

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



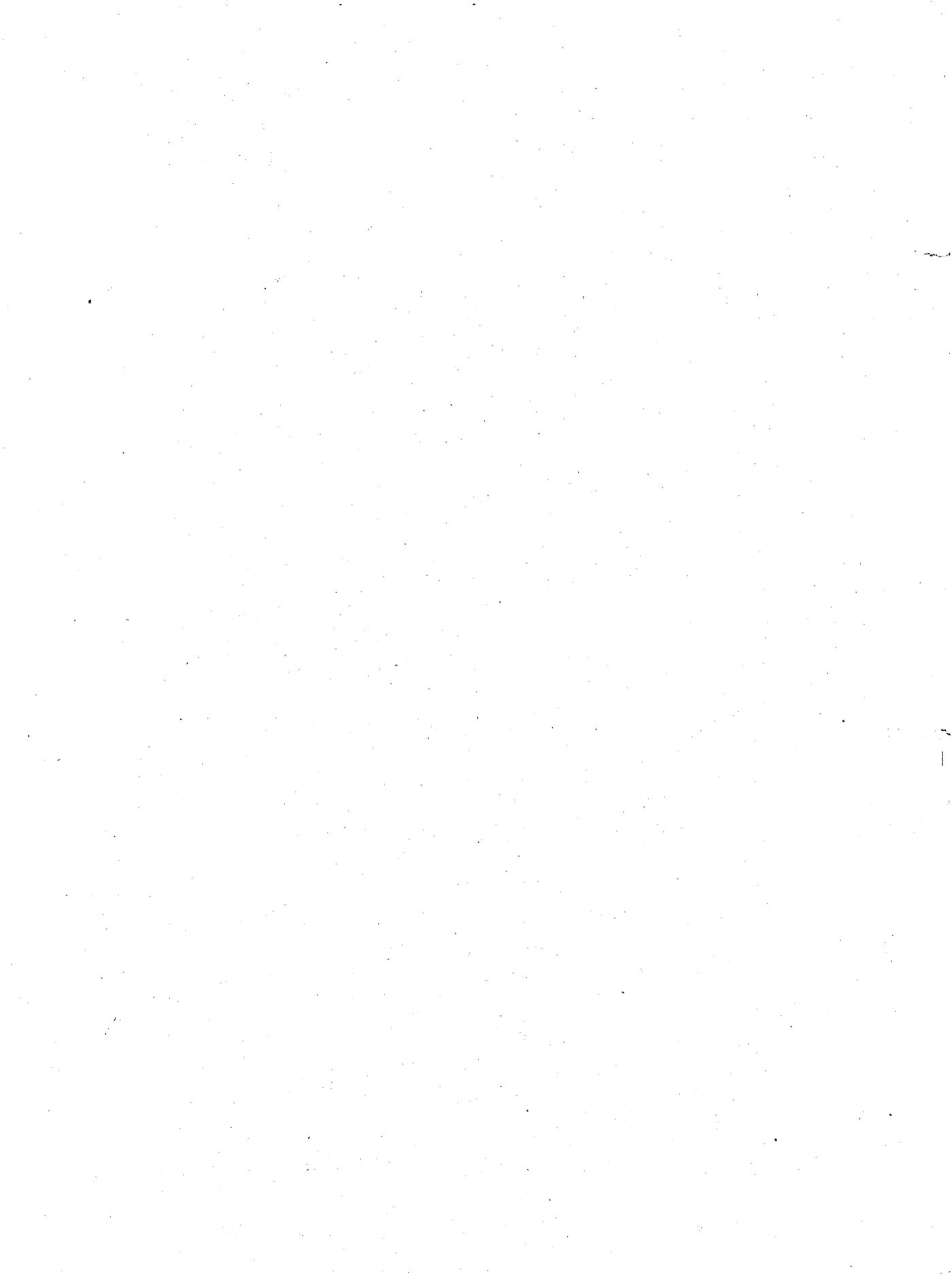
VOLUME LIV

JANUARY 1960 TO DECEMBER 1960

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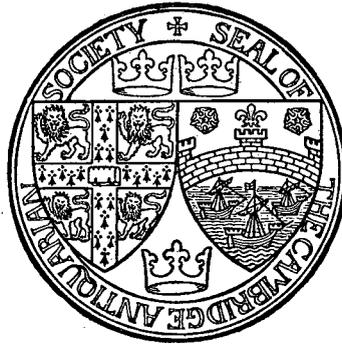
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THE VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE

JOHN ROACH, PH.D.

So far four volumes of the Victoria History of Cambridgeshire have been published. The first of these, which deals with natural history, zoology and the activities of early man, was published in 1938; the second, dealing with social, political, and ecclesiastical history of the county generally, was published in 1948; the fourth, a topographical volume on the Isle of Ely, came out in 1953. Volumes I and II were edited by Mr L. F. Salzman, volume IV by Mr R. B. Pugh, the present General Editor of the series. I shall say no more about those volumes. My concern in this paper is exclusively with volume III, on the city, university and colleges of Cambridge, which appeared in 1959. I did much of the editorial work on this volume and wrote the article on the history of the university which it contains.

The Victoria County History is one of the major co-operative ventures of English scholarship. Dr J. H. Plumb, reviewing volume III in the *Sunday Times* (3 May 1959), remarked: 'And how infamous it is that the Victoria County History, an enterprise without parallel in conception or achievement in the Western world, should go struggling on from hand to mouth, decade after decade. In any other country it would have been handsomely endowed long ago either by public or by private benefaction.'

Into the wider questions of financing and perpetuating the whole *V.C.H.* series it is not my province to enter. However, a few facts on the series as a whole may be of interest. It was begun in 1899; by 1957, the latest date for which I have figures, 119 volumes had been published and six more were in the press. Of the total number of published volumes seventeen had come out since 1945. Since 1933 the management of the whole enterprise has been in the hands of the University of London.

V.C.H. III, *Cambridge* has itself had quite a long history. When it was first projected I do not know, but when I was appointed in 1953 to do some of the editorial work, there was handed over to me a box of slips, containing references to Cambridge and Cambridgeshire in the Public Records, which had been put together in 1908. It can be said then that some work had been projected before the First World War. The direct history of volume III begins in 1935 under the editorship of Mr Salzman. A number of the college articles were written before the war of 1939 and in fact several authors saw their work published over twenty years after it had been written. Such are the difficulties to which collective works of scholarship are exposed. The major articles in the volume are those on the borough and city of Cambridge and on the university; both of them are about 90,000 to 100,000 words long and thus the

length of moderately large books. The city article was undertaken by Miss Cam, and was completed by her in 1951. It was a great piece of good fortune that she undertook the task since she is both a distinguished medievalist and an authority on more modern Cambridge history. Some of her work on John Mortlock, the banker and political manager of the borough, was published in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*.¹ By this time it had become clear that the volume would not be completed very rapidly without special financial assistance. This was provided by generous gifts from the City, University and Colleges in 1953 and 1954. When I started work on the history of the university, both the General Editor and myself were thinking in terms of something quite brief which might be written in about a year. In fact I found that this was quite impossible and the university article grew considerably in dimensions; it eventually took me somewhat over three years to write.

The whole volume was handed over by me to the General Editor at Easter 1957. The process of producing a volume of the *V.C.H.*, particularly an unusually large volume of this kind, is inevitably rather cumbrous. It involves a galley-proof, and two page proofs, together with the necessary 'keying-in' of an elaborate set of illustrations. Consequently, the volume did not appear until the spring of 1959. The general editorial problems involved in harmonizing the work of so many authors were of course considerable. Miss Cam's article is arranged topically: that is to say it deals first with the political and constitutional history of the borough, its officers and its courts. It then goes on to deal with economic history and with topography—bridges, public buildings, churches and chapels, schools and almshouses and so on. My own article on the university deals with its subject chronologically and attempts to tell a unified story, weaving together the different strands in the history of each period. In addition it has appendices on some of the principal institutions like the University Library, the Press and the Fitzwilliam Museum. Thus the two major articles present a great contrast in their method of treatment. The college histories present further diverse features both in length and arrangement, many of which arise from the fact that the volume had been so many years in preparation. As volume editor I received most generous help from many more people than I can name here; I must, however, mention the invaluable assistance given to the whole volume—and most particularly in the criticisms of my own article—by Mr John Saltmarsh. When I look again at the pages of comment he typed out on the history of the university, I reflect on how much worse it would have been without the benefit of his wisdom and scholarship. I must also mention the ready help of the city librarians, Mr Munford and Mr Cave, and their staffs, who were particularly helpful over the history of the Nonconformist communities and of the modern parishes, and who were always most ready to lend a hand when asked.

Two editorial problems which might be referred to here are those of overlapping between articles and of a terminal date for information inserted. Some overlapping

¹ H. M. Cam, 'John Mortlock III, "Master of the Town of Cambridge", 1755-1816', *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XL (1939-42).

is inevitable; as an example, Miss Cam has quite a long section on the relations between Town and Gown in which she deals with such subjects as police, morals, health, trade and finance. Naturally a good deal of this, seen from the other side, came into the article on the university and that article would not have been complete unless these subjects had been considered. The first problem of course is to make sure that an account given in one place in the volume does not contradict that given in another, at least without some explanation. I remember, for instance, that I had to insert a footnote pointing out that Miss Cam and I had taken a rather different view of the dislocation caused to studies at Cambridge by the Civil War.

The problem of fixing a final date for the inclusion of information was also very difficult, both because the volume was so long in making and because changes were constantly going on. We had to settle different terminal dates for the three main segments of the volume—roughly in accordance with the time at which they were completed: 1951 for the city, 1953 for the colleges, 1956 for the university. We were not absolutely consistent; for instance we noted new heads of houses and new buildings as late as we could, but we did in fact decline to add certain new information which ran later than the limits set. One example is that of the move of the Pepys Library to its new quarters at Magdalene which was not, I think, complete when we went to press. We also excluded schemes which were only aspirations and had not yet been actually realized. We took great care to date our illustrations because for historical purposes an undated illustration is practically useless. If the comparison may be permitted, we were much more consistent here than the Historical Monuments Commission which, in their Cambridge inventory, did not provide a terminal date and did not date their photographs. It might also be mentioned here that the simultaneous preparation of the Historical Monuments Commission volumes enabled us to devote but little attention to architectural history.

The next subject to describe is the sources used by the various authors, the scope covered by their articles and the questions which their work raises for further research. Miss Cam's article seems to me to be a model town history, particularly because it is based on a really thorough command of the manuscript sources. She has been kind enough to let me have an account of some of the main sources which she used and I think that it will be clearest to quote her own words.

I wanted particularly to straighten out the Constitutional History and that meant going for the archives at the Guildhall, really burrowing into the Cross Book for points overlooked by Cooper. It seemed to me that Maitland had been unduly sceptical about the account of the town courts in the statement of 1383¹ and I looked at all the Court Rolls to see how they would fit into that account.

But I know that I didn't look at everything that I should have! Notably some of the stuff at Downing left by Bowtell.

Of later sources the Hardwicke papers in the British Museum were a mine of information or rather of colour, and the scraps of notes in Cole's notebooks. Professor Namier produced an

¹ *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, pp. 52-3.

answer more or less complete to my problem as to exactly when Mortlock sold the town to the Rutlands. He got it from the Beaufort-Pitt correspondence, I think, which had a copy of a letter of Mortlock's own which told most of the story.¹ My great disappointment was the failure to get more letters of his own. I think his family must have destroyed a great deal of material. The Common Day Books helped me to correct some of the statements in Mr Gray's invaluable notes on the Mayors of Cambridge; and the deeds at St John's and Jesus produced some data on the earliest Mayors. I should have liked to complete a list of aldermen, which could be done if anyone cares to work through the Common Day Books for quite a long way back but could not do everything.

Of previous books Atkinson was the most useful after Cooper, and of course the great architectural history of Willis and Clark.

I looked up things at the Record Office—Assize Rolls were, I suppose, most useful.

The collections at the Public Library had some nice scraps of early nineteenth century history. The first public librarian was keen on Cambridge history.

I think that Miss Cam's own account gives a very clear picture of the range of her sources. The Corporation records are of great importance naturally and are supplemented by the Bowtell papers at Downing. The reference to deeds at Jesus and St John's reminds us that these two colleges are the heirs of institutions, the Priory of St Radegund and the Hospital of St John, which go back to a very early period of the borough's history before the coming of the scholars to the town. William Cole Milton (1714-82) left his manuscript collections to the British Museum and they form an invaluable storehouse of information about Cambridge history. The reference to John Mortlock recalls the banker whose bank still stands in Bene't Street, the politician who began as a reformer and ended as the controller of a pocket borough of whom C. H. Cooper said: 'I have no doubt that Mr Mortlock could have made his own footman member for this town, if he had thought proper.'² He is the most powerful, most vivid figure in the history of the town of Cambridge since Oliver Cromwell. C. H. Cooper himself did work which is the foundation of all modern study of borough history. His *Annals of Cambridge* make wide use of the manuscript sources—his *Athenae Cantabrigienses* and his *Memorials of Cambridge* are also very important.

Much of the article on the borough and the city deals with very detailed topographical information which can prove extremely complex to straighten out. Miss Cam quotes an example about the Quaker Meeting-House. Today this stands in Jesus Lane and early accounts describe it as 'over against the gate of Sidney College'. This is now a garden gate in Jesus Lane; was there a gate in Restoration times? All the accounts locate the meeting-house in Jesus Lane, whatever the precise site.³ One or two other points of difficulty in the topographical section were worked through when the article was being finally revised. I knew that there is a Methodist Chapel in Castle Street bearing the date '1914' on its foundation stone. The section on

¹ *Ibid.* p. 74.

² *Report of... Commissioners... to inquire into the existence of Corrupt Practices in the Borough of Cambridge; together with the Minutes of Evidence* [1685], p. 418 (1852-3), xlvi.

³ *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 135, n. 70.

Primitive Methodism mentioned only that there was a Primitive Methodist Chapel in St Peter's Street, built in 1863. The two sites seemed to adjoin one another, but I was not at all clear as to the relationship between them. By working through directories I discovered that the Castle Street Chapel appeared in the 1914 directory in which there are no houses between 35 and 17 Castle Street, whereas in 1913 these houses were all there and were occupied. It also appeared that these houses backed on to the chapel in St Peter's Street. Having got so far I got the city librarian to look in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for me, and there for 20 February 1914 was a report which made it clear that the old chapel in St Peter's Street had been pulled down and a new one built on an enlarged site. Another small point which may have some interest concerned the old fish market in Peas Hill. The article originally said that this 'was still kept in 1951 where it was placed in 1579'. I could remember the fish stalls well enough, but I thought that they had disappeared since this sentence had been written, so I wrote to the town clerk to ask for information. He replied as follows: 'These fish stalls which were usually sited outside the Library were hardly used during the war, and this state of affairs continued after the war. Nothing the Corporation did was responsible for this, merely that the stall holders did not require the stalls. A stall was last used on 5th November 1949 by, I believe, a man called Thurston who sold shell fish.'¹

Another point of detail which Mr Saltmarsh cleared up for us was the fate of the old King's College almshouses in Queens' Lane, which are referred to in Atkinson and Clark, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*. Mr Saltmarsh established that the building disappeared after 1876 and that the last almswoman received her last payment in 1928. Those facts are very simple but it took a great deal of investigation into the college records to get them clear.²

A great feature of recent *V.C.H.* volumes has been the attention given in them to Protestant Nonconformity. Information about dissenting chapels is often difficult to get, though it is valuable because it helps to build up a picture of a very important section of English social and religious life. Another section on religious history is that dealing with Roman Catholicism. The account of the Roman Catholic parish church is fairly straightforward; an interesting appendage to it is the story of the Roman Catholic Chaplains to the University. This appears in the volume merely as a short paragraph³ but the information contained there was not at all easy to get and was collected only through the help and kindness of Monsignor Gilbey and Mr Evennett. There is nothing specifically on the subject in the University Library, which does not contain the Reports of the University Catholic Association. The story of the return of Roman Catholics to the university is a very interesting piece of modern religious history. Though the religious tests were completely removed in 1871, Roman Catholics had been debarred by their own ecclesiastical authorities from

¹ Letter from Mr Alan H. I. Swift, Town Clerk of Cambridge, 23 December 1957.

² T. D. Atkinson and J. W. Clark, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated* (1897), p. 202; *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 146.

³ *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 138.

attending Oxford and Cambridge in 1867 and the prohibition was not removed until 1895 after the death of Cardinal Manning who had favoured it. The story of Roman Catholicism in the modern university deserves a fuller narration than we could give it here.

At this point it would be natural to go on and discuss the articles on the university. Before doing so something should be said about some lines of research in the history of the city which might be pursued. The main theme which to me needs further elucidation—and I think that Miss Cam would agree here—is the political and economic history of the period since the Reform Bill. Not much is really known about the balance of political forces in the borough after the end of the Rutland–Mortlock ascendancy. It is not very clear how far the degree of economic dependence of the town on the university was altered in the nineteenth century. The city has, as the Historical Monuments Commission has pointed out, a large group of early nineteenth-century houses and terraces. Some of these may have been connected with the new needs of a developing university, but not all of them can be explained in that way. It would be interesting to know, if the necessary material exists, who built them, who lived in them and how far they reflect an expansion of economic life in the town. It would be interesting too to work out the history of the later Mortlocks until the bank passed into the hands of Barclays in 1896; they contain at least one remarkable character in John Frederick Mortlock who was transported.¹ Such are some of the questions which deserve attention.

My own article on the university is far more limited in scope than Miss Cam's. When I began I had no expert knowledge. The question of time was very important. For these reasons I had to confine myself to printed sources, which are anyway very abundant. The university statutes and many other early documents have all been printed in collections like the *Commission Documents* of 1852, *Dyer's Privileges*, *Grace Books A to Δ*, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents collected by John Lamb and by Haywood and Wright. If anything there was *embarras de richesses* in the way of printed material and I do not think that much material of this type was overlooked. A few manuscript sources were used as well: for instance I was introduced, by Mr J. P. T. Bury, to an interesting manuscript account of the teaching at Corpus under Robert Norgate, who was Master of the College from 1573 to 1587.² As I have said earlier, the work grew in scale a good deal as it progressed. The most difficult problem was that of proportion, which arose from the very first. I dealt but briefly with the Middle Ages, partly because of my own deficient knowledge and background and partly because the history of medieval Cambridge is very obscure and uncertain. As will be seen later I might have been able to do more here if I had started in 1963 instead of in 1953. The narrative does not really come alive until the

¹ For his own account of his experiences, see *Experiences of a Convict, transported for Twenty-one Years. An Autobiographical Memoir*. By an ex-military officer (1865). (I owe this reference to Professor Bruce Dickins.)

² *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 190.

sixteenth century is reached. This is perhaps the greatest Cambridge century until the twentieth, it is full of movement and interest and there is plenty of dependable material.

In fact the weight of my article really falls on the last 250 years. There are a number of reasons for this. My own interests lie pre-eminently in the modern period and there is a great abundance of sources. In addition there was more chance here to make an independent contribution. J. B. Mullinger's three volumes go up to the Restoration and they are still invaluable. After his work ends there was no existing coherent account except perhaps his own little book in the *Epochs of Church History* series published in 1888. Winstanley's books are naturally very useful, but they are not a history of the university in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and they do not set out to be. His concern is with vignettes or episodes, not with a general story or a complete picture.

His *Later Victorian Cambridge*, which was brought out after his death, goes up to the new statutes of 1882. After that the road was entirely uncharted. There is of course a first-rate printed source in the volumes of the *University Reporter*, though their bulk makes them difficult to use and they are in every way forbidding as source books. But the information is all there; all that is needed is the patience to dig it out. I did look carefully through and read considerable parts of all the volumes from about 1880 down to 1939. One of the most interesting and valuable parts of them is the verbatim reports of discussions. These really bring people and their problems and prejudices alive in a very vivid way. They are a better source for the pre-1918 than for the post-1918 years. In Victorian and Edwardian days people talked more freely and even made jokes! The wittiest speaker was certainly F. W. Maitland telling the university in a discussion on Compulsory Greek that, if there was much more talk about Humanism, he should propose a degree of Bachelor of Humanities or 'Hum.B.'; or remarking that the natural house for a proposed Women's University, of which the existing women's colleges should be members, was the waiting room at Bletchley Station and its name 'the Bletchley Junction Academy': 'You wait there; but you do not wait there always. You change for Oxford and Cambridge.'¹ Nor in modern times is there any equivalent of the eccentric resident M.A. like the Reverend Dr Mayo, that stalwart guardian of economy in university administration, who must have spoken in most discussions for many years.

The great difficulty in handling the post-1882 period was the necessity both to say something about new buildings, professorships, etc., and to preserve some sort of balanced account of Cambridge life as a whole. We wanted to give as much exact information as possible and yet to avoid a catalogue, though I am rather doubtful whether both these aims were achieved. One part of the modern section which I should like to emphasize is the treatment of the agricultural depression of the 1880's and 1890's in relation to the university and colleges. In 1882 new statutes came into force which made considerable financial demands on the colleges. At much the same time agricultural incomes began to fall until they reached bottom in the

¹ *Cambridge University Reporter* (1904-5), p. 373; (1896-7), p. 751.

middle 1890's. In fact at a time when both the university and the colleges were trying to broaden their work and undertake new educational tasks, their real incomes were falling considerably. It was possible for the work to go on, most probably, only because the salaries of the teaching staff were very low, and in some colleges at least an academic career was possible only for men with private means. I believe that this point about university finances between 1880 and 1914 has not been fully emphasized before, and I think that it is an important one.¹ The only other possible source of money was public funds and they, in the light of Victorian views about public money, were not available.

The university article has a number of appendices, dealing with the Library, the Press, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Botanic Garden, the Archives, the Insignia and Seals, and the Chancellors. In every case very generous help was given by the institutions concerned. I wrote the article on the Schools and the Library which is at the moment the only complete account of its history, dealing with the developments of this century and the move to the new building. I had the benefit of the invaluable help of Mr J. C. T. Oates, invaluable in particular because his work is overturning the conventional picture of a decayed and moribund institution galvanized into activity by the enthusiasm of Henry Bradshaw. My short article owed to him the information that the Cambridge Library has preserved an unusually large number of its fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books and that the manuscripts which came with the Royal Library in 1715 were in fact carefully arranged and not bundled carelessly away as Luard believed. Mr Oates's own researches have thrown, and will throw, a great deal more light on the history of the Library before 1850.

Of the other appendices I should like to mention the article on the Archives and the list of Chancellors. I was very anxious that there should be in the volume an account of the manuscript sources for university history, more especially because I was very conscious of the shortcomings of my own article on the manuscript side. Miss Peek's book on the Archives will of course give a much larger scale account of them, but I think that Mr Elrington's brief account, in close connexion as it stands with the university history, will continue to be very useful to scholars. Dr Venn assisted both here and with the list of Chancellors, which in the earlier names presents many problems. Dr Venn considered that it was not really possible to get beyond the list given by Tanner in the *Historical Register*, with possible additions from Cooper's *Annals* and the *Alumni*; he thought that the manuscript lists in the archives were useless. I know that Dr Emden in his work on Cambridge scholars before 1500 is working on this same problem and it will be interesting to see what his conclusions are.

As I look back on this work on the university, I am very conscious of things which remain to do or which are being done by other scholars. There is, I think, a place for some such work as Sir Charles Mallet's three-volume *History of the University of Oxford* or at least for something which would carry on from 1660 where Mullinger

¹ For an account of the finances of Oxford colleges during these years, see two articles by L. L. Price in *J. Royal Statistical Soc.* vol. LVIII (1895), pp. 36-69, and vol. LXVII (1904), pp. 585-652.

left off. A scholarly book or books written on fairly broad lines would meet a real need here. On medieval Cambridge the picture has changed a lot since I wrote. We were just too early in finishing to be able to use Father Hackett's discovery of a thirteenth-century collection of Cambridge statutes in a library at Rome. This discovery, which is of the greatest importance, is best described in the words of Professor Knowles's letter in *The Times* of 23 December 1957:

The first item concerns the election and office of chancellor, the last deals with the obsequies for deceased members of the university and their benefactors; full university organization is presupposed, and the faculties of theology, philosophy, and canon law are mentioned. Reference is made to the customary academic exercises: incepting, responding, determining, ordinary and extraordinary lectures, *Vesperiae*, and *Principia*. Interesting details are given regarding terms and hours of lectures, and among other matters mentioned are academic dress, university courts, immunity of scholars, hostels, lecture rooms, and convocations.

The majority of these statutes are incorporated in the extant collections of later date, but this collection, which on internal evidence can be assigned to a date between 1235 and 1272, will make it possible to reconstruct the early organization of the University of Cambridge and to appraise the influence of Oxford and Paris on its development.

It may be added that this collection is probably unique. The earliest collection of Oxford statutes is found in a manuscript of the second quarter of the fourteenth century; indeed it is unlikely that any mediaeval university, not excepting Paris, can cite a manuscript collection of statutes as early as that of Cambridge which has now come to light, and which Dr Hackett is preparing for publication by the University Press.

When Father Hackett's edition appears many of the obscurities of early Cambridge history should be cleared up. The same is also true of Dr A. B. Emden's *Biographical Dictionary of Cambridge scholars before 1500*, which will contain the names of many graduates who do not appear in the *Alumni*. Had my article been able to draw on the work of these two scholars, the medieval section would have been far less insufficient. One small detail which has never been clear to me is when the governing body of the university became known as the 'Senate'. In the early Grace Books graces are granted 'in plena congregatione Regentium et non Regentium', though in Grace Book Δ (1542-89) the 'Caput Senatus' appears, the small body which held such a dominant place in university affairs between the Elizabethan statutes and the mid-Victorian reforms. But I do not know when the term 'Senate' became general. And what of that other very Italian-sounding term 'Syndicate'? The earliest minutes of 'Syndicates' in the Archives date from 1737, but I do not know if the term is older.¹

There are gaps in the modern period too which it would be interesting to fill. There are fragments here and there in many books, but I do not think that anyone has undertaken a serious comparison between developments at Cambridge and at Oxford. The two universities are so alike in their history, their traditions and their modern organization and yet so curiously different in their intellectual atmosphere and in some ways in their influence on the national life. The General Editor of the *V.C.H.*,

¹ The Grace of 21 January 1697-8 on the management of the University Press (Grace Book Θ, p. 428), refers to 'Curatores'; the Grace of 23 November 1737, on the same subject, speaks of 'Syndici et Curatores' (Grace Book I, p. 439); the term 'Curators of the Press' is used even later than this.

Mr Pugh, is an Oxford man and, when he read the modern section of my article, he commented on how interesting it would be to try and compare the developments of the last century or so in the two universities. When we discussed this we agreed that it would be desirable to try and get some comments from an Oxford scholar which might afford the basis for some sort of comparison, however brief. It proved in the end rather difficult to find anyone at Oxford who could do this and, although we did get some advice, it did not seem possible to add anything very significant in the way of such a comparison. Had I tried to look into the Oxford story myself it would have taken up a great deal of time and would further have delayed the progress of the volume. I did not at that time know that Mr V. H. H. Green of Lincoln College was working on his admirable book on Mark Pattison and his circle, *Oxford Common Room*. Had I known this I should have tried to enlist his help, and it might have been possible to add an interesting section to my article. When I was writing this paper I came upon the following extract from G. W. E. Russell's *Half-Lengths*, which struck me a good deal:

Cambridge, probably owing to the character of her special studies, has always tended rather to contemplation than to action. It is not for nothing that Cambridge had her school of Platonists while Oxford was fast bound in misery and iron of Aristotle. It was not without reason that, at the crisis of the stormy forties, Cambridge took Plato for the subject of her prize poem and Oxford took Cromwell. When the religious world in general, and Oxford in particular, was distracted by the controversy about the long-forgotten *Essays and Reviews*, Kingsley thus recorded his observation: 'Cambridge lies in magnificent repose, and, shaking lazy ears, stares at her more nervous sister and asks what it is all about. . . . That is the Cambridge danger—cool indifferentism; not to the doctrines, but to the means of fighting them.' That sentence seems to cut much deeper than the surface of a theological controversy. There are 'doctrines' of vastly greater importance than those promulgated by the Essayists and Reviewers. There are doctrines of ethics and politics—of life and conduct and civil duty—doctrines of the relation between the unseen and the seen—which will always stir Oxford to her depths, and 'the means of fighting', whether for them or against, will never rust for disuse. Cambridge has produced great men: Oxford produces great movements.¹

I have, since writing the *V.C.H.* article, done a little preliminary work on this theme in an article on the universities in *Victorian Studies*.² I tried in this to suggest that after 1880 Oxford was primarily concerned with the public service, with politics and administration, while at Cambridge the place of honour was taken by 'the development of organized science and the promotion of fundamental scientific research'. Such a generalization can be true only in very broad outlines, of course, but it does approach in some ways to Russell's judgment in a book published in 1913. There is room for much more extensive research on the role of the English universities in nineteenth- and twentieth-century society.

Another very important question about which comparatively little is known is the schools and social backgrounds of nineteenth-century undergraduates. The Claren-

¹ G. W. E. Russell, *Half-Lengths* (1913), pp. 240-1.

² 'Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia', *Victorian Studies*, vol. III, no. 2 (December 1959).

don Commission of the 1860's which dealt with the 'public schools', the nine schools to whom that term was originally applied, thought that about one-third of undergraduates at Oxford and one-fifth at Cambridge came from those schools, and of this total three-quarters came from Eton, Harrow and Rugby.¹ A Cambridge tutor, A. H. Wratislaw, wrote in 1850 that the Cambridge colleges were 'more generally filled by the *alumni* of commercial and other inferior or even professedly Mathematical schools, or of Private Tutors too often of very questionable ability and attainments . . .'.² Where did the students come from? I am not sure how easy the information would be to piece together. The entries in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* give schools in many, though not in all, cases. For my own college, Corpus, the admission registers give no help as they record merely the man's name, county and tutor, but there are in the college archives three bound volumes of 'Candidates for Admission 1870-1900' which do give the candidates' schools, and which would settle the question for the period which they cover. Of course it would be a very tedious business to put this information together for all the colleges, but it would throw some interesting light on the backgrounds of Victorian undergraduates [and on the rise and fall of the popularity of colleges].³

Quite a lot of research work on Cambridge has been published since the *V.C.H.* volume went to press. Dr H. C. Porter's book, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (1958), is of great importance for the Reformation era. On the seventeenth century two recent books by American scholars are William T. Costello's *The Scholastic Curriculum of Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge* (1958) and Mark H. Curtis's *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642, An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (1959). Mr W. J. Harrison's *Life in Clare Hall, Cambridge 1658-1713* (1958) is based on the account books of Dr Samuel Blithe, Master of the College. For this century the development of English studies at Cambridge is examined in Dr Tillyard's *The Muse Unchained* (1958). Captain Hilken, Secretary of the Department of Engineering, is working on the history of that Department, a peculiarly important one in the development of modern Cambridge studies; some of the pre-history of the Department, so to speak, has already appeared in articles by him in the *Cambridge Review*.⁴ Among recent historical articles in the *Review* which may be singled out are Dr Robson's sketch of William Whewell and his extracts from the letters of Thomas Whichcote, who came up to Magdalene as a Fellow Commoner in 1719.⁵

¹ *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools*. . . [3288], p. 26 (1864), xx (1).

² *Observations on the Cambridge System partly in reply to, partly suggested by Dr Whewell's Recent Educational Publications* (1850), p. 10.

³ For a recent investigation of this question see Hester Jenkins and D. Caradog Jones, 'Social Class of Cambridge University, Alumni of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 1 (1950).

⁴ T. J. N. Hilken, 'The Ingenious Mr Farish', *Cambridge Rev.* 20 February 1960; 'The Rev. Robert Willis 1800-75', *ibid.* 22 October 1960.

⁵ R. Robson, 'William Whewell', *ibid.* 30 January 1960; 'Magdalene Letters, 1719', *ibid.* 5 March 1960; see also 'A Visit to Cambridge 1822', *ibid.* 11 June 1960.

A copy of an interesting letter in the University Library was sent to me some time ago. It is from Henry Jackson to Maitland (13 November 1905), probably in connexion with Maitland's *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen*, and throws an interesting light on the mood of mid-Victorian Liberal reformers in the university.

Dear Maitland,

Do you want the history of the republican Club?

In the late sixties, probably 1868, the academic Tories carried everything before them by means of a caucus called 'The Constitutional Club'. I went to Hammond and suggested that we shd organize in like manner. He said *no*, pointing out that a close organization would be ruin to reform, as it would frighten away all the moderates who ought to gravitate to our side. His argument completely convinced me (on the other hand, he thought that we wanted a talking Club on the lines of the London 'Century', at which men of different colleges & of all opinions might meet. So the 'Friday Club' was founded, served its purpose of bringing men of different Colleges together, & in two or three years died).

In 1870 Clifford suggested the establishment of a Liberal Club & gathered some of us to make rules. The party included H. Sidgwick, Fawcett, Crotch, Moulton, C. H. Pearson, Sedley Taylor. I don't remember whether the jerry-mandering of University politics was to be the declared purpose of the Club: I think it was. But anyhow it seemed to me that it would be just what I had learnt from Hammond to dread. Moreover I was afraid of the men: Fawcett, at heart a Conservative; Clifford, paradoxer and mountebank; Crotch, an unpractical Bohemian; C. H. Pearson, an Oxonian globe-trotter; Moulton, an unprincipled sophist; Sedley Taylor, the most injudicious of well-meaning men. And they might do a great deal of harm: for the abolition of tests was at hand, and we proposed, with good hope, to attempt large reforms, the moment that the 100 years' conflict (Feathers Tavern 1771, abolition 1871) was over. In a word, I thought that a Liberal Club run by Clifford and Co. would imperil the practical schemes for wholesale reform which I cared about, and I tried to find some speculative siding into which I could shunt the party. Now in 1868 one day at Ischl—I remember well the place,—I had horrified Joe Prior by saying that I was a Republican; & it had seemed to me that people ought to be taught that Republicanism was not obsolete. So I proposed that we should found, not a Liberal Club, but a Republican Club. Sidgwick and Sedley Taylor objected, but were outvoted: and the rest of us proceeded to make the rules, of which I have a copy. Rule 2 is 'Republicanism shall be taken to mean hostility to the hereditary principle as exemplified in monarchical & aristocratic institutions & to all social and political privileges depending upon difference of sex'. Rule 3 is 'The profession of Republican opinions shall be the only qualification for membership'. We were to dine seven times a year, and after dinner there was to be a discussion 'carried on in a conversational manner', & 'referring to some social or political subject'. I think that Sidgwick and Sedley Taylor, having declined to join, remained with us while we framed the rules. Then Sedley Taylor, off his own bat, sent a paragraph to the *Pall Mall*, announcing the establishment of the club, & naming Fawcett and others among the members. The paragraph went the round of the newspapers, & many republican clubs were founded. At least one of Fawcett's constituents wrote to him, & I was afraid that we would have serious trouble in consequence of S. T.'s indiscretion: but Fawcett got out of the difficulty by explaining that, when he called himself a Republican, he decided to mark his 'hostility to the hereditary principle', and no more. We elected Bonser of Clare—Pearson, Moulton, Fawcett, and I gave dinners, probably in 1870-71. I don't remember that anyone else dined us. Most of the four dinners were good: the discussions were so so. I think that after the long vacation of 1871 some of us forgot, & others remembered not to remind their forgetful

neighbours. In December 1870 when Fawcett, fat Ward and I, non placeted the grace to put the Prince Consort's statue into the Senate House, Munro asked me whether the non-placet was a move on the part of the Republican Club. The Club knew nothing about it. Fawcett & I had arranged it the night before, at a Jesus audit feast.

As you are soaked in these old things, this narrative may possibly amuse you. Don't tear it up. I don't believe that I ever before told any one the true inwardness of the situation. I had been frightfully anxious. As it was, things went well. In the summer of 1870 Trotter & I took copies of the College statutes away with us: & when we returned in October, compared notes, drew up a provisional scheme, & got a Committee appointed to investigate the tenure of fellowships. In 1871, I think, came the demand for reforms formulated under four heads. Excuse this anecdotage.

Yours very truly,

Henry Jackson.¹

It is much more difficult to comment generally on the colleges than on either the city or the university, since each college history forms a separate story complete in itself. Pride of place may be given to Mr Saltmarsh's article on King's which deals very fully both with the foundation and the building of the chapel, and with the nineteenth-century reforms which modified the ancient ties with Eton and ended the privilege of taking the B.A. degree without examination, the origin of which Mr Saltmarsh thinks cannot be determined. The story of the reforms and of the creation of a new King's is very important and interesting, and has not been so clearly worked out before. It may be added, of course, that this article is considerably longer than the other college articles. Mr Bezodis's article on Trinity is the only complete account of the history of the college other than Dr G. M. Trevelyan's brief sketch. Mr Miller's article on St John's has been praised in the *English Historical Review* for 'the sense of momentum and humanity it brings to the standard-pattern article'.² It also includes a very useful section on college endowments based on Sir H. F. Howard's book on the finances of the college. There is room for much more research on the financial history of corporate bodies. Mr Crawley's article on Trinity Hall brings out the connexion of the college with the civil law and its association with Doctors' Commons where the college long controlled the allotment of rooms. Conflicts of opinion, political or religious, are reflected here too; in a collegiate university they are often most vigorous and most profound at the domestic level. Emmanuel was the great stronghold of Puritanism in early Stuart days, as St John's and Christ's had been under Elizabeth. John Caius, master of the college which bears his name, and his successor, Thomas Legge, were, on the other hand, strongly conservative in sentiment. 'Of those who were at the College during the first fifteen years of Legge's rule', wrote Mr Grierson, 'four were afterwards executed by the government for their religious views, and a fifth for complicity in Babington's plot; seven became members of the Society of Jesus, seven others, besides those executed, seminary priests, and over 20 of the remainder suffered by way of fine or imprisonment for

¹ Cambridge University Library, Add. 4251 (13) 713. (I owe this reference to Mr George Clark.)

² *English Historical Rev.* vol. LXXV (1960), p. 682.

their religion.¹ These few examples are taken almost at random from different colleges and from different centuries. All the college articles contain much of interest and value. It is a pity that it was not possible to design them all on a more generous scale, but to have done so would have made an already large volume impossibly bulky. Had I another chance of editing the volume I think I might have asked authors of college articles to include a brief account of the main documents in their college archives, on similar lines to the short article on the University Archives. It would be very valuable to have this information about college records collected in one place.

The illustrations form an important section of the book, and I was primarily responsible for the form which they took, though the detailed work of arranging reproductions, designing plans, and the choice of some of the plates was in the hands of the *V.C.H.* architect, Mrs Tomlinson. I wrote to the General Editor on 28 June 1956 raising some of the points which seemed to me important in making our choice. First of all I wanted a 'detailed plan of the scientific area and laboratories, which have been so important in modern Cambridge and about which there will be a lot in my article'. Secondly, I raised the question of whether there should be illustrations showing the more informal side of university life, including possibly 'a group of early Girtonians or Newnhamites, and a group of the first New Hall girls'. Finally I wrote:

I imagine that you will agree that we should avoid on the whole well-known views and prints, such as many of the Ackermans and Loggans are. I think that in the Oxford volume nearly all, if not all, the Loggans are reproduced. On the other hand we ought, I think, to reproduce Loggans and Ackermans if they show buildings which have now disappeared like the old court of King's or the old chapel of St Johns', or which have been refaced and totally altered since the prints were made. Some designs which were never used would also be interesting, like the Rickman design, which I mentioned to you, for a Gothic Fitzwilliam Museum rather on the lines of Fonthill.

On the whole, the final list did correspond roughly to these initial ideas. We found an abundance of material in the University Library and the Fitzwilliam Museum and in other public collections; we were able to use a number of old photographs; and we were able to include a few unusual items, such as a rare Rowlandson print of the old court of King's, which were kindly lent by private individuals. In selecting illustrations of the city Miss Cam gave valuable help.

I feel myself that we did produce a varied and unusual collection. Where it would have been impossible and undesirable to exclude a well-known building, we generally found some rather unusual representation of it; for instance, an unfamiliar eighteenth-century engraving of the Great Court of Trinity and a modern photograph of the floodlit interior of King's College Chapel. I should particularly like to emphasize the plans. We included a plan of the castle drawn by Miss Cam, a series of plans showing the growth of the central area 1340-1948, taken from the *Cambridge Planning*

¹ *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 360.

Proposals (1950), and a plan of Cambridge in 1958 showing the more important institutions in the city area which lie too far from the centre to appear on a larger scale map of the old town. A particular brainchild of my own was the historical plan of the science area on the New Museum and Downing Sites, showing the buildings in 1865, 1922 and 1950. This appeared to me to be particularly important both because of the great importance of science in modern Cambridge and because I had devoted much space in my article to noting the construction of new laboratories. The idea came from a plan of the science area in the Oxford volume though this is simply a modern plan giving no dates. Most fortunately we were largely spared from the great labour of constructing a historical plan through the fortunate discovery that the Financial Board had a set of historical plans of the science area going up to 1936 and made by Dr G. S. Graham-Smith, which could be supplemented by the more modern plans of the Department of Estate Management. The science-area plan is certainly a very useful supplement to the university article, and a very valuable thing in itself.

On the whole the reviewers of the volume were very kind and all the contributors may think themselves fortunate as a result. One contributor to the volume said to me soon after it came out: 'Well, you have said a lot about the sufferings of the Church during the Civil War. What about Black Bartholomew?' In fact, 'Black Bartholomew', the day when, by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, those clergy who would not accept the Anglican formularies were dispossessed of their livings, hardly appears at all! I had thought very little about it, which perhaps illustrates how easy it is to take sides without consciously considering the matter. One or two reviewers picked on a thought which I used in discussing the Victorian Conservatives. I said that academic history must not be written as if the Liberals were always right, and that the anti-reformers remembered a truth which their opponents often forgot, 'that a university flourishes because of the springs of life within itself and not because of paper constitutions imposed upon it by outside authority'.¹ This point seems to me to be very important, and I hope that the idea gave some coherence to the history of the university of Cambridge. The whole book is so large and complex that there must inevitably be disharmonies and faults in arrangement; at least for myself I am very glad that I had a hand in making it.

¹ *V.C.H. Cambs*, vol. III, p. 265.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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