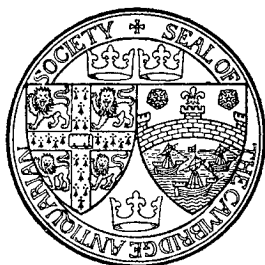


PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1931—OCTOBER 1932

WITH
Communications
MADE TO THE SOCIETY



VOLUME XXXIII

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

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THE MUNIMENTS OF KING'S COLLEGE.

By JOHN SALTMARSH, M.A.

(Read 15 February, 1932.)

In calling this paper "The Muniments of King's College" I have followed popular usage rather than accurate logic. My subject is not limited to those evidences of title which are indeed munimenta, or legal fortifications, but rather extends to all the varied contents of a Muniment Room which are more accurately called archives. Archives, says Mr Jenkinson, are a form of artificial memory¹; so it is the purpose of a College Muniment Room, not simply to be a storehouse of historical material or a museum for fine charters and seals; but rather to afford a dwelling-place for the official corporate memory of the foundation.

William of Wykeham was the first, say Willis and Clark, to introduce a Muniment Room or Treasury into the Collegiate plan²; and his designs were widely copied. Henry VI, who borrowed so much else from New College, planned a Muniment Tower at King's on the lines laid down in the Wychamical statute "De sigillo et archis communibus." In his first design the four stories were indeed reduced to two; but Wykeham's classification of valuables was maintained by excluding vessels of base metal altogether, and by directing that the treasure of the Chapel should be stored in a separate building³. At New College the Founder's tower still discharges its statutable function; but the history of the muniments of King's is the story of five centuries of shifting exile. Our Founder's architectural designs remained a promise unfulfilled; the three-storey Muniment Tower projected for the greater King's was never begun⁴, and even the earlier Treasury was not finished. But here in the Old Court, though the

¹ C. Hilary Jenkinson, *Manual of Archive Administration*, p. 23.

² *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, III, 475.

³ Founder's Statutes for King's College, XLVIII.

⁴ Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* III, 479.

upper storey, of temporary work, may never have been occupied by the muniments, "the room on the first floor over the gate," say Willis and Clark, "was unquestionably used as a Treasury from the earliest times¹" (Fig. 1). This statement was curiously corroborated in 1907, when fragments of wax and parchment and fifteenth-century College accounts were discovered beneath the gateway (whither I suppose they had been conveyed by rats). Almost alone in the Old Court, the Treasury survived the demolition of 1836; not quite intact, but without loss of identity (Fig. 2). It is now a store-room for books produced in Room Theta of the University Library.

The size of the old Treasury is about 20 ft. by 13 ft., and it must early have become overcrowded. In 1744 William Cole found that while five of the southern side-chapels were occupied by the College Library, a sixth, the easternmost, "is now made use on as a place for y^e Archives of y^e College and is always safely locked up. It has lately had a new Door to it, and has had Cabinets and Chests of Drawers set all around it for y^e writings of y^e College to be placed in²." It was probably here that Richard Kidman, the great burglar of Colleges, brought off his master-stroke. His prentice hand had been tried on the Treasury of the Old Court, which he had robbed of the Provost's silver in 1799³. Three years later, having mastered the locks of every side-chapel in succession, he stole from the last "a valuable collection of coins and medals⁴"—perhaps the collections bequeathed in 1681 by Sir Thomas Page, Provost and traveller, together with "an Oriental Bezar Stone of an Extraordinary magnitude.... A Hog Bezar Three peices of Porcupine Stone and a Skelleton of a Salamander⁵."

In 1828, when the College left the Old Court for Wilkins' Building, the books of the Library were removed to their present home; and the space set free seems to have been filled with the contents of the old Treasury. The muniments

¹ Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* III, 481.

² MSS. Cole, I, 89, quoted Willis and Clark, I, 540.

³ *Trials of Grimshaw, Kidman and Cohen* (Cambridge, 1801), pp. 123, 129.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 126, 133.

⁵ King's College *Ledger Book*, VII, 6.

eventually occupied the greater part of five of the southern side-chapels¹; while the Muniment Room that Wilkins built was for many years the only lecture-room in the College. Modern archives were housed in the Audit Room; and in 1866 Bursar Brocklebank made a beginning in the establishment of a College Office, by taking possession of a vacant set of Fellow's rooms and converting them into a Bursary; "saying," as Mr Macaulay relates, "that if the College did not approve they might put the account-books into the court, for he would no longer have them in his rooms²." Yet even after the Chetwynd lecture-room was built the muniments remained in the Chapel. From 1890 to 1911 the Muniment Room was occupied by the Seeley Memorial Library; then it was used as a lumber room; in 1920 it at last received the muniments. Only the court rolls of Prescott in Lancashire are now kept in the Chapel, in three great chests which were formerly in Prescott Town Hall (Fig. 4). Some of the old furniture is in the Muniment Room, but the greater part remains in the Chapel. There may be seen an ancient chest (Fig. 3) which was probably part of the early furniture of the Treasury; and perhaps the same in which Henry VII's executors sent down one of their two payments of £5000 towards the completion of the Chapel fabric. Some time ago I removed its contents: fragments of fifteenth-century accounts, and older documents connected with the management of estates which afterwards formed part of our endowment; the latest writing in the hand of an eighteenth-century Bursar, and dated 1752. Since then, I suppose, they had rested in peace unbroken save by the peepings of an occasional inquiring chorister; accumulating meanwhile layer upon layer of greasy, fine and all-pervasive dust.

Our muniments, I have said, are the official memory of the College; henceforth I shall be concerned, not with the

¹ I am indebted to Mr W. H. Macaulay of King's College for my knowledge of the recent history of the Muniment Room. In the following account I have made use of a report on the Muniment Room by the Council of the College, dated June 1st, 1929, which, I understand, is based upon Mr Macaulay's memories.

² *Report of the Council on the Muniment Room.*

outer shell of memory, but with its content and its form. Logically first—though not first in order of time—is the memory of our foundation, embodied in the instruments by which foundation was effected. Five stand pre-eminent. The Letters Patent granted by Henry VI on February 12th, 1440–1¹, are not merely the first, but the only foundation of the College. The Letters Patent of July 10th, 1443², sometimes spoken of as a second foundation, and actually printed by Heywood and Wright as the “Foundation Charter of King’s College³,” are in fact concerned only with modifications of the original scheme. In the Founder’s Statutes, the third of this group, the College first assumed the form it was to keep till the nineteenth century. The Statutes are said to have received the King’s sanction in 1446⁴; but there must have been a thorough revision in 1453, for payments were then made for writing “new statutes⁵.” These were probably the two fifteenth-century texts now in the Muniment Room; vellum books, bound in limp vellum, with the remains of a green silk cord at the tail of each, of the kind by which the Great Seal was attached. The two final clauses have been added to both by a single hand, and not the hand of either text. It seems probable that the further “revision” of 1458–9⁶ consisted only in the addition of this postscript.

Fourth of the five great instruments is the Founder’s Will; existing in two versions, the Windsor Will of September 16th, 1447⁷, the Eton Will of March 12th, 1447–8⁸; neither of them

¹ A. 1 and A. 2.

² A. 3 and A. 4; Rymer, *Foedera*, xi, 36, 37.

³ *Ancient Laws for King’s College, Cambridge, . . . and Eton College* (London, 1850), p. 1.

⁴ A. Austen Leigh, *King’s College*, p. 14.

⁵ King’s College *Mundum Book*, 32–33 H. 6, *sub titulo* “Expense necessarie vna cum solucionibus florinceis”: “Item H. lawnde. J. Combe et J. harte per modum Regardi pro scripcione nouorum Statutorum ad mandatum prepositi in die Sancti Thome apostoli .x. s.” In the same year there is a further payment (not dated) for the same purpose *sub titulo* “Soluciones feodorum cum Regardis.”

⁶ Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, iv, 712. I cannot trace the payment for carriage of the new statutes in 1454 to which Rogers refers.

⁷ A. 5.

⁸ A. 6.



Fig. 1

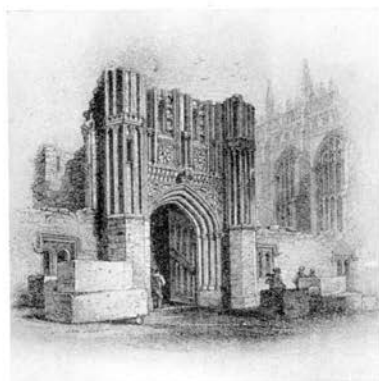


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

- Fig. 1. Gateway of the Old Court of King's College, from the engraving by Greig.
 Fig. 2. Gateway of the Old Court in 1847, from Le Keux's "Memorials of Cambridge."
 Fig. 3. Ancient Chest in King's College Chapel.
 Fig. 4. Fifth Southern Side-Chapel, showing bookcases and the Prescott Chests.

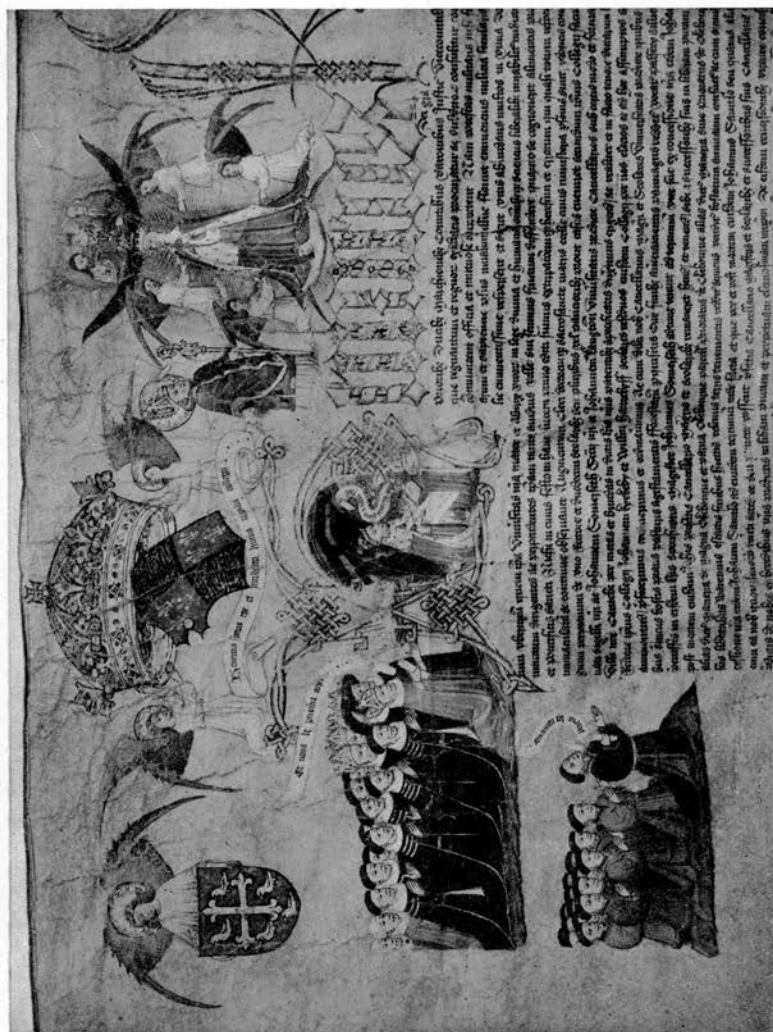


Fig. 5. Charter of March 16th. 24 H. 6 (A. 20): Detail of Decoration.

testaments, but expressions of the Founder's "will and intent" for the completion of his two colleges.

The Charter upon Act of Parliament of March 16th, 1445-6¹ (Fig. 5), confirmed the Founder's earlier gifts and conferred a multitude of additional privileges upon the College. It is an immense document, closely written on five sheets of vellum 39 in. by 30½ in.; containing some 9000 words. On the first, or bottom, sheet a group of miniatures around the initial represents the granting of the charter in Parliament. In the left-hand margin kneel the Commons, the Speaker, bearing a roll, at their head. He says: "Prient lez comunes." Above are the Lords—cardinals, bishops, temporal peers and judges. They enjoy precedence, but the Chancellor's words show that their legislative function is subordinate: "Et nous le prioins auxi." The King kneels in the centre of the initial, in his right hand the sealed charter; he grants the request of his people with the words: "ffiat ad laudem gloriam et cultum tuum." Above him is a crown supported by angels; the arms of England and France; and a legend: "Henricus sextus rex et fundator huius regalis collegij." A second group represents the three Persons of the Trinity, and the patron saints of the College: Our Lady, crowned with a triple crown and wafted aloft by angels; St Nicholas with mitre, crosier and chasuble. To right and left of the first line angels display the arms of the two royal saints—St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund the Martyr; their cult, favoured by Henry III, had been revived by Henry IV, so that they had become patrons of the Lancastrian dynasty². The arms of France are suspended from the "A" of "Anglie" in the King's title; and scrolls in the "D" of "Dominus Hibernie" bear a little ejaculatory prayer: "Domine saluum fac Regem Henricum sextum fundatorem nostrum." The seal is the Golden Seal cut for Henry IV about 1408; rarely used by Henry VI, and amongst our records only on this and later Parliamentary charters.

Foundation was accompanied by lavish endowment; cartularies, and over seventy original Letters Patent under the

¹ A. 20. There is also a contemporary copy (A. 21).

² Wyon, *Great Seals of England*, p. 45.

Silver or Bretigny Seal (Fig. 7)—these preserve the details of the estates that were granted. Among Colleges at Cambridge King's was remarkable for the extent and value of its lands; remarkable, I suppose, among all English landlords, for their wide diffusion. A property slowly built up would be concentrated in a single district; the livelihood of King's College, rapidly pieced together by royal munificence, was far-flung through a score of counties, from Lancashire and Yorkshire to Sussex, Hampshire and Devon, and St Michael's Mount itself in the extreme south-west.

The College was not destined long to enjoy its maximum good fortune; for our Founder, in the words of Anthony Allen, "was harrast & distrest wth Intestine Wars and perplexities, w^{ch} after many Years Struggle at length overwhelm'd and destroy'd him and his Family." So we read in our Ledger Book how on October 16th, 1461, Provost Wodelark and all the Fellows met in the College exchequer, because it was rumoured that the College estates were to be resumed by Parliament, and the College itself dissolved for ever (*quod absit*); therefore they authorised the sale or pawning, with all possible speed, of plate and valuables sufficient for defence¹. The worst was averted; but even so "King Edw^d 4th, no Friend to Learn'd Men, ravish't from this College great part of their annual income²." Private enemies pressed home their claims; the Abbot of Tewkesbury wrested from us our manors in Gloucestershire, Compton, Preston and Welneford. Fresh grants the College indeed received in the brief sunshine of King Henry's restoration—by Letters Patent which bear the only example known to Wyon of that unlovely thing, the Great Seal of Edward IV altered for Henry VI³. Our fortunes fell once more with the final fall of the Lancastrian dynasty; till at last we found favour with the House of York. Before the end of his reign King Edward made some amends. The income of the College, in 1460 over £1000 per annum, had sunk by 1464 to £500; it averaged about £750 in the 1480's. High-hopes were placed

¹ King's College *Ledger Book*, I. xxxvii b.

² Anthony Allen, *Skeleton Collegii Regalis*, sub anno 1459.

³ A. 42; Wyon, *op. cit.* p. 59.

in the House of Tudor; yet though Henry VII completed the Chapel with the spoils of half-a-lifetime's rapacious taxation, his royal favour did not bring a recovery of our *terra irredenta*. The lands enumerated in a valuation made in 1557¹ are with minor exceptions those which we held at King Edward's death; and with three-quarters of a loaf the College was thenceforth perforce content.

I have said that the foundation of King's is not the earliest of our official recollections. An artificial memory (unlike the natural memory of man) is neither personal nor mortal; if properly cared for it is undying, and can be transferred again and again from the dead to the living. Therefore when King's College assumed the archive-maker's responsibility in a score of institutions all over the country—manors, rectories and priories—it became, not only the compiler of an official memory in respect of each one of them, but as the legitimate successor to deceased lords, impropriated rectors and suppressed monks, legitimate inheritor of a score of institutional memories. As an educational institution at Cambridge our memory runs back to 1441; as English landlords, our inherited memories extend almost to the Norman Conquest.

Few of our predecessors in title were laymen; the great majority were monastic corporations, alien priories suppressed by the Parliament of Leicester in 1414. Portions of the estates of twenty-one foreign houses were at one time or another granted to the College. Some were taken from us, upon others we were never able to enter; but there remained among our traditional estates lands of eight alien convents, and the whole property of two small English foundations. For all of these we have early records; but I select four as especially worthy of mention.

Nine of the College estates formerly belonged to the great Benedictine abbey of Bec-Hellouin in Normandy: Ogbourn Priory in Wiltshire, her chief English cell; another cell at Lessingham in Norfolk; the manor of Ruislip in Middlesex, at one time also a cell; the house called Ogbourn in Blackfriars, now called Garderobe Duke Humphrey, after Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, to whom it was first granted; and the manors

¹ King's College *Ledger Book*, I, 379 b.

of Dunton Waylet in Essex, Atherston in Warwickshire, Brixton Deverell in Wiltshire, and Monxton and Combe in Hampshire. All these, save Atherston, the College retained till recent times.

In respect of the first of the four classes of early estate records—deeds, manorial court rolls, accounts and surveys—the manors of Bec are not particularly rich. They can show only about forty mediaeval charters; though the number includes Maud of Wallingford's grant of the two manors of Ogbourn to Bec, witnessed by the Empress Matilda and her son Henry—Duke of the Normans but not yet King of the English¹. The court rolls, on the other hand, are voluminous and of unique interest; they include the "*Placita Maneriorum Beccensium in Anglia*²," drawn from all the English manors of the Abbey, for the period 1246–1322, as well as later rolls for those estates which were afterwards granted to the College. Many extracts from the "*Placita*" were printed by Maitland³, and No. 1 of the series (Fig. 9) was the oldest original roll of a manor-court known to him⁴. Accounts are limited to two bundles from the reign of Edward III, for Ogbourn and Combe; but amongst surveys there is a great roll of extents which Maitland used and assigned to the early thirteenth century⁵, and another which seems to have been unknown to him—apparently a later revision of the first⁶.

The estate of St James by Exeter (formerly a Cluniac Priory, a cell to the house of St Martin-des-Champs in Paris) is rich in fine mediaeval charters. About ninety survive: a confirmation of the foundation by Matilda, assigned by Round to the year 1142, with the seal in excellent condition⁷; a charter (lacking its seal) of Henry II⁸; a charter of the Founder, Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon⁹; a fine series of charters and seals of the Bishops of Exeter, beginning

¹ Dd. 17; printed in *Mon. Ang.* vi, 1016.

² C. 1–15.

³ *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*, pp. 3–47.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xii.

⁵ Dd. 33; *Select Pleas*, p. 4.

⁶ *Consuetudines et Redditus Maneriorum Beccensium*; no press-mark.

⁷ 2 W. 1; J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 170 n. 8. I am indebted for this reference to Dr Rose Graham.

⁸ 2 W. 5.

⁹ 2 W. 4.

with one of Bishop Robert dated 1146¹; and many others. Most remarkable of all is an early copy of a Bull of Innocent III, very irregularly endorsed with the words and music of a Middle English love-song².

Less distinguished, but more numerous, are the charters of the Priory of Our Lady and St Anthony of Kersey in Suffolk; a small house of Augustinian canons, not alien, probably founded in the early thirteenth century by a brother of the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh; granted to King's College by Sir Henry Grey, Lord Powis, in 1446. There survive in the Muniment Room, besides rentals, cartularies and a few isolated monastic accounts, "*cartas originales quamplurimas*"³ of Kersey—well over six hundred, from every period from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. Most of them are grants of small pieces of property in neighbouring villages, by quite obscure people; but they include at least one exquisite fragment of a seal—the first of Henry le Despencer, Bishop of Norwich, attached to a sentence delivered in 1373⁴ (Fig. 6).

Finally I must mention the charters of another Suffolk house of Augustinian canons—the Priory of Great Bricet, a cell to the Abbey of St Leonard of Limoges. The charters of Bricet⁵ are even more numerous than those of Kersey—about eight hundred—and of more general interest. There is the charter of foundation, granted by Ralph Fitzbrien before 1121⁶; a charter of Stephen, sealed with his second seal, granting a weekly market and two annual fairs⁷; Letters Patent with seals of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III⁸; four Papal Bulls⁹; two bundles of indulgences¹⁰; and a charter granted by the Prior and Convent, with a seal representing St Leonard bearing fetters in his hand, as the patron saint of prisoners¹¹ (Fig. 8). This is something of a puzzle. The seal is attached upside down; and although the design is consistent

¹ 2 W. 2.

² 2 W. 32. I have described this manuscript at length in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of London.

³ Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 524.

⁴ O. 24.

⁵ B. 1–B. 126.

⁶ B. 1.

⁷ B. 7a.

⁸ B. 58–66.

⁹ B. 116.

¹⁰ B. 117.

¹¹ No press-mark.

with the date to which I assign the handwriting of the charter—the late twelfth or early thirteenth century—its tag bears writing in a fifteenth-century hand. There is no sign that it has been tampered with; indeed, the seal is in almost perfect condition.

The College continued the old series of estate records; but henceforth they are rather unexciting. Court rolls lose most of their interest after the fifteenth century; deeds were only occasionally added; all the interesting detail vanishes from estate accounts with the general prevalence of the letting of manors to farm. But in the remaining class I must mention the elaborate Elizabethan village surveys which Mr Corbett described in a paper to the Royal Historical Society¹, and the eighteenth-century tithe-surveys described by Professor Clapham in an article in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*². Many of the latter, apart from their value for historical purposes, deserve attention as examples of good clerly penmanship and good binding. To this class belong also the estate maps. The earliest dated example is a "platt" of lands at Dunton Waylet surveyed in 1612³. Two others bear dates in the seventeenth century; West Gerardston, in the parish of Chalke and the county of Wiltshire, dated 1656⁴; Grantchester, dated 1666⁵. From the eighteenth century there are over thirty, almost all well drawn and finely decorated.

Among new types, leases bulk large; but the surviving counterparts are of little historical importance, since a series of contemporary copies, complete from the early sixteenth century onward, is entered in the Ledger Books.

Bursarial correspondence—often very lively reading—survives in considerable quantities from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the seventeenth century it is a great deal less common; rare for the sixteenth; for the fifteenth very rare, but not quite wanting.

The Circuit provided a more direct method of keeping in touch with the estates. By the Founder's statutes each one must be visited yearly by the Provost and one Fellow, or by

¹ *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, N.S. XI (1897), 67–87.

² For 1924, p. 201.

³ King's College Maps K. 18.

⁴ King's College Maps L. 19.

⁵ No press-mark.

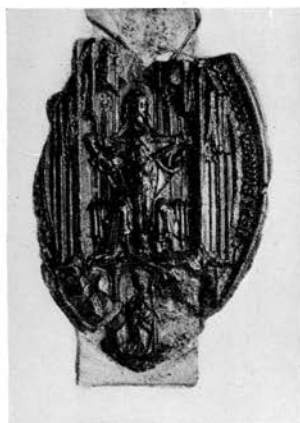


Fig. 6

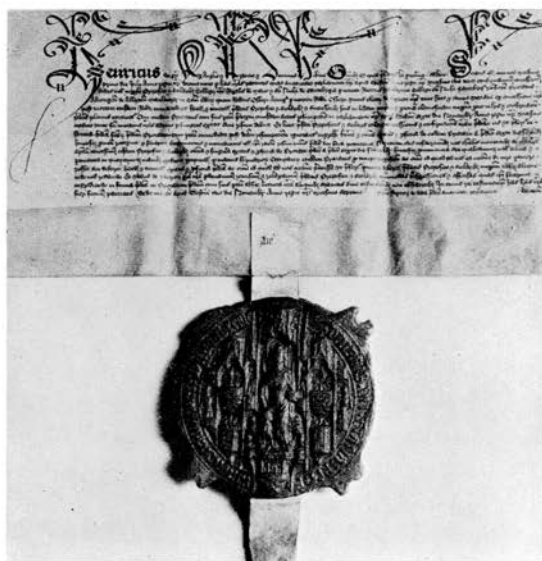


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

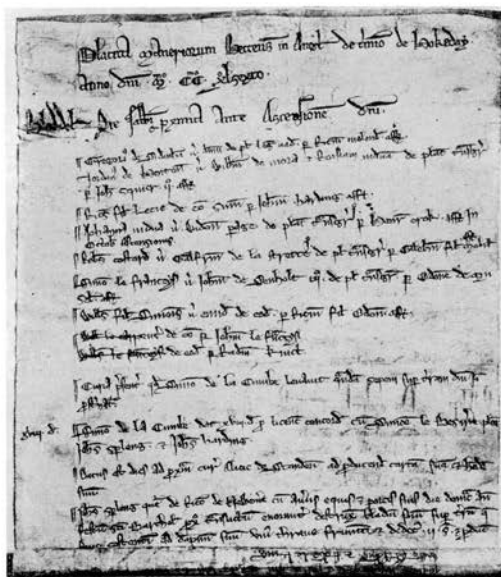


Fig. 9

Fig. 6. Seal of Henry, Bishop of Norwich (O. 24).

Fig. 7. Letters Patent of November 3rd. 37 H. 6 (Box M. 31).

Fig. 8. Seal of Briet Priory.

Fig. 9. "Placita Maneriorum Beccensium No. 1."

the Vice-Provost in the Provost's stead; or at the least by one Fellow alone¹. In their presence the Steward held a court in each manor; and the lessee was bound to entertain the whole party for a stated number of days, with food and lodging convenient to their several stations². In early times the travellers rode, with such a train of horses as the statute allowed—not more than eight for the Provost, four for the Vice-Provost, two for a simple Fellow; in the nineteenth century they went by train; the last Circuit of all was performed in a motor-car. But for many generations the conveyance was the College coach. Mr Abbs, formerly in the employment of Mr Hunnybun the carriage builder in Hobson Street, tells me that he well remembers seeing the coach when he first came to Cambridge, in 1865. It was heavy and old-fashioned, such as he had only seen before in pictures; painted a bright yellow, and pointed in black, with the College arms on the panels. The inside held four, or even six; a footman sat beside the coachman on the box, and there was a dickey behind. It was very high, and one climbed in by means of the usual folding steps. The Provost had also a carriage of a more usual type for ordinary use. In 1887, when the Provost's stable establishment was discontinued, Mr Hunnybun bought the old College coach. It was broken up at once. Some of the fittings were used again; the body was burnt in the tire-furnace; the wheels and under-carriage—very heavy—were bought by Mr Fenn of "The Jolly Waterman" at Chesterton, who fitted a trolley-body and used the contraption for furniture removals.

This particular coach cannot have been very old, if it was the new coach for the College for which Mr Thomas Hunnybun was paid £189 in 1855³; but probably it repeated the design of former coaches; the vehicles in which the Provosts of the eighteenth century had lumbered through the mud of Essex and Suffolk, and toiled up Devonshire hills and Berkshire and

¹ Founder's Statutes LII.

² The last to be bound by a covenant for entertainment was Mr F. F. Nicholson, tenant of the College manor of Willoughton in Lincolnshire from 1883 to his death in 1930.

³ King's College *Mundum Book*, 1855-6, *sub titulo* "Custus Stabuli."

Wiltshire downs as they went the Western Circuit "from Cambridge to Newbery, to *Combe*, to *Monkeston* to Salisbury to *Homington* to *Ringwood* to *Fordingbridge Chalk* to Shacksbury to *Stower Pranks* to Shereborne, Evell Crookhorne Card Hummington to *St James Priorie Creely* to Exeter to *Cotley woods* to Kirton, Boe to *Samford Courtney Tiverton* or Twitforton & back to Chard, Evell Crook-horne, Shereborn, Shacksbury to *Brixton Deverell*, Chalk Salisbury; *Combe* to *Okeburne* to Oxford, London, Cambridge¹." The record of their travels survives in a multitude of little vellum-bound pocket books, filled with details of copyhold fines, timber sales, repairs authorised, and so on. The earliest I have found dates from 1690—"Provost Roderick's Book No. 1." More systematic "Notes on Estates" were compiled from time to time by Bursars, or by other Fellows who took a leading part in College business. Among the latter was Dr Ralph Winterton, Regius Professor of Physic in 1635-6, whose book was probably the original model for compilations of this kind².

I turn now to records of things acted and done in the College at Cambridge. First place belongs to the great series of registers known as the Ledger Books. Here were enrolled all documents under the College seal—leases of estates, presentations to livings, and probates of the wills of those who died in the precincts; since in former times the College, as a Royal Peculiar, enjoyed a testamentary jurisdiction. The series of Ledger Books is complete; Volume I covers the period from 1450 to 1558; Volume XXVII is still in process of compilation.

Into the intricacies of the College accounts I have neither space nor full knowledge to go. They consist of half-a-dozen major series of books and rolls, whose relations have undergone many changes with the changes in administrative methods and accountant's technique. None the less, the legend that they are crabbed and obscure is without foundation. Though complex and minute, they are clearly and logically organised; and their interpretation presents no great

¹ *Mr Bullock's Book*, 55 b (c. 1700).

² For an account of Winterton, see Rolleston, *Cambridge Medical School*, 146.

difficulty to one who approaches them with a firm grasp of the accountant's key-plan—the *Compotus Bursariorum*, or in later times the *Audit Bill*. Most important for historical purposes are the *Commons Books* and *Mundum Books*. The former—a series unfortunately very broken, and not surviving after 1664—contain particulars week by week and day by day of what was eaten in Hall, what it cost and who were there to eat it. The totals of this expenditure were carried to the *Mundum Books*; in which were entered particulars of expenditure under other heads, and of some—later of all—heads of receipt. For the first century—from 1447—there are *Mundum Books* for thirty-nine years; between 1547 and 1560 only three are missing; and all gaps after that date can be filled from the *Bursar's Particular Books*—the rough journals of which the *Mundum Books* (as the name implies) are fair copies. To this day the *Mundum* is the great pillar of the College accounts; and you may read on the title-page of the latest volume the time-honoured formula: “*Receptiones denariorum per manus Johannis Maynard Keynes et Hugonis Georgii Durnford Bursariorum Collegii Regalis Beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai de Cantabrigia.*” Inspectors of Accounts still receive seven shillings and sixpence in the name of glove-money, so that they may not stain its purity.

The *Congregation Books*—minute-books of the Governing Body—begin in 1722; though the votes of earlier Congregations have sometimes been placed on record in the *Protocol Books*. The first resolution which the *Congregation Books* record does credit to the kind hearts of the Society; the choristers' allowance for small beer was increased, so that in future they might drink beer at ten shillings a barrel, instead of seven-and-sixpenny beer as hitherto¹. Among other early entries is a memorandum of a unanimous resolution taken by the Fellows on the second day of their famous vigil in the Chapel in January 1743: that in case they should come to the election of a *Proyost* within the statutable two days, “the said election shall be supported at the expense of the whole College against any person or persons whatsoever that shall contest or move any Question about the same².”

¹ King's College *Congregation Book*, 1722–78, p. 7.

² *Ibid.* p. 73.

To the Congregation Books must be added the minute-books of the lesser bodies of modern origin—the Provost and Officers, the Educational Council, the Council, the Estates Committee—to mention only those that have had a permanent place in our constitution. There must be added besides the records of a higher power—our Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln; including transcripts from the Registers formerly at his palace of Buckden; papers relating to appeals; transcripts and original records of what happened when the Bishop found it necessary to come to Cambridge and hold a formal visitation.

The last series I shall mention is that of the Protocollum Books, wherein are recorded the principal landmarks in the career of each member of the foundation: his admission as a Scholar, and as a Fellow; his diversion (if it occurred) from the study of theology to astronomy, medicine or law; the major punishments inflicted on him and the admonitions addressed to him (if there was occasion); his admission to the Provostship (if at length he attained that honour). Although ages and birthdays (too often given as Christmas Day or Easter) are not always trustworthy, the Protocollum Books afford valuable biographical evidence. The series is complete from 1500; the gap before can be partly filled from an early catalogue of members of the foundation in a large vellum book of inventories¹.

This account of our archives is but scanty and incomplete. Many known documents have been passed over in silence; and there is besides a vast *terra incognita*—boxes stuffed with papers and parchments of every century from the thirteenth onward, unsorted and undescribed. In that condition they are likely for the present to remain; they are suffering no harm, and there are more urgent problems elsewhere.

There remains, however, one more group of manuscripts—not within the definition of archives—which I must not omit to mention: the volumes which embody the labours of former antiquarian Kingsmen. There are the thirteen volumes of Collections—notes on our antiquities chiefly compiled by two

¹ This seems to be the volume described by Dr M. R. James, *Manuscripts in the Library of King's College, Cambridge*, p. 69; but it is now unbound.

eighteenth-century Bursars, John Smith and Edward Betham. There is the Muniment Catalogue, dating in its present form from 1808, with supplements added by Bursar Brocklebank; very valuable for the classes with which it deals, but not covering the whole field. The latest addition to this group is the immense mass of manuscript compiled by Mr F. L. Clarke; including valuable "Year Lists" in which are tabulated a great quantity of biographical minutiae combed out of the College accounts.

Lastly, the College has its unofficial memories. The Muniment Room has a draft and an abridgement, the College Library the finished manuscript, of a work called "Skeleton Collegii Regalis; or a Catalogue of Provosts, Fellows and Scholars"; a biographical dictionary, the last of a line, compiled in the early eighteenth century by Anthony Allen, Fellow of King's, barrister and philologist, and never yet published. I have no space for examples; but there may be read the lives of many generations of Kingsmen—scholars and soldiers; men distinguished and obscure; conventional or (very often) most eccentric; the work of one who held it to be "a Debt of Gratitude as yet unpaid our most beneficent Founder, to exhibit to y^e World, how we have from Age to Age employ'd y^e time good King Hēnry has made our own; To what Uses we have applied those ample Provisions he pour'd in upon Us, in the midst of all y^e Difficulties himself was perpetually conflicting wth; And what at last is our Improvement of the Talents comitted to us."

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