

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE.

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THERE is perhaps no object so completely identified with the idea of Cambridge in the mind of every member of this University, as the Church of Great St. Mary. Conspicuous from its situation in the very centre of the town, and from being by many degrees the largest and most stately of its parish churches, there is no other building which has for so long a period been so intimately connected with the public life of the University. It is within its walls, or those of the churches which occupied the same site, that the University has for centuries been accustomed to assemble in its corporate capacity, to hear sermons, and perform all the more solemn religious ceremonials ; and it was here that, until the erection of the Senate House, the Commencements were kept, the speeches recited, the theological disputations held, and much public business transacted which has now happily obtained a distinct and more appropriate location. It seemed, therefore, only fitting that at the Cambridge Meeting of the Archaeological Institute some attempt should be made to illustrate the history of this, the oldest, and, in many points of view, the most interesting of our University buildings ; more especially at a time when the extensive alterations which have taken place in its immediate vicinity, render some large and well-considered work of renovation almost an object of necessity, and an opportunity is thereby presented of removing the awkward and unsightly excrescences by which this noble edifice has too long been deformed, and restoring to the interior that air of space and grandeur which it originally possessed, but which, in its present encumbered state, can hardly be appreciated. My purpose has not been so much to illustrate the architecture, as the history of the church, and to present a record of the more interesting events which have from time to time been transacted within it, and of those

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successive alterations in its services, and furniture, which so accurately index the mutations in the national creed, and the varying tone of feeling of the governing body in the Church, and University.

The original foundation of St. Mary's is wrapt in the same obscurity with that of most of our parish churches. The first notice I have been able to discover of it, is of its being "much defaced with fire," July 9, 1290.² This injury was attributed to the Jews, those scapegoats of the middle ages, who were in consequence commanded to leave the town, where they had a large synagogue. A considerable time seems to have elapsed before the damage was fully repaired, for, in 1315, Alan de Wellis, burgess of the town, bequeathed "a mark to the building of St. Mary's Church."³ From Bishop Lisle's Register we learn that orders for the consecration of the high altar were sent, May 17, 1346, but from some unknown cause the ceremony seems not to have taken place till March 15, 1351. About this time the advowson was given by Edward III. to his new foundation of King's Hall, from which it has descended to its present possessors, Trinity College. As the chief church of the town it is probable that it was from the first the place where the University assembled for religious purposes, and that it thus gradually acquired the character of the University Church. Other churches, however, shared this dignity with it. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while St. Mary's was slowly advancing to completion, the University met in St. Benet's Church, or that of the Austin Friars, which stood on the site of the old Botanical Garden.⁴ The church of the Franciscans, which stood on Sidney Sussex bowling green, was also frequently used for public exercises, and as late as 1507, the Commencement was held there. It is not generally known that the University narrowly missed obtaining, in this last-named church, that which has for so long a time been desired by her—possession of a church free from all parochial claims, which she might regard as exclusively her own, and use without question or dispute. This was at the Dissolution of

² Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 77. Baker's MSS. ix. 94.

³ Cole's MSS. ix. 54.

⁴ Cole, ix. At this time the University contributed to the expenses of St. Benet's Church, and paid 6s. 8d. annually for the

use of the parish bell. In the University accounts we find "A.D. 1493, pro emendatione *le Clapour* campane Sci Benedicti, xx^d. Pro una corda campane magne eccl Sci Benedicti iij^d." The last payment for the use of the bell was in 1535.

Monasteries, when the University applied to Henry VIII. for a gift of the church which they had already found so suitable to their requirements; but the monarch turned a deaf ear to their request, and gave the sacred edifice to Trinity College, (which he had recently founded by the amalgamation of several smaller halls and hostels,) whose members, actuated by a very different spirit from that which now distinguishes that noble foundation, immediately pulled it down, and employed the best of the materials in erecting their own buildings.⁵ But, to return to the subject of the present paper: within two centuries of its repair after the fire, little more than one after the consecration of its Altar, it was found necessary, either from its ruinous condition, or from the church being inadequate in size and beauty to the requirements and taste of the University, to rebuild the whole, and the first stone of the present building was laid May 16, 1478, "at forty-five minutes past six p.m."⁶ "All church work," says Fuller, "is slow; the mention of St. Mary's mindeth me of church work indeed, so long was it from the founding to the finishing thereof." And well might he say so; for, as he further records, notwithstanding the great exertions made by the University to obtain contributions to the building, and the liberal sums voted by them from their own chest, forty-one years elapsed before the fabric of the church was finished, and a hundred and thirty before the top stone of the tower was laid, and the edifice completed. The same historian informs us that "there was expended in the structure of the church alone, 795*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, all bestowed by charitable people for that purpose."⁷ The largest benefactor was Dr. Thomas Barrow, Archdeacon of Colchester, Fellow of King's Hall, and Chancellor of the House to Richard III., who gave no less than 240*l.*; nearly one-third of the entire sum; the next largest sum, 70*l.*, was contributed by Bishop Alcock of Ely. King Henry VII. also, when visiting his mother's recent foundation of Christ's College, was persuaded to assist in the work, giving 100 marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in money, "a fair sum in that age," says Fuller, "for so thrifty a prince," besides an hundred oaks towards the framing of the roof, which was set up in 1506.⁸ The Lady Margaret herself gave 20*l.* Of the sums given by and through the University between the years 1478

⁵ Essex. MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. Ackerman, *Microcosm of Cambridge*, ii. 261.

⁶ *Cant. Hist. Acad.* p. 89.

⁷ *Hist. Univ. Camb.* p. 180.

⁸ In commemoration of his munificence a yearly obit was kept by the University for which a pall of great splendour was provided.

and 1519, a record exists among App. Parker's MSS. in the library of C.C.C.⁹ The whole amount is 555*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* The sums are very small for the first nine years, when they suddenly rise to upwards of 90*l.*, and nearly 60*l.* in the year following (1488). After this the contributions sink again, till 1503, in which, and the six ensuing years, nearly three hundred pounds were supplied by the University. The smallness of the collections for so many years was not the consequence of any want of zeal on the part of the University, who, in 1493, went so far as to send out the Proctors on hired horses, to collect for the Church, with begging letters written by the Vicar of Trumpington, who received 6*s.* 8*d.* for his trouble. Their journey, however, which lasted three weeks, proved a sad failure, for the whole sum furnished by the University this year, from every source, amounted to no more than 5*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*; and we are not surprised that the experiment does not appear to have been repeated.¹ The general superintendence of the building seems to have been committed to the parish, who appear to have been the willing recipients of the bounty of others, while they contributed little or nothing themselves towards the work, which was creeping on in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, and was at last completed in 1519, with the exception of the tower, for which it had to wait nearly another century. As the body of the church drew to a conclusion, we find notices of the glazing of the windows. Henry Vesey, apothecary, by his will dated April 15, 1503, orders that "immediately after the south yle is new made mye executors do glase one of the windows with the lyf of S. Edward the King and Confessor." In 1518 the parish books contain "pro fabro vitriario pro fenestris xi^{s.}," and the next year, "1519, paid to James Nycolson, the glasier, for windows in Seynt Mary's, vii. lib." Nicholson was one of the glaziers employed in the executing the windows of King's College Chapel, from the gorgeous tints of which we may form some idea of what we have lost in the total destruction of the glass which once

⁹ Printed in Dr. Lamb's "Documents," p. 7. See Baker MSS. xxiv.

¹ Proctor's Accounts, 1493. "When they went with letters for S. Maries pro scriptione literarum Vicario de Trumpington, vi^{s.} viij^{d.}"

"Expensæ factæ pro itinere Procuratorum cum literis pro fabrica, Eccl. B. Mariæ pro tribus equis in itinere pro

viginti diebus xx^{s.}."

The vicar of Trumpington of that day seems from the University accounts to have been generally employed to write letters for his learned neighbours, e.g., "1499. Vicar. de Trumpiton pro literis ad matrem regis delatis xx^{d.}" "pro scriptione aliarum ij^{d.}" "1500, pro scriptione trium literarum 16^{d.}"

adorned St. Mary's. The building of King's College Chapel was being carried on at the same time with St. Mary's, and it is seen by the entries in the churchwarden's books that the same workmen were employed on the fabric of each edifice, as well as on their windows.

The church being now completed, very nearly in the form in which we at present see it, with the exception of the tower, which was not finished for nearly a century, steps were taken to provide it with the furniture required by the existing ritual. Nothing was then considered more essential to the completeness of a church than a gorgeous Rood Loft.² Parishes vied with one another in the rich and elaborate character of the structures which had by degrees usurped the place of the primitive *cancelli*, and though few have been allowed to survive the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformation, or the ignorance of later (so-called) church restorers and beautifiers, those that remain enable us to appreciate the taste and skill which were employed in their erection, and the lavish expenditure which they must have involved. No doubt every effort was made to furnish the University Church in this respect with the utmost splendour; and the original indenture for its erection, which has been fortunately preserved to us, proves that St. Mary's Rood Loft was one of no common magnificence. This document is as follows: ³—

“Thys Indenture made y^e last day of June in the xij yere of y^e reign of our soueraigne lord Kyng Henry viij, bytween Petir Cheke⁴ gentelman and Rob^t. Smith, wex-chaundeler chirche wardyns and kepers of y^e goods and catells of y^e s^d p^rishe chirche of Seyn^t Marye next the Markett of Cambridge, M^r. W^m. Butt Doctor of physike, M^r. Henry Hallched, Richard Clerk, Rob^t. Hobbys &c. with other mor parochianers of y^e s^d parisshe un that oon parte, And John Nunn of Drynkeston and Roger Belle of Ashfild in y^e countie of Suffolk, kervers, on that other parte, Wittnessyth that the s^d John Nune and Roger Belle covenaut and graunte and also bynden them, ther heyres, and executors by theise presents, that they schall make and cause to be made a new Roodde loftte mete and convenyent for y^e s^d Chirche of Seyn^t Marye stretchynge in lengthe throughoute the same chirche,

² There was among the Church furniture in 1506, “A clothe for the rood-lofte steyned with Moses.”

³ This indenture was found by the late industrious Mr. Bowtell in the parish chest, tied up with others and labelled “these deeds appear to be useless.” Happily he took a transcript of it, which is to be found in his MSS. in Downing College. On searching the chest, the original cannot now be found.

⁴ This was probably the father of the famous Sir John Cheke, immortalised by Milton (Sonnet xi) as the reviver of the study of Greek in the University, and tutor of king Edward V.

He was one of the esquire bedells of the University, and died 1529, bequeathing “his soll to Almyty God, and to our Lady St. Mary, and to all th^e hole company of heven, and hys body to be buried in St. Mary Chyrche before Sent Poll.”

and the Iles therof, correspondent to a dore made in a walle un y^e Southe side of y^e s^d Chirche, all y^e Howsyngs, Crests, Voults, Orbs, Lyntells, Vorcers, Crownes, Archebotyns, and Bacs⁵ for y^e small Howsyngs and all y^e Dores, fynyalls, and gabeletts therof, schall be of good Substancyall and hable waynescote : And all y^e pryncypall Bacs and Crownes for y^e great howsyngs therof and y^e Archebotyns therunto belongyng, schal be of good and hable oke withoute sappe, rifte, wyndestrukk, or other deformatiff hurtefull.

“ And y^e briste of y^e seyde new Roodde Lofte schal be after and accordyng to y^e briste of y^e Roodelofte within y^e p^{is}she Chirche of Tripplow in all maner housyngs, fynyalls, gabeletts, formes, fygyres, and raukenesse of Werke as good or better in ev^{ry} poynte.

“ And y^e briste of y^e sayde new Roodelofte schal be in depnesse viij foots, and y^e soler⁶ therof schal be in bredith viij foots with suche yomags⁷ as schal be advysed and appoynted by y^e parochyners of y^e said p^{is}she of Seynt Maryes And the Trenitie, after y^e Roodelofte of y^e perclose of y^e quyer with a double dore, y^e perclose of y^e ij chappells eyther of y^m with a single dore. The bakkesyde of y^e sayd Roodelofte to be also lyke to y^e bakkesyde of y^e Roodelofte of Gassely or better, wyth a⁸ poulpete into the mydds of y^e quyer. And all and ev^{ry} of these premysses schal be after and accordyng to the Trenitie, the Voulte, the dore, y^e perclose and y^e werks of y^e Roodelofte of y^e Chirche of Gassely in y^e countye of Suffolke, as good or better in ev^{ry} poynte, and to agree and accord for ye⁹ of y^e sayde Chirche of Seynt Mary after y^e best workmanschippe and proporeon in eu^{ry} poynte. And all y^e Tymber of the same Roodelofte schal be full seisoned tymber. And all y^e Yomags therof schal be of good pyketurs, fourmes, and¹ Vicenamyas without Ryfts, Crakks, or other deformatyvys. The pillours therof schal be of full seisoned oke.

“ The housyngs, entayles, lyntells, fynyalls, and gabeletts, schal be Waynschott, And also schal set up a Beme wherupon y^e Roodde schall stonde lyke unto y^e Beme within y^e sayde Roode of Gassely as good or better as y^e sayd beme of Gassely, met and convenyent for y^e said Chirche of Seynt Marye. And also schall make a Candyllbeme mete and convenyent for our Ladye Chappell within y^e sayd Chirche of Seynt Mary. All theise premysses after and accordyng to the best werkmanischipp and proporcon as good as the patrons afore rehersed be, or better in eu^{ry} poynte, to be habled and juged in tyme convenyent after y^t be made and flynnished by

⁵ Professor Willis, “ Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages,” defines these terms as “ the elementary parts of tabernacle and canopy work of the richest description, similar to that which crowns the monuments, stalls, and altars of this period.” *Housings* (called also *maisons* and *hovels*) stand for tabernacles or niches; *crests* are the pierced battlements, or other ornamental finishing; *orbs* (*fenestree orbe*) stand for blank panelling; *lyntells* for the upper portion of windows; *vorcers* (called also *voussures*, *volsuræ*, *vesuræ*) are vaults; *crowns* are, probably, almost synonymous with canopies; *archebotyns* are flying buttresses; *bacs* for the small *housings*, are the bases, or pedestals for the images in the smaller niches; while, lastly, the *fnials* or *gabeletts* are the

pinnacles, and the ornamented canopies of the niches, the former word never being applied in the middle ages, in its present restricted sense, to the bunch of foliage at the top of a pinnacle or canopy, which now usurps the name.

⁶ The floor of the Loft or gallery containing the Rood.

⁷ Images.

⁸ Pulpit.

⁹ In the copy of this Indenture in Bowtell's MSS., this blank is filled up with the word *Rume*, marked however as doubtful: I am unable to guess what the true reading is.

¹ “ Physiognomies.”

“ When as the paine of death she tasted had And but half seene his ugly visnomie.”

SPENSER, *Faery Queen*, V. iv. 11.

two indifferent persones, wherof oon schal be chose by y^e foresaide churche-wardens and parochianers of Seynt Mary pisshe : thodir by y^e sayde John Nunn and Roger Bell. And y^e saide John Nunne and R. Bell covenant and graunte by these presents that they schall clerly and holly ffynysse all and eu'ry of y^e sayde premysses accordyng as ys afore rehersed, byfore y^e ffest of pentycost, whiche schal be in y^e yere of our lord god mⁱ d^e xxij. For whyche premysses so to be accomplysshed and don, the sayde Churche-wardens and parochianers afore-named by th' assent and consent of all y^e parochianers of y^e said parisshe, covenant, and graunte, and also bynde them, and ther Executors, by these presents, to pay therfore and cause to be payed unto the sayde J. Nunne and Roger to ther Executurs and assignes lxxxxjⁱ iij^s. viij^d. sterling, wherof y^e saide J. Nunne and Roger knowlegge themselfs well and truly to be content and payed and therof dothe utterly acquyt and discharge y^e saide Chirchewardens and parochianers ther Executors and Assignes by theise presents.

"And xl. sterling resydue of y^e say^{ed} summe schal be payed unto y^e sayde J. Nunne and Roger to their hers Executors and Assignes, in maner and forme folowyng ; That y^s to Wytte atte y^e ffest of y^e Natyvyte of Seynt John Baptist next coumyng, after y^e date herof, xxⁱ. sterling, And atte suche tyme as the sayde J. Nunne and Roger have clerly and holly ffynysshed all y^e premysses other xxⁱ. sterling in full payment and contentacon of the foresayd sume of Lxxxxijⁱ iij^s. viij^d. To y^e which couenant payments graunts and articles aforesaid and eury of them or eyther parte of the foresaid partyes well and truly to be obserued performed and kept, eyther of ye sayde parties bynde them to thodir ther hers and Executors in y^e sume of an cⁱ. sterling by these presents.

"Into Witnesse wherof y^e parties aforesayde to theise Indenturs Interchangably haue putte ther Sealls. Goven the day and yer abovesaid.

" per me ROGERUM BELLE,

" per me JOHN NUNE."

The works of the Rood Loft seem to have been continued during part of three years, and to have been brought to a conclusion in 1523, when the images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John on either side of the Rood were dedicated.² Further decorative works, however, were carried on for some years longer, and in 1525 we find it noted in the parish books that the executors "of Mr. John Erliche owe for a Legace by hym made to the said churche over and bysides, 60s. already paid, for the *guylding* of the Trinitie in the Rode Loft."

In 1519, the body of the church was seated by general subscription ; 7*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* was raised, and 30*s.* was paid to William Whyte "for the full contentacyon of the paryssche parte of the payment." A few years later a very early instance of the practice of *letting* seats is met with in the

- Parish Books. "It. for holowyng of y^e Ymagesse of Mari and Jhon viij^d."

parish books—"rec^d of the Materasse maker in the Petycuri for the incumbe of a seate xvij^d." In 1538, the side chapel was erected and seats made in it "at ye charge of xxxviij^s iiiij^d," and two new seats were made in the body of the church, for the "bord and tymber" of which 13s. 4d. was paid. One of these was a permanent erection, being "under pinned with stone and mortar." The heads of houses and University officers were probably seated at this time, as they certainly were subsequently till the erection of the Doctors' gallery, in the middle of the last century, in stalls on either side of the Chancel. Here too the representatives of the monastic orders of Cambridge had their place, when a sermon *ad clerum*, or any other special occasion drew them from their own churches.³

The tower, though of no great height (131 feet), nor boasting of any remarkable beauty or stateliness, was the work of nearly a century. It was carried on with spiritless, halting progress; the necessary funds being raised with the utmost difficulty, in spite of the most persevering endeavours on the part of the University and Town to free themselves from the disgrace of having begun to build and not being able to finish. Subscriptions were entered into in the colleges, collections were made from year to year at the Commencements, legacies were hunted after, and in some cases obtained, and letters couched in terms of the most humble supplication were despatched to various rich and noble members of the University: but the sums that were derived from every source were far from commensurate with the plans and expectations of the promoters of the work, and when at length, in 1608, it was declared finished, and the topmost stone was laid by Robert Grumbold, the master workman, it was only by a kind of compromise, as it was still destitute of the spire, with which we learn from documentary evidence it had been intended to crown the whole.

Before the building of the tower,⁴ the bells were in a temporary bell-lodge in the churchyard, which, the parish books inform us, was, in 1505, taken down, the materials sold, and

³ P. B. A.D. 1508. "When there is a sermon *ad clerum*, the whyte chanons in the iiij stalls on the south and the monkeys in the iiij on the north syde."

⁴ P. B. 1505. "It. to a mason to make holys in the stepell to hang the bells, iiij^d."

It. to ij pieces of tymber for the hanging of the bells, iiij^s vij^d."

It. to the smith in the peticury for the iron worke of the bells, iiij^s, ij^d."

It. for 400 of segg for the stepell."

the bells hung in what was by courtesy called "the steeple,"⁵ though it had not quite reached the elevation of the church, and was covered with a roof of sedge. The parish books show that the work was slowly going on from this date, and was, in 1536, sufficiently advanced for the great west window, a truly noble specimen of perpendicular architecture, to be glazed. The entry in the following year, "payd to two men for half a day werk to bord y^e stepill to keep oute byrds vjd.," proves how incomplete the tower still was, in which state it remained till 1544, when fourpence was paid to one "Father Rotheram for vewing the steeple." The result of this survey appears in the entries of the following year, when stone and slate were brought in considerable quantities from the now dissolved monasteries,⁶ and several additional feet of height were added. The west portal of cinquecento design, which, though possessing no beauty, and out of keeping with the architecture around it, has, not unregretted, lately given place to a beautiful design of Mr. Scott's, was completed Jan. 20, 1576. Lady Burghley and others contributed money to it, and Sir W. Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel College, twenty tons of freestone. It cost 113*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*:⁷ an enormous sum considering the altered value of money. The clock which surmounts it was the gift of Mr. John Hatcher. It cost him 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1584 he bequeathed a sum of 40*s.* annually to keep it in repair. This same benefactor, in 1576, caused "a newe dore to be made on the south side of S. Marie's church into the hier chappell."

Dr. Perne, Master of Peter House, the Vicar of Bray of Cambridge, from whose convenient changes of opinion in conformity with those of the governing body in church and state, the wits of the day coined a new verb, *pernare*⁸—was at this time the most active promoter of the completion of St. Mary's tower. It was under his superintendence that the western portal was erected, and either by him, or at his instance, letters were written to Whitgift, then Bishop of Worcester,

⁵ "1517. For takyn down of the segge and tymbre of the stepyll xvjd.

1518. For timber for the stepyll, xiiij fotte.

1529. To iij laborers for haueing keepe heauing up stonys to the steple either of them v dayes worke vs."

1532. For makyn of studdys to hold up the steple rooffe xiiij^d.

⁶ It. of W^m. Meere for ye stone at ye Black Friars xl^s.

for caryage of 20 lodes of slate from the late Austen Fryars iij^s iv^d.

for 4 pecys of great tymber conteyning 64 feet, x^s viij^d.

for two lodes of lyme from the late White Fryers iv^d. ⁷ Baker's MSS. xxiv.

⁸ Fuller's Hist. Univ. Camb. p. 258.

Scambler, Bishop of Peterboro', Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield, to Serjeant Bendlows, and others, setting forth the poverty of the University, and earnestly petitioning for liberal benefactions. These letters, copied by Cole from the Public Orator's Book,⁹ are curious examples of begging letters two centuries ago. Writing to the Bishop of Peterborough, he laments that the tower "*nunc humo serpit, atque in obscuro delitescit, unde nec ipsa videri, neque campanæ in eâ collocatæ pulsari, nedum audiri possint,*" and begs that he will contribute to the raising of it at least to a sufficient height for the ringing of the bells. To Serjeant Bendlows he speaks of the wish of the University to raise the steeple above the roof, which "*in summâ ærarii nostri paupertate nunquam aggredi sumus ausi.*" At his death, Dr. Perne bequeathed 10% towards the work, which was then approaching completion.

We have already referred to documentary evidence of a design for completing the tower with a spire. The following is the record alluded to; it is from the Cottonian Collection (Faustina, c. iii.) :—

"The square tower of St. Maries to be bulded 24 foote higher: the Spire or Broche wil be 80 foote hie at the leaste—good stone (free stone or asheler) at Thorney Abbey,¹ belonging to Sir William Russell Knight—water serveth very well to bring it hither from thence, in winter time whiles the waters be hie; newe Stone, from a place called King's Cliffe belonging to Sir Walter Mildmaye, by water from Gooneworth ferrie, 5 miles from the quarie—the parishioners to make a flore for the bells—to new cast the sermon bell—to have a chime to go on those five bells everie fourth hower and to have the greate Bell Ronge to the Sermon."

To this design the following entry in the parish books probably refers—

"1592. It. to a paynter for drawing of a platforme of S. Maries Steple upon velam parchment for my Lorde Archbysshop of Caunterburie. xvijij^d."

It was fated, however, that there should be no rivalry in this respect between the two Universities, and the tower was continued on the present plan, which, though not devoid of dignity, is a striking contrast to the exquisite grace and beauty of the steeple of St. Mary's, Oxford.

In 1593, the parish, wearied out with perpetual delays, and ashamed of the still unfinished condition of their church, took the matter into their own hands, and "agreed to finish

⁹ p. 456, Cole. ix. 54. Letters of thanks to contributors to the work are found, Baker MSS. iii. 490.

¹ Parish Books, 1594. "For 7 Tonne of Freestone which came from Thorney—also to Martindall of Thorney, for 20 Ton."

the building of the steeple ;" which, in three years, by the aid of legacies and collections,² they were enabled to effect, so far that the bells, which had been hung in 1595, were, in 1596, "all runge oute, and never afore." Tabor, who was Esquire Bedell at this time, relates that—

"The steeple, which was not finished when I came to Cambridge, but was covered with Thacke, and then Mr. Pooley Apothecary first, and after him John Warren undertooke the worke, and had collections in the several Colledges. I well remember in Bennett Coll., where I was first Pentioner, as Pentioners we all gave at the first collection 2s. a peece, Fellows 10s. a peece, and Schollers of the house 18*d*. a peece, Fellow Commoners 5s. a peece, or more as their Tutors thought fitting. And so a second collection when that would not serve : and these two contributions, with money usually gathered of strangers at Commencements, could not be lesse than about £800 or £1000."

Twelve years later, 1608, the tower was finally completed, an event which was unhappily signalised by the death of John Warren, the superintendent and active promoter of the work. A melancholy occurrence, commemorated by the following curious epitaph within the church :—

A speaking stone
Reason may chaunce to blame ;
But did it knowe
Those ashes here doe lie
Which brought the Stones
That hid the Steeple's shame,
It would affirm
There were no Reason why,
Stones should not speake
Before theyr Builder die.
For here JOHN WARREN
Sleeps among the dead,
Who with the Church
His own Life finished.
Anno Domini 1608. Dec. 17.

The master workman, at the time of the completion of the tower, was Robert Grumbold. He was the builder of the river front of Clare Hall, the parapet of which is decorated with stone balls, similar to those which, till within the last few years, surmounted the turrets of St. Mary's. Their removal was an act of very questionable propriety, for, like the western portal, though far from beautiful in themselves, they were interesting as records of the taste of the period, and as the last link in the long chain of architectural evidence connecting the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, afforded by this building.

(To be continued.)

² Mrs. Magdalen Purvey, of Lincolnshire, bequeathed 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. The whole sum received by Mr. John Pooley was

179*l*. 12*s*. 7*d*.; that expended, 219*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. We cannot learn whether the difference was made up to him.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE!

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A.

HAVING now brought down the history of the fabrick of the Church of Great St. Mary's to a period when it was completed substantially as we now see it—modern alterations excepted—I proceed to fulfil my purpose of employing the documentary evidence afforded by its annals in illustration of the religious history of the Church and University during the eventful XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

In the ante-Reformation period, the parish books do not supply any matter of special interest to distinguish them from the other parochial records of a similar character with which we are now so familiar. We have the usual items of disbursements for the services and furniture of the church—Incense, Candles, Banners, and the like; with the yearly charge of setting up, watching, and taking down the Easter sepulchre,² and copious lists of the Jewels, Plate, Vestments, and Relics, with which this church was richly provided,³ as well as notices of the Font, the Holy-water Stoups, the Organ,⁴ &c., which, though not without interest, must not detain us from the more important entries that follow.

The first sign of the dawning Reformation occurs in 1538, when, as Strype informs us, "the Holy Bible was first divulged and exposed to common sale, and appointed to be had in every parish church."⁵ Accordingly, in this year the Bible was purchased at the expense of the parish, for 4s. 6d., the cost being thrown over two years.⁶ This was Rogers' edition, published by Whitchurch and Grafton, at

¹ Continued from page 255.

² For many years one John Capper performed this office, receiving two shillings as his fee, besides 10^d for his meat and drink.

³ These catalogues, which contain much to interest the ecclesiologist, are to be found transcribed by Cole (vol. ix.), and Bowtell (vol. vi.).

⁴ P. B. 1514, "a lokke for the Fonte 2^d;" "a Blak Fryer in Ester Holddays for to

pley atte Orgayns 16^d." 1526, "to one Kell for a skynne of ledir to amende the organs, 9^d." 1527, "a pair of orgayns 20^s 8^d." 1528, "a newe handell for the orgyns 2^d:" for a quart of swett wyne to the orgynman for ysse labor 4^d."

⁵ Memorials of Cranmer. Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. p. 141.

⁶ P. B. 1538, "halff the byble, ij. vi^d. 1539, do. ij^s."

Hamburgh, under the name of Matthew's Bible, which, in the following year, 1540, gave place, by royal injunction, to that published under Cranmer's patronage, commonly known as "the Great Bible."⁷ The cost of this was 18s., one-third more than the price at which the king had ordered that it should be supplied "well bound and clasped."⁸

The Papal Supremacy, as is well-known, was formally abrogated by Act of Parliament in 1534. Two years later, in 1536, the University of Cambridge required an oath from all who were admitted to any degree, renouncing the authority of the see of Rome, and, as the natural consequence we find in 1541, fourpence paid "to the glasyer for takyng downe of the Bysshoppe of Roomes Hede." In the same year, the alienation of the plate and vestments belonging to the church, which continued for the next ten years, had its commencement in the sale of "a monstre silver and gilte ponderyng 66 unces, after 4s. the unce," and some few other articles, "be the consent of moste p^{te} of ye parochioners." This practice of embezzling and making away with the church goods, reached such a height in the following reign, that it was found necessary for an Order of Council to be issued, April 30, 1548, forbidding the parishioners to "sell, give, or otherwise alienate any bells, or other ornament or jewels belonging unto the parish church, upon pain of his highness' displeasure."⁹ This order, however, was not very effectual in putting a stop to this course of sacrilegious rapine, as may be seen from the following entries, which are merely examples of many others:—

1550. Sold to Doctor Blyethe, a pyllow covered w^t velvet and gold, and 19 flowers of gold v^s.

Item, sold 2 pillows to Mr. Smythe, one of sattyne of Bryg, and one of tyssew viij^s viij^d.

Item, 2 Vallants of the Sepulchre xi^s.

Item, sold the clothe y^t went ov' y^e Quyr in Lent, and 3 paynted clothes y^t was of the Sepulchre vj^s.

To remedy this evil, we read in the journal of Edward VI., April 21, 1552, that "it was agreed that commissioners should go out for to take certificates of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezzled." Accordingly, in May, 1552, commissions began

⁷ P. B. 1540, "half y^e gret byble, ix^s."

⁹ Strype's Cranmer, ii. 90.

⁸ Strype, Mem. Cranmer. i. 191.

to be issued to chief persons in each city or town, empowering them to examine into and make returns of the amount of property still remaining in the churches. And at this time the following entry occurs in St. Mary's Church books.

It. payd for the wryghtyng of the invyntory of o^r chyrche goods & jewells to delyver to the kyngs majesties commysyners, xvij^d.

Item, for mete and drynke for them that mett together for y^e waying of y^e chyrche plate, and for waynge y^e other goods of y^e chyrche, to put y^m to y^e invyntory according to y^e kyng's commandment, vj^s.

It is in the year, 1550, that we meet with the first notice of Divine service in English, for which, "at the fyrst tyme" of its celebration, "two Prymers" were bought, costing 16s. The obedience of the churchwardens to the royal mandates appears to have been somewhat tardy, in this and other particulars, for they now for the first time purchased "a booke of omylys," "2 books of the servys for the communyon," and two copies "of the Paraffrys of Erasmus," all of which had been published and ordered to be publicly used three years before, in 1547.¹

In November, 1550, an order was issued for the entire removal of all altars, and a letter of the council sent to the bishops directing them to see to its immediate execution. The altars in St. Mary's were five in number, besides the High Altar;—viz., that of St. Mary the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, St. Andrew, St. Laurence, and Doomsday. These were now all pulled down, and the slabs sold for nine shillings, while seven shillings more was paid for "pavyng the chapells wer the altars stooode, and stoping holles in the walles." The images too were now all removed,² and 6*d*. paid "for makyng of the wall were Seynt George stooode in the chyrche," while the mural paintings were concealed under the shroud of whitewash in which the church is still constrained to do penance; the monotony being at that time partially broken by texts of Scripture, for writing which, 4*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. was paid.³

On the 28th of February, in this year, Bucer, who had been

¹ By the injunctions of Edward VI., 1547, "the parsons, vicars, and other curates, are ordered within twelve months next after this visitation, to provide the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have care of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously

resort unto the same, and read." Cardwell, Docum. Ann. i. 9.

² See "Mandatum ad amovendas et delendas imagines, 2^d Edward VI." Cardwell, Docum. Ann. i. 38.

³ P. B. 1550. "It. pay^d for Wythyng y^e Chyreh, xx^s. iij^d."

"It. payd for wryghtyng of y^e Chyreh walls with scriptures, iij^{li}. iij^s. iij^d."

invited to fill the Divinity Chair in this University, died, and two days after was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, "the vice-chancellor, doctors, graduates, and scholars, with the mayor and townsmen (in all, three thousand persons), attending his funeral. After the accustomed prayers, a sermon was preached by Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and an oration made by Dr. Walter Haddon, Public Orator. On the following day, the University and Town again assembled at St. Mary's, where more than 400 persons received the Eucharist; after which, Dr. Redmayne, Master of Trinity, preached. Last of all, the learned men of the University made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave." In consequence of the great concourse of people on this occasion, there seems to have been no small confusion in the church, insomuch that it was found necessary to repair the seats which had been then broken down.

It. for Nails to mend the Seats in the Chyrche when Mr. Doctor Barsur was buried, ij^d.

It. for a Borde to mend Doctor Meers Seat, iij^d.

1552. It. paid to Mr. Mayer for the Bybull that was strayned 10 of July, 3s. 4^d.

In 1553 was published the first revised edition of our Common Prayer Book, usually called the Second Book of King Edward VI., which was immediately adopted in St. Mary's, as we see by the following entry:—

It. for y^e cōpye of y^e servys in Englyss set out by note, iij^s. iijj.

It. for iij salter bokes in yngleeyse to sing or say y^e salmes of y^e servys, vij^s.

These are among the last entries in King Edward's reign, for on July 6, in this year, he died, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, of whose devotion to the doctrines of the Roman Church, and its effect on the religion of the country, the parish books supply interesting evidence, e.g. :—⁴

It. for a fayre mess boke and legent xiiij^s.

for oyl and creme⁵ iijj^d.

for wachyng y^e Sepulker vj^d.

for crepyn to y^e crosse on Good Friday and ester daye xj^d.

⁴ The following items are interesting showing the income of a parish priest three centuries ago.

1553. P^d to Sir Holland for a wekes service, 3^s.

P^d to Sir Holland for 6 wekes wagys at 3^s. a weke, 18^s.

P^d to Sir Holland for 7 wekes from the fyrst weke in Lent till Low Sunday at 3^s. 4^d.

⁵ Chrism.

The Rood, which had been injured and defaced, is again repaired, and we find—

p ^d for paynting of y ^c Rode	6s. 8d.
for 7 yards of Canvass for the Rode	4s. 8d.
p ^d to Carpenters for makyng the Frame for y ^c Rode	2s.
for 5 Candyll Stykks for the Rode	8d.
Payd to Barnes for mendyng over the Rode and over the Altar in the Chapell, and for washing oute the Scriptures	4s. 4d.

In the month of January, 1556-7, Cardinal Pole, as Legate from the See of Rome, appointed a commission to visit the University, with the view of the more complete re-establishment of the Roman Catholic faith; one of the first acts of which was to interdict the church of St. Mary, on account of the interment of Bucer, as well as that of St. Michael, in which Paul Fagius had been buried. On the 12th of January, we read in Meres' Diary,⁶ "the Heddes met in the scholes where and by whom it was concluded that for as myche as BUCER had byn an arche heretycke teachynge by his life time many detestable heresies and errors, sute should be made unto the Visitors by th' University that he myght be taken up and ordered according to the law, and lykewyes P. FAGIUS." There was no difficulty made in granting a petition so agreeable to the wishes of the visitors; and after different formalities gone through in citing, hearing witnesses, &c., they were publicly condemned on the 26th in St. Mary's church, where the Vice-Chancellor, the University, and the Mayor were gathered together, the visitors also being present⁷ "in a lytle skaffolde made for them within the quere." Then the Vice-Chancellor coming "before them without the quere door" made the third citation, and the Bishop of Chester (Cuthbert Scott) pronounced sentence on Bucer and Fagius as heretics, commanding their exhumation.

This was carried into effect on the 6th of February, and on Sunday, the 7th, the Church was reconciled by the afore-said Bishop, as is recorded in Meres' Diary. "On Sunday myslyinge rayne. It. at vii my L. of Chester came to S. Marys and almost half an houre before to hallow the church, and hallowed a great tubbe full of water and put therein salt, asshes and wyne, and went onse round abowte withowt

⁶ Meres' Diary. Lamb's Cambridge Documents, p. 201.

⁷ Ibid.

the church and thyrce within, the M^r of Xts College, M^{rs} Percyvell and Collingwood were his Chaplens and wayted in gray Amyses, and that don Parson Collingwood sayde Masse, and that don my seyde Lorde preched, wherunto was set my L. of Lynkolne and D. Coll, the Datary taryng at home and my L. of Chycheester being syck." This reconciliation of the church is thus recorded in the Parish Books :

Item. payd for new halloweing or reconcylyng of our chyrche beyng Interdycted for the buryall of M. Bucer, and the charg therunto belongeing, frankensens, and swete perfumes for the sacrament and herbes, &c., viij^d. ob.

The following day the Eucharist was carried by the University and Corporation in solemn procession round the town to St. Mary's church, where, for the first time since the interdict, "masse was songe by the Vic. with deacon and subdeacon in p'iksong and organs."

Queen Mary breathed her last on November 17, 1558, her cousin and counsellor, Cardinal Pole, the Chancellor of our University dying a few hours after her. He was succeeded by Elizabeth's favourite statesman, Sir W. Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, under whose government the University began speedily to reassume the character it had had in the time of Edward VI. Of the changes immediately set on foot, we find, as usual, interesting evidence in St. Mary's Parish books. The altars which had been restored were forthwith removed by order of the visitors,⁸ a communion table substituted in the room of the High Altar, the last resting-place of the foreign reformer once more decently covered, and English Service Books provided to supply the place of those destroyed in the preceding reign.⁹

Archbishop Parker was a determined enemy to Roodlofts, which he endeavoured to destroy throughout the whole of his province ; as appears from an inquiry in his Visitation Articles, in 1569,¹ "whether the roode lofte be pulled downe

⁸ Among these we find Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; Cecil ; May, Dean of St. Paul's ; Horne, Bishop of Winchester ; and Pilkington, Bishop of Durham.

⁹ It. payd for takyng down the altars, 2^s. 8^d.

It. payd for the communion table, 6^s.

It. to Lenge and Barnes for pavyng of the Quere and covering Bucers grave, 22^s.

It. payd for takyn downe the tabernacle, 10^d.

Payd to W^m. Pryme for carrying of formes and a table for the visetours, 4^d.

Item for two communion books. 10^s. for 8 psalters, 16^s. a byble bosed, 13^s. 4^d. a paraphrasis 12^s. the homelyes 13^d. register booke 10^d.

Item, for a table to set over the altar, and the calender to the same, 20^s.

¹ Cardwell, Docum. Ann. vol. i. p. 322.

according to the order prescribed." The loft in St. Mary's was pulled down by his orders in 1562,² as is recorded by Strype in his life of the Archbishop. From the parish records we find "a booke" (probably a copy of Archbishop Parker's Injunctions), was sent down to them, for which they had to pay "iij^d," in obedience to which they hired "Goodman Dowsey and one W^m. Jenner" to pull down the gorgeous structure, the erection of which has been recorded above; while divers "carpyndores were employed to mend "y^e seatts," and also "to tacke down" the Rood beam, or "pisse y^t y^e Roode stood on."

As we advance in Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find record of the sale of Church books, the candlesticks of the Rood-loft, and of "an Image of our Lady," removed from "the blew velvet altar-cloth by the commande of the archdeacon."³ The windows, also, from which "monuments of superstition" had already been removed in the reigns of her father and brother, were still further defaced, and plain glass substituted for the "images" with which they had been adorned.⁴

We are now drawing near the period when "those eyesores and heartsores," as they have been termed by one of their most determined enemies, whose loss the church and country has recently had to deplore,⁵—close and appropriated pews, were beginning to find their way into our churches. The civic functionaries seem to have been among the leaders here, as in many places, in fencing in their dignity by those wooden walls, of which the records of the time afford several amusing notices.⁶

The following is from "Wickstedes Thesaurus," preserved among the few but valuable MSS. of Downing College, bequeathed by the laborious Bowtell:—

"In 1607, the Judges being in Cambridge," (Lord Coke

² Strype's Parker, book i. c. i.

³ P. B. 1568. "Resseived of Mr. Cuthbert, Stationer, for all the books in N^o 9, small and great, 10^s 6^d."

It. of Mr. Howell for 15 toppes of Candlestiks of latten used for the roode lofte, and the lampe, weying all 50^{li} with 2 candlestiks of latten for the altar at 3^d. 12^s 6^d.

It. of one William, a singing man, the Image of our Ladye which was taken of the blew velvet alter clothe by the commande of the Archdeacon, 6^s.

⁴ 1566—8. For washyng oute Images in the windows, xij^d.

1569. For repaireing the glasse and putting owte y^e lmygas, vij^s.

For ij fete of new glass in the same wyndows, xij^d.

To William Pryme for wasshing oute images oute of the glasse wyndows, iv^d.

⁵ Archdeacon Hare, Primary Charge.

⁶ If the Jemalls (*i. e.* hinges, *gemelles*) in the following entry may be taken as a proof of the existence of doors, the aldermen had shut themselves in some years before this. P. B. 1574. "It. payd for mending the Jemalls to the seat where the aldermen doe sytt, iij^d."

and Judge Daniell) "and coming to S. Maries Ch. to the sermon, upon Sonday in the forenoon, and cominge to sitt in the Maior his seate, where he then did sitte, the Maior offered them *very kindly* to sitt in y^e seatte *under hym*, unto w^{ch} the L^d Coke a litle stayed, as seeminge his place was supreme above the Maior, but in th'end, both the Justices did sitt in the same seate, under y^e Maior, and M^r. Justice Danyell ate his goeing away comended the Maior for his corrage therein, allowyng y^t to be right in hym."

A few years later, in 1610, in consequence of the plague raging in the town, the aldermen were unable to give their usual public supper on St. Bartholomew's day, on which it was ordered that the cost should be devoted to the erection of a new pew for their accommodation. The Vice-Chancellor Clement Corbet, Master of Trinity Hall, interposed his authority to forbid the erection, which was in consequence delayed, and the pew was not built till 1613.⁷

The year which was signalised by this decision on the part of the civic functionaries saw the erection of a gallery for the accommodation of the dignitaries of the University—the prototype of that hideous deformity, which tends more than anything else to rob the interior of St. Mary's of its ecclesiastical character. The parish books give us the following entry :—

"1610, 21st March. The Dockters gallerie was sett up, upon which daye Mr. Dockter Dewporte, V. C., did give his word and faithful promise, that at the next congregation at the Scooles it should be decreed that noe Scoller under the degree of a Mr. of Arts or Batchellor of Lawe should not presume to sitt in any seatt in S. Maries churche in searvice or sermond tymes.⁸ The ffirste of July, 1610, Mr. Dr. Dewporte wth Doctors did ffirste sitt there; against that daye the Pulpitt was rassed, and Mr. Dr. Richardson of Christe Collidge, preached."

⁷ "1610. The town was visited by the Plague, and in consequence of the danger of contagion, the Mayor and Bailliffs resolved that the supper which was accustomed to be made at their charge on St. Bartholomew's day, should not take place, but that the money they were bound to expend on it should be laid out in erecting a new seat in S. Marys for their accommodation.

"1612. This year the aldermans seats building, but the Vice Chancellor stayed them.

"1613. It. Aldermans seats set up." Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 40. Baker's MSS., xxxvii. 226.

⁸ The following order, from Bedell Ingram's Book, (MSS. Gough, Camb. 46, p. 37) shows that it was deemed no great hardship for the junior members of the congregation to stand at sermon time.

"Jauuarii 13^o, 1586. It'm it is lykewise ordered that no Bachiler or Scholer shall p'sume to sitt by aine M^r of Arte in aine church at Sermons or aine lecture in the Scholes or before the fourmes before the pullpitt in St. Maries church or upon the seates before M^r. Maior or seates in the quire nor stande upon the seates fourmes stales and deskes iu the comon scholes at aine scholasticall exercise : nor shall in aine scholasticall acte or reading,

The existence of this gallery was not a long one. It deformed the church only six years, being taken down in 1616, during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Hill, of Catherine Hall. In 1618 the old pulpit was sold to the same "Mr. Dr. Richardson," who had preached the first sermon in it after its being elevated to allow the Doctors, then for the first time snugly ensconced in their new gallery, to see and hear with convenience; and on Sunday, Aug. 30, "the newe Pulpitt," which was a gift of Mr. Atkins, alderman of Lynn Regis,⁹ being "sett up, Mr. Belcanke,¹ of Pembroke Hall, preached the first sermon in it." At the same time the pews were getting higher, and more numerous, so that in 1628 we find the entry, "P^d. for the seatts and pews raiseing, and mending on the south syde of the church, w^{ch} the parish consented should be done, and because they were not formerly done the churchwardens were presented x^l xix^s. viij. ob."

We now enter upon a most stormy period, when the tempest which had been gathering ever since the commencement of the century, was preparing to break forth with that destructive fury which for a time overwhelmed both the throne and the altars of this land. At this time Archbishop Laud, moved no doubt by the continual representations made to him, of the disaffection to ecclesiastical and civil government, so rapidly and fatally spreading, and the notorious disregard of all church order, and open irreverence in the churches and chapels of the University, signified his intention of visiting Cambridge metropolitically. His right to this jurisdiction was keenly contested by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of the University, until at length it was mutually agreed that the decision of the matter should be referred to the King. Charles, by the advice of the

knocke hisse or [make] aine noyse to disturbe let hinder or breake of aine scholasticall acte w^{ch} by order of the scholes is left to the discrecion of the Senior of that companie and the bedells upon paine that ev'y of the offenders in aine of the p'mises being ADULTUS shall p'sently paye iij^s. iiij^d. and being not ADULTUS to be openly corrected in the comon scholes wth the rodde.

"P'sentibus et consentientibus

"D. COPCOT PROCANE, D. PEARNE,
D^r. GOAD, &c.

⁹ Town Book. Baker's MSS. xxxvii. 223. See Bishop Wren's Autograph MS. Catalogue of Pembroke Hall Library, p. 31. "Qui (D^r. Atkins) non contentus Amoris Venerationis que suæ magnificum sane testimonium jampridem (*in novo illo Templi B. M. pulpito*) Bonis literis Religionis que posuisse; etiam et privatim in isto Pembrochianarum Musarum *κειμηλιαρχίῳ* nomen adfectumque suum pari sponte cæpit profiteri."

¹ Dr. Balcanqual, Fellow of Pembroke.

Privy Council, determined in favour of the Archbishop's claim, but the storm of rebellion so rapidly thickened, and matters of so much more serious importance begun to press so heavily on Laud, that he was never able to carry out his intention. However, in anticipation of his proposed Visitation, a detailed account of the more special disorders in the University was forwarded to him, Sept. 23, 1636, drawn up probably by Cosin, or Sterne, Master of Jesus, which affords, among other similar matters, a sad though curious picture of the state of St. Mary's.

Speciall Disorders in y^e Church and Chappells.

St. Mary's Church at every great Commencement is made a Theater and the Prevaricatours Stage, wherein he Acts and sett's forth his prophane and scurrilous jests besides diverse other abuses and disorders then suffered in that place. All the year after a parte of it is made a Lumber House for y^e Materials of y^e Scaffolds, for Bookbinders dry Fats, for aumerie Cupboards, and such like implements, which they know not readily where else to put. The West windows are half blinded up with a Cobler's and a Bookbinder's Shop.² At the East end are Incroachments made by diverse Houses, and the Vestry is lately unleaded (they say) with purpose to let it ruine or to pull it down.³ The *Seats* many of them are lately cooped up high with wainscot.

The Service Pulpit is sett up in the midst, a good distance below the Chauncell, and looks full to the Belfrie, so that all Service, second Service and all, (if any be) is there and performed that way.

The Service there (which is done by Trin. Coll.) is commonly posted over and cut short at y^e pleasure of him that is sent thither to read it.

When the University comes in for the Sermon the chancell (the higher part of it) is filled with boyes and Townsmen, and otherwhiles (thereafter⁴ as the Preacher is) with *Townswomen* also, all in a rude heap betwixt y^e Doctors and y^e Altar. In y^e Bodie of the ch. Men Women and Scholers thrust together promiscuously, but in y^e place onely before y^e Pulpit, *which they call y^e Cock Pitt*, and which they leave somewhat free for masters to sitt in. The rest of y^e church is taken up by the Townsmen of y^e Parrishe and y^r families, w^{ch} is one reason among others y^t many Scholers

² These shops, which were the property of Trinity College, had existed as far back as 1587. P. B. 18 Eliz. "Whereas Trinity College has demised to Thomas Bradshaw their Two Shops at the W. end of St. Marys Church for 19 years, which are to be builded anew by the said Thomas, who did goe about to stop up the windows, and made his frame in the Church Wall to the prejudice of the same, without the consent of the Church Wardens, and was therefore by them discharged from building there, now on his earnest request

they have granted leave, on condition he pays 5^s. per annum to the Church." In Loggan's view of the church, the shops are to be seen nestling under its shade. Cole speaks of them as existing in 1745, "to the disgrace of Trinity College."

³ The present vestry was purchased of the parish by the University, in 1663, for £50, and was afterwards wainscotted by them at a cost of £30 more. Baker's MSS. xl. 60.

⁴ i. e. according.

pretend for not coming to this churche. Tradesmen and prentices will be covered when the University is bare.⁵

Upon dayes when the Litany is there solemnly to be sung by y^e Universitie we have not above 3 or 4 Masters in their habit that come to assist at that Service in y^e Quire, y^e rest keep their places, below for the Sermon, To which Sermon every Day we come most of us D^{rs}. and all, without any other habit butt the Hatt and the Gowne.

Before our Sermons the forme of bidding prayers appointed by the Injunctions and the Canon is not only neglected but by most men also mainly opposed and disliked. Instead whereof we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making (and sometimes sudden conceiving too) vented among us that besides y^e absurdities of y^e language directed to God himself our young Schollers are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before y^e publick, and their own invented and unapproved Prayers before all the Liturgie of y^e Church. Awhile since one of them praying for y^e Queene added very abruptly, "And why do the people imagine a vain thing, Lord, thou knowest there is but one Religion, one Baptisme, one Lord. How can there then be two Faiths." After praying for Helkiah the High Priest and Shaphan the Treasourour, and Azariah the King's Squire &c. presently he added "And whoever Lord shall mistrust providence yet let not y^e great Men upon whose armes Kings do leane contemn Elisha's Sermons," which being questioned by some of was defended by other some for a most Godly Religious and Learned Prayer. To such liberty are we come for want of being confined to a strict forme.

Although Laud's proposed Visitation was never actually held, the expectation of it seems not to have been without effect upon the arrangements of St. Mary's, and not only in the removal of the Doctors' Gallery,⁶ but in the erection of a new Font and Chancel Screen, and the decoration of the Chancel, we see traces of an improved tone of feeling in ecclesiastical matters.

The Font, which was the gift of one Mr. F. Martin, is a large and not inelegant specimen of the cinque-cento style then prevailing, worthy of a more appropriate and conspicu-

⁵ Strange as it may seem to us, to cover the head at sermon time was a privilege of Masters of Arts, and other superior degrees. In the 42nd volume of Baker's MSS. we find a paper entitled "Divers disorders rectified in the University of Cambridge;" of which one of the articles orders "that Batchellors of Arts and Inferior Students give place to y^e betters, and that they do not presume to cover y^r Heads at Sermons, or other publick meetings whatsoever; except such only as are privileged by the Statutes, viz. Sonns of Noblemen and Heirs apparent of Knights. ROGER GOAD, V. C. 1595."

⁶ In Archbishop Laud's annual account of his province to the king, A.D. 1639, he complains that "in most of the chancels of the churches in Cambridge, there are common seats over high, and unfitting that place in divers respects," and says "I think if an admonition would amend them it were well given. But if that prevail not, the High Commissioner may order it if your Majesty so please." To which the King wrote in the margin "C. R. It must not bee. You are in the right; for if faire meanes will not, power must redresse it."

ous position than the obscure corner in which it is now immured.⁷ The chancel screen, we learn from Dr. Dillingham's Diary,⁸ was set up in 1640, the Vice-Chancellor being Dr. John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, then Master of Peter House, and at the same time the side chapels were also divided from the aisles by parclose. A few years before, the chancel had been wainscoted and "adorned with spire-work," stalls on either side, affording accommodation for the heads of houses and Doctors.

This improvement, however, was very short-lived, for here the notices of church reparation end, and those of church desecration begin. For in 1641, the year after the erection of Cosin's screen, there came an order from the Parliament "to remove the communion table from the east end of all collegiate churches or chapels in the University," in conformity with which mandate we find in the parish accounts under this year, "Paid for taking down the communion rails and levelling the chancel, 2*l.* 7*s.*"⁹ That this ordinance was not complied with without resistance from the leading churchmen of the University, the following passage from the "Articles against Scandalous Ministers," is a proof.

¹ "Articles against Dr. Cheney Rowe, Parson of Orwell, and Fell. of Trin. before the Committee for Scandalous Ministers sitting in Trin. Coll. Jan. 14, 1644."

"Stephen Fortune of Cambridge Haberdasher sworn sayth, 'that at such time as the Ordinance of Parliament for taking away Rayles and Steps in churches, came forth, this Deponent being ch. warden and about to execute that ordinance by taking away the Stepps and Rales in G^t. S. Maries church in Cambridge, Dr. Row came to the church to this Deponent, and threatened this Deponent, that if he went foward with y^e worke, he would proceed against him, wheruppon this Deponent did desist untill he had further order from the Parliament.'"

⁷ P. B. "Of Mr. F. Martin 8^{lib} towards a new Font to be built according to directions from Mr. Dr. Porter.

1632. To G. Tompson for the makeing the funt, 2^{lib}.

Item. A barrel of Lint seed oyl to painte the fonte, the porch and Churchedors, 14*s.* 4*d.*

Item. To David Blisse for paynting y^e fonte and finding colors, 1^{lib}.

In Cole's time the Font stood in its canonical place, on the north side of the west entrance, and was decorated with gilding.

⁸ Baker MSS. xv. 129.

⁹ The following passage from Prynne's VOL. XII.

"Canterburies Doom" will show that this altar had been for some time a mark for jealous eyes. It is from the evidence of Wallis (the well-known Professor of Geometry at Oxford) on Archbishop Laud's trial. "That in the Universitie Church of St. Maries there was an altar railed in to which the Doctors, Schollers and others usually bowed. That these Altars, Crucifixes, Candlesticks, Tapers and Bowing to Altars continued till after this Parliament, and were brought in since the Archbishops time by means of Byshop Wren, Doctor Cosens, Dr. Martin and othersall Canterburies great favorites."

¹ MSS. Baker, xxxi. 350.

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The year 1643 was signalised by the visit to Cambridge of Oliver Cromwell and the notorious iconoclast Will Dowsing, under whose superintendence terrible havoc was made of the churches and their ornaments.² Dowsing's Diary, which records his deeds of destruction with such remarkable minuteness, has no entry under the head of "Great Maryes ;" but we learn from the parish books and other contemporary documents, that the church did not pass through the storm unscathed. The chancel screen was defaced, the painted windows broken, the cross removed from the steeple and chancel, the Prayer Book torn to pieces by the soldiers in the presence of Cromwell himself, and many other acts of wanton sacrilege committed.

The events of this time are thus briefly enumerated by Dr. Dillingham :³—

Jan. 164³/₄. Mr. Crumwell come to Towne.

Dr. Cosins Screene at S. Maries defaced.

29. The Clarke set y^e 74 Psalm to be sung before the Sermon in y^e afternoone.

Febr. The Pyramis at S. Maries over the Doctors Seats quite pulled down.

March 1. About 4000 Soldiers in Cambridge.

4. This day Surplissses were left in all Colleges in Cambridge.

And in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, we find the following piteous lamentations are poured forth :—

"And that Religion might fare no better than Learning, in the University church (for perhaps it may be Idolatry now to call it Saint Maries) in the presence of the then Generall our Common Prayer-book was torne before our faces, notwithstanding our Protection from the House of Peeres for the free use of it, some (now great one) *M. Cromwell*, encouraging them in it, and openly rebuking the University Clerk who complained of it before his soldiers."⁴

And again—

"And now to tell how they have prophaned and abused our several Chapelles, though our pens flowed as fast with vinegar and gall, as our eyes do with teares, yet were it impossible sufficiently to be expressed ; when as multitudes of enraged soldiers (let loose to *reforme*) have torn down all carved worke, not respecting the very monuments of the dead : And have ruin'd a beautiful carved structure in the *Universitie* church (though indeed

² P. B. 1643-4. "For defacing and repairing windowes, 10^{lib.} 11^{s.}

"Item, to the overseer of windowes, 6^{s.} 8^{d.}

"Item, to a Service Book, 6^{s.} 8^{d.}
a Directory, 1^{s.} 4^{d.}

"Item. For taking down of the cross of the steeple and chancell, 16^{s.} 4^{d.}

"Item to the workmen when they were levelling the chancell, 1^{s.}

"Item for taking downe the clothe in the chancell and the borde, 2^{s.} 6^{d.}

"Item for Parchment and writing the covenant, 3^{s.}"

³ Diary *ut supra*.

⁴ Q. C. p. 11.

that was not done without direction from a great one, *M. Cromwell*, as appeared after upon our complaint made to him) which stooode us in a great summe of money and had not one jot of Imagery or statue worke about it. And when that Reverend man the Vice Chancellor, *D. Ward*, told them mildly *That they might be better employed*, they returned him such language as we are ashamed here to expresse."⁵

We pass on a few years and all is again changed. On the 11th of May, 1660, Charles II. was proclaimed king in various places in the town of Cambridge, and we immediately find the men, who, a short time previously, were keeping a day of thanksgiving, on the 30th of January,⁶ for the victory of Dunbar, putting down "the *Rebel's Arms*," and setting up those of the king, and purchasing hassocks, or "Communion Crickets" for the parishioners to kneel on at the time of the reception of the Eucharist, while the venal bells were celebrating with their joyful peals, the downfall of the rulers whose victories they had been called so often to proclaim.

From this period, the annals of St. Mary's cease to be of much interest. The parochial records supply but brief notices, and those only show how fast the guardians of the sacred edifice were travelling the downward road, and injuring and disfiguring its noble proportions.

Towards the close of the century, various minor alterations were made. In 1675, we find the University "new laying" the roof of the chancel, and in 1697, the parish granted them permission to erect an organ; a noble instrument, the work, like that of Trinity, of the famous Father Smith.⁷ But it was

⁵ Q. C. p. 17.

⁶ The 30th of January was set apart by order of the Parliament as a day of thanksgiving for the success of the arms of the Commonwealth by sea and by land, especially the condition of the Castle of Edinburgh, and the defeat of the Scotch forces in the west of Scotland, by Lambert. (Parliam. Hist. of England. xix. 451.) The victory at Dunbar is thus noticed in the parish accounts. "For reading y^e boke of narracion of victory over y^e Scots, 6s." 1650, "To Persyvall Sekole, the clarke, for the ringers, by an order from the maier on 30 Jan. being a day of thanksgiving, 2s."

⁷ The organ was of course demolished in 1643. Till the erection of the new one in 1697, the University had the loan of a small instrument, on occasions, from St. Michael's Church. The new organ is said, in the parish accounts, to have been "purchased of St. James." Was it originally

built for the new church of St. James, Piccadilly, consecrated in 1684? Till the times of the Commonwealth, A.D. 1643, (when Dr. Dillingham notes it as a thing worthy of mention, that on "Jan. 29, the clarke set y^e 74th Psalm to be sung before y^e sermon in the afternoon;") the University service would appear to have been unaccompanied with Psalmody. After the Restoration it was put down, A.D. 1673, during the vice-chancellorship of Dr. W. Wells, President of Queens (Baker, xlii. 148), and was revived on the erection of the new organ in 1697, when we find syndicks appointed "for the organ at St. Mary's, and Psalms to be sung there," by whom a collection of Psalms to be sung before sermon was authorised. The old custom of sitting during the Psalm, and rising at the Gloria Patri was retained by the undergraduates till the last fifteen years.

in the beginning of the XVIIIth century, that a considerable legacy from Mr. Worts,⁸ led to the most important changes in the internal arrangements of the church, in the erection of the galleries for the Undergraduates and Bachelors, and the new paving of the nave. The date of the legacy was 1709, but it was not till 1735 that the parish, after many hearings and an appeal to the Bishop's Court, gave its consent to their erection.⁹ At the same time, the University "craved permission to erect a pulpit in the pit," (as the centre aisle, occupied by the Masters of Arts, is irreverently designated,) "where the rostrum now stands ; also that this square in the nave or body of the church, called the pit, may be raised with a new floor, boarded ; and that no body hereafter be there buried." This request was acceded to by the parish, but with the stipulation "that the University do give the said parish the sum of 150*l.* towards erecting new pews in the said parish church for the use of the said parishioners."¹ The University would seem to have made little difficulty about accepting these humiliating terms, and having gained the consent of the parish, set about encumbering the majestic interior of this noble building with a huge mass of woodwork, marring its proportions and hiding its beauty ; this, after an existence of a hundred and twenty years, is, we may now hope, doomed to a speedy and unlamented destruction. The faculty for the erection of the galleries is dated June 21, 1735. One of the consequences of these deplorable alterations was, that the interior was so darkened, that in 1766 it was deemed expedient to rob the aisle win-

⁸ "Per donat' Gul Worts Septum A.M. conditum, Acad' Cancellor' Magistr' & Scholar' designatum, et per Licentiam Ecclesiastic' abalienatum et dicatum." Cole, ix. 27.

⁹ Cole says, "Of late years the Parish has been in a state of opposition to y^e University ; 1st in relation to the galleries, and then about their altering the Pit or square place railed in for y^e Masters of Arts, tho' the University was at all the expense," ix. 25.

¹ Jan. 27, 1735-6. "At a general meeting of y^e Parishioners of y^e Parish of S. Maries y^e Great in y^e Town of Cambr. at y^e Vestry of y^e saide Church."

"It is this day agreed by y^e said Parishioners that leave be given to y^e University to erect a Pulpit in the Pit where the Rostrum now stands, and likewise to floor the said Pit with boards at y^e sole expense

of y^e s^d University on condition that y^e University do give the s^d Parish the sum of £150 towards erecting New Pews in the s^d Parish Ch. for the use of y^e s^d Parishioners."

The Parishioners have at all times regarded with great jealousy the enforcement of the just claim of the University to have a definite part of the church set apart for their especial use. In 1639 we find "an attempt made by Dr Cosen V. C. to deprive the parish of the mid Isle or Alley," but they resolved not to submit to such usurpation, but to defend their rights and privileges, at the common charge of the parish." In the parish books we see "payd for y^e coppey of an order, wherein the Unversite claymeth the vse of the church, and y^e parishenors never would condesend to it, 1⁴. 6^d."

dows of the rich super-mullioned tracery, represented in Loggan's print, and substitute the meagre intersecting mullions we see at present; which certainly have the merit of admitting more light.²

Ten years after the commencement of these changes, 1745, Cole gives the following sketch of the interior of St. Mary's:—³

"There are 4 beautiful and lofty Pillars which separate the Nave fr' y^e side Isles. The Modern Pulpit and Desk of fine carved Work done by Mr. Essex⁴ which cost y^e University . . . (sic) abt 6 years ago, stands at y^e Entrance into y^e Pitt, with a Pair of Stairs in it, y^e Back to y^e Organ, and fronting y^e Vice-Chancellor. The Pitt was done about y^e same Time and y^e old Stones w^{ch} lay in y^e old Pit were then taken up, and laid in various parts of y^e Church, and y^e modern Pit floored and raised a step higher than the Chancel."

The old curiously carved pulpit, which as we have seen, was erected in 1618, "stood against the South Pillar; but when y^e Galleries were erected by the benefaction of Mr. Worts to y^e University round y^e Church against the Pillars, and over y^e two side Isles, it was necessary to remove it or y^e Preacher must have been overlooked."

He goes on to describe the arrangements of the Chancel, in which we see a better feeling prevailing, and which were,

² Cole ix. 26.

³ We obtain an amusing glimpse of the state of the interior of S. Mary's, in 1714, from the *Music Speech of Roger Long*, Master of Pembroke, recited at the public Commencement, then, to the disgrace of the University, held in this church. The Ladies, it appears, had on previous occasions of this kind, been accommodated in a temporary gallery built for that purpose; but the Vice-Chancellor this time refused them any such convenience, and was determined *cogere cancellis i. e.*, to shut them up in the chancel. The speech opens—

"The humble petition of the Ladies who are ready to be eaten up with spleen, To think they are to be locked up in the Chancel, where they can neither see nor be seen, But must sit in the dumps, by themselves, all stew'd, and pent up, And can only peep through the Lattice, like so many chickens in a coop; Whereas last Commencement the Ladies had a gallery provided near enough To see the Heads sleep, and the Fellow Commoners take snuff."

Taylor and Long's Music Speeches.
London: J. Nichols, 1819.

⁴ Essex was very much employed in Cambridge about this time, but, unfortunately, his works are for the most part in the insipid Italian taste, then so fatally prevailing. The New Combination Room at Trinity, was one of his works, as well as the Cycloidal Bridge in the grounds. He, too, was guilty of destroying the picturesque gables of Neville's Court, represented in Loggan's view, substituting the flat unbroken parapet which seemed so beautiful in the eyes of that dreary uniformity-loving age. (See Cole's MSS. vol. xxxviii.) His works in the Pointed style, though weak and meagre, show greater appreciation of its character than was general at that time. The Reredos in King's Chapel, and the former Organ Screen at Ely, are among the best examples. The open parapet of the central tower of Lincoln Cathedral also deserves favourable mention. He was employed in the repairs of Ely Cathedral, and advised the chapter to pull down the Galilee and S. W. transept, as being "neither useful nor ornamental," and so "not worth preserving." MSS. Essex. Brit. Mus. ii. 261.

in all essential points, the same as in the days of Cosin. The "beautiful and lofty Screen, with a Canopy and Spire Work" still remained "under y^e Noble large Arch," separating the Chancel and Nave, while stalls were arranged along the sides of the Chancel, in two rows, for about half its length, "in which sett only y^e Heads of Colleges, Doctors of all Faculties, Noblemen, Professors, and Bedles." "The Vice-Chancellor sets in y^e 1st Stall on y^e S. Side under y^e Screen, and y^e Heads of Colleges according to their seniority in y^e University by him on the same side. The Noblemen, Bishops, and other Doctors and Professors in y^e Stalls on the N. Side according to their Dignity and Creation." The Eastern portion was divided off by a "door across from the Stalls, and wainscoted all round very high, with handsome Wainscote and a Canopy adorned with Spire work, and 1633⁵ in various Places to shew its Date."

Such, little more than a century ago, was the arrangement of the Chancel of St. Mary's. Would that it had never been altered. But galleries for the undergraduates having been once admitted, the fatal precedent was soon followed, and one was set up for the Heads of the University.

"It has been talked of lately," says Cole, "to alter the Form of y^e Chancell and make it more coniodious for y^e Doctors, by *raising y^e stalls one above another*, for at present they that sit on y^e lower Range of Stalls on either side are perfectly hid."

If the alteration had been no more than that indicated by Cole, there would have been little fault to find with it. But, on pursuing the history contained in his amusing pages a little farther, we find him recording the erection of that monstrous piece of deformity, which cannot be allowed much longer to encumber our University Church, and render it, in the words of Archdeacon Hare, "an example of the world turned topsy turvey."⁶

Writing in 1757 Cole says, "By the advice and contrivance of my worthy friend James Burrough, late one of y^e Esquier

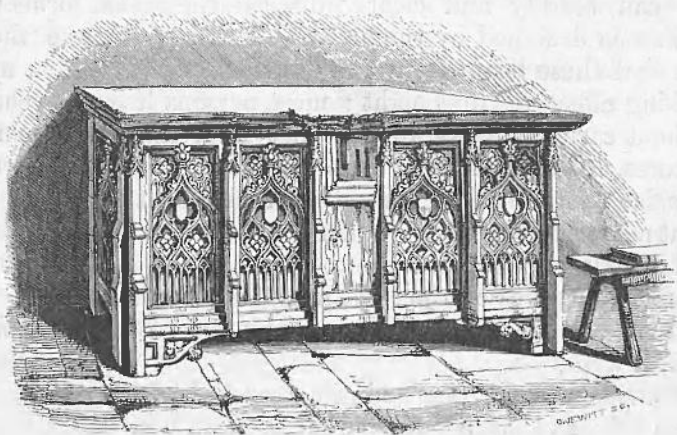
⁵ P. B. 1622. "Trinity College laid out about £12 in beautifying the chancel."

⁶ Charge, 1840, p. 57. "Unfortunately," says he, "a Cambridge-man may deem himself sanctioned in any license he may choose to indulge in, by the strangely anomalous arrangement in S. Mary's; where the chancel is concealed from view by the seat in which the heads

of houses and professors turn their backs on the Lord's Table; where the pulpit stands the central object on which every eye is to be fixed; and where every thing betokens, what is in fact the case, that the whole congregation are assembled solely to hear the preacher. Surely a University church ought not to offer such an example of the *verkehrte welt*."

Bedels, and now Master of Gonville and Caius College, the Chancel is quite altered, and y^e Church appears to much less advantage than it used to look: *for the Stalls and fine Screen are taken down in the Chancell, and a Gallery built with an arched top of Wainscot*, highly ornamented indeed with Mosaic carving, *but very absurd in y^e Design*: both as the Doctors who sit there are generally old men, sometimes goutified, and not well able to get up stairs, *and also are made to turn their Backs on y^e Altar, w^{ch} is not so decent especially in an University*. The old Wainscote is pulled down w^{ch} went all round y^e chancel, and a new one but lower is added, w^{ch} also runs behind y^e Altar Piece, w^{ch} is Plain Wainscote, it is railed in on 3 black steps; there are also sort of Stalls or Benches placed round under y^e Walls and under the said gallery, w^{ch} was thus finished last year."

This, with the exception of the erection of the stone Organ Gallery, about twenty years since, and of the new West Door, in 1850, was the last alteration of any moment in our University church, and with this I may close this paper, with the expression of an earnest hope that such a well-considered and thorough work of repair, restoration, and re-arrangement may soon be set on foot as may bring back the interior of St. Mary's Church to its original dignity and beauty, and render it worthy as well of the ancient University which meets within its walls, as of the noble foundation who are its Patrons and Impropiators.



CARVED OAK CHEST, ST. MARY'S THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE.