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THE KING'S SCHOLARS

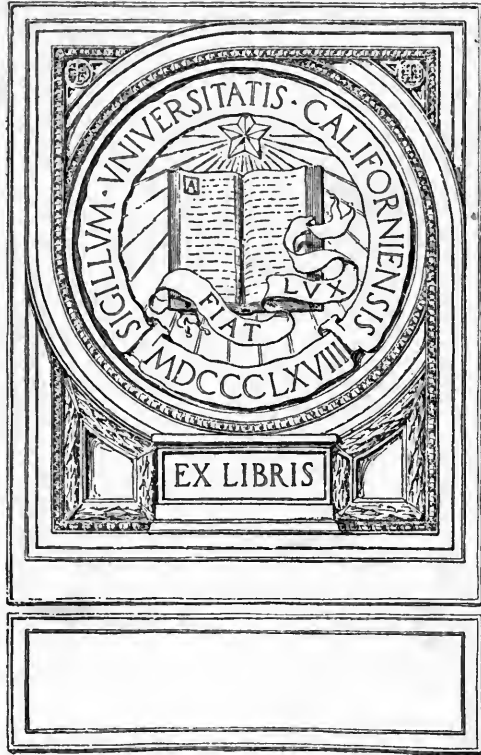
AND KING'S HALL

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Seal of King's Hall

THE KING'S SCHOLARS AND KING'S HALL.

*Notes on the History of King's Hall,
published on the six-hundredth anni-
versary of the writ of Edward II
establishing the King's Scholars in the
University of Cambridge.*

by Walter W. R. Ball

UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

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The King's Scholars and King's Hall.

Six hundred years ago, on 7 July 1317, the anniversary of his accession to the throne, Edward II issued a writ* to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire directing him to pay out of royal moneys in his hands the sums necessary for the maintenance in the University of Cambridge of certain scholars whom the king proposed to send there. From these scholars in due course arose the medieval college of King's Hall, whose courts and property were, on its suppression in 1546, assigned to Trinity College. The history of the site and buildings of King's Hall has been told once for all by Willis and Clark in *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*†, and to their account there is nothing material to add. With that important exception, the other salient features of the history of the King's Scholars, and of King's Hall with brief references to its buildings, are here shortly set out as far as the scanty records now at our disposal permit. For information about these records—and in particular about the King's Hall Books—the writer of this sketch is greatly indebted to friends who have freely put at his disposal their knowledge of the subject. Without such assistance this booklet could not have been put together on its present lines.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, one of the urgent problems at Cambridge and Oxford was the provision of homes and guidance for deserving secular

* It is printed in the *Cambridge Documents*, Published by the Royal Commissioners, London, 1852, vol. 1, pp. 66–67. This work is hereafter referred to as *Cambridge Documents*.

† This work is hereafter referred to as *Architectural History*.

students. The earliest foundation of this kind at the universities was due to Walter de Merton who in 1264 made arrangements for the support of twenty scholars at Oxford *vel alibi ubi studium vigere contigerit*; he purchased property for them at Cambridge as well as at Oxford, but in 1274 they definitely settled at the latter city. Merton's foundation served as the model on which numerous colleges were subsequently established at both universities. The foundation of Merton was followed at Oxford by University College in 1280 and by Balliol College in 1282, though in both cases scholars of these Houses had been supported by endowments at an earlier date; and then, before the middle of the fourteenth century, came the foundation of Exeter College in 1314, of Oriel College in 1326, and of Queen's College in 1341. The same movement developed more slowly in Cambridge. If we leave out the possible, but speculative, connection of Merton with Cambridge, the earliest attempt to solve the problem here was that made by Hugh de Balsham, bishop of Ely, who provided for the maintenance of monastic and secular students as two sides of a single foundation. The arrangement worked badly, and in 1284 the combination was dissolved and Peterhouse founded for the displaced secular students. The King's Scholars whose history we have to trace date from 1317; and subsequently in rapid succession followed the foundation of Michael-House in 1324, University (later Clare) Hall in 1326, King's Hall for the reception of the King's Scholars in 1337, Pembroke Hall in 1347, Gonville Hall in 1348, Trinity Hall in 1350, and Corpus Christi College in 1352: we need not continue the list further.

There may have been discussions before 1317 on the maintenance by the king of scholars at Cambridge, but the writ of 7 July in that year is the earliest record of the royal intentions on the subject. Two days later the first ten scholars, with John de Baggeshot their warden, arrived in

Cambridge, and took up their residence in a house hired for them at the expense of the crown. More scholars followed, and in or before 1319 the number had risen to thirty-two, which throughout their history remained the normal number on the foundation. King's Hall was purchased for them by Edward III in 1337, and was thenceforward their permanent home. The names of all those who are known to have been scholars from 1317 to 1546 have been published in the first volume of the Admissions to Trinity College*, and probably that record is almost complete.

The object of the foundation was to provide a home for students who entered the University with the object of preparing themselves for future work in church and state, and never in the history of the Society does there appear to have been any desire for the scholars to take a prominent part in academic work as such. The class of students selected for admission, and the periods for which their names were kept on the boards varied at different times, but always we believe the primary object of the Society was to train men for the service of the country: thus we come across instances of leave of absence granted to scholars to attend missions abroad, and in later times we find some of the senior scholars engaged in public affairs and constantly non-resident.

The connection of the scholars with the court was always noticeable, and it is well at once to state this, for it coloured all the history of King's Hall and differentiates it from that of other collegiate foundations at Cambridge. The warden was directly responsible to the king: the office was in the personal gift of the reigning sovereign, and, unless the appointment by letters patent specified otherwise, was vacated by the demise of the crown. The scholars were appointed by the king under the privy seal, but

* This work is hereafter referred to as *Trinity Admissions*.

doubtless nominations were largely subject to the control of the warden, and through him royal wishes in the matter were made effective. We may assume that nominations went by favour, and that there was no enquiry as to the order of merit of candidates who were qualified for admission.

From the statutes given to the House in 1380, which are set out below, it appears that, at any rate by then, scholars on entry were required to be at least fourteen years old, acquainted with Latin, and of sufficient knowledge and ability to pursue their studies in any faculty selected for them by the warden. The educational course was that enjoined by the University, and unless a scholar died or left for any good reason the assumption, at any rate at first, was that he remained in residence for some years or until he obtained outside work or ecclesiastical preferment. According to this scheme, the members were of all ages from fourteen upwards, living a common life, and practically forming one household. The senior scholars occupied the position of fellows in modern times. Of the customs and government of the House we shall speak later.

The warden and scholars were housed and maintained at the royal expense. As we have already stated, they lived for the first few years of their history in hired houses, the rent being paid by the crown, but in and after 1337 they occupied collegiate buildings formally assigned to them. The allowance for commons and maintenance was calculated at 4*d.* a day (for a few years it was 3*d.*) for the warden and 2*d.* a day for each scholar in residence, this for the normal foundation required £103. 8*s.* 4*d.* a year. At first the allowance was paid by the sheriff of Cambridgeshire from the proceeds of his bailiwick; this arrangement, however, proved unsatisfactory, and early in the reign of Edward III the crown assigned to King's Hall definite sources of income from which the expenses

were met. Out of this income a common table was maintained, and each scholar was given, by way of pocket money one noble (6s. 8*d.*) twice a year*, namely on Assumption Day, 15 August, just before the Stourbridge Fair, and at the Feast of the Conception, on 8 December, presumably to facilitate purchases of things not provided by the Society. For some years shoes were also given to the scholars, but in time this custom was abandoned: there is no doubt that the scholars in the later years of the Hall came from a richer class than was the case at its foundation, and perhaps this accounts for the cessation of the provision of shoes.

The warden and scholars further received regularly from the royal wardrobe gowns and fur, or their equivalents in money. The warden had at first two sets of robes a year, one trimmed or lined with fur for winter use and the other with linen for summer use, but early in the history of the Society he was given in lieu thereof a cash payment of £5. 6s. 8*d.* a year, a sum not far short of double the rental of the premises originally occupied by the Society. This sum is still paid every year by the Treasury to Trinity College. A set of robes seems to have included a body-coat or tunic, a gown or tabard, a hood, and perhaps breeches. Thus Simon de Bury, when warden, received in 1325, for his robes a tunic, a long tabard with budge, and a chaperon, that is a hood which could be pulled over the head in lieu of a hat. Until 1448 the gowns and fur for the robes of the scholars were given in kind, usually once a year at Christmas; after that year the scholars received a money payment instead of the robes. The length of cloth given for a set of robes was about 7 ells, that is, if we take an ell as being 45 inches, about

* Though not material to our story, it may be interesting to note that there is an entry in the account-books for 1522 that Mr Belt had received two bad nobles which the College agreed to change if he demanded it.

9 yards, but the width of the piece of cloth is not known. At the distribution in 1337, thirty-five scholars received $252\frac{3}{4}$ ells of cloth which gives on the average just over 9 yards of cloth for each scholar. At the distribution in 1330, forty-three scholars received between them 13 lengths of cloth, 43 lambs' furs, and 5 hoods of white budge: from this it would seem that a length or roll of cloth contained about 30 yards. Budge was made from sheep's wool and was used for the hoods of the legists or students of law: thus Thomas Powys on 24 August 1330 when he began to read law received 7 ells of cloth, fur for his coat and long tabard, and a hood of white budge. Lambs' skins were used for the hoods of students in the other faculties. Sometimes this gives an indication of the studies of the men. Thus at the distribution in 1338, twenty-nine scholars received gowns, tabards with fur, and lambskin hoods, while five scholars received gowns, long tabards with fur, and budge hoods, and one scholar, Richard de Wymondeslow, received a robe as a doctor of laws.

In addition to this annual distribution of robes or materials for robes, a scholar on first commencing residence received, from the crown, robes and a bed. In a few cases particulars are given: thus on 11 July 1326 Aymer Symeon, on nomination to a scholarship, received a warrant for 7 ells of blue cloth and a lamb's skin to provide a gown and fur of the suite of the King's Scholars, and in 1330 Henry de Chesterfield, on nomination to a scholarship, received for his bed, 8 ells of canvas, 12 ells of linen, and a bed-coverlet of worsted; while in 1331, Simon de Bury, on appointment as warden, received for a bed "suitable for his estate," 21 ells of linen cloth, 12 ells of canvas, and a pillow of green worsted.

The Society began its corporate life in 1317. A little more than two years later, on 7 December 1319, the warden and scholars were ordered to spend the coming Christmas

with the court, then at York. The details of the journey have been printed, and form an interesting record of the method and cost of travelling in medieval times. It will suffice here to say that for the purpose of the journey the Society was divided into two sections both of which started from Cambridge on 20 December. One party, comprising the warden and six of the scholars, went on horse-back and arrived at York on Christmas eve; they paid £1. 3s. 4d. for the hire in Cambridge of seven hackneys, and were allowed 10d. a day for each member of the party for travelling expenses. The remaining twenty-six scholars travelled under the care of one of their number, John de Aston, and their journey occupied nine days: they took with them $7\frac{1}{2}$ rolls of red cloth which had cost no less than £21. 2s. 6d., 21 lambs' skins and 6 budge skins which together had cost £3. 19s. 6d. They spent the first two days in travelling by boat to Spalding; the next day they went, some on horse-back and some in carts, to Boston; the next two days were occupied in going by boat to Lincoln where they spent Christmas-day; on 26 December they went by boat to Torksey, and thence on 27 and 28 December by boat to York.

The cost of the journey of the twenty-six scholars came to £4. 5s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. made up as follows:—On 20 December, hire of boats 5s. 0d., portorage 2d., bread 1s. 7d., beer 2s. 0d., herrings 1s. 0d., hard fish and codlings 1s. 4d., fuel and candles 4d.; total 11s. 5d. On 21 December, portorage 2d., bread 1s. 5d., beer 2s. 2d., herrings 1s. 7d., cheese 3d., fuel and candles $5\frac{1}{2}$ d., beds 8d.; total 6s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. On 22 December, hire of carts 2s. 0d., hire of hackneys 3s. 0d., bread 1s. 4d., beer 1s. 11d., herrings 2s. 3d., fuel and candles 5d., beds 8d.; total 11s. 7d. On 23 December, hire of boat 5s. 0d., straw 4d., portorage 2d., bread 1s. 6d., beer 2s. 7d., meat 2s. 4d., hens 1s. $6\frac{3}{4}$ d., fuel and candles 6d.; total 13s. $11\frac{3}{4}$ d. On 24 December, portorage 3d.,

bread 1s. 2*d.*, beer 2s. 0*d.*, herrings 2s. 1*d.*, eels 9*d.*, fuel and candles 6½*d.*, beds 8*d.*; total 7s. 5½*d.* On 25 December, bread 1s. 4*d.*, beer 2s. 1*d.*, meat 2s. 3*d.*, hens 1s. 1¼*d.*, fuel and candles 7½*d.*, beds 8*d.*; total 8s. 0¾*d.* On 26 December, hire of boats 2s. 8*d.*, portorage 3*d.*, bread 1s. 8*d.*, beer 2s. 3*d.*, meat 2s. 1*d.*, eggs 7*d.*, fuel and candles 4*d.*, beds 8*d.*; total 10s. 6*d.* On 27 December, hire of boat 6s. 0*d.*, portorage 2*d.*, bread 1s. 7*d.*, beer 2s. 6*d.*, meat 1s. 10*d.*; total 12s. 1*d.* On 28 December, portorage 2*d.*, bread 1s. 0*d.*, beer 1s. 5*d.*, herrings 1s. 4*d.*; total 3s. 11*d.* The total for the nine days was £4. 5s. 8½*d.*, and this was repaid to the warden from the royal exchequer on 31 December.

There are no records of the expenses of the Society during the time the members were at York; but presumably while there they were treated as members of the royal household. Their visit, however, was not devoid of incident, since a warrant was issued against at least one of them for having joined with the prior of the preaching friars of Pontefract in an assault on a certain William Hardy. The lad was left behind at York and there disappears from our history. Two other members of the House were also left in the city, of whom probably at least one was concerned in this disturbance. One new boy was admitted at York. These changes reduced the numbers to thirty-one. Of these, twenty-one came back to Cambridge on 20 January, while the warden and the remaining nine scholars arrived on 9 February, and from these dates their stipends in Cambridge during the Lent Term 1320* were reckoned.

We are told that at some time after 1321 Edward II gave the Society certain books of the laws and canons, from which we may infer the establishment or existence of a

* All the dates here given are reckoned in the modern style, taking the year as beginning on 1 January.

library for the use of the scholars—a valuable institution when books were so rare: later, perhaps in 1332, these books were taken away by his mother who claimed them as her property. Save for this incident, we have little or no information as to whether or how the founder interested himself in the Society.

The original arrangement was that the sheriff was, at intervals, to pay the warden the sums due for the maintenance of the scholars and get receipts showing the number of men in residence throughout the period covered by the payment. This worked badly, for the sheriff had insufficient moneys to meet all the claims on the royal moneys in his hands. Those who did not continually press their claims were not paid, and to get the money due to him the warden had frequently to go to the king to get letters to the sheriff ordering him to pay up. This arrangement continued, however, through the reign of Edward II.

It is said that it was the intention of Edward II to build a College for the reception of his scholars* and to incorporate them, but, if so, his plans miscarried, and from a writ of 14 December 1326 it would seem that towards the end of his reign the payments by the sheriff to the scholars had fallen into arrear. There is, however, no doubt that Edward II was regarded in the medieval University as the founder of King's Hall. Thus until the dissolution of the House it celebrated each year on 27 December in its chapel or parish church his exequies as founder, and similarly the University celebrated them on 5 May in its church †.

* C. H. Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1861, vol. II, p. 194. This work is hereafter referred to as Cooper's *Memorials*.

† *Singulis annis quinto die Maii sero et in crastino in mane conveniant universi regentes in ecclesia Beatae Mariae ibidem celebraturi pro anima domini regis Edvardi de Carnarvan fundatoris Aulae Regiae istius universitatis devotas exequias cum toto officio mortuorum expleturi* (from the ancient statute *De Exequiis*): see *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 405.

Edward III, who ascended the throne in January 1327, took throughout his reign a warm interest in his father's foundation at Cambridge, and his name is inseparably associated with the history of King's Hall which he provided as the permanent home of the King's Scholars.

In October 1332, the king gave the scholars £10 as compensation for the loss* of the books taken from them by his mother. Earlier in this year, on 2 April, he appointed commissioners to remove from the Society those members who were unfit to pursue the university course, as also those who were sufficiently beneficed †. We do not know what was the result of this enquiry, but the warden, John de Langetoft, must have been held to blame, for on 9 November 1333 he was replaced by Thomas Powys who held the office until his death in 1361.

At this time there were still constant pecuniary difficulties owing to the fact that the funds in the hands of the sheriff were insufficient for the proper endowment of the scholars. Various writs for the payment of arrears due to them were issued, but finally, on 26 January 1335 the Royal Exchequer was ordered to pay £40 for wages to the Society—the sheriff not having enough out of the issues of his bailiwick ‡. Probably this cleared matters up to date.

In 1336, the question of giving the Society a permanent home of its own was taken in hand. On 28 October of that year the king purchased from Robert de Croyland, rector of Oundle, a large house built on the ground now occupied by the walks and grass plot in front of the chapel of Trinity College. It has been suggested that this was the house that had been previously hired for the scholars (at a rent of 5 marks, that is, £3. 6s. 8d. a year) and was

* Cooper's *Memorials*, vol. II, p. 194.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 9; Rymer's *Foedera*, London, 1704-1735, vol. II, pp. ii, 831.

‡ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 10.

thus already in their occupation: this is possible but it cannot now be proved or disproved, though the ascription to Edward II of the title of founder of King's Hall and not merely of the King's Scholars strengthens the view that the house occupied by the scholars in his reign was that later known as King's Hall. The site was bounded on the east by the tenements of Edmund de Walsingham and William atte Cunduit, situated in the High Street (now known as Trinity Street), which have since been replaced by the Great Gate and adjoining buildings; on the west by an open landing place or wharf known as the corn-hythe; and on the south by a narrow lane, called later the King's Childer Lane, which ran to the river from the High Street passing to the south of the present Great Gate*.

By letters patent †, dated 7 October 1337, the king, to the honour of God, the Virgin Mother, and all the Saints, and for the weal of the souls of his father, himself, his wife, his children, and his forefathers, established in perpetuity in the University a College of a warden and thirty-two scholars (who had been maintained there by his father), and for their reception gave them and their successors for ever in free pure and perpetual alms the house he had purchased for that purpose. On the 16th of October he wrote to the Pope asking him to confirm the foundation †; and in November 1343 the bishop, prior, and chapter of Ely approved it.

This charter for a Hall of Scholars maintained by the king's alms in the University of Cambridge, supplemented as we shall see later by arrangements for the endowment of the Society, definitely established King's Hall on a permanent basis as a College in the University. None the less the technical claim of Edward II to be regarded as

* The boundaries are shown in the map given in the *Architectural History*, vol. IV, plan 23.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 11.

its founder was unchallenged in the medieval university. The title is however given to Edward III in some of the medieval letters patent and in a few of the King's Hall books, and his arms were properly placed on the gateways or other buildings of the College, where shields bearing them may still be seen. His services to the House seem to us to justify his description as its founder, but neither in King's Hall nor in the University were his exequies celebrated. The inscription on the Great Gate of *Edvardius Tertius Fundator Aule Regis* was not put up before the seventeenth century.

Edward III directed* that the sums due for commons should be paid by the sheriff regularly under penalty of arrest for failure to do so; but later, as mentioned below, the system was superseded by one of fixed payments charged on various public bodies.

The financial position of the College, after taking possession of the house purchased for it, is known to us year by year. Henceforth the external income of the Society, received or collected by the warden, was paid into a Common Chest which was managed by six Guardians (later termed Stewards) appointed for the purpose from among the scholars, and all expenses were charged on this chest. We possess the account books† kept by the guardians from 1337 to 1544. Until 1446 the evidence justifying the receipt of the endowment for maintenance was submitted annually to the Exchequer (to 1340 by the sheriff, and subsequently by the warden), and the account books kept by the guardians contain only rough notes of sums received and of the expenditure, with occasional references to individual scholars; but in and after 1446,

* "The warden and scholars having complained that their studies were constantly interrupted by having to make personally applications to the king for their wages, the sheriff is ordered to pay the same and to be liable to arrest if he fails." *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 24 February 1338, p. 20.

† On these account books, see below, Appendix IV.

when the independent audit by the Exchequer was given up, the books were kept in fuller form, the names of the scholars being given, with statements of sums due to or from each scholar. We may conveniently defer for the moment mention of such incidents of college life as are revealed by these books. Before 1446, the Exchequer and Wardrobe accounts usually supply the names of the scholars and some information about their doings*.

The house bought from Robert de Croyland, in which the scholars were located, was built round three sides of a square, the centre block standing near and parallel to the present chapel and the two projecting wings extending beyond the path which now runs from the Great Gate to the Lodge. It was in two storeys, of wood, and thatched. The public rooms and offices were in the centre block. The assignment of rooms to the scholars then in residence has been published more than once†. The warden had two rooms; the other students were located in the remaining chambers—of which those on the ground floor were known as celars and those on the upper floor as solars.

The house was in the parish of All Saints in Jewry, and, until 1485 when its own chapel was built, the Society used the parish church, which then stood in the High Street close to the College, for its services. In 1864, the old church was pulled down—the site being now indicated by a slender cross—and a new church built in a different part of the parish. The bells were removed to the new church, and if, as is said to be the case, one dates back to the twelfth century, its call to worship must have been familiar to every one who was at any time a member of King's Hall. For its use of the church, the House was accustomed to pay, as an offering to the vicar, a penny a

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, pp. 79–82.

† *Architectural History*, vol. II, p. 431; *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, pp. 94–95.

head for each scholar present at the festivals of All Saints, Christmas, and Candlemas; and as late as 1546 it continued to give something each year for oblations, and to make payments to the holy-water clerk and sacrist. A charge of £1. 13s. 4d. appears in the accounts every year for the scholars in connection with the dirge said or sung at this church in the service for the exequies of Edward II. Whether this means a donation to the vicar or officiating priests in the name of the scholars, or a division of this sum among the scholars, or a fixed contribution to the cost of the refection which followed the service is not clear.

Though all the scholars could be lodged in Robert de Croyland's house, they had not much elbow room. It was, however, from the beginning, intended to rebuild it to suit the needs of the foundation, and on 20 March 1339 the king issued letters patent* to the mayor of the town and the warden to buy in the royal name all contiguous property fit for its enlargement. Acting on this order, nearly all the land between King's Childer Lane and St John's Hospital, stretching from the High Street on the east to the river on the west was purchased, and was conveyed to King's Hall by letters patent, 17 January 1341†. The king also, 26 June 1349‡, gave the Society leave to acquire additional lands. Pending the rebuilding of the College, various extensions and repairs were made, notably in 1338 the dining hall was lengthened by sixteen feet, and later, in or before 1342, a block built on the south side of the house between the two wings. The exterior dimensions of the small quadrangle so formed were about 80 feet by 80 feet, and its interior dimensions about 50 feet by 50 feet. Grants were made by the king towards the cost of these alterations. This new block was required, as

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 12.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 13.

‡ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 17.

thirty-six scholars were in residence in 1339 and 1342, and no less than forty in 1346. Assignments of the rooms to the scholars in residence in 1342 and 1344 are extant, and the latter of these shows that some of the scholars were then lodged in the house in the High Street which had belonged to Edmund de Walsingham and had been acquired in 1340. Another part of this house was fitted up in 1346 as a brewhouse*.

By letters patent †, 24 May 1342, the king appointed a commission consisting of the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, the steward of the household, the master of the rolls, the king's confessor, and the king's almoner to settle the question of the endowment of the foundation, frame statutes for its government, and secure to its members such liberties as had been granted to the College of Chaplains at Stratford-on-Avon. Statutes may have been issued under this order, but, if so, they have not been preserved among the college records or those of chancery; if, however, they were not issued promptly, we may perhaps account for the subsequent delay in this matter, as well as for that in the rebuilding, by the advent of the Black Death. We shall see later that statutes for King's Hall were given in the next reign.

With the first matter raised by these letters, namely the endowment, Edward III dealt himself. On 1 May 1340, he had granted ‡ the scholars a fixed sum of £55 a year from the Abbey of Waltham towards the sum of £103. 8s. 4d. required annually for the maintenance of the Society if all the members were in residence throughout the year, leaving only the residue to be paid by the sheriff. He now put on the Exchequer and other authorities the

* *Architectural History*, vol. II, pp. 432-436.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 14; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1340-1343, p. 466.

‡ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 13.

obligation to make annual payments to King's Hall amounting in all to the sum required; and later on 4 February 1364 these contributions were replaced* by annual payments of £53. 6s. 8d. charged on the Exchequer, of £7. 10s. 8d. on Waltham Abbey, of £22. 11s. 0d. on the Town of Scarborough, and of £20. 0s. 0d. on the Counties of Bedford and Buckingham. We gather from various writs that payments of these sums were often delayed, but henceforth the scholars knew what they might expect, and sooner or later they got it. The payments from Scarborough and the two counties continue to be made annually to Trinity College, though in the case of Bedfordshire subject to a small deduction.

Edward III also provided sources of revenue for other expenses of the House. He had already, on 12 March 1338, given the Society the rectory of Fakenham in Norfolk, subject to the life interest of his mother; and on 25 July 1342† he presented to it the rectories of Felmersham in Bedfordshire, Hintlesham in Suffolk, Grendon in Northamptonshire, and St Mary's in Cambridge. The scholars parted with Hintlesham on 12 July 1387 to John Hadle of the manor of Hintlesham; the other rectories were retained and now belong to Trinity College. The House usually farmed rectories it owned unless they were in the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge, and either appointed a vicar with a stipend (as it did in the case of Felmersham and Grendon) or arranged directly for the clerical work of the parish (as it usually did in the case of Great St Mary's in Cambridge). To these gifts of

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 23. The charge of £53. 6s. 8d. was subsequently transferred to other authorities, see below, p. 42.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 14. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1340-1343, p. 495. As an illustration of the trouble incurred in getting the appropriations approved, an account of the expenses of the College in the matter of the appropriations of Felmersham and Grendon in 1365-66 (when these livings became vacant) is printed below in Appendix II.

advowsons the king added, on 5 July 1351, property at Wendy, near Meldreth, in Cambridgeshire.

Before the middle of the fourteenth century there had been established in the College a chest* used for the purpose of making loans to scholars against the deposit of goods such as plate or books—a common and useful institution in medieval colleges. This King's Hall chest was founded in 1349 by Thomas de Berkyng who had been admitted in 1337 and died in 1349. Half a century later a second chest was established by John Dunmore (admitted in 1395 and died in 1412) who left £20 for the purpose. There are a good many references in the account books to loans from these chests. The Society itself borrowed from Berkyng's chest in 1389 when building its new dining hall, taking £26. 13s. 4d. in March and £40 in May, leaving only 10s. in the chest. It borrowed from it again in 1524 as mentioned later.

The first outbreak of the terrible epidemic known as the Black Death occurred in 1349. Forty scholars were then in residence and within five months (April to August inclusive) sixteen of them died: the vacancies on the normal foundation of thirty-two scholars were filled up in the course of the year. Ten years later, in 1360, a second outbreak of the disease occurred; in four months (June to September) the deaths of six scholars are noted, and in the following five months the warden, Powys, and two more scholars died. Powys had held the office of warden for nearly twenty-eight years. He had seen the Society raised from chronic financial embarrassment to a prosperous position and firmly established in collegiate buildings of its own. He must, one would think, have been consulted by the king on most of the steps taken to

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 110. On the medieval use of loan chests see *Grace Book*, A, Cambridge, 1897, Introduction by S. M. Leathes, pp. xlii, xliii.

promote the prosperity of the House, and, if so, we may reckon him no mean benefactor of the Society over which he ruled for more than a quarter of a century. In his lifetime he gave one or two books to the library, and he left by will two more books to it.

The early account books are generally less informative than those of later years, but the sheets for 1361-62 are exceptionally interesting, as the guardians then in office inserted therein an inventory of goods of the College in their custody*. This inventory except for a few words was in Latin. For some time it seems to have been in constant use for checking purposes, and probably we have now only parts of the original compilation, though the parts that we have are complete. After mentioning a bequest of land in Essex from Geoffrey de Dodenho, who had died on 13 August 1361, and enumerating the titles and indicative marks of some of the books in the College library, the guardians gave the following lists of vessels in their charge belonging to the Hall, the Pantry, the Kitchen, the Bakehouse (which evidently includes the Brewhouse), and the Larder:—

Belonging to the Hall. One large washing vessel with a Two large basins, with two washing basins.

Belonging to the Pantry. Four tablecloths with two towels. Two canvas napkins and two hand towels. Four silver cups, two with covers and two without covers. One large and two small mazers. Three salt cellars of pewter, two with covers and one without a cover. Seven candlesticks, five of pewter and two of wood. Eighteen silver spoons. One cask and one chest for bread. Two small tubs for meat. One basin for alms for the poor. One small tub to catch the drippings of ale.

Belonging to the Kitchen. Twelve new plates, twelve dishes, twelve salt cellars and two chargers, all of pewter. Ten plates, nineteen dishes, twenty-two salt cellars, and three chargers all of pewter and old. Four copper pots, two large and two of medium size. Three small posnets.

* The inventory is dated 35 Edward III, i.e. 1361-62, but has been misplaced, and is bound up with the accounts for 1390-91; *King's Hall Books*, vol. IV, p. 9, *et seq.*

Five platters, one large and four of medium size. Two gridirons, one large and one small. One carrying tray and two tripods. One iron hook. Two spits and one broch. One large mortar and pestle, and one small mortar. One flesh hook, one scummer, and one bread grater. One tankard. One iron shovel for the small furnace.

Belonging to the Bakehouse [and Brewhouse]. One mash vat, one cleansing vat, and one oil vat. Two bins for barley and corn. Two mashing oars. Three cooling tubs, one leaden tap trough, and six brewing cauldrons. Five casks, and seven small herring barrels. Two large wort bowls and one lading dish. One funnel, one hair sieve, and one wooden sieve. Eight sacks, four new, two old, and two other newer ones. Two baskets, and one small basin. One kneading trough. One sifting tun. One small basket cloth, and one canvas cloth for covering the vault. Three sifting cloths. Two cowls with two cowl-staves. One new cowl, one new sifting cloth. One small barrel for barm and yeast. One old basin for barm. One bushell.

Belonging to the Larder. Two bins, one large and the other small. Five small herring barrels. One small tub. Three verjuice barrels, two large and one small. One trough for salting meat. One copper pot for oatmeal.

The reader will find it interesting to compare the above lists with those for the year 1478-79, given later. We infer from these inventories that, at the time they were made, the Society was not wealthy. Probably the whole of the sum allowed for maintenance was required for the normal outgoings and there was little margin for general expenses; the appropriations of the advowsons of Felmersham and Grendon were not yet completed; and the Society was too young to have received many gifts. By 1366 the financial position of the College was much stronger, and thenceforward the revenues of the House were generally more than sufficient to meet the absolutely necessary expenses. This accounts for the ambitious schemes of building and extension which were undertaken later.

In 1368 Edward III gave the society five works on civil law under conditions embodied in a deed which was printed by Cooper*. They were intended for the use of

* Cooper's *Memorials*, vol. II, p. 202.

Walter de Herford as long as he was a scholar, and afterwards for the use of other scholars of the House, but they were not to be alienated or removed. This gift and that of Powys show that the library was growing, and we should infer the same from occasional notices in the accounts of the cost of re-boarding books and providing chains for them. It is clear that it was a valued possession of the House.

In 1369, a third outbreak of the Black Death took place and four scholars died. Subsequently the College more than once suffered from similar outbreaks, but none on so big a scale. About this time the College erected a new bake-house and a granary. There are now, too, entries connected with the planting of vines, and the care of the gardens on the site of the present Bowling Green, as also about litigation concerning a river wall which the Society had erected*. These may be trivial details, but they reveal the House as an active and vigorous corporation. Of other incidents at this time the only record that has survived relates to disputes in 1377 between the scholars of King's Hall and those of Clare Hall†: the matter was taken before the University, but the king intervened and at Easter summoned both parties before his council "to whom submitting themselves concord was established."

The scholars were appointed by letters under the privy seal. In the course of time most of these documents have been destroyed or lost, but those that are extant give some information as to the social position of nominees to scholarships. All the ten scholars sent to Cambridge on 7 July 1317 had been connected with the chapel-royal, and until the close of the reign of Edward III a considerable proportion of the scholars were described as *petits clerks de nostre chapelle*. As time passed such entries became

* *Architectural History*, vol. II, p. 436.

† Cooper's *Memorials*, vol. II, p. 202.

rarer. It is possible that the requirements from nominees to scholarships of a working knowledge of Latin were less rigorous in the early days of the king's scholars, but after 1380 such a knowledge was normally required. For some of the lads drawn from this source, this was a stumbling block; two or three such cases are mentioned later. In general, boys from the chapel-royal resided continuously but did not stay more than a few years, and there was thus a constant succession of vacancies on the foundation.

Besides the class of lads already mentioned, several of the scholars in residence during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III were connected with the superior servants and lower officials of the court. Thus in Terry, brother to John de Cologne, admitted in 1328, and William, son of Roger de Cologne, admitted in 1355, we have members of the Cologne family who filled various offices about the court—the head of the family in England being the said John who had been brought to London from Cologne by Edward III as his armourer. So too William Goderich, admitted in 1375, was the son of John Goderich, the king's cook, and no doubt Simon and John Godrich, admitted in 1361, Robert Goderich, admitted in 1364, and Simon Goderich, admitted in 1377, were related to him. Again we find in 1319 mention of John and Thomas Griffon, in 1332 of William Griffon, and in 1319 of Andrew Rosekin: we may take it that these were related to some court officials, for there are entries on the Pipe Rolls in 1327 of liveries supplied to the wives of Andrew and John*. It is also highly probably that Simon Brocas admitted in 1327 was related to the Arnold Brocas and John Brocas who respectively kept the horses of the king and the earl of Cornwall. Other instances are Aymer Symeon admitted in 1326 the son of the king's serjeant; Geoffrey Lestrangle,

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, p. 87.

admitted in his sixteenth year, 1347, the son of the king's serjeant-at-arms; William Walkelate, admitted in 1350, son of another serjeant-at-arms; and Thomas Smith, admitted in 1349, the son of the king's smith. The last-mentioned student resided for eleven years, but was expelled in 1360 for going off to the wars without the warden's leave*. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, we infer from the extant writs that nominations from this class also became less common, though even into the sixteenth century the names of scholars and court officials are sometimes identical, and it may be reasonably inferred that, throughout the history of King's Hall, some boys of this class were regularly nominated.

What became of scholars of this class after graduation? That is a question which we cannot answer definitely, but all the information at our disposal justifies us in thinking that normally such scholars on going out of residence either took service in the court or were beneficed. At this time it would seem that it was usual for a scholar on going out of residence to take his name off the boards of the House.

Most of the higher officials at court were unmarried clerks, who could not have had sons of their own name eligible for admission, but towards the end of the reign of Edward III and during that of Richard II some of the scholars of the House bear the same name as certain officials who appear on the rolls of chancery of the time, and it seems likely that the higher officers of the church and state now began to seek nominations for their connections and acquaintances. As instances we may mention William de Walcote, nominated in 1352 at the request of the queen mother; Robert de Lincoln, admitted in 1369, cousin of Helmyng Leget, the governor of Windsor Castle; Nicholas Mockyng, admitted in 1377, who notwithstanding

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 98.

his tenure of many benefices* held his scholarship till his death in 1424; and John Cacheroo, admitted in 1387, at the request of the confessor to Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland. Scholars drawn from this class became more numerous as time went on. We note also the admission in 1369 of Nicholas de Drayton and John de Kent: these two nominees were already graduates and their scholarships merely provided them with comfortable homes when not engaged on outside work—perhaps that was the intention of those who obtained their nominations. Henceforth there were generally a few scholars of this type, and their admissions testify to the growing connection between the Society and the higher civil service of the time.

In the closing years of the reign of Edward III to whom the Society owed so much, it was able to begin the long-intended rebuilding of its home on a comprehensive plan—the whole of the area between the High Street, King's Childer Lane, the river, and St John's Hospital having been acquired in or before 1376. The new buildings took some fifty years to erect. They were not at first pressed forward with much energy, and we may for the moment defer describing them.

Richard II showed himself not less friendly to the Society than his predecessor, and on 9 September 1377 he confirmed its endowments†. Later he transferred the payment of £53. 6s. 8d. from the Exchequer to other authorities‡. Similar confirmations or re-grants of the rights and privileges of King's Hall were made§ by Henry IV and Henry V on 8 October 1399 and 5 April

* See *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 105. The Mockings were wealthy fishmongers in the city of London, owning considerable estates in Middlesex and Kent.

† *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 26.

‡ See below, p. 42.

§ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 34, 37.

1413, shortly after their respective accessions. The wording of the letters patents on these occasions suggests that in the absence of such confirmation or re-grant the property given to King's Hall might, on the death of the sovereign, have been resumed by the crown.

On 5 March 1380, statutes* for the government of the Hall were given by the king, and directed to be read in public thrice a year. They are well worth study for what they forbid as well as for what they order. Some of the provisions are as follows:—Before admission a student must have attained the age of at least fourteen years, and have a sufficient knowledge of Latin and grammar to qualify him for the study of logic or other subjects selected by the warden. If idle and disobedient he was to be expelled. Poverty was not required as a qualification for membership, but a scholar vacated his office if he was admitted to a benefice of the value of £6. 13s. 4d. a year, or became possessed of private property of the value of £5 a year, or entered religion. Mass was to be said on every Sunday for the souls of Edward II, Edward III, and the Black Prince, and for the good estate of the king and realm; the scholars were required to attend this in gowns of the king's livery. The statutes direct that the scholars should have a common table; they were always to speak Latin or French. The numerous regulations about the conduct and occupations of the students suggest that those now admitted were accustomed to the life of well-to-do lads and young men of the period. It would seem that the warden, under his general powers, could grant leave of non-residence, and perhaps in the case of senior scholars holding small benefices it was expected that such leave should be given.

The year 1383 is remarkable in the history of the

* They were first printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, London, 1704–1735, vol. VII, pp. 239–243: from which they are reprinted below in Appendix I.

House for the admission of a boy, John Rauf, who was far below the standard of learning required from scholars when nominated. He came from the chapel-royal, and there was in his case a special order that he should attend first the school of grammar and language and then the other faculties. However he resigned and left in January 1385, and the position of a lad who could not speak Latin or French must have been uncomfortable in a Society where the use of any other language was forbidden. This is the only recorded case where a scholar-elect entered the glomerel and not the arts or law schools. Two years later, however, in 1385, three lads were admitted from the chapel-royal *nonobstant quilz ne sont conforme en gramere sicome ils devroient*. In 1416 a somewhat similar admission from the chapel-royal was made of one John Hotoft, and in the following year there was admitted from the chapel-royal one John Fisher *ce quil nest nye uncore pleinement enformez en son gramer nonobstant**. The notes suggest that the admissions were regarded as exceptional, and we may assume that normally nominees to scholarships were fairly proficient in the Latin of the schools.

In June 1383, the bishop of Ely was directed† to visit the College and reform and correct various abuses therein which had been reported to the king—the buildings having, it was said, fallen into decay, and books and other goods been stolen. On the bishop's advice the warden, Simon de Neylond, and six of the scholars were removed from their offices‡ on 19 May 1385. It appears from the account books that the warden and these scholars were frequently absent from the House without leave. Neylond's absence was the less excusable, since in the

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, pp. 107, 108, 115.

† *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1381-1385, p. 352.

‡ *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 107.

letters patent appointing him there was a provision that he should reside continuously for the good government of the Society, the education of the scholars and the stimulation of their studies; and arrangements were authorised for the transaction, during his tenure of the office, of external business by a scholar instead of the warden*. Neylond's predecessors had resided regularly. Several of his successors followed his example and resided only at irregular intervals, and the obvious consequence was that in these cases the warden ceased to take an active share in the government of the House.

After the removal of Simon de Neylond, the custom was continued of making one of the guardians of the chest responsible for external finance, and this scholar, called *prosecutor ad forinseca*, became what would now-a-days be called the senior bursar of King's Hall: he received annually a stipend of 6s. 8d. and a cap allowance of 2s. The other five guardians between them did the work of internal administration which is now concentrated in the hands of the junior bursar and steward of Trinity College, and each received a stipend of 4s. a year, with a cap allowance of 2s. payable shortly before the Fair at Stourbridge. The departments assigned to the five guardians responsible for the internal administration of the Hall were the kitchens, the bakehouse, the mill and brewery, the buttery, the gardens and grounds, and the control of the house-servants. How they divided the work among themselves is not clear: probably it varied at different times. Each of the five could act for any of the others. After 1434 the senior bursar became an independent officer and ceased to be reckoned as a guardian or steward of the chest.

The statutes refer, as is to be expected, to the custody of the Seal of the House. There are among the records

* *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1377-1381, p. 19.*

of King's Hall now in the possession of Trinity College two or three impressions of this seal, but all are imperfect and in bad condition. The best is one of 1387 which is reproduced (actual size) as the frontispiece to this sketch. In the middle of the impression, the king is represented seated on a dais with Gothic canopy work over and on each side of him. His left hand is extended and holds the model of a building with a lofty lantern or spire. On his right hand a clerk in a long gown is kneeling, and perhaps doing homage. Below the dais are five figures, the three middle ones standing and the figure on either side of them kneeling. On the dexter side of the supports of the Gothic canopy is a tree bearing a shield with the arms of England. On the sinister side is a similar tree bearing a shield with quarterings of France ancient and England: from which we may infer that the seal was made subsequent to 1336. The only part of the lettering now legible is at the bottom and reads ...*rium aule*....

The account books give details of the money received and spent, but it is not easy to construct from them a picture of life in College, or to draw up balance sheets. It may however be useful to state some of the facts brought out.

We may note at once that there is an almost entire absence of any reference to education or learning. The house was a hall of residence for lads sent by the court to Cambridge for a university education, and its object was the provision of a home for them. Originally the management was entirely in the hands of the warden who alone was responsible to the king, and constitutionally this always remained his position. At first, and as long as all the scholars were boys, the warden ruled absolutely, disbursements as well as receipts passing through his hands, or through those of the butler who sometimes acted as his agent.

Within a few years of the establishment of the scholars, however, some of them were grown-up men, and there was no difficulty in getting half-a-dozen (the guardians or stewards) who were competent to manage the internal affairs of the House. In and after 1337 the warden paid all sums received by him into the common chest, and the expenditure was left in the hands of its guardians. From this arrangement a system of self-government soon arose, and within half-a-century the internal affairs of the House were entirely managed by the senior scholars with perhaps a power of veto in the hands of the warden. With the regular appointment of a *prosecutor ad forinseca* the external affairs also fell largely into the hands of the scholars, and finally the wardens ceased to concern themselves much with the daily administration of the College. In the sixteenth century, indeed, we read of general meeting of the scholars who apparently had, or were allowed to assume, power to give directions on matters affecting the whole House, so that in fact the Society became a self-governing community.

The college money unappropriated to any special purpose was kept in a bag called the *sacculus primus*. Out of this the expenses of the House (food, repairs, wages of the servants, and so on) were met. The groceries and salted meat for the year were usually bought at Stourbridge Fair, but the guardians made contracts in advance for the supply, when they were wanted, of things like corn, malt, and wine. A considerable stock of timber, tiles, and building materials was usually kept stored. Moneys to be used for special purposes (as, for instance, for the plate fund) were put in other bags. All the bags were kept in the common chest*, and there are occasional notes of what was contained in it. The methods employed for safety may have been cumbersome but they seem to have been

* In 1479 we are told that the chest was kept over the porch.

effective, and in only one instance* (in 1452) is there a note of a theft or loss from this chest. Loans were sometimes made out of the common chest (as well as out of the special charitable chests) on the security of articles deposited therein.

Before the end of the fourteenth century we find that every scholar on commencing residence was required to pay £1 to the plate fund, 4*d.* for the College boat, and to provide a breakfast to the Society at a cost of £1 or more. The total expense must have proved a very heavy tax on a poor student, but perhaps he was allowed to work it off by services in the garden or library, as there are a few instances of payments to poor scholars for doing such work. At a time when the river was the chief artery of traffic, the possession of a well-equipped boat was most important—at any rate one was always kept in good condition, and the expense of maintaining it charged on the common chest. The giving, on admission, of a breakfast or feast of some kind was a natural custom in a medieval society, and seems to have been generally enforced. There are only four recorded cases of exceptions being allowed†: in 1410, in lieu of the customary breakfast, Robert Gillot gave 20*s.* towards the cost of the bakehouse then building; in 1430 John Latham paid 20*s.* together with some gratuities to the servants; and in 1439 and 1441 Thomas Stafford and Richard Laverok gave lectures in their respective chambers. It will be noticed that these exceptions are confined to a period of some thirty years. In the sixteenth century the charge for the entrance breakfast is called the entrance fee; perhaps by that time it had come to be paid in money to the College.

The accounts of the later years contain lists of all sizings or extras supplied to every scholar in residence. In these

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. X, p. 247.

† *King's Hall Books*, vol. VIII, p. 4; vol. IX, p. 185; vol. X, p. 1.

lists are notes of visits by strangers entertained at the expense of the Society, but guests of the warden and of individual scholars are not named. According to Fuller* when Richard II summoned a parliament to meet at Cambridge in 1383 apartments for him were prepared at King's Hall "where all things were so conveniently contrived that the courtiers had all lodgings and offices by themselves, without meeting with the scholars, save only in the passage towards the kitchen." Finally the king stayed at Barnwell Priory, but we may take the original selection of King's Hall for his place of residence as evidence of its importance. The College guests for the first century of its existence are rarely mentioned, though by chance we have a note of a visit by the earl of Suffolk in 1385; among the more distinguished guests of a later period we have mention of the bishop of Durham, chancellor, in 1420, of Henry cardinal Beaufort in 1428, of Henry VI on various occasions, of Henry VII in 1486, of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1489-90, of Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, in 1490-91, and of Lady Margaret in 1504-05†. Some of the wardens seem to have entertained largely, but unfortunately we have no lists of their visitors. Most people who came on business to the House were put up as guests of the scholars and vails given to their servants, for instance, in 1424 Thomas Ludham the executor of Holme and in 1446 Bryan Roucliffe, a baron of the exchequer, who assisted in arranging for the abandonment of the Exchequer audit, were received at the expense of the Society.

The chief college festivities every year were the commemoration of the founder, Edward of Carnarvon, celebrated by a feast on Innocents' Day (the day following his exequies)

* *History of the University*, edition of 1840, p. 119.

† *King's Hall Books*, vol. III, p. 243; vol. VI, p. 217; vol. VII, pp. 192, 222, 257; vol. XVIII, p. 25; vol. XX, p. 205.

and the feasts connected with the great festivals of the church at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. There are also regular entries for the payment and entertainment of mummers or actors, who visited the College at Candlemas and two or three other times a year. In 1444 the queen's mummers came and were given a dinner at the not expensive cost of 6*d.*; in 1503 the "wayts" were paid for coming on Innocents' Day; and in 1534-35 the College paid 2*s.* 11*d.* to Braunden* the king's "jogular." These examples are taken from the later history of the Hall because the accounts are then set out in more detail, but probably actors and singers came in the time of Richard II and Henry IV much as they did in that of Henry VIII.

We have already called attention to the change of policy towards King's Hall on the part of the crown, noticeable in the reign of Richard II, under which nominations to scholarships in King's Hall were commonly given to relations of those who constituted what we may call the higher civil service in church and state of the time. This practice was continued by Henry IV and Henry V. No doubt it was facilitated by the heavy entrance fees now

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. x, p. 176; vol. xx, p. 141; vol. xxv, p. 2. Brandon was a good conjuror. He was specially celebrated for his trick of the sympathetic portrait. In this, he placed a live pigeon among the spectators, or at any rate not on the stage. He then drew a portrait of the bird, and on stabbing the picture the bird fell down dead. It is not known what device he used for the purpose; to-day, with the use of electricity, it would be very simple. This seems a very dangerous trick for a conjuring performance at that time, and in later life Brandon gave it up. We have a list of the tricks in vogue at performances such as this, in the sixteenth century. They include the common decapitation trick, burning a card and then producing it from a pocket of a spectator, changing money into counters and counters into money, making a coin disappear and reappear elsewhere, tying a knot and undoing it by magic words, turning wheat into flour at command, burning a piece of string and making it whole again, pulling endless coils of ribbon from the mouth, and so on; see, for instance, Scot's *Discourvie of Witchcraft wherein.....the conueiances of legerdemaine and juggling are deciphered*, London, 1584, pp. 321-352. No doubt with such a programme at command Brandon gave an amusing performance.

imposed on scholars elect, as also by the fact that after 1375 the wardens were usually closely connected with the court. How was a nomination obtained to what by this time was evidently a coveted post? The problem is a most fascinating one, but it is impossible to answer it definitely. Henceforth, however, a fair proportion of the extant privy seals, giving the nomination of boys, recite that one of the then existing scholars is about to resign in favour of the new scholar; the earliest recorded instance of such a statement occurs in 1386 when Henry Spicer resigned his scholarship in favour of James de Walsingham. This may have seemed at the time a trivial change of custom, but the resulting tendency was to make the Society a close corporation and strengthen its connection with the official classes. In such a case did the retiring scholar receive an inducement to resign; just as an officer in the army formerly received from his successor in the post a sum of money? The sale of posts and offices would be in accord with medieval custom in some matters, but we have no positive evidence and we must leave the problem unsolved. Of those who vacated their scholarships some left because promoted to benefices, some because they entered religion, one (John Coe) because he went mad, another (Robert Gillot) because he married, and a few were removed or expelled, but in most cases we know only that they died, left, or resigned.

Pensioners were occasionally admitted* as a matter of favour, the earliest pensioner of whom we have a record is one William Bardolf who entered in 1387. There were, however, at several periods past scholars who continued, by leave of the Society, to reside as pensioners.

We have already mentioned gifts to the library by Edward III and Thomas Powys, and the (incomplete)

* The names of eleven or twelve are given in the *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, pp. 134-135.

register of books in the library in 1361. There is a complete catalogue* of the books in it in 1390. In this the works are divided into six classes namely those in grammar (10), dialectics (5), theology (5), civil law (52), canon law (17), and medicine (18): in all 107 books. It is understood that a monograph on the library of King's Hall is now being written, and it is unnecessary to go here into further details.

We pause to mention briefly the rebuilding of the College which had commenced in 1375. The plan adopted comprised the erection of a closed quadrangle with various extensions. Of this court the west side (which contained the common parlour), some 120 feet long, is still standing and faces the Bowling Green. Each of the other three sides, all since pulled down, was about 100 feet long on the outside; of these the north side stretched along the boundary wall next to St John's Hospital and contained the library, while the south side (which contained the dining hall) may be said in a rough sort of way to have covered the ground now occupied by the antechapel and the path in front of it. One of the walls in the latter range was used in the sixteenth century for the west wall of the present chapel of Trinity College, and an old window in it has been left *in situ*. The inner quadrangle of the court was about 40 feet by 40 feet and was cloistered on the north and west sides; this area, small as it was, was further contracted by a block some 20 feet by 12 feet built in its south-east corner, and an oratory projecting some 15 feet by 15 feet into it from the middle of its western face, over what is now the Junior Combination Room and was once the Choir School. Outside this court two extensions were built. The first of these was a continuation of its west side for another 100 feet or so by a range of chambers stretching southwards up to the present sundial in the Great Court

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. IV, pp. 3-5.

of Trinity. This range was terminated by an entrance gateway (King Edward's Tower) facing Foul Lane which then ran from the present Queen's Gate across what is now the Great Court to King's Childer Lane. The south side of the court was similarly extended for some 45 feet by a range stretching eastwards. Ground plans of these blocks have been published by Willis and Clark and by W. D. Carøe. The buildings first erected were of brick or rubble masonry, and tiled; the later buildings were of stone taken from a quarry at Cherryhinton which was acquired about 1420. We can gather the general effect from the existing Clock Tower and the frontage to the Bowling Green, the common parlour with its fire-place also remains and is now used as the bursary. These works were finished about 1438, and the old mansion of Robert de Croyland, probably then in bad repair, was pulled down*.

Of these buildings the dining hall and certain chambers were begun before 1377, and the kitchens before 1386; these may have been finished by 1390. The new library, with the contiguous chambers, and a wooden cloister were begun in 1417, and completed in 1421; the accounts for 1421-22 contain notes of charges for binding and arranging the books. The oratory was commenced in 1420; in 1422-23 painted hangings for it were provided at a cost of £1. 6s. 8d.; in 1424-26, in view of an approaching visit by Henry VI, the room was wainscotted, and £4. 10s. 0d. spent on the organ; at Michaelmas 1428 cardinal Beaufort used it and a breviary was repaired for him: no doubt it was also used by Henry VI in October 1445 and at Easter 1447, when he visited the House. In 1468-69 a new organ was bought for it; the paintings in it were repaired in 1467-71, and the organ in 1472-73. That is the last we hear of it, and probably it was pulled down in 1485. The library and oratory were on the first floor and opened on

* *Architectural History*, vol. II, pp. 436-447.

to a gallery over the cloister which ran along the west side of the court. In 1429 the common parlour was finished and wainscotted. The King Edward Tower and adjacent range of chambers were begun in 1426-27, and took some ten years in building. A carved and painted statue of the king, which must be taken to be the reigning sovereign, Henry VI, was added to it in 1434-36: that the statue was of Henry VI is confirmed by the royal shields on the tower, of which two bear the arms of England, and two the arms of France and England quarterly in the form used by Henry VI and not in that used by Edward III. This Gateway faced Foul Lane and provided the main entrance to the College from that side. It was taken down and rebuilt in 1599-1600 in its present position: the statue of Edward III now on it was then put there by Nevile in place of that of Henry VI*, and at the same time below it the arms of Trinity were added. These buildings formed a striking architectural whole: they bore witness to the wealth of King's Hall as also to the generosity of its members, for numerous gifts from past and present members for the extensions are recorded.

While these works were in progress, the College was also enlarging the area available for future extensions. In 1417, 1430, and 1433, it acquired the land on the south side of King's Childer Lane between High Street and Foul Lane, and in the last-mentioned year it obtained power to shut up and enclose this part of King's Childer Lane. Various minor building operations were undertaken at this period.

Holme who was warden from 1417 to 1424 resided, took an active part in the business of the House, and was a considerable benefactor to the library. His generosity

* The authorities are quoted in the *Architectural History*, vol. II, pp. 446, 482, 515, but it is believed the statement there made about the first statue is erroneous.

and zeal in the matter of the rebuilding were generally recognised, and on 20 May 1426, shortly after his death, the Society took the exceptional step of ordering that yearly on the vigil of St George the martyr, the scholars should meet in the church of All Saints in Jewry, and there celebrate his exequies with mass on the morrow. His successors, FitzHugh and Cawdrey, 1424 to 1448, took a prominent part in ecclesiastical matters in the country and resided only irregularly. His predecessors, Selby, Derham, and Stone, 1391 to 1417, also played a large part in public affairs: Selby being the intimate friend of Richard II, Derham's influence with Henry IV being so great that parliament passed an Act requiring his dismissal, and Stone being secretary to Henry V. Holme and FitzHugh are described in the *Memoriale* as *virō nobiles*.

There is, in the King's Hall Books for the year 1482-83, a list of plate delivered to Mr Christopher for a function—evidently an important function—connected with "the inception" of Master FitzHugh. The only FitzHugh known to have been a member of King's Hall is the warden mentioned above, and at first reading it is natural to suspect that the sheets on which the list is written may have been misplaced in binding: this view however is not tenable, for the list is in the same handwriting as other entries in 1482-83 and is on paper of the same watermark as the other sheets of the accounts of that year. But the King's Hall Books show* that FitzHugh had, staying with him as his guests, for three days in 1425 Mr Christopher with Nicholas and his son, and as no one of the name of Christopher appears at any time as a member of King's Hall it seems to the writer of this booklet that we may reasonably take the list as relating to plate handed out by the stewards in connection with a refection given in

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. VII, p. 126.

the College in 1425 at or soon after FitzHugh's admission to the wardenship. It remains to consider whether the names of Druell and Lowes which occur in the inventory assist in fixing its date. The brothers John and Nicholas Druell were scholars, John from 1428-29 to 1433 and Nicholas from 1433 to 1453-54, and both held office in the House. The words *quod magister Druell* seem to be the beginning of a sentence of which the rest is missing, and maybe it was written in the margin of the original memorandum at some later period, and then got copied into the text: in any case it must refer to something that took place after 1425. The name of Lowes [Lowes] appears in the account book of 1426-27, but probably the entry in which reference is made to him has nothing to do with the original memorandum, since it is written after the receipt given for the plate. If we assign this list to the year 1425, we must suppose that the stewards of 1482-83 copied it into their books from some old memorandum, regarding it as worth preservation.

The list of plate*, provided by the stewards for the inception of FitzHugh, is as follows:—

Deliberantur magistro Cristofre pro magistro ffitzhugh in Inceptione sua.
In *primis* a gret standyng pece gilt *with* the cover *with* a columbyne floer
on the cover.

Item a gobelet *with* a cover gilt *with* iii ymages on the botom.

Item a gilt standyng pece playn *with* the cover *with* a gilt roose on the
cover.

Item a gilt standyng pece with a cover *with* a silver roose on the cover.

Item a flatte pece gilt *with* cover pouderd *with* birdis and flourys.

Item a standyng pece *parcelle* gilt *with* the cover *with* iii angellis under the
fote.

Item a standyng pece swaged *parcelle* gilt *with* the cover *quod magister*
druell.

Item a standyng pece swaged *parcelle* gilt...*with* the cover *with* a cer...gilt
on the cover.

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. xvi, p. 198. Letters put in italics indicate that there are contractions in the original which have been written out in full.

Item a standyng pece *with* a cover *parcelle* gilt *with* iii angellis under the fote // da *gloriam* deo writen about the fote.

Item a standyng pece *parcelle* gilt with the cover *with* leemyng stenys gilt.

Item a standyng pece playne *with* the cover *parcelle* gilt *with* the knoppe....

Item a standyng pece *with* the cover *parcelle* playne *parcelle* pounced knoppe....

Item a lowe standyng pece *with* the cover *parcelle* gilt with a white sheld in the...with a cheverown & an .i. & a crowne.

Item iii silver quartis pottis.

Item i silver potte of a pottell.

Item vi bolles of oon facon the bordours gilt.

Magister \overline{x} pofre induxit.

Item ii spyce plates *with* ye feett. *Item* a cover payn for mr lowes.

The reign of Henry VI proved a critical period in the history of the Hall. In the earlier part of his reign he showed himself friendly, and on various occasions when concerned with preparations for his new college he enjoyed the hospitality of the Society. On 2 May 1440 he presented* the advowson of Chesterton to the scholars. In the same year he gave† them 77 books which included at least two that had been the property of King Henry V. Fuller says that in all there were 120 volumes thus presented, but this is a mistake as we have the complete list of the works given. At any rate it was a large addition to the library.

In 1441 the king pardoned the members their trespass in acquiring a right to use the conduit without having first obtained his permission. The conduit to which reference is here made deserves a word or two in passing. It was constructed by the Franciscans whose monastery was on land now occupied by Sidney Sussex College. They purchased in 1325 a strip of ground two feet wide stretching from their House for rather over a mile to a spring situated behind the ale-house on the Madingley Road known as

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 42.

† *Ancient Kalendars of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. II, p. 155.

the Man Loaded with Mischief, and below this strip in 1327 they laid a pipe to convey the water to their buildings: this conduit ran along King's Childer Lane.

The upper part of King's Childer Lane was acquired from the Town by King's Hall and enclosed in 1433, and the Society thereupon asked the friars for leave to tap the conduit. What followed is obscure, but by letters patent*, 31 May 1441, the lane and aqueduct were confirmed to the scholars, and their trespass in obtaining them without the royal consent was pardoned. It would seem that the arrangement was that, subject to a payment of 10s. a year by the Society to the friars, the aqueduct from its source to King's Hall should belong jointly to the friars and the scholars, the part within King's Hall to the scholars, and the part from the High Street to the monastery to the friars. The whole aqueduct was given to Trinity College by Henry VIII in 1546, and the College title to it has had statutory recognition. It feeds the fountain in the Great Court, and still supplies the tap, open to the use of the public, in the street on the south of the Great Gate; now it does not go beyond that point. The use of the surface of the strip of land over the pipe has been lost by centuries of adverse possession, but the right to enter on the land and inspect and repair the pipe has been preserved †. The observant pedestrian can note the track of the aqueduct across fields by various small posts with T. C. P. (Trinity Conduit Pipe) painted thereon.

By this time there seem to have been few scholars admitted from the chapel-royal and not many from what we may term the lower ranks of the civil service. The College never had any special connection with the landed families, and there was no reason why the king should have used his patronage to assist lads from this class; but that

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 43.

† *Architectural History*, vol. 11, pp. 427-430.

the students admitted belonged to the wealthier classes is shown by their sizing bills and the fact that many of them now had private servants of their own. From these statements it seems a fair inference that the scholars were generally related to members of the higher civil service in church and state, or to leading professional men. These students, after graduation, were likely to look for careers in the civil service or church, and, though we cannot speak definitely on the subject, it seems probable that this became the custom. The connection of the scholars with the civil service is illustrated by a grant under the privy seal* in July 1429 of protection for William Waynflete and William Egmonton, scholars of the House, and others who were ordered to attend the warden Robert FitzHugh on a mission to Rome undertaken on behalf of the king. Holme had received leave in the winter of 1414-15 to attend a similar diplomatic mission to France.

Early in the fifteenth century we find that a few of the senior scholars (or to use the modern equivalent term, the fellows) who had passed the regency were constantly absent from College, and by the middle of that century about half the senior scholars in this position resided only at irregular intervals. Thus an examination of the books for the two years 1439 to 1441 shows that, of the thirty-two scholars, the junior half were in regular residence and no doubt taking the normal academic course, but of the senior half eight or nine were frequently absent except at the great festivals. Probably such absences were due to clerical or other official duties elsewhere, and to regularise the position the statutory regulations about the vacation of scholarships by holding benefices or possessing private property of a certain value were often suspended by letters patent or otherwise.

* *P. C. Register*, Henry VI, vol. III, p. 347.

It must not be assumed that non-residence of this kind was an abuse of the endowment, or regarded as such, for there is no reason to think that the senior scholars were held to have more definite duties to the society than had (say) a non-resident fellow to his College in the nineteenth century, and it is certain that the practice of non-residence had the approval of the crown and the warden. Non-residents received their robes and their biannual pocket-money, but had commons only when in residence: they could retain their rooms in College, by leave of the warden. Doubtless these men occupied positions in the world where they would normally expect the services of their own servants, and it is quite exceptional to find any scholars of this type who had not private servants of their own. Of course the increase in the average length of tenure of the scholarships diminished the number of vacancies to be filled annually, and this accounts for the small number of new entries in later years.

The custom of granting scholars leave of non-residence left many rooms in the Hall vacant, and probably this explains the exceptional action taken in 1439-42 in allowing Henry, the son and heir of the Earl of Huntingdon, and his two bastard brothers to live in College as pensioners: they were accompanied by an independent retinue of servants.

In 1446 an important change in the relations of the Society to the Exchequer was introduced. Until this time the warden presented each year to the Exchequer accounts showing the exact number of scholars resident every day in the year, and produced the writs appointing new scholars endorsed with details of the actual admissions*.

* An example of such an account, covering the period from 1 April 1349 to 1 March 1351, with a writ nominating to a scholarship Thomas de Wodeweston, is printed in the *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 67-72. This scholar was admitted 10 April 1349 and ten weeks later died of the Black Death.

The warden, Cawdrey, now obtained for himself and his successors a release from the necessity of presenting these vouchers. Cawdrey had also allowed the payments for the endowment of the Hall to get behindhand, but on 14 October 1446 orders were given that the arrears should be paid*. Cawdrey was clerk to the king's council and a baron of the Exchequer, and in virtue of the latter office one of the auditors of the accounts. No doubt this gave him influence in the matter.

The writ of release is dated 28 November 1446, and may be worth summarizing †. It commences by stating that Richard Cawdrey, being distrained for his account, appeared on the morrow of Hilary by Brian Rouclyff his attorney, and asked to be exonerated in virtue of a privy seal produced of 28 November 1446, which after reciting ‡ (1) a grant of 4 February 1364 of £53. 6s. 8d. payable by the Exchequer, of £7. 10s. 8d. by the abbot of Waltham, of £22. 11s. 0d. by the burgesses of Scarborough paid for the manor of Walesgrave, and of £20. 0s. 0d. by the sheriffs of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, for the wages of 4d. a day for the warden and 2d. a day for each of 32 scholars; (2) a grant of 9 September 1377 confirming the above; (3) a grant of 29 July 1378 ordering that in lieu of the £53. 6s. 8d. out of the Exchequer, the scholars should receive £33. 6s. 8d. out of a pension paid by the abbot of Sawtre so long as the pension was in the king's hands owing to war with France, and £20. 0s. 0d. of the prior of Barnwell due for Chesterton; (4) a grant of 15 February 1381, transferring the payment to the scholars of £20. 0s. 0d. from the prior of Barnwell to the burgesses of Scarborough; (5) a grant of 5 April 1413 by "the right victorious prince"

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 48.

† *Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer Memoranda Roll*, 25 Henry VI, Hilary. Recorda 18.

‡ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 23, 26, 27, 37.

King Henry V, confirming the above: finally directs that the warden be in future exonerated from rendering any account of the sums received by him in virtue of such recited grants. Accordingly henceforth the endowment for the maintenance and commons of the Hall was paid direct to the warden, who handed it to the stewards of the chest, and there was no audit by an external authority. It was a natural consequence of this change that subsequently the account books should be kept more fully. This was the case, and as time went on the form improved and became more detailed*.

In 1447, King's Hall had to meet the most serious crisis in its history. The power of the reigning sovereign in controlling it was unquestioned, and its development had taken place in accordance with the royal wishes. Nothing had occurred to show that a change of policy was being considered, but by letters patent† on 4 February 1447, Henry VI divested the crown of the royal patronage in connection with the Society, and gave the provosts of Eton and King's colleges power to appoint the wardens and scholars of King's Hall as and when vacancies occurred, with the view of providing educational facilities for Etonians at the University. On 24 January 1448, he further granted‡ to the provosts power to make new statutes for King's Hall, to enquire on oath touching the non-observance of the statutes given by Richard II, and to correct and punish (if necessary by expulsion) excesses, negligences, crimes, and defects of the warden and scholars. The over-lordship of Eton and King's Colleges commenced in 1447,

* For an analysis of the accounts for one of the later years see below, Appendix IV.

† These letters do not appear in the *Calendars of Patent Rolls*, and as they are not easily accessible they are printed in Appendix III below, together with a copy of the oath imposed by the provosts on the wardens they appointed.

‡ *Cambridge Documents*, vol. I, p. 49; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 121.

and was extended by the letters of 24 January 1448. It did not however become really effective till 1452 and then lasted for ten years till 1462.

On 26 February 1448 the payment of £5. 6s. 8d. for the robes of the warden of King's Hall was ordered to be made to the over-ruling provosts*. A few months later the warden, Cawdrey, resigned his office, and the provosts appointed Nicholas Ayscough in his place.

The allowances for robes from the wardrobe to the scholars had at this time fallen into arrear, and this led to a change in the practice. By an order† dated 19 November 1448, after reciting that the scholars had been accustomed formerly to receive yearly at Christmas cloth and fur for their habits of the value of £26. 13s. 4d., delivery of which had been put off for two or three years, that by the statutes of the Society each scholar on admission had taken oath to appear in the king's livery according to his degree at the mass celebrated weekly for the souls of the king, his ancestors, and his heirs, and at certain scholastic acts, that many scholars could not use the robes provided owing to their age or bad condition, the king granted to the warden and scholars of King's Hall the sum of £26. 13s. 4d. a year, as from the following Christmas, to provide vesture at the discretion of the four senior scholars, being stewards of the chest. Henceforth this money allowance was given in lieu of the robes formerly given in kind: at first it was paid from the Exchequer, but later by the abbey of Barnwell out of its receipts from Chesterton. The College surrendered it in 1542 as part of the price paid for the advowsons of Arrington and Bottisham.

Exactly what action was proposed by the provosts of Eton and King's Colleges under the sweeping powers conferred on them we do not know: though very likely the

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 50.

† *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 206.

grant was regarded only as a piece of patronage, and there is nothing in the records of King's Hall to suggest that anything drastic was done. The right to fill the office of warden and vacant scholarships was now in the hands of the provosts, but the appointment in 1448 of Nicholas Ayscough to the wardenship proved to be ineffective, for the crown had, in 1446, granted the reversion to Nicholas Close, who claimed the position. He was a warden of the old type, and although a former fellow of King's College, there is no reason to think that he facilitated the control of King's Hall by the provosts. He does not seem to have resided regularly, nor could he well have done so, for he was appointed bishop of Carlisle in 1450, and translated to Coventry and Lichfield in 1452 in which year he died.

From 1447-48 to 1460-61 the entries of thirty-seven scholars to King's Hall are recorded, presumably all nominated by the provosts, but only twelve of these men remained on the boards after 1461. The next two appointments to the wardenship were made by the provosts. The first of these wardens, Blakman, introduced some scheme of reorganization which involved a division of the Society into four classes, fellows, scholars, commoners, and semi-commoners. Perhaps this only meant senior scholars, junior scholars, college servants, and private servants: at any rate the scheme, whatever it was, was abandoned on Blakman's resignation in 1457, followed by his entry into religion at Witham in Somersetshire. He was succeeded in the wardenship by Scrope, who held the office till 1463.

The independent rights and privileges of King's Hall were restored by Edward IV by letters patent*, 3 February 1462, though the then warden, Scrope, was allowed to

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, p. 57; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1461-1487, p. 103.

continue in office: he did however resign in the following year. The interesting outlined portrait on glass of Richard, duke of York, the father of Edward IV, now in the west oriel of the hall of Trinity College, is believed to have come from King's Hall. It may perhaps mark the regard felt by that Society for one whose defeat of Henry VI had paved the way to the restoration of its independence.

The right to appoint the warden and scholars was valuable patronage, and its restoration to the crown must have been welcome to many officials at court. Freed from the extraneous control of the two provosts, King's Hall now resumed, with the sanction of the authorities, its position as a Society intimately connected with the higher officials of church and court. Many of the senior scholars were beneficed, and we gather from the account books that henceforth nearly a third of the scholars were not in regular residence, though most of these came up every year for a few days. The connection with the official classes is shown by the character of the appointments to the office of warden. In 1463 St Just, the king's chaplain, was appointed for life, with power to act by deputy. He was succeeded in 1467 by Gunthorpe, the queen's secretary and king's chaplain; on his resignation in 1473 the office was given to Roger Rotherham, who must have been a kinsman of his contemporary and namesake, the archbishop of York, for he bore the same arms. On the death of Rotherham in 1473, the crown appointed to the post Bost, confessor to Jane Shore and provost of Eton, who held it till the death of Richard III in 1485.

With the recovery of its independence, the College took up again its plans for extension*. In 1464 it began the erection of a new chapel—*capella nostra magna*—stretching from the end of the eastern range of chambers over the

* *Architectural History*, vol. II, pp. 449-451.

site of the present chapel, but with its axis from west to east inclined rather more to the south; the building being about 100 feet long and 30 feet broad, that is, roughly half the length of and the same breadth as the present chapel of Trinity College. It was built of stones, squared and supplied ready for use, which, according to Caius, came from the large banqueting hall of the Cambridge castle then being pulled down, and probably by purchase from King's College to whom these materials had been granted. It was wainscotted, and fitted with stalls and carved woodwork; the high altar, like that of the older oratory, was of wood, and the interior walls above the wainscoting were plastered and whitewashed; the sum spent on the fittings suggests that they were not elaborate. The cost of the whole affair was heavy, and in 1489-90 the Society agreed* that those fellows who were beneficed should receive only every other year their Stourbridge Fair nobles—the sums so saved to be devoted to the building fund. The chapel was consecrated in 1498-99, but probably was opened for service in 1485, when the use of All Saints' Church was abandoned.

Academic societies rarely flourish in times of civil strife, and the domestic wars of the fifteenth century must in a special way have acted prejudicially on a college like King's Hall, which was so closely connected with the higher civil service of the time. With the accession of Henry VII, it seemed as if more normal times were returning, but the whole system of medieval education was then tottering to its fall, and the Reformation and Renaissance necessarily led to far-reaching changes. We note very briefly the remaining incidents in the history of King's Hall.

First, we may mention the further building operations †. In 1489 the Society built a block of chambers parallel to

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. XVIII, p. 180.

† *Architectural History*, vol. II, pp. 451-454.

King's Childer Lane near the southern boundary of the ground acquired between 1417 and 1433, and in 1490-92 it added a porter's lodge, perhaps on the site of the present Great Gate. Finally, in 1518, it began the Great Gate which now forms the principal entrance to Trinity College. The lower part was finished and in use in 1524, but the upper part was not completed till 1535. Considerable contributions to the cost were made by individual members of the Society. This Gate gave the entrance to the College from the High Street. By a curious heraldic blunder the architect put the supporters of the shield of Edward IV, namely, two black bulls, to that of Edward III. The statues on the Tower were added by Nevile early in the seventeenth century.

The Tudors continued the policy of making appointments to the wardenship from the higher officials of the church and court. In 1485 Henry VII appointed to it Urswyke, his almoner and former confidential agent in Brittany, Flanders, and France, and in the following year honoured the College with a visit. Urswyke resided only occasionally and indeed was too much immersed in public affairs—he went at different times as ambassador on special missions to Scotland, France, Spain, Sicily, Rome, and Burgundy—to have leisure for academic work. He resigned in 1488 and was succeeded by John Blyth, the king's chaplain and bishop of Salisbury, a relation of the former warden, Roger Rotherham. John Blyth resigned in 1498, and was followed in the office by his brother Geoffrey, dean of York, and later bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and lord president of Wales. In 1504, during his tenure of the wardenship, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and it is believed he was the only warden of King's Hall or master of Trinity against whom such a charge was made: happily he was acquitted. Geoffrey Blyth resigned the office of warden in 1528 and was

succeeded by his nephew who bore the same name: the latter died in Cambridge in 1541 and was buried in All Saints' Church.

Robert Bellamy, one of the earliest scholars to be admitted after the College had recovered its independence, resided in Cambridge for many years. In 1494 he gave the Society £70 to found a lectureship in canon law; this is the earliest endowment of the kind mentioned in the books of King's Hall. The money was invested in tenements beyond the great bridge, and the first lectures under the scheme were given by Ralph Cantrell in the Easter term of 1503*.

That the House was regarded by its members as the home of scholars is illustrated by the extent and value of the books it owned, and the sums spent thereon. It is desirable to mention this again, but, as we have already stated, its library will ere long be treated in a separate monograph.

We may here add that we now constantly read of gifts or legacies to the House from its members†. It was a wealthy society as is shown by its ownership of plate of which we get mention in the accounts of this time. No doubt at earlier periods spare cash was often invested in plate, which could be sold if and when occasion required—a custom, common in medieval as well as later times, which did not disappear until the rise of banks in the eighteenth century—but the only specific references to definite articles in the fourteenth century relate to silver cups and spoons‡. We have already mentioned the plate fund to which every scholar contributed on his admission. The accounts of this fund were kept separately

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. XX, p. 121.

† For instance, in 1452, the warden Close gave the Society three silver salts, *King's Hall Books*, vol. XI, p. 261; see also *Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, under the years 1469-70, 1473-74, 1485-86, 1487-88, 1500-01, 1505-06, 1507-08, 1517-18, 1521-22, 1525-26.

‡ In 1361, see p. 18 above; in 1385, see *King's Hall Books*, vol. III, p. 151.

from those of the House, but unfortunately have not been preserved.

In 1478-79, the five stewards (namely, Robert Ripplingham, John Radcliff, John Colin, Conand Somer, and Lewis Kery, whose names are deserving of grateful remembrance) inserted in their account-book inventories of what was in their custody in the plate-room, in the chapel, in the buttery, in the kitchen, and in the bakery and brewhouse. These lists seem to the writer of this booklet so interesting that he ventures to publish them in full. It must not be assumed that they cover all possessions of King's Hall of the kind and, in particular, some of the plate may have been in other hands or deposited as security for loans, but probably the lists are nearly complete. Here are the inventories* :—

Inventarium jocalium Collegii vulgariter nonncupati le Kyngishall con-
fectum per magistros Ryplyngham Radclyff Colyn Somer & Kery
senescalleos dicti collegii pro anno Regni Regis Edwardi IIII^{ti} xviii^o.
In *primis* ii spysplatys & fett langyng to the sam in party gyld wayng v^{xx}
& xvi houncis.

Item a standyng cop gyld *with* the cover to the sam wayng xxxi ounceis
& di.

Item a standyng cop gyld *with* the cover wayng xxix ounceis & di.

Item a standyng goblet coveryd & gyld xxix ounceis & di.

Item a standyng cop *with* the cover & gyld xvi ounceis & di & di *quarter*.

Item a standyng nout *with* the cover gyld xxvi ounceis.

Item a standyng peyss *with* the cover in party gyld xxviii ounceis & di.

Item a standyng cop *with* the cover in party gyld xxx ounceis.

Item a standyng cop *with* the cover in party gyld xxiii ounceis & di.

Item a standyng peyss coveryd in party gyld xii ounceis & *quarter*.

Item a standyng peyss coveryd in party gyld xviii ounceis.

Item a lowe standyng cop coveryd in party gyld xxiii ounceis & di.

Item vi lytell bouls gyld in the brynkys of a lyk making xlviiii ounceis.

Item a flat peyss v ounceis and di & *quarter* & di *quarter*.

Item xiii sponyss of the wych on is all gyld xvi ounceis & di fyła.

Item a sylver pott xxviii ounceis.

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. xv, p. 255, *et seq.* Letters put in italics indicate that there are contractions in the original which have been written out in full.

- Item a sylver pott xvii ounceis & di & quarter.
 Item a sylver pott xviii ounceis.
 Item a pott of sylver of a quart xvii ounceis. A messynger.
 Item a salt of sylver ix ounceis & quarter.
 Item a cop standyd with the cover enameld xvi ounceis & di.
 Item a standyng cop of sylver with the fout gyld ix ounceis.
 Item a goblett of sylver with the cover vi ounceis.
 Item a cop poudert in the botoum & gyld vii ounceis and di.
 Item a cop with the cover trassyd within of on work viii ounceis & di.
 Item a flat peys gyld with the cover & damaflouris xiiii ounceis.
 Item a cover trassyd without iiiii ounceis & di quarter.
 Item a holou peyss with outyn cover iiiii ounceis & di quarter.
 Item a standyng peyss powsyd with out cover viii ounceis.
 Item a black gyld noult with the cover all gyld xiiii ounceis & di.
 Item a standyng maser gyld with the cover & a byrrelston i the hed
 vii ounceis.
 Item vi trenchours of sylver the vergis gyld xi ounceis di & quarter.
 Item a maser with a byr v ounceis & quarter.
 Item a maser withoutt a byr iiiii ounceis & di quarter.
 Item ix sylver sponys vii ounceis & di.
 Item a now [new] standyng peyss pounsyd with the cover xii ounceis & di.
 Item i p In promptuario.
 Item i per saletis with i cover the borders gyld ye ponderacon xix ounceis
 & di.
 Item i peys coveryd pounssyd with the bordyrs gyld xx ounceis.
 Item xxix spouns the pounderacon of thaym xxxii ounceis & di.
 Item vii masers of on makyng the ponderacon xxxii ounceis.
 Item v masers of on makyng xxxii ounceis & di.
 Item iii gret masers of on makyng the ponderacon xvi ounceis.
 [Marginal note] Summa viiiC ounceis.

ORNAMENTA CAPELLE

- In primis i grett messall.
 Item a noder grett messall.
 Item a noder letyll messall.
 Item a antefoner.
 Item a noder antefoner.
 Item a gret legend.
 Item a pourtout.
 Item a noder bock of prayers & orysouns.
 Item a schales [chalice] gyld xix ounceis.

- Item* a lytyll schales all gyld.
Item a schales of sylver in party gyld xiiii ouncis & di.
Item ii creuetts in party gyld x ouncis & quarter.
Item ii creuetts of seylver 1 ouncis & di & quarter.
Item a paxbred gyld & enameld iii ouncis & di & di quarter.
Item a schyp of sylver.
Item i vestment of fustyan *with* strypys ex dono magistri wyte.
Item ii corporals.
Item i vestment of sylk *with* garters.
Item i super altar.
Item a vestment of blew velvet the orphrays gold & tyshewyd.
Item ii westmentis of velvet 1 of tawny & a oder blew & red bars *with* the orpharys of crymesyn & gren velvet checcyrwys.
Item iii vestmentis of 1 sort of red lyk damask *with* small bars of tyssryd & the orpharys also.
Item a vestment of redcloth of gold the orphara blew cloth of gold.
Item iii red copys of 1 sort lyk to damask & small flourys of gold.
Item a vestment syngyll ex dono Iacnett dowbyll di.
Item a peyss of blew damask of cloth of gold.
Item a cloth of gold of largh substans.
Item iii courtens of red sylk lyk to damask & *Auter* clothys of y^e sam colour *with* flouris of gold *with* a fryng of the sam.
Item a peyss of v yerdis cloth of tessew *with* damask flourys.
Item ii *auter* clouthis of dyaperwork.
Item ii grett standyng candylstekis of laton.

IN PROMTUARIO

- In *primis* a bourd cloth of dyapurwork *with* iii touels of the sam.
Item vi napkyns of dyapur-wark.
Item i per salttis *with* 1 cover the borders gyld ye ponderacyon xix ouncis & di.
Item i peys coveryd pounssyd *with* the borders gyld xx ouncis.
Item xxix spouns the pponderacion of thaym xxxii ouncis & di.
Item vii masers of on making the ponderacion xxxii ouncis.
Item v masers of 1 making the ponderacion xxxii ouncis & di.
Item iii grett masers of on making the ponderacion xvi ouncis.
Item iiii schauffyng dyschys of laton.
Item iii basyngs *with* iii lavers of laton.
Item vi candylstyckis of laton.
Item vii salteseliers pewtur [*in a different hand*].

IN COQUINA

- In *primis* vi gret pottis *ever* isthon gratter then oder.
 Item iii less pottis & 1 calderon *with* 1 possnett.
 Item i gret pan & viii smalyr pannys isthon gratter then oder.
 Item iiiii grett spyttys of 1 sort.
 Item ii spyttys of a noder sort.
 Item iiiii round spyttis.
 Item i brassyn mortar.
 Item ii rostying cobbertis.
 Item iii gyrdyryns to broll on.
 Item i fryng pan.
 Item iii bronderytis or treddys.
 Item i gret dressyngknyff.
 Item iiiii cottyng knyffys.
 Item ii latton ladyls & ii scomers.
 Item i sarssyng pan.
 Item i bred grator.
 Item ii ston morters *with* the insterments.
 Item i per musterd qwyrns *cum omnibus* aliis adminiculis.
 Item xxx nowe platters & xxxii nowe dyshys *with* vi nowe saussers.
 Item ii gret schargers old & xxii old platers *with* xl smal dysschys.
 Item xxiii sawssers.
 Item iii grett bols & i less boll.
 Item ii grett soussyng tobbis & ii watyr tobbys *with* 1 payll.

IN PISTRINO & PANDOXATORIO

- In *primis* i grett led & i wort led *with* the grout pan.
 Item i grett massyng fat & i gylng fat *with* xi kelers for wort.
 Item i hors myln *with* the nessescerys belongyng thertoo.
 Item ix grett tonnyng tobbis.
 Item i boultyn ark & i kneddyng troygh.
 Item iii boultyn clothys & ii molddyng borddis *with* ii trostyllis.

Here are two other interesting lists*, though probably most of the pieces mentioned therein are included in the inventory given above. In December, 1500, the stewards gave out the following plate for the Christmas feast:—a standing cup with a gilt cover; a gilt goblet with a cover;

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. XIX, p. 403; vol. XX, p. 301.

a cocoanut cup with a cover; a gilt cup without a cover; four pieces parcel gilt without covers; two salts parcel gilt without covers; three murras without covers; one flat piece gilt without a cover. In 1501 the stewards gave out for the feast held after the exequies of the founder:—two basons with feet parcel gilt; one standing piece gilt with a cover gilt; another standing piece gilt with a cover gilt; one flat piece gilt with a cover gilt; another standing piece parcel gilt with a cover; one standing piece gilt without a cover; one not gilt with a cover; one standing piece parcel gilt without a cover.

We read also of gifts of new plate. For instance, in 1498 Dr Sokborn*, a scholar of the College, gave a cup standing on three angels parcel gilt with a cover having St Christopher on the top thereof: in 1540 the executor of John Belt†, the vice-warden gave a chalice "hole gylt" and a mass book; and in 1542 Haryson left a mazer to the College: on receiving the Belt chalice the stewards sold an old chalice weighing $9\frac{1}{2}$ ounces for 3s. 8d. an ounce‡. There are also references to plate deposited as security for loans. Thus on 18 June 1524 the stewards repaid a loan borrowed from Burchier's chest in the University, and then took back the bowls and vessels of silver which had been pledged, and replaced them in the College Tower with the valuables there kept. All the plate of King's Hall has disappeared, and not a single piece remains in the possession of Trinity College.

In 1524, the College lent the king £100. To get this, it borrowed £36. 6s. 8d. from the University chests of St John and le Nele, for which it pledged certain of its silver vessels, the unanimous consent of the vice-master,

* *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, p. 126; *King's Hall Books*, vol. XIX, p. 205.

† *Trinity Admissions*, vol. I, p. 129; *King's Hall Books*, vol. XXVI, October.

‡ In 1495 we have a note of a gilt chalice weighing 19 ounces with the inscription *Benedicta Sit Sancta Trinitas*; *King's Hall Books*, vol. XVIII, last page.

the stewards, and the fellows, having been first obtained*. It also borrowed something for the purpose from its own Berkyng and Dunmowe chests. Probably the balance was provided out of the plate fund†, which on 12 October of that year had in it no less than £100 in gold. It would have been imprudent to take much from the common chest, for it had on that day only £40 in it; the balance in this was, however, always at a low ebb after meeting the cost of the purchases at Stourbridge Fair.

In 1534, we have an official estimate of the income of the House, for by an Act‡ of that year the king was granted the first year's income of fellowships in colleges in the university, and the income of King's Hall was valued for the purpose at £211. 12s. 8½d. According to the return§ the emoluments of the warden were £8. 7s. 4d., of thirty-one fellows £5. 4s. 0d. each, of one junior fellow £4. 9s. 0d., and of the bible-clerk £2. 8s. 0d. The Act was repealed in 1537.

By the royal directions in 1535, King's Hall was required (as also were other Colleges) to establish two daily public lectures, one of Greek and the other of Hebrew: the first lecturer thus appointed was Edmund Clyfton who gave instruction in both subjects. This direction was a corollary to the order of 1535, which had terminated the medieval system of education in the University. It was followed by an effort to purge the University of the presence of idlers, and by the Act|| of 1536 all beneficed clergy in Cambridge who were over forty years of age were required to return to their cures, and all under forty, to give evidence of studious habits by regular attendance at lectures

* *King's Hall Books*, vol. xxiii, p. 264.

† Loans from this fund were occasionally authorised, see, for instance, the *King's Hall Books*, vol. vi, p. 205.

‡ 26 Henry VIII, cap. 3.

§ Cooper's *Memorials*, vol. ii, p. 208.

|| 28 Henry VIII, cap. 13.

and acts, but this cannot have affected a Society like King's Hall.

At this time, the number of residents in College varied greatly in different years; in 1541-42 about twenty scholars seem to have been in regular residence; in 1542-43 the numbers sank to twelve; in the next year they rose to seventeen or eighteen; but approximately we may say that at this time rather more than half the scholars were in regular residence, and the others came up only occasionally.

In April 1542*, the king on the petition of the scholars gave them the advowsons of Arrington and Bottisham in Cambridgeshire in exchange for a rent of £4. 12s. 4d. to be henceforth paid by the College to the Exchequer, and an assignment to the crown of the sums of £7. 10s. 8d. from Waltham Abbey and £26. 13s. 4d. from Barnwell received annually by the College.

The completion of the Great Gate in 1535 had made the buildings of the royal foundation worthy of its history, and its position in the University seemed well assured. But fate and Henry VIII decided otherwise. In 1541 †, on the wardenship becoming vacant the king appointed to it his chaplain, John Redman, a man of affairs as well as a courtier and a trusted adviser of the king. His appointment proved to be of great importance, for he took the leading part in the events next to be related which led to the foundation of a new college to which the buildings and endowments of King's Hall were transferred. We are fortunate in possessing first hand information on the proceedings in the matter.

After the dissolution of the monastic houses anxiety was felt in Cambridge and Oxford lest they should suffer

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xvii, No. 380, p. 134.

† On 13 March, 1541, see *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xvi, p. 328. The reference is given because in many books the appointment is said to have been made in March 1542.

a similar fate. The policy of the suppression of the two universities and the confiscation of their property was openly advocated by politicians at court, and naturally great alarm was felt when in 1544 an Act* was passed empowering the king to dissolve any college at either university, and appropriate its possessions.

The universities were right in thinking that the danger was pressing, for Parker has put on record the fact that after the passing of the Act certain courtiers importunately sued the king to have the possessions of both universities surveyed, meaning afterwards to obtain the same on easy terms. In these circumstances the Cambridge authorities, says Strype, "looked about them and made all the friends they could at court to save themselves." In particular they urgently begged the aid of two of their professors, John Cheke, then acting as tutor to the prince of Wales, and Thomas Smith, then clerk to the queen's council. Parker tells us that the London friends of the University, among whom Smith and Cheke were doubtless conspicuous, wisely took the line of welcoming an enquiry, but begged the king to avoid the expense of a costly investigation. Their representations were successful, and he issued a commission† dated 16 January 1546 to Mathew Parker (the vice-chancellor, and later archbishop of Canterbury), John Redman (warden of King's Hall, chaplain to the king, and later master of Trinity), and William Mey (president of Queens', and later archbishop-elect of York) to report to him on the revenues of the colleges and the numbers of students sustained therewith. The commissioners were capable and friendly.

The king must have been impatient to know the facts,

* 37 Henry VIII, cap. 4.

† *State Papers, Domestic*, 1546, vol. XXI, part i, no. 68. See also J. Lamb's *Documents*, London, 1838, pp. 58-59; *Correspondence of M. Parker*, Cambridge, 1852, p. 34.

for in less than a week, on 21 January, he ordered Parker to come to Hampton Court with the report. Immediate compliance was impossible, but the command may well have stimulated the commissioners to act as rapidly as possible. In fact they obtained the services of eleven clerks from the Court of Augmentations in London, and at once set to work to collect information.

The University was keenly alive to the risks it was incurring. To placate the king, the Senate, on 13 February, put all its belongings at his service, and when forwarding a copy of the Grace to Sir William Paget it reminded him of the value of the University to the State, and begged his protection. At the same time it addressed the queen, Katharine Parr, through Thomas Smith, imploring her advocacy*.

The queen replied † on 26 February. After complaining that they had written to her in Latin, though they could equally well have expressed themselves in the vulgar tongue, she discoursed at some length on their duties, but finished by saying that, being confident that her wishes in these respects would be fulfilled "I (according to your "desires) have attempted my lord the King's Majesty, for "the establishment of your livelihood and possessions: in "which, notwithstanding his Majesty's property and interest, "through the consent of the high court of parliament, his "Highness being such a patron to good learning, doth "tender you so much, that he will rather advance learning "and erect new occasion thereof than [to] confound those "your ancient and godly institutions, so that learning may "hereafter justly ascribe her very original whole conserva- "tion and sure stay to our Sovereign Lord." This was good news.

* *State Papers, Domestic, 1546*, vol. XXI, part i, nos. 203, 204.

† *Ecclesiastical Memorials* by J. Strype, Oxford, 1882, vol. XI, part i, pp. 207-208; *Correspondence of M. Parker*, p. 36.

By the end of February the commissioners had drawn up a detailed report giving the information required*. In it, it was stated† that the annual income of King's Hall was £214. 0s. 3d., the expenses £263. 16s. 7d., and that there were on its boards a master, twenty-five graduate fellows, and seven undergraduate fellows. The income of Michael-House was returned as £141. 13s. 1¾d., and it was stated that there were on its boards a master, eight fellows, and three chaplains. The position of the latter college was somewhat curious. It was a small clerical foundation maintaining a master and eight clerks. Its buildings were situated at the south-west corner of the Great Court, and it owned a good deal of the adjoining property. It began in 1544, presumably with the object of averting its destruction, to admit students resident elsewhere in the university, and in a couple of years no less than forty-eight students matriculated from the House; the number of admissions must have exceeded this, but what was involved in such cases by admission is uncertain.

According to the return, the normal annual expenditure of King's Hall at this time, if all the scholars resided, required £182. 18s. 4d. for the emoluments of the Society (namely, £8. 13s. 4d. for the warden, £5. 10s. 0d. for each of twenty-five graduate fellows and £5. 5s. 0d. for each of seven undergraduate fellows); £32. 2s. 0d. for the college servants (namely, the butler, barber, baker, brewer, laundress, cook, under-cook, and the warden's servant); £3. 1s. 4d. for the estate officers and quitrents; £3. 19s. 4d. for the expenses of the chapel service and the bible-clerk; £5. 0s. 0d. for firing for the hall and kitchen; £5. 0s. 0d. for rushes for the hall; £5. 10s. 4d. for the exequies of the founder and the following refectations; £29. 1s. 4d. for repairs and renewals; and £10 for extraordinary expenses.

* *Cambridge Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 105-294.

† *Ibid.* pp. 150-156.

The commissioners in person presented to the king at Hampton Court a brief summary of this report. We do not know the date of this interview, but conjecturally it may be put as being early in March. Parker has left* in his own handwriting a full account of their reception which is as follows:—Our summary, says he, was written in book-form on a fair sheet of vellum, “which book the King diligently perused: and in a certain admiration said “to certain of his lords which stood by, that he thought “he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly “maintained in living by so little land and rent. And “where he asked of us what it meant that the most part “of Colleges should seem to expend yearly more than “their revenues amounted to, we answered that it rose “partly of fines for leases and indentures of the farmers “renewing their leases, partly of wood sales; whereupon “he said to the lords, that pity it were these lands should “be altered to make them worse, at which words some “were grieved, for that they disappointed *lupos quosdam* “*hiantes*. In fine, we sued to the King’s Majesty to be so “gracious lord, that he would favour us in the continuance “of our possessions such as they were, and that no man “by his grace’s letters should require to permute with us “to give us worse. He made answer and smiled, that he “could not but write for his servants and others, doing the “service for the realm in wars and other affairs, but he “said he would put us to our choice whether we should “gratify them or no, and bade us hold our own, for after “his writing he would force us no further. With which “words we were well armed, and so departed.”

This important interview was followed by a rumour that it was Henry’s intention to found at Cambridge a new and magnificent college to serve as an enduring record of his interest in learning, and perhaps the University may have

* *Correspondence of M. Parker*, pp. 35–36; *J. Lamb’s Documents*, p. 59.

taken the queen's letter as indicating what was coming. It is believed that Henry had long entertained vague ideas of the kind, but that the definite suggestion, which was encouraged by the queen, originated with Redman, who, as royal chaplain, had constant access to the king and considerable influence with him.

A scheme containing a "first plott or proportion" for the new College was prepared for the king by the Court of Augmentations in London, and there can be no doubt that this was worked out in collaboration with Redman. The document is undated, but in a later hand it is added that it was made Anno 37 Hen. 8, and from internal evidence we can fix the date as being in the early half of April 1546. The total expenditure contemplated amounted to £1206 a year. It appears from it that it was already intended that Redman should be the first master of the new College when it was founded.

The preparations for Henry's proposed foundation were made with extreme speed: a wise course in view of his failing health and variable temper. It was decided to take advantage of the Act of 1544 and suppress King's Hall and Michael-House, using their grounds and adjoining property as the site of the new college. We have no reference to the appointment of commissioners for the business, though there is an allusion quoted later, to receivers: perhaps the matter was left in the hands of the officials of the Court of Augmentations. Redman was the chief authority at Cambridge in the arrangements that had to be made there.

It must have been in April, or early in May, 1546, that the commissioners, or other officials concerned, took possession of King's Hall and Michael-House and the ground adjacent thereto. They at once made arrangements to shut up Foul Lane which ran across the present Great Court of Trinity College, to purchase such part of that Court as did not belong to King's Hall and

Michael-House, and to enclose the site. Stone and other materials for the new work were taken from the church and cloisters of the dissolved Franciscan monastery which stood on the land now occupied by Sidney Sussex College, and in a survey, dated 20 May 1546, those buildings are described as having been already partially demolished in order to provide "towards the building of the King's Majesty's new College."

It is probable that during this time members of King's Hall and Michael-House were in residence, and possibly also some of the members-elect of Trinity College; even as late as 1548 the accounts of the College show extraordinary payments for commons to former members of King's Hall and Michael-House still in residence. The cost of the maintenance of the House and the expenses of the alterations must have been heavy, but in December 1546, the Court of Augmentations was ordered* "to pay Dr Redman "of your new College in Cambridge £2000 towards the "establishment and building of the same, and in recompense "for revenues of their lands for a whole year ended Michael- "mas last, because the rents were paid to your Majesty's "receivers before they had out letters patent for their "donation." We have no record of these expenses, but we conjecture that this grant allowed a clean start to be made from Michaelmas 1546.

The members of the new College entered into possession of the buildings and began their academic life as members of Trinity College about Michaelmas 1546. The surrender of King's Hall and Michael-House to the king took place on 28 October, and arrangements were then made to pension the master and eight fellows of Michael-House and one fellow of King's Hall. Redman was appointed master of the new College.

The legal formalities connected with the surrender of the properties of King's Hall and Michael-House took a

* *State Papers*, Domestic, 1546, no. 647 (25).

considerable time, and were not completed till 17 December 1546. The letters patent founding the College and the charter of dotation were signed a few days later*. The actual endowment granted was valued at £1640 net a year, which must have been deemed ample to provide for the expenses and the maintenance of the House. In January 1547, the Court of Augmentations paid † Dr Redman £590 "towards the exhibition of King's Scholars in Cambridge." We take it that this was intended to cover the total expenses of the House during the Michaelmas term, 1546: of these expenses we have no particulars, but the sum granted was about one-third of the total intended income of the House.

Thus was King's Hall dissolved on 17 December 1546, but only to be merged in a new and nobler foundation. The letters patent founding Trinity College state that Henry, to the glory and honour of Almighty God and the Holy and Undivided Trinity, for the amplification and establishment of the Christian and true religion, the extirpation of heresy and false opinion, the increase and continuance of divine learning and all kinds of godliness, the knowledge of language, the education of youth in piety virtue discipline and learning, the relief of the poor and destitute, the prosperity of the Church of Christ, and the common good and happiness of his kingdom and subjects, founded and established a College of letters, sciences, philosophy, godliness, and sacred theology, for all time to endure. These are noble objects. All human institutions are imperfect, but on the whole we look back with honourable pride on the way in which Trinity College has carried out the intentions of its Founder. *Stet Fortuna Domus.*

* The charter of foundation, dated 19 December, and that of endowment, dated 24 December, are printed at length in the *Cambridge Documents*, vol. III, pp. 365-410.

† C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1842, vol. 1, p. 452.

Appendix F.

STATUTES OF KING'S HALL.

The following are the statutes given to King's Hall by Richard II on 5 March 1380*, see above, page 24.

Pro Scolaribus Aulae Regis Cantebriegiae, Ordinationes.

Rex Omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

Etsi Rex Pacificus, piâ consideratione, sibi Subditos Pudicos fore disponat, Pacificos, ac Modestos; effrænata tamen humanæ Creaturæ fragilitas, ad malum naturaliter ab Adolescentia proclivis, abstinere nesciens a Vetitis, faciliter labitur ad Delicta: undè necesse est ut ejus Conatus, Legis oportunæ suffragio, reprimantur; ideóque providi Patres Leges & Constitutiones ediderunt, ut, Appetitu Noxio sub Juris Regulâ coartato, ad obediendum Deo & ejus Mandatis, honestè vivere Homines informentur.

Sanè cùm Dominus *Edwardus*, bonæ Memorix, *nuper Rex Angliæ*, Avus noster, ad Honorem Dei, & pro salute Animæ suæ, ordinasset quoddam Collegium, de uno Custode & Triginta & Duobus Scolaribus, in Universitate Cantebriegiæ, in quodam Manso, quod AULAM SCOLARIUM REGIS vocari fecit, perpetuis temporibus duraturum,

Nos,

Volentes ut in Aula prædicta Scolarium Vita & Conversatio quieta sit, & Deo Grata, inspicientibúsq; placita, Pudicitix claritate Morúmque gravitate susfulta,

Regulam ac Normam Vivendi & Conversandi, in Societate Aulae prædictæ, sub eo qui sequitur Tenore, quousque indè aliud duxerimus Ordinandum, Tradidimus Observandam,

INPRIMIS (videlicet) *Statuimus & Ordinamus* quòd in Aula prædicta Superior sit, qui Custodis nomine nuncupetur, Cui omnes, tam Scholares ejusdem Aulae, quàm eorum Famuli, in Licitis & Honestis ac Canonicis Mandatis, Obediant & Intendant:

* *Patent Roll*, 3 Richard II, part 2, m 12. The text is printed from Rymer who introduced capitals, brackets, and punctuation, but it has been collated with the original roll and where erroneous corrected. The *æ* printed by Rymer has been allowed to stand though the original always reads *e*.

Custos verò Aulæ prædictæ, qui nunc est, vel qui pro tempore erit, Juramentum præstet Corporale, quòd Officium suum fideliter faciet in Administratione & Regimine dictæ Domûs,

ITEM, quòd præfati Custos & Scholares habeant Cistam communem, cum Tribus Seruris firmatam : cujus una Clavis præfato Custodi, & Duæ aliæ Claves Duobus Sociis, per Scholares prædictos singulis Annis ad hoc eligendis, tradantur ; qui Senescalli Aulæ prædictæ nuncupentur :

In qua verò Cista Sigillum Commune & Liber Expensarum dictæ Domûs reponantur :

Singulisque Septimanis vel Quindenis (nisi ulteriùs differatur) præfata Expensæ in dicto Libro inscribantur ; & nichil cum dicto Sigillo signetur, nisi de Consensu Custodis & Majoris & sanioris partis Collegii.

ITEM, quòd Cameræ per Ordinationem Custodis assignentur, & in eisdem Socii copulentur, ac ex causis rationabilibus, cùm ipsi Custodi videbitur expedire, de eisdem Cameris transferantur :

Singulis verò Diebus Dominicis (nisi ex causa in alium Diem differatur) Scholares prædicti, in Villa præsentibus, in eadem Secta, si talem habeant, vestiti simul conveniant, Missam peculiarem pro Animabus Dominorum *Edwardi* quondam *Regis Angliæ* Proavi nostri, ac *Edwardi* nuper *Regis Angliæ* Avi nostri, necnon pro Anima Patris nostri, ac etiam pro salubri Statu nostro & Regni nostri, devotè facientes celebrari : eidem etiam Missæ præfatus Custos, cùm sibi Vacaverit, interesse teneatur ; nec liceat alicui dictorum Scolarum a dicta Missa, absque Licentia dicti Custodis, aut ejus Vices gerentis, se absentare, exceptâ causâ Infirmittatis.

ITEM, habeant præfati Custos & Scholares Mensam Communem, Horis competentibus, simul Epulantes decenter & honestè :

Si qua verò verba inter se tunc proferant, secundum Ordinationem & Moderationem dicti Custodis, seu ejus Vices gerentis, Latinâ Linguâ aut saltem Gallicâ tunc utantur :

Nullique Scolarum prædictorum seorsum, in Cameris Privatis, nisi Custodis, seu ejus Locum tenentis, ipso absente, optentâ Licentiâ (Infirmittatis necessariâ Causâ dumtaxat exceptâ) de Sumptibus seu Expensis communibus dictæ Domûs Prandere aut Cænare præsumant :

Quantum verò ad Gentacula dictis Sclaribus ministranda, Ordinationem dictorum Custodis & Senescallorum volumus observari :

Provideâtque Custos prædictus, de Consensu dictorum Senescallorum, Servientes, ad Obsequia & Servitia dictæ Domûs & Sclarum prædictorum necessarios, quibus de communi Salaria ministrentur ; ita quòd Extravagantibus seu Extraordinariis Famulis Aula prædicta nullatenus oneretur.

STATUIMUS, insuper, quòd omnes & singuli Scholares dictæ Aulæ præfate Custodi, ac ejus Vices gerenti, ipso absente, in licitis, & honestis,

ac canonicis Mandatis, Honestatem Scolasticam, Utilitatem, seu Quietem dictorum Sclarium & Domûs prædictæ concernentibus, Obedientes & Intendentes existant; præstito, super hoc, dicto Custodi, a singulis Sclaribus Aulae prædictæ, Juramento Corporali :

Quòdque Nullus Sclarium prædictorum impediatur, seu per alium impediri faciat, quominus Custos prædictus Officium suum, in Administratione & Regimine dictæ Domûs, liberè valeat exercere :

Si quis verò Sclarium prædictorum contrafecerit, nisi, ad Mandatum dicti Custodis, a tali impedimento desistat, Trinâ vice Monitus, a perceptione Exhibitionis nostræ in Aula prædicta, quousque a tali Impedimento cessaverit, Custodis Judicio suspendatur.

ITEM, præfati Sclares Sustentationis beneficium in Aula prædicta percipiant quamdiu erga Superiorem Obedienter, cum suis Sociis pacificè, tollerabiliter, & modestè se gesserint, ac in Regimine sui moribus se laudabiliter habuerint & honestè :

In Cameris verò præfati Sclares, absque Strepitu & Impedimento Sociorum Studentium, conversentur, Studio diligenter Adhærentes :

Nisi Infirmitas aut Senectus eos excusaverit, Scolas frequentent, Lectiones ordinarias audiant, vel legant, prout Statuta exigunt Universitatis :

In quacumque Facultate, post Gramaticam, Studentes fuerint, antequam inceperint in eadem, absque Ordinatione & Licentia Custodis, se non transferant ad aliam Facultatem :

Bacularii verò cujuscumque Facultatis in Villa præsentibus, Inceptoribus solummodò exceptis, Repetitionibus Disputationibusque Publicis Doctorum & Magistrorum suæ Facultatis (solâ Infirmitatis Causâ dumtaxat exceptâ) in Habitu decenti, Interesse teneantur; nisi Custos prædictus, aut ejus Vices gerens, ipso absente, eorum Absentiam habuerit excusatam.

ITEM, Sclares prædicti Tabernas absque rationabili Causâ non exercent :

De Negotiationibus, aliàs Clericis de Jure Inhibitibus, se non Intromittant :

Canem, vel Canes, infra Mansum prædictum, nullo modo Retineant :

Præsentibus in Villa, extra Mansum proprium, absque Causa rationabili, & optentâ Custodis, vel ejus Vices gerentis, Licentiâ, non pernocent :

Extraneos verò vel Propinquos, ad morandum inter ipsos, absque Licentiâ dicti Custodis, non introducant :

Garciones infra Mansum prædictum nullo modo retineant, nisi pro eorum Expensis, singulis Septimanis, juxta Ordinationem Custodis, pro tempore quo sic steterint, dictæ Comitivæ satisfaciant :

Extra Universitatem prædictam, absque dicti Custodis, aut ejus Vices

gerentis, licentiâ, nullus dictorum Sclarium se absentet; si verò, de Licentia Custodis, vel ejus Vices gerentis, aliquis Sclarium prædictorum absens fuerit, extra Universitatem prædictam, pro sua Causa singulari, statuimus quòd pro tempore, quo sic absens fuerit, nichil commodi ab Aula prædicta, seu Custode Aulæ prædictæ, vendicare poterit aut debebit; Commodum verò hujusmodi Absentiæ, seu hujusmodi Absentiarum, in Reparationem & Emendationem Domorum Aulæ prædictæ integraliter convertatur.

Hoc etiam de Sclaribus, Admittendis in Aulam prædictam, volumus observari (videlicet) quòd, virtute alicujus Mandati nostri, dicto Custodi directi, seu imposterum dirigendi, ultra Numerum Sclarium, in Fundatione eorumdem taxatum, nullus de cætero admittatur, nisi in ipso Mandato nostro, dicto Custodi sic dirigendo, pro aliquo Sclari sic Admittendo, etiam ultra Numerum prædictum, mentio fiat specialis:

Et quòd Admittendus de cætero, infra Numerum prædictum, bonæ Conversationis sit, & honestæ Ætatis Quatuordecim Annorum vel ultra; de quo volumus quòd præfato Custodi, fidedignorum testimonio, fiat fides; quòdque talis, sic Admittendus, in Regulis Gramaticalibus ita sufficienter sit instructus, quòd congruè in Arte dialecticâ studere poterit, seu in aliqua alia Facultate, ad quam præfatus Custos, post Examinationem & Admissionem ejus, duxerit illum Deputandum.

In arduis Negotiis & magnis dictæ Domûs præfatus Custos, sine Consensu omnium Sociorum, vel majoris Partis eorum, nichil attemptet; in aliis verò Negotiis ejusdem Domûs Custos prædictus ordinet & disponat, prout Utilitati Domûs prædictæ melius viderit expediri.

ITEM, STATUIMUS quòd nullus Sclarium dictæ Aulæ Repasta privata, de Sumptibus seu Expensis communibus dictæ Domûs, capere præsumat, nisi qui sic acceperit, pro hujusmodi Repastis, secundum Ordinationem dicti Custodis, plenariè satisfaciat Comitivæ; si quis verò Sclarium prædictorum contrafecerit, aut Ordinationi dicti Custodis cum effectu parere noluerit, Trinâ Monitione præmissâ, a perceptione Exhibitionis nostræ in Domo prædictâ, quousque parere voluerit, Custodis Judicio Suspendatur.

ITEM, STATUIMUS si, per Custodem, factâ Convocatione Sclarium prædictorum in dicta Universitate tunc præsentium, contingat Aliquem seu Aliquos de Sclaribus prædictis, per Custodem & Majorem Partem Comitivæ tunc præsentis, ad aliquod Officium, concernens Utilitatem Communem Domûs prædictæ, seu ad aliaqua ipsius Domûs Negotia proseguenda, Eligi, Nominari, aut Deputari, quòd non liceat sic Electo, Nominato, aut Deputato, seu sic Electis, Nominatis, aut Deputatis, onus Electionis, Nominationis, aut Deputationis hujusmodi, absque causa rationabili, quam Custos prædictus duxerit acceptare, quomodolibet Re-

cusare: sumptibus sic prosecuturo, aut prosecuturis, Negotia Communia dictæ Domûs de communi ministrandis; hoc etiam STATUENTES quòd quiscúmque Sclarium prædictorum, sub forma prædicta, ad Officium sic Electus fuerit, & per Custodem Admissus, Juramentum præstet Corporale dicto Custodi, quòd benè, & fideliter, ac diligenter, in Officio suo, administrabit pro Commodo Communi Domûs prædictæ.

ITEM, STATUIMUS quod Senescalli Aulæ prædictæ, ac etiam Procuratores Ecclesiarum dicto Collegio appropriatarum, de Pecunia communi, nichil disponant vel solvant, absque Licentiâ & Auctoritate dicti Custodis, vel ejus Vices gerentis, ipso absente, & de Administratis per eosdem Fidelem Comptum reddant dicto Custodi, saltem semel in Anno; & super hoc præfato Custodi corporale præstent Juramentum.

ITEM, quòd, si quis Sclarium dictæ Aulæ Religionem intraverit: vel de cætero Beneficium Ecclesiasticum, secundum verum valorem Annuum Decem Marcarum effectualiter & pacificè fuerit Assecutus: vel in Temporalibus Possessiones, Pensiones, aut Redditus, Centum Solidos, secundum veram Æstimationem, Annuatim valentes, adeptus fuerit; statim, post elapsum unius Anni: si verò Beneficium, sic adeptum, ad Valorem Quadraginta Librarum annuatim se extendat, tunc statim, Anno minimè expectato, a dicta Aula penitèns sit Exclusus:

Illud idem de eo, qui ab Aula prædicta, animo Studium deserendi, recesserit, seu, in ipsa Domo manens, cessante causâ rationabili, quam Custos prædictus duxerit acceptare, studere neglexerit, nisi ad Monitionem dicti Custodis se emendaverit, volumus observari.

ITEM, quòd nullus Sclarium prædictorum, postquam Ignitegium pulsatum fuerit apud Ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ in Villa, extra Mansum proprium, absque causa rationabili, se absentet; & quòd Portæ prædicti Mansi, per singulas noctes, Clavibus & Seruris firmentur & claudantur.

ITEM, quòd nullus dictorum Sclarium, infra Universitatem prædictam, indies vel consuetudinariè, Basilardum portet, seu aliquem alium Cullum, statui Clericorum Indecentem.

ITEM, quòd nullus Sclarium prædictorum Arcu, Fistulâ, aut Balistâ infra Mansum prædictum uti præsumat, nec alio quocúmque Ludo Sclariis Inhonesto, aut Collegio nostro Damnoso vel Nocivo.

ITEM, quòd nullus dictorum Sclarium, contra Honestatem Clericalem, Sotularibus utatur Rostratis, post unius Mensis decursum, a tempore notitiæ istius Statuti sibi communicandæ.

ITEM, quòd quilibet Sclarium prædictorum, de Liberatura sua, sibi fieri faciat Robam Talarem, decentem & honestam pro Statu Clericali: & si Bacularius fuerit, Robam cum Tabardo, Gradui suo competentem, de prædicta liberatura, sibi faciat ordinari.

STATUIMUS insuper, quòd Custos Aulæ prædictæ, qui nunc est, & qui

pro tempore fuerit, præsens in eadem, Sustentationem sive Alimentationem percipiat cotidianam, pro se & Famulo suo, in Aula prædicta, de Sumptibus seu Expensis communibus dictæ Domûs, eodem modo quo alii Custodes ejusdem Aulæ, Prædecessores sui, meliùs percipere consueverunt.

ITEM, quòd Senescalli, singulis Annis eligendi, in Aula prædicta, ad Regimen Expensarum Commensalium, postquam Electi fuerint, & per Custodem Admissi, Juramentum præstent Corporale dicto Custodi, quòd circa eorum Officia diligentiam adhibebunt: & secundum eorum Possibilitatem, unanimiter adjuvabunt quòd Expensæ Commensales singulorum Scolarum, singulis Septimanis, summam Quatuordecim Denariorum nulatenus excedant;

Illis Septimanis exceptis, in quibus Festa Principalia vel etiam Majora Duplicia contigerit evenire; necnon illis exceptis, in quibus, pro honore Collegii conservando, vel etiam ratione Parcitatis & Caristiæ Victualium, Custos prædictus, aut ejus Vices gerens, ipso absente, aliter duxerit fore statuendum.

ITEM, STATUIMUS quòd, quamdiu & quotiens Custos prædictus, ratione Officii Custodis, de Vadiis receptis nomine Scolarum prædictorum Comptum ad Scaccarium nostrum reddere teneatur, tamdiu & totiens Expensæ, per ipsum Custodem rationabiliter factæ, circa dictum Comptum fideliter reddendum, eidem Custodi de Communi ministrentur ac fideliter allocentur:

Hoc etiam STATUENTES quod Custos prædictus, super felici Regimine Aulæ prædictæ, dictorumque Scolarum, pro majore parte Anni inibi trahat Moram; nisi ex causa rationabili ipsum abesse contigerit: & quòd aliquis Scolaeris Aulæ prædictæ, de communi Assensu ipsorum Custodis & Scolarum deputandus, ut Locum tenens ipsius Custodis, ad Negotia Forinseca, dictam Aulam tangentia, prosequenda & expedienda sit intendens.

ITEM, quòd quilibet Scolaeris prædictorum, dùm in Universitate prædictâ præsens extiterit, in Tribus Processionibus generalibus, quæ fiunt per Universitatem, pro Statu Universalis Ecclesiæ, atque Regis, & Regni, in Liberatura sua, secundum exigentiam sui Statûs, decenter & honestè intersit; exceptâ causâ Infirmittatis, vel nisi Custos prædictus, aut ejus Locum tenens, ipsius Absentiam habuerit excusatam.

Quòd, si aliquis dictorum Scolarum in Studio non proficiat, cessante causâ rationabili, quam Custos prædictus duxerit acceptare, vel Rixosus, Vagabundus, aut Criminosus, seu Temerarius in alium etiam quàm Custodem Percursor extiterit, in primo Transgressu notabili, de quo per Testes idoneos, aut alio modo legitimo, coram dicto Custode, assidentibus secum Sex de Majoribus Gradu dictæ Domûs Sociis, summariè fuerit Convictus, tunc per eosdem corrigatur & puniatur Pœnâ Suspensionis a perceptione

Exhibitionis nostræ in Domo prædictâ, per certum tempus, juxta Arbitrium eorundem, secundum Qualitatem & Quantitatem Delicti moderandum: in secundo Transgressu Pœna Duplicetur: in Tertio Transgressu Triplicetur: in Quarto vero Transgressu Quadruplicetur; vel, si Incorrigibilis videatur, tunc, judicio Custodis & majoris & sanioris partis Scolarum prædictorum, a dictâ Domo totaliter ammoveatur:

Si quis verò Scolarum prædictorum, Ausu temerario, adversum Custodem dictæ Aulæ, animo ei Nocendi, Cultellum extraxerit, aut in ipsum Custodem (quod absit) manus injecerit violentas, seu quocúmque alio modo illicito dicto Custodi nocere ac Dampnum corporale ei infligere conatus fuerit, aut fieri procuraverit per se vel per alium, siquidem de hujusmodi Delicto, nequiter perpetrato, etiam per Unicum Testem Fidelem, unâ cum Juramento Custodis, liquidò constiterit, STATUIMUS quòd pro hujusmodi Commisso Delinquens, ab omni Emolumento Aulæ prædictæ, ipso facto, pro perpetuo sit Privatus.

ITEM, hoc pro Articulo Regulæ duximus interserendum, quòd, si contingat aliquem de Sclaribus dictæ Aulæ, in forma prædicta, ex Culpa sua, a dicta Domo amoveri, pro Restitutione impetrandâ, ad Nos per se, vel per alium, preces porrigendo, ulterius non instabit; &, ad istum Articulum fideliter observandum, Sclares prædicti specialiter jurentur, ac etiam, de cætero, quilibet Admittendus, in suo Ingressu, specialiter juretur.

Si autem inter Sclares prædictos aliqua Dissensio fuerit suborta, nisi inter se, Sociis Mediantibus, infra Triduum poterit sedari, tunc Custos prædictus, cum Sex Sociis dictæ Domûs, Majoribus Gradu ex præsentibus, pro Concordiâ in hac parte faciendâ, secundum quod eis videbitur secundum Deum & Justitiam faciendum, disponere & ordinare procuret; &, quod ipse Custos præfato modo duxerit ordinandum, absque contradictione observetur: quòd, si Pars alterutra hujusmodi Ordinationi parere neglexerit, a Perceptione cujuscúmque Emolumenti in dictâ Domo, quousque parere voluerit hujusmodi Ordinationi, penitèns Excludatur.

STATUIMUS insuper quòd quilibet Sclaris dictæ Aulæ præfato Custodi Juramentum præstet corporale, quòd Præmissa Statuta omnia & singula, benè, & fideliter, ac, pro Posse suo, effectualiter observabit, ac etiam juvabit, quatinus in eo est, ut debita fiat Executio prædictorum Statutorum contra Transgressores eorundem; & hoc idem Juramentum quilibet Sclaris, de cætero admittendus, Custodi dictæ Aulæ, in primo suo Ingressu, præstabit.

VOLUMUS etiam quòd ista Statuta, Trinâ vice, singulis Annis, ut eorum notitia plenius habeatur, inter Sclares Aulæ prædictæ publicè perlegantur
In cujus &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martii.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

Appendix H.

EXPENSES IN THE MATTER OF THE APPROPRIATIONS
OF FELMERSHAM AND GRENDON, 1365-1366.

The advowsons of Felmersham and Grendon were given to King's Hall in 1342 with leave to appropriate them, that is, to take the incomes of the rectories and provide for the clerical duties—the rights of the existing incumbents being preserved. The living of Felmersham did not become vacant till 1362, and probably Grendon became vacant about the same time; no doubt the College then presented, and made some arrangement with the nominees pending the formal appropriations. The following paper deals with the expenses (amounting to £16. 15s. 9½*d.*) of the agents of the College in 1365-66 in securing these appropriations.

In primis for the expenses of Richard de Barowe and a servant with two hired horses going from Cambridge to London to obtain the king's letters of Privy Seal to the bishop of Lincoln for the forwarding of the appropriation of the aforesaid churches and returning thence—7 days.

15s. 4*d.*

Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and a servant with two hired horses going from Cambridge to Lincoln to present such letters to the bishop and to get an answer thereupon and returning thence to Cambridge—8 days.

17s.

Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and a servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to Chartesy to take the answer of the king's letters, staying there and returning to Cambridge—7 days.

14s. 4*d.*

Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard from Cambridge with two hired horses to Windsor to obtain new royal letters again to the bishop, staying there and returning to Cambridge—6 days.

13s. 5*d.*

- Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the bishop's manor called Stoweparc to present the king's letters to him, who promised that on his next coming to Lincoln he would forward everything that lay in his power to forward, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—7 days. 14s. 2d.
- Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the bishop's manor of Lidington, staying there and enquiring as to the bishop's passage towards Lincoln, beseeching also his good will for the forwarding of the aforesaid, and returning thence to Cambridge—5 days. 9s. 3d.
- Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and servant with two hired horses from Cambridge in following the bishop at a distance towards Lincoln for the aforesaid business, to no purpose as he could not catch him in the aforesaid town of Lincoln, staying in those parts and returning thence to Cambridge—6 days. 12s. 8d.
- Item for the expenses of the aforesaid Richard and servant with two hired horses going from Cambridge to London to obtain new letters from the king and from London to Lidington to present the same letters for the forwarding of the aforesaid business and returning thence to Cambridge—12 days. 20s. 11d.
- Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses seeking the bishop at Lidington for the forwarding of the aforesaid and asking for the execution and carrying out of the king's letters, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—5 days. 8s. 10d.
- Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses to the bishop at Netelham by Lincoln where he assigned us a day whereon to be present in the Chapter house of Lincoln, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—7 days. 14s. 10d.
- Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses appearing on the said day assigned by the bishop in the chapter house at Lincoln on which day, the warden appearing at the aforesaid day and place, the bishop excused himself for not being able to forward the business on account of the absence of his brethren and council, and thence he returned to Cambridge—7 days. 15s. 2d.
- Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses to the king at Windsor to obtain letters of privy seal to the bishop that within a certain day named in the writ he would forward the business or indicate reasonable causes for his delay to the king, and he returned thence—6 days. 12s. 8d.

Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the bishop's manor of Louth Park to present the same letters sealed with the privy seal, where he assigned to me another final (*peremptoriam*) day, at Lincoln on which day he promised that he would be in no wise deficient in reverence to the king and his letters, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—8 days. 17s.

Item for the expenses of the warden with two hired horses to Lincoln to appear on the final day assigned by the bishop when on learning the reasons for the appropriation the members of the chapter gave their consent to the appropriation of the aforesaid churches, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—12 days. 21s. 11d.

Item for the expenses of the warden with two hired horses to the bishop at Lidington to obtain letters of enquiry, for enquiry to be made as to the true value of the benefice and portions assigned according to a moderate estimate and not more, returning thence to present to the archdeacon the letters of enquiry directed to him by the bishop, obtaining a day to be assigned for making the enquiry after all should have been called who were interested in being called on that behalf, staying there and returning to Cambridge—12 days. 19s. 10d.

Item for the expenses of the warden and a notary and his servant with three hired horses at Felmersham on the day the enquiry was made, to see that the enquiry was made in due form and that the fruits of the benefices should not be estimated beyond their true value to the prejudice of the king and of his College and in entertaining the archdeacon, rectors, vicars and others present interested in the enquiry—3 days. 24s.

Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the king at Windsor to obtain royal letters to the bishop to shew due favour that the vicars' portions should be fixed according to a moderate estimate and not beyond a third part of the benefice, and thence he went to the bishop at Lidington to present these letters, staying there and thence he returned to Cambridge.

11s. 3½d.

Item paid to the bishop's clerks who wrote the appropriation and the form thereof and made copies and wrote the bonds with regard to the yearly pension assigned to the bishop and for the work of other clerks who assisted in these appropriations and the composition thereof.

26s. 8d.

Item for the expenses of the warden and his servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the chapter of Lincoln to get the seal of the chapter affixed to the appropriation and for making the bonds to the

- chapter for the yearly pension and for the writing and copying of the same and returning thence to Cambridge—12 days. 17s. 2d.
- Item for the work of the chapter clerks writing the bonds and for the registration of the appropriation and the bonds. 18s.
- Item for the expenses of the warden and servant with two hired horses from Cambridge to the king at Sheen to take the reply concerning the carrying out of the aforesaid, staying there and returning thence to Cambridge—6 days. 11s. 4d.

Appendix III.

GRANT OF THE PATRONAGE OF KING'S HALL, (1447).

The Grant of 4 February 1447 by Henry VI to the Provosts of Eton and King's Colleges of the right to appoint the warden and scholars of King's Hall is as follows. The original grant and the form of the oaths given below are in the muniment room of King's College.

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali et ex mero motu et certa sciencia nostris concessimus dilectis nobis in Christo preposito et scolaribus collegii nostri regalis beate Marie et Sancti Nicholai de Cantabrigia ac preposito et collegio nostro regali beate Marie de Eton juxta Windesoram in comitatu Bukingham tam donacionem et collacionem custodie Aule nostre vocate 'the Kinges halle' in universitate nostra Cantabrigie quam donacionem presentacionem et collacionem quorumcumque scolarium ejusdem aule; Habendum et tenendum tam donacionem et collacionem custodie predicte aule immediate post mortem Ricardi Coudray clerici jam habentis ex concessione nostra custodiam illam vel quamcito eadem custodia per resignacionem seu cessionem vel aliquo alio modo quocumque vacare contigerit quam nominacionem presentacionem et collacionem scolarium predictorum prefatis preposito et scolaribus dicti collegii nostri beate marie et Sancti Nicholai de Cantabrigia et successoribus suis ac prefatis preposito et collegio nostro beate Marie de Eton predicta et successoribus suis secundum quosdam modos formas et ordinaciones inde inter eos conficiendos, in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, eo eciam quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo premissorum vel eorum alicujus aut de aliis domis sive concessionibus per nos prefatis preposito et scolaribus et successoribus suis aut prefatis preposito et collegio et successoribus suis ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit aut quibuscumque statutis ordinacionibus sive actibus ante hec tempora factis ordinatis seu provis

in aliquo non obstantibus. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto.

per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parlamenti duplicatur. Wymbyssh.

The wardens of King's Hall appointed under this grant by the Provosts of Eton and King's Colleges were required to take the following oath :—

Ego N juro per hec sacra dei evangelia per me corporaliter tacta quod prepositis collegiorum regalium de Canteburgia & Etona qui nunc sunt & qui pro temporibus futuris erunt obediens ero quo ad omnia concernencia visitaciones collegii sive aule Regie Canteburgie Necnon injunciones licitas et honestas per eosdem prepositos ordinandas Et quod non sciam aliquod dampnum dictis collegiis aut eorum alteri evenire quin id pro posse meo impediam vel adminus eis aut earum alteri sine dilacione innotescam.

Item quod omnes personas per alterum dictorum prepositorum qui nunc sunt et qui pro futuris temporibus erunt alterius vicibus aule regie in Canteburgia presentandas ac ut in scolares vel socios ejusdem admittant absque examinacione sive contradiccione quacumque debite admittam et non alias personas per alium vel alios presentatas admittam quovismodo et eas ad statuta dicte aule Regie edita Et per dictos prepositos qui nunc sunt et qui pro futuris temporibus erunt edenda in omnibus fideliter tenebo debite et observabo sicut me Deus adjuvet et sancta hec evangelia Dei.

Appendix IV.

THE KING'S HALL ACCOUNT BOOKS.

The accounts kept by the guardians or stewards of the common chest of King's Hall cover the income and expenditure of the Society which passed through their hands from Michaelmas 1337 onwards. Save for one or two missing years, the accounts run continuously to Michaelmas 1544.

The earlier books are little more than rough notes of sums received and of the expenditure classified under a few heads, and the writing, with the exception of the headings, is often so crabbed and contracted as to make the reading somewhat difficult. The books were better kept as time went on and, after 1446 when the audit by the Exchequer was abandoned, they present a fairly complete account of the financial doings of the College, though this does not mean that it is possible from them to draw up yearly balance sheets.

For a long time the different items of the accounts were jotted down casually wherever there happened to be room on a page, but as the form got stereotyped it became customary to buy beforehand a book of sufficient size for a year's accounts, and to get headings engrossed by one of the scholars who usually was paid sixpence for doing it. Of course it was not possible to estimate the exact space required for each subject, hence it frequently happened that an account had to be carried over to any page where there happened to be room. The pages are about 12 inches long and $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad.

As new sources of revenue were acquired by the College new headings were introduced into the books.

For instance the income of Great St Mary's in Cambridge, after its appropriation, was collected by the College and not farmed out. It brought in a certain revenue, so a few lines are devoted every year to an account of income from this source, expenses incurred in connection with it, and the net sum available from this source for the common chest. In cases like this there is, in these books, a mass of material which has yet to be investigated by those interested in the histories of the parishes mentioned.

The yearly books seem to have remained as separate quires or booklets until they were bound in their present form, which probably was done towards the end of the seventeenth century. As a rule each account was originally dated only on the outside front page. In many cases this page in course of time became loose and disappeared; in other cases, when the accounts were arranged for binding, this loose page was assigned to the wrong quire with the result that the account was put out of place by many years. The difficulty thus caused of dating an individual account is often increased by the fact that some of the books were annotated or completed some time after the years to which they belong: for instance, we find references in 1461 to the bishop of Carlisle, meaning Scrope, who was then warden, but who did not become bishop of Carlisle till after he had ceased to be warden.

To illustrate the form of the accounts a detailed description of the accounts for one year is given, and in order to secure the mention of all material subjects treated in any of the accounts, one of the later years of the College has been selected, namely, that running from Michaelmas 1525 to Michaelmas 1526, in which the accounts are orderly and exceptionally intelligible.

On the first page of the accounts for this year are, as is usual in these accounts, the date, the names of the stewards, and a memorandum of the anticipated income.

There is generally a note at the beginning of the accounts that the cost of the paper for them and of writing the headings was 6*d.* each, but in this particular year this statement is omitted.

The account goes on to say that at Michaelmas there ought to be received from the burgesses of Scarborough, £42. 11*s.* 0*d.*; from the monastery of Sawtre, £33. 6*s.* 8*d.*; from the sheriffs of Beds and Bucks, £20. 0*s.* 0*d.*; and from the Abbot of Waltham, £7. 10*s.* 8*d.*: these sums made up the original endowment of £103. 8*s.* 4*d.*

The account continues with a record of the pensions and fixed rents due to the College, saying that there ought also to be received at Michaelmas, from the priory of Barnwell, £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*: at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, from the rectory of Felmersham, £19. 0*s.* 0*d.*; from the rectory of Grendon, £12. 0*s.* 0*d.*; and from the chapel of Pavenham, £3. 10*s.* 0*d.*: and at Candlemas and St Peter's Chains, from the rectory of Chesterton, £37. 0*s.* 0*d.*: the sum total of this additional income was £135. 10*s.* 0*d.* There were also due at Christmas, from Felmersham either a boar or 6*s.* 8*d.* in lieu thereof, and from Pavenham a boar. Property in the hands of the Society was dealt with in a later part of the account.

At the bottom of the first page there generally is a list of freshmen with a statement as to whether each has paid his 20*s.* 4*d.* for entrance and for the boat, but this year no freshmen paid, so this statement is missing.

The second and third pages are taken up with a table of contents—a very uncommon feature in these books.

Then follows a page of *Expense Extravagantes*, that is, unclassified or incidental expenses, containing such varied items as for one rake, 2*d.*; fanning the wheat, 3*d.*; barley for the capons, 4*d.*; to the women of St Mary's Church collecting for candles, 12*d.*; for the expenses of Master Baynbrigg at London for eleven days, 26*s.* 8*d.*; for cleaning

the street, 9*d.*; to the friars minors for the conduit, 10*s.* Under this heading we often get incidental information about life in College. In earlier years such miscellaneous items were entered as part of the Common Expenditure of the House. A typical page showing part of the Common Expenditure in the year 1361-62 is here reproduced in facsimile somewhat reduced in size.

Then follows an account of the moneys actually received in the chest from the various sources each under its own heading. Thus under the heading *Recepciones de vice-comite Bedfordie et Buckyngham*, we find that the stewards actually received—by the hands of Mr Nicholson, on 24 March £1, by the hands of Mr Baynbrigg at London in the month of April £10, by the hands of Mr Baynbrigg the 10 day of June from Mr Castell £7, making £18 in all, and leaving £2 still due. When there were deductions to be made these follow immediately. Thus after *Recepciones de Felmersham* which ought to have been £19 and only amounted to £10 we find in partial explanation thereof *Expense apud Felmersham*, vicar's pension for two years, 26*s.* 8*d.*

There were several sources of revenue which were not farmed for fixed sums and therefore could not be included in the estimate of income. For this year these were under the headings: the church and manor of Chesterton; the church of St Mary in the Market Place, Cambridge; College tenements, bringing in about £4; Ripplingham's tenements, in the hands of a bookbinder, at a rent of 7*s.* 6*d.*; glebe land in the tenure of John Haywardine of Hynton (Cherryhinton) 20*d.*; Bellamy's tenements beyond the bridge towards the Castle, and the close at Cherryhinton bought from Joan Bery, now in tenure of James Fransheman, bringing in about £10.

After this statement of income follows an account of the expenditure under different headings: (i) repairs of the

College under the sub-headings of the chapel, the hall, the rooms of the scholars, the store-rooms, the kitchen, the cloister, and the library ; (ii) the garden ; (iii) the scholars' offerings to All Saints' Church ; (iv) the pandoxatorium or brewhouse which for this purpose included the mill ; (v) the bakehouse ; (vi) commons—in this the rate of expenditure for each scholar for each week in the year is set out.

This is followed by an account of sums due from the warden and scholars for sizings, called in the earlier books repasts, their names being written out in an engrossing hand, and after the name of each two or three inches of space left for his bill. The amount due from each seems to have been posted up from day to day without any particulars, so that after the name of each resident scholar is a rough list of figures and a total. When a man left during the year his name was scratched through. In the earlier books his successor's name was written in the same space, but in later books new arrivals are entered at the end of the list.

After the scholars' names follows a heading *Famulus per comitivam*: this man appears to have been originally the only servant fed at the College expense. Following his name is an account for 6d. a week headed *repasta communia*, apparently sizings supplied at the cost of the College.

Then follows a space for food supplied to the private servants of the warden and scholars.

Next are the accounts of stores bought: divided into *Compotus Speciarum* or Groceries, namely, pepper, saffron, cinnamon, cloves, mace, almonds, sandal-wood, large raisins, small raisins, sugar, ginger, rice, dates, prunes, and honey ; and *Compotus Piscium Stauri*, such as ling, salt fish of various kinds, salted eels, etc.

Then comes a note of the profits from the sale of pigeons from the dovecot, probably a misplaced entry. This is followed by a statement of the payment to the brewer.

Next comes a statement of the cost of the Exequies of the Founder, which at this period, with the ensuing refectations, usually cost between £5 and £6.

This is followed by notes of the cost of the purchases of corn, barley, rushes for the floors, firing, faggots, and hay.

The next set of entries refer to agreements with traders for the supply of such necessaries as corn, malt, and firing; and space is left for an account of non-perishable articles bought such as timber, tiles, etc.

Next, the quarterly wages of the servants are set out, namely, the butler 6*s.* 8*d.*, the cook 6*s.* 8*d.*, the barber 6*s.* 8*d.*, the baker 6*s.* 8*d.*, the brewer 6*s.* 8*d.*, the lixa or kitchen knave 4*s.*, and the laundress 6*s.* 8*d.*

Then follows the cost of the distribution of nobles to the scholars before Christmas and before Stourbridge Fair, made at the feasts of the Conception and the Assumption respectively.

Following these is an account of the stipends of the stewards, each of whom had 4*s.* a year and 2*s.* cap-money.

Next follows a space originally headed for liveries. In this year this is not written up, and the space so gained is filled with a list of purchases made at Stourbridge Fair. The following five pages are devoted to money given in lieu of liveries of gowns.

At the end of the accounts there are usually memoranda of books, plate, and moneys, due from scholars—these were altered or cancelled from time to time as circumstances changed during the year, and the result is generally difficult to read. In this year the account ends with three pages of notes of debtors to the college, a page devoted to the state of the chest, a statement about timber bought, details of payments for commons during the Easter vacation, miscellaneous memoranda, and finally a page devoted to unclassified expenses.

This is a common form of account but it varied from year to year in details.

Appendix V.

WARDENS OF THE KING'S SCHOLARS AND KING'S HALL*.

1317-..... *John de Baggeshot.*

.....-1331. *Simon de Bury.*

1331-1333. *John de Langetoft.*

1333-1361. *Thomas Powys.* His arms, as given in the *Memoriale Collegii Trinitatis* in the Library of Trinity College were Or, a jamb erased in bend gules.

1361-1363. *John de Schropham.*

1363-1364. *Nicholas de Drayton.* There is a brief note about Nicholas de Drayton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvi. He was described in 1355 as a bachelor of civil law (*Calendar of Papal Registers*, p. 387); was nominated to a scholarship at King's Hall by a writ under the great seal 3 April 1360; and admitted on 4 May 1360 (*Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 101). His appointment to the rectory of St Martin's in the Vintry, London, was dated 26 August 1362, and confirmed by the Pope on 9 July 1363 (*Calendar of Papal Registers*, p. 399). He was appointed warden of King's Hall on 1 December 1363, but resigned on 2 December 1364 (*Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 102). He was a canon of Hereford, and on 26 June 1377 appointed a baron of the Exchequer (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, p. 3). He died at Rome in 1378 (*Calendar of Papal Registers*, p. 547).

1364-1375. *Nicholas Roos.* The crown in 1364 left to the scholars the choice of their warden, and Nicholas Roos was unanimously chosen. The election was confirmed by

* This list and most of the appended notes are founded on memoranda kindly furnished by a former scholar of Trinity College, who has made a special study of the subject.

letters patent 2 December 1364 (*Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 103). Roos held the office till his death on 24 September 1375; the executors of his will were Richard Berwe, scholar and prosecutor ad forinseca of King's Hall, and William de Mouton.

1375-1377. *Richard Ronhale*. Ronhale, like his predecessor, was elected by the scholars and thereon appointed warden by the crown, the letters patent stating that he was to reside continuously and that Richard Bergh chaplain or another was, as his deputy, to attend to the external business of the House (*Trinity Admissions*, vol. 1, p. 138). He vacated the office on the death of Edward III. He was employed by Richard II on numerous missions abroad: in 1384, to Picardy; in 1388, to Calais, to negotiate terms of peace, and to Scotland; in 1390, to Rome and Scotland; in 1391, to Calais; in 1392, to Picardy and Scotland; in 1393, abroad, to negotiate terms of peace, and to Scotland; in 1395, three times to Picardy; and again in 1396 to Picardy. From 1388 until his death he was a master in chancery. He officiated as special commissioner from 1396 onwards to hear appeals from certain courts and in particular from the court of chivalry: in these commissions he is called LL.D. On 12 September 1396 he was presented to the living of Aldington, Kent; on 26 January 1397 to a prebend in Southwell; he was also rector of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent. He died in 1403.

1377-1385. *Simon de Neylond*. Simon de Neylond was admitted as a scholar of the House on 25 April 1359, and on 25 January 1372 letters patent were issued granting him license of non-residence, a grant of £20 a year, leave to accept an ecclesiastical benefice of any amount, and making him a member of the royal council: in these letters he is described as bachelor of civil law and scholar of King's Hall. The office of warden was offered to him when Ronhale vacated it on the death of Edward III.

He acted as warden from Michaelmas, and was formally appointed on 6 October 1377: in this appointment he is called licentiate in civil law. He was removed from the college by the bishop of Ely as stated above on page 25. He was rector of St Michael's, Queenhythe, from 3 May 1401 for many years.

1385-1391. *Thomas de Hethersett.* Thomas de Hethersett who, in the letters of appointment is described as LL.D., was appointed warden on 26 May 1385: he resigned the office on 10 January 1391. On 5 May 1389 he was made archdeacon of Sudbury, exchanged on 25 November 1398 to a prebend in Salisbury with Mau-deleyn, who had been a scholar of King's Hall under him, but exchanged back again a month later. On 18 December 1398 he was appointed rector of Hayes, Kent; but resigned towards the end of 1399. He vacated the archdeaconry in 1412 and perhaps died in that year. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale* were Sable, on a chevron or three torteaux gules.

1391-1398. *Ralph Selby.* Selby who succeeded Hethersett was appointed by letters patent 10 January 1391: in them he is described as LL.D. He was closely attached to the king, a man of considerable influence at Court, and a constant attendant at the king's council. In 1385 he was made a prebendary in York, and two years later was appointed sub-dean of the chapter. On 24 October 1393 he was appointed a baron of the Exchequer, and six days later was given a pension of 50 marks because of his work on the council. In 1392 he was made archdeacon of Buckinghamshire. In 1396 he was appointed one of the commissioners to hear appeals from the court of chivalry; and in the same year was made prebendary of Netherbury in Salisbury. Towards the end of Richard's reign Selby resigned all appointments and entered religion at Westminster Abbey where he is buried.

He died in 1420. There is some account of him in *The Monks of Westminster*, by E. H. Pearce, London, 1916, pp. 34, 128. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Per pale azure and gules, a tower or.

1398–1413. *Richard Derham*. Derham or Dereham, described as B.D., succeeded Selby, being appointed by letters patent on 6 October 1399—he seems to have been as much a favourite with the new king as his predecessor was with Richard II. Derham must have been a scholar of some repute for when in 1400 the emperor Manuel of Constantinople, accompanied by a retinue, most of whom were unversed in our tongue, came to London to seek the aid of Henry IV, Derham was called on to preach to them (*London Epis. Reg.* Tunstall, fo. 45; see also J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, Oxford, 1892, vol. 1, p. 27, and the references there given). Derham was also a politician of note, and in 1404, of four men required by parliament to be dismissed from the court, he was one. He continued to be warden until the death of Henry IV on 21 March 1413. Later he was reappointed, and what else has to be said about him will be given in the next paragraph but one.

1413–1415. *John Stone*. By the death of Henry IV the office of warden became vacant and the new king Henry V at once offered it to his secretary, John Stone, who was appointed on 23 March 1413. Stone held the office for only two years, resigning on 5 June 1415. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Gules, three fleurs-de-lys or, on a chief or three barrulets sable.

1415–1417. *Richard Derham*. On Stone's resignation Henry V reappointed Richard Derham (who had been warden from 1398 to 1413) to the post. Derham held it until his death on 10 August 1417; his executor was his cousin Thomas Lucas, a former scholar of the college. Derham is known to have held the following preferments:—

the rectory of Middleton Chenduyt or Cheney in Northamptonshire from 3 November 1400 to 1415 or later; the prebend of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, from 3 June 1401, this he gave up in 5 April 1402 when made prebendary of Netherbury in Salisbury; the deanery of St Martin's from 26 February 1403 to 13 June 1415; the rectory of St Botolph's Without, Aldersgate; the archdeaconry of Norfolk from 2 September 1406 to 1415 or later. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Azure, a cross between four escallops argent.

1417-1424. *Richard Holme*. Of Holme who succeeded Derham little is known. He is described in the *Memoriale* as a *vir nobilis*, and must have been a person of some importance, for in the winter of 1414-15 he accompanied a mission sent to France. He resigned his scholarship on 17 May 1417 in favour of his brother John. As warden, he was popular, efficient, and generous. He died on 22 March 1424; his executors were his brother John, William Bryggham, and Thomas Ludham a former scholar of the College. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were, Argent, a chevron azure within a bordure engrailed sable.

1424-1431. *Robert FitzHugh*. FitzHugh was appointed warden in 1424, was constantly non-resident, and resigned on his appointment to the bishopric of London. The chief incidents in his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIX. He died in 1436. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Azure, three chevrons interlaced and a chief or.

1431-1448. *Richard Cawdrey*. On FitzHugh's resignation Cawdrey, clerk of the Council and a baron of the Exchequer, was appointed to succeed him. His tenure of these offices must, as stated in the text, have assisted him in his action in freeing himself and his successors from the necessity of accounting annually to the Exchequer for

the exact sum due each year to the College for commons and maintenance. He resigned the wardenship shortly after Henry VI had granted the over-lordship of the House to the provosts of Eton and King's Colleges. He was very much of a pluralist, and is known to have held the following ecclesiastical preferments:—A prebend in St Paul's, London, 1424, a prebend in York, 1424, a prebend in Southwell, 1425; two prebends in Lincoln at the same time being admitted to one in 1427 and to the other in 1435; he was also archdeacon of Bedford from 1423 to 1431, archdeacon of Norwich from 1428 to 1452, and archdeacon of Lincoln from 1431 to 1458, and in addition held the deanery of St Martin's. He died in 1458. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Per pale gules and azure, three escallops argent.

1448–1449. *Nicholas Ayscough*. The wardenship vacant by the resignation of Cawdrey, was filled by the appointment (by the provosts) of Ayscough, confessor to Henry VI. He gave up the office in 1449, the appointment having been shown to be ineffective owing to a previous grant by the crown of the reversion to the office. Ayscough held the following preferments: the archdeaconry of Colchester, 1440 to 1448, the archdeaconry of Exeter, 1448 to 1475, and a prebend in Exeter. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Sable, a fess between three asses heads coupéd argent.

1449–1452. *Nicholas Close*. Close succeeded to the office of warden in virtue of a grant from the crown made in 1446: he held the office until his death in 1452. He was an original fellow of King's College. He was archdeacon of Colchester from 1448 to 1450, bishop of Carlisle from 1450 to 1452; and bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from August 1452 to November of that year, when he died. The chief incidents in his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi. His arms are there stated

to have been Argent, on a chevron sable three passion-nails argent, on a chief sable three roses argent.

1452-1457. *John Blakman*. On the death of Close, Blakman or Blakeman was appointed by the provosts of Eton and King's Colleges. He resigned the office on 11 July 1457. There is a brief notice of him in the *History of Eton College* by H. C. Maxwell Lyte.

1457-1463. *Richard Scrope*. On Blakman's resignation the provosts appointed to the office William Town who seems to have declined it, and on 11 December 1457 they appointed Scrope to succeed Blakman. On the restoration of the independence of King's Hall by Edward IV he confirmed Scrope in the appointment. The latter resigned the office in December 1463, and became bishop of Carlisle 5 June 1464. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Azure, a bend or; in sinister chief an escallop or (for difference).

1463-1467. *Thomas St Just*. On Scrope's resignation Edward IV appointed his chaplain, St Just, to the vacant office. He held it until his death in December 1467.

1467-1473. *John Gunthorpe*. The next warden, Gunthorpe, was one of the most distinguished prelate statesmen of his day. He only resided occasionally in King's Hall. The chief incidents of his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxiii. He died in 1498.

1473-1477. *Roger Rotherham*. Little is known of the next warden, Rotherham, save that he was related to his contemporary, the archbishop of York. He was a prebendary of Leicester in 1472, archdeacon of Rochester from 1471 to 1473, and of Leicester from 1473 to 1477. He died in 1477. His arms, as given by Cooper in his *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 2, were Vert, three bucks trippant argent.

1477-1485. *Henry Bost*. On the death of Rotherham,

the crown gave the wardenship to Bost, provost of Eton and confessor to Jane Shore. He was confirmed in his position by Richard III, but vacated it on the death of that sovereign, 30 October 1485. There is a notice of his life in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 5. He died in 1503. His arms were either Argent, a fess gules or Argent, a fess gules between three escutcheons each charged with a maunch. (See Cooper, and the engraving of Bost's brass in George Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, London, 1847, vol. iv, p. 485.)

1485-1488. *Christopher Urswyke*. Henry VII appointed to the vacant wardenship Urswyke, a former scholar of the House, and his trusted friend and agent. Urswyke played a leading part in the political events of his day. He resided only occasionally at King's Hall and resigned his office in 1488 on his appointment to the deanery of York. The chief incidents in his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. LVIII. He died in 1522. His arms, according to Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 24, were Or, on a bend sable three lozenges azure each charged with a saltire gules.

1488-1498. *John Blyth*. On the surrender of Urswyke, the king appointed to the vacant wardenship his chaplain John Blyth, a nephew of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York. The chief incidents in the life of John Blyth are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. v. He died in 1499. His arms are said by J. W. Clark to have been Ermine, three stags statant gules. Cooper in his *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, p. 40, gives them in a somewhat different form. The *Memoriale* gives entirely different arms: these may be rejected as erroneous.

1498-1528. *Geoffrey Blyth*. The crown, on the death of John Blyth, appointed as his successor his brother Geoffrey. The chief incidents in his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. v. He died in

1530. He bore the same arms as his brother: they appear on the Great Gate below those of Edward III.

1528-1541. *Geoffrey Blyth the younger*. On the surrender of the above-mentioned Geoffrey Blyth, the office was offered to Geoffrey Blyth the younger, supposed to be a nephew of the last warden. The chief incidents in his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. v. He died in March 1541.

1541-1546. *John Redman*. The new warden Redman, was king's chaplain and a man of considerable influence at court. The chief incidents of his life are given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XLVII. He held the office until 1546 when he was made master of Trinity College. He died in 1551 at the age of 52. His arms, as given in the *Memoriale*, were Gules, three cushions ermine tasselled or, in chief a mullet or (for difference).



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