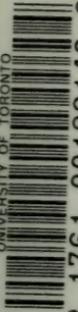
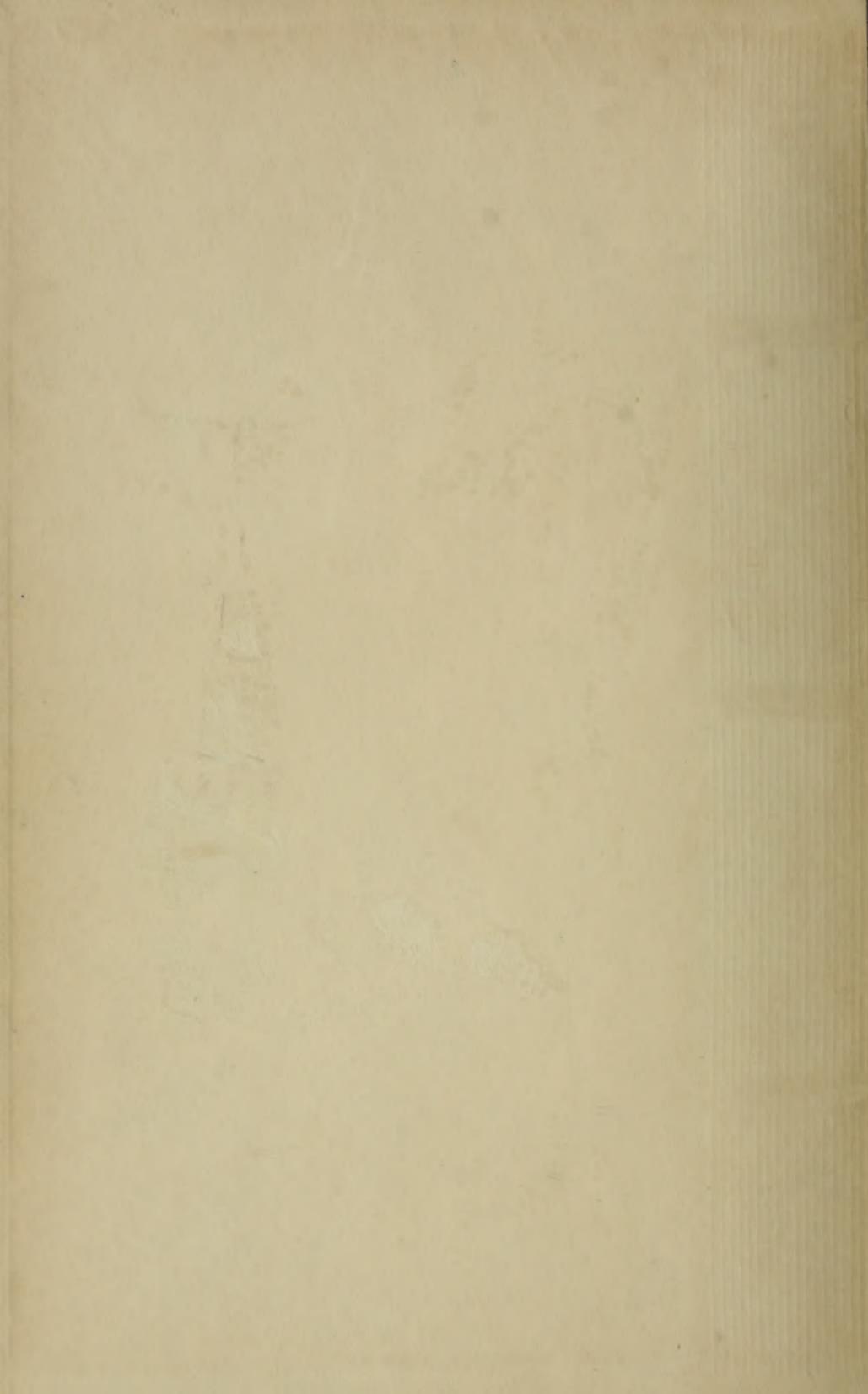


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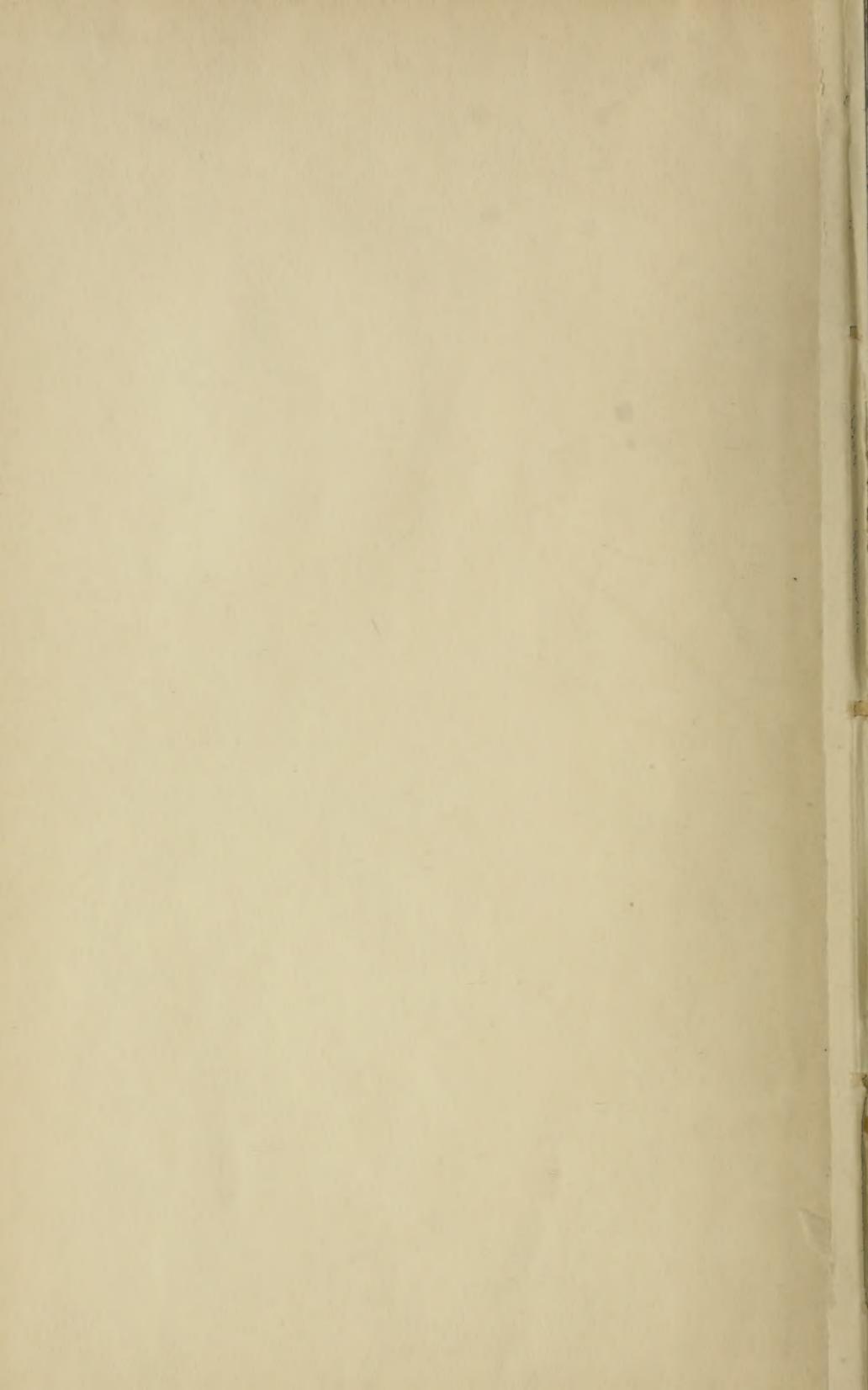


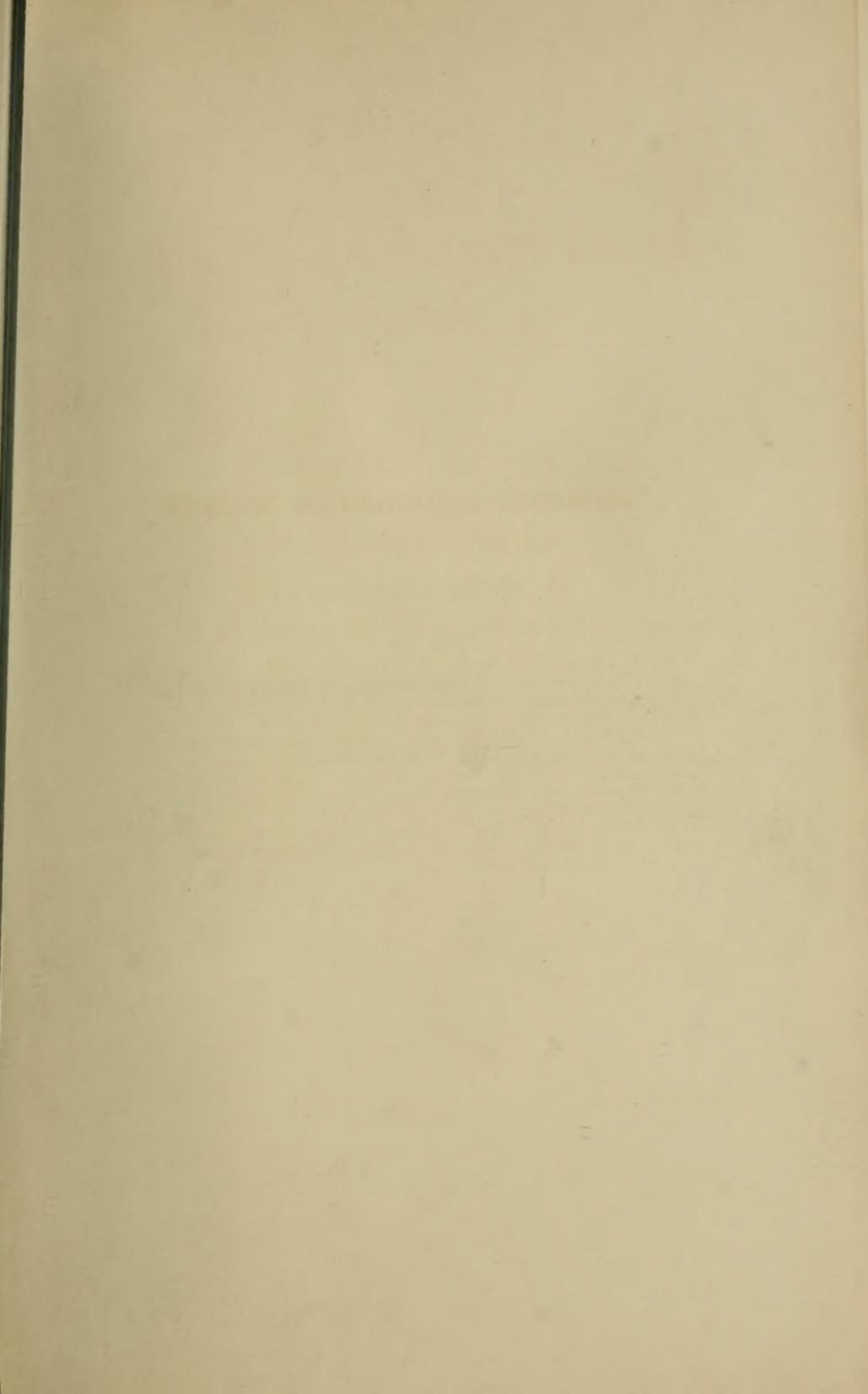
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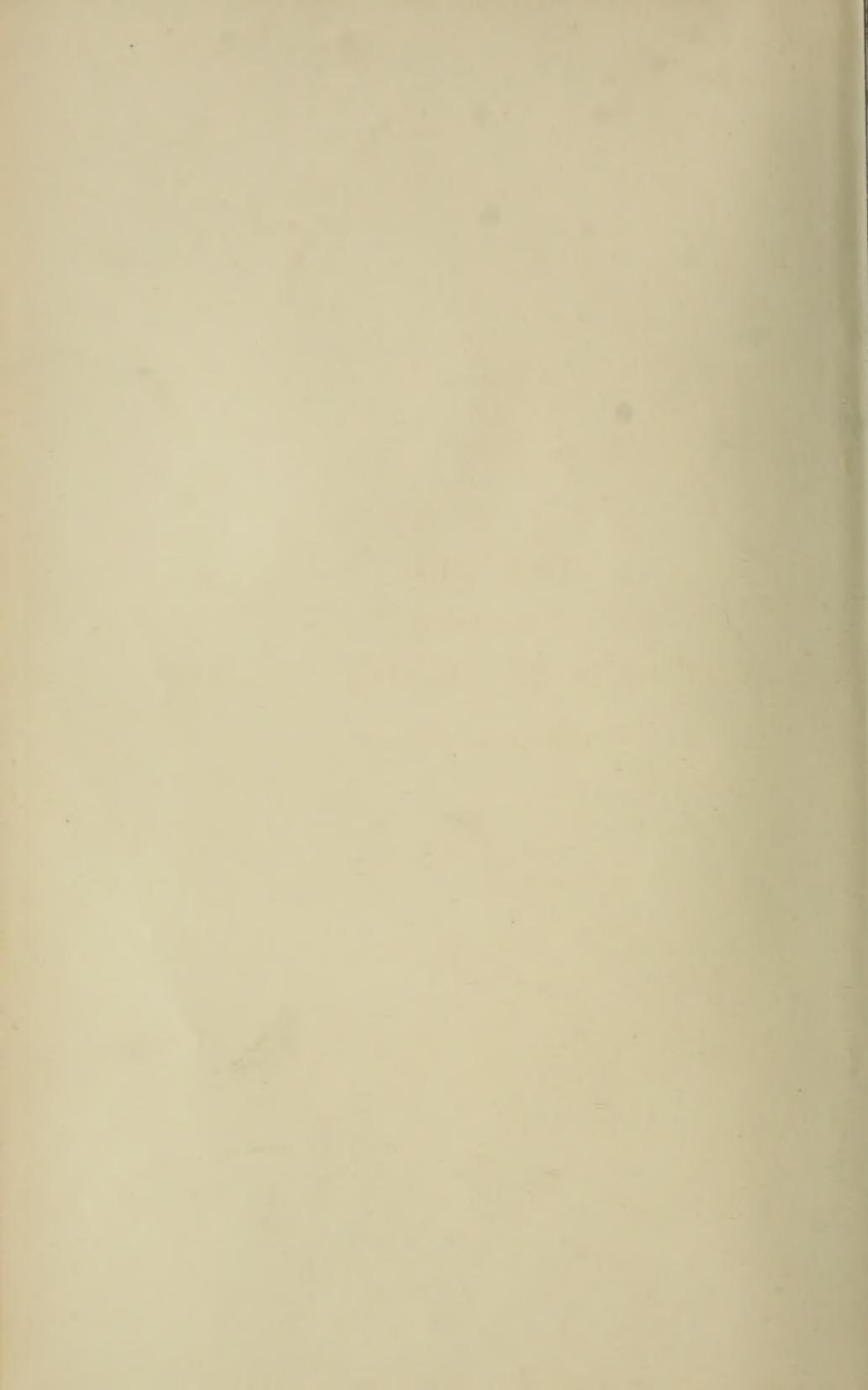


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THE RIOT

AT THE

GREAT GATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE

FEBRUARY 1610—11

PUBLICATIONS : OCTAVO SERIES

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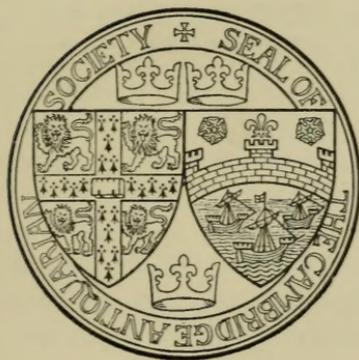
THE RIOT
AT THE
GREAT GATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE

FEBRUARY 1610—11

BY

J. W. CLARK, M.A., F.S.A.

REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY, FORMERLY FELLOW
OF TRINITY COLLEGE



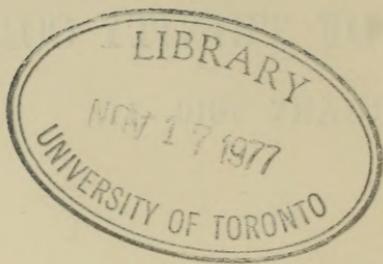
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INTRODUCTION.

1. THE MANUSCRIPT.

THE document here printed, called *A Byll of Complaynt exhibited by the Fellows and Schollers of S^t Ihons Colledge agaynst certayne iniuryes and outrages committed agaynst them by the stagekeepers of Trinity Colledge att ther two last comedyes*, forms part of the *Acta Curiaë*, or Records of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, a long series of which is preserved in the Registry of the University of Cambridge. The case was heard on 11 February, 1610-11, and following days, the Minutes of each day's proceedings being taken down by the Registry, James Tabor, M.A. of Corpus Christi Colledge, who held that office from 1600 to 1645. Mr Tabor was one of the most accurate and painstaking officers that the University has ever had; but his period was not distinguished for good handwriting, and his own was one of the worst. Further, it is evident that in taking down these Minutes he was writing against time, while the witnesses were speaking; and, unfortunately, he did not make a fair copy of his record when the case was over. We find instead a curious medley of depositions properly attested, notes for future use in court, and lists of witnesses who could depose to particular points. Moreover, there are some remarkable repetitions. The case for S. John's Colledge is stated twice, once at full length, and once in a brief summary; and even the sentence appears in two forms, one of which is much fuller than the other. Lastly, as though nothing

should be wanting to increase the difficulty of understanding the case correctly, our Registry did not write out his notes continuously, or on sheets of paper of the same size and substance, but occasionally used any fragment that came ready to his hand, as for instance the back of a piece already written on, which in one case was turned round, so that the bottom of the sheet became the top.

From these causes the task of editor has been one of extreme difficulty; and I should have been tempted to lay the document aside had I not received much valuable help both in deciphering the manuscript, and in arranging the different pieces in their proper order. I take this opportunity of thanking my clerk, Mr C. J. Stonebridge, who copied the manuscript in the first instance, and has since spared neither time nor labour in correcting and re-correcting his transcript; George Chawner, M.A., Fellow of King's College, who in the kindest manner placed his unrivalled knowledge of handwriting and of University history at my disposal; and, lastly, Dr G. F. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, who was so good as to collate our transcript with the original. Even now, notwithstanding all the care bestowed upon the work, I am sensible of numerous shortcomings, and I present it to students with much diffidence as a curious illustration of the manners of the University at the beginning of the seventeenth century. For such a purpose, minute accuracy in respect of the text is not so indispensable as it would be if we were dealing with a classic; but whatever is done at all ought to be done well, and I can assure my readers that no labour has been spared to interpret the hasty scrawl which Tabor committed to posterity. Not more than three or four words at most have beaten us completely.

In preparing the document for the press, I have been careful to preserve the exact spelling of proper names, the curious diversity of which will not fail to attract notice. For instance, Elborough appears as Elborow, Elborrough, Elborrogh, Elburrow. Most of these variations are entered in the *List of Names* which follows the Record of the Court, but others will be easily recognised by an attentive reader. In the above-

mentioned list I have done my best to identify all the members of the University; but, unfortunately, the registers of matriculations and degrees were carelessly kept at the end of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, so that about many persons no information is attainable.

The title "Sir," which I have always expanded, is the translation of the Latin word *Dominus*, which was applied to a Bachelor, just as Master (= *Magister*) was applied to the next higher degree; and, as William Cole, the antiquary, points out in a letter written to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 4 April, 1781¹, "the Christian name is never used in the University with the addition of *Sir*, but the Surname only... Yet, when Bachelors of Arts get into the country, it is quite the reverse; for then, whether curates, chaplains, vicars, or rectors, they are constantly stiled *Sir* or *Dominus*, prefixed to both their names, to distinguish them from Masters of Arts, or *Magister*."

Before concluding this section of my introduction, I must point out that, lengthy as the document is, it is obviously imperfect, for it contains only the case for the plaintiff, without any formal defence, and it is impossible to suppose that Trinity College would not have called witnesses to contradict, or at least to attenuate, the serious charges made against their stage-keepers, some of whom were Masters of Arts and Fellows of the House. As a matter of fact, only one witness (Dr Herne) defended the conduct of Trinity College.

2. THE OCCASION OF THE RIOT

The occasion was the representation of a comedy in the Hall of Trinity College; and the pretext was, in all probability, the difficulty of getting into the College and of finding seats in the Hall. But I am afraid that a careful study of the document before us reveals the unpleasant fact that at that time a bitter feeling existed between the two colleges, and that the men of Trinity College had made up their minds to make

¹ Reprinted in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 661. I have to thank Mr G. Chawner for this reference.

themselves exceedingly unpleasant to any men of S. John's College, and especially to certain named persons, should they venture to appear at the comedy.

The statutes which Queen Elizabeth gave to Trinity College (29 March 1559-60) directed that comedies or tragedies should be performed in the Hall either privately or publicly, during the twelve days of Christmas or soon afterwards, according to the pleasure of the Master and eight Senior Fellows. The whole subject of these collegiate representations, which were by no means confined to a single college—the names and subjects of the plays, which were usually written for the occasion—the names of the actors—and the technique of the performance, viz. how the actors were dressed—how the stage was arranged—how it was lighted—and how the obvious interference with the purposes for which college halls were built was got over—would require a volume instead of a paper; and in this place I shall not allude to any of these things, except incidentally, as they are referred to in the depositions of witnesses. I am sorry to say that I cannot even discover what plays were being performed in Trinity College on this occasion. Their names are not given in our document, and the Bursars' Accounts of Trinity College are equally silent¹.

It must be remembered that in the early years of the seventeenth century life in the University may have been studious—let us hope it was—but it must, unquestionably, have been dull. The games in fashion—tennis, bowls, and archery—appealed to the few rather than to the many; and undergraduates sighed in vain for some means of gratifying their animal spirits. Under these circumstances we can conceive that the annual performance of plays afforded a gratification of which we, in these days of incessant amusement, can form no idea. We do not know how tickets were obtained;

¹ A few notices of the performance of plays in College Halls are given in Willis and Clark: *Arch. Hist. of the University*, Vol. III., pp. 171, 172; and an elaborate article on the subject will be found in *The Retrospective Review*, Vol. XII. (1825), pp. 1-42. For a reference to this article I have to thank F. S. Boas, Esq., who, as Clark Lecturer in Trinity College (1904-5), selected some of these collegiate plays for the subject of his lectures.

but doubtless they were eagerly sought after, and a failure to procure one would cause bitter disappointment. There are indications that the excluded not unfrequently resorted to personal violence on those who had been more fortunate than themselves; and sometimes, as at King's College in 1606-7, broke the windows of the Hall, "with loud outcries and shoutings for the space of two hours together"; so as to be certain of destroying a pleasure which they could not share¹.

In the next place, who were the "Stagekeepers"? The name implies that they had something to do with the stage, and I thought at first that they probably were responsible for lighting it, as they are nearly always mentioned in connection with links—just as the yeomen of Queen Elizabeth's guard lighted the stage in King's College Chapel when a play was acted there before her in 1564. This, however, was clearly not the case, as we find them in the court, in the street, in short everywhere except in the hall. They were evidently what we should call stewards of the performance. Smartly dressed, so as to be easily recognised; sometimes armed, in case of resistance to their authority; they carried links to pilot the audience along the street and across the court, neither of which were artificially lighted in those days—and it must be remembered that the audience began to assemble at about five o'clock on a winter's evening. It was evidently part of their duty to come outside the gate of the College, and to do their best, like policemen, to keep order in the crowd—which, like a modern crowd, consisted mainly of idlers, who were gazing at those who had a right to enter, and doing their utmost to prevent them from reaching the gate.

3. THE SCENE OF THE RIOT.

The riot took place in front of the Great Gate of Trinity College, and in the street between that gate and S. John's College; but, as a good many changes have been effected since those days, it is essential, for the right comprehension of what

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, Vol. III., p. 24.

happened, to try to realise the appearance which the locality presented in February, 1610–11. For this purpose I have reproduced (fig. 1) a portion of Hamond's plan of Cambridge, drawn in 1592—that is to say, about 18 years before the curtain rises on our drama.



FIG. 1.

The Great Gate of Trinity College was approached by a paved passage, about 90 feet long by 30 feet wide, bounded by high parallel walls crowned with battlements and strengthened by buttresses at intervals. This passage, or "walk" as it is termed in our document, was prolonged eastwards so far as to leave the street between its eastern extremity and the gate of S. John's College very little wider than the other part of

Trinity Street (called *High Strete* on Hamond's plan) which led to Great S. Mary's Church. The ground between the north wall of this passage and the Chapel of Trinity College was laid out as a garden, attached to the rooms (occupied by a Fellow) on the first floor of the range between the Chapel and the Great Gate. A staircase led down to it from these rooms. Loggan's print, dated about 1690, shews this staircase, which was not destroyed until 1856, when the range was faced with stone under the direction of A. Salvin, architect. The ancient wall had been replaced by the existing iron railing in the previous year. When this was done the approach to the Great Gate was widened by about 5 ft., and a large strip of ground was added to Trinity Street at the same time; but, when Hamond's plan was drawn, the eastern wall of the garden, after passing the north-east corner of the Chapel, turned slightly to the west, and was carried up to the Great Gate of S. John's College, being interrupted only by an archway through which carts could pass to the kitchen and the walks. In front of the wall near the gate, and also in front of the college north of the gate, was a row of strong posts and rails, with a lofty post at the end of the row nearest to the gate—as was the custom at that time, before pavements for the comfort and safety of foot-passengers had been so much as thought of. These lofty posts, which bore the College Arms, painted and gilt, are well shewn in Loggan's view of the front of S. John's College. At Trinity College there were no posts, but Loggan shews a line of rails at a short distance from each of the walls which bounded the "walk." Hamond does not shew these, but as "Trin. Coll. rayles" are mentioned in our narrative (p. 34), they evidently existed at the time of the riot.

Opposite to the Great Gate of Trinity College stood the Sun Inn, one of the most important hostelries in Cambridge; and on the north side of the Inn was the churchyard and church of All Saints. Hamond's plan shews the churchyard of its full size, before a strip had been cut off from its west side to provide space for a foot-pavement. This pavement passed under the tower of the church, which, in the year 1820, was pierced with an arch to admit it.

4. THE RIOT, FROM BEGINNING TO END.

Under this heading I propose to construct a detailed account of the events of the evening; and I will make it as lively as I can by the help of extracts from the depositions, some of which are extremely amusing. It is, however, impossible to record every touch which helps to make the picture complete and vivid, and I hope that those who take an interest in the subject will study the record for themselves.

The riot began, as such riots usually do, with the crowding of a large number of persons into a small space. The visitors approached the Great Gate of Trinity College in two streams, that which came up Trinity Street being the largest: "in a manner all that came to the Comedy both Masters of Arts and gentlemen strangers wer to passe thatt waye¹." On the other side, from S. John's College, though it is remarked "that the presse was soe greate," the number was far less. The stagekeepers at first did their best to maintain order, and apparently succeeded in keeping a path clear through the crowd up to the gate. On the Trinity Street side, say the Johnians, "they only wafted their clubs easily before them, and fairly entreated them (the bystanders)"; but on the other side "was noe such behaviour, but rude and barbarous usage of ther lynks and clubs." This partiality was so obvious that men of other colleges, as it was asserted, removed themselves from the side next to S. John's for fear "they should be abused," and crossed to the other side, "where they stood peaceably."

Further, it was affirmed by the Johnians that "the gates were shut at five of the clock, and divers Masters of Arts, Bachelors in Divinity, etc., of S. John's College were put from gate to gate and hardly suffered to enter; and, being in, were offered to be put out by stagekeepers and searched for weapons."

This being the state of affairs, a Bachelor of Arts of S. John's College, John Elborough, left his College about five p.m., on the first night of the play, after supper in Hall, and got as

¹ Complaint of S. John's College, p. 3.

far as the corner of Trinity College wall and rails next to S. John's College. There he was standing "with the rest of the company" of men of S. John's College, when "a stagekeeper apparelled in a light colour suyte of Saye, with a small lace of the same colour, coming towards him, dasht him with his lynke once or twice, which he endured" (p. 3). It transpired afterwards that this stagekeeper was Thomas Heath of Trinity, B.A. 1610.

Elborough further stated that "soone after by another stagekeeper he was cutt in the hand with a sworde," or as he said in his evidence, "he was wounded on his arme and hand by one of the stagekeepers with a naked sword. That stagekeeper that smote him wore a red coat with white lace, much after the forme of a horseman's coate, with a scarfe before his face¹." An eye-witness, Nicholas Auger of S. John's College, described what took place as follows :

"a stagekeeper, who was in a carsey sute, did smyte with a lyte lynke [*i.e.* a lighted link] over Sir Elsborrogh his heade, and then Sir Elborrogh houlding up his arm to hould of the torch dropping, that stagekeeper did hitt him a good blowe with his clubb upon his arme, and then Sir Oxley [*i.e.* Robert Oxley, Bachelor of Arts of S. John's College], stept forward and helped to rescue Sir Elborrogh, then other stagekeepers came to rescue that stagekeeper, and²"—

a general engagement began, the witness might have added, and perhaps did, for a piece has been torn out of the manuscript at this point. Oxley, who had lent dresses to two or three stagekeepers, and therefore expected kind treatment from them, swore

"that he was at the first easily putt by, as he thinketh, by Mr Diliker [of Trinity College, M.A. 1609], whereupon Mr Diliker went away. Presently ther came another stagekeeper, and linkt him sore, striking him with the flame of his linke upon his hand; and stroke at his face, which lighted on his breast. This stagekeeper was in a white suyte almost covered with redd lace. Upon this ther came three or four more stagekeepers upon him, wherof one gave him a blow over the face with a clubb, which made his face black and blue divers dayes after.

¹ Evidence of John Elborough, No. 55, p. 32.

² Evidence of Nicholas Auger, No. 11, p. 18.

Then the said Sir Oxley confeseth that he caught a torch from one of the stagekeepers, striking with it, and broke the same into two peices, and threw it among the stagekeepers¹

and ran for dear life towards his own College. As he went he met with unexpected succour, for an undergraduate of his College, John Symonds,

"at the time that Sir Oxley was persewed by three or four stagekeepers, he, standinge in Allhalowes Churchyard, did take vpp a stone and threw [it] after the stagekeepers, which lyted between two of them, which he did to defend Sir Oxley;...that stone did lyte against Trinity garden wall, and he threw noe more but that; and but for that he beleiveth Sir Oxley had been felled, for uppon that they left persewing Sir Oxley and came into the churchyarde to follow this deponent²."

Several witnesses agree that neither Elborough nor Oxley were armed³; and Paul Marchant of Jesus College swore that Oxley "was pursued by stagekeepers to St John's Rayles and beat with clubs on the head three or four times"; "where-upon," says Robert Slegg, constable of the parish of S. Sepulchre, "some schollers did cry out for Clubbs, and not long after there were many long clubs, and pieces of iron and cob-rakes brought into the street⁴."

Dr Heron⁵, of Trinity College, a Doctor in Divinity, and, as he was at least fifty years old, not likely to be led away by the excitement of the moment, deposed that Sir Elborough's wound, which was shewn to him soon after it was inflicted, was not severe; and gave a different account, as might be expected, of the subsequent events. According to him

"he and one Sir Oxley, who was also by, wer very unrulye, and pressed forward against the stagekeepers, and would not by any good perswasion that he could use give back; wheruppon he, this examinant, willed the stagekeepers to give back even to the Colledge gates; and then presently the Clubbmen in great number followed and pressed after; and then

¹ Evidence of Robert Oxley, No. 56, p. 33. See also p. 15.

² Evidence of John Symonds, No. 20, p. 22. See also No. 43, p. 29.

³ For instance see evidence of Jeffry Allott, No. 18, p. 20; and of Marchant of Jesus College, No. 42, p. 25. What Marchant says is corroborated by Gerard Cutler, undergraduate of S. John's, No. 43, p. 29.

⁴ Evidence of Rob. Slegg, No. 5, p. 16.

⁵ Samuel Herne or Heron, B.A. 1578, M.A. 1582, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1595. See his evidence, No. 19, p. 21.

presently one Mr Johnson, President of S. John's, did come to putt them back, and did box some, and perswade others to goe backe, but they would in no was be perswaded. Wheruppon he, this examinant, seeing stones throwen out Mr Tompson's garden, did bid them to leave throwing, which they presently did. The stones were thrown after that the Clubbmen came, and would not suffer the stagekeepers to keepe the walke, and cried out: 'Clubbs! Clubbs!' and, 'Brake downe there gates'; and the stones were thrown only to the corner of the walke to keepe the Clubbmen off the walke."

It is by no means easy to make out the sequence of events in this Homeric combat; each witness saw what passed under his own eyes and no more; and, as always happens on such occasions, neither spectators nor combatants kept any accurate account of time. One event, however, does emerge from the tangle of confused testimonies—the appearance of Mr Coote of Trinity College. He had been a Scholar of the House, and was a Master of Arts; but for this occasion he had donned a white freize jerkin, and held in one hand a sword, and in the other a dagger, and was acting as a stagekeeper.

The tumult which had begun with Elborough's rough treatment, and been continued by Oxley and others, had attracted the notice of the authorities, and by six o'clock the Vice-Chancellor, Fogg Newton, D.D., Provost of King's College, appeared upon the scene. He advanced along the street as far as the gate of S. John's College; and probably his presence, together with the efforts of their own President, and of Dr Richard Clayton of the same College, delayed the exit of the Johnians. This moment, when there was a temporary lull in the tumult, was selected by the self-elected champion of Trinity College for the utterance of a defiant challenge. Advancing to the end of Trinity walk—that is the long passage before the gates—he reached the gate of the Sun Inn, or, as some said, the gate of All Saints Churchyard, and holding his dagger by the point, shouted out: "Where be these Johnians? Is there none of the rogues will answer a man? Zounds, I will throw my dagger amongst them." These words he repeated once or twice, and, according to one witness, he was answered thus: "Yes, there are twenty scholars in St John's that dare answer you, but this is noe time to challenge, when others are troubled

to make peace." Another witness gives a very diverting conclusion to the defiance: "he [the witness] believeth that Mr Coote did not know that Mr Vice Chancellor was there; for after, when he saw Mr Vice Chancellor come up towards Trinity Colledge, he did put the dagger under his arm to hide it¹."

The Vice-Chancellor, having done all in his power to keep order, went in to Trinity Colledge, and after his departure the strife was resumed in a new fashion. About seven o'clock a fire of stones began from the top of the tower, as the upper storey of the Great Gate is called in the depositions, and from the garden (Mr Tompson's) on the right hand of the walk². Jeffry Allott swore that he "did see manye stones thrown downe from Trinitye Colledge tower...after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in³"; and a third witness "saw more than one hundred stones thrown from the Tower." These, however, were not the only missiles. Sir Vaughan (*i.e.* John Vaughan of S. John's Colledge) was "verye sore hurt from the topp of the tower by a sworde thrown thence as he verily beleiveth. It was halfe an howre after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in⁴."

The Johnians were evidently most anxious to prove that none of their men came out with clubs until provoked by the stone-throwing from the tower and the garden; and they were specially anxious about the latter, because, being accessible, which the tower was not, they made an attempt to capture it. It became the centre of the fray, as we shall see directly. Jeffry Allott, whose testimony has been quoted already,

"did see two or three stones thrown out the garden before he saw any clubbs come out [from] St John's Colledge, and himself was smitten with

¹ Evidence of Wm Twelves (Trin.), No. 6, p. 17. Compare with this the evidence of Fra. Vicars (Trin.), No. 4, p. 16, and that of Griffin Divall, No. 41, p. 28.

² Evidence of Rob. Slegg, No. 5, p. 17. Paul Thompson or Tomson, one of the Senior Fellows, was Senior Bursar in 1611-12, and in 1613-14. (The accounts for 1612-13 are lost.) In November, 1614, he was confined in Cambridge Castle, as a clipper of coin; but he was pardoned before his case came on for trial. Cooper, *Annals*, vol. III., p. 72.

³ Evidence of Jeffry Allott, No. 18, p. 20.

⁴ Evidence of Sir Vaughan, No. 40, p. 28.

the stone before he saw any clubbs come out or called for; it was presently after yt his master was gone into the comedy¹."

Edward Goodin said :

"There were manye schollers and others yt threw stones out the garden, but remembreth not he sawe any stones thrown out from the garden or from Trinitye College tower till the clubbs came out²."

When the Johnians came out with clubs they made a rush at the garden wall—probably at that part of it which was behind the Chapel, and therefore could not be seen from the Tower. A townsman named Myton or Mytton, armed with a long club, and Nicholas Jackson, porter of S. John's College³, similarly armed, succeeded in pulling part of the walls down. "The Porter also did helpe putt downe some of the walles; the scholler did most of the harme to the walles⁴," said George Heath. John Bowles, a carpenter, said "that the partyes that were in the garden did looke over the garden wall, and throwe downe stones; and then the clubbmen strook at them, and divers threw stones over into the garden at them; and others, Myton with a longe clubb, did throwe down the battellments at the places where those in the garden did throwe down stones; and after they were down, Myton and Scholes and others did putt down the rest of the battlements⁵."

When the wall was down the materials were used as ammunition. This was testified to by Jackson, whose name has been mentioned already. He had been supping that night in S. John's College cellar "with a scholler bachelor yt attends in the buttry"; and on reaching the gate took up a club which he saw lying on the ground, and thus provided went to Trinity walk. On his way he was struck, "by Allhallows wall," by "a stagekeeper in whyte harnesse." The most im-

¹ Evidence, No. 18, p. 21. See also the evidence of Isaac Wood, undergraduate of Christ's College, No. 17, p. 20.

² Evidence, No. 29, p. 24.

³ See his evidence, No. 49, p. 30.

⁴ Evidence of Geo. Heath, No. 30, p. 24.

⁵ Evidence, No. 32 A, p. 25. See especially that of John Symonds, No. 32 B, p. 25.

portant part of his evidence for my purpose is the concluding paragraph :

“A scholler of St John’s, as he thinketh, was the fyrst that began to throwe down the walls; for that he was smyten with a stone of the wall and his head broken; and theruppon he begane the throwinge of stones of the Colledge wall; he did assaye to putt down the wall but could not; but Myton and divers other schollers did throwe downe the walls¹.”

The attack on the garden appears to have decided the fray in favour of S. John’s. It may be conjectured that those of Trinity Colledge who were directing the fire from the tower were afraid of hitting their own men, or perhaps, for a few minutes, they ran short of ammunition, more of which, as we shall see, was presently brought. Whatever was the cause

“the stagekeepers were beaten into the colledge gates with longe clubbs, and one Higle with a sworde came out, and cut one with a longe clubb [but] without cloke or gowne, and then Mr Rone [*i.e.* Humphrey Roane, Master of Arts 1604] was felled by a clubb-man, and then the stagekeepers durst noe more come out the gates, but divers continued flynging of stones out the garden, or from the topp of the tower².”

The Johnnians complained further that, even if they succeeded in reaching the gate, they were not allowed to enter, “Mr Goldingham [one of the Fellows] keeping the key about him,” and were “remaunded from gate to gate with much coarse and uncivill usage³.” A few got into the court, but their experiences were even more disagreeable, notwithstanding the promise made by Dr Nevile, Master, “for the kynd usage of our scholars⁴.” Sir Mason [B.A. 1609] “was lynked there... after he was kyndly had into the colledge by one Sir Chappell [a Fellow], by a stagekeeper that wore a green suyte with puffed, and another in a redd suyte did putt him backe and lynke him from the Hall Dour to the gate⁵.” Mr Layfield of S. John’s [Master of Arts 1610] got as far as the Hall door and “was putt

¹ Evidence of Nicholas Jackson, No. 49, p. 30.

² Evidence of John Symonds, No. 32B, p. 25.

³ See D, § 14, p. 6.

⁴ See A, § 4, p. 2.

⁵ Evidence, No. 12, p. 19.

by a stagekeeper in a rugg gowne and a steele cap, whom they say was a Master of Arts and Fellow, down the stayres, and not suffered to enter." Mr Layfield's dramatic enthusiasm got the better of his prudence, for he made another attempt to get in, and succeeded; but, falling into conversation with a stagekeeper, he was asked of what college he was, and when he said of S. John's, the stagekeeper exclaimed: "What the devell do you here? What reason have you, being of St John's, to offer to come in? and so did lynk him and thrust him down¹." On the same night Mr Williams, a Master of Arts of S. John's College of five years' standing, succeeded with difficulty in getting into Trinity College by the Caius Gate, *i.e.* what we now call the Queen's Gate; and when he was in, Mr Stanhope, one of the Fellows, "did saye and swere that he did wonder that any St John's College man would be soe impudent as to come in²"; and Sir Dawson of S. John's (B.A. 1609) was linked out of the College by Nevill senior, an undergraduate and stagekeeper³.

"What great events from little causes spring!" says the poet; and, so far as I can make out, the sole cause of this unseemly riot was dislike of two Johnnians named Cooper. Francis Cooper was a Bachelor of Arts of 1608, and subsequently, in 1620, became a Bachelor of Divinity; Henry Cooper was a Bachelor of Arts of 1610. The depositions are full of warning to these two gentlemen not to come to the plays. For instance, Mr Wilkinson of Trinity (M.A. 1609), dining with Dawson and Hutton, two Bachelors of Arts of S. John's College, desired Dawson to be the bearer of the following message:

"I would wish them that be Sir Couper's [*i.e.* Henry Cooper] frends to tell Sir Couper that yf he doe come to Trynitye Colledge, it were well that he were brought in by some frends, for in regarde of some private quarele he did feare otherwyse he would be abused⁴."

¹ Evidence of Tho. Layfield, No. 37, p. 27. Compare the treatment of Geoffrey Copley, No. 39, p. 28.

² Evidence of Mr Williams, No. 33, p. 26.

³ Evidence of Tho. Layfield, No. 37, p. 27, and of Geo. Ferne, No. 16, p. 20.

⁴ Evidence of Rob. Dawson, No. 8, p. 17.

In his own evidence Wilkinson made the same statement in rather different words :

“for yt he had heard that Sir Couper had wronged some of those he did thinke would be stagekeepers, he entreated them to tell Mr Couper yt for the love he bare unto him he would wish him [to] forbear comeinge there, for fere of beinge wronged¹.”

The constable of Trinity Parish (Thomas Whaley) deposed to having overheard a conversation three weeks before, in the course of which some scholars of Trinity College had said :

“yf the Sir Coupers Johannis went to Trynity Colledge comedyes they should be beaten, because they were noted to have wronged Trynitye College men²” ;

and Sir Whaley of S. John's College, being seated by the fire in the Sun Inn, about a fortnight before the plays began, heard another scholar of Trinity say :

“yf the Sir Coopers came to Trynetye Colledge Comedies he would no be in ther cases for one hundred pounds, they would be soe beaten they would be neere spoiled³.”

To this special dislike of the Messrs Cooper must be added a general ill-feeling against all Johnians. One Thomas Wilkinson of Trinity swore that he was asked in Halliwell the Barber's shop by a member of S. John's College “how the ladds of St John's should be used?” and that he answered “Well; for... the Master and Seniors had commanded that all should be well used and especially St John's men”: but that the Johnian had said “It makes noe matter; our ladds have provided them great long clubbs⁴.”

There was plenty of evidence forthcoming that ammunition, in the shape of stones, had been laid up for some time previously; but much of it was based on what people had been heard to say, and probably would not bear the test of cross-examination. For instance, Mrs Frisby, wife to John Frisby, an apothecary, who lived near the Sun Inn, opposite to Trinity

¹ Evidence of Mr Wilkinson, No. 10, p. 18.

² Evidence of Tho. Whaley, No. 14, p. 20.

³ Evidence of Wm. Whaley, No. 21, p. 22.

⁴ Evidence of Tho. Wilkinson, No. 1, p. 15.

College, told her neighbours that four scholars of that House, who came into her shop to buy tobacco,

“spake there of some provision of stones layd upp in the towers or garden or therabout, and also of some buckets to be provyded to fetch water from the conduyte to powre downe upon St John’s menne from the tower¹.”

This vague expression “some provision” was improved by Agnes Barnes, maid servant to Andrew Goodwin, who had overheard Mrs Frisby talking to her neighbours, into “a loade and a halfe²”; and Jane Hall swore that she had heard one of two scholars, passing by in the street, say: “Here will be old scuffling at this end of the towne within these three or foure nights; for we heare that ther are stones prepared to fling from the towers”—to which the other replied: “Those that they should hitt they would be paid home³.” A further piece of hearsay evidence related that on Thursday morning—the day after the first night—Sir Ferne, a scholar of Trinity College, reported “that the foregoing night ther were six boyes which carryed upp stones in ther hatts to maynteyne them that threw from the towers⁴”; but, in answer to this, John Muncaster deposed that though he had seen “a great heape of stones” lying “on the backe syde of Trynitye Colledge in Garrett Ostell” before Christmas, and had subsequently missed the said heap, he was informed, on inquiry, “yt they were carryed unto Kings College to be ther paved out⁵.”

5. THE COURT AND THE SENTENCE.

From very early times the authorities of the University were allowed to deal with offences committed by their own members—usually referred to as “clerks”—without interference from any external authority. Finally, Queen Elizabeth, in her letters patent dated 26 April, 1561, granted to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars (this is the phrase used),

¹ Bill of complaint, [A], No. 2, p. 2.

² Evidence of Agnes Barnes, No. 13, p. 20.

³ Evidence of Jane Hall, No. 31, p. 24.

⁴ Bill of complaint, [A], No. 3, p. 2.

⁵ Evidence of John Muncaster, No. 32, p. 24.

that they and their lieutenants for the time being may take cognisance before themselves of all and all manner of personal pleas, as well of debts, accounts, other contracts whatsoever, and wrongs, as of trespasses against the peace, and misprisions whatsoever...entered and done within the aforesaid town and its suburbs...where and whensoever any Master or Scholar or servant of a Scholar or common servant of the University shall be one of the parties.

And all and singular pleas and trespasses of this kind the aforesaid Chancellor and Scholars and their lieutenants and successors may hear hold and finally determine wheresoever they may choose within the town and its suburbs, and thereupon may do execution according to their laws and customs in use aforesaid; and that the court of the said Chancellor Masters and Scholars respecting such pleas and trespasses aforesaid may be a court of record....

And if any delinquent or defendant, or any delinquents or defendants, should be found guilty in any action, complaint, or trespass of this kind, to compel all and singular such delinquents, guilty persons, and defendants, to make satisfaction of all things wherein they were found guilty, or any one of them was found guilty, according to the laws and customs of the said University in use aforesaid, or according to the statutes of this Our realm of England now published or in future to be published¹.

In the Statutes given by the same Queen nine years afterwards (25 September, 1570) the Masters and Scholars are not mentioned, but the Chancellor alone is empowered "to hear and settle out of hand (*summariè*) all controversies affecting academic persons and their servants, without any solemnity of law except that which we shall prescribe, in accordance with civil law, and their own customs and privileges²." Evildoers are to be punished by suspension of their degrees, by imprisonment, or by some lighter punishment. In certain specified cases the Heads of Colleges are to be consulted, and the consent of a majority of that body is to be obtained—a provision which probably determined the constitution of the court until 1858, when the Chancellor's jurisdiction was subdivided as at present, one court dealing with the offences of those who are *in statu pupillari*, the other with those of persons who have proceeded to their first degree at least.

¹ *Letters Patent of Elizabeth* [etc.]. Ed. J. W. Clark. 8vo. Camb. 1892, p. 8.

² *Comm. Doc.* i. 479. The passage here quoted is translated from the forty-second statute, *De cancellarii officio*. See also *Report of H.M.'s Commissioners*, 1852, p. 4.

It will be understood that in practice the Vice-Chancellor for the time being takes the place of the Chancellor; and that any provision in the Statutes affecting the Chancellor is equally binding upon the Vice-Chancellor.

We will next examine the constitution of the court which heard our case. When the proceedings began, 11 February, 1610-11, the Vice-Chancellor presided, with three assessors (p. 14), but he is not mentioned afterwards. By "three assessors" we are to understand, I suppose, that three Heads of Colleges were present.

From the two accounts of the sentence (pp. 35, 36), we gather that the Court was composed of the following nine persons:

William Branthwaite, D.D., Master of Gonville and Caius; Valentine Carey, D.D., Master of Christ's; Laurence Chaderton, D.D., Master of Emmanuel; John Duport, D.D., Master of Jesus; Dr Hill (perhaps Samuel Hill of Trinity, D.D. 1608); Dr Ratcliff (perhaps Jeremiah Ratcliff of Trinity, D.D. 1588); John Richardson, D.D., Master of Peterhouse, afterwards Master of Trinity; Humphry Tyndall, D.D., President of Queens'; and, lastly, Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney Sussex.

Seven of these were Heads of Colleges; the remaining two, if my determination be correct, were Fellows of Trinity College, who would be summoned to watch a case in which they were so deeply interested. The Master, Dr Nevile, was not present, so far as we can tell.

The first form of the sentence (p. 35) which was signed by seven members of the Court including the two Fellows of Trinity, deals with the members of the University only. The date of the meeting has, unfortunately, not been preserved. As usual on those occasions, there was the party of mercy, or rather, of delay, represented by Dr Carey, Master of Christ's; and I agree with the theory that the line drawn across the signatures indicates that the other members of the Court came over to his opinion, namely, that execution of the sentence ought to be deferred until the names of all the delinquents had been discovered.

When we turn to the second form of the sentence (p. 36),

we find that the first paragraph only has the force of a binding document, the signatures being appended to it, and not to the end of the paper. The signatories are four of those who had signed the first form, namely Doctors Branthwaite, Carey, Duport, and Richardson, with the addition of Doctors Chatterton (Chaderton) and Ward. The new clause merely provides a more business-like method of estimating the value of the damage done.

Below the signatures are some notes, which introduce no new principle, but only develop the punishments agreed to at the previous meeting—unless indeed the committal to prison of those persons who had carried arms be regarded as a novelty. In the following paragraphs I have expanded the first sentence, and sorted its provisions under separate heads, incorporating therewith the second sentence, so far as it can be considered a gloss upon the first.

1. The cost of repairing all damaged walls and broken windows is to be estimated by two Senior Fellows of the two Colleges, and by two workmen, and the amount is to be refunded "by the berers of clubbs and throwers of stones."

2. Sir Heath (Tho. Heath, B.A. of Trinity College) who began the fray by assaulting Sir Elborough; Mr Coote (of Trinity College), who challenged the Johnnians to fight with him; and Sir Symonds (John Symonds, B.A., Joh.), are all to be suspended, that is, suspended from the degree which they had already taken, and not allowed to proceed to any higher degree.

3. "Stone casters" are to be suspended if graduates; if non-graduates they are to be whipped.

4. Bachelors who had used clubs are to be suspended; but non-graduates who had used clubs are to be whipped, and they are not to proceed to any degree until the Vice-Chancellor give them leave.

5. Three stagekeepers who had been specially violent, namely the one who had assaulted Oxley and Elborough, and two others known only by their dress, are to be suspended, when identified.

6. Geo. Stanhope and Edw. Goldingham, both Fellows of Trinity College, and Coote, scholar, are to be censured by Dr Nevile. The two former had refused to allow Johnians to enter by the Great Gate, while the latter had challenged them to fight with him.

7. The conduct of Sir Rob. Oxley, B.A. (Joh.), is to be dealt with by the Master of S. John's College.

Lastly we come to a very important point, the way in which the townsmen who had taken part in the riot were dealt with. At the end of the paper is the following sentence :

Nicholas Jackson (Porter of S. John's College), John Parry, Fordam, Jarmin Warde, and Daniel Boyse were "to be committed to prison, and then to be brought out to the stage made at the bullring, and thereupon to be set in the stocks, with papers in text letters with these inscriptions," namely, their names at full length.

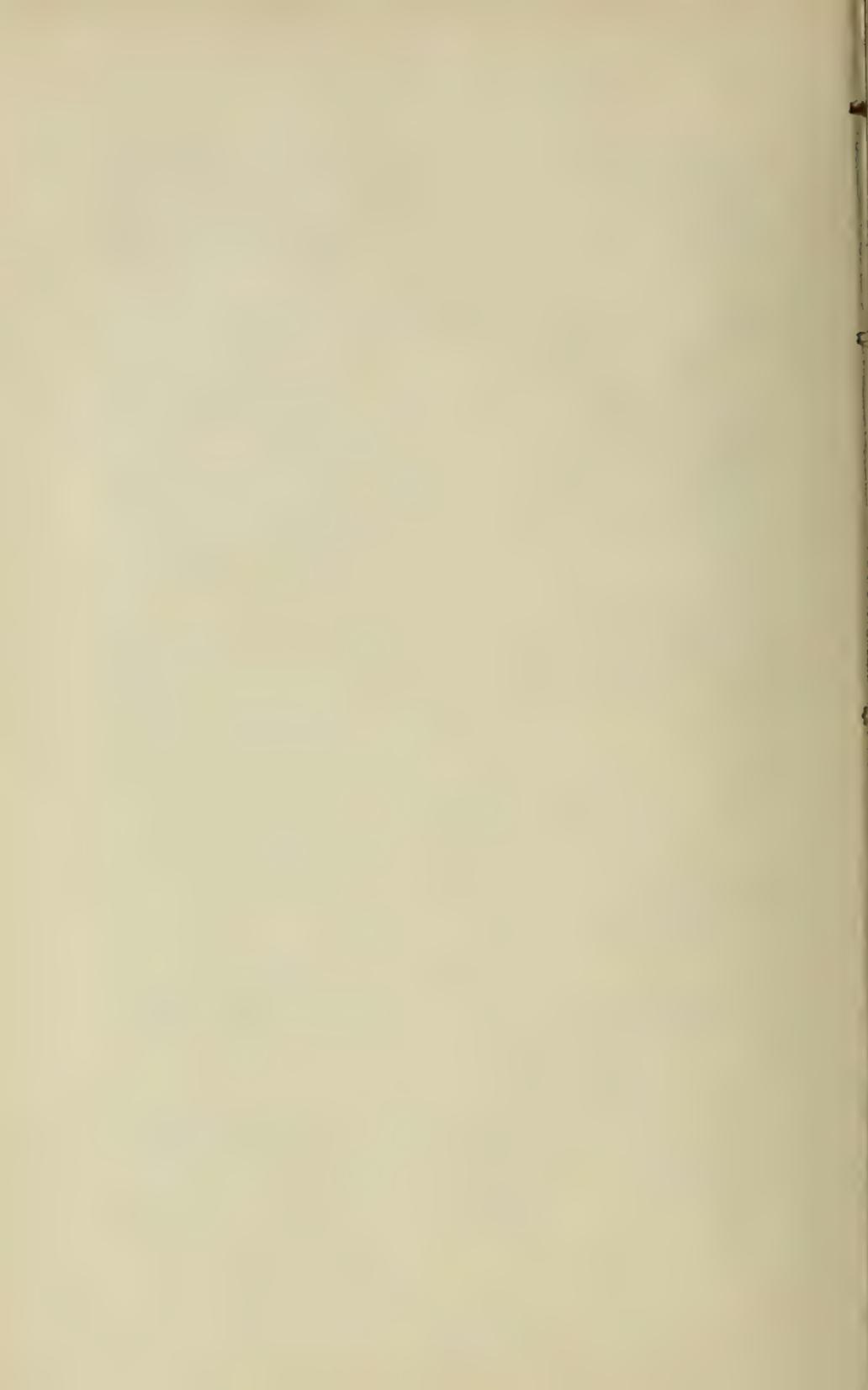
Jackson was the Porter of S. John's who threw down the battlements of the garden wall at Trinity; about Parry's misdeeds we know nothing; Fordam is mentioned as having supped on the first night with Jackson¹; Jarmin Warde was a townsman who said that he "was offered 40/^s. to be stage-keeper at Trinity College²"; Daniel Boyse was stepson to Jarmin Warde, and a stagekeeper³.

We have no means of ascertaining whether this extremely severe sentence was ever carried out. As mentioned above, the only part of the document which can be taken seriously is the opening paragraph, with its six signatures. The rest may be merely notes of what was said at the meeting, when certain proposals were made and jotted down by the Registry for use on a subsequent occasion. There may have been a third meeting of which we know nothing.

¹ Evidence, No. 49, p. 30.

² Evidence, Nos. 23, 25, 28.

³ Evidence, No. 22. Boyse was a bookbinder. In the Univ. Accounts for 1616-17 we find: "Item to Daniell Boyse for binding the booke geiven to his Maiestie, xxiiiij^s."



THE RECORD OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S COURT.

The MS. begins as follows :

FEB. 11TH 1610. A BYLL OF COMPLAYNT EXHIBITED BY THE FELLOWS AND SCHOLLERS OF ST JHONS COLLEDGE AGAYNST CERTAYNE INIURYES AND OUTRAGES COMMITTED AGAYNST THEM BY THE STAGEKEEPERS OF TRINITY COLLEDGE ATT THER TWO LAST COMEDYES.

Touching the first night we charge them with the Intention, the beginning and occasion, as also the execution, of the tumulte and disorder.

[A.] FIRST, THEY INTENDED ITT.

1. On Tuesday Carre, a scholler of Trinitye Colledge, puple vnto Mr Bartin, counselled his brother a student of our Colledge to beware he came not amongst the crowde the night followinge ; wherof he gave this reason : That ther skulls, by the appoyntment of some of ther Fellowes, had gathered and layd vp in the towre as many stones as wold fill a large studye. Of this relation we desyre that Carre of St Jhons may be deposed.

2. The Goodwyfe Freisbien on Weddensday att night, when stagekeepers wer [abroad]¹, related vnto hir neyghbours that foure Schollers, more or lesse, of Trinity Colledge, coming

¹ Words inserted above the line by the original author of the MS., are included between square brackets.

into her shopp for Tobacco, att whatt tyme we certaynly [know not], spake ther of some provision of stones layd vpp in the towers or garden or therabout, and also of some buckets to be provyded to fetch water from the conduyte to powre downe vpon St Jhons menne from the towre. Of this we desyre that this goodwife Freisbyen may be deposed, and vpon oath requyred to speake, whether she heard any such words in her shopp or els wher; whether she knew or could guess att ye names of those Schollers; how many they wer in number, whatt quantyete of stones they spake of, what number of buckets also; and in what places they wer layd. If she deny this, then we desyre thatt Agnes Barnes maydeservant vnto Andrew Goodwyn may be deposed concerning this goodwyfe Freisbien, what words she overheard her speake vnto hir neyghbours; otherwise not.

3. Sir Ferne of Trinity Colledge, on Thursday morning, being in moother Benn's howse betwixt tenne and eleven of ye clocke, reported thatt the foregoing night ther wer six boyes which carryed vpp stones in ther hatts to maynteyne them that threw from the towres. Of this we desyre thatt the deposition taken yesterday may be read.

4. Thatt notwithstandinge the [kynd] promise made by Mr Deane of Canterbury¹ for y^e kynd vsage of our Schollers, yett they intended to revenge certayne private quarrells vppon some persons. Of this we desyre Mr Wilkinson of Trinity Colledge should be sworne whether on Weddensday he wished Sir Dawson to forewarne Sir Cooper from cumming to ther comedy, bycause, yf he came, he shold be abvsed. We desyre also yt Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton may be deposed whether they heard Mr Wilkinson vse theese words.

[B.] THEY WER THE OCCASION AND BEGINING OF THE
TUMULTE.

[a] *In generall behaviour towards our Colledge.*

5. We charge them thatt they did not dash any lynks on them which stood on the other syde towards St Maryes (not-

¹ Dr Tho. Nevile, Master of Trinity College.

withstanding in a manner all yt came to ye Comedy both Masters of Arts and gentlemen straungers wer to passe thatt waye); thatt they only wafted ther clubbs¹ easily before them, and fayrly entreated them. Butt on this syde, towards our Colledge, was noe such behaviour, but rude and barbarous vsage of ther lynks and clubbs. Of this we desyre Sir Augur of St Jhons shold be deposed. Also we produce Sir Marchante of Jesus Colledge, whom we desyre vpon oath to be examined, whether he did not perceyve any such kynd of dealinge as we accuse them of; whether he did not thervpon advise some of his owne colledge to departe from that syde wher they stode, least being mistaken for St Jhons menne, they shold be abvsed, and both he and they vpon that motion remooved to the other syde wher they stood peacably; whether he knew any other St Jhons menne in sight of the stagekeepers besydes theese two Sir Elborow and Sir Oxlye; whether they wer not lynked more than any other; whether they stood not orderly, as other menne, before ther lynking; whether they stood not in the same ranke with others.

[b] *In particular.*

6. Sir Elborow about fyve of ye clocke, when supper was ended in our hall, went towards Trinity Colledge, wher standing in the foreranke without ther rayles, together with the rest of ye company, having noe weapon about him, a stagekeeper apparelled in a light colour suyte of Saye with [a small] lace of ye same colour, coming towards him, dasht him with his lynke once or twise, which he endured. Soone after by another stagekeeper he was cutt in ye hand with a sworde; when this was done no clubbs wer come forth or called. Of this we desyre yt Mr D^{or} Herne may speake his knowledge, whether this playntife shewed any wovnd vnto him; whether he did not answer thatt he knew not how to helpe itt; whether att thatt tyme of his complaynt he sawe any clubbs stirringe. Also we produce Sir Marchant †of† Jesus, whom we requyre to speak vpon oath whether he perceyved any occasion gyven by Sir Elborow or noe, of his lynking and striking; whether he

¹ MS., clubb.

saw or did beleive he had any weapon about him; whether he saw him speaking to D^{or} Herne. Also we produce in this poynt Sir Augur Johannis.

7. About or att the same tyme Sir Oxly, standing peacably by Sir Elborow expecting kyndnes from some stagekeepers vnto him (he had lent two or three stagekeepers suytes) was immediatly vpon his first entrance¹, by a stagekeeper in a whyte suyte guarded with redd lace having a headpeace on his head, sett vpon, who first thrust his clubb agaynst his breast, then lynked him in the face and e...¹ one twice or oftener; then, stepping backe, returnd presently with ...¹ other stagekeeper bearing² a torch not lighted and a clubb; both stroke¹ feirely at him. He, taking from them a torch, shifted for himselfe vntill, yt breaking, he fledd towards the Colledge pursued by three stagekeepers as farr allmost as Allhallowes Church; and by a fourth, thought generally to be Mr Roane, [nigh] vnto ye Colledge gates, all striking on him with ther clubbs and lynks as he fledd. Of this we desire Robert Slegge shold be deposed, and requyred first to answer whether he were sent for the last night vnto Mr Hall his chamber in Trinity Colledge, and whatt speach was vsd to him touching this buisines. Then we desyre he be [requyred] to speake his knowledge of this matter, whether he saw or did beleive that Sir Oxly had any weapon about him or noe, etc.

We produce agayne Sir Marchant, Jesus, Fowler and Cutler Johannis, all which we desyre may be lykewise deposed, whether any clubbs wer come forth or called for before this fact was done.

8. Thatt before any clubbs wer come forth many stones wer throwen, and diverse³ in yt company smitten and wounded therwith; which stones wer throwne from Mr Thompson's garden commonly soe called. Of this poynt we desyre the deposition taken yesterday may be read; and also thatt Jeffry Allot may be examined vpon oath to speake his knowledge;

¹ MS. imperfect here. A small strip of paper has been torn off.

² MS., bearer.

³ MS., diuise.

and also Wood of Christs Colledge be required vpon oath to speake whether he knew not yt a Scholler of Christs Colledge †was† [smoten] with a stone from this garden, before any clubbs wer come forth.

[C.] FOR THEY ALSO EXECUTED.

9. Sir Pratt of St Jhons standing by the Sunn gates, with his face agaynst Trinity Colledge, was smytten and sore wounded on the forehead with a stone thrown from the towre. Wittnes Sir Pagett, Caii.

10. Sir Vaughan also was greivously bruised on the head with a stone throwne from ye towre. Wittnes: Hilton, Christi; Smyth, Johan.

11. Thatt when Mr Vicechauncellour and D^{or} Cleyton wer pacifying the tumult risen, in thatt verry interim, notwithstanding the presence of both theese, Mr Cootte did in chalinging wise vse theese or such lyke braving and provoking speaches: "Wher ar theese roaguish Jonnians? Is ther any of them thatt dares answer me." Of this we desyre thatt William Twelves and Vicars be deposed whether they heard him vse any such speaches, and whether, when he vsed them, he had a drawne sword in his hande. We produce also Gryffith Dyvall.

12. Thatt Mr Layfeild M^r of Arts was much wrongd att ther hall dore by a stagekeeper in a rugge gowne and a headpeace. Of this we desyre yt he may declare his iniuryes, and Mr Metcalfe and Sir Dawson be deposed for prooffe.

13. Thatt Sir Dawson was lykewise wronge by 2 stagekeepers Sir Andrews and Nevill. For the fact Mr Layfeild and Mr Metcalfe canne depose. For ye persons Sir Ferne and Sir Bins of Trinitye. The first told Sir Dawson yt itt was Nevill, the seconde heard Nevill speake itt.

[D.] GREIVANCES AND ABVSES OFFERED YE SECOND NIGHT.

14. Thatt the Hall being almost filled with Masters of Arts of other Colledges and Schollers, and menne also of worse condicion, and this by ye meanes of privy gates and passages, yett the ordinary [way by ye] foregates was shutt vpp (Mr Goldingham keeping ye key about him), and the Masters of Arts of St Jhons †were† remaunded from gate to gate with much coarse¹ and vncivill vsage. We charge with this practise Mr Goldingham, Mr Stanhope, and others in company then, with them vnkknown to vs. We produce in wittnes Mr Burnell, Cecill, Grace, Williams.

15. Thatt Sir Mason one of our Fellows was by two of ye clock in the afternoone forbydden the Colledge by Mr Goldingham, and threatned, yf he shold adventure to see ther comedy. Thatt he was nevertheless brought into ye comedy by a stagekeeper, and ther wrongd. We desyre he may declare how vpon his oath, and by whom, as neere as he canne. Mr Horsmander Johan: canne wittnes some parte of this wronge.

16. Thatt Sir Osburne standing peacably amongst ye companye was carried by a stagekeeper to ye gate, wher another stagekeeper lynked him backe, and in his returne he was felled to the grownde by a stagekeeper wearing a redd suyte laced downwards with whyte and a capp of harnes.

17. Thatt Baguly a Scholler of our Colledge, sent for by Mr Hall senior of ye Colledge, and abyding by his appoyntment within his chamber etc.; we desyre he may declare vpon oath, and bring wittnes, Pilgrim Johan.

18. Thatt during all ye tyme of y^{er} comedye stagekeepers walkt ther courte inquiring after St Jhons menne.

Thatt after ye comedy ended Sir Augur, going downe ther Hall stayre, was ther stroke vpon the backe with a clubb so violently yt itt was hard for him to keep his feet. We desyre he may declare and depose.

¹ MS., course.

[E.] WE INTREAT THAT TOUCHING THE [FURTHER] PROOF AND MANIFESTATION OF A QUARRELL INTENDED BY THEM OF TRINITY COLLEDGE THAT THEESE WITNESSES FOLLOWING MAY BE PRODUCED AND EXAMINED VPON OATH, VIZ.:

19. Sir Whaly Johannis. Whether about three weeks synce he being in presence with some Schollers of Trinity Colledge att the Signe of ye Sunne, did not heare it spoken by Schollers of Trinity Colledge: Thatt yf the two Sir Coopers came to ye comedyes they shold be nere kylled, or to the lyke effect; and whether he knew any of those schollers.

20. Jermyn Warde lodging att Lawsons the Barbar [house]. Whether he was not entreated to be a stagekeeper on Weddensday night; and whether ther was not an offer made to him of 40^s, or some other reward, yf he wold so doe. Also whether he doe not know or credibly beleive yt his sonne Boyse was stagekeeper ther, and in what suyte he was to his beleife.

If he deny itt, we desyre yt Sir Symonds, Johan, and Lawson ye Barbar¹, whether they heard him avouch such things. Also we produce Ethrington, Johan.

21. †John† Muncaster. Whether within this fortnight or therabout he did not see a good quantity of stones heaped vp together within Garret Hostle; and whether within two days before ye comedy [or therabouts] he did not see and perceyve those stones to be carryed awaye, and whether he know or have credibly heard whatt is become of them.

[22] We desyre thatt Smarte the Porter may be deposed and examined vpon oath, whether he was not att Mr Kempe his chamber in Trinity Colledge [soone after ther comedye]; whether he wer not brought thither by a wyle, and what this devise was; whether he wer not ther requyred to wittnes agaynst our colledge or some persons in, or belonging, or thought att thatt tyme to have some dependance of, our Colledge, viz.; whether they attempted not to perswade him yt he was in the company, and further to testifye and saye

¹ Words such as "may be examined" are here omitted.

thatt Jackson was hyred by some of our colledge agaynst this night. Also whether the sayd Smarte wer not sent from Mr Kemp his chamber vnto the porters lodge and ther deteyned 3 or 4 howres?

[23] We desyre lykewise yt Kinge ye porter may be deposed and requyred vpon oath to speake whether he wer not soone after ther comedye brought vnto Mr Kempe his chamber, or some other chamber in Trinity Colledge; and whether the sayd Kempe did not shew him an aungell, which aungell he sware to gyve him vpon condicion; also vpon whatt occasion and condicion he offered him this aungell.

[24] We desyre lykewise yt Goodwyf Archer of Ye Crowne may be deposed whether Warde of Trinity Colledge came not vnto Sir Cooper then in her house, and weeping confessed he had done him wronge, and withall intreated his helpe to excuse ye matter. Also whether she heard him say anything concerning his carrying vnto ye Deanes chamber, and whatt thatt was.

[F.] TOUCHINGE YE FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF YE BEGINNING OF THE TUMULTE BETWIXT THE STAGEKEEPERS AND SCHOLLERS OF ST JHONS.

[25] We desyre yt Sir Elborow may be deposed whether he did not see a sworde drawne by ye stagekeeper, and whether himselfe was not stroken and wounded in his hand and arme with a sworde by one of ye stagekeepers, and whatt suyte this stagekeeper wore as farr as he knoweth or beleiveth. Also whether this sworde was not drawne, and he stroken with itt (as is sayde), before such tyme as any clubbs came from our colledge.

[26] Lykewise we desyre thatt Shittleworth student of St Jhons may be requyred vpon oath to speake whether he was not stroke [and felled] to ye grownd by a stagekeeper before such tyme as any clubbs wer come forth.

[27] To this end we further desyre thatt Ekins of St Jhons may be deposed vpon these interrogatoryes following, viz.:

Whether he wer present when the stagekeepers pursued Sir Oxly towards our colledge; whether att the same tyme while he was thus pursued other stagekeepers did not pursue divers Schollers towards Allhallows churchyard; whether he did not see this Shittleworth felled to the grownd by a stagekeeper; whether this stagekeeper did not weare a russett coate; also whether this Shittleworth when he was thus felled to ye grownde was not hard by ye Church wall. Also whether this pursuYTE and the felling of this Shittleworth was not done before any clubbs came forth our colledge.

We next enter upon a brief recapitulation of the case for S. John's College, divided into heads as the previous Bill of Complaint was. It ends with some rough notes of witnesses to be examined on behalf of the college.

ST JOHNS.

[A.] THAT TRINITY COLLEDGE INTENDED THE QUARRELL.

[1] Carr Johns deposeth his brother of Trynity bad him he should not come at the comedye for the stagekeepers wer Masters of Arts, and none but Masters of Arts should come in.

[2] Fresby his wyfe deposeth that she hard Jane Hall a semster saye the daye the first playe was yt Trinity Colledg menn made Pickeringe to laye a loade of stones vppon Trinity Colledge Chappell, and this she tould her neighbours.

Barnes, Goodins mayd, deposeth Frysby his wyfe sayd to her neighbours that schollers of Trinitye Colledge sayed that a loade and a halfe of stones was layed vppon Trinitye Tower to throw downe.

[B.] THAT TRINITYE BEGANN AND OCCASIONED THE QUARRELL.

[3] Mr Wilkinson deposeth he tould Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton, one the daye the fyrst comedye was, at Dinner, that he hard Sir Couper had wronged some of Trinitye, and bad them tell him he would wish him forbear comeinge there for feare of beinge wronged.

Sir Dawson, Sir Hutton depose the same.

[C.] THAT THEY OCCASIONED THE TUMULT BY LYNCKINGE ST JOHNS MEN, SIR ELBORROUGH, OXLEY, ETC.

[4] Sir Augur sayeth Sir Elborrough stood at the corner of Trynitye wal[†]k[†] by the post next St Johns, and a stage-keeper putt him of, but, because the presse beinge such he went not presently backe, a stagekeeper in a carsey suyte smote his torch over his hed, which Elborrough with his hande defendinge, was smyten with the stagekeepers clubb one his arme, which Sir Oxly seeinge stept forward and helped rescue him; then other stagekeepers came in, one of them havinge a torch which Sir Oxly snached away, and then Sir Elborrough was strooke, and the stagekeepers drew swords, but he saw noe man stroke with the sords; the stagekeepers, he sayeth, were more violent with those one St Johns syde then those one the other next St Marys; he sawe Sir Elborrough give the stagekeepers noe occasion to misvse him. He sawe Sir Vaughan Johns have a clubb or staff ther, and Sir Osborne a longe clubb.

[5] Sir Marchant Jesu, He sawe Sir Elborrough lynct, who giveing back, Sir Oxly came neere him; who beinge also lynct would not stirr, wherevppon moore stagekeepers came and lynct them, and he sawe Sir Oxly with a torch layeing at the stagekeepers, but he was by the stagekeepers persewed to St Johns Rayles, and with there clubbs had 3 or 4 blowes in the chase. He sawe Sir Elborrough talk with D^{or} Herne, but whercabouts he knoweth not.

[6] Rob. Slegg deposeth Sir Oxley Johannis stood peaceably close to the post of Trinitye next St Johns gate, and a stage-keeper with his clubb did easely putt him of, but he yelded not but verye littell; then others lyncked him; wherevppon Sir Oxly stirred not, but did mutter, and talke to the stagekeepers. Then 2 or 3 stagekeepers layed at him with lynkes, and then he gave backe, and watchinge his tyme snacht a torch from one of them, and layed about with it at the stagekeepers,

but they beate him awaye, and then they cryed Clubb†† etc., and not longe after menye longe clubbs, a peece of yron, a colerake, etc. weere out St Johns brought into the streete, and then the stoones begane to be throwen out Trinitye garden, and this he sayeth he confessed to Mr Hall Trinitatis.

[7] Sir Cuttler }
 [8] Sir Fowler } agree with these.

[9] Wood Chr^{ti} was before the clubbs came smytten with a stone out Trinitye garden.

[10] Jeffery Allott likewyse with a bricke batt shewed in court.

[11] Hilton Chr^{ti} and Smyth Johannis depose Sir Vaughan was hurte with a stone from Trinitye Coll. they beleive y^e Tower.

[12] Smyth (Johannis) sawe Sir Osburne lynckt by a stagekeeper.

[13] Twelves, Vicars, Divall, depose yt wyle Mr Vice-chancellor was at St Johns gate pacyfinge the tumult, etc. Mr Coote stagekeeper did come to the walks ende, and braved, callinge and sayeing, "Wher be these Jonians? will any fight with me?" having then a naked dager in his hand.

[14] Vicars sayeth sworde and dagger.

[15] Mr Metcalfe and Sir Dawson depose they see Mr Layfeild Johannis putt downe the stayers at Trinitye Hall doore by the stagekeepers.

[16] Sir Dawson Johannis was lyncked out the Colledge. Proved.

[17] Divers Masters of Arts, Bachellers in Divinitye, etc. of St Johns Colledge wronged; and the gates shutt at 5 of the clocke. Were putt from gate to gate and hardly suffered to enter; being in, offered to be putt out by stagekeepers, and searched for weapons. Proved.

[18] Bagley Johannis sent for to Mr Halls chamber was fecht downe and lynckt by stagekeepers.

[19] That Jarmin Warde [a townesman] reported in Lawsons shopp he might have had xl^s to be stagekeeper at Trynitye College. Proved.

But Jarmyn denyeth it.

The following notes occur on a sheet of paper at the end of the whole document. The numbers are those of the depositions.

For the beginnige of the Quarrell :

Rob. Slegg	5
Sir Augur	11
Sir Marchant	42
Cutler Fowler	43, 44
Sir Elborough	55
Sir Oxley	56
Mr Dillacre	3
Sir Linge	4
Sir Aldred	5
Tho. Whaley	9
Rob. Slegg	10

The throwing stones before clubbs came:

Winscall sawe 2 stones throwen out the garden.

Jeffery Allott saw 2 or 3 stones thrown out the garden
and †was† himself smitten before clubbs came.

Wood Chr.

The throwinge stones not till after clubbs came :

Rob. Slegg 5

Dr Herne 19

E. Goodin

Bowles, Bettsons man in St Johns depos.

Tho. Whaley

Querie what koat Mr Goldingham wore ye first night.

The second stagekeeper yt lynkt Sir Oxely lykely to be
Sir Heathe by his suit.

Examine Webster ye drawer at Tilletts about Sir Oxelyes
deposition.

A note of the names of such persons as we desyre to be
brought into the courte and examined on our behalfe:

Mr Dilaker	co ¹	} Trinitatis
Mr Kennston	co	
Mr Stanhope	co	
Mr Goldingham	co	
Sir Aldred	co	
Sir Heath	co	
Sir Ferne	ab	
Nevill	co	
Carr	co	
<u>Mr Thompson</u> is not at home	
Mr Coote	co	}
Sir Andrews	co	

Sir Marchant of Jesus Coll.

Wood }
Hilton } Christi co v^{li} 2

Sir Pagett Caii non co

Robert Slegge	} personaliter ³ comparuit
William Twelves	
Vicars	
dwelling in ye towne	
Friesbien his wyfe	co † comparuit †
Muncaster	† do † † do † v ^{li}

Archer of ye Crowne personaliter v^{li}

Not examined.

The following memoranda are written on the back of the foregoing document: "A note of the names of such persons," etc.

Searl use † † the coate in black	{ Sir Symons 5°
Burton Johis a	{ Brett 6°
barre of yron	
	{ Sir Warr 6°
	{ Heath

¹ The words *co* and *ab* after a name signify *comparuit* and *abfuit*.

² The witness is bound in the sum of £5 to appear to give evidence. The amount of the bail is only added to names of members of the University in two cases out of sixteen; and to names of townfolk in two cases out of six.

³ *Personaliter*, i.e. *monitus*; when the beadle saw the witness wanted and spoke with him in person.

⁴ *Perquisitus*, probably means that the beadle has delivered the summons, but failed to see the witness personally.

Sir Osborne Johis supposed to have a {Sir Warr 6
clubb {Heath 6
Cowper a clubb {Archers wyfe saye†th† he confessed at
her house he had one,
and Parry sayeth he saw him have one.
Jackson had A Club Vicars conf †confitetur, confesses†
Jo. Parry
the bricks thrown down by Scholes and others {Woodrofe
quaere de quod Heath
Myton and Jackson & Scholes threw {Tho. Whaley
down the walls
Jo. Parry had a long clubb {Trott deposeth and
himself in maner confesseth

[PROCEEDINGS IN THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S COURT.]

XI^o Februarii 1610 coram Domino Procancellario assessoribus tribus.

☞ Brookes of St Johns reported that yf there were not good order taken and the scholers of St Johns well vsed there would be such trouble as never was before.

Joh. Winscall, *famulus* Mri Synowes, *juratus*. He sayeth he saw stones thrown out the garden of Trinitye; he sayeth he saw a 100 stones at least throwne of Trynitye College Tower.

At Benes howse one Thursdaye about X or XI he hard one Sir Ferne Trinitatis tell him at mother Benes howse and yt there weere halfe a dozen boys that by hatfulls did bring vp stones to the Tower to mayntayne them the throwers; he did see 2 stones throwen out the garden corner before any clubbs came out or wer called for, he cannot saye that any stones wer layed vpp before of purpose to throwe out. Robertus Brooks Johis ☞ *vt supra* he.

Cotton Trinitatis. It was tould vnto Mr Wilkinson by ...¹ that except St Johns men were well vsed, there were longe clubs provided.

Thomas Smyth Master of Arts is charged the first night to see to the first playe with a sworde vnder his gowne.

¹ The name is omitted in the MS.

Tho. Smyth, Mr of Arts. He sayeth that he had noe sworde, raper, dagger, sceyne, hanger, nor clubb.

Mr Scarlett, Mr Dillaere. This. At the ende of the rayles about 5 of the clock he did put back gently, then by a littell more roughly, because he mumbled.

Sir Oxley did take away a [torch] out of Mr Dillaere his hande being a stagekeeper, and did strike him and lye at him and strike him about the shoulders and hed; and being stroke he sayeth that thervppon he putt him backe and siroke at him with his clubb and did hitt him about the arm; and then Oxley, as he taketh it, did cry out "Clubbs"; and thervppon he did goe in and tell Mr Rone of what was done, and then Mr Rone went out with his short clubb and torch, and then at the end of there rayles one did darte a clubb in his face whervppon he followed that partye downe towards St Johns gates, and presently returned backe agayne, and at his return he did see a great number of St Johns to yssewe out the gates with longe clubbs, whervppon Mr Rone did goe to the President then beinge there present, and did intreate him to perswade with those that came out that they would return lest there were some greater disorder.

THE EXAMINATION OF ST JHONS WITNESSES.

1. Tho. Wilkinson Trinitatis, *Juratus*. He being in Copers one Tuysdye or Wendesdye before the playes, Mr Sherrocke Johis, he did aske him how the ladds of St Johns should be vsed; he tould him, "Well"; for the vicemaster for the master and senors [commanded], that all should be well vsed, [and especially St Johns men]; to whom he answered: "It makes noe matter; our ladds have provided them [great] long clubbs." This was spoken in Halliwell's the barbers shopp, there then being others by and present that he nowe knoweth not the names.

Th. Wilkinson.

2. Sir Cotton Trinitatis, *Juratus*. He sayeth that either in his owne chamber or going to his chamber Brooks coming to borrow a stagekeeper's suyte about St John's bottrye at

Twelwe tyde last past [herd] them say that your Colledge will keepe out ours from coming to your comedye; if they doe there wilbe as great a doe or stirre as ever was in the University.

Robert Cotton.

3. Georgius Archer examined. He sayeth that he stood leanyng agaynst the wall, and Sir Osborne stood by him at the corner of the [wall by ye] post of Trynyte Colledge next St Johannis; and a stagekeeper in a reddish coulered suyte did come and beet a [light] lynke over his Sir Osborne's heade, whervppon the said Sir Osborne did depart.

George Archer.

4. Francis Vicars. Sayeth that he did see a stagekeeper [which was Mr Coote of Trynyte] the first night in a whyte fryse jerkin come out with a dager and sworde drawne; and, after Mr ViceChancelor was gone in to Trynitye Colledge, and howlding the same vpp to those of St Johnes yt stode with clubbs, sayeing this or the like in effect: "Where be these rogish cowards or Jonians; yf there be any of you yt dares aunswer me come forth"; to whom Gryff Divall aunswered: "Ther is them yt dare aunswer you." This was about 6 of the clock.

Frances Vickears.

5. Robert Slegg. Deposeth that Sir Oxley stood peaceably close to the post of Trynitye next to St John's gate, and a stagekeeper with his clubb did easely putt of the said Sir Oxley of St John's Colledge. Yet he yelded not, but very littell; then the stagekeeper lynked him, whervppon the said Sir Oxley [stered not, but] did mutter and talk to the stagekeepers. Whervppon 2 or 3 of the stagekeepers did laye at him with linkes, and then he did geve backe; and watching the tyme did snach a torch from a stagekeeper, and with it he did strike and lay about at the stagekeepers, but, other helpe coming, divers stagekeepers did follow after Sir Oxley, and did beate¹ him awaye; whervppon some Schollers did crye out for Clubbs, and not long after ther wer manye long clubbs, and peices of yron

¹ The Registry has written "peate."

and colerakes brought in to the streete. He sayeth that ther wer stones throwne out the garden by some yt stood [above] the battelment presently vppon the cominge out of Clubbs out the Colledge; and about 7 of the clock he did see stones throwne of the Towre of Trynitye, and he sayeth he hath been sent for to Mr Hall's chamber, and ther hath confessed, and tould him as much as here he hath deposed.

By me Robert Slegge.

6. Willyam Twelves sayeth that he was in the street when as Mr Coote came out the colledge to the ende of Trinitye walk¹ before the Sone² gate [agaynst the church gate of Alhallows], houlding his dagger by the poynte, did saye "Wher be these Jonians? Is ther none of the rougues will answer a man? Zounds I will throwe my dagger amongst them," Mr ViceChancellor then being nere †St Johns† Colledge gate, but he beleiveth that †he did†³ not know yt Mr Vicechancellor was ther, for that after, when Mr Coote sawe Mr Vicechancellor come vpp towards Trynitye Colledge, he Mr Coote did put the dager vnder his arme to hyde it.

William Twelles.

7. Nicholas Carr, Johis. He sayeth that his brother of Trynitye did bid him one Tuysdaye night, before the comedye, that he should not come at the comedye, for the stagekeepers wer Masters of Arts and none but Masters of Arts would be suffered to come in.

Nicholas Carre.

8. Sir Dawson sayeth that Mr Wilkinson [about dinner tyme on Wednesdaye] did wishe him to tell Sir Couper: "I would wish them that be Sir Couper's frends to tell Sir Couper that⁴ yf he doe come to Trynitye Colledge †it were well†⁵

¹ The walk or entry between parallel walls which led from the street to the great gate.

² The Sun Inn in Trinity Street, opposite to Trinity College.

³ The words "being—not" are at the bottom of a page which is much damaged; and they are therefore somewhat uncertain.

⁴ After "that" the MS. adds: "he should not come to Trynitye Colledge if he did."

⁵ The sense requires the addition of some such words as these.

that he [wer brought in by]¹ some frends, for in regarde of some private quarell he did feare otherwyse he would be abvsed." He sayeth that he did see Mr Layfield the first night putt down a 2 or 3 stayrs at the hall door, and not suffered to enter.

Robert Dawsonn.

9. Sir Hutton sayeth that Mr Wilkinson did on the commencement daye wish him to bid Sir Couper not to come at the Comedyes except he were brought by some of his frends, for he feared in regarde of some wronge that he Couper had offered to some of Trynitye Colledge he would have some [hard measure] offered him ther, which words he verely beleiveth Mr Wilkinson did † vtter † out of his love he bare vnto Sir Couper.

Arthure Huttonn.

10. Mr Wilkinson sayeth that Sir Dawson and Sir Hutton dyninge with him one the commencement daye, for yt he had heard that the said Sir Couper had wronged some of those he did thinke should be stagekeepers, he intreated them to tell Mr Couper yt for the love he bare vnto him he would wish him forbear comeinge there, for fere of beinge wronged.

Th. Wilkinson.

11. Sir Augur sayeth that he was by [at ye corner of ye wall by Trynitye Colledge post next St Johns] when as Sir Elborrogh was stricken, which was a stagekeeper with his clubb did putt him of, but, because the presse was soe greate, he could not goe backe suddenly, whervppon the stagekeeper, who was in a carsey suyte, did smyte with a lyte lynke over Sir Elsborrogh his heade, and then Sir Elborrogh houlding vp his arm to hould of ye torch dropping, that stagekeeper did hitt him a good blowe with his clubb vpon his arme, and then Sir Oxly stept forward and helped to rescue Sir Elborrogh, then other stagekeepers came to rescue that stagekeeper, and one of them having a lyncke in his hande, Sir Oxley did snache it awaye ;

¹ The Registry had first written "came with some friends." He then drew his pen through "came," and wrote above the line "wer brought in by." I have adopted this second reading, and erased the word "with."

but, presently, after yt the sayd Sir Elborough was strook with the clubb, ther was swords drawne by the stagekeepers, but sawe noe man stroke with them; he sayeth that the stagekeepers were more violent with those on Saynt John's syde then those of the other, [for they putt these by easely, the others they did lyncke]. He sayeth that presently after yt Sir Oxly had stroke one blow with the torch, he saw Sir Vaughan there with a clubb or staffe, [and others; Sir Osborne had a long clubb]. He sayeth that he did not see Sir Elborough give the stagekeeper an occasion to misvse him.

Nicholas Augar.

ST JOHNS: WITNESSES.

12. Sir Mason was lynked there [the seconde night], after he was kyndly had into the Colledge by one Sir Chappell¹, by a stagekeeper yt wore a green suyte with puffes; and another in a redd suyte [did putt him backe and lynke him from the Hall Dour to the gate]. He sayeth that one Sir Aldred did weare the green suyte the night before with whyte lined puffs; and he was warned [by Mr Gouldingham] at two of the clock the 2 Daye², not to presume to [tarrye] within the gates, for yf he did it should be worse for him³.

Robt. Mason.

12A. Sir Osburne sayeth that a stagekeeper in a redd suyte and a steel capp did knock him down⁴.

13. Agnes Barnes sayeth that the first night of the playes at Trynitye Colledge in the eveninge, there being certayne neighbours of John Frysbyes Appothocarye standing vppon the said Frysbyes seat⁵, she harde the wyfe of the said John Frysby tell the said neighbours that there were Schollers of Trynite

¹ The Registry originally wrote: "had into the Colledge by one Chappell." He then drew his pen through the words "by one Chappell"; and wrote above the line "and at the Hall Dour one Sir Chappell would have been in his blowd."

² After "Daye," the Registry has written above the line: "and told him he should not see the comedye."

³ "be worse for him" is altered in the text into "repent it."

⁴ This evidence is not numbered in the MS. nor signed.

⁵ The scrawl interpreted "seat" may represent "selle," or "sille" = sill.

Colledge did report in her shopp that ther was a loade and a halfe of stones layed vpon the topp of Trynitye Colledge Towre to throwe down.

Agnes Barnes¹.

14. Thomas Whaley *juratus deponit* that within these 2 or 3 dyes past he did here one Sir Wheley Johannis tell this Deponent that he was called in question, for that some Schollers of Trynite colledge tould him three weeks past that yf the Sir Coupers Johannis went to Trynitye Colledge comedyes they should be beaten, because they were noted to have wronged Trynitye Colledge men, or words to yt effect.

Thomas Whaley.

15. Robert Binns *juratus deponit* that the first night he did see Sir Nevill S. S. Trinitatis, as he beleiveth, for of his certyn knowledge he sayeth he canot depose, lynke one Sir Dawson Johannis in Trynitye Colledge courte; but wherfore he knoweth not.

Robert Bynnes.

16. George Ferne Trinitatis deposeth that he did heere Sir Binn tell him this examinant that Sir Dawson Johannis was lynked the fyrst night out the Colledge court by one stagekeeper that he Binns beleived was Sir Nevill senior, who was in † a † dark coulered horsmans coat and a hedpeece.

George Ferne.

17. I. Wood Chr^{ti} he sayeth he was at Trynitye gates the night before the fyrst comedye began and befor St John's men came out with clubbs, and he sayeth that he stooode vnder Trynitye Colledge garden wall which is Mr Tompsons, and was smitten with a stone which came from Trynitye Colledge ward, but from what parte he doth not know; he also sayeth one Cally of Christ's Colledge was also smytten with a stone, but knoweth not from what place of Trynitye Colledge it came.

Isacke Wood.

18. Jeffry Allott sayeth the fyrst night of the Comedyes he was going after his master who went to the Comedye; and,

¹ Signed by the Registry to her mark, a vertical line between the two words.

being mydwaye vpp in Trynitye Colledge walke, a stagekeeper miscalled him, and strock at him with a clubb, and beet him backe, and after yt standing by agynst Trynitye Chappell by Allhallows church wall, he had a great bricke batt which † he † did bring into the Court. † This bricke batt † was thrown out Trynitye Garden, and did hitt him vpon the shoulder. He also did se manye stones thrown down from Trynitye Colledge Towre. This stone and the other were throwne after yt Mr Vicechancellor was gone in. He sayeth Sir Oxley and Sir Elborough had noe weapons when they wer smitten by stagekeepers.

Jefferye Allott sayeth that he did see 2 or 3 stones thrown [out the garden] before he saw any clubbs come out St Johns Colledge, and himself was smitten with the stone before he saw any Clubbs come out or called for; it was presently after yt his master was gone into ye comedye.

Jefry Allott¹.

19. Mr Dr Herne he sayeth that about five of the clock the fyrst night Sir Elborough, [as he taketh his name to be], did come vnto him, and shewe him a littell strooke which bled vppon the backe of his hands, which he tould him the stagekeepers gave him, and this examinant tould him that yf he would shew him the partye that had hurt him he should have amenns made him; but then he, and one Sir Oxley who was also by, wer very vnrulye, and pressed forward agaynst the stagekeepers, and would not by any good perswasion that he could use give back; whervppon he this examinant willed the stagekeepers to give back even to the Colledge gates; and then presently the Clubbmen in great number followed and pressed after, and then presently one Mr Johnson, President of St Johns, did come to putt them back, and did box some, and perswade others to goe backe, but they would in noe weas be perswaded, whervppon he this examinant, seeing stones thrown out Mr Tompson's garden, did bid them to leave throwing, which they presently did. The stones were thrown after that the Clubbmen came, and would not suffer the stagekeepers to keepe the walke, and cryed out "Clubbs," "Clubbs,"

¹ Signed by the Registry.

and "Brake downe there gates"; and the stones were thrown only to the corner of the walke to keepe the clubbmen off the walke.

Sam. Heron.

20. John Symonds Johannis he sayeth that, because it was reported abroade that St Johannis men might goe peacably into Trynitye Colledge Comedyes, he went thither to see whether he might goe in or not, and standinge ther he did see Sir Elborogh, who he sayeth stood quietlye there, lynckt by a stagekeeper, and at the tyme that Sir Oxley was persewed by three or four stagekeepers, he, standinge in Allhalowes Church yard, did take vpp a stone and threw after the stagekeepers, which lyted between two of †them†; which he did to defend Sir Oxley, who [himself] was being persewed by the stagekeepers; he sayeth that stone did lyte agaynst Trynitye Garden wall, and he threw noe more but that, and but for that he beleiveth Sir Oxley had been felled, for vppon that they left persewing Sir Oxley and came into the churchyarde to follow this deponent. He saw Jackson thrust at the wall with a clubb.

John Simonds.

21. Sir Whaley *juratus deponit* that Sir Bickly Petri and he, being together at the Sune by the fyer, about a fortnight before the Comedye, a Scholler of Trynetye Colledge, whom he knoweth not¹, being ther, he did hear the sayd Scholer saye that yf the Sir Coupers came to Trynetye Colledge Comedyes he would not be in ther cases for e^{li}, they would be soe beaten they would be neere spoyled, and "You St John's men look to your selves, for we are provided thre score stronge for you."

Sir Bickly sayeth that Winter of Trinitye Colledg said before the comedyes wer at the Sone that it wer best for Sir Couper of St Johns to keep out the Comedyes.

William Whaly.

22. Johnes Symonds *virtute juramenti deponit* that he beinge at Lawsons shopp one Mondye after the Comedys, as he

¹ A marginal note in the hand of the Registry records: This scholler is thought Winter.

remembreth, he did here Jarmin Warde tell this deponent yt his sone Danyell Boyse was stagekeeper at Trynitye College Comedyes¹.

23. Georgius Etherington *juratus* sayeth that at the Barber Lawson's shopp he heard Warde confess that he might have had xl^s to be stagekeeper at Trynitye College, and he refused to be stagekeeper because he was since this admitted a St John's man.

George Etherington.

24. Otbey John's he sayeth he sawe Sir Osborne John's lynked without Trynitye College gates, and did see a stagekeeper, but now he remembreth not what suyte he wore, synged him with a lyted² torch one his hatt, and it went out with the stroke; and then he did see him smyte him agayne with lynk agayne lyted², and his clubb, soe violently that Sir Osborne [reled agaynst the wall]³. This was before the seconde night of the plays.

Tristram Otbye.

25. William Lawson *juratus* †*deponit*† that vpon Wednesday or Thursdye last past Jarmin Warde, being at his shopp, and Symonds and Etherington John's being ther, the said Warde did saye that he was offered xl^s to be stagekeeper at Trynitye Colledge, but otherwyse he caunott depose.

William Lawsonsone.

26. Sir Heath sayeth he wore both nights a whitish cotton suyte with redd gards. The first night a hatt, the second a helmet.

Tho. Heath.

27. Sir Aldred both nights wore one suyte, viz.: a greene buckron cutt vpon whyte, and a blew capp.

Ben. Alured.

28. Jarmin Warde sayeth that beinge at the barber's shopp Lawson he sayed thus and noe otherwyse: "I would not have

¹ This evidence is not signed.

² MS., lyte.

³ In place of these words the Registry had written "fell to the ground."

beine a stagekeeper for xl^s and xl to"; but otherwyse he denyeth.

Jarmin Warde¹.

29. Edward Goodin *juratus* sayeth he sawe stonnes thrown from both syds; viz., from Trynitye garden and from St Johu's syds; but knoweth none of there names, but knoweth some of them by sight. He sawe also, when the battellments were putt downe, Myton was one, and divers schollers [with clubbs]; he sawe Mr Rone smyte Purkis, and sayeth that he sawe him have a long clubb in his hande when he was smyten, or a very lettell before. There were manye schollers and others yt threw stonnes out the garden, but remembreth not he sawe any stonnes thrown [out from the garden or from Trynitye College tower] till the clubbs came out.

Ed. Goodwin.

30. George Heath sawe Myton and the porter of St Johns with clubbes, and he did see Jackson the toule gatherer's sonne [with a clubb, and fyte with it, and] throwe downe some part of the walls; and one scholler of St John's whome the Porter saw, the Porter also did helpe putt downe some of ye walles; the scholler did most of ye harme to ye walles; he is about the hayt of the Porter without a gowne.

Sig. Georgii Heath¹.

31. Jana Hall *jurata*. I heard 2 schollers passing by in the street say these or such words: "Heer wilbe ould scuffling at this end of the towne within these three or foure nights; for we heare that ther ar stonnes prepared to fling from the towers": and another made awnswer that: "Those that they should hitt they would be paid home."

She sath that she knoweth none of the said schollers.

Signed, Jane Hall¹.

32. Johannes Muncaster deposeth that before xptmas last past (the tyme he cannot otherwyse remember), he did see a great heape of stonnes lye one the backe syde of Trynitye College in Garrett Ostell; which heape of stonnes this deponent missinge

¹ Signed by the Registry to a mark.

about a fourteenight agoe, he did aske one Winge, paver at Trinitye Colledge, what was become of the said heape of stones; who then tould this deponent yt they wer carryed vnto Kings Colledge, to be ther paved out, and he sayeth he hath heard syc that one Wilkin¹ a carter carryed them.

Sig. Johis Muncaster².

32A. Johes Bowles Joyner *famulus* Bettson. He was before Trinitye College gate on the first night of the comedye, and did see before Mr Vicechancellor came stoues thrown down both from the tower and chappell. He was there before the clubbs came out, and sayeth that he did not see any stoues thrown [from the tower, chappell, or garden], before that the clubbs came out St John's³ [untill] that the clubbmen had beeten the stagekeepers into Trinitye gates; and sayeth that the partyes that were in the garden did looke over the garden wall, and throwe downe⁴; and then the clubbmen strook at them, and divers threw stones over into the garden at them; and others, Myton with †a† longe clubb, did throwe downe the battellments at the places where those in the garden did throwe down stones; and after they were down Myton and Scholes, and others, did putt down the rest of the battlements. He at the first beginning of them throwinge, did see Mr Tompson's man looke over the wall. Symonds was by him.

John Bowles.

32B. John Symonds, servant to King's College buttler. He sayeth yt Bowles was ther before he came; he came iust when as the clubbs came out St John's, and did see when as the stagekeepers were beaten into the college gates with longe clubbs, and one Higle with a sworde came out, and cut one with a longe clubb without cloke or gowne, and then Mr Rone was felled by a clubbman, and then the stagekeepers durst noe

¹ The Registry has drawn his pen through "one Wilkin."

² Signed by the Registry to a mark.

³ After "St John's" the Registry originally wrote, and then crossed out: "he also sayeth that the flinging of the stones out the garden began presently after."

⁴ After "throwe downe" the MS. reads "and the stones thrown."

more come out the gates, but divers continued flynging of stones out the garden, or from the topp of the tower. He saw some in black throwe down stones out the garden, and, as they looked over, St John's men with clubbs were nere to slye them. He sawe halfe a dosen of persons one after an other looking over the walls.

John Simonds.

33. Mr Willyams. Sayeth about 5 of the clock [the 2 night] he gott in¹ to the Colledge gates, but could not gett in, because one tould him and the other, that Mr Gouldingham had the key about him, and none could gett in; but Mr Gouldingham coming into the gatehouse, he denyed he had noe key; whervppon [seeing they could not there], he went about to Caius College gate², and ther were lett in, and after yt they wer in, one who he taketh it was Mr Stanopp, for soe he was called, did saye and swere that he did wonder that any St John's Colledge man would be soe impudent to come in, and did threton that they should not come in; whervppon he tould him he was a Master of Arts, and would not goe out; then he agayne swore that if he was a Master of Arts, where was his hood and habitt. Mr Whitgrave came to them and said he is a Master of Arts, and I know it; and then Mr Stanopp sayd he would search him for swords; for last night all St John's Masters of Arts had swords about them.

John Williams.

34. Mr Burnell sayeth that he was remanded from the fore gate to Keys College gate, and from there agayne they were putt by; and Mr Hoult and Mr Carill wer putt by with clubbs when as they offered to enter; [that Mr Carell with much adoe got in]; that at last they gott into the colledge, [whervppon Mr Hoult and this deponent came to the fore gate]. After they had attended about an hower, and when he gott in with much adoe, he did gett into the hall; and

¹ That is, Williams got into the "entry" or "walk," as it is called, which led up to the gate between high walls. He got through the crowd as far as the gate, but could not get into the College.

² The gate opposite Gonville and Caius College, now called The Queen's Gate.

after a whyle ther got a place; he also sayeth that he did observe they did wholly include this unkindnesse to St John's men. He went into the colledge about 5.

Laur. Burnell.

35. Mr Grace. He examined sayeth that the second night when as a stagekeeper [whom he thinketh to be Mr Stanopp] did take him in, he did lead him by the hand, and syed yf it were †not† you you should not come in; and this was at Caius Coll. back gate.

John Grace.

36. Mr Metcalfe sayeth †that† the first night he did see a stagekeeper in a rogg¹ gowne and a head peece put Mr Layfield downe two or 3 stayers at the hall door.

Robert Metcalfe.

37. Mr Layfeild sayeth that the first night he went to the Comedye, and at the Hall door above the stayers, [and being below the stagekeeper], he was putt by by a stagekeeper in a rugg gowne and a steele cap [whom they saye was a Master of Arts and fellow] down the stayers, and not sufered to enter; and afterwards talking with a stagekeeper, and telling² him he was a Master of Arts, and had been sometyme of yt college, and he did invite him he might goe in, he asked him of what College he was; when he tould him of St Johns. Whervppon, he said to him ["What the devell doe you here"]; what reason have you, being of St Johns, to offer to come in?" [and so did lynk him, and thrust him down. That] he did also see Sir Dawson then lynked out the College.

Thomas Layfeild.

38. Pilgrim sayeth that he did see Bayley Johannis the second night, when he came out of the colledge, much lynckt one his hatt and gowne; he saw Sir Osborne lynked; and did see a stagekeeper smyte him with a clubb, and made him rele agaynst the wall; but what apparell he wore he doeth not know.

Gualther Pylgrime.

¹ On a previous page this word is written "rugg." See also No. 37.

² MS., tould.

39. Copley sayeth the 2 night he did see Bayley Johannis come out Mr Hall's chamber, and, being gone down, he heard a stagekeeper saye: "Yonder is Jonians." "Where be they?" said the other, and followed after him; who made hast towards the gates, but they overtooke him, and did lynke him. One of the stagekeepers was in a whyte suyte with a steele capp, the other in a reddish suyte.

Godfridus Copley.

40. Sir Vaughan *non juratus* sayeth that he was verye sore hurt from the topp of the tower by a sworde throwen thence as he verily beleiveth. It was halfe an hower after yt Mr Vice Chancellor was gone in. Edward Good he sayeth can tell some of there names¹.

41. Gryffin Divall sayeth that Mr Coote, when as Dr Clayton was at Trynitye College gate, and Mr Vice Chancellor about St John's gate, Mr Coote then being in the open street, at the corner of the wall by Trynitye College great post next St John's, stood having a dagger at his back and a clubb [or cuggell] in his hande, did sye: "Where be these Jonians?" repeateinge it once or twyse; "Is there ever a Jonian will answer me tomorrow?" to whom this deponent syed, "Yes there is xx schollers in St John's that dare answer you; but this is noe tyme to challenge, when others are troubled to make peace"; but he knoweth not whither he did know that Mr Vice Chancellor was soe nigh; and he sayeth that Mr Coote did threaten him this examinant sayinge he would know him.

Gri. Dyuall.

42. Sir Marchant sayeth that when as Sir Elborough was lynckt by the stagekeeper, Sir Elborough standinge at the end of the rayle, who goinge back but [presently after] the said Sir Oxley who was [come] near to him beinge also lynckt would not styrre, whervpon divers stagekeepers did come and lynke them [he² thinketh yf yt Oxley had gone backe ther had bene

¹ This evidence is not signed.

² The general sense may be explained as follows: Marchant, being afraid if that [*i.e.* in case that] Oxley had given way to the stagekeeper there [at the end of the rayle], the Johnians generally would be set on by the stagekeepers, hit

no stirre], and this deponent made backe, and ran away, and before he could sett eye att them agayne Sir Oxley with a torch was laying about at the stagekeeper; but he was pursued by stagekeepers to St Johns Rayles [and beat with clubbs one the head 3 or 4 tymes], and after yt he was hiden, he sawe Sir Elborough talking with Dr Herne there, but knoweth not wherabouts, neither did he see any swords drawn before that tyme, nor noe clubbs. He perceived noe weepon about Sir Elborough then.

Sir Marchand.

43. Cutler Johannis sayeth he did stand neer to Trynitye College walke, and neere to the chanell befor Trynitye College walk he did see a stagekeeper with his clubb thrust the said Sir Oxley [on the brest] oft, and he did not stirr; whervppon he did lyncke him, and other stagekeepers seeing he Sir Oxley would not sterr, did come and lynke him; he holding out his hand did catche a torch from a stagekeeper and brake it, and throw it awaye, and then three or 4 stagekeepers stept to him, and lynked him, and persewed him, smytyng him one the head and bodye with ther clubbs 2 or 3 yards within St Johannis College rayles.

Ger. Cutler.

44. Fowler sayeth he did see Sir Oxley stand nere the chanell at the ende of the walk coming from Trynitye gates, and a stagekeeper did come to him and putt him backe with his club, but he only leaned back, and did not stirr, whervppon agayne that stagekeeper and other stagekeepers did lynke, and another stagekeeper coming to them did with a torch strike, *et quod utique deposuit vt* Buttler.

Richard Fowler.

45. Hilton Christ's he sayeth that the first night about 6 or 7 of the clock, when all the stagekeepers were gone in, out at them, but did not throw any stone. Marchant then ran away. The Trinity men were no doubt anxious to prove that the Johnians *began* the stone-throwing, and one Johnian at all events confesses to throwing a stone very early. See Dep. 20 (p. 22).

he did see Sir Vaughan hurt with a stone of the Tower, and he saw 3 or 4 ther which threw stones down.

Samuell Hilton.

46. Smyth *juratus deponit* for Sir Vaughan *vt supra deponit* Hilton. Sayeth he verely believeth the stone came from the tower; and it was when all the stagekeepers was gone in att the gates; and, for the matter of Sir Osborne, he sayeth that he did see a stagekeeper carye him to Trynitye College gate, and, when as he came at the gates, an other brought him back and lyncked him, and did with his club and lyncke strike him one the head, and settled him [agaynst the wall]. He sayeth the stagekeeper was in a reddish suyte and a headpeece one his heade.

William Smith.

47. Nathaniel Pagett sayeth that he sawe Sir Pratt Johns felled with a stone after the clubbs came out¹.

48. Mr Furtho *juratus* sayeth that there be 2 wayes into the garden, and that he kepp his owne key, and neither pupill or any other had it [nor could goe into garden or therby]; and he hath inquired for his owne pupills, and can [not] learn yt any of them wer there those nights. Mr Tompson hath an other key, and yf any passage were into the garden, by any stoneflyuers or others, then it was by Mr Tompsons door.

Tho. Fortho.

49. Nicholas Jackson *juratus deponit* that he beinge come out of St Johns seller from supper there with a scholler bachelor yt attends in the buttry; and ffordam did sup with him; and having suppt, and coming out to the gates, he did see divers schollers at the gates with clubbs, and noebodye badd him take a clubb. He sawe a [long] clubb lyinge on the grounde at St Johns Rayles, and took it vpp, and went with the clubb out to Trinitye walk, but before he took vpp the

¹ In the MS. Paget's deposition, which is unsigned, is succeeded by the following words, all in the Registry's hand: "Sir Symonds stood at there owne Rayles at the tyme Wilbey M^r Tompson's pupill. M^r Waterhowse Sen^r." Wilbey's evidence is given below, No. 51.

clubb he was stricken by Allhallows wall with a [stagekeeper] in whyte harness. Edward Rutisse was by Claxton's dore with a longe clubbe, when as a stagekeeper did with a naked sword pursewe vpp towards Cooper's, and ther hit him, and he sayeth that Myton¹ had a long clubb. Ther were divers scholers ther with longe clubbs whoe he knoweth by sight but †not by †name. A scholler of St Johns, as he thinketh, was the fyrst that began to throwe down the walls; for yt he was smyten with a stone of the wall, and his head broken, and thervppon he begane the throwinge of stones of the college wall; he did assaye to putt down the wall but could not, but Myton and divers other schollers did throwe downe the walls.

Nicho. Jackson².

50. Jo. Kinge deposeth that on 2 or three dayes after that the comedyes at Trynitye Colledge were past, he was sent for vnto Mr Kemp's chamber at Trinitye College, and being come thither Mr Kempe did shutt his dore to, [and then shrew†d†lye] examined this examinant whither yt he came at the sterr³ before ther gates at the Comedyes, and who he knew there, and such like questions, and Mr Kempe tould him he would give him an angell in silver or gould; but strove more to tell⁴ whoe were there, and what was done; but, because he knew none, he tould him he could not sye anye thinge.

Jhon King.

51. Mattheus Wilbey *pupillus* Mri Tompson. He sayeth that he was in his Tutor's chamber that night, when as the tumult at Trynitye gates [was], and did see that Freeman Mr Tompson's man was in the garden, but what he did there he knoweth not. He himself was not in the garden yt night, neither did he handle one stone, nor knowe any one yt had a stone there, or went into the garden; and he sayeth that he doeth not know of any stones that were provided in the garden,

¹ The Registry has added the following marginal note: "Purcas his daughter would marry Myton."

² Signed by the Registry to his mark.

³ That is: was present at the disturbance.

⁴ The object of his questions was to induce the witness to tell, etc.

and verely believeth there was noe provision of stones there made.

Matthew Wilby.

52. Dominus Couper sayeth that Sir Warde Trinitye came to him to Archer's¹, and cryed to him, and confessed he had done him wronge in saying that he should confesse that he Sir Couper had stricken a stagekeeper [who was in red with a sworde], and withall intreated him to tell him what he should saye, for he was sent for to [Mr Vice Chancellor to confess² his waes or be whipt or expelled³], and he knew not what to saye to Mr Vice Chancellor for he thought he should be set. There was Sir Vaughan had a clubb ther as he thinketh. Sir Siston had a barre of yron which Burton as he did heare had of him.

Sir Tompson.

Sir Rowles with a clubb with crosse barr.

He had his clubb ther, but [whyle] ther stryvinge was he came not neere then [by xlth foote], nither did he vse it, but took it vpp [besyde the gates] and gave it to Sir Ellice of St Johns. He was not neere Mr Vice Chancellor when he was there. Had a knocke or blowe with a stone on the brest.

Henry Cooper.

53. Nathaniel Pagett Caii (*juratus*) sayeth that he stode neere vnto the Sunne gates, when as Sir Pratt Johannis [who stode by him] was strycken with a stone in the forehead, as he believeth out the garden. It was after the clubbs came out, for the clubbs were come out before he came there.

Nathaniel Paget.

54. Sir Tompson sayeth he was felled with a stone which was throwu out the garden as he thinketh; he confesseth that he had a clubb at the gates, when as Mr Vice Chancellor came out, but went in when he came to the gates.

20. Feb. 1610.

55. Dominus Joh. Elburrow *juratus et examinatus*. Saith that he saw a sword drawne [by a stagekeeper] before any clubbs

¹ At the Crown Inn.

² MS., confe.

³ MS., expel.

came forth, presently vpon the linking of Sir Oxly. Saith also that he was wounded on his arme and hand by one of the stagekeepers with a naked sword. That stagekeeper that smote him wore a red coate with white lace much after the forme of a horsman's coate, with a scarfe before his face.

John Elborowe.

56. Dominus Robt. Oxly *juratus et examinatus*. Saith that he was at the first [easily] putt by, as he thinketh, by Mr Diliker, and gave back; wherwpon Mr Diliker went away. Presently [ther] came another stagekeeper, and linkt him sore, striking him with the flame of his linke vpon his hand; and stroke at his face, which lighted on his brest. This stagekeeper was in a white suyte almost covered with redd lace. Vpon this ther came 3 or 4 more stagekeepers vpon him, wherof one gave him a blow over the face with a clubb, which made his face black and blue divers dayes after.

Then the said Sir Oxly confeseth that he caught a torch from one of the stagekeepers, striking with it, and broke the same into 2 peices, and threw it among the stagekeepers.

The said Robt Oxly the same night he came into the H†all†, all things being quiet, between the 4th and 5th Act, and ther within the skreen the same stagekeeper before described came vnto him againe, and lookt vpon †him, and then † went back and strock him ouer the shoulder with a clubb, and bad him begon, who awnswering "I am gone," and so went forth, the stagekeeper following [and linking] him to the hall dore. At the same time one Webster standing by and seing Sir Oxly linkt out said [vnto Sir Oxly the next day] that he saw him linkt out, and said that himself was linkt out by the same stagekeeper, who said that that stagekeeper's name was Sir Heath.

Rob. Oxley.

57. John Dody *juratus*. Saith that he came about 6 of the clock and saw divers clubbs abroad, and therupon as also perceiving stones to be throwne from Trin. Coll. withdrew himself, and so departed.

the mark of
John Dody.

58. Leon. Shittleworth *juratus*. Saith that he being in the crowd beneath Trin. Coll. rayles at the same time the clubbs began to be called for and running away towards St Johns for feare of hurt, a stagekeeper overtaking him stroke him, in so much that he fell to the ground ; but who the stage-keeper was he knoweth not.

Leon. Shuttleworth.

59. John Ekins *Johannis juratus*. Saith that he [was] present when Sir Oxly was persued, and saw some stagekeepers following other schollers towards St Johns. Saith that he saw Shittleworth felled to the ground by a [little] stagekeeper which was in a russett horsman's coat, and he was felled beneath the gate [next Trinity Coll.] that leadeth into Allhallowes church yard neer vnto the church wall at the same time the clubbs were called for.

John Ekins.

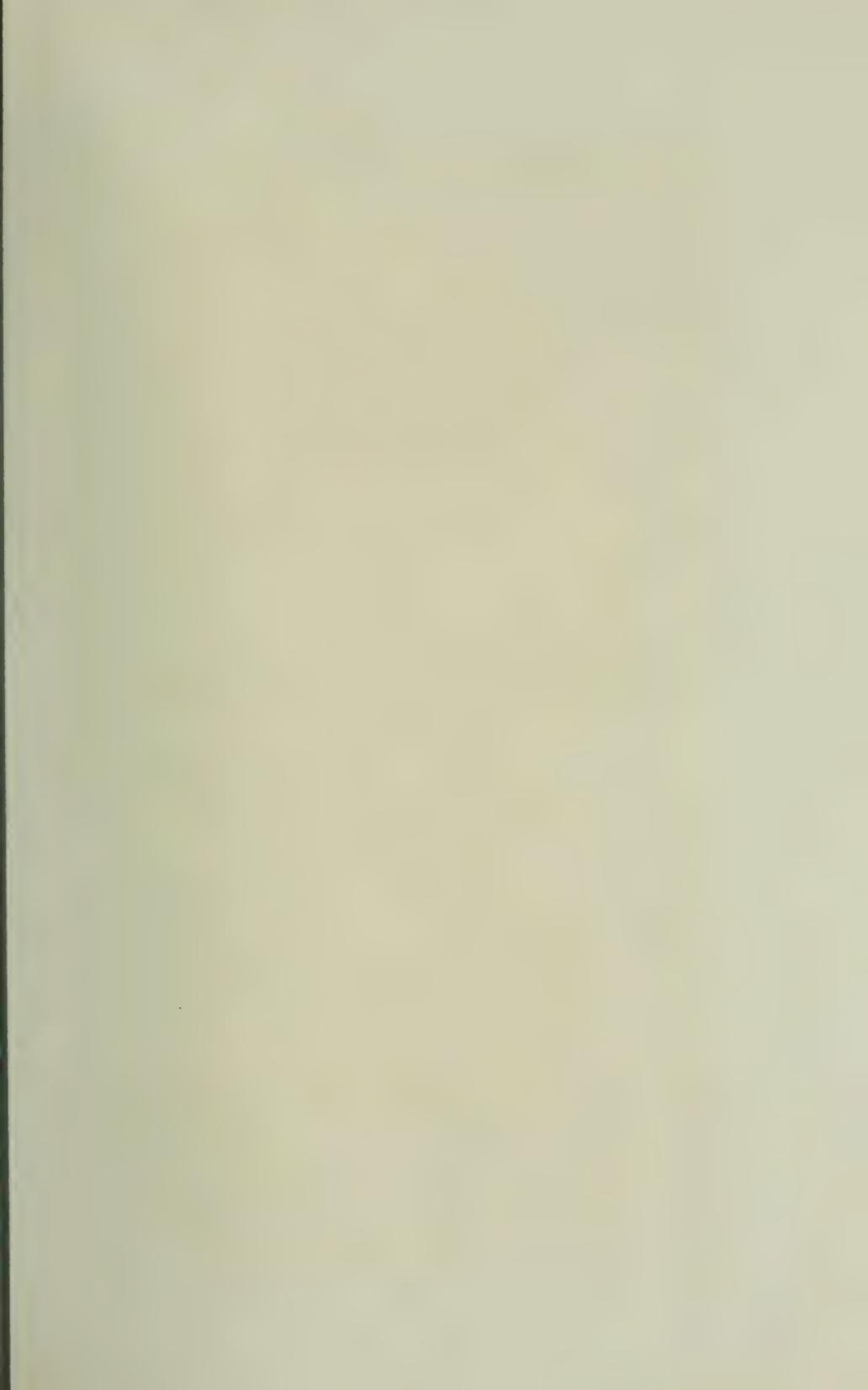
The following notes, which evidently belong to this case, are written on a half-sheet in which the vouchers for 1596 were enclosed.

Sir Hauger (Augar) sayeth yt ye quarrell began between Agar and Sotheby and one Serle and Mr Coote of Trinity Colledge ; and Agar (Augar) sayeth he had noe weapon, but sayeth Mr Coote and Serle of Trinity College † had †.

Serle sayeth [he, Floyd, Dorrington and Mr Coote goeing] that Agar did toss his gowne vppon his shoulder, and did hitt Mr Cooke on his face, and soe Serle came back and did ask Ager if he wodd sleaye † him †, and he sayed noe.

Serle sayeth that he did strike him, but it was vppon a challenge. He sayeth that he and Floyd and Mr Coote being together [and coming home agayne] they mett with Sir Hauger (Augar) and 3 or 4 others of St John's ; and one of St Johns whose name he doth not knowe strook at him to strike vp his heeles, and fell in ye kenel himselfe. He sayeth that one of Trinity College ...¹

¹ The sentence is not finished.



Dr King George

The: behead w of chills to be
I have a good w of chills to be
for yr w of chills to be
Dr King George

Dr King George
Dr King George
Dr King George
Dr King George

Dr King George
Dr King George
Dr King George
Dr King George

Dr King George

Serle, Floyd, Dorrington, were all with hoods and in clookes in ye Towne and that they went out to see a playe as Serle sayeth that one Heele Johis hath threatened to box him.

Mr Turret did not strike as he himself sayeth.

[THE SENTENCE¹.]

Sir Heath *suspensus a gradu*.

The bachelors with clubbs to be suspended *a gradu*, and ech satisfied for ye wall and windows. Not bachelors to be whipped, and the degrees to be not till Mr (Mr Vicechancellor) lisense.

Sir Oxleys fault and the stagekeepers falt to be respited till that they be knowen.

Drs Tyndale, Duport, Ratclyffe. Dr Richardson Dr Branthwait the bachelors and schollers to be punished for clubbs according to ther degrees. Dr Hill.

Dr Carey agreeth in the punishment but desyreth respitt of the punishment till both parties of both colleges maye be knowen.

The bachellors with longe clubbs to be suspended *a gradu*.

[*The line ending in a flower seems to indicate that the rest of the Court came over to Dr Carey's opinion that punishment ought to be respited till both parties of both colleges had been discovered; the line ending in an arrow indicates that Dr Carey assented to the opinion of the rest of the judges that "the bachellors with longe clubbs" were to have their degrees suspended.*]

¹ This Sentence (see opposite page) is written on the back (reversed) of p. 9 of the MS. It appears in a different form, with additions, on the next page.

[THE SENTENCE (in another form).]

February 25 1610¹.

For the damages of the walls and windows broken to be istimated by 2 seniors of both Colledges and 2 workmen, and to be repaired by the berers of clubbs and throwers of stones.

Dr^s Duport, Richardson, Branthwayte, Carey, Chatterton. Dr Ward.

The stagekeeper in the light carsey his suyte and small lace; the stagekeeper in the red suyte and whyte lace and headpeece, and the other that did lincke Sir Oxley and Sir Elborough without iust cause, when they be found to be suspended.

The matters of Sir Oxley for the first quarrell and the snachinge the torch to be referred to the Master of St Johns.

The lyncking Sir Dawson by Nevell Senior, the abusinge of Mr Layfeild by the stagekeeper in the rugg gown and steel capp; Mr Coote for the challenge to be suspended degree, and satisfye the college, and not to be absolved (?) till that he have some mediators from St John's; *et postea comparuit et suspensus a gradu suscepto et suscipiendo* (etc.) *presente Magistro Coote.*

Mr Stannopp Mr Gouldingham Mr Coote referred to the censure of Dr Nevell. The stone casters to be suspended of degree yf graduates, yf noe whipped.

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Francis ye Porter a longe clubb. | Myton ² |
| 2 | Sir Maurice he confesseth a long cudgell. | Jackson
Kinge |
| 3 | Ds Tompson he had a clubb. | Fordham |
| 4 | Ds Couper | Jo Parry |
| 5 | Sir Rowles confesseth he had it, but after the fight. | Ed Purkis
Hilton <i>non co</i> ' |
| 6 | Sir Palmer <i>fatetur.</i> | |

¹ The first line of these notes runs as follows: "P^d 18^d Marke Nitinghall juratus famulus D^s Newton Procañ." This memorandum has nothing to do with the case.

² These seven names are written on a corner of the page with a line drawn round them.

Sir Randell a little clubb.

Sir Auger a rapier.

Sir Vaughan a short stick.

Sir Osborne a clubb.

Sir Elborrough a clubb confesseth.

Sir Oxley a clubb confesseth.

Brookes.

Sir Symonds to mend
the windowes¹.

Sir Symonds and all suspended *a gradu*.

Those with long clubbs to pay for the battlements mending and for the windowes there broken that night; those that bore weapons, and bachelors, to be suspended *a gradu*; those with the weapons there committed to the prison.

Nicholas Jackson, Porter

Jo Parry

Fordam

Jarmin Warde

Daniell Boyse

These to be comitted to prison and there to remaine till Saturday X of the clocke, and then to be broght out to the stage to be made at the bullring, and therevppon to be sett in the stocks with papers in text letters with these inscriptions:

Nicholas Jackson

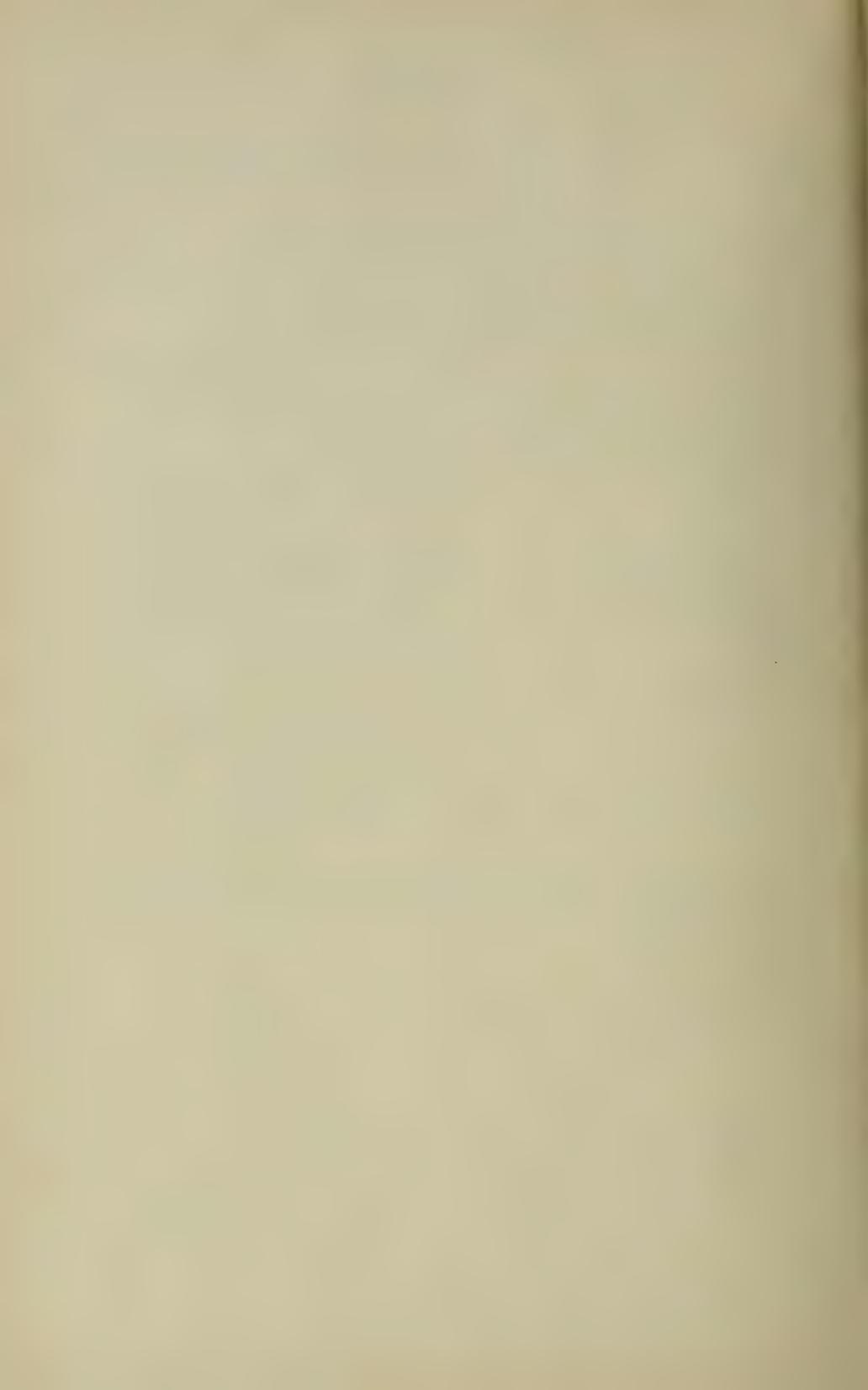
Jo Parry

Fordam

Jarmin Warde

Daniell Boyse

¹ The sentence on Symonds is written below the line which includes the above names, and is separated by a vertical line from the list of confessions to the left of it.



APPENDIX.

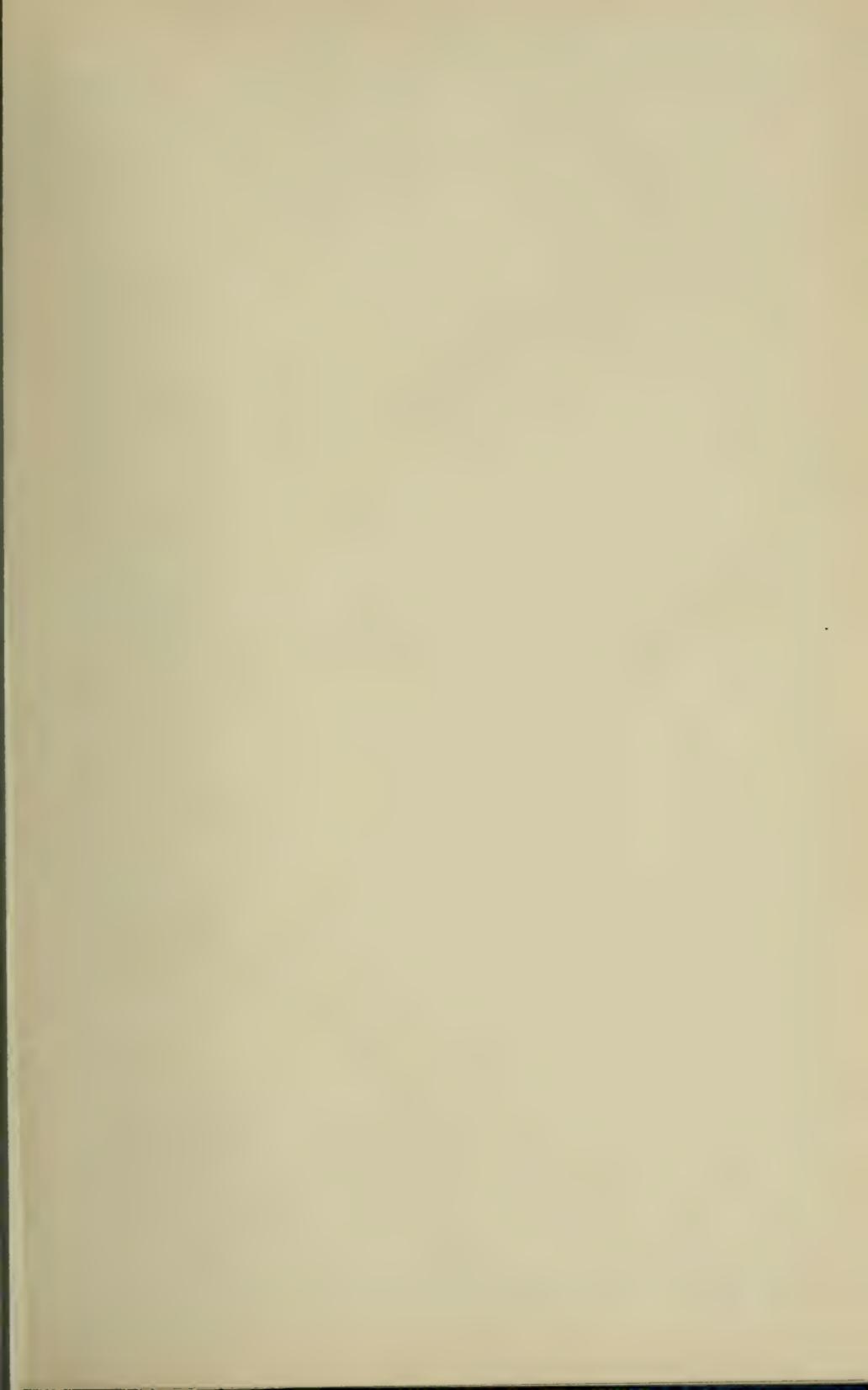
LIST OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE RECORD.

Aldred, Alured,	Benj.	Trin.	Matric. 3 July 1606; adm. Scholar 22 Apr. 1608; Minor Fellow, 1612 servant
Allott, Allot,	Jeffry or Jefferye		
Andrews,	? Edw.	Trin.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612; stagekeeper
Archer,	(Geo.		innkeeper (Crown Inn)
Archer,	(Goodwyfe) ...		wife to G. Archer
Augar, Hauger, Augur,	Agar, Nich. ...	Joh.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Baguly, Bagley,	Tho.	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1608; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Barnes,	Agnes.....		maidservant to And. Goodwin
Bartin, Barton,	? Matth.	Trin.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1607; Tutor to John Carre
Bayley,	Tho.	Joh.	
Benns, Benes,	(Mother)		
Bettson,			
Bickly,	Tho.	Pet.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Binn, Binns, Bins, Bynnes, Rob.		Trin.	A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611
Bowles,	John		a carpenter
Boyse,	Daniell, Danyell		bookbinder, stepson to Jarmin Ward
Branthwait,)	Will.	Cla.	{ A.B. 1582; Emm. A.M. 1586, B.D. 1593, D.D. 1598; Master of Govv. and Cai. 1607-1619
Branthwayt,)			
Brett,			
Brookes,	Rob.	Joh.	? A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Burnell,	Laur.	Joh.	A.B. 1600. A.M. 1604, D.D. 1624
Burton,	? Edw.	Joh.	A.B. 1613
Cally,		Chr.	
Canterbury,	Deane of		<i>see</i> Nevile
Carey,	Valentine	Chr.	A.B. 1588; Joh. A.M. 1592; Chr. B.D. 1599, D.D. 1610. Master of Chr. 1609-1622
Carell, Carill,	Edw.	Trin.	Matric. 10 Apr. 1609, A.B. 1613
Carr, Carre,	John	Trin.	Mr Bartin's pupil. Matric. 12 Apr. 1606
Carr, Carre,	Nich.	Joh.	
Cecill,	? Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1597, A.M. 1601, B.D. 1609
Chappell,	Joh.	Trin.	Scholar Apr. 12, 1605; A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611; Minor Fellow 1610, Major Fellow 1611
Chatterton, Chaderton, Laur.		Chr.	A.B. 1567, A.M. 1571, B.D. 1578; Emm. D.D. 1613; Master of Emm. 1584-1622
Claxton,			
Clayton, Cleyton,	Rich.	Joh.	A.M. 1579, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1592

Cooper, Coper, Couper, Fra.	Joh.	Matric. 4 July 1605; A.B. 1608, A.M. 1621, B.D. 1620
Cooper, Hen.	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606; A.B. 1610
Coote, Tho.	Trin.	Scholar 16 Apr. 1602; A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609, B.D. 1608; Minor Fellow 1608
Copley, Godfr.	Joh.	Matric. 9 July 1607; A.B. 1610, A.M. 1615
Cotton, Rob.	Trin.	A.B. 1610, A.M. 1614
Cutler, Cuttler, Gerard	Joh.	
Dauson, Dawson, Dawsonn, Rob.	Joh.	A.B. 1608
Dilaker, Dillacre, Diliker, Edm.	Trin.	A.B. 1605, Edw. A.M. 1609
Divall, Dyvall, Griffin		
Dody, John		
Dorrington, Rich.	Trin.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613
Duport, Jos.	Jes.	B.A. 1569, A.M. 1573, D.D. 1590; Master of Jes. 1590-1618
Ekin, Ekines, John	Joh.	Matric. 6 July 1610; A.B. 1613, A.M. 1617
Elborough, Elborow, } Elborough, Ellbor- } rough, Elborough, } Elborowe, Elburrow, } Elsborough, }	Joh.	Joh. Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.M. 1613
Ellice, Ellis, Lionel	Joh.	A.B. 1610, A.M. 1614
Etherington, Edrington, Geo.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607
Ferne, Geo.	Trin.	Scholar 22 Apr. 1608
Floyd, Simon	Trin.	Matric. 4 July 1605; A.B. 1609
Fordam, Fordham, Tho.	Trin.	Scholar, 1582
Fortho, Furtho, Rich.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Fowler, porter		
Francis, Mr Thompson's man		
Freeman, tobacconist		
Freisbien, Freisbyen, Goodwyfe		apothecary
Fresby, Frysby, John		
Good, Edw.		
Goddin, Godwyn, Andr.		
Goddin, Goodin, Goodwin, Edw.		
Goldingham, } Gouldingham, }	Edw.	Trin. { A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609; Min. Fellow, 1608
Grace, John	Joh.	A.B. 1600, A.M. 1604, B.D. 1612
Hall, Trin.		A.M.
Hall, ? Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1584, A.M. 1588; "Senior of S. John's"
Hall, Jane, Jana.		
Halliwell, barber		
Heath, Heathe, Tho.	Trin.	Matric. July 1607; A.B. 1610; stage-keeper
Heath, Geo.	Trin.	
Herne, Heron, Sam.	Trin.	A.B. 1578, A.M. 1582, B.D. 1587, D.D. 1595
Higle, Sam.	Trin.	A.B. 1588, A.M. 1592, B.D. 1599, D.D. 1608

Hilton,	Sam.	Chr.	Matric. 7 July 1608
Horsmander,	Dan.	Joh.	A.B. 1603, A.M. 1607, B.D. 1614, D.D. 1627
Hoult,	Jeremiah	Joh.	A.B. 1599, A.M. 1603, B.D. 1610
Hutton, Huttonn,	Art.	Joh.	A.B. 1607, A.M. 1611
Jackson,	Nich.		tollgatherer's son
Johnson,	? Art.	Joh.	? A.B. 1576, A.M. 1580, B.D. 1587; President of St John's
Kennston, Kynaston,	Fra.	Trin.	A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609; Scholar 12 Apr. 1605; Minor Fellow, 1609
Kemp, Kempe,	Tim.	Trin.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1605; ? Scholar 5 May 1598
King, Kinge,	Joh.		porter at Trinity
Lawson, Lawsons,	Wm.		barber
Layfeild, Layfield,	Tho.	Joh.	A.B. 1606, A.M. 1610
Linge,	? Tho.	Trin.	A.B. 1608
Marchand, Marchant, Marchante,	Paul	Jes.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606
Mason,	Rob.	*Joh.	A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613, LL.D. 1628
Maurrice,	? Joh.		A.B. 1611
Metcalfe,	Rob.	Joh.	A.B. 1596, A.M. 1602
Muncaster,	Joh.		
Myton,	? Rob.		brewer in S. Botolph's parish. <i>See</i> Acta Curiae, 1610
Nevell, Nevill,	? Geo.	Trin.	Matric. 18 Dec. 1609; stagekeeper
Nevile,	Tho.	Pemb.	Matric. Feb. 1565; A.B. 1569, A.M. 1572, D.D. 1589; Master of Trinity College, 1593-1615; Dean of Can- terbury 1597-1615
Nevill (the 2nd),	? Ed.	Trin.	Matric. 7 July 1608; Scholar 22 Apr. 1608
Newton,	Fogg	Kings	A.B., M.A. 1594, B.D. 1601, D.D. 1606; Provost 1610-1612
Osborne, Osburne,	? Ja.	Joh.	Matric. July 1607
Otbey, Otbye,	Tristram	Joh.	Matric. 10 Apr. 1609; A.B. 1612, A.M. 1616
Oxly, Oxlye, Oxely, Oxley, Oxeleye,	Rob.	Joh.	
Paget, Pagett,	Nath.	Cai.	Cl. A.B. 1609, A.M. 1613
Palmer,	Sir ? Edw.	Trin.	Scholar, 1610; A.B. 1610-1611; Minor Fellow, 1614; Major Fellow, 1617
Parry,	Jo.		
Pickering,			
Pilgrim, Pylgrime,	Walt.	Joh.	A.B. 1612
Pratt,	? Edm.	Joh.	A.M. 1613
Purkis,			
Randell,	? Rob.		A.B. 1609
Ratclyffe,	Jere.	Trin.	A.B. 1570, A.M. 1574, B.D. 1581, D.D. 1588
Richardson,	Joh.	Cla.	A.B. 1581; Emm A.M. 1585, B.D. 1592, D.D. 1597; Master of Pet. 1609- 1615; Master of Trin. 1615-1625
Roane, Rone,	Humphrey ...	Trin.	A.B. 1600, A.M. 1604, B.D. 1611; stagekeeper
Rowles,	Gabriel	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606

Rutisse,	Edw.		
Scarlett,	? Edw.	Trin.	A.B. 1603; Magd. A.M. 1607, B.D. 1616
Scholes,	? Aegid.	Chr.	A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Searl, Serle,	Edw.	Trin.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612; Scholar 12 Apr. 1605; Minor Fellow, 1610; Major Fellow 1612
Senhouse,	Ric.	Joh.	B.D. 1606, D.D. 1622
Shittleworth, Shutleworth,	Leon.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1610
Sherrocke, Shorrock,	Hen.	Joh.	A.B. 1593
Simonds, Symonds,	John		servant to the butler of King's Coll.
Simonds, Symonds,	John	Joh.	A.M. 1613, B.D. 1620
Sishton,	Sir		A.B.
Slegg, Slegge	Rob.		constable of the Round Parish 1611. Licensed Victualler Round Parish 1608-1611. Buried 13 Apr. 1622 porter at Trinity
Smart,			
Smyth,	Wm.	Joh.	
Sotheby,	? Joh.	Joh.	A.B. 1609
Stanhope, Stanopp, Stannopp,	Geo. ...	Trin.	Scholar 1602; Minor Fellow 1606; stagekeeper
Synowes, <i>see</i> Senhouse			
Thompson, Tompson,	Paul	Trin.	A.B. 1582, A.M. 1586, B.D. 1593
Thompson,	Joh.	Joh.	A.B. 1610; Cla. A.M. 1614
Tillett,			innkeeper
Trott,	Ric.	Trin.	A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Twelves, Twelles,	Wm.	Trin.	
Tyndale,	Humphrey ...	Pemb.	A.B. 1566, A.M. 1570, B.D. 1577, D.D. 1582; Pt of Queens' 1579-1614
Turret,	? Theo.	Joh.	Matric. 17 Dec. 1607, A.B. 1611
Vaughan,	? Joh.	Joh.	Matric. 5 July 1604, A.B. 1608, A.M. 1612
Vicars, Vickears,	Fra.	Trin.	
Vice-Chancellor, <i>see</i> Newton			
Warde,	Jarmin, Jermin		
Ward,	Sam.	Chr.	A.B. 1592, A.M. 1596, B.D. 1603, D.D. 1610; Master of Sid. Suss. 1610
Ward, Warde,	? Wm.	Trin.	Matric. 16 Apr. 1609
Warr,	? Wm.	Trin.	Matric. 12 Apr. 1606; A.B. 1613, D.D. 1632
Waterhouse,	Jere.	Trin.	A.B. 1593, A.M. 1597, B.D. 1605
Webster,			drawer at Tillett's
Whaly, Wheley,	Wm.	Joh.	Matric. 13 Dec. 1606
Whaley, Whaleye, Wheley,	Tho.		churchwarden of Trin. Parish
Whitgrave,	Walt.	Trin.	A.B. 1596, A.M. 1600, B.D. 1608
Wilbey,	Matth.	Trin.	Matric. 7 July 1608; A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Wilkin,			carter
Wilkinson,	Tho.	Trin.	A.B. 1605, A.M. 1609
Williams, Willyams,	John	Joh.	A.B. 1601, A.M. 1605, B.D. 1613, D.D. 1617
Winge,			pavior
Winter,	P.	Trin.	Adm. Scholar 12 Apr. 1605
Winscall,	John		servant to Mr Senhouse
Wood,	Isaake	Chr.	A.B. 1611, A.M. 1615
Woodrofe,			



OUTSIDE THE TRUMPINGTON GATES
BEFORE PETERHOUSE WAS FOUNDED

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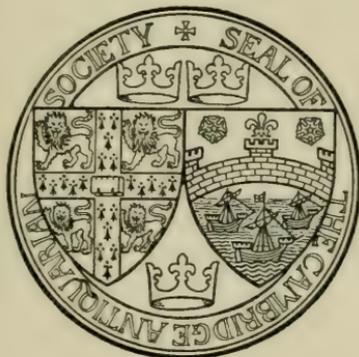
BEFORE PETERHOUSE WAS FOUNDED

A CHAPTER IN THE INTIMATE HISTORY
OF MEDIEVAL CAMBRIDGE

BY THE

REV. H. P. STOKES, LL.D.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE



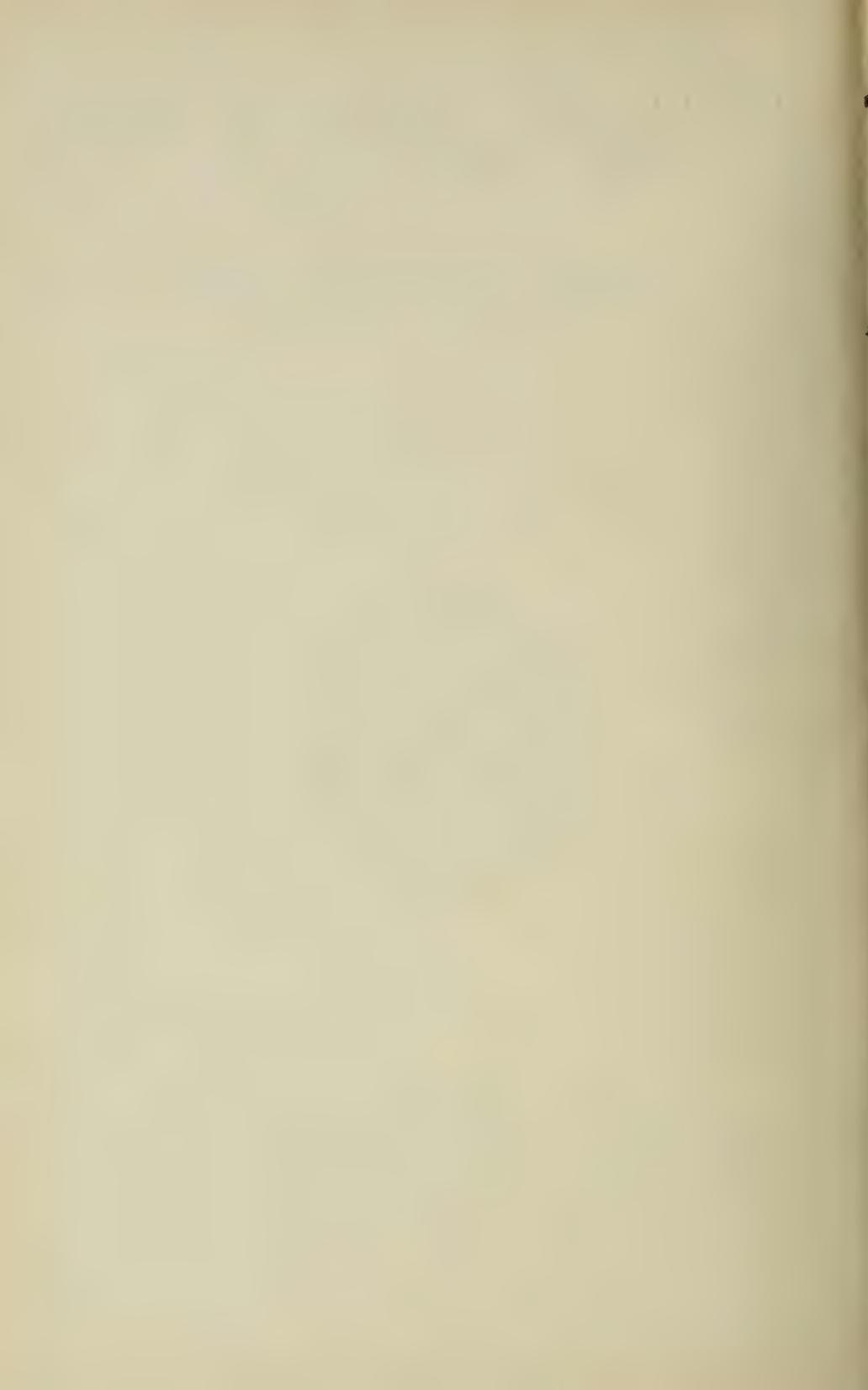
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ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. CONJECTURAL MAP, illustrating Trumpington Street *Frontispiece*

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr Alderman Kett, to whose skill the execution of this Map is due.

2. A DEED OF SALE, with Hebrew Quitclaim attached *facing p. 20*

THE writer desires to thank the Master of St John's College, the Rev. Dr Walker of Peterhouse, the Rev. the Master of Pembroke and Messrs Hadley and Comber, Mr A. J. Wallis of Corpus Christi, Mr Arthur Gray of Jesus, and others, upon whose kindness he has trespassed in the matter of deeds and documents.

CHAPTER I.

OUTSIDE TRUMPINGTON GATES.

THE assertion made so confidently by Professor Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*¹, that "Cambridge stood wholly on the left bank of the river Grant or Cam" finds few supporters now-a-days. The dual origin of our town is recognised².

But what was the extent of the part of Cambridge which the river separated from the Castle Hill? and how far did it reach towards the south and east?

This essay will endeavour to illustrate the answer in one direction and for one period. It will survey the Trumpington Road in the thirteenth century. It will endeavour to prove that, outside the gates and beyond the King's Ditch, there dwelt a number³ of influential members of the University and citizens of the town of Cambridge.

The term, "Trumpington Road," needs limitation, for even so late as the end of the eighteenth century, the high street of Cambridge right up to its junction with Bridge Street was occasionally called by the name of the well-known village where Chaucer's miller lived. Here we are dealing with the part of the road outside the gates near St Botolph's Church.

When those gates were first set up is not recorded. We

¹ Edition of 1871, vol. iv. p. 219; *English Towns and Districts*, p. 238; Babington, *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, p. 11.

² Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 99; A. Gray, *C. A. S.*, 4 Nov. 1907.

³ The Subsidy Rolls of 1314, 5 (P. R. O. $\frac{3}{5}$), show that the "Trumpton warde" (although it did not include Newnham, as the *Hundred Rolls* did) ranked easily second among the Cambridge wards in the number of its inhabitants. *Cambridge Gilds*, edited by M. Bateson, *C. A. S.* xxxix. p. 154.

are, indeed, told, in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*¹, that King Henry III at the time of the Barons' War "fecit edificare portas, et facere fossatas in circuitu ville cum magna diligencia." But the "Trumpington Gates" were certainly much older than 1266. The dedication of the church of St Botolph had doubtless something to do with its position. The name of the East Anglian Saint is often linked with churches situated "at the gates or without the walls" of towns and cities—for St Botolph "was held to be the patron or protector of travellers², who on their setting out or arrival prayed in his chapels at the gates." So the church bearing his name is connected with the southern approach to Cambridge. We do not know the date of its foundation, but there are references to it in the twelfth century, and it or its predecessor may have been much older.

The expression "the southern entrance to Cambridge" is here used—although the object of this essay is to dwell upon the part of our town *outside the Trumpington Gates*—because it must be admitted (as a glance at the map will show) that the line of the King's Ditch must for many generations have formed an evident boundary to the town—beyond which lay not only the Barnwell Fields, but also the marsh land where Downing College now stands and the pools in the direction of Cherryhinton. Yet, beyond this ditch, there were outlying reaches in three directions—where the Bury Road runs past the Priors of St Radegund and of Barnwell, and where roads ran out from the Barnwell and from the Trumpington Gates.

The present writer deals with the dwellers outside the last-mentioned gates.

Where exactly were these Trumpington Gates? There is no distinct statement in the old records. But the following allusion in a thirteenth century deed throws light on their position. In the Treasury of Corpus Christi College (Drawer 31) there is a document³ which is endorsed as follows: "Carta

¹ *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, edited by J. W. Clark, M.A., p. 122.

² *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vol. xi. p. 54, &c.

³ *Cambridge Gilds*, edited by Mary Bateson, C. A. S. xxxix. p. 130.

Ricardi Bateman xijd. redditus *de tenemento juxta portas de Trumpington.*" The house in question, we find on consulting the grant, was "in the parish of St Botolph, between Adam the Barker's and the King's Ditch." Now the King's Ditch ran, from the river by the mills, down the Mill Lane and along what is now called Pembroke Street. We therefore conclude that Richard Bateman's tenement was situated at the corner where Mr Hall's bookselling establishment now stands, and that the Trumpington Gates must have spanned the king's highway near this house.

A word or two may be said as to the parishes outside these gates. The gates, themselves, as remarked above, were situated in the parish of St Botolph, whose southern boundary ran—with the ditch—from the ancient mills, half-way along the lane still called Mill Lane. It then encloses an outlying portion of St Benet's parish, coming out into Trumpington Road just north of where the Congregational Chapel now stands. Crossing the highway, the boundary bent to the east, and passed through what is now the Old Court of Pembroke College—and so on for a space; then bulging out and including a large portion of the "Downing site." Thus immediately outside the King's Ditch and outside the gates were situated parts of the parishes of St Botolph and St Benet. South of these were the church and the parish of St Peter—called "St Peter without the Trumpington Gates" to distinguish it from the church and the parish of the same name situated in the other part of the town beyond the river and called St Peter's "ad Castrum." This church (now called St Mary's the Less) belonged when Peterhouse was founded, and had belonged for about a century, to the master and brethren of St John's Hospital, an establishment of Augustinian canons dwelling near where the northern end of Trumpington Street joins Bridge Street. From a curious legal record¹ of the reign of Richard I we learn that the advowson had been given to the Hospital by Henry FitzSegar, by whom and by ancestors of whom the presentation and the living had

¹ *Placit. Abbrev.* p. 98; Coke's first *Institute*, 109 b; Selden, *History of Tithes*, p. 386; Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 29; *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 359.

been held for more than 120 years—though it must be noted that the numbers quoted are suspiciously round. This—if taken literally—would carry us back “T. R. E.,” to days before the Conquest.

St Peter’s parish extended southwards along the highway, on the west side until it met the boundaries of Trumpington, and on the east side to what is now Fitzwilliam Street; where began a part of the parish of St Benedict, which stretched some way east and south; being bounded in the latter direction by the western end of the Barnwell Fields—now occupied by Brookside and the University Botanic Gardens.

This at any rate was the apportionment of the parishes in the thirteenth century, as indeed it is at the present day. But the strips of land which were included in what were technically called “the Cambridge Fields,” seem to have paid tithes¹ to various parishes, perhaps to whatever church the occupiers, or owners, chose.

Having noted generally how the parishes lie, we are about to return to the Trumpington Gates, and to proceed systematically along the king’s highway towards the south.

It will be observed that, following many documents, we have used the expression “the Trumpington Gates”—in the plural. Frequently, however, the term “the Trumpington Gate”—in the singular—is employed. The explanation of the discrepancy is doubtless to be found in the supposition that, at the ancient entrance to the town near the church of St Botolph, stood double gates, which were collectively called “the Trumpington Gate” and separately “the Trumpington Gates.”

We shall take as our principal date the period just preceding the foundation of Peterhouse, for which Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, obtained a licence in the year 1284. And this is a convenient date, because a few years previously, in 1278, Edward I had ordered an elaborate survey to be taken, the results of which embodied in the *Hundred Rolls* are especially detailed as to the town of Cambridge.

¹ Maitland, *T. and B.*, p. 59.

But, though this may be taken as our rallying point, we shall frequently antedate by many years our researches as to the properties held outside the gates, and occasionally trace their ownership or use later on in the fourteenth century.

It may also be noted that besides the detailed information afforded by the *Rotuli Hundredorum* and by various subsidy rolls and tallage-records, so many of the messuages and fields passed into the hands of religious and collegiate institutions, that we are able to consult numerous deeds preserved by these societies—among which may be named the colleges of Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus, St John (the successors of the old Hospital) and Jesus (the inheritors of St Radegund's); while the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*, the records of Anglesey Abbey and other monastic institutions have been consulted in print or manuscript.

So many are the documents thus preserved, and so frequently did the properties change hands, that it would be possible to draw up a very long list of persons who owned, or leased, houses or land outside the Trumpington Gates in the thirteenth century; and yet there are frequent gaps in the order of succession and inheritance.

CHAPTER II.

DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS.

IT will perhaps be well, before proceeding further, to take a general survey of the deeds or records which tell of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and of the owners of property therein.

The most complete list is given in the celebrated *Hundred Rolls* of 1279: those who were connected with the Parish of St Peter-without-the-Gate may be quoted, and the details recorded of the possessions and claims summarised. Unfortunately no boundaries or abuttals are specified (and this omission prevents the discrimination of the parishioners of St Benet's and of St Botolph's who lived without from those who were within the Trumpington Gates):

The Friars of the Sack, who are stated¹ (as may be seen from the quotation given in full on page 22) to have derived their property partly from "Richard de Heke Lingham" (about whom nothing is known) and from many others (whose gifts and grants are detailed on pages 23—28).

*The Prior and Convent of Anglesey*² held one messuage (of which no particulars are given); another, of the gift of Eustace son of Ralph, which Stephen Ace formerly held (of which the Commissioners say, as they do in several other cases: *quo warranto Prior tenet dictum tenementum nesciunt*); an annual rent of 3s., of the gift of John Le Ry, formerly rector of the Chapel of St Edmund, arising out of a messuage which John Le Ry had of the gift of Laurence son of Alan of Blakeham, which Laurence had it of the gift of John son of Arnold of Cambridge; also a rent of 5s. from a messuage [towards the Chapel of St Edmund] which Peter son of Ivo formerly had; and 4s. rent, paid by Richard Bateman; and 6s. paid

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 360.

² See also Hailstone's *History of Bottisham*, C. A. S. xiv. pp. 229, 240.

by Berneus the Butcher (*Carnifex*), which they had of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, which Robert had it *ex antiqua successione hereditaria antecessorum suorum*; together with 2s. rent, the gift of Simon the Chamberlain (*Camerarius*) of E[ustace], Bishop of Ely.

Henry de Ho held one messuage, &c., which he had by hereditary right on the death of his father Thomas de Ho, who bought it from Matilda daughter of John of Cambridge, clerk, who had it on the death of her father, who had it *ex antiqua exemptione*. It paid 1*d.* annually to Matilda and her heirs, and 4s. to Luke of St Edmund's *sicut capitale domino feodi*. Henry de Ho also held a croft, &c., which came to him from his father, who bought it of Alan Baseli of Cambridge; and *una placea terre*, which his father bought of Hugh le Rus, who had it by hereditary succession; also half a rood of land, which his father bought of Margaret daughter of Roger clerk of Cambridge, whose father had it by hereditary succession.

William de Sauston chaplain held one messuage, of the gift of Matilda Sephare, who had it by hereditary right on the death of her ancestors—a rose was paid to Margaret and 2s. to Luke of St Edmund's.

John Perin held one messuage which he bought of the Abbot and Convent of Lavendene, which they had of the gift of Cecilia Godsol, who inherited it on the death of her ancestors; and another messuage of the gift of Peter de Welles his brother, who bought it of John of Histon, who bought it of Simon Fot, who inherited it from his ancestors—4*d.* rent was paid to Luke of St Edmund's.

John de Eilesham and Sabina his wife held the following properties:

(1) A messuage, which Sabina bought of Eustace Selede, who inherited it on the death of his brother Simon Selede, who had it *ex antiqua successione parentorum suorum*—paying a rent of 8*d.* to the Prior of Barnwell.

(2) A messuage which Sabina bought of Thomas de Ho, which he bought of Hervey, son of Michael, which Hervey bought of the Prioress and Convent of St Radegund—to whom 3s. rent was paid.

(3) A messuage, which Sabina bought of the Prioress &c. of St Radegund—who received 3s. rent.

(4) A messuage, which they bought of Richard son of Richard Burs, who inherited it on the death of his father—12*d.* rent being paid to St Radegund. (The Commissioners add in these four instances that they do not know how the Convents obtained their rights.)

(5) John also held the following messuages: one which he bought of Thomas of Cottenham, which he bought of Richard Herward [Mich. Bernard (?)], which he had by hereditary succession—from this messuage a rent of 3s. was paid to Geoffrey de Spartegrave. [Cf. p. 9.]

(6) One messuage, which he bought of John Pikerel, which he inherited on the death of his father Henry Pickerell, who had it in free marriage of the gift of Richard Skin—a rose was paid to John Pickerel and 2s. to the Prioress of St Radegund.

(7) One messuage, which he bought of Hugo de Dethe and of Alice his wife, which they had of the gift of her father Henry Pikerel, who had it of the gift of Richard Skin in free marriage with Rosa his daughter—a pair of gloves being paid to Gilbert Bernard.

(8) A messuage, which he bought of John le Reder', who bought it of Simon Selede, who had it of his ancestors—3s. rent being paid to the Prior of Barnwell.

(9) A messuage, which he bought of Simon of Trumpington, who bought it of Eustace Selede.

Luke of St Edmund's held one messuage¹ &c. in St Peter's and a horse-mill in the market of Cambridge with 70 acres of land in the Fields of Cambridge pertaining to the same messuage, which he inherited on the death of his brother Master Thomas, who had it of the gift of his father Walter of St Edmund's, who inherited it on the decease of his mother Alice, who had it in succession from her ancestors.

Alan Baseli held one messuage, which he bought of Matilda daughter of John Clerk of Cambridge, who had it of the gift of her brother Master Walter, who had it on the death of his father John, who had it by ancient purchase—rent of 1s. being paid to Geoffrey son of John, and 1s. to the chaplain celebrating the mass of St Mary in the church of St Mary of Cambridge.

Hervey Pippe [Prippe?] held one messuage, which he bought of the Prior and Convent of Anglesey, who had it of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, who inherited it on the death of his mother Amicia Godsol, who inherited it from her ancestors—a rent of 3s. being paid to the Prior and Convent.

Alan Attepond held one messuage, which he bought of Alexander Atteberne, who had it of the gift of Simon Fot, who had it *ex antiquo perquisito*—paying a rent of 40*d.* to the heirs of Peter de Welles by the assignment of the said Simon.

Sepehar (or Sephar) le Gaunt' held one messuage, which he bought of Stephen of Cottenham chaplain, who had it of the gift of Geoffrey of Alderhethe, chaplain, who bought it of John son of Stephen, which Stephen had it *de antiquo perquisito*. Hence were rents of 12*d.* to Alice Hervey and her heirs, and 3*d.* for the sustenance of a lamp in the church of St Sepulchre.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 372.

Peter Swyn held a messuage which he inherited on the death of his father Thomas, who had it on the death of his father Hervey; and another messuage, similarly through his father Thomas and his grandfather Hervey, the latter having it on the death of Alice Wylunet his mother—paying 8*d.* rent to Luke of St Edmund's.

John de Berkinke chaplain held one messuage, in the parish of St John [St Peter ?] without the gate of 'Trumpiton', which he bought of Alice, daughter of William Lucke the Miller (*Molendinarius*), who inherited it on the death of her brother John, who inherited it on the death of his father William, who bought it of Thomas Elyot, who had it by ancient hereditary succession—it paid 3*s.* rent to the said Thomas and his heirs.

Thomas, son of Edmund the Miller (*Molendinarius*), held one messuage, which he bought of Richard Timpon, who inherited it by the death of William Timpon his father, who had it by ancient purchase—it paid rents of 4*d.* each to the Nuns of St Radegund and to the Hospital of St John by the assignment of the said William.

Simon of Potton and Margaret his wife held one messuage in Trumpitune strate which descended to them by the death of John Paternoster husband of the said Margaret, and the said John had it of the gift of Simon the Carter (*le Chareter*) in free marriage with the said Margaret his daughter; Simon bought it of John le Rus—a rent of 2*s.* being paid to the Almoner of Barnwell. Simon also bought an acre of land in the Fields of Cambridge from Luke of St Edmund's.

Sabina daughter of John Paternoster held one messuage in the Parish of St Peter without the gate, which she had of the gift of her father, who bought it of Thomas son of William le Teler.

[The following rent-charge has been already given on page 7; but it is repeated in the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 365) in an independent paragraph. It will be noticed that a mistake in each entry is corrected in the other:]

Geoffrey Spartegrave and his wife Agues [daughter of Michael Bernard] received 3*s.* rent from John Glasham [Eylsham] and Sabina his wife for a messuage...which they had of the gift of Isabella Wombe, who had had it as a gift from Michael Bernard her father.

From the Charters¹ of the Priory of St Radegund, preserved at Jesus College and admirably calendared by Mr A. Gray, the following deeds "of the thirteenth century," referring to St Peter's-extra-Trumpington Gate, may be quoted:

¹ *C. A. S.* xxxi. pp. 105, 6; 140, 1; 107.

"156 *a.* Ralf Sigan, priest, to the Nuns : land without Trump. Gate next land of Hen. Meso and land of which his son Coleman has the reversion after his death. Witness, Maurice, *capellanus*.

b. The same to the same : land in same place. Same witnesses.

c. Hugh FitzAlgar Brest releases to the Nuns (Prioress Letitia) land given to them by Ralf Sigan. Witn. Hervey FitzEustace.

157. Nuns (Pr. Letitia) to Ric. Burs, butcher, land in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, between land of Ric. Sinerles and land of Hen. Scolemaister : rent 12*d.*, two capons, and half a mark as *gersuma*. Witn. Sir Drogo, *capellanus*.

158. Nuns to Mabel Blangernun for her life : a mess. in Trump. Street formerly held of them by Hen. Scolemaister, between a mess. of Rich. Burs, butcher, and a mess. of Ric. Cau : rent 5*s.* Witn. Joh. Ruffus.

159. Nuns (Pr. Custancia) to Pet. de Wilburham and wife Sabina : a mess. in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, lately held of Nuns by Mabel Blangernun, between land of said Sabina and land of Thomas de Cotenham : rent 3*s.* Joh. Leacon, mayor.

160. Nuns (Pr. Elena) to Joh. de Eylesham and wife Sabina : plot of ground in St P. par. without Trump. Gate, between his land and land of Mr Hugh de Hulmo, ab. in front on the highway : rent 6*d.* Joh. Martin, mayor.

161. Marg., wid. of Ralf, to Rob. FitzMaud : land in St P. par. *extra portam Cantubr.* between land of St P. church and land of Absalon FitzWymund, next the Chapel of St Edmund : rent 4*d.*, two capons, and 2*s.* *gersuma*. Witn. Walt., son of Mr Geoffrey."

"362. Hervey FitzEustace to the Nuns, with his sister Roda when she has taken the religious habit in their house :...a mess. outside Trumpington Gates, held by the wife of Selede Pinberd, next Rob. Nadun : a mess. in the par. of St Benedict, held by Hen. Bekke, between Apsolon, son of a priest, and Walter, son of Mr Geoffrey. Witn. Bartholomew, official of Ely."

[The following St Radegund property in St Benet's Parish was also doubtless without the Trumpington Gates, and some of the other deeds on pp. 107 and 108 of Mr Gray's *Priory of St Radegund* were probably on the east of Trumpington Road:]

"169 *a.* Walter son of Master Geoffrey of Camb. to Peter FitzBurchard : land in St B. par. which Filurun held of his father : rent 2*s.*, two capons and two hens and 20*s.* *gersuma*. Witn. Bartholomew, chaplain.

b. Will. de St Edmund to Nuns : the above mess., described as in the great street towards Trump. gate ; rent as above, the Nuns releasing to him an acre of land in Camb. fields which they hold of the same Walter, son of Geoffrey. Witn. Maurice Ruffus.

c. Alice, wife of above Will. de St Edmund and dau. of Master Geoffrey, confirms the above grant. Witn. as above.

d. Walter, son of above Will. and Alice, confirms the same grant. Witness as above."

In the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (edited by J. W. Clark, M.A.), p. 289, there is a list of "Redditus Prioris de Bernewelle in villa de Cantebregia," including the following :

Parochia Sancti Petri extra Trumpitonegatis.

Canonici de Simplingham tenent unam placeam terre juxta Deudeneris lane, et reddunt ij d.

Robertus de Wynewyc tenet unum mesuagium juxta fratres Saccorum, et reddit ijs. et iiij capones.

Johannes de Eylesham tenet unum mesuagium juxta ecclesiam Sancti Petri, et reddit viij d. et ij capones.

Parochia Sancti Benedicti.

Robertus de Bitteringe tenet unum mesuagium extra portas de Trumpitone, et reddit ix d.

[A note at the end adds :]

Item Johannes le Rus [solebat reddere] viginti octo solidos xj denarios per annum. [See p. 41.]

In connexion with Anglesey Abbey, a document is mentioned in Hailstone's *History of Bottisham* (pp. 239—242), giving a list of the Convent's possessions in Cambridge; but it need not be quoted here, as it is evidently copied from the *Hundred Rolls*, as given above.

Another document, connected with this Abbey, however, referred to on p. 185, is of such interest from the persons and places mentioned that it is here quoted in full from the *Miscellaneous Charters* in the Augmentation Office (vol. xv. no. 112):

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus prior de Angleseye et ejusdem loci conventus unanimi assensu et favore concordati concessimus remissimus et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris et in perpetuum quietum clamavimus Thome servienti universitatis Cantebreg' et Matilde uxori sue et eorum heredibus et assignatis totum jus nostrum et claimum quod unquam habuimus vel habere poterimus in duobus messuagiis et duobus acris et una roda terre arabilis cum suis pertinentiis jacentibus in vico molendinorum de Cantebreg inter terram Willielmi Seman ex una parte et terram Symonis de Bradele ex altera. Que vero duo messuagia et terram predictam cum suis pertinentiis Robertus filius Roberti Hubert modo canonicus noster dum secularis erat dedit et incartavit Rogero filio

Willelmi de Malketon in Cantebrig' in liberum maritagium cum Matilda filia Cecilie de Comberton. Ita videlicet quod nec nos nec successores nostri pro nobis vel nomine nostro in predictis duobus messuagiis et duobus acris et una roda terre cum suis pertinentiis jus aliquod imponere vel claimum exigere inde de cetero poterimus. Pro hac autem nostra concessione remissione et presenti quieta clamatione dederunt nobis predicti Thomas et Matilda pro se et heredibus suis et suis assignatis et eorum heredibus illud messuagium cum suis pertinentiis in Trumpiton Strate de Cantebrig quod jacet inter terram quondam Ricardi Tunpan ex una parte et terram Henrici (?) Prippe ex altera in perpetuum et quadraginta solidos argenti in manibus. In cujus rei testimonium huic carte sigillum nostrum comune apposuimus. Hiis testibus Johanne Buth tunc majore de Cantebreg—Johanne Grim, Waltero Seman, Ricardo de Heckeke, Ricardo filio Bateman tunc baliviis—Bartolomeo Goggin, Gylberto Bernard, Willelmo Eliot, Rogero de Wylberham et Johanne scriptore et aliis."

In the *Pedes Finium*¹, relating to the County of Cambridge, are many notices referring to the district which we are treating, *e.g.*,

56 Hen. III (49). Brother Roger de Ebor' Prior of the Order "de Penitencia Jesu Christi" of Cantebrig' [per fratrem Johannem de Hykelington] *v.* Walter le Braszur and Aldretha his wife [de una crofta &c.] in the suburbs of Cantebrig.

24 Ed. I (7). Magister Robert de Bytering *v.* Thomas de Tudenham and Margareta his wife [de uno mesuagio et dimidio et tribus acris terre cum pertinentiis] in Cantebrig', &c.

In the *Cartulary* preserved in the Treasury of St John's College, there are two or three most interesting Rent-Rolls, arranged under Parishes.

Under the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates, for one term (undated²), occur the following names and payments:

"De Clericis Universitatis.....ijs.

De Nicholao Pawe pro tenemento suo super le Gynggesdich (*sic*)...xijd.

De Radulpho de Ekelington pro hospicio nostro quod tenet ad terminum vite.....xxs.

¹ *C. A. S.* xxvi. (edited by Walter Rye).

² These rent-rolls are undated; but they probably belong to a period preceding the acquirement of the Hostels by Bishop Hugh de Balsham, for their occupiers are not styled *magistri* and thus do not seem to be members of the University. The first payments, those made by the University Clerks, show that the Haydon Hostel on the other side of the road was already given to, or hired by, the University. John Pawe is mentioned in a lawsuit in the year 1298 (Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 68).

- De Johanne Wyestolke pro hospicio nostro quod tenet ad firmam.....
 xxvijs.
 De Priore de Angleseye.....ijd.
 De tenemento quod Willielmus de Bertone tenet..... iij d. et ij
 capones etc.”

For another term we have the *redditus* :

- “De Clericis Universitatis.....ijs.
 De Johanne pawe pro tenemento suo super le Kynges dyche.....xij d.
 De radulpho de Ekelington etc.....xx s.
 De uxore Galfridi Dukis (?).....xxv s.
 De priore de Angleseye.
 De uxore quondam Johannis pourfyth.....iij d.”

Besides the Radegund deeds at Jesus College, calendared by Mr A. Gray and referred to above, there are hundreds of conveyances preserved at St John's, Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus Christi and other colleges. Many of these the writer, by the kind permission of the authorities, has been allowed to consult—various quotations from them being made in these pages; but unfortunately they have not yet been systematically calendared, though in several cases useful lists have been made of the contents of bundles or chests or drawers. In some cases, also, more or less correct catalogues have been published in the *Reports* of the Historical MSS. Commission.

The dates of these records and documents, of course, vary. Sometimes unfortunately they are not dated at all; though in many of such cases it is possible, by noting the names of the witnesses, to give the year approximately. In certain instances, the names of previous possessors or tenants enable us to carry back the ownership; this is especially so in the long list of the *Hundred Rolls*, where the succession to the property is carefully enquired into, and authoritatively set forth.

CHAPTER III.

TRUMPINGTON ROAD. THE WEST SIDE.

WE may, at length, proceed to go systematically along the West Side of the *Via Regia*, beginning next to where the Trumpington Gates stood of old and the Pitt Press stands now.

A block of houses and land reached from Mill Lane to the lane by St Peter's (or Little St Mary's) Church. Of this scarcely any records¹ remain; though subsequently it was the site of the manor-house of the Cotton Hall property—an old mansion which for generations stood opposite Pembroke. The Cotton family² was long prominent in the rolls of Cambridge, supplying mayors or parliamentary burgesses to the town. As the manor—which was very extensive in the borough and in neighbouring villages—was also called Cayles or Caylyse, the Cottons probably succeeded to the possessions of an important family named Cayley, whose headquarters were in Trumpington, but who likewise figured largely in the annals of Cambridge. In later times, in the sixteenth century, the manor passed into the hands of Dr Henry Hervey, Master of Trinity Hall, who

¹ Or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that, owing to the meeting of the two parishes—St Benet's and St Peter's—in this corner, it is difficult to locate houses merely mentioned parochially in deeds. The residence of the Pawe family, taxed in the St John's Hospital rent-rolls, was doubtless down Mill Lane, as it is said to be on the King's Ditch in St Peter's parish (see pp. 12 and 13). So, the old *Katharine Wheel*, "in St Mary's without Trumpington Gate...situated upon the King's Ditch near Pembroke Hall" (according to Masters, *History of C. C. C.*, p. 52), was perhaps near this, though there must be some mistake in the historian's description.

² Baker MSS. iii. p. 318; vii. p. 179; xvii. p. 133; Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 177.

left it to his college. The manor-house on Trumpington Road was pulled down in the eighteenth century. In Braunius's map, a rope-walk stretched behind it down towards the mills.

We come next to the Church of St Peter, to the antiquity of which reference has already been made. A large part of this sacred building fell down¹ in the year 1350, but it was soon afterwards re-erected and re-dedicated to St Mary the Less. It may be remarked, in connexion with the family whose manor-house has just been alluded to as standing between it and the Trumpington Gates, that, a year or two before the fall of the chancel, John Cotton had founded a chantry in the church, endowing it with some property across the road, which will be described when the eastern side of the highway is dealt with.

The history of the church need not be detailed here, though two or three points may be mentioned. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Carmelites², who had for some years been stationed at Chesterton, moved into this parish, and occupied some three acres across the waters in Newnham. There is a record of a covenant³ between them and the brethren of St John's Hospital, granting the new-comers the use of the church. Such, however, was the state of the river, or the various branches of the river, at that period, that we are told⁴ that the Carmelites "suffered in winter many and great inconveniences, on account of the inundation of the waters, so that scholars could not have access to them to hear divinity, nor could they go to town to obtain their victuals." This description of course refers to the passage of "the small bridges," towards what is now called Silver Street; and though the Carmelites may have threaded their way by some paths and fordings across by the Mills to St Peter's, yet we find, from the *Hundred Rolls*⁵ and from the Barnwell records⁶, that they erected a church in their convent bounds. Subsequently, how-

¹ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. p. 319.

² Barnwell *Liber Mem.*, edited by J. W. Clark, p. 211.

³ Baker MS. 42, f. 195 b; Baker-Mayor, ii. 557, 8; *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, i. 78.

⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 51; Cooper's *Annals*, i. 62.

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

⁶ *Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

ever, they removed their whole establishment to this side of the river and occupied a part of the present sites of Queens' and King's Colleges.

But to return to St Peter's; the advowson of that church was by arrangement given to the first Cambridge college, which was founded by Hugh de Balsham, when he separated the scholars whom he had placed in the Hospital of St John and transferred them to the two tenements¹ near the church, which formed the nucleus of Peterhouse.

These two historic houses had long been in the possession of the brethren of St John's Hospital, and apparently had been used as residences or hostels for students. In the year 1246 Hugh Northwold, Bishop of Ely, on behalf of the Augustinian brethren, procured from Hugo de Hottun, then Chancellor of the University, an exemption² from taxation for these two Hostels. After the failure of Bishop Hugh Balsham's celebrated experiment of introducing scholars among the brethren of the Hospital, the secular students were transferred to these Hostels; the church of St Peter, the tithes of the two mills and other possessions being bestowed upon them, while certain other properties were assigned by the Bishop to the Hospital. These two tenements, which thus formed the foundation³ of Peterhouse—the first Cambridge college—remained standing until the reign of Charles I. They are called by Caius⁴ “the hostel of the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ and the hostel of the Secular Brothers of St John the Evangelist”; and, by Richard Parker⁵, “the Hostels of the Brothers of Penance, and of Jesus Christ.” But it will be noticed that the latter title arises from a confusion; while the name derived

¹ See interesting references to these hostels in the undated Rent-Rolls in the St John's *Cartulary*, quoted on pp. 12 and 13, and the note there.

² Baker MS. x. (7037), p. 144; xix. (7046), p. 227 b; Baker-Mayor, p. 21.

³ In a bundle of deeds in the Treasury at Corpus Christi College (nos. 101-110, Drawer 31), there is a grant (in the year 1349) by John Redhode: “From the tenement of the scholars of the House of St Peter which they inhabit, *3d.*” See *Cambridge Gilds* (Bateson), C. A. S. xxxix. p. 137. But Corpus has not now any claim on Peterhouse.

⁴ *Hist. Cant. Acad.* i. p. 54.

⁵ *Hist. and Antiq.* p. 34.

from the Friars of the Sack is evidently a mistake, as these particular buildings were never part of the possessions of the said Friars. They were afterwards (says Dr Walker in his *History of Peterhouse*¹) called the "Great" and the "Little Hostle," and (in 1626) contained respectively ten and seven chambers. "That one of the Hostels occupied the site of the present Porter's Lodge appears from the description of the tenement of Robert Hewes, the butler, he having the Library as his western boundary. The 'Little Hostle' was pulled down when the Chapel was built in 1628-32. It evidently stood on the street-front of the Chapel. The 'Great Hostle,' in which apparently Hewes had his tenement, must have been razed for the completion of the Library range in 1633."

The old Combination Room² of Peterhouse was formerly "wainscoted with small oblong Pannels, the two upper Rows of which were filled with Paintings on Board of several of the older Masters and Benefactors to the College. Each Picture had an inscription in the Corner, and on a separate long Pannel under each much ornamented with painting, was a Latin Distic." The first of these was "A view of the two antient Hostles of the Brothers of Penance, and of Jesus Christ: on the Spot where they stood, Hugh de Balsam Bp. of Ely founded this College in 1280." Many of the *Pannels* have been preserved, but this—of the "Scholasticorum Hospitia"—has unfortunately disappeared. They were *in situ* when Carter's *History*³ appeared in 1753; but, according to Cole, Bishop Keene, the Master, shortly afterwards removed them across to his Lodge.

Bishop Hugh de Balsam maintained his interest in his foundation to the last, bequeathing to the scholars the sum of 300 marks, "with which they bought a certain area to the south of the church, and built thereon a handsome Hall (*aula perpulcra*)." The present hall is substantially the same as the original one, says Mr J. W. Clark, who, at the end of the first volume of the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (p. 620) quotes from Professor Willis the following note

¹ (*College Histories Series*), p. 20.

² Cole MS. xxxv. 112; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 63.

³ *History* (1753), pp. 33-38.

on the doorway at the south end of the hall-screen: "It [the doorway] belongs in fact to the thirteenth century, and is earlier in style than the foundation of the college. Standing as it does on the ground bought from the Friars of the Penitence in 1307, it must, with part of the wall of the hall adjacent to it, be considered as a portion of their buildings which was appropriated to the use of the college." This note, however, is not only inconsistent with the statement as to the erection of the Hall soon after the death of the Bishop in 1286, but is unsupported by the references as to the properties of the Friars, whose buildings do not seem to have reached so far north as the hostels.

Between the hostels and the churchyard stood an important estate belonging to a lady, who, when she sold this property¹ to some representatives of Peterhouse at the end of the thirteenth century, was known as Sabina, formerly the wife of John de Aylesham. This widow, who was a great heiress, was the daughter of a Cambridge citizen named Martin Brithnoth², upon whose death, and that of her uncle Hervey, she succeeded to the family possessions and proceeded to purchase other houses and lands. Her first husband³ was Peter de Wilburham, one of the borough bailiffs, who apparently died after a short married life. Mistress Sabina after a while found another partner² in John de Aylesham, a Cambridge townsman, who held the same official post for several years. After the death of this citizen, the lady soon appears as "Sabina Asselof⁴," and therefore it may be presumed that she or her possessions had again proved attractive, although it should be noted that

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 3.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 371, 2.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 26; compared with *Hundred Rolls*, as in last note.

⁴ Cole MS. ii. p. 57; xii. p. 123 b. The present writer is unable to account for this name, unless there was some family connexion with Simon Asselof, her neighbour mentioned in the deed quoted on the next page. This Simon Asselof was probably the well-known Magister Simon de Ascellis, who became Prior of Barnwell (see p. 40). Many remarks might be made, throughout this essay, upon the surnames mentioned therein.

she still sometimes styled herself "formerly the wife of John de Aylesham." She was apparently one of the largest owners of property in Cambridge; indeed in the parish of St Peter-without-the-gates, with which we are now dealing, she possessed no less than nine houses and eleven acres. These we shall have occasion to enumerate later on. Here, before we return to the property next to the church, one deed may be referred to as a specimen of the records of her possessions.

In the Treasury of Peterhouse there was preserved till lately a document¹ which was of unique interest in Cambridge, because there was attached to it a Hebrew quitclaim, recalling the days, before the expulsion, when so many citizens had recourse to Jewish money-lenders. Fortunately, although the deed is now lost, a photograph of it is in existence, and this, by the kindness of Mr J. W. Clark, the Registrary, is here reproduced. The document, in legal phraseology, tells how Thomas de Ho, clerk, granted to Peter de Wilburham and Sabina his wife, for the sum of twenty shillings, a certain messuage with the build-ings thereon, &c., in the town of Cambridge, in the parish of St Peter-without-Trumpitongate, between the land which was formerly Simon Asselof's on the one part and that which formerly belonged to Hugh le Rus, the son of Absalon, on the other part; which messuage indeed contained in length 42 ells from the Great Street to the grantor's croft, which is connected with the same tenement. There was to be paid annually, in half-yearly instalments, 3 shillings to the Nuns of the House of St Radegund of Grenecoft and two pairs of white gloves to the representatives of Thomas de Ho, who promised to maintain the agreement against all people, Christians or Jews, and who affixed his seal in the presence of certain witnesses—John le Rus, Reginald Sherewind, John Paternoster, Alan Basilie, Ebor' [Everard the clerk], and others. Affixed to the deed is the following Jewish quitclaim:

אני החתום מטה מודה שטומש דהוא פטור הוא ויורשיו ממני ומיורשיי
 הן מחובות וערביות מבריות עולם עד טושיינין שנת ארבעים ותשע למלכות
 אדונינו המלך הנרי בן המלך יוהן ואם נמצא חלק בשמי ובשם טומש הנקו'
 עד הזמן הנקו' יהיה כקנין ומה שכתבתי התמתי אברהם בן שמואל:

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 26.

A translation may be added: "I, the undersigned, do acknowledge that Thomas de Ho is quit he and his heirs from me and my heirs both from debts and liabilities from the creation of the world to (the festival of) All Saints (in the) year 49 of the reign of our lord the King Henry son of the King John, and if there shall be found a counterpart in my name and in the name of the aforesaid Thomas as to a previous period it shall be as nothing, and what I have written I have signed. Abraham son of Samuel."

Thomas de Ho, whose seal is appended, and who owned other property in this parish, was a man of some position in the county—"Thomas de Hoo, Chevaler," he is called in one record¹. Sabina, as we have seen, was then the wife of Peter de Wilburham; the neighbours were respectively an eminent lawyer, Simon de Ascellis² (whom we shall meet soon as dwelling³ in the stone-house of the le Rus family, and who subsequently entered the priory of Barnwell) and Hugh le Rus⁴ (who was a junior member of the family just mentioned and whose actual parentage is hereby discovered). The witnesses we shall all meet again and again in deeds of the period; while Abraham ben Shemuel⁵ appears in certain remarkable transactions recorded in the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews both at the beginning and at the end of the reign of Henry III. It is to be hoped that there may be a recovery of this solitary survivor of the thousands of Jewish Starrs and quitclaims that changed hands in early Cambridge days,—which after its long sleep of six or seven centuries awoke—to be lost!

More might be said of the contents and connexions of this interesting document, and more will be said of Jewish transactions in this neighbourhood, but we must return to the property of the widow Sabina, situated in the corner between

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 305.

² Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* pp. 73, 127, 128.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

⁴ See p. 42.

⁵ *Calendar of Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Hist. Soc.), pp. 19, 134; supposing these two references to refer to the same individual.



DEED, with Jewish Quitclaim (1265) attached.
From Peterhouse Treasury.

the churchyard of St Peter and the hostels of the scholars of the Bishop of Ely.

These are the northern and southern boundaries of the "messuage¹, with all its Buildings, Gardens, Courts, Curtilages, and other appurtenances," which in 1299 passed from Sabina to "Masters" Richard de Conytone and Herbert de Shepereth. The term *Magister* in these old Cambridge deeds almost always denotes a member of the University. The names of the first scholars or fellows of Peterhouse are not on record; but a comparison of the parties in other deeds in the same archives suggests that the grantees were representatives of our earliest collegiate foundation. The eastern and western boundaries are the King's way, *i.e.*, Trumpington Street, and a tenement of the aforesaid scholars. There is an exception made in this transfer—of the house, containing in length 56 feet and in breadth 21 feet, which Sabina had purchased of Hugh le Rede on the south part of the messuage; this, however, passed between the same parties² in the following year. .

Half a century later, in the year 1352–3, we find this property³ in the hands of Thomas de Wormenhale, "scholar" of the House of St Peter (who was subsequently Master of the college), and by him it was transferred to "Masters" William de Stanton, William de Boston, and Richard de Outeby. The two latter were fellows of Peterhouse, and the former was a brother of the allied Hospital of St John. Why the messuage was thus held in trust by certain members, rather than by the college in its corporate capacity, as in other deeds, is not known, but that we may speak of the estate as being Peterhouse property is fairly evident.

We can trace the ownership of this estate to a much earlier date. From the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ (1279) we learn that the first named of the nine sets of property in St Peter's parish which belonged to Sabina and her husband, John de Aylesham, paid a

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 3.

² *Ibid.* B. 11.

³ *Ibid.* C. 4.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 371, 2.

rent charge of 8*d.* to the priory of Barnwell. Turning to that very interesting work, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*¹, lately edited by the Registry, we find in a list of the rents paid to the Prior (in the year 1295) by tenants in Cambridge, that, in the parish of "St Peter-extra-Trumpitonegatis," "Johannes de Eylesham tenet unum mesuagium juxta ecclesiam Sancti Petri, et reddit .viii. d. et .ij. capones." The position and the amount identify this with the property with which we are now dealing. Returning to the *Hundred Rolls*, we read that Sabina had bought the messuage from Eustace Selede, who had entered upon it at the death of his brother Simon, to whom it has come by inheritance "ex antiqua successione parentorum suorum."

We will now proceed southwards, from the Hostels, along the Trumpington Road. One group of houses and land—that which accumulated into the hands of the Friars of the Sack (or *de Penitentia*)—has been admirably described in the first chapter of the first volume of the *Architectural History of Cambridge University* by Willis and Clark, and has been illustrated by a plan in their fourth volume. The information there given has been taken chiefly from deeds in the Treasury of Peterhouse; this we shall venture to summarize and to supplement from other records.

In the *Hundred Rolls*² we find the following description of this property about the year 1279:

"Item fratres de Sacco tenent quendam locum ubi inhabitant et ubi ecclesia eorum fundata cujus vero loci quandam partem habent de dono Ricardi de Heke Lingham in perpetuam elemosinam et aliam partem de perquisito et dono plurimorum. Et continet in se tres acras terre et amplius et habent confirmacionem de dicto loco de domino Henrico Rege patre domini Regis qui nunc est."

But this is rather official phraseology, for almost the same words are used by other Orders, as for instance in the case of the Carmelites across the river in the same parish. We must therefore turn to the "confirmatio" of Henry III. This "Manus mortua concessa Prioribus et Fratribus de Penitentia

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 289.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 360.

per Henricum regem pro area Collegii" is preserved in the Peterhouse Treasury, is reproduced in Willis and Clark (I. p. 72), and in Hayward's *Statutes of St Peter's College* (translated, p. 70), and is thus summarized in [Cooper's] *Cambridge Borough Report* (1850, p. 12), where some of the names are given more correctly than in the *Architectural History*.

"Henry III, by Letters Patent dated (at Woodstock) the 25th June, in the 52nd year of his reign [1268], confirmed to the Prior and Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, a certain area which they inhabited, near the Borough of Cambridge, without Trumpetongate, of the gift of divers, viz. John le Rus son of Maurice le Rus, of Cambridge, Hoel and Thomas the sons of John de Berton, Master Thomas son of Walter de St Edmund, Stephen le Bercher, Gilbert the son of Michael Bernard, Agnes who was the wife of John de Berton, Henry Pikerel, Simon son of John de Berton, and the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St John of Cambridge."

The Friars added certain tenements and land to these after the year 1268, as we shall presently see. Meantime let us trace back some of the properties given in the above catalogue.

The coming of the Friars of the Sack into England occurred in 1257, and in the following year we find them in Cambridge, where (it is recorded in the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*¹)

"Emerunt principale mesuagium Johannis le Rus ex opposito capelle Sancti Edmundi, sed quia illud mesuagium fuit de feodo canonicorum de Bernewelle Prior Jolanus impediuit seysinam eorum etc. Tunc venit idem Johannes le Rus cum ipsis fratribus ad Priorem Jolanum, et cum lacrimis petiuit gratiam eius, et licenciam ut permitteret eos etc."

Then follows an account of the financial arrangement by which John le Rus secured the consent of the Barnwell authorities for the transference of the chief part of his estate to the Friars, with his stone-house, his private chapel, &c.; but this will be dealt with in the chapter on the History of the Le Rus family.

The large mansion, thus obtained, of course became the headquarters of the Friars, and its chapel is termed (as we have seen) their "ecclesia." Later on we read of the cemetery² of the Brethren.

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 218.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 25.

But other neighbours also welcomed the Friars. Some twenty old deeds in the Peterhouse Treasury tell of tenements and lands thus acquired. Three or four houses, partly in front of the le Rus property and partly to the south-east, on the Trumpington Road, may be instanced.

An important family, the head of which, John de Berton, had lately died, handed over¹ one of their houses, which was apparently the special property of two of the sons, Hoel and Thomas, but Agnes the widowed mother gave her forinal consent, and Simon, another brother² (who was vicar of the church of St John Zachary, a church pulled down when King's College was built), surrendered a yearly rent of 40s., payable to him from the messuage in question. This house, we learn from the deeds, had formerly belonged to a citizen named Hervey Prippe³, whose sister we shall meet with later on as wife successively of John Paternoster and of Simon de Potton. Hervey and Margaret were the children of Simon the Carter⁴ (*Karettarius*), who had himself formerly owned the de Berton house and other property in the neighbourhood.

This house stood between the dwelling places of Stephen Barker (*Bercharius* or *Le Bercher*) and of Stephen Cooper (*le Coupere*). Barker, by the bye, seems to have been the first⁵ who followed the example of John le Rus, in favouring the Friars; he was imitated by the de Bartons.

Stephen Barker's house stood on the street front between that of John le Rus and that of Simon Carter, and abutted on the east on land belonging to the former. He had obtained it from a townsman named Henry Pickerell, who by marriage and by purchase had acquired several properties in the parish of St Peter-without-the-gates. This particular house he had bought of Richard Smereles. Documents⁶ preserved at Jesus

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 3, 4, 11.

² *History of Bottisham*, by Ed. Hailstone, C. A. S. xiv. p. 240.

³ *Ibid.* p. 229; there, and in *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 371), called Hervey Pippe, by mistake.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 4, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* A. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11; *Report of Cambridge Poor-Rate Committee* (C. H. Cooper), p. 12; *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 7.

⁶ *The Priory of St Radegund*, A. Gray, M.A., C. A. S. xxxi. p. 105.

College inform us that, in the early part of the thirteenth century, Richard Smerelles had as a neighbour one Richard Burs, a butcher, and that next to him there lived a man bearing the interesting name, Henry Scolemeister.

A chapter will be devoted later on¹ to the celebrated St Edmund's family on the east side of Trumpington Road, who were the rivals in many respects of the le Rus family on the west. But it may be here noted, that they were at one in welcoming the Friars; as may be seen from a deed² which states that "Master Thomas, son of Walter de St Edmund's, released to the Brethren of the Sack a yearly rental of eighteen pence and two capons, due from the messuage of Stephen Barker and Emma his wife."

A further striking instance of the cordiality with which the new Order was received is shown by two related deeds still preserved at St John's College and at Peterhouse respectively, as the successors of the thirteenth century property of the Hospital of St John and of the Friary of the Brethren of the Sack. These documents³, with the old seals, record the permission given by Robert of Huntingdon, master, and by the Brethren of the Hospital, to the Prior and the Brethren of Penitence to enlarge their borders "in *our* parish" (*ampliare locum suum in parochia nostra Sancti Petri extra Trumpington-gate*), as to two messuages on the south part, which were formerly in the possession of Simon the Carter (*Karettarius*) and Stephen the Shepherd (*Bercarius*).

There remains one name, that of Gilbert, son of Michael Bernard, in the 1268 catalogue⁴ of those who made release (*dimissio*) of their property to the Friars. His deed of conveyance is not among those preserved at Peterhouse, and therefore the position of his messuage cannot be exactly fixed; but it was doubtless near those just described, and this supposition is confirmed by references to the possessions of the

¹ See pp. 56—63.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 8.

³ *Ibid.* A. 19; St John's Treasury, "St Peter's Parish" deeds.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 11; *Borough Report*, p. 12.

Bernards in the *Hundred Rolls*¹ and in the records of St Radegund's².

We now turn to the properties acquired by the Friars after 1268. These consist of three strips of land³, situated on the north side of the le Rus estate, and stretching from the Trumpington Road to the marsh, or common pasture, known as Coe Fen. They were owned, respectively, proceeding northwards, by Stephen of Shelford, clerk, by William of Madingley, a carpenter, and by the warden of the Chapel of St Edmund's.

At this date, or perhaps a little earlier, William of Madingley transferred to John le Rus and Alice his wife "a selion of arable land at the rear of his messuage in the Croft, which reached from his close to the common pasture." When this land became the property of the Friars is not known; but certainly by 1270, for a deed of that year records the transference to them of the messuage and land which belonged to Stephen of Shelford, and locates it as "inter terras predictorum Fratrum ex utraque parte"—that is to say between the old le Rus family estate and the selion which John le Rus had obtained from William de Maddingley. This land, together with the tenement on the street front, we find about this date to have been transferred by one Robert de Cheshell, a tanner (who had somehow become possessed of it) to John Arnold of Trumpington. It is described as "mesuagium, cum crofta, etc., quod quondam fuit Willielmi filii Rogeri de Maddingle—inter terram Stephani clerici de Scheldeford et terram Roberti [de Horningsheth] de Capella [de Sancto Edmundo]." John Arnold soon afterwards—while Stephen of Shelford was his neighbour—passed to the Friars the messuage "quod emi de Roberto de Cheshille tannatore."

The said John Arnold also transferred to the said Friars one or two other properties adjacent on the north side to the said Cheshill parcel. Robert de Horningsheth, warden of the Chapel of St Edmund, had sold to them a messuage (or, perhaps, a rent-charge on a messuage), which had been given

¹ *Rot. Hund.* pp. 365, 371.

² Charter no. 308 (*C. A. S.* xxxi).

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 2, 12—19.

to his chapel by John de Ry, one of his predecessors in office. The warden had also passed to Arnold, in 1272, the messuage adjacent to the Cheshill property. It is described as "mesuagium quod Magister Walterus quondam filius Johannis clerici de Cantebregia dedit...dicte Capelle cum corpore matris sue." The abuttals are given as follows, "Jacet inter terram quam pater dicti Walteri tenuit de Galfrido potekyn et mesuagium quod fuit Roberti Crussekel...in longitudine, xxij pedes cum crofta retro dictum mesuagium et retro mesuagium quod fuit Roberti Crussekel...in latitudine, xlv pedes extendens se ad mariscum."

The family of John of Cambridge had other property to the north of that which they had given to the Church on the other side of the road; property which does not seem to have become part of the Friary; but before we describe this, we will return to the strip which belonged to Stephen of Shelford.

This had passed into the hands of his daughter Andreda and her husband Walter the Brewer (*le Brasur*), who before 1272 had delivered it for 8 marks of silver to the Friars, as we learn from a final Concord of that date between Walter and Roger of York (*de Ebor'*) prior of the order. The Brasurs describe it as "totum mesuagium nostrum cum crofta etc. quod quondam fuit Stephani Clerici de Shelford...inter terras predictorum Fratrum ex utraque parte, et extendit se in longitudine a magna strata usque ad communem pasturam." It paid a rent-charge of 2*d.* annually to Barnwell Priory.

This purchase apparently completes the large plot of land, with its stone house, its church, and various buildings, belonging to the Friary of the Brothers of Penitence; though there were probably one or two fields near which also belonged to them. They continued in possession thereof for the remainder of the century and about a decade beyond.

"Ipsi Fratres de Sacco congregaverunt multos et bonos scolares (we read in the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, p. 218), et multiplicabantur nimis usque ad concilium Lugdunense." At this Council of Lyons¹, however, the Pope ordered the suppression of these and other minor orders.

They had been threatened before, and on June 9th, 1290,

¹ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 14.

Pope Nicholas IV sent a mandate¹ to the Archdeacon of Stow "to grant the place held by the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ, which they are about to leave, to the Master and Brethren of Sempringham...a fair price being paid for the said place, which is to be deposited in safety for the Holy Land Subsidy, or some other purpose as pleases the Pope." This order was not, however, carried out; the Friars remaining 17 years longer. In 1295, we find them obliging the scholars of St Peter's by an exchange of property², the latter receiving an acre of land to the west of their Hostels; Richard Mortimer, the provincial prior, of Lynn, acting for the Order, and Masters Robert Wynwick and John Malbranch being apparently representatives of the scholars.

In 1307, however, the dissolution took place, and we have several records of "the release³ by the Brethren of the Penance of Jesus to the Master and Scholars of St Peter, of the whole of their place, with the buildings, &c." It may be noted in connexion with this large accession of property to the College, that the formal sanction of the heirs of former owners was also obtained; for instance⁴ Hugh le Rus, of Hokington, in 1309, gave to Masters John de Herwardistock and Robert de Lyeling and they handed on to the College all the messuage which the Brethren had obtained half a century before from John le Rus—this was the building which the Friars had used as their dwelling-place (it had been "held in chief, in burgage, by the rent-service of one penny"). Again in the same year, Masters Rich. de Aylesham and John de ffelmingham gave to the College the messuage which before belonged to Peter the son of John Arnold of Trumpington. The relationship of the first named of these Peterhouse representatives to the heiress Sabina de Aylsham is not known; but the name of the scholar suggests a reason for the friendly dealings between the old family and the new college.

¹ Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. 514; Rose Graham, *St Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 44.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 6—8.

³ Peterhouse Old Register, p. 59.

⁴ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 15—18.

Having thus noted the transfer of the property of the Friary to Peterhouse, let us return to the consideration of the other tenements and land on the west side of Trumpington Street, besides these estates and the Hostels and the little group of houses between them and the Church with which we have already dealt.

The question is not an easy one, for although in the archives of St John's and Pembroke, of Corpus and Jesus Colleges, there are a number of deeds referring to houses here and there in the parish of St Peter-outside-the-gates, and, although in the celebrated survey of 1279 almost every tenement and piece of land is severally specified, yet the *Hundred Rolls* do not give the abuttals of the messuages. The exact positions, therefore, of the houses are frequently a matter of conjecture.

In dealing with the component parts of the Friary, we stated that the most northern portion of their property had been acquired from John Arnold of Trumpington and had formerly belonged to the family of John Clerk of Cambridge.

In the first of the admirable plans of the Colleges in the fourth volume of Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University*, the portion of frontage and of land in the rear between the Friary and the Hostels is assigned to Richard de Aylsham. But this identification appears to be a mistake. It is founded upon a statement in the deed¹ whereby Hugh le Rus sanctioned the transfer from the Friars to the representatives of the College of "totum illud mesuagium meum quod dicti Fratres habuerant de dono Johannis le Rus antecessoris mei." The property is said to lie "inter terram magistri Roberti de Wynwick ex parte australi et mesuagium Richardi de Aylesham et Johannis de ffelingham ex parte aquilonari." Now, if we consult the next deed² in the bundle of documents classified under the heading *Situs Collegii* in the Treasury of Peterhouse, it will be seen that the message which had passed to Richard de Aylesham and John de ffelmingham had formerly been the property of John Arnold of Trumpington—it was, in fact, as we have lately noticed, the northern portion of the Friary, and

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 15.

² *Ibid.* B. 16.

not the plots which intervened between the property of the Brothers and the Hostels.

We have therefore that part to deal with, as well as the district to the south of the le Rus, or Friary, estate.

The question is rendered the more difficult by the fact that some of the owners of houses and lands had possessions both to the north and the south of the Friary and to the west and the east of Trumpington Road; as well as by the frequency with which the properties changed hands.

The northernmost plot of the Friary had (as we have seen) passed to the Brethren through John Arnold of Trumpington from the warden of St Edmund's chapel, who had received it, as an endowment¹ in memory of his mother, from Master Walter, son of "John, clerk, of Cambridge." This family also held the next messuage and land—towards the town—which did not pass to the Friars.

John, clerk, of Cambridge, is sometimes styled "*Johannes scriptor*² de Cantebrig"; so that the word *clerk* in his case does not apparently refer, as so often, to a connexion with minor orders or with the University as a scholar; but to his profession as a writer. As a scribe or a lawyer he may have been an official in University circles, and we know that his son is described as "*Magister*³ *Walterus filius Johannis clerici de Cantebrig*," so that he was evidently a graduate. John, the father, held the messuage and land, to which we are referring, of Geoffrey Potekyn. We read in the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ of two properties which passed to his children, Walter and Matilda. That one of these was identical with, and the other adjacent to, the messuage and land in question, is a matter of conjecture. One is recorded to have been bought from Matilda by Thomas de Ho, and the other (which she inherited from her brother) passed to Alan Basilie. Now in a deed⁵ at Peterhouse, we are told of a messuage rented by Thomas de Ho which was situated between the tenements of Alan Basilie (Basily) and John Aylsham. This may confirm the conjecture.

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 14.

² *Ibid.* A. 17.

³ *Ibid.* A. 14.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 371, 2.

⁵ Peterhouse Treasury, "*Situs Collegii*," A. 27.

Again, from some further Peterhouse documents¹, we learn that four sets of property—which had belonged respectively to William Inge, John and Sabina Aylsham, John de Brankestre, and Simon Sephare—followed one another consecutively, and were transferred to representatives of the new college. The transactions took place about the year 1295, a date which of course precedes the dissolution of the Friary; we may, therefore, suppose that the tenements would be as near as possible to Peterhouse.

If these conjectures be accepted, we have a set of tenements which would about carry us from the Hostels to the Friary.

Turning now to the houses and land *south* of the Friary, it may be remarked that we have already dealt with two or three messuages there; that there is considerable uncertainty as to the exact situation of houses which did not pass to Peterhouse or some other institution, and therefore that instead of making conjectures as to certain properties which the writer believes to have been situated in that neighbourhood, we will take one house and deal with it—and the points it suggests—in detail in the short chapter which follows this.

It may be added that the *lands* to the south will be alluded to later on.

The following remarks may also be made. Matthew Paris², under date 1257, says “Concessa est mansio fratribus *Bethleemites* in Cantabrigia, scilicet in vico qui ducit versus Trumpintonam.” If this statement—(which, however, is uncorroborated by any other evidence)—is true, the house of the Friars of Bethlehem would perhaps stand somewhere near where we are now searching. But probably the chronicler is confusing them with the Friars of the Sack, who arrived in the following year, and, as we have detailed, settled here. This is the more likely as Matthew Paris (after describing the dress of the Bethlehemite Brothers) goes on to say: “Totque jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata.”

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, “Situs Collegii,” B. 3—5.

² *Hist. Angl.* ed. 1640, p. 949.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MESSAGE OF HERVEY PRIPPE.

It was said, towards the end of the last chapter, that a house would be selected, and would be treated as an example of the messuages in this district and of the questions arising therefrom. We choose the house of Hervey Prippe, which is described in the *Hundred Rolls* in the following terms:

“Hervey Prippe¹ held a messuage, which he bought of the Prior and Convent of Anglesey, who had it of the gift of Robert son of Robert Huberd, who inherited it on the death of his mother Amicia Godsol, who inherited it from her ancestors.”

Now Hervey Prippe cannot have been a young man at the date of the *Hundred Rolls* (1279), for in two Peterhouse deeds² which are undated, but are certainly older than 1568 when Henry III confirmed³ the property mentioned therein to the Friars of the Sack, the de Barton family disposed of a house which had *formerly* belonged to Hervey Prippe. These deeds may have been drawn up soon after 1258, when the Friars began to acquire their Cambridge estate. Now the messuage mentioned in the extract from the *Hundred Rolls* had passed through several hands since the time of Amicia Godsol; and that lady had inherited it “ex successione hereditaria antecessorum suorum,” which vague phrase carries us back doubtless to quite the beginning of the thirteenth century.

This is an illustration showing how our records tell us of the date of these messuages outside the Trumpington Gates;

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 371.

² Peterhouse Treasury, “Situs Collegii,” A. 3, 4.

³ *Ibid.* A. 11.

now let us notice how this same extract hints at the sites of the houses :

Here Hervey Prippe is said to have bought a certain property of the Prior of Anglesey ; while, if we turn to the description of the possessions of that convent, we find that most of it was situated opposite the Chapel of St Edmund's—the position of which will be seen to be that now occupied by Addenbrooke's Hospital. Hervey Prippe perhaps purchased this messuage when he handed over to the family of John de Berton the house which had been owned by himself and his father (Simon the Carter) before him ; and this house, as we learn from the Peterhouse deeds and as we may see in Mr J. W. Clark's plan¹, was situated where the south end of the Fitzwilliam Museum now stands. Yet again, we may gather from the order of mention in the *Hundred Rolls* that Hervey Prippe's messuage was near the property of Thomas, the son of Edmund the Miller, who had bought his estate from Richard Timpon, who had it on the death of his father William Timpon, who had it *ex antiqua emptione*. Now we learn from the document (xv. 112 in the *Miscellaneous Charters* in the Augmentation Office) quoted on pp. 11, 12, that the Prior and Convent of Anglesey had quit-claimed Thomas, "a servant of the University of Cambridge, and Matilda his wife, of all right in two messuages in Mill Street, receiving in exchange one messuage in Trumpington Street between the land of Richard Tunpan and Hervey Prippe." So that we have here an introduction to another neighbour of the latter, and a confirmation of the proximity of the families mentioned.

And the same references to Hervey Prippe bring out other features which will be noticed in these pages—the connexions with the University, the benefactions to churches and monasteries, the family relationships, &c.

For instance, Thomas, "a servant of the University of Cambridge," mentioned in the deed was Thomas de Tuddenham, a well-known University Bedel, and his wife Matilda de Walda²

¹ *Arch. History*, vol. iv. 2.

² *Cambridge Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 48 ; Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 65.

was the wealthy lady, from whom Michael House (and its successor Trinity College) obtained the advowson of St Michael's Church; whilst Master Robert de Bytering¹, whose name is linked with these two in the fine quoted on p. 65, and again referred to on p. 78, was also linked with them for centuries in the public Academic Prayers as a benefactor of the University. Further it will be seen that John Paternoster, the brother-in-law of Hervey Prippe, was the owner of a celebrated hostel.

Again, we not only learn from the same deed how the Prior of Anglesey became possessed of this property and of the rent-charge which Hervey Prippe paid to them, but we read the interesting fact that a prominent and well-to-do citizen Robert Hubert himself became a canon of the convent.

Again, these records bring before us various members of the family. The father Simon the Carter (*Karettarius, le Chareter*) was an old neighbour of the le Rus family chronicled in our next chapter; his son Hervey Prippe we are now dealing with, and his daughter Margaret married first John Paternoster, whose hostel (called after his name) is often alluded to. After his death, she married Simon Potton, a citizen whose name figures in various old deeds. Sabina Paternoster, a daughter of the first marriage, is also similarly mentioned.

This treatment of the possessions of Hervey Prippe, and of questions arising therefrom, illustrates the information which may be obtained from these documents and deeds. It must, however, be admitted that the omission of boundaries and measurements in the *Hundred Rolls*, &c., prevents many of the messages mentioned therein from being mapped out with that exactitude which is possible in the case where a consecutive series of deeds relating to adjacent properties is carefully preserved as in Peterhouse and Pembroke.

¹ *Cambridge Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 63; *Missa pro Benefactoribus*, Stokes's Book in the Univ. Registry.

CHAPTER V.

THE LE RUS FAMILY.

A SPECIAL section must be devoted to a family of considerable importance, whose large, stone house¹ off the Trumpington Road (near where the Fitzwilliam Museum now stands) must have been somewhat conspicuous in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates during the period with which we are dealing.

The family was known by the name of le Rus, or Ruffus, or le Rede, or le Redere. We shall have to refer to at least five generations, beginning in the twelfth century and continuing into the fourteenth.

Eustace² of Maddingley is the first of them whom we meet with, though whether he was connected with our parish is not certain. His son Albric Ruffus³ is included in the Cambridge *Amercement* List of 1177, where he is rated at 13s. 4d.; he is also later on commemorated, in the *Cartulary* still preserved in the archives of St John's College, as a Benefactor of the old Hospital which possessed the advowson of St Peter's Church in Trumpington Street. He seems, however, to have got into the hands of Jewish money-lenders; and in the *Plea Rolls*⁴ of the Exchequer of the Jews, we find several references to his estate. Thus, in the Hilary Term of 1220, we read of a Mandate issued to the Sheriff of Cambridge "that he summon Morice Ruff', John de Litlebir', Everard de Trumpiton, Robert de Madingle,

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

² *Cartulary* in the Treasury of St John's College.

³ Pipe Roll, 23 Henry II, m. 10. d; Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 171.

⁴ *Calendar*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Historical Society), pp. 31, 53, etc.

Henry le Taliur, William Bainard, to be before the Justices at Westminster on the octave of St John, to show by what warrant they entered upon the lands late of Albric de Madingle, which are gages of the King, and that he inquire how much each of them hold and for how long he have held it, &c.”

Later on in the same year, the same Rolls record another mandate to the Sheriff, that by view of lawful men he take into the King's hand the lands late of Albric, which are held by the above-mentioned Maurice Ruff', &c., and which are :

“gages for a debt of the said Albric on Jewish account, the said tenants having made default in the King's Court on the octave of St John the Baptist, and that he do the Justices to wit of the day of caption on Wednesday next after the quindene of the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and that he summon the said tenants for the said day and place to show why they made default of appearance or essoinment on the octave of St John the Baptist.”

Somewhat later, but still in 1220, we find reports as to these tenants; that which concerns Maurice le Rus reading as follows :

“Morice Ruff' goes quit of the debt that is demanded of him on account of the debt of Albric de Madingle, for that the inquest testifies that the 20 acres of land late of the said Albric, which he, Morice, holds, have been held by him and his father for 28 years, and the term of the loan is 15 yrs.”

So three or four other of the tenants go quit; one of them—Geoffrey de Madingle—affirms that he held his share before Alberic had seisin of the said land; while other two of them—John de Litlebir' and Henry le Taliur—having again made default of appearance, their lands are to be retained in the King's hand by the Sheriff, and that officer is to “cause all the corn found thereon to be gathered together and kept safe, and he shall be answerable for the value.”

For nearly a quarter of a century from this date (1220—1244, 5), the *Plea Rolls* of the Exchequer of the Jews are unfortunately missing; otherwise we should doubtless find further references as to the dealings of the le Rus family with Hebrew money-lenders; for we shall in Cambridge documents find incidental allusions to such transactions.

Maurice Ruffus, like his father Albric, was a Benefactor to the Hospital of St John, and that on more than one occasion. For instance, when Eustace, Bishop of Ely, arranged a composition¹ between the Hospital and All Saints' Church, on the convent of St Radegund granting free and pure chantry and free sepulture to the former, Maurice and two other citizens each granted to the Nuns, 12*d.* (arising out of land in the parish of St John Zachary) "to recompense them for any loss which may result to All Saints' Church out of the common land on which the Hospital of St John is situated." The witnesses to the deed included Eustace, Bishop of Ely, R. Barre, Archdeacon of Ely, William, Prior of Barnwell, Fulk, son of Teobald, &c. A consideration of these names fixes the date at about 1208. In this case both the Hospital and the Nunnery were benefited.

Again, as Professor Maitland pointed out in his delightful book *Township and Borough* (pp. 171—3), the Cartulary of St John's contains a copy of a singularly interesting deed which again reveals Maurice le Rus as a Benefactor of the Hospital. This *Carta Mauricii Ruffi de quindecim acris terre et de quadam terra in Judaismo* is given in full in Maitland, who says "it seems to come from King John's day or thereabouts." It commences as follows:

Sciant etc. quod ego Mauricius Ruffus de Cantebrige dedi et concessi et hac mea carta confirmavi in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum Deo et Hospitali Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Cantebrige illam medietatem tocius terre mee in Judaismo de Cantebrige, que medietas est versus portam de Bernewelle, et preterea quindecim acras terre in campis de Cantebrige ex utraque parte aque—

a lengthened description of the plots of land following. The witnesses are *Domini* Peter de Niwenham, John de Ry and Hugo, chaplains, *Magister* Walter de Wylburham, Hervey son of Eustace, Robert Seman, Adam, son of Eustace, &c. It will be noted that Maurice had again had dealings with the Jews. The Johnian Cartulary also contains a ratification by John le Rus of his father's benefaction: "Confirmatio Johannis Ruffi

¹ *Priory of St Radegund, C. A. S.* xxxi. p. 109.

de medietate predicte terre in judaismo et de predictis quindecim acris terre," whereby we see that the money-lenders had still a lien on the part which was situated "versus portam de Bernewelle."

The residence of Maurice Rus on the west side of the Trumpington Road must have been one of the chief dwelling-places in Cambridge—though it was rivalled by the mansion of the St Edmund's family across the street, where Addenbrooke's Hospital now stands. Each of these estates had its large house and court, its chapel and its cemetery; while the respective owners were renowned for their generosity and benefactions, and for their patronage of religious churches and societies. At the coming of the Friars, the brethren found a welcome (as we shall see) on both sides of the Trumpington Road. Indeed both estates passed eventually entirely into the hands of the new-comers; the Friars of the Sack succeeding to the property of the le Rus family and the Canons of Sempringham occupying the St Edmund's estate.

Stone houses were rare in those days, but the le Rus family rivalled the Jews from whom they borrowed money, by imitating them in the material of which their house was built. In their court they built a chapel dedicated to the honour of *St Lucy*. The property being in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Trumpington Gates, and that church being in the patronage of the Hospital of St John—indeed the Prior and the brethren were accustomed to speak of St Peter's as *parochia nostra*—there was, of course, no difficulty in obtaining permission for this ecclesiastical independence. Baker¹ quotes from an old Register at St John's a deed entitled "Concessio Rectoris Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Mauritio Ruffo et heredibus suis Cantarie in Capella sua in parochia Sancti Petri extra portam Trumpington." The witnesses to this grant included: Laurence, Prior of Barnwell, and Magister Richard of Leicester, Chancellor of the University.

The date of the death of Maurice le Rus is not known; but in the year 1232, there is a record² among the *Fines* relating

¹ MSS. xix. (7046), p. 227.

² *Camb. Fines, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 16.*

to the County of Cambridge: "William de St Edmund and Alice his wife by Walter his son *v.* John Ruffus in Cantebr." This suggests that John was now the head of the great family on the west side of Trumpington Road; it is to be hoped that it does not imply a quarrel with the great house on the east side. If this was the case, the misunderstanding was not lasting; for some time after, we read that John le Rus was the donor¹ of two acres and three roods of land to Robert, rector of the Chapel of St Edmund; while (as we shall see later on) the St Edmund's family will figure as benefactors to those *protégés* of John, the Friars of the Sack.

The following curious document², preserved at Peterhouse, relates, it will be seen, to the private chapel of St Lucy in the court of the le Rus estate:

"Christinus miseratione divina Lymiticensis ecclesie humilis minister ...omnibus quorum Diocesani hanc nostram ratam habuerint Indulgentiam, concedit intransibibus capellam in curia Johannis Rufi extra portam de Trumpeton, in honorem Beate Lucie Grantebrie erectam, et dicentibus orationem dominicam semel pro Episcopo Helyensi Episcopo Sarum, et universis Regni hujus Episcopis, secundo pro ecclesia Helyensi et Sarum et eorum Benefactoribus et pro statu Ecclesie Anglicane et Regni, tertio pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum xx dies misericorditer relaxat: Dat: Grantebrie: an: 1245."

The present writer has been unable to identify the Bishop's official or Suffragan Bishop who issued this licence; which, however, testifies either to the religious zeal of John le Rus, or to the notoriety of his private chapel.

Turning to his civic life, it may be noted that John Ruffus was an active townsman, whose name appears in the list of Mayors³ of Cambridge, and who often figures as a witness in various legal and other transactions. Beside the family estate, with which we are dealing, he was connected with several other properties in the neighbourhood, holding houses and land on both sides of the Trumpington Road. He was also possessed, as we shall see, of a horse-mill⁴ (*molendinum equicium*) in Milne

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. p. 372.

² Peterhouse Treasury, F. 1.

³ Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 134.

⁴ Barnwell *Liber Memorandum*, p. 160.

Street, where part of King's College is now situated. He does not, however, seem to have been so prosperous as these statements might imply; for we find him, like his father and grandfather, having recourse to the Jews, and he appears to have let his principal house, which indeed he eventually sold.

The last-mentioned transactions may be referred to in detail.

From the *Plea Rolls*¹ of the Exchequer of the Jews, in the Easter Term of 1253, we find that "John le Rus offered himself on the fourth day against Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, touching a plea of account. Isaac making default of appearance, let the writ issue again, and let him come on the octave of Holy Trinity, and let the Sheriff [Simon de Hockton] be present to hear his judgment; and Isaac of Senlis, Josce of Wilton, and Aaron Le Blund, Isaac's mainperners, are in mercy." John Ruffus seems, therefore, to have got the better of this affair; but it is to be feared that, if some of the Plea Rolls of that date were not lost, the record might be different.

He himself was apparently residing² in an unpretentious house on his estate (*parvum mesuagium*), separated by walls from his principal mansion, which was a large stone house (*magnum mesuagium lapideum*). In this house was dwelling a well-known and remarkable man, Simon de Ascellis³; who, having graduated in arts in the University of Oxford, had proceeded to read law at Cambridge. He held various positions of importance, among others that of official of the Bishop of Ely—Hugh de Balsham, the founder of Peterhouse. During a period, however, of illness and infirmity, he became a member of the Priory of Barnwell. Recovering his strength, he proved himself so useful in various capacities, that on the death of Jolan, he was elected head of that celebrated monastery, over which he ruled for more than 30 years (1265—1297).

Returning to the Stone House, which Simon de Ascellis had deserted for the Barnwell Monastery, it should be remarked that, somehow or other, the fee⁴ of that mansion had passed

¹ *Calendar*, edited by J. M. Rigg (Jewish Hist. Soc.), p. 119.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

³ *Ibid.* A. 9, 26; Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* pp. 73, 128.

⁴ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 218.

into the hands of the Canons of that Priory; it may be that Simon himself had something to do with the transaction.

Of this we are reminded when we turn to the following striking and characteristic incident in the times of the coming of the Friars. Among the minor orders of these remarkable men, there arose a body calling themselves "the Friars of the Sack, or *De Penitentia*," "because their dress was cut without other form than that of a simple bag or sack, and made of coarse cloth, like sackcloth." A band of these Brethren¹ arrived in England about 1257, and in the following year some of these proceeded to Cambridge. Entering the University town from the south by the Trumpington Road, one of the first buildings which they would notice was the Stone House of John le Rus. The interesting Friars would appeal to the religious feelings of the owner of that mansion, and if, as is probable, he was anxious to let the building, we cannot be surprised at what followed; an account of which may best be given in the graphic words of that entertaining volume, *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (p. 218), which thus relates how the Friars of the Sack "bought a messuage from John le Rus, and effected a friendly arrangement with Prior Jolan in 1258":

"Fratres de penitencia Jhesu Christi emerunt principale mesuagium Johannis le Rus ex opposito capelle Sancti Edmundi, sed quia illud messuagium fuit de feodo canonicorum de Bernewelle Prior Jolanus impediuit seysinam eorum etc. Tunc venit idem Johannes le Rus cum ipsis fratribus ad Priorem Jolanum, et cum lacrimis petiuit gratiam eius, et licenciam ut permetteret eos etc. Et fecit quoddam scriptum obligatorium anno domini .m^o.cc^o.lvij^o, in quo recognouit se teneri in .xxvij. solidis .xj. denariis annui redditus etc., et obligauit molendinum equicum suum in Milnestrate etc."

There are several deeds and conveyances still existing, in connexion with the transfer of property thus obtained by the tears and the bond of John le Rus; not to mention the Royal Licence² afterwards obtained in ratification of the estate thus acquired, and afterwards extended, by the Friars of Penance.

We are not told what alterations were made by these

¹ Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 241.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 11.

Brethren. Doubtless the principal mansion was spacious enough to accommodate at least the first arrivals; but we may assume that they proceeded to enlarge the private chapel, for we find in one¹ of the deeds permission is specially granted "ad construendam ecclesiam in dicto tenemento in honore Jesu Christi et sue beate Matris"; and indeed the chapel is henceforth described as an *ecclesia*. But the family of le Rus made a stipulation² about the offering of a certain quantity of wax for the sustenance of a light before the altar of St Lucy on the day dedicated to that saint, "dum celebratur servicium beate lucie virginis eodem die." Later on, the cemetery³ of the Friars is mentioned.

John le Rus and Alice his wife seem to have been childless, and to have adopted as their heir a nephew, Hugh le Rus⁴, the son of Gilbert le Rus of Heckington (or Hokyton, or Oakington), in which village he and his wife held property under the Prior of Barnwell. The date of the death of John le Rus is not known, but it occurred before 1279, as in that year there is dated a "covenant⁵ between Dame Alice, relict of John le Rus, and the Brethren of the Penance of Jesus, at Cambridge, as to their place of abode."

It may be mentioned that there was another branch of the family living more to the north side of the town, near the great bridge; the head of which was named Aunger⁶ le Rus. His son Robert (who is styled *Magister*, and was therefore probably a member of the University) gave⁷ to his kinsman on the south some 15 acres of land lying in two cultures, one in the Trumpington fields and the other "ad capud ville de Cantebrig' ab opposito Capelle Sancti Edmundi." Alice, the widow, surrendered her claim in this property to Hugh the nephew. If he is the same individual as Hugh le Rede, as is very probable, he resided in a house⁸ next to the Peterhouse hostels.

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 2.

² *Ibid.* A. 9. ³ *Ibid.* B. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* B. 15; Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* pp. 161, 219; *Rot. Hund.* ii. 367.

⁵ Wren's Inventory, Peterhouse; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, i. p. 78.

⁶ *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 358, 367, 8.

⁷ Cole MS. vol. xii.

⁸ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," B. 9.

Hugh le Rus, like the rest of the family, seems at times to have been in pecuniary difficulties. Three paragraphs in the interesting *Barnwell Book*¹ edited by the Registry give a remarkable description of how the Prior was entitled (as we have already seen) to a rent from the mill² of John le Rus, and how on his death his successor and nephew Hugh, seeing the mill ruinous and burdened with a heavy rent, removed parts thereof to the hostel of Guy Mortimer, so that the Prior lost his dues. There follows a curious quotation from the Assize Roll of Trinity Term, 1286, giving a record of an action brought by the Barnwell authorities for the recovery of the rent. Hugh le Rus did not appear, but his friend pleaded that the mill had been partly demolished in an early "Rag," certain University-men (*quidam clerici universitatis Cantebrigie*) having carried off portions of the spoil! A verdict, however, was given in favour of the Prior.

As the 12th century closes, we have a record³ telling us how Sabina the rich widow of John of Aylesham purchased some of the property which still remained in the hands of Hugh. After this transaction we hear no more of the varied fortunes of the le Rus family.

¹ *Barnwell Lib. Mem.* p. 161.

² This mill was (as noted above, pp. 39, 40) in *Milne Street*; whose name is sometimes said to import that it led to the Mills on the river. But this is surely a mistake; for it led to *Small Bridges Street*. It was doubtless called *Milne Street* because it contained the mill mentioned in the text and another mill belonging to *Corpus* (*Hailstone's Bottisham*, p. 293).

³ *Peterhouse Treasury*, "Situs Collegii," B. 11.

CHAPTER VI.

TRUMPINGTON ROAD. THE EAST SIDE.

WE now return to St Botolph's Church, or rather to the Trumpington Gates, and proceed thence systematically southwards along the east side of the King's Highway.

The first one hundred and more yards of the Road are at present occupied by the various frontal buildings of Pembroke. In the Master's Lodge of that College, there is a set of volumes¹, most elaborately compiled by the late Dr Ainslie. These writings are admirably summarised in the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, where they are illustrated by a well-drawn plan. But Messrs Willis and Clark are, of course, dealing with the 14th century and onwards; whereas we have to endeavour to realise the circumstances of the 13th.

Documents in the Treasuries of St John's, Peterhouse, Pembroke and Corpus have therefore been consulted² in the hope of tracing backward the history of some of the properties.

Beginning at the corner of what is now Pembroke Street—formerly called (among other names) "Plot and Nuts Lane," it will be remembered that the parish of St Botolph stretches for some 30 or 40 feet down the Trumpington Road. The house standing upon this corner site was that which in the year 1346 was purchased³ from Hervey de Stanton, rector of Elm, by the Countess who founded and gave her name to the College. The

¹ The present writer is much indebted to the Master of Pembroke for his courtesy in allowing him to consult these volumes on several occasions.

² The writer is grateful to the authorities of these Colleges for their kind courtesy.

³ *Registrum Magnum*, Pembroke Coll. i. 21; Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. 122.

property had previously belonged to Master Robert de Brigham¹ and Matilda his wife; and in the year following the Stanton transaction, a fine was levied in the Town Court at the Guildhall between the Countess and the Brighams, confirming the transfer—"et pro hac recognicione, remissione quieti clamancia fine et concordia predicta Maria dedit predictis Roberto et Matilda unum Esperuarium sorum." The fact that Robert de Brigham and Hervey de Stanton were members of the University doubtless facilitated the contracts.

The Brighams had obtained the property from Henry de Eversdon and Elena his wife in the year 1336, as is evidenced by another fine levied in the same Court.

Master Hervey de Stanton had also to obtain the consent of John de Berton in connexion with the acquisition of the messuage, as he previously had sought the permission of another John de Berton, uncle of the former.

The de Bertons were a well-known Cambridge family, with property in various parts of the town. We have already dealt with a messuage on the west side of the road belonging to the uncle here named, and the *Hundred Rolls* (1279) speak of property held by them in St Botolph's parish.

We now come to the parish of St Peter-outside-the-Gates (now called St Mary-the-Less), which on the east side of the Trumpington Road reached from the present gate of Pembroke College to just beyond what is now called Fitzwilliam Street.

The first messuage was one of singular interest, both because the deeds relating to it date back to the 12th century and because it was one of the earliest possessions of the University, in whose hands it remained for upwards of a century until it was handed over in 1351 to the new College of Pembroke.

An early document² preserved at that college tells how "Fabianus Capellanus filius Rogeri Capellani" granted to

¹ C. H. Cooper, *C. A. S.* v. p. 169. This Robert de Brigham was doubtless the brother of St Mary's Gild, whose name occurs among the Benefactors of Corpus Christi College. Josselin's *Historiola*, *C. A. S.* xvii. 37; Masters's *History of C. C. C.* p. 60; *Camb. Gilds*, *C. A. S.* xxxix. 23, 24, 97, 134, 135.

² Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 1 (formerly A. 16).

the Church of St Giles of Barnwell and the canons thereof "quoddam mesuagium apud Cantebrug' extra portam de Trumpit' illud scilicet quod jacet inter terram Thome Doi et inter terram quam Humfrid' tenuit de ecclesia sancti Petri." The seal of Fabianus Capellanus is appended, and the following witnesses attested the deed: Bartholomew Chaplain, Robert Seman, Maurice Ruffus, Absalon "filius sacerdotis," Hervey Gogging, Richard de Barnwell, Walter son of Master Geoffrey, Roger Prat, Richard Saladin, Robert son of Basilie, Eustace de Banz, and many others. These names suggest a date about the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

After a while the Barnwell authorities conveyed¹ the property back to William and Richard the sons of Fabian Capellanus and to Havise and Margaret his daughters. The Prior of Barnwell who granted the conveyance was William [of Devon], who presided over the canons from 1208 to 1213, and the witnesses include Batholomew Chaplain, Hugh of St John's, Absolon "filius sacerdotis," Maurice Ruffus, Hervey Gogging and Michael his son, William Wulsi, and John Lance.

The document was, in later times, endorsed "Universitas Cantebr' tenet," "Johannes Michaelis tenet," "Clerici de Pembrok Hall tenent"; "unde sciendum (says a note) quod Camera Magna ex parte australi Magne Porte juxta Viam Regium in Trumpiton Str. est sita super fundum quondam Fabiani presbyteri."

Fabian's children passed the property over to the Hospital of St John (though the present writer has not seen the deeds of conveyance); and Richard [de Cheverel], Master of the Hospital, &c., granted it to Henry, son of Henry le Daubur. The estate is described as "totum mesuagium nostrum...inter mesuagium Walteri Bagge et mesuagium Margarete Goggyng." Besides a sum paid, a perpetual rent of two shillings was charged. The witnesses include Hugh son of Aspolon, John "Carnifex," William de Cotes, Walter Lord [of Berton], Simon "ad molendinum," Ambrose de Newnham, Martin Brithnoth, Reginald Sherewind, Simon Cheverel and Thomas Hardy. Copies of this Carta pro annuali redditu Sancti Johannis

¹ Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 2.

Cantabrig' are preserved¹ at both St John's and Pembroke Colleges.

The property afterwards passed into the hands of Roger de Heydon, but when and how the transfer took place is not known—there are no documents at Pembroke relating to the transaction. Cole the antiquary, however, in one of his volumes, transcribes a very curious deed², which he says was lent to him by Mrs Chettoe, the widow of Dr Charles Mason. It is entitled "Carta feoffans Dominum Rogerum Colyn per Herveu Gogind (sic) de Domibus extra Portam de Troppington (sic) versus Molendinum": and tells how Hervey son of John Goging gave to Roger Colin de Hedon for five silver marks

"totam illam terram cum edificiis inter terram quondam Simonis Bagge et terram Ouberni filii Colini Wambe in parochia Sancti Benedicti Cantabr' extra fossatum ville ex occidentali parte Porte que dicitur Trumpeton Gate et extendit se a via super Fossatum usque terram quondam Walteri de Sancto Eadmundo, etc."

The witnesses include Peter de Wilburgham, Peter de Welles, William Elyot, Robert de Maddingle, Colin Morier (?), Hervey "Mercator," Walter and Simon his brothers, Reginald Scherwynd, John son of Michael Gogging, John Martin (?), &c.

Whether Roger de Heydon (who is sometimes called "Dominus Heiddon Miles") is the same as Dominus Roger Colyn de Hedon is a question, and whether the property mentioned in this deed is the same as the messuage with which we are dealing is also uncertain; some of the "buttings and boundings" do not tally, though there are several points of similarity.

At any rate the tenement passed into the possession of Roger de Heydon. By that benefactor the property³ was given to the University, together with another building⁴ in St Benet's

¹ Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 3; *Cartulary in St John's College Treasury*.

² Cole, B. M. MS. vol. 5813, p. 236 b.

³ Pembroke Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 4; *Registrum Librorum*, University Register; Baker MS. xxxi. p. 326; *Chaplains of the Univ.*, C. A. S. xli. pp. 3, etc.

⁴ Caius College Treasury, i. 13; *Historiola C. C. C.*, Josselin, edited by J. W. Clark, M.A., C. A. S. xvii. p. 59; Baker MS. xxix. p. 276.

parish, near where the Chapel of Corpus Christi College now stands. The date of the gift is not known; but it was before the compilation of the *Hundred Rolls* (1279). Dr Ainslie asserts that "the University held this messuage under lease before it was given them by Roger de Haydon," apparently founding this statement on the indorsement mentioned above: "Universitas Cantabr' tenet."

This tenement¹ remained in the hands of the University—being known as "Hospitium Universitatis Cantabrigie"—during the remainder of the thirteenth century, and for more than half of the fourteenth—until 1351, on the 11th day of December of which year, Richard de Lyng, the Chancellor, and the assembly of Master Regent and Non-Regent conveyed it to the Keeper and Scholars of the Hall of the Countess of Pembroke—that lady making a covenant with the University authorities on the following day. The building is described² as having been acquired by the University "ex dono et feoffamento quondam Rogeri de Haydon, et jacet dictum messagium inter messuagium quondam Johannis de Holm ex parte australi et messuagium predictorum Custodis et Scholarium ex parte boreali." Pembroke was annually to pay a rose on the day of the Nativity of St John the Baptist; and, by the terms of the covenant, a fit chaplain was "in missis suis cotidianis" to recommend and remember the soul of Roger de Haydon, and yearly to commemorate the anniversary-day of the said Benefactor³ in the parish Church of St Mary-the-Less (by which title St Peter's was now called).

It may be added that 20 years later⁴ the Prior of Barnwell released a rent of 9*d.*, and the Master of St John's Hospital

¹ Fuller's *History*, edited by Prickett and Wright, p. 60; Cole MS. xii. p. 184.

² Pembroke College Treasury, "Situs Collegii," C. 4; Baker MS. xxvi. pp. 96, 97.

³ Baker MS. xxvi. pp. 96, 97. Sir Roger de Haydon was the donor of a book to Pembroke College; see Dr Corrie's List of Books at Pembroke (C. A. S. x. 21), though neither he nor the Provost of King's recognizes one of the earliest of Cambridge Benefactors. The *Gradual* which was thus received "ex dono Domini Heiddon Militis" was long preserved in the College; but it is now lost, and the memory of the donor forgotten.

⁴ Dr Ainslie's Book in the Master's Lodge, p. 10.

the rent of 2*s.*, which they had for so long received from the messuage.

This is not the place to record the subsequent history of the buildings, and of those which succeeded them; but it may be remarked, as indeed has already been pointed out, that the old University Hostel seems to have included a large room¹ (*camera magna*) on the south side of the great gate, at the south-west corner of the buildings on the Trumpington Road.

Proceeding with the tenements southwards, there is some difficulty in identifying the properties mentioned in the numerous deeds which are still preserved—for the messuages changed hands very frequently, and some persons owned more than one portion, while certain records are lost, and some refer to plots of land and others to buildings. But doubtless Dr Ainslie's order of the next few houses may be accepted.

We need not here refer to meadows or orchards to the east of the frontal buildings, nor to one or two tenements which perhaps stood upon those plots of land.

Next to the University Hostel was a messuage afterwards known as Cosyn's place—"quod ante fuerat Beatricis Cosyn," says a Pembroke note². The abuttals mentioned in the Haydon building tell us that our messuage was formerly held by John de Holm, and previously by some of the Gogging family, and, away back in the days of Fabian Capellanus, Humfridus dwelt there, being a tenant of St Peter's Church across the road. It is not necessary here to trace the later history of "Cosyn's Place"; but it may be mentioned that, in the year 1351, William de Horwod and Simon de Sleaford gave to John de Wystowe and Margaret his wife the messuage, quod quidem messuagium habuimus de dono et feoffamento Johannis de Holm de Cantebrig'. It is said to be situated "inter tenementum pertinens universitati ex una parte et tenementum Cantarie Beate Marie ecclesie Sancti Petri ex altera parte; et abuttat super viam regiam et super venellam que ducit usque

¹ Pembroke College, "Situs Collegii," C. 2. See also an interesting note on the rebuilding (in later times) "of the old hall of the University Hostel"; Baker MS. vii. (7034), p. 185.

² Baker MS. vii. (7034), pp. 178, 9.

Swynescroft." It subsequently passed through the hands of certain burgesses and of various trustees—including some well-known University officials—before it became the property of the scholars of Pembroke.

In "the buttings and boundings" just quoted the next building going southwards is a tenement of the Chantry of St Mary belonging to the Church of St Peter. This, however, was not founded till a later date than that with which we are dealing, if it be that endowed¹, in the year 1348, 9, by John Cotton, John Blancpaine, and others. (The first-named of these founders was, it will be remembered, the owner of a mansion on the other side of the road, to the north of St Peter's Church.) The tenement which was thus attached to the Chantry had formerly belonged to Robert Codeham, and before his time to William Godlamb; while in the former part of the 13th century, in the time of Fabian, it had formed part of the property which Humfridus held under the Church of St Peter.

A narrow lane² separated this messuage from the next tenement, which much later on was known as "Knapton Place." It is described as "a messuage with a croft," and a long list of occupiers is preserved, including the aforesaid John de Holme, William Wyatt, Thomas Young, and—"diu ante"—Robert Winhose "of Grant-brigg." This is thought by Dr Ainslie and others to be the same as "Bolton Place"; but some of the deeds³ seem to deal with them as distinct properties. The above-mentioned John Wistow is stated to have been a former occupier of "Bolton Place."

The next messuage was a celebrated building, which was for generations known as "St Thomas's Hostel."

This property in the former part of the 13th century had belonged⁴ partly to Peter the chaplain of Newnham and partly to Matilda the wife of Nigellus Hareng—by whom, in her widowhood, her share was given to the Hospital of St John. The messuage is said to lie between land which had belonged

¹ Baker MS. vii. (7034), pp. 178, 9.

² Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist.* i. p. 124, n. 1.

³ Baker MS. vii. (7034), pp. 178, 9.

⁴ St John's Treasury, St Peter's Parish Deeds.

to Fabian Presbyter and land of Walter the son of Simon. The witnesses to the deed of gift were Robert Seman, Adam son of Eustace, Michael and John sons of Hervey, Martin Brithnoth (the above-mentioned), Walter son of Simon, Robert of St Edmund's, John "filius Decani" and William "de Hybernia." The Prior and Brethren of St John's Hospital owned the property for more than two centuries until the year 1451, when Laurence Booth¹ was head of Pembroke College, that master

"dimissionem obtinet a fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Evangeliste tenementi cujusdam hic in vicino ad 80 annos inde, et deinde ad 80 alios; sicque quamdiu Magistro et sociis nostris videbitur, pro quo etiamnum solvimus Collegio Divi Joannis annuatim xiiis. ivd."

For more than four centuries and a half, the same rent has been paid by Pembroke to St John's. The abuttals in 1451 are given as: N., a tenement of the College or Hall of Valence; S., a tenement of St John's Hospital; E., Swincroft; W., the King's Highway.

It will have been noticed, in the statement as to the southern boundary of St Thomas's Hostel, that the adjacent property also belonged to St John's Hospital. A late record², under date 1531, refers to this same property. It is a deed of feoffment of a messuage in St Mary's without Trumpington Gates, sold by Nicholas Metcalf, D.D., Master of St John's, &c., to Thomas Goldsborough of Cambridge, Matthew Watson, B.A., fellow of the College of Mary Valence or Pembroke Hall, John Chapman, burgess of Cambridge, Richard Johnson and Andrew Young of the same town. The messuage lay between

"Saynt Thomas hostell ex parte boreali, et tenementum pertinens Cantarie beate Marie virginis in Cemeterio Ecclesie beate Marie virginis predicte ex parte australi, uno capite inde abuttante super regiam viam versus occidentem, alio vero capite inde abuttante super Campum vocatum Saynt Thomas Layes versus orientem."

St John's reserved an annual rent of 6*d.*, and this sum is still yearly paid to that College from the ground now occupied by the Lodge inhabited by the Master of Peterhouse. This

¹ References as in the two preceding notes.

² St John's Treasury, St Peter's Parish Box; Baker-Mayor, i. 350.

perhaps suggests that the extent of St Thomas's Hostel and its grounds was somewhat larger than is sometimes thought, and that this messuage (which was perhaps also a Hostel) may have reached rather more to the south.

The southern abuttal of the last messuage was "a tenement belonging to the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Cemetery of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary." We have seen above that this Chantry possessed another house a little more to the north.

We have, in dealing with the east side of Trumpington Road, mentioned several messuages which were connected¹ with St John's. That Hospital owned at least one other property on the same side, further to the south. A deed, preserved in the College² which represents the old Hospital, records the gift by Robert de Aspale, chaplain and rector of the Church of Eyworthe, to the scholars and brothers of the Hospital of two messuages—"edificata et non edificata...cum pertinentibus in villa et extra villam." They are said to be situated between the lands of John de Aylesham on the south and John de Redgrave on the north, and to reach from the Great Street to the Field called Swynecroft on the east. An endorsement assigns the tenement to Peter Smith. The date of this deed—1282—is a point of singular interest, for the property was given to St John's Hospital—"scolaribus et fratribus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Cantebrig'"—during the memorable years of Bishop Hugh de Balsham's experiment—the experiment which failed to unite the secular students and the religious canons under the same roof.

There were also properties on the east side which passed into the hands of Peterhouse. Indeed that ancient College

¹ Richard Parker (*History*, p. 32) says of a Hostel called *St Edmund's* [cf. Caius, *Hist.* p. 51] that it formerly belonged to the Hospital of St John. He identifies it, in his time, with "a Brewhouse, called *Chopping Knife*, before the Lesser Church of St Mary." Fuller (*History*, p. 57), apparently copying this, places the Hostel "against Little St Mary's." The date of its use for academic purposes, however, is not known, nor its exact situation; but it may be one of the properties of St John's Hospital mentioned above in the text.

² St John's, box of Deeds relating to the Parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates.

still possesses several houses opposite to the Fitzwilliam Museum. It will be remembered that certain messuages on the west side of the road passed to the foundation of Bishop Hugh de Balsham through John and Sabina de Aylesham and through Master Robert de Wynwick. There are records of properties held by these persons on the east side of Trumpington Road, and it may be these refer to the houses just mentioned as now owned by the College. The deeds, however, it must be acknowledged are preserved in the archives of Corpus.

John de Aylesham, for instance, had property to the south of the messuage given to St John's and detailed in the last paragraph; and there are two or three documents¹ extant wherein his widow Sabina passes on to a namesake—Sabina, daughter of Robert of Fulsham—a garden in Swinecroft and a messuage, which is said to lie between houses belonging formerly to Henry Pykeryl and to Master Hugh de Hulmo, and later on to Robert de Berton and to Thomas de Hulmo. The donor is described as “Sabina Hasselof, quondam relicta Johannis de Haylesham.”

“Sabina Asselof” had as a neighbour, or fellow-owner, in this, or some other messuage on the east side of the road, Robert de Wynwick; several of whose possessions eventually passed to Peterhouse, of which his nephew—of the same name—was afterwards Master. The property² in question, which was sold by Robert de Wynwick, in 1304, to John Harsnet, rector of the Church of Cotes, is described as

“una placea curie mee...contra ecclesiam Sancti Petri...inter messuagium Sabine Asselof ex una parte et inter messuagium Willⁱ Gladewyn ex altera parte, et abuttat super Swynecroft ad unum capud et ad aliud super curiam meam.”

Another messuage³, which belonged to Robert de Wynwick, sen., and which afterwards passed to his nephew, lay between messuages belonging respectively to the Prior of Anglesey and to John Paternoster and reaching from the King's highway to the land of “the Brothers of Semplingham.” Master Robert

¹ Cole MS. ii. (5803), pp. 56 b and 57.

² *Ibid.* xii. (5813), p. 123 b.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 121 b, 122 b (3 deeds).

de Wynwick, the warden of the Chapel of Steresbregge, had acquired it in the year 1300 from John de Bradenache, who had married Johanna, one of the daughters of Thomas, son of Edmund, the butcher. The latter had given the property to his daughters Johanna and Margaret five years previously.

The mention of the name of John Paternoster reminds us that he was the owner of a celebrated hostel¹ called after his name. "Paternoster Hostel" appears to have stood on the east side of Trumpington Street towards the end of the street, reaching back to Swinecroft. John Paternoster seems to have been a man of some position and property; his name occurs as a witness in many contemporary deeds. He married Margaret the daughter of Simon the Carter, of whom and his son Hervey Prippe mention has been made in a previous chapter. John Paternoster² died some time before the compilation of the *Hundred Rolls*, wherein (1279) there are references to property in our neighbourhood inherited by his widow (who had married again, to Simon de Potton) and by his daughter Sabina.

"Paternosterishostel extra Trumpitonegatis" afterwards passed³ to William Foster, who gave it (8 Edward III) to Roger le Chandler and Edousa his daughter formerly the wife of Thomas Attechapel⁴.

There are still four or five names to be mentioned of persons who according to the *Hundred Rolls* possessed property in the parish of St Peter-without-the-Gates, and as they nearly all paid certain rent-charges to the St Edmund's family, we may suppose that they were situated near to the estate now occupied by Addenbrooke's Hospital.

William de Sauston⁵, a chaplain, for instance, paid two shillings annually to Luke de St Edmund's, on a message which had been given him by Matilda Sephare, in whose family it had long been.

¹ Wright and Jones, *Memorials*, Parish of St Mary-the-Less, p. 8; Cole MS. xii. p. 123.

² *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 387.

³ Cole MS. xii. (5813), p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 122 b.

⁵ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 371.

John Perin also held a neighbouring property which he had bought of the Convent of Lavendene, to whom it had been given by Cecilia Godsol, a pious member of a well-known Cambridge family; and he paid a rent-charge (of 4*d.*) to the St Edmund's estate, on behalf of a messuage which had belonged to his brother Patrick de Welles, who had bought it of John of Histon, who had bought it of Simon Fot, in whose family it had formerly been. The house must, therefore, have been of some antiquity.

Another messuage, which had of old belonged to the Fot family, had passed, through the hands of Alexander Atteburne (and apparently of the above-mentioned Patrick Welles) to Alan Attepond.

Lastly, the *Hundred Rolls* record two messuages held by Peter Swyn¹, four generations at least of whose family held the property, which reached back to the land doubtless called after their name *Swinecroft*. On one of their houses they paid a rent-charge (of 8*d.*) to the St Edmund's family.

To the St Edmund's estate and its owners a separate chapter must be given.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 377.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ST EDMUND'S FAMILY.

WE have seen how conspicuous, on the west side of the Trumpington Road, was the estate of the le Rus family—with their stone house, their large court, their chapel, their smaller dwelling-places, and their closes and fields reaching back to the fen-land by the river. We have noted the varying fortunes of the leading members of the family, and their influence and official position in the town of Cambridge. We have seen, too, the pious gifts made by them to various churches and religious communities; and, indeed, how finally their estate itself passed, at the coming of the Friars, into the hands of the Brothers of Penitence.

We must now notice how, on the other side of the road, another great family—the St Edmund's—had their large house (doubtless, also of stone), their court, their chapel (even larger than that across the way), and their fields and lands, extending even more widely away to the west. This family, too, had its members influential in Town and University. They also were renowned for pious gifts; and their estate finally passed over (as we shall see) to the Canons of Sempringham.

The chapel, which was dedicated to St Edmund King and Martyr, must have been a building of some importance, for it is often styled an *ecclesia*, and official allusions are made to the patronage thereof; further, it was in the charge of a *custos* or warden, as will be seen a little later on.

The patronage was in the hands of the family in the great house on the estate; indeed they took their name from their

patron saint, being styled (say) Thomas of St Edmund's or Walter "at the Church of St Edmund."

The head of the family in the early part of the 13th century was William of St Edmund's; he had obtained the property by his marriage¹ with Alice, daughter of Master Geoffrey, of Cambridge. Alice is said, in the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 372), to have inherited the property ex successione antiqua antecessorum suorum. We may presume, therefore, that Master Geoffrey was one of those who had previously had possession of the estate. He seems to have been a person of considerable importance; the word *Magister* is always prefixed to his name, signifying doubtless his connexion with the University. In certain deeds he is described as "Master Geoffrey, official²"—perhaps under the Bishop of Ely. He had a son Walter, whose early death³ we may assume from the fact that the property passed to his sister Alice and her husband William of St Edmund's. All these persons—Walter, the son of Master Geoffrey, Alice his sister, William de St Edmund's her husband, together with Roger and Walter sons of the latter, and other members of the family—are mentioned as benefactors in the Charters of the Priory of St Radegund. William de St Edmund's and Alice his wife (acting through their son Walter) were concerned in the year 1232 in a suit⁴ against the owner of the Stone House across the road; but from the records of another case eight years later, we find that William was then dead. Walter de St Edmund's became the head of the family; but, earlier still, his name occurs in various transactions. We learn, for instance, from the St Radegund deeds⁵, that "Walter fitzWilliam of St Edmund's released to the Nuns his rights in the advowson of St Clement's Church, confirming the grants thereof made by his ancestor, Hugh FitzAbsalon, and his uncle Walter."

¹ *Priory of St Radegund, C. A. S.* xxxi. p. 107.

² *Ibid.* p. 85.

³ His widow is spoken of as "*domina Elena que fuit uxor Walteri filii Magistri Galfridi*," in deed in the Treasury of Corpus Christi College.

⁴ *Camb. Fines, C. A. S.* xxvi. p. 16.

⁵ *St Radegund, C. A. S.* xxxi. p. 121.

Walter of St Edmund's had at least three children¹, Thomas, Luke and Cecilia. Master Thomas of St Edmund's (as he is always called) succeeded to the estate on the death of his father. He was doubtless a member of the University; and was (as we have seen) a benefactor to the Nuns of St Radegund and to the Friars of the Sack.

On his death the property passed to his brother Luke of St Edmund's, as we are informed by the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 372) which speak of a messuage, &c., in the parish of St Peter outside the Trumpiton' gate (referring of course to the house, &c., with which we are dealing), and of a horse-mill (*molendinum equum*) in the market of Cambridge, together with seventy acres in the Cambridge fields. Thence he paid two marks and a half annually to Sir Ralph Pyrot and the lady Cassandra, his wife, by the assignment of Sir Giles de Argentein, and to the bailiffs of Cambridge, who held the fee farm of the town, gavel 25s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Sir Giles de Argentein was probably the patron² of the living of St Benet, the parish in which the St Edmund's property was situated; though Luke had inherited the advowson³ of the chapel on the estate.

A comparison of two of the St Radegund Charters⁴, dated respectively 1282 and 1284, suggests that Luke was dead in the latter year, and that the inheritance had passed to his sister Cecilia.

This lady, in the year 1290, handed over⁵ to the Master and Brethren of the order of Sempringham the advowson of the Chapel of St Edmund, together with certain adjacent lands, and three years later she made them owners of almost all the possessions of the estate with which we have been dealing. A separate section must be added as to the Cambridge History of these White Canons.

A few words may be added as to other members of the

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 372; *Patent Rolls*, an. 1290, p. 363.

² Josselin, *Historiola C. C. C.*, *C. A. S.* pp. 4, 56; Masters, *History C. C. C.* p. 12, App. p. 6.

³ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

⁴ *St Radegund*, *C. A. S.* xxxi. pp. 81, 82.

⁵ *Patent Rolls* (1290), p. 363; (1293) p. 25; (1299) p. 421; *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 65.

St Edmund's family; Robert is mentioned¹ as mayor (*major ballivus*) of Cambridge in the year 1258, and his name occurs in various deeds and transactions; a Robert of St Edmund's occurs as plaintiff in a lawsuit² in the year 1307, but this was doubtless the son of the mayor; while John of St Edmund's, a canon of Barnwell, is mentioned³ several times in the *Liber Memorandum* of that Priory. Another John of St Edmund's was one of the jury⁴ who had to do with the statistics compiled in the celebrated *Hundred Rolls*; wherein, it may be added, are given the names⁵ of three or four children of Robert the mayor, including a daughter, Matilda, who was apparently twice married; one husband being Leonius Dunning, a well-known Cambridge citizen, who, in 1278, held the Newnham mill under the Mortimers⁶.

THE CHAPEL OF ST EDMUND.

The chapel on the estate of the family, to which we are referring, was dedicated to the West Saxon Saint, Edmund King and Martyr. It seems to have been more important than an ordinary private chapel, for it is specially mentioned in certain ecclesiastical lists, and its chaplain is termed "warden"⁷ (*custos*) or "rector." The names of certain of these wardens are preserved. John le Ry, for instance, who is styled in the *Hundred Rolls*⁸ "quondam rector capelle Sancti Edmundi," endowed his benefice with a messuage situated on the other side of the Trumpington Road; while his name also occurs as a benefactor of the Priory of Anglesey. Robert de Horningsheth⁹ was another warden of the chapel (*custos capelle*), who has already been mentioned in connexion with certain property

¹ *Priory of St Radegund, C. A. S.* xxxi. pp. 17, 99, 120.

² *Camb. Fines, C. A. S.* xxvi. p. 73.

³ *Barnwell Lib. Mem.* pp. 166, 218.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 356.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. p. 363, 4 &c.

⁶ C. H. Cooper, *Memorials*, iii. p. 337.

⁷ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* A. 15; *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 360; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, i. 79; where the name is misprinted John de Oy.

⁹ *Ibid.* A. 14, 15.

held by the Friars of the Sack. He is probably the same as "Robert, rector capelle Sancti Edmundi," who is stated in the *Hundred Rolls*¹ to be the owner officially of certain properties in the neighbourhood; of which it is interesting to notice that two acres and three roods had been given² by John le Rus, of the Stone House opposite; while a messuage and more than twelve acres of land were the gift of Luke of St Edmund's, and one acre came from Sir William Mortimer (*de Mortuo Mari*). In the last case, a small rent charge was reserved for Leonius Dunning, who (as stated above) had married a lady belonging to the St Edmund's family.

Adjacent to the house, on the west side of Trumpington Road, mentioned above as given by John le Ry, was another messuage³, "quod magister Walterus quondam filius Johannis clerici de Canteburgia dedit...dicte capelle sancti Edmundi cum corpore matris sue."

It may be that there was, in the early days of the chapel, a cemetery attached thereto, as there certainly was subsequently, when the property passed into the hands of the White Canons—of whom a short account must now be given.

THE CANONS OF SEMPRINGHAM.

The White Canons of St Gilbert of Sempringham⁴ were interesting as being the only order of English origin; their founder, St Gilbert, was rector of Sempringham, and composed his rule from those of St Austin and St Benedict; the canons, according to Dugdale, wearing a black habit with a white cloak and a hood lined with lamb's wool.

In 1290, about half a century after the foundation, there being a probability that the Friars of the Sack would relinquish their buildings, and the White Canons being desirous to find a hostel for the members of their order who were accustomed to resort to Cambridge for purposes of study, an application was

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 372.

² *Ibid.* ii. p. 372.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

⁴ Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, p. 229.

made to Rome, and on 9th June Pope Nicholas IV sent a mandate¹ to the Archdeacon of Stow

“to grant the place held by the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ, which they are about to leave, to the Master and Brethren of Sempringham, who often send members of their Order to study at the Castle of Cambridge, and need a house there, in which they intend to have a canonry; a fair price being paid for the said place, which is to be deposited in safety for the Holy Land Subsidy, or for some other purpose as pleases the Pope.”

The Friars of the Sack, however, as we have seen, retained their Cambridge home for some years longer. But meantime, Cecilia of St Edmund's had made an application² for permission to grant to the White Canons her hereditary estate; and indeed on the 12th of June, 1290 (*i.e.* only three days after the papal mandate referred to above), a licence had been granted (as we learn from the *Rolls of Parliament*), for “the alienation in mortmain by Cicely, daughter of Walter, son of William de Sancto Edmundo, to the Master and Brethren of the order of Sempringham, of two acres of land in Cantebrugge and the advowson of the Chapel of St Edmund there.”

Three years later the same lady granted³ to the same body—the prior and convent of the order of Sempringham in Cambridge—a messuage of sixty acres of land and 40s. rent in Cambridge; provided that the latter render 15s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. yearly to the Farm of the Town by the hands of the Bailiffs thereof. It may be added that six years later⁴ still (in 1299), Cecilia of St Edmund's further supplemented her gifts to the Canons.

To return, however, to the year 1290. On August 29th the Pope granted a licence⁵ to the Prior and brethren of Sempringham “to have within their house a discreet and learned doctor of theology, to teach those of the brethren who desire to study that science.” In the following year, as we learn from the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*⁶, “the Canons of Sem-

¹ Bliss, *Calendar of the Papal Letters*, i. 514; Rose Graham, *St Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 44.

² *Patent Rolls* (1290), p. 363; *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 65.

³ *Ibid.* (1293), p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1299), p. 421.

⁵ Bliss, *Calendar of the Papal Letters*, i. 516.

⁶ *Barnwell Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

pringham first dwelt at St Edmund's Chapel, and applied themselves greatly to attending lectures and disputations."

Henceforth, then, the property of the St Edmund's family passed into the hands of the members of the order of Sempringham—the mansion was styled "Domus Prioris et Alborum Canonicorum Cantabrigie"—the grounds being popularly known as "Chanons' Close."

We need not here follow the subsequent history of these White Canons, nor refer to the houses and lands which they acquired in different parts of the town.

One incident only in their records may be quoted—and that in the words of Thomas Fuller¹, who, speaking of the Visitation of Archbishop Arundel in the year 1401, thus refers to the inspection of the convent by the commissioners: "Hence they advanced to the White Canons over against Peterhouse, where the name remaineth at this day (1643), whom they visited in their church (now buried in its churchyard, and the church-yard in oblivion) observing all solemn formalities." This sentence is given, not for the sake of quoting the quaint historian's curious phrases, nor for the purpose of leading on to the still more characteristic remarks in his succeeding paragraph; but with the intention of adding that although the exact sites of the Church of St Edmund and its cemetery were unknown to Fuller, yet excavations on different occasions in one part of what is now Addenbrooke's Hospital, have revealed the existence of human remains. Cole, the antiquary, for instance, records² how such were found in digging about the foundation and gardens of the Hospital in the 18th century; and a few years back, on 18th May, 1896, the Rev. F. C. Kempson, M.B., read a Paper³ before our Society, giving an account of some

¹ Fuller, *History of University of Cambridge*, edited by Prickett and Wright, p. 133. Fuller, in his characteristic manner, speaking of "the St Edmund's Hostel" mentioned by Caius (*History*, p. 51), says: "Nomen patet, locus latet." His editors suggest that the hostel thus named may be none other than the hostel of the White Canons. But as Caius adds "sed extra nostram memoriam," implying that it had ceased to exist, whereas the White Canons were still active in his early days, this identification is hardly likely.

² Cole MS. xli. p. 222.

³ *C. A. S.* xxxviii. pp. 241-4.

skulls found during the recent excavations for the Nurses' Home. It was pointed out that some of the bones were without doubt those of women, and that therefore they could not all come from the religious house of the Brethren of Sempringham. This statement supports the suggestion made above that there was already a cemetery attached to the Chapel of St Edmund before the property was handed over to the White Canons.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWARDS THE SOUTH END.

“CANONS’ CLOSE”—where the family of St Edmund’s had so long lived—was in the parish of St Benedict, part of which stretched southwards from near where Fitzwilliam Street now runs to Deepway (the modern Lensfield Road). The estate, which Cecilia of St Edmund’s gave to the White Canons, was as large as, perhaps larger than, the present grounds of Addenbrooke’s Hospital.

Were there any houses to the south of this property?

Probably there were; though as there was no consolidated estate handed over to any college or religious house, we have not any bundle of deeds to help us to locate certain messuages; and the question is rendered the more difficult by the scattered parts of the parish of St Benet.

To take an instance. In a list of Cambridge tenants recorded in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*¹, it is stated that Robert de Bitteringe held a messuage in Lorteburne Lane (now Free School Lane). Then it is added: “Idem Robertus tenet unum messuagium extra portas de Trumpitone, et reddit ix. d.” No abuttals being given, it is impossible to speak definitely of the situation of this property. It might have been in any parish (St Peter’s or St Botolph’s or St Benet’s) “outside the Trumpington Gates”; it might have been in the portion of St Benet’s at the S.E. corner of Mill Lane; or it might have been beyond the Canons’ Close in the part of that parish with which we are now dealing.

¹ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 288.

But though the site is uncertain, the owner is important and deserves special and grateful mention in a record of the early History of Cambridge; for the name of Robert de Bytering occurs in the list of Benefactors of the University. In the *Missa pro Benefactoribus*¹, he was long remembered among a number of graduates who had given gifts to the University. His name is linked with another similar donor in a transaction² arranged in the King's Court at Westminster in the year 1296 between Master Robert de Bytering and Thomas de Tuddenham. Certain properties in Cambridge and Woodditton passed between these University benefactors for the sum of eighteen marks of silver. Thomas de Tuddenham was a well-known bedell of the University, whose wife was the owner of considerable property.

Again, in the Charters of the Priory of St Radegund—edited by Mr Arthur Gray of Jesus College—there are several deeds³ referring to houses and lands in St Benet's parish; the first set of which have to do with the estate which passed from Walter, son of Master Geoffrey, to his sister Alice, the wife of William de St Edmund's, and which is stated to lie "in the great street towards Trumpington Gate"; while others were probably in the same neighbourhood.

There is a old terrier, belonging to the same College, which is described with characteristic charm and knowledge by the late Professor Maitland in his *Township and Borough*⁴. "The whereabouts of the various *culturæ* or furlongs is sometimes stated in modern terms. But, as is evident from the names of the persons to whom the strips are ascribed, the original whence these terriers derive was compiled in the second half of the 14th century." This is late for our present purpose; but the list—from Pembroke College to Lensfield Road (to use modern names)—may be quoted:

"John Smith, next Pembroke Garden, 1 pole; Way-balk; Thomas Jacob, 2 acres; Bartholomew Peryn, 2 roods; Chantry of St Peter, 2 r.;

¹ Stokes's Book in the Registry.

² *Camb. Fines*, C. A. S. xxvi. p. 63.

³ *St Radegund*, C. A. S. xxxi. p. 107.

⁴ *Ford Lectures*, p. 113, &c.

Bartholomew Piryn, 1 r. 20 p. ; R. Arden, 1 a. 2 r. ; Alb. Can. 2 r. ; Alb. Can. 1 a. 2 r. ; J. Carbonell, 4 a. 2 r. 0 p. (forming 16 *selions*) ; J. de Cambridge, 1 a. 2 r. (4 *selions*) ; and Nuns with a gore, 1 acre (2 *selions*)."

Looking into these, it will be noticed that several portions of the properties are still in the hands of the representatives of thirteenth century owners mentioned above—the Chantry of St Peter, the Peryn family, the White Canons, John of Cambridge, &c.

The point, which we are here discussing—viz. what houses there were to the south of the Canons' Close—is not much helped by the information afforded by this terrier ; for the present writer does not know anything of J. Carbonell—except that his property passed later on to a Mr Russel.

As for John of Cambridge, whose acre and a half lie next, Professor Maitland suggests¹ a connexion with the citizen of the same name, with whose property on the west side we have already dealt. This is, perhaps, supported by the benefaction² to St Edmund's Chapel by the son of the latter. That John of Cambridge is, however, called *scriptor*³ as well as *clericus*, and is certainly not to be identified with the Justice of the Common Bench⁴.

The property of John of Cambridge passed to Corpus Christi, and it is interesting to notice that another benefactor⁵ of that College, Henry de Tangmer, caused, later on, the Hermitage of St Anne and the Lazar House to be built, probably on this estate. There was doubtless a Hermitage on, or near, this spot before de Tangmer's time, as there was on the entrance to Cambridge on the Barnwell Road, and on the approach by the Small Bridges at Newnham.

The Chapel of St Anne⁶ was served by the Vicar of St Benet's, in whose parish of course it stood, or by a chaplain

¹ *Ford Lectures*, p. 166.

² Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

³ *Ibid.* A. 17.

⁴ Joscelin, *Historiola*, p. 8 ; Masters, *Hist. C. C. C.* 8, 15, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12 ; *Ibid.* pp. 10, 21, &c.

⁶ Masters, *History of C. C. C.* pp. 21, 49, 50 ; Appendix, pp. 5, 6, 7. On p. 50, the date of the Indulgence is given as 1309, but the date in Appendix, p. 6 (1399), is doubtless correct.

appointed by him. An indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Ely in 1399, to all who would assist in supporting this chapel, and in relieving Sir John Bernewell, Chaplain and Hermit there. The Hermitage, which the Corporation of Cambridge¹ took by violence from the College, was eventually, at any rate, fairly extensive ;

“its dimensions being towards Trumpington Street 144 feet, towards the east 146 feet, on the north 73 feet, and on the south 63 feet. It was occupied by one large house and seven cottages fronting the street, and in the rear were several outbuildings (including a large barn) placed around a yard once used as a tan yard.”

The history of the buildings need not be detailed here.

The Lazar House was termed the Hospital of St Anthony and St Eligius, and the neighbourhood was long known as “Spital End.” The building was some 500 years after its foundation transferred to Panton Street in St Paul’s parish. In the Cambridge rentals² (of 1554), a payment is made by the Churchwardens of St Benet’s for “a Church yarde at the Spytte House Ende.”

We have now arrived at Deepway (the modern Lensfield Road), which divided the parish of St Benet from that portion of the Barnwell Fields which on its frontage towards the Trumpington Road is now occupied by Brookside and the Botanical Gardens. But this portion, which was known then as Fordfield, need not be dwelt upon—except to say that some acres³ of it were soon afterwards given to the University by Nigel Thornton, a physician (Magister Nigellus medicus).

We turn to the western side of the great street, and will begin by again quoting from the 14th century terrier commented on by Professor Maitland⁴. That distinguished writer has some curious remarks upon the primitive history of the Peterhouse site; but here we will commence our quotation by starting from the south wall of what is now the Fitzwilliam property :

¹ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. pp. 252, 3.

² Bowtell's MS. 7. 2918.

³ *The Chaplains of the University*, C. A. S. xli. pp. 5, &c

⁴ *Township and Borough*, pp. 110, &c.

“Six selions belonging to the White Canons, tithing to the Almoner (*Elemosinarius*) of Barnwell; one selion of an acre, paying tithes to St Edward's Church; four acres, known as Mortimer's dole, tithing to St Radegund's; a Lane;”

such is the commencement of long series of strips of land reaching down to the Trumpington Ford. The list may be seen in *Township and Borough* with its varied tithings.

Professor Maitland thus comments¹ on it:

“There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the land that lies between the Trumpington Road and Coe Fen....First comes Inglis or English Croft once held by the White Canons, but purchased by Peterhouse in the reign of Elizabeth. Then comes Mortimer's dole, which I take to be the site of Scroope Terrace and Scroope House. Then comes Coe Fen Lane. South of this our terrier requires about 25 ‘acres.’ I believe that the grounds of the Leys School and of Belvoir Terrace will supply nearly the requisite quantity.”

It is probable that some houses stood on the frontage of the land thus described, at least opposite the Canons' Close; but the writer is not able to give documentary proof of this.

¹ *Township and Borough*, p. 111.

CHAPTER IX.

TOWARDS THE WEST AND EAST.

As we are chiefly dealing with the main-road and the buildings and dwellings which fronted it, it is not necessary to refer in any detail to the lands which lay to the east and west thereof.

Mill Lane, our northern boundary, ran down (as its name implies) to the Mills—the King's Mill and the Bishop's Mill. These were of great antiquity, and there are several interesting points in their history, but they need not detain us here—although the question of their payment of tithes to the parish church (St Peter's-without-the-Gate) was of importance to Peterhouse, in whose Treasury are preserved certain deeds relating to them.

Across the water, on another branch of the river, was the Newnham Mill, in the same parish; and in the same neighbourhood¹ was the large establishment of the Carmelites, to whose worshipping at the church of St Peter when they were not prevented by the inundations, and to whose Divinity lectures, allusions are made elsewhere.

Returning to Trumpington Road, we have seen that at the rear of the houses on the west side were closes and selions reaching back to the stretch of land beyond—to the Coe

¹ Not far off, on the road leading to the Small Bridges, was, at any rate at a somewhat later date, and probably also in the 13th century, a small Hermitage, the dweller wherein received toll from travellers for keeping the bridges in so-called repair (Cooper, *Memorials*, iii. p. 262). The name "The Hermitage" still lingers in the neighbourhood.

Fen Leys; "usque ad communem pasturam" and "usque ad mariscum" are expressions occurring as the western boundary of the possessions.

On the east side of Trumpington Road, we must begin again at the north end. The King's Ditch, which ran along Mill Lane, passed down what is now called Pembroke Street. This lane (for it was little more than that) was formerly known as "Plot and Nuts Lane." The Ditch was, however, so evident—at times from its overflowings—that the northern boundary was often simply given as *Fossatum domini Regis*.

At the rear of the first six or seven buildings ran a lane without a special name, but generally known as the "venella que ducit ad Swynecroft." Beyond this lay certain gardens, at the N.E. end of which was a piece of land called "Pascall Yard or Close," which belonged to a chantry in Great St Mary's Church and had been founded in 1242.

Behind the houses on the east side of Trumpington Road stretched a large reach of land. Towards the back of where Pembroke now is the leys were generally called "St Thomas's Leys," doubtless from their being at the rear of the Hostel of that name. More to the south, they were known as "Swynecroft," probably because they were at the back of a mansion belonging to a well-known and long-resident family called Swyn. The two names, however, were later on frequently used interchangeably.

Fuller, in his *History*, describes St Thomas's Hostel as "where now the orchard of the Master of Pembroke Hall, and where the neighbouring Leas retain their name: formerly the Campus Martius of the scholars here exercising themselves, sometimes too violently; lately disused, either because young scholars now have less valour, or more civility."

Fuller is, however, of course, comparatively modern; but his phrases are so quotable.

The land belonging to the St Edmund's family, and afterwards to the Canons of Sempringham, doubtless stretched well to the west of their Close.

Further south, the frontage was afterwards seized by, and

still (though under long leases) belongs to, the Corporation of Cambridge, while behind the land passed in the next century through the gilds to Corpus Christi College, who are still the owners thereof.

It is not necessary here to speak of the fields, so many of which had fallen into the hands of the Prior and Canons of Barnwell.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

IT is impossible to consult the deeds and records upon which the foregoing statements have been founded, without being struck by the frequent allusions to religious gifts and obligations which they contain. At the risk of some little repetition, it may be well to summarise some of these references.

It will be noticed how in the inhabited parts the parishes crowd upon one another—St Benet's, St Botolph's, St Peter's, St Andrew's; and how, in the acre-strips, tithes are paid with a variety that puzzled Professor Maitland.

The origin of these parishes may be as follows: St Benet's, perhaps, was the earliest church centre; St Botolph's gathered its district round the sacred building characteristically erected at the southern gate; St Peter's Church, founded by a townsman, spread along both sides of the Trumpington Road; though a patch of St Benet's still remained on the north-east, and another large portion at the south-west; where it met the gradual accumulation of fields by the Barnwell authorities.

Of the churches themselves, little need be said here. St Botolph's lies outside the district with which we are dealing. St Peter's-without-the-Gates was, as we have seen, in the gift of the Prior and Canons of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist, and those Brethren took great interest in the church and spoke of the parish as "our parish"¹—for in it they owned much property, as well as the advowson. But we

¹ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 19.

have already spoken of the Church and its chantries; of its collapse and of the rebuilding; of the change of name later on from St Peter's to St Mary's—and so on.

One curious and interesting life-story—revealed by one word in an old deed¹ in the Treasury of Corpus—may be mentioned. A lady named Matilda, daughter of Hervey the son of Martin, is called "*reclusa ecclesie Sancti Petri extra portam.*" Her father gave to her an arable acre in the Fields of Cambridge in Middlefield, as well as certain land off Mill Lane in the parish of St Botolph, which she shared with her sister Isabel. The former she held to the end of her life; her portion of the latter she gave² to St John's Hospital. The strange, hermit life passed by this woman outside the Church of St Peter must have been one of the sights and wonderments of Cambridge in the first half of the thirteenth century. Doubtless she passed her solitary days in a sort of shanty erected on the south of the church; attended in certain ways, it may be, by some faithful and admiring servant. We read in contemporary history of some other female recluses whose ideas of religion and service were embodied in similar abnegations; sometimes—perhaps in the case of Matilda the daughter of Hervey—the hermit was completely walled in, her food being given her through an iron-barred window. The date of her death cannot be gathered from the deeds, but her Middlefield acre was inherited³ by a member of the Gogging family, well known in Cambridge.

It has been mentioned that she bequeathed her Mill Lane property to the patrons of her church, the canons of the Hospital of St John. This, we have said, was not uncommon in the neighbourhood. One other such gift may be instanced—much more in accordance with modern notions. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Stephen of Hauxton gave⁴ to the Brethren of St John's a rent charge of twenty pence arising out of a house

¹ Cole MS. ii. (5803), pp. 52 b, 56 b.

² St John's College Treasury: Box of Deeds relating to St Botolph's Parish.

³ Cole MS. ii. (5803), p. 52 b.

⁴ St John's College Treasury: Box of Deeds relating to St Peter's-without-the-Gates.

situated where part of Pembroke College now stands—the grant being intended to provide annually two linen sheets for the said Hospital (*ad sustentationem lintheaminum duorum lectorum*). Among the witnesses to the deed were Robert of St Edmund's and Aunger le Rus, who were also, it may be added, present about the same time at the signing of another similar covenant (the record of which is also preserved at St John's College) whereby the Master (Anthony) and the brethren of the Hospital granted¹ to Hervey Fitz Eustace and his heirs, in return for a gift of seven acres of land, two beds with their necessary coverlids, for the use of infirm persons, in their stone house (*duo grabata cum pannis ad illa necessariis ad opus infirmorum in domo nostra lapidea*).

To return to the Churches, there were, as we have seen, subsidiary Chapels off this part of the Trumpington Road. There was the chapel of St Lucy belonging to the le Rus family, situated in the *curia* of their Stone House. That this was no mere private oratory is proved by the document², quoted above, whereby an Indulgence was granted to those who in the chapel of St Lucy should thrice repeat the Lord's Prayer on behalf of the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury and others. When the le Rus estate passed to the Friars of the Sack, the family still retained the right³ of making certain offerings before the altar of their patron saint.

At the great house on the other side of the road we are also told of the Chapel dedicated to St Edmund, the royal East Saxon Martyr. This sacred building was considered to be of such importance that its patronage is formally stated in the *Hundred Rolls*⁴ as follows: "Item dicunt quod advocacio et donatio capelle sancti Edmundi pertinent ad Lucam de Sancto Edmundo qui est verus patronus capelle predicte et jus patronatus ad eum pertinet jure hereditario per decessum antecessorum suorum." When this estate passed into the hands of the White Canons, the dignity of the church was enhanced.

¹ St John's College Treasury, B. i. 44; Kilmer's *School of Pythagoras*, p. 31.

² Peterhouse Treasury, F. 1; Baker MS. xlii. 196.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 9.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 393.

To the south of the Chapel of St Edmund's was, at a somewhat later date, the Hermitage¹ and Chapel of St Anne; both these buildings were in the parish of St Benet, though the latter was more distinctly under the jurisdiction of the vicar of that church than the former. The Hermit doubtless received alms, and perhaps even tolls, of travellers entering Cambridge from the south.

Again across the water, in the district of Newnham but still in the parish of St Peter, was the convent of the Carmelites. These, as we have seen, under a covenant² with the authorities of St John's Hospital, at first worshipped at their parish church; but afterwards, finding the passage through the river-streams difficult³, they had their own private chapel. We are told in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*⁴ of the Fratres de Carmelo at Newnham that "fecerunt ibi cellulas plures, ecclesiamque claustrum et dormitorium, et officinas necessarias satis honestas construxerunt."

Perhaps also the Bishop of Ely granted permission for private oratories in some of the hostels in the neighbourhood; certainly this was so at a later date. The connexion of the hostels by St Peter's Church with St John's Hospital has already been dwelt upon.

Turning to the private property, it will be noticed that almost every house and every piece of land paid some rent-charge and made some gift to church or religious house. Sometimes these charges were small, but in many cases a substantial rent was paid. This may be seen from the cartularies and deeds which were of course carefully preserved by the convents or by their successors; as well as by the *Hundred Rolls* and other official records.

Thus were benefited the religious houses of Anglesey, Barnwell and Lavendene, the convent of St Radegund, the

¹ See note on p. 66.

² Baker MS. xlii. p. 195 b; Baker-Mayor, ii. 557, 8; *Historical MSS. Comm. Report*, i. 78.

³ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i. 51; Cooper's *Annals*, i. 62.

⁴ Barnwell *Lib. Mem.* p. 212.

Hospital of St John, and various churches in the town, as well as the local chapels mentioned above. It would be tedious to go right through the long list of the houses which thus paid contributions; but one or two instances may be given or repeated:

The message which Sepehar le Gaunt' held in Trumpington Road, he had bought of Stephen of Cottenham, a chaplain, under this condition among others, that he should maintain¹ a lamp burning before one of the altars in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Stephen, it may be added, had received the house as a gift from Geoffrey of Alderheth², who had been Master of the Hospital, Vicar of the Round Church, and (Rural) Dean of Cambridge.

Of the properties which had belonged to the family of John of Cambridge, *clericus* or *scriptor*, one, through Walter his son, paid a rent-charge³ to the Chapel of St Lucy in memory of the mother; another, through Matilda the daughter, contributed⁴ a certain sum annually to an altar of the B. V. M. in the church of St Mary in the Market.

And so with other houses; two or three of which it will be remembered supported the Chantries which had been founded in the church or in the cemetery of St Peter's without the Trumpington Gates.

The curious way in which the numerous acre-strips in the fields to the south paid tithes, apparently at will, to various churches in the town, has been alluded to above in a quotation⁵ from Professor Maitland's fascinating *Ford Lectures*.

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 374.

² Baker-Mayor, i. 26, 52; J. M. Rigg's [forthcoming] *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 29. The writer begs to express his obligations to Mr Rigg.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, "Situs Collegii," A. 14.

⁴ *Rot. Hund.* ii. p. 372.

⁵ See p. 68.

CHAPTER XI.

UNIVERSITY NOTES.

SCATTERED throughout the preceding pages are various allusions to University members and officials and to buildings or properties devoted to academic purposes. It may be useful to summarise these references.

It will be remembered that till nearly the end of the thirteenth century no colleges had been founded; the students living in hostels and private houses. When however the collegiate system was introduced by Hugh Balsham Bishop of Ely into the University, it was in the district with which we are dealing that Peterhouse, the earliest college, was founded; while across the road Pembroke—the third in order—followed later on.

Both Peterhouse and Pembroke included, within the area of their possessions, buildings which had previously been used as Hostels by the University clerks.

Indeed, according to a record¹ in St John's College, Hugh de Hottun, Chancellor of the University, had in 1246 exempted from taxation the two hostels which are the originals of Peterhouse—which Baker quotes² as “an ancient precedent of the university's power and privilege of taxing houses.”

On the Pembroke site, we not only have—though perhaps at a somewhat later date—the Hostel of St Thomas, but also the very interesting building, which was given³ to the

¹ Baker MS. x. (7037), p. 144; xix. (7046), p. 227 b.

² Baker-Mayor, i. p. 21.

³ See p. 16.

academical authorities by Sir Roger de Heydon, and which, after having been held by them for so long—and known as “University Hostel”—was handed over to Pembroke. The scholars who lived therein are the *Clerici Universitatis* who paid rent to St John’s Hospital, as recorded in the rolls quoted on p. 51.

The mention of this gift reminds us that we have chronicled several donors of houses and lands to the University—whose names were long remembered in the prayer at the *Missa Benefactorum*¹. Sir Roger Haydon, Thomas de Tuddenham and Maud de Walden his wife, and Robert de Bytering, are thirteenth century benefactors whose names ought still annually to be mentioned in the University Church and in the College Chapels of Pembroke, Caius and Trinity.

Thomas de Tuddenham was one of the University Bedells, and the allusions to his possessions and to his liberality illustrate the financial position of these officials. Thomas the bedel, indeed, was a member of a good family, his brother, Sir Robert de Tuddenham², being the knightly owner of some considerable property.

Robert de Bytering is styled *magister*, and it is probable that most of those to whom this title is prefixed in old Cambridge deeds and documents were graduates of the University. And thus we see that members of certain of the old town families—like the owners of the St Edmund’s estate—sometimes entered their sons on the University lists, as they allowed them to join the neighbouring monasteries. Other townsmen, like John Paternoster, were connected with Hostels for the students.

This mention of the religious houses reminds us that, at the coming of the Friars, the University received additional teachers and members. Thus, in the district with which we are dealing we have, across the waters, beyond the mills, in Newnham, an establishment of the brothers of Mount Carmel³. Towards the end of this century the members of this order in

¹ Stokes’s Book in the University Registry.

² Nasmith’s *Tanner’s Not. Monast.* pp. 516, 613; *Close Rolls* (27 Ed. III) m. 10.

³ See note on p. 15.

England changed their habits for white copes (*capae*) instead of coarse woollen cloaks (*pallia strangulata*); and became known as the White Friars. Dwelling, however, thus outside the town (*extra villam*), they suffered in winter many and great inconveniences *propter inundationem aquarum*, so that the scholars could not have access to them to hear Divinity (*ad Theologiam audiendum*), nor could they go to town to get their provisions (*pro victu suo habendo*). Hence in the year 1290 they petitioned Parliament for permission to remove to this side of the river. Accordingly, the request being granted, they removed to part of the present site of Queens' College etc.

Of the Friars of Penitence, whose buildings on the west side of Trumpington Street we have traced, the Barnwell *Liber*¹ says: "Ipsi Fratres de Sacco congregaverunt multos et bonos scolares"; while of the White Canons, who settled on the east side, the same chronicle² writes: "Canonici de Sempringham inhabitabant ad Capellam Sancti Eadmundi, et lectionibus audiendis et disputationibus multum insistebant."

The last University incident, which need be specialized, shows a strange touch of (undergraduate) nature—for we have recorded how³—more than 600 years ago—quidam clerici universitatis Cantebriegie—in what modern slang calls a "Rag"—carried off certain materials from a demolished building! The incident has been detailed on page 43. With this linking of past and present, we may close this chapter in the Intimate History of the Town and University of Cambridge.

¹ *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, ed. by J. W. Clark, M.A. p. 218.

² *Ibid.* p. 212.

³ *Ibid.* p. 161.

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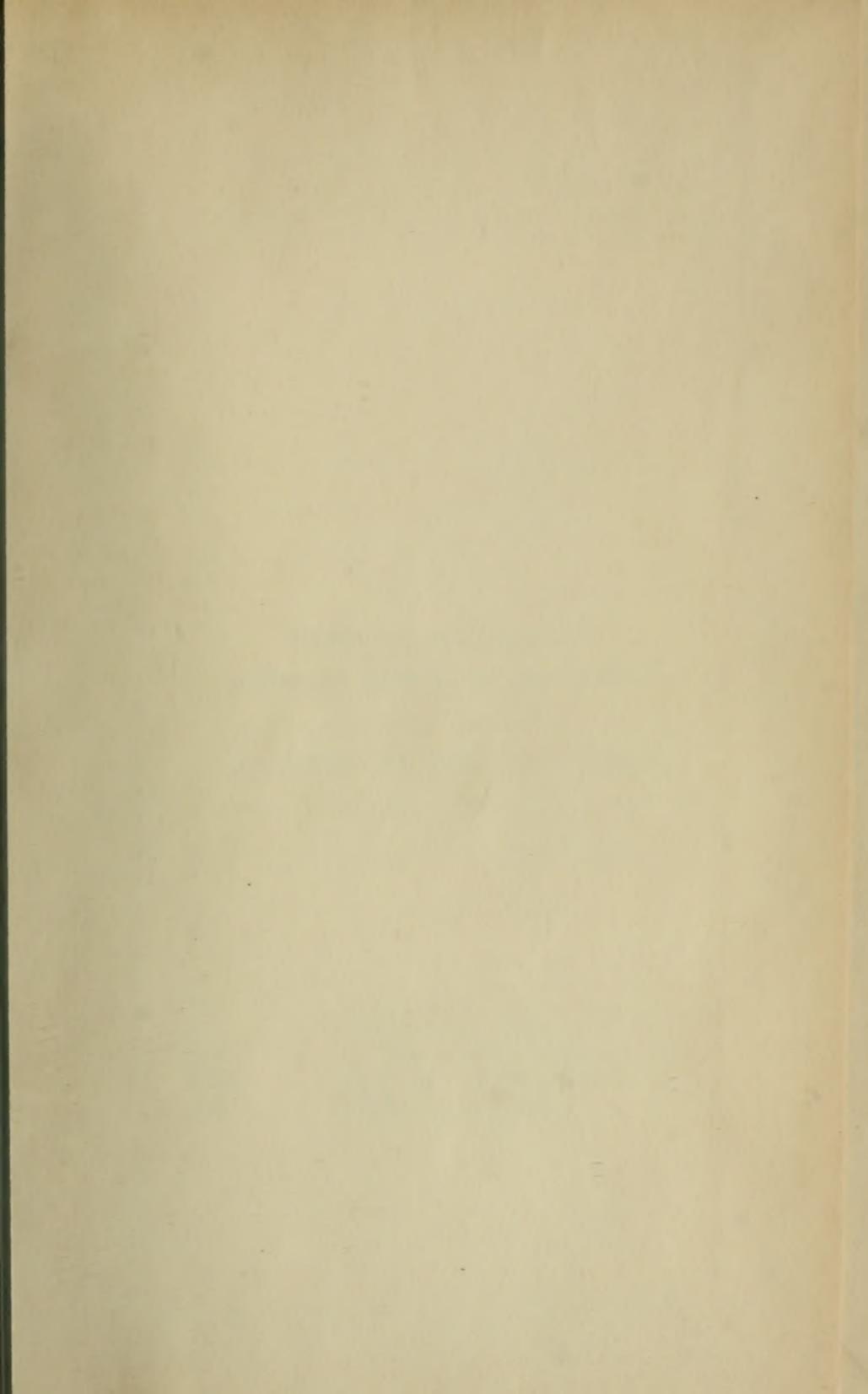
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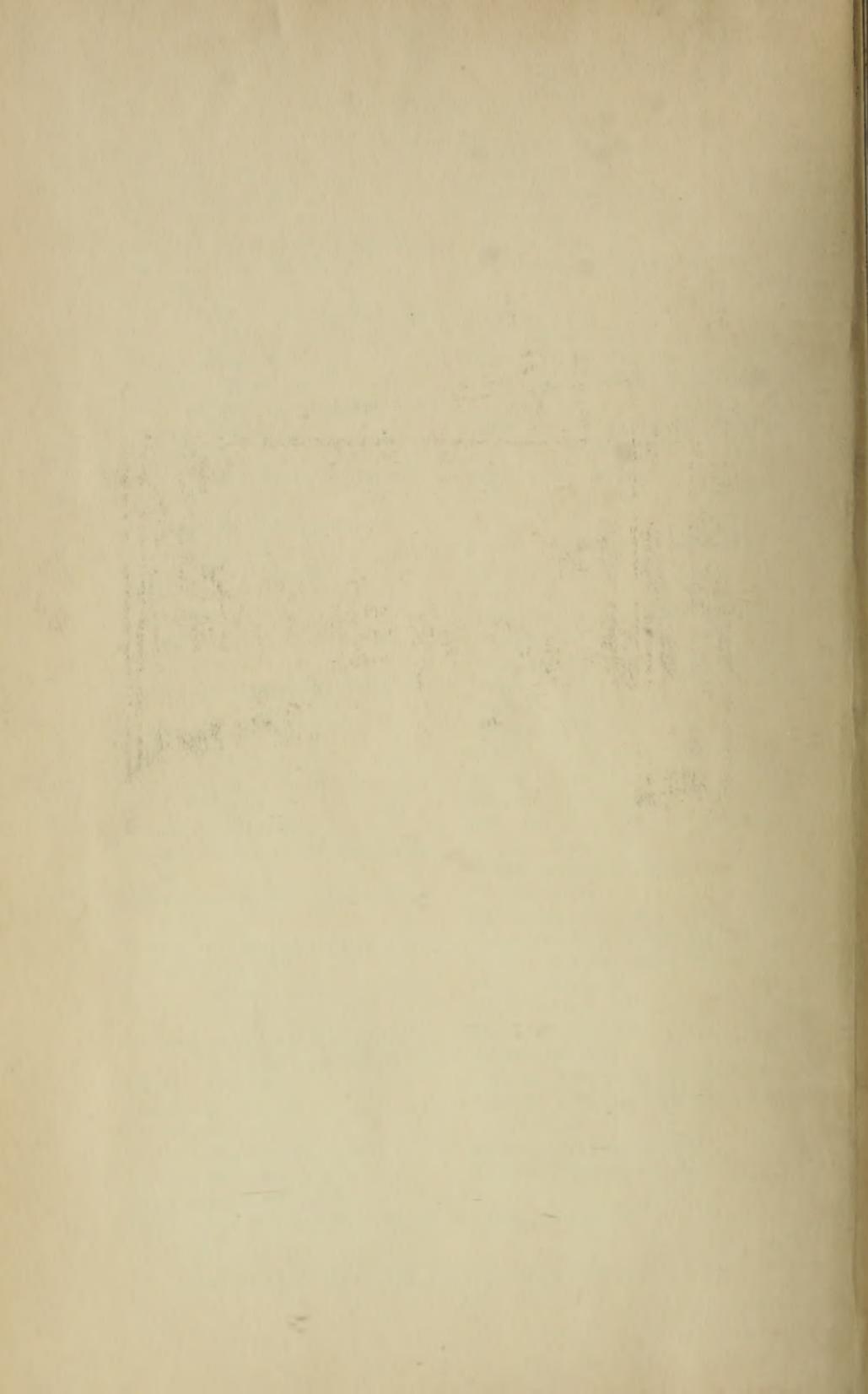
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