

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY



VOLUME XLII
JANUARY 1948 TO DECEMBER 1948

CAMBRIDGE
BOWES AND BOWES
1949

THE CHURCH OF
ST MARY THE GREAT

THE UNIVERSITY CHURCH
AT CAMBRIDGE

by

W. D. BUSHELL, M.A.

with a Foreword by

PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

Master of Trinity College, Cambridge

The Church of Saint Mary the Great, in Cambridge, may justly be described as one of the most interesting in the country, deeply associated as it is with the growth and spread of the Reformation in England, with the history of the University of Cambridge and with the great scholars who have preached in it. Mr Bushell has written not merely an architectural history of the church, but has done full justice to the many aspects of its story, social, political and religious.

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From the
FOREWORD

by PROFESSOR G. M. TREVELYAN, O.M.

THIS INTERESTING AND VALUABLE RECORD of the history and antiquities of Great St Mary's, in all aspects architectural and human, should receive a warm welcome both from town and gown. As High Steward of the borough as well as Master of a college, indeed of the college which holds the patronage of St Mary's, I may be allowed to speak for both the two sides of Cambridge life, to whom St Mary's is respectively the University church and the central church of the borough.

The assiduous scholarship of Mr Bushell has been admirably employed in collecting and ordering this large mass of material, all of it interesting in one way or another to Cambridge folk. An old Trinity man, Mr Bushell spent the greater part of his life in arduous and valuable public service, but since his retirement the historical and antiquarian instincts which he has inherited from his father the Reverend W. D. Bushell, F.S.A., of St John's College and of Harrow School, have prompted him to this labour of love, by which he has put Cambridge greatly in his debt.

G. M. TREVELYAN

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*Published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society
by Bowes & Bowes Publishers Limited
Cambridge*

*Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge
(Brooke Crutchley, University Printer)*

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ICONOMANIA IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CAMBRIDGE

NOTES ON A NEWLY-ACQUIRED MINIATURE OF DR FARMER AND HIS INTEREST IN HISTORICAL PORTRAITURE

PROFESSOR G. R. OWST, LITT.D., D.LIT., PH.D., F.S.A.

Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge

IN January 1945, Mr T. R. Peace and his sister, Miss K. M. Peace, presented to Emmanuel College a collection of Cambridge views made by their father, the late Mr J. B. Peace, sometime University Printer, and Bursar of the College from 1893 to 1920. Included in the gift was a small framed water-colour portrait which proved, from an inscription found on the back, to be an original likeness of the Rev. Richard Farmer, D.D.,¹ Master of Emmanuel from 1775 to 1797, a distinguished figure in the contemporary life of the town and of the University (where 'he had, for many years, more influence than any other individual'), antiquary, bibliomaniac and man of letters; in the words of a leading Oxford authority on the period, 'a great character and a great scholar, to whom English studies are under a lasting debt'.² His contact with the London artist who painted the little portrait in the year 1790, and the recent 150th anniversary of his own death, seven years later, serve to recall the part played by him and his Cambridge associates in a modest but profitable antiquarian enterprise of the century.

Silvester³ Harding, the artist in question, was born at Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1745, ten years after his more illustrious patron. In his thirtieth year, after an unsettled career, which ended on the stage, he took to miniature painting in London, eventually exhibiting at the Royal Academy from 1777 to 1802,⁴ and elsewhere.⁵ The Fitzwilliam Museum to-day possesses, in a single black oval frame, seven somewhat mediocre examples of his work in this field, in the shape of small oval portraits of

¹ Bust, directed and facing to right and looking to front; in white bushy wig, bands, scarlet D.D. gown and black scarf over black cassock. Oval water-colour on paper, 5¼ by 4¼ in. Inscribed on the back in faded reddish ink, in the artist's hand: 'Rev^d Dr Farmer / master of Emanuel College Cambr^{ie} / Drawn by S. Harding 1790' (see Plate IV).

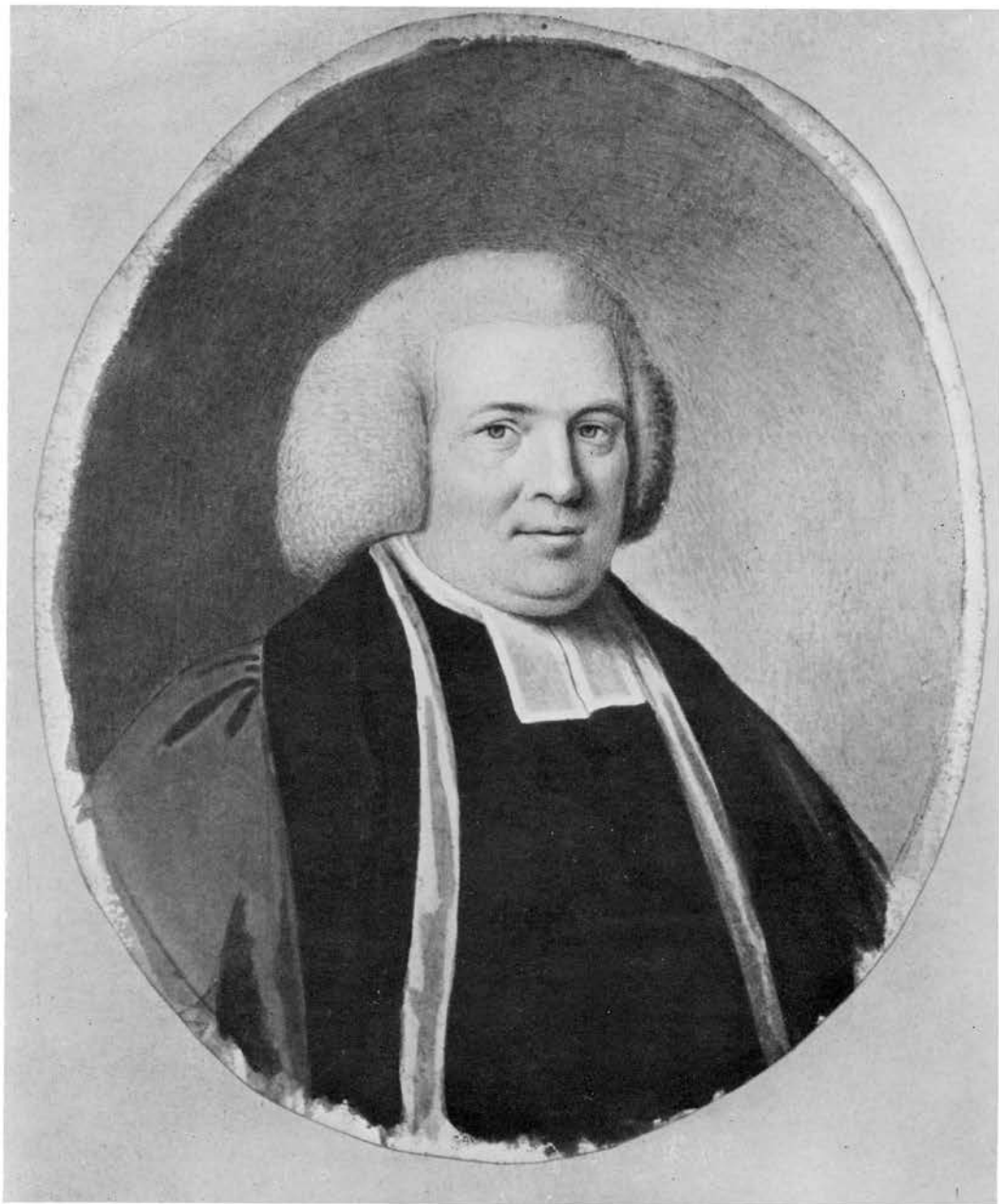
² Prof. D. Nichol Smith, in a reply to my report of the discovery, in September 1946.

³ 'Silvester' is also found; but O'Donoghue in *D.N.B.* and Bryan's *Dict. of Painters* rightly retain the artist's own spelling (cf. below, p. 70, n. 3).

⁴ See A. Graves, *Roy. Acad. Exhibitions*, vol. III, p. 382, for list of dates and subjects.

⁵ See Basil Long, *Brit. Miniaturists*, p. 190 and J. J. Foster, *Dict. of Painters of Miniatures*, p. 139; etc.

PLATE IV



DR FARMER, by SILVESTER HARDING, 1790
(Emmanuel College, Cambridge)

seven Cambridge friends or pupils of Sir Busick Harwood, M.D., F.R.S., for whom they were drawn from the life in water-colour upon cardboard.¹ Three of them, depicting Philip Francis of St John's College, only son of a more famous namesake, J. T. Nottidge and Robert Rushbrooke of Trinity, bear on the back the dates 1792, 1794 and 1798, respectively.² Sir Busick, Professor of Anatomy in the University from the year 1785 and also first Downing Professor of Medicine from the turn of the new century until his death in 1814, famed in his day alike for his experiments in blood transfusion, his hospitality, his worldly cunning and his obscene conversation, is the subject, it will be remembered, of several very vivid and amusing anecdotes in Gunning's *Reminiscences*.³ As will appear later, these seven miniatures must once have hung, with many others of the kind, on the walls of one of his 'excellent rooms' in Emmanuel College. For in 1786⁴ he had removed thither from Christ's College with his friend Smithson Tennant, the well-known chemist, to get better accommodation and incidentally, Gunning suggests, to exchange a stagnant Whig atmosphere for the more beneficial Tory breezes then blowing strong in the Emmanuel Parlour. The subsequent history of the portraits is thus recorded by John Willis Clark, through whom they passed into their present ownership:

The seven miniatures in this frame were given by a relative of Sir Busick Harwood to Mrs Thompson, wife of the late Master of Trinity College.⁵ On leaving the Lodge after the Master's death, she gave them to me. I have had them framed,⁶ and now offer them to the Fitzwilliam Museum....26 January 1903.⁷

Of two other portraits by the same hand, now in public collections, one, an unfinished drawing in the British Museum of John Carter, F.S.A., recalls the encouragement and patronage which that 'eminent draughtsman and architect' first received from a Cambridge antiquary prominent in our story, Dr Michael Lort of Trinity, which eventually made him a pioneer of the Gothic Revival in this country. The other, an oval miniature in the National Gallery of Ireland of the Dublin actor, James Wilder, whose career like Harding's included both stage and studio, reflects our limner's continued interest in the profession which he had deserted, and closely resembles the

¹ Picture Catalogue no. 622^{a-g}. These miniatures, measuring approximately 4 by 3½ in., are not exhibited; but I was able to examine them in the Museum through the kindness of Mr Louis Clarke and the Deputy Director, Mr J. W. Goodison.

² The others (undated) are of John Barker, Master of Christ's (1780-1808), John Hopkins and Marmaduke Dayrell, of the same College, and W. B. Trevelyan, of St John's. These four portraits were possibly executed during the visit, described on p. 71, below. All seven figures wear their appropriate gowns.

³ Ed. 1854, vol. I, pp. 50-60, and vol. II, pp. 95-8.

⁴ See George Dyer, 'Supplement to the History of the University and Colleges' in *Privileges of the University*, vol. II, p. 98 (E. S. Shuckburgh, in his *Emmanuel College*, in the Coll. Histories Series, p. 166, says 'about 1785'; Gunning, in his *Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 265, says '1790'!).

⁵ William Hepworth Thompson (Master, 1866-86).

⁶ This statement proves conclusively that the present frame is not one of Harwood's originals, mentioned on p. 71, below.

⁷ Note on the back of the frame. Oddly enough, Clark, while stating that the names of the depicted are recorded on the backs, entirely ignores the three *dates* which I have mentioned, himself adding to the picture-mount the dates of their respective Degrees. Apparently here he had allowed himself to be misled by Gunning's account, which he quotes.

Farmer portrait in every detail of style, as can readily be seen in a reproduction of it to be found in W. G. Strickland's *Dictionary of Irish Artists*.¹

In 1786, Silvester Harding, with his brother Edward, set up a book and printseller's business in Fleet Street, which was later removed to Pall Mall, before they parted company. To this period belongs much of the delicate copying in miniature of historical portraits of all kinds in family and corporate ownership which remained one of his chief pursuits and was undertaken, along with some engraving of his own, to illustrate publications produced by the firm to meet, as we shall see, a growing antiquarian demand of the times. The British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings contains no less than twenty-two such water-colour copies by his brush, ranging in size from about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. long and 4 to 5 in. wide, and a further twenty-eight by that of his son, George Perfect Harding, who followed his father's craft even more exuberantly.² Ten of the former are among the many by Silvester eventually reproduced in his *Biographical Mirrour* (or *Connoisseur's Repertory*), an historical record comprising 151 engraved likenesses of English noblemen, statesmen, courtiers and ladies, divines, men of learning, letters and the arts and popular eccentrics, with accompanying letterpress by F. G. Waldron, Edmond Malone and others, the first volume of which came from the press in 1795. Until a year ago, another and a particularly pleasing example in the artist's most highly-finished style, likewise destined for the same series,³ could be seen exhibited in the Tower Room of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁴ It is a copy, measuring 8 by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in., of a graceful sylvan portrait in oils by Lely of the poet Abraham Cowley in his youthful Cambridge days, with shepherd's pipe and staff. The original was formerly in Horace Walpole's rich collection at Strawberry Hill, of which—as in this instance—our copyist made good use, and is now in the possession of the Dulwich Gallery.⁵ Cambridge Colleges, in their turn, here supplied him with similar material for a dozen heads. Some recently published correspondence between Malone and Bishop Thomas Percy⁶ reveals the current risks and frustrations involved in such a project as the *Biographical Mirrour*. The distinguished Shakespearean critic, by commending 'the artist, Mr Silvester

¹ Vol. II, plate LXIII, facing p. 516 (figure directed to left). For Harding's numerous portraits of actors and actresses of the period, see *Catalogue of Engraved Dramatic Portraits in... the Harvard Coll. Library*, 4 vols. *passim*.

² Cf. B. M. *Catalogue of Drawings by Brit. Artists*, vol. II, pp. 264-6 and 260-3, respectively. Since the publication of this *Catalogue* the Museum has acquired a further example by Silvester, a head of Sir(?) Robert Peake, either the Royalist printseller (knighted, 1645) or his father, the painter (unknighted and frequently confused with him; whose portrait of the future Charles I, executed by order of this University to commemorate the Prince's visit in 1612-13, hangs in our Council Room to-day), 'after a Drawing in the Collecⁿ of R. Bull esq., 1796', a leading collector of the time, 'from the Biog. Mirror' (see vol. II, plate 30).

³ Vol. III, plate 14, facing p. 47, engraved by W. P. Sherlock.

⁴ This and an adjacent gallery have now been stripped (Sept. 1947) for conversion—so I understand—into additional reading rooms.

⁵ Catalogue no. 563. Sir Edward Cook argues, in the annotated *Catalogue of the Pictures* (revised ed. 1926, p. 267), that the original must have been executed before the poet left Trinity for St John's College, Oxford. It was acquired in 1911 and is reproduced in *Pictures in the Dulwich Gallery* (Princess Victoria Series), pt. III, plate I. See also Mrs R. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, vol. I, p. 54, no. 134, and C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, vol. I, p. 159, etc.

⁶ *The Percy Letters: Correspondence of T. Percy and E. Malone* (ed. A. Tillotson; Louisiana, 1944).

Harding, who has made several drawings for me', as 'an ingenious modest man', and again as 'a very liberal man' engaged in a worthy enterprise, had induced his friend and fellow-clubman, the famous editor of the *Reliques*, to lend a miniature of himself to be engraved for the final instalment.¹ In March 1806, he writes to the Bishop about the safe return of his treasure, observing incidentally that Mr Harding 'has made a very neat and correct drawing from it for me'. He then proceeds to explain that—

the circumstances of Harding's book are these. He published, with a good deal of difficulty, two volumes of his Work in quarto, and one half of the third; the other half containing 25 heads, and short memoirs, still remains to be done, and when done will complete the work. In the mean while, his property is quite lock'd up; for the booksellers will not take an unfinished book; so all his copies are lying in a warehouse except about 50 or 60 that he disposed of. He is a very worthy, industrious, and obliging man, with a wife and five or six children, and will, I fear, find it very difficult, for want of means, to complete his undertaking.²

Five years later, however, Malone is able to report that 'the latter half of the third volume of Harding's Biographical Mirrour is now passing through the press. The poor man himself, who conducted the engravings introduced in that work, is dead; but his eldest son is endeavouring to complete it, for the benefit of his family.'³

Prior to the above venture, in 1789, the two brothers had begun the issue, in thirty (or thirty-one ?)⁴ numbers which 'met with very general approbation', of about 150 plates, engraved largely from Silvester's drawings and completed in 1793, under the title *Shakspeare Illustrated by an assemblage of Portraits and Views appropriated to the Whole Suite of that Author's Historical Dramas; to which are added Portraits of Actors, Editors, etc.* As a leading Shakespearean scholar of the day, author of an epoch-making *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, which, 'original, powerful and incontrovertible', had earned the unqualified praise of Dr Johnson and was to run into four editions,⁵ the Cambridge Master of Emmanuel, Dr Richard Farmer, was clearly marked out for inclusion among the great commentators. Accordingly, his portrait—drawn by 'S. Harding' and engraved by William Ridley—was duly published in the series on 20 March 1791. Comparison of this stipple engraving with our recently acquired miniature, painted during the previous year, now shows conclusively that the latter is the original water-colour executed by Harding for the purpose.

Of the ninety male worthies who figure in this ambitious gallery of prints—from Cicero to Malone—only five were living during the years of publication. Four of

¹ See pp. 175 and 185.

² Pp. 198–9.

³ Pp. 275–6. Contrary to the Editor's statement here on p. 174, n. 18, the final instalment did appear, with the Percy portrait and memoir, the former engraved by John Ogborne (plate 42 and pp. 165–7 of vol. III). The Bodleian Library copy of the work, however, which bears the following inscription, in the artist's hand, on p. iii of the opening volume: 'Presented to the Bodleian Library by Silvester Harding, as a small acknowledgment for favours received. Oxford, Oct. 27, 1795,' comprises vols. I and II only.

⁴ D.N.B. says thirty; but *Bibliotheca Farmeriana* (p. 373) twice gives thirty-one.

⁵ 1767(2), 1789 and 1821 (not to mention further appearances in editions of the poet's plays). See also a reprint in *18th Century Essays on Shakspeare* (ed. D. Nichol Smith; Glasgow, 1903), pp. 162–215. For Johnson's eulogy see *The Percy Letters: Correspondence of T. Percy and R. Farmer* (ed. C. Brooks; 1946), pp. 120–1; etc.

them, of whom Farmer was one, appear to have sat direct to Harding for their likenesses,¹ although, in the Doctor's case at all events, a fine portrait in oils was already available for reproduction.² The task of portraying him afresh could hardly of itself have demanded a journey from London to the Lodge in Cambridge, in the year 1790. For, in March 1788, the learned Master had been made a Prebendary of St Paul's and 'the latter years of his life were pretty well equally divided between Emanuel College and the Residentiary House in Amen-Corner'.³ However, the surviving diaries of one of 'the Shakspeare Gang', Isaac Reed, intimate friend and future memoirist of Farmer, reveal that this was not the first occasion for an errand of the kind. In an entry concerning one of his own regular annual visits to the College in the autumn of 1788, Reed records how, after breakfasting there on 1 October, he 'went and sat with the Master, who was sitting for his picture for Mr Malone to Mr Harding'.⁴ Next morning, the portrait was completed and, later in the day, he found the artist a guest in the Parlour, with Sir Edmund Bacon⁵ and others. On the Saturday following, the two accompany each other to the local Stourbridge theatre. A year later, 'Harding, the Painter,' is discovered in the Emmanuel Parlour again and, on 16 February 1790, they meet once more as fellow-guests at Dr Farmer's dinner-table in London.⁶ One other Cambridge reminiscence, preserved as an undated anecdote, throws further light on what was to become, in effect, a yearly pilgrimage for the London miniaturist. In his account of Sir Busick Harwood's antics, Gunning informs us that the Professor's room at Emmanuel 'was hung with portraits—in fact, the walls were nearly covered'. He goes on:

He became possessed of them in a somewhat singular manner. A painter in water-colour, named Harding, came to Cambridge; he was patronised by Farmer, and Harwood was very desirous of serving him. He therefore requested all the members of the University with whom he was at all acquainted, of whatever age or station, to sit for their portraits; and as the charge was moderate and the likenesses very striking, but few refused compliance. When they were completed, he had about six or eight placed in a frame, and hung them in his room.⁷

The varying dates recorded on three of the seven surviving samples now in the Fitzwilliam Museum⁸ show that Sir Busick's decorative scheme was by no means fully achieved during one such visit by the artist, whatever Gunning may have

¹ The others are Isaac Reed (d. 1807), Shakespearean editor, whose memoir of Farmer was contributed to Seward's *Biographiana* in 1799 (pp. 578–98), the Hon. John Monck Mason (d. 1809), Irish commentator, and the Rev. Peter Whalley (d. 1791), author of *An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakspeare*. The fine engraving of Malone (d. 1812) is after a portrait by Reynolds.

² Cf. below, p. 89. Reed's portrait was also painted by Romney (1794) and later reproduced in mezzotint as frontispiece to vol. III of Dibdin's ed. of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*.

³ J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, vol. II, p. 638.

⁴ Malone may thus have been responsible for Harding's introduction to Farmer.

⁵ 8th Baronet (b. 1749; M.A. Emman. 1776; d. 1820). His attractive portrait by Henry Walton, acquired that year (1788), now hangs in the Emmanuel Picture Gallery.

⁶ See *Isaac Reed Diaries: 1762–1804* (ed. C. E. Jones; Univ. of California, 1946), pp. 162–3, 173 and 175. Unfortunately this edition is faulty: cf. p. 173, 'Hartling' for Kirtling; p. 181, 'Lambe' for Lombe; p. 323, 'Edward' for Busick (Harwood); etc. To the Senior Fellow, Mr P. W. Wood, I owe the knowledge that five of the original Diaries, purchased from Prof. Dowden in 1912, are now in the Emmanuel Coll. Library. The remaining 15 are in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington.

⁷ Gunning, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, p. 55.

⁸ See above, p. 68.

imagined. In the course of the year 1790, in which our miniature of Farmer was taken, Silvester Harding published, from one of his own drawings, a large whole-length engraving of Busick Harwood himself, executed by W. N. Gardiner, depicting him enthroned in his chair in stately flowing robe, with pillar and curtain in the background and right hand grasping magisterially the thigh of an anatomical statuette placed at his side. In the following year, Edward Harding produced, from another of his brother's drawings, a three-quarter length mezzotint of the great man erect by the 'Engraver Extraordinary to his R. H. the Prince of Wales and Principal Engraver to his R. H. the Duke of York', John Jones.¹ Since, in both cases, the Professor is described thereon as Doctor of Medicine and wears the appropriate Doctor's gown, Harding's original studies of him cannot have been made before 1790, the year, as Gunning tells us, in which he proceeded to that Degree. In short, the surgeon-nabob from Newmarket, with characteristic shrewdness, had thus seized the double opportunity to secure a portrait gallery at the expense of his friends² and, in due season, to register another proud moment in his own career with a frugality of his purse and a lavish expenditure of his person for the benefit of painter and posterity.³ The two personal prints are unpleasant enough. But walls 'nearly covered' with framed sets of miniatures, after the pattern of the Fitzwilliam Museum specimen aforementioned, must have been even more unpleasant. Little wonder, therefore, that Dr Mansel of Trinity emitted an obscene epigram about the painted victims which led to a prolonged quarrel! By 1792 they were on view to a London visitor: for Isaac Reed notes in his Diary that, on 13 October of that year, he 'went to Dr Harwood's room to see his Collection of Portraits'.⁴ Such was at least one form of the current *Iconomania*, more rampant in Victorian times, but already afflicting a hard-headed man of science, untroubled by any serious bout of antiquarianism⁵ or the romantic distempers of undergraduate youth. Eight other existing prints of Cambridge inhabitants who sat to Harding for their likenesses, ranging over the decade 1789-99, suggest that the artist's visits continued at any rate to the close of the century.⁶

Our limner-publisher's activities in Cambridge, as we should expect, were not to be confined to the sketching of patrons and their acquaintances from the life. In the

¹ Cf. J. Challenor Smith, *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, pt. II, p. 753; etc.

² Cf. here Gunning's further stories of the turbots from the anatomical lecture-room served up at his famous two-o'clock dinner parties and his 'damned foolish' marriage for the sake of old Dr Glynn's cash.

³ The *Christ's Coll. Biogr. Register* (vol. II, p. 310) says of him, somewhat ungenerously: 'He published nothing'!

⁴ *Isaac Reed Diaries*, as above, p. 196.

⁵ He was, at any rate, F.S.A.

⁶ 1789 (6 March), James Jackson, '45 years a singer in Trinity College' (the copy now hanging in the Chapel Vestry has been close-clipped and lacks the date); 1790, Jonathan Raine, Fellow of Trinity; 1791, Henry Homer the younger, former Fellow of Emmanuel, classical scholar and friend of Dr Parr; 1793, William Friend, Fellow of Jesus, author of a reforming pamphlet which led to a famous University trial; 1794, Dr John Randall, organist to King's College and Professor of Music, celebrated, according to Gunning, for his song in the character of a drunkard; 1798, Dr William Cooke, Provost of King's and Dean of Ely, and William Steers, Clerk of St Mary-the-Great (a copy of the latter is in the Fitzwilliam Museum); 1799, Benjamin Flower, editor of the *Cambridge Intelligencer* (see *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, no. xxxvi, 1895, pp. 354-7) and father of Sarah Flower Adams, the hymn-writer, etc. Cf. further below, p. 78.

intervals of earning a competency by such means, he could hope to concentrate upon those collegiate and private collections of older portraits by other hands which here offered exceptional scope for future book illustration. Indeed, it may well have been this prospect that first drew him to the town. How eagerly he seized every opportunity of the kind is exemplified by a passage in the publishers' Foreword to the first volume of the *Biographical Mirrour*:

Mr Harding, while he was employed in copying such of the portraits of the principal characters in Shakespeare's Historical Plays as he could discover, having been honoured by the possessors of some of the most valuable collections in England with permission to make drawings of several very curious and interesting portraits of celebrated persons not connected with that poet's dramas, thought that he should do an acceptable service to the Connoisseur and the Antiquary, by giving the perishable materials a more permanent form, and furnishing the publick with engravings from them, executed with fidelity and elegance.

In coming to Cambridge, moreover, he was coming to what might then have been justly regarded as a centre of lively interest in this particular field. The Rev. William Cole of Milton, until his death in 1782, as every reader of his letters will be aware, had been tireless in his search and enthusiasm for all manner of historical images and their repositories in the district.¹ He had corresponded freely about them with his eminent friend Horace Walpole, self-styled 'head of the sect' that 'has the portrait-frenzy', and others similarly affected. He had himself been an ardent collector of prints and paintings of 'celebrated persons',² according to his means, and this enthusiasm, as we shall see, was fully shared by Dr Farmer and the little group of local antiquaries with whom he had been intimate. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the genial occupant of the Master's Lodge at Emmanuel among those both able and willing to aid the copyist in his quest. Thus, for example, the plates in *Shakspeare Illustrated* include one of 'Elizabeth of York, daughter of King Edward IV'³ and future wife to Henry VII—from an original painting in the Possession of the Revd. Richd. Farmer, D.D., Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge', copied by Harding and engraved by A. Birrell, and another of Dr Samuel Johnson, celebrated visitor to the College in 1765, engraved 'from an original drawing by T. Trotter, in the possession of the Revd. Dr Farmer'. Among the Harding water-colours now in the British Museum, there is also the artist's copy of a portrait of Dr Michael Lort, F.R.S., 'Librarian to the Duke of Devonshire', sometime Senior Fellow of Trinity and Regius Professor of Greek, and one of the circle of Cambridge antiquaries aforementioned—from the original at Dr Farmer's, Eman. Coll: Cambridge.⁴ Others,

¹ It is worth noting that, in the Yale edition of *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole* (ed. W. S. Lewis and A. D. Wallace, 2 vols., 1937), to which frequent reference will be made in these footnotes, there is reproduced in vol. II, facing p. 210, a copied drawing of Cole by George Perfect Harding, Silvester's son, dated 1799, now in the possession of the Editor, Mr Lewis (see also 'List of Illustrations').

² Cf. letter to Lort, 26 March 1776, in B. M. MS. Add. 5834, fol. 77b: 'Portraits and historical Pictures of lesser Groups, with antiquities of various kinds, are my favourite subjects for engravings.'

³ And of Elizabeth Woodville, who refounded Queens' College here in 1465.

⁴ *B. M. Catalogue of Drawings by Brit. Artists*, vol. II, p. 265. Actually this was almost certainly from a copy by Freeman of the original: see below, p. 80 and plate VI (b).

no doubt, remain elsewhere on private walls or in family albums, grangerized volumes¹ and the like. So far, the present writer has been able to trace the record of at least twenty-five such drawings of various portraits belonging to Colleges² and private residences in this neighbourhood.

Dr Farmer's justifiable and enduring reputation as a bibliophile has hitherto completely overshadowed his kindred love—to adapt a phrase of Dibdin about him—of everything that was interesting and rare in the portraiture of former ages. In view of his relations with Harding, therefore, it would seem appropriate to try to construct from scattered and neglected evidence some account of his tastes and activities in the unfamiliar role of picture-collector.³ On 18 May 1777, Cole writes from his parsonage at Milton to Horace Walpole, then recently returned to London from a visit to his own nephew at Eriswell, near Mildenhall, which had taken him through Cambridge:

I am, as well as the Master of Emanuel, who I think you would like, sorry that he did not see you. I drank coffee with him on Friday: his lodge and college must have pleased you. I went principally to see a new acquisition of an old picture that he met with: an altar-piece on which are the Howard arms and several of the family pictured in miniature in a compartment under it, on their knees. I think the painter's name is Bungult or Bangult, and would have been worth your looking at. I ascertained also another picture for him, which a painter at Cambridge, an excellent copier,⁴ had procured for him and assured him it was designed for Lord Darnley, who was not above two- or three-and-twenty at his death, if I remember right: this is a person of fifty, with the Order of the Golden Fleece, and I am pretty certain is Count Gondomar,⁵ for it is very like a print⁶ of him by Passe.⁷

The 'altar-piece', which Cole here has misinterpreted so bravely, deserves more than cursory notice, as undoubtedly the most important picture that Farmer ever acquired and one that, in normal times, can still be seen in the National Gallery,⁸ whither it passed by purchase, through the Lewis Bequest, from Sir George Donaldson in 1894. Sir Charles Holmes has even ventured to describe it as 'one of the grandest designs in the whole Gallery', showing 'a degree of imaginative inspiration rare in the German School'.⁹ Likewise, the nervous draughtsmanship and fine colouring which M. Reinach has mentioned as characteristic of its creator here strike the eye. The artist's name, H[ans] Baldung G[rien],¹⁰ that puzzled Cole and, perhaps, with rather

¹ Thus, the picture of Dr Lort is preserved in a copy of Pennant's *London*, mounted on the lower half of one of the pages, beneath an engraving.

² These include Peterhouse, Clare, Trinity Hall, Corpus, King's, Jesus, St John's, Magdalene, Trinity, Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex.

³ I can find no mention of this in any of the memoirs about him, from Isaac Reed to Evelyn Shuckburgh.

⁴ Doubtless Joseph Freeman, as below, pp. 80–81.

⁵ Cf. *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, p. 377, item 6—'Count Gondamor'. He is, of course, the well-known Spanish ambassador in London of the reign of James I (1567–1626). St John's College possesses a portrait of him inscribed on the back 'Gondamore' (see *The Eagle*, vol. XI, 1881, p. 174).

⁶ There are two engravings of the Count (both represented in the Fitzwilliam Museum) dated 1622, one by Simon and the other by Willem Van de Passe.


⁷ Yale ed. of *H. W.'s Correspondence with the Rev. W. C.*, as above, vol. II, p. 44.

⁸ Not in the Nat. Portrait Gallery, as the Yale editors assert (*ibid.* n. 4).

⁹ *The National Gallery*, vol. II, p. 217.

¹⁰ (1480–1545): called Grien, or Grün, presumably after his favourite colour, in evidence in this picture. Among more recent studies of him is one by H. Curjel (Munich, 1923).

more excuse¹ becomes 'H. B. Baldwig' in the Farmer sale-catalogue,² appears, along with the date 1512, in a signature on the projecting edge of the red marble sarcophagus. The two coats-of-arms of the kneeling donors beneath, which our parson-antiquary and the London dealer took to be those of the Howards and Mr Seymour de Ricci more recently has suggested as resembling Dacre,³ with little doubt belonged to a family in Strasbourg,⁴ where Baldung was certainly painting before he began work, in the same year, on the cathedral altar-piece of Freiburg im Breisgau. Modern descriptions of the devotional scene above have been equally uninspired in respect to its interesting iconography.⁵ This Pietà is, in fact, a somewhat unusual but logical conflation of several favourite *motifs* in the religious portraiture of the Middle Ages. Byzantine art, in the first instance, seems to have bequeathed to that of Western Christendom a curious derivative of the painted images of Virgin and Child in the shape of emblematic figures of the Trinity, in which the Christ-child, or a diminutive Saviour, appears seated in the Father's lap, with the sacred Dove flying towards his head from the mouth of the Almighty in the traditional manner.⁶ This parental parallelism was extended, in due course, from the symbol of Infancy to that of the final Passion. Accordingly, alongside numerous representations of Our Lady of Pity supporting the lifeless body of her Son, after the Deposition, we find in the closing centuries, notably in Germany and the Low Countries where mystical piety flourished, a series of paintings and woodcuts of the Trinity in which the liberated corpse alone takes the place of the ordinary Crucifix 'in the bosom of the Father', usually with angels attending.⁷ The Passion of the Mother thus, in turn, becomes what M. Mâle has aptly called 'une sorte de Passion du Père'.⁸ Baldung's own great master, Dürer, was himself responsible for one such woodcut in the very year previous to that of his former pupil's panel-painting,⁹ and one of the undated woodcuts by the

¹ The signature is made up of the artist's usual monogram 'HBG', followed by his surname, thus—
 BALDVIG

² *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, p. 377, item 58 ('A Dead Christ, School of Albert Dürer, by H. B. Baldwig, 1512, painted for a branch of the Howard family, who are depicted kneeling in the lower compartment.')

³ See letter in *The Times Lit. Supplement* 4 Dec. 1924. I am indebted to Mr Martin Davies, of the National Gallery, for this and the following reference, received when inspecting the picture (not at present exhibited to the public), in December 1947. My thanks are also due to the Trustees for their kind permission to reproduce the latter here. (See Plate V.)

⁴ See article by F. G. Pariset in *L'Annuaire de la Société hist., litt. et scientif. du Club Vosgien* (N.S., vol. II, 1934, Strasbourg). Baldung was himself born near Strasbourg, at Weyersheim, and the two male adult faces in this part of the picture are certainly typically German.

⁵ Thus, Mr de Ricci declares (in the above-mentioned letter) that the picture 'is fully described... in Maurice Brockwell's invaluable monograph', *The National Gallery: Lewis Bequest*. When we turn to this monograph, however, we find (p. 40) that the writer is evidently so uncertain about the paternal figure in the background that—let alone any attempt at explanation—he never even mentions it.

⁶ See here article, 'L'Iconographie de la Trinité, I. Une formule byzantine et son développement en Occident', by A. Heimann, in *L'Art Chrétien* (Paris, 1934), t. I, pp. 37–55. The Dove is actually perched on the Saviour's head in one example, and sometimes sits or flies at the Father's side.

⁷ Cf. article, 'Die "Pitié-de-Nostre-Seigneur" oder "Notgottes"', by G. Troescher, in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* (*Westdeutsches Jahrb. für Kunstgesch.*), Bd. IX, 1936, pp. 148–68 (espec. the plates).

⁸ *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, 2nd. ed., p. 140.

⁹ Dated 1511. Here angels bear the Symbols of the Passion and the figures rise heavenwards above the clouds and the four winds.

latter shows Father and Holy Ghost in distant glory waiting to receive the gruesome relic borne heavenwards, in the foreground, by cherubim.¹ The distinctive feature of the Farmer altar-piece, which lies in the linking of the two Passions, was itself, however, no novelty. A small circular painting in the Louvre often attributed to the Flemish miniaturist, Jean Malouel, proves that it had already been achieved more than a century before, in medieval times,² under the influence, doubtless, of current treatises which dramatized the theme. Here, God the Father holds upright the body of his Son in the style of Dürer and Baldung (save that his hands are not veiled by the grave-clothes), the Paraclete flies to the Saviour's head and Our Lady supports his left elbow, with the Beloved Disciple behind her and horror-stricken angels assisting on the right of the little group. An early fifteenth-century tapestry, possibly of English workmanship and formerly in the collection of Sir Hercules Read,³ brings us a stage nearer to the Baldung design. For, in this case, the Virgin and St John,⁴ now restored to their familiar places on either side of the dead Christ, each embrace a forearm, thus making the symbol of the Cross, while two angelic attendants stand behind them, flanking the Father and bearing Passion emblems. Apart, then, from the disappearance of the latter, the scene in our German Renaissance masterpiece remains essentially the same. Only with a more intimate, natural, human feeling akin to the spirit of the age, does the new Holy Family now grieve together at the sepulchre, screened by the passion-clouds of heaven,

Guardando nel suo Figlio con l' Amore
Che l' uno e l' altro eternalmente spira;
Lo primo ed ineffabile Valore.

For Farmer, as for Cole, the chief attraction of the Baldung Pietà probably lay in its supposed Howard portraits. Nevertheless, books of prints and woodcuts, such as *The true and lyvely historyke Purtreasures of the woll Bible* and the like, taken in conjunction with other religious paintings in his collection⁵ suggest that their owner was by no means uninterested, from the antiquarian standpoint, in the varying pictorial representation of sacred characters in the past. Be that as it may, Cole's letter indicates further that 'Farmer had his foragers, his jackalls and his avant-couriers' on the look-out, not only for old and scarce literature, as Dibdin has observed,⁶ but also for the old 'heads' which were his particular delight in the sister realm of the graphic arts. Hence, it is easy to understand why he should be glad to patronize a man like Harding, even apart from their common interest in the illustrating

¹ Reproduced in H. Curjel, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 93.

² Reproduced frequently, e.g. in E. Mâle, as above, p. 142; G. Troescher, *op. cit.* p. 158; etc.

³ c. 1400: exhibited in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Brit. Heraldic Art, 1916 (see *Catalogue*, p. 18 and plate VII) and Roy. Acad. Exhibition of Brit. Primitives, 1923 (see *Catalogue*, 1924, p. 72 and plate LVI); sold at Sotheby's, Nov. 5-9, 1928 (cf. *Old Furniture*, vol. VI, No. 20, 1929, pp. 56-7).

⁴ Originally mistaken for St Mary Magdalene in the article by Sir H. Read in *Archaeologia*, 2nd Series, vol. XVIII, 1917, pp. 35-42, and in the two above-mentioned Catalogues. The short hair, however, and the style of mouth put the matter beyond dispute.

⁵ E.g. another altar-piece (cf. below, p. 79), 'a head of Christ', 'a Madona, and a Virgin and Child' and several paintings of the Magi.

⁶ *Bibliomania* (ed. 1842), vol. II, p. 174.

of Shakespeare. The painter was himself a great collector of prints, drawings and pictures, 'familiar', we are told, 'with most of the collectors of his day and eminent for his lively parts and social manners'.¹ As a well-known figure in the London sale-rooms² and also a reputable publisher of historical engravings, whose house was a regular resort of those concerned with such productions, he could, therefore, be of service in both spheres, as occasion demanded. *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, indeed, mentions several sets of Harding's plates, one of 'very fine impressions', as part of a large assortment of the kind. Of trouble with engravers Farmer had already had experience in the preparation of the prints for his projected *History and Antiquities of the Town of Leicester*, a work which, after long delays, he finally abandoned. To Thomas Warton, the literary historian, he wrote in 1766: 'You talk of being idle in the summer—I wish I had been so too—my business has been solely *swearing at Engravers*. Poor *Shakspeare* lies upon the table.'³ Even Harding's good name, in the very citadel of taste, was to be endangered by the lapses of those whom he employed upon the seventy-six plates made, almost entirely from his own drawings, for an edition of the *Memoirs of Count Grammont* which he published in 1793.⁴ Fortunately for him, he had been 'merely consulted in the finishing'⁵ of the engravings which, a little later, were to disgrace Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica*. That author had unwisely entrusted responsibility for them to a youthful publisher who engaged 'mean artists' at cheap rates for the task. But, when Horace Walpole sends his expostulations to the Scottish historian, he recalls an earlier scandal:

With regard to the portraits already engraven, they are most wretchedly executed, and very unworthy of being illustrated by you. Those of James V and his Queen, especially the latter, which is execrable, are far inferior to prints in Magazines. Harding copies likenesses very faithfully in general; but then the engravers, who work from his drawings, never see the originals, and preserve no resemblance at all; as was the case with the last edition and translation of Grammont, in which besides false portraits, as Marshal Turenne, with a nose the reverse of his, and a smug Cardinal Richelieu, like a young abbé, and the Duchess of Cleveland, called by a wrong name, there is a print of my Mrs Middleton⁶ so unlike, that I pinned up the print over against the other, and nobody would have guessed that the one was taken from the other.⁷

Harding, in excuse for the abominable Mary of Guise,⁸ says the superintendence of the engravings

¹ See Memoir (with portrait vignette), Lee Priory Press, in B. M. Dept. of Prints and Drawings, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1809, vol. LXXIX, p. 1075.

² Cf. the sketch of him by Paul Sandby, in a group of fifty-four prominent print collectors and dealers of the day, 'taken at Print Sales' (*B. M. Catalogue of Engraved Brit. Portraits*, vol. v, p. 82).

³ J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes* . . . , vol. II, p. 622.

⁴ These include the well-known Oliver Cromwell, 'from the picture in Crayons by Cooper in the Master's Lodge at Sidney College', and Catherine of Braganza, 'from a Curious Print in the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College'.

⁵ See Letter of 20 Dec. 1794, from Pinkerton to the Earl of Buchan, in *Lit. Correspondence of J. Pinkerton*, vol. I, p. 367.

⁶ From a portrait by Lely, facing p. 104. She was a famous beauty at the court of Charles II.

⁷ This discrepancy of likeness is noticeable even in the case of our Farmer miniature and Ridley's engraving of it in *Shakspeare Illustrated*.

⁸ Pinkerton later explains to Walpole that 'the drawing was very dry; and the plate is not amiss, considering that circumstance' (*Lit. Correspondence of J. P.*, vol. I, p. 387). Harding did this drawing and one or two others for the work.

was not left to him and that the last was done while he was at Cambridge.¹ . . . What a difference between such scrapings and Houbraken's *Illustrious Heads*!²

In the case of the two paintings in the Lodge at Emmanuel previously mentioned as copied by Harding, it so happens that, with the help of the voluminous Cole correspondence we are able to trace the route by which they came into the Master's hands. Their history will thus serve to illustrate the typical traffic in such wares amongst our eighteenth-century connoisseurs and antiquaries. The little panel-portrait of Elizabeth of York, 'about a foot in length', was originally in the possession of the second Earl of Bristol at Ickworth Lodge in Suffolk. From thence it passed to his uncle, the Hon. Felton Hervey, Member of Parliament for Bury St Edmund's. At that gentleman's death in 1775, it was 'picked up' at the sale of his effects at Bury by one, Richard Reynolds, 'formerly a waiter at the Mitre Tavern, now a dabbler in antiquities, butler of Caius College, and a great acquaintance as a sportsman and shooter with Lord Orford', Horace Walpole's crazy nephew at Eriswell aforesaid.³ Cole himself shall here continue the story in his own words addressed, seven years later, to the virtuoso of Strawberry Hill:

Last week I accomplished what I have been in pursuit of for these two or three years. I have got possession of Elizabeth of York. I always had my eye for you in getting it, and mentioned it to you about that time when I first saw it. It came from my Lord Bristol's, and an acquaintance of mine bought it at Bury . . . The ambassador,⁴ I have been told, was a man of virtue: his name, in black lead, is at the back. It seems a tolerable picture, small, on wood, a white rose in her hand,⁵ and, for the age, in good preservation in a large gilt and carved frame. She was always a favourite of mine, as her husband used her not well, yet her beauty seemed to deserve better treatment. You are welcome to this picture, which came to me on Saturday. I don't mean to make a good bargain for myself, as I know you give more than you receive, but shall be content without any exchange or with any offal picture in your rubbish room, to hang up in the place of two ordinary old pictures I gave for it, with some painted glass which you sent me.⁶ Maybe you are full and surfeited with York and Lancastrian portraits, yet I believe one of Elizabeth of York is not very common. I have one old one of her father, certainly done in his time, though not handsome, and another good one of her granddaughter Queen Mary, which I have had these forty years. If you are not surfeited, shall I send you Elizabeth? and if you don't like it, I shall be glad to have it again, and no harm will be done.⁷

Horace Walpole, however, declined the gift within the week:

I thank you much, dear Sir, for your kind intention about Elizabeth of York, but it would be gluttony and rapacity to accept her. I have her already in the picture of her marriage that was Lady

¹ This refers, doubtless, to his visit in the year 1794. Cf. above, pp. 68 and 72, n. 6.

² Letter of 25 Jan. 1795: see *Letters of H. W.* (ed. Mrs Paget Toynbee), vol. xv, pp. 338-9.

³ According to Walpole, he was surrounded by a swarm of rogues and plunderers.

⁴ The Earl was ambassador at Madrid from 1758 to 1761.

⁵ As in the portraits of her in the National Portrait Gallery (apart from the neck-pendant and foreground tapestry, closely resembling the above Farmer panel, as engraved in *Shakspeare Illustrated*), Earl of Essex (reproduced in Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, end of vol. II), Windsor, Earl of Stamford and Winn collections, etc. Sir Henry Hake kindly tells me that this group of related panels is not earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century and would seem to have been painted and distributed to glorify the Tudor dynasty.

⁶ I.e. in 1777, bought at the London sale of the effects of John Ives, the East Anglian antiquary: see further letters in Yale ed. of *H. W.'s Correspondence with the Rev. W. C.*, vol. II, pp. 48-9, for details.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 320-1.

Pomfret's;¹ besides Vertue's print of her with her husband, son and daughter-in-law. In truth, I have not room for any more pictures anywhere—yet without plundering you, or without impoverishing myself, I have supernumerary pictures, with which I can refurnish your vacancies.² . . .

So Elizabeth stayed with her reverend purchaser until his death, in December of the same year. Whereupon, Dr Farmer bought her, along with 'Queen Mary' Tudor aforementioned and several other trophies from his old friend's collection which Walpole had eventually provided to fill the gaps on the parsonage walls. These included what the latter had once described as 'four very indifferent pictures . . . bought . . . at Mr Sheldon's in lots with other articles'³, namely a portrait of the Parliamentary jurist and bibliophile, John Selden, an altar-piece 'of the Wise Men Offering', 'and doors, with arms, which by the flourishing sort of mantle round them, seem to be Flemish or Dutch'⁴; also 'a curious piece of Antiquity in carved ivory, framed',⁵ apparently depicting the myth of the Phaëthontids and possibly of Actaeon, too,⁶ a gift to the donor from the Dowager Duchess of Aiguillon. Finally, at the auction sale in London of Farmer's books and pictures in 1798, Elizabeth changed hands again, at the modest price of two guineas, and so passes out of our ken. The recorded surname of the successful bidder suggests, as her new owner, the Rev. James Dallaway, F.S.A., topographer, author of works on heraldry and the fine arts and subsequent editor of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.

The brief tale of the portrait of Dr Michael Lort has its own special point of interest. For it involves, in due course, a local representative of the ordinary, familiar picture-copyers, who, for generations, have multiplied family likenesses for the homes of nobility and gentry and, here in Cambridge, at this period, as Sir Lionel Cust has pointed out,⁷ reproduce or make up oil-paintings of founders and benefactors, to satisfy the current fashion for College Halls, Combination Rooms and Libraries. In the autumn of 1779, that 'worthy man', Dr (then Mr) Lort, of whom his contemporaries seem to have had a higher opinion than the late Mr Winstanley, called to bid farewell

¹ I.e. The Marriage of King Henry VII, by Mabuse: see H. W.'s own description of it in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (ed. 1826, vol. 1, pp. 93–5); now at Sudeley Castle, Glos.: see E. Dent, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, p. 133, with plate reproduced from the former.

² Yale ed. as above, pp. 322–3.

³ I.e. at the London sale of that Warwickshire gentleman's collection in 1781: see *ibid.* pp. 327–8.

⁴ I.e. a triptych: see *ibid.* and *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, p. 377, item 5, and p. 379, item 56 ('2 side pieces', etc.). On receiving them, Cole had commented (29 June 1782): 'The old altar-piece seems to be the work of an able hand, and will suit a place I have for it. Mr Selden I should have known, had not his name been on it.' (Yale ed. as above, p. 329.)

⁵ *Bibliotheca Farmeriana*, p. 379, item 66 ('a present to Mr Cole from the late Lord Orford').

⁶ Cole writes of it (Yale ed. as above, pp. 48–9): 'From the many figures in the Duchess of Aiguillon's picture, of persons sprouting into trees [i.e. doubtless, the sisters of Phaëthon being transformed into poplars, or alders], as they seem to me, and the figure of a stag, twice repeated, it looks as if it had an allusion to Actaeon.' Did Cole here, by any chance, mistake the horses of the sun-god's fallen chariot for stags? At all events, the Yale editors have failed to realize that this 'picture' is the ivory relief mentioned in the previous letter (on p. 47), as their misleading reference to it in the Index shows ('Actaeon, picture with . . .').

⁷ See 'On Portraits at the Universities', in *Fascic. J. W. Clark dicatus*, pp. 432–4, mentioning, besides Freeman, Isaac Whood (cf. further, *Letters of a Grandmother: 1732–35*, i.e. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, ed. G. Scott Thomson, 1943, *passim*), Andrew Pond, Stephen Slaughter, Thomas Hudson and Valentine Ritts, or Ritz (another Cambridge resident).

to his fellow-antiquary at Milton, on quitting Trinity for his new appointment as domestic chaplain to the Archbishop at Lambeth. 'He made me very happy on leaving me', writes Cole to the high priest of the iconomaniacs, a friend of both, 'by giving me his portrait, well-painted and like.'¹ It is significant, however, of the then comparative obscurity of the artist that the writer does not deign to add that it was the work of John Downman.² Actually it was one of three portraits made by the latter, while still in his twenties, from a first sketch, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, taken, in the year 1777,³ during the period of his residence in Cambridge, of which more will be said later in connexion with a similar drawing of Farmer done in the following year.⁴ In 1781, Cole reports to Lort as follows:

Dr Farmer, some 18 months ago, desired that he might have your Picture, to be copied for him: I was so ill at the time, that I told him, that he might have the Picture itself: he said, it would not be proper. I immediately rejoined, that I was of his opinion: but, as I did not recover, I desired him to accept of it. He kept it for a full year and a half, and never said a word about it, and I was cautious of mentioning it to him, remembering what I had said: so I took it for granted that it was lost to me: however, the week before last he told me that Freeman had copied it, and it should be returned in a day or two; accordingly it came the very day I received your letter. Which gave me more pleasure I can hardly say: for I daily missed seeing you in a place I thought unpleasant without you.⁵

Joseph Freeman, who lived near Peterhouse and died in 1799,⁶ was a practising surveyor and land-agent who had taught himself the art of painting in oils; according to Cole, 'shy, diffident and reserved to a great degree' and 'from his appearance the least likely to prove a genius that you can meet with'. Though he figures in no dictionary of painters and belongs to the despised race of copiers who, in Mrs R. L. Poole's words, are 'as readily ignored and forgotten as the maker of a watch to-day', his services in this capacity were in regular demand in the district⁷—indeed, his fee for a canvas became too high to please the Cambridgeshire antiquary—and several Colleges employed him to perpetuate the likenesses of their immortals.⁸ During Farmer's Mastership, he undertook a good deal of work for Emmanuel, along with his younger brother Charles, 'both originals, well behaved and ingenious', as Cole puts it, the latter 'a common coach- and house-painter' in the town, 'who paints exceedingly well upon glass'.⁹ Entries in the College Bursar's Account Book of the

¹ Yale ed. as above, p. 174.

² The clues here (missed by the Yale editors) are the B. M. water-colour copy by Harding (Plate VI (b) below) and an engraving of the Downman original by Hawksworth reproduced in J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. VII, facing p. 438.

³ Second ser., vol. I, no. 17 (cf. G. C. Williamson, *John Downman, A.R.A., Connoisseur Extra No.*, 1907, p. li). The artist's sketch-book note runs: 'Doctor Lort, of Trinity College, of great character, 1777. Painted three of this, one for Dr Porteous, the Bishop of Chester, who I also drew.'

⁴ See below, pp. 87-9.

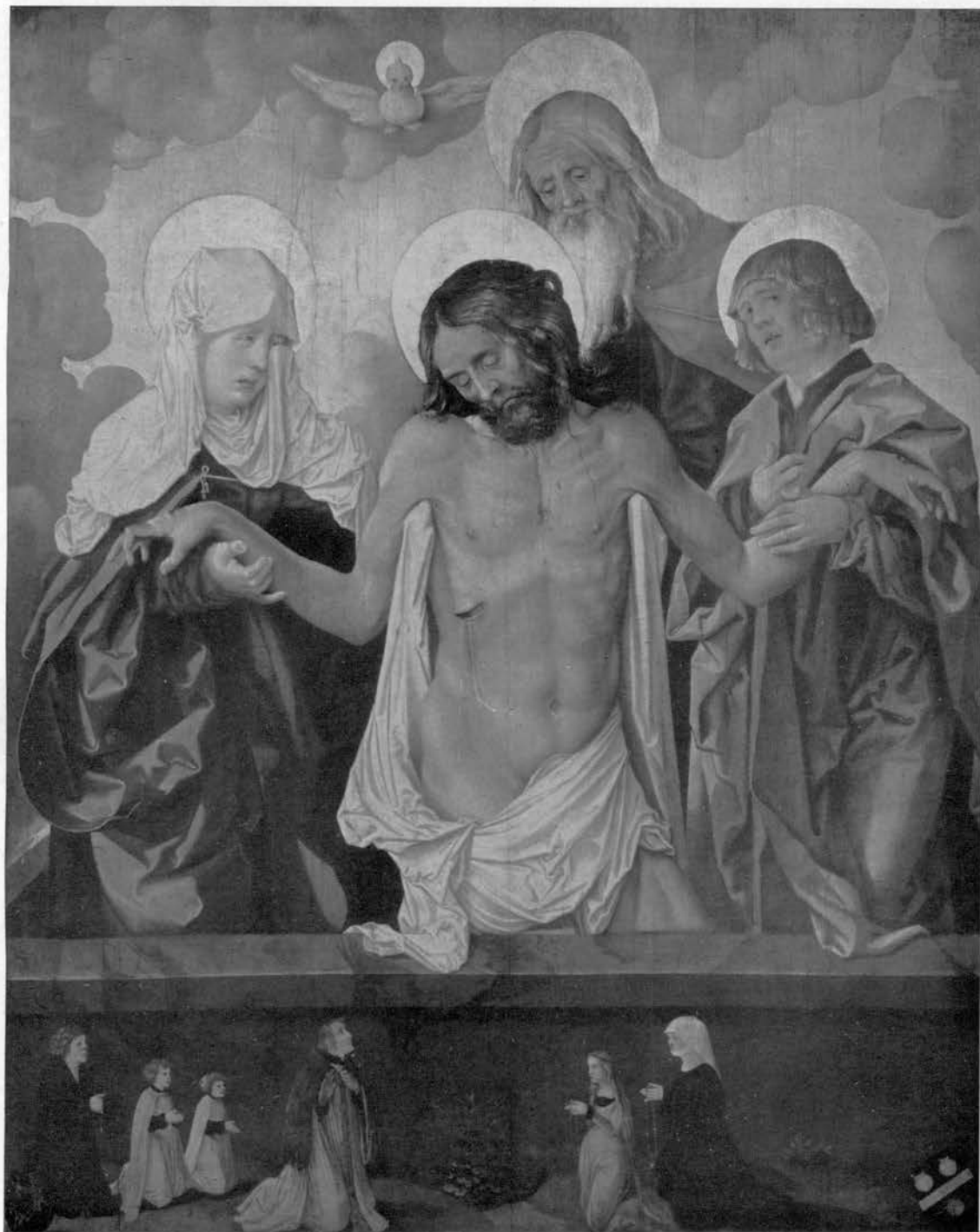
⁵ J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes...*, vol. I, pp. 671-2.

⁶ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LXIX, 1799, pt. I, p. 260.

⁷ Thus Kerrich informs Sir William Musgrave in 1796 (B.M. MS. Add. 6391, fol. 138) that 'the portraits in the Palace at Ely... are almost all copies by a Mr Freeman who is still living here at Cambridge'.

⁸ E.g., besides Emmanuel, Magdalene (4), Clare (2) and Queens' (1): see Masters's *Catalogue of Cambridge Pictures*, pp. 19, 23-4 and 26.

⁹ See Yale ed. of *H. W.'s Correspondence with the Rev. W. C.*, vol. II, pp. 167, 171, etc. Charles was taught glass-painting by Jas. Essex: see J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. VI, pp. 287 and 289.



PIETÀ ('A Dead Christ'), with donor's family, by HANS BALDUNG, 1512
(National Gallery, London)



S. Harding del *E. Harding junr. Sculp*

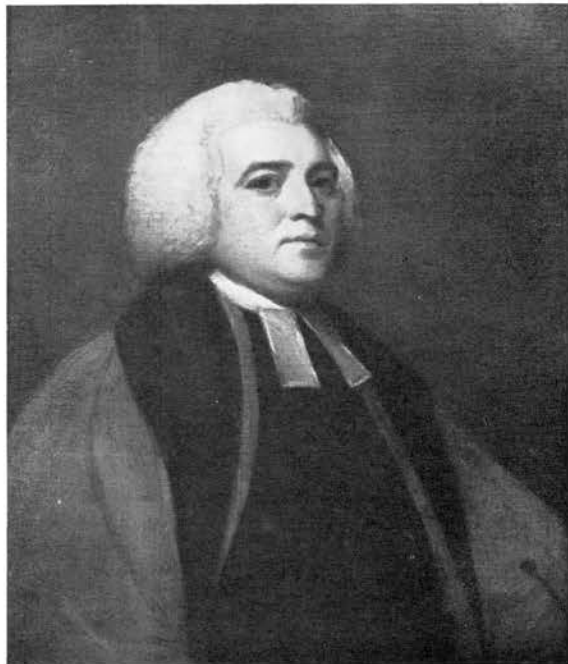
(a) SILVESTER HARDING,
engraved from a self-portrait
(British Museum Dept. of Prints and Drawings)



S. Harding

*Dr. Lort. Librarian to the Duke of Devonshire - from
the original at Dr. Farmer's Emman. Coll. Cambridge.*

(b) DR LORT, by SILVESTER HARDING,
after JOHN DOWNMAN
(British Museum Dept. of Prints and Drawings)



(c) DR FARMER, by GEORGE ROMNEY, 1784
(Emmanuel College, Cambridge)



*Dr. Farmer D.D. Head of Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge 1738
Of great Note*

(d) DR FARMER, by JOHN DOWNMAN, 1778
(Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

period, in Farmer's own hand, with the corresponding and more detailed Audit vouchers reveal the elder surveying College estates,¹ cleaning, varnishing and repairing the pictures,² 'altering a Picture in the Gallery',³ 'repairing 2 Faces',⁴ procuring frames and making or procuring fresh portraits, from time to time, of College notables such as the previous Master, Dr William Richardson,⁵ Dr Roger Long,⁶ Lord Keeper Finch⁷ and Dr Ralph Cudworth.⁸ From an invaluable Cambridge Picture Catalogue of about the year 1790, we learn that the Parlour was then hung exclusively with six of his own copies of originals already in the Picture Gallery.⁹ A payment of £40. 9s. 6d. to 'Freeman, for Benefactors', entered in the Bursar's Accounts for Michaelmas, 1788,¹⁰ which evidently marks their completion, suggests Farmer, once again, as the moving spirit behind all these activities. No doubt, the Master would have agreed with Cole that Joseph was 'a most admirable copier, who did a great deal in that way'; but those who to-day compare some of the above with their exemplars, or yet another of his Emmanuel portraits, that of Dr Peter Allix in the Gallery, with the French original still in the possession of the family at Swaffham Prior, will certainly feel tempted to impugn the first part of that statement.¹¹

¹ E.g. 1778, 1779, 1787, 1789, 1790, etc.

² E.g. 1781, 1783 (cleaning and varnishing various in the Picture Gallery and Lodge Dining-room), 1784 (cleaning, repairing and varnishing the Chapel altar-piece), 1788 (cleaning and repairing 'Sir Wm. Calvert'). Cf. similarly, Chas. Freeman, 7 May 1779: 'For Cleaning and Varnishing the Founders, Mr Ash's, the Dean of Peterbro: & Sir Anthony Mildmay's pictures—15s. / for Varnishing 25 others in the Long Gallery—£1. 1s. / for gilding the Edges of three picture-frames with dutch metal in the long Gallery—3s. / for writing 694 letters on the several pictures in Ditto at 6d. p^r. dozen—£1. 4s. 9d.'

³ Mich. Audit, Voucher no. 4, dated 27 June 1781.

⁴ Mich. Audit, 1779 (Voucher missing). The College portraits of Queen Elizabeth and Dr Preston have both suffered this indignity: in the latter case, the very inaccurate retouching has now (1945) been removed from the original face; in the case of the Queen this has not been possible. Removal of the overpaint from the entire surface of a panel of the Founder, dated 1579, has now (1946) likewise revealed a damaged but authentic likeness of Sir Walter Mildmay which had been smothered by a new face in the Freeman style.

⁵ Easter Audit, 1776, Voucher no. 3, dated 24 Oct. 1775: 'Received of the Rev. Dr Farmer the sum of five guineas for a Picture of the late Master by me, [signed] Joseph Freeman.' A head and bust evidently copied from the larger Van der Mijl portrait now in the Hall.

⁶ Mich. Audit, 1784, Voucher no. 25, dated 24 Oct. 1775: the same 'for a Picture of Dr Long, by me, [signed] Joseph Freeman'. As hinted in Masters's *Catalogue*, this is a copy of the portrait, painted by Benjamin Wilson in 1769 (see A. Attwater, *Pembroke College, Cambridge*, p. 100), which hangs to-day in the hall of Pembroke College, of which Long was Master from 1733 to 1770.

⁷ Easter Audit, Voucher no. 22, dated 16 March 1779: £4. 9s. 'for a three quarter Picture of Lord Keeper Finch; and the Frame per Joseph Freeman.' Masters's *Catalogue* adds: 'temp. Chas. I. copied from a Picture at Fulborne.' Evidence of engravings of Finch, however, and the style of deep square-laced collar here depicted make the authenticity of likeness and date highly improbable.

⁸ Mich. Audit ('Freeman, Painter'), Voucher no. 4, dated 27 June 1781: 'For one Three Quarter picture of Doctor Cudworth—£3. 3s. . . [and frame, etc.] Joseph Freeman.' Probably a poor copy from the print by Vertue, after Loggan. Cf. further, Audit Voucher no. 5, dated 13 Feb. 1781: 'Bt of Joseph Freeman / To 2 Three quarter pictures—£6. 6s. / Paid the Carver for 2 frames—£4. 8s. 6d. p. Joseph Freeman.'

⁹ For list, see Masters's *Catalogue*, pp. 15–16. The College still possesses these copies, although no longer exhibited.

¹⁰ Voucher no. 13, here concerned, dated 29 March, specifies: 'To Painting 5 Three Quarter Pictures at four Guineas each—£21', amongst other detailed items. To the College Bursar, Mr R. Gardner, my thanks are due for his helpful co-operation in detecting the initial Freeman entries in the Account Books.

¹¹ Cf. here Mrs R. L. Poole in *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, vol. I, p. xvii: 'In the 17th and early 18th centuries the local or wandering painter, often employed upon decorative work as well as portraits, who earned from £2 to £5 by producing a likeness *tant bien que mal*.'

The Sale Catalogue of Farmer's library and pictures produced by Mr King, of the 'Great Room' at Covent Garden, eight months after their owner's death on 8 September 1797, makes no mention of any portraits of such contemporaries as Drs Lort and Johnson¹ aforesaid. Farmer, of course, may have given them away during his last fatal illness, after the return from Bath, or, left with the rest of his effects to a brother,² they may have been purchased privately by some of his surviving Cambridge friends. In any case, the sum total of the prices recorded for the Covent Garden lots in no way matches the statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1798 that his collection of pictures alone realized as much as £500.³ A few religious pieces, as we have seen, landscapes, genre scenes and the like are in the list of paintings, while there are various sets of views and antiquities among the prints and books of prints. But one hundred and forty separate canvases or panels of bygone personages—mainly English and of the Tudor and Stuart periods, as might be expected—along with three miniatures, 'seven beautiful Drawings of Portraits'⁴ of Emmanuel worthies and considerably more than a thousand engraved heads, apart from bound iconographies, show plainly enough where the collector's chief interest lay and the constancy with which he had pursued it. Less than a dozen of the picture-entries include the name of an artist.⁵ But, even where they do, most of them obviously concern mere copies, the numbers of which extant to-day make any attempt at present identification wellnigh hopeless. Like his Oxonian counterpart in the earlier half of the same century, the bibliophile and portrait-collector, Dr Richard Rawlinson, Farmer had 'evidently bought from an historical rather than an artistic motive'.⁶ In keeping with his own more numerous and notable book rarities—'in general, in sorry condition' and undistinguished for large margins or splendid bindings—few of his pictures, doubtless, would have been regarded by Cole as 'elegant', or 'worthy of any place but a parsonage house', as, indeed, their sale prices suggest.⁷ Nevertheless, they represented the modest, assiduous gleaning of the scholar, with limited means and little knowledge of art, in a harvest which eighteenth-century antiquarianism was thus gradually garnering for the art-critic and historian of the morrow. As it so happened, the interested amateur here was to be followed immediately by the serious practical

¹ See above, p. 73.

² Cf. J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. II, p. 640.

³ Vol. LXVIII, part II, p. 720.

⁴ Probably by Silvester Harding, depicting Dr Bainbridge, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Archbp. Sancroft, Dr Savage, Prof. Colson, Dr Wm. Richardson and one unknown. Just such a water-colour drawing of Sir H. Grimston, for example, by Harding, after a portrait by Lely then in the Earl of Verulam's collection, is to be found to-day in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.

⁵ Apart from the Baldung altar-piece already described, the complete list is as follows: Luther, by Holbein; 2 *genre* paintings of 'Boors regaling', and also 'Cats and Monkeys', by Heemskercke; 'The Descent from the Cross', after Rubens; a Lady, by Cornelius Jansen (Jonson); Qu. Henrietta Maria, by Van Dyck; the Duke of Monmouth and Samuel Butler, by Lely, and Shakespeare, by Rysbrack, after Zucchero (unauthentic: several supposed portraits of the poet by the latter were 'discovered' about this period; cf. Sir Sidney Lee, *Life of W. S.* (ed. 1915), p. 533, n. 3, etc.).

⁶ See Mrs R. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, vol. I, p. xiii.

⁷ After the Baldung Pietà, which fetched £6. 10s. and was bought for the nation in 1894 for £600, the Jonson portrait of a lady secured the next highest figure of £2. 12s. 6d. Most of the others went for a few shillings apiece, or even less.

student in the very person of Farmer's successor in the office of Principal Librarian to the University, the Rev. Thomas Kerrich of Magdalene. Highly accomplished artist himself, alike with pencil, brush and etching-needle, indefatigable in his quest and recording of picture-collections both at home¹ and abroad, a constant buyer in the London picture-market through the agency of a friend and former Fellow of his college, the Rev. Edward Balme of Fitzroy Square, Kerrich marks the culmination of the unobtrusive Cambridge movement to which his precursor had contributed. The new expert's contempt for the mere dilettante and the pedant is somewhat forcibly expressed in a letter to his London friend of the year 1801:

The erudition of our brethren the Connoisseurs and Antiquaries is far beyond calculation—I every day find new cause of admiration and astonishment. The Flemish Gentleman and his wife (which by the by I bought for myself and parted with to Lombe² much against my will) were immediately christen'd Philip and Mary by my very worthy and learned predecessor Dr Farmer—I thought that was bad enough—But though I had learn'd pretty well their total *destitution* of all taste, and their complete Pictorial Inorance [*sic*], I own, I did think that they had some respect for hard, fixd, uncontrovertable dates....³

Perhaps the bequest to the Society of Antiquaries of his 'very curious collection of antient paintings in panel', consisting of twenty-six portraits, chiefly of ancient royalty,⁴ was intended to stir them to amend their ways. Having himself passed well beyond an early passion for such curiosities⁵ into the finer realms of art, he may have regarded them as fit only for the chambers of the unenlightened in Somerset House.⁶

Apart from mere collecting, Dr Farmer also lent his modest aid to the task of disseminating interest and information by way of reference-books and other literature for the picture-owner and connoisseur. For men of moderate income, print-collecting was the obvious means of gratifying a taste for historical portraiture 'always within compass of our Money',⁷ and prints, in their turn, of course, often provided an indispensable clue to the identification of paintings. Hence, what Cole once called 'the rage for head-hunting'⁸ in this particular region plays a prominent part in our story.⁹ The latter's own carefully classified portfolios, which he reckoned to contain

¹ His 'Catalogues of portraits in various private collections in England: 1777-1790' are in the B.M. MS. Add. 5726 E, arts. 1 and 2.

² Thomas Lombe, a Cambridge solicitor, described by Cole, whose legal executor he became, as 'an attorney of eminence in Free School Lane', 'who has a large collection of pictures'. During Farmer's Mastership, we find him acting for Emmanuel and a Parlour guest on 'Family nights', etc. (see College Bursar's Accounts and *Isaac Reed Diaries*, pp. 181-4).

³ Kerrich Papers, C.C.C. Camb., vol. xxviii, fol. 10.

⁴ See J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. vi, pp. 817-21.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 87.

⁶ These panels, however, are of considerable interest: for a modern description, see [Sir] Geo. Scharf, *Catalogue of Pictures belonging to the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1865, *passim*. Horace Walpole, though clearly not without prejudice, likewise declared himself sick of the ignorance and stupidity of 'those boobies, the Society of Antiquaries', 'the midwives of superannuated miscarriages', etc.

⁷ Cole to Lort (1776), in B.M. MS. Add. 5834, fol. 77b.

⁸ Cole to Granger (1772), in *Letters between the Rev. J. Granger and Eminent Lit. Men* (ed. J. P. Malcolm), p. 364. (Cole says here that the rage now 'seems to be cooled at Cambridge, at least I do not hear so much of it as I was used to do'.)

⁹ For the beginnings of the English story, see [Sir] H. M. Hake, 'The Study of Historical Portraits', in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. xcvi, 1942, pp. 103-4.

over three thousand examples,¹ for all his strictures, owed something to Ames's *Catalogue of English Heads*, a pioneer work of 1748, based on the collection of the Quaker, John Nickolls, which he had himself inspected and admired in London.² Publication, in 1762, of the first two volumes of Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, expressly designed, as their author had explained to his old friend in a letter of that year, 'to assist gentlemen in discovering the hands of the pictures they possess',³ evoked in its turn fruitful criticism and suggestion from members of the Cambridge circle. When the concluding number became available, it was Farmer, as University *Protobibliothecarius*, who, in 1780, submitted a personal plea through Cole to the author for a complete set of the volumes for the Library of his 'old Alma Mater', 'promising them an eminent place in it'.⁴ In 1769, the Rev. James Granger's yet more ambitious *Biographical History of England* began to appear, as 'a help to the knowledge of Portraits' and of those they commemorated, a vast 'methodical catalogue of engraved British heads, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution'. In a final supplement to the original four parts, their sedulous compiler, the eventual owner of 14,000 prints, expresses his 'particular' gratitude to three Cambridge contributors, all print-collecting antiquaries of the local group: the Rev. George Ashby, President of St John's College, 'the reverend Mr Cole, sometime fellow of *King's*'; and the reverend Mr Farmer, now fellow of *Emmanuel*, in that University'. When the work was first launched, Thomas Davies, Granger's principal bookseller-publisher in London, had sent Farmer a special presentation-copy of the opening volume, 'printed on one side'. After an interval of four months, he was able to report to the author that 'Mr Farmer of Emanuel College, Cambridge, has offered his assistance to your next edition' and straightway urged the former to write himself in acknowledgement of these 'good intentions', following up the letter with another of his own to Farmer, which 'begged him to give all the assistance in his power to enlarge and correct' the new issue.⁵ From the tribute just mentioned, we may conclude that our hero, defying his reputation for 'unconquerable indolence', in this case proved as good as his word.⁶ When Granger died in 1776, Horace Walpole said of him that, in the end, he 'had drowned his taste for portraits in the ocean of biography'. But the effect of his labours upon others was to be very different. Anthony Wilson, for example, in the preface to his own *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*⁷

¹ Cf. J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. VIII, p. 385.

² See B.M. MS. Add. 5834, fols., 37-78, and Cole's own system of classification, in MS. Add. 5837, fol. 238, dated 17 May 1774.

³ Yale ed. of *H. W.'s Correspondence with the Rev. W. C.*, vol. I, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 246-8.

⁵ See *Letters between the Rev. J. Granger* . . . , pp. 29, 33 and 37. It is worth noting that it was Silvester's son, Geo. Perfect Harding, who, in 1840, 'took a leading part in establishing the Granger Society, the object of which was the publication of previously unengraved historical portraits'. When the Society came to an end in 1843, he carried on the work on his own account for several years more.

⁶ Cf. *The Percy Letters: Percy-Malone Correspondence*, 1944, p. 35: 'He is so lazy that I doubt whether he will do anything, though he has half promised me.' The Editor of the *Percy-Farmer Correspondence* in the same series, just issued (1946, pp. vii-viii), however, now challenges this view.

⁷ P. v.

which came out in 1793 under the pseudonym of Henry Bromley, gives the following vivid account of it:

Upon the appearance of the Biographical History of England by the Revd. Mr James Granger, to such a height of enthusiasm did [the passion for collecting ancient Portraits] arrive, that old legends and chronicles, and curious pieces in the black letter, were considered, either by the buyer or the seller, of little value compared with the *pictures* they contained. Keepers of stalls, and brokers, became enlightened by the general pursuit after *old heads*, and withheld their Memoirs, Trials, and even Almanacks, till they had obtained an exorbitant demand for their attractive frontispieces.¹

Walpole, writing to John Nichols in the autumn of 1781, speaks of sets of his *Anecdotes of Painting* as 'being many of them cut to pieces for the heads, since the rage for portraits has been carried so far',² and Nichols himself has his observations to make on 'our modern Portrait-collectors, who have sent back many a volume to the Bookseller's shop stript of its graven honours. A most noted collector told a person at Cambridge, who now and then sells a head, that his own collection must needs be large and good, as it rested on six points: "1. I buy; 2. I borrow; 3. I beg; 4. I exchange; 5. I steal; 6. I sell."'³ The University, needless to say, had from the first helped to spread the contagion. As early as the year 1770, we find Cole informing Granger that 'the *Iconomania* you talk of is very rife at Cambridge, where we have many collectors, who will be glad to see you'.⁴ Amongst those smitten with the disorder, he mentions elsewhere Dr Lort of Trinity,⁵ Mr Tyson of Corpus, Dr (afterwards Bishop) Percy of Emmanuel, of *Reliques* fame, and Dr Ewin, graduate of St John's, 'a virtuoso and a man of fortune, who lives in the town',⁶ later notorious as a usurer. Granger's claim to immortality, however, rests on a sounder basis. For, as the present Director of the National Portrait Gallery has emphasized in a war-time article in *The Archaeological Journal*,⁷ it was with him and his epoch-making reference book—the first 'to codify traditional habits of record and point the way'—that systematic study of historical portraiture began to take shape in this country. In the final credit for that achievement, then, Farmer deserves his share. About the same time, moreover, he was one of 'the Kind Encouragers' of another successful pioneer enterprise in a kindred field, that of reproducing historical portraits 'carefully collected from Antient Illuminated Manuscripts'. This yielded, in 1773, *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England: containing, in a compleat series, the Representations of all the English Monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth. Together with many of the Great Persons that were eminent Under their several Reigns*. It was the first youthful venture of Joseph

¹ Sim. Dallaway, in the Introductory Remarks to his edition of H. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. v, p. ii: 'No other publication has increased the taste for engraved portraits, nor excited so lively an ardour for collecting them, like the volumes of Granger.' Three more editions of Granger's volumes followed before the Rev. Mark Noble issued a Continuation, from his notes, in 1806, carrying the record on from the Revolution to the end of the reign of George I.

² See *Correspondence of H. W. with George Montague...* (and others), vol. III, p. 291.

³ *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. II, p. 161.

⁴ *Letters between the Rev. J. Granger...*, p. 332.

⁵ His collection sold for just over £400 in 1791: see J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. II, p. 605, n. 2.

⁶ See *Letters between the Rev. J. Granger...*, pp. 322, 324, 328 and 330.

⁷ Vol. xcviII, pp. 99-100 and 103 (Sir H. M. Hake).

Strutt, future illustrator of early English life and custom, here guided by the well-known topographer, Richard Gough, formerly of 'Bennet' College, who introduced him to his Cambridge confidant there, the Rev. Michael Tyson, as one who 'has commenced a second Vertue as to design'.¹ Finally, may we not see, in Farmer's more conspicuous encouragement, in the days of his Residentiaryship, of the introduction of statuary into St Paul's Cathedral, a similar zeal to preserve for posterity the images of its ancestors?

Thus stimulated by the combined efforts of investigators, collectors, copiers, biographers, enterprising publishers and their respective supporters, the fashion spread and knowledge of the subject grew, leading, in spite of much grotesque misjudgement and delusion, to fresh discoveries of ancient paintings and a greater general care of the national inheritance. By the year 1772, Gough could write exultingly to his friend and fellow-topographer at Corpus: 'An original Portrait of Edward IV is just come to light—I forget where; and innumerable others have been attended to in private galleries since Houbraken's time.² They are to be engraved by the best Artists, at one guinea for four in a number, with letterpress.'³ A letter to Kerrich from Sir William Musgrave, asking for detailed lists of portraits in the great houses of Norfolk, gives us a glimpse of the actual work in progress. 'In my excursions into many parts of the Island', explains the compiler of the *Obituary*, who was also a notable print-collector⁴ and intended to publish his own portrait-catalogue, 'I have taken a great many such lists, which is very easily done by writing with black lead the name, as I stood to look at the picture in passing thro' the apartments of the Houses I was admitted to view, and then retracing it with ink, or making a fresh copy when I went to the inn.'⁵ In Cambridge itself, there was the same gradual awakening of interest in the similar possessions in its midst. Tyson of Corpus, for example, accounted by his contemporaries 'eminently skilful in drawing, painting and etching', with a taste that was said to be 'exquisite',⁶ had already begun in 1770 to etch 'the portraits of all the Masters of our College, whose pictures are in the Lodge'.⁷ Six years later, he sends

¹ See J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. VIII, pp. 590, 605, 608 and 609. Bp. Percy, too, wrote to Farmer in Jan. 1773, about him, as 'a young man' who 'promises to be very useful to future Antiquaries', and also about the Proposals for the work, sending him a specimen plate from the first number which had just appeared: see *The Percy Letters: Percy-Farmer Correspondence*, pp. 162-3.

² His engraved *Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain* were published from 1743 to 1752.

³ See J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. VIII, p. 578. Cf. here Kerrich, in a letter to Balme (Kerrich Papers, C.C.C. Camb., vol. xxviii, fol. 34b): 'I hope your friend means to have the Drawings you speak of engraved and publish'd—that must always be to the purpose provided it be done fairly.'

⁴ See H. Bromley, *Catalogue of Engraved Brit. Portraits*, p. vii. (A collection of prints combined with biographical notices.) Musgrave's notebook 'Catalogue of English Portraits from Egbert to the end of George 2nd', in his collection, is in B.M. MS. Add. 6795 (classified; but unannotated).

⁵ Letter of 2 Sept. 1796, including specific directions for listing portraits, in Kerrich Papers, as above, vol. xxvi, fol. 197. Kerrich's reply of 19 Sept. following, from Magdalene, is in B.M. MS. Add. 6391, fols. 138-9. This volume contains a mass of similar communications and lists received by Musgrave, and some of his own note-book lists are in the boxes known as 'MS. Add. 5726, E. and F'. Cf. his similar request to J. Nichols for lists of Leicestershire portraits, in *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. III, p. 848 (see also vol. VI, p. 405), and cf. further M. W. Brockwell, *Geo. Jamesone and some primitive Scottish Painters*, 1939, *passim*.

⁶ See J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. VI, p. 812, and *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. VIII, p. 207, etc.

⁷ J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. IV, p. 728. He had then completed Archbp. Parker, Dr Jegon and Dr Love; earlier he had etched, e.g. elsewhere, the portrait of 'Jane Shore' at King's Coll., etc.

Gough the news that 'Mr Kerrich and myself are busy every morning in making a Catalogue of the Prints in the Public Library' of the University.¹ The College activities of Farmer at Emmanuel have been noted earlier in these pages and others, doubtless, could tell of similar activities elsewhere. At length, in or about the year 1790, that year in which Mr Harding seems to have been particularly busy in our midst, the first printed *Catalogue of the several Pictures in the Public Library and respective Colleges in the University of Cambridge, intended as a Companion to the concise and accurate Description of the University and Town, etc.*, was given to the world 'by a Gentleman of the University'. The Rev. Robert Masters, Fellow and historian of Corpus and himself a portrait-collector,² still enjoys the honour of being regarded as its author. But all the evidence goes to show that it was really the work of Kerrich.³ 'I was at that time ardent about portraits', he confesses to Balme in 1821.⁴ To-day, after an interval of more than a century and a half, most people would agree that the world could do with another,⁵ even if that prime enthusiasm is never likely to be revived.

As a concluding appendage to the present sketch, a few 'hints', as Dyer would call them, about the existing likenesses of Farmer himself may not be out of place. With the new miniature by Harding, we have now three original portraits of him in Cambridge by three different artists, executed at intervals of six years precisely, from 1778 to 1790. The earliest is a typical drawing, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, by John Downman, A.R.A., measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in., in black crayon with delicate pink wash on cheeks and lips, inscribed below in the artist's hand—'Richard Farmer, D.D. Head of Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge 1778/Of great Note.'⁶ The Master, then in his

¹ J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. VIII, p. 621.

² Cf. *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 482-3, and *Biographical Mirrour*, vol. 1, plate 43 (facing p. 138)—a picture of Sir Chris. Hatton 'in the collection of the Rev. Robert Masters of Landbeach, nr. Cambridge'. A list of Masters's 'painted portraits' at Landbeach (received from Kerrich) is in B.M. MS. Add. 6391, fols. 13-16, with a pencil note by Musgrave: 'Exam^d but not transcribed because the pictures will probably be dispersed on the death of the present possessor.'

³ George Dyer says so definitely in his 'Supplement to the Hist. of the Univ. and Colls.' in *The Privileges of the University*, vol. II, p. 49. Cf. also, Letter of Sir Wm. Musgrave to Kerrich (1796), in Kerrich Papers, as above, vol. XXVI, fol. 198: 'The List which I believe was printed under your auspices supplies all my wants for the University.' Kerrich's interleaved and annotated copy of the *Catalogue* (dated 1792) is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum and Musgrave's copy is in B.M. MS. (box) Add. 5726, F. 2, inscribed: 'Cambridge pictures by Mr Masters / purchased 1793.'

⁴ Kerrich Papers, vol. XXVIII, fol. 122.

⁵ On the lines, e.g. of Mrs R. L. Poole's illustrated *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, in 3 vols., completed in 1925. In Cambridge we have, so far, the portraits of Caius Coll. listed and described in Venn's *Biogr. Hist.* of Caius Coll., vol. III, pp. 291-300 and vol. IV, pp. 158-9; those of King's Coll. in *A Catalogue of the Plate, Portraits and other Pictures in K.C.*, 1933 (by J. W. Goodison); those of St John's Coll. in *The Eagle* ('Our Portrait Pictures'), vol. XI, nos. 61 *et seq.*, by the Rev. Alex. Freeman, 1880-1; some account of the Trinity portraits in *Cambridge Papers*, by W. W. Rouse Ball, pp. 105-15, and of individual pictures in other Colleges in various numbers of College magazines, etc., in addition to scattered lists in T. D. Atkinson's *Cambridge Described and Illustrated* and similar works, and the three Exhibition Catalogues published by the *Camb. Antiq. Soc.* in 1884, 1885 and 1908. I understand from Mr Goodison, however, that he hopes to complete the much-needed detailed work dealing with the University and Colleges as a whole in the near future.

⁶ See Plate VI (d).

forty-third year and at the full height of his career, before the more portly days had set in, stands alert and forceful in gown and bands and the familiar bushy wig, looking to the spectator's left. He had already served as Vice-Chancellor and in June of the year in question was to be unanimously elected Principal Librarian of the University.¹ The burden of his College duties was now pressing heavily upon him. 'Indeed', he told Percy in January, 'a complication of business totally overwhelms my spirits'.² By July, in order to protect himself from repeated charges of being 'a very idle and ungrateful fellow', he had to explain in a letter to Gough that he had been 'confined by the rheumatism and, as soon as possible, carried into the country to get rid of it'. On returning, the death of his father had for a time encumbered him further with family affairs.³ His efforts as a learned author had ceased even before he became Master in 1775 and were, in fact, never to be resumed. The creative days were over. For the future there were yet to come the several honours, sacred and secular, of Cathedral prebends and London clubs and the frequent dinner-parties and play-going in the metropolis, along with the continuing 'delights of the pipe and the bottle in Emanuel parlour', the visits of old friends, the annual 'Theatricals of Stirbitch Fair', the favourite arbour by the Emmanuel pond and the endless 'delving into the fruitful ore of black-letter literature'. The portrait itself is one of a large collection of 'first studies'—justly described by Sir Sydney Cockerell as sensitive and masterly—which the artist himself had carefully annotated, grouped and mounted in several series of albums. Fifteen of these volumes were eventually bought from his daughter, Mrs Benjamin, at Wrexham, where he died in December 1824, by the Hon. George Neville, Master of Magdalene (Cambridge) from 1813 to 1853 and Dean of Windsor from 1846, who, in 1825, assumed the name of Neville-Grenville, when his uncle, Thomas Grenville, future donor of the Grenville Library at the British Museum, made over to him Butleigh Court in Somerset, where thenceforth the volumes were to be preserved.⁴ In 1936, five of them were purchased and presented to the Fitzwilliam by the National Art-Collections Fund and two anonymous benefactors and, two years later, the Cunliffe Bequest brought in another two which had belonged to Sir Edward Coates and never formed part of the Butleigh Court collection. Many of these delightful sketches, including those of Farmer and Lort, are products of the earlier period of Downman's artistic career, before his work came, in contemporary opinion, to be 'universally admired and sought after by the first people of rank and fashion'.⁵ He was then living in Cambridge with his family, busily executing orders

¹ Not in 1780, as stated by Shuckburgh in his *L. Chaderton and R. Farmer*, p. 48.

² See *The Percy Letters: Percy-Farmer Correspondence*, p. 173.

³ See J. Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. II, p. 631.

⁴ The Farmer drawing here is the first in vol. III of the 2nd series. For a full list of the Butleigh Court collection, with Downman's notes, see G. C. Williamson, *John Downman, A.R.A.* (as before), pp. li-lxi. But see also Mr E. Croft Murray's correction of Williamson's inaccurate account of their sale (pp. xv-xvi), etc., in his article in *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XIV, 1940, pp. 60-1. The Cunliffe Bequest, as subsequently mentioned above, comprises vols. I and III of the 1st series, and vols. I-IV and VI of the 4th series are now in the British Museum. The rest are in private hands.

⁵ c. 1784-6. See articles by Ralph Edwards in *Apollo*, Sept. 1933, p. 177, and Basil Long in *The Connoisseur*, July 1931, pp. 10-19. For the drawing of Dr Lort, cf. above, p. 80.

for likenesses of dons, young Fellow-Commoners and other undergraduates of social standing,¹ local gentry, business men and their relatives and friends, especially the womenfolk, who revelled in his dainty style. When, after his subsequent removal to London, he went to reside for a time at Town Mall in Kent, where an elder brother had settled, he must there, doubtless, have become acquainted with his fellow-artist Silvester Harding, if, indeed, the two had not met before. For Mrs Harding was a daughter of Dr William Perfect of that place, and Downman eventually painted at least two portraits of a young relative.²

Next in the series comes the Emmanuel College canvas by George Romney (29½ by 24½ in.),³ hung, during Farmer's own lifetime, on the south side of the Picture Gallery,⁴ but now transferred to the Parlour made famous by his exploits. This oil-painting, a copy of which is in the Master's Lodge at St Catharine's College,⁵ was completed—*jussu collegii*—in the closing days of 1784, the bicentenary year of Sir Walter Mildmay's Foundation, and anticipates the general pose, bodily bulk and academic costume of the Harding miniature, six years later. The dignified Romneysque countenance, however, is in striking contrast to that of the latter, which bespeaks the robust humanity, affability and 'festive wit' for which its unconventional subject was renowned, particularly at the earlier season of rejoicing and hospitality—that rich 'elfish' sense of humour and of the joy of life which graced another great Cambridge scholar-bibliophile of more recent times, the late equally well-beloved Montague Rhodes James. The College celebrated its 'jubilee' lavishly on Michaelmas Day, 29 September, with a round of festivities in chapel, hall and gallery. Romney's diary for the same year records five sittings for the Master's portrait in the following November and December, four at ten o'clock in the morning and one at two in the afternoon.⁶ An entry for 22 April 1777, concerning 'Mr Farmer at half pt 8', has been taken to indicate an earlier session for the work which was certainly accomplished in the artist's London studio. The College still possesses the note, written by Farmer in London on the day of the final sitting and subsequently endorsed by the painter, requesting Mr Nicholls, of Queen Street, Cheapside, 'to pay to George Romney Esqr. the sum of twenty Guineas' for his labours.⁷ In the following June the engraver, John Jones, produced a fine mezzotint of the picture as the result of a further order from the Fellows, made in this case whilst actually seated at the bicentenary banquet-

¹ Emmanuel men include, besides Farmer, the Rev. Henry Hubbard, Univ. Registry, and 'Mr Wright' (Geo. Wright?, adm. Fellow-Commoner 1761) in 1777, and 'Mr Craddock' (Joseph Craddock?, do., friend of Farmer, Garrick and John Nichols, etc.) in 1778. Downman, like Harding, also made copies of College portraits; e.g. of Sir Isaac Newton and Dr Bentley, after Sir J. Thornhill, in the Hall of Trinity (2nd series, vol. v, nos. 29 and 30), and of Edm. Grindal at Pembroke (see note by Kerrich in his copy of Masters's *Catalogue* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, facing p. 22).

² Miss (Lucy) Perfect: portrait exhibited R.A., 1804; and one of the '5 nymphs' in 'The Grape House', exhibited R.A., 1809 (the preliminary sketch of her here is in series IV, vol. VI, no. 6, now in the B.M.).

³ See Plate VI (c).

⁴ See Masters's *Catalogue*, p. 15.

⁵ Dr Chaytor, who has kindly shown me this portrait, tells me that it was the gift of a daughter of the Rev. C. K. Robinson, Master, 1861-1909.

⁶ See H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney*, vol. I, p. 105, and vol. II, p. 52.

⁷ Mich. Audit, 1785, Voucher no. 16, dated 23 Dec. 1784.

table, 'at the noon of eating'.¹ It was of this engraving and its prototype that Farmer wrote to Malone, two years later:

I know not what to say as to the picture you mention. To be sure I could (not)² cry out with Falstaff that 'I am ashamed of my company'; but as there is a print from it already, would not the property be invaded? Indeed, neither the one nor the other was a favourite. Romney supposed, as the picture was for a college, that it would be hung in a high room; and the engraver has not allowed for the exaggeration.³

In 1816, a smaller and less faithful mezzotint of the Romney portrait was executed by T. Hodgetts for Dibdin's edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* and, two years later, a line engraving of it, by Burnet Reading, which serves as a frontispiece to the fresh edition of Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* issued in 1821. There is also a diminutive head of no importance engraved by Thomas Holloway, from an unknown source, for a composite plate in Malone's edition of Shakespeare depicting four prominent Shakespearean critics of the eighteenth century.⁴ *Bibliotheca Farmeriana* lists a further print by W. N. Gardiner, after a likeness by Harding;⁵ but no record of it is to be found in the comprehensive *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits* issued by the British Museum. Strangely enough, the tragic life-story of this restless, frustrated, but talented engraver, who once worked under Bartolozzi, provides another casual link between the two Harding brothers who previously employed him, in what he afterwards regarded as his 'best days', and the College over which Farmer presided. After throwing up the profession in London and returning to his native Dublin for a time, he eventually came back to this country and, in 1793—in the words of his own memoir,⁶ written in despair, on the eve of his death, as a final testament to the world that had betrayed him—'by the kindness of the amiable Dr Farmer, I was admitted of Emmanuel College,⁷ where I remained two years; but, finding that an *Irishman* could not there get a Fellowship, I removed to Bene't, where I got a degree of *5th Senior Optime*'. Corpus, however, proved equally obdurate and kept him 'five years dangling after a fellowship' to no purpose. Back in London once more, 'at the dissolution of the partnership between S. and E. Harding, I remained with the latter', he says, 'and principally employed myself in taking Silvester's place, that of copying portraits from oil to water colours'. But Fortune still continued 'a jade'. With failing

¹ See E. S. Shuckburgh, *L. Chaderton and R. Farmer*, pp. 57–8, with Dr Mansel's well-known account and verses.

² This word is clearly included in error.

³ (9 Aug. 1787) B.M. MS. Add. 30262, fol. 22. Printed in Shuckburgh, as above, and J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. VIII, p. 675, without reference to source. This engraving was reproduced as frontispiece to vol. IV, pt. I, of Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*.

⁴ The others are of Johnson, Tyrwhitt and Thos. Edwards. For some reason, *Alumni Cantab.*, pt. II, vol. II, p. 460, mentions only the Downman drawing (erroneously here called 'a painting') and this insignificant print.

⁵ P. 376, item 8196. The B.M. *Catalogue* cited in my text, however, records (vol. II, p. 196) an undated copy by T. Priscott of the Harding-Ridley engraving, in addition to those named above. (The National Portrait Gallery, by the way, still has no likeness of Farmer.)

⁶ See J. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. VIII, pp. 479–82.

⁷ As a sizar, intending to take holy orders.

eyesight and no prospects, he turned to bookselling for thirteen years and finally committed suicide in 1814, a dirty, slovenly eccentric, much addicted to snuff.

Harding's little water-colour drawing of 1790, which completes our series and has been duly installed in the Fellows' Parlour, may be no masterpiece of the golden age of English miniature painting, throughout which its delineator lived and wrought, mainly at the very centre of artistic intercourse. Yet, even if one modern connoisseur has seen fit to disparage his attainments in that art,¹ the present narrative should have done something to re-establish his former reputation as a maker of excellent likenesses, in the verdict of at least three contemporaries. Therein, the capable little portrait has a special value of its own. For it brings faithfully before us the hero of those pleasant eighteenth-century days in Cambridge, when local antiquaries went 'head-hunting' and 'persons of any station or literary acquirement' in the neighbourhood would forgather with them, of a Sunday evening, to discuss their trophies 'in Emmanuel Parlour, which, under the presidency of Dr Farmer, was always open to those who loved pipes and tobacco and cheerful conversation'.²

¹ Dr G. C. Williamson, in *Hist. of Portrait Miniatures*, vol. I, p. 178: 'His work as an artist is of no special interest; his miniatures, especially, are of the very least importance (but, as a collector and a publisher he became very well known and was highly esteemed for his honesty and his kindness of heart).'

² Gunning, *Reminiscences*, vol. I, pp. 54 and 181.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

VOLUME XLII
JANUARY 1948 TO DECEMBER 1948

21s. net.

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