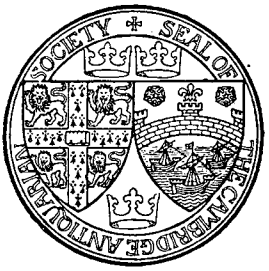
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

JULY 1939–DECEMBER 1942



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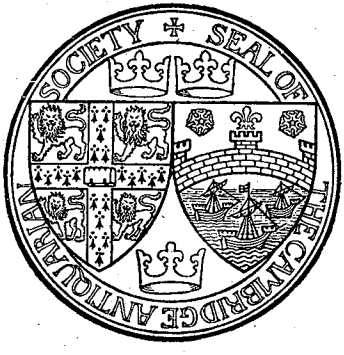

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CONTENTS

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

[All the Plates, as a war-time necessity, are to be found following page 48]

LOCAL CHARACTER IN THE ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

By T. D. ATKINSON (F.R.I.B.A., retired)

Introduction

THE character of our national architecture, with particular regard to the peculiarities which separate it from that of other lands, is a subject of supreme interest. But it is by no means that of the present essay. Nor is this a study of the more remarkable buildings as such even in the small area of our own county. All that is here attempted is an examination of the distinctly local variations from the normal or from each other found in the county of Cambridge and forming collectively a patch in the complex quilt with which the whole of England is covered. That examination will lie very much among the humbler buildings. Our review is further limited by being to a great extent limited to those periods in which local variations were most in evidence, with the result that they are confined almost exclusively within the Middle Ages, to the apparent neglect of the very interesting and important later periods.

Local character adds not a little to the interest of architecture and may be observed almost everywhere. No building is wholly the invention of one man: it owes something to the locality as well as to its period. And so when one is told that a building is 'absolutely unique' one can resist the temptation to exclaim 'How dull!' by reflecting that it is sure to be untrue.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in thus exhibiting local colour architecture is entirely in harmony with the social structure which our country shows in almost every aspect. In architecture as in other manifestations local style has much declined; in some it has died or is dying a natural death; in others it has been suppressed in the interests of efficiency. The most obvious parallel is Dialect; the most general and to many the most interesting. Dialect in language and dialect in architecture seem to hunt very much the same country, and a close inquiry as to how far this is so would be of value. Architecture runs also a course remarkably parallel with that of Law: no matter for surprise, for both proceed by Tradition and Order and Rule and Reason: the great creative periods in the two are contemporary. And the imitative tendency is seen in each; the well-known system by which a borough petitioned the King for privileges exactly like those of some other town led in the end to much variation, and one of Wat Tyler's demands was for uniformity. Religion itself, though not so obviously, was strongly local, as in the dedication of churches; local prevalence of particular dedications does not give the same order of popularity as the country as a whole. Thus the

Blessed Virgin heads the list for the whole country by nearly two to one above the second, but is second in Yorkshire, and bracketed third in Lincolnshire; in Cambridgeshire she has one-quarter of the total number of old churches. Ritual had its local liturgical uses: York, Durham, Sarum, Lincoln, St Paul's, Chichester, Wells, Bangor, Hereford, each with its sphere of influence, though all finally adopted that of Sarum; in smaller areas there were smaller variations to suit the local Feast Day, and so on. Shipping is constantly varying as we travel round the coast, in the smaller traders and fishing smacks; local character in build and rig tends to disappear under the influence of steam but has some chance of surviving due to the exigencies of trade and tide and shore. These instances are of interest as illustrative of a general tendency and as showing a history parallel with that of architecture. Finally there is Agriculture.

Agriculture is not merely illustrative; indeed the parallel is less exact than with those others. Unlike them it had a direct and very powerful effect on architecture through its creation of wealth by wool production, and what must perhaps be called its indirect effect by the manufacture of cloth, especially from the time of Edward III. Agriculture is the only activity that shows an actual increase in local variation in recent times, a phenomenon which affords some consolation to the traveller for its disappearance in so many other directions. This increase is due to improvements in transport, bringing distant markets within reach and thus allowing of specializing in crops for which the soil is suitable. In former times it would have been impossible that whole districts should be profitably given up to beet or to fruit and vegetables and bulbs while others were dairy lands and hop gardens. Farm implements, especially the plough and the cart, still vary a good deal.[1] Customary practice in ordinary routine probably varies considerably: we are told that in Ayrshire cows are milked from the near side. If local variation in stock shows no increase, it maintains, I understand, its position fairly well, though similar names for local breeds do not mean continuity of pedigree or similarity of character. The breeding of oxen for draught could hardly survive the coming of the Railway, but formerly it was of the greatest importance to the Building Trade. The draught horse was of two main strains: the Shire or Old English Black of the Shires and the sorrel-coloured Suffolk Punch. The coach horses of later times are said to have come from Yorkshire.

It was Sheep in particular and the variety and quality of the yield of yarn that gave England its wealth in the Middle Ages: for it was almost wholly for its fleece that the flock was valued: somewhat it is true for its manure, a little for its skins, and hardly at all as meat. The quality of the wool varied with the breed and the breed with the district. The small hardy sheep of the Rylands, between Severn and Wales, those of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, gave the best fleeces,

[1] *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xxxix. L. F. Newman, Rural craftsman and his tools.

which were exported in large quantities. The very finest and softest wool of all was, we were told by the late Rev. C. L. Acland, a member of our Society, plucked from the throat of the lamb.

> A gown made of the finest wool
> Which from our pretty lambs we pull.

The greatest cloth-making districts, at least after the beginning of the capitalist system in the latter part of the fourteenth century, were the Cotswolds, Yorkshire, and East Anglia, a fact which is clearly reflected in the architecture of those regions.

The great periods of Local Style were the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in church architecture and (though in a less pronounced degree) the sixteenth and seventeenth in domestic. In some respects it is visible from the first, but generally speaking there is a good deal of uniformity so far as locality is concerned in the early Middle Ages. It was only when forms became more elaborate that variety developed, or was indeed possible. When great quantities of stone were required for traceried window, for parapet and for pinnacle, economy was necessary where stone could not be got nearby, and where stone was cheap masonry developed. But that is only a part and a small part of the story. In other things than architecture development and elaboration seem invariably to take different directions in different localities; and thus there is variety in a ubiquitous material like timber no less than in masonry. The decline in distinctively regional character in architecture in the sixteenth century is clearly due to the great movements acting simultaneously which affected the course of architecture generally: the changes in social and economic conditions, the cessation of religious and hence of elaborate building, and the gradual introduction of Roman architecture.

But even at its zenith the local style affects only a small proportion of the buildings except in a very broad and general way; by far the greater number keep closely to the normal. This uniformity, though broken into by the individuality of the artist, is remarkable. But the explanation is probably not far to seek. It must be remembered that travel was by no means difficult in Medieval times. It is clear that the roads were very busy. 'Pilgrims from every shire's end to different shrines; friars, traders, officials of all sorts, and masons, most of these for short distances; nobles, ecclesiastics and the King himself for longer journeys; all conditions were constantly on the move. Such incessant travel would tend to spread ideas in a vague way. More definite particulars would be carried by the master masons who moved long distances; the latest technique would be carried by the journeyman, who we may surmise did not commonly range very far. But this travelling was always with a return ticket; it tended to spread ideas but by no means indicates permanent removal and thus a mingling of the races.

In a subject which is so far from an exact science it is very easy to over-classify, and thereby to confuse the view with a multiplicity of divisions and subdivisions. It is suggested that what may be called the primary sources of local variation may be limited to seven, without troubling about subdivisions. They may be arranged in a roughly chronological order: chronological in the order in which, except as regards the two last, they came into operation on architecture; by no means the same as their order of importance. Some are simple and limited in area, such as a small group of neighbouring parishes, showing examples of deliberate plagiarism; others, such as Race, affect a wider region but one without definite boundaries, so that we can only speak in such terms as the West Country or the Eastern Midlands. In all the sphere of influence is as vague in its limits as that of the local brewery of to-day.

I. *Geology and Geography* have their obvious direct action in the supply of building material and their effect on the accessibility or otherwise of a district. Perhaps even more important is their effect on agriculture, on trade, and on commerce, and thus indirectly, through wealth, on building. Cambridgeshire is very much influenced by geography in the existence of the Fen and in having architecturally powerful neighbours to east and west.

II. *Race.* This term is here used to distinguish the three broad divisions of British, Saxon and Scandinavian. Later infiltrations such as the Flemings may be included under The Foreigner. It is here taken as granted: first, that each race had its own character; second, that the movement of population till the close of the Middle Ages was negligible; for though travel was easy, change of residence was difficult. Till comparatively recently therefore the race-character, like the dialect, was preserved. Race influence, unlike the dialect, is not much in evidence in Cambridgeshire.

III. *Religion.* Religion begins, for the present purpose, with the Missions of St Augustine and St Aidan and of their immediate successors. It includes the influence of the religious bodies, secular and regular (some being more powerful here and some there), through their varying requirements and the example set by their great buildings, and through their position as large agriculturalists and capitalists and as patrons and impropriators of benefices. It includes the official power of the bishops and also their private action in numerous benefactions to their native places. Some of these results can be seen in our county.

IV. *The Foreigner.* This heading includes the results of the Norman Conquest, the settlements of the Flemings and Dutch at various periods, the work of the Italians in the reign of Henry VIII and later of the Germans, and at all times the constant unseen flow of ideas into the country from the Continent. Features introduced

from the Continent in late periods are numerous in Cambridgeshire and there are some examples of the actual handiwork of the foreigner.

V. *Agriculture, Trade and Wealth.* This includes as its most important section sheep rearing and cloth production, leading to the accumulation of wealth, the origins of the capitalist system, and the effect of the export trade on our ancient seaports. Not very marked in our county, though in the north we had some share in the prosperity of the Marshland; the effects of the variations in wealth within the area are interesting.

VI. *Conditions in the Building Trade.* The movement of masters and journeymen masons and carpenters and others; the specialists such as the makers of shrines, fonts, and of the greater monuments like the Eleanor Crosses; the shops for making such things in something like mass production. The working of stone at the quarry and its transport; the growth and haulage of timber; the system of timber building; land and water transport. The supply by the employer of his own materials or his purchases; contracts; seasonal building. All are to be seen at work here as in every county. Water transport was everywhere important and in Cambridgeshire very important.

VII. *Fashion.* The strongest of all influences. The foregoing classes attempt to suggest likely causes of fashions which are obvious and certain. In this class the word is used for want of a better in a different and the more ordinary sense and means merely doing a thing because others are doing it. It includes instinctive emulation and rivalry, the adoption of a general idea, and the deliberate copying of a particular building. All are rife everywhere and everywhen, and Cambridge University has some pretty examples to show.

Cambridgeshire

The counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon together form a geographically compact and roughly rectangular area without any marked separation, and they are linked politically and ecclesiastically. But architecturally both have so much in common with other neighbours, Huntingdon with those on the west and Cambridge with those on the east, that in any linking together of counties Cambridgeshire is rather to be considered along with East Anglia.

Cambridgeshire still forms, as it did to a remarkable degree in early times, a frontier or buffer state between east and west, owing to the physical character of the land. The northern part is Fen, fertile where drained but with villages far apart and for centuries in many parts impassable. The Fen itself consists of two sorts: the northern (about as far south as March), which being silt is the more fertile; and the south, which is peat. South-east of Cambridge there is open Chalk downland almost as far as the boundary of the county, which was

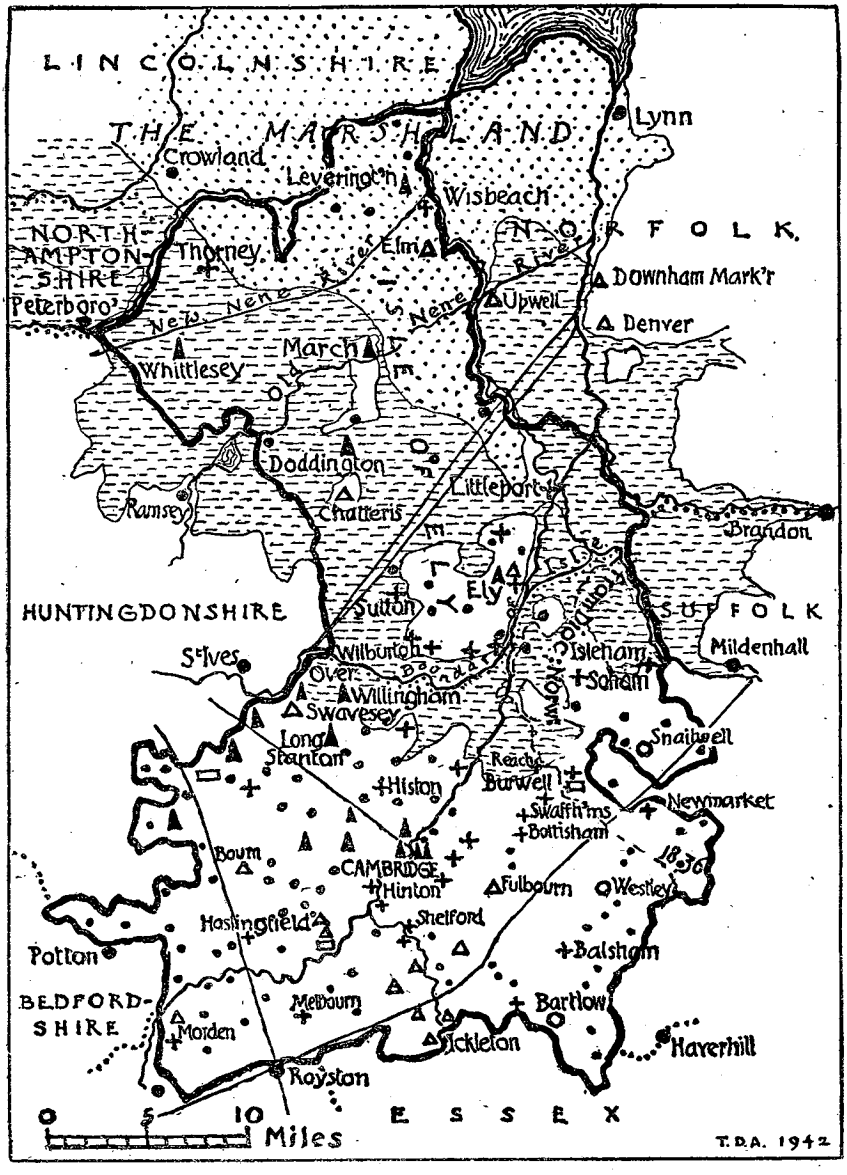


Fig. 1. Map of Cambridgeshire

Silt fen ▩ Peat fen ▤ Stone spire ▲ Lead spire △
Round tower ○ Notable church + Other villages ● Quarry ▭

clearly determined by the edge of the Essex[1] forest, which again was fixed by the change from chalk to clay. These two features left a comparatively small area of ordinary agricultural Claylands to the west and south-west of Cambridge and on the south-east.

The chalk supplies a good tough material for the core of walls and flints for facing or for building them. It is also excellent for internal masonry, and was so used in the parish churches; it was first-rate for delicate carving like that of the Lady Chapel at Ely. In early times the stone for dressings and for the ashlar facing of the Cathedral etc. was brought from Barnack, Kingscliffe and other quarries in the north of Northamptonshire. But unfortunately in the fourteenth century when architectural forms were becoming more elaborate this expensive material was often superseded by the easily worked Clunch, a variety of chalk, and consequently much of the window tracery and other features have perished. West of the Cam we are off the chalk and on the gault, a stiff clay from which our bricks are made. The Huntingdonshire border is defined by a band of Greensand containing a coarse brown sandstone, the Elsworth rock, which is used for building.

As to Race, we were well within the Danelaw, the boundary of which passed through Bedfordshire. But the infusion of Scandinavian blood was small, so far as can be judged from the Place-names,[2] as compared with Norfolk and Lincolnshire. As directly affecting the present subject it was perhaps not negligible; so far as it was felt it was perhaps chiefly through contact with the craftsmen of Norfolk and Suffolk, yet we had some of that mingling of blood which seems necessary for the production of great architecture. The Celtic[3] temperament, which has to be taken into account not only in Wales but in the Marches and in the Cornish Peninsula, does not affect us.

The absence of a reliable weather stone suitable for dressings is to some extent made up for by good waterways and a navigable river from Wisbech or Lynn to Cambridge, with branch lodes to Reach and to Swaffham Bulbeck. In South Cambridgeshire only about three villages lie at a distance of more than twelve miles from the quays at these three places. North Cambridgeshire is a network of waterways, natural and artificial. By these means stone could be brought from the Northamptonshire quarries, most of which were quite near water. The stone for Trinity College in 1560–1 was carted from the quarry at Weldon to Gunwell Ferry on the river near Peterborough, a distance of ten miles, for four shillings a ton. Thence it was taken by water, for which Robert Lukas was paid not quite sixpence a ton, and

[1] The names of the following parishes in this corner of the county have an element referring to woodlands: Ashley, Bartlow, Brinkley, Cheveley, Silverley, Westley, Wood Ditton, Dullingham Ley. On the greensand border of the west are Childerley, Graveley, Hatley, Madingley.

[2] *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, Pt. I, Ed. Mawer and Stenton, 1933.

[3] A. Gray, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. xv (1911), pp. 42 seqq.

the distance was at least sixty miles.[1] For Corpus Christi, in 1583–4, the stone went by road from Kingscliffe to Gunwell and was taken thence by water by "Edw. Buck of March in ye Isle of Elye Keleman[2]". He got three shillings a ton, but the load was a small one.[3] At the same time Sussex marble was brought from London by the famous "Tho. Hobson ye Cariar" at two shillings a hundredweight. Stourbridge and Reach Fairs were markets for timber; the prior and convent of Ely got their timber there; it is possible that there was something of a trade in timber all the year round.

The southern part of the county, surrounded by the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Bedford and Huntingdon, was affected by the strong architectural character of most of them. The south-west was the part that was most highly assessed in the first half of the fourteenth century, below a line through Over, Willingham, Cottenham, Landbeach, Fulbourn and Balsham.[4] The Fen, spreading somewhat beyond the borders of the county to east and west and far to the north, was dotted with islands giving favourable secluded sites for religious houses. The Isle was much nearer both geographically and architecturally to Norfolk, to the Marshland generally and to Northamptonshire than to the County Town; the churches of Wisbech, Leverington, Whittlesey and other places are the result. In the Middle Ages there were no industries.[5]

Several of the finest churches are on the edge of the Fen right across the county from Isleham to Fen Drayton. The parishes no doubt benefited by the fertility of what is now called 'skirtland'. Besides this they had the important advantage of water-carriage from Lynn and the waterways leading thence from the Northamptonshire quarries. It must be remembered that at one time fifteen of its parishes were in the diocese of Norwich and some in the county of Suffolk:[6] this for what it is worth, for it is difficult to generalize on the extent to which changes in architectural style coincide with county and diocesan boundaries. Isleham, with the adjoining parish of Freckenham in Suffolk, was a Peculiar in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rochester; Bishop Hamo de Hythe rebuilt the chancel in 1331.

[1] Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist. Univ. Camb.* vol. II, pp. 566–7.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 293. A keel is a flat-bottomed river barge. Mr L. F. Salzman's collections include particulars of different types of boats, *Documentary History of Medieval Building* (MS. in Library of Soc. of Antiq. Lond.).

[3] Willis and Clark, vol. I, p. 293.

[4] H. C. Darby, *Medieval Fenland*, 1940, and *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XXXVI (1936), giving vivid pictures drawn from dry statistics.

[5] For Fisheries and Reed-beds see H. C. Darby, *op. cit.*

[6] A. Hamilton Thompson in *Official Handbook: 1300th Anniversary Norwich Diocese*, 1930, p. 28. The parishes transferred from Norwich to Ely in 1836 were Ashley, Cheveley, Kirtling, Newmarket All Saints, Silverley, Wood Ditton, Burwell St Andrew, Burwell St Mary, Chippenham, Fordham, Kennett, Landwade, Snailwell, Soham, Wicken.

In the west of the county we have a style approximating to that of the county of Huntingdon and (less so) of Northampton. Stone spires are found in this part right up to the bank of the Cam, but only one crosses the river; Willingham and Over (pl. I) are good examples. The church of Over, a border parish of no great size, is of West Country finish in its masonry; it belonged to the great abbey of Ramsey, which may perhaps be given the credit for it; its porch has, outside, a group of shafts at the angles like the Ely Galilee. Willingham has over its vestry a stone roof built in courses carried on arches

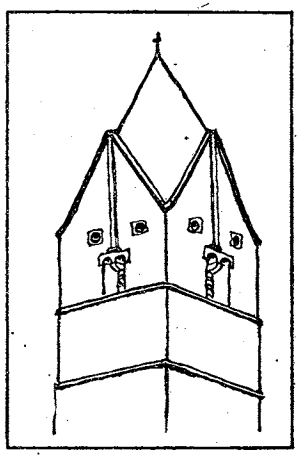


Fig. 2. Cambridge, St Bene't's. Steeple as restored by Dr F. J. Allen.

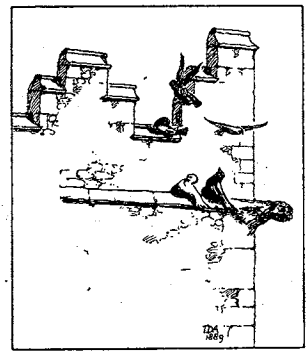


Fig. 3. Teversham Church. Stepped parapet of East Anglia.

such as is found in Northamptonshire. Bourn has a fine tower with the stair turret rising above the parapet as in the Home Counties, but the lead spire introduces us to the group of small timber spires which characterizes the south-west corner of the county where it joins Hertfordshire and Essex. This group laps round the south of Cambridge as far as Fulbourn. The next church to that is Teversham, which has the stepped parapet of Norfolk and Suffolk, as has Horseheath on the Suffolk border.

In the south Haslingfield and Melbourn have fine towers, very much alike. Dr Allen, whose valuable work contains a good deal about local influences, may be quoted on Haslingfield (pl. II): "The one first-class tower in Cambridgeshire, faultless alike in detail and composition. The style is Perpendicular of the Northants. type. The details are related to those of Aldwinkle All Saints (near Thrapston), St Ives, Thaxted in Essex (an exotic tower from Northants.) and St Neots, but the crenellated turrets are like those of Ely. The towers of Newport in Essex and of Saffron Walden (with modern spire) appear to have been designed by the same artist as Haslingfield."[1] Dr Allen

[1] *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XIII (1909), p. 217.

thinks that the small lead spire of Haslingfield is an earlier one cut down; the tower has a Norfolk feature in the square window of the middle stage. Dr Lloyd tells us that the Melbourn tower is of about 1500[1] (pl. VI). The stair turret is square as in some few other parts of the country but not in Cambridgeshire. At Bartlow, Westley Waterless and Snailwell (pl. III) in the south-east corner of the county the round towers of East Anglia might seem to have strayed across the border; but the first-named is partly in Essex, while the last was till lately in the diocese of Norwich.

At Cambridge itself conditions were different. It is in the centre of the county (excluding the Isle) so that, in regard to their power of exerting influence, all neighbour counties started at scratch. And the University was recruited from every part of England. Thus the Regents were constantly tending to bring in new ideas which ultimately coalesced to form the traditional local version of the latest Gothic and of Tudor. In the introduction of new ideas, however, the individual benefactor, great or small, is likely to have had the greater influence by the employment of a master mason from a distance; thus Hervey de Stanton rebuilt St Michael's Church between 1323 and 1327: its somewhat advanced tracery is perhaps explained by supposing it to be quarry worked. The accomplished work at Little St Mary's Church and the chancel of Grantchester suggest single benefactors. The same is probably true of the county generally. The tower of Balsham Church may be due to Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely 1257–86, and the rest of the church to John de Sleford. Bottisham Church is of the time of Elyas de Beckingham and Burwell is of that of John Benet; Conington nave was probably built by one of the squires; and so on.[2] The donors to Burwell and Isleham are duly recorded on the buildings. At Ely Cathedral Bishop Eustace's Galilee, Bishop Hotham's three bays and the chapels of Alcock and West are each in marked contrast with contemporary works there. The churches of Borough Green in the east and Longstowe in the west provide a late instance: the two places belonged to the family of Cage from 1574 till 1668; at both the south aisle is finished with a row of three gables facing south.[3]

It would be interesting to compare the extent to which the architectural ideas of the eighteenth-century church penetrated into different counties. But this is not possible, for almost all the work of that period has been destroyed within the last hundred years. There was at least one notable instance in our own county, that of West Wratting: a small medieval church[4] which had been transformed into

[1] *Ibid.* vol. XXIX (1928), p. 61.

[2] The fine Histon transepts (pl. XVII) were presumably built for Philip de Colville, *c.* 1280. (*Chs. of Cambs.*, Camb. Camden Soc. 1845.)

[3] Palmer, *History of Borough Green*, C.A.S. 8vo Publ. No. LIV (1939).

[4] Chancel, nave and west tower. The side windows wide and round-headed, the east window (I think) "Venetian". The walls divided into large plaster

the Roman manner—very culpably, you will say, but very beautifully, I retort; a work such as this must almost certainly have been due to a single donor, Sir John Jacob, Bt., the Squire[1] (d. 1740). There is a little good work in wood (fragments) and stone at Ely. The fine arch in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology was the central part of the Inigo Jones screen at Winchester.

We have now to notice some examples of style peculiar to Cambridgeshire and its neighbour counties.

There are or were nine examples, perhaps more, in the eastern part of the county, of the Octagonal Steeple. They are either (*a*) octagonal

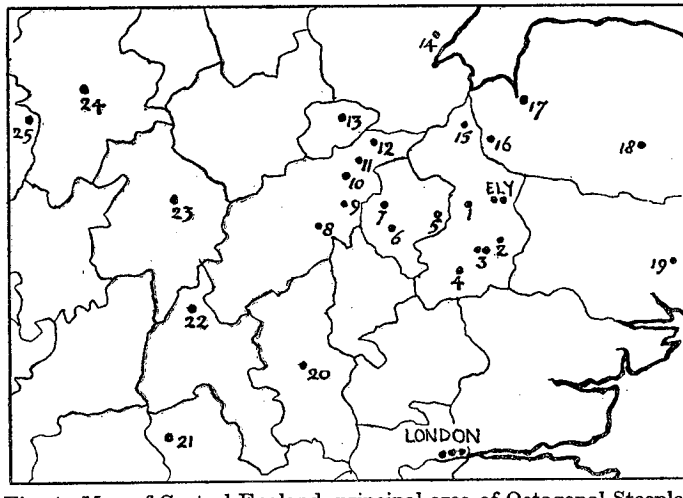


Fig. 4. Map of Central England, principal area of Octagonal Steeple.

for their whole height, or (*b*) only in the upper stage; in the latter case the octagon may either (1) emerge gradually from the square, or (2) form an independent part of the composition; but as usual in such classifications the classes merge into one another. The Cambridgeshire examples are Great Shelford in the south; Burwell, two at the adjoining village of Swaffham Prior, and one at Wood Ditton in the east; one at Cambridge; one at Sutton-in-the-Isle; and two at Ely. These form a compact south-eastern group of the whole Eastern

panels with bolection (projecting) mouldings. The chancel arch round, of exquisite proportion and refined detail. The ceiling coved(?) and with a very handsome modillion cornice. The font a small marble bowl on a baluster shaft like Wren's—so indeed was the whole church. The floor (I think) black and white marble. Hardly a fragment of Gothic detail remained; but see *Eccl. Arch. Topog.* It is now Gothic of about 1900, as immaculate as it is dull.

[1] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* Several other examples of "Grecian" work recorded in *Eccl. Arch. Topog. of Engl.* 1852 have no doubt been purged.

Midland district in which this class is found. It appears to contain a larger number than any other single county and possesses in the central tower of Ely Cathedral the outstanding example in the whole of England, of the group which is octagonal from the ground.

The west steeple of Ely has a fifteenth-century lantern[1] and four detached turrets on a twelfth-century square tower (pl. IV), much in the manner of Barnack in Northamptonshire, which has an earlier octagon on a still earlier square. Sutton (pl. V) belongs to both (1) and (2) classes. Burwell west tower (pl. VI) is exactly on the pattern of Wymondham in Norfolk, but is inferior to it, the bell-chamber window being absurdly small and low down. In both, the windows are on the cardinal faces and there is a buttress in the middle of each alternate side: a cheap substitute for the turrets of Ely. In size and quality Burwell is more like Upwell, also in Norfolk and near Wisbech; at Upwell the buttresses are omitted, but there are good windows apparently only to east and west. Swaffham Prior has two churches (pl. V). St Mary's is important because of its early date and its elaboration: a square base with an octagonal upper storey, both twelfth century, and formerly a sixteen-sided top stage of doubtful date; there are no buttresses. St Cyriac's[2] is fifteenth century: a square base the height of the nave roof with an octagonal upper part with a buttress and pinnacle at each corner, like the lantern of Fotheringhay.

At Cambridge a sixteen-sided bell-tower was built over the circular triforium of Holy Sepulchre Church (fig. 5); the old views hardly allow one to judge the date of this addition. Eight sides had two-light windows and there were buttresses in the middle of the remaining eight sides very much in the manner of the south-west turret of the west transept in Ely Cathedral and St Mary's, Swaffham Prior. At the old church of St Andrew the Great in Cambridge some form of octagonal lantern seems to have been begun.

Most of these octagonal top-stages were bell-chambers. Both the central and western lanterns at Ely and the new work at the Round Church at Cambridge had bells hanging in them, and it is recorded that five bells hung in St Mary's, Swaffham Prior; in many no doubt, as at the Ely west tower, the weight of the bells falls on the lower square part. Ely's west octagon had a delicate lead spire, and it is likely that one was intended on the central lantern, perhaps on the lines of that at East Harling, Norfolk (28 miles). Burwell has a small spire on an open lantern; at Sutton a second octagon was added and Upwell has a tall lead spire; Barnack, the centre of a stone district, has a stone one. With this group it is perhaps allowable to connect the

[1] *Lantern* is here used in its modern sense of a superstructure, generally octagonal, probably so-called from its resemblance to a portable hand-lantern. In the Middle Ages it meant a central tower open to the church and thus giving light to the crossing, as Old St Paul's, York Minster and Durham Cathedral.

[2] The dedications of these two churches are transposed by some authors.

hexagonal upper stage of the Gate of Honour, 1575, and the stair turret of the Gate of Wisdom.

In its origin this form of steeple is unquestionably continental. But its introduction into England and its greater popularity in one region than in others are matters left to the learned to expound.

The revision of boundaries mentioned above perhaps explains why several important churches have a decidedly East Anglian character: Burwell and Soham and Isleham with large and lofty aisle windows

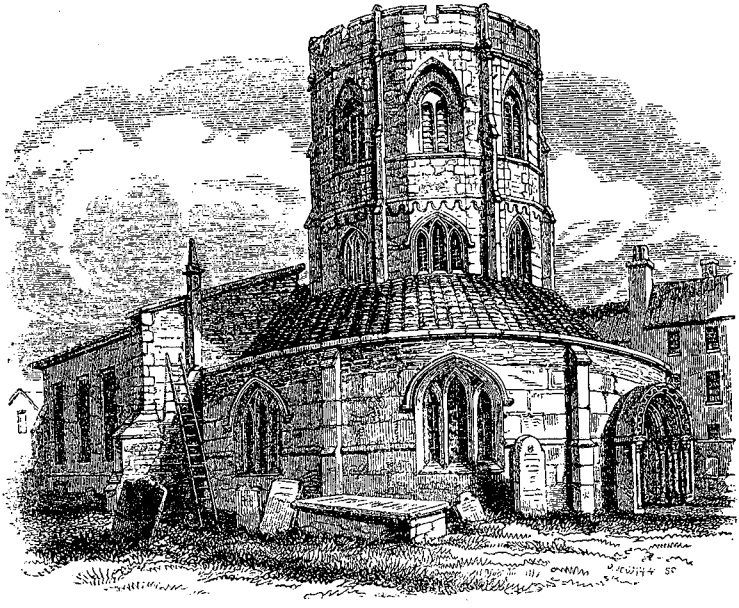


Fig. 5. Cambridge, Holy Sepulchre Church. Polygonal bell-chamber of Ely transept type.

and bold clearstoreys. The fine early fourteenth-century church of Bottisham is an exception; it seems rather to show western influence; so does the vestry of Willingham and so does the church of Over, and perhaps also St Mary the Less, Cambridge. The old vaulted chancel, destroyed in 1834, of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, is of the West, unless it be due to some French influence; the church previous to 1834 was an example of a rebuilding by a wealthy parish while the impropriating religious house[1] failed in regard to the chancel (pl. VII). The tower of Soham has an East Anglian version of a West Country parapet[2] (pl. VIII).

[1] West Dereham, Norfolk (Premonstratensian). The rebuilding was probably paid for by the gilds of which there were at least six.—*Memorials.*

[2] F. J. Allen, *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XIII (1909), p. 217.

At Stretham, south of Ely, there is one of the few village crosses in the land which have been preserved: the head is a square block with a shallow niche for a statuette in relief on each face: a treatment of cross-head now rarely used though more manageable than any other. The wide-spreading flight of steps has been disastrously removed;[1] the total height is about 24 ft. The style cannot be connected with any particular district and it is mentioned here only because standing crosses were seldom spared in the Eastern Counties. It is well placed in the middle of the road from Cambridge to Ely.

Fig. 6. Cambridge, St Botolph's Church.
Compound octagonal buttress irregularly set out (cf. pl. X).

At Ely and thence northwards the style is that of the Marshland, which is also a border district with characteristics of its eastern and western neighbours.

The Cathedral in particular seems to focus the styles of both regions. The plan with two axial towers was a national tradition, but the western transept and the continuous aisle across the ends of the main transept were brought by the first Norman abbot from Winchester; the remains at Bury St Edmunds show a similar west-façade. The accomplished masonry of several parts, especially

[1] New steps have, I understand, been provided.

perhaps the Lady Chapel and Alcock's and West's Chapels, is of the West, but the lofty spired turrets which flank the eastern chapels characterize a wide area in the eastern parts of England.[1] The west porch is such a rare feature that it may be noticed. It was of two storeys. Other west porches near by are Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, and Crowland, Lincolnshire, also with upper storeys, and Snettisham, Norfolk, of the narthex sort across the end of the church.

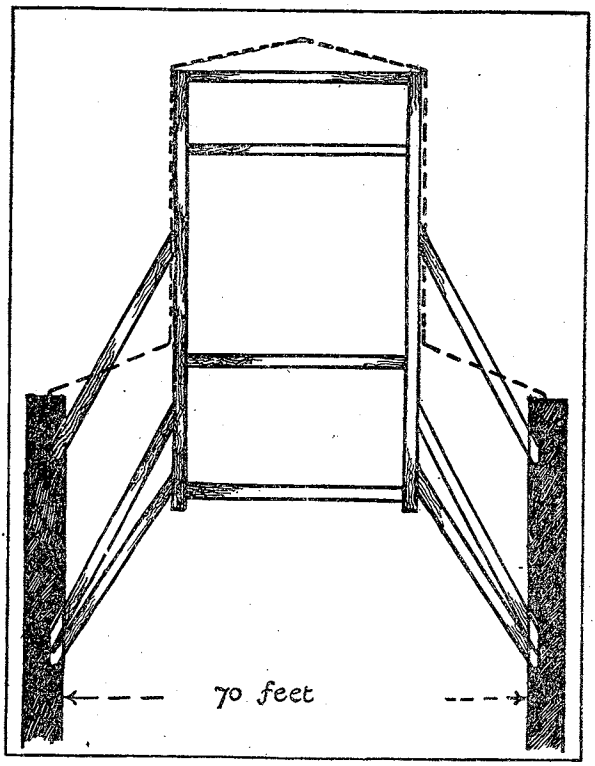


Fig. 7. Ely Cathedral, Construction of Lantern.

Three lower horizontals are framing (seen in elevation) of octagonal perimeter; two upper are floor and roof framing (in section); broken line shows roof-covering and casing.

The original twelfth-century west tower of Ely has octagonal buttresses, forming one of the Fenland Group of this class of tower.[2] One side of each octagon is quite covered with half-round columns running from bottom to top; this curious and unusual treatment is

[1] Norfolk: Wiggenhall St Mary Magdalene; Terrington St Clement; Walpole St Peter; Yarmouth. Northants: Rothwell. Lincs: Heckington.

[2] St Mary's, Sutton, Lincolnshire, and West Walton and Walsoken, Norfolk.

found at St Margaret's, King's Lynn, twenty-three miles to the north, and at Thorney Abbey, the same distance to the north-west. The cusped bull's-eyes or roundels at the very top are more important; they may be compared with the plain circles in a like position in the very remarkable composition of the central tower of Norwich Cathedral (pl. IX), in the tower of Heacham, Norfolk, and the small holes in the pre-Conquest St Bene't's, Cambridge (fig. 2), and other places, chiefly in the eastern and south-eastern parts of England.

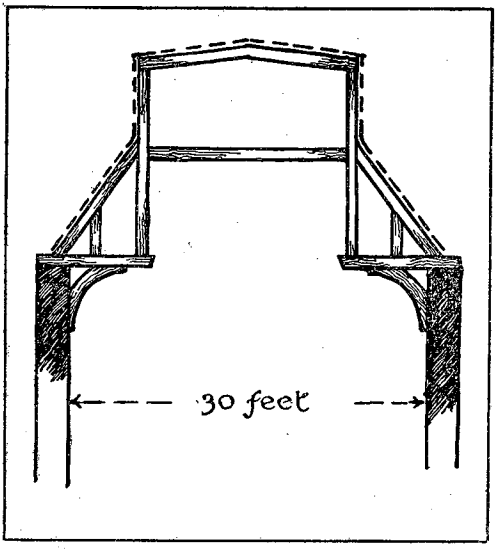


Fig. 8. Needham Market.
Nave roof for comparison with Ely Lantern.

Octagonal buttresses are found again at Cambridge, but with a variation; at Great St Mary's (pl. X) and at St Botolph's (fig. 6) they have square buttresses set against their cardinal faces; at St Botolph's the octagons are irregular and both they and the square buttresses stop at the level of the bell-frame, due perhaps to want of skill in geometry in the first instance and of funds when the top stage was built.

Returning to the north: we find in the Masonry strong Western influence. Whittlesey (pl. XI) has one of the handsomest steeples in England with a crocketed spire and pinnacles. It owes something to Northamptonshire, for instance the placing of the spire-lights on cardinal faces only and the use of clasping buttresses. The constantly changing plan of the buttresses suggests the absence of a strong school of steeple builders with definite traditions of its own. Leverington also has a spire; it is simpler; it belongs to a small group of towers

with turret-like battlemented pinnacles which characterize this part of the country; here and in some other examples the placing is not very well managed. The south porch is rich and notable Midland Counties work. Leverington was a very prosperous place (pl. XII).

Mingling with the masonry of the West is a no less distinct school of Eastern Counties Carpentry. This is particularly evident in the

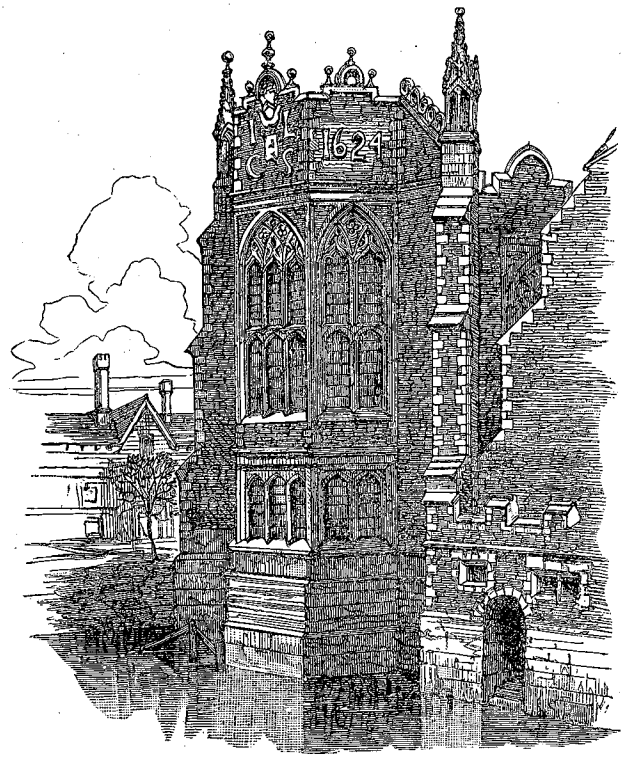


Fig. 9. Cambridge, St John's College.
End of Library showing gable of kerb roof.

roofs both of the parish churches and of the Ely buildings. The extraordinarily bold construction of the Ely Lantern (1334–6) is the forerunner of the roofs of Norfolk and Suffolk; it is by Master William Hurle, who had worked on the King's Palace at Westminster and at London Guildhall and had now risen to distinction. The construction should be compared with the nave of Needham Market Church in Suffolk.

The roofs of the Cathedral transept and Galilee were remarkable in having truncated apexes, but they have all been destroyed. There is

still a roof of this sort with principals of arched form over the Prior's Hall (pl. XIII), and we may take this small roof to be by an Eastern Counties craftsman notwithstanding the use of wind-braces.[1] This truncated form of roof (a 'kerb' roof) seems to belong to the east; it is found at Landbeach and Willingham Churches, ten miles away to the south, at the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, at Polstead in Suffolk, on the Hall of Hampton Court and the Chapter House of Canterbury and elsewhere. The present transept roofs are hammer-beam of very simple design and of Norfolk character: that is to say, without collars.

The nave roof is probably the largest or one of the largest trussed-rafter roofs in England; it has a span of 33 ft.; it is without tie-beams, and is 200 ft. long; it is probably of the thirteenth century. Ely must have been rich in interesting roofs before the Suppression; that over the thirteenth-century Frater had a span 2 ft. greater than the nave.[2] The Guest House (now the Deanery), as wide as the nave, has a roof of very bold construction; the principals, arched up to the collar, are 15 ft. apart and the purlin is therefore provided with large wind-braces; this roof was hardly up to its work. The Black Hostry, with a timber upper storey, has a trussed rafter roof with tie-beams and king-post. The cross-braces from the king-post spring from the capital in the usual way, but the longitudinal braces to the central purlin spring from the base of the post: an heterodox arrangement adding greatly to the stiffness of the roof and speaking of some originality in the designer.

The fine double hammer-beam roofs of March (pl. XIV) and Elm are doubtless the work of Suffolk men. Willingham and Landbeach nave roofs seem clearly to be old roofs re-used (figs. 10, 11). Landbeach has heavy tie-beam principals but with hammer-beam intermediates. Willingham, on the Huntingdonshire border, has a good double hammer-beam roof which formerly had three tiers of angels. This is said to have been brought from Barnwell Abbey[3] and cut down to fit a narrow nave. This kind of statement has always to be received with caution, but is clearly true in this case considering the elaborate and massive construction with a span of less than 18 ft. The roof is out of place in a West Cambridgeshire village, but would be appropriate in an important monastery in Cambridge, and it has been put together in a clumsy way. It belongs to the Norfolk class, the central arch rising to the ridge without a collar. The north aisle of Haslingfield has a Norfolk roof, but it is rather early and the tracery is clumsy (pl. XV).

Most of the parish churches have either flat roofs with tie-beams or

[1] Wind-braces are more necessary in this form of roof than in the ordinary kind. They were little used in the Eastern Counties.

[2] But it may have been subdivided into two or three spans by one or two colonnades.

[3] *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. IX, p. 20.

high-pitched of trussed-rafter form with waggon ceilings. Of one or the other sort are most of the town churches and college buildings. Many of the ceilings have been destroyed, to the grievous injury of the buildings as a whole; one of the most disastrous was the case of the noble basilica-like nave of Ickleton.

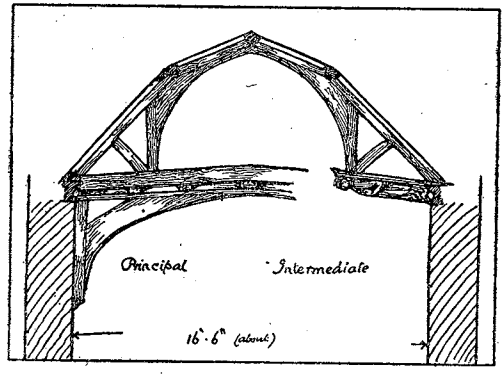


Fig. 10. Landbeach Church.
Nave roof with trusses alternately hammer-beam and tie-beam. A kerb roof.

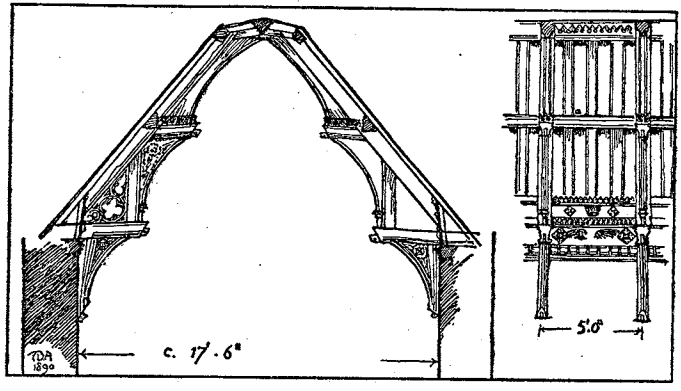


Fig. 11. Willingham Church.
Nave roof. Double hammer-beam and kerb.

The nave-roof of All Saints in the Jewry in Cambridge was of double hammer-beam construction; on the destruction of the church it was placed over Wendy Church. The roofs of Stourbridge Chapel on the outskirts of Cambridge have pseudo-arched principals, the upper part of the arch being omitted and there being no collar; they are thus of decidedly Norfolk character. They were probably made between

1388 and 1425.[1] Cotman's drawing seems to show remains of painted decoration on the wall-pieces, braces and wall-plates (fig. 12). The

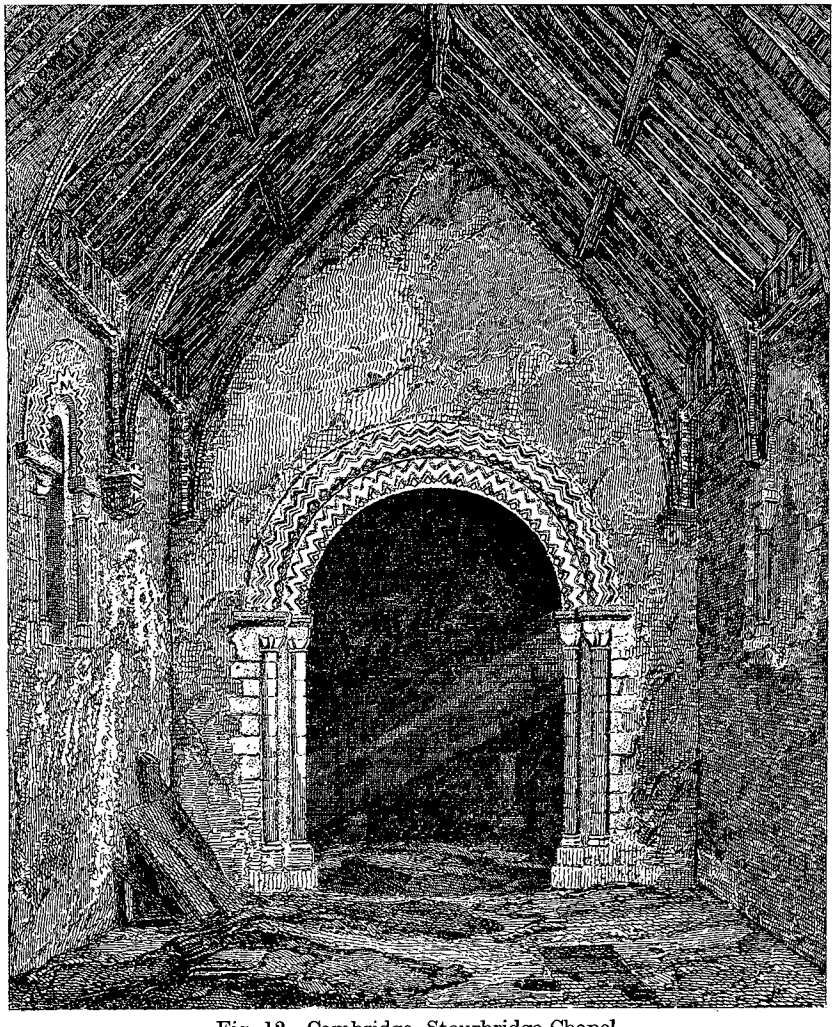


Fig. 12. Cambridge, Stourbridge Chapel.
Arch-braced Norfolk roof.

Histon nave and aisle roofs appear to have been similar. The roof of the Hall of Trinity College (pl. XVI) seems to be copied from Grays Inn Hall.

[1] *Ibid.* vol. XXVII (1927), C. H. Jones, p. 135. The dates quoted are the episcopate of John Fordham.

Among Foreigners the Italian craftsmen of the 1517–1547 period left their mark. The stalls and screen of King's College Chapel show Italian detail, and there is a trace of it in the stonework of Bishop West's Chapel at Ely Cathedral. The stone vault is pure Italian and one of the most important works they left in England. The Chapel was built by the Bishop in his lifetime and seems to have been completed about the time of his death in 1533. It is of interest to note that when Bishop Fisher was building the chapel and tomb for himself in St John's College Chapel between 1525 and 1533 the accounts (for 1524–5) contain the following: "Item gyffin to the Master mason of Ely for drawing a drawght for my lordes tumbe and for his avyse of the chapell, iij s. iiij d."[1] A sketch (reproduced by Willis and Clark) of the tomb made by Essex before its destruction in the eighteenth century shows a purely Italian design. In 1532–3 (two years before the Bishop's death) a payment is made "to Mr Lee the freemason for makyng and settyng upp the tumbe, vj li. xiij s. iiij d. Item to Mr Lee the freemason in full payment for my lordes tumbe and for stone to the same tumbe, iiij li."

The influence of the Italians is seen in the frieze of one of the clunch overmantel pieces of John Veysy's house,[2] now at Madingley Hall, perhaps carved by an Englishman.

There are some examples of the influence of Dutch settlers as well as of the spread of their influence from Norfolk, such as the curved gable and details of the brickwork. At Fen Drayton there is a house bearing the inscription "1713/NIET/ZONDER/ARBYT": "Nothing without work"; given by Mr Cudworth in his valuable article on Flemish Influence.[3]

Illustrations of what are here briefly called Trade Conditions are found here and there. At Cambridge in the first half of the thirteenth century there appears to have flourished a master mason who left his mark on four buildings. He had a fancy for the then old fashion of intersecting arches, and he used them for the double piscina five times in four churches with only slight variations in detail: the quire of St Radegund's now Jesus College (fig. 13), the Hospital of St John now St John's College, two at Histon Church three miles out of Cambridge (pl. XVII), and Longstanton St Michael three miles further on. The same arrangement is to be seen at Leighton Bromswold in Huntingdonshire, twenty miles away, and at Barnston next Dunmow, Essex, twenty-eight miles. The treatment is different from the usual twelfth-century intersecting arcade in which each arch passes in front of one of its neighbours and behind the other; our Cambridge mason made each moulding intersect with the corresponding member of both adjoining arches, the rolls of one crossing the hollows of the other. In two of these buildings, Jesus College and Histon Church,

[1] Willis and Clark, vol. II, p. 282.

[2] *C.A.S. Comm.* vol. VII (1893).

[3] *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XXXVII (1937).

he has the unusual arrangement of two seats at different levels under a single arch of the sedilia. Here may be recorded, as another example of trade conditions, the mason's templates at St Wendred's,

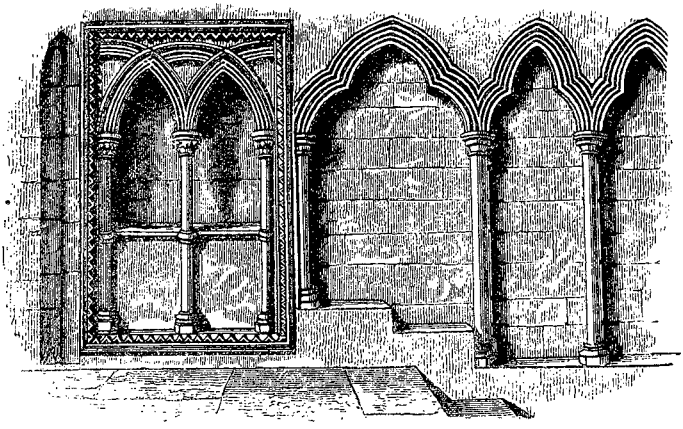


Fig. 13. Cambridge, Jesus College Chapel.
Piscina, repeated elsewhere in neighbourhood; two sedilia under one arch (cf. pl. XVII).

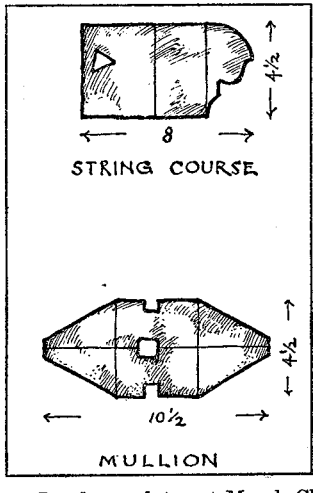


Fig. 14. Lead templates at March Church.

March; although they have no direct bearing on local style such things are so rare that no apology need be made for illustrating them (fig. 13).

Another local mannerism attributable to the master mason is the Bay Wall-arcade as I call it for want of a better name. It consists of a series of large shallow recesses on the inner face of the wall. These are quite different from the ordinary wall-arcade some 8 ft. high with arches of about 4 ft. span. The Bay Wall-arcade has a spacing equal to that of the buttresses or roof principals and rises to the wall-plate. There are good examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at Ely (pl. XVIII), Wilburton, Sutton and Histon, and there is another group of four which appear to be thirteenth century in Huntingdonshire, averaging twenty-five miles from Ely.[1] The idea is unquestionably that of the mason: it is not the sort of thing that would occur to the employer, either clerk or layman, or make much appeal to him. The master masons in these two counties must have been in touch with those who were doing the same thing in Kent and east Surrey.

Under this head of Trade Conditions come the men responsible for the design of building: masons, carpenters, builders, architects, call them what we will. They are fully dealt with by Willis and Clark[2] and only a few of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, when distinct personalities begin to emerge, need be recalled here together with their birth-place, as being pertinent to our subject. Ralph Symons, who appears in 1584, was from Berkhampstead, Hertfordshire. With him worked Gilbert Wigge. John Westley's family may have been of Westley Waterless near the Suffolk border of our county or of Westley near Bury. In the seventeenth century flourished Thomas and John Grumbold; they were from Raunds in Northamptonshire, where the family seems to have been well established; the place was well known for its rag-stone quarries and the county for its freestone. William Grumbold,[3] mason, had worked on Great St Mary's Church in 1593. Sir James Burrough, an amateur architect, was the son of a doctor of Bury; James Essex of a Cambridge builder. The influence of these men and of their predecessors, such men as well-known Master William Hurle who constructed the Lantern of Ely, must have been very great.

The monks of Ely used bricks at an early time. At first they were imported from Flanders, but in the first half of the fourteenth century the monks dug clay in a pit near the city and made their own bricks.

[1] At Ely the Prior's Hall and Audit Room (eighth canonry) and the Queen's Hall (Headmaster's House), all about 1320. At Wilburton Church (5 miles), and at Sutton (6 miles) the arcades are continued all round the church. At Histon Church the arcades formerly ran round both transepts, mid-thirteenth-century, the richest example. The Huntingdonshire examples are at Great Gidding, Hemingford Abbots, Molesworth and Woolley.

[2] Willis and Clark, vol. III, pp. 529–46. See also Mr L. F. Salzman, as above.

[3] J. E. Foster, *Churchwardens' Accounts, Great St Mary's*, C.A.S. 8vo Publ. No. xxxv, p. 248.

These were chiefly for internal use, presumably because they made a better surface than chalk or flint for plastering. At St Mary the Less, Cambridge, brick is used for the vault under the sacristy built in the first half of the fourteenth century. At that time the church served as the chapel of Peterhouse, founded by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, and no doubt the bricks were sent upstream from Ely by the influence of one of Hugh's successors.

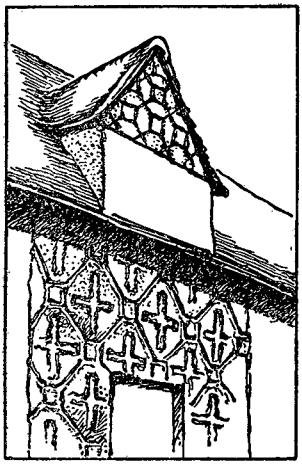


Fig. 15. Cambridge. Pargetting, Wrestlers Inn. Destroyed.

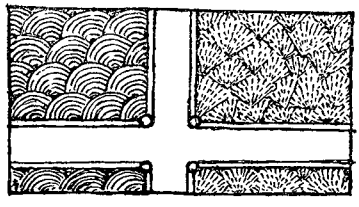


Fig. 16. Pargetting. Common diaper patterns.

Brickwork is described in a seventeenth-century contract as a facing, the wall being clunch: "the outward walls of the said building shall be of bricke on the outside filled or layed with white stone".[1] This was no doubt the general practice.

It is doubtful when the manufacture of bricks began in Cambridge. They were brought from West Stow in Suffolk, about twenty miles away, for St John's College in 1598[2] and from Ely for Clare Hall in 1638.[3] In all Cambridge buildings stone is freely used for dressings; there is none wholly of brick like Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk. There is an example of the brick corbel-table with trefoil arches, used so freely at Oxburgh Hall (*c.* 1480) and at Hadleigh, Suffolk (*c.* 1490), on the thick north wall of John Veysy's house (1538) at the south-east corner of the Market Place. I recall no instance of terra cotta.

There is now little ancient Timber Building, great quantities in Cambridge and the country round having been destroyed in recent years. At Ely several of the monastic buildings were wholly or partly

[1] Contract for Perse Building, Gonville and Caius College, 1617, printed in Venn, *Gonville and Caius College*, p. 270.

[2] Willis and Clark, vol. II, p. 251.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 93, 94.

of timber; one window of the fourteenth century with elaborate tracery has survived, not *in situ*. But similar work is found in other parts of the country.[1] Such timber framing as there is follows, as one would expect, the Eastern Counties system of plain uprights close together: none of the elaboration of the West. Many of the earlier timber-built houses, now entirely covered with plaster, doubtless showed their timbering originally.

Decorative pargeting is now the characteristic wall-covering of timber buildings, showing the Essex influence. In such a dry climate, tile-hanging was not needed. The decoration of the plaster is of two sorts: in one a bold geometrical pattern like an enlargement of that used for the glazing of Elizabethan houses is impressed on a rough surface; in the other the wall-surface is divided into large panels by smooth bands about 6 in. wide, each panel being filled with a diaper, of which several patterns were in general use (figs. 15, 16).

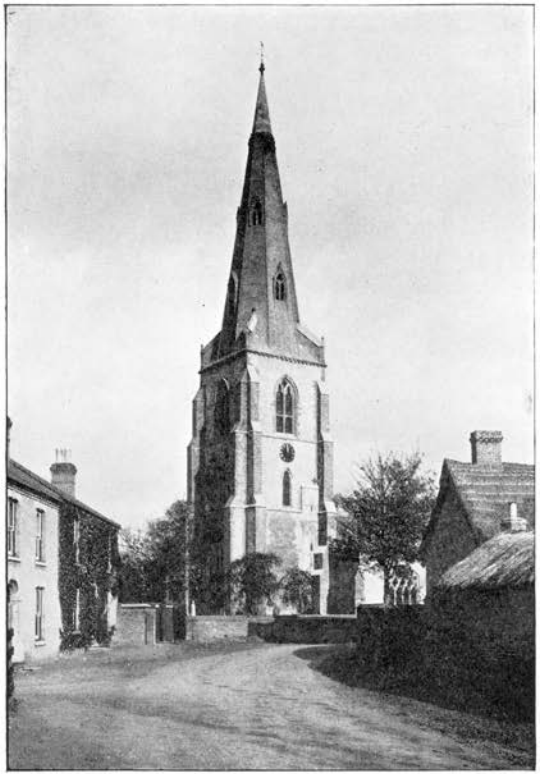
The practice of frankly making one building an imitation of another was very common in the Middle Ages, and there are several instances of it at Cambridge. The chancel screen and rood-loft at Great St Mary's Church is a well-known case. It was to be partly like that at Thriplow (8 miles) and partly like Gazeley in Suffolk (18 miles). At St John's College the rood-loft and stalls were made by Thomas Loveday of Sudbury according to or better than those at Jesus and Pembroke; the gates of the college were simply to be "better than ony Gats be wythin ony College in Cambr'."[2]

The tendency of Cambridgeshire buildings to take the colour of the neighbouring county is due partly to this practice of deliberate copying and partly to sending to a distance for a craftsman; the example of Great St Mary's Church copying Gazeley is instructive. The screen work of churches cannot be included in these notes and it has already been dealt with fully by Mr F. Bligh Bond.[3] Church benches generally have a strong local style and those of Cambridgeshire mostly follow the Midland tradition of a simple square panelled end. At Swaffham Bulbeck, close to the Suffolk border, there are beautiful bench-ends of Suffolk character and evidently the work of an expert Suffolk joiner; those at Histon are like them; Alcock's woodwork in Jesus College Chapel is also Suffolk joinery; Willis and Clark tell us that Suffolk carpenters were frequently employed on University buildings. When in 1604 Trinity College was proposing to build a new Hall the Bursar was sent to London to view and measure several halls so that that which had the best proportions might be copied. The one chosen was Middle Temple Hall in regard to its general lines: both

[1] At, e.g., Shrewsbury and Oswestry.

[2] Willis and Clark, vol. II, p. 244. The large collection of evidence from medieval documents made by Mr John H. Harvey throws much light on the personalities of medieval craftsmen and on the conduct of medieval building work and should certainly be published immediately on the return of peace.

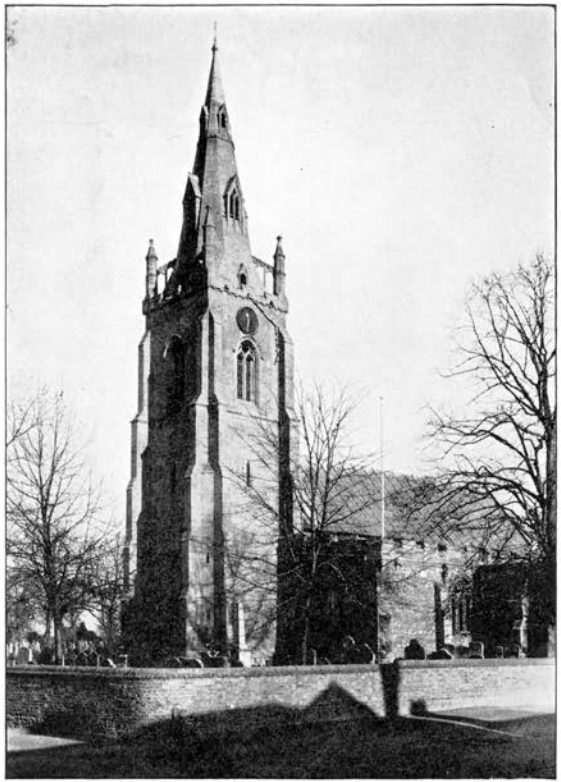
[3] *Proc. C.A.S.* vol. XII, p. 285; vol. XIII, p. 31.



F. J. Allen

OVER CHURCH: STEEPLE.

Spire shows influence of Huntingdonshire.



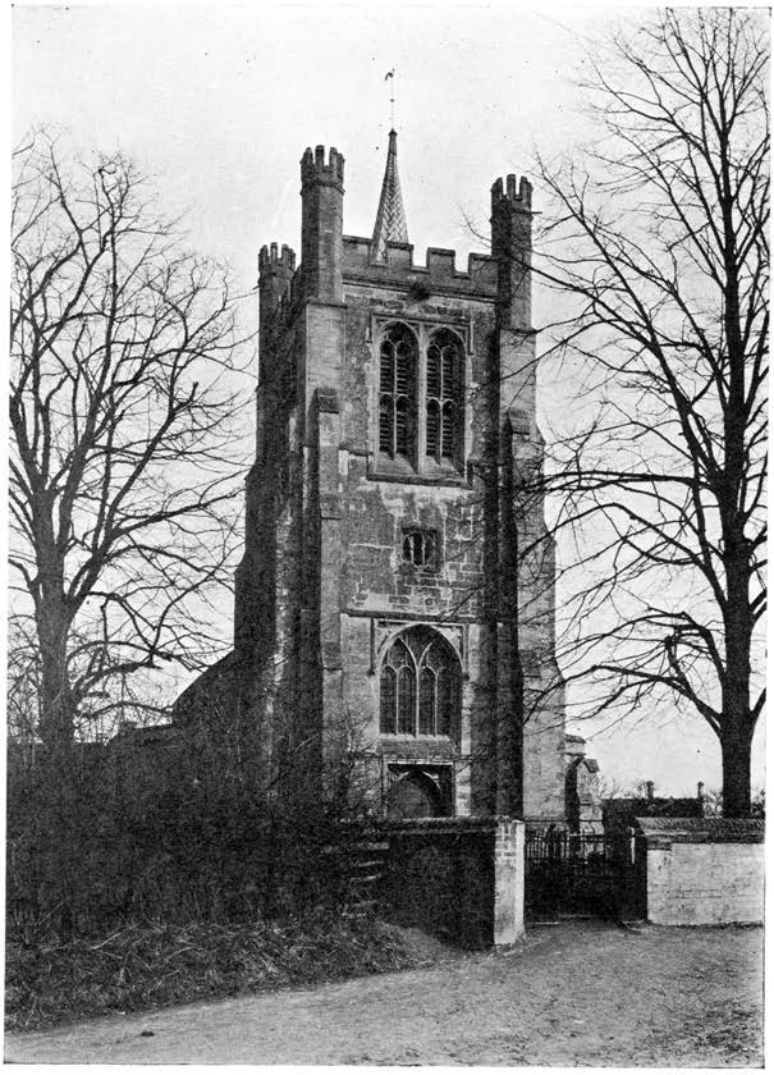
F. J. Allen

WILLINGHAM CHURCH: STEEPLE.

Spire shows influence of Midlands.

PLATE I

PLATE II



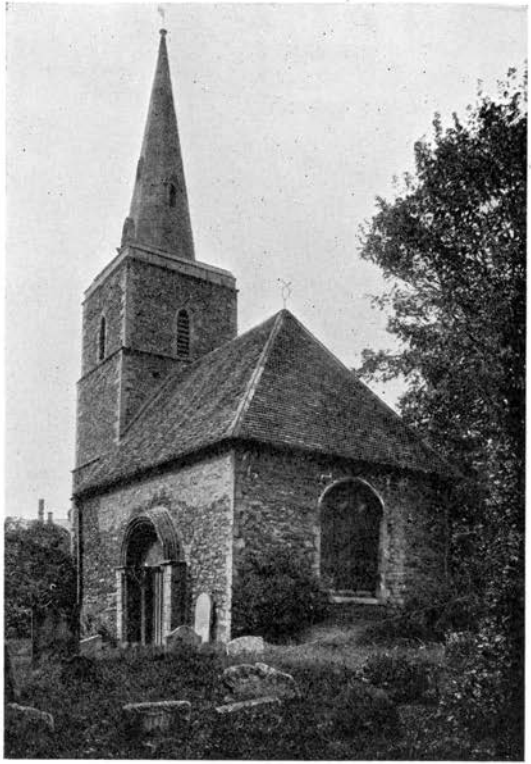
F. J. Allen

HASLINGFIELD CHURCH: STEEPLE.

Fine tower with the battlemented pinnacles of the district. Clasping buttresses of Northamptonshire. Square Norfolk ventilator. Home Counties lead spire.

Snailwell Church.

Formerly in Diocese of Norwich.
Round tower of Norfolk and Suffolk.



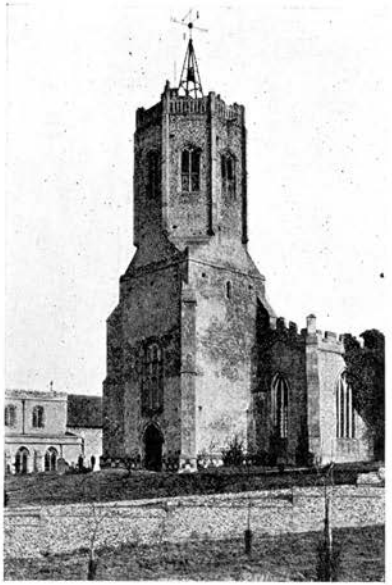
Cambridge: Church of St Peter in 'the Borough.'

An early church with Huntingdonshire spire.

PLATE IV

ELY CATHEDRAL: WEST TOWER.

Octagonal buttresses of Fenland group. Octagonal top stage and polygonal transept buttresses, both of this district. Norwich bull's-eyes. (Cf. pl. IX.)



SWAFFHAM PRIOR.

St Cyriac's tower. Both churches rebuilt.

Old drawing

SWAFFHAM PRIOR: THE TWO TOWERS.

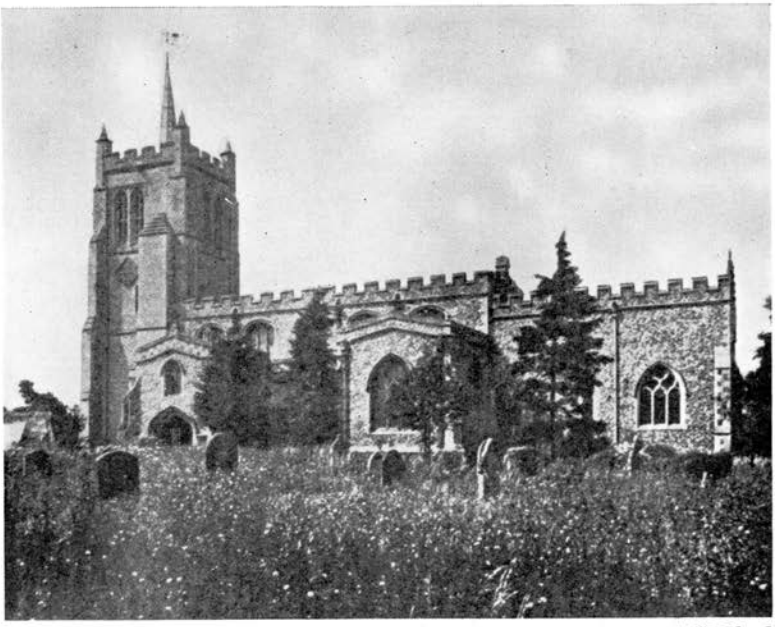
St Mary's, with polygonal steeple like Ely transept; the church in ruins.

St Cyriac's with simple octagonal steeple; the church destroyed.

SUTTON IN THE ISLE.

Steeple with two octagons.

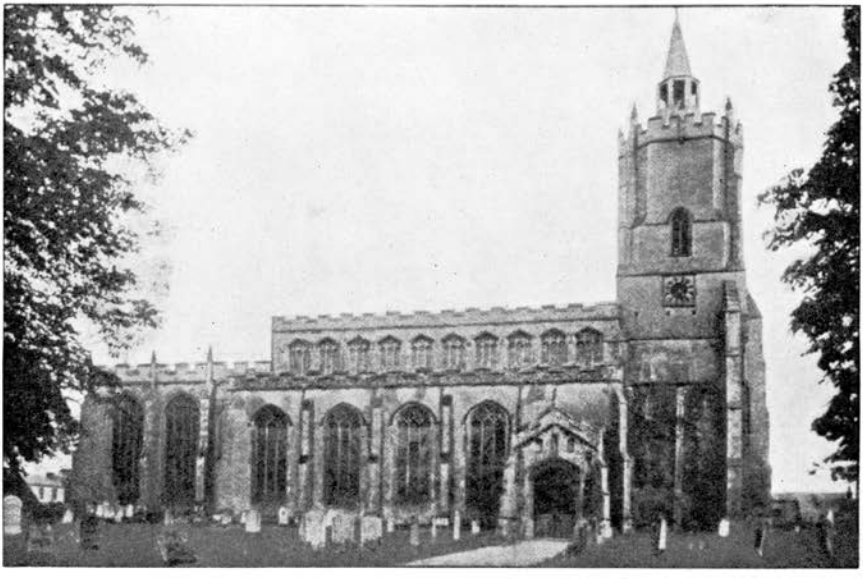
PLATE V



A. H. Lloyd

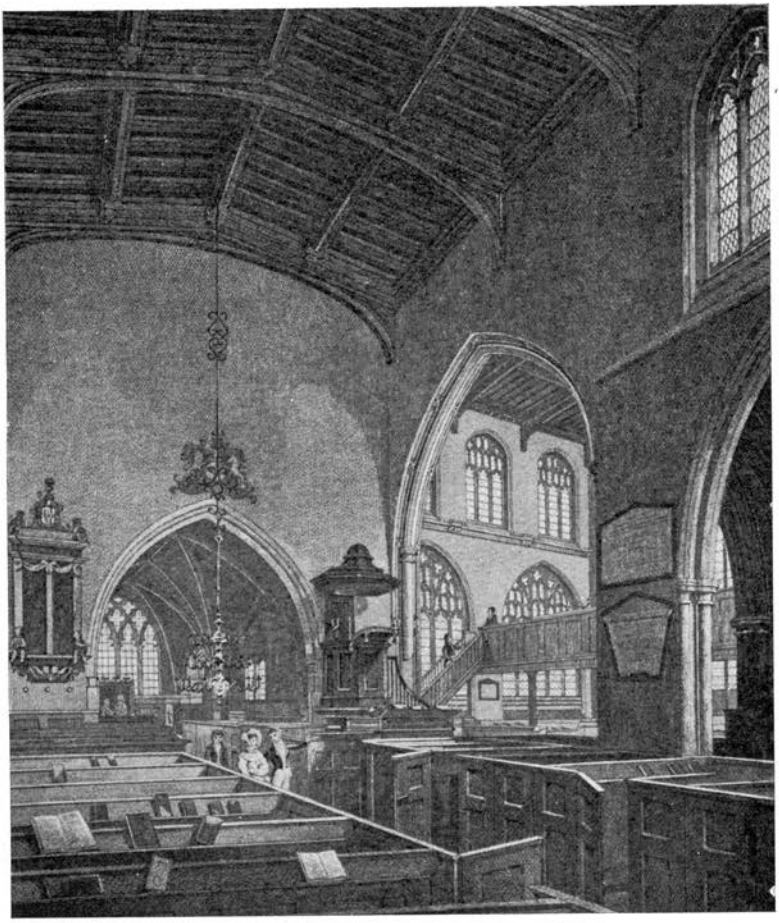
MELBOURN CHURCH

Compare steeple with Haslingfield (pl. II). Top of pinnacles modern.



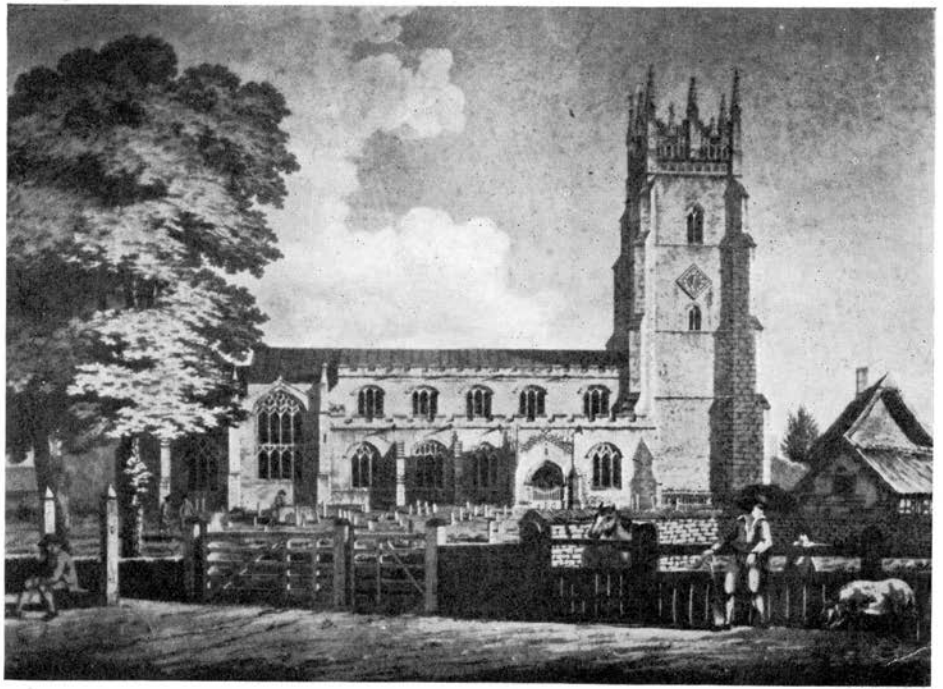
BURWELL CHURCH

Formerly in Diocese of Norwich. Local octagonal steeple.
Clearstorey and lofty aisle of Norfolk.



CAMBRIDGE: HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

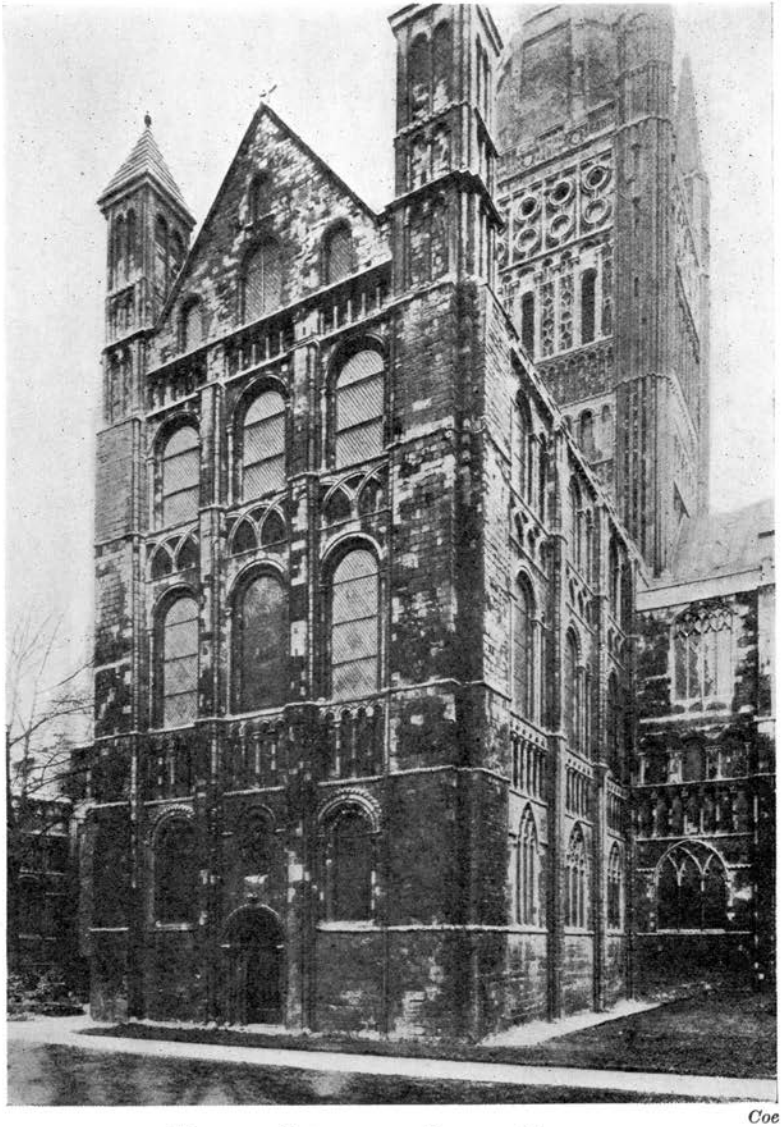
Nave and transept rebuilt by parish, the old vaulted chancel left standing.



Old print

SOHAM CHURCH.

Parapet of steeple influenced by Somerset.



Coe

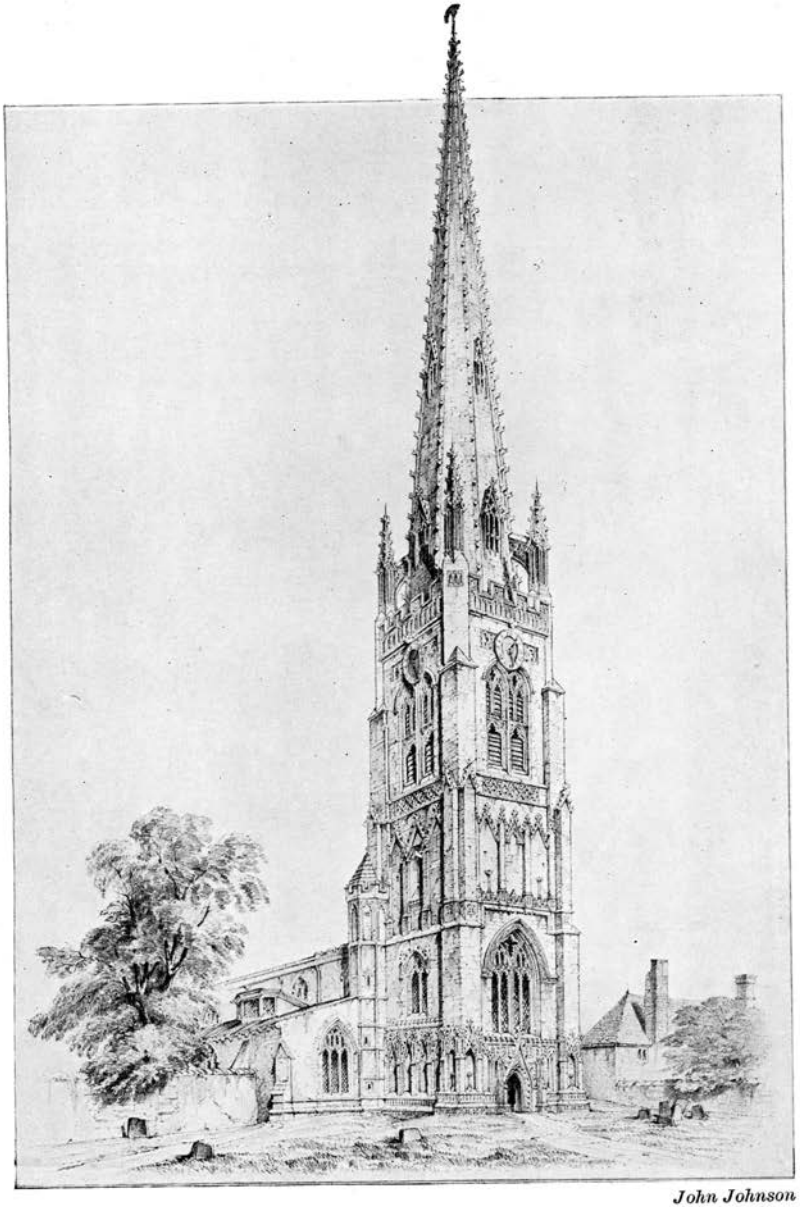
NORWICH CATHEDRAL: PART OF TOWER.
Bull's-eyes. (Cf. pl. IV.)

PLATE X

Harraden

CAMBRIDGE: GREAT ST MARY'S CHURCH STEEPLE.

The compound octagonal buttress logically carried up as a pinnacle.

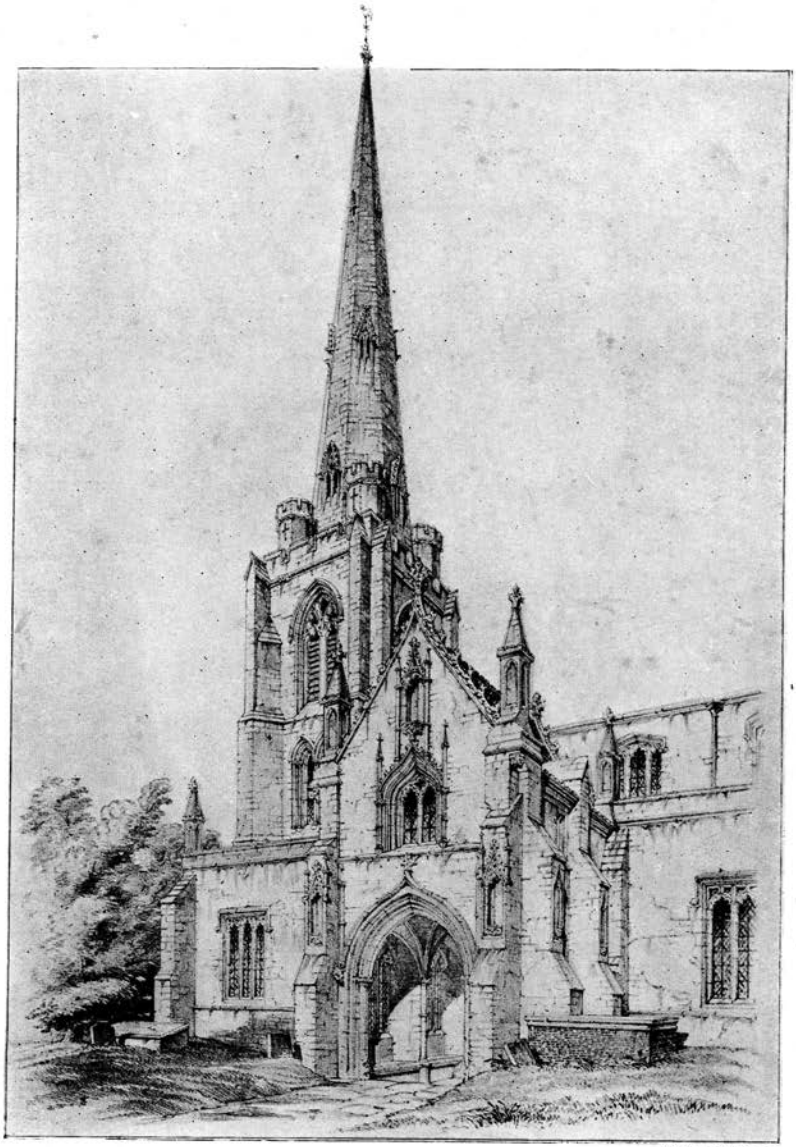


John Johnson

WHITTLESEY CHURCH.

A fine Northamptonshire steeple.

PLATE XII



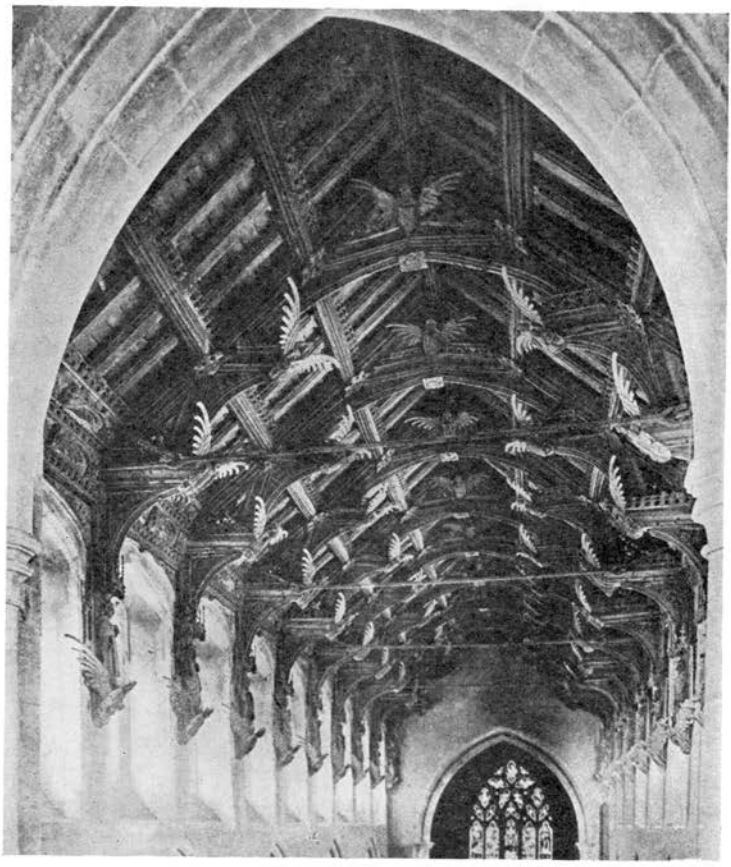
John Johnson

LEVERINGTON CHURCH.

Steeple with the turret-like pinnacles of the district.
Fine porch showing western influence.

ELY: PRIOR'S HOUSE.
The kerb roof of the hall.

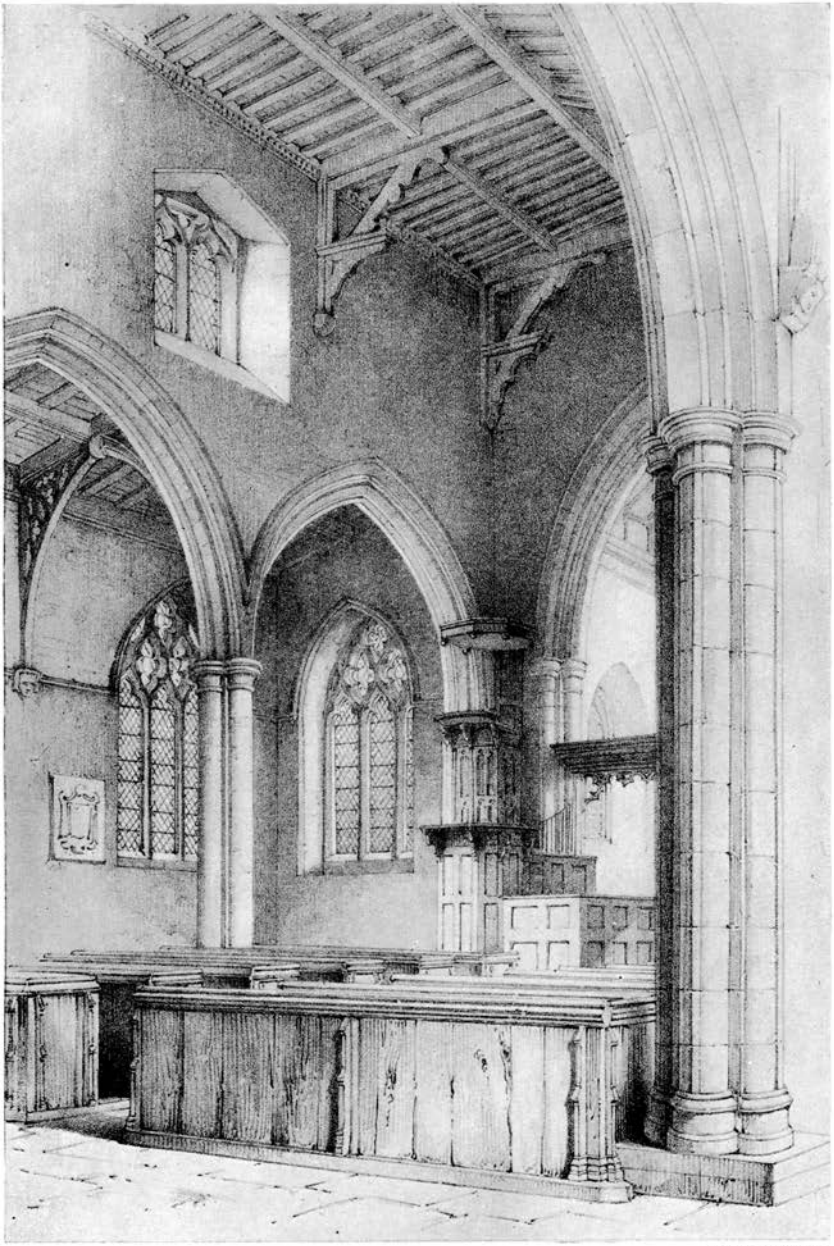
WALL-PIECE OF THE ROOF.
Refined detail.



Gilson

MARCH: CHURCH OF ST WENDREDA; NAVE ROOF.

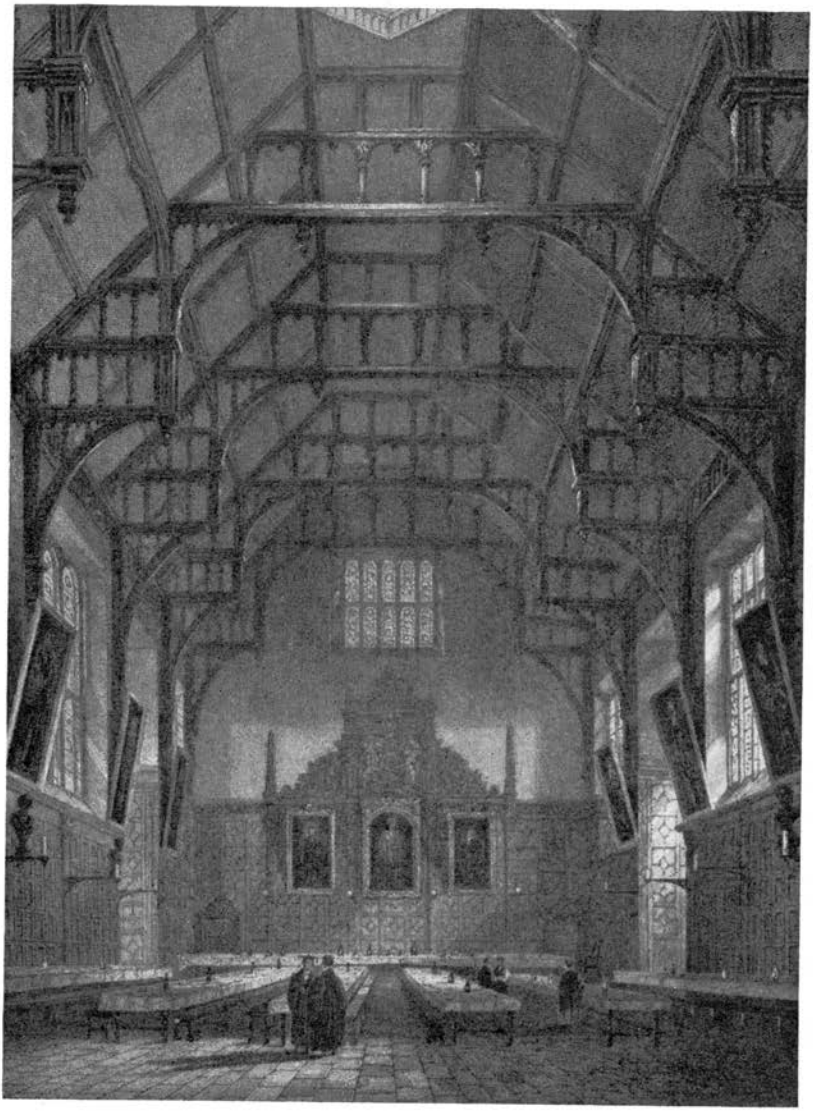
Double hammer-beam; Suffolk construction (with collars); braced wall plates; richest character, with statues in niches on the helves (wall-pieces), and seven tiers of demi-angels.



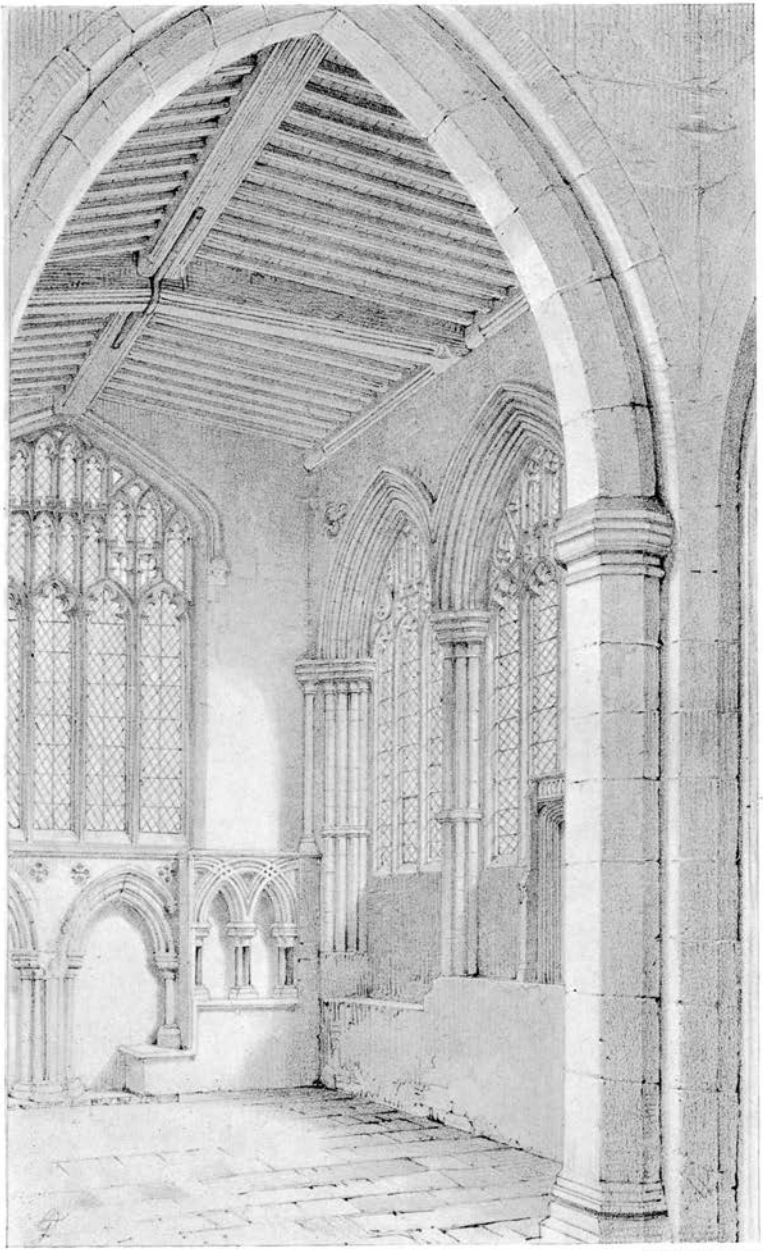
John Johnson

HASLINGFIELD CHURCH.

Nave roof a seventeenth-century version of the hammer-beam; aisle roof of Norfolk character; seats of normal mid-England construction.



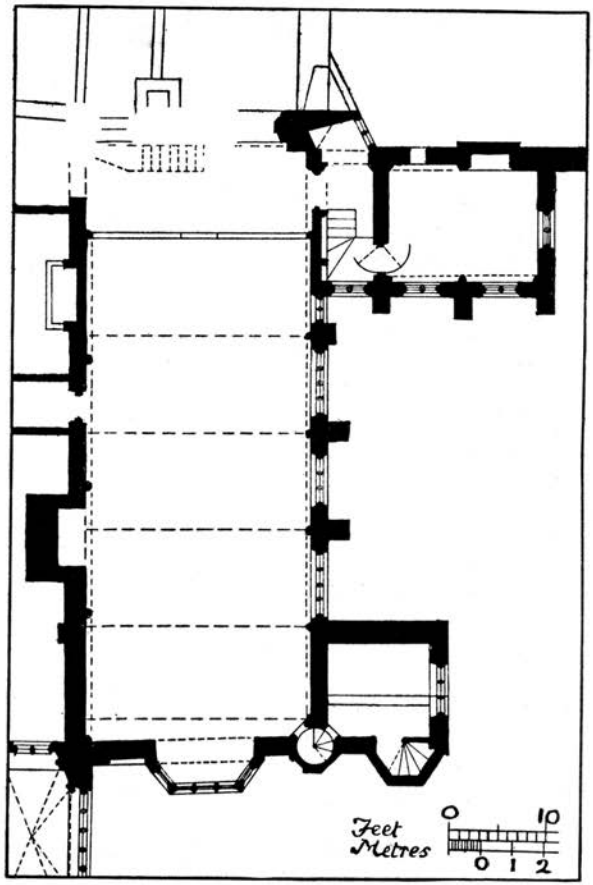
CAMBRIDGE: HALL OF TRINITY COLLEGE.
Hammer-beam roof like Grays Inn Hall.



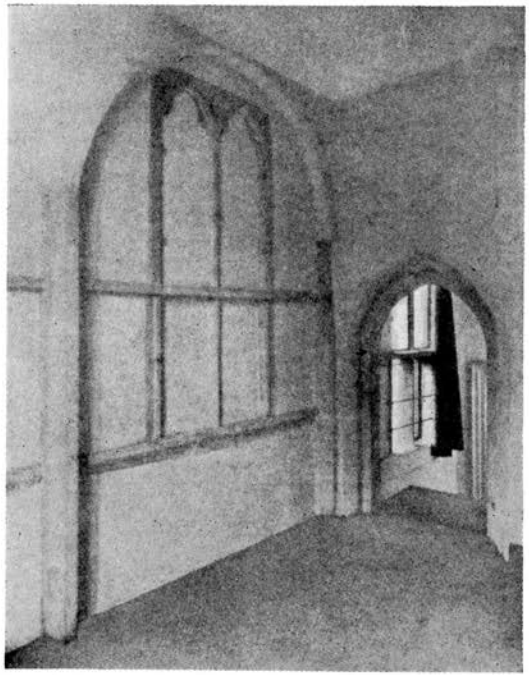
John Johnson

HISTON CHURCH.

Handsome transept for Philip de Colvile, *c.* 1280. Bay-arcade of East wall was clearly continued on North wall with two arches. Compare sedile and piscina with fig. 13.



Plan of upper floor with bay-arcades in hall, audit room and passage.



Audit room.

ELY: PRIOR'S HOUSE.

CAMBRIDGE: PEMBROKE COLLEGE.
Early type of gateway with characteristic Cambridge composition.

PLATE XIX

are 100 ft. by 40 ft. by 50 ft. high to the small level ceiling. The Bursar was accompanied by Ralph Symons, an architect-builder, and possibly Symons took the opportunity of making notes on some roofs, for those of the Hall and Kitchen of Trinity strongly resemble the roof of Gray's Inn Hall; but though Symons built the walls of the new hall the woodwork was done by Francis Carter.[1]

In the collegiate plan Cambridge had its own type. As is well known it followed closely that of the manor house; but as a college plan and as differing markedly from that of Oxford it may be said to be a local style. The striking similarity between the plans of Queens' College and Haddon Hall was first pointed out by Professor Willis, and Queens' is the typical Cambridge plan. It was that of Clare, Pembroke, Trinity Hall, Christ's, St John's, and to a large extent of other colleges. Even Trinity, compromised as it was by the existence of the earlier colleges which it absorbed, eventually assumed this plan, and so did King's as Henry VI planned it, though it was modified by the example of William of Wykeham at Winchester and Oxford. The post-Reformation period produced another difference between the two Universities: at Cambridge Dr Caius in 1565 introduced on hygienic grounds the three-sided court; and this was copied by other colleges at Cambridge but not at Oxford.

The Materials used have an equally strong local colour. Though clunch was often used it was so bad—worse even than the Oxford Headington stone—that brick was used instead at Queens' (1448–60), at St Catharine's, St John's, Jesus and in many parts of other colleges. The use of brickwork demanded simplicity of detail, and with the exception of the chapel and old gateway of King's, which are of stone, everything is very modest.

The original domestic buildings of King's College, now the University Administrative Offices, are refined and scholarly work of higher quality than anything else done at Cambridge before or since, except the chapel, till the time of Wren. The foundation stone of the gateway was laid by Henry VI in person, 2 April 1441. Stone had already been prepared and in June Reginald Ely was directed by the King to impress workmen of all trades for the work.

The design of the gateway was new to Cambridge; at Oxford it had been tried once and then dropped. Hitherto at Cambridge a college entrance was almost always a mere doorway, or two doorways, a large and a small, in an unbroken range of building[2] (pl. XIX). The two earlier colleges absorbed by Trinity College had however essayed something more ambitious. King's Hall, founded by Edward III, had built in 1426–7 the gateway known as King Edward's, now rebuilt with altered detail at the west end of Trinity College Chapel; this is of

[1] Willis and Clark, vol. II, p. 491.

[2] As at Clare, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, Trinity Hall, Corpus Christi, and doubtless also at Peterhouse. It was used again at Magdalene.

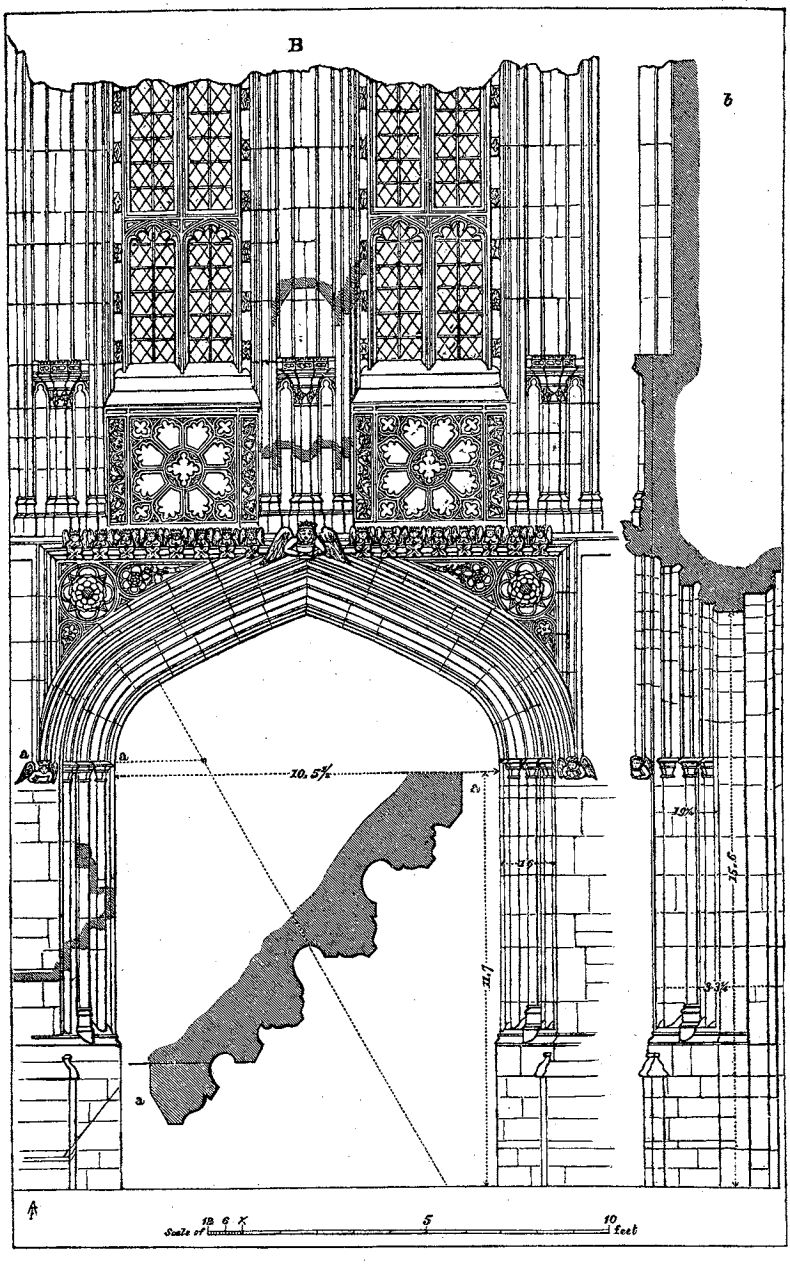


Fig. 17. Cambridge, King's College Old Gateway. Outside.
The problem not yet solved.

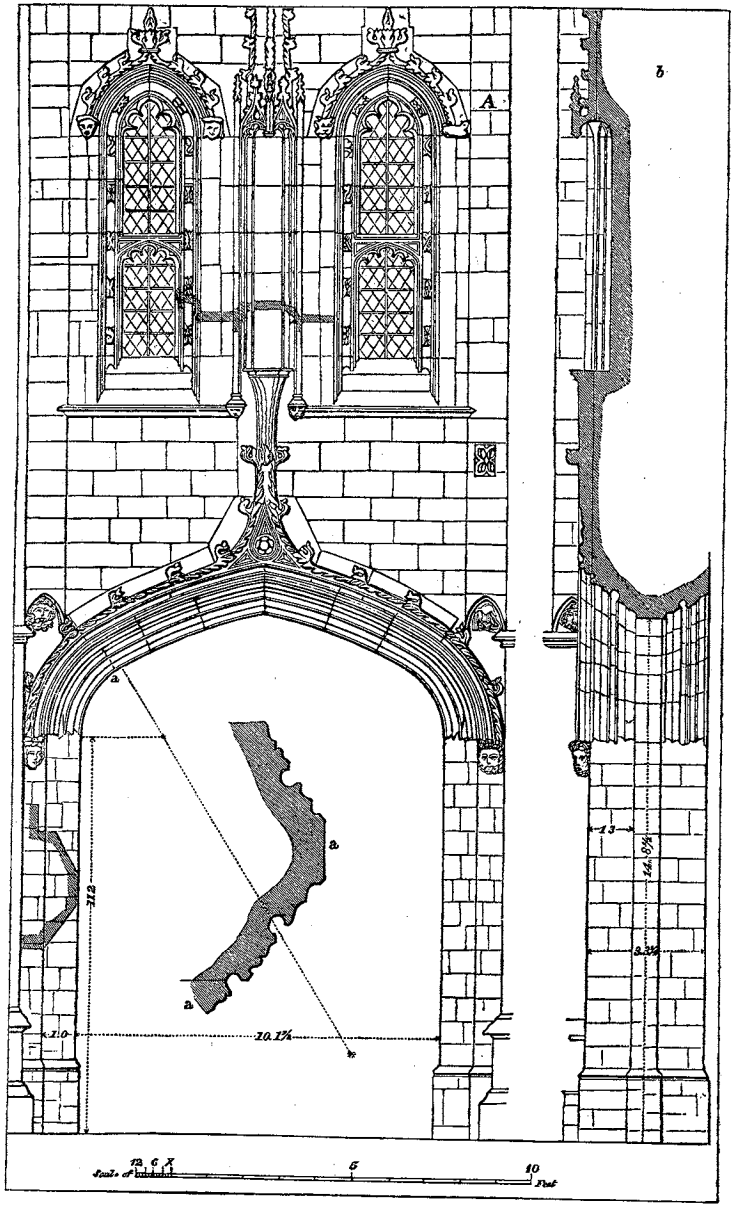


Fig. 18. Cambridge, King's College Old Gateway. Inside.
Unity achieved.

tower form with an octagonal turret at each angle. The gateway of Michaelhouse, facing down Trinity Lane, is believed to have been of the same sort. King Edward's gateway shows what was to become

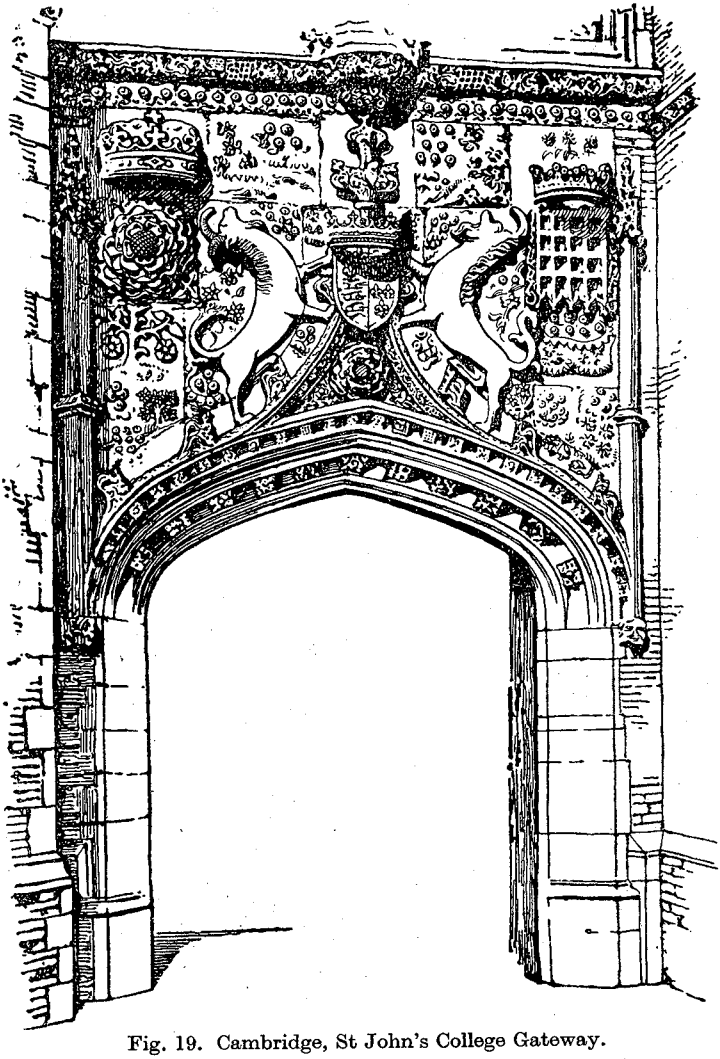


Fig. 19. Cambridge, St John's College Gateway.
Cambridge type matured with vigour but some loss of reticence.

the typical Cambridge arrangement: a niche and statue over the apex of the arch with a window on either side, while Oxford favoured a projecting oriel window above the crown of the arch.

At King's College, twenty-four years later, the same composition appears, but in a more studied and refined form. The finished work was clearly to have been carried up as a tower, the arch has windows over its haunches with a niche for a statue between them and two more niches beyond the windows, the whole flanked by half-octagon buttresses or turrets (fig. 17). This scheme of a central niche was followed in later gateways,[1] and it is clear that the King—Edward III or Henry VI—had set a fashion. The angles of the whole building are finished with octagonal buttresses; the top storey shows a range of slightly projecting chimney stacks standing on an off-set or ledge in

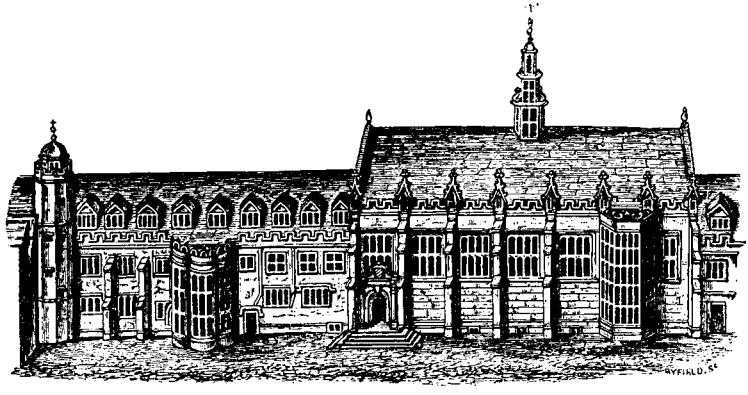


Fig. 20. Cambridge, Trinity College.
West side of court. Hall of Michaelhouse with trefoil oriel.

the wall. But in the composition of the gateway (it may be suggested) the mason was himself feeling his way; his outside arch is capped by a horizontal label and traceried panels; it is only in the simple elevation towards the court that he uses the ogee label, crocketed and finished with a finial under the niche (fig. 18). This, with the addition of heraldic achievements, was to become the final solution, seen at St John's (fig. 19), Christ's and Jesus main gateways, and in the postern of the Great Gate at Trinity, in the doorway from the first court of St John's to the screens (used very cunningly to give a pleasing echo of the main gateway) and at Jesus at the passage to the Cloister Court. At King's the space above the internal windows between the Ante-Chapel and the side chapels has the same heraldic treatment without the ogee hood-mould and of course without the statue.

In the Founder's enlarged scheme for King's square turrets take the place of the octagonal buttresses at the corners. The same arrange-

[1] Queens', Jesus, Christ's, St John's. At Trinity, the Great Gate has a double doorway but is otherwise similar; and the transition from the asymmetrical lower stage to the symmetrical upper storey is ingeniously managed. Compare also East Barsham Manor House, Norfolk.

ment is found at Queens' College, built by Margaret, Henry's queen, in 1448–9, and at the buildings round Cloister Court at Eton. Both Queens' and Eton are built of brick with stone dressings and there is a considerable general resemblance. We might assume from these facts that the same designer was at work on all three buildings or perhaps all four, did we not know what close personal interest the King took in the details of his architectural schemes and what an

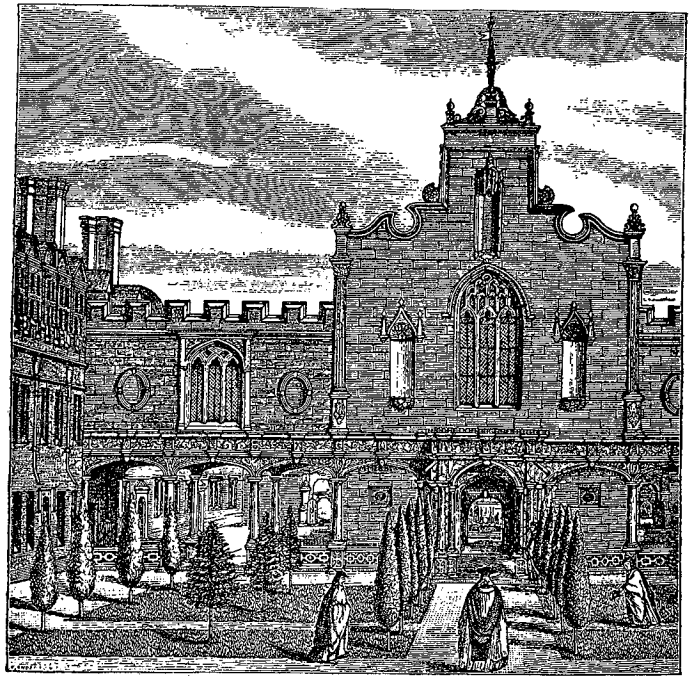


Fig. 21. Cambridge, Peterhouse.
West end of chapel with loggias; Jacobean Gothic.

influence he may have had upon the designs. All will be familiar with his minute directions as to the dimensions of the Chapel of King's and his artless self-congratulation on having gone one better than Wykeham: "And so the seid Qwere schall be lenger than the qwere of the Newe College at Oxford bi. xlvij. fote brodder bi. viij. fote. And the walles heyer be xx^{ti} fote."[1]

The old east front of the Schools shown in Loggan's view of 1688 was begun in 1470 from a benefaction of Thomas Rotherham, Chancellor of the University and Bishop of Rochester.[2] The handsome

[1] Willis and Clark, vol. I, p. 367.

[2] Bishop of Lincoln in 1471, Chancellor of England 1474, Archbishop of York 1480, died 1500.

gateway is not in the Cambridge tradition and may owe something to the personal influence of Rotherham, who was already a man of affairs and of travel.[1] It is characteristic of its period but difficult to trace to a genealogical line of particular buildings.

One other departure from academic severity appears in the oriel window[2] of the hall of Michaelhouse; in plan it was trefoil-shaped. The building is not referred to in any document and its date is unknown. A similar oriel was built at Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, about 1520, and one at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk in 1538. The Cambridge example is no doubt of the same period (fig. 20).

That queer phase called Jacobean Gothic, so much in evidence in Oxford due to High Church and court influence, makes but little showing here (fig. 21).

We see then that Cambridgeshire has some claims to local style and has within its borders variations which distinguish the different parts. These variations are due to relative wealth and to the influence of the neighbour counties. The feature which has the most definitely local character is the octagonal steeple which, with Huntingdonshire as its geographical centre, spreads right across the county, giving it a larger number of instances than any other county, and the outstanding exemplar. The influence of Northamptonshire quarries and masoncraft is seen in the north and west, of the Suffolk carpentry in the east and at Cambridge, Ely and March. The high-pitched open-timber roof with a truncated apex may, from its rarity elsewhere, be almost considered a local characteristic. In the University buildings there is distinct local colour both in the collegiate plan and in the treatment of the parts.

The buildings referred to in the foregoing pages have been quoted as illustrative examples, not as forming complete lists. No doubt others, some of them probably more illuminating, might be quoted, especially in the rural parts. I must plead in excuse my long absence from the County.

My thanks for the loan of illustrations are due to Messrs Bowes and Bowes, to the Society (for illustrations by the late Dr F. J. Allen, the late Mr C. H. Jones, and the late Dr A. H. Lloyd) and to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press; plates XIII and XVIII are from their *Monastic Buildings of Ely*. The engravings from the *Memorials* are by Le Keux and Storer; those by John Johnson are from his *Ancient English Churches*, c. 1840.

[1] The east range was taken down in 1754 and the gateway re-erected of a mutilated ogee form as an entrance to the stable yard at Madingley Hall.

[2] Now destroyed. It is shown by Loggan 1688 and some remains have been found on excavation. *C.A.S. Comm.* vol. VIII (1893), p. 240.

CONTENTS OF PROCEEDINGS

VOL. XL, JULY 1939–DECEMBER 1942