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# Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological Society)

Volume LXXX

for 1991



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# King's College Chapel Delineated

Graham Chainey

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The following is a list of drawings, paintings, engravings, photographs etc. relating to King's College Chapel, up to the year 1900.

*Abbreviations:* BL = British Library. Bod = Bodleian Library. CUL = Cambridge University Library. KC = King's College. RIBA = Royal Institute of British Architects.

*Working Drawings.* In 1480, a parchment was bought for Martin Prentice, the master-carpenter, on which to draw the roof ('in quo propositum tractare tectum Ecclesie'), probably a working drawing, and three more parchment skins were bought for Simon Clerk, the master-mason. Further parchment skins were bought for Clerk on 9 August 1481 and 16 December 1482.<sup>1</sup> The contract for the great vault (1512) requires it to be built 'according to a platt thereof made and signed with the hands of the lord executors [of Henry VIII]'; that for the pinnacles and first turret (1513) speaks of 'plattes conceived and made for the same'; the contract for the side-chapel and porch vaults mentions three 'plattes'; these architectural designs will have been made by the master-mason John Wastell and were said to be in the keeping of the surveyor of the works.<sup>2</sup> None of these drawings survives.

*Unexecuted Bell-Tower Design.* Late 15th or early 16th century, ink and wash, 52 x 16 in., inscribed in a 17th-century hand 'Campanile Collegii Regalis Cantabrigiae' (BL Cotton MSS, Augustus I.i.3). Various attributed to Robert Westerley c. 1450,<sup>3</sup> to Simon Clerk c. 1484,<sup>4</sup> and

to the 'first half of the 16th century'.<sup>5</sup> It has been noted that the paper contains a watermark found in the 16th century.<sup>6</sup> The tower of St Mary Aldermay church, Queen Victoria Street, London (begun 1510), bears stylistic similarity to this design. Reproduced by John Harvey in *Gothic England* (1948, fig.115) and in L.G.G. Ramsey (ed.) *The Connoisseur Coronation Book* (1953: 100), in Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel* (1986: 133), and elsewhere. Copies of the design were made by James Essex (BL Add MS 6768 f.86), B. Longmate Jr (1793; KC Provost's Lodge), and Frederic Nash (BL); the latter, reproduced in Lysons, *Magna Britannia* (1808), is inaccurate in several respects.

*Earliest Depiction.* North elevation, ink and wash, 26 x 52 in., early 16th century, inscribed 'Capella beate Marie in collegio regali Cantabrigie' and in a later hand 'Kings Colledg Chappell in Cambridge' (BL Cotton MSS, Augustus I.i.2). Roof and drainpipes coloured in blue, stonework in pale yellow wash; east wall and turrets shown in perspective. Shows the former clockhouse (removed 1817) against the north-west bay, apparently with a passage connecting it to an entry made c. 1500 in the east wall of the north-east side-chapel. Groups of admiring academic figures. Various discrepancies with the Chapel as built: heraldic emblems on all the buttresses (instead of only the western five); the north-east turret windows are symmetrical instead of as built; the side-chapel tracery designs alternate regularly; there are only three carved devices above each side-chapel window instead of seven; the east window has only six lights; the turret latticework is of uniform instead of mixed

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Oswald, in John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550*. (Gloucester, 1984): 236, 58.

<sup>2</sup> R. Willis & J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*. (Cambridge, 1886), I: 608–10, 613–14.

<sup>3</sup> *English Mediaeval Architects*: 331.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel* (London, 1986): 134.

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<sup>5</sup> RCHM, *Cambridge* (1959): cv.

<sup>6</sup> H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*. (London, 1963), I: 272n.

design; the parapets are not as built; the building's length is foreshortened. Drainpipes are shown on the east side of each buttress only, terminating in horizontal spouts just below each side-chapel window (Loggan's south view, c. 1680, shows them on both sides of each buttress; nowadays they are on the west sides only).<sup>7</sup> Evidently less a strictly architectural drawing than a display drawing, probably for presentation to Henry VII or his executors c. 1508–12, to give an idea of the finished work. 'It is the earliest known English technical drawing showing a complete building of large size ... John Wastell himself may have been the artist.'<sup>8</sup> Reproduced in John Harvey, *An Introduction to Tudor Architecture* (1949: 72–3) and *The Connoisseur Coronation Book* (1953: 98–9), in *The History of the King's Works* vol. 3 (1975), plate 7, and in Woodman, *Architectural History of King's College Chapel* (1986: 199).

*Dierick Vellert*. Vidimuses (preliminary sketches) for three scenes in windows 19 and 21 (*Christ's Appearance to the Apostles*, *Peter and John Healing the Lame Man*, and *The Death of Ananias*), c. 1538 (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine; acquired 1811). Such vidimuses would have been made for every scene in the great windows; by the 1526 glazing contract, Galyon Hone undertook to supply Francis Williamson and Symond Symonds with 'good and true patrons otherwise called a vidimus' (probably remaining from the earlier 1515–17 glazing campaign) for the four windows the latter glaziers had contracted to make. See K.G. Boon, *Two Designs by Vellert, Master Drawings* vol. 2 (1964): 153–6; H.G. Wayment, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (London, 1972): 20–1.

*Flemish Sketches*. Sketch of part of a fan vault and of window tracery similar to that in the side-chapels; drawings of heads in Flemish headwear similar in type to those in the great windows (British Museum, Print Room). See Edward Croft-Murray, *A Leaf from a Flemish Sketchbook of the Early Sixteenth Century*, *British Museum Quarterly* 17, No.1 (1952): 8–10, plate 1.

*Richard Lyne*. South elevation, with the temporary wooden bell-tower (demolished 1739), in his bird's-eye map of Cambridge, 1574 (reproduced in J.W. Clark and A. Gray, *Old Plans of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1921), see Fig. 1). Imitated by George Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* 2, (Cologne, c. 1575); by William Smith, 1588 (BL MS Sloane 2596 f.64); and by Leonard Gaultier in the frontispiece to Sir Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom, vol. 1 (Eton, 1613). All wildly inaccurate: Lyne gives the Chapel ten bays, the 1613 version nine, Smith only six; Braun and Hogenberg misunderstand the building entirely.

*Founder's Design*. Matthew Stokys, Fellow of King's and Esquire Bedell of the university (d. 1591), donated 'a fair draught of the college as it was designed by the Founder, which used to hang in the inward library [i.e. one of the south-east side-chapels]; though I don't remember ever to have seen it there'.<sup>9</sup> In 1613, Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine were shown during a visit to the Chapel 'the foundation of the King's College intended by Harry the Sixth', which might refer to this design or might refer to the extant foundations of the unbuilt court at the Chapel's south-east end.<sup>10</sup> The loss of this important early record must be greatly regretted.

*John Hamond*. South-east view of 'Kynges college chapell' in his bird's-eye map of Cambridge, 1592. With the bell-tower beyond and the foundations of the unbuilt court at the south-east corner. East window with only four lights, otherwise an accurate perspective view. Hamond was a member of Clare Hall (M.A. 1579); his map was engraved by Augustin Ryther and Peter Muser. Only one complete copy, and the central sheet from another, survive (Bod). See J.W. Clark and A. Gray, *Old Plans of Cambridge* (1921). John Speed's map of Cambridge (1611) is based on Hamond's.

*Ralph Symons*. Plan of King's College, 1603. The college Mundum Book records a payment of 8s to 'Simons pro opere in Drawing le Platforme of the Colledge', probably for presentation to James I in the hope of financial support towards completing the buildings. (Symons was the architect for Emmanuel, Sidney Sussex, the second court of St John's, and the Great Court at Trinity.) Presumed lost.

*Robert Smythson*. Plan of 'Kinges Collige Chappell at Cambrige', c. 1609 (RIBA Drawings Collection, Smythson No.1/4 (1)). On the same page is a plan of the royal stables at Theobalds,

<sup>7</sup> To judge from a payment for scouring the pipes in 1561, each of the corner turrets and each of the 22 buttresses originally had a drainpipe, making 26 in all. The pipes were not carried down to ground level until 1798 (north side) and 1802 (south). The Chapel is one of the earliest buildings designed with drainpipes: probably because traditional gargoyle spouts would have deposited water on the side-chapel roofs or even against the great windows.

<sup>8</sup> John Harvey, in *The Connoisseur Coronation Book*: 99–100.

<sup>9</sup> William Cole, BL Add MS 5802 f.75.

<sup>10</sup> MS account, Gonville and Caius College.



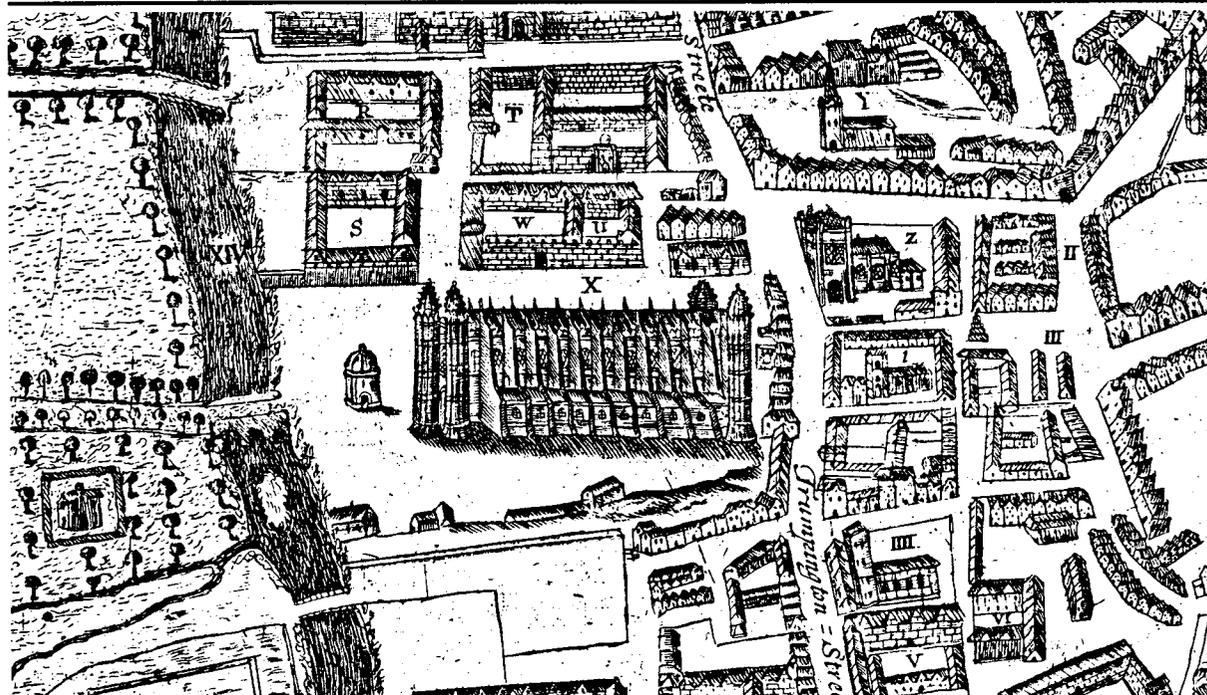


Figure 2. Thomas Fuller: detail from map of Cambridge, 1634.

the king during the Butt Close dispute between the two colleges, 1637–8.<sup>14</sup>

*Wenceslaus Hollar*. Distant south view of 'Kings Coll: Chap' shown in his prospect of Cambridge from the London road, c. 1666–9.

*David Loggan*. South elevation (dedicated to Sir Thomas Page, Provost 1675–81); west front (dedicated to Charles Roderick, Provost from 1689); interior looking east from the west end (dedicated to Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln 1675–91); interior of the Old Court of King's (dedicated to John Coplestone, Provost 1681–9), showing battlements and pinnacles of the Chapel's north side beyond; and distant views on title page and in prospects of Cambridge from east and west. All drawn and engraved by Loggan for his *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, published 1690. Born in Danzig in 1635 of Scottish parents, Loggan spent ten years in Oxford engraving his *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), before beginning his companion Cambridge series in 1676. He was never resident in Cambridge. A copy of the completed work was purchased by King's in 1690 for £10 15s (Mundum Book); in 1878, the interior and south views could be bought for as little as 1s each, the west view for 2s (sale of the William

Upcott collection). The south elevation is valuable for the view of the uncompleted court abutment at the south-east end; it shows Chapel yard traversed by paths and grazed by horses, with a block of stone in the foreground said to have been abandoned by the masons at news of Henry VI's deposition (and later used as foundation stone for the Gibbs Building); the side-chapel tracery is correctly shown, but the slightly different tracery in the eastern two great windows is not noted; two heraldic carvings are missing from the lower buttresses; an avenue of trees has been amputated by Loggan in order to show the propped-up bell-tower and Clare beyond; there are drainpipes on both sides of the buttresses. The west view is valuable for the distant view of other college buildings such as the Provost's Lodge and 'clerks' lodgings'. The interior view shows the original angel figures on top of the organ case (replaced with Gothic pinnacles before 1742) and affords a glimpse (the only surviving visual record) of the arrangement of the east end as it was between the 1630s and 1770s; the lectern is shown raised on stone steps (removed 1774); the eastern corner towers of the organ case appear to be devoid of pipes, perhaps awaiting the installation of a diapason stop by Renatus Harris in 1710; the figure of King David atop the middle of the case is too large, and the tops of the display compartments for pipes are shown rounded; various figures perambulate the antechapel (devoid of seating until the 1870s)

<sup>14</sup> See Willis & Clark, *op. cit.*, 1: 321, 541, where the plan is dated c. 1635; a letter from the Chancellor of the university to the Provost of King's, June 1637, quoted on p.91, refers to 'a platform of both colleges exhibited by Dr Paske [Master of Clare]'.

and two dogs frisk or fight in the left foreground.<sup>15</sup> 'This [interior] plate is usually considered to be the most beautiful of the [Cambridge] series,' observes J.W. Clark. 'There is a legend that Loggan lost his eyesight as a result of the minute work which he bestowed upon it; but the statement, we are glad to say, lacks confirmation.' Overall, Clark thought it 'a remarkable tribute to the beauty of King's College Chapel that Loggan should have devoted three plates to it, at a time when Pointed Architecture had passed out of favour with most persons'.<sup>16</sup> M.R. James agreed: 'Rare indeed is it to find in engravings of this period such sympathetic appreciation of Gothic architecture, and such admirable fidelity in portraying it.'<sup>17</sup>

*After Loggan.* Many 18th-century engravers were content merely to reproduce Loggan's views, updating the costumes of the figures as necessary or making other minor alterations. Among such may be mentioned: three reduced-scale views by James Beeverell for *Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne* (1707 and subsequent editions); south view engraved by Franc Ha Leal (sometimes attributed to Johannes Kip) and dedicated to Francis Godolphin, Baron Royalton, in various editions, from c. 1710, of David Mortier's *Britannia Illustrata* and *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*; a back-to-front south view 'sold in Bow Churchyard'; interior view engraved by Henry Overton; interior view 'published by Laurie & Whittle, 53 Fleet Street, London' c. 1794; views by Parr 'printed for Robert Sayer, map & printseller at the Golden Buck in Fleet Street' c. 1751; south-east views of Cambridge by R.

Whitehand c. 1700 and c. 1716 and by T. Bowles c. 1740. See also Canaletto, below.

*Seely.* Mundum Book for 1705–6 records payments of £6 9s 'Magistro Seely pro delineando le Chapple', 17s 6d 'pro framing le Chapple draught', and 4s 'pro portando Novi Templi pictura a London'. No more known.

*Nicholas Hawksmoor.* His unexecuted designs, 1713, for completing the college include: plan of the Chapel and cloisters; elevation of the east front of the Chapel (inaccurately showing it with the west window) (both KC, Muniments); elevation of a proposed bell-tower (Bod MS Gough Misc. Antiq. f.1 No.172). See Allan Doig, *The Architectural Drawings Collection of King's College, Cambridge* (1979): 23–6, plates 1 and 4; Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1969): 80–3; Sarah Crewe, *Visionary Spires* (New York, 1986): 68, plate 79.

*Paper Model.* It was noted in 1721 that in one of the side-chapels 'they show you a paper model, done by a poor artificer in the town, very exact and pretty', while in 1750 'in the fourth north chapel stands the model of the whole building'.<sup>18</sup>

*James Gibbs.* Unexecuted design for a reredos, pen and wash, 1724 (Victoria and Albert Museum, E3672–1913; exhibited at Fitzwilliam Museum 1984; reproduced by Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs* (London, 1984): 235). Plan of his scheme for completing the college, including a plan of the Chapel (showing his proposed arrangement of the east end), engraved by H. Hulsbergh to accompany Gregory Doughty, *A Sermon Preach'd before the University of Cambridge in King's College Chapel on the 25th of March 1724*; revised and more detailed version in Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (1728), plate 32.

*Samuel and Nathaniel Buck.* Distant views in their north-east view of Cambridge Castle, engraved 1730, and their north-west prospect of Cambridge, engraved 1743.

*William Stukeley.* 'A section of Kings Coll. Chapel', pen sketch, 10 x 8 in., 1734 (Bod MS Gough Maps 2, f.40v). 'Architecture was ever a favourite diversion to me, and I could sit an hour or two together in the antechapel of King's College viewing and contemplating the building, and made a draught of a longitudinal section of it.'<sup>19</sup>

*Gibbs' Unfulfilled Scheme.* Bird's-eye view from the east of James Gibbs' complete

<sup>15</sup> The college statute forbidding the keeping of dogs was long disregarded. At a visitation by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1674, the Fellows admitted 'we cannot deny but there are dogs kept in the college' (KC muniments: 'Visitations' volume). A payment that year of 3s 6d 'pro le dog collar' (Mundum Book) perhaps indicates an intention at least to maintain better control. Of King's in the 1820s it was recalled that 'most of us had dogs. Dogs and King's were in a manner identical' (W.H. Tucker, quoted in Austen Leigh, *King's College* (1899): 246). Dogs can also be seen outside the north door in the north view in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1807) and on the great lawn in Malton's south-west view of 1799 and Rowlandson's cartoon of 1809. 'Dog-whippers' were employed in the 17th century to keep dogs out of Great St Mary's and the chapels of Christ's and Trinity; at Clare in 1715 the porters were charged 'to shoot or destroy' dogs. King's was evidently more liberal towards canine visitors.

<sup>16</sup> J.W. Clark, *Loggan's Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), in which all the engravings are reproduced with commentary.

<sup>17</sup> *Cambridge Review*, 30 November 1905.

<sup>18</sup> *British Curiosities in Art and Nature* (1721): 78; Francis Blomefield, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensi* (1750): 136.

<sup>19</sup> *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley* (1882): 32.

projected design for King's College (including Charles Bridgeman's proposed landscaping of the college grounds). Drawn by James Essex 1741 (original drawing preserved KC, Provost's Lodge), engraved by P. Fourdrinier (French emigré engraver active in London c. 1720–50) 20 x 24 in. The engraving was probably made in the hope that, once John Hungerford's long-awaited legacy to the college was received, the scheme, begun in 1724, might be completed. 'It would be interesting to know whether Essex was assisted in any way by Gibbs or [Sir James] Burrough in the preparation of this important design. It seems hardly likely that a young man of nineteen would produce such a work without some extraneous assistance.'<sup>20</sup> The first accurate portrayal of the Chapel's east front (one loophole window is missing). Window 14 (south-east) is shown opened up (it remained a half window until 1827 due to the original intention for the college court to abut on the Chapel here) - possibly as part of Gibbs's scheme.

*William Cole.* Sketch drawings of the lectern (showing it without candle-holders and on its original hexagonal base; coloured, f.108v), of the stained-glass image of Henry VI (f.85), of the monumental brasses of Dr Towne and Provosts Argentine, Hacomblen and Brassie, and the remains of that of Provost Smith (ff.70v, 89, 79, 86, 75 respectively), of various memorial monuments (Freeman, Collins, Page, Scawen, Blandford, Roderick), of arms or initials in glass (Goad, Stokys, Freeman), and of various hatchments and arms on slabs; also of a gold coin of Henry V found when the foundations were dug for Gibbs' Building. All accompanying his invaluable antiquarian account of the Chapel, 1742 (BL Add MS 5802).

*Antonio Canaletto.* Interior looking east: oil painting c. 1747–50. Horace Walpole recorded in 1780 that 'I have a perspective by [Canaletto] of the inside of King's College Chapel', to which James Dallaway added in 1826 'of which [John] Hawkins has a repetition'.<sup>21</sup> A third version belonged in 1774 to Samuel Dickenson. Only one is now known to be extant (30 x 26 in; collection Mrs Robert H. Schneider) but it is uncertain whether this is the Walpole, Hawkins or Dickenson version. 'The attribution to Canaletto is not wholly convincing, since the painting has some of the characteristics of a skilful copy. That it goes back to an original by

Canaletto seems certain.'<sup>22</sup> It is very doubtful whether Canaletto had ever set eyes on the Chapel: inaccuracies – the angel figures still surmounting the organ case, giant figures in the stained glass, the chequered floor – suggest a studio product of Loggan-and-Imagination.

*James Essex.* Drawings to accompany a proposed account of the Chapel, from 1756. According to his 1756 advertisement, the work would have contained 'about 15 plates of the building explaining the various designs and proportions of its parts', but he later envisaged 21. He took exact measurements while undertaking the restoration of the stonework. A folio of drawings (BL Add MS 6776), many highly finished and ready for engraving, contains: the Founder's scheme for the college (f.8); floor and vault plans (f.10); east end with a reredos design (f.11); measurements of west window (f.12); elevation and plan of the base of a corner tower (f.13); various plans, elevations and measured details of the corner turrets (ff.14–18); measured drawings of a pinnacle (ff.19–20); drawing of a side window (f.21); section through the vault with part of the west window (f.22); details of the vault and the timber roof (ff.23–4); elevation and plan of the clock-house (?) (f.25); plan of a bay of the upper vault showing layout of the stones (f.26); sketch drawing of a reredos scheme (f.79). A sketch book (BL Add MS 6769) contains about 20 measured drawings of pier mouldings, turrets, windows, side-chapel vaults, and other details (ff.295–317). Further drawings, including a sketch of 'Sir James Burrough's design for the altar' and an altarpiece design by Essex are in BL Add MS 6772 ff.1–76. 'Whoever hopes to give an account of the Chapel can never hope to do it with the accuracy of Mr Essex.'<sup>23</sup> As late as 1782, Essex recorded: 'Sir H. Englefield called upon me some time before Christmas and pressed me to publish my drawings and observations on King's Chapel ... And I hope the college will promote the design, as some of the Fellows have expressed a desire of having some of the plates engraved at the expense of the society ... But I see little probability of its being published. Works of this kind are calculated for men of taste only, but of these very few can be found in this place, and these not likely to

<sup>20</sup> W.M. Fawcett (ed.), *Journal of a Tour through Part of Flanders and France in August 1773 by James Essex* (Cambridge, 1888): xxx.

<sup>21</sup> Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. Wornum, 2 (1876): 333.

<sup>22</sup> W.G. Constable, *Canaletto*, revised by J.G. Links (Oxford, 1976): 406. See also Hilda F. Finberg, *Canaletto in England*, *The Walpole Society* 10 (1921–2): 75–6, plate XCIII; David Bindman and Lionello Puppi, *The Complete Paintings of Canaletto* (London, 1968): 114–15.

<sup>23</sup> William Cole to Horace Walpole, 3 January 1771, in W.S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 1 (Oxford, 1937): 209.

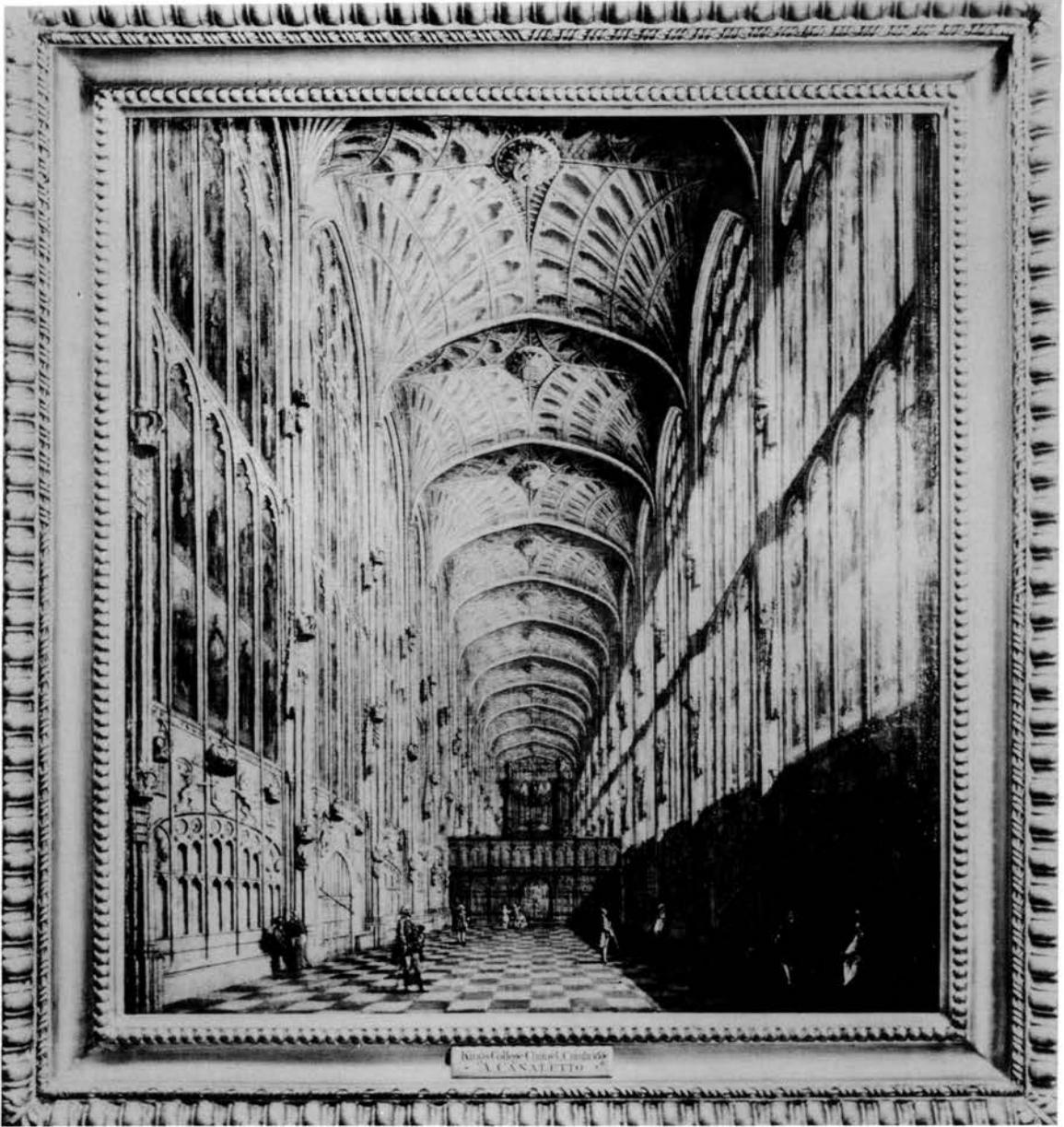


Figure 3. Antonio Canaletto: interior looking east, c. 1747–50.  
Photo: L.G. Links.

encourage it.<sup>24</sup> As Richard Gough put it: 'The college don't care two pence about prints, while they have the original.'<sup>25</sup>

*Essex and the Reredos.* When funds for a new altarpiece became available in 1759, Sir James Burrough, the Cambridge amateur architect, submitted two designs, one classical in style and in wood, the other Gothic and in stone. They were drawn by James Essex, then working as Burrough's assistant, and the classical design survives among Essex's papers (BL Add MS 6772 f.47); both designs were taken to London and shown to James 'Athenian' Stuart and other experts for their opinion.<sup>26</sup> Essex himself drew up various designs, all Gothic (BL Add MS 42,569 f.7; Add MS 6776 f.11; and his final version, executed 1774–6 during a major restoration of the Chapel, Add MS 6772 f.76). When Essex sent in his bill in 1774 he suggested, since he had not charged for all his drawings, that the college 'permit him to have that drawing in the [Provost's] Lodge, if he can without too great an expense oblige many gentlemen of taste who desire to have it engraved';<sup>27</sup> it is not clear which drawing this was.<sup>28</sup>

*Peter Spindelowe Lamborn.* South-west view from Erasmus' Walk (the Chapel seen through trees, a horse drinking in the foreground), engraved 1762 (original drawing in the British Museum print room). South side, drawn by J. Heins, engraved by Lamborn for *Cantabrigia Depicta*, 1763. Three drawings of King's and Clare, exhibited at the Society of Artists of London 1765, 1768 and 1769. Two large engravings, 1769: Clare from the west, with the Chapel beyond; south-west view from the corner of King's lawn. The Chapel also features on Lamborn's allegorical device of the university, used on books of congratulatory verses, 1762 and 1763. See J.M. Morris, 'A Checklist of Prints made at Cambridge by Peter Spindelowe Lamborn (1722–74)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1962): 295–312.

*James Adam.* Unexecuted designs for a reredos, the first classical in style, the second Gothic; pen and wash, 1768–9 (KC muniments; Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Adam Collection vol. 31 Nos 22–23). Adam visited King's in March 1768 'to take the exact dimensions of the Chapel, to make drawings of the inside of it, and to fix the situation of the great altarpiece'. His first design, with an arrogantly towering central pediment which would have obscured the lower part of the east window, was rejected; his second design, delivered on 25 March 1769, was in execrable pseudo-Gothic and would still have obscured the window. He was paid £79 2s (25 guineas for the first design, 35 guineas for the second, £16 2s for expenses) and dismissed. See Alan Doig, James Adam, James Essex and an altarpiece for King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Architectural History* 21 (1978): 79–82, plate 22; *The Architectural Drawings Collection of King's College, Cambridge* (1979): 29–31, plate 11.

*Thomas Orde.* Portrait of Henry Malden, the Chapel clerk, frontispiece to Malden (attrib.), *An Account of King's College Chapel in Cambridge* (1769) (which also reproduces the Heins/Lamborn south view of 1763).<sup>29</sup> Portrait of Henry VI, based on the stained-glass image in the Hacomben chantry, drawn by Orde, engraved by J. Bretherton, two versions, 1774. 'It is well executed, but the ornaments and canopy are too large for the principal figure', Cole noted of the latter;<sup>30</sup> King's paid one guinea for two copies of it and £1 1s 1d 'for framing the same'.<sup>31</sup> It is reproduced in Rudolph Ackermann's *History of the University of Cambridge* (1815) (see below).

*John Marshall.* North-east corner with the old buildings along the south side of the former St Mary's Lane, c. 1770, painted 'at 9 years old' (formerly in possession of Rev. C.H. Evelyn White; see *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 13 (1909), plate 25). St Mary's Lane ran between King's Parade and the university

<sup>24</sup> Essex to Richard Gough, 31 January 1782; in J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 6 (1831).

<sup>25</sup> Gough to Rev. M. Tyson, 11 December 1779; in Nichols, *op. cit.*, 8: 656.

<sup>26</sup> KC muniments, 'Altarpiece 1742–75': 3, 5, 7.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*: 39.

<sup>28</sup> For Essex and reproductions of some of his drawings, see W.M. Fawcett *op. cit.*, (note 20 above); Donald R. Stewart, James Essex, *Architectural Review* 108 (1950): 317–21; Yvonne Jerrold, A Study of James Essex of Cambridge, Architect and Antiquarian, Part II History dissertation, Department of Architecture, Cambridge University 1977; Thomas Cocke, *The Ingenious Mr Essex, Architect, 1722–1784* (Cambridge, 1984).

<sup>29</sup> The Malden print was evidently sold separately: Cole sent a copy to Walpole on 3 August 1769 (*Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* 1: 188). Cole noted that 'Henry Malden, Chapel clerk, died Wednesday August 23rd 1769, after having been in that office near 30 years: first boy to Mr Wade the college butler. Mr [Thomas] James wrote his book for him, he being an illiterate and drunken fellow' (BL Add MS 5802 f.111v). The first guidebook to the Chapel, the book bearing Malden's name, was compiled by James and others to raise funds for the relief of Malden's widow and children. Orde (later first Baron Bolton, at that time undergraduate of King's) portrays Malden holding the Chapel keys.

<sup>30</sup> BL Add MS 5802 f.85.

<sup>31</sup> KC Mundum Book 1774.

buildings; its north side was demolished in 1769, the south side in 1789. Probably a unique representation of the old buildings adjoining the Chapel's north-east corner; shows the former clockhouse.

*Thomas Sandby*. Drawings, 1770–1. Cole reported to Walpole on 3 January 1771 that 'Mr Essex has heard that Mr Sandby was at Cambridge about a fortnight ago, employed by his Majesty to take drafts of King's College Chapel, and was to return again in about a month or two to take other measurements, with a design for publication'. This news had caused Essex to panic; he still hoped to publish his own drawings and had visions of Sandby, with royal support, forestalling him. Cole accordingly asked whether Essex's own 'plans and designs could be laid before the King by your or any other mediation. He will at any warning come up to town and bring his papers and drafts with him, that you may judge whether they are worthy of such a patronage'. Walpole duly asked Sandby's brother 'if there was a design, as I had heard, of making a print or prints of King's College Chapel by the King's order? He answered directly, by no means. His brother made a general sketch of the Chapel for the use of the lectures he reads on architecture at the Royal Academy [where he was first professor of architecture].<sup>32</sup> Essex's own scheme does not appear to have been referred to the king. A plan of the vault by Sandby appears in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1807) (see below); the whereabouts of his original drawings is uncertain.<sup>33</sup>

'*Cantabrigia Depicta*'. South side: unsigned engraving in 2nd (1776) and later editions; differs from the view engraved by Lamborn for the 1st edition.

*George Romney*. Eight sketches for a proposed *Mater Dolorosa* altarpiece, c. 1776–80. (Five drawings, Fitzwilliam Museum; two drawings, Folger Shakespeare Library; large oil study, *Religion*, sold Christie's, 1807.) The central panel of Essex's new reredos was reserved for a painting and Thomas Orde accordingly commissioned his friend Romney to execute a *Mater Dolorosa* for it; but some of the Fellows opposed this commission and before Romney could complete the work the Earl of Carlisle, a former Kingsman, presented the college with a *Deposition*, then believed to be by Daniele da Volterra but now attributed to Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, which was

installed in 1781. Romney, bitterly disappointed, never completed his painting, though it was 'in a state of great forwardness', and so 'lost both his hundred guineas and his time, which latter was to him at that period far the greater loss of the two'.<sup>34</sup> Of the surviving studies, however, 'none are very convincing as religious works'.<sup>35</sup>

'*Modern Universal British Traveller*'. Views, c. 1777, imitated from those of Buck and Lamborn (see above).

*Brass Impressions*. Ink impressions made 7 October 1779, one of the Hacomben brass by Craven Ord, one each of the Towne and Hacomben brasses by Sir John Cullum (BL Add MS 32, 478 ff.54, 142, 143). Ord was the first antiquary to take impressions of monumental brasses. The manner in which he does them is this: he has French paper damped, and kept in a tin case made on purpose to keep it so, printer's ink in a bottle, and a quantity of rags. He inks the brass, and then wipes it very clean, lays on the paper, covers it with a cloth, and treads upon it and takes the impression; and he has a man at home to finish them up with printer's ink where the lines have failed. He then cuts out the figures and pastes them into a large portfolio with blue paper leaves, large enough to contain a figure six feet high; and you cannot imagine how beautiful they appear.<sup>36</sup> Other early impressions of brasses in the Chapel are by George Rowe (BL Add MS 32,481); various collectors (BL Add MS 32,485); Henry Addington (BL Add MS 32,490); and Charles Henry Hartshorne (BL Add MS 34,806).

*Benjamin Diemar*. Engraving of the Siciolante *Deposition* altarpiece, 1782; drawing of it 'framed and glazed to be presented to Lord Carlisle', 1783. The *Deposition* was installed as altarpiece in 1781 and adorned the Chapel's east end until 1964 (it now hangs in a side-chapel). At the time of its donation it was called 'one of the finest pictures in the world'<sup>37</sup> and in c. 1790 was considered one of the three finest art objects in Cambridge.<sup>38</sup> King's paid £5 5s for 'five proof impressions' of the engraving in

<sup>32</sup> *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* 1: 208–12.

<sup>33</sup> See also Thomas Sandby R.A.: His Lectures on Architecture, 1770–1794, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 2 (1895): 223–4.

<sup>34</sup> John Romney, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney* (London, 1830): 136–7.

<sup>35</sup> Patricia Jaffé, *Drawings by George Romney from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1977) Nos 28–9.

<sup>36</sup> J.C. Brooke to Richard Gough, 29 March 1780, in John Nichols (ed.), *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* 6: 393. See also V.J. Torr, A Guide to Craven Ord, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1781: 189.

<sup>38</sup> Along with Roubiliac's statue of Newton and the altarpiece at Queens'; *A Catalogue of the Several Pictures in the Public Library and Respective Colleges in the University of Cambridge*.

1782 and further sums of £5 5s and £8 8s in 1783; Atherton was paid 15s 2d in December 1783 'for framing and glazing a print of the altarpiece', and Diemar £2 2s 'for a proof impression of the print'. For the drawing of the painting given to its donor, Diemar received £21.<sup>39</sup>

*Robert Adam.* Two perspective views, one from the west, one from the east, showing the Chapel's relationship with Adam's twin schemes for completing the college and for new university buildings, 1788 (Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Collection vol. 31 Nos 12, 13). Adam proposed a domed classical block (with circular dining hall) for the college's south side, with the court's east side left open; and grandiose new university buildings on the Chapel's north side, with a dome added to the Senate House. He appears to have thought the Chapel identical at both ends. See Arthur T. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (London, 1922) 2: 173–80; James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Adam* (London, 1947): 137, where the east perspective is reproduced.

[*William?*] *Roe.* East view with University Library and Senate House, coloured engraving c. 1790. Chapel shown with only ten bays, east window with eight lights; Provost's Lodge shown but not the foundations of the proposed (but never built) south university block.

*Cambridge Guide.* North-east view with University Library and Senate House, engraving in *A Concise and Accurate Description of ... Cambridge*, 1790 and 1796 editions. Shows, to the Chapel's north-east, the foundations for the proposed third university block.<sup>40</sup> St Mary's Lane, formerly on this site, had been cleared in 1789 but the Provost's Lodge (not shown) remained.

*J. Walker.* South-west view of King's and Clare from across the river, 1793, 'engraved by W. & J. Walker from an original drawing by J. Walker, figures by Burney'. Shows former King's bridge and figures punting, drawing barges, etc.

*J.M.W. Turner.* South-west view from across the river, watercolour, 13 x 9 in., c. 1794 (KC, bought 1922). West window depicted with only

eight lights, loopholes omitted from the corner towers, other inaccuracies; academic fishermen on former river wall. Probably painted during Turner's Midland tour of 1794, collecting material for engravings in the *Copper-Plate Magazine*.<sup>41</sup> Turner also painted an interior view of the choir (watercolour, 12 x 9 in., exhibited Royal Academy 1795, sold Christie's 1873, present whereabouts unknown) which is the earliest-known such view. 'One of these [watercolours], or a later view of the Chapel (interior or exterior?), was in Turner's gallery in 1809, and another, or the same, in John Naylor's collection. There is no positive evidence that more than two views were made: one of the west end and one of the choir.'<sup>42</sup> Pencil drawings of both the exterior and the choir are in the Tate Gallery, London (Turner Bequest XXI-Z, XXII-A, XXII-Aa). A general view of Cambridge by Turner, with the Chapel rising above the other buildings, was engraved by T. Tagg, 1795.

*Thomas Malton.* Three versions of the north-east view from King's Parade, showing the clockhouse, with different vehicles and figures in the street: watercolour, 14 x 20 in., 1794 (KC, bought 1924); engraving, 1798; watercolour, exhibited Royal Academy 1799 (sold Messrs M. Knoedler & Co., Bond Street, London, 1933). South-west view of King's and Clare from corner of lawn, engraved 1799. Hood, a local print-seller, had originally engaged Richard Harraden (see below) to produce a series of *Picturesque Views of Cambridge*, but 'the incorrectness' of Harraden's views obliged him 'to relinquish any further concern with them and to employ superior talents; he has therefore engaged Mr T. Malton, whose abilities need no panegyric'.<sup>43</sup> However, Malton's views show the Chapel remarkably diminished in height and length.

*James Wyatt.* His unexecuted plans for completing the college include two elevations of his proposed King's Parade front, 1795, and three perspective views (pen and watercolour, 19 x 27 in., exhibited Royal Academy 1796–7) of the proposed court from the west and of the proposed King's Parade front looking north and looking south (KC). Wyatt's depictions of the Chapel are full of inaccuracies: the east front is shown with the west window, a porch replaces

<sup>39</sup> KC Mundum Book, Congregation Book 14 November 1783. Diemar (1741–90) was born in Berlin. Another engraving of the *Deposition* was made by the mezzotint engraver William Pether.

<sup>40</sup> The Master of Caius condemned the proposed third block in 1727 as one 'that will so effectually shut out all view of that noble fabric King's Chapel that I wonder how the university or that college can bear it' Nevertheless, the scheme was revived in 1754, 1790, 1829 and again in the 1920s, when the Master of Christ's claimed that although it 'would undoubtedly impair the view of King's College Chapel seen from the corner of Trinity Street', only a 'comparatively few passers-by' in that area had 'time to spare for views'.

<sup>41</sup> The picture is erroneously dated 1796 in Jarrold's colour guides to the Chapel, where it is reproduced (frontispiece to the 1957, 1961 and 1969 editions).

<sup>42</sup> Andrew Wilton, *The Life and Work of J.M.W. Turner* (London, 1979): 309.

<sup>43</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle*, 29 June 1799. The north-east engraving is reproduced in R.A. Austen Leigh, *Bygone King's* (1907), plate 12; the south-west view on the jacket of F.A. Reeve, *Cambridge* (1976).

the north-eastern side-chapel, loopholes appear in the wrong face of the corner tower, and there are five battlements per bay instead of three.<sup>44</sup>

*Tradesmen's Tokens*. South side, engraved by Jacobs on obverse of Cambridge tradesman's token, 1796: 'To the heads & students of the University of Cambridge/this medal is humbly inscribed by their obedient humble servant D. Hood'. Gibbs' Building on reverse. (Hood was a 'print-seller, carver, gilder and picture-frame maker' of Market Street.) West end, engraved on obverse of a penny token, 1797.

*W. Miller*. North-east view from King's Parade, with Senate House, drawn by Miller, engraved by G. Testolini, published by Colnaghi & Co., 1796. Another version, perhaps earlier, has 'Pub. by Sweet, Looking Glass & Frame Maker'. Shows eight figures, old Provost's Lodge; turrets too tall, east window given only seven lights, clockhouse not visible.

*Richard Harraden*. West view of King's and Clare from across the river, showing the former King's bridge in the foreground and three swans on the river, engraved 1797 (reproduced in R.A. Austen Leigh, *Bygone King's* (1907), plate 16). East view from King's Parade, showing part of clockhouse, engraved 1798. South view: engraved by J. Newton for Harraden's *Picturesque Views of Cambridge* (1800). (See above, under Thomas Malton.)

*Richard B. Harraden (1)*. Interior of choir, looking east, a service in progress; interior of choir, looking west from the altar: watercolours, 18 x 14 in., 1797 (KC, bought 1924). Richard Bankes Harraden (1778–1862) was the son and partner of Richard Harraden senior (1756–1838). For other views by him, see below.

*Charles Humfrey*. Congregation Book, 5 December 1797: 'Agreed that fifteen guineas be offered to Mr Humfrey for his draught of the west view of King's College Chapel'. This was presumably either Charles Humfrey the carpenter who made Essex's reredos and did restoration work on the Chapel, or his son, Charles Humfrey the Cambridge architect and builder. No more known.

*William Wilkins*. Eleven measured drawings and sections, c. 1798–1802: west door; south elevation; detail of two exterior bays; north porch; east-west section; north-south section showing west end; north-south section showing east end; two bays of the antechapel; two bays of the choir; plan; organ screen (S.W. Phoenix Collection, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York: P727.3/W65, 1–11). This important

collection was executed while Wilkins was an undergraduate at Caius College and while his father was supervising repairs to the Chapel's rain-spouts. 'In taking measurements of every part of this building both externally and internally, in making the most accurate drawings of them, and in the study of the principles of its construction, a considerable portion of his time while at college was expended' (MS preface to the bound collection). Two of the drawings were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1810 and the entire set at the Society of Antiquaries in 1813, on which occasion Wilkins noted that 'professional pursuits' had prevented him from preparing them for publication as intended. See John Harris, *Catalogue of British Drawings ... in American Collections* (New Jersey, 1971): 276; R.W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778–1839* (Cambridge, 1980): 18, 83, 233, plates 7–8. See also below, under Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*. Wilkins was responsible for completing the college's main court in the 1820s.

*Frederic Nash*. North-east view from King's Parade, engraved by J. Roffe for J. Britton and E.W. Brayley, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 2 (1801). Clockhouse shown.

*W.N. Gardiner*. South-west view with Gibbs' Building, drawn and engraved by Gardiner, published by Edward Harding, 1801, and in Joseph Wilson, *Memorabilia Cantabrigiae* (1803); shows Chapel with about fifteen bays; tracery of west window incorrect. Partial north-east view with Senate House, published 1802 by Harding and as frontispiece to Wilson.

*J.K. Baldry*. West view of King's and Clare from across the river, engraved by S. Sparrow for the *Cambridge University Almanack* (1802); republished 1807.

*Jane Hales*. West and south-west views: etchings c. 1802 (CUL, Views.x.6.74–5.)

*G. Cole*. North-east view with Senate House: vignette inset in map of Cambridgeshire engraved by J. Roper 'under the direction of J. Britton and E.W. Brayley' to accompany *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1804).

*Britton's 'Architectural Antiquities'*. Floor plan (drawn by J.L. Bond after measurements by William Wilkins, engraved John Roffe); plan of vault (Thomas Sandby/John Smith); section of part of south side (Bond after sketches by Wilkins, engraved Richard Roffe); south porch (Bond/S. Rawle); north side (Bond/John Smith); west front (S. Prout/J.C. Smith); interior of antechapel looking west (Bond after a sketch by Jacob Schebbelle, engraved W. Edwards). Seven engravings, all dated 1805, for J. Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* 1

<sup>44</sup> See Doig, *op. cit.*, plates 16–18.

(1807). An alternative version of the last plate (F. Mackenzie/Henry Le Keux) is dated 1812. The south porch view shows children playing with a hoop and is dedicated to Henry Bone, enamel painter to the Prince of Wales; the buttresses are incorrectly shown at the top, drainpipes are not shown; the porch as yet lacks gates (first installed 1821).<sup>45</sup> The north side view, dedicated to M.A. Shee, shows a gate in the railing at the north-east corner leading to the old Provost's Lodge. The west front view, dedicated to Henry Edridge, makes the Chapel look stunted and ugly. The antechapel view, dedicated to Thomas Monro, is probably the earliest view from this angle.

*Frederic Nash*. Elevation of an antechapel bay (engraved J. Lee); ground plan (engraved J. Warner); copy of the unexecuted bell-tower design (drawn and engraved by Nash): all in Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia* 2 (1808). Interior looking east (drawn by Nash, engraved John Byrne), in *Britannia Depicta* (1808), published to complement *Magna Britannia*. Some of Nash's original drawings are in the British Library (Add MS 9461 ff.8–11). Nash's ground plan indicates the arrangement of Essex's altarpiece, but omits the porch steps and the clockhouse and incorrectly details the staircase and loopholes of the north-east turret.

*Thomas Rowlandson*. South-west view of King's and Clare from the corner of the lawn, with sundry academic and unacademic figures in the foreground, an immense tree to the right, and the Chapel with thirteen bays: drawing c. 1809 (Fitzwilliam Museum).<sup>46</sup>

*East Window Engraved*. Large engraving (44 x 24 in.; scale:  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch to 1 foot), dedicated to King George III, by Joshua Kirby Baldry, 1809. Uncoloured copies cost 5 guineas, coloured 6 guineas. The first and, until 1939, the only complete pictorial record of any of the Chapel windows. It took Baldry ten years to execute. KC Congregation Book, 19 November 1799: 'Agreed that the college do subscribe for two copies of Mr Baldry's proposed drawing from the east window of the Chapel, one of them for the lodge and the other for the combination room.' KC Congregation Book, 16 January 1801: 'Agreed that Mr Baldry be accommodated

with a loan of £50, the bursar taking his note of hand for the same.' *Cambridge Chronicle* (9 July 1803): 'Mr Baldry respectfully informs the subscribers to his print from the east window of King's College Chapel that he has now a very forward proof to be seen; and as the plate will be finished in two months, the subscription will be raised on the 11th inst to six guineas. N.B. Wanted: a youth who has a taste for the fine art as an apprentice to drawing, painting and engraving and to assist in carrying on the above undertaking.' Joseph Farington, 13 September 1805: 'From King's College we went to Mr Baldry's, an artist who teaches drawing in Cambridge, to see a drawing he has made of the east window of King's College Chapel representing the sufferings of our Saviour. It appeared to me to be a very faithful copy most laboriously executed. The colours of the painted glass were carefully imitated. He told me he had computed the time it took him to complete it and said it occupied him twelve months at the rate of nine hours a day. He made his drawings with the help of a telescope through which he viewed it. The telescope was placed in the organ loft opposite the window. He had opened a subscription for a coloured print to be an imitation of his drawing, the size of the plate 3 feet 8 inches long by 2 feet wide ... He said he had engaged his brother, an artist, to engrave it, but he had, after receiving several hundred pounds, neglected or failed in the execution and he has now taken the task of finishing it upon himself.'<sup>47</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle* (5 May 1809): 'Last week Mr Baldry had the honour of exhibiting his coloured proof print from the east window of King's Chapel to the Queen and Princesses, who highly approved of the same, and Mr Baldry received the royal permission to dedicate the plate to his Majesty.' Baldry blamed the long delay on 'inadequate encouragement ... and a total failure in etching the plate by the person whom he employed to engrave it ... For when the plate was delivered, *four years ago*, as completely finished, upon examination he found the parts which ought to be tender and delicate so deeply corroded by the *aqua fortis* that it had occupied the greater part of his time since that period to remedy the faulty parts; and he is now convinced he could have engraved a new plate in much less time'. He went on: 'As soon as he has delivered the present print to his subscribers, [Mr Baldry] purposes to engrave a plate from one of the south windows [window 21] in the same Chapel ... The artist believes he

<sup>45</sup> Gates were first installed on the west door in 1817, on the porches in 1821; none of these survives. The present 18th-century gates to the south porch, believed to come from the Cathedral close at Exeter, were donated in 1930, those on the north porch were made in 1938, those on the west door in 1958. A proposal in 1968 to install plate-glass gates on the porches was not implemented.

<sup>46</sup> Reproduced in John Steegmann, *Cambridge* (1940), fig.44.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Farington, *Diary*, ed. James Greig (Hutchinson, 1924) vol. 3: 108.

shall be able to complete the drawing and engraving within two years from the beginning them, as the architectural part is already engraved, and he will dedicate his whole time to this work.'<sup>48</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle* (15 November 1811): 'J.K. Baldry ... respectfully informs the nobility and gentry that his drawings from two of the windows in King's College Chapel are exhibited daily in a large room at Mr Case's, adjoining Caius College; where may be had fine impressions, coloured or plain, from his plate of the east window; and subscriptions are received for the plate he is now engraving from a south window of the above Chapel.' But the scheme to engrave further windows failed. KC Congregation Book, 28 October 1817: 'Agreed that the note of hand given by Mr Baldry for £39 (the sum now due from him to King's College out of the £50 lent to Mr B.) be cancelled in consideration of his poverty and of the failure of his plan, though no fault is to be found in the execution of the work.' In 1818, he confessed that he 'had flattered himself, from the reputation which his print from the east window ... obtained him, his success would have been sufficient to have enabled him, long before this period, to have drawn and engraved several of these incomparable windows; so unparalleled however have been the pressure and distress of the times since he began this plate, that he has not experienced sufficient encouragement and support to enable him to apply much to this work ... When it is considered that all these drawings were taken through a telescope, the largest extent that the object glass of which could embrace [being] only a circle of less than twenty inches diameter, and that a great part was viewed at an angle of above 45 degrees from the level of the spectator's eye, it will appear evident that this work has not only been difficult and painful but also that it must have occupied an immense deal of time ... Almost all these works have been executed by a man with a large increasing family, experiencing much sickness, and, from the unpropitious state of the times, struggling with great difficulties; to alleviate which difficulties he attempted to dispose of two of his drawings from the east window by a raffle, but not having got one third part of the number of subscribers to fill the same, this measure has only rendered his situation more uncomfortable, as some of these subscribers seem to think that this raffle will never take place.' Altogether, by this time he had made 'three drawings, and an outline, of the

great east window; also four heads from different figures, of the same size as those in the window', while of window 21 he had made 'two finished drawings and an outline; also ... two large heads; the enlarged subjects of *Peter Preaching*, *The Apostles Scourged* and *The Carrying Away the Dead Body of Ananias*'; of the engraving itself he had 'finished all the Gothic framework, and the subjects contained within the arch of the window.'<sup>49</sup> Baldry died in 1829 'at his residence near Wild Hill, in the parish of Hatfield, Herts, in the 74th year of his age, leaving a widow and eleven children, the youngest of which is only five years old, in a state of complete destitution.'<sup>50</sup> In 1840, Baldry's drawing 'of the north-east window [recte window 21?]' was said to be 'now' in possession of the Provost.<sup>51</sup> M.R. James commented on the east window engraving that 'though the composition is not incorrectly rendered, the artist has made one capital mistake in entirely omitting to represent the leadwork in any way.'<sup>52</sup>

*Richard B. Harraden* (2). Five engravings drawn by Harraden for *Cantabrigia Depicta: A Series of Engravings Representing the Most Picturesque and Interesting Edifices in the University of Cambridge* (1811): west front (on title page); south-west view from the corner of the lawn (etched by Elizabeth Byrne, 1809); interior of choir looking east (engraved by J. Skelton, 1810; this view, Harraden noted, 'has never, to our surprise, employed the pencil of any artist before', presumably meaning that no engraving of it had been published); north-east view with Senate House from King's Parade (etched by Elizabeth Byrne, 1809; clockhouse not visible); ground plan as intended by Henry VI (no artist given).

*Thomas Rickman*. Elevation of an antechapel bay, 1811 (BL Add MS 37,803 f.26).

*John Greig*. Three views, drawn and engraved for George Dyer, *History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (1814): south porch (title page, vol. 1); interior of choir looking east (vol. 2); front of Old Court, looking towards Chapel (vol. 2).

*Ackermann's 'Cambridge'*. Eight fine aquatint engravings for Rudolph Ackermann, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1 (1815): plan and section of the roof and vault (drawn by Frederick Mackenzie, engraved by J. Bluck); interior looking east, with the choir processing to service and two vergers holding

<sup>48</sup> J.K. Baldry, *The East Window of King's College Chapel* (1809): 7.

<sup>49</sup> J.K. Baldry, *A Dissertation on the Windows of King's College Chapel* (1818): 17–19.

<sup>50</sup> *Cambridge Chronicle* (2 January 1829).

<sup>51</sup> J.J. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Portfolio* (1840): 437.

<sup>52</sup> In C.R. Fay, *King's College, Cambridge* (1907): 114.

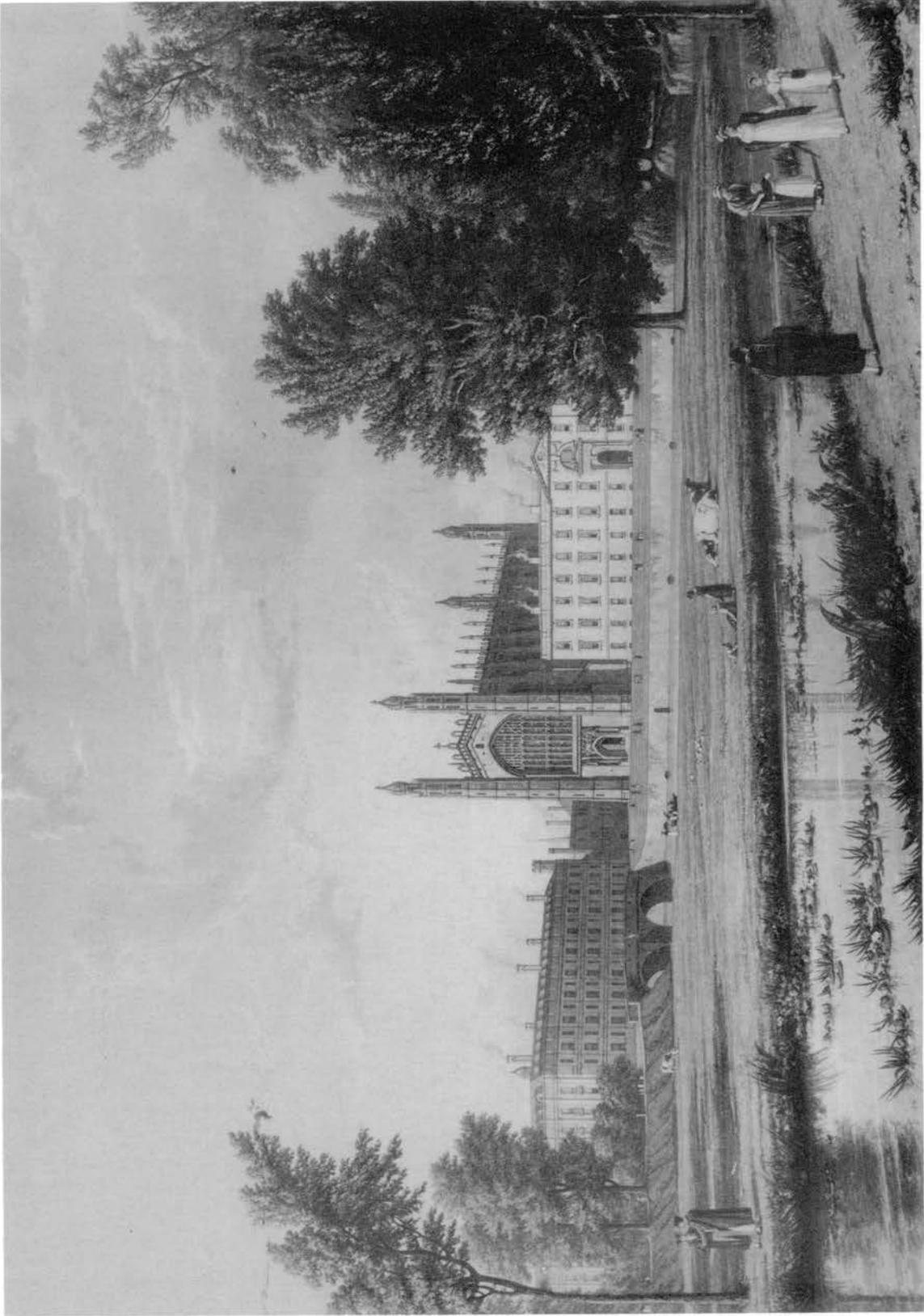


Figure 4. William Westall: south-west view of King's College.

large maces (drawn by Augustus Pugin, engraved by J.C. Stadler);<sup>53</sup> interior of the choir looking east (Mackenzie/Stadler); west entrance with interior view beyond, the crown above the entrance shown broken (Mackenzie/Stadler); south porch (Pugin/Bluck; also Pugin's original watercolour, KC donated 1946; reproduced in Jarrold's colour guides, 1969 and subsequent editions); south side (Mackenzie/D. Havell); west front (Mackenzie/Havell); the inside of Old Court looking south, with the Chapel's pinnacles visible beyond (Mackenzie/Havell). Also Thomas Orde's portrait of Henry VI (no artist given; see above). The engravings are usually hand-coloured. Mackenzie (c. 1788–1854) was a watercolourist and architectural draughtsman; Pugin (c. 1769–1832) was an architectural artist and father of A.W.N. Pugin, the Gothic Revival architect.

*Richard B. Harraden* (3). Interior looking east, engraved by R. Havell & Son, 1816; dedicated to Provost Thackeray and the Fellows and Scholars of King's. KC Congregation Book, 30 September 1815: 'Agreed that the college subscribe for four copies of Harraden's picture of the interior of the Chapel.' Mundum Book, 1816: 'Harraden a bill for prints by order of Mr Provost: £6 6s.' Reproduced in *Bygone King's*, plate 17.

*George Tytler*. West front, engraved by F.C. Lewis, 1818.

*John Buckler*. Drawing of four quarries from the side-chapel glass, 1818 (BL Add MS 36,360 f.10).

*William Westall*. South-west view of King's and Clare from Erasmus' Walk, showing the old bridge of King's and the former river wall, with various foreground figures; 'Painted & Engraved by W. Westall A.R.A.', 1819.<sup>54</sup>

*Thomas Willement*. Notes and heraldic sketches on the Chapel, c. 1819–27 (Bod MS Top.gen.e.78 pp.199, 242). Drawings of side-chapel glass, c. 1825 (BL Add MSS 34,866, 34,868, 34,869, 34,870).

*Richard Relhan*. Nine watercolour drawings, c. 1820: west entrance; west front; hatchments

of Provost Page, Provost Roderick, Charles Neville, in the side-chapels; three Spanish flags;<sup>55</sup> Elizabethan embroidered canopy<sup>56</sup> (CUL Map Room, Relhan's Cambridgeshire drawings Nos 82–90). Relhan (c. 1781–1844) was a Cambridge apothecary with a particular interest in heraldry.

*John Preston Neale*. North-east view with Senate House from King's Parade, engraved by W. Cooke, c. 1820. Former Provost's Lodge visible but not the clockhouse; east window too large, Chapel as a whole absurdly small; many foreground figures.

*Thomas Kerrich*. Drawings of various stained-glass details, mainly from the east window, c. 1820 (BL Add MS 6732 ff.151–60). Outline plan, c. 1821, to show how the *vesica piscis* is the basis of the Chapel's proportions (BL Add MS 6745 f.42).

*William Blake*. Imaginary distant view in 'Colinet resting at Cambridge by night', woodcut illustration in Robert Thornton, *The Pastorals of Virgil* (1821).

*Augustus Pugin*. Elevation of corner turret and end gable; directed by Pugin, drawn by C. Moore, engraved by J. Roffe, 1822, for Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821–3). Preliminary drawings for this plate; elevations and details of the lectern (RIBA drawings

<sup>53</sup> The choir is processing from the wrong side-chapel: the third north chapel, next to the screen, was until 1987 the choir vestry. It is also doubtful whether such long maces were ever in use in the Chapel (the present more modest mace was donated in 1846). This engraving is reproduced in Reginald Ross Williamson, *Ackermann's Cambridge* (1951) and on the cover of Graham Chayney (ed.), *In Celebration of King's College Chapel* (1987). Williamson's commentary is full of errors: for example, that the fine Victorian west window is made 'of bits and pieces' and that the roof timbers are of chestnut.

<sup>54</sup> For Westall (1781–1850) see Mike Petty, 'The Illustrators', *Cambridge Weekly News* (9 July 1987).

<sup>55</sup> Nine regimental colours, captured at Manila in 1763 by General Sir William Draper, former Fellow of King's, were hung up in the Chapel, first by the altar, then on the screen; but were 'taken away about 1773 when the new altarpiece was erected ... the Spanish white colours being of a dirty and dingy hue and ragged and disgraced the fabric' (Cole, BL Add MS 5808). They were then kept in the Brassie chapel. Repairs to them were attempted c. 1900 'but it was found that they were too far gone. Some of the remnants ... are preserved in a glass case in the vestry' (W.P. Littlechild, *A Short Account of King's College Chapel* (1921)). According to A.N.L. Munby (KC Library, MS note, 1950), the colours survived 'rolled up on the top of one of the bookcases. When they were unrolled by the Dean and myself in the course of reorganising the old library, they were found to be irreparably perished from age; they disintegrated entirely.'

<sup>56</sup> This was the canopy borne above the head of Queen Elizabeth I at her visit to the Chapel in 1564. It began life as a hearse-cloth acquired by the university in 1505 for use during an annual requiem for the soul of Henry VII. It was made out of Florentine fabric and measured roughly 15 x 10 ft. In later years it was displayed successively in the University Library (at one time hanging on the music-room ceiling), the Registrary's office, the Museum of Archaeology, and the Fitzwilliam Museum; it is now back where it started, in Great St Mary's. See J.W. Clark, 'Queen Elizabeth's Canopy', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 7 (1890): 194–6; Hugh Tait, 'The Hearse-cloth of Henry VII Belonging to the University of Cambridge', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956): 294–8.

collection, vol. 5 f.75, vol. 6 ff.9–10, vol. 7 f.34). The lectern drawing shows it before its 1854 restoration.

*Architectural Competition.* Perspective view from the south-east of a proposed new King's Parade frontage for the college, by Lewis Vulliamy, 1822–3 (KC); designs for college buildings, including a section through the Chapel showing the altar, by John Goldicutt (RIBA drawings collection). Two of about 23 entries for the architectural competition to complete the college buildings. Other competitors included Charles Barry, Decimus Burton, Rickman and Hutchinson, and William Wilkins (the successful architect), and all their submitted plans must have included elevations or perspectives of the King's Parade frontage with the Chapel. Nineteen designs, including Vulliamy's, were exhibited in London in 1823. The fate of the other drawings is uncertain. For Vulliamy, see Doig, *op. cit.*: 41, plate 27.

*George Scharf.* The western side of the main street of Cambridge comprising a length of about 1540 feet as it would appear if Caius College were removed and several suggested improvements carried into effect; engraving, 1824. Shows the east window with eight lights, both the eastern side-chapels with east windows, and other inaccuracies. Caius doubtless resisted.

*W. Read.* Antechapel looking west, steel engraving, 1825.

*Richard B. Harraden (4).* North view from Trinity Lane, showing Old Court with the Chapel in the distance, engraved by F. McCabe, 1825; south-east view from King's Parade (showing only a narrow border between the college frontage and the pavement), engraved by R.W. Smart, 1827; interior looking east, engraved by R.W. Smart, 1828. All reissued in Harraden's *Illustrations of the University of Cambridge* (1830).

*J. Tomkyns.* South-east view from King's Parade, showing the college's new frontage 'according to the intended plan of buildings', with window 14 not yet opened up. 'Drawn on stone by L. Haghe from an original drawing by the Rev. J. Tomkyns, Fellow of King's College', 1826.

*J. & H.S. Storer.* South-east view from King's Parade, showing a pavement immediately under Wilkins' newly-completed screen and the east front of the Chapel, without railings, and with window 14 not yet opened up, engraved 1827. West view from Clare Hall Piece; Old Court, with two bays of the Chapel in the distance: both 1827, in *Illustrations of the University of Cambridge*, first series. John Sargant Storer (c. 1772–1854) and his son

Henry Sargant Storer (d. 1837) were based in Pentonville, London.

*S. Wild.* Interior looking east, engraved by James Redaway, c. 1828.

*Thomas Kearnan.* South-east view from King's Parade, engraved by James Tingle for the *Cambridge University Almanack* (1829). Still no railings along the college frontage; but window 14 is now shown opened up.<sup>57</sup>

*Frederick Mackenzie.* South-east view from King's Parade, engraved by S. Rawle, 1829 and published in *The Cambridge Guide* (1830).

*C.R. Cockerell.* South view of his projected third university block with a proposed piazza in front of the Chapel's east end, 1829. See John Olley, *Classical Masters' Plans for Cambridge*, *Architects' Journal* (7 December 1988).

*J. & H.S. Storer.* The college bridge, with the Chapel beyond; south side (showing window 14 opened up); interior of Old Court, with the top of the Chapel visible; interior of Clare Hall court, with the Chapel's west end visible: four engravings for *Illustrations of the University of Cambridge*, second series (c. 1829–30). Interior of the roof, with figures; south side (window 14 opened up, gates on porch, figures on lawn); interior looking east (a table placed next to the south door, figures, the plate entitled 'The Anti-Chapel'(sic)); the choir looking east, a service in progress (the choir in their stalls, two priests at the altar, no candle-holders<sup>58</sup>); the choir looking west from the altar: five engravings, with commentary, for *Delineations of the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge* (c. 1830). Also a large separate engraving, 1831, dedicated to King William IV, of the choir looking west with a service in progress. (KC Mundum Book, 1831: 'Storer's print of the

<sup>57</sup> Wilkins' heavy cast-iron railings along the college front were removed in 1928. The lower part of window 14 had originally been closed up, as the court's east range was designed to abut here; it was opened up to match the other windows in 1827. The college commissioned a glazier named Chalons to design a new stained-glass scene 'to correspond with the upper part of the window' but his design was not accepted and the lower part remained plain until 1845, when J.P. Hedgeland installed his *Brazen Serpent* in the upper section and moved the existing glass down to the lower section.

<sup>58</sup> The absence of any form of lighting is noticeable in many early views of the choir; this is because the Chapel was illuminated only during a limited annual period. In 1753, for example, they began lighting on 1 October and left off on 24 February 1754; in 1772, they lit it from 1 October until 12 February 1773. At the visit of Queen Victoria in October 1843, when it was originally intended to have the service in the evening, the time was brought forward because 'it was found on examination that there was no means of lighting [the Chapel]'. The choir was usually lit by 48 small candles and 18 large ones; the sanctuary and antechapel were left practically unlit.



Figure 5. J. & H.S. Storer: the choir looking west, a service in progress, 1831.

inside of the Chapel framed, glazed and coloured for the Combination Room, £5 5s'.)

*Peter de Wint*. West view from across river, watercolour c. 1830.

*Richard B. Harraden* (5). Interior looking east, watercolour 32 x 25 in., c. 1830 (KC bought 1932). Interior of choir looking east, oil painting 35 x 28 in., c. 1831 (KC donated 1930). South-east view from King's Parade, watercolour, 1834 (KC bequeathed Dr Boris Ord; reproduced in the various Jarrold's colour guides); engraving of similar view, 1834. Three engravings for *Ambulator: Or, the Stranger's Guide through Cambridge* (1835); south-west view from across the river (sail-boat etc. in foreground; reproduced in Jarrold's 1969 colour guide: 6); west view from across the river; south-east view from King's Parade. Two engravings, after 1837: west entrance, with interior view beyond; interior of choir, looking west from the sanctuary ('Day & Haghe, Lithographers to the Queen').

*James Bell*. North-east view with Senate House: vignette engraved by R. Scott for Bell's map of Cambridgeshire, 1833, reprinted 1846; shows the old Provost's Lodge, though it had been demolished in 1828. Interior looking east, watercolour, 1837 (KC, missing).

*Ebenezer Challis*. Interior looking east, engraved 1832. View between the roofs, engraved for the *Cambridge University Almanack* (1833); another version of the same, with different figures etc., ink and wash, 1833 (KC).<sup>59</sup> West front with south side in perspective, engraved for the *Cambridge University Almanack*, 1836.

*J.M. Ince*. The screen, oil painting 57 x 39 in., 1839; interior of choir, oil painting 48 x 39 in., 1839 (KC). The choir looking east from beneath the organ-loft, watercolour 21 x 15 in., 1843 (Fitzwilliam Museum; reproduced in exhibition catalogue about James Essex (1984): 58).

'*Cambridge Portfolio*'. Seven views in J.J. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Portfolio* (1840). Vol. 1: north-west view 'From the Walks' (J.M.

Ince, 1838); south-west view 'From the Bridge' (Ince, 1838). Vol. 2: Interior of the Hacomben chapel looking west (Ince, 1838);<sup>60</sup> the lectern, shown before its restoration (drawn by H.D., lithographed by T.J. Rawlins, 1839);<sup>61</sup> the screen, with one antechapel bay (Ince, 1838); two details of the screen (Ince, 1837).

*Fredertck Mackenzie*. Plan of the fan tracery of one quadrant of the great vault; section of the roof and vault; longitudinal section of one bay of the vault; general section of the Chapel; seven textual figures: all drawn by Mackenzie and engraved by John Le Keux for Mackenzie's *Observations on the Construction of the Roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (1840), and also published in Thomas Tredgold, *Elementary Principles of Carpentry*, Appendix to the 2nd edition (1840). A sequel, 'consisting of a series of plates illustrative of the entire edifice', was promised 'if the success of this part should warrant it'.

*Edward Blore*. Drawing of the west front, c. 1840 (BL Add MS 42,003 f.30).

*Artist Unknown*. Antechapel looking west, oil on board, 'school of George Pine c. 1840' (sold by Sebastian Pearson antiques, Cambridge, 1990).

'*Memorials of Cambridge*'. Eleven steel engravings and woodcuts in J. Le Keux, *Memorials of Cambridge* vol. 2 (1842): interior looking east (drawn by F. Mackenzie, engraved by J. Le Keux); west view from Clare Hall Piece (Mackenzie/Le Keux); interior looking east, the choir processing (drawn and engraved by W. Mason); college bridge with the Chapel in the distance (reproduced from J. & H.S. Storer c. 1829–30); south side (Storer, c. 1829–30); south side (Mackenzie/Le Keux c. 1826, with window 14 not yet opened up); south-east view from King's Parade (Storer, 1827); a pendant in

<sup>59</sup> The engraved version shows workmen's apparatus – ladder, hod, trowel, rope – in the foreground, whereas in the drawing (reproduced in Jarrold's colour guides) they have been removed. Various poles are shown stored above the rafters; iron brackets and struts, probably added by James Essex, are visible. Essex repaired some of the rotten timbers in 1753–4; but G.G. Scott found the roof in 1860 in a poor state, subject to worm, dry rot and sinkage, and had to carry out a major restoration. It was he who added the steel tie-rods designed to stabilize the structure. A visit to the roof was a popular attraction of the Chapel until 1937. Among those who made the ascent were Charles I and Charles II, John Evelyn, Dorothy Wordsworth, Maria Edgeworth, Prince Albert and Thomas Hardy.

<sup>60</sup> Ince shows the stained-glass image of Henry VI in light d of the external window, whereas it is now in light c; the figure of the Evangelist is, as now, in light f.

<sup>61</sup> The lectern, donated by Provost Hacomben in the early 16th century and one of the finest examples of its kind, was probably made at Bury St Edmunds, perhaps by the founder Thomas Church. Two removable brass candle-holders were made for it in 1667 by a smith named John Wardall, and these are visible in the engraving. Cole recorded (1742) that, 'In the winter season two brass branches are affixed to the pillar to receive a couple of large wax tapers to light the singing man and conduct to read the first and second lesson'. The lectern was evicted from the choir in 1774, when the Chapel was 'restored' by Essex, and languished broken for eighty years in the Brassie chapel. It was restored to use in 1854 at the expense of the poet William Johnson Cory, Fellow of King's. New candle-holders, designed by William Butterfield (the designer of Keble College, Oxford) were attached to the desk itself, rather than to the column.

the vault (no artist given); south-east view from King's Parade (Mackenzie/Le Keux, showing the railings in front of the college but (inexplicably) window 14 not opened up); view between the roofs (etched by M. Byfield); Tudor arms in the antechapel (Byfield). Most of the engravings are of earlier date. None of the eleven views were reused by C.H. Cooper in his own *Memorials of Cambridge* (1860) (see below).

*Queen Victoria's Visit*. In the *Illustrated London News*: west front, 28 October 1843 (reprinted in *The Builder* (9 December 1843)); Victoria and Albert enthroned, and their chairs and faldstool, 4 November 1843. In the *Pictorial Times*: interior of the choir looking east, 28 October 1843; Victoria and Albert enthroned, 4 November 1843.

F.A.P. Drawings of 5 floral quarries from the side-chapel glass, in *The Ecclesiologist* 3 (1844).

Thomas Faulkner Lee. Drawings of stained glass, c. 1845 (Bod MS Top.gen.d.73 ff.2, 33, 35–6).

Charles Barry Jr. Architectural sketches, 1846–50 (RIBA drawings collection, sketchbook 12: 10–12).

Richard B. Harraden (6). North side, engraved by R.W. Smart, 1847. Two watercolours, 1850: south-east view from King's Parade (reproduced on jacket of L. & H. Fowler, *Cambridge Commemorated* (Cambridge, 1984), and west view of King's from across the river (CUL Map Room, Views MS 2,3 bought 1971).

'*Pictorial Guide*'. East window (drawn by J.M. Ince, colour engraving by F. Schenck); south-east view from King's Parade; west front; interior looking east (three wood engravings, no artist given): all in *A Pictorial Guide to Cambridge* (1847).

A.W.N. Pugin. Details from stained-glass windows ('kneeling figure, crowns and mitre'), 1848 (RIBA drawings collection, vol. 111 f.39v). According to his diary, Pugin visited Cambridge on 24 August 1848.

J.C. Buckler. West view from across the river, watercolour, 1849 (BL Add MS 36,426 f.36).

George Rowe. Details of glass quarries, 1850–76 (BL Add MSS 39,917–9).

Sabine Baring-Gould. North porch; south porch: watercolours, c. 1850s (KC donated 1983).

James Rattee. Drawing of the Latimer pulpit, showing its proposed restoration, 1853 (KC muniments, Chapel Vouchers box).<sup>62</sup>

Rock & Co. West front; interior looking east: various versions engraved for their *Views of Cambridge* (c. 1855 and later).

George Scharf. Details from the windows: drawings in the *Archaeological Journal* 12–13 (1855–6).

James Fergusson. South porch, in *An Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (1855), fig. 708.

E.S. Cole. Interior of choir looking west, watercolour, 1856 (KC bought 1983).

*Anonymous Early Photographs* (1). Interior of the choir looking west (c. 1854–9: after the restoration of the lectern but before the removal of the Gothic pinnacles on the organ case; curtain concealing the organ console in its original position behind the chair organ). West view from across the river; west entrance (both c. 1857–61). Five stereoscopic views: west view from across the river; interior looking east (no seating in the antechapel; ladder etc. against a wall); north-east view from King's Parade; distant view from the west; south view from King's Parade, looking towards the Senate House (all c. 1860s). South-west view from across the river (early 1860s). West view from across the river; interior of choir looking west (both c. 1870s). Originals all collection of D. Sorenson (Queens' College); contact prints in Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. Another stereoscopic view (not in this collection) shows the west front taken from the south-west (c. 1860, before Bodley's new university offices were completed).

*Anonymous Early Photographs* (2). South side from south-east corner of the main court (before 1879). Four views from across the river, one (c. 1860) with a military parade in the foreground. South porch. North-west view, the Chapel visible behind Clare, under snow. Interior looking east (1859–60, pinnacles removed from the organ case but angel figures not yet installed). The sanctuary, taken from the organ loft, with Essex's reredos (before 1872: Scott's great candle-standards not yet installed). South side (before 1879: no fountain). Interior of the choir looking west; south side (both May 1896). All in Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library (Album B.C66.1 pp.24–8, 49–50).

*Anonymous Early Photographs* (3). South porch (c. 1860). Clare and King's from across the river (c. 1870). West front (c. 1870). South side, two views (c. 1870). North-east view from King's Parade (c. 1870). View from the roof, looking towards Great St Mary's (c. 1865,

<sup>62</sup> Thrown out of St Edward's Church during a restoration, the pulpit from which Latimer and others preached the Reformation was bought by Provost Okes for £5 and restored to working order by Rattee for £8 10s. It was used in the Chapel for the

Lady Day sermon, being kept for the rest of the time in the Towne side-chapel. It was returned to St Edward's on permanent loan in 1949.

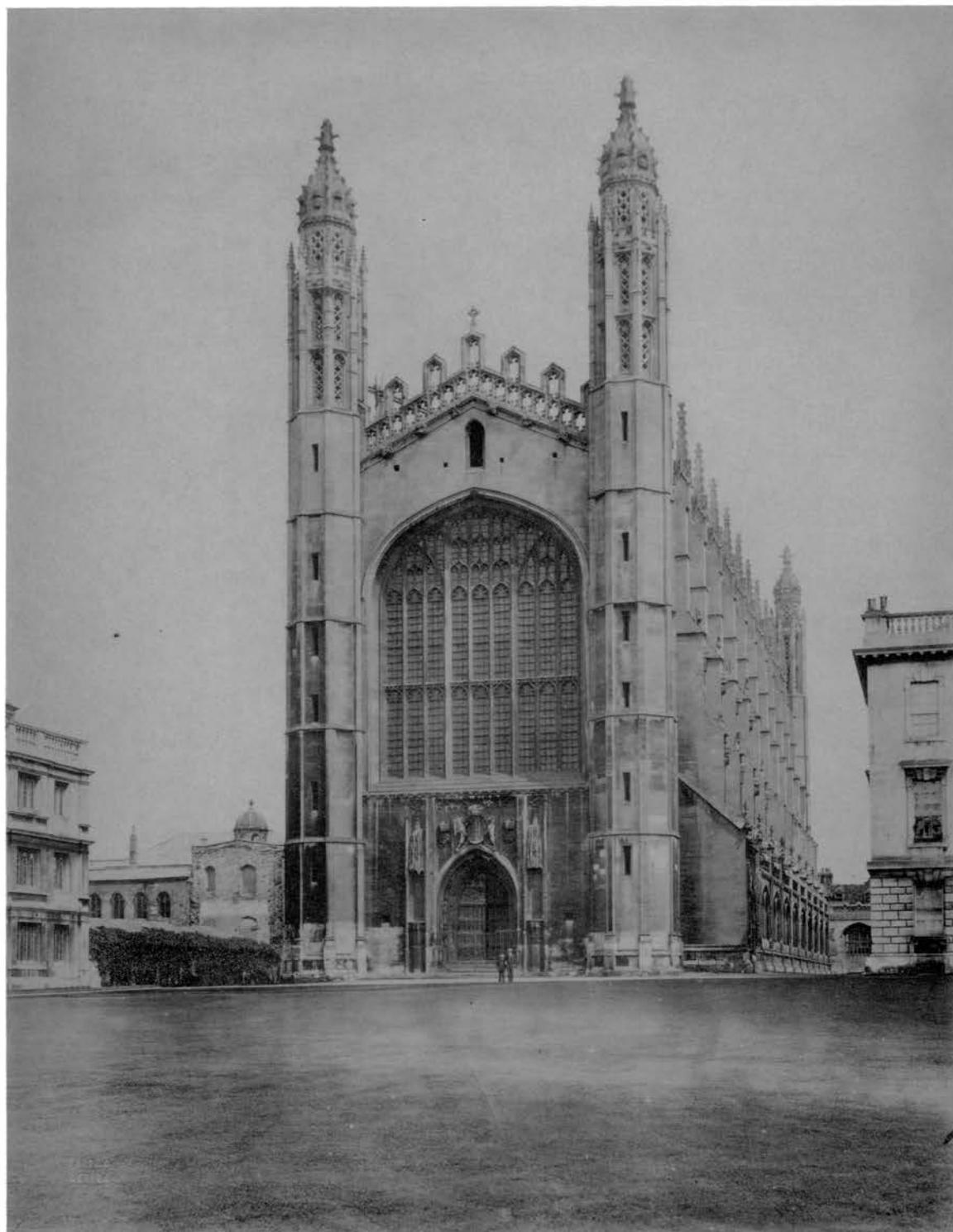


Figure 6. Frith: west front, before construction of the new university offices, 1864–7, possibly during G.G. Scott's roof restoration, 1861–3.

construction of the university offices in progress). One of Scott's candle-standards in the sanctuary (after 1872). Part of the west side of the screen. Interior looking east (after 1860, angel figures on organ case). (All CUL Map Room, Album Mus. Arch. Cantab.: 18, 19, 24.)

*Victoria Colkett*. Interior view, watercolour, exhibited at the British Institution, 1859.<sup>63</sup>

*Cooper's 'Memorials'*. West front; Wilkins' screen from the west, showing the Chapel's eastern bays: two photographs by Francis Frith in C.H. Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge* vol. 1 (1860), which also reuses nine engravings from Le Keux's *Memorials of Cambridge* (see above, 1842). The 1880 edition of Cooper also includes an etching of the west front by Robert Farren. In an extra-illustrated copy of the 1860 edition, formerly owned by Samuel Sandars (CUL Cam.b. 860.5), are two photographs of the choir looking west (one before, one after the installation of the stained-glass west window, 1879), among other views by Sandars (?) and Frith. At least one other photograph by Frith of the west front dates from the same period (before 1864) (see Fig. 6).

*Rev. W. Kingsley*. Photograph looking past the remains of Old Court (after demolition) towards the Chapel's north side, c. 1860 (CUL Map Room, Album Mus. Arch. Cantab.: 10d).

*Barnes and Nichols*. Photographic views exhibited at an Architectural Photographic Exhibition, 1861.<sup>64</sup>

*Boat Procession*. South-west view from across the river showing the boat processions etc. to celebrate the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales, *Illustrated Times* (11 June 1864).

*Knight's 'Old England'*. South porch (woodcut, No. 1281); interior looking east (chromolithograph): in Charles Knight, *Old England 2* (1864).

*Carter's 'King's College Chapel'*. Anonymous photograph of the west side of the screen and organ: frontispiece to T.J.P. Carter, *King's College Chapel* (1867), which also contains a ground plan (no artist given).

*Thomas Dixon*. North-east view from King's Parade; interior looking east: engravings c. 1869, dedicated to the Provost and Fellows. In the interior view, Dixon omits the side-chapel doors.

*S.P. Widnall*. Photograph of the interior of the choir looking west, c. 1870 (collection John

Lester; see *Cambridge Evening News* (8 October 1982)).

*Thomas Stearn*. Series of six photographic views, c. 1870: south-west from across the river; south-east from the corner of the court; west front; two interior views of the choir, looking west; sanctuary looking east. Interior looking east (also c. 1870). Series of five photographic views by 'Messrs. Stearn' c. 1880: King's Parade looking towards the Senate House; north-east view from King's Parade (with a cab and cabman, see Fig. 7); interior of the choir looking east from the organ loft; King's and Clare from across the river; the back path of the college with the Chapel in the distance, under snow. Cambridgeshire Collection (Album E, 6-7, 9-11). See also Francis Gribble, *Romance of the Cambridge Colleges* (1913): frontispiece, 32, 92.

*George Woods*. Tracery drawing of the east bay of the great vault, showing settlement, 1870 (KC muniments, Chapel Vouchers box). Woods was Sir G.G. Scott's assistant, sent to survey the damage when a small part of the vault, above the east window, fell down.

*George Gilbert Scott Jr.* Rubbing of detail on the lectern, 1870; working drawings for his brass candle-standards, 1871 (RIBA drawings collection).

*Wyke Bayliss*. Watercolour view exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists, winter 1873, priced at £12 12s.<sup>65</sup>

*Choir Groups*. Choir Benevolent Association Service: group photograph outside the west entrance, 1873. Choir group, c. 1883 (see *Cambridge Chronicle* (1 August 1928)). Choir group outside the south porch, 1895 (see R.J. Henderson, *A History of King's College Choir School, Cambridge* (1981): 39).

*William Burges*. Designs for a new reredos, 1874, including: plan of the sanctuary, elevation of the proposed reredos, details of the proposed carved work and sedilia; together with details of the existing Essex reredos, of the screen and stalls, of colouring in the Hacomben chapel, etc. (KC). The elevation and some of the details were published in *The Architect* (22 May 1875). His designs for a proposed college building to replace Wilkins' screen, 1877, include an east elevation with the Chapel, west elevation with section through the Chapel, and a plan showing the Chapel's east end (KC). Burges' sketchbooks for both projects survive (RIBA drawings collection). See Allan Doig, *op. cit.*: 41-4, 60-7.

*Edward Whymper*. Skyline with Clare, from the Backs; south-west view from across the

<sup>63</sup> Harold A.E. Day, *East Anglian Painters* (Eastbourne, 1968) 2: 96. Colkett was the daughter of the Norwich painter Samuel David Colkett, who was resident in Cambridge 1854-63.

<sup>64</sup> Reviewed in *The Builder* (23 March 1861): 192.

<sup>65</sup> Maurice Bradshaw, *Royal Society of British Artists: Members Exhibiting 1825-1892* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1973): 11.



Figure 7. Thomas Stearn: north-east view from King's Parade, c. 1880.  
Courtesy: Cambridgeshire Libraries.

river; view along the upper roof with two figures: engravings in Frederick Arnold, *Oxford and Cambridge: Their Colleges, Memories and Associations* (1875).

*West Window.* Photograph by Hills & Saunders of a design by Clayton & Bell for the west window, c. 1875 (CUL Map Room, Album Mus. Arch. Cantab.: 26b). Differs from the design as finally executed.

*Credence Table.* Five designs by Rattee & Kett for a credence table, 1876 (KC muniments, Chapel Vouchers box).

*Sir George Gilbert Scott.* His designs for a proposed college building to replace Wilkins' screen, 1877, include perspective views with the Chapel (KC). See Doig *op. cit.*, plates 47, 50–1.<sup>66</sup>

*Depictions in Glass.* Clayton & Bell's stained-glass design for the west window, 1879, depicts Henry VI holding a model of the Chapel.

(The figure of Religion on the fountain in the college court, made by H.H. Armstead in the same year, also holds one.) In the Benjamin Whichcote window in Emmanuel College chapel, designed by C.J. Heaton, 1884, is a depiction of the west front. Another depiction of Henry VI with the Chapel appears in a window of St Giles' parish church.

*H. Toussaint and A. Brunet Debaines.* Interior of the choir looking west, a service in progress (etched by Toussaint, 1879); south porch (drawn by Debaines); west view from across the river (etched by Toussaint): first published in *The Portfolio* art magazine (1880), then in J.W. Clark, *Cambridge: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes* (1881 and later editions). Toussaint's choir view shows one of Scott's candle-standards in the foreground, the congregation seated for a lesson, Clayton & Bell's new west window, and spectators on both sides of the organ loft.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Scott himself opposed the scheme to replace the screen, telling the college they were 'proposing to close in an opening which has been viewed for half a century as the Glory of Cambridge ... and, in part at least, to obscure what may be called the Glory of all lands [i.e. the Chapel]' (Doig, *op. cit.*: 64).

<sup>67</sup> There was formerly a pew in the south section of the loft reserved for the Provost's servants (Thomas Case, *Memoirs of a King's College Chorister* (1899): ii). The narrow passage linking the two sections

*George Gilbert Scott Jr.* Cross-section, with conjectural cross-section as originally intended; plans of vaulting-shaft and vaults; elevation of antechapel bay, with conjectural elevation of choir bay as originally intended: in his *The History of English Church Architecture* (1881). Also his original drawings, together with some demonstration drawings for use in lectures (RIBA drawings collection).

*Wooden Bell-Tower.* Reconstruction, based on the partial view given in Loggan's south view (see above, 1690), of the former wooden bell-tower: woodcut (no artist given) in J.J. Raven, *The Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, 2nd ed. (1881).

*Seating Plan.* The seating arrangement for a performance of Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, 14 March 1884 (CUL Map Room, Album Mus. Arch. Cantab.)

*Burial Vault.* Plan by G. Kett of the burial vault at the west end of the antechapel, 1886 (KC, Chapel register).<sup>68</sup>

*Willis & Clark's 'Architectural History'.* Wood engravings by F. Anderson and others in R. Willis and J.W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (1886). In vol. 1: elevations of an external choir bay; details of vaults in the north-east side-chapels; south-east turret; a bay of the screen; reductions from Loggan, Hamond etc. In vol. 3: a bookcase in a southern side-chapel, with a diagrammatic sketch (by Willis) of the same. In vol. 4: plans of the present and original site of King's.

*Details of Woodwork.* A desk end in the Hacomben chapel (drawn by W.B. Redfarn); two details from the screen (Redfarn, 1882); two details from the Vice-Provost's stall (Redfarn, 1883); details of the Latimer pulpit (H.A. Chapman, 1884); lock on a side-chapel door (Chapman, 1884); all in W.B. Redfarn, *Ancient Wood & Iron Work in Cambridge* (1886-7).

*Hills & Saunders.* Photographs of the interior of the choir looking west (c. 1887) and of the south-west view from Queen's Road (1888). Four views 'engraved from photographs by Messrs Hills & Saunders', published in *The Graphic* (8 October 1887): south-east view from

King's Parade; detail of a porch; north-east view; interior of choir looking west.

*J.L. Pearson.* Design for a reredos to replace that of Essex, pencil and wash, 1889 (KC).

*National Monuments Record.* Photograph by Prof. S.M. Reynolds of the west wall, showing electric wires strung above the carved crowns, 1890;<sup>69</sup> other views by the same photographer, undated, of various aspects; view by an unnamed photographer of the choir looking east, 1891 (National Monuments Record, London).

*Postcards.* The sanctuary looking east, Valentine's postcard No. 62653; Stengel & Co., postcard No. E25367: both c. 1890 (before the removal of Essex's reredos).

*F.P. Barraud.* Interior of the choir looking east ('west' according to the caption), painted by Barraud, etched by E.W. Evans, published by Messrs Dickinson & Foster, 'Publishers to the Queen', 1891.

*Edward Wilson of the Antarctic.* South-west view from Queen's Road, drawing c. 1891-2. See George Seaver, *Edward Wilson: Nature Lover* (1937): 23.

*The Windows Photographed.* The college council agreed in 1892 that photographic copies should be made of all the windows during the forthcoming restoration by C.E. Kempe, 1893-1906. However, in 1939 when a similar project was mooted, it was noted that, apart from Baldry's engraving of the east window, there was still 'no complete record of any single window, though some details, mostly in the antechapel, were excellently photographed by Messrs Palmer Clarke during [Kempe's] restoration'.<sup>70</sup>

*R.A. Balfour.* Drawing of the symbols of the Evangelists from the Hacomben chapel window, pencil and watercolour, 16 x 14 in., 1893 (RIBA drawings collection).

survived until 1935, when the organ was expanded to fill the entire depth of the loft.

<sup>68</sup> George Kett I, founder of the firm of Rattee and Kett, died in 1872, so this must be either George Kett II (1836-1914, mayor of Cambridge 1898) or, more likely, George Kett III (1860-1933). The burial vault was used from the 1770s until the last burial in the Chapel, that of Provost Okes in 1888. The plan was made when the vault was opened for the burial of Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian. Thirteen members of the college were buried in the vault; the ashes of about a further twenty have been interred there since.

<sup>69</sup> The wires, shown hanging down to the candle-holders on the walls, were probably part of an experimental arrangement. Electric lighting was nearly installed in 1892, when a proposal by Provost Austen Leigh 'to provide for the introduction of electric light into the antechapel' was unanimously carried though not implemented (KC Congregation Book, 15 December 1892). When electric light was temporarily installed in the Chapel for a Requiem to mark the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, it was 'doubted whether something of charm and mystery was not lost' in its 'searching glare' (*Cambridge Review* (7 March 1901)), and the building continued to be illuminated solely by candles until 1968.

<sup>70</sup> *College Council: Statement of Principal Votes Passed*, 1892; printed flysheet, 13 May 1939 (CUL, Cambridge Papers). All the windows were photographed by Ramsey and Muspratt, in black and white, in 1939; colour photographs were first made of some windows in 1946.

*Brass Impressions.* The Towne and Argentine brasses, plates derived from rubbings, in *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 2 part 7 (1896).

*H.W. Brewer.* North side in his large bird's-eye view of Cambridge, engraved 1897.

*Edmund H. New.* West front from the Backs, in A. Hamilton Thompson, *Cambridge and its Colleges* (1898).

*Clark's 'Concise Guide'.* South porch (drawn by E.W. Senior); interior of choir looking east (F. Carreras): in J.W. Clark, *A Concise Guide to the*

*Town and University of Cambridge* (1898 and later editions).

*Case's 'Memoirs of a Chorister'.* Views of the funeral of Charles Simeon in 1836 and of the visit of Queen Victoria in 1843, and a south-east view from King's Parade: drawn by Marillier for Thomas H. Case, *Memoirs of a King's College Chorister* (1899).

*Austen Leigh's 'King's College'.* Photographs of the west front and of the interior looking east, taken by J. Palmer Clarke for A. Austen Leigh, *King's College* (1899).

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