PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1928—OCTOBER 1930

WITH

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY

VOLUME XXXI

Edited by E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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1931

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CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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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.

Proceedings Vol. XXIX, 1926–27. With Communications and Report. pp. 1—128. Many plates, full-page illustrations, and figures in text. Price 12*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

Printed papers: Barnard, E. A. B., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., (1) Cambridge and the Gunpowder Plot; (2) A 16th-Century Dole-Gate from Denny Abbey. Burkitt, Prof. F. C., D.D., F.B.A., Petra and Palmyra. Cam, Helen M., M.A.Lond., The King's Government, as administered by the Greater Abbots of East Anglia. Fegan, Ethel S., Advertising in the 17th Century. Lethbridge, T. C., F.S.A., The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Burwell, Cambs. Lethbridge, T. C., F.S.A., and Carter, H. G., Excavations in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Little Wilbraham. Lloyd, A. H., F.S.A., Melbourn Church.

Proceedings Vol. XXX, 1927–28. With Communications and Report. pp. 1—116. Many plates, full-page illustrations, and figures in text. Price 12*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

Printed papers: Cobbett, L., M.D., F.R.C.S., (1) Ickleton Church in the Eighteenth Century; (2) The Tympanum at St John's Church, Duxford. Duckworth, W. L. H., M.D., Sc.D., Notes on the Human Remains from Mr Lethbridge's Excavations of the Bran Ditch. Fox, Cyril, Ph.D., F.S.A., The Early Iron Age in England and Wales. Gray, Arthur, M.A., A Visitation of the Religious Houses of the Diocese of Ely in A.D. 1373. H. S. Kingsford, M.A., Seal Matrices in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. Lethbridge, T. C., F.S.A., The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Burwell, Cambridgeshire. Part IV. Lethbridge, T. C., F.S.A., and Palmer, W. M., M.D., F.S.A., Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Dykes. VI. Bran Ditch, Second Report. Palmer, W. M., M.D., F.S.A., A Wall Decoration in Linton. Archaeological Notes.

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

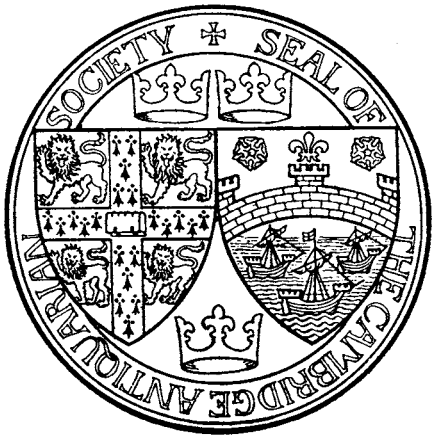
Cambridge Antiquarian Society

October 1928—October 1930

WITH

COMMUNICATIONS

MADE TO THE SOCIETY



VOL. XXXI

Edited by E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

CAMBRIDGE

PUBLISHED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

BY BOWES & BOWES

1931

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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Cambridge Antiquarian Society

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1928.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, 4 March 1929.

Thirty-one Ordinary Members and five Associate Members have been elected. These numbers show a gratifying advance on those of recent years, but they are compensated by the losses by death, resignation, and failure to pay subscriptions, so that our numbers are identical with those of a year ago. Some of the newly elected Members have not paid their subscription, and are therefore not yet enrolled in the Society's list. It may be well to call attention to the great trouble caused by neglect to pay subscriptions, by members new or old. It complicates the Society's accounts, and causes much trouble in the distribution of notices and publications.

The numbers for 1927 and 1928 are exactly the same, namely:

Honorary Members	8
Ordinary Members	316
Associate Members	15
Subscribing Institutions	7
	346

Eleven Ordinary Meetings were held, at which the average attendance was 50.

The following communications were given:

L. Armstrong, F.S.A. Eng. and Scot., "Excavations in some Derbyshire Caves." 19 November.

Mrs F. Ayscough, D.Litt., "Court Life in China during the T'ang Dynasty, as illustrated by the Poems of Tu Fu." 6 February.

E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., "The Present Traffic in Old Documents." 23 January.

Walter Barrow, F.S.A., "Photographic Studies of the Remarkable Carved Capitals in the Abbey Church of Vézelay." 22 October.

M. C. Burkitt, F.S.A., "Rock Engravings in the Maritime Alps." 3 December.

L. Cobbett, M.D., F.R.C.S., "The Tympanum at St John's Church, Duxford." 5 March.

W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D., "Report on Skeletons found at Excavations." 30 April.

Cyril Fox, Ph.D., F.S.A., "The Early Iron Age in England and Wales." 20 February.

Arthur Gray, M.A., "A Visitation of the Religious Houses of the Diocese of Ely in A.D. 1373." 5 March.

H. C. Hughes, A.R.I.B.A., "Windmills." 5 November.

A. F. Kendrick, "Graeco-Roman Textile Fabrics from Egypt." 14 May.

T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A., "Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Dykes: VIth Report, Heydon or Bran Ditch." 30 April.

W. M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., (1) "A Wall-Painting at Linton," 5 March. (2) "Two Cambridgeshire Antiquaries, John Layer of Shepreth, and 'Cardinal' Cole of Milton." 4 June.

College Visit.

By kind invitation of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene, a visit was paid to the College on the afternoon of Thursday, March 15th. The party was conducted over the gardens and buildings, and the plans for the extension of the College by the erection of a new court on the opposite side of the street were exhibited. The Master showed the Pepys Library to a large number of the visitors. The College kindly provided tea, after which the thanks of the Society were expressed by Dr Haddon to the Master and Fellows for their hospitality.

Excursions.

On Thursday, May 31st, ninety-four members of the Society joined the excursion made to Elsworth, Papworth Agnes, and Caxton, under the leadership of Dr W. M. Palmer, F.S.A. After a short visit to the much-restored Elsworth Church, of which an interesting account was given by the Rev. L. Iggulden (Rector), the party proceeded to Papworth

Agnes, a forest village standing athwart the county boundary which runs through the kitchen of the sixteenth-century manor-house, which has been tenantless during the last few years, and is already showing various evidences of decay. This house, which has some good armorial plaster work, belonged to the Malory family, and here Sir Thomas Malory —the author of the *Morte d'Arthur*—died in September, 1469.

Afterwards the old posting-inns at Caxton—the "Crown" and the "George"—now used as private residences—were visited, and the party took tea at "The Red House," Longstowe. Subsequently a long halt was made at Caxton Moats, one of the largest earthworks in the county, and the excursion concluded at Kingston Wood, where the sixteenth-century manor-house with a Georgian front was examined with great interest, the various features being described by Mr and Mrs J. Wilson, who had welcomed the party on arrival.

On Thursday, July 12th, a whole-day excursion was arranged to Wisbech, and some marshland churches, for which the arrangements were greatly facilitated by Messrs L. A. Curtis Edwards and Graham E. Gardiner (Wisbech). This excursion was also very well attended, there being eighty-three members present. On arrival at Wisbech the party visited the Museum and Castle, under the guidance of Mr Curtis Edwards, and afterwards were met at the Parish Church by the Rev. W. T. R. Crookham, who detailed all the points of architectural interest and exhibited the church plate, registers, etc.

After lunch at the "Rose and Crown" Hotel, the members proceeded to St Mary's Church, Walsoken (Rev. L. J. Lock); St Mary's Church, West Walton (Rev. L. Gee); Walpole St Andrew Church (Rev. A. Lee-Warner); Walpole St Peter Church (Rev. H. W. Wood); and Terrington St Clement Church (Rev. A. E. Penney). At each church in this remarkably interesting series, a lucid explanation was given by the incumbent there. Tea was taken at Walpole St Peter, where the arrangements had been made through the kindness of the Rev. H. W. and Mrs Wood. From Terrington St Clement the party returned to Wisbech.

E. A. B. BARNARD,
Excursion Secretary

Excavations.

The usual spring excavations in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Burwell took place in March and April. The pit found in 1927 was cleared out, but no solution of its origin was forthcoming. Twenty-five graves were discovered, some of which yielded grave goods of unusual forms. Chatelaines were not uncommon and a fine bone comb should be noted.

During the summer another Anglo-Saxon hut was found and explored on the banks of the Car Dyke at Waterbeach. The contents were similar to those of the first specimen found in 1926.

Owing to the kindness of Sir Henry Bunbury, a large Saxon cemetery at Holywell Row, Mildenhall, has been available for excavations. The work has so far resulted in the discovery of forty graves, some of which have produced very fine ornaments of typical East Anglian types. Weapons are also found with the males, and a sword should be noticed on account of the rarity of these weapons in some cemeteries. Work in this cemetery is not yet concluded.

Dr Palmer and I have made some preliminary attempts to locate skeletons reputed to be buried in the Fleam Dyke near the Bedford Gap. So far our efforts have met with no success.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE,
Director of Excavations.

Library.

The Society desires to express its thanks to the following for kindly giving books or pamphlets to the Library:
Mr E. A. B. Barnard, Mr H. H. Brindley, Mr M. C. Burkitt, Mr S. Cowles, Mr R. Griffin, Dr A. C. Haddon, Prof. E. H. Minns, Dr W. M. Palmer, Mr N. T. Porter and the Curator.

Photographic Record.

Owing to the absence abroad of the Secretary of the Photographic Record Committee, no report can be given. Several hundred fresh prints have been received and are being catalogued.

A. HINGSTON QUIGGIN,
Deputy Librarian.

PUBLICATIONS.

The following two publications have been issued during the year:

Proceedings and Communications, Vol. XXIX, for the year 1926–7.

Index to Proceedings, Vols. IX–XXIV, including Subjects and Authors of Quarto and Octavo Publications, being Octavo Publication, No. LI.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1928.

Jan. 9.	Col. A. J. Lyon.
	Rev. H. H. Appleford, M.A.
	Major R. D. Anderson.
	Rev. E. E. Phillips, M.A.
	Miss B. Cooper.
	Miss K. T. B. Butler.
	Mrs Appleford (Associate).
Feb. 6.	Mrs Parsons.
	Mrs Pashler.
	Miss E. L. Turner.
Mar. 5.	A. B. Steel, M.A.
	Lady Gowland Hopkins.
Apr. 20.	H. E. Foster.
	A. H. S. Hallidie, M.A., F.R.C.S.
	Lt.-Comm. S. N. Smith, R.N.
	G. James.
	Mrs J. E. Allen (Associate).
	Mrs E. S. Peck (Associate).
June 4.	R. Trevor-Jenkin, M.A., F.Z.S.
	Mrs Bowes (Associate).
Oct. 15.	R. W. Rye.
	Miss E. C. Briscoe.
	F. R. Parrington, B.A.
	B. Willey, M.A.
	F. R. Cowper Reed, Sc.D.
	Mrs Reed (Associate).
Nov. 5.	C. W. Smith, M.A.
	Mrs H. M. Rait-Kerr.
	H. W. Hammond.
	Mrs Lamplugh.
	H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, F.S.A.
	Rev. R. L. Child, B.D., B.Litt.
	W. P. Baker, B.A.
	Major G. E. Fowler.
	H. Barnes.
Dec. 3.	W. E. Beattie.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER 1928.

CURRENT ACCOUNT.

Income.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward		84 6 0
„ *Subscriptions:*		
Current	287 16 6	
Associate	12 2 6	
Arrears	3 7 0	
Advance	1 18 0	
		305 4 0
„ Excavation Fund		1 14 0
Dividends:		
„ Interest on £420 L. and N.E.R. 4 per cent. Debenture Stock	13 8 10	
„ Interest on £118. 4*s.* 10*d.* New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock	4 2 8	
„ Interest on £230. 13*s.* 4*d.* New Zealand 4 per cent. Stock	3 13 10	
„ Interest on £39. 6*s.* 8*d.* Bank of England Stock	3 15 6	
„ Interest on £350 5 per cent. War Loan	14 0 0	
„ Interest on £400 4½ per cent. War Loan	14 8 0	
„ Interest on £127. 14*s.* 9*d.* 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan	4 9 4	
		57 18 2
„ *Sale of Publications:*		
Messrs Bowes and Bowes	12 1 0	
„ Deighton Bell and Co	5 13 8	
„ Miscellaneous Sales	10 3	
		18 4 11
„ Contribution to cost of *Proceedings*, No. XXIX		9 9 0
		£476 16 1

Expenditure.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Miscellaneous Printing	34 5 3	
„ *Proceedings*, No. XXIX	131 12 0	
		165 17 3
„ Books and Stationery		4 18 7
„ *Subscriptions and Donations:*		
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology	25 0 0	
Archaeological Congress	1 0 0	
		26 0 0
„ *Clerical Assistance, etc.:*		
Secretary	50 0 0	
Attendants	9 0 0	
Custodian of Cellarer's Checker	1 6 0	
Care of stock-room	10 6	
		60 16 6
„ Postage, carriage and sundries		17 11 2
„ Subscriptions refunded		1 5 6
„ Transferred to Excavation Account		3 5 6
„ Insurance		12 0
		£280 6 6
Balance		196 9 7
„ Balance in Pass Book	197 14 7	
„ Less cheque paid but not presented	1 5 0	
	£196 9 7	
		£476 16 1

DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward . .		498 10 4	By Purchase of £230. 13*s.* 4*d.* New Zealand 4 per cent. Stock .		200 0 0
„ Interest		8 4 0	„ Balance as per Bank Book .		306 14 4
		£506 14 4			£506 14 4

EXCAVATION ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward . .		53 5 4	By Excavations		15 7 6
„ Subscriptions	7 17 6		Balance as per Bank Book .		49 0 10
„ Transferred from Current Account	3 5 6				
		11 3 0			
		£64 8 4			£64 8 4

EXCAVATION DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward . .		22 4 5	By Balance as per Bank Book .		22 15 5
„ Interest		11 0			
		£22 15 5			£22 15 5

The Capital of the Society consists of the following securities, viz.:

£420 L. and N.E.R. 4 per cent. Debenture Stock.
£118. 4*s*. 10*d*. New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock.
£230. 13*s*. 4*d*. New Zealand 4 per cent. Stock.
£39. 6*s*. 8*d*. Bank of England Stock.
£350 5 per cent. War Loan.
£400 4½ per cent. War Loan.
£127. 14*s*. 9*d*. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan.

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

	£	*s*.	*d*.
On Current Account	196	9	7
„ Deposit Account	306	14	4
„ Excavation Account	49	0	10
„ Excavation Deposit Account	22	15	5
	£575	0	2

There is a liability on the Current Account estimated at £170 to meet the cost of Publications now in hand.

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

January 26, 1929.

NEW OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1929–30

ELECTED 4 MARCH, 1929.

PRESIDENT.

Prof. ELLIS H. MINNS, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Pembroke College.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

A. H. LLOYD, Ph.D., F.S.A., Christ's College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

LOUIS C. G. CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity Hall. *Curator.*

J. H. BULLOCK, M.A., Trinity College.

H. C. HUGHES, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., Peterhouse.

TREASURER.

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

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

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

DIRECTOR OF EXCAVATIONS.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Mount Blow, Great Shelford.*

LIST OF OFFICERS, 1929–1930.

PRESIDENT.

**Prof. Ellis H. Minns, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Pembroke College

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*Louis Cobbett, M.D., F.R.C.S., Trinity College.
William M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., *Linton, Cambridgeshire.*
A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D., F.S.A., Christ's College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

*John Archibald Venn, M.A., Queens' College.
*Miles C. Burkitt, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College.
*Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. A. C. Moule, M.A., Trinity College, *Vicar of Trumpington.*
G. B. Bowes, M.A., Emmanuel College.
Rev. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., M.A., F.S.A., Christ's College.
Miss Catherine E. Parsons, *Horseheath.*
Lady Gowland Hopkins, *Saxmeadham, Grange Road.*
††G. P. Hawkins, M.A., J.P., *Gresham House.*
Louis C. G. Clarke, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity Hall. *Curator.*
J. H. Bullock, M.A., Trinity College.
H. C. Hughes, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., Peterhouse.

TREASURER.

**Herbert F. Bird, M.A., 30, *Panton Street.*

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

**Frank J. Allen, M.D., St John's College, 8, *Halifax Road.*

DIRECTOR OF EXCAVATIONS.

†T. C. Lethbridge, B.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Mount Blow, Great Shelford.*

LIBRARIAN.

Miss Ethel S. Fegan, Girton College.

EXCURSION SECRETARY.

E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 26, *Warkworth Street.*

* Retires under Law XII: not eligible for re-election to same office.
** Retires under Law XII: eligible for re-election.
† Annual appointment.
†† Retires voluntarily.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1929.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, 3 March, 1930.

After the large accession of new members in 1928, there has been a considerable falling off in 1929, the number of members elected being eleven Ordinary, one Associate, and one Subscribing Institution. Five members have died and eight have resigned. Several have failed to pay their subscription for two years, in spite of repeated applications from the Treasurer, and their membership must probably be regarded as having lapsed.

The numbers for 1928 and 1929 are as follows:

	1928	1929
Honorary Members	8	8
Ordinary ,,	316	314
Associate ,,	15	16
Subscribing Institutions	7	8
	346	346

Eleven Ordinary Meetings were held, at which the average attendance was 56.

The following communications were given:

F. J. Allen, M.D., "Photographic Studies of Anglo-Saxon Architecture." 29 April.

Dr J. G. Andersson, "The Highway of Eurasia." 18 February.

E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., and A. J. B. Wace, M.A., "The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and their Work." 4 March.

Prof. Tancred Borenius, "The Iconography of St Thomas Becket." 27 May.

H. H. Brindley, M.A., F.S.A., "Graffiti of Ships at 'The Abbey,' Swaffham Bulbeck." 4 February.

A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., "Early Anglo-Saxon Architecture and its Origin." 21 January.

Louis C. G. Clarke, M.A., F.S.A., "A Roman Pewter Vessel from the Cole-Ambrose Collection." 4 February.

Dr G. H. Fowler, C.B.E., "A Note on Existing Collections of Archives." 13 May.

Arthur Gray, M.A., "The Massacre at the Bran Ditch in A.D. 1010." 21 October.

T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A., "Recent Excavations at Holywell Row, Mildenhall, and at Burwell." 2 December.

A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D., F.S.A., "John Rant, A College Lawyer of the 17th century." 4 November.

W. M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., "The Benedictine Nunnery of Swaffham Bulbeck." 4 February.

W. M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., and E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., "Cambridge Corporation Records." 13 May.

Miss C. E. Parsons, "Excavation of a Romano-British Site at Horseheath." 4 November.

W. F. Turner, M.P.S., "Photographic Studies of Disappearing Buildings in Cambridge and Neighbourhood." 18 November.

Visit to King's College Chapel.

By kind permission of the Master and Fellows, a visit was made on the afternoon of 7 March to the Chapel of King's College, under the guidance of Mr H. C. Hughes, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., who pointed out the architectural features and described their history. All parts of the building were kindly thrown open to the visitors.

Excursions.

On Thursday, 6 June, an afternoon excursion was made to Kirtling, Cheveley, and neighbourhood. The first stop was at the Hall of the Guild of St James, Dullingham. This is a half-timbered house, built in the early 16th century, and now divided into cottages. The Guild was a social and religious one. The register of the Guild was in existence in 1830, but has now disappeared.

From Dullingham the winding forest road was followed to Kirtling Tower. Here a gatehouse alone remains of the large house built by Sir Edward North in the first half of the 16th

century. Three sides of a large wet moat remain. On the west there is an earth bank outside the moat, which conceals according to the present owner a palisade of sharpened tree trunks. Dr Palmer read some notes on the house and earthworks and then conducted the party along two sides of the moat into the churchyard. The church is one of the most interesting in the county, and here the Hon. Mrs North spoke of the connection of her family with the building, and the vicar offered to show the parochial records. From Kirtling the forest road was again followed to the site of Silverley church, of which only the ivy-clad tower remains. The road was next taken through Ashley Green to the site of the old church, Ashley, which stood in a commanding situation on the edge of the county. Only a grass covered mound and some gravestones remain. At this point the persistent rain developed into a blinding squall and drove the party to Cheveley school, dry warmth and tea. After tea Dr Palmer read a short account of Cheveley and then a visit was paid to Cheveley church, where the Rector, the Rev. A. D. Taylor, read an account of the church and showed the register and church plate. The weather having cleared, the site of the castle was next visited. A deep moat, now dry, and a few fragments of rubble are now all that exists of the castle built by Sir John de Pulteney, sometime Lord Mayor of London, in 1345. An object of considerable interest is an ice-house or well, which must have been in use long after the residence of the owner of Cheveley was moved to the present site of Cheveley house. The sun shone brightly on the way back to Cambridge.

The excursion was marred by much drizzle and rain, which the party accepted with good humour. W. M. PALMER,
for the Excursion Secretary.

On Thursday, 11 July, a whole day excursion was made in delightful weather to Peterborough, Barnack, Wittering and Castor. The programme of the day's proceedings had been arranged primarily with reference to the lecture on "Early Anglo-Saxon Architecture and its Origin," which had recently been given before the Society by Mr A. W. Clapham, F.S.A.

Sixty members met at the west front of Peterborough Cathedral, where a short speech of welcome was made by the Dean (The Very Rev. J. G. Simpson). The party was then conducted round the Cathedral, including the Saxon Church, by Mr H. Plowman (Subsacristan), and afterwards visited the Peterborough Museum, where Mr J. W. Bodger, F.L.S. (Hon. Sec.) exhibited and described the local Roman and Saxon collections, and also the collection of articles made by French prisoners at Norman Cross (1797–1815).

Lunch was served at the Angel Hotel, after which the party proceeded to the remarkably interesting church of St John the Baptist, Barnack—which was very ably described by the Rev. Canon H. K. Fry, F.S.A. (Rector)—and so on to Wittering church, passing *en route* "Hills and Holes," the site of the famous old Barnack quarries. Wittering church was described by Dr F. J. Allen, in the unavoidable absence of the Rev. W. H. Barry (Rector). Leaving Wittering a visit was made to Castor, where the church was described by Rev. C. Carleton (Rector). Proceeding towards Peterborough, Longthorpe Tower, an exceptional survival of a late 13th century fortified manor house, was visited by permission of Mr and Mrs J. W. Harris. Tea was taken at Peterborough, after which the members returned to Cambridge.

E. A. B. Barnard,
Excursion Secretary.

Excavations.

Following the custom of the last few years, a further portion of the Burwell Cemetery was explored in March and April. Thirty graves were found, bringing the total up to 125. Most of them were poorly furnished; but one contained a string of silver pendants, etc., while another was provided with the first food vessel so far recovered from our excavations here. The Society is again indebted to our member Dr Lucas for his help and permission to dig.

Other work this year consisted in the examination of a typical East Anglian cemetery at Holywell Row, near Mildenhall. Owing to the kindness of Sir Henry Bunbury,

the Society has been able to explore a cemetery of the pagan Saxon period at its leisure. The burial ground although probably no richer than countless others all over the country has on this account provided us with a wealth of ornaments and other objects, which can be studied according to their proper associations, and not as a jumbled mass of curiosities. A hundred graves have been examined, and the work closed down.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE,
Director of Excavations.

LIBRARY REPORT.

The Society desires to express its thanks to the following for their kind gifts of books or pamphlets to the Library: Mr Bird, Miss Burstall, Mr P. Buxton, Mr S. Cowles, Mr R. Griffin, the Rev. C. L. D. Griffith, Dr Haddon, Mr T. C. Hodson, Lady Hope, the Lord Abbot of Montserrat, Dr W. M. Palmer, Dr F. Sarasin, Mr Schmiedehelm, Mr T. A. G. Strickland, Sir G. Walker, and the Curator. Also the Bursar of Trinity Hall, the British Chamber of Commerce in the Netherlands East Indies, the Glasgow Archaeological Society, and the Sedgwick Museum. Dr Cobbett and Mrs Pollock have kindly presented water-colour sketches for our collection of Local Prints and Drawings.

During the absence abroad of the Hon. Librarian, the work of the Library was carried on by Mrs Quiggin, for whose help the Society is much indebted.

E. S. FEGAN,
Hon. Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD COMMITTEE.

The Committee remains the same, with the addition of Mr O. H. H. Jermy, who was co-opted in 1928. Quiet progress has been made, much work has been done by two or three members, and it is to be hoped that the aims of the two Societies are gradually becoming better known. The following have very kindly presented prints or negatives to the collec-

tion: Dr F. J. Allen, Mr and Mrs Bellamy, Mrs Brindley, Mr J. H. Bullock, Miss Carter, Mr C. J. P. Cave, Dr Cobbett, Miss Cooke, Miss Fegan, Mr E. Fenn, Mr O. H. H. Jermy, Miss J. Johnson, Mr Mitton, Mrs Moore, Miss E. S. Palmer, Dr W. M. Palmer, Mr H. Pate, Dr Robinson, Mr H. W. Saunders, Mr E. Smart, Mr Smith of Fowlmere, Mr C. Symonds, Mr E. F. Wilson. The total number of prints and negatives collected since the re-starting of the work in 1925 is 1624.

The *Cambridge Chronicle* is very kindly sending copies of its "Pictures of the Past" from time to time; these are very useful and are being mounted in a scrap-book. Dr Cobbett and Mrs Pollock have presented water-colour sketches.

Lectures have been given on "Record" Photography in some of the villages in order to spread knowledge of the work; and the Rural Community Council is co-operating by allowing the use of its maps for identifying the exact sites of houses, etc. in the photographs. More help is needed from town members in recording interesting and out-of-the-way corners in Cambridge itself.

The Cambridge Photographic Club has visited Histon and Shepreth and has sent in some results of its visits. Mrs Brindley, who is making a study of the earthworks of the county, has very kindly promised to send photographs of them from time to time, and has already presented the Committee with some prints.

It was suggested at a recent meeting of the Committee that photographs of tree-bordered roads should be secured, and that special attention should be given to such parts of the county as would be affected by the making of new by-pass roads, in order to secure photographs before the impending changes were made. It was also suggested that photographic studies of the wild flowers of the county should be made, if possible.

E. S. Fegan.

Publication.

The following has been issued during the year: *Proceedings and Communications*, Vol. xxx, for the year 1927–8.

New Members Elected in 1929.

C. F. Tebbutt.
R. W. Hutchinson, M.A., F.S.A.
The Hon. Walter Fremantle, M.A.
Mrs Strickland (Associate).
A. W. Deards.
W. D. Bushell, M.A.
C. Lucas, M.R.C.S.
C. L. Smout.
Rev. A. E. Charles, M.A.
Sergeant W. A. Hillier.
C. J. P. Cave, M.A., F.S.A.

Subscribing Institution.

The Library of the University of London.

Publications in 1930.

The material in hand for publication is suitable for Quarto rather than for the usual Octavo form. It is therefore proposed to issue one, or possibly two, Quarto publications in 1930, and to defer the publication of the Proceedings until 1931, when a two-year volume will be issued.

An Octavo volume of Notes on Bodleian MSS dealing with (1) the Town and University, and (2) the County of Cambridge, is in the press, and will shortly be issued.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1929.

CURRENT ACCOUNT.

Receipts.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward		196 9 7
Subscriptions:		
Current	281 1 0	
Associates	9 16 6	
Arrears	2 10 0	
Advance	1 5 0	
Excavations	1 19 0	
		296 11 6
„ Interest on £420 L.N.E.R. Debenture Stock	13 8 10	
„ Interest on £118. 4*s*. 10*d*. New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock	4 2 8	
„ Interest on £39. 6*s*. 8*d*. Bank of England Stock	3 15 6	
„ Interest on £230. 13*s*. 4*d*. New Zealand 4 per cent. Stock	7 7 8	
„ Interest on £350 5 per cent. War Loan	14 0 0	
„ Interest on £400 4½ per cent. War Loan	14 8 0	
„ Interest on £127. 14*s*. 9*d*. 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan	4 9 4	
		61 12 0
„ Sale of Publications:		
Messrs Bowes and Bowes	9 13 0	
Messrs Deighton, Bell and Co.	2 17 0	
Miscellaneous Sales	3 13 5	
		16 3 5
		£570 16 6

Expenditure.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Miscellaneous Printing and duplicating		45 1 0	
„ Proceedings No. XXX	148 3 10		
Less contributions to cost	14 4 6		
		133 19 4	
			179 0 4
„ Books and Stationery			1 12 8
„ Subscriptions and Donations:			
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology		25 0 0	
Archaeological Congress		1 0 0	
			26 0 0
„ Clerical Assistance, etc.:			
Secretary		50 0 0	
Attendants		9 0 0	
Custodian of Cellarer's Checker		1 6 0	
Care of Stock-room		10 6	
			60 16 6
„ Postage, Carriage and Sundries		9 10 11	
„ Insurance		12 0	
			10 2 11
„ Subscription refunded			1 5 0
			278 17 5
„ Balance as per Bank Book			291 19 1
			£570 16 6

DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	*Expenditure.*	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward. . .				306	14	4	By Balance as per Bank Book	330	9	1
„ 1 Life Member	15	15	0							
„ Interest	7	19	9							
				23	14	9				
				£330	9	1		£330	9	1

EXCAVATION ACCOUNT (CURRENT).

To Balance brought forward. . .				49	0	10	By Cost of Excavations	53	18	0
„ Subscriptions	8	0	0				„ Balance as per Bank Book	24	7	10
„ Special donations	21	5	0							
				29	5	0				
				£78	5	10		£78	5	10

EXCAVATION DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

To Balance brought forward. . .				22	15	5	By Balance as per Bank Book	23	6	8
„ Interest					11	3				
				£23	6	8		£23	6	8

The Capital of the Society consists of the following securities, viz.:

£420 L.N.E.R. 4 per cent. Debenture Stock.
£118. 4*s.* 10*d.* New Zealand 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock.
£230. 13*s.* 4*d.* New Zealand 4 per cent. Stock.
£39. 6*s.* 8*d.* Bank of England Stock.
£350 5 per cent. War Loan.
£400 4½ per cent. War Loan.
£127. 14*s.* 9*d.* 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	291	19	1
„ Deposit Account	330	9	1
„ Excavation Account	24	7	10
„ Excavation Deposit Account	23	6	8
	£670	2	8

There is a liability on the Current Account estimated at £200 to meet the cost of publication now in hand.

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

27. i. 1930.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MARCH 3, 1930, 5 P.M.

NEW OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1930–31, NOMINATED BY THE COUNCIL, TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE MEETING

PRESIDENT.

Prof. ELLIS H. MINNS, LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Pembroke College.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

Rev. H. P. STOKES, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

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

E. A. B. BARNARD, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 26, *Warkworth Street.*

A. B. STEEL, M.A., Christ's College.

Lieut.-Col. L. TEBBUTT, J.P., D.L., T.D., *Stagsholt, Gresham Road*

TREASURER.

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

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

DIRECTOR OF EXCAVATIONS.

T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., *Mount Blow, Great Shelford.*

Other Members may be nominated under Law XIV.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, OCT. 1930–OCT. 1931.

PRESIDENT.

*Prof. Ellis H. Minns, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Pembroke College.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*William M. Palmer, M.D., F.S.A., *Linton, Cambridgeshire.*
A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D., F.S.A., Christ's College.
Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

*Rev. A. C. Moule, M.A., Trinity College, *Vicar of Trumpington.*
*G. B. Bowes, M.A., Emmanuel College.
*Rev. Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., M.A., F.S.A., Christ's College.
Miss Catherine E. Parsons, *Horseheath.*
Lady Gowland Hopkins, *Saxmeadham, Grange Road.*
Louis C. G. Clarke, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity Hall. *Curator.*
J. H. Bullock, M.A., Trinity College.
H. C. Hughes, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., Peterhouse.
Louis Cobbett, M.D., F.R.C.S., Trinity College.
A. B. Steel, M.A., Christ's College.
Lieut.-Col. L. Tebbutt, J.P., D.L., T.D., *Stagsholt, Gresham Road.*
F. Puryer White, M.A., St John's College.

TREASURER.

**Herbert F. Bird, M.A., 30, *Panton Street.*

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

**E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 26, *Warkworth Street.*

DIRECTOR OF EXCAVATIONS.

†T. C. Lethbridge, B.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Mount Blow, Great Shelford.*

LIBRARIAN.

Miss M. O'Reilly, M.A., Girton College.

EXCURSION SECRETARY.

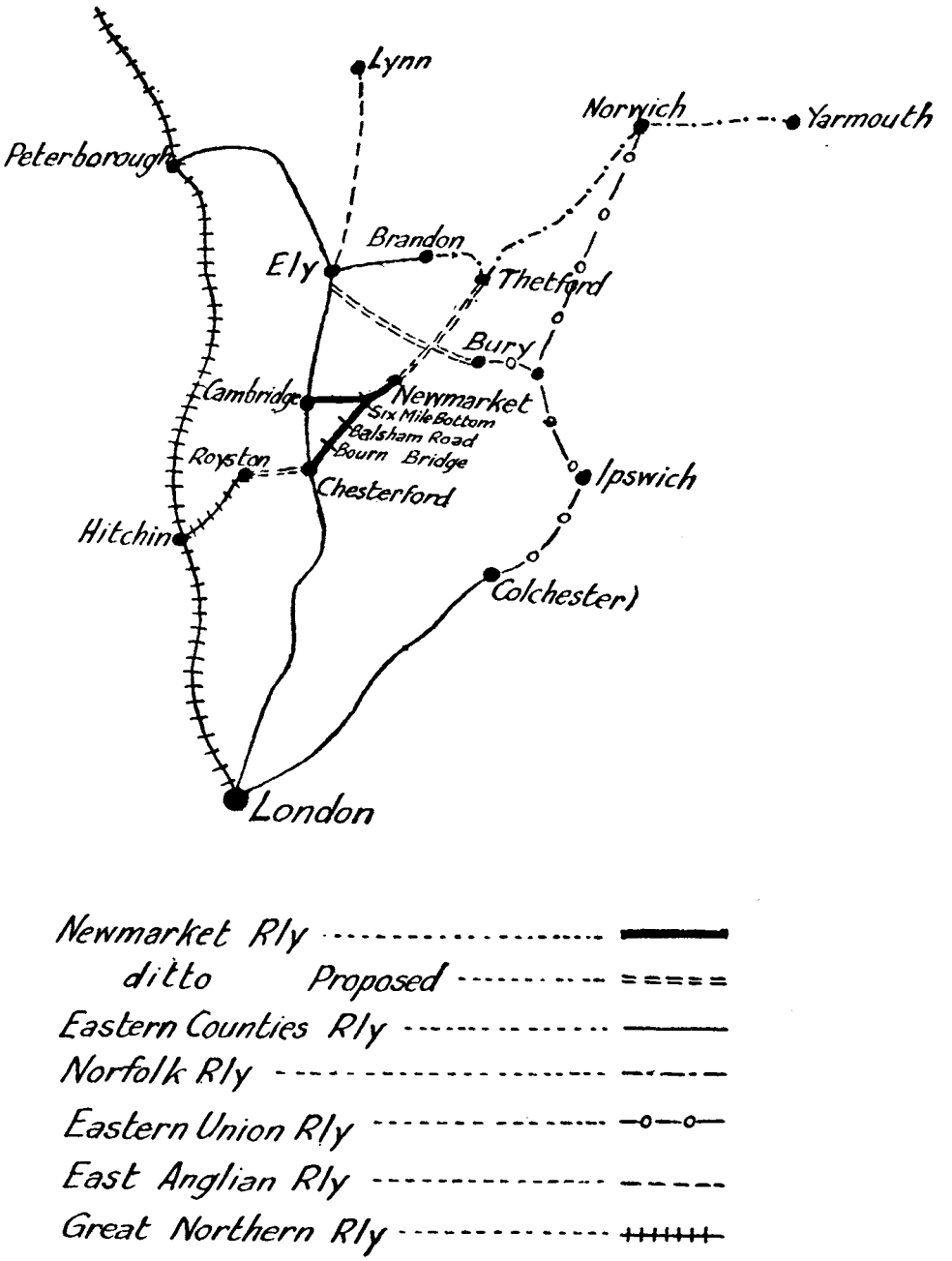
E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., 26, *Warkworth Street.*

* Retires under Law XII: not eligible for re-election to same office.

** Retires under Law XII: eligible for re-election.

† Annual appointment.

PLATE I



Sketch Plan of Newmarket Railway and its connections.

A DERELICT RAILWAY: BEING THE HISTORY OF THE NEWMARKET AND CHESTERFORD RAILWAY.

By KENNETH BROWN.

(Read 14 November, 1927.)

The history of the Newmarket and Chesterford Railway might be regarded by some as too recent a matter to come within the scope of antiquarian interest, but after all antiquity is a question of relativeness and, since steam railways are only just a little over 100 years old, a railway whose history dates back over 80 years can perhaps be admitted as an antiquity, and if so admitted gives the County of Cambridge a unique antiquarian relic in the $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles of derelict railway, originally opened and planned as an important through main line.

The abandoned portion of the railway lies between Great Chesterford on the London and North Eastern main line to Cambridge and a point near Six Mile Bottom Station on the existing Cambridge–Newmarket line, and the embankments, cuttings and other works are clearly visible from the London and Newmarket road to which it runs parallel.

According to the original plan this section formed part of the main line running from a point half a mile north of Chesterford Station (as it was then called) on the Eastern Counties Railway, which had been opened to Cambridge on 3 July, 1845, to Newmarket, whilst the existing line from Six Mile Bottom to Cambridge was merely to be a branch. An illustration in *The Illustrated London News* of 2 August, 1845, shows that Great Chesterford Station is little altered to-day from the original Chesterford Station of which an enthusiastic contemporary guide writer said that "the style is Elizabethan having ornamental chimnies with flat overhanging heads[1]."

The first station on the Newmarket line was that of Bourn Bridge, situate immediately opposite the present Pampisford Station on the site now covered by the Railway Inn. Before

[1] *A Guide to the Eastern Counties (Cambridge Line) and Norfolk Railway*, 2nd Edition, 1847.

reaching this point there are very clearly marked indications of the line, including a section of deep cutting and half a mile of high embankment thickly timbered which forms a striking feature of the landscape.

A little north of Bourn Bridge Station the railway crosses Pampisford Road and the level crossing keeper's house is still standing and inhabited (Pl. II A). Similar houses built by the railway are to be found where the line crossed the Roman Road and again at Balsham Road Station, which was the other station on the deserted portion of the line (Pl. II B).

The line crossed the River Granta at Bourn Bridge (Pl. III A) and on each side are to be seen the remains of the brick footings to support a bridge which must have had a span of some 65 feet.

A little farther north the line was crossed by the Abington road and the bridge carrying that road over the railway is still in existence and is in a complete state of preservation (Pl. III B). Other over-bridges are still extant, one carrying a farm road to Fulbourn Valley Farm a little north of the level crossing at the Roman road and one on the Wilbraham road near the junction with the existing Cambridge-Newmarket branch (Pl. IV). In a cutting north of the Roman road there are still marks showing where the sleepers were laid, and after emerging from this cutting north of the Roman road the line was carried on an embankment and subsequently in a cutting until it reached the junction with the existing railway, one mile west of Six Mile Bottom Station. From this point, the line is, of course, that of the existing route to Newmarket.

The prospectus of the "Newmarket and Chesterford Railway with a branch to Cambridge" appeared in *Herapath's Journal* on 4 and 11 October, 1845.

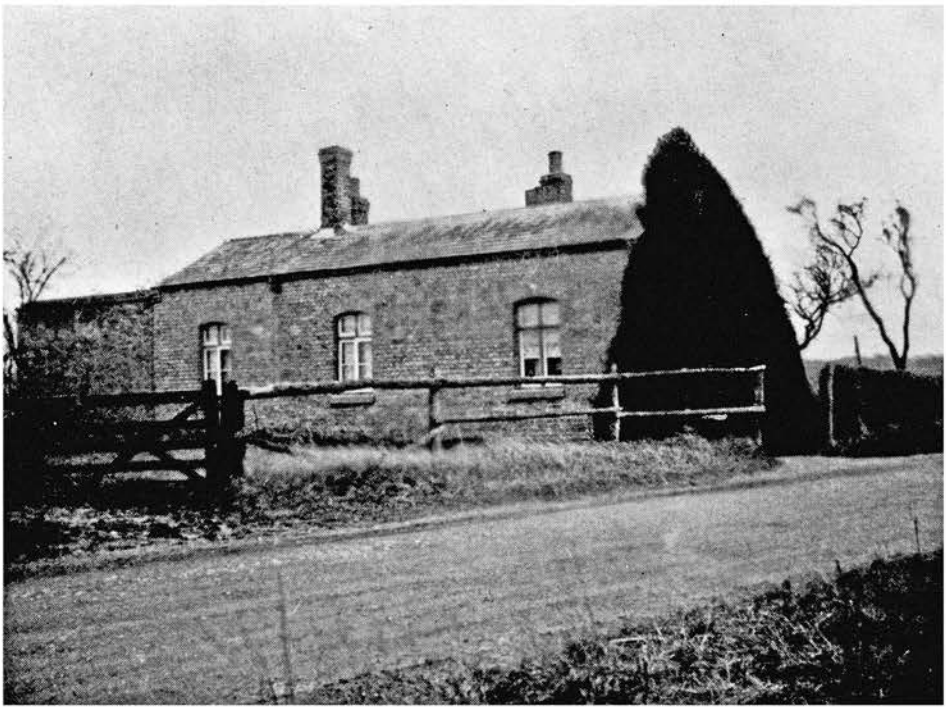
The Engineers-in-Chief of the line were given as Mr Robert Stephenson and Mr John Braithwaite. The promoters no doubt regarded themselves as lucky in obtaining Mr Robert Stephenson's assistance, as it is recorded by Smiles that

> When the speculation of 1844 set in Robert Stephenson's services were, of course, greatly in request. Thus in one session we find him engaged as engineer for not fewer than thirty-three new schemes. Projectors thought

(A)

Level-crossing keeper's house at Pampisford Road.

(B)



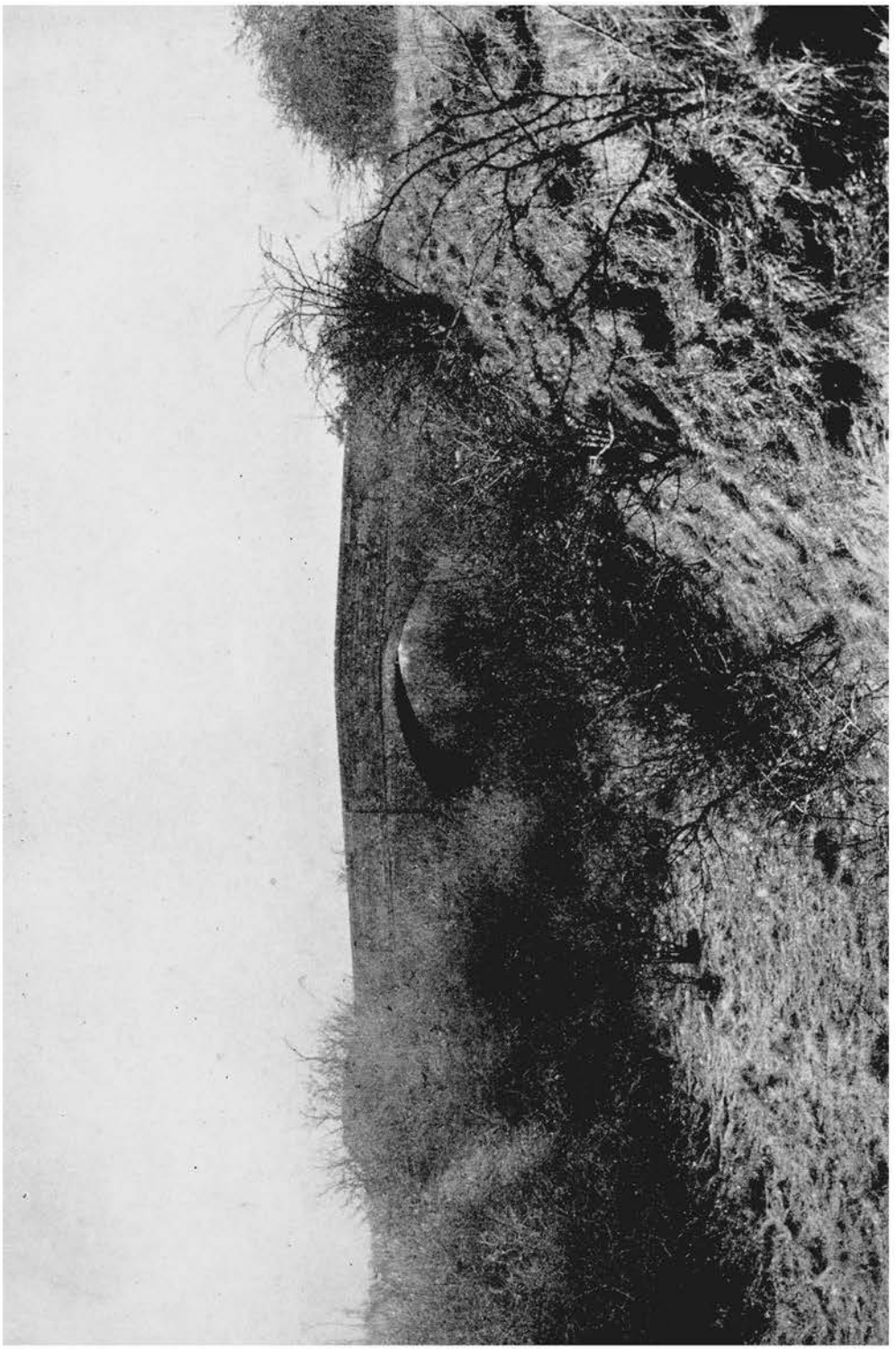
Balsham Road Station.

(A)

Site of bridge over River Granta at Bourn Bridge.

(B)

Abington Road Bridge.



Wilbraham Road Bridge.

themselves fortunate, who could secure his name, and he had only to propose his terms to obtain them. The work which he performed at this period of his life was indeed enormous, and his income was large beyond any previous instance of engineering gain.

Mr Braithwaite had been until May 1843 Engineer-in-Chief to the Eastern Counties Railway. Although his name appears thus on the prospectus in the preliminary stages of the Company's formation, it seems that the actual construction of the Newmarket and Chesterford line was under the direction of Mr Robert Stephenson alone.

By 31 October, 1845, the project had received the support of the social and political influence of the ducal house of Rutland, who included in their territorial possessions the Cheveley Park Estate near Newmarket, by the addition to the Committee of Management, as its Chairman, of young Lord George Manners (then only 25 years of age), some time M.P. for Cambridgeshire and son of the fifth Duke of Rutland.

The Stockton and Darlington Railway was made to convey Durham coal to Tees-side, the Liverpool and Manchester to carry American cotton to Manchester, but no such sordid motives inspired the Newmarket and Chesterford Railway. Mr Shelley, the representative of the Jockey Club, under the genial influence of the luncheon so necessary to the cutting of the first sod, waxed lyrical as a Shelley should and said:

The Jockey Club felt that a railway to Newmarket would not only be a great convenience to parties anxious to participate in the truly British sport of racing but would enable Members of Parliament to superintend a race and run back to London in time for the same night's debate.

Inspired by such ideals, favoured by the local landowners, and under the august patronage of the Jockey Club the Company's Bill was unopposed and had a fair passage through the treacherous straits of Parliament and received the Royal assent on 16 July, 1846, after the Company had only incurred the moderate sum of less than £2000 as preliminary expenses prior to its incorporation by its Act.

The authorised share capital was £350,000 in 14,000 shares of £25 each, with borrowing powers of £116,666. 13*s.* 4*d.*

The Company's Act of Incorporation (9 and 10 Vict. c. 172) "for making a Railway from Chesterford to Newmarket with a branch to Cambridge" contained some unusual clauses, such as those giving officers of the University of Cambridge the right to have access to the stations to search for any member of the University, and forbidding the Company to carry any member of the University under the rank of M.A., Bachelor of Civil Law or Medicine whom the proper University authorities might prohibit, and a further provision compelling the Company to employ special constables who were subject to the University authorities to superintend, manage and control the workmen engaged in works within three miles of the town of Cambridge.

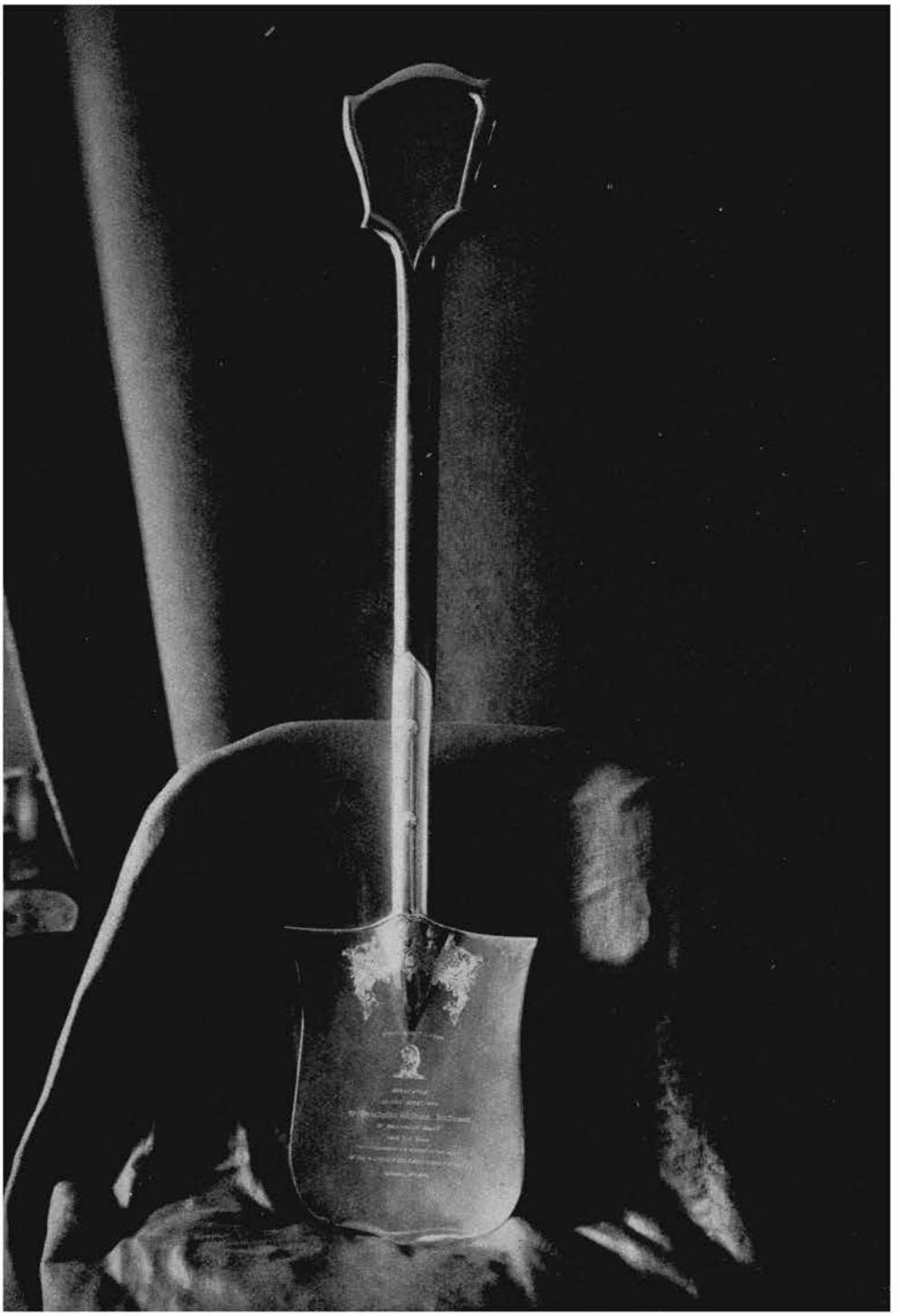
It was also made unlawful for the Company to take up or set down passengers at the Cambridge Railway Station (Pl. VI) or within three miles thereof between the hours of 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Sundays, under pain of a penalty of £5 per person payable to Addenbrooke's Hospital or other charity nominated under the Seal of the University.

After the Act had been obtained no time was lost in getting on with the work of construction, which was entrusted to Mr Jackson, a well-known contractor.

On 30 September, 1846, the ceremony of "turning the first sod" took place "in the parish of Dullingham upon the property of the heir of the late General Jeaffreson the eldest son of W. Pigott Esqre." The heir in question, Master Jeaffreson, to whom the duty of turning the first sod was entrusted, was only ten years of age.

"About eleven o'clock," it is recorded by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, "the Directors and a large party of ladies and gentlemen left Dullingham Hall in procession, preceded by a band of music from Newmarket, a collection of handsome silk banners, and a body of 'Navvies'" who, it is gratifying to learn, were "apparently well-conducted men" and "presented quite a respectable appearance in their clean white smock frocks." Master Jeaffreson "divested himself of his coat and stood spade in hand ready for his task," and, having been suitably addressed by Lord George Manners, the Chairman of the Company, "gave a few hearty digs into the earth and having partially filled his

PLATE V



Silver spade with which first sod was cut, Sept. 1846.

barrow wheeled it along and tilted its contents amidst the cheers of the spectators."

It is interesting to know that there is a living link with this ceremony of over eighty years ago in the person of Master Jeaffreson's widow, Mrs Robinson of Dullingham. Master Jeaffreson having taken that name under the will of his grandfather, General Jeaffreson, subsequently assumed the name of Robinson under the will of Mr W. H. Robinson of Densham. The ceremonial spade and barrow presented to young Master Jeaffreson by the Directors are still in the possession of Mrs Robinson at Dullingham House, the mansion where the customary luncheon was held after the turning of the first sod, and it is due to her courtesy that the writer was able to have them photographed. The silver spade (Pl. V) bears the inscription:

Omnia vincit Labor

(Crest)

PRESENTED

BY THE DIRECTORS

TO

CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM JEAFFRESON

of Dullingham House

aged Ten Years

Upon the occasion of his commencing the works
On the Newmarket and Chesterford Railway
September 30th 1846

The ornamental barrow bears no inscription, but has carved upon it the same crest as is engraved on the spade.

The Railway, which by this time had been re-christened by its Act of 1847 the Newmarket Railway, was opened to goods traffic on 3 January, 1848, and on 4 April, 1848, to full traffic. From the Bradshaw of May, 1848, in which the railway makes its début, it appears that there was a service of four passenger trains each way on weekdays and two on Sundays. There were four intermediate stations, two, as has already been mentioned, Bourn Bridge and Balsham Road, on the portion of the line now derelict, and Six Mile Bottom (originally called Westley) and Dullingham on the portion still in operation.

It has been frequently, but incorrectly, stated that the Newmarket Railway did not have its own engines and rolling stock, but depended on the Eastern Counties Railway in this respect. In the report in 1855 of the Committee of Investigation into the affairs of the Eastern Counties Railway, an exact inventory is given of all the engines and other rolling stock of the Newmarket Railway which the Eastern Counties Railway purchased from it in 1850. This rolling stock consisted of 6 engines and tenders, 18 carriage trucks, 26 first-class carriages, 25 second-class carriages, 30 third-class carriages, 7 luggage vans and 22 horse boxes. All six engines were of the same type and were built by Messrs Gilkes, Wilson & Co. of Middlesbrough, and were named after famous race-horses, namely "Beeswing," "Queen of Trumps," "Van Tromp," "Flying Dutchman," "Eleanor" and "Alice Hawthorn." After being taken over by the Eastern Counties Railway, they were for some time used on coal trains between Peterborough and Stratford, and it was not until April 1870 that the last of these engines was broken up[1].

In June 1847 the Railway obtained Acts to extend their line of railway from Newmarket to Bury St Edmunds, with a branch to Ely, and also to make a line from Newmarket to Thetford (10 & 11 Vict. c. 12 and c. 20). None of these works was in fact carried out except the line to Bury, which was subsequently incorporated as a separate undertaking and eventually taken over by the Eastern Counties Railway. The Thetford extension, if constructed, would have provided a through route from London, *via* Newmarket, to Norwich $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles shorter than the existing route *via* Ely, giving the Newmarket Railway a connection with the Norfolk Railway which ran from Brandon to Norwich and Yarmouth.

The Newmarket Company then became a pawn in a complicated game played between the more powerful Eastern Counties and Norfolk Railways. Thus at a meeting on 14 August, 1846, the Chairman of the Newmarket Railway reported that negotiations had been pending with the Norfolk Railway

[1] *v. Locomotive Magazine*, 15 August, 1904, p. 138, where a drawing and full dimensions of the engines are also given.

for leasing the present line with the proposed extension to Thetford at 6 per cent. on the whole outlay and half the profits, and that upon a meeting to settle the contract negotiations were broken off, it then being announced for the first time by the Norfolk Railway that they had no power to enter into any agreement without the sanction of the Eastern Counties Railway. Then on 11 November, 1846, a special meeting of the shareholders of the Newmarket Railway was called to sanction an agreement with the Eastern Counties Railway for the lease to the latter Company of the Newmarket Railway from date of completion of the main line and Cambridge branch at a net rent of 5 per cent. on the Newmarket Company's capital with a further dividend in certain events. When, however, the meeting was held the Chairman had to announce that just before the meeting the Directors had received an intimation from the Eastern Counties Railway that the report as to the effect of the agreement issued by the Newmarket Railway was not in accordance with the spirit of the agreement. As the parties were not at one as to what the agreement meant, the Solicitor to the Company advised that Parliament would never sanction and enforce the agreement.

It was no doubt as a reprisal to this breaking off of negotiations by the Eastern Counties Railway that the Newmarket proprietors authorised, on 10 August, 1847, a line from Chesterford to Royston, which would have given the Great Northern Company (whose main line was then in course of construction), in conjunction with the Newmarket Railway, entirely independent access to the heart of the Eastern Counties by connections with the Norfolk Railway at Thetford, and the Eastern Union Railway at Bury.

It is interesting to note what would have been the mileages of the various actual and proposed routes from London to Norwich and from Cambridge to Norwich:

Actual. Eastern Counties Railway routes.

	Miles
London (Shoreditch) to Norwich *via* Colchester	113½
London (Shoreditch) to Norwich *via* Cambridge and Ely . .	126
Cambridge to Norwich *via* Ely	68¾

Proposed. Newmarket Railway routes.

London (Shoreditch) to Norwich *via* Chesterford and Newmarket .	113¾
London (King's Cross) to Norwich *via* Royston, Chesterford and Newmarket	120¼
Cambridge to Norwich *via* Newmarket	63

At the meeting on 28 February, 1848, it was reported that further futile negotiations had taken place with the Eastern Counties Railway for lease or amalgamation, but that an agreement, conditionally on the shareholders' consent, had been entered into with the Norfolk Railway for the Norfolk Company to transfer, whenever they were free to do so, the proposed Thetford–Newmarket route to the Newmarket Company. This conditional agreement, which would have diverted some £40,000 worth of traffic a year from the Eastern Counties Railway to the Newmarket Railway, evidently frightened the Eastern Counties Railway, and forty-eight hours before the meeting to approve it, the Eastern Counties Railway approached the Newmarket Company with new proposals, and the Newmarket shareholders accordingly held over the question of ratifying the Norfolk Railway agreement.

At this meeting it was also decided to abandon the Royston–Chesterford scheme, particularly in view of the fact that the Royston–Hitchin Railway—a subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway—were promoting a bill to extend their line to Cambridge, where it could, of course, join the Newmarket Company's branch and the same purpose be effected with but small additional mileage.

The period of the original conduct of the Newmarket Company's undertaking by its own management was very short, and it is no doubt for this reason that it has often been stated that the Company never conducted its own traffic.

Goods traffic commenced, as has been stated, on 3 January, 1848, and passenger traffic on 4 April, 1848. The result of the three months up to 30 June, 1848, showed that the total traffic receipts were £3085. 7*s.* 7*d.* and the running expenses £2059. 5*s.* 7*d.*, showing a balance of £1026. 2*s.* 0*d.*

The control of traffic was handed over to the Eastern Counties Railway on 2 October, 1848, under an arrangement which was

approved by the Newmarket shareholders on 27 March, 1848. Under this arrangement the Eastern Counties Railway were to provide funds to liquidate the liabilities of the Newmarket Railway and to complete the Cambridge branch, thus avoiding the necessity for calling up the outstanding liability of £5 per share, and the Newmarket shareholders were to receive a guaranteed dividend of 3 per cent. for two years and thereafter $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Although the Eastern Counties Railway took over the management of the Newmarket line as from 2 October, 1848, the agreement still required the assent of the Eastern Counties shareholders, and there proved to be another slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.

By the latter part of 1848, the throne of the "Railway King," Hudson, who, in 1845, had been called in as a superman to save the Eastern Counties Railway, was tottering to its fall, and by 1 October, 1848, it had become doubtful whether the Eastern Counties shareholders would give the necessary assent to the agreement with the Newmarket Railway. However, the Newmarket Railway decided that the control of the running of their line should be handed over to the Eastern Counties Railway and that line assumed control on 2 October, 1848.

By the time of the General Meeting of the Eastern Counties shareholders held on 28 February, 1849, Hudson and his Directors, in face of the storm that was brewing against them, did not even dare to submit the Newmarket agreement for confirmation. Hudson personally would not face the music at that meeting and the business could hardly proceed for groans and hisses and cries of "Hudson! Hudson! why is Hudson not here?" and so the ungrateful shareholders, to whom Hudson had generously paid dividends out of their own capital, cast out Hudson bag and baggage including therein the agreement with the Newmarket Railway.

The unfortunate Newmarket Railway was then indeed left high and dry. Notwithstanding the doubts that were already appearing in October 1848 as to whether the Eastern Counties proprietors would sanction the agreement, the Newmarket Company had handed over the working of its line to the Eastern

Counties Railway who then proceeded with the double treatment of simultaneously starving and bleeding the Newmarket line.

The Eastern Counties Railway sought to charge 1*s.* 5*d.* a mile for locomotive power, while on the South Western Railway the cost was but 9*d.* and on the Brighton line 8½*d.*; they also charged the Newmarket Railway £600 a year for the management or rather—as the Chairman of the Newmarket Railway did not scruple to call it—the mismanagement of the line.

As a result the three months working to 4 January, 1849, showed a gross profit to the Newmarket Company of only £704, out of which—save the mark—they had to pay bond interest of £2000, a problem rendered all the more difficult because the Eastern Counties Railway held on to even this small balance on the ground of alleged other claims, and in addition the Newmarket Company had to defray out of capital the cost of maintaining the permanent way and stations.

The Directors considered resuming possession of the working of their line, and making arrangements with Mr Jackson, the contractor who had built the line, to work it. In fact they achieved nothing, except, after a final futile appeal to the Eastern Counties Railway for justice, to close the line without even consulting the shareholders. And so, on 30 June, 1850, the line from Chesterford to Newmarket was closed to traffic, and Newmarket was cut off from any railway connection with the outer world.

The Newmarket Company was now in a parlous position. It was in pawn under debentures issued to Mr Jackson for the Company's unpaid obligations to him as contractor and to other debenture holders. No doubt the policy of starving and bleeding the line adopted by the Eastern Counties Railway was deliberately intended to enable that Company to buy up the concern when the debentures fell due. All the engines and rolling stock had to go to the Eastern Counties Railway under what the Newmarket Directors called an equitable arrangement, but which looks uncommonly like a case of the Eastern Counties Railway astutely taking the rolling stock in payment of what otherwise might prove a bad debt.

The Chesterford line was closed, the Cambridge branch was

unfinished and the Company had no money to pay the contractor to complete it, except an uncalled £2 per share on the shares, which it might be very difficult to collect from disillusioned and disgruntled shareholders. Other creditors were pressing and the Company was involved in a Chancery suit.

It was at this hopeless moment that a vigorous personality, in the person of Mr Cecil Fane, who held the office of a Commissioner in Bankruptcy, came on the scene and took control.

Mr Commissioner Fane had already been Chairman of the Committee appointed on 22 March, 1849, to go into the affairs of the Company. The report of the Committee handed in on 14 May, 1849, had urged the immediate pressing on with the Cambridge branch as the Company's one hope of salvation. He had also been a Director for a time of the Company and had resigned, owing to his dissatisfaction with the management of its affairs.

When however at the Meeting of 27 July, 1850, the Directors came forward and told the story of their defeatist policy of closing the line on the previous 30 June, without ever having called the shareholders together on the matter, Mr Fane rose in his wrath and tore the Board to shreds. He showed that if running the line would probably entail a loss, keeping it shut would mean a larger loss; he criticised the mistake of making, as the pivot of the line, Chesterford, a small village, and not Cambridge, a large town, and denounced in no measured terms the bungling of the various negotiations with the Norfolk and Eastern Counties Railways and the Directors' tactless handling of Mr Jackson, the contractor and debenture holder.

So the shareholders by a large majority cast out Lord George Manners and his Board, and Mr Commissioner Fane with his Directors reigned in their stead.

The result was magical. The line was reopened from Chesterford to Newmarket on 9 September, 1850, with rolling stock borrowed from the Eastern Counties Railway. Mr G. W. Brown, the Secretary of the Company, became Manager and by his zeal and economy increased revenue and decreased expenses.

Mr Fane came to an arrangement with Mr Jackson, the contractor (whom, considering how much was owing to him, the old Board had unwisely angered), to readjust his 1846

contract prices made during the boom then prevailing and write £26,000 off his bill and reduce his debenture interest from 5 per cent. to 3½ per cent., and induced other debenture holders also to reduce their interest. He even got the carriage builder and engine builder to reduce their accounts, when they must have been rather exasperated that the Company had sold the rolling stock to the Eastern Counties Railway before it was fully paid for.

He stirred up the defaulting shareholders in arrear two years with their calls and got in the calls on 3000 shares and forfeited 2000 shares.

He settled the Chancery suit on the basis of the other side paying the costs and buying for £500 a piece of land which the Company did not want.

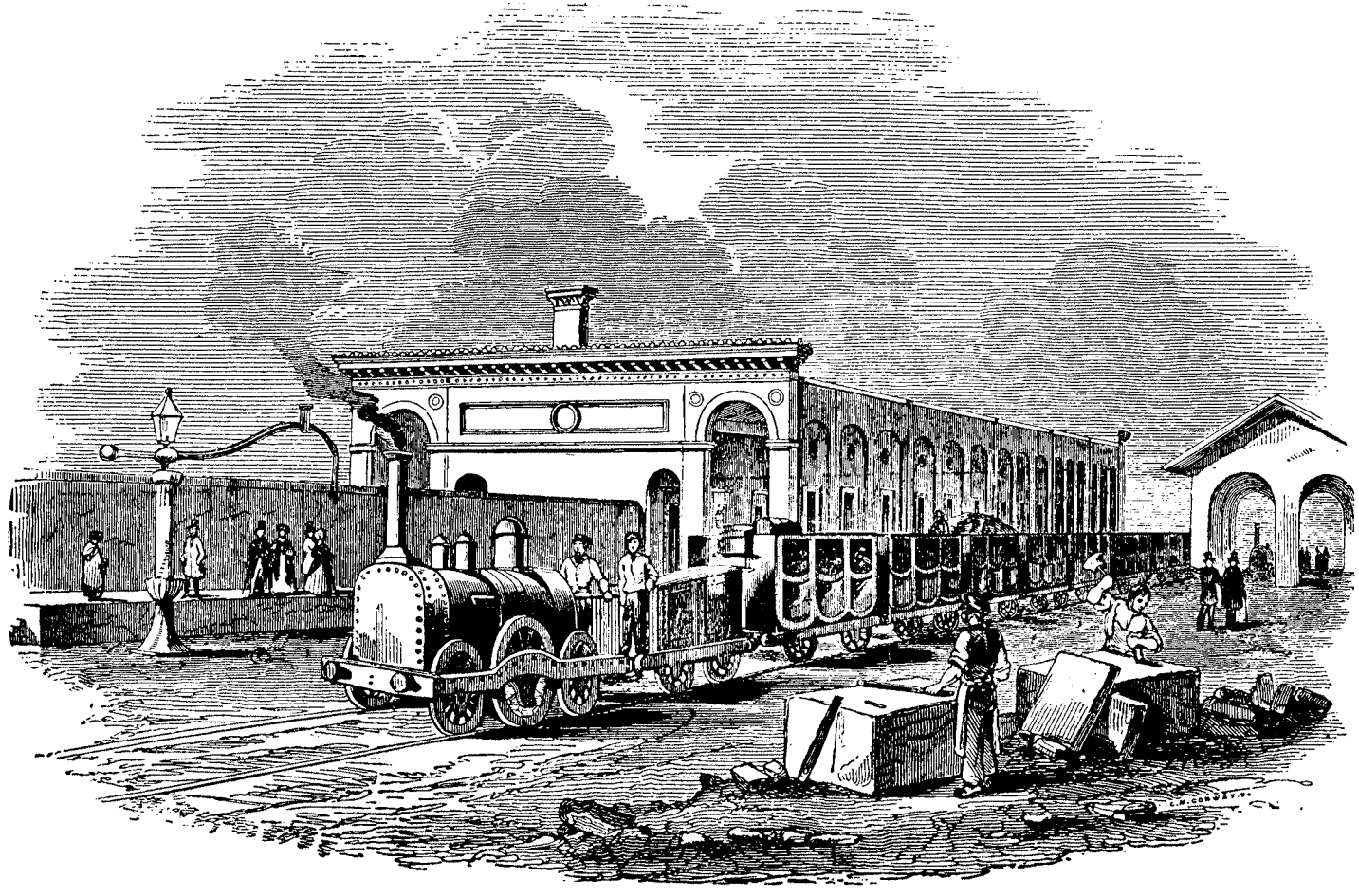
But better still he made an arrangement with the Eastern Counties Railway to accommodate, when opened, the Cambridge branch at Cambridge Station and so avoid the expense of a separate station and staff there, and he also secured certain advantageous traffic arrangements, together with an undertaking embodied in an agreement, dated 28 May, 1851, that in any year after the opening of the Cambridge branch in which the revenue was insufficient to pay a dividend of 3 per cent. on the Newmarket Company's capital of £350,000 the Eastern Counties Railway would make it good up to not exceeding £5000 in any one year. This agreement was confirmed by the Eastern Counties and Newmarket Railways Arrangements Act 1852[1], and we learn, from the law report in 1854 of the case of Newmarket Railway *v.* Churchwardens of St Andrews[2], that in the first year of its operation this agreement cost the Eastern Counties Railway £3705. 9*s.* 7*d.*

In addition Mr Fane got Mr Jackson to agree to complete the line to Cambridge for a sum not exceeding £9000, on being furnished with a certain quantity of rails and sleepers which the Company would have at its disposal.

This last phrase covers a most ingenious move on Mr Fane's part. The original main line from Chesterford to Newmarket

[1] 15 Vict. c. 51.

[2] *Law Journal Magistrates' Cases*, N.S. 23, II, p. 76.



Cambridge Station in 1845. (From *The Illustrated London News.*)

PLATE VI

was laid with double lines. A single line was ample for the traffic; so Mr Fane had one set of rails and sleepers (barring presumably necessary passing places) pulled up from Chesterford to the junction with the Cambridge branch, and so had some eleven miles of rails with sleepers to pave the branch to Cambridge and some £7000 worth of rails over.

The urgent desire of the energetic Mr Fane to get the Cambridge branch open as soon as possible was met with annoying technical difficulties as to the junction with the Eastern Counties Railway at Cambridge. In the Parliamentary plans the curve at the junction was shown as one of a radius of 20 chains, but it was found necessary from unavoidable circumstances to alter the curve to one of 8 chains. For this the consent of the Commissioners of Railways was required and was applied for in July 1851. As however the Company's compulsory powers of acquiring land had expired the Commissioners refused to approve of the deviation without the consents of the owners and occupiers of the land affected. This plunged Mr Fane into despair, as he wanted, in order to save time, to get the deviation approved first and the consents of the landowners after, and on 30 July, 1851, he wrote to Captain Simmons, R.E., of the Railway Commissioners Office, the following pathetic note:

Wednesday ¼ *before* 10.

DEAR SIR,

As it will be impossible that the Company should make the curve *without the consent of the owners of the land*, no possible evil can arise from the Commissioners considering the curve first. If therefore, they could be induced to approve or disapprove the curve first, it would be the greatest possible convenience to me personally.

Every day's delay is a question of £50 at least, and the difficulty I have to deal with is enormous. The land I have to negotiate for is vested in two trustees—one in Derbyshire and one in Yorkshire—in trust for a wife, nearly out of her mind, and her two children, and afterwards for her husband, who will not see or speak to her.

I am off for Lincoln this moment to see one of the trustees; and to labour to get five or six consents to the sale, and then to get written consents to the curve again, would be more than one's life is worth.

Pray help me, if you possibly can.

Yours truly,

C. FANE.

Captain Simmons, R.E.

But the Commissioners were not to be touched by any such human appeal; it was very much more important to them that the due course of procedure should be preserved than that Mr C. Fane's life should be worth living, and therefore they rendered the following icily regular reply:

OFFICE OF COMMISSIONERS OF RAILWAYS,
WHITEHALL.
August 1, 1851.

SIR,

I have been directed by the Commissioners of Railways to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo; and to inform you that they cannot enter into the consideration of the propriety of sanctioning the proposed deviations in the curve therein alluded to, until they are satisfied that the consents required, before their authority can be given, have been obtained.

I have, etc.,
DOUGLAS GALTON.
Assistant Secretary.

C. Fane, Esq.

So that was that, and Mr Fane had to get on with his job, whether the husband aforesaid would see and speak to his nearly-out-of-her-mind wife or whether he would not.

On 29 September, 1851, the Inspecting Engineer of the Commissioners having inspected the line reported that the connecting line at Cambridge was not laid—poor Mr Fane was still waiting for the Commissioners' consent to that new curve—that the fencing near the junction at Six Mile Bottom was far from complete, that at one of the stations no platform had yet been laid and that the permanent way was as yet in a very rough state and required a good deal of adjustment. Wherefore the Commissioners declared the opening of the line must be postponed for a month.

Mr Fane however was not to be done, whether life was worth living in a world that was neatly tied up in red tape of the finest quality or not, and even succeeded in infusing some of his abounding energy into a Civil Service Department, for on 7 October, 1851, he got both the Commissioners' approval of the new curve and the passing of the line by the Inspecting Engineer—the fencing and junction having been completed—and on 8 October

the formal consent to the line being opened for the purposes of public traffic, and which was in fact opened on 9 October, 1851.

Immediately the Cambridge line was opened the fortunes of the Company were retrieved from their former hopelessness and bankruptcy, and actually by the end of the following February (1852) the Company declared a dividend of 1*s.* 6*d.* per share—not much it is true on a £25 share, but still something—and in the following August a further dividend for the preceding half-year of 5*s.* per share.

It was indeed no small accomplishment from the end of July 1850 to February 1852 to have raised a bankrupt, closed and apparently hopeless concern to the state of being able to pay a dividend.

Immediately the Cambridge line was opened the Chesterford line was closed to passenger traffic, the distance from London to Newmarket thus being increased by about 7½ miles.

There were to be two stations between Six Mile Bottom and Cambridge, one at Fulbourn, where the original station still extant was on the west (instead of as now the east) side of the level crossing, and the other at Cherryhinton. These however were not ready for the opening of the line and do not appear in Bradshaw until August 1852.

At the level crossing at Cherryhinton there is to be seen a similar building to the old station at Fulbourn marking the Cherryhinton Station now closed.

The Cambridge branch was originally laid as a single line from Six Mile Bottom to Cambridge. Although the so-called main line from Chesterford and the Cambridge branch converged about a mile west of Six Mile Bottom Station the actual physical junction did not take place until that station was reached. For that mile the two lines ran side by side as independent single lines.

There is little left to tell. The Act of 1852 authorised the Eastern Counties Railway, if they thought fit, to buy up the Newmarket Company when that Company had written its £25 shares down to £15 each and give in exchange for the shares 3½ per cent. debentures payable in three years' time. This the Eastern Counties Company did. They took over the Newmarket Company's bond debt of £116,666 and by 30 June, 1854, had

paid off the debentures of £210,000 in cash which they had issued in purchase of the Newmarket Company's lines. They thus paid (including stamps for bonds) £326,923 for 13 miles of line between Cambridge and Newmarket with the white elephant of the line from Six Mile Bottom to Great Chesterford.

The Bury Extension, which was incorporated as a separate undertaking, the Eastern Counties Railway took over on the basis of paying a 5 per cent. dividend on the cost.

Although the Chesterford to Six Mile Bottom section does not appear to have been worked even for goods traffic after the opening of the Cambridge line, the power actually to abandon it was not taken until the Abandonment Act of 1858.

Thus this line, unique in the history of English railways, was dismantled and abandoned, and whilst many of the works are, as has been shown, still clearly marked and defined, some of it has been obliterated by agriculture and concealed by wood and undergrowth until it does not seem altogether inappropriate to say in the words of Rudyard Kipling:

They shut the road through the woods
Seventy years ago.
Weather and rain have undone it again,
And now you would never know
There was once a path through the woods
Before they planted the trees:
It is underneath the coppice and heath,
And the thin anemones.
Only the keeper sees
That, where the ring-dove broods
And the badgers roll at ease,
There was once a road through the woods.

WINDMILLS IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND THE ISLE OF ELY.

By H. C. HUGHES, M.A., F.R.I.B.A.

(Read 5 November, 1928. Revised January, 1931.)

Windmills are disappearing so fast that in many parts of the country they are a forgotten race. Some day antiquarians will be examining and digging in mounds, having quite forgotten that they were the mounds of old windmills made to raise them a little above the surrounding land. Fortunately the name often remains; many of the darkest, loftiest streets of London and Manchester are still "Windmill Lane."

The origin of windmills is very obscure. Dr Stokes, lecturing to this Society as long ago as 1913, said, "there appears to be no genuine evidence that windmills were used before the 12th century," and this is still true, although Mr Vowles has been engaged recently in a very interesting piece of research. In a paper to the Newcomen Society he suggested that the windmill may be traced back to Hellenistic times, and the *Pneumatics* of Heron of Alexandria. Certainly al-Mas'udi the Arab geographer, born at Baghdad and writing early in the 10th century, mentions the inhabitants of the land of Seistan, in the East of Persia, as renowned for their industry in using the wind for turning sails, and Miss Batten quotes a description by Col. Kennion of the windmills in Seistan to-day, "a tower four-square, slit vertically to allow the passage of the wind; inside, fans of reeds driven round a vertical spindle." Mr Vowles's suggestion is that the idea travelled from Seistan up to the Caspian, and so across Europe to the Baltic and the Scandinavian countries. The difficulty lies in reconciling this horizontal type of mill with the developed vertical sails, which would seem closer in mechanical principle to the Roman vertical watermill. The oldest record at present of a windmill in Europe is at Bury St Edmunds, and is given in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond. Writing of the year 1191 he gives the now well-known story, "Hubert the Dean built a windmill...," thus infringing almost

the most important of manorial rights, the right to own the only mill of a manor. The Dean protested that any profit which may come from the wind ought not to be denied to any man. However, he removed the mill before the arrival of the carpenters sent by the infuriated Abbot Samson. "Easy to bully poor old Rural Deans," comments Carlyle, "and blow their windmills away." Notices of windmills soon grow more frequent. Both Barnwell Priory and Ramsey Abbey had windmills in the 13th century. Miss Batten has supplied, in the little book on windmills produced in 1930 by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings[1], some charming drawings of windmills from 13th and 14th century MSS., and carved windmills in the pews of medieval churches, and mentions the Walsoken brass at St Margaret's, Lynn. This is dated 1349 and would be of Flemish workmanship. The mill shown looks as if it had double supporting struts to the central post. The miller is riding on his horse and carrying the sack on his shoulders, so that the poor horse should not have the weight of it, a well-known medieval joke! A map of Thanet, dated 1414, shows many windmills. Windmills have formed points of vantage to view many battles (including Charles I's first and last battles, Edgehill and Naseby) and the turret mill that survived at Crecy till recently was possibly the identical one from which Edward III watched the battle. The age of windmills is very difficult to determine. Mills were so often rebuilt, even though the centre post and shaft might well be reused. A few centre posts have their date carved on them, but none of these is before the 17th century. The oldest authenticated mill is at Outwood in Surrey, built in 1665. Some quarries in the glass at Greenford Church show various early windmills and there is one in the printer's trade-mark of Andrew Millar, the first Scottish printer. Dante describes his first vision of Lucifer's whirling wings as like a windmill in dusk or fog.

Very interesting Cambridgeshire records are the mills scratched deeply in the clunch walls of the church porch at St Michael's, Long Stanton. From scratched dates near these seem to be about 1677. There is another at Gamlingay. On the lead of Wicken Church tower was a drawing of a tower mill, either that

[1] *English Windmills*, Vol. I, The Architectural Press, 1930.

of Wicken itself or that at Littleport, for there was also scratched on the lead a record of the visit of a miller from Littleport. The lead picture of the windmill was preserved when the lead was recast in 1928.

The oldest mill surviving in Cambridgeshire is probably Bourn mill, close to Caxton village, though just in Bourn parish. It has been out of commission for some six years. Though one pair of sails was renewed with patent shutters and a fantail has taken the place of the old tail beam the mill itself is old. The roof keeps the old straight sides, instead of being curved like a boat to fit down over the brake wheel. There is no record of its date but it is probably of the 17th century. There is a very similar mill at Great Gransden just beyond the county.

The earliest type at present known in Europe is that of a post stuck in the ground with sails turning in a vertical plane. Before long this was developed by lifting the post clear of the ground and standing it on a pair of crossed sleeper beams, from which it was strutted. These sleepers were then lifted clear of the ground on little walls. The mill itself was pivoted on the top of the big central post, which was cut from a big oak tree. Some of these posts measure up to three feet square. A long tail beam or tail tree projected from the mill to the ground, so that the mill could be turned to face the wind. The upper surface of this beam was, in the early mills, scalloped out into rough steps leading to the door of the mill, and above the door was a hoist so that sacks of grain could be delivered straight to the top of the mill, where the corn was stored and whence it fed down to the stones. The stones were circular pieces of gritty sandstone (from which the "Millstone Grit" formation, running north from Derbyshire, gets its name) about five inches thick, with a series of grooves cut. These grooves had to be recut from time to time. Later the Derbyshire sandstones were replaced by pieces of hard burr from Brittany, fitted together like a jigsaw puzzle with hard cement and bound with iron bands. These Brittany stones are hard to get now and millers are reverting to the Derbyshire stones. It must be remembered that though windmills and watermills are going out, stones for grinding are still needed for many purposes, and the most up-to-date mills,

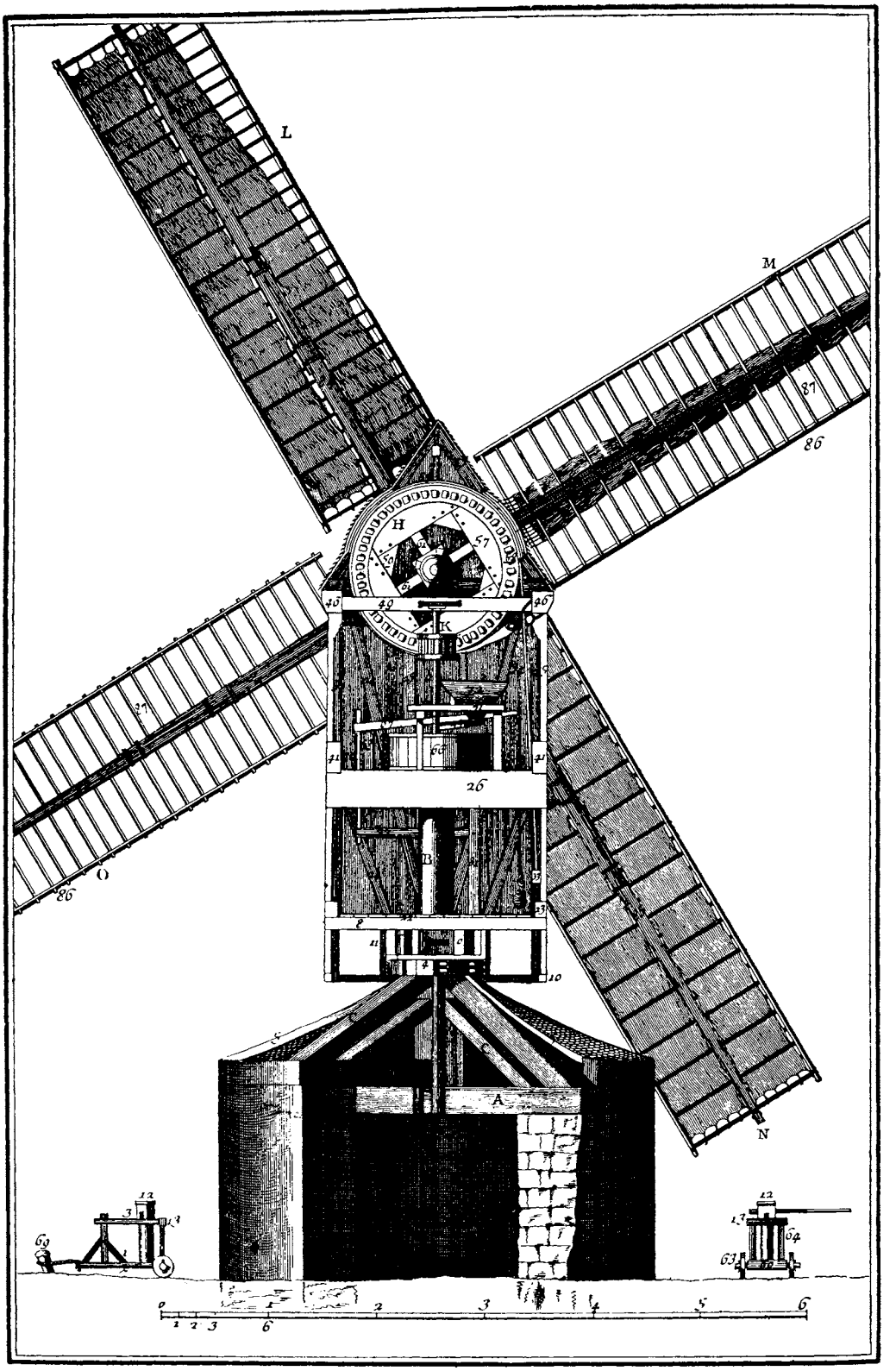
like Mr Nutter's mill at Fulbourn, make a speciality of "stone-ground flour" in which the whole of the grain is ground up. Stones however are not good for grinding the small, hard imported grain.

The lower stone remains stationary, the upper is turned by a shaft geared to the big brake wheel on the wind shaft. The early form of cog wheel is composed of two circular discs connected by round pieces of hard wood.

In the all-wood windmill the wind shaft is a very heavy oak tree trunk, supported on the bearing by something very hard, as stone or lignum vitae. The neck of the wind shaft is often hardened by driving in short iron plates all round, which take the friction. The head of the wind shaft is pierced in two directions. The sails go right through. In the earliest mills the sails are straight or curved with the natural curve of a branch. A framework of crossed oak laths is built up on the "backs," and canvas sails, like the sails of ships, fastened to this by ropes. To set the sails, the miller turns each sail to the lowest position, when he can easily reach the bottom of it, and sets the sail full or quarter or any point desired, so the sails must nearly reach the ground, and this accounts for the very numerous accidents that have taken place. Don Quixote was lucky, when he tilted against the windmills, to escape with a bad fall and a broken lance. The later "automatic" sails introduced into England in the 19th century make it possible for the sails to be lifted up out of reach of the ground, but these improvements were not adopted abroad. It may be imagined that setting the sails in a high and variable wind was not at all a pleasant task, and the miller and his horse had to be ready night and day to turn out and pull the tail beam round to face a changing wind. The later sails are very carefully designed on a curve like an aeroplane propeller. The speed of the sails is controlled by a heavy, curved wooden friction brake acting on the brake wheel, and lifted by a pulley and rope from the ground or from the top of the steps.

The friction of the stones is absorbed in grinding the corn. Should the corn run out the friction makes the stones very hot, and many fires in mills have thus been caused. So most mills have a warning bell. A windmill with the sails burning

PLATE I



Agriculture, Economie Rustique.

Moulin à Vent.

Diderot's *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique.*

at night is one of the most terrifying of all sights, and it is one which has been often seen. Many Fordham people still remember the sight of their mill burning. The machinery of the wooden post mill may be well studied in the plates of the great French encyclopaedia which appeared before the French Revolution. This shows also the round house, formed at the bottom of the post mill by raising the sleeper walls to a height sufficient to give head-room under them, and enclosing them with a circular roofed room for storage of flour (Pl. I).

At the end of the 18th century, when this encyclopaedia was compiled, the windmill was the normal method of getting power when there was no running water at hand. The plate shows a windmill adapted for pressing oil, and windmills erected in London for sawing timber for naval construction were twice destroyed by the sawyers who saw their trade being taken from them.

The post mill survived with very little change from the 13th century to the 19th for small businesses, but it quickly became evident that it gave far too little working room. In the smock mill, which is illustrated in a German late 16th century book, only the very top of the mill turns to the wind, the whole of the lower part being fixed and giving three or four floors of working space. The brake wheel engages in a large vertical shaft running some distance down in the mill. This at a lower stage is connected with the shafts which turn the stones, so that three and even four pairs of stones can be operated or any other machinery which is required, oil presses, saw mills, and, most common of all, a great water wheel for drainage.

So was solved the problem of drainage in a flat area. Employed very extensively by the Dutch, the drainage windmill was till recently a very familiar sight throughout the fens. The large mill at Soham Mere, which belongs to the Cambridge County Council, and the tiny one at Wicken Fen, which belongs to the National Trust, are examples of this type. Both these mills have the old type of tail beam, running down from a top gallery and braced by large struts to a wide cross-piece, and both have also the old type of sail. Long may they be preserved by the two bodies that own them!

A good idea of the working of a "smock mill" may be obtained from the diagram in M. and C. H. B. Quennell's *History of Everyday Things*, vol. II.

An intermediate shape is the turret mill—a post mill turning not on a post but on a track on a short tower. The lowest stage in an English smock mill is usually of brick or stone to keep the timber out of the damp, and very often a gallery runs round a large mill at this level. Smock mills are commonest in England in districts where the houses are built of wood framing. In stone and brick districts their place is taken by towers. At first these towers were built of rubble, with vertical walls: gradually the form of the timber smock mill was adopted and the walls battered, which gives very much greater strength. Woolavington is an example of a Somersetshire stone mill. The roof was thatched, as many mills must have been, even down their sides.

The Dutch windmill, perfected in the 17th century, was a beautiful piece of wood machinery. It is delightful to go into an all-wood windmill and listen to the soft whirr of the wooden wheels, as in Downfield, Mr Pollard's fine mill at Soham. But English winds are too variable, and the ingenuity of British millwrights at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution enormously simplified the work of controlling a windmill though, in the opinion of the Dutch millwrights, sacrificing some of the power which is given by the suction behind the canvas sail. A wind of varying force is a nuisance, for the corn will go through too fast in the high gusts. After some experiments with spring sails which opened in a hard gust, to "spill the wind," the still so-called "patent sail" was very widely adopted throughout England. The sail is arranged like a Venetian blind, a series of shutters operated by a long rod which goes through the wind shaft, and is controlled by a long chain hanging down to the ground or balcony. On this is hung a weight which can be varied. If the wind is strong enough to raise the weight, it will open the shutters. Also, if the miller wishes to stop the mill, he can very easily open all the shutters to their full extent. After some time, iron was substituted for wood in all the parts of the machinery most subject to much wear—the circular track, the wind shaft and the gearing.

PLATE II

Bourn.

Soham Mere.

Andrew Meikle, a Scotch millwright, devised in 1750 what was perhaps the most useful of all these improvements to cope with the shifting winds of England. This was the fantail, the small wheel of six or eight vanes which is only steady when it is dead in the path of the wind: rotating at the slightest change of direction of the wind, it brings the cap, or in the post mill the whole mill, round into the wind again by a gearing engaging with the track or with a trolley. This did away with the necessity for constant watchfulness. The only danger is when the mill is in the path of a rotating coil of air, as happens sometimes in a bad gale when the direction of the wind changes right round in a moment, and then the wind may catch the sails from behind and, driving them round in the wrong direction, strip off many cogs. The miller must be on his guard against this and help the cap round with the chain.

Lightning is a serious enemy of the windmill. It is very difficult, though not impossible, to make a lightning conductor from the moving sails. Fortunately, most windmills stand on high ground and most thunder-storms keep to the valleys. It is only the big storms that drive straight across the country that are likely to damage the mills.

Unlike the Dutch mills, the English mills owe little to colour for their beauty. Almost always white, or white and black, their beauty is from the firmly planted mass of their build, and the delicate curve or "bosom" of the sails. This, the product of experience with the old builders, was proved to be correct on aerodynamic principles.

To those who regard the windmill as a piece of useless antiquated machinery, it is surprising to find how many mills are still working in some parts of the country though their number grows less every year, and it is almost useless to depend on a list for long. The long irregular hours needed to make the most of windy weather, and the long spells of enforced idleness, are a great difficulty without some auxiliary power: while the absence of a fuel bill is counteracted by the expense of repairs. There is no room for the elaborate cleaning machinery of the modern mill. Some windmillers, however, still make wheat flour. A notable example is Mr Lawrence, of Stretham, who keeps quite

a good business going. Grist, however, is widely ground in windmills, and this is the staple trade of most of the Cambridgeshire mills. Cambridgeshire also has one of the best remaining firms of millwrights in the country in Messrs Hunt, of Soham.

Some mills, such as that at Little Wilbraham, are on farms and used only for grinding required on the farm itself. Windmillers are very fond of their mills, and often keep to them for affection rather than profit. The strain comes when some repairs are necessary which the miller cannot himself cope with. Still in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and some other districts there is enough work to last the mills some time. The Great Tower Mill at Haverhill, with its surprising circular sail, stood idle for a long while and has recently been started again. Fulbourn Mill is going again, after standing idle all the summer. Littleport, from its situation on the bank of the Ouse by the main road to Lynn, one of the loveliest of mills, proved too much for its ageing miller, and he had the shutters and fantail removed in 1929. One of the mills at Swaffham Prior has gone out of use, but the other is still working, while both mills at Burwell and that at Wicken are very active. On the West of Cambridge, that on Madingley Hill has gone, Oakington and Willingham have stopped recently, but Over and Fen Drayton are working, and Messrs Chivers have repaired and painted their charming little mill at Histon.

French's Mill, just off the Histon Road, is complete but for sails and fantail, but the other remaining Cambridge mill on the Milton Road is only a shell. The mills of Mill Road and Mill Road, Trumpington, now Long Road, have disappeared. Stapleford is a wreck and Harston a stump, but in the far south of the county the post mill at Chishall works merrily.

Some mills have been turned into houses, as that at Kneesworth, in Bassingbourn, and those on the Norfolk coast, Ringstead, Cley, Weybourne and Burnham Overy Staithe. This last is promised to the National Trust on the owners' deaths. It still keeps its sails, though without shutters, and forms a capacious house of six large circular rooms, one above the other.

A few working mills are being preserved as museum pieces,

and the number increases with the success of the campaign on behalf of windmills by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The Buckinghamshire Antiquarian Society owns the derelict 17th century mill at Brill. Sussex has saved Patcham, and Essex, Bocking. So far no mills in Cambridgeshire have been saved in this way, though it is very much to be hoped that something of the sort may be done at no distant date.

Windmills have had a grand history, and take their place with sailing ships as being memorials of the skill and courage of our forefathers.

Notes on the Illustrations.

The photographs of Bourn, Soham Mere, and Soham are by Mr Rex Wailes; that of Fulbourn by Dr Cobbett; Stretham by Mr C. W. Smith; and Burnham Overy Staithe by the author. The block of the last mentioned mill has been lent by the courtesy of *The Architects' Journal.*

Appendix.

List of windmills existing, in whole or in part, in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely in the winter of 1930–1, made by J. H. Bullock and H. C. Hughes, in conjunction with the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings Windmill Survey, by Miss M. I. Batten and Rex Wailes; with references to photographs in the Cambridgeshire Photographic Record.

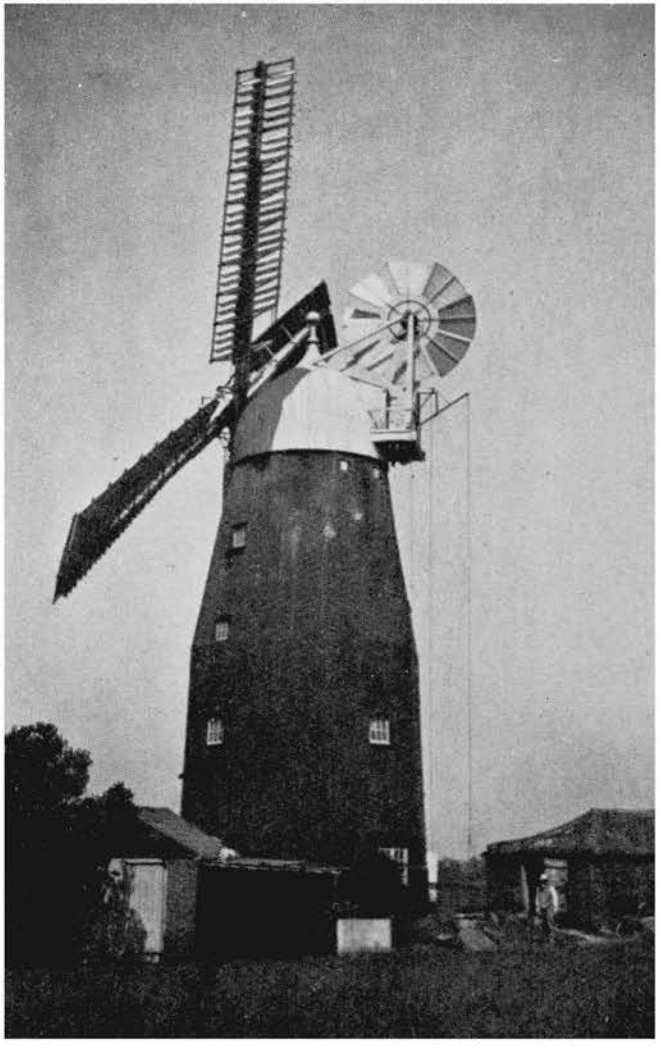
Abbreviations—First column: T. = Tower Mill; S. = Smock Mill; P. = Post Mill.

Second column: * = Photograph in Record, initial gives photographer. B. = J. H. Bullock; C. = Dr Cobbett; H. = H. C. Hughes; P. = Dr Palmer; S. = C. W. Smith; W. = Rex Wailes.

Arrington, T.	* 1926	W.	Derelict; top blown off 1926; two
	*	S.	floors roofed in.
Ashley, S.	*	W.	Working. This mill is on the hill
	* 1930	B.	close to Dalham (Suffolk), *q.v.*
Balsham, T.	* 1930	B.	Two sails left; worked by engine.
Barrington, T.	* 1914	B.	Derelict; clunch-built on a mound.
	* 1928	W.	

BASSINGBOURN (Kneesworth), T.			Shell only; used as a house.
BENWICK, T.			Derelict.
BLUNTISHAM (Hunts.), S.	* 1926	W.	Derelict; very old.
BOURN, P.	* 1926	W.	Derelict, but not in bad condition.
	*	S.	Mr Papworth.
	* 1929	B.	
„ T.			Stump only.
BRADLEY, GREAT, S. (Suffolk, just over border)	* 1930	B.	Derelict.
BURWELL, T.	* 1926	W.	Working.
„ S. or T.	* 1914	B.	Stump thatched and converted to a cottage.
„ (North End), S.	*	W.	Working.
CAMBRIDGE, T. (French's)			Sails and fan gone; stones used with modern mill.
„ T. (Milton Road)	*	B.	Shell only left.
CHATTERIS, SSS.			Three derelict smock mills.
CHISHALL, GREAT, P.	* 1926	W.	Working.
CHRISTCHURCH, T.	* 1915	B.	Derelict.
(Upwell)	* 1930	B.	
CHRISTCHURCH, S.	* 1915	B.	Derelict.
	* 1930	B.	
„ SS.			Two stumps of Drainage Mills on Sixteen-foot Bank, inhabited.
DALHAM (Suffolk)	* 1930	W.	Two mills close together, usually
	* 1930	P.	under same ownership; Ashley (Cambs.) is on the hill, Dalham (Suffolk) lower down.
DODDINGTON, T.	* 1931	B.	Four sails, fantail, working.
„ T.			Derelict.
DOWNHAM, LITTLE, T.	* 1930	B.	Working (on Ely road).
	* 1928	W.	
„ S.	* 1930	B.	Stump only.
„ (Black Bank) S.			Derelict pumping mill on Parsons Charity Farm. (*See also* Pymore.)
ELSWORTH, T.	* 1929	H.	Boxworth Road. Derelict; cap off.
„ S.	* 1929	H.	Papworth Road. Sails off, but cared for.
FEN STANTON (Hunts.), P.	* 1925	C.	Derelict.
FORDHAM, S.	* 1931	B.	Bad condition.
FRECKENHAM (Suffolk), S.	* 1925	W.	Derelict.
FULBOURN, S.	* 1914	B.	Working; owned by Cherryhinton
	* 1925	W.	Granaries, Ltd.
	* 1925	C.	

Fulbourn.



Soham.

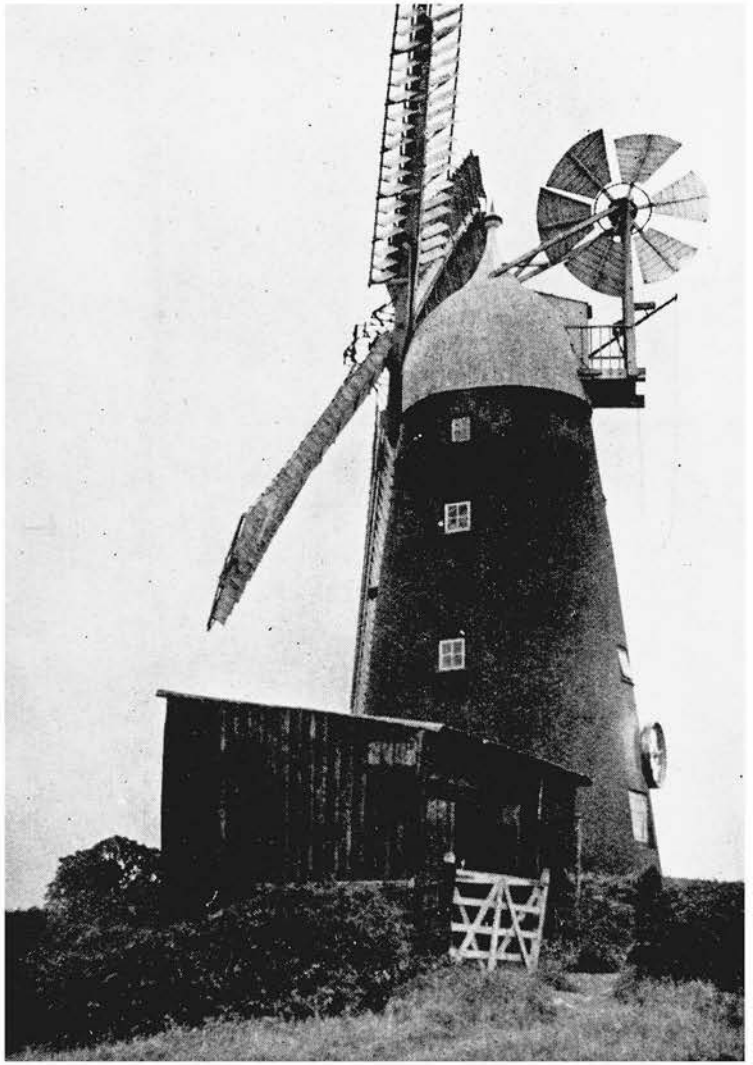
PLATE III

GAMLINGAY (Beds.), S.	* 1930	P.	Sails and fantail off; worked by engine.
GRANSDEN, GT. (Hunts.)	* 1914	B.	Derelict, but cared for.
GUILDEN MORDEN, S.	* 1930	B.	Derelict (tenant also hires and uses the water mill).
HADDENHAM, T.	* 1926	W.	Working. Built 1803. Mr Lawrence.
HARSTON, S.			Brick base only.
HILDERSHAM, T.	* 1928	H.	Worked occasionally by engine.
HISTON, S.	* 1914	B.	Bricked to third floor; now disused but cared for; belongs to Messrs Chivers.
	*	B.	
ICKLETON, T.			Shell only; used as house.
[1]ISLEHAM	* 1914	B.	"New" mill; on bank of River Lark; used for pumping.
LEVERINGTON, S.			On Common; derelict.
LITTLEPORT, T.	* 1928	H.	On Ten Mile Bank; one mile below town; sails stripped; fan removed, 1929; Ben Arber, miller.
	*	S.	
	* 1930	B.	
MANEA, T.			Stump only left. Had six sails.
MARCH, T.			Derelict.
„ S.			Derelict.
NEEDINGWORTH, P.	* 1927	H.	Derelict.
(Hunts.)	* 1914	B.	
NEWMARKET, S.	* 1926	W.	Working.
(Suffolk)	*	S.	
NORDELPH (Norfolk), S.	* 1925	W.	The Betty Mill. Marsh Mill.
OAKINGTON, T.	* 1926	W.	Built in 1863; dismantled 1929.
OVER, T.	* 1926	W.	Built in 1860; working.
PYMORE, T.	* 1926	W.	Four sails, fantail, working.
	* 1931	B.	
„ S.	* 1930	B.	Derelict.
ROYSTON (Turret)	*	P.	Stump only.
SHUDY CAMPS, S.			Stump only left.
SIX MILE BOTTOM, P.	* 1926	W.	Two shuttered sails; tail pole.
	* 1929	B.	Cared for; is in parish of Borough Green. Was once in Westley parish, but removed when the railway was made.
SOHAM (Mere), S.	* 1928	W.	Smock marsh mill; tail pole. Owned by the Cambridgeshire County Council.

[1] This mill has now (1931) entirely disappeared, being superseded by huge steam engines at Prickwillow.

SOHAM (Shade), S.	* 1925 W. * 1931 B.	Common sails; two sails, fantail.
„ (Downfield), T.	* 1925 W. * 1931 B.	Corner of Wicken road; built as a smock mill; raised and rebuilt as a tower mill; good modern machinery. A fine mill. Mr Pollard, miller.
„ (Downfield), S.		Stump only left.
„ (Hardfield), S.	* 1931 B.	Derelict.
„ (Hardfield, No. 2), S.	* 1931 B.	Derelict (next Cemetery).
[1] „ (White Top)	* 1914 B.	White Top or Tunnel Mill. Two mills for pumping, one on each side of River Lark. [There are many other small pumping mills, disused and fast disappearing on Soham and Isleham Fens. The natives call them "skeleton."]
STAPLEFORD, S.	* H.	Derelict.
STEEPLE MORDEN, S.	* P. * 1914 B.	Derelict.
STRETHAM, T.	* 1926 W. * 1919 B.	Working; four sails, fantail, 1880. Good condition. Mr Lawrence, miller.
SWAFFHAM BULBECK, S.	*	Base only.
SWAFFHAM PRIOR, T.	* 1926 W.	Built 1860, working; bad condition. Mr Foster, miller.
„ S.	* 1926 W.	Dismantled 1928.
SWAVESEY, T.	* W.	Working; four sails, fantail, 1866. Mr Mustell, miller.
THETFORD, LITTLE	* 1914 B.	Base only, converted into a cottage; perhaps this was a dovehouse.
THORNEY, T.	* 1931 B.	Derelict; stone built; had six sails and fantail; inscription over door "H.F.G. 1787."
TRUMPINGTON, T.	*	Stump only left, overgrown with ivy.
UPWELL, T.	* 1929 H.	Working.
WESTON COLVILLE, S.	* 1930 B.	Derelict.
WEST WALTON, T. (Norfolk)		Seven storeys, six sails; red brick; working.
WEST WRATTING, S.	* 1928 W.	Four sails, tail poles, built 1726; derelict.

[1] These mills have lately shared the same fate as that of Isleham.



Stretham.

Burnham Overy Staithe.

PLATE IV

WHITTLESEY, T. (Peterborough Road)	* 1931	B.	Derelict.
WHITTLESEY, T. (Near Station)	* 1931	B.	Four sails, fantail, working. [Four stumps also remain, used as storehouses.]
WICKEN, S.	* 1926	W.	Smock on two-storeyed base; working.
	* 1930	B.	
„ (Spinney Bank), S.	* 1930	B.	Drainage mill; working.
WICKEN FEN, S.	* 1928	H.	Small drainage mill; repaired 1930; property of National Trust.
WILBRAHAM, LITTLE, T.	* 1914	B.	Works occasionally; belongs to Major Francis.
	* 1930	B.	
WILLINGHAM, S.	* 1925	W.	Dismantled 1930. Cattell's mill.
	*	S.	
„ S.	* 1925	W.	Dismantled 1928. Ingle's mill.
WISBECH, T.	* 1928	H.	Eight floors; originally had eight sails and fan; these removed by official order.
WISBECH ST MARY (Tholomas Drove)			Octagonal two-storey stump.
WOOD DITTON, S.	* 1925	W.	Working.

THE BENEDICTINE NUNNERY OF SWAFFHAM BULBECK.

By W. M. PALMER, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read 4 February, 1929.)

The Nunnery of Swaffham Bulbeck is first met with in the year 1199, in an Assize Roll[1]. A hundred years later[2] it is stated that it was founded by an ancestor of the Earl of Oxford. But this family had no connection with the parish in 1199. Soon afterwards, however, an Earl of Oxford married Isabel de Bolebec, the owner of Swaffham Bulbeck. When both were very young, the Earl of Oxford had offered the King 500 marks for the heiress Isabel, as a bride for his son. But both bride and bridegroom died without children, and Isabel's estates passed to her father's sister, also named Isabel de Bolebec. Thereupon the new Earl of Oxford offered the King 200 marks and two palfreys for the hand of Isabel de Bolebec the second, his late sister-in-law's aunt. She, however, offered 450 marks and three palfreys that she might not be compelled to marry, but might be allowed to enjoy her own property and that which she had inherited from her sister, by herself, in her own way. But the man won in the end and Isabel became the mother of the succeeding Earl. There being two Isabels, heiresses to the same fief, about the same time, and both marrying Earls of Oxford, renders confusion easy. But the facts are quite clear[3]. Isabel's ancestor, Hugh de Bolebec, came over with the Conqueror from the village of Bolebec in Normandy. It is now a small town and the motor bus from Caudebec to Havre passes through it. I mention this because when two charabancs of learned geographers were at Swaffham Bulbeck last summer one of them asked me if Hugh de Bolebec came from Baalbec in Syria.

Now as to the foundation of Swaffham Bulbeck Nunnery, I would suggest that, as Isabel de Bolebec seems to have been

[1] Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, ed. Nasmyth.

[2] Hundred Rolls, Vol. I, p. 494.

[3] Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I, p. 452.

averse to marriage, and had ideas of enjoying her property in her own way, she founded this nunnery before her marriage.

In the Hundred Roll of 1279 there is a detailed account of the nuns' property, which included houses in five different parishes of the town of Cambridge.

The annals of the nunnery are meagre; no register is known to exist, and most of the documents which came to the Crown at the dissolution seem to have perished, so only crumbs from various sources can be collected.

It was the smallest nunnery in the country, consisting of a Prioress and six nuns. At the same period there were eight nuns at Ickleton, ten at St Radegund's, Cambridge, fourteen at Chatteris and forty at Denny. It was a small house, but it had aristocratic inmates. In 1399 the Bishop received the professions as nuns here of Margaret de Lisle, Cecily Brettenham and Cecily Pakenham, all names of distinction[1]. One of the nuns in 1379 was named Elena de Ufford, which was the family name of the Earldom of Suffolk, and when the Earl of Suffolk—whose portrait you have all probably seen in the de Lisle chantry in Wimpole church, one of the best survivals of ancient heraldic glass in the county—happened to die very dramatically on entering the House of Lords in 1382, his widow took a vow of chastity and became a nun at Swaffham. The authority given by Hailstone for the statement that she became a nun at Swaffham Bulbeck is Suckling's *Suffolk*, Vol. I, p. 171. But there is nothing about Swaffham Bulbeck there. There is simply a record, from the Ely Register, of her taking a vow of chastity at Campsey Priory.

But although distinguished in a way, the nunnery was poor and was always excused from paying the King's taxes because of its poverty[2].

The nuns of Swaffham seem to have undertaken few menial tasks, because they had a large number of servants, the brewer, the yardman, the turf-digger, the cellarer and the cook, besides shepherd and bailiff, ploughmen and carters. I think perhaps they did their own weaving, because in one year's account 35 yards of woollen cloth cost them 4*d.* a yard. The raw material cost

[1] Fordham's Register, Canon Crosby's *Abstract of Ely Registers.*

[2] Crosby, *op. cit.*

nothing, as it came from their own sheep. The fuller charged three shillings, the cost of weaving was only one and sevenpence. So I think they must have done it themselves. The dress allowance or pin-money of the Swaffham nuns was half a mark, or six and eightpence a year[1]. The nunnery possessed a sheep run for 200, but it was only about half occupied, so like many modern farmers they were trying to work with insufficient capital.

When Margaret Radcliff was elected Prioress about 1480, she found that her predecessor had run the nunnery into debt to the extent of 25 marks (£16. 13*s.* 4*d.*) and as the gross income was only £66, this was a heavy burden. She seems to have met it to some extent by taking in paying guests. During the year 1482 the Prioress had ten paying guests, one man, one woman, five boys and three girls. They were not all there at one time; the longest period anyone was there was 40 weeks. The Lent quarter does not seem to have been popular, and judging from the kitchen bills, the summer quarter was the favourite. With one exception the boarders came from Cambridge. The exception was Richard Potecary, of course a most respectable person; he took the air of Swaffham for 22 weeks. The weekly charge for adults and children was an all-round one of 6*d.*, *i.e.* a penny a day and Sunday free. It is difficult to see how the nuns made much profit, because the kitchen expenses averaged 2¼*d.* per head a week, and this 2¼*d.* does not include what was taken from store, that is, such foods as bacon, bread, salt beef, salt fish and beer. I think they must have lived largely on pork, because at the end of this year they had 50 porkers in their sties.

And their stock did not include the above staple articles alone, for amongst the purchases of this year are some items which might be considered luxuries, such as saffron, cloves and mace, a large quantity of pepper, and a salmon salted. And it is possible that the guests were even supplied with soap, for amongst the purchases are eighteen pounds of that article. The whole of the income derived from paying guests was £6. 6*s.* 1*d.* The presence of the two adults at the nunnery shows that these

[1] P.R.O., Min. Accts. 770/3.

entries do not relate to a convent boarding school such as existed in many nunneries.

A detailed account of the receipts and expenditure of the nunnery for the year 1482 exists in a more or less illegible condition. From this we find that 112 qrs. of wheat were produced and 10 calves. The issue of the dovecote was 43 doz. pigeons. I suppose they sold these, because a diet of pork and pigeon would have been trying for the digestion of a 15th century nun, even although consumed with quantities of October ale. For the amount of malt they used for brewing is amazing.

The cost of repairs this year, often a heavy item, was not very large. A new oven was built costing £2, probably a large stick oven, and seven new door locks and keys cost $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ each. I suppose these were for the chambers of the paying guests. Four doz. candles cost 4*d.* each. These were wax candles for the altar, because dips for ordinary use would have been from their own mutton fat. An interesting item is that of "Sandal Oil 4*d.*" This was for perfume for the Prioress.

An extra expense of this year was due to the election of a new Prioress. For this, those blood-suckers, the Bishop's officials, charged £1. 11*s.* 8*d.*, to which must be added one shilling for the cost of the Prioress, when walking to Bury. Let us hope she did it in company with Walsingham pilgrims.

An unusual occurrence in the history of the nunnery happened on May 26, 1383, when Bishop Arundel held an ordination of priests, and a blessing of nuns in the Priory Church. The Bishop's journey up the Ouse to Swaffham Lode, almost to the door of the church, was an easy one. The blessing of the nuns could not take place in the parish church, so he performed both rites in the nunnery[1].

Just as important, though not always so pleasant for the nuns, was the Visitation of the Bishop or his official, to enquire both into the spiritual and temporal condition of the nunnery. During the early 14th century certain of the nuns had been in the habit of going out into the village, not to call at the Vicarage, because there was no lady there, but there were several manor houses where there were ladies. An end was

[1] Crosby, *op. cit.*

put to this in 1345, when the Visitor forbad the nuns to go outside the nunnery. The Visitor found no other irregularity[1].

One of the clergy, regular or secular, had to enter the nunnery for the purpose of hearing confessions, and, at times, priests lived in the nunnery precincts. The Vicar of the parish would have been the most convenient priest for a confessor, but the nuns were not always on good terms with him, for a Vicar sued them for tithes in 1379, and after long proceedings lost the day[2].

In 1377 the Vicar of Swaffham Prior was licensed to hear their confessions[3], and in 1379 two chaplains were living in the nunnery[4]. In 1388, William de Bottisham, sub-Prior of Anglesey, was licensed to hear their confessions. Until recently, and there may be still, there was a local tradition of an underground passage between the nunnery and Anglesey[5]. Only a water rat could have used it! In 1393, the nuns had licence to choose their own confessor, after which no more licences were necessary. About 1530, a Swaffham lady bequeathed a groat to every priest living in the nunnery, and the Vicar bequeathed a shilling to Sir Christopher, the Priest of the nuns[6]. At this time the feeling between the parish and nunnery was good, because each of these people left legacies to both Prioress and nuns.

To come to the latest days of the nunnery. This was one of the few against which the Visitors of Henry VIII had something bad to say. The Prioress was then Joan Spilman, of whom the Visitors said: "This ladie hath given a benefice, appropriate to the house, of the value of £30 (it was only worth £16. 10*s.* 0*d.*, but that was near enough for these spies)—to a Friar whom people say she loves well. The said Friar is noted of the common rumour of all the country hereabouts, and also of all the sisters of the house to be nought with the Prioress there[7]."

But the reputation of the nunnery had been clean shortly

[1] Register of Bishop de Lisle, Crosby's *Abstract.*

[2] See p. 45.

[3] Crosby, *op. cit.*

[4] Clerical Subsidy 23/1.

[5] Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck.*

[6] See p. 47.

[7] Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*, Vol. III, p. 118

before this date, because when the nunnery of Higham near Rochester was suppressed for irregularities in 1524, the revenues given to St John's College, Cambridge, and the inmates sent to other nunneries, Agnes Swayne was sent to Swaffham Bulbeck[1].

The end of the nunnery came soon after, and it had nothing to do with the report of the inquisitors. About Feb. 5, 1536, the Prioress voluntarily surrendered her house into the hands of the King. The Prioress and nuns each received a small pension[2]. The gross value was less than £1 a week[3]. A short time afterwards the whole property was transferred to the Bishop of Ely. The document in English is printed in full in Dugdale's *Monasticon*[4].

I should have made no reference to the report of the King's Visitors but that, more than 60 years after the suppression of the nunnery, a lawsuit[5] took place concerning the tithes of this parish, in which the nunnery was once concerned. Some of the witnesses were asked all kinds of strange questions. One of them was this: "What can you say of Dame Jane, or Joan Spilman, late Prioress; where did she live in Swaffham Bulbeck, and for how long after the suppression of nunneries?"

Only one witness answered this question; his name was Robert Manning of Burwell, aged 80. He was born at Swaffham Bulbeck and about 1540 went as a servant to the man who farmed the nunnery site. He said "that he well knew the last prioress, her name was Joan Spilman, but she desired to be called Dame Jane." He heard, and he verily believed, that "she remained in a cave in the ground at the Vicarage, for the most part of one year or thereabouts after the dissolution." On referring to the Vicars of Swaffham Bulbeck, we find that Richard Spencer was Vicar here between 1533–5, and that another Vicar was appointed in 1537, a year after the suppression. Perhaps he was the "friar" whom the nun loved.

With regard to the buildings of the nunnery, all the description

[1] T. Baker, *History of St John's College*, Vol. I, p. 89.

[2] See p. 42.

[3] Gross £46. 10*s*. 8*d*., nett £40.

[4] Vol. IV, p. 457.

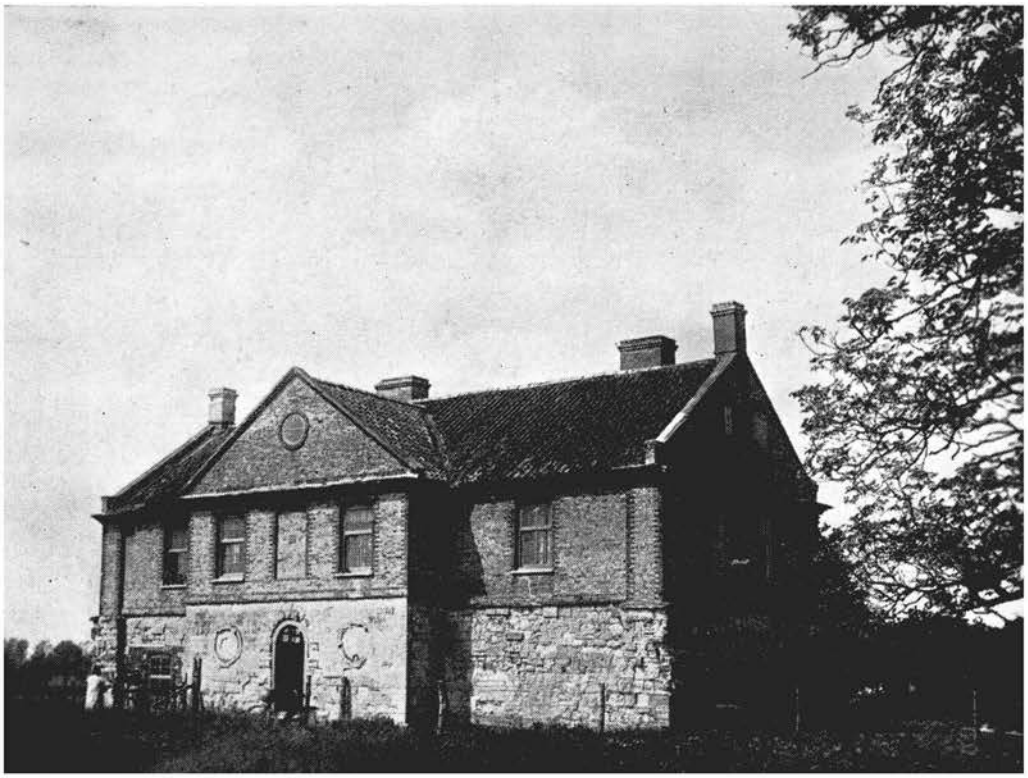
[5] Cf. pp. 50–3.

we have is that given by Robert Manning in 1601. He said that he remembered the Convent or Mansion House dwelling of the nuns, which, with a dovehouse, two barns, stables and other buildings, were placed within the precincts or walls of the said Priory of ancient time. There was also a large tithe barn, which had quite fallen down. He had apparently no remembrance of the church and cloisters, but he goes on to describe their mill, their fishings, woods and meadows. The nuns had a tithe barn because they were the impropriate rectors of Swaffham Bulbeck.

Manning does not mention the gatehouse, which was a prominent feature of most monasteries, and of course there was a gatehouse here. It stood opposite the road from Commercial End, and was of two storeys. In the upper storey lived the reeve. In 1368 his name was John Sherkk. On the evening of August 15 in that year, he went out into the village to buy a candle, and judging from what happened afterwards, he drank much beer. Returning to his room in the gatous—the word is spelt "gatous" in the record—Swaffham natives still speak of the "gatous," "duffous," "cowous," etc., for gatehouse, dovehouse, cowhouse—in this room he lit the candle, and put it on a shelf above his bed, or perhaps on a beam in the wall. He then started making up his accounts and went to sleep. The lighted candle fell on to the bed, set fire to it, and burnt up the "gatous" with John in it. A Crowner's quest sat on the remains, and gravely stated that they did not suspect either of the nearest neighbours, who were John Emsden and John Trot on one side of the road, and John Packer and John Wat on the other[1]. Swaffham Bulbeck seems to have been peopled by "Johns." In the following year another tragedy took place at the nunnery. On Lammas Day there was a meeting of peasants in the late evening in the nun's cowhouse. The Latin word used for the meeting is "Societas," which was the word used to describe the meetings which preceded the revolt of 1381. The peasants had met with the consent of John Ridesdale, the yardman who slept in the cowshed. The meeting became rowdy, and some of the peasants began to fight amongst themselves. This disturbed the yardman, who had gone to bed. He knew that if the nuns were disturbed

[1] See p. 61.

PLATE I



[*Photo by J. H. Bullock*

From the South-East.

[*Photo by J. Johnson*

The Undercroft.

Swaffham Bulbeck Nunnery in 1930.

it would mean trouble for him, so he got up and tried to part the fighters. As a result, he got a wound in the belly from a sharp spit and died therefrom. The cowshed was some distance from the gatehouse, because four different names occur as neighbours[1].

The original Norman church did not last many centuries, because on Nov. 2, 1352, a new conventual church was dedicated by the Bishop[2]. There must have been something wrong about the foundations here, because about forty years later, Jan. 12, 1395–6, the Bishop granted an indulgence to all who should contribute to the repair of church, cloisters, and other buildings of the nunnery[3]. However, some parts were well and strongly built, because they have withstood the wear and tear and neglect of the last three centuries, and exist in good condition at the present day.

Swaffham Bulbeck Nunnery stands 200 yards from the high road, across very uneven ground, as if chalk, or the foundations, had been dug away. But I have not heard of any stone coffins having been found as at Ickleton. A few yards to the right is an ancient church rubble wall, with a column of worked clunch blocks at one end, on which are scratched the ships described by Mr Brindley (p. 76).

The lower portion only of the present building, built of clunch blocks, represents the nunnery. It is a vaulted building of five bays; divided into two aisles by means of four octagonal clunch pillars. The internal measurements are about 54 feet by 21 feet.

The upper brick portion was added by an ancestor of the Parker Hammonds of Pampisford in 1778. Cole says that "he judiciously preserved the old arched buildings and pillars, to form his kitchen and offices, and built a handsome old brick house upon them[4]." To the style of this house I shall refer again.

The Nunnery Site in 1768.

In a large-scale map of the district about Newmarket by J. Chapman, dated 1768, plans of several of the surrounding

[1] See p. 62.
[2] Crosby, *op. cit.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Addit. MS. 5804, p. 125.

villages are given, including Swaffham Bulbeck. In this plan two buildings are shown between the present building called the Abbey and the road. One of these is near and parallel to the road, the other is at right angles, and a little nearer to the Abbey on the right.

There is no copy or plan of this map or plan in the University Library, Cambridge, but there is one in the Library of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and another in the Bodleian. (Gough, *Maps*, 2. 68 B.)

The Nunnery in 1880.

"It is situated in a bleak desolate spot, and is at this moment inhabited by three or four families located in various parts of the buildings. The remains consist of a groined undercroft forming the entire ground floor of the whole running north and south, and is divided by three plain octagonal piers, with plain Early English moulding. The doorways on the east and west sides are Early English. That on the east side contains a piscina and shelf. The masonry is regularly coursed and good. On the north there is some repair of a later date, of beautifully cut flint work, similar to that of Bottisham Church. Various windows, square headed and plain, are blocked up. The hollow underneath the hall probably provided cellars. A modern hole in one corner shows the base of a pier, and the original floor line. Traditions of an underground passage to Anglesey are still rife. The soil is much silted up all round the house. There are large holes in the grass field in front of the building where were until about thirty years ago some fine walnut trees."

Hailstone, op. cit. p. 76.

List of known Prioresses of Swaffham Bulbeck.

Agnes. 1234–5. Walter Marescall and Annabel his wife gave to Agnes, Prioress of Swaffham, six acres of land and a croft in Swaffham Bulbeck. Agnes was to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a year to them for life, and Walter and Annabel, and their heirs were to be remembered in the prayers of the nunnery[1].

[1] *Feet of Fines*, 19 Hen. III, No. 42.

MATILDA. 1242–3. Matilda, Prioress, received a carucate of land in Ditton Valence from Robert de Valoynes who was to be remembered in their prayers. This is a long document giving field names and particulars about feudal dues[1].

1247–8. The same Prioress appears in a Babraham fine[2]. Also in a final concord of 1252–3, by which Roger Lambert and Isabel his wife gave 4 acres of land in Swaffham Bulbeck to the nunnery[3].

1269. Alice, which may be synonymous with[4]

ALICE. 1285–6. There is a fine between her and John, son of William de Kirkby, in Babraham, concerning 7*s.* rent, etc.[5]

1285–6. In the same year Geoffrey Arsyk of Ashley gave her a rent of a mark in Ashley and Silverly[6]. She was Prioress during the time of Gilbert, Vicar of Swaffham Prior, St Mary[7].

AGNES DE ELY before 1341
ISABEL DE ALBOTSLEE 1341 } See election process of Isabel, p. 41.

EVA WASTONEYS. 1378–9[8]. A person of the same name was Prioress of St Radegund in 1359[9].

ELIZABETH DE TEVERSHAM. 1397, and June 15, 1404[10].

JOAN CLARE. Resigned after a visitation of the Priory, Sept. 20[11].

JOAN SOPHAM. She died in 1481[12].

MARGARET RATCLIFF. 1481[13].

CHRISTINA. 1503. Christina, Prioress of Swaffham Bulbeck, discharges Tho. Cosyn, clerk, Master of Corpus Christi College, of 25*s.*, for a tenement, late John Rayson's in the parish of St Benedict, who was rector thereof, opposite the Black Bull. Dated "in Domo nostra capitulari," Dec. 6, 9 Hen. VII[14].

JOAN SPILMAN. The last Prioress.

[1] *Feet of Fines*, 27 Hen. III, No. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* 32 Hen III, No. 3.
[3] *Ibid.* 37 Hen. III, No. 28.
[4] *Ibid.* Suffolk, 53 Hen. III, No. 44.
[5] *Ibid.* 14 Edw. I, No. 4.
[6] *Ibid.* No. 37.
[7] Addit. MS. 5846, pp. 72 (*d*), 142, No. 3.
[8] *Clerical Subsidy* 23/1, and Addit. MS. 5842, pp. 67–70.
[9] A. Gray, *Priory of St Radegund.*
[10] Addit. MS. 5804, p. 124 (*d*).
[11] *Regr.* Gray, fo. 47.
[12] Hailstone, *op. cit.*
[13] Public Record Office, Ministers' Accts. 770/3.
[14] Addit. MS. 5804, p. 124 (*d*).

THE POLL TAX LEVIED ON THE NUNNERY IN 1379.

Domina Eva Wastoneys, Prorissa [value] infra £40.	[paid]	10*s.*
Domina Elena de Ufford, moniales.	„	4*d.*
Margareta de Foxton. „	„	4*d.*
Margeria de Rydon. „	„	4*d.*
Agnes de Swaffham. „	„	4*d.*
Isabella Lache. „	„	4*d.*
Elizabetha de Teversham „	„	4*d.*
Summa 12*s.*		
Duo capellani in Prioratu de Swaffham		4*s.*

(Clerical Subsidy 23/1.)

Lady Eleanor probably belonged to the family of which the Earl of Suffolk was the head. The families to which Margaret, Agnes and Elizabeth belonged might be identified with some little research.

THE NUNNERY SEAL.

No seal of the nunnery is known. But Tanner (*Notitia*) says: "See Charter (under seal of this Priory) of tenement in Norwich in volume of my original charters. Notato 'Hobart' N. 70." I cannot trace the reference. There is no such volume amongst the Tanner MSS in the Bodleian. It may be in the Norwich Registry.

In Additional MS. 5803, fo. 52 *d*, Cole gives a drawing of a seal on a 13th century document between Robert, son of Augustine le Rus, and John, son of Manna le Rus, both of Cambridge, concerning a piece of land opposite St Edmund's Chapel, Cambridge. It mentions the Prioress and nuns of Swaffham, but only to give a warranty against them. Hailstone, however, describes it carefully, as if it were the nunnery seal. This is Cole's description:

"Seal neat, fair and oval, Our Lady in half length crowned, with a Saviour in her arms, and two angels on her sides praying to her, as is also a person in an arch beneath her in a clerical habit, and tonsured, behind whom is a crescent and star, above it, and another star by his uplifted hands, round it is wrote *Salve regina misericordiae.*"

ELECTION OF A PRIORESS OF SWAFFHAM, DEC. 17, 1340.

The monastery of Nuns' Swaffham being vacant by the death of the Lady Agnes de Ely, late prioress, and the body of the same having been brought to the church for burial, and licence being asked by the Earl of Oxford to proceed to an election, and granted, which being made in the chapter house of the same monastery by means of scrutiny on the Friday next after the feast of St Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, December 17th, 1340, by the unanimous consent of all the nuns, who elected Lady Isabella de Albotslee, fellow nun of the same monastery, and presented her to the Bishop; and so they proclaimed it with solemn proclamation on the said day appointed for this as is fitting, in the conventual church of the monastery, and afterwards in the church of Middelton by Ditton, and in the cemetery of the same, and in the rectory of the said church, on the day before the nones of December appointed by the rev. father, and before the said father the tribunal then there sitting to examine into the said election, and see if anyone would oppose it, which no one doing, the same rev. father in the said business of election on examination of the decree and grant of the same, found that election, according to the form of the general council handed down in this matter, not canonically celebrated, but not defective as regards the person; but quashed it from the aforesaid cause under the persuasion of justice in writing. But because he found the Lady Isabella of the age of thirty years and more, a nun devoted to God, and provident and circumspect, begotten in lawful wedlock, of regular life according to the rules of the order of St Benedict, circumspect in spirituals and temporals, and variously commended in other virtuous acts as public report attests, the right of election having devolved upon him for that time he used his authority as ordinary towards the prioress of the same monastery and committed the administration of spirituals and temporals to the same. Whereupon the nuns having sworn canonical obedience, had letters directed to the sub-prioress and convent to obey her, and others to the official of the archdeacon to install her.

(Reg: Montacute, f. 226.)

This translation is copied from Hailstone, who gives as reference Additional MS. 5424, pp. 18–19. It is not clear whether the translation is Cole's or Hailstone's. I have made several attempts to see MS. 5424, but for several months it seems to have been in the binders' hands, and when a few weeks ago I made an urgent request for it on a Saturday afternoon, I was told that the binding room could not be opened at that hour because of contravention of the Shop Hours Act. Canon Crosby gives only a brief note about this election.

Grant of a Pension to the Prioress.

[The following is a translation of a grant in Augmentation Misc. Books, Vol. 232, fo. 18, p. 1. It is copied from Edward Hailstone's *Swaffham Bulbeck*, p. 72, but it has been compared with the original. The amount of the pension given to a prioress depended on the income of the priory. Thus the Prioress of Ickleton, which was somewhat richer than Swaffham, received a pension of £8. I have found no record of the nuns having received a pension. Joan Spilman's name does not appear in the list of pensioners for 1553 (Exch. Acct. 76/11) so we may conclude that she was dead, or married, before that date. Misc. Book 249 (32 Hen. VIII), Exch. K.R. Misc. Book 31, and Exch. Acct. 75/4, do not contain her name.]

P. 71. 1557. The King to all whom etc. greeting. Since the late priory of Swaffham Bulbeck in our county of Cambridge by the authority of Parliament is now suppressed and dissolved, of which a certain Johanna Spylman at the time of the dissolution and long before was there prioress, we, willing to provide a reasonable and competent pension to the same Johanna, the better to sustain her food and position, know therefore that we in consideration of the premisses of our special grace and from our certain knowledge by the advice and consent of the Chancellor and Council of our Court of Augmentations of the revenues of our Crown have granted and given and by these presents give and grant to the same Johanna a certain annuity or annual pension of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, to have and annually to receive the same £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to the aforesaid Johanna and her assigns

from the feast of the Annunciation of the B.V.M. last past for the terme of the life of the said Johanna as by the hands of the treasurer of our court of Augmentations of the aforesaid revenues of our Crown etc., at the feast of St Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of B.V.M. in equal portions. In testimony of which the King, etc., 29th Day of June in the 28th year of our reign (1536).

THE BALANCE SHEET AND INVENTORY OF STOCK AND CROP OF THE PRIORY OF SWAFFHAM BULBECK, MICHAELMAS 1481, TO MICHAELMAS 1482. IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, MINISTERS' ACCTS. 770/3.

The receipts on this roll are printed in full in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. IV, p. 458. It is there stated that the list of expenses is too long to be printed in full. They cannot be printed in full now, because they cannot be read distinctly. A few extracts are here printed as examples:

Extracts from Account of Goods Bought.

One sieve (*redel*)	3*d.*
3 ells of woollen cloth	12*d.*
For rushes (*cirpis*) for the church, hall and chambers at divers times bought...	13*d.*
One rood of wood bought,	...
For making the same into faggots	21*d.*
Santoyle bought	4*d.*
For spinning and carding 28 lbs. of wool	2*s.* 4*d.*
For weaving 28 ells of woollen cloth...	19*d*
For fulling the same	19*d.*
For dyeing and cutting	7*s.* 6*d.*
4 lbs. Candles at 1/3 a lb.	5*s.*
One pound of Cotone	8*d.*
One pound of Pakthrede	3*d.*
One peck of mustard seed	6*d.*
18 lbs. of Sope	18*d.*
Nails of divers sorts	2*s.*
One Payle	3*d.*
6 scores of flax bought	18*d.*
7 door locks	2*s.* 1*d.*
4 bus. Flour (*farine*) at 16½*d.*	5*s.*
For garlic and onions (*allis et cepis*) bought	16*d.*

For two mortars (*tribulis*) bought	7*d.*
A fenne scythe bought	12*d.*
27 warp of.....bought for household at 9*d.* the warp ...	20*s.* 3*d.*
2 warp of Ling	.....
Stockfish	5*s.*
[1]One barrell of white herrings (*allec'*) bought	12*s.*
One salted Salmon (*Salmon' sals*)	16*d.*
Two quarters of white salt at 5*s.* 4*d.*	10*s.* 8*d.*
.....of wax bought at 5*d.* a pound	5*s.* 11½*d.*
One gallon (*lagen'*) of oil for a lamp	.....
[2]One gallon of honey (*mell'*)	3*d.*
[3]Two pounds of pepper	2*s.* 4*d.*
Two ounces (*unc'*) of Saffron, cloves and mace bought ...	20*d.*
For one horse	6*s.* 8*d.*

Extracts from List of Payments.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Seven nuns each 6*s.* 8*d.*			
One priest	2	6	8
Bailiff	1	4	0
.....and brewer	1	2	0
John Denys, Carter	1	3	4
..... Fowler, Ploughman	1	0	0
John Schambyr Ploughman	1	0	0
..... Fenman for a quarter's reaping, sedge and digging turf		5	0
..... Shepherd		1	6
Keeper of Beasts and pigs		1	6
Catharine Canone hired (*conduct'*) to keep the cellar this year		10	0
[4]Katerine Rotsone hired to keep the buttery (*promptorium*)		7	0
Stipend of Eleanor, keeper of the Kitchen		7	0
One Maltster		5	0
For gloves (*ceroteces*) bought in the autumn for the servants		2	0
Paid to the Lord Bishop for instalment		20	0
To Master Robert Burdon for writing the decree of election		5	0
To Master Hugh for the election		6	8
For expenses of the Prioress walking (*ambuland'*) to Bury St Edmunds		1	0
To the Clerk		1	0

[1] Hailstone prints this: one barrel of "white garlic."

[2] "Nelt." Hailstone.

[3] "6 pounds." Hailstone.

[4] Hailstone translates *promptorium* as "infant school."

	s.	d.
Stipend of one glazier for working in the church of the said Priory and in the chancel window of the parish church of Swaffham	3	8

The inventory of Stock and Crop is unreadable in parts, but here are some extracts as to how much corn was used in the nunnery.

Wheat, used in the house, 26 qrs. 4 bushels.
Maslin, used in the house, 26 qrs.
Oats, used in the house, 2 qrs. 4 bushels.
Barley, made into Malt, 99 qrs.

Malt.

Remaining from last year,	147	quarters.
Made this year,	99	„
Total	246	„

The latter was used as follows:

[1]Used in brewing beer for the Nuns and their household	110	quarters.
Paid to the Shepherd, as part of his wages,	2	„
Paid to the swine-herd,	2	„
Sold,	30	„
Remains in granary,	102	„
Total	246	„

William atte Mede of Bartlow, Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck, sues the Prioress for Tithes.

The case is given in many words in the register of the Consistory Court in the time of Bishop Arundel. There is a transcript in Cole, Additional MS. 5842, pp. 67–70. It takes three whole pages. Cole copied it verbatim, perhaps because he did not clearly understand it, or rather because he thought there must be more in it than there appeared to be. But there was not, in my opinion. The Vicar claimed all parochial offerings and all tithes except those of corn and hay. He goes into great detail with regard to his small tithes, mentioning even cut and fallen timber. But he brought no witnesses. The Prioress said that all tithes and offerings whatsoever belonged to the nunnery by gift, except the portion set aside for the Vicar. Several

[1] This quantity of malt would make at least 880 barrels of beer of the present alcoholic standard.

witnesses gave evidence for the Prioress. They were Simon Selverle of Swaffham; Isabel Tonewell, Agnes Kyngeston, Simon de Acres, Thomas Bircho; and the ladies Elena Ufford and Isabel atte Lache, nuns. "Having heard and considered the evidence of the said witnesses," says this wordy record, "his worship the judge dismissed the claim of William with costs against him." But not a word does the record say as to what the important evidence was.

The Prioress could also use the ecclesiastical Court. From the same record we learn that in 1378 she caused Robin Dasse to be forbidden church for being behindhand with his rent for seven years.

List of Vicars of Swaffham Bulbeck during the time of the Nunnery.

This is Canon Crosby's list in U. L. C. Addit. MS. 6380, with a few additions. The Prioress and convent are patrons throughout.

		Authority
15 Mch. 1338–9	John de Wyghtedon	Bishop's Register
30 June 1349	William son of Richard le clerk of Westwyk, priest	„ „
31 Dec. 1351	Robert de Stonle, priest	„ „
In 1378	William atte mede of Berkelowe was vicar. He sued the convent for tithes and lost	Cole, Addit. MS. 5842, pp. 67–70
In 1379	Nicholas Yorke was vicar ...	Clerical Subsidy $\frac{23}{1}$
20 Apl. 1389	Dominus Nicholas Plumpton, vicar, exchanges with Dominus William Hundene, vicar of West Wratting	Bishop's Register
4 May 1408	Dominus William Bool, priest ...	„ „
	Dominus William Sterlyng resigns	„ „
21 Sept. 1431	Dominus John Godyng chaplain resigns	Archdeacon's Book
19 Mch. 1441–2	Dominus John Wade, priest ...	„ „
2 Dec. 1443	„ John Warren	„ „
	„ John Fylay, dies ...	Bishop's Register
11 Sept. 1493	„ John Lovecote, chaplain resigns	„ „
1493	Thomas Robinson dies	Cole

5 Jan. 1493–4	John Smyth, chaplain. He died 1532. His will *infra*	Bishop's Register
	Richard Spencer, cleric, resigns in 1535	Visitation Book
8 June 1537	Richard Gaysley presented by the King	Bishop's Register
31 May 1546	Thomas Ruddock, cleric, collated	„ „

Will of a Vicar.

John Smith, Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck, 13 Feb. 1532. Body to be buried in the chancel there joyning to the sepulchre of Master Wm. Pecke, vz. my feet against the head of the same, and a marble stone to be laid over my body, with the picture of a similitude of a bachelor of law. To every priest at my burial 8*d.* To the clerks that be men, to each 4*d.* and clerks being children to each 2*d.*, and the same at my 30th day. To each of the 4 orders of Friers in Cambrigge 10*s.* to sing a Trentall. I will that an honest priest shall sing satisfactory at St Kateryns altar in Swaffham Bulbeck for my soul for 3 years and to have for his stipend 8 marks per annum. I will that an other able priest do sing in the church of Selby in Yorkshire at the altar of the Holy Trinity for my soul, to be written on a table standing on the same altar for three years, and his stipend 7 marks, or more if need be. To the church of Swaffham a cope and a vestment of one sute of the price of 20*li.* both. To the Prioress of Swaffham 2*s.*, and to every nun 12*d.* and to Sir Christopher their priest 12*d.* To Joan my sister, my tenement called Clyff's for life, and then to be sold to Edmund Mordaunt[1] gentylman if he be contented at a reasonable price, and to have it 20*s.* cheaper than any other, and the money to maintain a yearly obit for my soul in Swaffham as long as it lasts. To Harry Righten my sister's son my close called Goodalls, 10 marks, 3 mares, 2 geldings and a colt. To Thomas and John Righten 40*s.* each. To Stephen Fulwell the younger a goblet of silver, 2 silver spoons of the best sorts, and all my books. To Alys Fulwell a silver salt and 2 silver spoons. To Margaret Fulwell a silver pese and 2 silver spoons. To each godchild, 12*d.* To

[1] Edmund Mordaunt was Lord of the Manor of Burgh-hall.

Master Cotton's child 3*s.* 4*d.* To Joan my sister a maser of silver, 2 silver spoons, half my wheat and malt, a cow, 13 marks, and half my household stuff. Residue to Robert Fulwell, and Agnes his wife, my executors. Thomas Rudstone of Swaffham gent. supervisor, who is to have 40*s.* for his labour. Witnesses, Thomas Rudstone, gent. John Hasyll, John Rolfe, Richard Birde. Proved 22 Feb. 1532[1].

Master John Smith's effigy in brass in the habit of a bachelor of law had disappeared before the time of John Layer (died 1640), because he does not mention it in his list of monuments in the church[2], but Cole in 1743 saw in the middle of the chancel a stone which had the figure of a priest and an inscription, but the brasses lost[3].

J. and J. A. Venn give[4] John Smith B.C.L. 1503–4 and add, "Perhaps rector of Bilborough, Notts, 1502–28. First Master of Nottingham School, 1518–32. Died before Aug. 20, 1538," and add a reference to the Victoria County History of Nottinghamshire. But no evidence is given to show whence this John Smith came. Perhaps two men are referred to in the entry. It is rather curious, however, that the Cambridgeshire vicar should have come from a town to the north of Nottingham.

Robert Fulwell lived at Linton in the old 14th-century house still existing, and known as "Chandlers." He died in 1535 leaving to his wife Agnes, "all the household stuffe that came from my uncle Master John Smith late Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck." His will mentions his children Stephen, Margaret, Alice and Joan[5].

The Glanvilles of Swaffham Bulbeck.

1345. Apl. 3. Licence to dominus Hugh de Glanville clerk for an oratory in his house at Swaffham Bulbeck.

1347 Sept. 3. do. to Hugh de Glanville, priest.

(Reg: Montacute.)

[1] Vol. I. fo. 171 A. 6. Addit. MS. 5861, p. 225.

[2] *Monumental Inscriptions in Cambridgeshire*, p. 239.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 160.

[4] In *Alumni Cantabrigienses.*

[5] *Consistory Court*, Vol. L. fo. 111.

On the strength of the above extracts Canon Crosby has put down Hugh de Glanville as a vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck. But he was a more important person than that. He first appears in connection with the village as a witness to a deed in 1316 (Addit. MS. 5813, p. 146). But in the *Feudal Aids* and *Inquisitions post Mortem*, no connection can be traced. In 1332 he began to make purchases in Swaffham. In that year he bought a house, mill, arable land, meadow and rent, adding to it later[1]. In 1346 a cart containing a pipe of wine belonging to him, on its way from London to Swaffham, killed a boy at Melbourn. For deodand purposes the wine was valued at 20*s*. It was probably a fifty gallon pipe of Bordeaux wine, judging by the price. It was this pipe of wine travelling by road from London, which made me curious about Glanville, for the wine could have come more cheaply by water almost to his door at Swaffham. By a little research it was found that Hugh de Glanville, King's clerk, was treasurer for Queen Philippa and commissioner for her lands in Yorkshire. So the wine was coming by road at the Queen's expense. Hugh died in 1358, in debt to the King for more than £2600. The sheriff was ordered to seize his land in this county. He returned that it was only worth £20 a year.

W. U. Glanville Richards, *Records of the Anglo-Norman house of Glanville*, says that Hugh was the younger son of Nicholas de Glanville, a younger son of Gilbert de Glanville, Earl of Suffolk (whom the *Historic Peerage* knows not). He says that Hugh was for some time a monk at St Peter's, Gloucester, and went to Berkeley Keep and claimed the body of King Edward II. He was made rector of Keyingham in Yorkshire, and when that rectory was appropriated to the monastery of Melsa, he received a pension of 80 marks which was to be paid him at Cambridge. Mr Richards must have confused two different men here.

Besides the William de Glanville on the subsidy roll, Hailstone mentions Isabel, John and Roger le Glanville as occurring in the court rolls of the Honor of Clare for Swaffham, 1342–1369.

[1] The name Glanville was still attached to this property in 1522, when William Mordant, besides his manor of Michell Hall, died seised of a tenement called Glanville. Inq. P.M., 13 Hen. VIII, No. 21.

For further particulars see *History Teachers' Miscellany*, Vol. 3, p. 108, "Hugh de Glanville's pipe of wine."

Swaffham Bulbeck Exchequer Suits.

Amongst the Exchequer depositions by commission are two series of documents about Swaffham Bulbeck, notes from which are here given. Further information might be obtained if the cases were followed up through Exchequer Bills and Answers, Exchequer Proceedings and Exchequer Decrees.

Suit 1. 44–45 Elizabeth. Michaelmas, No. 7. Commission 13 June. Interrogatories and Depositions, 20 Sept. at Cambridge.

Martin Folkes, farmer of the scite and demesne lands of the late priory of Swaffham Bulbeck, against Blase Carrel of London, Merchant, Arthur Jarvis of London, gentleman, farmer of the Rectory and parsonage of Swaffham Bulbeck, and Edward Smythe, clerk, Vicar of the Parish church of Swaffham Bulbeck.

Subject. Scite and demesnes of the late Priory of Swaffham Bulbeck and the Rectory and Parsonage of Swaffham Bulbeck. Tithes.

There are thirty-nine questions altogether, but they were not all put to each witness. Several witnesses stated their inability to answer the questions, many of which were about the family affairs of the lessors. Parts of questions which relate to the nunnery are as follows:

No. 2. "Do you know the scite, capital messuage, mansion and dwelling house of the late dissolved nunnerie of Swaffham Bulbeck, and whether there were placed within the precincts of the said Prior of ancient tyme, one dovehouse, two barns, stables and certain other buildings, with orchards and gardens, which were in the occupation of Joan Spilman, late prioress at and before the dissolution and which are now in the tenure of Martin Folkes?"

No. 3. "Was there placed within the precincts a tythe barn (now decayed and clene fallen down) wherein were laid at the time of the dissolution of the said priory long time before and many years since, all the tythe corn growing within the parish

of Swaffham Bulbeck, the corn growing upon the demesne lands of the priory excepted?"

No. 4. "Whether do you know or have credibly heard that there was one house with a croft adjoyning called the convent house, one water mill, one meadow called mill meadow, one pightel of meadow called Salters," etc.

Nos. 5 and 6 are about a fishery in the Cam called "Nun's fishing" where it began and ended, and about a building called "a fisher's cote on the Bank."

No. 8. "Whether do you know one Rainwald Hancock, bailiff of the said priorie or nunnerie who did gather or receive all the rents due to the said priorie at or before the dissolution, to the use of the prioress and convent, and after the dissolution then to the use of our late sovreign Lord King Henry the Eighth?"

From the rest of the questions we gather that the succeeding bailiffs were Thomas Rudstone, Richard Drurie, John Drurie, William Padgett, Anthony Grayne.

No. 9. "Whether do you know the last Prioress at the dissolution of the nunnery—if you knew her what was her Christian name and surname, and whether she was called Dame Jane or Dame Joan Spilman, and what can you say touching her abode in Swaffham Bulbeck after the dissolution of the nunnerie?"

No. 10. "Was she seized of the site and 308½ acres of land, 20 of meadow and 17 of pasture being the demesne of Swaffham Bulbeck, grazing for 300 sheep on the common, a certain wood called Nunswood in Ditton Valence and the parsonage of Swaffham Bulbeck?"

No. 12. "Was Thomas Wren gent. the first tenant after the dissolution?"

No. 31. "Do you know that at the time and long before the dissolution there was paid out of the parsonage of Swaffham Bulbeck one quarter of wheat and one quarter of barley to the Vicars of Swaffham Bulbeck and also 10/- to the poor?"

No. 33. "Have Edward Smith, Wm. Williams, W. Fletcher, W. Hutchinson, W. Ruddock or Mr Gaysley or any other vicar recovered any tithe of wool, lamb, saffron, pigs, geese or other small tithes?"

The depositions were taken before Drs. Humphrey Tyndall and John Cowell, Christopher Barde Esq., and Thomas Webb gent. and cover several large sheets of parchment. They do not contain much about the Priory.

Extracts. Richard Cook of Swaffham Priory, aged 60 years, said that payments ought to issue out of the rectory to the Vicar and to the poor.

Robert Manning of Burwell, aged 80 years. To Nos. 2, 3, and 4. He well knew the buildings, tithe barns etc., as about 60 years ago he was servant to the farmer, one Barnard, for 16 years. He well knew the convent house, and mill etc. He also knew the fishing holt which at the time of the dissolution was in the tenure of one Cooper. He well knew the last prioress of the Priory at the time of the dissolution, that her Christian name was Joane, but she desired to be called Dame Jane, and that she remained in a cave in the ground at the Vicaredge for the most part by the space of one year or thereabouts after the dissolution. The said Joan Spillman did own and enjoy the demesne aforesaid, for hospitality and good housekeeping in the said priorie, free from the yielding or payment of any manner of tithes whatsover.

Other people who deposed were: William Carve of Swaffham Bulbeck, yeoman, aged 60. Robert Collinson of Swaffham Bulbeck, yeoman, aged 60. Hellen Cooke, wife of Richard Cooke, aged 68, Dorothey Betrape, wife of John Betrape of Reache, aged 80. None of these said anything about the Prioress.

The above interrogatories and depositions were on the part of the plaintiff. There is another set of each, administered and taken on behalf of the defendant. These give little information about the priory. One question was "Do you know the late priory or nunnery of Swaffham Bulbeck, or have you heard of what order they were?" No one answered this. An answer of general interest is this:

Robert Turner of Trinity Hall, B.C.L., aged 48, said that on May 31st, 1600, he went with Edward Smith and Martin Folkes into Mr Warren's house in Cambridge, to drink a cup of wine and witness a composition between them, by which Folkes paid Smith £10 yearly, not of right for tithes, but of his benevolence.

Suit 2. 20 Chas. II. Easter, No. 25. Commission 12 Feb. Interrogatories and Depositions, 25 March, Cambridge. Thomas Woolsey, clerk, against Sir Thomas Willys, Bart. Wm. Cook, Wm. Marrett and Wm. Rolfe.

Subject. Vicarage and parish of Swaffham Bulbeck. Tithes.

These documents are in good condition. The proceedings are voluminous, but on a cursory inspection nothing was noticed about the nunnery. There is much about a cottage and meadows by the "river of Grant[1]."

Some early Swaffham Bulbeck Wills.

The following abstracts of early Swaffham Bulbeck wills have not been printed before. There are several other wills in Cole's volume 60, but they do not mention the nunnery. The registers at Peterborough have not been searched. The fragment of a will register in the Archdeacon's office, Cambridge, contains no Swaffham entries.

Will of Richard Vale of Swaffhambulbecke made 12 *June* 1494.

He wished to be buried in the cemetery of the church of St Mary near his parents. To the high altar for tithes forgotten 4*s.*, 40*s.* to the fabric of the church, 26*s.* 8*d.* to a priest to say mass in the church of Swaffhambulbecke for a year, property to his son on condition he observed his father's anniversary in the church aforesaid for his whole life and that he caused the vicar there to pray for his soul. (P.C.C. Vox No. 17.)

Will of John Tever citizen and salter of London, made 26 *Oct.* 1495.

He left 20*s.* to the works of the body of the church of Swaffham Bulbeck where he was born and christened. All his messuages lands &c. in the same place to Nicholas Hughson gentleman in

[1] The printed Calendars of Exchequer Depositions by Commission were not in existence when Hailstone wrote his history. But he, or someone searching for him, had found a reference to the first suit amongst the enrolments of exchequer pleas.

fee simple on condition that he paid rent to the testator's widow. (P.C.C. Vox 29.)

Will of Thomas Fyncham of Cambridge made 13 *Jan.* 1517.

Left 20*s.* a year for life to dame Alice Wood nun of the Priory of Soffeham. (P.C.C. Ayloffe 5.)

Will of Nicholas Hughson of Swaffham Bulbeck gentleman, made 29 *Oct.* 1512.

He wished to be buried in the parish church in the tomb of Joan his wife there, if he should die in Swaffham Bulbeck. 5 marks for tithes forgotten to the parish church there. 40*s.* to the repair of the same church. Every priest attending his burial to have 6*d.* and every clerk 2*d.* and "no pryde pompe nor no grete cost bee made upon my persone at my obsequies but onely upon poor people." 40*s.* to be distributed amongst the householders of Swaffham Bulbeck, 30*s.* amongst those of Swaffham Prior and 30*s.* amongst those of Bottessam. To every high altar of every parish in the 14 hundreds of Cambridgeshire except the Isle, Cambridge town, and Wisbech country, 12*d.* to pray for him and have a dirge and mass for his soul and other souls. A yearly stipend of 8 marks for 4 years to a priest to say mass for his soul and the souls of his relatives &c. at St Katherine's altar in Swaffham Bulbeck church. 20*s.* to the Prior and Convent of Anglesey, 20*s.* to the Prioress and Convent of Swaffham Bulbeck, 20*s.* to the Prior of Barnwell, 20*s.* to the Abbess and Convent of Denny. (P.C.C. Fettiplace 20.)

[Nicholas Hughson married Joan Hammond, heiress of the manor of Momplers in Swaffham. See their epitaph in *Monumental Inscriptions*, pp. 160–1, 239.]

Thomas Bentley of Swaffham Bulbeck, 4 *May,* 1526.

To be buried at Waterbeach. To Sir John Depyng, vicar of Waterbeach 6/8 to pray for me. To the nounes of Swafham to pray for me 4^d each. To sister Margaret Yngnon 3^s 4^d. etc. Executor his brother William Bentley. Proved 9 May, 1523. (Addit. MS. 5861, p. 172.)

Will of John Brocket made 16 *Feb.* 1524.

He left to the vicar of Swaffham Bulbecke church 6*s.* 8*d.* To the Prior of Angilsey 6*s.* 8*d.* To the Nunnery of Deynne 13*s.* 4*d.* (P.C.C. Porch 9.)

[John Brocket married Dorothy, daughter of Nicholas Hughson.]

Joan Deyns of Swafham Bulbeck, widow, 27 *April* 1530.

Body to churchyard near my husband Robert Deyns. To every Priest and Nun within the house of Nuns there 4^d. To an honest Priest 26^s 8^d to sing for my soule and my husbands 4 times a year, 5 masses of the 5 wounds of our Lord yearly till it be spent. To an honest Priest 3^s 4^d to syng for the souls of John Northen & Alys his wife at Christmas and Easter. I will have a Mass & Dirige by note at my burial days & without note at my 7^{th} & 30^{th} days. To my son John Fareberne of Ely 26^s 8^d. To John Ripley, a salting trough, & that he pays 7^{li} which he owes me for a house he bought of me. Residue to Lawrence Foster of Bottisham gentilman to dispose for my husband's soul. Witnesses, M^r John Smith, vicar, etc. Proved 11 Nov. 1531. (Vol. I, Cons. Court Ely, fo. 163 A. Addit. MS. 5861, p. 221.)

The taxpayers of Swaffham Bulbeck during the time of the Nunnery.

1. *The subsidy rolls of* 1318 *and* 1327[1].

These are taxes on personal property only, and not on all personal property. Thus the horse, the armour, and the jewels of a knight were not taxed, nor were the spades, ploughs or harrows of the husband. Nor were the goods of the poor taxed at all. The limit of poverty seems to have been 5*s.* in 1318 and 9*s.* in 1327. So these rolls cannot be relied upon to estimate exactly the number of people in, or the wealth of, a particular village. The amounts given in the following lists are those which were actually paid, and represent in 1318 a twelfth, in 1327 a twentieth, of taxable personal property. The assessment

[1] The best modern account of Subsidy Rolls is by Prof. J. F. Willard, in *Surrey Record Society*, No. XVII.

had been made at the Michaelmas previous, when the barns were full, by men whose names are at the bottom of the 1318 list. The transcriber has not distinguished the taxers in the 1327 list.

Lay Subsidy 81/7 from which the first list is taken is imperfect. The names are in two columns, but of the skin containing the hundred of Stane, large portions of the left hand column are rotted away, including the names of villages. The Prioress is the first name on the list; I conclude that she paid the 8*s.* because the names of the other landowners come later in the list. The heading of this subsidy is also missing, and in the official list at the Public Record Office the probable date is given as 1332. But internal evidence shows that the earlier date is correct.

1318.

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
[The Prioress of Swaffham]	8	0¾	. . . . . de Burton		7¾
. . . . .		18¼	. . Freman		12
. . . . .		16¼	[John] de Veer	10	7¼
. . . . .		23¾	Thomas de Massingham		21½
. . . . .		15½	. . . de Madingle		13½
. . cerel		6	. . . Strong		13¼
. . eman		18½	William le Parker		10
. . . . .			Peter Fynecok		6½
. . . . .			William Blounch		15½
. . her	2	1½	Everard de Carlton		16
. . ched		7			
Robert Lamb		18¾	Michael de Rouketon		9½
Peter Mariot		14	William Carpenter		13¼
Nicholas Davye		9½	Thomas de Burgh	7	10¾
Osbert de Warbelton		18¾	. . . Sybern		21¾
Five names illegible.					
Alice Prat		8¾	Agnes Chamberlyn		6
William Wendit		21	William son of Hugo		21¾
William de Bradeleye	2	0	The same William for the fold course		3*s*
Richard de Haddington		22	Thomas le Countour		12*d*
John de Gaselee		9	Walter de Haverhill		9½
Peter Wolward		21	Alan Sepere		9
Adam Robad		18¼	Sarra att Gerr		12
Sarra Sorel	5	3½	William Sutor		10¾

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Kebelot		9¼	Bartholomew de Denaston		18
Henry de Southewode	2	3	William Bissop		17¾
Geoffrey Dobat	2	8¾	Richard Brestere		6
Alice de Wychefeld		9¾	Nicholas Dobbe		9½
Henry Poppe		12	Abbot of Wardon	8	0
William de Kai	8	0	Richard Cocus	6	0
William Sebar		13			

John Brai
John Davyd
Roger Clement } Taxatores.

The total given in Roll is £6. 9 5½.

Tax of a Twentieth 1327 Swaffham Bolbek.

	s.	d.		d.
John de Schardelowe	18	1¾	William de Wygthe	23½
Sir Thomas de Burgh	12	9½	William le Glanville	23½
Prioress of Swaffham	16	2	Walter Leveret	12¾
John de Stowe	12	9	Walter de Maddigle	17½
John son of Margaret	12	9	John Davy	7
Thomas Seman	2	0	John Kebelote	10½
William Gayslee	2	8¾	John Golde	13¾
Roger Clement	2	3½	Willliam the Parker	16¾
John le Bray		14½	Geoffrey Prat	7
John Sorel		8	William le fis Hugh	8
Hugh Broun		6		

Total £4. 13*s.* 8¼.

East Anglian, Vol. x, p. 385–6.

Although as already stated accurate deductions on several points are not possible, still certain deductions can be made which are interesting if fallacious. In the first place the value of taxable property had gone up between 1318 and 1327, and whilst the number of taxable people was smaller, the average individual wealth had increased from 1*s.* 11d. to 4*s.* 5d. Between the two taxes there had been plague and famine, and the population may have been actually diminished. It looks almost as if the death of tenants without heirs had increased the taxable property of the lords of manors, for the value of the nuns' property had become doubled. Then with regard to the names in the lists. John de Schardelowe in 1327 held the manor of John de Veer. Thomas de Burgh held under the

Earl of Richmond. His chief seal was at Borough Green. He was an ancestor of the Ingoldsthorpes and Huddlestons. The Abbot of Warden in Bedfordshire who appears as a large owner in 1318 is not mentioned here in the Hundred Roll, but in the valuation of religious property by Pope Nicholas in 1291 he is said to have temporals in Nuns' Swaffham to the value of £9. 4*s.* 0*d.* Probably John de Stowe, or the son of Margaret, represents the Abbot in the 1327 roll. It may seem strange that some of the tenants had more taxable property than the lords, as in 1318. William le Kai is rated higher than Thomas de Burgh. Such cases are frequent in these rolls. It may be due to the exemptions which could be claimed by the lords. The ups and downs of farming in the 14th century are shown in the Sorel family. Sarah's valuation of £3, in 1318, had come down to 13*s.* 4*d.* when John Sorel was assessed in 1327. The name Dobat in 1318 is reminiscent of the Dobedes and Dobitos, who were sporting farmers in these parts from the 16th to the 19th century.

2. The Subsidy Rolls of 1523 and 1542.

As is well known to those who have used these records, there are few subsidy rolls between the year 1333 and the reign of Henry VIII which give the names of the people assessed, partly because for the greater part of that period the Exchequer was concerned only with amounts paid by parishes, not with the sums individuals paid. The Exchequer fixed a sum which was to be paid by the parish, the inhabitants raised it, but sent in no list of names. Towards the end of the 15th century, taxes were again levied directly on the inhabitants, and not on the whole village, and lists begin to appear again in the Public Record Office. But until the year 1523, they are not abundant, although some are to be found amongst the records of boroughs, as at Cambridge. The records of the tax levied under the Subsidy Act, 14 and 15 Hen. VIII c. 16, are plentiful. In this the method of assessment was entirely altered from the method of 1327. The assessment was now made as follows: one shilling in the pound was charged on land; sixpence in the pound on personal property from £2 up to £20; fourpence for personal

property of £2, or for wages of £1. The tax was to be paid yearly for four years, and the rate varied after the second year; the list below was the first payment. The act sets forth in quaint Tudor English many particulars about collection, for instance, what kinds of foreign coins could be taken; dukkettes, crowns, Crusadoes, Caroluses and Philips. Foreigners, of whom there were plenty in Cambridge town, had to pay a double tax, and from them the strange coins would come.

LAY SUBSIDY, E. 179/81/163, 1523. SWAFFHAM BULBECK.

John Gylberde	in goodes assessed at	£24	paid	24*s.*	
[1] Mesteres Dorothay Brokett	,, ,,	£20	,,	20*s.*	
Robert Graye	,, ,,	£20	,,	20*s.*	
Robert Curtes	,, ,,	20 marks	,,	6*s.*	8*d.*
William Curtes	,, ,,	£10	,,	5*s.*	
William Paxman	,, ,,	£10	,,	5*s.*	
William Gylberde	,, ,,	£7	,,	3*s.*	6*d.*
Thomas Wrenne	,, ,,	£6	,,	3*s.*	
Richard Hancocke	,, ,,	£5	,,	2*s.*	6*d.*
John Grene	,, ,,	£5	,,	2*s.*	6*d.*

Assessed at goods £4, paid 2*s.* each.

William Gylle senior, Thomas Deynes, Richard Pache,
Richard Vyrdon, William Bently.

Assessed at goods £3, paid 1*s.* 6*d.*

John Rowsse, Robert Curtes senior, William Gyell,
William Grene, Robert Wheygth, George Norman,
Richard Crestien,
4 marks.

Assessed at goods 40*s.* Paid 12*d.* each.

Richard Bell, John Hancock, Robert Bentley,
John Ripley, William Richmonde, ...hellie Greye,
William Frebreye, John Peacocke.

Assessed at goods 20*s.* Paid 4*d.* each.

John Ramsey, John Bowles, Henry Hasell,
John Bentley, John Vyrdon, Wicherd Lane,
William Deye, John Browne, Thomas Bentley,
Austen Glover, Richerd Richmond, William Wrenn,
Thomas Harwell, Thomas Drawswerde, William Coffyn
William Barmys, William Pache, Herry Reyton,
Jamys Hurr.

[1] Daughter of Nicholas Hughson.

Assessed at 20*s.* a year wages, and paying 4*d.* each.

Robert Johnson,	William Smith,	William Bawde,
John Curtes,	John Rowsse the Younre,	John Pytte,
William Tredegold,	Hew Gylberd.	

Summa £6 10*s.* 6*d.*

LAY SUBSIDY, E. 179/82/177, 1542.
SWAFFHAM BULBECK.

Thomas Rudstone gentleman	for his lands	5	marks
Edward Mannock	for his goods	10	shillings
William Paxman	„ „	10	„
John Paxman	„ „	10	„
Reginald Hancok	„ „	10	„
Thomas Adamson	„ „	10	„
William Grene	„ „	10	„

Summa £5 16*s.* 8*d.*

The rate in this tax was one shilling in the pound on land, and sixpence in the pound on goods. *Statutes of the Realm* 32 Hen. VIII, c. 50.

Here the tax is falling on much fewer people, although the total is little less. Thomas Rudstone was lord of the manor of Burgh-hall.

TWO CORONERS' INQUESTS.

These two documents are printed to enable the reader to check the use which the author makes of such material, and also because too few of the many like documents relating to Cambridgeshire have been printed.

Coroners' Roll 21.

m 3*d.*

Swaffham Bolbeck.

Accedit in Swaffham Bolbek die Lune proximo post festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula Anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu xliij quod Johannes Ridesdale inventus fuit mortuus, Et super hoc Thomas Torel coronator domini Regis die mercurii proximo sequente acessit ibidem & habuit visum corporis dicti Johannis & diligenter inquisivit de morte ipsius per quatuor villatas propinquores scilicet Bodlesham Stowe Queye cum Swaffham Priour & per villam de Swaffham Bolbek & per xii juratores[1] videlicet Petrum de Teversham Alanum Wolleman Johannem Norman Johannem Belte Johannem Pache Johannem Prates Thomam Brewes Johannem Kebelt Johannem Hendekyn

[1] Actually there are thirteen jurors named.

Robertum Dasse Johannem Deynsmur Robertum Hamond Radulphum Clincham Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicto die Lune fuit quedam Societas ad Moniales de Swaffham in boveria ibidem & duo ex eis simul pugnaverunt & predictus Johannes Ridesdale tunc in lecto suo in dicta boveria existens surgebat volens eos seperasse quidem Johannes Wrich unus eorum pugnantum tenebat quemdem cutellum vocatur broche sub brachio suo & predictus Johannes Ridesdale cucurrit super dicto cutello vocatur Broche precii vjd & sic seipsum vulneravit in ventrem unde per infortunium habuit mortem sine aliqua procuratione vel malicia precognitata.

Et sunt quatuor vicini propinquores videlicet Vicini.

Alexander Cate plegii eiusdem Johannes Rous et Alanus West.

Lucas Cherlyng plegii Johannes Wiot & Willelmus Mot.

Willelmus Haverhill plegii eiusdem Johannes North & Rogerus atte Hull.

Johannes Horsford plegii eiusdem Jonannes West & Johannes Bole.

[In Margin] Infortunium.

m 5*d*.

Swaffham Bolbek.

Accedit in villa de Swaffham Bolbek die veneris proximo post festum Assumpcionis beate Marie Anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu xlij de quod Johannes Sherkk inventus fuit mortuus. Et Johanna Trumpour[?] primo invenit eum plegii eiusdem Johanne Johannes Slaghter & Johannes Prat. Et super hoc Thomas Torel Coronator domini Regis accessit ibidem die Sabbati proximo sequente & habuit visum corporis dicti Johannis et diligenter inquisit de morte dicti Johannis per quatuor villatas propinquores videlicet Swaffham Priour Bodkesham Wilburham Magna & Wilburgham Parva et villata de Swaffham Bolbek & per xij juratores videlicet Johannem Belte Adam Maynard Johannem Rande Ricardum Smyth Johannem Hendekyn Johannem filium Rosie Willelmum Herlewyne Johannem Kelogh Thomam Brews Johannem Maddyngle Johannem Hughsone & Johannem Bleyn Qui dicunt super sacramentum quod predictus Johannes predicto die veneris fuit serviens Monialium de Swaffham... et ivit in villam de Swaffham

Bolbek ad querendum unam candelam illu...in eodem domo predictarum monialium vocatur Gatous ivit ad lectum et posuit candelam super...suum super pariete & dormivit et cecidit Candela & per infortunium ardebat...& predictam domum cum igne inde surgentem. Et nichil habuit preter lectus qui ardebat....

Et sunt quatuor propinquores vicini

vicini

Johannes Trot plegii Reginaldus Der et Johannes Henne.

Johannes Pach plegii eiusdem Johannes Torvor[?] & Johannes Trap.

Johannes Emson plegii Johannes Coupere & Johannes Melner.

Johannes Wat plegii Adam Jay & Thoma Ideyn.

[In margin] Infortunium.

The Hundred Roll.

The account of the nunnery in the Hundred Roll is not altogether clear, but the following points seem to be certain.

The Prioress held the rectory of Swaffham Bulbeck, of the gift of the ancestors of the Earl of Oxford, in free, pure and perpetual alms. She also held in free alms four score acres of land although acquired of geldable fee. Her portion of the Sheriff's aid was paid by Roger de Walsham, the Earl of Oxford's tenant. She also held a third of a yard land of Geoffrey atte Ford, a tenant of Walsham, and half a yard land in demesne of the Richmond Manor. She had land in several other parishes in the county, including Swaffham Prior; the most in any parish was at Toft, sixty acres. Her rents in Cambridge town are given separately. The Prioress held a view of frankpledge, but was subject to the court leet of the Honor of Clare, where she paid three shillings as her share of the common fine. There are many court rolls of this leet in the Public Record Office, and from them Hailstone gives some extracts.

It is when we come to the tenants' names that the record seems wanting. A list of the free tenants is given, but no customary tenants, which is an impossible condition for a medieval manor, and an examination of the original record leads one to suppose that one or more membranes have been lost.

Hailstone's History of Swaffham Bulbeck.

Amongst the notices of works in the press given at the end of the C.A.S. Communications and in lists of publications for some years previous to 1891 occurs this: *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*, by Edward Hailstone Esq. He is the author to whom we owe the *History of Bottisham* amongst the Society's publications. But after the year 1891 the *History of Swaffham Bulbeck* disappears from all lists. At various times during the last twenty years I enquired from secretaries and treasurers as to what had happened to this work, without getting any information. In the early part of 1928, when preparing these notes on the nunnery, it occurred to me that the minute-books of the Council of the C.A.S. might tell me something. And I was successful in finding the following references to this matter.

"1889, February 4th.

Mr J. W. Clark undertook to edit Mr Edward Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*, when he had finished certain work which he had in hand."

"1892 October, 31st.

The President read letters from Mr Clay & Mr J. W. Clark concerning the printer's bill for the *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*, & it was unanimously agreed to accept Mr Clay's offer[1]."

"1893, May 5.

Mr Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*. The type has been distributed & it was thought desirable to see if a 'pull' could not be found & placed in the Library."

These are all the entries that can be found. The letters of Messrs Clay and Clark have not been preserved, although there are several bound volumes of letters for that period, so the exact reasons for abandoning the publication cannot be stated.

There are two copies of the work in the Clark Collection (University Library), in galley form, being proofs with corrections. There are seventy galleys measuring 11 by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, that is, enough for about 150 pages of the octavo publications of the Society. The work is divided into two parts, the first part relating to the church and village, the second to the nunnery.

[1] This I submit is an unsatisfactory minute. What was Mr Clay's offer?

The first part contains ten chapters. I. Population, nomenclature, orthography. II. The church; inventories, monuments. III. Vicars, curates, parish officers, feasts, camping close. IV. Parish registers, charities, wills. V. Early families and charters. VI. Manors; families of Bolebec and De Vere. VII. Manors; families of Burgh and Ingoldsthorp. VIII. Manors; families of Momplers, Hammond, Hughson, Hildersham. IX. Family of Cage. X. Families of Rudstone, Grange, Gyll, Rant and Parker. The second part contains information from many sources. A translation of the bailiff's account for 22 Edw. IV is given, which in places is not very accurate. There is also a complete translation of the first Augmentation Office ministers' account, made in the year 1536, giving a complete account of the possessions of the nunnery, but very little about the monastic buildings.

At the end of the letterpress are fifteen tabular pedigrees of families already mentioned. There is also a long chronological account of the De Vere family in the handwriting of Mr Jenkinson, late University Librarian, and some of the pedigrees show marks of his revision. Amongst other papers, there is a letter dated Paris, May 28, 1885, from Edward Hailstone to F. J. H. Jenkinson, Trinity College, enclosing a note about the Bacchus or Backhouse family, for "the revision of my history of Swaffham Bulbeck, which you have been good enough to undertake for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society."

After some time spent in studying these proof-sheets, the writer of this note has come to the conclusion that there is much in them which is worth reprinting, if revised and added to according to the more recent methods of research.

These notes are the answer to a request made to me by Mr Brindley for some information about the nunnery. They do not pretend to be exhaustive.

The parish contains several other objects of interest to the antiquary. The parish church has excellent ironwork on the north door, which is usually kept locked, probably because of the valuable chest there. Cf. Lady Walston, "Swaffham Bulbeck Chest" (with six illustrations), *The Collector*, July, 1930.

Is it possible that this chest was once in the nunnery? The last prioress may have brought her personal belongings in it when she took up her abode in the vicarage garden after the dissolution. At the opposite end of the village from the nunnery is the fine manor house of Burgh-hall, of an unusual type, where the upper storeys of the wings have been connected by a passage above the entrance hall.

ROMAN PEWTER BOWL FROM THE ISLE OF ELY.

By L. C. G. Clarke, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 4 February, 1929.)

The vessel illustrated on Pl. I, fig. 1, is the finest piece of Roman pewter we have in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. It came to us in 1922, when the Cole-Ambrose collection passed into the possession of the Museum, and when I described some recent acquisitions to the Society a little later on I mentioned its arrival; it is, however, far too important to receive only the cursory account which I then gave of it.

Most of the objects in the Cole-Ambrose collection were found in the neighbourhood of Ely, and this vessel apparently came from Sutton. At one time it belonged to Mr Marshall Fisher, an enthusiastic collector of local antiquities, who certainly possessed it as early as 1875, as a letter from him to the late Rev. S. S. Lewis testifies; and he appears to have exhibited it to the Society of Antiquaries in 1870. At the dispersal of his collection it passed into the hands of the late Mr Cole-Ambrose.

Roman pewter in Britain nearly always belongs to the later period of the occupation and this vessel probably dates in the 4th century A.D. It is a well-preserved tazza, or pedestalled cup, nearly four inches high, with a broad eight-pointed scalloped flange below the rim. We have in the Museum a vessel of similar shape, but smaller and ill-preserved, from Isleham Fen (Cole-Ambrose collection) and others are in the British Museum, many being from sites in Suffolk. The tazza most closely resembling ours is one found in Cornwall in 1793 and figured in *Archaeologia*, vol. XVI; in a letter from Reginald Pole-Carew on "Some antiquities found in Cornwall" read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1807 it is described as "a Tin Cup of singular Form," but there can, I think, be little doubt that the material is pewter.

Although the tazza itself cannot claim to be a rare type it has two features of special interest, namely the decoration on the upper side of the flange and an inscription scratched on the under side of it. This inscription (Pl. IV) has baffled many scholars. The earliest attempt to read it, so far as I can discover,

Fig. 1.

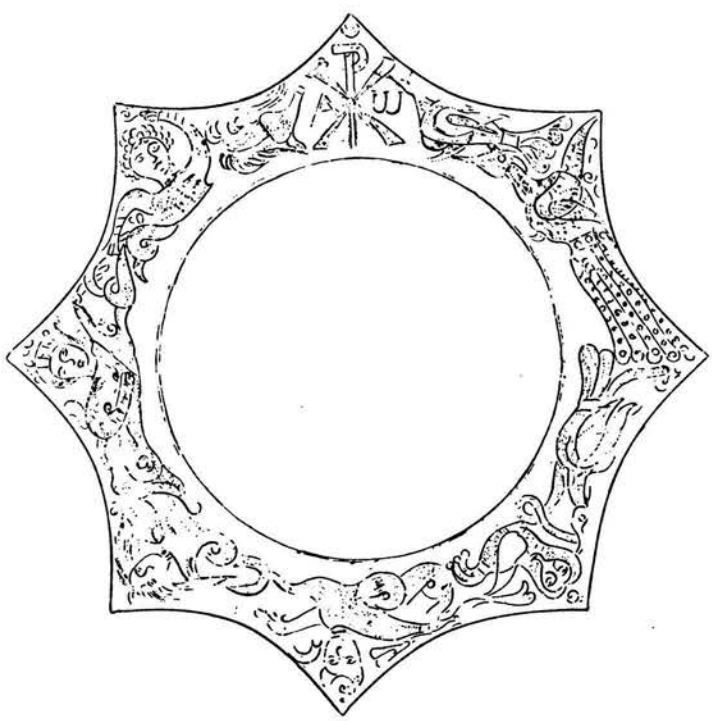


Fig. 2.

was made by a member of this University with a deservedly great reputation who interpreted it as "Rupert, or Jupert, or Supert Ichutinga" and dated it between 1480 and 1680. I am not competent myself to discuss the inscription, but both Professor Burkitt and Professor Minns have been kind enough to examine it and to allow me to publish their conclusions as appendices to this paper (see p. 72).

The incised decoration which covers the upper side of the flange is, so far as I know, unique in this country. It consists of the Chi-Rho monogram with alpha and omega, next to this three peacocks or, more probably, one peacock and two peahens, opposite the Chi-Rho an owl and next to this four sirens or mermaids (Pl. I, fig. 2).

The Chi-Rho monogram was a popular symbol in early Christian times, appearing in the catacombs as early as the II century, although the earliest example actually dated is one accompanied by an inscription of 331 A.D. From the time of Constantine it appears frequently, being popular, for example, as a device on the reverse of coins. Alpha and omega, constituting an acknowledgment of the divinity of our Lord, were commonly added to the monogram in the 4th century by way of protest against the Arian heresy then rife.

The owl, the siren and the peacock have long been associated, the owl with the siren and the siren with the peacock. It is probable that the last two travelled west together; and the sad careers of the owl and of the siren are strangely interwoven. In the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Chapter xiii, verse 19 (A.V.) Isaiah says: "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall the Arabian pitch tents there. But wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there and satyrs shall dance there." The editors of the Revised Version, who were, I imagine, not ornithologists, turn the owls into ostriches. Ostriches do not as a rule inhabit ruins, and I have no doubt that the Prophet meant owls. The medieval scribes call the satyrs, sirens; so already the owl and siren are associated. It is obvious that Isaiah looked upon both as unclean.

In Christian times both attained considerable importance in symbolism. The owl was occasionally used as a symbol of contemplative meditation. For example, in the 13th century English Debate-poem called "The Owl and the Nightingale" the owl appears to stand for the serious and philosophic as opposed to the joyful and aesthetic conception of life. But it was much more often used with a sinister or evil significance; in the eyes of the medieval chroniclers it was the symbol of impure thoughts, and by some was identified with the birds of the air who devoured the good seed (St Luke viii, 51).

In classical mythology the owl is, of course, associated with Athena. Professor Giles tells me that in the Chinese Odes of the 8th century B.C., the owl is associated with wisdom; in the Chinese Encyclopaedia the cry of the owl is said to be a presage of death, and the bird is therefore regarded as unpropitious. Everywhere the owl seems to be connected with witchcraft. In China its flesh, burnt by magicians, summons devils to assist in the practice of the Black Art. The Little Masters of the Dutch School, for example the elder and younger Teniers, were very fond of representing alchemists, and Temptations of St Anthony; owls abound in such scenes: in the pictures of alchemists it is obviously the usual association of owls and witchcraft, but in those of St Anthony it is, I am sure, the idea of impure thoughts which is suggested. In Italian the word for witch—"strega"—is the same as the word for owl. There is a constant association of heresy with witchcraft, and much medieval witchcraft is nothing but hysterical delusion, frequently sexual. Hence, I am sure, comes the change of the significance of the owl from religious contemplation to impure thoughts.

The peacock was also a popular symbol in early Christian times. It symbolised immortality and the resurrection of the body, the idea being apparently derived from the birds renewing their glorious plumage every year. St Augustine, moreover, in *De Civitate Dei*, xxi, 4, speaks of this bird as an emblem of immortality from the opinion of his time that its flesh was in part or completely incorruptible. Peacocks appear very frequently in early Christian art—in the catacombs, on sarcophagi, in the

PLATE II

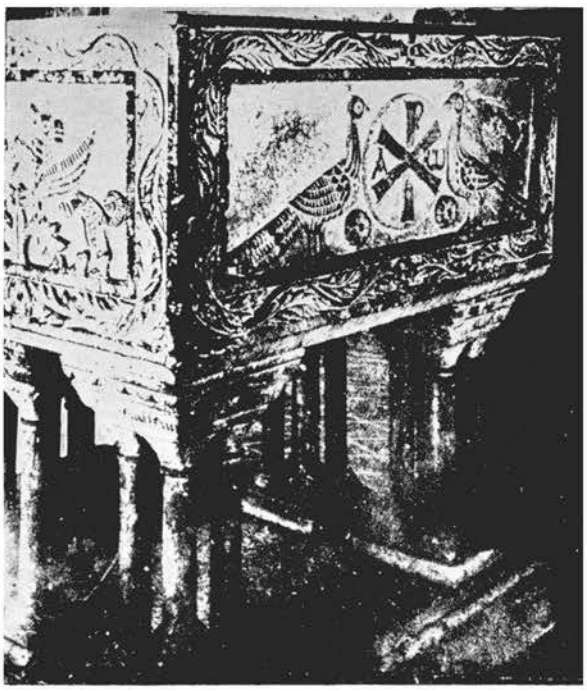


Fig. 1.

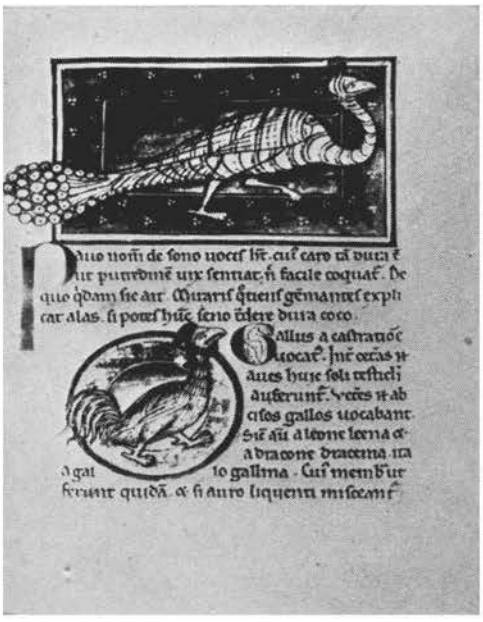


Fig. 2.

decoration of buildings and so on; they are often used in Baptistries, as at Ravenna, Cividale, Naples, St John Lateran etc. Of interest in connection with our bowl is the font in Chester Cathedral, which is of early Italian workmanship and was brought from Italy and given to the Cathedral some time in the last century. Dean Darley says of it: "It came from a ruined church in the Romagna, but it is not known whence it was brought to Venice. It is of rectangular form, of white marble; in all probability it was originally a village well-head in early Roman times, and was afterwards taken by the Christians and carved with symbols for a font. The work is of the Ravenna type of the 6th or 7th century." On one side of this font is the Chi-Rho monogram flanked by two peacocks (Pl. II, fig. 1).

In the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, Rome, a peacock stands on a globe, apparently typifying the soul rising from the earth at resurrection.

It is of interest that in the Jatakas, or stories of Buddha's former births, the following tale occurs: the Bodhisatva came into the world in the shape of a wonderful golden Peacock. The king's wife wished to possess it, but through prayer it always escaped, and she died with her wish unfulfilled. The king, being very angry that his wife had died for the sake of a peacock, caused an inscription to be made on a gold plate, saying, "Among the Himalaya Mountains is a golden hill in Dandaka. There lives a golden peacock, and whoso eats its flesh becomes ever young and immortal." (I am indebted to Mr E. J. Thomas for this reference.) In China the peacock is associated with Sio Wang Mu (Western Imperial Mother) who had a garden with fruit which gave immortality to the eater; she was Hera, brought into China from the West.

The peacock is an eastern bird. I like to think that it first came westwards, imported by King Solomon: "For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks" (1 Kings x, 22). I think it is fairly obvious that these all came from India, and I imagine that sailing up the Red Sea they saw a dugong which suggested

to them the idea of the mermaid, an idea which they presently introduced to the Mediterranean world. The Hebrew word for peacock is a slightly modified form of the Sanskrit name; the Greeks seem to have received the peacock first through the Phoenicians, for the Greek word ταῶς is derived from the Semitic, hence indirectly from the Sanskrit.

They could not have been introduced into Greece very early for in the 5th century B.C. they were still a raree-show at Athens. A man named Demus kept a number of peacocks and exhibited them for money on one day every month. In ancient Greece peacocks were associated with Hera and appear on coins of Samos, where she had a famous sanctuary. As I have said, it was one of the earliest ornaments to be used by the Christians, who took it over from the pagans; at Kertch there are tombs with peacock ornaments, the earliest about 100 B.C., the later about 200 A.D., showing the pagan origin of what was later used at St Calixtus and other catacombs.

As a Christian symbol the peacock became rare in Carolingian times and later still it degenerated into an emblem of vanity. It was, however, common in the bestiaries and I show an example from the singularly beautiful one formerly the property of William Morris and now in the famous library of Dr Pierpont Morgan, Hon. Fellow of Christ's College. (I am indebted to Miss Greene, the Librarian, for sending me this photograph, Pl. II, fig. 2.) We have in the Museum a fine bronze medallion of about A.D. 1280 showing two conventionalised peacocks flanking a tree.

Sirens and mermaids are known throughout Europe and Asia. In early Christian times they were apparently used as a symbol of regeneration by baptism, and no doubt the same significance is attached to the mermen on the font in the Church of St Peter on Castle Hill, Cambridge (Pl. III, fig. 1) and on the closely similar font at Anstey in Hertfordshire (see Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font-covers*, p. 225). At Stow, near Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, a mermaid appears on the Norman tympanum and another appears on a pew-end at Upper Sheringham Church. It seems, however, that even in early times the mermaid had a double meaning, as the legend of Odysseus and the sirens, against whose

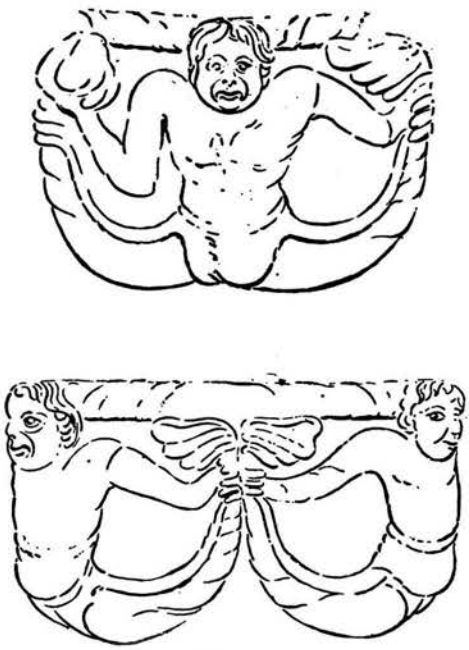


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

enticing songs he protected himself by stopping his companions' ears with wax and tying himself to the mast, was explained as an illustration of the efforts which must be made by the Christian to defend himself against the enticements of this world[1]. This second meaning evidently prevailed as in the Middle Ages the mermaid was generally used as a symbol of lasciviousness.

Mermaids are mentioned in the Confucian Canon of about B.C. 400. In a Chinese dictionary of the 2nd century B.C. it is mentioned that a mermaid lives in water and never stops weaving; her eyes drop water which turns into pearls. She has

also a utilitarian purpose, namely that her skin can be made into knives and swords. It is conceivable that a confusion has arisen between the hair-comb and the weaving-comb and that this continuous weaving may be related to the frequent representations in Europe of mermaids combing their hair. I show a picture of a siren holding a comb from the MS. in Dr Morgan's library referred to above (Pl. III, fig. 2).

Belief in mermaids was apparently quite general in the 16th century. Perhaps Vasco da Gama saw dugongs in Indian

[1] It may be noted here that recently the Natural History Museum in South Kensington has obtained a fossil of a Sirenia, or dugong, from the Miocene asphalt deposits at Ragusa in Sicily near where Homer placed his Isle of Sirens.

waters and again started the tales of mermaids. Columbus, at any rate, saw one, which was no doubt a manatee, the dugong of the tropical coasts of Central and South America. This animal is first illustrated in 1576 in the *Historia da Provincia Sancta Cruz, now called Brazil,* by Piero da Magalhaes, a book of great rarity. It was killed after a remarkable combat on the bank of the river by Balthasar Ferreira in 1564 (fig. in text, p. 71).

I have wandered a long way from our tazza, but I have been led by the wish to show that our Christian symbols have world-wide, if poor, relations. As to the use of this vessel, the sacred emblems show that it was made for no secular purpose, and I suggest that it may have been used as a font. The owl certainly seems to have no connection with baptism, but the peacocks apparently have since they are so frequently found in the decoration of Baptistries, and the mermaid is definitely a symbol of regeneration by baptism. It is worth noting, moreover, that the flange of the bowl has eight points and that in Christian symbolism the number eight signifies regeneration. There can at any rate be no doubt that the tazza is of Christian origin and it is remarkable that so elaborate a Christian object should have been in use at such a time in so remote a place. Its discovery is a further indication of the importance of our region in early times and of the necessity for continued excavation by our Society.

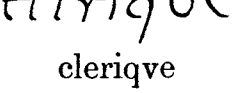
Appendix I.

Inscription on the underside of the flange of a Roman pewter bowl from the Isle of Ely.

I see clearly and, as I should have said, beyond all doubt

S||P··T···EPICL···Q··

The EPI suggests *episcopi* (i.e. the regular contraction for "of the bishop"). That being so, it is almost inevitable that "CL···Q··" must be *clerique* and though what follows CL is not clear I fancy the engraver meant



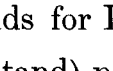
cleriqve

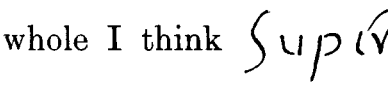
PLATE IV

If "bishop and clergy" are mentioned the pewter is not older than the III century, when the sign || for E died out, therefore the second letter is V not E.  is a known ligature for EC—see Codex Bezae^{mg} (Matt. xviii, 18)—so we get

SUPECTILI EPI CLERIQVE

Of course it should be SUPELLECTILI, but perhaps there was a faint sign of contraction above, as there should have been over EPI; or else it is simple haplography, a dropping of letters.

Perhaps however  stands for LEC, and for the preceding P we should write (or understand) p̄, i.e. *per*.

Superlectili is a known, though incorrect, spelling for *supellectili*: in Gen. xlv, 20 it is the spelling found in the Tours Pentateuch (VI and VII century), or also in the ed. princ. (the 42-line Bible). On the whole I think  is meant for SUP*ER*LECTILI. After all "(this belongs) to the furniture of the Bishop and Clergy" is a very suitable inscription on a portable font.

F. C. BURKITT.

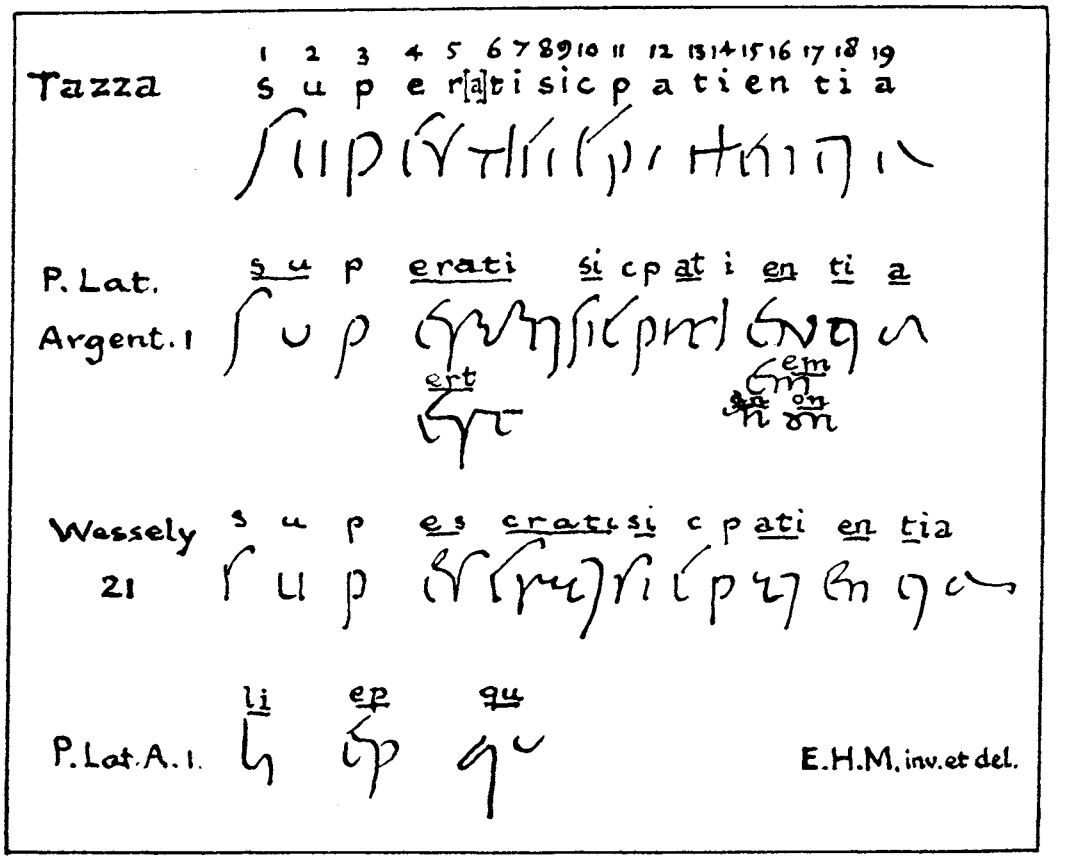
APPENDIX II.

Note on the Inscription.

The inscription on the tazza has always been a puzzle. If it is a relic of pre-Saxon Christianity it ought to belong to the late 4th or early 5th century, and this agrees perfectly with the style of the object. This date is also suggested by the look of the writing. Letters 1–7 are evidently *super* (or *s*) *ti* and the forms are very much like those of e.g. *P. Lat. Argent.* 1 (Strassburg) or the Rainer Papyrus published by Wessely, *Schrifttafeln zur älteren Lat. Pal.* 21 = H. B. van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*, Nos. 70, 74 (cf. his tables 4 and 5), both dated at the very end of the 4th century.

These indications lead at once to the reading for letters 11–19 *patientia* and the three letters 8, 9, 10 before it do quite well as *sic*.

I have made as it were a mosaic of analogues to my readings from the above two papyri and find in them all the support I want, allowance being made for the difference between writing and scratching. First one or two illusions should be cleared away: none of the tall straight letters such as 5, 8, 14 can be



an *l*, as it did not lose its bottom hook till much later for fear of confusion with the tall form of *i*; *l* joins on whenever it can, cf. *li* from the Strassburg Papyrus; 10 and 11 cannot be *ep*, as the essence of *e* is the cross stroke though it often seems part of the next letter as in 4 and 5 = *er* or *es*. *ep* really appears as in the bottom line: so 10-11-12 cannot be epi, *episcopi*, there is no contraction mark, and the form did not come in for another two centuries (Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 246). Lastly 17-18, which look such an obvious *q*, are certainly *ti*, as may be seen from the examples given.

The chief difficulty is in the groups 6-7 and 12-13-14, each of which I read *ati*, but the examples show what I may call the

evanescence of *a*; indeed in a Ravenna Papyrus, *Pal. Soc.* I, 2, the editors have marked an evident *a* as missing: my belief is that the writer's feeling for the preceding *a* made him unconsciously avoid his usual *ti* ligature (17-18) and produce a much more obvious one. I had hopes of an easily intelligible reading, either *super*[*es*]*t hic patientia*, leaving *es* out after *er* would be a sort of haplography and possible, "there's nothing now for it but patience," or *super*[*a*]*t hic patientia*, "this is a case in which patience wins," both of them expressions of boredom at the end of a long service, but I cannot acquiesce in 7-8 making *h*.

The reading I ultimately reach is

superati sic patientia = "conquered thus by patience,"

whether it is a cry of wearied submission "we have been conquered," or hardly less weary triumph, "we've worn them out at last," I cannot say. Or one might divide, *superatis ic* [for *hic* or *sic*] *patientia*, "so (or here) you conquer by patience," the sense is much the same.

Any way of the *loci dubii* in the inscription we may say that they are *superati sic patientia*.

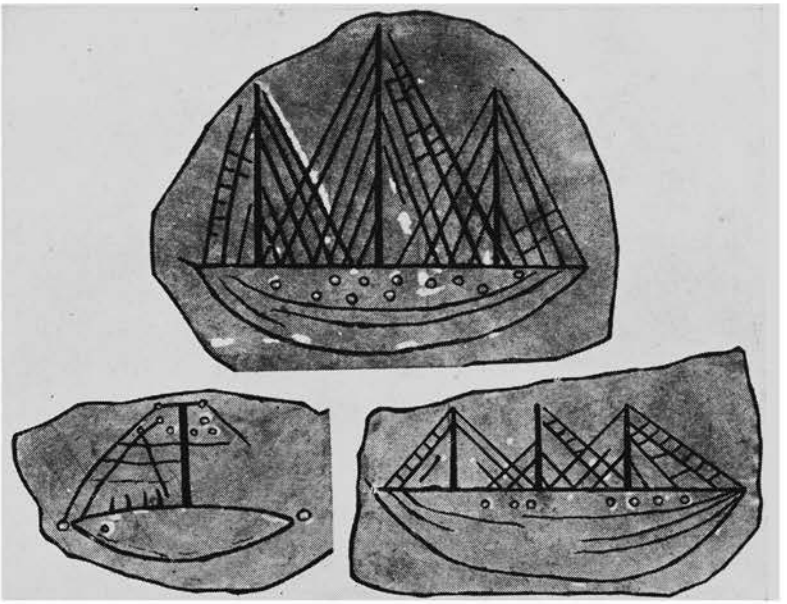
E. H. MINNS.

GRAFFITI OF SHIPS AT SWAFFHAM BULBECK NUNNERY.

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

(Read 4 February, 1929.)

I am indebted to Dr W. M. Palmer, F.S.A., for calling my attention to three undescribed *graffiti* of ships on the remains of the clunch wall to the east of the ancient nunnery buildings at Swaffham Bulbeck, and also for permitting me to reproduce his photograph of part of the wall with one of the *graffiti*, viz., the lower one of the two three-masted vessels in my rubbings here reproduced. This illustration shows the comparative sizes of the *graffiti*; the largest is less than 12 inches in length. The wall is presumably ancient, but the *graffiti* are of comparatively recent date. This is obvious from their design. The three-masters look like a landsman's attempt to reproduce full-rigged men-of-war, for the holes suggest gun-ports. In the largest the author was correct in making the main-mast the highest, but he has omitted all the yards and consequently the sails, and a bowsprit is only just suggested by a sloping scratch at one end. Stays, of which he was lavish, shrouds and ratlines took his attention to the exclusion of everything else, and he made the under-body in both that of a canoe. These two ships look as though they were done from recollections of an engraving of men-of-war at anchor. The single-masted vessel has some suggestion of a sail on a very short yard at the mast-head, and may be based on barges under a square-sail in Reach Lode. Some time in the 18th century is the earliest I would venture to suggest for these curious ships. A few other simple *graffiti* occur on the wall, but the three ships are the only ones done in detail.



Graffiti of Ships at Swaffham Bulbeck Nunnery.

THE MASSACRE AT THE BRAN DITCH, A.D. 1010.

By ARTHUR GRAY, M.A.

(Read 21 October, 1929.)

The Report on the Excavations in the Cambridgeshire Dykes, Bran Ditch, contained in the 1929 issue of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications (Vol. XXX) and written by Mr T. C. Lethbridge, F.S.A., and Dr W. M. Palmer, has an absorbing interest in the clear light which it throws on the origin of the great earthworks which are a monumental feature of the county landscape and on an obscure period of English history. The Report is the sixth of a series on excavations, promoted by the Society, which began in the summer of 1921 and include the Fleam or Balsham Dyke and the Devil's Dyke on Newmarket Heath. A preliminary Report on the Bran Ditch, the fifth of the series, is contained in Vol. XXVII of the Communications and is the work of Dr Palmer and Dr Cyril Fox, well-known for his invaluable *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region.* The whole series deserves careful study and visits to the scenes of exploration.

The Bran Ditch crosses the Newmarket-Royston road at a distance of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the latter place. It is otherwise known as the Heydon Ditch, as it begins near Heydon village, and it continues thence in a N.W. direction for $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles, ending at a point half-way between Melbourn and Fowlmere. The ditch and bank are now almost completely levelled, but their course is indicated by parish boundaries and by undulations in the ground. The vallum was on the N.E. side, and the work, as in the case of the Fleam and the Devil's Dyke, was clearly intended to impede attack from the S.W. region. The Bran Ditch can never have been a really defensible barrier. The prolonged defence even of the two vastly more formidable Dykes must have presented almost insuperable difficulty to the inhabitants of regions which we must suppose to have been scantly populated and rudely organised in military matters. Their main purpose was to delay sudden raids and to allow the neighbouring people

to escape with their cattle and effects. There is significance in the name Fleam Dyke, which is derived from Anglo-Saxon *fleam*, "flight[1]."

As my object is to supplement the 1929 Report from historical sources I shall quote such parts of it as are material for the purpose. Regarding the date of the construction of the Bran Ditch the Report says:

> It seems that the whole history of the Dyke as a military work lies within the Anglo-Saxon period. As Dr Fox stated in the fourth Report, when dealing with the Fleam Dyke, we know that the Dykes were in existence in 905, for they are mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as being the limit of Edward the Elder's ravages....The evidence of the other two Dykes [i.e. Fleam and Devil's] is similar to that of the Bran Ditch. Romano-British debris is found under both, and weapons of the Anglo-Saxon Period are said to have been found in each.

The first Report (1926) on the Bran Ditch gives the results of the excavations carried out in 1923. No definite suggestion as to the period of the construction of the earthwork was then made, but an interesting clue was recorded in the discovery, in trenches cut through the bank and 313 yards apart from one another, of two human skeletons. Both were carefully oriented, E. and W., and the ditch being only four feet broad where they were found, the bank had been cut away or deflected to make room for the heads and feet. The absence of associated objects and the careful orientation suggested to the writers Christian burial[2].

The second investigation (1927) brought a surprising discovery. Beginning at a point between Black Peak and Heydon Grange, where Dr Fox had dug a trench in 1923, the soil on

[1] On the derivation and significance of the name Fleam, see Appendix B.

[2] It is doubtful whether the East Anglians, at the time of their wars with Penda (637–654) were Christians. Their king, Redwald, who died *c.* 624, was a pagan. His son, Eorpwald, baptised in 632, was murdered by a pagan, and after his death the kingdom reverted to paganism for three years. The conversion of the province to Christianity was attributed to Felix, who was brought to East Anglia from Burgundy by King Sigebert, who was killed in battle with Penda in 637. The Mercian people remained in heathenry until after the death of Penda in 655.

either side of one of the already-discovered skeletons (numbered 2 in the 1926 Report) was removed to the chalk rock base.

Skeletons were at once found on either side of skeleton 2 in shallow graves in the chalk rock. It was clear that two at least on either side of skeleton 2 were either wholly or in part under the chalk vallum....While it was certain that they were older than the vallum, yet their presence seemed to be known to the builders, who had apparently tried to avoid them....We estimate that we found about fifty bodies in all. It was, however, a matter of the greatest difficulty to find what comprised one body: for while many were wanting their heads, numerous skulls and loose bones occurred also. The skeletons, with two exceptions, were carefully oriented with their feet to the east.

Fragments of Anglo-Saxon pottery occurred in the filling of several of the graves, and at the right hip of one skeleton was an Anglo-Saxon knife with a clip for attaching it to a waist-belt. There was "unmistakable evidence that many of the bodies had been decapitated, while others suggested violent death in different forms." The remains indicated cut throats, faces smashed with sharp instruments, etc. Some were of young persons of twelve years of age or upwards, and there was one foetus or newly-born infant[1]. Many of the bodies had been buried when decomposition was far advanced: some had come apart at the waist before burial.

A few weeks or months after the massacre the plundered corpses were collected and buried, some being so decayed that they fell to pieces in the process. Later, when the graves were still remembered, the vallum of the new work was apparently bent slightly so that they should not be covered up and forgotten.

The writers of the Report conclude with the opinion that the massacre was " of the defenders of the barrier formed by the two

[1] The injuries described in the Report suggest that they were inflicted by the heavy axe, which was the characteristic weapon of the Danes. "This was something very different from the old Saxon axe, being no missile, but a massive head, a foot long in the blade, fitted to a five-feet handle, and wielded by both hands. By the time of Edward the Confessor it had superseded the sword as the typical weapon of the English thegnhood. Every authority agrees as to the fearful wounds which it could inflict when wielded by strong arms. It could cleave helm and skull to the very shoulders, lop off a thigh, and even sweep off the head of a horse." (C. Oman in *Social England*, I, 183.)

little ditches" in which their bodies lay, and that they "were either Anglo-Saxons or perhaps Danes." They further "look for a situation in the Period between the Anglo-Saxon Conquest and 905 which would cause dyke-building, massacre, renovation of dykes and so forth. There can be little doubt that the wars between East Anglia and Mercia in the 7th century answer the purpose admirably. Twice the Mercian king, Penda, succeeded in routing the East Anglians and killing their king... which would account for their anxiety to protect their frontier with such formidable obstacles as they could devise."

So far as relates to the purpose of the Dykes and the date of their original construction these are reasonable conclusions, though there is no historical record of the locality of the fighting between King Penda and the East Anglians. It may very well be that the brunt of it was at the Fleam or the Devil's Dyke. The heathen Penda showed a similar ferocity in 642 when he attacked and slew Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, and cut off his head. But the evidence given in the Report shows that the heightened vallum was of later date than the graves, and at no time can it have been suited to regular defence. And the evidence so far supplied hardly warrants the conclusion that the fifty or more mangled and beheaded persons were the victims of battle. No war-gear was found with the remains. No Mercian, slain in the hour of victory, has left his body there with the battle equipment which is usually associated with the burials of heathen warriors. The Report shows that among the slaughtered, were several children and at least one woman with her baby. It is to be concluded that the massacred crowd was more or less defenceless.

Of such a scene of massacre in this region there is a graphic picture in the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon. Henry was a local man, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and in various parts of his History he shows a particular knowledge of Cambridge and its neighbourhood. He wrote about 1150 when the events which he describes were still seared in local memory. This is his story:

In the year 1010 on Ascension Day [May 18] the Danes came to Gippeswic [Ipswich] and rose against Wulfketel, commander of the [English] army. The East Angles at once fled, but the men of Granta-

bricscire manfully stood fast. Hence so long as the English have reigned, the province of Grantabric has been held in glorious honour. In unconquerable ranks they fought, reckless of death. Among the slain were Athelstan, the king's sister's son, Oswi 'dux,' Edwin, brother of Eric, Wulfric 'consul,' and many other chiefs. But while the English took no thought of flight, Turketil Mireneheved, *i.e.* the Ant's Head, was first to flee and earned everlasting shame[1]. For three months the victorious Danes ravaged or burnt the East Anglian land, and even the Fens with their churches. Thetford they destroyed: Grantebrige they burnt. As they returned thence through the pleasant hills of that delightful place called Balsham, they put to death all whom they found in that same place, and *they tossed and caught children on their spear-points*[2]. One man, deserving of wide renown, mounted the steps of the tower of the church which still stands there, and secure in his station and in his bravery defended himself single-handed against a whole host. From thence the Danes, passing through Essex, reached the river Thames.

With this passage compare the brief narrative of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. After telling how the Danes landed at Ipswich and routed the English army it proceeds:

And the Danes had possession of the place of carnage and were there horsed. And after that they got the mastery of East Anglia, and for three months they harried and they burnt, and even into the wild fens they went, and men and cattle they killed, and they burnt throughout the fens. And Thetford they burnt and Grantabrycge, and thereafter they went southwards to the Thames, and the horsed men rode to their ships.

The story of the Balsham hero with which the Archdeacon supplements the Chronicle tale brings us close to the end of the Fleam or Balsham Dyke. Hereabouts it is possible that future exploration may bring to light evidence of such massacre as that at the Bran Ditch. It is worth noting that in their second report on the excavations at the Fleam Dyke the writers mention that "Balsham men employed in the excavations referred several times to the discovery, within living memory, of skeletons in the ramp between Balsham and Mutlow Hill," near the point, it may be supposed, where the Icknield Way crossed the Dyke. "The pleasant hills" of Balsham are evidently the high lands

[1] Symeon of Durham (*fl.* 1130) records that the scene of this battle was a place called Ringmere.

[2] Symeon of Durham, describing atrocities committed by the Danes when they stormed Canterbury in 1010, says "infants torn from their mothers' breasts were caught on lances."

beginning at the Gog Magog Hills, which reach their highest point, 380 feet, at Balsham.

From the suggestions offered by Henry of Huntingdon let us reconstruct the scene of 1010. The Danes have just left flaming Grantabrycge: the smoke of it is seen in all the country round, and from desolated homes families of survivors range the heath lands in search of hiding. Ravaging, slaughtering, burning as they go the spoilers are bound for their ships on the Essex coast. The main body is horsed and scours the Roman road, anciently called the Wolf's Street, leading to Colchester[1]. Then, as now, as its name implies, the road, as far as the Cambridgeshire border, traverses an empty tract, devoid of village settlements, and the Danes spread their devastation on either side of the Way. A large body goes through Balsham, a mile north of it. Stragglers reach Hadstock, three miles south of it. The skin of a 'Dane' was, till recently, nailed on the door of the church there[2]. From all the burning villages the miserable inhabitants are in flight—men, women and children. From the fiery track of the Danish host one band of fugitives makes for a point on the Bran Ditch where it is intersected by the road leading in a S.W. direction from the Wolf's Street. By the nearest route the Bran Ditch is some ten miles from the Street and eight from Hadstock. They must have passed the Pampisford Ditch, or near it: but perhaps it was already beset by the Danes, at all events was too near the zone of carnage to be a safe refuge. The fugitives are unarmed. Some few household pots they may have brought with them: what other effects they had were perhaps plundered by the Danes, for no trace of them remains in the Ditch. The bank of the Ditch, at the time of their flight, was altogether too insignificant to afford them any hope of resistance, and for defence the fosse was on the wrong side. But in the Ditch, covered probably with scrub and screened by the bank, they may hide, rest weary women and

[1] Worstead Street is a modern corruption of Wlvestrete, the name constantly given to this Way in Hundred Rolls (13th century). Dr Fox has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it is a Roman road, and not, as had been suggested, a pre-historic Dyke.

[2] On the subject of the Hadstock 'Dane's skin' see Appendix A.

children, and possibly light a poor fire. But what chance of escape have they from mounted men? They are overtaken. The wearer of the little knife has no time to draw it in self-defence. Men, women and even the new-born babe are butchered. One of the group, described in the Report as "a powerfully built young man, aged not more than 24 years, and of great stature (6 ft. 3 ins.)" takes to flight and is run down and despatched 313 yards away from the rest. The battered or beheaded bodies remain in the Ditch, as they fell, until the terror is past, and surviving villagers, returning to their ravaged homesteads, gather up the decayed remains and give them Christian burial. As the bodies lay in a huddled group the buriers were unable to distinguish which head belonged to which body.

The writers of the second Report on the Bran Ditch note that after the burial the whole work was reconstructed with one wide ditch, a berm and a single bank. This may have happened at any date between 1010 and 1016, when the Danish wars came to an end. Apparently the Danes did not revisit the devastated land of Cambridgeshire after 1010, but later in that year they were at work in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, and common prudence dictated some strengthening of the old entrenchment.

As a parallel in some details to the picture which I have drawn of the scene at the Bran Ditch in 1010 I may cite the monkish story of the martyrdom of St Edmund of Bury, king of the East Anglians (870), as it is told in *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series, I, 439). By command of Hinguar and Hubba, the Danes, the king was tied to a tree and shot with arrows until his body was like a hedgehog (*hericius*). Then Hinguar's 'lictor' cut off the martyr's head with a sword. The Danes left the truncated body, but carried away the head to a wood and threw it away among a dense growth of bushes with the object that the few surviving Christians might be prevented from giving decent burial to the body with the head. In the spring of the following year the heathens all retired from East Anglia, and the Christian folk, emerging from their hiding places, were at pains to unite the head and body of the saintly king. With one accord they ran together and roamed the wood to find the head. A miracle

followed. As they were seeking the head among dense trees and bushes, fellow calling to fellow in their native tongue "Where art thou?" the martyr's head in the same tongue replied "Her, her, her," which in Latin means "*Hic, hic, hic,*" and never ceased to repeat the cry until it brought each one to the spot. Then a large and grim wolf was seen clasping the sacred head in its paws. The men took the head, and the wolf followed them to the burial place, a small and poor chapel near the spot, and then returned to its beloved solitude.

The Danes in their retreat from Maldon (991) carried off Byrhtnoth's head to their own country. The abbot and monks of Ely went to the battlefield and brought the body to their church, but in the grave they put a round lump of wax in place of the head.

In the 'kite and crow' warfare of Saxon and Dane ferocity was not limited to the latter race. The Song of Brunanburh, celebrating the victory, in 937, of king Athelstan over Olaf and his pirate crew, is a glorification of mercilessness to a defeated enemy. Also it vividly paints a grim scene such as was presented to the eyes of Cambridgeshire villagers when they re-visited their homes after the Bran Ditch massacre.

They hewed the fugitives (fléman)
From behind amain
With bills mill-sharpened
.....
They left behind them,
The corpses to tear,
The sallow-coated
Swart raven
Of horned neb,
And the grey-coated
Eagle, white behind,
To gloat on the carnage,
And that grey beast
The wolf on the weald.

Appendix.

A. *On the 'Dane's skin' at Hadstock.*

From the *Communications* of the C.A.S. vol. II, p. 179 (1905)

Alderman Deck exhibited a piece of human skin, being that of a Dane who had committed sacrilege at the ancient parish church at Hadstock in

Essex. The Dane was flayed alive, and his skin was nailed to the door of the church. About seventy years ago the door needed repair, and under an iron bar, nailed across the outside, were found pieces of human skin. The door is rounded at the top, fitting the early Norman arch, and the black boards are evidently cut with a hatchet instead of smoothed with a plane. The skin was given by the then Rector (the Rev. C. Townley) to Mr Deck's father. In the middle of the skin is seen a hole which was made by a nail in fastening it to the door. Other pieces of the skin can be seen in Saffron Walden Museum and also at Audley End....Professor Hughes said that experts had proved by microscopical examination that the skin and hair were human, and there could be no doubt whatever that men had thus been flayed who were of a light-haired race and very probably Danes.

From F. Buckland's *Curiosities of Natural History*, First Series (1877), p. 84.

In the College of Surgeons may be seen three specimens of human skin, presented by Mr Albert Way, viz. "Portion of human skin, said to be that of a Dane, from the door of a church at Hadstock, Essex": a second specimen is from Copford, in Essex: and a third from "The North door of Worcester Cathedral."

It is more than a coincidence that Copford is four miles west of Colchester and close to Stanway, a place which took its name from the easterly extension of the Wolf's Street.

B. *On the ancient names given to the Dykes.*

BRAN DITCH. The earliest mention known to me is in the Hundred Rolls, 2, 546, in a description of the metes of a free warren in the parish of Fowlmere, where it is spelt *Branedich*. The first element in the name is the same as *Brent* in the Pampisford *Brent Ditch*, and means 'steep,' Anglo-Saxon *brand*, Middle English *brant*: cp. Brandon, 'steep hill.' The name of the Brent Ditch is not given in the Hundred Rolls, but two tenants at Pampisford have the local cognomen *in Dich*.

DEVIL'S DITCH. This ditch in medieval times was sometimes called St Edmund's Ditch since it limited the domain of St Edmund's Abbey. At one time it was also the boundary of the East Anglian kingdom (Liber de Hyda, *ch.* 5), as it was until last century of the diocese of Norwich. The first mention of it occurs in the *Liber Eliensis*, 2, § 106 (written c. 1150) in the Latin story of Hereward. It is there told that Hereward

and his companions, coming from the Isle of Ely, crossed near Reche Ditch (*apud fossam de Reche*) and burnt Burwell. Camden says that in his day (16th century) '*vulgus hominum*' called it 'Divil's Dyke' or 'Reche Dyke.' In Hundred Rolls, 2, 484, it is mentioned as '*magnum fossatum.*'

FLEAM DITCH. In Domesday Book the Hundred which takes its name from the Ditch is written *Flamingdice*, and in Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis it takes the form *Flamencdic*. On these spellings Dr Skeat based an unfortunate guess. Assuming the original form to be *Flamenc* he said that the name was not Anglo-Saxon but Old French *Flamenc*, a Fleming, and he found a 'curious' confirmation of the etymology in the remark of a local man that the dyke had been made by Flemings. It would be odd if the work of 7th century Englishmen should derive its name from 11th century Normans, and it is pertinent to observe that no people known as Flemings were settled hereabouts or elsewhere in Britain until long after the Norman Conquest. Dr Skeat was mistaken in saying that "the spelling *Flamigdich* appears as late as 1279 in the Hundred Rolls, 2, 445." The spelling there is *Flemisdich*, and in four other places of the Hundred Rolls the name is spelt thus or with the variations *Flemdiche, Flemisdich, Flemsdiche.* I cannot understand what Dr Skeat meant when he wrote that "the *subsequent* change to *Fleam Dike* [i.e. from the Norman-French] was due to popular etymology, which connected the name with Anglo-Saxon *fleam*, 'flight'": for *fleam* in that sense was a common word far older than the Conquest. A reference to Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary shows that *Flamingdice* derives itself from Anglo-Saxon *flyming*, 'a fugitive' (-ing being the common suffix) and *Flemdiche* and the related forms from *fleam*, 'flight' or *flyma, flema*, 'a fugitive.' Fleam Ditch is the 'ditch of refuge'. Flamborough, in Yorkshire, takes its name from the closely adjoining 'Danes' Dyke,' which cuts off Flamborough Head from the mainland. The discovery at the Bran Ditch suggests that the ditches were looked upon as refuges for the homeless after the raised banks had ceased to serve as practical lines of defence.

The Brent Ditch at Pampisford seems never to have had a rampart and looks more like a covered way than a defensible

work. It is parallel to Wolf Street and possibly served as a Way alternative to it. It is noteworthy that the four Cambridgeshire entrenched lines until recently were always called 'Ditches,' as they still are in the Ordnance maps. 'Dyke' ('dike') is a relatively modern word which did not come into use until about 1500, and seems to have been an importation from Scotland. 'Ditch' in Old English, and its Latin equivalents, *fossa*, *fovea*, invariably mean 'a trenched excavation in the ground.' The Anglo-Saxon word for a raised bank was *weall*, *eorthweall*, borrowed from Latin *vallum*: cp. Walton, Walpole, Walsoken, all situated near the Roman sea-wall between Wisbech and King's Lynn. For purposes of organised defence the Dykes had lost significance at the coming of the Danes, whose access to Cambridgeshire from the East was by road and river. The Ely chronicler observes that Ely was particularly open to attack since it was reached by a tidal river. (*Liber Eliensis*, 2, § 40.) Roger of Hoveden (12th century) says that after the burning of Grantebrige the Danes departed "navibus devecti, equites vero equis subvecti." The raising of the bank at the Bran Ditch hardly suggests the concerted plan of the Fleam and Devil's Dykes, and looks like local, ill-considered work.

The over-running of East Anglia by Penda and, in the 8th century, by Offa plainly shows the insufficiency, even of the great Dykes, as a protection against attacks in force. They had no stationary camps behind them, such as the Romans made behind their Walls, and no road to furnish supplies for a permanent garrison or prompt relief to a threatened point: and though they were probably stockaded, they were not crowned with castellated forts as the Roman Wall was. It was a weakness of the system that it was pierced by the Icknield Way. Even in the better organised days of Alfred the English armies were on active service only for six months in the year. The levies and their commanders fought on foot with swords, bills and javelins, and there were no disciplined bowmen.

JOHN RANT, A COLLEGE LAWYER OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

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

(Read 4 November, 1929.)

In Christ's College Fellows' Building are the arms of some unknown person emblazoned in the pediment of one of the cupboard-doors in the room of Mr Saunders:

SABLE ON A FESS OR 3 LIONS RAMPANT GULES (Pl. I, fig. 1).

There are four shields of arms in Mr Saunders's room: (1) The University, (2) the College, (3) Finch, and (4) that now under consideration. The panelling of the room is unusually fine; in the main, it is attributable to the third or fourth quarter of the 17th century though part may have been attached to the walls as early as 1642 to 1644, when Dr Honeywood laid out in wainscot and the like a sum of money which was not repaid to him until 1649. The arms are inserted in the pediments of each of the four doorways in the room; the pediments date from about 1680 and the arms are, presumably, coeval with their frames. These four coloured shields are valuable for their decorative effect but they are also clearly intended to suggest association; the suitability of (1) and (2) is immediately obvious, and (3), to those who know the permanent debt of the college to the Finch family and are aware of the personal connection of its members with this very building, is no less well-placed. The remaining shield, (4), stands alone in withholding its story and in failing to justify its inclusion in the select company in which it has a place.

Of the identity of the family whose coat is here blazoned there can be little doubt, though its tinctures are not to be found in any printed, manuscript or monumental records that have been searched; there are other families who bore the same device (but not the same tinctures) and their exclusion after careful consideration has been made either on the ground of date or from lack of adequate connection with town, county or University and, certainly, with Christ's College.

The family to which the arms are to be attributed is that of

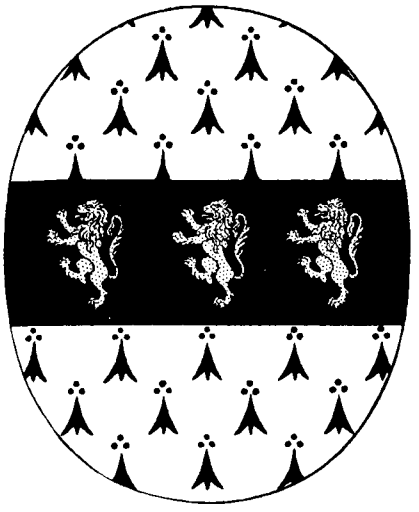


Fig. 2.

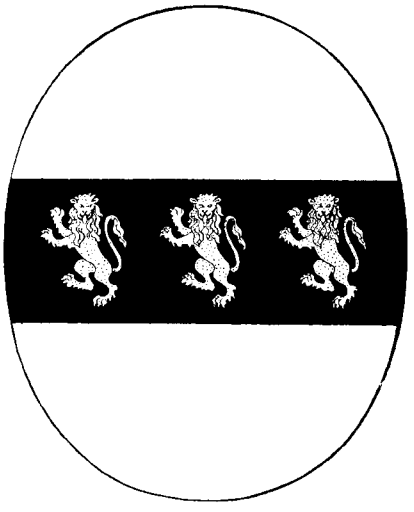


Fig. 3.

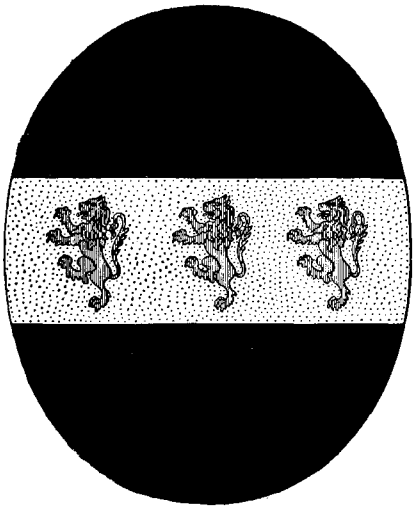


Fig. 1.

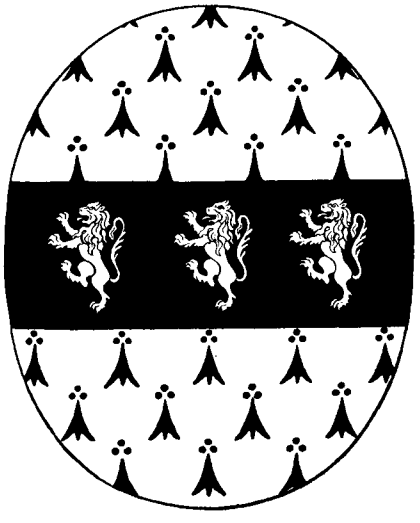


Fig. 4.

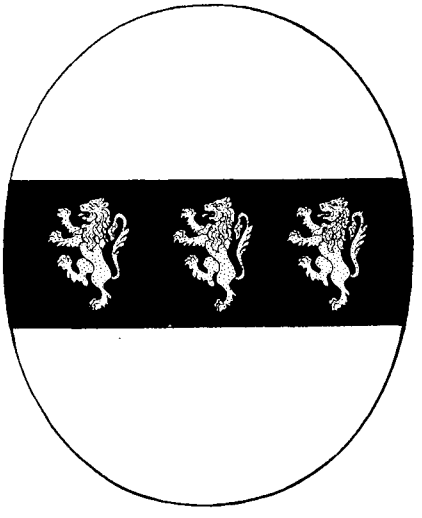


Fig. 5.

Rant of Cambridge

Rant, a family whose home was, when we first meet the name, in Norfolk, but which had important branches in Suffolk, in Cambridgeshire and, as we shall see, in the town of Cambridge itself.

Blomefield writes that the first of the family he found mentioned was Henry Rant, who lived in 1444, and he proceeds: "There are several branches of the Rants in Norfolk and Suffolk but they are all originally of the same stock."

G. A. Carthew[1], who wrote in 1879, describes the Rants as a Norfolk family of Norwich, North Walsham, Worstead and Yelverton; Lords of the Manor of Wendling. He gives their arms as *Ermine, on a fess sable,* 3 *lions rampant or* (Pl. I, fig. 2), which he says were granted in 1547. His date is wrong; it should be 1574, for Cooke, Clarencieux King of arms, by whom they were granted, did not receive his patent until 1567; in 1547 he was still a child.

Carthew gives the pedigree of Rant of Cambridge, saying, "I fail in connecting these Cambridge Rants with those of Yelverton, but they bore the same arms and, doubtless, had the same descent." It would be of interest to know the authority upon which Carthew relies in equating the arms of the Cambridge Rants with those of the Yelverton branch, but he does not supply the reference.

There was a confirmation given by the same King of arms, Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1580, to Rant of North Walsham; they were *Argent, on a fess sable, three lions rampant guardant or* (Pl. I, fig. 3), and the confirmation was accompanied by the grant of a crest. The fact of the King of Arms giving confirmation instead of a new grant probably indicates that the arms were anciently borne by the family, while the age of the coat is also attested by their having had until 1580 no crest connected with it. That is the frequent state of ancient coats, and those to whom they survive to-day should jealously preserve them from the addition of a crest that is the subject of a modern grant. This North Walsham coat does not appear to have been known to Carthew.

The link which that antiquary failed to find between Cambridge and Yelverton Rants is really to be sought between

[1] *Hundred of Launditch and Deanery of Brisley.*

Cambridge and North Walsham Rants. The first Cambridgeshire Rant I have been able to discover is Roger Rant of Swaffham Prior, buried there at the age of 56 in 1654. He was admitted fellow commoner of Gonville and Caius College in 1613 and is there described as having been born at North Walsham, Norfolk, the son of Roger Rant, gentleman. Stephen Rant, admitted to Gonville and Caius in 1622, was apparently a brother of Roger. He is stated in the Biog. Register of that College to have been curate of Stow-cum-Quy in 1641, and to have sold an estate in North Walsham in 1656. He appears in the list of incumbents of Quy from 1656 to 1681 in which year his Will was proved in the Ely Consistory Court. There is no remaining Rant monument in Quy church and, though mural monuments are to be found at Swaffham Prior, they blazon no arms. The only Rant arms which I have been able to discover in Cambridgeshire show the lions as guardant; they are all on stone floor-slabs and the tinctures are not to be seen; in all probability they were never hatched. If that were the only evidence it would go to show that as the Cambridge Rants were descended from the North Walsham branch they bore the coat of that branch; the connection of the Christ's College shield with Cambridge Rants would be hard to maintain.

But there is other evidence. Papworth gives in addition to the two coats already mentioned:

Ermine, on a fesse sable, 3 *lions rampant argent* (Pl. I, fig. 4) in the name of Rante without naming any place, and—

Argent, on a fesse sable, 3 *lions rampant or* (Pl. I, fig. 5) for Rant, Co. Cambridge.

Morant, *Essex,* II, 366 seq. gives

Ermine, on a fesse sable, 3 *lions rampant argent, langued and armed gules* (Pl. I, fig. 4) for Roger Rant of Swaffham, Cambridgeshire, who married Joane Meade by whom the manor of Nortofts, Essex, came into the Rant family.

It would seem therefore that there is much uncertainty as to the actual form and tinctures of the arms borne by the different branches of this family so widely spread in East Anglia in the 16th to the 18th centuries. It will be seen that this University provided them with a frequent meeting place and it is not unlikely that knowing themselves to be of common origin they

took a liberty with their heraldic bearings which was not uncommon in their day and has not ceased since. There is no recorded grant since those of 1574 and 1580 and the variants already described must have been unauthorised. To such an unauthorised use it seems reasonable to attribute the shield at Christ's until further evidence comes to light; and the fact that the tinctures in which it is blazoned have no parallel rather lends support to the theory of light-hearted indifference to the authority of the College of Arms on the part of the 17th century Rants.

But why should Rant be thus singled out for distinction in Fellows' Building? There never was a member of the college of this name, as witness the *Biographical Register*. It had seemed possible that a Rant of the 17th century might have been a member of another college or a townsman, who had made so generous a donation to the cost of the building as to deserve commemoration in this way, but search amongst the college records has shown that no person of that name is included in that list of benefactors who, indeed, seem to have been exclusively contemporary and former members of Christ's. Moreover, there do not appear to have been Rants of Cambridge town at so early a date (1637–1642), though there were Rants of Swaffham Prior and Stow-cum-Quy at that period.

It appears, however, from the college Account books, preserved in the muniment room, that there was an official of the college named John Rant, whose name appears in the expenses for more than thirty years, from 1664 onwards. It appears first in the year 1664 at Lady Day:

"Mr Rant at London. Cottenham Business 10^{s}," which may relate to work done in the preceding year. The entries are made under "Feoda Legis peritorum". In 1665 we have

To Mr Rant for counsell about the Fen business concerning Fordham and Cottenham...1. 0. 0.

His name next appears in 1668:

To Mr Rant for Clypston...2. 0. 0.

and again in the same year:

To Mr Rant for keeping Courts &c....2. 8. 6.

In 1669 he receives £2 for

College business in London;

in 1670, £1. 14*s.* 6*d.* for the same and for "Keeping Courts" (Manorial courts etc.); in 1671 the unusually large sum of £17. 9*s.* 0*d.* "in various Chancery Suits"; in the same year money is received *from* Mr Rant in Fines taken by him in various properties. In 1665 and in 1671 we meet a reference to "Mr Rant's man" and the context suggests his clerk; for we find a payment at the same time to

Mr Rant for Counsell abt Coll. business, 1. 10. 0.

and

To Mr Rant's man 2^{s} 6^{d}.

The association of "Counsell abt Coll. business" and the Counsel's man seems to suggest something more than an attorney. In 1672, there is a new departure:

To Mr Rant as Coll. Counsel 1. 0. 0. More to Mr Rant for another quarter 1. 0. 0.

and henceforth, to his death in 1696, this quarterly sum of £1 continues, generally paid half-yearly, Rant acknowledging the payment in the form, as under 25 March 1685:

received of Dr Cudworth fourty shillings for my halfe years exhibition endinge on that day Jo: Rant

with endless variants in detail.

This payment of four pounds per annum does not exclude other payments for various business of a legal character about sundry suits, the holding of Courts etc. Those former payments for specific legal work continue, while the fixed sum is additional to them though naturally the item

To Mr Rant for counsell about Coll. business

no longer appears.

In receiving his quarterly or half-yearly payments, Rant, or the Master making the payments, describes them indifferently as 'exhibition,' 'salary,' 'stipend,' 'wages,' and 'penc̃on,' Rant using perhaps more frequently than any other term that of 'exhibition.' That is a word of many meanings, some of them current in Shakespeare's day but now obsolete in general use, though surviving in technical surroundings. *N.E.D.* gives (2)

An allowance of money for a person's support, a pension, salary. *Obs.*

and quotes Wycherley, Pl. Dealer, vi, 1676,

He must have a settled Exhibition of forty pounds a year.

Under Pension (also pencion) *N.E.D.* 3:

Any regular payment for present services; stipend, salary, wages fee, *Obs*;

3b. Such a payment made to one who is not a professed servant or employee, to retain his alliance.....assistance when needed etc.

In these two definitions we appear to have what fits the position of Rant and the college; from 1672 he receives a payment which marks him out as the college lawyer, in return for which he appears to have given general advice, while being paid separately the appropriate fees due for all definite pieces of legal work[1]. He was in the same position as leading counsel to-day relative to large municipal, commercial, industrial and public utility corporations from whom they receive annual retaining fees which mark them out as their respective corporations' men, secure them the briefs of their corporations and inhibit them from taking briefs to appear against them. The system is not confined to the higher branch of the legal profession.

But there is another aspect of the arrangement, more external than internal in its operation, which the word 'exhibition' sets forth. The Master and Fellows, as large owners of lands, manors, buildings, tithes and other properties spread over a wide area, and with frequent legal business in London and in the country, found it convenient to give their Power of Attorney to accredited persons to act on their behalf in specific matters; the college records have copies of several instruments of this character. But although Rant acted on the college's behalf in a great number of matters, and regularly kept the various courts of the college

[1] A parallel and contemporary appointment was made by the borough of Cambridge: "On the 29 April, 1670, Francis North, Esq., of the Middle Temple (afterwards Lord Chancellor and ennobled as Lord Guildford) was chosen one of the standing counsel of the town, and it was agreed that he should have 40 shillings per annum *and his fees as there is occasion to use hym.*" Cooper's *Annals*, iii, 543.

manors in the Eastern Counties[1], there is no copy nor record of, nor any reference to, a Power of Attorney that has been noted as given to him. This would appear to suggest that he held some general instrument perhaps under the college seal which would show to all entitled to demand its production that he was the duly accredited agent of the college. To such persons he could exhibit or produce his authority. A 17th-century use of exhibiting documents as credentials may be found in the Canons of 1603 (No. 137).

It would be tedious to particularise all the payments made to and by Rant; the 'exhibition' payments did not vary but the casual payments ranged from a few shillings to eighteen pounds. In August 1686 there is the entry "to be payed to Mr Rant 2 lb. which was paid to me Jo: Rant."

The last 'exhibition' payment made to Rant himself was that of January 23, 1695/6, for the amount due at the preceding Michaelmas, but under the accounts for Lady Day 1696 he received for

writings in my Lord Ossory's business and the purchase of Canfield £6.

At Lady Day 1697 there is paid

To Mrs Eliz. Rant an arrear of her father's stipend. p. Bill £2.

and this seems clearly to indicate Rant's death before that date. As Rant himself is paid nothing in regard to his 'exhibition' after January 23, 1695/6, it is reasonable to assume that he ceased to hold the office of counsel to the college owing to his death at some time during the year 1696. In 1698/9 his daughter delivered to the college some papers: they relate to Fen Drayton and have no value for the purpose of the present enquiry.

It will not be without interest if we can link up John Rant, the college lawyer for thirty years, with some person of that name not known to be associated with the college, and by that means supplement with details from external sources the scanty

[1] *E.g.* There are many court-rolls in the muniment room showing John Rant, armiger, seneschal, holding courts in the important manor of Croxton on behalf of Cudworth and Covel from 1668 to the year of his death, 1696.

knowledge we have prevailed upon the college records to reveal. Let us summarise the information we have obtained from internal sources.

1. Name: John Rant.
2. Profession: Barrister at Law.
3. Standing: Sufficient in age and professional reputation—
   (*a*) to exercise his calling in behalf of the college in 1664;
   (*b*) to become legal counsel in general to the college in 1672.
4. Date of Death: Died late in 1696 or early in 1697.
5. Issue: An unmarried daughter named Elizabeth survived him (her mention is incidental and does not necessarily complete the tale).

We have to seek outside evidence of some person who, excluding all others, is so near to satisfying these five requirements as to remove all reasonable doubt of the identity of the persons known respectively from external and internal sources.

Alumni Cantabrigienses, that great work of the Venns, gives much information about Rants. Between the years 1581 and 1726 there were 27 admissions to the university of persons bearing the name. Caius was the family college, 22 having been admitted there, 2 at Magdalene, 1 each at Pembroke, Corpus and Queens'. 8 were admitted Fellow Commoners, 1 Scholar, the remainder pensioners. They were a legal family, for out of the 27 admitted to the university 13 were afterwards admitted to Inns of Court, though it is not probable that all practised. Without entering into details concerning the others, it may be said that there is one John Rant, of Gonville and Caius, who seems to comply with all five conditions which have been regarded as necessary to establish identity with the Christ's lawyer. *The Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, I. 348, Carthew, *loc. cit.*, Cole, British Museum Addit. MSS. vol. 5807, a tombstone in Teversham Church and tombstones in Little St Mary's Church, Cambridge, have each contributed to the following brief account of John Rant.

RANT, JOHN—Second son of Roger Rant, Esq., of Swaffham Prior, Cambs., where he was born and was baptised Sep. 20, 1626. He was educated there, under Mr Jephcott, six years, and at Bury St Edmunds under

Mr Stephens, one year. On Feb. 13, 1642/3, at the age of 16, he was admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table of Caius, his surety being Mr Moore. He took the degree of LL.B. in 1652.

He was admitted at Gray's Inn, July 17, 1645, and was duly called as Barrister at Law; he refused (period not known) the dignity of Bencher. He became Fellow of All Souls', Oxford, 1648, "by favour of the Committee and Visitors" (Wood), and was incorporated in that University in 1652, the year in which he proceeded LL.B. in Cambridge. By Stat. 12, Car. II, c. 9, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Poll-tax for the university and town. He married Johan "his only wife" at Stow-cum-Quy, in April 1659 (we have seen that his uncle was parson there at that time). She was daughter and co-heiress of Edward, second son of Sir Thomas Jermy, Kt. of the Bath, of Teversham, where she was born, May 29, 1636, and buried Oct. 22, 1663. The tombstone at Teversham records that "He was Batchelor of Civill Lawes. Barister at Comon Law, and Justice of the Peace. He died Oct. 30, 1696, leaving behind him 2 children, John and Elizabeth." John Rant, the son, is buried at Little St Mary's (he died in 1719), as is also *his* son Edward (1724); both stones remain in the floor and bear legible and pleasing epitaphs. Another son of John Rant, the younger, was buried in the cloisters of Pembroke Hall, April 13, 1711. At Teversham and Little St Mary's alike the arms are blazoned but without indication of tinctures; they show the lions *rampant guardant*. The father and son of the John Rant, who is of interest in this enquiry, were also barristers, the son being a lawyer of some celebrity. What is of no little interest in the Christ's enquiry is that this John Rant who died in 1696 had a sister Anne, who married (about 1653) John Meadows, M.A., sometime Fellow of Christ's.

Let us now examine the life-story of this John Rant, admitted to Caius College in 1642/3, under the five headings under which was summarised what is discoverable from the Christ's documents of John Rant, the lawyer of the college.

1. Name: The same.
2. Profession: The same.
3. Standing:
   (*a*) In 1664 38 years of age, LL.B. of Cambridge and Oxford, some time Fellow of All Souls.
   (*b*) In 1672 46 years of age and refused the offered honour, then or later, of being Bencher of his Inn.
4. Date of Death: October 30, 1696.
5. Issue: A son named John (married long before his father's death) and a daughter, Elizabeth.

Under every one of the five headings, the parallelism is too complete to leave any possible doubt that John Rant the lawyer of Christ's College was John Rant whose birth at Swaffham Prior in 1626 and death on October 30, 1696, are duly set out in the records of Swaffham and Teversham respectively.

There remains to consider what reason can be discovered for blazoning the lawyer's arms in a room in the college which he served. He had the claims of gentle birth, an honourable academic career in two universities, a distinguished and recognised place in his profession, and long service to the college. That much could be said of many, whose connection with the college was longer and more intimate than Rant's, who have left no armorial record behind them. Is it possible that John Rant had a room in college, even the very room in which his shield is seen to-day? His 'exhibition' was very small in amount and it may have carried with it such a privilege which, while it would be valuable to Rant, would not fail to be convenient for the Master in his frequent needs for conference with his legal adviser. The one piece of evidence which might throw light upon this point is, unfortunately, not available; the study-rent book for that period has evaded discovery.

But it is probable that the keynote of the presence of the Rant arms is to be found in the presence in the same chamber of the Finch arms. That noble family had certain perquisites at Christ's and had made great benefactions to the Society which would justify the Finch armorial record, and it had also that amplitude of means necessary to gratify its whims. The four shields are a scheme of decoration: three were obvious, the fourth may have been a tribute of goodwill or even hero-worship from a law-student to his professional guide. Finches were lawyers in several instances, Rant was a past-master in his calling, and seeing that his son John was also a celebrated lawyer it is not going far to assume the possibility that the son's success may have been due to the training he received from his distinguished lawyer-father. Rant senior may have given in his own or a Finch's room, coaching simultaneously to

son and friend. That must remain speculative; what does seem to emerge as the result of the enquiry is

1. The arms are those of Rant.

2. The only possible person of that name who can have been thus commemorated is Rant, the college lawyer.

3. Rant, the lawyer who served the college from 1664 to 1696, was John Rant, son of Roger Rant of Swaffham Prior.

4. John Rant may have owed his introduction to Christ's to his sister's marriage to John Meadows, a sometime Fellow;

and we may hazard the conjecture that this same John Rant who was the head and founder of the Cambridge branch of that name, may deliberately have changed the armorial tinctures and other details to blazon that fact, while retaining the general character of the charges to proclaim his descent. Such armorial changes were frequently made without authority in order to avoid expense; and the tombstone over Rant's place of burial, as also the tombstones of his descendants, seem to show that his son preferred the ancient coat which had the sanction of the College of Arms.

A ROMANO-BRITISH SITE IN HORSEHEATH.

By CATHERINE E. PARSONS.

(Read 4 November, 1929.)

In certain parishes there are certain fields which, in some sort of way, command distinction over other fields, and an arable field of twenty-five acres called Hanging Hill, on my brother's estate in Horseheath, is one such field. It is numbered 250 on the *Ordnance Survey* map of 1886. In the days of the open field system of agriculture it formed part of Valley Field. Hanging Hill is a modern 19th century name, probably given to the field on account of the difficulty in ploughing the heavy clay on the hill side, but the romantic parishioners of to-day have erected an imaginary gallows on the top of the hill giving the name a criminal origin, which is as authentic as the underground passage from this field to the castle at Camps. Witches held their frolics in this field where I found my first Neolithic flint, and here some twenty-five years ago I found some fragments of Roman pottery. The field is pleasantly situated with a southern slope, and has for its northern boundary the ancient Way called Worstead Street which here divides Streetly End from Horseheath. The name of this boundary seems to be a corruption of the 13th century Wolves Street. In records relating to Horseheath I find the name spelt Wluestrete[1]. Wlmerys Dych[2] occurs in the 14th century, and Wolnerys Strete[3] in the 15th century. There is the Woolstreet Way[4] of the 17th century—a link with the modern name of Worstead Road.

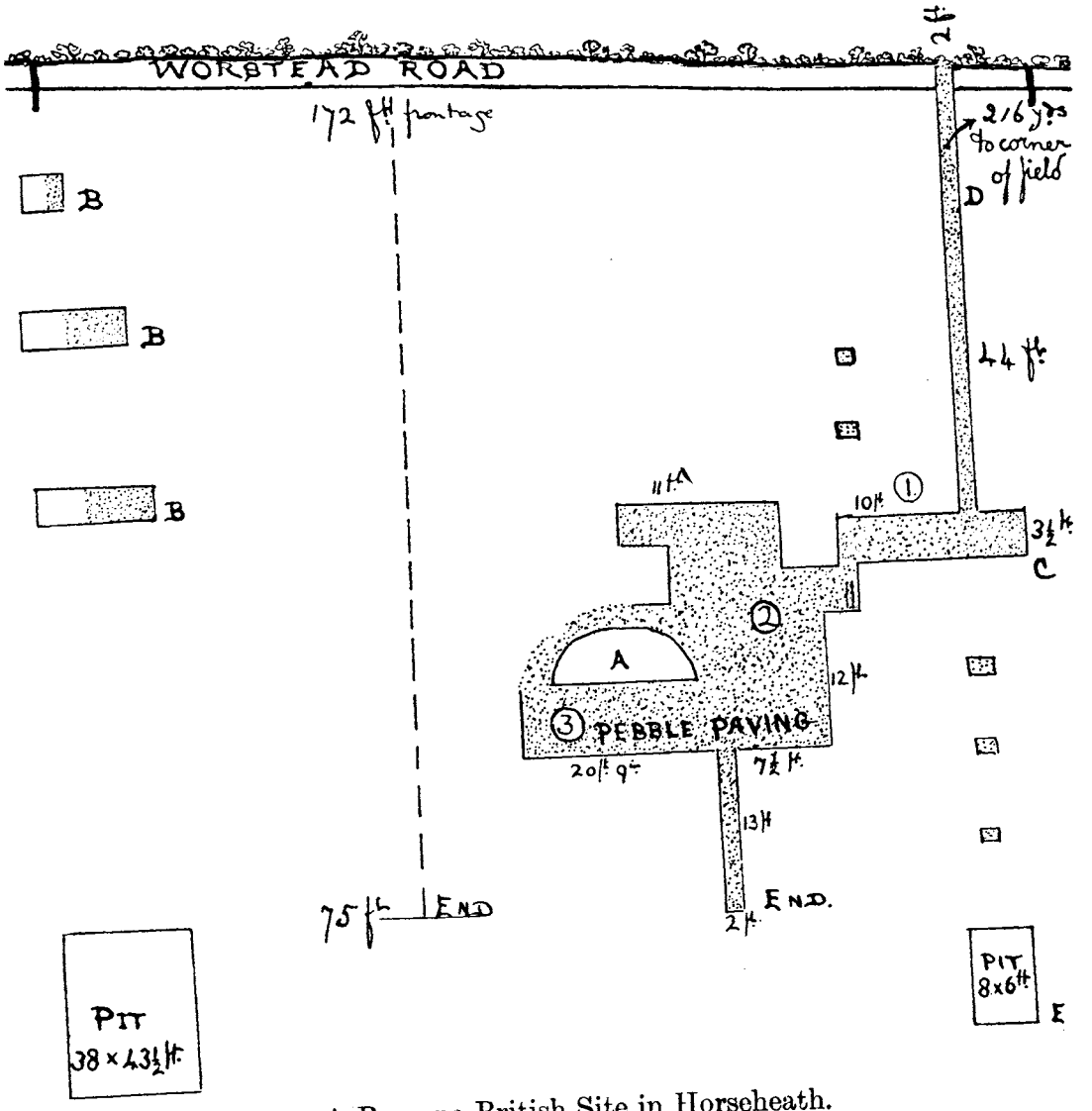
It was in September, 1910, after several preliminary attempts, that I definitely set to work to find something somewhere of Roman interest in this field, other than the fragments of pottery on its surface. I dug pits 1 foot by 2 feet across the field from east to west to the depth of the natural undisturbed clay, at

[1] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Vol. II, p. 422.
[2] *Addit. MS.* 5823, f. 250.
[3] *Addit. MS.* 5823, f. 249.
[4] Ely. *Terriers*, 1638, 1692.

intervals of about ten paces apart, taking care that the pits in each line alternated with the pits in the previous line, in this way I thought no considerable area would be left untapped. I began this work near a stream at the south of the hill. The pitting went on daily, yielding nothing but the natural bed of clay till I was within a few yards from the northern boundary, and, thoroughly disgruntled with my system of search, when in one pit the monotony was broken by the find of a few stones, the next pit in the same line yielded neatly laid stones with a fragment or two of pottery on them. This find, on 26 September, excited my curiosity, and on enlarging the pit I found that I had struck some paving scattered with remains of the Romano-British period. Then I dug many pits and trenches which showed that the paving covers an area of about 172 feet from east to west, and about 75 feet north to south, laying by the side of the Worstead Road, some 648 feet from the east corner of the field as shown on the sketch Plan. (Pl. I.)

The complete uncovering and filling in of such an area would have necessitated much time and labour, and the field, just cleared of its wheat crop, was wanted for autumn ploughing; but, judging from the pitting done, I doubt if more work would have given any different result.

On 3 October, with the aid of a tripod camera swaying in the wind, I took four bad photographs of the work in progress. One of them gives some idea of the close proximity of the pits over the site, and shows the friends who were working with me that day (Pl. II, fig. 1). Prof. McKenny Hughes is sitting on the edge of a pit. Mrs Hughes and Dr Palmer are seen looking for treasure in the soil thrown out, then come my two diggers, Harry Stinton and George Atherton, an onlooker, and the Rev. C. A. Yorke, rector of Fowlmere. The hedge in the distance is the eastern boundary of the field. I think these pits are those which were dug to link up a trench you will see on my sketch Plan, reaching to the Worstead Road at the north of the field in order to get to the depth of the paving north and south. The photograph (Pl. II, fig. 2) of a trench marked 1 on the Plan is certainly north of the latter. This trench runs east. There is the same hedge in the distance, but it shows the north-east



A Romano-British Site in Horseheath.

Fig. 2.

A Romano-British Site in Horseheat

Fig. 1.

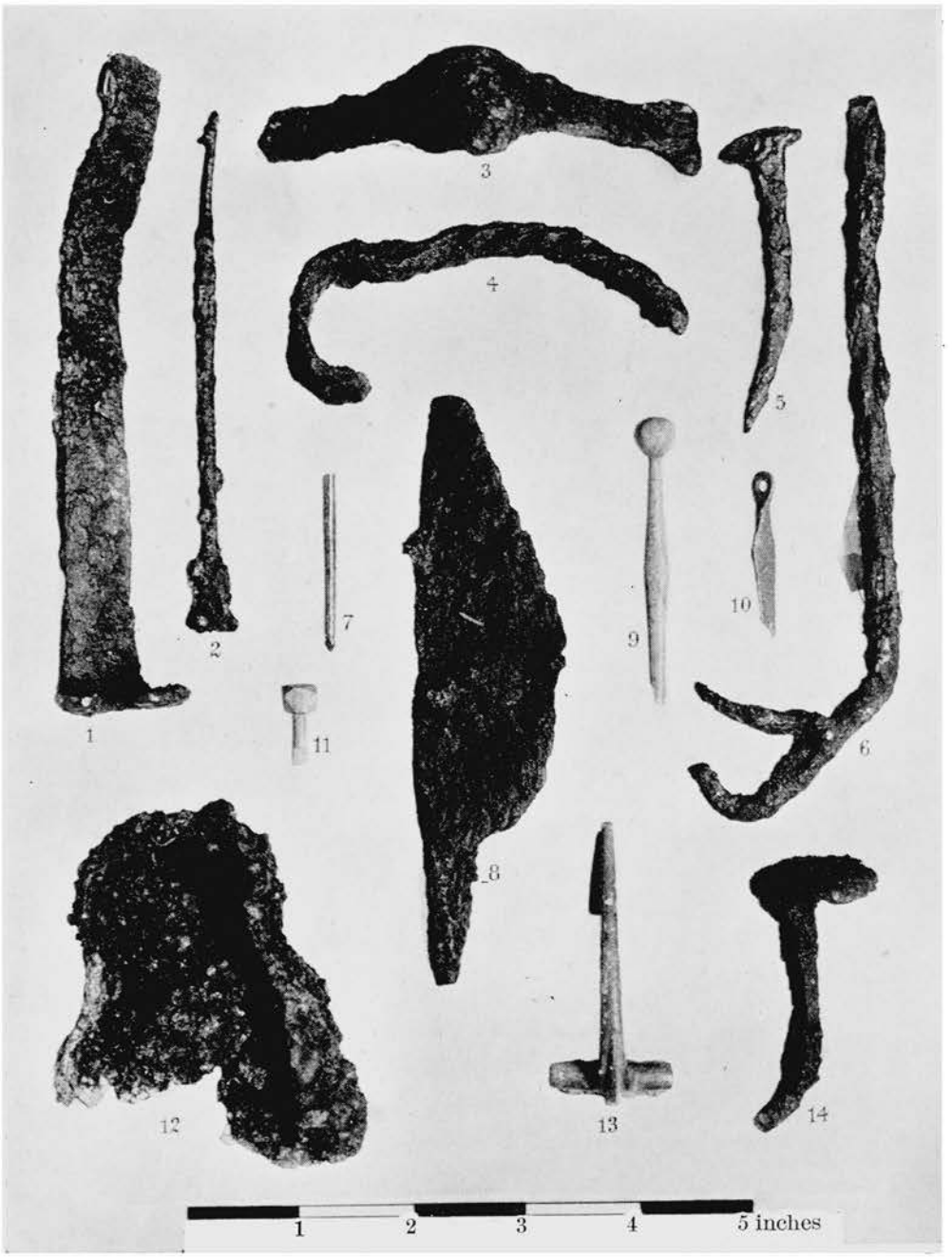
Fig. 2.

A Romano-British Site in Horseheath.

corner of the field and part of the Worstead Road, now here, only a grass path with a hedge on its north side. This view is to some extent a record of the position of the site. It also gives some idea of the depth of the paving beneath the surface soil, stones may be seen on the floor, and, on the earth thrown out, quantities of bones, potsherds and oyster shells should have been recorded by the camera. A photograph (Pl. III, fig. 1) which is marked 2 on the Plan gives a south-east view of the site looking across the valley. The stacks seen in the distance on the horizon to the right are by the road from Cambridge to Horseheath. The steps on the right down to the cleared floor indicate the paving beneath the surface at this particular position. A path is worn from the steps, but this piece of paving was uncovered with the fragments left *in situ* so that my friends might see the exact nature of the find. Another photograph (Pl. III, fig. 2) marked 3 on the Plan is a trench running west. The clump of trees on the right is by the side of the Worstead Road at the top of the hill. At the end of the trench the pebbles are evenly laid and littered with oyster shells, bones and scraps of pottery. The spades in the trench show how much nearer to the surface the paving is here than that shown by the steps in the photograph above (Pl. III). This variation in depth puzzled me. I found no reason for it. Nor did I arrive at any definite plan in the paving. There was a variety of blanks, some were small patches, some as shown in this photograph were clearly made through field drainage. At some places it seemed amazing that an implement going no deeper than a plough had not disturbed the floor which in places appeared to be worn by the tramp of feet. An absence of pebbles at A on the Plan is in the form of an apse. This spot is just west of the cleared floor shown in Pl. III, fig. 1. The pits marked B indicate the west end of the paving. C shows the east end. D is the trench 44 feet long and 2 feet wide running north up to the Worstead Road, and to my surprise I found the paving here actually under the present line of this ancient Way. E is a pit south of the paving.

With regard to the fragmentary objects found on the floor of the pit marked 2 on the Plan at a depth of 3 feet, I found part

of an iron hinge. At a depth of 4 feet there was a coin, an iron knife, part of an iron lamp, part of a twisted iron handle, a quantity of iron nails, mussel, oyster and snail shells, bones, clinkers, a bronze fibula without its pin, and a few fragments of glass. Here there were fewer bones and more potsherds—including fragments of *terra sigillata*—than in some places. Practically everywhere on the pavement there were iron nails of various sizes. These I carefully classified into what I thought three distinct types, square heads, long heads and round heads, hoping to be informed as to the use of each type, instead of which Mr Ruffle, the village blacksmith, told me that they were all intended to have square heads, but that the wind blew when they were being forged; a pleasing excuse for a blacksmith's work when it does not turn out as it should do. The largest nails were probably used as one sees them to-day, to secure iron dogs, the ties for woodwork or for shoeing wheels. On the paving marked 3 there were two bone pins with round heads, part of an iron band and an iron key for the earliest type of tumbler lock which is still used in Egypt. In either the extension of this trench, or in another trench running west I found three coins, a stylus, the head of a bone pin, a piece of thin bronze plate with a rivet in it, in addition to bones, oyster shells and potsherds. My note book records certain objects found together, but their position is not always marked on the sketch Plan, which I was unable to finish before the work of filling in was started, and so it does not show the extent of the floor uncovered, or the number of small pits dug over the site. But in a trench 3 feet 4 inches wide and 6½ feet long pebbles were neatly laid from 4 to 5 inches off the clay and were strewn with bones, oyster shells and pieces of pottery. Here I found an iron key for a padlock of the barbed spring type. At another spot mussel shells at a depth of over 4 feet were found with nails, clinkers and burnt glass. Of two pits at the south-east corner, one is shown on the Plan and is marked E. That not shown contained 6 feet of made earth. Digging in the E pit had to be given up at a depth of 8 feet on account of water coming in. In this pit bones were more plentiful than potsherds, there was a little charcoal which was rather a rare find. I also found in this pit the head of a wooden pin decorated



1 Iron key. 2 Stylus. 3 Saddle bridge. 4 Handle. 5 Nail. 6 Key.
7 Bone pin. 8 Iron knife. 9 Bone pin. 10 Bronze pendant.
11 Wooden pin. 12 Iron lamp. 13 Bronze fibula. 14 Iron nail.

A Romano-British Site in Horseheath.

with chip carving and some fragments of bone pins. In another pit there were mussel shells, thick black pottery and two pieces of bronze; one piece is probably a pendant, it has a suspension hole and is decorated with lines, the other is a piece of thin bronze plate. I also found here an iron object very like a saddle bridge, the ends where it would have been riveted to leather are broken off. Several boars' tusks and ox horns' cores were found, and amongst the large quantity of teeth and bones Dr Palmer told me that none of them is human. There was very little glass, just a few pieces of rim and fragments of sheet glass such as might have come from the side of a square bottle. As was the case with nails, potsherds were everywhere, but, owing to the fragmentary nature of the latter, the coins found possibly best date the length of the occupation of this site.

The coins are all brass and twenty-nine in number, ranging from about the time of Hadrian 117 to Constans 350. Ten of the coins are undecipherable, but the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Valerianus, Gallienus, Claudius II, Tetricus senior, Constantine the Great, Constantine II and Constans are represented. Some of these coins I found actually lying on the pavement and others were in the loose earth above.

Both Neville[1] and Babington[2] mention a pot of Roman silver coins found at Horseheath in 1854, representing nearly all the Emperors from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. I think this must be the pot of coins I have often heard of in this village which was found in Money Lane, by Limbery's farm. This find of coins, some of them earlier, and some of them contemporary with my coins, may or may not have a connection with the people who occupied the site on Hanging Hill. Although I found no coin of the 1st century, some of the potsherds would seem to suggest that date. But I am at a loss what to say about the large quantity of potsherds. They include fragments of platters, beakers, dishes, mortars, strainers, bowls, jars and a great variety of vases. I have recently compared them with some of the Romano-British pottery from Chesterford, and with specimens in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, with the result that

[1] *Arch. Journal*, Sept. 1854.

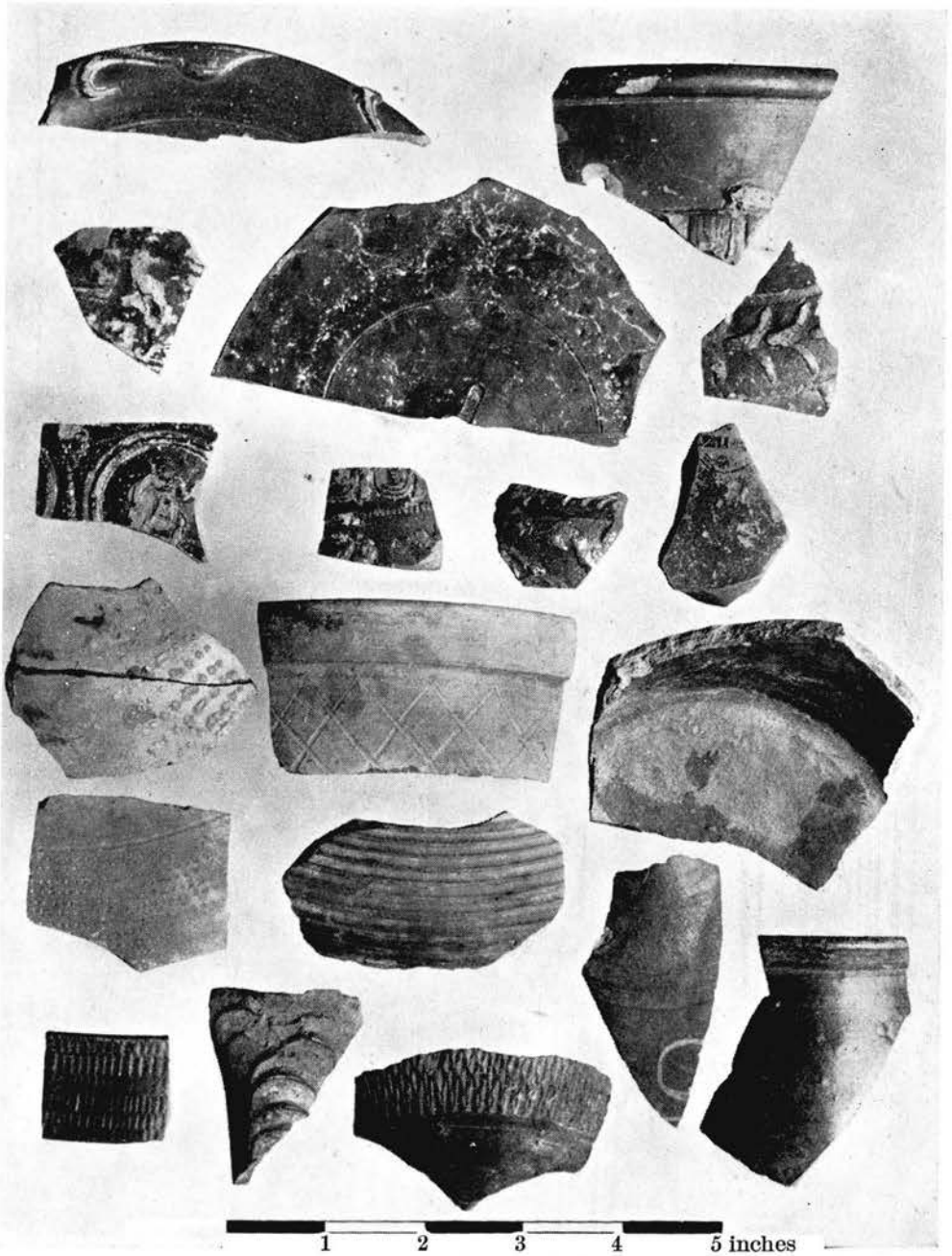
[2] Babington, p. 35.

I am surprised at the extremely representative nature of my scraps. Amongst them are pieces of decoration, rims, bases, and handles in a large variety of wares from the coarsest domestic Horningsea ware to the finest *terra sigillata*. On this ware I found part of two potters' marks, VT. AL and VAL. One piece of *sigillata* has been riveted with lead, and there are pieces of ten different dishes with the leaf pattern, the rope and tassel pattern, and other designs are also represented in this ware. Some of the Castor ware fragments have a very fine metallic glaze, some of this ware is painted. There are fragments of slip ware, biscuit ware, gritted ware and a large variety of grey pottery in both soft and hard paste, some of the latter being Belgic. The base of one grey pot still has soot or some charred substance adhering to it, and a piece of coarse buff ware is interesting because it has fine hair or vegetable fibre in its composition, so that the pot from which it came must either have been sun dried, or dried in a cool kiln, otherwise its hair would have been singed.

As you will have seen, there is nothing of spectacular interest in this site. Yet it is evident that Romans, or Romano-British men and women of some position lived here. They had treasure to lock up, ornamental belongings to wear and to use. They were thoroughly supplied with up-to-date utensils, and, apparently, there was no shortage of either food or money. When for some reason or other they vacated the site, it seems to have been according to a definite plan with time to carry it out. No valuables were left behind. The serviceable building materials may have been used again, since only a few broken bricks, ridge and flue tiles were left with some rubble, and their millstones may still be seen in some of the cottage garden paths in Horseheath.

The position of the site, by the side of the Worstead Road, may be the most interesting feature of this discovery, for if considered in conjunction with the name of Streetly End and the ancient name of the adjoining hamlet the End Way, there seems to be a possibility of a junction here of early date, which may further support the statement made by Dr Fox, that Roman Settlements not infrequently occur at road junctions[1].

[1] Dr Cyril Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 228.

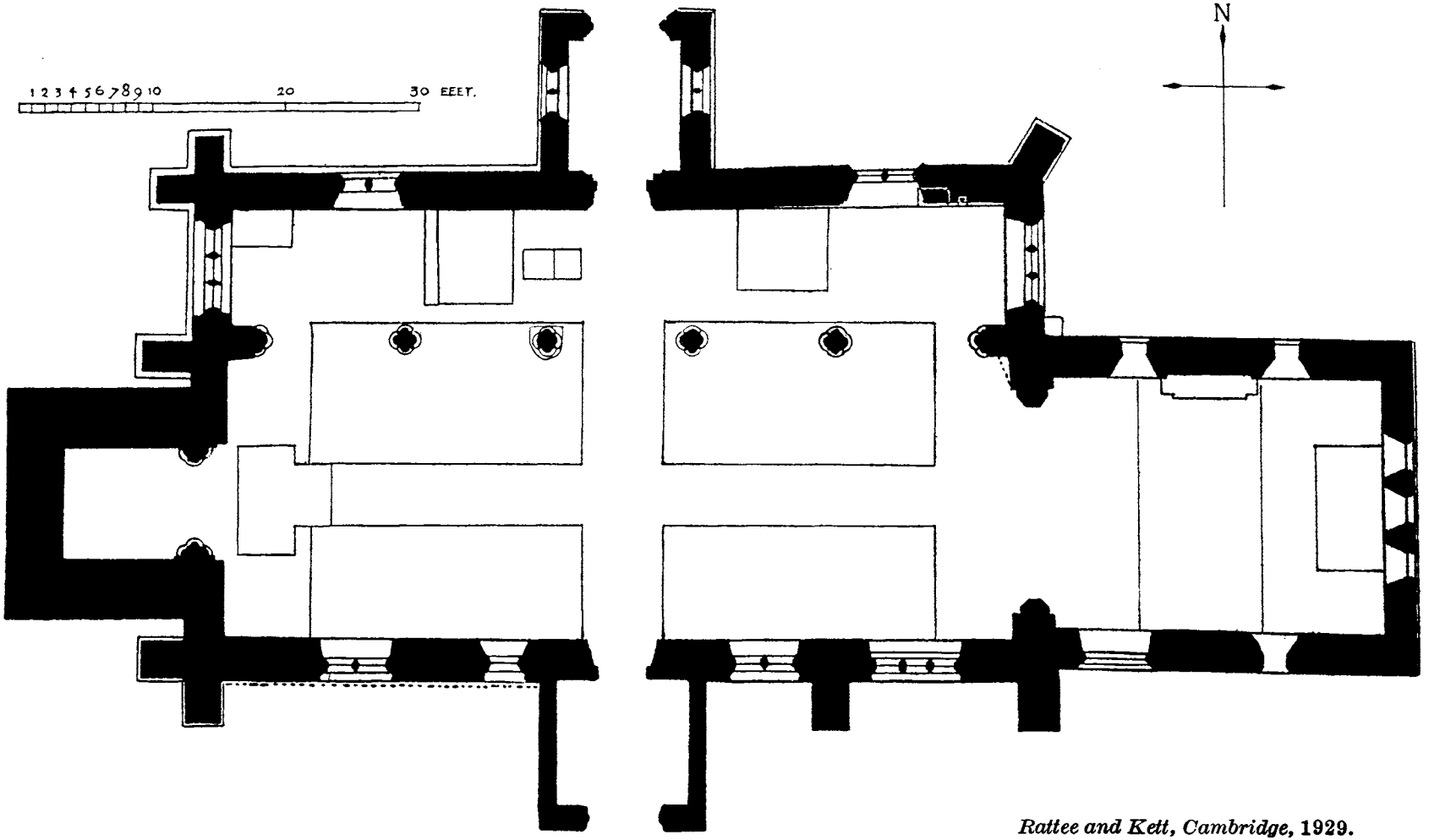


Fragments of Pottery.

A Romano-British Site in Horseheath.

Fragments of Pottery.

A Romano-British Site in Horseheath.



Madingley Church

Rattee and Kett, Cambridge, 1929.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF MADINGLEY.

By A. H. Lloyd, Ph.D., F.S.A.

(Read 3 February 1930.)

It is not possible to say at what date a church was founded at Madingley. The Domesday Book for Cambridgeshire and the allied documents make such very rare references to parish churches as to prevent any deduction from their silence on the subject in the Madingley entries. But other documentary evidence shows that there was a church at Madingley in 1092, when Picot the Sheriff, who figures so largely in the history of the County town and the shire, gave the church of *Maddingele* along with many other churches to the Canons of St Giles[1] whose house, newly founded by him and his wife as a thank-offering for her recovery from sickness, and placed first near the Castle of Cambridge, was removed twenty years later to Barnwell. That Picot founded all the churches he gave to the Priory need not be supposed; they were appurtenances more probably of the manors which he received for his share of the spoil as one of the followers of the Conqueror. Madingley then is likely to have had a church *tempore regis Edwardi* and possibly even much earlier. Of that pre-conquest church nothing now remains visible, but it is reasonable to assume that it stood until it was replaced, about the end of the 12th century, by the building the greater part of which still stands in the parish church of to-day (Pl. II).

From the year 1092, when the church was appropriated to the use of the Canons, the priory became the rectors and presented to the vicarage down to the Dissolution; the patronage now lies with the Bishop of Ely.

The dedication is to St Mary Magdalene, not, as is sometimes said, to St Mary (the Blessed Virgin). It is not known whether the present dedication is the ancient one, but in the middle of the 18th century the church is referred to as St Mary Virgin[2].

[1] *Eccl. de Bernewelle Lib. Mem.*, edited by J. W. Clark, p. 40.

[2] Baker MSS., xxviii, p. 211.

The registers of baptisms, marriages and burials begin in 1539, the entries to 1597 being found not only in the usual certified transcipts upon parchment, but also in the original paper, except that "In the time of Kinge Edwarde theire was noe Register kepte from the yeare of our Lorde 1553 to 1559"; they continue without a break throughout the Commonwealth. The baptisms have no serious lapse thereafter but between 1682 and 1687 there would appear to have been some irregularity, resulting in no entries between 29 October 1682 and August 1683, while from that date to 1687 the book may have been misplaced, for the entries are made upon a sheet which appears to have been interpolated. Marriages, exceptionally numerous in 1660, show no entries at all between 20 March 1673 and 13 April 1686. Burials cease from 19 January 1673 to 13 October 1678, when there is a single entry but no other until (in an illiterate hand) 26 December 1684. There are spaces for the years 1685, 1686, 1687, but no entries, which become continuous again from 12 July 1688. The first affidavit of the burial having been made in woollen is dated 19 October 1678.

The registers have much of interest in their evidence of the persistence of names known from the 14th century (in other documents) and their record of others still familiar in the present inhabitants of the parish. But, alas, they are entirely without reference to passing events, such as are occasionally encountered in some parish registers, and, still more unfortunately, they contain no notices of incidents in the life of the building such as the erection of additions or the re-opening after repair, which may here and there be seen elsewhere. Entries of the latter character might more properly be sought in churchwardens' accounts and minutes of vestry meetings, but these have no existence at Madingley until within the memory of man.

Layer, the antiquary, who died in 1641, has this note upon Madingley: "This church is very small and not much to be commended for the decency thereof."

At the archdeacon's visitation in 1662 (Sept. 25) we learn "we have a font of stone, a decent communion table," and "The book of canons was taken away by the souldiers." At the visitation of 1665 the order was given "The elderne about the Church to

Madingley Church, from South-East.

be cut down" and the statement made that the stone wall at the east end northward was out of repair.

Cole in his note dated 2 June 1744 takes a less gloomy view than Layer. He writes: "This is a neat Church having a square Tower with a Steeple of Stone on it, at the West end, with 3 Bells in it; a Nave and N. Isle leaded, and Chancel with 2 Porches tiled." Cole, who was in orders, was at one time offered, but declined, the vicarage of Madingley.

The first vicar recorded in the table preserved at the entrance to the chancel is Henry of Landbeach, 1313, but we have the name of an earlier vicar, though not his date, as will appear later. Parts of the existing building however are much earlier in date than the incumbency of Henry of Landbeach, for the nave and chancel, with the tower (not the spire) appear to have been built about 1200, before rather than after (Pl. IV). About 100 years later, *circa* 1300, the north aisle was added, its five arches with four pillars and two responds being a very beautiful example of the early stage of what is generally called the Decorated Period of Gothic architecture (Pl. V).

The builders of the aisle did what was very unusual in replacing the capitals of the chancel arch (of *c.* 1200) with capitals having the same mouldings (Pl. VI A) as the capitals of the aisle arcade, and in replacing the Early English arch (which may have been no more than a doorway) of the tower (*c.* 1200) with the present arch having responds (i.e. half-pillars) with bases and capitals reproducing the details of the aisle arcade, as does also the arch they carry, allowing for the modifications due to its smaller width (Pl. VII).

There were no further changes of importance until towards the close of the 15th century, say between 1475 and 1500, when the clerestory was added to the nave and a rood-loft was set up (the blocked entrance to which is seen in the N.E. angle of the nave) with a screen beneath it whose lower part was probably of stone (Pl. V). The clerestory addition called for new roofs to nave and aisle but these have in their turn disappeared in modern times.

The south door is in essence that of the late 12th century church and preserves the fine iron hinges of that date (Pl. III A).

The north doorway is mediaeval and may have been moved from the north side of the nave when the aisle was built *c.* 1300. The treatment it has received in 19th century restoration has involved the application of cement and calls for caution in considering the period and original position of the doorway.

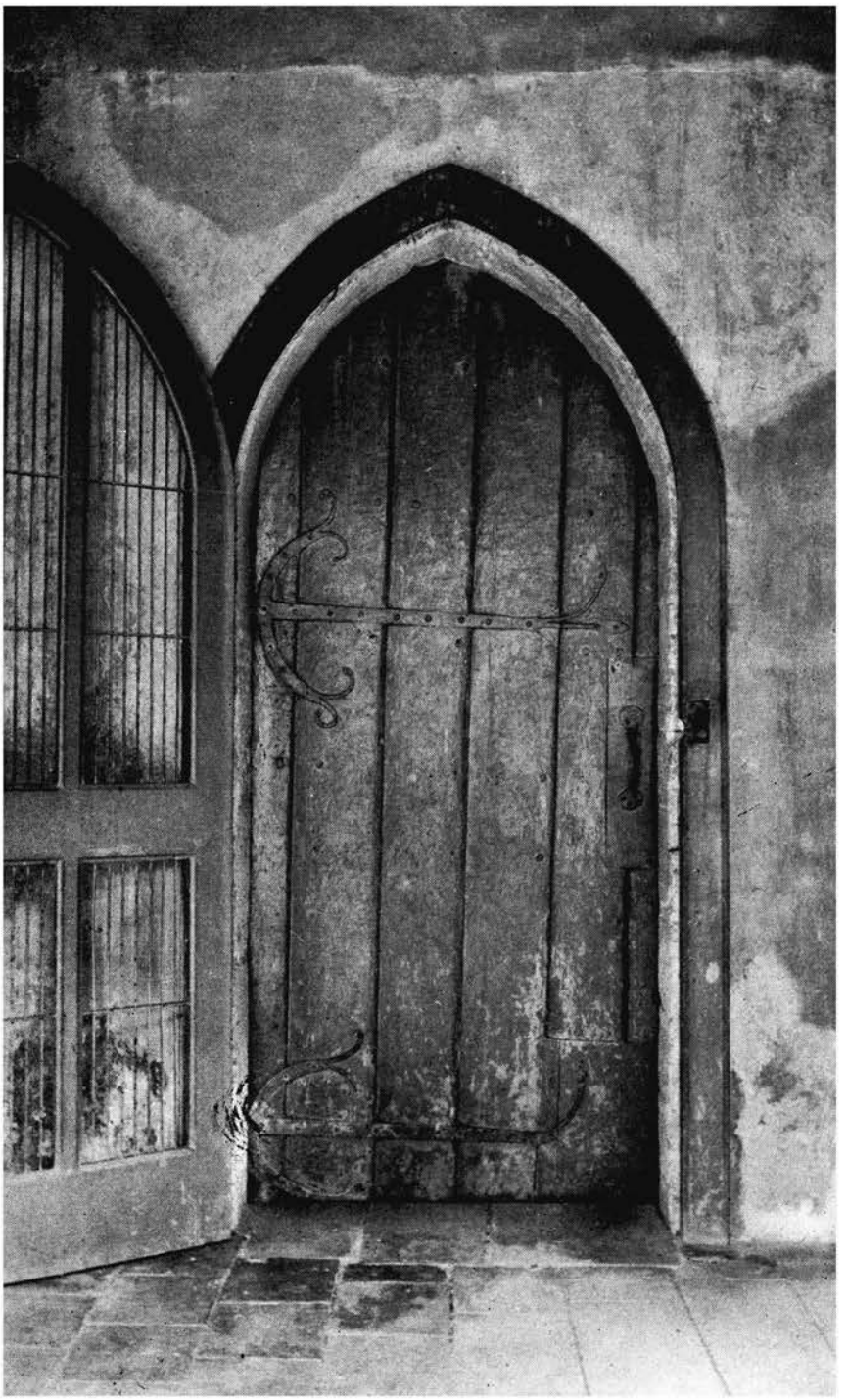
Minor changes were made in window openings from time to time. One of these gave us the beautiful three-light decorated window at the eastern end of the south wall of the nave (Pl. II), but these detailed adaptations of the church to the needs of successive centuries are best discussed when we are considering the various parts of the building to which they severally belong.

The spire which, with the stage of the tower immediately beneath it (Pl. IV), was added to the Early English tower in the 15th century, was found to be unsafe a few years ago, and a large part of the tower and the whole of the spire were taken down in 1926 to be rebuilt, as far as possible with the old material. Some of that consisted of coffins of the 13th century, broken into pieces of suitable size. One of the coffins has been loosely put together and is to be seen at the foot of the south side of the tower (outside). The three bells were of necessity removed and two of them were re-cast before replacement; the third, a fine mediaeval example, has been placed permanently on the floor of the aisle.

Until 1779 the chancel was 12 feet longer than it is now and there is no reason known why it was then shortened; as the shortening was done with the sanction of the bishop, and at the desire and expense of the principal parishioner, Sir John Cotton, the reason must have been adequate in the eyes of the effective authorities of that day. In the churchyard behind the east wall of the chancel is a deep depression whose occasion is not obvious. Cole, however, supplies the explanation when he says that the bricklayer had to dig 6 feet (owing to obstruction from graves and vaults) before he could lay a foundation for the east wall.

From the sketch which accompanies the note by Cole in 1744, it appears that the chancel at that time had three lancet windows on the N. side and a Decorated or Perpendicular east window of three lights with a traceried head. The east wall and so much of the N. and S. walls as removed the easternmost of

PLATE III A



Madingley Church, South Door.

the three lancets shown in Cole's sketch (Pl. III c) are what was taken down by Sir John Cotton in 1779. This is beyond question, for Cole's details of the monuments and the positions they occupied in the chancel in 1744, entirely confirm the deductions drawn by comparison of his sketch with the decapitated chancel to be seen to-day. The work of Sir John Cotton was undone in 1873–74 and we are dependent for any details of it upon what can be gained from pictures, from Cole's notes of 1779–80, and from a report dated 21 April 1873, addressed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by their architect, Mr Ewan Christian. We learn that he blocked all the side windows of the chancel "for the purpose of fixing monuments," built a new east wall containing a "modern window" and put up a modern roof "of the roughest description made of common fir poles cut down the middle, with occasional principals of square timber of rather large scantling." We have no view of the window Sir John Cotton inserted in the east wall but he showed his design to Cole who says that it was "by Jeffs." This was probably the senior partner of Jeffs and Bentley, stonemasons, who a few years before refaced the first court of Christ's College[1]. The window was to be in three panels, and Sir John Cotton asked Cole's advice about painted glass. He recommended the Hindes' arms in the two side panels but Sir John "thought there would not be light enough as no windows would be left on the sides." In the end, he appears to have preserved the 16th century crucifixion, with St John and the Blessed Virgin below, and a Flemish Jerusalem in the background, which now stands in the south-west window of the chancel (Pl. VIII). The work Sir John did was, Cole says, "to his own great Expence of 300£" a sum equal to-day to £2500 at least for such work.

It is remarkable that, in a church where so many ancient features are preserved, there is no remaining piscina niche. As far as the high altar is concerned, however, that is due to the shortening of the chancel, for the twelve feet removed would include that portion of the eastern end of the south wall of which Cole writing in 1744 says "in ye S. wall within ye Rails also are 2 Holes, divided by a sort of Pillar for Holy Water."

[1] Willis and Clark, Vol. II, p. 225.

Against the N. Wall, between the more eastern window and the window that was taken down by Sir John, stood the handsome monument to Miss Jane Cotton which now stands in the west end of the N. aisle (Pls. III B and IX).

There are two pictures which show the chancel from the south side as it appeared after the shortening; they are undated but may be attributed to the 2nd quarter of the 19th century. One is from a drawing by William Fleetwood Varley, whose dates are 1785–1856[1].

Restoration of the Church—it is interesting to find this late survival of the use of 'Church' to discriminate the nave and its appurtenances from the Chancel—was put in hand in 1872. This appears to have brought the question of Chancel repairs before the Bishop, the rector in succession to the dissolved priory of Barnwell, and the Ecclesiastical Commission, acting on behalf of the Ely Bishopric Estates, instructed their architect, Mr Ewan Christian, to report upon the work which should be done. To the courtesy of the secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners I am indebted for a complete copy of Ewan Christian's report. He advised them on 21 April 1873 that "To be put in accordance with the Church, and indeed for substantial reasons also, the Chancel should have a new roof of better form and materials, and it would be a great improvement to insert a new and larger east window. I estimate that the repairs such as could be required of a Lessee[2] will cost about £38. 0. 0. The further cost of re-roofing the Chancel, opening and restoring the windows, putting in a better east window, and relaying the floor with tiles would be about £298. 0. 0.

New benches about £43. 0. 0.

New Communion Rail £18. 0. 0."

That makes a total of £397. It appears from an examination of the fabric that the east wall above the string was rebuilt and it is to the credit of the architect that the work was carried out for a total cost of about £500[3]. It is pleasant to record that the Bishop, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, defrayed the whole

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lviii, 153.

[2] I assume this to be the measure of the Bishop's legal liability.

[3] *Cambridgeshire Chronicle and University Journal*, 30 May 1874.

Madingley Church, Chancel Monument, from Cole's drawing.

PLATE IIIc

Madingley Church, exterior from North-East, and Mistress Jane Cotton's Monument, from Cole's drawing.

of that expense, though the legal liability was no more than £38. The builder employed was Mr Brown of Lynn.

We are now free to consider what of the ancient church these various changes, dilapidations and repairs have allowed to survive.

The Chancel.

Externally the original string course is left below the window level; its semi-hexagonal form, slightly undercut, is one of the principal grounds for suggesting that the church was built rather before 1200 (Pl. II). Above the string, the east end wall (erected in 1779–80) was entirely rebuilt during the 1873–4 restoration; to what extent the window follows in general character the original opening is impossible to judge. It is not badly out of keeping with the building and, since Sir John Cotton destroyed the 14th or 15th century window he found, there could be no objection to the introduction of an E.E. type. The three lancets, two in the north wall (Pl. IV), one in the south (Pl. II) are in their original positions, although much of their stonework has been renewed. There was a fourth lancet at the west end of the south wall which was replaced by a window of the present size in the first half of the 14th century; part of the 12th century string was cut out and dropped to adjust its position in regard to the larger window. The jambs, sill and dripstone still remaining are original, but all the rest of the stonework is modern and the tracery does not reproduce the forms of the 14th century windows (Pl. II).

The principal internal feature of this part of the building is the chancel arch which, with its responds of semi-octagonal form, their bases and the hood-mould, is that of the late 12th century church (Pl. V). The capitals it has already been said were replaced about 1300 (Pl. VI A). The bases of the responds are at different levels, the plinth of the southerly side standing 10½ inches above the present ground level, the northerly one 5 inches only (Pl. IX). The original form of the base moulding is better seen on the northerly side; it consists of two rolls separated by a water-hollow having a raised rim on each side, and the flat almost rectangular form of the hollow points again

to the reign of Richard I rather than later as the date of the building. The hood-mould of the chancel arch has a rounded slope above and a hollow chamfer below, with a quirk between them, the whole moulding typical of late transitional work. The arch above the capitals has two members of rectangular outline with chamfered edges, a form possible at any date from, say, 1150 onwards. The soffit of the inner member is broad and has two wide joints, continuing from capital to capital and separated by a course of masonry about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide (Pl. VI A). The probable interpretation of this puzzling feature is that the chancel arch above the rood loft was filled in solid, as may be seen at Bettws Newydd[1]; the builders cut grooves to receive the timber frame and the grooves were filled in after the removal of the rood loft in the reign of Elizabeth or later, for though her ordinance was issued in 1561, it was not always immediately and completely obeyed[2].

The screen was still in place in Cole's time and there is no reason to suppose that it was removed before the shortening of the chancel in 1779–80. It is improbable that it survived that and the changes which accompanied it; the blocking of side windows with monuments that made the chancel too dark to support the armorial bearings in stained glass in the side panels of the new east window would scarcely permit the retention of a mediaeval screen under the chancel arch. It is worth while to quote Cole's words about the screen: "The Nave and Chancel is separated by a Screen of open work....Over ye s^{d} Screen are ye Royal Arms painted." (It is possible that it was the fixing of the framework for the royal arms that occasioned the cutting of the grooves in the chancel arch.) It is to be regretted that Cole does not say whether the screen was of wood or of stone; 'open work' would suit either but, whatever may have been the position with regard to the 'open work,' it is clear enough that the lower part, usually solid panels, was of masonry. It is difficult otherwise to interpret the marks against the western faces of the arch responds and bases.

The monument (Pl. III C) which formerly stood against the

[1] See measured drawing *Screens and Galleries*, Francis Bond, p. 179.

[2] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, Vol. II, p. 172, n. 3.

east end of the N. wall and is now at the west end of the aisle has been mentioned. That which rears its tall height between the two remaining windows in the same wall is in the position it occupied when Cole wrote (Pl. III B). This "very noble Monument," as he justly describes it, of Dame Jane Cotton, the heiress who brought the Hinde property of Madingley into the Cotton family, has well withstood the ravages of nearly 250 years. Cole refers to the pathetic little tablet which is now placed on the north wall between the arch and the window (Pl. IX); in Cole's day it was "Agst. ye same wall near ye Screen and below ye east Window." It is not known whose child is here remembered; the inscription clearly refers to a female infant.

There are six paintings on wood against the east wall, three on each side of the altar. They represent:

North side.	*South side.*
St Andrew	St John, the Evangelist
St Thomas	St Paul
St Peter	St James, the Greater

and are referred to by Cole in the words (under date of 5 Nov. 1779) "Sir John has further ornamented this part of the Chancel with... the Figures of six Apostles well painted... being Paintings of some Repute and formerly hanging in Frames in the Gallery of the Mansion House." Of the altar rails he says that they formerly belonged to Great St Mary's Church at Cambridge.

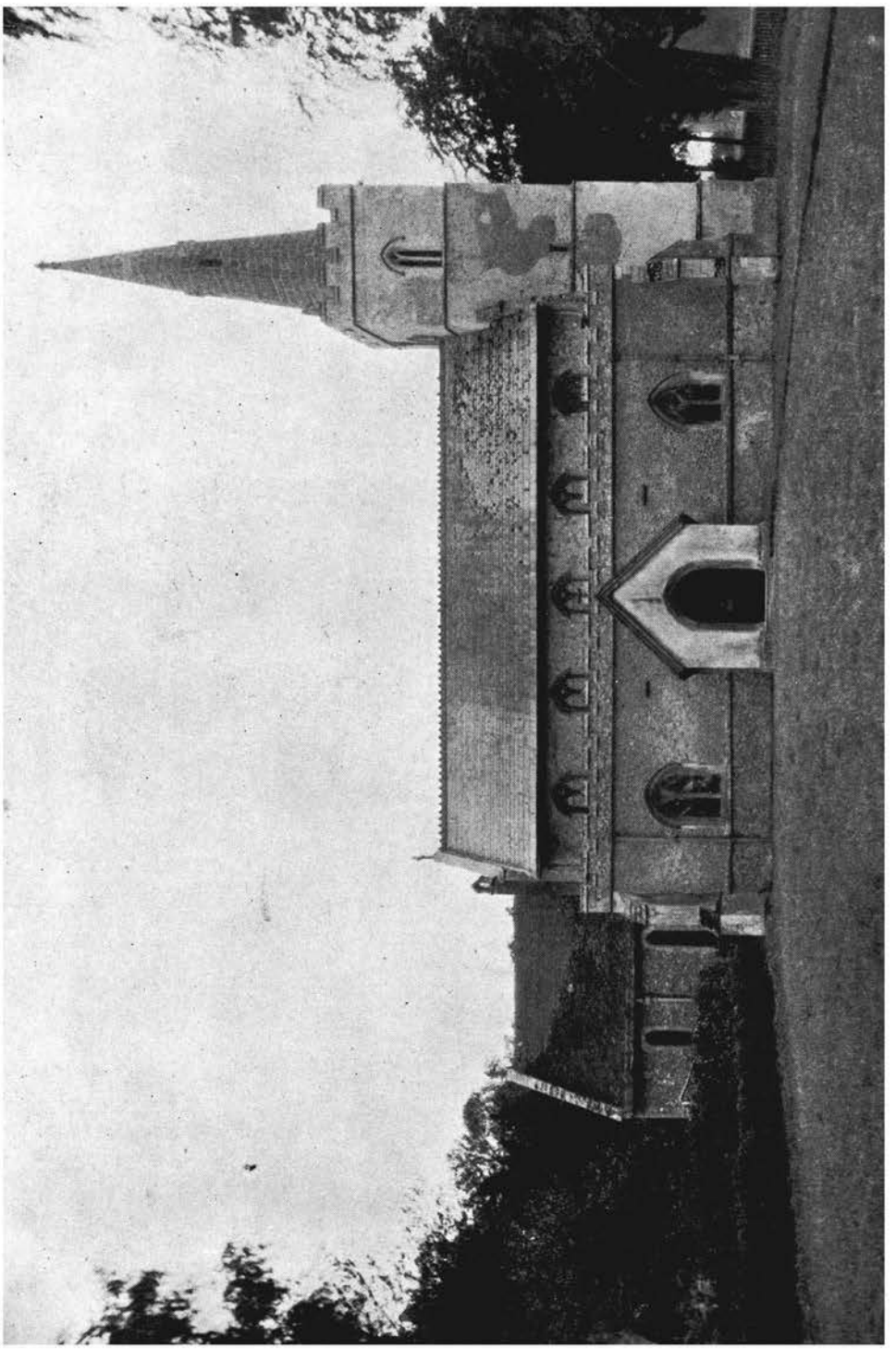
The Church.

The work done in 1873–4 in the chancel was necessary from every point of view but it was difficult, in the absence of contemporary evidence to reconstruct the state of things obtaining before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners stepped in. The architect's report preceding the work has made it possible, in the light of Cole's sketch and notes, to read unmistakably the history of the eastern arm between 1779 and 1874. In the remaining portion of the building, the architectural history of the last century was sufficiently plain, but it is useful to have deductions based upon observation confirmed by testimony of contemporary date. The parishioners seem to have taken action

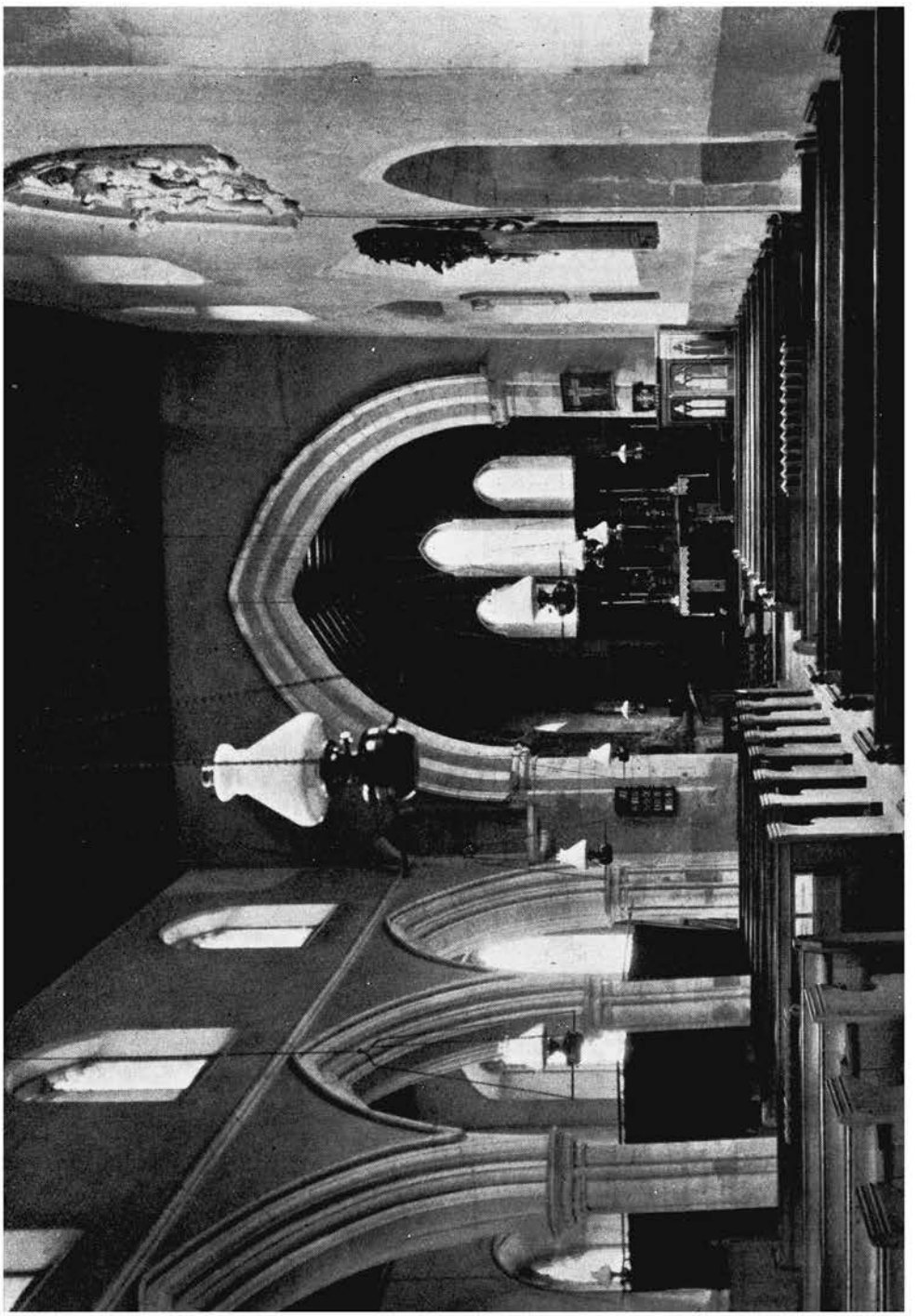
first, for the Commissioners' architect, in the course of reporting upon the state of the Chancel, says "The restoration of the Church which has a very good arcade of the 14th century (Pl. V) is now in progress. The whole of it was re-roofed and is about to be re-floored, but the funds are not sufficient at present to provide for refitting." I had learnt from the register that the church must have been out of use for about two years, and this was confirmed with the addition of simple and quaint details by the oldest inhabitant who has since died. More particulars have been gained from a search of the file of the *Cambridgeshire Chronicle* preserved in the University Library. The number of that paper published 30 May 1874 says "The pretty little Church situate in the Park at Madingley was re-opened on Wednesday last (May 27) by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese after undergoing extensive reparation. New roofs have been placed on the nave, aisle and chancel, a portion of the aisle wall has been entirely rebuilt; the stonework inside has been cleaned, the plaster renewed, and new floors put over the whole area... the benches... are to follow. The cost of the restoration will be between £800 and £900 for the Church, the work done to the chancel involving an expenditure of about £500. The chancel part of the restoration has been executed at the expense of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, whilst the work in the other part of the Church has been carried out by public subscriptions, chiefly through the munificence of one member of the late Cotton family. The work has been in hand since July 1872." The report goes on to say that the architect for the 'Church' portion was Mr J. Morley, Cambridge; the builder Mr Warboys of Comberton, and the stonemason Mr Tomson of Cambridge. For the chancel portion, Mr E. Christian of London was the architect, and Mr Brown of Lynn the builder.

The Nave.

The south wall of the late 12th century church probably remains in its entirety (Pl. V). There is no complete original window-opening, but traces remain of the eastern half of a lancet window-opening in the wall over the pulpit. Adjoining this fragmentary window is that which occasioned its destruction; a three-light



Madingley Church, from North.



Madingley Church, looking East.

window under a flat pointed arch, the head filled with tracery of two quatrefoils and five cusped, triangular openings. Except for patching, the window with dripstone and terminals, sills, jambs, mullions, arch-head and tracery, is complete and is a beautiful example of work of *circa* 1325 (Pl. II).

The window between the one just described and the porch, as also the westernmost window, are of two lights of late 15th century type and are co-eval with those of the clerestory. The loftier window of a single light on the western side of the porch is also of the late 15th century, and its different form may have been dictated by the proximity of the porch. The doorway is in the original position; its inner face may be original in the main but its outer side is certainly later. The porch (Pl. II) which we see to-day is not earlier than the 17th century. The door itself has already been described (Pl. III A.).

Over the south doorway, within the church under a pointed arched canopy of plaster, are the Royal Arms of 1802 by Coade and Sealy of Lambeth (Pl. V).

The Aisle.

The pillars of the arcade (Pl. V) with their bases and capitals are of Barnack stone; the arches they carry are of clunch. Unlike the chancel arch, the arcade has the same ornamental treatment both to nave and aisle, to which is largely due its rich effect. The hood-molds terminated in heads which have all disappeared, leaving no trace save in the western respond on the north face and in the eastern respond on the south face; their removal was not due to decay but was deliberate, the fruit presumably of iconoclastic zeal.

The interior of the north wall had a string-course at the window-sill level; it remains for about 7′6″ between the doorway and the south-east window. The only aisle window that is certainly ancient is that in the west wall; it dates from the late 16th or the early 17th century. Those in the north wall are new; there is authority for their position and perhaps some for their general form in Cole's sketch.

The north doorway is, in the main, medieval. It may even be the doorway removed from the north wall when the aisle was

built, *circa* 1300. It has been so treated with cement that it is impossible to determine its original details with certainty and, while the general disposition of the mouldings is that of the E.E. period, their detailed forms have Decorated characteristics. It seems fairly safe to regard it as being, possibly, the original door, moved and modified *circa* 1300 and rather over-restored in the late 19th century. The north porch was added in the 15th century (Pl. IV). The east end of the aisle, now used as a vestry, had an altar; there is no trace of a piscina but the space on the south is so small that it may have occupied an unusual position; though the south wall is normally their place, piscinæ are in special circumstances found in the east wall, or in the north wall, and even in the floor. There is an aumbry in the N. wall and, east of it, a small opening with traceried head on whose use it would be easy, but perhaps not profitable, to speculate.

We should ordinarily assume that the east end of the aisle was occupied by a chapel with its own altar and, happily, we have proof of that in Cole. He refers to the aisle arcade and says that against the 1st pillar "goes a sort of Screen to ye opposite N. wall, w^{ch} as I guess, made a private Chapel, and might be the Chantry mentioned at p. 66 N^{o}. 2." That parclose screen has disappeared, like the chancel screen; it ran across the W. end of the chapel and would originally have had a fellow across the south side from the pillar to the respond. The reference to the chantry is in a deed of 1469, the 8th year of Edward IV, where the lands belonging to a chantry in Madingley are included in a lease; there are no other particulars.

In Dr Palmer's *Village Gilds of Cambridgeshire*[1] he draws from Cole three references to Gilds in Madingley, Our Lady, St Catherine and St Michael, one or more of which may have used this chapel for their annual and special gild services.

When Cole wrote in 1779 the chapel was the family pew of the Cottons.

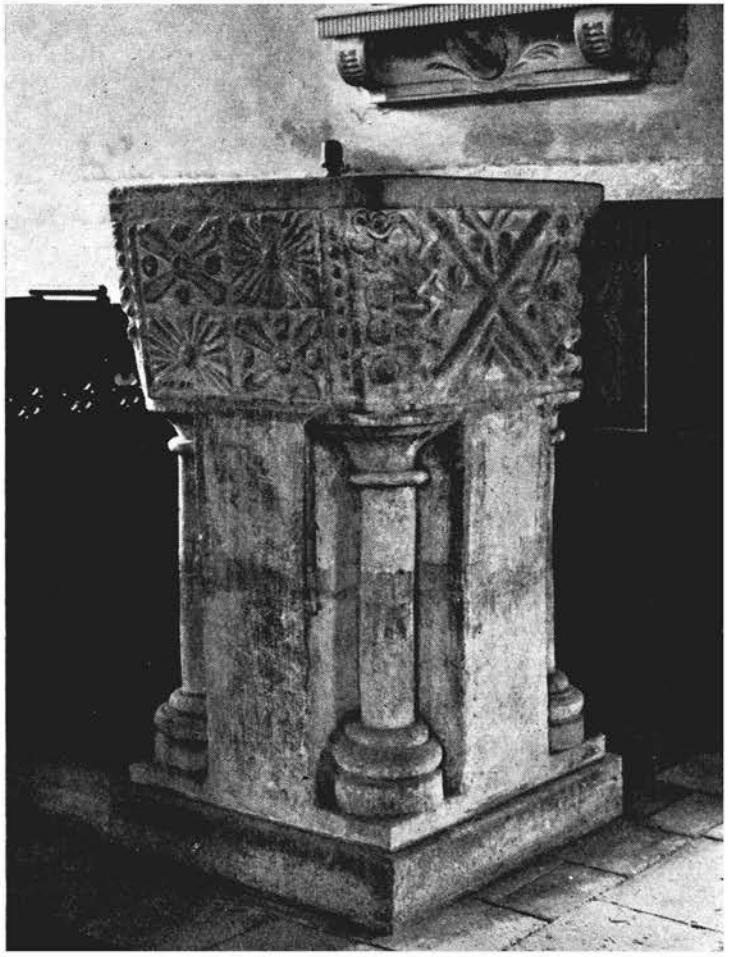
The aisle arcade, the most beautiful feature of the Church, has been attributed here to *circa* 1300. The earliest vicar named

[1] *Transactions*, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, vol. I, p. 395.

(A)

Madingley Church, Chancel Arch, North Respond.

(B)



Font from South-East.

in Canon Crosby's list is Henry of Landbeach, 1313, but *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis* mentions one Albert, sometime vicar here. His date cannot be given with certainty but the entry in which he is mentioned is written in the hand to which Dr Minns ascribes a date after 1278 and before 1304. The reference to this vicar records the fact of his having presented vestments to the church, a gift which may well have accompanied the consecration to God's service of the altar in the aisle which it is reasonable to suppose may have been built during his vicariate.

At the opposite end of the aisle is the beautiful monument already mentioned as having stood against the N. wall of the chancel until 1779 (Pl. III B). Between the monument and the N. door is

The Font (Pl. VI B).

There is a reference to a font at Madingley in the visitation of 1662: "we have a font of stone." Cole (1744) says "ye old stone Font is under ye Arch of ye last Pillars, of w^{ch} there are 4 very neat ones on ye N. side of ye Nave."

Boissier, who wrote in 1827, says "the font is modern," and Paley, in *The Ecclesiologist's Guide* (1844), makes the same statement. This 'modern' font must have been introduced between 1744 and 1827, perhaps when Sir John Cotton made his great alterations in the chancel in 1779. It has disappeared and I am told that inquiry has failed to trace it.

In its place there is now the truly remarkable font which stands between the monument and the gangway from the north door. It consists of a basin of rectangular form, measuring about 2′2″ one way by 1′11″ the other, of Norman date, say 1135, upon a pedestal of rectangular plan with the angles hollow-chamfered and occupied by attached nook-shafts with bases of triple-roll form. The basin underwent considerable alteration to fit it to the pedestal, and its decorative features were also modified.

The Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White states[1] that this font was brought from Madingley Hall having been removed thither when Sir Francis Hinde, about the year 1600, demolished St Etheldreda, Histon, for the purpose of using its material to enlarge his house.

[1] *The Churches of Cambridgeshire*, 130, 131.

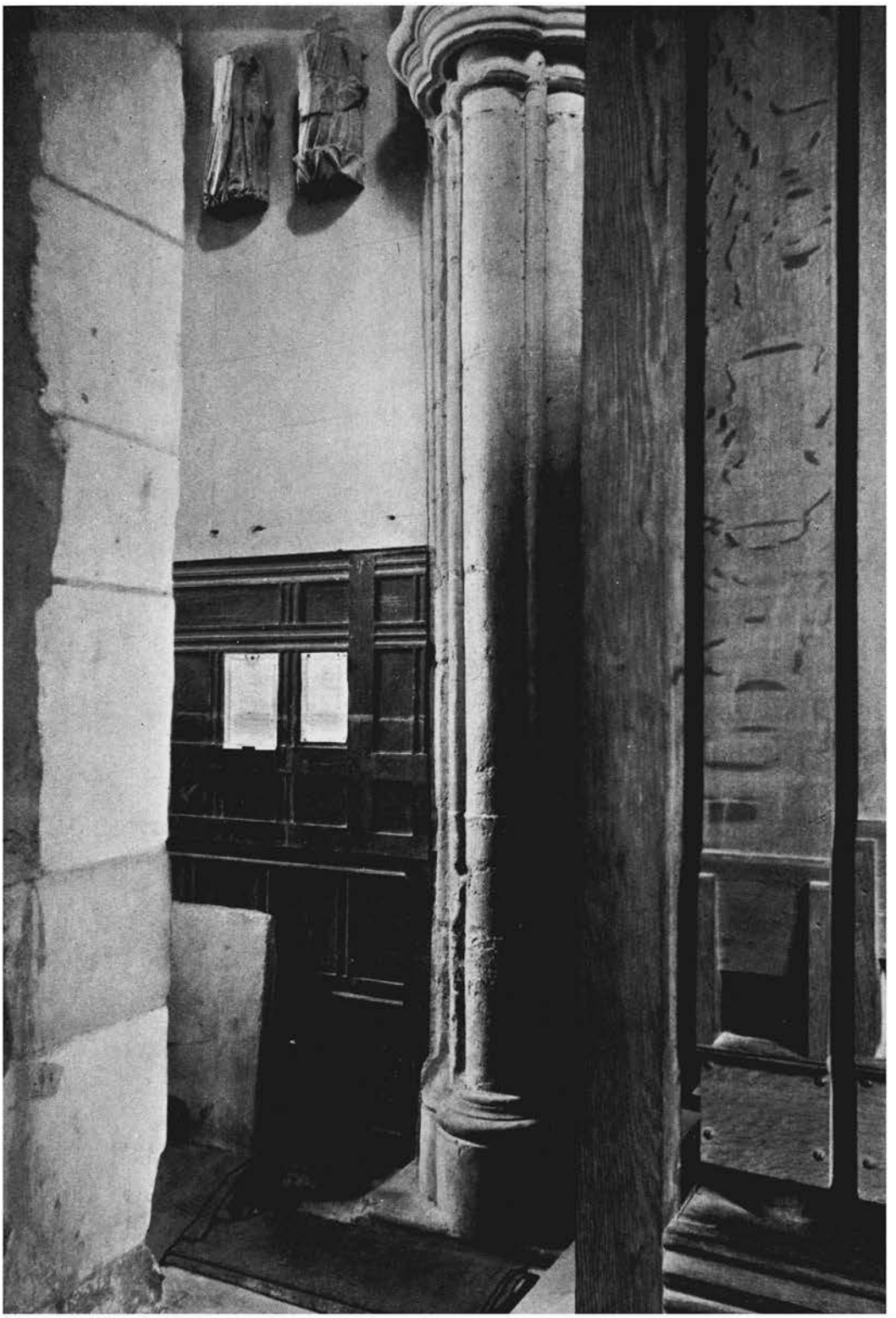
The sacrilege of Sir Francis Hinde created a grave scandal the memory of which still agitated the faithful many years after his death. The curious may find it treated of in Wharton's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 562, or in *The Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Cambridge Camden Society, 1845, p. 64.

A communication received from Mr Hurrell, formerly of Madingley Hall, now of Harston, led me to ask Mr Evelyn-White for the authority upon which the statement as to the Histon provenance was based, and he replied that he had no documentary evidence and that, so far as he could remember, it was the expression rather of a general impression than anything else. This sets me free to say that Mr Hurrell and his sister inform me that, when they went as children with their parents to live at Madingley Hall, the font now in the church "was standing up at the house round behind the front door; one side was broken away and our father had it restored and put back in the church where the one in use was a kind of hand-basin on an iron stand."

With this evidence before us of eye-witnesses long resident at Madingley Hall, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the present font is the early medieval font mentioned by Cole, and others before him, which suffered serious injury late in the 18th or early in the 19th century, and was carried away to the Hall for its preservation from further damage. And it is reasonable to assume further that the replacement by Mr Hurrell, senior, was a restoration to its original home of the font at which the parishioners of Madingley had been baptised for nearly eight hundred years. Messrs Rattee and Kett carried out the repairs, the marks of which are plainly visible, especially on the westward side.

The Tower (Pl. IV).

The unbuttressed tower of four retreating stages on a plain tall plinth is of the date of the nave and chancel. Internally, its door, or arch, to the nave was replaced about 1300 by the existing arch. The spire was added in the 15th century, as well as the topmost stage of the tower with its battlement, a change which probably accompanied the erection of the clerestory. The



Madingley Church, Tower Respond: Wooden Figures.

mark on the face of the tower, seen from the nave, appears to be that of the outer roof before there was a clerestory.

On the interior walls of the lowest storey are ten wooden figures firmly fastened (Pl. VII); they are usually referred to as 'angels' but, while they may be scriptural, they are not celestial bodies. It has not been possible to discover when they were placed in this position. Of more interest, perhaps, is the question of their original position and purpose.

They are coped figures of the 15th century and formerly bore shields and other emblems which, if they had survived, would have made identification possible. They are, undoubtedly, figures which adorned roof timbers either as wall-plates into which the principals or hammer beams were tenoned, or decorative additions to the under side of the rafters. This latter and less usual use is well seen in the medieval roofs of Fen Stanton church at the ends of the principal and secondary rafters where, as in the example of Madingley, the figures vary in height; the church of Great Gransden has roofs illustrating the use of figures in this manner[1].

The question of provenance is more difficult. They do not appear to have been used in the nave or aisle roofs in this church, for those roofs were renewed in 1872 to 1874 and the architect, Mr Morley, says positively that no such figures were to be found in the roofs then removed. He has no recollection of the figures being seen in the tower at that time.

There remains the possibility that the figures came from the chancel roof which Sir John Cotton must have taken down when he shortened the chancel in 1779–80, replacing it with the rough work which Mr Ewan Christian found it necessary to remove in 1873–74. Sir John Cotton had some of the instincts of an antiquary, though they were rather cramped in their manifestation, and it is conceivable that he carried these sculptured portions of the old roof away to the Hall whence they may have been restored by his successors in the 19th century.

I have said that the figures are mutilated and, it should be added, they were deliberately mutilated; there is no time in the

[1] Similar figures so used may be more readily seen in the 15th century roof of the south room in the University Library.

history of the building between the 15th century and the present day when such an outrage would be so likely as during the iconoclastic visit of Dowsing in 1643 (old style).

Let us see what he says in his Journal:

March 6, 1643. Maddenley. John Ivett and Theodore Wictham, Church Wardens, Edward Dantry, Cunstable. There was 35 Pictures superstitious, and Christ on ye Cross, and ye two Theves by him, and Christ and ye Virgin Mary in an other Window, a Christ in ye Steple Window, and ye Steps to be leveled, and 14 Cherubims in Wood to be taken down, which promised to be taken down.

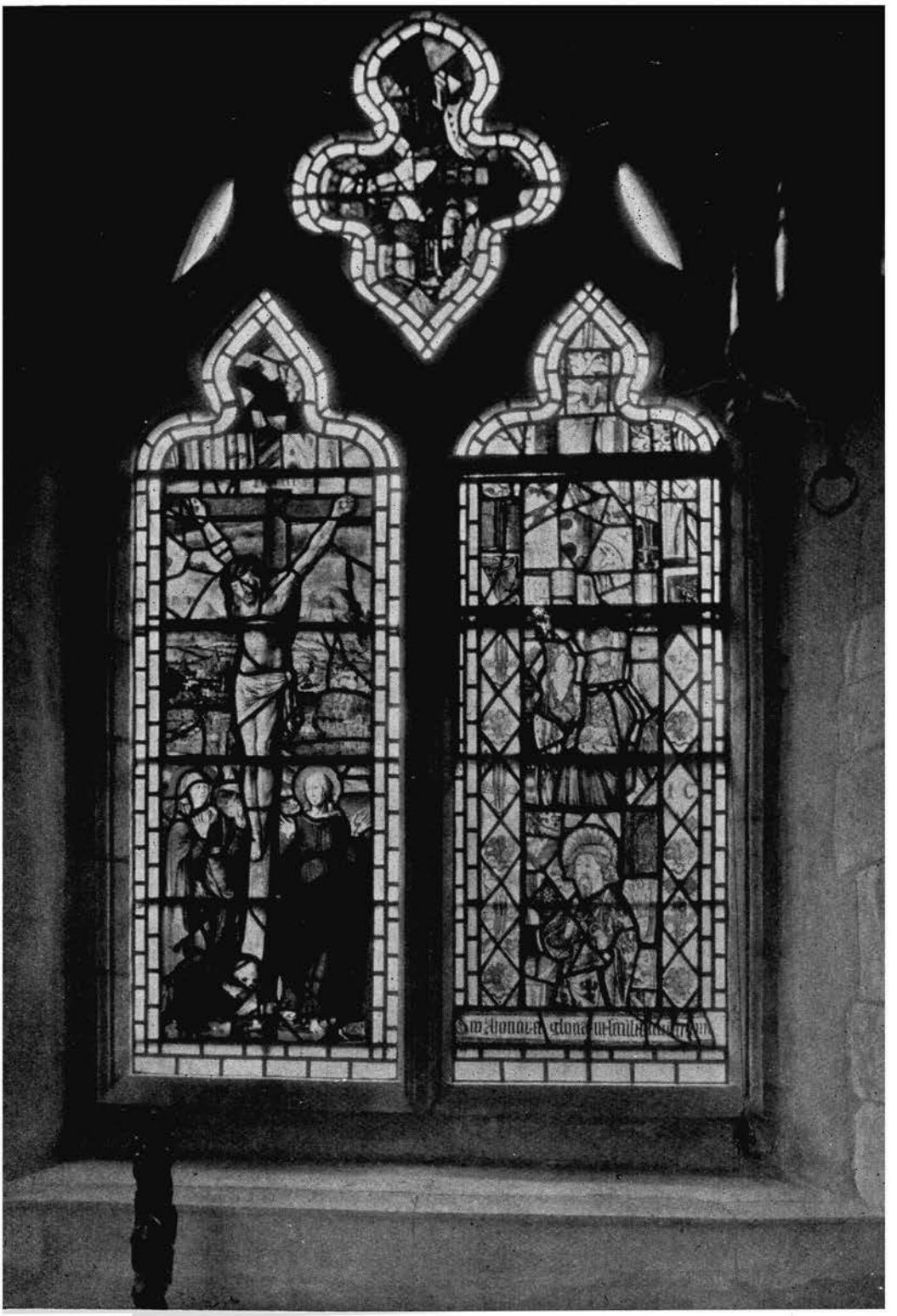
It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that our ten wooden figures may be ten of Dowsing's "Cherubims in Wood" which have survived to bear witness against him. Our figures are locally called 'angels' though they have no wings, and similar figures are described as 'angels' in Brandon's *Timber Roofs*, p. 63, where, indeed, there are also angels. Angels are a frequent surviving feature in medieval roofs but I should be hard put to it to find local medieval Cherubim in wood. It is not necessary to infer from the form of Dowsing's ecclesiastical activity that he was learned in the artistic lore of medieval sculpture, while it is a not unfair inference that a visit so hurried as to lead him to take promises without supervising their performance may have led to a misinterpretation and mis-description of the sculptured details on the roof of a building, lighted by stained glass windows, which he visited in the early days of March.

If we regard it as possible that our ten figures are survivors of Dowsings "14 Cherubims in Wood," we must assume that the Wardens and Constable, the promisers it is to be supposed, found it would be dangerous to the stability of the roof structure to take the 'Cherubims' down and compromised with their consciences by mutilating instead of removing. And we are not entirely without justification for that assumption.

When writing his account of Madingley in 1744 Cole, after quoting Dowsing as above, goes on to observe

I know not how it happened, but so it is that ye chief Crucifix in Glass wth ye Virgin and St John on each side of it, extremely well painted, are still preserv'd in ye middle Pannel of ye E. Window, over ye Altar. I suppose ye 2 Theives fill'd up ye 2 other Pannels and made it a Compleat

PLATE VIII



Madingley Church, South-West Window of Chancel.

Window; however they are lost, wth a good part of ye other Glass painting w^{ch}. sh^{d}. have been above ye s^{d} Crucifixion, w^{ch}. is perfect. In all probability ye Parishioners saved this wth. a promise to demolish it.

The opinion of Cole, indefatigable visitor of churches in his own and many other counties, written only 100 years after Dowsing's visitations, is entitled to great respect. Since the parishioners saved the glass, so also may they have saved the 'Cherubims.'

Stained Glass.

The glass crucifixion so admired of Cole in 1744 is shown by him in his sketch of the church (Pl. III c), and it was still preserved by Sir John Cotton in his new east window built in 1779. The architectural window has gone but its main stained glass feature remains to be seen 'compleat,' almost, in the S.W. window of the chancel, with a fascinating Flemish Jerusalem in the background (Pl. VIII). Cole's description is unmistakable, and the connecting links between his 1744 description and our own time are to be found in Britton and Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales,* 1801, volume II: "The village church... with a beautiful window over the Communion table. The centre division represents our Saviour on the Cross, with some buildings in the background exceedingly well managed"; and again, in *History of Cambridgeshire,* 1851, "painted window over the Communion table representing the crucifixion."

This ancient rood in glass occupies the eastern panel of the window, the western is made up of fragments, among which may be seen

The Virgin and Child, perhaps made up out of more than one picture.

A head with long tresses, as of a Magdalen, and the beautiful Baptist which remains almost entire. He holds on his left arm the books of the prophets, on which rests the Lamb, and to the Holy type of Christ he points with the forefinger of his right hand over a scroll on which is inscribed the words *ECCE AGNUS DEI.* He wears the hair shirt, almost completely hidden by the voluminous folds of the richly embroidered cope (Pl. X A).

In the borders are various fragments of background or border, especially the three devices,

Three feathers, upright, on a trefoiled base, piercing a label on which, on either side, are the letters ION MER.

Eagle, with raised wings, standing on a similar trefoiled base, with a label in its beak bearing the letters ELY.

The letters IC intertwined with a cord.

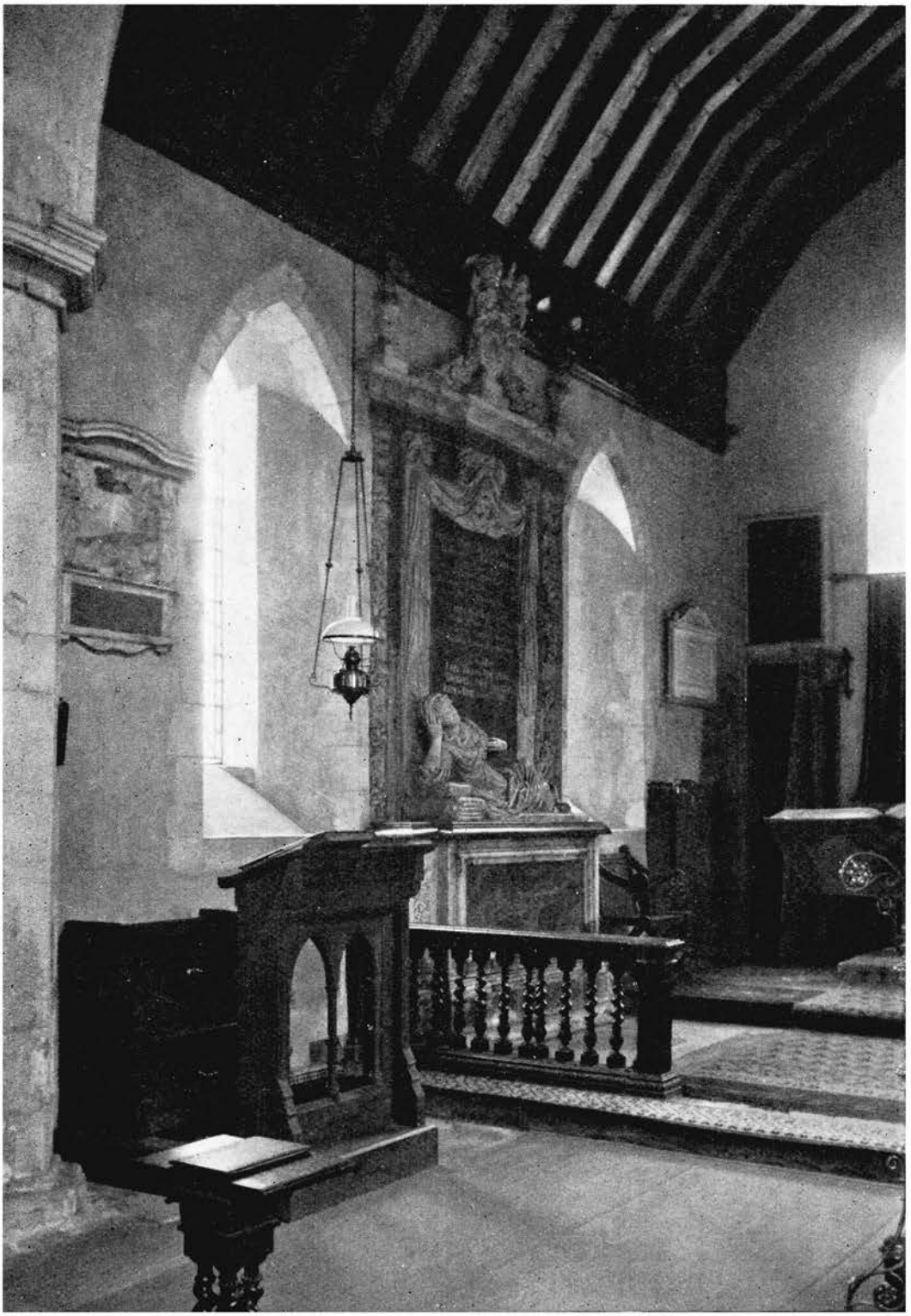
Under the whole window the legend DEO HONOR ET GLORIA IN SECULA SECULORUM.

The three feathers device puzzled me for a long time. It is clearly a canting badge and all efforts to find a name combining feathers, quills, or pens with the termination MER were unavailing. At last I discovered that the three feathers, or quills rather, are the heraldic charge of the family of GILMOUR, spelt in ancient days GILMER. Of that name I think it is reasonable to suggest that this is a rebus.

There is an interest attaching to the quarry bearing the initials IC. Anyone knowing the history of the parish immediately thinks of John Cotton, not the one of 1779 but a predecessor of the previous century. But the true story is given by Cole who writes (5 Nov. 1779) "Somewhere in the Window is a small Lozenge of painted Glass and on it I.C. conjoined with Strings, done in an ordinary and coarse Manner, but as it expressed the Initials of Sir John Cotton's Name, I gave it to him....It was sent to me some 3 years before, with a Dozen other Pieces of painted Glass (none very good) by Mr Horace Walpole from Twickenham, who told me that he had purchased them at Mr Ives's Sale of Curiosities not long before: as Mr Ives [is] now of Yarmouth, it is probable he picked up his Collections chiefly in Norfolk: otherwise I should have thought them to have belonged to Sir John Cutts of Childerley[1] in the Windows of the Hall of the Mansion House, now Farm House there, I remember to have seen the same Initials and painted much in the same Manner."

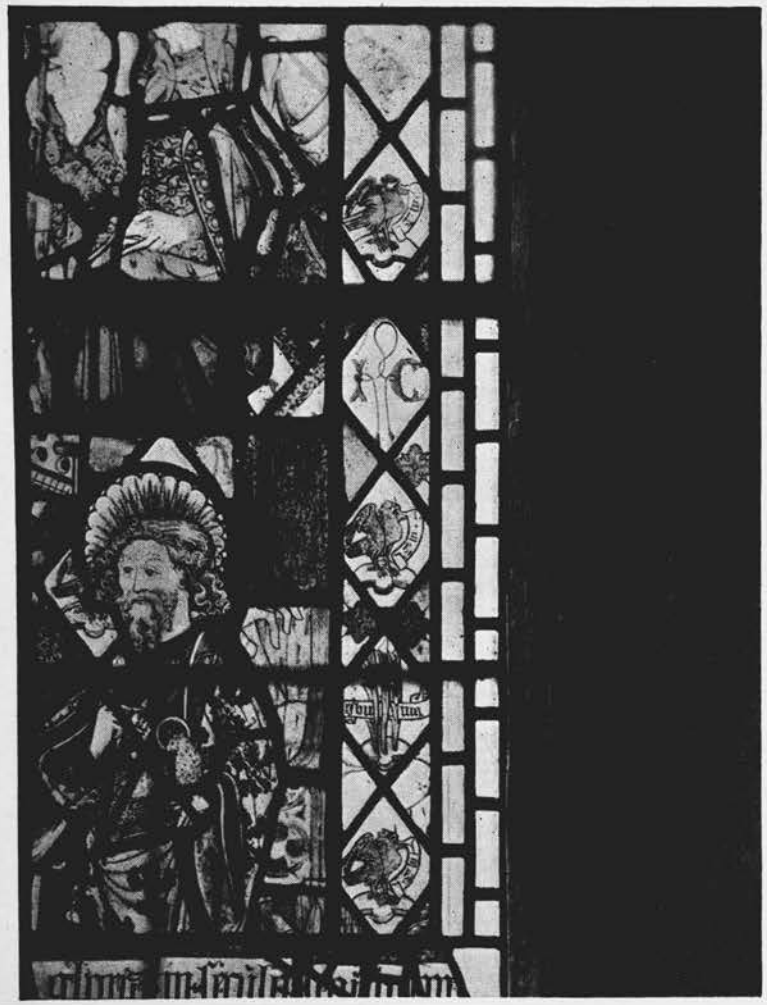
There are panels of later glass, also 17th century, in the window immediately west of the south door. (Pl. X B.) The eastern panel of the two is a composition of two subjects, the upper

[1] There is no ancient glass remaining at Childerley.



Madingley Church, North Wall of Chancel.

(A)



Madingley Church, Details of Chancel Window.

(B)

Window in South Wall of Nave.

PLATE X

half of a female figure holding a pelican in her piety being fixed upon the lower half of a figure of Justice. There are small fragments in other windows.

Bells.

Previous to the recent (1926) rebuilding of the spire, the tower contained three old bells. Numbers 2 and 3 bore the legend "T. Tymbs and R. Stephens C. W. Tho. Newman made me 1723." Newman was a Norwich bell-founder. The two bells taken down in 1926 were recast and then restored to the tower.

No. 1 is an important medieval example which has been placed in the aisle adjoining the north door. Its legend is very clear and runs

DICOR : EGO : THOMAS : LAVS : EST : XPI : SONUS : O : MAS

A note affixed to the back of a seat states that the bell was made by John Rufford of Toddington, Beds. c. 1330–40.

The apparent meaning of the hexameters is: I am called Thomas my sound is the praise of Christ O man.

Mas is an unusual form, and when employed is to be expected rather as the equivalent of *vir* than of *homo*, but rhyme rather than reason was the objective of the composers of medieval hexameters on bells, especially a rhyme that satisfies the eye[1].

John Rufford did not receive his patent as royal bell-founder until 1367[2], which makes the date of 1330–40 seem unduly early. The dates 1350–80 would command wider assent as the range of time within which this fine bell may have been made.

My thanks are due to the vicar of Madingley, for exceptional facilities for examining the registers; to Dr Palmer for the loan of prints and of his valuable rotographs of the relative pages of the Cole MSS, as well as for many kindnesses not easy to specify; and to Messrs Rattee and Kett for the ground-plan which they specially made and presented to me, also for access to their books of account and for transcripts of several pages thereof.

[1] See an interesting article by the Rev. A. H. F. Boughey in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1919, 74–83.

[2] *V. C. H.*, Buckinghamshire, ii, 118.

CAMBRIDGE COUNTY RECORDS.

By Ethel M. Hampson, M.A., Ph.D.

(Read 3 March 1930.)

The subject of this paper is entitled "Cambridge County Records: Certain Aspects of Social and Economic Administration." It has not been an easy matter to decide what material under this head could most fittingly be considered within the compass of a single lecture. Since the Isle of Ely is geographically, and for certain purposes jurisdictionally, within the county of Cambridge, we may include it in the present survey.

County Archives.

Parochial archives, records of manor or hundred, as well as the municipal archives of Cambridge, must definitely be excluded. The interesting gild records of Wisbech, dating from the 14th century, and the later records of the town after its incorporation in 1546, must likewise be deemed outside the scope of this paper. Lodged in the museum at Wisbech are also a considerable number of books and papers relating to the hundred of Wisbech, including a valuable volume of 16th and early 17th century records of Courts Leet and Courts Halimote held at Wisbech. The only documents, however, still preserved at Wisbech, which concern the whole franchise of the Isle of Ely, are what we shall presently describe as Sessions Rolls, and these are only of modern date, covering the period 1852 to 1889. The remaining records of the Isle are housed partly in the Diocesan Registry at Ely and partly in the new County Hall at March.

Ely Diocesan Registry.

In the muniment rooms of the Registry—once the infamous old gaol of the franchise—are collected documents which up to the end of last century were distributed between Ely House, London, Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, and the Palace of Ely. Until the 19th century the jurisdiction of the Bishop within the Isle was a temporal no less than a spiritual one, second only in

importance to that of the Bishopric of Durham. In consequence the records, which are very voluminous, relate not merely to ordinary diocesan business, but also to civil and criminal administration. A large number of medieval Court Rolls and Extents, as well as Plea Rolls and Gaol Delivery Rolls dating from the days of Henry VI to recent times, are preserved at the Registry, but we shall rule all these to be outside our definition of county administration. More immediately to the purpose are the documents concerning the business of the Quarter Sessions of the Isle, which were held alternately at Ely and Wisbech—Special Sessions being also held annually at both Chatteris and March for the consideration of the finance of the Isle. Documents of this type portray those aspects of franchise administration which were normally carried on by county authorities.

Perhaps the most important of these papers for the economic or social historian are the Sessions Rolls, or files, consisting of pieces of paper and parchment of every shape and size, strung together and rolled into bundles, each of which, if complete, contains the various documents connected with the business transacted at the particular sessions concerned. Eighteen of these rolls relate to the years 1637 to 1666, and constitute the earliest Quarter Sessions material extant in either county proper or Isle. Six rolls relate to certain years between 1714 and 1739, and an almost complete series exists for the period 1740 to 1775.

To the student of administrative no less than of social and economic history the rolls offer a profitable source of information. Here are to be found the actual writs whereby the sessions were summoned, the juries sworn, the coroner perchance elected and the inquest held. Here, too, are the actual jury panels, the presentments of the constables, the disputed pauper removal orders and the bastardy or other warrants issued by the justices for the apprehension of criminals. Here are the duplicates of vagrant passes, the sacrament certificates required of all holding public office, the detailed accounts of charity estates and other documents statutorily ordered to be filed in Court. Here, too, are the recognizances (or bonds) of those who

were to appear in criminal or civil suits, the examinations, depositions and informations concerning matters about to come before the Court, and the calendars or lists of prisoners awaiting trial. Particularly valuable are the detailed accounts filed here of Treasurer and Chief Bailiff, for in the Order Books and Sessions Minutes it is usually the totals only which appear.

A raid has evidently been made at some period upon the rolls at Ely, and certain of the documents have been abstracted with a view to classifying them separately. A series of coroners' inquests for the years 1608 to 1776, and of sacrament certificates, vagrant passes and victuallers' recognizances etc. for the earlier part of the 18th century have been rather incompletely classified in this manner.

County Hall, March.

In the County Hall at March there are no documents dating earlier than the 19th century.

Apart from Assize records, the volumes of most importance here are the Sessions Minute and Order Books. The calf-bound manuscript Order Books extend from 1801 to 1837 continuously, and with certain gaps from 1856 to 1889. Sessions Minute Books—which at this late period differ but little from the slightly more formal Order Books—cover without a break the years between 1826 and 1887. A Minute Book of the "Special Sessions" deals with the finance of the Isle from 1823 to 1845.

Though containing less wealth of detail than the rolls, the bound volumes of Sessions Minutes and Orders usually afford a more unbroken history and are more readily handled by the historical investigator. These books record in summary fashion the decisions arrived at and the decrees issued by the Bench. Such significant features, however, as wages' assessments and scales of prices are often merely referred to in Minute or Order Books, the schedules themselves (though unfortunately missing for both Isle and county proper) being filed among the rolls. One rather peculiar feature of the 19th century Sessions Minutes for the Isle is the prominence given to criminal proceedings, full details of which are usually entered, whilst economic affairs tend

to be dismissed in a line. This is in striking contrast to the corresponding records for that part of the county which lay outside the franchise of Ely.

With the exception of a couple of Register Books of recognizances and oaths of office, and the copies of Enclosure Awards (1805-1856), no papers at March, other than the Sessions records, relate to any period earlier than 1834. Such documents as exist are catalogued in an Appendix to this paper.

Shire Hall and County Hall, Cambridge.

The documents relating to the administration of the county proper are to be found mainly in the excellent muniment rooms of the County Hall at Cambridge, though the Sessions Rolls, of which only a few for the mid-18th century have survived, are now deposited in the Shire Hall on Castle Hill. The earliest Quarter Sessions Order Book—perhaps to the historian the most fascinating of the whole series—is located in the manuscript department of the University Library, having been deposited there in 1913 by Mr Musgrave Francis. Its entries deal with the interesting period of the Restoration, from 1660 to 1672. A careful overhauling and rearrangement of the records at the County Hall have brought to light several 18th century volumes which were missing till very recently. The Q.S. Order Books now housed there form a complete series from 1689 to the present day, with the exception of one missing volume for the years 1694 to 1699. A complete series of draft Minute Books from 1723 to 1884 also exists.

Covering the period 1694 to 1757 are the Recognizance Books registering the bonds under which, for example, bastardy obligations were accepted and witnesses or offenders subpœnaed to attend at Court. Separate books record the securities pledged by licensees of inns and alehouses between 1728 and 1828 (with certain omissions). Estreat Books for the years 1730 to 1765 and 1840 to 1878 note the forfeitures of recognizances and the fines imposed by Court.

The detailed Accounts of the Cam Conservators from 1751 to

1859, and of the County Treasurer from 1800 to 1870, are dull reading perhaps but valuable records.

Copies of Enclosure Awards number 100; the earliest, dated 1776, is for the parish of Knapwell; the latest, dated 1889, is for Hildersham. Cambridge was a county of markedly late enclosure: 4 only of the awards relate to the end of the 18th century; 21 relate to the first decade of the 19th; 24 to the second decade; 11 to the third, and no less than 29 to the years between 1840 and 1890.

The remaining 18th and 19th century documents are of less historical interest and are noted in the accompanying appendix.

So much then for sources. What sort of picture of contemporary life is that which can be drawn from legal documents, at first sight somewhat dreary, and admittedly lacking in that unconscious humour which oft-times gleams from the illiterate records mouldering in the parish chests of county and Isle?

Social and Economic Administration.

There were few sides of life which touched the county justice at no single point. In addition to his primary jurisdiction in criminal offences, the raising and maintenance of county forces and even questions concerned with national finance occasionally came within his purview, as did also various ecclesiastical matters. Whether seated with his fellow justices, however, in the full panoply of General Quarter Sessions, or taking part in monthly meetings within his division, or acting by himself or with one or two colleagues summarily, or in an advisory capacity to the Bench, except in time of war by far the major share of the justice's duties lay in those spheres more strictly definable as social and economic. These duties were of the widest variety—the administration of the Poor Law, the Vagrancy Law and the many-sided Elizabethan Labour Statute; the supervision of weights and balances, of Bread Assizes, and occasionally the regulation of other prices; the licensing of badgers or pedlars and of alehouse-keepers; the settlement of disputes between master and servant; the control and repair of bridewells and, by the 17th century, of the King's gaols also; the clearing of

fords and waterways; the drawing up of regulations to cope with cattle-disease or with human plague and the raising of special rates in aid of the stricken; the certification to Chancery of statements concerning losses by fire or other sudden disaster, prior to the issue of begging-briefs on behalf of the victims. During the later 18th century and in the course of the 19th the registration of Friendly Societies and of charitable bequests, the filing of vagrant warrants, the accumulation of evidence required for sundry Parliamentary Returns and the settlement of controversies arising over the enclosure of land occupied a good deal of the justice's time.

As illustration of the manner in which, from the brief entries of sessions' records, a clear outline emerges of the way in which social and economic legislation, created in the rarefied atmosphere of Westminster, really affected or failed to affect the practical life of a locality, and also of the way in which contemporary currents of thought outside the walls of Westminster did actually influence county administrators, perhaps no more instructive examples could be desired than are offered by the working of the Poor Law, the Labour Code and criminal legislation. We can only attempt here to trace in any detail the history of the two latter subjects in the county of Cambridge, using in the main as our sources the Quarter Sessions records for the county proper. It is unfortunate that no minutes of sessions have survived for the formative years of the 16th and early 17th centuries, for it was during the Tudor period that, in the absence of a paid Civil Service, the unremunerated justice became the "State's man-of-all-work," and it was under the vigilant eye of the Privy Council in the years before the Civil War that many aspects of county administration were to be seen in their fullest working order. Notwithstanding, however, the general dislocation of life which accompanied the Civil War, the Restoration period—at which date the Cambridgeshire records begin—is not lacking in interest.

Penal Administration.

In the sphere of police activities the duties of the justice were naturally multifarious, ranging from the whipping of a vagrant

or the ducking of a scold to the hanging of a witch or a murderer, though serious felonies were more usually reserved for the judgment of the Assizes. Among the punishments inflicted by the Benches of Isle and county the records show numerous hangings, brandings, floggings, pilloryings, stockings and duckings, in addition to imprisonment, and from the latter part of the 17th century onwards transportation to the colonies was of frequent occurrence. Branding was a device inherited from the Middle Ages and much favoured by the Tudors, but it was still in constant use in Cambridgeshire in the early 18th century. In 1663 six vagrants—four of whom were women—were ordered by the Bench to be "branded in the left shoulder with the letter *R* with an hott burneing Iron"; in 1700 a sum of £3 was paid by the County Treasurer for the purchase of an "engine for the marking or branding of criminals on the cheek." It was not till 1792 that the flogging of women was forbidden, and it was only under the Statute of 1736 that "inchantments, sorceries, arts and magick" ceased to be punishable as witchcraft. The trial of a witch in 1647, the account of which appears in one of the rolls at Ely, is typical of the early 17th century attitude.

The woman's deposition, as produced in Court, ran as follows: "About thirtie yeares since shee, Dorothy Ellis, being much troubled in her minde there appeared unto hir the Devell in the likness of a great catt, and speak unto this ex^{t}, and demanded of hir hir blood, wch she gave him, after which the spirit in the likness of a catt stuck upon the body of this ex^{t}, and the first thing that this ex^{t} commanded her spirit to doe was to goe and bewitch four of the Cattell of Tho. Hitch, all wch Cattell presentlie died, and further this ex^{t} confesseth that she sent her catt spirit to bewitch and take away the life of Marie, the daughter of Thomas Salter of Stretham, wch spirit forthwith kild the child of the sd. Marie, and also this ex^{t} confesseth she commanded hir spirit to lame the mother of the said child, old Marie Salter, wch was done accordingly, and that she commanded her spirit to goe and bewitch and lame John Gotobed, because he cald this ex^{t} old witch and flung stones at this ex^{t}, all wch command was performed by hir spirit, and the sd. Gotobed

lamed." The poor distraught creature was condemned to be "hanged by the neck till she be dead."

A certain Robert Ellis, brought before the same Court, was not thus easily to be beguiled: he would not, he declared, "confess himself to be a witch though they kuld him a peeces wth wild horses."

Though no longer condemned on the ground of witchcraft, the lot of a poor wretch bereft of her senses continued in Cambridgeshire, throughout the 18th century, to be that of the hardened criminal.

Some tempering of severity is to be noted as the 18th century drew to a close, but very trivial offences were still fearfully penalised. John Burton, a labourer of March, was brought before the Ely Bench, as late as 1831, for stealing "two pieces of the current silver coin of the realm called two shillings," together with trinkets valued at five shillings. He was transported for seven years.

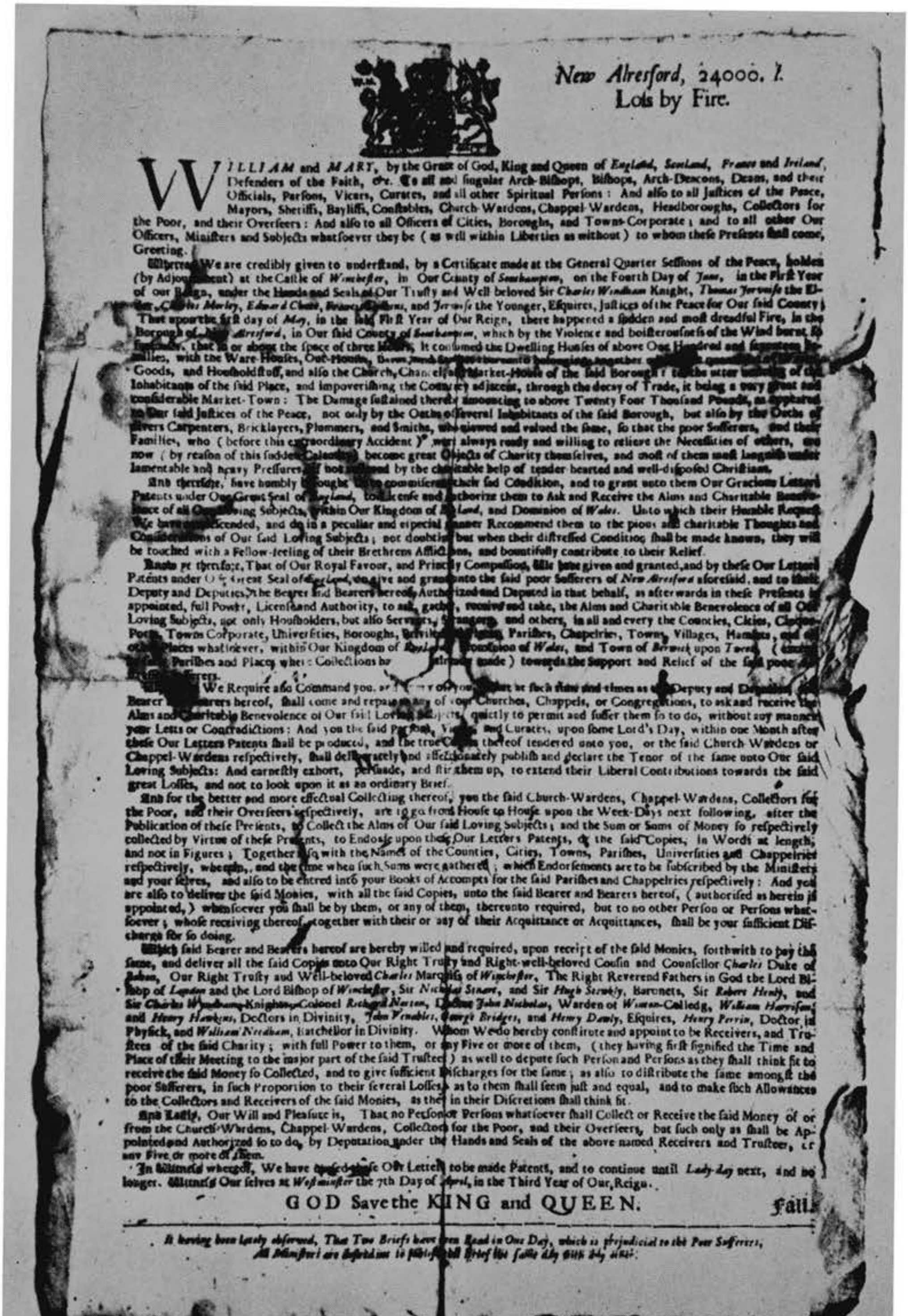
For the confinement of prisoners, in both franchise and county, two types of institution—the gaol and the bridewell or House of Correction—were to be found. The old castle at Cambridge had been used as a place of detention at least as early as 1317: the gatehouse continued to serve as a prison till the 19th century. Though originally under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff, by the 17th century the gaol was in practice in the control of the County Bench, as the bridewells had been from their first establishment under the Act of 1576. These latter institutions had been devised not as a part of general prison administration but as an essential element in the scheme for dealing with destitution: they were intended gradually to eliminate the pauper who looks for employment in the sincere hope of never finding it. It was for some time not at all unusual to give the bridewell inmates regular wages. Even before the end of the 17th century, however, in most counties the features which distinguished the bridewell from the gaol had practically vanished—employment, whether in the nature of relief or of discipline, was rare.

At some date before the opening of the 17th century the barracks adjoining the Castle Gaol at Cambridge were used as

the county House of Correction—distinct of course from Hobson's famous Spinning House which was under the jurisdiction of, and used only by, town and university. The gradual merging of gaol and House of Correction, which was more obvious in this county in the 18th than in the 17th century, can clearly be traced from Quarter Sessions records. (The Keeper of the Bridewell was a woman for a considerable part of the 17th century—one, Mary Yorke, being a particularly doughty Amazon, of whom the County Bench stood more than a little in awe!) At the beginning of the 18th century the trifling salary of the Bridewell Keeper, as of the Gaoler, was but 40*s.* a year—the wages of an agricultural hireling; hence arose the flagrant abuses connected with the demand for fees from inmates, the disgraceful traffic in liquor, and in the bridewell the ruthless efforts to render labour profitable. We cannot stay to illustrate from the gruesome records the story of the wretched days before the visits of Howard to Cambridge in 1773 and 1782.

At the opening of the 19th century, upon the completion of the new County Gaol and House of Correction on the site of the old Castle, a definite attempt was made to put into practice Howard's leading principles, as enacted by statute in 1791; cleanliness at least was secured and gaol fever conquered. This reform is in striking contrast to the strange indifference alike to legislation, to example, and to common humanity, exhibited by the municipality of Cambridge, and in a still worse degree by the franchise of Ely, where till 1837 the prisons remained under the immediate control of the Bishop.

In the years which followed it is possible to trace very clearly through Sessions' records the effect upon an active-minded Bench of the conflicting theories of prison aims, as well as the response made to legislative measures for the enforcement of which no Central Inspectorate existed till 1835. Whether it be within the range of human possibility to devise a scheme of employment which shall at the same moment prove both punitive and reformatory is a problem unsolved even in the 20th century. The Bench corresponded with this county and with that—they weighed and balanced the relative merits



New Alresford, 24000. l.
Loss by Fire.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Deans, and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Spiritual Persons: And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Church-Wardens, Chappel-Wardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers: And also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns-Corporate; and to all other Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects whatsoever they be (as well within Liberties as without) to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas We are credibly given to understand, by a Certificate made at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, holden (by Adjournment) at the Castle of Winchester, in Our County of Southampton, on the Fourth Day of June, in the First Year of our Reign, under the Hands and Seals of Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Charles Windham Knight, Thomas Jervoise the El[illegible], Charles Morley, Edward Chute, [illegible], and Jervoise the Younger, Esquires, Justices of the Peace for Our said County; That upon the first day of May, in the said First Year of Our Reign, there happened a sudden and most dreadful Fire, in the Borough of New Alresford, in Our said County of Southampton, which by the Violence and boisterousness of the Wind burnt so furiously, that in or about the space of three hours, It consumed the Dwelling Houses of above One Hundred and [illegible] Families, with the Ware-Houses, Out-Houses, [illegible] together [illegible] Goods, and Houshold-stuff, and also the Church, Chancel [illegible] Market-House of the said Borough, [illegible] the utter [illegible] of the Inhabitants of the said Place, and impoverishing the Country adjacent, through the decay of Trade, it being a very great and considerable Market-Town: The Damage sustained thereby amounting to above Twenty Four Thousand Pounds, as appeared to Our said Justices of the Peace, not only by the Oaths of several Inhabitants of the said Borough, but also by the Oaths of divers Carpenters, Bricklayers, Plummers, and Smiths, who viewed and valued the same, so that the poor Sufferers, and their Families, who (before this extraordinary Accident) were always ready and willing to relieve the Necessities of others, are now (by reason of this sudden Calamity) become great Objects of Charity themselves, and most of them must languish under lamentable and heavy Pressures, if not relieved by the charitable help of tender-hearted and well-disposed Christians.

And therefore, have humbly besought Us to commiserate their sad Condition, and to grant unto them Our Gracious Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, to License and authorize them to Ask and Receive the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our Loving Subjects, within Our Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales. Unto which their Humble Request We have condescended, and do in a peculiar and especial manner Recommend them to the pious and charitable Thoughts and Considerations of Our said Loving Subjects; not doubting but when their distressed Condition shall be made known, they will be touched with a Fellow-feeling of their Brethrens Afflictions, and bountifully contribute to their Relief.

Know ye therefore, That of Our Royal Favour, and Princely Compassion, We have given and granted, and by these Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, do give and grant unto the said poor Sufferers of New Alresford aforesaid, and to their Deputy and Deputies, the Bearer and Bearers hereof, Authorized and Deputed in that behalf, as afterwards in these Presents is appointed, full Power, License and Authority, to ask, gather, receive and take, the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our Loving Subjects, not only Housholders, but also Servants, Strangers, and others, in all and every the Counties, Cities, Cinque-Ports, Towns Corporate, Universities, Boroughs, Priviledged [illegible] Parishes, Chapelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other Places whatsoever, within Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, ([illegible] Parishes and Places where Collections ha[illegible] already made) towards the Support and Relief of the said poor [illegible] Sufferers.

[illegible] We Require and Command you, and every of you, that at such time and times as the Deputy and Deputies, Bearer [illegible] Bearers hereof, shall come and repair to any of your Churches, Chappels, or Congregations, to ask and receive the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of Our said Loving Subjects, quietly to permit and suffer them so to do, without any manner your Letts or Contradictions: And you the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, upon some Lord's Day, within one Month after these Our Letters Patents shall be produced, and the true Copies thereof tendered unto you, or the said Church-Wardens or Chappel-Wardens respectively, shall deliberately and affectionately publish and declare the Tenor of the same unto Our said Loving Subjects: And earnestly exhort, perswade, and stir them up, to extend their Liberal Contributions towards the said great Losses, and not to look upon it as an ordinary Brief.

And for the better and more effectual Collecting thereof, you the said Church-Wardens, Chappel-Wardens, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers respectively, are to go from House to House upon the Week-Days next following, after the Publication of these Presents, to Collect the Alms of Our said Loving Subjects; and the Sum or Sums of Money so respectively collected by Virtue of these Presents, to Endorse upon these Our Letters Patents, or the said Copies, in Words at length, and not in Figures; Together also with the Names of the Counties, Cities, Towns, Parishes, Universities and Chappelries respectively, wherein, and the time when such Sums were gathered; which Endorsements are to be subscribed by the Ministers and your selves, and also to be entred into your Books of Accompts for the said Parishes and Chappelries respectively: And you are also to deliver the said Monies, with all the said Copies, unto the said Bearer and Bearers hereof, (authorised as herein is appointed,) whensoever you shall be by them, or any of them, thereunto required, but to no other Person or Persons whatsoever; whose receiving thereof, together with their or any of their Acquittance or Acquittances, shall be your sufficient Discharge for so doing.

Which said Bearer and Bearers hereof are hereby willed and required, upon receipt of the said Monies, forthwith to pay the same, and deliver all the said Copies unto Our Right Trusty and Right-well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor Charles Duke of Bolton, Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Charles Marquiss of Winchester, The Right Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Bishop of London and the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Sir Nicholas Stuart, and Sir Hugh Stewkly, Baronets, Sir Robert Henly, and Sir Charles Wyndham Knights, Colonel Richard Norton, Doctor John Nicholas, Warden of Winton-Colledg, William Harrison and Henry Hawkins, Doctors in Divinity, John Venables, George Bridges, and Henry Dawly, Esquires, Henry Perrin, Doctor in Physick, and William Needham, Batchellor in Divinity. Whom We do hereby constitute and appoint to be Receivers, and Trustees of the said Charity; with full Power to them, or any Five or more of them, (they having first signified the Time and Place of their Meeting to the major part of the said Trustees) as well to depute such Person and Persons as they shall think fit to receive the said Money so Collected, and to give sufficient Discharges for the same; as also to distribute the same amongst the poor Sufferers, in such Proportion to their several Losses as to them shall seem just and equal, and to make such Allowances to the Collectors and Receivers of the said Monies, as they in their Discretions shall think fit.

And Lastly, Our Will and Pleasure is, That no Person or Persons whatsoever shall Collect or Receive the said Money of or from the Church-Wardens, Chappel-Wardens, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers, but such only as shall be Appointed and Authorized so to do, by Deputation under the Hands and Seals of the above named Receivers and Trustees, or any Five or more of them.

In Witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue until Lady-day next, and no longer. Witness Our selves at Westminster the 7th Day of April, in the Third Year of Our Reign.

GOD Save the KING and QUEEN. Fall.

It having been lately observed, That Two Briefs have been Read in One Day, which is prejudicial to the Poor Sufferers, All Ministers are forbidden to publish [illegible] Brief the same day [illegible].

Fire Brief for Alresford, Hampshire, 1691.

of flogging, of hard labour, of solitary confinement; yet whilst the average number of prisoners in confinement at any one time at the beginning of the 18th century was half a dozen, by 1819 it was often more than fifty. For some reason prison treatment was not proving either reformative or deterrent. It was in the second and third decades of the 19th century that the great controversy raged between profitable employment on the one hand and the use of the disciplinary treadwheel on the other. After much correspondence a Special Committee appointed by the Cambridgeshire Bench reported that direct pecuniary profit could hardly be looked for, but that the moral benefits accruing from the use of the wheel would reduce the number of offenders and therefore the expense to the county. This point carried the day, for—to quote the Observer in Erewhon—folk will "sooner gain their end by appealing to men's pockets, in which they have generally something of their own, than to their heads, which contain for the most part little but stolen property." And so, in 1821, the wheel was erected.

> "Behold the human squirrels! round and round,
> Tramping the never-ending cylinder:
> Th' 'Incorrigible Rogues' that wise men send
> To Houses of *Correction*, there to learn
> That labour is, in very deed, a curse;
> With pains and perils there to 'mill'—the air,
> With strains and achings therefrom to depart,
> Lesson'd to work at—nothing!"

A similar wheel was erected at Ely in 1823, and at Wisbech about the same period.

Whether it was owing to the use of the machine or not, John Okes, Surgeon to the Gaol, found himself compelled, in 1823, to complain to the County Bench of his heavy list of patients, but not for another ten or fifteen years was any heed given to a word against the sacred engine.

In 1832 the Reformed Parliament was at last installed in office. Though the new heaven upon earth had not yet been established, an atmosphere of expectation was generally apparent. Enquiries into the operation of the Poor Law were already bringing to light the intimate connection between pauperism and crime.

The final report which the Cambridgeshire Bench made to Whitehall before the new era in local government commenced noted a most alarming increase in the number of prisoners. During the year 1832–3 there were 375 commitments; during 1833–4 there were 426. The numbers of debtors and of offenders against the Game Laws had doubled. Most disconcerting analysis of all was the tell-tale record of recidivism —"the number of prisoners re-committed during the year was very great." Nevertheless we leave the Bench at this turning-point in administrative history with their faith in the treadmill entirely unimpaired. In self-complacent tones typical of an industrial age which aimed at the maximum reduction of labour and expense, combined with speedy material returns, the County Magistrates calculate to a minute fraction the amount of beneficent moral influence exerted upon each prisoner by the operation of the wheel: "The wheel," they note in 1834, "revolves 48 steps in a minute; the height of each step is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; consequently each prisoner takes 19,200 steps during the day, which equals 12,000 feet, or 2 miles and a quarter and one-forty-fourth, without any other exertion than the mere lifting of the feet!" Verily it is necessary to dwell upon the laxity and sheer brutality which characterized the franchise gaol at Ely—where as late as 1804 prisoners were secured to the floor by iron bars—if such "reform" is to be viewed as progress.

We may turn now to the sphere of economic regulation.

Economic Regulation.

It is as the natural counterpart of ideas with regard to the poor that the 16th century attitude to industrial regulation must be viewed, for one of the major aims of such regulation was the prevention of pauperism.

Difficulties of communication—rarely worse than in marshy Cambridgeshire—isolated local markets, subjected the relation between supply and demand to violent fluctuations, and, in the absence of authoritative control, gave the whip-hand to unscrupulous profiteers. Under Elizabeth traditional local control was reinforced and gradually superseded by a well-articulated

national system, involving control of wages and prices, regulation of the labour supply, organization of processes of industry, and the stimulation of agriculture. The famous Statute of Artificers formed the basis of this comprehensive policy. We shall confine our attention to the subject of wages in relation to the agricultural labour market, for this was the main section of the act which still aroused the active interest of the justices in the Restoration days with which our records begin.

The first group of clauses of the Statute of Artificers aimed at securing a much needed supply of agricultural labour. Magistrates were empowered to compel—subject to a minimum property qualification—males between twelve and sixty years of age and unmarried females between twelve and forty, not being otherwise legally retained, to enter regular service in husbandry or to assist with the "inning of the crops" during harvest. In order, moreover, to discourage unsettled modes of life, as well as to minimize fluctuations in the supply of labour, with their inevitable tendency to undermine the stabilization of wages, the statute sought to restrict mobility by requiring "testimonials" to be obtained by folk desirous of removing themselves from the town or parish in which they were last employed. Perhaps, however, the most significant clause of the statute was that which required the justices, yearly at their Easter Sessions, "calling unto them such discreet and grave persons as they shall think meet," to "rate and appoint the wages" of labourers, servants and artificers, taking into consideration "the plenty and scarcity of the time," to circulate throughout the county the assessments so drawn up, and to penalize by fine and imprisonment any breach of the law.

The statute itself cannot fairly be regarded as a piece of deliberate class-legislation, but from the very outset—except as regards the textile industries—according to traditional policy the fixing of wages was interpreted by the justices as the regulation of maximum and not of minimum rates. This was a duty which rural magistrates, as landed gentry, were unlikely to evade even when Privy Council supervision was a thing of the past.

The search for examples of wages' assessments has been a

favourite sport of economic historians. A hunt through the Cambridgeshire records comes excitingly near running the quarry to earth, but actual copies of assessments seem most unfortunately to have perished.

The severe scarcity of agricultural labour in various parts of Cambridgeshire is evinced in the activity of the County Bench during the Restoration period. The position of the labourer was further strengthened by the fact that the marked rise in the price of manufactured goods in the latter part of the 17th century was not accompanied by a corresponding rise in food prices. The subject of rating still came up at this time for annual discussion. At the Easter Sessions of 1661 the "rates and proportions for wages" were "sett forth and appointed" by the County Bench—in a schedule which, unhappily, was not copied into the Order Book. Whether the old scale was revised, after due consideration of prevailing prices, or was merely re-issued, is not clear. The approved assessment was, however, circulated to the Chief Constables of each hundred, who were required to see that it was "openly published and proclaymed" in every parish. It was particularly enjoined that no person "for the year ensuinge presume to give, take, or directlie or indirectlie, agree or contract for any greater wages then in the said Rates are expressed and sett downe, upon payne of sufferinge and undergoinge the penaltyes of the Statute." The wording of the order is most suggestive; clearly the whole motive force was directed to keeping wages down. It is, moreover, evident that Cambridgeshire farmers were prepared to attract the all-important supply of labour by circumvention of the statute, even when not by open disregard. The Law of Supply and Demand eventually proved irresistible, but the County Bench did not give in without a prolonged struggle. In October, 1661, divers single persons, able of body, belonging to the parishes of Chesterton and Horningsea, presumed to refuse full-time work under the conditions laid down; they were peremptorily bidden to "place themselves in service" within a week. The thunder of the Bench was no mere reverberation: the House of Correction was more fully utilized for the reformation of the idle at this period than at any other till the 19th century.

Nicholas Blunt, for example, was despatched there by the Court, in 1662, for "living out of service." Nevertheless the plaint of non-observance of the statute continued to be "great and generall," and the Court proceeded to commit whole batches of offenders to the bridewell. Five young women of Soham, for instance, were ordered, in 1667, to choose between going to service or to prison—possibly a "great ryott" at Soham the same year, necessitating assistance from the Sheriff, was connected with the attempt to enforce economic regulations.

A sessions entry of 1670 makes it evident that concessions to the demands of the labour market had proved inevitable and that the prescribed rates had been subjected to revision: Elizabeth Gooch of Caxton, openly engaged at the Hiring Sessions in 1670, had contracted to work for 50*s.* a year—an advance of no less than 25% upon the recognized rate of only three years before, and prices had not risen to anything like the same extent. The woman had nevertheless broken her agreement in favour of more advantageous service elsewhere. Failing a satisfactory explanation, she was ordered to be committed to the House of Correction. At the same Sessions the Bench made a further determined effort to enforce the statutory wages. Many persons, it was averred, did give greater wages than appointed by the magistrates, and naturally failed to register such contracts at the High Constables' Sessions held in the respective hundreds. As a result, it was stated, "many servants depart from their services before their times expired, and are retained into other services without sheweing any testimoniall, as by the statute made 5 Eliz. they are required to doe." For the effective working of the law much depended upon the publicity of contracts made between masters and employees, and agreements were therefore ordered to be made in the presence of the Chief Constable at the Statute Sessions or Hiring Fairs. As a means of remedying the laxity so much deplored, all Chief Constables were directed by the Court to enforce the regular holding of annual Statute Sessions and to present before the next assembly of the Bench the names of masters who had, after a certain date, failed to record their contracts. The form of testimonial prescribed by the 5 Eliz.,

together with the schedule of current official wages, was circulated round the county in order that no excuse should exist for the prevalent negligence in the use of licenses.

The records of Constables' Sessions would prove a mine of wealth to the economic historian: a careful search for any trace of them in Cambridgeshire, among the documents preserved in the chief parishes of each hundred, has thus far unfortunately yielded no treasure.

Quarter Sessions records for the county are missing for the years between 1672 and 1689: by the end of the 17th century the formal entry of the payment of £5 to the Clerk of the Peace, "for his trouble and pains in procuring the printing the Rates for Servants Wages and prices for the Carriage of Goods, and for distributing them in every town in the said county of Cambridge," is the only reference made to a wages' assessment. The colourless entry continues at regular intervals till the middle of the 18th century. The tempting conclusion that the payment had become by that date a mere perquisite of the Clerk must be modified by the fact that parish account books—for example at Meldreth and Histon—do occasionally bear witness to the receipt of the circular schedule as late as 1740, though no actual table of rates seems to have survived.

In the course of the 19th century disputes between master and servant now and again occasioned the subject of wages to appear in the pages of sessions' minutes, and in several instances it is noteworthy that although prices in Cambridgeshire had fallen somewhat in the early years of the 18th century, wages had fallen still more heavily—in contradistinction, for example, to conditions in Warwickshire. Women servants who could obtain 50*s.* a year in 1670 could get but 30*s.* in the earlier part of the next century, at any rate in some areas of Cambridgeshire, for what appears to be the same grade of employment. Between 1714 and 1740 there were only two commitments to the county bridewell for "refusing to work for the customary wage." Probably by this period a laissez faire attitude towards wages had triumphed. It is at the troublous close of the 18th century that the problem of agricultural wages looms once again into prominence.

Able-bodied labourers refusing to work for the customary wage, yet without sufficient means of livelihood, were punishable under the Vagrancy Law from 1597 onwards, but indictments on this ground were rare after the end of the 17th century. James Nasmith, Chairman of Sessions for the Isle of Ely, lamented in 1799 that the Vagrancy Law in this respect was still a dead letter. There were, however, among the labourers at that date intrepid leaders who had not yet been trans-shipped to the other side of the world or sacrificed upon the gallows, and with the example of the French peasantry before their eyes magistrates hesitated to provoke defiance at a moment when low wages and soaring prices rendered large sections of the community clearly incapable of maintaining a family. After the harsh but successful quelling of the Ely and Littleport revolt of 1816 prosecutions under the Vagrancy Law for a contentious attitude on the subject of wages did become more common. A more powerful weapon than this law, moreover, had been put into the hands of authorities by the enactments of 1799 and 1800, which forbade all combinations in any way affecting the conduct of industry. The line which divided vagabondage from conspiracy was a fine one where rebellion against wages or methods of administering poor relief, or where lack of respect for private property was concerned. In 1822, in lieu of apprehending six labourers of Kirtling under the Vagrancy Law, proceedings were taken against them for "unlawfully combining to exact and obtain for themselves and other labourers in husbandry ... greater wages ... than the usual and customary wages." They were exonerated on the grave charge of riot, but adjudged guilty of conspiracy and condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from one month to six.

Whitbread's proposal of 1796 had sought to meet the distress of the time by the effective revival of wages' assessments, drawn up after due consideration of prices, but Laissez Faire reigned paramount and Speenhamland was the accepted alternative. Had the rejected bill become law, it is interesting to speculate with Mr and Mrs Hammond whether agricultural workers' unions might then quietly have grown up to ensure its enforcement, and whether the degradation of the agricultural labourer might thus have been averted.

Though the boldest peasant leaders had been "snapped up by the game-preserving Bench" of Cambridge and banished to distant realms, as the third decade of the 19th century drew to its close "the rumbling grew to a grumbling" in the usually quiescent underworld of the oppressed rural labourer. The relatively high prices, unaccompanied by an adequate adjustment of wages, prevailing in 1828, had aroused in Cambridgeshire considerable sympathy with the labourer whose plaint was growing perceptibly more articulate, but to the authorities the poor were essentially "a problem of law and order." Machine-breaking, arson, and the mysterious "Captain Swing" were the words which passed from lip to lip in horrified alarm. Disturbances were occurring in neighbouring counties, and even in cautious Cambridgeshire, where painful recollections still hovered around the names of Littleport and Ely, labourers were uniting and successfully wringing from the farmers a higher wage. By November 1830 the County Bench deemed it desirable to swear in special constables. Similar action on the part of the town magistracy had met with ready response, for youthful undergraduates, scions of the governing classes, were no less prompt then than they are a century later, to uphold the cause of law and order—when not applied to themselves—and to fling aside dull learning for the thrilling activity of patriotic strike-breaking. The townsman of the 18th and 19th centuries had forgotten his traditional feud, and had learned obsequiously to lick the hand of the gownsman who flung him bread. It would indeed have been difficult to find a town sacrificing more faithfully at the altar of Vested Interests. The rural magistrates, however, found no such ready response to the call for special constables, and this it was which tempered their attitude perceptibly. Fires broke out here and there, and four labourers of Fowlmere were charged, in January 1831, with conspiracy and assault. The magistrates moved warily, however, and tactfully avoided presenting the offence as a "riotous assembly." After the risings had been brutally quelled in other counties, the Cambridgeshire Bench assumed a bolder mien and ventured in 1832 to prosecute three labourers of Trumpington and three of Kirtling for both conspiracy and riot. A sympathetic jury,

however, in the one case acquitted and in the other returned the indictment "ignoramus." A more serious case of machine-breaking at Croydon resulted in the conviction of sixteen labourers, four of whom suffered the extreme penalty of transportation. At last, in May 1833, a conviction for arson, and two for riot and assault, were secured, and as an awful warning the death sentence was pronounced. By this time, however, the Reformed Parliament had come into its own. It is true that its leaders had but blotted their own fair escutcheon so far as their activity during the rising was concerned, but with their accession to power the first rung of the ladder which led upward had been climbed.

Other Aspects of Administration.

Of the many interesting sides of local administration which we have reluctantly passed by, perhaps the most deeply significant is the treatment of poverty. Especially after the Settlement Law of 1662 had come into full operation, no other matter occupied so much of the magistrates' time or filled so many pages of the Cambridgeshire records[1].

In a county of open villages, where enclosure came late, and where wide stretches of fen invited the settlement of stranger and squatter, vagrancy also was at all times a serious problem, a problem rendered peculiarly significant owing to the connection between this county and the Metropolis—that Mecca of the tramp—by way of the Great North Road.

In the futile hope of improving the deplorable state of the roads, "highway rating" was customary in parts of Cambridgeshire even in the 17th century—at a time when in other counties Mr Sidney Webb finds the rating statute of 1662 a dead letter. The first Turnpike Trust Act to emerge from Westminster related to Cambridge and two of the neighbouring counties, but the continued difficulty of communication, together with the paucity of towns and large villages, provided the main reason for the failure of most attempts at grouping for administrative purposes.

[1] Vide *Camb. Hist. Journal*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1928), article by E. M. Hampson: Settlement and Removal in Cambridgeshire, 1662–1834.

It is thus evident that to the student of social and economic history Cambridgeshire presents not only problems typical of agricultural England, but problems also which have peculiar characteristics. In addition to other distinctive features, and by no means the least significant, is the presence within the county borders of the ancient university town, often influencing the trend of administration directly, and still more often less directly influencing it through the personnel of county magnates who acknowledged the university as their own Alma Mater.

One is tempted to linger over the interesting figures who at various periods sat upon the County Bench—Sir Christopher Hatton, for example, in the 17th century, Cole the Antiquarian, Soame Jenyns the Squire of Bottisham, and various members of the Pepys family in the 18th. The lists of those on the commission of county or Isle are by no means the dull records they at first sight appear. Some magistrates no doubt, like the famous Samuel Pepys when sworn into office, "did find themselves mightily pleased, though wholly ignorant in the duties of a justice"; others again, like Justice Greedy, were too readily "chang'd on the suddeine in their opinion," but still others—and in Cambridgeshire they were many—

> "Bare the whole sway of the shire;
> Relieved the poor, and so forth,"

believing with sincerity and intelligence that "Justice is the Staff of Peace and the Maintenance of Honour."

Appendix.

1. *Documents in County Hall, Cambridge.*

Quarter Sessions Draft Minute Books.

19	volumes,	1723–1834.
8	„	1834–1888.
1	duplic. vol.	1796–1802.

Quarter Sessions Minute Books.

1	volume,	1689–1694.
1	„	1699–1715.
12	„	1715–1833.
14	„	1834–1914.
	Recent vols.	1915–1930.

Quarter Sessions Order Books.

1 volume, 1768–1776.
1 „ 1786–1796.

Index to Sessions Orders, Book A.

Chairman and Vice-Chairman's Q.S. Note Books.

3 volumes, 1849–1870.
1 „ 1850–1853.
1 „ 1858–1884.

Enclosure Awards (or copies), 1776–1889.

XVIII century, 4.
1800–10, 21.
1811–20, 24.
1821–30, 11
1831–40, 9.
1841–50, 19.
1851–60, 6.
1861–70, 2.
1871–80, 1.
1889, 1.

Miscellaneous documents.

Clerk of the Peace's Fees Book, 1850–71.
Cam Conservators' Accounts, 3 vols., 1751–1859.
County Treasurers' Accounts, 3 vols., 1800–70.
Quarter Sessions Accounts, 2 vols., 1850–1888.
Petty Cash Book, 1871–9.
Shire Hall Account Book, 1841.
Thos. Allen's Account Book, 1850–79.
Turnpike Returns, 1820–33.
Jury Lists, 1828–34 ; 1847.
Jurors' Books, 6 vols., 1828, 1829, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1847.
Commission of the Peace, 1758–1930.
Registers of Oaths, 3 vols., 1715–30, 1793–1814, 1814–31.
Estreat Books (containing also Turnpike Securities, 1800–76), 2 vols., 1730–65 ; 1840–78.
Recognizance Books, 2 vols. (general), 1694–1757.
„ „ 1 „ „ 1780–1795.
„ „ 4 „ (victuallers'), 1728–58 ; 1764–99 ; 1807–19 ; 1820–8.
Register for Gamekeepers' Licenses, 1804–21.
Registers of Annuities, 4 vols., 1727–1842.
Land Tax Assessments, 3 vols., 1829–32.
County Rates, 1846–1930.

Deposited Plans, from 1826.
Local Acts, 1795–1800; 1826–1930.
Census Returns, 5 vols., 1851; 2 vols., 1881.
Modern Voters' Lists.

2. *Documents relating to Franchise and County Administration for Isle of Ely.*

A. At Diocesan Registry, Ely.

Sessions Rolls.

18 rolls, 1637–1666 (10 years only represented).
6 „ 1714–39.
120 „ 1740–75 (in 7 bundles, apparently complete).

Miscellaneous Papers abstracted from Rolls.

Coroners' Inquests, 1608–1776.
Sacrament Certificates, 1707–28.
Vagrant Passes, 1728–49.
Other incomplete 18th century papers:
Treasurers' Accounts and Chief Bailiffs' Accounts.
Victuallers' Recognizances and Licenses.
Verdicts.
Examinations, Depositions and Informations.
Calendars of Prisoners.
Panels of Juries.
Estreats of Fines.
Affidavits.
Indictments.

B. At County Hall, March.

Isle of Ely Sessions Draft Minute Books.

10 volumes, 1826–53 (quarto).
7 „ 1853–87 (demy).
Recent volumes, 1887 to present time.

Sessions Order Books.

9 volumes, 1801–37.
3 „ 1856–61; 1863–7; 1874–89.

Sessions Draft Order Books.

17 paper-backed booklets, each containing proceedings of one sessions, 1863–7.

Special Sessions Minute Book, 1823–45.

Sessions Committee Minute Books.

2 volumes, 1864–88.

Sessions Files. (Rolls), 1896–1906.

„ „ (1852–95. At Sessions House, Wisbech).

Miscellaneous Papers.

Prosecution Costs Order Book, 1862 to present time.
Justices' Commission List, 1830.
Registers of Justices' Oaths and of Dissenters' Declarations, 1830–51 ; 1854 to present time.
Register of Victuallers' Recognizances, 1822–4.
County Licensing Book, 1874–87.
Duplicate Criminal Returns Book, 1852–80.
Petty Sessional Summary Convictions, 1879–87.
Index to Summary Convictions.
Treasurers' Account Book, 1881–93.
Isle of Ely County Council Minute Books, 21 volumes, 1889–1906.
Prosecution Fees, etc. Account Book, 1890–1901.
Register of Horse-slaughterers' Licenses, 1859–94.
Register under Dairies and Cowsheds Order, 1879.
Copies of Acts of 18th and 19th centuries.
Deeds relating to County Property, 1878–1905.
Plans for Canal and Railways, 1843–1929.
Enclosure Awards (or copies), 1805–56.

THE MURAL PAINTINGS IN KINGSTON CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

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

(Read 26 May 1930.)

Fragmentary paintings and traces of patterns in many places in the church of All Saints and St Andrew at Kingston have been visible for many years, and the labours of Professor E. W. Tristram, F.S.A., in 1928 have revealed that it possessed a series of pictures which place it among the most decorated churches in Cambridgeshire. I am indebted to him for very kind assistance, both as regards identification of subjects and information on details of which my grasp was imperfect. Professor Tristram's most important discovery was that the wall over the high chancel arch was entirely occupied by a painting of the Rood, the only previous indication of which was traces of two angels which suggested that there was here a painting of the Doom, in its usual position in an English church. The uncovering here was very successful, and we see a deep red ground, on which appear in white, to quote Professor Tristram's words (*The Morning Post*, 9 March 1929) "six angels, with chalices in their hands, turning towards three spaces, which unfortunately were empty, but which doubtless contained the Rood in the centre and on either side statues of the Virgin and St John." The angels, as will be seen from the drawing by my daughter Mrs Copland Vines, are now for the most part shapes without details, with black along the upper edge of their wings for shadow: only in two did Dowsing's men or other destroyers leave any details. Some later hand has inscribed in black-letter "jesus" on the foot of the Rood, while in the space once occupied by the figure of the Virgin there remain four letters which Professor Tristram reads as "o(fragmentary)rde," thus making the addition "Lorde Jesus."

This painting of the Rood is finely conceived and when complete must have been an impressive work. Like the other pictures in the body of the church it is 15th century work. On

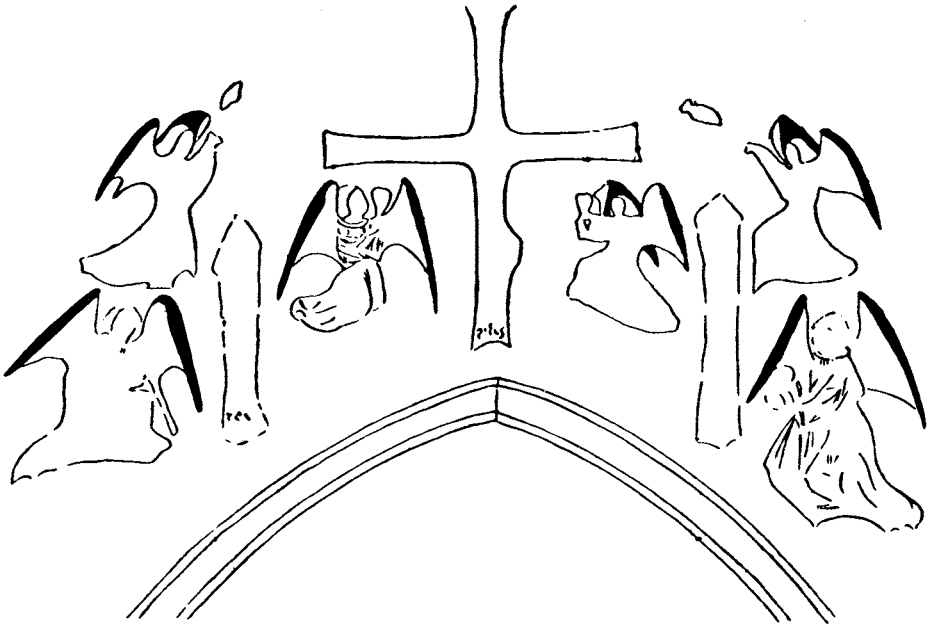


Fig. 1.

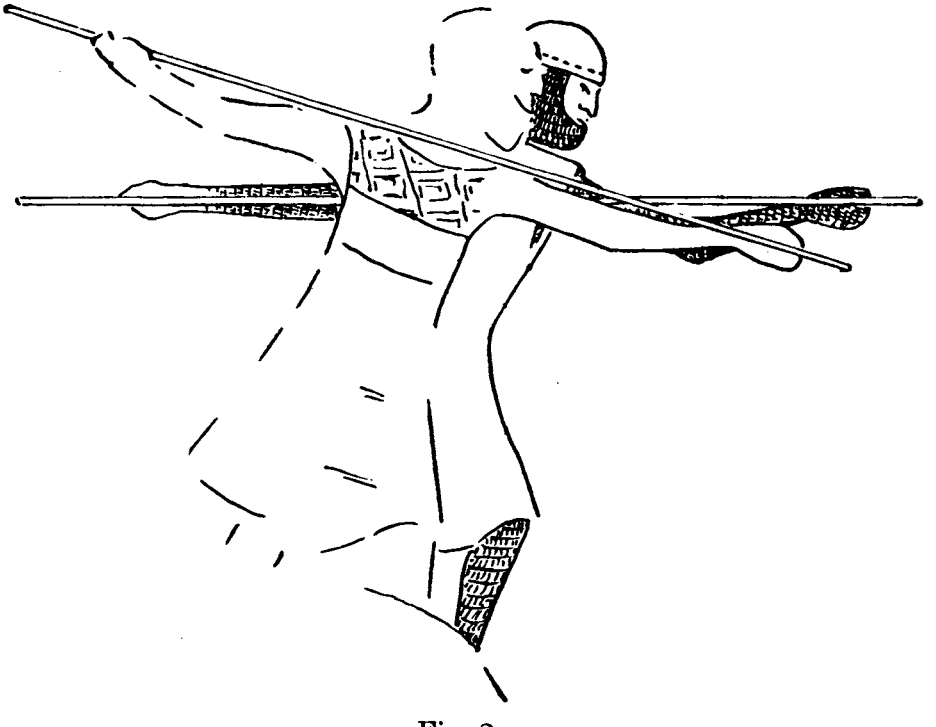


Fig. 2.

The Mural Paintings in Kingston Church, Cambridgeshire.

either side the chancel arch the east responds of the nave arcade were found to be painted with a peacock's feather pattern in dark red. All that was discovered in the south aisle was a small portion of a chevron-and-trefoil pattern in the eastern window arch. Professor Tristram tells me that this ornament is of 14th century date, part of a scheme of which he has found very slight traces in the nave also. The north aisle wall once possessed pictures between each of the three windows and at its east and west ends. Four, possibly five, subjects were depicted; all are now very fragmentary. At the extreme west end Professor Tristram has uncovered an almost obliterated figure which is tall, and possibly holding a book. Eastward from this the paintings on the north aisle wall are in succession: a fragment close to the north door; then St George, with traces of the Princess in the background; St Christopher; finally, at the east end, another fragment. More remains of the St Christopher painting than in the others on this wall, but we can discern nothing above the waist, and the Saint's feet have vanished. His legs are flesh-coloured and he wears a red cloak tucked half-way up his thighs: only the middle of his staff can be made out. The Holy Child, entirely vanished, seems to have rested on the Saint's left arm or shoulder. No trace of the river remains, but here and there, especially low down on the left side is some herbage in dark green, and possibly rocks. On about the level of his waist, between the Saint's left side and some herbage, is an unknown rectangular object in yellow, which by a stretch might be identified with the hermit's lantern, but no certain traces of this common accessory figure or his chapel are to be seen.

There are traces of red and yellow paint on the plaster overlying the St Christopher, so it seems that a superimposed picture was almost entirely destroyed in the intentional mutilation of the older work. A sketch of the fragment is reproduced in *The Antiquaries Journal*, IV, no. 3, July 1924, p. xxxii, Fig 2. Before Professor Tristram's work was carried out a demon in red outline, with an additional abdominal face and suggestions of other figures, were visible low down on the south part of the north aisle west wall. Removal of the whitewash from this wall was most successful, for we now see much of the Tree of the Seven

Deadly Sins, and above this subject the Wheel of the Seven Acts of Mercy. This is fainter than the lower painting, but enough remains for an approximate identification of several of the Acts. On these two subjects Professor Tristram remarks that the two-faced demon "is associated with the Tree of the Seven Deadly Sins, and contrasts with an angel in the bottom left-hand corner of the Wheel of the Acts of Mercy. Possibly the angel revolves the Wheel. The pattern above is similar to that above the chancel arch painting, proving that the aisle and chancel arch paintings were executed at the same time." In one or two of the south spandrels of the Perpendicular nave arcade there had been visible traces of B.L. inscriptions. The removal of the plaster or whitewash showed that the wall immediately above the arches was ornamented in black, though nothing remains of the bordering of the westernmost arch of the south arcade and the easternmost and westernmost arches of the north arcade. The three central spandrels on both sides are occupied by B.L. inscriptions within ornamental borders, these borders being red and black alternately, with red facing black across the nave. The inscriptions are undecipherable and there seems to have been superimposition of later words: but they may have been Biblical verses painted in the 16th century.

On the east wall of the Decorated chancel the recent exploration discovered a consecration mark, of which no details survive, above the altar. Traces of large consecration crosses of late 14th century date were found in other places. Professor Tristram ascribes the chancel paintings to the 13th century. On the south wall, between a blocked window to east and the window above the priest's doorway, are remains of a figure robed in cassock, and above this traces of foliage design. The north side of the chancel is the most altered portion of the church, as comparison of exterior and interior easily shows. There are three wall arches, and a blocked Early English doorway, while the westernmost arch contains a two-light Decorated window. The alterations made at an unknown date were probably responsible for the partial destruction of a rather large painting. Unfortunately, we have thus lost much of what the remaining fragment suggests was the best executed picture in the church. The

lighting in this part and the fading of the red used for all the chancel paintings render a satisfactory photograph impossible, but the drawing by Mrs Copland Vines conveys the well-balanced pose and latent energy of the two knights. Fortunately, Professor Tristram has been able to identify this work. He writes: "The combat of knights appears to be part of an illustration to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (A.D. 348–405), a contest of Virtues and Vices. The finest English example of this subject is at Claverley in Shropshire, where there are seven combats, the knights being mounted. Examples also occur in French churches." In three places on the same wall there are fragments of foliage design, in which convolvulus-like and possibly vine-like leaves are the theme.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A., and M. M. O'REILLY, M.A.

Stone Age. Two axes of yellow flint, chipped and ground, were found this year within a few feet of each other on Shelford allotments (Pl. I, figs. 1 and 2). As was recently noted (*Proc. C.A.S.* Vol. XXIX, p. 105), flint tools have not been commonly found in the Shelford neighbourhood.

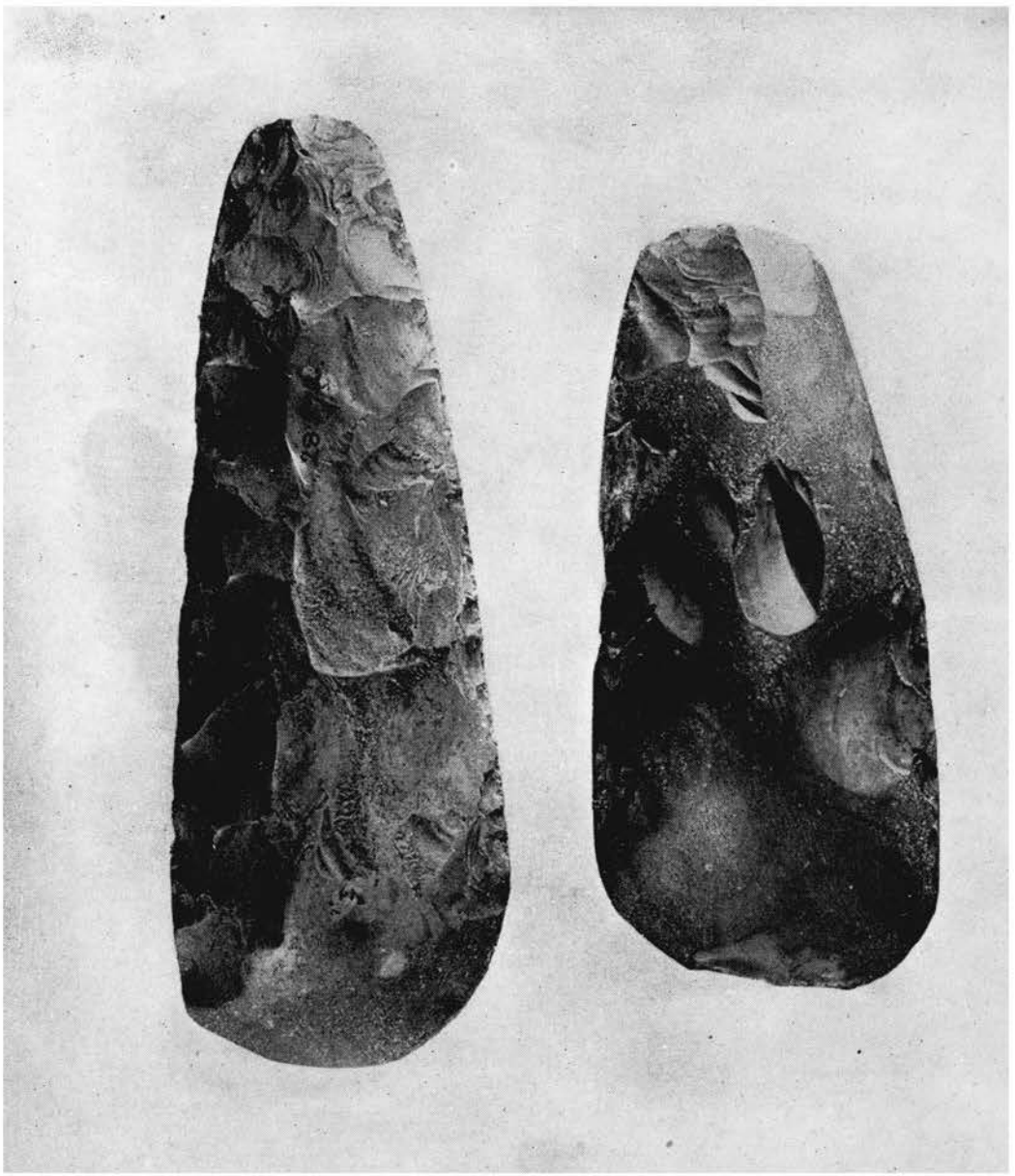
Among a number of objects kindly presented to the Museum recently by the Rev. E. Conybeare are the three following specimens:

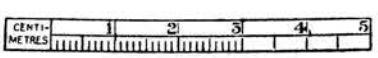
1. A fine jadeite axe, thin, flat and highly polished, with sharply-pointed butt, similar to other local specimens in the Museum usually thought to be imported from Brittany and to be contemporary with the dolmens, was found some years ago on the border of the parishes of Foxton and Barrington (Pl. II, fig. 1). In support of the theory that these axes were never meant for practical use it may be remarked that the cutting edge of this specimen has been deliberately ground blunt.

2. An axe of dark grey flint, chipped and partially ground, small but of fine workmanship (broken at the butt-end) is shown on Pl. II, fig 3.

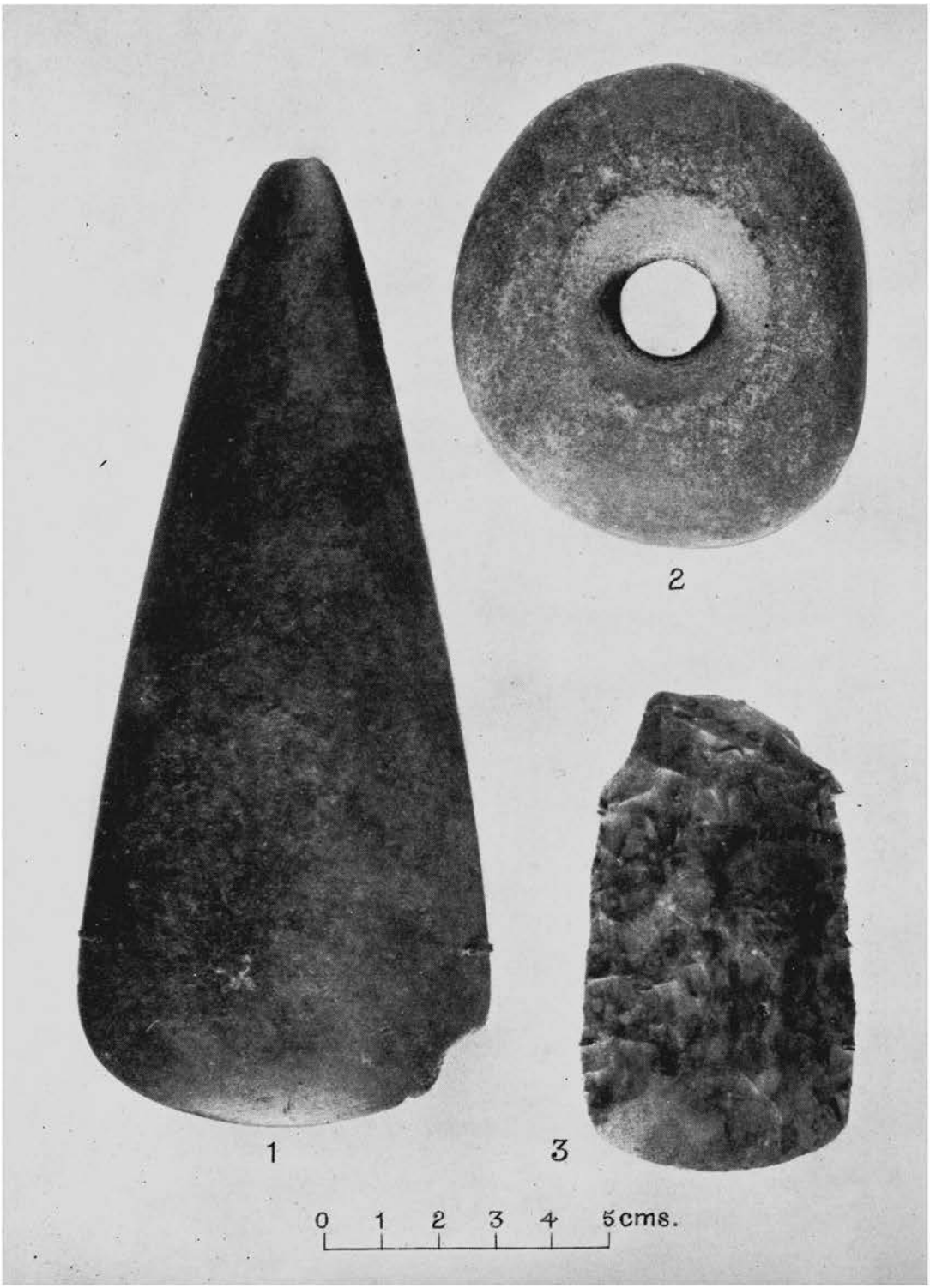
3. The third specimen is an irregularly-shaped perforated pebble which belongs to a well-known class of objects usually known as mace-heads and at present undatable (Pl. II, fig. 2).

Bronze Age. The pot shown on Pl. IX was found some time ago in fragments on the mud of the river-bank a short distance below Bottisham Locks, a point in the river where the remains of innumerable trees dredged out from the river bed indicates former woodland conditions. It is a handled beaker of the earliest Bronze Age, made of grey pottery and richly ornamented over the whole body, handle and base with rouletted geometric patterns which retain some of the white material with which all such designs on beakers were, no doubt, originally inlaid. This is the fourth handled beaker found in this district and most





Figs. 1 and 2.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closely resembles one from Fordham (Pl. X, and in Dr Fox's *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, Pl. II, 1 and 1 A), the designs on the bases being remarkably similar. Dr Fox has dealt exhaustively with the whole question of handled beakers in this country in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Vol. v, 7th series, p. 1, 1925. Personally we are not inclined to attach much significance to the fact of the occasional occurrence of handles on beakers, since as a reference to Dr Fox's paper will show they appear sporadically on almost every known type of British beaker; nor do we think it possible as yet to decide whether our straight-sided beakers should be placed early or late in the series.

Pl. III, fig. 3, shows a rapier of the Middle Bronze Age found many years ago in Croxton Park. The blade has a broad flat midrib; two notches in the butt provide the only means of securing the blade to the grip.

A fine and well-proportioned leaf-shaped sword, belonging to the Late Bronze Age (Pl. III, fig. 1), was dredged up some months ago from the Little Ouse about three miles from Wilton. This specimen closely resembles one from Aldreth High Bridge in the Museum collection (see Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.* Pl. IX, fig. 1), but lacks the pronounced midrib noticeable in the latter.

The existence of an ancient ford or crossing of the River Wissey above the present bridge at Stoke Ferry is suggested by the recent discovery of a number of weapons during dredging operations at that point. Of these, three bronze spearheads and an iron sword have been acquired by the Museum.

All three spearheads are of the type without loop and with rivet-holes in the socket usually assigned to the Late Bronze Age, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were all lost at the same time. The smallest one is in but indifferent condition; the second, which is hollow-cast throughout, is of a type represented in great numbers in the Wilburton hoard (*cf.* Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.* p. 61 and his Pl. X). The third, which is of the same type, is a remarkably fine weapon and is the largest and best of its kind in the Museum collection. An unusual feature of this specimen is its decoration (Plate IV, figs. 1 and 2), consisting

of an arrangement of punched dots and short cuts outlining the midrib and the base of the wings, and of a series of lightly incised chevrons round the base of the socket. The metal still retains its original golden colour. The remains of the ashwood shaft were still in the spearhead when it was found and have been preserved.

Iron Age. The iron sword (Pl. III, fig. 2) was dredged from the River Wissey at the same time as the three spearheads. The blade is 2 ft. long and was originally no more than 1½″ across at the broadest part against the hilt. Swords with tapering blades and curved guards of this type are usually assigned to the early La Tène Period. (It would be more accurate to describe this specimen as a rapier than as a sword.) One is strongly tempted to see in the presence at the same spot of this sword and of the bronze spearheads evidence of a clash between the local, native, bronze-using population and invaders using iron weapons.

A penannular bronze bracelet, worked up from a cylindrical rod of bronze, with blunt expanded terminals, was found in Shepherd's Fen near Mildenhall (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). It is ornamented at either end with a highly conventionalised animal's head which recalls somewhat similar heads on pins and brooches from Traprain Law dating in the Roman Period.

Roman Period. Two pots (Pl. V, figs. 1 and 2) were found by the donor on the bank of the River Wissey about a mile above Stoke Ferry Bridge. They were lying within two feet of one another in the mud and must have been raised together from the river-bed in one grab of the dredger. As there was no other pottery on the river-bank for a considerable distance it is highly probable that they were already associated at the time when they were lost. The first is a pear-shaped bottle of hard grey ware with a slight cordon at the base of the neck; it was originally decorated with horizontal bands of greenish paint; it probably belongs to the earlier part of the Roman Period. The other is a bowl of coarse dark grey ware with flat base and slightly thickened rim; it is hand-made, undecorated and of very rough workmanship. The association of a pot of such primitive type with a bottle of well-known Roman form is perhaps unexpected; but it is reasonable to suppose that the custom would

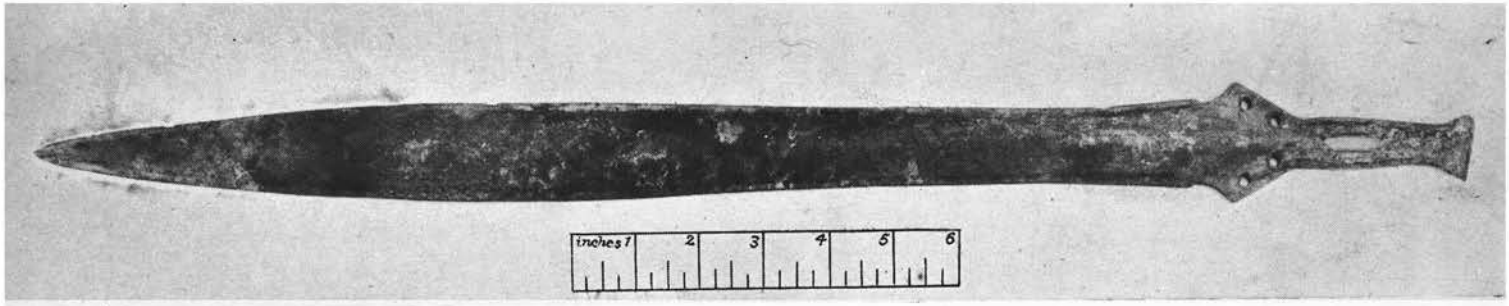


Fig. 1.

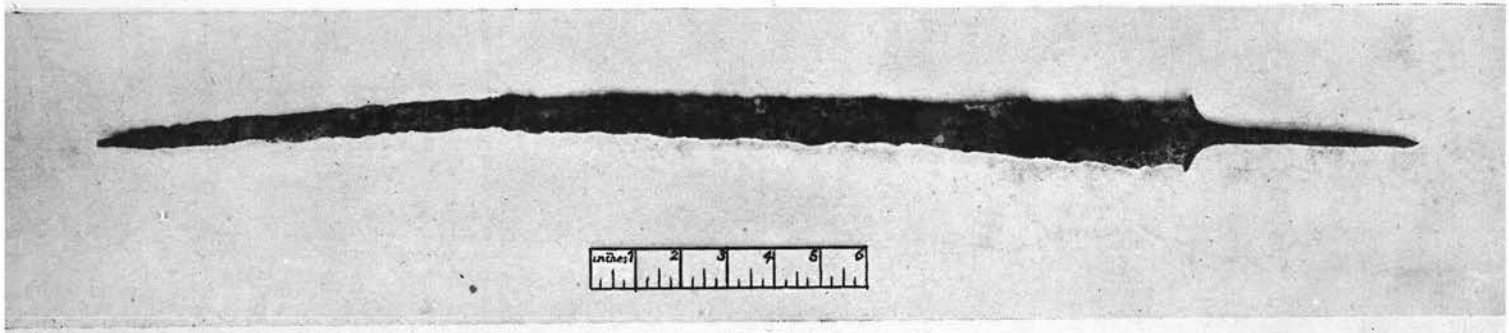


Fig. 2.

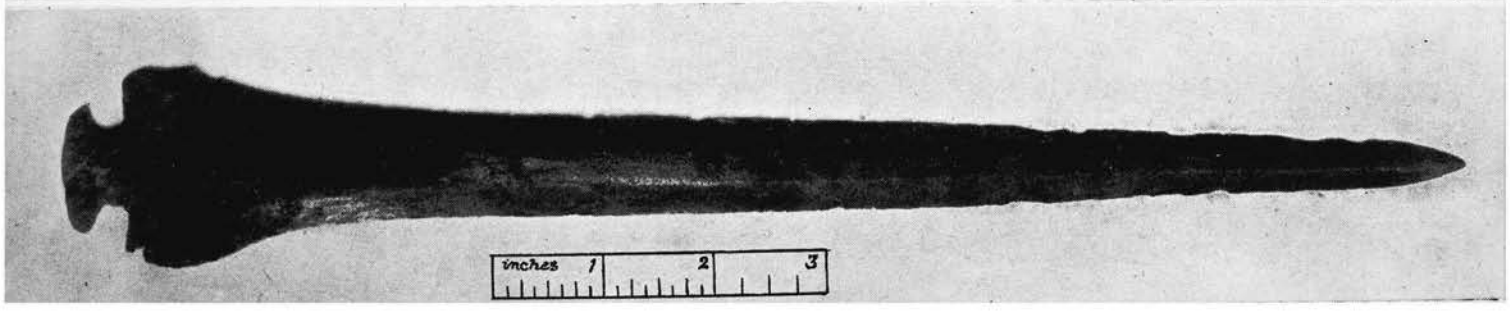
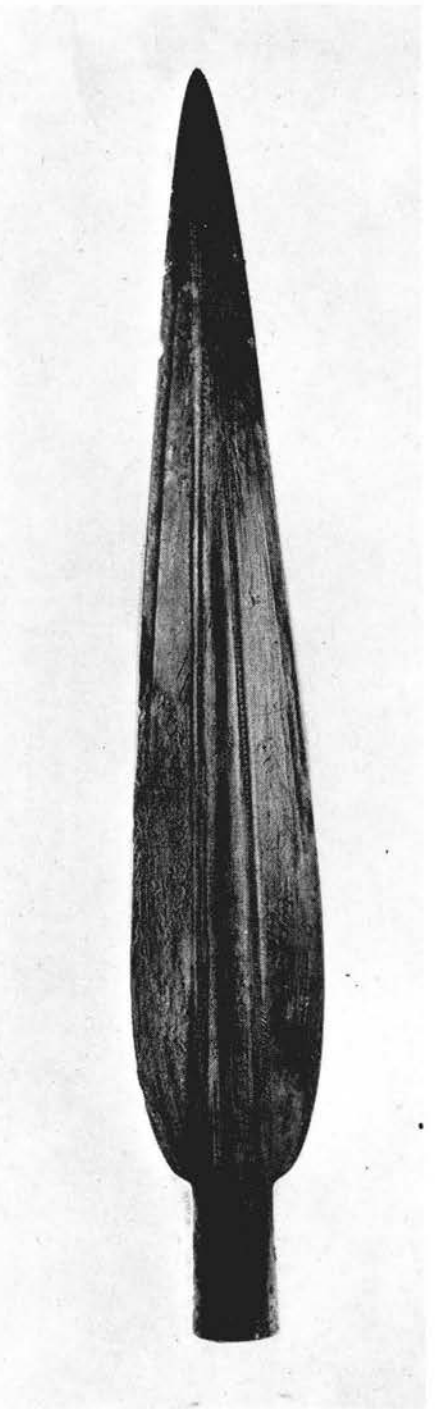
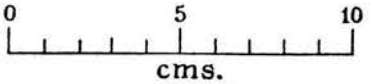


PLATE III

(Natural size.)





continue of making rough hand-made pots to be used along with the finer, wheel-made, Romano-British wares.

Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Periods. Two buckles were recovered from the River Cam during dredging operations near Magdalene Bridge. The first (Pl. VI, fig. 2), which is made of copper, bears a resemblance to the large buckles with triangular plate which are found in Kentish cemeteries of the 7th century, and occasionally occur as importations in local cemeteries; but these are usually more ornate, have more elaborate tongues, and are usually made of bronze and frequently gilded and set with glass and garnets. On some of these buckles the garnet cell-work is represented conventionally by incised lines, and it is possible that the apparently meaningless punch-marks on the bow of our specimen are derived from these. The punched ornament on the plate and the back of the bow is also common on such buckles. The tongue, which is made of brass, is doubtless a later addition and has replaced the original tongue with shield-shaped expansion at the base of the type usually found on these buckles. This specimen probably belongs to the later part of 7th century.

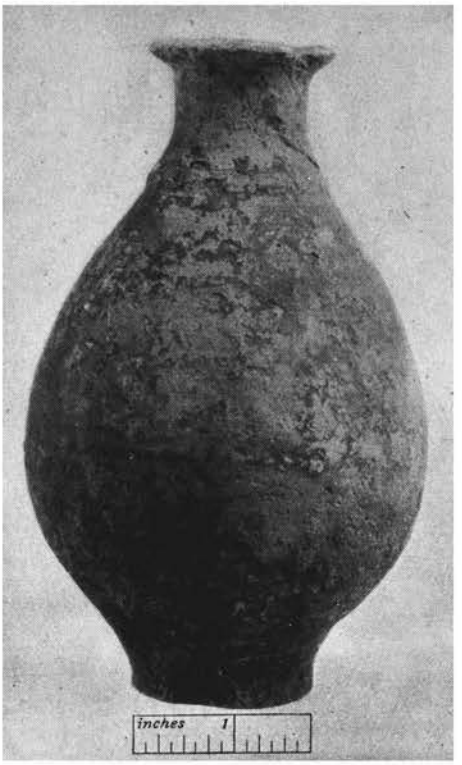
The second buckle, made of brass (imperfect), and having a movable loop attached for suspending some such object as a key or an ink-horn, is medieval and is precisely similar to several specimens in the Museum collection (Pl. IV, fig. 3). One of these was found on the body of an Augustinian friar when the cemetery of the Augustinian Friary which formerly stood in Bene't Street was discovered during the building of the Arts School in 1910 (*Proc. C.A.S.* Vol. XIV, p. 7). Other buckles of the same type from Grantchester and Mildenhall are in the Museum.

With the exception of the bronze leaf-shaped sword, all the specimens described above have been acquired by the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology; the bronze rapier and smaller spearhead and the iron sword were purchased out of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's grant; the large bronze spearhead was presented by Mr H. F. Bird, the two pots by Mr T. C. Lethbridge and the two buckles by the Cam Conservancy Board through Mr G. P. Hawkins; the Museum is much indebted to

the kindness of all these donors. The leaf-shaped sword has been put on deposit in the Museum by the Ouse Drainage Board.

Viking Period. In *Egil's Saga*, Chapter 53, the following incident is described as having taken place at the Battle of Brunanburh (Vinheiđ): "Thorolf was thus armed—he had a shield of great width and thickness and a very strong helmet on his head; he was girt with the sword called "Lang," a big weapon and a good. He had a halberd in his hand of which the blade was two ells in length with a four-sided point hammered out. Further up the blade was broad and the socket both long and thick. The shaft was not so high that one's hand could not reach up to the socket and it was uncommonly thick. There was an iron prong in the socket and the shaft was all wound about with iron. That spear was called a 'mail-thwart.'... Then Thorolf became so mad-wroth that he slung his shield behind him and gripping his spear with both hands sprang forth and smote and thrust on either side. Then men fled away in both directions; but he slew many. So he cleared a way right up to Earl Hring's standard and was not resisted. He slew the standard-bearer and cut down the standard pole. Thereupon he thrust his spear at the Earl's breast and pierced his byrnie and his body so that the point came out at his shoulders. Then he hove him up on the spear point and stuck the end of the shaft on the ground and the Earl died there on his spear. All men saw it; both his own men and his enemies." (Extract translated in Bremner's *Norsemen in Alban.*)

The only kind of spearhead which could have been used in this way is the so-called Carolingian winged spearhead, of which a fine specimen, dredged from the River Ouse near Braham's Farm some time ago, is here shown on Pl. VII. This weapon, as may be seen on the plate, is in a remarkably good state of preservation; the blade is damascened and the socket richly ornamented with silver, copper and fragments of gold, the design being apparently a variation of the Ringerike style (Pl. VIII. Very few specimens of this type of spearhead have been found in this country (*cf.* Dr R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings*, p. 28); it is commoner in Scandinavia, but so much more common on the continent that it is generally accepted as a



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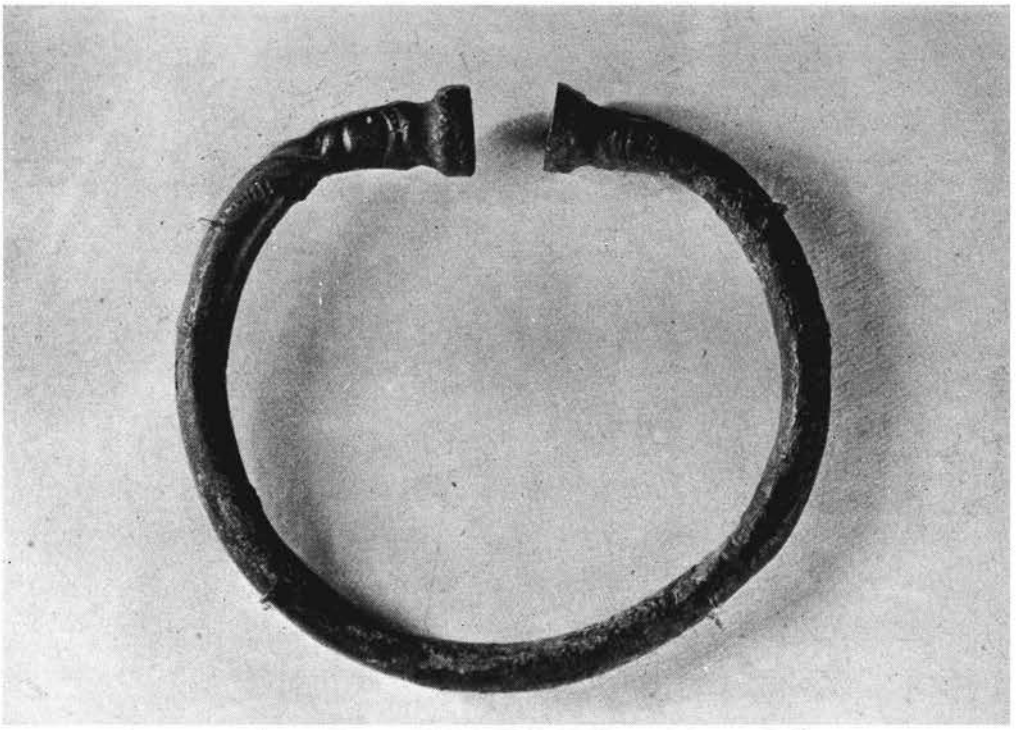

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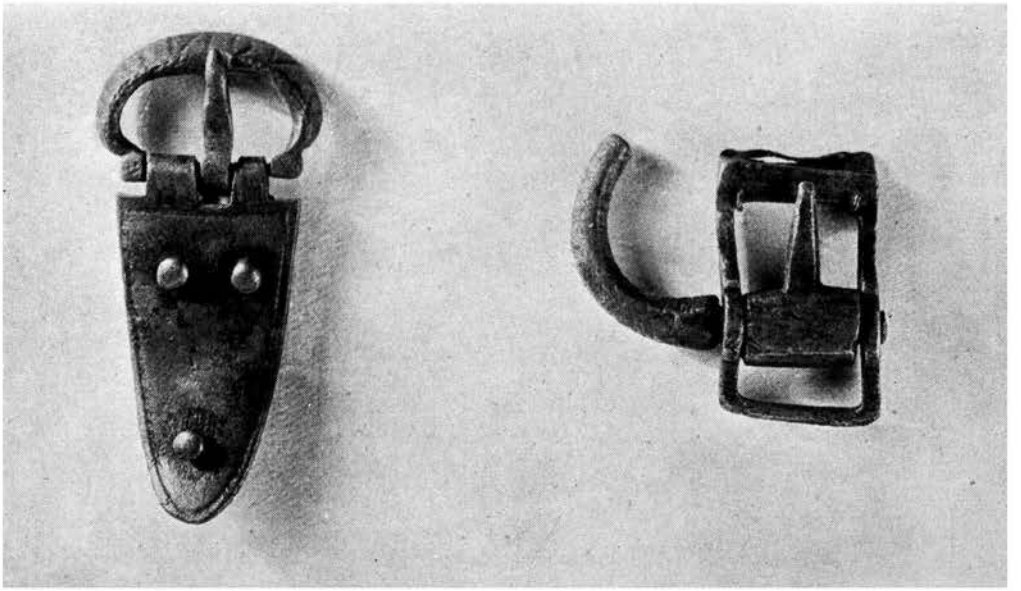
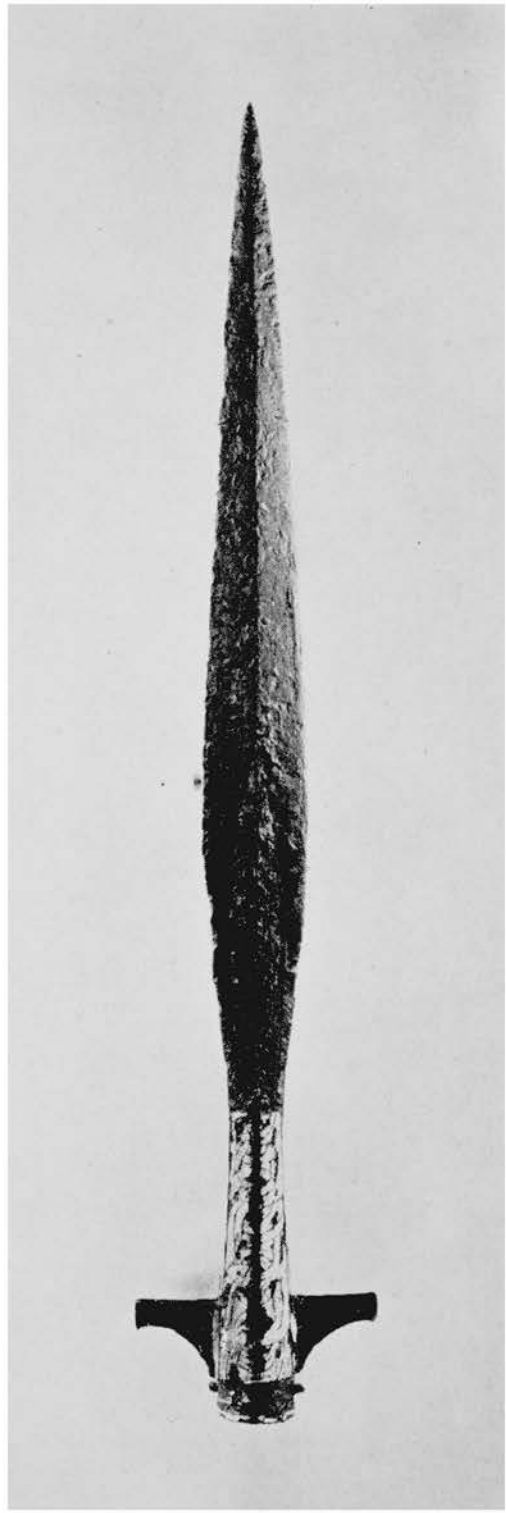


Fig. 2. (Natural size.) Fig. 3.



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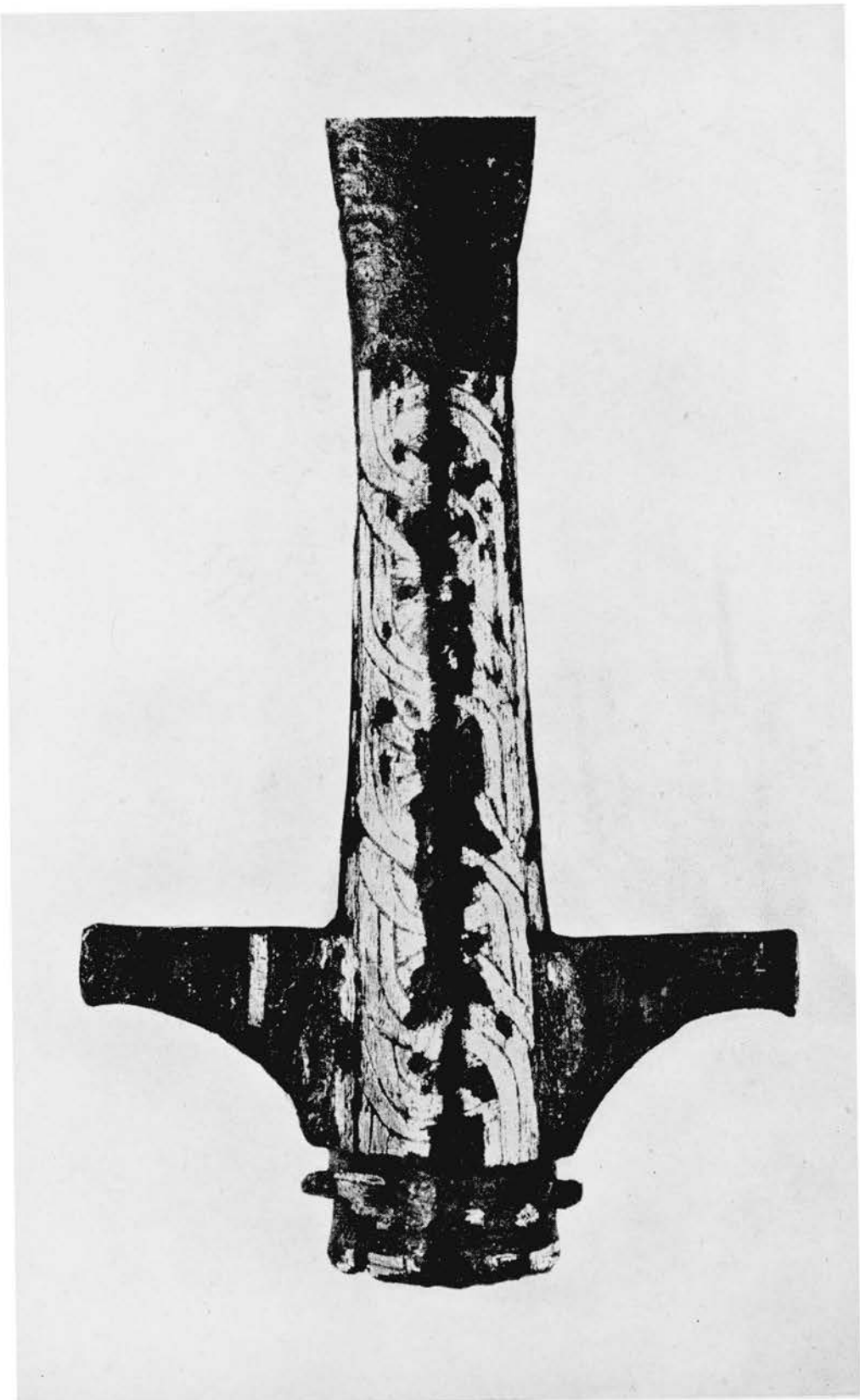

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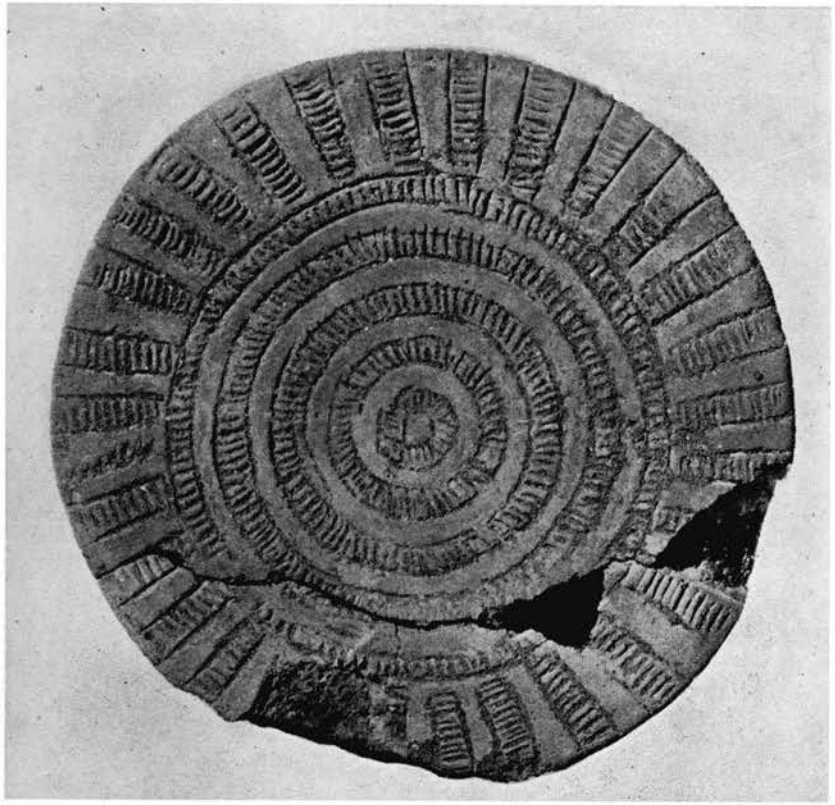

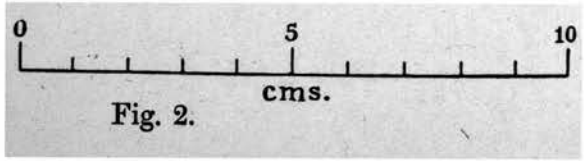

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Carolingian type (cf. P. Reinecke, *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXIX, 1899, p. 35). Photographs of the weapon have been sent to the Curator of the Mainz Museum and to Dr Jan Petersen of Stavanger, both of whom have kindly given their opinions of its date and origin. The former says: "The spearhead is, according to our finds, Carolingian and we should place it about 900 A.D. We have many such spearheads with side-wings, so-called *Knebellanzen*, but none of them has the plait ornament seen on yours." Dr Petersen says: "I don't doubt that the spearhead... is from the 10th century and preferably the first half of this century, the silver inlay seems to show that too. It is more difficult to decide the origin of this spearhead. It is a well-known type in Norway, but it may very well be made by the Northmen in England. It was very usual that the sword-hilts with entrelace ornament are made in the western countries, and that may be the fall here too."

The spearhead has been kindly presented to the Museum by Major Gordon Fowler, to whom it is much indebted, as also to Mr A. Rowden through whom the discovery was first brought to its notice.

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ALDRETH.

By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, B.A., F.S.A.

In August 1930 an effort was made to see whether the disaster to King William's troops which is so graphically described in *De Gestis Herwardi Saxonis* had really taken place at Aldreth High Bridge as is generally supposed. It was thought that if so it was almost certain that numerous objects would be found, for however keen the then local "scroungers" may have been to recover lost weapons and the like, it would have been exceedingly difficult to recover them from several feet of slime or peat bog. Trenches were cut all round the bridge and across the line along which the Causeway would have led, had it not swung a little to the present bridge site. Nothing whatever was found remotely suggesting that this was the battlefield. There was

evidence of a medieval landing place on the Aldreth bank; a few scraps of pottery of all ages from Roman to Elizabethan, a padlock and some animal bones including the canine tooth of a small bear. Nearly all these objects seem to have been dumped as rubbish to form a hard bank; they had been placed directly on bundles of sedges laid on the peat, and kept in place by thin stakes driven through the peat into the clay bottom. Much coal was found, suggesting that sea-coal was landed at this hithe.

Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, it seems highly probable that this is not the site of the battle at all; it does not really correspond to the description in *De Gestis*, and the only relic we know of which seems as if it might really have been lost in this fight, is a sword-blade found nearly half a mile down stream from here (*C.A.S. Proc.* Vol. XXX, p. 111). It has always seemed inconceivable that such a great military expert as William should have made that long narrow causeway from Belsar's Hill through the swamp. It is much more probable that he ferried his men from island to island, and made his preparations on the firm ridge where Smithy Fen Farm now stands. The breadth of this position is almost the 4 stadia mentioned in *De Gestis*, a remark which makes nonsense when applied, as it was by Kingsley in *Hereward the Wake*, to the distance between Belsar's Hill and Aldreth. William's Causeway probably ran from Smithy Fen island to the river. It may be more than coincidence that on this stretch the dredger threw out many bones of animals, late Saxon pottery and a sword blade. We hope that the kindness of Mr Graves will allow us to test this possibility some day.

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