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A SELECTION

James Diggle

Reader in Greek and Latin, University of Cambridge
and Fellow of Queens' College

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SATIVOLAE
VXORI CARISSIMAE

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INTRODUCTION

In 1910 Sir John Edwin Sandys published the 531 speeches and fifty-eight letters which he had composed during his first thirty-three years as Orator (*Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses* (*1876–1909*)). None of his successors have followed his example; but recent Orators at Oxford and Trinity College, Dublin, have published selections of their speeches: T. F. Higham, *Orationes Oxonienses Selectae* (1960), J. G. Griffith, *Oratiunculae Oxonienses Selectae* (1985), and J. V. Luce, *Orationes Dublinienses Selectae* (*1971–1990*) (1991). This volume contains fifty of the 102 speeches which I composed and delivered in the Senate House during the eleven years (1982–1993) when I was Orator.

I have often been asked about the origins, history and name of the Orator. Since no account exists, here is a brief essay.[1]

'The Orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University ... for the Orator writes all the University Letters, makes all the Orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the University.'[2] So it was in the beginning, and so it was when George Herbert was Orator (1619–1627).

Today the Orator has two duties, defined by Statute: 'He shall write addresses for presentation to the Sovereign and formal letters for presentation to other universities and institutions. He shall present to the Chancellor and University persons on whom the titles of degrees are conferred *honoris causa*.' In these past eleven years Cambridge has despatched formal letters to the Universities of Auckland, Bologna, Graz, Harvard, Heidelberg, Siena, Zaragoza, the Complutensian University of Madrid, and the Universities of Nihon and Waseda in Tokyo, to congratulate them on the celebration of an anniversary. If we wish to understand how the office of Orator first came into being, it is with the writing of letters that we must begin.

The office was founded by Statute in (probably) the year 1521.[3] The original Statute (which is undated) was written in what is known as The Junior Proctor's Book.[4] It is a lengthy Statute, and it tells an interesting tale, though it leaves some things unsaid which it obliges us to supply by

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conjecture. I shall quote the larger part and supply such commentary as it demands.[5] It begins in this way:

Since our public interest[6] has often been brought into danger owing to the want of letters imploring the aid of great men against our adversaries, who ought to have been opposed with such letters as our best protection, and each person has declined the trouble, partly on account of the small amount of reward, and partly through fear of the power and influence of those against whom the letters ought to have been written, we have at length resolved, as dutiful sons, to give aid to our mother University in this her difficulty; and so that our adversaries may not be able to come into personal collision with those who, as in duty they are bound, defend the cause of the University to the best of their power, we enact, ordain, and will, that *one public orator* shall be chosen, on whose shoulders shall devolve the burdens to be described in the following paragraphs, none of which he shall decline, but shall diligently sustain; to which intent we enact and will that he be bound by oath immediately on his admission.

'One public orator': three simple words, but not as simple as they seem. First, 'orator'. To us the word signifies 'speaker'; but not to the framers of the Statute, or not primarily. The noun is derived from the verb *orare*, 'beg, beseech, implore'. The Statute (as much of it as I have so far quoted) is concerned with the begging of aid, and it is concerned with the written, more than with the spoken, word. It had long been the custom of the University's officers, in petitions to the monarch or others whose favours they sought, to subscribe themselves as 'orators'.[7]

Second, the numeral 'one'. Again, it had long been the University's custom to employ in the composition of letters and petitions such of its members as possessed the necessary talent. The Proctors' accounts record many a payment for this piecemeal work. A single example: between the years 1483 and 1504 a frequent composer, who received a fee for each letter composed, was 'Caius Auberinus'. He also taught Latin, and was formerly believed to be an Italian humanist, but he has recently been identified as the English poet John Kay.[8]

Finally, the epithet 'public'. This signifies that the Orator acts on behalf of the whole University, not on behalf of himself or of any one College. It is not unique to the Orator. There was a time when Professors and lecturers and examinations were 'public'. Even the University Library was once the Public Library.[9] Today Oxford has a Public Orator. This was probably his title from his first appointment in 1564.[10] At all events, the Oxford Statutes of 1636 entitle him Publicus Universitatis Orator. But at Cambridge you will look in vain for a Public Orator in the Statutes as variously revised through the centuries. The title was, indeed, used in Cambridge, but perhaps not before the seventeenth century. Ralph Widdrington, resigning in 1673, calls himself Public

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Orator.[11] And the title was already known to Thomas Fuller in 1655.[12] The *Cambridge University Calendar*, published annually from 1796, has Public Orator from the first, consistently throughout the nineteenth century, and for the last time in 1925–6. The *Reporter*, the University's official newspaper, last used the title on 12 July 1926, and suddenly, without warning, adopted the title Orator in the next issue on 11 August. This was the year in which the Statutes, after several years of deliberation, were radically revised.[13] I assume that the University authorities, in the course of these deliberations, had taken note of the discrepancy and thought it proper to bring other official publications into line with the Statutes. In 1932 the *Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, Supplement, 1921–30* declares: '"Public Orator" is out of use.' It is still, from time to time, heard in conversation or seen in print.

To return to the Statute: the University resolved to charge a single individual with tasks which formerly had been executed, in some degree, by a multitude of others, if others could be found, as sometimes they could not. And this it resolved at a time when its interests were threatened by unspecified adversaries, and when it needed all the favour it could get from the Crown and from others of influence. We are in (or near) the twelfth year of the reign of Henry VIII.[14]

The Statute proceeds to list the Orator's duties. First, he shall 'faithfully compose letters in the name of the University[15] against any persons whatsoever, even though they be his own friends, and in defence of any persons, though his own enemies'. Second, he shall assist the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors in soliciting the assistance of the King or the nobles. Third, he shall 'welcome all princes and nobles with a learned and elaborate speech'. Fourth, he shall 'go to any princes or nobles and faithfully plead before them the cause of the University against any adversaries, provided that the University furnish him with the expenses for himself and a servant and two horses'. Fifth and last, 'if he should learn of any plan formed against the University, by friend or foe, he shall at his earliest convenience give notice of it to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and assist them with any advice by which he thinks that the University may avoid any dangers that may be impending therefrom'.

So much for the Duties. Now the Privileges. They remained unaltered for much longer than the duties, and even today a vestige of them remains. Since the Orator is to be 'the assertor and defender of public liberty', the Statute grandly declares, 'it is right that such a man should be held in honour'. And so the Orator, if a Master of Arts, shall be ranked above all other Masters, immediately after the Doctors of Law

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and Medicine; he shall walk alone in processions and sit in a separate place at meetings.[16] In addition to these marks of honour he shall be dispensed from certain obligations: 'attendance at masses, obsequies,[17] and even statutable congregations'. In granting this dispensation the Statute acknowledges that the Orator 'seems likely to be exposed, on behalf of the University, to the resentment of many', and to be 'occasionally too much involved in his own business' to be always at the University's call. Finally, he shall be paid forty shillings a year – not so much as a salary, but rather to cover the costs of hiring a deputy when he cannot discharge his duties in person. The office was ever, as Thomas Fuller remarked, 'a place of more honour than profit'.[18]

The Statute also declares that subsequent Orators, after the first, shall be appointed for a period of seven years,[19] with the provision that they must remain resident in the University. At the time when the Statute was framed the first Orator had already been appointed, for the Statute informs us, almost casually, that he is 'Master Croke', and that Croke shall hold the office as long as he likes provided that he remains resident. What is more, if Croke should cease to be resident, he shall 'enjoy all his privileges, everywhere and always', and, if he should return, he shall 'rank immediately above the Orator, except that the Orator of the time shall preserve his office and enjoy his privileges, just as if Croke was not here'.

Who then was Richard Croke, first Orator, and why was he treated with such favour? Scholar of King's, lecturer in Greek at Leipzig, esteemed by Erasmus, recalled to Cambridge to be lecturer in Greek then Orator, Fellow of St John's,[20] despatched to Italy as agent of the King, where he went by the name of John of Flanders and sought by bribery to buy compliance with the royal divorce, Canon of King Henry VIII College (later Christ Church) in Oxford, witness for the prosecution at the trial of Cranmer, he died, Rector of Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, in 1558. He deserves the University's favour, claims the Statute, for two reasons: 'because he first introduced Greek literature among us, and because he is beloved by the King, in whose name he was strongly commended to us by the principal nobles'. The second reason has more truth than the first, for the first suggests that Cambridge had already forgotten Erasmus less than a decade after his departure for Basle.[21]

The Statute finally enacts that Croke's successors shall be chosen at a full congregation of senior members by the majority vote of those present, who shall not be 'constrained by the common resolution of the

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colleges'.[22] The Orator is to be 'a man of natural eloquence, equally skilled in Greek and Latin'.

The procedure for electing the Orator was changed by the Statutes of Elizabeth I in 1570.[23] These Statutes prescribed that all University 'officers' (of whom the Orator is one) should be elected according to the procedure laid down for the election of the Vice-Chancellor. The Heads of House are to nominate two candidates, and the Senate [Masters or higher graduates, whether resident or not] is to elect one of them.[24] In this lies the origin of the present procedure: 'The Regent House [residents only] shall elect as Orator one of two members of the Senate nominated by the Council.'

These and other rights granted by the Elizabethan Statutes to the Heads of House were much resented in the centuries which followed.[25] In 1673 some members of the Senate claimed the right to elect as Orator whomsoever they wished. They appealed to the Chancellor, the Duke of Buckingham. The Chancellor suggested that the Senate should accept the nominations of the Heads on this occasion but should be at liberty to pursue their claim for an open election in future. He then recommended to the Heads that they should nominate Isaac Craven of Trinity and Henry Paman of St John's, whom he believed to be the candidates favoured by the Senate. But the Heads nominated Paman and Ralph Sanderson, another Johnian. Members of the Senate protested, Isaac Newton among them, and proceeded to cast 121 votes for Craven and only ninety-eight for Paman, whom, none the less, the Vice-Chancellor declared elected.[26]

Elections were frequently robust affairs: voters were canvassed, pamphlets issued, battle-lines drawn, even to the end of the last century. Richard Jebb, elected in 1869, writes to his mother: 'The whole of the powerful Trinity influence was set in work for me; men came up from all parts of the country, not caring a straw whether Jones or Smith was Public Orator, but determined to vote for the College ticket; and from London we got down a special train with about 200 Cambridge barristers and clergymen.'[27] When Sandys was elected in 1876, 'Some hundreds of non-resident Members of the Senate came to Cambridge to record their votes, and the town presented quite an animated appearance. Both the Great Eastern and the Great Northern Railway Companies ran a late train to London, stopping at intermediate stations. At most of the colleges entertainment was provided for the out-voters.'[28] In the 1869 election 910 votes were cast (Jebb 528, A. Holmes 382),[29] in the 1876

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election 1288 (Sandys 701, C. W. Moule 587).[30] On Sandys' retirement in 1920 A. E. Housman was invited by his friends to stand as Orator. He replied in characteristic style: 'Not if the stipend were £150,000 instead of £150 would I be Public Orator. I could not discharge the duties of the office without abandoning all other duties and bidding farewell to such peace of mind as I possess.'[31] In that year the votes cast were 306 (T. R. Glover 162, W. T. Vesey 144).[32] These days, when the electorate is restricted to the Regent House,[33] the affair is more muted. In 1939 the votes cast were 130 (W. K. C. Guthrie 67, L. P. Wilkinson 63).

Something of the earlier robustness in electioneering rubbed off on the ceremonies themselves. Registrary Romilly records the events of 1835. 'Then followed the Duke of Wellington who was received with a round of applause & reiterated shouts which seemed absolutely interminable: the effect was certainly very fine; & it so much worked upon one's feelings that it produced a choking sensation in one's throat. The Orator's speech about the D. of W. was much admired, especially the part about mingling the Civic Ivy with the Military Laurels.'[34] In 1870 Jebb presented a Greek Archbishop. 'Long before the hour fixed for the commencement of the proceedings, the privileged began to flock in, and at last all the efforts of the officials to stem the pressure from without were of no avail, and a multitude forced their way in pell-mell. The galleries had long been crowded with undergraduates, who wiled away the time with their usual vagaries'; and the Orator's speech was punctuated by 'commentary and criticism from the undergraduates', while 'the countenance of the Archbishop and his confrères evinced some amusement at English undergraduate life, but none of them for a moment departed from an almost statuesque dignity'.[35]

The honorary degree has a long history, and, like the office of Orator, its nature has changed in time. When the University resolved in 1492–3 that John Skelton, 'a poet crowned with laurel in lands beyond the sea [at Louvain in 1492] and at Oxford [in 1488], shall receive the same decoration from ourselves',[36] what he received was presumably the equivalent of an honorary degree. In the following centuries honorary degrees were awarded in profusion to civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries and nominees of the Crown. In 1717, during a visit by George I, the degree of Doctor of Law was conferred on twenty-seven members of the royal retinue.[37] The Orator might count himself fortunate that it was not his duty, on such occasions, to praise each honorand. Until recent times there was available a multitude of honorary degrees, whether 'complete' or 'titular'.[38] Nowadays most honorary degrees are titular ('Titles of

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degrees may be granted *honoris causa* to members of the Royal Family, to British subjects who are of conspicuous merit or have done good service to the State or to the University, and to foreigners of distinction'), and the recipient of a titular degree (in contrast to the recipient of a complete degree) does not become a member of the Senate. Normally eight such degrees (of Doctor of Divinity, or Law, of Science, or Letters, or Music) are awarded each year at a ceremony in June. As an especial mark of honour a further ceremony may be arranged, as it was when honorary degrees were conferred on the King and Queen of Spain in 1988 and on the President of India in 1993. In addition, the title of the degree of Master of Arts is sometimes conferred on local persons, for long service to the University or City of Cambridge.

W. K. C. Guthrie (Orator 1939–1957) captured the essence of the Orator's art in a striking image: 'To produce a good speech of the length customary nowadays calls for a kind of gem-cutting in words, a complete picture, preferably not lacking in detail, within the bezel of a ring. This in itself, incidentally, is an all-sufficient reason for retaining Latin as the medium, since it provides a material of unexampled hardness and brilliance in which to execute this lapidary work.'[39] Since Guthrie's time the art has gained a new dimension, for the Orator must provide an English translation for the audience to read while he is orating. No longer shall we hear the like of the exchange that was heard between two honorands in 1920, Lloyd George and Sir Donald Maclean: Ll. G. 'Did you understand what the Public Orator said about you?' – D. M. 'Not very well. I don't know the new pronunciation. Did *you* understand what he said about you? – Ll. G. 'I don't know, but the gist was that considering I'm a Welshman I'm a fairly honest man – but they always exaggerate.'[40]

An English version can be, and should be, more than a crib. A good Latin style is very different from a good English style, and declamatory Latin (if it is to have the rhythms and the rhetorical mannerisms of Cicero) is quite unlike readable English. Furthermore, it is desirable to diverge in the English from the Latin, where a point can be made appropriately in one language but not in the other, or where a similar effect (such as humour) can be gained simultaneously in both languages, but by different means.

Unlike Sandys, but like Higham, Griffith and Luce, I publish a selection, not a complete collection of my speeches. To those honorands who could not be included, if they are disappointed, I offer my apologies.

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As Higham said, in explaining his own selection, 'Exclusions are due to no such invidious criterion as the relative interest and importance of the honorands, but simply to the need for variety of theme and treatment.'

I acknowledge with gratitude many debts: to Professor Christopher Brooke for historical advice; to Dr Elisabeth Leedham-Green for assistance in the Archives; to Mr A. G. Lee, Dr J. C. McKeown and Dr S. P. Oakley, who contributed occasional emendations at the time when the speeches were written. Too many to name are the friends, colleagues and correspondents who gave me their advice and instruction on persons whom I did not know or matters which I did not understand. This book is dedicated, in acknowledgement of a very special debt, to my wife Sedwell. She listened to successive drafts of the English versions, before they were first printed, and, with her acute ear, saved me from many a wrong note, and often gave me a truer one: *nobis ingenium, nobis dedit ore rotundo | Musa loqui.*

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NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS OF MAIN WORKS CITED

Cooper	C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge 1842–1908)
Documents	*Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Royal Commission, London 1852), vol. 1
Emden	A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge 1963)
Grace Book Α	S. M. Leathes (ed.), *Grace Book* Α (Cambridge 1897)
Grace Book Β	M. Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book* Β (Cambridge 1903–5)
Grace Book Γ	W. G. Searle (ed.), *Grace Book* Γ (Cambridge 1908)
Hackett	M. B. Hackett, *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University: The Text and its History* (Cambridge 1970)
Heywood (1840)	J. Heywood, *Collection of Statutes for the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (London 1840)
Heywood (1855)	J. Heywood, *Early Cambridge University and College Statutes, in the English Language* (London 1855)
Lamb	J. Lamb, *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents, from the Manuscript Library of Corpus Christi College* (London 1838)
Leader	D. R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge: vol. 1, The University to 1546* (Cambridge 1988)
Mullinger	J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the earliest Times to ... 1535* (Cambridge 1873–1911)

1 *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge ... to the Year 1910* (ed. J. R. Tanner, Cambridge 1917) 47–50 gives a complete list of Orators, down to Sandys, with a few biographical notes.
2 *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford 1941) 369. Lest Herbert's editor mislead others, when he says that, on his election, Herbert 'put on the Orator's habit, received the Orator's book and lamp, and took his place next to the Doctors' (p. xxix), I had better say that Orators do not inherit lamps. When Herbert writes to his successor R. Creighton 'iube Thorndick nostrum ... librum tibi Oratorium lampademque tradat' (p. 470), he is adopting an image from Lucretius 2.79.
3 The date traditionally assigned to the office is 1522. This is based on an entry in the Proctors' accounts for the academic year 1522–3, which record a payment of forty shillings 'pro stipendio Magistri Crooke [sic] oratoris' (*Grace Book* Β II.106). This is the

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first time that Croke is anywhere referred to as Orator. Leader 298 suggests that the office was established in 1519, citing in support the entry for 1519–20 (p. 84), a payment of twenty shillings to Croke for a purpose unspecified. The next payment was made in 1520–1, also twenty shillings, 'pro eius stipendio in vesperiis' (p. 92). It is tempting to interpret this payment, at least, in the light of the Statute (*Documents* 433, Heywood (1855) 145), which prescribes payment of the Orator's stipend in two instalments, 'quadraginta solidi ... viginti scilicet in die vesperiarum et viginti ad festum natalis Domini', twenty shillings at 'vespers' and twenty at Christmas ('vespers', in late June or early July, is the first day of 'inception', the exercise leading to admission as M.A.: G. Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge* (London 1841) Appendixes A and B, Hackett 126–7, 206–7, Leader 102–5). The two payments of 1519–20 and 1520–1 would make up an annual stipend, provided that they were made in consecutive half years. This requires that the vespers payment of 1520–1 was made in the summer of 1520, not of 1521. But in that case there will be a gap of one year before the next payment, in 1521–2, forty shillings 'pro suo annuo stipendio' (p. 101). I do not believe that Croke was Orator as early as 1519–20, because piecemeal payments for the composition of letters are still being made both to him in Michaelmas 1519 (p. 75) and to others in Lent and Easter 1520 (pp. 76, 83). The payment in 1521–2 does probably refer to the Orator's stipend, since the same formula (omitting specific reference to the Orator) is used in 1523–4 (p. 115). And I suspect that the twenty shillings paid at vespers in 1520–1 (the first payment specifically called a 'stipend') was the very first payment made to the Orator and was made in the summer of 1521. What, then, of the twenty shillings paid in 1519–20? This must be examined in the light of the next earlier payment made to Croke, £4 in 1518–19, again for an unspecified purpose (p. 69). We might be tempted to suggest that this is a payment to Croke as lecturer, since the termly payment for lecturing was £1.6*s*.8*d*. (made both to the Latin lecturer (see above, p. x) and to the lecturer in mathematics: *Grace Book* A 219–20, B I. 196, II. 45–6, and elsewhere), that is £4 per annum (B II. 59, 66, 70, 106, and elsewhere). But there is no record that the University ever paid Croke for lecturing. His lecturer's stipend was paid by Henry VIII, at least in 1520, when the accounts of the Royal Household record a payment of £5 to 'Mr Croke, reading Greek at Cambridge' (*Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 3.1 (ed. J. S. Brewer, London 1867) 409). In fact the payments of £4 and twenty shillings appear to have been loans. For in 1519–20 (p. 80) and 1520–1 (p. 91) we find that Croke owes the University £3.6*s*.8*d*. In Easter 1520 he repays £1.13*s*.4*d*. (p. 81). The residual debt of £3.6*s*.8*d*. after the repayment of £1.13*s*.4*d*. indicates that the original debt was £5, and it is reasonable to infer that this represents the £4 of 1518–19 and the twenty shillings of 1519–20.
4 On which see Hackett 290–3.
5 The Latin text is given in *Documents* 431–4 (p. 432, under heading 4, for 'substituat' substitute 'substituet'). I have adopted, with some changes, the translation of Heywood (1855) 142–6, which supersedes Heywood (1840) 334–8.
6 'respublica' (for which Heywood's 'commonwealth' sounds the wrong note) I have translated 'public interest' in order to preserve the verbal link with 'public orator' and 'public liberty' which come shortly. In effect, 'public interest' means 'University interest', as will emerge from the following discussion.
7 To Richard, Duke of Gloucester (1483), 'Your true and daly Oratours the Universite of Cambrigge' (*Grace Book* A 172, Cooper I. 226), and, when he had assumed the crown, 'regem regum exorabimus fidelissimi oratores' (p. 171, Cooper I. 230); to Henry VII (1489), 'youre continuall Oratours the Provost and Scolars of youre College Roiall'

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(Cooper I. 236); and (1491), 'we your dayly orators and faythfull subjects' (Cooper I. 240); to various judges (1506), 'Yo[r] true orators the Universite of Camebrig' (Cooper I. 276). See also *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'Orator, 2'.

8 The identification has been made by Damian Leader. I am greatly indebted to Dr Leader for his generosity in allowing me to read the typescript of an article, due for later publication, in which he sets forth the evidence, and in allowing me to report his identification in advance of his own article. For earlier discussion of Caius Auberinus see R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (3rd edn, Oxford 1967) 163, Emden 23, Leader 250.

9 See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'Public, 3b'.

10 'The Office therefore of public Orator is not... ancient in the University..., it being then [before the time of Elizabeth I] the custom for the Chancellor or his Deputy to court or invite that person that was generally known to have an eloquent pen and tongue to write Epistles to great persons, and harangue it before them at their coming to the University... But upon a strong rumour that the learned Queen Elizabeth would visit the University, an. 1564,... a worthy person was then elected to keep the said place for term of life', Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* 2 (ed. J. Gutch, Oxford 1796) 904. Wood's book was first published in a Latin translation (not his own) in 1674.

11 Archives, CUR 45.9.

12 *The History of the University of Cambridge from the Conquest to the Year 1634* (eds. M. Prickett and T. Wright, Cambridge 1840) 199.

13 C. N. L. Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge: vol. iv, 1870–1990* (Cambridge 1993) ch. 11.

14 On the relations between the Universities and the State during this period see J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford 1965).

15 In 1529–30 it was enacted that copies of the letters should henceforth be inscribed in an official register (*Grace Book* Γ 243, *Documents* 436, Heywood (1855) 148–9), which is now in the Archives (Lett. 1–3). Royalty was not always amused to be addressed in Latin. Catherine Parr in 1546: 'Your letters I have receyved presentyd on all your behalfes by Mr Doctour Smythe [(Sir) Thomas Smith, Orator 1537–42 (not 1538–42, as sometimes stated: see *Grace Book* Β II. 212, 216)] your discrete and lerned advocate. And as they be latenly [Latinly] wrytyn wyche is so singnyfyed unto me by those that be lernyd in the laten tonge so (I knowe) you colde have utteryd your desyres and opinions famylyerlye in your vulgare tonge aptyste for my intelligence' (Lamb 71, Heywood (1840) 211, Leader 344).

16 Today the Orator is ranked in seniority next after the higher Doctors, next before them if he is a higher Doctor himself. In honorary degree processions he walks alongside the Vice-Chancellor and Registrary.

17 For these see Hackett 175, 216–17.

18 See n. 12. The payment was increased to £4 in 1528–9 (*Grace Book* Γ 237, *Documents* 436, Heywood (1840) 338, (1855) 148, Mullinger II. 37, Leader 298), in 1587 by the addition of fees payable by graduands (Cooper II. 446), and these additional payments were increased in 1613, when it was observed that the Orator's stipend was less than half that of his counterpart in Oxford (Cooper III. 60).

19 The restriction was soon rescinded or forgotten. George Day held office from 1528 to 1537. But Day's successors showed no disposition to prolong their tenures: fourteen were appointed in the next thirty-six years. The record for length is held by Sandys (forty-three

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years), for brevity by C. Wordsworth (4 February to 27 April 1836), who resigned on being appointed headmaster of Harrow.

20 A later Fellow, Thomas Baker, writing in 1707, described him as 'an ambitious, envious and discontented wretch', and compared him unfavourably with his successor Day (who was to be Master of St John's), 'a much greater man than he, though the other made the louder noise' (*History of the College of St John the Evangelist* (ed. J. E. B. Mayor, Cambridge 1869) I. 97, 113).

21 For Croke's career see C. H. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* 1 (Cambridge 1858) 177–80, Mullinger I. 527–41, 614–15, *Dictionary of National Biography* 5 (London 1908) 119–21, J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 2 (Cambridge 1908) 231, J. T. Sheppard, *Richard Croke: A Sixteenth Century Don* (Cambridge 1919), D. F. S. Thomson and H. C. Porter, *Erasmus and Cambridge* (Toronto 1963) 86–9, A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford 1974) 151–2, P. G. Bietenholz and T. B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* 1 (Toronto 1985) 359–60.

22 'It was a custom ... for the votes of each individual member of a College to be given in the Senate according to the previous determination of the matter at issue by the majority of voices in his own College' (editorial note in *Documents* 434).

23 For the relation of these Statutes to their immediate predecessors see Hackett 303–5.

24 *Documents* 470–1, 478, Lamb 331–2, 327.

25 See D. A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge* (Cambridge 1935) ch. 1, *Early Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge 1955) ch. 4.

26 Archives, CUR 45. 10–15; Cooper V. 469–70. For another such controversy in 1727 see J. H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.* (2nd edn, London 1830) 524–6, Cooper IV. 187, Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge* 341 n. 57.

27 Caroline Jebb, *Life and Letters of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb* (Cambridge 1907) 98.

28 A contemporary newspaper report (Archives, CUR 45.1, 54). See also N. G. L. Hammond, *Sir John Edwin Sandys 1844–1922* (Cambridge 1933) 38–9. For a bibliography on Sandys see P. G. Naiditch, *A. E. Housman at University College, London: The Election of 1892* (Leiden 1988) 209 n. 1.

29 For these figures (which correct the officially published figures) see CUR 45. 40a.

30 CUR 45. 1, 53.

31 *The Letters of A. E. Housman*, ed. H. Mass (London 1971) 170.

32 Housman supported Vesey (CUR 45. 2, 5), for whose adulation of Housman see Naiditch (n. 28 above) 168 n. 4.

33 The restriction to resident members was proposed and rejected in 1878 (Winstanley, *Later Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge 1947) 289–91, 296), approved in 1926 (Brooke (n. 13 above) 351).

34 J. P. T. Bury, *Romilly's Cambridge Diary 1832–42* (Cambridge 1967) 81.

35 *Cambridge Chronicle*, 19 February 1870. See also Caroline Jebb (n. 27 above) 100.

36 *Grace Book* B I.54 'Conceditur Johanni Skelton poete in partibus transmarinis atque Oxonie laurea ornato ut aput nos eadem decoretur' (mistranslated by Leader 105). See also Emden 529–30, Leader 119.

37 Monk (n. 26 above) 359–60, Cooper IV. 148–9.

38 For the changing nature of honorary degrees and of those entitled to them see A. Wall, *The Ceremonies observed in the Senate House of the University of Cambridge* (ed. H. Gunning, Cambridge 1828) 211–16, Cooper III. 582, IV. 418, Sandys, *Orationes* ... vi–vii, Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge* 79–83, *Early Victorian Cambridge* 152–3, 167, 246–7, 338, Leader 40.

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39 I quote from a private journal, by permission of the late Mrs A. M. Guthrie. See also my remarks in *Classical Review* 37 (1987) 92.
40 H. G. Wood, *Terrot Reaveley Glover* (Cambridge 1953) 130–1. There is an excellent assessment of Glover's orations by R. J. Getty, *The Eagle* (St John's College Magazine) 51 (1939) 211–36.

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