

George Gilbert Scott, jun., and King's College Chapel

by GAVIN STAMP

In memory of George Gilbert Scott, M.A., F.S.A., Sometime fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, who was born October 8th 1839 and died May 6th 1897. On whose soul Jesus have mercy. So runs the inscription on the tomb in Hampstead Churchyard where, following his mental breakdown and the scandalous activities which alienated both his family and professional colleagues, Sir Gilbert Scott's eldest son was eventually laid to rest. This epitaph is poignant not least for the fact that it makes no mention of the profession by which poor Scott is best remembered today. George Gilbert Scott jun. was one of the very first architects who was able to write M.A., F.S.A. after his name and he achieved distinction as an historian and as an antiquary. Along with the clergyman's son Basil Champneys, he belonged to a new generation of architects who were both practitioners and scholars, having been educated at one of the 'ancient universities'. As his epitaph suggests, Scott's Cambridge academic career meant much to him, for he had gone on to become a Fellow of his college.

Having demonstrated academic promise, Scott won a scholarship to Eton College in 1852 — a manifestation, perhaps, of his famous architect father's rise in social and economic standing. He then completed his architectural pupilage in the busy 'Spring Gardens Academy' in 1860 before assisting his father on his many restoration projects. In 1862, he supervised work at St John's College, Cambridge. While in Cambridge, old Etonian friends persuaded the younger Scott to apply to the University and the following year he entered Jesus College. In 1866 he graduated senior in the moral science tripos and in 1868 he won the Burney Prize for his essay on *The Argument for the Intellectual Character of the First Cause as affected by Recent Investigations of Physical Science*, a topical, philosophical defence of Christianity against the claims of Darwinian science. After acting as examiner in moral sciences for several years, he was elected a Fellow of Jesus in 1872, but was obliged to resign shortly afterwards when he married Ellen King-Sampson later that year.

Scott studied and worked in Cambridge in a period of great change and tension. During the nine years he was directly associated with Jesus, his friend G. F. Bodley was both building All Saints' Church opposite the entrance to the college as well as restoring its Chapel, while Alfred Waterhouse was adding new accommodation there (Scott, reinforced by his father, acted for Bodley in 1868–69 while the latter was seriously ill with blood-poisoning; what he thought of Waterhouse's additions and alterations to the college is not recorded).¹ Such work was typical; Cambridge was an

ancient university whose complacent Anglican privilege was being challenged by the spirit of reform and the competition of other newly established institutions. In 1856 a Royal Commission recommended many changes and in 1871 the Test Act opened the University and its colleges to those who were not members of the Church of England. The University was also expanding: in 1862 the undergraduate population was 1,526; in 1886 it was 2,979.

Such dramatic change could further the ambitions of the Gothic Revival, but it could also be in conflict with the antiquarianism well established in a university town in which the Cambridge Camden Society had been founded in 1839 and Professor Robert Willis was busy investigating its medieval architectural history. This implicit conflict between old and new architecture reached a crisis at Pembroke College in the mid-1870s, resulting in Scott replacing Waterhouse as architect. This affair reflected the growing opposition to the wholesale 'restoration' of ancient buildings which provoked the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings by William Morris in 1877. It also revealed the difference in attitude between the self-confident High Victorian generation of Gothicists, to which Waterhouse belonged, and the more cautious, conservative and eclectic late Victorians — for Scott, unlike his father, had been an early enthusiast for the 'Queen Anne' style.

After 1870, Pembroke was shaken up by a new and progressive master, the Revd John Power, who felt that the medieval college needed both enlarging and transforming. Waterhouse was approached, and, as well as the erection of new buildings, he initially recommended the demolition of the south range of First Court and the rebuilding of the old front along Trumpington Street. In 1874 the south range and the old Master's Lodge were demolished. Both abutted the Hall, which, despite alterations, was 'probably the earliest existing collegiate building of the University'. Its structure thus impaired, 'It was agreed that Mr Waterhouse be authorised to pull down the College Hall' in March 1875. This was not achieved without protest; distinguished graduates of the college, headed by the Bishop of Ely, wrote to *The Times* in an 'attempt to stay the work of destruction which, under the advice of our architect, has overtaken our venerable and beloved college'.² The demolition of the hall, together with jibes that the college opposite Peterhouse would soon have to rename itself 'Waterhouse', generated unease in the college which produced a revolt against the authority of the Master. In March 1878 two motions before the College Society were defeated by a majority of Fellows: the first was over whether the ancient front of the college should be pulled down; the second, whether Waterhouse should be consulted as architect. The following June it was decided to consult George Gilbert Scott jun. in preference to Norman Shaw, Bodley, Champneys or Waterhouse.

The difference in attitude of the two architects was well expressed in letters written to the College the following year. Waterhouse complained that,

I gather from the Treasurer's letter that it is my failure to be conservative enough which has chiefly led the College to dispense with my humble services for the future. I would however most respectfully point out that wherever there was anything of genuine or intrinsic value to recommend it, . . . it has been carefully preserved and reused

although the only case he could cite was, 'e.g. the woodwork of the combination room'.³ Scott, in contrast, wrote that,

I have no doubt at all that what remains of the ancient buildings of the college should be religiously preserved, so much has had to be sacrificed to necessary enlargements that what is left to us, of the material evidence of the Foundation, like the pages of the Sibylline books, is become the more precious on that very account. . . .⁴

As well as making good and coherent the damage inflicted by Waterhouse's demolitions, Scott carefully enlarged the Chapel. Waterhouse had originally proposed demolishing this building by Wren and subsequently recommended the addition of an inappropriate apse (as at Caius). Scott was anxious to respect the integrity of 'an early work of so great a master as Sir Christopher Wren'. This he achieved by taking down and re-erecting the stonework of Wren's east end 16 feet to the east and by introducing new work in a convincing seventeenth-century style. He also succeeded in preserving the seventeenth-century Old Reader, which the Fellows still wanted to cut up into rooms, by masterly prevarication, writing that 'I do not wish to have the discredit of having destroyed a fine old room . . .'.⁵ Finally, Scott again demonstrated his unusual sympathy for the English Early Renaissance by designing a New Hostel in Pembroke Street in that style in 1879 — a building very different in character to the hard, efficient fusion of Gothic and French Renaissance in Waterhouse's new library.

The Gothic Revival was waning. In 1875, Scott had entered the competition for the new Divinity Schools in Cambridge with two alternative designs — one in Late Gothic and one in Early Renaissance — but lost to Basil Champneys. He had ostensibly been in independent practice since 1863 (when he had entered the University) but he had continued to help his father on his archaeological researches and on the associated restoration work, particularly in Cambridge. An important job entirely handed over to him was the restoration and rebuilding of the hall and Combination Room at Peterhouse carried out in 1868–70, where the modernization and enlargement of medieval structures was carried out with a sensitivity and tact unusual for this date. He also assisted his father on King's College Chapel. The younger Scott's work on this famous Late Gothic monument, the principal subject of this essay, consisted both of pioneering antiquarian investigation and the design of sympathetic new furnishings. Both are of peculiar interest.

'We possess . . . in "the great church of the college royal of St. Mary and St. Nicholas" at Cambridge, a very conspicuous example of the innovation which produced, what I have termed, the fourth-pointed style of gothic architecture', claimed Scott. That innovation was the fan-vault, and he devoted much space to a discussion of its introduction in the executed design for King's Chapel in his brilliant and idiosyncratic *Essay on the History of English Church Architecture* published in 1881.⁶ This was because, 'I regard the later phase of the perpendicular style as the most original and able thing that the English have achieved in art. . . . The fourth-pointed style must be regarded as the latest and most advanced phase, which mediaeval art anywhere assumed, and in it, as we cannot doubt, the capabilities of the style were finally exhausted.'⁷

This interpretation of medieval architecture was highly unorthodox at the time, for the sort of prejudice that Geoffrey Scott later described as the 'biological fallacy' generally prevailed; that is, that Perpendicular Gothic was a debased and degenerate style and that 'Middle Pointed' or the Early Decorated of the late thirteenth century



Fig. 1. The interior of King's College Chapel in 1951 with, in the foreground, one of the pair of brass candle-standards designed by George Gilbert Scott jun. (A. Puck, RCHME Crown copyright)

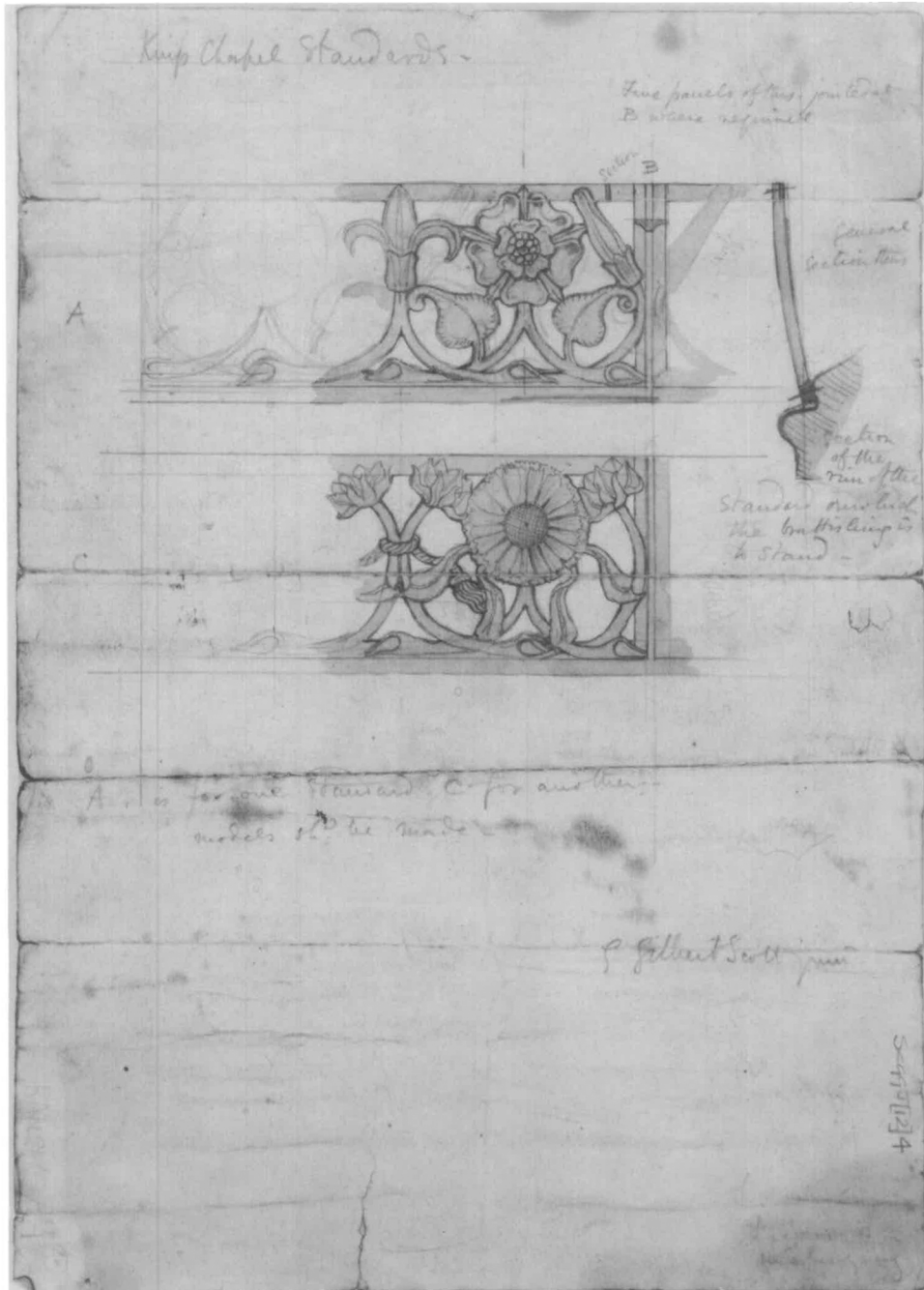


Fig. 2. Scott's working drawing of full-size details of two pierced friezes (or brattising) on the King's College Chapel standards, 1981. (The British Architectural Library, RIBA, London)

represented the apogee of medieval architecture. This was the view established, above all, by John Ruskin and which informed the stylistic preferences of the mid-Victorian Gothic Revival. The younger Scott was of the generation of architects which reacted strongly against that orthodoxy and which, in the years around 1870, produced the alternatives of later styles of English Gothic for churches and the eclectic 'Queen Anne' styles for domestic architecture. Before his promising career was curtailed, Scott played an important role in this profound change in English architecture both through his designs and through his writings. Along with J. D. Sedding, he deserves to be remembered for his pioneering advocacy of the merits of English Perpendicular Gothic and for his rejection of what he called, 'that stupid prejudice, which would restrict the admiration of the nineteenth century — by an artificial and arbitrary rule — to the buildings which were carried out in the thirteenth.'⁸

This was not a view shared by his father, Sir Gilbert Scott, who firmly upheld that stupid prejudice and who in his rebuilding of Doncaster Parish Church, for example, had been happy to replace the burned Perpendicular Gothic building by one with the best approved Geometrical tracery. In the posthumously published two volumes of his *Lectures on the Development of Mediaeval Architecture*, the elder Scott managed to give King's College Chapel only two brief mentions. Yet it fell to Sir Gilbert to undertake a careful and scholarly restoration of that supreme masterpiece of unfashionable Late Gothic. In October 1860 he reported on the state of the roof of the Chapel and, over the next three years, supervised a restoration which involved the insertion of iron tie-rods and the renewal of lead-work and timber. The elder Scott was consulted about the condition of the Chapel for the remainder of his life and in 1875 he directed the work of replacing badly weathered pinnacles and battlements and the restoration of the west porch, in which new stonework was made from plaster casts, by Farmer & Brindley, of the least damaged jamb ornaments. The following year, he submitted a further report to the College on work still needing to be done.

Gilbert Scott's scholarly eldest son was almost certainly involved with the restoration work at King's. In the introduction to his book on the College Chapel published in 1867, T. J. P. Carter, Fellow of King's, recorded that, 'I have also had the benefit of many hints and observations from my friend, Mr. G. G. Scott Jun., who worthily supports a well-known and honoured name.'⁹ That Scott took a close interest in the restoration of the Chapel's roof is further suggested by the observation in his *Essay* that, because the incomplete structure was once roofed only up to the fifth bay from the east, 'the roof-truss which lies over these piers exhibited, until a recent restoration, upon its western face the weather-marks and the moss which, during its exposure for some years (1484–1508) as the westward finish of the roof, had formed upon it', although he was not the first to notice this.¹⁰ It was possibly the close inspection of the upper parts of the Chapel afforded by the restoration work which enabled Scott to make another important observation concerning variations in the form of the vaulting shafts which enabled him to conjecture on the original unexecuted and lost design for the building.¹¹ His conclusion was that, when work began in 1446, it had been intended to raise a lierne vault similar to that in the Lady Chapel at Ely, but when work was resumed in 1480, the design was changed to permit the construction of the present fan-vault.

The vaulting shafts in the choir spring from corbels at a high level and, according to Scott, were only constructed after 1480; these shafts have five small shafts or members in section, which correspond with the form of the fan-vault they carry. But the shafts in the ante-chapel have seven members and rise from bases on the floor; these would have been formed in the first phase of building, in 1446–62. 'Any one who will carry up his eye from the bases of these shafts to the springing of the great vault will perceive at once that the section on the shaft does not correspond with the plan of the vault-springers. There is a sort of cripple here. The shaft is, in fact, set out with seven members, while the design of the vault-plan requires but five. Thus two members of the pier have nothing to do, and disappear somewhat clumsily in the capital.' The seven members do, however, correspond with the rib pattern of a lierne vault, and Scott drew up a conjectural original design for a plate in his book. He furthermore argued that the change from a lierne vault to a shallower fan-vault required a change in the arched profile of the window heads, which resulted in the introduction of large areas of blank walling between windows and vault which gives the exterior of the Chapel a rather top-heavy appearance.

The late Sir Nikolaus Pevsner stated that Scott was the first person to notice this discrepancy in design between the vaulting shafts in the two halves of the Chapel.¹² Certainly Scott was the first to publish the fact, for although the same observation leading to a similar conclusion about an original design for a lierne vault appears in Willis and Clark's monumental four-volume study of *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, this was only published five years later, in 1886. It is possible that Professor Robert Willis had aired the matter in the lectures he gave on the architectural history of Cambridge after 1854, for the typographical conventions employed in the printed text imply that the discussion of the vaulting shaft anomaly was written by Willis before his death in 1875 rather than by his collaborator and literary executor, John Willis Clark, who prepared the volumes for publication. It is significant, however, that while Willis argued that the two redundant vaulting shafts in the choir had somehow been 'cut out' (a physical impossibility), Scott maintained that the five-membered vaulting shafts in the choir were a new design and formed part of an entirely new phase of building. This might suggest that Scott's observations were made independently of Willis's.¹³

In the published volumes, Clark could refer to Scott's 'ingenious essay on the changes in the architecture of the chapel' in a footnote, which at least implies that some of Scott's conclusions were novel.¹⁴ Earlier, in 1881, Scott had written to Clark to invite him to subscribe to the short-lived and somewhat eccentric revived ecclesiolo-gical journal, *The Sacristy*, which he assisted the historian Edward Walford in editing. He had then informed Clark that, 'You will find the result of my investigations at King's (which I think are rather curious in their way) in Cap V of the "Essay" of which I send a prospectus . . . It will be interesting to me to compare the conclusions at which I have arrived, from a study of the building itself, with what you have been able to get at from the documentary side. I have been too much occupied, since your book appeared, to be able to do this, which is *not* to be done in a casual hour or two.'¹⁵

Some of Scott's conclusions and his dating have now been superseded by the fruits of more recent research, notably by the thorough detailed analysis of the structure and

stonework of the Chapel undertaken by Francis Woodman. Dr Woodman argues that the vaulting shaft change was made to accommodate an open timber roof instead of a high vault, and that the decision to raise a fan-vault was taken much later, when work resumed under the direction of John Wastell in 1508.¹⁶ Scott's observations nevertheless remain interesting and impressive, and he also deserves credit for rejecting the conventional notion, based on the study of documents, that a priest and Fellow of the College like Nicholas Close could ever have been the 'architect'. Scott maintained that, 'The study of a life is requisite to excellence in either theology or architecture, and I view with extreme suspicion every story of a cleric who combined material and spiritual edification', and so he emphasized the individual contributions made to the design of the building by the master masons Reginald Ely and John Wolryche. However, he unaccountably failed to mention Wastell, stating, quite erroneously, about the Tudor completion of the Chapel that 'the name of the architect has not been preserved'.¹⁷

Scott's own contribution to King's College Chapel was not only to investigate its history, for he was also responsible for the design, Renaissance in style, of a handsome addition to its furniture — the first concrete achievement in a long campaign to improve the sanctuary arrangements, which was finally concluded in 1911 by the introduction of the new reredos and panelling by Detmar Blow and Fernand Billerey. A Report by the elder Scott on 'proposed alterations' to the choir had been 'drawn up at the request of certain fellows of the college' in 1866. This document, which was almost certainly prepared by the younger Scott, established the position of the original high altar.¹⁸ That same year, Scott was assisting his father in preparing designs for proposed gates in the north and south porches.¹⁹ Earlier, in 1864, as the Congregation Book of the College records, the Provost and Fellows agreed that donations given by William Wilts and William Waite were to be 'expended in providing two Standards for lights to be placed in the Eastern part of the Choir of the College Chapel, the design to be furnished by G. G. Scott, Esq., and submitted to the College.'²⁰ This, of course, was still the elder Scott, who was probably responsible for the undated 'Rough sketch of standards one three light or two single light for lectern' which survives in the College Muniments. It shows Gothic metalwork of a typically mid-Victorian spiky kind, not at all in harmony with the character of the Chapel's remarkable early sixteenth-century lectern.

But, in the usual way of academic institutions, this vote was rescinded in 1867, only to be revived again. On 1 March 1870, consideration of the design of the standards was 'deferred' and at the same meeting 'Mr Scott junr' was mentioned for the first time in connection with a (rejected) suggestion for experimenting with gas lighting in the Chapel. Four months later, on 7 June, it was decided to add a legacy from Richard Byam to the budget for 'erecting two brass standards for lights at the East end of the Chapel according to Mr Gilbert Scott junior's third design, the execution and erection of the same to be under the supervision of the Provost and Officers.' Scott's first two designs for the standards are presumed lost and it was this third design that was eventually to be executed by the distinguished London ecclesiastical metalworking firm of Barkentin & Krall, that is, by 'Jes. Barkentin, goldsmith'.²¹

Sir Gilbert Scott was doubtless glad to delegate this small but time-consuming commission to his son. In 1870 he was seriously overworked and in poor health,

suffering a stroke in Chester later in the year. Furthermore, his son had a great interest in church metalwork and other areas of the decorative arts, as he would demonstrate when he and his friends, the architects G. F. Bodley and Thomas Garner, set up the firm of Watts & Company — ‘a Warehouse for Ecclesiastical and Domestic Furniture of artistic character’ — in 1874. But a further reason for entrusting the younger Scott with the design for these standards was his affection for the Early Renaissance style. For there was clearly a feeling among the Fellows that any new fittings should not be Gothic but in harmony with the Chapel's existing woodwork and furniture. This informed Carter's earlier opinion about the desired new reredos that, ‘if the truer principle of restoration be a complete deference to the past, we should rather assign this work to the later age, when the luxurious refinement of Henry VIII was mingling itself with the ruder though purer taste of his ancestor.’²²

Despite having been obliged by Lord Palmerston to design the new Government Offices in the classical manner, Sir Gilbert Scott lacked sympathy for other styles and at the very end of his life could still criticize those *avant-garde* former Goths — such as his eldest son — who ‘suddenly became as furiously anti-Gothic & to carry out their views turned in favour of Perpendicular, 17th Century, & finally “Queen Anne”’.²³ But unlike his father, but like all those of his generation who embraced the eclectic Queen Anne of the 1870s, the younger Scott rejected the mid-Victorian claims for Gothic supremacy which showed such arrogant contempt for ‘the foul torrent of the Renaissance’. He sought, instead, a fusion between Gothic and classic such as had been characteristic of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England. Scott's now-destroyed masterpiece in Late Gothic, the church of St Agnes, Kennington, in South London, had, as H. S. Goodhart-Rendel put it, ‘the mysterious but unmistakable smell of Renaissance that hung about his most Gothic details’. By 1881, he was prepared to design in a pure Renaissance manner for Cardinal Newman in Birmingham. Scott, in fact, can be regarded as a pioneer in the late Victorian revival of the Grand Manner, for, in the 1870s — as he demonstrated at Pembroke College — he went much further than even his enlightened architect contemporaries in his respect for Renaissance classicism.

At King's, Scott's task was to work in sympathy with the Early Renaissance work of the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII rather than to make an assertive statement of his own time, as his father might well have done. Indeed, for Scott, as for Bodley and Garner, reticence and refinement were now preferable to mid-Victorian stridency, so he was content to design two monumental brass standards each with a wide spreading heavy moulded base on feet supporting four lions, similar to, but not precisely copied from, the bronze lectern given by Provost Hacumblen in *c.* 1515. From each base, standing on a plinth of black marble, a circular shaft rose to a hexagonal upper ‘corona’ thirteen feet above the pavement where an openwork frieze, or brattishing, in an early Renaissance manner enclosed a central taper or candle, itself five feet high. Below, an intermediate wide knob supported six candle sconces at the ends of richly foliated branches of more Gothic character. These may have been inspired by the fourteenth-century candelabra that used to hang in the Temple Church in Bristol, but given greater elaboration, as in Flemish or German examples. The overall form of these standards was strong and massive, but relieved by mouldings and decorative details modelled

with great refinement and delicacy. A nice contemporary touch was that while the upper brattishing incorporated the Tudor rose, a lower frieze was enlivened by that badge of Aestheticism, the sunflower.

By October 1871 the two standards were made and the Provost, Richard Okes, was in correspondence with both Scott and Barkentin about the heraldic embellishments and the placing of the engraved inscription in 'old English letters' stating that '*Pietate et impensis Ricardi Burgh Byam, A.M., Gulielmi Fredericy Wilts, A.M., et Gulielmi Wayte, A.M., olim hujus Collegii Sociorum opus absolutum. A.S. 1871*'. Scott always took immense care over details and made suggestions for abbreviations so that the inscriptions could fit on convex mouldings, while maintaining that, 'it is not desirable to make inscriptions too conspicuous or too readily legible, or they look like advertisements.' Early in 1872, Scott suggested to the Provost that, 'on one standard might be written something to the effect that these candelabra were designed by G.G.S. architect fellow of Jesus Coll: (an honour which I have just attained to) and sometime Scholar of Eton, whether the last is worth mentioning you will judge better than I. The other standard might state that the candelabra were executed by Edward Barkentin, goldsmith of London, by nation a Dane.'²⁴

In March 1872, Barkentin exhibited the two tall brass standards at the Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street, which was a few doors down from his London 'atelier', before they were sent to Cambridge.²⁵ They were late in delivery and, at £550, were considerably more expensive than the estimated cost of £300, to the annoyance of the College. But they would seem to have given satisfaction, as a motion to convey to both Scott and Barkentin that the amount charged was 'excessive' was defeated.²⁶ They represented, however, Scott's only executed design for King's. Despite both Scott's researches back in 1866 into the original position of the high altar and their advocacy of a '*detached reredos*' on its site, it was William Burges who, in 1874, was asked to prepare a design for a new reredos to replace the eighteenth-century Gothick panelling by James Essex. This was an unofficial commission, again from Carter and a group of Fellows.²⁷ Also, to judge by its stiff Decorated Gothic style, Scott had nothing to do with his father's design for the College's new building in Trumpington Street commissioned in 1871 and it was still Sir Gilbert Scott, only a year before his death, rather than his son who contributed a scheme, in abortive competition with Burges and G. E. Street in 1877, to replace Wilkins's Screen with a new building in a Late Gothic style.²⁸

George Gilbert Scott junior's candle standards were intended, above all, to stand in harmony with the great bronze lectern, but their success as an essay in scholarly conservative design was further demonstrated when the new reredos and panelling by Blow and Billerey replaced Essex's woodwork in 1911. Against a sophisticated and harmonious classical background, the standards continued to look well and appropriate, imparting a monumental dignity to choir and sanctuary. They were removed in 1964, along with all the panelling, as part of the unfortunate and destructive recasting of the east end of the Chapel carried out by Sir Martyn Beckett.²⁹ The standards are now in store and it must be hoped that they may eventually be returned to the Chapel for which they were designed. They are important both as magnificent examples of Victorian ecclesiastical metalwork and as fine complements to one of the supreme masterpieces of English medieval architecture by an architect who was not only a

distinguished historian of the building but who was also, if not the most famous or conspicuously original, certainly one of the most subtle and scholarly designers of his time and one who treated the ancient buildings of his university with unusual respect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Permission by the Provost and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge, to make quotations from the College's Muniments and Modern Archives is gratefully acknowledged, as is help received from Dr M. A. Halls, the Modern Archivist. I am greatly indebted to Mr Graham Chainey for his generosity with his own research into King's Chapel and I have also benefited from advice from Dr Francis Woodman, F.S.A., Mr Peter Hodson and from Dr John Martin Robinson, F.S.A. The major part of this article was originally written in 1990 for the abortive published *Festschrift* for Professor Michael Jaffé, former Fellow of King's College.

NOTES

- 1 For the significance of Bodley's church, see Michael Hall, 'The rise of refinement: G. F. Bodley's All Saints, Cambridge' in *Architectural History*, 36 (1993), 103–26. As an undergraduate, Scott naturally took a close interest in the restoration of the Chapel carried out, after initial controversy, by Bodley after 1864. Because of the slow progress of the work, Scott was asked to replace Bodley as architect, but, in a letter to the Master, the Revd E. H. Morgan, 29 February 1876, he declined, writing that 'it could not but be viewed by people generally as in some degree a slight upon him and evidence of want of confidence, and although it is perfectly open to the College to act as they think fit, it is not, I think, open to me to profit by the dismissal of my friend' (Jesus College Archives).
- 2 'New Lamps for Old' in *The Times* for 26 March 1875 (further correspondence on the controversy was published in the newspaper on 29 and 31 March and 1 April 1875); *Pembroke College Register* for 16 March 1875 (Pembroke College Archives). For a wider discussion of Victorian restorations in Cambridge see Gavin Stamp, 'The Art of Leaving Things Alone', *Cambridge Review*, 99 (28 January 1977), 72–76.
- 3 Waterhouse to the Master, 17 February 1879 (Pembroke College Archives).
- 4 Scott to C. H. Prior (brother of the architect E. S. Prior), Treasurer of Pembroke College, 28 March 1879 (Pembroke College Archives).
- 5 Scott to Prior, 16 January 1879, and 26 April 1880 (Pembroke College Archives).
- 6 *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture prior to the Separation of England from the Roman Obedience* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1881), pp. 180–86.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 111. For Scott's other opinions and earlier writings, see the Cambridge Ph.D. thesis of 1978 on the architect by the present writer, which is to be published by the Cambridge University Press.
- 9 Thomas John Proctor Carter, *King's College Chapel: Notes on its History and Present Condition* (London and Cambridge, 1867).
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 184. Carter noted that both Henry Malden, as he described in his *Account of King's College-Chapel in Cambridge* of 1769, and James Essex had observed this weathering of the timber.
- 11 Dr Francis Woodman observes that no major scaffolding was erected inside the Chapel in the nineteenth century and that the restoration of the roof would not have required expensive internal scaffolding, but the rebuilding of the organ by Hill in 1859 and its repair in 1876 could, however, have afforded closer inspection of the vaulting shafts.
- 12 N. Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 105. This claim was first made in the first edition of 1954 but in connection with Sir Gilbert Scott, whom Pevsner then mistakenly believed had been responsible for the *Essay* despite the fact that the book was published three years after his death.
- 13 R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1886), 1: 494–95. The discussion of the vault and vaulting shafts was presumably by Willis, although in the Preface (p. xxii), Clark stated that when Willis died, 'the history of the chapel had hardly been begun'. Dr Woodman observes that Willis's 'cutting back' of the redundant vaulting shafts could not possibly have been carried out (see note 16 below). Willis's treatise 'On the Construction of the Vaults of the Middle Ages' in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1, pt. 2 (1842), does not refer to the vaulting shaft anomaly in the discussion of the King's fan vault, nor is it noted in F. Mackenzie's *Observations on the Construction of the Roof of King's College Chapel* of 1840. Similarly, Carter's *King's College Chapel* of 1867 does not refer to this problem and also maintains that the Chapel was built 'almost exactly' as originally designed. As Scott seems to have assisted Carter, this might suggest that Scott made the discovery at a later date.
- 14 Willis and Clark, 1: 629.

15 George Gilbert Scott to John Willis Clark, 26 February 1881, in the Modern Archives of King's College. The book referred to was presumably *Cambridge: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes* by Clark which was first published the same year, 1881.

16 Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel* (London, 1986). Like Pevsner at first, Dr Woodman in his book confuses Scott with his father and perhaps gives insufficient credit to Scott's *Essay*, for when he observes that the postulated cutting back of the redundant members on the vaulting shafts was, *pace* Willis and Clark, a physical impossibility, he ignores the fact that Scott, like Woodman himself (p. 62), argued instead that the choir vaulting shafts were an entirely new construction in the second phase of building.

17 This statement on p. 182 of the *Essay* was an implicit criticism, in particular, of attributions in Carter's documentary history and one which suggests that the latter's 1867 book does not necessarily record all of Scott's opinions or observations. Mr Graham Chainey points out that Scott's failure to mention Simon Clerk or John Wastell (p. 185) is odd as Wastell's contracts were printed by Malden in 1769.

18 Printed as Appendix A of Carter's *King's College Chapel*, p. 82, and dated 2 January 1866. The detailed research required for establishing the original position of the high altar forward of the the east wall together with a recommendation to keep Cornelius Austin's seventeenth-century panelling (but to replace Essex's eighteenth-century Gothick wainscot by hangings or tapestry) imply the younger Scott's authorship of this document. No style was recommended for the proposed free-standing reredos, but it 'must be of material and art proportioned to the magnificence of the building'.

19 Mr Chainey notes that among the 'Chapel Vouchers' is a letter from Scott jun. dated 25 May 1866, enclosing a revised design for the gates, but also that his father wrote the following year, 'I think I have exhausted my inventive powers in the two designs I have given, but if you will return them, I will do my best to strike out another.'

20 Minutes for 9 February 1864, in the relevant Congregation Book in the College Muniments.

21 Minutes for 5 March 1867, 1 March and 7 June 1870, in the Congregation Book for 1867-75. Byam left £119 15s. 9d.; Wayte had given £70. Scott's earlier drawings, together with most of those of the executed design, were presumably all destroyed in the fire that gutted his chambers in 12 Cecil Street, off the Strand, on 3 September 1870. The four drawings of the King's standards that survive among the George Gilbert Scott jun. collection in the British Architectural Library (along with a rubbing of details of the King's lectern) are all working details of lettering and the friezes prepared for Barkentin at his workshop at 291, Regent Street, London.

22 Carter, *King's College Chapel*, p. 79.

23 G. G. Scott, 'The "Queen Anne" Style' in *Personal and Professional Recollections*, original MS, vol. 5, p. 29, in the British Architectural Library. As published in 1879 on p. 374, this passage was altered by the editor, George Gilbert Scott jun.

24 Scott to Richard Okes, 15 November 1871 and 24 January 1872, in the College Muniments.

25 A printed invitation from Barkentin, sent to the Provost of King's with Scott's compliments, now in the University Library and brought to my attention by Mr Chainey. Dated 6 March 1872, this states that the standards 'are designed in accordance with the style of the Chapel. No pains or expense has been spared in the execution, and they are carried out with unusual care and completeness', that they were on exhibition until 20 March, and that 'MR BARKENTIN, who is Goldsmith to H.R.H. the PRINCESS of WALES, is also, by Special Appointment, Goldsmith to the Ecclesiological Society.'

26 Scott's Account Book preserved at the British Architectural Library. Minutes of the meeting held on 9 December 1871, in the Congregation Book for 1867-75.

27 Mr Chainey notes that after Sir Gilbert Scott's death, his executor submitted a bill in 1879 for £105 'to preparing design for Reredos, designs for rearrangements of the stalls' but it is not clear whether these were done in connection with the 1866 Report or subsequently. The Bursar, however, replied that, 'I am not aware that Sir G. Scott was ever consulted upon the subject of a Reredos — the College has never to my recollection had a proposal of the kind formally placed before it. Some years ago Mr Burges was privately engaged by some of the Fellows to submit a design, but nothing further has been done in the matter.'

28 Sir Gilbert Scott's drawings, signed 'Geo Gilbert Scott', are preserved among the College Muniments, along with Street's and Burges's 1877 designs.

29 This most controversial recasting, ostensibly undertaken to install Rubens's painting of *The Adoration of the Magi* in the sanctuary, involved not only the removal in 1964 of both Blow's Edwardian woodwork and the seventeenth-century panelling by Cornelius Austin but also the lowering of the floor in 1968, resulting in the destruction of evidence of the original levels determined by the Founder's Will of 1448 and of the Tudor brick arches which supported the floor as well as the (unrecorded) exhumation of burials from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The architects Maguire & Murray, who subsequently resigned over the issue, had prepared a report on the complex history of the east end of the Chapel but this was suppressed when the college decided in 1965 to place the Rubens beneath the east window. For this extraordinary phase in the building's history — as ruthless and as reprehensible as anything that occurred in Pembroke College in the early 1870s — see Graham Chainey, 'A season for crying in the chapel' in the *Independent*, 24 December 1992, and subsequent correspondence published in the newspaper on 30 December 1992. Scott's standards, along with the panelling, are said to be in store with the contractors, Rattee & Kett, in Cambridge.