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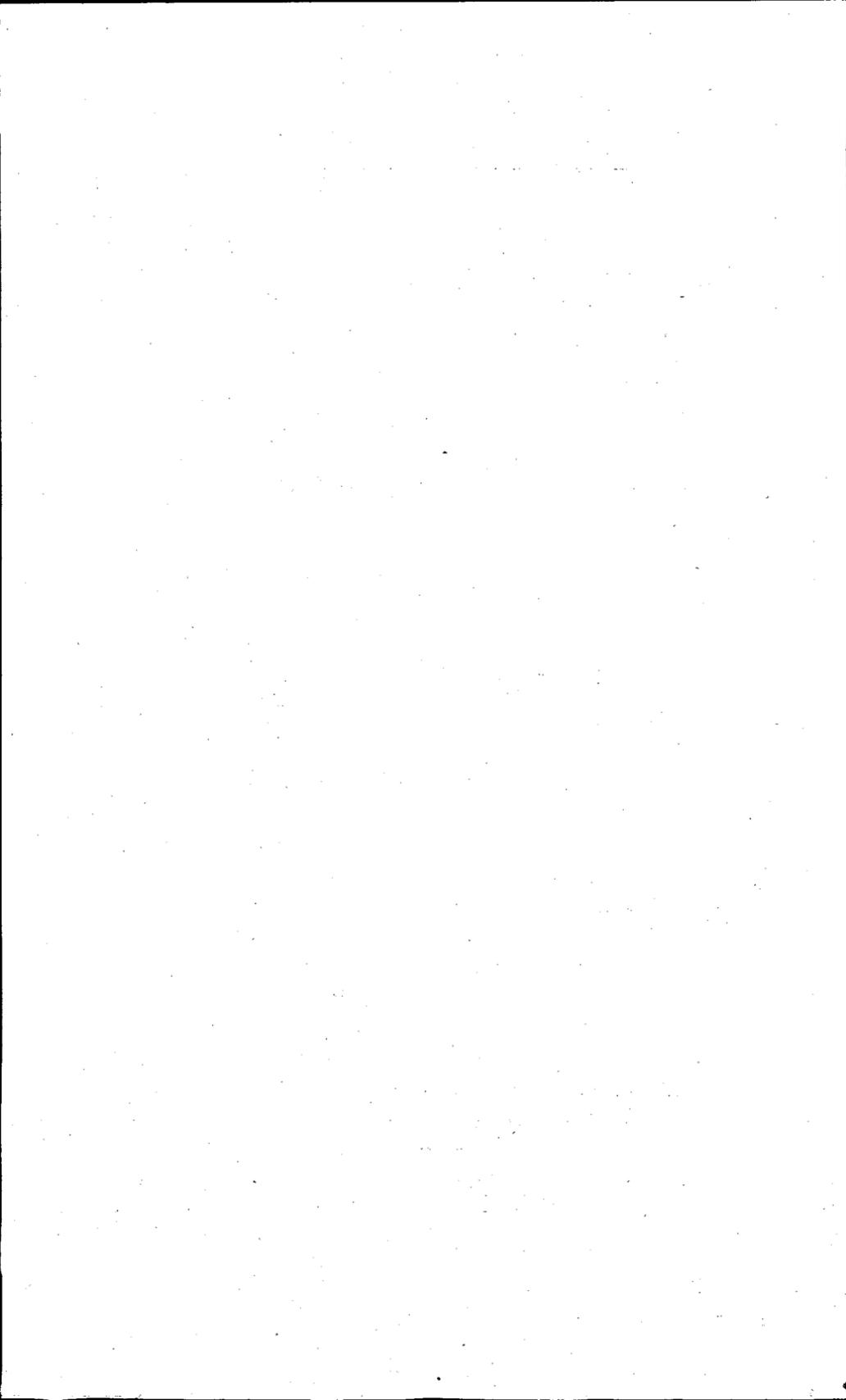
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seas and feared that he might be taken for a Templar on account of his beard and might incur difficulties and inconveniences in consequence; but it was certified that he had never been a member of the order and that he wore his beard for the above reason. (See the Patent Rolls under date and Addison's History of the Knights Templar.)

Professor HUGHES made the following communication :

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE DITCHES ROUND
ANCIENT CAMBRIDGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ADJOINING GROUND.

The history of Ancient Cambridge is being made out by degrees partly from a more careful study of ancient documentary evidence but principally from the results of excavations. We know that there were ditches round the town and in the town, and that these ditches may certainly be referred to several different periods. There must have been from the earliest time some fence round a town like Cambridge which has no peaceful record. Many of our ancient buildings stand outside the town ditches, and, therefore, each must have had its own moat or wall. In early times the town consisted of several separate villages, or centres of population, round each of which there was probably some boundary, most likely a deep ditch.

Kemble says, "The Archæologist not less than the Historian has reason to lament that no remains from the past survive to teach us the local distribution of an Anglo-Saxon town. Yet some few hints are nevertheless supplied which enable us to form a faint image of what it may have been. It is probable that the different trades occupied different portions of the area, which portions were named from the occupations of their inhabitants. In the middle ages these several parts of the city were often fortified and served as strongholds, behind whose defences, or sallying forth from which, the crafts fought the battle of democracy against the burgesses or the neighbouring

lords. We have evidence that streets, which afterwards did and do yet bear the names of particular trades or occupations, were equally so designated before the Norman Conquest; in several of our English towns. It is thus only that we can account for such names as Fellmonger, Horsemonger and Fleshmonger, Shoewright and Shieldwright, Tanner and Salter Streets, and the like which have long ceased to be exclusively tenanted by the industrious pursuers of those several avocations¹."

The knowledge of such facts as these teaches us to be cautious about referring every hollow with black silt to one of the King's ditches.

We find that the waste land near any boundary ditch was dug into for gravel or clay, and that refuse was shot into the holes so made, as well as into pits dug on purpose to be used as cesspools. Moreover the people who lived on the edge of any waste land or along the town ditches used to throw their rubbish out over the surface or into the ditches. So that in time the low marshy ground and the ditches got filled up and levelled, and outhouses, and eventually more important buildings were erected over the area. Such waste places were often the only available sites for monastic establishments or colleges, and it sometimes happened that these buildings, although they were at first erected on the outskirts of the town, as they grew and required more room had no alternative but to extend over the adjoining marsh. The low places were thus filled up and the whole area levelled, and most of this made ground has been built over, so that it has become difficult to make out what and where were the original features which determined the growth and shape of the town.

The only way to get at the explanation is to record carefully the character of the soil and the relics found in it whenever an opportunity occurs, and on the map constructed upon such data the true history will come out more and more clearly as each new bit of evidence is added.

¹ Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, Vol. II. p. 339.

With a view to this I lay before the Society some further contributions to the account of the soils of Cambridge, and offer some suggestions as to their bearing on the early history of the town.

It seems certain that the ditches were originally meant for defence, for we read that in 1267 the king took measures for fortifying the town with a ditch and two gates, and that soon afterwards the islanders, who may have been inhabitants of the Isle of Ely, had some difficulty in gaining access, but that they forded the ditch and burnt the gates. Another point we notice is that the ditch of Henry III. is said to have been made on the South and East side but was left incomplete on the other sides. Perhaps there the earlier ditch of King John's time was still open, or the river and the marsh were considered a sufficient protection. The fact that the king had intended to build a wall shows that the primary object was defence, and, moreover, from it we may assume that he left sufficient space within the ditch for a strong city wall.

One of the provisions in the Charter granted by the king February 22, 1267, was "that the town should be cleansed from dirt and filth and kept clean, and that the watercourse should be opened and kept open as of old time it was used, so that filth might run off. That all obstacles that prevented the passage should be removed, and that the great ditch of the town should be cleansed, for doing whereof two of the more lawful burgesses in every street were to be sworn before the mayor and bailiffs (the Chancellor and Masters being asked to be present if they would)."

This would seem to show that although defence was one of the objects of the ditch, and therefore it must not be allowed to become choked with rubbish so that the people could walk over it, still the king had in view also the drainage of the town by means of the ditch, and that the water was turned in not only to render the ditch impassable but also for flushing the drain.

Since the great ditches were cleaned out from time to time it is not in them that we should expect to find the oldest relics

but in the mud which was thrown out from them. This is quite consistent with the results of excavations, for wherever ground has been broken near the ditches, except exactly on the chief thoroughfares which crossed them, we find not only rubbish pits and cesspools, but also an irregular surface deposit of silt with broken pottery, bones, and other household refuse. Hence the puzzling mixture of objects of various date, so that for the elucidation of the history of a district it is important to note the exact mode of occurrence of everything found in digging foundations or opening a drain.

The ditches and the land alongside of them were considered as king's land. Hence, when the king's command came to clean them out, the order carried with it authority to pull down houses that had encroached upon them. In later times, when the corporation succeeded to the ancient rights and responsibilities of the crown in respect of the ditches, we find the banks of the ditches generally let to burgesses. Even at the present day the frequent coincidence of the ancient ditch and its margin with corporation property seems to point to the same conclusion.

But whether intended originally for defence or whether used chiefly as a means of providing a main drain it is clear that the ditches were carried through comparatively low ground all round the town. The reasons for this are obvious. The ancient town was built on narrow banks and islands of gravel that extended towards the river-crossing under the Castle Hill, and the enclosing ditches were taken through the unoccupied marshy ground outside these drier, more elevated areas, except perhaps by the Trumpington Gate, where the ditch had to be carried across the gravel spur to join the river by King's Mill.

Whether we consider that the ancient town ditches were intended more for defence or drainage, it was necessary that it should be possible to run water into them when required and therefore they must have been on low and level ground. It would have been impossible, for instance, to have filled the great fosse round the Castle with water. That was protected with palisading. But moats were generally filled

with water, and hence moated granges and most of our old monasteries were on low level ground and very commonly near a spring, as at Shelford, in order to provide that the moat should be kept full of water.

Cambridge as a town must at first have been confined within the limits of the inner ditch, and we have now to consider where the earliest groups of houses were built and to consider what determined their situation and subsequent extension.

It is probable that there were fords across the Cam in many places, so that we must not suppose that the river ran down to the sea at the lowest natural level possible even before the locks were constructed. In 1618 it was proposed to remove certain gravels and fords called 'hards' in the river Ouse, especially near Ely, but this was opposed by the riparian owners above, who said that it was an advantage that the water should be ponded back into the upper reaches of the river. Still earlier, in 1578, the Corporation of Cambridge ordered that the shelves in the river at Barnwell Corner, Stone Rake, and other places, should be removed for the more easy passage of keels and other vessels. Taking these accounts together, and especially having regard to the localities mentioned it seems more probable that the 'shelves' were the same sort of thing as the 'hards' mentioned above rather than mud banks at the bends of the river.

We must recall in this connection the fact that Midsummer Common as we see it is post-Roman. Indeed a large part of the deposits found in excavations over the Common are of comparatively recent date.

But before the locks were constructed the river must have been at a considerably lower level, although with its deep mud and marshy margin it may have been more difficult to cross than now. It was only intermittently full of water, except so far as the water was held up by the fords, but the low land on either side was liable to periodic floods.

The deep river silt found in digging the new buildings west of the Chapel of St John's shows that the Midsummer Common

marsh extended round the corner by St John's and Trinity, cutting off the river-crossing under the Castle, except where access was gained by some kind of viaduct or raised way. The section seen in the opening for the drains down Bridge Street, as pointed out to me by my friend the Rev. E. G. Wood, Vicar of St Clement's Church, showed black silt and peat with fresh water shells, and the ancient roadway seen on the east of Magdalene Bridge ran down to the river far below the level of the existing road, pointing towards the centre of the first court of Magdalene College, while the timber structure found under the road at the N. corner of the bridge also ran obliquely to the present road and in the direction of the College.

In early times it was impossible that there could be any continuity between the town on the north side and that on the south side of the river, seeing that the first sound ground touched after crossing the river under the Castle Hill was the area on which the Union and St Sepulchre's Church now stand. On this accordingly we have the earliest traces of occupation in Cambridge, south-east of the river. A quern was recently found under the street in front of St Sepulchre's, and Roman remains, now in the Archæological Museum, were dug up in abundance when excavations were made for the foundations of the new part of the Union Club. A large number of unopened oysters was found here lying together—a curious circumstance of which I am unable to offer an explanation, unless we may weave a story of sudden surprise and flight from foe or fire. The only other place where I have seen unopened oysters associated with Roman relics was outside the walls of Richborough.

The area round the Union was also the first rising ground in Cambridge as it was approached from the north along the east bank of the river, and along that east bank we have abundant evidence of Roman occupation, as seen by the remains found at Clayhithe, Horningsea, Biggin Abbey, Fen Ditton, Barnwell, &c. When digging the foundations for the tutor's house at Trinity Hall, which stands on an area known to have been a "laystall" down to quite recent times, relics of

several successive periods occurred in layers one above the other. The oldest was either Roman or belonged to the post-Roman first period. The succeeding layer contained the blue and brown glazed ware which I will speak of as belonging to the second period. These remains are deposited provisionally in the Archæological Museum until the College is in a position to take charge of them.

This is the last spot following up the river on this side of the town where I have found traces of pottery which might be Roman, and I have now some doubts about any of even those fragments.

Generally over the area occupied by Trinity, Trinity Hall, Clare, and King's we find the pottery of the second period—especially the blue and green glazed ware.

Here of course we have evidence of the encroachment on the waste land along the river by means of rubbish shot from the straggling town built along the great thoroughfares. Except on the margin of the terrace by the Art's School and Trinity Hall which I have just mentioned above there is not as far as I am aware any evidence of Roman occupation over the rest of the town within the King's ditches. It was formerly supposed that traces of the Romans occurred all over the area until I was able to show from their association that all the common black and red pottery from Hunnybun's ditch, the Falcon Yard, Mill Lane, &c., some of which has been considered to be of Roman date, was really mediæval and that the occurrence of this class of pottery where we found it proved only the survival of Roman methods and style in this country to a much later date than had been hitherto supposed.

It is interesting to note that wherever we find these Romano-English fragments, such as those I have previously described¹, pottery seems to have been abundant and little cared for, as it was in Roman times, whereas in mediæval times it became more and more scarce, being for a long time superseded by vessels in wood, leather and other less breakable but more perishable materials, so that we rarely find any large

¹ See *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* Vol. viii. pp. 32, 255.

quantity of early mediæval pottery glazed or unglazed except where the oldest type above mentioned occurs, and even that died out by degrees.

The Roman settlement around where St Sepulchre's Church now stands was followed by the Romano-English town which extended along the margin of the marsh-land towards where Barnwell Gate was afterwards placed, and in time the King's ditches were constructed along its eastern boundary. Now it was just along this line that the pottery of the first period was found behind Mr Hunnybun's premises; and along its continuation further north that the similar ware was found between Park Street and Thompson's Lane, which through the kindness of Mr Freeman I have had an opportunity of examining, and some of which he has recently allowed me to exhibit to the Society.

Admitting that the principal and at first the only place where the ditch was crossed by a bridge on the east side of the town was the Barnwell Gate, it seems probable that a road ran from this gate to Barnwell or perhaps to Maid's Causeway in order to get on to the roadway joining the many Roman Stations along the east bank of the river, for this would have been from the first the easiest route and most free from danger of flood, and it is most likely that the ancient roads determined the position of the gates as well as of the town that sprang up along those thoroughfares. The town had extended some little way out in that direction before the building of Christ's College—as may be inferred from the excavations recently made for the foundation of the Library extension buildings. Here a number of pits were exposed along the side next St Andrew's Street, which were filled with household rubbish dating from the 13th or 14th to the 17th and 18th century. By the kindness of the Master I was allowed to examine these while the work was going on and to exhibit to the Society a selection of the most characteristic specimens which are now preserved in the College.

I know at present of no evidence that any Roman road ran into Cambridge along the line of St Andrew's Street, and since

I have shown that the so-called Roman Road on the Gog Magogs is only one of the dykes, I have removed the only argument in favour of such a road. The communication with the Roman stations along the foot of the Chalk Hills by Linton, &c. was probably through the Trumpington Gate or its earlier representative.

The rising ground, which for convenience of reference I will speak of as St Sepulchre's Hill, does not appear to have been at first continuous with Market Hill. When the foundations were dug for the Divinity Schools a deep ditch suggestive of original low ground was found running along the north side of All Saints' Churchyard. It was crossed again in cutting the main drain along the street in front of St John's Chapel. Where first seen it was full of human bones, but as these were all scattered and fragmentary it is probable that they were only the bones dug up in making new graves in that overcrowded ground which were disposed of by throwing them into the deep ditch that bounded the churchyard on the north side.

If now we turn our attention to probable routes up the east bank of the river that is southward from this important meeting point of roads on St Sepulchre's Hill, we notice at once that, as we observed the Roman settlements below Cambridge occurred along the banks of gravel on the margin of the marshland, so also above Cambridge where the distinction between the alluvium and the old river terraces is equally well marked the Roman remains are for the most part found in the corresponding positions—for instance on Dam Hill, and between the road and the river near Trumpington. At Hauxton there was in all probability from the earliest times an important river-crossing, and a considerable number of skeletons and pottery have been found, indicating that the ground was occupied for a very long time. Much of this was Roman. A road must have run on the driest ground to be found from these settlements to Cambridge, making for St Sepulchre's Hill by Pease Hill and Market Hill. Along this thoroughfare those who could not find room on St Sepulchre's Hill built their houses. Between this area and St Sepulchre's Hill was the

lower lying ground, which however was eventually built over and became the Jewish quarter.

The more desirable building ground was first covered with houses, but the village round where St Benet's now is and the town which spread over Pease Hill and Market Hill by degrees became one and joined up with the ancient Roman town on St Sepulchre's Hill. The results of an examination of the remains dug up show us that this extension of the town was a gradual operation. For rubbish was shot over the waste land within the ditches, and the nearer this unoccupied area lay to the centres of population the more of such rubbish accumulated over it.

On the east side of this town, made up as it was by the outward growth of the settlements of St Benet's, Pease Hill, Market Hill, and St Sepulchre's, the rubbish was thrown on to the unoccupied land between the town and whichever of the great ditches was at the time the one kept open. Therefore we find pottery of the first period in the lower layers in Mill Lane, and within the ditch in Free School Lane, in the Falcon Yard, and in Hunnybun's ditch.

The N.-W. end of Petty Cury cannot have been built over at this time seeing that much of this rubbish is right under the houses.

In the Falcon Yard a very interesting series of pits was dug through in the course of the excavations for the extension of the premises of Mr Pryor, fish merchant, whom I take the opportunity of thanking for his courtesy in the matter.

If we draw the line of that inner ditch which was found on Mr Hunnybun's premises, across St Andrew's Street and the east end of Petty Cury, bending as recorded before to the west so as to curve round towards Mill Lane, we should leave the Falcon Yard on the inside of the inner and older ditch, that is, a long way within that usually known as the King's Ditch which runs up Tibb's Row. The pits there observed must therefore belong to a time when there was waste ground inside the inner and older of the two ditches already recorded near Barnwell Gate. The remains found agree with this.

They belong to the oldest group of mediæval pottery yet found in Cambridge¹.

Similarly the foundations of the new Engineering Laboratory would fall within the line of the King's Ditch which crosses the old Physic Garden. I could not obtain any assistance here and was informed that no objects of interest had been obtained. On the earth which was turned out, however, I found a sufficient number of fragments of pottery to show that refuse of early mediæval date had been crossed in the course of the excavations. Later on in Dec. 1894, a hole was dug to the depth of about six feet within the building. In this the gravel was seen to be very near the surface. This accounts for the early occupation of the area round St Benet's. In the gravel there were pits filled with soil and household refuse, but the excavation was not carried down to the bottom of them. The remains found belong to the same group as those obtained in Hunnybun's ditch, in the Mill Lane ditch, and in the Falcon Yard. There were the large black cooking pots with strongly bent back flat rims, as well as others with round recurved rim not distinguishable from Roman ware; with these were handles and fragments of pipkins and jugs of red ware with dark glaze; one jug had a long neck with raised ridges at irregular intervals. There were many bones, but these were not preserved, and one coin which I have not had an opportunity of examining.

I do not know what has become of this interesting collection.

On the whole the evidence such as it was pointed to the occurrence here of pits from which gravel and sand had been taken out and which had then been filled with household rubbish from the 12th century to the 14th.

There must have been, as I have already pointed out, some channel along which water was led from the streams or the river above the town either permanently or occasionally for flushing the ditches. This may most easily have been done by

¹ The specimens were exhibited at the meeting, and are now in the Archaeological Museum.

carrying the water from near Trumpington by Dam Hill, so named from the impounded water, across Coe Fen and so down to King's Mill nearly along the line of still existing ditches and leats. The great town ditches terminated in the river close to this mill, which like Newnham Mill is certainly of great antiquity, but whether the mill leat furnished the water to flush the ditches, or conduits made originally with a view to flushing the ditches were utilized for turning the mill, it would be difficult to say.

When the ditches had been partially closed and there was no restriction to shooting the rubbish into them it would have been found desirable to construct a covered channel which could not be choked in the same way, through which the surplus water might still be carried off and into which drains might be opened, and it is to this time that we must refer the great brick culvert which has now been traced along nearly the whole length of the ditch which we assign to Henry the IIIrd, and which was therefore the last which remained open.

This culvert was constructed in the King's Ditch at a depth of from four to six feet according to the irregularities of the surface of the ground. It has yielded very few remains, and those of doubtful origin and of recent date. It received the water from Hobson's conduit, which supplied the baths at Pembroke College and ran under the college into the street about 50 yards west of the Master's Lodge. When the foundations of the Chemical Laboratory were dug the brick culvert was found in the King's Ditch, and during the recent draining operations it was cut off at the south end of Tibb's Row where the King's Ditch emerged from the old Physic Garden. It was opened and removed down Tibb's Row and was again found running along the King's Ditch, always rather near the inner margin, down Hobson Street, through the grounds of Sidney College. Some years ago a ditch was opened in digging the foundations of the houses on the east side of Park Street, from which I was informed an enormous quantity of bones and some pottery was thrown out, but unfortunately they were not kept and no record of their character remains. Last year, however,

during the excavations for the extension of the Friends' Meeting House the west margin of the ditch was dug into. Here a modern drain was found and it was clear that in laying this the ground and earlier masonry had been somewhat disturbed. Further excavations showed that the street was carried over an arched bridge constructed of dressed Barnack stone, probably taken from some older building, and a brick culvert identical with that seen in the ditch along Hobson Street was traced back for a considerable distance under the grounds of Sidney College. This was carried along the south margin of the ditch just as was that seen in Hobson Street. Mr Atkinson has described the details of the structure of the bridge and of the culvert east of it.

It was clear that this part of the ditch had been dug into more than once, and in the soil which had been thrown out on those former occasions older remains occurred than those found *in situ* in the part excavated in 1894, which was not near the centre nor the bottom of the ditch.

Mr Freeman rescued some of the best of these and kindly lent them to me for exhibition and description. They range from the period of the oldest black unglazed ware, to which I am at present unable to assign a date, down to the 15th century. In the surface deposits there were as usual relics of much later age. The ground had been further disturbed during the last two centuries, as there was a graveyard here belonging to the Society of Friends, frequent reference to which occurs in the Registers of All Saints Church.

Here we see the extension of Sidney Sussex College over the area, between the town and the ditch which was originally assigned to the Franciscan Friars, and much later the occupation of a similar site by the Society of Friends, probably for the same reason, namely, that it was waste land easily acquired.

I have already described the continuation of the ditch down Park Street by the west end of Jesus Green to the river, where it bends north opposite Pepys Library. For a considerable distance along this part of its course it was open within the memory of man.

At the river we have generally been content to leave it, but the very interesting document brought before the Society by Mr Gray of Jesus College¹ makes it almost certain that there was a deep fosse, similar to those I have described, on the other side of the river running from near Pythagoras' School through Magdalene grounds south-west of the Castle vallum or Magdalene Terrace, and entering the river near Pepys Library.

This guarded the Great Bridge, and a small bridge, probably at one time a drawbridge, was thrown over it where the existing road, north-west of Magdalene Bridge, crossed it.

A glance at the map will show the probability that the western part of the ditches at the back of Queens', King's, Clare, Trinity, and St John's, all form part of one continuous watercourse. This was the ancient bed of the river, and if the line be prolonged it will cross the ground of Magdalene College just where the old ditch described by Mr Gray is said to have run.

Part of this, as Mr Gray contends with much probability, was what Stukely saw and took for the ramparts of the Roman town. But, neither from its character, position, nor direction could it possibly be connected with any of the earthworks round the Castle Hill.

He describes a tour of inspection in which the jurors travelled along some of the earthworks and crossed others.

As it cannot have been necessary to fix the limits of the Crown property within the precincts of a royal castle the jurors can only have been beating the boundaries between the Crown property and that over which the town or private persons had control, and must have been altogether outside the ramparts of the Castle. They must have walked along not over (*per not trans*) the Castle rampart.

Another very interesting point in connection with this document is its date, which strengthens the probability that Cambridge was protected by ditches on both sides of the river before the time of Henry the IIIrd or of King John.

It also confirms the view that there was a river-crossing,

¹ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* May 1, 1895, "On the Watercourse called Cambridge, in relation to the river Cam and Cambridge Castle."

whether bridge or ford, near where Magdalene bridge now stands, from very early times.

The references which I have been able to find point always to this bridge having been rebuilt or repaired when necessary by certain persons who might be looked upon as Commissioners and were held responsible by the king for the maintenance of the bridge. A bridge of that importance could not have been left undefended, and it appears to have been always a town bridge and protected by a ditch similar to the King's ditches on the north-west side of the river.

The inferences as to the development of the town of Cambridge which we should draw from the above evidence are therefore briefly these—

The town grew from several centres, St Benet's, Pease Hill, Market Hill, and St Sepulchre's, all of which lay along the principal thoroughfares which converged on the first rising ground opposite the river-crossing under the Castle Hill, that is on St Sepulchre's Hill.

The town soon occupied all the gravel banks; and the Religious Houses and afterwards the Colleges which were within the town, i.e. inside the King's Ditch, were given sites on the waste places on the edge of the town, and were commonly built originally, and had all to extend eventually, over made ground encroaching on the swampy land along the river.

There is no evidence that the market was always held in exactly the same part of the town, but it was sure to gather in the most central and accessible part where the town was broadest and largest in every way.

The market did not attract the town but the town the market, which was held in streets where the shops let down larger fronts and stalls for great occasions, and booths were erected at corners and any wider opening that offered a convenient site. The great markets of the world, such as Nijni Novgorod, Tiflis, Smyrna &c., are carried on in the ins and outs of very narrow streets, and large open spaces are not necessary.

The present Market Place has been formed by clearing away houses in quite recent times.

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