

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1920—MAY 1921

WITH
Communications
MADE TO THE SOCIETY

No. LXXI.
BEING THE TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME.
(SEVENTEENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES.)



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1922

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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Printed papers: Brindley, H. H., M.A., Ships in the Cambridge "Life of the Confessor." Fletcher, W. M., M.D., Sc.D., More Old Playing Cards found in Cambridge. Hughes, Prof. T. McK., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Flints.

Proceedings, 1914-15. With Communications during same period, and Report for year 1913-14. No. LXVII. pp. 1-106. Plates I-XIX and illustrations in text. Price 7s. 6d. *net*.

Printed papers: Coulton, G. G., M.A., Medieval Graffiti, especially in the Eastern Counties. Edleston, R. H., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., The Monumental Brasses of Spain. Hughes, Prof. T. McK., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., (1) Acoustic Vases in Ancient Buildings, (2) Objects found in the King's Ditch under the Masonic Hall. Parsons, Miss C. E., Cambridgeshire Witchcraft. Wardale, J. R., M.A., The Maker of the Iron Gates at Clare College.

Proceedings, 1915-16. With Communications during same period, and Reports for years 1914-15 and 1915-16. No. LXVIII. pp. 1-173. Plates I-XXIV and other illustrations. Price 10s. *net*.

Printed papers: Brindley, H. H., M.A., The Ship of the Seal of Paris. Cunningham, Ven. Archdeacon, D.D., F.B.A., Cambridgeshire Materials for the History of Agriculture. Druce, G. C., F.S.A., Animals in Mediaeval Sculpture. Gardner, Samuel, English Gothic Foliage Sculpture. Haverfield, Prof. F. J., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Arretine Fragments in Cambridgeshire. Hief, F. R. G., B.A., Roman and Saxon Antiquities found near Kettering. Hughes, Prof. T. McK., F.R.S., F.S.A., Dr Dale's Visits to Cambridge, 1722-1738. Powell, Edgar, B.A., and others, The Hearth Taxes for the Town of Cambridge, A.D. 1664 and 1674. Scott, Hugh, M.A., F.L.S., Early Clay Tobacco-pipes found near Barton Road, Cambridge. Stokes, Rev. H. P., LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A. (1) Wayside Crosses in Cambridge, (2) Cambridge Bellmen.

Proceedings, 1916-17. With Communications and Report, No. LXIX. pp. 1-110. Plates I-VIII and other illustrations. Price 10s. *net*.

Printed papers: Boughey, Rev. A. H. F., M.A., (1) Ancient Church Bells in Cambridge, (2) Heraldry of King's Hall and Michael House. Brindley, H. H., M.A., Notes on Mediaeval Ships. Gray, Arthur, M.A., Professor McKenny Hughes: his contributions to Archaeology. Hope, Sir William St John, Litt.D., D.C.L. The Twelfth-Century Pulpitum or Roodloft formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely; with some notes on similar screens in English Cathedral and Monastic churches.

Proceedings, 1917-20. With Communications and Reports. No. LXX. pp. 1-134. Plates I-XI and other illustrations. Price 15s. *net*.

Printed papers: Allen, F. J., M.D., The Ruined Mill, or Round Church of the Norsemen, at Newport, Rhode Island, U.S.A., compared with the Round Church at Cambridge and others in Europe. Cranage, Rev. D. H. S., Litt.D., F.S.A., and Stokes, Rev. H. P., LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., The Augustinian Friary in Cambridge, and the History of its Site. Griffin, Ralph, F.S.A., In Memoriam: Sir William Henry St John Hope. Parsons, Miss C. E., Notes on Horseheath Schools and other Village Schools in Cambridgeshire. Pearce, Rev. E. C., D.D., College Accounts of John Botwright, Master of Corpus Christi, 1443-74. Porter, N. Teulon, and Mrs Porter, Report on the Objects of Antiquarian Interest found in the Coprolite Diggings during 1917 and 1918.

**CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS**

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

VOL. XXIII.



NEW SERIES.

VOL. XVII.

1920—1921.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SOLD BY DEIGHTON, BELL & CO., LTD.; AND BOWES & BOWES.
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1922.

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

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, 1920—21.

Adopted at the Ordinary Meeting on December 5th, 1921.

Thirteen new members have been elected, but the losses by death, resignation, and neglect to pay subscription, have just equalled the additions, so that the total number of members is now the same as it was a year ago, as may be seen in the following figures:

	October 1920	October 1921
Honorary Members	9	8
Ordinary Members	297	297
Associate Members	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
	<u>321</u>	<u>321</u>

Twelve ordinary meetings were held, as against ten in the previous year. The average attendance at the meetings increased from 51 in 1919—20 to 55 in 1920—21.

The following communications were made:

H. H. Brindley, M.A., F.S.A., (1) "An unpublished letter to Colbert in 1677 from a correspondent in London (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mélanges Colbert*, Vol. 175)." May 30, 1921.

(2) "The Ship from the XII to the XX Century." Nov. 1, 1920.

Rev. Dom R. Bede Camm, M.A., O.S.B., "Evolution of the Rood Screen." Feb. 28, 1921.

Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, Litt.D., F.S.A., "Gothic Architecture in Spain." Jan. 24, 1921.

O. G. S. Crawford, B.A., "The Archaeological Survey of Great Britain, with special reference to Cambridgeshire." Jan. 31, 1921.

- I. H. Evans, "Pagan Tribes of Borneo." Oct. 18, 1920.
- Cyril Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture in the Cambridge District." Feb. 14, 1921.
- A. Gray, M.A., "The first English Settlement of Cambridgeshire." May 9, 1921.
- J. M. Gray, B.A., "University Hostels in the XIII Century." March 14, 1921.
- Ralph Griffin, F.S.A., "Monumental Brasses in England." Nov. 15, 1920.
- R. Morton Nance, "Killicks: a study in the Evolution of Anchors." May 23, 1921.
- Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., (1) "Forest Laws in Cambridgeshire." May 30, 1921.
- (2) "History of Great and Little Wilbraham." Nov. 29, 1920.

EXCURSIONS.

Three excursions have been undertaken. On May 19th the Fleam Dyke was visited at the point where the Icknield Way crosses it, and Mr Cyril Fox explained and demonstrated the sections which he and Dr Palmer had cut for the occasion. Professor Sir W. Ridgeway discussed the age of the structure. Members then walked along the Dyke to Fulbourn Fen, and thence to Wilbraham. They were entertained to tea in the beautiful garden of the Temple by the kindness of Captain and Mrs Hicks, to whom they are further indebted for showing them the ancient parts of the house and the stewponds of the Templars and Hospitallers. The party then proceeded to Great Wilbraham Church, where the Vicar (the Rev. H. H. Appleford) and Dr Cranage pointed out interesting features. The return was through Little Wilbraham, where the Rector, Dr Stokes, explained the architecture and showed the ancient plate. The party numbered 150 persons.

On June 23rd, by the kindness of Mr J. Dimmock, a party of 35 visited Denny Abbey and inspected the remains of the monastic buildings of the Benedictines, Knights Templars and Minoress Nuns, whose history was recounted by the Master of Jesus College. On the return journey the party visited Landbeach Church, and the interesting 13th century portions of the

Rectory were shown to them by the Rev. J. T. and Mrs Lang. On reaching Milton Church they were met by Canon Evans, who explained the architecture and showed the plate.

On July 28th, by the kindness of Lord Braybrooke, to whom the Society is greatly indebted, a party of 100 assembled at Audley End. The origin of the building now used as stables, and its possible connection with Walden Abbey, was discussed by Dr Cranage. A tour of the house was then made, and some members visited the museum, all proceeding afterwards to the Almshouses. After tea Saffron Walden Church was visited, and the Rev. G. M. Benton and Dr Cranage gave an account of its architecture. The excursion ended with a visit to Strethall Church, where Dr Cranage pointed out the Saxon parts of the building.

REPORT OF SECRETARY FOR EXCAVATIONS.

Early in 1921 it was decided by the Council that the excavation of selected sites which had necessarily been discontinued during the war should be recommenced; and it was thought that a systematic attempt ought to be made by the Society to determine by excavation the date of the Cambridgeshire Dykes.

As a preliminary, it was desirable to know how many dykes we had to deal with; and a week's digging in February proved that the ramp which carries Worstead Street across the Gog Magog Hills was an example of Roman civil engineering, and not the partially levelled bank of a pre-Roman Dyke, as had been the opinion of many. The Dykes within the county borders therefore are four in number.

Four months' work on the Fleam Dyke followed. The investigation was carried out by Dr W. M. Palmer and Mr Cyril Fox, at the sole charge of Dr Palmer, to whose generosity the Society is much indebted. The original profile of the fosse was demonstrated, also the mode of construction of the vallum; and important evidence bearing on the date of the entrenchment was obtained. The completion of the investigation was however unavoidably held over to next season, when it is hoped also to examine an Early Iron Age site at Foxton, and to carry out further work at the War Ditches.

Due acknowledgement of the courtesy shown by land owners and tenants in permitting the excavations at Worstead Street and Fleam Dyke will be made in the detailed Reports thereon.

CYRIL FOX.

15 October 1921.

REPORT OF HON. LIBRARIAN.

The Board of Archaeological and Anthropological Studies appointed a Library Committee early in the year, and part of the Keyser Hall has been fitted up as an additional library to accommodate the Anthropological books formerly kept upstairs. The two libraries have been amalgamated, and there is now one author catalogue and one shelf list (which forms a kind of subject catalogue) for all the books and pamphlets in the building, and one catalogue of periodicals received from all sources.

Books and pamphlets have been presented by Messrs C. J. P. Cave, S. T. Cowles, W. Gandy, N. T. Porter, C. E. Sayle, F. Sebley and Professor E. S. Prior; also by the Liverpool Corporation and the Finnish Archaeological Society, through the kind offices of Dr Minns. Illustrations have been received from Messrs G. B. Bowes, S. T. Cowles, and N. T. Porter.

ETHEL S. FEGAN.

15 October 1921.

The Volume of *Proceedings and Communications*, No. LXX, for the three years 1917—20, has been issued.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1920—21

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|--|
| 1920. | Oct. 18. | Miss Ida Holben.
Capt. L. W. G. Malcolm.
Miss C. J. Clabbon Crisp.
Edward Millington Beloe, F.S.A. |
| | Nov. 29. | Miss A. M. Gurney, M.D. Edin., D.P.H. |
| 1921. | Jan. 17. | Ralph Griffin, F.S.A. |
| | March 14. | Percy Hughes Dudley, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
Talbot Peel, M.A.
Mrs Peel (as Associate).
Mrs E. S. Michell. |
| | April 25. | Miss Kathleen V. Wetherall.
John Targett.
Miss Norah Kershaw. |

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER 1920.

CURRENT ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Balance brought forward from 1919	163 1 5	By Miscellaneous Printing	24 18 0
„ Subscriptions:		„ Books, Stationery, etc.	1 18 6
Current	231 0 0	Subscriptions:	
Associate	8 8 0	Archaeological Congress	1 0 0
Advance	2 2 0	Earthworks Reports	15 0 0
Library	2 2 0	Local Accessions	30 0 0
Excavations	10 6		
	<u>244 2 6</u>		
„ Interest on £420 G. E. R. 4 per cent Deb. Stock	11 15 2	„ Clerical Assistance, etc.:	
„ Interest on £118. 4s. 10d. New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock	4 2 8	Secretary	50 0 0
„ Interest on £39. 6s. 8d. Bank of England Stock	2 15 2	Library grant	17 7 4
„ Interest on £350 5 per cent. Exchequer Bonds	12 5 0	Attendants for Lectures	13 6 0
	<u>30 18 0</u>	Messrs Bowes & Bowes, Stock-Room	1 1 0
„ Sale of Publications:		Custodian of Cellarer's Checker	1 6 0
Messrs Bowes & Bowes	2 0 1		
„ Daigton, Bell & Co.	3 14 5	„ Postage, carriage, and sundries	7 6 0
Sundry Publications	9 12 11	„ Insurance	12 0 0
	<u>15 7 5</u>	„ Income tax	3 1 6
Donation to Wilburton Hoard Fund.	5 0 0	„ Subscriptions refunded	
	<u>£458 9 4</u>		
		Balance carried forward	153 17 10
			<u>304 11 6</u>
			<u>£458 9 4</u>

DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>		
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward from 1919		254 18 3	Balance as per Bank Book	310 5 4
Jan. 5. To 2 Life Members	21 0 0			
April 10. To 1 Life Member	10 10 0			
June 21. To Interest	6 1 0			
July 16. To 1 Life Member	10 10 0			
Dec. 18. To Interest	7 6 1			
		55 7 1		
		<u>£310 5 4</u>		<u>£310 5 4</u>

EXCAVATION ACCOUNT.

To Balance brought forward from 1919	80 17 10	Balance as per Bank Book	90 1 4
„ Subscriptions	9 3 6		
	<u>£90 1 4</u>		<u>£90 1 4</u>

EXCAVATION DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

To Balance brought forward from 1919	18 12 6	Balance as per Bank Book	19 2 0
June 21. To Interest	4 3		
Dec. 18. „	5 3		
	<u>9 6</u>		
	<u>£19 2 0</u>		<u>£19 2 0</u>

The Capital of the Society consists of the following securities :

- £420 G. E. Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
- £118. 4s. 10d. New Zealand 3½% Inscribed Stock.
- £39. 6s. 8d. Bank of England Stock.
- £350 5% Exchequer Bonds.

Audited and found to agree with the Bank Books and Vouchers, showing Balances as follows :

	£	s.	d.
On Current Account	304	11	6
„ Deposit Account	310	5	4
„ Excavation Account	90	1	4
„ „ Deposit Account	19	2	0
	<u>£724</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>

Against the above balance there is a liability estimated at not less than £180 for work in hand but not completed.

(Signed) J. B. PEACE }
 G. B. BOWES } Auditors.

January 19, 1921.

ORDINARY MEETINGS WITH COMMUNICATIONS,
MICHAELMAS TERM 1920, AND LENT AND
EASTER TERMS, 1921.

Monday 18 October, 1920.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

Mr I. H. EVANS gave a lecture, illustrated with lantern views, on THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO, describing their manner of life, clothes, houses, markets, etc.

Monday 1 November, 1920.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

Mr H. H. BRINDLEY, M.A., F.S.A., gave a lecture entitled THE SHIP FROM THE XII TO THE XX CENTURY. With the aid of lantern views, the evolution of the "forecastles" and "aftercastles" was shown, as well as that of the decks, masts, rigging, steering, and the decoration of the hull.

Monday 15 November, 1920.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

Mr RALPH GRIFFIN, F.S.A., gave a lecture entitled AN ELEMENTARY ACCOUNT OF MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN ENGLAND, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE AS OBJECTS OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST. The lecture was illustrated with specimens of brass-rubbings and with lantern views. The lecturer classified the brasses as (1) those with inscriptions only, and (2) those with figures; and the figure brasses he subdivided into ecclesiastical, military, and civil. He considered that brasses with inscriptions only were unduly neglected, for they are often full of historical interest. He mentioned that foreign brasses are always quadrangular plates with figures engraved on them, whereas English brasses in most instances consist of figures cut free from background. The origin of the English method was probably economy of metal, but the result was an artistic advantage. Another purely English feature is the cross-legged figure, whether in brasses or in the marble and stone effigies which preceded them.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, Dr CRANAGE suggested that as soon as it could be managed, an exhibition of the collection of brass-rubbings in the Museum should be held. The collection is of many sources, and includes the beautiful rubbings made by the late Mr Crisp.

Monday 29 November, 1920.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

A lecture was given by Canon STOKES, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., on THE HISTORY OF GREAT AND LITTLE WILBRAHAM. The name Wilbraham, according to Skeat, is derived from *Wilburgeham*, meaning "the Home of Wilburh," this name being that of a lady. The lecturer showed that at all periods the two parishes of Wilbraham present touches with English national history: and if the old legend could be believed, Wilbraham would be the mother of the Cambridge University; for Pender, the legendary founder, was a Wilbraham man.

Monday 24 January, 1921.

By invitation of the Anglo-Spanish Society, a conjoint meeting was held, the Chair being occupied by Sir ARTHUR SHIPLEY, President of that society.

The Rev. D. H. S. CRANAGE, Litt.D., F.S.A., gave a lecture on GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN, illustrated with lantern views. The lecturer showed how the Gothic forms, introduced from France, were modified by the Spanish ritual customs and by the influence of the many Moorish buildings, which the builders could not help imitating in some details, though they seem to have had conscientious objections to any close copying. These influences, added to the indigenous or truly Spanish features, give to many of the buildings of Spain a very peculiar but nevertheless very fascinating character. The destructive effects of the Reformation being absent from Spain, the churches are remarkably rich in church furniture, metal work, and pictures.

Monday 31 January, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council for 1919-20, and the Treasurer's Balance Sheet for 1919, were presented and adopted.

Mr O. G. S. CRAWFORD, B.A., Archaeology Officer to the Ordnance Survey, gave a lecture on THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CAMBRIDGESHIRE. The lecturer explained that it was intended to mark as accurately as possible the locality of all archaeological finds, in the new Ordnance Survey maps on the 6-inch scale; and he asked the co-operation of the members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in obtaining and communicating accurate information on the subject.

In the discussion which followed, Dr Haddon mentioned that in his experience, when ethnological data were plotted on a map, they often showed up unexpected relations, and led to further discoveries.

Monday 14 February, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

Mr CYRIL FOX, Research Student in Archaeology, gave a lecture on ANGLO-SAXON MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN THE CAMBRIDGE DISTRICT, which is printed at page 15.

Monday 28 February, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

The Rev. Dom R. BEDE CANN, O.S.B., M.A., gave a lecture, with lantern illustrations, on THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROOD SCREEN, in which he traced the origin of its several features from the triple arches between the nave and presbytery, the "ambos" from which the Epistle and Gospel were read, and other features of early churches, and its development into the elaborate structure of stone or wood in the later churches.

Monday 14 March, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

The MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE read a paper written by his son, Mr J. M. GRAY, B.A., of King's College, on UNIVERSITY

HOSTELS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. The paper gave details concerning several of the Cambridge hostels, which the author had collected from various documents. It was shown that the hostels were largely under the management of the scholars, who in fact owned more property than did the University. The hostels were gradually superseded by colleges; but all the earlier colleges arose from pre-existing institutions, either hostels or monastic houses, and occupied their buildings.

In the discussion which followed, Dr STOKES remarked that he himself had been for some time working at the history of the hostels, and had collected particulars of as many as 130 of them.

Monday 9 May, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

Mr ARTHUR GRAY, M.A., Master of Jesus College, gave a lecture on THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE, in which he pointed out, among many other interesting facts, that Cambridgeshire was divided between the kingdoms of Mercia and East Anglia, one of the results being that the names of the Hundreds in the Mercian portion are still derived from villages, as is also the case in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire; whereas the names of Hundreds in the East Anglian portion are derived from spots where moots were held, such as Chilford, Flendish, and Radfield. The lecturer also showed that probably the whole county was occupied by the Angles, and nearly all the villages settled and named, before the incursion of the Danes; for the place-names ending in *-by* and *-thorpe*, Danish terminations so frequent in Norfolk and Lincolnshire, are entirely absent from Cambridgeshire, the only true Danish name in the county being *Toft*. Most if not all Cambridgeshire names were thus applied before the year 650.

Monday 23 May, 1921.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

A paper entitled KILLICKS: A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF ANCHORS, written by Mr R. MORTON NANCE, was read by

Mr Brindley, the author!being unable to attend in person, on account of the great distance of his home in Cornwall.

The paper, which is printed at page 46, was illustrated with lantern views, and with a number of exquisite small models of Killicks made by the author.

Monday 30 May, 1921.

EIGHTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Professor PRIOR, President, in the Chair.

The new Officers and Members of Council for the ensuing year were elected. (See list on next page.)

The following new law, which the Council desired to add to the Laws of the Society, was submitted to the Meeting by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, and duly ratified.

“Any member of the Council who shall not have attended half the Council meetings of the Academic Year shall cease to be a member unless for special reason approved by the Council.”
(New Law XVI.)

The following communications were given :

1. By Mr H. H. BRINDLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

An UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO COLBERT in 1677 from a correspondent in London. (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mélanges Colbert*, Vol. 175.) Printed at page 86.

2. By the Rev. H. P. STOKES, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.

FOREST LAWS IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Included in the paper on CAMBRIDGESHIRE “FORESTS,” printed at page 63.

NEW OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1921-22

ELECTED 30 MAY, 1921.

PRESIDENT.

SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., F.B.A., Gonville and Caius College,
Disney Professor of Archaeology.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

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

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

CYRIL F. FOX, *Red Gables, Milton Road.*

EDWARD SCHRODER PRIOR, M.A., F.S.A., A.R.A., Gonville and
Caius College, *Slade Professor of Fine Art.*

ALFRED CORT HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., Christ's College.

HAROLD HULME BRINDLEY, M.A., F.S.A., St John's College.

TREASURER.

HERBERT FLACK BIRD, 30, *Panton Street.*

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

FRANK JAMES ALLEN, M.D., St John's College. 8, *Halifax Road.*

EXCURSION SECRETARY.

MISS M. E. MONCKTON JONES, *Barton.*

For complete list of Officers see next page.

LIST OF OFFICERS, 1921-22.

PRESIDENT.

SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., F.B.A., Gonville and Caius College,
Disney Professor of Archaeology.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Rev. HENRY PAINE STOKES, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., Corpus Christi
College.

Rev. ANCHITEL HARRY FLETCHER BOUGHEY, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity
College.

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

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ANGLO-SAXON MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN THE CAMBRIDGE DISTRICT.

By CYRIL FOX.

(Read February 14, 1921.)

There are two classes of monumental sculptured stones found in the Cambridge district which are the subject of this paper: free-standing crosses and sepulchral slabs or grave-covers¹. All, save one or two which will be specially noted, are carved out of Northamptonshire stone from the Barnack quarries.

The decorative element common to all these which justifies their being considered together is plaitwork, or interlacing patterns, disposed in panels. In addition to interlacing motifs, a simple battlement key pattern is found on the upright crosses; and there is a wide range of design in the form and detail of the crosses on the grave-covers which are on these the main decorative feature, and govern the distribution of the plaitwork panels².

I. FREE-STANDING CROSSES.

Portions of crosses have been found at the following places in Cambridgeshire:

Cambridge [Castle] and Fulbourn (*crossheads*); Stapleford (*base and shaft*); Willingham (*portion of shaft and head?*); Rampton (*portion of shaft?*).

The two crossheads are of wheel type, 14½ to 15" in diameter and 4¼" in thickness; to each there remains a few inches of shaft. Both are in the Cambridge Museum³.

¹ One site yielded a few plain headstones which will also be dealt with.

² Practically all the remains of Saxon work of the type we are dealing with that have been found in the district are illustrated. Drawings were preferred to photographs, as it was desired to emphasise the design rather than the present condition of the surface, and to restore fragmentary stones where possible. The same scale ($\frac{1}{20}$) is used throughout; where the dimensions of the original are unknown the fact is noted. To save space detailed descriptions and measurements of the sculptures are omitted from the text.

³ Cambridge Museum = Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

The Cambridge Castle example (Plate I) was found under the south-east rampart of the bailey in 1810 (see p. 20). The arms of the cross are united by a fillet, and there is a central boss. Four-cord plaits decorate both back and front of the shaft, and on one side (the other is broken away) is a battlement key pattern.

The Fulbourn cross (Plate I) was found in 1869 under the floor of the nave of St Vigor's Church. On the head is a band of angular strap-work forming a knot below the boss, and on the shaft the commencement apparently of a regular open six-cord plait which has been restored in the sketch¹. The back is similar to the front but simpler. Both sides of the shaft show the key pattern.

The Stapleford base and shaft (Plate I) is preserved in the Church. There are panels on either side of the base; both sides of the shaft show the key pattern; elsewhere are panels of four-cord plaitwork. The panel on the back is incomplete, and has not been restored in the sketch: on the front though the design is nearly lost by the surface decay of the stone it is recoverable, and can be restored with certainty. The monument is monolithic, and of sandstone?

Before discussing the fragmentary examples from Willingham and Rampton, which offer difficulties, it will be desirable to consider whether these three crosses were alike and what their appearance was when complete. Our analysis will be more readily carried out if reference is made to a cross found in the churchyard at Whissonsett, Norfolk² (Plate II). The head shows chainwork formed from a Stafford knot (type no. 1, J. R. Allen)³, around the central boss; the shaft a double row of Stafford knots of the same type on the front, and on the back a rudely wrought close four-cord plait with double bands. On one side of the shaft is the key pattern, on the other a three-cord plait.

If the sketch of the Stapleford Cross be re-examined the springing of the crosshead will be observed close to the upper

¹ A similar plait occurs on a cross shaft at Brompton near Northallerton.

² Described and illustrated by Mr W. G. Collingwood, *Norf. Arch.* vol. xv, pp. 316 ff.

³ *Celtic Art*, 2nd ed. p. 268.

edge of the side panel; it is clear that it was monolithic, and has been broken off at its weakest point, below the horizontal arms¹.

The appearance of the springing of the Whissonsett shaft is exactly the same; the two fragmentary crosses supplement each other, and we may with some assurance reconstruct each of them as has been done in the sketches.

The Fulbourn and Cambridge crossheads, re-examined in the light of this evidence, are seen to be also of identical type: they are therefore reconstructed in a similar manner.

We have now a clear idea of the original appearance of these East Anglian Crosses: they were lavishly decorated, probably all monolithic, small (2' 8" in height upwards)² and, it may be, the product of a single workshop. The occurrence of the rare battlement key pattern on all four is striking evidence of the unity of the group³. The strap-work on the head of the Fulbourn Cross moreover is clearly a simplification—suited to a crosshead of small dimensions—of the Whissonsett chainwork, while the break between the plaitwork on the shaft and head is in both cases treated in the same manner.

The Willingham and Rampton fragments may now be considered.

Willingham. During restoration of the church in 1891–4⁴ three stones showing plaitwork, which had been recut in XII⁵ to form part of the angle shafts of a Late Norman doorway were found in the chancel walls. These are now built up with a Norman cap and base in the south porch; the plaitwork designs on the back can be examined with the aid of a looking glass.

¹ Rev. G. M. Benton; in *Antiquary*, 1910, XLVI, p. 229.

² The type may have ranged up to 4'. I have reconstructed the Whissonsett Cross as one of 3' 6", which is the minimum which the design permits. Whissonsett may have been taller, but since the closely related Stapleford Cross is under 3', it is unlikely that it was part of a "high cross" as Collingwood suggested (p. 316, *loc. cit.*).

³ There are I think only three other examples of this pattern in England; one on a cross shaft probably of x–xi cent. at Bolton, Lancs., the others rudely incised on crosses at Lastingham, Yorks., and St Bees, Cumberland. R. Allen, *Early Xtian. Mon. Scot.* p. 331, records its existence on three Scottish monuments.

⁴ *C.A.S. Proc.* vol. ix, p. 13.

⁵ The centuries are thus indicated in order to economise space.

The diagram (Plate II) shows the Norman shaft and the Saxon carvings. The middle fragment (B) will be considered first. The apparent asymmetry of the plaitwork is its most striking feature. Apart from the irregularity of the upper plaits, it is seen that the two loops are not vertically over the crossing place of the lower plaits. Many cases are met with in the local X-XI century work where a design is intended to be symmetrical but fails to be so owing to the craftsman's lack of skill; the latter irregularity may thus be an example of inferior technique; but the irregularity of the upper plaits is clearly of a different order, and inherent in the design. After attempting many solutions the writer is convinced that fragment B forms part of a crosshead of East Anglian type closely resembling Fulbourn, but differing in detail. Reconstruction on these lines satisfactorily accounts for the separate plait patterns in close conjunction, for this is a feature of the design on head and shaft at Whissonsett and Fulbourn.

The lower fragment (C), showing a portion of a panel of plaitwork, is thought to be part of the shaft of the cross, with a four-cord plait decoration the head of which is on the upper stone. A six-cord plait is possible, but symmetry cannot be obtained by either form: and the four-cord seems the best solution. (See footnote 2, p. 27.)

Other points serve to commend this reconstruction.

(i) The dimensions of the fragment being known, the diameter of the cross head, if it be part of a cross of East Anglian type, can be fixed within a narrow limit of error, at 18". This is the diameter of the Whissonsett crosshead. (ii) The restoration provides a reason for the curious incompleteness of the design on the middle fragment. If it were desired to cut a block $5\frac{1}{2}$ " wide¹ and 10" long out of a Saxon cross, the Norman mason was bound to select the central portion in order to avoid the holes pierced between the arms.

The length of the shaft cannot it is clear be deduced from the existing remains. But, granted the correctness of the solution, it seems likely that a height (3' 1") intermediate between

¹ The shaft of the Norman column is in section $\frac{3}{4}$ of a circle; thus the face on which the plaitwork is carved is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth.

that of Whissonsett and Stapleford is probable, and that the Stapleford base may safely be used in the reconstruction.

We can therefore state that the Willingham cross was in size, design and decoration similar to the three other existing crosses of East Anglian type; and was probably a product of the same workshop as these.

The upper fragment (A) shows a design of different character; it is clearly part of a grave-cover with a central cross shaft and side panels, and will be dealt with later. It may here be noted (1) that the Norman masons were dealing with a stone of less thickness than the others (see vertical section, Plate II) and that, in fact, our grave-covers are usually thinner than our upright crosses; and (2) that it had not originally the close connection with the other fragments that it has at present, for the Norman mouldings on the outer face do not correspond.

Rampton. Among the numerous fragments of carved stone recently found in the Church (see p. 22) is one which shows a close plait apparently of four cords; there are faint indications that the head of the panel was oval (Plate VI). It was probably part of the shaft of a cross, but of what type is uncertain. Partial restoration only has been attempted¹.

II. GRAVE-COVERS.

Grave-covers showing plaitwork and fragments of similar sculptured slabs are known from eight sites in or near Cambridge. These are:

Cambridge, Castle (nos. 1-8); Cambridge, Little St Mary's Ch. (nos. 9-10); Grantchester Ch. (nos. 11-13); Rampton Ch. (nos. 14-18); Little Shelford Ch. (nos. 19-23); Stretham Ch. (no. 24); Whittlesford Ch. (nos. 25-26); Willingham Ch. (nos. 27-28).

Only one perfect grave-cover (no. 1) exists, it is in the Cambridge Museum. There are drawings of five other perfect stones (nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), of which portions of two survive, also in the Cambridge Museum. The rest are fragmentary. Seven

¹ There are no recorded crosses of Whissonsett type in East Anglia other than those we have considered. There are, indeed, portions probably of cross shafts, at Hitcham, Suff. and Barking, Essex, showing plaitwork, but the style of the plaits does not resemble that of our group. Of the character of Owin's cross at Ely too little is known to render discussion here profitable.

(nos. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 28) can be restored with varying degrees of certainty; partial reconstruction of most of the others is possible. The largest stone (no. 3) measured 70" by 22" at the head, and 19" at the foot, the smallest (no. 20) 55" by 20" at head and 15" at foot¹. The thickness of the several stones varies; 4" is usual but 5" and even 6" has been noted. None is coped.

Cambridge Castle. The most important series is that from a graveyard on the Castle Hill, Cambridge; the site formed part of the area occupied by the Norman Castle, and all save one of the stones were discovered under the ramparts of the bailey on the south-east side of the Gatchouse, when these were levelled in 1810.

Five complete slabs (nos. 2-6, Plates III, IV, V and VII) and portions of two others (nos. 7 (Plate IV) and 8) were found in this year, together with the head of a wheel cross already mentioned, and a number of rude gravestones intended to be set upright (see p. 26); and on a subsequent occasion another grave-cover (no. 1, Plate III) was found six feet deep a few yards outside the rampart². The gravestones and five of the eight slabs are lost, but fortunately these were drawn in 1812 by the Rev. T. Kerrich, University Librarian, who published them in *Archaeologia*³. Bowtell's MS. (Downing College) gives additional information relating to the discovery.

The question as to whether the graveyard was earlier than

¹ These are close approximations.

² Stones nos. 2 and 3 have had a curious history. Discovered in 1810 they were in use as paving stones in the "Spinning House," St Andrew's St., until 1910; in this year that building was demolished and one half of each was recovered and handed over to the Cambridge Museum.

³ See *Archaeologia*, vol. xvii, p. 228, Plates XV-XVI: *Arch. Journ.* vol. xii, p. 201, *C.A.S. Proc.* 1885-6, pp. lvii-lix and 1882-3, p. lxxviii. The illustrations in *Archaeologia* are not satisfactory. Fortunately, Kerrich's original drawings from which these were made are in the British Museum (B.M. *Addit. MS.* 6735, fol. 50-1), and the drawings accompanying this paper are the result of a collation of the two records. The following points are of importance. (1) The cross arms of no. 4 in Kerrich's drawing project to the edge of the stone, the margins of which appear to be rounded; the surface of the cross appears flat. (2) The overlapping of the (normal) four-cord plaits in the upper panels of no. 5 is only indicated in one place in K.'s drawing. The lower right hand panel is a normal three-cord plait apart from the puzzling irregularity in the centre which is accurately

the Norman East rampart is of great importance, and the evidence, though not as clear and definite as one could wish¹, permits I think an answer in the affirmative. Kerrich definitely states that these grave-covers were *under* the original ramparts. Bowtell fixes their position (MS. vol. II, p. 161) at the point indicated above. He adds that the seven grave-covers found here (apparently all together), were "within about 4" under the surface"—presumably the original surface after the rampart had been levelled. The only grave-cover of our group not in this position (no. 1) was probably buried under the material heaped up to form the counterscarp of the rampart.

Stone coffins were not, it would appear, associated with these burials; the slabs and the headstones marked on ground level the sites of the graves.

When the lines of William's new castle were drawn out, we may conjecture that the southern rampart of the bailey cut across this graveyard. Such monuments as lay on the line of the ditch and within the bailey were destroyed; those on the line of the rampart and counterscarp were buried deep, and preserved undisturbed until our time.

A brief note on the grave-covers from the other sites in the district follows; nearly all are figured in the plates; and where reconstruction offers difficulty reasons for the solution proposed in the drawing are given.

Cambridge, Little St Mary's Church. Nos. 9 and 10 (Plate VI). Two fragments, evidently of two grave-covers, are built into the south wall of the vestry. No. 9 cannot have been a single panel as at first sight it appears to have been; for the angles are unequal. The spaces between the plaits in no. 10 are rudely and deeply incised, and the surface is flat (no "over" and "under"). (See foot-note 3, p. 38.)

Grantchester Church. Five fragments, apparently of three grave-covers, built into the south aisle wall.

reproduced in *Archaeologia*. The foot of the slab is broken. (3) No. 6 is a pretty design in K.'s drawing; the draughtsman of A. has debased it. It is probable that stones 4, 5, and 6 were drawn to the scale used in my Plates for existing sculptures, and are therefore strictly comparable with these; but 7 was apparently drawn to a larger scale. No. 8 is not reproduced.

¹ It is examined in detail in the Appendix.

No. 11 *a*, *b*, and *c* (Plate III). These fragments resemble portions of a corniced frieze; but they cannot be part of such an architectural member, for the panels of plaitwork taper. The restoration adopted in the drawing seems probable.

No. 12. A small fragment (not figured) showing loose three-cord plaitwork rather coarsely treated; it is similar to 11 but apparently not from the same stone; the central ridge appears to have been hacked away.

No. 13 (Plate VI). This fragment has been restored as "flat" plaitwork, but it may have been true "over-and-under." The design has not been met with elsewhere, but is akin to no. 20, Plate V.

Rampton Church. Twelve fragments apparently of grave-covers showing plaitwork were discovered by the Rector¹ during a recent restoration. Of these the design of two has been almost entirely obliterated. The remaining ten fragments appear to belong to five grave-covers. Very slight traces of the cross designs survive, and only two types are apparent.

No. 14 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* (Plate IV). The divisions between closely-fitting fragments are not indicated in the drawing.

No. 15 *a*, *b*, *c*, no. 16, and no. 17 (Plate IV). These three grave-covers are alike in presenting a slightly raised narrow central shaft. No trace of cross arms occurs. It may be that the complete design, which does not seem to occur elsewhere (save at Willingham, no. 27, Plate II) was that of a central rib with side panels of plaitwork extending the whole length of the stone. No. 15 is much worn.

No. 18 (Plate VI). The plaits, and the taper of the panel, resemble no. 15 but the fragment being in excellent preservation probably belongs to a separate grave-cover.

Little Shelford Church. Shows at least five examples. No. 19 (Plate IV) is in west wall and no. 20 (Plate V) in east wall of porch; nos. 21 (Plate V) and 22 (Plate VI) in south wall of Chancel². For no. 23 (Plate V) see p. 30. Partial reconstruction only of nos. 21 and 22 is possible.

¹ Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge.

² A small fragment possibly part of 21 or 22 is also to be seen in the south chancel wall.

Stretham Church. One fragment (no. 24, Plate VI) now in inner wall of south porch.

Whittlesford Church. Two fragments, apparently of two grave-covers, now in south transept. No. 25 (Plate V) is a small fragment, but reconstruction offers little difficulty¹; no. 26 is not figured. It presents the terminal portion of a panel of four-cord plaitwork of ordinary type and measures $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Willingham Church. Two fragments apparently of two grave-covers, in the south porch. For no. 27 (Plate II) see p. 19. No. 28, Plate V closely resembles no. 25 Whittlesford; the variations in detail are interesting².

Grave-covers showing designs so closely similar to our Cambridgeshire stones as to make it certain that they are work of the same school have been found scantily but widely distributed in Eastern England, as will be seen on referring to the map (Plate VIII). The following list includes all (19 in number) that the author can find record of; it is probable that numerous others exist as fragments in mediaeval church walls (the West Norfolk group for example has not previously been recorded).

The most important site—of equal importance indeed with Cambridge Castle for the study of the monuments we are considering—is Peterborough Cathedral. Restoration work in 1888 led to the discovery of several Saxon grave-covers, two being in their original position on ground level; these had been placed immediately outside the north wall of the Saxon church, and were injured but not displaced when the foundations of the Norman north transept were laid in 1118.

Three points in connection with this discovery are of importance. (1) The slabs must mark the graves of laymen, for the

¹ The segment of the circle permits the diameter of the cross to be fixed at 12"; the panel of strap-work widens towards the broken end, and the fragment therefore belongs to the foot of the grave-cover.

² A slight incision on the inner edge indicates the width of the cross shaft at $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". The arms of the cross are wider than Whittlesford, no. 25, and the divisions narrower, judging from the position of the incised line on the inside of the curve of the existing segment of the circle. The outline of the panel of plaitwork is not rectangular; in this respect the design resembles Cambridge Castle no. 2 rather than Whittlesford.

burying place of the monks was on the south side of the building¹. (2) No stone coffins were found under the slabs; the interment in each case had been in the earth only². (3) One footstone was found *in situ* and a rude headstone with cross symbol was also found. (See p. 27.) The graveyard was thus of the same character as that at Cambridge.

Grave-covers of Cambs. type found outside the County limits.

Nos. I and II. Cringleford, Norf. *Norf. Arch.* xiv, 99. Figured.

No. III. Rockland, Norf. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xli, 271. Figured.

Nos. IV and V. Beachamwell, Norf. (p. 30).

No. VI. Bodney, Norf. Fragments showing four-cord plaits. N.E. buttress of chancel.

Nos. VII and VIII. North Pickenham, Norf. Fragments probably of two grave-covers in churchyard wall.

Nos. IX and X. Ixworth, Suff. *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* iii, 298. Figured.

No. XI. London, St Benet Fink. In Guildhall Mus. *V.C.H. Middlesex* I, 170. Figured.

No. XII. Milton Bryan (Woburn, Beds.). *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xx, 356. Figured.

No. XIII. Helpston, Northants. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* xlv, p. 179. Figured.

Nos. XIV to XVIII. Peterborough Cathedral. No. XIV (Plate I) with footstone (Plate VII) *in situ*=no. 2 of *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* xix, p. 418-20 (fig. 8). Nos. XV and XVI=nos. 3 and 4 of *A.A.S.R.* above. No. XVII, not in *A.A.S.R.* These four are under floor of N. transept³. No. XVIII is now in E. aisle of N. transept⁴.

No. XIX. Lincoln Cathedral, cloister. *Lincs. N. and Q.* xiii, 163 and 176. Figured.

Classification of grave-covers of Cambs. types.

The range of design shown by the cross forms which provide the frame for the panels of interlaced work on our grave-covers is remarkable, and in them we have a convenient basis for classification. Two main groups are distinguishable; firstly grave-covers on which the cross is cut in relief, and secondly those on which it is outlined by incisions in the stone. The

¹ Dr Sweeting quoted in *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Repts.* vol. xix, p. 419.

² J. T. Irvine, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* vol. xlv, p. 180.

³ See also *Builder*, Aug. 25, 1888 and Summary in *V.C.H. Northants*, II.

⁴ This stone is slightly coped and there is no plaitwork; but its close resemblance in cross design to no. 1 Camb. Castle justifies inclusion here. It may mark the first step in the evolution of the coped coffin lid (p. 36).

Plates are arranged on the lines laid down in the analysis which follows.

Group A. Crosses cut in Relief.

Type 1. Panels of plaitwork on Latin cross. (Plate III.)

Cambridge Castle, no. 3.

Peterborough, No. XIV (see p. 38).

Type 2. Latin cross with U or V terminals. (Plate III.)

Cambridge Castle, nos. 1, 4 and 8¹. Grantchester, no. 11.

*Milton Bryan, No. XII. Lincoln, No. XIX*². (*Peterborough, No. XVIII* has points of resemblance.)

Type 3. Narrow cross shaft rounded in section; no complete example survives, and this grouping is therefore tentative. (Plates IV and II.)

Cambridge Castle, no. 7. Rampton, nos. 15, 16 and 17. Willingham, no. 27.

Helpston, No. XIII.

Group B. Incised Crosses.

Type 4. Cross paty at one or both ends; cross arms usually divide the design laterally. (Plates IV and VII.)

Cambridge Castle, nos. 5 and 6. Shelford, no. 19. Rampton, no. 14.

Peterborough, Nos. XV, XVI, XVII. Cringleford, No. I. Ixworth, No. IX.

Type 5. Cross with U or V terminal at one or both ends. (Plate V.)

Little Shelford, nos. 20, 21, 23.

London, No. XI. Ixworth, No. X.

Type 6. Cross paty in circle at either end of shaft. (Plate V.)

Cambridge Castle, no. 2. Whittlesford, no. 25. Willingham, no. 28.

Rockland, No. III.

Plate VI contains fragments too incomplete for classification.

The several types are seen to be widely distributed throughout eastern England; those with crosses in relief being the less common. Unity of style characterizes the series; but Group A, types 1 and 2, show on the whole richer work than Group A, type 3 or Group B; their technique is coarser and they present

¹ Probably. Only a small portion survives.

² Badly damaged but most probably of this type.

the most striking cross forms. Duplication of the cross at either end of the slab is a notable feature of four out of the six types.

Regular three- and four-cord loose plaits are normally used in the panels; the straps sometimes (Plate V, no. 20) have a central incised line. Occasionally there is no indication of overlap (Plate III, no. 1). There are examples of a four-cord plait ending in circular loops¹ (Plate III, no. 4) and of irregular plaits with "loose ends" (Plate III, no. 3).

III. MINOR GRAVE MONUMENTS.

In addition to the crosses and grave-covers there are a few minor monuments the existence of which has been incidentally mentioned; these though not consistently presenting interlaced ornament, are associated with the more important memorials, and cannot be entirely neglected.

They are small stones marked with a cross and have been found in our area only at Cambridge Castle; similar stones in the Peterborough district extend our knowledge of their character, and of the purposes which they served.

Two Cambridge types are known. One (type α) a rectangular stone with roughly shaped butt², the other (type β) a stone cut circle-wise with shouldered base or butt³ (Plate VII). Each was about 2' 9" high, and showed a cross rudely cut on either side; the former had a Latin cross, but the character of the symbol borne by the latter is unknown. Both types served as headstones and were associated with grave-covers⁴.

Concerning the former there is (typologically) little to be said, save that a similar stone occurs at Peterborough (Plate VII)⁵

¹ Identical with one at St Blane, R. Allen, *Early Christian Mon. Scot.* p. 412.

² Five are recorded from the Cambridge graveyard. One was found in 1809 built in the foundations of the stairs leading to the gate tower (Kerrich, *Addit. MS.* 6730, fol. 1), four in 1810, *in situ* (figured in *Archaeologia*, xvii, Plates XV and XVI, and more accurately in the Kerrich MS. (6735)).

³ Two are recorded from the Cambridge graveyard. They are drawn by Kerrich (*Addit. MS.* 6735, fol. 50-51) and figured in *Archaeologia* (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ "At the head of each grave, was found sunk in the earth a perpendicular stone about 2' 9" long with the figure of a cross cut on both sides but not letters thereon." See Bowtell MS. Downing Coll. vol. II, p. 161.

⁵ It lies in the triforium of the choir.

and that the use of such rude memorials with the Christian symbol cut thereon goes back to VII in England.

Type β appears to be equally uninteresting, but the form is found on investigation to have a remarkable history.

At Peterborough it has been mentioned that one footstone was found *in situ*, with grave-cover No. XIV. Its top was broken off, but sufficient remained to suggest that its outline was that of a circle with a shouldered base, like our Cambridge stones. Traces of a smaller, incised, apparently concentric circle were visible on what remained of the head, and there was on the base a panel of coarsely executed plaitwork (Plate VII).

It is thus demonstrated that both head- and foot-stones cut in the form of a shouldered circle were used in association with grave-covers; we have now to determine what type of cross these stones bore and the origin of the form.

At Helpston and Barnack in Northants are shouldered headstones which provide the evidence we require. One Helpston stone (Plate VII) bears a plain cross paty; it is probable that our Cambridge stones bore a similar symbol, and one is indicated by a broken line on the Plate. Another shows on its reverse side¹ what is without doubt a debased variation of the design on our free-standing crosses—Fulbourn in particular. We see the outline of the angular strap-work of the Fulbourn crosshead with all traces of the interlacing which gave meaning to the design forgotten or at least eliminated².

If further proof be needed, the Barnack headstone (built into a byre wall close to the village pond) provides it; the angular strap-work is here unmodified (Plate VII). It may be added

¹ The obverse shows a similar pattern, with the addition of two volutes which suggest a mid. XI cent. date for the headstone.

² The Helpston head (or foot) stone is of interest in another connection. It provides confirmation of the existence of a type of wheel cross which had a decoration of double looped straps at the junction of shaft and head; a type which the writer had ventured to create from the Willingham fragment. The rude bands below the head on the Helpston stone suggest a six-cord plait for the shaft of the cross of which it is the degenerate descendant; and such may have been the design of the Willingham cross. But I have not modified the reconstruction (that of a four-cord plait) there suggested (Plate II), for it seems hardly possible to get a six-cord plait in the space at one's disposal.

that the diameter of the circle of two of these three headstones is identical with that of the Fulbourn crosshead¹.

We are thus provided with links which connect up our Cambridge gravestones with the free-standing crosses typical of the district; Plate VII (the upper row) gives the sequence. This is another demonstration of the unity of the school which produced the monuments under consideration in this paper.

Distribution of the monuments in Cambridgeshire.

The sketch map (A) on Plate VIII shows the distribution of crosses, grave-covers and gravestones in the Cambridge district. It is seen that these remains are disposed, some along a strip of territory bordering the river Cam, others adjacent to the mediæval route to Ely via Aldreth. I do not know what significance to attach to this distribution. It is perhaps worth noting that three of the churches from which our sculptures derive—Willingham, Shelford and Grantchester—show remains of a pre-Conquest stone church. A fourth, Whittlesford, may perhaps be admitted.

The art of the monuments.

It will be convenient to summarize the results already obtained before proceeding to discuss the date and origins of our Cambridgeshire sculptures.

(i) Both crosses and grave-covers found in the district are alike in exhibiting pure interlaced ornament, very severe in treatment. There are no zoömorphs, no figure, flower or animal subjects, and no inscriptions.

(ii) The resemblances in design and technique between the crosses and grave-covers suggest that they are all contemporary, the product of one tradition and one school of craftsmen; the plain gravestones found at Cambridge have been shown also to be of the same school.

(iii) These craftsmen worked in an impoverished style. They were skilled in cutting hard stone (Barnack Rag) but their knowledge of interlacement design was elementary. The elaborate broken plaits and knots with which students of pre-Conquest art are familiar were beyond their capacity; and they were unable to fill any space save a rectangle with a regular plait,

¹ The third could not be accurately measured.

as may be seen on examining the T-shaped panels on Grave-cover no. 3 (Plate III) where "loose-ends" are numerous.

(iv) The general appearance of a grave-cover or cross of this school is however attractive, and suggests lack of knowledge and technical skill rather than decadence.

Apart from the Cambridge and Peterborough series such fragments as exist have usually been found reset as quoins or packed in with rubble in mediaeval church walls, and, after modern rebuilding, have been preserved as curious or decorative fragments. When one considers how small the chances of survival and discovery are, and the number which remain in a limited area round Cambridge¹, it is clear that we are dealing with a style of ecclesiastical art well established in our district.

The date of the monuments.

We may now proceed to consider the question of date. The school of which our examples are the remnants may have flourished during the two centuries before the Danish Conquest, i.e. from about 660 to 866 A.D. Or it may be work of the period 950-1066. If of the latter period work of similar type may have been produced after the Norman Conquest, i.e. up to the introduction of the coped coffin lid and the floriated cross in XII or early XIII².

Evidence for pre-Danish date (660-866 A.D.).

(1) Simple plaits like those on the grave-covers are found on buckle plates and ornaments of the Pagan period, late VI or early VII³.

(2) Elements of our cross forms are found on very early Christian monuments in this country. The incised cross paty within a circle attached to a short shaft is met with on an

¹ It is possible that three or four grave-covers, reversed, and showing the under surface only, are preserved in the south wall of the church at Stapleford, where a cross of the period has already been found.

² For the blank period 866-950 see pp. 31-32. The possibility that our sculptures may belong some to the pre-Danish, others to the post-Danish period is not discussed, the unity of style which characterizes them having it is hoped been sufficiently demonstrated.

³ See Prof. G. B. Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. III, Plate LXXIV, no. 2; vol. IV, Plate CXLV, nos. 1 and 2; vol. V, Plate XLII, (a), and fig. 28 (4).

inscribed stone from Whithorn dated about 600¹; U-shaped terminals occur on a VII cent. memorial cross slab from Lindisfarne², and in the Lindisfarne Gospels³, and the closely related solid foot with convex expansions is met with in sculptured slabs also of VII at Hartlepool².

Resemblances such as these are however of slight value as evidence of contemporaneity, and we look in vain for a monument of the pre-Danish period similar to any one of ours.

Evidence of entirely different character bearing on the problem may now be considered.

Portions of grave-covers showing panels of plaitwork entirely characteristic of our school form the central shafts and in one case the impost of Saxon bell-chamber windows in the round tower of Beachamwell Church (Norf.)⁴. This tower cannot I think be later than 1050; it might be a century earlier, for the chronological range of these double openings is wide⁵.

A similar problem is presented at Little Shelford (Cambs.). The jambs and head of a small window—evidently double splayed—associated with a sill of a slightly larger window are rebuilt in the south wall of the chancel. The jambs are cut out of a grave-cover of Group B, type 5 (Plate V). The double splay shows this window to be not earlier than late X⁶. Built into a buttress of the same church is a small monolithic angle shaft which shows a debased Ionic volute on one face of the cap, and a flat semi-roundel on the other. Similar capitals are found in late (C class, Baldwin Brown) Saxon towers⁷. This is a most important fragment, for it suggests a date in XI for the stone church of which our window formed part.

¹ Prof. Brown, *op. cit.* vol. v, Plate IV, no. 2, and p. 56.

² *Op. cit.* vol. v, Plates VI and VII. The horseshoe termination to the cross persisted however until XII (see p. 20).

³ Howorth, *Golden Days of Early English Church*, vol. III, p. 116.

⁴ For drawing my attention to these and other interesting Norfolk carvings I am indebted to the Rev. J. F. Williams, Rector of Beachamwell.

⁵ Brown, *Arts*, vol. II, pp. 299 ff. may be consulted.

⁶ *Op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 65 and 298.

⁷ *Op. cit.* vol. II, fig. 99 (VIII, XIII and XV). Capital No. XI on this plate from Barton on Humber shows a flat semicircular projection on the face resembling our example.

In two churches then dated between 950. and 1050 grave-monuments of our school are re-used as building material. That these monuments are pre-Danish, associated with churches ruined during the heathen raids seems probable; if they are post-Danish they must have been re-used as building material within a century of erection. The sequel will show whether the latter proposition can be upheld.

Evidence for post-Danish date (950–1066 A.D.).

(1) The limited range of design and lack of technical mastery of such patterns as are used on the grave-covers is in favour of post-Danish date; it does not suggest direct inheritance of or association with a great tradition. If the local school were VIII or early IX one would expect more variety in the ornament; more elaborate and accurately wrought plaits, spirals, and figure, flower and animal motifs would surely have been attempted.

The designs on the crossheads show greater skill and knowledge; but there are technically weak features on all of them, and these weaknesses are just those which strike one most forcibly in studying the grave-covers. Even Whissonsett, the finest example of the type, shows incorrect overlap of the plaits on the back of the shaft.

(2) Collingwood¹ affirms that in Yorkshire the high cross as a grave monument was replaced by the headstone in his C period, that is, in XI. This conclusion, supported by much typological evidence, appears to be justified. It is unlikely that our crosses—certainly headstones—are any earlier. The well marked base, and the character of the ornamental detail on the head are indicative of late date. The wheel cross moreover cannot in view of its Celtic origin be earlier than the latter half of IX in England².

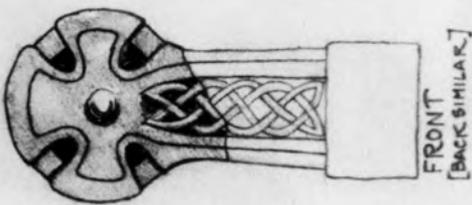
(3) The absence of plaits of Scandinavian type (Collingwood's B period 867–950)³ on our monuments is—on the assumption that the work is post-Danish—doubtless due to the failure of Christianity to recover a firm hold in our district until x

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vol. XXIII, p. 292.

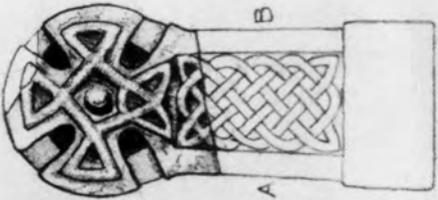
² *Loc. cit.* pp. 280 and 292.

³ *Loc. cit.* pp. 262–265.

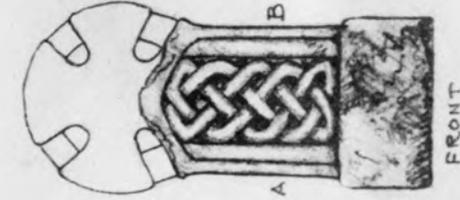
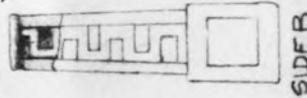
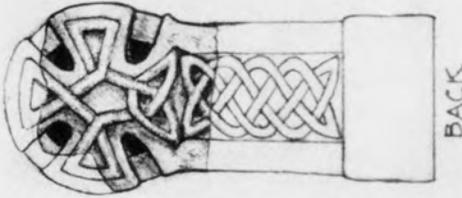
THREE FREE-STANDING CROSSES.



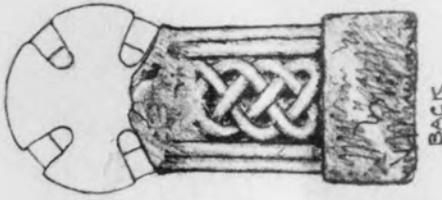
CAMBRIDGE CASTLE
SCALE 20.



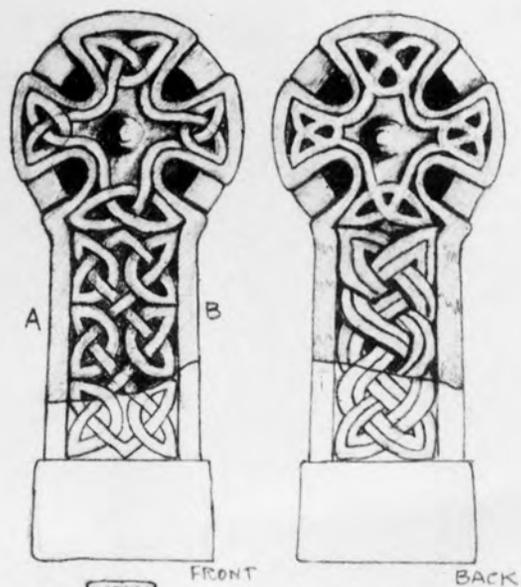
FULBOURN
SCALE 20



STAPLEFORD.
SCALE 20



FREE-STANDING CROSS



SIDE A

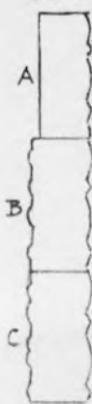
[SIDE B SHOWS A
REGULAR
THREE-CORD
PLAIT]

WHISSONSETT NORFOLK.
scale $\frac{1}{16}$

GRAVE COVER (No 27) AND CROSS. FRAGMENTARY
NORMAN HALF COLUMN [XII CENT.]



VERT-
ICAL
SECTION



BACK



SUGGESTED
RECONSTRUCTION
SECTIONS B AND C.



SUGGESTED
RECONSTRUCTION
SECTION A

[GRAVECOVER
No 27]



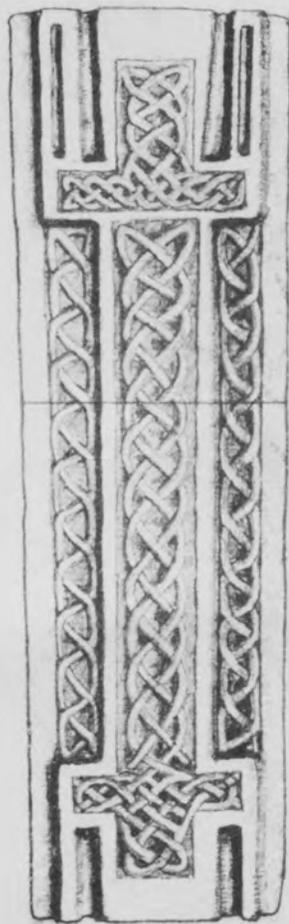
WILLINGHAM, CAMBS.
scale $\frac{1}{16}$.

GRAVE COVERS
GROUP A: CROSSES CUT IN RELIEF.

TYPE 1

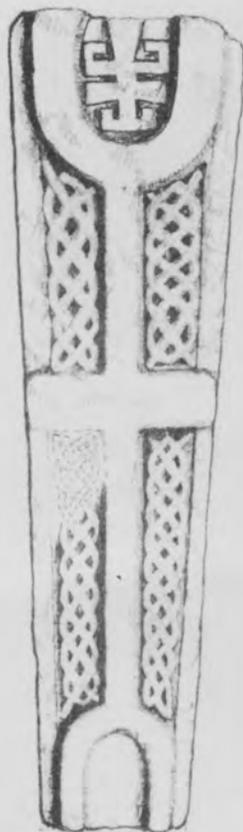


PETERBOROUGH
No XIV
not to scale.



CAMBRIDGE CASTLE
No 3 LOWER HALF LOST.
 $\frac{1}{20}$.

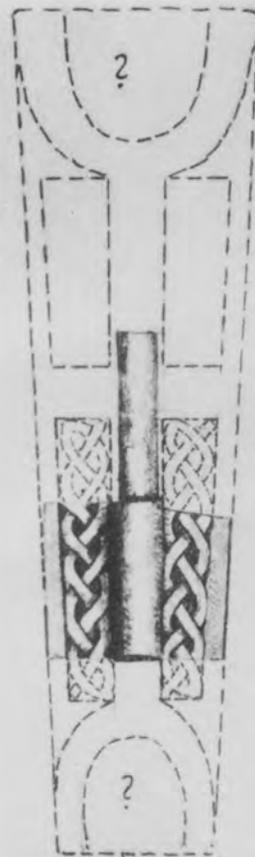
TYPE 2



CAMB CASTLE
No 1
 $\frac{1}{20}$



CAMB CASTLE
No 4 (Lost)
scale $\frac{1}{20}$?



GRANTCHESTER.
No 11 a, b, c.
 $\frac{1}{20}$

GROUP A (CONTINUED)

TYPE 3



RAMPTON
N^o 17
20

RAMPTON
N^o 16
20



RAMPTON.
N^o 15 a, b, c
20

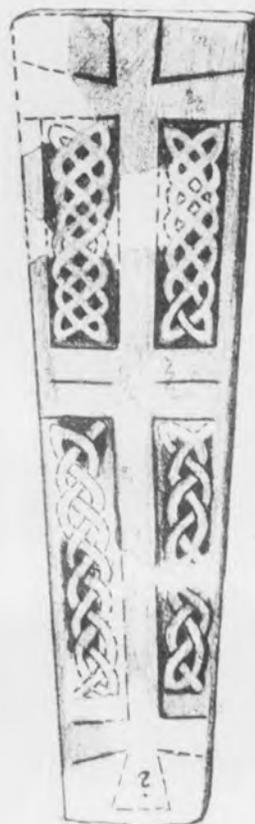


CAMB CASTLE
N^o 7 (LOST)
scale unknown.

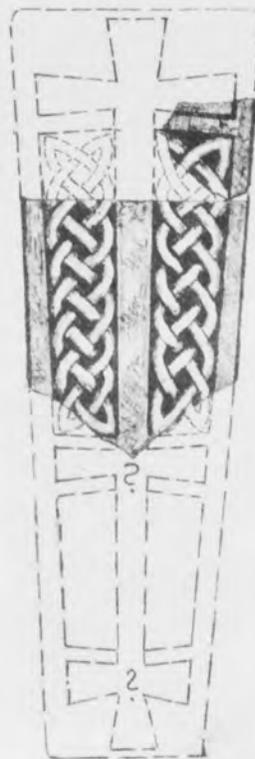
GRAVE COVERS.

GROUP B: INCISED CROSSES.

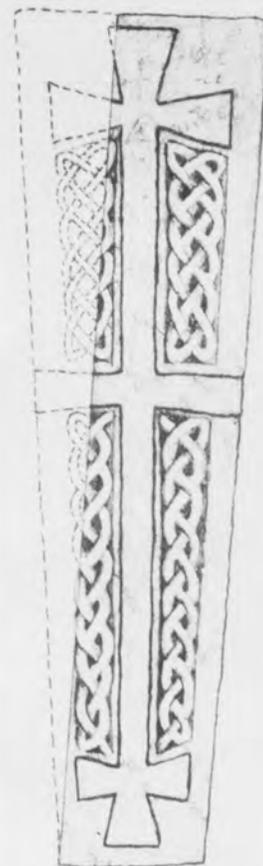
TYPE 4



CAMB CASTLE
N^o 5 (LOST)
scale probably 20



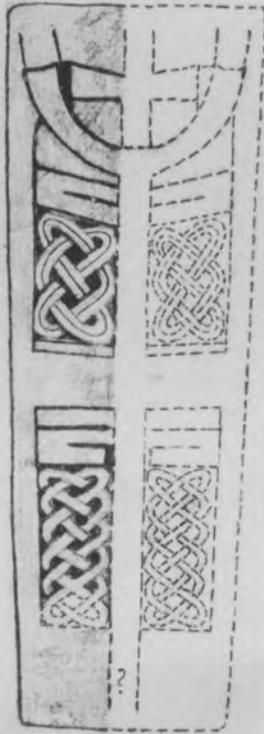
RAMPTON.
N^o 14 a, b, c, d.
20



LIT. SHELFORD
N^o 19
20

GRAVE COVERS
GROUP B: INCISED CROSSES.

TYPE 5



LIT: SHELFORD.
No. 20.
1/2

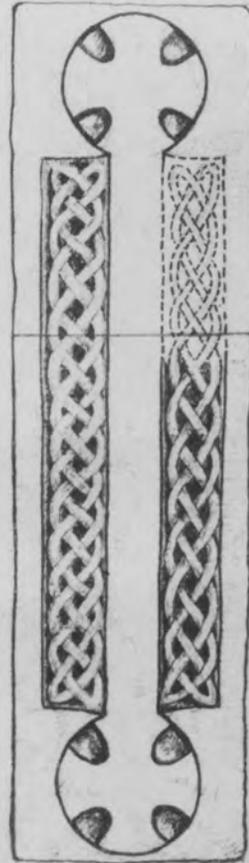


LIT: SHELFORD
No. 21. 1/2

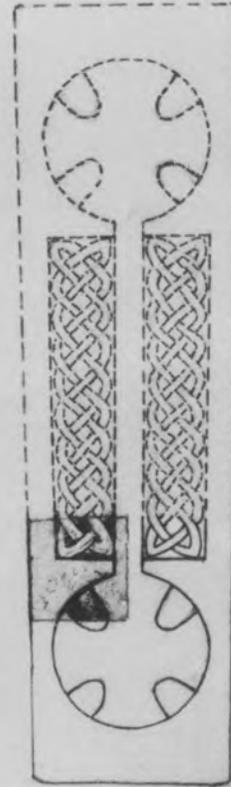


LIT: SHELFORD, No. 23
1/2 APPROX.

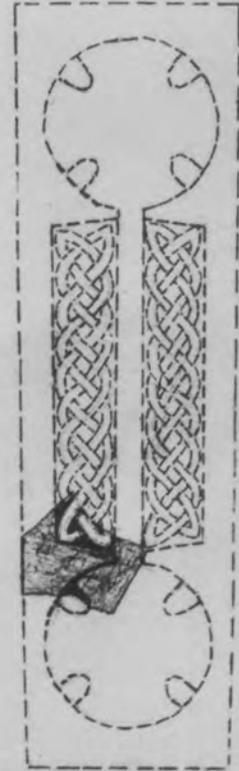
TYPE 6



CAMB. CASTLE
No. 2
UPPER HALF LOST
1/2

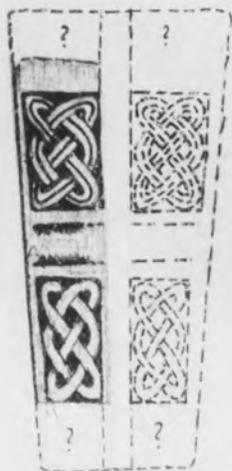


WHITTLESFORD.
No. 25.
1/2

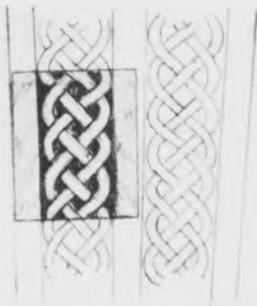


WILLINGHAM
No. 26
1/2

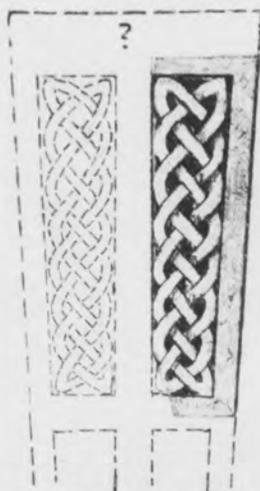
GRAVE COVERS: UNCLASSIFIED FRAGMENTS.



LIT: SHELFORD.
No. 22
1/20

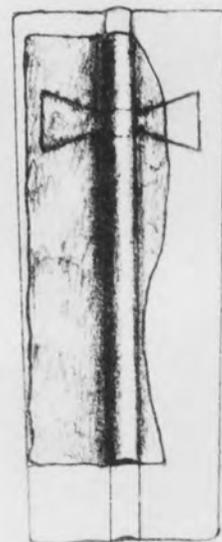


STRETHAM
No. 24
1/20



CAMBRIDGE, LIT. ST. MARY'S
No. 9.
1/20

GRAVE COVER
PROBABLY LATE XI CENT:

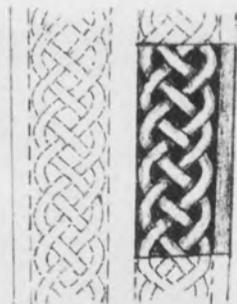


LIT: SHELFORD 1/20

CROSS SHAFT ?



GRANTCHESTER
No. 13.
1/20



RAMPTON
No. 18.
1/20



CAMBRIDGE, LIT. ST. MARY'S
No. 10.
1/20



RAMPTON
1/20

GRAVESTONES: TYPE β . ALL APPROX. \approx .



BARNACK
NORTHANTS



HELPSTON
NORTHANTS



HELPSTON



CAMB CASTLE (LOST)



CAMB. CASTLE (LOST)

GRAVESTONES TYPE α

GRAVESTONE
TYPE β .

CIRCULAR HEAD BROKEN OFF
ABOVE 'SHOULDERS'



PETERBOROUGH.
FOOTSTONE TO NO. XIV PL. III



PETERBOROUGH
APPROX \approx

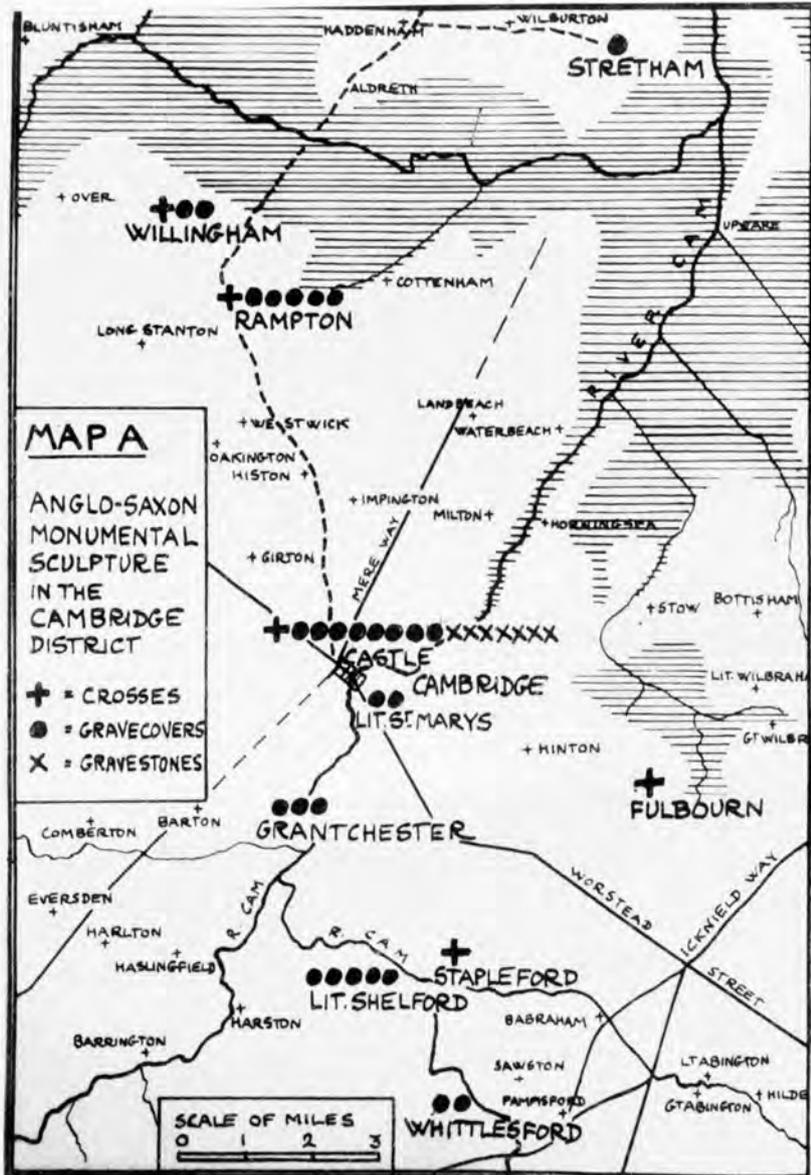


CAMB. CASTLE (LOST)
 \approx APPROX.

GRAVE COVER



CAMB CASTLE
NO. 6 (LOST) SCALE \approx ?



was well advanced, and Danish taste had been modified. Peterborough was desolate until 970, when Bishop Aethelwold refounded it, and also Ely and Thorney; and the bishopric of East Anglia was in abeyance from 870 to 956 A.D. Thus the district must have been largely heathen for nearly a century¹.

Peterborough provides evidence of a date in the second half of x for the earliest of our stones. The graveyard was that of laymen, no doubt the local landowners of Danish stock; and the grave-covers found *in situ* close to Aethelwold's Church must surely have been carved subsequent to the refounding of the monastery. The contrary view—that the monuments are pre-Danish—involves the assumptions that they remained undisturbed (not only the slabs exposed on the surface of the ground, but the small easily removed head- or foot-stones) through the period of the heathen Conquest, and were not touched when an era of church building marked the revival of Christianity; and that since they are all demonstrably of one school their immediate neighbourhood must have been carefully avoided as sites for grave-monuments in x and early xi. I do not think that such a proposition can be maintained, and the criticism applies with equal force to the monuments in the Cambridge Castle graveyard, which as we have seen are closely similar in character, design and technique to those at Peterborough and are undoubtedly contemporary.

(4) What is perhaps the most important direct evidence for late date has yet to be stated. The Tau cross with vertical returns within the horseshoe of stone no. 1, Cambridge Castle (Plate III) is the most striking symbol on the monuments, and is probably unique. It signifies, as I believe, the Keys of the Kingdom and the Cross in one; and is derived from MS. sources. A similar form—an A-S key combined with a cross paty—is on f. 56 v of the *Benedictional* of St Aethelwold, the "supreme example of the Winchester school of illumination," probably finished in 980; the feature of the horizontal return on the arm of the key occurs on f. 4r of the same MS. and again in

¹ In the latter half of x Danish names were still common among the landowners of southern Cambs., as may be seen in the Book of Ely.

Caedmon's Paraphrase (MS. Junius 11 f. 9, Bodleian) dated circa 1000 A.D.¹.

The derivation of this motif from the southern school of art—the school of the founder of Peterborough—is, apart from its chronological value, of the highest importance in its bearing on the origins of our East Anglian art². Furthermore the monument (No. XVIII) which in cross design most clearly resembles that whereon the key-cross symbol occurs is itself at Aethelwold's Monastery.

The cumulative effect of these facts is convincing, and points to a date in the third quarter of x for the earliest of our stones.

We have now to consider the Beachamwell and Shelford (no. 23) sculptures from our present chronological standpoint. Assuming that these were carved in late x can any explanation of their being used as building material before 1066 be offered? The Viking raids of the reign of Aethelred II may I think be held capable of producing the break in continuity of local tradition which is needed to account for the facts. Thorkil's host in 1010 spent "three months ravaging and burning" in East Anglia; the Fens, Thetford and Cambridge districts being specially mentioned in the record³. That villages like Beachamwell and Shelford, within the ravaged area, might be burnt, church and all—and even entirely depopulated—is not in the least degree improbable; and there is no difficulty in supposing that when resettlement took place any suitable material adjacent

¹ Aethelwold's *Benedictional* was reproduced in facsimile and edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1910 by Dr G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson. For its date, see p. xv of Introduction. In both cases in which the Key symbol occurs St Peter is holding it, on f. 56v upright, for the cross paty forms its head; on f. 4 the key hangs downward from a ring held in the Saint's hand. Our symbol is held to be that represented on f. 4, adapted to the small space available to the sculptor. The key in the Caedmon MS. is grasped by an angel whose left hand holds open the door of heaven (reproduced in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv, Plate LVIII).

² It may be noted that the large ornamental "B.", f. 4 in *Harley MS.* 2904 B.M. also probably written at Winchester during Aethelwold's lifetime, shows interlacements, correctly drawn, but with loops attached as in the T-shaped panels of the Cambridge Castle grave-cover no. 3. Such a method is foreign alike to Celtic technique and to English craftsmen of the pre-Danish period.

³ A. S. C. Laud MS. (E), Earle and Plummer, vol. i, p. 140.

to the ruined church, whatever its character and date, would be utilized for reconstruction.

Are any of our Monuments post-Conquest (1066–1180)?

If my contention, that the Cambridgeshire sculptures date from 970 onwards, be admitted, we must consider whether, seeing the number that survive from a limited area, and the variety of the symbolic designs on the grave covers, a hundred years is a sufficiently long period for the development of the style; it may have persisted even later than 1066. The evidence bearing on this point may now be considered.

(i) The cross characteristic of Group B, type 6 grave-covers is very ancient (see pp. 29–30), but it is presented on our stones in a form which survived the Norman conquest. The examples on Plate V may be compared with any one of the numerous coffin lids, usually of XIII, which present similar crosses connected like them by a central shaft. The interlaced panels of our grave-covers are replaced by the double Omega, and the design is refined and improved; but the connection is patent¹.

(ii) The U foot of the Group B, type 5 incised crosses would also appear to be a form persisting into Norman times. Compare with our examples (Plate V) the plain cross slab at Howell, Lines., and two others from Kirby Hill, Yorks., and Brightlingsea, Essex². Moreover, our type 5 grave-covers present other late features: namely that in one case (no. 20) the interlacing motif, normally predominant, is reduced to four small panels, the remaining space being taken up by incised parallel lines: in the other (no. 21) one panel is filled with plaitwork so grotesquely

¹ Intermediate types also occur. Grave-covers at Peterborough (north transept) and Helpston (tower wall) show cross arms with linear decoration of Norman character, and a slab at West Lexham (Norf.) shows combined with the "Omega" a cross paty of Saxon type.

It may here be noted that a crosshead from Crowland Abbey in Wisbech Museum showing ornament of early XIII, of the size normal to our Saxon crossheads (15¼" diameter) and similarly shafted—evidently designed like them for the head of a grave—is certainly an example of continuity of tradition, and gives ground for supposing that intermediate forms of crosses dating in the Norman period may yet be discovered.

² *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* vol. x, pp. 234 and 243; *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. N.S.* vol. VII, p. 377.

debased as to be almost unrecognizable, and the panels are equally small. Since the disappearance of plaitwork marks the close of the style, this diminution is significant¹.

This evidence cannot however be held to prove more than that certain grave-covers are to be assigned a later date in the Saxon period than others of the school. The question of a post-Conquest date for such stones is still open, and may be examined from another aspect.

Though XIII cent. coped slabs are common, there are very few monumental stones in the district which can with certainty be assigned to the Norman period (1066-1180)²; and it may be that the gap which undoubtedly exists may be filled by some of the later grave-covers with interlaced ornament; for this particular purpose a Saxon school of sculpture may have survived the Conquest³.

To this view I was at first strongly inclined—for the types of grave-covers under discussion appeared to provide links between the XI and XIII cents.—but on reconsideration I rejected it, for two reasons. (i) Such direct evidence as we possess lends it no support. The representative series of grave-covers found at Peterborough were, it is safe to say, all pre-Conquest, being covered up by the Norman Church erected in 1118. Had they been set up within the previous 50 years (1068-1118) by men of the new order it is unlikely that they would have been thus neglected and partially destroyed. They were undoubtedly memorials of dispossessed Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish families⁴. (ii) Peterborough shows moreover an important group of coffin

¹ Group B type 5 grave slabs cannot however all be late; for Shelford 23 was re-used in pre-Conquest times.

² One at Rampton, one at Stapleford and one (now lost) at Chesterton may be cited. See also note in Appendix, p. 44.

³ That in XII there was an important revival of Anglo-Saxon motifs in ecclesiastical art, especially in Norfolk, is well known: but the use of plaitwork in this century is almost entirely confined to architectural decoration and to fonts. It is moreover of a type readily distinguishable from pre-Conquest work, and its existence does not affect the question of the continued production after 1066 of the monumental sculpture under consideration.

⁴ The lower limit of date for the Cambridge sculptures also is considered to be mid XI; the evidence for this is discussed in the Appendix.

lids, ten in number, for which Norman date seems probable, and these do not resemble our Saxon grave-covers. The majority present a well marked median rib only, the cover unlike the Saxon grave slabs being coped; the minority show double- and triple-armed crosses. None has any ornament. Under one, when discovered, was a second coffin lid, indicating that when coffins became general the Saxon custom of placing a grave-cover on ground level was continued. These monuments may represent early forms of the coped coffin lid of XIII; and their presence lends no support to the view that plaitwork decoration on grave-covers may be post-Conquest. It is likely that at Peterborough at all events, the style became extinct in the second half of XI. Norman date may on these grounds be assigned to two grave-covers, each with a well marked median rib, at Little Shelford (Plate VI), which in technique resemble our Saxon carvings, but which show no interlacements.

Summary of the Chronological Evidence.

The evidence so far examined permits us to conclude that for the majority of our grave-covers a pre-Conquest date is assured; for none is there definite evidence of post-Conquest date. The crosses and headstones are certainly of one period and that period is also pre-Norman. The evidence moreover indicates an upper limit for all our monumental sculptures in the late X century. It appears likely that some of the grave-covers in Group B are of late, and others in Group A of early, date within the assigned period. This point will be re-examined later. The chronological position of the crosses within this period of a hundred years, 970-1066, cannot yet be fixed.

Connexions and Origins of the Style.

The date of the sculptures has hitherto been considered without direct reference to the monumental sources and origins of the style which they illustrate. It is now proposed to consider whence this style, which was, it seems probable, the only one flourishing in our region in the late Anglo-Saxon period, was derived; and we shall also consider what significance is to be attached to its topographical distribution. It may at once be said that nowhere else in England, apparently, did so severe

and in a sense pure a style exist in this period. Examples of interlaced work of X and XI either alone or in conjunction with zoömorphic, figure or plant motifs are numerous in the northern and north-eastern districts, and a well defined group occurs in the south-west (Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts), while in the Midlands such examples as occur are isolated phenomena.

Our East Anglian group of sculptures marked by crosses on Map B¹, is seen to form the outer fringe of an area comprising Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and adjacent counties wherein work of the period commonly occurs. It is of primary importance to determine the relation between our art and that of north-eastern England, and we may conveniently concentrate our attention on the adjacent counties of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire².

The sculpture in these counties to which a X-XI cent. date may be applied is on the whole similar to ours, but much is undoubtedly earlier. There is the same boldness in style, and lack of refinement in details. Plaitwork is the predominant, but not the only motif employed, as with our craftsmen; the plaits are frequently tighter, and there is a much greater variety of design; interacements running through circles, a feature attributed to early X, is commonly met with. Many cross shafts are on record; their size suggests that they formed part of memorial crosses and were not mere headstones. Crossheads are rarely preserved (see p. 39). Grave-covers are not common; the majority show an elaborate network of plaits often poorly

¹ Based on papers by Mr W. G. Collingwood in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vols. XIX, XX, XXI, XXIII; Mr Romilly Allen, article in *V. C. H. Derbyshire*, vol. I, 279 ff.; Rev. A. Hill, paper in *Arch. Journ.* vol. LXXIII, pp. 195 ff. (for Notts.); many papers in *Lincs. N. and Q.* 1897-1915, by Rev. D. S. Davies, and, for Northants, much work which has already been referred to. I am also indebted to Professor Baldwin Brown and the Right Rev. Bishop G. F. Browne for much useful information. It is necessary to point out that the map is not intended to do more than illustrate in the broadest possible manner the topographical relationships of our East Anglian sculptures. The chronology of the Lincs. monuments, it may be noted, has not yet been properly worked out, and the distribution of X-XI work in this county as shown on the map is subject to revision and correction in detail.

² In the south-western counties zoömorphs are common, and the sculptures as a whole do not suggest close relationship with our group.

rendered. It has been noted that only one grave-cover definitely of the Cambs. type is known to exist in Lincs., but it is highly probable that search will reveal others.

Two noticeable features connected with the plaitwork designs in Lincs. are (1) the very frequent employment of a roughly outlined cable moulding on the arris of a cross shaft or the edge of a grave-cover and (2) the linking up of an interlacing pattern with the framework of the panel. Now the elaborate slab at Peterborough (Plate III), so similar with its raised cross decorated with panels of plaitwork to no. 3 of our Cambridge series¹, differs from it in just these respects. It may be that here on the edge of the Lincolnshire area we have the needed link in the chain of art tradition².

If this be a true intermediary link it will follow that grave-covers resembling the Peterborough example either in design or technique are the earliest in our district. The examples of Group A, types 1 and 2 on Plate III, may be cited; designs of this character are less frequent than others; the style, it may perhaps be said, soon threw off the traces of its origin³. It would not be unlikely on stylistic grounds alone that these grave-covers should be earlier than the others⁴; and as we have seen a date in x has been assigned to a member of this group—the stone (no. 1) bearing the key-cross symbol.

The above remarks have been largely concerned with grave-covers, but if the art of these monuments be mainly derived from the north it may be expected that that of our crosses would have a similar origin. Lincolnshire provides no published

¹ Note the way in which the junctions of the T plaits are carried out in each case. The method—a very debased technique judged by VIII standards—is identical. (See pp. 28–29.)

² This is not inconsistent with the Wessex origin of certain elements of the style.

³ The “foot” on the dexter plait of the Little St Mary’s stone (Plate VI, no. 10) is a very interesting survival. This foot originally connected the plait with the cross shaft, and the stone may, if the above argument holds, be also early (x century). In technique it certainly differs from its neighbour.

⁴ No. 8 of our series (not figured) cannot however be included as an early type, nor can the stone from Milton Bryan (p. 24), to which it is evidently closely related.

records of any crosses of Whissonsett type; but the Rev. D. S. Davies of North Witham—whose wide knowledge of the Saxon remains in his county has been placed unreservedly at my disposal—informs me that a crosshead at Colsterworth in Kesteven is identical in size and design with the Norfolk example. This is of special interest, because in the same church there is a tall shaft which he thinks may have belonged to the broken crosshead. This shaft¹ shows on the obverse the double row of Stafford knots as at Whissonsett, a four-cord plait on either side, and a debased Anglian scroll on the reverse; the date is probably early x.

The monument may thus form a link between our low headstones and the taller earlier and more massive crosses commonly occurring in Lincolnshire. A tall shaft in Peterborough Cathedral sculptured with plaits in our East Anglian style may be part of another monument of intermediate type; but the crosshead is unfortunately destroyed².

Though our monuments form a distinct class we can of course trace practically all the elements of interlacing design which they present beyond Lincolnshire. A few instances may be given. The wheel crosshead with its chain of knots is of Celtic origin; many examples are met with in Wales and Cornwall, and coming nearer home we find the type in Yorkshire and north Staffordshire. The double row of Stafford knots, again, on the Whissonsett Cross is "the commonest and most effective" of interlacing patterns, being found in Scotland, in Yorkshire, Durham and several other English counties³. Again, we find grave-slabs and headstones with ornaments related to ours in Yorkshire (at Spennithorne, Lythe and St Denis in York for example)⁴, and in Scotland at Govan, Glasgow⁵.

Lest at this stage we may be inclined to draw premature

¹ Figured in *Lincs. N. and Q.* vol. xii, pp. 135 and 144.

² Other Northants crossheads such as those at Mears Ashby and Gunwade Ferry (two) are typologically late and of no interest in this connexion.

³ R. Allen, *Early Christian Monuments*, p. 233.

⁴ See Collingwood in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vol. xix, p. 390; vol. xx, p. 169; vol. xxi, p. 288.

⁵ R. Allen, *op. cit.* pp. 468–471.

conclusions as to the origins of our art, the reverse side of the picture may be presented. We have in the first place not found in the Lincolnshire group of sculptures examples of each of the varied cross designs which are the most striking elements of the ornament of our grave-covers; and in the second place that most remarkable symbol, the key-cross, is shown to be of southern origin¹. Head and footstones showing wheel-crosses in low relief and incised crosses paty have been found at Old Sarum; though they date probably from late XI, they may be held to represent a pre-Norman tradition². A double cross moreover with expanded terminals is met with on a slab of uncertain but certainly pre-Conquest date in Steyning Church, Sussex³.

Though the typological evidence clearly is incomplete, we may perhaps provisionally conclude that our art was derived from Lincolnshire and the North, but was modified by southern influences.

The Historical Background.

We may now consider what light the history of the time may throw on our problems.

The Scandinavian occupation of Cambridgeshire has already been mentioned as an important factor in the evidence justifying a late date in X for the introduction of our monumental art; and it may be that the invasion of 866 A.D. and its political results will provide an explanation of the distribution of the style as a whole.

On the sketch map (B) there is marked the probable boundary between English and Danish Mercia about 910⁴, before the re-

¹ The route by which the Greek fret commonly employed as a decorative motif in the period reached us in the form of a rectangular battlement pattern has yet to be worked out. See footnote (p. 17).

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* vol. xxvi, p. 114, and fig. 5, p. 106.

³ Figured, not very accurately, in *Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. LVII, p. 150.

⁴ In the southern sector from London to the "W" of Watling Street, W.S.W. of Bedford, the boundaries are those laid down in Alfred and Guthrum's treaty (880). These had probably been modified to some extent by 910, but the point is here not sufficiently vital to warrant detailed discussion. The frontier north of Leicestershire cannot be defined with any approach to certainty.

conquest of the Danelaw was initiated; the map shows also certain of the fortresses built by Edward and his sister Aethelflaed between 911 and 914. It will be seen that apart from isolated examples at London and Milton Bryan sculptures of our East Anglian group are confined within the area of the Danelaw; and that the related work of the period shows a similar distribution. The scarcity of examples of the art in English Mercia is very noticeable. One more point. Professor Chadwick holds that the Northumbrian kingdom at this time may have included the Five Boroughs; but apart from this it is likely that artistically as well as politically the influence of York, where three strains of art motifs¹ mingled to produce the vigorous and abundant if rude art of the X-XI century found in the county, would be felt as far south as Danish power extended—an influence which (illustrating Schmidt's wave theory) might be expected to diminish as it does on the periphery of the occupied area and to be to some extent replaced by southern influences.

This line of argument cannot be pursued further in this paper. Sufficient has been said, it is hoped, to suggest that the key to the interpretation of the topographical problems presented by the art of the period may be found in its political history.

Conclusion.

Returning to our starting point, we may enquire whether our East Anglian school once established had one focus of distribution or several. Nearly all our carvings are in Barnack stone; but there is no evidence except the existence of a representative series at Peterborough that the sculptors worked exclusively in Northamptonshire, for water transport ensured a ready distribution of this fine stone throughout the Fenland borders. An itinerant school of carvers may have disseminated the style, but if there was a centre the number of sites in Cambridge and the neighbourhood where our distinctive type of sculpture is found suggests that that centre was the town itself.

¹ (a) The VIII and early IX cent. Anglian art, (b) the art of the invaders; influenced during the X cent. by (c) contemporary Celtic sculpture. This is clearly brought out in Collingwood's analysis; *Y. A. J.* vol. XXIII, pp. 295-7.

And for whom did the craftsmen in Cambridge work? Mainly for the men of rank and wealth in the town, the families, doubtless of Danish origin, who provided successive generations of Lawmen, and for the landowning class in the adjacent villages. The occurrence of the most elaborate and the earliest stones found in the district on the site of Cambridge Castle is likely to be significant. It may be that the chief private houses of the town were in our period situated close to that knoll which must always have been an important part of the Saxon or Danish town within the Roman walls; is it improbable that here on the very crest may have stood the mother church of Cambridge surrounded by its graveyard?¹ And what was the appearance of that graveyard in the middle of XI? We know in the first place, from the Cambridge and Peterborough evidence, that the grave-covers were laid on the surface to mark the site of the burial. In no case has a coffin been found associated with such grave-covers. Each grave, as we learn from the Cambridge record, had a headstone; some a headstone and a footstone (Peterborough). In the former case the headstones, circular or square headed, were of rude character, marked with a cross². In the latter case the headstone was probably a free-standing cross of the type with which we are now familiar, and the more richly decorated grave-covers would be associated with such. For our upright crosses were certainly not isolated memorials; they are too small to be used for this purpose. There is no evidence that monuments such as we are describing were ever placed within a church; in cases where (as at Ixworth) they have been found in such a situation it is fairly certain that they have been included unwittingly in an enlarged or rebuilt edifice.

¹ It would seem to be impossible that the graveyard either of St Giles', or St Peter's, or of All Saints' Church should have extended so far; and Professor Chadwick tells me he does not know of any cemetery unassociated with a church in the Christian Saxon period.

² The reflection may be permitted that in the former type we see the final degradation of a form of which the noblest examples were produced in Northumbria nearly four centuries previously. We have already traced the descent from the Whissonsett Cross, and there is no doubt that Ruthwell and Bewcastle are elements in the Whissonsett ancestry.

The graves of the poorer freemen were marked possibly with small headstones, or it may be with wooden memorials which have perished. The earlier burials would be distinguishable from the later only by the character of the sculpture on grave-covers and crosses¹, for we should see no inscriptions to tell us the name and rank of the dead. And herein would I think be to modern eyes the only strange feature of this churchyard of our forefathers; in other respects it would bear record to the continuity of Christian tradition and custom.

The use of the term Anglo-Saxon rather than Anglo-Danish for our East Anglian school of sculpture may need a word of explanation. Though the style was mainly of Anglo-Danish origin, and though, no doubt, its presence in Cambridgeshire was largely due to men of Danish stock, it quickly lost the features which characterize the art of Scandinavian settlers in this country, and we are, it is held, dealing with the work not of Anglo-Danes but of Englishmen.

SUMMARY.

The monumental sculpture of the Cambridge district characterized by interlaced ornament has been classified, and fragmentary examples have been restored; the existence of a well-defined school of art possibly centred in Cambridge and confined almost entirely to the eastern counties has been established, and its limits determined. This school flourished in Cambridgeshire from about 970 to 1066 or possibly a little later, the earliest examples being found in the county town. The decorative motifs employed in this East Anglian province of x-xi century art are largely derived from Lincolnshire; the remoter sources of the Lincolnshire elements being possibly centred in Yorkshire, where Anglian, Scandinavian and Celtic art mingled. For the variety of cross forms on the grave-covers another source must be sought, and there are indications that

¹ Group A, types 1 and 2 of the grave-covers marking in particular the older burials; Group B, types 5 and 6, the most recent. With regard to the crosses; though none of the debased forms met with in Northants have been found in Cambs. it is not improbable that such were produced here about the middle of xi.

for them the southern school of art centred at Winchester may be partly responsible. Extending our survey, we have noted that the monuments of character cognate to ours are in England mainly centred in two areas, the north-eastern and the south-western. A wide and well-nigh barren gap separates these two groups; our group, the north-eastern, is seen not to extend beyond the limits of the IX-X century Scandinavian settlement and its origin and history in eastern England are it is held bound up in the origin and history of the Danelaw, including the history of its absorption in a unified England. This hypothesis is presented as a basis for further and more extended investigation.

The majority of those friends from whom help in connexion with this paper has been received have already been referred to: here the writer would express special thanks to Professors H. M. Chadwick and G. Baldwin Brown, Dr L. Cobbett, and the Right Rev. Bishop Browne.

APPENDIX. THE POST-CONQUEST GRAVEYARD AT CAMBRIDGE CASTLE.

Kerrich records that two coffins were found with the Saxon grave-covers (*Archaeologia*, xvii, p. 228), "but much too large to have belonged to any of these lids." And that many human bones and several stone coffins "have at different times been found, not far from the spot in which these (the grave-covers) lay, and all near the gate of the Castle; and particularly two in Aug. 1785, with a skeleton in each; and not long before, a remarkable one, containing besides the body...a long slender wand."

Two of the 1785 finds are recorded by Rev. R. Masters in *Archaeologia* (vol. viii, p. 64). One of the coffin lids was plain, and one "had a sort of double cross upon it with somewhat like chainwork running up each side; but...the upper transept was not as usual a straight line, but part of a circle, which seems to have been completed on a stone lying at the head of the coffin." Bowtell (MS. vol. ii, p. 161) provides a drawing of this lid. The chainwork is a rude (floriated?) pattern, and the whole design, though related to those on our Saxon grave-covers, is probably of XII. The monument is of interest as carrying on elements of our art tradition, and in its association with a headstone, our Saxon custom.

Bowtell also mentions coffin lids found here in xvii, which were removed to Chesterton churchyard; they are figured by Kerrich (*Addit. MS. 6730*, f. 1-2), and are of great interest. All post-Conquest, they appear to show the transition stages leading to the development of the floriated cross in early XIII.

It is clear that in the neighbourhood of our Saxon monuments there was a number of post-Conquest interments in coffins. That the former are known to have been under the ramparts thrown up by William I has from the time of their discovery been considered a fact of primary importance, in that it fixes for them a lower limit of date in mid. xi. The presence of the later burials, however, invalidates the deduction, unless it can be shown that these were not *under* the ramparts.

(i) Concerning the two coffins found in 1785 the evidence is explicit. The contemporary record (*Arch.* VIII) states that these were "almost upon a level with the present area, within the precincts, under the wall of the old stone staircase" (to the gate tower). (ii) The interments associated with the coffin lids removed to Chesterton in xvii must also have been within the precincts, for the ramparts had not then been destroyed¹. (iii) Concerning the coffins mentioned by Kerrich as having been found in 1810, Bowtell makes it clear that they were not associated with our group of grave-covers though only "a few yards away"; they were lying on the west side of the staircase to the gate tower, evidently close to the coffins found in 1785. Thus these could not have been under the original undisturbed rampart; and Kerrich's opinion that the coffins could not have belonged to any of our grave-covers is confirmed.

We are therefore justified in concluding that only the Saxon group of monumental stones was under the original Norman rampart, and that no coffins were associated with these burials; but that probably for over a century after the building of the castle burials of important people continued to be made in that portion of the ancient graveyard which was inside the court, close to the rampart, and partially on the site of the later gate tower. Is it possible that the Saxon Church which we have on other grounds assumed to exist survived for this period as the chapel of the castle? Was the graveyard given up only when stone walls and towers replaced wooden palisading on the enceinte, and encroached on the consecrated area?

¹ I cannot, at all events, find any evidence to the contrary.

KILLICKS:
A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF ANCHORS.

By R. MORTON NANCE.

(Read May 23, 1921.)

The term "killick" is employed correctly for a boat-anchor, usually a home-made one, and often one constructed of wood and stone; and is only by a jocular extension applied to ships' anchors, especially as in the nickname "cross-killicks," given to an arm-badge composed of two heraldic anchors in saltire, worn in the Royal Navy, and in such phrases as "up killick," to weigh anchor, and "down killick," to moor. The origin of the word has been given up as a philological puzzle by the *New English Dictionary*, which traces it back to 1630 as English, and until more is known it is only by way of guess that one can compare it on the Teutonic side with Norwegian *krakje*, used of a sort of boat-anchor, or with the Celtic words of a rock, Irish *cloch*, Welsh *clog*; or for a cock, Irish *caileach*, Welsh *ceiliog*, Cornish *kebiok*, Breton *kilek*, with a possible reference to its spur-like flukes. A rare alternative English name was "crab-claws," and this seems to be an echo of *krabbe*, a name under which killicks still go in Scandinavia and North Germany.

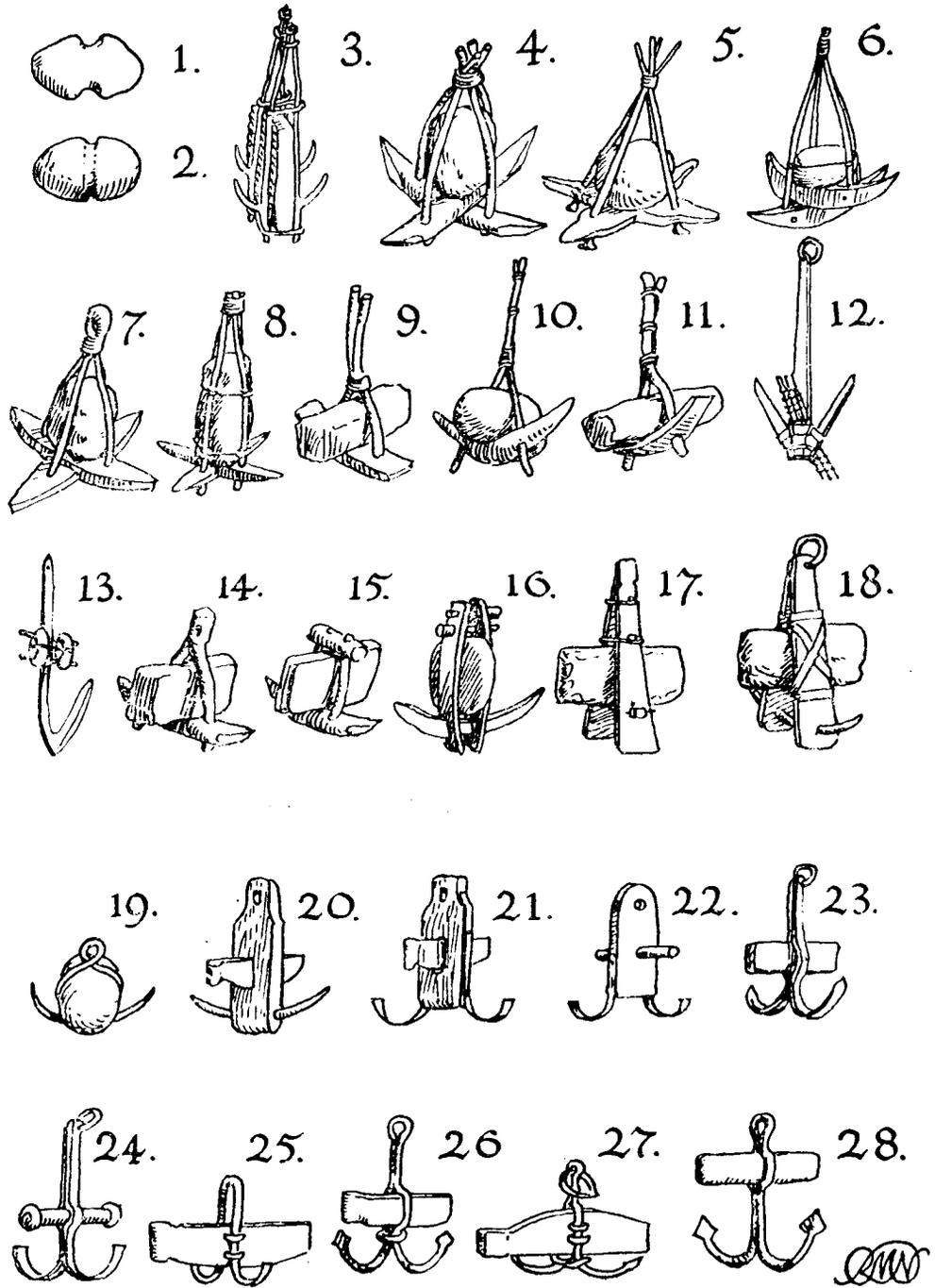
The Killick is one of the primitive things of mankind, ranking with the bow-and-arrow, the spindle, and the coracle, rather than with the rifle, the power-loom, and the submarine: primitive as it is, however, it is sufficiently curious in its form and ingenious in its construction as to seem very unlikely to have had an entirely separate invention in each of the far-divided parts of the world in which it is now found, and this makes even the sketchiest account of its distribution of some interest to those who hope, by a study of the spread of crafts, to arrive at conclusions concerning early culture migrations. In these boat-anchors too, and especially in those of Cornwall, we see the anchor evolving, as it were, beneath our eyes from its primitive into its almost fully developed form.

The very first real boat, deliberately made for use, was, it seems fairly safe to say, neither a war-vessel, a cargo-carrier, nor even the original liner, a dug-out ferry, but a fishing-boat; the outcome of a hungry man's need to seek the fish that were to be caught, beyond the reach of the boatless, out in the deeper water.

This being allowed, there can be little doubt that the means of keeping his boat, whether dug-out or coracle, from drifting from the chosen fishing ground, was an invention that must have followed very closely upon that of the boat itself. The very first means employed to this end may perhaps have been that of a rope tied to a tree on the shore, the next a pointed stake, a moveable tree, that could be driven into the bank, or if made long enough, down into the soft bottom of a river or lake. If, however, sea-fishing, as is not at all impossible, preceded river and lake fishing, we may take the anchor-stone to be the very first mooring implement, for at sea the others would hardly suggest themselves as being practicable.

To keep a rope fast around the first stone picked up would be a feat hardly likely to be compassed by the primitive fisherman; probably it was only after many failures that he found one small enough about the middle to give a hold to his rope. Then "waisted" stones would be sought for, and when they could not be found they would be worked by knocking off from the sides of a flat stone of suitable size just enough to give a holdfast for his rope (fig. 1). Here then, with a natural flat stone, notched by knocking each of its sides against a harder rock, we begin our sketch of the anchor's pedigree. But there are many places where, although roughly egg-shaped boulders are plentiful, no flat stone is to be found: this leads at once to a further development of the anchor-stone, which, by an extension of the side-notching all round to form a groove, becomes a larger version of the stone hammer that was already an implement of the primitive fisherman (fig. 2).

Stones of both these types are still in common use in Cornwall, as moorings for fishing-tackles and also as anchor-stones, called from the strop that is put round them, "strop-stones." Just about Land's End, where the sea-bottom is so



rocky on the fishing grounds as to cause a great loss of anchors, the fisherman, who keeps so many other things of his ancestors, omens, taboos, and observances, retains also this parent of anchors, the "strop-stone," as his only form of killick. A tale indeed is told of a boat having brought into Sennen Cove a rusty old ship's anchor, its stock of wood long perished, fished up from somewhere inside the Longships. Not a man in the cove had ever seen such a thing before, and they pulled it this way and that, puzzling as to what it could be. At last someone thought of "Uncle Billy," the oldest and wisest man of the cove, and accordingly he was brought out from his warm chimney-corner to pronounce judgment upon the strange thing; for as they said, "ef the Divil do knaw, he'll knaw." "Well, boys," said Uncle Billy, "you do ax me do I knaw what a es; and I'll tell ee I *do* knaw what a es. 'Tes just a oogly, great awvergrawed *pick*, the gramfer of all the turfy-biddixes; tha's what a es!" and having pronounced judgment, back he went to warm his toes at the embers.

Good as it is on such rocky ground, where holding is only too secure, on a soft or shingly bottom the "strop-stone" could hold merely by its weight, and a problem that must very soon have occupied the mind of the primeval fisherman was that of combining the advantages of this deep-water mooring implement with those of the pointed stake that he could use only in the shallows. Or it may be that the fisherman of the soft ground, while his rock-ground brother was creating the "strop-stone," had, with the object of mooring his own boat in deeper water, by this time invented an anchor-crook of heavy wood, such as still exists in some parts of the world. If so, the anchor made by lashing a stone to a wooden crook, said by Nicolaysen (*Langskibet fra Gokstad*, 1882) to be still in use in Norway, may stand for the first real "killick" or stone-and-wood anchor; for in this we find in combination the two ideas, of holding by the sheer mass and bulk of stone, and of mooring by the ground-piercing and rock-clutching qualities of a pointed wooden crook.

In this particular Norwegian type development seems to have been arrested at this point; but that it went much further in some other killicks is suggested by the form of the stone-and-

wood anchor of the Yenesei Ostyaks as illustrated in Seebohm's *Siberia in Asia*, p. 101 (fig. 3). Here we find the same principle—the wooden crook lashed to the stone; but instead of one crook we have four, perhaps the result of many experiments and experiences with first one and then with a growing number of crooks, until in this the Ostyaks, or some older people from whom they inherited their killick, had at last an anchor that would, however it chanced to fall, immediately be ready to clutch the ground, and that would, even should one of its crooks break off under strain, still have another on the same side, and should that go too, a second pair in reserve on the other side. In use, this killick's four boughs were, I expect, all lashed together at the head by the mooring-rope; but as sketched by Seebohm they remain as separate pairs, except that they all seem to be lashed together beneath the stone which they clamp so tightly. Mr H. H. Brindley, to whom I am indebted firstly for a reference to this killick in the *Mariner's Mirror* (Nov. 1919, p. 139) and secondly for a tracing of the drawing itself, judges these lashings to be of sinew, or even, from their angles, to be possibly of wire at the upper part. From my own experience in putting together a little model of this killick, some very rigid form of lashing would be necessary; for the crooks have a most perverse tendency to work round to any but the right angle with their stone. Drawing special attention, with a final glance at this killick, to the extreme slightness of its four timbers and to the flatness of its stone, I should like to ask in passing to the next one (fig. 4) whether the Ostyak killick is parental to this or merely an attempt to copy it with materials so slender as to allow of no more exact imitation. Personally I incline to the former view, but it seems, until we find more such killicks, a little rash to make either decision; for, while the Ostyak killick seems to stand alone, this type is that of what may be called "the killick," or even "the universal killick," with a distribution that as already recorded extends from Eastern Asia to Western Europe and South America, and that we have every reason to believe must include several parts of the world whose nautical bric-a-brac has not yet been studied or illustrated in detail. Like the Ostyak killick, this has its four rods and four holding-

points, or "flukes"; here, however, the "flukes," instead of being mere projecting snags from the rods, are the sharpened ends of two crossed timbers, through holes in which the rods that enclose the stone, now no longer a flat flag-stone but a roughly spheroid boulder, are thrust before being lashed together at their upper extremity. This particular example I made simply as a conjectural model of a primitive cross-armed killick such as might have been in use in Britain; since it was made, however, I have been told that it might stand for the *krabbe* used in the island of Rügen, N. Germany, with an example of which in the Ethnological Museum at Basle Dr E. Hoffmann-Krayer has informed me it is absolutely identical. I have also been told with as much certainty that exactly similar killicks are in use on the west coast of Guernsey, so that it may be taken as a fair representative of the West European cross-armed killick.

Our next killick is from Brazil, where it is used on the *jangada*, an indigenous sailing raft (fig. 5). Here we have exactly the same arrangement of cross-arms, rods, and stone; the rods, however, are in the first place boughs torn from the tree so as to leave a thickening at the base that wedges them tightly into their holds as they are drawn through, and, secondly, the ends of these rods are allowed to remain projecting like so many wigwam-poles above the lashing, the cross-arms too are at times given a considerable amount of carpentering, being "let into" one another at the cross so that their surfaces lie in one plane, and being carefully shaped away at their extremities into very efficient "flukes." In these examples of *jangada* killicks, sketched from models in the Science Museum, S. Kensington, the cross-arms are flat. In a picture of a *jangada* in Koster's *Travels in Brazil*, 1817, p. 4, is a killick with cross-arms of a crescent or "melon-slice" form, and this is the shape given to the killick of the Indian and Chinese seas, the only example of which I have yet found is an ill-engraved one, after Amiral Pâris, in Jal's *Glossaire Nautique*, p. 130, and there stated to bear a strong resemblance to anchors of Iceland and Norway as represented by a model of one of these, then, 1848, in the Marine Museum of the Louvre (fig. 6). The construction of this was bungled by Jal's engraver; the wood-cut, however, gives clearly enough the

details that distinguish this oriental killick from the Brazilian one: these are—the lashing that keeps the stone, or smoothly-rounded boulder, in place, the very slight projection of the rods beyond their top-lashing, the pegs that are driven sideways into them below, keeping them fixed in their holes, and the curious way in which the “melon-slice” cross-arms are set edge-wise one over the other, instead of flat-long.

The nearest approach to a British cross-armed killick that I have hitherto been able to present is one that has been said to resemble one from Guernsey. We have all noticed how words common in the 17th century, although they may be lost even from the dialects of the old country, have a way of turning up again as “Americanisms”: just in the same way another little fragment of Old England, the killick, is found on the coast of New England. As an “object of the seashore” in a sketch made at a fishing-port of Massachusetts Bay, I remember to have seen just such a killick as that in fig. 7 (although actually this is after a model made from the description of a Newfoundland killick sent to *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. IV, p. 87, by a correspondent) and fig. 8 represents the type of killick formerly used at Hampton, New Hampshire, three specimens of which are now in the Peabody Museum at Salem, Mass. in charge of Mr J. Robinson, to whom I am indebted for the photograph from which this is copied. Here, in the tall stone confined by two or three lashings, and the narrow angle consequently made by the meeting side-rods, that have little or no projection above the top-lashing, we have a distinct elongated variation on the killick theme¹: in the Newfoundland example, fig. 7, with the working of the free ends of the four side-rods into a sort of anchor-ring, around which rope is wound to make what our old seaman would have called a “puddening,” we may have a transatlantic improvement, a “Yankee notion” of a characteristic kind, but otherwise, with its crossed “arms,” its four rods, and its enclosed boulder, the whole thing is completely in the tradition of the “universal killick.”

¹ What seems to be intended for a killick of this type is twice shown in Captain Thomas Phillips' drawings of a “portable vessel of wicker, ordinarily used by the wild Irish,” made c. 1680. Bibl. Pepys, Sea MS. 2934, *Collection of Vessels Naval*, f. 41.

Although a home-bred British example of this cross-armed killick is a still elusive thing, the word "killick" is in common use, not only in jest for the more massive true anchors, but soberly also for some particular types of boat-anchors.

The first of these is the four-armed grapnel of iron, that is only the translation into that material of the cross-armed killick of wood and stone—the stone vanished, its weight no longer needed, and the once wooden parts in the new material made to coalesce into a single shank with its four arms—and in this connection it is very suggestive to note that the four-armed grapnel was always the customary anchor of Mediterranean galleys, as it still is of the dhows and bagalas of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Still more interesting, however, is it to note that the name "killick" is in Cornwall applied not only, as at Wadebridge, to such four-armed grapnels, but also to a whole series of home-made mooring implements that, while they seem to have first sprung from the "universal" killick, become in their final developments something very nearly approaching a true anchor of iron.

As it is to this fact that the continued use of killicks into our own time is due, I may repeat that one of the greatest troubles of fishermen on rocky grounds has always been, and must always be, the entanglement of their mooring implements with the bottom. It is the great loss that this would entail of more costly and less easily made anchors, that has caused them to use not only the "strop-stones" that have already been dealt with, but also several other and more elaborate home-made killicks, such as can easily be replaced.

To go back to the origin of the killicks of Cornwall, forms more or less parallel to which are found in Ireland, in Jersey and in Brittany, I think we must imagine a fisherman, at some time not yet to be fixed, who has, after great efforts to dislodge his cross-armed killick from a holding only too secure, succeeded at last merely in breaking it away, a thing that must always have been happening. He pulls in his mooring-rope to find upon it his four rods still tied in a bunch, but one of his cross-arms either drawn off its rods or broken at a hole, and his boulder lost beyond all hope of recovery. As a remedy he picks out an

oblong stone from the ballast in the bottom of his boat, and with this and the remains of his killick makes a shift at a new anchor. Before he has drifted very far from his fishing-ground, he has produced something very like the Jersey killick (fig. 9), using one cross-arm and two rods of his old one, and with it his oblong stone. This form of killick is shown in a vignette engraving in Ansted's *Channel Islands*, and a very similar one is illustrated in an article by J. Romilly Allen, "Primitive Anchors," in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, April, 1898, as used in boats of St Servan in Brittany (fig. 10). In the St Servan killick the cross-arm is rather sharply curved and the stone is an elongated boulder, and a far closer parallel to the Jersey one is found across the Atlantic at Paspebiac, Quebec, as is shown in sketches of that place in the *Century Magazine*, March 1884 (fig. 11). This becomes less surprising when we discover that Paspebiac is practically a Jersey colony dating from c. 1740, a fishing connection with Jersey having been maintained ever since. Mr Romilly Allen in the same article, however, refers to a killick, similar to the Breton one, from Massachusetts, engraved in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xxv, p. 197. Mr M. J. Burns, who drew the *Century* illustrations of the Paspebiac killick, observed the same type in use "from the Lower Maine Coast to the Bay of Fundy and further north in Canada," so it may have spread thither from Paspebiac. See *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. VII, p. 350.

With such a killick, or "demi-killick" as it might well be called, its inventor could moor as securely as ever, with half his former expenditure of labour, and in making new killicks, especially where flat stones were the rule and round ones rare, he would be likely to follow its model, for he had stumbled, independently if not for the first time, upon the principle of the anchor as opposed to the grapnel.

In the grapnel, as in the cross-armed killick, although all are equally capable of doing so, it is perhaps as often as not but one of the points or flukes that actually holds the bottom; the purpose served by those at right angles to it being the same as that of the stock of a true anchor, that tends to direct one of its two flukes downwards as the anchor is dragged along at the

bottom of the sea. In this new form of killick the ends of the stone serve as anchor-stock, the whole being not at all unlike the wooden anchors of Chinese junks. In the Chinese anchor (fig. 12), probably, I think, with the cross-armed killick as starting point, the form has been arrived at in a far less simple way. Here the four rods become a single wooden shank upon the lower end of which the now separated halves of one cross-arm are securely pegged and lashed, while, still close above it, the other cross-arm has become a light triple stock of rattan, to which stones may be lashed on occasion. The same idea of lashing stones to an anchor stock is shown in a Japanese killick illustrated by Mr Romilly Allen (fig. 13), but here the anchor itself is a mere wooden crook trimmed into shape, and the suggestion that it offers is that of being a development of the stone-weighted crook that, as we have seen, is still a Norwegian type of killick.

At Bessy's, or as it is better known, "Prussia" Cove, East of Marazion, in Cornwall, a form of killick that must have been close kin with the "demi-killicks" of Jersey, Brittany and North America, lingered on up to quite recent years, and in making enquiries amongst fishermen as to the old forms of killick that had been in use in Cornwall I was so fortunate as to be directed to a fisherman of that place, who, although he no longer used one, had in his day made many of them, and was able to describe every detail of their manufacture. In this (fig. 14) the cross-arm was a log of green Cornish elm, a tough timber plentiful enough in wind-blown hedgerow specimens near the cove. This log was merely sharpened at its ends and bored with the two holes that we have seen in the "demi-killick's" arm-piece. The stone, too, as in the Jersey form, was oblong and angular, a wall-quoin if that could be found, and chipped a little on each side to give a hold for the side-pieces. These, however, were not two separate rods, lashed together above the stone, but the two parts of a forked bough, of the same material as the arm-piece, but of smaller stuff. Placing this fork astride the stone, the Bessy's Cove fisherman drove its points through the holes of the arm-piece as far as they would go, so as to grip the stone, finally sawing off their protruding ends and wedging the timber into the holes so that the fork could not be withdrawn.

The frame so made he called a "yoke," and it is so exactly like the "yokes" that were formerly fixed about the necks of pigs in order to prevent their destructive rooting, that it seems quite likely that the idea of using such a forked bough was suggested by the sight of a pig-yoke. To this Bessy's Cove killick the mooring-rope was fastened either by passing it through a gap left beneath the fork or, if there was no such gap left, through a hole made in the head above the fork.

In *Notes and Queries*, vol. x, Oct. 21st, 1854, p. 319, is to be found a description, by "Video," of another Cornish killick; that of Polperro. Written descriptions are apt to be misleading, but, having the Bessy's Cove killick in my mind, I thought, by modifying this to meet the requirements of the Polperro description, that I could safely restore the Polperro killick as having the form shown in fig. 15; and after showing a sketch of it to an elderly fisherman of that place, who told me that as far as he could remember it was all right, I felt still safer. Fortunately I am now able to set beside my hypothetical "Polperro killick" a drawing of the real thing as given in the *Reliquary* article of Mr Romilly Allen (fig. 16). With this very different form before us, it becomes possible to read quite other meaning into the words of the *Notes and Queries* description, which runs as follows: "*Kellick*, an instrument used to moor a fishing-boat at sea instead of a grapnel (here called a 'grape') or anchor. It is formed of two slightly bent pieces of wood, which are fastened together by two others, one near each end; and one of which projects more than the other on each side, somewhat like the crooked part of a ship's anchor. A stout stone is enclosed between the two longer pieces of wood and consequently the whole forms a sort of anchor, which is used in rocky ground, where the usual grape would get entangled and stick fast."

As compared with the "demi-killicks" of Jersey or Bessy's Cove, or with my own imagined Polperro one, we find in this a similar intention; but the use of boards in its make-up has led to its being fitted together in exactly the opposite way: the stone, too, projects so slightly as scarcely to suggest the value as anchor-stock that as tested on a model it actually

possesses, and altogether this singularly neat and ingenious contrivance is as different as it well could be from my, still I think strictly legitimate, interpretation of the printed description. That a Polperro fisherman should not have been able to set me right is, after all, not so very amazing, for Mr Romilly Allen's example was sketched at the International Fisheries Exhibition in 1883, whither it was sent, as something already quite obsolete, by Mr E. Rashleigh, who mentions it, but without any adequate description, in a paper on the "Ancient Cornish Fishery" in the *Western Antiquary*, vol. III, 1883. From the engraving one learns that, in this specimen at least, the "two slightly bent pieces of wood," apparently barrel-staves, were kept together, at the upper end, not by one other "piece of wood," as in the above-quoted description, but by two pegs put into their holes from opposite sides, and, as I judge from experience gained in making a model, tightened up, one holding against the other, by screwing them in opposite directions much in the manner of violin-pegs. The way in which the arm-piece, thicker at one end, is fitted on below is not hinted at, either; but in all other points the description of the killick of 1854 fits so well the drawing of that of 1883, that there can have been but little difference between them.

Although so unlike the "yoked" killick of Bessy's Cove, this Polperro one has its own Cornish cousin, for it may be compared with a killick from Mousehole, in Mount's Bay. In order to make this connection clear, however, it will be best to consider first an Irish killick, from the Aran Islands in Galway Bay, for which again we are indebted to Mr Romilly Allen (fig. 17).

This I think must have once had an almost exact counterpart in an older Cornish killick, a common parent of those of Polperro and Mousehole. In it we find two boards forming the sides, each of which tapers slightly from below upwards. These side-boards are brought close together above, at a very sharp angle, spreading below so as to allow of a flat, oblong stone being clamped between them. The side-boards are held together above the stone by two round wooden pegs, and below it by a single bar of square section, all driven through holes of shapes

and sizes to correspond. Holding all together more firmly still, we find a spliced grommet of rope held down by each round peg, and iron spikes, driven in different directions, one on each side, into the square bar as it projects from the side-boards. Although the "flukes" made by these projecting ends of the square bar are so small as scarcely to effect their purpose, the stone projects so as to form a very efficient anchor-stock; just reversing the proportions of "stock" and "fluke" in the Polperro killick. Yet the idea of fixing together two boards to enclose a stone, each time by means of two pegs and one arm-piece, is common to both, and they must, I think, be quite closely related.

To come, now, to the Mousehole killick (fig. 18): this bears in its general form and proportion a far stronger likeness to the Irish one that we have just seen than to the Polperro killick. It is in fact a good example of what one sees so often in these home-made contrivances—the age of iron creeping in, modifying and finally superseding the stone-age implement. The "strop-stone" itself is in these days often a mass of pig-iron, with a convenient hole for the strop; ballast, too, once of stone, is now more often of iron, and the Mousehole killick as we see it here, made after the description given me by a fisherman who had put many together, is but a transition-period version of the Irish one. The sharp-angled chevron shape of the frame, even to the bevelling of their meeting surfaces where the side-boards meet at its apex, is the same; so, too, is the general outline of the enclosed stone: iron, however, has replaced wood as the means of binding its parts together. Thus we have, instead of the square bar, as "flukes," a curved iron rod, this following the line of the wooden arm-piece in the Polperro killick, and still, like that, piercing and bracing the side-boards. Instead of the two pegs above the stone, however, we have, first an iron ring, that serves both to keep the boards together and as an attachment for the mooring-rope, and secondly a nailed-on lashing of hoop-iron, or in some cases wire, that keeps the wood and its stone all firmly together. The Mousehole killick was once entirely of wood-and-stone, and had its pegs, for amongst some Celtic scraps that have come

down as fishermen's words, remembered by old men almost fifty years ago, are *ludras*, the frame of the killick, and *kentpathengy*, pegs belonging to the frame. Split up into its component words, the latter seems to be *kentrow ow-perthen a gé*, literally, "pegs belonging to the frame," in Old Cornish; or if not that, *kentrow abarth an ké*, "pegs at the side of the frame (or enclosure)," the most important word being *kentrow*, pegs, of which there can be no doubt. With this knowledge, it seems impossible to look at the Irish and the Mousehole killicks together without seeing in the former the pegged-together ancestral form, of which the latter is a descendant caught in the act of developing itself out of existence as an implement of wood-and-stone.

Curiously enough, at Mousehole itself no wood-framed killick now survives, although a killick of stone-and-iron may sometimes be seen there (fig. 19); but it is quite evident that the same phases of killick evolution were going on elsewhere in Mount's Bay, for just across it, at Marazion, I once noted a purely wood-and-iron killick that had exactly the same iron arm-piece that was a feature of the Mousehole one. In this (fig. 20) the bulky weight of stone being exchanged for that of a discarded fire-bar from a steamboat's furnace, a single block of wood makes a sufficient frame to hold it, the ring disappears, a mere hole through the head of the block serving for the mooring-rope, but there is still some general resemblance to the Mousehole killick.

The next stage, however, gets rid of the curved iron bar as arm-piece, and substitutes for it two strips of flat, soft iron, nailed upon the sides of the killick instead of passing through it, and bent round to form flukes that have the new advantage of yielding under great pressure, so that, straightening out, they relax their grip of the rocks and allow the killick to be drawn clear (fig. 21). Killicks such as this are still made, in some variety of shape, at Marazion and Penzance. When, instead of the fire-bar, an iron stanchion is used, this becomes a very neat implement (fig. 22). Some of these wood-and-iron killicks have the iron of their "arms" or "flukes" continued almost to their heads (fig. 21). This seems to have set someone

pondering as to whether the wood was a necessary part at all; for the next move is to discard it altogether (fig. 23).

The "flukes" are now extended so as to form a shank of themselves, being welded together above and below the enclosed fire-bar, and pierced for a ring at the head, and again for a bolt that goes through the fire-bar. The same thing with a cast iron stanchion has a still more workmanlike appearance (fig. 24). A more common type of killick at Penzance is formed by enclosing a fire-bar within the embrace of a rod of round iron, bent sharply upon itself to form "shank" and "ring" combined, and turned up again at its ends to form "flukes," the latter being hammered out either to a chisel edge or even sometimes in imitation of the genuine flukes of an anchor (fig. 25). At Bessy's Cove, the old home of the "yoke" killick, I noted a variant of this round-iron killick (fig. 26) in which the rod was made to enclose the fire-bar as completely as the flat strips that we saw welded round their "stocks" in the Marazion killicks of iron. This as well as a "ring" for its mooring-rope, had a second ring binding it in below the "stock."

At the next point on the coast as we travel eastwards, Porthleven, we find a killick of very similar construction, brought less closely upon its fire-bar, but held together below it by a twist of iron, and made still more secure by some turns of iron that pass through holes drilled in the fire-bar (fig. 27).

This iron killick at Porthleven, east of which port it is not found, rejoices in the distinction of a separate name—"jinny-lin." I am assured that killicks have gone by that name at Porthleven from a time beyond the memory of man and before the fame of Jenny Lind, so there is at least a probability that this is a corruption of some Celtic term; perhaps *gyn elin*, "elbow contrivance," the *gyn* being of course borrowed from English, and the "elbow" possibly referring to the forked bough of a "yoke" killick that first bore the name. Unless in its round-iron rod (that a little suggests a descent from a stone-and-iron killick like that of Mousehole, fig. 18, but which at least it has in common with some Penzance forms), in spite of its distinct name, the Porthleven "jinny-lin" shows no marks of an origin separate from that of the rest of its tribe, and is in fact hardly

itself of a type more fixed than theirs, for no two of these killicks are exactly alike anywhere in Mount's Bay. Here indeed the boat-anchor is still in a state of flux and within a few miles, or even a few feet, of one another, one may see, or at least hear of, the anchor at almost every stage of its development from the "strop-stone" to the fully evolved anchor of iron. The nearest approach that I have yet seen to the latter is made by a Penzance example. Still but an iron killick as is this (fig. 28), yet, with its symmetrical bar of iron placed as "stock" so near its head, and with its greater length of welded "shank" below, it is getting very near indeed to being an anchor, and given a sufficient number of representations of early anchors of the Mediterranean, it ought not to be difficult to find amongst them a very close match for it.

Up to the present this killick seems not to have set a fashion, and the low-placed stock of the Chinese anchor is still the prevailing mode, but meanwhile one watches for developments. While doing so with the Cornish killicks, may I also urge upon those who have had the patience to follow my study of killicks to its end, that they also, whenever they may find themselves near fishing-boats, but especially in out-of-the-way coves, whether British or foreign, should keep a weather eye-lid lifting—this seems to be the appropriate phrase—for more killicks. These may lie on the beach or quay, or they may be found jumbled up with other gear in fish-cellars or sheds; the most likely place for them, however, is the bottom of a boat that is employed in crabbing or line fishing near the shore.

The fact that, many as are the books containing pictures of Cornwall, and many as are the killicks there used, I know of no single sketch that represents one, ancient or modern, is enough to show that such things may lurk unsuspected of all save those who are making and using them, within a few yards of those even who are specially looking out for shore-lumber of character and interest.

Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man ought to have their killicks, and Ireland is almost certain to have varieties at least of the type that is illustrated by Mr Romilly Allen. The pilchard-seine and the Cornish fishing methods were introduced into South Ireland from Cornwall about two centuries

ago, and it is just barely possible that the Irish wood-and-stone killick came from Cornwall with them. The particular specimen that we know did not, however, come from South Ireland, but from a remote island in the West, and quite as good a case could be made out for the converse supposition, that the Cornish killicks of Polperro and Mousehole came originally from Ireland. There is historical evidence for at least one actual killick that came from the South of Ireland to Cornwall as long ago as what is called the "Age of the Saints," probably at the end of the fifth century. This belonged to Saint Fingar, or, as the Cornish called him, Saint Gwinear. Mr Henry Jenner, who first drew my attention to this early example of a killick in literature, has given me the details concerning it from the *Acta Sanctorum* (Mart. 23, iii. 450), whence it appears that the holy man was for some reason so attached to the stone of his anchor that he had it carried for some miles inland to the site of the church that bears his name. After his death, says Anselm, his historian, "two soldiers, in contempt of the holy martyr, insultingly defiled a certain stone which had been the anchor of his ship." With their punishment, which was particularly unpleasant, we need not deal, but the comment of the Bollandists upon this killick is entertaining as showing how the wisest may err in nautical matters: "the passage," they say, "seems incomplete and to be restored thus—'a certain stone to which the anchor of his ship had been attached.'" A certain stone which had been part of the anchor of his ship it may have been, unless it happened to be simply a "strop-stone." Sunk beneath the ground in the churchyard, walled up near the altar, or embedded in the fabric of Gwinear Church, there probably still lies hidden a rock from the Wexford shore, belonging to a geological era that is not represented in Cornwall, and easily to be identified when found. Is it a round boulder, grooved with a waist; or has it notches that would correspond with four rods; or is it a flat stone that was once held between boards, and was the Irish form, echoed at Polperro and Mousehole, already in existence in the fifth century?

The answer we cannot give, but there is at least the comfort of feeling that it is not yet finally to be despaired of, but only waiting; not, though unknown, unknowable.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE "FORESTS."

By the Rev. H. P. STOKES, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.

(Read May 30, 1921.)

When the present writer was an undergraduate, he attended a lecture by the late Dr Lightfoot on "the Clementine Epistles." That distinguished divine began by saying that a former Professor of Geology, dealing with a certain "Greensand," had declared that it was neither "green" nor "sand." So (said he) with "the Clementine Epistles," they are neither by Clement, nor are they "Epistles."

Our subject to-day is "Forests in Cambridgeshire." It may be said by some that, neither in the technical sense nor in the popular phrase, are there any Forests in our county. Dr Cox, for instance, in his volume on the "Forests of England" has no section on Cambridgeshire, and accounts for the omission by saying "that there is practically no information with regard to any royal forests within its confines."

But it will be seen in the following pages that, taking the word Forest in the technical usage thereof, there are quite a number of records which may be quoted; while in the popular sense much may be written about the forests upon the East Anglian heights and not a little about the woods through which the Ermine Street ran its Cambridgeshire course.

The term "Forest" is, of course, generally used in connection with *trees*; and it comes, I suppose, as a surprise to most boys, when they first read Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne*, to find that delightful author in speaking of the royal forest of Wolmer, which formed so large a part of his parish, describe it as "consisting entirely of sand covered with heath and fern; diversified indeed with hills and dales; but *without having one standing tree in the whole extent.*" (Kearton's edn. p. 17.)

Wolmer Forest, however, and its sister Forest of Alice Holt,

are so-called in the official sense of the word. Take, for instance, Blackstone's definition (in his legal *Commentary*, i. viii), "Forests are waste grounds belonging to the King, replenished with all manner of chase and venery; which are under the King's protection, for the sake of his recreation and delight." A Forest, says another writer, is often "a wilderness rather than a wood." In these Forests—many of which were, however, densely wooded—were carefully guarded "the five wild beasts of venery," the hart, the hind, the hare, the boar¹, and the wolf. The royal "Forest Laws" were special and rigorous; but need not be detailed here.

Then we have *Chases*, which were Forests but not royal; and offences in connection with which were dealt with by the Common Law and not by "Forest Law." The beasts of the Chase were "the buck, the doe, the fox, the marten and the roe."

Again, we have *Parks*, which were enclosed, by palings or otherwise. "A Forest and Chase are not, but a Parke must be, inclosed," says *Coke on Littleton*, § 378.

Next, reference must be made—especially, as we shall see, in Cambridgeshire—to *Warrens*. "*Libera Warrena*, free warren, was a liberty granted by the King to the lord of a manor, that within such an extent he should keep and preserve, and take to his own use, fish, fowl, and other game, which no other person should hunt or destroy without leave of the lord" (the definition is taken from Dr White Kennett's *Glossary of Words and Phrases*). In the warren were preserved, according to Lord Coke, "the hare, the coney, the roe, the partridge, the quail, the rail, etc."

Here, before this Paper is formally entered upon, may the writer be allowed to say, how he came to deal with the subject? As Rector of the parish of Little Wilbraham, he has naturally

¹ It has been stated that "the reference to wild boars at Quy in the *Hundred Rolls* implied a Forest in that neighbourhood." The allusion is doubtless to the words "*ap' et taur'*" (*Hundred Rolls*, ii. 496); but this may be explained by the expression the "august animal" used by Maitland, in *Township and Borough*, p. 88.

looked into the history of that village and of its neighbour Great Wilbraham. He found that on one side, the N.W., the Wilbrahams were bounded of old by Fens; while, in the opposite direction, there were Heaths. He noticed in *Domesday Book* that the owner of his village was "Wluuinus venator," one of the Saxon King's huntsmen. To him William the Conqueror appointed, as successor, Alberic de Ver, the ancestor of the Earls of Oxford. It will be remembered that among other offices held by that great family was that of Steward of the Forests of Essex. The writer has not met with any document designating the Veres as bearing a similar office in connection with our County; but it will of course be remembered that the Forests of Essex and the Woods of the East Anglian heights of Cambridgeshire ran into one another.

Then it was noticed that in the notes to C. H. Pearson's *Historical Maps*, there are three Cambridgeshire Forests mentioned, and of these Wilbraham is one. Why? it may be asked; and the answer is apparently to be found in the frequent mention in the *Pipe Rolls*, during the reigns of Henry II and his sons Richard and John, of royal payments to a Forester in our villages.

Again, one of our manors was held by the custom of supplying the sovereign at certain times with a sparrow-hawk. This serjeantry looked in the same direction.

In later times when James I made himself a residence at Newmarket, the heath where the King hunted ran on either side of the Icknield Road for ten miles or more; and, as we shall see, the royal Keeper's name was linked with the Wilbraham villages.

Incidentally, it may be noticed that at Six Mile Bottom on the road just mentioned stands, and has long stood, an interesting countryside Inn, which bears the suggestive name of "the Green Man."

The hamlet of Six Mile Bottom, it may be added, is a part of Little Wilbraham reclaimed from the old heath-land on the S.E. side of the village. In old Terriers there are now and then allusions to the gradual enclosure of the Heath and its transformation into arable land.

After these introductory remarks, let us turn to the records which connect our County with the Pleas of the Forest and with Royal hunting grounds. We will deal with four such districts—with the overflow of the Huntingdon Forests into the Isle of Ely, with the Royal Chesterton Warren connected with the Castle of Cambridge, with Newmarket Heath, and with Royston Heath. These will be treated in order.

THE ROYAL HUNTINGDON FORESTS AND THE ISLE OF ELY.

If we turn to the Records of the Pleas of the Forest, we find items referring to the Counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon among others. It is, of course, true that these two counties were linked together from various points of view—such for instance as the appointment of a Sheriff; and it is further true that (as we should expect from its Royal Forests) Huntingdonshire is much the more frequently in question—yet Cambridge-shire does occasionally occur, as in the appointment of Justices of the Forest; Brian de l'Isle, for instance, being nominated to this office in the year 1229 for a list of counties ending with “Cambridge, Huntingdon and Oxford.”

While to take a special instance, we read in G. J. Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forest* (p. 16), under date 1254, the following record:

“It is presented by the foresters that William Turkil of Whittlesey and Bartholomew his brother of the same town, of the homage of the Prior of Ely, and other men, took forty roes in the marsh of King's Delph, within the metes of the forest on the Thursday (17 Dec. 1254) and Friday before the feast of St Thomas the Apostle in the 39th year...and the truth of the matter is inquired into by the foresters and verderers; and a certain Bartholomew Turkil of Whittlesey comes with others. A certain Bartholomew is said to be guilty; but whether it is this Bartholomew who is present or another Bartholomew who was at that deed they do not know; therefore he is committed to the steward of the prior of Ely that he be, etc.”

To take some other examples: we read in Dugdale's *History of the Embankment*, etc. (p. 366) that “the County of Huntingdon

being then a forest, the regardors did, in 34 Edward I (1306) by virtue of the King's precept, make the following presentment at the New Temple in London, viz. that...the tenants of the Abbot of Thorney, in Wytlesheye, and the tenants of the Prior of Ely in Wytlysheye, had wasted all the Fen of Kyngesdelfe, of the alders, hassacks, and rushes, estimated at a thousand acres, so that the King's deer could not harbour there, as they had before that preambulation. Likewise that the Abbot of Thorney had made a purpresture in the said King's Forest, within Farsheved Fen...and had raised a new bank without the town of Jakele...against the assize of the Forest."

Further, we read "that John le Wode, of Jakele, came, with the men of Wytlysheye, into the Fen of Kyngesdelfe, and set fire therein, which burnt in length and breadth about four miles, by estimation; which caused great loss to the King, in his harts, hinds, and goats.

"And likewise, that the men of Benewyk had destroyed a certain place in Kyngesdelf, of the alders and rushes, called Hertynnges, containing a mile in length and breadth."

Benwick and other of the places just mentioned are, of course, in Cambridgeshire.

THE ROYAL WARREN OF CAMBRIDGE (CHESTERTON).

We proceed to deal with "the King's Warren of Cambridge," and quote various records relating thereto in chronological order.

We learn from the *Pipe Rolls* of 8 Henry II (1162) that Danegeld was pardoned at Cambridge to various officials including the Warrener (*Warennerius viij^s*).

Again from the *Pipe Rolls* of 22 Henry II (1176), under the heading "De misericordia regis pro foresta sua," various Cambridgeshire names occur: e.g. Yvo de Quarrel was amerced 20 *m.*, Roger de Valoignes *ditto*, William de Chesterton 2 *m.* for a default; the township (villata) of Cambridge was amerced 40 *m.* for the forest; the land of Earl Alberic (of Oxford) at Cheveley "redit comptum de ii *m.* pro defalta, etc."

Later on from the same *Rolls*, we note in 1198—in connection with the Pleas of the Forest—Walter the clerk of Papworth owes

1 *m.* and the Abbot of Ramsey owes $\frac{1}{2}$ *m.*; in the next year the above mentioned William de Chesterton appears twice—all these being due to having dogs without licence. In the same year Gerald the clerk of Soham is fined *pro stult. plev. senesc.*

In the year 1205, we learn from the *Close Rolls*, that Peter de Beche, having been amerced in the sum of 100 marks "for our warren of Cantebruge," was, on the petition of the Bishop of Ely, pardoned half the amount.

In 1220, referring again to the *Pipe Rolls*, we read such Cambridge entries as: Fulk de Baiocis was amerced for having a bow and greyhounds against the Assize; William de Pirie owes 20s. for a crossbow found in his house; William de Georgio owes half a mark *pro stulte loquendo!*

In the *Hundred Rolls* (in two places—ii. 407 and 452) we find the boundaries of the King's Warren defined. Beginning at the Castle of Cambridge it ran along the King's highway towards Huntingdon up to a bridge called Syrebrigge or Serebrigge; thence it followed the course of the water to Westwick bridge; thence by the great way of Rampton to Ballassise or Belassise (i.e. the camp known as Balsar's Hill); thence to the bank of the river (Ouse), and so returned by the river towards an unidentified place called Squasselode (or Squappelode, or Sebasselode); and thence by the great river (the Cam) to the Bridge of Cambridge.

In the year 1341, we learn from the *Patent Rolls* (March 26th) of the appointment by the King of John of Windsor, his valet, to the office of Bailiff of his warren of Cambridge, with the ancient and accustomed fees during good behaviour.

Four years later (1345) the *Close Rolls* record a writ to the Sheriff of the County of Cambridge for the payment of arrears due to John of Windsor.

In the *Patent Rolls* for the year 1401, Henry IV issued two Commissions (on March 6th and April 14th respectively) concerning the Free-Warren belonging to the Castle of Cambridge in Chesterton, Milton, Histon, Cottenham, Girton, Landbeach and Waterbeach; as evil doers had hunted therein and carried off hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges.

It will be seen later on that certain lords of the manors in

this district were granted free-warrens on their estates, within certain limits.

We go back, in chronological order, to the year 1286, to some very interesting records in the *Forest Eyre Rolls*. We quote from Mr G. J. Turner's remarkable volume of *Select Pleas of the Forest* published by the Selden Society; though it should be added that Dr Palmer printed extracts therefrom with racy remarks in the *East Anglian* xiii. 113, 4.

Under date 1 July 1286, under the heading *Pleas of the Warren of Cambridge at Huntingdon*, we read the following presentments:

"Philip de Colleville and his servants, whose names are not known, were wont to enter the lord King's warren of Cambridge, with the greyhounds of the same Philip, and to take hares in the same without warrant in the time of King Henry until his death, and also in the time of the lord king who now is, until the twelfth year of his reign. The same Philip did not come, nor was he attached; therefore the sheriff is ordered to cause him to come to Huntingdon on the first Tuesday in Lent (25 Feb. 1286). And he did not come; therefore of him £10."

[It may be added that the Colviles held the manor of Histon for several generations, and that they had property in the town of Cambridge (see *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 154, 5).]

Similarly, Henry the Son of Henry of Childerley, a county landowner, was wont to hunt and take hares in this warren.

"Robert the son of Roger, a clerk of the Bishoprics of Norwich and London, at the time when he was a scholar in the University of Cambridge, to wit, in the time of King Henry and also in the time of King Edward till the twelfth year of his reign, and used to come to Cambridge, and his servants were wont to enter the aforesaid warren with their greyhounds and to hunt and take hares in the same, the precise number of which cannot be ascertained. And he did not come, nor was he attached; therefore of him ten pounds."

A similar charge was made against "Magister Adam le Fraunceys, of the bishopric of Durham, when he was a scholar at Cambridge; and so against William of Sheepy, of the

bishopric of Ely, Master Thomas of Middleton, archdeacon of Norwich, Hugh de la Penne, clerk, of the bishopric of Lincoln, James de Moyon, of the bishopric of Bath, Thomas the son of Alan, clerk, of the bishopric of Durham, or of the archbishopric of York, and William d'Umfraville, clerk, of the bishopric of Durham, who at the times when they were scholars at the university of Cambridge frequently entered the warren aforesaid with their greyhounds; and they frequently sent their men into the same warren with their greyhounds; and they hunted and took many hares, each taking his share; and the number thereof cannot be ascertained."

Concerning Thomas of Middleton the matter is respited, because he is beyond the sea in the service of the lord King.

The names of others are mentioned, who claimed to have the franchise of warren in their lands within the lord King's warren aforesaid.

Still dealing with the Warren of Cambridge—"Eustace of Cotes and a certain Gosse his fellow were wont to enter the warren with nets and to take plovers and such like wild-fowl. Laurence Seman of Cambridge and Scrippe of Barnwell were wont to enter the warren with nets and scarecrows (*cum rethibus et sewell*) and to take wild-fowl. And they were not attached; therefore they are in mercy."

Mr Turner goes on to quote records from the *Plea Rolls of the Forest*, naming as offenders Richard, Abbot of Crowland (£10); William of Roding, *when he was sheriff* (£10); Leon Denning (1 mark); Thomas Bacun of Landbeach and others.

The allusions to the Cambridge scholars are very interesting, for we thereby recover the names of some 13th century undergraduates and other members of the University.

THE ROYAL WARREN OF NEWMARKET HEATH.

It has already been stated that away back in the 12th and 13th centuries there was a royal Forester in Wilbraham (part of which was included in what was afterwards called the Newmarket Heath).

In the *Pipe Rolls* for 12 Henry II (1166, 7) there is recorded the following grant: "et de ijs. et viijd. de servitio forestarii in

Wilburgham"; and this grant is repeated for more than 40 years, down to the 3rd year of King John's reign.

We do not know any details of this arrangement; though it has been stated above that at the time of the Conquest property in Little Wilbraham passed from the hands of Ulwin "the King's hunter" to Alberic de Ver; and that a manor in Great Wilbraham was held by the serjeantry of a sparrow-hawk.

The quotations from the *Pipe Rolls* probably led to the statement in Pearson's *Historical Maps* that at Wilbraham was one of the three Forests in Cambridgeshire.

We must pass on to the days of King James I, whose royal residence at Newmarket and whose love for hunting on its heath are well-known.

In 1605, we find¹ from various official documents², John Bancks was appointed keeper of *Wilbraham Bushes*, alias the New Warren, alias Hare Park, at Newmarket, and keeper of the game "within ten miles compass of the same," with a fee of 2s. "of lawful money of England, by the day, and 2s. a day for keeping the game there. The following year he was paid £73. 13s. 4d. for impailing the new warren between Newmarket and Shelford [or Thetford according to another reading], and for certain bridges thereabouts for his Majesty's more easy and safe passage." On 26 November, 1607, he received £100, and on 5 June, 1609, £46. 19s. 8d. for similar works.

[It may be noted that in a *Subsidy Roll*³, dated in the year last mentioned, John Bankes, gent., appears as the largest contributor in Newmarket. It may be added that his brother was the exhibitor of the celebrated Bankes's "dancing horse" alluded to by Shakespeare (*Love's Labour Lost*, I, ii, *Variorum Edition*). This horse and its owner were burned at Rome, by order of the Pope.]

¹ Many of the following quotations are taken from J. P. Hore's *History of Newmarket*.

² See *An Abstract of the Present state of the King's Revenue*, etc. (1651, p. 57), quoted by Cole, B.M. Add. MS. 5821. See also *Pells' Order Book*, 1606; *Docquet Book*, 1607; *Warrant Book*, ii. 1609, MS., P.R.O.

³ *Exch. Lay. Sub.*, Camb. 821, m. 3, MS., P.R.O., quoted by Hore, i. 297.

In 1612 Sir Robert Vernon¹ obtained the reversion of the office held by John Bancks; this keeper died in 1625. In 1630, we find² a warrant issued to pay Sir John Carlton, Bart., the sum of £200 to repair the pale of his Majesty's newly erected warren called *Wilbraham Bushes*, and for the defraying of other necessary charges incident to the keeping of the said warren and game. In 1636 payments³ are made to Sir Robert Huddleston for the preservation of game at Newmarket and thereabouts—the following parishes being specified: “Burrowgreene, Brinckley, Carleton cum Willingham, Weston Colvill, etc., Western Waterles, Westwattin, Westwickham, etc., neere bordering upon Allington Hill his Majesty's hunting place, when hee is pleased to reside att Newmarkett.”

A long Survey⁴, dated 1650, giving “Parcell of the possessions of Charles Stewart, late King of England,” mentions *inter alia* the Kennels at Newmarket, and “the Common Heath called Newmarket Heath within the severall parishes of Swasham Bulbocke and Burrow Greene in the said County of Cambridge, commonly called or known by the name of Hare Parke as the same was heretofore inclosed conteyning in the whole by estimacon Thirty and foure Acres bee the same more or lesse.”

At the Restoration, on 13 September, 1660, Sir Allen Apsley, Master of the Hawks, was appointed⁵ Keeper of the New Warren of Wilbraham Bushes, with a fee of 1s. 4d. per day; also ordering 10s. per day for providing meat for the hawks. By another patent he obtained “£800 per annum, of which £200 was for the entertainment of four falconers at £50 a year each, viz. for the crow hawks—and £600 for provision of hawks of all kinds: the crow, the heron, the field, and the brook, etc.”

By a later patent⁶ Peter Apsley, son of Sir Allen Apsley, was joined with his father in the office with reversion to the longer liver of them. Some years afterwards when Sir Allen died in 1683, this Sir Peter obtained the appointment, which he surrendered, probably for a consideration, to Thomas Felton and

¹ *Pells Office Inrolments*, MS., P.R.O., v. 19; Hore, i. 294.

² *Docquet Book*, P.R.O.; Hore, ii. 12, 13.

³ *State Papers, Dom.* vol. ccxii-ccxiv.; Hore, ii. 28; and ii. 35.

⁴ Hore, ii. 69-76.

⁵ *Id.* ii. 222.

⁶ *Id.* ii. 224.

William Chiffinch, Esquires, and these persons were accordingly appointed to the office by patent dated 20 June, 1675.

In 1683, Charles II issued an order¹ that "no Person do presume to Hunt, Hawke, Set, Course, or Shoot, between Lackford and the Seven Mile Ditch, without lease first obtained."

Most of the above references are taken, as may be seen from the footnotes, from J. P. Hore's *History of Newmarket*; from which interesting compilation the following notes are also extracted:

In 1623, "the Attorney-General² was to call before him the owner and tenant of a coney-warren at Foulmere, near Royston, which hindered the King's sport there, and to request them to have it diswarrened, etc."

In March 1624, a warrant³ was granted to John Fyson his Majesty's Game Keeper at Newmarket of £40 towards the impaling and enclosing a piece of ground there for the feeding and holding of young fowl, etc. A further warrant to the same keeper was made for the preservation "of his Majesty's Game of Heron, Ducke and Mallard in and about Newmarket, Exninge, Lanworth, Snaylewell, Fordham, Chippenham and diverse other places thereabouts."

About 1638, John Tradescent⁴, a Dutchman, says that the Bustard "as big as a Turkey" was usually taken by greyhounds on Newmarket Heath.

Dr Fuller, in his *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), has some curious and characteristic remarks upon Hares, and upon "Hare-Park nigh New-market."

In a letter⁵ dated at Newmarket 26 September 1677, Secretary Coventry says, "this morning we killed wth the K^{es} begles three hares."

In 1682, there are some curious accounts⁶ of highway robberies upon Newmarket Heath, about 3 miles away from that town.

¹ *London Gazette*, No. 1082; Hore, iii. 76.

² Hore, i. 243.

³ *Docquet Book*, s.d.; Hore, i. 260.

⁴ Hore, ii. 42.

⁵ *Id.* ii. 344.

⁶ *London Gazette*, s.d. Nos. 87 and 88.

Newmarket Heath, on either side of the old Ickniel Road, stretched for some miles to the south. Paterson's *British Itinerary* notes, between the 50th and 51st mile-stones from London, that here travellers "enter *Newmarket Heath*." But we have seen above, when quoting the payments made to "the Keeper of Wilbraham Bushes," that the New Warren lay between Newmarket and Shelford, which is a little more to the south. In a quotation from Cole's MSS. given in the *Cambridge Portfolio* (i. 197) the *Heath* seems to approach even nearer to the University town. In an alternative reading the name Thetford is substituted for Shelford; but this is probably a mistake.

It will be noticed that the New Warren is frequently and somewhat emphatically called "the Wilbraham Bushes." This title, together with some of the remarks made above about the connection of the Wilbrahams with Forestry, seems to hint that where now the hamlet of Six Mile Bottom stands, was formerly a kind of centre of the Warren. The curious fact that the old road-side Inn at that spot is called "the Green Man¹" has already been noticed. It may be added that where the heath mentioned above approaches Cambridge at Cherryhinton we find another Inn called "Robin Hood and Little John."

It has been pointed out in the Introduction that old Terriers of the Wilbrahams and other villages give frequent examples of the reclamation of the heath-lands by conversion into arable lands, etc.

ROYSTON HEATH.

Besides the royal residence and the hunting grounds in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, the Stuart Kings had similar possessions in the vicinity of Royston.

Dr Palmer (to whom the writer is much indebted) has an interesting paper in the *East Anglian* (N.S.) xiii. 353, 4, on this subject; from which the following notes are taken.

¹ In Hore (ii. 382) there is a curious account of the scandalous conduct, in the days of "the Merry King," of George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, who disguised themselves as landlords of "the Green Man."

In August, 1660, Charles II appointed¹ Thomas Duckett, of Steeple Morden, Keeper of the King's Game of Hare within three miles of Royston; with a fee of 2 shillings a day—and including the keepership of hares and river fowl within seven miles of Thetford (?).

On the 30th October 1662, there is a Royal Warrant² to George Pike, Esquire: "Whereas we are informed that our Game of Hare, Pheasant, Partridge, Heron, and other wild fowle in and about our Countyes of Essex, Herts. and Cambs. is much destroyed by divers disorderly persons with greyhounds, mongerells, setting dogs, Gunns, Trammells, Tunnells, netts and other engines, contrary to the statutes of our realm in these cases provided...our game within six miles of your house called 'Sheene in Cambridgeshire'...therefore, etc."

Pike inherited (Dr Palmer notes) Sheen Manor in Meldreth from his father in 1658, not three miles from Royston. Therefore Pike and Duckett overlapped. Pike's manor had no privilege of *free-warren*; as had the manors of Lord Allington and the Dean and Chapter of Ely in Meldreth and Melbourn for 400 years and more.

Several members of the Meldreth family of Halfhyde³ had been Game Keepers at Royston earlier in the century. In 1607–15 Henry Halfhyde and his son Henry were keepers at 2s. 6d. a day, and £3 a year for livery. In 1624 Robert Halfhyde was appointed at a salary of £100.

THE WOODLANDS OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Having dealt with the technical "Forests" of our County, and having recorded various official reports concerning them in the *Plea Rolls* and other documents, we now turn to Woodlands in a more popular sense. We proceed to deal with Forests and Woods, other than Royal; with Chases, and Parks, and Woods; as well as with Free-Warrens in private hands.

The Forests on the East Anglian heights to the east and south of Cambridgeshire; the Woods on the western hills in our

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, under date.

² *Domestic Entry Book*, Charles II, ix. 36.

³ *S.P. Dom.* and *Devon's Pells Records*.

County, including those through which the Ermine Street was cut; the lofty trees on the islands which rose out of the Fenland in the N.W. of the Isle of Ely—these have long been renowned in local, and even in national, history.

The remarkable Dykes which run across the old Icknield Road reached from the Fens on the west to the Forest-clad Hills on the east. As Camden (p. 407) says, speaking of "the Devil's Dyke": "it begins at *Rech*, beyond which the country is fenny and impassable, and ends just by *Cowlidge*, where woods stop all marches."

The *Domesday Book* is the first official document from which we can gather details as to the extent of Forests and Woods in our County. But this information is only indirect. The purpose of that great survey was to ascertain what property was geldable. We accordingly read of the value of woods for pannage, and for building purposes and fences; Castle Camps, for instance, has "a wood for 500 hogs" (*Silva ad quingentos porcis*), Bourn has "wood for the houses of the manor" (*Nemus ad domos curiæ*), as well as for "the hedges" (*Nemus ad domos et sepes*), and so on.

We give a list of most of such entries, from which it will be noticed that the chief Woods were situated on the East Anglian heights on the east and south of the County, especially in the Hundreds of Cheveley, Radfield, and Chilford. The high lands standing out of the Fens in the Isle of Ely are also represented; and so are the hills in the west of Cambridgeshire; while a number of villages on rising ground here and there supply wood for the hedges, etc.

THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE WOODS, AND THE PANNAGE SUPPLY.

The Hundred of Cheveley :

Cheveley, 32
Kirtling, 60
Ditton, 450
Ashley, 12
Saxon Street, 40
Silverley, 20

The Hundred of Radfield :

Balsham, 277
Borough Green, a Park
Carlton, 134
Dullingham, 104
Stetchworth, 260
W. Wrattling, 40
Weston Colville, 312

The Hundred of Chilford :

Abington, 30
Shudy Camps, 11
Castle Camps, 500
Hildersham, 20
Horseheath, 84
Linton, 50
W. Wickham } 162
and Streatley }

The Isle of Ely :

Chatteris, 120
Doddington, 250
Downham, 100
March, 4
Sutton, 5
Wentworth, 20

Hundred of Armingford :

Litlington, 20

Hundred of Long Stow :

Gransden, 40
Gamlingay, 10
Eltisley, 20

WOOD FOR BUILDING AND REPAIRING.

The *Domesday Book* mentions in a number of places the capability of supplying wood for building and for fencing—using such expressions as *silva* or *nemus ad sepes, ad sepes reficiendas, ad sepes claudendas, ad domus curiæ, ad sepes et ad domus reficiendas, ad sepes et ad focum*, etc.

THE HUNDRED ROLLS.

We next turn to the *Hundred Rolls*, a Survey made in the year 1278 soon after the accession of Edward I. Unfortunately, though the Cambridgeshire returns¹ are generally very full, there are gaps in the Hundred of Radfield and its neighbourhood, just in the district where the Woods abounded. But, omitting for the present references to the Free-Warrens, we may notice the following entries : Camps, 200 *acres* of wood, Hildersham, 20 ; Linton, 40 ; Streatley, 20 ; Silverley, 6 ; Ashley, 3 ; Gamlingay, 84 ; Eltisley, 12 ; Hatley, 15 ; Stowe, 5 ; Knapwell, 8 ; etc.

THE WOODS THROUGH WHICH THE ERMINE WAY PASSED.

Here perhaps, as throwing light upon the state of the Woods in the west of our County, and indeed throughout the country, we may quote the following incident most graphically told in the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesiæ de Bernewelle*. The picturesque Latin of the old Barnwell Canon is given in the late J. W. Clark's

¹ The writer desires to express his many obligations to Mr W. J. Corbett, of King's.

edition of the book on pages 145 and 146. The following translation of the narrative is quoted from Nichols's "History of Barnwell Abbey" (1786, pp. 32 and 33).

"The Prior of Barnwell has a wood in Brunne (Bourn), joining upon the way called Arming-Street, and it happened that on *feria quarta ante diem Paschæ* there came two noted rich merchants from about Stamford, and three strangers with them. They drank together at Caxton, and went on, and when they came under the Prior's wood in Arming-Street way (it was after sun-set, about such time as they went to church to perform that service which in those times was called *Tenebrae*) the strangers set upon the two tradesmen, knocked them off their horses, killed, and robbed them. The cries of the tradesmen were heard in Stow Church; but the robbers, having got all they had, came the same night to Royston (*ad villam de Cruce Roys*); and being asked how they came so wounded, and what made their cloaths so bloody, they said, 'that they had like to have been killed by thieves, and that they escaped their hands with much difficulty.' But the next morning, the men were found dead, and it was immediately reported everywhere, that the Prior's carpenters, whom he had sent thither to fell his wood, and who lay there in a hut night and day, had killed them. But when the coroner's inquest came to sit on the bodies, they acquitted the master carpenter, whose name was Peter de Burg, because it was proved that he was at Brunne church at the time when the murder was committed.

"The report of this murder coming to King Edward, and also how and when they were killed, he sent out an edict¹ throughout all England, commanding all the woods through which the common road lies, on both sides the King's highway, for the breadth of 60 feet, to be cut down; and there was a time fixed for the owners of the woods to do it in, under a heavy penalty. When the Prior of Barnwell heard of this, he caused all the

¹ As the editor remarks, the *Statute of Winchester* (1285) is probably meant; but in that it is enacted "that there be neither dyke, tree nor bush whereby a man may lurk to do hurt within 200 foot of the one side and 200 foot on the other side of the way." (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 1895, p. 474.)

trees standing upon the banks of the ditches to be felled, and the ditches to be filled and leveled, and all the underwood to be stubbed up to the breadth of 60 feet, for fear of falling into the King's hands. And William Baldwyn did the same by his wood of Stow, opposite to it, and so made the passage there more safe than before."

PARKS.

In *Domesday Book* there are said to be two "Parks" in Cambridge, one at Borough Green, the other at Kirtling.

Borough Green had been one of the manors of Queen Editha, the consort of Edward the Confessor. Lysons suggests that she probably had a palace there for her occasional residence. The entry in *Domesday Book* is "Parcus bestiarum silvaticarum"; the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* reading "ferarum" instead of "bestiarum."

At Kirtling, the manor of which passed from King Harold (or Earl Harold, as *Domesday* persists in calling him) to the Countess Judith, the widow of Earl Waltheof, there was also a *Parcus bestiarum silvaticarum*; as well as *Silva lx porcis*.

The mention of Kirtling Park¹ suggests an allusion to the following entry in the *Patent Rolls*, under date 12 July 1374: "a Commission of oyer and terminer was issued to John de Cavendish and others, on the complaint of William Campo, earl of Warwick, against John Roger of Wilbraham and a number of others that they had broken the deer Park at Kertlyng, co. Camb., entered his free-warren there, hunted therein without licence, and taken deer from the park, and hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the free-warren."

In the *Hundred Rolls* (1278) there are certain references to Parks; such as that (ii. 425) at Campes, where the park² is mentioned in addition to the 200 acres of wood. This park (we learn from *Esch.* 48 Henry VIII) was four miles in compass.

Other *Rolls* may be consulted, such as the *Close Rolls* (1241,

¹ See allusions to the buck-hunting therein by the members of the North family (*Life of the Lord Chancellor, the first Baron Guilford*, ed. 1826, i. 47).

² See a very interesting article by Miss Parsons, on "a Poaching affray at Castle Campes in 1556." (*Cambs. and Hunts. Archaeological Society Transactions*, vol. iii.)

p. 264), where we read of "a grant to Henry de Nuthale of 4 bucks and 20 does alive from the King's Forest of Huntingdon to stock his park at Eltesle."

To turn to later times, allusion may be made to the afforestation at Childerley, in the reign of Charles I, when Sir John Cutts depopulated the whole parish for the purpose of improving his park, even demolishing the remaining church in the process. No wonder that Archbishop Laud complained of the proceedings; though the outbreak of the Civil War prevented any interference by the royal power.

Coming to modern times, it may be remarked that the only Deer Parks at present in Cambridgeshire are those at Chippenham and at Peterhouse, Cambridge.

CHASES.

There are perhaps no Chases mentioned in the records of our County. It is true that, under *Whittesford* (Whittlesford) in the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 570), it is recorded that both Sir John de Aky and Sir John de Camoys claimed to have free *chases* and warren; but the use of the term is so exceptional that it is probably due to the word "chase" habitually employed in the question here answered.

So again reference elsewhere (as in Dugdale) to the Bishop of Ely's free Chases must be explained by the adjacent Huntingdon property at Somersham, etc.

FREE-WARRENS.

Permission to the lords of manors and others to claim a *Free Warren* on their estates was lavishly granted; so much so that in the index to some of the volumes of *Charter Rolls* they are said to be found "*passim*."

Cambridgeshire was no exception to this; and, as we have seen and are again about to notice, even on the King's own Warrens—such as that connected with Cambridge Castle (Chesterton), on Newmarket and on Royston Heaths—permis-

sion was granted to lords of manors therein, under certain restrictions.

The most privileged individual was the Bishop of Ely, who—in addition to his possessions in "the Isle"—was granted Free-Warrens in his demesne lands in various parts of the county; such as Balsham, Ditton, Horningsey, Shelford, Triplow, Hardwick, Willingham, etc. "provided that the said lands are not within the bounds of the King's forest." (See *Charter Rolls*, 1250, p. 367.)

In the *Hundred Rolls* (1278) there are, of course, frequently recorded the claims of lords of the manor to Free-Warrens on their lands; though, again and again it is stated that the jurors "do not know by what warrant" the grant is held; and, often too, the owners are said to exceed their bounds.

Free-Warrens, for instance, are mentioned at Whaddon and at Pampisford (*Hund. Rolls* i. 51, 52); at Abington, Badlingham, Barrington, Burwell, Camps, Childerley, Fowlmere, Gamlingay, Hinxton, Impington, Kennett, Kingston, Knapwell, Landbeach, Linton, Milton, Orwell, Rampton, Swavesey, Trumpington, Waterbeach, Whittlesford, Wicken, Wilbraham, etc. (*Hund. Rolls* ii. 423, 498, 425, etc., etc.).

In the *Hundred Rolls* the boundaries of some of these Free-Warrens are carefully described; such as those of Great Abington (ii. 423), Camps (425), Fowlmere (546) and Linton (418).

In cases, where the Free-Warren, granted to a lord of a manor, lay within a Royal Free-Warren, the limits of the grantee are emphasised, as, for instance—in the Cambridge Castle Warren—at Rampton, Milton, Landbeach, Waterbeach, Impington, etc.

Sometimes, in the same village, there were more than one manor to the lord of which a Free-Warren was assigned; as at Wilbraham, where Robert de Insula and John de Lovetot both held warrens on their demesne lands (see *Charter Rolls* 1264, p. 49, and 1277, p. 203).

It will be noticed that the last two references are to the *Charter Rolls*; and, of course, it should be added that, from those records and from many other official documents, many

confirmations and illustrations of such grants and privileges might be quoted. Take, for instance, the case of Linton, where (as Dr Palmer has pointed out) William de Say, the owner at the time of the *Hundred Rolls* (1278) or perhaps a predecessor of the same name, had in 1252 been licensed to hunt the wolf, the hare, the fox, the cat and the otter, with nets in the King's Forests on this side of the Trent, but to take no deer (*Charter Rolls*, under date). Again, we learn from a Post Mortem record in 1272 that William de Say had 3 leashes of greyhounds worth $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ yearly, and 6 pairs of jesses worth $8d.$; so, in 1279, he had 2 leashes of greyhounds and 6 pairs of jesses.

To Dr Palmer the writer is also indebted for the following very curious letter, describing a riot in the Free-Warren at Linton and some of the proceedings which ensued:

To the Right Reverend fader in God & my right
good & gracious Lord the Bisshop of Lincoln
(1475-80 & 1483-5) Chauncellour of England.

Humble besecheth your good & gracious lordshipp Thomas Saunders servant of Thos Brampton Squyer & Keeper of the Wareyn w^tynne the town of *Lynton* in the Shire of Cambrigge that where Thomas Thomas Cheveley & divers oder riotus & evyll desposed persones that is to sey Richard Shellis Thomas Gygell, the xth day of November last past abowte mdynyghte riotusly wth bowes & arowys entryd the seid wareyn & therynne with hayes hunted conyes at which tyme your seid besecher & on Rawlyn Yong an oder servant of the forseid Thomas Brampton Kepyng the seid waryn came toward the seid mysdoers to let them of ther huntyng & the seid mysdoers perseyvng ther comyng oon of the seid misdoers shott an arow at the seid Rawlyn Yong & hym strook therwth whereof he was more lyke to dye than to live & there upon for fere the seid misdoers fled & left ther hayes be hynd theym be the which hayes the seid mysdoers were well knowen for the which the seid mysrewled persones malissiously ymagyned to vex & troble your seid besecher have gotyn a warant of suerte of the pece of oon John Alyngton ther master oon of the justice of the pece w^tynne the seid shyre & pryncypall berer & favourer of the seid misrawled persones & be vertu of the same have arrested your seid besecher & hym with grete malice stokked & fetered in the towne of *Lynton*, in ther owne ward owte of the comen gayle of the shyre & in nowyse wyll suffer hym to departe upon suerte & so have hym ther kept be the space of 5 dayes & hym intend to carry at ther will into oder places onknowen to the intent that he should not be takyn in Gayle to the grete hurt & utter ondoying of your seid besecher please it therefore your good & gracious lordship the premyses to consider & to grant un to your seid besecher a wrytte of Corpus cum causa to be

direct as wel to the shireve of the shire aforeseid & the Keper of Gayle of the same shire as to all other constabull of hundreds & townes & to eyther of theym commandyng them be the same to bryng up the body of your seid besecher with the cause of the takyng at a certeyn day before the Kyng in the chaunsery ther to be directed & delyvered accordyng to the lawe reson & consiens & he shall pray god for the conservacon of your good & gracious lordshipp.

Endorsed Coram Rege in Cancellia sua 14 die Februar

Early chancy Proc: $\frac{64}{160}$.

In 1478 Tho^s. Brampton of Lynton, Cambs gentilman, during pleasure, as controller of the great and petty customs in the port of Lynn the subsidy of wools &c.

Patent Rolls.

DISFORESTATION.

It is generally stated, and is doubtless true, that just as of old over the greater part of England there were vast forests, so on the Cambridgeshire hills there were formerly stretching woodlands—"a dense tangle of mixed forest and undergrowth forming an impenetrable thicket."

At the present day the woods existing in our County "are usually small and rather isolated patches, often occurring on the summit of ridges. There is considerable evidence that adjacent patches, in some cases at any rate, are the last remnants of larger woodland areas, which have been more or less completely cleared for agricultural purposes."

When did the clearance of our local woodlands take place? In certain parts of England there are historical records of disforestation—in times of war—after the Reformation—during the disturbances of the Commonwealth period—and so on. But in Cambridgeshire there are no special traditions, unless the carrying out of the *Statute of Winchester*, referred to above, be instanced. Prof. Hughes¹ remarks: "We can hardly imagine that our County boundaries on the South East could have been fixed while the Forest still existed, for they could not have been traced or marked with any precision when the dense growth of wood extended continuously over the whole plateau. Nor can we believe that the woods on the Cambridgeshire plateau were not cut down till the time of James I, when the continuation

¹ *Cambridgeshire*, pp. 95, 6, in the Cambridge County Geographies.

of our East Anglian heights, known as Bernwood or Brentwood, was cleared of timber. The work probably commenced very far back, and went on gradually down to comparatively recent times."

[The reference is to the orders (21 James I) to "the Commissioners for disforesting Bernwood Forest"; see Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, i. 53. Reference may be made to any account of the Chiltern district.]

In the absence of any general orders for disforestation, it is probable that we must look for local clearances and individual examples of agricultural progress. Investigators should search the terriers and records of their special neighbourhood for evidences of the cutting down of timber or the ploughing up of heath-land.

The present writer, in dealing with his own neighbourhood, has come across—even so late as the end of the eighteenth century—such statements as the following from local terriers: "heath formerly, but now ploughed"; "eleven acres formerly Heath but now ploughed, abutting west on Coventry land and surrounded all other ways by the own Heath; with right of Sheep walk for 24 score sheep"; etc.

Our subject—the Forests and Woods of Cambridgeshire—has been treated from an historical and archaeological point of view. There is another aspect—a still more obvious aspect—from which it might be regarded, viz. the Botanical side of the question. This, however, is not dwelt upon here.

But there is one curious coincidence to which allusion may be made.

If, on a map, there were marked the position of such Forests and Woods as we possess in this County, there would be noticed the stretch of hills on the South-east and the high ground towards the West. The East Anglian heights from Cheveley to Royston—skirting which runs the Icknield Road—would be noticed; and so would be the hills towards Huntingdonshire, through which the Ermine Way cut its route of old.

The Ash-Oak-Hazel Woods would be referred to as the dominant woodland on the calcareous Boulder Clay which covers

both these districts; only subsidiary allusion being made to the Oak-wood Associations on the sandy soil, and to the Beech woods which ran along the chalk.

But, if on a similar map it were desired to mark out the habitat of one of the most interesting of our local flowers—the Oxlip, it is remarkable that almost the same area would be coloured; for the *Primula elatior* coincides with "the shade-association."

We must content ourselves with reminding the reader of Mr Miller Christy's well-known paper on this plant. While reference may also be made to Mr R. S. Adamson's monograph on Gamlingay Wood, entitled "an Ecological study of a Cambridgeshire Woodland."

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO COLBERT IN 1677
FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN LONDON (BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, *MÉLANGES COLBERT*, VOL. 175).

By H. H. BRINDLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read May 30, 1921.)

Through the kindness of M. Léon Dorez, Librarian in the Department of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, I am able to present to the Society part of an unpublished letter to Colbert, which is of some interest in its connection with England, and also as illustrating the wideness of the interests and activities of the great minister of Louis XIV. M. Dorez, in reading the original, thought that its subject, the keeping of swans in England and France, might be of interest to me and kindly made a copy which he sent to me as a New Year gift.

"Mélanges Colbert, vol. 175, fol. 76. Lettre de P(ierre) Formont et filz à Colbert. Paris, 7 Sept. 1677.

...Voicy aussy un extrait de lettre d'un de mes correspondants de Londres au sujet des jeunes cygnes que je luy ay demandé.... fol. 77. Extrait d'une lettre de Londres du ²³ ^{aoust}
 ³ ^{septembre}.

Il n'est pas possible de tirer aucun cygne jeune ou vieux de la Tamise, le grand hÿver qu'il a fait, joint l'infidelité des bat(e)liers, et le sejour que font les navires de long de la rivière, qui atrappent des jeunes, non obstant la grande rigueur de la loy, est cause, que depuis les enlevements que vous aves faits, le nombre est demeuré petit et nuls de ceux qui en ont, en veullent vendre, il fault songer à Lÿnn du costé de Norfolk, j'ay dit à mon bat(e)lier qu'il s'informe exactement, s'il y en a nombre, et à vendre, affin que ce ne soit pas une peine perdue. Sy je l'envois en ces quartiers là, où sans doubte ils cousteront moins qu'en ces quartiers icy, mais aussy les frais en seront plus grands, que rendra la chose à peu près semblable, mais ces inconvenients sur la Tamise joint au flux et reflux de la mer,

que n'avés pas sur la Seine, fera que dans deux années elle sera couverte des jeunes, et en aurés pour fournir d'autres lieux, où il y aura de l'eau. | Je vous reitere la maniere de traiter ces oÿseaux, qui est, que vers les mois de mars et avril ils se couplent, et qu'on remarque qu'ils portent au nid, Ceux qui en ont soin doibvent jeter un nombre de petites branches d'osier, ou autre tel(s) bois, et une botte de paille desliée près du lieu où ils portent pour en faire leur nid, et empecher que les chiens ou autres animaux ne viennent ravir les œufs. | Je n'ay pas eu responce de Wymouth pour des œufs de cygne, mais contés que dans la saison vous en aurés dans les huit ou dix douzaines que me demandés. Ce grand nombre sera cause qu'ils seront plus chers."

We do not know the terms in which Colbert made his request for cygnets to M. Formont, but the latter's reiterated stress on the financial aspect of their importation is noteworthy. It seems probable that Colbert desired to increase the number of swans in France for commercial reasons rather than for the sake of ornamenting the waterways: during his long administration of the national finances, he was concerned with every aspect of commerce. That it was desirable to import swans from England suggests that the practice of keeping them had less vogue in France, at least in the seventeenth century. In the *Dictionary of Birds* Professor Alfred Newton called attention to the need for comprehensive treatment of swan-law and other aspects of the keeping of swans in England. Many years ago Serjeant Manning epitomised swan-law in the *Penny Encyclopaedia*, xxiii. p. 271, but I believe that no work devoted to the keeping of swans has been published in England. Swanneries were formerly much more common than at the present day, and, according to Newton, in Queen Elizabeth's time 900 swan-marks of corporations or private individuals were recognised by the Royal Swanherd; and the "Bird-Royal" was in the time of King Henry VII so highly regarded that to steal its eggs involved a punishment of imprisonment for a year and a day and also a fine. In the Letter, M. Formont's "Wymouth" swans are most likely those of Abbotsbury inside Chesil Beach, which form the largest swannery of modern times. The reference to

Lynn caused me to ask Mr E. M. Beloe, F.S.A., if he knew of any local records suggesting that swans were formerly numerous on the lower Ouse, and he has called my attention to the statement in Hillen's *Lynn* that in 1649 the lessee of the ferry paid ten pounds a year in rent and a yearly present of a brace of well fatted swans to the Mayor; and that Sir Henry Spelman (1562—1641) remarks that "Cäyster¹ of which Ovid speaks was not more famous for the song of swans than the gentle flowing waters of the Ouse."

The keeping of swans by St John's and Emmanuel Colleges and later on by Girton College are matters of recent history.

¹ Enters the Aegean opposite Samos.

Note.—Since the above was written the world of learning and letters has to lament the death of M. Léon Dorez at the comparatively early age of 58 years. To his many friends in England, a country which he greatly loved, he was endeared by the charm of his manner and conversation; and many of us will always carry grateful memories of his kind and ever ready help in the Manuscript Room at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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