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# Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume LXXIX

for 1990



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# The lost stained glass of Cambridge

Graham Chainey

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With the one magnificent exception of King's College Chapel, almost all the original stained glass which once filled the windows of the churches, college chapels, and other buildings of Cambridge has perished. The case is far from unique: most of the medieval stained glass throughout the land has gone, those windows and fragments of windows that remain, impressive and numerous though they are, being no more than fortuitous survivors from a holocaust whose scale is hard now to imagine. In the middle ages stained glass windows must have been the best known and most widespread form of visual art: the subsequent loss of most of them must rank as one of the foremost cultural disasters in our history – albeit one whose scale and detail have never been adequately chronicled.

Stained glass windows are inevitably vulnerable to several factors – to tempest, war, reversals of architectural fashion or religious faith, to vandalism, accident and neglect. Without doubt, however, the greatest destruction of English glass occurred at the hands of reformers and iconoclasts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformation (begun in 1536) saw the wholesale destruction of many former monastic buildings and, elsewhere, the removal of a number of particularly provocative images, such as those depicting the pope or Thomas à Becket. In the 1560s, before royal command stopped the excesses, puritan zealots 'cracked apleces the glass windows wherein the effigies of our blessed Saviour hanging on the Cross, or any one of his saints was depicted; or otherwise turned up their heels into the place where their heads used to be fixed.'<sup>1</sup> All the fifteenth-

century glass in Eton College chapel, sister foundation to King's, for instance, had gone by 1625. But worse was to come during the Civil War, when most of the remaining glass in the English cathedrals was destroyed by Cromwell's troops (Peterborough Cathedral, to take one example, still possessed much fine original glass in the 1630s) or, as at Lichfield, by the discharge of ordnance against the building. (Even at York, where General Fairfax's authority preserved so much of the city's unique heritage of glass, cannon-balls crashed through the Minster's windows during the siege of 1644.) The glass in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, glazed according to a similar thematic system to that at King's and by one of the same glaziers, was removed in 1644–5. Then followed centuries of vandalism and neglect, when the small amount still in existence was yet further diminished by 'up-to-date' architects and designers who despised anything Gothic or ancient, or by the indifference of clergy and others in failing to maintain windows that were in their care.

Little can now be discovered about the very earliest glass in Cambridge. Barnwell Priory, for example, the great Augustinian foundation suppressed in 1539, possessed a church with nave, aisles, choir, transepts, Lady Chapel, 'Little Lady Chapel', chapter house, and cloisters, and may well have been richly endowed with stained glass. Of the four other principal monastic foundations in the town, it was noted in a 1548 inventory that at all of them 'iron, glass and stone do yet remain'.<sup>2</sup> Five windows in the library at Queens' College contain fifteenth-century glass, depicting the

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<sup>1</sup> John Weever, *Ancient funeral monuments* (1631): 50.

<sup>2</sup> C.H. Evelyn White (ed.), *Cambridgeshire church goods: inventories for . . . 1538–1556* (n.d.): 119–20.

heads of friars, obtained when the college annexed the neighbouring Carmelite house in 1544; some scraps of glass from the Augustinian friary, dug up when the Cavendish Laboratory was built on the site in the 1920s, are preserved in a side-chapel at King's. Other vanished buildings that probably contained stained glass include the church of St John Zachary (demolished in the 1440s to make way for King's College), and the college chapels of Michaelhouse (demolished 1550–52) and King's Hall (demolished 1556). In 1565 George Wythers of Corpus Christi preached a sermon in Great St Mary's urging the abolition in the university of all superstitious painted windows, 'whereupon followed a great destruction of them, and the danger of a greater by some zealots there'.<sup>3</sup> Worst affected apparently were Great St Mary's itself, the university Schools, and the newly completed chapel at Trinity College.

Even after the destruction of the monastic foundations and the purges of the 1560s, however, a great amount must have remained. Practically every Cambridge church and chapel must still have possessed stained glass of some sort – scriptural representations, the images of saints, the heraldic memorials of founders and benefactors, with sequences representing the four Latin doctors or the twelve apostles apparently being a popular feature of college chapels. Fresh glass continued to be installed: mainly heraldic in the later Elizabethan period, but including what must have been a notable scriptural sequence during the Laudian 1630s in the new chapel at Peterhouse. Nor was glass restricted to ecclesiastical buildings. At Oxford, John Aubrey recorded that when he was a student 'crucifixes were common in the glass in the studies' windows; and in the chamber windows were canonized saints (for example, in my chamber window, St Gregory the Great). . . . But after 1647 they were all broken. Down went Dagon. Now no religion is to be found';<sup>4</sup> doubtless students' windows were similarly adorned at Cambridge.

Much interesting and distressing detail about the despoliation of Cambridge buildings during the Civil War is preserved in the notorious journal of William Dowsing (1596–1679), the Suffolk-born official appointed by the Earl of Manchester in December 1643 to visit churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk and enforce the recent parliamentary ordinance requiring the demolition of altars

and 'superstitious pictures'. This document<sup>5</sup> reveals how Dowsing visited Cambridge between 21 December 1643 and 3 January 1644, destroying some images himself and ordering the destruction of others, noting down what had already been accomplished and what remained to be done. He subsequently moved on to churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, though he apparently returned to Cambridge in the spring. A contemporary diarist recorded on 20 December 1643: 'This week pictures began to be taken down in Cambridge, by an order from the Earl of Manchester';<sup>6</sup> another noted in January that the choir screen at Great St Mary's, beautified in 1639 during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr Cosin, had been 'defaced', and in February that the 'pyramids over the Doctors' seats' there had been 'quite pulled down'; on 29 January 'the clerk set the 74th Psalm to be sung before sermon in the afternoon ["Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations . . . they break down the carved work . . . with axes and hammers", etc.]'.<sup>7</sup> A contemporary royalist writer described Dowsing as one who

goes about the country like a Bedlam breaking glass windows, having battered and beaten down all our painted glass, not only in our chapels but (contrary to order) in our public schools, college halls, libraries and chambers, mistaking perhaps the liberal arts for saints.<sup>8</sup>

Both words 'superstitious' and 'pictures', as used at this date, need glossing. 'Pictures' could be applied to images of any kind whether painted or carved, and many references in Dowsing's journal could apply to stained-glass images or to statues. 'Superstitious', according to the ordinance Dowsing was enforcing, was applied to any image of any member of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, or any angel or saint, or to any inscription requesting prayers for the deceased's soul or the like. Representations of founders or benefactors, or other secular figures, were exempted; but it is notable that a stained-glass image of the founder of Jesus College apparently perished during the general

<sup>3</sup> C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* II (1850): 214–15, quoting Strype.

<sup>4</sup> John Aubrey, *Brief lives and other selected writings*, ed. Anthony Powell (London, 1949): 8.

<sup>5</sup> The original is lost but a transcript survives among the Baker MSS (vol. 38) in the University Library, Cambridge. Quotations below are based on the edition by A.C. Moule, *The Cambridge Journal of William Dowsing, 1643* (reprinted from the *History teachers' miscellany*, 1926).

<sup>6</sup> Diary of John Worthington, in James Heywood and Thomas Wright, *Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies* (London, 1854) II: 566.

<sup>7</sup> Diary of Dr Dillingham, B.L. Harleian MS 7048: 72.

<sup>8</sup> John Barwick, *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (Oxford, 1646): 17.

destruction of glass there, and no doubt the practical interpretation of the ordinance depended to some extent on the mood of the moment.

At King's College, which Dowsing visited on 26 December, he noted:

Steps to be taken, & 1 thousand Superstitious Pictures ye layder of Christ & theves to goe upon many Crosses, & Jesus write on them.<sup>9</sup>

This may be interpreted:

Altar steps (dating from the 1630s and therefore proscribed by the ordinance, which exempted only steps more than twenty years old) to be removed; a very great number of blasphemous images (Dowsing used the term "one thousand" on only one other occasion, at Clare in Suffolk) also to go, especially the Crucifixion scene (in the east window; the word 'Jesus' nowhere appears in the glass at King's, though 'inri' appears above the crucified Christ's head).

Most of the Chapel's glass, full of images of Christ, the Virgin, God the Father, the Apostles, and innumerable prophets and angels, must have stood condemned within the terms of Dowsing's warrant, along with carved scenes on the roodloft, the frieze of stone angels beneath the choir windows, and even the figures of the four evangelists engraved on the lectern. Yet, mysteriously, apart from the defacing of three carved figures over a doorway and the scratching out of pious phrases on a couple of brasses (which may not necessarily have been perpetrated at this date), the Chapel bears no evidence of iconoclasm.<sup>10</sup>

It has been the trend not so much to try and explain this miraculous survival of one of the most celebrated stained-glass sequences in England or Europe, as to try and explain it away. Authorities on the glass at King's have tended to play down the threat from Dowsing, as if the times did not see acts of destruction every bit as horrendous as that which menaced King's. Eric Milner-White claimed that the early nineteenth century did stained glass 'more damage than all the Dowsings of Cromwellian times',<sup>11</sup> and Kenneth Harrison similarly wrote that 'Cromwell and his agents . . . are too often blamed for what they did not do; far more mischief was caused by the supine inattention

of a later age'.<sup>12</sup> More recently, H.G. Wayment has claimed that Dowsing 'had in fact no authority to destroy anything which was not a recent innovation, and the "superstitious pictures" were certainly not in the great windows'<sup>13</sup> — despite the terms of the ordinance (which applied a twenty-year limit only to altar steps) and the clear evidence of Dowsing's journal entries. Dr Wayment's belief is that only non-Biblical scenes and figures would have been regarded as superstitious and that therefore the great windows were not threatened: the only glass at King's that could have been in danger, he implies, were some figures of saints in the Hacomben chantry (which were in fact at some date painted over — either to preserve them from Dowsing or, like certain windows at Great St Mary's in the 1560s, as an inexpensive method of 'reforming' them).<sup>14</sup> Yet how can this be squared with the destruction of similar scriptural windows at Henry VII's Chapel or at Peterhouse, or with Dowsing's clear reference to the east window? Dr Wayment apparently derives his claim from F.J. Varley, a Cromwellian apologist, whose *Cambridge during the Civil War* attempted to rehabilitate Dowsing. Varley claimed that Dowsing had been much maligned by history — he was, after all, only obeying orders — while the 'thousand superstitious pictures' condemned at King's 'were not in the glass' but were simply cheap religious daubs and prints pinned or hung on the walls.<sup>15</sup> Other suggestions to account for the glass's survival seem equally wide of the mark. Francis Woodman thought that as the college's private property, 'the Chapel was not as susceptible to the kind of destruction that was tragically so common to most other English churches during the Civil War'<sup>16</sup> — though the ordinance included college chapels as well as parish churches. The suggestion, sometimes advanced, that the immense area of glass involved at King's, and the cost of replacing the windows with plain glass, may have inhibited the iconoclasts is also untenable: such considerations did not inhibit them elsewhere.

None of these evasions helps to explain the great mystery of the preservation of the glass at

<sup>9</sup> Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.

<sup>10</sup> There was also some damage to the heraldic carving in the choir — unicorns' horns snapped off and the like — repaired in 1660. In Michaelmas term 1644 rowdy soldiers in the Chapel were pacified by a payment of 10s.

<sup>11</sup> *Cambridge Review* (3 December 1924): 152.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Harrison, *An illustrated guide to the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953): 14.

<sup>13</sup> H.G. Wayment, *The windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (London, 1972): 40.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*: 2, 122.

<sup>15</sup> F.J. Varley, *Cambridge during the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1935): 36–42.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Woodman, *The architectural history of King's College Chapel* (London, 1986): 2.

King's – the completest and finest stained-glass survival of any church in England. Perhaps the enigma of what really happened at King's in 1643–4 will never be solved, but the following notes, assembling what information is discoverable about the fate of windows in other Cambridge buildings, is an attempt at least to put the mystery into a context. The remarks of Milner-White and Harrison about the deprivations of later ages are not without some justification, as will be seen: it is true that what survived the attentions of zealots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often succumbed to the inattentions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when medieval relics were generally neglected and abused,<sup>17</sup> ancient casements torn out to make way for sash windows, pious blazoning replaced by crown glass. A number of eighteenth-century antiquaries – William Cole and Edward Betham of King's, Robert Masters of Corpus, Richard Farmer of Emmanuel – tried to preserve what they could, building up personal collections of stained-glass pieces that had been thrown out by colleges and churches (their own collections, however, are themselves now mostly lost); but much must have perished, as Cole's records make clear. (His invaluable descriptions of Cambridgeshire churches show that much stained glass has vanished even since his time.) Yet these later destructions were only the decimation of a remnant: the worst had already been perpetrated. They seem more barbarous only because the details survive whereas, in the earlier periods, one can often only guess at the scale of destruction involved. Though eighteenth-century indifference to medieval remains was indeed appalling, it is the puritan iconoclasts who still have most to answer for.

### Christ's College

The former chapel of God's House had been rebuilt as that of Christ's by 1510. In 1509 £11 5s 8d was paid 'by the hands of Symond glasier'. In March 1510 Thomas Peghe (alias

Peych) was paid £8 15s 6d for 175½ feet 'of glass with imagery' at 12d per foot, 8s for 'setting up of all the old glass in the chapel by himself and his servant by 8 days at 6d the day', and £1 12s 1d for '77 foot of white glass with roses and portcullises at 5d the foot'. In 1531–2 there is a reference to a window featuring St Christopher.<sup>18</sup> The chapel's windows probably contained late fifteenth-century glass reused from God's House and new glass by 'Symond' (perhaps identical with the Simon Symondes who later worked at King's)<sup>19</sup> and Peghe. Dowsing (2 January 1644): 'We pulled down divers pictures and angels.'<sup>20</sup>

A quantity of glass survived in a vestry. Francis Blomefield recorded in 1750:

In the north vestry windows are the effigies of Henry VII and his mother, the Countess of Derby and Richmond, the Foundress of this and St John's College, with Edmund de Hadham alias Teudor, Earl of Richmond, her first husband, and Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, her second husband, in armour, with their helmets by them; also John Beaufort Duke of Somerset her father, and Margaret daughter of Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, her mother; but they are now much broken and misplaced, and the inscriptions spoiled. This may still be read: 'Komitissa Rychemondie et Derbei . . . tis pro quibus . . . suo verbo . . . tam Magni . . .'<sup>21</sup>

Blomefield's testimony may be compared with that of the Suffolk antiquary Sir John Cullum, on a visit to Cambridge in May 1768:

On the north side are two small chapels, in the windows of which is some painted glass well preserved. In 1st window is a person kneeling, in armour, crowned: his sword (with St George's cross at the end of the scabbard) and helmet lying behind him; beneath him, a rose entirely red. 2: A person kneeling, head uncovered, sword on, his helmet with a dragon upon it, behind him; beneath him a rose, with the outward leaves red, the inward white, seeded yellow. 3: A person kneeling, crowned, and in robes of state. 4: A person standing, crowned, sceptre in his right hand, and globe in left. 5: A person standing, crowned, with a circular glory round his head; a ring on his right hand, and staff in his left. The well-known story of the ring makes it probable that this figure was designed for St Edward. 6 and 7: have each of them a lady kneeling and praying, crowned: beneath each of them such a rose as in the second. There is a considerable quantity of painted glass laid up here, representing the Arts and Sciences

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A typical example was the fate that befell Provost Argentine's Cup at the hands of a later Provost of King's. This magnificent bason and ewer, 'of most delicate sculpture, and very large, and used only on the three principal feasts of the college . . . possibly the work of Cellini, or a master equal to him', was the only piece King's retained when they donated their plate to Charles I during the Civil War, and possibly the finest remaining example of its kind in the university. Yet as soon as Provost Cooke assumed office in 1772, he had it melted down 'in order to exchange it for an urn of silver for his wife's tea table.' – William Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199.

18 R. Willis & J.W. Clark, *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1886) II: 195–7.

19 Wayment, *Windows of King's*: 25.

20 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

21 Francis Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta* (1750): 216.

personified, with their proper attributes and mottoes. These were some time since taken out of the Library, and are intended, I was told, to be put up in the east window of the chapel. They had better be restored to their former station. What business have Logica, Dialectica etc in a place of religious worship?<sup>22</sup>

None of the former library glass mentioned by Cullum, and only part of the other glass which he and Blomefield list, can now be accounted for. In the chapel's north windows are preserved six panels of which two (Henry VI, Edward the Confessor) are believed to originate from God's House, three (another Henry VI, Henry VII, Elizabeth of York) to date from 1509–10 (perhaps by Symondes), while one (God the Father) is made up of fragments, its central figure probably from a remnant from a lost 'Assumption of the Virgin' or similar scene. This leaves out of account five of the figures listed by Blomefield and two by Cullum.

William Cole, writing in 1778 of his collection of glass at Milton, explains what had happened:

I have the arms of the foundress of Christ's and St John's Colleges, which probably came out of one of them, and most likely the former, as in a north vestry of that college chapel were several windows of most curious painted glass, containing the figures of the Countess of Richmond, her son King Henry VII etc., which were all suffered to be taken down by one Wetenhall, a glazier in St John's Lane (a man who had pillaged Ely Cathedral, when it was repaired about 1766, of all the old coats of arms and painted glass, and sold them at Cambridge), and sent to his house, where I saw them in or about 1773, in order to be put in detached pieces for the east window of the chapel. But he sold a great part of them to various people, particularly, under secrecy, to Mr. Masters, Rector of Landbeach, who ought to have been ashamed to have purchased what he knew the glazier had no right to dispose of, and who has several large figures, containing many feet of painted glass and all perfect, in a summer house at Landbeach; but does not tell anyone from whence they come. I knew them of old, saw them at the glazier's, and might, I suppose, have picked and chosen what I pleased for my money, had I been so disposed.<sup>23</sup>

22 Sir John Cullum's diary, Bury St Edmunds record office, E2/44/3 (not paginated). The college library's original two-light windows (five on the street side, probably five on the court side) had been replaced by sash windows in 1738.

23 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199. The fate of Masters's glass collection is unrecorded. Cole's collection was auctioned with his other effects after his death. 'The first lot of glass, which was in the two bow-windows of the study, I bought for you, but could get no more; those in the parlour were sold for near £4, and the odd pieces, lot 3, which altogether were not worth 5s, sold for nearly £6 to a person who came more than thirty miles in the snow and rain to buy them.' — James Essex to Richard

The present surviving panels were installed in the east window by c. 1790,<sup>24</sup> but were again removed in 1847 and stored in a box for forty years before being placed in their present positions in 1886. The figure of God the Father, not mentioned by Blomefield or Cullum, may have been originally in the east window, or may not have belonged originally to the college at all, conceivably having been added by Wetenhall from stock to replace one of those he sold. Particularly lamentable is the loss, presumably through Wetenhall's deprivations, of the image of the foundress.<sup>25</sup>

### Clare College

Old chapel built 1535. Dowsing (December 1643) noted '3 cherubims, 12 apostles, and 6 of the Fathers in the windows and a cross.'<sup>26</sup> Cole (1742):

There are three windows on each side of the chapel, in which formerly were the figures of the 12 Apostles and 4 Doctors of the Church curiously painted; but these were broken in the general destruction of such pieces of decency throughout this county in 1643, and nothing but the lowermost half of them remain with their names at the feet of most of them.

He describes five remaining coats of arms, among them that of the college beneath St Ambrose in the middle north window.<sup>27</sup> All destroyed when the chapel was demolished in 1763.

### Gonville and Caius Chapel

The chapel, completed by the 1390s, originally contained five windows commemorating donors to the building fund, perhaps with kneeling figures beneath canopies. The east and north-west windows commemorated William Rougham, the south-west Bishop Henry Despenser, the other two John of Ufford and Nicholas Bottisham. There were similar commemorative windows in the hall, library,

Gough, 18 March 1783, in John Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century* VI (1831): 300.

24 *Catalogue of the Several Pictures in . . . Cambridge* (c. 1790): 28.

25 For the glass at Christ's see also Bernard Rackham. The ancient windows of Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Archaeological Journal* CVIII (1952): 132–42; CX (1953): 214. Rackham overlooks the 'Symond', Cullum and Cole references.

26 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.

27 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5803: f.8.

and elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> A destruction of hoarded papistical trappings in 1572 may conceivably have affected glass: 'What they could not burn they broke and defaced with hammers.'<sup>29</sup> In 1583, Francis Dorington, Master, 'put up a new east window, with his own arms in the glass, together with those of Bateman, Gonville, and Caius'; these arms were repaired in 1637.<sup>30</sup> Cole (1778):

I have in my house the arms of the two founders of Gonville and Caius Colleges, with several coats of their benefactors, which were *routed* to make room for white glass when the chapel was new fitted up some fifty years ago . . . [as well as] six exceeding neat old heads of doctors of divinity in their academical ermine hoods and round caps, with a very elegant mosaic fret-work ground by their heads in painted glass, which came out of the upper mouldings of their old chapel windows.<sup>31</sup>

Other fragments, with benefactors' names, were used to patch holes at King's College Chapel.<sup>32</sup>

### Holy Sepulchre (Round Church)

There is no doubt that once the windows were filled with glass of the old workmanship such as can be seen in King's College Chapel, but it suffered the same fate as did nearly all ecclesiastical works of art in the time of Cromwell.<sup>33</sup> Dowsing (3 January 1644): 'We brake down 14 superstitious pictures, and divers idolatrous inscriptions, and one of God the Father, and of Christ and of the Apostles.'<sup>34</sup>

### Holy Trinity

The transepts, with big Perpendicular windows, are late fifteenth century and contained altars to St Erasmus (1504), St Ursula, St George (1506) and the Virgin: possibly there were representations of these in the glass. By 1639 the church's windows were said to be 'half stopped up'.<sup>35</sup> Dowsing (25 December 1643):

'We brake down 80 Popish pictures, and one of Christ and God the Father above.'<sup>36</sup> Church accounts (1643–4): 6d for 'pulling down the crosses in the church' 1s 6d for 'taking down glass', 8s 2d for 'mending the windows', 8s 2d for 'pulling down pictures', £1 4s for new glass. Three years later £8 16s 8d was spent on replacing all the windows with 'quarrells'.<sup>37</sup> Cole: 'Will. Dowsing was in this church on Christmas Day 1643 and broke all the windows in the church, which no doubt were very valuable and numerous, for the windows of the cross aisles are many and very large.'<sup>38</sup>

### Jesus College

Following the college's foundation in 1496, the former convent church was remodelled with Perpendicular windows, including a new five-light east window and a large five-light south window in the south transept. Sir John Rysley in 1512 left £160 for completing the work and glazing the windows. In 1561 the college demolished the chancel of St Clement's church 'and the glass was brought to the college and used in the chapel the hall and the buttery'. In 1567–8 repair of broken glass after a play had been performed in the chapel cost 2s 6d. In 1589 windows were repaired containing images of Christ, St Peter, and St Ignatius ('To Martin for new leading . . . 6 feet in the east end about the picture of Christ, other 6 feet in the picture of St Peter . . . To Martin for mending a great hole made by the workman's man on the south side of the chapel in the picture of Ignatius'). In 1593 'the whole pane where the Founder is pictured' was re-leded, and in 1632 13½ feet of wirework was installed 'to preserve the Founder's picture'.<sup>39</sup> John Sherman (Fellow 1650–71) recalled that the chapel windows were formerly 'decorated with figures of the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the Fathers, and all the hierarchy of heaven, executed with wonderful beauty of workmanship'.<sup>40</sup> Dowsing (22 December 1643) 'brake down of superstitious saints and angels 120 at least'.<sup>41</sup> The college spent £10 16s mending the windows.<sup>42</sup>

28 Christopher Brooke, *A history of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, 1985): 23–8.  
 29 John Caius, *The annals of Gonville and Caius College*, ed. J. Venn (Cambridge, 1904): 185.  
 30 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history I*: 193.  
 31 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 197, 349.  
 32 M.R. James, *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Publications X* (1903): 425.  
 33 W.T. Adams, *The Round Church of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1930): 13.  
 34 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7. Church accounts begin only in 1778. A Crucifixion, installed in the east window by Thomas Willement in the 1840s, was destroyed during the Second World War.  
 35 W.M. Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns for Cambridgeshire, 1638–1665* (Cambridge, 1930): 38.

36 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.  
 37 Holy Trinity churchwardens' accounts, Cambridgeshire record office.  
 38 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5805: f. 69.  
 39 Iris & Gerda Morgan, *The Stones & Story of Jesus Chapel, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1914): 106, 108, 149, 151, 160.  
 40 Willis & Clark, *Architectural History II*: 141.  
 41 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.  
 42 Morgan & Morgan, *Jesus Chapel*: 195.

Remnants of the stained glass survived, or were assembled, in the east window, for Sir John Cullum recorded (May 1768):

The east window of the present chapel has been handsomely ornamented with painted glass, which has been much injured; and yet perhaps a small half-length figure of Henry 7 is still preserved entire: it is towards the bottom of the middle of the window. He is presented praying, within a circle, diapered. Just above the circle is a large red rose, and somewhat above it a crown, between which red rose and crown, at some distance from each other, are two white roses. There are some escutcheons painted in this window, the most perfect of which are these. . . .

Cullum depicts six escutcheons, one of which he captions 'Swan and Twisden', another 'the bearing of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, who was beheaded 8 June 1405'.<sup>43</sup> None of the chapel's ancient glass survives.<sup>44</sup>

### King's College

The Chapel's great windows were installed between 1515 and 1547; two successive royal glaziers, Barnard Flower and Galyon Hone, and the Flemish artist Dierik Vellert, were among those involved. There are a number of payments for repairs to the glass during the Civil War (5s 6d in Christmas term 1642—3 'pro le taking down some glass in le chapel'; £2 11s the same term for re-leading 51 feet in the east window; 7s 6d in Annunciation term 1643 for 'taking down more glass in the east window'; 2s in Michaelmas term for 'sighting the chapel windows'; £12 3s in Christmas term 1643—4 for unspecified work on the windows) — but this is seen as nothing more 'than reasonable wear and tear'. A payment to Dowsing in Annunciation term 1644 of 6s 8d — once thought to be a bribe to leave the Chapel alone — was his standard 'survey fee' (also paid by Great St Mary's).<sup>45</sup> The glass must have been saved on the authority of either Manchester or Cromwell (who arrived in Cambridge in January 1644); a payment of 10s to the Earl of Manchester's secretary in Michaelmas term, 1643 (the term immediately following the parliamentary ordinance, when several colleges and churches began themselves to reform their buildings) may be connected with

the matter.<sup>46</sup> Cole recorded a tradition that the west window (plain glass until 1879) 'was broken by the soldiers in the Rebellion, upon which the rest were taken down and hid . . . but I am well informed that they never were removed, except to be mended, since their first putting up'.<sup>47</sup> It is now accepted that the west window had never been glazed with stained glass.

Much original side-chapel glass is to be presumed lost. Of a sequence of perhaps 36 figures of apostles, prophets, saints and Latin doctors that originally filled the windows of the north-eastern chapels, eight heavily restored survivors are now in the Brassie chapel. In the Hacomben chapel, only the top halves of figures of Henry VI and St John the Evangelist remain out of a possible original array of eight figures. A panel depicting Henry VI's yales, set up in 1485 by a glazier named Wynter, is lost. Quarries with the name and initials of Provost Goade (1610) in the screen glass of the chapel where he was buried, and roses in the screen tracery of the next (north-western) chapel, were destroyed in 1875 when heating appliances were installed. The original Provost's Lodge (demolished 1827) had 'Normandy and Burgundy glass' installed by the local glazier Roger Young in 1546, and six heraldic panels made by the royal glazier, Galyon Hone, in 1547.<sup>48</sup>

Cole possessed 'the coat of King's College . . . given to me by Mr Harlock, the college glazier'.<sup>49</sup> He also records that the arms of Provost Argentine were formerly 'in a window, with those of the college, over the porch of the screens close by the hall in the Old Court, in two separate shields' but that by 1773 they had been 'either broken or taken away: I rather suppose the latter: and carried by Mr Betham to Greenford, where probably they may be put up in the windows: as I know he carried a large box of painted glass with him from college. I once spoke to him about them'.<sup>50</sup> Six armorials from the college, including the arms of Henry VIII impaling those of Catherine of Aragon (c. 1525),

<sup>43</sup> Cullum's diary, E2/44/3 (not paginated).

<sup>44</sup> The east window was rebuilt by James Essex in the 1780s. New glass by Willement, with 'portraits and armorial bearings', was installed in it c. 1815 but removed 1849. The chapel windows now contain glass by Pugin (1849) and Burne-Jones (1875—80). Some original glass, featuring Bishop Alcock's rebus, survives in the Old Library.

<sup>45</sup> Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* I: 511—12.

<sup>46</sup> King's College mundum books.

<sup>47</sup> Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5802: f.110.

<sup>48</sup> Hilary Wayment, *King's College Chapel Cambridge: the side-chapel glass* (Cambridge, 1988): 9—11 195, 17—18, 108, 95, 100, 17.

<sup>49</sup> Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 395. Two sixteenth-century roundels of St Catherine and St Margaret, inserted in Milton church by Cole (but not listed in his catalogue of his collection) might conceivably have been removed from a side-chapel by Harlock or some other less-than-honest glazier of the time. (The choir entrance into the southern side-chapels is decorated with figures of St Catherine and St Margaret and the two south-eastern chapels may well have been dedicated to these saints.)

<sup>50</sup> Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5814: f. 68.

but not the Argentine one, survive in Greenford church, Middlesex. Edward Betham, bursar of King's and rector of Greenford, was evidently not above pillaging his own college.<sup>51</sup>

### Magdalene College

The chapel, with east window and three windows on each side, probably dates from c. 1480. Dowsing (30 December 1643): 'We brake down about 40 superstitious pictures, Joseph and Mary stood to be espoused in the windows'.<sup>52</sup> Blomefield (1750): 'In a window on the glass is "Praye to the Lorde and Praye with the Hearte and Minde". In a south window *Corbet impales Neville*'.<sup>53</sup> Chapel 'beautified' 1754–6: nothing survives.<sup>54</sup>

### Old Schools

The north wing of the university quadrangle, with the University Chapel above the Theology School, dated from 1400. The chapel probably had stained glass windows, as did other windows in the quadrangle. On 26 January 1565 a grace was passed for destroying all inscriptions in the windows relating to prayers for the dead. 'It may be remarked, however, that the arms of the Thorpes . . . still remained in the east window of the chapel (which was so much indebted to their liberality) in the days of Robert Masters [i.e. 1753]. These arms were afterwards transferred to the west window, and have lately [c. 1906] been removed to the library tower over the old gate of King's'.<sup>55</sup> The windows of the Philosophy School were emblazoned with the name and rebus of William Breton.<sup>56</sup>

The upper storey of the east wing of the Schools comprised a library built by Archbishop Rotherham in 1470–75, with eighteen two-light windows. Cole recorded that in his time there remained

in the windows his device in almost every pane of glass, being a buck trippant, in almost every posture

and attitude you can conceive, being part of his arms; together with the white or York rose, which shows his affection to his great patron, King Edward IV. There has been some old writing also mixed among them two or three times in every window, in curious letters, whereof some are composed of serpents, and is *Da te Deo*. But in September 1748, during my absence on some occasion from the University . . . the front of these schools were thought to want repair, at which time all the old painted windows were taken down to make room for crown glass, and all those curious paintings, though perfect and complete, were taken away by the glaziers, to the no small reproach of the University in thus defrauding the pious benefactors and founders amongst us of their just and grateful memorials. There were also many other ancient coats in the open work at the tops of each window; all which were taken away: and though I used all means I could think of to recover them, yet they were broken, dispersed or mislaid in a month.<sup>57</sup>

Cole managed, however, to recover one complete light, containing the buck 'in a hundred different attitudes'.<sup>58</sup> Other fragments went via Edward Betham to Greenford church, Middlesex, whence six of Rotherham's bucks were recovered by King's in 1924 and inserted in a side-chapel.

### Pembroke Chapel

Laurence Booth, Master, 'generously decorated the common chapel with glass windows', paying in 1463 for figures of the four Doctors and some other saints.<sup>59</sup> The 'escutcheon of the arms of his family' duly appeared 'upon all the windows' and were still apparently there in Cole's day.<sup>60</sup> Robert Swinburne, Master, inserted a west window in 1534.<sup>61</sup> Dowsing (26 December 1643): 'We broke and pulled down 80 superstitious pictures, and Mr Weeden told me he could fetch a statute book to show that pictures were not to be pulled down; and I bade him fetch and show it, and they should stand'. An unavailing altercation followed, Dowsing and the fellows quoting Scripture at one another, the fellows finally resorting to threats.<sup>62</sup> New chapel built 1663: no old glass survives.

51 Cole was presumably referring to Betham when, relating the destruction of Provost Argentine's Cup, he wrote of the 'brutality of the college bursar'. B.L. Add. MS 5859: 31.

52 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

53 Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 108.

54 Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century glass (probably that described by Cole as formerly being in the Master's Lodge) survives in the library. It is mostly heraldic, but includes figures of two saints, an angel and a king.

55 H.P. Stokes, *The chaplains and the chapel of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1906): 56.

56 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5814: f. 120.

57 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5820: f. 184.

58 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 199. Cole also salvaged part of Rotherham's carved gateway to the Schools and 'a cartload of old book desks'.

59 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* 1: 138.

60 Richard Parker, *The history and antiquities of the University of Cambridge* (1622; 1721 edition): 52; Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5823: f. 148.

61 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* 1: 139.

62 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 5.

### Peterhouse

Chapel built 1630 with east, west and eight side windows. Luke Skippon, former fellow, donated £68 towards painting the east window with sacred scenes; John Heath and John Eldred each gave £25 towards similarly painting the west window. In 1632 seven windows still remained to be painted.<sup>63</sup> Dowsing arrived 21 December 1643 'with officers and soldiers' and among many offensive decorations noted 'six angels in the windows'.<sup>64</sup>

The east window, depicting the Crucifixion (with fourteen saints and six angels in the tracery glass) survives, being the only complete pre-Civil War window at Cambridge, apart from those at King's, to do so. It is attributed to the Flemish glazier Bernard Van Linge (who did much noted work at Oxford), and based on a design by Rubens. Blomefield alleges that it was 'hid in the late troublesome times, in the very boxes which now stand round the altar instead of rails',<sup>65</sup> but this may be doubted. Another writer suggests that the fact the window 'was put up at the expense of the Parliamentary Luke Skippon, of all people, the brother of Cromwell's general Philip Skippon . . . must have put the iconoclast Dowsing into a pretty quandary'.<sup>66</sup> Fragments remained until 1855 in the side windows 'consisting of heads and portions of figures with arabesques and other ornaments drawn in a style similar to that of the east window, and probably at the same period. . . . These windows were not so fortunate as to escape destruction in the same way as the east window did'.<sup>67</sup> A panel, 5½ feet by 2 feet, 'perhaps by Bernard Van Linge, and possibly representing part of the subject of Christ washing the Disciples' feet', is stored in a cellar.<sup>68</sup>

### Private houses

William Warren recorded (c. 1730) two escutcheons in the chamber window of a house in King's Parade.<sup>69</sup> Cole recorded, and often acquired, stained glass (mostly heraldic) surviving in old houses in the town. In 'a large house opposite Jesus College . . . belonging to

Mr Baron of Trumpington, in a chamber window', were coats of arms of Henry VIII, 'royally crowned', and of Bishop Goodrich of Ely, 'very perfect and with a gorgeous mitre over them'. In 'Mr Bentham the printer's house, opposite the great gate of Queens' College', formerly the residence of Matthew Stokys, esquire bedell, were several coats of arms, including those of Queen Elizabeth and of Stokys himself. In a 'small brick house in Silver Street, on the south side not far from St Botolph's', in Alderman Nutting's houses in Bridge Street and in near-by Blackamore's Yard, and in the house of Mr Bonner, bookseller, in the Regent Walk, were others. One of Cole's most cherished pieces, a figure of St Chad in bishop's robes, came from a window in the former Clement Hostel, Bridge Street.<sup>70</sup>

### Queens' College

Old chapel completed 1454. A window on the north side, containing images of St Margaret and St Bernard, was donated by Lady Margery Roos before 1477. Bruno Cornelius the glazier new led an image of St Paul in 1504–5.<sup>71</sup> In 1637 1s 6d was paid 'to the glazier for taking down and setting up the glass for Good Friday'.<sup>72</sup> Dowsing (26 December 1643): 'We beat down a 110 superstitious pictures besides cherubims and engravings . . . and brake down 10 or 12 Apostles and Saints within the Hall'.<sup>73</sup> In 1780 Cole acquired two coats of arms 'taken out of a room in the college whose windows were new glazed, the person to whom it belonged not suffering such old-fashioned ornaments to appear in a newly furnished apartment'; one he thought older than the college. A third crest was given him by Dr Plumtre from 'a window in his chambers in Erasmus's Court'.<sup>74</sup>

### St Botolph's

Aisle windows date from early fifteenth century but most stained glass probably gone by 1638 when £11 18s was paid 'for new glazing all the windows' with plain glass.<sup>75</sup> Dowsing (January 1644) 'brake down 12 Popish inscriptions and pictures'.<sup>76</sup>

63 Peterhouse register quoted by Cole, B.L. Add. Ms 5861: f. 258.  
 64 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 5.  
 65 Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 157.  
 66 John Steegmann, *Cambridge* (London, 1940): 53–4.  
 67 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* I: 49n.  
 68 RCHME, *Cambridge* (1959): 160.  
 69 A.W.W. Dale (ed.), *Warren's Book* (Cambridge, 1911): 137.

70 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 346–59.  
 71 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 38.  
 72 W.G. Searle, *The history of the Queens' College of St Margaret and St Bernard* (Cambridge, 1867): 528.  
 73 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6.  
 74 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: ff. 203–4, 349.  
 75 A.W. Goodman, *St Botolph, Cambridge: guide to the church* (n.d.): 5.  
 76 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

**St Catharine's College**

Dowsing (28 December 1643):

We pulled down St George and the Dragon, and Popish Catharine the saint to which the college was dedicated. Dr Brunbrick the bishop [i.e. Dr Brownrigg, the Master and a bishop] . . . said it was an error to break down John Baptist there, and these words, 'Orate pro anima, qui fecit hanc fenestram' – Pray for the soul of him that made this window.<sup>77</sup>

**St Clement's**

Dowsing (24 December 1643 and 1 January 1644):

We brake down 30 superstitious pictures, divers of the Apostles, the Pope, Peter's keys.<sup>78</sup>

**St Edward's**

In 1638 the windows were 'in no place stopped up but well glazed'.<sup>79</sup> Cole recorded in the east window the arms of Trinity Hall and the remains of one for Mrs Robson, who paid for repairs to the church in the early eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup>

**St John's College**

The former chapel of St John's Hospital was altered when the college was founded in 1511. Early English windows giving place to Perpendicular ones. The contract survives, dated 17 December 1513, for glazing the chapel, hall and master's lodge. In it, Richard Wright of Bury St Edmunds, glazier, undertook to glaze the chapel windows 'with imagery work and tabernacles' as directed by the Master, Robert Shorton, to glaze the hall windows with roses and portcullises 'and the bay window within the same hall with the picture of St John the Evangelist and with the arms of the excellent Princess Margaret late Countess of Richmond and Derby', and to glaze the windows of the master's lodge with roses and portcullises. All the work was to be executed 'with as good and able Normandy glass of colours and pictures as be in the glass windows within the college called Christ's College in Cambridge, or better in every point'. The work was to be completed by midsummer 1514 and Wright was to be paid

4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d a foot for the windows in the master's lodge and hall, plus 8d for every rose and portcullis; 2s for the image of St John and the arms of Lady Margaret; and £45 for the chapel windows.<sup>81</sup> Henry Hornby, Master of Peterhouse and one of Lady Margaret's executors, donated £10 towards the glazing. In about 1520 John Smith, fellow and probably bursar, wrote that 'the great wind this last week hath loosed and unbound all the glass windows in our chapel. I am about the repairing of them again as fast as I may.'<sup>82</sup>

Many of the chapel's ornaments, probably including glass, were destroyed in 1559–60: 'Item to the glazier for setting 21 panes of new glass in the windows of the chapel . . . 2s 9d.'<sup>83</sup> The nine-light east window apparently suffered worst. In 1634 Robert Taylor was paid £22 1s 'to place some old painted glass in the great [east] window', probably fragments preserved from 1559–60, and the following year a further £8 was spent on 'the new window in the chapel'. In 1848 this window's alternate lights were described as 'filled with fragments of stained glass, once doubtless an ornament to the same window but at present little can be made of it: a few figures can be distinguished with parts of canopies'. The other windows apparently perished in 1643, when there is 'a note that the old glass in the chapel was taken away, which I imagine refers to the side windows'.<sup>84</sup> The bursar's book for 1643 records payments 'to the glazier for mending and altering the glass in the windows'.<sup>85</sup>

New chapel completed 1869, old demolished. The fragments of stained glass removed from the east window have been placed partly in the central window on the west face of the new tower, partly in the tracery of the windows of the hall.<sup>86</sup>

Cole in 1774 acquired from a glazier a coat of arms 'out of a gentleman's chamber in St John's College, who chose rather to have plain glass'.<sup>87</sup>

77 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 6. Two panels depicting God the Father (1598) and St Paul (1600) survive in the oriel window of the hall.

78 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

79 Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns*: 7.

80 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5805: f. 28.

81 Willis & Clark, *Architectural History* II: 347–8.

82 R.F. Scott (ed.), *Notes from the records of St John's College*, third series (1906–11): 365, 399.

83 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 292.

84 F.C. Woodhouse, *Some account of St John's College Chapel, Cambridge* (1848): 9, 14.

85 J.B. Mullinger, *St John's College* (London, 1901): 129.

86 Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 308. The figure of St John now in the hall is not original to the college; it was acquired in 1842, having come from Regensburg Cathedral.

87 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5834: f. 201.

### St Mary the Great (University Church)

Church mostly rebuilt in late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with over forty windows. Earlier glass may conceivably have been retained in the chancel. In 1503 Henry Veysey, apothecary, left money to make a window depicting the life of St Edward the Confessor, to be placed in the south aisle when built.<sup>88</sup> In 1505 John Hilgey, former mayor, left £2 'for the making of a glass window in the south part of the clerestory'.<sup>89</sup> In 1513 Richard Wright of Bury St Edmunds (also working at St John's College) was paid for repairs and probably glazed several windows; 2s was paid for 'boarding of the glazier and his servant'. In 1515 a window donated by Nicholas Speryng, stationer, was completed. In 1516 a man was hired 'to ride to London for a glazier that should have glazed the church windows'; this was apparently James Nicholson, who later worked at King's.<sup>90</sup> The university in 1517 donated £10 towards the glazing and paid Nicholson a further £7.<sup>91</sup> Alan Wells, churchwarden, in 1518 donated £6 for Nicholson to glaze a window; this may have been the 'window in the south side' given bars soon after. Money raised from parishioners in 1519 went towards the roodloft and the glazing but the only other window mentioned is the west window, glazed by Roger Young in 1536 for £6 13s 10d. In 1541 Young mended 'the defaults and holes in the windows round about the church as well the windows beneath as in the clerestories above', and received 4d 'for taking down the Bishop of Rome's head'. The glass was overhauled in 1564 for Queen Elizabeth's visit.<sup>92</sup>

In 1565 George Wythers preached his sermon urging the abolition of superstitious painted windows. Images were painted over in 1567–8; the glazier was paid 'for oil and colours' and William Prime, handyman, was twice paid for 'washing out images in the windows'. In 1569 the glazier received 7s 'for setting up the glass and repairing the same and putting out the images'.<sup>93</sup> Those painted scenes that survived the 1560s must have perished under Dowsing. In 1638 10s was spent on

'leading 20 foot of image glass'; but in 1643 £7 was paid 'to the glazier for defacing and repairing the windows', £2 was 'paid more to the glazier for the windows', and 11s 'to King the glazier for mending the windows.' 'The overseer of the windows' (Dowsing) received 6s 8d, his survey fee.<sup>94</sup>

Heraldic glass fared only marginally better. Archbishop Parker, writing c. 1570, recorded that 'the windows themselves (if not all of them, at least the greater part) even today tell that they were glazed by the university and by those who at that time relied upon her privileges and were under her protection'<sup>95</sup> and as late as the eighteenth century many original coats of arms of benefactors remained in the clerestory windows. In each window on the south side, 'in the six small panels above the three large ones', were the arms of John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, of Neville Earl of Salisbury, and of Monthermer, Marmion, Howard and Montagu, while in the tracery above was 'stained glass with the mullet on it sometimes on a blue and oftener on the red field – which shows how great a benefactor the aforesaid Earl of Oxford was'. In one window on the north side appeared the arms of the Grocers' Company and other unidentified arms.<sup>96</sup> No original glass survives.

### St Mary the Less

East window, similar to that of the Lady Chapel at Ely, and eastern five windows on each side, completed 1352; west window, and western window on each side, added 1450. Nothing known of the stained glass that must originally have filled these large Decorated windows. In 1639 the chancel windows were said to be 'out of repair'.<sup>97</sup> Dowsing (29–30 December 1643): 'We brake down 60 superstitious pictures, some popes and crucifixes, and God the Father sitting in a chair and holding a globe in his hand.'<sup>98</sup> Thomas Baker recorded in the early eighteenth century that in a chancel window remained 'Orate pro anima bonae memoriae Wmi. de Wittlesy dudum Epi. Roffensis' (Whittlesey was Bishop of Rochester 1362–3); Cole (1743) recorded ten coats of arms remaining in the tracery, including those of Argentine, the See of Ely, France and England,

88 Samuel Sandars, *Historical and architectural notes on Great St Mary's Church* (Cambridge, 1869): 16.

89 W.M. Palmer (ed.), *Cambridge borough documents* (Cambridge, 1931): 153.

90 J.E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635* (Cambridge, 1905): 18, 20, 26, 30.

91 Mary Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book B: Part II* (Cambridge, 1905): 60, 62, 69.

92 Foster, *Churchwardens' accounts*: 36, 37, 41, 82, 96, 158.

93 *Ibid.*: 162, 165, 169.

94 Great St Mary's churchwardens' accounts, Cambridgeshire record office. Dowsing visited the church on 27 December 1643 and 7 January 1644.

95 Transcript by Matthew Stokys of MS by Archbishop Parker.

96 Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5810: f.52.

97 Palmer, *Episcopal visitation returns*: 36.

98 Dowsing, *Cambridge Journal*: 7.

and one containing the device 'Pater non est Filius etc.'<sup>99</sup>

### Trinity College

Chapel, with nine-light east and west windows (later blocked) and twenty-two large side windows, was glazed with Burgundy glass in 1563–5 by William Blithe of Thaxted and Miles Jugg. Each side window contained two coats of arms and two 'ranges', at 6s each, and twelve quarries at 1s each depicting a rose, a portcullis, a fleur-de-lys or the 'name of King Henry', the rest of the glass being plain. There are no details as to the design of the east window, which may have been more elaborate. Sir Edward Warner gave £1 and Mr Barwick £3 6s 8d 'toward the glazing of a window'. Almost at once came Wythers' sermon at Great St Mary's inciting destruction of glass. Senior Bursar's Account, 16 November 1565: 'For repairing of the places which were broken forth in all the windows wherein did appear superstition, 16d'.<sup>100</sup> It is possible, however, that much of the glass, being heraldic, was not destroyed until a later date (e.g. Dr Bentley's 'restoration' of the chapel c. 1706). None survives.<sup>101</sup>

### Trinity Hall

Warren: 'In each of the four windows of the chapel is some small matter of painted glass, particularly the founder's arms, and these words, "Summae Trinitati 1566"'. Thrown out when chapel altered, 1729. In a bow window of the hall (rebuilt 1743) was glass removed from a chamber window when it was sashed in 1727, 'the picture of our Saviour's head (as I take it to be) . . . also the portrait of a bishop with his pastoral staff . . . probably designed for Bishop Bateman, our Founder'. Coats of arms were in other windows in the hall and elsewhere in the college.<sup>102</sup>

### Ely Cathedral

Although most of the stained glass probably perished at the Reformation, Cole provides testimony that some survived as late as the eighteenth century (perhaps being too high for the iconoclasts to reach). After describing how a stained-glass figure of the monastery's foundress, St Etheldreda, taken from the Prebendal House, ended up in the possession of James Bentham, who 'kept it so long in his kitchen that it was trampled about and utterly broken to pieces', Cole continues: 'He did the same, though a professed antiquary, to a great quantity of fine painted glass, some of them large whole figures, as the situation required, taken out of the old lanthorn of the Cathedral, when taken down to repair [by James Essex in the 1750s]; all this he foolishly put into a ground-floor room on the south-west side of the Galilee, where the glaziers either pilfered them, with quantities of the arms of the old bishops (some curious ones fell into the hands of Mr, now Dr, Farmer, and are in the windows of his lodge). I saw, with Mr Bentham, about 1768, most of these old figures trampled under foot, in the said room, and was greatly concerned at it. And to show his taste as an antiquary, while he suffered (for he had care of the workmen upon him) all the old coats to be pillaged by that rogue Whaterhall, the glazier of Cambridge, who sold them to any that would buy them, he made up several fictitious coats out of the stained pieces of glass which he had suffered to be trod upon in the Galilee at Ely.'<sup>103</sup> On 21 November 1771 Cole described (in a letter probably to Dr Powell of St John's) a meeting with James Essex: 'He was so full of the loss of the painted glass windows at Ely, which by his account seem to be irrecoverable, that we talked of nothing else.'<sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> J.W. Clark, *Annals of the Church of St Mary the Less, Cambridge*, *Ecclesiologist* (October 1857): 272–87; Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5803: f.55. Cole does not mention the Whittlesey glass; Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensta*: 218 mentions it as being 'formerly' there.

<sup>100</sup> Willis & Clark, *Architectural history* II: 568, 571–2.

<sup>101</sup> Biblical scenes installed by Wailes in the five antechapel windows, 1846–58, were removed in 1949. Seventeenth-century heraldic glass and a small figure c. 1425 inscribed 'Ricardus Dux' survive in the hall.

<sup>102</sup> A.W.W. Dale, *Warren's Book* 20–3, 70, 84. Cole (B.L. Add. MS 5859: f. 215) identified the 'bishop' as St Thomas à Becket. In 1769 Betham, the bursar of King's, gave Cole some arms on glass of Dr Hare from Trinity Hall. 'Mr Betham did not tell me

whence he had them.' Cole passed them on to Dr Farmer. (Add. MS 5859: f. 27).

<sup>103</sup> Cole, B.L. Add. MS 5852: ff. 200–201. James Bentham compiled *The history and antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely* (1771). Dr Farmer was Master of Emmanuel College. 'Whaterhall' is the Wetenhall who defrauded Christ's College of glass.

<sup>104</sup> John Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century* IV (1822): 482.

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# The Proceedings

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## Editorial notices

1 The Editor welcomes the submission of articles on the history and archaeology of the County for publication in the *Proceedings*, but in order to avoid disappointment potential contributors are advised to write to the Editor, to enquire whether the subject is likely to be of interest to the Society, before submitting a final text. The Editor, if necessary with the advice of the editorial committee, reserves the right to refuse to publish any papers even when an earlier approval of the subject has been given.

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