

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY



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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*

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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.

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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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# CONTENTS

<i>Officers and Council of the Society 1948-1949</i>	page vii
<i>Officers and Council of the Society 1947-1948</i>	viii
<i>Report and Summary of Accounts for the Year 1946</i>	ix
<i>Report and Summary of Accounts for the Year 1947</i>	xi
<i>Editorial Note</i>	xiv
Railways to Cambridge, Actual and Projected: a Centenary Review <i>By Canon R. B. FELLOWS, M.A., LL.M.</i>	I
Andrew Doket and his Architect <i>By ARTHUR OSWALD, M.A.</i>	8
The Authorship of a Seventeenth-Century Harvests' Account Book from Fowlmere <i>By W. P. BAKER, M.A.</i>	27
The Cambridgeshire Properties of the Nunnery of St Mary Clerkenwell <i>By W. O. HASSALL, M.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A.</i>	33
The Clergy of Sawston, 1197 to 1948 <i>By F. J. BYWATERS, M.A.</i>	41
<i>Iconomania</i> in Eighteenth-Century Cambridge. Notes on a newly-acquired Miniature of Dr Farmer and his interest in Historical Portraiture <i>By PROFESSOR G. R. OWST, LITT.D., D.LIT., PH.D., F.S.A.</i>	67
Combined Beaker and Iron Age Sites at Lakenheath, Suffolk <i>By GRACE BRISCOE, M.B., B.S.</i>	92
An Early Iron Age Site at Lakenheath, Suffolk <i>By A. S. R. GELL</i>	112
Further Excavations at the War Ditches <i>By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A.</i>	117
Archaeological Notes <i>By C. I. FELL, M.A., T. C. LETHBRIDGE M.A., F.S.A., and G. H. S. BUSHNELL, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A.</i>	128
<i>Index</i>	131



# ANDREW DOKET AND HIS ARCHITECT

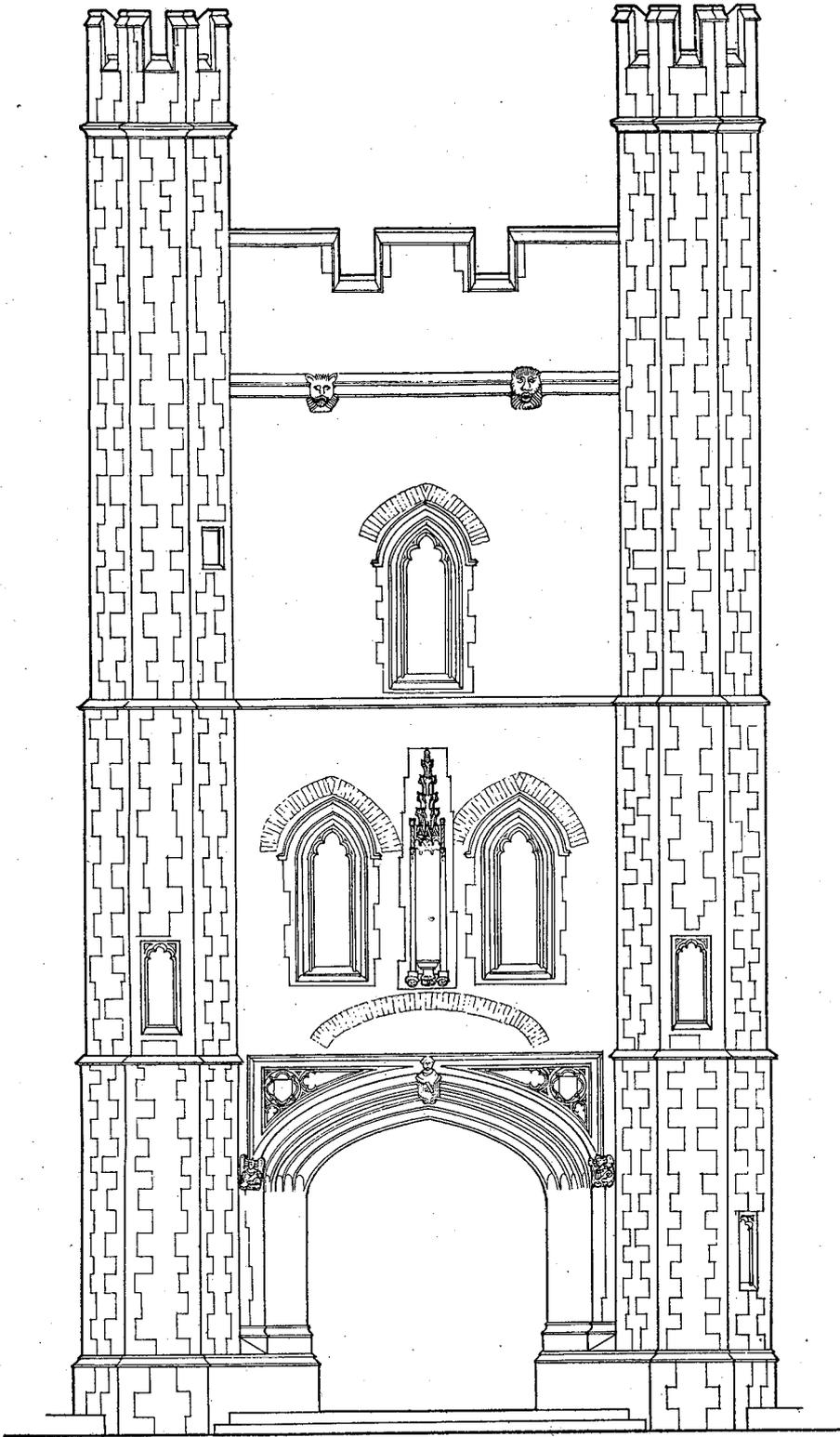
ARTHUR OSWALD, M.A.

THE occasion that Queens' College celebrated as its quincentenary in 1948 was the grant of the third and final charter of 1448, whereby the College of St Bernard, established 16 months previously, acquired its present name, and Queen Margaret of Anjou became the foundress. The two earlier charters, dated respectively 3 December 1446 and 21 August 1447, had both been granted by Henry VI. By the first of them the College of St Bernard was founded on ground between Trumpington Street and Queens' Lane, now in the possession of St Catharine's and partly covered by its buildings; but in consequence of the acquisition of a larger area of land between Queens' Lane and the river, the first charter was cancelled and the college was refounded on the new site. The third charter was the result of Queen Margaret's petition, preserved among the college muniments, 'meekly beseeching' the King that the new college might be called 'the Quenes collage of sainte Margerete and saint Bernard. . . so that beside the mooste noble and glorieus collage roial of our Lady and saint Nicholas founded by your highnesse may be founded and stablissed the seid so called Quenes collage to conservacion of oure feith and augmentation of pure clergie. . . and to laud and honneure of sexe femenine'.<sup>1</sup> On 30 March 1448, the King issued letters patent fulfilling the Queen's request by making over to her the whole property of St Bernard's College and granting her a licence to found a college under the new title. The Queen's own charter of foundation is dated 15 April 1448. This was also the day on which the foundation stone at the south-east corner of the chapel was laid by her chamberlain, Sir John Wenlock, deputizing for her.

In all three charters it is laid down that the college is to consist of a President and four Fellows, or more or less as funds should permit, and in all three the President, Andrew Docket, and the four Fellows, John Lawe, Alexander Forkelowe, Thomas Haywode and John Careway, are named. In fact the foundation of the college should be dated back to 1446, when its personnel was decided. Each of the three charters was an important link in the chain of events that brought the college into being; the last, however, marked the final success of Docket's efforts to set on a firm footing the project that he had been patiently fostering for at least two years. The laying of the foundation stone on the day when Queen Margaret's patronage was secured must have had a special significance for him.

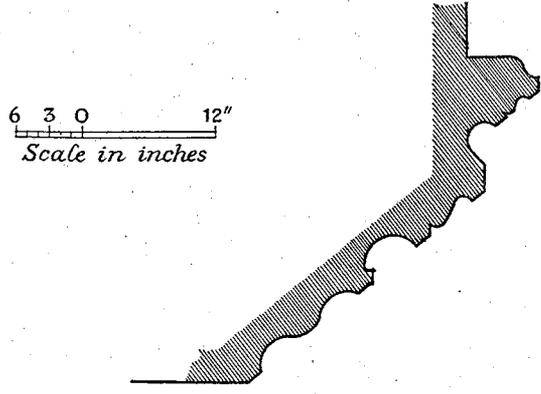
In the earliest list of benefactors Docket is described as 'first president and most worthy founder of this college', and indeed he was founder in all but name. He

<sup>1</sup> The petition is printed in full by W. G. Searle, *History of Queens' College*, C.A.S. 8vo. Publ. ix, p. 15.

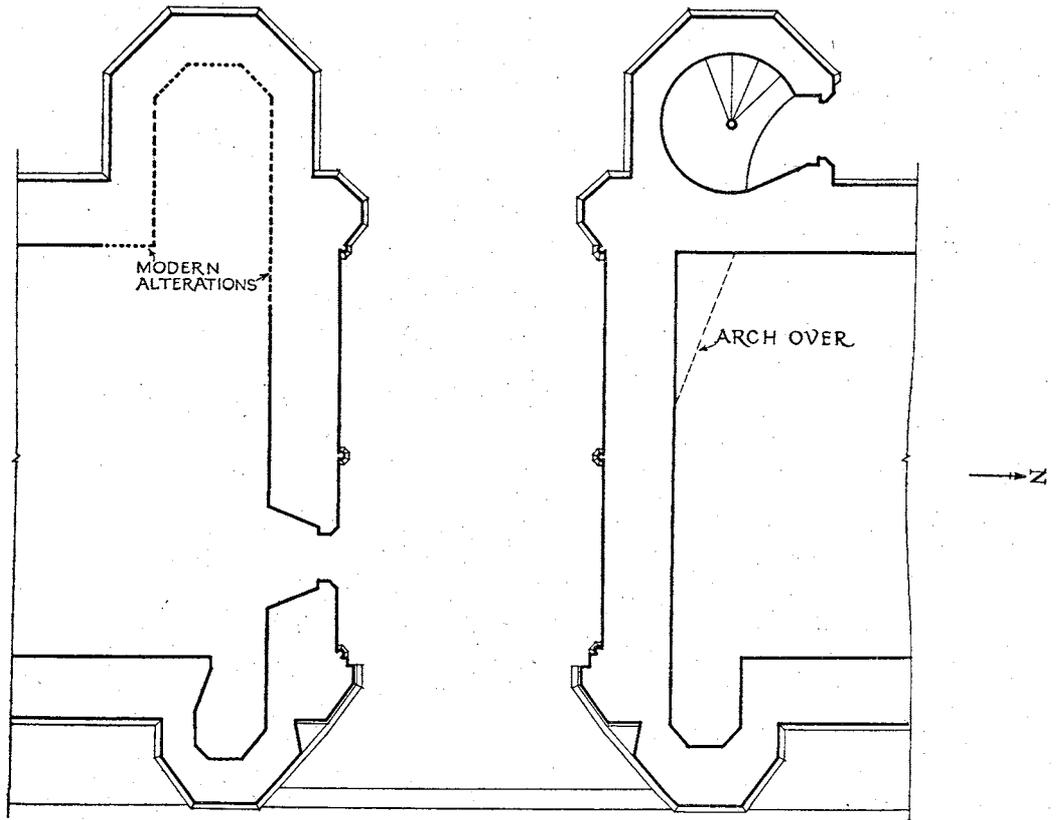


DENYS SPITTLE

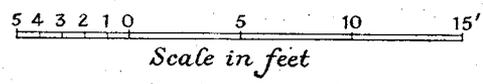
Gate-tower of Queens' College. East elevation before recent alterations



Section across moulding of outer arch



DENYS SPITTLE



Gate-tower of Queens' College. Plan before recent alterations

played a similar part at Queens' to those filled by Richard de Badew at Clare, John Langton at King's and Fisher at St John's. Dr Caius did not exaggerate when he wrote of Docket that his 'service in building the college and procuring the money was so great that some consider this college to have been the most glorious work of him alone'. In addition to his undoubted ability as an administrator he must have possessed extraordinary energy and pertinacity, tact and the arts of persuasion, to obtain, as he did successively, the patronage and support of Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville and Richard III. By the time of his death in 1484 his college was securely established and adequately housed, while the buildings of the sister foundation, begun so promisingly and on so much more ambitious a scale, were not yet even half completed.

Docket flew high and made no mistakes, but he seems to have begun by enlisting the aid of much humbler people. Those who provided the land both for the first cramped site and for the one that superseded it were his own parishioners. Indeed, as one reads between the lines of charters, deeds and wills, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was his own friends and neighbours who were charmed, persuaded or cajoled into lending first an ear and then a hand. One might almost say that this royal foundation had its origin at a parochial meeting. The exact date when Docket was appointed to the vicarage of St Botolph's is not known: it was some time between 1432 and 1439.<sup>1</sup> In 1444 he became rector when Barnwell Priory surrendered all its rights in the church after a dispute over repairs to the chancel had arisen between the Priory and the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi, who held the advowson. At some unknown date he had also become Principal of St Bernard's Hostel. As there is no record of this hostel before his time, it was probably established by him, and one may suppose that the first four Fellows of the college were temporarily lodged among the pensioners in the hostel until the new buildings were ready. The site of St Bernard's Hostel is now covered by the Wilkins Court of Corpus. It was of considerable size, large enough to possess a hall, a chapel and a gallery.<sup>2</sup> That Docket was responsible for altering and enlarging its buildings is known from a memorandum made by John Botwright, Master of Corpus Christi, about the erection of a new bakehouse for that college in close proximity to the hostel (8 September 1456). It was to be 'as long as the middle house lately built by Master Andrew Docket and as high under the eaves as the upper part of the windows which lately to our detriment have been placed in St Bernard's Hostel'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably in 1436. See A. W. Goodman, *A Little History of St Botolph's, Cambridge*, p. 97. This excellent parish history unravels the complicated story of the living during the Middle Ages. In 1353 Corpus Christi College secured the advowson of the church, but not the rectory, from Barnwell Priory. As the Master and Fellows had a habit of presenting members of their own college to the living, Docket may have been a Corpus man. Fuller and other writers say that he had been a Friar. This story probably arose from his having received the privileges of confraternity with the House of the Friars Minor in Cambridge in 1479. The document is printed by Searle, *op. cit.* p. 54. The advowson of St Botolph's was purchased by Docket for Queens' on 12 January 1460. He resigned the living in 1470.

<sup>2</sup> Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 248, where entries relating to St Bernard's Hostel from the *Magnum Journale* of Queens' College are quoted.

<sup>3</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 259.

One of Doket's wealthy parishioners was Richard Andrew, a burgess of the town.<sup>1</sup> In his will his surname is given as Andrew alias Spycer, no doubt indicating his trade. On 20 August 1446, John Aldreth, another burgess, and John Lawe and Thomas Forkelowe, clerks, who were to be two of the original Fellows of the college, acquired two tenements in the parish of St Botolph, one of Henry Symmeson and Agnes his wife, the other of Henry Symmeson and Thomas Good, citizens. These, on 6 September, were conveyed by them to Richard Andrew.<sup>2</sup> On 20 October an adjoining tenement on the east was acquired by Richard Andrew from the executors of Thomas Jacob.<sup>3</sup> The three properties combined to make an almost rectangular plot of land 277½ feet long and between 72 and 75 feet broad, extending from Milne Street (the present Queens' Lane) to the High Street (Trumpington Street), but set back behind the row of houses on the north side of Smallbridges Street (Silver Street). A good deal of preliminary negotiation must have been needed to obtain this compact property. In the original charter of 3 December 1446, founding the college of St Bernard on this site, it was stated that the land had been made over to the King *ex dono et concessione Ricardi Andrewe burgensis ville Cantabrigie*, by a charter of his dated the preceding 18 November.<sup>4</sup>

Although within a few months Doket was already negotiating for a larger site on the west side of Milne Street, which meant the abandonment of the scheme for building the college on the plot acquired through Richard Andrew's generosity, the spicer did not lose interest in the college. We find him witnessing the two contracts for the carpentry work of the first court,<sup>5</sup> and when he died in 1461, the college received further benefactions under his will.<sup>6</sup> He left to the President and Fellows eighty marks in

<sup>1</sup> In 1424 Richard Andrew was one of the two Cambridge burgesses representing the town in Parliament. In 1426, when a new system of electing the Common Council of twenty-four was adopted, he was one of the 'eight discreet men' chosen first; about that time he was named one of 'the seven of the city' in the list of townsmen chosen to be present at the *Magna Congregacio* or Great Assembly of clerks and laymen held every year soon after Michaelmas (Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 1, pp. 172, 175, 176).

<sup>2</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* p. 29. In the list of townsmen attending the Great Assembly of clerks and laymen (c. 1426) Henry Symmeson appears as one of the two representatives of the parish of St Botolph; Thomas Good was one of the two for Great St Mary's. Good was a chandler by trade. In 1444 he was occupying a house in Holy Trinity parish belonging to Barnwell Priory, and two years later he and his son released an adjoining tenement to the Nuns of St Radegund (A. Gray, *Priory of St Radegund*, C.A.S. 8vo. Publ. xxxi, p. 97).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jacob was five times Mayor of Cambridge, in 1431, 1432, 1440, 1441 and 1443; he had been one of the bailiffs four times between 1402 and 1426 (J. Milner Gray, *Biographical Notes on the Mayors of Cambridge*, p. 18). Like Andrew, he was one of the first eight of the Common Council of twenty-four chosen in 1426, and one of 'the Seven of the City' in the list for the Great Assembly (Cooper, *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 176). His widow, Agnes, surrendered two tenements on part of the ground required for the enlarged site of King's (Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. 1, pp. 179, 194-6, and Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, pp. 338, 344). In exchange she seems to have been given two vacant plots of land in Henney, forming part of the property between Michaelhouse and Trinity Hall which the King had purchased from the Priory of Anglesey (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 27 Henry VI, pt. 1, m. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 41.

<sup>6</sup> His will was dated 30 August 1459 and proved 1 July 1461. Abstract printed by Cooper, *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 210; see also Searle, *op. cit.* p. 66. Andrew also bequeathed eighty marks and certain property to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty to endow a chest or hutch with a stock of money from which burgesses might borrow sums up to two marks against cautions deposited as security. In the Corporation records the chest came to be called *Saint Andrew's hutch*.

money and four tenements in the parishes of St Botolph, St Peter, Haslingfield and Madingley. The revenues were to be used for the maintenance of a Bible clerk. A condition attached to the bequest was that there should be celebrated in St Botolph's Church an annual obit at which the President and Fellows of the college and the Mayor and bailiffs of the town should be present. Searle points out that an exchange of properties probably took place, for in the college inventory of 1472 his benefactions are given as St Nicholas Hostel in St Andrew's parish and four tenements in St Botolph's parish.<sup>1</sup>

Over the acquisition of the new site on which the first court and cloister court now stand the protagonist was another of Docket's well-to-do parishioners, John Morris of Cambridge and Trumpington. Members of his family had for long been prominent in town affairs. An earlier John Morris was twice Mayor in Edward II's reign, and under Edward III Bartholomew, Stephen, son of Bartholomew, Stephen, son of John, and another John Morris also held the office.<sup>2</sup> Several of them represented the borough in Parliament. As early as 1279 a member of the family held property in the parish of St Botolph: the Hundred Rolls show Nicholas Morice as the owner of four houses.<sup>3</sup> In 1392 Sir John Morice founded a chantry in St Botolph's Church which he endowed with lands in Cambridge, Coton and Chesterton.<sup>4</sup> Just 50 years later, when Docket held the living, Thomas Morice left by will the sum of £40 for beautifying the Lady Chapel in the north aisle—a legacy that led to a lawsuit against the executor who at first refused to pay.<sup>5</sup> This Thomas was, no doubt, a relative of John Morris, to whom the college owes the land on which its oldest buildings stand.

It was in July 1447 that Docket acquired the bulk of the large area of ground lying between Queens' Lane and the river, and extending back from Silver Street as far as the Carmelite Friary. The greater part of it comprised the messuage and garden belonging to John Morris and Elizabeth, his wife,<sup>6</sup> and let to Benet Lyster. But along the Silver Street frontage, extending from the river eastward as far as the bend in the street at the south-west corner of the first court, there was a row of houses. On the river bank (*juxta ripariam*) stood the corner house (*angulare messuagium*) of John Morris; next to it were four small tenements; east of these came a tenement belonging to Corpus Christi College and then the tenement of Thomas Forster. In a deed of 1 August 1447, the President and Fellows of St Bernard's College made over all but the corner house and the two last-named tenements to the King as a preliminary to the issue of the second charter of 21 August refounding the college on the new site.<sup>7</sup> In this deed the large messuage and garden are stated to have been received *ex dono et concessione predicti Johannis Morys et Elizabeth uxoris sue*, the four tenements *ex dono et concessione predicti Johannis Morys et Johannis Battisford de Chesterton*. It is

<sup>1</sup> In Andrew's will St Nicholas Hostel was bequeathed to the town.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough*, pp. 137-40, and J. Milner Gray, *Mayors of Cambridge*, pp. 10-15.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Goodman, *A Little History of St Botolph's, Cambridge*, p. 26. In *Township and Borough* Professor Maitland wrongly listed these houses under St Benet's parish (p. 146).

<sup>4</sup> Baker, *History of St John's College* (ed. Mayor), vol. 1, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Goodman, *op. cit.* p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> She was the daughter of John Ansty of Holm Hall, Quy (Hailstone, *History of Bottisham*, p. 112).

<sup>7</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* p. 5.

uncertain when the corner house was acquired, but it probably became the property of the college at an early date. The piece of ground belonging to Corpus Christi was conveyed to Queens' on 12 January 1460,<sup>1</sup> and Forster's tenement perhaps then or shortly before. These last two plots were on the south side of what became Pump Court, and so did not interfere with the lay-out of a regular quadrangle extending as far west as the bend in Silver Street. Having secured the Morris property Doket was in a position to go ahead with his buildings.

We now introduce a third parishioner whose part in the story has not before been recognized but whom we claim here to have been the architect of the college. There is a passage in Doket's will in which very particular mention is made of Reginald Ely.<sup>2</sup> Doket gave directions for his tenement at the corner next the church of St Botolph to be sold at the discretion of his executors, whom he empowered to buy lands, pastures and tenements and to apply the moneys therefrom for the health of his soul, of Reginald Ely and of all his benefactors; and after the decease of his executors the said tenement or other lands and tenements bought by them were to remain to the college 'so that they may observe the exequies for my soul and the soul of Reginald Ely and the souls of all benefactors of the said college in the church of St Botolph, Cambridge, on the anniversary day of Reginald Ely'. This thrice repeated naming of his former parishioner and the solicitude shown for keeping his obit are very striking, and suggest that Reginald Ely was either an intimate friend or a relation by blood or marriage. He was certainly a benefactor of the college. Moreover, he and Doket had been next-door neighbours, or at any rate the owners of adjoining houses. Both the second and third charters give the dimensions and abutments of the property between Queens' Lane and Trumpington Street acquired through Richard Andrew. On the south side it was bounded by the backs of a row of seven houses which are named in the following order, probably from west to east: the messuages respectively of the Nuns of St Radegund, of Andrew Doket (clerk), of Reginald Ely, of Thomas Neel, of Thomas Lovell, of Henry Symson, and of Robert Bradwey (clerk). Andrew Doket's house appears to have been the one which he converted into an almshouse for three poor women after dividing or rebuilding it as three tenements.<sup>3</sup>

Reginald Ely also founded almshouses in Cambridge, and it is owing to this fact that his will has been preserved. There is a copy of it among the muniments of Caius

<sup>1</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 3. Searle (*op. cit.* p. 68) identifies the plot acquired at this date with the site of Doket's almshouses in Silver Street, but the mention of Forster's tenement as the eastern abuttal rules out this location. Cooper refers to two deeds relating to this piece of ground, both dated 3 June 1459, in one of which the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi conveyed it to the President and Fellows of Queens' and in the other to six trustees, one of whom was Richard Andrew. In these deeds the eastern abuttal, according to Cooper, is given as 'the tenement late of William Good, but purchased by Queens' College'. The vendors reserved to themselves the materials of the house standing on the site (*Memorials*, vol. I, p. 289).

<sup>2</sup> Doket's will is printed *in extenso* by Searle, *op. cit.* p. 56. It is dated 2 November 1484, two days before his death. Letters of administration were granted to the President and Fellows of the college 23 April 1485, after the executors, one of whom was a Fellow of Queens', had renounced.

<sup>3</sup> In his will Doket left directions about his 'three tenements in which three poor women dwell'. On the death of his executors their administration was to pass to the college. After the sale of the site to St Catharine's in 1836 new almshouses were built in Queens' Lane, and these survived until 1911, when they were pulled down to make room for the new Doket building of Queens'. The charity was then converted into pensions.

College,<sup>1</sup> to which it came after the trust of his almshouses had been conveyed to Gonville Hall by William Buckenham, Master, who was a representative of one of Ely's executors. Although not expressly mentioning Andrew Docket, the will fully confirms the inference that the two men had been closely associated. It is unusual in bearing two different dates. At the head it is dated 14 October 1463, but it was read over and witnessed on 16 July 1471, evidently at Ely's death-bed, for it was proved only two days later in the University Court before Edmund Coningsburgh, acting Chancellor during a vacancy. Medieval wills are normally dated only a few weeks or even days before the death of the testator, when an illness likely to be fatal occurred. The explanation of the two dates may be that in the autumn of 1463 Ely had a serious illness from which he recovered and that although he lived for nearly eight years afterwards, he did not find it necessary to remake his will in its entirety. Some bequests of personal belongings and remissions of debt seem to have been added at the later date.

Ely describes himself as 'mason of Cambridge' and desires to be buried in the church of St Botolph 'where I am a parishioner, on the north side of the said church before the image of St Christopher'. He leaves 40s. to be disposed by the churchwardens for the use of the church. Among many charitable bequests that follow, Queens' College is twice mentioned, first in connexion with Masses to be celebrated in the college chapel and secondly over the bequest of a house.

I will that a chaplain fellow of the Queen's college in Cambridge have eight marks of legal money of England to celebrate for my soul and the souls of my parents and benefactors and all faithful departed for one whole year within the same college. I will that every chaplain being at my exequies and mass have, and each one shall have, 4*d.* of money aforesaid.

The location of the house which he left to the college is not specified.

I will that the college of St Margaret<sup>2</sup> have for ever the tenement in which James Belly dwells.

James Belly, who was one of the witnesses of the will, was excused 3*s.* 4*d.* of rent which he owed and was to pay the remaining one and a quarter years' arrears up to St John the Baptist's Day. It can hardly be a coincidence that both Reginald Ely and Andrew Docket founded almshouses. Like Docket's, Ely's foundation was for three poor people. The almshouse was to be in the parish of St Clement 'if it can conveniently be made there', in which case it was to be administered by the Gild of St Clement, but his executors were given the option of buying a site wherever one could be acquired. Eventually, some ground was obtained in St Michael's parish and the almshouses were built between 1473 and 1476 on the north side of Trinity Lane (anciently Michael Lane) on a site a little to the east of the south-east corner of the Great Court of Trinity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Caius College Treasury, Box XXI, No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> In its early years Queens' appears often to have been called by this name. Under Receipts in the Proctors' Accounts for 1456-7 there is the entry: 'Item from Master Andrewe Doget master of Saint Margarets College 16*s.* 8*d.* for the ashes of the lead' (Grace Book 'A', p. 9). The University had just completed the lead roof above the library in the west range of the Schools quadrangle, but we are left guessing the reason why Docket wanted the ashes.

<sup>3</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 418-19. The almshouses were rebuilt in 1864 near St Paul's Church.

The earliest known reference to Reginald Ely occurs in a building account at Peterhouse for the year 1438-9 recording expenditure on the library then being built on the west side of the medieval court. A contract for the building of this range had been made in 1431 with John Wassynge of Hinton, but progress in fitting up the library had been slow. The account for 1438-9 contains an entry of 10s. paid to Reginald Ely, freemason (*lathamo*), for making the stair of the new library.<sup>1</sup> This new stair of stone still survives in the range now disguised on the east side by Sir James Burrough's eighteenth-century facing.

Five years later Ely appears as chief mason at King's College. The date of his appointment is unknown; it was probably as early as 1441, in which year, on Passion Sunday, Henry VI laid the first stone of the college in the south turret of the gate tower of the old court facing Clare. The first mention of Ely as master mason occurs in a patent roll of 1444. On 16 June of that year a commission was issued to Reynold Ely, chief mason (*capitalis cementarius*) of the college of St Mary and St Nicholas, Cambridge, and William Roskyn and Henry Beverley, who were clerks of the works, to take masons and other craftsmen and all materials necessary for the building of the college.<sup>2</sup> Carter, however, refers to a document, probably of the preceding year, in which Reginald Ely's name occurred.<sup>3</sup> It was a fragment of a weekly account book, now lost or mislaid, covering four weeks from 6 July to 3 August. As the payments of wages were normally made on a Saturday and John Langton, whose name appeared on the last leaf, ceased to be overseer of the works in March 1447, Carter was able to date the account to 1443. On 10 July of that year were issued the letters patent which for the first time linked the college with Eton, and in August began the acquisition of the additional land required for the vastly magnified project which the King now had in mind.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, work on the old court of King's was proceeding, although by 1448, when the King signed his 'will and intent' concerning his two colleges, in which he set out detailed instructions and measurements for the new chapel and the great quadrangle that was to have been built to the south of it, the original court, not yet half finished, had already become obsolete. But up to 1443, and perhaps for a year or two longer, the buildings opposite Clare must still have been regarded as the permanent, not temporary, home of the college, and Reginald Ely was in charge of them before the present chapel was begun. The point is of some importance, because the gate tower and the range of buildings adjoining it were conceived as works of high quality; in Professor Willis's words, they were 'manifestly designed by an architect of first-rate ability, and in style, as in materials and workmanship, were greatly superior to any previous work in the University'.

Reginald Ely continued to be master mason at King's until all work on the chapel stopped shortly after Edward IV's accession. He is named in the commission for impressing masons and craftsmen issued on 26 February 1459,<sup>5</sup> when a new, though,

<sup>1</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, pp. 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-6*, p. 269. Printed in full by Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 594.

<sup>3</sup> T. J. P. Carter, *King's College Chapel* (1867), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Fordham's house on the north side of Piron Lane (opposite St Edward's Passage) was purchased 26 August 1443 (Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 337).

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-61*, p. 478.



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QUEENS' COLLEGE. The lower part of the Gate-tower, the design of which is here attributed to Reginald Ely



*Photograph by Edward Leigh*

ANDREW DOKET holding the Charter of Foundation

as it proved, abortive effort was made to give new life to the undertaking, which had been languishing for want of money. On 10 February 1461, the King, at the time a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of York, granted a special pardon to 'Reynold Ely of Cambridge, mason, *alias* maister mason of the college of St Mary and St Nicholas, Cambridge', and on the same day a similar pardon was granted to John Brown, who had been Ely's second-in-command, probably with the status of warden of the masons.<sup>1</sup> No doubt, they found it expedient to indemnify themselves so far as possible under the new régime. In spite of efforts made by the Provost, Robert Wodelark, to carry on, the works came to a halt in the summer of 1461. Some rough accounts of Wodelark covering the years 1459-61 show that Ely's salary was then in arrears.<sup>2</sup>

The plan of the college as detailed in Henry VI's 'will and intent' must have been the fruit of many personal consultations between the King, his advisers and the master mason. Bishop Waynflete was the 'executor and director' charged with the task of fulfilling the 'will', and devotedly did he struggle at Eton to carry out the trust committed to him after the King had been deposed and the revenues from the Duchy of Lancaster cut off. But at Cambridge the supervision of the works from the beginning rested with John Langton, the Chancellor of the University, to whom the idea of founding the college was originally due. He was succeeded by William Millington, the first Provost, for a few months in 1447, and then by Nicholas Close and later, Robert Wodelark, the latter being appointed by letters patent dated 12 December 1452.<sup>3</sup> No doubt Robert Westerley, who as master mason of the King's works held the highest architectural office in the state,<sup>4</sup> was also consulted, and he may even have devised the ground plans both of Eton and King's. There is no evidence, however, that he ever visited Cambridge or had any part in the designing and building of King's, where Reginald Ely was undoubtedly the master mason on the spot. The kitchen accounts of the college, which begin in 1448, show that Ely and his second-in-command, John Brown, were frequently entertained at the Fellows'

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-61*, p. 647. A week later, at the second battle of St Albans, Queen Margaret regained possession of her unfortunate husband but failed to secure London, where Edward IV was proclaimed King on 4 March.

<sup>2</sup> King's College Muniments, College Accounts, vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> See Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 466-9. Millington was obliged to resign because he refused to subscribe to certain clauses in the code of statutes. Nicholas Close, who was granted a coat of arms for his services in the capacity of surveyor of the works, has been credited with an architectural reputation like William of Wykeham and Sir Reginald Bray. No doubt, he was an able administrator. In March 1450, he was made bishop of Carlisle and in August 1452, was translated to Lichfield, but died in the October following. Willis and Clark assume that he ceased to be connected with the works after his appointment to Carlisle, but the fact that Wodelark was not made overseer until December 1452 suggests that Nicholas Close held the office up to his death.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Westerley was appointed master mason of the King's works on 6 January 1439 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41*, p. 228). A regrant of the office on new terms was made to him on 1 December 1446 (*ibid. 1446-52*, p. 22). This was revoked by Act of Parliament in November 1449, but a fresh grant was made to him for life on 11 November 1451 (*ibid.* p. 500). In 1441 Westerley received a commission to impress masons for the building of Eton College (Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College*, p. 12; Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 384 n.), but he is not named in the impressment commissions for King's. He continued to hold office as master mason of the King's works until July 1461, when he was succeeded by Thomas Jordan. See John H. Harvey, 'The Medieval Office of Works', in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Third Series), vol. VI (1941), pp. 50, 52 and 68.

table either *in prandio* or *in cena* or at both, more especially on feast days. Their names continue to appear in these accounts right up to April 1461. Architectural comparisons between the old court and the portions of the chapel built in Henry VI's reign reveal striking resemblances of detail. For instance, the same kind of delicate mouldings set off by deeply hollowed casements are to be found on the north and south doorways leading to the easternmost side-chapels as appear on the outer arch of the gate-tower, and these doorways have crocketed ogee finials resembling that over the inner arch of the gate-tower. The flower ornaments in the casement mouldings of the windows of the gate-tower occur also on the inner jambs of the east window of the easternmost of the north range of side-chapels, probably the only one built during Ely's lifetime. This does not exhaust the similarities of detail that could be cited.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless, the dimensions laid down for the chapel were settled by the royal committee, but all the evidence justifies us in regarding Reginald Ely as the architect who worked out the design and details during the first of the three building periods.

There is an often-quoted passage in the 'will' in which the King admonished his architect to eschew too much ornament.

I wol that the edificacion of my same College procede in large fourme clene and substantial setting a parte superfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and besy moldyng.

Perhaps the front of the gate-tower of the old court had appeared over-elaborate to the King. An interesting sidelight on this admonition, usually regarded as evidence of Henry VI's austere predilections, is to be found in a similar instruction issued to the architect of the Divinity School at Oxford, which makes it appear to have been rather a revulsion of taste towards a broader and simpler system of design. In January 1440, a new master mason, Thomas Elkin, was appointed to succeed Richard Winchcombe, who had been placed in charge of the work ten years earlier when the Divinity School was begun. Winchcombe's work is marked by an elaboration of mouldings and small-scale carving which was a symptom of the increasing technical skill of the freemasons of the time, but it no longer pleased those in high places.

Et quia plures magnates regni et alii sapientes non approbant sed reprehendunt nimiam curiositatem incepti dicti operis, igitur dicta Universitas vult quod dictus Thomas retrahet deinceps . . . supervacuam talem curiositatem dicti operis, videlicet in tabernaculis ymaginum . . . casimentis et fylettis et in aliis frivolis curiositatibus que ad rem non pertinent sed ad nimias et sumptuosas expensas dicte Universitatis et ad nimiam dicti operis tardacionem.<sup>2</sup>

From the concluding words of this clause in Elkin's agreement it is clear that the expense and delay caused by Winchcombe's love of 'frivolous curiosities' influenced the authorities at Oxford quite as much as the current aesthetic opinions (if we are right in calling them aesthetic) of the magnates of the realm, and the same con-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford University, *Registrum F*, fo. 55 b. Printed in *Epistolae Academicae Oxon.* (ed. H. Anstey), vol. 1, p. 192. (Oxford Hist. Soc. vol. xxxv). Perhaps the most elaborate work of the period, in which the high-water mark of *curiositas* was reached, is Henry V's chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey, designed by John Thirsk, the Abbey master mason of the time. The royal masons of Henry VII and Henry VIII went, however, still further in the pursuit of elaborate and intricate effects but they are characterized by a new delicacy of touch.

siderations would have applied still more powerfully at King's on account of the royal founder's impatience to see his grand design realized. In the long run 'curiosity' conquered, although the 'large form' of the design was never allowed to be obscured by the detail. Even Reginald Ely's work shows little inclination to observe the behest very religiously:

While the King's darling project made such slow progress, his Queen's foundation, under the able control of its President, had rapidly taken shape and had been brought to completion. Here, we can be sure, Docket's thrifty and practical nature would not have allowed him to outrun the limited resources at his disposal, and considerations of economy must have dictated the comparatively simple architectural treatment, the use of brick and the concentration of ornament on a few focal points. But though relatively plain and planned on a modest scale, the buildings are well and coherently designed, and they satisfy the requirements specified for King's in being 'clean and substantial'.

No accounts or contracts for the stonework or the brickwork of the old court of Queens' survive; there are only the two agreements for the structural timber work.<sup>1</sup> Both were made with John Veyse or Weyse, draper of Elsenham, Essex, and Thomas Sturgeon of the same place, carpenter. The first contract was signed on 14 April 1448, the day before the foundation stone was laid. It was an agreement for making 'an howse with in the seid college as in werk of carpentre', 240 feet long and 20 feet broad, and for the supply of timber and laths for all the walls, floors, middle walls and stairs, at a cost of £100. By omitting the gate-tower Professor Willis calculated that the measurement of 240 feet covered the whole of the north range eastward from the combination room, the east range and part of the south range extending from the south-east angle to a point where a vertical break in the brickwork occurs.<sup>2</sup> It is worth remarking that in the contract no mention is made of the structural walls. Probably we have here an instance of craft conservativeness: the contract is worded as for the construction of a wholly timber-framed building. The third of the three payments which the contractors were to receive was to be made on the Michaelmas Day following, so that it was expected to complete this first building instalment by the end of the summer of 1448.

On 6 March 1449, the second contract was signed. This covered the making of the hall roof, the roofs, floors, middle walls and stairs ('greses') of the buttery, pantry and kitchen, extending south of the hall as far as 'the hei way', and of the return of chambers on the street front completing the south range. By this time the north range, facing the Carmelite Friary, was already built, for it was specified that the scantlings of timbers should 'accord with the other syde wich is now redy framed next the Freres'. In this second contract, in the execution of which Veyse and Sturgeon were to receive £80, there is an allusion to the brick and stone structure: the work was to be done 'in as hasty wise as thei may goodly after the walles of the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full by Searle, *op. cit.* pp. 38-41, and by Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 12. In actual fact the total length to this point works out at 243 feet, 'a sufficiently close coincidence with the 240 feet of the contract'.

seid howses be redy'. The dates set down for the payment of the instalments provided for the building continuing into the late summer of the following year. Two gifts of money must have assisted the work very considerably. In 1449 the King gave a sum of £200, and Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Lincoln, gave £220, probably in 1450.<sup>1</sup> By the autumn of 1450 the court is likely to have been complete except for the gate-tower and the north-west corner to be filled by the Fellows' parlour and the President's room over it. But it is improbable that there was any long delay before these were built. Docket had a way of getting things done. The fitting up of the chapel may have taken four or five years. At any rate, it was not until 12 December 1454, that William Gray, bishop of Ely, licensed the celebration of divine service both in the college chapel and in that of St Bernard's Hostel.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Sturgeon, the carpenter, was also the master carpenter at King's. On 17 December 1443, as chief carpenter of the college of St Mary and St Nicholas, Cambridge, he was commissioned to take carpenters, joiners, sawyers and other workmen and to procure timber for the building.<sup>3</sup> He is also named in the impressment commission of 1459, along with Reginald Ely.<sup>4</sup> In November and December 1460, he was employed on the hanging of the bells in the timber belfry intended as a temporary housing pending the time when the great tower of King's should be built.<sup>5</sup> Entries in the kitchen accounts show that from time to time he was entertained at the Fellows' table in hall. During the whole of the first phase of building at King's Ely and Sturgeon were colleagues, and the fact that Sturgeon was the carpenter employed at Queens'<sup>6</sup> raises a strong presumption, quite apart from the indirect evidence already cited, that Ely was the master mason. Indeed, as both colleges were royal foundations, being built at the same time within a short distance of each other, it would have been the logical arrangement to place both in the charge of the same men.

Lastly, there is the architectural evidence of the buildings themselves. During the fifteenth century the use of brick, still unknown and unnecessary in many parts of England, became increasingly common in the Eastern counties, particularly where good freestone was not easily available. In Cambridge the local hard chalk or clunch was the material employed for external walls in all the earliest college buildings that were not timber-framed, but its poor weathering properties must already have been evident. At King's Hall brick had been used for the chimney of a new kitchen built in 1394-5, for a wall built along the river bank in 1399-1400, for a new bakehouse erected between 1411 and 1415, and for the new library begun in 1416-17.<sup>7</sup> The old

<sup>1</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* pp. 61-2.

<sup>2</sup> Searle, *op. cit.* p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-6*, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1452-61*, p. 478.

<sup>5</sup> See paper by J. W. Clark in *C.A.S. Communications*, vol. IV, p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> Veyse, the Elsenham draper, whose name appears in the two Queens' contracts as Sturgeon's partner, probably acted as guarantor and supplied all or part of the working capital, either in the form of money or materials, which Sturgeon was not in a position to provide unaided. The roof of the hall, restored to view in 1846 after having long been hidden above an eighteenth-century ceiling, is one of the few medieval roofs the designer of which can be named with certainty. As a designer and framer of buildings, open timber roofs, mills, barns and other structures, the master carpenter was an architect as well as a craftsman, and he often received the same salary as the master mason.

<sup>7</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 438-42.

term 'walleyle' is used in the entries in the accounts relating to the last.<sup>1</sup> For the river wall, bakehouse and library clunch was also purchased, and it is possible that the 'wall tiles' were used only for lacing courses in the river wall and library: for the bakehouse they would be needed for the oven. The Peterhouse account for 1438-9, the year when Reginald Ely was paid for making the newel stair of the library, records the purchase of 3,000 'de Bryke',<sup>2</sup> possibly for the north wall of the range of chambers backing on to the churchyard of Little St Mary's, where the easternmost section is of medieval brickwork. Unfortunately, the account rolls for the following years are missing, but if Ely was the master mason at Peterhouse, he would already have had experience of brick construction a decade before the court of Queens' was begun.

Brick building in the fifteenth century was still carried out under the direction of a master mason,<sup>3</sup> and the laying of bricks was often performed by mason layers. Bricklayers were only beginning to emerge as a class of their own, chiefly in places such as Hull and Beverley, where the production and use of bricks were already on a considerable scale. When a brick wall was built at King's Hall in 1452-3 and Reginald Ely was consulted about it, the men who came from Felmersham, the college estate in Bedfordshire, to erect the wall were masons.<sup>4</sup> In 1459 it was decided to build a new bakehouse at Corpus Christi, and the contract was made with John Loose, mason, whose agreement specified the use of brick as well as stone in its construction, including four windows 'of breke ych of theym of ij lyghtes'.<sup>5</sup> In the early building accounts of Eton the 'rough leyers' and the 'brekemen' are grouped together, and many of them were employed interchangeably on stone-laying and brick-laying.<sup>6</sup> There, however, it is probable that some were specifically bricklayers: the layers called 'brikeleggers', whom William Veysy, the Eton brickmaker, was ordered to impress in 1442,<sup>7</sup> may have been obtained chiefly from the region of Hull, where the principal buildings and the walls of the town were all of brick, as none would have known better than the Marquess of Suffolk, who in the early stages of the building of Eton played an active part in the superintendence and organization of the works. The de la Poles in the sixteenth century were the great merchant family of Hull, and we know from Leland that Michael de la Pole, whom Richard II created Earl of Suffolk, built himself 'a goodly house of brike' in Hull adjoining the church of St Mary.<sup>8</sup>

The example of Eton may have been largely responsible for the decision to use brick in the buildings of Queens', although, as we have seen, brick was no novelty at

<sup>1</sup> Before the foreign term 'brick' came into general usage wall-tiles, roof-tiles and floor-tiles were all included under the generic Latin word *tegulae* in building accounts, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between the three unless they are explicitly differentiated or the context makes it clear what class of 'tile' is meant.

<sup>2</sup> Willis and Clark, op. cit. vol. I, p. 12 n.

<sup>3</sup> The master bricklayer does not appear until the early years of the sixteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Willis and Clark, op. cit. vol. II, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vol. I, pp. 308-10.

<sup>6</sup> D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, 'The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460,' in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. XLVI, pp. 83, 92, 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-6*, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> For an outline of the development of the brick industry in Eastern England during the medieval period see Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork*, and H. A. Tipping, *English Homes, Periods I and II*, vol. II, Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxxviii.

Cambridge by this time.<sup>1</sup> And here it should be stated that the brickwork in the old court of Queens' is only a facing. The core of the walls is of clunch or chalk rubble. The same combination of materials had been used at the end of the fourteenth century in building the chapel of Gonville Hall. The ashlar facing of the walls of this building, now the chapel of Caius College, dates only from 1718. When openings were made in this casing of freestone in 1896, Mr T. D. Atkinson found that the original walls were of clunch faced with medieval brickwork, the bricks being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and 2 inches thick, and varying from  $9\frac{1}{4}$  to 10 inches in length.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note in this medieval practice an inversion of the later system of using a brick core with an ashlar facing. But as yet brick had not become an abundant or cheap enough material at Cambridge to supersede entirely the local clunch so readily obtainable from Cherryinton, Barrington and Burwell, although compared with oolite freestone brick was much less expensive.

For the making of bricks a specialist was required, like Veysy at Eton, who had his kiln at Slough, or Reculver, the brickmaker from Greenwich who sixty years later was engaged for the building of the first court of St John's.<sup>3</sup> At this time foreigners from the Netherlands or Germany were still in demand for brickmaking in England. The bricks used in the great tower of Tattershall Castle, which was nearing completion when the building of Queens' was beginning, were made locally in a kiln at Edlington and also at Boston by a Dutchman of the name of Baldwin.<sup>4</sup> In 1440 the Abbot of Bury entered into an agreement with John Arnold and Hermann Remond or Reynold, *teutonicis*, described both as 'brekebrenners' and 'tylemakers', for the burning of bricks at the rate of two shillings a thousand on his manor of Chevington, south-west of Bury.<sup>5</sup> With no records available, we do not know whether the bricks for Queens' were made in a kiln specially erected near at hand, or purchased in consignments and brought from a distance by water, perhaps from Lynn. The King's Hall account for 1430-1 records the purchase of 4,000 *tegule*, and their carriage from Lynn, but Professor Willis believed that the entry referred to floor-tiles, not bricks.<sup>6</sup>

In a building constructed entirely of brick, the medieval architect did not enjoy the same scope for the exercise of his skill and artistry, although there might be diaper work with vitrified headers, as in the first court of St John's, and the cutting and moulding of brick for arches, windows and corbel tables offered some slight compensation for the lack of freestone to carve with the chisel. At Queens', however, as at Eton, stone was used for the dressings and decorative work, and it is here that Reginald Ely's hand may be detected. The plan of Queens' follows that prescribed for the domestic buildings of Eton and also for the projected great court of King's in having square turrets for garderobes set at intervals along the external walls and at the angles. The original architectural detail in the cloister court of Eton shows,

<sup>1</sup> The Eton accounts show that no fewer than 2,469,100 bricks were made for the college between 1442 and 1451 (Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 385 n.).

<sup>2</sup> *C.A.S. Proceedings*, vol. IX, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Tipping, *op. cit.* p. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Curteys Register Pt. I, B.M. Add. MS. 14,848, fo. 318 v. and Pt. II, B.M. Add. MS. 7096, fo. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 445.

however, no similarity to that of Queens',<sup>1</sup> and the arrangements adopted in the plan of Queens' conform with Cambridge precedent.

By 1448 there were complete quadrangles at Corpus Christi and King's Hall, and probably also at Pembroke; those of Trinity Hall and Gonville Hall were completed before the end of the century. The cloister court at King's Hall was not typical of the collegiate plan as evolved at Cambridge. The old courts of Corpus Christi and Pembroke show, or showed, the earlier stages in the evolution of the Cambridge college court, which at Queens' is seen fully developed. Both at Corpus Christi and Pembroke the hall with kitchen, buttery and pantry at one end and the master's chamber at the other was placed in the range opposite the entrance. At Pembroke for the first time provision was made for a chapel forming part of the quadrangle; except for the fact that it was placed to the right instead of to the left of the entrance, the chapel at Queens' occupies a similar position, although owing to the reverse orientation of the two courts the altar was at the opposite end. Pembroke, at least in the main dispositions, provided the model for the Queens' court, but circumstances had constricted the width of the court at Pembroke to as little as 53 feet; and when in 1452 a new library was built, possibly to Reginald Ely's designs, it was constructed as a top-hammer above the hall. At Queens' the court was large enough for the library to be placed in the same range as the chapel, both being on the quiet side, away from the noise and bustle of the street.

The Cambridge collegiate plan, as Professor Willis remarked long ago, was that of the courtyard house, which needed but slight modification to adapt it to the life of a college. The salient characteristics of the old court of Queens', distinguishing it from its predecessors, are the neat, compact arrangement of all the elements within the quadrangular frame, and the presence of the turreted gate-tower. The gate-tower at King's Hall, which was built between 1427 and 1433, and which, after being taken down and moved in 1600, was re-erected as the present King Edward's Gate of Trinity, was the first of a series of seven belonging to Cambridge colleges, all of which are characterized by their four octagonal angle turrets carried up above the roof-level of the gate-house. But the immediate prototype of the Queens' gate-tower was Reginald Ely's own design, never completed in his lifetime, for the entrance tower of the original court of King's.<sup>2</sup> Detailed comparison proves that the Queens' tower is a transposition of the other into terms of brick with stone dressings and ornaments, some pruning of the ornament being effected in the process.

All the main features are reproduced: the arrangement of the angle turrets with the inner pair containing staircases designed on a larger scale than the outer pair; the lierne vault of two bays, as projected for the King's tower; and the arches of four-centred form. The details of the stonework correspond closely, if one makes allowance

<sup>1</sup> A comparison between the buildings of Eton and Queens' is made by Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Scale-drawings of the two faces of the King's gate-tower are given in Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821), plate XX. They are reproduced by Willis and Clark, together with a plan (*op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 328, 329, 331). After narrowly escaping destruction in 1836 the gate-tower remained in its unfinished state until 1889, when it was at last completed from designs by J. L. Pearson. I am much indebted to Mr Denys Spittle for making the measured drawings of the Queens' gate-tower reproduced on pp. 9 and 10.

for the more modest character of Queens' and the need for economy; equally elaborate carving and moulding would have been too costly. At King's the inner arch has mouldings that die into the jambs. This characteristic appears on both arches at Queens', but the outer arch, though it lacks the delicate shafts and capitals and has mouldings of less refinement, displays a similar relationship between hoodmould and spandrels to that seen in its prototype. In the spandrels themselves there is an idiosyncrasy that calls for particular mention. A rose at King's, a shield at Queens', is enclosed in a circle with four cusps that would normally have formed a quatrefoil, but in each instance where the point of the cusp should have been there is a sharp indentation cutting back to the circumference of the circle. The effect is to give a pattern which is highly individual, though difficult to describe. This same little detail occurs also over the two doorways in the choir of King's College chapel that give access to the side-chapels.<sup>1</sup> The stage above the outer arch at Queens', in its treatment, harks back to the similar stage on the inner face of the King's gate-tower, where a pair of tall single lights with double cusps also flanks a niche with delicate canopy and crocketed finial. The detail at Queens' is much less elaborate, the crocketing to the hoodmoulds of the windows and the flower ornaments in the casement moulding being omitted; and at Queens' the niche is not linked to the arch below it, as at King's, by a crocketed ogee out of which the tabernacle for the statue seems to grow. But in the designs of both tabernacles a very distinctive feature occurs. The outer pair of pinnacles are carried down the sides of the niches and where they terminate are supported by little carved heads. As the uppermost stage of the King's gate-tower was never built to the original design, the comparison must cease at this point. One may compare, however, the lierne vaulting of the Queens' gateway with that to be seen in the two easternmost side-chapels on the north side of King's College chapel. On the two principal bosses of the vaulting are carvings of the patron saints of the college, St Margaret and St Bernard.

The original tracery of all the windows in the hall and chapel of Queens' was displaced in the eighteenth century; the existing tracery is a conjectural restoration.<sup>2</sup> The smaller windows of the court show a preference for arched heads to square ones, and engravings of the old court of King's disclose the same liking for arched forms.<sup>3</sup> Two-centred arches are used for the single-light openings, four-centred for those of two or three lights. Most of the windows have lost their cusps, but some have been restored. The original form of the two-light windows can be seen in the north wall of the library, where they remain untouched. The windows in the kitchen building of Peterhouse (1449-50) were of this type, and so were those of the library built over the hall at Pembroke in 1452.<sup>4</sup> Both window openings and arch mouldings

<sup>1</sup> The same kind of indented quatrefoil occurs in the spandrels of the doorway leading to the kitchen on the south side of the screens passage at Queens'.

<sup>2</sup> The tracery of the hall windows was inserted in 1854 from designs by Thomas Johnson. The east window of the chapel was restored in 1846. Loggan's print gives an idea of its original character and also of that of the hall windows.

<sup>3</sup> See Loggan's engraving, and the *University Almanack* for 1822.

<sup>4</sup> See Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p. 440, and Loggan's print.

are characterized by their deep casement mouldings. At King's, in the arch mouldings of the gate-tower and of the choir doorways in the chapel, which are far more elaborately worked than any at Queens', a beautiful play of light and shade is produced by the succession of deeply hollowed casements, against which the delicate profiles of the mouldings stand out with telling effect. The oriel in the hall of Queens' provided the architect with his only opportunity of skilled masoncraft apart from the gate-tower. The window tracery is a conjectural but not inappropriate restoration; everything else is authentic. There is nothing about the charming and delicate detail that is incompatible with Ely's work as seen at King's; indeed, the lovely little lierne vault is what one might suppose him to have produced for a feature requiring a happy lightness of touch.

The architectural evidence, we may claim, confirms the conclusions to which we have been led by the passages cited in the wills of Ely and Docket. Only a prominent master mason of the time can have been responsible for a building so distinguished in its design, and his identity can hardly remain any longer in doubt. The first court of Queens' had an important influence on later college buildings in Cambridge; the plan, the choice of materials and the general character can be shadowed in the minds of Fisher and of his architect at St John's two generations later. The mellow medieval brickwork appeals to us to-day, so that it is easy to forget that even in the fifteenth century brick was used only *faute de mieux*, as a less expensive substitute for the good building stone which it was so costly to transport to Cambridge. It is interesting to speculate whether the Great Court of King's would also have been built in brick if the original design had been carried out. Denied the opportunity of seeing that grand conception realized, Reginald Ely, if we are right in our contention, must have found a lesser satisfaction in the miniature version of it which he was able to build so close at hand and also to see completed.

The date of the riverside building, which forms the west range of the cloister court of Queens', is not definitely known. It is certainly earlier than the north and south cloister walks, and these were built in 1494-5, if payments for lime and sand *pro claustro* which appear in the *Magnum Journale* under that year refer to a new work and not a repair. It is probable that the west range was built in Docket's lifetime, perhaps not long after the first court was finished.<sup>1</sup> It has few distinguishing architectural features, but it should be noted that its windows are of the same form as those in the first court, and it may also have been designed by Ely. Its fine brickwork, nice proportions and warm colour, taking the chill off the river in which it is reflected, have made it one of the best-loved of Cambridge buildings, happily spared by the failure to realize more than one end of the Essex reconstruction scheme.

Ely's will gives the impression that he died, if hardly a rich man, at least in comfortable circumstances.<sup>2</sup> His pecuniary legacies and remissions of debts total nearly

<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of Professor Willis. Atkinson and Clark date the range about 1460 (*Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, p. 378).

<sup>2</sup> Certain passages in Ely's will suggest that the range of his practice extended far beyond Cambridge. It is hoped to consider other aspects of his career on a later occasion.

£30, a not inconsiderable sum in those days; he left land in Barton and Comberton, and he was in a position to found almshouses. It is surprising to find that among so many bequests none was made to King's. Perhaps more than disappointment is to be inferred from this silence regarding the college to which he had acted as architect for nearly 20 years. No evidence has been found of his employment at King's during the last 10 years of his life, and in any case there was very little for him to do. By contrast the relations between Doket and Ely, as far as can be judged, were those of mutual regard and even intimacy; and it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the half-length figure of Andrew Doket that looks down from the outer arch of the gate-tower under the empty niche where, presumably, once stood the statue of the foundress,<sup>1</sup> is a portrait in stone carved by Ely himself. Two other Cambridge architects of distinction are buried at St Botolph's: Robert Grumbold (1639-1720) and James Essex (1722-84), to both of whom there are memorials. And it would be a fitting tribute to the memory of their fifteenth-century predecessor if a tablet were placed in the north aisle where he wished to be buried 'before the image of Saint Christopher'.<sup>2</sup> In the long list of names recited at the annual commemoration of benefactors at Queens' that of Reginald Ely has not hitherto been included.<sup>3</sup> If the omission may now be repaired, it should not be claiming too much to add after his name the words 'architect of this college'.

<sup>1</sup> Loggan's engraving shows the niche empty.

<sup>2</sup> There is a slab with the indents of brasses beside a pillar nearly half-way down the aisle that may be Reginald Ely's gravestone.

<sup>3</sup> Since this paper was read, on 26 April 1948, the President of Queens' has restored Reginald Ely's name to the roll of benefactors commemorated at the annual service. In the earliest list of benefactors of the college Reginald Ely is named, but without mention of his bequest.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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## CONTENTS

<i>Officers and Council of the Society 1948-1949</i>	page vii
<i>Officers and Council of the Society 1947-1948</i>	viii
<i>Report and Summary of Accounts for the Year 1946</i>	ix
<i>Report and Summary of Accounts for the Year 1947</i>	xi
<i>Editorial Note</i>	xiv
Railways to Cambridge, Actual and Projected: a Centenary Review By Canon R. B. FELLOWS, M.A., LL.M.	i
Andrew Doket and his Architect By ARTHUR OSWALD, M.A.	8
The Authorship of a Seventeenth-Century Harvests' Account Book from Fowlmere By W. P. BAKER, M.A.	27
The Cambridgeshire Properties of the Nunnery of St Mary Clerkenwell By W. O. HASSALL, M.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A.	33
The Clergy of Sawston, 1197 to 1948 By F. J. BYWATERS, M.A.	41
<i>Iconomania</i> in Eighteenth-Century Cambridge. Notes on a newly-acquired Miniature of Dr Farmer and his interest in Historical Portraiture By PROFESSOR G. R. OWST, LITT.D., D.LIT., PH.D., F.S.A.	67
Combined Beaker and Iron Age Sites at Lakenheath, Suffolk By GRACE BRISCOE, M.B., B.S.	92
An Early Iron Age Site at Lakenheath, Suffolk By A. S. R. GELL	112
Further Excavations at the War Ditches By T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A.	117
Archaeological Notes By C. I. FELL, M.A., T. C. LETHBRIDGE, M.A., F.S.A., and G. H. S. BUSHNELL, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A.	128
<i>Index</i>	131