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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

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Contents

Cambridge Castle Ditch Tim Malim & Alison Taylor	1
Hawkers and Falconers along the Ouse: A Geographic Principle of Location in some Serjeanty and Related Holdings Virginia Darrow Oggins & Robin S. Oggins	7
Wisbech Barton's Farm Buildings in 1412/13 David Sherlock	21
Royal Visits to Cambridge: Henry VI to Henry VIII Graham Chainey	30
King's College Chapel Delineated Graham Chainey	38
A Relict Garden at Linton, Cambridgeshire A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor	62
John Chapman's Maps of Newmarket C.P. Lewis	68
Archaeological Excavations at Godmanchester (A14/A604 Junction) Gerald A. Wait	79
King's College Chapel: Additions to the Side-Chapel Glass 1991 Hilary Wayment	97
Field-work in Cambridgeshire: November 1990 – June 1991 Alison Taylor	119
<i>Index</i>	123

Royal Visits to Cambridge: Henry VI to Henry VIII

Graham Chainey

Henry VI

- 1441 1–3 April. According to some Latin verses preserved at King's College, the king laid the foundation stone of the original foundation of King's on 2 April (Passion Sunday), 'kneeling on his knee', in the right or southern turret of the gate opposite Clare Hall.¹
- 1444 29 September. Cancelled visit. A letter from the king to the abbot of Bury St Edmunds dated Eltham, 17 September (year not given; but Henry is known to have been at Eltham on 17 September 1444) says he had 'ordained the first stone of our chapel [at King's] to be laid, with God's mercy, on Michaelmas Day next coming. At the which, for the great devotion and desire we have that it should be devoutly and solemnly done, we had disposed us to be there in our own person. Nevertheless, for the air and the pestilence that hath long reigned in our said university, we come not there at this time, but send thither our cousin the Marquis of Suffolk, which shall in all things do for us in our name, as we were there present in our own person.' The abbot, together with the bishops of Norwich, Worcester and Rochester and the abbot of St Benet, were commanded to attend. This probably related to the foundation stone for the college's original temporary chapel.²
- 1445 12–20 October. The king stayed at King's Hall, where 20s was paid in expenses about his retinue, 6s 8d on his servants, and 3s 4d on the servants of his 'armiger' during two weeks.³ King's Hall possessed special 'chambers sufficiently numerous, a parlour, a wine-cellar, and a kitchen, newly built and all lying apart, so as to be private to the king without inconvenience to the college',⁴ originally built for his attendance at a parliament (probably in 1436) that was convened in Cambridge but in the event held elsewhere. It is very likely that the original chapel of King's, begun in 1444, was consecrated on 17 October.⁵
- 1446 25–6 July. According to some Latin verses preserved at King's College, the king laid the foundation stone of the present chapel on 25 July (St James' Day) in the presence of his bishops.⁶ (In 1449 he spoke of having 'recently laid [the stone] with our own hands').⁷ He went on to Walsingham. Just before the visit, on

¹ R. Willis & J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1886) I: 321–2. There is an itinerary of the reign of Henry VI in Bertram Wolfe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981).

² C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1850) I: 199 (under year 1447); John Saltmarsh in *Victoria County History: Cambridgeshire* (1959) III: 378n.

³ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, II: 447n.

⁴ John Caius, *Historia Cantabrigienstis Academiae* (1574), quoted by Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, II: 448.

⁵ The King's College kitchen accounts show that this date was annually celebrated as the 'festus dedicacionis ecclesie' during the chapel's existence, and even for some years after its demolition in 1536.

⁶ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, I: 465.

⁷ *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (1783) V: 164.

- 20 July, he had made a grant of land to one William Lee on condition of fealty 'and the service of holding the king's stirrup whenever the king mount horse in the college of St Mary and St Nicholas, Cambridge'.⁸
- 1447 7–8 February. On his way to Bury St Edmunds (where parliament met) and Walsingham. At King's Hall, 8d was spent on rushes in the hall.⁹
- 1448 11–14 March. On his way back.
- 8–9 June. On his way to Walsingham.
- 22 June–1 July. On his way back.
- 7–9 September. On his way to York, Durham.
- 26–9 October. On his way back. At King's Hall, expenses of 9s about the king's servants 'in tempore adventus sui' may refer to this visit or to the next.¹⁰
- 1449 21–5 August. On his way to Ely, Walsingham and Norwich.
- 1452 1–3 November. From Peterborough. At King's Hall, 20d spent 'in adventu regis'.¹¹
- 1460 28–31 March. On his way to Peterborough and Leicester. Proctors' accounts: payment of 8d to the crossbearer 'erga tempus adventus domini regis'.¹²

Edward IV

- 1462 2–3 March. On his way to Peterborough, Lincoln and Leicester. The king attended the assizes, congratulating the judge, William Yelverton, 'for cause he declared so well the charge of extortions done by sheriffs and other officers, for the which declaration the king took him by the hand and said he owed him great thanks'.¹³ Proctors' accounts: 4d for bearing the cross at the king's coming, 8s 4d for the expenses of the chancellor and proctors after the king's departure.¹⁴
- 1464 March. A letter dated March (year not given) records that 'the king lay

at Cambridge yesternight' on his way to Sandwich (therefore not the 1462 visit).¹⁵ Proctors' accounts record payment of 6d for carrying the cross before the king when he came to Cambridge.¹⁶

- 1468 Date uncertain. Visit by Queen Elizabeth Woodville. Proctors' accounts: 12d spent on expenses 'factis in adventu domine Regine'.¹⁷
- 1476 Date uncertain. At King's Hall, 8d spent on rushes in the hall 'erga adventum regis'.¹⁸
- 1482 26 May–2 June (Whitsun).¹⁹ The king dined at King's College and attended mass in the old chapel, where a 'closet' was erected for him by Martin Prentice and other carpenters at a cost of 33s; rushes 'erga adventum Domini Regis mense Maii' cost 6s 9d.²⁰ Letters patent dated Cambridge 31 May.²¹

Richard III

- 1483 October. Proctors' accounts: 2s paid for carrying the cross at King Richard's coming. 10d spent on repairs to the Schools.²² King's College: wine sent to the king at Babraham, 8 October; payment to the king's messenger, 21 October; payment to the king's secretary at Fotheringhay, 22 October.²³ The king donated 20 marks to the Great St Mary's building fund, where 'a solemn service was ordained in his and his queen's honour for ever'.²⁴
- 1484 9–11 March. Town treasurers' accounts: 'For a present given to the Lord the King, namely, in fishes, £6 5s'.²⁵ At King's College, 7d was spent on 8 March on rushes 'in adventum Regis'.²⁶ Letters from the king dated

⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI, 1441–1446* (1908): 449.

⁹ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, II: 448n.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Stanley M. Leathes (ed.) *Grace Book A* (Cambridge, 1897): 24.

¹³ James Gairdner (ed.), *The Paston Letters* (London, 1904) IV: 36.

¹⁴ Leathes, *op. cit.*: 34.

¹⁵ Gairdner, *op. cit.*, IV: 33, referring it to the 1462 visit. Cooper *Annals* I: 214 suggests 1463 as the date.

¹⁶ Leathes, *op. cit.*: 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 71.

¹⁸ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, II: 450n.

¹⁹ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, I: 472n., date the visit to 1481 but the date of Whitsun does not match.

²⁰ King's College, College Accounts VI; Mundum Book 1482–3. The closet was presumably similar to that constructed on the roodloft of the present chapel for the visit of Queen Elizabeth in 1564.

²¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1476–1485* (1901): 303–4.

²² Leathes, *op. cit.*: 186.

²³ King's College, Mundum Book.

²⁴ Samuel Sandars, *Historical and Architectural Notes on Great St Mary's Church* (Cambridge, 1869): 11.

²⁵ Cooper, *Annals*, I: 230, dating the visit 9–11 March 1485. Leathes dates it to 10 March 1483.

²⁶ King's College, Mundum Book.

Cambridge 10 March.²⁷ A decree of the university, 16 March, acknowledged the king's recent benefactions and ordained an annual mass to be said for him during his lifetime.²⁸

Henry VII

- 1486 11–13 March. During his first royal progress, the king 'took his horse well ... and rode to Waltham; and from thence the high way to Cambridge, where his grace was honourably received both of the university and of the town'.²⁹ Letters patent dated at Cambridge 11, 12 and 13 March.³⁰ References in King's Hall, King's College, and proctors' accounts. He went on to Huntingdon, Stamford and Lincoln.
- 1487 18–20 April. From Walsingham the king 'rode by Cambridge, Huntingdon and Northampton; and on St George's Eve came to Coventry, where he kept his feast of St George'.³¹ Letters patent dated at Cambridge.³²
- 1489 May. Possible visit. Sir John Paston was requested to render service at Cambridge to the king, who was apparently leading his army to quell an insurrection in Yorkshire; but it is not certain that the king came to Cambridge in person.³³
- 1489 Date uncertain. Visit by Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of the king. Town treasurers' accounts: 6s 8d on 6 lb of comfits given to her, 3s 4d on a flagon of hippocras (spiced wine) for her, 12s on three pike fish; 2s spent on roasting a buck presented by her to the mayor and burgesses.³⁴
- 1491 Early August. Probably on his way from Bury St Edmunds via Ely (5 August) to Northampton (10 August) and Leicester. Town treasurers'

accounts: 'In fishes given to the Lord the King when he was at Cambridge this year, viz., 8 pikes, 6 tenches, 4 breams bought of John Bell, 61s 4d'. This may have been the year (1507 is another contender – the document is undated) that the king, having to postpone his visit from July, gave the university permission to go ahead with their 'Acts and Commencements' in his absence, but they replied that they were 'most glad and joyous to defer our said Commencement unto any such time as may be most acceptable to your high pleasure'.³⁵ Proctors' accounts: 6d for damascus water (rose-water distilled from damask roses) for the king; 3s 4d paid to the king's clerk of the market.³⁶

- 1498 1–3 September. On his way from Walsingham, King's Lynn and Ely towards Huntingdon and Peterborough. Accompanied by Queen Elizabeth of York. Queens' College accounts: £5 0s 1/2d paid 'in expensis adventus regis et regine', 1 September.³⁷ Proctors' accounts: glazier paid 5 nobles for mending windows in the Schools 'versus adventum regis'; 13s 4d paid 'cooforario regis et eius clerico marcati'; 2s paid to the clerk of Great St Mary's for preparing the cross and other necessities for the reception of the king and queen.³⁸ The king's privy purse expenses include 6s 8d for his offering at Cambridge.³⁹ Letter from the king dated Cambridge 3 September.⁴⁰
- 1505 Date uncertain. Visit by Lady Margaret Beaufort, probably in connection with her founding of Christ's College. Proctors' accounts: 23s for her reception at Caxton; 4d to the bellringer on her arrival; 15s 2d for a present given to her; 40s 5d

²⁷ *Calendar of State Papers: Venetian, 1202–1509* (1864): 147; *Calendar of State Papers: Milan, 1385–1618* (1912): 246.

²⁸ Cooper, *Annals*, I: 228–9.

²⁹ John Leland, *Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne (1770) IV: 185.

³⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1485–1494* (1914): 83–4, 94, 106.

³¹ Leland, *op. cit.*: 209.

³² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1485–1494*: 169–70.

³³ Gairdner, *op. cit.*, VI: 129–30. According to Cooper, *Annals*, I: 234–5, the army was led by the Earl of Oxford.

³⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, I: 235.

³⁵ *Ibid.* I: 240.

³⁶ Mary Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book B*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1903, 1905), I: 29.

³⁷ W.G. Searle, *The History of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard* (Cambridge, 1867): 123.

³⁸ Bateson, *op. cit.*: 111–12.

³⁹ P.R.O. E101/414/14.

⁴⁰ *Calendar of State Papers: Venetian, 1557–8: 1603–4*. Gladys Temperley in her itinerary of the reign in *Henry VII* (1914): 418, lists a visit to Cambridge on 17 October 1503, but no confirmation of this has been found.

for expenses during her stay.⁴¹ At Queens', a carpenter was paid 5d for work in her room, 2d was spent on rushes for the room, and 6d paid to a laundress for washing napkins and towels used during her stay.⁴² She donated £10 to the Great St Mary's building fund, having previously given a like sum.⁴³

1506

22–30 April. On his way to Walsingham.⁴⁴ Stayed at Queens', where 3s was spent on repairing windows in 'the queen's chamber' before his arrival and 8d paid to Master Fawne for carriage of ornaments 'tempore regis'.⁴⁵ The king was met by the mayor 'two or three mile out of the town'. Within a quarter of a mile out 'there stood, first all the four orders of friars, and after other religious, and the king on horseback kissed the cross of every of the religious, and then there stood all along all the graduates, after their degrees, all in their habits, and at the end of them was the university cross, where was a form and a cushion etc. as accustomed, where the king did alight, and there the bishop of Rochester, Dr Fisher, then being chancellor of the university, accompanied with other doctors, censed etc. the king, and after made a little proposition, and welcomed him; and then the king took his horse again and rode by the Blackfriars [on the site of the present Emmanuel College], through the town, to the Queens' College, where his Grace at that time lodged, and there rested the space of an

hour, and then did on his gown and mantle of the garter, and all other knights of the order there being present gave their attendance in the habit of the order, as appertaineth, and rode from the king's lodging to the chapel of the King's College, which was for the same cause ready appointed with escutcheons, as is yearly accustomed. The bishop of Rochester, being their chancellor, did the divine service, both the even, the day, both at matins etc., and sang the mass of requiem on the morrow.⁴⁶ These celebrations must have been held in the college's old chapel, since only the eastern part of the present building had been roofed over by that date and there were as yet no stalls or other fittings.⁴⁷ The king also attended disputations in the Schools and gave a banquet.⁴⁸ Fisher, in an oration the following year, described this visit as 'no perfunctory affair, but of some duration. No one — whether king, prince, lord or even knight — has

⁴¹ Bateson, *op. cit.*: 203.

⁴² Searle, *op. cit.*: 133–4; C.H. Cooper, *Memoir of Lady Margaret*, ed. J.E.B. Mayor (1874): 97, 250.

⁴³ Sandars, *op. cit.*: 12. On p.17 Sandars says Henry VII gave 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) this year towards the fund, together with 100 oaks growing at Chesterford Park in Essex, which the university had difficulty persuading the abbot of Westminster, who was lord of the manor, to deliver, but which were probably eventually used for the nave roof (completed 1509); but according to Archbishop Parker (c. 1570: transcript of MS shown at quinqucentenary exhibition, Great St Mary's, 1978), the oaks were donated in 1506, a more likely date.

⁴⁴ Privy purse expenses, 22 July 1505: 'To the priest that singeth for the king afore Our Lady of Walsingham for his half year's wage due at midsummer last past, 100s. For a candle of 52 lb of wax burning afore Our Lady there, 43s 4d.' - B.L. Add. MS.7099 f.94.

⁴⁵ Searle, *op. cit.*: 136.

⁴⁶ Elias Ashmole, *The Order of the Garter* (1672): 558; based on Bodleian MS.Ashm.1113. On p.487 Ashmole explains that 'when the celebrations of St George's day were kept at any other place besides Windsor Castle, it was thought most necessary to provide large paper escutcheons, wherein were marshalled the arms and quarterings of the sovereign and each knight companion, in metal and colour, encompassed with a garter; and thereon crowns, caps, and coronets peculiar to each dignity, with their styles and titles fairly printed underneath (but without crests or supporters) to be set on the back side of their stalls, on the eve of the feast ... that by the view of them [the knights] might the more readily and certainly know their proper stalls.' All knights were obliged to be present at first vespers on the eve, at matins, procession, high mass and second vespers on the feast, and at a solemn requiem on the following day.

⁴⁷ Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, I: 536n; J.W. Clark, *Cambridge: Historical and Picturesque Notes* (1890): 165–6; H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1976), III: 188n. ('There is no evidence that any attempt was made to use the unfinished chapel on this occasion'); Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel* (London, 1986): 155. A. Austen Leigh, *King's College* (London, 1899): 25, however, claims the service was held in the unfinished chapel, which the R.C.H.M. *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge* (London, 1959), I: 102 also considers feasible.

⁴⁸ Among the disputants was Brian Rowe of King's (B.A. 1503–4, M.A. 1507, D.D. 1514–15, later Vice-Provost, died 1521) who also 'wrote certain elegies upon the coming of King Henry VII to this university' - William Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5814 f.130. Cole gives no year, but 1506 seems likely.

ever before paid us such an honour', and he paid tribute to the generosity with which the king had entertained the university and in particular his benefactions to King's (where, after two decades of inaction, building work on the chapel now resumed).⁴⁹ Fisher was President of Queens' and 'it is very likely — though not absolutely certain — that Erasmus was also a guest of Fisher at that time'.⁵⁰ Proctors' accounts: 8d for carrying the cross 'in adventus regis et coram eo' and again 'in generali processione ante portacionem regis'.⁵¹ At King's Hall, 4s 6d was spent on two bitterns (?) and twelve rabbits 'in adventum regis'.⁵² The king's own book of payments has the following entries: 'To the four masters that kept the disputations at Cambridge in the Schools afore the king's grace, £20; and to the whole university to drink with certain bucks for their recreation, £20. To Saint George at Cambridge [an image in Holy Trinity church], 20s. To the hermit of St Anne's chapel at Cambridge in alms, 6s 8d. Delivered to the Provost of the King's College in Cambridge upon an indenture betwixt Henry Smyth [surveyor of the king's works] and the said Provost toward the building of the church of the said college, £100. To Benet Mountgomery for the waits at Cambridge, 3s 4d.' On 15 May, at Bury St Edmunds on his return from Walsingham, the king paid 33s 4d 'to Mr Secretary for one John Wastell a scholar of Cambridge for his exhibition for one half year beginning the 9th day of May'.⁵³ This was probably a son of John Wastell the Bury master-mason responsible for the completion of King's College Chapel.

1507 25 July–1 August. On his way to Ely, Buckden and Woodstock. Accompanied by Lady Margaret and Prince Henry. Stayed at Queens': 'Hoc anno rex Henricus

Septus moram traxit in collegio'; 7d for preparing rooms 'erga adventum regis'.⁵⁴ Attended a Commencement ceremony (Great St Mary's not being completed) at the church of the Friars Minor⁵⁵ at which John Fisher delivered a fulsome Latin oration. Praising first the king's personal qualities (his heroic career, his grace of figure, his skill in languages, his eloquence, strength, wisdom and wealth), and then recounting the ancient (mostly mythical) origins of the university and the generosity of previous royal benefactors (Henry III who built 'this very church we are now in', Edward III who founded King's Hall and Henry VI who founded King's College), Fisher went on to add Henry himself to the list, for the university had been in decline and 'we would have been practically destitute had not your most splendid majesty at last beamed on us from on high like the dawn'. Among other benefactions, the king had raised 'unworthy' Fisher to his bishopric and had visited the university the previous year, munificently feasting them and, before leaving, generously giving funds for the furtherance of King's. 'That college of which your most saintly uncle Henry VI laid the foundations, an immense work demanding the hands and the power of kings, a work which none besides you could bring to fulfilment, a work destined for you alone, this you undertook. Besides all these things

⁵⁴ Scarle, *op. cit.*: 137.

⁵⁵ The largest and finest church in Cambridge at that date (on the site of the present Sidney Sussex College). This was probably the first time it was used for a Commencement ceremony (the accounts refer to the conveyance and erection of a stage), though it was apparently then used annually for the purpose until the dissolution in 1538. In 1540, the university tried to obtain the former convent from the king, Roger Ascham commenting that the church was 'not only a grace and ornament to the university, but presents great conveniences for holding congregations and transacting all kinds of university business', but in the end the site was given to Trinity College and the buildings demolished for their materials. Fuller in 1655 noted that 'the area of this church is easily visible in Sidney College garden, where the depression and subsidency of their bowling green, east and west, present the dimensions thereof, and I have oft found dead men's bones thereabout'. - Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, II: 724–6, 730.

⁴⁹ John Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Thomas Hearne (1744) II: 128–9.

⁵⁰ D.F.S. Thomson & H.C. Porter, *Erasmus and Cambridge* (Toronto, 1963): 25.

⁵¹ Bateson, *op. cit.*: 213.

⁵² Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, III: 607.

⁵³ P.R.O. E.36/214: 57, 60.

[that took place] before your present visit, immediately you entered the town again you have overwhelmed us anew with your liberality.' Asking rhetorically what they could offer in return – 'we cannot give cities, nor peoples, we cannot confer kingdoms' – Fisher ended: 'I know what we can do, we can offer you our unworthy souls ... We will remember you day and night.'⁵⁶ According to a contemporary Latin account of the occasion: 'There was a banquet in the church of the Friars Minor, at which our illustrious King Henry VII was present, with his son Henry, Prince of Wales, the king's mother, and other grandees of the kingdom; during these ceremonies, besides doctors in other faculties, there were created twelve secular doctors in divinity, among them William Woderove, Warden of Clare Hall; he was respondent before the king, his opponents being Dr Fisher D.D., bishop of Rochester and chancellor of the university, Dr Blyth, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and other masters of the same faculty.'⁵⁷ This may have been the visit during which 'the Lady Margaret came to Christ's College to behold it when partly built, and looking out of a window, saw the dean call a faulty scholar to correction; to whom she said, 'lente, lente', gently, gently, as accounting it better to mitigate his punishment than procure his pardon.'⁵⁸ Proctors' accounts record

payments of 2d for expenses on the king's servant; 2s for the Vice-Chancellor's expenses about the king's chaplain; 1s 5d for expenses about Lady Margaret's servants; 4d for carrying the cross at the king's arrival; 4d for damascus water for the king and his mother. The junior proctor was paid 7s 7d for expenses in the general procession made for the king and 2s was paid for torches on the occasion; 3s 4d was paid for arms lost in the same procession and on other occasions.⁵⁹ Payments by King's College: 2d to two workmen repairing the lane between King's and Trinity Hall and Clare 'erga adventum regium', 30 July; for fish bought at Sturbridge Fair for the visit and a gallon of hippocras, 2s 8d, for Lady Margaret, 1 August.⁶⁰ The king's own payments include: 25 July 'to Whiting for a cock that the king's grace killed at Chesterford with his crossbow, 8d'. On 26 July, 'for carriage of six bucks from Halden Park unto Cambridge, 6s 8d. To Roger Rothwell for carriage of 24 bucks from Wingfield Park in Suffolk [seat of the Yorkist pretender Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, recently committed to the Tower] unto Cambridge, 26s 8d. To the gentlemen of the king's chapel to drink with bucks, 40s. For two tuns of Gascony wine given to the university of Cambridge in reward, £12.' On 27 July, 'to the university of Cambridge in reward, £66 13s 4d [100 marks]. Given towards the building of [Great St Mary's] church at Cambridge, £40.' On 31 July, 'To Thomas Larke one of the king's chaplains [and overseer of the works at King's] towards the building of the king's new church at Cambridge, £300. To the minstrels of Cambridge, 6s 8d. For offering at Our Lady of Grace there, 3s 4d.' On 1 August, 'to the king's bargeman for one barge for the king's grace and

⁵⁶ Full text of Fisher's 'Oratio habita coram Illustrissimo Rege Henrico Septimo Cantabrigiae' in John Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Thomas Hearne (1744) II: 122–30, and in J. Lewis, *The Life of Dr John Fisher* (1855) II: 263ff. All biographies of Fisher incorrectly assign the oration (which is not dated) to 1505 or 1506, as does D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1988) I: 213, 233. James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535* (1873): 449–51, incorrectly identifies the oration with the 'little proposition' of welcome which Fisher delivered on the king's arrival in 1506. The three royal visits of 1505, 1506, and 1507 have in fact been widely confused, an error probably stemming from a misdating by Thomas Baker. There is no evidence that Lady Margaret was present at the 1506 visit.

⁵⁷ J.R. Wardale, *Clare College* (London, 1899): 31.
⁵⁸ Thomas Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge* (1655; 1840 edition): 135. Fuller notes that he heard the anecdote 'in a clerum, from Dr Collings'. It is sometimes claimed that Lady Margaret lived her last years at Christ's, and an inventory of

her possessions there made at her death in 1509 includes domestic plate and 'two feather beds'; but she normally resided at Woking and on 9 August 1508 is known to have been at Hatfield (Cooper, *Memoir of Lady Margaret*: 251).

⁵⁹ Bateson, *op. cit.*: 231–2.

⁶⁰ King's College, Mundum Book.

another for his guard from Cambridge to Ely, 13s 4d.⁶¹

Henry VIII

1510–11 *Date uncertain.* King's College: 8d given by the Provost in reward to a footman of the king at his return from Walsingham. No evidence that the king himself came.⁶²

1516 *Date uncertain.* Visit by Henry VIII's younger sister Mary, widow of Louis XII of France, wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Town treasurers' accounts: 'two great pikes given in present to my lady the French queen', 6s; two tenches given to her, 20d; two 'chevens' [chubs], 2s. Proctors' accounts: wine (6s) and fish (22s) given to the French queen.⁶³

1519 *April.* Intended visit by Queen Katharine of Aragon. On 20 April, the town treasurers paid 20d in reward to the queen's pursuivant who came to ascertain 'whether Cambridge stood clear from any contagious sickness or no, forasmuch as her grace intended to take her journey to Our Lady of Walsingham'.⁶⁴ At

Queens, the pursuivant received a further 20d for informing them about the visit; the President returned to Cambridge from Harrow at the 'rumour' of the queen's coming; workmen spent six days preparing the great chamber for the queen. No evidence that she came. She had apparently intended to come the previous year as well.⁶⁵

[1520 *Summer.* Visit by Cardinal Wolsey. Stayed at Queens'. The great chamber, hall, cloister and chapel were white-washed against his coming and the cobwebs swept from the hall roof. Three swans, costing 15s, and three cranes, costing 10s, were among the delicacies the college provided. Wolsey left them £10 as a present on his departure.⁶⁶ The proctors spent 2s 2d 'to the Vice-Chancellor for expenses in going round the town with the mayor, to cleanse the streets against the coming of the cardinal' and 13d 'for repairing the streets on the cardinal's coming', £3 6s 8d on wine, £3 7s 8d for two oxen, 28s 6d for six swans, 33s 4d for 'six great pikes', 4s 4d for six shellfish, and 6s 8d for a bream. 'Those who erected the fabric on the coming of the cardinal' received 16d for labour, and 4d was paid 'to two scholars who carried an altar on the coming of the cardinal'.⁶⁷ Complimentary orations were made before him by Brian Rowe of King's (who had disputed before Henry VII in 1506) and Henry Bullock of Queens'. The latter's speech was printed the following year by John Siberch – the first work printed in Cambridge.⁶⁸]

1521 *About 25 February.* Visit by Queen Katharine of Aragon. Stayed three days at Queens'. On 16 February, a

⁶¹ P.R.O. E.36/214: 176–80. Payments at Ely include: 31 July 'for offering at Ely at the king's coming thither, 13s 4d'. On 2 August 'to William Coterell of the caundry upon his bill for the king's candle at Ely, 24s 11d' and a reward of 10s to someone who 'brought the king's grace a hawk'. On 3 August 'to a monk of Italy that gave the king's grace a book, 100s'. On 4 August 'for the king's offering at Our Lady of Ely, 3s 4d'. At Somersham on 8 August, 3s 4d was paid 'to them that played upon their stils afore the king' and at Buckden on 9 August 12d was given 'to an old man at Buckden town's end at the king's coming thither in alms' (*Ibid.*: 179–82). Since King's College was also literally the king's college, the 'gentlemen of the king's chapel, will have been the conducts of King's College, and the 'king's bargeman' the King's College bargeman. (There is mention of a college barge in 1451, when it was used to convey members of the college to Ely to escape an outbreak of plague.) From 1504, Henry paid the university £10 a year to celebrate a requiem mass for his soul; the hearse-cloth used for this ceremony survives in Great St Mary's. From 1507, he also paid £200 a year for 8000 masses to be said for his soul at Oxford and Cambridge at 6d a mass.

⁶² King's College, *Mundum Book*.

⁶³ Cooper, *Annals*, I: 298, dating the visit 1515; Bateson, *op. cit.*, II: 53, dating it 1516–17. After Louis's death in 1515, Mary married Charles Brandon, to the displeasure of Henry VIII, and retired for many years to his Norfolk estates. The visit to Cambridge may have occurred on her way to London in March 1516 for the birth of her first child, or in May on the way back, or on another occasion.

⁶⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, I: 302.

⁶⁵ Searle, *op. cit.*: 163. The queen had visited Walsingham in March 1517, in the company of Mary of France.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: 162–3.

⁶⁷ Bateson, *op. cit.*, II: 82.

⁶⁸ Brian Rowe's speech to Wolsey survives at Corpus Christi College (MS.106.art.46) and is printed in John Lamb (ed.), *A Collection of Letters ... Illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge* (1839): 9–10. Henry Bullock (D.D. 1520, Vice-Chancellor 1524–5, died 1526) was an intimate friend of Erasmus and one of the leading lights of the new learning at Cambridge. His oration is stated to have been delivered in the presence of imperial ambassadors and bishops.

glazier was paid 22d for mending the windows 'in cubiculo regine' against her coming; on 25 February, a carpenter was paid 22d for nearly four days work; 3s 2d was spent on rushes; 3d for 3 lb of candles for the President and 25s 6d for wine; 8d was spent on repairing two doorbolts broken by the queen's servants. The queen received a present costing £2 18s 5d.⁶⁹ The proctors spent a total of £8 8s 10 1/2d over the visit, including 30s on wine bought in London and 30s on wine 'empto de Synderton'; 5s on eels; other sums on fish and gloves; 6s for hippocras when the queen was in the Schools; 18d for workmen repairing the altar; 6d for workmen in the Schools where the queen sat; and 12d to John Keel, carpenter and crier, for cleaning the road outside the Schools and repair work in the Schools.⁷⁰

1522 16 October. Probably coming from Walsingham. Probably stayed at King's, although preparations were made at Queens', where 12 1/2d was spent on rushes strewn in the 'queen's chamber' and where some of his servants appear to have lodged.⁷¹ Proctors' accounts: 'To John my servant for his costs for his horse and himself to Brandon ferry for certificate of truth of the king's coming, 3s 8d. To Dr [William] Fylay for his costs to my Lord of Ely for his advice and counsel about receiving of the king, 3s 4d. To Master [Peter] Cheke [esquire bedell, father of Sir John Cheke] for his costs to Newmarket to know the hour of the king's coming and the manner of his receiving, 2s 8d. For making clean the court of the Schools and four load of sand for the same, 4s 2d. For curtains of silk of orange colour and

green for the altar in the Schools, 14s 8d. For bearing the standing altar [consecrated portable altar for use on such occasions] into the fields: copes, candlesticks and censers for a readiness of the king's receiving, 10d. For 4 gallons hippocras given in present to my Lord Marquis, Master [William] Compton, Master [Sir Thomas] More and the king's chaplains, Dr [Edward] Ley, Dr [William] Tate, with other, 16s 8d. For wafers fine to the same, four boxes, 5s. For a new key to the Arcyter [Arts] Schools, where the king's wardrobe was kept, 4d. The king's present: twelve great pike, 55s 8d; twelve great eels, 13s; eight great tenches, 15s; eight breams, 26s 8d; four swans, 20s; two cranes wild, 6s 8d; two cranes tame, 10s. To Davy Coke for his costs by three days for purveyance of the king's present, 6s 8d. For expenses about the setting out and carriage of the king's present to the Provost's place, 20s. For reparations in the Schools after the king's departing of desks and forms and removing the bars in the Arcyter Schools, 10d. A great pike to my Lord of Ely after the king's departing, 4s 6d. To the clerk of the Schools for bearing of the university cross twice at the king's being here and in Advent and at the great cessation, 16d.'⁷² At Westminster on 21 October, the king granted to St John's College 'numerous possessions and liberties in various counties lately belonging to the priories of Bromehall, Hertfordshire, and Hygham, Kent'.⁷³

1536-7 Date uncertain. King's College: alterations to the Provost's lodge 'in adventum domini regis'. No evidence that the king came.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Searle, *op. cit.*: 163-4.

⁷⁰ Bateson, *op. cit.*, II: 88. For William Synderton and his tavern see W.M. Palmer, *Cambridge Borough Documents* (Cambridge, 1931), I: 157. Richard Fiddes, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (1724): 186 claims the queen was accompanied by Wolsey, but there is no other evidence for this.

⁷¹ Searle, *op. cit.*: 167. Queens' College accounts record expenses 'tempore quo erat rex in urbe', suggesting that he stayed elsewhere. The King's College Mundum Book for this year is lost, as are the privy purse accounts.

⁷² Bateson, *op. cit.*, II: 107-8.

⁷³ *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic: Henry VIII* (1867) III part 2: 1113.

⁷⁴ King's College, Mundum Book. For subsequent royal visits see Marion Colthorpe, *Royal Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1977).

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Contents

Cambridge Castle Ditch
Tim Malim & Alison Taylor

Hawkers and Falconers along the Ouse: A Geographic Principle of Location in
some Serjeanty and Related Holdings
Virginia Darrow Oggins & Robin S. Oggins

Wisbech Barton's Farm Buildings in 1412/13
David Sherlock

Royal Visits to Cambridge: Henry VI to Henry VIII
Graham Chainey

King's College Chapel Delineated
Graham Chainey

A Relict Garden at Linton, Cambridgeshire
A.E. Brown & C.C. Taylor

John Chapman's Maps of Newmarket
C.P. Lewis

Archaeological Excavations at Godmanchester (A14/A604 Junction)
Gerald A. Wait

King's College Chapel: Additions to the Side-Chapel Glass 1991
Hilary Wayment

Field-work in Cambridgeshire: November 1990 – June 1991
Alison Taylor

Index