

B. R. HARLEY

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1922—MAY 1923

WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY

VOLUME XXV.



Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO., LTD.; BOWES & BOWES.

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

1924

Price Ten Shillings net.

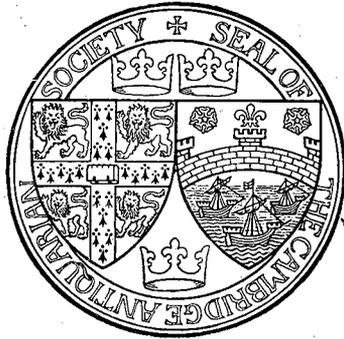
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS

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PRINTED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SOLD BY DEIGHTON, BELL & CO., LTD.; AND BOWES & BOWES
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1924.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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CAMBRIDGESHIRE SHERIFFS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

By HELEN M. CAM., M.A. London.

(Read 12 February, 1923)

In a recent article in the *English Historical Review* Dr Round asks, almost desperately, "How can we combine the learning of the historical specialist with the indispensable knowledge of the local antiquary?"¹ One might almost retort with the inquiry, "How do you do it yourself?" for his own articles in the *Victoria County History* are outstanding examples of such a fruitful combination, and he himself admits that Cambridge furnishes the conspicuous exception of Maitland; but broadly speaking, there is no doubt that his lamentation is justified. There is an enormous field for co-operative effort along some such lines as those of the Place-Name Survey. In economic history, as in archaeology, the value of studies of local conditions, not only for their own sake but as leading to a general survey, is well established, but in administrative history the thing is far less common. The historian is content with a dry and stale generalisation, repeated, it may be, at third or fourth hand from some sixteenth or seventeenth century writer like Coke or Madox; the antiquarian is too much concerned with the personal, the episodic, the exceptional to dwell on the normal routine of the system. Studies like Mr Lapsley's recent paper on the parliamentary representation of Cambridgeshire and four neighbouring counties under Edward II², which may have little or no anecdotal interest, must be accumulated laboriously before we are in a position scientifically to reconstruct the actual method of medieval administration.

It is worth while, then, to indicate the relation of our subject—Cambridgeshire Sheriffs in the thirteenth century—to general constitutional and administrative history. The position of the

¹ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI, 211. ² *Ibid.* XXXIV, 25, 152.

sheriff in the evolution of our constitution is like that of some essential cog or pin in a great machine. Take him out and the whole thing falls to pieces. The task of the Normans, Angevins and Plantagenets—that of making one England, with one law, out of the congeries of provinces which Harold left, was only made possible by their adaptation and transformation of the Anglo-Saxon official called the Sheriff whom the Conqueror found in England when he arrived. That official—in origin a royal steward, in theory the subordinate or substitute of the earl, in practice a magnate well on the way to becoming hereditary and therefore independent—had become by the thirteenth century an individual who might almost be called the king's maid-of-all-work in the shire; not merely a connecting link between the central and local systems, but the pivot upon which all governmental activities turned. The general constitutional historians, more concerned in this period with the source of power than with the channels through which it flowed, lay their chief emphasis upon the diminution of the sheriff's political power. We are told that he had passed the zenith of his powers before the reign of John; that coroners, escheators, keepers of the peace were encroaching on his sphere of activity and that his vested interest in his office was a thing of the past, except in some few outlying counties. All this is true, but it is only half the truth. Those very reforms which had bit by bit brought the sheriff into strict subordination to the crown had added to his local importance the weight of the royal authority. Instead of the tyranny of an irresponsible magnate the men of the county were up against the active arm of a great and growing organism—the whole system of royal administration and justice. In the hundred and fifty years between the Conquest and the accession of Henry III the scope of royal activity had widened immeasurably, and every extension of the central government's field of action automatically increased the work of the sheriff. If his powers were less, his activities were more in the thirteenth than in the eleventh or twelfth century.

From the administrative point of view, the thirteenth century is the sheriff's golden age. I called him the king's maid-of-all-work in the shire. I am not going to attempt to describe his

duties systematically, but a few instances, taken at random, of the jobs that fell to the lot of the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, will illustrate their immense variety. There is enough of the steward about him still for him to be expected to furnish supplies on occasion for the royal table. In 1257 William of Stow is ordered to supply luces, eels, one crane, four peacocks and four swans for the feasts of St Edward and of Christmas, and may write off £15. 15s. 10d. of his account at the Exchequer by way of compensation¹. When it comes to the Scottish campaigns of Edward I orders are sent, year after year from 1298 to 1303, for corn for the army—for instance, in 1300, 1000 quarters of wheat, 1000 of oats, and 500 of malt—the wheat to be ground into flour, well bolted, placed in new clean strong barrels, well salted so that it may keep a year or two at need, and 3 hazel rods placed in the top of each barrel, and so to be sent to Berwick upon Tweed to be there by a given day². Again, the sheriff acts as the king's almoner. In 1244 Ralph de Bereford is told that Richard Iron-tooth, the king's pensioner, being dead, he is to pay his twopence a day henceforth to Wm Coynturel³. In 1285 Thomas of Belhus is instructed to send 10 live bucks and 20 live does to stock the park of Roger Lestrangle⁴. He is generally responsible for the condition of roads and bridges; ways and watercourses. It is his duty to set up clear land-marks to show the boundaries of Hunts and Cambs as defined by the special commission of 1284-6⁵. In the eyre of 1272 the jurors report that the whole community of Cambridge has been digging gravel in the king's highway near Trumpington ford, so that those who could come and go on their way to and from Cambridge cannot pass, to the damage of the whole county. The offenders are fined, and the sheriff has to repair the road at their charges⁶. Out along the Huntingdon road, at the town's end, men and women have been encroaching on the road, probably with stalls and booths, for one is a fish wife, so that carts cannot get by; the sheriff must put

¹ Memoranda Roll L. T. R. 32, m. 19.

² *Patent Roll Calendar* (henceforth cited as *P.R.C.*), p. 487.

³ *Close Roll Calendar* (henceforth cited as *C.R.C.*), p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 309. ⁵ See *P.R.C.*, pp. 140, 201; *C.R.C.*, pp. 415, 416.

⁶ Assize Roll, 85, m. 12.

this right¹. In Fulbourne, in Fleamdyke Hundred, a watercourse which drained the town is blocked up, and the resulting floods prevent horses and carts from passing; also a wall has been built that takes off a large part of the road. The sheriff is to reopen the ditch and pull down the wall—at the expense of the offenders². He is, of course, responsible for the upkeep of the castle, where extensive works are going on in the reign of Edward I³. It is possible that these works and repairs account for the fact that for eleven years of Edward's reign the sheriff of Cambridgeshire pays in nothing to the Exchequer⁴. They may also explain why the prisoners taken at Dunbar in 1296 and distributed all over the counties of England, are in Cambridgeshire confined in the Bishop of Ely's castle at Wisbech instead of Cambridge Castle. The sheriff is ordered to meet them, escort them to Wisbech, and pay 3*d.* a day for each of them and their keepers while they are there⁵. This is an emergency duty, as is the order to remove all alien clerics from the waterside and dismantle their boats in September 1295, lest they should leave the kingdom⁶. The parson of Chesterton church, a Lombard by birth, is exempted from this regulation, which is of course connected with the French war⁷. Again in 1297 the sheriff has to take steps for enforcing the king's measures against the clergy who, in obedience to the bull *Clericis laicos*, refuse to pay taxes⁸. He has military and naval duties: in April, 1297, he is to send all ships arriving in his shire to be at Winchelsea by Midsummer⁹; and in 1300 he is instructed to persuade all men of a certain income to arm themselves and be at Carlisle by Midsummer to fight the Scots¹⁰. He has to back up the University authorities in the maintenance of discipline: if the Chancellor and masters appeal to him he must go and arrest any scholar indicated, or expel him from the University¹¹.

¹ Ass. R., 85, m. 14.

² *Ibid.* 85, m. 7.

³ See *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandum*, p. 167, n. 2, and Memoranda Roll, L.T.R. 63 (4 Oct. 1291).

⁴ I owe this information to Miss Mabel H. Mills; cf. *E.H.R.*, xxxviii, 337, 351.

⁵ *C.R.C.*, p. 483.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 459.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *P.R.C.*, pp. 239-40; *C.R.C.*, p. 19.

⁹ *C.R.C.*, p. 100.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 295.

¹¹ 3 May, 1231, *C.R.C.*, p. 586; 28 Oct. 1294, *P.R.C.*, p. 101.

Apart from emergency orders there is a steady and unbroken stream of routine administrative duties. The sheriff is for ever receiving orders to hold inquests—into the age of heirs; as to whether so and so, now lying in Cambridge gaol, killed so and so of intent or by misadventure; as to whether the king will suffer if the Carmelites enclose a plot of the king's land between their house and the water of Granta¹, and so on. For all such extraordinary inquests as those of 1255, 1258, 1268, 1275 and 1279 he will have to provide juries, as he does for the general eyres, of which some nine or ten occur in the century. He has to see to the election of coroners and representatives of the counties for all sorts of business². He may not himself try criminals of any importance, but he has an immense amount of police work connected with criminal and civil justice; serving writs, distraining beasts, taking charge of the goods and chattels of felons, arresting accused persons, and either bailing them or providing for their custody, and collecting fines and amercements imposed by the king's justices. On the fiscal side he collects all sorts of dues on behalf of the Exchequer, to which he renders his account every year. At the monthly shire-moot on Castle hill he publishes the king's proclamations, whether they concern new statutes, or the terms of the truce with France, or the sale of provisions or export of wool, or the holding of tournaments within three miles of Cambridge³. Lastly, he has a petty criminal jurisdiction in the six-monthly courts, his tourns, which he holds in the hundreds.

In the majority of duties that have been mentioned the sheriff is acting under orders and is accountable to the central government—most often to the Exchequer; but it will be seen that however much the government has the whiphand of him, to the average subject in his two shires of Cambridgeshire and Hunts this ubiquitous activity will make him both mighty and terrible. The importance to the king of this official is also clear, and the dependence of good government upon a close control over his person and activities.

¹ *P.R.C.*, p. 474 (1292).

² *C.R.C.*, p. 499 (1301), 559 (1302).

³ *Ibid.* p. 197.

The questions that arise in one's mind in connection with the thirteenth century sheriff concern the nature of this control. How were the sheriffs appointed? For how long did they hold office? What manner of men were they, socially and politically? By what machinery were they brought to book for their conduct? What is proposed here is to make some attempt to answer the first three questions, more especially that on social status, for this one sherriffdom of Cambridgeshire and Hunts during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. The question of accountability will be touched on incidentally but is too large to be dealt with now.

In regard to the appointment of the sheriff, Cambridge presents no special peculiarities. As in the large majority of counties, the position was dependent upon the king's will. In the Angevin period the office might be and was bought; in 1208 Fulk Fitz Theobald paid 120 marks and two palfreys to have the counties of Cambridge and Hunts for seven years, with the castle¹; but this practice of John's, who sold anything for which a purchaser offered, was not, I think, followed under his son and grandson with whom we are mainly concerned. The form of appointment of John le Moynes in October 1253 may be taken as typical. He is to keep the counties of Cambridge and Hunts and the castle of Cambridge *during the King's pleasure*, and his predecessor Simon de Houghton is simply ordered to hand over to him². The sheriff has no right of tenure as against the King.

Simon de Houghton himself is a case in point. We are not given the details of his offence, but we gather that he has been summarily removed, from a notice on the Close Roll. On 4 July, 1253, the King informs the Treasurer and barons of the Exchequer that he has removed Simon de Houghton from his office of sheriff of Cambridge and Hunts and that they must have another appointed in his place to account at the Exchequer for the issues of the counties³. Three weeks before two justices had been ordered to enquire how Simon de Houghton bore himself as sheriff, and their report must have been unfavourable⁴: From

¹ Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 319.

² *P.R.C.*, p. 223.

³ Close Roll, 37 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁴ *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, ix, iii.

other counties, notably from Northamptonshire, we hear lurid and detailed stories of the misdeeds for which sheriffs were deprived of their offices; most of these instances fall between 1250 and 1260, and are probably to be associated with the general movement for reform. It should be noted that Simon de Houghton remains responsible till his successor is appointed on October 17, 1253. As to the machinery of appointment there are some slight variations. Up to 1278 the appointment is normally made in the Chancery; after that date in the Exchequer¹, a change which reflects the increased fiscal pressure being brought to bear on the shires. In the reign of Edward I the farms of the Cambridgeshire hundreds were practically doubled²: by 1307 the sheriff is almost certainly regarded primarily as a fiscal agent³. There are one or two special occasions, however, when the procedure is varied for political reasons. In the crisis of 1258-60, when the kingship was for the moment put into commission, the sheriffs were chosen by the King in council, and ordered to come up to the Exchequer to take an oath the form of which had been fixed by the council. For those years the appointments are enrolled in the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer and not in the Chancery Rolls; and the formula instead of "during the King's pleasure" is "as the King's council has provided." William le Moyne is the sheriff who goes up to Westminster to take his oath before the Treasurer and barons in the form provided by the Council⁴. In 1261, in some counties at least, the county courts were invited to send up names to the Exchequer⁵, and the Annals of Dunstable assert that the magnates provided and appointed sheriffs almost all over England, against the authority and will of the lord King, rejecting and refusing to obey the sheriffs whom he had appointed⁶. In Cambridgeshire they did not succeed in ousting the King's nominee John Livel, but they did succeed in reducing his power to a shadow. In 1268, after the final overthrow of the baronial party, the barons

¹ *P.R.O., Lists and Indexes*, ix, iii.

² See Assize Rolls, 82, 85, 86, 95, and Hundred Rolls of 1275.

³ See *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, N.S. x, 52.

⁴ *P.R.C.*, p. 655.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 328 (1261).

⁶ *Ann. Dunstable* [R.S.], p. 217.

of the exchequer are directed to hold a special inquest of four knights of Cambridgeshire into the condition of John Luvel's tenure of office, and they find that Hervey of Evesham and Ralph Pirot prevented him from taking the profits either of the shire moot or of his tourns in the hundreds during the summer and autumn of 1261¹. Saer de Freville, who held office for six months of 1262, seems also to have been a royalist.

This episode illustrates well the connection between party changes and administrative appointments. Every political crisis almost inevitably produced a clean sweep and appointment of new sheriffs throughout the country. Not only in 1258, but in 1264 after Lewes, in 1265 after Evesham, and in 1274 when Edward I returns from the Holy Land, such general clearances occur.

Another variation in the method of appointment, not so important as one might think, occurs sporadically under both Henry I and Edward I—the election of sheriffs in the shire. In 1300, by the Articles on the Charters, Edward I granted his subjects the right of electing the sheriffs of their own shires, provided the office were not hereditary². This right, which was withdrawn in 1311, does not appear to have been regarded as very valuable. In the absence of any clear knowledge as to how elections in the shire-moot were conducted, it seems possible that in practice this worked out at the sheriff's nominating his successor—merely another form of royal nomination. The Cambridgeshire sheriffs of 1300–1307 do not appear in any way less dependent on the central government than those before 1300, and there is a great deal of passing from shire to shire if the country be considered as a whole, which strongly suggests inspiration from headquarters. For instance Robert Hereward, sheriff here 1300–1, goes on to Norfolk and stays there till 1306; and his successor, Robert of Bayouse, here from 1301–6, is sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire 1306–7.

Closely bound up with the question of appointment is that of duration of tenure. The ideal of the reforming party in 1258 was an annual appointment; the Provisions of Oxford laid down

¹ *Royal Letters*, [R.S.], II, 322, 297.

² Art. sup. Cart. c. 8.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE SHERIFFS IN THE 13TH CENTURY.

9 March	1216	Fawkes de Bréauté.
18 Jan.	1224	Richard de Argenteuin*.
23 Jan.	1224	Geoffrey de Hatfield*?
10 May	1232	Geremias de Caxton.
7 July	1232	Peter de Rivaux.
1 May	1234	Geremias de Caxton.
24 Oct.	1236	Henry de Colne*†.
16 Dec.	1242	Hugh de Hodeng.
26 June	1244	Ralph de Bereford†.
15 Feb.	1246	Philip de Stanton*.
19 April	1249	John de Scaliaris*.
11 May	1249	Henry de Colevil*.
6 Oct.	1251	Simon de Houghton.
17 Oct.	1253	John le Moyne*.
17 May	1255	John de Marines.
11 May	1256	William de Stow*.
3 Nov.	1258	William le Moyne†.
Michaelmas	1259	John de Scaliaris*.
9 July	1261	John Luvel.
26 Feb.	1262	Saer de Freville*.
8 Oct.	1262	John Luvel.
18 June	1264	John de Scaliaris*.
24 Aug.	1265	John le Moyne*.
Michaelmas	1265	Almaric Peche*.
23 Nov.	1267	Baldwin de St George*.
Christmas	1267	Saer de Fréville*.
5 Aug.	1270	Robert del Estre.
19 Oct.	1274	Walter de Shelfhanger.
Michaelmas	1275	William le Moyne*.
25 Oct.	1278	Baldwin de St George*.
8 Oct.	1279	William de Rothing.
28 Oct.	1281	Thomas de Belhus.
20 Oct.	1289	Hugh de Babington*.
10 April	1296	William de Mortimer*.
19 Oct.	1297	William de Sutton.
4 Oct.	1298	Thomas de Gardinis.
6 Oct.	1300	Robert Hereward*.
17 Oct.	1301	Robert de Bayouse†.
11 Nov.	1306	Robert de Hoo*.

* Holding land in Cambridgeshire. † Holding land in Huntingdonshire.

that none should hold office for more than a year¹. How far this standard was observed can be seen from the accompanying list, which is based on that published by the Record Office. We begin Henry III's reign with the two long shrievalties of Fawkes de Bréauté and Geoffrey de Hatfield; and Henry de Colne holds office for six years; after that the normal length of office is about two years, till up to the date of the Provisions of Oxford, when political convulsions produce short and broken terms of office. After 1265, the year of Lewes, there is greater calm; we have three years of Saer de Freville, four of Robert del Estre, three of William le Moyne, eight of Thomas de Belhus, seven of Hugh de Babington, whose term of office is only ended by his death, and five of Robert de Bayouse. If the reformers of 1258 believed in rotation, the civil servants at headquarters had a very different view. We get an expression of it in Bishop Stapleton's admirable ordinances of the Exchequer of 1325, where it is laid down "Let not the Sheriffs be so often changed as they have been, for by the more often changing of the sheriff it frequently happens that the king is ill served and his mandates not executed and the people vexed in divers ways."² Lack of continuity in administration, lack of experience in the administrators are the evils suggested. It is probably to escape the last evil that the Exchequer officials transferred men from one shire to another, a practice commoner at the end of our period than at the beginning. Six of the twelve sheriffs appointed by Edward I held sheriffdom in other counties; Walter of Shelfhanger was in Lincolnshire 1273-4, Cambridgeshire 1274-5, Norfolk and Suffolk 1275-7; William of Rothing went from Cambridgeshire to Norfolk in 1281, and was sheriff there till 1289; William de Sutton was sheriff of Essex 1294-7, of Cambridgeshire 1297-8, and of Norfolk 1298-1301, Thomas de Gardinis was sheriff of Gloucestershire 1293-8, and of Cambridgeshire 1298-1300; Robert Hereward was appointed sheriff of Essex in 1299, though the appointment was cancelled; he was sheriff here from 1300-1, and of Norfolk 1301-6; and Robert de Bayouse, as we have seen, went

¹ See also *King's Letters*, [R.S.] II, 365, for royal proclamation on the subject.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer* [R.S.], p. 961.

to Leicestershire after five years in Cambridgeshire¹. It will be noted also that in the more peaceful and stable days of Edward I the appointment is always made in October, in contrast to the scattered dates of Henry's reign, the sole exception being caused by the death of Hugh de Babington in office.

We are now in a position to discuss a question for which detailed individual examination is necessary; what manner of men, socially speaking, were these sheriffs? Again the Provisions of Oxford supply a standard: "Let there be provided as sheriffs loyal people and substantial men and holders of land; so that in each shire there be a vavasour of the same shire as sheriff." Substantial country gentlemen, not necessarily tenants in chief; men who will not be dependent on the favour of the Crown for a livelihood, or without a local interest to counteract the official, clerkly interest of a civil servant, are the kind the reformers desire.

The demand is reiterated throughout the century, from 1222, when the men of Cornwall agree to pay 1300 marks to have a sheriff from among themselves², down to 1325, when it is endorsed officially by the Exchequer in Stapleton's ordinances. The sheriffs are to be "sufficient persons, with good estates in land in the counties where they shall hold office."³ For, from the king's point of view, it was desirable that the sheriff should have immovable property, which could be confiscated in lieu of arrears if he made default in his account. Yet the very characteristics which commend a man to the baronial party or to his own shire might make him less eligible from the point of view of departmental efficiency, which would include the knack of extracting money from his shire. Which type, one asks, will predominate; the country squire or the king's clerk? That is the problem upon which a biographical study of the Cambridgeshire sheriffs, incomplete as it is bound to be, sheds much light. We will examine the record of these men with reference to these points

¹ See *P.R.O., List of Sheriffs*, for all except last instance, for which see *C.R.C.*, p. 515 (1307).

² Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 283.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer* [R.S.], p. 959.

—Are they landholders? Are they Cambridgeshire men? What are their relations to the government?

We begin with the foreigner Fawkes de Bréauté, appointed by John in the last months of his reign, almost certainly for strategic reasons—to secure the control of the important military point of Cambridge Castle. Similar reasons probably led to his being appointed sheriff of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, Northants and Rutland, of all of which counties he was the nominal sheriff at the same time. This sort of pluralism belongs rather to the past age; we have only one other instance of it to note. For ordinary administrative purposes, it is probable that the sub-sheriff, Ralph de Bray, was the man who mattered. Fawkes was the captain who controlled the military resources of these midland shires in the campaign against Louis of France.

Richard of Argenteuin, whose appointment was revoked in five days, was a Cambridge landholder, holding four knights fees of the honour of Richmond in Melbourn and elsewhere¹.

Geoffrey de Hatfield had a house in Cambridge, and conferred land on Barnwell Priory²; so, although his name probably indicates residence in Essex or Herts, he may be regarded as a Cambridge landholder.

Jeremy de Caxton is a more interesting figure. From his name one would judge him to be a Cambridgeshire man, but there is no evidence of his having held land in Caxton. He is the king's clerk *par excellence*. He appears first as Geoffrey de Hatfield's clerk, accounting for him at the Exchequer in 1231. The office of sheriff's clerk was undoubtedly most responsible; the clerk probably had a great deal of the fiscal business of the county in his control, acting as treasurer of the revenue collected on behalf of the king's exchequer in the shire. Then he is sheriff for two months in 1232, and we may safely assume that he carried on as sheriff's clerk under the great pluralist Peter de Rivaux, who was nominal sheriff of eighteen other

¹ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridge* (henceforth cited as F.F.C.), p. 28; *C.R.C.*, p. 84 (1224).

² F.F.C., p. 244; *C.R.C.*, p. 247 (1229).

counties besides Cambridgeshire and Hunts in 1232. The fall of Peter des Roches in April 1234 meant the dismissal of his supporter Peter de Rivaux from his many offices, and the disappearance from the Cambridgeshire list of sheriffs of political magnates like himself and Fawkes de Bréauté. Jeremy de Caxton resumes the title of sheriff and exercises the office till 1236. That seems to be the end of his connection with the county, but not by any means of his career. He is acting in various official capacities, as guardian of empty sees, as assessor of a tallage of the Jews, as justice of the forest and as justice of assizes up to 1253, when he is holding pleas with Bracton *Coram Rege*¹. One seems to see some young villein of Caxton getting his freedom through his brains, his education through his order, and his career in the King's service through efficient local work for the royal favourite: but this is, of course, pure imagination.

Of his successor Henry de Colne there is little to relate, but it is interesting to notice that he held eighty acres of land in Caxton of John de Scaliaris, himself thrice sheriff, besides the sixty acres at Colne in Hunts from which his name was derived².

Hugh de Hodeng offers another example of the sub-sheriff becoming sheriff; in 1243 he is allowed to account at the Exchequer both for his predecessor Henry de Colne as his clerk, and for himself as sheriff³. It is possible that he is a landholder in Essex, and that the Hugh de Hodeng who held manors in Burnham and Eton in Bucks, and Hedingham, Wanstead and Ham in Essex, and died in 1242, was his father⁴. Anyway, there is no evidence of his having held land in Cambridgeshire.

Ralph de Bereford held land in Hunts, at Needingworth and Holywell, just over the Cambridgeshire border⁵. He went to law with the Abbot of Ramsey in 1241 as to his right of cutting rushes in Warboys marsh, but lost his case⁶. He was present, as sheriff, at the inquest held at Huntingdon on January 7th, 1244, before special commissioners, to determine the boundaries between Northants, Hunts and Cambridgeshire⁷.

¹ *P.R.C.*, pp. 176, 247, 289, 442; Foss, *Dictionary of Judges*, p. 160.

² *F.F.C.*, 178. ³ *C.R.C.*, p. 120. ⁴ *Cal. Inq.*, i, 829; *C.R.C.*, pp. 75, 200.

⁵ *Cartularium Mon. de Rameseia* [R.S.], ii, 346.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 36-7.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 39.

Philip de Stanton is a very typical respectable country gentleman. He held land in Long Stanton and Lolworth¹. In 1242 he was one of the two men appointed for Cambridgeshire to swear men to the keeping of arms². He had been elected and was serving as one of the two coroners of the county when in February 1246 he was made sheriff³. But like so many other sheriffs his official duties brought him to prison. Before his successor had been appointed he was being detained in custody at the Exchequer for the arrears of his account with the king⁴. In January 1251 he was in the Tower of London, and was to be released so that he might provide for a survey of his lands to be made⁵. Later in 1252 he pays a mark of gold to be pardoned for all his trespasses as sheriff⁶. He died about 1268⁷.

Henry de Colevile held land both in Histon and Staunton⁸. He had served as assessor of a tallage in the county before he held office⁹, and he paid the king ten marks for the privilege of acting as custodian and not farmer of the counties¹⁰, which probably means that he was held responsible only for actual receipts and not for uncollected debts, at the Exchequer. He also safeguarded himself, like his predecessor, by securing a pardon for all trespasses he and his bailiffs might have committed during his term of office¹¹. This canniness suggests the professional rather than the amateur, and when we find him acting in 1252-3 as Justice in Eyre in seven counties, including Cambridge and Hunts¹², and inquiring into the conduct of his successor in the sheriffdom¹³, we feel disposed to write him down as belonging rather to the class of royal clerks than of country squires. He is our first indication that that classification is not a sound one; the two classes are not mutually exclusive.

Simon de Houghton, from his name, would seem to be a Norfolk man, but I have found out nothing about him beyond

¹ F.F.C., 194, 203.

² C.R.C., p. 485.

³ *Ibid.* p. 418.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 142 (1249, Feb.).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 397 (1251).

⁶ P.R.C., p. 128 (1252).

⁷ F.F.C., 203.

⁸ *Ibid.* 38, 203.

⁹ Foss, *Dictionary of Judges*, p. 182.

¹⁰ C.R.C., pp. 323, 502 (1250-1).

¹¹ P.R.C., p. 125. A special inquiry into the conduct of local officials was being held in 1252.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 161, 227.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 233.

his removal, presumably for misconduct, after the inquiry held by Henry de Coleville, and the fact that his accounts were not yet settled at Michaelmas 1255¹—a perfectly normal delay.

John le Moynes with John de Scalariis I will leave for the moment; of John de Marines I have found few notices; the charges against him in the eyre of 1261 do not throw any light on his social standing. In 1274 the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer ordered a jury of the county to be summoned to inquire whether John de Marines had taken money in the hundreds and vills of Cambridge contrary to the customs of the county when he was sheriff, and from the command that these men are not to have any affinity with him or with the two other Cambridgeshire men involved², one would infer that John de Marines belonged to the county. I have failed to locate him, however.

William de Stow held land in Bourne and also in Long Stow, of the Abbot of Ramsey³. He, like Philip de Stanton, was coroner of the county, either before or after he was sheriff⁴. He probably supported the baronial cause, as he gets protection after Lewes⁵.

We come on now to the times of disorder. Cambridge suffered longer, perhaps, than any other county of England; we have heard John Luvel complaining of the disorders of 1261 and 1262, and the records of 1268⁶, when William de St Omer sat at the Castle and at Barnwell to inquire into the doings of the islanders of Ely and their abettors, give a lively picture of the unsettlement of the country, and the settlement of private grudges carried on or under cover of the Civil War. A more prosaic testimony is to be found in the Pipe Rolls, where the sums paid in from Cambridgeshire drop from £217 under John de Marines in 1255 to £53. 6s. 8d. in 1258, £40 in 1264, the year of Lewes, £26 in 1265, the year of Evesham, and nothing at all in 1267, the year of the island war⁷. It took years for the Exchequer to recover

¹ Mem. R.K.R., 29, m. 5.

² Mem. R.L.T.R., 32, m. 3.

³ F.F.C., 155.

⁴ Assize Roll, 82, m. 23 (1261).

⁵ P.R.C., p. 538 (1264).

⁶ Assize Roll, 83. A few extracts are printed in Hunter's *Rotuli Selecti*. See also the inquests de Rebellibus, *Cal. of Misc. Inq.*, I, pp. 194-5.

⁷ I owe these figures to Miss M. H. Mills.

from the strain; John Luvel was still haggling over his arrears due for 1261-2 in 1274¹; and the persistence of the habit of lawlessness is reflected in Robert del Estre's claim in 1270 for £40—the expenses involved in keeping the peace in the teeth of the many malefactors “who came out of the University of Cambridge and committed depredations and other enormities both within the town and without.”²

The first undoubtedly political nomination is William le Moyne, who comes up to the Exchequer to take his oath in November 1258, in the new form provided by the Council. He had been one of the four knights appointed for Cambridgeshire in the previous August to hold the special inquests into grievances ordered by the Provisions of Oxford³. He is described on the Patent Rolls as “of Raveley” and therefore probably belongs to Hunts⁴; the family of Le Moyne is freely distributed over both counties in the thirteenth century. He may possibly be the same William le Moyne who was sheriff from 1275-8, and was still alive when the justices in Eyre came round in 1286, but on the whole it is more likely that that William was on the King's side, as was John le Moyne of Shelford.

John de Scalariai or des Chalers was sheriff thrice; in 1249 for a month only; in 1259 for a year and three quarters, and in 1264, for the period between Lewes and Evesham. From the dates of his two last appointments it is clear that he was on the baronial side; after Lewes all the county is exhorted to assist him in the task of restoring peace⁵. The family was at Caxton and at Dullingham⁶; Henry de Colne was a tenant of theirs; and the de Frevilles were connected with them by marriage.

John le Moyne of Great Shelford, who held his manor by the serjeanty of making or mending the King's crown⁷, is clearly a

¹ Mem. R.L.T.R., 48, m. 2 d.

² Exchequer Miscellanea, 1/47. Mr E. F. Jacob kindly pointed out the passage.

³ *P.R.C.*, p. 646. Most of the new sheriffs had been put on the inquests for their own counties.

⁴ See *Rotuli Hundredorum* (henceforth cited as *R.H.*), II, 607; 627, etc.

⁵ *P.R.C.*, p. 264 (1264).

⁶ F.F.C. 110, 111.

⁷ *Cal. Inq.*, II, p. 73.

royal adherent. He served as sheriff from 1253-5; he goes to Gascony twice on the King's business; he is sheriff again from August to September 1265, and from that date onwards we find him holding various official positions, as Justice of the Jews, guardian of vacant bishoprics, commissioner to inquire into the sea walls of Lincolnshire and so on. He was a benefactor both to the scholars of Merton and to the friar preachers of Cambridge, and died in 1275¹.

John Luvel, sheriff from 1261-2 and 1262-4, is again a typical royalist. He appears as a personal adherent of Edward the King's son, serving him in Gascony in 1255. A series of grants to him are to be found on the Patent Rolls, of hunting and other privileges. In the military crisis of the spring of 1264 Northampton Castle is committed to him, he is taken prisoner at Lewes, he sits on the inquests into the conduct of the rebels in Northants in September 1265; he is granted the lands of one such rebel and sells them back to him; he sits on the inquests of 1267-8 into the disposition of the confiscated lands in eleven counties (those inquests which in Cambridgeshire were held by William de St Omer); he goes on crusade with Edward in 1270, leasing for his expenses the three manors in Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Northants which his son inherits in 1287². There is no sign that he had any land in Cambridgeshire or Hunts. He is described in the inquests of 1267-8 as "a magnate of the lord King,"³ but that did not save him from having to render a strict account at the Exchequer, where he was still in arrears in 1274, ten years after the close of his last term of office⁴.

In connection with his sheriffdom there is a remarkable story that seems to have escaped the attention of the historians of the university. The date is not given, so it may have occurred at any time during Luvel's two terms of office. It is reported to the justices of the eyre of 1272. "Certain clerks of Cambridge

¹ *P.R.C.*, pp. 409 (1255), 553, 657 (1266); *Abbreuatio Placitorum*, p. 186; *C.R.C.*, p. 214 (1276).

² *P.R.C.*, pp. 402 (1255), 202, 300 (1262), 306, 410 (1264), 491, 537 (1265-6), 113, 160 (1267), 425, 514 (1270); *Cal. Inq.*, II, p. 377.

³ Hunter, *Rotuli Selecti*, p. 174.

⁴ Mem. R.L.T.R., 48, m. 2 d.

beleaguered the house of Stephen de Hauxton, in Hauxton, but as they could not get into it they returned to Cambridge and associated with themselves the clerks John de Weston and William de Burnham, and they took an oath among themselves to plunder that house and fixed a certain day for the deed. Meanwhile they" (the last two clerks) "came to John Luvel the sheriff and told him and asked aid from him that they might take the said clerks in the act. John Luvel told the whole thing to Jordan de Daventry, seneschal of the Bishop of Ely" (who was, of course, partly responsible for the discipline of the university) "and both John and Jordan sent to the court of Stephen on the night for which the said clerks (planned their attack), together with the said John de Weston and William de Burnham, John of Helecumb and John of Evere, squires of the said sheriff, and the sheriff handed over to them men both of the vill of Hauxton and of his own household, (and they placed them) everywhere in the outhouses. At length the aforesaid clerks with others associated with them came to Hauxton on the night fixed, and burgled the house, and bound the men in it, and made a heap of all the goods they found in it, and then feasted there and whilst they were feasting the said John de Weston and William de Burnham and John de Helecumb and John de Evere fell upon them and took them and killed one of the said clerks, with the assistance of the men hidden in the courtyard. The jurors, asked what became of the clerks, say that the four mentioned kept guard over the surviving clerks till next morning, and at break of day the four departed, and afterwards came John Luvel and Jordan of Daventry to the house and found the dead clerk and the surviving clerks, and raising the hue and cry took their heads to Cambridge Castle. And as to William of Burnham, he is now prior of Norwich: and John de Helecumb and John of Evere are now in Bucks."¹ There, like so many judicial records, the story stops—we do not know if any of these *agents provocateurs* were ever produced before the justices at Cambridge Castle in 1272, or whether John Luvel and Jordan

¹ Assize Roll, 85, m. 12 d. The words in brackets are added; the Latin being very careless.

of Daventry appeared there or elsewhere to explain their disciplinary methods with Cambridge undergraduates. But we do know a little more about William of Burnham, who reported his fellows' designs to the sheriff. In August 1272, four months after the justices were at Cambridge, the citizens of Norwich attacked the abbey and burnt down most of the church. The gentle Henry III, roused to fury by this sacrilege, came himself to Norwich to punish the offenders, calling for the support of all loyal Christians. A special commission inquired into the matter. Cotton, a devoted adherent of the monks, declares that the judges and juries were bribed, but the fact remains that in October William de Burnham, who had been chosen prior in 1268, was deprived of the priory "for divers transgressions," by Henry himself—almost his last act, for he died in November. William de Burnham died in the following February. One wonders what John Luvel, still presumably on crusade in the East, thought of his former protégé's fate when the news reached him¹.

Saer de Freville must belong to the family whose tombs are at Little Shelford. Its history is traced by Dr Franks in the *Proceedings* of this Society for 1848², but his conjecture as to Saer's place in the genealogy does not fit the dates. Saer de Freville was acting as coroner in 1260³, before he became sheriff for the first time, and between 1272 and 1286, by which date he was dead⁴. The fact that he holds office in 1263, between John Luvel's two terms, and again in 1267 after the troubles are over, suggests that he was a moderate royalist. He is ordered in 1263 to hold an inquiry into an attack upon the lands of the royalist John le Moyne⁵ of Great Shelford; possibly his neighbour, though the only reference to Saer's lands that I have found is to land held at Bourn by the courtesy, which suggests that he married

¹ Full documents and details are given in W. Rye's *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, II, 17-89. The legal records give evidence that the Prior's conduct was highly provocative, and largely accounted for the citizens' violence.

² *Proceedings* (quarto), 14, p. 21.

³ A. R., 82, m. 23.

⁴ A. R., 86, m. 38.

⁵ *P.R.C.*, p. 287.

a Peverel¹. The social relationships of the different sheriffs are well illustrated in his career. Connected by marriage with the des Chalers family, in 1281 he witnessed some deeds for Simon de Insula to which two other ex-sheriffs, Baldwin de St George and Walter de Shelfhanger are also witnesses². Here we have to do with typical county families, it seems.

Almaric Peche also belongs to a historic Cambridgeshire family, though besides his lands in Wickham he also held lands in Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex³. Some of these were bestowed on him by Henry III, who also appointed him after Evesham to hold the inquests for Cambridgeshire concerning the lands of rebels, which were rendered necessary, there as elsewhere, by the tendency of the winning side to grab whatever they could get⁴.

Baldwin de St George held land not merely in Hatley St George, but in half-a-dozen villages about the county⁵. There is nothing remarkable about him; he does the usual jobs of a country gentleman, helping to assess the fifteenth of 1275 and serving as a justice of Oyer and Terminer in 1285⁶.

With Robert del Estre again we come to an outsider, and a zealous adherent of Edward. Our first picture of him is drawn by Giles de Goushill, sheriff of Yorkshire, who writes in 1268 to the Justice, John de la Lind, to say that he cannot answer for the county of York if Robert del Estre is to have the West Riding in complete independence of him. He says that Robert has possession of the castle and demands to be put in possession immediately of the West Riding, but declares he will not give an account to anyone but the king at the Exchequer or to Prince Edward. "And," Giles says desperately, "I shall be the loser by 140 marks, for it is a full third of the shire."⁷ Unfortunately, the answer to this letter is not extant, but as Giles carried on for another year, presumably a *modus vivendi* was arrived at. In 1268 and 1269 Robert is acting as the king's taker of wines

¹ *R.H.*, II, 520.

² *C.R.C.*, p. 130.

³ *Cal. Inq.*, II, p. 407; *F.F.C.* 58-9.

⁴ *P.R.C.*, p. 490.

⁵ *F.F.C.*, 136, 137, 167, 223, 230, 253, 269.

⁶ *C.R.C.*, p. 250 (1275); *P.R.C.*, p. 153 (1285).

⁷ *Royal Letters*, II, 325.

throughout the country, until April 1270¹; in August 1270 he becomes sheriff of Cambridgeshire and is at once involved, as we have seen, in restoring peace among the turbulent scholars of Cambridge, at a cost of £40. Of his tenure of office the Hundred Rolls of 1275 give us some idea. His most picturesque achievement was in connection with the great bridge of Cambridge, which had been broken down probably by floods. The customary pontage or bridge tax was 6*d.* the hide on those lands that owed it; Robert del Estre took it from the whole county at 2/- the hide², promising that he would build them a fine bridge of stone and mortar. But he did not spend the third part of what he took on it, but made a bridge at a low price of hurdles and timber³. Thus when the commissioners of the inquest of 1279 came round four years later, they found the bridge broken down and badly needing repair⁴. To add insult to injury, Robert's underling, the keeper of Cambridge prison, used to pull planks out of the bridge by night and so delayed its completion for three months, during which the country folk coming in to the town had to pay him for ferrying them across in Robert's boat⁵, by which he made 100/-⁶.

By 1276 Robert, like most sheriffs, is in arrears with his accounts at the Exchequer. He has been trying to collect his own personal debts, and he complains bitterly that his son John has been getting hold of his lands behind his back. Whilst Robert was acting as sheriff of Cambridge and Hunts, the sheriff of Northampton seized his lands at Abthorp in Northants for debt, and John del Estre asserted that his father had made them over to him, and by a packed jury, consisting of enemies of the father and friends of the son (so Robert asserts), the land was awarded to the son, and the sheriff delivered it to him⁷. Special justices are appointed to hear and determine the matter; and there the story stops abruptly. After all the squeezing of other folk by Robert del Estre one is not sorry to think of his being

¹ *P.R.C.*, pp. 297, 422.

² *R.H.*, I, p. 50.

³ Hundred Roll, Cambridge, No. 2, m. 3 (unprinted). Hundred Roll, Cambridge, No. 4, *in dorso* (unprinted).

⁴ *R.H.*, II, 407.

⁵ *Ibid.* I, 49.

⁶ *Ibid.* II, 407.

⁷ *P.R.C.*, p. 151.

squeezed in turn. He is acting as justice of Gaol Delivery in London in 1277, and appears to be still alive in 1283¹. As a type, he seems to have most in common with John Luvel.

From Robert del Estre on, it is noticeable that an increasing proportion of the sheriffs are not Cambridgeshire landholders. One might almost say that the office is becoming more professionalised. As I pointed out, the sheriffs are passing from county to county. Of these outsiders, Walter de Shelfhanger is lord of the manor of Shelfhanger in Norfolk², but he is described in 1281 as "the King's clerk"³ and is sheriff in Norfolk and Lincolnshire as well as Cambridge; William de Rothing held land in Suffolk and Essex, and was also sheriff in Norfolk⁴; Thomas de Gardinis held land in Oxfordshire and served as Sheriff in Gloucestershire also⁵. The general pardon issued to Walter de Shelfhanger for trespasses committed while in the King's service, in which the fines for three failures to serve writs amount to £28. 6s. 8d.⁶, gives one some idea of the financial risks for a man and his heirs involved in taking on the office of sheriff; and the assumption of three sheriffdoms in succession seems a brave deed.

Thomas de Belhus is another outsider and man of substance. He belonged to a family which held land in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. His own manor was at Stanway, near Colchester⁷. The canon of Barnwell's tale of him helps to explain the force of the requirement that a sheriff should have lands in the county he governed⁸. "Thomas of Belhus," he says, "was sheriff of Cambridgeshire for many years, and he greatly loved the canons of Barnwell, and with good reason, since they bestowed many benefits and honours upon him; and he frequently stayed there with his wife and an all too extensive household." (This was the time, when, as we saw, repairs were going on at the

¹ *P.R.C.*, p. 233 (1277); *C.R.C.*, p. 231 (1283).

² *R.H.*, I, 472 b.

³ *P.R.C.*, p. 5.

⁴ *R.H.*, I, 147, 148.

⁵ *Cal. Inq.*, II, p. 411.

⁶ *C.R.C.*, p. 508 (1288).

⁷ *R.H.*, I, 140; II, 147.

⁸ Note also Stat. West. I (1275), c. i.; Art. super Cartas c. xiii. They shall choose such sheriffs as shall not lodge too long in one place, nor with men of religion.

castle.) "At last, having stayed there for three days and nights, with his wife and children and household and twenty-two horses, when he departed he begged the loan of a cart to carry a load of wine to his manor of Stanway. And when they replied that there was no cart about the place that would take so heavy a load, but that they would hire one and pay for it themselves, Thomas went off in a rage, talked everywhere of the outrageous behaviour of the canon who had given him that answer, and did all that he could from that time on to annoy Barnwell Priory¹." The sequel was an interference with the prior's judicial rights in Chesterton, and a writ brought against the sheriff by the prior in the King's Bench—and eventually a loveday or compromise out of court. The canon, however, tries to score the last laugh by relating how Thomas' lands were seized by the King on his death, and his widow had to pay a vast sum to redeem them. I have not found documentary confirmation of this last statement. When his term of office expires Thomas does business for the king in Ponthieu as his seneschal², as well as holding a great many commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery in the eastern counties³. In April 1292 we hear that he is going to Rome on the King's affairs, and is to have respite till Michaelmas for his debts at the Exchequer⁴. In September he is back, serving as a justice in Cambridgeshire again; and in July 1293 he is dead, and others must fill his place in the commissions⁵.

Hugh de Babington holds land in Gamlingay⁶, though also in other counties⁷. He is the only sheriff on our list who seems to have died in office.

William of Mortimer is an elusive figure, because his name is so common—there are at least three contemporaries so called who figure on the Chancery Rolls. But he is officially described as William de Mortimer of Freckenham, which is half in Norfolk and half in Cambridge, and I think he may be the William Mortimer who dies in 1304, whose lands at Soham and Fordham escheat to the Crown because he is himself illegitimate and has

¹ *Liber Memorandum*, pp. 180-1.

² *P.R.C.*, p. 321 (1289).

³ *Ibid.* pp. 489, 513 (1292).

⁴ Mem. R.L.T.R. 63, m. 13 d.

⁵ *P.R.C.*, pp. 520, 521 (1292), 113 (1293).

⁶ F.F.C., 177.

⁷ *Cal. Inq.*, III, p. 251.

no heirs of his body¹. His record in the Eyre Rolls of 1299 gives us a good idea of the local tyrant brought to book. In conjunction with a special commissioner, William had been ordered to purvey corn for the King's Scottish campaigns in 1297². Now in hundred after hundred men complain that he made them pay large sums of money to escape this requisitioning, that he took more than the King's clerk had assessed them at and kept the balance, that he compelled them to buy corn to make their contribution and so on. Again and again William denies the charge and puts himself on a jury; but the jury always find against him, and eventually he has to pay 50 marks in ameracements, as well as a large sum for replacing the corn unjustly taken³.

With William de Sutton we are back at a busy servant of the central government. Besides being sheriff in three counties in turn, he acts as justice in Wales, serves on a commission for perambulating the forests and acts as guardian of the vacant see of Ely⁴. He has lands in Essex and also it would seem in Norfolk—apparently not in Cambridgeshire⁵.

Robert Hereward seems to have begun his public career as seneschal of the Bishop of Ely⁶; as such he would be exercising functions practically the equivalent of the sheriff's in the Isle of Ely—all Cambridgeshire north of the Ouse. In 1300 he is acting on a commission *de wallis et fossatis* in Cambridge and Norfolk, and inspecting wines in Bedfordshire and Bucks, Cambridgeshire and Hunts⁷. He acts as guardian of the vacant see of Ely in 1302; he assists in purveying corn in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire⁸. He is appointed sheriff of three counties in succession. He is the King's clerk *par excellence*—and yet he holds land in Cambridgeshire—half a knight's fee in Gilden Morden of William de Kirkby⁹. Robert de Bayouse, who holds lands in Hunts¹⁰, and Robert de Hoo¹¹ who holds land in Evers-

¹ *Cal. Inq.* iv, p. 131-2. ² See Miss Mills, in *E.H.R.*, xxxviii, 351.

³ Assize Roll, 95, mm. 52, 55, 59 d, 61 d, 62, 63.

⁴ *C.R.C.*, p. 62 (1303); *Ibid.* pp. 170, 396 (1298-1300).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 74 (1296), 287 (1298), 377 (1300).

⁶ Assize Roll, 95, m. 64; cf. *P.R.C.*, p. 178 (1295).

⁷ *P.R.C.*, pp. 545, 551 (1300). ⁸ *C.R.C.*, p. 540; 498 (1301), 68 (1302).

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 41 (1303).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 437 (1301).

¹¹ F.F.C. 169.

don, need not detain us; Robert Hereward will do as a test case to examine this question of King's clerk *versus* country squire.

I think one thing emerges from the cases we have been considering. The normal sheriff is a landholder. In many cases he is really the country squire, taking his turn with his neighbours at the opportunities for profit and risks of loss, the privileges and responsibilities that the position of sheriff entails. Such men are Philip de Stanton, William de Stow, John des Chalers, Saer de Freville and Henry de Colne, the forerunners of the Elizabethan J.P. Three of them, you will remember, had been elected coroners in the county court. Alongside of these is the man of county family who goes further afield and serves the King in different capacities in various regions. Here one might place men like Henry de Colevile, John le Moynes, Thomas de Belhus, Thomas de Gardinis, perhaps William de Rothing and John Level. Then come the efficient administrators, the all-round civil servants of no ancestry—Jeremy de Caxton, Robert del Estre, William de Sutton, Robert Hereward. In the case of all these but Jeremy de Caxton we leave them settled on the land; but are not their estates the reward of service? A generation later contemporaries thought it noteworthy that a knightly family like the Scropes should have sons who followed the law. In the case of Robert Hereward one seems to see how it may have happened. John de Kirkby, the Great Treasurer and Bishop of Ely¹, grants a holding to an efficient subordinate. In some such way Robert del Estre may have acquired his lands in Northants and William de Sutton his in Essex and Norfolk. But that is in the nature of guess work. What has been established by this examination is that although Edward I fell far below his father's standard in appointing natives of the county, the large majority of the Cambridgeshire sheriffs in the thirteenth century did at least conform to the standard of the Provisions of Oxford and the Articles on the Charters so far—that they were "loyal people, substantial men, and holders of land."

¹ William de Kirkby was his brother and heir. See *Cal. Inq.* II and IV. Unfortunately the 1279 returns for Gilden Morden are lacking.

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