

*A Short History of*

The College of Corpus Christi  
and the Blessed Virgin Mary  
in Cambridge



by the late PATRICK BURY, Litt. D.  
*Fellow and Warden of Leckhampton*

Third edition (2013)  
revised by OLIVER RACKHAM, O.B.E., F.B.A.  
*Ex-Master*

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The shield on the front cover  
is from the original grant of 1570

The reviser acknowledges help kindly given by Stuart Laing, Christopher de Hamel, Liz Winter, Peter Martland, and other members of the Fellowship and Staff of the College.

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Note: where money is mentioned, an attempt is made in square brackets to express its purchasing power in the money of 2013: thus 10s. [£50].

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## The Birth of the College

Our College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary was founded as an act of heroic fortitude, faith and vision. It was born of a disaster almost beyond imagining, even by the standards of the blood-soaked 20th century.

In 1347 the plague reached south-east Europe. Its gradual march across the continent, killing one-third of the population as it went, would have brought disquiet and apprehension and despair to the people of Cambridge, and finally terror: the terror of facing the next world unassisted, without the last rites of the Church and a proper funeral.

Among them were three businessmen, William Horwode later to be Mayor, Henry de Tangmere the banker, and John Hardy the University 'stationer' (would he now be Director of the University Press?). Their defiant reaction was to found a new town gild, which must have occupied their minds as month by month the Black Death rolled towards them.

Plague reached Cambridge in 1349, and duly killed at least one-third of the population over nine months. Margaret Andrew, who left money for the new gild and counts as the College's earliest known benefactor, probably died of it. In the following January, when the plague had rolled on into Scotland (though they would hardly have known that yet), Hardy, Horwode, and Tangmere, all still alive, ventured to call the inaugural meeting of the Gild of Corpus Christi.

Civic gilds were voluntary associations of townspeople with various social, devotional, festive, and funerary functions. They did the sort of jobs now done by the Rotary Club, Women's Institutes, mutual insurance companies, the Amateur Dramatic Society, sickness insurers, the Parish Council, the Freemasons, the Internal Drainage Board, and especially (in an age that attached great importance to funerals and requiem masses) burial clubs. Typically they were not only for the rich: their members included relatively poor people.

This gild was different. Almost from the start, its objective was to found a new college, the eighth in Cambridge. Any well-to-do gild needed to establish a college of priests to say masses for the repose of the souls of the departed. Much of the endowment given by Margaret Andrew and others would have been for just this. Horwode, Tangmere, and Hardy had in mind something new and ambitious: founding another *academic* college, that should have students as well as chantry priests. This was a unique achievement. Other colleges were founded by royal, rich, or great individuals; ours is the only one in Cambridge or Oxford to have been founded by the townspeople.

The new gild was named after the Body of Christ as expressed in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Juliana de Cornillon, an eccentric Belgian nun, had established a formal devotion to Corpus Christi a century before, and many gilds - but few churches - were so dedicated. The Body of Christ, as medicine for the soul, had been much needed in 1349: it would have seemed one of the few solid realities in a collapsing world.

The next move was to take over another gild. The Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary had been in existence for about a century. Its bede-roll is one of the most sinister

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The Black Death: the end of the bede-roll of the Gild of St Mary, listing members who died of the plague in 1349



The great aurochs horn

of medieval documents. After a long list of brethren and sisters of the Gild who had died peacefully over the years, squeezed into a space at the end are the names of 92 members struck down by plague. The gild seems to have been very hard hit, with few surviving members but plenty of property, and was ready for a takeover.

The Brethren and Sisters of the United Gild had to put together a site, half an acre of inner-city land in one ownership. They wheeled, dealt, and exchanged land with the infant Gonville Hall (now Gonville & Caius College) and Trinity Hall. They secured an important patron, the exalted figure of Henry Duke of Lancaster. He went to King Edward III and got a licence for founding a college - the equivalent of planning permission - late in 1352.

The United Gild merged its identity in its new college and faded away. Cambridge had at least seven other gilds to continue its functions. The College, in a sense, is the Gild and took over its property, its feasts, and its treasures. Alas, we grew perfunctory in remembering our founders: the bede-roll, with its solemn Latin prayer for their souls, languished forgotten in an archive box.

It is over 450 years since we held the full Corpus Christi procession, a great event in Cambridge's year. A priest carried the Body of Christ in a magnificent silver-gilt tabernacle; the Fellows held two canopies overhead on staves adorned with silver and azure 'stockings' (whatever they were), and the Master led the way bearing a mysterious object called a Beryl. They were probably followed by the Vice-Chancellor, the Mayor, and the dignitaries of University and Town; they went all round the town to Magdalene Bridge and back again.

But the College still feasts on Corpus Christi Day (which falls in June most years), and still has the Gilds' archives and two of their treasures: the great drinking-horn of an aurochs, an extinct animal, and what must surely be the oldest coconut to survive above ground. The Old Court, built within twenty-five years of 1352, is still used for its original purpose; much of its original fabric - stone from nearby Cherry Hinton and far-away Barnack, and 1400 small oak trees - is still there, hidden under shabby or elegant additions. We are still proud of our connexion with the City of Cambridge, and every year we hold a feast at which the Mayor is our chief guest. You, the reader, will drink out of the Horn in fullness of time when you come to graduate.

The plague did not go away for long. The Duke of Lancaster was a victim of its first return. The heavy burden of grief and apprehension were to hang over Cambridge and England for three centuries. Three Corpus men were heroes of later plagues.

## **The Early College**

The Old Court of Corpus was a prototype which was to set the pattern of colleges' buildings for nearly 600 years. It is domestic, not monastic in character. It was based on the ordinary medieval house, with a hall (now the kitchen), buttery and pantry (rooms for storing drink and food), kitchen (on the site of the present Hall), and with its living-quarters expanded to provide originally 22 sets of rooms on two floors.

Since there were only 12 Fellows in theory, and in practice seldom more than eight, there was plenty of room. (The oft-repeated statements that there were then no undergraduates, or that Fellows had their students living with them in their rooms, are difficult to substantiate.) The rooms were huge, those upstairs being open to the roof and so high that there was room to insert garrets later. Overcrowding and subdivision of rooms came in later centuries.

The statutes of 1357 required that scholars (then meaning Fellows) should all be ordained and devote themselves to the study of theology, philosophy, and canon law, should eat together and be dressed alike. They laid down procedures for indiscipline, for example if the Master should commit sacrilege, homicide, or adultery;<sup>1</sup> they obliged the chaplains and scholars to pray for the brethren and sisters of the Gild and attend their funerals. Students, not being at this stage members of the foundation, did not come within the scope of the statutes until 200 years later.

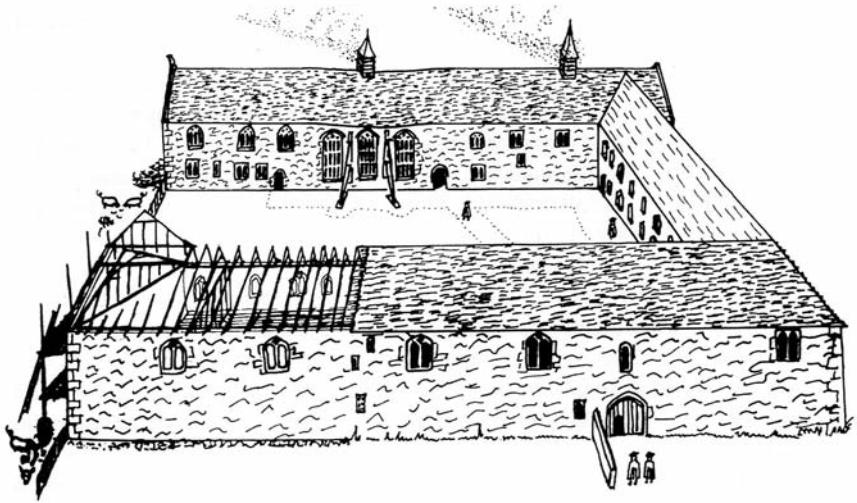
Brethren of the Gild and other benefactors gave the infant College money, books, and plate, and lands and houses in Cambridge, Newnham, Grantchester, Barton, and Landbeach. A few of their names, such as Eudo and Goda de Repham, are still read out at the annual Commemoration of Benefactors. An important asset was the 'living' - the right to appoint the parson - of local churches. The College acquired the livings of St Bene't's, Grantchester, and Landbeach, which it still has and still values these connexions. However, medieval colleges were not rich institutions, and Corpus was not a rich college. The first Master, Thomas de Eltisle, had been an archbishop's chaplain and was, according to the 17th-century historian Fuller, chosen 'not that the place might maintain him, but he the place; being richly beneficed, and well seen in secular affairs'. For 350 years the College remained poor, which is why the Old Court survives: we could not afford to pull down our buildings and build greater.

The College originally had no chapel, and members worshipped at St Bene't's Church. It began to form a library. It had 55 books by 1376, and later gifts included 76 books bequeathed by Thomas Markaunt in 1439 and 12 by John Tytleshale, Master, in 1446. Borrowing regulations being what they were, only six of these still remain in the Library.

For a poor foundation the College had a surprising amount of treasures. After the Horn and Coconut, we were given the Swan Mazer (a cup with a most ingenious siphon to punish over-thirsty guests who fill it too full) and other medieval mazers or drinking bowls such as the Cup of the Three Kings. The reader should look out for these, and many later treasures, either at the Commemoration Feast or at the annual June exhibition of College plate.

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<sup>1</sup>See Susanna Gregory: *A Masterly Murder*, Little, Brown 2000



What the Old Court might have looked like before it was finished



The south-east corner of the Old Court, showing the 14th century building with additions and alterations in every century since [Photo: O Rackham]



## Life in the Middle Ages

Life in a poor college could be austere. The rooms seem not to have been heated - the chimneys are later insertions - which would have been a sore trial in a Cambridge winter, although the rigours of the first phase of the Little Ice Age were declining. It is usually said that the windows were not glazed, though examination during repairs reveals evidence of early glazing (sockets for iron bars) but not for shutters. At worst the scholars and students could huddle over the fire in Hall, if there was one.

The apparent bareness of the buildings contrasts with the splendid textiles which people sometimes gave the College: for example a bedspread depicting a woodwose (a rude and hairy personage who does not shave or dress) and a woodwosess; a vestment called a quilt depicting a foxhunt - foxes out hunting with arrows - and a medical ape looking in an urinal; a cushion with a devil piping and a woman trumpeting.

The normal diet of the College was, in the words of Tolkien's trolls, 'mutton yesterday, mutton today, and blimey, if it don't look like mutton again tomorrer', varied by the occasional pigeon and by stockfish, stockfish, and stockfish in Lent.<sup>2</sup> By statute its cost was limited to 16 pence [£60] per Fellow per week. The College did not trust commercial suppliers of food and drink: one of our first acts was to acquire 'all the vessels and utensils needed for brewing', and we had our own brewhouse and bakehouse for nearly 500 years.

What about feasts? The Corpus Christi feast in 1388 was a modest celebration involving 14 pence [£50] worth of 'capons, pullets, rabbits & meat' and 8 pence spent on actors. Live entertainment also happened at Christmas, when pipers and actors were hired. For Corpus Christi in 1446 we had mutton, capons, geese, etc., flavoured with ginger, cinnamon, saffron, cloves, pepper, and a little sugar; we drank 4 shillings 6 pence worth [£220] of wine.

The College could put on its own entertainment. We began our career as patrons of drama in 1353 by staging a play called *The Children of Israel*.

Cambridge was not always peaceful. In 1381 there was the Peasants' Revolt. The College was sacked not by peasants but by workers, presumably members of some of the rival town guilds. They 'traitorously carried away the Charters, Writings, and Muniments' and stole a lot of plate, or so the Fellows said when claiming £80 [£65,000] in damages. (But we still have the charters, and the inventory does not confirm that much treasure disappeared at this time.)

There was another incident in 1460, a nasty moment in the Wars of the Roses, when the College accounts record the expenditure of 12*d.* [£50] on 'the safeguard of the College plate and treasury, with title-deeds'. We laid in saltpetre and sulphur, protective clothing, artillery, and 12 arrows, and 'defended' some of the windows. The deterrent theory worked. These warlike preparations kept out what was called the 'tempestuous riot'. This affair may have left a permanent record in the blocking of many of the external windows of the Old Court. Security precautions, then as now, were kept up long after the reason for them disappeared.

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<sup>2</sup> Mutton is the flesh of an adult sheep, unfashionable since the 1960s; stockfish is dried cod.

## Medieval Benefactions and Additions

The College somehow attracted the attention of Lady Eleanor Botelar née Talbot, who as a widow had the honour of being jilted by King Edward IV, retired into sheltered accommodation in the Franciscan Friary in Norwich, and died there in 1468 at the age of about 32. Her sister and executor, Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk,<sup>3</sup> had already been a benefactor to the College. In the 1480s she approached her *protégé*, Thomas Cosyn, by then Master, to set up a memorial to her ‘famous and devout’ sister. This benefaction took the form of a ‘bible-clerkship’, what would now be called a graduate studentship, one of two endowed at about this time. Eleanor and Elizabeth also financed repairs and alterations to the College and its hostels and commercial properties in the town. Their visible monument are ten of the sixteen buttresses added inside the Old Court (for unknown reasons; they are not needed to hold the building up). The totem of the Talbot family, a lop-eared hound called a talbot, sits atop the gable of the Old Court in Free School Lane. The stony bear who accompanies him may commemorate the mysterious figure of ‘the most noble Henry Duke of Warwick’, an associate of the Talbots, who was created Duke in 1444 at the age of 19, died the following year, and somehow appears on the roll of benefactors of a college which he probably never saw.

Cosyn gave the College its first chapel, or rather two chapels, one above the other, attached to St Bene’t’s Church and communicating with it by windows. This was attached to the College by a bridge called the Gallery; an arrangement which perhaps results from rising student numbers, together with the desire of Tutors and Deans not to let the young men out of the College’s jurisdiction more than they need. This curious brick building has long been converted to a Fellow’s study, bedroom, and bathroom (part of O3).

Rising student numbers presumably caused the piecemeal insertion, shortly after Cosyn’s time, of garret rooms under the medieval roof.

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<sup>3</sup> She (through her stained-glass portrait in Long Melford church, Suffolk) is the Duchess in *Alice in Wonderland*.



Contemporary portrait of Matthew Parker



A page from the Bury Bible, a 12th century manuscript, one of the greatest treasures bequeathed by Parker to the College. Here Moses is telling the Israelites to eat goats but not pigs.

## The Reformation

Up to this time the College, like all English institutions, had been what would now be called Roman Catholic. At the Reformation, although it was not torn apart by religious disputes so much as other establishments, and was spared the wrath of King Henry VIII, it produced notable adherents, even martyrs, of all parties. Peter Nobys (Master 1516-23) was an old-fashioned priest who spent three years going to Rome to get the privilege of indulgence - one of the abuses which Reformers particularly objected to - for the Master and Fellows taking part in Corpus Christi festivities. His successor, William Sowode (Master 1523-44), was of the opposite persuasion, curtailing those festivities, melting down the tabernacle and stockings, selling the beryl, and spending the proceeds on mundane repairs and improvements. An Old Member whom we prefer not to remember is Thomas Goodrich, iconoclastic Bishop of Ely 1534-1554, apparently responsible for wrecking the magnificent Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral.

Notable College figures at this time include St Richard Reynolds, who came to a very nasty end for opposing the pretensions of Henry VIII; Thomas Dugate, burnt as a Protestant in 1532; George Wishart, burnt as a Protestant at St Andrews in 1545, and the only member of the College to have been avenged; and Edward Fowke the Gospeller. Visitors to the College included Thomas Bilney of Trinity Hall, burnt as a Protestant in Norwich in 1531, whose Bible, with marginal notes said to be in his hand, is in the College library; and the German divine Martin Bucer, who died in Cambridge, was dug up and burnt as a Protestant in 1557, and whose papers are also in the College library.

Corpus did not devote all its attention to *odium theologicum*. The daily round of mutton, mutton, mutton, and stockfish on Fridays continued. The Feast Book, including even a few recipes, covers the years 1517 to 1562. At the Beadles' Feast, shortly after Christmas, wildfowl ('malards', 'pocards', 'tele', 'snype', buntings, and larks) and 'conys' (big rabbits) mounted the table, as well as solid fare such as a sheep, 'loyn of vele', and 'hinder partes of motton', maybe venison, finishing with 'wardens' (a kind of pear) and prunes. Other sorts of meat were bought to bestow on the poor. Drink comprised four sorts of beer (one with hops in it), gallons of 'clarett', and malmsey brought all the way from Crete. 'A mynstrell luter' and 'y<sup>e</sup> lord of mysrule' were paid. Corpus Christi was a serious feast lasting 1½ days, devouring sheep and calves (sometimes killed on the spot), 'pyggys' (that is, piglets), 'Racke of moton', 'rabetts' (that is, baby rabbits), 'chekens', 'geysse', quails, pigeons, once a hapless bustard, with similar beer but less variety of wine, ending - then as now - with 'straweberies' or occasionally apples.

## Matthew Parker

Archbishop Parker, the most eminent Master and greatest benefactor that the College has yet had, was the son of a cloth manufacturer in Norwich. He entered the College in 1520 at the age of 16, and became a Fellow (via a Bible-clerkship) in 1527. Under Nobys and Sowode he had been exposed to the whole spectrum of

theological opinion. He made a name for himself as a preacher, one of the more moderate of the Cambridge group of Protestant reformers. He was chaplain to the hapless Queen Anne Boleyn, 'to whom he was a faithful friend from throne to block', as Catherine Hall puts it. Somehow he never forfeited the good graces of Henry VIII, who in 1544 leant on the College to elect him Master.

Parker's mastership was short but memorable. He drew up new statutes, which after some revision in 1573 remained in force until the 19th century. He overhauled the finances. He built an elegant long gallery on to the Master's Lodge, with a covered walk beneath, which after several rebuildings was swept away in the building of the New Court.<sup>4</sup> He secured the establishment of six more scholarships. And he was the first married Master. In 1547 he married the admirable Margaret Harleston, famous for her cookery book and also, later, for Queen Elizabeth's embarrassed remark: 'Madam I may not call you: and Mrs I am ashamed to call you: so I know not what to call you: but yet I do thank you'. (The Queen did not exactly approve of marriage, still less of bishops, let alone archbishops, marrying.)

When Mary I came to the throne in 1553 she sacked all married priests and married Masters. Parker spent the next five years in retirement, allowing Mary to forget to burn him.

When Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne in 1558 she needed a new Archbishop of Canterbury, and remembered Parker, her mother's friend. Parker, accepting the post reluctantly, became busied in affairs of Church and State. He was a good Protestant but not a fanatic. His vestments had been spattered with a queen's life-blood; he had sniffed the martyr-fire of his friend Bilney; one of his first duties as Archbishop was to pay the long-overdue bill for the faggots that had burnt Cranmer, his predecessor (as well as for the skate and ling that Cranmer had eaten while in custody during Lent). But he was a kindly and tolerant man, the Archbishop who never burnt anyone, one of the few public figures of that age whom one would like to have met. Some corners of the Anglican Church still embody his ideals of inclusiveness and continuity.<sup>5</sup>

Parker never forgot his old College, nor his native land: he regarded Norfolk men (very properly) as the salt of the earth. He endowed five scholarships for men from Norwich,<sup>6</sup> Wymondham, or Aylsham, with rooms assigned to them and a barber to shave them, and two additional Fellowships to which the most learned of them might be elected. Other scholars were to be nominated from Canterbury. Among many other benefactions he endowed the Hall fire, still apparently the only heating in College, from All Saints' Day to Candlemas (10 November to 11 February in the modern calendar).

Parker was a great scholar and a lover of objects of beauty, scholarship, and continuity. He was the father of Anglo-Saxon studies, owning, reading, and

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<sup>4</sup> The old Master's Lodge is B staircase and the part of the kitchen beneath. The scar left by the removal of the gallery can still be seen in a patch of slightly different brickwork, visible from the Bursar's Garden next to the junction of A and B.

<sup>5</sup> It is now necessary to point out that Matthew Parker has nothing to do with Nosey Parker, who is first heard of in 1890 in an unrelated context.

<sup>6</sup> The present reviser was one of the last beneficiaries of this legacy, though he did not get the barber.

annotating about one-quarter of all the surviving texts in that language. He tried to reassemble what was left of the contents of the monastic libraries, broken up 25 years before. This left him with a uniquely huge library of manuscripts, plus his own library of printed books, his voluminous correspondence, and the papers of his burnt friends. All these he bequeathed to the College, where they now form the Parker Library. They include the Canterbury Gospels, a Roman book written in the sixth century and by tradition given by Pope Gregory the Great to St Augustine when he set out to convert Kent. There are magnificent illustrated manuscripts like the Bury Bible; the best text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; an autograph volume of the chronicles of Matthew Paris containing a calculator (a circular slide-rule); as well as much of the correspondence relating to the establishment of the Church of England.

When Parker became Master he found the plate-chest sadly depleted by Sowode's depredations. Later in life he gave a series of magnificent objects: a rosewater dish and jug, the finest surviving piece of silver of the time of Henry VIII; a magnificent ceremonial cup; a great ceremonial salt-cellar; a complete set of spoons with figurines of Christ and the Apostles; a beer-tankard; and two curious little cups and one lid, all of different dates. They are still used at feasts.

Parker gave his manuscripts to the College because there was no British Library or National Archive where his data-base could have been kept secure. However, he could not forget that all colleges had a poor record of keeping books and treasures. Good businessman that he was, he drew up careful regulations for their preservation. This involved the two other Colleges with Norfolk connexions, Gonville & Caius and Trinity Hall, to which also he was a benefactor. By a series of bonds each college was set to watch over the others and ensure that they still had his books and treasures. If we lost more than a certain number of manuscripts 'through supine negligence' and failed to find them within six months, the whole library and the plate were to be forfeit to Gonville & Caius College; and if they were guilty of the like neglect what remained was to go to Trinity Hall. Fortunately the College has been faithful to its trust and still has the entire hoard, although there have been some awkward moments.

Parker introduced the College to its symbol, the pelican. Up to his time the College had no coat-of-arms, so in 1570 he got Clarenceux King-of-Arms to supply one. The *mythical* pelican (not to be confused with the ornithological bird) is depicted as a swan with an eagle's head. It nests in trees, lays three eggs, and has the misfortune of quarrelling with its young when they hatch and inadvertently killing them. The mother pelican then restores the chicks to life by pecking her own breast and wetting them with her blood.<sup>7</sup> This was adapted in the middle ages to the rising cult of Corpus Christi: the *heraldic* pelican feeds the *living* chicks with his blood, as a symbol of Christ feeding Christians spiritually with his body and blood. This 'Pelican in his Piety' became the emblem of Corpus Christi guilds, though not, it seems, of the one at Cambridge, nor of the College before Parker's time. The white lilies on a blue background are an ancient symbol of the Virgin Mary, and also the arms of the College of Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk, Parker's country retreat in his youth.

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<sup>7</sup>For further details see the *Physiologus*, MSS 22 and 53 in the Parker Library.

It is surprising to find Parker still upholding, even extending, the idea of Corpus Christi, which the Reformers associated with Popery. He continued to call the College by the name under which he had known it in his youth, but that name was becoming relegated to official use. For ordinary purposes the College was called Bene't College after the adjacent church of St Benedict, and so remained until the old name was revived when the New Court was built.

## The College After Parker

Since 1553 the government of the College had been in other hands. The College survived the Roman Catholic restoration under Queen Mary (1553-8) without excessive tribulation, although two Fellows as well as Parker were sent down. Parker's successors as Master, Lawrence Moptyd and John Porie, were men of whom he himself approved. In 1564 the University received a state visit from Queen Elizabeth. Porie was one of the four Masters who held the Queen's canopy, and when she came to the College he 'gave her a pair of Gloves and certain boxes of Comfitts', the then equivalent of chocolates; but the programme was running late and she would not hear a Latin speech of welcome.

Parker's last years - he died in 1575 - were clouded by a revival of religious backbiting, in the College as elsewhere. Poor amiable Porie had too little vigour to keep harmony in the Society. At one extreme Puritans raged bitterly against the Anglican settlement; at the other, the President of the College went off to Douai, the French college for Roman Catholics in exile. Porie's successor, Thomas Aldrich (1569-73), was too vigorous, joined the extreme Puritans, and denounced Parker himself as 'Pope of Lambeth and of Bene't College'. However, he was also a dubious Master, and the College got rid of him after four years. His successors, Robert Norgate and John Copcot<sup>8</sup> were troubled by virulent disputes among the Fellows, and also by a libellous undergraduate, who was obliged to recant, exhibited in the stocks, and then sent down. Francis Kett, ex-Fellow of Corpus, contrived to get himself burnt in 1588 by the Bishop of Norwich for heresy.

Cambridge was becoming a nasty place, not only through sectarian intolerance and the politicization of the University and Colleges, but also because of repeated bubonic plague and the renewal of the Little Ice Age. (A benefaction, however, extended the season of the Hall fire by a month into March.)

The College, nevertheless, grew in numbers and was not unhappy all the time. Richard Fletcher, earliest known victim of smoking, is one of those whom we remember by the unusual manner of their deaths. Although a proud Calvinist, he was sponsored by Parker and became a Fellow in 1569. Four years later Queen Elizabeth made him Dean of Peterborough Cathedral. On him fell the task of persecuting the captive Mary Queen of Scots (a Roman Catholic), which he did 'with the insolence of unfeeling bigotry', especially in the sermon that he preached

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<sup>8</sup> He was so 'macerated by constant studying' that one of his learned friends addressed a letter 'to the ghost of John Copcot'.

at her beheading in 1587. In swift sequence he was promoted Bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and London, and was a successful persecutor of dissidents. A brilliant career seemed to be ahead of him, but he ruined it. Being a widower, he must needs marry again, which blasted his favour with Elizabeth, who very strongly disapproved of bishops marrying twice. He fell into disgrace, banishment, debt, and addiction to a new drug, and 'seeking to lose his sorrows in a *mist of smoak*, died of the immoderate taking thereof'.<sup>9</sup> He bequeathed to the College a silver-mounted ostrich egg, which we still have, together with its remarkable case.

Not all members of the College were clergy. Thomas Cavendish, buccaneer and explorer, circumnavigated the globe in 1586-8. Christopher Marlowe and John Fletcher (son of the smoker), famous but seldom-performed dramatists, are commemorated by an inscription in the Old Court. Among the improbable traditions about Marlowe, poet and spy, are that he was not killed in a lodging-house brawl in 1593, but escaped to France and spent the rest of his life writing Shakespeare's plays for him; and that he is the subject of the nameless portrait, found in a builders' skip in 1952, which hangs in the Old Combination Room. Dissident members were Robert Browne, founder of the Brownists, later Congregationalists, now part of the United Reformed Church; John Greenwood, Puritan martyr, hanged in 1593 for heretical sedition; and John Robinson, pastor to the Pilgrim Fathers before they sailed from Leyden to America in 1624.

The College was hard put to find rooms for students, despite the addition of garrets. A bigger chapel was also needed. In 1569 the wall separating the 15th-century upper chapel from the gallery was 'taken down' to increase the accommodation in the chapel; the rough round opening thus created can still be seen in O3.

But there was still congestion. In 1578 Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who had already endowed further scholarships, gave us £200 [£50,000] towards the construction of a Chapel: a disastrous benefaction. This amount was not nearly enough, and the College failed to get any more out of Sir Nicholas, though they gave him the precious lid of the Swan Mazer as an inducement. Norgate laboured hard to scrape together benefactions, mostly of a kind that cost the givers little. He persuaded (among others) the Queen, Edmund Grindal (later Archbishop of Canterbury), the Earl of Bedford, and Francis Drake (maybe the Sir Francis 'of famous memory') to give loads of timber, money, and stone looted from the ruins of Thorney and Barnwell Abbeys, provided the College and its tenants collected them. The scholars 'assisted the workmen in manual labour'. Even so, the project far outran its estimates and nearly bankrupted the College. The plate was raided: only Parker's gifts and those medieval pieces not worth melting were spared. The new chapel was not finished until 1662. This beautiful building, whose interior appearance is recorded in an Ackermann print, lasted less than two centuries until it was demolished because it got slightly in the way of the New Court. The present Chapel incorporates the old Fellows' stalls; one of their fine canopies, at the time of writing, languishes in a distant barn. The stained glass is now in the bay window in Hall.

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<sup>9</sup> Tobacco, an American herb, had reached England via France in c.1570. Fletcher smoked himself to death in 1596. James I's book *Covnterblaste to Tobacco* (1604) declared that tobacco seriously damages health; the Vice-Chancellor forbade students to smoke in 1607.





Henry Butts, the heroic Master (1626-32)



The Elizabethan Chapel, after Ackermann's engraving

After Parker's time the Beadles' Feast was moved to Candlemas (2 February) and became the Audit Feast. Many College tenants, as part of their rent, contributed among other things 'Gammon of Bacon', mallard ducks, '1 fatt Pigg', gallons of claret wine and pottles of sack. These dues were not just medieval survivals, for they included such exotica as oranges, pounds of sugar, and '1 fatt Turkey' (the next result, after tobacco, of contact with America).

Christmas was marked by the ceremony of 'collaring the brawn', transforming two pigs (supplied by tenants) into brawn kept in a great padlocked tub and eaten over the ensuing weeks.<sup>10</sup> The Corpus Christi Feast gave place to the Library Feast on 6 August, Parker's birthday, when representatives of Gonville & Caius College and Trinity Hall came to check that Parker's books were still there.

### **Dr Jegon and Dr Butts**

The Queen leant on us to elect John Jegon as Master in 1590. He was an able administrator and got the College, for a while, out of its financial troubles. One way he did this was to institute Gentleman Commoners, beginning with Roger Manners II, aged 14, heir to the Earl of Rutland, of a family which had already helped out with the Chapel and founded scholarships. A Gentleman Fellow-Commoner was a boy from a lower-upper-class or upper-middle-class family (rarely as grand as the Mannenses); he wore a silken gown; he often did not matriculate and was technically never a member of the University, sat no examination and took no degree; he was addressed as Mr. as if he were already a Master of Arts; and he was called behind his back, in later years, an Empty Bottle. Usually he stayed only a year or two and moved on to one of the Inns of Court. He was, in effect, a well-to-do student doing a gap year between school and law school.

Jegon had devised a method of taking rich boys off their parents' hands for a year or two and being paid extra for doing it. They were required to contribute a silver cup or tankard, of which we received at least 260 and melted nearly all of them down. Before the 18th century, Gentlemen Fellow-Commoners were remarkable for their lack of distinction, though they included the first known College soldier (William Courtney, who came up in 1595) and the first known member to be killed in battle (Robert Bertie, Royalist general in the Civil War, slain at Edgehill).

Jegon was not a kindly man like Parker, but had the vices of his age: ungenerosity, cruelty, and a black sense of humour. On one occasion, when he punished all the undergraduates for some unattributable offence, fining them on their buttery bills and whitewashing the Hall with the proceeds, one of them posted this verse on the screens:

Dr Jegon Bene't College Master  
Broke the Scholars' Heads and gave the Walls a plaister.

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<sup>10</sup> The present reviser, when Master, insisted on eating the ration of brawn to which he was entitled by ancient statute.

To which the Master replied:

Knew I the Wag that wrote these lines in a Bravery  
I would commend him for his Wit, but whip him for his Knavery.

He was promoted Bishop of Norwich in 1602; he became known as 'Bad Bishop Jeggon', being thought covetous and accused of fraudulently burning his own palace. He was the last Anglican bishop to try to burn a heretic.

The next notable Master was Henry Butts, winner of a hung election in 1626 (after his opponent had thought he had elected himself by his own casting vote). He is remembered as the author of *Diets Drie Dinner*, a spoof herbal and parody of herbalists' claptrap. He was an overworked man in Cambridge's nastiest period, especially when as Vice-Chancellor he had the job of organizing a visit by the new and touchy King Charles I.

Dr Butts came to a premature and tragic end. In 1630, when he was still Vice-Chancellor, plague struck Cambridge yet again. Almost everyone who could ran away (as people did when there was plague), but Butts stayed resolutely at his post and worked with the town authorities to try to limit the pestilence and to organize supplies and relief for the vast numbers of unemployed. In a sad letter to Lord Coventry he describes how he himself was 'alone, a destitute and forsaken man; not a Scholler with me in the college, not a Scholler seen by me without. God all-sufficient (I trust) is with me'. This dangerous and heroic task went unrewarded and unthanked. Butts was subjected next year to mean intrigue and criticism (Cambridge at its worst) over the postponed royal visit. His mind gave way; he thought God had deserted him; and on Easter Day 1632, failing to turn up for the University Sermon which he was to preach, he was found hanged in his garters from the lintel of a door in the Master's Lodge.

In the next plague, only five years later, an Old Member, St Henry Morse, a Jesuit, was famous for staying resolutely at his post in London and ministering to the sick and destitute. He was arrested for the capital crime of being a Roman Catholic priest, but King Charles I would not have it, and he was not executed until shortly before Charles's own head fell.

## The Civil War

Charles I, sending his condolences to the College for Butts's death, leant on us to elect as Master Richard Love, late Fellow of Clare, 'one whom we pursue with our princely favour'. The College, again not daring to deflect that pursuit, gained an able and ingenious head who saw it through the worst of times. Love ruled throughout the Civil War (1642-8) and the Commonwealth (1649-60); he was studiously neutral, and trimmed his sails to the prevailing winds with masterly skill.

There is a legend that Dr Love dispersed the ancient plate among the Fellows and thereby, uniquely among colleges, saved it from being requisitioned by the King or confiscated by Parliament. In reality the College stashed the Parker plate and other great treasures in a hoard of which only Love and one Fellow had the secret. Lesser items, if not needed for everyday use, were dispersed among the Fellows. The King persuaded some other colleges (and more at Oxford) to 'lend' him their plate, which has still not been returned. In 1648, with the King safely under lock and key, the dispersed items were all brought back; but the College soon melted them down to pay for repairs, as Love had doubtless foreseen.

The Civil War did not bear hard on Cambridge, and Corpus got off relatively lightly, although a number of Fellows were sacked for being on the wrong side. The College partly shut down for the Long Vacation and Michaelmas Term 1642, mainly because a blacker cloud than war - yet another visitation of plague - was hanging over Cambridge. Otherwise it functioned almost normally. When twelve heads of colleges were removed by Parliament, Dr Love and three others 'by the especial favour of their friends, and their own wary compliance, continued in their places'. William Dowsing, the notorious destroyer of 'superstitious' works of art, came to Corpus but found 'nothing in that chapel to be amende', doubtless because we had not got round to furnishing it. In 1644 three Fellows were sent down and three Presbyterians were put in their places by the Earl of Manchester,<sup>11</sup> Chancellor of the University. Six years later the Earl sent down these three and three others and replaced them by six Independents, members of the then ruling party. Colleges had to pay heavy taxes, in Corpus to the point where the Fellows had to pay for their own common meals; financial troubles were to last for the rest of the 17th century.

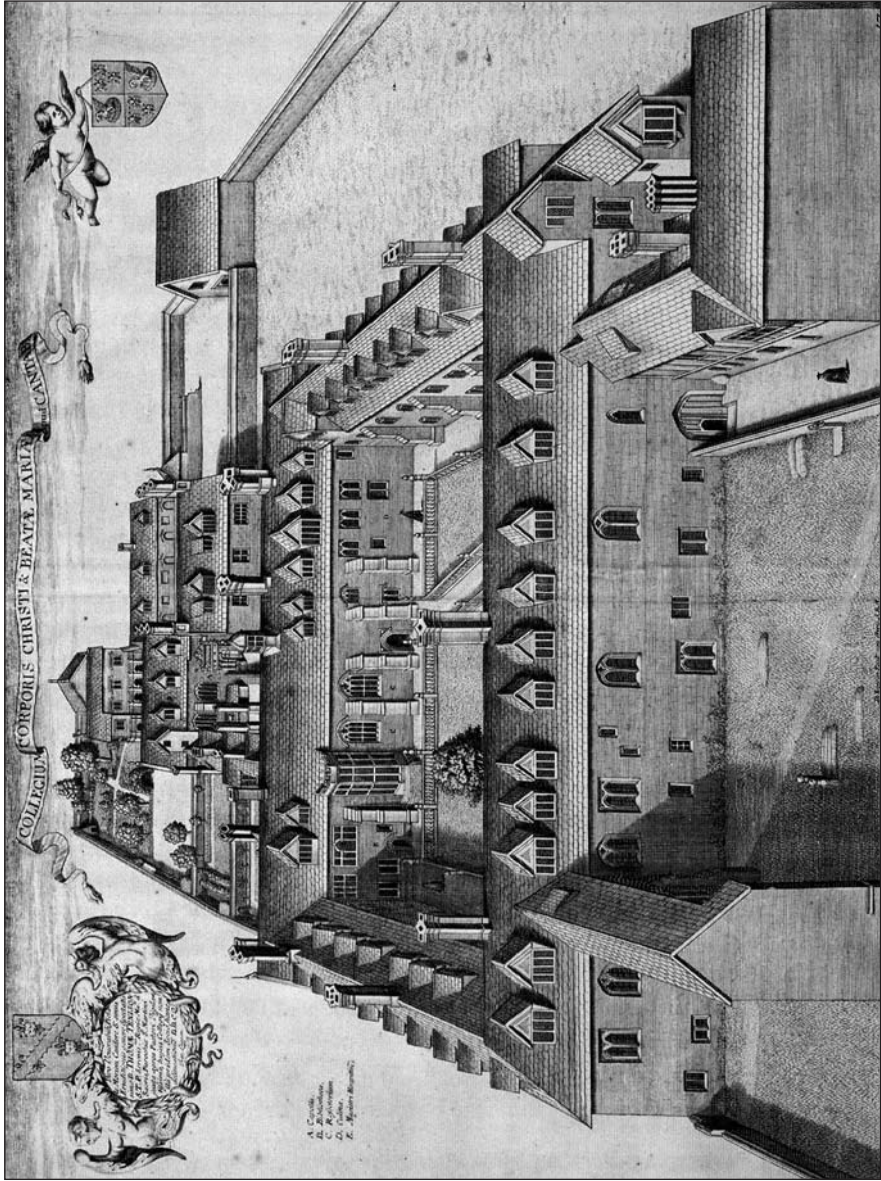
One of the College historians remarks that 'we do not hear much of the scholars and pensioners during these troublous times', although there is a good deal in the archives about them. An entry in the Order Book shows that there were internal as well as external troubles:

1648 May 22. John Starke to be removed from the College for bad morals. Item Benton who was led astray by him is to be chastised with rods by his Tutor, Mr Johnson.

What form the 'bad morals' took is not specified. Although undergraduates were often of schoolboy age, and thus used to chastisement with rods, being 'beaten at

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<sup>11</sup> Meaning, presumably, Godmanchester, from his Huntingdonshire connexions.



Corpus in 1688, according to Loggan: an aerial view a century before aircraft were invented

the buttery hatch' seems to have been a quite exceptional College penalty.

The Rules of the College and Chapel of 1622 throw some light on how the undergraduate of the early 17th century was expected to conduct himself. No one should shout in any public part of the College

so loudly that he is heard by the Master or any of the Fellows . . . subject to the heaviest penalty inflicted for speaking English . . . and also to the penalty appropriate to such improper behaviour.

(A statute of 1573, requiring Latin to be spoken in Full Term, was evidently still enforced.) In Chapel no one should 'use any unbecoming gesture, push or clap or play in the upper seats, or sit in the lower seats out of his proper order'. The rules also tell us that Hall was used for lectures, declamations, and disputations as well as meals, and that no one was to sit or move about in Hall, except at these times, or without cap [as well as gown], or to go into the Kitchen at all on pain of being fined.

Organized sport was provided for in the form of a tennis-court. The College had had one since the 15th century, when it was converted out of an unfinished bakehouse. When this in turn was converted into the Pensionary (students' rooms) a larger one was built in what is now the Master's garden, where its remains were briefly revealed by archaeologists in 1999. (This was not the variant of tennis now played at Wimbledon, but the original kind, now played in the buildings at the back of the University Library.)

## **The Restoration**

When Charles II returned to the throne in 1660, Dr Love rose still higher in official favour, being given the modest reward of the Deanery of Ely, which he did not long enjoy, for he died in 1661. The Earl of Manchester was again called in to send down some Fellows who were on the wrong side and reinstate one who was on what was now the right side. He had four sons at Corpus, two of whom celebrated the completion of the Chapel by the gift of a magnificent alms-dish.

In 1667 the Fellows successfully reasserted their right of electing the Master, their choice falling upon John Spencer (1667-93). He was a Hebrew scholar of great learning, a pioneer in the study of comparative religion, an excellent administrator making many material improvements, and a benefactor, settling upon the College a valuable estate near Oundle, the income from which ended a long period of financial trouble.

The College, as ever, included people of very different persuasions. Thomas Tenison, hero of the last plague in 1665-6, became King William III's Archbishop of Canterbury. Daniel Scargill, a dissident and exponent of the political philosophy of Hobbes, was expelled the University in 1668 'for having asserted several impious and atheistical tenets'. Escaping the fate of Francis Kett, he publicly recanted the following year and became a country parson.

Ill-will against Roman Catholics had its last fling at the time of the Revolution in 1688, that is the celebrations for the coming of King William III. For the third

time the College was attacked by ‘the mob’, who made for the rooms of Clement Scot, the Bursar, whom they suspected of Popery. ‘They would probably have destroyed him’, says the historian, Masters, ‘had he not at that time secreted himself in the cupola from their rage’ which found an outlet, however, upon his books and papers. ‘. . . upon finding Boyle’s Experiments on Blood, some of them cried out, “See what a bloody-minded dog he is, his books are full of nothing but blood”’.

## Corpus Ghosts<sup>12</sup>

Among the College’s best-known notables are three ghosts. The least friendly arose from Henry Butts and his tedious and gruesome suicide. His spirit, it was alleged, was released when the old Master’s Lodge (B staircase) was demoted and disturbed in the building of the New Court. One of the subsequent occupants of the rooms, Charles Walter Moule (Fellow 1858-1921), claimed he was frequently disturbed by strange sounds, which on one occasion reduced him to crawling on hands and knees out into Old Court. A later report described the ghostly presence as being the upper part of a man in 17th-century attire. It was so active in the 1880s that no cook dared remain alone in the kitchens at night.

In 1904 students from Corpus and King’s College tried to exorcise the ghost. The sightings and the exorcism were much discussed in the early 20th century, a period particularly given to interest in such matters. A spurious account appeared in the *Occult Review* for March 1905:

An undergraduate . . . who had rooms opposite those said to be haunted, happened to come in at three o’clock in the afternoon, and as soon as he had sat down to do some work, found himself seized with a curious feeling of uneasiness . . . He got up, and, looking out of the window, noticed the head and shoulders of a man leaning out of the window of the upper set of rooms opposite. The features . . . were those of a stranger with long hair, who . . . seemed to glare down upon him. . . . he stood at the window and watched and then, thinking he might see better from his bedroom, he ran there, but by the time he had arrived, the man opposite had completely disappeared. . . . he found the door locked and when he called no answer was given. . . . the owner of the rooms had been out for the whole afternoon . . . it was impossible that anyone could have been in the rooms from the time of his departure at two o’clock to the arrival of his bed-maker at half-past six.

The ghost was such a nuisance that the victim and his friends tried their hands at exorcism:

. . . they all knelt down, said the Lord’s Prayer, and called upon the three persons of the Trinity to command the spirit to appear . . . The two who saw the ghost described

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<sup>12</sup> This section is adapted, by kind permission, from an essay by Dr Peter Martland.

it as appearing in the form of a mist a yard wide which slowly developed into the form of a man who seemed to be shrouded in white, and had a gash in his neck . . . The two men got up, and holding the crucifix in front of them, approached the apparition, but seemed to be forced back by some invisible agency. They cried out, 'it drives me back', and then both completely broke down, becoming quite unnerved. A few days later they tried to exorcise the spirit, with exactly the same result.

More effective, it seems, than these amateurish proceedings was the later method of Sir Will Spens, who according to tradition let it be known that anyone complaining of the ghost would be invited to seek lodgings out of College. Occasional sightings were reported down to the 1940s.

In 1906, when Colonel Caldwell was Master, his sister, Mrs Hutchings, who kept house for her unmarried brother, found Butts's portrait in a 'garret' in the Master's Lodge. It was framed in black instead of gold, and she believed that it had been relegated to the loft because he had killed himself. Wishing to honour his memory, she persuaded her brother and the Fellows to hang it in Hall, whereupon there were further appearances of the ghost. (None were reported in 1999, when it was moved to the Old Combination Room.<sup>13</sup>)

The latest apparition so far was in 1967. A young Research Fellow remained over Christmas, when the College was empty, there were no meals, and a frugal Bursar had turned the heating off. Looking for warmth and sustenance in the College kitchens, he had a terrifying encounter with a half-length figure of a man in the passage to Old Court. Recounting this to Albert Jaggard, the celebrated Head Porter of the time, he was amazed when his description closely paralleled Jaggard's account of the suicide of Butts, which he had not heard of before.

The two other ghosts emerge from a tragedy when John Spencer was Master. In 1667, it is said, his beautiful daughter Elizabeth was fond of a Gentleman Fellow-Commoner, James Betts, whom her father disapproved of. She was entertaining him in the Lodge when an unexpected but familiar tread was heard outside, and she hastily popped him and the tea-things into a cupboard. Betts, being (like all Corpus students) a perfect gentleman, did not like to say anything, but waited for her to let him out. Alas, she did not come back for some weeks, and was so upset by what then tumbled out of the cupboard that she fell into a decline, died, and was buried in St Bene't's. They are said to walk around Christmas Eve.

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<sup>13</sup> All the pre-1630 pictures have been moved out of the Hall because they are painted on poor-quality oak boards, which warp and bend in the dry atmosphere which now prevails in Hall.



## The Eighteenth Century

As old animosities died down, the College came to terms with the Establishment. This mattered because many of its members obtained bishoprics and deaneries and other attractive preferments in the Church. Thomas Herring, known as 'Red Herring'<sup>14</sup> from his zeal, when Archbishop of York, in suppressing the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, became Corpus's third Archbishop of Canterbury. In social circles we advanced to the political *demi-monde* of Prime Ministers' nephews and less-than-brilliant Parliamentary figures.

The College played an eminent part in the beginnings of science and archaeology at Cambridge. Already in 1668 we had had William Briggs, father of ophthalmology. Stephen Hales (Fellow 1703-15) was to win an international reputation as a physiologist, the first to measure blood pressure, father of plant physiology, and an early target of animal rights protesters. His friend William Stukeley, with whom he had dissected stolen dogs in his rooms, went on to become the father of English archaeology. This was the age of the 'Benedictine Antiquaries', some dozen 'Bene't' (ie Corpus) men, all famous in their day for their antiquarian researches. They included Richard Gough, editor of Camden's *Britannia* and many other works, Brock Rand, and Michael Tyson (the first to publish an account of the College Horn). Distinction spread even to Gentlemen Fellow-Commoners, such as Philip Yorke, lord of Wimpole Hall, who began the task of publishing the State Papers. Robert Masters, Rector of Landbeach, the first to write a full-length history of this (or any) College, was a controversialist whose feud with William Cole, his neighbouring parson and rival antiquary, enlivens many of the letters of the time.

Other members included Richard Rigby, rake and politician, duellist, orgiast, and father of governmental corruption; General Braddock, loser of his scalp on the way to Pittsburgh;<sup>15</sup> James de Lancey, father of New York horse-racing, who backed a loser in the American War of Independence; and John Owen, father of the British & Foreign Bible Society. John D'Oyly was noted as a sportsman (chess and bowls and backgammon and whist and billiards and shooting in the Fens<sup>16</sup>) and diner (at the Black Bull one evening he stayed from five till twelve 'taking care of those who had need') and for filling his room with soot by firing his gun up the chimney. Nevertheless he became a Fellow in 1798, and went on to become father of the British administration in Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

Contemporary letters and diaries give insights into the activities, recreations, and sports of the College. 'Of afternoons . . . the Fellows would stroll in their pleasant orchard [now the site of the Master's Lodge], or sit in their gallery summer house,

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<sup>14</sup> This is apparently an early use of 'red' in the sense of politically left-wing (like the Red Vicar, see later). Red herrings are fish, highly smoked and salted to render them durable, which were the staple product of Great Yarmouth and the staple diet of the poor all over north-west Europe at the time. The reviser remembers them with affection from his childhood in Norwich, but saw none for forty years until he rediscovered them in Crete.

<sup>15</sup> See Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).

<sup>16</sup> Shooting in one's rooms was, and is, forbidden. There are gunshot-holes in the ancient panelling in QL.

or if it were wet, walk in the arcade underneath; or perhaps they would watch the scholars busy in the tennis-court, or would themselves play on their bowling green.' Some, however, would make for the College stables in Stable Yard [now usually full of contractors' vans]. 'I have purchased a stud, an absolute Bucephalus (ie a horse fitted with wings)' and ride every day', wrote John Cowper, brother of William, the poet, in 1763. At dinner in Hall (now the Kitchen), or later in the Combination Room, which was over the butteries, where the east end of the present Hall is, the Fellows, mostly young 'compulsory bachelors', would talk about matrimony in their elbow-chairs, and 'would sigh for a country rectory, or wonder if they would, later on, exchange their chambers for the Master's Lodge'. (The Master was still the only resident member of the College allowed to marry.) But they ended by consoling themselves with their books and their pipes, untroubled by the fate of Richard Fletcher. To quote John Cowper again: 'Haistwell and I are two bright suns that set in clouds of fumigation every night'. Tobacco was not the only recreational drug in use among Fellows. Thomas Greene, ex-Master, thought it necessary to write from Norwich where he was Bishop and warn two newly-elected Fellows 'not to tipple wine every night at the houses of the Townsmen, to avoid their names being entered in the gate-bill, and not to be absent from morning chapels'.

There are similar insights into the activities of undergraduates, whose numbers were probably less in the 18th than in the 17th century, although the College was almost always full and overflowing into lodgings in the town. We have glimpses of studious young men like Stukeley, who stayed all his first year in College 'constantly attending lectures sometimes twice or thrice a day, and Chappel thrice a day, and scarce missed three times all the while I staid in College'; and of his learning to swim 'in Freshmens and Sophs pools as they are called' in the river, which was still fit to swim in; of algebra lectures given in College by one of the Tutors, at which one young man employed his writing-slate and pencil not to work out a problem, but to draw himself partridge shooting; of the debating society (in Latin) formed by Samuel Kerrich and his friends in their first year (1714); of Kerrich, a poor student (and later Fellow) being reproved by his uncle for an expensive habit: 'y<sup>e</sup> foolish custom you have got of drinking and treating with tea w<sup>ch</sup> is not only very chargeable but is y<sup>e</sup> occasion of misspending a great deal of time'; of Thomas Adkin, a wealthy Fellow-Commoner (1778-82), who on taking his degree rented a handsome set of rooms opposite Trinity and kept such convivial style that his establishment was known as Adkin College; of Alexander Cleeve and his friends, whose agitation in 1769 led the University authorities to replace the unpopular round cap prescribed for undergraduates with the present square cap.

## The New Court<sup>17</sup>

Already in the 1620s the Governing Body had decreed that

if God should at any time hereafter raise up a Benefactor that will build another Court, and that he should desire to place any part of his building where the bakehouse now stands, then the Master and Fellows shall without any difficulty give him leave to do so.

God began to respond 130 years later, when Archbishop Herring left £1000 [£150,000] towards the rebuilding of the College. Masters, College historian, had been busy, and in 1747 exhibited a design for a new court in a classical style, which he subsequently published in the first part of his history. Nothing came of his initiative except a bitter row between him and James Essex, the distinguished architect, who (by coincidence or otherwise) had produced an almost identical design. In 1754 John Green, 'The Yorkshire Tyke', then Master, bought some second-hand stone on the demolition of the east range of the Old Schools, but again nothing came of it.

Dr Matthias Mawson, former Master<sup>18</sup> and then Bishop of Ely, died in 1770, leaving the College £3000 [£400,000]

to be kept in government securities, until, with the accumulated interest arising therefrom, it should amount to a sum sufficient to defray the charges of taking down and REBUILDING the same COLLEGE.

Tyson, the President, wrote three years later, 'I am in good hopes that the first stone of a new C.C.C. Building will be laid next spring'. Had it been, the Old Court would have been replaced by a probably undistinguished Georgian building. (A later alternative scheme would have moved the entire College to a more spacious site where Newnham House now stands.) But fortunately the amount was far from enough, and we had three Masters whose energies, when they had any, turned in other directions. William Coleman, Master 1778-94, spent £8000, also from Mawson's bequest, on buying an estate in Suffolk for endowing scholarships.

His successor, Philip Douglas, became a confirmed invalid, who

confined himself very much within the precincts of his Lodge, and dared not for any consideration pass three hours in the Public [i.e. University] Library, which at that time there was no means of warming . . . He had, besides, lost one eye and suffered so much from inflammation in the other that he was frequently confined for days together to his bed.

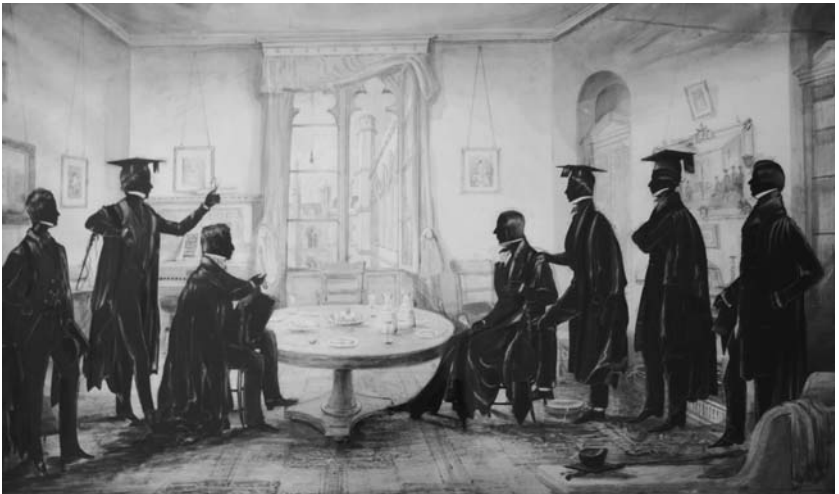
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<sup>17</sup> Officially re-named the Queen's Court in honour of a royal visit in 1843.

<sup>18</sup> Known as 'Madingley Gap' from his peculiar 'feather-top wig'.



The New Court (façade on to Trumpington Street), soon after it was built.  
On the far left is a Vice-Chancellor's procession.



A wine party in a New Court room (now H 10), c 1840,  
the participants displayed in silhouettes.

This sad figure lingered until 1822, and was replaced by somebody very different. John Lamb, Master from 1822 until 1850, was elected at the age of 33 - the youngest Master the College has ever had - and lost no time in going ahead with the enterprise so long contemplated. Some £55,000 [£5M] had accumulated in the rebuilding funds, and the time of depression, after the boom of the Napoleonic Wars, was favourable. In Lamb's own words:

The stocks were remarkably high. Building materials of all descriptions were fallen in price. Labourers were to be had at a moderate rate. The change from a state of war to that of peace had occasioned an influx of students to the universities, so that there was a demand for increased accommodation within the walls of the Colleges.

The architect was William Wilkins, future designer of the National Gallery, who had already made a name as the architect of Downing College. His New Court was completed in 1827- one of the largest single buildings ever built in one campaign in Cambridge up to that time - with the loss of the Elizabethan Chapel, Master's Lodge gallery, orchard, and Pensionary. It was one of his first Georgian Gothic buildings, built simultaneously with his similar building at King's. It was greatly admired, drawn and painted. Wilkins's work was hailed as 'a splendid pile', marking a revival of the 'Gothic architecture of the 14th century in its present form' (the Old Court, genuinely of that period, being dismissed by the guide-books as mean and uninteresting), with 'a superb entrance gateway, flanked by massive stately towers; on each side are noble apartments. The chapel, which occupies the centre of the east side of this ground court, is an elegant structure', and such effusive and inaccurate waffle.

Wilkins was a good friend of the College. He gave us many gifts, such as four late-medieval stained-glass windows in the Chapel<sup>19</sup> and the great painting, which he thought was by Poussin, which hangs in the Old Combination Room. He is buried in a secret crypt under the Chapel, and his monument, relegated to the Library staircase, tells the beholder in Latin that of all his works *Corpus* was the one he liked the best. His work has served the College well. Alas, the New Court soon became unfashionable and was disfigured by incongruous alterations: the high gable added to the Chapel in 1870, the disastrous garrets added to the roofs in the 1920s, and the removal of the Combination Room oriel window and dispersal of his gift of stained glass for it.

Lamb, the only married resident member of the College, had 14 children, and built a Master's Lodge on an appropriate scale. The New Court also provided a vast and sumptuous Hall, which accommodated all the undergraduates at a single sitting (though it was a tight squeeze) until the 1970s, a new Chapel and a much more spacious and secure home for the Parker Library. It was heat-insulated (by an air gap between the wall-plaster and the brick walls) and the Hall was centrally heated. It added about 37 sets of rooms to the 35 in the Old Court, plus 6 sets gained from

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<sup>19</sup> Recently shown to have come from the monastery of Mariawald in Germany, dissolved by Napoleon.



Room Q 1 in Old Court, with features of the 14th century (eg the ceiling beam) and additions and alterations from every century since (eg the 16th century pine panelling inside the cupboard)  
*[Photo: S Laing]*



Soccer or rugby club outside M staircase, c 1875.  
The visible stonework has already decayed due to acid rain.

vacating the old Master's Lodge: a total of about 78 sets of rooms, of which Fellows would probably have occupied 12.

## Victorian Boom and Recession

Lamb was active in politics and fought vigorously for electoral and other reforms. With his friend J S Henslow, Professor of Botany, he tried to clean up Cambridge elections and to bring prosecutions for bribery. The graffito 'HENSLOW COMMON INFORMER' appeared neatly stencilled on the front wall of the New Court, where it remained legible until the 1960s.

Most students had a *set* of rooms comprising a keeping-room and a bedroom; a few 'double sets' were occupied by two students. (Note the contrast with the American practice of making students share rooms.) Room rents ranged from £3. 10s. to £12 [£270-£900] per quarter. Numbers increased, but not quite to the extent that Lamb had expected. In 1822 there were only 48, but by 1828 there were 100. Many undergraduates resided for four years, so with an average annual intake of 28 many students continued to live in lodgings in the town. Lodgings seem to have been freely available, so there was no need for a stringent control on students' numbers, except that they were all required to attend Chapel and expected to dine in Hall on Sundays. On weekdays many students had meals sent up to their rooms; the poorer ones ate in Hall and were charged around 1s. to 1s 4d. [£4-£5] a day, plus 2s. 6d. [£10] a quarter for use of the silver spoons and forks that are now used by the Fellows.

The College was very strongly clerical: through the nineteenth century nearly two-thirds of its students became Anglican clergymen. All its Fellows, unlike those of some other colleges, were still required to be in Holy Orders of the Church of England. Under Lamb and his successors James Pulling (Master 1850-79) and Edward Henry Perowne (1879-1906), Corpus became associated with the Evangelical religious movement, whose popularity in the 1860s made its numbers still greater, so that briefly it was the third largest college in Cambridge, with about 150 students. The Chapel had to be extended in 1870.

Meanwhile, general changes in the outside world affected the University and the College. The repeal of the Test Acts allowed non-Anglicans to join the University in theory as well as in practice. Modern technology affected students' lives with the coming of gas-light in 1840. The syllabus was broadened: sciences and languages were introduced as undergraduate subjects (which could be read by ordinands as well as others). Laboratories and lectures were gradually concentrated into the hands of the University. Gentleman Fellow-Commoners faded away. Lay Fellows and University Lecturers increased in numbers. With student numbers rising, colleges competed for poor and able students by offering entrance scholarships. For half a century these changes were resolutely opposed by Pulling and Perowne and some of the Fellows.

The most momentous change in the entire history of the College was the change of statute in 1882 allowing Fellows to marry. This revolutionized at a stroke the

demography and housing structure of Cambridge. No longer was the typical don a young man doing, in effect, a few years of post-doctoral study before a vacancy in a College living allowed him to marry and go on to be a country parson. He could now be a Fellow as a lifelong career, building himself a house in Grange Road or Chesterton Road.

As Northcote Parkinson pointed out, when an organization builds grandiose new architecture this is a sign that its best years are in the past. Corpus is a good example: the New Court marked a decline in academic distinction. There were a few distinguished scholars such as Edward Byles Cowell, first Professor of Sanskrit, and Samuel Savage Lewis, both of whom had scholarly wives. Cowell became the first married Fellow of Corpus in 1874, through coming from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where marriage was already allowed. Lewis gave us the Lewis Collection of portable Greek and Roman antiquities, one of the College's greatest treasures.

Corpus produced 15 bishops, some of them in remote parts of Africa and China. Perhaps the best remembered Old Member is Conrad Noel, the Red Vicar: parish priest of Thaxted, then a run-down Essex industrial town with a gigantic medieval church, 1910-42; Communist, ritualist, Irish nationalist, friend of Gustav Holst the composer, reviver of morris dancing, lover of justice and festivities; he personifies the Corpus tradition of glorious eccentricity.

Ordinands have social and sporting activities like the rest of us. In 1833 we find a resolution that 'the Boat Club should be revived' - the first surviving record of its existence. In 1836 the Corpus boat was triumphantly stroked to victory at the Head of the River by A K B Granville, President of Cambridge University Boat Club, an achievement yet to be repeated. Cricket had been popular, played mostly on Parker's Piece; soccer, rugby, and lawn tennis became organized sports in the second half of the century. There are glimpses of other diversions. A diary of 1830 refers to 'William's ball at Corpus, where there was music till supper, followed by quadrilles'. Parties called 'wines' were constantly being held. There were musical societies which gave concerts in May Week, theological discussion societies, literary societies such as the Gravediggers (which used to read only Shakespeare), whist clubs, the Chess Club (which soon gave up playing chess), and social clubs such as the Benedictines, the Boomerangs, and the Clouds.

However Corpus fell into recession: the Evangelical connexion declined without any new speciality to replace it. From 1881 onwards part of the College's function was taken over by the new theological colleges. The regrettable extension to the Chapel of 1870 was needed for only a few years. The College became more than half empty; there were fewer than 50 undergraduates, partly divided between warring sets known as 'Heaven' and 'Hell', the latter being composed of the more worldly or 'fast' men (like Conrad Noel) who still found their way into the College.

## **Twentieth-Century Renaissance**

In the twentieth century most college histories turn into 'a predictable dreary tale of modernisation and improvement', as an Oxford don has put it. Corpus, like other institutions, took part in the introduction of bicycles, the coming of water closets



(1901)<sup>20</sup>, the coming of fixed baths in 1914 and their abandonment in the 2000s, the coming of electricity, the introduction of gas fires c.1950 and their replacement by central heating in the 1980s, the provision of communal computers by the College in the 1980s and their replacement by private computers, and the introduction of fibre-optic cables to College rooms c.1990. But these inevitable matters are not the whole story.

Perowne's successor, Colonel Caldwell, the first layman to be Master (1906-14), took vigorous steps to revive its fortunes. With his encouragement and that of younger Fellows such as E C Pearce and Will Spens (subsequently themselves Masters), men from other colleges and from outside Cambridge were elected to Fellowships. New generations of undergraduates were admitted under a wider policy, and numbers nearly doubled.

Then disaster struck. With the First World War the College officially almost shut down, the buildings being used for military purposes; although the officer cadets stationed there (the 'D Company Dump') did their best to behave as Corpus men until the bugle sounded Lights Out! every evening at 10 p.m.

In World War I, 253 Corpus men (and College staff?) served and 62 died: equivalent to shooting two average years' students from the years preceding the War. That appalling figure, twice the national military death-rate, reflects the exceptionally dangerous life of a junior officer. (Of the 29 men who matriculated in 1913, nine were killed.)

In 1919 ninety-one students matriculated, catching up for the blank years of the war. When this phase was over, numbers continued to be higher than they had ever been even in the nineteenth century. Other colleges were expanding even more, so that Corpus still prided itself on being the smallest College in Cambridge - but sometimes yielded to pressure for minor (but irreversible) growth in numbers. We had gained a reputation as one of the most distinguished small colleges.

Numbers were coming to be limited by the buildings. It was still possible to find rooms in the town, but with the general expansion of the University this was becoming more difficult. Other colleges would send students into lodgings for one or two years, but we made a point of housing nearly everyone. College houses in adjacent (and some more distant) streets were converted into students' rooms; new buildings were added in almost every possible corner of the College, and even on top of the New Court; as a last resort, most sets were divided into single rooms.

The College began its present sports ground in 1939, the old ground in Sidgwick Avenue being sold to the University. (The pavilion - its floorboards pitted by the nailed boots of generations of Corpus cricketers - was reincarnated as the Department of Aerial Photography.)

The historic connexion with the town and county was emphasized anew when two members of Corpus, including Pearce, the Master (1914-27), served as Mayors of Cambridge; Dr Pearce was also Chairman of the County Council.

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<sup>20</sup> The Rev. Henry Moule, of a noted Corpus family, had patented an earth closet in 1860.

A new kind of Fellow Commoner appeared: some professional person, usually a

schoolteacher, who comes to the College for a sabbatical term's study, and wears a gold-bordered gown.

In the Second World War the College was busier than ever. Sir Will Spens, Master, was Regional Commissioner for the Eastern Region: had Hitler invaded, he would have had the job of running Eastern England from a bunker in Brooklands Avenue. The College was enlivened by some of his distinguished henchmen as guests. More undergraduates were admitted than ever, but many of them did short courses before being called up and often killed.

World War II killed 96 Corpus men. We are among the very few British institutions to have more killed in the Second than the First World War. The College had been twice as large in the 1930s as in the 1910s, but again the death-roll was equivalent to nearly two years of students. Corpus men had evidently again been doing especially dangerous jobs, this time probably in the air.

Corpus men took up the most varied professions. By 1940 the proportion becoming clergy had fallen to 2%. This does not mean that the Chapel had lost its place in College activity, although attendance was no longer compulsory. Pearce left us to become a Bishop, and Spens was famously devout. Corpus has had a succession of distinguished Chaplains and Deans of Chapel, including Peter Walker, later Bishop of Ely. Roland Walls, Chaplain in 1947, insisted that the Chapel belongs to all members of the College, including non-Anglicans and non-Christians. (This saintly, learned, and eccentric man became a Roman Catholic and a hermit and lived to the age of 92.) This then innovative idea has been continued by all his successors: I have a fond memory of a later Chaplain, on a Chapel excursion, explaining about Christian iconoclasts to a Muslim lady on the roof of Ely Cathedral.

The tradition of Corpus drama was revived, and in the 1950s and 1960s there was always a May Week play (sometimes two, if Leckhampton produced one). All the works of Marlowe were performed. Some remember the acting skills of Richard Bainbridge, much-loved Senior Tutor, who liked to represent a corrupt physician. In recent years Corpus (like other colleges) has acquired its own theatre, the Playroom, and most of our acting now takes place there rather than in the Old Court.

Sir Will is credited with originating some of the College's 'ancient and laudable' traditions. His mastership (1927-52) came to a fitting close with the College's sexcentenary celebrations in 1952, at which a party for more than 600 Old Members consumed a roasted ox, presented by the Lions Club of the City of Corpus Christi, Texas.

The next Master, Sir George Thomson (1952-62), was a Nobel prizewinner, one of the eminent men who had become Fellows under Caldwell or Pearce. In his time the New Court was transformed by the scrubbing of 125 years of grime from the walls, the introduction of window-boxes, and the substitution of paving for the gravel paths.

The 20th century was less kind to the Old Court. In c.1919 Thomas Henry Lyon, College architect, had removed the ivy which had long hidden the ancient walls, and substituted a hard roughcast rendering which has grown grimy and is embarrassingly difficult to clean or remove. He also covered the decayed stonework with a shelter-coat which protected it from further decay until it began to break down in

the 1990s. In 1952-6 there was a major restoration, subscribed to by Old Members at a cost of £25,000 [£600,000], which was regrettable by more recent standards: it destroyed many ancient interiors while not dispelling the dingy, institutional air which this wonderful building still wears. Matters were made no better by the replacement in 1970 of the bay window of the old Hall, dating from c.1740 and itself replacing a semi-octagonal bay like the one that survives at Queens'.

## Leckhampton

Sir George's memorial is the George Thomson Building at Leckhampton. 1962 was a revolutionary year. The Leckhampton site was an ancient possession of the College. The architect and first tenant of the house, F W H Myers, had conducted psychical researches in it. When the lease fell in, the then Tutor, Michael McCrum (later Master), had the brilliant idea that the College should use it to contribute to two needs much felt in the University at the time. Numbers of graduate students and of University teaching staff were increasing, and both needed to be absorbed and provided for by colleges. The idea was approved by the Governing Body, and eleven new Fellows were elected on one day.

In 1962 the Master, Tutor, Treasurer, and Dean of Chapel all retired or left the College. The new Master, Sir Frank Lee, was the first since John Green in 1750 to have had no previous connexion with the College. It was his major achievement, as Geoffrey Woodhead put it, 'to lead the College harmoniously through the "digestion" of Leckhampton and all that it entailed in the way of adjustment'. It entailed a great deal: a much larger and more mobile Fellowship and the consequent extension of the Senior Combination Room; the increase of graduate students in the College from forty to nearly a hundred; yet more new buildings, and the purchase and conversion of houses adjacent to Leckhampton for further accommodation. The George Thomson building, completed in 1964, designed by Philip Dowson, is one of the best works of an undistinguished period in architecture. It proved unexpectedly robust, not disintegrating like many contemporary structures; like most specimens of old-fashioned modernism it has required an expensive restoration, but only after nearly 50 years.

With Leckhampton the College became definitely international. There had long been a few foreign students, such as Jani Alli, a Muslim from India, in 1874, who later converted to Christianity. From 1920 onwards foreign names appear regularly in the admission lists, especially Indians, such as Kanwer Bhagwat-Singh who became Indian Ambassador to the United Nations. There were also a few Germans (did any of them get killed in World War II on the other side?). Leckhampton attracted graduate students from all over the world: its early members included Getatchew Bolodia, biochemist from Ethiopia, Japanese dons, and even the occasional Soviet Russian. Haroon Ahmed, from Pakistan, went on to become Master.



The gardens of Leckhampton [*Photo: O Rackham*]

Graduate students formed an ever-increasing proportion of the College, and more of them came for one- or two-year courses rather than three-year PhDs. In the 2010s, as in the 1820s, a national recession created favourable conditions for new building, which the College took advantage of by adding a large new block of rooms for graduates.

Leckhampton has its library and music room, and its own lecture and discussion groups, the Stephen Hales Society and Cross Talk Society. At Leckhampton the College has a garden for all members of the College, which exceeds in beauty the Fellows' Gardens of other colleges.

## The Late Twentieth Century

The undergraduate part of the College shone intellectually for many years, a record number of firsts being gained in 1965, 1974, again in 1993-5, and yet again in 2012. Having survived the great winter of 1963, the Boat Club had a season on the river which rivalled the record of 1836.

Another event was the admission of women. For centuries members of Corpus had met women as queens, benefactors, visitors, employees, tourists, and wives, daughters, and sisters of Masters and (latterly) of Fellows. Women had been members of the University since 1869 in practice and since 1947 in theory, but until the 1960s it occurred to few that they might have a place (even in disguise) outside the women's colleges.

Hesitatingly over many years, Corpus took to women as guests at dinner, members of orchestras and the Chapel choir, and guests at feasts. This gathered momentum in the Mastership of Sir Duncan Wilson. At last the College took what then seemed the momentous step of admitting female Fellows, research students, and finally (1983) undergraduates. This made less difference than was expected. Women students were not a different species, as married dons had been in 1882; but they soon became distinguished, disproportionately to their numbers, in undergraduate organisations, music, and sport. More than once their illustrious academic performance has outweighed shortcomings by the men. Continuing the College's traditions, members of Corpus played an eminent part in the institution of women clergy in the Church of England.

Social habits have changed. Communal eating for senior and junior members had been a feature of College life since the foundation, but to varying degrees. By the twentieth century the custom was restored of everyone eating together. This broke down in the 1970s as numbers slowly grew and organisers of other activities forgot to time them to fit around Hall dinner. After the kitchens were rebuilt in 1980 it became possible to eat dinner as well as lunch at a flexible time.

Since then 'formal' Hall dinners, for Fellows and students, have continued, but on a slowly diminishing scale. They have become more in the nature of a 'night out' than ordinary sustenance. For more than 50 years Corpus has been noted for excellent food. This has gradually shifted in the direction of *haute cuisine*, towards restaurant rather than domestic cookery. We have reverted to the mid-19th-century practice of eating prodigious quantities of meat. This change has been partly driven by the increase in the 'function trade' - the more costly kind of conferences and society dinners - on which Corpus, like other colleges, partly depends for its income, and which calls for a more ambitious kitchen than a college might otherwise have. It seems to be welcomed by students (the more expensive meals being better attended) but it further erodes the idea of communal eating as part of day-to-day activity, without providing anything else to bring the whole College together.

Smoking, which had played a prominent part in College life for 400 years, suddenly disappeared in the 1990s.

Cambridge became a very wealthy city, and thus a disadvantageous environment for a university. Few poor widows were still willing to make a little money by hiring

out rooms in their houses. Colleges have had to house almost all their students. Corpus has coped with this problem by several very costly adaptations and building projects. Fortunately it has attracted benefactions on a scale not seen since Parker. In 1983 it created the charming little Botolph Court from a cluster of medieval and later buildings in Botolph Lane and Pembroke Street. In the 1990s it created Bene't Court from the premises of the old Eagle Inn. These additions were overseen by Michael McCrum as Master; in addition to his many projects for the College, he served the University for two years as the last of the old-style Vice-Chancellors. The Beldam Building, containing students' and Fellows' rooms and the McCrum Lecture Theatre, was built from a princely benefaction by Robert Beldam, an old member who was very generous to the College on many occasions. He died in 2003, leaving to the College and Repton School his house and his very valuable industrial premises near Heathrow Airport.

### **The Libraries and the Corpus Clock**

The electronic revolution in computers and data-handling has mysteriously resulted in a great increase in numbers, size, and cost of books, so that all colleges have had to expand their undergraduate libraries.

Corpus has had a separate students' library since 1911. By 2000 it had taken over the whole ground floor of the east side of the New Court, and was still inadequate. The College then took back the commercial lease of the bank on the corner of Bene't Street. This wonderful building had been built by Horace Francis, Victorian architect, as a bank with strongrooms underground and the bank manager's house above. Wright & Wright, architects, had the complex task as of converting the two-storey bank into a three-storey library with a new entrance on to Hostel Yard, while suspending the three storeys of College rooms above (with a Skyhook?). This was completed in 2009 and is known as the Taylor Library, after John Taylor, inventor, its chief benefactor.

This conversion made the front doorway to the bank redundant: anyone entering would have stepped into thin air. It was a condition of planning permission that we should provide a work of modern art to occupy the space. We approached a usual commercial source and failed, for such things cannot be made to order. Then Dr Taylor stepped in: he is an horologist, an expert on the history of clock technology. The present, immensely complex clock is his invention, based on the grasshopper escapement invented by John Harrison *c.*1722. It is the most popular work of modern art in Cambridge: at all hours of the day and night a small crowd gathers round it, turning their backs on King's College Chapel.

In the Parker Library, one of the world's greatest manuscript libraries, the munificence of the late Gaylord Donnelley enabled the College to endow, for the first time, a permanent post of Fellow Librarian. With the students' library out of the way, the College built a special repository in the space it had occupied, designed



The Taylor Library, Corpus's student library, opened in 2008 [*Photo: P. Cook*]



The Kho Building at Leckhampton, opened in 2012 [*Photo: S Laing*]

to protect the manuscripts against the worst that fire, thieves, and earthquake can do.

In 2009 the College, in collaboration with Stanford University, California, and financed by the Mellon Foundation, completed the Parker-on-the-Web project. Almost every page of the Parker Library manuscripts was photographed in the College, and the results published on the Internet. This has made the Parker Library accessible to scholars around the world (but has not reduced the use made of the original documents).

The Kho Building in Leckhampton is the first major new building that the College has commissioned in almost 20 years. With the growth in graduate student numbers, the College realised that there was a need to expand the stock of graduate accommodation. The building was designed by Bland Brown & Cole, a local firm of architects, and the main contractor was Barnes Construction. Work on the building started in July 2011 and it was finally completed and formally opened by the Vice-Chancellor in September 2012. The building has 34 bedsits, the smallest of which is 22.5 sq metres in size; and the largest have beautiful balconies. In addition to the bedsits there are 6 one-bedroom flats for students and Fellows. The building has been built to the very highest standards of thermal efficiency and all hot water and heating is provided via gas air source heat pumps.

The College also undertook a major refurbishment of the George Thompson Building in 2012. The building was designed by Arup Associates and constructed in 1963 and was subsequently given a Grade 2 listing owing to its unique design. This was the first major refurbishment of the building since its completion and as part of the work the electrical installation was replaced, all windows were replaced with new double glazed units and additional insulation was added to the external walls to up-grade the thermal performance of rooms. Additionally, essential repairs were made to put the structure, building fabric and drainage into good order, and the kitchens and bathrooms were refurbished. The refurbishment was successfully completed as part of a very short programme that caused minimal disruption to life at Leckhampton.



## Present and Future

The College contrives to maintain many of its amenities and traditions. It remains one of the smallest and friendliest societies in the University. It continues to win distinction in Triposes and sports, in music and drama. The success of the 650th anniversary celebrations, involving the Vice-Chancellor, the Mayor, the Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the Mayor of Corpus Christi, Texas, shows that it can still rise to a great social occasion.

The ancient system of scholarships for poor but able students continued into the 1950s. It became obsolete when grants from local authorities and the State became universally available; and the College, imagining that the sun would go on shining for ever, allowed the funds to disappear into the general endowment. When the sky clouded in the 1990s it became necessary to revert to something like the old system. A start was made on this, thanks to a generous legacy by Helen Stuart in memory of Archibald Laporte Paine, member of the College. Dr John Taylor, among other munificent benefactions, has given bursaries for undergraduate and graduate students, and has restored the Wilkins Room which still houses the printed books of the Parker Library. As in Elizabeth the Duchess's time, benefaction is the life-blood of the Society.

### Women at Corpus: some milestones

- 1349 Margaret Andrew, first known benefactor of the Guild of Corpus Christi
- 1468-85 Eleanor and Elizabeth Talbot, benefactors
- 1547 Margaret Parker, first wife of a Master
- 1667 Elizabeth Spencer turns into a ghost
- 1869 first Cambridge lectures to women students
- 1874 Elizabeth Cowell, first wife of a Fellow
- 1882 Fellows of Colleges allowed to marry. Women students sit University examinations
- 1887 Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, wife and sister-in-law of a Fellow, inseparable travellers and Oriental scholars
- 1947 women allowed to become members of Cambridge University
- 1972 first women guests at a feast
- 1982 first women Fellows and graduate students of Corpus
- 1983 first women undergraduates of Corpus
- 1983-6 two female Presidents of the Junior Combination Room
- 1995-6 three graduates of Corpus among the first women to be ordained priests of the Church of England
- 1997 eight Foundation Scholars elected (in place of the six per year usually thus honoured by the College for academic distinction), all women

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## Latin in Hall

*Grace before Dinner:* Benedic, Domine, nobis et donis tuis, quae de tua largitate sumus sumpturi; et concede ut, iis salubriter nutriti, tibi debitum obsequium praestare valeamus; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

(Bless, O Lord, us and thy gifts, which we are about to take of thy generosity; and grant that we, healthily nourished by them, may be strong to render [the thanks] due to thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord.)

*Preface on Sundays and feasts:* Mensæ caelestis participes faciat nos Rex gloriae aeternæ. (May the King of eternal glory make us partakers of the heavenly table.)

*Grace after Dinner:* Laus Deo per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum - *Deo gratias.* (Praise to God through Jesus Christ our Lord - *Thanks to God.*)

*'The toast of the College in its traditional form':* FLOREAT ANTIQUA DOMUS. (May the Ancient House flourish.)

## Masters of the College

1352	Thomas de Eltisle	1667	John Spencer
1376	Richard Treton	1693	William Stanley
?1379	John Kynne	1698	Thomas Greene
1389	John de Necton	1716	Samuel Bradford
1398	Richard de Billingford	1724	Matthias Mawson
1432	John Tytleshale	1744	Edmund Castle
1443	John Botwright	1750	John Green
1474	Walter Smyth	1764	John Barnardiston
1477	Simon Grene	1778	William Colman
1487	Thomas Cosyn	1795	Philip Douglas
1515	John Edyman	1822	John Lamb
1516	Peter Nobys	1850	James Pulling
1523	William Sowode	1879	Edward Henry Perowne
1544	Matthew Parker	1906	Robert Townley Caldwell
1553	Lawrence Moptyd	1914	Edmund Courtenay Pearce
1557	John Porie	1927	Sir Will Spens
1569	Thomas Aldrich	1952	Sir George Paget Thomson
1573	Robert Norgate	1962	Sir Frank Godbould Lee
1587	John Copcot	1971	Sir Archibald Duncan Wilson
1590	John Jegon	1980	Michael William McCrum
1602	Thomas Jegon	1994	Sir Anthony Wrigley
1618	Samuel Walsall	2000	Haroon Ahmed
1626	Henry Butts	2006	Sir Alan Wilson
1632	Richard Love	2007	Oliver Rackham
1661	Peter Gunning	2008	Stuart Laing
1661	Francis Wilford		





