

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXVII

1977

IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

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ACCOUNTS OF SAINT KATHERINE'S GUILD AT HOLY TRINITY
CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE: 1514-1537. [1]

MARY SIRAUT

MUCH has been written on the medieval guilds of the borough of Cambridge, for which considerable material survives. Less attention, however has been paid to the guilds in the sixteenth century probably because information on their history in this period is harder to come by. The history of the Cambridge fraternities dates back to the thegn guild of the eleventh century for which a remarkable set of statutes exists. The guilds in the town were never very strong and played little direct part in its commercial life, partly owing to the University's supervision of fairs and markets. Very few could hope to match the achievements of the guilds of St Mary and Corpus Christi who joined together in founding a college of the same name, or the twelfth-century guild of the Holy Sepulchre which was responsible for building the Round Church. The Cambridge guilds appear to have been of the social-religious type, providing help for needy brethren, living and dead, and the fraternities of the parish of Holy Trinity are no exception. Only the guild of the Holy Trinity and the guild of the Assumption possess surviving returns of 1389 but we know from other sources of the existence in the early sixteenth century of guilds dedicated to St Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, St Clement, St George and St Katherine.

St Katherine appears to have been a popular guild patron, for there are no fewer than five guilds of St Katherine in the borough of Cambridge, twelve in nearby Northamptonshire and many elsewhere. The interesting preamble to the 1389 return for the guild of St Katherine in St Andrew's parish, having referred to the conveyance of the saint's body by angels to Mt Sinai and her miraculous conversion of fifty orators, declares that 'the bretheren are obliged to omit any account of other miracles because of their vast number.' An image of the saint was revered in Holy Trinity church somewhere near Our Lady's altar. The wills of Thomas Rede, 1504, Agnes Rede, 1521, Robert Robinson, 1529, and Agnes Chapman, 1536, all contain requests to be buried before the image of St Katherine in Holy Trinity church. Thomas Rede, a doctor of medicine, was a benefactor of the Cambridge guilds making bequests of 20s. to St Ursula's and 6s. 8d. each to St Katherine's and St George's at Holy Trinity, also 3s. 4d. each to St Thomas's and St Augustine's in the town. The Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts for 1504-5 record the sum of 6s. 8d. paid for 'hys [Rede's] sepulchre yn ye cherche before seynt Cateryn.' Later his widow Agnes Rede in her will of 1521 asked to be buried before St Katherine

between Our Lady's altar and her husband's grave and also bequeathed 3.s 4d. to the guilds of St Katherine and St George. Thomas Pecoke, guild alderman in 1534, left two torches each to the same guilds. ²

Apart from references in wills and in the Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts, which record annual payments of between 4d. and 6d. for lights for the guild dirge, little is known of St Katherine's guild before the accounts begin in 1514. The guild accounts, covering the period 1514 to 1537, are to be found among the parish records of Holy Trinity church, Cambridge. The survival of guild documents among parish records is rare and this is a unique instance in Cambridge. Written on paper as two separate books, the second part being slightly smaller and of different paper to the first, these accounts are bound in parchment, possibly an old deed, and are virtually complete except for the year 1534 which has been cut out, and some gaps in the general expenses. The main account is in Latin from 1514 to 1520, but after this date it is written in both Latin and English, the general expenses being entirely in English. The accounts fall into two parts, the formal account, dealing mainly with loans and the election of officers, and the detailed accounts of expenditure on dinners and obits, entered at the end of the first section, which survive only for the years 1514-16, 1518-20, 1522 and 1526. The earliest accounts are the most detailed being entered under a standard heading, which (with the exception of the year 1529) is always in Latin and takes the following form 'the account of A.B. and C.D. masters of the guild of St Katherine the virgin in the church of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge in the year of the reign of King Henry the eighth N. made the Sunday next after the feast of St Katherine the year abovesaid.' Below this come the details of the election, receipts into the guild stock, admissions of new members, monies due to the guild and old debts. The accounts take this form until 1521 when the details of receipts and debts are summarised and the annual account becomes much shorter.

It is not known where the guild held its meetings. St Katherine's guild at Barnwell Priory had a house in Barnwell Street consisting of a hall, two chambers, a garret, a kitchen and a rye chamber. ³ Some guild brethren left household goods for the use of their fraternities but there is no evidence that the guild of St Katherine at Holy Trinity had property of this kind. It is probable that they met at the church, adjourning to a tavern for dinner. At these annual meetings the officers of the guild were elected each year by the usual complex process favoured by Medieval corporations and the accounts were audited. The alderman and the two masters each chose one elector who in his turn chose a further elector. These six then elected the guild officers for the following year. Despite this process, or perhaps because of it, the same names appear in office year after year. Thomas Pelles was alderman from 1514 to 1523 and during the same period the councillors and masters changed very infrequently. John Thirleby was clerk of the guild from the beginning of the accounts in 1514

until 1530 and John Alcetir was beadle until 1522. In the later period of the accounts such prolonged tenure of office was rare.

The chief officer was the alderman, a man of some importance; Thomas Pelles is described as 'doctor of laws', Robert Harvey, clerk and Thomas Pecoke are called 'master' and many held high office in the town including that of Mayor. The alderman appears to have had the final word in disputes and to have supervised the distribution of money. The exact nature of the office of councillor, of whom there were usually two, is uncertain as they do not appear in the accounts. This office was also filled by men who described themselves as 'magister' and many of them had been or were to become, aldermen of the guild. In the years 1531 and 1534-36 four councillors were elected and in 1537 there were three: unfortunately no reason for this is apparent from the accounts. The two masters of the guild seem to have been chosen from among slightly less exalted persons including two shoemakers, Edward Harrison from 1515 to 1519 and John Clerk in 1522 but many holders of this office were also substantial burgesses. The masters were responsible for drawing up the accounts and for making payments such as those to the churchwardens for lights.

The duties of the clerk were presumably not very onerous as the holder of this office from 1514 to 1530 was John Thirleby, town clerk and treasurer of Cambridge, who also enjoyed various positions in Great St Mary's church. It appears that the clerk drew an annual fee of between 4d. and 12d., but unfortunately the accounts do not always distinguish between the clerk of the guild and the clerk of the parish who also received small sums from the brethren. The duties of the beadle were probably as varied as they were in other guilds including attendance at obits. The only reference to him in the accounts, apart from his election, is his receipt of a fee of 8d. The relatively light burden of duties on these officials, the guild having no property to maintain or craft function to perform, enabled many of them to hold similar positions elsewhere. A number of them were prominent in the life of Great St Mary's church holding offices such as keeper of the various lights and churchwarden.⁴ In the church of Holy Trinity itself the guildsmen held similar positions. Some of the officials of the guild lived outside the parish altogether and were buried elsewhere: the obits of Hugh Chapman and John Thirleby were kept at Great St Mary's.

Although the accounts themselves give very little information on the individual officers there are fortunately a number of other surviving documents which tell us a great deal about the men who governed St Katherine's guild. The town clerk John Thirleby has already been mentioned, he appears frequently in the town records and in the churchwardens' accounts of both Holy Trinity and Great St Mary's where he acted as auditor. In 1522 he took to London a petition for relief of part of the town's quota of archers and in 1529 was again

in the capital, this time to deliver the Duke of Norfolk's appointment as High Steward of Cambridge.⁵ In 1512 he is described as a scrivener with profits assessed at between 40s. and £10, goods valued at between £10 and £20 and copyhold property worth 20s. per annum.⁶ He was buried in Great St Mary's, his dirge being kept in the same church from 1540 to 1547.⁷ The first alderman of the guild to appear in these accounts, Dr Thomas Pelles, clerk, is probably the Thomas Pellys or Pells, Prior of Hoxne, Suffolk who was admitted LL.D. in Cambridge in 1514 and in the following year became Chancellor of the diocese of Ely.⁸ Pellys resigned this post in 1525 and left Cambridge in 1526, the same year in which Dr Thomas Pelles disappears from the guild accounts. His successor was Richard Rolfe who had been a councillor of the guild and churchwarden of Holy Trinity church. Rolfe, a fishmonger, was obviously a man of substance employing five servants in 1512.⁹ In 1525 he became Mayor of Cambridge, in which office he became involved in a dispute with Corpus Christi College. The college had been in the custom of inviting the Mayor to dine on the feast of Corpus Christi but Rolfe demanded his invitation as of right. No justification for this claim could be found and the Mayor was never invited to dinner at the college again.¹⁰ In 1527 the alderman was George Foyster, a former councillor of the guild and a wealthy burgess with lands worth up to £20 per annum in 1512, together with property in Preacher's ward which he rented from St Benet's College and Holy Trinity parish.¹¹ He was Mayor of Cambridge in 1523 but his period of office was not a happy one. He was excommunicated by the university because he failed to attend the assize of bread and ale, an offence for which he was made to do penance in the chapel of the Augustinian Canons. In his will dated, 1539, he asked to be buried in Holy Trinity parish and among various bequests he left a riding coat to William Robinson, a fellow guildsman. Another prominent townsman to hold office in the guild was John Ray, a wealthy citizen.¹² A John Ray was treasurer of Cambridge in 1490 and Burgess in Parliament in 1503 but as John Ray the guildsman is described as the younger, the burgess may have been his father whose burial is recorded in 1513 in the churchwarden's accounts of Great St Mary's. The Mayor Christofer Franke was also an alderman of the guild. He was a man of some importance, being described as a tailor with four servants in 1512. He was made a freeman in 1519, and in 1524 was assessed at £18 in Market ward where he had a tenement on the north corner of the Market, for which he paid four shillings quit rent annually to Holy Trinity church. He became Mayor in 1539 and again in 1551 when he was forced by Protector Somerset to take the oath to conserve the privileges of the University. In his will, dated 1558, he left three booths in Sturbridge Fair to the corporation to provide for obits for himself and John Goodwin, a fellow guildsman and town bailiff.¹³ Among other important guild aldermen were Thomas Pecoche and Thomas Bracebrigg. The former was a brewer and father of Thomas Peacock,

President of Queens' College, who left 20s. in his will to the use of the poor of Holy Trinity parish, the amount to be a rent-charge on the Crane in Cordwainer Row [Market St]. Thomas Bracebrigg, one of the University beadles, is described as a barber and was employing four servants in 1512.¹⁴

Among some of the more notable councillors of the guild during these years were no fewer than six Mayors of Cambridge. John Crakynghorpe, an Alderman of some standing, his moveables alone being worth over £100 in 1512, had been Mayor in 1506 and 1507 and also held office as Bailiff, Justice of the Peace and Commissioner for Gaol Delivery. In his will, dated 1526, he left 5s. to the guild.¹⁵ Crakynghorpe's successor as Mayor of Cambridge in 1508 was Hugh Chapman who held office again in 1513 and also served as councillor of the guild. He held a multiplicity of offices and became a wealthy man with considerable property including a shop at the corner of the Tolbooth. When he died in 1520 he left £10 for repairing the highways about Cambridge, the same amount towards building a south aisle in Holy Trinity church and £4 8s. for repairs in Great St Mary's, to which church he had already given money for stools in 1518. He directed that his obit should be observed for twenty years in Holy Trinity.¹⁶ William Barber was Mayor of Cambridge three times, in 1513, 1518 and 1519, having previously represented the town in Parliament in 1503. Like his fellow councillor, John Crakynghorpe, he held office as Bailiff, J.P. and Commissioner for Gaol Delivery, and also acted as arbitrator in a dispute between the town and the Priory of Barnwell over fishing rights in Barnwell Pool. He was a wealthy goldsmith, his lands were worth over £20 per annum and he kept six servants in his house, a new one in Walls Lane [King St/Hobson St] near the King's Ditch.¹⁷

The masters of the guild were chosen from a wider cross-section of the community. David Ryveley, guild master for six years, is described as a cook in the Poll tax of 1512, and among his fellow masters were Edmund Harrison, shoemaker and James Senewes, a prosperous brewer in Preacher's ward.¹⁸ A later master, Thomas Alofte, described as a fishmonger in 1512, held civic office including that of treasurer in 1525 and auditor in 1538. John Alcetir, beadle of the guild until 1522, was a capper in Market ward and of humbler status than most of his colleagues. He was paid 8d. annually by the churchwardens of Great St Mary's for scouring their candlesticks and was also responsible for setting up and taking down the sepulchre and the hyrst [herse] in the same church.

In common with the practice of most guilds, St Katherine's had a stock from which the activities of the guild were financed. The income of the guild appears to have been derived mainly from admission fees, interest on loans and members' subscriptions. Apart from the general expenses of the guild, accounted for separately, payments out of the stock were mainly in the form of loans at

interest. These loans were made to members of the guild on the surety of other members; occasionally two sureties seem to have been required for a loan but normally one was sufficient. It seems to have been common practice for two brethren requiring a loan to stand surety for each other and also for the same person to stand surety for more than one borrower. The amount of the loan was usually ten shillings though officers of the guild appear to have been able to borrow up to twenty shillings or more, the annual sum of these disbursements being in the region of £7-8. These sums were repaid the following year with interest at the rate of one penny in every shilling, the masters of the guild apparently paying a lower rate. The interest thus received was commonly paid to a brother or sister in need, as in 1521 when it was decreed by the alderman that 'it shalbe applied to the relief of Margaret Burwell by the alderman of the gylde every weke iid.' Sometimes the money was devoted to other purposes, as in 1523 when it was directed that 'the intrass money viis. ys delivered to Cristofer Franke and Roger Chaunles towards the reparacions of the Torchis'. Unlike St George's guild in the same parish, St Katherine's rarely gave any of its income to the church but in 1520 the residue of the interest money was 'to be applied to the use of the cherche'.¹⁹ The gift is recorded in the Holy Trinity churchwardens accounts, 'receyved . . . of the maister and bretheren of seint Kateryn gylde towards the same newe organs xiis.' The church had recently purchased 'a peyer of new organs' at a cost of nine pounds. This gift is unique in these accounts, perhaps because the guild had difficulty in finding surplus funds for such purposes. The annual income of the guild seems rarely to have exceeded 60s., excluding loan repayments, but the total income is difficult to determine as the accounts differ in detail, are variously totalled and some years are not totalled at all. From 1521 the income of the guild is not recorded, apart from the sum of the interest received on loans. The list of debts each year, some very old indeed, was often quite considerable and in the later accounts provision was made for debts to be repaid on a weekly basis or even to be remitted altogether.

The total membership of the guild is uncertain and any figure can only be tentative. The money collected from members is recorded in the first seven accounts where the total received from this source varied from 19s. 1d. to 29s. 11d. If one calculates on the basis of an average receipt from subscriptions of twenty five shillings per annum and a fee of 2d. or 3d., the usual fee in other guilds and the amount sometimes entered in the accounts as received 'pro pensionibus', the membership must have been between one hundred and one hundred and twenty persons. Membership of the guild was open to men and women, laity and clergy, burgesses and artisans, town and university. The admission fee was 2s. for a man, 6d. for a women, though it appears that many were admitted to the guild without paying the fee immediately, on the surety of a guild member. In the earlier period of the accounts there was an average

entry of six new members each year. Later, however, admissions are not always entered, but as these accounts are scanty in other respects it is probable that the influx of new members was fairly constant. Among those admitted in 1518 were two clerics including the vicar, John Glaundeville, two women, a tailor and a scrivener. Unlike certain other sixteenth century guilds, the admission fee was not so exorbitant as to exclude the less wealthy but those who aspired to be officers in the guild were probably prosperous citizens seeking social distinction rather than the service of their less fortunate brethren.

One of the main objects of the guild was to aid the souls of deceased members of the fraternity by means of obits. These obits, or dirges as they are sometimes called, were religious celebrations held on the anniversary of death. Usually performed at the expense of the deceased, it was customary before the Reformation to leave a sum of money in one's will to provide for obits, often for a period of twenty years. If no such provision had been made relatives would donate money to the church for the purpose or if the deceased had been a member of a guild an obit would be financed out of the common fund. The service was held in church, often with a procession and commemorative sermon if the deceased was of some importance, followed by a meal with a distribution of alms to the poor. Bequests in money or in kind were often made to guilds for the provision of obits, especially torches and candles, wax being a heavy item of expenditure. Such bequests were frequently in the form of rent charges on property commonly known as 'candle-rents'. Most of these funds were confiscated by act of Parliament in 1547 as it was held by the Reformers that the Medieval belief in Purgatory was a superstition which should not be encouraged. Obits were no small expense, the alderman frequently assigned ten shillings 'to the reparacions of the Torches of the guyde.'²⁰ The accounts for general guild expenses show that obits for individual member cost 1s. 3d. or 2s. 6d. and in 1519 no less than seven such obits were recorded at a total cost of 13s. 9d., about one quarter of the guild's average income. St Katherine's guild held a general dirge for all deceased members in Lent when the alderman was allowed a penny from his offering and the clerk of the church received fourpence for 'ringing'. Refreshment on these occasions was given in the form of bread and ale to the value of eighteen pence. The guild had its own torches, lights 'about the herst' being provided by the church at a charge of six pence paid annually to the churchwardens. The fraternity also possessed its own candlesticks, scoured annually at a cost of two pence, which probably stood before the image of St Katherine in Holy Trinity church and held 'the lyght byfore Seynt Katherine all the yer'. The light cost 3s. 9½d. in 1514 and 7s. 2d. in 1520. There was also a banner which would have been carried in procession or hung in the church. Richard Rolfe held 15s. 7d. with which to buy a banner for the guild from 1515 until 1520 when it was finally recorded that he had paid for it, and

later in 1548 an inventory among the churchwardens' accounts includes the item, 'a crosse crosse' [cross cloth/banner] 'of greene sylke with thymage of Katheryn'.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the manuscript is that detailing the general expenses of the guild and it is disappointing to find that these accounts exist for only eight years between 1515 and 1526. They are recorded separately at the end of the first book and in the main account only the total sum disbursed is given, 'tam in onere Jantli' quam in aliis oneribus Gilde ut prius scriptum in fine huius libri'. In 1515 and 1516 the two masters accounted separately for the expenses each had incurred on behalf of the guild, which might explain the fact that the total sum spent was much higher than usual, 50s. 3d. in 1516 as compared with 30s. 11d. in 1514, the average sum expended annually being about 35s. Some of the items are grouped under headings such as 'the dyner' which enables one to distinguish between the various occasions on which expenses were incurred. Besides the Lenten dirge, obits and officers' fees already mentioned, there are payments for a dinner, a supper, a celebration on St Katherine's night and various miscellaneous items including 13s. 'to modir lynsey in almesse' in 1516 and one penny 'for the holly watter clerk' in 1520.²² The 'drynkyng upon seint Kateryn's night' was a fairly simple affair when bread, cheese and ale were provided at a cost of six pence. Fire the same night cost one penny and a fee of two pence was paid to the clerk. The guild dinners were more costly affairs and the individual items are listed in detail. On these occasions the clerk and beadle of the guild probably received their fees, twelve and eight pence respectively in 1526. There were also wages to be paid to the cook, between twenty pence and two shillings, except in 1517 when he only received ten pence because there was also the 'labor of David', presumably David Ryveley, master of the guild that year and a cook by profession. There were also 'the torners [turnspits?] and dysshewasshers' who cost the guild four pence. Payments of three or four pence were made to the clerk of the church for fire and a further two pence for heating the oven, in addition to purchases of wood, coal and sedge, while candles at supper could cost between one penny and two shillings. The total sum expended on the feasting in 1516 was about 28s., accounted for as follows;

"Item for brede for the dinner	iid.
Item in ale for the dinner	iiis. iid.
Item for motton pyes	xxiid.
Item for suet for the same	iiid.
Item for flower	xiiid.
Item in pepir	viid.
Item in great Reaysons [raisons]	viid.
Item in covis [cloves] & maces	iid.
Item in saffron	iiid.

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I	
Item in salte	id.
Item in butter	iid.
Item in a legge of bief for potage	iiid.
Item in conyes	iis. viiid.
Item in fagettes and charcolles	xiiiid.
Item for ii rakkess of motton	iiiid.
Item for veynson for the ingrediences to bake it	iis. iiiid.
Item for candell	iis.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for Dokes [ducks]	iiiis.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for colys [coals]	vd.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item for the Coke's wages	iis."

In 1518 the dinner cost considerably less, about 19s.;

"the dyner

Item in brede	xvid.
Item for flower	iiiid.
Item for fyer	xvid.
Item for candell	iid.
Item for motton and suet for pies	xviiiid.
Item for spices	xxd.
Item for pigges	iiiid.
Item for conyes	iis. i d.
Item motton for soper	iiiid.
Item for milke and whete [23]	vid.
Item for Egges, milke & mary [rosemary?]	xiid.
Item for sugar	iiiid.
Item for ale	iis. viiid.
Item for the cooke's fee besides the labor of David	xd.
iid.	
Item the bedell & scoryng of the candelstykes	xd.
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
Item to the torner & dyshewasher	iiiid."

By 1526, the last account we have of a guild dinner, about 25s. was spent;

First in Bredde	iis.
Item in good ale ii barelles	iiiis.
Item in iiiii pigges	xxid. ob.
Item in vi giesse	iis. xid.
Item in motton & bief	iis. viiid.
Item in porke for soper	vid.
Item for viii Couple Conyes	iiiis.
Item for flower for pyes etc.	xid.
Item for chese	iiiis.

Item in spice				iiis. iiiid.
	id.	id.	id.	
Item in sauces mustard, alegar [24], salte				iiiiid.
Item in butter				iiid.
Item in Whete				iid.
Item in milke				iiiiid.
Item to the clerk of the Gilde for his fee				xii.
Item to the bedell of the guylde				viiiid.
Item to the Cooke				xviiid.
Item to the torners & disshewashers				iiiiid.
Item for Woode & Cole & Segge				ii. iiiid.
Item for the Candell att Soper and for the Clerke of the Cherche & for fuyer				vid."

The other dinners follow a similar pattern though in 1519 the menu included ten mallard and two teal and in 1520 the brethren ate two dozen larks which cost five pence. Another delicacy consumed by the guild was 'humbles', the offal of deer from which humble pie was made.²⁵ Vegetables and fruit do not appear in the accounts, the former not being in common use until the end of Henry VIII's reign, although in 1519 there is a reference to 'oyneons' which cost one penny. Spice at twenty pence was a costly item whilst a leg of beef at three pence was comparatively cheap. Pies seem to have been very popular especially for supper and in 1522 the guild used one bushel of flour at a cost of eight pence. The ale consumed was of two types, 'good' ale at 1s. 6d. the barrel and 'hostel' ale at about 2s., the latter as its name suggests was public house ale, equivalent to the modern mild. Wine is not mentioned.

The accounts end abruptly in 1537 and the last entries are badly written. The guild may have been in decline at this time although admissions are still recorded, or the accounts may have been entered elsewhere and subsequently lost like the earlier accounts. As the chantry certificates for Cambridge do not survive we have no details of the fraternity on the even of the Suppression and there is always the possibility that the guild of St Katherine had disappeared before 1547. During the period covered by these accounts there was already controversy over belief in Purgatory and the effectiveness of masses for the dead. The dissolution of the monasteries must have alarmed all religious organizations especially those with property to lose and the decade from 1537 to 1547 was a time of uncertainty for the guilds. In 1545 an act was passed conveying to the King the property of all 'colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and stipendiary priests'. [37 H.VIII c.4] Henry died before the provisions of the act could be implemented but in 1547 the new Protestant government took the final step in the 'Act whereby certain chantries, colleges and free chapels and the possessions of the same be given to the king's Majesty,' [1 E.VI c. 14] and the guilds disappeared.

ACCOUNTS OF SAINT KATHERINE'S GUILD AT HOLY TRINITY 121
CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE, 1514-1537

NOTES

1. This document is to be found among the parish records of Holy Trinity church at the County Record Office, Cambridge (P.22/5/15) and the writer wishes to thank the Vicar of Holy Trinity for kindly giving permission for the MS. to be used in this paper.
2. Vice-Chancellor's Court, Register of wills, vol. 1; Archdeaconry of Ely, Register of wills, vol. 1.
3. Atkinson, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*.
4. John Thirleby was churchwarden in 1516 and from 1521 to 1522. Great Saint Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts vol. 1 C.R.O. (P.30/5/1).
5. He had bought his freedom for 20s. in 1498 and first appears as town clerk in 1510 and treasurer in 1519. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 1.
6. Poll Tax 1512, Palmer, *Cambridge Borough Documents*.
7. Archdeaconry Wills vol. 1. Great St Mary's Ch. Acc.
8. C. H. & T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigiensis*.
9. Poll Tax 1512.
10. A. Gray, *Biographical Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge*.
11. Holy Trinity Churchwardens Accounts (P.22/5/1).
12. His property was valued at between £40 and £100 in the Poll Tax of 1512.
13. Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge* vol. III. p. 381.
14. Holy Trinity Ch. Acc. Poll Tax 1512.
15. Palmer, *op. cit.* P.C.C. Wills, Porch 12.
16. Cooper, *Memorials* vol. III. p. 380.
17. Palmer, *op. cit.*
18. He employed three servants and one apprentice, and his moveables were valued at £10 to £20 in 1512.
19. St George's guild gave not only 5s. towards the buying of a fertor [bier] but also regularly paid over to the church the profits from the votive lights before St George.
20. Torches were originally made of twisted wax-'intorticia'. By this period, however, they were a form of coarse taper containing resin and used mainly for escorting corpses to and from church.
21. A frame for candles usually erected over the coffin at funerals.
22. The nature of this office is uncertain, possibly the parish clerk responsible for the holy water stoup etc.
23. Probably for frumenty-hulled wheat boiled in milk and flavoured with spices and sugar.
24. A cheap substitute for vinegar made from sour ale. 'Alegar is to ale what vinegar is to wine'. O.E.D.
25. Also called umbles or numbles. O.E.D.



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