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

Easter Term. 3 May—31 May, 1909.

Monday, 3 May, 1909.

Dr VENN, President, in the Chair.

H. M. CHADWICK, M.A., delivered a lecture on

RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Monday, 10 May, 1909.

Dr VENN, President, in the Chair.

The following paper, illustrated with original documents, was read by C. P. ALLIX, M.A., on

AN ANCESTOR'S ESCAPE FROM FRANCE AFTER THE
REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

As an introduction to the account of my ancestor Monsieur Pierre Allix, "cadet, ministre de la religion prétendue réformée," as the documents of the time cynically style him, in which he describes his escape from Charenton after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, I had better perhaps quote a few extracts from the manuscript history of our branch of the Allix family.

The earliest of our ancestors from whom we can trace direct descent is a Mons. Israel Allix, sieur du Val, of Alençon in Normandy. There were Allix's in this country at the time of the Norman invasion. Below is given an extract relating to the family in the reign of Henry III.

"Pendente 1: anno 37: Henrici 3. membrana 20. Rex omnibus &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus dilecto et fideli nostro Rogerio allix quod toto tempore vitæ suæ habeat hanc libertatem quod non ponatur in assisis vel recognitionibus aliquibus, in cujus rei testimonium &c. teste ut supra apud Winton. 28 Decr."

In the MS. history are four of these extracts; they are endorsed, "Titles of Honor." I do not see wherein the honour consists, since they are apparently grants of money, vestments, and wine on the part of the King, comforting no doubt, but hardly "honorable" as my ancestor appears to have thought when he endorsed them. They are interesting only as showing that there were Allix's in England about 1253 and earlier, though we can trace no certain connection with them. Many are mentioned in the Allix roll kept at Old Willoughby, beginning with a William Allix, A.D. 1066, described as "Founder."

To return to Israel Allix, the grandfather of the subject of these pages. He was the owner of the family property, consisting of houses and hereditaments in the town of Alençon and also landed estate in the parishes of Vingt Hanaps and Larré in the neighbourhood. He was lieutenant in the company of the sieur de Hertrée, which was I suppose a territorial regiment of the time. There is among our family papers addressed to him, a Congé by Henry IV with an autograph signature in which the King, in return for the help he had given him in the siege of Amiens in 1597, grants to Lieutenant Israel Allix exemption from certain dues and taxes to which he was liable.

“Nous Henri par la grace de Dieu roy de France et de Navarre certifions à tous quil appartiendra que Israel Allix, Sieur Du Val, lieutenant de la compagnie colonelle du Sieur de Hertrée nous a servi en ce siege. A ceste cause nous mandons a tous nos bailiffs, sergants, prévosts, juges ou leur lieutenants quil ayent a le tenir quitte de la contribution au ban a quoy il pourroit estre tenu, et lui en faciez comme nous le en faisons, plain et entierre main levée, lui ayent promis demmener avec lui dix ou douze de ses soldats et de licencier le rest. En temoin de quoy, nous avons mis notre scel à ce present congé. Donné au camp devant Amiens ce xxx^{me} jour de Septembre mille cinq cent quatrevingt dix-sept (1597).

HENRI.”

Israel had four children, two sons, one named after himself, the second, Pierre, the father of our Pierre, and two daughters, Elisabeth and Mary. In 1637 we find them jointly redeeming the farm of Cruchet which was in fact the home demaine attached to the residence which is now known as the Chateau de Mezierre, though the house must have been pulled down and rebuilt, as the present Chateau is quite modern. The farm had been sold to pay his debts, presumably at Israel's death.

His son Israel, the younger, transferred his interest in the ferme Cruchet to his brother Pierre and we hear no more of him.

Pierre became a Huguenot minister and married Magdelaine Allisot of Alençon and had several children of whom Pierre the younger was the eldest, and who became “the learned Dr Peter Allix,” the subject of these memoirs.

The two Pierres are described as follows in the *Annuaire*

statistique du département de l'Orne pour mille huit cent et huit (1808). Alençon, which I saw at the Mairie when I was there in 1901.

"Pierre Allix, père, né à Alençon, auteur d'un catechism des protestants."

"Pierre Allix, fils, né à Alençon vers mille six cent quarent et un (1641), mort en mille sept cent dix sept (1717). Il fut ministre protestant à Charenton, savant des langues, et prédicateur eloquent. Il publia beaucoup d'ouvrages d'histoire et de controverse."

We now come to the eldest and last son of the Rev. Pierre Allix the elder, and I have left him till this point because with him the history passes out of France on to English ground.

From the Rev. Pierre Allix the younger, he now becomes "the learned Dr Peter Allix," as he was called, and as such I shall mention him in the future. He was born at Alençon in 1641, and his father sent him, as soon as he had superintended his early studies, to Saumur, there to pursue his academical exercises. He afterwards went to Sedan, where he began to distinguish himself at the early age of 19. While there he wrote a theological treatise on the "Last Judgement" and only left Sedan to take up the duties of minister at Ste. Agoville, in Champagne, where he was ordained. The opinion formed of his merit led to his being called in 1670 to Charenton, which was the centre of the protestant worship for all Paris, in order to take the place of the savant Daillé.

We read in Agnew's *French Protestant Refugees*, vol. i. p. 133 :

"In 1670 reunion between the Catholics and the Protestants was the plausible shape in which, at this date, the hostile designs against the Huguenots were framed. There were two vacancies in the pastorate of the 'Temple' of Charenton, and the Court had been anxious to fill them with latitudinarian divines. To this there was strong opposition, and at length, through the good offices of Mons. Caillard, the celebrated legal practitioner, the Huguenot Consistory of Charenton received the protection of government in making a free election, and Pastors Allix and Ménard were chosen. Allix was appointed, under a scheme formed in Paris, to make a new French translation of the Bible with the famous Claude, and the two worked together at the task."

Wylie in his *Wodrow's Analecta* has an amusing touch about his character; he says,

"Speaking of the two colleagues Allix and Claude, Allix was a frank, open man very much seen in the rabbinical learnings and of very free access. He kept weekly conferences in his house to which many doctors of the Sorbonne resorted. He was bold and brisk in the pulpit and when he read his text he cocked his hat (a French preacher in those days put on his hat at the beginning of his sermon) but Claude when he put on his hat, slipped it on and drew down the sides of it. There were some differences fell out between them, and Allix said that he would have been 40 years with his venerable colleague without bringing him into the pulpit and complained that Claude had brought him into the pulpit."

In 1683 Allix was chosen moderator of the last provincial synod of Meaux.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 obliged him to take refuge in England that same year with his wife Margaret Rogers and three sons.

He had considerable difficulty in obtaining a passport and it appears that he only got one (given below) by having had some promise from the King earlier in the same month. He and the other ministers only received 48 hours' notice to get out of the country. Allix retired at once to St Denis and prepared for instant flight.

"Nous Jean Jacques Charron chevalier Marquis de Ménars conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, maistre des Requests ordinaire de son hostel, surintendant des finances, Domaines et affaires de la Reyne, Intendant de la generalite de Paris, Certiffions que Pierre Alix cydevant ministre de la Religion pretendue Reformee au temple de Charenton qui est de nostre departement a pris la resolution de se retirer aux pais estranges en consequence de la Permission qui lui en a este donnee par l'edict du Roy du present mois d'octobre, lequel Sr Alix ministre avec Marguerite Roger sa femme et trois de ses enfans Jean Pierre Alix aage de six ans, Jacques Alix de trois ans et demy, et Thomas Alix aage de onze mois, s'en vá en Angleterre sortant du Royaume par Calais. Fait a Paris ce vingt quatre Octobre mil six cens quatreving seing.

DU MENARS.
Par Monseigneur
POPART."

LS

He had a narrow escape. The officer sent to arrest him arrived in Calais, after hot pursuit, in the evening of the day he sailed. This is the account of it in his own words.

"When I saw in 1685 in the month of August that we were certainly to be destroyed I send for England under another name my books of divinity that were to be seized by the King's Commissary in my study, having then taken my resolution by the encouragement of my lord of Salisbury to take my sanctuary in England and hoping that I could prosecute my studies with some comfort. The Edict of Nantes being revoked the 21st of October the same year, I was commanded the same day to set out from Paris at a distance of two miles. I had no time granted, but to get a pass from Mons. de Menars the Intendant who kept me very late by his fair proposals and promises. The same night I went to St Denys. When I went from St Denys to Abbeville I met there with the Marquis of Ruvigny, the father, who came from England and offered me all the offices I could expect from his friendship and favour in England. As I knew he had more favor at Court I thank him and I would not make use of a letter that he made his son to write to the Countess of Tyrconnel who was there at Calais with a yacht for England that I might have an easy passage in her yacht. I came to England and was very happy not to have made any use of the recommendation of Mr Rouvigny to the Countess because the order of stopping me came to Calais the same night which I was gone in the morning, having made a narrow escape from death by the fury and brutish humours of the Mayor of Calais."

Thus our ancestor arrived on these shores. We next hear of him in London at the house of a Mr Skey in Charterhouse yard. He was not there long however before attempts were made to lure him back to France.

In Weiss' *Histoire des Refugiés Protestant*, we read of Allix

"That he was distinguished in the ministry by great simplicity and good taste and by the most appropriate teaching for the circumstances in which his Church was placed. As before in France he excelled in calming dissensions and maintaining a spirit of unity among the protestants. Louis the XIVth did his best to persuade him to be converted and return to France."

Seignelay the French Minister wrote on this subject to Bonrepaux to London to this effect.

"Versailles, Feb. 9, 1686. The family of the minister Allix, who is in London, is now converted to the true faith in Paris, if you could approach the minister and induce him to return to France with the intention of being converted, you might without hesitation offer him a pension of as much as three or four thousand livres: if it is necessary to go further I have no doubt that upon any communication you may make to me, the King will consent to make him still further advances. In this case you

may be sure that you will have accomplished an act which will be most agreeable to his Majesty."

Allix resisted all the advances made him by the envoy extraordinary of Louis XIV, and remained in England, where he soon won the respect and sympathy of all. The honorary degrees of Doctor of the Universities of both Cambridge and Oxford, in 1690 and 1692 respectively, were conferred upon him, and upon the recommendation of Bishop Burnet he was made Canon and Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral.

The Anglican clergy deputed him to write *The history of the Councils of the Church* (to be referred to later) and Parliament in its turn conferred upon him a particular mark of its esteem by ordering that all the paper required for the work should be imported from Holland free of duty.

This extract gives an amusing little touch of real life—showing how the overtures to Allix to abandon the Huguenot faith and be converted to Roman Catholicism appeared to Louis's envoy on the one hand and to the recipient of them on the other.

We get the result as it appeared to Mons. Bonrepaux of his attempt upon Allix in a letter that he wrote to the French Minister, Mons. Dr Seignelay, published in the "pièces justificatifs" at the end of Weiss's *Histoire*, p. 425.

"Londres, Fevrier 18^{me}, mille six cent quatrevingt six (1686). J'ai parlé au ministre Allix suivant votre ordre (translation) and I employed the device that you suggested to me to insinuate the gracious reception he might expect at the King's hand if he would return to France and be converted. He received the tokens of goodness and favour on the part of his Majesty towards him with great respect and show of gratitude. He told me that Mons. Ménars had spoken to him just before his departure from France, but that he could not make up his mind to do what was asked of him. We got into an argument about the authority of the Church and their separation from it. He promised to come and see me again and I did my utmost to induce him to take the good path."

Now let us see how the same transaction appeared to Allix.

I here give his own account of it written to one of the English bishops. When we remember the amount of the bribe, three or four thousand livres per annum, and also that, as he tells us, all he had been able to take away with him from

France was 2500 francs with which to support himself, his wife, and three children until he could earn more, we must admit that he was a man of iron will, great courage and strong faith, and honour him as he deserves.

"I forebore from waiting upon Mons. Bavillon although I received by his means many letters and books from some learned men of the Paris, but the Marquis of Ruvigny being come from France and having been informed that my mother and sisters were arrested at Paris and one transported to a castle of Normandy, out of sight of her acquaintance, where she was kept 10 months, I thought not fit to forbear more from paying him some visit which I did by the advice of the Marquis of Ruvigny to whom I gave a true account of what passed between him and me. I can not judge what hopes Mons. Bavillon had given to the French Court, but some time after that Mons. Bonrepaux, an extraordinary envoy, being come into England, sent to my house to know an hour when he could find me at home. I was then absent, but thought fit to go to him to prevent his coming to me. After many compliments he shewed to me the King's special orders to offer me such and such things for me, expressed by the Marquis of Seignelay, to whom I answered first, as to a minister of the King of France, and secondly, as to an apostate who had deceived me, changing his religion after many protestations done to me never to change. I never saw him after that although he came a second time into England with the same character of an envoy and I never saw Mons. Bavillon after that attempt."

They evidently held the learned Doctor in high esteem on the other side of the Channel, since they could not let him alone even then. Dr Allix gives an account of a second attempt made upon him.

"Few weeks after all that, he says, the Archbishop of Paris sent for my mother-in-law, who was then living in Paris, and commanded her to write to her daughter, my wife, that by the King's order he made to me by her hand the same offers which had been made to me at London if I was willing to come back, and that I was not to come till all things be settled to my satisfaction and for the execution of the King's promises to me. My wife thought not fit to acquaint me with her answer, but she answered so, that since that time we have not been more disturbed on that side, my mother-in-law being in a great wrath against her daughter."

The learned Doctor soon began to win his way in England, and we hear of him dining with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, where John Evelyn met him, as he mentions in his diary, on July 8, 1686.

"I waited, he says, on the Archbishop at Lambeth, where I dined and met the famous preacher and writer, Monsieur Allix, doubtless a most excellent and learned person. The Archbishop and he spoke Latin together and that very readily."

Allix took out letters of naturalisation, then called "Denisation," in 1686, and the same year received a permit from James II to hold services in French in a house in Jewin Street, without Aldersgate, in London, pending the building of a permanent church. The permit states that the house is first to be fitted and adorned for divine service according to the directions and satisfaction of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Allix was the first of the French reformed ministers to submit to reordination, which appears to have been a great shock to his fellow refugees. We find in Wodrow's *Analecta* that a certain Mr Webster had an account of it from one of the French ministers in Edinburgh, who said that when they were forced out of France in 1685, Mons. Allix was the first who submitted to reordination in England, and that he was so shocked when he saw Mons. Allix reordained and a declaration made that he was no minister, and the reflection cast upon the whole ministry of France and the reformed churches, that he could not bear it and came to Scotland.

From the time of his arrival Allix devoted himself to his congregation of refugees in London, conducting the services in the house in Jewin Street, and for five years had a hard struggle with poverty. In 1690 he was appointed by Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, treasurer of the Cathedral at a stipend, as he tells us, of £170 per annum, no very great fortune, but it relieved Dr Allix of the heaviest of his anxieties. Subsequently he was made a prebend, which no doubt caused a substantial increase to his means. On the recommendation of Charles Ashton, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, he was also elected a Fellow of that College. He thus began to build up the family name and fortunes afresh in this country, which course was continued by his son, who became a dean of Ely and who bought the property of Swaffham Prior in this county, which has belonged to the family ever since, and was the original home of the Allix's in England.

Dr Allix was asked, as before mentioned, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Worcester and others, to write a history of the Councils of the Church, and this he did from 1686 to 1699. He tells us that he kept a copyist, or as we should say a secretary, to help him, at a salary of £15 a year. It was intended to be a bulky work, since it was to run to seven volumes and each volume was to contain 300 pages. The manuscript was left by will to his son the Dean of Ely, and I fear lost, though I have two or three duplicates both in English and Latin of the first few pages of it or of the introduction to it. In this year there was an attestation issued, which still exists, by the bench of bishops of that date, with the autograph signatures of almost all of them, viz. the Archbishops of both provinces, and the bishops of Salisbury, London, Winchester, Worcester, Rochester, Exeter, Chester, Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford, Cirencester, Lichfield and Coventry. The attestation sets forth that as Dr Allix has prepared the manuscript of "the Councils," but is debarred from publishing by the expense of printing; that he needs and deserves more help than will arise from the subscriptions alone &c. The sum promised to Allix was £480, but of this he only received £65, and it is to be presumed that he never got the balance, for the work was never printed, though there remains endless correspondence between him and the printers, of whom he consulted at least three; a bookseller named William Hawse, a Mr Chiswell and a Mr Bennett. The edition was to consist of 1250 copies of 7 vols. each at 15s. per volume, and the cost was estimated at £937. 10s. It was to be issued in Latin and Greek, and I suppose in English also.

Dr Allix was the author of twenty-eight works, besides three discourses, published in 1688, to combat the Roman pamphleteers of that date. A list of them is to be found at the end of Allix's *Reflections on the Holy Scriptures*, but it does not contain the last five which I have taken from Dr Allix's own manuscript list. They were *Réponse à la dissertation à la fin du livre de Monsieur Arnaud, A preparation for the Lord's Supper with maxims of true Xtianity*, a discourse concerning *The Merits of good works*, a historical discourse concerning

The necessity of the Minister's intention, and a discourse concerning Penance, the Roman doctrine makes void repentance. And I have also two prayers written by himself for use in the Consistoire which have never been in print. They are fine compositions and deserve to be known. One of them is here given.

“O Seigneur il n'y a point dans les hommes de si parfaite pureté quelle puisse supporter la rigueur de ton jugement. Puis donc que tes yeux decouvrent nos imperfections, veille les effacer au sang pressieux de ton Fils bien aimé. Pardonnons nous les défauts ou nous pouvons etre tombés en cet heure, par un effet de l'ignorance, de la temerité, et de l'imprudence qui nous sont naturelles. Voy d'un œuil propice les faibles efforts de notre obeissance, et les souhaits que nous formons pour la gloire de ton grand nom. Sois a notre issue comme tu as été a notre entrée. Repans ta benediction sur les resolutions qui ont été prises dans cette assemblée. Dons nous la joie d'assister a l'accroissement du regne de ton Fils, afin, que recognoisant par l'experience que tu es avec nous, et voyant que ton œuvre prospere entre nos mains, nous soions remplis d'une sainte assurance pour nous reposer sur le bras tout puissant de ta bonne providence, et sur les soins de ton amour, tant quenfin, apres t'avoir servi icy bas, selon la mesure de grace que tu as donné, nous allions recueillir le fruit des promesses que tu a faites à la fidelité de tes serviteurs. Or à toi, Pere, Fils et St Esprit, un seul Dieu, benit eternelment, soit louange, honneur et gloire aux siècles des siècles. Amen.” (Copy of the original unaltered.)

So keen a theologian was he that late in life he converted a Jew, Jonah Ben Jacob Xeres, afterwards baptised John. He says it took him four hours' argument to convince him of the absurdity of the oral law of the Rabbis, and this was only the close of a controversy prolonged for months. Allix afterwards gave him a certificate of his conversion.

He made his last will in which he gives his soul to God, and exhorts his wife and children to live in the fear of God and to keep up the good union and understanding wherein they had lived till now, which, he said, is the sure and only way to bring down the blessing of Heaven. It was in French, was translated by Peter St Eloy, N.P., dated the 17th Feb., 1717, and witnessed by Sam. Woodcock, J. Le Clerc, De Virley, and R. de Boyville.

So ends the history of what I must call a great and good man, for to leave as he did, houses, land, relatives, a home and a distinguished position, such as his was, with every prospect of

advancement in his profession, and to seek his fortune in a foreign land for conscience sake, was no mean achievement. The Huguenots were men who held the form of their religion to be of the last importance, and were prepared, like the early martyrs, to sacrifice all for it. Some went to the galleys, some to the scaffold, and some into exile.

I will close this brief account by reading a part of the inscription upon the Chancel Screen in St Mary's Church, Swaffham Prior, dedicated to his memory.

"To the glory of God and in memory of the Rev. Pierre Allix, the Huguenot refugee, this screen was rebuilt in the year of the Coronation of King Edward the VIIth, 1902. The Rev. Pierre Allix, afterwards known as the learned Dr Peter Allix, was the first of the family who settled in England, was the son of the Rev. Pierre Allix the elder, and grandson of Lieutenant Israel Allix, Sieur du Val of the Compagnie Colonelle du Sieur du Hertrée, and of the parish of Vingt Hanaps near Alençon in Normandy. He fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and took refuge in London, leaving houses and lands, kindred and preferment for conscience sake. Large offers were made him by King Louis XIV to induce him to return to France and abandon the Huguenot Faith, but without success. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge 'honoris causa.' He was presented by bishop Burnett to the Treasurership of Salisbury Cathedral with a prebendal stall. He was born at Alençon in 1641, died in London in 1717, and is buried at St Sepulchre's Church, Holborn."

Then follows this text from the tenth chapter of St Mark's Gospel:

"Verily, verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, and in the world to come eternal life."

One word only to close this memoir of a great and good man, "Requiescat."

Mr G. J. GRAY then read a paper on

THE SHOPS AT THE WEST END OF GREAT
ST MARY'S CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

I suppose few people have read through the *Churchwardens' Accounts of the Church of St Mary the Great at Cambridge, 1504-1635*, edited by J. E. Foster, and published by this Society in 1905: yet much important and interesting information can be obtained by a careful reading with the help of the Index.

Using this work for special information I found I could gather together interesting particulars of the house, and later on houses, which existed under the steeple at the west end of the Church, and by following out the later history from the Churchwardens' books, and adding notes from other sources, a complete record of them, from the first erection in 1545 or 1546 to their destruction in 1768, has been compiled, and is given below.

Erection of the house.

In the Accounts of William Speyrincke (son of Nicholas Speyrincke the well-known Cambridge book-binder¹) and Lawrence Hawes, Churchwardens, presented at the Easter meeting, 1546, are given details of expenses incurred in the building of 'the steple and litill house at the steple end'. This is the commencement of the existence of a house in this position.

One expense incurred is for carriage of 24 'lodes of slate from the late austen ffryers'² 4s. This is interesting from the fact that later on, Dr Hatcher who lived there and died at the Austin friars, March, 1586-7, by his will gave 40s. a year, issuing out of the site of the late Austin friars, towards the reparations and keeping of the clock and the dials which he had set up at Great St Mary's⁴. Thomas Buck, the University

¹ Gray, p. 43.

² Foster, 110.

³ F. 111.

⁴ Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* II. 7.

printer, lived at the Austin friars from 1636, and it seems that the parish had not received the amount previous to 1640, when the Churchwardens moved in the matter, for Joshua Sedgwick was 'intreated to speake with Mr Thomas Bucke,' and if with no satisfactory result, to 'prosecute sute against him.' However Buck paid down .£8 in 1640 for the four years he had dwelt in the house, and the entry of £2 continues yearly in the accounts afterwards.

In the year 1530 we know that the steeple had but reached the level of the west window, for that was glazed in that year at the expense to Robert Young of £61. 8s. 10d.¹

The house erected in either 1545 or 1546 is variously described as 'the little house at the west end of the church,' 'Shop under the west end of the church,' 'Shop under the steple,' 'Shop at the church end,' and the 'lyttel shop in the west end of the church'.² I could not for some time determine whether the shop was *in* the west end of the church *under* the steeple, or *outside*, until I came to the entry during 1587-8 of xiijs. being received 'for the tymbër, slate and stone of the old shop',³ which proves, I think, that the shop was outside under the steeple.

Occupants of the house, 1550-84.

No payments for the rent of the house appear until John Scarlett, the stationer, came to Cambridge from Loomstere (query Leominster) in, probably, July, 1550⁴, and occupied the house, having, according to the accounts presented at the Easter meeting, 1551, paid xvjd. 'for dim' years Rent⁵. He was evidently a man of good position, as at that Easter meeting he was appointed one of the Electors, and an Auditor of the accounts. The following year (1552) shows the receipt of ijs. vjd. 'for iij quartar of year'⁶ rent from him. Scarlett died in July, 1551. His will, dated the 13th of July, was proved in the University Court at Cambridge the 1st of August following⁷. He probably died childless, although he provided for a possible

¹ Sandars, 21, 29.

² F. 122, 135, 180, 190.

³ F. 216.

⁴ Gray, 66.

⁵ F. 122.

⁶ F. 124.

⁷ Gray.

son and heir lawfully begotten. His brother Philip was also a stationer living in the parish.

The house was occupied during a portion of the year 1552 by — Thornborowe, who paid ijs. iiij*d.* for rent¹, as is shown by the accounts presented in 1553. This was probably Roger Thornborawe (or Thornborough), who was appointed a Guardian of the Jesu Mass ('in officio Guardianorum misse Jhesu') 1541², and a collector of the Clerk's fees ('in officio Collectorum feod.') 1545³, in the parish.

In the Easter accounts, 1554, is a memorandum 'Rent ungathered for the shop of the fletcher thar⁴.' This entry is explained by those which follow, though no amount is accounted for until, in the Easter accounts of 1556, we find 'Thomas Jackson fletcher for the shopp rent under the west ende of ye chyrche for a hole yeare due at Ester iijs. iiij*d.*'⁵, which seems to point to his having only occupied the house in 1555. Jackson continued in occupation from this date until 1583. He paid iijs. iiij*d.* a year until 1569 when the rent was raised to 4s.⁶, and in 1578 further increased to 10s. per year⁷.

It is most likely that he moved in 1583 to another part of the parish, for in the accounts presented 1588 is the entry 'Receyved more of Thomas Jackson, iiij*l.*'⁸, and in 1589 'Received of Goodman Jackson ye fletcher the some of iiij*l.*'⁹. Thomas Jackson is mentioned as a witness in the affray which took place in September, 1591, when Lord North and the Justices were returning from the Sessions held at the Castle, and which was the cause of various complaints to the Privy Council¹⁰.

It is interesting to tabulate some of the varied ways in which this person is entered in the Churchwardens' accounts¹¹:

- 1554 the fletcher.
- 1555 Thomas Jackson fletcher.
- 1556 Thomas Jackson.
- 1557 the flecher.

¹ F. 126.

² F. 95.

³ F. 105.

⁴ F. 129.

⁵ F. 135.

⁶ F. 171.

⁷ F. 193.

⁸ F. 216.

F. 217.

¹⁰ Cooper, *Annals*, II. 501.

F. 129, 135, 138, 141, 146, 151, 153, 161, 168, 171, 180, 207.

- 1559 Thomas Jaxson.
 1562 Thomas Jacksson fleatcher.
 1564 Thomas Jacson.
 1566 Thomas Jacksonne.
 1568 Thomas Ffletcher.
 1569 Thomas Jhakeson.
 1571 Goodman Jacson.
 1589 Goodman Jackson ye fletcher.

I have mentioned that Jackson's payments ceased with the year 1583. For 1584 'John Cutbarte for hys shope Rente' paid 10s.¹

This is John Cuthbert the stationer, who received his freedom of the Stationers' Company, 29 April, 1566, and remained a member of that Company though 'abidinge in the countrie²,' an unusual and special privilege allowed him. He only paid rent for this one year. He had his shop elsewhere in the parish before this time, and afterwards until his death in 1597, and he filled several offices as a Churchwarden, and as an Elector of the parish. In 1568 the Churchwardens received 'of Mr Cuthbert Stationer for all the Books at y^t time being which were in number 13 small & great xs. vjd.³'

The house was pulled down to make way for the erection of two houses or shops, and according to the parish accounts for 1587-8, xiijs. was 'received of Mr Scarlet for the tymber, slate, and stone of the old shop⁴.' This Mr Scarlet was Peter Scarlet the stationer, one of the Churchwardens for that year, and was probably a son of Philip⁵, the brother of John Scarlett, the first occupant of the house in 1550.

Occupants of the Two Shops, 1587-1766.

Now comes a change. In the Churchwardens' book under the date of '18 die Aprilis Anno domino 1584' is this entry:

'Memorandum this daye & yere by the consent of the whole parishe a lease is granted to Thomas Bradshewe of

¹ F. 207.

F. 216.

² Gray, 71.

⁵ Gray, 67.

³ F. 164.

a pece of voide ground lienge at the west end of the churche from the Anuncacion of our ladye last pas for xl yeres paieinge yerelie xs. during the yeres and that he shall builde a handsome shop upon the same ground & so leave it builded & repayred And that Thomas Bradshewe shall neither sell shewe or binde eny books in the said shop during the lease¹.

It should be noted that this refers to a piece of 'voide ground' for the erection of one shop, one house or shop already existing then in the occupancy of John Cuthbert.

This Memorandum was afterwards ruled through, most probably for the reason that the parish could not grant the lease of land which belonged to Trinity College. Trinity College, however, granted the lease to Bradshaw for the same number of years, at a rental of 6s. 8d. A copy of this lease dated 1 Oct. 27 Eliz. (1585) is in the Treasury of Trinity College.

Then because Bradshaw in building obstructed the light of the windows and put his framework into the church wall, the following agreement was made between him and the parish:

'xvii^o die maij Anno Regni Regine Elizabethæ &c. xxix^{no} 1587. Whereas the master fellowes & schollers of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge have demised & letton unto Thomas Bradshewe Their Two shoppes lieng at the west ende of Saint Maries chirche in Cambridge from Michalmas last past for xix yeres which two shoppes are to be newe builded up by the said Thomas and bycause the said Thomas in buildinge of the same shoppes did goe about to stoppe the light of the wyndowes of the said chirche & made his frame in the chirche wall to the preiudice of the chirche & parisheners without the consent of the said Chirche wardens & parisheners & was therefore by them discharged from buildinge there eny further & so the frame dothe sease unfynished. Nowe at the earnest request of the said Thomas the said Chirchwardens & parisheners the daye & yere above writton have given & graunted their License consent & good will That the said

¹ F. 209.

Thomas Bradshewe shall builde the said Two Shoppes upon the wall & west windowes of the said parishe Chirche and the same enjoy duringe the terme afore said upon this Condicion & so that the said Thomas or his assignes Executors or assignes do well & trulie Paie or cause to be Paid unto the Chirch Wardens of the said parishe and to their successors yerely at the feast of Easter the some of five shillings of Lawfull mony of England duringe all the yeres to Come in the said lease the Which the said Thomas dothe most willinglie promise to do & paie & will binde himselfe by his Deede under his hand & seale to Paie accordinglie.

By me THOMAS BRADSHAW.

PETER SCARLETT }
JOHN NORKOT } churchwardens¹.

And 11s. was paid 'for makyng of the writinge from mr bradshewe to the parishe whereby he is bound to paie yerelie vs.'²

So the old shop was demolished and two new shops erected and were situated one on the north side and the other on the south side of the entrance to the Church. From the lease granted by Trinity College to John Legate, and the lease granted by the parish to Henry Lawman and Mary his wife, in 1731 (quoted later on), we learn that they projected from the Church 24 feet 3 inches. The shop on the south side is shown in the view of the Church (plate IX) in Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, 1690, and is the only illustration of the houses that I know of.

It is curious to note in the deleted entry of 1584 that Bradshaw 'shall neither sell, shewe, or binde eny books in the said shop during the lease,' for he was a stationer and appears as such in a list of 'persons privileged by the University,' circa 1592-4³. When this condition was made Cuthbert occupied the one existing shop, afterwards demolished, and it may have been made for his protection.

Bradshaw paid vs. yearly for the rent (as it is always entered in the Churchwardens' accounts) of these two shops

¹ F. 213.

² F. 216.

³ Bowes, 336.

during 1587 and 1588¹. He was elected an overseer of the 'heyghe wayes' in 1581², and gave xxs. towards the repairing or building of the steeple, 28 April, 1593³. He died in 1610, and by his will dated 22nd of July, and proved 20th August, he left his house in St Sepulchre's parish to his wife, and amongst other bequests left £60 to each of his four sons.

John Legate succeeded Bradshaw and paid the rent from 1589⁴ to 1609. A new lease was probably made by Trinity College with Legate, dated 6 Oct. 1589. The copy of this in the Treasury of Trinity College is unfinished, as spaces left for the number of years, yearly payments, &c., have not been filled in. On the 2nd of November, 1588, he had been appointed University Printer, being 'reported to be skilful in the art of printing books'. He was admitted a Freeman of the Stationers' Company, 11 April, 1586, and married Agatha daughter of Christopher Barker, the King's printer, and when he died in 1620 left eleven children, his son succeeding him as printer. Towards the finishing of the steeple of the Church he gave 6s. in 1593 and 10s. in 1594⁶. He paid 6s. 8d. for Church rate in 1601 and 1607⁷, and paid the fine of 10s. for not taking Churchwarden's office when nominated in 1609⁸.

It is a question whether Legate had his printing office here. His successor in one of the houses, Leonard Greene, when in partnership with Thomas Buck as University printers after 1625, in a complaint made against Buck, refers to a house in the Regent Walk 'which Thomas Thomas and Legatt had successively all their time hired⁹'.

Mr Bowes in his *Notes on the University Printers* (p. 296) questions whether it was the house in the Regent Walk for which Legate paid the 5s. yearly. As the parish received no rent from any house in the Regent Walk, most of the houses being in another parish, I think it is clear that this payment was for the two shops at the west end of the Church, as distinctly stated several times in the accounts, and that whilst

¹ F. 215, 218.² F. 198.³ F. 240.⁴ F. 221.⁵ Bowes, 194.⁶ F. 243, 245.⁷ F. 280, 298.⁸ F. 308, 309.⁹ Bowes, 300.

they were probably used as shops, the printing-press was in the Regent Walk¹.

In 1610 was 'received of William Williams for Mr Leggatts Rents vs.²: this was, no doubt, when Legate moved to Trinity Lane, London, where he died in 1620³.

With a new tenant the rent of the two shops was raised and William Williams, the bookbinder, paid 13s. 4d. in 1611.

Leonard Greene and William Williams paid each 6s. 8d. rent from 1612 to 1617⁴: Greene occupying the south (as shown in Loggan's view), and Williams the north shop.

Leonard Greene, the printer, was admitted a Freeman of the Stationers' Company, 14 April, 1606, and was appointed one of the University Printers, 31 October, 1622, and died 1630. He paid Church rate of 3s. 4d. in 1607, and 4s. yearly from 1612 to 1630⁵, and fulfilled various offices connected with the Church.

After Greene's death his widow continued to live in the same house for another two years⁶, whilst John Hearn, and his wife who succeeded him, lived in the other and paid the rent for both houses after Williams moved away.

Leonard Greene evidently lived in the parish the whole of his lifetime, and he may have had a printing-press of his own when appointed one of the University Printers in 1622, at which time the other University Printer was Cantrell Legge, who was living in the parish quite close to the Rose Inn on the Market Hill, where his wife continued to live after his death. On the 16 December, 1625, he was appointed along with Thomas and John Buck, University Printers, and during this partnership he complained that Buck had taken a new office in his own name and without consulting him, the 'Angel' leased from Mr Luykens, Greene desiring instead that the press might be placed in a house most convenient for all their coming to it, as the Regent Walke (in all men's opinion the fittest) which Thomas, Thomas and Legatt had successively all their time hired⁷. There was also a Francis Greene, a bookseller, also

¹ Bowes, 300.

² F. 314.

³ Bowes, 295.

⁴ F. 327—344.

⁵ F. 298, 321—425.

⁶ F. 435, 443.

⁷ Bowes, 300.

living in the parish, who may have been a son of Leonard Greene: he commenced paying the Church rate in 1628¹.

William Williams is mentioned as a bookbinder when chosen as a sidesman in 1608², and I think, according to his position in the rate list of 1607³, that he and Leonard Glascocke occupied one of the two houses for which Legate then paid rent. He filled various offices connected with the Church, as Churchwarden, Church rate assessor, auditor, &c., and remained in the parish after his removal from this shop—he was paying Church rate as late as 1635.

John Hearne (or Heron) paid the rent for 1618⁴, which was increased from 13s. 4*d.* to xx*s.*, he dying in 1619 or 1620⁵, his widow continued the payments from 1620 to 1629⁶, during the whole of which time Leonard Greene lived in one of the houses.

The son, John Hearne, continued the payment of xx*s.* from 1630⁷, but in 1647 he paid 'for a lease of two houses at the west end of the Church, which was granted to him by the parishioners £8,' and for the years 1648 and 1649 he paid each year £1 and 3*s.* 4*d.* for two capons. From 1631 to 1635⁸ it seems as if a Thomas Browne occupied one of the houses, whilst the Hearnés occupied the other. This Thomas Browne lived elsewhere in the parish and paid Church rate as early as 1621⁹.

During John Hearne's tenancy we get a glimpse into the place. In the account of the more special disorders in the University, drawn up probably by Dr Cosin or Dr Sterne, and forwarded to Archbishop Laud (23 September, 1636) in anticipation of a proposed visitation which did not take place, it is said of the Church:

'All the year after a parte of it is made a Lumber House for ye Materials of ye Scaffolds, for Bookbinders dry Fats, for Aumeric Cupboards, & such like instruments, which they know not readily where else to put. The west windows are half blinded up with a Cobler's and a Bookbinder's Shop¹⁰.'

¹ F. 417.

² F. 304.

³ F. 298.

⁴ F. 350.

⁵ F. 359.

⁶ F. 367, 428.

⁷ F. 463.

⁸ F. 443, 468.

⁹ F. 375.

¹⁰ Cooper,

iii. 281; Sandars, 85.

Could Thomas Browne have been the bookbinder referred to? I have a note of a Robert Browne, a Cambridge bookbinder, near this date, thanks to information given me by the Rev. Dr. Stokes.

Edmund Hearne paid the same amount from 1650 to 1669, and after his death the payment was continued by his widow until 1682. During this period

'It was Ordered this sixth and twentyth day of October 1663 by us whose names are hereunder Written. That at nine of the Clock every Night and at 5 of the Clock in the Morning shall be wrung the Tenor or Great Bell in Great St Mary's Church Steeple.'

Signed by Thomas Gibbs, Curate, and 36 others.

Mrs Spence paid the rent and 3s. 4d. for Capons, for 1683 and 1684. In 1684 (4 June) it was 'ordered that the lower ends of the Church be paved from the west door to the rails and from the south door to the west door...paved with free stone,' and in the accounts £3. 10s. 8d. was paid for 53 feet of new stone for shops about the front at one shilling and four pence the foot.

William Hust or Hurst paid the rent for 1686 with 3s. 4d. for, or in lieu of, two capons. Against this entry the late Thomas Stevenson wrote in pencil, 'late Spence,' so helping us to accurately follow the tenancy of these houses. Hurst paid £1. 3s. 4d. yearly until 1692 when the amount paid was £1 only, and this he continued to pay until his death and burial in the Church in 1715.

During his tenancy the following note is entered in the Churchwardens' book :

'22 September 1699. At a General Meeting of the Parishioners of St Mary the Great in the Town of Cambridge in the Vestry of the-said Church it is agreed that whereas Wm Hust has erected a chimbly in a Tenement on the West End of the said Church where there never was known to be any, which is to the great Annoyance of the said Church, and therefore the said chimbly is hereby ordered to be pulled down.'

To which is attached 16 signatures.

Widow Hurst continued the yearly payment of £1 until 1727, and after her death and burial in the Church her Executrix paid the rent for the year 1728.

Henry Lawman paid the rent of £1 for 1729 and 1730, and Mr Stevenson placed a note against the 1729 entry 'late Hurst.' The following copy of the Lease of the two shops to Henry Lawman and his wife is from the Churchwardens' book:

This Indenture made y^e 26th day of January in y^e fourth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second by y^e grace of God of great Brittain france & Ireland King Defender of y^e faith &c. Anno. Dom: One thousand Seven hundred & thirty Between Samuel Stanley & W^m Markby Church Wardens of ye Parish of Gt St Mary's in the Town of Cambridge & W^m Wolfe Sam^l Crosley Henry Crow & Jeremiah Chappel Overseers of the Said Parish of y^e one part & Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife of y^e said Parish of Gt St Mary's on y^e other part. Witnesseth that y^e said Church Wardens & Overseer with one mutual assent & Consent Have Demised granted & to ffarm Letten & by these Presents do demise grant & to ffarm Lett unto y^e said Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife both those their two Shops with the Appurtences thereunto belonging now or late in y^e tenure or occupation of Mary Richardson Widdow & Richard Ramsey their assignes or Undertenants yett Lying & being in ye Parish aforesaid adjoining Unto y^e West end of the Parish Church aforesaid built against the said Church End one of the said Shops being at the North west Corner of y^e said Church by Estimation in length twenty four foot & three inches more or less as it is now built Upon y^e Kings high street toward y^e West. Y^e Other being at y^e South west Corner of y^e said Church Containing by Estimation twenty four foot & three Inches more or less as it is now built upon y^e Kings high street towards y^e west to have & to hold y^e said two shops & other y^e premises hereby remised with y^e appurtences unto the said Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife their Executors administrators & assignes from the feast of St Michael y^e Archangle last past until y^e full end & term of forty Years from y^e said feast fully to be Compleat & Ended Yielding & Paying therefore Yearly & every Year during all y^e said Term unto y^e said Church Wardens & their Successors or unto their certain Attorney to the use of the said Parish the sum of twenty shillings of Lawful money of England at y^e two Usual feasts or terms in y^e Year that is to say the feast of St Michael y^e Archangel & the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by equal & even portions & at Easter a Couple of Capons or three Shillings & four pence of lawfull money of England And if it fortune y^e said Yearly rent of twenty Shillings to be behind & unpaid in part or in y^e Whole by y^e space of twelve days next after either of the said feasts or days of payment thereof above mentioned in which as aforesaid it ought to be paid being

lawfully demanded that then & from Thenceforth it shall & may be lawfull^s to & for y^e said Church Wardens of the said Parish for y^e time being or their Certain Attorney unto y^e said Demised premises & every part & parcell thereof Wholly to reenter & y^e same to have again repossess & enjoy to y^e use & disposing of y^e said Parish as in their former Estate & right & y^e said Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife their Executors Administrators & assigns & all other Occupiers thereof thereout & therefrom utterly Expell & a move any thing in these Indentures Contained to y^e Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding & y^e said Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife for themselves their Heirs Executors administrators & assigns do Covenant promise & grant to & with y^e said Church Wardens & Overseers & their Successors by these presents that they y^e said Henry Lawman & Mary his Wife their Executors administrator at their own proper Cost & Charges shall & will well & sufficiently support sustain repairs & maintain y^e said demised premises & every part & parcell thereof with all manner of needfull & necessary reparations from time to time when & as often as need shall require during all y^e said term of forty Years & also pave the Street before y^e said shops & as often as need shall require during y^e said term & so in y^e end of the said term well & sufficiently supported sustained repaired Maintained & paved shall leave & Yield up y^e same & every part & parcell thereof unto y^e said Church Wardens & Overseers of y^e said Parish for y^e time being Provided always their Heirs Executors Administrators or Assignes at any time or times hereafter during the said term to Convert y^e said Demised premises or any part thereof into any tenement or tenements or to build or Erect any Chimney or chimneys in or upon the said demised premises or any part thereof.

In Witness whereof the said parties above named to these present Indentures interchangeably hav set & put their hands & seals the day & year above Written.

HENRY ⊗ LAWMAN.

MARY ⊗ LAWMAN.

Thomas Paris paid the rent for 1731 to 1735, the amount being £1, but from 1736 to 1743 he paid £1 and 2 capons, and again only £1 for 1744. Mrs Mart from 1745 to 1751 paid for the rent and two capons £1. 3s. 4d. each year, whilst Zachariah Mart paid the same from 1756 to 1766. Zachariah Mart lived in one of the houses previous to 1756 but not afterwards.

Cole speaks of the shops as existing in 1745 'to the disgrace of Trinity College'.¹ Both shops were untenanted from 1743 to 1749, but after this Zachariah Mart, Thomas Doggett,

¹ Sandars, 85.

Jacob Coxall, and John Delaporte successively occupied the north, whilst S. Urling, James Parker, — Willers, and Morris Beresford successively occupied the south shop.

John Delaporte lived here from 1765 to 1767. In 1763 he opened a Coffee-Room next to Emmanuel College, in a pleasant Garden, 'where different Languages (French in particular) will be one of the principal Studies, and made easy and familiar by Conversation,' &c. So runs the curious notice in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, 4 June, 1763¹. Another advertisement appeared the 2 July, in which it is called the 'Emanuel Coffe-House,' and a paragraph at the end says, 'Any Peruke-maker for Ready Money, may be supplied at the Hair Warehouse in St Andrew's, cheaper than at the cheapest House in London, with every Article they use².' The Rev. W. G. Searle called my attention to a token in the Fitzwilliam Museum, which was found in St Mary's passage. JOHN DELAPORTE | ST MARTINS LANE | NO 1 | and on the reverse, SELLS ALL | SORTS OF HAIRS | AND EVERY ARTICLE | USED BY PERUKE | MAKERS |

On the 6th July, 1766, a Grace directed the Vice-Chancellor of the University to treat with Trinity College and with the parish for certain hovels (*aediculae*) which encumbered the west end of the Church, with a view to their destruction³.

This resulted in the following agreement, entered in the Churchwardens' Book :

'Whereas by Indenture bearing date the first day of August one thousand seven hundred & sixty seven. The Churchwardens & Overseers by and with the assent & consent of the parishioners, in consideration of sixty pounds paid to them by the Vicechancellor, Masters, & Scholars of the University of Cambridge, Did, demise, Grant & to Farm Lett both their two shops, now converted into two tenements, situate at the west end of Great St Mary's Church in the said Town, now in the Occupation of Morriss Bareford and John Delleport. To the Vicechancellor, Masters and Scholars of the said town for the space or term of one thousand years, paying a yearly Rent of one penny with Covenant in such Indenture for the said Vicechancellor, Masters & Scholars to pull down the said two shops at their will and pleasure. Now we whose names are hereunder written Churchwardens, Overseers and Parishioners in Vestry assembled do agree that the said sixty pounds shall be disposed off as follows, that

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, iv. 328.

² *Ibid.* 329.

³ Willis and Clark, iii. 71.

is to say that the above sixty pounds shall be put into the Hands of Mr Thomas Evans of Cambridge Vintner, baring Interest after the Rate of 4 per Ct per Ann. and that the Interest thereof shall be applyd to the paying the Land Tax of Seven pounds per year & the remainder to be applyd to the poor Rates, the interest to Commence this thirteenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred & Sixty seven.'

Signed by two Churchwardens, four Overseers, and nine others.

And the 'Land Tax for ye late Mart's Houses 12s.' appears in the accounts of 1767-8.

On the 27th of October in the same year (1767) the houses having been pulled down, the University Syndics, who had charge of the Senate House, were empowered to repair the walls of the Church against which the houses had abutted¹. Then, 26th April the following year (1768) at a meeting held in the Vestry of Great St Mary's Church 'it was agreed that the University shall have free Liberty to Beautify the West End of the Church, they being Desirous of doing the same,' and during 1769 the improvement was effected by the erection of the iron railings at the west end of the Church¹.

My attention has been drawn to the window at the left of the entrance at the west end of the Church. There, between the window and the corner buttress, are plainly seen three small squares of stone which have evidently been inserted. They are equally spaced one above the other, and it seems most probable that the beams of the north house were inserted there into the walls of the Church. Loggan's illustration shows the south house with pointed roof, the point reaching nearly to the top of the window. This, along with the 1587 memorandum of Thomas Bradshaw who had 'made his frame in the Church wall²,' rather confirms the suggestion.

Such is the life history of these houses or shops. I have to thank Mr F. Palmer and Mr W. O. Hattersley, the Churchwardens, for the opportunity of working through the Churchwardens' books; and also Mr J. E. Foster, for without his transcript of the earlier Churchwardens' Accounts this paper would not have been written.

¹ Willis and Clark, iii, 171.

² See page 239 *ante*.

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Monday, 17 May, 1909.

Dr VENN, President, in the Chair.

Dr John PEILE, F.Brit.A., made a communication

ON FOUR MS. BOOKS OF ACCOUNTS KEPT BY JOSEPH
MEAD, B.D., FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
WITH HIS PUPILS BETWEEN 1614 AND 1633.

Some little time ago, I found in a drawer in our Muni-ment-room four volumes containing the accounts kept with his pupils by Joseph Mead, B.D., the well-known fellow of Christ's, 1613-38. Each volume is twelve inches long and four broad, and is bound in parchment. In several places the ink has run; in a few the writing is undecipherable; almost always the sense is clear. There are about a hundred entries ranging from 1614 to 1633; one later, in 1636, for his cousin Thomas, son of Sir John Mead of Lofts. The pupils were not all originally entered under Mead: several were taken over by him on the death or the departure from Cambridge of their first tutor. The account is never a debtor and creditor account drawn up on opposite sides of the book; it is (literally) "current," with the receipts and expenses alternating down the page: e.g.

Will March, admitted Mar. 7, 162 $\frac{2}{4}$

R̄ at his admission 3^{li}. 0. 0

R̄ Aprill 19 4^{li}. 0. 0

Then come the various sums paid for him, or sometimes to him, with another line below: then further receipts, and so on. Occasionally a balance is struck, and marked by "debet," or "debeo." Sometimes, when two pupils kept in the same chamber, their accounts are on opposite sides of the book, so that a charge common to both could be conveniently divided

between them. The same man's account may appear in two or three places and in one or two books. At the end, if the account was cleared up, comes a note "all made even." But there are some bad debts, as, indeed, Mead tells us in his letters to Sir Martin Stuteville, preserved in the British Museum. The account of a B.A. sometimes remains open: doubtless he was pulled up when he came up for his M.A.: the majority did not reside the whole seven years, being no longer required to do so, but many did.

There is no caution-money, though I found the phrase once: but a sum is advanced by the pupil or by his guardian (as above for March) which may cover the expenses of the next quarter: it varies very much according to the status of the pupil and to his age: the younger he was, the more the tutor provided, especially clothes: the average is about £5, rising to £15 or more for a very wealthy man. The tutor's account does not cover the whole of an undergraduate's expenses: he must have had a separate account with the Steward, perhaps with the manciple. In each quarter Mead's account has items First Month, Second, Third—a single charge for each month, varying from a few shillings to £2 or so for a fellow-commoner: it is not clear what this sum includes: it is too small for commons, for which the student (if not a scholar) would settle with the Steward: but it seems to cover ordinary "sizings" and "exceedings": though not all such charges: on a special festivity there occurs a separate charge, when young Hamon le Strange paid 6s. for "a supper to a 2 or 3 of his friends at a Declamation," i.e. after performing one of his College Exercises in the Chapel; or when Edward Dudley had "a tansey [pudding] with his friend," and paid 1s. more for "a peece of veale with the tansey." Entertainment (in college at least) must have been limited, when such small prodigalities are specially noted.

For tuition a fellow-commoner paid 25s. a quarter: a scholar or pensioner 15s., 13s. 4d., or 10s.; possibly Mead varied the sum according to his knowledge of his pupil's means: a sizar 6s. 8d. The "lecturer" (i.e. the Head-lecturer or Praelector) received 1s. The bed-maker had 2s.; the laun-

dress 1s. 4d. up to 2s., but always the same each quarter for the same man. All these charges are at least doubled to a fellow-commoner, who alone of undergraduates enjoyed the services of the College barber—for 3s.

Chamber-rent is very small, rarely more than 2s. a quarter: but it must be remembered that three or four shared a chamber; it is charged, however, irregularly, which I do not understand: the tutor was certainly responsible for the charge to the Master, who allotted to each fellow sets for his pupils at his own pleasure; Mead used to complain of the special difficulties which he had in getting the sets which he wanted. Some occupants might beautify the chamber, e.g. with a Canopye (?) or with curtains, probably to hide the bed in the day-time (seven yards of damicks [a cheap damask] for curtains cost 14s.): but I suspect that the chamber was generally bare and comfortless, belonging as it did to no one in full right, and that such luxury as there was was kept for the "studies" (developed into the modern bed-room and gyp-room) attached to each chamber, fireless though they were; certainly what we should call "income" (sometimes rising to £4. 0s. 0d.) is charged under the head "study": one man "paints his study with pannells" (as on two sides of the Prayer-Room at the Master's Lodge—which used to be let to fellow-commoners): one had a key for his study-door, as well as for the chamber. ("Kays," it may be noted, were incessantly being broken or lost, and replaced at the owner's charge.)

There are regular charges for coals, "turves," and candles: for conveyance of money (rather high) and of property "from the water," if sent up by river from Lynn, or by wagon. Travelling-money was supplied on returning home, but not regularly: it follows that the student had some money trusted to his discretion as well as having a banker in his tutor. If he lived in East Anglia he generally rode home, and had sometimes 10s. supplied him for "horse and charges." To London the poorer sort went by wagon, for 3s. 4d., exclusive of charges. A rich man would often have a man, or two men, sent up with horses: the two men once ate a leg of mutton.

Each man, at his initiation to the social life of the College, is charged for "salting," 2s.—which supplied ale for his friends(?) and salt to be mingled with his own. Charges at Degree-time seem high in comparison with those for ordinary living: each B.A. paid £2 for the "College supper"; this seems to have been collected by one of the questionists: an incepting M.A. paid £4, also for festivities. "Bever-money" might be anything up to 10s. The Lecturer at B.A. commencement again had his 1s., and the "Father" 2s., in which gloves to Bedells seems to be included. "Admission" and "suspension" cost £1 (I am not clear as to the meaning of the latter item): sometimes "the Orator" is mentioned, but the charge is the same. Occasionally a "Poser" appears and receives 4s. or more—an official whom I had connected only with Newcastle Scholarships at Eton. Once or twice there is an extra charge "for not sitting in the schools" 4s., once put in the odd way "buying out sitting in schools" 9s.: as it is paid once by a sizar, who could not wish to incur needless expense, I guess that it means private examination on the ground of illness.

Quite nine men out of ten have a charge each quarter, "Fast. 333..." (amount of figures varies); for a fellow-commoner 666. This sum was supplied by the tutor to the pupil each fast-day. On such days no meat was provided in Hall, or elsewhere in the College. But there were eating-houses in the town at which meat was cooked and ready for all who came, and to these students regularly went—an abuse to which Archbishop Laud's attention was drawn in 1636. As the tutor supplied the money, it is clear that it was with the parents' consent: the fact indicates the growth of Puritan feeling against Anglicanism. "Commons in Lent" (2s. a week) appears, but not very frequently; the student perhaps had a dispensation because of weak health—real or supposed: I take it that most still fasted in Lent.

As might be expected when three or four men occupied one room, special arrangements were necessary when one was seriously ill or had an infectious sickness. The sick man was removed to "Raper's" or "G. Pindar's"—college servants, I suspect, of some sort, as "Troylus" certainly was, though he is

dignified with the title "Mr Atkinson" when he receives rent for rooms in the Brazen George, the old inn where Post-office Place now is, unstatutably used by the College to accommodate the overflowing number of pupils in those days. "Mr Gregory" and "Mr Finch," who also received sick men, may have been medical practitioners, or possibly tradesmen. A common charge in such cases is 5s. a week for board and lodging (rising to 10s. in serious cases), exclusive of physic. One man had a "physitian" at £1. 1s. 0d.: generally an apothecary sufficed. Here are three specimens of the remedies used: (1) gargarismes (3s. 6d.): let blood (1s.): oyntment (1s.): a purge (1s.): (2) Suppositary (2d.): a clister (3s. 4d.): oyles (6d.): camemile (2d.): a gargarisme (2s. 4d.): oyles (8d.). (3) Suppositary, clyster, plaster, fomentaria, purge, lozenges, 10s. 6d. in all; one man was thought likely to get good from 2d. worth of hog's grease. In November 1620 every man was charged 2d. for "Sparkes sick." A similar universal charge was in 1623 for "tennis court building," 6d. each man, spread over four quarters.

Mead's pupils in the main were well-to-do men, not in receipt of scholarships: scholarships would not appear in his bills; being paid in kind, by allowance for dinners in Hall, these would concern the steward, not the tutor: but exhibitions were allowed for in his account. The pupils often had expensive "sutes" (up to £5 or more), of which the materials are given—"green pyropus," green velvet, broad green saye, lace and silk, taffety and "changeable taffety," &c. Thomas Tarrie had "a minikin sute" with 1½ yards of "fine provanto saye" (10s. 10d.): William Huddleston had "a winter sute of fine grey bever broadcloth." A fellow-commoner's gown might cost £5: John Gray paid for 11 yards of "chamlet philippine cheney" (i.e. ordinary cheap camlet cloth¹), £1. 19s. 8d.: for a yard of "tany velvet," £1. 4s. 0d.: for 7 dozen of long barrrell-head buttons, 14s. 0d.: for 5½ yards of serge, 13s. 9d.: for 1¼ oz.

¹ See *Oxford Dictionary*, under Philip, and China: oddly enough, "philippine cheyney" is a corruption of "Philip and Cheny": sometimes it is "Philip, Hob and China," used like "Tom, Dick and Harry," = common-place people—or things.

"mixt lase and silk," 3s. 1d.: for buckram and canvas, 1s. 1d.—in all £4. 15s. 7d.: and for "making," 7s. 0d. On the other hand unexpected economies appear, e.g. in sleeping accommodation; we know from Mead's letter in the series already mentioned (which is the *locus classicus* on the subject), that even fellow-commoners often shared a bed; the above-mentioned Gray of Chillingham, and Peregrine, son of Sir Thomas Palmer of Somerset, did so; and each pays the following charge: "for eeking their rug (bed-cover) with one whole length, and 13 pound of fethers into his bed, 7/0, his part"—the regular phrase for a divided charge.

A sizar's charges for his clothes are curious: they are for constant "mendings" and the like: "Mending his jerkin with bays [*sic*] and a dozen of satten buttons(!), 1/0: dressing his blew breeches, 6d.: quarter and a halfe of new cloth to peece them, 1/6: making them up, and 3 yards of binding for knees, 2/0:...an old jerkin (given him) making fit, 1/0: a paire of breeches dying and dressing, 1/4: new cloth to eke them at knees, 1/0: making them up againe, 1/8: making a new jerkin, 2/0: mending old breeches, 6d.:...dying his dressing-goune, 2/0: making a dublet, given him, 2/6." It was certainly possible to get through Cambridge for a very small cost—even although the time of residence was so much longer than it is now: the "summer quarter," ending about 12 September, was commonly kept; indeed, students frequently began their course in July. Here is a remarkable case: a sizar, belonging to Cambridge, paid to Mead for his whole course up to the B.A. degree (which he took) £1. 0s. 4d., wholly made up of the monthly charges—very small ones. Probably he lived with a fellow, or fellow-commoner, as his personal servant, and so paid nothing for rooms; his degree-fees, which must have been paid, possibly, by a friend, are not mentioned. As he got his dinners free, he would have no account with the steward.

One can sometimes guess at the character of the pupil from his bills. Thomas Stuteville, Sir Martin's eldest son, was nice in his personal belongings, but not extravagant. He has a "looking-glasse with a box, comb, and brush," 3s. 4d.: a "great head-brush" costs 1s. 8d. A bason, "his part," as he does not

live alone, 1s. 2*d.*: "a chamber pot (a luxury, commonly confined to times of sickness), his part," 10*d.*: "a ring for the bason," 4*d.*: "an houre-glasse in a brazen case," 1s. 6*d.*: "a box for bands with a d'esk," 5s. 6*d.* He uses "gilded paper." He has "russet boots," 6s. 8*d.*: a paire of white shoes, 3s. 0*d.*: a pair of "galashoes," more than once. He buys gloves at Sturbridge fair. He has "a pair of blew garters," 3s. 6*d.*: and "a satten collar," 6s. 0*d.* He had further "a viol, and a viol-book bound with green leather and ribban" (3s. 6*d.*), and he often buys "knotts of strings": like some other fellow-commoners, he has lessons in music: "a musitian" was always paid 6s. 8*d.* a month. "For the dansing schoole" (£1) is paid only by the sons of Richard Halford of Wiston: Andrew, the eldest, is the man who was put in command of a troop raised by his father to fight for the King in the Civil War, and, having imprudently hanged his prisoners, had to pay a terrible fine in the latter days.

I now come to the books in general use. Here is a list of those purchased for Edward Dudley, a fellow-commoner, July 1617—Dec. 1619. These are extracted from the midst of charges for "2 pound candles," "coals," "a key for the chamber dore," and the like.

1617. Kekerman, logic compend(ium), 1/0: Lexicon Etymologicum, 1/0: Catechismus palatinatus (i.e. Heidelberg), 10*d.*: Camden's gr(eek) gram., 8*d.*: Kek. systema majus, 3/2. Homer Iliad, 1/4.

1618. Persius, english, 4*d.*: Terentius Christian(us) (?), 10*d.*: Kekermann compend. rhet(orick), 10*d.*; do. Ethicks, 1/0: do. Physicks, 3/0: Relations of Kingdomes, 2/8: Buxtorf, Heb. gram., 1/0.

1619. Kekermann syst. Theol., 1/8. Sleidan [John, of Strasburg, the historian of the Reformation] de 4 monarch(iis), 1/3: Reynoldi Orationes(?), 2/6: Erasmi Coll(oquia) and Martials Epigr., 2/6: Theatrum [Orbis Terrarum, 1570, Antwerp] Ortelii, Epit(ome), 5/6: Isocrates, 1/6: Ovid's meta(morphoses) and Ausonius, 2/0: Tullie's Epist., 1/0: Tullie's orations [a few, I presume], 1/0: Homeri Odysseia, 2/0: Senecae traegediae, 1/6: Small poets, 1/4: Lexicon Novo Testam. 2/4.

It will be seen that (as might be expected from the scanty records which we possess of the reading of other students of the time, such as Simonds d'Ewes—for which see Masson's *Life of Milton*, I. 262) logic takes the first place: and this is

universal. The other books which they read are largely useful as supplying material for logical exercises. Almost every man begins with Bartholomew Keckermann's compendium: a few go on to the "systema maius." Other books on logic appear: Timpler's, Tolet's, and only once or twice Seton's. Yet twenty years later, when Milton's traducers were speaking of his Cambridge course, they speak of him as having "been initiated in the Arts by Jack Seton and Bishop Downam, confirmed a logician." Seton's book (1572) was of the old school before the days of Ramus: among the earliest Ramists were the two fellows of Christ's, Paul Greaves, 1595-8, in his "grammatica Anglicana...ad unicam P. Rami methodum coniuncta," 1594, and the Bishop, George Downham (1587-96), with his "commentarius in Rami dialecticam," 1610. Neither Greaves nor Downham ever appear in Mead's lists: but he certainly did not adhere to Seton. Keckermann supplied the necessary food for babes not only in logic by his compendium, *Systema*, and "praecognita logica et philosophia," which often occurs, but also in Physicks, Ethics, Theology, and Geography. In Mathematics I find Mead recommends Riffe's *Geometry* and "*Gemma Frisius*," i.e. Reimer Gemma whose "*Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis*" was published in Paris 1556, and was republished at Oxford as late as 1660 as a supplement to a "*systema totius mathematices*" by the omniscient Keckermann—which held the field after his death. It will be noted that even one who was to lead the life of a country gentleman began Hebrew at Cambridge; and Martin's or Buxton's Hebrew Grammar (also one by Keckermann!), Hebrew Psalms, Tossanus' Lexicon, &c., are commonly found in the bills. In Latin, the attention paid to Horace, Juvenal and Persius is marked: Virgil occurs only once, Livy never: Q. Curtius and Florus are the chief historians. Among Greek authors the three tragedians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, never occur: Aristophanes occasionally: also Xenophon, Plutarch and Lucian: Demosthenes and Isocrates rarely: Aristotle, as might be expected, is nearly universal, both in the second and the third year of residence, but whether in the original is much more than doubtful; it may be remembered that Simonds d'Ewes in his private reading

(1619) spent "a month...very laboriously...in the perusal of Aristotle's Physicks Ethics and Politics"! Mead's pupils read most frequently the "de Anima," next the "Organon": for Ethics and also for Physics they commonly have recourse to books by Magirus: Vogel's "Aristoteles resolutus" is not infrequent.

It is difficult to decide how far the pupils chose their own books, and how far the tutor determined the choice. Mead sometimes adds a note—by way of commendation, as I guess—"his own bargain," or the like. When we find man after man for a couple of years charged with "Deus et Rex," 6*d.*—a dialogue (1615) proving the divine prerogatives of James I—fashion may have been their guide as probably as Mead: Barclay's *Argenis*—a frequent book after 1621—is also a doubtful indication. In the last years of the accounts books hardly occur: I regret that in the account of Thomas Lorrain (1633), one of the Lorraines of Kirkharle in Northumberland, a very good scholar who is known to have been much influenced by Mead, not a book appears: he must have bought his own. There is an observable change in the lists of the second decade: this seems to be probably due to the tutor rather than to a variation in standard books; Aristotle and Keckermann reign throughout. I think that I see signs of an attempt to direct the reading of some pupils according to their future life: but this may be fancy. Thus John Bell, the son of a Sussex squire, who took no degree, could take away with him (apart from his compendia) an Aristophanes, Gr. Lat., Quintus Curtius, "Mores gentium," Sleidan's book, Farnaby's Martial, Aristotle's *Organon*, and Magirus on the Ethics, Clerk de Antico (?), Fenestella (?), Theophrastus, Seneca (all), Roman and Jewish Antiquities, Aelian's *Varia Historia*, and Keckermann's Theology; it is a small library, but various, and (I hope) profitable at his country home; I think it shows Mead's help. Another gentleman (stupid as I guess) is almost limited to the *Moriae Encomium*! Again, I doubt whether Andrew Halford had much literary taste: but he buys Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, Heliodorus' "Aethiopian Story," and Euphroe's *Golden Legacie*.

Two young Ta(y)sburghs of Flixtõn Hall, whose mother (and, I think, the whole family) was strongly Romanist, have a limited set: a Bible [this often occurs], Justin, Featlye's help to Devotion, a Psalm-book, Posie of Prayers, Henry Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, New Testament, Latin (Amsterdam), with Psalmes, Galataeus (Antonio dei Ferrari, I suppose) de Moribus—a book very commonly used. Here the family bent seems stronger than the tutor's: oddly, each brother has all of these: yet they cannot have been used for lectures. Each had "musick"—one month only: and a French master (unique) for 7s. 0d.

One pupil was unsatisfactory in a peculiar way. He paid in gold, but his gold was "wanting"—as much as 46 grains in £12. 8s. 0d. Later occurs a note, "loss in gold, 26 grains and more." There may be no connexion between these deficiencies and the sudden departure of the pupil in Nov. 1621, when he was in debt to his tutor £21. 8s. 1d.—a very large sum. There is a further note, seven years later: "Anno 1628 Nov. 21. Mr Brough received of Mr Huddleston in part payment of this debt, £11. Remanet £10. 8s. 1d.: which he promised to pay in Candlemas next." No more.

I cannot interpret this entry: "for sanguining his sword, 1/6."

I end by giving entire the brief account of Ralph Gray, eldest son of Sir Ralph of Chillingham, Northumberland: this is clear from book no. 1, 154 b: three brothers, John, Robert and Edward, followed him at the College. Ralph came up as a fellow-commoner 23 June, 1618, with Charles Oxley (B.A. 1606), vicar of Chillingham, who was tutor to the family. He was buried at Great St Andrew's on 16 July, less than a month from his arrival: the name given there is Charles, clearly by error. The story is pathetic, with touches of comedy: it is a specimen (of more than average interest) of Mead's method—descriptive, even in accounts, and with the items in most mixed arrangement, due to date of payment.

Ralph Gray Jun 23, 1618.

Received June 23. 16th. 3^s. 6^d.

Fast. 664. = 2. 4^d [*sic*].

Galataeus de moribus, 10^d. A glasse and a combe, 3^s 6^d. A head brush double, 1^s. 6^d. A dozen of silk pointes, 2^s 6^d. Meat out of the towne in phisick, viz. Brothes and veale 7 times, 2^s. 11^d: 2 chickens rost &c. 1^s 4^d: mutton for supper, cooks breakfast 7^d do. [=½]: for dinners suppers and brothes provided for him in the towne besides the former, 5^s 4^d. Kekerman logic comp., 9^d. A paire of gloves, 1^s 6^d. Porter, 2^s. Dr Burton, 11^s. A chaire, 1^s 8^d. A cushion, 1^s 4^d. A map for his study, 2^s 6^d. Candle, 4^d. First month, Jul. 10. 2 w[eeke] din[ner] com-[mons], 3 w[eeke] siz[ings], 18^s 4^d. Carriage of his bedding from London, 3^s 4^d: Carriage from Hobson's, 6^d: 2 urinalls, 6^d: Prunes for broath, 4^d. Charcoale, 2^d. Landresse, 2^s 6^d. Second month, sizing, 6^s.

A horse of Mr Aimes, 3^{li}. 3^s 4^d: to the Firrier [*sic*] to view him, 1^s: to the Horskeeper, 6^d: a saddle bridle, crooper and all furniture, 11^s 8^d: Oxley for the charges of his journey, £21 [this has nothing to do with the horse!]. For the horse over night and morning 3 peeks of oats and standing, 2^s 2^d. For 4 new shoes, 1^s. 4^d. Paid to Swetston for physick, Oct. 13, 4^{li}. 4^s: he abated 5^s 11^d of the whole bill 4^{li} 9^s 11^d.

Received spending money 4^{li}. 19^s. 0^d

Expended of this in his life

For musick, the rise, 2^s 6^d. For claret wine at 3 times, 10^d. A breakfast one morning to those that watch with him, 10^d. Another breakfast, 6^d.

Afterward

To the women that laid him out and wound him, being 4, 4^s. 0^d. For wine &c. to the Schollers that sate up all night with the corse, 5^s. For candle and perfumes, 10^d. A man that sate up and fetcht all things, 1^s. Beere, &c. 9^d.

His funeralls

2 pottel of brewed wine and 16 cakis for the Mr and Fellows meeting in the hall to accompany the herse, 7^s 4^d. Borrowing black clothes for pulpit and hearse, 2^s 6^d. Pins for verses, 4^d. 12 scutchions 2 in mettall, 1^{li}.

Sexton

For making grave, 3^s 4^d: Tolling, 4^d: Knell, 4^d: Sermon bell, 1^s: laying the black cloth, 1^s: [in all] 6^s. Minister, 3^s 4^d. Burying in the church, 6^s 8^d. Making the ground againe, 3^s 4^d. His coffin, 6^s 8^d. Rosewater, 10^d. Breaking a ladder with hanging verses and scutch[ions], 6^d.

The Taylor

For making his gowne and for inkle [linen tape], 7^s. For making his sute with 2 lases or phillip[in] and chinay, 8^s 6^d. Pastbord, whalebone and inkle for the same, 1^s. Sticht program and silk dublet making, 4^s 6^d. For a quarter and a halfe of mixt taffety halfe-way to line shirts, 2^s 6^d (M^r Oxley bought as much more). For a quarter and halfe stufte, more than M^r Oxley bought, to make the collar, 1^s 4^d. Loope lase for the collar, 2^d.

Recepta superant expensa 2^{li}. 6^s. 4^d ob.

Mr W. B. REDFERN then delivered a lecture, which was illustrated with lantern-slides, blackboard sketches and exhibits of ancient shoes, on

ANCIENT FOOTGEAR.

It is difficult to say with any certainty when man commenced to use footgear regularly, though from the earliest times some kind of covering must have been used to protect the soles, if not the whole of the foot, from injury. Yet we know at the present time of civilised people—for instance in parts of Scotland and Ireland—as well as native tribes in various parts of the world, who go unshod. That the Egyptians knew and practised the art of shoemaking we have ample record, and that their work was of a high character we have pictured and sculptured authority. Probably shoes in the earliest times were made of rushes or grass, possibly before the skins of animals were used for the purpose. When leather did come into use the whole shoe-sole and fastenings were in one piece.

Among the Greeks and Romans shoe and sandal making was followed at a very early period, and legal enactments prevailed to regulate the style of foot covering by which different ranks and professions should be distinguished; possibly these differed not only in shapes, but also in material. Highly decorated, often jewelled and gilded, shoes and sandals were worn by the higher classes in Rome, who also as a mark of position delighted to wear shoes which came higher up the leg of the wearer than those of the meaner classes. The common people, we learn, frequently wore shoes of wood. The nailed shoe (*caliga*) of the Roman soldier, as well as the slashed and laced sandal of the aristocrat, have been preserved to us deep in the soil of ancient London. Among the Romans every grade in life was marked by its clothing and its shoes. Crispin and Crispinian, two brothers, citizens of rank in Rome, together went to Gaul to preach the gospel. In order to be independent,

like S. Paul, among those for whose conversion they worked, the two brothers earned their livelihood by following the trade of shoemakers. They settled in the town of Soissons, where they suffered martyrdom during the reign of Diocletian in A.D. 286, and became the adopted patron saints of the shoemakers' craft.

The early Briton wore shoes made of raw cow hide, the hair turned outside, in one piece, fastened at the heel by strips of the same material and drawn together by thongs across the instep, in fact, much resembling a purse over the foot. On the coming of the Romans to our country their costume, including shoes, became gradually that of the native inhabitants, so Roman shoes and sandals became the footwear of the Briton. Then came the period of the Anglo-Saxon and the Dane, when the legs were encased in a bandaged kind of stocking, while the shoes or half boots were of leather generally blackened, the soles being often of wood; even the feet of the higher classes being so shod. The Normans wore similar shoes, sometimes in yellow, green, blue, and red material, as can be seen delineated on the Bayeux tapestry.

During the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, A.D. 1100-1154, shoes became lengthened to an absurd degree. Planché in his *History of British Costume* says, at this time "peak toed shoes and boots of an absurd shape excited the wrath and contempt of the monkish historians." These peaked toed boots were at last strictly forbidden to the clergy. So long were these peaks that they had to be stuffed with tow or wool and curled up like a ram's horn. A shoe of this character was found in pulling down an ancient house in Toledo. This shoe is now in possession of Mr Geo. C. Haite, the artist, and is pictured in Mr Redfern's book on *Royal and Historic Gloves and Shoes*. By the time Henry III. came to the throne, A.D. 1216, boots and shoes of rich materials became generally worn by wealthy people. They were of cloth or leather, rich in colour and greatly decorated. Shoes of cloth of gold embroidered with pearls were worn by monarchs, the soles sometimes being of cork. The shoes of the ladies of the period were of the same costly character and material. In the reign of Edward III.,

A.D. 1327-1377, the costume generally became most elegant and extravagant, while the boots and shoes were of a most sumptuous character. The various designs cut in the different materials used convey the impression of a window in a cathedral, and one might be allowed to quote Chaucer's description of the parish clerk Absolon, who, he says, had "Paules windows corven on his shoes." The pattern of the shoe, if of black material, would be thrown up by the red or other coloured hose of the wearer. Very often the pair of hose was of different colours, the left shoe might be black and the hose blue, while the right shoe might be white and the hose red. The sharp-pointed toe continued in fashion for a long time, as we find in paintings and on brasses in many of our churches.

During the 14th century the long points of the shoes were turned outwards, and the shoes themselves were made perfect rights and lefts as was the case during the Roman period and at the present day. In the reigns of Richard II. and Richard III. long-pointed shoes were in vogue, and such an extreme length were they made that the points were fastened by a cord or light chain to the garter or knee of the dandy of the time, and, as before mentioned, the long toe itself had to be kept somewhat in shape by a stuffing of tow or other material. Fashions, then as now, changed rapidly from one extreme to another, and in the 15th century we notice the long-pointed shoe gave place to a short and very broad-toed foot covering. A broad-toed shoe dug up in London, now in the Northampton Museum, is a good specimen of this kind. We are all familiar with the wide shoes of Henry VIII. with their slashed toes and puffings of coloured stuffs, the hose sometimes forming the background for the openings in the shoes. The price of shoes during this period sounds strange to modern ears. In the account books of the L'Estranges, of Hunstanton, a pair of leather shoes is set down at the value of 8*d.*, a pair of velvet at 12*d.*, and a pair of white shoes at 20*d.* A pair made for the young Earl of Essex, at Cambridge, cost one shilling, and a pair of winter boots 6*s.*

In the time of Elizabeth shoes became of a more reasonable shape and size, their decoration for the most part consisting of coloured materials with roses of ribbon on the instep, although

among the upper classes velvet, gold, and silver, embroidery prevailed. High heels of cork also came into fashion for both men and women. About this time on the Continent, especially in Venice, an extraordinary fashion of Eastern origin came into use, namely, "chopines." These were a kind of stilt made of light wood or cork, a sort of cylinder, spreading somewhat at the top and bottom, forming a shoe-like top and an oblong or circular base. These "chopines" were used largely by the Venetian ladies, and were often quite half a yard high. Needless to say, when ladies took their walks abroad they had to be supported on one or both sides by cavaliers or servants. They never became very common in this country, but that they were used is partly proved by the story told of King Charles I. when he went to meet his future Queen, Henrietta Maria, at Dover, "he cast down his eyes towards her (she seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulder), which she soon perceiving showed him her shoes, saying to this effect, 'Sir, I stand upon mine own feet; I have no help of art; thus high I am, and am neither higher or lower.'" Specimens of "chopines," 6 or 12 inches high, can be seen in the British Museum. The roses and shoe strings at this time were embroidered, and were often of considerable value. The rosettes on the shoes of Charles I. are familiar to us through the portraits of the King by Vandyck. A pair of shoes minus the Vandyck rosette, lined and bound with rich ribbed silk, once worn by King Charles I., is now in the possession of General E. G. Lytton Bulwer.

Then came the Cavalier boot, worn either drawn full up over the knee to the thigh, or folded downwards, showing the crimson or other coloured lining, and trimmed, when worn by the dandy, with lace or other material. It was a singular fact that at this time both Cavalier and Roundhead were equally extravagant in the size and shape of their boots, though the Puritan did not ornament his riding or walking boots with lace. This extravagance in size, and in the profusion of decoration, was not confined to this country, for the courtiers of Louis XIV. equalled, if they did not excel, us in their foot wear. At this time the ordinary walking shoe became exceedingly ugly; it had square toes, and high heels, often of red leather and cork,

the instep being disfigured by enormous bows or ties, often stiffened in some way to extend them at the sides. Coming to the time of William III., much the same shape remained in vogue, but the upper leathers were higher, and a wide flap over the instep took the place of the bow, the shoe being fastened on the instep by a leather strap and small buckle. The dandy of the period wore high red heels. Hogarth's pictures give a good idea of the shoes and boots of his time. The ladies' shoes were no more beautiful than those of the men, and frequently they had a clog of stiffened leather permanently fixed to the sole of the shoe, which must have made walking no easy matter. Mrs Seymour Lucas has in her possession a shoe and clog combined, of white kid leather, at one time covered with cream silk, the instep and toe richly embroidered with pale pink or salmon-coloured silk, and powdered with seed pearls.

During the reigns of Queen Anne and George I. ladies' shoes seem to have been increased in height, the heels being much higher than in the previous reign, and placed more under the foot. Men soon followed the lead given by the ladies. Towards the end of 1700 buckles became more worn, and were much larger than those of the previous fashion; they also became very expensive articles of costume, diamonds and precious stones frequently being used; the placing of the heel yet further beneath the instep, as the heels became lower, was the rule. An extraordinary gentleman's shoe of this date, with the heel 6 in. high, is in the Whitley Museum. In 1790 an entire change took place, the heel of ladies' shoes became almost flat, and the shoe generally more resembled a slipper than the shoe of the past generation. Early in the 19th century high heels were less and less seen, and buckles also went out of fashion, the shoe strings which have taken their place, it must be owned, are scarcely so beautiful.

Monday, 24 May, 1909.

Dr VENN, President, in the Chair.

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, M.D., Sc.D., delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern-slides, on

NOTES ON CORSICA : (a) THE DISCOVERY OF A MEGALITHIC SITE NEAR PONTE LECCIA, (b) THE MEN OF THE NIOLO AND ASCO DISTRICTS.

In the following notes, I have to submit some observations on the prehistoric archaeology and the physical anthropology of Corsica, made in the course of a visit to that island in the spring of 1909.

First I must point out the parts of the island to which the notes refer. A glance at the map (Fig. 1) shews that the town of Corte occupies a central position in close proximity to the highest mountains of the island. Central in situation, easy of access since the days of railways, Corte is the natural capital of Corsica, and the grim old citadel crowning its acropolis has been the scene of the most dramatic episodes of Corsican history.

In this neighbourhood, I made the observations to be detailed in the following paragraphs.

I. PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY.

The prehistoric period will first engage attention. And here one must note that whereas the prehistoric antiquities of Sardinia have been well known for centuries, and were accurately described in many cases sixty years ago, yet in Corsica the mere records are of comparatively recent date and exhaustive descriptions are few and far between.

In Sardinia, the prehistoric monuments are excessively numerous, consisting of the celebrated Nuraghi (now regarded as towers of refuge), the so-called Giants' Graves, and certain rows of stone pillars, some of the latter being roughly fashioned in the female form. Prehistoric, or at least protohistoric, cemeteries are also known.

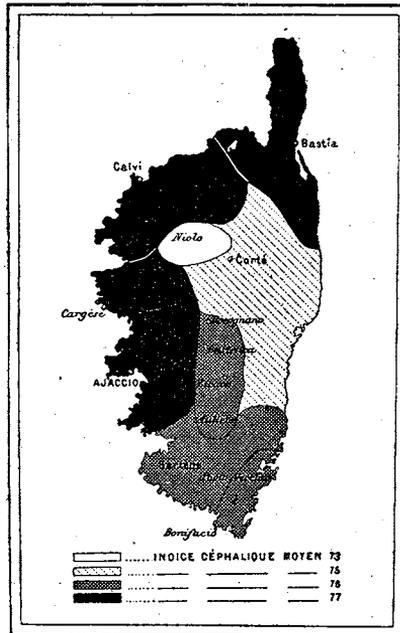


FIG. 1. Map of Corsica (from Fallot, *Revue d'Anthropologie*, Tome iv, 1889), with the distribution of head-forms as distinguished by the cephalic index. (With the permission of Messrs Masson and Co., Paris.)

In Corsica, M. Adrien de Mortillet undertook an investigation in 1883 under the French Government, and he then provided records of many menhirs and alignments. So far the monuments are similar in character to, though fewer in number than, those of Sardinia. The parallel to the Giants' Graves of Sardinia is to be found in the Corsican dolmens, which are well known, especially the group near the base of the peninsula of the Cap Corse. Prehistoric cemeteries have been found in the same neighbourhood and yielded ornaments and other

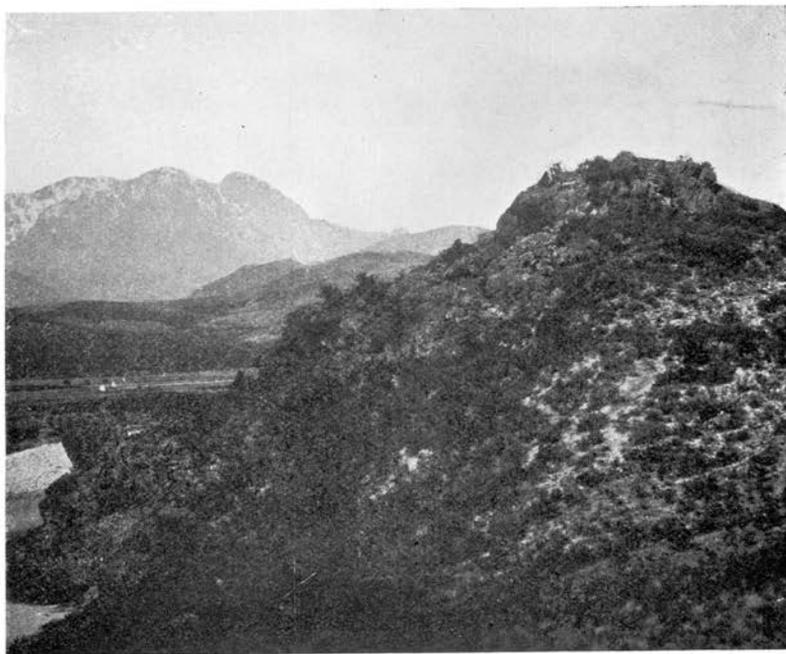


FIG. 4. View of Castello La Goulontia, Corsica, from S.E. Near the summit are the remains of megalithic walls. In the distance, the mountains above Moltifao are seen.



FIG. 5. Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. Part of wall E. (cf. plan Fig. 3) from the eastern side. The size of the stones may be estimated best by comparison with the stature of the guide (Ferrari) viz.: about 5 ft. 10 in.

objects in bronze. So far then we may note that Corsica is by no means barren in respect of these prehistoric relics, as certain guide-books would have the traveller believe. But what is still lacking from the literature of this subject, is any record of prehistoric settlements of a kind corresponding to that of Serucci in Sardinia, described lately by Dr Mackenzie of the British School at Rome.

Dr Mackenzie has already visited Corsica once since his researches in Sardinia commenced, but I have been so far unable to learn from him anything relating to his discoveries or any reference to his publications thereon. This lack of information encourages me to report the site now to be described.

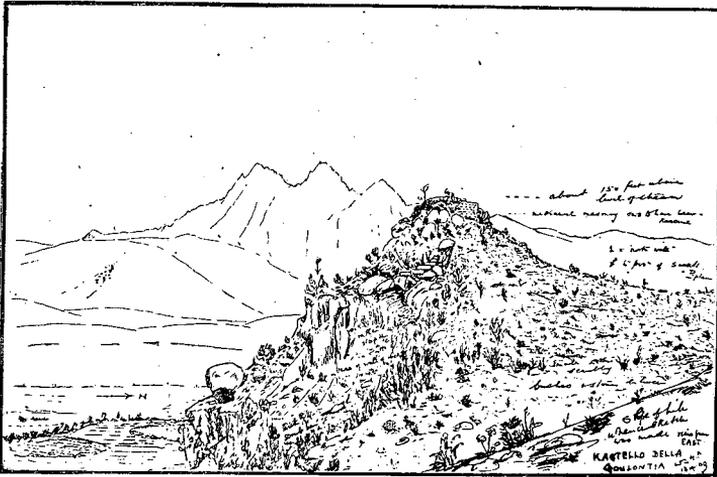


FIG. 2. A sketch of Castello La Goulontia, Corsica, from a point further east than that whence Fig. 4 was taken. The village of Prato appears as dots on the hillside in the middle distance.

About two and a half miles south of Ponte Leccia, and therefore in the central part of Corsica, the Golo river, as it flows seawards, skirts a low knoll at the eastern side of a wide alluvial tract. The appearance of this knoll, as seen from the south-east, may be gathered from the photograph (Fig. 4, Plate XXVI), and the sketch (Fig. 2); the river will be seen to protect very effectively one flank of this hillock. Otherwise the access is comparatively easy: the hillock is to some extent

detached, though a ridge (seen to the right side of the picture in Fig. 2) connects it with a much higher hill, and to this, reference will be made later.

On the southern and western aspects of this low hill, I found remains of a group of buildings, consisting of the foundations and lower parts of several walls. Portions of these are shewn in Figs. 2 and 4, while in Fig. 3 will be found a rough plan and elevation of the knoll with indications of the remains.

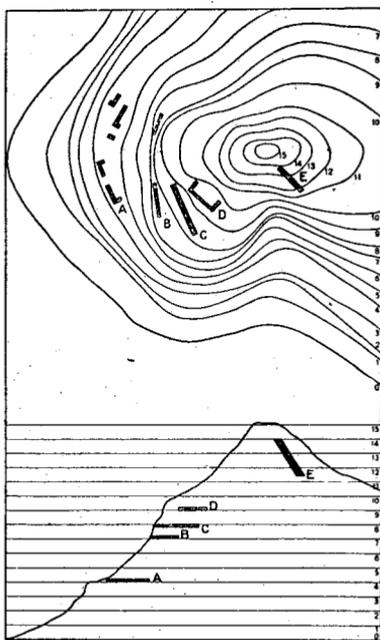


FIG. 3. Elevation (below) and plan (above) of La Castello Goulontia. The contours are drawn at distances of 10 feet. These figures are diagrammatic.

Here I must acknowledge my indebtedness to my guide in the mountains of Corsica, for having led me to this spot. Simon Ferrari joined me at Corte, and we went in the first instance to the highest mountain villages of Corsica, viz. Calacuccia and Calasima in the Niolo district. My first quest was the native mountaineer, but incidentally I enquired whether any ancient buildings were known in the Niolo. I was at once led to an

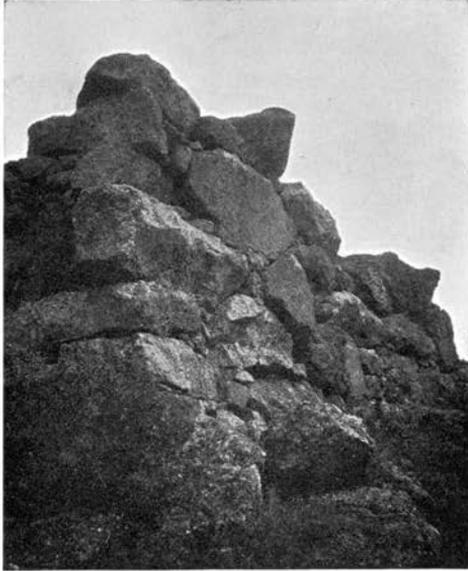


FIG. 6. Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. The north-western angle of wall D (cf. Plan, Fig. 3).

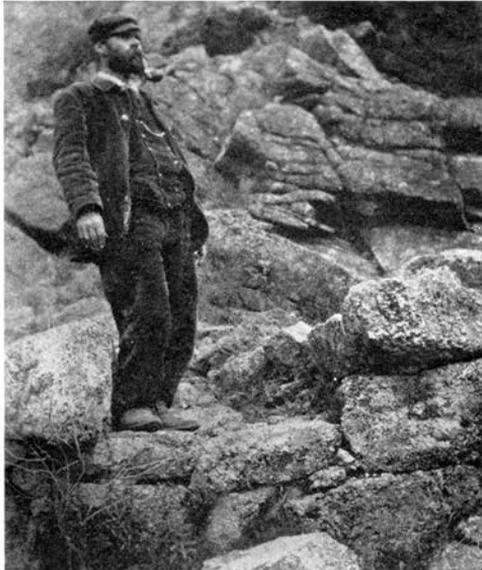


FIG. 7. Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. Remains of doorway in wall A (cf. Plan Fig. 3).

ancient building, known as the "old house" of Calacuccia. But this is clearly mediaeval¹. Mediaeval also, in my opinion, are the numerous ruins on the Corsican hill-tops: these ruins were once towers of refuge or more probably signalling-stations.

Having with me a copy of Dr Mackenzie's paper on the Nuraghi village of Serucci, I shewed this with the illustrations to my friends at Calacuccia. Then Ferrari declared that he had once seen some great stones (resembling those composing the village walls of Serucci) near Ponte Leccia, and in consequence I arranged to visit the locality.

To return to the knoll and the ruined buildings described above. The walls are composed of vast blocks piled on each other in series, without cement or mortar. The blocks are not "regularly" polygonal, nor are they so far shaped as to lie conformably in relation to one another as in ashlar masonry. They represent a distinct type of megalithic construction, as indicated long ago by Schliemann in *Mycenae*. But they seem not absolutely unworked.

I was able to recognise in the first place, the wall which I term the protecting one ("E" in the plan, Fig. 3 and Plate XXVI, Fig. 5). From Ferrari's description, I had been led to expect that the remains were those of a dolmen, for the wall "E" was all that he had seen. Certainly the lentisk bushes and other brushwood were very thick around these ruins, preventing a clear view, but further search revealed to me other walls in turn, and in the plan these are labelled from "A" to "D" and are shewn in their approximate situations.

The wall "A" is interrupted by a step, remains of an entrance doorway and of this the photograph (Fig. 7, Plate XXVII) will also provide some idea.

A few other points require further comment. In the first place, I could find no remains corresponding to anything like a dolmen or Giants' tomb, either here or in the immediate vicinity. Secondly, these buildings were not circular like those at Serucci in Sardinia but angular (cf. Fig. 6, Plate XXVII), nor were any of the walls double, or composed of two faces of stout blocks filled intermediately with smaller stones. (The

¹ Local tradition assigns it to a family by the name of Hierosolyma.

wall "E" is a possible exception to this statement.) Lastly, the presence of a curious square-cut aperture at the base of one of the walls suggested either a drain, or ventilation for some chamber more deeply situated. But no further evidence could be obtained on these points. A small mediæval tower was represented by its ruins near the actual summit.

The general impression I gained was that this was a small fortified settlement. The exact determination of the epoch to which it belongs must be made by expert authorities. A comparison of this site with those described (and represented in plans) by the brothers Siret at Fuente Vermeja and Fuente Alamo in south-east Spain, brings out some remarkable similarities. [Cf. Siret, "*Les premiers âges, &c.*"...Plates 13 and 24. Univ. Lib. Lib.: 3: 88: 20.]

Having photographed the walls and prepared materials for the construction of the very rough plan which is appended, I was returning to Ponte di Leccia, when I saw a goatherd among the bushes on the hill-side. From this man, Ferrari gained two pieces of information. The knoll is called the Castello della Goulontia: and though no one at Ponte Leccia seems to know about the cyclopean remains, yet the goatherd had once been told that here was the castle of a mad "Count" in the "time of the giants": and further that the madness of the Count was demonstrated by his selecting this as his summer quarters, while in the depth of winter he resided in a second castle somewhere up in the hills above.

On returning to the inn, Ferrari made further enquiries and we learned that in the thickly-wooded hill above La Goulontia, was a rocky summit known as Castelluccio. To this we ascended the following day. It was a fatiguing climb through a jungle of undergrowth, the masses of briar-root (giant heather) proving a substantial obstacle to progress—a veritable wild-boar's path, Ferrari called it. Castelluccio is a little rocky summit detached from a great ridge of mountain, and looking down on the valley and lower knoll from about a thousand feet above.

I was not disappointed here. As the photographs (Plate XXVIII, Figs. 8, 9) shew, Castelluccio had also been inhabited



FIG. 8. View of the rocky knoll called Castelluccio, from the end of the ridge known as the Porto dei Torri. The knoll is seen between the two slender fir-trees.



FIG. 9. Castelluccio, Corsica. The southern aspect of the ruined wall near the summit of this knoll. The lowest stones in this wall were smaller than those of the higher courses of masonry.

at an early period, and though the remains were extremely scanty (in any case the site was very small in area) yet the same type of masonry obtains.

Such then is the nature of these all too fragmentary ruins. As none of this kind have been yet recorded in Corsica to my knowledge, it is with gratification that I submit this description of what is really Ferrari's discovery. On this latter fact, I desire to lay the more stress, since it is but fitting that a keenly patriotic Corsican like my guide, should feel that he has contributed, in ever so small a manner, to research into the past history of his country.

II. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Of all the districts of Corsica, those of the Niolo and Asco are generally and justly described as the most primitive. Both regions are in the high mountain spurs culminating in Monte Cinto, the highest point in the island. Both were, until recently, difficult of access. Both are separated from the surrounding inhabited regions by high mountain passes on all sides save one. In both instances the remaining path of access leads up a deep rocky defile, the narrow track sometimes descending to the torrent's edge, and again rising in steep ascent till the stream is left far below. When the gorge has been traversed, an extensive plateau is reached in the one instance. This is the famous Niolo. At Asco, the space is cramped, restricted, and formerly an extensive forest clothed the sides of the hills around the little village which gives a name to the stream and the commune. Such isolated regions are generally found to be the last refuges of persecuted peoples, and this rule may hold good very probably in the case of the two now to be considered.

The views of my guide on the ethnology of Corsica may be worth reproducing here. First then, the "tête de Corse" (of which he drew a diagram for me) differs from the "tête des Continentaux" in the backward projection of the occiput which is more protuberant in the former. Secondly, the men, and even more, the women of Calasima in the Niolo are of

great stature. Lastly, the men of Piedigrigia (a village not far from Ponte di Leccia and therefore not in the high mountains) are notorious as being stunted and of stature below the average. Piedigrigia is within the zone of malaria.

Of all the villages in the Niolo, and in Corsica, Calasima is the highest. At Calasima I found very few men, I think not more than four able-bodied adults, for at the time (April) the men are down near the coast whither the sheep and cattle are driven in autumn, there to remain until the end of April. My observations were therefore limited. But I measured the heads of two adult men (Plate XXIX, Figs. 10—13 inclusive), and give the results in the appended table. As regards stature, these men were taller than many of the Niolo men seen by me, but yet their mean stature 1739 is not very great as judged by the British standard. The occiput certainly projects markedly, as I had been led to expect, and indeed this is truly a very common feature among the Corsicans. But what struck me most, was the fairness of complexion of these men. From the moment of landing in Corsica, the existence of a blond type or types is evident, but the frequency is greatest, so far as I can judge, in the Niolo.

The women of Calasima are not conspicuous in respect of stature, nor are they more blond than the men. The latter phenomenon is I believe unusual in European populations, but none the less suggestive here. The families seen by me were old inhabitants of Calasima, and from what I heard, I gather that there is little intermarriage between the Calasima people and the inhabitants of villages situated in more favoured localities, for lowlanders dislike the idea of isolating themselves in the hills¹.

To sum up, with regard to these two men of Calasima, as the less mixed representatives of the Niolo population, I find that the stature is above the average for Corsicans, the head is dolichocephalic or mesaticephalic with the occipital projection strongly marked. The hair is quite fair or light chestnut colour, and the eyes are distinctly blue, or greenish-blue.

¹ Nearly all the inhabitants of Calasima share the surname Alfonsi. In the next village below, viz.: Albertacce, the corresponding name is Alberti.



FIG. 10. Polydore Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (profile view).



FIG. 11. Polydore Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (full-face view).



FIG. 12. Jean-Thomas Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (profile).

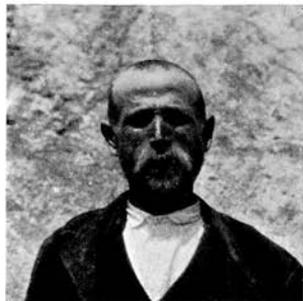


FIG. 13. Jean-Thomas Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (full-face view).

The physical characters of the men of the Niolo have been very fully described by Dr Girard in a communication made at Cherbourg in 1905 to the French Association for the Advancement of Science (pp. 737 et seq.). In that communication I find that the frequency of such types as those represented by the two men described by me, has been fully recognised by Dr Girard. The same author gives an excellent bibliography of the information in regard to the physical anthropology of Corsica. Here I will only mention that one of the earlier contributors to the subject (Dr Jaubert) mentions the occurrence of blond individuals, but does not regard this as important, believing the frequency to be small, and the occurrence to be in a few coast-towns only. Later researches shew that this opinion must be very greatly modified. Again, Dr Fallot has written an excellent article on the same subject, and from this I have borrowed a map (Fig. 1), exhibiting the distribution of the different values of the cephalic index in Corsica. From this it appears (and subsequent research has only confirmed the conclusion) that the Niolais possess on the average the most dolichocephalic heads in Corsica.

At Asco, the state of affairs is very different, and one is surprised at the diversity of type exhibited, and especially at the relative rareness of blond individuals. I measured at Asco the first five men I came across, and although two had blue eyes, in no single case was fair hair present. In stature the men are inferior to the men of Calasima, the head is more distinctly mesaticephalic, and the occipital projection backwards is less marked. Not only so, but the whole aspect differs in a manner hard to express, but yet unmistakable. As regards stature, these men provide an average still well above the higher (1650 mm.) of the two mean values given for Corsicans by Dr Jaubert. In respect of head-form, the maps published by Dr Fallot, shew that Asco and Calasima are in districts distinguished by differences in the cephalic index of precisely the kind noted by me.

The outstanding point of greatest interest is the occurrence of the tall blond men in the Niolo. This phenomenon places Corsica in an absolutely exceptional position among the Mediterranean islands. As lately as six years ago, we were led to

expect to find tall blonds in Sphakia, the most elevated and inaccessible province in Crete. To-day, thanks to Mr Hawes' researches, we know that the Sphakiots are not blond, nor are they the tallest of Cretans. (Whence Huxley derived his misleading statement on this subject, I have not been able to ascertain.) In Sardinia, the Barbagia district, that most closely comparable to the Niolo in Sardinia, provides recruits distinguished in the Italian army by the smallest stature of all Sardinians, combined with the maximal frequency of brunette traits. Are we then to consider that the aboriginal race in Corsica was tall and blond, while that of Sardinia was short and dark? This is a point upon which the discovery of prehistoric skeletons can perhaps enlighten us as regards stature, though of course no light can be thrown on the problem of complexion. The prehistoric crania from Corsica known to me are but two in number, and as regards form, their indices place them in the brachycephalic group. In Sardinia (so far as my researches have extended) the prehistoric crania resemble the modern examples in most respects¹. We may then perhaps learn something of the possibilities or probabilities by an appeal to Corsican history.

That history differs in details only from those of most islands in the Mediterranean. The native population, high-spirited and intelligent even now after years of oppression, has retained these qualities throughout historic time: but it seems to have been often disturbed by internal dissension at such epochs as did not see the various factions united to resist some common foe. Of the latter, the list is long and varied. The earliest hazy records mentioning Phoenicians from Asia Minor, Phoceans, Greeks from Laconia, Carthaginians and men of Ligurian or of Etruscan race, most probably recall the establishment of trading dépôts, or at most the arrival of fugitives and refugees from the countries thus enumerated. Much more definite are the descriptions of the Roman conquest and occupation: after this come records of invasion by Goths, Longobardi, Vandals and Byzantines. To these succeeded Saracens or

¹ My more recent investigations reveal the occurrence of great diversity of cranial form in the one important prehistoric series of Sardinian crania yet obtained, viz.: that from Anghelu Rujù, examined by Professor Sergi of Rome.

Moors, whose dominion is still memorialised in the expression, common even to-day, "the time of the Moors," while the negro-head in the arms of Corsica recalls the same memory. The Saracens had next to defend their possession against the Franks of Charlemagne, and were finally ejected. The Frankish lords quarrelled with one another, and a long period of unrest is marked by the rise of certain powerful families, some of these owning an Italian (Roman) origin. Meanwhile the contest between Genoese and Pisans had commenced, and Corsica fell under the dominion of the former in 1348. Next came Frenchmen accompanied by the Turkish levies of Suleiman the Magnificent, but after many sanguinary encounters, the Genoese remained in possession. Under Genoese rule and in the 17th century, a colony of Greek refugees from Turkish oppression in the Peloponnese, was planted, partly at Ajaccio, partly at Cargese in the same region, where their descendants are said to be still recognisable. These Greeks have contributed to the advance of civilisation and culture in Corsica, and Dr Stefanopoulis in particular may be mentioned as having introduced into the island, the practice of inoculation (against smallpox). I find no details of the locality or numbers of the Albanian colony mentioned by Deniker as having settled in Corsica.

In the 18th century, a romantic episode was the native revolt (against the Genoese), under a German adventurer from Westphalia, a certain Baron Theodore Neuhoff. This story may be recalled, if only on account of the pathetic ending of this short-reigned and self-styled king, who was dethroned, and took refuge in London. After a period of imprisonment for debt, he died in London, to be buried in "S. Anne's Churchyard, Westminster," where his tombstone inscribed "Theodore, King of Corsica," is said to be still extant.

If Theodore's influence was ephemeral, that of Pasquale Paoli has endured to this day. Born at Rostina, close to Ponte Leccia, Paoli is the hero of Corte, where he founded a University in 1764. But after these brief periods of independence of Genoese rule, followed by the voluntary transfer of Corsica to the British Empire, the island fell into the hands of the French, who have now possessed it for more than a century.

From the foregoing sketch, an idea may be gathered of the number of ethnical elements from age to age introduced into Corsica. Writers of authority have differed greatly as to the effects of the successive invasions, and latterly have tended to disregard the influence they might have exercised upon the earliest aboriginal stock. With this view, I incline on general grounds to agree, but admit that just now I do not see how the instances of Sardinia and Corsica are to be reconciled. But I am confident that further research in the Niolo would clear up these matters considerably. In conclusion, I may mention one point that struck me very forcibly. In Corsica, the Niolo not excepted, the name Grisoni is of frequent occurrence. In the Niolo, I stayed with a man of this name: a fair-haired, blue-eyed man of stature slightly above the Corsican average. He did not possess "la tête de Corse," but was bullet-headed. Now I find that in 1734¹, the Genoese hired a number of "Swiss and Grisons" to repress a revolt. It was thought that these mountaineers would be well-fitted to cope with the native Corsicans. The experiment failed, but possibly the mercenaries may have settled in Corsica.

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¹ Cf. Boswell, *infra*, under Literature.

Corcicans. April, 1909.

REGION AND NAME		Age	Stature	Head length	Head breadth	Cephalic Index	Hair colour	Eye colour
<i>Calastina</i>								
1.	Jean-Thomas Alfonsi ...	45	1726	187	150	80·2	Fair	Blue
2.	Polydore Alfonsi ...	50	1751 (average 1739)	194	143	73·7	Fair	Greenish blue
<i>Asco</i>								
1.	Pierre Doncarli ...	18	1751	181	147	81·2	Jet black	Dark brown
2.	Mathieu Mercuri ...	19	1701	186	149	80	Jet black	Dark brown
3.	Michel Francesceti ...	48	1676	183	143	76	Dark	Blue
4.	Jean-Thomas Ferrandini ...	29	1726	192	145	75·5	Jet black	Dark brown
5.	Joseph Andréé Martini ...	50	1751	201	148	74	Dark grey	Blue
Average of 5		—	1721	—	—	78·7	—	—

The Reverend F. G. WALKER, M.A., then read a paper illustrated with lantern-slides and original objects, on

GREEK COINS AND SYRIAN ARROWHEAD DUG UP IN
A ROMAN CEMETERY AT GODMANCHESTER.

Godmanchester is an ancient borough of some 2100 inhabitants. The earliest of the many documents of bygone times preserved in its Court Hall is the original charter of the borough granted by King John. Its site was occupied in very early days by neolithic men, for in the town I have dug up, and on the rising ground to the east of it I have picked up, many flint implements and flakes, of which a few are on the table.

During the Roman occupation of Britain this must have been a place of considerable importance (Fig. 1). The modern roads mark fairly well the boundaries of the Roman town. This I have proved by careful digging where possible, and elsewhere by observing openings in the ground caused by building operations, or by the laying or repairing of drains, or holes made for gardening purposes.

Roughly speaking the limits of the Roman town are indicated by Post Street, the Causeway, and Silver Street on the west side; by London Street on the south, by Ermine Street on the east, and by East Street on the north.

Three Roman roads led to the town; the south-western one came from the camps at Sandy, the Ermine Street from London on the south, while from the south-east ran the so-called Via Devana from Colchester and Cambridge, known to us, here, as the Huntingdon Road. These three roads met at a point on the north of the town in order to make a single transit across the river Ouse near the present Huntingdon Bridge. The backwater leading to the right at the top of the map is of post-Roman date. There is a ford across the river a few yards to the north of where the dotted line shows the Roman road

approached the stream. A bridge, which was doubtless built by the Romans at this spot, would have taken the place of the fordway or ways, the means of crossing the Ouse used by the earlier inhabitants, who originally made the Ermine Street.

Along the line of these roads, outside the area mentioned above, I have found proofs of Roman occupation.

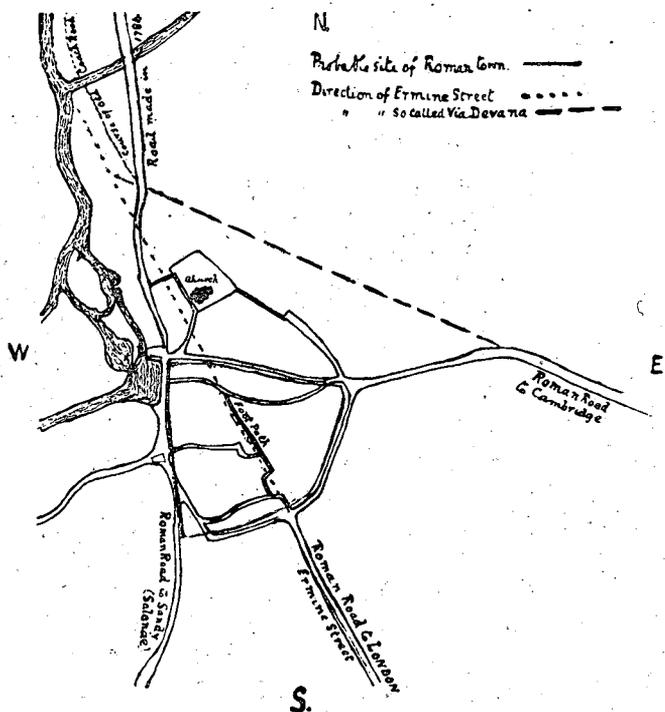


FIG. 1. Map of Godmanchester.

To the extreme east, where the dotted line leaves the main road from Cambridge, were the 15 or 20 rubbish pits, the contents of which I gave to the Archaeological Museum in 1904. On the south-east, where the Ermine Street enters the town, was the Ustrina where dead bodies, and, it seems from what I discovered, the refuse of the town were burnt. This was made plain during my digging on this site.

The triangular area to the north of the line made by East

Street and the Cambridge Road, bounded on the west by the Ouse, and on the north-east by the continuation of the "Via Devana," contains a quantity of Roman remains along the line of the roads, but scarcely any sherds or other indications of occupation occur outside the north-east boundary.

Godmanchester is an interesting little town, containing some good specimens of Elizabethan and Stuart architecture. The picture given is one of the Old Court Hall (Plate XXXII) erected in 1679 and destroyed rather unnecessarily about 1845.

The business of the freemen of the town was carried on, and the meetings of the mayor and corporation were held, in it. It is worthy of mention that in this town property is still held under the tenure of "Borough English."

To turn now to the immediate cause of this communication.

The Roman roads to the north of the town met on a spot which was occupied by my vegetable garden, while the small cemetery was found about 50 yards to the west of this junction, in my orchard. It was when digging a hole for gravel, I came upon this cemetery.

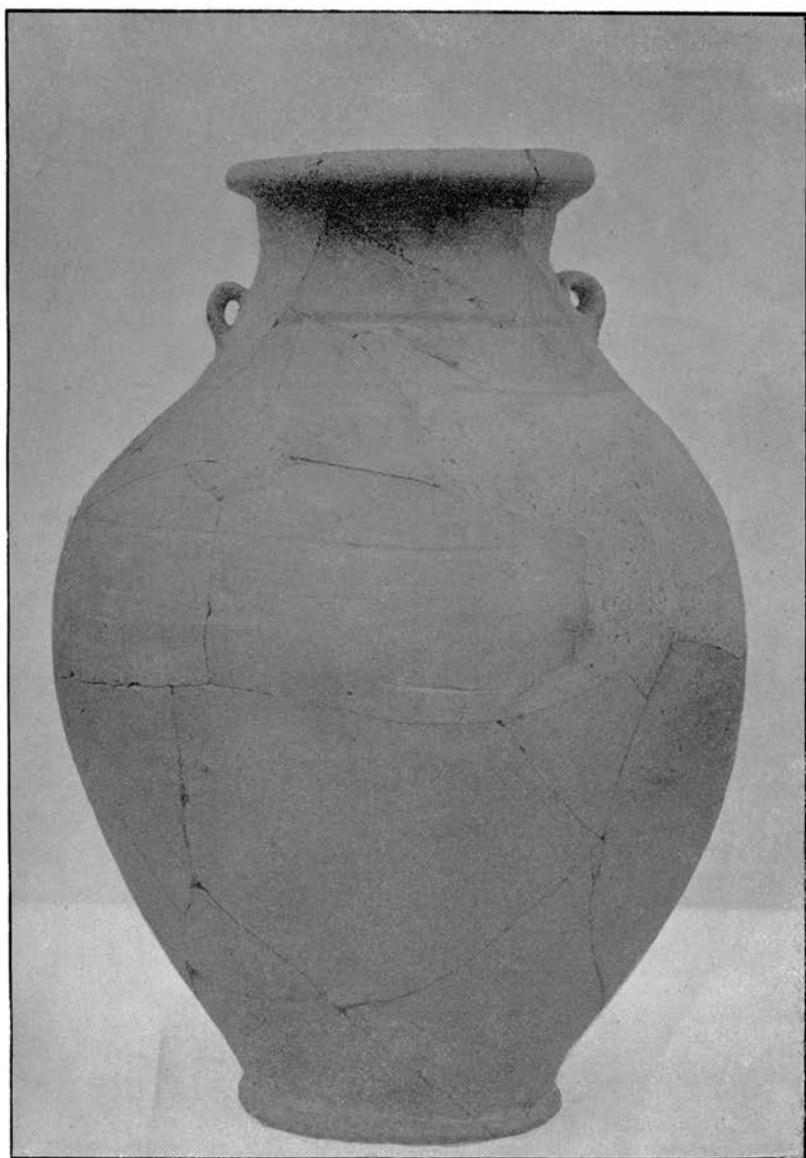
Notes and drawings were made at once of the site, and from these this ground-plan has been prepared (Fig. 2). All the urns and other vessels were standing upright in a space 6 feet in length, 4 feet in breadth, and 2 feet 3 inches in depth. The top of the highest urn was 3 feet 9 inches from the surface.

The illustration (Pl. XXX) gives the exact position in which they were found. They are all on loan in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; some were quite whole, but a few have been mended by Mr S. Cowles with his accustomed skill.

The largest urn in each group contained burnt bones. The urn (Pl. XXXI) is a very finely shaped vase, with two small loops, hardly large enough to be called handles, at its neck. It is of dark yellow paste, with a smooth surface; the mouth has an indented rim as if for a lid.

It measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 9 inches at the greatest diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its mouth.

There is a cross on one side of it, roughly cut to a depth of $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch. One is unwilling to believe, as some antiquaries have suggested, that this cross is simply a potter's mark, or a



Urn, marked with a Cross, Roman Cemetery, Godmanchester.

sign of ownership. What object would be served by the maker cutting such a deep incision and thus spoiling a beautiful vessel?

One would like to believe it is a Christian symbol, though one must confess there is not the slightest proof of such being the case. The one circumstance, besides its being marked with a cross, which might point to its containing the bones of a

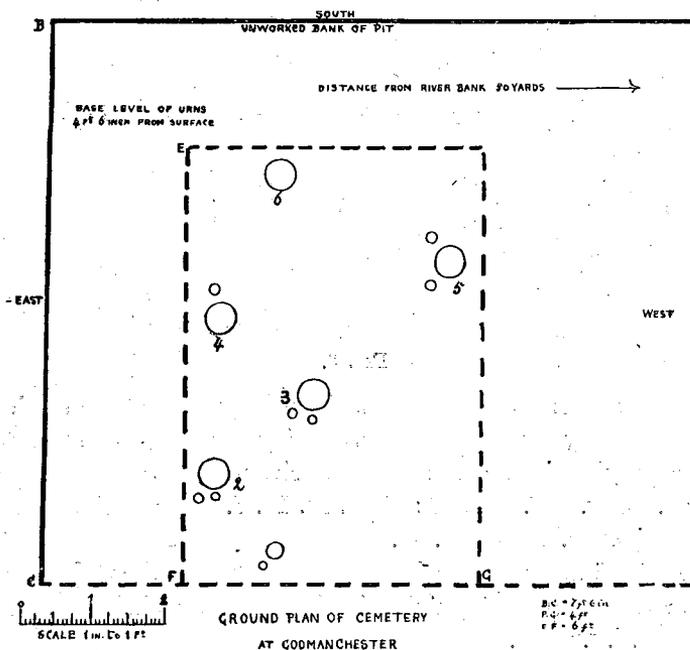


FIG. 2: Ground plan of Cemetery at Godmanchester.

Christian is this—it is the only urn in the group standing alone. The other urns, according to heathen custom, had attendant vessels which contained wine or food. This was apart, without such accompaniments.

This cemetery, we can fairly suppose, was the private one of the villa, which judging by the remains I dug up, and from the number of Samian and other vessels found in my neighbour's garden, must have stood within 50 yards to the north of the spot I am describing.

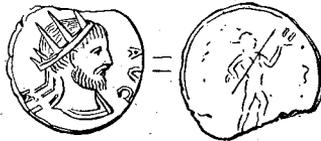
There was no opportunity of excavating where I believe the

Villa to have stood, because the place is covered by a lawn and fruit trees.

None of the vessels had lids or coverings. On sifting the earth from the ashes contained in Urn No. 3 group, I found a coin bearing traces of fire (Fig. 3). It is a third brass of Aurelianus, A.D. 270-275. This was evidently, according to a

Æ AVRELIANVS.

A.D. 270 - 275



FOUND AMONG BONES IN CINERARY URN.

GODMANCHESTER 1905.

FIG. 3.

not uncommon Roman custom, the coin put into the mouth of the dead body for the purpose of paying the ferry-man, Charon, for conveying its shade across the river Styx into the nether world. *Juv. Sat.* III. 267; *Prop.* IV. 11. 7. For Greek custom cf. *Strabo*, Bk. VIII. c. VI. 12.

In 1835 at Praeneste, in graves dating from the 3rd century B.C., coins were actually found in the mouths of skeletons. See also *C.I.L.* I. p. 28.

Such coins have been found in urns containing ashes of bones at Pompeii, and at various places in Britain.

The bones of five new-born babies were found near by the urns in the soil, just as they had been cast away. Many such small skeletons were found in the rubbish pits mentioned above. Regarding the right, among the Romans, of killing or exposing new-born children cf. *Cic. de Leg.* III. 8; *Liv.* XXVII. 37; *Sen. de Ira.* I. 18; *Dio Cassius.* XLV. 1; *Dionys.* IX. 22; *Ter. Heaut.* IV. 1. 37.

Plate XXXII shows various objects found near the urns: the small bronze ring, bearing traces of fire, was among the ashes in the urn of No. 2 group.



The Old Court Hall, Godmanchester.



Objects from Roman Cemetery, Godmanchester.

Other articles of bronze: two fibulae; a buckle, which most probably was enamelled on one side; two pins, one quite perfect; a shapely nail; a rivet; and a part of a double semi-circular ornament with sunken spaces once filled with enamel. There was also one leg of a pair of iron compasses; half of a blue opaque glass ring; part of a jet ring or bracelet, and a thin piece of bone, ornamented with a pattern of triple rings enclosing a dot; the two rivet holes show that this fragment was part of the outer covering of some other article.

The two Greek coins were lying some few feet to the north of the urns $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface.

The following description of the coins has been verified by Mr H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., keeper of coins and medals in the British Museum.

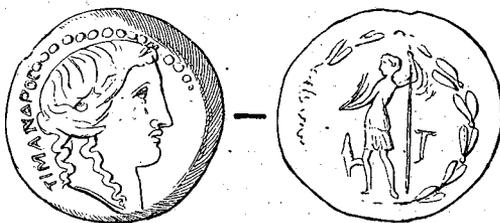


FIG. 4.

(Fig. 4.) LACONIA. First century A.D., AE². 1.15.

Obv. ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Head of Apollo. R. laur., hair rolled back.

Rev. ΑΑ. Artemis. L. leaning on spear, beside her a hound: between monograms effaced. All in wreath.

Cf. *B.M. catalogue*, Peloponnesus, p. 126, No. 56.

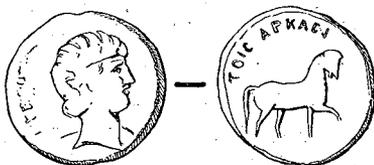


FIG. 5.

(Fig. 5.) The ARCADIA. Antinous d. c. A.D. 130. AE³. 75.

Obv. ΒΕΤΟΥ ΠΙΟC. Bust of Antinous. R.

Rev. ΤΟΙC ΑΡΚΑΔΙ. Horse trotting. R.

B.M. catalogue, Peloponnesus, p. 177, No. 89.

Two Roman coins were lying within a few inches of these Greek ones.

DOMITIAN. AE², very much worn. Cos. V.=A.D. 76.

HADRIAN. AE¹, good condition. Cos. III.=A.D. 119.

The close association of these four coins helps one to assign a fairly correct date—about A.D. 130—for their deposition. The occurrence of these two Greek coins in Britain is certainly strange. They were local token money of small value outside their own land, and therefore seldom carried to other countries. The probable explanation of their being in Britain is that some Roman gentleman, or official, perhaps a soldier, who had been living in Greece, came to Britain and when travelling through the country, may have stayed at the villa at Durolipons, before mentioned, and dropped, or threw away as useless, these coins near the bank of the river Ouse where the cemetery was discovered. (See Fig. 2.)¹

A list of the other Roman coins found near by, within an area of five square yards, is here given:—

¹ No list of Greek coins found in Britain has been compiled, and on enquiry at the British Museum I find that no record has been kept of Greek coins found in Roman settlements in England, which have been brought there for identification, an imperfect list therefore of such coins is all that can be produced.

In 1859, a Greek coin, copper, of Antoninus Pius or Caracalla was found in Trinity Street, Cambridge, described by Professor Babington in a paper read before the Society in 1860 (*Comm.* No. x. Pt. 1).

A Greek coin, also of Caracalla's reign, struck at Nicaea, was found at Chester early in the last century.

A medallion of Pergamum, also struck in Caracalla's reign, found near Chesterford, is, I believe, at Audley End.

At Colchester, several have been discovered. Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, Vol. I., gives four such coins:—one of Antioch in Syria, two of Caesarea in Cappadocia, of Hadrian and Septimius Severus, respectively, and another of the latter Emperor.

Mr H. A. Grueber, of the B.M. tells me of one found at Croydon, Surrey, at the end of the last century: "a late coin of Corinth discovered in close association with an early Roman denarius."

Only well authenticated finds are mentioned.

Concerning the Exeter find of Greek coins—some 150 specimens—in 1810 to 1838 and in 1878, it is sufficient to say, for various but indisputable reasons, that the coins were not buried during the Roman age in Britain. The spot must have been either "salted" by a dealer, or some one there buried the refuse of his collection.

Gallienus	Billon	A.D. 253-268.
Victorinus	AE ³	A.D. 265-267.
Tetricus Junior	AE ³	A.D. 267-273.
Carausius	AE ³	A.D. 287-293.
Constantine	AE ³	A.D. 306-337.
Constantius II.	AE ²	A.D. 337-361.
URBS. ROMA	AE ³ .	

This illustration gives two views of the iron arrowhead (Fig. 6) which was found about 2 feet to the north-east of the Greek coins mentioned above, at a depth of 3 feet 9 inches below the surface. On showing it to Professor Ridgeway he at once pronounced it to be of Asiatic origin. Now, so far as I can discover from my own researches, or from what Professor Haverfield has been kind enough to tell me, the only Asiatic archers of the Roman army in Britain during the 1st and 2nd centuries were a body of Syrian bowmen, the Hamii,



SIDE VIEW



IRON ARROW HEAD FROM GODMANCHESTER

FIG. 6.

stationed, some at Carvoran (Magna) on the wall of Hadrian, and some at Barr Hill Fort on the Antonine Wall. That there were Syrians and Hamii in Britain during the first two centuries what follows will show¹.

In 1895 an altar to the god Silvanus was dug up at Barr Hill on the Antonine Wall, near Kilsyth, Stirlingshire. It is 3 feet high, nearly 1½ feet wide, and 10 inches thick, with six lines of 2 inch letters.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Haverfield for much of the information here given, both from letters in reply to my questions and also to what he has written. Cf. *Antonine Wall Report*, pp. 153-155.

The text of the inscription in full is:—

D[omi]no Silv[ano] C[ar]istan[us] I[ust]ianu[s] p[rae]f[ectus] coh[ortis] I. Hamior[um] v[otum] s[olvit] l[ibens] l[actus] m[erito].

“Erected to the god Silvanus by Caristianus Justianus, praefect of the First Cohort of Hamii, in willing payment of a vow.”

The altar seems to have belonged to a small shrine outside the Barr Hill Fort. The lesser Roman frontier forts, on the walls of Hadrian and Antonine and on the German Limes, had usually a small suburb outside the ramparts, and altars have been occasionally found among such buildings. At Castle Hill, also on the Antonine Wall, an altar, dedicated to the “*Campestres*,” was found outside that fort in 1826.

The First Cohort of Hamii is mentioned on a sepulchral slab found at Barr Hill in the 16th century, since lost: the inscription was as follows:—

D. M. C. IvLi. Marcellini p[rae]f. coh. I. Hamior.

Diis Manibus Caii Iulii Marcellini p[rae]f[ectus] cohortis Primae Hamiorum.

“To the memory of Caius Julius Marcellinus, praefect of the First Cohort of Hamii.”

Several stones found at Carvoran, the site of the Roman station Magna, on Hadrian’s Wall, refer to the same cohort of Hamii. Two of these inscriptions are given.

Fortunae Aug. pro salute L. Aelii Caesaris, ex visu, T. Fla(vius) Secundus p[rae]f. coh. I. Hamiorum sagittar(iorum) v. s. l. m. *C.I.L.* vii. 748; *Lap. Septen.* p. 152¹.

Fortunae Augustae pro salute Lucii Aelii Caesaris, ex visu Titus Flavius Secundus p[rae]f[ectus] cohortis Primae Hamiorum Sagittariorum votum solvit libens merito.

“To the Imperial fortune and for the safety of Lucius Aelius, Caesar, warned by a vision Titus Flavius Secundus praefect of the First Cohort of the Hamian archers in willing payment of a vow.”

This Lucius Aelius was the adopted son of Hadrian.

Deae Suriae, sub Calpurnio Agricola leg. Aug. pr. pr. A. Licinius Clemens p[rae]f. Coh. I. Hamior. *C.I.L.* vii. 758².

Deae Syriae sub Calpurnio Agricola legato Augusti propraetore Aulus Licinius Clemens p[rae]f[ectus] Cohortis Primae Hamiorum.

“To the Syrian goddess, Aulus Licinius Clemens, praefect of the First Cohort of the Hamii under Calpurnius Agricola, the legate of the Emperor with pretorian powers.”

¹ This stone is now in the Museum at the Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

² This stone is at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The former of these inscriptions proves that the Cohort was a body of archers stationed at Magna in A.D. 135 or 136, while the second shows it was there about A.D. 162.

A diploma (the corroded remains of which are in the British Museum) ploughed up at Riveling near Ecclesfield in Yorkshire in 1761 proves that it was in Britain in A.D. 124. Grants of citizenship were given as a mark of honour and reward for faithful service to soldiers chiefly. During the 1st and 2nd centuries these grants of citizenship were duly registered at Rome on sheets of copper or bronze set up in some public place. Small copies of these grants appear to have been sent to the locality where these new citizens resided. The inscription was fortunately copied before it rusted away. (Gough's *Camden*, 1806, vol. III. p. 263.)

A "Numerus militum Syrorum sagittariorum" may perhaps be mentioned on an inscription of the 3rd century from Kirkby Shore, Cumberland (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VII. 957, p. 307).

The Notitia mentions some "Equites Syri" as belonging to the army in Britain in the 4th century. These Syrians were not likely to be the same corps as the Hamii, but probably the Cohort II. Delmatarum (or Dalmatarum) mentioned in the Notitia as being at Magna. The poet Juvenal probably served in the 1st Cohort of this corps. (See Juvenal, Teubner edition, 1897, Preface, pp. 7—8.) The Notitia also tells us that the Equites Dalmatarum were stationed at Brancaster in Norfolk.

There are various other proofs of Syrians living in Britain during the Roman rule. At Corbridge two altars have been found with Greek inscriptions, one dedicated to Hercules of Tyre (now in Brit. Mus.),

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΤΥΡΙΩ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ

"To Hercules the Tyrian, Diodora the archpriestess";

the other to Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians (now at Netherby),

ΑΣΤ[ΑΡ]ΤΗΣ ΒΩΜΟΝ Μ' ΕΣΟΡΑΣ ΠΟΥΛΧΕΡ
Μ' ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

"You see me the altar of Astarte, Pulcher dedicated me."

.At Magna the worship of Astarte was evidently customary. In addition to the altar already mentioned there is a long inscription

on a stone (in the Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne), also found at this station, which refers to "Dea Syria." *Lapid. Septen.* p. 156.

Last of all we have the celebrated stone in the Fitzwilliam Museum found at Brough, the site of the Roman station *Vértterrae*.

The inscription on it consists of five very fair Greek hexameters. It is to the memory of one Hermes of Commagene, a Syrian youth, who at the age of sixteen lost his life, or was taken prisoner, in an expedition against the Cimmerians. This expedition may very possibly be the Caledonian campaign of Septimus Severus in A.D. 209.

The facts given above point to considerable numbers of Syrians having lived in the north of Britain and make it not improbable that one of their arrowheads should have been dropped at Godmanchester (*Durolipons*) by an archer passing through the town on his way to or from the Wall. Possibly the same person dropped both Greek coins and the iron arrowhead.

The subject of the arrowheads used by the various peoples in classical times has not yet been properly worked out; perhaps at some future date one may be able to treat this matter as it deserves.

This kind of arrowhead (Fig. 6), though much less common than other types, has been found on Roman sites and under circumstances which show that it was used, at any rate, during the 1st and 2nd centuries. A specimen has been discovered (June, 1909) at Silchester¹.

The facts established are that this type of arrowhead is of Asiatic origin and that it was used by the archers of the Roman army. The bowmen of Asiatic origin in Britain during the 1st and 2nd centuries were the 1st Cohort of the *Hamii* stationed on both the walls—Antonine and Hadrian—and consequently there is nothing improbable in the statement that this very specimen was accidentally dropped by one of these *Hamii* on his way to the walls, or, human nature being the same then as now, he may have shot his arrow at some bird or animal on the marshy ground along the banks of the Ouse, outside *Durolipons*.

¹ Since the above was in type, Professor Haverfield has told me that two more specimens have been found (Sept. 1909) at Corstopitum.

Monday, 31 May, 1909.

Dr VENN, President, in the Chair.

The officers of the Society were elected for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT.

Rev. HENRY PAINE STOKES, LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Registrar of the University.*

NEW MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

JOHN VENN, Sc.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Gonville and Caius College.

THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON, 1, *Clare Villas, Barton Road.*

Colonel THOMAS WALTER HARDING, *Madingley Hall, High Steward of the Borough.*

FRANCIS HENRY HILL GUILLEMARD, M.D., F.R.G.S., Gonville and Caius College.

TREASURER.

ROBERT BOWES, 13, *Park Terrace.*

SECRETARY.

Rev. FREDERICK GEORGE WALKER, M.A., Jesus College.

AUDITORS.

Alderman GEORGE KETT.

JAMES BENNET PEACE, M.A., Emmanuel College.

The following addition to Law III was adopted:

“That the wife or daughter of any member be eligible as a member of the Society at a subscription of 10s. 6d., on the condition that this lower subscription does not entitle such a member to receive the publications of the Society.”

A paper was then read by Mr ROBERT BOWES on

THE ZODIAC CLUB.

What is known of the Zodiac Club has come to us through Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* in his account of Samuel Pegge, and before entering upon the account of the Club, I will give a few particulars respecting Pegge.

Samuel Pegge, son of Christopher Pegge of Chesterfield, Mercer, born 5 Nov. 1704, was admitted at St John's College in 1722, B.A. 1725, M.A. 1729, Fellow 1726. The circumstances in connection with this Fellowship are thus described by Nichols:

"Having, however, no immediate prospect of preferment, he looked up to a fellowship of the College, after he had taken the degree of A.B. in January 1725, N.S.; and became a candidate upon a vacancy which happened favourably in that very year; for it was a lay-fellowship upon the Beresford foundation, and appropriated to the founder's kin, or at least confined to a native of Derbyshire.

"The competitors were, Mr Michael Burton (afterwards Dr Burton), and another, whose name we do not find; but the contest lay between Mr Burton and Mr Pegge. Mr Burton had the stronger claim, being indubitably related to the founder; but, upon examination, was declared to be so very deficient in literature, that his superior right, as founder's kin, was set aside, on account of the insufficiency of his learning, and Mr Pegge was admitted, and sworn fellow March 21, 1726, O.S.

"In consequence of this disappointment, Mr Burton was obliged to take new ground, to enable him to procure an establishment in the world; and therefore artfully applied to the College for a testimonial, that he might receive orders, and undertake some cure in the vicinity of Cambridge. Being ordained, he turned the circumstance into a manoeuvre, and

took an unexpected advantage of it, by appealing to the Visitor [the Bishop of Ely, Dr Thomas Greene], representing that as the College had, by the testimonial, thought him qualified for ordination, it could not, in justice, deem him unworthy of becoming a fellow of the Society upon such forcible claims as founder's kin, and also as a native of Derbyshire.

"These were irresistible pleas on the part of Mr Burton; and the Visitor found himself reluctantly obliged to eject Mr Pegge, when Mr Burton took possession of the fellowship, which he held many years."

So far the account in Nichols. Although deciding against Pegge, the Bishop used his influence on his behalf with the College, and he was afterwards made a Platt fellow, 1729.

In the Muniment Room of Documents belonging to the Bishopric of Ely is a volume, described in Gibbon's *Episcopal Records*, page 62, giving the account of the case Burton v. Pegge, with pedigrees to prove that Burton was of Beresford's kin, but on behalf of Pegge it was stated "that Burton was found so defective in point of literature that he was not able to construe a Latin author, and was so sensible of his own deficiency in this particular that when he was desired by the Rev. Dr Rowse to construe Horace he absolutely refused."

This transaction reminds one of the methods of Bentley.

Pegge was admitted a member at the 119th Club March 21, 1729, and in signing the book he added "Soc. ejectus, and chosen Plat." Declared vacant April 20, 1732.

He was a constant contributor to the *Archaeologia*, lived till 14th February 1796, then in his 92nd year, and the particulars of his life will be found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. pp. 222—259, already referred to, and in the *D. N. B.*

The Zodiac Club was founded on the 10th December 1725, and was so called from the number of members being limited to 12, each of whom bore the name of one of the 12 signs of the Zodiac. In 1728 the society was increased to 18, the six new members denominated from six of the planets, though it still went collectively under the name of the Zodiac Club.

Nichols mentions that Samuel Pegge possessed a particular history of this little academical literary society in MS., and

that MS. book was no doubt the Club Book of the Society which is now before me, and the acquisition of which twelve years ago suggested the preparation of this paper, and supplied most of the material. The Club Book bears the following title: "The Zodiac Club-Book. Old Articles fol. 1. Memoranda fol. 8, 35, and at y^e end. List of the Members fol. 11. Place of subscribing fol. 14. Clubdays, etc., fol. 16 to 35. Accompts. from y^e end backwards. Services done according to Art. 22, fol. 65. Club debts pag. 71. New Articles fol. 58." (Plate XXXIII.)

On the top of the title-page is the following inscription: "Sam. Pegge, sent a present by Dr Wm Heberden M.D. Aug. 1792."

This little volume has two sets of "Articles," that is, Rules; the first set containing twenty-seven Items, having, as regards the first 19, been passed on Dec. 10, 1725, when the Club was formed, the remaining eight having been added between April 9, 1726 and Nov. 21, 1728; the second set, also twenty-seven in number; in 1728, and are headed: "Club the 127. Agreed then unanimously that all Articles and By-Laws preceding the date of this Club be annulled: and that for the future the following Articles shall be observed instead of 'em." See Appendix.

Members on admission signed their names under the following declaration:

"We whose names are underwritten do hereby engage ourselves to observe strictly all the Laws and ordinances of the Zodiac Club, as long as we shall continue members of the University of Cambridge."

The affairs of the Club were kept secret:

"All articles and other secrets of the Club to be kept inviolably secret, and no strangers ever to be admitted."

From some of the Articles we are able to get an idea of the working of the Club: No. 3 provides that former members shall have all privileges of the Club, voting excepted. Leo (Gee) being allowed a vote as often as present in consideration of his having been the first projector of the Club. No. 5:

"That during the time of the sun's being in any sign, the member who is denominated from that sign shall preside in the Club,"

Learn. Pagge, Send a Present
by Dr. Wm. Haberdon M.D.
Aug. 1792.

The
ZODIAC Club-Book.

Old Articles fol. 1.

Memoranda, fol. 8. ^{at y end} 35. 8.

List of the Members fol. 11.

Place of Subscribing: fol. 14.

Clubdays &c fol. 16. to 35.

Accompts. from y end backward.

Services done according to Art: 22
fol. 65

Club debts pag: 71.

New Articles fol. 58.

and other articles provide for the appointment and duties of the Secretary and Librarian.

General.

It is nowhere stated what was the object in establishing the Club.

On November 21, 1726, the Club resolved to have a Common Seal:

Resolved that the Club have a Common Seal cut with all possible expedition: the Device being an Armillary Sphere, the Motto [Tentanda via 3 S. S.], the Crest a hand-in-hand.

It is noted that the wine of the Club was sealed with the Globe and Motto, or sealed with the hand-in-hand, and perhaps the name "Globe" at the Three Tuns, the first place of meeting, may have been the name given to the room in which the Club met. That it was a Social Club is seen by the fact that the Club had its own special wine¹, that its Meetings were held at a Tavern, and that fines for absence were provided for in the rules and paid.

On June 20, 1726, the Club adjourned upon account of going to Lynn the next day to hold the carnival there.

The word "Club" is used in the sense of a meeting of the Club². There was one admirable rule in the first set intended to promote the harmony of their meetings:

... "The President or a majority of the members sitting shall have a power of silencing all such disputes as tend to the diminishing of the mirth and good humour of the company: and each refusal of obedience to such order shall be punishable one shilling."

¹ Dec. 27, 1796. A Pipe of wine containing 92 doz. and 8 bottles (2 dozen and 8 bottles overplus) were bottled off and sealed with the Globe and motto: "The wine sealed for the use of the Club to be always used at their Meetings." The name of the wine-merchant was Thomas Arbuthnot, "settled ye acct. of ye overplus wine with Mr Arbuthnot."

² In the first instance at the Globe at the Tuns Tavern, now the premises of Messrs Brimley, Whibley & Sons, afterwards, 1728, the Hoop, and each member present paid 1s. 6d., and each absent was fined 1s., the President 2s. 6d.

The following refer to the election of New Members :

Nov. 21. 1726

Resolved, that [for the more effectual preserving the peace and Tranquility of the Club, by preventing continual disputes about the Election of New Members] the vacancies that shall happen among us shall be supplied in order by the Persons following. If they think fit to accept of y^e offer.

Negatives being reserved according to Art. 23.

- 1 M^r Morgan Coll. Trin. Soc:
- 2 D^s Hartley Coll. Jes. AB.
- 3 D^s Beacon CCC AB
- 4 ~~D^s Reynolds Coll. Jes. Soc.~~ Negatives put in.

On Jan. 10, 1732-3, a new plan for the election of members was introduced. See Appendix C.

One of the first set of rules provided that the members shall be elected either out of the present Middle-Batchelors year, or that immediately below it, or immediately above it. This would imply that the members would be men likely to become Fellows, or of a standing to get some other form of promotion; and this impression is strengthened by the fact that members were required to pay half a guinea to the Club on obtaining a Fellowship or equivalent preferment of the same value...or any new accession of preferment of the same value. While the original members were Bachelors, later members on admission were usually Masters and in some cases Fellows.

Of 37 members whose names are found in this book, 27 were or became Fellows of their Colleges.

The Library was evidently an important part of the work, and the librarian was responsible for making a catalogue, for keeping an accurate note of all books borrowed; and a special committee was appointed for the selection of the books, and for comparing them at stated times with the Catalogue. In the accounts a few purchases of books occur; thus in 1727, *Almanack* 9d., *Histoire de l'Acad.* 18s., two *Ph. Trans.* 2s., two *Mem. of Lit.* 2s., *Newton's Chron.* 14s.

One matter of understanding among the members was the duty of helping in every way any member seeking an appointment.

In *Item 22* (passed May 30, 1726) of the first set of Articles it is thus expressed :

"We do hereby engage ourselves to promote to the utmost of our power the Interest and Welfare of such as are either actually members of the Club or free of it. And when 'tis in any man's power to present to, elect into, or recommend to any preferment either in or out of the University; he is hereby obliged to Present, Elect, or Recommend one that is member or free of the Club, against all other candidates whatever, except he can produce some very notorious reason to the contrary."

This was replaced by *Item 18* in the second set of Articles :

"Each person shall promote upon all occasions y^e Interest of y^e Club and every member of it, as far as lies in his power, and memorandums of all Services so done to be minuted down."

Here are two specimens of the services rendered in this way :

1. "Cancer [Bate] presented to y^e Bp of Ely's Fellowship at St John's; and assisted very much by Libra [Law].
2. "Aquarius [Burton] presented to the Rectory of South Haningfield in Essex; by the University: having been proposed as a candidate, in y^e Club; and very much assisted by all the Members."

This method of mutual help seems rather akin to that of a Trades Union, and the change in the wording in the second set of Articles suggests that, in the course of the first few years of the Club, difficulties had occurred in carrying out such an arrangement.

I will now give a few particulars respecting some of the Members of the Club.

Some of the Members.

John GEE. The first projector of the Club, and on that ground allowed to vote on all occasions when present as a former Member. Ab orig. [Dec. 10, 1725]. Declared vacant June 20, 1728.

Peterhouse, admitted Pensioner July 10, 1719, when he was described as "Cantabrigiensis in Scholâ publicâ Bishop

Stortford institutus annumque agens decimum septimum." His Tutor was the Rev. Godfrey Washington, Fellow of Peterhouse and Minister of Little St Mary's, whose monument in that church is of interest to American visitors. Gee was elected Hale Scholar, one of the chief undergraduate promotions in the gift of the College, July 4, 1721. March 22, 1725-6, he was appointed Ramsay Fellow. The Ramsay Fellowships were Bye Fellowships in the gift of the Master of the College. Gee resigned his Fellowship on Sept. 4, 1728. B.A. 1723, 15th Wrangler, M.A. 1727. Presented to the living of Burwell 1729.

Edmund LAW (or Lawe) [1703-1787]. Elected Zodiac Dec. 22, 1725. Very much assisted Bate to Bp of Ely's Fellowship at St John's, gained curacy at Orwell by means of Johnson.

St John's College sizar 1720. B.A. 1723, 6th Wrangler, M.A. 1727. Fellow of Christ's¹, D.D. 1749, Master of Peterhouse 1756-68, Librarian of the University 1760, Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy 1764, Bishop of Carlisle 1768-87. In his philosophical opinions he was a disciple of Locke and edited his works. He published a pamphlet, *Considerations on the Propriety of requiring Subscription to the Articles*, advocating religious tolerance. He and his friends, John Taylor, Fellow of St John's, Thomas Johnson, Fellow of Magdalene, and Sandys Hutchinson, Library-Keeper of Trinity, produced a new edition of Stephens' *Thesaurus* in four volumes folio, published in 1735. In Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* is the following quotation from a letter of Bishop Warburton: "Our friend Browne is now on a visit (on invitation) at Mr George Lyttelton's...and he is accompanied by his friend Dr Law as far as Litchfield; who takes the opportunity to visit his friend the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Which will prove the better Patron, the Layman or the Archpriest, for an even wager? And you shall choose your side. I think they might as well have gone to Hell (I mean the Classical Hell) to consult Tiresias in the ways of thriving. God help

¹ Particularly assisted by Trant and also by Bate and Dring.

them! for they are a couple of helpless creatures in the ways of this world! and nothing to bear their charges but a little honesty, which, like Don Quixote's Chivalry, will pass current in never an inn between Carlisle and London." Looking at the list given above of important posts occupied by Law, he would seem to have lost nothing by being the "helpless creature in the ways of this world" as described by the Bishop.

David HARTLEY, the Philosopher and Physician, 1705-57.

Elected Zodiac Jan. 31, 1727, Capricornus. Declared vacant May 27, 1730.

Jesus College, B.A. 1725, 7th Wrangler, M.A. 1729.

Elected Fellow Oct. 30, 1727. Author of *Introduction to the History of Man*, and is alluded to by Coleridge in his *Religious Musings*.

John ROWNING, an ingenious mechanic, mathematician and philosopher; 1701?-71. Elected Planet March 10, 1731.

Elected Zodiac March 20, 1732. Declared vacant June 10, 1736.

Magdalene College, B.A. 1724, 28th Wrangler, M.A. 1728.

Fellow. In 1733 published *A Compendious System of Natural Philosophy*. Rector of Anderby, Lincolnshire.

Richard JACKSON, 1710-82. Elected Planet Nov. 21, 1728.

Declared vacant Oct. 30, 1730. Elected Zodiac Oct. 30, 1730.

Trinity College, B.A. 1727, M.A. 1731. Fellow Oct. 2, 1730. Rector of Witley Magna, Co. Worcester. Founder of the Jacksonian Professorship.

Thomas RUTHERFORTH [1712-71]. Elected Planet March 25, 1738.

St John's College, admitted sizar 1726, B.A. 1729, 13th Wrangler, M.A. 1733, B.D. 1740, D.D. 1745. Regius Professor of Divinity, F.R.S. 1743, Chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, Archdeacon of Essex. Published works in Theology and Science, his principal work being *System of Natural Philosophy*, 2 vols. 4to, 1748. Married a sister of Sir Thomas

Abdy, and held the livings of Brinkley, Cambs., Henfield, Essex, and Barley, Herts. Cole says of him: "he lives in a large new house opposite St Clement's in Cambridge (date 1758). The Doctor's preferment by all accounts, for I have not seen him these five years, has not a little swelled his vanity, which was always ready to overrun; tho' he is a very sensible man and a good scholar, and peculiarly adapted for the wrangling Profession he occupies at Cambridge."

John TAYLOR [1704-66]. Elected Planet Nov. 21, 1728. Declared vacant May 28, 1730. Elected Zodiac May 28, 1730.

Son of John Taylor, Barber, Shrewsbury. Educated Shrewsbury School. St John's College, admitted sizar 7 June, 1721, B.A. 1724, 21st Wrangler, M.A. 1728, LL.D. 1741, University Librarian¹ 1729, Registry 1734, Rector of Lawford, Essex, 1751, Archdeacon of Buckingham 1753, Canon of St Paul's 1757, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., published excellent editions of Aeschylus and Demosthenes *Contra Leptinem*, and, jointly with Law and Johnson and Hutchinson, produced the new edition of Stephens' *Thesaurus* in 1735. Taylor composed and delivered the Music Speech at the commencement of 1730, the occasion of opening the new Regent House or Senate House, and it was afterwards printed with the famous Music Speech of Roger Long delivered in 1714.

John MORGAN [c. 1702-]. Elected Zodiac Jan. 10, 1727. Declared vacant April 20, 1732.

Trinity, admitted 1718, Scholar 1719, B.A. 1721, 27th Wrangler, Fellow 1724, M.A. 1725, Professor of Anatomy 1728. Unanimously elected, assisted by all the members.

Thomas PARNE. Elected Zodiac May 10, 1734.

Trinity, admitted 8 Jan. 171 $\frac{3}{4}$, Scholar 10 May, 1717, Fellow 1720. B.A. 1717, M.A. 1721, B.D. 1729, Library-Keeper 1734. Went out of his mind and was sent out of residence 27 April, 1749.

¹ Particularly assisted by the members of this Society.

APPENDIX A.

ARTICLES agreed upon by the Members of the ZODIAC CLUB. December 10, 1725, with additions to November 21, 1728.

Imprimis 1.

No member shall reveal any of the secrets of the Club, sub poena £0. 5. 0.

ab Orig:

Item 2.

The Number of the members shall not exceed twelve. Vid: Art: 27.

ab Orig:

Item 3.

No member shall be chosen without the general consent of the Club then sitting...Vid: Art: 23.

ab Orig:

Item 4.

¹The members shall be elected either out of the present Middle-Bachelors year, or that immediately below it, or immediately above it.

ab Orig:

Item 5.

Every member elected into a Fellowship shall pay into the President's hands, the next meeting after his election, the sum of £0: 10: 6. for the use of the Club.

Item 6.

The President shall call over the names of the members at a quarter past eight by St Maries clock: when each absent member shall be punished the sum of £0: 1: 0: and the Presi-

¹ "Resolved, Nov: 21, 1726, that Article y^e 4th may be dispensed with as often as a majority shall think fit.

Witness. Cancer Secr:

dent £0-2-6 if absent: except the majority of the Club think fit to excuse it.

ab Orig:

Item 7.

In equal disputes the president shall have a casting vote.

ab Orig:

Item 8.

All Punishments to be spent at the cardinal points.....
Vid: Resolut: y^e 9th fol. 38.

ab Orig:

Item 9.

The Club shall meet in the Globe at the¹ Tuns tavern, three times in each sign. The first night of the sign being always one, and the other two as nearly equidistant as can be. Sundays etc. being avoided. And the last President in each year, shall make a table of the clubdays for the year following, and enter them in the club-book.

ab Orig:

Item 10.

Each member shall have his particular sign during which he shall act as President, and do all the public business of the club; Such as keeping account of the reckoning; entering into the book the names of the absent members; the quantity of club-wine used since the last and in the present club; etc. and shall take care at the end of his Presidentship to turn over all his concerns to the next President. Vid: Res: 1. fol. 35.

ab Orig:

Item 11.

The reckoning shall always be called for at ten a clock: after which time the President may quit the chair, and the members disperse: but not before, under pain of the foregoing punishment of £0: 2: 6: for the President, and £0-1-0 for other members.

ab Orig:

¹ Vid. Res. 6, fol. 37.

Item 12.

The President, or a majority of y^e members sitting, shall have a power of silencing all such disputes as tend to the diminishing of the Mirth and Good Humour of the Company: and each refusal of Obedience to such order shall be punishable £0: 1: 0.

ab Orig:

Item 13.

None shall be admitted into the club but the members.

ab Orig:

Item 14.

A former member sojourning in the University; shall enjoy all the privileges of a member of the club, except that of Voting in any case.

ab Orig:

Item 15.

The Wine sealed for the use of the club shall be allways used at their meeting: and may be sent for by any member (to his own private chamber only) upon his sending a tickett.

ab Orig:

Item 16.

No new article shall be made, or old one abolished without the universal consent of the club then sitting. Vid: Art: 21.

ab Orig:

Item 17.

When the Reckoning is called for each man shall lay down eighteen-pence; and what remains after the reckoning is paid shall be kept till the next cardinal.

ab Orig:

Item 18.

If more than one bottle is sent for after the reckoning is first discharged, it shall be paid for by a new contribution.

ab Orig:

Item 19.

No member shall lend out his tickett, to one that is not of the Club; or send for any of the club wine to any place

but his own chamber (except at least half the company are members of the club) sub poena £0. 1. 0 for every bottle so sent for.

ab Orig:

Item 20.

The member who neglects to bring his ticket, or an exact account of the wine he has used since the foregoing Club, shall forfeit the sum of £0-1-0.

April 9. 1726.

Item 21.

All Disputes concerning the Interpretation of any of the Articles of the Club; or concerning any other affair except the Election of Members or making or abolishing Articles, shall be determined by a majority of Voices.

May 30. 1726.

Item 22.

We do hereby engage ourselves to promote to the utmost of our power the Interest and Wellfare of such as are either actually members of the club or free of it. And when 'tis in any mans power to present to, elect into, or recommend to any preferment either in or out of the University; he is hereby obliged to Present, Elect, or Recoñmend one that is member or free of the club, against all other candidates whatever; except he can produce some very notorious reason to the contrary.

May 30. 1726.

Item 23.

It shall be in the power of any member to put in his Negative within thirty days after an Election, if he thinks fit. Within which time the President shall inform all the absent Members of the Person pitch't upon, so that they may put in their Negative within the said time.

June 30. 1726.

Item 24.

Every one that is or has been a member of the Club, shall certify the President of whatever preferment he getts, or any

other remarkable turn of life that shall happen to him; in order to have it register'd (if the club think fit) in the Journal or Memoirs.

July 12. 1726.

Item 25.

Each member hereby obliges himself to pay into the Presidents hands, for the use of the Club, at least half a Guinea, upon his being possess'd of any Living; or any other perpetual preferment equivalent to an Ordinary Fellowship.

July 12. 1726.

Item 26.

Any former member residing in the University, shall have a right of succeeding into the next vacancy that shall happen in the Club.

April 17. 1728.

Item 27.

There may be six additional members chosen who shall be denominated from the six planets, have all the Privileges of the other members, and succeed into the Vacant signs according to seniority of Election.

Nov. 21. 1728.

APPENDIX B.

CLUB THE 127.

Agreed then Unanimously that all Articles and Bye-Laws preceding the date of this Club be annulled: and that for the future the following Articles shall be Observed instead of 'em.

Witness

γ Grant

⋈

π Mason

§

♈	
♉	
♊	Law
♋	
♌	Johnson
♍	Hartley
♎	Wilkinson
♏	
♐	
♑	Taylor
♒	
♓	Pegge
♈	
♉	

ARTICLES

agreed upon by y^e Members of the Zodiac Club:
Club y^e 127.

Imprimis

That y^e Club shall consist of twelve Members at least, each of which shall be denominated from a particular sign in y^e Zodiack.

2.

That Six more Members may be added wth all y^e same privileges as y^e former: each of w^{ch} shall be denominated from one of y^e 6 Planets.

3.

That all Former Members shall have all y^e privileges of y^e Club, Voting excepted. Leo (Gee) only being allowed a vote as often as present, in consideration of his having been y^e first Projector of y^e Club.

4.

That a Vacancy in a Sign shall be fill'd by y^e Senior Planet: a Vacancy in a Planet shall be fill'd by a former Member, if any such shall then reside in y^e University, otherwise by Election.

5.

That during y^e time of y^e Sun's being in any Sign, y^e Member who is denominated from y^t Sign shall preside in y^e Club.

6.

One of y^e Members shall be chosen Secretary on y^e Club before y^e Foundation day by a Majority. He shall have y^e custody of y^e Club book, Seals and comon Stock, shall be oblig'd to write all Letters and Entrys into y^e Club book etc. that he shall be directed by y^e Club, and take care y^t y^e book be produc'd each club under y^e penalty of one Shilling.

7.

That he keep a particular acct of all Money delivered to him for y^e Use of y^e Club and be obliged to produce y^e same once every quarter into y^e Presidents hands.

8.

The Club stock shall be laid out in books for y^e Use of y^e Club, to be bought at y^e direction of a Co^mittee appointed for y^t purpose.

9.

That one of y^e Members shall be chosen Librarian in y^e manner of y^e Secretary, to have y^e custody of y^e books, and to be responsible to y^e Club for all such as are delivered into his hands, to buy such as y^e Co^mittee shall direct him and quarterly to give in an Acc^t of w^t he hath received and paid for y^e Use of y^e Club.

10.

That he be oblig'd to keep a catalogue of all books belonging to y^e Club, and to produce it each club together wth such new books as have not yet been there.

11.

That no Member take any book into his own Custody without a receipt for y^e same first given to y^e Librarian under penalty of y^e value of y^e same to be p^d y^e first time it be demanded of him in y^e Club: and y^t y^e books be compared to y^e Catalogue by a Co^mittee at least once a year and a report made to y^e Club at y^e Foundation day.

12.

That each member that hath any book in his hands shall be obliged to produce y^e same at y^e next club, if demanded, under penalty of 6^d for default thereof and y^e same toties quoties.

Vide pag. 61. 6.

13.

There shall be three clubs¹, in each Sign, y^e first as near y^e beginning and y^e other two as near equidistant as can be conveniently: a cycle of 'em to be produc'd on y^e foundation day w^{ch} shall be on y^e tenth of December.

14.

Every club shall begin at eight o'clock, at w^{ch} time y^e Presid^t shall take acc^t of y^e absent Members and receive 18^d of each pson p^sent y^e Club to end at ten when three pints more may be call'd for, and y^e Presid^t having p^d y^e reckoning shall set down w^t remains to be enter'd in y^e Club book.

15.

Absent Members who are not punish'd shall at each Cardinall, or at y^e first time they appear at y^e Club afterwards pay for each night of such absence y^e same sum w^{ch} was reserv'd out of each p^sent Member's reckoning.

16.

The punishm^t for absence to be one Shilling, and none to be excused but such as are actually confin'd by Sickness, or

¹ See fol. 96. Nov. 30, 1730, fol. 96. b. March 1, 1733, fol. 98.

out of y^e precincts of y^e University or detain'd by unavoidable lectures in College. Vid: fol. 94. b. and 95. b.

17.

All Articles, and other Secrets of y^e Club to be kept inviolably secret, and no Strangers ever to be admitted.

18.

Each pson shall promote upon all occasions y^e Interest of y^e Club and every Member of it, as far as lies in his power, and Memorandums of all Services so done to be minuted down.

19.

When a new Member is proposed any one pson shall have a power of putting in his Negative. The same Rule shall be observ'd in making new or abolishing old Fundamental Articles. In w^{ch} cases even Members absent from y^e University shall be allowed their Negatives: provided they leave directions with y^e Club how to write to them, and return an answer within 20 days after they are wrote to.

20.

All proposals where Negatives are allow'd shall be made and agreed upon in three successive clubs before they are ratified.

21.

Every Member who is Fellow at his Admission or possess'd of any perpetual preferm^t of y^e same value, or shall afterwards get a Fellowship or equivalent preferm^t or any new accession of perpetual preferm^t of y^e same value, shall upon any of these cases pay into y^e Presid^{ts} hands a fee of at least half a Guinea.

22.

The same fee to be due from all former Members in any of y^e like cases and to be demanded by y^e Secretary in writing.

23.

Each new Member shall contribute something towards y^e Library.

24.

Every Member shall be oblig'd to execute any office y^e Club shall require of him, for at least one turn.

25.

Disputes about preferm^t fees, y^e interpretation of Articles, or penalties where none are provided, to be fixed (pro hac vice) by y^e Club then sitting, and y^e case to be enter'd in y^e book. In all equalities y^e Presid^t to determine.

26.

By-Laws to be made for y^e future regulation of y^e Club upon any unforeseen accid^{ts} shall be ratified by y^e majority of two successive clubs, and to continue in force till repealed in y^e same manner.

27.

The Vice-Presidentship shall be supplied in y^e following manner: viz: Each Planet shall have two Signs allotted him, as below during w^{ch} he shall act as Presid^t. And y^e Absence or Vacancy of that Planet to be supplied by y^e Secretary and Librarian alternately.

$$\text{♃} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♋} \\ \text{♉} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{♆} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♊} \\ \text{♈} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{♁} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♌} \\ \text{♍} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{♄} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♎} \\ \text{♏} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{♅} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♐} \\ \text{♑} \end{array} \right.$$

$$\text{♁} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{♒} \\ \text{♓} \end{array} \right.$$

APPENDIX C.

Jan. 10. 1732/33.

Agreed

That y^e following method be observ'd in y^e future election of Members.

The President shall declare the vacancy the first club after it comes to his notice, and if the vacancy be controverted, it shall be decided by a majority of Members sitting. In the following Club every Member absent or present shall (if he pleases) nominate one or more Candidates; and when such nomination is made, y^e Candidates shall be reduced to two by a majority of Voices. After which y^e Election shall begin and be continued every Club successively, till one of y^e two proposed shall have a majority in three (tho' not successive) Clubs: w^{ch} person shall then be declared by y^e President duly elected, and may be immediately introduced into y^e Club.

Agreed Nov. 30. 1733. That

The words *If demanded* Art. 12. be understood *after it be demanded*.

Dec. 10. 1737.

The Question being proposed by the President whether the 4th Article viz. of a Planet being to succeed by seniority into the vacant Sign; should be observed in the next case, it pass'd unanimously in the Negative.

APPENDIX D.

A list of all the Members of the Zodiac Club recorded in the MS.

BATE, James, Corpus, B.A. 1722, St John's, M.A. 1727, Bp of Ely's Fellow 1726.

Accompanied Horace Walpole¹ as Chaplain when Ambassador at Paris, Incumbent of St Paul's, Deptford. Died 1725.

♋ (Cancer) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Declared vacant 1733.

¹ Afterwards 1st Baron Walpole.

BEACON, Edward, Corpus, B.A. 1726, M.A. 1730, Fellow Jan. 1728-9.

♄ (Taurus) Elected Zodiac Feb. 21. 1721. Declared vacant Feb. 21, 1733-4.

BUNBURY, William, St Cath. Hall, B.A. 1730, M.A. 1734, Fellow Jan. 31. 1729.

⊖ (Terra) Elected Planet April 10. 1733. Vacant Dec. 20. 1736.

BURTON, Francis, Pembroke Hall, B.A. 1726, M.A. 1730, Fellow.

♌ (Leo) Elected Zodiac Aug. 12. 1728.

BURTON, Henry, Emman. Coll., B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727.

♋ (Water-bearer) Elected Zodiac April 9. 1726. Declared vacant Friday Nov. 1. 1728.

☿ (Mercury) Elected Planet Nov. 21. 1728. Declared vacant Club 122 (April 21. 1730).

CARTER, Samuel, Son of James Carter, Rector of Melton, Suffolk, Trinity, Admitted June 22. 1720, Scholar April 6. 1722, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1730.

Presented to the Rectory of Suffolk 1728.

♊ (Virgo) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Declared vacant Friday Nov. 11. 1726.

CLARKE, John, Corpus, B.A. 1731, M.A. 1735, Fellow.

Elected Planet March 28. 1737.

♋ (Cancer) Elected Zodiac June 11. 1739.

COMBE, Bennet, St John's, Son of Brian Combe, Attorney, born at Rutherbury, Dorset, B.A. 1729, M.A. 1733, Fellow March 27. 1732.

♀ (Venus) Elected Planet July 20. 1730. Vacant March 1. 1733-4.

♄ (Taurus) Elected Zodiac March 1. 1733-4. Vacant April 30. 1736.

DRING, Edm. (afterwards Garforth), Son of the late Edmund Dring of Malton co. York, Educated at Wakefield School, Admitted 22 Feb. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{0}{0}$, Scholar 1721, Minor Fellow 1726, Major

Fellow 1727, took the name of Garforth, presented to the College the busts of Ray and Willoughby in the library in 1751, and the portrait of Barrow in the Hall. B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727.

♏ (Scorpio) Elected Zodiac Dec. 22. 1725. Declared vacant Dec. 10. 1732-3.

FLETCHER, Richard, Emmanuel, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1728.

♐ (Sagittarius) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Declared vacant April 29. 1726.

GEE, John, Peterhouse. See *ante*, p. 297.

♌ (Leo) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Project. Declared vacant June 20. 1728.

GILBERT. This name appears as having attended meetings about 1739 and 1740, but it is not in the list of members, nor of those who signed the declaration of membership. Two possible men of that name are William Gilbert, Pemb., B.A. 1734, and Thomas Gilbert, Pet., 1737.

HARNEIS, Richard, Magd., B.A. 1727, M.A. 1731, Fellow.

♃ (Jupiter) Elected Planet June 30. 1729, "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant Ap. 20. 1732.

♏ (Scorpio) Elected Zodiac April 20. 1732.

HARTLEY, David, Jesus [1705-57]. See *ante*, p. 299.

♑ (Capricornus) Elected Zodiac Jan. 31. 1727. Declared vacant May 28. 1730.

HOOKE, John, Trinity, Son of John Hook, Educated at Norwich School, Admitted 25 March. 1719, Scholar 1721, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727. Presented by the College to the Vicarage of Hatfield-Broad oak, Essex, 29 April 1728.

♋ (Pisces) Elected Zodiac Dec. 23. 1725. Declared vacant April 29. 1728.

HUBBARD, Henry, Cath. Hall, B.A. 1728, M.A. 1732, B.D. 1739, Fellow of Emmanuel, 1732.

♃ (Jupiter) Elected Planet March 20. 1732.

♏ (Scorpio) Elected Zodiac April 30. 1736.

HUTCHINSON, Sandys, Son of Edw. Hutchinson of Boston, Educated at Kirkleatham, Trinity, Admitted 23 June 1724, Scholar 1725, B.A. 1727, M.A. 1731, Librarian Trinity 1729-40. In 1734 in conjunction with Law, Taylor and Johnson prepared an edition of Stephens' *Thesaurus*.

♂ (Mars) Elected Planet May 10. 1732.

♄ (Taurus) Elected Zodiac April 30. 1736.

JACKSON, Richard, Trinity. See *ante*, p. 299.

⊕ (Terra) Elected Planet Nov. 21. 1728. Declared vacant Oct. 30. 1730.

♊ (Pisces) Elected Zodiac Oct. 30. 1730.

JOHNSON, Thomas, Magd., B.A. 1724, M.A. 1728, Fellow.

♑ (Sagittarius) Elected Zodiac April 29. 1726, "Fellow ab orig." Vacant July 20. 1737.

KEY, Joseph, Trinity, Son of Benjamin Key, of Althorpe, Northants, Educated at St Paul's, Admitted 8 April 1720, Scholar 1722, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727, Presented by the College to the Vicarage of Monks-Kirby, Warwicks, 29 Jan. 1727.

♊ (Gemini) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Declared vacant Nov. 11. 1726.

LAMBERT, Thomas, Trinity, Son of Josiah Lambert, of Watsfield near Kendal, Educated at Kendal School, Admitted 8 Feb. 17¹⁹/₂₀, Scholar 1721, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727, Vicar of Sedbergh, 30 June 1727.

♄ (Capricornus) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Declared vacant Jan. 31. 1727.

LAW, Edmund [1703-87], Christ's, St John's, Peterhouse (Master). See *ante*, p. 298.

♎ (Libra) Elected Zodiac Dec. 22. 1725.

LYNE, Matthew, Emmanuel, B.A. 1727, M.A. 1731, B.D. 1738, Fellow.

♄ (Saturn) Elected Planet Feb. 10. 1732. Vacant Nov. 30. 1737.

♒ (Aquarius) Elected Zodiac Nov. 30. 1737.

MASON, Charles, Son of Ch. Mason of Preece, Salop, Educated at Wem, Admitted 30 Oct. 1718, Scholar 1720, B.A. 1722, M.A. 1726, B.D. 1736, Fellow, Woodwardian Professor 1734.

♊ (Gemini) Elected Zodiac Nov. 11. 1726.

MORGAN, John, Trinity. See *ante*, p. 300.

♍ (Virgo) Elected Zodiac Jan. 10. 1727 "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant April 30. 1732.

MOSS. An entry occurs fol. 92 (b): 1739 Oct. 20, 30 and Nov. 10, Mr Moss elected. This name does not occur in the list of members, nor of those who signed the declaration of membership. It might be either Charles Moss of Caius, B.A. 1731, Bp of St David's and Bath and Wells, or Samuel Moss of King's, B.A. 1728.

OAKES, John, Jesus, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727, Fellow, Rector of Handsworth, Staffs.

☿ (Mercury) Elected Planet Oct. 30. 1730, "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant Dec. 20. 1732.

PARNE, Thomas, Trinity. See *ante*, p. 300.

♀ (Venus) Elected Planet May 10. 1734, "Fellow ab orig."

PARRIS, Francis Sawyer, Sidney, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1728, B.D. 1735, D.D. 1747, Fellow, Master 1746.

☿ (Mercury) Elected Planet Jan. 20. 1732, "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant Club 177 (Oct. 30. 1730).

♋ (Cancer) Elected Zodiac June 10. 1736.

PATRICK, Symon, Cath. Hall, B.A. 1726, M.A. 1730, Fellow.

♆ (Pisces) Elected Zodiac April 29. 1728, "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant Club 177 (Oct. 30. 1730).

PEGGE, Samuel, St John's. See *ante*, p. 292.

♂ (Mars) Elected Planet 119th Club (March 21. 1729). Declared vacant Ap. 20. 1732.

ROWNING, John, Magd. See *ante*, p. 299.

♁ (Terra) Elected Planet March 10. 1731. Declared vacant March 20. 1732.

♋ (Cancer) Elected Zodiac March 20. 1732. Declared vacant June 10. 1736.

RUTHERFORTH, Thomas, St John's. See *ante*, p. 299.

Elected Planet March 25. 1738.

SKOTLOWE, Charles, Corpus, B.A. 1724, M.A. 1728, B.D. 1736, Fellow.

♄ (Saturn) Elected Planet April 20. 1730, "Fellow ab orig." Declared vacant Dec. 20. 1732.

♏ (Scorpio) Elected Zodiac Dec. 30. 1732. Declared vacant April 30. 1736.

SOUTHERNWOOD, Thomas, King's, B.A. 1728, M.A. 1732, Fellow.

Elected Planet March 1. 1737-8.

♐ (Sagittarius) Elected Zodiac March 1. 1738, "Fellow ab orig."

TAYLOR, John, St John's. See *ante*, p. 300.

♀ (Venus) Elected Planet Nov. 21. 1728. Declared vacant May 28. 1730.

♑ (Capricornus) Elected Zodiac May 28. 1730.

TEMPEST, Robert, Peterhouse, B.A. 1723.

Fo. 94 (37) Jan. 31. 1727. Resolved that Ds Tempest of Peterhouse shall have the Privileges of a former Member, in Consideration of his having been formerly elected.

The name does not appear in the list of members, nor among those who signed the declaration of membership.

THIRLBY, Henry, Jesus, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727.

♉ (Taurus) Elected Zodiac "ab orig." Dec. 10. 1725. Declared vacant Jan. 31. 1727.

♄ (Saturn) Elected Planet Nov. 21. 1728. Declared vacant March 4. 1729.

TRANT, William, Christ's, B.A. 1722, M.A. 1726, Fellow April 26. 1726.

♈ (Aries) Elected Zodiac Jan. 28. 1726.

WILKINSON, John, Emmanuel, B.A. 1725, M.A. 1729, B.D. 1736, Fellow.

♈ (Aquarius) Elected Zodiac Aug. 12. 1728, "Fellow ab orig." Vacant Dec. 10. 1737.

[I have to acknowledge the help given to me by Mr W. Aldis Wright, Vice-Master of Trinity, Mr R. F. Scott (now Master), of St John's, and Dr Walker, of Peterhouse, in supplying the particulars respecting members of those Colleges.]

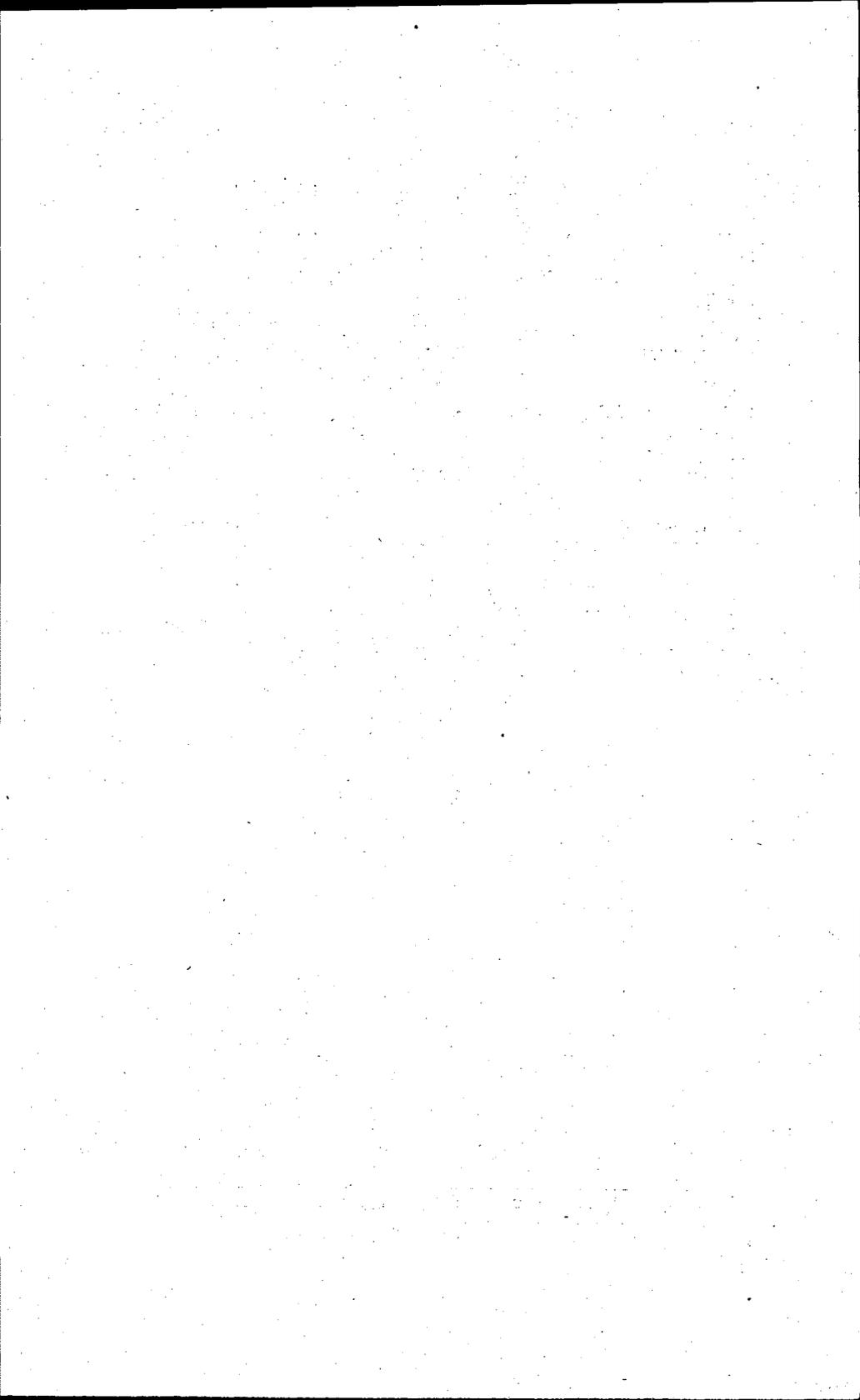


INDEX

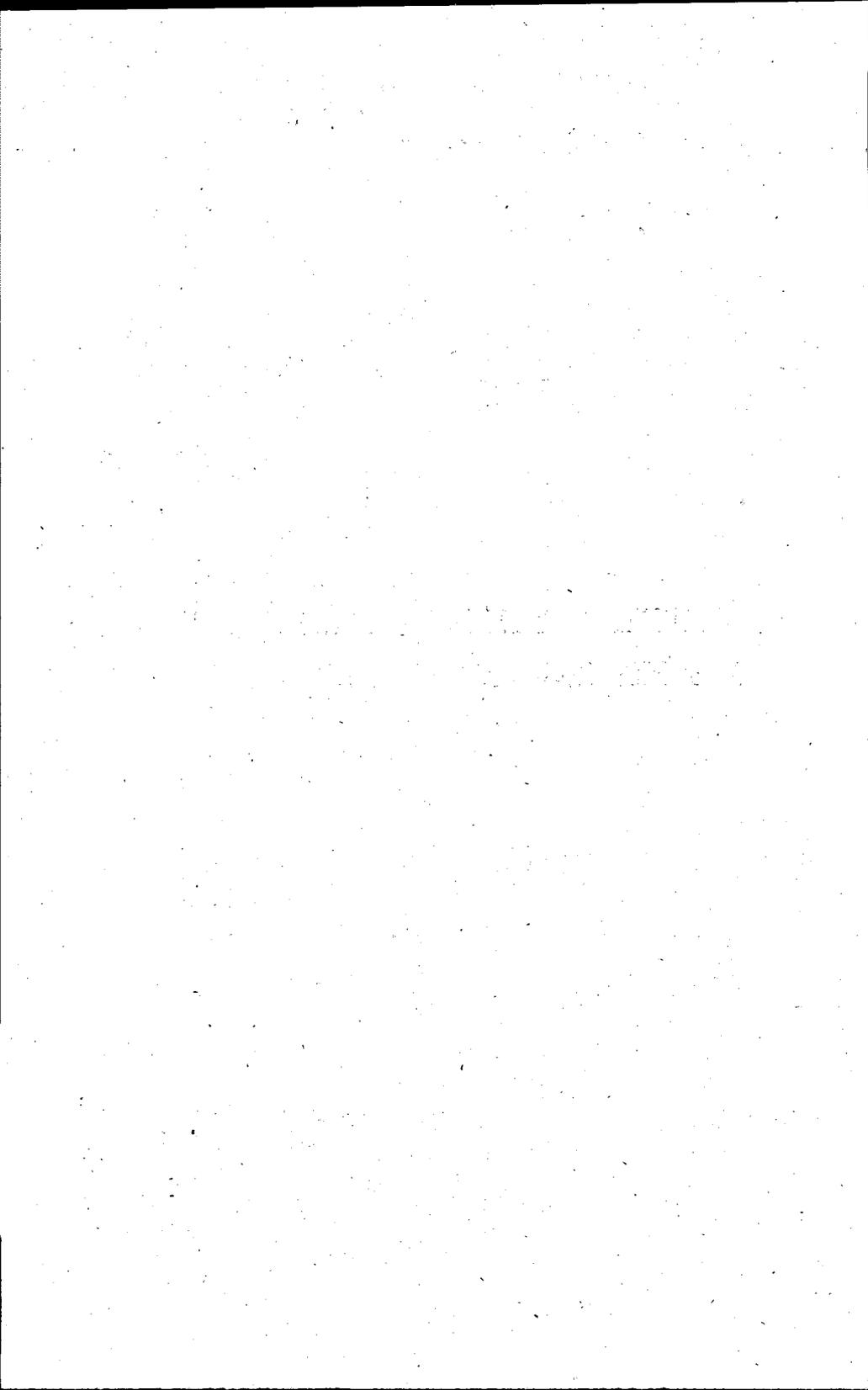
- Accounts, 1907, 13
- Allen, F. J., on some notable Church Towers of Cambridgeshire, and their relation to the principal Towers of England, 213
- Allix, C. P., on an Ancestor's Escape from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 224
- Angel Inn, Market Hill, Cambridge, 81
- Annual Report, 1907-8, 1
- Arretine Vase, the, note on, 141
- Asco District, Corsica, men of, note on, 267
- Atlas Universel, 1757, 115
- Ball, R. S., lecture on Ancient and Modern Views of the Constitution of the Milky Way, 219
- Banks Islands, the Secret Societies of the, 219
- Barnwell, the Old Abbey, 77
- Barnwell Priory, the Cellarer's Checker, 77
- Bond, F., lecture on how the English Parish Church grew, 14
- Bond, F. Bligh, on the Screens of Cambridgeshire, 31
- Bowes, R., on the Zodiac Club, 292
- Cambridge, excursion to old houses in, 77
— Great St Mary's Church, Shops at the West End of, 235
- Cambridgeshire, Screens of, 31
— some notable Church Towers of, and their relation to the principal Towers of England, 213
- Cartes Générales de Toutes les Parties du Monde, 1658, 110
- Cellarer's Checker, Barnwell Priory, 77
- Chadwick, H. M., lecture on Runic Inscriptions, 223
- Chesterton, Church of, connection of the, with the Abbey of Vercelli, 185
- Church Towers of Cambridgeshire, some notable, and their relation to the principal Towers of England, 213
- Clark, J. W. and J. E. Foster, History of a Site in Senate House Yard with some Notes on the Occupiers, 120
- Comberton Maze and the Origin of Mazes, 163
- Corsica, Notes on, 267
- Duckworth, W. L. H., lecture on Notes on Corsica: (a) the Discovery of a Megalithic Site near Ponte Leccia, (b) the Men of the Niolo and Asco Districts, 267
- Egyptian embroidery, 222
- Excursion, 77
- Footgear, Ancient, lecture on, 262

- Fordham, H. G., Cartography of the Provinces of France, 1570-1757, 82
- Foster, J. E., on the connection of the Church of Chesterton with the Abbey of Vercelli, 185
- see Clark, J. W.
- France, Cartography of the Provinces of, 1570-1757, 82
- Godmanchester, Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead dug up in a Roman Cemetery at, 280
- Gray, G. J., on the Shops at the West End of Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, 235
- Greece, Modern, lecture on, 14
- Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead dug up in a Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester, 280
- Haverfield, F., note on the Arretine Vase, 141
- Henman, H., exhibits keys, &c., 222
- Holland, C., exhibits scold's bridle, &c., 222
- Hope, W. H. St John, on the loss of King John's baggage in the Well-stream in October 1216, 30
- Horn-Book, 222
- Indian History, Early, lecture on, 143
- Keys, 222
- King John's baggage, the loss of, in the Well-stream in October 1216, 30
- Lewis, Mrs A. S., exhibits pieces of Egyptian embroidery, &c., 222
- Mead, Joseph, four MS. Books of Accounts kept by, 250
- Megalithic Site near Ponte Leccia, Corsica, discovery of, note on, 267
- Members elected, 1907-8, 12
- Memphis, recent discoveries at, lecture on, 14
- Milky Way, Constitution of the, Ancient and Modern Views of the, lecture on, 219
- Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, recent additions, 7
- Nantes, the Edict of, an Ancestor's Escape from France after the Revocation of, 224
- Niolo District, Corsica, men of, note on, 267
- Officers elected, 291
- Old Abbey, Barnwell, 77
- Old English names, corrupt spelling of, 15
- Papers read, Oct. 1907—May 1908, list, 2
- Peile, J., on four MS. Books of Accounts kept by Joseph Mead, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, with his Pupils between 1614 and 1633, 250
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, lecture on recent discoveries at Memphis, 14
- Ponte Leccia, Corsica, Megalithic Site near, 267
- Pythagoras School, Cambridge, 79
- Rapson, Professor, lecture on Early Indian History, 143
- Redfern, W. B., exhibits water-colour drawings, 222
- lecture on Ancient Footgear, 262
- Ridgeway, Professor, lecture on the origin of the Turkish Crescent, 30
- Rivers, W. H. R., on the Secret Societies of the Banks Islands, 219
- Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester, Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead dug up in, 280
- Rouse, W. H. D., lecture on Modern Greece, 14
- Runic Inscriptions, lecture on, 223
- Santon Downham, Suffolk, a Hoard of Metal found at, 146
- Saracenic Castles, two, recently explored and planned, 76

- Scold's bridle, 222
 Screens of Cambridgeshire, 31
 Secret Societies of the Banks Islands, 219
 Shops at the West End of Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, 235
 Skeat, Professor, on the corrupt spelling of Old English names, 15
 Smith, R. A., on a Hoard of Metal found at Santon Downham, Suffolk, 146
 Stokes, Reverend Dr, on Early University Property, 164
 — Two Views of Houses formerly standing to the East of King's College Chapel, 220
 Sykes, M., on two Saracenic Castles recently explored and planned, 76
 Syrian Arrowhead dug up in a Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester, 280
 Théâtre François, 1594, 86
 Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France, 101; 1634, 106
 True Blue Inn, Sidney Street, Cambridge, 81
 Turkish Crescent, the origin of the, lecture on, 30
 University Property, Early, 164
 Vercelli, Abbey of, connection of the, with the Church of Chesterton, 185
 Vicarages, Mount Pleasant, Cambridge, 79
 Walker, F. G., on Comberton Maze and the Origin of Mazes, 163
 — exhibits Horn-Book, &c., 222
 — on Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead dug up in a Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester, 280
 Water-colour drawings, 222
 Zodiac Club, 292



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CONTENTS

MICHAELMAS TERM 1908.

(NO. LII.)

	PAGE
Sixty-Eighth Annual Report	1
On Recent discoveries at Memphis. Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE (n. p.)	14
How the English Parish Church grew. FRANCIS BOND, M.A. (n. p.) .	14
Modern Greece. Dr W. H. D. ROUSE (n. p.)	14
The Corrupt Spelling of Old English Names. Prof. W. SKEAT, Litt.D., F.B.A.	15
On the Loss of King John's Baggage in the Well Stream in October 1216. W. H. St JOHN HOPE, M.A. (n. p.)	30
On the Origin of the Turkish Crescent. Prof. RIDGEWAY, F.B.A. (n. p.)	30
On the Screens of Cambridgeshire, Part II. (Twelve Text Figures). F. BLIGH BOND, F.R.I.B.A.	31
Two Saracenic Castles recently explored and planned. MARK SYKES, M.A. (n. p.)	76
Old Houses in Cambridge (Plates I—IX)	77
The Cartography of the Provinces of France 1570—1757 (Plates X—XIV). Sir HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM	82
History of a Site in Senate House Yard. J. W. CLARK, M.A. and J. E. FOSTER, M.A.	120

LENT TERM 1909.

(No. LIII.)

	PAGE
Early Indian History. Prof. RAPSON, M.A.	143
A Hoard of Metal found at Santon Downham, Suffolk (Plates XV—XVII, Eleven Text Figures). R. A. SMITH, F.S.A.	146
Comberton Maze and the Origin of Mazes. Rev. F. G. WALKER, M.A. (n. p.)	163
Early University Property. Rev. Dr STOKES	164
The Connection of the Church of Chesterton with the Abbey of Vercelli (Plates XVIII—XXI). J. E. FOSTER, M.A.	185
Some Notable Church Towers of Cambridgeshire, and their relation to the Principal Towers of England (Plates XXII—XXIV). Dr F. J. ALLEN	213
Ancient and Modern Views of the Constitution of the Milky Way. Sir ROBERT STAWELL BALL (n. p.)	219
The Secret Societies on the Banks Islands. Dr W. H. R. RIVERS (n. p.)	219
Open Meeting. Two Views of Houses formerly standing to the East of King's College Chapel (Plate XXV). Rev. Dr STOKES	220

EASTER TERM 1909.

(No. LIV.)

Runic Inscriptions. H. M. CHADWICK, M.A. (n. p.)	223
An Ancestor's Escape from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. C. P. ALLIX, M.A.	224
The Shops at the West End of Great St Mary's Church. G. J. GRAY	235
On Four MS. Books of Accounts kept by Joseph Mead, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, with his pupils between 1614 and 1633. Dr JOHN PELLE, F.B.A.	250
Ancient Footgear. W. B. REDFERN	262
Notes on Corsica (Plates XXVI—XXIX, Three Text Figures). Dr W. L. H. DUCKWORTH	267
Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead from a Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester (Plates XXX—XXXII, Six Text Figures). Rev. F. G. WALKER, M.A.	280
The Zodiac Club (Plate XXXIII). R. BOWES	292
General Index for Vol. XIII.	318

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Rood-screen at Chatteris (fig. 1)	33
Rood-screen at Guilden Morden (fig. 1)	33
Rood-screen at Chippenham (fig. 2 a)	34
Rood-screen at Wilburton (fig. 2 b)	35
Rood-screen at Bassingbourne (fig. 3)	42
Rood-screen at Bourne (fig. 4 a)	44
Rood-screen at Soham (fig. 4 b)	45
Rood-screen at Doddington (fig. 5)	53
Rood-screen at Exning (fig. 6)	54
Rood-screen at Haddenham (fig. 7)	59
Rood-screen at Hinxton (fig. 8)	62
Rood-screen at Stretham (fig. 9)	70
Rood-screen at Wentworth (fig. 10)	72
Plate I. The Cellarer's Checker, Barnwell Priory. North-east side, at corner of Beche Road and Priory Road	77
„ II. The Cellarer's Checker, Barnwell Priory. North-west side	77
„ III. The Cellarer's Checker, Barnwell Priory. Interior	78
„ IV. The Cellarer's Checker, Barnwell Priory. Interior	78
„ V. Pythagoras School, from the north	79
„ VI. Pythagoras School, from the south	79
„ VII. Doorway. Pythagoras School	80
„ VIII. Pythagoras School. Window on north-west	80
„ IX. Oak-panelled room in yard beside the premises of Messrs Macintosh & Son, Market Hill	81
„ X. Reduced Facsimile of the engraved title-page of the <i>Théâtre François</i> , Tours, 1594	82

	PAGE
Plate XI. (1) Facsimile of map of the Mediterranean coast of France, with part of Provence and Languedoc, from the <i>Spiegel der Werelt</i> , Antwerp, Plantin Press, 1577, obl. 8vo.	84
(2) Facsimile of map of Picardy, from <i>Le Miroir du Monde</i> , Antwerp, Plantin Press, 1583, obl. 8vo.	84
„ XII. <i>Cartouche</i> and portion of map, from the <i>Théâtre François</i> , published at Tours, by Maurice Bouguereau, 1594. Engraved by Gabriel Tavernier, after the map of Picardy of Abraham Ortelius, published at Antwerp, 1579	90
„ XIII. <i>Cartouche</i> and portion of map, from an atlas without title containing 101 maps by Nicolas Sanson the elder—published about 1654	112
„ XIV. <i>Cartouche</i> and portion of map, from the <i>Atlas Universel</i> , Paris, 1757	118
Garden of Almshouse of Margaret Fawkyn	137
Plate XV. Objects from hoard found at Santon Downham, Suffolk	147
Enamelled bronze harness-plate (fig. 1)	149
Enamelled bronze harness-plate (fig. 2)	150
Engraved bronze peg or lynch-pin (fig. 3)	150
Ferrule of cast bronze, with section (fig. 4)	151
Ferrules of cast bronze, with sections (fig. 5)	151
Portion of bronze bridle-bit (repeated to show original form) (fig. 6)	152
Plate XVI. Objects from hoard found at Santon Downham, Suffolk	153
Embossed disc of bronze (fig. 7)	154
Engraved bronze plate with lid and movable rivets (fig. 8)	155
Plate XVII. Objects from hoard found at Santon Downham, Suffolk	158
Roman brooches of bronze (figs. 9, 10)	159
Bronze handle of Roman <i>patera</i> (fig. 11)	160
Plate XVIII. Cardinal Guala	188
„ XIX. Supposed residence of Rector from Vercelli. View from N.W. View from N.	191
„ XX. Supposed residence of Rector from Vercelli. View from S.W. Interior	191
„ XXI. Facsimile letter from Duke of Savoy to Queen Mary	196
„ XXII. Swaffham Prior, St Cyriac's (fig. 1). Sutton, Isle of Ely (fig. 2)	215
„ XXIII. Swavesey (fig. 1). Soham (fig. 2)	216
„ XXIV. Haslingfield	217

	PAGE
Plate XXV. Houses formerly fronting the Senate House (c. 1770). (From an old painting by John Marshall, aged 9 years.)	220
" " View of the Provost's Lodge, King's College (1801)	220
Map of Corsica (from Fallot, <i>Revue d'Anthropologie</i> , Tome iv, 1889), with the distribution of head-forms as distinguished by the cephalic index. (With the permission of Messrs Masson and Co., Paris) (fig. 1)	268
A sketch of Castello La Goulontia, Corsica, from a point further east than that whence Fig. 4 was taken. The village of Prato appears as dots on the hillside in the middle distance (fig. 2)	269
Plate XXVI. View of Castello La Goulontia, Corsica, from S.E. Near the summit are the remains of megalithic walls. In the distance, the mountains above Moltifao are seen (fig. 4)	269
" " Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. Part of wall E. (cf. plan Fig. 3) from the eastern side. The size of the stones may be estimated best by comparison with the stature of the guide (Ferrari) viz.: about 5 ft. 10 in. (fig. 5)	269
Elevation (below) and plan (above) of La Castello, Goulontia. The contours are drawn at distances of 10 feet. These figures are diagrammatic (fig. 3)	270
Plate XXVII. Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. The north-western angle of wall D (cf. Plan, Fig. 3) (fig. 6)	271
" " Castello La Goulontia, Corsica. Remains of doorway in wall A (cf. Plan, Fig. 3) (fig. 7)	271
" XXVIII. View of the rocky knoll called Castelluccio, from the end of the ridge known as the Porto dei Torri. The knoll is seen between the two slender fir-trees (fig. 8)	272
" " Castelluccio, Corsica. The southern aspect of the ruined wall near the summit of this knoll. The lowest stones in this wall were smaller than those of the higher courses of masonry (fig. 9)	272
" XXIX. Polydore Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (profile view) (fig. 10)	274
" " Polydore Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (full-face view) (fig. 11)	274
" " Jean-Thomas Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (profile) (fig. 12)	274
" " Jean-Thomas Alfonsi, Calasima, Corsica (full-face view) (fig. 13)	274
Map of Godmanchester (fig. 1)	281

	PAGE
Plate XXX. Urns and vessels from Roman Cemetery, Godmanchester	282
„ XXXI. Urn, marked with a Cross, Roman Cemetery, Godmanchester	282
Ground plan of Cemetery at Godmanchester (fig. 2)	283
Fig. 3	284
Plate XXXII. The Old Court Hall, Godmanchester	284
„ „ Objects from Roman Cemetery, Godmanchester	284
Laconia. First century A.D., AE ² . l. 15 (fig. 4)	285
The Arcadians. Antinous d. c. A.D. 130. AE ³ . 75 (fig. 5)	285
Fig. 6	287
Plate XXXIII	294

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CONTENTS

OF PROCEEDINGS, No. LIV.

VOL. XIII. (NEW SERIES, VOL. VII.) No. 3.

	PAGE
Runic Inscriptions. H. M. CHADWICK, M.A. (n. p.)	223
An Ancestor's Escape from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. C. P. ALLIX, M.A.	224
The Shops at the West End of Great St Mary's Church. G. J. GRAY .	235
On Four MS. Books of Accounts kept by Joseph Mead, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, with his pupils between 1614 and 1633. Dr JOHN PEILE, F.B.A.	250
Ancient Footgear. W. B. REDFERN	262
Notes on Corsica (Plates XXVI—XXIX, Three Text Figures). Dr W. L. H. DUCKWORTH	267
Greek Coins and Syrian Arrowhead from a Roman Cemetery at Godmanchester (Plates XXX—XXXII, Six Text Figures). Rev. F. G. WALKER, M.A.	280
Sixty-ninth Annual General Meeting	291
The Zodiac Club (Plate XXXIII). R. BOWES	292
General Index for Vol. XIII.	319