.	1	0	0
Mr G. W. Fitch	1	1	0
Joh. Ebenezer Foster, M.A., Trin.	1	1	0
Tho. Musgrave Francis, M.A., Trin.	1	1	0
Walt. Gardiner, M.A., Cla.	1	1	0
Rev. Ja. Will. Geldart, M.A., Trin. Hall	5	0	0
Ch. Eustace Grant, M.A., King's	1	0	0
Th. Gwatkin, M.A., Joh.	10	0	0
Basil Edw. Hammond, M.A., Trin.	3	3	0
Norman Capper Hardcastle, M.A., Down.	2	0	0
Mr W. H. Hattersley	1	0	0
Rev. Joh. Wale Hicks, M.A., Sid.	1	0	0
Rev. Fenton Joh. Ant. Hort, D.D., Emm., <i>Lady Margaret's Professor</i>	1	1	0
Baron Anatole von Hügel, M.A., Trin., <i>Curator of the Archæological Museum</i>	1	1	0
<i>Carried forward</i>	63	2	0

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Brought forward</i>			
Tho. McKenny Hughes, M.A., Cla., <i>Woodwardian Professor</i>	1	1	0
Geo. Murray Humphry, M.D., King's, <i>Professor of Surgery</i>	3	0	0
Alf. Paget Humphry, M.A., Trin.	2	2	0
Montague Rhodes James, M.A., King's	1	0	0
Fra. Joh. Hen. Jenkinson, M.A., Trin.	1	0	0
Mr E. Johnson	1	1	0
Rev. Sam. Savage Lewis, M.A., Corp.	2	2	0
Joh. Hen. Middleton, M.A., King's, <i>Slade Professor</i>	1	0	0
Fre. Will. Hen. Myers, M.A., Trin.	1	1	0
Alf. Newton, M.A., Magd., <i>Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy</i>	2	2	0
Rev. Reg. St John Parry, M.A., Trin.	1	1	0
Rev. Edw. Hen. Perowne, D.D., <i>Master of Corpus</i>	1	1	0
Rev. Sam. Geo. Phear, D.D., <i>Master of Emmanuel</i>	2	2	0
Geo. Walt. Prothero, M.A., King's	1	1	0
Mr W. B. Redfarn	3	3	0
Rev. Jos. Armitage Robinson, M.A., Chr.	1	1	0
Mr Alf. Smith	1	1	0
Ja. Hamblin Smith, M.A., Gov. and Cai.	1	0	0
Will. Robertson Smith, M.A., Christ's, <i>Professor of Arabic</i>	1	0	0
Mr W. W. Smith	1	1	0
Rev. Dav. Ja. Stewart, M.A., Trin.	10	0	
Rev. Ch. Ant. Swainson, D.D., <i>Master of Christ's</i>	5	5	0
Rev. Ch. Taylor, D.D., <i>Master of St John's</i>	5	0	0
Hen. Martyn Taylor, M.A., Trin.	1	0	0
Edw. Seymer Thompson, M.A., Chr.	1	1	0
Art. Aug. Tilley, M.A., King's	1	1	0
Rev. Coutts Trotter, M.A., Trin.	2	0	0
Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corp.	3	3	0
Will. Wright, M.A., Queens', <i>late Professor of Arabic</i>	1	0	0
	<u>£112</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>

PAYMENTS.

Messrs Kerridge and Shaw : doors	6	2	9
Messrs Rattee and Kett : general repairs	101	3	0
Balance ; paid to the Antiquarian Society	4	16	3
	<u>£112</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>

The Society has paid, in addition to the above sums ... 130 8 8

MONDAY, *March 2nd*, 1891.

Professor BABINGTON, M.A., in the chair.

MR RHODES exhibited—and kindly presented to the Society—a small bronze medal, found last month in his garden, bearing on the obverse the legend

ERSKINE · AND · GIBBS · AND · TRIAL · BY · JURY

and on the reverse the names of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and the others who were tried for high treason, with the date, 1794. Sir Vicary Gibbs was elected Member for this University in 1807. He and Erskine defended the prisoners.

PROFESSOR HUGHES, in exhibiting some antiquities lately found at Great Thurlow, first gave a sketch of the line of country at the base of the Chalk Hills by Haverhill, Bartlow, and Linton, along which Roman remains were not uncommon. He shewed that the Romans had followed the valley from Haverhill to Great Thurlow, and probably on by Wood-Ditton to Newmarket, pointing out the exact positions in that valley in which other remains of Neolithic and Roman date had been found.

He owed the acquisition of the interesting collection exhibited to the courtesy and generosity of Mr Wootten of Great Thurlow, who came upon the pit in which they occurred when draining a field, and informed him of the discovery in time to enable him to see the pit open and examine the mode of occurrence of the relics.

The pit was situated on the upper part of the slope near the level of the plateau, north-west of Great Thurlow. The surface of this plateau consisted of boulder-clay with patches of gravel and a clayey wash, especially on the brow of the hill; on the eastern slope, near the top, the pit described was cut across by the drains, and was proved to a depth of some six feet or so. It was filled with earth, layers of broken pottery, bones, shells, and various household refuse, containing a good deal of organic matter.

There was black and grey pottery of well-known, and some of rarer, form and ornamentation; handles of *amphorae*, and necks of earthen flasks, *mortaria*, and so on. But the pit was remarkable for the quantity and variety of the Samian ware found in it. It was not of the best class of paste, being rather soft and porous, but the exterior appearance was very good, and the ornamentation rich: there was the usual loop-and-tassel border, and the beautiful radially marked margin, like the rim of some sea shells.

Some pieces of pottery had symmetrically twined leaves and fruit, which might be mulberry or alder; on another was a leopard, easily recognised by its slim form and spots. The potter's marks were generally obscure, as if the stamps had been worn and broken—OF ALBI was the only one which he could read, and the L of that was doubtful.

There were many large rusty nails, probably from the wood of which charred remains occurred all through the mass. Oyster-shells were common, and also bones of pig, sheep, red deer, and a small short-horned ox.

There were pieces of Niedermendig lava, of which millstones were so commonly made then as now; a plain bronze *fibula* and bits of wire, a bronze triangular embossed ornament, such as might have formed part of a short sword-scabbard, and a small brass coin on which 'Claudius Caes' were the only legible letters. The most interesting object, however, was a small stumpy figure, draped in long straight-falling robes, and holding a long knife in one hand and a bag or purse in the other. It was carved in chalk and stood about three inches high, but the head was unfortunately lost (probably a Vertumnus-Mercury).

He saw evidence of at least two more similar pits a little lower down the hill.

On making enquiries as to whether there were traces of a camp or villa known anywhere near, or suggested by local names, he could hear of none except that the small channel which ran down the hill side close by was known as 'Castle ditch.'

MR R. F. SCOTT, Fellow and Bursar of St John's College, made the following communications :

I. LETTERS OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN AND NICHOLAS HAWKSMOOR RELATING TO THE OLD BRIDGE OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE.

In Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge &c.* (Vol. II. p. 274), in the history of the Third Court of St John's College, the following passage occurs :

"a plan has been preserved which shews how the court might be completed on the west or river side, by causing the intended building to project into the river at its south extremity so far as to reduce the obliquity of its position to an inappreciable quantity. In the middle of the west side there was to have been a bridge exactly where the present foot-bridge is, in a direction coinciding with a line running through the middle of all the courts. This plan is neither signed nor dated, but it seems to have been adopted, with the exception of the bridge. Sir Christopher Wren had been consulted, as shewn by the following note, written on the margin of the plan, but his letter has unfortunately not been preserved :

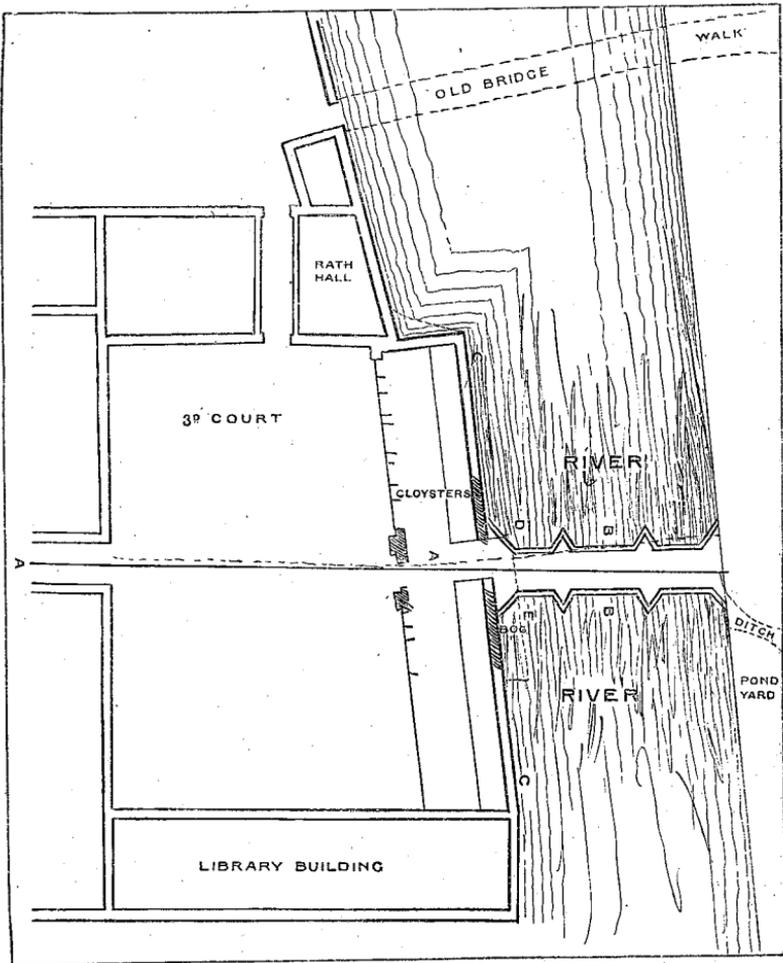
Sr. Chr: Wren in his Letter to you Laid downe Something of this affair which I could wish you would Consider ; as also about diverting the Streame a little farther from y^e house: but to avoid expencive propôsions this is y^e most plausible and best we can make of this Case."

While examining a boxful of letters in the College Treasury I was fortunate enough to find not only Sir Christopher Wren's letter, but also two letters from Nicholas Hawksmoor, one of his pupils, relating to the same matter.

Hawksmoor's second letter shews that the plan preserved in the College Library was prepared by [Robert¹] Grumbold. The note on the margin appears to be in Hawksmoor's handwriting.

In addition to the ground-plan, which is here reproduced (Pl. XLII.), two designs for the bridge have been preserved, which are probably those referred to by Sir Christopher Wren, the ornaments on the piers being pyramids and urns such as he indicates.

¹ *Arch. Hist.* ii. 277.



PLAN, BY NICHOLAS HAWKSMOOR, FOR ST JOHN'S COLLEGE BRIDGE, 1698.

- AA. A right Line running thro all the Courts and directly thro the middle of the bridg BB.
- CC. The front next the River cutting the right Line AA at unequall Angles.
- BB. The Bridge Laid upon the Right Line AA making the Angle BDC obtuse and the Angle BEC acute, which is so small that without mesuring few will perceive it.

Sr Chr: Wren in his Letter to you Laid downe Something of this affair which I could wish you would Consider; as also about diverting the Streame a little farther from the house: but to avoid expence propositions this is the most plausible and best we can make of this Case.

Whitehall March 31, 1697.

[1697-98]

Sir C. Wren to Dr Gower.

Sir

Nothing is more acceptable to me then to promote what in me lies any public Ornament, and more especially in the Universities, where I find something of a public spirit to be yet alieue. The proposition you made me by M^r. Grumbold about your Bridge, I haue considered, and can thinke but of two methods. The first takes [in] some farther Ornament to your College: The second is obvious, the making [a stone] Bridge instead of your wooden one in the same place; and of this I sent you severall Sketches to conclude upon and afterward to be more correctedly designed for the worke; and I thinke there is nothing in this more then your workmen know how to performe, for you need not be sollicitous that the Bridge should appear fine to the River and the Bargemen, and if you resolute to keepe the bridge leuell with the walkes, you have only to take care of a handsome Ballastrade, upon the peers of which for ornament to the walkes, you may set vrnes pyramids or statues, even what your Heartes or Benefactions will reach; and as for the substruction, it is enough if the Arches giue passage enough to Boates and floods and be firmly built upon good foundation and with good materiells.

But the First of these two waies is that which I confesse pleases me if it pleases you. It is to turne the River in a direct Chanell over your own ground, and to make the Bridge directly in the midle visto of your Quadrangles, and to rayse a new but shorter walke as farr as your Ground goes, which may terminate in a seat statue somerhouse or some agreeable object, and returne off to the other walke. I foresee severall Objections and I thinke they may all be solved.

1. The Boghouse must be moved elsewhere. And why should the best viewes from the Chambers upon the Gardens and fields be soe defiled?

2. The digging a new Chanell of 700 fòot long 50 foot broad and 8 foot deepe will be a great Expence. It would be in

London an expence of about 400^{lb}. your Turfediggers will doe it much cheaper; it will be a singular benefit to Trinity College, as well as yours, for it will giue them (instead of a Triangular peece of ground) a regular parterre before their Library, as it will giue to you the like and they may be induced possibly to doe part.

3. What shall be don with the Earth? for the navigation must not be obstructd. It must be wheeled in heapes to the Bankes of the old River to be afterwards filled in when the Bridge is built and the new Chanell opened, the Bridge will be easier built before the water is turned.

4. How shall there be Earth found to rayse the newe Walke? by cutting a Ditch on the side next the Pondes in a strait Line as the visto directs.

The Convenience of all this is a parterre to the River, a better accesse to the Walkes, and a more beautifull disposition of the whole ground. You must excuse the Architect (if his opinion be asked) who giues the designes he judges most proper as an Artist: but this ought still to be with submission to the circumstances of your own affairs [of which] you are best Judges. If you conclude of this way, let me haue a plan taken of your Walkes and that side of the College and Winding of the River from Trinity bridge as farr as your concernes, and then I can giue you more perfect designes and an estimate of the charge. I am

Sir

Your very humble servant

CHR. WREN.

[*Addressed*: For the Reverend D^r Gower Master of S^t John's College Cambridge.]

Nich. Hawksmoor to Dr Gower.

S^r

My rudeness is render'd altogether unpardonable by not answering you sooner unless I may offer for excuse that I was unhappily from London when your letter came to my Lodgings.

Sir, you have been pleas'd to give me a short description of the Site of our new intended worke, and I well remember, that this old bridge is at the end of a narrow crooked back lane having no proper access to it and being without any regard of the fronts or sides of the Colledge so very ungracefull and inconvenient that seemes rather by chance to belong to the Coll: than by any intention: tis true it leads to a walk of trees which is an Avenue leading to nothing and would be no worse if the Bridge was else where. This is the present scituacion which sufficiently condemns it selfe without any farther evidence as being irregular unseemly and barbarous unfitt to be contiguous to so noble a house in a place where so many strangers come. The other Scituacion with all the reasons imaginable recommends it self as being the true and proper comming to the house, giveing a pleasant Vista and entrance thro' the body of the whole fabrick.

It is impossible any can argue for the old Scite when this is proposed, which all artists will approve of and on the contrary protest against the other, and I humbly beg that you will take this as a memoriall, that you will hereafter dislike the bridge if placed in the old Scituacion.

Perhaps it may be suggested there will be some disparity in the expence but I am of opinion it will not be extravagant, and when we consider how much it adornes and accommodates the house we ought not to remember that small addition of charge.

As to the back part of the Colledge tho it is at present irregular this may be an inducement to some farther decorations of it, and for what relates to the intended Parterre which communicates the bridge (laid in the Middle) and the present Long Walke we doubt not but time will produce Benefactors especially in so extensive a house of which so many considerable are and have been members. I am most glad I have your selfe and Sir Chr. Wren on my side, and I pray you will persist for certainly (as you are pleased to hint) there is noe need of much experience in this Case for he must be a young Architect or dull Mechanick that wold offer any other than we doe.

But however though it seems a trifle yett in so small a thing I would not have it left to posterity as a specimen of our ignorance poverty or covettousness. I need not put you in minde how exact the Italians and French are in every thing of this sort; and what great benefitt the[y] obtain from it, nor need I praise regular Architecture to you that can forme much better ideas of it your selfe and I hope the whole body of this learned house will consent and assist in carrying on so good a proposition.

If there remain any difficulty which I cannot apprehend I beg that your workman will send me a plan of that part of the College which must be opened to make a dorway with the hights and levells of the adjacent grounds and you shall have all the service I can possibly procure you and wheras I was designing to wait on you at Cambridge, which I would most willingly doe, but that the matter is so plain and obvious that I cannot conceiue there is any occasion for my comming since I can in every respect answer all your purposes here.

Sir I am Sincerly your humble
 Servant
 N. HAWKSMOOR.

Kensington house
May 16 : 1698.

[*Addressed*: For the Reverend Dr Gower at S^t John's Colledg in Cambridge humbly present.]

Nich. Hawksmoor to Dr Gower.

Sir

I am very much pleased that my thoughts concurring with what your self suggested to us, is so well received, and also that you so rightly apprehend my notions of the matter. I have received the draughts of Mr Grumbald; and withall further confirmation of my Opinion. The principal objection that can be offered is, supposing a right line drawne from the middle of the Street gate, and produced thro the middle of the new

intended gate next the river will not cut the line of the back front at Right Angles, and if the Bridge be laid at Right Angles to the back front, then indeed the afforesaid right Line will fall on a Corner of the bridge: but we may avoid this by laying the bridge obliquely to the said front, and directly on the afforsaid Right Line, so that the veiw may pass exactly on the Middle of the bridge. I have laid this downe on the plan which I hope will be intelligible to you.

If it is objected that the bridge lying so obliquely to the front Line will be a fault I answer it is the least we can chuse of severall, and none will observe it but an Artist who will excuse it when he sees the Reason and necessity of it.

It may also be objected that the bridge by this meanes will be turned a little obliquely to the Streame of the River by which the Current will press more powerfully on the Joynts of the Stone Worke.

Tis true but I am of opinion that the effect will be so inconsiderable that the Care and Skill in the performance of the worke will easily be made capable of resisting that small advantage given to the water.

And I cannot doubt but Mr Grumbold our honest and skilfull artificer will take great care in this Mater, and must certainly be of our perswasion in this case, where both his judgment and reputation is concerned so nerly.

Sir I can say no more but that my thoughts are still the same as at first, but however I must confess your owne affairs are best known to your selves, and must therefore submitt the execution of them to your owne wisdomes.

I am assuredly your most humble Servant
N. HAWKSMOOR.

Whithall, June 9th
1698.

[Addressed: For the Reverend Dr Gower at St' Johns in Cambridge.]

II. ORIGINAL LETTERS CONCERNING THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE COLLEGES OF ST JOHN'S AND TRINITY RELATIVE TO THE ENCLOSURE BY THE LATTER COLLEGE OF GARRET HOSTEL GREEN AND TRINITY COLLEGE MEADOW.

Soon after the foundation of Trinity College negotiations were opened with the Corporation of Cambridge for the acquisition by the College of certain Common lands on both sides of the River to the West of the College. This led to a controversy with St John's which extended over many years. An account of this is given in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History* (ut supra), Vol. II. pp. 407—412; and the case for Trinity College, taken from the *State Papers*, will be found at p. 411. The matter is mentioned both by Baker and Cole. The former (MSS. Baker, xi. 298, MSS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 7038) says:

The enclosure at Trinity beyond the River, was made (after great opposition) about the year 1600, with the consent of the Town, Merton College, Trinity Hall, Jesus, and St John's College, which had a right of common there, and in one letter, Jesus College is sayd, as likely to have a Lordship by St Radegund, as any other. A Balk was to be reserv'd betwixt St Johns and Trinity Ditch, and a Pipe from that conduit was insisted on, when Mr Booth's Conduit was intended in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Court, with other considerations mentioned, in an annual acknowledgement. The two great objections from St Joh: Coll: were, I: The Statute, *de non alienandis Collegii terris &c*: 2: Annoyance. v. *Liter: inter Archiv Col. Jo.* There are severall letters from Archbishop Whittgift, who was vehement in the thing.

Cole (MS. xli. 320. Add. MSS. Mus. Brit. 5842) has this note:

Trinity College having no Ground without its walls, got, of the Corporation of Cambridge, a small Plot of Common Ground on the Side of the River, containing about 7 Acres: in Recompence of which the College, out of their Lands round the Town have laid out 25 Acres for the Benefit of the Inhabitants. By the consent of the Corporation, other Colleges have made the same Inclosures; viz: King's College and St John's College. St John's

College claims a Right and Interest in this Common, and for their Consent for its Inclosure by Trinity College, demand

First, An Acknowledgement of 12*d.* per annum Rent. Secondly, a Partition Walk, as they term it, of 16 Feet Breadth. Thirdly, That the Corporation, in Consideration of the large Grant made them by Trinity College, should yeild to St John's one little Plot of Ground, to be also inclosed, leading from their Backside Gates, into the Fields. Lastly, a Quill to be brought from Trinity College Conduit Pipes to serve them with water.

In Answer to the Foregoing :

St John's College says, That Time out of mind, they have used the saide Waste for Walking and other Exercises ; and their Tenants Cattle have fed on it, and they have impounded other Cattle. That they have 600 Acres of Land within the Ground where this Waste lies.

Lent to me by Professor Lort of Trinity College in July 1770, who told me that he transcribed it from the MSS. in the British Museum. W.^m. COLE.

When Mr J. W. Clark was preparing the *Architectural History* for the press Whitgift's letters to St John's College could not be found. I have, however, recently found them, together with several others relating to the same matter.

Archbishop Whitgift to St John's College.

After my right hartie Commendations. I doo vnderstand that Trinitie College hath obteyned the good will of the Towne of Cambridge, that for the better ease and conveniencie of that Societee they may enclose that portion of grounde, which lyeth beyond the River, and behinde the College: Wherein it may bee; that some ffarmers of landes belonging to your College thereabouts, may challenge Common of Pasture for their Cattell. And forasmuche as I am enformed, that the rest of the Lordes in ffee, who haue Maners there also, are for all their partes right well contented, that Trinitie College shall haue the vse and benefite thereof, which may bee a greate pleasure vnto them: I am in all earnest maner to desier you, that you will likewise geue your consent therevntoo, so that the work there nowe in hand may quietly goe forward, without exception theretoo by you to bee taken, or any their molestation. You

cannot but knowe howe well I wish to Trinitie College: and therefore I hope you will haue a speciall regarde of this my Motion vnto you in the behalfe thereof: and assuredly I will not forgett your readinesse in performing this my request, but remayne thankfull vnto you for it, in any occasion that shall bee offred concerning you. And so not doubting of your forwardnesse in so reasonable a cause, I committ you to the tuition of allmightie god. ffrom Lambehith, the viith of Marche 1599.

Yo^r assured loving ffrende

JO: CANTUAR.

Addressed: To my verie louing ffrendes the Maister and Seniors of St Johns College in Cambridge.

Dr Thomas Nevile¹ to Dr Clayton².

Sir, so it is that we haue of late compounded with the towne of Cambridge for the inclosinge of that whole plott of grownde which lyeth beyond the river ouer against our Colledge. And vpon request made haue more obteyned of our verie good frinds (such as are the Lords of Manners there aboute the towne) that they also (tenderinge our greate ease and conueniencie) are for their parts right willinge therewithall. Nowe whereas the ffarmers of Landes belonginge to your Colledge may challenge libertie of feedinge therein, I was verie forgetfull if at our last beinge together I did not make the like request vnto you, which I had made vnto them. I do assure you it was my full purpose so to do. But if that were not then done, to recompence the omission, I haue nowe procured his Grace earnestlie to recomend this our Colledge cause vnto you. And for my owne parte so desirous am I to maintaine peace and all good Offices of frindship betweene the Colledges, that if your self shall advise anie other course yet more to be taken for the better satisfacion of your Societie, I will endeavour the same by

¹ Master of Magdalene 1582—93, Master of Trinity 1594—1615. Dean of Peterborough 1590—91, Dean of Canterbury 1597.

² Master of St John's College 1595—1612.

all I am able. Thus remembring my hartiest commendacions I betake you vnto Gods blessed keeping. From Puddlewharf in London. 8 Mar: 1599.

Your very assured loving frind

THOMAS NEVILLE.

Addressed: To the right worshipful my verie loving frind
M^r D^r Clayton Maister of St Johns Colledge in Cambridge.

Mr Robert Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, this bearer together with my letter now to your self and the Seniors will fully acquaint you with the effect which your ioynt letter to me concerning your building hath wrought. I doubt your cross neighbours will much overrule you for that which is now in question. I desyre greatly that you might by composition gett a brawnych from their conduit pipe for your Colledg, bycause I suppose one would gladly (vppon that help) make you a fayre conduitt in your new Court. Yf you cannot have reason at theyr handes, then I hope you shall fynde frendes able to cross theyr desyre, at the least when it shall come to be confirmed by act of parliament. Theyr honours love you well and salute you kyndelye: and so with harty commendacions from my self and your other frendes here, I committ you to god. In hast in brodestreat. 28 March 1600.

yours to commaund assuredly

ROB: BOUTH¹.

Addressed: To the right worshipful my assured frend M^r D^r
Claiton M^r of St Johns Colledge in Cambr.

Mr Henry Alvey to Dr Clayton.

Sir, We came to London in reasonable tyme on tweusday to haue entred vppon our busines, but I had so foule a fall by a stumbling iade by the way that I escaped well that

¹ Robert Bouth or Booth was of Cheshire, B.A. 157 $\frac{1}{2}$. See *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Com.* i. p. 348.

I was not spoyled havinge the hackney horse fallinge vppon me: which gave the occasion to them of the start of vs. Early vppon wedensday (after summe litle speeche with Mr Boothe) we addressed vs to the deane¹, whom we founde much moved, and answeringe peremptorily, in most earnest speaches, not much wanting to the highest resolution: after summe large conference, he would needes with vs in all hast to Lambeth; his grace we founde wholly possessed of the cause, and preoccupied by prevention but not for vs: Mr Morrell had bene with him but as his grace said spoke not a worde of that matter. It fell owt well that ther letters to your selfe and vs were answered in writinge, for it was expected; and the former returne of answer to the deane by Mr Morrell, by whom it was done by worde of mouthe, by him (as he signified) muche mislyked. It appeared by my lordes boathe persuadinge in the cause, and his threateninge the effectinge of the inclosure by summe superiour meanes (if we would not willingly accorde) that his grace is wholly theirs: the matter we debated a good longe tyme, and discussed matters togeather, his grace, the deane, my self and Mr Brig in the gallery; our allegations were our statute, 2^o their opposinge by this cause them selves and the towne (agreeinge vppon private respectes of petty commodities other to other) not only to vs, but to the rest of the vniversity, who had in former tyme had great differences with the towne who should haue the preeminence in beinge lordes of the soyle, which by this their composition and manner of proceedinge they had yelded to the towne, to the vniversityes preiudice and the townes incoragement, the first that we opposed caused summe stay, the seconde stunge not a litle: a thirde we had of the manifolde annoyances, and their slender regard that they made of our consent not before to seeke it that we had given them occasion by manifestinge our grievance, and signified a purpose to crosse their course, if we were vnreasonably delt with all.

¹ Thomas Nevile, dean of Canterbury 1597—1615, Master of Trinity 1593 to his death in 1615.

His grace, for the tyme, seemed to make light of all we could say, and said our colledges opposition in this case came rather of stomacke then any good grownde: yet we escaped with owt any great chyding, though we did not muche forbear or spare Mr deane, so farr as our cause ministred vs matter; in so muche as it seemed his coller was not more kinled this good whyle: tyme will not give leave to touch the particulars, though in deede our cominge vp in this sort, and allegations which he never dreamed of, especially the two first, the one staying vs for yelding and making against them (if they haue the lyke statute as in course of speeche was by vnadvydednes cast owt) in exchanging land with the towne, and alienating of that which is the colledges, thother touched him nerely, and affected my lordes grace, who seemed much to mislyke that any way the towne should be any waies intytuled by this action to be lordes of the soile, and wished Mr deane to provyde against it. For our statute whylst we vrged it in wordes, exemplynge the interpretation of it to make for our plea, by former practyse in Cottnams matter, and other particulars, nothings swayed with his grace: alwaies he alledged dissimilitudes in the cases, where in deede we could see none, and so replied; and further desyred for future our discharge of oathe and to answer all chalenges in tyme to come, we might haue it vnder his graces hand for our better satisfaction that in suche cases of commons we were loosed from all bound of oathe taken to that statute which her maiesty by his grace and others had lately given vnto vs; where was said by vs that by the helpe of that his graces interpretation, by Cotnam, and summe thinges els, we should hereafter recompence our losse received by Trinityes inclosure by such liberty as should be lefte vs in this point of our statute. Here his grace paused, and made a stay, answeringe, that he vsed not to determyne hasteley, but after muche speeche too and froo and in end after we had brought forth the statute booke it self (which his grace looked not for, and the deane did not ounce imagin we would haue stoode vppon, or had had any suche defence for our denyall) we pressinge the wordes for our selves, namely those generalls, *terras, solum, pascua, pasturas, prata,*

bona immobilia, though the deane had in former talke termed it pasture, yet it would not be yelded that their case fell into, or within the compasse of this statute. My lordes opinion was the mynd of the law was not as he thought to be extended to commons, but would not averr it of him self or defyne till he had the advyse of lawers for that clause, and there vppon wished our staye in towne till that might be done, but first lesse we should haue produced a counterfett coppy, he fetched our statutes owt of his studdy, and conferred our and that together, which agreed in every tittle. We lett his grace see (in his gallery mapp for Cambridge) the current of the river course, as they of Trinity purposed to draw it, and manifestly shewed (to our sense) the inconvenience to vs, but his answer was the deane would see that nether in that, nor other respectes we should be encombred, and the deane spoke well and said all should be to his grace's lykinge: after dinner we were thus dismissed (which seemed summewhat strange to vs) my lordes grace ryse as we had thought to haue gone into summe place for repose, and after to haue harde vs further, at his pleasure, and spake a word to Mr Deane and he took me by the hand straight to his barge, and intended to transport me back againe with him to London; (as we geathered lesse we shoulde haue secounded our sute to his grace) but a shower overtakinge vs we stayed at the gates in all earnest parley more then half an hower, the deane, doctour Barlo, and we, of our matter: and so were we brought to his house, and their spent in speech nere two howers.

He had said before that if that should be any part of condition to haue other draine then our river that runneth aboute our colledge close, thereto by no meanes he would ever agree, but in his house he came after to conferr, and consider how by drawing a plott we would shew what we required, vppon occasion of wordes from him that he would not haue stooede with our colledge for a farr greater matter before Dr Barlo, (as by the way I cast owt) can you then be content we should haue a pype from your conduitt, he seemed not vppon that sudden speache by reason of his larg offer of curtesy to our colledge before in words to mislyke, and there also (as talke was

offred), a worde fell from me that we would look for summe acknowledgment of our former interest in that place to haue for perpetuity if it were but vjd yearely. He answered if it were xijd they would not sticke, and saide if they had thought vs to be venall as they tooke the towne to be, they would as with them haue delt by money and given vs consideration, as he confessed they should do to the towne more then you heard of before, for in money they are to give Camb: towne as him self confessed before his grace fyfty powndes; at his house at our drawinge of the forme of the ditch in his window, how we would haue it contrived, I mentioned a severall one which we would haue them to make, and leave vs a balk betwixt their ditche and ours of xij foote broade, and a little he seemed to relent of his former resolution, and cast in his mynde how that might be, and said it should be indifferent for both to cast our ditches vppon, when there was clensing of them and a common walke, but fully yelded not to the motion. Againe we said we would certainly haue from them and the towne that it should put in our choise so much as lay in them, that with owt gainsay we might vse in severall that litle plott before our gates, and we would haue that laid by the towne for vs thoughe they rebated so mucche in quantity of that ground which they should allow them of thother syde of Cambridge towards Barnwell because that litle would be more worth to vs and our tenants then all the whole of the other in the place by them assygned. He lyked mervelouse well of that thing but denyed to solicit the towne for vs, but offred frankly their colledge consent and we said we would ether make the towne yelde if they made any account of that gaine they should haue from Trinity by this exchange or all should remaine in *statu quo*. But for any of those demaundes or others what so ever when as first we had seene our maine exceptions taken away and all principall pointes of dowtes cleared which yet stand in our way, we would haue them made but yet as motions, and by speaches in way of talk, vppon supposition, and no other way; but the graund lettes removed they should fynd our colledge reasonable, and to be ruled by his grace, who as I should haue said before redd your letter and kept it to

him self, but the seniours he redd openly to the deane. Mr deane said before his grace that all had consented but we and named Dr Legg, Trinity Hall, Merton Colledge &c. I excepted I had heard to the contrary but named none. Yet he confessed that Doctor Duport had not bene moved, (but this was after we had been at Lambeth.) And of all in Cambridge Jesus Colledge is as lykely to haue a lordship by Radigund as any other. The deane said if any lord or colledge proved backward in this busines it was by our procurement, or by meanes of our standinge in yt, for the former I answered no. And to an allegation of Dr Nevyles that he took it more the townes right then the vniversities for the principall lordship of the soile, I reioned that other heades, and diuise of them I had heard of contrary iudgment in a case of settinge of willowes. He said they should give him leave to dissent. I replyed as not thinkinge that mynde so much to fauour the vniversityes priueledges; but that worde was not well taken of the deane, so as thereby, and for dealinge in this cause, I haue lost the deanes love, and was charged to be the man most to make this sturr, and who might quyet all if I woulde; he said it was tolde him that we had immediatly (vppon the receipt,) answered his Grace's letters *negative*, and that we had brought this matter to the consistory in Cambridge. We tould him bothe were vntruethes; he said he heard you should come vppon [] in Easter week and that Mr Morrell should tell him (as he taketh it) but we had not spoken with Mr Morrell when I writt these thinges we sought him all abroade.

After vppon thursday vnderstandinge that Mr Morrell was owt of the city I sent one vnto him and he marveled-muche at our cominge to London and said he had dispatched that matter before, but I pray god both you and we all can come to any reasonable accorde: you must be intreated to come vpp, if by any meanes it may be, for we perceave my lord looketh with both eyes of his fauour towardes them. I tould the deane, if we had but a glympse of his countenance in this case we were so confident in our cause, that we hoped to make it seeme lawfull and good in the hearinge of all the body of the counsell.

If your self can not possibly come, send vs the burser Mr Binlingsley¹ with instructions (if his grace will needes haue it) what we shall demaunde and stand vppon for consideration, for as we found him at the first he is that way mynded: I pray you the burser may inquire what consideration Kinges colledge giveth the towne for their inclosure and in what tyme that inclosure was made, as also of Mr Balls inclosure if it can be learned how that did and doth stand presently with owt impeaching of the vniversityes priuelege.

Thus haue you a small discourse of summe part of our proceedings as I could scribe in summe hast havinge my heade troubled with these busines, beinge so hard layed too that we stand in neede of your good helpe and so we are not with owt hope of a convenient issue, if god will: for they are I take it, and I see it are more troubled, and disquieted at the matter then we. The lord keepe you, and bless vs all: And so I take my leave.

your worship's to vse in the lord.

HENRY ALVEY².

Addressed: To the right worshipfull his approved good frind
Mr D^r Clayton master of St: Johns Colledge in Cambridg
these.

Archbishop Whitgift to St John's Colledge.

Salutem in Christo. I haue heard by Mr Alvey and some others of your Colledge, what the poyntes are, where vpon you seeme to stand as yet against Trinitie Colledge in their moste reasonable (in myne opinion) and necessarie enterprize. Wherevnto I thought good to write vnto you myne aunswere in fewe wordes.

And first towching your statute *De non alienandis Collegij terris &c.* I am resolved in myne owne iudgment, that it nothing concernith this matter in question. And for my

¹ Will. Billingsley, B.A. 1582, M.A. 1586, B.D. 1593.

² Henry Alvey, son of Robert Alvey and Catharine daughter and co-heiress of William Boun de Hulme (Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottingham*, p. 335), B.A. 1575, Fellow 1577; Third Provost of Trinity Colledge, Dublin, 1601—9, died in Cambridge, 25 January, 1626 (Ussher's *Letters*, No. 117).

further confirmation therein, I haue conferred both with Civilians and Common Lawyers, who all concurre in iudgment with mee, and are whollie of this mynde, that this intended inclosure is no way within the compasse of that statute. And in truthe, it cannot colourable or otherwise be comprehended in anye one worde, nor in all the wordes there set downe.

Secondlie towching the obiection of annoyance that may thereby happen to your Colledge; I doe assure you, that there is no suche meaning. And M^r Deane hath promised mee to take care that you shall haue no iust cause to complayne thereof.

Thirdlie for your Tenauntes; they are all of that nature that I am sorie to think, much more to haue it knowne, there should bee so slender frendlie consideration and litle love betweene Colledges, as once to make mention of anye of them.

Lastlie, concerning the preiudice that by this action may arise to anye title or clayme the Vniversitie hath or may haue to the Commons; I haue seene so manye precedents of former grawntes in lyke sorte made to diuerse Colledges in Cambridge from the towne, and some to your owne Colledge; that I am out of doute, there can be no preiudice therein.

And therefore I doe once agayne hartlie pray you, and as a frend advise you, not to stand any longer with them in this present case; protesting vnto you, that if the case were your owne, I would deale as earnestlie and effectuallye with Trinitie Colledge for you, as I doe now with you for them.

And so with my verie hartie commendacions I committe you to the tuicion of Almyghtie God. From Lambeth, the xxxjth of March, 1600.

Your verie loving frend

JO: CANTUAR:

Addressed: To my verie loving-frendes the Master and Seniors of St John's Colledge in Cambridge.

Mr Robert Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, concerning the matter now in question betwene your overthwart neighbours and you, you may be assured of very

good frendes, yf you be fyrme to your selves. They of whom Mr Alvey was by a grave father willed to tell you, that if they should heare that you stood against this matter, would conceyve otherwise of your self, then would stand with your good; they (I say) will do you right, yf they shalbe made privy to the particulers of the case and of your desyre. Synce the Colledg hath shewed itself in the matter, vnless you may have one courtesye for another, you wilbe much condemned of your best frendes, yf you do not stand out to the vttermost: and they may do litle for you that cannot fynde in their hartes to allowe you theyr wast water: make other demaundes besides that of a pype from theyrs, but never yeild to them vnless they grawnt you this pype simply to ronne at all tymes without limitation of tyme vnless they shall want water. Let me have knowledg that I may informe your frendes when and how you awnswer his Graces letter now sent, or to be sent by Mr Morrell, about this matter. Whatsoever shew is made, I doubt not but you will perceyve them shortlye to quaille, vnless you begynne to quaille afore them. Yf you fynde cause by theyr holding out against you an epistle from your College to Mr Secretary will do well whom you may accownt of your College for so he accowntes himself, making therein your case and desyre playne; and desyre him to succede his honourable father in protecting you. In standing out you may procure good to your College, abate your adversaries braves: and satisfye good frendes. In relenting you shall preiudice your College drawe on new wronges and discredit yourselves specially with them that love you best. I pray you lett me be from tyme to tyme acquainted with all thinges as they pass: and withstand them by advyse of lawe in peaceable and lawfull manner only, and not too hastily. Keep this letter to yourself and be assured that I write vppon better growndes then it is fitt now to signifye. With most hartly commendacions I rest

Tuus totaliter

3^o. Apr: 1600.

ROB: BOUTH.

You may take occasion to seeke vnto Mr Secretary as to your Steward of the whole body of the vniversity or rather as

to one on whom your Colledg dependes wholly. Let none see this letter but burne it: and send me a note of your particuler greivances and desyres and the reasons of bothe so as I may shew it to your best frendes who wilbe constant, but you must not boste of it.

ROB: BOUTH.

Addressed: To the right worshipfull my assured frend Mr Dr Claiton Master of St Johns Colledg in Cambridge.

Mr Robert Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, As I veryly think, your adversaries have now done theyr vttermost, and now your frendes beginne to worke, and whatsoever shew is now made I hope you shall see a chawng shortlie. If your Colledg relent before your frendes know it and approve it, it wilbe a great wrong to them, and cannot but be so taken: for they are resolved to stand most firmly to you. We send this footman to you with these letters least his Graces letter (which as I heare Mr Morrell hath) should too much animate you. We expect to heare oft from you whiles this matter is in question betwene your neighbours and you.

This bearer is sent to you and willed to go forward to such place as you shall appoint him: least having divers errantes he should omitt to deliver this to you with that speed we desyre. I pray you therfore appoint him to go forward into Norfolk to my sister Clippesby, and give him the inclosed letter herin, which is directed to her to carry her and to bring awnswer back to my Ladie from her and the rest there. And so in hast I committ you to the highest. In London 3^o. Apr: 1600.

Tuus totaliter.

ROB: BOUTH.

my Lord & Lady salute you very kyndlye.

Will this bearer to call on you in his way out of Norfolk that we may heare from you at his retorne to vs.

R: Bo:

Addressed: To Dr Clayton.

Archbishop Whitgift to St John's College.

Salutem in Christo. Your vnkynde and vn-neighbourly dealing with Trinitie Colledge in so small a matter is come to her Maiesties knowlege, together with my endeavour on that Colleges behalf: and I doo assure you that in the hearing of diuerse persons, her Highnesse expressed in some vehemencie her dislyke of your frowardnesse in so necessarie and reasonable a matter, towarde so greate and worthie a Colledge, of her Fathers foundation, and her owne patronage; and did reprove mee, for taking that indignitie at your handes, in not yelding to my motion in suche a tryfle: Saying That I did not vse that authoritie in forcinge of you, which I ought and might doo, (as it pleased her to say,) in many respectes. All which I thought good to signifie vnto you, before I proceede against you in any other course: hoping that in the meane tyme you will be better aduised, and satisfie nowe not my request, but her Maiesties expresse pleasure geuen vnto mee. Your frowarde and vn-charitable proceeding herein hath by some of your owne companie possessed the whole Courte, to your discredite and shame: Whereas I had thought that your discretion had beene suche, as to haue kept it within the knowlege onely of suche as would haue kept it secrete, vntill it had beene frendely ended. Which I supposed my last letters written vnto you the last of Marche would haue effected. Her Maiesty charged mee, That my lenitie breedes vnto mee contempt. I protest that I loue that Vniuersitie and euerie Colledge in it, as I loue myne owne lyfe; and that I haue dealt in matters concerning the estate and good thereof and of euerie Member therein, as tenderly and carefully, as any ffather could ever deale with his dearest children. But howe I haue beene or am regarded, lett the effectes declare. In this cause, what meanes you haue vsed, whom you haue solicited, what vnreasonable demandes you make; what vniust suggestions you vse; what iniurie you haue doon to your best frendes, what small respect you haue to mee, the onely man nowe liuing, who hadd the dealing in your Statutes, lett your Actes and proceedinges in this Action declare, I doo not blame you all herein: I am persuaded, that it is

against the disposition of suche as are most considerate among you. But to conclude, it is her Maiesties pleasure, That Trinitie College shall haue their desier in this suyte, and the conditions promised vnto you in my last lettres shall bee performed. And so I committ you to the tuition of allmightie god. From Lambeth, the vijth of April 1600.

Your assured louing ffrende
JO. CANTUAR.

Addressed: To my verie louing ffrendes the Master and Seniors of St Johns College in Cambridge.

Rev. William Pratt to Dr Clayton.

Sir, my dutye remembred etc.

You knowe by this the effecte of my Lord Grace his letter, which youre ffrendes woulde wishe you shoulde answer in the best manner you can, not yieldinge in anye case from youre right. If they be mandatorye in her Maiesties name, yet they may be thus answered. With all humility acknowledge the authoritie, and humblye desyre his Grace that as he hathe alwayes bene a patrone to learninge, so he woulde not nowe cast poore St Johns out of his protection: and that he will be pleased to make youre humble submission knowen to her Maiestie, from whome, and by whose good fauoure, you hold youre landes, lyuinges, lawes, and all els, her greate grandmother beinge youre foundres, and that his Grace woulde please to be informed fullye of the preiudices which you receaue by this inclosure. Oure good ffrendes are fullye possessed with the cause, of whose best helpe we may assure oure selues. Mr Secretary¹ beinge informed in it, made this answer that his father was and hymself is a St. John's man and in that regarde he will be readye to doe vs the best good he can. My Lord Treasurer² is, or shall be, acquainted with the matter whose good furtherance also we hope to obtayne. And therefore hauinge so good assurance of the helpe

¹ Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, son of the first Lord Burghley.

² Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst. Both Cecil and Sackville were members of St John's College.

of oure honorable frendes, and hauinge bene so farr seene in the matter alreadye, we must not nowe in anye case yielde without theire good approbation lest we be thought to be wantinge vnto them and to our selues. In the meane tyme it were fitte to addresse youre publick letter vnto Mr Secretarye, relyinge on, hym as on his father heeretofore, and makinge knowen vnto hym all your allegacions particularlye, as also signifyinge what is passed betweene his Grace and you, and also desyringe (if her Maiestie be possessed of this cause) his best helpe to satisfye her. You may desyre my Lord's Grace that you may not be pressed to breake oathe and statute concerninge which, as some lawyers saye you may do it, so others say you cannot, and you must satisfye youre owne myndes in that poynte, and though some [of] you be satisfied therein yet all are not. Desyringe further his Grace's fauorable acceptance of youre reasons and his gracious interpretation of youre doinges and that in a true sence of youre iust cause his [Grace] will not onlye satisfye hym selfe, but also be a meanes that her Maiestie may be satisfied. Signifyinge further that the desyre of a braunche from theire conduite, were a greate pleasure to your howse, and no inconuenience to youre neighbours: and that besides youre consentation therein it woulde greatlye satisfye youre posterity, who might fynde that you procured one benefitt by forgoinge another, but this must not be alledged if you stande vppon youre statute, which I thinke best at the firste to doe. It is best to unite the prejudices which you are to receave by this inclosure, as also the reasons of youre demaunde of a branche from theire conduite in a schedule by them selues, and delyuer them to hym whome you sende aboute youre busines. And thus I take my leaue, committingte you to the tuition of almightie god. Steuenage 7 Aprill 1600.

your worship's to commaunde

WILLIAM PRATT¹.

I woulde desyre youre secrecie, and to keepe this letter to

¹ Fellow of St John's, 1587. Presented to the Vicarage of Higham, Kent, 1591, resigned 1592 (Mayor-Baker, 435, 6), Rector of Steuenage, 5 December, 1598, died there 1629, age 67 (Clutterbuck's *Herts*, II. 443-4).

youre selfe, for though we may assure oure selues of good frendes, yet we must not make anye greate speache or bragges of them.

Addressed: To the Right worshipfull Mr Dr Clayton Master of St Johns Colledge in Cambridge geue these.

Mr Robert Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, your Colledge cause against Trinitie's inclosure finds honorable and earnest freinds. The last Sunday the matter was so hotte in Courte as the like hath not bene heard there in such a cause. My lord is passinglie earnest for you and your Colledge, Mr Secretary hath openly professed and still doth that he is of your house, and that you shall not have any wronge, nor they of Trinity there inclosure without satisfaction to your Colledge, yf his abilitie be sufficient to procure your righte. This day Dr Nevile hath bene with me, his ende was (as I gesse) that I should be his meanes to my lord to conceive rightlie of his duty to his house notwithstandinge his opposition in this cause, and that I mighte be a meanes to you for pacification: of my lords good conceipte of himself I assured him, and for any pacification, I said that your Colledge is not now yt selfe, greater persons having voluntarilie without any your suite entred into the cause, vnto whose satisfaction yt behooves you now to looke, and not they to yours. He alledged that our Colledge had delt hardly with the lord Archbishop in seeking to so great persons whiles his grace delt in the matter. I answered that yt was without your Colledge privitie vpon my lord of Londons *Caveat*, that yt would go ill with you yf my lord or Mr Secretary should know you delt in yt, for vpon notice of that *Caveat*, I desired my lord to continue his favour to you notwithstanding a controuersy betwene Trinity and you: vpon whose desire to be truly informed I got some of your societie to informe him particulerly, whervpon his lordship was moved to favour your iust cause as he doth: and of all liklyhood, the same *Caveat* was the motyve for Mr Secretary to vnderstand and favour your cause also. They alledge against you that many other Colledges have compounded for the like with the towne

as they do now, without seeking consent of any of the vniversity ever for yt. That your backside is in like state by composition with the towne only for 8^s 2^d rente or thereabouts yearely, that Dr Nevile pretermytted not your colledge, but thought you not interested in yt, never havinge hard that you had Manner there, and as yet thinking yt but your scite of a manner only, and that yf he had omitted the Colledge, yet he supposes, that the request made since to you by my Lord Grace's letters and his owne is good satisfaction for that omission. They say also that our Colledge hath no more righte in that comon, then any one scholler servant hath, and that now to compound with you were to putt on all other to seeke composition who have interest there. I would wishe you to search your evidence for helpe thence, and to send some of your societie hither presentlie instructed fully in this cause. This inclosed petition is very well liked of your best freinds, yt were good yt were put into latyne, as you vse, and sent vp to be exhibited to her Maiestie by those whom you send in this buisynes, and yt were well you sent by them also letters of thanks to Mr Secretary, with request to continew his favour and protection; you may take notice of his favour for he doth publishe yt. I need not advise you letters of thanks to my lord who hath done you extraordinary fauour in this cause¹. Let vs vnderstand of all things as they passe and be respectiue how you ende this cause without the approbacion of your freinds. Take vpon you that this inclosed petition is devised by your selfe and returne this copy thereof together with this my letter inclosed in your letter to me by this bearer. Mr Lyndsell Mr Coke and Mr Hammond and I comend vs kindly to you, and so I rest in haste 9^o April 1600.

Tuus totaliter

ROB: BOOTH.

Let vs have the copies of all that is written to you by the Archbishop and of your answers. Mr Alvey is said by your aduersaries to be a principall incitor to stand in this matter.

¹ See Baker-Mayor, p. 612.

Her Maiestie I doubt not will stand like a Royall iust prince (as she is) indifferente, whatsoever you heare to the contrarie.

Your frendes wishe that Mr Pratte may be one to followe this cause.

Addressed: To the Right worshipfull my assured frend Mr Doctor Clayton Master of St Johns Colledge in Cambridge.

Mr Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, I fynde no way so fitt to awnswer your letter of the 14th of this May, and to advyse you as you desyre, as by taking vppon me a person and humoure vnfit for me, in an overpresumptuous manner to controll your feares and discomfortes. Let it be allowed, that Trinity College men glorye, that some of your College fleere, and others greive and are discouraged, and that most men in other places do skorne your vsage and success, and that great meanes is vsed to incense his Grace against you: it is all answered thus, *intus si rectè, ne labora*. Have you done any thing wherto you were not bownd by your statute and othe? have you intruded your self maliciously into this busynes? or have you proceeded further or in other manner in it, then might very well stand with that duty which you do owe to god and men? Yf your answer be, as it must needs be, negative; what could you have donne otherwyse, then you have done, but it should have been worse donne? and why should you either greive at the present estate of that which you could not honestly prevent, or feare such future evilles which an honest man hath not meanes to avoyde? If you will beare with my playness, I assure you I fynde by this your letter that feares and discomfortes are in your mynde multiplied above that which is either true or fitt. Though I be affected hartely in your cause, yet in my iudgement (all circumstances considered) I do not fynde that you have had any harde success in it: you are as free as you were, and Trinitye College have no better (but much worse) assurance of their desyre, then they had before they molested you, and further I canne assure you that neither your enemies

are ferme, nor your frendes vnmyndful of you, who do only attend a fitt tyme to do you good: and therefore my best advyse is that you still hould a constant course as you have hetherto donne; that you suffer substances only (and not likinges, dislikinges, conceiptes, suspicions, rumours, and such like shadowes) to affect you: and that you do so governe your passionnes (how iust soever you esteeme them) that your best frendes be not drawne by them, rather to do somewhat presentlye, then to attend their best opportunitye to do better for you. I could not improve your letter to the best advantage, bycause of that which you write in it concerning your building¹: hereafter write not of both matters in one paper. I wryte to you as I would be written vnto in the like case: lett not therfore my direct playness deminish your conceit of my love. Let not any of your company (whomsoever you trust best) knowe of any hope that your case may alter to the better: for it is better that they languish a tyme, then that by their receyving an overspeedy comfort, the good which is intended to your howse should be hindred. Concerning your building, order is taken to send into the Cowntrye for mony for it: yf you take order with Mr Cradock for exchawnge lett me know where to fynde him. And thus with my hartiest commendacions I take my leave this 16th of May 1600.

Tuus totaliter

ROB: BOUTH.

My Lady desyres you not to suffer Mr Alvye to leave your Colledge.

Addressed: To the right worshipfull Mr Dr Claiton M^r of St Johns Colledge in Cambridge d^r.

Mr Booth to Dr Clayton.

Sir, I awnswered not your last letter by the Carrier bycause Mr Nevison the bearer herof doth promise to be so soone with you. Concerning your controversye with your crosse neyghbours, and their cutting downe Digbyes brydge, I canne advyse no other thing but patience: assuring you that no opportunity is

¹ The Second Court, then being built at the cost of the Countess of Shrewsbury, Booth's patroness.

lost by your frendes to procure your better fortune therin. Concerning your building, it is fallen out very vnluckely that before that our letters were in the Cowntrey towards Mr Coke about mony, Mr Coke was come hether, and so our directions to him in that behalfe were frustrate: but in regard of your need, we purpose to dispatch him hence into the cowntrey to morrowe, and we doubt not but you shall heare from him soone after his coming thether. I am commaunded to wryte thus vnto you, by them that thank you for your satisfying their request in keeping Mr Alvye still. Their honours commend them very kyndlye to you. Thus with hartly commendacions from my Neice Crewe, Mr Lindsell, Mr Coke, Mr Hamond &c to your self and all our good frendes with you I rest

Tuus totaliter

ROB: BOUTH.

24th May 1600
in Brodestreat.

Addressed: To the right worshipfull my assured frend Mr D^r Clayton M^r of St John's Colledg in Cambridge d^r.

After these letters I have found nothing among the muniments of St John's relating to the matter for a considerable period. But we know from other sources that there was considerable irritation between the Colleges (Cooper's *Annals*, II. 601, Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, II. 263). Trinity College obtained its enclosure in 1612—13, and St John's obtained by purchase from the Town what is now the site of the 'Bowling Green.'

The following letters preserved in the Treasury shew that there was still some ill feeling, and Sir Henry Savile's shews that it was now the turn of Merton College to seek compensation.

*Dr John Richardson to Dr Gwyn*¹.

Good M^r Vice Chaunceler I thank you for this dayes worke, which was close and lerned and for your honour and for the honour

¹ Master of St John's 1612—1633. Dr Gwyn was Vice-Chancellor 1615—16.

of the vniuersity, for so many as could heare or iudge of it. And now entendinge a iourney abroad (if my horses fayle mee not) I am once againe to desyre you, to keep the peace, in my absence, as you have done in my presence, betweene your neighbour Colledge, and gallant St John's, who come againe to braue vs and challenge vs in our owne groundes, although I perswad my selfe (vppon my complaint of a former abuse) you did commaund and vse your power to restrayne it.

I pray you Sir, foresee in your wisdomes what this distemper may proceede vnto, to the dishonour of our vniuersity, and the wronge of our youth of boath sides, who are impatient of prouocation, especially vppon their owne inheritance.

I did heere yesterday there noyse on our backsyd and would haue gone forth among them, but that I had taken Physike, and this day my Deanes of the Colledge did make an earnest request to mee to stay these beginnings, before I goe abroad, lest some mischiefe should followe before I returne againe.

I repose much in your wisdomes and good will to my selfe, wherein I would not haue any breach, for a thousande boyes quarrells, and yet I know that boyes may begin a quarrell which at length will end amongst men of greater place.

When we come to challenge your schollers vppon your groundes, let mee heare of it and try my spirit, which is dull in any thing but frendly respects, wherein you can neuer say it is wanting.

Tuus eternum

JO RICHARDSON¹.

Trinity Col.

March 24, 1615 [1615—16]

Addressed: To the right worshipfull my very good frend Mr Vichancellor of Cambridg At St John's Colledg.

¹ Master of Trinity, 1615—1625. The letter is endorsed in a somewhat later hand: "In commendation of his sermon and about quarrells betweene Trin: and St' John's."

Endorsed: Concerning the felows orchard. The copy of Dr Guynnes letter to Sr Henry Savile Warden of Merton Colledge in Oxford, 1617.

Right worthy Sir,

Vppon notice gyven me by a neighbour of a Controversy lyke to arise between Martyn Colledge and St Johns about a peece of grownd herto fore inclosed, I thought good by this pryvate letter to treat with yow therof yf happily soe an vnkynd suyte betwen two Colledges might be prevented. I was not forward to beleive you would stryke before you spake, and not first gyve vs knowledg of yowr greivance before you sought remedy by course of law. But yowr patience to other our neighbour Colledge in the lyke trespasse drawes me to conjecture that some sinister informations have forced you to myslyke that in vs which yow ar content not to see or els to beare with in others. What malicious touns may speake I know not, but this I dare vppon my credyte report to be the truthe.

There lay a peece of grownd adioyning to our backsyde about some 3 akers in quantity, the better parte wherof is the inheritance of Bennet Colledge and Lammas grownd, the residue is common. This grownd our schollers allwayes vsed for their exercise whyle it lay open, so as little profit came of it to any tennant nor could any one Comunner amongst such a multitude as had interest in it value his owne parte above xij^d in the yeare. This grownd my predecessour Dr Clayton some eight yeares synce purchased from the towne, which hitherto we have peaceably enioyed. We now make noe benifyte att all of it, but only vse it as a place of Recreation for the fellowes and younge gentlemen of the house which before this Inclosure was common to others with them. Yowr tennant ther had respyte to consider of it, and acquaynt his Landlords with the purpose, who after longe deliberacon, became yf not the leader yet a Cheif agent in the passinge of it. We could not beleive he wold yeild to any thinge that carryed shew of preiudice to his landlords without their consents, And yf then they lyked of it we know not what shold synce alienate their myndes being no

way party of our selves of the least offence eyther offered or intended to any of them. Sir, Considering the quantity of lande belonging to our Colledge being 3 partes of the whole feilds it wer not agaynst reason to challenge something in liewe of the former inclosures preiudiciall to our tennants Communing at large. Besydes Trinity Hall and Caius Colledge both possessed of Lordships within the towne, doe not fynd their tennants so damaged therby as they shold desyre consideracion for it. And I dowbt not but Martyn Colledge truly informed will deale with St John's as neighbourly, as those of our owne Vniversity. Howsoever yf yow please to referre the profitts of the grownd and other circumstances to any Indifferent man here or to yowr owne bursers when they keep yowr Courts I hope I shall have so much Interest in St Johns as they shalbe ready to gyve yow and them reasonable content And so *etc rest*

your very loving
friend.

July 7, 1617.

Sir Henry Savile to Dr Gwyn.

Sir, I am as willing as any man liuing that schollars and yong gentlemen should haue all their honest and lawfull recreation; and soe I haue reason to bee, it hauing been my occupation almost this 60 yeares. But I knowe you will not distast that I am iealous of the Colledge inheritance. that brought me vpp, which hath lately, as wee conceaue, been preiudiced by Trinity Colledge, and more by St Johns. The reason why I make a difference betweene you is this; for that the late M^r of Trinity Colledge, my worthy Cosin, doctor Neuill, before the enclosing asked our consents directly by mapp then being in court, and promised consideration as should be thought reasonable: which hee lyued not to performe, falling not long after into that mortall disease, which made him vnfit to be talked withall, and soe brought him to his ende. Neyther did we strike you of St Johns before we spake, yf the attendance of our Tenant 6 or 7 times vppon you by our Colledge expresse

commaundement, and you would neuer vouchsafe to speake with him, bee a speaking in law, as they say a tender is a payment in law. But Sir, that you may knowe I neyther seeke trouble nor law, especyally with Colledges, if it please you, I will make you and Trinity Colledge a fayre offer: eyther make vs such consideration as may bee proportionable in some sort to our losses, and suche as the Kinge which then was did thinke reasonable in Kinges Colledge case; or ioyne with vs in a quiett and peaceable tryall, which may bee dispatched in 2 or 3 tearmes, and whatsoever the euent bee, soe the triall bee vppon the mayne poynt, wee shalbe contented soe to end the whole matter with you both. And to that effect I purpose, if sicknes or greater busynes doe not hinder mee, to be at Cambridge my selfe about the 20th of September next, 2 or 3 dayes vnder or ouer; where if wee doe not end all Controuersyes betweene Colledge and Colledge by one of these twoo waies, it shall not bee our faultes, I dare presume soe much of our Company; praying you, that if you cannot be there at that time, or D^r Richardson, I may knowe by a word from you, and soe spare my paynes in iourniing; which to a man of my age wilbee longe and laborious: as if I cannot keep my day, I will certyfie you by a messenger expressly to that purpose. And soe I rest

your very loving frende
HEN. SAVILE

Eton ultimo Julij
1617

Of other poyntes of your letter wee shall talke further at our meeting, if it please god.

Addressed: To the Right worshipfull his very loving frende
M^r D^r Gwin Master of St Johns in Cambridge.

MONDAY, *May* 4th, 1891.

Professor HUGHES, M.A., President, in the chair.

The following new members were elected :

Frederick William Maitland, M.A., Downing Professor of the Laws of England.

Francis Crawford Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College.

Salomon Schechter, Esq., University Lecturer in Talmudic.

Professor HUGHES, on taking the chair, said: Before we proceed to the business of this evening, I think the Society will wish to give utterance to the feelings which are, I am sure, uppermost in the minds of all who have gathered here to-night. When last we met our proceedings were opened by him who had been the mainstay of our Society, who had long been *the* executive, and who we might almost say has been for years *the* Society. We little thought then that our active, vigorous, Secretary would be so soon and so suddenly taken from us. Death has lately laid a heavy hand on our Society. Since the Council met last week, one of its most honoured members has been called away from work conscientiously carried on, from suffering bravely borne, from weakness manfully fought against. In Dr Luard we have lost one of those ripe scholars and keen critics so valuable to a Society like ours. It is not my intention to-night to give any account of the career and work of those whom we have lost: that will come more fitly at the annual meeting, when we sum up the labours and the earnings, the gains and the losses, of the year. But I have thought that the Society would wish to place on record at once their sense of the loss they have sustained by the death of our accomplished and indefatigable Secretary, and to convey their sympathy to his widow in her bereavement.

Professor E. C. CLARK (Vice-President) said: All will gather the purpose of the proposal for which I claim precedence over our papers of to-day. I personally knew Mr Lewis

as a great antiquarian long before I was a member of this Society. Very shortly after my return to reside in Cambridge, I experienced his readiness to help an enquirer, his willingness to place his great knowledge and splendid collection at the service of any one genuinely interested in the pursuit which he had so much at heart. However, it is as the valued officer of our Society that I have to speak of him now. For nearly twenty years he has discharged the duties of Secretary to that Society with untiring assiduity, with exact punctuality, with never-failing courtesy. It is, moreover, no secret to those who have held office in our body, that Mr Lewis was as liberal in its support with his purse as he was with his time and labour. If I say that his loss is irreparable, I must only ask his probable successor to pardon me for language which I am sure Dr Hardcastle would be the first to echo. The Council have taken the earliest opportunity of placing on record their sense of that loss, and of forwarding a copy of their minute to Mrs Lewis. It has, however, been felt that a similar expression of feeling should also be addressed, by the Society at large, to one who, in the midst of her own greater sorrow, can to some extent perhaps also sympathise with ours, from the keen interest which she has always taken in our meetings and in our excursions. I have, therefore, to propose that a letter be sent in the name of the Society to Mrs Lewis, to express our thorough appreciation of the services of our late Secretary, our deep sense of the loss which she has sustained, and our heartfelt condolence with her in her sorrow.

Professor BABINGTON pointed out the great value that Mr Lewis had been to the Society. He said that he had known the Society from its foundation; had seen its early prosperity; then its decline when its founders and early friends left Cambridge; then the long period of its obscurity when it was difficult to keep it in existence; and then the happy return of prosperity, resulting in a great degree from Mr Lewis's acceptance of the office of Secretary. His great activity, and his earnest desire to raise the Society out of the obscurity into which it had fallen, have met with the great success which we

now see. This will show how heavy his loss is to the Society. He need hardly add how much his disappearance from amongst us would be felt by his personal friends, and by those who wish to consult the valuable library of Corpus Christi College.

Mr BOWES spoke as follows: I very heartily concur in the expression of the sense of the great loss we have sustained by the death of our late Secretary. In common with most of those who have joined the Society during the last fifteen years, I was introduced by Mr Lewis. He seemed to make the work of the Society his special business, and was indefatigable in trying to secure communications and new members, not only from among members of the University, but from among the inhabitants of the town and county; and I believe that he was the means of doubling the number of members of the Society. I very cordially support the resolution that has been so feelingly proposed and seconded.

After a few words to the same effect from Mr FITCH,

Mr C. W. MOULE asked leave to say one word as a member of the late Secretary's college, and associated with him there for more than twenty years; though he could hardly add to what had been spoken so well and with so much sympathy already. It had been said, most truly, that Mr Lewis made the development of this Society "his special work." Yet it might perhaps be not less truly said to have been only one of his special works; for there was really no purpose, either for individuals, or for his college, or in the larger field of the University, or in his wide intercourse with other places and with other lands, into which he did not throw the same inexhaustible interest, skill, and energy, and the same generous, never-wearied kindness.

Mr W. M. FAWCETT, the Treasurer, said he could not let the vote pass without expressing his great sense of Mr Lewis's valuable services. He had been a fellow officer with him during the whole time he had held the post of Secretary, and he could speak with thorough knowledge of the assiduous way in which he had devoted himself to the work. When he began, he (Mr Fawcett) did not think that there were more than thirty members, and now, chiefly through Mr Lewis's exertions, the number

has been raised to about three hundred. He should certainly miss him as a coadjutor with whom he had always worked most cordially.

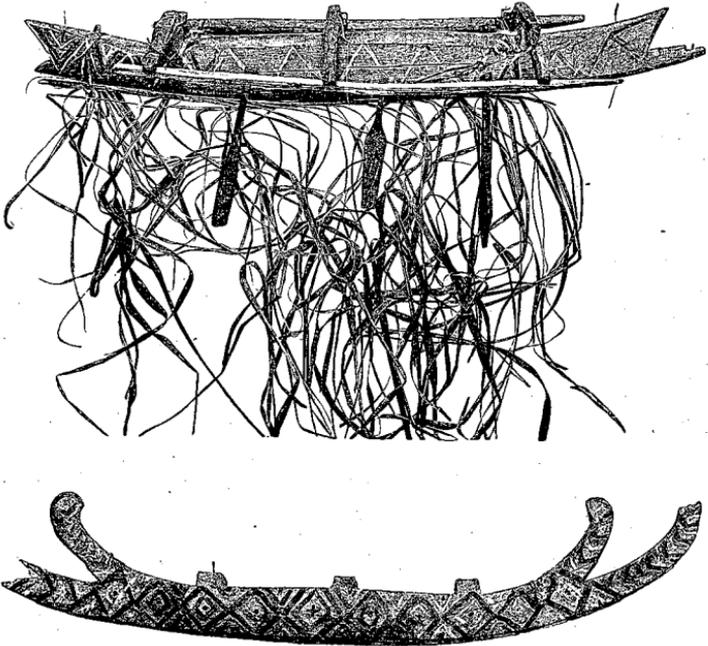
Mr J. W. CLARK wished to draw attention to a point which previous speakers had left untouched. Mr Lewis was, as they knew, librarian of his college, and in that capacity had charge of the priceless collection of MSS. collected by Archbishop Parker. He took the widest possible view of his duties as librarian; he was always on the spot, always ready to give help to those engaged in research. More than this, he placed his rooms at their disposal with absolute unselfishness. No matter what his own engagements might be, he was always ready to sacrifice himself in the interest of those who came to work in that library; in his rooms they were sure to find a welcome, and a convenient corner in front of a window, with a table and a comfortable chair, and his own assistance when difficulties had to be surmounted.

The resolution having been carried unanimously,

Mr S. J. HICKSON exhibited and described several "sakit" canoes. He said: These canoes came from a house in the Karaton Kampong in the Nanusa islands. They were suspended to a beam in the roof of the central hall of the house, and occupying the middle place of the row there was a triangular cage containing a small wooden figure. I found great difficulty in coming to terms with the natives for their purchase, as they were evidently anxious to keep them, and to divert my attention to this worthless model of a Spanish whaler. However, in the end I succeeded in purchasing the complete set of canoes, the god-cage, and the Spanish whaler, for a sufficient quantity of white sheeting—the only useful trade article except tobacco in these islands. From inquiries I made of German missionaries, of the rajah of the island through a Malay interpreter, and from a trader who constantly visited them, I learned that these canoes are called sakit canoes, and that their function is primarily that of a prevention against disease.

In order that I may be able to explain the manner in which these canoes act in this way, I must call your attention to some

of the prevalent ideas of the Malay races concerning spirits and sickness. Most of the Malays, and among them the Malays of the northern peninsula of Celebes, believe in the existence of a large number of free wandering spirits, both good and evil. There are spirits of the trees, spirits of the rocks, spirits of the rivers and the waterfalls, besides spirits of the houses and



Sakit Canoes: photographed from those presented by Mr Hickson to the Museum of Classical and Local Archaeology.

familiar spirits. To these spirits the people erect altars, on which they place betel, tobacco, food and wine. They are particularly careful not to offend them, for fear the evil spirits should visit them with sickness, and the good ones cease to pour out their blessings upon them. The altars are of various kinds; sometimes they are little houses, sometimes little cages, sometimes simple smooth stones or rocks. In some cases, as for example, among the Tondanese, little ladders of string orna-

mented with cocoa-nut leaves are made to facilitate the descent of the spirits from the neighbouring trees to the altar. It seems to me to be very probable that these canoes should be regarded as altars of this nature. They are resting-places for the evil spirits, and they are placed in the native houses to prevent the Sakits from becoming angry, and attacking the inmates. In many of the Malay islands sickness is supposed to be due to the temporary absence of the patient's spirit, and the occupation of the body by the Sakit. Thus in the Minahassa district of North Celebes the cure of disease is brought about by the calling back of the spirit. A feast is given called Manemeh, and the priests go out into the forest, or wherever they believe the spirit has gone, and call for it, or whistle for it, as one would for a dog. When there is evidence that the spirit is present, it is caught in a cloth, and the cloth is opened over the head of the patient. In Bolang Mongondu, where the customs of the people resemble more closely those of the people of Sangir than do those of the Minahassers, the following ceremony takes place: After a song between the priests and the people present, two priestesses dance round the room. They hold in their hands coloured cloths, which they flap about hither and thither. Some cloths are tied on to the end of a spear, and a little wooden doll is placed on the end of it. This is held up by one of the priestesses, and then, when they think the soul is there, that is to say has settled on the figure, another priestess approaches it on tip-toe, and catches it in a coloured cloth. When this is done she approaches the patient, wraps his head in the cloth and stands for some moments with a very earnest, anxious, expression, holding her hand on the patient's head. If this ceremony does not succeed, then it is supposed that the patient's spirit has been called away for good by his forefathers, and he is left to die. Variations of the sakit canoe myth occur in other parts of the Archipelago. Among the Dyaks, according to Hardeland, goats, chickens, pigeons, and miniature houses and boats are offered to the angry spirits that hover round a woman during her pregnancy; these are carried to the river and sunk by earth and stones. Similarly among

the Alfurus of Halmaheira there are invisible evil spirits called Djins, that sometimes like to go for a row on the sea. So the people make miniature canoes for them, fill them with food, and set them afloat. Baessler mentions that in cases of illness in the Wettar islands the relations of the patient make a small canoe, called a 'pomali' prau, which they push off into the sea, believing that in that manner they will drive the sickness away. The same author figures a model of a prau from these islands, but does not mention any use that it is put to. It is not probable, it seems to me, that these models are made either for sale or for amusement, and it may be that they are of the same nature as those I have described from Sangir.

In Buru sicknesses are due to male and female *suwanggi*, angry spirits that live on the tops of the mountains, in dense forests, or in the crowns of trees, as well as to the manes of the forefathers whose spirits are not yet at rest at Waieli, or whose graves have been disturbed. In times of epidemic, such as small-pox and the like, they make a prau, six metres long and half a metre broad, with the necessary paddles, sails and anchors, and place in front and behind a Netherlands flag. The edge of the prau is ornamented with young cocoa-nut leaves, and in the prau itself is placed a mat covered by a piece of white linen. Further, the prau is furnished with a roast chicken, a head of a deer and of a pig, a cuscus (?) all roasted, cooked fish, seven hen and seven *Megapodius* eggs, a plate of cooked rice, a plate with cooked corn, various fruits and vegetables, a dish of sago, a bamboo with sagoweer wine, a bamboo with water, a cup of cocoa-nut oil, and lastly a dish with sirih leaves, betel nut, and tobacco. Then for a whole day and night the people beat their drums and gongs, and jump about for the purpose of driving the spirit into the prau. On the following morning ten strong young men are chosen, who with rattans bind to the mast of the prau a living cock, and then in another prau they tow it far out to sea. When they are far away from land they let it loose, and one of them shouts: 'Grandfather small-pox go away, go away for good, go and seek another land; we have prepared you food for your journey, we have now no more to

give you.' When the prau has returned to the shore the men, women, and children all go down to bathe together in the sea in order that the sickness may not return. In Amboyna we find also that in certain cases of sickness a small prau is made in which a plate and dish are placed with ten pieces of silver in them, a piece of white linen, a number of burning candles, and a white cock. Before it is cast adrift the body of the sick person must be pecked by the white cock, that the *Sawano*, i.e. spirit of sickness, may be driven out. Similarly in Ceram a small prau, one and a half metres in length, is made and loaded with victuals and other necessities of life, and cast adrift as soon as the spirit of sickness has been allured into it. Similar ceremonies are found in the Gorong archipelago. In the Watubela islands the prau that is made under similar circumstances is two and a half metres in length. In the Aru archipelago the prau is two metres long, and provided with wooden dolls, silver rings, plates with betel nuts and accessories, arak, and tobacco. In the Babar archipelago it is three metres long and one metre broad; in Wettar, five metres long by half a metre broad. Similar ceremonies are described from Timor Laut, and the Leti group.

Before leaving this subject, I must call attention to the very simple coloured patterns on these canoes. From collections in museums it might be supposed that the Malays are very artistic; this is perhaps due to the fact that collectors frequently will only obtain implements and the like that are ornamented with curious coloured designs and figures, and leave behind those that are not so ornamented; the result being that an unfair proportion of ornamented things appears in the cabinets of the museum. I am inclined to believe that the Malays are not artistic, and that the few ornamental designs of their own are very poor and primitive. The best known islands of the archipelago are Sumatra and Java, and there we find most wonderful carvings on the ruined temples of Burra Buddha and elsewhere, besides ornaments with complicated patterns in the people's costumes, in their houses, their dolls, and domestic utensils. But this is not Malay art. It is the art that was brought by the Buddhist priests in the 3rd century from Further

India. Nor should we judge of Malay art from the specimens obtained in Timor, Aru, Timor Laut, and Ceram, for in these islands there is undoubtedly a very great influence from the mixture of the race with the Papuans. In Celebes, South Borneo, and the Moluccas, there is very little art, and this is due, I believe, to the fact that there has been very little Buddhist, and very little Papuan, influence. The chief character of Malay art, if it can be so called, is the absence of any good curves. Nearly all their own designs are angular, and those that they have copied from other races have a tendency to become angular. An instance of this is the figure on flying fish floats used in the Sangir islands, copied probably from the bird design of the Solomon islanders. Spears, shields, blow-pipes, canoes, agricultural implements, bowls, and other implements, besides the houses and clothes of the people, are frequently, if not usually, unornamented, in striking contrast to similar things among the Papuans. Nothing could be more impressive than the contrast in this respect between a Malay and a Papuan village.

After some discussion,

Baron A. VON HÜGEL, Curator of the Museum of Archæology, exhibited some objects recently acquired by the Museum by purchase, exchange, or bequest, from the Sheffield Museum, the late Henry B. Brady, F.R.S., and his brother, Dr George Brady. He also announced that Mr Hickson had presented his unique canoes to the Museum.

FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, 27 *May*, 1891.

Professor HUGHES, President, in the chair.

The following Officers were elected for the next academical year:

President: Professor E. C. Clark, LL.D.

Vice-President: Professor Hughes, M.A.

Members of Council:

Professor Humphry, M.D.

J. W. Clark, M.A.

J. B. Mullinger, M.A.

Treasurer: W. M. Fawcett, M.A.

Secretary: N. C. Hardcastle, LL.D.

Auditors:

J. E. Foster, M.A.

R. Bowes, Esq.

The Annual Report was presented to the Society:

The Council has the pleasure of announcing that No. xxx. of our *Reports and Communications* (for 1887—88); *Alderman S. Newton's Diary*, edited by J. E. Foster, M.A.; and *The Pedes Finium relating to the County of Cambridge*, edited by Mr Walter Rye, have been issued to Members.

The *Proceedings and Communications* for 1888—1889 and 1889—90, commencing a New Series, will, it is hoped, be in the hands of Members before the close of the year. The *Registers of St Michael's Parish*, edited by Dr Venn, are also in a forward state.

Several members have retired from change of residence or other causes; but the principal losses of the Society have been by death. Among those who have passed away, the Council desire specially to commemorate, with profound regret, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi Collège, Secretary to the Society since 1873; the Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Registry of the Univer-

sity; Sir P. Colquhoun, LL.D., M.A., of St John's College; and the Rev. R. B. Somerset, M.A., of Trinity College.

Thirteen new members have been elected during the past year.

Seven General Meetings have been held, of which three were at half-past four o'clock.

Last summer two excursions were made: one in July to Oxford, where the Society was very kindly received, especially at Oriel College; and one in August to Weeting Hall in Norfolk, on the invitation of William Angerstein, Esq.

The PRESIDENT read the following address: When last I offered a few remarks upon the work of our Society, you had just done me the honour of electing me to preside over your meetings. Let us now take a retrospective view over the two years that have passed since then, and see what we have done, and what our experience suggests we may do better in future. Our thoughts first turn to those who took part in all our discussions and labours, but are no longer with us. On our list we see the names of others who have recently passed away, whose duties lay elsewhere, and who, though they did not attend our gatherings or contribute to our publications, showed sympathy with our work, and were enrolled among our members.

Though more than one notice of his life has already appeared, the death of the Rev. Henry Richards Luard calls for a few words on this occasion, for he was very closely connected with our Society—more than once our president, often on the Council, a frequent attendant at our meetings, always listened to with attention. It is gratifying to our self-respect to feel that we did appreciate Dr Luard. He was a typical Cambridge man. I have heard him say, "The one thing we pride ourselves on most at Cambridge is our accuracy," and his standard was high and his criticism of those who fell short of it severe—for he was also a very outspoken man, one with whom you felt you could discuss questions on which you both felt strongly, and differed, as his freedom of speech invited reply as much as, or perhaps more than, the ever protesting avoidance of personality

by which others sometimes attempt to carry on a tepid interchange of ideas. The *Life and Work of Porson*, *Medieval Chronicles*, and *Relations between England and Rome in the Reign of Henry III.*, are some of the subjects upon which he expended much of his untiring energy and powers of research and criticism. It would be an interesting study to trace the steps of the young Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity through Mathematics, Classics, Theology, to Medieval Ecclesiastical History. What did carry him through and enable him to leave his mark on each was a clear head, methodical habits, and a courageous spirit. He knew something of most of the subjects that came before us, and everything that was to be known about some of them. In the records of the University, so long under his care, we find, to our lasting benefit, a monument of his perseverance and method, and, in the hearts of all who knew him, we find impressed the sentiment that he was a man whom it was good to have had among us.

The Rev. Ralph Benjamin Somerset was an honoured member of the Society. He took little part in the discussions or the administration of the Society, but in the quietly spreading influence of one on whose judgment men felt they could rely, in whose knowledge men believed, his presence was of incalculable value in a Society which aims at the scientific treatment of subjects for which data are still insufficient, and on which speculation has long been rampant. His frequent attendance at our meetings showed his interest, and on matters relating to architecture and art his authority was great. His life's work lay elsewhere. Captain of his school, 1st and 2nd Class in the Mathematical and Classical Triposes respectively, Fellow and Dean of Trinity, Proctor in the University, on the Council of Cavendish College, active in church-work as Curate and Vicar, or with ever ready aid to fellow-labourers—and last, but not least, as Censor of the Non-Collegiate students—his was a full life, and among the influences that have tended towards making the world better during the last quarter of a century, few rank higher than the life of Ralph Benjamin Somerset.

Sir Patrick Mac Chombaich de Colquhoun was better known

in connection with the athletic sports of the University than as a member of our Society. Yet his studies lay among cognate subjects to ours; for besides various works on politics and language, he wrote a Treatise on Roman Civil Law; and, as President of the Royal Society of Literature and also of a Committee of the Orientalists' Congress, he did much to promote research in ancient literature and history. He was born in 1815, was educated at Westminster and St John's College, where he took his B.A. in 1837, M.A. in 1844, and was later elected as Hon. Fellow. He received the degree of LL.D. in 1851, and was also *Juris Utriusque Doctor* of Heidelberg. He had many opportunities of studying men and manners as a barrister on the Home Circuit, as Master of the Bench of the Inner Temple, as Plenipotentiary in the Hanseatic Republic, as Aulic Councillor to the King of Saxony, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the Ionian Islands. He died on Monday, May 18, at his chambers, King's Bench Walk, Temple.

Our late Secretary claims a fuller notice at our hands. He was the third son of William Jones Lewis, a surgeon, of Croydon, by his second marriage with Elizabeth Bunnell, who was a direct descendant of Philip Henry on her mother's side, and of Huguénot extraction on her father's. His elder brother, Bunnell Lewis, showed the same tastes and talent that distinguished our Secretary, and is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and Professor of Classics in Queen's College, Cork. The father was a nonconformist of somewhat austere views, it would appear, and took a decided and active part as Deacon in the Congregational Church at the Poultry, London. Samuel Savage Lewis was in 1844 sent to the City of London School, where he won a foundation scholarship in 1848. In October, 1854, he entered at St John's College, where he became a prizeman in 1855; but at Christmas of the same year he was obliged to give up work and leave the University, in consequence of the failure of his eye-sight. Samuel Morley seems now to have interested himself in him, and assisted him to find a home on a farm near Shepreth, with Mr Clear. There, we learn, he showed the same kindly helpful spirit that characterised him through

life, and would walk miles to procure some little offering which he thought it would gratify the recipient to find on his breakfast table on his birthday morning. In 1857 he moved to the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, but did not stay long there, for in the same year we find him in Canada, where he spent nearly three years, made some friends, and suffered some sorrow and pain. His life was not without adventure and dangers. On one occasion, when stopped by a freebooter, who covered him with his revolver, Lewis remonstrated with him, pointed out with such force how sorry he would be by and by if he killed him, that the man hesitated, relented, and at last let him go. In November, 1860, he started from Quebec for England, when he tried private tuition in London for a short time, but had to give it up because of his eyes; and in September of the following year he went to the Prince Consort's model Norfolk farm, where he remained till 1864. But he never loved the work, he was forced into it by the cruel malady which drove him from the pursuits to which he was drawn by inclination. All his references to that life are those of repugnance, often expressed in Latin or Greek. Though he threw himself very fully into the work which he had to do, he did not in after life recall with pleasure many of the incidents of the time. Yet he always retained his love of horses, and his interest in farming and farmers continually showed itself. Whenever he could he snatched a moment from the bucolic toil to read some favourite classic, generally Horace, of which he always carried a small copy about with him. In 1864, however, an operation was performed by Critchet which seems to have been so far successful that in January, 1865, he re-entered at St John's, but the state of his eyes would not permit his doing as much written work as was there required, and so he migrated to Corpus, where a certain amount of relaxation to meet special cases was possible. At Corpus he was awarded an Exhibition and the Mawson Scholarship in 1866, but after joining Corpus he had again to leave Cambridge for a year, owing to a carriage accident in which he broke a leg and suffered other serious injuries. In 1868, in spite of the disadvantages of his long

weakness of sight and ill-timed accident, he was bracketed ninth in the First Class of the Classical Tripos, and the next year he was elected a Fellow of his College. In 1872 he proceeded to the degree of M.A., and in the same year took Holy Orders. He was soon engaged as Classical Lecturer, first as deputy, 1873-4, and as full lecturer, 1874 to 1887. He also held the offices of Catechist and Prælector, and that of Librarian from 1870 to the time of his death. In this last capacity he did good work in the arrangement and development of the Library, and moreover did much to spread abroad its fame, and to gain for his College and University a good name by his hospitable reception of, and generous and courteous attention to, the many scholars from our own and foreign countries who came to inspect and study the literary treasures under his care. He was a good linguist, well acquainted with many modern tongues, a fact which much increased his usefulness as a librarian, his profit in travel, and his agreeable reception of foreigners. He wrote a charming sketch of the history and contents of the library, which, with reproductions of some of the most interesting illuminations, he used to give away in the most liberal manner to any one interested in the subject. Several little incidents are recorded, which show at once the pride he took in the library of his College and his liberality and kindly feeling. Sometimes, for instance, when a student wanted a book which was not in the Library, Mr Lewis would, if it could be got, buy it at once, put the Library book-plate in it, and send it to the astonished enquirer, who often within an hour found on his table the book he had been trying to get from the Library. On its being sent back it was entered in the Library Catalogue. His liberality was great but unostentatious, and many a poor student was helped through the University by the timely aid that Mr Lewis gave him. His own College—especially its Library and that of Cavendish College—for which he bought Paley's Library, as well as this Society, can tell the same tale of benefactions. He took no active part in politics, nor in the various controversial matters that arose in the University from time to time. Though of a liberal turn of mind, he leaned

rather to the repose of Conservatism than to the restless activity of Radicalism. Though a loyal Churchman, he was liberal also in his views of religious discipline, and made friends alike of the Protestant pastor or the Catholic curé. He supported the early movement for giving women the advantages of a University education, and was from 1875 to 1877 Latin Lecturer to the Association for the Higher Education of Women. Always ready to undertake work, we find that he was at one time Secretary to the Philosophical Society, to the Philological Society, and to the Antiquarian Society, and all who have had to do with him in the various capacities in which he had to carry on the business of these and other bodies, bear testimony to the temper and forbearance he always showed, to his uniform courtesy, and to the punctuality by which he showed his respect for other people's time. Officially and unofficially he carried on an extensive correspondence with foreigners, and especially with the representatives of various learned societies, being himself a corresponding member of the Société des Antiquaires de France, and member of the Archeological Societies of Athens, Berlin, Bonn, Paris, of the Société Eduenne, of the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, of the Statistical Society of Marseilles, and of the Archeological Societies of Philadelphia and Boston. He was of a very sociable disposition, and loved to share the pleasure of any new discovery. Some of us remember how he used to announce that he had secured a valuable communication for our society with as great pleasure as would be shown by many another if he had written it himself. Hence the work of societies was more congenial to him than lonely labour in his own study. To this trait in his character, as well as to the fact that he suffered after too long continuous application from pains in the head, and to the continued weakness of his eyes, as well as to constant interruptions and a too obliging nature, we may attribute the fact that he left no large work as the result of so much travel and research. He was always helping others, instead of elaborating and completing some task that would have redounded more to his own credit. He was not one of those who are so jealous of their own reputation that they will

contribute nothing to a discussion until they are able to come down with a final and authoritative statement. He was always willing to help to bring those around him up to his own standpoint, though he well knew that it was far short of the summit of knowledge. Always suggestive, he put enquirers on the right track, and told them where to turn for further information. When Lord Selborne was collecting material for his work on churches and tithes¹ he was taken ill at Cambridge. Mr Lewis, who had shown him every attention, and offered him every assistance while examining the Corpus MSS., nursed him through his illness, and this kindness Lord Selborne acknowledged in his preface.

"To the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Master and other members of that learned Society, I owe thanks not only for the facilities given to me while consulting some of the MS. treasures of their library, but for the more than ordinary personal kindness with which those facilities were accompanied."

We can never rightly estimate the amount of work he did for others, but some idea of the nature and extent of it may be gathered from such extracts as the following from the preface to the second edition of the Rev. C. W. King's work, *The Gnostics and their Remains*.

"In conclusion I must express my grateful acknowledgments of the services of my indefatigable friend, Mr S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College; but for whose persuasion, and negotiations with the publishers, these pages would never have seen the light. Not merely this, but he has enabled me to overcome an apparently insurmountable difficulty in the way of the publication—the failure of my sight, which totally prevented my conducting the work through the press—by taking upon himself the correction of the proofs: a laborious and irksome task to any one besides the author; and demanding a sacrifice of time that can only be appreciated by those, who, like myself, know the multifarious nature of the engagements by which every hour of his life is so completely absorbed."

There is something very pathetic in this story of one whose own life's work and aims had been so cruelly thwarted by failing sight, now making an effort, though with difficulty and suffer-

¹ "Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes," by Roundell, Earl of Selborne. 8vo. Lond. 1888.

ing, to help another whose eyes were already quite unequal to the task before them.

His own work is scattered through the publications of the learned societies connected with Archeology and Literature, especially with Philology. In 1872 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and in 1870 a member of the Numismatic Society, and in 1872 served upon the Council of that Society. In 1876 he communicated to the *Numismatic Chronicle* a description of the Jewish shekel of the fifth year, a coin which he had just added to his collection, but which had not been hitherto recorded. His collection of coins of this class was large and valuable, and this, with all his other coins and his gems, and statuary and vases, he has left to his college. These, forming a fine series in illustration of classic glyptic art, and of the coinage of the ancients, are of great educational value, and will be a very conspicuous addition to the already rich treasures which the college possesses. Nor must we forget the help so freely given to his brother clergy; help which involved no small amount of mental labour in the preparation, and of physical toil in the execution.

He married in 1887 Miss Agnes Smith, a lady who was in full sympathy with him in his work, and especially in his love for the history and literature of Greece. He did not live long to enjoy the comforts of the home they had made for themselves under the Castle Hill, but on the 31st of March, 1891, he quietly passed away as they were travelling together in the train between Oxford and Kirtlington. At our last meeting we sent to her a message of condolence upon her bereavement, and an expression of our own deep sense of the loss which we as a society had just sustained.

Our late secretary occupied an exceptional position in our society. No one realised till he was gone how much had been left to his initiative; how much depended upon his watchful care. Evening after evening he provided us with good and interesting communications, while he seldom received much help, but often was thwarted and inconvenienced by inconsiderate applications. He was a very marked personality, and

one full of mannerisms. His quaintly-turned expressions of kindly feeling, or his antiquated salutations, may have sometimes appeared grotesque to the stranger, but generally they only reminded one of the antiquary's familiarity with the courteous phraseology of bygone days, and certainly could evoke no feeling of resentment among those who knew that they were not mere words unbacked by deeds; for among us there was no one more ready to give ungrudgingly, and with no claim for acknowledgment, of all that he had to help a fellow worker. What little is known of the story of his life gives us glimpses of wishes and ambitions, baffled by circumstances over which he had no control. All of these hopes and fears and joys and sorrows have passed into the great abyss, and who shall strike the balance between them? Those few who were on such intimate terms with him as to touch now and then a sympathetic chord and draw out his inner thoughts, tell us that his self-control was maintained by a disciplined soul, and his good deeds were the outcome of a heart that beat true.

I am indebted to our secretary, Dr Hardcastle, for much valuable assistance in collecting the facts recorded in the above obituary notices.

Of the matters to which I especially called the attention of the Society in October, 1889, the first related to the hour of meeting. Some of our members preferred the evening, some the afternoon. It was decided to try each alternately, and I am unable to say that the preponderance in the number of attendances has shown that either is distinctly the more convenient. The compromise, therefore, continues in action, and the matter is still in your hands. Nor has the mode of election of new members yet been decided upon, and I would, on retiring from office, strongly advise you to look into and settle the question before it may possibly be forced upon you, encumbered with personal, and, perhaps, legal, considerations.

The wide range of subjects embraced by our Society is well illustrated in the list of communications made during the past two years. The archeology of our libraries has been represented by the description of an early xvith century book; by remarks

on early Cambridge and London printers; by documents from the archives of St John's College, and from the muniment room at Ely; and the interesting discussion upon the relation of the dioceses of Lincoln and Ely. St George and his martyrdom, and the Syriac and Coptic versions of the story, have furnished the material of more than one communication. In local history we have had a criticism of Ingulf's History of Croyland, and the results of researches into the records of the parishes of Shengay, Abington Pigotts, and Tadlow; an enquiry into the direction and age of the great fen roads, and an identification of our Cambridge dykes with certain earthworks mentioned by Tacitus. We have heard descriptions of Horham Hall, Swaffham Abbey, Barnwell Priory, and of a xvith century house recently discovered in Cambridge, and some interesting early sketches of the Colleges and other places have been shown. Kunic inscriptions and oghams have had their turn. The canopy carried over Queen Elizabeth has been described and placed in our Museum. Gems, coins, bells, dials, pottery, and various other objects have been exhibited and commented upon, but with regard to these last items I would offer some further remarks.

I would again point out that we have not yet got a museum of local antiquities which is of the slightest use for enabling us to work out the progressive or successive occupation of our district by various races, or to trace its history by means of objects disinterred from time to time. When many years ago I made a representation to the Council of the Senate that in the course of my geological work it came within my knowledge that many objects valuable from the point of view of their illustration of the history of the district, and much evidence that would probably never be offered again, was from time to time turned up during agricultural and other commercial operations, I urged upon the University that some steps should be taken to collect and preserve them. When later I organised a more distinct appeal to the University in the same sense, our aim was to obtain a museum where the objects should be classified according to what was known of their age, origin, and surroundings,

so that each new find could be compared at once with the *tout ensemble* of the nearest similar discovery, and what was the same or different be at once observed and recorded to guide further research. I thought we should see on a map where British and Roman objects had occurred together, where Roman and Saxon, where weapons, and where only instruments of peace had been found, and that we could have at once verified the accuracy of the determinations by an examination of the specimens themselves. I had hoped we should have been able by comparison of all the specimens found in the several localities to trace some difference in the character of the pottery as the Romans advanced along the fens, and as the natives adopted their customs and the pattern of their wares. It was a wonderful opportunity. A country was being pared off to the depth of from six to twenty feet for various purposes, a numerous body of students was ready to be interested, an abundant record of its former occupation continuously from the time of paleolithic man to the present day was buried around us. It was not necessary to display the objects under glass. Had they been only accessible the work would have gone on. Much may yet be found, but the great opportunity has been lost for ever. The excellent ethnological museum brought together and arranged by our Curator is of great value and most helpful for the inquiry into the habits of primeval man, but it is absurd to place at his disposal such a very limited space and such a small number of cases in which to keep and render available for study the local archeology of such a district as Cambridge. This short-sighted policy has already almost produced the effect of rendering further room unnecessary by stopping the drifting of objects of local interest into the museum at all.

In conclusion I will only congratulate the Society on having secured as President the distinguished scholar, epigraphist, and numismatist whose name has been so well received to-night—and as Secretary one whose great energy and powers of organisation, not unknown to the Society, encourage us to take a hopeful view of its future.

After a few words relating to the late Rev. S. S. Lewis, from

the Rev. J. T. LANG and Prof. MAYOR, Baron A. VON HÜGEL, in the absence of Mr A. G. Wright, exhibited and described some objects found near Newmarket.

The PRESIDENT announced that Mr Wright had kindly presented the objects exhibited to the Museum, and then proceeded to show a plated bronze strigil found at Great Thurlow, in Suffolk, which called forth some comments from Professor CLARK.

LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 27, 1891,

AND

TREASURER'S REPORT.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors :

From S. Culin, Esq., of Philadelphia, U.S.A. :

The Patriotic Rising.

Chinese Secret Societies in the United States.

Customs of the Chinese in America.

From the Editor :

The Antiquary, June—October, 1890; December, 1890; January—
March, 1891.

From the Editor :

The Reliquary, Vol. iv, Nos. 3, 4.

From Colonel Garrick Mallery, U.S.S. :

Customs of Courtesy.

From Professor Browne, B.D. :

Syllabus and Illustrations for the Disney Lectures, Lent Term, 1891.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications :

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (W. H. ST J. HOPE, M.A.,
Assistant Secretary, Burlington House, London, W.) :
Proceedings, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. GOSSELIN, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):
The Archaeological Journal, Vol. XLVII.
3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Sandown House, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
Transactions, Vol. II, Part 5.
4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
Nothing received this year.
5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich):
Nothing received this year.
6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. HASLEWOOD, F.S.A., St Matthew's Rectory, Ipswich):
Proceedings, Vol. VII, Part 2.
7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex):
Nothing received this year.
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
Nothing received this year.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
Nothing received this year.
10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
Transactions, Vol. V, Part 2.
11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stoneygate, Leicester):
Transactions, Vol. VII, Part 2.
12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):
Reports and papers read during the year 1889.
Index to Vols. xv—xix. 1879—1888.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Curator*, Rev. J. MANSELL, 12 Kremlin Drive, Liverpool):
Nothing received this year.
14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:
Nothing received this year.
15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Secretary*, R. BLAIR, Esq., The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):
Archæologia Aeliana, Vol. xv. Part 1.—Part 38.
Proceedings, Vol. iv, Nos. 22—26, 27—30.
New Statutes of the Society.
16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Secretary*, Rev. R. TREVOR OWEN, M.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry):
Archæologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), Nos. 27, 28, 29.
17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. xxiv, Part 3.
18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
Journal of the Society, Vol. xiii.
19. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Proceedings and papers, Fifth Series, Vol. i.
20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. Pol. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):
Bulletin et Mémoires, 1889.
21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (*Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, Sekretær*, Kristiania):
Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid. Part x.
22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):
Nothing received this year.
23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESENHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):
Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεὺς, Athens):
Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vol. IV, 1890, Parts 1, 2, 3.
Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1889.
25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):
Nothing received this year.
26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):
Report for 1886, Part 2. Do. for 1887, Parts 1, 2.
Proceedings of the United States National Museum, Vol. XI. 1888.
27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 320 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
Proceedings, 1887—1889.
28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):
Nothing received this year.
29. Smithsonian Institution (J. W. POWELL, *Director*):
Catalogue of Pre-historic works east of the Rocky Mountains.
By C. Thomas.
Omaha and Ponha Letters. By J. O. Dorsey.
Bibliography of Algonquian Languages. By J. C. Pilling.
30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*, Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A.):
Nothing received this year.
31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey):
Bulletin Annuel, 1890.
32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (JOHN E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, 27 Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.):
Transactions, Part XXI.
33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.):
Collections of the Society, Vol. X, Part 1.

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (J. A. TURNER, Esq., *Curator*, The Castle, Taunton):
Proceedings, 1889.
35. Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr DIETRICH SCHÄFER, Jena):
Zeitschrift des Vereins, Band VII. Heft 1, 2.
Thüringische Geschichtsquellen (neue Folge).
36. American Antiquarian Society (*Librarian*, E. M. BARTON, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A.):
Proceedings, 1890, 1891.
37. The Johns Hopkins University (N. MURRAY, Esq., *Secretary of the Publication Agency*, Baltimore, Maryland):
University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Seventh Series, Parts 7—12; Eighth Series, Parts 1—4.
38. Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (Dr EHRENBERG, *Sekretar*, Posen, North Germany):
Nothing received this year.
39. The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (*Secretary* The Hon. A. J. STRUTT, 76 Via della Croce, Rome):
Journal of the Society, Vol. I, No. 6.
40. The Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester (*Honorary Secretary*, T. HUGHES, Esq., F.S.A., The Groves, Chester):
[Nov. 2, 1886.]
Nothing received this year.
41. Clifton Antiquarian Club (*Honorary Secretary*, A. E. HUDD, Esq., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton): [Nov. 2, 1886.]
Proceedings, Vol. II, Part 2.
42. The British Archaeological Association (E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq. *Hon. Secretary*): [December 8, 1887.]
Journal, Vol. XLVI, Parts 2, 3, 4.
43. The Architectural and Archaeological Society of St Albans (The Rev. Canon DAVYS, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*): [March 5, 1888.]
Transactions for 1889.

44. The Folk-lore Society (J. J. FOSTER, Esq., *Secretary*, 36 Alma Sq., St John's Wood, N.W.): [May 21, 1888.]
Journal of American Folklore, Vol. III, No. 9.
45. The Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors.
Transactions for 1890.
46. The Société Archéologique de Constantine (Algeria):
Nothing received this year.
47. The Société Archéologique de France.
Comptes Rendus des Congrès Archéologiques, 1886, 1887, 1888.
48. The Société Archéologique de Touraine.
Mémoires, Vols. xxiv, xxvi—xxxiii, xxxv.
Bulletin, Vols. iv—vii; Vol. viii, Parts 1--3.
49. The Société Polymathique du Morbihan.

COUNCIL.

May 27, 1891.

President.

EDWIN CHARLES CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, *Regius Professor of Civil Law.*

Vice-Presidents.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

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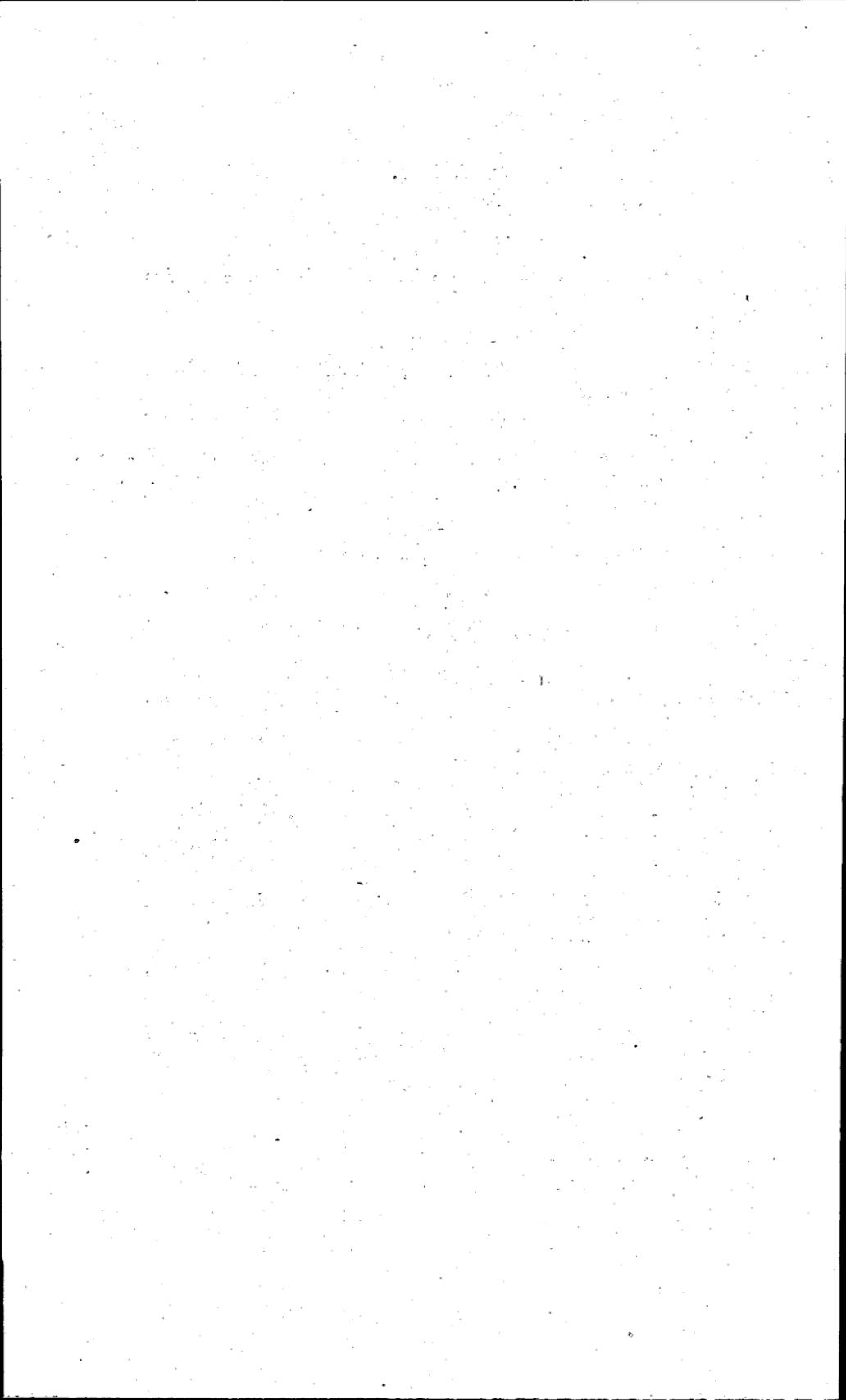
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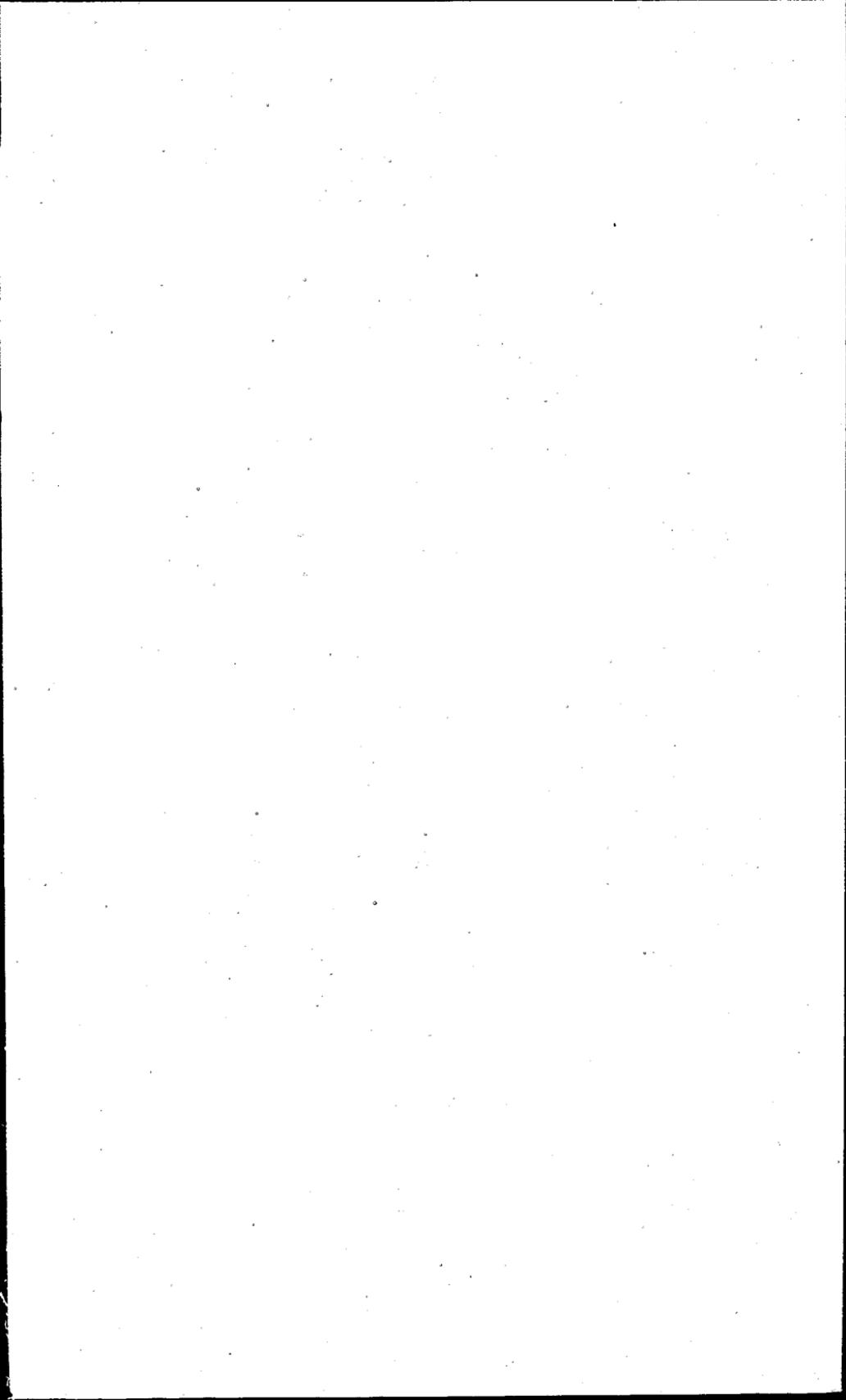
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