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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1926—JULY 1927

WITH
Communications
MADE TO THE SOCIETY

VOLUME XXIX



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1928

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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Proceedings Vol. XXVI, 1923-24. With Communications and Report. pp. 1-136. Plates I-IV and other illustrations. Price 12s. 6d. *net*.

Printed papers: H. H. Brindley, M.A., F.S.A., Some Picture Bill-heads of Inns of a Century ago (Abstract). The Earl of Cawdor, and Cyril Fox, Ph.D., F.S.A., The Beacon Hill Barrow, Barton Mills, Suffolk; Miles C. Burkitt, M.A., F.S.A., Note on the Flint Objects found in the Barrow; W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D., Report on the Human Remains. W. M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., Cambridge Castle Building Accounts, 1286-1299. Cyril Fox, Ph.D., F.S.A., Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Dykes. IV. The Devil's Dyke: Excavations in 1923 and 1924; W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D., Ditto: Notes on Fragmentary Bones.

Proceedings Vol. XXVII, 1924-25. With Communications and Report. pp. 1-125. Plate and many illustrations. Price 12s. 6d. *net*.

Printed papers: Fox, Cyril, Ph.D., F.S.A., and Palmer, W. M., M.D., F.S.A., Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Dykes. V. Bran or Heydon Ditch, First Report; with Notes by Duckworth, W. L. H., M.D., Sc.D., on Two Human Skeletons from the Bran Ditch. Fox, Cyril, F.S.A., and Lethbridge, T. C., B.A., The La Tène and Romano-British Cemetery at Guilden Morden, Cambs.; with Notes by Duckworth, W. L. H., M.D., Sc.D., on a collection of Human Crania, etc., from Guilden Morden. Lethbridge, T. C., B.A., The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Burwell, Cambs. Palmer, W. M., M.D., F.S.A., Excavations at Great and Little Linton in 1923. Williams, Rev. J. F., M.A., The Muniments of Queens' College. Moule, Rev. A. C., M.A., Rectors of the Church of the Parish of Trumpington. Steward, Sir Henry, Cromwell's Stuart Descent.

Proceedings Vol. XXVIII, 1925-26. With Communications and Report. pp. 1-153. Many plates and full-page illustrations, and figures in text. Price 12s. 6d. *net*.

Printed papers: Brindley, H. H., M.A., F.S.A., A recently discovered Mural Painting in Bartlow Church, Cambs. Cobbett, L., M.D., F.R.C.S., Windows inserted in the Tower of St Benet's Church, Cambridge, in 1586. Duckworth, W. L. H., M.D., Sc.D., Report on Human Bones from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Burwell. Jones, Chester H., The Chapel of St Mary Magdalene at Sturbridge, Cambridge. Lethbridge, T. C., B.A., F.S.A., The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Burwell, Cambs., Part II. Nuttall, Prof. G. H. F., M.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., The Arms of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, Founder of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Palmer, W. M., M.D., F.S.A., Argentine's Manor, Melbourn. Stokes, Rev. Canon, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., A Cambridge Bell-foundry.

**CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS**

NOTE

The Volumes are now marked with the **earlier serial number** only. The “New Series” number and the “Communications” number are discontinued.

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

VOL. XXIX



1926—1927

CAMBRIDGE:

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Cambridge Antiquarian Society

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1926.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, 7 March, 1927.

Seventeen Ordinary Members, two Associate Members, and one Subscribing Institution, have been elected during 1926. Three members have died, and eighteen have resigned, or failed to pay their subscriptions for two years.

The numbers for 1925 and 1926 are as follows:

	Dec. 1925	Dec. 1926
Honorary Members	8	8
Ordinary „	310	307
Associate „	15	16
Subscribing Institutions	5	6
	<u>338</u>	<u>337</u>

Of those removed by death, the following deserve special mention:

Sir William Ridgeway, Sc.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Disney Professor of Archaeology, and Brereton Reader in Classics, was President of the Society in 1897 and 1898, and again in 1921 and 1922. He was a very active member of the Society, and took a keen interest in all branches of its work. He was a discerning collector, and bequeathed his collections to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. He also negotiated the acquisition of the Murray Collection of Irish Antiquities, one of the most important of its kind. His death is a serious loss to the Society.

The Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe, D.D., Rector of Ripple near Dover, was co-editor (with Dr E. H. Minns) of *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis* for the Society's Octavo Publications.

Ten Ordinary Meetings were held, at which the average attendance was 52.

The following communications were made:

E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., "Cambridge and the Gunpowder Plot." 8 February.

- Prof. F. C. Burkitt, D.D., F.B.A., "Petra and Palmyra, the Desert Cities." 29 November.
- Miss H. M. Cam, M.A.Lond., "The King's Government, as administered by the Greater Abbots of East Anglia." 8 March.
- V. Gordon Childe, B.Litt.Oxon., "The Development of Bronze Age Art and Industry in Hungary." 1 November.
- W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D., (1) "Report on Skeletons found at Burwell." 31 May. (2) "A Skull with a healed cut in the Nasal Bones, possibly that of Laurence Sterne, from the Cambridge Anatomical Museum." 31 May.
- Ralph Griffin, Sec. S.A., "On the Society's collection of rubbings of Monumental Brasses, and the useful objects it may serve." 22 February.
- James Hornell, F.L.S., F.R.A.I., "The Antiquities of the Island of Gorgona, off the coast of Colombia." 25 January.
- Chester H. Jones, "The Sturbridge Chapel, Cambridge, its History and Architecture." 18 October.
- T. C. Lethbridge, B.A., F.S.A., "Recent Excavations at Burwell and Little Wilbraham." 31 May.
- A. H. Lloyd, F.S.A., "Melbourn Church and its Architectural Problem." 15 November.
- E. H. Minns, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., "The Russian Icon." 26 April.
- Prof. G. H. F. Nuttall, M.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., "The Arms of Thomas Lord Audley, Founder of Magdalene College." 8 February.
- Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., "A Cambridge Bell-Foundry." 8 February.

COLLEGE VISIT.

By kind invitation of the President and Fellows of Queens' College, the Society met in the College on the afternoon of 11 March. The buildings were visited under the guidance of Canon Gray, who indicated the chief points of interest. The old walled garden was also visited, after which the party was provided with tea in the Hall.

EXCURSION.

On 22 July an excursion, in which 66 members and friends took part, was made by road to Fotheringhay, Oundle, Lyveden, and Little Gidding. The vehicles started from the Senate House at 10 a.m. The first halt was made at Norman Cross, where Mr J. A. Venn, who conducted the excursion, indicated a few features of the French Prisoners' Camp, of which but little sign now remains. At Fotheringhay the fine church and the small remains of the castle were visited, after which lunch was served at Oundle. A drive was then taken through picturesque country to the "New Building" of Lyveden, a richly decorated mansion built by Sir Thomas Tresham, 1603-5, but never roofed, which owing to its isolated situation has remained ever since in almost the same condition as the builders left it in. Tea was taken at Oundle; and the handsome buildings of local stone were inspected, especially the church with its splendid spire.

On the drive several fine churches were passed, including Warmington and Polebrook. The homeward road led through pleasant scenery, of which the most attractive point was at Little Gidding. Here the XVII century chapel of Nicholas Ferrar was visited. Its interior is fitted up after the manner of a college chapel, and its surroundings are picturesque.

The excursion was voted to be one of the most interesting that the Society has undertaken.

REPORT OF EXCAVATIONS. 1926.

In March 1926 the excavations in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Burwell were continued, resulting in the discovery of 21 skeletons. The accompanying grave goods were of considerable interest, two pendants and a comb being worthy of note. The Society is greatly indebted to Dr Charles Lucas of Burwell, who owns the land and does all in his power to make work in this Cemetery easy.

In June I made an attempt to cut a section through the Car Dyke in the Garden of the Lodge, Waterbeach. Although the section could not be completed owing to the depth at which

surface water occurred, the discovery of a Pagan Saxon hut site on the berm, with a midden stratum in the silting of the fosse, is valuable evidence in favour of a Roman date for this work.

Excavations have been carried out in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Little Wilbraham. The area examined is a strip not explored by Neville in his investigation of the site in 1852. Eleven skeletons and fourteen cinerary urns have been found. One grave contained three bodies, and another two. Grave goods consisted of two spears, a shieldboss, five knives, four annular brooches, a pair of girdle hangers, a bronze spoon, four Roman coins, a bronze pendant, numerous glass and amber beads, etc. Objects from this site are not in a good state of preservation. Work here is still proceeding.

Dr Palmer and I have continued the investigation of the Bran or Heydon Ditch; but bad weather has made the place difficult of access and we are waiting for the ground to get dry.

Dr Palmer and I have also reopened the site of a cremation burial of the earliest period of Roman occupation at Linton. The burial had been discovered during ploughing operations, and six vessels, a brooch, and a bronze boss, were removed and deposited in the Museum. We found very little on reopening the pit but were able to form an accurate idea of the character of the interment.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE,
Director of Excavations.

LIBRARY REPORT. 1926.

During 1926 books and pamphlets were presented to the Library by Messrs E. A. B. Barnard, F. J. Sebley, E. M. Beloe, the Cambridge Archaeological Society, Dr Cranage, Mr Griffin, Dr Haddon, and the Curator. Sir William Ridgeway bequeathed 211 books and 427 pamphlets to the Museum, many of them on antiquarian subjects.

E. S. FEGAN,
Librarian.

PUBLICATIONS.

The following have been issued:

Proceedings and Communications, Vol. XXVII, for the year 1924-5.

List of Members, March, 1926. With the Laws of the Society.
Octavo Publication No. L. A History of the Wilbraham Parishes (Great and Little) in the County of Cambridge. By the Rev. Canon H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1926.

- Jan. 11. Sir Henry Steward, B.A.
 F. S. Maris.
 Mrs C. W. Previt -Orton (Associate).
- Feb. 8. Miss E. H. Major.
 Miss J. R. Bacon.
 Prof. F. E. Adcock, O.B.E., M.A.
- Mar. 8. Miss D. G. Collins.
 Chetham's Library, Manchester.
- Apr. 26. Mrs A. H. Lloyd (Associate).
 Miss Lloyd.
- May 31. Mrs F. D. Bateman.
 M. P. Charlesworth, M.A.
 Miss R. H. Rees.
- Oct. 18. Mrs J. H. Clapham.
 H. Carter.
- Nov. 1. Lt.-Col. R. H. Hall, R.A.M.C.
 T. C. Hodson.
- Nov. 29. J. Preston.
 H. Banister, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.
 R. M. Carslaw, M.A.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER 1926.

CURRENT ACCOUNT.

<i>Income.</i>	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward from 1925		122 6 2	By Miscellaneous Printing	33 2 11	
„ Subscriptions :			„ Proceedings, Vol. xxvii	136 10 1	
Current	260 5 0		„ List of Members	15 2 4	
Associate	9 6 6		„ Books, Stationery, etc.	17 0	
Arrears	3 3 0			185 12 4	
Advance	1 1 0		„ Subscriptions :		
	273 15 6		Archaeological Congress	1 0 0	
„ Excavations	1 16 6		Photographic Records	1 10 0	
„ Excursions	3 7 8		Local Accessions	25 0 0	
	5 4 2			27 10 0	
„ Sale of Publications :			„ Clerical Assistance :		
Messrs Bowes and Bowes	12 0 4		Secretary	50 0 0	
„ Deighton, Bell and Co.	4 19 8		Attendants	8 5 0	
Sundry Sales	1 1 1		Custodian of Cellarer's Checker	1 6 0	
	18 1 1			59 11 0	
„ Interest on £420 L. and N.E.R. 4 per cent. Debenture Stock	13 8 10		„ Postage, Carriage and Sundries	7 18 4	
„ Interest on £118. 4s. 10d. New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock	4 2 8		„ Insurance	12 0	
„ Interest on £39. 6s. 8d. Bank of England Stock	3 15 6			8 10 4	
„ Interest on £127. 14s. 9d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan	4 9 4		„ Excavation Fund	1 19 0	
„ Interest on £350 5 per cent. War Loan	14 0 0		„ Subscription refunded	1 1 0	
„ Interest on £400 4½ per cent. War Loan	14 8 0			3 0 0	
	54 4 4		„ Balance as per Bank Book		284 3 8
					189 7 7
		£473 11 3			£473 11 3

DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

<i>Receipts.</i>		£ s. d.		<i>Expenditure.</i>		£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward		438 9 5		By Balance as per Bank Book		465 11 6
„ Life Member		15 15 0				
„ Interest		11 7 1				
		<u>£465 11 6</u>				<u>£465 11 6</u>

EXCAVATION ACCOUNT.

To Balance brought forward	58 12 4		By Excavations	12 1 0
„ Subscriptions	9 14 0		„ Balance as per Bank Book	56 5 4
	<u>£68 6 4</u>			<u>£68 6 4</u>

EXCAVATION DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

To Balance brought forward	21 3 5		By Balance as per Bank Book	21 13 11
„ Interest	10 6			
	<u>£21 13 11</u>			<u>£21 13 11</u>

The capital of the Society consists of the following securities viz.:

£420 L. & N.E. Railway 4 per cent. Debenture Stock.
 £118. 4s. 10d. New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock.
 £39. 6s. 8d. Bank of England Stock.
 £350 5 per cent. War Loan.
 £400 4½ " " "
 £127. 14s. 9d. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan.

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

	£	s.	d.
On Current Account	189	7	7
„ Deposit Account	465	11	6
„ Excavation Account	56	5	4
„ „ Deposit Account	21	13	11
	<hr/>		
	£732	18	4
	<hr/> <hr/>		

There is a liability on the Current Account estimated at about £350 to meet the cost of Publications now in hand.

G. B. BOWES
 H. H. BRINDLEY } *Auditors.*

January 26, 1927.

ORDINARY MEETINGS

ORDINARY MEETINGS WITH COMMUNICATIONS,
MICHAELMAS TERM, 1926, AND LENT AND
EASTER TERMS, 1927.

Monday, 18 October, 1926.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT paid a tribute to the memory of Sir William Ridgeway, and the important work he had done for the Society.

Mr CHESTER H. JONES of Trinity Hall gave a paper, illustrated with fine original drawings and lantern views, on THE STURBRIDGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE, ITS HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE. The paper had been postponed from the May Term, owing to the general strike. It was printed in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 126.

Monday, 1 November, 1926.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

Mr V. GORDON CHILDE, B.Litt.Oxon., gave a paper on THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRONZE AGE ART AND INDUSTRY IN HUNGARY, of which the following is an abstract:

The knowledge of metal reached the Middle Danube basin—the pre-war Hungary—as a result of some sort of trade from the Aegean and particularly from Troy, directed primarily to the goldfields of Western Transylvania, and following the Danube-Tisza-Maros waterway. Eventually an extension was made to the copper and gold-bearing regions of Slovakia and the tin lodes of north-western Bohemia. A rich and early copper-age industry arose in Hungary, but the plain did not as a whole participate in the Early Bronze-Age Aunjetitz culture that was evolved to the north-west. The latter economic system embraced Upper Italy and Bohemia and was nourished by the amber trade along the Elbe and across the Brenner, but also tapped the copper lodes of western Slovakia, and so touched the north-western

corner of Hungary. The rest of that country was excluded, perhaps because Troy II, whence the original impulse came, fell just about the time that the Aunjetitz culture became established, so that the original market for Danubian trade had vanished.

With the revival of Troy and the inland expansion of Minoan culture in the 16th century, trade along the Danube revived, and Hungary was enabled to draw upon Bohemian tin. In these circumstances a very rich and vigorous native bronze industry sprang into life. Its centres lay, as in the copper age, along the Maros (the *Mάρις* of Herodotus) and on the Upper Tisza. Its products were diffused to the Ukraine, to Mecklenburg, and to Alsace. The background of the industry was essentially "Danubian," as the gorgeous spiral ornamentation of the bronzes shows. The pottery from the settlements and cemeteries in the Banat and further north betrays many reminiscences of Troy II. The fresh Aegean influence is revealed by imported cowrie shells and by certain Mycenaean ornaments adopted by the native industry. Finally an infusion of Nordic "battle-axe-folk" is disclosed in the use of corded amphorae as cinerary urns.

The Hungarian Bronze Age flourished from the 16th to the 12th century and then disappeared. But many of its characteristic forms emerge again in the Early Iron-Age cemetery of Koban on the Caucasus.

Monday, 15 November, 1926.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

Mr A. H. LLOYD, F.S.A., gave a paper, with lantern illustrations, on MELBOURN CHURCH, AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL PROBLEM, which is printed at page 50.

Monday, 29 November, 1926.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

PROFESSOR BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A., gave a lecture, illustrated with many fine lantern views, on PETRA AND PALMYRA, THE DESERT CITIES. An abstract is printed at page 67.

Monday, 24 January, 1927.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

Three short papers were read with lantern illustrations:

By DR COBBETT, M.D., F.R.C.S., SOME XVIII CENTURY ALTERATIONS TO ICKLETON CHURCH.

By MR E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S., A XVI CENTURY DOLE GATE FROM DENNY ABBEY (printed at page 72).

By the Rev. T. C. SPURGIN, M.A., Rector of Girton, SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES AT GIRTON CHURCH, which dealt with several architectural points discovered in the recent restoration.

Monday, 7 February, 1927.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

Mr G. F. HILL, F.B.A., of the Coins and Medals Department in the British Museum, gave a lecture on MEDALS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. The following is an abstract:

More than once in the history of Art the first great exponents of any new method have remained unsurpassed. It is true of the Van Eycks; it is true of the early printers, both in Germany and in Italy. It is supremely true of the Medal; for in its whole history from the 15th century onwards there is no artist to be mentioned beside Pisanello, whether for his conception, for his composition, or—most important of all—for his understanding of the limitations of his art. [The lecturer showed many lantern views of the very fine medals of Pisanello, and of those of his pupils and successors, which illustrated the gradual decline in the art.] Pisanello's first medal was produced in 1438, and his death occurred in 1455. Among the other medallists represented were a small group who carried on at Ferrara in the second half of the 15th century, under Borso and Ercole I, the tradition left by Pisanello. One Ferrarese, Costanzo, has left a magnificent medal of the Sultan Muhammad II, made in 1481. The medallist who was most blest in the Pisanello succession was Matteo de' Pasti, who died 12 or 13 years after his master.

Monday, 21 February, 1927.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT asked Mr A. H. LLOYD to take the Chair while he read his paper on A LITTLE-KNOWN ART FOUND IN ROCK-SHELTERS OF SOUTHERN SPAIN, of which the following is an abstract:

The art consists for the most part of little red figures of human beings, animals, and simple signs and patterns, of which the lecturer showed lantern illustrations. The style of the drawings is very conventionalized, the simplest form of man depicted being in the shape of an anchor whose two limbs represent the human arms. The date of this art is adjudged, from considerations of its occurrence in superposition with Palaeolithic art, its similarity with designs on datable pottery, etc., to be of the late Neolithic or Copper Age. Why these paintings were made seems a question hard to answer;—possibly as talismans to protect the home; possibly as marking sacred places; but apparently not as mere household decoration.

Monday, 7 March, 1927.

EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council, and the Treasurer's Balance Sheet, for the year 1926, were approved and adopted.

The new Officers for 1927-28, nominated by the Council, were elected. (See list on page 16.)

Dr W. M. PALMER exhibited, by means of the lantern, with descriptive notes, ONE HUNDRED PICTURES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE FOR THE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD, taken by himself and by members of the Cambridge Photographic Club.

Monday, 25 April, 1927.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

The following communications were given:

By Miss E. S. FEGAN, ADVERTISEMENTS IN XVII CENTURY NEWSPAPERS. (Printed at page 76.)

By Miss MAUREEN O'REILLY, NOTES ON SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS TO THE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY. (See pages 103-112.)

By Dr L. COBBETT, Dr F. J. ALLEN, and Mr A. H. LLOYD, F.S.A., CROYDON CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Lantern views of Croydon Church were shown, demonstrating its dangerous state through lack of repair. It was hoped that the Society would use its interest to bring about the repair of this beautiful church under the care of a wise and conservative architect.

Monday, 9 May, 1927.

Mr M. C. BURKITT, President, in the Chair.

Mr EDWARD MORLEY gave a very interesting paper on THE ORIGIN OF THE DOMESTIC CLOCK, AND ITS CHARACTERISTIC FORMS. The lecture was illustrated with some actual specimens, and many fine lantern photographs of characteristic and beautiful clocks of all the principal models, showing among other things their artistic decorations. The following is an abstract:

The name "clock" was not always applied, as now, to an assemblage of wheels, actuated by a weight or spring and regulated by a pendulum or balance wheel.

The clock began as a water clock or clepsydra, or as an hour-glass, either of which was watched by an attendant who announced the hours by striking on a bell. The word *clock* means primarily *bell*, and (like its synonym *horologe*) was at first applied to any means used for announcing the hours, hence the meaning of the word in documents is sometimes doubtful. It is thus uncertain when the *first* clocks with wheels were made; but real clocks are known to have been made at the beginning of the 14th century.

The man who announced the hours on a bell was so closely associated with the sound of the bell, that when the first machine clocks appeared he was retained in automatic form; he was symbolized as the striking *Jack*. Examples of the Jack may be seen notably at Wells Cathedral, the original home of what is perhaps the most famous clock in the world. The dial and automatic figures are still in the cathedral,

with new works; but the old works are in the South Kensington Museum, still in going order. Further examples of these automatic Jacks, associated with the first real clocks, may be seen at Exeter, Norwich, York, and other places: the Jack chosen for illustrating this lecture is one which has long ceased duty, in Southwold Church.

The earliest clocks had no dial, and therefore told the time only by striking. A few such clocks still survive in village churches. The clock face was suggested by the horizontal sun dial, in which twelve mid-day is at the bottom, and six in the morning and evening are on the right and left respectively. The hours of the night had to be added in the upper half of the face. This form of clock face may still be seen at Wells Cathedral.

The striking wheel suggested the escape wheel. The pins in the striking wheel lift a lever which is connected with the hammer of the bell. In the escapement wheel the (more numerous) pins engage alternately with two levers placed one above the other, and attached to what is called the pallet staff. When power is applied to the wheel, the pins acting alternately on the levers or pallets give an oscillating motion to the staff or verge. The steadying or balancing of the verge is effected by a cross bar or "foliot," which is provided with small weights at either end which are adjustable for regulation.

Uncertain and irregular as this action was, it remained in use for over 300 years, during which clocks were made for monasteries and churches, but not for domestic use.

At the beginning of the 17th century the cross bar was replaced, more especially in England, by the round balance.

The first settled form of domestic clock was modelled after the form of the spires at Newcastle St Nicolas, Edinburgh St Giles, and elsewhere. The four flying buttresses supported the bell.

A great epoch in the history of clock-making was the application of the pendulum about 1655. It is a matter of controversy who first discovered its use: it is just one of those things that may have been discovered independently by a number of people at the same time. It was arrived

at by making the escapement horizontal and dispensing with one arm of the balance: the other arm with its weight then became a pendulum, with a fixed period of swing instead of the variable period of the balance.

As very many clocks made with the balance escapement were afterwards altered by substituting the pendulum form, English clocks with the balance are exceedingly rare. The early clocks had only a single hand. The addition of the minute hand and the invention of the anchor escapement were the chief later improvements in clocks. The anchor escapement, which is now the usual one, was invented by Dr Hooke about 1675: as it requires but a small swing of the pendulum, it allows of a long pendulum and an economy of wheels. It made possible the most beautiful example of English clock work, known and loved all over the world as the Grandfather Clock. A further improvement was, that the going and striking train, which had previously been placed back to back, were placed side by side; so it was possible to wind the clock with a key instead of pulling the cord.

The production of clocks of the highest quality was promoted in England by the formation of the Clockmakers' Company, soon after 1630. Its greatest activity was between 1650 and 1750, and during those years English clocks and watches became the wonder and admiration of the whole world.

Monday, 30 May, 1927.

The President being absent, Dr PALMER was voted to the Chair.

Mr T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., Director of Excavations, gave an account of the FURTHER EXCAVATIONS CARRIED OUT DURING THE PRESENT SEASON AT BURWELL AND LITTLE WILBRAHAM. (Printed at pages 84 and 95.)

NEW OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1927-28.

ELECTED 7 MARCH, 1927

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LOUIS C. G. CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity Hall, *Curator of Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.*

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LOUIS COBBETT, M.D., F.R.C.S., Trinity College.

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G. B. BOWES, M.A., Emmanuel College.

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HERBERT F BIRD, M.A., 30, *Panton Street.*

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

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LIST OF OFFICERS, 1927-28.

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VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MISS CATHERINE E. PARSONS, *Horseheath.*
 ARTHUR GRAY, M.A., Master of Jesus College.
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T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., *The Lodeg, Waterbeach.*

LIBRARIAN.

Miss ETHEL S. FEGAN, Girton College.

EXCURSION SECRETARY.

E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 26, Warkworth Street.
C. A S. Comm. VOL. XXIX.

CAMBRIDGE AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT, 1605.

By E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(Read 8 February, 1926.)

During a long period of research work at the Public Record Office I have encountered a number of cases of legal proceedings in which both the University and the Town of Cambridge have been concerned. Such cases as I have especially noted come from the Court of Star Chamber, of Requests, of Chancery, and of Exchequer, and occasionally are to be found in the State Papers Domestic. Some of them are of considerable interest, and so far as I have been able to ascertain they have not hitherto been worked systematically, if indeed at all, by any writer of Cambridge history. I hope, therefore, that my dream of a little book on this subject will eventually materialise. Meanwhile this evening I am permitted to bring one of these cases before you. Certainly it is a case of no great importance, but it comes into an historical period in which I am particularly interested, and I hope that it may also prove of interest to the members of this Society.

Guy Fawkes had been arrested very early in the morning of Tuesday, 5 November, 1605, and this news had reached the remotest parts of Worcestershire and Warwickshire with extraordinary swiftness. Before sunset on Friday, 8 November, Holbeach House, near Stourbridge, had fallen to the attack of that very miscellaneous crowd of countrymen who, headed by the High Sheriffs of these two counties, had gathered together in pursuit of those of the fugitive conspirators who, utterly dejected and mud-bespattered, had sought refuge there the previous night. That same evening of Friday they were safely under lock and key at Worcester.

Cambridge, being more or less off the main track of traffic and of news, probably did not soon hear the rumour of the failure of the Plot, and it is a curious fact that, so far as I

have been able to discover, there is no allusion to this event in any official records that exist here. Even the excellent Mr Cooper has no reference to it in his *Annals of Cambridge*, and it is possible that a further outbreak of the plague here about that time may be accountable for the fact that the Plot apparently caused little interest amongst the townsfolk of Cambridge. With the University, however, it was another matter, for Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, son of James I's "little beagle," Burghley, was now Chancellor, and was so closely concerned—how closely I suppose we shall never know—with the circumstances of the conspiracy and the fate of the conspirators, that it needed but a word from him and the authorities here would be quick to act. That word was somewhat slow in coming, all things considered, and it was not until 9 November that an official letter was received here requiring that a certain Nicholas Bestwicke, "a papist and prisoner in the Castell of Cambridge," should be examined forthwith concerning some dangerous and suspicious words lately spoken by him.

Let us, in thought, step back into the Cambridge of that day—Tuesday, 12 November, 1605, on which day the Commission sat—and see what happens.

Dr Richard Clayton is Vice-Chancellor, and with him—now taking their seats—we are not told in what place—are Dr Goade, Dr Tyndall and Mr Laurence Chaderton as his "assistants," to hear the evidence¹. Just briefly, let us enquire who are these four wise men?

Dr Clayton, formerly Master of Magdalene College, is now Master of St John's, where, says Baker², during his Mastership the College declined in learning, its inmates "being so overburied with architecture that their other studies were intermitted, and the noises of axes and hammers disturbed them in their proper business." Under his government Puritanism is in process, to a great extent, of being rooted out of the College.

Dr Goade is Provost of King's College, and some twenty-four years ago, in 1581, he conferred with the Jesuit martyr,

¹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, 216/85.

² *History of St John's College, Cambridge*, I, 190, 191, 196.

Edmund Campion, in the Tower of London, shortly before Campion was executed.

Dr Tyndall is President of Queens' College, and last, but not least, there is Laurence Chaderton, already an old man and destined to become a centenarian. He, perhaps, is the most interesting character of the four, and is now first Master of Emmanuel College. Much could be said concerning his career here since he came up, but let it suffice to note that he entered Christ's College in 1564-5, brought up a strict Roman Catholic, and that there he had found the Reformation question agitating the minds of all around him and eventually, after deep conflict of mind, had determined to adopt the reformed doctrines.

Of such men is the tribunal composed, before which appears Bestwicke, elsewhere referred to as being a seminarist and again as a "scholler"—Bestwicke, and with him a motley crew of examnants, mostly his fellow-prisoners. He has been kept a prisoner in the Castle for the last ten years—poor wretch—and it seems that he has already "confessed" that within the last month or six weeks he has been restrained of his former liberty—ironical words, but his own—and has been put into the lower prison at the Castle. He does not now say why this has been done, but adds that, during the period in question, he has received a letter "from a Catholique . . . a professed Papist" whose name he refuses to divulge, in which he has been earnestly wished and counselled to conform to His Majesty's laws as now established, but—he is careful to protest—it was "noe University man gave him that counsell." Yes, the letter was signed, but he cannot produce it because after he had been reading it and his other papers last week, in prison, a thorough search was made for all letters and papers that might be there, but none were found, "neither was there any show in the prison of any torn papers," he adds.

Thus has Bestwicke confessed elsewhere, but now, being desired to "discover the Catholique that writt to him he absolutely denyed (as he sayd with shame to himselfe and his own conscience) all that before he hath confessed." He now says that he never received any such letter nor was he so

counselled. The cause of this invention was the fact, he continues, that when he was thrust into the lower prison, where he thought it was not possible to continue long with life, he bethought himself how he could free himself from thence, and be revenged on one Piper, the gaoler, for putting him there. He gives no reason for the gaoler's action—which action may not be without its significance—but Bestwicke longed to escape from, at least, the depths of this lower prison, and he says that he thought that the most likely way of doing so was by announcing his conformity, “unto which,” he adroitly adds, “he was in his conscience somewhat persuaded.” So he wrote from that lower prison to some of his friends asking their aid and furtherance to the Lord Chief Justice—Sir John Popham, who eventually presided at the trial of Guy Fawkes and the other conspirators—for his release from prison if he declared his conformity. It is quite true, he adds, that he has often said during the last month or six weeks that he longed to be out of Piper's custody—in this case he calls him Pryor—but adds that he did not limit the time, “and the means of his deliverance was to be wrought by one Mr Sutton with the Lord Chief Justice,” whoever Mr Sutton may have been. Closely questioned, Bestwicke says that a man named Kirke, a servant to Mr Thomas Alcocke, a known Papist of Rampton—twelve miles away—has been to see him three times within the last fortnight, but he will not detail any conference that they had. Why had Kirke come to see him thus frequently? He had only come to ask him how he did, and when he would be free. It is true that there is a warrant out for the arrest of this Kirke, but he is not yet apprehended, Bestwicke concludes.

The next examinant is one William James, who describes himself as being a fellow-prisoner of Bestwicke, and in the Castle for debt. He says that Bestwicke was put into the lower prison with him about a month ago, and that whilst they were there together Bestwicke earnestly entreated him to induce the gaoler to let him “agayne keepe above” and for the reason—rather a poor one—that he had not much longer to stay in prison, for he hoped that within the next

two or three weeks he would be delivered by his friends, a suspicious remark, upon which we may imagine that the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues glanced at one another and took notes.

William Constable, "soldier and prisoner there upon commande from some Justice of the shire," follows, and he says that he too has heard Bestwicke say that he hoped he should soon be free. Shortly before that time, when Bestwicke was "in the upper Gaole," he heard him again say that he would soon be at liberty and that "then he purposed to be merry," which after all was not a very surprising ambition after ten years' confinement. But this examinant and another soldier and prisoner there, a man named William Longworth, have heard Bestwicke say something more gravely suspicious, to wit that "this p'liament tyme" he should be free again.

Edward Mascall, described as a wheelwright, "dwelling near the Castle," seems to suggest that prisoners were, on occasions, allowed some freedom of movement, at least in the neighbourhood of the gaol, for he says that he heard Bestwicke say, "at Duffields house near to the Castle," that he should shortly be at liberty and then he would be merry and would swagger. There was also a man named Holland present—one John Holland, a Cambridge vinegar-maker—and he expresses himself somewhat volubly, first of all referring to his being at Duffield's house with Mascall and Bestwicke, "six or eight dayes before this horrible treason was bewrayed," and then detailing Bestwicke's assertion that he would soon be free. But Holland is more explicit than the others, or at least pretends to be so, and continues darkly that the accused man added that "noe bodye should knowe how or by what meanes," and then "in fayth ladds I will swagger with the best of you," should this seminarist say.

And now here is William Piper himself, the very "Keeper of the Gaole," the man on whom Bestwicke says that he himself wanted to be revenged. Yes, he has heard Bestwicke say several times that he would soon be free, "despite of those that said naye to it," and added that he had friends whom Piper did not know nor should not know. Although his prisoner has been kept "in the lower Gaole and more

restrayned of liberty then before," yet during the last month, "he hath beene more merry and pleasant then before he used to be." "No schollers" have ever written letters to Bestwicke, nor had any scholar solicited him on Bestwicke's behalf, "otherwise then to use him friendly because he was a scholler"—a pleasant little touch to come from the grim gaoler. Thomas Cookes, prisoner for debt, corroborates the foregoing evidence, and another prisoner, Robert Wood by name, says that "one Kempe dwelling in the Castell ende carryeth most of the l'res [letters] he Bestwicke wrighteth," and to this statement Dr Clayton adds a note as follows: "This Kempe is not yet examined because he is sicke as it is suspected of the Plague."

Wood is the last of the examinants, and now Dr Clayton and his assistants all sign the foregoing written depositions and, within the next few hours, after further conference together, have compiled the following letter¹ which, with the depositions, is addressed: "To the right honourable o^r very good L. Therle of Salsbury principall Secretary to his Ma^{tie} and Chauncello^r of the Univ'sitie of Cambr."

They write thus:

Our humble duties remembred. We receaving from yo^r. Hr. and y^e res^t of the LL. of his Ma^{ties} privie Counsaile, a L're of the ixth of this Nouember for the examininge of some dangerouse and suspitious wordes one Nicholas Bestwicke prison^r in the Gaole of Cambr' should about a fourtnight then past utter, viz. That within a fortnight he would be at lardge, without the Keeper's leave, etc., did according to o^r duties speedilie mete and strictlie examine y^e saide Bestwick, and all such Witnesses seuallie [severally] as wee could learne were hable to testify. Thexaminacons wth what expedicon wee could, wee haue now sent to yo^r L^p here inclosed.

The p'tie Bestwicke is one that (as a dangerouse and obstinate Papist, having bin in some of the Seminaries beyond the Sea or at Rcome) hath lye in y^e saide Gaole about ten yeares, beinge comitted by y^e L. Cheif Justice, to whome he is well knowne. Wee wish he were further from us. He about three weekes past wrote a lre to some of us, p'tending his change of mynde, and conformitie to come to Church, etc., entreating to be a meene to my L. Cheif Justice for his enlardgement: wch lre was soone after sent to his L^p.

Now for that some p't [part] of Bestwiks Examinacon hath reference to his saide lre, we thought it needfull to touch the occacon.

And because in that Lre he confessed y^t he had bin p'swaded by a freind

¹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, 216/84.

a Catholique to such Conformity, he being much pressed by us to name y^t ffreind, by no meanes would, but rather (as appeareth in his contrary answers) turneth it upon his owne dissimulacon therein.

Having thus endeoured o^r best duties in this S[']uice, we leave y^e consideracon to yo^r L^{ps} wisdome and the rest, humbly and hartily preying unto God (Whoe hath so mercifully deliu'ed his Ma^{tie} and the whole State from such terrible treasons) to blesse yo^r greate and watchfull labo^{rs}, to the fynding out the bottome of that hellish gulfe which had swallowed us up all quicke, had not the L. [Lord] himself, as heretofore, so now speciallie, bin on o^r syde, whose names therefore be eu' [ever] praised.

And so wee humblie take o^r Leaue
ffrom Camb^r. this 13 of Nouembr 1605

Yo^r L^{ps} bounden in all duty to
bee comaunded.

Ric. Clayton, vice-Chan^r

Roger Goade.

Umphry Tyndall.

Laur. Chaderton.

[Endorsed] 1605. November 13. Vicechancellour and Heads of Houses in Cambridge to my Lord. Wth Examinations concerning Nicholas Beswicke prisoner in the Goale there.

Apparently it was a trivial case that had to be sent up to the Chancellor, and upon such evidence one cannot think that the unfortunate Bestwick at least suffered a penalty any more severe than that which he had been enduring for so long a period. We would like to know actually what happened to him, but the curtains fall together again and the rest is silence, at any rate so far as I know.

But quickly the wheel of fate turned! Bestwicke, in 1605, had then been confined in Cambridge Castle for ten years for—let us say—disloyalty. Only 37 years afterwards, in 1642, shortly after Charles the First had set up his standard at Nottingham, William Parsons—a local clergyman—was confined in the same gaol for nineteen weeks for loyalty to his king.

THE KING'S GOVERNMENT, AS ADMINISTERED
BY THE GREATER ABBOTS OF EAST ANGLIA.

By HELEN M. CAM, M.A.Lond.

(Read 8 March, 1926.)

We are all familiar with the idea of the England of the Middle Ages as a land of private jurisdictions, of specially privileged tracts of land, of franchises and palatinates. Professor Pollard has clinched the contrast of mediaeval and modern ways of thought in his epigram, echoed by Maurice Hewlett: "Magna Carta was a charter not of liberty but of liberties." The champions of law were not claiming a liberty in which all had an equal share, but each man's own liberty, warranted by a charter, upheld in the courts:

Liberty for a man to hang
His villein on his own park trees,
Freedom to make freedom a thing
Not to be hop'd for!

liberty of gallows, of wreck, of pillory and tumbril, of view of frankpledge, of the assize of bread and ale.

It is with certain local examples of such liberties or franchises that we are now concerned; but whilst the privilege and the power attaching to them should not be minimized, there is another aspect of the liberty which has, I think, been rather disregarded by modern writers. We are so accustomed to look on feudalism as antagonistic to the royal power, as a force making for decentralization and lawlessness, as the irreconcilable enemy of good government, that we have failed to grasp the fact that the magnates, secular and lay, in whose hands these great powers lay, were charged also with a heavy responsibility. This responsibility was not merely moral but legal. The liberty was held, as the judges hold their offices, so long as it was well administered; for defect of good order and justice the king could, and not

seldom did, take it into his own hands. A particularly explicit statement of this conception occurs in 1302, in connexion with the great palatinate franchise of the Bishop of Durham. Certain royal messengers carrying writs into the palatinate had been attacked and imprisoned, and the bishop had taken no steps to punish them; his liberty was, therefore, taken into the king's hands:

Because the bishop, since he holds the said liberty, is so far the king's minister for upholding and carrying out in the king's name and in due manner what belongs to the royal authority within the same liberty; so that he ought to do justice to all and singular there, and duly submit to the lord king's mandates, although by the king's grant he receives the profits and issues thence arising. For the royal authority extends throughout the whole realm, both within the liberties and without¹.

This judgment clearly and briefly defines the two aspects of the liberty or franchise. The king has granted to its holder certain valuable rights and powers, defined by charter or custom, and further defined by successive judgments given in his courts. By virtue of this grant the lord of the liberty does certain things which elsewhere are done by the king or his officials, and keeps for himself profits of various kinds which elsewhere go to the king's exchequer. But in so far as these rights and duties are governmental, not proprietary, public, not private, the franchise-holder is the viceroy or agent of the king—responsible to the king, and liable to forfeiture, like any other government official, for maladministration as, for instance, the abbot of Crowland permanently forfeited his right to have a gaol because of his repeated unjust detention of prisoners²; and as the private and public functions are closely intertwined, he will, in case of such forfeiture, in all likelihood lose, for the time being, certain other profits which have no logical connexion with his franchise, but are his fair dues as a landlord. In examining some features of the greater ecclesiastical liberties of East Anglia, I shall ignore the whole field of their holders' activities as landlords, in so far as it is possible to keep these distinct, and regard them solely as viceroys—administrators of the king's government.

¹ Placitorum Abbreviatio, 257.

² Year Books, 20 Edward IV, Trin. Term.

The ecclesiastical franchises in this fertile corner of England were extensive. There was first the great Peterborough liberty—the eight hundreds of Oundle, in northern Northamptonshire: then Thorney Abbey's one hundred of Normancross in Hunts; Ramsey Abbey's two hundreds of Hurstingstone, Hunts, and Clackclose, Norfolk; Ely's two hundreds in the marshes of North Cambridgeshire, five and a half hundreds of Wicklow in South-East Suffolk, and hundred of Mitford in Norfolk; and, lastly, the eight and a half hundreds of Bury St Edmunds in West Suffolk. The liberties of Bury and Ely will be the main subjects of discussion, with some reference to Peterborough and only a few to Ramsey, about which there is a good deal already in print.

Of all these liberties, Thorney is the only one that originates this side of the Norman Conquest. It is highly probable that as administrative districts some of them have a very ancient origin. Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, speaks of a district belonging to Oundle, and though the Peterborough charters attributed to Edgar are forgeries, there seems no reason to doubt that the district known as the eight hundreds of Oundle in the 12th century, of which to-day the soke of Peterborough is the sole remaining fragment, was bestowed on the abbey in the 10th century, when it was refounded by Bishop Aethelwold. The Isle of Ely, again, is probably very ancient. Bede speaks of it as a province with a defined area, and the *Liber Eliensis* says that it was the dowry of Etheldreda, and the region over which her first husband was ealdorman. As her dowry, it naturally became the endowment of the house she founded, and when that was refounded for monks by Aethelwold and Edgar, it was natural that both lands within the Isle and royal rights over the Isle should be bestowed on it. Edgar, however, granted to St Etheldreda the soke not only of the two hundreds in the marshes but also the five and a half hundreds of Wicklow in Suffolk¹, a compact block of territory of which Woodbridge is nowadays the natural administrative centre. Wicklow has been identified by Mr Redstone of Woodbridge as a hill in the parish of Hacheston, but this identification is not certain. The *Liber Eliensis* in a

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, II, 5.

later passage¹ speaks of this as the six hundreds belonging to Southborne—presumably Sudborn near Oreford; but in the Middle Ages it was most frequently known simply as the liberty of St Etheldred. By 1066 St Etheldred also had the soke of the hundred and a half of Mitford in Norfolk: very probably this is the gift mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis*², when Aethelwold obtained from Edgar Dyrham with all that pertained to it, since Domesday describes the soke of Mitford hundred as being annexed to the manor of East Dereham³.

The liberty of Bury St Edmunds has, as such, a later origin: it was bestowed upon the saint by Edward the Confessor. But here also we seem to trace an older unit. The eight and a half hundreds annexed to the royal vill of Bedricsworth, where the saint's body lay, had been the dowry of Cnut's wife Emma, as the Isle of Ely had been that of St Etheldreda: and it came into the hands of the crown on her forfeiture, and was granted out again by her son⁴. Of this donation the following story was told by the monks in the 15th century, according to a manuscript in the University Library. Edward the Confessor came to Bury township on the feast of St Edmund, and Abbot Baldwin took him round the monastery. When they came to the refectory, it chanced that the king found the young monks at their midday meal eating barley bread. "My lord abbot," said the king, "wherefore are these young kinsmen of mine feeding on barley bread?" "The possessions of the monastery," replied the abbot, "do not suffice for them to have wheaten bread." Then said the king, "Ask what you will of me, and I will give it, that so they may be better fed, and may take their part in the divine service with greater alacrity and vigour." So the abbot, having taken advice, asked of the king the manor of Mildenhall and the eight and a half hundreds with all their liberties, as the king himself held them, and the king, having heard him, replied, "Unwisely have you demanded for yourself and your successors a great and continual labour—*grandem et continuum laborem*. I would more willingly have given you three or four manors. Nevertheless,

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, II, 41.

² *Ibid.* II, 40.

³ Dd. II, 214.

⁴ *E.H.R.* xxiv, 418.

for the reverence I bear my kinsman the saint, I will freely grant your request," and thus by divers charters sealed with his seal he bestowed upon Saint Edmund, as fully and freely as he held it himself, the aforesaid manor and the eight and a half hundreds which are now called the liberty of St Edmund¹.

The liberty of Ramsey Abbey also owes its origin to Edward the Confessor, who granted the monks the soke over Clackclose hundred, which Domesday shows them enjoying. To this Hurstingstone hundred in Huntingdonshire was added by Henry I. The hundred of Normancross was granted to Thorney Abbey by William II².

Not only are these districts older, as local government units, than the monasteries which administered them, they survived the monasteries' own dissolution. According to Kelly's *Directory* for Cambridgeshire, "Cambridgeshire includes two shires or jurisdictions—the shire proper, and Ely." The Isle of Ely is not only a parliamentary constituency, it has its own county council and its own coroner. A hundred years ago it was even more notable. Down to 1836 the Bishop of Ely still nominated a Chief Justice for the Isle, who could hear and determine all criminal and civil pleas in the island. Under King Charles II, as under King John four hundred and fifty years earlier, the bishop could claim his franchise and get cases transferred from the king's court at Westminster to his own court at Ely. The bishop's chaplain, writing in 1812, says that this is no longer usual, and that residents in the Isle do frequently sue in the king's court at Westminster, and that cases are taken out of the bishop's court into the king's without the bishop's protesting. Yet he does not seem to consider the survival an abuse.

"This jurisdiction, being considered as a matter of gain, is not worth having," he says, "yet as it gives the see of Ely some peculiar powers and privileges, no bishop would be willing to part with it. But with respect to the inhabitants of the Isle this Franchise is a matter of great convenience; since they have justice administered as it were at their very doors, in all pleas of the Crown; and in most civil cases they need not, unless they

¹ C.U.L. ms. Ff. 2, 29, fol. 65.

² C.U.L. Add. ms. 3021 (Red Book of Thorney), fol. 19.

think fit, have recourse to any other place for justice but the Bishop's court of Pleas belonging to this jurisdiction."¹

The liberties of St Edmund and St Etheldreda have also left a permanent stamp upon Suffolk local government. To this day the county is divided into "the geldable" and "the franchises"; there is a session for St Edmund's at Bury, and for St Etheldreda's at Woodbridge, and there is a separate grand jury for St Edmund's².

Most remarkable of all is the survival of the soke of Peterborough, though it has lost six of the original eight hundreds. Like Ely, it is a separate administrative county, with its own county council, coroner, chief constable and police. What is more, it has its own separate Commission of Gaol Delivery. Though there is no longer a liberty gaol, as there was up to 1877, the justices of the liberty, selected as required from time to time from the bench of J.P.'s, have power to try all felonies and inflict capital punishment. It is the only county franchise which still retains the power to punish by death, though once at least in this century the right has been waived³.

These modern survivals are not of purely antiquarian interest. They throw a light backwards on to the history of the whole system of franchise government; for unless they had served their purpose efficiently and met the needs of the countryside at least as adequately as other methods of local government, these liberties would not have survived the dissolution of the monasteries, and been continued in existence by "that majestie lord who broke the bonds of Rome," and who showed by his whole policy, and in especial by his "Act for recontinuing Liberties in the Crown,"⁴ that he had no intention of tolerating lesser *imperia in imperio*.

A document of the latter part of the 15th century reflects a similar view of the relationship of monarch and liberty. There is in the Bodleian Library a most interesting statement drawn up by the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds as to the

¹ James Bentham, *Cathedral Church of Ely* (1812), Appendix, p. 25.

² Kelly's *Directory of Suffolk* (1925), p. 2.

³ In 1903; see Gaches, *Liberty of Peterborough*.

⁴ 27 Hen. VIII, c. 24.

duties of his chief steward or seneschal, to which I shall have to refer later. Having laid down various rules, as to the enforcement of the king's law and the execution of the king's writs by the steward, he says: "What time this rule was kept, it was noted and holden the most notable franchise of good rule in the land." Here you have the proper pride of the viceroy, not the jealousy of the landlord.

Let us turn now to consider the actual machinery of government, through which this "great and continuous labour" of doing the king's work was carried on. The key to the situation, we shall find, is, in each liberty, this same high steward or seneschal. The fullest details as to his office and functions are to be found in the records of St Edmunds. If in the days when Jocelin of Brakelond wrote about Abbot Samson, the abbot was still himself actively exercising his public functions, by the 13th century the steward had taken all this work off the abbot's shoulders. To quote the Bodleian document again, The abbot of Bury gave out of his revenues certain manors to a steward, to support the rights of his church and his franchise, so that he and his brethren might quietly praise and serve God...If any misdoers should rebel, the steward should deal with them as right and law would, so that the abbot should in no wise be troubled nor vexed with such foreign matters.¹

The stewardship was hereditary in the family of Hastings, who traced their descent from a certain Ralph to whom it was said to have been granted by William the Conqueror. From the time of Henry I down to the present day the descent of the office is clearly traceable: in the latter part of the 14th century it passed by the female line to the Grays of Ruthin, later to the Howards, and is now in the hands of the Herveys, the present Marquis of Bristol holding the title. The office was a serjeanty, by which certain manors were held; but, as a matter of fact, pretty early in the Middle Ages the hereditary steward delegated the actual work to a sub-steward and only retained the responsibility himself. These under-stewards are very generally called stewards in government documents, such as the Hundred Rolls of 1275. They had to take an oath to the abbot, and once at least,

¹ Bodl., Suffolk Charters, 134.

as we shall see, the abbot removed an under-steward for incompetence without waiting for the hereditary steward to act. It must have been strenuous work, to which a nobleman would be unable to devote his time, for it was roughly equivalent to the work of a sheriff, and sheriffs were very busy people. The steward was the connecting link between the crown and the liberty in matters of administration, jurisdiction and finance. The scope of his functions is very clearly defined in a document which occurs in three at least of the Bury registers, and probably belongs to the reign of Edward I. "Note that the office of steward extends to the keeping of the liberty which belongs to the crown, and to executing the King's writs: but he is not to intermeddle with the manors except by the special command of the abbot."¹ That is to say, he has no concern with the estates, only with the governmental work of the abbey. His pivotal position is well illustrated by a story of the reign of Edward I. Somewhere about 1290 the Abbot of St Edmunds appointed Robert de Verdun as under-steward at the nomination of Sir John Hastings. In 1293 two sudden deaths occurred in the liberty; a boy of 12 years was found drowned in Livermere, and a man at Melford lighting a church lamp was crushed by the fall of the heavy weight that kept it up. The relatives of the dead persons sought for the coroner to hold the inquests, but he was not to be found, nor was the steward. Robert of Verdun was in fact taking a holiday; he had gone off to distant parts without asking the abbot's leave, and left his bailiwick unkept. Thus there was no one to compel the coroner to do his duty: the job would have fallen to the sheriff elsewhere, but the sheriff could not intervene in the liberty without special orders. The desperate relatives came to the abbot and begged a remedy, as they dared not bury the bodies without the coroner's inquest, though the whole neighbourhood was suffering from the stench. The abbot at once deprived Robert of his office and appointed a new under-steward, to the great indignation of Sir John Hastings².

¹ Pinchbeck Register, fol. 152. This register has been recently printed (privately) by Lord Francis Hervey.

² Pinchbeck Register, fol. 199.

The steward, then, had to see that all the officials of the liberty did their duty—coroner, hundred bailiffs, clerks, constables, bedels and the whole crowd of officials who were supposed to enforce the king's law in Western Suffolk.

He had also judicial duties; he held the "great court" at Bury, which corresponded to the shire court in the rest of the country; the central court for all the eight and a half hundreds, held at the beginning of Edward I's reign at Catteshill, to the east of the town, and later at Henhow, just outside the town, probably on the tract now known as Shirehouse heath. Besides this, again like the sheriff, he went round the different hundreds holding tourns twice a year, at which the view of frankpledge was held and the articles of the tourn inquired into by the hundred juries, and greater and lesser criminal offences presented. On such occasions he handed over to the bailiffs of the hundreds estreats or lists of the fines and amercements imposed at these courts, for the bailiffs to collect and pay over to him.

His fiscal duties had two aspects—those looking to the king and those looking to the abbot. He was responsible for levying all fines, amercements and dues owed to the king, whether payments for writs, fines imposed by the justices in eyre, or customary payments. Some of these dues had, by the terms of the abbot's charters, been transferred by the king to him; the steward would have to collect them and pay them to the abbot. Others, not so granted by charter, he would have to pay in at the king's exchequer. To quote the 15th century statement again:

The steward should yearly make clear accounts in the King's Exchequer for all manner things appertaining to the said Franchise, and collect all debts of the green wax and in the said Exchequer make livery thereof, and acquit the abbot of all things whereof account ought of custom to be made in the Exchequer; and he should answer to the Abbot of all green wax that by point of charter should grow to him within the said franchise.

The steward might also have to represent the abbot in other places as well as the exchequer; at the shire court held at Ipswich for the rest of the county, and in the king's courts at Westminster, or before the travelling justices. This will naturally arise out of his duty of upholding the rights

and privileges of the abbot and the liberty: and the perquisites allowed him are calculated with a view to such activities. Ordinarily he is allowed four horses, of the abbot's providing and feeding, and board and lodging for himself, a clerk, a serjeant and three grooms, extended by a later agreement to nine men and eight horses. If he has to go to London or Ipswich on the abbot's business, the abbot pays his expenses. He is also allowed four gallons of ale a day, half of the kind the abbot drinks, and half of smaller ale. He may turn out his horse to graze in St Edmund's meadows. In winter he is allowed six candles, in summer four, of the same quality that the prior is allowed; if he is lucky enough to get better ones, it is by grace and not right. He has grants at Christmas, Easter, and St Edmund's day; $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ each time in the earlier record, 2s., 1s., and 1s. in the later¹.

But more important than any of these perquisites were those arising from his duty of executing the king's writs in the liberty. The Abbot of Bury St Edmunds had the return of writs, as had the Abbots of Ramsey, Ely and Peterborough; and this franchise was exercised by the seneschal, to the exclusion, as he asserted in 1293, of the abbot himself. It is worth being fairly precise on this point, as one often hears it asserted of these great and ancient liberties that "The king's writ did not run in them." What exactly took place if a resident of West Suffolk wished to go to law with his neighbour over a piece of land, and sued out the king's writ, say, of Novel Disseisin? In the Bodleian Library² there is a roll of memoranda by a sheriff of Suffolk in the reign of Edward III, in some such form as the following: "Received such and such a writ—passed it on to the steward of St Edmunds—who either has reported that he has done what was commanded him, or has done nothing about it." Examples of writs, so transmitted, are extant for various liberties; for instance, those of the Abbot of St Albans and the Bishop of Lincoln; they are addressed by the sheriff to the steward or bailiff of the liberty and run something like this: "We have received the command of the king in these words: [and the writ is

¹ Pinchbeck Register, fol. 151 b; C.U.L. ms. Ff. 2. 33, fol. 142.

² Suffolk Rolls, 4.

quoted verbatim] wherefore we command you to execute this writ and report to us what you have done in the matter." If the steward failed to take action, and the sheriff reported as much, the litigant would get another writ of *ne omittas propter libertatem*, by virtue of which the sheriff could enter the liberty and execute the writ himself. The liberty of return of writs, that is, the right to prevent the sheriff and his staff from executing them in the franchise, was conditional on the franchise holder's seeing that the king's work was properly done by his own officials.

In the chronicle of Peterborough we have a rebuke addressed to the sheriff for unjustifiable interference. It is worth noting as illustrating the relation of two different lords of liberties, as well as the working of franchisal government. In 1279 the sheriff of Northants had quite regularly passed on to the bailiffs of the soke of Peterborough a writ for replevying the beasts of the Abbot of Ramsey, which the Abbot of Peterborough had distrained for arrears of rent, etc., but the sheriff having, on paper, handed on the matter to the officials of the liberty, then proceeded to come into the soke to replevy the beasts himself, alleging that the abbot's hundred courts could not hear a plea in which the abbot himself was a party. The abbot promptly obtained a letter from the king, ordering the sheriff to respect the liberties of Peterborough and to cease from interference¹. Another case, of the year 1284, illustrates the normal working of the franchise. The abbot and one of his hundred bailiffs were summoned for forcibly taking three beasts of John de Vere's. The abbot replied that he had the return of writs in his liberty, and that his bailiff of the hundred of Huxlow had taken the beasts on a mandate from the sheriff that he should distrain him for 20s. which John owed the king's chancery for three writs obtained from the chancery. The case turned on whether the place where the distress was taken was in the abbot's liberty or no; as it was, he won the case.²

This case illustrates very well the importance of the writ system in extending the king's control over the liberties. It

¹ *Chron. Petroburgense* (Camden Soc.), p. 33.

² *Ibid.* pp. 69-70.

was the universal spread of royal justice that opened a breach in the walls of a liberty, and transformed its lord from a semi-independent magnate into a "minister of the king." As we shall see, it was a valuable privilege; but it also involved heavy responsibilities, and above all, it fitted the lord's liberties into a national scheme of administration. In a large part of their activities they were simply acting as royal agents. If the king's writ could not run without their endorsement and co-operation, it was very much to their interest that it should be passed on and executed as speedily as possible; for if not they risked first the invasion of their liberty by the sheriff, and finally, if they were obstinately neglectful, the forfeiture of the liberty itself, for not upholding the king's law and enforcing his mandates.

It was to their pecuniary advantage, also, that the writs should be executed. There were perquisites and pickings to be had out of this business, especially if it led, as it did in the majority of cases, to a distraint—a taking of beasts. To compel attendance in court, payment of a debt, or rendering of a service, the normal initial proceeding was to distraint the cattle of the recalcitrant party, or, if they were poor, their coats, their pots or their pans. For each beast so impounded, the litigant paid a fixed rate—primarily for its food—for each day that the beast was in the lord's close or the sheriff's pound. The steward of St Edmunds "has all the oxen which have to be distrained under the king's writs or pleas arising within the liberty¹"; and this was probably the most valuable of all his perquisites.

The records of Peterborough, Ely and Ramsey are not so numerous as those of St Edmunds, of which this University Library has a fine selection. There seems here no trace of a hereditary stewardship, though Ely has a hereditary constable. But though we do not know so much about their stewards, they appear to be doing much the same work. We see the steward of Peterborough in 1275 at the county court of Northants (as St Edmunds' steward went to Ipswich county) claiming the jurisdiction of the abbot in a case of assault and murder. Twenty-nine men of the liberty were

¹ C.U.L. MS. Ff. 2. 33. fol. 142.

appealed by the widow in the county court, and in spite of the resistance of the sheriff, the steward, Robert of Sheffield, succeeded in getting them transferred to the gaol of the liberty. The case went up to the king's council, which upheld the charter of the abbot, and ordered the trial to be held at Peterborough¹.

Again, a succession of Ely stewards come before us. When, in 1299, the justices in eyre move on from Cambridge Castle to Ely, just as at Cambridge they demand a list of all the sheriffs who have exercised office since their last visit, so at Ely they demand and get a list of all the stewards who have held office at Ely, and so done sheriff's work, since 1286. Of the six persons named, two were also sheriffs of Cambridgeshire, one before, the other after their stewardship—Robert Hereward and William of Sutton.

From the creation of the bishopric in the reign of Henry I the administration of the Suffolk and Cambridgeshire liberties of Ely was separated: the bishop was lord of the Isle, the prior and monks of the five and a half hundreds of Wicklow. There were therefore two stewards: the steward of the Isle, and the steward or chief bailiff of the five and a half hundreds, who resided at Melton, where the ancient gaol of the liberty still stands. The liberty gaol at Ely now serves, like Cambridge gaol, as a record office.

The steward of Ramsey² again, like those of Ely, Peterborough and St Edmunds, represents his abbot when necessary in the king's courts, and holds the tourns (or leets as they are called in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire) like the sheriff, in the hundreds and manors, thus travelling round the liberty and supervising the work of the lesser officials. Here again we have evidence that these stewards were of the same class as that from which the sheriffs were drawn; in one case (Walter of Stukely) the same man serves in turn as steward of Ramsey and sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Hunts, and in several cases the same family names occur in both lists.

¹ *Chron. Petroburgense*, p. 22.

² A list of Ramsey stewards is given in Ault, *Private Jurisdiction*, pp. 145-6.

Of the other officials whose competence extended over the whole of the liberty, the most important was the coroner. We have already heard of a coroner of St Edmunds neglecting his duty in the reign of Edward I, and lest it should be thought that liberties were more liable to suffer in this way than districts under direct royal control, I may mention, by the way, that precisely parallel charges had been made in Devon a little earlier, against the coroner for refusing to hold inquests, and against the sheriff for failing to make him do so, the Devonshire county gentry complaining bitterly of the public nuisance. Each of these great liberties had its own coroner who kept the pleas of the crown, so that no profits arising from crimes or sudden deaths should be lost to the government. It was a responsible position, and the coroner of St Edmunds might well be expected to be a man of some standing. By a lucky chance, we have the will of a man who served both as coroner and clerk to the steward of the liberty, and is mentioned frequently—and generally to his discredit—in the Hundred Rolls of 1274–5. This man, Henry of Helhoughton, took bribes to let people off serving on inquests; he instigated the accusation of innocent men, he arrested men who had not been regularly indicted and kept them in prison till they paid to be released, and took fees for holding his inquests, which he should have held gratis. His will, dated 19 June, 1274¹, reveals the fact that if a clerk, he was married, for he leaves legacies to his widow, to three sons and two daughters and to their nurse, Agnes de Lansese; that although supposed to be an upholder of the law, he encroached upon the king's highway both at Risby, where he held land, and at Helhoughton; that if a layman, he could read, for he left "one of my books called a codex" to a nephew; that he held land in Bury St Edmunds and in two other villages besides Helhoughton, where his court or manor house was and where he had a chaplain of his own. His little gifts to friends and servants are numerous, and suggest a kindly man. His legacies to the poor, to chaplains of churches, to Dominicans, Franciscans, and the monks of St Edmund, and his provision for his funeral masses would suggest the devout son of the church

¹ Bodl. Suffolk Charters, 75.

—but that the first two items of the will rather lead one to suspect a guilty conscience, or, perhaps, a very businesslike otherworldliness. “I leave half a mark to repair the parish church of St James, because of the tithes I have forgotten or failed to pay. I leave my charger and armour to the shrine of St Edmund, for all my trespasses done against the blessed Edmund and his church.” The villagers of West Suffolk might complain that Henry had unjustly extorted money from them; what lay heavy on his conscience when he came to die was not so much what he had taken, but what he had kept—those perquisites of royal government which had long ago been bestowed by one king and saint upon another king and saint.

We have considered the administration of the liberty as a whole: mainly in the light of the St Edmunds evidence; we have now to turn to the parts. If the unit of estate management (with which we are not concerned) was the manor, the unit of royal administration was the hundred, whose bailiff, with his assistants, carried out the steward's commands on the spot. There is a wealth of material for illustrating hundredal administration; I shall draw mainly on the Ely material, since both 13th century court rolls and 14th century bailiffs' accounts are extant for the hundreds of this liberty.

The hundred bailiff was, as a rule, appointed by the steward: a hereditary bailiff is mentioned for one of the St Edmunds hundreds by Jocelin of Brakelond, but the post is no longer hereditary in the 13th century. He entered into a bond for good conduct with the abbey. In one of the Bury Registers at the British Museum there are copies of the indentures for the seventh year of Henry VI for the hundreds of St Edmunds, which are let out for terms varying from one to five years¹. The bailiff is to hold hundreds, leets and tourns; to certify inquests to St Edmund; to levy the fines and amercements owing both to St Edmund's Court and to the Exchequer, and to render account for them to the abbot, the steward and the coroner; to keep the rolls on parchment and hand them over at the end of his term;

¹ Add. MS. 14848 (Registrum Curteys), fol. 53.

and to hear pleas of contracts, etc., up to 39s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The annual sum payable ranges from £6. 13s. 4d. for Risbridge hundred to £35 for the double hundred of Blackburn. The formula addressed to the good folk of the hundred adds that the bailiff has full power to distrain and do all things necessary for carrying out these duties¹.

These indentures give you the outline of the hundred bailiff's function. He is the executive, judicial and fiscal subordinate of the steward of the liberty. He carries out the orders contained in the writs; in many if not all cases, he holds the three-weekly hundred courts; and he collects both "the king's debts," under the mandates sealed with the green wax of the exchequer; the fines and amercements arising out of the pleas of the great court of St Edmunds, the intrinsic shire; those arising out of the tourns held in his hundred twice a year by the steward; and those arising out of the courts that he himself holds. He also collects the ancient customary dues, payable generally twice a year, that go by the name of sheriff's aid, hundred scot, assised rents, hundredor's aid, cert-money, head penny, or whatever the local name for them may be². We have a good survey of the fiscal side of his activities, to take these first, in some of the accounts for the Ely hundreds of Mitford in the 14th century³.

In 1379 Richard of Welby, Bailiff of Mitford hundred, Roland Lucas his sub-bailiff for half the year, and Nicholas Payn his sub-bailiff for the other half-year, render account to Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely.

<i>Receipts:</i> Arrears from previous year	£19. 3. 10.
Sheriff's aid	22/8
Cert-money payable at view of frank-pledge from 18 villages	22/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Perquisites of the leet in 14 villages	£7. 9. 0.
Perquisites of 17 hundred courts	49/6
Perquisites of fairs and markets	60/1
Total receipts, including arrears from last year	£39. 14. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fines and amercements arising in the king's courts	31/5.

¹ Add. MS. 14848, fol. 321 b (18 Henry VI).

² See N. Neilson, "Customary Rents," in Vinogradoff, *Oxford Studies*, II, 2, pp. 119 ff.

³ Bodl. Norfolk Rolls, 99.

Outgoings: Richard Welby's fee 100/-
 Parchment for keeping court rolls of hundreds and
 leets, and for return of writs 2/-
 Balance due £34. 12. 0½.
 of which £4 is allowed to Nicholas Payn and
 £6. 2. 5. to R. Lucas.
 Total due is £24. 9. 7½.

In the diocesan registry at Ely there are some accounts for the hundred of Wisbeach in the years 1489–90, but they are almost certainly incomplete, as they make no reference to hundred courts, leets or customary payments. They are simply accounts of the fines and amercements arising from the sessions of the Justices of the Peace at Ely at Easter and in August. 5*s.* 10*d.* is due, and 8*s.* 4*d.* is remitted because it cannot be collected.

Thomas Ketyll, bailiff of Wisbeach, accounts firstly for
 100/- of arrears from the previous year.
 17/6 for fines and amercements arising from the
 sessions of the Justices of the Peace of
 the Isle of Ely, held at Ely on Wednesday
 before Palm Sunday.
 37/4 for similar fines from the sessions of St.
 Peter's ad Vincula.
 Total due 154/10. Paid down 46/- (? 46/6).
 Fines remitted 8/4.
 Still owing 100/-.

The appearance of the justice of the peace is significant of the supersession in the 14th and 15th centuries of the sheriff and shire court and, to some extent, the hundred bailiff and hundred court for the purposes of local government by the new "maid of all work," the J.P., who was to do for the Tudor kings what the sheriff had done for the Angevin kings.

This leads us to consider the judicial work of the hundred bailiff. The Ely records are good evidence of the dwindling importance of the courts held by the hundred bailiff. At Ely there is an incomplete series of court rolls for the hundred of Wisbeach belonging to the years 1302–7. There is also a series for the hundred of Wichford for the year 1366–7 which, though complete, is very bald and uninteresting. The vast majority of cases are cases of debt, and the number at

each court is very much smaller than at the earlier date. In the intervening sixty years the J.P. has come into existence, and his sessions are stealing the petty criminal jurisdiction of the hundred.

Certain facts, however, emerge. At both dates the hundred courts are held on a fixed day of the week—Tuesday at Wichford, Thursday at Wisbeach, at regular three-week intervals, except in the New Year, where there is a four-weeks' interval. I think some sort of Christmas holiday for court-holders was general. Thus you get your full tale of seventeen courts in the year. At the Martinmas court of Wichford a long string of persons who owe suit pay a lump sum down to be released from attendance for the next twelve months. Among those owing suit to the hundred of Wisbeach may be noted two women—one the Prioress of Eton and one a lay-woman.

If the Wichford Rolls of Edward III's reign are uninteresting, the Wisbeach rolls give a very fair notion of the kind of business conducted every three weeks by a hundred bailiff in the reign of Edward I. For further light we can also refer to the court rolls of the Ramsey hundred of Clackclose. I do this the more willingly, as the latest historian of Ramsey, Dr Ault of Boston, doubts whether the hundred court of Clackclose ever met. There is in the Record Office solid reason—fourteen membranes of court rolls—for believing that it met and did business in the years 1282–4¹. It is to this roll we owe a charming vignette of medieval piety, for it was at the court held at Downham Market on 12 February, 1284, that Avelina Perlet sued Robert Hall of Boughton for attacking her by force and arms upon the king's highway between Wereham and Boughton upon Easter Sunday, 1282, and robbing her of a missal worth 20s., a manual worth 2 marks, and two rolls of songs worth 6*d*. We should like to know if the songs were carols or the more secular songs of some village choral to which Avelina was proceeding, her spiritual duties performed—but all we learn is that she won her case and recovered the value of the stolen goods, plus damages².

¹ P.R.O. Court Rolls, 192/67.

² Court Rolls, 192/68, m. 2.

This is a plea of detention of chattels, another example of which may be cited from a Wisbeach roll of 1302. Two men of Leverington agreed at Michaelmas to lay out £8 jointly, repayable at Christmas, for trading purposes, and one having put down £4 and only received 40s. back, sued the other for the remaining 39s. 11*d.* It will be remembered that the statute of Gloucester of 1278 was interpreted to prohibit any plea involving 40s. or upwards being heard in a shire or hundred court. The plaintiff lost his case.

Cases of trespass occur frequently in the Wisbeach rolls. Joan Pelham complains that Stephen Malebraunche fell upon her one Sunday at Leverington, with various other men unknown, beat her, ill-treated her, drew blood from her and finally flung her on to a fire. Richard Baxter complains that Peter of Domerham assaulted him at Wisbeach, violently entering his house, and frightening his wife so that he lost her services for a week. Damages were assessed at 18*d.* He also accuses him of public defamation, by calling him "false man," whereby he lost a bargain involving five quarters of wheat. Seemingly he lost this plea. More unusual is the complaint of John, the son of Geoffrey Gerard. Thomas of Rotherwick, a man of Tydd, to whom John had entrusted a hound, had, contrary to the custom of the country, neither tied her up nor shut her up at the breeding season, and by mismating with all manner of strange dogs the breed of her offspring had been spoiled, for which he claims 6s. 8*d.* damages. Thomas asserts that such tying-up is the custom of boroughs and towns, not of country villages like Tydd, and demands a jury. Unfortunately the verdict of the jury is not enrolled.

Pleas of debt and of contract are very common, as, for instance, when Richard Dunham buys two quarters of wheat for 10s. at the end of February, undertaking to pay on the Good Friday following, but pays nothing until July. His creditor claims 6s. 8*d.* for the intervening four months. Or again, John Aleyn leases 26 acres to William of St Ives for a rent of 22s. for the whole year, to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, and William pays nothing; or again, when a woman claims 2s. 3*d.* due to her for minding a cow—two

years' pay in arrears. She secures 1s. 10*d.* On 10 June, 1305, Richard Baker is accused of enticing William Pepper away from the service of Thomas Fisher, to whom William was bound from Michaelmas to Easter. The jury finds for Fisher, who gets 40*d.* damages.

Two or three times we are reminded of the great world outside the Isle. There is an interesting case arising out of *Quia Emptores*. John Aleyn takes the beasts of Richard Baker by way of claiming the service owed from his tenement—6*d.* a year and two suits to his court. John Aleyn's tenant had formerly been Roger Batere, who enfeoffed Baker to hold of the chief lord of the fee according to the statute, and as Baker refused to render the services to John Aleyn he was distrained. Baker says that Aleyn has already admitted that Batere held the land by those services, and Batere is still alive, so that he is asserting that he has two tenants of the same tenement. It would seem that Baker refused to accept the working of the new statute.

Another point of contact with the governmental policy of Edward I is to be noted in a case at the court held on 16 February, 1306. Walter Tolmer complains that John Nunne had accused him unjustly, bringing a "malicious bill" before the justices of Trailbaston sitting at Ely in June, 1305, asserting that he had burgled John's house. The jury had found him innocent, but as a consequence of his journey to and from Ely to answer this frivolous charge he had lost a horse worth 20*s.* Apparently Walter got his damages. The reference is interesting both as showing the universal use of a nickname first invented in the previous year, and also as alluding to the procedure by bill—the individual petition as contrasted with the presentment of an accusing jury, a procedure discussed at length by Dr Bolland, and shown recently by Dr Jacob to be at least as old as 1259. It will be noted also that the justices of Trailbaston, like the justices in eyre, sat in the Island itself.

Edward I's name itself is heard in the court on 10 June, 1305, when Hamo de Walton brings a writ of right addressed by the king to the bishop. "Do right to Hamo concerning this piece of land, for unless you do, the sheriff of Cambridge

shall." So the command goes out that all free tenants are to attend the next court. The average agreement about suit to a private hundred court included the condition that the suitor should attend the court twice a year and on such other occasions as a thief is to be judged, or the king's writ to be pleaded, due summons having been given. This is a case in point.

Another aspect of hundredal jurisdiction is illustrated by the appearance from time to time on the record of the Prior of Ely, who "claims his court" in cases where one of the parties is his man or lives on his manor. It would appear from the entries of the affeerors at the end of each court day that he claimed rather the money profits arising out of the case than the actual jurisdiction: for sums are sometimes noted as being due to the prior, whilst most are described as being due to the bishop.

Besides evidence as to the kind of cases that came up before the hundred bailiff every three weeks, we have some light on the actual conduct of the business. There are no cases, such as Miss Levett has found at St Albans, of litigants or suitors losing their temper and using violent and unruly language. We do hear, however, of "a great altercation" between the Prior of Ely and Thomas Doreward as to which of the two should have jurisdiction over Stephen Hamund. We find the suitors of the court holding a discussion as to whether William Cavendish is to be allowed to claim 38s. 6d. from William Okey, who sold him a piece of land 16 perches short of the supposed extent. They decide that Okey need not pay, though he has agreed to do so. In another case they refuse to allow a woman to wage her law to prove that she did not come by night and steal the seal of another woman. In another case the plea is postponed for lack of sufficient number of suitors. Clearly the suitors were still the judges, even if the hundred bailiff presided and kept the rolls. They have other duties. One suitor is amerced a shilling for refusing to collect the fines and amercements of the court in Leverington when he had been elected for the purpose. It would seem that the affeerors chosen at each court, according to Magna Carta, to assess the amount of the amercements imposed, were also bound to collect them in the different

villages of the hundred—Elm, Tydd, Newton, Leverington, Well and Wisbeach. The total due for each village is given separately at the foot of each roll, along with the names of the affeerors.

A note at the foot of one roll commands the execution of all the orders enrolled on the record of the last court but one, unless they have been ticked off. The execution of the precepts and mandates arising from the holding of the courts will form a large part of the responsibilities of the hundred bailiff, and it is to this side of his activities that we must now turn, having considered his fiscal and judicial duties.

We have already acquired a pretty good idea of what these executive functions are—levying debts and amercements, impanelling juries, attaching people to be present at the court, distraining them by their chattels if they fail to come. To do this work the bailiff has assistants; summoners to summon people to the courts whenever special attendance is required (a tenant of Ramsey Abbey held his land at Wimbotsham by the service of summoning men to the hundred court of Clackclose); collectors chosen in court to collect the fines and amercements of each court day; sub-bailiffs to help with the records and accounts; bedels to attach and distrain men. The Wisbeach hundred court rolls indicate that there was a bedel in each village of the Isle of Ely; he is constantly acting as pledge for the appearance of people in court. The number of the staff varied with the hundred.

The hundred bailiff, as we have seen, is appointed by the lord of the liberty or his steward, and enters into a bond with him for good conduct. But he is also the *ballivus juratus* solemnly sworn, probably in the hundred court, to serve the king's interests; when the justices in eyre come round he has to give an account to them of his bailiwick¹; and to the men of the hundred, when he is doing the king's work, he is "the king's bailiff." A case on the Wisbeach roll emphasises the higher loyalty. Reginald fitzWalter, the king's bailiff, was commanded by the constable of Wisbeach, on behalf of the king, to attach John Lowyn, chaplain, and six other men who had beat and wounded John Digby, so that

¹ Ass. R. 70. m. 7d.

his life was despaired of. John Digby, now fit to appear in court, accused Reginald of entertaining and countenancing these malefactors, and allowing them to escape unharmed from his bailiwick, contrary to his oath and in contempt of the king. Reginald admits that he did take supper with these malefactors, and was in their company for half a day, but only against his will. They took him by force and compelled him to stay with them so that he could not fulfil his office on behalf of the king without being instantly slain. He begs for a jury, as does John Digby; and the jury find that Reginald acted under compulsion and was innocent of supporting these common malefactors.

Again and again it is made evident that the bailiffs in these liberties are doing the king's work. In the Suffolk liberty of Ely, the men of the Earl Marshal are charged with resisting the bailiffs of the prior when they try to take distresses by command of the king in Carlford hundred, in order to levy the king's debts there¹. The bailiff of Thredling hundred appeals to the king in 1302 for punishment of six men who assaulted him at Debenham when he was trying to attach three others for trespass². In 1276 the king appoints justices of Oyer and Terminer to ascertain what malefactors and disturbers of the peace attacked and ill-treated three bailiffs of the Bishop of Ely while holding his view of frankpledge at Walpole and Walsoken³. At both ends, then, from the point of view of the villagers and from the point of view of the king himself, the officials of the liberty are doing the king's work as well as the abbot's work.

The co-operation, no less than the profit-sharing of the crown and the franchise-holder, is well illustrated at the visitation of the justices in eyre. They sit in the liberty, whether of Ramsey, Peterborough, Ely or St Edmunds; they call to account the steward and the bailiffs of the separate hundreds; they inspect the rolls of the coroners of the liberty, they inquire into all manner of crimes and trespasses committed within the liberty by the king's ministers and by

¹ *Rot. Hund.* II, 189.

² *Cal. Pat. R.* p. 85.

³ *Ass. R.* 1228, m. 49d.

others since the last eyre. But they are not infringing the liberty, safeguarded by charter. They may condemn the thief to be hanged, but they do not wish to deprive the abbot of his liberty of the gallows. Richard Canting, found guilty of theft in the Eyre of Northampton in 1280, "was delivered by the justices to the bailiffs of the abbot of Peterborough to be hanged, and as it was evening, and they could not take him to the gallows at Collingham, they borrowed the king's gallows and he was hanged there, but his chattels went to the lord abbot¹." So when the justices left the county, they delivered to the abbot a list of all the fines and amercements imposed, and the chattels of thieves, fugitives and outlaws, presented in the eyre, forfeit by right to the king, but granted by charter to the abbot².

The very terms in which the lords of liberties claimed their privileges were the measure of their responsibilities. Richard I had granted to the abbot of Peterborough in the eight hundreds "whatever the sheriff has in the king's hundreds³" and the abbot in 1230 claimed by colour of this charter "whatever pertains to the sheriffdom⁴." Even in the 12th century, much more in the 13th and following centuries, the sheriff was liable to find himself in difficulties, and ultimately in the Fleet prison, if he failed to obey orders from headquarters. So with the stewards and bailiffs of these great liberties; if they had the powers they took the risks of the sheriff. In the exchequer, before the justices in eyre—nay, even at the hands of their rival, the sheriff of the shire, they were liable to be called to account for the non-collection of royal debts, for the non-enforcement of royal justice, for the non-execution of royal writs. The very wording of the writ of right itself, as Maitland pointed out long ago, made the lord of a private court a royal agent. The matter cannot be more briefly put than it is by the lord of a liberty, himself claiming his privileges in the eyre of Northampton in 1330. "Robert of Ferrers, my predecessor," he says, "had the aforesaid

¹ *Chron. Petroburgense*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.* pp. 119–24.

³ *Ibid.* p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 11–12.

hundred, pleas of *vee de naam*, execution of the lord King's writs and thus consequently was the lord King's servant—*minister domini regis*¹." If it has not been possible to sketch more than a rough outline of the administration of these ancient ecclesiastical liberties, reason has at least, I hope, been given for recognising their lords as the king's ministers—cogs in that magnificent machine built up by the practical genius of our Norman and Angevin kings.

¹ *Plac. Quo Waranto*, p. 581.

MELBOURN CHURCH.

By A. H. LLOYD, F.S.A.

(Read 15 November 1926.)

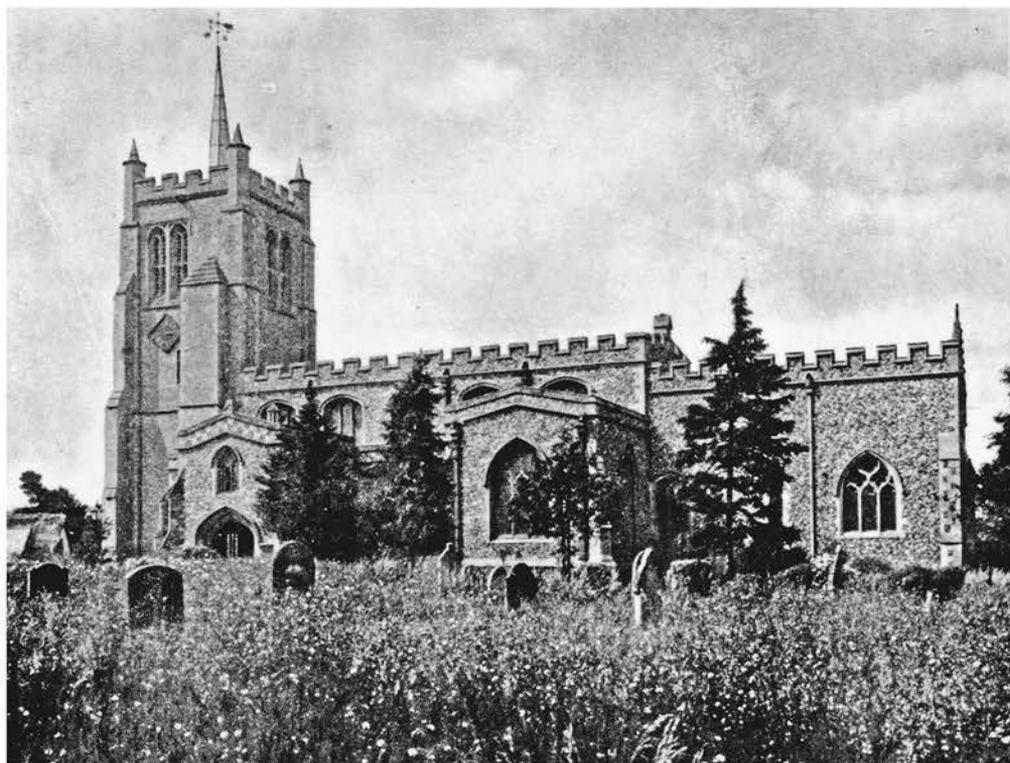
This communication does not purport to be a complete account of the church, and it has no concern with the history of the parish and its manors. The architecture of the building is examined and its development traced with the intention of putting in its proper relation the architectural problem. For the manorial and parochial history of Melbourn, readers are referred to Dr Palmer's masterly accounts communicated to this and other societies. The writer's acknowledgments are gratefully offered to the Rev. H. MacNeice, the vicar of Melbourn, and to Dr Palmer, for information they have most kindly supplied, and to Mr L. Hale for making the ground-plan.

No evidence has been discovered of a pre-Conquest church at Melbourn and there is no indication in *Domesday* of a church existing there in 1086. But although there is no trace of a church built before or soon after the Conquest, the existing building contains, as part of its necessary equipment, evidence of a predecessor of Norman date.

With the exception of stone dressings, the exterior (Pl. I A) is of flint and rubble, exposed or plastered, and traces of the development of the building and indications of the changes it has undergone are thereby mostly hidden; it is mainly from the interior, built of good clunch, that the church must be required to give an account of its architectural story.

THE FONT.

The earliest feature is the basin of the font (Pl. I B). This was originally a rectangle about 2 ft. 6 in. square, one side being decorated with an arcade of columns and rather flat, round arches, surmounted by a band of diaper work of unusual form, the whole in low relief; the remaining three sides were plain. The font belonged in its original form to the first half of the 12th century and points to the building of a church in Melbourn at that period. The basin was cut down to its



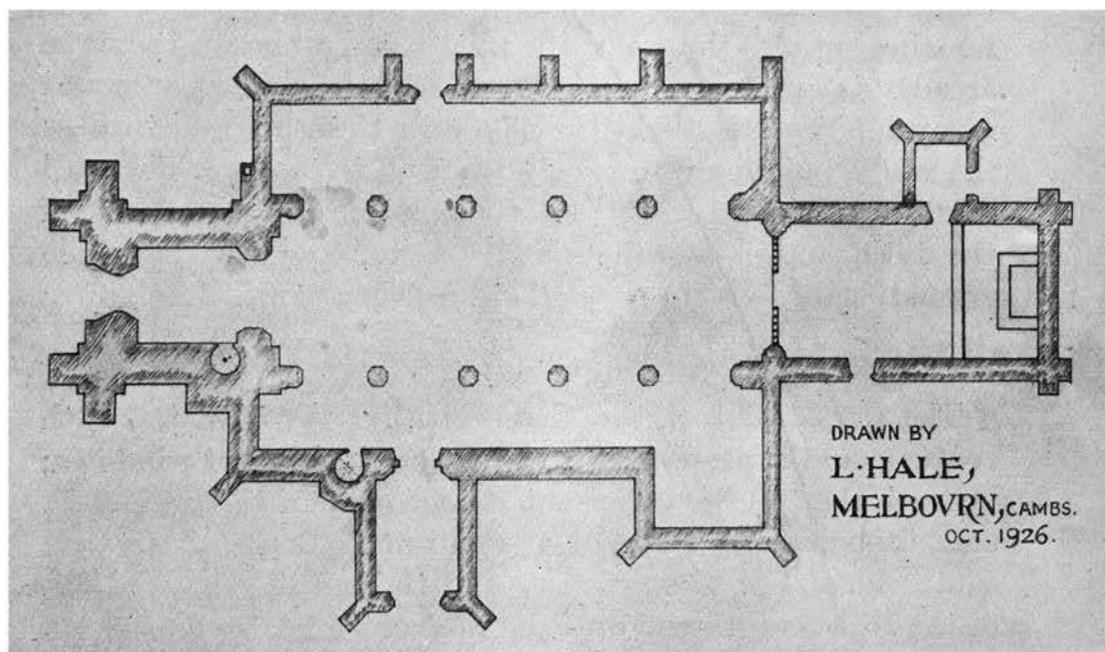
A



B.

PLATE I. MELBOURN CHURCH,
(A. SOUTH SIDE).
(B. FONT).

present octagonal form in a way that preserves a portion of the arcaded side and a portion of one original plain side; the remaining six sides of the octagon are each ornamented with rounded trefoils in high relief on their inner sides and having a quirk marking their outer lines, the foils terminating in balls. These panels are indubitably mediaeval notwithstanding their sharpness of line and smoothness of surface, qualities derived from one or other of the numerous handlings of the font in the latter part of the 19th century. It may safely be assumed that the square Norman font-basin was



cut down into octagonal form to fit against the westernmost pillar of the south arcade when the present nave was built in the 13th century; it appears to have remained in that position until it was removed under a Faculty of 1882.

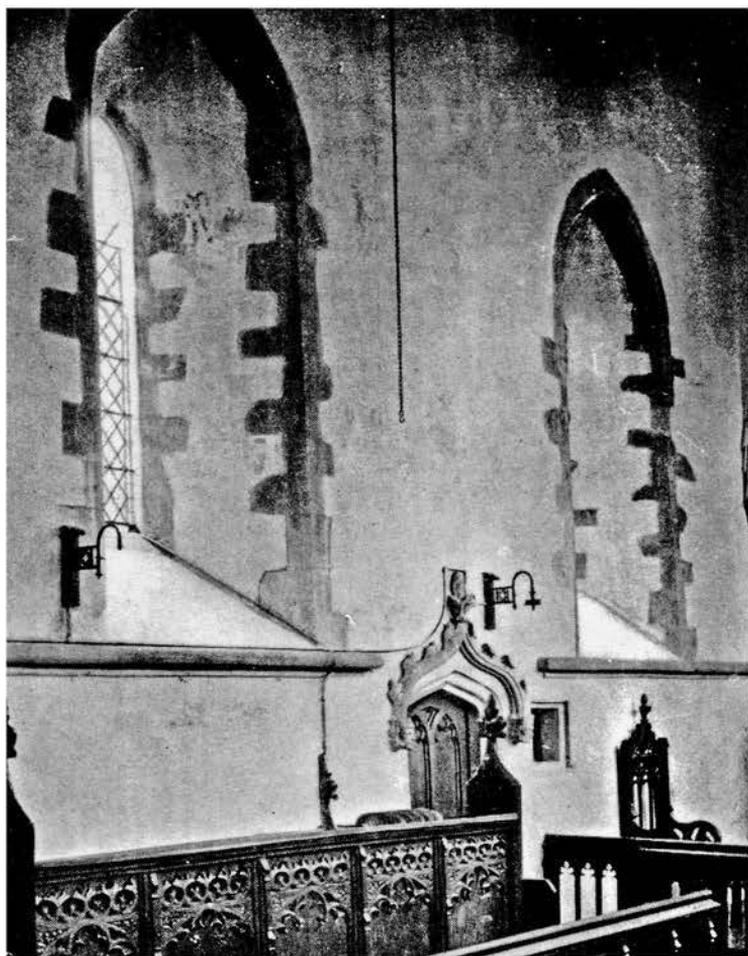
The church of the first half of the 12th century, the church for which the existing font-basin in its original square form was made, seems to have had a life of about 100 years. No portion of its building was retained in that of its successor and this suggests the possibility that the present church was built at a little distance apart from the Norman

church. During any excavations in the churchyard, a close watch should be kept for traces of old foundations.

The structure of the present church belongs in the main to two periods: the reign of Henry III and the reign of Henry VII. The church begun in the first half of the reign of Henry III and completed well before its end is, in essence, the building as it is seen today, little as that may be assumed from the evidence of the exterior. If there were removed from the ground-plan the tower, the porch, the projection of the chapel and the vestry, there would remain the whole of the ground-plan of the 13th-century church with the exception of the north aisle wall. And not the ground-plan alone remains but also the walls, the pillars and arches of the nave arcades, the principal doorway, much of the chancel arch and many internal details in the chancel. It seems well to pass the whole building in review first of all to discover in detail what remains of the 13th-century church, then to speak of the 14th-century additions and, finally, to cover the whole ground again to identify the 15th-century work.

THE CHANCEL.

The north wall of the chancel (Pl. IIA) is of the 13th century, and it preserves two of the original lancet windows; beneath them is the under-cut stringcourse of the same date and, though much restored, it still remains on the east and south sides also. The doorway and the opening beyond are of the 15th century and must be reserved for later consideration. On the south (Pl. IIB) nothing, save the wall, the stringcourse and one lancet window, belongs to the original date of the chancel, but the double-drain piscina is also of the 13th century though of the second half; it probably replaced one with a single drain and its introduction must have caused the removal of the lancet that originally occupied the space above. These piscinae with twin drains have much ecclesiastical interest; they came into use during the course of the 13th century in obedience to the desire for greater reverence in regard to the Holy elements and, after prevailing for a few decades, their need ceased and later buildings were supplied with piscinae of single drains, following a further ritual



A



B

PLATE II. MELBOURN CHURCH,
(A. NORTH WALL OF CHANCEL).
(B. SOUTH WALL OF CHANCEL).



PLATE III. MELBOURN CHURCH,
NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

development in the same direction. The double aumbry is of uncertain date, but it is later than the piscina with which, to some degree, it interferes; the deep fastening-holes remain on the jambs, but the mullion has been renewed. The actual arch between chancel and nave is later, but the responds up to and including the lower capitals are those of the 13th century; the bases are of the water-hollow type and the southern one has been renewed.

THE NAVE (Pl. III).

Both north and south arcades belong to this time also when, of course, the clerestory did not exist. The mouldings of the arches and capitals are normal, but those of the bases are unusual. Like the water-hollow type and the three-roll type the base-mouldings have three members, but the middle member is neither a hollow nor a roll: it may be described as a half-fillet or, better still, as a step. This form of base, though less frequent than the two main types, is occasionally to be seen elsewhere; there is a Cambridge example in the shafts of the east window of what is popularly known as the "Abbey Church" at Barnwell.

THE SOUTH AISLE.

That the south aisle (Pl. V A) is the original south aisle of the 13th-century church is clearly indicated, notwithstanding later window insertions, by its narrow width and the thickness of its two walls. The inner jambs of its doorway and its pointed segmental scoinson arch retain the simple but effective pointed bowtell. The external arch of this doorway is new, having been rebuilt along with the porch in one of the restorations of the 19th century. Boissier in his *Notes on the Cambridgeshire Churches*, published in 1827, says, "The inner arch of the south porch [the outer arch of our doorway] is Decorated and the best of that style in the neighbourhood." The actual arch seen by Boissier has gone, but, if the new arch is a copy of the old, it was not Decorated; it was coeval with the scoinson arch and of the full flower of the Early English period.

This completes the survey of the 13th-century church.

Begun at the east end, the work would continue slowly westward, and nave and aisles were completed early in the third quarter of the century.

Although in most mediaeval churches there are periods of outstanding building activity, the years lying between these greater efforts are frequently marked by less important works of alteration or addition, and of minor undertakings of that character there are at Melbourn records of some and examples and traces of others.

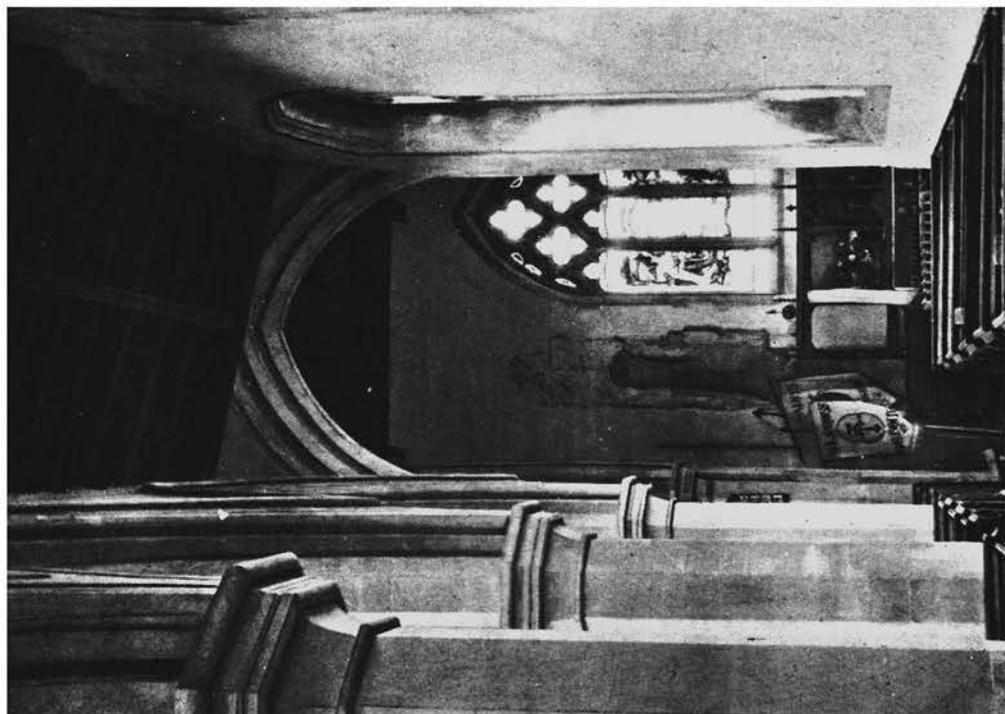
The first of these in order of date is known to us only by documentary record and it concerns the chancel. In the *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis*¹, edited for the Society by Dr Minns and the late Dr Feltoe, a volume rich alike in information and interest, we read on page 115 that George, vicar of Melbourn, who had made the *celatura*, the windows and other things in the chancel, declared at a visitation made some time between 1304 and 1316 that in so doing he did not intend to prejudice the church nor to burden his successors. The significance of this declaration deserves consideration. It was the duty of the archdeacon to see that each church in the archdeaconry was properly cared for and provided with certain minima of service books, vessels, vestments and other things needful, and that these were kept in decent condition. The minima were often exceeded by the pious provision of those interested in the churches, and it was the responsibility of the archdeacon to require that such additions should also be cared for, repaired and, when necessary, replaced. George the vicar, obviously a man of means, had provided his church with the additional advantages he named, but it was his desire that the parish, and the clergy who followed him, should enjoy their use without entering into bondage to maintain or replace them; his declaration was made with the purpose of safeguarding them against this liability.

The nature of the work described by the word *celatura* is uncertain, but the term appears to have relation rather to the ornamentation of the object to which it was applied than

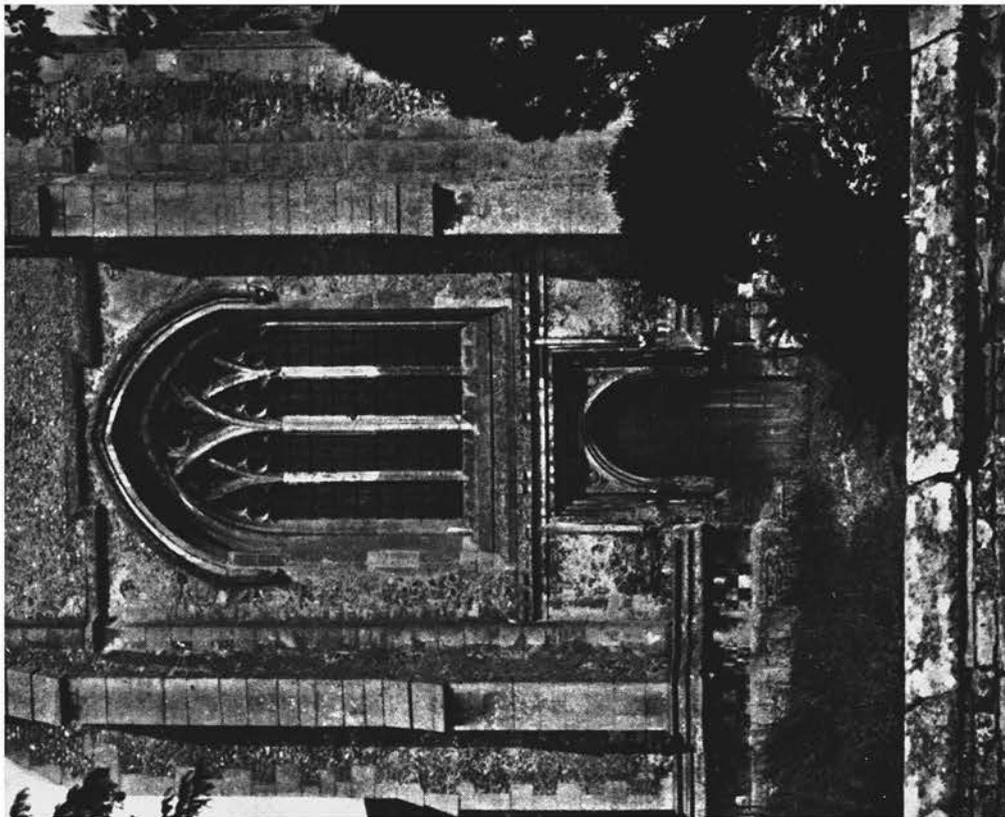
¹ Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Octavo Publications, No. XLVIII (1917).



PLATE IV. MELBOURN CHURCH,
SOUTH CHAPEL FROM NAVE.



A



B

PLATE V. MELBOURN CHURCH,
(A. SOUTH CHAPEL FROM SOUTH AISLE.)
(B. WEST WINDOW.)

to its fabric or function: the ornamentation was of the character of carving, engraving or embossing. There is a little guidance to be had from the use of this term in the nearly contemporary inventory of the church at Horningsea (*Vetus Liber*, p. 41) where reference is made to the *celatura ultra altare et tabula retro altare*, suggestive perhaps as regards *celatura* of something connected with a canopy or screen which may have stood above or near the altar. Some such structure was common about the mediaeval high altars, sometimes plain, sometimes enriched with carving or painting, and carving, tracery or other detail in that position might explain the use here of *celatura*.

When George says he "made" the windows we are not compelled to assume a reference to window-openings; he may have filled existing openings with glass which in his time is frequently mentioned in other churches of the archdeaconry. Whatever George made has disappeared for there is nothing of his date remaining unless, perchance, the aumbry east of the piscina.

THE SOUTH CHAPEL (Pl. IV).

The story of the next work of which there is record is not found in any written document but is preserved in the structure itself. This work is the chapel at the east end of the south aisle which was built before the middle of the 14th century, say, in the early years of Edward III. The chapel is "divided" from the aisle "archwise," to quote a delightful phrase from No. III of *Documents Relative to Cambridgeshire Villages*, by whose publication Dr Palmer and Mr Saunders are putting local historians and antiquaries deeply in their debt. The chapel has a gabled roof at right angles to the lean-to of the aisle, and the awkward transition internally from one form of roof to the other is masked by a plain but good arch (Pl. VA) which, at the same time, satisfies the eye by the suggestion of receiving and transferring to the chapel's west wall the thrust of the arcade. This function it cannot effectively perform since it abuts, not upon the wall-space above the pillar but upon the weakest place in the arch adjoining, i.e. its shoulder.

The east window of the chapel, of three lights with reticulated tracery, remains though largely repaired, and on each side of it is a much mutilated niche with lierne vaulting; there were buttresses at the sides of the niches, and they were surmounted by elaborate canopies whose outlines alone are left, while in the backgrounds there is still much colour. It is probable that the niches are somewhat later than the window they flank. While it is impossible to answer with any degree of certainty the oft-repeated question as to the figures which formerly filled the niches, it is not at all improbable that one would be given to the Blessed Virgin who, as we should expect, certainly had an altar in the church, and the lady-chapel would naturally be found in this position, the most honourable after that accorded to the high altar. As to the other niche, Dr Palmer says that a gild of St Wyburgh is mentioned in a document of 1542. It is possible (it must be said with all reserve) that a statue of this royal and sainted lady, the sister of Saint Etheldreda and herself the foundress of a monastic house at Dereham, filled the second niche; she should not be confused with the Saint Werberga, princess of the Mercian house and fourth Abbess of Ely, whose remains were translated to Chester, of which monastery and church she became patroness.

THE NORTH CHAPEL (Pl. VI).

The space of nearly 100 years from the date of the main building to that of the south chapel is about equalled by the time elapsing before the next building period. The work then done was not very important and what remains and is now to be described is so minute that reference to it would scarcely be justifiable apart from the inquiry to which it belongs. By those who know Melbourn church, residents and visitors alike, the question is often asked, "Was there ever a chapel at the east end of the north aisle similar to that on the south; a chapel, that is, projecting beyond the north wall of the north aisle?" The present chapel at the east end of the south aisle is commonly referred to as "the transept," but there never was a true transept at Melbourn, and it would be well to speak instead of the "South Chapel." If there had been



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PLATE VI. MELBOURN CHURCH,
NORTH AISLE LOOKING EAST.

a similar chapel on the north side, exactly opposite to that on the south, it would have produced something in the nature of a pseudo-transept, but, if such a chapel ever existed, it had disappeared before 1500. For, when the clerestory was added to the nave at about that time, its easternmost window on the south side was shortened and the stringcourse beneath it raised to clear the roof of the south chapel, but there is no such special provision on the north side where the lines of the windows and the string run unbroken from west to east. While this makes it clear that no such projecting chapel existed on the north side after the changes of the late 15th century, it remains to be considered whether one had occupied that position at an earlier period.

It has been said above that the south chapel was built before the middle of the 14th century and that one of its attendant features is the arch across the south aisle. There remains in the north aisle, against the arcade, the springing of an arch in the same position as that on the south; it rises out of the shoulder of the main arch in the same manner as the southern one and is also in two orders. On a superficial examination it would be natural to assume from this evidence the former existence of a north chapel similar to that on the south, but the mouldings of the northern arch show that it was built 75 years or more after the southern: it was erected, say, in the second quarter of the 15th century. The radius used in describing this north aisle arch makes it obvious that it spanned the narrow original aisle of the 13th century. There can be no doubt that towards the close of the 15th century the original north wall was taken down and a new one built four feet farther to the north, involving the destruction of the arch and the separate structural entity of the chapel it might be supposed to indicate; it is easier to believe that a projecting north chapel never existed than that it had a fleeting career of 60 or 70 years. There was, we may be sure, from an early date an altar at the east end of the north aisle (where the organ now stands), and in the later mediaeval period it appears to have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The arch was probably inserted under the influence of its fellow on the south to divide the chapel "archwise" from the

aisle for the use of the members of the gild of the Holy Trinity, knowledge of which at Melbourn is due to documentary evidence. Beneath the arch there would be a parclose screen with another across the bay of the nave, and in this way would be obtained the individuality and, in a proper measure, the exclusiveness of the chapel if it were used for the services of a gild: as compared with the south chapel it would then differ mainly in size.

THE SOUTH CHAPEL.

Rivalry is contagious, and if the gild of the Holy Trinity sought to emulate in its special corner the splendours of the south chapel, those with a special interest in the latter, perhaps the gild of St Wyburgh, being determined to keep their lead, entered upon the work on the south side of their chapel remaining today in the window with its lower solid panels (Pl. IV), the tomb slab beneath it, and the piscina niche, all of them, including possibly the squint in the north-east angle, being attributable to the first half of the 15th century.

THE LATE 15TH-CENTURY CHANGES.

Beginning with the year 1487, the church entered upon its second great period of building activity, lasting twenty years and equalling in extent and importance that attending its erection 250 years earlier. The people of Melbourn set out upon this enterprise under the pressure of two impulses, one general, the other local. Throughout the country new churches were being built, old ones enlarged, and Melbourn went with the tide; but the will to act without the means avails little, and the means, there is reason to believe, were at least to some extent provided by that eminent man, John Alcock, who had entered the diocese the year before as its bishop. Among his many interests two stood out prominently, building and education; the former certainly, the latter possibly, engaged his attention here. Alcock supplied Melbourn's local impulse.

THE CHANCEL.

Beginning as before with the chancel, we find that the walls were raised, a new roof was provided which is still in position, the rather small east window of the 13th century was replaced by the one which, though frequently repaired, still remains and, to adjust it to these various changes, the chancel arch was entirely remodelled. The 13th-century arch, now far too low, was taken down and upon its capitals, while they and the responds below them were retained, was built an extension of about six feet or so provided with its own capitals and arch in the manner of the time (Pl. III). This economy of material and labour in retaining the 13th century responds should be noted. At this period also there was built a sacristy or priests' vestry on the north side (Pl. II A) whose doorway is still in position, though the chamber itself has long passed away. Forty years ago the doorway, then blocked, was opened up to give entrance to a small modern vestry. East of the doorway is a rectangular recess possibly intended for and used as an Easter Sepulchre. It has not now and never had any ornamentation indicative of that purpose, such as may be seen at Northwold (Norfolk) and in the splendid example at Heckington (Lincolnshire), but the use is suggested by the internal easterly recess, as for the reception of the crucifix or Host, and by the rebate of the face so appropriate for the ritual fixing and rolling away of the "Stone" as part of the Good Friday and Easter Day ceremonies.

THE SCREEN.

About twenty years later, in 1507, the rood screen (Pl. III) with its loft was put up, access to the loft being by the beautiful corbelled staircase which projects into the south aisle but is mostly hidden by the organ. The staircase is still perfect and it was entered by a doorway behind where the pulpit stands; seventy years ago that doorway was carried away to serve the same purpose for the chamber over the porch and its old position was walled up. The wooden screen for whose erection the 15th century builders, with callous disregard for the work of their predecessors, cruelly cut into

the beautiful 13th-century capitals is that which is seen today. It has lost its coving and has been restored, but it is in a good state of preservation; on a shield on each side facing the nave are borne the five wounds.

THE NAVE (Pl. III).

The work done in the nave was in keeping with the changes in the chancel. The clerestory was added and the tie-beam roof over the nave is coeval with it. The roof was cleaned and repaired in 1883, being carried away to the contractor's yard at Royston for the purpose as is attested by the reference in the architect's Bill of Costs to the visits he paid to Royston in supervision of the work done there. If tradition could be relied upon this roof might be regarded as a great traveller, and its journeys to and from Royston as minor incidents in an adventurous career. The Cole MSS. referring to it say, "The roof of the church is a very fine one and there is a tradition in the parish that it was originally designed for Gt St Maries in Cambridge." If designed for the University Church it was a bad misfit. In the restoration of 1883 the original intention was to make a new roof, but, to the satisfaction of all who love beautiful ancient work, the funds did not suffice.

THE NORTH AISLE (Pl. VI).

The 13th-century north wall was taken down and a new wall was built four feet farther to the north for the purpose, probably, of making good to the chapel of the gild of the Holy Trinity the space lost by the intrusion of the rood-loft staircase. The north wall then built is, unhappily, not that to be seen today; the north and west walls of the north aisle were rebuilt and the east wall was largely repaired in 1883, when the heavy internal flying buttress was introduced to resist the northward inclination of the arcade.

THE PORCH.

To the end of the 15th century also must be attributed the old porch and its upper chamber, predecessors of the present ones which, fairly closely resembling them and using some



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PLATE VII. MELBOURN CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE,
NAVE, LOOKING WEST.

of their old materials, were built in the 19th century. Access to the upper room was obtained from the church by the winding staircase that still, but now much repaired, serves the same purpose. This upper chamber, from 1690 onwards for many years, was occupied as a school for whose teacher one William Ayloffé at that time made permanent provision by charging the duty upon the parson of Meldreth in return for the payment to him of an annual stipend. While no evidence can be offered in support of the suggestion, it does not seem unlikely, in the light of our knowledge of Bishop Alcock's zeal and generosity in regard to all forms of education, that William Ayloffé in 1690 was only continuing or reviving an educational institution initiated by the founder of Jesus College, benefactor of Peterhouse and founder of many grammar and other schools.

THE TOWER.

To this late 15th-century date belongs the tower, and it is the greatest of all the numerous additions to the church at this period. There has been no original building of any moment since the works that have been detailed and the erection of the tower marks the culmination of the mediaeval development of the church, both in plan and in elevation. It presents today, modern rebuilding notwithstanding, an exterior aspect that would be entirely recognizable by those who worshipped in the church 425 years ago.

If one stands at the east end of the nave and looks westward (Pl. VII) one is impressed at once by the fact that the tower window is not in line with the axis of the nave. This is owing to the tower as a whole being placed south of the axis, and also to the north and south walls being inclined at an angle southerly to it. It would be a mistake to attribute any symbolic meaning to this deviation from right lines, or to connect it with an error in lay-out by the master builder; there is almost certainly some simple, natural and justifiable reason for the deviation, not the least probable being that it may have been dictated by the presence of foundations of earlier buildings which right lines might have traversed.

The consideration of the tower from this point of vantage introduces the problem whose recognition and attempted solution have prompted this communication: the problem of the tower arch. The bold characteristic responds of *circa* 1500 carry an arch of the 13th century, and above the arch there is again the wall of *circa* 1500. Insertions in mediaeval buildings are familiar to everyone, and this church like most others abounds in inserted windows; there are also examples elsewhere of insertions in arches, e.g. at Madingley where capitals of *circa* 1300 are inserted in the late 12th-century arch, and the complete tower arch of *circa* 1300 is inserted in a tower that is 100 years or more earlier. But these and innumerable similar examples are of later insertions in earlier work, while this example at Melbourn is of earlier work inserted in later. The newcomer to the church is haunted as he seeks to examine its other features by the persistent questions, "Why and whence this survival from the days of Henry III in work of the time of Henry VII?" Before attempting to answer these questions it should be remarked that Melbourn church and parish, after the days of the Argentines until the times now being considered, were in complete enjoyment of one great blessing whose value is probably more conspicuous to the modern mediaevalist, viewing it in distant and detached perspective, than it was to the Melbourn of the time. There was then, so far as is known, no resident family of great possessions and therefore no superabundance of means wherewith to pay for needlessly extravagant schemes of building. The necessity in such circumstances of the careful husbanding of resources need not be stressed, and of the pressing urgency of the need evidence has already been seen in the matter of the chancel arch (Pl. III) which they patched instead of rebuilding. The same imperious motive may be seen at work in the case of the tower arch, and the answer to the question "why?" is "economy." It remains to seek the source of this 13th-century arch found in such unusual surroundings.

As has been shown, the tower was part only, though the greater part, of the very extensive alterations of *circa* 1500 including the insertion of many windows and, in particular,

the great east window of the chancel which, though it has often been repaired, is still in position. It is suggested that the arch inserted in the tower is the arch of that 13th-century east window which was removed to make room for the present one. Once the tracery of the window was taken out, its arch was admirably suited for its new position and the manner in which it is adapted makes clear that its use in its new position was contemplated in the designing of the tower; for, although their mouldings differ so greatly, there is no awkwardness in the manner in which the 13th-century arch sits upon the 15th-century responds. If evidence be sought that the original position of the arch was a former window, it may be found in the mouldings of the soffit, distributed between hollows, quirks and rounds, a system differing absolutely in character from the flat soffits of the adjoining arcades and from the soffit mouldings of any other open arch known to the writer. These mouldings must have formed the back-joints of the removed tracery, for it should be remembered that, in the Middle Ages, it was the almost invariable practice to build up the tracery layer by layer separately from the arch to which it was attached, as contrasted with the prevailing modern method of cutting arch-voussoirs and their attendant tracery together out of the same stones. The mediaeval method made it easy to separate this particular arch from its tracery in preparation for its use in its new surroundings, and it also explains the unusual character of the mouldings, one feature of which, though it is not attributable to the special conditions, is best seen in the outermost bowtell where, instead of a fillet, there is a hollowed channel or groove. The rare prototype of this uncommon moulding may be seen at Furness where there is a hollow in the bowtells of the nave and the door arches. The later development, as at Melbourn, may be seen at Castle Rising, but it is prominent in some of the great churches of France; it is to be found in the windows of the north ambulatory of the choir at Poitiers, and it is abundant in the splendid church of Bourges. Curiously enough it seems to be somewhat of a local type near Melbourn, for, without seeking it specially, it has been observed by the writer in

the north door of Meldreth and in the two 13th-century arches of the north arcade at Litlington.

THE WEST WINDOW IN THE TOWER (Pl. VB).

The tower arch and the chancel arch are not the only parts of the church indicating the fondness of the 15th-century people at Melbourn for retaining and using again supplanted earlier material, and attention must now be drawn to the tower's west window in this connexion. There is nothing to show how the nave was terminated westwards before the building of the tower, but it is likely that the west wall had upon its summit a bell-gable, after the manner still to be seen, e.g. at Longstanton St Michael, and that beneath it there would be a window, not very tall, for the gable itself was rather low in the period preceding the erection of the clerestory. As the west wall had to be removed to make way for the tower arch, it would not seem unlikely that its window would be carefully taken down and preserved until it could be re-used as the west window in the new tower. The setting in which the window is placed is dignified, but its deep cavetto is distinctive of late 15th-century work; the window itself is entirely different in character, admirably though it serves its purpose. The eye rests with delight upon the elongated quatrefoils, the long graceful mullions unbroken by any transom and duly subordinated, the bold half-round on the main mullion which is continued on the major arches of the tracery; all the details combine to produce a composition of singular beauty not too often seen anywhere and quite beyond approach in any other window remaining in this particular building. The only appearance of straight lines is at the sides of the main quatrefoil, and the window may safely be attributed to near the middle of the 14th century.

BISHOP ALCOCK'S REBUS.

It has been said that Alcock was clearly concerned in the late 15th-century building, and the evidence for this lies partly in his rebus, or canting badge, found upon a shield fixed upon the westerly side of a tie-beam of the chancel roof. This badge, of a class very characteristic of the age, is a cock standing upon a globe; the position given to the shield at the entrance to the *sacrarium* almost suggests that the Bishop was regarded as the second founder of the church. In addition to the Alcock badge, the shield bears another device which has hitherto been regarded as a bird with spread wings standing upon a fish, but close examination, in brilliant sunshine with powerful field-glasses, gives a different interpretation; the second device seems to be a wyvern with head reverted standing upon its own tail. This is not a case of one device impaling another, for badges were not usually borne upon shields, and the disproportionate allocation of the space between the two devices forbids our giving the shield heraldic value. Search in Alcock's ornate sepulchral chapel at Ely, where his badge is seen in great profusion, fails to find, amongst all its wealth of natural and imaginary beasts, a wyvern. The only interpretation left would appear to be that there is on this shield a piece of mediaeval symbolic imagery. The wyvern is a fabled monster, akin to the dragon and griffin; like them it dwelt in caves, rock crevices and other antechambers of the lower world, whence it issued to do evil things to mankind. The late 15th-century work at Melbourn had for its object the admission of more light; the raising of the roofs, the addition of the clerestory, the insertion of larger aisle and chancel windows and the great east window must have had the effect of converting a dark or dim building into one irradiated with light. The purpose of these extensive additions and alterations is as unmistakable as their result, but, that it may be made clear that Bishop Alcock was the force behind the purpose, the story is carved upon the shield. The interpretation appears to be this: the cock, bird and herald of the day, chases away the thing of darkness

which, reluctantly retreating, turns back its head and ejects its venom towards the agent of light.

LATER WORK.

It is not the purpose of this communication to refer in detail to the work of the 19th century, some of which all would approve while other all would join to condemn. To the work of 1855 we owe the preservation of the best of the mediaeval seats, now carefully placed together at the west end of the north aisle; to neglect or to 'restoration' we owe the loss of the numerous shields of arms that were to be seen in the church when it was visited by Laver and by Cole in the 17th and 18th centuries.

PETRA AND PALMYRA.

By Professor F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A.

(Read 29 November, 1926.)

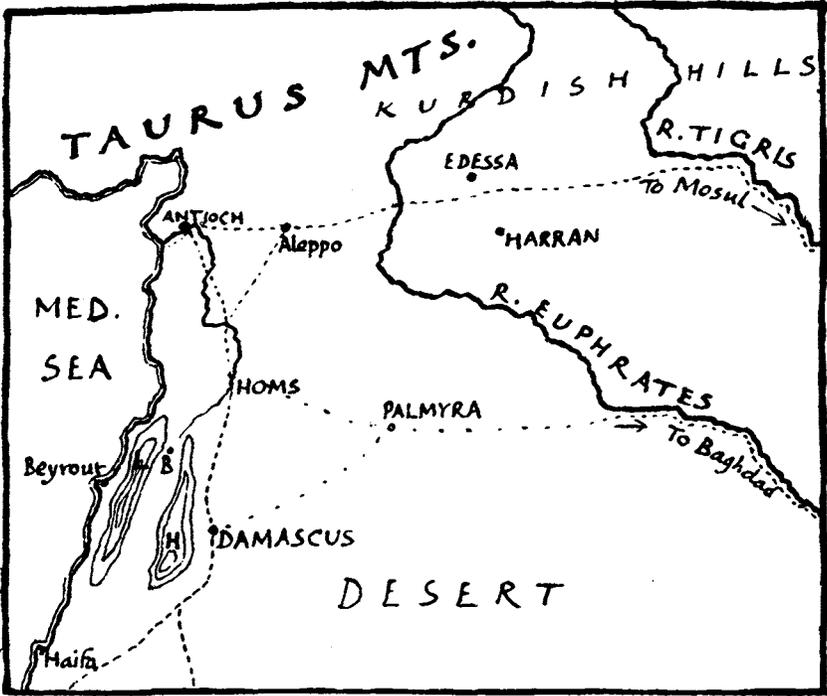
The following is an abstract of the Paper:

Palestine was in ancient times of importance as the bridge between the two great ancient centres of civilization, Egypt and Mesopotamia: on the east was the great desert, on the west the sea, neither till after Alexander's time a great highway. The Phoenicians lived on an isolated shelf between the Lebanon and the Mediterranean: there was no practicable road along the Phoenician coast in ancient times. Consequently all the traffic between Egypt and Mesopotamia had to pass through Damascus, hence its permanent importance.

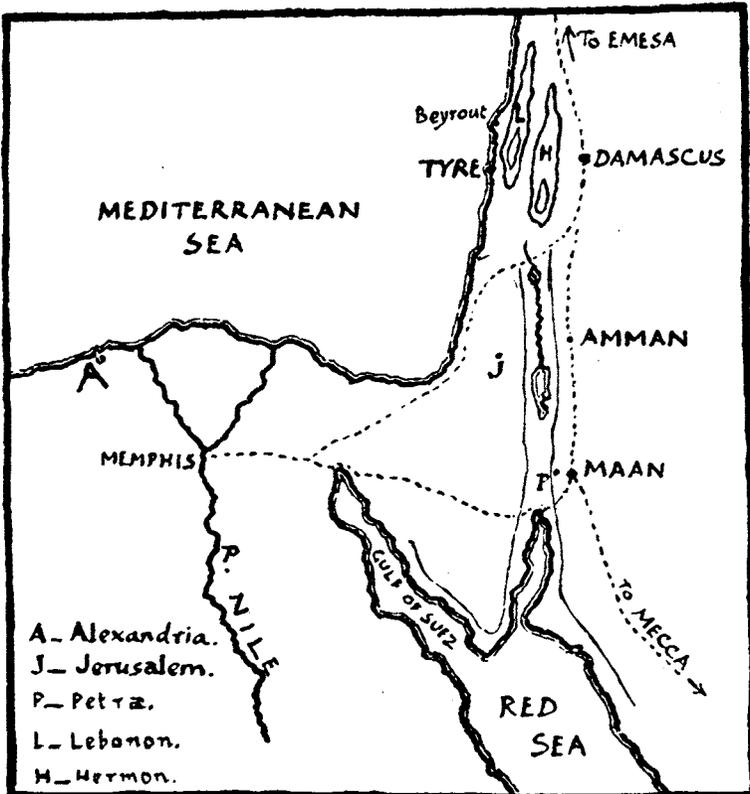
The main route from Egypt to Damascus went by the Philistine Plain, then passed over low hills (by Megiddo) to the Plain of Esdraelon, crossing the Jordan above or just below the Sea of Galilee, and so by easy stages to Damascus. From Damascus to Babylon one goes north along Coele-Syria (Homs, Hāmāth), then by Aleppo to the westernmost bend of the Euphrates; the road then turns east, between the Kurdish hills and the Syrian Desert, past Harrān (Carrhae) to Nineveh (Mosul), and so down the Tigris to Babylon.

PETRA.

During the great Persian hegemony (Cambyses 525 B.C. to Alexander 333 B.C.) Egypt and Mesopotamia were in one empire, and trade by the international highway was easy. After Alexander, on the contrary, the Ptolemies were ruling in Egypt and the Seleucids in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. These dynasties were continually at war, and trade along the highway must have been difficult. But there is a backway from Damascus to Egypt by the desert, east of



PALMYRA.



PETRA.

the Jordan and the Dead Sea. At Ma'ān, south-east of the Dead Sea, where the road to Mecca and the spice-lands of Arabia Felix forks from the road to Suez (Clysma) and Egypt, there are wells: he who controls Ma'ān controls the whole of these desert routes.

Twelve miles from Ma'ān to the west, on the side of the great crack that stretches from Mount Hermon to the Gulf of Aqaba, the crack in which the Jordan flows and the Dead Sea is situated, is a great mass of sandstone rock. Just to the east of this mass of rock is a great natural spring, now called the Wells of Moses: this flows down the steep hillside, cutting a deep channel through the sandstone. Very little rain falls locally and the sides of the channel do not wear away. For about a mile it is often only 12 or 14 feet wide and in places 200 feet deep. After about a mile this channel opens out into a wide amphitheatre, then the rocky hills close in again, and the stream finding its way between these finally loses itself in cascades over the precipices which form the eastern wall of the 'Araba, i.e. the dry valley from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. In the more open amphitheatre was the famous city of Petra, an impregnable fortress, an idea treasure-house. Ma'ān with its wells was the key to the desert route, and in Petra, only a few miles away, the ruler of Ma'ān had an absolutely safe refuge, provided with water, but inaccessible to almost every enemy.

The Nabataeans, as the Greeks called the Arab tribes who settled in Petra, came to power in the same circumstances and about the same period as the Maccabees, i.e. in the years when the Seleucid Empire gradually lost control. The Jews came to control the lands west of the Jordan, the Nabataeans remained on the east, gradually coming into possession of the eastern route to Egypt, till about 85 B.C. their dominion stretched as far as Damascus itself. What reduced them to insignificance was the *Pax Romana*. So long as Egypt and Syria were at war they flourished, but when both lands formed part of the Roman dominion trade could go by Gaza and Palestine. Moreover the new empire was maritime and the sea itself became a highway as never before, as is clear from such documents as the Acts of the Apostles.

In 107 Trajan suppressed the kingdom of Petra and the old treasure-city was henceforth administered by a Roman Governor, but it had already lost the importance it had had in Seleucid times. It was now a backwater of civilization, and was ultimately known as a place where Pagan rites lingered long.

The great god of Petra is called *Dūsharā*, an Arab word which seems to mean "lord of Shara," said to be the old name of the mountains of Petra. The name is therefore similar to that of the "Baal of Lebanon" worshipped by some of the Phoenicians. No doubt he was regarded as the genius of the mountains that protected Petra and gave it prosperity. The native inscriptions, written in Aramaic in a peculiar alphabet, are all funerary, and tell us very little about the religion or the history of these Nabataeans.

PALMYRA.

The highway to Babylon and the East follows more or less the line of the Baghdad Railway. The Euphrates itself flows through desert country and was not a much-favoured route, but travellers, like Abraham, like Seleucus in October 312 B.C., crossed the Euphrates and went past *Harrān-Carrhae*. This ancient city did not come into the Roman Empire for some time. When the Romans took over what was left of the Seleucid dominions all the country east of the Euphrates had been annexed by the Parthians: the defeat of Crassus near Carrhae in 53 B.C. marks the end of the period when Europeans were rulers of Babylonia. After 220 the Parthians were superseded by the Sasanians, a still more definitely Persian and Oriental Monarchy: with both Parthians and Sasanians the Roman Empire was usually at war and, as in the case of Petra in Seleucid times, trade tended to go by by-ways.

Palmyra is first heard of in 42 B.C.—it is not Solomon's "Tadmor in the wilderness"—and there is nothing in the existing remains to suggest an earlier date. From Damascus to the Euphrates is 300 miles over the desert. But by bearing to the north, or still better by going due east from *Homs* (Emesa) on the upper waters of the Orontes, you come half-way across the desert to a spot where sulphurous but just

drinkable water issues at the foot of the hills, which end here while the flat desert stretches indefinitely to the south-east. This is Palmyra; from Emesa it is about 90 miles, from Damascus about 140, and about another 140 miles to the Euphrates.

Petra is defended by its precipices, Palmyra by its remoteness. But while Romans and Parthians were at war this remoteness from the armies of both sides made the route by Palmyra more safe, and the Palmyrene Arabs became rich and prosperous by the carrying trade. From extant inscriptions (like those at Petra in Aramaic, but in a somewhat different alphabet) we learn that the characteristic road to fame was the successful organization of great caravans.

Palmyra prospered till the fall of the Parthians in 220, and then had half-a-century of glory, followed by utter collapse. When the Roman Empire under the feeble rule of Gallienus appeared to be dropping to pieces and had abandoned the East to the Sasanian invaders, Palmyra under its chief Odenathus (in Palmyrene *'Odainath*) resisted, and its situation in the desert was too remote for the ramshackle commissariat of a Persian army to besiege it. When the Persian tide of invasion ebbed Gallienus recognized Odenathus, and after his death recognized his widow Zenobia (in Palmyrene *Bath Zabbai*) as ruler of the East. Odenathus (died 267) and Zenobia held this position from about 265 to 271: their capital was not Palmyra but Emesa, and their dominion extended over Egypt as well as Syria and Palestine. But in 271 Aurelian was Emperor: the Goths had been finally driven back from the northern frontiers and Zenobia had to choose between war and submission. She miscalculated her real strength: she chose war, but one campaign drove her from Egypt and Syria, and in 272 she found that Roman armies could cross the 90 miles of desert and still be provided with convoys of water and provisions. Palmyra fell, Zenobia herself was captured, and when on Aurelian's departure it rose again in rebellion he returned at once and destroyed it. In its remote solitude its old stones have not been needed for mediaeval buildings, and so enough still remains standing to impress the modern traveller.

A 16TH-CENTURY DOLE-GATE FROM DENNY ABBEY.

BY E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

(Read 24 January, 1927.)

Denny Abbey, of which there are still many interesting remains, was a small foundation which had a long and varied history. Originating as a Benedictine House, it passed in the 12th century to the Knights Templars, and ultimately—in 1342—through the piety of Marie de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, and foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge—became the house of the Minresses or Nuns of St Clare, the sister of St Francis of Assisi. The Poor Clares at Denny, wearing the same dress as the Franciscan Friars, and following their rule of poverty, previously had been located at Waterbeach, in the same parish as is Denny Abbey—of which Abbey a valuable historical account may be read in the *History of the Parish of Waterbeach*, written by the Rev. W. K. Clay in 1859.

It is possible to compile almost a complete list of the Abbesses of Denny, who ruled there over a small community of nuns which never seems to have exceeded more than 25 in number. The last of this line of Abbesses was the Lady Elizabeth Throckmorton or Throgmorton, who became Abbess of Denny in 1512, and who remained there until the dissolution of the Abbey, which took place before October, 1539. She was evidently a lady of considerable learning, and with her nuns had drawn forth from Erasmus himself, writing from Queens' College in 1516, his very sincere regard and sympathy, particularly in some trouble through which they were then passing. She is described, by Mr Clay, as being "of a respectable [Roman Catholic] family belonging to Coughton in Warwickshire, where they had long been settled," the Throckmorton family, of course, being one of the most influential not only in that county but in the whole country district for generations, but also as having various



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DOLE-GATE FROM DENNY ABBEY.

representatives very distinguished in national affairs over a long period of time. At Coughton Court, a place of much stirring historical interest especially in the time of the Gunpowder Plot, they are still seated to this day, and it is there that the Denny Abbey dole-gate which forms the subject of this communication is now fortunately preserved.

When Denny Abbey thus passed sadly out of the pious and gentle keeping of the Poor Clares, their last Abbess—who must have been growing old now—retired to Coughton Court with two or three of her faithful nuns, and there has always been a tradition in the house that there they observed the rule of their Order as rigidly as was possible for the rest of their lives, living in the conventual manner, and clad in their proper habits. They occupied an upper room with a passage leading into the hall, and they seldom appeared in the family circle, and never if there were any company.

There is no evidence to show which of them died first or last—as the Coughton early register is long since lost—but that Elizabeth Throckmorton, last Abbess of Denny, was buried in the little church of St Peter close to the Court is quite certain. For many years there was a brass plate fastened to the north wall of the church over the spot where she and her companions had been buried. It bears this inscription:

Of your charite pray for the soul of dame Elizabeth Throckmerton, the last Abbas of Denye, and Aunt of Sir George Throckmerton, Knight, who decessed the xiiij day of Januarye, in the yere of our Lord God a. MCCCCXLVII, who lieth here tumilate in this tumber. On whose soule and all Christen soules Jesu have mercy. Amen.

Vivit post funera virtus.

It is probable that this brass was set up by the Abbess's nephew, Sir George Throckmorton, of Coughton Court, who also wrote a note concerning her in which he referred to her departure from Denny Abbey, "whence," he says, "she was drove...by that wretched monster of immorality Henry VIII." It has long been said that this brass has entirely disappeared—there are still evidences of its former position in the wall—but I am glad to say that, as a result of some research during the compilation of this note, I find that it

is now let into the slab of the tomb of Sir Charles Throckmorton, erected over the old vault where the Abbess and her nuns were buried.

The only other memorial of the last Abbess of Denny now at Coughton Court is the little 16th-century wooden dole-gate which originally came from her Abbey. This dole-gate measures about 2 ft. 9 in. broad by 2 ft. 2 in. high, and with the exception of the wrenching away of the two latches and the disappearance of one of the side panels, it is still in excellent condition. It has an upper and a lower wicket. The upper wicket would be opened for purposes of conversation, and the lower wicket for passing out the dole to the wayfarer. As Denny Abbey stood not far off from the main road from Ely to Cambridge—a sort of half-way house—it is very probable that wayfarers often sought food or an alms of the little sisters of St Clare.

The inscription on the upper wicket is:

DOMINĀ ELISABETH THROGMARTON

and on the lower wicket:

ABBATISSA[M] DE DENNE DEVS LVITO

This inscription, which may be translated GOD ABSOLVE DAME ELISABETH THROGMARTON ABBESS OF DENNY, was transcribed by the late Canon Brownlow, who gave the last two words as being DEUS CUSTODIAT, an obvious misreading. The upper left-hand panel bears the Sacred Heart and the three crowns of Ely; the lower panel on the same side has a Tudor rose slipped with buds; the upper right-hand panel has the Sacred Heart repeated with the familiar Tudor badge of the portcullis, a Tudor rose and a fleur-de-lys—the rose and the fleur-de-lys being reminiscent of details in the arms of the town of Cambridge, where the Abbey possessed some property. The original lower right-hand panel has disappeared, and is now replaced by a modern panel upon which is affixed a description of the dole-gate written by Canon Brownlow, who was for many years domestic chaplain at Coughton Court.

How did this dole-gate get to Coughton? It is scarcely conceivable that, as has been suggested, the Abbess took the

trouble to carry it away when, again to quote Canon Brownlow, "she slunk away from the royal robber, and retired to the silences of Coughton."

The dole-gate apparently turned up again, so far as its later history is known, at Ombersley, a delightful Worcestershire village some 25 miles from Coughton, and it is suggested that it may have gone there "years ago when great repairs were done at Coughton." At any rate it was found in an Ombersley cottage about 40 years ago, and eventually was presented to the late Sir Charles Throckmorton, who then occupied Coughton Court, and there it has remained ever since.

Probably the close connection of the family of Sandys of Ombersley with Cambridge—and so with Peterhouse—and their associations with the fen-draining schemes of the 17th century—may account for the dole-gate falling into the hands of one or another of their servants or workmen, and for its ultimate removal to Ombersley.

At Coughton Court there is also a large and a most interesting painted cloth dated 1596, at the head of which there is a large conventional representation of the Cathedral Church of Ely. This cloth was found some twenty years ago, hidden away in a box in the roof of Coughton Court, and was fully described and illustrated by the late Sir W. H. St John Hope in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255–263. I mention this because, apart from its Ely association, the painted cloth brings to mind the *Tabula Eliensis* in the Bishop's Palace at Ely, which is painted on a wooden panel and which in comparison is quite small. I feel convinced that both the cloth and the tabula are by the same hand.

Also at Ely (v. *Ely Episcopal Records*, p. 153) there is, to quote Mr Gibbon's Calendar, "a beautiful manuscript volume [from Denny Abbey] written on 32 pages, containing the proceedings on the appropriation on the churches of Eltisley, co. Cambridge, and Bydenham, co. Bedford, temp. Elizabeth Throgmorton, Abbess, 1512." This volume has had a romantic career, and now finds a place of safety at Ely.

The accompanying illustration is produced by kind permission of Lady Throckmorton.

ADVERTISING IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

By ETHEL S. FEGAN, Librarian of Girton College.

(Read 25 April, 1927.)

One of the pleasantest parts of a Librarian's work is the opportunity it affords of dipping into all kinds of books as one catalogues them, whereby one acquires a mass of extremely heterogeneous information, which may or may not be of use to someone some day. It was many years ago when I was making a list for the University Library of their early newspapers, or corantos, that I began to make a little collection of the advertisements therein, which I venture to put before you today because in a small way they throw light on the social life of the times. What opinion future generations may form of us from our advertisements, I shall not attempt to forecast, but I am inclined to think that, on the principle of demand and supply, they are a form of straw to show which way the wind blows. In this connection it is pleasing to reflect that we may go down to posterity as the fine upstanding elegant men and women depicted in the advertisements of *Punch* and the like, for the good reason that *Punch* probably employs better paper than some of the daily press whose illustrations may not be so good. Perhaps this is why some people like to have all the advertisements bound in with their journals when they are of the better sort.

Newspapers, corantos, or avises first appeared in England at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the notion having come in from abroad. Their earliest forms are not generally accepted as being true newspapers, but are called "news-sheets" or "news-books," and from a librarian's point of view are usually treated as pamphlets. "The earliest plainly periodical publication," says Chisholm in the *Enc. Brit.*, "containing the 'news of the day' was the German Frankfurter Journal of 1615. In 1622 the history of English newspapers begins with the 'Weekly News' published in London by Archer and

Bourne. Italy probably originated the title of 'Gazette' or 'Coranto'." The earliest English news-sheet or paper in the University Library which I found was dated 1631, and they have some long runs of those issued during the Civil Wars, when news must have been at a premium. The papers are in small quarto and consist solely of the four leaves or eight pages. They were commendably brief, they appeared only once a week, and above all, they were easy to handle. The more famous ones of the Civil War period, such as the *Dove*, the *Scotish Dove* (sic!), *Mercurius Politicus*, *Mercurius Civicus*, the *Loyall Scout*, were sometimes adorned with a rough wood-cut on the first page and show various bibliographical peculiarities, which one need not touch upon here. They are extraordinarily badly printed, with any old type, and, as in many 17th-century books, the pagination is often rather wild and by no means a safe guide to collation.

One of the most remarkable things, to my mind, about them is the extraordinary speed with which foreign news is chronicled. It is interesting, too, to note that there is a good deal of it, and one feels that people in England then took a keener interest in foreign affairs than the ordinary humdrum citizen does now-a-days: there does not seem to be that insularity of outlook that overtook us at a later date.

We may be inclined to think that advertising is very much an art of the present day, and indeed the amount of talent and ingenuity expended in this direction must be quite unparalleled in earlier times, but if the manner has grown more elaborate, it is only necessary to glance through some of the 17th-century newspapers to see that the matter is very much the same. There we find our old friend the quack, busy extolling his pills and powders, and as explicit as his descendant of today; things lost and found, strayed and stolen; houses to let and lists of the newest books; and, among the political news domestic and foreign, strange and wonderful occurrences such as old men of over 100 years old grown young and boy-like, with fresh hair and teeth and sight, and marvellous cures effected by the King's touch.

Although our business at present is with the advertisements, there is one startling difference, an example of which

I cannot forbear quoting (from *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* for April 22–29, 1661). It opens its weekly number with the following statement:

Though we gave you a News-book on Thursday last, yet this day sevenight we totally omitted, which being the Eve of his MAJESTIES Coronation, and the day of his glorious passing through the City (from the Tower of *London* to his Palace at *Whitehall*) we thought it our duty to let no Pamphlet prophane that day; but to leave good Subjects to behold their King and that illustrious Train of Peers, Knights and Gentlemen, who rode in attendance on his Royal Person....

When we think how our press of today teems with details, relevant and irrelevant, for weeks both before and after the event, we could wish that our modern editors would take a leaf out of their predecessors' book. Besides, the printer wanted to be off to see the fun, and why shouldn't he? Not that they do not give any particulars, for all the papers of the time mention the rejoicings and the form they took in different places throughout the kingdom, but in these often exceedingly ill-printed little quartos one is spared the columns upon columns through which *we* must wade, for the whole paper of those days may be skimmed through in a quarter of an hour.

It is noticeable that after the Restoration the list of things lost or stolen seems to grow. This may be because there was not so much stirring political news, at least at home, for there was plenty going on abroad; but I am inclined to think that it may also partly be explained by the fact that under the sober rule of the Commonwealth people were not encouraged to wear so many gay trappings and so either did not lose them or, if they did, thought better to say nothing about it for fear of attracting attention to their gay and costly apparel. However that may be, the majority of the advertisements for lost property in Commonwealth times refer to horses, which are usually minutely described, with all their blemishes, as for instance these two:

A bay Stone-horse, with some white hairs intermixt, a bald face, the nearer foot behind white, a splint in his nearer leg before, a little saddle-gall'd before on the back, black main and tail, short, lately cut, which same was stolen out of *Roger Owen's* Esq. stable, at the Counsel-house in *Shrews-*

bury about three a clock on Friday morning being the nineteenth of this present *October*. If anyone can give tidings hereof to the said place in *Shrewsbury*, or else to the Blew Goat in Cheapside at *London* to Mr *Charles Owen*, they shall be well recompenced for their pains and charges.

And this:

A Man about 29 years of age, short brown hair, with a fresh colour, broad shouldered, and a wadling gate, going a little stooping; rode away, *April 6*, with a black Gelding, about fourteen hands and an inch high, with a hook nose and a sprig-tail, about eight years old, with a Plush Saddle, covered with black Leather. If any can bring tidings of them unto Mr *Thomas Archer* of *Cambridge*, or Mr *Bains* in the Old-Jury, they shall be well rewarded for their pains.

One of the most delightful characteristics of the descriptions is the vivid detail, apparently in all good faith, though one might imagine that the persons described would not always be over-pleased or flattered at seeing themselves as others saw them. The worthy Captain, subject of the following advertisement, might have been pardoned for feeling a little ruffled at reading:

A Gentleman having business of very great consequence this Term with one Captain *James Grollier*, and not knowing where to find him, doth hereby desire notice of his lodging; whereof whoever shall leave word with the Porter of *Lyons-Inne* shall have a good reward. The Captain is a fat, black man, about 50 years old, a Seaman and a Merchant that hath much used the West-India Trade.

Advertisements such as these give one the feeling that London was still a small place, where one might know everybody.

After the Restoration, besides horses, dogs are frequently mentioned as being lost or stolen. His Highness the Duke of York lost his dog or dogs more than once, and even His Majesty himself was constrained to advertise for his dog on one occasion, a dog "a little less than a greyhound...with a tail like a monkey"; one wonders to what species it belonged. There is a pathetic note about the following: "A little thick fat white Beagle, spotted with red, his skin loose from his flesh and cannot bark, lost about *Drury-House* in *Drury Lane* on Sunday the fifth day of *January* instant." Other losses tell of rings, jewels, gold toothpicks and such vanities.

An advertisement interesting to the lover of fine bindings is the following:

There were stolen *Jan.* 12 betwixt one and five in the morning, from Mr *Samuel Mearne* (His Majesties Book-binder) by some that broke into his house in *Little Britain*, Two large Folio Bibles Ruled, and bound in Marble Leather, a light gray Cloak, and gray Coat: If anyone can give notice to the said Mr *Samuel Mearne* at his house aforesaid, he shall have twenty shillings for his pains.

Samuel Mearne was obliged to advertise twice at least for his Bibles, but no answer is recorded. At another time his name is given as the address to which the property advertised for is to be taken. It seems to have been the custom to have the answers sent to a shop, often a stationer's, as is still not unusual with us today. No doubt this practice arose in the first place because the stationer would be appealed to to write letters for those who could not do it for themselves.

For quack powders, professing to cure all kinds of incongruous disorders, the following may be taken as examples:

On Garlick Hill over against the Church in a Brick-house liveth a practitioner in Astrologie and physick, who resolveth all Questions depending thereon, and cureth all Diseases (if curable).

Gentlemen, You are desired to take notice that Mr *Theophilus Buckworth*, who for some years past permitted and gave directions to his Brother Mr *Edmond Buckworth*, to make and expose to sail for the publick good, those *Lozanges* so famous for the cures of *Consumptions*, *Coughs*, *Catharrs*, *Astma's*, *Hoarsnesse*, *Colds in General* and all infirmities of the *Lungs*, being also a great Antidote against the *Plague*...doth now himself (being the Authour and first compounder of them) make them at his house on *Mile-end-green*, and for convenience of the people constantly leaveth them sealed up with his Coat of Armes on the papers with Mr *Richard Lowndes*....

The Countess of KENT'S Powder. It is thought fit to publish that this precious Powder is onely in the hands of a Person of Quality, and not to be had in any other place but hereafter mentioned, with a Printed paper for the direction of the use thereof, the price being one penny for each grain....

Most excellent and approved Dentifrice to scour and cleanse the Teeth, making them white as Ivory, preserves from the Tooth-ach, so that being constantly used, the parties using it are never troubled with the Tooth-ach; it fastens the Teeth, sweetens the breath and preserves the Gums. Made by R. Turner, φίλομαθ, and are constantly to be had at the house of Thomas Rooks, Stationer at the Holy Lamb at the East-end of St. Paul's Church near the School.

It may be noted here that stationers frequently added the sale of drugs to their other business, though perhaps the sale of tooth-powder is rather unexpected in the 17th century.

Among the books noticed, the majority seem to be sermons or controversial theological works, but one also lights on references to books by Mr John Melton (*sic!*), Mr Thomas Browne, a notice of the coming forth of *The Compleat Angler*, various histories, one a continuation of Sir Walter Rawleigh's by A. R.; and after the Restoration, in true modern fashion, all manner of histories of Charles II, setting forth his virtues, that all men might know what a wise and noble Prince now occupied the throne. Various books on shorthand, too, are advertised, the following making a special appeal to the needy parson:

An excellent fair and compendious piece of Short Writing is after sixteen years practise and study rarely contrived by *Jeremiah Rich*, at the Golden ball in *St. Swithin's-lane* by *Lumbard-street*, in which more than thirty Sermons may be writ in a single sheet of paper, from those Rules of Contractions laid down there.

Could he deliver his sermons fluently, one wonders, from his single sheet?

Educational advertisements are not forgotten, and this may be of some interest to those studying the history of education:

These are to give notice, that in *Longacre* by *Covent-Garden* Over against the end of *St. James Street*, at a place called *Woodyard* a French School for young Gentlewomen hath been kept these four years, where besides all fitting accommodations they are taught the French Tongue with great advantage, every one in the house speaking that language and have likewise all other kinds of education, as writing, dancing, musick all with very good successe, as many Persons of quality have had experience of.

The same school is mentioned again some time afterwards:

If any person desireth to have either French Gentlemen or Gentlewomen and Pages to wait, or other serving men and women of the same Nation, as also Tutors to teach children French at home, let them go to the French Church of the Savoy in the Dutchy lane, to the Ministers and Officers of the said Church, on Sunday, or any daies of the week, to Mounsieur de *Billon-la-Mare*, in the *Woodyard* in *Long-acre* (where a French School is kept) and there they shall have information.

Many advertisements are concerned with runaway apprentices or other people who have gone astray:

Thomas Cheeseman, a man troubled with a distemper, insomuch that sometimes he is void of Reason, aged about 40 yeers; of a sad brown hair, somewhat short, long and lean-visaged, of a middle stature, round-shouldred, going stooping, who went away from *Pluckley* in *Kent* the 15 day of *May* 1660 and went into some parts of *Essex*, and is supposed since to be wandred towards the Fennes in *Lincolnshire*, or the neer adjacent Counties, and hath (as is conceived) met with some other person or persons which now goeth up and down about the Country; any that shall take and secure the said *Thomas* and bring him to Mr *Buedens* house at the sign of the Swan with two necks in Pudding-lane, on the back-side of New Fish-street, shall have his or her charges borne, and ten pounds for his pains.

The apprentices often stole other goods besides themselves, and these advertisements are of interest as showing the kind of things which people had in their houses, and also the prevailing fashions of the times, for a full description of the clothes worn by the runaways is usually given:

On the 2d of *May* ran away from Mrs *Leventhorp* at *Lambeth* in the morning about six a clock, a maid servant, who goes by the name of *Katherine White*, and says she was born at *Chatham*, and came from *Rochester* in *Kent*, she took with her a new black Tabbie petticoat, a new black wrought lute string petticoat, a black silk boddis petticoat, inlaid with broad Gimp laces; a Flowr Satin petticoat, laid with two broad Gold and Silver laces round about, and four up before, ash colour pink and russet unlined; a Pink coloured Sarsnet petticoat, with two Silk laces about it; a white Tufted Holland petticoat, two broad lased Scarfs, one long, the other round; two great Hoods, a great deal of Linnen, and some other things. She is a short, thick, black wench, with black Eyes, black Brows, Pockholes in her face, clad in a fine gray Cloth wastcoat, a loome lased Scarf, her under petticoat red, wrought with a little white border. If anyone can bring her forth, let them send to Mr *Leventhorp's* house at *Lambeth*, and they shall have forty shillings for their pains.

It is strange that she got away unnoticed with such a bundle as this must have been. Of interest from another aspect is this:

A Negro about 13 years of age in mourning Suit, Coat and Cap was lately lost from - *Marsh*, Esq., of the Body to His Majesty. Whoever shall bring him back to *Whitehall* shall be well rewarded.

For an account of the elaborate bed-hangings which might be found at the period the following may be chosen:

There was about the two and twentieth day of *December* last past one *Johnson*, a carrier of *Shrewsbury*, robbed about a mile from *Barnet* of a great

deal Box, having in it a fine pale dove-coloured furniture for a Bed, with a rich silk fringe, and the Curtains being lined with Lemon-coloured Sarsnet, with Head-cloath, Tester and Valions of the same Sarsnet, with two cloth Carpets of the same cloth, and a rich large lemon-coloured Sarsnet Quilt; a Band Pinner, Quoife, and Forehead cloth of a rich Flanders Lace, with a plain sute of Childbed linnen, with divers other things; and 30 yards of dove-coloured bays in another parcel by itself. If anyone can give notice of the Bed, or any these things, let them repair to Mr *Robert Morris*, an *Uphoulstorer*, at the signe of the golden Lyon in *Cornhill* near the Stocks and they shall be richly rewarded for their pains.

There is a familiar ring, too, about this notice, in these days when we are being adjured to emigrate:

All persons that are desirous to settle upon the healthful Island of *St. Hellena*, under the Government of the *East-India* Company, they shall have passage free, and other accommodations, if they repair to Mr *Aungeir*, at the *East-India* house in *Leaden-hall-street*, before the twentieth day of November, 1660.

At another time an appeal is made to those "adventurers desirous of taking up lands in Ireland."

Finally this, from the Lipton of the day; this is given partly for the sake of the prices:

At the Coffeeshouse in *Exchange-Alley* is sold by retail the right *Coffee-powder* from 4 to 6s. *per* pound, as in goodness: that pounded in a Morter at 2s. 6d. *per* pound, and that tearmed the right *Turkie-berry* well garbled at 3s. *per* pound, the ungarbled for lesse, with directions *gratis* how to make and use the same; likewise there you may have *Chocolatta*, the ordinary pound boxes at 2s. 6d. the perfumed from 4 to 10s. *per* pound, and *Tea* according to its goodness; which if any Gentleman shall write or send for, they shall be sure of the best, as they shall order, and to avoid deceit, warranted under the House Seal, *viz. Morat the Great, etc.*

Further all Gentlemen that are or will be Customers are invited (the first day of the next new year) at the Signe of the Great Turk at the new Coffeeshouse in *Exchange-Alley*, where Coffee will be on free cost, and so may be to the world's end.

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Ladies' College Magazine.*

THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY, BURWELL, CAMBS.

PART III.

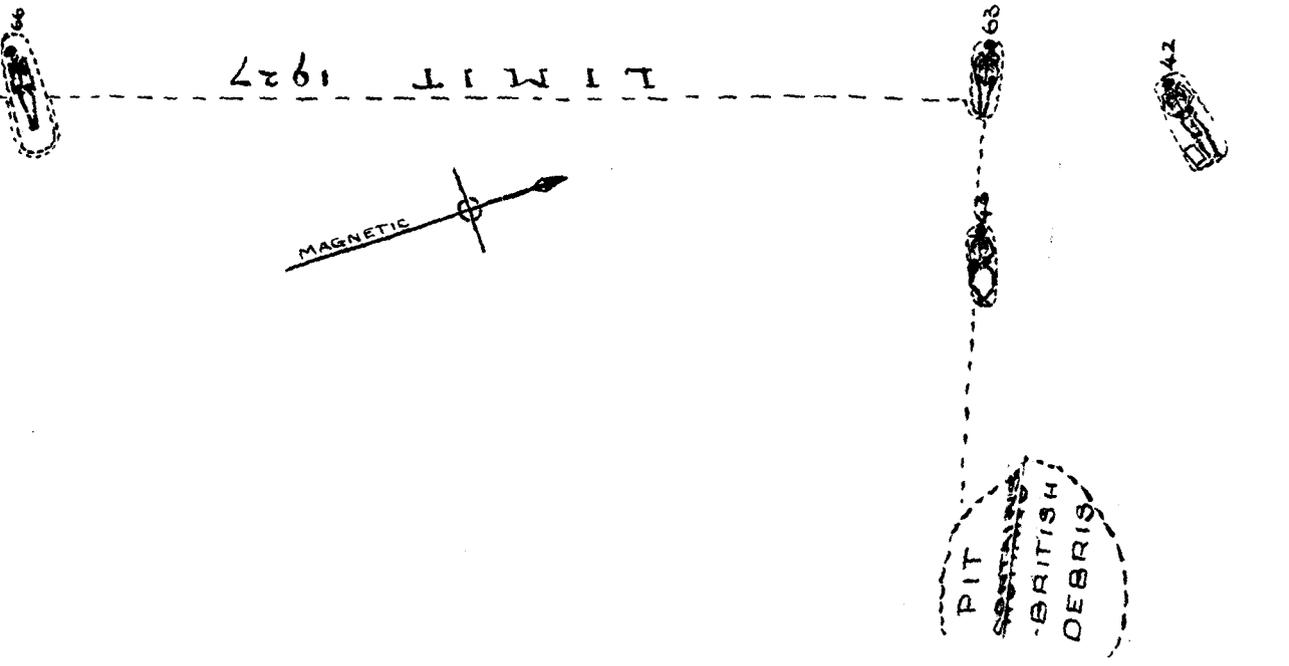
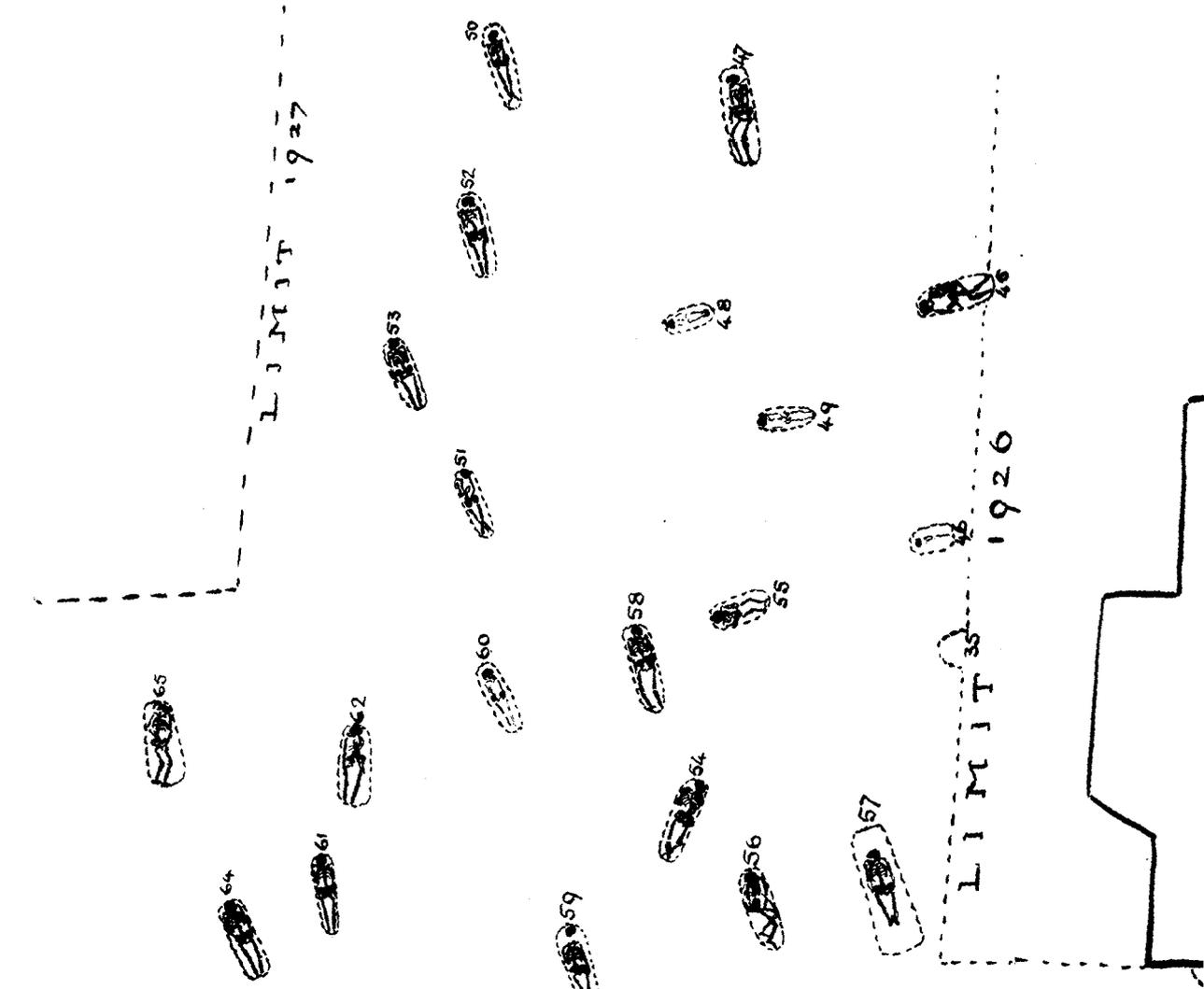
By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, F.S.A., Director of Excavations.

The third season's excavations in the Burwell Cemetery began on 1 March, 1927, and lasted for eight weeks. The results were highly satisfactory, for although many of the graves were devoid of grave goods, others occurred containing objects of very unusual character. A total of 28 graves was reached of which six or seven were those of children. There was no change in the sporadic occurrence of the burials, in fact a study of the plan (Pl. I) convinces me that there must have been some strong reason for separating the bodies. The explanation probably is that most graves were covered with a small barrow which made crowding impossible. As before, most bodies were buried with their heads to the west, but there is one noticeable batch with southerly orientation. At one spot a circular pit about 18 ft. in diameter and perhaps 5 ft. 6 in. deep was discovered. This was not completely cleared out, but a partial investigation showed Romano-British pottery and roof tiles at the bottom. It is hoped to clear it out at some future date.

Detailed description of those graves which had objects associated with the bodies.

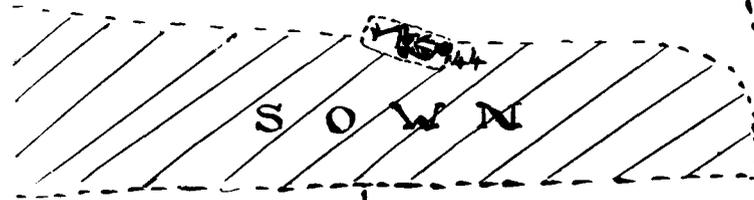
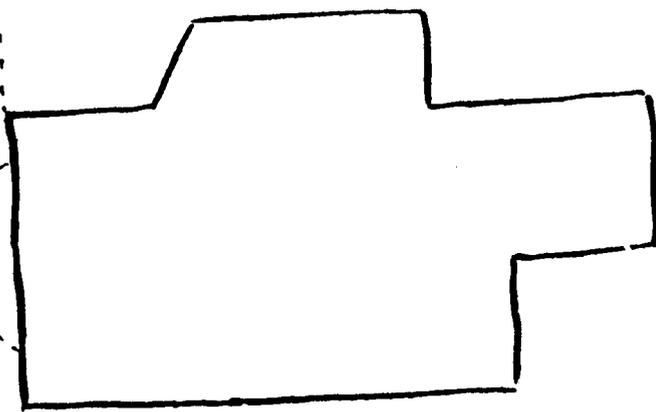
All heads to the west unless otherwise stated.

No. 42. This was the most remarkable burial so far discovered at Burwell. The grave was 6 ft. long and 2 ft. 8 in. wide at the knees, narrowing slightly towards the head. The enclosed skeleton, which must have been more than 5 ft. 6 in. long, was apparently that of a woman. At the east end of the grave between the right leg and the side of it were traces of a small wooden box or chest (Fig. 1). From the positions of the four angle irons and the space



PIT
BRITISH
DEBRIS

42



67

68

1926

69

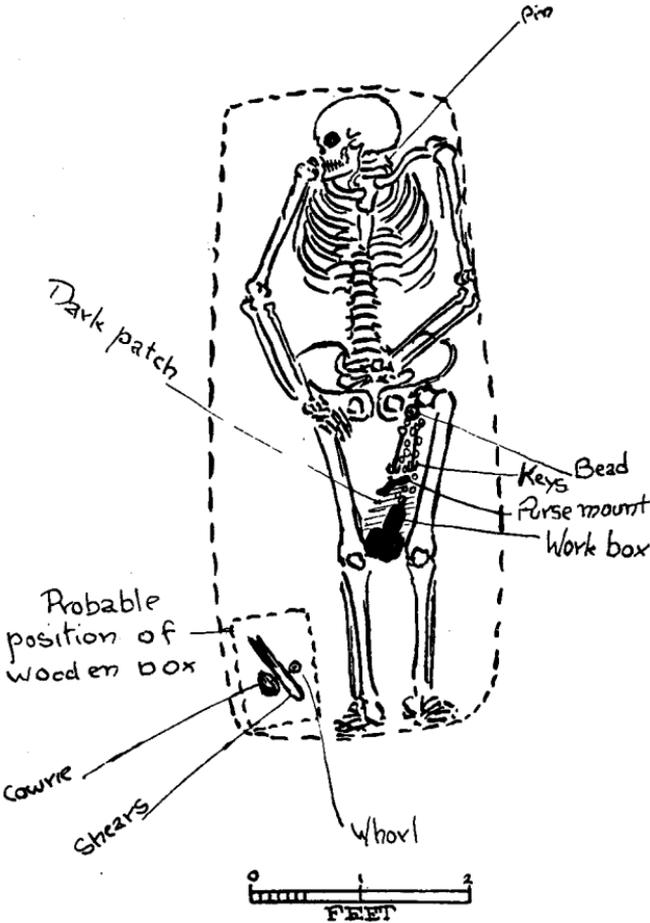
PLAN OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE BURWELL CEMETERY

1927

between pp. 84 and 85.

Plate I
Scale: Grave 57 is 9 ft. long.

available it seems that this little chest was about 1 ft. long by 8 in. broad. (These are the dimensions given by Faussett for a chest in grave 26 at Kingston. See *Inventorium Sepulcrale*,



BURWELL GRAVE . 42 .

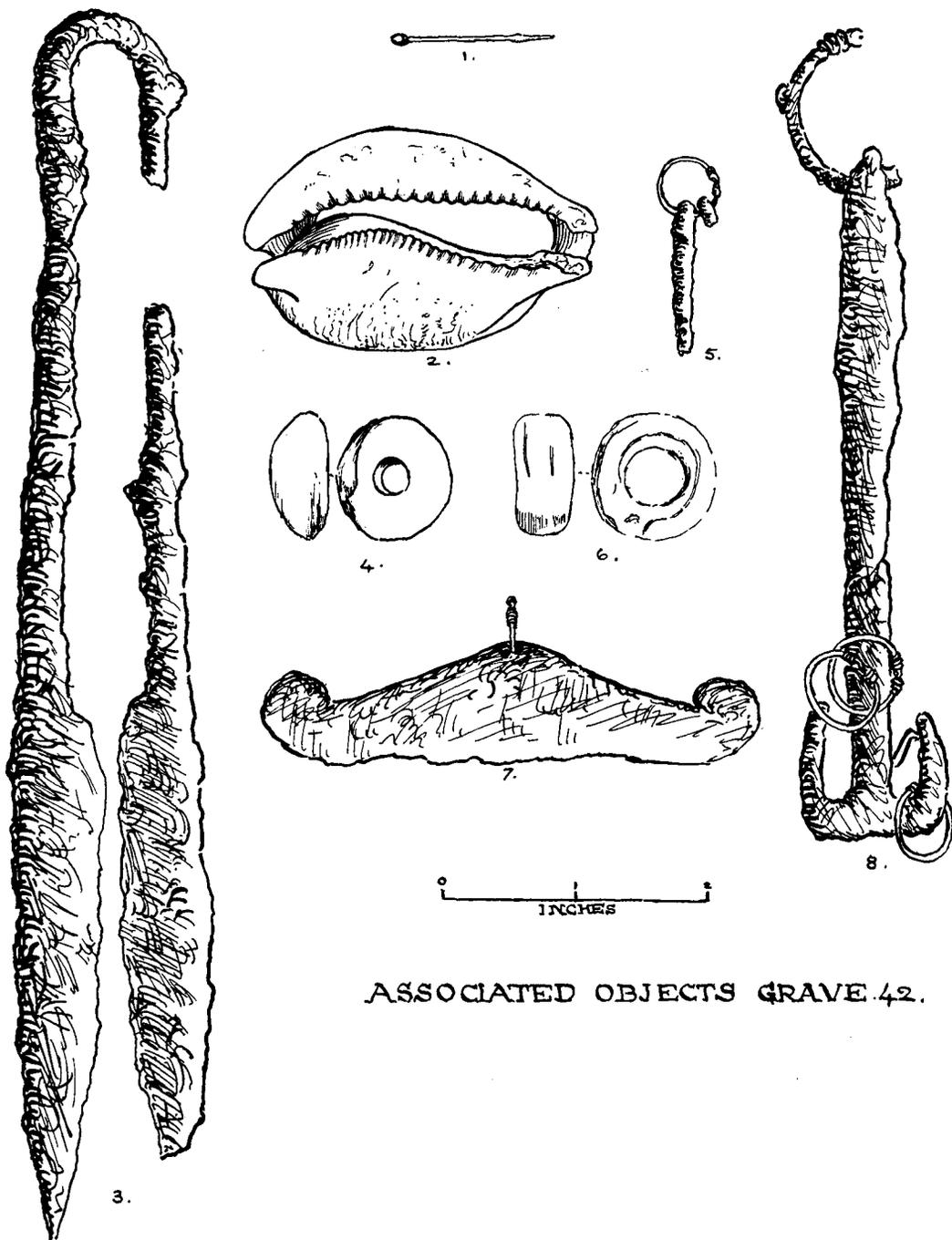
Fig. 1.

p. 48.) What this box had originally contained is a matter of conjecture. We may be not far from the truth if we assume that it answered the purpose of a sailor's "ditty" box. At any rate the three articles left undecayed are the sort of

oddments one might expect to find in a box of that kind in female possession (Fig. 2). They were a large pair of iron shears (Fig. 2, no. 3), a chalk bead, toggle, or spindle whorl (Fig. 2, no. 4), and a large oriental cowrie shell which seems to be *Cyprea panterina* (Fig. 2, no. 2). As far as I can discover this is the ninth of these large cowries to be found in an Anglo-Saxon grave. Of these seven have been found in Kent and the other was found on a necklace of beads at Haslingfield in our area (Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. IV, Pl. CVII, 1). Their introduction, according to Nils Åberg (*The Anglo-Saxons in England*), would seem to coincide with the best period of the Kentish goldsmiths' work at the end of the VI and beginning of VII century. I do not propose to deal here with the question of how these shells reached England from the East or whether they represent fertility charms as they are said to do to this day in parts of Italy.

Just above the left clavicle was a small bronze pin (Fig. 2, no. 1); as the soil was rather darker than usual round the skull and neck it is conceivable that this fastened some veil or shroud, it seems too small for a hairpin.

Extending from the pelvis to the knees were the remains of a chatelaine. The object nearest to the pelvis was a large green glass bead (Fig. 2, no. 6). As there was no buckle I feel certain that this was used as a toggle for fastening the girdle, and it confirms my suggestion in the last report (*Proc. C.A.S.* Vol. XXVIII) that stone beads found in this position are not spindle whorls but belt fastenings. Stretching downwards from this bead were numerous rings of the "elastic" type. Some were of iron and others bronze, but it was not possible to tell whether they were parts of one chain or of several. My impression is that from the iron rings hung a pair of iron keys (Fig. 2, no. 8), while the bronze rings were joined to a "purse" guard (Fig. 2, no. 7) and a set of "tooth-picks" (Fig. 2, no. 5). The last object, which lay between the knees of the skeleton, was a much worn and crushed bronze "work box" (Pl. II and figure A). Although three bronze rings rested on the handle of this box they were not attached to it, and I fancy that it was contained in a purse, for traces of dark material extended from the "purse" guard to the knees.



ASSOCIATED OBJECTS GRAVE 42.

Fig. 2.

- No. 1. Bronze pin.
 - No. 2. Cowrie
 - No. 3. Shears
 - No. 4. Stone whorl
 - No. 5. Iron "toothpicks" on bronze ring.
 - No. 6. Green glass bead.
 - No. 7. Iron "purse mount."
 - No. 8. Iron key and bronze rings.
- } from the wooden box.

The repoussé ornamentation of this box, which is apparently unique¹, is in the Kentish Style II which it is thought began very early in the VII century. The top and bottom are, however, ornamented in a naturalistic style to which our silver brooches from the St John's cemetery may offer a parallel. Two out of the four segments at each end of the box apparently show a man in the act of killing a dragon. This is perhaps Beowulf and the Dragon, or Sigurd slaying Fafnir. I know of no other case of Northern mythical scenes represented in A.-Saxon work of the pagan period, but Christian subjects stamped in a similar manner occur on bronze mounts for drinking vessels from Strood (Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* pt. x, 1) and Long Wittenham (*Brit. Mus. A.-S. Guide*, Fig. 78). They are thought to be Frankish². We may I think be certain that the bronze box was already many years old at the time of its deposition. In places the pattern is so worn as to be hardly visible. If Kentish Style II did not begin before the close of VI century, then it is very unlikely that this box was buried much before 625. I am quite prepared, however, to believe that it was very much later than this.

The closest parallels to this burial are to be found in Kent, and the following cases, described in Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulcræ*, may be noted as each was accompanied by a wooden box:

Kingston	Grave 26	Box 12" × 8"	Empty
"	" 121	" 6" × 4"	Part of a comb
"	" 142	" 14" × 14"	Comb, bronze and ivory arm-lets, whorls, cyprea shell, various pendants on elastic rings, buckle, knife, shears, ivory bead, key and other iron fragments, etc.

¹ Work boxes of a simpler type, with dotted ornament only, occur at various places (Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* pts. xcvi and xcvi) (*Inventorium Sepulcræ*, pt. XIII); (*Brit. Mus. A.-S. Guide*, Fig. 83), etc. They are usually ascribed to the VII century. The Burwell box is almost certainly an elaboration of these and presumably later.

² Prof. Baldwin Brown dates the Strood mount in IV century on the strength of its undoubted resemblance to certain objects from the early cemetery at Vermand (Franco-Roman). The Burwell box cannot be earlier than the close of VI century unless there is some enormous error in the dating of Style II.



PLATE II. WORK - BOX, FROM BURWELL CEMETERY.

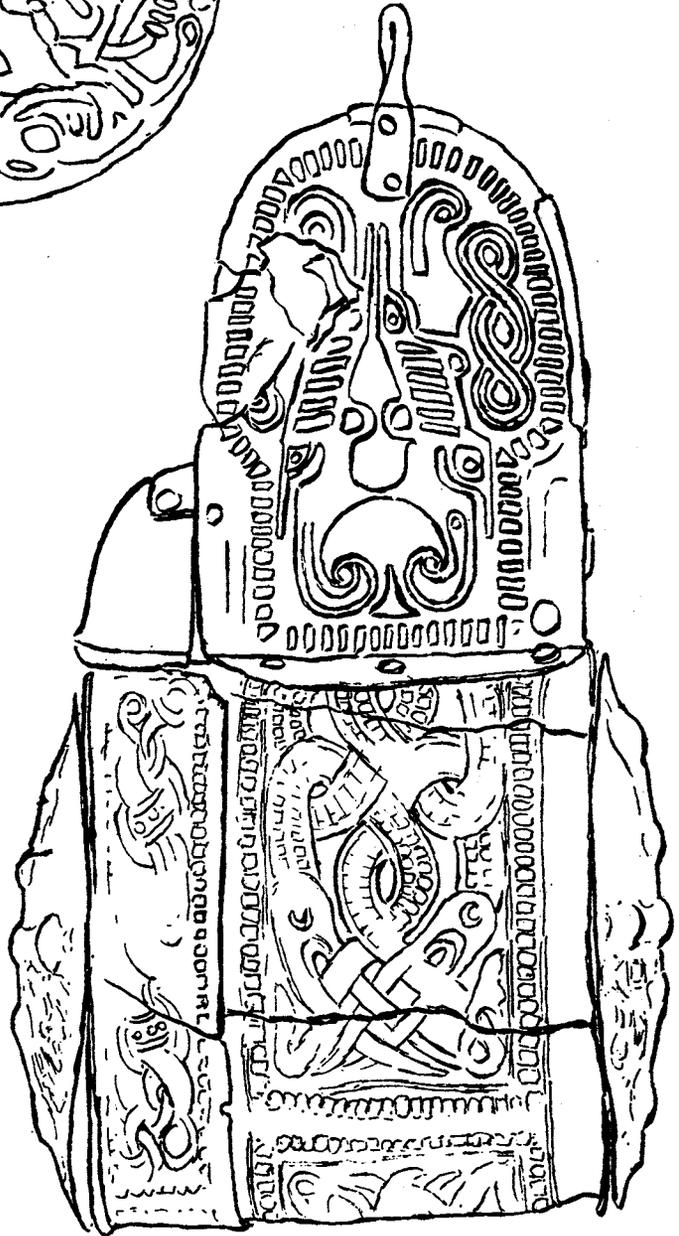
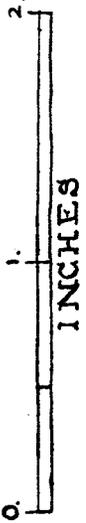


Fig. A.

Kingston	Grave 169	Box behind skull	Empty
	„ 185	„ near head 6" × 4"	Two hollow gilt points
	„ 205	—	Uncertain
	„ 222	„ 12" × 12"	Roman bronze armlet and key
	„ 299	„ 10" × 6"	Silver keystone brooch, cy- prea shell, two whorls, round pebble, ivory disc, comb, square plaque, iron bell, silver and glass pen- dant, bronze buckle, etc.
Sibertswold	10, 12, 56, 69?, 100, 138, 151		Empty boxes
„	Grave 180	—	Cowrie, rotten leather with silver hasps, links of iron

No. 43. Two knives at left hip. Body not laid out.

No. 45. This body rested in a very twisted manner on its right side. Under the right knee was an iron knife.

No. 46. The grave of a very young child. A single flat blue and white glass bead was at or near the throat. Head to the south.

No. 47. This grave was 6 ft. 8 in. long. In it lay the skeleton of a tall man not straightened for burial. Behind the skull was a scramasax 13 in. long with the remains of a "wooden" hilt bound with brass (Fig. 3, no. 5). There was also a small iron fitting (Fig. 3, no. 4) which apparently formed part of the scabbard attachment. The scramasax had been bent to fit it into the space available. At the right hip almost in the bones of the right hand was a small thick knife (Fig. 3, no. 6). This is the first occurrence of a weapon in the cemetery.

No. 48. The grave of another very young child. Near the throat as at 46 was a single bead of amber. This is the third case of very young children with a single bead at the throat. An amber bead was found last year in grave 35. The skull of 48 was to the south.

No. 50. Another young person. Some milk teeth still in the jaws. A knife at the pelvis.

No. 51. Also a child. Not laid out. A knife at the left hip. Other traces of iron.

No. 53. A knife placed on the right humerus. This is the

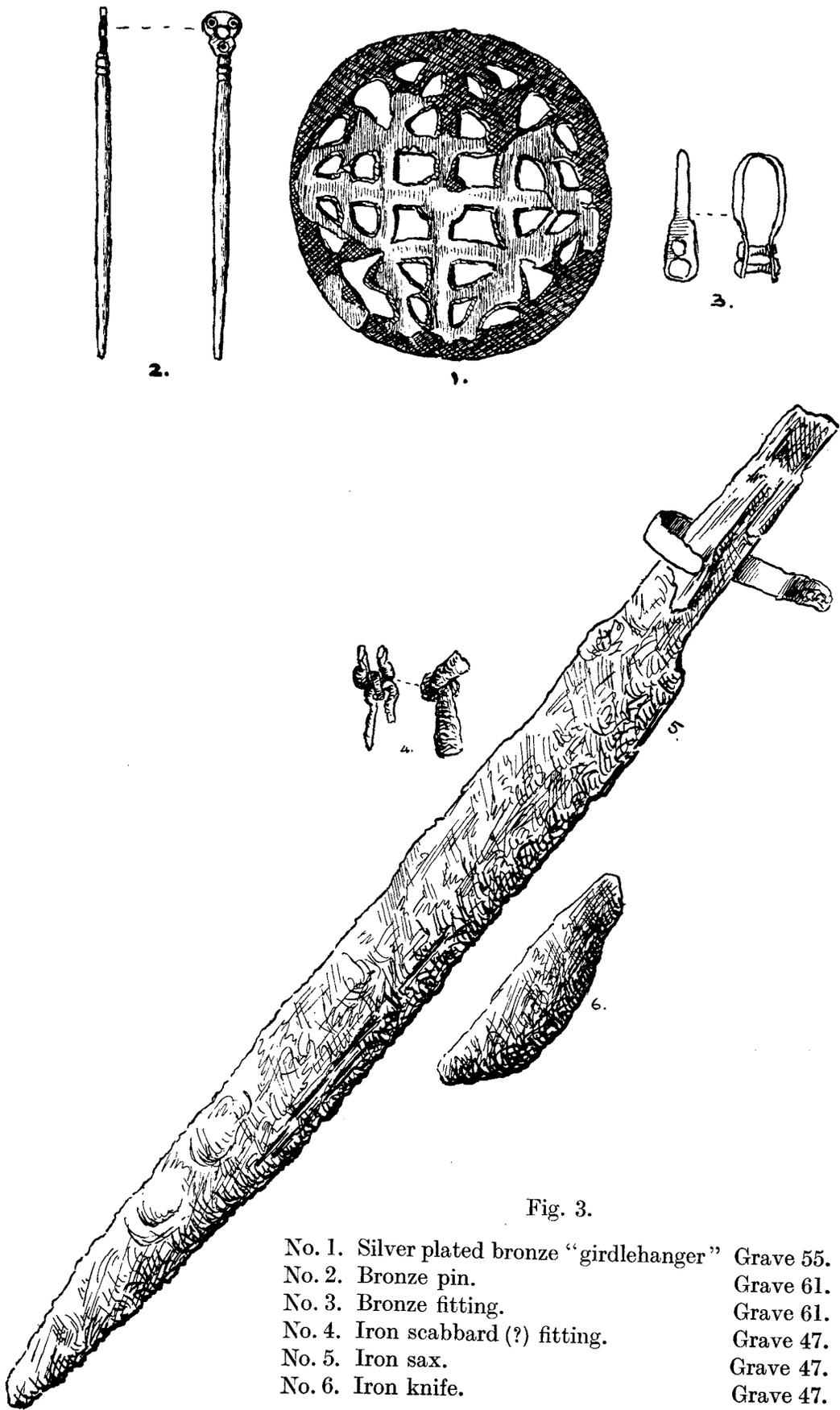


Fig. 3.

- No. 1. Silver plated bronze "girdlehanger" Grave 55.
- No. 2. Bronze pin. Grave 61.
- No. 3. Bronze fitting. Grave 61.
- No. 4. Iron scabbard (?) fitting. Grave 47.
- No. 5. Iron sax. Grave 47.
- No. 6. Iron knife. Grave 47.

Scale: 1, 2 and 3 full size. 4, 5 and 6 half natural size.

second case of knives placed on the arm. Two knives were found with No. 4. This must be a purely pagan custom.

No. 55. A child buried in a broad grave with the head to the south. At the head of the left femur and close against it was an openwork bronze disc (Fig. 3, no. 1) with silver on its outer surface (this surface is here called the "outer" because the "inner" was against the thigh bone).

This disc which is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter has affinities both with Kentish and Frankish girdlehangings. That this specimen also was a girdlehanger is probable for two iron keys were just below it, i.e. nearer the knee. The object is ornamented with four pairs of confronted animals' heads with gaping jaws. It is possible that this is a very debased example of the favourite Merovingian motif of Daniel and the lions. It is very hard to decide whether it was imported from the Continent or was made in Kent. No exactly similar object occurs anywhere as far as I know. The number of open-work objects found in Kent is, however, quite considerable (see *Inventorium Sepulcræ*, pt. IX, nos. 7, 8, 13, 14; pt. X, no. 7; and *Arch. Cantiana*, Vol. III, pp. 45, 61 E), and among them open-work discs are not unknown. Other specimens occur as importations at Kempston, Beds (*Brit. Mus. A.-S. Guide*, Fig. 86), etc. Traces of dark material were visible about the thigh of this skeleton. Possibly these discs were fastened to the front of a pouch. But the overlapping split on this one suggests that it may have been used like a key ring.

No. 57 is noteworthy on account of its size and depth. It was 9 ft. long, 3 ft. broad at the foot, and 2 ft. 4 in. at the head. In it a smallish individual was buried at a depth of 3 ft. 7 in. and entirely covered with chalk. The body was very carefully laid out and possibly a male. Nothing accompanied this remarkable burial. It has been noticed that graves in which chalk only was put in on the body are invariably lacking in grave goods. (The numbers of these graves are 11, 12, 41, 57, 64, 66.) The graves are always deeper than usual and E. to W. It is possible that there is some significance in the white chalk being put in first—ordinarily the surface soil was first put in and presumably the chalk formed a white

mound above the grave. Conceivably some Christian idea of purity influenced the custom.

No. 61. A very neatly disposed skeleton exactly fitting the grave. There were hardly any teeth left in the jaws and the body may have been that of an old woman. On the right collar bone or near it was a small bronze pin (Fig. 3, no. 2) for which an almost exact parallel can be seen from Kingston grave 183 (*Inventorium Sepulcrale*, pt. XII, Fig. 17). Lying across the lumbar vertebrae were a large iron buckle and a knife, while on the pelvis was another of the bronze loops (Fig. 3, no. 3) as found with nos. 6 and 23 (see *C.A.S. Comm.* Vol. XXVII, p. 77, no. 6). It is noted that the loop at the end of the handle of the bronze workbox found with no. 42 is exactly similar, and I venture to think that these little bronze fittings may have belonged to similar boxes of wood, leather or perhaps horn which have entirely decayed.

No. 63. A small bronze buckle on the lumbar vertebrae and bronze fragments on the right humerus. Body disposed with care. A young person.

No. 64. The skull of the male skeleton buried here had two cuts suggesting that death may have been due to blows from a sword (see also *Inventorium Sepulcrale*, p. 147, grave 7).

No. 67. Iron buckle at right hip, iron knives obviously once stuck in a belt on the pelvis. Very cramped burial. A male?

SUMMARY.

This year's work has supported many of the suggestions that I advanced last year.

(1) No pendants or little strings of beads have turned up, so nothing further has been discovered as to their suspension.

(2) The only stone whorl found was in a box at the feet of no. 42 and is of no use as evidence on the "spindle whorl" question. On the other hand with no. 42 where a girdle had obviously been worn no buckle was found. At the place, however, where one might have been expected, was a glass bead which almost certainly had served the purpose of a toggle.

(3) No object was found which can be dated before the close of VI century.

(4) No Anglian object occurred. On the other hand the bronze box found with 42, elastic rings from the same grave and a pin with no. 61 were probably made in Kent. The open-work "girdlehanger" with no. 55 came either from Kent or the Continent. And the cyprea shell is an importation from the orient most commonly met with in Kent.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT LITTLE WILBRAHAM.

By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., and H. G. CARTER.

The well-known Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Street Way Hill at Little Wilbraham has been published by Neville, its original explorer, in *Saxon Obsequies*, and we think needs no further introduction save that the plan at the beginning of that work is not entirely accurate.

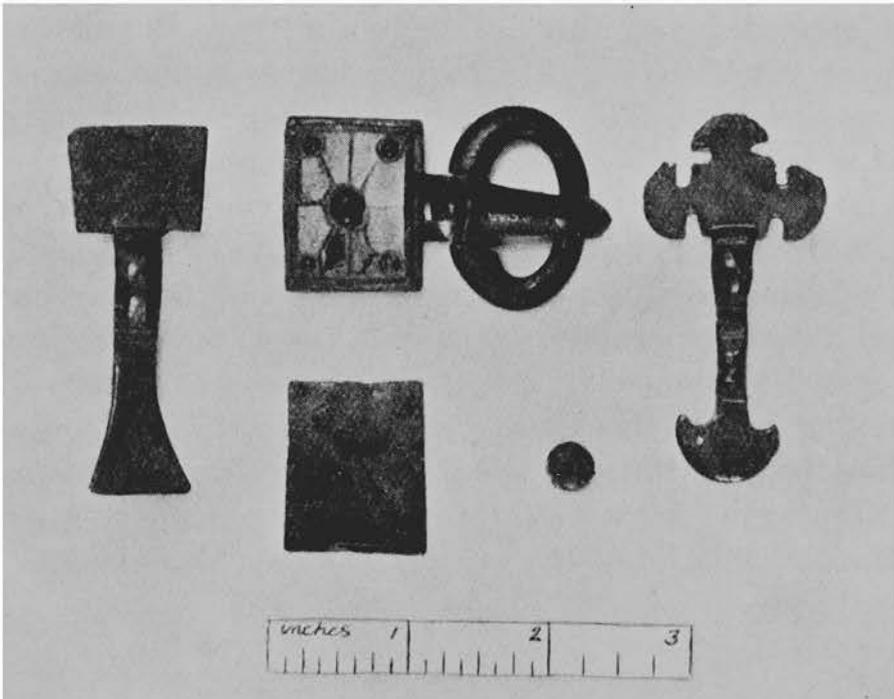


Fig. 1. Associated objects from Grave X.

In the Spring, 1926, one of the writers discovered an undisturbed skeleton under the hedge at the lower end of the Street Way Hill Chalk Pit. This discovery (Fig. 1) (accompanied by two "small long" brooches, a remarkable bronze buckle set with "carbuncles" and silver foil—possibly of Frankish work of VI century—and a bead) made us doubt

whether this cemetery described in Neville's *Saxon Obsequies* had been completely excavated. As the site is one of the most important in East Anglia permission was obtained from the owner (Captain Hicks) for trial excavations to be carried out on the spot by the C.A.S.

Trenches beside the hedge and parallel to the Street Way soon showed that Neville's excavations had stopped about two yards from the hedge in an irregular line. Probably his trenches had run at right angles to the hedge and ended at different distances from it. We have not indicated on the plan the various rifled graves discovered in our efforts. Some of them projected slightly into the white area of the plan (Fig. 2). A space about 4 ft. wide seemed to have been always left against the hedge in the earlier excavations. Burials both cremated and inhumed were numerous in this narrow strip at our disposal. Eight graves were found containing eleven skeletons. Fourteen cremations were also discovered.

At a point between graves 6 and 7 we came upon the site of a large fire. As far as we could judge this had been about 4 ft. in diameter, but a great deal of it may have been dug away during Neville's excavations. In this burnt area was found a piece of bronze gilt (Fig. 3, no. 1) which is possibly the mouth ornament of a small knife sheath. Grave 7 had been dug before this area was burned, but as it contained nothing beyond the skeleton it is of no value as evidence on the duration of cremation burial in this cemetery. There is, we think, little doubt that this burnt area was the site of a funeral pyre.

CREMATIONS.

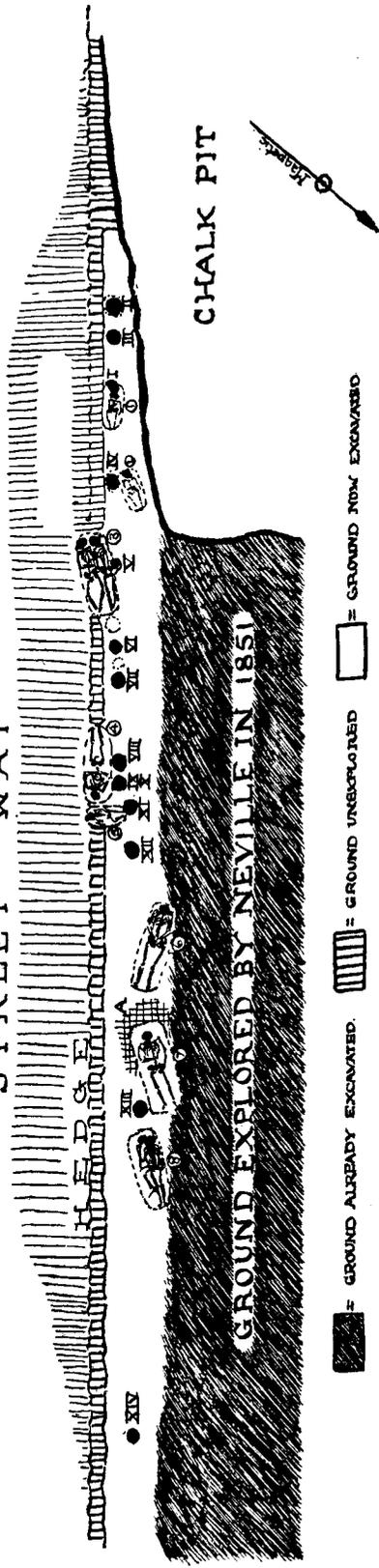
Nothing of importance was found in any of the urns. A few burnt beads (Fig. 3, no. 5), two fragments of bone combs (Fig. 3, no. 6), some unrecognizable fragments of bronze and a Roman third brass coin of *Constans* complete the list. Most of the urns were in a very fragmentary state. This was in most cases due to pressure, but some had been destroyed by the Anglo-Saxon grave diggers.

The urns seem to have been placed more or less in a straight line parallel to the Street Way. In many cases little

STREET WAY

CHALK PIT

GROUND EXPLORED BY NEVILLE IN 1851



- = GROUND ALREADY EXCAVATED
- ▨ = GROUND UNEXPLORED
- = GROUND NOW EXCAVATED
- ⊗ = CREMATION
- ⊙ = IMMUNATION
- ▩ = A = SITE OF LARGE FIRE

1/27

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS

1926/1927

Fig. 2.

pits seem to have been dug in the chalk to hold them, but in spite of this Nos. VI and VII had been put in beside their holes (see plan). This may be due to the unhandiness of the people engaged in the ceremony as a result of the funeral ale. Urn No. II was enclosed in a very neat circular pit in the chalk and so could be taken out in an unbroken state. The illustrations of the pots, Plate I, speak for themselves. They are nearly all represented by fragments of domestic pottery found in the huts on the bank of the Car Dyke at Waterbeach (*Ant. Journal*, April 1927, Vol. VII, no. 2) and are presumably ordinary cooking pots. We see no reason to think that the remainder were specially made for holding the ashes of the dead, since fragments of ornamented pottery did occur sparingly in the Waterbeach huts. The urn (Plate I white †) which has a piece of lead in the bottom is unusual. A specimen of lead in the bottom of an Anglo-Saxon urn was found at Mannington in Norfolk and is figured in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, Vol. II, part I, p. 152.

INHUMATIONS.

The burials found in our trenches were not particularly remarkable. Nos. 1, 2 and 5 were those of children. No. 5 was accompanied by a necklace of small coloured glass beads, a bronze "ear-ring" and a bone pin (Fig. 3, nos. 2 and 3). Another, burial 4, was that of a young fighting man. At his right side and at the head of the grave lay the remains of his spearhead, his left hand was still inside the boss of his shield, while a buckle and a knife at his middle showed that he had worn the usual belt. Rather less usual was the presence of a complete shoulder and foreleg of sheep or goat lying on his chest. This had obviously been put in with the meat on it for the bones were in their natural positions. Doubtless this was intended as a supply of food for the next world. Similar cases are frequently recorded in Mortimer's *Forty Years' Digging in Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire, etc.*

Grave 3 contained, as we judged, the bodies of three females. They had all been interred at the same time, and it was a matter of some difficulty to decide the ownership of the various associated objects. The distribution of ornaments

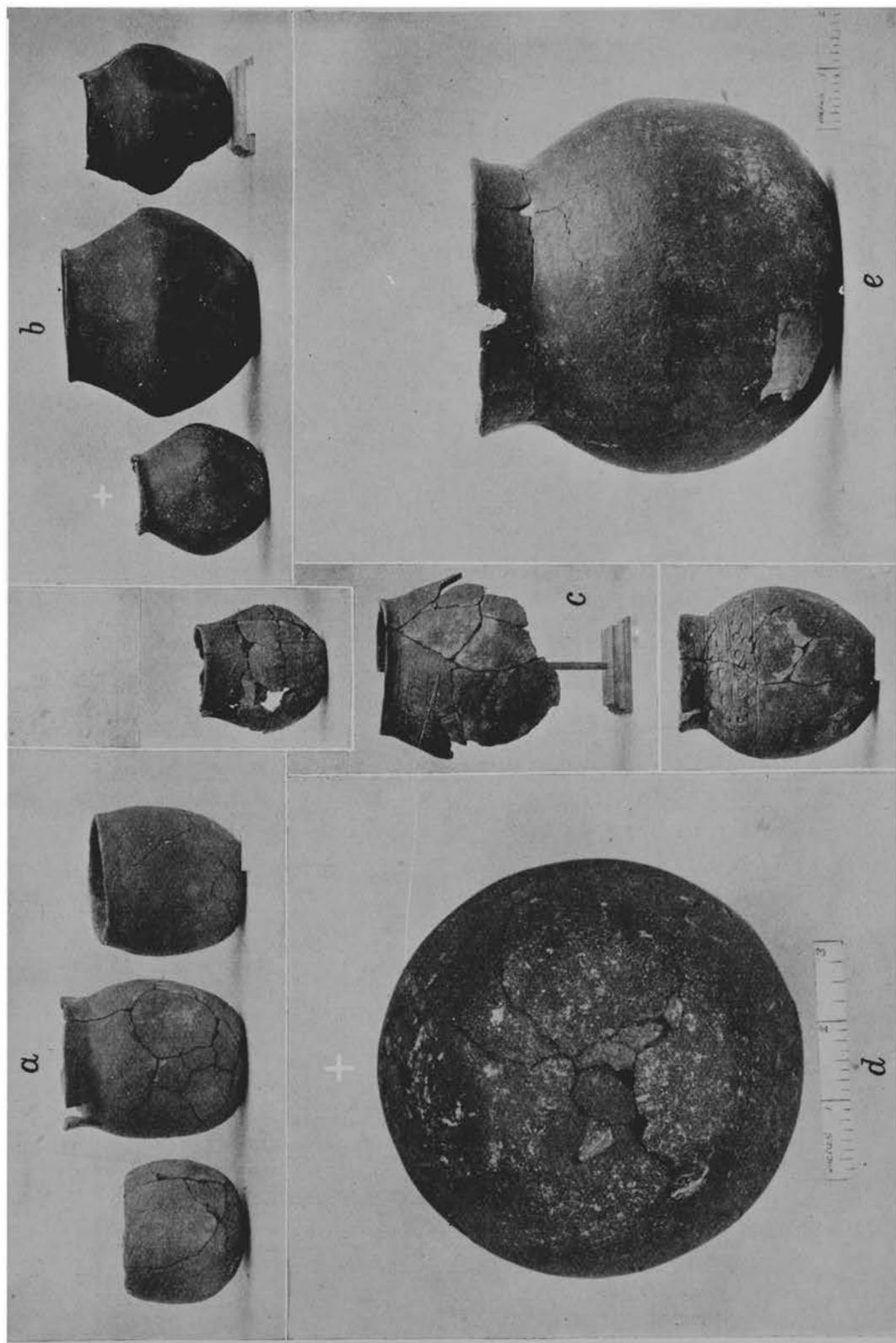
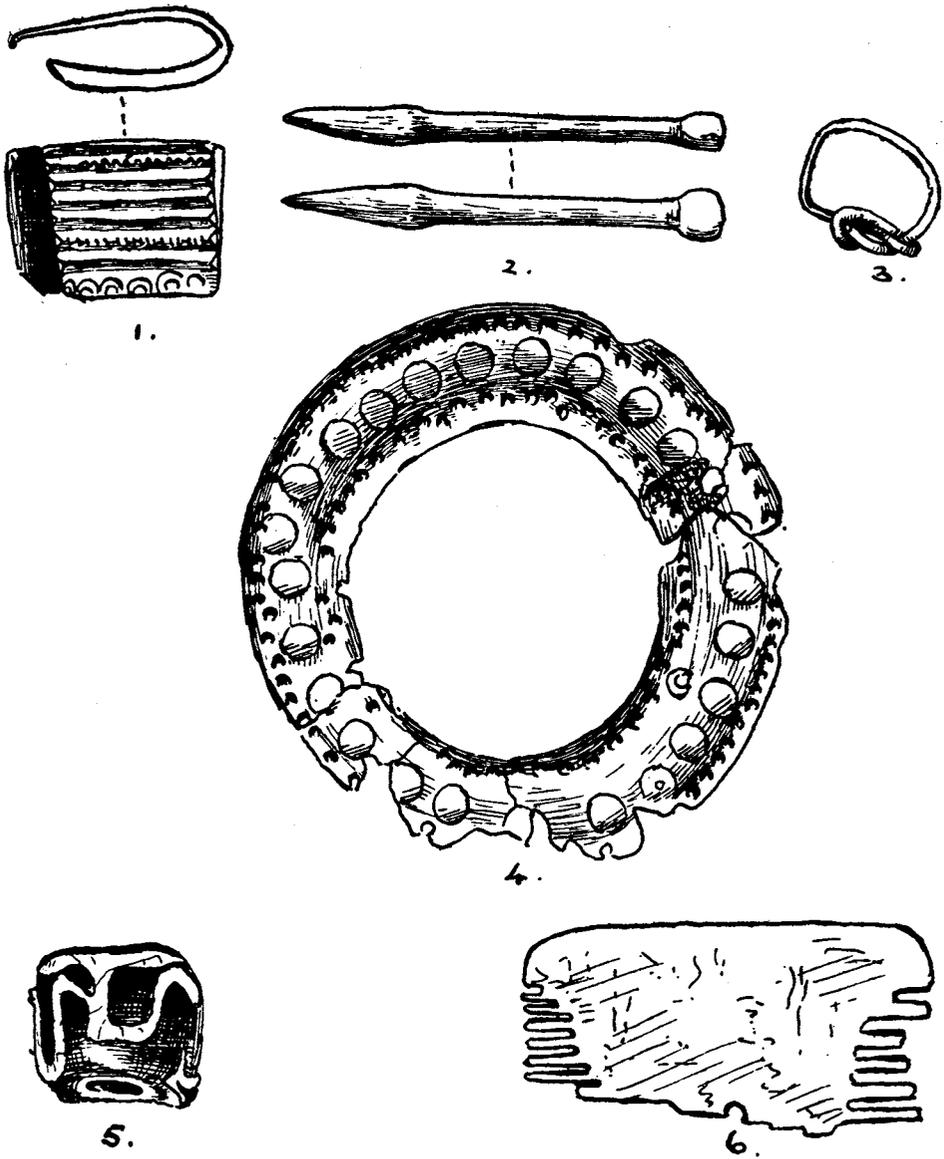


Plate I. Pots: Little Wilbraham



Pl. 27

Fig. 3.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| No. 1. Gilt mount. | Site of Pyre. |
| No. 2. Bone pin. | Grave 5. |
| No. 3. Bronze ring. | Grave 5. |
| No. 4. Bronze brooch. | Grave 6. |
| No. 5. Purple and yellow bead. | Urn 1. |
| No. 6. Bone comb. | Urn 6. |

appears to have been as follows: *A* had no ornaments and was apparently an old person. *B*, who seems to have been a middle-aged woman, had two brass clips (Fig. 4, no. 9)¹, one on each side of the skull. These were possibly fastened on to plaits of hair. At the left hip was a set of objects forming a kind of chatelaine (Fig. 4, 1-3). They were a pair of bronze girdle hangers with punched ornament probably of VI century, the blade of an iron knife, the bowl of a bronze spoon and a "wooden" egg-shaped object about 1¼ in. long enclosed in two bronze hoops with an iron bolt running through it longitudinally. The purpose of this curious object is at present a mystery, but its association with the spoon suggests a possible connexion with the crystal balls found with spoons in Kentish and other cemeteries. The spoon in this case is apparently part of a Romano-British specimen. Against and under the lumbar vertebrae were three Roman coins pierced for suspension (nos. 4-6, 3rd brasses of (1) Constantius (330-333), rev. Gloria Exercitus with two soldiers, (2) Constans or Constantius, (3) illegible) and another pendant (no. 7) which was originally a hanging ornament on one of the wooden buckets with bronze hoops often found in Saxon cemeteries. (*Saxon Obsequies*, Pl. XVI, shows two buckets from this cemetery. For these hanging ornaments, see *British Museum A.-S. Guide*, Figs. 75, 76.) There was a knife here also. The four pendants were probably sewn on to the girdle from which the hangers, etc., depended. *C*, a child, had a pair of very simple annular brooches on the collar bones (no. 8).

In *Grave 6* another woman had been buried with two annular brooches of unusual type (Fig. 3, no. 4) and a string of about 30 amber beads round the neck. The repoussé ornament on these fragmentary brooches can be matched on wrist clasps from *Grave 107*, Barrington *B*. This woman had also a girdle buckle.

¹ In the recent *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, vol. v, part II, page 174, a skeleton is described with a similar clip on the right hip. Since another of these clips occurred in the filling of grave 6 and among the bones of Cremation I, they must be regarded as not infrequent objects of Anglo-Saxon dress. There are other specimens in the Cambridge Museum from local graves.

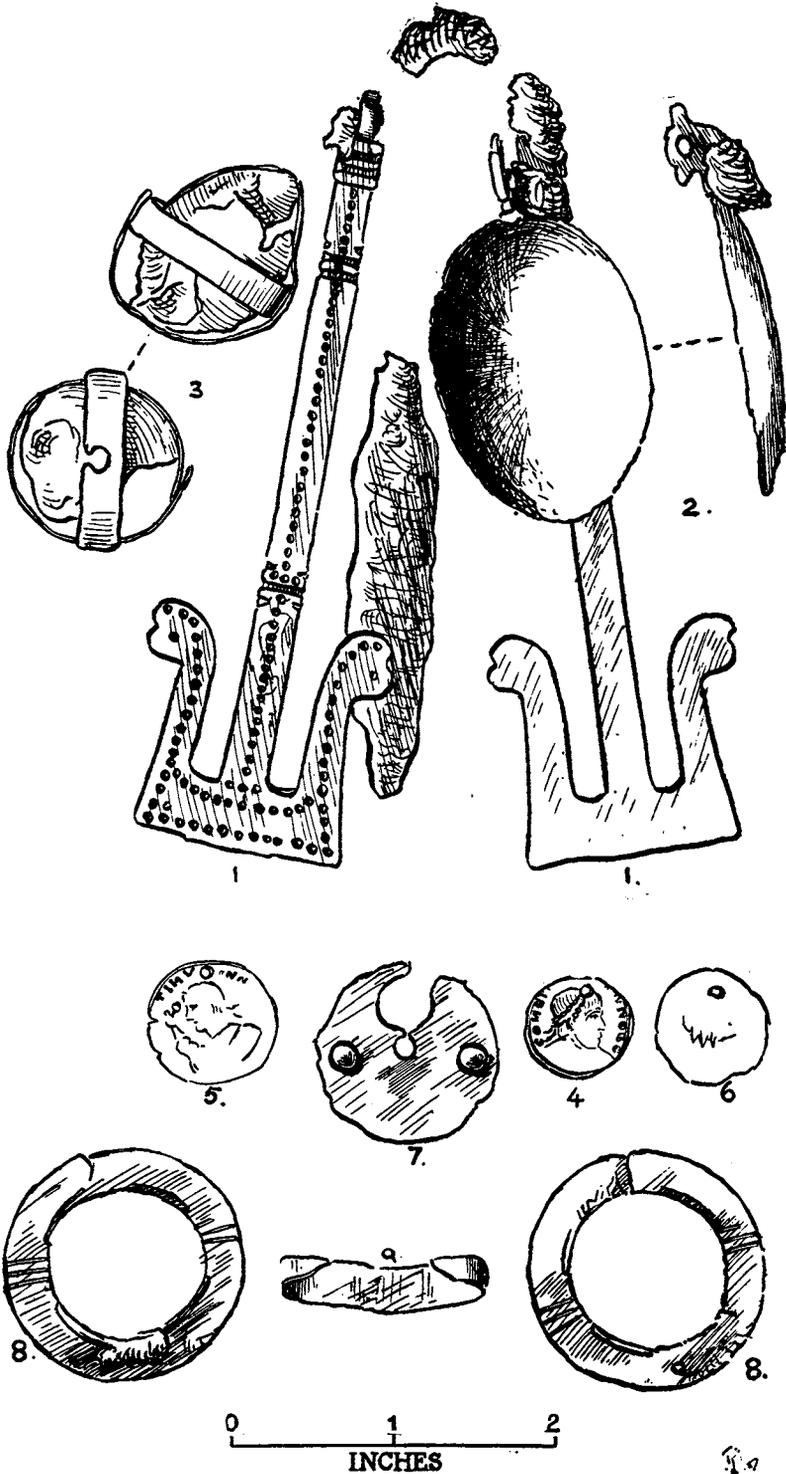


Fig. 4. Associated objects from Grave 3.

No. 1. Girdle hangers. No. 2. Brass spoon. No. 3. Ball.
 Nos. 4, 5, 6. Roman third brasses. No. 7. Bronze pendant.
 No. 8. Penannular brooches. No. 9. Bronze clip.

In *Grave 8* a body had been put in on top of a warrior armed with a spear and a knife carried in a belt, of which the iron buckle was found. The bodies were separated by a layer of soil, but there was no disturbance of the lower skeleton. We judged the upper body to be that of a woman.

Although our excavations have added little to our knowledge of the Street Way Hill cemetery, it is something to know that the urns and skeletons thus discovered have escaped destruction at the hands of labourers as the chalk pit advanced. It is hoped that some day the land on the other side of the Street Way may be tested for further graves. A short trial trench on the side of Street Way itself seemed to indicate that burial stopped short in a line bordering the road more or less under the modern hedge. Even if this is the case and the Way was confined to its present limits at that remote time it is quite possible that bodies may have been buried on the other side of it.

We take this opportunity of thanking the various voluntary helpers at this dig, especially Mr M. Maclaren and Mr H. E. David. The thanks of the Society are also due to the owner, Captain R. S. Hicks, and to the Rev. Canon H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. *Stone Age.* Two interesting and beautifully preserved stone implements have been presented lately to the Museum. The first (Fig. 1, *A*) is a brownish-grey patinated, polished celt of late Neolithic type found in 1915 in a field 300 yards north-west of Caxton Gibbet Inn, and given to the Museum by the finder, Mrs Cooper of Elsworth. The second (*B*) is a lightly patinated arrow-head with a good tang, but trifling wings, found at Great Shelford and presented to the Museum by the Curator.

It is more than rare to find Neolithic tools upon the high plateau country around Caxton Gibbet, as at the time it was covered by dense virgin forest. However the specimen belongs to a latish type, and by the end of Neolithic times the warm dry "Sub-Boreal" climate of the Bronze Age was already commencing and thinning the forests, which only flourish under warm damp conditions. Great Shelford is also an unusual area for finding arrow-heads, and indeed the Museum possesses no other stone tools from the district. But though far away from the sandy uplands beloved by Neolithic and early Metal Age man, it lies in the Cam valley and was, therefore, never so inaccessible as Caxton Gibbet during the times of the great forest extensions. M. C. B.

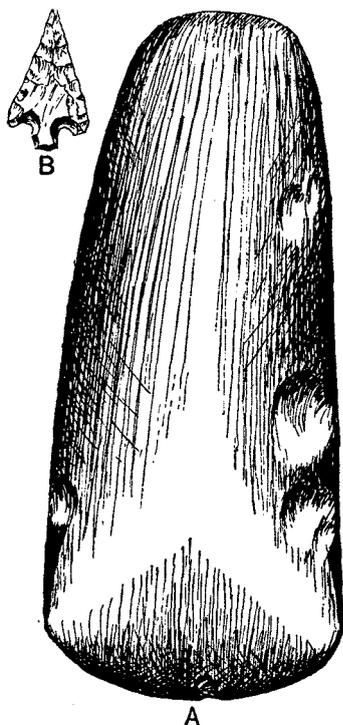


Fig. 1. A and B.
Scale: half nat. size.

2. *Beaker Period.* The objects shown in Plate I all come from the same site, a sand-pit in Springhead Lane, Ely. Sand

has been dug there for over fifty years and human bones have from time to time been noticed on the site. In 1914 the fragmentary beaker (Plate I, Fig. *A*) was turned up by workmen, in the presence of Mr F. Harlock; the sherds were associated with human bones carefully deposited in a pit or hole covered with a large stone. Later in 1914 workmen again turned up human bones and with them the stone axe-hammer and the spindle-shaped bone object (Plate I, Figs. *B*, *C* and *D*) which were found, according to the men's account, near the head—probably on the chest—of a skeleton lying at a depth of three or four feet on the gravel. The second beaker (Plate I, Fig. *E*) was found, also associated with a skeleton, in 1926; it was much broken and the sherds passed into many different hands, but through the energy of Mr J. P. Smith most of them were afterwards recovered and the beaker restored as shown in the figure.

The first beaker is of debased type, with very crude scratched ornament, and somewhat resembles a beaker from March in the Museum which is considered by Dr Fox to be of late date, belonging to the extreme end of the Transition Period. The second beaker (Plate I, Fig. *E*; height 7·8 in.) is of better workmanship and has a certain resemblance in paste and ornament to the beaker from Snailwell in the Museum, although the latter is in every way a finer specimen. The stone axe-hammer is of a type which continued in use throughout the Beaker Period and in the Bronze Age; this specimen is considered by Mr Reginald Smith to be of about the same date as the beakers.

The workmen who found the beaker and other objects in 1914 reported that they had at different times turned up at least eleven human lower jaw bones, in addition to the skeletons mentioned above; so that we evidently have here the remains of a fairly extensive cemetery of the earliest metal period.

The beaker, axe-hammer and bone object were presented to the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology by Mr Harlock, to whom the Museum is much indebted for his careful record of the finds as well as for these gifts; the other beaker was purchased with part of the C.A.S. grant. M. O'R.

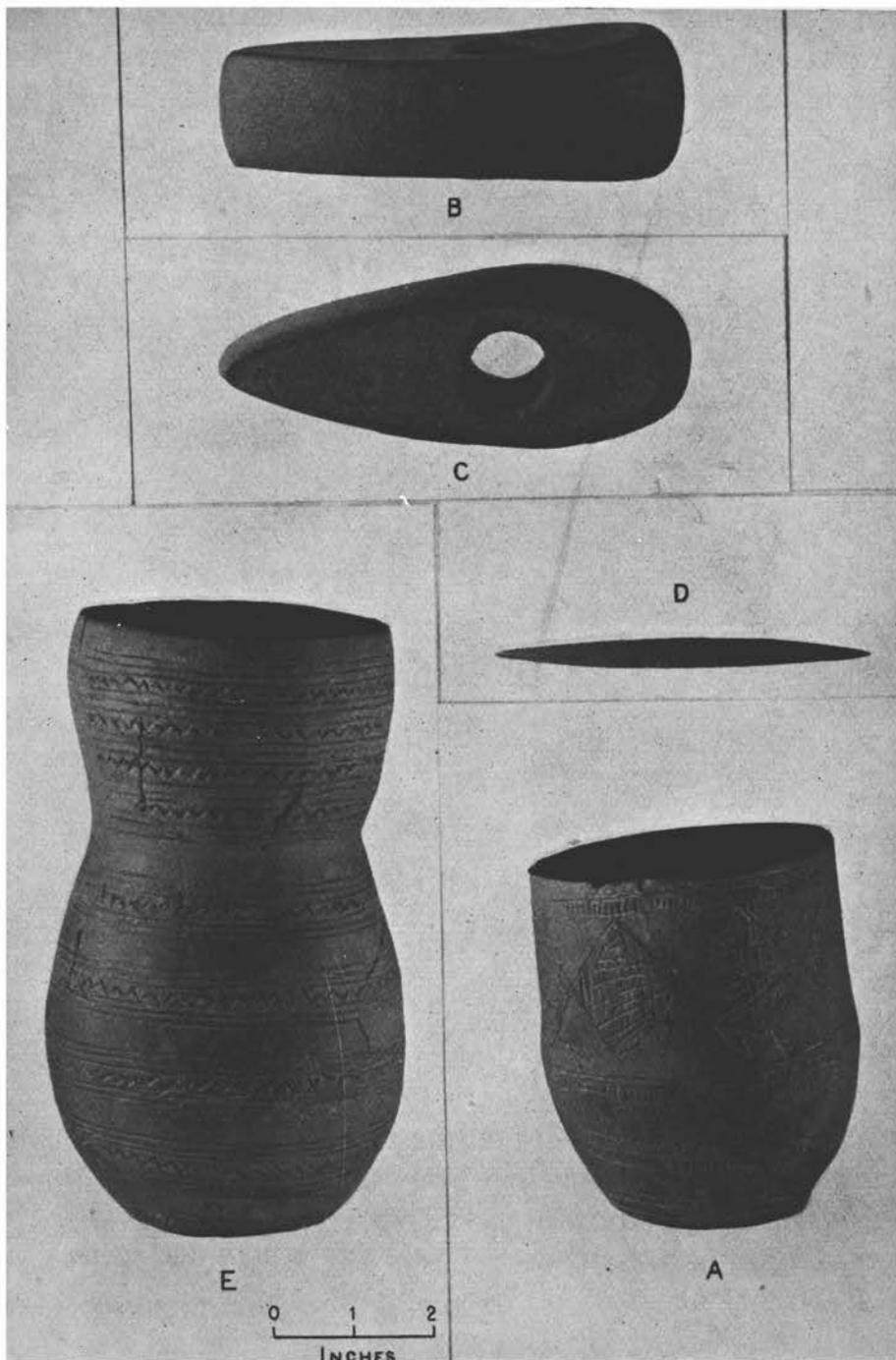


Plate I. Beakers etc. from Ely

3. *Bronze Age.* A leaf-shaped bronze sword (Fig. 2) comes from Southery, Norfolk. It was found in Sedge Fen, "6 feet below the surface of the moor," in 1852. It is a very well preserved specimen, only slightly patinated and showing



Fig. 2.

over the greater part of its surface the natural colour of the bronze. It should probably be dated early in the Late Bronze Age. Mr Arthur Hall, of Barkway, in whose possession it has been for many years, has kindly presented it to the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology. M. O'R.

4. *Roman Period.* An early cremation burial at Red Church Field, Linton, Cambs.

While Mr Cecil Burgess was ploughing in the above field in the summer of 1926 the plough came in contact with the

top of a large amphora (or wine-jar). Mr Burgess explored the ground and removed from a circular pit in the chalk, 4 ft. in diameter, the objects shown in Plate II together with fragments of burnt and unburnt bones.

The beaker of greyish-buff ware is of a type not uncommon in our area, which is generally ascribed to the very earliest period of the Roman occupation, and is considered by some authorities to be even earlier. Notable examples come from Foxton (figured by Dr Cyril Fox, *C.A.S. Proc.* Vol. xxv, p. 40) and from Clapham, Beds (figured by Dr J. R. Garrod, *Proceedings of the Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc.* Vol. iv, part 7, Fig. 1). The two platters are copies of early Terra Sigillata forms, and their paste is similar to that of the beaker; the little bowl, also of similar paste, is of late La Tène form. The jug of pure white ware is possibly not so early and is typical of many found on Romano-British 1st-century sites (cf. O. Curle, *Newstead*, Fig. 33, no. 6). Together with these vessels was a small bronze brooch and a bronze stud about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diam. in the form of a lion mask; this stud is similar to studs from Welwyn, Herts, and from Girton, Cambs., in the Cambridge Museum, and to others from Radnage, Bucks (figured in the *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. III, p. 335).

The field, which is the site of the villa excavated by Neville, has been partially explored since this cremation burial was discovered, but with no further result.

Mr Burgess has very kindly presented the group to the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology. T. C. L.

The very remarkable pot (Plate III, A) was ploughed up at Hockwold, Norfolk. It is ill-made, and very irregular, of coarse hard gritty paste approaching that of mediaeval wares. In spite of this, however, there can be little doubt that it belongs to the Romano-British period; and since the cordon round the neck, characteristic of the early Roman period, has almost disappeared, it may be of late I or of II-century date. The pot was purchased for the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology by the Curator. T. C. L.

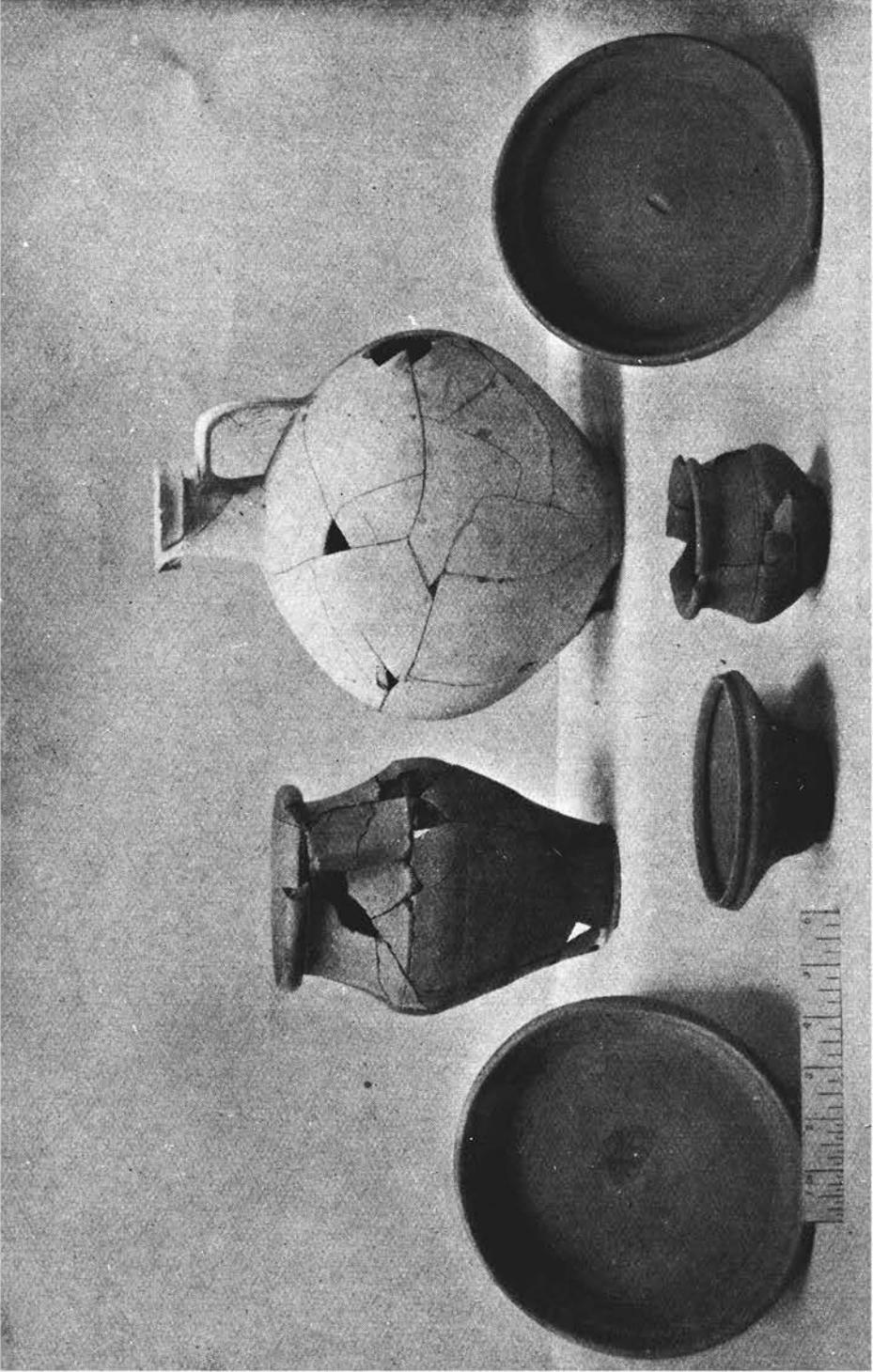


Plate II.

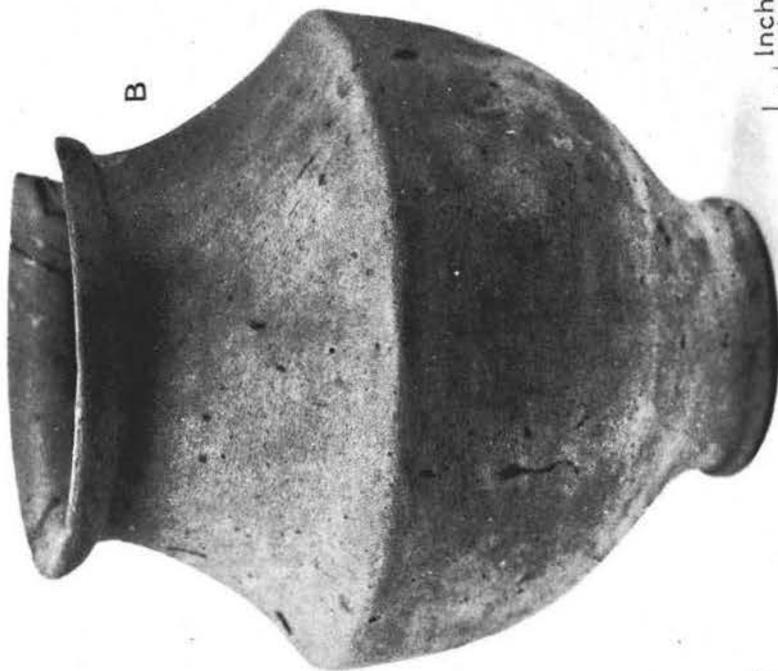
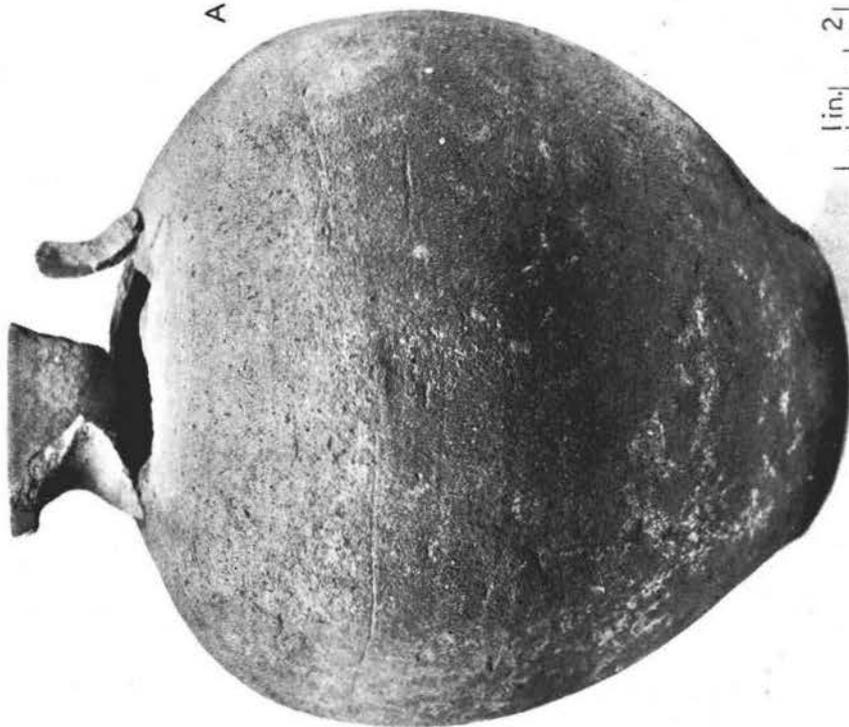


PLATE III
FIG. 4, A AND B.

The small pot (Plate III, B) was found by workmen making the foundations of a new house in the cattle-market, Cherry Hinton, in the summer of 1926. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, of fine buff ware with a sandy surface, and its sharply curved outline and carinated shoulder suggest that it was made in imitation of a metal vessel. A pot closely similar to it, from Litlington, is in the Museum, and two carinated vases evidently of the same type, but larger, are in the collection from Great Chesterford. The type probably belongs to the 1st century A.D. This pot was presented to the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology by the late Professor Sir William Ridgeway.

M. O'R.

From Bottisham Lode comes a disc brooch ornamented in early Jellinge style and undoubtedly of Viking manufacture (Fig. 3). This is especially noteworthy on account of the

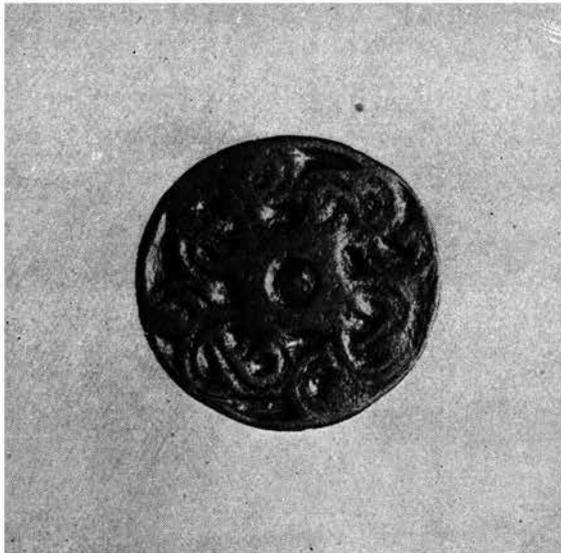


Fig. 3. Scale: nat. size.

scarcity of Viking objects in East Anglia generally. Dr Arne of Stockholm kindly sent a photograph of a bronze brooch very similar to this specimen in size, ornament and technique which was found in a grave at Björkö and which he dates about 960 A.D. This date is probably on the late side. There

is little doubt that our brooch is of Scandinavian workmanship. The brooch was purchased with part of the C.A.S. grant. T. C. L.

5. *Late Anglo-Saxon Period.* The large scramasax shown in Fig. 4, *A* (length $27\frac{1}{2}$ in.), was dredged from the River Cam at Dimmock's Cote, near Upware. From this site have also come spear-heads, clinch-nails, etc., resembling Viking types.

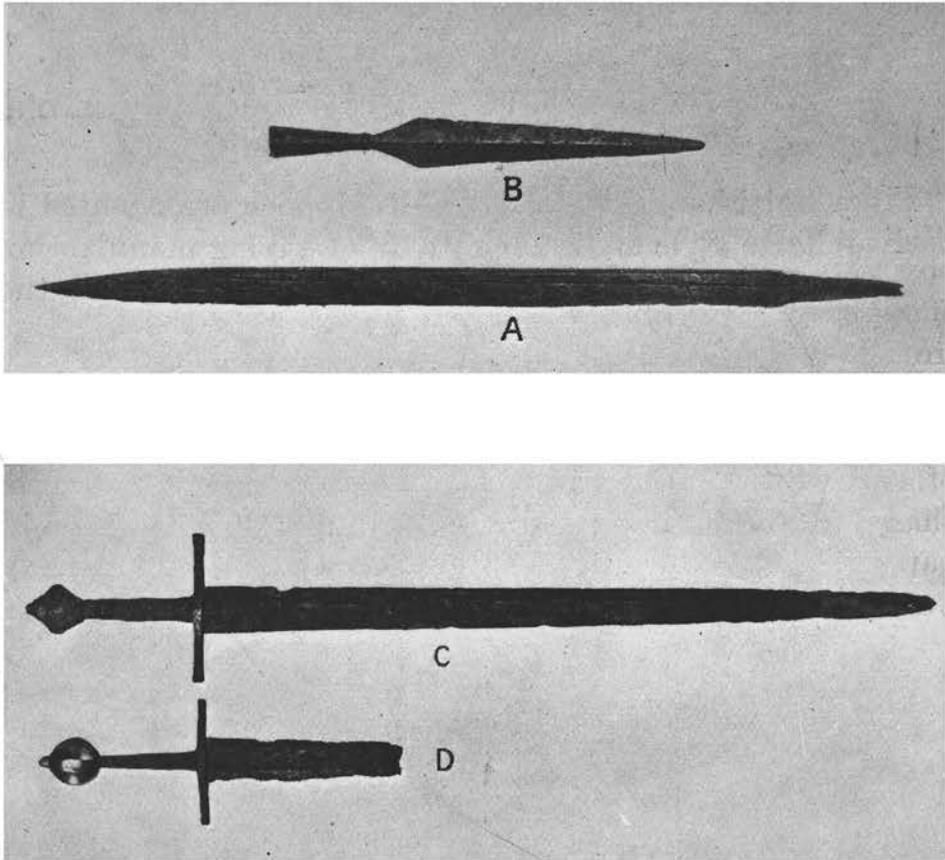


Fig. 4.

The "cutlass" in question is very similar in size and shape to that famous weapon inlaid with the Runic alphabet which was dredged from the Thames (*Brit. Mus. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, Fig. 117). Mr Reginald Smith dates the latter weapon about 800 A.D.—an opinion which is borne out by the

similarity of some of its ornament to certain patterns on the Oseberg ship. Another sword of this type is figured by Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. III, Pl. XXVIII, no. 20.

The spearhead shown in Fig. 4, *B* (length $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.), was dredged from the same part of the River Cam as the scramasax. It is of Viking type, though not necessarily of Scandinavian manufacture, and is probably of about the same date as the scramasax. Both specimens were purchased for the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology with part of the C.A.S. grant.

T. C. L.

6. *Mediaeval*. Two fine mediaeval swords dredged from the Cam near Stretham (Fig. 4, *C*) and Ely (Fig. 4, *D*) respectively are probably of 13th-century date. They are possibly connected with the disturbances of that period which culminated in the capture of the Isle of Ely by Edward I from the rebel barons (1268). A sword with a similar hilt to that of *D* is figured by Larkin, *Arms and Armour*, Vol. I, Fig. 103, where the figure is taken from an illuminated MS. of early 13th-century date. The Stretham sword was purchased for the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology with part of the C.A.S. grant, the Ely sword was presented by the Curator.

T. C. L.

REPORT OF THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD COMMITTEE

In 1925 the Cambridge Antiquarian Society revived an earlier project, and determined to make a fresh attempt to obtain a representative photographic record of the county. To this end an appeal was circulated to all members of the Society and to all people in the county who were considered likely to be interested. The appeal set forth the kind of pictures which it was proposed to collect, *e.g.* buildings of every description, domestic and ecclesiastical, earthworks, bridges, industries, both ancient and modern, ceremonies, flora, fauna, etc. The Society sought the co-operation of the Cambridge Photographic Club, and a Joint Committee was appointed to set the work on foot. The following were appointed to represent the Society: The President for the time being (Mr M. C. Burkitt), Mr Bullock, Dr Cobbett, Dr Palmer, Dr Stokes and the Secretary, and the Cambridge Photographic Club was represented by their President, Dr Robinson, and by Mr Parker Smith, Mr Tams and one of the Secretaries, Mr R. T. Bellamy. Dr Palmer, who is a member of both bodies, was appointed Chairman, and Miss Fegan was subsequently elected as Secretary to the Committee. For the present, the collection is housed in the University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, a card catalogue of the photographs is also kept there and a duplicate catalogue at the Headquarters of the Photographic Club.

At its first meeting, the Committee laid it down that its objects should be: (1) to create a permanent pictorial record of the Cambridge district; (2) to draw up a list of subjects, representations of which should be included in such a regional survey; (3) to collect, classify, and store the collection; (4) the collection so made to be housed in the University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, and to be accessible to members of both Societies; (5) the Librarian of the Museum to be asked to be Curator of the collection. The active work



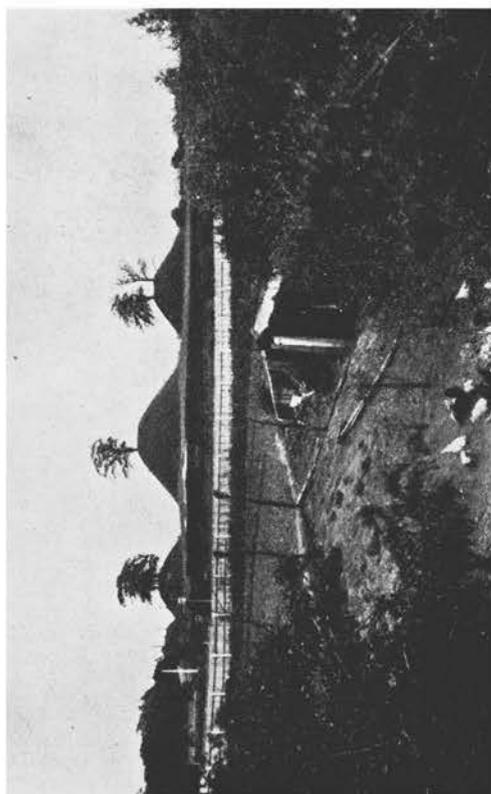
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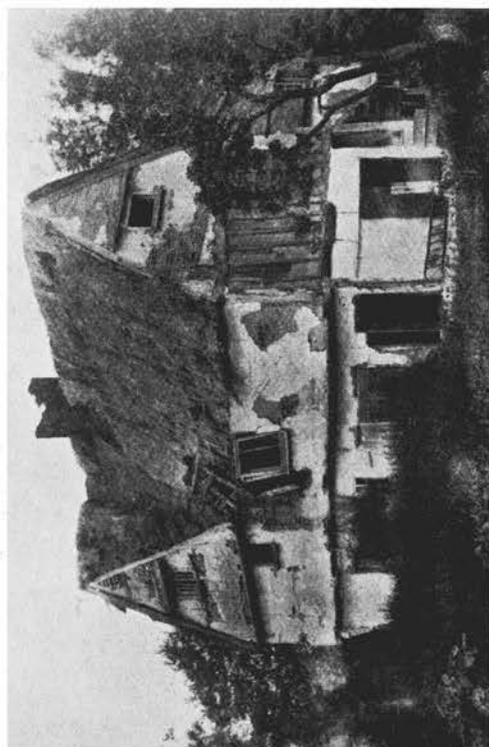
(2)



(3)



(4)



(5)



(6)

of the Committee was to consist in: (1) taking, or causing to be taken, photographs; (2) ascertaining the actual existence of negatives and old prints, and causing photographs to be made from them, with the understanding that these prints are definitely only for record purposes, and that copyright and right of reproduction can be reserved by the owners of the negatives or prints.

The Committee has met five times, and has so far been able to collect 761 photographs and 75 negatives. Many more have been promised, but the Committee feels that the most fruitful way of proceeding is to map out the county and adjoining areas methodically and to assign certain areas to volunteers, or, if preferred, certain objects. The Cambridge Photographic Club has done service in this way by organising its summer excursions with a view to the Photographic Record, and by instituting a Photographic Record Class for its autumn exhibition, the photographs entered for this class going automatically to swell the Record collection. Last summer the Club photographed Duxford and Barrington, and this year they hope to make a survey of Balsham, Over, Swavesey, Toft and Whittlesford.

The Chairman has done much to arouse interest in the work, and has given what might be termed demonstration lectures with lantern slides to the Cambridge Photographic Club and to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. He also addressed the Annual Meeting of the County Federation of Women's Institutes, in order to enlist the help of the villages in collecting material. The Secretary of the Photographic Club has approached some of the industrial firms in the county, but the Committee feels that a more widespread effort is needed to obtain a really representative collection and would appeal to all members of the Society to do what they can to ensure success. At the meeting of the Society held in the Museum at the kind invitation of the Curator a selection of photographs was shown in the hope of making the aims of the Committee more generally realised.

Volunteers are greatly needed: (a) to print from negatives, printing paper being supplied; (b) to send in lists of prints or negatives which they are willing to place at the Committee's

disposal. (The two bodies have each voted 30s. to the Committee for the purchase of materials for printing.) When it is considered that of the 761 photographs collected to date, 388 are the work of one man, it is clear how much might be done with more helpers of the same calibre! A few places have been photographed fairly systematically, but at present the collection has only two photographs of Ely, none of Babraham, Chatteris, Chippenham, Denny, Fen Ditton, Hardwick, Harston, Landbeach, Littleport, Lolworth, Oakington, Papworth Everard, Quy, the Shelfords, Soham, Stapleford, Stretham, Swaffham Bulbeck, Thorney, Waterbeach, Whittlesey, Wisbech, and only two or three of such places as Bourn, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Fen Drayton, Fulbourn, March, Milton, Wilburton. The Chairman's ambition is to get a print of every cottage in the county worth looking at, or of interest for any reason; the town of Cambridge has been much photographed already and it only remains to get copies for the Record, and for this Mr Goodrich, of Messrs Palmer Clarke, has very generously offered to present the Society with a set of his photographs of "Old Cambridge." The town, therefore, is fairly adequately covered, but it is the vanished or vanishing landmarks of the county and country villages that the Committee is anxious to record. Will not members resident in the county help us here and send in any prints they may happen to possess? Pictures of past or present industries, such as those of the woad mill, kindly presented by Sir R. Biffen, the flint-knapping industry, turf-cutting, and so on, should all find their place in such a collection as ours ought to be. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Dr Palmer, Mr Bullock and Mr Bellamy, has been appointed to examine and select prints and negatives offered for the work of the Committee, and any of these, or the Secretary to the Committee, will be very glad to hear of any contributions.

The Committee wishes to thank the following for gifts of photographs and negatives: Prof. Adcock, Dr F. J. Allen, Mr and Mrs Bellamy, Messrs Bidwell, Mr Brindley, Mr Bullock, Miss Hope Chivers, Dr Cobbett, Mr T. E. Collier, Miss K. Cooke, Miss D. M. Curtis, Miss Dean, Rev. G. J.

Foster, Mr T. P. Gardner, Mr R. K. Hitchcock, Mr L. J. Jarman, Mr P. J. King, Mr H. W. Latter, Dr E. H. Minns, Mrs K. Moore, Rev. A. C. Moule, Newton Women's Institute, Mr E. C. Ogle, Dr W. M. Palmer, Mr R. Parker Smith, Miss C. E. Parsons, Mr E. S. Peck, Mr L. D. Pratt, Mr C. Rouse, Mrs Rumbelow, Mr C. Symonds of Over, Mr W. Tams, Mr E. Vulliamy, Mr M. C. Vyvyan, Mrs G. E. Wooll, Mr H. W. Worrall, and the Cement-making Co., Ltd.

The illustrations accompanying the Report have been selected from the collection in order to give some idea of the types of photographs which we are hoping to obtain. They represent:

- (1) Horseheath Windmill, 1924.
- (2) Peat-cutting.
- (3) Milestone near Fowlmere.
- (4) Bartlow Mounds.
- (5) Cottage at Conington, before 1910. (A derelict cottage often shows the construction better than a sound one.)
- (6) Kitchen, Carbonell's, Horseheath, 1924. E. S. F.

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