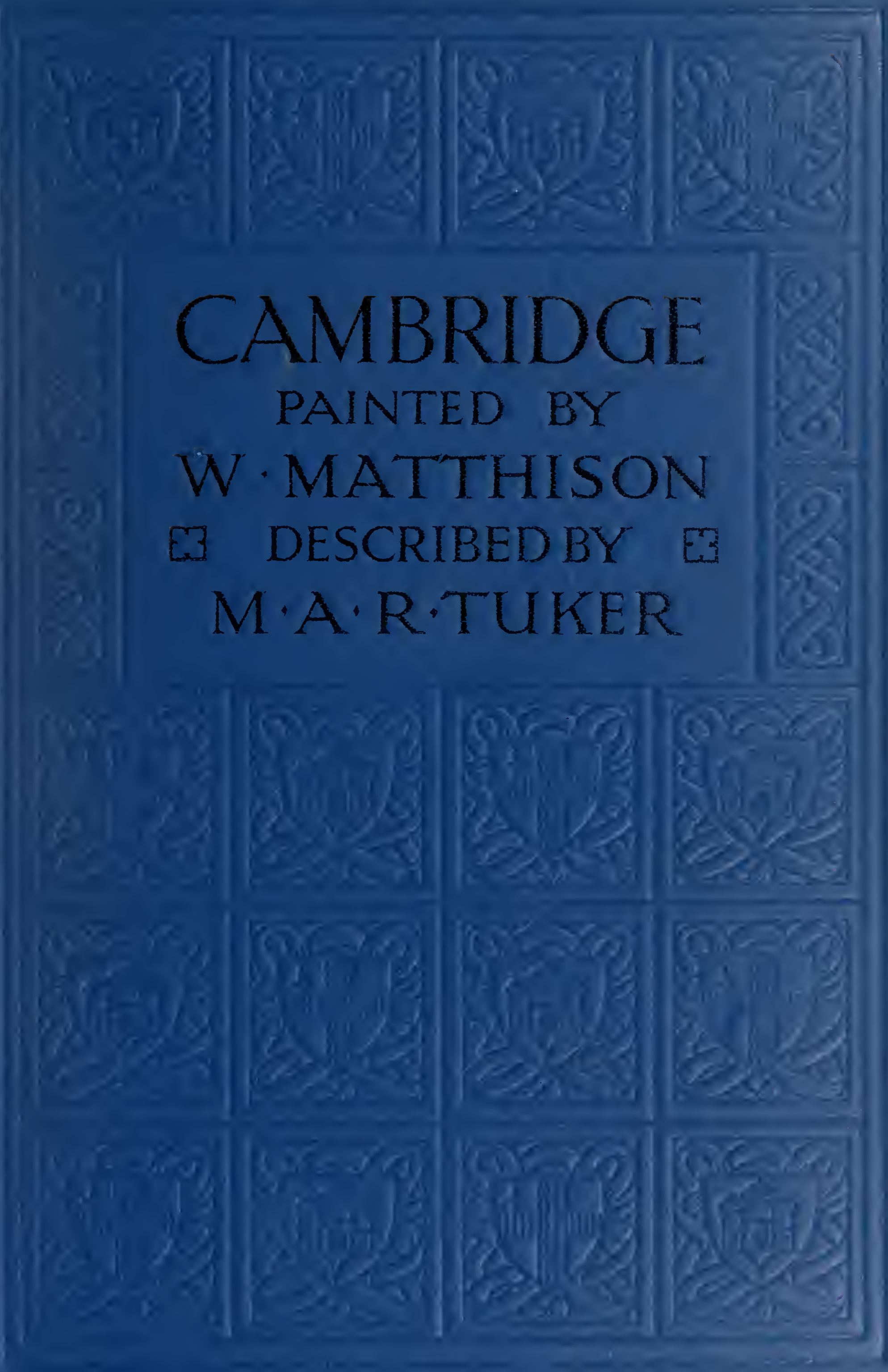

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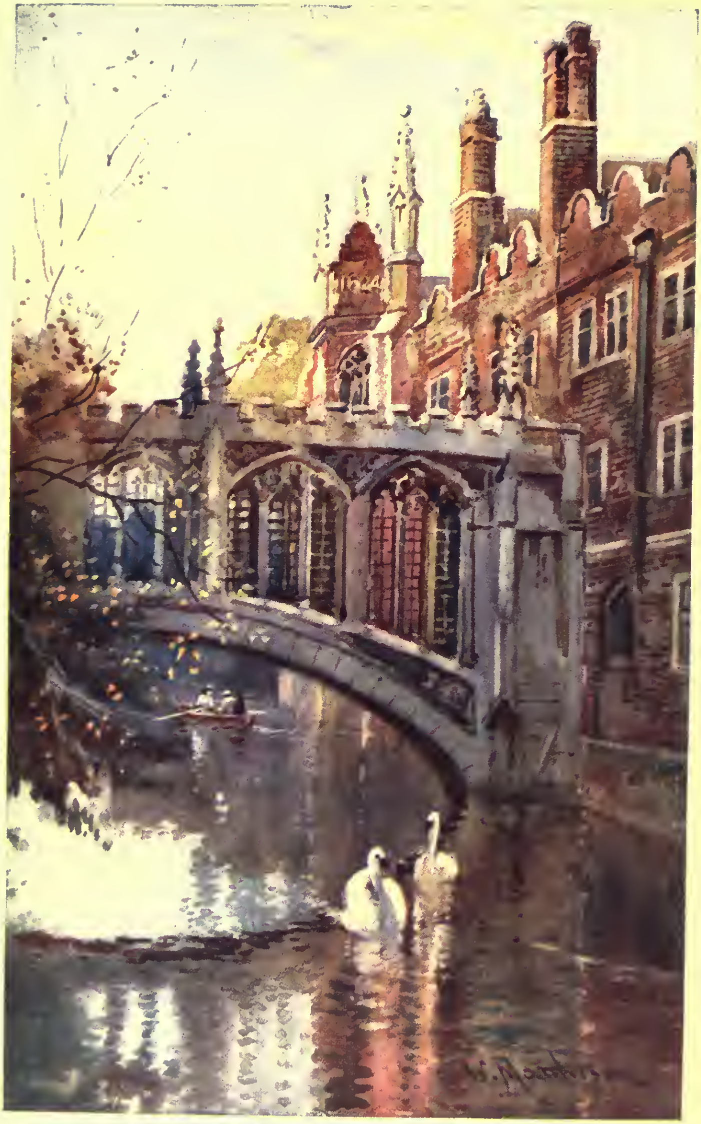

THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE

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Preface

In preparing this account of Cambridge, which is now reissued in an abridged form,[1] I owed much to kind help and facilities extended on all hands; my special thanks are due to the late Mr. J. Willis Clark, Registrary of the University, and formerly fellow of Trinity, for sparing time to read the proof sheets of Chapter I.; to the Master of Peterhouse and to the late Prof. A. W. Verrall (fellow and formerly tutor of Trinity) for reading the proof sheets of portions of Chapter I.; to the late Mr. C. W. Moule, fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi, Mr. Ellis H. Minns, assistant-librarian, and formerly fellow, of Pembroke, to the late Miss M. G. Kennedy, and to the former Mistress of Girton, Miss E. E. C. Jones; to the Assistant Keeper of MSS. at the British Museum, and the Librarian at Lambeth; and last but not least to the Rev. H. F. Stewart (chaplain of Trinity) and Mrs. Stewart, the former of whom was good enough to read portions of the proof sheets of Chapter II.

M. A. R. T.

1922.

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[1] Omitting the original First, Third, and Fifth Chapters.

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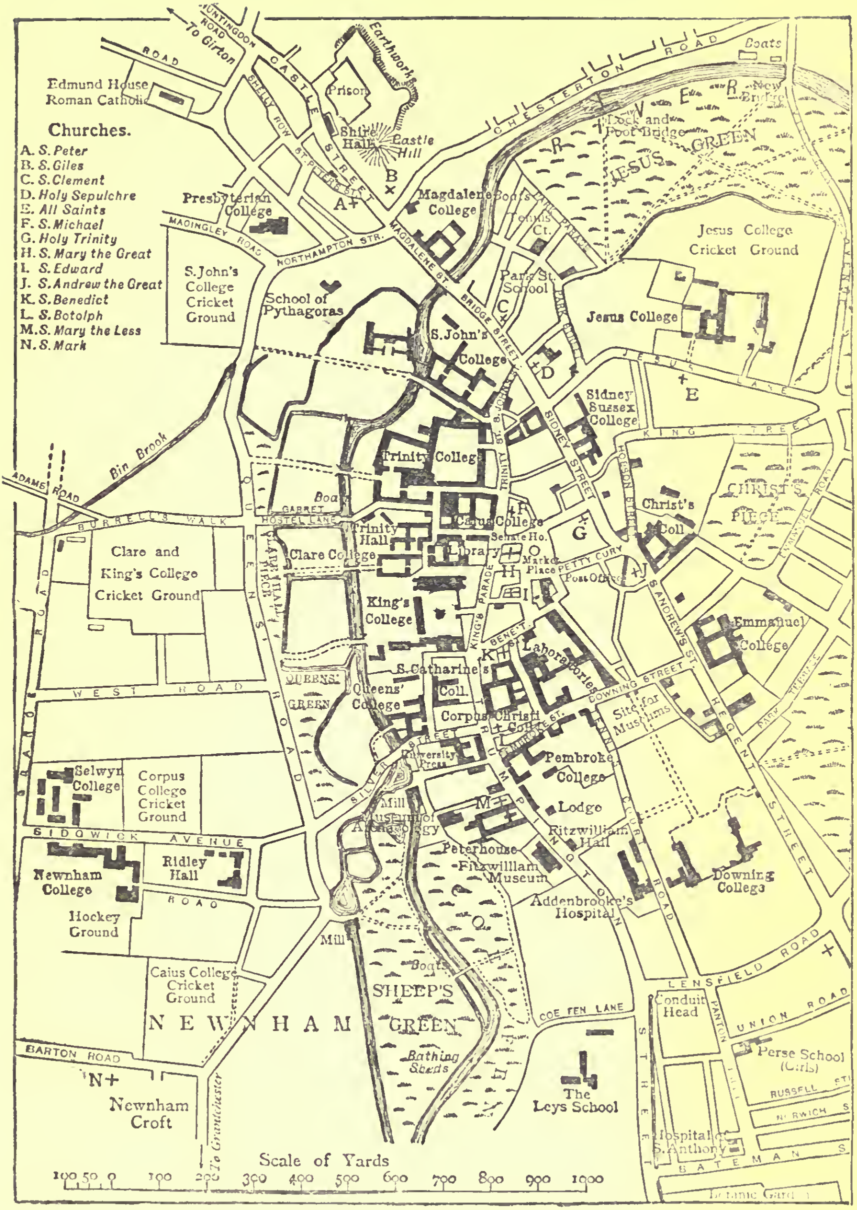
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B. S. Giles
C. S. Clement
D. Holy Sepulchre
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F. S. Michael
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N. S. Mark
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Road
Edmund House Roman Catholic
Castle Street
Shelly Row
Earthwork
Prison
Shire Hall
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Presbyterian College
Madingley Road
Northampton Str.
Magdalene College
Magdalene St.
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Chesterton Road
Boats
New Bridge
River
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Jesus Green
Tennis Ct.
Park Parade
Jesus College Cricket Ground
S. John's College Cricket Ground
School of Pythagoras
Park St. School
Park Street
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Jesus College
Jesus Lane
Sidney Sussex College
Sidney Street
S. John's St.
Trinity St.
King Street
Hobson St.
Christ's Coll
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Trinity College
Boats
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Senate Ho.
Library
Market Place
Petty Cury
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Sidgwick Avenue
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Union Road
Barton Road
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N
Newnham Croft
To Grantchester
The Leys School
Trumpington Street
Russell St.
Norwich St.
Hospital of S. Anthony
Bateman St.
Botanic Garden
Scale of Yards
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SKETCH PLAN OF CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER I

THE COLLEGES

The university and the colleges—the collegiate system—eras of college building—Peterhouse—Michaelhouse—*collegium* and *aula*—Clare—college statutes—architectural scheme of a college—Pembroke—founders of colleges—Gonville—Trinity Hall—Corpus Christi—Cambridge in 1353—Chaucer at Cambridge—the schools, library, the university printers and the Pitt Press, the senate house—King's—King's College chapel—Cambridge college chapels—Queens'—English sovereigns at Cambridge—S. Catherine's—Jesus—Christ's—Lady Margaret and Bishop Fisher—S. John's—Magdalene—King's Hall and Trinity College—college libraries—gateways—Caius—monks in Cambridge—Emmanuel—Sidney Sussex—Downing—public hostels—nationality of founders and general scope of their foundations—university and college revenues.

THE college is an endowed foundation providing for the residence and maintenance of teachers—masters or graduates, and for the free education of a certain number of poor scholars, to whose company are added, according to the capacity of the building, other students who are able to live at their own charges.

Relation of the college to the university.

Much has been said about the relation of the college to the university. By some it is supposed that the latter is nothing but the aggregate of the former; that somewhere in the time of the Georges "the university" arrogated to itself a separate existence, and that since that time university offices have taken precedence of collegiate offices.[1] The *universitas*, the corporation of scholars, must and did precede any college foundation: at the same time we cannot distinguish the development of either of our universities from the rise of these foundations, whose history has, ever since, been the history of the academic society. Each college is independent and autonomous, and though the aggregate of colleges does not constitute the university, each collegiate foundation forms part and parcel of it in virtue of its union with the incorporated society of Chancellor Masters and Scholars which formed at first and still forms "the university."

The college the distinguishing characteristic of Cambridge and Oxford.

It is the collegiate system which distinguishes the English universities from all others. Everywhere else in Europe students live in their own private lodgings and have complete control of their lives, subject to no supervision whatever; the university has no rights over them and no means of ensuring their good behaviour during the period in which they choose to attend its lectures. In many parts of Europe the student passes from a school curriculum in which he has been treated as a complete dependent, on whose sense of common fairplay and honour, even, no reliance can be placed, to a curriculum in which he at once becomes his own absolute master. English instinct is against this—against abandoning a young man at a critical moment of his life to his own devices, his own unsupported endeavours, as it is against ruling him by a system of espionage in his school days. It is in favour in both cases of the moral support to be found in an external guarantee for order, orderliness—and of a tacit assistance to good instincts, a tacit resistance to bad ; and the result is the university college.

---

[1] For university and collegiate officials, see ii. pp. 107-14.

The origin of the college system.

The result, as we say, is an English result, and is the development of a scheme to which shape was first given by Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and Hugh de Balsham Bishop and formerly subprior of Ely, in the reign of Henry III. An endowed house and college statutes formed part of this fine academic scheme, which, in all its amplitude and completeness, sprang Athena-like from the brain of Walter de Merton, and was destined from the first to be realised in a university. It must, nevertheless, be clearly borne in mind that the original college dwellings—and the college statutes—were designed for adult scholars, they were, in fact, the earliest training colleges for teachers, and it is only later that their advantages were extended in equal measure to the taught.[1]

The era of college building.

College building began in the xiii century and ended with the xvith. The first great period of building, however, belongs to the second quarter of the xiv century, and no less than seven colleges and halls were founded between the years 1324 and 1352. Ninety years elapsed before the second period, which began with the foundation of King's College in 1441 and ended with the foundation of S. John's in 1509. The third and last period opened a hundred years after the foundation of King's and closed with the foundation of the first Protestant colleges fifty years later (1595):

---

[1] See ii. 121 *n.*, and early college discipline, pp. 125-6.

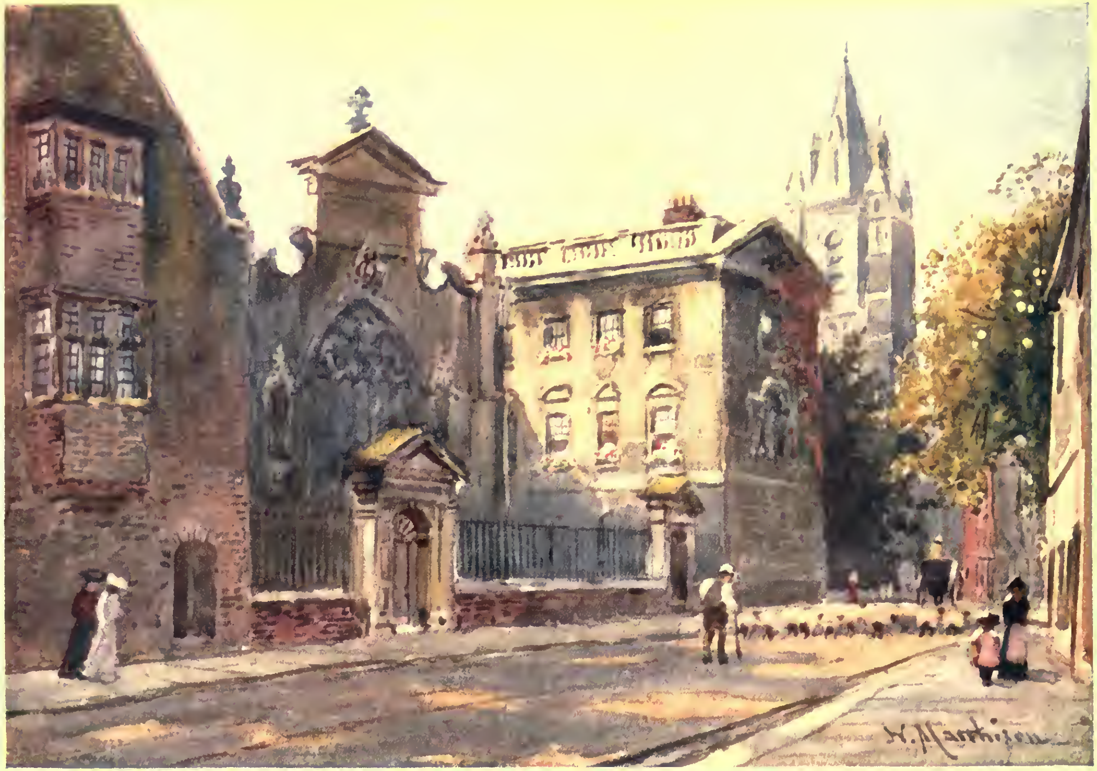
First period.	Second period.	Third period.
Peterhouse 1284		
(28 years)	(68 years)	(50 years)
Michaelhouse 1324	King's College 1441	Magdalene 1542
Clare 1326-38	Queens' 1448	Trinity 1546
King's Hall 1337	S. Catherine's 1473	(Caius 1557)
Pembroke 1347	Jesus 1495	Emmanuel 1584
Gonville Hall 1348	Christ's 1505	Sidney Sussex 1595
Trinity Hall 1350	S. John's 1509	
Corpus Christi 1352		

There were therefore 8 colleges in Cambridge by the middle of the xiv century; when the xvi century opened there were 14, and at its close 12 of the previous buildings remained and 4 new had been added. Downing College (built 1805) must be added to these, making at the present day a total of 17 colleges.

Peterhouse. Peterhouse was founded by Hugh de Balsham[1] for his Ely scholars whom he had in vain attempted to unite, with a separate endowment of their

---

[1] Balsham (a village 9½ miles S.E. of Cambridge) was one of the 10 manorhouses, palaces, and castles of the bishops of Ely in the xiv c. It was Montacute's residence in 1341. See p. 16 *n.* In 1401 a controversy regarding archidiaconal jurisdiction in the university was held here: a similar dispute occurred in Balsham's time. On the alienation of this manor from the see of Ely it was purchased by the founder of the Charterhouse, and now forms part of the endowment of that college. There is a mention of Hugh de Balsham (Hugo de Belesale) in Matthew Paris.


W. Matthison

PETERHOUSE FROM THE STREET.

own, under the same roof as the canons of S. John's Hospital.[1] In 1284 he removed the Ely clerks to two hostels by S. Peter's church at the other end of the town, and at his death two years later left three hundred marks for the erection of a hall. This was built in 1290 on the south-west and formed with the scholars' chambers the only collegiate building at Peterhouse till the close of the xiv century. Here then were the primitive elements of a college; the hostel or scholars' lodging house to which was added a common meeting and dining room, or hall. The little parish church of S. Peter served for prayers and gave its name to the college. College chapels were not built till considerably later: the example first given by Pembroke College in the next century not being followed for another hundred years. The quadrangle was not begun till 1424. A combination room[2] opening out from the hall was added along the south side, and a library to the west; over the former was the master's room, over the latter the students' quarters. But in 1590 the library too was placed on the south, so that all looked upon the ancient lawn, the meadow with its elms beyond and, stretching to the right, with its water gate, Coe fen.

Ye brown, o'er-arching groves,
That contemplation loves,
Where willowy Camus lingers with delight!
Oft at the blush of dawn
I trod your level lawn

. . . . .

With Freedom by my side, and soft-eyed Melancholy.[3]

---

[1] S. John's College, pp. 71-2.

[2] ii. p. 118.

[3] Gray, *Installation Ode.* There has been little water in Coe fen for the

Hostels and church, facing the Trumpington road, were just without Trumpington gate. In 1309 the college area was extended southwards, over the ground occupied by Jesu hostel.[1] The property of the Gilbertine canons was added in the xvi century. The college area covers the space between Trumpington Street and Coe fen, and Little S. Mary's church and Scroope Terrace; two-thirds of the site of the Fitzwilliam Museum being ground purchased from Peterhouse. The new Gisborne building (1825) is built on the west beyond the hall. The frontage of Peterhouse on Trumpington Street is unpromising; nothing suggests the charm of the buildings on the south side or the open country beyond, stored with historical memories. From the hall, a site unrivalled in the university, opens the panelled combination room,[2] the "Good Women" of Chaucer limned in one of its bays, recalling

> The chambres and parlers of a sorte
> With bay windowes

described by the poet's contemporary.

---

last hundred years. The wall and water gate were made during the mastership of Warkworth and the episcopacy of Alcock (1486-1500) and ornamented with the arms of the latter, who was probably a Peterhouse man.

[1] Their house was on a messuage purchased by them "opposite the chapel of S. Edmund": it lay on the south of the two hostels, and reached "as far as the marsh"—*i.e.* Coe fen.

[2] The rebuilding of the hall and combination room took place in 1866-70. Gilbert Scott, William Morris, Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown were called in, and an excellent piece of work accomplished, the fellows' old "Stone parlour" and "inner parlour" being thrown into one to make the present picturesque combination room.

Above the xvi century library (of which Balsham's own books were the nucleus, enriched by Whittlesey, Bottlesham, Arundel, Warkworth, Gray, Perne, and Cosin)[1] a charming corner room in the students' quarters has been set apart by the present Master for evening study, a veritable *solarium* where the readers are surrounded by the portraits of the great sons of Peterhouse.

The chapel A.D. 1628.

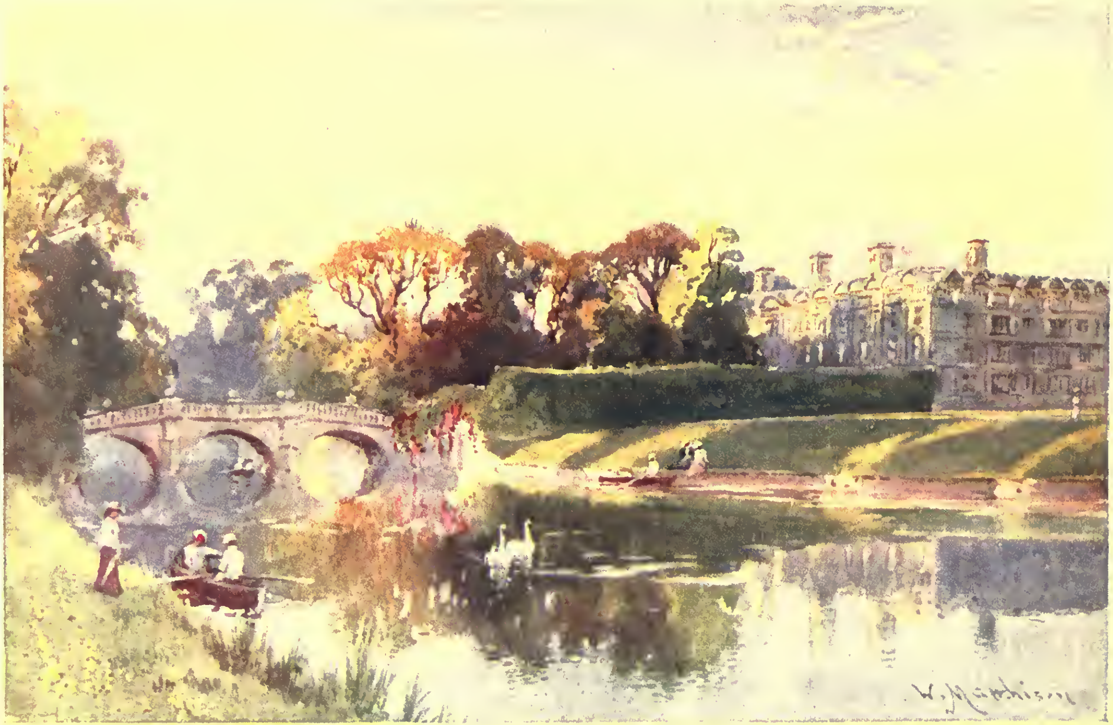
Old S. Peter's church was perhaps burnt down in 1338-1340 by a fire which is supposed to have also destroyed the chapel of S. Edmund. On its site rose the present church of Little S. Mary.[2] But in the early xvii century a movement was set afoot at Peterhouse which resulted in the erection of a college chapel. It now stands in the midst of the college buildings, and one of the two ancient hostels, "the little ostle," was demolished to provide a site. Matthew Wren, uncle of Sir Christopher and then Master of the college, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was the builder. The desire of the fellows of Peterhouse for a chapel of their own coincided with the movement in the English Church for an elaborate ritual. As it stands it is a perfect specimen of a xvii century chapel, with its dark oak stalls, and its east window spared from Commonwealth marauders by the expedient of removing the glass piece by piece and hiding it till the iconoclastic fever had spent itself. But still we have only the shell of the original chapel, the roof of which was adorned with figures of a hundred and fifty angels the statue of S. Peter presiding from the west. Nine years later all this was pulled down by the Commonwealth men and the ritualist movement it embodied came to an end.

---

[1] College libraries, p. 87 *n.* The two Beauforts, the Cardinal and the Duke of Exeter, and two of Henry VI.'s physicians Roger Marshall and John Somerset (p. 55), all enriched this library.

[2] *Beata Maria de Gratia.* For S. Peter's church and Peterhouse chapel, see *Willis and Clark*, i. p. 40.

Hall portraits. Peterhouse hall, in common with the halls of all other colleges, contains the portraits of its great men: here, however, they look down upon us not only from the wall above the high table but from the stained glass of the windows. Holbroke Master of the college, chancellor of the university during the Barnwell process, and an early student of science; Cardinal Beaufort scholar of the house who represented Henry V. at the Council of Constance, and was himself, perhaps, *papabile*; Warkworth writing his Lancastrian Chronicle—are in their doctor's scarlet: here also are Whitgift, Cosin, and Crashaw, who is depicted as a canon of Loreto; the poet Gray, the third duke of Grafton chancellor of the university and Prime Minister, and Henry Cavendish the physicist. The panel portraits were removed here from the Stone parlour. The painting of Bishop Law by Romney (?) reminds us that many of the Laws were at Peterhouse, including the first Lord Ellenborough. Over the high table is Lord Kelvin the latest famous son of the house. Among these must also be noted Thomas Heywood "a prose Shakspeare," Hutchinson "the regicide"


W. Matthison

CLARE COLLEGE AND BRIDGE FROM THE CAM: AUTUMN EVENING one of the first Puritan gentlemen and one of the best, Peter Baro, Markland the classical critic, and Sherlock who measured himself against Bossuet.

Peterhouse owes nothing to royal endowments, but it has not lived outside the stir of national movements whether political or religious. There were fervent Lancastrians within its walls in the xv century, fervent partisans of the Stuarts in the xviith. It was, second to none in England, the anti-Puritan college, numbering among its masters Wren and Cosin, and that Doctor Andrew Perne who was among its most munificent benefactors.[1] Perne was a Petrean first and a theologian afterwards, and, as vice-chancellor, was to be found burning the remains of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius[2] in order to ingratiate the university with Mary, and signing the Thirty-nine Articles on the accession of Elizabeth. The letters AP AP on the weather cock of his college are said to mean: Andrew Perne, "a Papist" or "a Protestant," as you will; and in Cantabrigian language a coat that has been turned is a coat that has been *perned*, and *pernare* signifies to change your opinions with frequency.

Since the xvii century Peterhouse has been connected with no great movements. In the xv century and again in the early xixth it produced eminent physical and mathematical students; and in the xviii century Sir William Browne, President of the College of Physicians, learnt here his science. Scotchmen have a predilection for the college; and a nucleus of history men is being formed under the present Master's guidance.

---

[1] Isaac Barrow uncle of his great namesake was one of the fellows ejected by the Puritan commissioners, before his nephew who had been entered for the college could come into residence. Crashaw was another; and Whitgift was a third fellow whose name stands for anti-Puritanism.

[2] Both sent by Edward VI. to inculcate Protestant doctrine in Cambridge.

Little S. Mary's. The patronage of the historical church which was for three or four centuries the chapel of Peterhouse remains in the hands of the college. It is indeed an integral part of Peterhouse for every Petrean. But its interest does not end here; it reaches across the Atlantic and binds the new continent to the home-hearth of learning in England. A monument in the chapel to Godfrey Washington who died in 1729 bears the arms *argent two bars gules, in chief three estoiles*—the origin of the Stars and Stripes. The Washington crest is an eagle issuant from a crown—affirming sovereignty or escaping from a monarchy?

Cherry Hinton. The Rectory of Cherry Hinton two and a half miles south-east of Cambridge, on the way to the village of Balsham, is no less important in the history of the Ely scholars. In the xiv century the endowment of the college was not sufficient for their maintenance all the year round: the college nevertheless had made rapid progress since its separate existence at Peterhouse began, and Fordham Bishop of Ely (1388-1426) decided to confirm to them the greater tithes of Cherry Hinton of which the college is to this day rector; but which had indeed been first assigned them by Bishop Simon Langham as early as 1362.[1]

A visit to this interesting church completes our picture of the college which "his affection for learning and the state of the poor scholars who were much put to it for conveniency of lodging" persuaded Balsham to endow.

Peterhouse lodge. The lodge of Peterhouse is on the opposite side of Trumpington Street, and is the only example of a lodge outside the college precincts in the university. The house belonged to Charles Beaumont, nephew of the metaphysical poet Joseph Beaumont who was Master of Peterhouse, and was bequeathed by him for the college lodge in 1727.

Peterhouse has always been one of the small colleges. Balsham founded it for a master, 14 fellows, and a few Bible clerks.[2] In the time of Charles I. (1634) it maintained 19 fellows, 29 Bible clerks, and 8 scholars, making with the college officers and other students a total of 106. Sixty years earlier, when Caius wrote, there were 96 inmates, and in the middle of the xviii century, 90. To-day there are 11 fellowships, and 23 scholarships varying from £20 to £80 a year in value.

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[1] In the reign of Richard II. the merits of the Peterhouse scholars were as celebrated as their "indigence" was "notorious"; they continued in unceasing exercise of discipline and study, and the tithes of Cherry Hinton appear to have been bestowed in the hope of providing through them a bulwark against lollardry.

[2] The Bible-clerks (*bibliotistae*) were so called because it was their duty to read the Scriptures in hall at meal time: they were a sort of poorer scholar or 'sizar,' see ii. p. 123.

The bishops of Ely have never ceased to be the visitors of the college.

Michaelhouse. Nearly forty years elapsed before a second college was projected. On September 27 1324 Hervey de Stanton, who like other founders in both universities — like Merton, Alcock, Wykeham, and Wolsey—was a notable pluralist,[1] opened Michaelhouse on the present site of Trinity. His purchases for the site had been made in 1323-4, and as was the case with the foundations preceding and succeeding it, Michaelhouse was an adaptation of edifices already existing. It remained one of the principal collegiate buildings until the xvi century and was successively enlarged by absorbing both Crouched and Gregory's as students' hostels.

Domus aula collegium. As Peterhouse was called "the House-of-Scholars of S. Peter," so was Michaelhouse called "the House-of-Scholars of S. Michael." It will be seen that *domus* and *aula* were the earliest appellations. As *hospitia* or *diversoria literarum* signified the unendowed house, so *domus* or *aula scholarium* signified the endowed house. Such compound titles as "house of S. Peter or hall-of-scholars of the Bishop of Ely" precede, as they explain, the later title *college*. A college denotes not a dwelling but a community: precisely the same distinction is to be drawn between *domus* and *collegium* as between *monasterium* and *conventus*. Every university *domus* was intended for a college of scholars, as every religious house was intended for a convent of religious ; the transition was easy, though not logical, from "college of the hall of Valense-Marie" to Valence-Marie College, and to-day the word is used indiscriminately to mean both the building and the community.[1]

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[1] He was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Edward II.; Canon of York and Wells, and Rector of East Dereham and of North Creake in Norfolk. For Michaelhouse, see also Statutes p. 16 and Trinity College p. 82.

Clare Hall 1326-1338. Clare Hall was erected on the site of University Hall, a house for scholars founded during the chancellorship of Richard de Badew who obtained the king's licence for it on February 20 1326, when he was lodged at Barnwell.[2] In the next reign (1344, 18th of Edward III.) it is referred to as "the hospice belonging to Cambridge university." This hall, like Peterhouse, originated in two hostels purchased for the university in the street running parallel to the High Street, from the present site of Queen's to the back gate of Trinity.[3] Twelve years later Elizabeth de Burgh[4] sister and co-heiress of

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[1] Elizabeth de Burgh speaks of "the college" of her "aforesaid house." Cf. the words used by the founder of Trinity Hall as regards his own foundation : University Calendar *sub rubrica* Trinity Hall.

[2] See royal visits, p. 62.

[3] See Mill Street, pp. 45-6 *n*.

[4] She was daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford by Joan daughter of Edward I. Her brother and co-heir fell at Bannockburn 1314. Like Lady Margaret she was three times married, first to John de Burgh son and heir of Richard Earl of Ulster, her third husband also being an Irishman.

Chancellor Badew was a member of the Chelmsford knightly family of that name.

Gilbert Earl of Clare founded her college and in 1340 she obtained possession of University Hall,[1] and decreed in 1359 that it should thenceforth be known as the "House of Clare."[2]

The scheme of building ot Clare Hall was quadrangular; but no college was longer in the building. A hall, combination room, and Master's room were on the west, while the chapel at the north-east angle was not built till 1535.[3] The scholars had till then kept their prayers in the parish church of S. Zachary and in the south chancel aisle of S. Edward's. The present chapel was not begun till 1763. As we see it now Clare is a homogeneous piece of work of the time of Charles I., and in its classical beauty is one of the finest in Cambridge. The rebuilding, begun in 1635/6, was interrupted by the Civil War and completed 1710-14. There is no record of the architect, but an unsupported tradition points to Inigo Jones.

When one pictures Clare Hall it is to recall "the Backs," the characteristic feature of Cambridge scenery which rivals the beauty of "the gardens" in the sister university. The grounds of the succession of collegiate buildings fronting the ancient High Street, with sloping lawns, bowling green, and fellows' garden, extend along the backs of the colleges beyond the narrow river over which each college throws its bridge, and beyond again runs the well known road and the college playgrounds.

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[1] April 5 1340. Grant by the university of the *domus universitatis* to Elizabeth de Burgh Lady de Clare, in consideration of her gift of the advowson of Litlyngton. See Caius p. 93 *n.*

[2] Peterhouse, Michaelhouse, Clare House—the earliest name for a Cambridge college; Corpus also was incorporated as the *Domus Scholarium Corporis Christi*, etc. King's Hall is the first to be so styled and is followed by Pembroke Hall. In 1440 we have King's College. Peterhouse and Trinity Hall are now the only colleges which retain the older style, although Clare itself was called Clare Hall until 1856.

[3] Cf. p. 58 *n.*

Clare is supposed to have been the "Soler hall" of Chaucer's Tale.[1] It has enjoyed the reputation of a fashionable college, and indeed of a "sporting college." It no doubt enjoyed the former reputation from the first, as a foundation under the patronage of the great house of Clare, and furnished some of the overdressed dandies who flocked to Cambridge in Chaucer's time, as well as his "pore" Yorkshire "scolers" or others like them. Ralph Cudworth was Master of the college; Tillotson Archbishop of Canterbury, the martyr bishop Latimer, and Whiston the successor of Newton were its fellows; and Nicholas Heath primate of York, Sir George Downing, Cole the antiquary, Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the first Marquis Cornwallis, Brodrick Archbishop of Cashel, and Whitehead the laureate were its *alumni*. It was founded for 20 fellows or scholars, 6 of whom were to be in priests' orders. In 1634 there were 15 fellows and 32 scholars, in all 106 inmates. In the time of Caius there had been 129, and in the middle of the xviii century there were about 100. There are now 18 fellowships and 31 scholarships ranging in value from £20 to £60.

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[1] "Soler," apparently used for a loggia or balcony. East Anglian belfries were called bell-solers. Cf. *solarium* for an upper chamber, and *nei solai* (Ital.) for "in the garrets." In early Cambridge college nomenclature *solar* was an upstairs, *celar* (cellar) a downstairs room.

College statutes. The statutes of Clare Hall were written by the founder in 1359, a year before her death. The statutes of Peterhouse[1] and of Pembroke do not exist in their original form—and those of Hervey de Stanton for Michaelhouse and of Elizabeth de Burgh for Clare must be held to be the two types of Cambridge college statutes. Of these the latter rank as the most enlightened original code framed for a Cambridge college. Stanton's contain little more than directions for the conduct of a clerical seminary, and this type was followed by the framers of the statutes of Corpus Christi and in their general intention by Gonville in statutes afterwards modified by Bateman. The statutes of King's Hall framed for Richard II. reverted to the Merton type; Henry VI.'s statutes for King's follow, as we shall see, the type already laid down by William of Wykeham, while Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester framed statutes which contain some original elements.

Elizabeth de Burgh's originality consists in her realisation of the value of learning and of general knowledge for all kinds of men and for its own sake. "In every degree, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, skill in learning is of no mean advantage; which although sought for by many persons in many ways is

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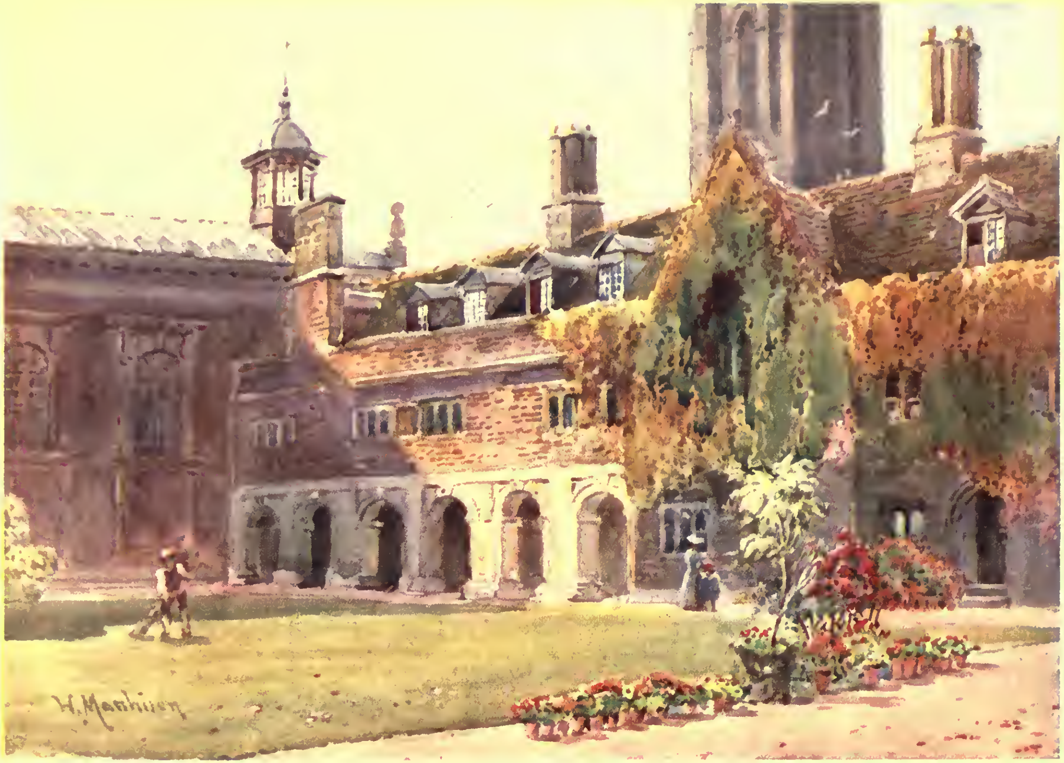
[1] Simon Montacute, 17th Bishop of Ely, re-wrote the statutes of Peterhouse, 1338-44.



A COURT AND CLOISTERS IN PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

to be found most fully in the university where a *studium generale* is known to flourish."[1] Thence it sends forth its "disciples," "who have tasted its sweetness," skilled and fitted, to fill their place in the world. She wishes to promote, with the advancement of religious worship and the welfare of the state, "the extension of these sciences"; her object being that "the pearl of knowledge" "once discovered and acquired by study and learning" "should not lie hid," but be diffused more and more widely, and when so diffused give light to them that walk in the darkness of the shadow of ignorance.[2]

The statutes of Marie Valence were written twelve years earlier and even in the form in which they have come down to us have a character of their own and conform to none of the three types of Merton, Michaelhouse, or Clare.[3]

Merton's statutes were issued in 1264, 1270, and 1274, and the 1274 statutes exist in the university library in a register of the Bishops of Lincoln. Mr. J. Bass Mullinger has printed Hervey de Stanton's in Appendix D. to his "History of the University of Cambridge"; they are contained in the Michaelhouse book in the muniment room of Trinity.

For King's Hall, founded in 1337, see page 80.

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[1] Cf. Merton's "Oxoniae, vel alibi ubi *studium vigere* contigerit" (1264), and the words in Alan Bassett's bequest for monastic scholars at Oxford or elsewhere *ubi studium fuerit universitatis* (1233).

[2] See also p. 35 footnote.

[3] The proportion of priests among the fellows (*i.e.* scholars on the foundation) was to be 6 in 30, 4 in 20, 2 in 12. See also pp. 102 and 103.

Pembroke College A.D. 1347.

Pembroke Hall was founded in 1347 by Marie daughter of Guy de Chatillon comte de Saint-Paul and of Mary grand-daughter of Henry III. She was of the blood of that Walter de Chatillon who in the retreat from Damietta during the 7th crusade, held a village alone against successive assaults of the Saracen ; and having drawn forth their missiles from his body after each sally, charged afresh to the cry of *Chatillon! Chevaliers!*—and the widow of Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke the inexorable enemy of Robert Bruce in Edward's wars against the Scottish king. Pembroke stands opposite Peterhouse and several hostels were destroyed to make room for it. It was called by the founder the hall of Valencemarie, and in Latin documents *aula Pembrochiana.*

Architectural scheme of a college.

With Pembroke the first college foundation stone was laid in Cambridge. Here for the first time we have a homogeneous collegiate house and not a mere adaptation of pre-existing buildings, and may therefore enquire what was the architectural plan of a college. The principle of the quadrangle, although it underwent considerable architectural development, was recognised with the first attempt at college architecture.[1] The special collegiate buildings at first occupied one side of the court only. Here, facing the gateway, were to be found the hall with its buttery and kitchen, above the hall the Master's lodging, with perhaps a garret bedroom above it—the *solarium.* The combination room attiguous to the hall makes its appearance in the next century, and at right angles or parallel to this main block stretch the students' chambers and studies. A muniment room or treasury is over the gate ; the library, occupying a third side, and the chapel, come later ; and last of all the architectural gateway is added.[1] Meadows and fields and the Master's plot of ground are soon developed into the Master's garden, the fellows' garden, the bowling green, and tennis court. By the xv century the buildings round a courtyard easily assume the plan of the new domestic dwelling of that epoch, of which the type is Haddon Hall Derbyshire and, in Cambridge, Queens' College : the college *domus* of the xiv century becomes the quadrangular manor-house of the xvth and xvith. In such a scheme of public buildings only a few scholars could be lodged in the main court, and smaller quadrangles for their accommodation were therefore added. University Hostel formed one side of such a second court in Pembroke ; Clare and Queens' had also second courts, and their example was followed at Christ's and S. John's.

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[1] Cf. King's Hall, p. 81.

Here then we have a scheme of building which is neither monastic nor feudal. It may with propriety be called scholastic but it is also essentially domestic architecture. The college quadrangle as we see it evolved in Cambridge is the earliest attempt at devising a dwelling which should resemble neither the cloister nor the castle, should suggest neither enclosure nor self-defence—a scholastic dwelling. The college is the outcome of that moment in our history when feudalism had played its part and monasticism was losing its power ; it represents what the rise of the universities themselves represents and its architectural interest is unique. No monastic terms are retained ; the hall is not a refectory, the one constant monastic and canonical feature, the church, has no part at all in the scheme—the scholars were men not separated from their fellows and they used the parish church.

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[1] Pembroke College itself was provided with a treasury ; its xv-century library, unlike the contemporary arrangement at Peterhouse, was over the hall. For the combination room see p. 84 and ii. p. 118. For the gateway, p. 89. For students' studies, ii. p. 136 *n.*

The first collegiate dwelling houses, like the English manor-house, consciously or unconsciously followed one of the oldest house-plans known to civilisation—the scheme of dwelling-rooms round a court was that of the Roman house. The *aula seu domus scholarium* had moreover as its starting point—like the earliest *domus ecclesiae*—a hall in a house ; the hall is the nucleus of the college.[1]

The site of Pembroke.

Marie de Saint-Paul, like her predecessor Elizabeth de Burgh, purchased university property for the site of her college. "University hostel" which stood here formed one side of the narrow quadrangle the building of which was at once begun, and a messuage of Hervey de Stanton's formed the other. Within five years the complete area had been acquired, and it is probable that the south side was also partly built before the founder's death in 1377. On the east were the hall and kitchen, on the west, abutting on the street, was the gate with students' chambers on either side of it. With the hostel the founder bought an acre of meadowland which she converted into an orchard—" the orchard against Pembroke Hall" it is called in her lifetime. She also obtained permission from two of the Avignon popes—Innocent VI. and Urban V.—to erect a chapel and bell tower, and these were built, after the middle of the xiv century, at the north west corner of the closed quadrangle. This interesting site was used later as a library and is still a reference library and lecture room. Traces of fresco remain under the panelling, and the chaplain's room with its hagioscope for the altar is on the east. The lower part of the bell tower also still exists.

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[1] Cf. Peterhouse p. 5. The Christian church evolved in Rome no doubt originated in the domestic *aula*, the basilica, of a great private house, and was surrounded by those dwelling-rooms which constituted the first *titulus* or *domus ecclesiae.* So at Cambridge we have a *domus collegii*, and *domus vel aula scholarium* sancti Michaelis or Clarae.

In 1389 the college acquired Cosyn's Place, and later Bolton's, and in 1451 a perpetual lease of S. Thomas's hostel. University hostel retained its name till the last quarter of the xvi century, and it was only pulled down in 1659 to make room for the Hitcham building which now forms the south side of the second court. There is nothing left of the xiv and xv century structures. The present lodge, hall, and library and the other new buildings in stone and red brick have all been erected since 1870. The chapel occupies part of the site of S. Thomas's hostel, and was built by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, at his own charges; the architect being his nephew Christopher Wren. The bishop had already built Peterhouse chapel and this new work was undertaken in fulfilment of his intention to make some pious offering if he were ever liberated from the Tower, where the Parliament kept him between the years 1642 and 1658. The fine combination room is panelled with the oak from the xvii century hall. The portrait of Marie de Saint-Paul presides in the present hall with that of Henry VI. flanked by busts of Pitt, Gray, and Stokes.

Two spiritual relationships were bequeathed by the founder to the college. One with the Franciscan friars, the other with the Minoresses of Denney. The former connexion ceased almost as soon as it was devised, for the existing edition of the statutes (made after the founder's death) omits all mention of it.[1]

No college but Trinity outshines Pembroke for the fame of its scholars and none for the antiquity of its fame. Henry VI. in a charter granting lands speaks of it as "this eminent and most precious college, which is and ever hath been resplendent among all places in the university."[2] The king so favoured it that it was called his "adopted daughter"; and when Elizabeth rode past it on her way to her lodging at King's she saluted it with one of those happy phrases characteristic of the Tudors: "*O domus antiqua et religiosa!*" words which sum its significance in university history.

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[1] After the founder's death two rectors were to exercise complete jurisdiction, one of these was to be a secular graduate but the other is to be a Franciscan. Moreover the fellows of the college were "to give their best counsel and aid" to the abbess and sisters of Denney abbey who had from the founder "a common origin with them."

[2] *Notabile et insigne et quam pretiosum collegium quod inter omnia loca universitatis . . . mirabiliter splendet et semper resplenduit.*

Pembroke is the *alma mater* of Edmund Spenser,[1] of Gray,[2] of the younger Pitt,[3] of Thixtil, fellow in 1519, whose extraordinary erudition is praised by Caius, of Wharton the anatomist, Sydenham the xvii century physician, Gabriel Harvey the "Hobbinoll" of the *Shepherd's Calendar*,[4] Sir George Stokes the mathematician, and Sir Henry Maine.[5] *Grindal and *Whitgift[6] of Canterbury, *Rotherham and *Booth of York, *Richard Fox Master of the college, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of Corpus Christi Oxford, the two Langtons Bishops of *S. David's and Winchester, *Ridley the martyr Bishop of London, *Lancelot Andrewes Bishop of Ely, then of Winchester, with

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[1] Spenser entered as a sizar.

[2] Gray left Peterhouse on account of some horseplay on the part of its students who raised a cry of fire which brought him out of bed and down from his window overlooking Little S. Mary's church in an escape which his dread of fire had induced him to contrive. Of his treatment at Pembroke he writes that it was such as might have been extended to "Mary de Valence in person."

[3] Pitt in introducing his son to the college writes: "Such as he is, I am happy to place him at Pembroke; and I need not say how much of his parents' hearts goes along with him." (Letter to the Senior tutor of the college, 1767.)

[4] He was afterwards fellow of Trinity Hall, and Spenser dedicates one of the Eclogues to him there.

[5] See Trinity Hall, p. 29.

[6] The asterisks denote Masters of the College. Whitgift migrated from Queens' to Pembroke, and was subsequently fellow of Peterhouse and Master of Pembroke. Langton of Winchester was a fellow.

*Felton and *Wren of Ely, are on its honour roll. The second Master was Robert Thorpe of Thorpe-next-Norwich, knighted by Edward III. and afterwards Lord Chancellor.[1] The old college garden, loved by Ridley, is much despoiled, but "Ridley's walk" remains. Pembroke gave two other martyrs for their religious opinions, Rogers and Bradford. Two fellows of the college[2] in the reign of Edward III. died in Rome where they had gone to obtain from Innocent VI. possession of part of the original endowment of the college; a statute prescribes that mass shall be said for them each July.

In the library are Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and the *Golden Legend*, printed by Caxton. It is this last book which brought him the promise of "a buck in summer and a doe in winter" from the Earl of Arundel, for its great length had made him "half desperate to have accomplished it." There, too, is Gray's MS. of the "Elegy." The college also possesses Bishop Andrewes' library. Matthew Wren is buried in the chapel, and his staff and mitre are preserved in the college, the latter being a solitary specimen of a post-reformation mitre; it was worn over a crimson silk cap.

The college was founded for 30 scholars, if the revenues permitted.[3] In the time of Caius it housed 87 members; in Fuller's time 100 (including 20 fellows and 33 scholars); in the middle of the xviii century the number of students averaged 50 or 60.

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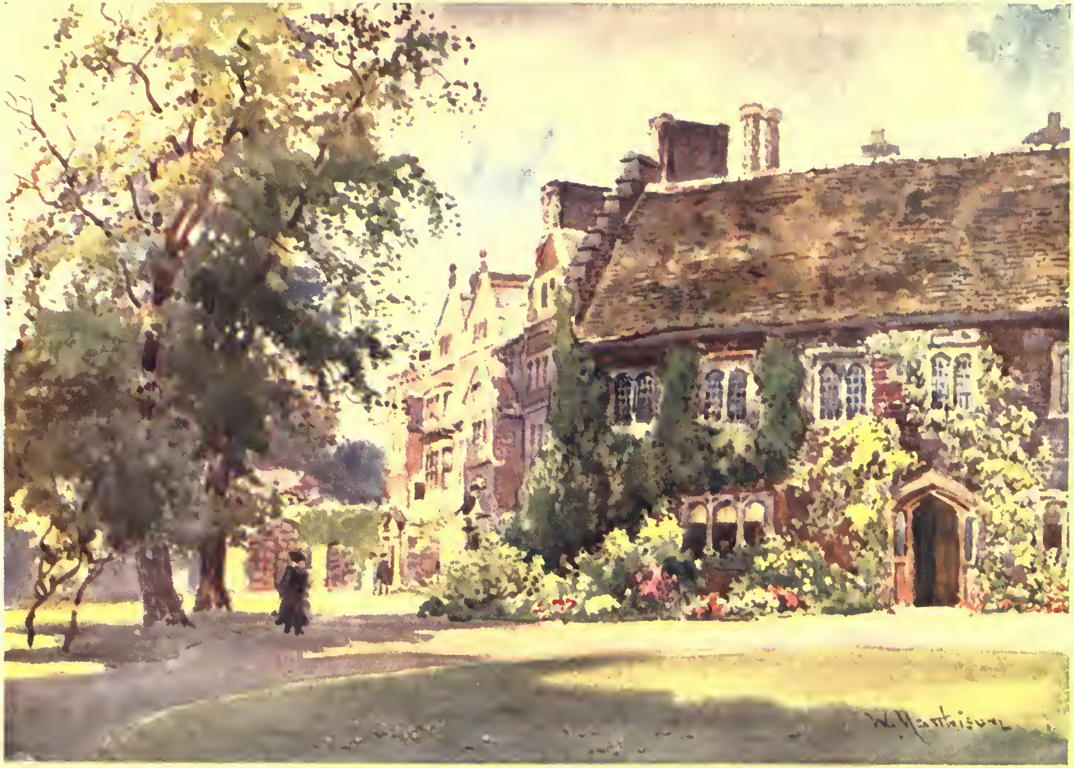
[1] p. 45. [2] Reyner D'Aubeney and Robert Stanton. [3] p. 17 *n.*



TRINITY HALL

There are now 13 fellowships and 34 scholarships of the value of £20 to £80.

Founders of Cambridge colleges.

The Cambridge colleges are remarkable for the large proportion of them founded and endowed by women. Of the 16 colleges built between the xiii and xvi centuries, now in existence, 6 are due to the munificence of women—Clare, Pembroke, Queens', Christ's, S. John's, and Sidney Sussex. Next as college builders come the chancellors of England, the bishops, and the kings who have each endowed the university with three colleges. Hervey de Stanton, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reign of Edward II., Thomas Lord Audley chancellor to Henry VIII., and Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer to Elizabeth, all founded colleges, two of which still remain—Magdalene and Emmanuel.[1] Hugh Balsham of Ely, Bateman of Norwich, and Alcock of Ely founded three existing colleges—Peterhouse, Trinity Hall, and Jesus.[1] The kings of England account for some of the finest work in the university, King's Hall, King's College, and Trinity College.[2]

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[1] Alcock himself, by a unique arrangement made with Rotherham, held the Seals conjointly with that prelate, then Bishop of Lincoln, from April to September 1474; and he had acted in parliament in the same capacity for Stillington in 1472. Merton whose Cambridge operations were described in the last chapter was Lord Chancellor; so was Sir Robert Thorpe who began the Schools, and so were Booth and Rotherham who completed the Schools quadrangle and built the old library. John Somerset, who was chiefly instrumental in the founding of King's College, was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Henry VI.

[2] Cf. nationality of founders of colleges p. 99.

The early series of colleges.

In the series of Cambridge colleges the 3 foundations of the early xiv century which followed Peterhouse were all merged in other colleges. Pembroke which was the sixth foundation was the first piece of collegiate building to be carried through in Cambridge, and Corpus Christi must rank as the second.

The colleges from Peterhouse to Pembroke :—

Peterhouse 1284
Michaelhouse 1324
University Hall 1326
Clare 1338
King's Hall 1337
Pembroke Hall 1347

Gonville 1348
Trinity Hall 1350

Corpus 1352

Michaelhouse and King's Hall went to swell the greatness of Trinity ; University Hall became the foundation stone of Clare : and all of them, with Gonville and Trinity Hall, were incomplete adaptations of earlier buildings at the time when Pembroke and Corpus were finished.

We now come to two colleges which formed an East Anglian corner in the university.

Gonville Hall 1348.

Within a month of the licence granted to Marie de Saint-Paul, Edmund Gonville obtained his for the erection of the hall which is called after him. Gonville was an East Anglian parson, rector of two Norfolk parishes and sometime vicar-general of the diocese of Ely. In one of these parishes his elder brother Sir Nicholas Gonville of Rushworth had already established a college of canons, and

Edmund Gonville himself was a great favourer of the Dominicans. Edward III.'s licence enabled him to found a hall for 20 scholars in Lurteburgh (now Freeschool) Lane, between S. Benet's and great S. Mary's, in 1348. In 1352 this site was exchanged with Benet College for another on the other side of the High Street,[1] the present site of Gonville and Caius. The Hall was dedicated in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and enjoyed a great reputation among East Anglians and various proofs of papal favour up to the eve of the Reformation.[2] Like Corpus its object was the education of the clergy and theology was to be their study. Alexander VI. (1492-1503) licensed annually two of its students to preach in any part of England, apparently a unique permission.[3] Humphrey de la Pole—who resided for many years—and his brother Edward, sons of the second Duke of Suffolk, were students here; so was Sir Thomas Gresham. Gonville was refounded as Gonville and Caius by Doctor Keys (Caius) two hundred years later.[4]

Trinity Hall
A.D. 1350.

Edmund Gonville left William Bateman Bishop of Norwich his executor in the interests of his new foundation. Bateman, a notable figure in the xiv century, set forth as Edward's ambassador to the King of France in the month that the Black Death made its appearance in East Anglia (March 1350), and died at Avignon on an embassy from the king to the Pope. In 1350 on his return from France,[1] he founded Trinity Hall, near Gonville, on the site of the hostel of the monks of Ely[2] which he obtained for that purpose.[3]

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[1] The stone house and John Goldcorn's property—all opposite Michaelhouse—were then fashioned by Bateman, after the founder's demise, as Gonville Hall.

[2] See Gonville and Caius, pp. 92-3.

[3] Twelve preachers from each university were annually licensed for any diocese in England. Gonville was now allowed two such licences on its own account.

[4] p. 90.

If Gonville's foundation was intended for the country parson, Bateman's was intended for the *prete di carriera.* Both were designed to repair the ravages in the ranks of the clergy left by the plague, but while Gonville's clerks were to devote their time to the study of theology Bateman's were to study exclusively civil and canon law. The college was built round a quadrangle,[4] and the religious services were kept in the church of S. John the Baptist (or Zachary) and afterwards in the north aisle of S. Edward's church; these two churches being shared with the students of Clare. Indeed it was owing to Gardiner's policy and Ridley's advice that Trinity Hall escaped incorporation with Clare College in the reign of Edward VI. The library remains as it was in the early years of

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[1] He landed at Yarmouth in June, and the charter of foundation is dated November 20.

[2] Magdalene, p. 76.

[3] The style "the keeper and scholars of the college of the Holy Trinity of Norwich," reminds us that the original dedication of this and Gonville corresponds to that of two of the ancient Cambridge guilds—the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation.

[4] The N.E. corner was obtained four years after the foundation by the purchase of a house at the corner of Henney Lane.

Elizabeth's reign, and was founded by Bateman with the gift of his own collection. The Norfolk men were famous litigants. Doctor Jessopp has shown that neither the Black Death nor any lesser tragedy could hold them from an appeal to the law on every trivial pretext. That the first college of jurists should have been founded by a native of Norwich is certainly therefore a fitting circumstance.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England was Master of Trinity Hall in the reign of Edward VI. and again in the first year of Mary. He used to say "if all his palaces were blown down by iniquity, he would creep honestly into that shell"—the mastership of Trinity Hall. Other distinguished Masters were Haddon,[1] Master of the Requests to Elizabeth, and Sir Henry Maine who had been fellow and tutor. Bishop Sampson, a pupil of Erasmus, Thirlby, Glisson,[2] Bilney, one of the early reformers, Lord Chesterfield, Bulwer Lytton, and Leslie Stephen were all members of Trinity Hall, which is still the college of the larger number of Cambridge law students. There are 13 fellowships, and about 12 scholarships varying in value from £80 to £21 a year, besides exhibitions of the same value.

In the middle of the xiv century there were two important guilds in Cambridge, the one under the invocation of *Corpus Christi* "keeping their prayers in S. Benet's church," the other dedicated to the

[1] See also King's.

[2] See also Caius.

Blessed Virgin "observing their offices in S. Mary's church." These guilds or confraternities—which existed all through the middle ages as they had existed in classical Rome with precisely similar features—were to be found, as we know, especially among the artisan class, and took the place of our modern trades unions and mutual insurance societies. Like every enterprise of the ages of faith they had a semi-religious character, were usually attached as its "sisters and brethren" to some church, and owed their members not only material assistance but spiritual, paying for masses to be offered for the repose of the souls of all deceased brethren.

Corpus Christi A.D. 1352. It was two such guilds which forgetting their differences and laying aside all emulations, joined together in the middle of the xiv century in order to found and endow a college in their town. The brethren of the guilds had been planning this enterprise since 1342, and in the following years those who possessed contiguous tenements in the parishes of S. Benet and S. Botolph pulled them down "and with one accord set about the task of establishing a college there."[1] "By this means *they cleared a site for their college square in form.*"[2] Here then, as in the case of King's Hall and Pembroke, the earliest collegiate buildings designed as such, the plan was quadrangular. Sometimes, as in the case of Trinity Hall, the adjacent buildings for completing the court could not be at once obtained, in others, as at Corpus itself and Clare, the courts are irregular, owing to the same difficulty of getting the foursquare space. Corpus Christi college presents us, indeed, with the unique and perfect example in Cambridge of the ancient college court. By March 1352 a clear space, 220 feet long by 140 wide, had been cleared, and the guilds worked with so much good will that they had nearly finished the exterior wall of their college in the same year. "The building of the college as it appears at the present day," writes John Jocelyn, "with walls of enclosure, chambers arranged about a quadrangle, hall, kitchen, and Master's habitation, was fully finished in the days of Thomas Eltisley, the first Master [1352-1376] and of his successor" [1376-1377]. This original court is what we see also to-day: the buildings are in two floors, the garrets were added later. The hall range contains the Master's lodging with a *solarium* above it, a door and passage leading thence to the hall. The three other sides were devoted to scholars' chambers. S. Benet's served as the scholars' church, and the gate was on this side of the court.

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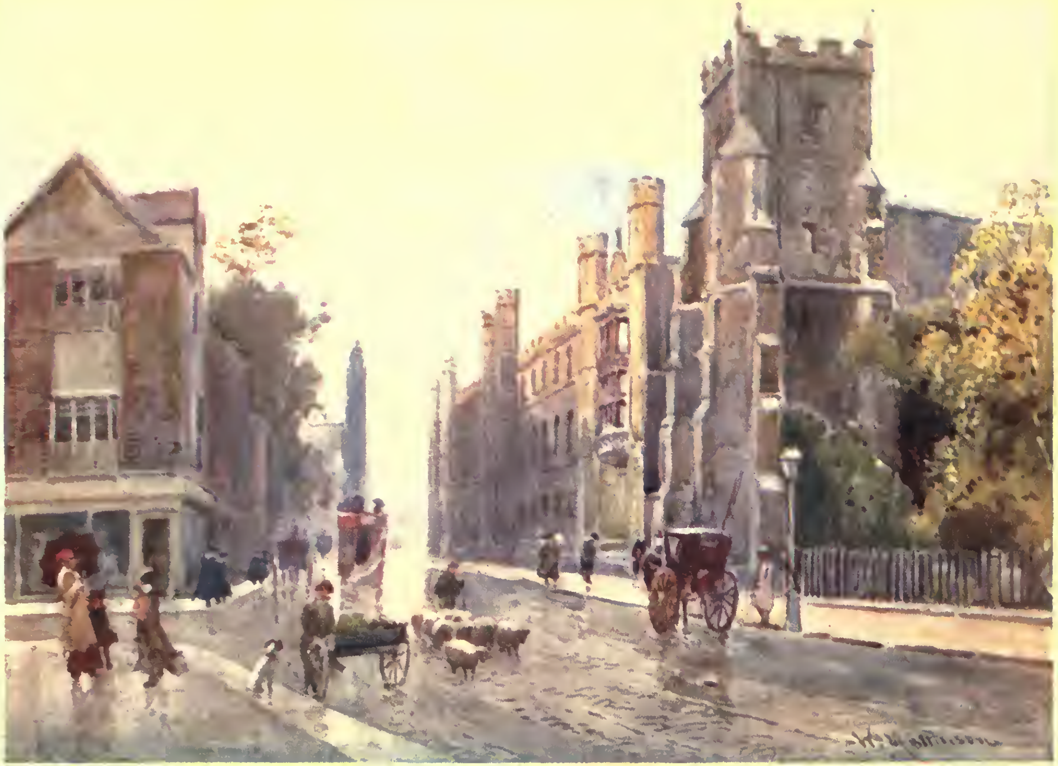
[1] Account given of the building of Corpus by Archbishop Parker's Latin secretary, John Jocelyn, fellow of Queens'. It is supposed that the hall of the guild of Corpus Christi was near the old court; S. Mary's guild met at the hostel of that name near the present Senate House. See also p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*

Before the reign of Henry VIII. there was but little glass or panelling in either story of the building. But in Jocelyn's time the Master's and fellows' rooms were "skilfully decorated" with both. The fellows and scholars together panelled, paved, decorated, plastered, and glazed the public rooms of the college, in one case "the college paying for the material and the scholars for the labour." Thus was this college born of the democratic spirit and the sentiment of union nurtured in the same spirit. The college was called "of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin" but was familiarly known from the close of the xiv century to modern times as Benet College. It lay in the heart of the Saxon town, between the Saxon church of S. Benet and the church of the Saxon Botolph which also served the scholars for their prayers. The former was used until the year 1500, when a small chapel communicating with the south chancel of the church was built. In 1579 Sir Nicholas Bacon gave the college a chapel; and the modern chapel is on its site. Sir Francis Drake was the largest contributor next to Bacon. The queen gave timber, and the scholars of the college again toiled side by side with the workmen.

On March 21, 1353 the guilds made over to their college Gonville's house in Lurteburgh Lane which they had exchanged with his executor Bateman. More ground was purchased facing the street and in time two large neighbouring hostels S. Mary's and S. Bernard's were acquired for students. The second court has all been built since 1823, and contains the modern hall, lodge, library and chapel, and muniment room, and the Lewes collection. The ancient hall serves as the present kitchen.

In the Library is one of the most valuable collections of MSS. in the country, the spoils of the dissolved monasteries gathered together by Archbishop


W. Matthison

ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH AND CORPUS COLLEGE FROM THE STEPS OF THE PITT PRESS,
TRUMPINGTON STREET

Parker. Here is the oldest or "Winchester" Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (to A.D. 892), and Jerome's version of the four gospels sent by Gregory to Augustin—"the most interesting MS. in England." Here is the splendid Peterborough psalter and "bestiary"; a *penitentiale* of Archbishop Egbert's (A-S. translation); a Pontifical, probably written before 1407; a xv century MS. Homer rescued by Parker from the whilom baker of S. Augustine's Abbey; Matthew Paris' own copy of his history; the Sarum missal of 1506, and a copy of the great English bible of 1568. Here also is the first draft (1562) of the Articles of Religion, 42 in number, scored over by Matthew Parker's red chalk; the 3 articles which were finally omitted (dealing with the state of the departed, the last containing the statement "That all shall not be saved") are here struck out by Parker. The clause concerning the transubstantiation of the eucharist he has similarly overscored.

Corpus also houses some of the most interesting plate in the university.

Candle rents.
Corpus Christi procession.
College arms.

The college was the chief sufferer in the peasant revolt of 1381 principally on account of the wealth which accrued to it from "candle rents," a tax chargeable on the tenants of all houses which had been guild property.[1] On the festival of Corpus Christi—the

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[1] The brethren and sisters of the two guilds presumably thus taxed all house property bequeathed by them to their college, to defray the expenses of the wax lights so freely used in funeral and other liturgical rites. It has been pointed out that the riots occurred two days after the feast of

Thursday in the Octave of Trinity—a great procession which included the officers of the united guild, the civic dignitaries, and the university authorities, perambulated the town from Benet Church to the bridge, the Master bearing the pyx under a rich canopy. Even after the dissolution of the guild the Master of Corpus continued the procession until it was abolished by Henry VIII. in the 27th year of his reign (153$\frac{5}{6}$). The ancient arms of the college consisted of the shields of the two guilds—the emblems of the Passion for Corpus Christi ; the triangle symbol of the Trinity for the guild of the Blessed Virgin, above, Christ crowning the Madonna and below, the guilds dedicating their college. Exception was taken to them in Parker's time as too papistical, and he got the heralds to change them. The new arms still however recorded the two guilds : quarterly, gules and azure, in the first and fourth a pelican, with her young, vulning herself; in the second and third three lilies proper

Signat avis Christum, qui sanguine pascit alumnos ;
Lilia, virgo parens, intemerata refert.

Among its great names Corpus counts Sir Nicholas Bacon the father of Francis Lord Bacon, Matthew Parker who was Master of the college and its great benefactor in later times, Christopher Marlowe and Fletcher, Archbishop Tenison, Sir William Paston and a group of xvii century antiquaries, and Boyle 'the great

Corpus Christi, with its recent procession in England, the contribution of wax tapers for which may have greatly aggravated the grievance. The feast is of xiii c. origin, the outdoor procession dates from the late xivth.

earl' of Cork. Roger Manners was a considerable benefactor. In the time of Henry VII. Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk founded a bible clerkship and a fellowship, and placed the buttresses of the college.[1]

The college soon maintained 8 fellows, 6 scholars, and 3 bible clerks. All the inmates were destined by the founders for priests' orders, this being one of the four foundations in Cambridge due in whole or in part to the dearth of clerks consequent on the black death.[2] In the time of Caius Corpus held 93 persons and in Fuller's time 126. In the xviii century about 60. There are to-day 12 fellowships, about 15 scholarships varying from £80 to £30 in value, 3 sizarships worth £25 each, and 6 exhibitions for students from S. Paul's school, Canterbury, and the Norwich Grammar school varying from £18 to double this sum.[3]

The building of Corpus Christi marks an historical and closes an architectural epoch at Cambridge. The university had indeed two golden ages—the reign of Edward III. and the reign of the Tudors. It has not been sufficiently realised that Cambridge had no European rival in scholastic activity in either period. In Edward's reign six colleges were built there—King's Hall, Clare, Pembroke, Gonville, Trinity Hall, and Corpus ; only one college—Queens'—was founded at Oxford during the same time. Three of these six foundations signalise local enterprise, but the three earlier are a record of the affection of Edward's house for the university ; and it is their preference for Cambridge in the xiv century and the preference of the Tudors for it in the xvth and xvith which marks its two great epochs.

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[1] She was heiress to her sister Eleanor who had been betrothed to Edward IV. They were the daughters of John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Elizabeth's only child Ann was wife to Richard of York murdered in the Tower.

[2] The dearth of clerks or clergy and the failure of learning: the former engaged the attention of the founders of Gonville, Trinity Hall, and Corpus, the latter of the founder of Clare who writes: "to promote . . . the extension of these sciences, which by reason of the pestilence having swept away a multitude of men, are now beginning to fail rapidly."

[3] The fact that we have a guild college built in Cambridge is especially interesting, for, as Dr. Stubbs has shown, Cambridge ranks highest among English towns for its guild history. Even the Exeter statutes do not rival those of one of its ancient guilds which united the craft or religious guild with the frith-guild—the guild instituted for the religious interests of its

members or to protect craftsmen and their craft, and the guild which was an attempt "on the part of the public authorities to supplement the defective execution of the law by measures for mutual defence." The Cambridge statutes, in fact, show us the guild as an element in the development of the township or burgh, one of those communities within a community which was the earliest expedient of civilisation, the earliest essay in organisation, everywhere. The guild which combined these two institutions was a thanes guild. It made and enforced legal enactments ; it paid the blood-money if a member slew a man with righteous cause, and exacted eight pounds from any one who robbed a member. "It is improbable" writes Dr. Stubbs "that any institution on so large a scale existed in any other town than London." In Athelstan's reign we have a complete code of such a London frith-guild. (*Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. p. 414.)

It is against this historic background that we find the guilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin uniting to add a common scholastic interest to interests civil and religious, by founding a college. The guilds were lay institutions ; in two of the best known Cambridge guilds priests were either excluded, or, if admitted, denied a share in the government ; and a chaplain for the guild of the Blessed Virgin was only to be maintained if the necessary assistance to the poorer members permitted of it.

Cambridge in 1353.

Let us look at the university as it was in the middle of the xiv century, and let it be the year 1353. It is 250 years since Henry I. began to reign; 150 before Erasmus lived here, and 550 before our own time. It is the eve of that great change in the mental and moral *venue* of humanity which ushered in the modern world. The Oxford friar Occam, and with him scholasticism, had died four years before; Petrarch was mourning Laura; and Chaucer was walking the streets of Cambridge, the man who was to be our link with the early Italian renascence and to clasp hands across the century with Erasmus. Lastly, it was at this moment in our history that the final adjustment of Norman and Saxon elements went hand in hand with the creation of an English language—a period of which Chaucer is our national representative. The town and university were just emerging from the havoc wrought by the "black death," but the royal and noble foundations which had sprung up on all sides before the appearance of the scourge had already attracted the youth round Edward's court to Cambridge; necessitating in 1342 Archbishop Stratford's injunction against the curls and rings of the young coxcombs studying there.

Cambridge had in fact the reputation of the fashionable university, while its fame is extolled by Lydgate—a younger contemporary of Chaucer who had himself studied at Oxford—in words which show that at this date it was believed also to be the older university.[1]

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[1] "Thus of Cambridge the name gan first shyne
As chieffe schoole and vniuersitie
Vnto this tyme fro the daye it began"

Let us suppose that Chaucer is returning from his first walk to Grantchester, along the Trumpington road, past the scene he describes in the *Reeve's Tale*, and let us follow him up the Saxon High street. He skirts Coe fen and reaches Peterhouse, its greater and its "little ostle" on the street, with Balsham's hall behind; and as he proceeds he sees on either hand conspicuous signs of the love of the Edwards for Cambridge—to the right the narrow quadrangle of Pembroke, beyond it, off the high road, past S. Botolph's and two hostels, lay the limestone walls of Corpus which had just passed under the protection of Henry of Lancaster;[1] its old court, then the newest of new courts at Cambridge, nestling against the Saxon church of S. Benet. Behind lay the Austinfriars, and across the road the Whitefriars from which Austin's Lane led to Austin's hostel, occupying with Mill street the site of the future King's College and King's College chapel. To the north of S. Benet's he sees the university church of Great S. Mary's, just rebuilt after the fire, and opposite are the schools begun a few years previously, with University, Clare, and Trinity Halls behind, and "le Stone house" of Gonville. Then still to his left, where now we see the buildings of Trinity, he beholds the "gret colledge" King's Hall which Edward III. has just built, Michaelhouse with

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[1] The "good duke of Lancaster" was Alderman of the Guild of Corpus Christi. John of Gaunt greatly befriended the college. It was *anno 1356* that the "translation of the college of Corpus Christi out of lay hand to the patronage of the duke of Lancaster," took place; a document so entitled once formed part of the Registry MSS.

Crouched hostel which passed into its possession in the February of this year, and its satellite hostels Ovyng's and Garret's.

Just beyond King's Hall is the building which forms the nucleus of the university in the Norman town —the hospital of S. John, bordering on Bridge street. As soon as this road is reached, which leads to the Great Bridge, we see the crusaders' round church of S. Sepulchre, and following the road to the right we come to the Greyfriars, to the site of the future God's House, and past Preachers' street to the Friars Preachers or Blackfriars. On our left, across in the Greencroft, we have left the Benedictine nunnery of S. Rhadegund. Returning past S. Sepulchre's we cross the river and come to the heart of the Norman town—the Conqueror's castle with the Norman manor house bought by Merton in its shadow, and the churches of S. Giles and S. Peter.

Many of the hostels had recently disappeared to make room for the colleges, but they were still as regards these latter nearly in the proportion of three to one—and these latter, with the sole exception of Peterhouse, had all arisen in the previous thirty years.

The sights and sounds in the streets suggested a new epoch—something already achieved and something about to be achieved. Something of stir before an awakening. The English language which was to prove in the hands of its masters one of the finest vehicles of literary expression began everywhere to be heard in place of the French of Norfolk and Stratford-atte-Bowe. The softer southern speech prevailed over the northern, but the dialects of East Anglia and the Ridings of Yorks were perhaps most frequently heard. The canons of S. John and S. Giles, from the Norman side of the town, might be met in their black cloaks, the Gilbertine canons, from the Saxon side, all in white with the homely sheepskin cape. The Carmelites had already exchanged their striped brown and white cloak—representing Elijah's mantle singed with fire as it fell from the fiery chariot—for the white cloak to which they owe their name of Whitefriars. The Romites of S. Austin wore a hermit's dress.[1] Benedictine monks from Ely and Norwich could certainly be seen in the streets of Cambridge,[2] and the Benedictine nuns of S. Rhadegund rode and walked abroad in the black habit as it was the universal custom in that great order for nuns to do. The Dominicans looked like canons in their black *cappa*, the Franciscans like peasants in their coarse grey tunic roughly tied with cord.

Besides the Carmelites and Austinfriars there were the Bethlemite friars in Trumpington street and Our-Lady friars by the Castle ; the former could be distinguished at a distance by the red star of five rays on their cloaks with a sky blue circle in its centre—the star of Bethlehem ; but both these communities

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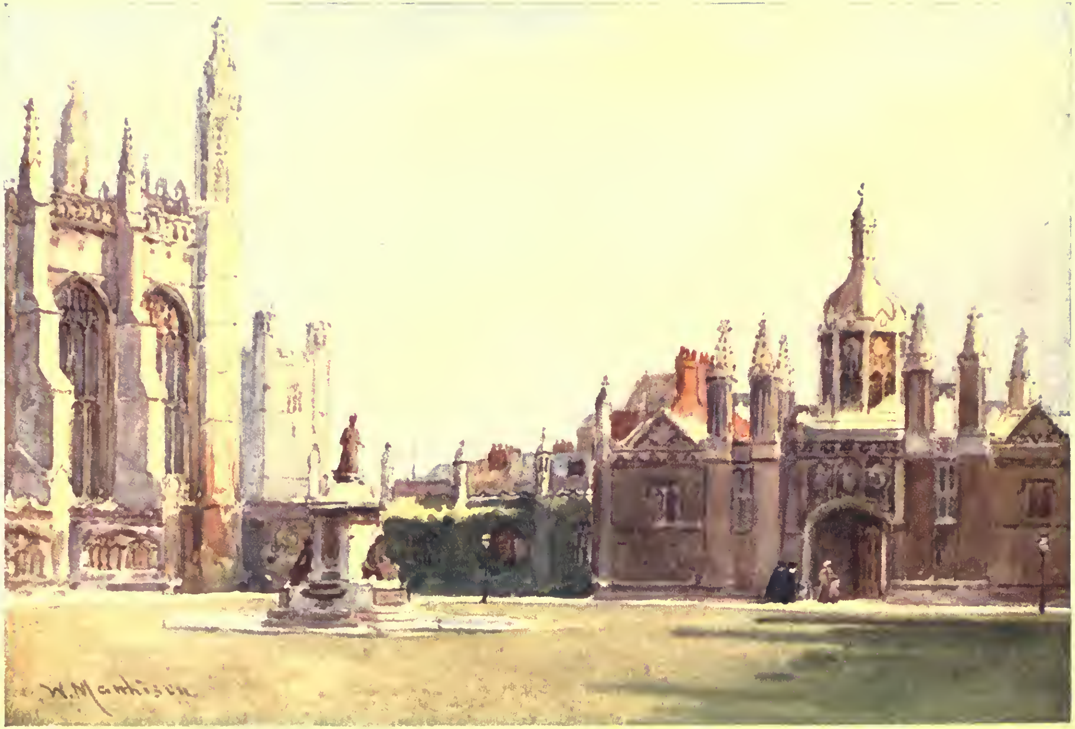
[1] Augustinians never enjoyed their habit in comfort ; in the xiii c. they were obliged to make their leather girdle long and their tunic short because they were suspected of a desire to pass as corded and sandalled Franciscans, and to cover over their white tunic with black in the streets lest they should be taken for friars preachers.

[2] pp. 76, 77 *n.*, and p. 92, 92 *n.*



KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL AND THE ENTRANCE COURT, FROM THE FELLOWS' BUILDINGS.

wore the habit—black over white—of the Dominicans. Scholars poor and rich jostled each other in the schools and in the public ways, wearing the long and short gowns of the day, the *cote* which had just come into fashion, or the habit of their order. There were doctors in the three faculties wearing scarlet gowns and the doctor's bonnet or *camaurum*, and there was a sprinkling of doctors and of students from Orléans, Padua, Pavia, and Paris.

A large number of the inmates of the colleges round, and of the scholars walking the streets, wear the clerical tonsure, many scores have the coronal tonsure of the friar—yet the feeling in the air is secular. Cambridge has always suggested a certain detachment; neither zeal—perfervid or sour—nor the pressure of tradition upon living thought has had its proper home there. It has not represented monastic seclusion nor hieratic exclusion, and it did so at this moment of its history less than ever. The dawn of the coming renascence shone upon the walls at which we have been looking. The modern world has been born of the birth-pangs which have since convulsed Europe, and the walls which were then big with the future are now big with the past. But it is the greatness of Cambridge that amidst the multiple suggestiveness of its ancient halls of learning, tyranny of the past has no place. About it the dawn of the renascence still lingers; and the early morning light which presided at its birth still defines the shadows and seems to temper the noon-day heat, as light and shade alternate in its history.

Chaucer at Cambridge.

We have taken it for granted that Chaucer was walking the streets of Cambridge with us. We have no direct evidence as to where Chaucer studied ; but our indirect evidence is sufficient. In the "Canterbury Tales" Chaucer introduces us to two Cambridge scholars and to a clerk of Oxenforde ; and if one considers what would nowadays be called the internal evidence of the *Reeve's Tale* it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Chaucer was at Cambridge. How else should he know Trumpington so well? Its brook, its bridge, its mill, its fen? He knows about the "gret colledge" which had risen a few years previously ; he knows that its Master is called "the warden," that its scholars are also its "fellaws." He has learnt there the dialect of Yorkshiremen, and reproduces not only their turns of speech but characteristic terms—as *bete*, *kime*, *jossa*—in the East Anglian dialect. If we turn to the *Miller's Tale* all this local colouring is to seek. A "clerke of Oxenforde," indeed, was no unfamiliar figure in the xiv century, especially to a Londoner. Familiarity with the aspect of Cambridge and its neighbourhood was a very different matter.

Chaucer was probably himself of East Anglian origin. His grandfather Robert and John his father were both of Ipswich and London, and when he was kidnapped by his mother's family "Thomas Stace of Ipswich" is the kidnapper. There are two events of his young life known to us, and both suggest that he was at Cambridge. One of these we hear about from his evidence in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor suit in 1386. An upstart knight—Sir Robert Grosvenor—whose name Chaucer had never heard before, had displayed the arms of the Scropes, and Chaucer testifies in the Court of Chivalry action which ensues that he had often seen Henry le Scrope use the proud armorials "azure, a bend or" in the French wars where they had been companions in arms twenty seven years before (1359). Now this great Yorkshire family were connected with Cambridge from Chaucer's time: Richard le Scrope, the son of his old comrade, was chancellor of the university in 1378.[1] Two members of the same family were chancellors in the next century, and the intermarriage of the Scropes with the Gonvilles is recorded there to this day in Scrope or "Scroope Terrace."[2] Is it not probable that Geoffrey Chaucer knew Henry Scrope at Cambridge and formed there the friendship which moved him to testify in his behalf thirty years later?

This conjecture does not become less probable when we turn to the other incident in his early life, which came to light in 1866 with a fragment of the household accounts of the wife of Lionel Duke of Clarence. Here the name of Geoffrey Chaucer is mentioned (in 1357) as that of a junior member of her household. His early connexion with the house of Edward is therefore an historical fact like his later friendship with

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[1] *Recorda et placita coram cancellario Ric. le Scrope in le Tollebouth. 2 Ric. II. 1378-9.* MS. No. 49 in the Cambridge Registry.

[2] Stephen le Scrope was chancellor in 1400 and 1414, Richard Scroop (who had been Master of King's Hall) in 1461, and Lady Anne Scroope was one of the early benefactors of Gonville's hall; see iii. p. 169, 169 *n.*

John of Gaunt. Now in 1352 Lionel Plantagenet had married Elizabeth de Burgh the grand-daughter and namesake of the founder of Clare Hall Cambridge. The "gret colledge" about which Chaucer tells us in the *Reeve's Tale* is called "Soler Hall" and "Soler Hall," so Caius records, was the ancient name for Clare. Remembering, however, the incomplete condition of Clare and of other foundations at this date the present writer supposes the "gret colledge" to have been King's Hall, the first imposing architectural undertaking in the university and the building which must *par excellence* have attracted attention in the middle of the xiv century.[1] It may also have been Chaucer's own college, and in this connexion it is worthy of notice that with the exception of the half-dozen "minor scholars" at Pembroke, King's Hall was at this time the only college which educated lads in their teens.

Assuming the year of the poet's birth to have been 1340 he would have been going to the university, according to the custom of those days, about the year 1353, and his place in Elizabeth de Burgh's household was probably already assured him when he went to Cambridge.[2] He was back in her service in his seventeenth year and therefore could not have had time to study at both universities: and we may add to this that although his general knowledge, which he had no time to acquire in later life, suggests that he received a university education, there is not a tittle of evidence to support the idea that Chaucer went to Oxford.

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[1] Edward himself speaks of it as "so important a college" in 1342. See p. 81. Since going to press I see that Mr. Rouse Ball identifies King's Hall as 'Solar Hall' in his monograph on Trinity College, published in March 1906. Prof. Willis conjectured that 'Solar Hall' = Garrett Hostel.

[2] King's Hall statutes name 14 as the age.

It will be remembered that Pembroke, Clare, Corpus, and King's Hall were all directly or indirectly connected with the reigning house.

One more conjecture: had he got his information about prioress's French from the religious of the convent of S. Leonard of Stratford-atte-Bowe whom we find owning land in Cambridge from the days of Edward I.?

The Schools. The High Street and School Street.

It is to this period of the history of Cambridge that the first university buildings as distinguished from collegiate buildings belong. During the chancellorship of Robert Thorpe, Knight, Master of Pembroke (1347-64) and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, afterwards Chancellor of England, the "schools quadrangle" was projected in that street of colleges, unrivalled in Europe, which prolonging the Trumpington Road as King's Parade or Trinity Street or S. John's Street was anciently known as the "School street" of the university. It was also the high street of the Saxon town of which S. Benet's tower was the nucleus, but whether the original Saxon town lay on this side of the river, or whether, as frequently happened in the xi century, the Saxon population retreated here leaving the Castle district to their Norman conquerors, we have no means of determining.[1]

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[1] The main artery of the xiv and xv century university was not, as now,

There were, then, no public buildings up to the xiv century. The Greyfriars or the Austinfriars gave hospitality to the university on public occasions, and the only brick and mortar evidence of a university lay in the hostels and colleges. The "Schools" now erected were halls for lecturing and scholastic disputations; the north, west, and east sides were completed by the middle of the next century, the south side being added in accordance with a decision taken in 1457 to build "a *new* school of philosophy and civil law, or a library."[1] This was erected on university ground (on the south) next to the school of canon law (west). Over this last was the original library room (the "west room" 1457) and "a chapel of exceeding great beauty." The quadrangle contained the Divinity school (north) with the Regent and non-regent houses; opposite was the Sophisters' school with the *libraria communis* or *magna*; on the entrance side were the Chancellor's (Rotherham's) Library, Consistory court and Court of the Proctors and

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the High street, but the Mill street (Milne street). It lay in a direct line between Clare Hall and Queens' Lane, and 7 colleges had their entrances on it: Michaelhouse, Trinity Hall, Clare, old King's College, S. Catherine's, and Queens'. Gonville was approached from the north end, and King's Hall lay on the same side. The church and property of the Knights of S. John and Garret's and Ovyng's hostels were in the same street. Mill street began at Queens' Lane, and led northwards from the King's and the Bishop's Mills, which gave it its name. The larger part was alienated in 1445 to build the second King's College.

Another characteristic feature of old Cambridge was the *King's Ditch* made by Henry III. in 1267, which starting from Castle Mound, with a walk beside it, formed the western boundary of King's Hall, Michaelhouse, and Trinity Hall, and polluted the water supply of Peterhouse even in Andrew Perne's time.

[1] Temp. Laurence Booth, chancellor.

Taxors ; and facing this the Bachelors' school and the school of Medicine and Law ; the old "west room" having been converted into a school, by grace of the Senate, in 1547.[1]

The university library.

The schools remained untouched till the opening years of the xviii century when the Regent House was pulled down to build the present university library. This is the oldest of the three great English libraries, and stands on ground which has always been university property. The early xv century library which was lodged in the Schools quadrangle originated in gifts of single volumes by private donors until 52 had been collected ; and books which were bequeathed in 1424 are still preserved. Fifty years later (1473) the proctors Ralph Sanger and Richard Tokerham made a catalogue of 330 books.[2] Rotherham Archbishop of York next presented 200 tomes, and Tunstall Bishop of Durham was another donor : many of these last gifts were "embezzled" by "pilferers" before the middle of the xvi century,[1] and the libraries of three successive Cambridge archbishops of Canterbury, Parker, Grindal, and Bancroft, formed the chief treasure of the university until 1715 when George I. purchased and presented the library of Moore Bishop of Ely which is the nucleus of the modern collection.[2]

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[1] See Loggan's print, 1688. The great schools in the School street are first mentioned 1346-7. The divinity schools were the first to be completed, by Sir *William* Thorpe's executors, in 1398. The quadrangle was completed *c.* 1475. The eastern front was rebuilt in 1755. The buildings lie under the present library and are now used for the keeping of "acts" and for discussions, but not for lectures in the various faculties. The new Divinity schools are in S. John's street, and were erected by friends as a memorial of Bishop Selwyn. The Science schools, school of Human Anatomy, chemical laboratories, etc. are on the site of the university botanical garden which was once Austinfriars' property.

[2] The room where these were treasured was the *libraria communis* or *magna* (in the time of Caius the "old" or "public" library), which still exists on the south side, with Chancellor Rotherham's library on the east. The ancient two-storeyed building on the west which existed as early as 1438 still contains the old Canon Law (now the Arts) school, with the original library.

There are 400,000 volumes on open shelves among which the student can wander at will and get his own books without applying to the library officials; a convenience which Lord Acton, the late Professor of Modern History, used to say made this the only serviceable library in Europe. Another privilege, which is possessed by all masters of arts, is that books may be taken home. Undergraduates, if in academic dress, have also free access. The university library is one of the three copyright libraries in England.[3]

The Pitt Press. A printing press was set up at Cambridge, early in the xvi century, by Siberch who said of himself that he was the first in England to print Greek—7 small volumes in the Greek character were printed by him at the university. Carter, however, tells us that an Italian Franciscan, William of Savona, printed a book at Cambridge in 1478, four years after Caxton had

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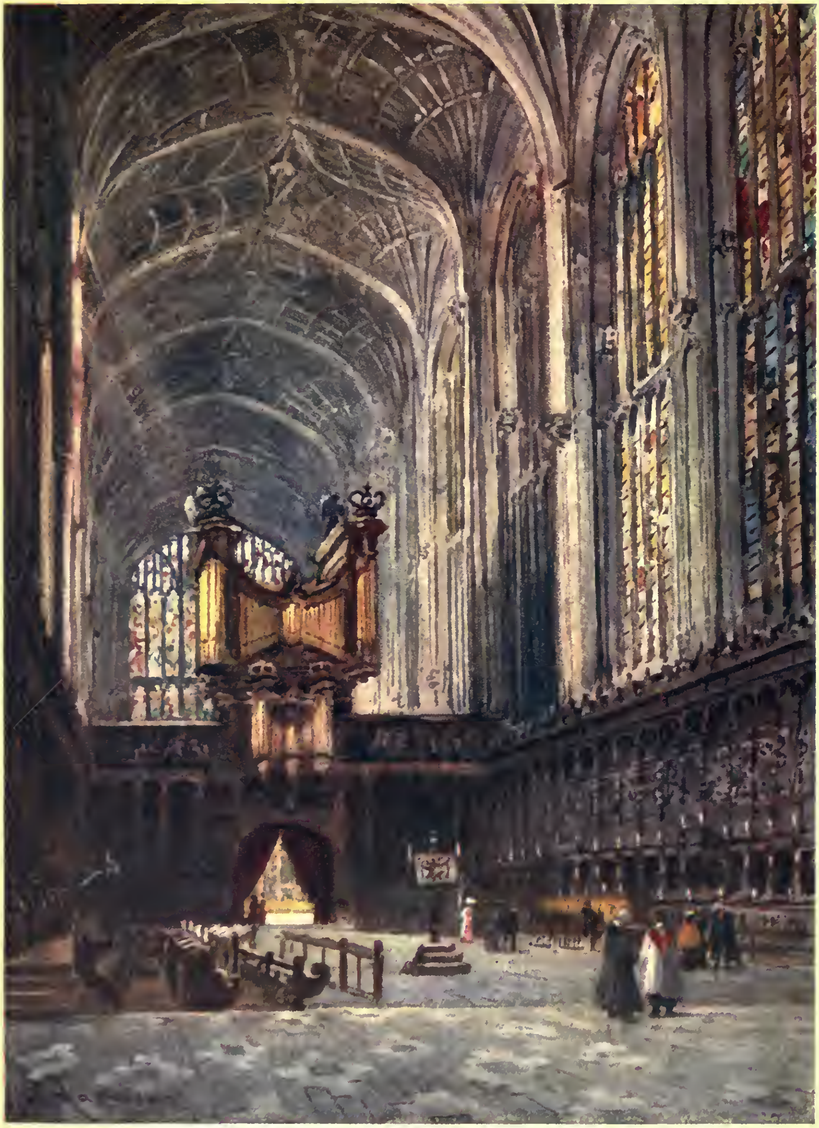
[1] Fuller and Caius both record this fact.

[2] It consists of 700 MSS. and 30,000 volumes. Other and earlier benefactors to the library were Perne (1574), Fulke Greville, Stephen Perse of Caius, and George Villiers Duke of Buckingham.

There is a library "Chest" and endowments, amounting to about £2000, plus the income of £4500 from the common university Fund.

[3] A copy of every book and pamphlet published in England is sent here, to the British Museum, and to the Bodleian.



KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL INTERIOR FROM THE CHOIR.

printed the first book in England. Lord Coke pointed out that this university enjoyed before Oxford the privilege of printing *omnes et omnigenas libros*, "all and every kind of book" (1534). This included the right to appoint 3 stationers or printers.

Siberch's printing place was on the present site of Caius. In 1655 the university obtained from Queens' College a lease of the ground at the corner of Silver street and Queens' lane — the historic Mill street district—now the site of the lodge and garden of S. Catherine's. In 1804 the present site was obtained for the university press, with a further "messuage fronting upon Trumpington street and Mill lane"; the remaining properties in Trumpington street, between Silver street and Mill street, being bought in 1831-3. The Pitt Press, a church-like structure, stands opposite to Pembroke (Pitt's) College, and owes its name to the fact that the surplus funds of the Pitt monument in Westminster abbey were a donation to the university towards defraying the cost. The building also contains the offices of the university Registrary.[1]

The Senate House was not founded till 1722, and lies on the north of the library.[2]

King's College. A.D. 1441. Ninety years passed after the building of Corpus before Henry VI. founded King's College, and Margaret of Anjou, his consort, founded

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[1] The printing of bibles and of the Book of Common Prayer is still confined to the king's printer and the 2 universities. Until 1779 the printing of almanacks was also restricted to the universities and the Stationers' Company.

[2] See ii. p. 109.

Queens'. It was in 1443 that the charter of the double foundation of Eton at Windsor and King's College at Cambridge was signed—the one "our royal college of S. Mary of Eton," the other "our royal college of S. Mary and S. Nicholas"; for Henry dedicated his college to his patron saint Nicholas "of Bari" the patron of scholars. The king laid the foundation stone himself (p. 112) in the presence of John Langton chancellor of the university, the keeper of the Privy Seal, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury.[1] The king's father had intended to build a college at Oxford; Henry VI. carried out his intention in endowing a college but decided that the university should be Cambridge. A small college called God's House which had just been founded,[2] together with Mill Street (acquired in 1445) and Augustine's hostel (in 1449) and the church of S. John Zachary, were pulled down to clear a space: but the original plan for the college was never carried out, and the buildings we now see were erected in the first quarter of the xviiith and in the xixth centuries.[3]

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[1] Cf. the laying of the foundation stone of the Norman church of S. Giles in 1092, when Anselm of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln (then the diocesan) were present.

[2] In 1439. Its site was the present ante-chapel, see Christ's College p. 66

[3] The king's design did not at first include the connexion of Eton and King's. The foundations of a college and chapel for a rector and 12 scholars were first laid opposite Clare, between Mill Street and the Schools, on April 2, 1441. Within three years this foundation was changed into a society which, like Eton, is under a Provost and which was bound to provide the free education of poor Etonians. Here Henry imitated William of Wykeham, and the statutes which he drew up follow the lines laid

The chapel. The only portion of the original plan executed was the chapel. The importance of King's College chapel is not only architectural; is due not only to the fact that it was begun before the Italian classical revival as a monument of English Gothic, and completed in the full blaze of the renascence, but that it marks a chapter in the history of English religion. The church built for the old worship was consecrated for the new; the first stone was laid by Henry VI. in the presence of great catholic prelates, the oaken screen—perhaps the finest woodwork in the country—bears the monogram of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn[1] twined with true lovers' knots. In the third place "this immense and

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down by the founder of Winchester and New College. The original "mean quadrant" was used till 1828 when it was sold to the university for the library extension on that side. The chapel fell down in 1536. A wall and gateway on the west, remain. The new design had the original court and Clare on the north, Austin's hostel and Whitefriars on the south: the chapel was to form the north side of a quadrangle measuring 230 × 238 feet (cf. the measurements of Corpus); and, as in previous colleges, the west side was to contain the hall and provost's lodging, a library and lecture rooms. The south and east sides were to be for the chambers and the latter was to have a gateway and tower. The present Queens' College is on the site of the Whitefriars' house; and the old gate of King's which led from the chapel yard to Queens' Lane used to be known as "Friars' gate." (For a full account of this most interesting design the reader is referred to Messrs. Willis and Clark's book.)

For the modern buildings four *separate* ranges were designed, the first to be erected being the Gibbs' building on the west: the southern side and the screen have been built since 1824, Wilkins being the architect; on this side are the hall, combination room, and library, and the Provost's lodge. Sir Gilbert Scott erected the building on the south east, which was projected after 1870.

[1] The Norfolk name of Boleyn is found at the university in the xv c. Henry Boleyn was proctor in 1454-5, and Anne's uncle was churchwarden of S. Clement's.

glorious work of fine intelligence," as Wordsworth calls it, remains one of the very finest monuments of Perpendicular architecture; and that beautiful English feature the fan-vaulting, which is to be seen in the Knights' chapel at Windsor, in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, and at S. David's (now ruinous), is here carried out over a larger area than anywhere else.[1]

> That branching roof
> Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells
> Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
> Lingering, and wandering on as loth to die—
> Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
> That they were born for immortality.

So writes Wordsworth; and the stained glass windows, the most 'complete and magnificent series' in the country says Carter, probably inspired Milton's

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[1] It has been suggested that Tudor architecture might be styled Heraldic architecture, so freely does heraldry and blazonry enter into its plan and the scheme of decoration. England's two great specimens of the Perpendicular—King's College chapel and Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster—are pervaded by a "gorgeous display of heraldry." The west and south entrances of King's are decorated with bold carvings of the badges of Henry VII.—the crowned rose and portcullis. "No person ever glanced his eye over the wonders around and above him, without being awestruck at the daring of the architect that could plan, and the builders that could erect such a structure. The whole of the lower part of the Chapel beneath the windows is divided into panels, and every panel is filled with the arms of the king who erected the building." "The immense pendants hanging from the gorgeous roof are ornamented with the rose, the royal badge of both the king and queen at this period." (Clark's *Introduction to Heraldry*, edited by J. R. Planché, Rouge Croix.) The arms and supporters of Eton, Henry VI. and VIII., Richard II., Edward IV. and VIth, Mary and Elizabeth, appear also. The gateway towers of Christ's and John's afford other examples of heraldic display as the exclusive scheme of decoration—they bear the arms, supporters, and badges of their founder, the mother of Henry VII. Finally the Entrance Gateway tower of Trinity exhibits the arms of Edward III. and his six sons

> —storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.
> There let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full voic'd quire below,
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may with sweetness through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstasies,
> And bring all Heav'n before mine eyes.

On the death of the Lancastrian monarch, Edward IV. sequestrated the building funds, but returned a thousand pounds later, and Richard III. contributed £700 ; but it is Henry VII. who brought the work to completion.

King's is the only college in the university which receives only those students who intend to read for honours, and until 1857 its members could claim the *B.A.* degree without presenting themselves for examination.[1] The college was, almost immediately upon its foundation, exempted not only from archiepiscopal and episcopal control but also from the general jurisdiction

(William of Hatfield being represented by a blank shield) ; above is a statue of Henry VIII. No street—no town—in England presents anything like this "boast of heraldry" which Gray had always under his eyes in Cambridge. It is a permanent record of the two royal groups in England who preferred this university ; the gateway at Trinity being the *trait d'union* between them.

[1] "The scholars of King's enjoyed the questionable privilege of drifting into their degrees without examination. Lectures and rare compositions in Latin were the only demands upon their time," writes Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. The same arrangements obtained at New College Oxford till the middle of last century.

of the university. It was endowed for the accommodation of a Provost, 70 poor scholars, 10 secular priests, 16 choristers, and 6 clerks—a total of 103. Eton was designed for 132 inmates.[1] 24 of the 48 scholarships of King's are now open. Each of these scholarships is of the annual value of £80. There are also 46 fellowships. The most celebrated Etonians have not however been educated at King's, among whose eminent sons have been Croke, Cheke (of S. John's) Provost, Woodlark the founder of S. Catherine's, third Provost of the college and also its benefactor, Sir John Harrington, Robert and Horace Walpole, Sir Francis Walsingham, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Conisby, Haddon, Giles Fletcher, Waller, Fleetwood, Oughtred an Etonian on the first foundation, Whichcote (of Emmanuel) Provost, Upton, Cole, and Charles Simeon who was a life fellow. Nicholas Close (1551) and Aldrich (1537) both bishops of Carlisle, the former one of the original six fellows, the latter the intimate of Erasmus, Rotherham of York (1467) a fellow and a donor to the chapel fund, Fox of Hereford (1535), William and George Day bishops of Winchester and Chichester, one provost of Eton the other of King's, Wickham of Lincoln and Winchester,[2] Nicholas West (Bishop of Ely 1515) the friend of Fisher and More and Richard Cox (1559) both scholars of the college, Oliver King of Exeter, then of Bath and Wells (1492),

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[1] The "13 poor men" who are to form part of the foundation at Eton are an addition of Henry's own; they do not appear on Wykeham's foundation.

[2] Wickham was vice-provost of Eton.

Alley of Exeter, Guest of Rochester and Salisbury (1559), Goodrich of Ely (1534), Pearson, and Sumner, are among its prelates. Henry and Charles Brandon, heirs of their father the Duke of Suffolk, and nephews of Henry VIII. and both proficient scholars, died of the sweating sickness while in residence here in the reign of Edward VI. Cardinal Beaufort was a princely benefactor to the college, and John Somerset, physician to Henry VI., who came to Cambridge as an Oxford sophister and here graduated, was one of the chief instruments in its foundation, and drew up its statutes.[1]

The college has produced several great schoolmasters, and is now gradually acquiring a reputation for historical studies, about one third of the students being history men. The dedication to S. Nicholas is only retained in formal descriptions: *King's College* has been by common consent regarded as the fitting title for this truly royal foundation, and it recalls that still older King's Hall which is now merged in Trinity.[2]

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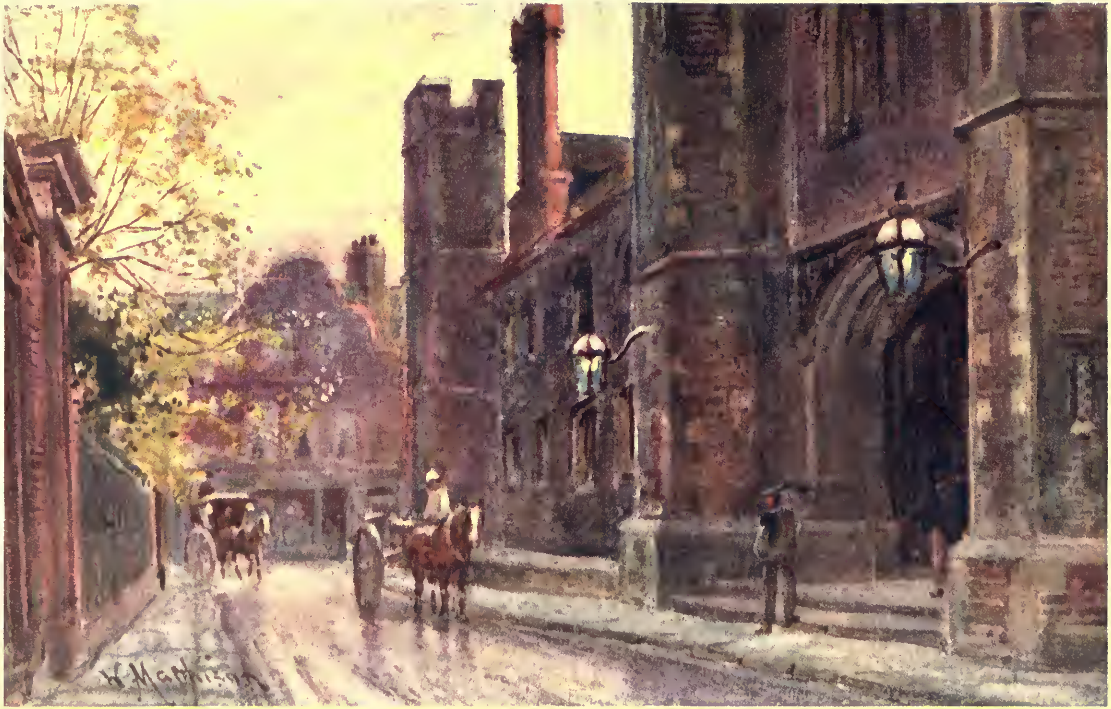
[1] Somerset returned to Cambridge in later life, after he had fallen into disgrace and poverty, and met, like Metcalfe of John's, with small gratitude. Dr. Philip Baker, though a Catholic, retained the provostship under Elizabeth till 1570.

[2] Eton is the only public school joined from its foundation with a Cambridge college. Merchant Taylors' used however to be related to Pembroke (which owes Spenser's presence there to this circumstance) and the ancient school of Bury used, it is said, to send its *alumni* to Gonville. S. Paul's school has tied scholarships and exhibitions at Corpus Christi and Trinity: Corpus was connected with Norwich school and Norfolk by Bacon, Parker, and other Norfolk benefactors, and has tied scholarships with King's School, Canterbury, and Westminster; the last being also closely connected with Trinity College. Harrow has two tied scholarships at Caius; Magdalene holds the Latimer Neville scholarships

The Cambridge College chapels.

The importance of King's College chapel in university history since the xv century leads us to consider the rôle played in Cambridge by collegiate chapels. Every college chapel, and every church which has an historical connexion with the university, has served—as all early Christian edifices have served—other purposes than those of religious worship. What we have to remark in Cambridge is that this ancient custom continued there longer than elsewhere. The "Commencements" which took place later in the Senate House used to be held, as we have seen, in the famous church of the Greyfriars or in that of the Austinfriars. The University church—Great S. Mary's—was used by the university for its assemblies in the xiii century and was the scene of all great civic functions; disputations were held in it on Elizabeth's visit in 1564. The college chapels were everywhere used for the transaction of important business; the Provost of King's and other Masters are still elected in the chapel, documents are still sealed in the chapel of King's and Trinity, and the Thurston speech is still pronounced in the chapel of Caius. The choir of King's was used for degree examinations as late as 1851, and declamations are even now held in the chapel at Trinity. Indeed the "exercises of learning" "used" in the chapels was the reason given by the Corpus men to Lord Bacon's father when asking for a church to them-

for Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Uppingham, and Fettes schools, and tied exhibitions from Wisbech school. Uppingham is similarly connected with Emmanuel; Peterhouse with Huntingdon Free Grammar School, and S. John's with 18 schools all over England and with several towns as well.


W. Matthison

ENTRANCE GATEWAY, QUEENS' COLLEGE.

selves; and Queen Elizabeth witnessed the *Aulularia* of Plautus in King's chapel on Sunday August 6th 1564, as the abbess and her nuns had assembled for Hrostwitha's play in the abbey church of Gandersheim six hundred years earlier. The building of colleges adjoining a parish church is a feature peculiar to Cambridge. Merton is the one exception at Oxford, and Pembroke is, as we have seen, the only early exception to this rule at Cambridge.[1]

List of pre-reformation colleges built with chapels:—

1. Pembroke 1355-63 (the existing chapel is xvii c.)
2. King's 1446-1536 (the existing chapel).
3. Queens' 1448 (defaced at the reformation and restored. But a xix c. chapel is now used).
4. Jesus 1495 (The then existing xii c. monastic chapel was rebuilt by the founder.)
5. S. Catherine's 1475 (the existing chapel is xvii c.)
6. Magdalene 1483 (completely restored in the middle of the xix c.)

Colleges built without chapels and with (generally) post-reformation chapels:—

1. Peterhouse (xvii c.)[1]
2. Michaelhouse (none).
3. King's Hall (chapel built temp. Edw. IV., and Ric. III. The site of the present chapel of Trinity College).
4. Clare (1535. The existing chapel is 1764).[1]
5. Gonville.[1]
6. Trinity Hall 1474.
7. Corpus 1500, and 1579 (the existing chapel is on the site of the latter, and was erected 1823).

Existing pre-reformation chapels:—

King's xv c.
Queens' xv c. (restored).
Jesus xv c.
Trinity Hall xv c.
Magdalene (restored) xv c.

Existing xvi c. chapels:—

Christ's 1505 (the original chapel, but defaced); Trinity, completed 1564-7.

At Caius, the present chapel is on the site of the xvi c. chapel; and at S. John's a xix c. structure replaces the xvi c. one, near the same site.

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[1] A chapel of S. Lucy (erected 1245) came into the possession of Peter

The oldest ecclesiastical site and building incorporated with a Cambridge college is therefore the chapel of Jesus (but cf. S. John's p. 75); the site of the earliest college chapel is at Pembroke—but it is a site merely; the oldest existing college chapel is King's.

Queens' College. A.D. 1448. The charter for the foundation of Queens' College is dated 15 April 1448, but by this date its north and east ranges were already built. Queen Margaret of Anjou had been so impressed with the beauty and majesty of the plans for King's College that she could find no rest till she had projected her own foundation—Queens'; to endow and perfect which she set to work with holy emulation; dedicating it in her turn to her patron saint, Margaret the legendary Virgin and Martyr whose body is shown at Montefiascone, and to Bernard of Citeaux. Two years previously the principal of S. Bernard's hostel had founded a college of S. Bernard, the site of which he changed in 1447 to the present site of Queens'. This formed the moral nucleus of the queens' college; but she obtained the larger part of the ground, near King's, from the Carmelites.

This is one of the three colleges in Cambridge built

house with the property of the friars of the Sack (1309) and was used by the fellows towards the end of that century. The licences obtained by Bateman (1352 and 1353) for chapels in Trinity Hall and Gonville were never acted upon. Gonville however had a house chapel in 1393. At this date Clare also had a chapel, which was used at the primate's visitation in 1401. The Clare Statutes (1359) direct that S. John Baptist's church be used. For ritual in the college chapels, see pp. 8 and 94. Organs were placed in most of the chapels in the reign of Charles I., at a time when the courts, gates, and frontage of colleges underwent repair and decoration.

of red brick, S. John's and S. Catherine's being the others. The Queens' quadrangle is, as Messieurs Willis and Clark tell us, the earliest now remaining which claims attention for its architectural beauty. It is 99 feet east and west by 84 north and south.[1] The plan is not only a very perfect example of college architecture, but is a model of the xv century English manor-house, of the type of Haddon Hall;[2] so that Queens' College is as homogeneous a structure as King's is heterogeneous. The hall is on the west, adjoining it is the combination room, above, the President's lodging with a bedchamber over it. The north side is kept for the chapel and for the library which is on the first floor. The chambers are on the east and south sides, the gateway being in the former. As in other colleges the passage to the grounds (or, as in this case, to the second court) is between the hall and the butteries. The west side of the quadrangle which was gradually cloistered forms the east side of the second court, and is washed by the Cam. The beautiful gallery on the north has formed part of the lodge since the xvi century,[3] and connects the old president's lodging with a set of rooms on the west side, among which is the audit room now used as a dining room.

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[1] Cf. with the dimensions of Corpus old court which was considerably larger (220 by 140), of the proposed quadrangle at King's p. 51 *n.*, and with the frontage of some of the hostels.

[2] Haddon Hall in Derbyshire; the first owners of which were those Peverels ("of the Peak") who figure in Cambridge history at the time of the Conquest. The house passed to the Bassetts, a name which was also well known in the University; and from there—so the old story runs—Dorothy Vernon, a daughter of the last owners of the manor, ran away with Sir John the first Lord Manners.

[3] For the marriage of a xvi c. President of Queens', see ii. pp. 113, 116.

Queens', like King's, was originally built with a chapel, and in both instances the foundation stone of the chapel was that of the college. A new chapel and buildings now lie beyond the President's garden on the north. There is a small court on the south of the cloister court which contains the rooms occupied by Erasmus, overhanging the college kitchen. Besides Erasmus, who lived here for at least four years, Fisher was there as President of the college until 1508, and Old Fuller was another of its worthies. Henry Bullock, the opposer of Protestantism and friend of Erasmus, was a fellow, so was Sir T. Smith ; Bishop Pearson[1] and Ockley *alumni*. Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, whose portrait hangs in the audit room, Manners Earl of Rutland, George Duke of Clarence, Cecilia Duchess of York, and Maud Countess of Oxford, were among its benefactors. But its chief benefactor was Andrew Doket, a friar (of what order is not known) and its first President, who saved the fortunes of the college after the fall of the House of Lancaster.[2] The picture of principal interest is also to be found in the lodge—Holbein's portrait of Erasmus which was painted during a visit made at the scholar's request to England.

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[1] Pearson was educated here, then at King's of which he became fellow, and was Master of Jesus and, in 1662, of Trinity.

[2] See Bernard's hostel p. 58.

The college was originally endowed for a president and 4 fellows, and their principal study was to be theology. There are now 11 fellowships, and about 18 scholarships which vary in value from £30 to £60.

Queens' College is a monument of peace. The Yorkist queen Elizabeth Woodville continued Margaret of Anjou's work, and the two queens are the co-founders of the college. It is Elizabeth Woodville whose portrait looks down upon us in the hall, and it was she who changed Queen Margaret's dedication and called their joint work Queens' College.[1] It is also a monument to the unambitious but well-defined revival of learning that marked the reign of Edward IV., of which Woodville Earl Rivers, the queen's brother, Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, and Caxton himself are the representatives.

Kingly visitors to the university.

Both King's and Queens' Colleges have offered hospitality on several occasions to English sovereigns. Henry VI. came to lay the foundation stone of King's in 1441 and was at King's Hall in 1445-6 (when he laid the foundation stone of his second college?), in 1448-9 and in 1452-3.[2] Edward IV. visited the university in 1463 and 1476.

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[1] Margaret had however called it "the quenes collage of sainte Margarete and S. Bernard." In her petition for a charter she tells the king: "in the whiche vniuersitie is no college founded by eny quene of Englond hidertoward." The statutes were drawn up by Millington first Provost of King's, and others.

[2] Accounts of King's Hall. Here, too, the king was to have been lodged for the parliament of 1447.

Henry VII. paid five visits to Cambridge and stayed at Queens' in 1498 and again in 1506 when he occupied a chamber near the audit room. It was on this occasion that he attended the service for the eve of S. George's day in King's College chapel clad in the robes of the Garter. Henry VIII. was by his father's side during this visit, and came again in 1522. Mary came as far as Sir Robert Huddleston's when Jane Grey was proclaimed. Elizabeth was entertained in the Provost's lodge of King's, and it was when repairing to her rooms there after the solemn service in the chapel that she thanked God "that had sent her to this university where she was so received as she thought she could not be better." James I. visited Cambridge twice in 1615 and was again at Trinity College in 1623 and 1624; Charles I. (who had been Nevile's guest in 1613) was entertained there in 1632 and 1642; and Charles II. in the long gallery at S. John's in 1681. Anne was there in 1705, George I. in 1717, and George II. in 1728. Queen Victoria came in 1843 and again in 1847 when the Prince Consort was installed as Chancellor; and Edward VII. visited the university in February 1904.

John had been in Cambridge the month before his death, September 1216; Henry III. was there in the second year of his reign (1218); Edward I. was there as Prince of Wales in 1270, and lodged again in the castle in 1294. Edward II. was the guest of Barnwell priory in 1326. Edward III. was there in September 1328. Richard II. was also lodged at Barnwell in 1388.

The Conqueror had been at Cambridge in 1070. Matilda is the first queen-consort whom we can picture visiting the university town; Eleanor of Castile was frequently at Walsingham with Edward,[1] and she gave as we shall see a "chest" to the university. Margaret of Anjou was never there, but Elizabeth Woodville came in 1468. The mother of Henry VII. also came to see her college in 1505 and again with the king in 1506. Elizabeth of York accompanied Henry VII. in 1498; Catherine of Aragon slept at Queens' in 1519; and Henrietta Maria was with the king in 1631-2.

The erection of King's and Queens' Colleges opened a period of college building which lasted sixty years, and closed with the foundation of S. John's (in 1509).

S. Catherine's College, 1473.

In 1473 Robert Woodlark chancellor of the university and third provost of King's, and one of the original scholars of that foundation, built a small college dedicated to the Glorious Virgin Martyr S. Catherine of Alexandria, with the object of extending "the usefulness of Church preaching, and the study of theology, philosophy, and other arts within the Church of England." The present red brick structure was erected two hundred years later, this being the only college except Clare which has been entirely rebuilt since its foundation. S. Catherine's, or "Cat's" as the undergraduate familiarly calls it, is remarkable for the number of bishops it has educated, among whom were Archbishop Sandys, May of Carlisle, Brownrigg of Exeter, all of whom were Masters of the college, as was Overall of Norwich who migrated from S. John's : John Lightfoot, the orientalist, was its 16th Master, and Strype (who came here from Jesus), James Shirley the last of the dramatists,[1] Ray the naturalist, and Addenbrooke the founder of the well known hospital of that name at Cambridge, were also educated here.

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[1] Henry VII. was on his way to the same celebrated shrine when he came to Cambridge in 1506.

The hall[2] was founded for a master and 3 fellows, and now maintains 6 fellows and 26 scholars.

Jesus College 1495.

The next college is a solitary instance of the adaptation of monastic architecture to collegiate purposes in Cambridge. Alcock Bishop of Ely and joint lord chancellor with Rotherham obtained from Alexander VI. (149$\frac{6}{7}$) the dissolution of the ancient Benedictine nunnery of S. Rhadegund, and founded there a college which he dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John Evangelist, and the glorious Virgin S. Rhadegund.* Its name of Jesus College records the growing cult of the name of Jesus, and the substitution was approved by the founder himself.[3]

If at Queens' we are in a xv century manor-house, at Jesus we are in a monastery ; and might well imagine ourselves for a moment back in one of the busiest centres

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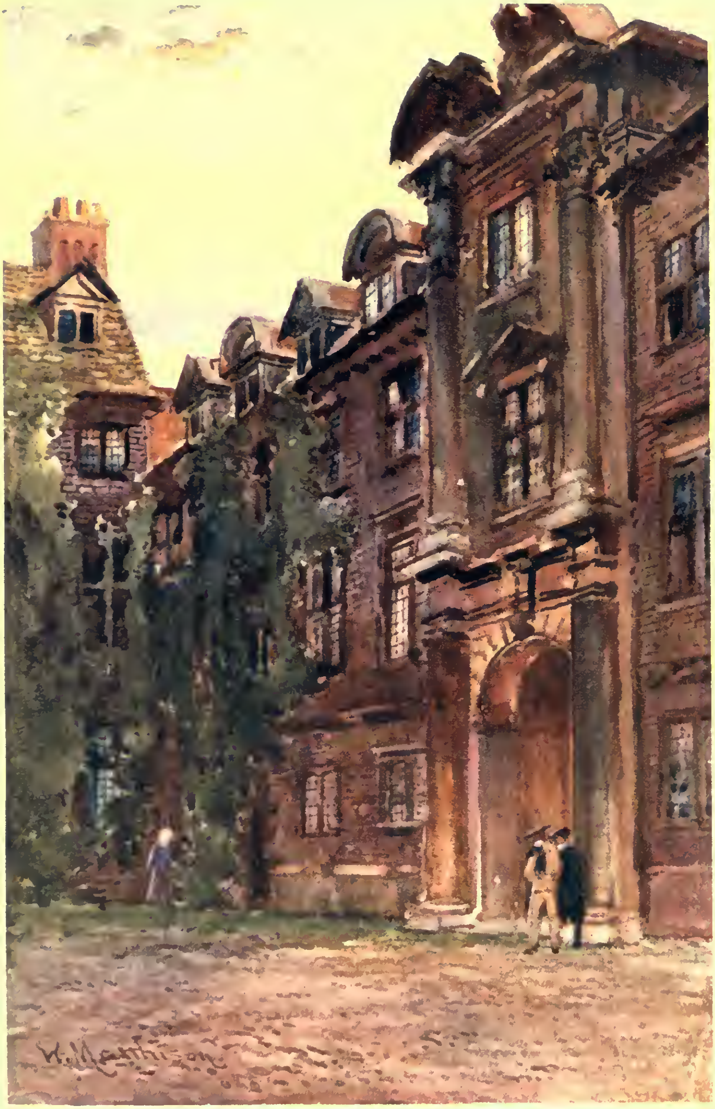
[1] He was at S. John's Oxford, which he left without his degree.

[2] "Hall of S. Katerine," the only foundation since King's College founded as a *hall* not a *college.*

[3] Willis and Clark.


W. Matthison

GATEWAY OF ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE.

of old Cambridge if we pace the cloisters just before hall time when the stir is suggestive of the life of a great monastery. Even the legend "Song Room" over a doorway falls in with the illusion. James I. said that if he lived in the university he would pray at King's, eat at Trinity, and study and sleep at Jesus.

The chapel is the original conventual church[1] as rebuilt by Alcock. It contains xii century work, and represents the transition from Norman to Early English. The character of the college has been consistently evangelical in spite of the fact that Bancroft the Laudian archbishop before Laud, was here, and that he migrated here from Christ's on account of the latter's reputation for Puritanism. Cranmer was scholar, and fellow until his marriage, and was readmitted fellow when his wife died a year later. Archbishops Bancroft and Sterne, Laurence Sterne, Bale Bishop of Ossory, Strype, Fulke Greville, Fenton, Fawkes (the poet), Hartley, and S. T. Coleridge were members. The college which was founded for 6 fellows and 6 scholars, now maintains 16 fellows and some 20 scholars. The statutes were indited by James Stanley Bishop of Ely, stepson of Lady Margaret, and modified by his successor Nicholas West. Jesus College scholars were commended by the founder to the perpetual tutelage of the bishops of Ely, who when they lie there are said to lie in their own house.[1]

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[1] It was the gift of Malcolm "the Maiden" of Scotland. The monastery was much enlarged and enriched by him *circa* 1160. Dugdale dates the house to the middle of Stephen's reign or perhaps as early as 1130. In the xiii c. Constantia wife to Earl Eustace granted to the nuns all the fisheries and water belonging to the town of Cambridge, and the convent at that time shared with the canons of S. John's and the Merton scholars the fame of being the greatest landlords in the town. See vi. p. 155 and ii. p. 58. On a stone by the south-eastern corner of the south transept in the church there is this inscription (A.D. 1261):

Moribus ornata
Jacet hic bona Berta Rosata.

Christ's College A.D. 1505.

Ten years later a most interesting foundation was made. A college called God's House had, as we have seen, been founded in the reign of Henry VI. and was appropriated by that monarch as part of the site of King's College. The foundation was a far-off echo of the plague in the previous century, and when the king took possession of the site he appears to have intended to endow a considerable college in its place in the parish of S. Andrew where he erected another God's House.[2] It was this design,

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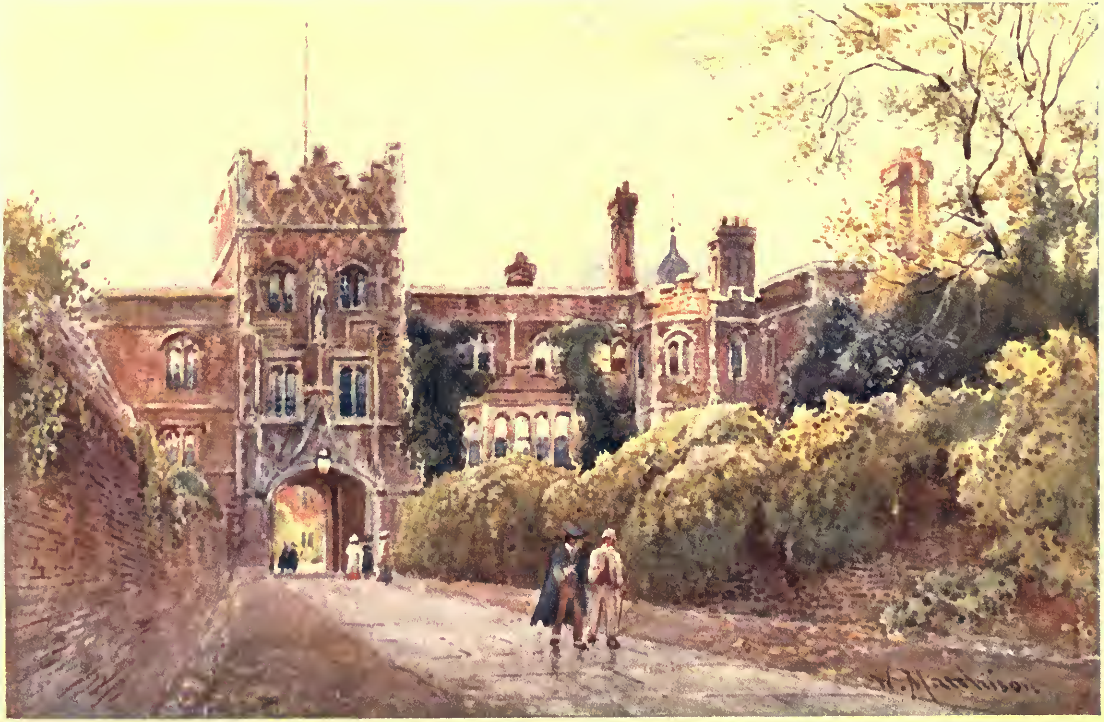
[1] Fuller.

[2] Dyer points out that William Byngham is called "proctor and Master of God's House," but not founder: he considers that Hen. VI. was the founder, Byngham being its procurator as Doket was procurator of Queens' and Somerset of King's colleges. The facts recorded here and in chap. iii. appear to support this conclusion. At the same time Byngham in his letter to the king in 1439 distinctly claims to have built the house: "Goddeshous the which he hath made and edified in your towne of Cambridge." In the case of every Cambridge college the founder is the man who endows it. A college may owe its existence (as certainly in Byngham's case) to the energies of some one else, but its founder remains the man by whom it was built and endowed. A God's House at Ewelme in Oxfordshire was founded about the same time by William de la Pole and Alice his wife, Earl and Countess of Suffolk. "It is still in being," writes Tanner, "but the Mastership is annexed to the King's professor of Physic in the university of Oxford." A God's house was an almshouse for some object of mercy. Thirteen poor men were maintained at Ewelme.



GATEWAY OF JESUS COLLEGE.

left unfulfilled (for the house only supported four of the sixty scholars whom Henry VI. had himself proposed to maintain there) that John Fisher, chancellor of the university and Bishop of Rochester, brought to the notice of Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the first Duke of Somerset, Countess of Richmond and Derby, the wife of Edmund Tudor and mother of Henry VII. ; and on the site of God's House she erected her own Christ's College, and made John Sickling its Proctor first Master. The quadrangle was encased in stone in the xviii century, but the gateway with its statue and armorials of the founder, and the oriel over the entrance to the Master's lodge recall the founder's time. Facing the gateway are the hall, the old combination room, and the lodge, and above were a set of rooms reserved for the founder's own use ; a turret staircase led therefrom to both hall and garden, as was the custom in a master's lodge. On the east of this "Tree court" is a building in the renascence style, thought to be one of the finest examples in England, and to have been the work of Inigo Jones (1642). The plate of the college was a bequest of Lady Margaret's and there is none finer in the university. Christ's is also noted for its gardens.

No college has been richer in great men. Milton was here for seven years, Henry More the Platonist, Latimer the scholar-bishop and martyr, Leland the antiquary, Nicholas Saunderson, Paley of the "Evidences," Archbishops Grindal and Bancroft, Bishop Porteous, Sir Walter Mildmay,[1] Charles Darwin, and Sir John Seeley. Lightfoot the great Hebraist of his century, and Cudworth, were both Masters in the xvii century; and in the previous century Exmew the Carthusian martyr (1535) and Richard Hall (afterwards Canon of Cambray), Fisher's biographer, were inmates. Here Milton wrote his hymn on the Nativity, and here he formed his friendship with Edward King—fellow of the college—in whose memory *Lycidas* was written.

The college was endowed for 12 fellows at least, half of whom were to hail from those northern counties in which both Lady Margaret and Fisher were interested; the total endowment was for 60 persons. There are now 15 fellowships, 30 scholarships (£30 to £70) and some 4 sizarships of the value of £50 a year.[2]

Grammar, the original study of God's House,[3] and arts were to be studied in addition to theology, but excluding law and medicine; and for the first time in college statutes lectures on the classical orators and poets are provided for, an attention to polite letters for their own sake which is supposed to have been due to the influence of Erasmus.

The Lady Margaret.

The Lady Margaret, for with this title alone her memory is preserved at both universities, has, perhaps, no rival in Cambridge as both an interesting and an important figure in its history. She appears to have been one of the first in that age to understand that the university was to replace the monastery as the channel of English learning, and to endow colleges rather than religious houses. The two splendid foundations which owe their existence to her bear upon them a stronger personal impress than others. Alone of non-resident founders she retained for her own use a lodge in the college she founded. An anecdote when she was staying at Christ's, preserved for us by Fuller, comes across the centuries vivid with her personality. There is no episode in any university to compare with the scholastic partnership of Lady Margaret and Bishop Fisher, her chaplain, perpetual chancellor of the university, and Master of Michaelhouse. Both were in their measure "reformers before the reformation," both joined to the spirit of piety an abounding appreciation of the spirit of knowledge. At Cambridge and Oxford she founded those readerships in theology known as the Lady Margaret Professorships, and at Cambridge she instituted the Lady Margaret preachership. She died on 29 June 1509, and Erasmus wrote her epitaph in Westminster Abbey.[1]

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[1] Founder of Emmanuel College. Fuller says he was "a serious student in" and benefactor of this college.

[2] Refer to iv. p. 121 *n.*

[3] p. 102.

Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and perpetual chancellor of the university.

Fisher lived many years after her, and completed the foundation of S. John's. He pronounced that discourse at her obsequies which is our chief source of information about her.[2] Fisher was imprisoned, like Thomas More, for refusing to admit the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical; covered with rags, and worn with neglect and ill-treatment, but consoled by a filial and courageous letter from his sons at S. John's, he was led out to die on June 22, 1534, the New Testament in his hand open at the words: "This is eternal life, to know Thee the only true God." He stands alone among the bishops of England to give his life for the principle for which the layman Thomas More laid down his. Pole in a letter to Charles V. narrates that Henry VIII. had said he supposed "that I" (Pole) "had never in all my travels met one who in letters and virtue could be compared to the Bishop of Rochester."

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[1] She diverted some of her gifts to Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, with the king's consent, in favour of S. John's College Cambridge.

[2] "Fryvelous things, that were lytell to be regarded, she wold let pass

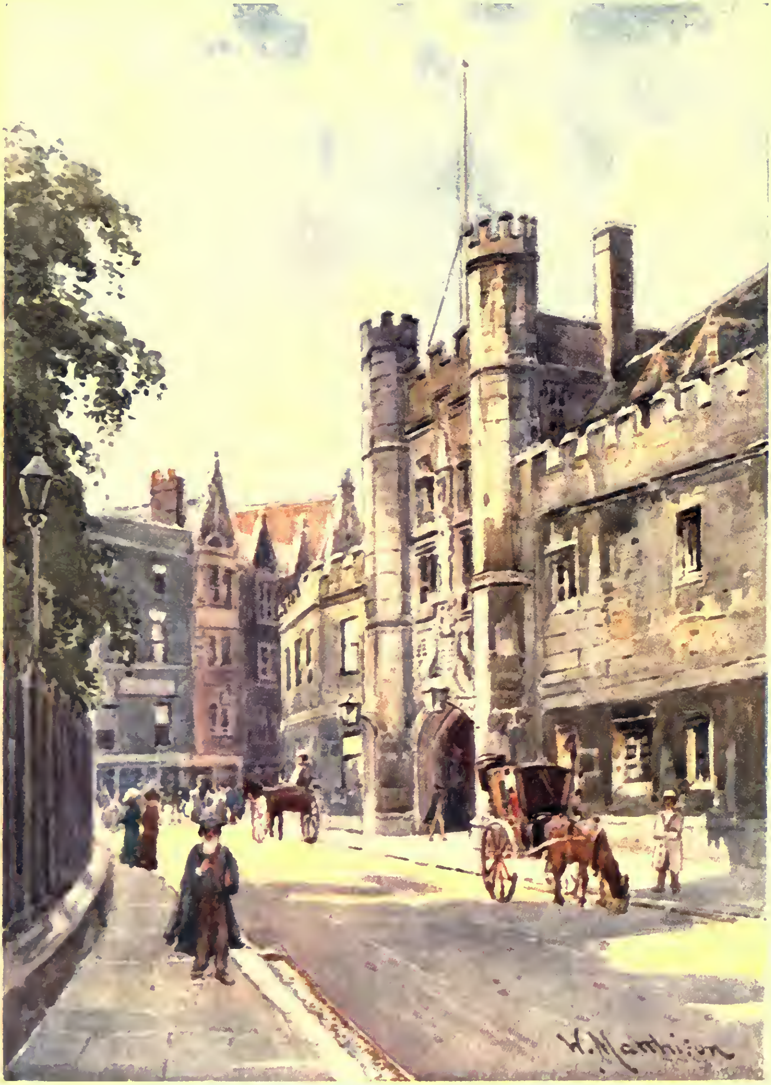
S. John's College, A.D. 1509.

We next come to the most splendid foundation hitherto realised at Cambridge. The site chosen for a college which held its place through

by, but the other that were of weyght and substance, wherein she might proufyte, she wolde not let for any payne or labour, to take upon hande. All Englonde for her dethe had cause of wepynge . . . the students of both the unyversytees, to whom she was as a moder; all the learned men of Englonde, to whom she was a veray patroness . . . all the noblemen and women to whom she was a myrroure and exampler of honoure; all the comyn people of this realme, for whom she was in their cause a comyn medyatryce, and toke right grete displeasure for them."

Fisher was created cardinal priest of S. Vitalis, in the modern Via Nazionale (the ancient *titulus Vestinae*) by Paul III. When Henry VIII. heard that the Hat had been conferred, he exclaimed that he would not leave the bishop a head to wear it on. The following prayer appears in the Roman breviary for the feast day of Blessed John Fisher (June 22):—*Deus, qui beato pontifici tuo Joanni pro veritate et justitia magno animo vitam profundere tribuisti; da nobis ejus intercessione et exemplo; vitam nostram pro Christo in hoc mundo perdere, ut eam in coelo invenire valeamus.*

"The most inflexibly honest churchman who held a high station in that age."—Hallam. Fisher was confessor to Catherine of Aragon and to Lady Margaret.


W. Matthison

THE GATEWAY OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE FROM ST. ANDREW'S STREET.

the xvi century as the first and most brilliant society in the university, could not have been more appropriate. It was that of S. John's Hospital, the first home of Cambridge students, the nucleus of the university, erected soon after the Conquest in the heart of the Norman town, and whence the first endowed scholars in christendom set forth to found a college.[1]

The whole history of the university is epitomised in the street which has S. John's at one end of it and Peterhouse at the other: the bishops of Ely have firm hold of either end, and lying against S. John's is that Pythagoras House which Merton bought from the Dunnings when he was planning his famous foundation in the xiii century. We have seen that it was at S. John's Hospital that Balsham introduced secular scholars in the same century, who should become *unum corpus et unum collegium* with the canons. The experiment did not succeed, and the canons saw the scholars depart with great relief to the other end of what was to prove the great street of colleges, whose limits were determined by this early conflict between seculars and religious.

In what year the Ely scholars were settled at S. John's remains uncertain, although there is no more important date in Cambridge history. Simon Montacute, Bishop of Ely, "who knew very well" as the historian of S. John's observes, says that the scholars had continued there *per longa tempora*, and Baker considers that in no construction of words can this be understood otherwise than as referring to the beginning of Hugh Balsham's prelacy at Ely.[1] The licence permitting the seculars to be engrafted on the old stock with their own endowment, is dated the ninth year of Edward I. (1280)[2] and the transference to Peterhouse took place three years after; but the date of the royal licence is no proof that the work to which it refers was initiated rather than completed and crowned in that year; Margaret of Anjou, for example, obtained her licence when three sides of the quadrangle at Queens' were nearing completion.[3] In any case the few months intervening between December 23, 1280 and the decision to remove to Peterhouse could not be described as a "long time," and as Balsham had become bishop of the diocese in 1257 it is most probable that he at once set about what it must certainly be supposed he had at heart while still subprior of Ely.

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[1] See pp. 4-5. An old Ely Chartulary says: "Henry Frost ought never to be forgot, who gave birth to so noted a seat of religion, and afterwards to one of the most renowned seats of learning in Europe."

With S. John's we have the first of the large colleges. Henceforth Trinity and John's are "the big colleges" the others are "the 14 small colleges." It now consists of four large courts, three of which are of brickwork. The first court was erected between 1509-1516 on the pattern of the quadrangle at Christ's. The founder's grandson Henry VIII., whose coronation she lived to witness, not only sequestrated a large part of the funds she had destined for the building, but

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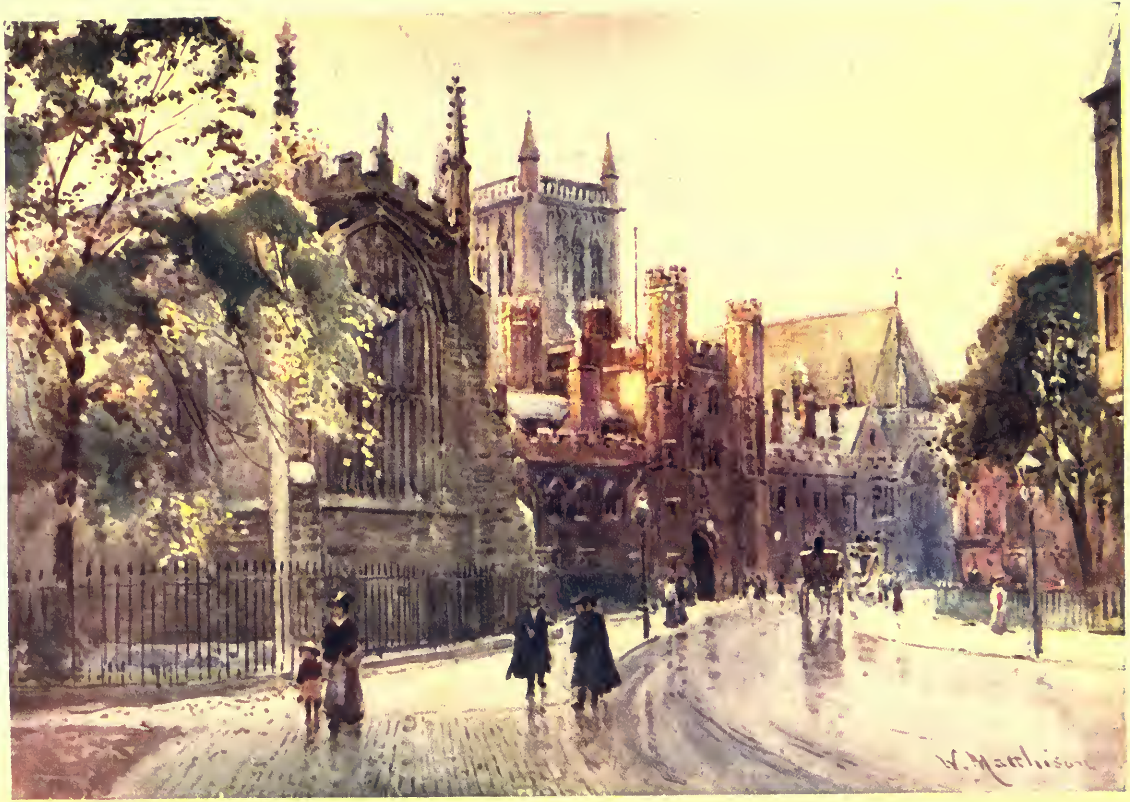
[1] *History of the College of S. John the Evangelist*, Baker-Mayor, pp. 22-3.

[2] *Lit. Pat.* 9 *Edw. I. membr.* 28 (23 Dec. 1280). Printed in Commission Documents vol. ii. p. 1.

[3] Willis and Clark.


W. Matthison

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE GATEWAY AND TOWER FROM TRINITY STREET.

fifteen years later beheaded Fisher her executor. The latter himself subscribed to the fund and was able before he died to erect a college for a Master and 21 fellows—the original design being for 50 fellows. But what thus fell short of the spirit of the earlier design has since been amply repaired, and a series of benefactors have made the college one of the most useful in England, with that large influence on the nation and large power of helping poorer students which its founders had so greatly at heart.

The Second Court was built chiefly at the expense of Mary Countess of Shrewsbury in 1595-1620. The Third Court was begun in 1623, with funds provided by Williams then Bishop of Lincoln, and finished by benefactors some of whom remained anonymous. The last Court was built in 1826 and is joined to the college by the "Bridge of Sighs." Beyond this is the beautiful "wilderness" commemorated by Wordsworth.

> ——Scarcely Spenser's self
> Could have more tranquil visions in his youth

he tells us, than he had had loitering in Cambridge nights under a "fairy work of earth," a certain lovely ash, wreathed in ivy. The infirmary of the canons, at the north side of the First Court, was adapted as a college infirmary, and was the only portion of their Hospital to be preserved: it was destroyed in 1863 when the present large chapel was built, which is the work of Gilbert Scott, and is 193 feet long. The large hall measures 108 feet, and the portrait of Lady

Margaret presides over the high table. The fine combination room was the original Master's Lodge, and was brought into use in 1863 when the hall was lengthened. The west side of the Third Court is cloistered, and from here leads the covered bridge, called from its resemblance to the bridge at Venice "the Bridge of Sighs." The stone bridge near it supplanted the old timber bridge in 1696. As at Queens', there is a long gallery on the first floor of the Second Court. Nowhere has the original modest "master's lodging" undergone more change than here. The lodging—two rooms over the old combination room, with an oriel, on the first court—was gradually extended, again as at Queens', along the gallery, and ran along part of the next court. Finally Scott built the present lodge, outside the courts altogether.

Christ's and S. John's are both profusely ornamented with the Tudor and Beaufort badges of the founder, and with her name-device the *marguerite*.[1] The ancient gateway has a canopied statue of the Evangelist. To the north and south of the new chapel porch are statues of Lady Margaret and of Fisher, and 16 statues of the benefactors and great members of the college: Mary Cavendish Countess of Shrewsbury, Sarah Alston Duchess of Somerset, Williams Archbishop of York, and Linacre who founded the Physics lecture here and at Merton Oxford, appear among the former. Among the latter are *Roger Ascham (fellow) (those asterisked are effigied);

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[1] See p. 52 *n.*

Sir John Cheke (fellow); *Bentley; *Cecil Lord Burleigh; *Lucius Lord Falkland; Fairfax, the parliamentary general; *Wentworth Lord Strafford; *Stillingfleet, *Overall,[1] *Gunning, and Selwyn, prelates; *William Gilbert; *Brook Taylor the naturalist; *Clarkson the opponent of the slave trade; Cave the ecclesiastical historian; Metcalfe the most brilliant of its masters[2]; Matthew Prior, Grindal the classic, Cecil Lord Salisbury, Ben Jonson, Wordsworth, Kirke White, Rowland Hill, Henry Martyn the missionary, Horne Tooke, Castlereagh, Palmerston, Wilberforce, Erasmus Darwin, Colenso, Herschell, Liveing, Adams the discoverer of Neptune, Benjamin Hall Kennedy, and *Baker the historian of the college. Fisher arranged a small chapel leading from the college chapel for his own resting place.[3] The site of S. John's chapel is as old an ecclesiastical site as Jesus chapel: the xvi century edifice rose close to the xii century canons' church, and the great modern chapel lies a little to the north of the old one, the foundations of which are exposed to view.

The licence for the college dates from 1511; the building was opened in 1516; and the statutes were drawn up by Fisher.

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[1] Overall had been a scholar at Trinity, and was Master of S. Catherine's.

[2] Metcalfe was the Catholic Master who made the great reputation of S. John's, but whom "the young fry of fellows" combined to oust in 1534. "Did not all the bricks of the college that day double their dye of redness to blush at the ingratitude of those that dwelt therein?" (Fuller.)

[3] He was buried by the side of Sir Thomas More in the chapel of S. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower.

There are now 56 fellowships, 60 foundation scholars each receiving £50 annually, and 9 sizars £35 annually.

The next college which claims our attention must rank among the more interesting foundations on account of its origin rather than of its subsequent history.

Magdalene College, A.D. 1542.

Near S. John's Hospital there was a site traditionally connected with the lectures of Abbot Joffred's monks in 1109, and which in fact was afterwards Crowland Abbey property. When a monastic order possessed no convent in a university town, the monks were obliged to reside in lodgings, but these were soon exchanged for the monastic hostels founded for their reception. There were two such hostels at Cambridge—Ely hostel and Monks' hostel. Ely hostel was the direct outcome of Benedict XII.'s Constitution in 1337[1] which reconfirmed an earlier injunction of Honorius III. 1216-27 requiring the Benedictines and Augustinians to send students in rotation from the monastery to the university, and provided that monks should live at the universities under a prior of Benedictines. It was purchased in 1340 (or earlier) by John de Crawden prior of Ely for the Ely monks and was made over to Bateman Bishop of Norwich seven years later for his foundation of Trinity Hall.

Ely then had been the pioneer in providing this accommodation, which served for Ely monks alone, and which, as we see, was speedily abolished. Those few Houses which still elected to send their monks to Cambridge[1] maintained them there thenceforth under the care of "the prior of students"; and it was owing to the energy of one of these Cambridge priors that Monks' hostel was projected in 1428, at a time when, as is then stated, no house existed for Crowland or other Benedictine monks, and the religious either shared the hostels with seculars or lived in lodgings in the town. The site for Monks' hostel consisted of two messuages granted in that year to the abbot of Crowland by the Cambridge burgesses. Crowland, Ely, Ramsey, and Walden each built portions for their own students.[2] Nearly a hundred years later, on the eve of the Reformation, Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham refounded this hostel as Buckingham College. It was not completed at the time of his attainder two years afterwards (1521) and the property escheated in due course as a cell of Crowland Abbey to the crown.[1]

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[1] Constitutions for the reform of the Black Benedictine, Cistercian, and Augustinian Orders, issued in 1335, 1337, 1339.

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[1] The university for English and Irish monks provided by papal authority and by the Cistercian Constitutions was Oxford. The licence for Monks' hostel Cambridge stipulates that all monks of the order of S. Benedict in England or in other the king's dominions shall henceforth dwell there together during the university course. There was a small recrudescence of monastic studies in Cambridge in the xiv c. when Ely hostel was built, and from this time forward 3 or 4 Ely monks were regularly to be found pursuing the university course there (Testimony of John of Sudbury, prior of students, at the Northampton chapter in 1426). But there was no prior of students at Cambridge till towards the end of that century; Ely hostel itself was dismantled before the middle of the century; the black monks of Norwich however came to Cambridge under Bateman's influence with what the bull of Sixtus IV. 150 years later shows to have been considerable constancy. See Caius pp. 92-3, 93 *n.*

[2] Chambers for Crowland were built by its abbot John of Wisbeach in 1476. John de Bardenay had preceded John of Sudbury as prior of Benedictines in 1423, and both were probably Crowland monks.

How soon Monks' hostel became "the monks' hostel of Buckingham" is by no means clear. That the Dukes of Buckingham were early patrons must be admitted on the evidence; for even if the house was not known as Buckingham College in 1465, it was known as "the hostel called Bokyngham college" in 1483 while it was still Crowland property, and both hall and chapel were probably the gift of "deep revolving, witty Buckingham" the second Duke Henry.

"I have in this world sustained great damage and injury in serving the king's highness, which this grant shall recompense." So wrote Lord Chancellor Audley in a letter begging for a share of the plunder when Henry had determined on the suppression of the monasteries. The share he wanted and got was Walden Abbey in Essex on the borders of Cambridgeshire, and here he established himself on the site which his son was to transform into the mansion of Audley-End. He did more; he proposed to himself, apparently, some sort of expiation to balance the "recompense," and in 1542 changed Buckingham into Magdalene College which he re-endowed. We have seen that Walden Abbey was itself one of the builders of Monks' hostel.

The mastership of the college is in the gift of the owner of Audley End (now Lord Braybrooke). Nothing of the xv century building remains. A window of Pugin's adorns the chapel[1] replacing the old altar-piece which is now in the library. The combination room leads directly into the pleasant hall, through the musicians' gallery, the only instance of this arrangement in Cambridge.[2] In the time of Fuller, Magdalene was a college of reading men: "The scholars of this college, though farthest from the schools, were in my time the first to be observed there, and to as good purpose as any."[3] Twenty years ago it was the fashionable college, and its members lived in private lodgings, attending neither hall nor chapel. Magdalene is in the parish of S. Giles, and it has been conjectured that it occupies the site of the house of the canons of S. Giles before they removed to Barnwell. There is however no evidence for this, and there are no documents at Magdalene earlier than Stafford's time.[4]

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[1] Dugdale. When Charles V. heard that Stafford Duke of Buckingham had been beheaded through the machinations of the butcher's son Wolsey, he exclaimed: "A butcher's dog has killed the fairest buck in England!"

Archbishop Grindal,[5] Robert Rede chief justice in 1509, Cumberland Bishop of Peterborough, and Kingsley were educated here. So was Pepys, the diarist, who bequeathed to the college his extraordinary collection of books, engravings, maps, and plans. The Pepysian library is now preserved in a separate hall, in the donor's own bookshelves constructed after a plan of his own. It is by far the most interesting thing in the college, and would be unique anywhere. It is to be hoped we may soon have an official catalogue of its contents.

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[1] It is clear from the masonry of the chapel that this was anterior to the college of 1519. See Willis and Clark ii. 362, 364.

[2] Corpus hall is the only one in Cambridge not provided with a musicians' gallery.

[3] The retired position of the earlier college had been, he held, a salutary assistance to study: it "stood on the transcantine side, an anchoret in itself, severed by the river from the rest of the university."

[4] Fuller and Carter say the college site was purchased by the convents of Ely, Ramsey, and Walden. Cf. p. 77.

[5] Grindal is a good instance of a migrating student: he entered at Magdalene, and subsequently migrated to Christ's and Pembroke, where he became fellow and Master.

Magdalene is a small college, it has about 40 inmates, of whom 5 are fellows. In Fuller's time it held 140 persons, 11 being fellows and 22 scholars, the rest being as usual the college officers, domestics, and students.

Trinity College
A.D. 1546.

With Trinity College are joined together in indissoluble matrimony the two great periods of college building, and the culminating point of the renascence is reached : so that Trinity, alone, represents Cambridge architecturally and morally in its historical character of a university of the rebirth from its dawn to its meridian.

King's Hall
A.D. 1337.

When Henry VIII., whose effigy adorns the great gate, proposed to make a vast college on this site, he was proposing to expand the "great college" built by Edward III. whose effigy graces the older gateway within the court. Edward II. had maintained thirteen students at Cambridge as early as 1317 and the number was increased later to thirty-two : it was however left to his son to carry out the design of a "House-of-Scholars of the King."[1] We have already had frequently to refer to

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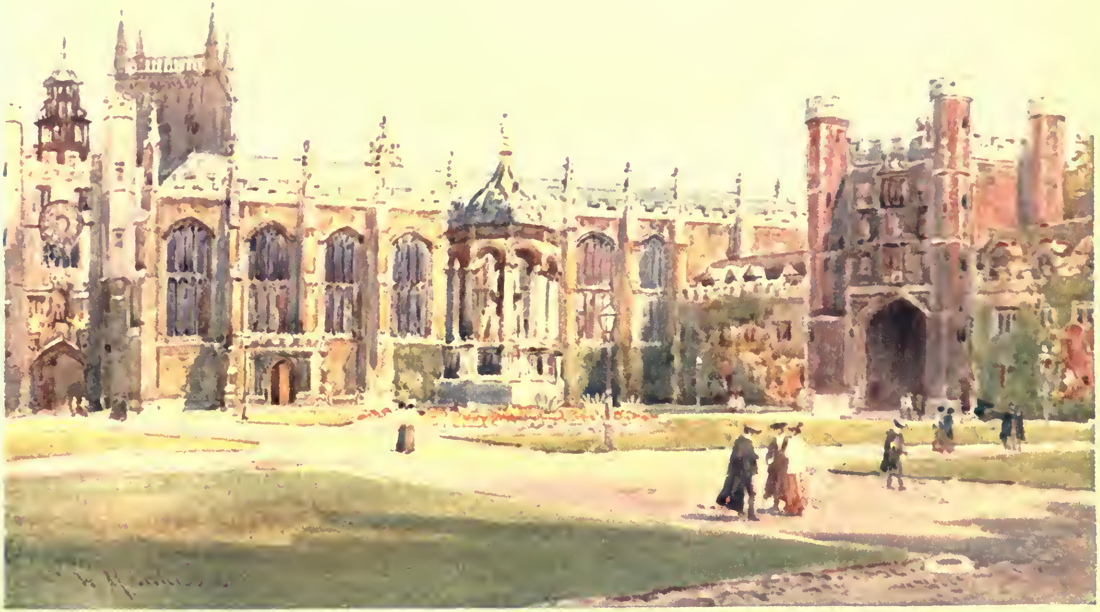
[1] The university statute providing for the commemoration of benefactors and others, directs that mass be said every 5th of May for Edward II. as founder of King's Hall.



THE GREAT COURT, TRINITY COLLEGE.

this building, in which new interest has been awakened since the restoration (in 1904-6) of part of the old Hall lying behind King Edward's gateway towards the bowling green, and presenting architectural features fully justifying its xiv century fame as the most considerable collegiate enterprise thitherto undertaken. The Hall lay to the north west of the present quadrangle, covering the space now occupied by the ante-chapel,[1] Edward's gate, and the Master's lodge. The acquisition of the site affords a most interesting glimpse into contemporary Cambridge history: for no site represented such various interests and recalled so many of the great local names. The first plot of ground obtained was a messuage of Robert de Croyland's in 1336. Eight years later Edmund Walsyngham's house was purchased; the house of Sir John de Cambridge who was knight of the shire and alderman of the guild of S. Mary was sold to the college in 1350 by his son Thomas; and the next year saw the purchase from Thomas son of Sir Constantine de Mortimer, of a waste parcel of land next the river and S. John's Hospital, called the Cornhythe, which abutted on the last named property. Croyland's and Walsyngham's houses were first adapted, and formed a small irregular quadrangle. Later in the xiv century a new (irregular) court was constructed on the north of the present chapel. The original entrance was situated where the sundial now is; here stood the Great Gate, the present

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[1] Which is on the site of the hall, pulled down in 1557 to make room for the chapel.

Entrance Gate being built as late as 1535 to give King's Hall a frontage on the High Street. The Hall rebuilt in the later xiv century and added to in the xvth was however only the nucleus of Henry VIII.'s college. To the south west stood Michaelhouse; this too was absorbed in the new building, and its second dedication to the holy and undivided Trinity was retained in Henry's college. Seven other buildings—all university hostels—were also absorbed—Gregory's, Crouched, Physwick, S. Margaret's, Tyled, Gerard's, and Oving's. The present kitchen occupies part of the site of Michaelhouse; Physwick stood between the Queen's Gate and Trinity Street; and the other hostels were grouped round these in S. Michael's and King's Hall Lanes.[1]

The work which had been begun by Lady Margaret at Christ's and S. John's—the final substitution of the college for the monastery school—was now completed by her grandson, the great despoiler of the monasteries, who appears to have designed Trinity College as a splendid atonement for the destruction of so many homes of learning. It was largely endowed with abbey lands, and Henry's undeniable interest in erudition seems to have found its ultimate satisfaction in a foundation into which there entered every element of that "new learning" which was humanistic before it was Protestant. That provision was here to be made for a wider field of knowledge than any hitherto contemplated in or out of a university, seems amply

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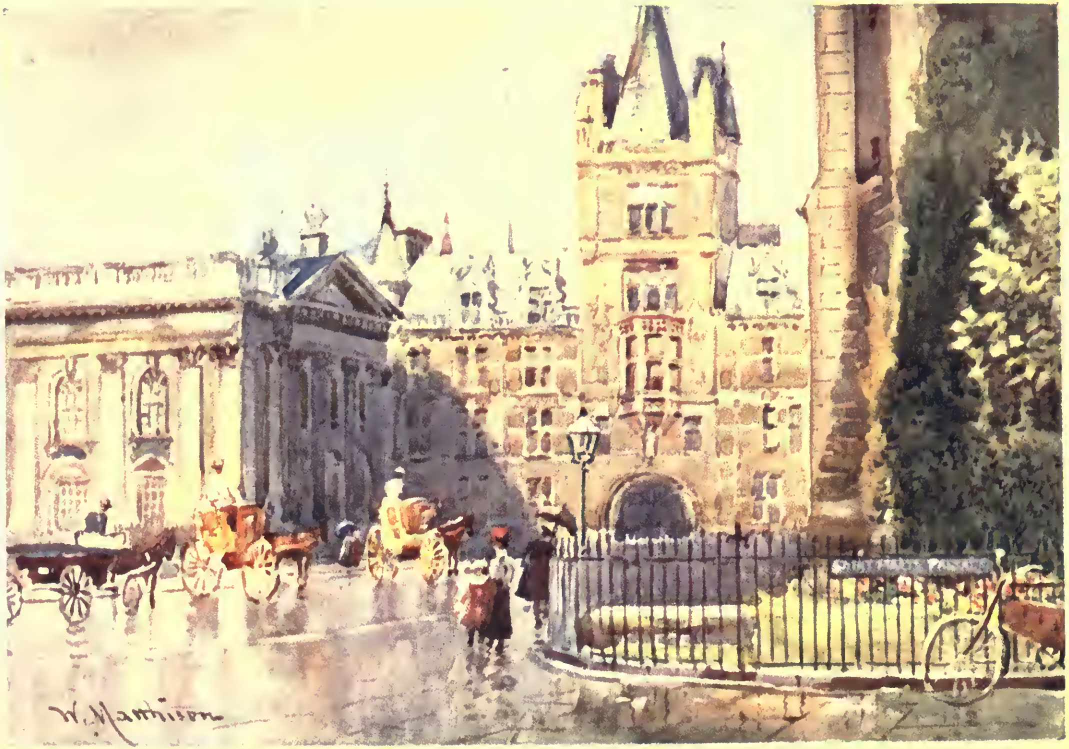
[1] For changes made in the Mill Street district in the xv c. when the Schools Quadrangle and King's College were built, cf. pp. 46 *n.*, 50.


W. Matthison

CAIUS COLLEGE AND THE SENATE HOUSE FROM ST. MARY'S PASSAGE.

proved by the words of the founder; who, after declaring that the college is intended for the "development and perpetuation of religion" (a well-chosen form of words ?), continues thus: "*for the cultivation of wholesome study in all departments of learning, knowledge of languages*, the education of youth in piety, virtue, self-restraint, and knowledge; charity towards the poor, and the relief of the afflicted and distressed." The programme was so liberal that Mary herself endowed the college with monastic property, and Elizabeth completed the chapel which her sister had begun.

No building, indeed, in either university suggests in the same way and in the same degree that delightful mental combination of form and space which is the mark of the "Cambridge mind" in science if it is not so in literature. As we pass into the great court the buildings we see neither shut out the light nor hem in the thoughts. The enclosure they suggest is that formal enclosure of point and line which enables us to make propositions about infinity. Of all scholastic buildings in the world the great court of Trinity is that which best suggests the majesty and spaciousness of learning. Here one receives an impression of adequacy, balance, clearness, spaciousness, elevation, serenity, a certain high power of the imagination—the mathematical qualities, the qualities of the seeker after truth: an impression of the simple force of what is simply clear, the simple grandeur of that which can dispense with the mysterious; of the dignity which accompanies those who have looked upon things as they are in themselves, and have nothing adventitious to offer, yet what they offer holds a curious power of satisfying.

Does a man see all this as he walks into Trinity and learn from it the lesson which Cambridge spreads before him, or does he take it with him under the gateway and let Trinity Great Court represent for him what he already knows of Cambridge? What does it matter whether it suggests so much or is allowed to represent so much?

Trinity Great Court covers more than 90,000 square feet—an area of over 2 acres—and is the largest in any college. The building, carried out under Edward VI., received considerable modification during the mastership of Nevile (1593-1615) dean of Canterbury, who arranged the court on its present plan, erected the "Queen's gateway" and the fine renascence fountain, enlarged the original lodge, and built the hall and kitchen. On the west side, facing us as we enter, is the hall (1604) which was modelled on that of the Middle Temple. Next it are two combination rooms—the centre for generations of Cambridge fellows who first had their assembling room in King's Hall hard by[1]—but the façade here was spoiled in the xviii century when the oriel and frontage of the old hall of Michaelhouse were removed. A Jacobean porch leads us into the lodge, which occupies the site of King's Hall lodge. The great scholar Bentley, Master from 1700 to 1742, built the staircase and otherwise left his mark here. His excursions into the classical were, however, curtailed during the mastership of Whewell (1840) when Alexander Beresford Hope subscribed to restore the Gothic character of the front and built the picturesque oriel.[1] The inscription stating that he had restored its ancient aspect to the house during the mastership of Whewell gave rise to the following amusing paraphrase :—

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[1] There was a fellows' "parloure" in King's Hall as early as 1423-4.

> This is the House that Hope built.
> This is the Master, rude and rough,
> Who lives in the House that Hope built.
> These are the seniors, greedy and gruff,
> Who toady the Master, rude and rough,
> Who lives in the House that Hope built.[2]

The chapel, on the north, was built by Mary, and A.D. 1555-1564.

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[1] There is a fine series of most valuable portraits in the Lodge ; among them one of Mary, and the standing portrait of the young Henry VIII. which Wordsworth made the subject of a poem. A careful list of university portraits appears at the end of Atkinson's volume, but such a list—useful and valuable as it is—tucked away somewhere in a book on Cambridge is not an adequate homage to so important a source of university history as these portraits. The loan exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1884-5 was the first attempt to collect the Cambridge pictures : the example was followed by Oxford in 1904-6, and the Catalogue of portraits then published is a model of what can and should be done.

No complete list of the portraits of either university, however, at present exists. Many canvasses remain unidentified or misidentified ; some are doubtless perishing for want of care, and the artist's name has long disappeared from many more. The work therefore that remains to be done is a big one, but is eminently worth the doing.

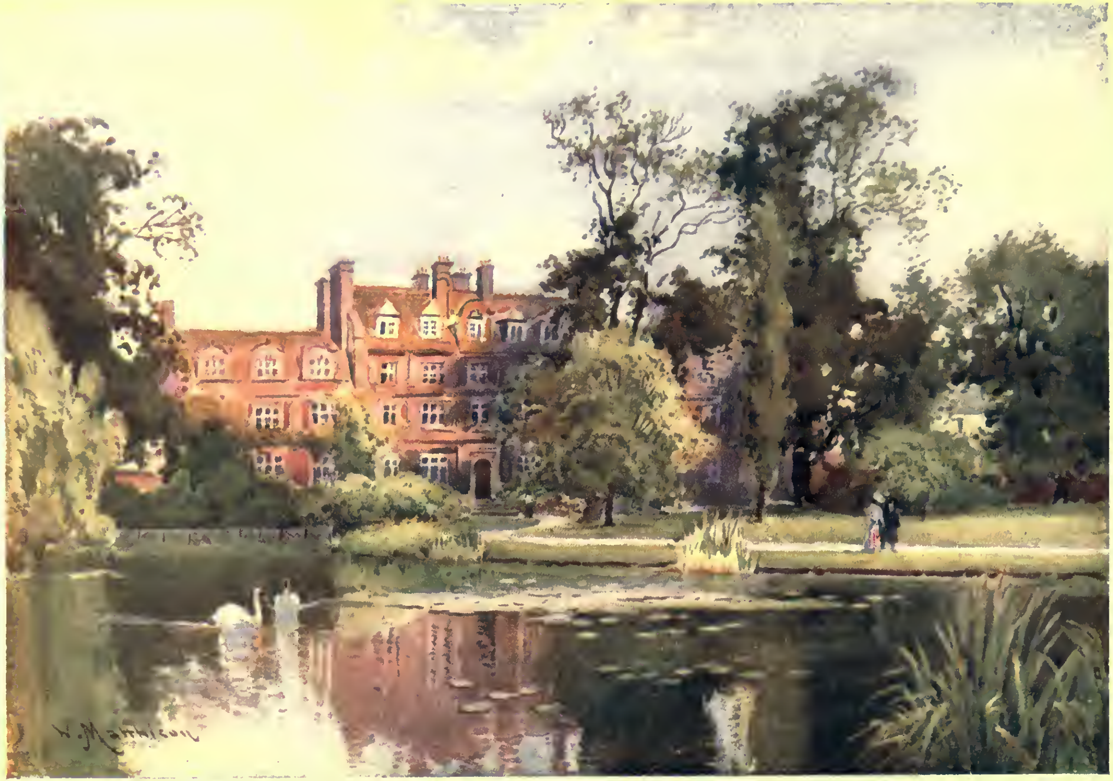
[2] A sedan coach is preserved in the entrance hall of Trinity Lodge, and is used to transport visitors from the Gateway to the Lodge when the Master entertains. It is the college tradition that the coach was presented by Mrs. Worsley, wife of the then Master of Downing, to Christopher Wordsworth Master of Trinity, and brother of the poet (1820-41).

is one of the few churches erected in her reign, as Trinity College is itself one of the few places where her name is held in affection. Though it has none of the greatness of King's chapel, it yields to none in interest. The site is that of the chapel of King's Hall built for the scholars by Edward IV., the materials of which, with stone from the Greyfriars' house, the fen abbey of Ramsey, and Peterhouse, and lead from the Greyfriars and Mildenhall, were used in the construction. Elizabeth completed it nine years later (1564). The ante-chapel contains the statue of Newton,

> ——with his prism and silent face,
> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone

a work of Roubiliac's considered by Chantrey to be the noblest of English statues. Bacon, Barrow, Macaulay, and Whewell have also statues here, while Richard Porson is commemorated by a bust. Along the wall which faces us as we enter are sixteen memorial brasses chiefly to remarkable fellows of the college who have died within the last twenty years.

The great court leads in the usual way, by hall and butteries, to Nevile's court, another work of Dr. Nevile's, and here the library—to the building of which Newton contributed—was erected by subscription, the foundation stone being laid on February 26, 1676. The architect was Wren who also designed the bookcases of the "stately library" as those who had determined on its foundation had called it in anticipa-



THE LAKE AND NEW BUILDINGS, EMMANUEL COLLEGE

tion. The wood of the cases is Norway oak which has been stained to imitate cedar. The building is very rich with decoration inside and out; the length is 194 feet as compared with the chapel 210 feet and the hall 100 feet. The staircase and pavement are of marble. Pedestals with busts of members of the college line the room on either side. The library contains 90,000 volumes, with 1900 MSS. including a Sarum missal on vellum of 1500, Milton's rough draft notes of "Paradise Lost," the *Codex Augiensis* of Paul's Epistles, four MSS. of Wyclif's bible, and the Canterbury psalter.[1]

A New Court, to which George IV. contributed, was erected in the first quarter of the xix century and Dr. Whewell built, at his own expense, the Master's Court. Upon the site of Garret's hostel, the then bishop of Lichfield erected in 1670 a small building known as "Bishop's hostel" which is used as students' quarters, and the proceeds of letting it are spent according to the founder's direction in the purchase of books for the library. Macaulay "kept" here when he first went up to Cambridge.

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[1] This is the largest college library but it is not the most ancient. Peterhouse led the way in the xiii century with divinity and medicine books of Balsham's. In 1418, 380 volumes were catalogued, containing "from six to seven hundred distinct treatises." Here were to be found books on law, medicine, astrology, and natural philosophy, as well as the preponderating theological tomes. Trinity Hall was another famous xiv century library, and Pembroke has a catalogue of books in that and the next century amounting to 140 volumes. In the xv century Queens' had 224, and S. Catherine's 137 (in 1472 and 1475). In 1571 the French ambassador to this country deemed the library at Peterhouse "the worthiest in all England" Cf. the university library, p. 47.

The Mastership. The Mastership of Trinity has been, ever since the Reformation, one of the most important offices in the university; but it is rendered still more distinguished by the great men who have successively filled it. The last Master of King's Hall became the first Master of Trinity and has had among his successors Isaac Barrow, William Bill, Whitgift, Wilkins, Bentley, and Whewell. Its chief benefactor Nevile was eighth Master.

Trinity has been equally great in literature and science, and has effected more for both in the three hundred and fifty years of its existence than any other centre of learning. Among its fellows it counts Newton, Adam Sedgwick, Ray, Barrow, Porson, Roger Cotes, Macaulay, Whewell, Westcott, Airy, Clerk Maxwell, Cayley, Hort, Thirlwall, Jebb. Among lawyers Bacon, Coke, and Lyndhurst; among prelates Tunstall,[1] Whitgift, Lightfoot. Among other famous *alumni* are Robert Devereux, Cotton, Spelman, Thackeray, Granville (*M.A.* 1679), Peacock, Kinglake, Trench, De Morgan, F. D. Maurice, and the late Duke of Rutland (Lord John Manners). Among poets, Byron, Dryden, Andrew Marvell, Tennyson, Donne, Cowley, George Herbert, Monckton-Milnes. Another historic friendship like that between Spenser and Kirke at Pembroke, Milton and King at Christ's, and Gray and Walpole, grew up in the shadow of Trinity—the friendship of Tennyson and Arthur Hallam commemorated in *In Memoriam*.

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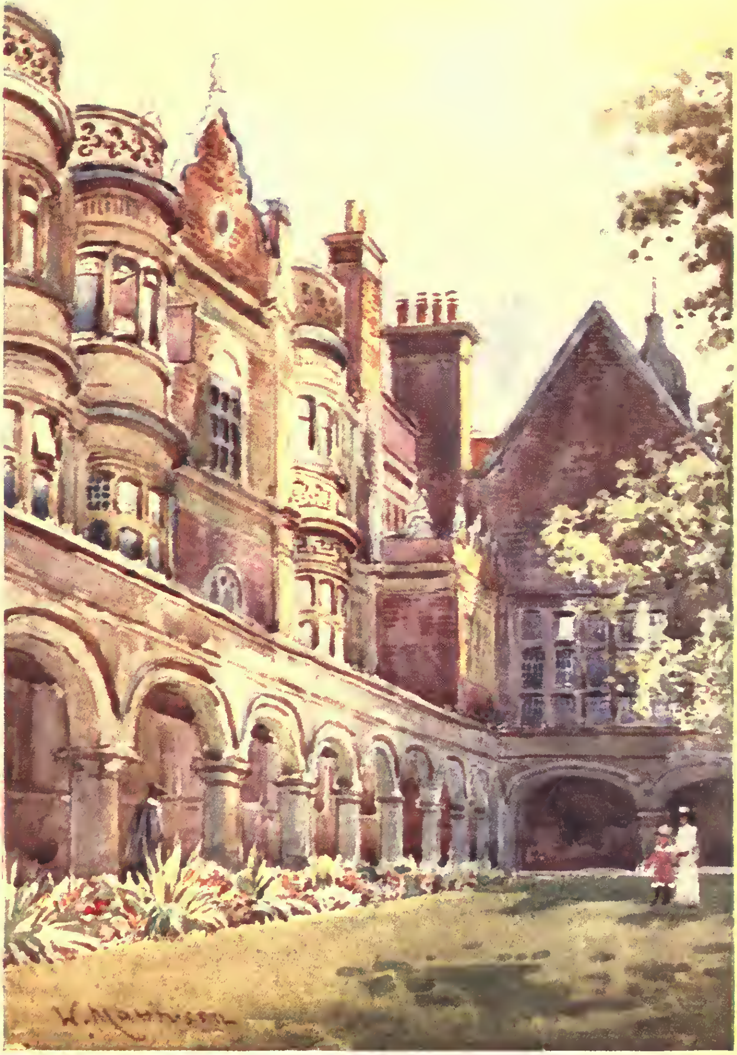
[1] His name appears in the House List of King's Hall.


W. Matthison

THE CLOISTER COURT, SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE.

There are 60 fellowships, 74 scholarships worth each £100 a year, and 16 sizarships of the value of £80 each. The students of Trinity number one-fourth of the undergraduate population. The college is not only the largest but the most important scholastic institution in the world: "being at this day" writes Fuller, "the stateliest and most uniform college in Christendom, out of which may be carved three Dutch universities." Among the college livings are the university church of S. Mary's, S. Michael's (the old church attached to Michaelhouse) Chesterton Vicarage and several rectories and vicarages in the dioceses of Ely, York, Lincoln, Lichfield, London, Peterborough, and Carlisle, which include most of those belonging to King's Hall and Michaelhouse, with the exception of the Norwich benefices.[1]

Gateways. The gateway of Trinity with its four towers, the two interior being the larger and furnished with staircases, reminds us that the ornamental gateway was the last architectural addition to the college quadrangle. The first ornamental archway was the great gate built for King's Hall in 1426.[2] It was copied in the turreted gateway of Queens' College, and afterwards in the old gateway of King's,[3] and in the present gateways of

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[1] The tithes of Great S. Mary's and Chesterton both belonged to King's Hall, on which the advowson of S. Peter's Northampton was bestowed, as Cherry Hinton had been bestowed on Peterhouse. The rectory of Chesterton, which had pertained till then to the monastery of Vercelli, was given by Eugenius IV.

[2] Removed to its present position by Nevile in 1600; see p. 81.

[3] p. 51 *n.*

Christ's and S. John's, and even in that second gateway of King's Hall which is the present entrance gate of Trinity.[1] The only gateway in Cambridge which varies completely from these models is Alcock's at Jesus, which is much lighter in character. The xvi century gateways of Caius are "the first specimens of the revival of stone work."[2] The ornamental gateway is a distinctive feature of Cambridge college architecture. The room over the gate was used as a muniment room; in S. John's the chamber in the tower serves this purpose.

Caius College A.D. 1557.

In 1557 Doctor John Keys (whose name was Latinised as Caius) built and incorporated with Gonville Hall a college for scientific research and medical studies—the illustrious society which has since been known as Gonville and Caius College.

Keys or Caius was one of the great physicians of the xvi century; physician to Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and President of the College of Physicians. He was a Yorkshireman by race but a native of Norwich, and had been Principal of Physwick hostel which was at that time attached to Gonville Hall. Italian universities had turned his mind from the study of divinity to that of medicine and he became a doctor in that faculty at Padua in 1541, two years after leaving Cambridge. At Padua he lived with one of the earliest anatomists —Vesalius; and he himself lectured for twenty years on anatomy to the surgeons in London, at the request of Henry VIII. He was Master of the college of which he was co-founder, but regularly spent the emoluments on fresh buildings at Caius. He was not only a great naturalist, the first English anatomist, a great physician, and an eminent classic, but also a distinguished antiquary, and to him we owe one of the most valuable histories of the university. He had withal "a perverse stomach to the professors of the gospel," and clung like Metcalfe of S. John's and Baker of King's to the old religion and the old ways of worship. He is buried in the college chapel, and the simple words *Fui Caius* are inscribed over him. The foundation-stone of Caius he had himself inscribed: *Johannes Caius posuit sapientiae*; "John Caius dedicated it to knowledge."

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[1] See p. 82.

[2] Willis and Clark.

He built his college in two parallel ranges, east and west; a chapel and the Master's lodge occupying the north side. On the south was a low wall with a gateway. "We decree," he writes in the statutes of Caius, "that no building be constructed which shall shut in the entire south side of the college of our foundation, lest for lack of free ventilation the air should become foul." This appreciation of the all-importance of air and sun to living organisms was more than three hundred years in advance of his time. If his instructions be not carried out, he says, the health of the college will be impaired, and disease and death will ensue. Closed quadrangles had been built in Cambridge ever since the erection of Pembroke College, but no more were built there after the time of Caius.[1] Andrew Perne of Peterhouse was a contemporary stickler for hygienic conditions in the colleges; he saw to it that only pure water should be available "for the avoiding of the annoyance, infection, and contagion ordinarily arising through the uncleanness" of King's Ditch "to the great endammaging" of health and welfare.

The college founded by Gonville is still known as Gonville Court in the joint college; but the other buildings are entirely new and make a modern show at the corner of King's Parade not necessarily justified by the modernness of the science pursued within their walls.

In the xv century Gonville was peopled with monastic students: it is said that when Humphrey de la Pole and Gresham were studying there the other scholars were nearly all religious. If the monks of Ely, Crowland, Ramsey, and Walden lived at Monks' hostel, the monks of Norwich priory had been allowed by a special papal exemption to continue to frequent Gonville and Trinity Halls, as they had done since Bateman's time.[2] The Suffolk monks of Butley, black Benedictines from Bury, Cistercians from Lewes, and Austin canons from Westacre in Norfolk were also to be found there.[1] Gonville Hall was always regarded as the papal favourite at Cambridge ; yet by 1530 Nix Bishop of Norwich in a letter to the primate Warham asserts that not one of the clerks at Gonville but "savoured of the frying pan."

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[1] Closed courts, however, continued to be built at Oxford; a late instance being the second court of S. John's built by Laud so that his college should not be outshone by its Cambridge namesake.

[2] Bull of Sixtus IV. 1481. The bull recites that in the time of William Bishop of Norwich the Norwich Benedictines had been accustomed to lodge at Gonville and Trinity Hall where Bateman had made convenient arrangements for them. When the pope proceeds to say that Benedict XI. had required all Benedictines who wished to study in Cambridge to live *in certo alio collegio dictae universitatis*, "deputed ad hoc," he is mistaking the

Caius has always been a doctors' college ; Harvey, Glisson the anatomist, and a long roll of eminent surgeons and physicians here received their education. Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Gresham the only one of the Merchant Adventurers known to have been at a university, and founder of the Royal Exchange, were also sons of this house ; as was Samuel Clarke (*b.* Norwich 1675) the metaphysician, "the lad of Caius."

There are 22 fellows and some 36 scholars and exhibitioners, the value varying from £100 down to £20. There are also two chapel-clerkships (£38 for one year), and the Tancred medical studentships each worth £100 a year.

Emmanuel 1584.

We now come to the last two colleges to be founded in the xvi century. Emmanuel was founded by Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of

authorisation of Monks' hostel 50 years before for the papal Constitution of 150 years before, as he mistakes Benedict XI. for Benedict XII. The suggestion that he refers to University Hall (the *hospicium universitatis*) is certainly erroneous : the words above quoted simply mean "in the said university" and not "the college called university college" : there was no such house for monks in Cambridge between 1347 and 1428, when "the college deputed in the said university ad hoc"—Monks' College—was founded. Benedict's Constitution does not specify whether the religious are to dwell in common, or not.

[1] Cf. Magdalene, p. 76.

the Exchequer to Elizabeth, in 1584, his object being to plant the seed of Puritanism in the university. The site he chose was the suppressed house of the Dominicans, and Ralph Symons, the architect who worked with so much skill and judgment at S. John's and under Nevile at Trinity, converted the friary buildings into the Puritan college. The friars' church is now the college hall and the library which at one time served as a chapel was it is said the convent refectory. The college chapel was built, from Wren's designs, by Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury (1668-78); and the college itself was rebuilt in the xviii and xix centuries. Emmanuel has preserved an evangelical character, the relic of its original Calvinism in doctrine and Puritanism in discipline; and the clerical students of Ridley Hall are recruited chiefly from here. "In Emmanuel College they do follow a private course of public prayer, after their own fashion"; the chapel used was unconsecrated, the communion was received sitting. The contrast must have been all the greater at this time—the beginning of the xvii century—when incense was burning and Latin was sung in other Cambridge chapels.

The name of Emmanuel College recalls the movement with which it was connected later in that century: when Whichcote, Cudworth, Smith, and Culverwell of Emmanuel, and More of Christ's led the van of philosophic thought.[1] Besides Cudworth, Emmanuel has nurtured at least four eminent representatives of learning and science, Flamsteed, Wallis, Foster, Horrox; and one great statesman, Sir William Temple; and as a representative churchman, Sancroft who was also Master of the college. Samuel Parr was here; and William Law, the author of the "Serious Call," was a nonjuring fellow. Harvard went from Emmanuel to America where he founded the university which bears his name.

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[1] Cudworth was afterwards Master of Clare, then of Christ's; Whichcote became Provost of King's.

There are 16 fellowships, 30 scholarships, and 4 sizarships.

Sidney Sussex 1594.

Sidney Sussex, the last of the xvi century colleges, was also built in Elizabeth's reign, on the site of the Greyfriars' as Emmanuel rose on the site of the Blackfriars' house. Frances Sidney, daughter of Sir William Sidney and wife to the third Earl of Sussex, bequeathed the money for the foundation, and her executors purchased the property from Trinity College. The ubiquitous Ralph Symons was the architect; but the college was modernised in the early xix century. There are two courts: the hall and lodge in one, the chapel and library in the other. In this last is a x century pontifical from a northern diocese, probably Durham. The character of the college has always remained Protestant, this and Emmanuel being the first Protestant foundations in the university. Oliver Cromwell was enrolled a member the day of Shakespeare's death, and Fuller the ecclesiastical historian was here for many years. Sterne the founder of the

Irish College of Surgeons, Archbishop Bramhall, Henry Martyn,[1] May the poet, and Seth Ward are among its worthies. Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, of whom the historian writes that he "loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness" was a member of this college, and carried out Cromwell's destructive programme at his university. No one mentions the founder of Sidney Sussex without saying that she was aunt to Sir Philip, and it is a title of honour even for the founder of a college: did not Fulke Greville have himself described in his epitaph as "Frend to Sir Philip Sidney"?

There are 10 fellows and 36 scholars on the foundation, besides sizarships of the value of £27 a year.

Downing 1803.

One college has been built at Cambridge in modern times. The founder, who bequeathed his property for the purpose, was Sir George Downing of Gamlingay Park, Cambridgeshire, whose father was a graduate of Clare. Wilkins (the architect of the modern portions of King's and Corpus and of the New Court of Trinity) began the structure in 1807, but he only completed the west and east sides. The town has since grown up to the college, which has large pleasure grounds. A "Downing" professorship of law and another of medicine were also endowed by the founder. Six of the 8 college fellowships must be held by students of law or medicine; and there are 10 scholars on the foundation.

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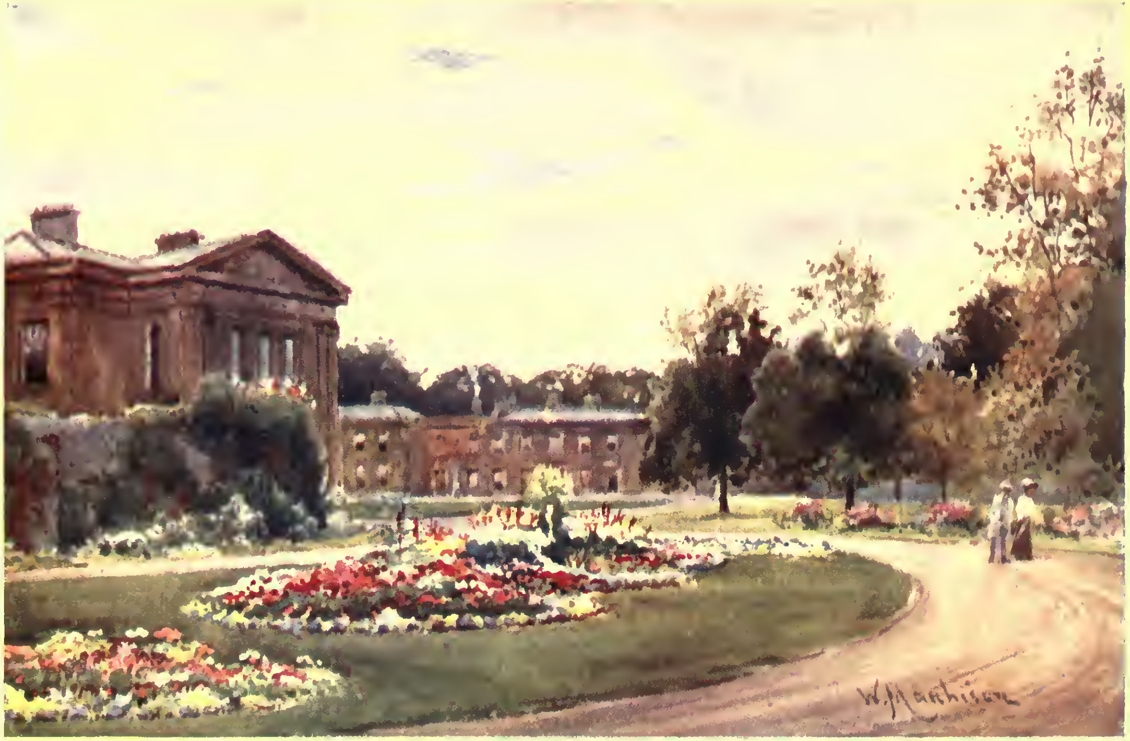
[1] p. 75.


W. Matthison

DOWNING COLLEGE FROM ENTRANCE IN REGENT STREET.

Taking the place of the older hostels, but inversely as regards their relative proportion to the colleges, there are now 6 hostels, colleges in all but university status, with resident students reading for the usual university examinations; and there are two post-graduate hostels. The oldest of these are *Newnham* (1871) and *Girton* (1873) which are described in another chapter. *Cavendish College* on the Hills Road was opened in 1876 by the County College Association and admitted students from sixteen years old. It was recognised as a public hostel (November 9, 1882) but was closed nine years later.

Ridley Hall was erected in 1880 for theological students who have taken their degree. Its object is the maintenance of Reformation principles.

Selwyn College was founded in 1882, by subscription, in memory of Bishop Selwyn, and for the maintenance of Church of England principles, to whose members it is restricted. This institution occupies a somewhat anomalous position in the university, for it is the only hostel on avowedly "denominational" lines publicly recognised by and therefore forming part of the academic society. Cambridge has set its face against the recognition of colleges intended to meet the interests of one religious section of the community to the exclusion of others, on the ground that members of all religious communities may now receive instruction in any of the colleges, and suffer no interference with their religion, and also in pursuance of the main principle that a university education is of greater use and value when young men are not classed and separated according to their religious divisions. Thus when the Catholic hostel of *S. Edmund* applied for recognition in 1898, the "grace" was refused, in spite of the fact that many members of the university unconnected with any religious denomination, voted in its favour. *S. Edmund's House* was founded by the Duke of Norfolk in 1897, and is for clerical students working for a tripos or other advanced work recognised in the university. It ranks as a licensed lodging house. A Benedictine hostel, *Benet House*, was founded in the same year, and supported by the father of the present abbot of Downside. A few professed monks, who are entered as members of Christ's or some other college, pursue there the usual university course.

Westminster College is a post-graduate college for the Presbyterian Church of England, founded in Cambridge in 1899 (removed from London).

Cheshunt theological *College*, founded by the Countess of Huntingdon in 1768, has just been removed to Cambridge, and is there lodged in temporary premises. Undergraduate and post-graduate students are received, the former being non-collegiate members of the university. Students and staff must be of the Evangelical Reformed faith, but are free to enter the ministry of the established or any Free Church responding to that description.

These four last are the result of the abolition of the test act (1871) which kept our universities closed both to catholics and nonconformists: but Benet and

S. Edmund's houses were projected when the prohibition to catholics, maintained by Cardinal Manning, was withdrawn.

A note on the nationality of Cambridge founders.

Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peterhouse, 1284, Cambridge. Ob. 1286, bur. before the high altar, Ely.

Hervey de Stanton, founder of Michaelhouse, 1324. Ob. York 1327, bur. in S. Michael's church near his college.

Richard de Badew, founder of University Hall, 1326, Chelmsford, Essex.

King's Hall, Edward II. and Edward III., 1337.

Elizabeth de Clare, founder of Clare Hall, 1338 b. at Acre of Norman settlers in England Wales and Ireland; married to two Irishmen. Ob. 1360, bur. Ware, Herts.

Marie de Chatillon, founder of Pembroke Hall, 1347. French, married a Welsh earl. Ob. 1377, bur. in the choir of Denney Abbey.[1]

Edmund Gonville, founder of Gonville Hall, 1348. East Anglian. Ob. 1351.

William Bateman, founder of Trinity Hall, 1350, East Anglian (b. Norwich). Ob. 1354, bur. Avignon.

Two Cambridge guilds, founders of Corpus Christi College, 1352.

William Byngham co-founder with Henry VI. of God's House, 1439, 1448 (Rector of S. John Zachary, London; Proctor of the university in 1447) (Fuller pp. 150, 161).

King's College, Henry VI., 1441.

Margaret of Anjou, founder of Queens' College, 1448, French. Ob. 1482, bur. at the cathedral of Angers.[2]

Elizabeth Woodville, co-founder of Queens'. Northants. Ob. 1492, bur. at Windsor, near Edward IV.

Robert Woodlark, founder of S. Catherine's, 1473, b. Wakerly near Stamford, Northants. Ob. 1479.

John Alcock, founder of Jesus College, 1495, b. Beverley, Yorks. Ob. 1500, bur. at Ely.

Margaret Beaufort, founder of Christ's and S. John's Colleges, 1505, 1509, b. Bletsoe, Beds.[3] Ob. 1509, bur. Westminster Abbey, in the south aisle of Hen. VII.'s chapel.

John Fisher (her coadjutor) b. Beverley, Yorks. Beheaded 1534, bur. in the Tower.

Magdalene College [first founded by the Fen abbeys and Walden 1428] Henry and Edward Stafford 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Buckingham, then Thomas first Baron Audley of Walden 1544. The two former (whose family came from Staffordshire) were beheaded 1483 and

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[1] The spot is marked by the black tombstone in the present farmyard, half way between Cambridge and Ely.

[2] At her own request made to Louis XI. The tomb was destroyed during the Revolution.

[3] The seat of the Bedfordshire Beauchamps, her mother's family.

1521, and bur. at Salisbury, and Austinfriars, London.[1] Lord Audley b. Essex, ob. 1544, bur. Saffron Walden.

Trinity College, Henry VIII., 1546.

John Caius, founder of Caius College 1557. Yorks, but b. Norwich, ob. 1573, bur. in the college chapel.

Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College, 1584, Chelmsford, Essex. Ob. 1589, bur. at S. Bartholomew the Great, London.

Frances Sidney, founder of Sidney Sussex College, 1595, Kent (the family came from Anjou with Henry II.). [Her father and husband were both Lords deputy for Ireland, and her father also President of Wales.] Ob. 9th March 1589, bur. Westminster Abbey.

Sir George Downing, founder of Downing College, 1803, Cambridgeshire. Ob. 1749, bur. Croydon, Cambridgeshire.

It will be seen that the university owes most to Cambridge itself and East Anglia; and next to two counties which have always been in strict relation to it, Yorkshire and Essex. Two of the founders of colleges were French. Both Welsh and Irish names have been from the first represented, but Cambridge owes nothing to Scotland.[2] Even as late as 1535 when Henry issued the royal injunctions to the university during the chancellorship of Cromwell, there were students from every diocese and district of England, and from Wales and Ireland, at Cambridge, but Scotland is not mentioned.[3] Of the 4 countesses who founded colleges, one was twice married to Irishmen, and two married Welshmen.

[1] A headless skeleton found, before the middle of last century, near the spot where tradition says that Henry Duke of Buckingham suffered, is presumed to be that of the duke, of whose burial there is no other record. Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*, 1843.

[2] Elizabeth Clare was heir to her brother who fell at Bannockburn: Marie Chatillon was widow of Valence Earl of Pembroke who fell in the wars against Bruce. The only Scotch benefactor was Malcolm the Maiden who endowed the nunnery of S. Rhadegund; but this was before colleges were built.

[3] "*Ex omni dioecesi et qualibet parte hujus regni nostri Angliae, tam ex Wallia quam ex Hibernia.*" There were, however, Scotchmen at Cambridge in the xiv c.

Of the 14 (non-royal) men founders (including the third Duke of Buckingham and Fisher) 5 were East Anglian (3 Cambridgeshire), 3 were East-Saxons, 3 Yorkshiremen, one a Northamptonshire man, and one came from Staffordshire. To Beverley the university owes Fisher and Alcock, to Chelmsford Badew and Mildmay, to Norwich Bateman and Caius.

Of the 6 women founders, two were French (Chatillon and Queen Margaret) one was of French extraction (Sidney), the Clares were Normans, Elizabeth Clare and Chatillon were Plantagenets through Henry III. and Edward, Margaret Beaufort and Buckingham by descent from Edward III.; Elizabeth Woodville was half French through her mother Jaquetta of Luxembourg, daughter of Peter Comte de Saint-Paul. Thus, curiously enough, two of the women founders hailed from Anjou (Margaret and Frances Sidney) and two from Saint-Paul (Chatillon and Elizabeth Woodville).

Scope of their foundations.

The colleges they founded favoured different provinces.

Marie Valence, wished French fellows to be preferred to others of equal merits, and, failing these, scholars from the college rectories.[1]

Gonville wished to benefit East Anglian clergy.

Bateman wished chiefly to benefit clergy of the diocese of Norwich.

Henry VI. decided that failing scholars from the parishes of Eton or King's, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire should have the preference.

Margaret of Anjou's college was, by Andrew Doket, allied with the Cambridge Greyfriars.

Margaret Beaufort and Fisher favoured the northern districts of Richmond, Derby, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, York, Lancashire, and Nottingham, from which half at least of the scholars were to come.

Sidney Sussex College was, by its "bye-founder" Sir Francis Clerk, endowed for students from Bedfordshire.

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[1] To this day Pembroke fellowships are open to men "of any nation

The special character given to Peterhouse by Balsham was the studious pursuit of letters, arts, Aristotle, canon law or theology. There were to be 2 scholars for civil and canon law, and one for medicine; and poor bible-clerks were to be instructed in grammar.

Hervey de Stanton founded Michaelhouse for clergy, and for the study of theology.

Marie Valence founded Pembroke for the study of arts as well as theology.

Elizabeth de Burgh founded Clare for general learning. Three poor boys were to be instructed in grammar, logic, and singing.

Edmund Gonville made the 7 Arts the foundation for a theological training. (Bateman abolished its theological character.)

William Bateman founded Trinity Hall for the study of law only.

The two Guilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin founded their college for scholars in sacred orders, and for the study of theology and canon law.

William Byngham established God's House for the study of grammar among the clergy of the north-eastern counties.

Henry VI. required all the scholars of King's to be candidates for sacred orders, and made theology and arts the principal but not the exclusive faculties.

Margaret of Anjou made theology the principal study at Queens', and in her college law was only tolerated. The master of arts must either teach the *trivium* and *quadrivium* for 3 years, or devote the same time to the liberal sciences or Aristotle.

Robert Woodlark made his fellows restrict their studies by vow to "philosophy and sacred theology"—his college of S. Catherine was founded to promote Church interests exclusively.

John Alcock required that the scholars of Jesus College when they had graduated in arts, should devote themselves to the study of theology. Canon law was prohibited, but one out of the 12 fellows might be a student of civil law.

Margaret Beaufort founded Christ's for the study of grammar, arts, and theology, but law and medicine were excluded.

Edward III. and Henry VIII. founded King's Hall and Trinity College for general learning.

John Caius founded his college for the pursuit of science.

Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emmanuel for clergy who should maintain the principles of the Reformation.

Sir George Downing founded his college for the study of law and medicine.

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and any county," whereas at other colleges (as e.g. Corpus) the restriction is to "any subjects of the king, wherever born." Cf. Jebb's "*Bentley*," p. 92.

Hence Michaelhouse, Gonville, Corpus, God's House, King's, Catherine's, Jesus, and Emmanuel were destined for a clerical curriculum only.

Bateman contemplated the union of the diplomatic career with the clerical; and although there were many jurists' hostels his is the only college founded and endowed for the exclusive study of law. Caius is the only college founded and endowed for the natural sciences and medicine; but in the xiii century Balsham, in the xvith Caius, and in the xixth Downing, all provided for medical studies. Similarly in the xiii, xiv, and xvi centuries Balsham, Edward III., Elizabeth de Burgh and Henry VIII. each founded a college for the pursuit of general knowledge.

Wealth of the university. Sources of revenue.

Throughout the xiiith, xivth, and xvth centuries the university was certainly a very poor corporation. It took a hundred years to build three sides of the Schools quadrangle, and the money for the important schools of Philosophy and Civil Law collected by Chancellor Booth in the xv century was only got together by taxing the university.

The university as distinguished from the colleges has never been a wealthy society, and its sources of revenue are now much the same as they have always been. There are the capitation fees of members of the university. Fees for matriculation, for the public examinations, and for graduation, and proctors' fines.

The income of Burwell rectory and of a farm at Barton. The trading profits of the University Press; and one new source of income—the annual contribution from each of the colleges, in proportion to its revenues, provided for by statute in 1882. The vice-chancellor delivers an annual statement of expenditure, which includes the upkeep of the Senate House and Schools, of the University church, the Registrary's office, the observatory, museums and lecture rooms, and a yearly contribution to the library: the salaries of professors and public examiners, and the stipends and salaries of university officers and servants.[1]

College wealth and property.

The original property of colleges was in land, benefices, and plate. The portable property was laid by in a *chest* kept in the muniment room: here title deeds, charters, rare books, college plate, and legacies *in specie* were treasured; the last being drawn upon for the purpose for which they were bequeathed until exhausted. Benefactors to a college presented it with a "chest," and hence the "University Chest" is still the name for its revenue. Queen Eleanor presented a "chest" of a hundred marks to the university in 1293 ("The Queen's Chest"); and Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, enriched the public treasury with a thousand marks in the reign of Henry VII. when the "chests" had been "embezzled to private men's profit"; a gift "which put the uni-

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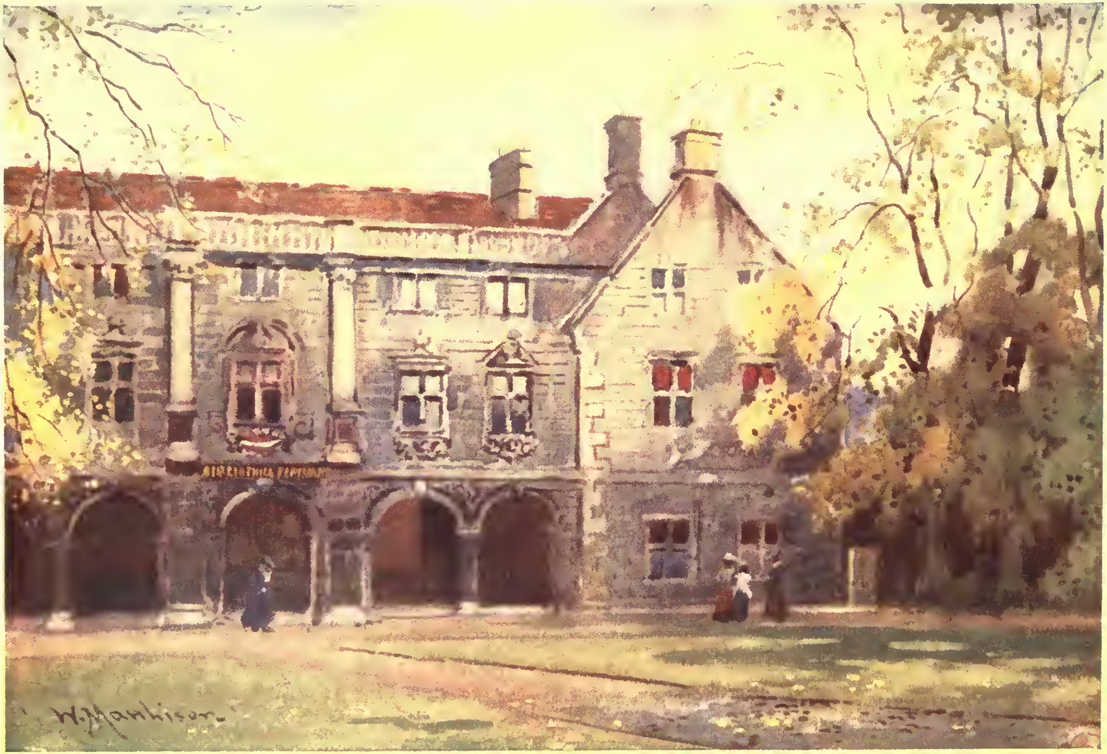
[1] To these must be added: insurance, rates, and taxes, repairs, legal expenses, printing, and stationery, gifts made by the university, and the *honorarium* paid to the university preacher.


W. Matthison

PEPYS' LIBRARY, MAGDALENE COLLEGE.

versity in stock again."[1] The "Ely Chest" was given in 1320 by John sometime Prior of Ely and Bishop of Norwich, and the other principal givers were country parsons, university chancellors, a "citizen of London" in 1344, and Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter ("Exeter's Chest") in 1401.

The wealth of the colleges differs greatly. Trinity college has a gross income of over £74,000 and the next richest college is S. John's. The poorer colleges have gross incomes varying from 4 to £9000.[2] The proportion contributed at Cambridge and Oxford for the royal loan of 1522 is interesting. At Oxford, New College and Magdalen contributed most, more than eight times as much as Exeter and Queens' (£40) which gave least.[3] At Cambridge, King's College and King's Hall were the richest corporations and contributed the same sums as New College and Magdalen Oxford.

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[1] Fuller.

[2] Magdalene, S. Catherine's, Downing, Queens', Peterhouse, Corpus, and Trinity Hall are the small and least wealthy colleges, and in this order. All the others have a gross income of over £10,000 a year. These estimates refer to the years before 1914-18, which have so adversely affected the universities.

[3] University College contributed £50.

CHAPTER II

COLLEGIATE AND SOCIAL LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY

University and college officers :—chancellor and vice-chancellor—the senate—graces—proctors—bedells—the master of a college—the vice-master or president—the fellows—unmarried and married fellows—the combination room—dons' clubs—'Hobson's choice'—the dons of last century—classes of students :—scholar—pensioner—fellow-commoner—sizar—age of scholars—privileges of peers—position of the sizar—college quarters and expenses—'non-colls'—early discipline—jurisdiction of the university in the town—present discipline :—the proctors—fines—'halls'—'chapels'—town lodgings—expulsion—rustication—'gates'—the tutor—academical dress—cap and gown—the undergraduates' day—the gyp—the college kitchen—'hall'—'wines'—teas—the May term—idleness—rioting—modern studies and tripos entries—the boat race—the Union Society—Sunday at Cambridge—scarlet days—academic terms and the long vacation—multiplication of scholarships—class from which the academic population has been drawn and careers of university men :—the Church—the rise of an opulent middle class—the aristocratic era—English conception of the benefits of a university—examples of the classes from which the men have come—recruiting grounds of the university—popularity of colleges—numbers in the colleges—religion at Cambridge—Cambridge politics—university settlement at Camberwell—married dons and future changes.

We have seen that it is of the essence of a university that it should be both a learned and a learning body, and that from the first the academic group consisted of "masters" or licensed teachers, and of scholars maintained on the college foundations. Contemporaneously with the growth of the college we find at the head of the university a chancellor, and at the head of the college its principal or "Master."[1]

The chancellor. A chancellor was originally a cathedral officer whose business it was to grant licences to teach.[2] His connexion with schools of learning seems to be due entirely to the authority which diocesans exercised in the granting of these licences, especially in the faculties of theology and canon law. It is then as a bishop's officer that he makes his appearance at our universities; at Cambridge as the local officer of the Bishop of Ely, at Oxford as the local officer of the Bishop of Lincoln. "The chancellor and masters" of the university of Cambridge are first heard of together in Balsham's rescript, in the year 1276;[3] but Henry III.'s A.D. 1275-6. letter to the university written six years earlier is A.D. 1270. addressed to "the masters and scholars of Cambridge

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[1] Cf. i. pp. 1-2.

[2] The *cancellarius scholasticus* of a cathedral chapter.

[3] The earliest chancellor of whom we have a mention belongs to the year 1246 (*Baker MSS.*). A list of chancellors exists from the year 1283, and is reprinted in Carter, *History of the University*. Among xiv c. chancellors belonging to great families, we have—

Stephen Segrave	1303-6
Richard le Scrope	1378
Guy de Zouche	1379
John de Cavendish	1380
John de Burgh	1385.

The name recorded in 1246 is Hugo de Hottun (Hatton ?).

university." It may then be assumed that before this date the chancellor was still an episcopal emissary rather than an academic chief, but that from about this time he began to be chosen by themselves from among the regent-masters of the university, although with the approval of the Bishop of Ely. This approval was not dispensed with until in 1396 a member of the noble family of Zouche became chancellor ; and the chancellor's independence of the Bishop of Ely for confirmation of his title was made absolute by Boniface IX. six years later. A.D. 1402.

Vice-chancellor. The office was annual. The same man, however, was often appointed again and again, and Guy de Zouche himself had been chancellor in 1379 and again in 1382. Bishop Fisher who retained the chancellorship until his death in 1534 was the first chancellor appointed for life.[1] As soon as it became customary to elect as chancellor of the university some personage who would be able to represent its interests in the world outside, a vice-chancellor performed all those functions which before fell to the chancellor, and the position and functions of the present vice-chancellor are exactly equal to those of the old academic chancellor.[2] The first political chancellor succeeded the greatest of what, for distinction, I have called the academic chancellors of the university. Thomas Cromwell took the post left vacant by Fisher's martyrdom and held it till his own downfall in 1540. The chancellorship is now held by the owner of a traditional Cambridge name, Spencer Cavendish 8th duke of Devonshire.

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[1] By acts of the university 1504 and 1514.

[2] Fuller places the first vice-chancellor in the year 1417, after Stephen le Scrope and Repingale Bishop of Chichester had held the chancellorship —1414 and 1415. Men "of great employment" began then to fill the position, and hence, he says, the necessity. 1454 is however the date of the earliest vice-chancellor usually given, and there were only intermittent

The chancellor is appointed "for two years" or such further time "as the tacit consent of the university permits." Under this proviso the appointment is practically for life. The vice-chancellor is appointed from among the heads of houses, and the office is annual. In each case the appointment is in the hands of the senate, or legislative body of the university which consists of all resident masters of arts and of those non-resident *M.A.'s* who have kept their names upon the university register.

Senate and graces.

The meetings of the senate take place in the Senate House and are called congregations. In these, degrees are conferred and "graces" are considered ; a "grace" being the name for all acts of the senate, or motions proposed for its acceptance.

Resident members of the senate form the "electoral roll," and elect the council.[1] Lastly the executive body

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appointments between then and 1500. In that year Richard Fox was chancellor, and Henry Babington vice-chancellor, and was succeeded in 1501 by John Fisher *who filled both offices.* In 1413 a friar was chosen as "president" of the university in the absence of Chancellor Billingford sent by Henry V. with the Bishop of Ely and the chancellor of the sister university to Rome.

[1] In this body, which was created by act of 19th-20th Vict., are concentrated the powers of the houses of regents and non-regents, the ancient governing body of the university. Its 10 members are chosen from the roll.

consists of the chancellor, the high steward,[1] the vice-chancellor, a commissary appointed by the chancellor, and the *sex viri* who adjudicate on all matters affecting the senior members of the university, are elected "by grace of the senate," and hold their office for two years.

The university has sent two members to parliament since the first year of James I. The exercise of the parliamentary suffrage belongs to the whole senate and is the one exception to the rule which obliges every member to record his vote personally in the Senate House.[2] The members of the senate number nearly 8000, and the members of the university over 16,000, this latter including all bachelors of arts and undergraduates in residence, and all *B.A.'s* whose names are on the books pending their proceeding to the degree of *M.A.*

A.D. 1603.

Proctors. After the vice-chancellor no officers are so much in evidence as the proctors. Their duties are twofold: they conduct the congregations of the senate, and they maintain discipline among the undergraduates. There are 2 proctors elected annually, to whom are joined 2 pro-proctors, and 2 additional pro-proctors. The pro-proctors have not the standing of the proctors as university officials, but they exercise the same authority over the men.[1] Other executive officers are the public orator, who is "the voice of the senate"[2]; the university librarian, the registrary, the university marshal (appointed by the vice-chancellor) and the bedells.

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[1] The high steward is elected in the same way as the chancellor. He appoints a deputy who must be approved by the senate. The Cambridge high stewardship has been frequently held by favourites of the sovereign; Elizabeth gave it to Leicester, and Henry VII. to Empson.

[2] At the parliamentary election of January 1906, the university electorate numbered 6972. Since 1918 all women who have satisfied the conditions which in the case of males entitle to a degree possess the university suffrage by act of Parliament: the distinction made between the *M.A.* and *B.A.* degree was thus overridden in the case of those universities which refused degrees to women. (See p. 201.)

Bedell. If the proctor is the procurator of the academic society, the bedell is the executor of its mandates. The bedells attend the (chancellor or) vice-chancellor on all public occasions, bearing silver maces, and, like the beadles of all guilds and corporations, they summon members of the senate to the chancellor's court.[3] For bedel or bedell is an obsolete form of beadle retained in the ancient corporations of Oxford and Cambridge. As a town or parish officer the beadle brought messages and executed the mandates of the town or parish authority. The apparitor of a trades guild was also called a "bedel," and it is, no doubt, as a guild officer that he appears in our universities and has taken so firm a footing there.

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[1] The proctors are appointed according to a statutory cycle—they are nominated by the colleges in turn, two colleges nominating each year. The proctors at Oxford originally represented the north countrymen and the south countrymen. Entries of Cambridge proctors exist from 1350. The office, of course, is kin to that of the procurator of monastic orders; and the Cambridge proctors supervised Stourbridge fair, the markets, weights and measures, and all those matters which affected the supply of provisions for the university or its finances: to which were added their scholastic functions.

[2] The first public orator was Richard Croke; Sir T. Smith, Sir J. Cheke, Roger Ascham, and George Herbert the poet, all held the office. Caius supposes that the master of glomery was university orator, whose duty it was to entertain princes and peers and to indite the epistles of the university on great occasions. He supposes also that as "senior regent" he collected and counted the suffrages in all congregations: the *Statutes* however show us this officer in company with two *junior regents* sorting the votes cast for the proctors.

[3] Thus a guild order in 1389 runs: the alderman "ssal sende forthe the bedel to alle the bretheren and the systeren."

The bedell was the servant of a faculty, and also of a "nation" in the continental universities: hence at Cambridge one was the bedell of theology and canon law, the other of arts. They arranged and announced the day and hour of lectures. For many centuries Cambridge had an esquire and a yeoman bedell; but the latter was abolished in 1858. Apparently the yeoman bedell was not a member of the university, and he may have been a townsman.[1] The two esquire bedells of the present day are nominated by the council of the senate, and elected by the latter body.[2]

The Master. Distinct from the university authorities are the college authorities. The foremost of these is the Master of each college. This officer used to be *primus inter pares*, the senior among the fellows or teaching

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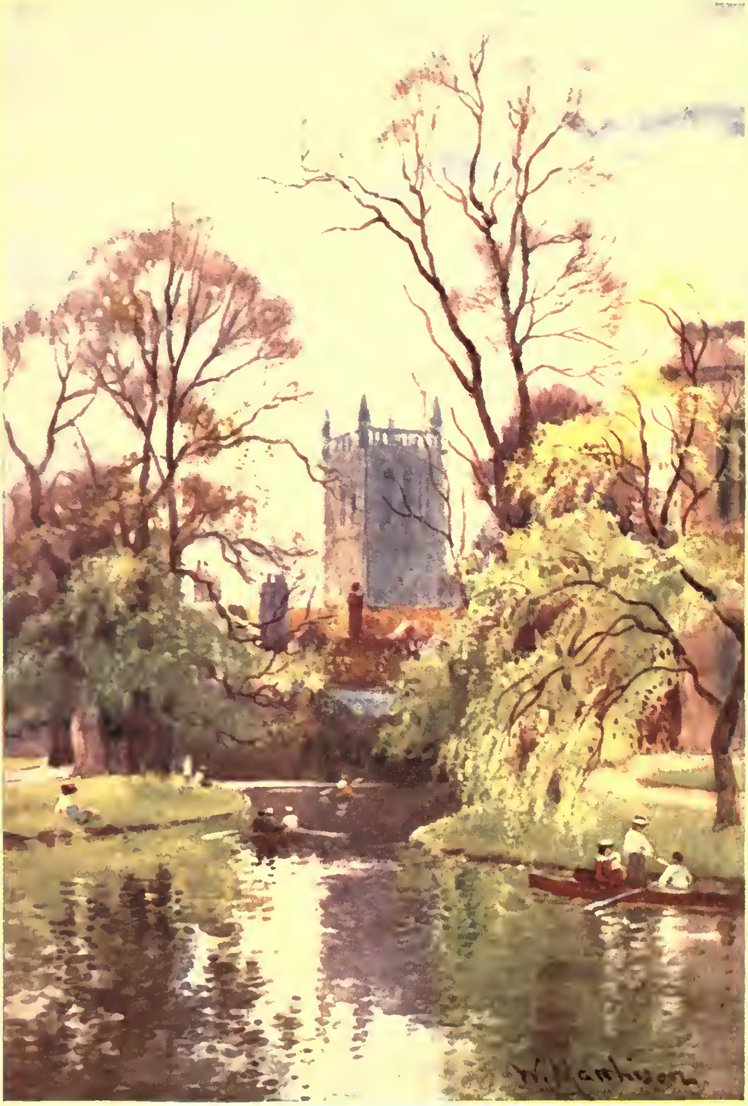
[1] We find Archbishop Laud writing of Oxford: "If the university would bring in some bachelors of art to be yeomen-bedels . . . they which thrived well and did good service might after be preferred to be esquire-bedels."

[2] The first esquire or armiger bedell on the Cambridge register is Physwick in the xiv c.; no one else is entered for this office till 1498 when Philip Morgan held it. After him there is another esquire bedell in 1500. The yeoman bedell probably stood in the same relation to the esquire bedell as the trumpeter to the herald. The herald did not blow his own trumpet and the esquire bedell of the university was doubtless not a macebearer. The original two bedells, nevertheless, used to go before the chancellor and masters *virgam deferentes*; and Balsham in 1275 arranges that *the bedell of the master of glomery* shall not carry his stave on these occasions, but only when on his superior's own business. A bedell is mentioned in a xiii c. hostel statute published by J. Bass Mullinger.



THE TOWER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE CHAPEL FROM THE RIVER.

body of his house. The change to the later "splendid isolation" of the "Head" is expressed architecturally in the relative positions of the Master's lodging, as we can see it to-day in the old court of Corpus—the simple room leading to the dining hall and the college garden with a garret bedroom above it—and the palatial dwellings which in one or two of the colleges no longer form part of the main buildings. It is one which has a curious chronological parallel with the change that took place in the relative positions of a cathedral dean and chapter after the Reformation. The old college Master, like the old university chancellor, and the cathedral dean, was, officially and residentially, part and parcel of the body he represented. After the Reformation all these positions were shifted. The college Master became in appearance, what the cathedral dean had become in fact, "a corporation sole," while the university chancellor was translated to supra-academic spheres, and no longer resided even in the university city. "Sixty years since," writes a present member of the university, "society at Cambridge was divided broadly into two classes—those who were Heads and those who were not." Ludicrous stories are told of the pride which inflated "the Heads," who at times resented being accosted not only by the inferior undergraduate but by the fellows of their own college. The provost of King's of just a hundred years ago was referred to familiarly by his irreverent juniors as 'Tetoighty.'[1]

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[1] Letter of Rennell to Stratford Canning, Nov. 16, 1807.

Heads of colleges have not only the statutory powers conferred on them by their college, but as assessors to the vice-chancellor they join with him in the government of the university. Their powers were largely increased by the statutes of 1570 which Whitgift procured from Elizabeth; and in 1586-7 it was decided that the vice-chancellor should always be chosen from their number.[1] The modern "Head" emulates the old academic Master, is *primus inter pares* amongst his fellow collegians, and is no longer dreadful to his juniors.

There are only two exceptions to the title of Master held by all heads of colleges. The head of King's College, like the head of Eton, is styled Provost, and the head of Queens' College is styled President.[2]

The vice-master is called the president. His position is like that of a prior under an abbot, or a subprior in a priory: the one representing the college outside and ruling over the community, the other ruling in the house and having the authority in all which concerns its management.

With the Master and vice-Master are associated the fellows, the dean, the tutors, lecturers, chaplains, and the bursar.[3]

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[1] Until 1534 only those who had graduated doctor were elected to the office.

[2] Principal (see iii. p. 182 *n.*), warden, keeper, proctor, and rector are all titles which at one time or another were familiar in Cambridge.

[3] In the xviii c. the colleges had already 4 lecturers in rhetoric, logic, ethics, and Greek. Cf. the provisions in the statutes of Christ's College xvi c. The college *bursar*, the purse-bearer of his college, is its treasurer and oeconomus: a senior and junior bursar are appointed.

Fellows. "I can never remember the time when it was not diligently impressed upon me that, if I minded my syntax, I might eventually hope to reach a position which would give me three hundred pounds a year, a stable for my horse, six dozen of audit ale every Christmas, a loaf and two pats of butter every morning, and a good dinner for nothing, with as many almonds and raisins as I could eat at dessert," writes Trevelyan in his "Life and Letters" of Macaulay whose appreciation of a Cambridge fellowship fell nothing short of reverence.

The fellows are the foundation graduates, as the scholars are the foundation undergraduates of a college. They are more; they are, corporately, its masters and owners. Financially, a fellowship is represented by the dividend on the surplus revenue of a college.[1] As this surplus revenue varies while the fellows are a fixed number, the value of fellowships varies, but may not now exceed £250 a year. A fellow enjoys as a rule other emoluments, as tutor, lecturer, librarian, bursar, of his college, so that his pecuniary position is by no means represented by the value of the simple fellowship. All fellowships are now bestowed for a term of years; life fellowships being held by those only who are on the staff of their college, who have served it, that is, in a tutorial or other official capacity.

Married and unmarried fellows. Until the last quarter of the xix century fellows had to be bachelors. The rule against married officials was first relaxed, after the

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[1] The decreasing value of the statutable stipends in the xvii c. led to the adoption (in 1630) of the new scale of payments.

Reformation, in favour of heads of houses; Dr. Heynes, President of Queens' in 1529, having been the first married Master.[1] Fifty years later the fellows of King's complained that the wife of their provost had been seen taking the air on the sacred grass of the college court, where, nevertheless, her husband declared she could not have set her foot twice in her life. Early in George III.'s reign a movement was afoot among the fellows of a different character: in 1766 Betham of King's writes to Cole that the university had been in a most violent flame: "young and old have formed a resolution of marrying"; "the scheme is—a wife and a fellowship with her." In the "sixties" certain colleges began to admit married fellows, while in others a fellow might marry if he held university office, as professor or librarian. No fellowship nowadays is confined to unmarried men.

This is one of three radical changes which the university has undergone in the last thirty years. The abolition of the Religious Test Act which severed the strict connexion of our universities with the Church of England, the marriage of fellows, and the appointment of men not in clerical orders to fill the chief university and college offices, have gradually changed the face of university life, secularising it and socialising it, bestowing on it, definitely, a lay and undenominational character which is perhaps not so far from its primitive ideal as sticklers for the connexion of the universities with the Church would have us believe. It is no longer an advantage to be in orders at Cambridge: they do not help you to a fellowship for this is given to the best man in open competition; even heads of colleges need no longer be clergymen, and only one collegiate office, that of the dean, is still preferably bestowed on a parson. The results are curious. Clerical fellows are popular, but theology is a neglected subject in the big colleges and the theological chairs are not centres of influence. At the same time every college enjoys clerical patronage, which can be exercised in favour of its deserving sons; and every college, besides its dean, appoints chaplains for the maintenance of the chapel services.[1] Clerical fellows, it is true, are now in a minority, but there seems to be no reason why the clerical don should cease to abound, as he has always abounded, in our university cities. A university education has become more not less valuable for a clergyman now that it enables him to meet men whose beliefs differ widely from his own; now that the right to display an academic hood in church is no longer prized as its chief advantage.[2]

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[1] He signed the university instrument which was presented to Henry renouncing the pope's supremacy; Ridley, who was proctor at the time, signed after him.

[1] From 1741 two chaplains were appointed in each college, to replace the fellows who before this used to take the chapel services in rotation. The Trinity College rule which provided that a fellow engaged in instruction in his college for ten years kept his fellowship for life or until he married, made the first rift in the obligation to take orders within a certain period after election, or forfeit the fellowship.

[2] An American student, 20 years before the abolition of the Religious Test Act, was scandalised at the manner in which the reception of the

The combination room.

Among the 'dons' the centre of social life has always been the combination room. It represents that pledge of civilisation the with-drawing-room, the room contiguous to the banqueting-hall, where the pleasures of the spirit steal an advantage over the pleasures of the table. The rudeness which marked the period of the early renascence, from court to convent, in England, clung also to our academic life, and it is not till the last quarter of the xvi century that we find the fellows first provided with table napkins, and learn that the enterprising college which made the innovation exacted a fine of a penny from those who continued to wipe their fingers on the tablecloth. The temptation to this latter practice must indeed have been great ; for the fork which made its appearance at the dawn of the renascence in France was unknown in England two hundred years later. It is only in the course of the next, the xviith, century that the combination room emerges as a more or less luxurious apartment ; the subsequent addition of newspapers, magazines, and easy chairs marking in turn the rise of journalism and the higher standard of comfort. The dons of Charles II.'s time who had to be content with the "London Gazette" supplemented the lack of news by social

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sacrament was used as a mere condition for obtaining the certificate of fitness for orders. Men who had not made 3 communions in their college chapel during their stay, came up afterwards for the purpose, and received thereupon a document certifying that they had entirely satisfied "the vice-chancellor and the 8 senior fellows" of their fitness for their vocation.

clubs. "The Ugly Faces" club dined periodically in what was then the ugliest of college halls—Clare. "The Old Maids' Club" flourished in the early xix century, with Baker the antiquary, Tonstall, and Conyers Middleton as members. The first "news letter" was however laid on the table of Kirk's coffee-house in Charles's reign. The first flying-coach, following the example of Oxford which had run a coach to London in one day, sped to the Capital in 1671.[1]

When the xix century opened there was no general society in Cambridge. It was more out of the way of polite England than Oxford, and many dons whose homes were at a distance spent the whole year in their colleges, emphasising the faults and therefore detracting from the virtues of small learned societies. The dons in the xvi century, say at S. John's College, had been a brilliant company who bestowed as much on the Elizabethan age as they took from it: but the xviii century closed upon a period of dulness and reaction, in which the rudeness of material civilisation met a social uncouthness little calculated to recall the university of Spenser, of Burleigh, of Bacon. The intimacy between the fellows and their head was a thing of the past; the familiarity between scholar and don had been replaced by "donnishness" which kept the undergraduate at arm's length; the blight of the artificial and stilted, the sterile and pompous aristocratism of just a century ago had settled down upon the university. Isolated in this eastern corner of England, just before the enormous impulse to travelling brought by railways, just after the cosmopolitan spirit which took even the Englishman abroad — the sense of a debt to Italy, of a continental comradeship—had finally ceased to exist, Cambridge dons at the dawn of the xix century had perhaps fathomed the lowest social depths. But before this century passed a social change more wonderful than the material changes around them metamorphosed university society. The unmannerly don married; and the sex which makes society, the sex which suffers no social deterioration when left to its own devices —the aristocratic sex—was introduced as the don's helpmeet. More still — worse still — in the same quarter of a century she was introduced in a character which the weak-kneed among us cry out upon — his rival. For it is the same donnish bachelor, separated by a gulph from the social amenities, wedded to ingrained habits and some eradicable prejudices, who suffered women to come to Cambridge and take what they could of the intellectual advantages he himself enjoyed.

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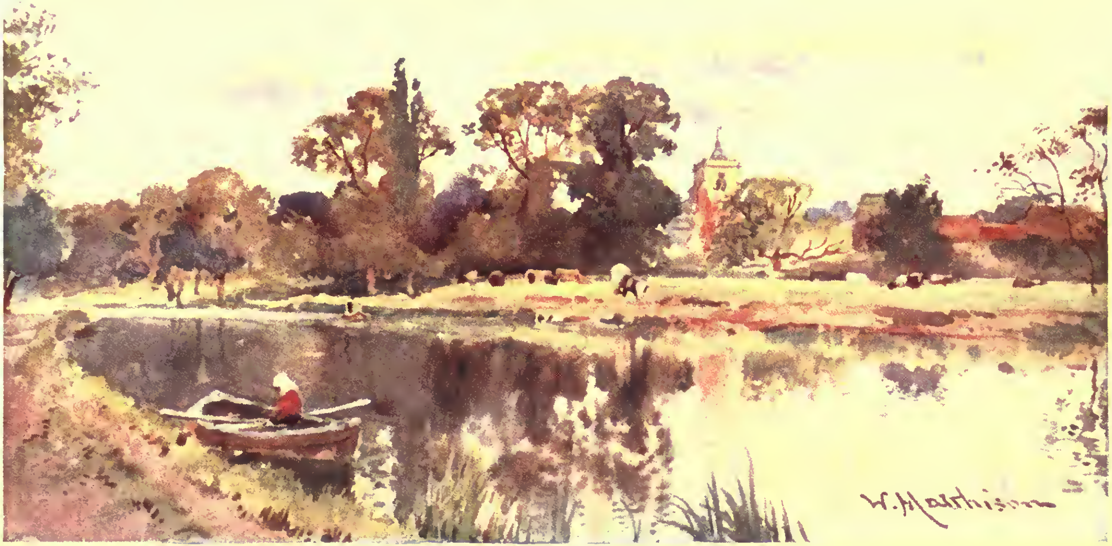
[1] In the same century Hobson, who died in 1630 at a great age, was the famous Cambridge carrier and kept the first livery stable in England. His numerous clients would find a large stable full of steeds from which "to choose" (with bridle whip and even boots provided); but everyone was expected to take the horse next the door: hence 'Hobson's choice,' which has become an English household phrase, as has another Cantab expression, 'constitutionalize' for walking. Yet another phrase is 'tawdry,' the name given to the flimsy gaily coloured chains which were sold at Barnwell (now Midsummer) fair on the eve of S. Awdrey's day. Hobson was immortalised by verses of Milton's.


W. Matthison

DITTON CORNER, ON THE CAM.

Classes of students.

The learned body which congregates in the combination rooms is the *ecclesia docens* of the university; the learning body—the *ecclesia discens*—includes all members of the university below the degree of *M.A.*, and is divided into four or five classes. The most important of these from the academic point of view is the scholar, and for at least two centuries after colleges were built the only resident students were these students on the foundation.[1] To them were joined in course of time the *pensioners*, youths who paid for their board and lodging, the class which now makes up the great majority of undergraduates. Two other classes were added. The peers and eldest sons of peers with other *fellow-commoners*—a class which has fallen into practical desuetude but is not obsolete—and the *sizars*. The peers enjoyed some privileges which would not be coveted nowadays—they could make themselves conspicuous on all occasions by their clothing, and they could take a degree without working for it. The younger sons of peers and the richer undergraduates also messed at the fellows' table, and were therefore called "fellow-commoners": the advantages of this arrangement did not end with the better treatment in hall, for the companionship of the fellows and seniors of his college must have proved a welcome stimulus to an intelligent young man.[1] Lastly, there were and are the

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[1] Colleges were not at first built for the 'undergraduate.' The scholar of the xiii, xiv, and xv centuries was the *socius* (fellow) of to-day. His clerical position was that of a young man in minor orders, his scholastic that of a bachelor in art. He attended the schools of the doctors and masters, and was assisted by his fellowship and by exhibitions in the learned faculties to study for the degrees (master of art, and doctor in the faculties). The pensioner, who might or might not be an undergraduate in standing and who lived at his own charges, was provided for in the hostel. It was not till the visitation of 1401 that we find *socii* and *scholares* distinguished; and when King's College was founded in the same half century its scholars were young students and nothing else. Nevertheless, although such was the original conception of the endowed college—at Peterhouse, Michaelhouse, Pembroke, Corpus—the later developments were outlined from the first. The bible clerks at Peterhouse were poor students not of the standing of bachelors, and a proviso in the statutes enabled the college to maintain "2 or 3 indigent scholars well grounded in grammar" when its funds shall permit. At Clare (1359) the sizar was regularly recognised. At Pembroke (1347) there were in addition to the "major scholars" 6 "minor scholars" who might fit themselves to be major scholars. At King's Hall (Statutes Ric. II.) boys from 14 years old were admitted. At Christ's (1505) the standing of the scholar was defined by requiring him to give instruction in sophistry; but the pensioner was contemplated for the first time as a regular inmate of the college. In fact the *perendinant* who ate at the college tables became, before the middle of the xv c., the *commensalis*; the class being fully recognised 50 years later in the *convivae* of Christ's. There were no fewer than 778 *convivae* or pensioners in the colleges in the time of Caius 1574.

As to the age at which youths went up, it was not until the xix c. that the university was finally regarded as the complement to a full 'college'

(public school) course elsewhere. The grammar boys at Clare and Peterhouse, the richer youths at King's Hall, and the glomery students, must always have kept Cambridge peopled with little lads: but when grammar disappeared altogether (in the xvi c.) from the university curriculum, scholars continued to go up very young. In the xvi c. Wyatt went to S. John's at 12, Bacon and his elder brother to Trinity at 12 and 14; Spenser was in his 16th year. In the xvii c. George Herbert was 15, so was Andrew Marvell, Milton had not attained his 15th year; Newton went to Trinity at 17, and Herschell to S. John's at the same age. Pitt was a precocious exception in the xviii c. at 14.

All the scholars of the early colleges were to be indigent; the one exception was King's Hall, but the proviso appears again in the statutes for King's College.

We may note that All Souls' Oxford retains the characteristic of the ancient college foundations, in being a college of fellows only. The title "students" for the fellows of Christchurch recalls the same intention.

[1] When Gresham went to Gonville in Hen. VIII.'s time the fellow-

"sizars," the poorer students, not on the foundation of the college, who pay smaller fees and receive their commons gratis.[1] The sizar of fifty years ago used to wait on the fellows at dinner and dine off the broken victuals, reinforced by fresh vegetables and pudding.

When Macaulay summed the advantages of a Cambridge fellowship he omitted perhaps the chief, the college residence which like "the good dinner" is to be had "for nothing." Fellows and scholars receive their college quarters gratis; but the rest of the undergraduate population pays for its lodging. It is housed in its 17 colleges, the new hostels which are springing up on all sides, and the licensed lodgings in the town. Up to 1914 the cost of the college bed and sitting room a term varied from £3 to three times this sum. Service added £2 or £3 a term. Small lodgings with service could be had in the less good streets for £5–£7; good rooms from £8 to £10, while more than £12 was only charged in the best positions, or near the big colleges. The expense of college rooms is augmented by the prepayments for furniture (the average valuation of the permanent furniture up to 1914 was £20, but the sum might be as low as £10 or as high as £40), by the "caution money," about £15, returned at the end of the term of residence, the admission fee (varying with the college from £1 to £5) and the matriculation fee £5. During residence there is also an annual payment of about £21 towards the upkeep of the college and its

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commoner had just made his appearance. Cambridge was full of them in the reign of Elizabeth.

[1] Jeremy Taylor was a sizar, Newton and Bentley sub-sizars.

servants, and the tuition fee, which covers all lectures in one's own college, and varies from £24 to £31:10s. a year.

It was to obviate the necessity of paying these fees that the system of non-collegiate students, familiarly called "non-colls," was devised in 1869. While the expenses of an undergraduate who is a member of a college used to average about £165 a year, £60 in excess of this and £60 less representing the higher scale of expenses on the one hand and the minimum on the other, the undergraduate who lived in lodgings and *was not a member of any college* could live for £78 a year (if he did not require "coaching" or private tuition costing about £9 a term) and it was just possible to take the *B.A.* degree after a three years' residence which had cost you at the rate of £55 a year. The approximate cost now varies from £220 to £275.

Seventy years ago the minimum cost of living at Cambridge for a pensioner was £150 and double this sum involved no extravagant outlay. A fellow-commoner required £800 a year and could not live on less than £500. These were the aristocratic days of English universities and they were in sharp contrast to the time when scholars were poor, begged their way to and from college, and were included among vagabonds in the statute of 1380 directed against mendicancy. But the entertainment in those days was also widely different. Two fellows shared not only a room but a bed, or a two-bedded room would be shared by a fellow and two poor scholars. It was not till the xvi century that each fellow had a bed to himself and a room to himself if space permitted.[1] The dining hall was a comfortless room where rude fare was served at a tresselled board to guests who sat upon wooden stools. The conditions of the xiii and xiv centuries were not greatly bettered in the xvth and xvith, and Erasmus found it hard to stomach the fare at Queens' College at a time when the Cambridge ale appears to have been no improvement on the "wine no better than vinegar" which came from the surrounding vineyards.

Early discipline. The little lads who thronged the streets of Cambridge in the xiii century were under little or no discipline. They ran up debts with the Jews, who had established themselves there in the opening years of the previous century, fought the townsmen, and had few duties to society beyond making their own beds, a work certainly performed by university scholars in the xiii and xiv centuries and enjoined on the boys of the famous schools founded in the xvth. It was this custom of doing your own work, at least until you became an advanced student when the little boys did it for you, which was the origin of "fagging" in our two most ancient schools connected respectively with our two universities—Eton and Winchester.[2] Even this amount of work, however, was not expected of fellow-commoners in the xvi century, who frequently got out of hand, though few of them have left us so delightful a reminder of their misdeeds as the young Earl of

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[1] Statutes of Christ's College.

[2] The scholars of Eton were directed to recite the Matins of our Lady while making their beds.

Rutland has done in a letter to his mother who had complained of his behaviour : " I do aseure your Ladyship that the cariage of myselfe both towardes God and my booke, my comeliness in diet and gesture, shall be such as your Ladyship shall hear and like well of."

With the great era of college building in the succeeding century, the founders' statutes make their appearance ; and in days when monks were birched and nuns were slapped the college stocks held in durance vile the fellow who had presumed to bathe in any stream or pool of Cambridgeshire, while the college hall resounded to the strokes of the birch which visited the scholar for the same offence. College discipline was supplemented by university discipline, and the academic authorities shared legal powers with the town authorities until recently. The jurisdiction of the university extended not only to matters affecting its members, but to a *conusance* in actions which affected the townsmen.[1] The last attempt to exercise the right of imprisoning undesirable characters in the "Spinning House" was made by the vice-chancellor in 1893; but the incarceration of a young woman on this occasion caused so much indignation in the town that it led to the final disallowance of all the vice-chancellor's powers, in this direction, which were waived by the university in 1894.

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[1] This right was given up in 1856. The legal powers and privileges of the university date from the xiii c. and the reign of Henry III. : *Ita tamen quod ad suspensionem vel mutilationem clericorum non procedatis, sed eos alio modo per consilium universitatis Cantabr. castigetis* is the clause inserted in 1261 in the matter of a quarrel between students from the north and south parts of the realm. The privileges granted to the university by Edward III. include the power of imprisoning offenders ; and even the king's writ could not be invoked to free them. In the 10th year of Edward's reign the university chancellor maintained this right both over scholar and townsman. The oath taken by the mayor of Cambridge to maintain the "privileges liberties and customs of the university" dates from the same reign (when the mayor bailiffs and aldermen were obliged to swear to respect the chancellor's rights). When the riots of 1381 led to a suspension of the town charter its privileges were transferred to the university, till the restoration of the charter in 1832.

Present discipline—proctors, fines, "hall," "chapels."

University discipline is in the hands of the vice-chancellor and his court,[1] and the proctors. College discipline in those of the dean[2] and tutors. Two proctors perambulate the town every night, each accompanied by two servants known to the undergraduate as the proctor's "bull-dogs." They take the name of any offending student and bring him up next morning if necessary before the vice-chancellor. They can also send men back to their college or rooms, enter lodgings, and exact fines. When the youth of 19 or 20 leaves the higher forms of a public school and comes to the university, he is treated as a man, and leads a man's life guided by himself. But he becomes also a member of a great society, existing for certain purposes. If he is a man, he is a very young one; and if he guides his own life he has only just begun to do so. He lives in his own house—for his college room, like the Englishman's dwelling, is his castle—but he must be at home by 10 p.m.

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[1] The vice-chancellor's court for persons *in statu pupillari* is composed of the vice-chancellor and six heads of colleges elected by grace.

[2] It will be observed that the academic dean possesses disciplinary functions like his predecessor and prototype the monastic dean. The academic dean is also the presiding official at the chapel services.

This is the first point of discipline. The gates of colleges and the outer doors of lodgings are shut at 10, and any one who presents himself after that hour, without his tutor's permission, has his name taken by the college porter, or by the lodging proprietor who acts *in loco janitoris.* He must also dine in hall, if not every day at least five times in the week, which must include Sunday. The third restriction on his liberty is (or at least was originally) a care for his soul. The obligation to attend chapel so many times a week resolves itself now into two attendances in the week and generally two on Sunday. No means of enforcing this are however taken nowadays, and the men are generally left free to judge for themselves in this respect, though 'moral suasion' is exercised by the deans except in the case of nonconformists and conscientious objectors. Fifty years ago 8 "chapels" were expected; but if a pensioner kept 6 and a fellow-commoner 4, he was left untroubled by his dean. In New England at the same epoch no less than 16 attendances at chapel every week were required, seven at unseasonable hours; a burden which was tolerated with more cheerfulness by the New Englander than were the 8 "chapels" by his Cambridge contemporary.

Town licences: Expulsion "rustication" "gating."

The licensing of all lodgings and places of entertainment[1] to which undergraduates may go, is the hold which the university has over the town. Its sanctions for the undergraduate are fines and expulsion; breaches of

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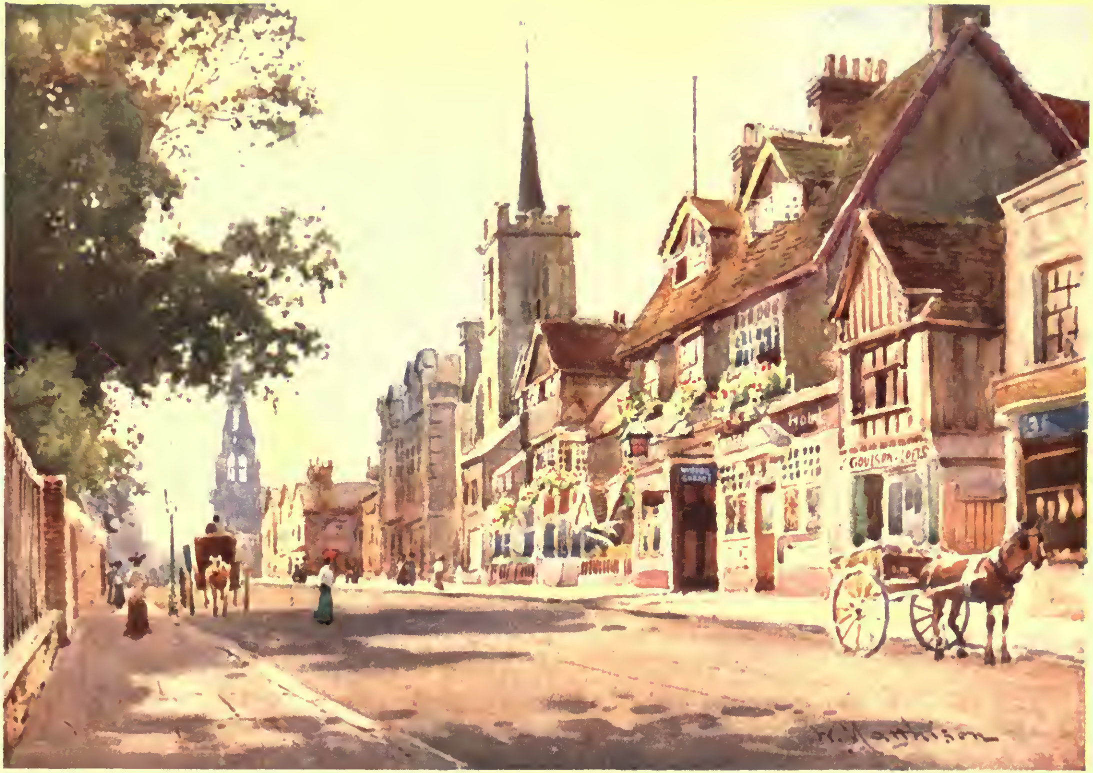
[1] Undergraduates may not give entertainments in taverns or public halls



THE OLD CASTLE INN.

college rules being visited by "gating" and expulsion. A man can be expelled for any cause which in the judgment of the university or the college warrants it. If a man thus expelled from the university society refuses "to go down"—to leave Cambridge—he cannot live in any licensed lodging house in the town.[1] A man may also be sent down for a term, which is called "rustication," an epithet which suggests to him that he has forfeited the society of men of polite learning. If a man misbehaves himself he can be "gated," *i.e.* the porter receives instructions not to let him out after a certain hour—and it may be any hour the authorities choose to fix and for any length of time.

The tutor. The college tutor is the official who supervises the undergraduate's academic career. He advises him what subject to read for, what examinations to take, what books to master. The career of a mediocre man is often made and that of a first-rate man heightened by an able tutor, and Cambridge has boasted some very great men in this capacity. The mathematical genius of Newton was quickened by having for his tutor Isaac Barrow; Whichcote of Emmanuel, Laughton of Clare, and Shilleto of Trinity were eminent as tutors and

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without permission of their tutor: even then more than 5 men *in statu pupillari* cannot meet together in a public place without a further permit from the proctor.

It was agreed in 1856 that the licence of any ale house was liable to be revoked if a complaint in writing was made by the vice-chancellor to the Justices of the Peace.

[1] Lodging house keepers sign a hard and fast undertaking with the Lodging-house Syndicate. They cannot let to other than members of the university without permission.

"coaches"; and "coaching" supplements, for a very backward or a very advanced student, the lectures of college and university.[1]

The cap and gown.

The academic appearance of a university owes much to the traditional cap and gown worn by all its members. A bonnet and gown are very ancient appanages of the learned professions of divinity law and medicine—they were the dignified apparel of doctors in the three faculties. Short hose had not become fashionable when universities sprang into existence, and the clerk or scholar even if he were not destined for major was very usually in minor orders: the gown is therefore a fitting distinction for those learned societies which have never ceased their corporate existence, and have carried into modern times, as a special dress, items of attire which like clerical vestments, the cassock, the monastic habit, and the friar's tunic were proper to the age which saw their rise.

The distinctive features of academic dress are simply survivals of this ordinary dress of the period: the ceremonial hood is the hood which was worn in everyday life in the xiith the xiiith xivth and xvth centuries.[2]

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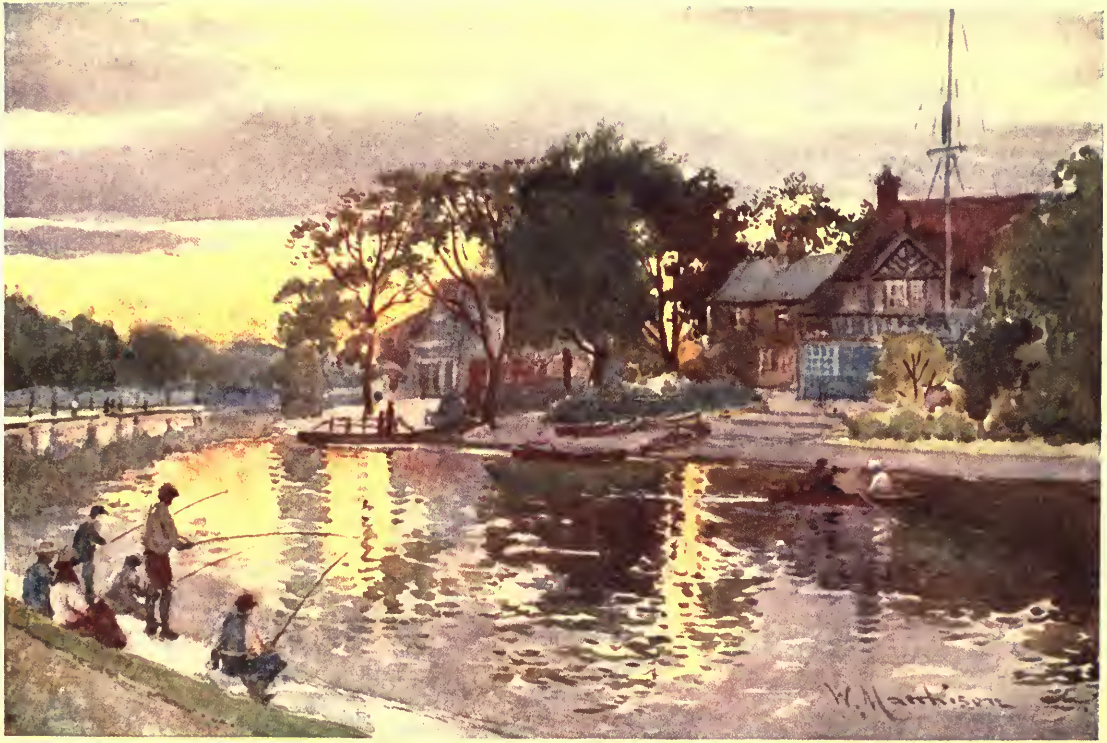
[1] The tutor probably made his first appearance at King's Hall; his office was firmly established by the middle of the xvi c. (later Statutes of Clare College, 1551), and marks the epoch when students other than those on the foundation were also firmly established as college inmates. Before the xviii c., however, the official tutor of to-day was not known; any fellow whom the master designated filled the post. In some colleges the tutor is appointed for life; at Trinity for a term of 10 years.

[2] Like all other items of headgear the derivatives of the hood acquired ceremonial significance. The removable hood of the xiv c., which was slung over the shoulder or attached to the arm, became the *capuce* of the


W. Matthison

UNIVERSITY BOAT-HOUSES ON THE CAM—SUNSET

If we had looked in at the priory church of Barnwell on a day when the novices made their profession we should have seen each one enter dressed in the black habit or gown, a cloak of fur, and the "amess[1] over his head": and when he walked out he was already vested with the *capa nigra* of the canon. Here, then, we have all the elements of early academic dress; the homely Gilbertine canons, so familiar in the Cambridge thoroughfares, wore it in white; for it was the dress of the more respectable, the decently clad, clergy and clerks as well as of those most respectable and regular clergy, the canons. The dress of the better looked-after scholars on the college foundations differed but little from this. No doubt the scholars of Peterhouse habitually wore the clerical *vestis talaris*[2]—the gown to the ankle—but the special item of academic attire adopted at Cambridge appears to have been the *capa nigra*.[3] The majority of scholars in the hostels

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dignified clergy, of the doctors in the 3 faculties, rectors of colleges, and others in authority. It is preserved to-day in the *pellegrino* of the Roman Church. The hood itself appears to have gained this ceremonial importance in the xv c.; and it is in the middle of that century that the hood as head-gear disappears, and is replaced by the various caps and bonnets which were formed from it.

[1] The amess was a capuce of fur.

[2] Statutes of Peterhouse 1338-1342. The same is prescribed for the junior students of King's Hall (temp. Richard II.). Precisely the same regulations—for the tonsure and *vestis talaris*—were made for the scholar at the university of Paris.

[3] This accorded with the custom at Bologna and at Salamanca (xiv c.)—*una capa scolastica . . . foderata sufficienter pellibus pecudis.* At Salamanca each scholar received annually one cappa lined with sheepskin, and one unlined, and a lined hood.

and grammar schools observed no general rule as to costume,[1] but the scholars of any standing wore the black cappa of the canon ; and the hood, lined with sheepskin or minever, was becoming—even in the xiv century—the habitual, and therefore distinctive, dress of foundation scholars when they "commenced" bachelor or master.[2] The hood indeed was probably restricted to an academic use before this century closed, for there is a statute of the year 1413 ordering hoods of kid or lambskin to be worn. The incepting Cambridge bachelor,[3] then, wore a *cappa*, a fine hood was gradually restricted to the master of arts.

The soft bonnets or caps—of doctors, bishops, jurists, canons—are derivatives of the hood, as is the stiff cap—the biretta, as is the mitre itself. The xviii century Cambridge student still wore a soft round cap, like that worn to-day by the Italian university student and quite recently adopted in France : but the Paduan doctors had adopted the stiff square cap in the xvi century, and our own students revolted against the round cap in 1769, and thereupon accomplished the feat which neither Archimedes "nor our Newton" had attempted :

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[1] The object of most of the rules regarding scholars' dress seems to have been to enforce sumptuary restrictions, and impose something clerical and sober in appearance—*decenter et honeste* are the words used in the statutes of King's Hall. The same is true of similar regulations in Italian universities.

[2] The cappa (with a hood?) probably constituted the *speciem scholasticam* which pseudo-scholars in the town were forbidden to imitate. (*Statuta Antiqua*, statute 42.)

[3] An order of the time of Henry V. (documents Nos. 90, 91 in the Registry) requires the Cambridge bachelors to dress like those at Oxford ; which probably referred to the black *capuce* or hood of the Oxford bachelor ?

> For all her scholars square the circle now.[1]

The chancellor of the university wears a black and gold robe. Scarlet is the colour of the doctors' gowns, as it still is of the papal doctors of divinity. The physician of Chaucer's time wore his furred scarlet gown, and scarlet gowns and corner caps were worn by the Cambridge doctors when the Cromwells entertained James I. on his way from the north in 1603.

The master wears a full-sleeved gown of stuff or silk ; the bachelor's gown has two flowing bands hanging loose in front ; the undergraduate's gown is both scantier and shorter than these ; but 'Advanced Students' wear the bachelor's gown, without the loose bands. The academic gown of English universities is now black, but the earlier violet gown of Trinity is recorded in the present blue gown of its undergraduates, a blue gown being also worn by the neighbouring college of Gonville and Caius.[2] The gowns of certain colleges are distinguished by little pleats in the stuff or bars of velvet.

Peers and eldest sons of peers, in the first half of the xix century, wore the black silk gown and tall silk hat of an *M.A.*,[1] and on great occasions a more splendid dress adorned with gold tassels and lace. Fellow-commoners wore a gown with gold or silver lace and a black velvet cap ; the younger sons of peers being known as "Hat-fellow-commoners" because they wore the *M.A.'s* silk hat instead of the velvet cap.

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[1] This feat was celebrated by verses inscribed : *Mutantque Quadrata Rotundis.* A square cap (called both 'scholastic' and 'ecclesiastical') was recognised as the proper head-gear for Cambridge fellows graduates and foundation-scholars in the later xvi. c. Pensioners were to wear a round cap.

[2] For the coloured gown see *infra.*

Most of the pensioners at Cambridge in the xviii century (but not the fellow-commoners) used to wear a sleeveless gown called a "curtain."[2] Neither the clerical cassock nor the *capa nigra* in fact account for the undergraduate's dress of later or present times ; the original of which, I think, is to be found in the sleeveless gown or coat, called *soprana*, of the ecclesiastical colleges founded between the xv and xvii centuries. Two of the peculiarities of the *soprana* are still traceable. The bands of the bachelor's gown may be seen attached to the black coat of the *Almum Collegium* founded in 1457 by Cardinal Capranica, to the violet and black dress worn by the Scotchmen,[3] to the red coat of the college founded by Ignatius Loyola, and the blue of the Greek College founded by Gregory XIII. ; while

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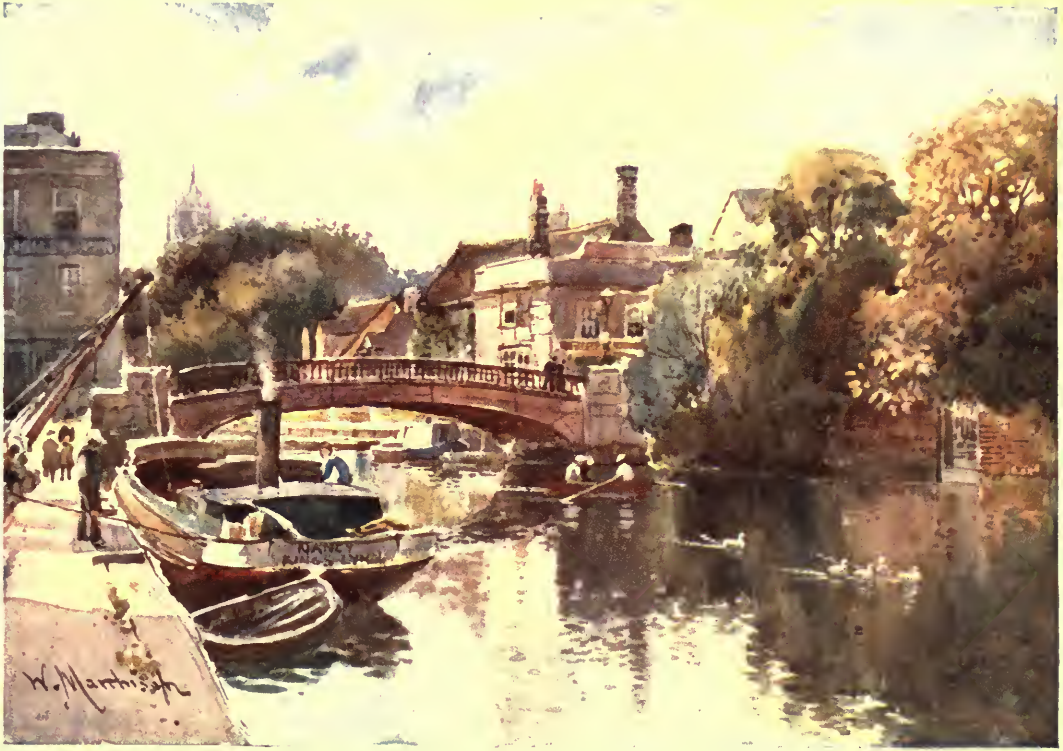
[1] The *pileum* placed on the head of the new master of arts in the xv ? and xvi centuries, probably symbolised the termination of the *status pupillaris*. Cf. *Haec mera libertas, hoc nobis pilea donant ;* and *servos ad pileum vocare* (Livy). The tall silk hat signified the same thing. It was worn by young *M.A.'s*, and by the 'Hat-fellow-commoners,' and is still worn by *M.A.'s* on a visit to their *alma mater* though not by resident 'dons.'

[2] This was not worn at Trinity, King's, and one or two other colleges.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Scotch universities retain the violet gown. The Scots' College in Rome (founded in 1600) dresses its collegians in a violet cassock, over which is a black *soprana*.



THE GREAT BRIDGE, BRIDGE STREET.

one string, adorned with the papal arms, is left on the *soprana* worn by the Vatican seminarists: these are leading strings, denoting the state of pupilage.[1] The Cambridge scholar's and bachelor's gown is black—the descendant of the full black *cappa*—but as we have just seen the coat or gown of the ecclesiastical colleges is of different colours, and the ancient gowns of Trinity and Caius still record this variation.

Every one *in statu pupillari* must wear cap and gown after nightfall, on Sunday,[2] at examinations and lectures (except laboratory demonstrations), when visiting the vice-chancellor or any other official on academic business, in the library, the Senate House, and the university church: professors and others usually wear the gown while lecturing, and all dons wear it in chapel and hall.

The undergraduates' day.

A twentieth century undergraduates' day does not differ from those recorded in his diary by Wordsworth's brother when he was a freshman at Trinity in 1793.[3] This is how he was employed during the Reign of Terror and within a few days of the execution of Marie Antoinette:—"Chapel. Lectures. Considered of a subject for my essay on Wednesday se'nnight. Drank wine with Coleridge. Present the *Society*. Chapel. Read 'Morning Chronicle.' Found in it an ode to Fortune, by Coleridge, which I had seen at Rough's yesterday. Read *ratios* and *variable quantities*, and Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy." It was indeed rather in its outer than in its inner circumstance that the life even of the xiii and xiv century undergraduate differed from that of the xxth. Then as now he listened to doctors in their faculties and his own college seniors expounding the mysteries of art and science ; then, as now, he supplemented these lectures with private reading, then, seated upon a wooden stool in a corner of a crowded room, or in the college library, or best of all in the college meadows ; now, in a comfortable arm chair or stretched upon a sofa in his private sitting room.[1] Then, as now, he caroused or discussed "the universe" with his friends, as his nature suggested. Then, as now, he made early acquaintance with the river Granta and knew each yard of the flat roads round the university town. Even the periodical outbreak between "town and gown" belongs

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[1] Bachelors of arts whether they be scholars reading for a fellowship or young graduates preparing for the 'Second Part' of a tripos, are still *in statu pupillari*. Perhaps, then, the more important gown, the bachelor's, retained this vestige of the older dress which has been lost in the modification undergone by the undergraduates'. That the strings indicate a state of dependence is confirmed by their being found on the dress of the pope's lay chamberlains called *camerieri di cappa e spada*; the papal palfrey men and other domestics being also provided with them.

[2] A custom now dying out.

[3] Christopher Wordsworth became Master of his college.

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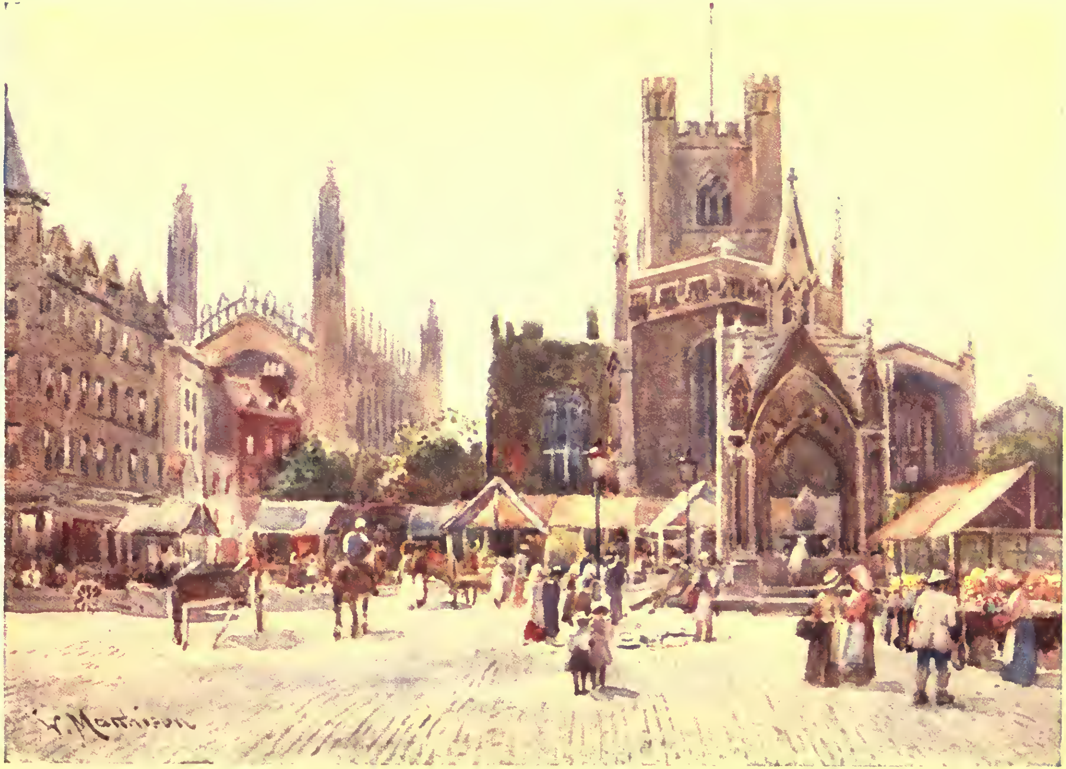
[1] Studies were much later additions in the colleges, and at first a room would be fitted with 8 or 10 'studies,' alcoves or cabinets 5 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft., which would be eagerly hired by students. Sometimes the studies were furnished by the pensioners with the necessary desk and shelves. No attempt at decoration of college rooms appears to have been made till the poet Gray placed scented flowers in his window and bought Japanese vases of the blue and white china afterwards to become so fashionable—which caused much remark. When young peers came up to Cambridge attended by their tutor and an ample *suite* the colleges were much put about to lodge them, and we find Lady Rutland as early as 1590 sending hangings for her son's with-drawing-room at Corpus.


W. Matthison

MARKET SQUARE.

as much to the xiii century as to the most recent history in the xxth.[1]

Lectures take place in the morning, "coaching" and private study usually in the late afternoon and evening. Two to four is the chosen time for recreation, and the chief recreations of the Cantab used to be the road and the river. The latter runs familiarly past the windows of his college rooms, and invites him as he steps forth from the threshold of his college court. Boating, swimming, or fishing, the student of a bye-gone day found in the Granta a never-failing and an inexpensive resource. Cambridge fish as we have seen has always been famous, and the Merton scholars poached upon the townsmen's fishing rights long before the xiii century was out.

"Your success in the Senate House" said a well-known tutor "depends much on the care you take of the three-mile stone out of Cambridge. If you go every day and see no one has taken it away, and go quite round it to watch lest any one has damaged its farthest side, you will be best able to read steadily all the time you are at Cambridge. If you neglect it, woe betide your degree. Exercise, constant, and regular, and ample, is absolutely essential to a reading man's success." And the reading men have taken the lesson to heart. No roads until the era of bicycles were better tramped than the flat Cambridge roads which lend themselves so well to this form of recreation; pair after pair of men, tall and small, a big and a little together, used to keep themselves informed as to their state of repair, or lose the sense of space and time in discussions on the modern substitute for "quiddity" and *essentia*, or the social and biological problems which are newer even than these.

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[1] The enmity of 'town and gown,' a consequence, no doubt, of the thronging of our university towns with an alien population, is traditional, and we first hear of it in 1249 before any colleges were built. Fifty years later (in 1305) the townsmen attacked the gownsmen, wounding and beating both masters and scholars "to the manifest delaying of their study" says the King's letter on the subject (33rd of Edw. I.). Bad relations between 'town and gown' prevailed throughout the reign of Elizabeth.

Once back in his college the persons on whom the undergraduate's comfort most depends are the college cook the bedmaker and the "gyp." The last calls him, brushes his clothes, prepares his breakfast, caters for him, serves his luncheon, waits on him and his friends, and carries back and forth the little twisted paper missives which, as an American noticed fifty years ago, Cambridge undergraduates are perpetually exchanging. All these services the gyp may have to perform for a number of other men. The only woman servant is the "bedmaker" whose name sufficiently describes her official business, but who for the great majority of modern students discharges the functions of gyp. The college kitchen is a busy centre. Here is prepared not only the hall dinner but all private breakfasts and luncheons served in college rooms; and most of the college kitchens supply luncheons and dinners to residents in the town if required. Dinner in hall used to cost from one shilling and tenpence to two shillings and a penny, according to the college; bread and butter called "commons" can be had from the buttery for 6d. a day; a breakfast dish at a cost of from 6d. to 1/; and at some college halls a luncheon is served at a small fixed charge.[1]

A hundred years ago the undergraduate dressed for "hall" with white silk stockings and pumps and white silk waistcoat. A few wore powder, the others curled their hair, and he was a bucolic youth indeed who omitted at least the curling. "Curled and powdered" the Cambridge scholar wore his hair even in the xiv century provoking the indignation of primates and founders. A hundred and fifty years ago beer was served for breakfast, and only Gray and Walpole drank tea. Even fifty years ago the food was roughly served and in an overcrowded hall. It was however abundant, and extras like soup, confectionery, and cheese could be "sized for" *i.e.* brought you at an extra charge. The food provided consisted of plain joints and vegetables, with plenty of beer. The fellows' table and the side tables of the bachelors were better served.

"The wine," the famous entertainment which followed the old four o'clock dinner fifty years ago, has yielded place to coffee and tea. In the May term teas assume new proportions; for during the term which is fateful to the reading man as that preceding the tripos examination, the idle man turns work time into play, invites his friends and relatives up to Cambridge, and entertains his sisters at "the races." It is not indeed to be supposed that the majority of undergraduates are to be found keeping themselves awake with black coffee, a damp towel bound about their brows, while they burn the midnight oil. Even the harmless necessary "sporting of one's oak" is no longer "good form." In days when you advertise for a curate and a schoolmaster who is a good athlete the very thin literary proclivities of the bulk of Englishmen cannot be held to be on the increase. What one might legitimately hope for is that athletics should prove a safety-valve to the natural "rowdyism" of the non-reading man. The October of 1905 proved a "record" in the number of men "going up," and November proved "a record" in the number of men who should have been "sent down." And, lest we should forget, the youths who had grown up during the war made a further exhibition of themselves in 1921. A place of learning should be the last to embrace the quite recent dogma that the rule of the young is the panacea for the woes of the world—for why should we come to learn if we already know? Certain it is that the public acts of a student population, the globe over, have never yet suggested any powers but the powers of prejudice and rowdyism. There is a traditional ritual for an amusing and benign form of rowdyism at Cambridge: you drag out your own and your friends' furniture and make a bonfire in the middle of the college "court."

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[1] These were the charges till 1914. The allowance per head per week for food or "commons" was at Michaelhouse 12d. in 1324, and no more was allowed in the xvi c. at Christ's and S. John's. The allowance at Jesus College was 4d. a week in excess of this, and this was the sum which Archbishop Arundel had sanctioned for fellows' commons earlier in the century (1405). Peterhouse statutes made no provision, but the Bishop of Ely as visitor restricted commons to 14d. a week in 1516. Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Camb.* p. 461.

Would it be impossible, among so many good rules, to make cap and gown obligatory at both universities between the hours of 9 and 12? The spectacle of youths hugging golf clubs on the Oxford station at ten o'clock in the morning is too prominent an advertisement of examination results which show that not 3 men in 4 who matriculate take the *B.A.* There has been a board of Indian Civil Service studies at Cambridge since 1883, and the universities between them send up far the larger number of candidates for this service. A board of agricultural studies was instituted in 1899, a diploma in agriculture is now awarded, also one in sanitation, and geographical studies are encouraged by prizes. Since 1899, when the tripos was divided, the Historical has become one of the larger triposes and in 1905 had the highest number of entries after the Natural Sciences.[1] It was, however, only very gradually that the classical and other triposes worked their way to an equality in popularity with the mathematical.

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[1] In June 1905 there were 647 tripos candidates, 146 for the Natural Sciences, 127 for History, 111 Classics, 95 Law, 63 Mathematics, 28 Mechanical Science, 25 Theology, 13 Modern Languages, 5 Moral Sciences, 5 Economics, 1 Oriental Languages. The year before Natural Sciences was also at the top of the poll with 131 graduates; the Classical came next with 112, the Mathematical 67, History 63. Some 30% therefore take Natural or Mechanical Sciences, and some of the mathematical students stay on for scientific work. The far larger number of men now take the First Part of the Mathematical, Classical, or Natural Sciences tripos in their third year, which gives them the *B.A.*, and do not proceed to the Second Part. For the proportion of First classes obtained cf. iii. p. 198 *n.*

It was not till 1884, after the division of the tripos, that the classical men were slightly in excess of the mathematical.

The inter-university boat race was begun in 1836, and the first 4 races were won by Cambridge, as was also the first race rowed in outriggers in '46. The great inferiority of the 'Cam' to the 'Isis' is partly compensated by the good style of rowing which Eton traditions carry on into Cambridge. The happy connexion between Cambridge and Eton established by Henry VI. has always linked the most aristocratic English school with the more democratic of the English universities, and many boys come to the "light blue" university already wearing her favours.

The Union Society forms another distraction well calculated to turn out the English ideal of a university man—a man, *id est*, ready for public affairs. It was founded in 1815 by the *union* of three already existing debating societies, the present building was erected in 1866 and fitted up as a club. Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) and Blomfield, afterwards Bishop of London, belonged to one of these earlier "spouting clubs" in 1806, where Palmerston and Ellenborough both "laid the foundation" of their parliamentary fame. The college ball and the college concert are also crowded into the student's seven weeks of residence in the May term, taking the place of the plays which formed the staple entertainment in the xvi and xvii centuries. The modern "A.D.C." has been rendered famous by the "Greek Plays" which were inaugurated forty years ago with a performance of "Ajax."

Sunday at Cambridge.

But the round of work and play comes to an end with Sunday, and the university has preserved the festival aspect of this day, the day when continental beadles and *gens d'armes* don their fine plumes and what is bright and gay rather than what is dull and grave is mated to the idea of a day of rest. The college courts—the outdoor centre and rallying point of college life—are thronged with men gay in surplice or gown[1] as they were thronged on that Sunday 386 years ago when Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester found two hundred dons assembled "as is their wont" and buttonholed the men who were likely to pleasure his grace in the matter of the divorce. That fine day in the xvi century was no doubt a repetition of many fine days in the centuries preceding it, for it is always fine in Cambridge on Sunday. And Sunday after Sunday the undergraduate has received a lesson in dignities, as he circled becapped and begowned on the cobbled paths round the greater luminaries becapped and begowned tranquilly stepping on the college grass. The modern undergraduate does not remember a time when a pathway ran across the turf from corner to corner of the college courts, as it did in Clare Hall, in the old court of Corpus, and in William of Wykeham's foundation at Oxford. On "scarlet days" the courts are still more gay, for the doctors then appear in their scarlet.[1]

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[1] The wearing of the surplice in chapel on Sundays and holidays by all undergraduates, scholars, and bachelors, is a very interesting historical survival at Cambridge, which has successfully resisted the attacks of Puritanism. It is worn by all members of a college on 'white nights' (vigils and feasts), and is the ancient dress of the canon and of clerks of all grades at divine service.

The gowns in the court clothe the learned and the unlearned, and make a present of as brave an academic appearance to the rowdiest of non-readers as to the future senior wrangler. The academic year is divided into 3 terms of 8 or 9 weeks each : half the year only is therefore passed at Cambridge. For serious study the intervals are too long and the 'long vacation term' has become the reading man's term *par excellence* ; all the colleges are then half full, the numbers being swelled by the medical students. The multiplication of extra-collegiate scholarships has not told all one way. Parents who used to make sacrifices to send a son to the university now count upon a scholarship, with the result that on the principle of 'light come light go' less use is made of opportunities. The university authorities look to the "advanced students" who stay up for research work or come from other universities, for solid academic achievement.

Class from which the academic population has been drawn.

There is no more interesting enquiry connected with our subject than that concerning the classes from which the academic population has been recruited at different epochs, and the careers for which the university has fitted its members.

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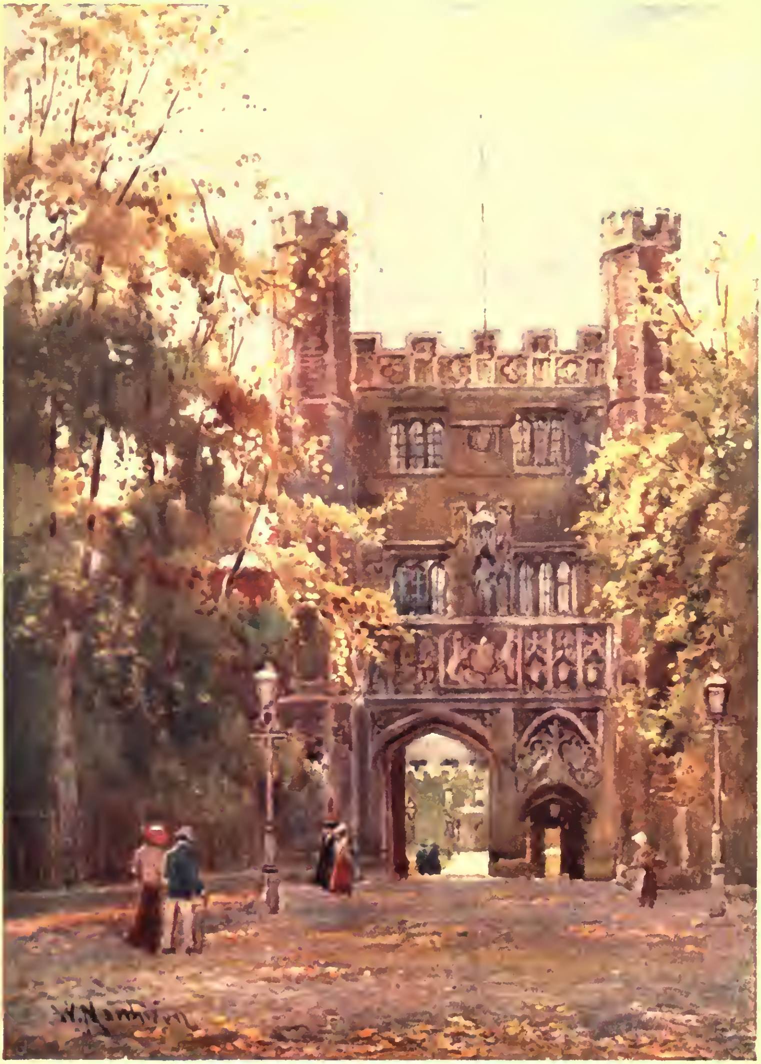
[1] "Scarlet days" are Easter, Christmas, Ascension, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, All Saints, the first Sunday in November (when benefactors are commemorated) and Commencement Tuesday (the next before June 24). The vice-chancellor may appoint other days.



THE GATEWAY OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

The Church has always remained the most constant client of academic advantages: it was the churchmen who on the decline of the monasteries and when the universities were established as learned corporations, exchanged the cloister for the college education. The dissolution of the monasteries and the breach with Rome left the universities as the only representatives of the faculty of theology; and during the last century, especially, if a man were destined for the Church he went—*ipso facto*—to Cambridge or Oxford even though he were the only member of his family to do so. In the xv as in the xvi centuries it was chiefly men destined for the faculties of theology and law who frequented the universities, and then, as always in their history, the poorest scholar lived side by side with the youth of family and influence.

The lawyers, perhaps, have gone in equal proportions to a university or to one of the Inns of Court; many have gone to both. The great change to be observed is as regards students of the third faculty, medicine. In the xix century the 'doctor' and the tradesman's son did not go to a university; but the xx century has already been marked by the enormous accession of medical students at Cambridge. In the later xvi century the gradual growth of a powerful middle class resulted in filling the universities with the sons not only of the older yeomanry of our shires but of the new Merchant Adventurers, often themselves men of gentle blood and coat armour. It is perhaps from this century that the idea began to prevail that an academic education was the proper education of a gentleman. Of this century it was true as it had been true of no other that "the civil life of all English gentlemen" is begun at Oxford or Cambridge. Statesmen and ministers, the political and the diplomatic careers, were recruited at the universities, and university-trained canonists and lawyers like Cranmer and More, and churchmen like Wolsey and Gardiner were chosen to be the ambassadors and secretaries of state. Ascham complains to Cranmer that sons of rich men "who sought only superficial knowledge" and "to qualify themselves for some place in the State" overran the university, and both universities soon became, in Macaulay's words, the training ground not only of all the eminent clergy, lawyers, physicians, poets, and orators, but of a large proportion of the "nobility and opulent gentry" of the country.

In England men belonging to what have, hitherto, been the governing classes have always sought advantages which would doubtless be less apparent in countries where nobility and gentry are synonyms and where government is not carried on by means of two such institutions as the House of Commons and the House of Lords. A *noblesse* which gives no scions to the professions or to a representative chamber has seldom sought academic distinction. The man destined for parliament for the diplomatic service and the government office—occupations which an acute American observer has said are chosen by Englishmen as the business of their lives "without studying any other profession"[1]—prepared himself in no other way than by three or four years spent at the university, with or without graduating there. It was not however till the nineteenth century opened that the distinctively aristocratic trend of a university was defined. Throughout that century the university was *par excellence* the seminary of the English gentleman, and the parson. A few bankers' sons might be put into their fathers' counting houses, a few government officials might place their sons at an early age in a government office, but the exception only proved the rule.

Examples. Let us look at some examples of the class from which Cambridge was recruited through the xvi and xvii centuries. Hugh Latimer (*b.* 1491) was the son of a yeoman farmer; Sir Thomas Wyatt (*b.* 1503) was the son of a knight. xvi c. The father of Matthew Parker (*b.* 1504) was a Norwich merchant; Bacon (*b.* 1561) and his brother, fellow-commoners of Trinity, were sons of the Lord Keeper and nephews of Burleigh. Fletcher (*b.* 1579) the dramatist, was the son of the Bishop of London, and his cousins the poets were sons of Elizabeth's Master of the Requests and ambassador to Russia.[2] In the xvii century Herrick the poet xvii c. (*b.* 1591) was the son of a goldsmith established in London; Waller (*b.* 1605) a nephew of Hampden's, a man of large private fortune; Cowley (*b.* 1618) was son to a city grocer; Marvell (*b.* 1620) son to a Yorkshire clergyman; while Temple was the son of an Irish Master of the Rolls. In the latter half of the xvii century we still hear of "the farmer's son newly come from the university"[1]—Bentley was one of them—and at the same time we hear that Tuckney, Whichcote's tutor, "had many persons of rank and quality" under him at Emmanuel College. In the xviii century, Pepys' (*b.* 1703) father was a tailor, the Wordsworths were sons of a north country attorney, Sir William Browne (*b.* 1692) was the son of a physician.

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[1] Everett, *On the Cam.* Everett's father was United States ambassador at the Court of S. James', and he himself was a graduate of Trinity College.

[2] Wolsey, son of a well-to-do Suffolk butcher, was sent to Oxford, but Thomas Cromwell, who was the son of a blacksmith, probably was not educated at a university.

xviii c.

Recruiting schools.

Men of low origin were sent up, and have always been sent up, to the universities through the beneficence of patrons, and the poor tailor Stow was enabled to write his history owing to the patronage of Archbishop Parker who sent him to Oxford. Through the xv and early xvi centuries the monastic and other convent schools supplied university students. Bale (*b.* 1495) had been educated by the Norwich Carmelites, Coverdale (*b.* 1487) had been an Austinfriar at Cambridge. At the present day the big grammar schools, and in especial the Norwich grammar school which educated Nelson, send every year a contingent of students, as they have done since the reign of Edward VI. If we take the sporting representatives sent from the two universities the year before last, 23 from Oxford and 21 from Cambridge, we shall find that one third of the Cambridge men hailed from the greater public schools,

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[1] *The New Sect of Latitude-men*, 1662.

Eton, Charterhouse, and Rugby.[1] Our colonies are also a recruiting ground, and with them Cambridge is favourite university.[2]

The number of undergraduates entered this academic year (1906-7) was the largest on record, totalling 1021. The reputation and the popularity of colleges of course wax and wane: for the past two years the largest number of entries (excluding Trinity) has been for Caius and Pembroke, Emmanuel coming next, and then S. John's.[3] The number of non-collegiate students is steadily increasing.

Religion at Cambridge.

Before the war there were no 'high Church' centres among the colleges, and no 'broad Church' movement among the undergraduates. The 'broad Church' movement was among the younger dons and in connexion with the University Settlement. There are nonconformists in every college, but the reunion with Christendom which begins at home finds no advocates among other university men. As usual there is at Cambridge no particular 'school' of religious thought. The majority of the men make little religious profession, but there is no violent reaction such as agitated Oxford in the 'forties' and 'fifties,' and the yearly increasing number of scientific students inclines perhaps to a pantheistic rather than a materialistic outlook. The undergraduate population is decidedly conservative, as the university has always been.

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[1] Eton—Cambridge and Oxford—3 each; Oxford had 3 from Winchester, all the rest coming from the lesser public schools, Haileybury (3), and church schools such as Radley.

[2] A very interesting symptom is the recent election of an American fellow at Trinity and Christ's Colleges.

[3] In the time of Caius the number of students was 1783 (see p. 121 *n.*). Trinity held 359 of these, John's 271, Christ's 157, King's 140, Clare 129, Queens' 122. Magdalene and S. Catherine's were the smallest with 49 and 32 respectively. The remaining 6 colleges held between 62 and 96 students each, except Jesus which had a population of 118. A hundred years after Caius the numbers were 2522. 3000 is about the maximum at either university since the xiii c. At Cambridge the undergraduate population at the present date (October 1906) exceeds 3200, with over 350 resident bachelors, and about 650 *M.A.'s* and doctors, 400 of whom are fellows.

A.D. 1573.

A.D. 1672

Cf. with the figures given on p. 110. A man may keep his name on the boards of his college by a payment varying from £2 to £4 a year. The number of men "on the boards" of the university includes all those on the boards of their colleges and has grown in 150 years from 1500 (in 1748) to 13,819 in 1906-7.

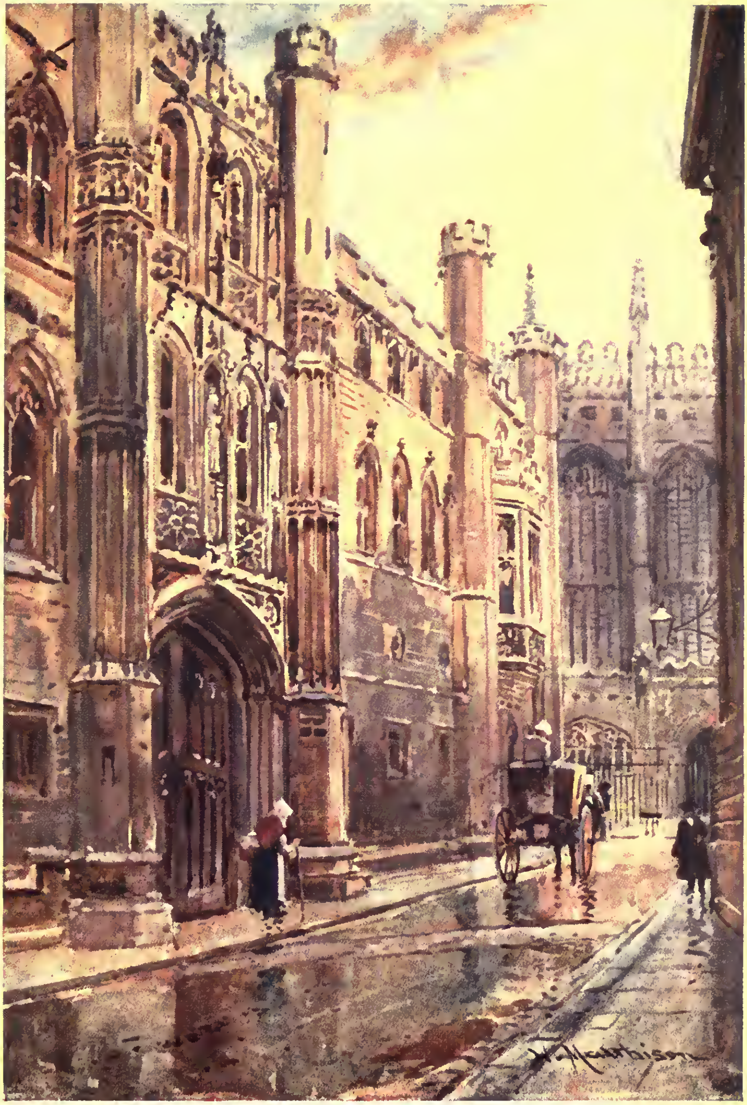
The university settlement in Camberwell.

The "slumming" movement made an early appeal to the younger members of the university. Their work in south London was begun some forty years ago, and "Cambridge House" has existed for a quarter of a century in a district which has been called "the largest area of unbroken poverty in any European city." The workers are all laymen, many of the 17 colleges being represented by resident Cambridge men, while an undergraduate secretary in every college assists in furthering the movement.

Married dons.

We saw at the beginning of this chapter that the aspect of the university had changed with the marriage of fellows, tutors, and officials ; and in time this factor must greatly modify the conditions of life at our universities. Both of these are now overrun with children's schools, and there can be little doubt that all the boys (and many of the girls) will go to college. The natural profession for many of these, owing to the father's influence with his college and the son's inherited inclinations, will be academic. It would certainly not be to the advantage of our seats of learning if they became in this sense close corporations. It is obvious that this would mean less movement of ideas and less opportunity for the outside world to affect the university ; and if a large number not only of the teachers but of the scholars belonged to such a caste as this, if the profession of teaching were handed down from father to son, the situation would not be unlike that which threatened Europe when Gregory VII. interposed and made the Christian world his executor in enforcing clerical celibacy. A new tuitional field would be open to the young graduate in the numerous schools of Cambridge and Oxford, but this would only accentuate the vicious circle of an education which might come to suggest the ecclesiastical seminary rather than the English university. Perhaps, too, a young man loses more than half the social and worldly advantages of a college life if when he "goes up to the university" he does not change his habitat.

The married fellow cannot begin life again elsewhere after the 5 or 10 years' teaching at his college which used to precede his departure for a benefice : the old bachelor, if he stayed on, no longer taught, and new men took his place in the lecture room. But now a fellow cannot renounce the lecture room, for he and his family cannot live on the fellowship. Lecturers are therefore often men past the prime of life, and moreover men who no longer live in daily contact with the undergraduate. New blood comes in seldom, and percolates slowly. On the other hand valuable men stay who would under the old system have left. The new family life will not however, one hopes, diminish an advantage at present possessed by the seniors at our centres of learning—a general equality of fortune which frees university society from the laborious vulgarity that travails the soul elsewhere, from the general "ponderousness," as someone has called it, of English life. At least Gray's advice to Wharton not to bring his wife to Cambridge would now be quite out of place; the "few" women are no longer "squeezy and formal, little skilled in amusing themselves or other people," and the men are no longer "not over agreeable neither."



THE OLD GATEWAY OF KING'S COLLEGE.

CHAPTER III

GIRTON AND NEWNHAM

Etheldreda of Ely and Hild of Whitby connect the school of York with the monastery of Ely—English women and education—the four "noble and devoute countesses" and two queens at Cambridge—the rise of the movement for university education—two separate movements—Girton—Newnham—rise of the university lecture movement—Anne Clough—the Newnham Halls and Newnham College—the first triposes—the "Graces" of 1881—social life at the women's colleges—character and choice of work among women—the degree—status of women's colleges at Cambridge and Oxford—and status elsewhere.

The foundation of the women's colleges is of sufficient importance to call for a chapter in any history of the university, even if they did not in themselves awaken so much general interest. Cambridge cannot be otherwise than proud of its position as pioneer university in the higher education of the women of the country; the women's colleges count as one of its glories and stand to it in the relation which Spenser gave to the river Ouse:

> My mother Cambridge, whom as with a crowne
> He doth adorne, and is adorn'd of it.

They belong to its atmosphere of vitality and growth, their presence adds something to that air of newness and renewal which has never been absent from the university town.

Etheldreda of Ely and Hild of Whitby were of the same blood, kin to Edwin and Oswy. They founded two of those famous double monasteries for women and men, one of which became the greatest school in England, the other the nursing mother of the university of Cambridge.[1] The histories of the School of York and of the School which was to rise on the banks of the Granta had therefore been linked together since the vii century by Hild and Etheldreda. Was any prevision vouchsafed to Hild, that mother of scholars, of the day just twelve hundred years later when two women's colleges were to rise by the side of the great school in the diocese of Ely? The centre of learning which had Etheldreda of Ely for one of its patrons was certainly propitious to women; but Cambridge had another patroness—whose name was among the earliest to be invoked in the town after the coming of the Normans—that Rhadegund who ruled the first nuns and the first double monastery in France, who was ordained a deacon by S. Médard, in whose convent study came next to prayer, who lectured each day to her spiritual children, and whose learning is recorded with admiration by one of her monks, the poet-bishop Venantius Fortunatus.[1]

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[1] The original double monastery of Ely did not become Benedictine till 970. Etheldreda ('S. Audrey') was the daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, and of Hereswitha sister of Hild, and wife to Oswy king of Northumbria. She thus united in her person the destinies of the northern provinces and East Anglia (where she was born), a union which has been perpetuated in the university of Cambridge. She was born *circa* 630, and died in 679. As "the Lady of Ely" her will, living or dead, was held to decide the fortunes of the city.

Perhaps there is no country with a long history where women have played a smaller part on the national stage than England. But a conspicuous exception must be made—in education they have played a great part, and this part was nowhere greater than in Cambridge. We have the little group of college builders who lived in contiguous centuries—Elizabeth de Clare, Marie de Saint-Paul, Margaret of Anjou, and Margaret of Richmond—to prove it: but the activity of the xiv and xv centuries was equally apparent between the viith and xth. It was Saxon nuns who carried learning to Germany, and the rôle of the great abbesses in those centuries, while it must be reckoned among the exceptions to the inconspicuous part played by women in English history, also served prominently the cause of education.[2]

The "two noble and devoute countesses" who built Clare and Pembroke, and whom Margaret of Anjou desired to imitate, realised perhaps more than anyone else in the xiv century the extraordinary joy of launching those first foundations with their promise for the future:[1] but it was something of this joy which was reserved for their descendants who saw the rise of Newnham and Girton. It was, indeed, not to two but to four noble and devoute countesses[2] that Cambridge owed its most efficient co-operation in the great periods which mark its history—the dawn of the renascence in the xiv, the threshold of our modern life in the xv, and the consolidation of the religious movement in the xvi century:[3] and if Queens' College was built by Margaret of Anjou "to laud and honneure of sexe femenine" Cambridge has repaid her by extending the significance of her ambition.

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[1] Her name was given to the only monastic house in Cambridge. Rhadegund was abbess of Ste. Croix A.D. 519-587.

[2] It is sufficiently remarkable that a conspicuous rôle pertained almost exclusively to Englishwomen who were of the blood royal. This is true in the case of the great abbesses, and from the time of Hild and Etheldreda to that of Lady Margaret.

The women's colleges which we now see did not, then, begin the connexion of women and the university, they completed it. It is a curious thing when one looks down a list of Cambridge benefactors to find that from a college to a common room fire, from a professorship to a Cambridge "chest," from the chapel to a new college to the buttress of a falling college, from a university preacher to a belfry,[4] the names of women never fail to appear as benefactors, but appear in no other way. Not once until the xix century did any woman benefit from the learning which her sex had done so much to inaugurate, to sustain and consolidate.

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[1] For the circumstances in which Clare and Pembroke were founded, see chap. i. pp. 16-17 and 18, 20-21

[2] The countesses of Clare, Pembroke, Richmond, and Sussex.

[3] Erasmus' "three colleges" which represented for him the university and its new learning were Queens', Christ's, and S. John's, all founded by women.

[4] Lady Mildred Cecil gave money to the Master of S. John's "to procure to have fyres in the hall of that colledg uppon all sondays and hollydays betwixt the fest of all Sayntes and Candlemas, whan there war no ordinary fyres of the charge of the colledg." And pp. 21, 35, 69, 104.

In the year 1867 the idea of founding a woman's college and of associating the higher education of women with the university of Cambridge began to take shape.[1] No movement of the century, it may confidently be affirmed, has done so much to increase the happiness of women, and none has opened to them so many new horizons. If men look back on the years spent at the university as among the happiest in their lives, so that everything in later life which recalls their *alma mater*—not excluding the London terminus from which they always "went up"—borrows some of its glamour, the university life meant all this, and more, for women. To begin with it repaired a traditional injustice, the absence of any standard of individual life especially for the unmarried ; the neglect of every personal interest, talent, or ambition, which a woman might have apart from looking after her own or other people's children. The Reformation, in itself, had done singularly little for women. Puritan views were of the kind patronised by a Sir Willoughby Patterne, and no step had been made towards recognising women's claims as individuals since the days when convents had in some measure certainly admitted these, a fact which probably sufficed to make the convent turn the scale on the side of happiness.

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[1] A pioneer committee had been formed in October 1862 to obtain the admission of women to university examinations ; Miss Emily Davies was Hon. Secretary. The first step taken was to secure the examination of girls in the university Local Examinations which had been started in 1858, and a private examination for girls simultaneously with that for boys was held on the 14 Dec. 1863. These examinations were formally opened to girls in February 1865 (*infra* p. 200). Meanwhile the Schools Enquiry commission of the previous year had brought into relief the absence of any education for girls after the school age. The commissioners were memorialised, and the immediate outcome was the scheme for a college, and the formation of a committee to carry it into effect. Cf. pp. 160-1 *n*.

Girton and Newnham are the outcome of two contemporaneous but separate movements. In 1867, as we have seen, the moral foundations were laid of a college in connexion with Cambridge university where women should follow the same curriculum and present themselves for the same examinations as men. In 1869 the late Professor Henry Sidgwick, fellow of Trinity, and afterwards Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy, suggested that lectures for women should be given at Cambridge in connexion with the new Higher Local Examination which the university had that year established for women all over England. Less than ten years from the building of the two colleges, Newnham and Girton became as alike in character as two institutions can be, but this likeness is the consequence of changes on both sides. The view taken by the promoters of Girton was that if women were to be trained at the university by university men they should undergo precisely the same tests, and take precisely the same examinations as men. Professor Sidgwick contented himself with a scheme for relating the higher education of women to university teaching, and not only accepted but encouraged a separate course of study and a separate examination test. Girton represents the principle that a woman's university education should closely resemble that which the centuries had evolved as the best for men. Newnham was started to further a scheme of education as unlike the men's as preparation for the higher work made possible. The one grew out of a claim to have the same examination as men ; the other was the outcome of an examination established expressly for women. Events have not justified the second scheme. If women's education was to be connected with the university, the only permanently satisfactory way was, clearly, to follow the curriculum already traced out. If this was not actually the best which could be devised, the foundation of women's colleges was not the moment to attempt to alter it. A "best" created for women would always have been thought to be a second best. There were in fact not one but two objects set before all who interested themselves in these things—to get higher education for women, and to win recognition for their capacity to do the same work as men. Among the founders of women's colleges many had present to their minds something further than the advantages of education—they looked forward to a time when women should participate in the world's work, and have a fair share in the common human life ; not a fair share of its labour, for this had never been lacking, but of the means, the opportunities, and the recognition enjoyed by men.

Women and the ordinary degree.

Girton at once prepared its students for the university Previous Examination, and claimed that they should be examined for both the ordinary and the honour degree. Newnham at first prepared its students for the Higher Local examinations and the triposes, discountenanced the Previous Examination and would not allow its students to prepare for the Ordinary degree. In the event, Newnham has had to abandon the examination which was the original reason for its existence, and Girton has had virtually to abandon its claim to examination for the ordinary degree. This means that every woman who takes a degree takes it in honours : the same is true of no college of men in Cambridge except King's. The founders of Newnham considered it a waste of time for women to come to the university to qualify themselves for that Ordinary degree which graces the majority of our men, and which represented such a mysterious weight of learning to sisters at home in the old days. This decision has a double *ricochet*—it is good for the colleges, for only the better women come up ; it is bad for many women who, like many men, are unfit to do tripos work and who might yet enjoy from residence at Cambridge the same advantages—direct and extraneous —which the 'poll' degree man now obtains.

Girton. The first committee for the future Girton College met on December 5th 1867 ;[1] but the founda-

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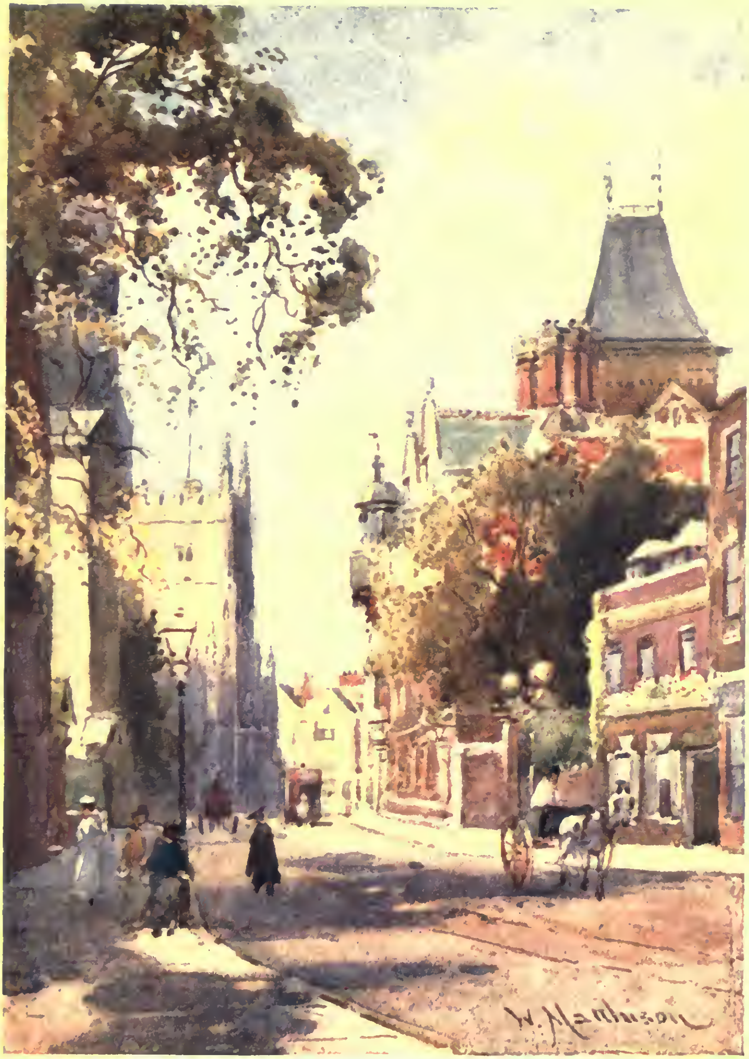
[1] There were present Mrs. Manning, *Miss Emily Davies, *Sedley Taylor, and *H. R. Tomkinson. *Madame Bodichon, who was ill, was not present, but George Eliot wrote to her four days before the meeting, à propos of an appointment to see one of the members of the committee : "I am much occupied just now, but the better education of women is one of the objects about which I have *no doubt*, and I shall rejoice if this idea of a college can be carried out."

On the General Committee of Hitchin College the bishops of Peter


W. Matthison

TRUMPINGTON STREET FROM PETERHOUSE

tion of Girton dates from October 16. 1869 when a hired house at Hitchin, midway between Cambridge and London, was opened to six students at a time when it was not thought advisable to plant a women's college in Cambridge. The college at Hitchin[1] was carried on under serious tuitional and other disadvantages—lecturers from the university, for example, were paid for the time occupied in the journey—and in 1873 the college was removed to Girton, a village two miles out of Cambridge.

The manor and village of Girton.

The manor of Girton on the Huntingdon road—the old via Devana—belonged in the xi century to Picot the Norman sheriff of Cambridge who expropriated part of its tithes for the endowment of the canons' house and church of S. Giles which is passed by Girtonians on their way from the college to the town. In the xvi century the manor provided a rent charge for Corpus Christi College. Earlier still it was the site of a Roman and Anglo-Saxon burial ground (discovered in a college field in 1882-6). The college itself is built on old river gravel.

borough and S. David's, the Dean of Ely, Lady Hobart, Lord Lyttelton, Prof. F. D. Maurice, Sir James Paget, Rt. Hon. Russell Gurney, M.P., Miss Anna Swanwick, and Miss Twining, sat with several others. On the Executive Committee were Mme. Bodichon, *Lady Goldsmid wife of Sir Francis Goldsmid elected liberal member for Reading in 1866, *Mrs. Russell Gurney, Prof. Seeley, Dean Stanley, and the members of the 1867 committee: while a Cambridge Committee included Professors Adams, Humphry, Lightfoot, Liveing, Drs. J. Venn, T. G. Bonney, the Revv. J. Porter, R. Burn, T. Markby, W. G. Clark; Henry Sidgwick, and Sedley Taylor. The asterisked names denote those who also constituted with 11 others the first members of Girton College (p. 164).

[1] Incorporated from 1872 as Girton College.

The founders. The final decision to build near but not in the university town was taken at the last moment when Lady Augusta Stanley, wife of Dean Stanley, refused both money and moral support if it were decided otherwise.[1] Lady Augusta Stanley who thus determined a step which has not proved advantageous to Girton was not, however, one of the founders of the college. This honour is due in the first place to Madame Bodichon (Barbara Leigh Smith before her marriage) and to Miss Emily Davies, daughter of Dr. Davies, rector of Gateshead, who elaborated the scheme together. The first thousand pounds which made possible the realisation of the scheme was given by the former, whose activity in all causes for the advancement of women's interests was crowned by her gifts to the first women's college : part of her capital was made over in her life-time to Girton which became her trustee for the payment of the interest until her death in 1891, and of certain terminable annuities afterwards.[2] The third founder was Henrietta wife of the 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley and daughter of the 13th Viscount Dillon,[3] a munificent donor to the college, who joined the movement in 1871, before the removal from Hitchin, and who died in 1895.

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[1] Two or three of the Cambridge colleges were built at a distance from the schools and the centre of the town : thus Alcock described Jesus College as "the college of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John Evangelist, and S. Rhadegund, *near Cambridge*." Hitchin in Hertfordshire, the first site of Girton, was one of the homes of the English Gilbertines, a double order for men and women which was also established in Cambridge.

[2] This was followed by a bequest of £10,000.

[3] It is interesting to find the names of Dillon and Davies continuing, in the case of the first college for women at Cambridge, the Irish and Welsh traditions of college founders. It is perhaps still more interesting to find

The college. The picturesque and collegiate-looking building which arose in 1873 for the accommodation of 21 students, was thus the first residential college for women ever built in connexion with a university. It was, like Pembroke, the result of a woman's intention to found and finish a *domus seu aula scholarium*, the scholars being, for the first time, of the sex of the founder. Subsequent building in 1877, 1879, 1884, 1887 (when Jane C. Gamble's legacy enabled the college to house 106 students) and finally between 1899 and 1902, has greatly increased its capacity, and the college now holds 180 students in addition to the Mistress and the resident staff. It contains a large hall, libraries, reading room, lecture rooms, a chemical laboratory, chapel, hospital, and swimming bath ; and its position outside the town gives it the advantage of large grounds, some thirty acres being divided into hockey fields, ten tennis courts, an orchard, and kitchen garden ; while a seventeen acre field, purchased with the Gamble bequest in 1886, is utilised as golf links and woodland. Over the high table in the hall are the portraits of the three founders ; Madame Bodichon is represented painting, reminding each generation of students that one of their founders was a distinguished and delightful artist.

that on her mother's side Lady Stanley was descended from the companion-in-arms of de Burgh the "red earl" of Ulster, and that a Dillon intermarried with the heiress of the 2nd earl of Clare, names honoured as those of the woman founder of one of the first Cambridge colleges.

Government. The college is governed by its members,[1] from whom is drawn the Executive Committee, three members of which are indirectly chosen by the old students. The Executive Committee appoints the Mistress and college officers, but the Mistress nominates the resident staff with the exception of the bursar, junior bursar, librarian, and registrar. The fees for residence and tuition have now (1922) been raised to £50 for each of the three yearly terms; they include 'coaching' and the University examination fees, but not the expenses of the Previous Examination, which is now usually taken before coming into residence. Students may be in residence who are not reading for a tripos, the goal of the great majority. A large part of the preparation for triposes is done at the college by its own resident staff. The first Cambridge degree examination taken by women was in 1870 when five of the six Hitchin students were examined for the Previous Examination; and the first tripos examination taken by women was two years later when three of these students passed in the classical and mathematical triposes.[2] In scholastic successes, Girton trained the first wrangler (Miss Scott, equal to 8th wrangler 1880), the first senior moralist (Miss E. E. Constance Jones, afterwards Mistress of Girton), and the only senior classic (Miss Agnata Ramsay, afterwards wife to the Master of Trinity); and was the first to obtain first classes in the classical tripos.[1]

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[1] See the original committee *supra* pp. 160-1 *n.* The existing members elect the majority of new members. The first official recognition of the existence of the college was made in 1880 when the Council of the Senate elected three members of the college from among its number, and so exercised a power conferred on it in the original articles of association.

[2] Classics: R. S. Cook (Mrs. C. P. Scott) and L. I. Lumsden. Mathematics: S. Woodhead (Mrs. Corbett) senior optime.

In 1910 the First Girton Fellowship was founded. The fellows of Girton now number six, and there are two Girton studentships for graduates of the college. Among scholarships and exhibitions are eleven foundation scholarships the gift of private persons and the three scholarships of the Clothworkers' Company; in addition to which there are other valuable scholarships and studentships due to private benefactors, and the Gamble, Gibson, Montefiore, Metcalfe, Ponsonby, Gavin and other prizes.[2]

Former Girton Students.

Former Girton students not only fill posts all over the country in the high schools, grammar schools, and universities, but they have always held professorial posts at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, and the present Recording Dean is a Girton mathematical graduate. Girton mathematicians have given five fellows to the Astronomical Society, one is attached to the solar department at the Greenwich Observatory and another is a member of the British Association Committee for the calculation of mathematical tables, and of the Research Council of the National Union of Scientific Workers;[3] and there is an associate fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society.

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[1] This was in 1882.

[2] The Claude Montefiore prize was founded in memory of the donor's wife, who was at Girton. The Agnata Butler prize was awarded to classical students by the Master of Trinity and his wife.

[3] This student also graduated in moral sciences.

In literary work, a Girtonian is assistant director of the *Early English Text Society*, another is associate editor of the *Standard Dictionary*, New York, a third is a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and a fourth is assistant editor of the *Contemporary Review.* The classical graduates supply the honorary secretary of the Hellenic Society, a worker on the Sanskrit MSS. of the university library, another attached to the catalogue staff of the Royal Society, and a classic is lecturer in Humanity at Edinburgh University. The natural scientists have among them a fellow of the Linnæan Society, a beekeeper, and a member of the committee for the study of dental decay under the Ministry of Health. Four historians are fellows of the Royal Historical Society ; and graduates in the languages tripos hold posts as translators to the League of Nations, to the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Economic Council, and to the Air Ministry. The economic tripos has supplied an investigating officer under the Trade Board Acts, and a graduate of this coupled with the classical tripos is extension lecturer and tutorial class tutor to London University : a graduate of the Languages and Moral Sciences triposes who is also a *B.A.* of London University is an inspector under the Ministry of Agriculture. One of the mathematical graduates is a licensed teacher in theology, and there are missionaries, chief officers in the Ministry of Labour, students of the Inns of Court, economists and statisticians to large firms, and several research chemists. An old Girtonian was the first woman member of the

Institution of Electrical Engineers, and the only woman to hold the Hughes Gold Medal of the Royal Society, and another is Assistant Director of the British School at Rome.

All other colleges which have been founded or will be founded for women owe a debt to Girton for upholding the principle of equal conditions and equal examination tests in the university education of women and men. Its promoters always kept steadily before them the two ends of women's education, and never moved from the position that "what is best for the human being will be found to be also the best for both sexes." To them it is mainly due that when Plato's ideal of equal education of the sexes came at length to be realised, after women had waited for it more than two thousand years, it was not upon a basis of separate examinations for women, and separate tests so designed as to elude comparison.[1]

Newnham. The village of Newnham which is approached from the "Backs" of the colleges, and which, until 1880, was also accessible by a ferry over Coe fen, played an important part in the early history of the university. It was the site given to the White-friars, who had been the first arrivals in Cambridge, and who from the time of their appearance there as romites till they became the sons of S. Theresa were the most conspicuous community in the town. The first general of the Carmelites—an Englishman—had been a contemporary of the founder of the first college, and it was at Newnham that he visited his friars in the middle of the xiii century, at the convent there which is described in the Hundred Rolls and the Barnwell Chartulary.[1] In the same century William de Manfield left his lands in Newnham to the scholars of Merton. In the next (the xiv) century the manor of Newnham was given to Gonville Hall by Lady Anne Scrope, and both Sir John Cambridge and Henry Tangmer, who were aldermen of the guilds of the Blessed Virgin and Corpus Christi, gave or bequeathed lands and houses they held in Newnham to the new college which the A.D. 1291. guilds had built.[2] The Carmelites moved later to the

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[1] The committee of 1862 had had (as we see) for its avowed object the "obtaining the admission of women to university examinations": the subsequent committee (of December 1867) was formed "for the establishment of a college holding to girls' schools and home teaching a position analogous to that occupied by the universities towards the public schools for boys." The following was the reply given by the first named committee when approached in March 1868 with a view to a joint memorial asking for "advanced examinations for women":—"That this committee, believing that the distinctive advantage of the Cambridge University Local Examinations consists in their offering a common standard to boys and girls, and that the institution of independent schemes of examination for women exclusively tends to keep down the level of female education, cannot take part in the proposed memorial to the university of Cambridge for advanced examinations for women above the age of eighteen."

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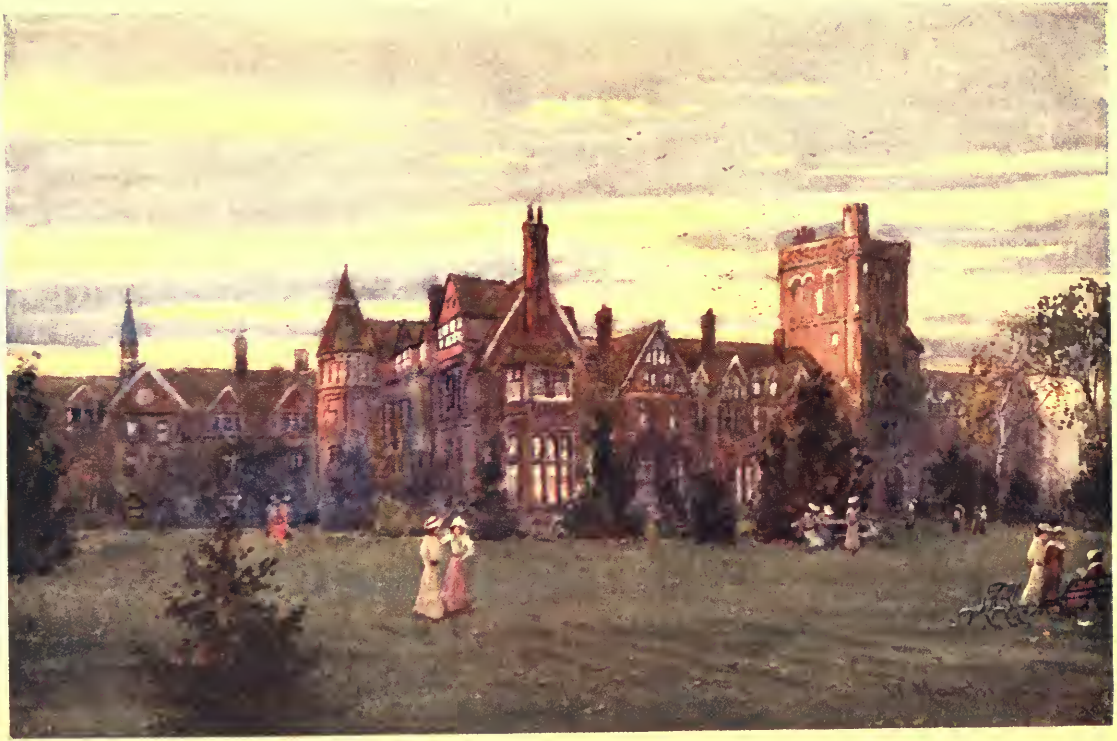
[1] "The brethren of Mount Carmel had a site at Newnham where they dwelt and where they founded their church, which site they had of Michael Malherbe" (Hundred Rolls ii. 360). "Here they made many cells, a church, a cloister, and dormitory, and the necessary offices, sufficiently well constructed, and here they dwelt for 40 years" (Barnwell Chartulary).

[2] Scroope Terrace occupies part of the ground of Newnham Manor. Like the other great benefactors of colleges, Lady Elizabeth Clare and Lady Margaret Beaufort, Lady Anne was three times married. Her mother was a Gonville. Corpus Christi College benefited by tithes and houses in the manors both of Girton and Newnham (p. 161).



GIRTON COLLEGE—EVENING.

present site of Queens' and the adjoining ground, and the edge of their property is skirted by every Newnham student on her way to lectures either through Silver Street or King's College. This new residence was the gift of Sir Guy de Mortimer and was in the busy university centre—Mill Street in the parish of S. John Baptist, so that the friars still heard the sound of the horn which was blown at the King's Mill to tell the miller at Newnham that he might begin to grind. Beyond the mill was Newnham Lane, which stretched to Grantchester.[1]

Like Peterhouse which was adapted and built for the "Ely Scholars," the Hall at Newnham was the outcome of a students' association :—the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women, of which Miss Clough was president, and the association formed to promote the interests of the Higher Local students, were its real progenitors.

As soon as the removal from Hitchin had been decided, it was hoped that the students already settled in Cambridge and the Girton community might form one body ; but the decision to build away from the town put a stop to any such scheme. The standpoint of the promoters of Newnham had always diverged in some particulars from that of the promoters of Girton. The former wished to reduce the expenses of a university education to the minimum, and they wished, too, that it should be completely undenominational, while a clause in the constitution of Girton provided for Church of England instruction and services. Finally, the question as to which preliminary and degree examinations should be preferred by women was still pending.[1] But when the moment came to hire and build a house of residence, the advantage was all on the side of Newnham. Work began in a hired house in the centre of the town with five students, in the October term of 1871.[2] These quarters were too noisy, and Miss Clough, who loved a garden, found an old house set in a large garden and orchard, with the historic name of Merton Hall, and moved there in 1872. A supplementary house in Trumpington Street was taken next year, and there were then in residence 14 students in Merton Hall, 7 in Trumpington Street, and 8 in town lodgings. In 1875 Newnham Hall was built on one side of Coe fen and Newnham Mill, as

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[1] Those who held that Grantchester and Cambridge were but one and the same town, told us that the principal part lay on the north, towards Girton, while Newnham Lane, beyond the mill, extended as far as Grantchester "the old Cambridge" : *Ad Neunhamiae vicum, ultra molendinam, que se longius promovebat versus Grantacestriam. . . .* (Caius).

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[1] It may be recorded here that Madame Bodichon's scheme was for a college (*a*) *in* Cambridge (*b*) with the same intellectual conditions and tests as applied to men and (*c*) free of denominationalism. A chapel was not erected at Girton till after 1895. Of Mme. Bodichon as a pioneer it has been said that she had the singular faculty for realising in her imagination exactly what she wanted, down to the last detail—the creative power. Her failing health for the last fourteen years of her life made impossible the active share in the work which had been so ungrudgingly undertaken by her between 1867 and 1877; but her interest extended to every student who went up to Girton, and she was at pains to know them and to find out from their conversation how the college might be improved.

[2] This house, 74 Regent Street, had been hired by (Professor) Henry Sidgwick in the spring of the year at his own financial risk, and here Miss Clough came in September.

Peterhouse had been built on the other. So that Newnham students frequented the streets of Cambridge from the first, and had their house of residence in the town two years before the sister community settled at Girton. The founders of Girton had been the first to ideate a women's college in connexion with university teaching, but Newnham was the first college for women to take its place by the side of the historic colleges in Cambridge.

Let us now retrace our steps for a moment. In March 1868 the North of England Council memorialised the university to obtain advanced examinations, and in the following year Cambridge instituted the examinations for girls over eighteen since known as the Higher Local Examination. In the autumn of the same year (1869), as we have seen—the year which saw the establishment of the future Girton community at Hitchin—the organisation of the Cambridge lectures for women was mooted under the auspices of Mr. Henry Sidgwick. The first meeting was convened at the house of Mrs. Fawcett, whose husband was then Professor of Political Economy at the university, and whose little daughter, the future senior wrangler, was peacefully cradled at the time in a room above. The result of this meeting was the formation of a committee of management consisting of members of the university, and of an executive committee, and the programme of a course of lectures was printed for the following Lent term 1870.[1] The original scheme included a students' house where women from a distance could be lodged. Two students applied in the autumn term of 1870 for permission to reside in Cambridge, and were received into private houses in the town. Meanwhile in response to an appeal, originating with Mrs. Fawcett, exhibitions of £40 for two years for students attending the lectures had been given by John Stuart Mill and Helen Taylor, and before the year closed it was found necessary to open a house of residence. In March 1871 the post of head of a house of residence was offered to Miss Anne J. Clough.

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[1] The names of the 16 men (one being a Frenchman) who first lectured to women at the university are treasured at Newnham. Six were S. John's

men, 4 Trinity, and the other colleges represented were Christ's, Queens', and Caius. They were :

†F. D. Maurice.
†W. W. Skeat.
†J. E. B. Mayor.
J. Peile.
W. C. Green.
M. Boquel.
†Prof. Cayley.
J. F. Moulton.
†W. K. Clifford.
J. Venn.
†A. Marshall.
Prof. C. C. Babington.
T. G. Bonney.
P. T. Main.
G. M. Garrett, Mus.D.
S. Taylor.

Dr. (afterwards Sir) Michael Foster, Adam Sedgwick, Frank Balfour (all of the Physiological laboratory) H. Sidgwick, R. D. Archer-Hind, Dr. E. S. Shuckburgh, and Mr. Keynes were also among the earliest lecturers.

The general committee then formed included the first 3 of these names, and Nos. 7, 8, and 10 ; with Prof. Adams, Mr. Henry Jackson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. C. Jebb. The Executive were : Prof. Maurice, Mr. T. G. Bonney, Mr. Ferrers (afterwards Master of Gonville and Caius) Mr. Peile (later Master of Christ's) Mrs. Adams (the wife of the Lowndean professor) Mrs. Fawcett (the wife of the professor of Political Economy) Miss M. G. Kennedy, and Mrs. Venn (the wife of Dr. Venn of Caius) H. Sidgwick and T. Markby, Hon. secretaries, and Mrs. Bateson (the wife of the Master of S. John's) Hon. treasurer.

Certain courses of lectures in the public and inter-collegiate lecture rooms were open to women from 1873—22 out of the 34. A few years later 29 were open, and now all are open.

Anne Clough. We know more about Miss Clough than about any founder or first principal of a college on which he or she left a personal mark. Of the life and thoughts of others, with the exception perhaps of Bateman in the xiv century and Fisher in the xvith, we know singularly little. Anne J. Clough was born on January 20, 1820, at Liverpool. Through her Newnham received, what Girton missed, the impress of a strong individuality, now placed by "great death" at a distance which enables us to focus and appraise it. Her father's family was of Welsh origin and traced itself to that Sir Richard who was agent to the great merchant-adventurer, Sir Thomas Gresham. To her Yorkshire mother, Anne Perfect, she and her brother, the poet Arthur Hugh Clough, owed their literary interests. In appearance she was of middle height and spare—an old woman of that Victorian epoch in which she was born, out of whose eyes looked the soul of the twentieth century, and after. She seemed indeed to have two personalities—the white hair and an uncertain gait typified the one, but the eyes, very dark and very bright, would lift unexpectedly in the midst of a conversation, and then the visitor would receive a revelation ; he would see no more the old woman but the woman who must always be young, the stamp of an inexhaustible energy, that shrewdness with an unconquerable idealism close behind, an atmosphere about her of uncouth poetry.

For she was no artist. She had not that which separates the artist from the man of ideas, or the dreamer, or the seer—expression. No poetical imagination was ever more tongue-tied. She spoke by actions, and used words only as indications of thoughts. Her speech was compared by a former student to the works of early painters, before command over the material had been obtained, but where "sheer force of character and feeling had risen over the difficulties." She was an idealist, but she could never understand the value of an abstract principle. Her interest was always in the individual, in the career, and she came to no matter, to no person, with a store of general principles ready for the case. She wanted to give women not merely learning, but a life of their own, to call out interests, to satisfy their individuality. She liked to find in them many and marked vocations, for she understood the dignity of all work and had no disdain of common things. She wanted every one to have a place and an office in life, and must perforce fit the squarest bits into a round hole, so intolerably pathetic was it to her that they should have no hole. You could not "hand her the salt or open the door for her" without receiving "some recognition of your individuality" a student said of her. This recognition of the individuality of women and of the human and practical sides of higher intellectual training was her contribution to the movement in which she took so great a part. And the contribution was all important.

She had besides a strong belief in the value of academic advantages. It was in order that some crumbs of things academic might fall to the teachers in elementary schools, that she arranged the summer meetings of University Extension Lecture students. Miss Clough's belief in happiness—in people's right to happiness—was the source of most delightful qualities. She had waited, she said, for her own till she was fifty years old, and it had come to her with Newnham. She insisted on the little pleasures "which bring joy by the way." Nothing was too small to engage her own attention, and her educational qualities lay in awaking similar interest in others, as her moral disposition led her to share and so to increase the common stock of interests and supports in life. And so on the rare occasions when she left the college boundaries she would recount to the students at her table or in her room all that had interested her during her absence. She busied herself over the minutest details of their health or well-being, and finding that two students made a simple supper upstairs on Sunday, she arrived at the door carrying a good-sized table, because she had noticed there was none convenient for the purpose. Newnham was for her a big house, and the students were grown-up daughters in a delightful family not yet realised elsewhere, each of whom had her own place in the world, her own personal life, its rights and liberties. Yet the "head" who habitually intervened in small college matters (with a total lack of power of organisation, which in the administration of Newnham she left to others) and who was frequently agitated and over anxious about them, balanced these things by a life-long habit of interest in large public affairs, and, what was more strange, by a very real serenity. She did not think the individual should be sacrificed to the college, or "to a cause, however good." She never lived in a small milieu—even Newnham.

She constantly exercised a simple diplomacy, not divorced from sympathy—with independent-minded students, with university dons who viewed Newnham with disfavour, and in generally vain attempts to conciliate high theory with prudent practice. It was here that her characteristics sometimes jarred on the early students, among whom were many ardent spirits, people whose presence there at all was the consequence of a struggle *à outrance* with convention and prejudice; and who resented Miss Clough's temporising ways, as though the first maker of Newnham were a backslider in the matter of first principles. They thought her indirect and timid. She was neither. She had real courage, not only as her biographer has said "audacity in thought"[1] but audacity in execution. She was staunch and tenacious, and might be found taking an individual's part against the whole college; and whether the help she gave was moral or financial, no one ever knew of it but herself. Neither did she always prefer the most brilliant or useful student, but would take under her wing the apparently most insignificant. She had no fear of the unusual, though the younger students thought so, and it was "her indifference to abstract principle" which made them

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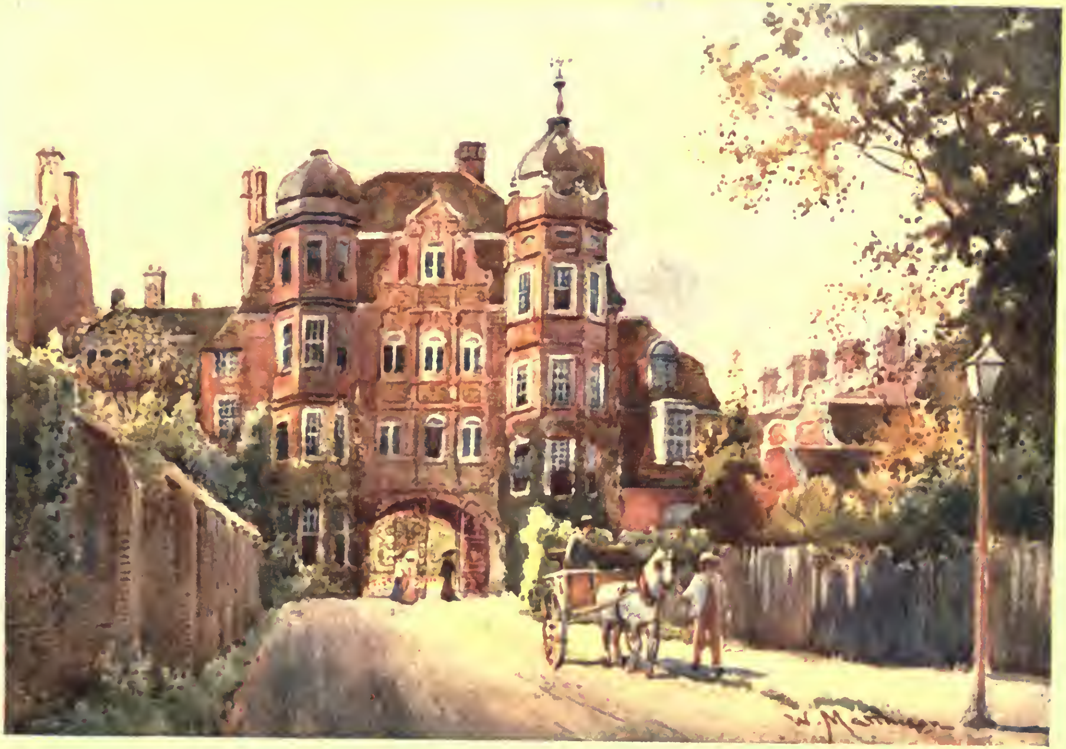
[1] *Memoir* of her aunt, by Blanche Athena Clough, Arnold, 1897—to which I am indebted for many of these details.



NEWNHAM COLLEGE, GATEWAY

sometimes judge that she despised ideals. She had also a singular frankness—a singular directness—when speaking with others face to face ; her important things were said at odd moments, odd moments were her opportunities. Neither did she compromise ; she went all the way round and came out at the same place. This expedient made it quite unnecessary to override obstacles, and her aphorism "my dear, you must go round" was received with hostile scorn by a student seated on the high horse of abstract considerations. Indeed Miss Clough was not a fighter in the sense that she could neglect the quantity of others' feelings: and her desire that people should not be offended was part of a sympathy, not of a timidity, which could not be conquered. The working of her mind is shewn in the saying : "If we watch, we may still find a way to escape"—because to her there was no inevitable where her sympathies were engaged. Her diplomacy led her to keep her notions to herself, so that they should not be nipped in the bud by the frost of hostile criticism.

"My dear, I did wrong" was the disarming reply to a very young student who asked her "as one woman to another" whether she considered she had been justified in a certain course of action. Her singleness of purpose—the absence of all vanity—a complete disinterestedness, shone on all occasions. Her never failing search after the right course she once tried to express by saying to a student : "You must remember that I try to be just but I don't always succeed" ; and she criticised the performance with complete detachment from the personal equation.[1]

Among the ideas which seethed in her brain was the training of students as doctors to work among Hindu women ; and one of the last things she interested herself about was a school for girls at Siam. She wanted teachers trained to teach.[2] She urged students to know at least one country and one language besides their own. Her liking for new people, her interest in foreigners, especially in Italians, and in travel, was part of a spirit of adventure with which she was largely endowed. She liked old students to go to the colonies, and her interest in such doings never flagged. Her hold on the xx century was foreshadowed in the interest she took during the last years in the Norwegians, and in Japan. She felt very special sympathy with elementary teachers who receive small encouragement for highly important and difficult work. Even the monotonous life of the country clergy claimed her attention, as did a Sunday class for working men inaugurated by one of the students—which she visited, taking the keenest interest in the handwriting of the men, in the books they read. Her relations with her servants were always delightful, and she found time in the midst

[1] In her diary written the year she came of age she writes that honour and praise were not what she cared for. "If I were a man I would not work for riches or to leave a wealthy family behind me ; I would work for my country, and make its people my heirs."

[2] This she lived to see accomplished. A training college for women was proposed by Miss Buss in 1885 and Miss E. P. Hughes was its first principal and guiding spirit at Cambridge. Out of this grew the latter's Association of Assistant Mistresses.

of a busy life to teach the Newnham house boy to write.

She sometimes spoke at the college debates, and usually, as a student remarked, "spoke on both sides." On college anniversaries she would make short addresses, and point the connexion of study with life—"examinations demand concentration, presence of mind, energy, courage," qualities which "come into use every day": or she would tell students "to bear defeat, and to try again and again"; or she would quote the American who said we should not complain about things which can be remedied, or which cannot be remedied; and add: "there is great strength in these words."

Her religion was unconventional like her mind; full of aspiration, but lacking in definiteness. She spoke of it as "a longing towards what is divine," as "arising from the contemplation of the divine." She spoke of "bringing our hearts into a constant spirit of earnest longing after what is right" and added in language which discovers the burning thought and the halting utterance that made strange partnership in her: "There is no occasion, then, of kneeling down and repeating forms to make prayers."

One of the last acts was to preside on February 3, 1892 at a meeting which recommended the Council to build a college gateway; the gateway which was to symbolise the concentration of the work—for the public pathway had just been closed—and the *attollite portas* to ever fresh generations of students. Its bronze gates are the old students' memorial of her.

And on the morning of October 27, 1892, she died, in her room on the garden at Newnham, looking out at the gathering light of the new day.

She was buried with the honours of the head of a college, the Provost and fellows of King's offering their chapel for the purpose. She lies in the village churchyard of Grantchester, the *civitatula* which Bede describes where the sons of Ely monastery came to fetch the sarcophagus for S. Etheldreda. So in her death she is not divided from the great memories which link the history of the university to that of the movement to which she gave her life.

The first 28 students came into residence in Newnham Hall on October 18th 1875, and found the moment no less thrilling because they approached the door of their *alma mater* across planks and unfinished masonry. More room was at once needed, and "Norwich House" in the town was hired. In 1879 the Newnham Hall Company and the Association for promoting the Higher Education of Women[1] amalgamated, and as "the Newnham College Association for advancing education and learning among women in Cambridge" built the second, or North Hall. Thus Newnham Hall became Newnham College. A public pathway led between the two halls, and this was not closed till 1891; but in 1886 a still larger building, containing the college hall, was erected, and called

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[1] The Association formed to promote the interests of students working for the university Higher Local examinations; see p. 169. The Newnham Hall Company was constituted in 1874 to build the first Hall.

Clough Hall, the original Newnham ("South") Hall becoming the "Old Hall," and the North Hall becoming "Sidgwick Hall." Lastly the two original halls were joined by the "Pfeiffer building"[1] and the college gateway in 1893, and in 1897 Mr. and Mrs. Yates Thompson presented a fine library, the pretty old library of Newnham Hall which had been built in 1882, being converted into a reading room. The land for the three Halls was purchased from S. John's College, the hockey field is on Clare land, and the total acreage is about ten and a half acres. The college holds 160 students, a few 'out students' being affiliated to one or other of the halls—and consists of a large hall, capable of seating 400 persons, a smaller hall and reading room in each building, the library, nine lecture and class rooms, gymnasium, small hospital, chemical laboratory, and the Balfour laboratory in the town which is a freehold of the college. The grounds contain two fives courts, lawn tennis courts, and a hockey ground. In the hall are the portraits of Miss Clough, Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, and Miss M. G. Kennedy, as the four people who had given most of their life work to Newnham.[2]

The fees, including board and tuition, used to be

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[1] The cost of which was mainly defrayed by a bequest for the benefit of women left by Mrs. Pfeiffer and her husband.

[2] Mrs. Sidgwick is the daughter of the late James Balfour and of Lady Blanche Cecil, who was the sister of one Prime Minister as Mrs. Sidgwick was of another. Miss M. G. Kennedy was the daughter of the late Benjamin Hall Kennedy, one of the revisers of the New Testament with Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort; fellow of S. John's, Canon of Ely, and Regius Professor of Greek, in whose honour the Latin professorship was founded.

£30 to £35 a term according to the rooms occupied, and are now from £45 to £50. The college is governed by a Council, and presided over by a Principal, Old Hall Sidgwick Hall and Clough Hall having each a resident vice-principal.[1] Miss Clough hoped to effect a real and lasting union between the old students and Newnham—that the college might be the support of the students, and the students of the college. It was a principle she had always present to her mind, and she herself did much to realise it. School and college have long bestowed this advantage on men, which is reinforced by the support men are accustomed to give to each other ; but all this is lacking for the woman who goes forth into the world to fend for herself. University life might however do much to supply the want, and it is to be hoped that women will form a tradition on the point, as men have done. The constitution of the college at least preserves some part of its first Principal's idea, old students have from the first had a share in the government and a place on the Council.

Candidates for entrance must pass the College Entrance examination[2] (of the same standard as the university Previous Examination), unless they have already taken equivalent examinations. The greater number read for a tripos, but students may follow special lines of study. As to its university successes—the first tripos to be taken was the Moral Sciences

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[1] The style of Principal was used for the chief of a hostel in the university ; it was also the title of the head of the *domus universitatis*, University Hall (1326).

[2] Recently, on account of the large number of applicants, this has been strictly competitive.

(1874), and here Newnham students at once obtained the highest honours.[1] In 1876 Sir George Humphry,[2] as one of the examiners for the Natural Sciences tripos, when he met his fellow examiners said "I don't know, gentlemen, who your first is, but my first is a man called Ogle." The man called Ogle was a Newnham student.[3] In 1883 first classes were obtained in the Second Part of the Classical tripos, but Newnham waited till 1885 for its two first wranglers. In 1890 the University Calendar inserts in its Mathematical tripos list: "P. G. Fawcett, above the Senior Wrangler." Miss Fawcett obtained (it was reported) several hundred marks above the university senior wrangler, Bennett of John's. It is customary to ring the bell of Great S. Mary's in honour of this *enfant gaté* of Cambridge university; but Mr. Bennett stopped the ringing, and a bonfire at Newnham celebrated the occasion. In the History tripos two Firsts were obtained in 1879, and this tripos has frequently been duplicated with another —the Moral Sciences, Modern Languages, Mathematical, Classical, or Law. The first woman to take the two historic triposes, mathematical and classical, together, was Miss E. M. Creak in 1875. The first examinations in the Medieval and Modern Languages tripos were passed in 1886, 1887, and 1888, when

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[1] See page 197. 1874 was the year in which Prof. James Ward was alone among the men in the first class when two of the examiners thought Mary Paley (Mrs. Marshall) should be there also, and two placed her in the second: no one doubts that Mary Paley attained the first class standard of any other year.

[2] Professor of Anatomy.

[3] Afterwards Mrs. Koppel

Firsts were obtained, and some 25 % of first classes have been taken in this tripos. Newnham has, indeed, been remarkable from the beginning for the number of its first class honours in the university lists.[1]

Former Newnham students.

In the first thirty years, out of a total of 1440, 880 were honour students. Like the Girtonians, old Newnhamites are to be found engaged in all kinds of work and in every corner of the world, and like Girton they have their large share of the teachers in the universities, County and High schools of the country; the towns which are perhaps most conspicuous for the number of Newnham 'graduates' being Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Cambridge, and Brighton. Among the mathematicians one is assistant to the professor of meteorology at the Imperial College of Science, another is statistician to the Asiatic Petroleum Company of Shanghai, a third is designing aircraft at Bristol, and others are assistants in the government aircraft factories. One mathematical graduate is head of a school for Brahmin girls at Bombay, another, superintendent of vernacular schools of the Normal College at Poona, and a mathematician is minister of a Unitarian church in Glamorgan. A recent classic is honorary keeper of classical antiquities

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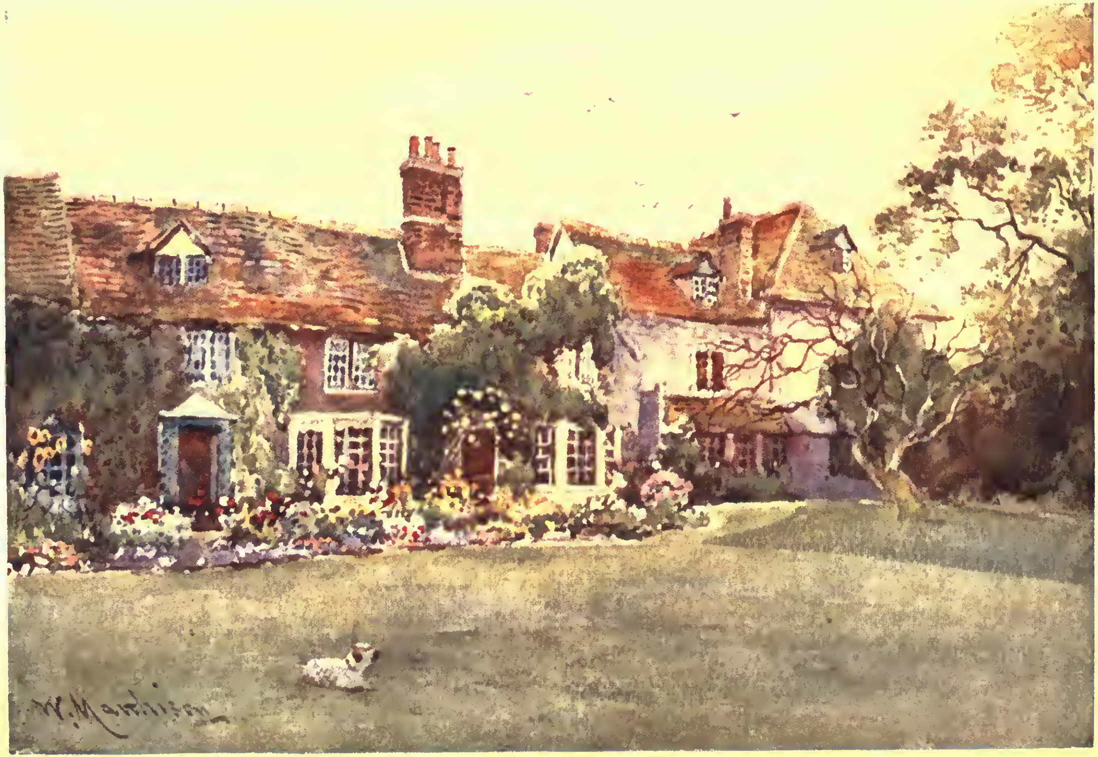
[1] There are 11 Newnham scholarships varying in value from £60 to £35 a year, and there are 2 scholarships and a studentship tenable at either Girton or Newnham. In addition there is the Mary Ewart Trust which offers a scholarship of £100 a year for 3 years to Newnham students needing money assistance.

Newnham has been enabled, chiefly through the munificence of private donors, to appoint 4 or 5 fellows of the college; these have a permanent endowment but are not life fellowships.


W. Matthison

MERTON HALL.

at the Fitzwilliam Museum ; and one of the early moralists was first principal of the Cambridge Training College. A natural scientist is engaged in biochemical research for the Food Investigation Board, another is protozoologist under the Colonial Office at Kuala Lampur, a third is professor of physiology at the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, a fourth is teaching in the Women's University at Tokio, and a fifth is doing research work in ceramics and the production of optical glass at the National Physical Laboratory. A mathematician and a natural scientist each holds the post of chemist to firms in Newcastle. One of the historians is articled to a firm of solicitors, and so is one of the economists. Another graduate of the Economics tripos is on the staff of the League of Nations, and a third is lecturer in the Faculty of Commerce at Newcastle. The linguists hold posts in the League of Nations office at Geneva ; one is at the British embassy in Berlin, another is a company director, and a third is doing pioneer work for the Y.W.C.A. in south-east Europe ; and a graduate of the History and Languages tripos is a sister of mercy in Japan. Old Newnham students are to be found as welfare workers, missionaries in China, Japan, India, and Algeria, and as infant welfare workers. Besides supplying professors and teachers in all the colonies, in India, and in China and Japan, there are professors at Wellesley College, Smith College Northampton, Goncher College Baltimore, in America, and a fellow of Yale University.

In public work there are a number of county and borough magistrates, city borough and county councillors and members of local education committees; the Principal Assistant to the Education officer L.C.C. and the Principal Organiser of the Children's Care Committees of the L.C.C. are both Newnham graduates. There are Inspectors under the Home Office and Ministry of Health (one of H.M. Inspectors of Reformatory and Industrial Schools is a Newnham graduate), and there is also a factory inspector at Washington. The present professor of Botany and the professor of Swahili and Bantu languages at London University are old Newnham students and so is the director of the Oxford Portland Cement Company. Several ex-students are working in the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, two or three are farmers, and one—a 'double-first' classic—is a goat and poultry farmer.

Some of the most interesting of these posts are held by students who did not take a tripos; these include many who read for one of the triposes without taking the examination, and the large number who in early days passed in the various Higher Local 'groups,' besides all who have taken special courses of study.

Newnham has formed a collegiate character which is partly due to elements in its original constitution, partly to its first principal, and partly to its physical vicinity to the university. To take the last first. The college has always benefited by what one of the professors once described to the present writer as "the life of the university passing through it." It was not only this proximity, but the fact that Newnham was the product of the interest taken by university men in the advanced education of women—(Girton of a just and fully justified claim to university education made by women for women)—which made the acquirement of this character easier: and Newnham has in a marked degree the character of the university which harbours it—its cult of solid learning, its width and range, the absence of all pretentiousness, of that which every man and woman educated at Cambridge abhors as "priggishness." The delightful informality of Newnham and the liking for simple appearances is already outlined in the first Principal's views about the scheme and the new building; "nothing elaborate or costly" is wanted: "The simple Cambridge machinery will be found all the better and all the more lasting because it suggested itself so very naturally, and almost, so to speak, created itself. It is all the better for a college, as for other institutions, when it is not made, but grows."[1] And

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[1] Professor Seeley's rendering of her views for use at the public meeting at Birmingham. In a leaflet appealing for funds, Miss Clough said that the Cambridge lectures had been "a free-will offering" made to women by members of the university; here at Cambridge women of "different occupations, different stations in life, and different religious persuasion" were brought together to receive in common "at least some share of academic education." "If we are right," she says, "in thinking our object one of national importance" the expense should not be thrown on Cambridge residents, "much less should members of the university, who are already giving their time ungrudgingly, be called upon to give money also." The journey to Birmingham was made with Miss M. G. Kennedy, and Mrs. Fawcett addressed the meeting.

Newnham was not made but has grown, grown "very naturally" out of the "simple machinery" first designed for it; has "created itself" because these simple elements suggested the way and the means of growth. There is no chapel at Newnham, all sorts and conditions of men have always been found there, and have worshipped God their own way—"not on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem." Old students sit at its council board, and come up to read in the Long Vacation. Miss Clough governed without rules, in conditions which were not then normal—which were thought indeed to be so abnormal that no company of women could venture to accept them.

If the enthusiasm expended over the two colleges by those who did most for them—the anxiety when things seemed to go wrong, the rejoicing when they went right—be remembered best by those who experienced it, it has had its enduring result in the movement itself. For nothing great is born without enthusiasm, and this was one of the greatest movements of the century. The university lecturers—those "trained and practised teachers" who as an original prospectus declared "were willing to extend the sphere of their instruction"—took no fees, or returned them for several years as a donation to Newnham. Miss Clough not only took no stipend as Principal but helped the college with money; Dr. and Mrs. Sidgwick, in addition to financial help of every kind, gave up their home in Chesterton and lived in three rooms at the "North Hall" of which Mrs. Sidgwick became vice-principal; and here Miss Helen Gladstone, Gladstone's unmarried daughter, acted as her secretary. Miss M. G. Kennedy was honorary secretary of the college from 1875, Mrs. Bonham-Carter was its first honorary treasurer and Mr. Hudson its honorary auditor. It may fairly be said of Newnham, also, that it is partly the outcome of the enthusiastic loyalty of its first students, who have since taken so large a share in its welfare.[1]

The "Graces" of 1881.

In the Lent term of 1881 there happened the greatest event in the history of the women's university movement. Three "Graces" were proposed to the Senate (*a*) should women be entitled to examination in the triposes (*b*) to a certificate of the place won (*c*) to the insertion of their names, after that of the men, in all tripos lists, with a specification of the corresponding place attained by them in the men's list?[2] On the eve of the day fixed for the vote—February 24th—the vicar of Little S. Mary's church and a Mr. Potts announced that they would *non-placet* the 'graces,' and as the day dawned some believed that their recruits would swamp the vote. On the same evening Mr. John

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[1] It is interesting to note that there have been several students at both colleges bearing old Cambridge names, some known there in the xii, xiii, xiv and xv centuries: Bassett, Mortimer, Frost, Gaunt, Bingham, Booth, Parker, Alcock, Skelton, Crook, Bullock, Bentley, Parr, Creighton, Cartwright, Ridley, Day, May, Wallis, Sanderson, Morland, Herschell, Jebb, Sedgwick, Paley, and several others.

[2] Since 1881 the names of women, followed by that of their college, have been read aloud in the Senate House and posted on the Senate House door.

Hollond, late M.P. for Brighton, was differently engaged in the House of Commons getting members to promise to share in a special train which was to take them to the university by two o'clock to record their votes, and get them back to their places by four when there was to be an important division in the House.[1] The students of Girton and Newnham crowded the roof of the latter college to watch for the pre-arranged signal—a handkerchief tied to the whip of a student who rode along the "Backs" from the Senate House carrying the news. The vote in favour of the Graces had been 398 to 32, and when it was declared the venerable Dr. Kennedy, the distinguished headmaster of Shrewsbury school and at that time Regius Professor of Greek,[2] waved his cap under the eyes of the vice-chancellor like any schoolboy. The loyal friends now came hurrying up to Newnham, one by one, Henry Sidgwick, Emily Davies, Professor Cayley (first president of the College Council) R. D. Archer-Hind, Mr. (now Dr.) J. N. Keynes, and received an ovation from those whose battles they had fought to such a successful issue: and if one of the seniors of the university became a boy in his delight, another Johnian[3] did not fail to cover him-

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[1] Some 40 members of Parliament voted in favour of the "Graces."

[2] See p. 181 *n.*

[3] Another clergyman also—the Rev. E. W. Bowling, afterwards rector of Houghton Conquest, and a light blue champion in the boat race.

Battle of the Pons Trium Trajanorum, Thursday Feb. 24, 1881.

Aemelia Girtonensis
By the Nine Muses swore

self with glory by his verses in imitation of Macaulay's Lay of Horatius, in which "Father Varius" and his friends hold the bridge against progress :

Then out spake Father Varius,
No craven heart was his :
'To pollmen and to wranglers
'Death comes but once, I wis.
'And how can man live better,
'Or die with more renown,
'Than fighting against Progress
'For the rights of cap and gown?'

The anniversary has since been kept at Newnham

That the great house of Girton
Should suffer wrong no more.
By the Muses Nine she swore it
And named a voting day

. . . .

But by the yellow Camus
Was tumult and affright

. . . . . .

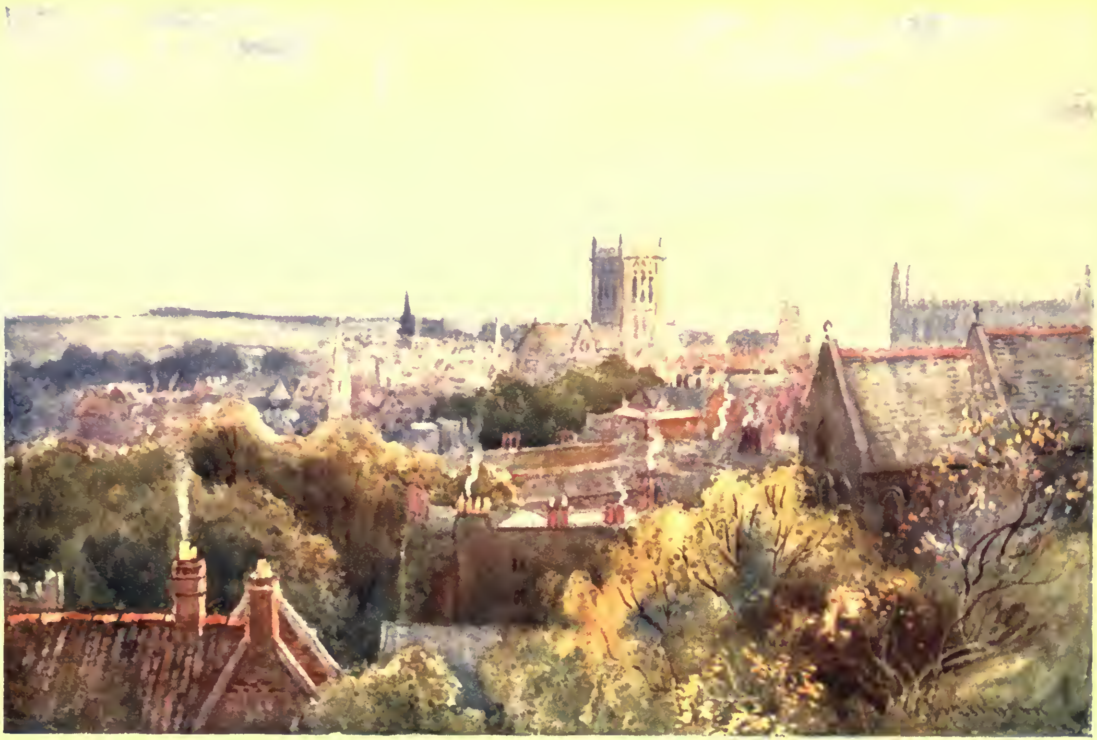
'O Varius, Father Varius,
'To whom the Trojans pray,
'The ladies are upon us !
'We look to thee this day!'

. . . . . .

The Three stood calm and silent
And frowned upon their foes,
As a great shout of laughter
From the four hundred rose.

as "Commemoration" day: and if one touch were needed to complete it it would be found in Miss Clough's reminder to the students that they commemorate not only what women gained that day, but what the university gave that day. There was an amusing sequel to the vote: the official charged with the preparation of the university certificates consulted a confidential clerk as to the colour of the knot of ribbon which is attached to the university seal—"Don't you think blue—the university colour?" he hazarded; but was met by the prompt and horrified rejoinder "blue stockings, sir, blue stockings!" So the colour is green.

Social life. Except under special circumstances the age for admission at Newnham and Girton is 18. Students' quarters at Newnham consist, in most cases, of a bed-sitting room; at Girton each student has a sitting room with a small bedroom leading from it. The necessary furniture is supplied, and can be supplemented according to taste by the student. All students must be within college boundaries by 7 o'clock (but with permission they can be out till 11) and are "marked in" two or three times a day, the chief occasion being the 7 o'clock 'hall.' Girton and Newnham students, if no other lady is to be present, can only visit men's rooms accompanied by some senior of the college. Visits of men to students' rooms were not at first permitted, except in the case of fathers and brothers; and a student could not ask her brother to her room to meet her college friends, for as Miss Clough observed "the brother of one is not the brother of all." Now men visit freely



VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE FROM THE CASTLE HILL

up to the hour when the gates are closed. Careful supervision with large liberty and an atmosphere which encourages the students to make themselves the trustees of the rules, characterise both colleges; and women students, as Miss Davies has pointed out, carry on their university life without being subject to the proctorial control which is found necessary in the case of men.

In the early days it required some independence of character to encounter the gibes and the wonder which women's life at the university aroused outside it. People who did not know what a "divided skirt" was, undertook to affirm that all Girtonians wore them: at Newnham some unconventionality in dress was amply concealed by the general dowdiness of the early Newnhamite. The dreaded eccentricities in conduct or clothes would not indeed have killed the movement; and the authorities did not allow this dread to paralyse the quality of mercy, so that there was in fact small justification for the witty suggestion of a Newnham student that "Mrs. Grundy rampant and two Newnham students couchant" would make appropriate armorial bearings for the college. Nevertheless, as a concession to human weakness, smoking was not tolerated. It is now allowed any time after early 'hall.'

Both colleges hold debates in the great hall and also inter-collegiate and inter-university debates. Here are some of the subjects discussed: "Is half a loaf better than no bread?" "That we spend too much" (lost). "That the best education offered to our grandmothers was more adequate than that offered by the High

Schools of to-day " (lost). The most important society at Newnham, however, is the Political Debating Society, and the lively and absorbing interest in politics shown nowadays by the college is in striking contrast with the general indifference to politics at Girton. In 1906 in an inter-university debate between Oxford and Newnham the motion "That this house approves Chamberlain's conception of empire" resulted in a 'draw.' Most of the students of both colleges are members of the Women's University Southwark Settlement, to which they subscribe. There is a Sunday Society and two musical societies in addition to the original Choral Society at Newnham, and societies in connexion with each of the triposes take the place of the select "Jabberwock" and "Sunday Reading Society" of earlier days. The great indoor institution at both colleges is the students' party at 10 p.m. known at Newnham as the "Cocoa." Two to four is the chief recreation hour, and there are college, inter-collegiate, and inter-university hockey, fives, cricket, tennis, and croquet matches. One of the first conveniences provided at Newnham was its gymnasium, where in the early days of the college a senior moralist might be seen leaping over the back of a student who had just been "ploughed" in the divinity of the "Little-Go," and a series of reverend seigniors would engage in a hopping match round the room led by the youngest "first year" who was an acknowledged expert in the art.

The public of a generation ago imagined that learned women would not marry and that men would specially 'fight shy' of taking to wife women who had done the same work as themselves. It may therefore be recorded that the first Newnham student to take a tripos, who was also the first lecturer appointed at Newnham Hall, married the professor of Political Economy, and that they wrote a book on that subject together. That the first classical lecturer at Newnham married a well-known classic and classical tutor of his college (Trinity); that the next Moral Sciences lecturer married the distinguished psychologist who is now professor of Mental Philosophy; that the first historical lecturer, Ellen Wordsworth Crofts, married Darwin's biologist son Mr. Francis Darwin; and that the first woman to come out senior classic (a Girtonian) married the Master of Trinity College, himself senior classic of his year.

Writing about the proposed Bedford College for women, in 1848, Frederick Denison Maurice had declared that "The least bit of knowledge that is knowledge must be good, and I cannot conceive that a young lady can feel her mind in a more dangerous state than it was because she has gained one truer glimpse into the conditions under which the world in which it has pleased God to place her actually exists." So "ambitious" a name as "college" for a girls' academy had a novel sound "to English ears." To-day the words which excuse and explain its use sound strange and antiquated in ours. Many of the things about which men have fought and borne the heat of long days will seem incredible to posterity, and the refusal of a 'college' or of university education to women will no doubt be among them. No one else, nevertheless, had given to women the opportunity they wanted when Cambridge gave it. Cambridge returned affirmative answers to each request as it was preferred —in 1863, in 1865, in 1870, and in 1880 when in reply to a memorial signed by 8600 persons praying that the Senate would "grant to properly qualified women the right of admission to the examinations for university degrees, and to the degrees conferred according to the result of such examinations," the Syndicate appointed to consider it returned the memorable answer: "The Syndicate share the desire of the memorialists that the advantage of academic training may be secured to women and that the results of such training may be authoritatively tested and certified."[1] The irony of history required that this memorial, which led to the granting of the Graces, should be rolled and unrolled over the drawing room carpet of a vice-chancellor known to be hostile to the movement. Forty years after F. D. Maurice had penned the words already quoted women had come out at the head of the list in each of the principal triposes. The most striking instance of the misjudgment which it is possible to make about things simply because custom has allowed no one to try them, occurred at the dinner table of friends of the present writer when the late Professor Fawcett, in urging the claims of women to university education, said: "I don't say that a woman would ever be senior wrangler, but women would take very good places." His daughter was to be the first senior wrangler: but at no other period of English history would the comparison have been possible by which a parent could test such capacities in his own child. After this it is not surprising that lesser men were unable to gauge the unused powers of half the race; and when one spirited person declared he had no objection whatever to women competing with men but that he considered the air of Cambridge would not be beneficial to them, the argument was as reasonable as any other.

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[1] The first man to maintain that girls had a right to as good an education as boys, was a *Cantab* (Eton and King's College) a master at the new Merchant-Taylors' school, and afterwards headmaster of Colet's school. Lancelot Andrewes was one of his pupils. This famous Cantab and famous schoolmaster—Richard Mulcaster—also advised that teachers should be trained to teach. In the xviii c. Defoe's appreciation of the woman with 'knowledge'—"well-bred and well-taught"—led to his suggestion that there should be a college for her higher education.

Character and choice of work.

As to the character of the work in which women do best. It had been said that they would not do well in "abstract" subjects. The tripos in which they have taken the highest distinction is the Moral Sciences,[1] where they have been at the top of the list or alone in the First Class several times, provoking Punch's cartoon in the 'eighties' of a girl graduate entering a first class railway carriage marked "For Ladies only." Their best work has been done in pure mathematics, and, agreeing in this with the men, it is these subjects which they choose for the

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[1] The subjects of this tripos are logic, psychology, metaphysics, political economy, political philosophy, ethics.

Second Part of that tripos. In choice of subject the order for the first 30 years was as follows (*a*) Mathematics (*b*) Classics (*c*) History (*d*) Natural Sciences (*e*) Languages (*f*) Moral Sciences. The scale of success was highest in Moral Sciences, then in (*b*) Languages (*c*) Natural Sciences (*d*) Classics (*e*) History (*f*) Mathematics.[1] The classical and mathematical triposes lead to those general tuitional posts for which so many women seek a university education; the languages tripos is easier for those women who go up without the usual school preparation; while the lower places in the history tripos do duty for that "ordinary

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[1] Classics is no longer second favourite; Medieval and Modern languages now come first, then Mathematics and History, closely followed by Natural Science; and the Economics tripos (1903) numbers as many women graduates as the older Moral Sciences tripos.

For the 20 years from 1886 to 1906:—

Mathematics 345 candidates, 31 wranglers	First and	2nd classes	56	per cent.
Classics 296 candidates, 54 first classes .	,,	,,	61	,,
Moral Sciences 83 candidates, 21 first classes (this excludes the triumphs of the first 12 years)	,,	,,	76	,,
Natural Sciences 246 candidates, 64 first classes	,,	,,	70	,,
History 290 candidates, 49 first classes .	,,	,,	64	,,
Medieval and Modern Languages (tripos created in 1886) 246 candidates, 73 first classes . . .	,,	,,	74	,,

In the first 10 years 250 students took a tripos, of whom one in five (51) was placed in the first class.

Among the men the percentage of *First Classes* for *the years 1900-1905* was: mathematics 39 per cent, classics 28 per cent. For the subjects chosen by men cf. ii. p. 141 *n.*

degree" which is not open to women. It is therefore in the moral and natural sciences that there is distinct evidence of choice of subject: the proportion of women who take the former is overwhelmingly greater than the proportion of men,[1] and the taste of women for the natural sciences is as marked, a fact which might have been foreseen by those who watched the signs of the times many years ago.

The degree. The refusal of the degree, of the magic letters *B.A.* and *M.A.*, to women, need not be discussed here. That women have the same use for the degree as men is obvious; that it strains their alleged liking for self-sacrifice too far to suggest that they prefer to forgo the legitimate rewards of their work, not less so; and it should not be regarded either as satisfactory or logical that when they do the same work the men only should have the recompense. Dublin university in 1906 offered an *ad eundem* degree to all women who had qualified themselves for the degree at Cambridge or Oxford—187 at once took the *B.A.*, 121 the *M.A.*, and three have become doctors of letters or science. The credit of this act belongs to the gallant Irishman, and the coffers of Dublin university have thus been enriched, very warrantably, at the expense of the impoverished coffers of Cambridge which sent the far larger number of graduates.[2]

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[1] Putting the average numbers at the university when this century opened as, roughly, 3000 men and 300 women, 94 women and 168 men had taken the Moral Sciences tripos between 1882 and 1905—the proportion should have been 940 men.

[2] The founders of Girton have been steadfast in demanding the degree. In 1887, 842 members of the senate signed a petition in favour of it.

We have moved step by step from the cautious recommendation of the university that the names of the young girls examined for the Local Examination should not appear, and that no class lists should be published (1865) and the informal examination for the triposes, when for nine years (until 1881) the examiners in the classical tripos "objected to state" what class had been attained, to the present state of things when all the "publicity and intrusion" dreaded forty years back in the case of little girls being examined somewhere privately in the same town as little boys, is annually given to hundreds of women in the highest examination in the country in the midst of the university. There had been prophets who opined that under these circumstances Cambridge would be deserted by the other sex. Visions of the halls of Trinity and John's empty and forsaken while Girton and Newnham poured forth a ceaseless flow of undergraduates, disturbed the sleep of these prophets and seemed worth putting on record in their waking moments. No sooner were the Local Examinations opened to girls in 1865 than the number of boys entered rose from 629 to 1217;[1] and the largest entries of male undergraduates belong to the years since the advent of women. What has happened? Has a robuster generation of undergraduates arisen, or were the

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Miss Clough had signed a similar petition earlier. The objections to opening the degrees to women have been adequately met in the pamphlet "Women in the Universities of England and Scotland," Cambridge, Macmillan and Bowes, 1896.

[1] The entries for 1863, when girls were first informally examined, were 639, the next year they rose to 844.

undergraduates of the "seventies" and "eighties simply maligned?

As regards the status of women in the two ancient universities, Cambridge has now taken the second place. In 1920 Oxford gave women degrees and complete university status. Girton and Newnham each owe something to the other. Newnham to Girton in the collegiate status now enjoyed by both,[1] Girton to Newnham because the considerable advantages accruing to women students through proximity to Cambridge have been reflected on the sister college. Each displayed a boldness distinctively its own which has been the main source of the success of the movement: Newnham planted her house of students in the university town, Girton asked to follow the same curriculum as men; and these two things have had a mutually favourable reaction ever since.

The position of women in other universities.

In 1856 the first application was made—by Jessie White to London university—for admission as a candidate for the medical degree. A similar request was made seven years later. A supplementary charter establishing special examinations for women was procured by this university in 1869. In 1878 it made "every degree, honour, and prize awarded by the university accessible to students of both sexes on perfectly equal terms." Since 1889 all disqualification for women in Scotch universities has ceased. The Victoria university, by its original charter 20 April 1880, admitted both sexes equally to its degrees and distinctions; and in 1895 Durham became a "mixed" university. All the more recent universities treat men and women equally.

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[1] Girton and Newnham are recognised colleges at the university.

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NOTE.—The following abbreviations have been attached to names of persons:—*chr.* = chancellor, *v.-c.* = vice-chancellor, *proc.* = proctor (of the University), *M.* = master (of a college), *abp.* = archbishop, *bp.* = bishop. *n* after a number indicates a reference to a footnote.

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