

FOI Ref

8518

Response sent

23 Feb 2021

(CCC) Jesus College

As you may know, Jesus College, Cambridge have applied to the Church of England authorities to remove the Rustat memorial from their Grade I listed chapel.

This email is to ask

- a) have the College consulted with Cambridge City Council on this matter?
- b) if so, could you provide me with a copy of their request to you and your response
- c) please also provide me with a copy of all other communications with the College, University, or other body regarding the Rustat memorial in the chapel

Response:

The council has been approached in its capacity as the local planning authority to provide advice regarding historic building conservations related to the removal of the memorial to Tobias Rustat from Jesus College Chapel.

This request came from the Diocesan Advisory Committee (DAC) for the Diocese of Ely. The local planning authority is not the decision maker as the Chapel operates under an ecclesiastical exemption, however the attached correspondence from the DAC was received and the Council's advice was given by the Principal Conservation and Design Officer.

Details of the planning application made to the Diocese of Ely can be found on Jesus College's website at <https://www.jesus.cam.ac.uk/articles/memorial-planning-application>.

You will note in all the attachments that information has been redacted where it relates to either junior members of staff or third parties. This information constitutes personal information, disclosure of which would be in breach of Data Protection. Therefore this information is withheld under section 40(2) of the Freedom of Information Act. Where possible staff positions are identified.

Further queries on this matter should be directed to foi@cambridge.gov.uk

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GREATER CAMBRIDGE
SHARED PLANNING

██████████
Head of Church Buildings,
Diocese of Ely,
Bishop Woodford House,
Barton Road,
ELY,
Cambridgeshire,
CB7 4DX.

Our ref: E 72 BFBF 5 F 6305
Your ref:

Built & Natural Environment : Conservation
Contact: ██████████
Email: ██████████@
greatercambridgeplanning.org
Direct dial: ██████████

4 February 2021

Dear ██████████,

Removal of memorial to Tobias Rustat, Jesus College Chapel.

Please find attached the comment sheet reporting on the proposal to remove the memorial from the Listed Building. This has been reviewed by the head of the BNE Conservation Team, Christian Brady.

Yours Faithfully

██████████
Principal Conservation Officer

Consultation Response Form

Reference Number:	Ticket E 72 BFBF 5 F 6305
Proposal:	Removal of memorial to Tobias Rustat
Site Address:	College Chapel, Jesus College, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.
Conservation Officer:	██████████
Case Planning Officer:	██████████████████
Date:	7 January 2021

Comments:

Site visit Thu 24 Dec 2020 with ██████████.

The college chapel operates under the ‘ecclesiastical exemption’ and hence the LPA is not the decision making body. These comments are in response to a request from the DAC at Ely.

These comments relate solely to the historic building conservation aspects of the proposal and not to any ethical, philosophical or theological aspects of the proposal.

The detailed document submitted considers many aspects of the proposal but Appendix 1 has been prepared by the college’s architect to discuss the history of the memorial, in brief, and the practicalities of its relocation. It is not proposed to repeat the history and description of the memorial here. The stonework is of substantial size and weight and extracting it from the wall into which it is built would require considerable skill. However, the history of the chapel suggests that it has been moved from place to place within the chapel more than once before and that, with modern access and handling equipment, it could be again. The way in which it is built into the fabric of the LB is discussed but is not known in fine detail. Should a Faculty be granted, it should be conditional upon there being appropriate opening-up works and detailed analysis undertaken to determine precisely how the memorial is fixed before a Schedule of Works is drawn up. Likewise, there is some discussion about how many pieces form the memorial but none on precisely how the separate components were assembled together and how easily [or otherwise] they might be parted for removal and transport. This, too, should be the subject of more detailed examination.

Once the stonework has been extracted from the historic fabric of the LB how and to where it is to be moved should be the subject of a Method Statement on the protection of the material and elements of the LB through which is to be handled and transported. This should include the protection of the memorial components and the floors, walls [and their finishes], doorways, etc. within the chapel and any other building of the college through which the stonework has to pass.

After the stonework has been removed from the chapel, there should also be a Method Statement relating to making good of the aperture in the chapel wall. As the other side of the wall is a First Floor bedroom on E staircase, consideration should be given to whether a LBC application is made for the works that relate to a Listed part of the college that does not have the ecclesiastical exemption.

Appendix 1 of the submission describes a new location for the memorial [and some other stone fragments from the college collection] where it can be displayed and studied if required. The submission says that the room “with some simple modification” can be adapted to this purpose. If those modifications require alterations to an LB that need LBC, then this needs to be taken into account in the Schedule of Works timetable. As, by this point, the memorial is no longer physically part of the fabric of an LB, it has ceased being a ‘fixture’ and its movement and treatment is no longer a matter for the LPA [or, presumably, the DAC] and it can stay where it is in the college or be moved to a museum – that possibility is mentioned in the documents.

From: Customer Services <customer.services@cambridge.gov.uk>
Sent: 26 November 2020 16:45
To: Planning <planning@greatercambridgeplanning.org>
Subject: Ticket: E72BF5F6305 Re: Jesus College Chapel - Monument to Tobias Rustat

Good Afternoon


I believe you are the correct department to deal with this enquiry as it relates to: Jesus College Chapel - Monument to Tobias Rustat

Please respond to:

Kind Regards

 *Senior Customer Services Advisor, Cambridge City Council.*

cambridge.gov.uk | facebook.com/camcitco | twitter.com/camcitco


From:  <@elydiocese.org>
Sent: 2020/11/26 14:43:54
To: planning@cambridge.gov.uk <planning@cambridge.gov.uk>
Subject: Jesus College Chapel - Monument to Tobias Rustat

Dear City of Cambridge,

Diocese of Ely DAC: statutory consultation in respect of Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge

The Ely Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches has received a request for advice from Jesus College in relation to their proposals to remove a memorial from the chapel which celebrates the life of Tobias Rustat. More details are set out below.

In the opinion of the officers of the DAC, this proposal is referable to the statutory external consultees, as required by the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2019. Please therefore treat this letter as a consultation with local planning authority. There is a statutory time limit of 42 days during which an initial response must be made to this consultation in order for it to be taken account of during the faculty process.

Please send your response to me, copied to the Diocesan Registry


Further details of the proposals are as follows:

Name of Church: Jesus College Chapel
Principal architect: Medieval/Pugin and others
Grade of listing: I

The attached papers outline the reasons behind the College's proposal to remove this memorial from the Chapel, and the reasons why they consider this to be an urgent matter. The Diocesan Chancellor has been alerted to the situation. The College may seek interim consent for removal and safe storage of the memorial, pending a final decision about its future home - therefore an early response to this would be appreciated if possible. The College is urgently seeking a new, appropriate and publicly-accessible home for the monument.

List of attachments:

- Artful Logistics method statement for the removal and safe storage of the memorial
- Paper presented to Diocesan Advisory Committee in July
- Paper presented to the Diocesan Advisory Committee in November
- Two documents detailing the life of Tobias Rustat

I look forward to hearing from you within 42 days. Any response received after this may not be considered by the Chancellor.

With many thanks,

[Redacted signature]

[Redacted name]

Head of Church Buildings and Pastoral, Diocese of Ely

[Redacted contact information]

Please note that the Diocesan Office and Bishop Woodford House Retreat and Conference Centre have been closed until further notice. This is in response to the Government's advice on restricting the spread of coronavirus (COVID-19). More information on what this means for our staff and visitors can be found here – <https://www.elydiocese.org/about/contact-us/>

The Memorial of Tobias Rustat, Jesus College, Cambridge

The process of removal will require several stages

1: An initial site visit and more detailed exploration of the sculpture to attempt to identify the fixing system employed and to inform a more detailed plan for removal. This will require some limited removal of surrounding plaster to determine the depth of the sculpture and to investigate, to some extent, the suspension system employed. This will require access via a mobile scaffolding tower and will take 3-4 hours. It will be prudent to arrange such an inspection at an early date.

2: Removal from the wall will require a scaffolding installation around the sculpture, with provision for a lift and lower capability to enable the individual elements to be safely removed from the wall and lowered to the ground for packing and removal. The dismantling will almost certainly start with the upper sections, working down until all elements are removed.

This is likely to take 4-5 days and will be more informed by the initial inspection outlined in (1) above. However, if difficulties are encountered during the removal process – e.g. due to hidden fixings etc, this timeline may increase and any estimated costs may be subject to review.

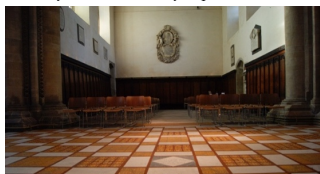
3: As the elements are removed and lowered to ground level, they will be suitably wrapped and packed into bespoke storage crates, using appropriate breathable conservation materials such as Tyvek and Plastazote, to ensure safe onward movement and to provide a suitable storage medium which can be readily handled.

The Memorial of Tobias Rustat, Jesus College, Cambridge

Contextual information for DAC July 2020

The Revd James Crockford, Dean of Chapel

The College Council and Society [Fellowship], together with the Dean of Chapel, of Jesus College Cambridge, are currently reviewing the College's historic links to slavery and its legacies. The initial report of the Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP) in November 2019 can be found at <https://www.jesus.cam.ac.uk/college/about-us/legacy-slavery-inquiry>. Their subsequent report and initial recommendations to College Council have been received in July 2020 but not yet published; relevant excerpts are included below. Among the recommendations is action to be taken with respect to the large memorial to Tobias Rustat, which features on the west wall of the College Chapel.



Tobias Rustat's Legacies

Excerpts from the November 2019 LSWP Report:

'Tobias Rustat (1608-1694) was one of the College's largest benefactors before the twentieth century. His donation (in the form of rent on land at Waterbeach and Denny in Cambridgeshire) was made to support scholarships for the orphan sons of Anglican clergy; he also gave the College income from land at Nuneaton to found a charity to relieve the widows of clergymen. One account estimates the total value of Rustat's gifts to the College at £3,230 (the equivalent of £500,000 today). £1,000 was used to purchase property in Nuneaton, Warwickshire in 1672 to provide an annual income of £60 to pay for the pensions for six 'Rustat Widows' who all had to be widows of C of E clergy. Rustat's charitable giving had a political and religious agenda: a royalist during the Civil Wars, he intended his bequests primarily to support the established Church and the universities (which, like most early modern people, he would have understood as politicised, religious institutions), and to relieve clergy and their families who had suffered as a result of the religious and political upheavals of the 1650s.

'Much of Rustat's personal wealth came from his career as a courtier in the 1640s and afterwards; he was appointed Yeoman of the Robes to Charles II in 1659. At this time, the line between public service and private enterprise was blurry, and courtiers holding office in the Royal household profited substantially from them. Rustat was also an investor in a series of trading companies: the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, commonly called the Royal African Company, which was chartered in 1663 and reincorporated in 1672 as The Royal African Company (RAC). Rustat's name appears on the charter of both of these companies; a manuscript recently acquired by the Beinecke Library at Yale University seems to suggest that Rustat was also involved in another trading company, the Gambian Adventurers, into the early 1680s. Rustat's investment in the RAC was £400 (the equivalent of £60,000 today). Many courtiers and others in Rustat's circle invested, including his patron the Duke of Buckingham and his private banker, Edward Backwell. The RAC was not consistently profitable, but Rustat received significant dividends on his investment. He also took a role in running the RAC, being elected for a yearly term as an Assistant (the rough equivalent of a Director) in the years 1676, 1679, and 1680, although his direct involvement in the day-to-day management of the company was not great.

'The historian William Pettigrew, author of a recent book on the Royal African Company, describes its activities clearly: "The Royal African Company shipped more enslaved African women, men, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade. From its foundation in 1672 to the early 1720s, the African Company transported close to 150,000 enslaved Africans, mostly to the British Caribbean." This was a brutal and sustained trade in human life that exploited thousands of people: investors in the RAC were fully aware of its activities

and intended to profit from this exploitation. The facts of Rustat's involvement both with the College and in the slave trade are not in doubt; they have been widely known for years, and are discussed both in scholarly studies of the Royal African Company and the University Library, and in his entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Further archival research might supply more detail about his finances and the precise degree of his involvement in the management of the Royal African Company; but we can be clear that Rustat had financial and other involvement in a slave trading company over a substantial period of time, including at the time when he donated to the College.

'Rustat is still very present in the College today: he is buried in Chapel, where his grand marble memorial remains, and his donation is acknowledged both at the Commemoration of Benefactors Feast, and at the Rustat Feast. Rustat scholarships (worth on average £1000 a year) are still awarded to students who are the children of clergy.'

Rustat's Memorial

Tobias Rustat had commissioned the monument during his lifetime, c. 1686, including its inscription¹ (with the exception of the final two lines with his date of death). For the last eight years of his life, it resided at his house at Chelsea.² By the time of its commission, Rustat was already a major donor to the College (though not a Jesuan himself, his father was). Most scholarship concurs that it is the work of Grinling Gibbons, with perhaps some other minor contributors.³ It is believed to be composed of eight separate parts and stands 4.27m high.⁴ After his death in 1694 (1693, old calendar), he was buried somewhere in Chapel and his monument installed by Society.⁵ His will, written the October before his death (in March), expressed his desire to be 'reverently buried in the Church or Chappell of Jesus College in Cambridge, where my tomb is in readinesse to be sette up'.⁶

Location and reinstallations

The monument was, it is thought, originally installed in its current location on the west wall, displacing the protruding window that now sits between Upper Hall and the gallery to the Hall.⁷ (The west wall had been put in when the convent became a College and the Nave was reduced to form a Master's Lodge.) The memorial was then moved, perhaps once or twice: two early 19th century authors locate it in the north transept (the section where the *Pietà* statue now resides)⁸ and during later Victorian restorations it was removed to (the west wall of) the south transept (the opposing section, where the piano now resides).⁹ It only moved back to its current and original location in 1922,¹⁰ when the large 1887 organ was removed



¹ Renfrew and Robbins record that the inscription was composed, 'or at any rate drafted' by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms: Jane Renfrew and Michael Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat and his Monument in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge', pp. 416-423 in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 70, Issue 2, September 1990, p. 419. Morgan and Morgan believe Rustat to be the author: Iris Morgan and Gerda Morgan, *Stones and Story of Jesus College Chapel*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 229, p. 330. See too William Hamper, *Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, London, 1827, p. 40.

² Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 418.

³ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 421. The most recent edition of Pevsner (cf. 1954 edition) concurs on the likely authorship of Gibbons: Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire*, The Buildings of England (series), London: Yale University Press, 2014, p. 117.

⁴ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 419, p. 416.

⁵ Morgan and Morgan, *Stones and Story*, p. 229.

⁶ David Green, *Grinling Gibbons, His Work as Carver and Statuary 1648-1721*, London, 1964, p. 157.

⁷ Further archival work is required to verify this. Not least since Renfrew and Robbins, after Hewitt, place it originally in the north transept. Hewitt is likely mistaken in that regard, presuming that its move from north to south transept (see below) had displaced it from its original location.

⁸ W. Hewitt, Jr., *Memoirs of Tobias Rustat Esq. Yeoman of the Robes*, London, 1849, p. 86; also Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, London: Cadell and Davies, 1808, p.119.

⁹ Morgan and Morgan, *Stones and Story*, p.229, p. 330.

¹⁰ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 423, n. 31. Hewitt, for some reason, thinks it had been replaced on the west Nave wall 'lately' before 1849, which would mean it had had some five installations in its life by now. Hewitt is likely wrong in this, since his account fits no other information.

from the west end of the Nave.¹¹ We are currently beginning archival investigations into its installations for any contextual and technical insight. After the latest floor tiling occurred (possibly also 1922), a small tile in the Chancel was inscribed with Rustat's name and dates (as were a small number of other tiles). It is not prominently located, and currently lies under one of the humbler bench stalls.

Excerpt from the July 2020 LSWP Report:

'In contrast to Rustat's appearance on the donors' wall [in the Cloisters], his memorial in Chapel represents a celebration of Rustat (its text was written by himself). At the Society Meeting in November several options were debated, including that of its removal for which, at that stage, no support was expressed. However, views about statues and memorials have been evolving fast all spring, and many Jesus members are increasingly vocal in seeing the current location of Rustat's memorial as incompatible with the experience of Chapel as a place of welfare. The placement of the memorial forces visitors to the chapel literally to look up to Rustat, and its proportions make it hard to ignore. (Especially if, as we can expect, attention is drawn to it after the fate of Colston, Rhodes et al. this spring).'

Recommendations for consideration

A. Intermediate action

Excerpts from the July 2020 LSWP Report:

'In the light of the current intensification of public debates over statues and memorials, it was felt that the Rustat memorial could, in the meantime (which could be lengthy), not be left without immediate contextualisation. The LSWP, in collaboration with the Dean of Chapel, Curator of Works of Art and the Communications Office (and with logistic help from the Master's Office, the Porters and the Manciple's office) have produced a leaflet which provides contextualising information on Rustat, which will be available for any visitor to the Chapel [attached]. We also prepared a plasticised sign for a metal stand in front of the memorial, which directs visitors' attention to the leaflet.'

While the College clarifies its mind about either of the more permanent options B or C below, it recognises a need for more robust intermediate action than this, particularly with the probable return of resident students in October 2020, and the potential problem for Chapel outreach and mission to the College community if the College is perceived not to have responded to the increased sense of pastoral difficulty around the memorial. Several intermediate options have been mentioned: a curtain covering (which may seem that we are covering up the problem); painting some surrounding text temporarily by an artist across the west wall (e.g. 'We own our past, but we shape our future', or 'I am not your industry' (picking up Rustat's wording that he made his wealth 'through his industry'), or 'Not in my name', or a commissioned poet); or hanging such a text on translucent fabric over the memorial for a time.

B. Relocation

One permanent solution would be to relocate the memorial to somewhere more fitting, where it could be contextualised properly. At present we have not identified a suitable place either within College or the University, but are continuing to seek suitable locations and advice on the removal and restoration of such an object. This would enable a thorough restoration process to preserve the monument. Given the length of such a process, this may offer more time for securing another suitable location, perhaps in collaboration with other Colleges and the University.

C. Creative installation

Another, secondary, permanent solution would be to commission a diaspora artist (perhaps by professional competition) to produce a contextualising installation. Options here may include: some form of glass frontal over the monument to draw it into a new artwork exploring historical 'lenses' and

reinterpretations of the past; use of the large spaces on the west wall to surround the monument with poetry, or sculpted form, or other artwork that responds to the difficulty of the memorial, but preserves its artistic integrity; large-scale floor-standing sculpture that reaches up and around the memorial.

Pastoral and theological comments

Pastorally, the Chapel stands as an inclusive and welcoming space in the heart of the College. It is a place where students are regularly (and pleasantly) surprised by its lively and open ethos, as well as the power of its stillness and beauty of its surroundings. It serves various wellbeing purposes and houses musical and other creative activities, in addition to its more obviously religious purpose. If the presence of a memorial (or any other feature) is perceived to be a barrier to members of our community, this must be taken seriously.

The Chapel is a living building, which has seen extraordinary changes in its fabric and furnishings. It is also a space that palpably connects visitors and College members to the solidity of our past: to change too much or too quickly could disserve that particular vocation of the space. Where that solidity functions in ways that are hard to bear, though, and offers a burden rather than a relief, we must think again. Conversely, the Chapel has a responsibility to minister to all; where changes may, at the same time, be perceived by members of our College community to be contentious, rushed, or unwise, it must balance the risk of divisiveness with the need, at times, to be unambiguous. Both recommendations from LSWP with regard to the Chapel memorial are rightly ambitious and substantial responses.

¹¹ Arthur Gray and Frederick Brittain, *A History of Jesus College Cambridge*, Cambridge: Silent Books, 1988, p. 197.



JESUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

The Memorial of Tobias Rustat, Jesus College, Cambridge

Update: Consent to Remove – Diocesan Advisory Committee, November 2020

Further to the paper submitted by the Dean of Chapel to DAC in July 2020, this current paper outlines further work, consultation and decisions that lead the College now to seek to acquire consent to remove the memorial of Tobias Rustat from the College Chapel.

The Fellowship and the College Council have both now received and discussed in some detail the recommendations of the Legacy of Slavery Working Party at their meetings on 26th October and 2nd November respectively. Both bodies voted with overwhelming majority for the memorial's relocation (the College Council being the formal body for the process of petitioning the Chancellor). There was, within the options for relocation, a slight preference for finding a suitable exhibition space within College to critically contextualize it, if possible, but willingness to support its removal to an external museum exhibition if a suitable home could be found.

Discounting alternatives to removal

Negative responses to potential options for the memorial which did not include its removal from Chapel were given on grounds both of practicality and principle.

In a principled sense, consultation with our BAME students and Fellows suggested strongly that fostering an inclusive dialogue and culture within the Chapel and College could not be achieved if the memorial remained within Chapel, where its presence, even if contextualized, carries a significance and dominance of the space. Student representatives reported a very strong consensus that the Chapel was perceived to be the heart of welfare and pastoral support to the College community, and that the memorial's presence was incongruous with this, and a barrier to the sense of inclusion the Chapel seeks to foster.

In a practical sense, three options were considered which did not involve removal of the memorial:

- *Contextualizing installation (art, or poetry) on the west wall*

This option had initially been discussed quite thoroughly, but posed several difficulties:

- It would continue to emphasise the central and elevated position of Rustat's memorial which is so key to the problematics of its current context, and would place Rustat at the centre of the continuing narrative. This would seem to foster the very opposite of a sense of inclusion, a rebalancing of the (dis)empowerments of historical narrative, and the fostering of an increasingly diverse and historically critical community.
- Given the scale of the monument, any substantially commanding artistic installation that sought to respond to it would create something of an overbearing focus; to do so would create significant visual, architectural and liturgical impact both on the focal Morris & Co ceiling above that rightly draws the viewer in the Nave to look heavenwards, and to the architectural compass of the building which encourages the visitor toward the focus of the sanctuary.

THE REVD JAMES CROCKFORD, DEAN OF CHAPEL

JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE CB5 8BL

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Registered Charity No: 1137462

- Given the pace of developing thought in critical engagement with legacies of slavery, and the infancy of contextualization, such an installation would easily and quickly seem dated; in a decade, one might be faced with needing to commission a new installation, or look once again at removal of the monument. This was, thus, not deemed an option with any sense of long view.

- *Critical plaque or words installed to provide contextualization of the memorial*

This option had, on discussion in July during the Chancellor's visit, been felt by all to be an insufficient response given recent developments in thinking around responses to contested memorials of this kind. Contextualizing words, it was noted more recently during College discussions, would still leave unanswered the principled question as to why such an object was still there and elevated so prominently.

- *Installation of a large curtain covering across the west wall*

This option was discussed most recently, together with architectural plans and quotations. Whilst this option would remove the memorial from sight and yet ensure it was still viewable as an artistic and educational object, it was agreed that covering the memorial would send all the wrong messages, and would suggest the College were hiding its embarrassing history rather than facing up to its difficulties with honesty and seeking to reshape the future in the light of it. There were also some practical difficulties to the solution, given the depth of the protrusion of the memorial from the wall. Again, this solution also did not address the principled objection that the memorial's presence in itself created a pastoral and missional barrier to many members of the College community.

Discussion of relocating the memorial to alternative positions within Chapel had occurred with various parties (architect, Works of Art Committee, museum directors, Chancellor of the Diocese). This option was not taken forward as a formal option for consideration given (a) lack of appropriate and viable wall space elsewhere within Chapel, (b) the memorial's artistic design necessitates that it be viewed in an elevated position, which is its very problem at present, but to install it within Chapel in a less elevated position would disable its artistic appreciation, (c) once again this solution also did not address the problem of the memorial still being situated in Chapel.

Removal options

Study opportunity

Removal will also present an opportunity for a study of the memorial and its construction – especially pertinent given the tercentenary of Grinling Gibbons' death next year. It would also provide an opportunity for restoration of the monument and greater level of public engagement with it both as an artistic piece and an educational vehicle for discussion on the legacy and history of slavery.

Relocation within College

There is a slight preference that, if the memorial were to be removed, it be relocated in a suitable exhibition space within College. Whilst this is viewed as an ideal course of action, no suitable such installation space within College has yet been identified, and is now highly unlikely to be. The memorial would require a substantial space and strength of wall, together with suitable viewing perspectives; there is at present no space considered practically viable nor contextually suitable for such an installation. Of the College's two existing exhibition spaces, one is not of sufficient height and its timber

frame would not support the weight of the monument; the other is a modern visitor gallery reserved for seasonal contemporary art exhibitions, in which the memorial would not make any curatorial sense.

Relocation to an external museum

In the absence of any clear options for installation elsewhere within College, the College would be supportive of temporary or permanent relocation to an external exhibition space where it can be contextualized and viewed by the public. The College is currently in dialogue with a Heritage Network of Museums' representative who focuses on the history of slavery and Britain's role in that history. The network includes museums in Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Edinburgh and the Museum of London Docklands Sugar and Slavery Gallery, some of which are currently expanding their work and exhibition spaces. Conversations have also been started with the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. Due to the sensitive nature of the College's discussions and decisions regarding the memorial, there has been a limit to the extent to which any singular commitment or solution has been able to be pursued. If the College is able to obtain at least temporary permission for the memorial's removal, then more public communication can be secured and more open and fulsome conversations pursued with relevant partners to seek a suitable space for its exhibition, appreciation, and contextualization.

Removal procedures

After extensive consultations with possible contractors and experts over the summer, we have identified two potential firms to carry out the removal itself and make good the wall: Artful Logistics with Cliveden, and Taylor Pearce with Momart.

Discussions within the Fellowship and Council have demonstrated good support for exploring a future artistic commission for the west wall, to ensure a positive and continuing engagement with the capacity of the Chapel's fabric to speak, represent, and provoke – to express, shape and form our identity and hope as a College community. As Dean, I am heartened indeed that the College sees its Chapel in such a way. This will require energy and exploration later; for now the key action is removal, which will include the making good of the wall.

Given the strong level of agreement within the College community, the high turnover of students (the Chapel's main focus for mission and pastoral care), and the length and depth of the period of reflection, dialogue and decision-making with and through the Legacy of Slavery Working Group, we are keen to seek prompt action. December 2020 presents a window during the student vacation when Chapel activities largely cease, and work could be completed. This would also enable sculptural study of the memorial, together with the public arts engagement opportunity this presents, to coincide with the tercentenary of Gibbons. The College thus request that consent to remove may be granted to enable this.



JESUS COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE

**Application for
Permission to Relocate
the Memorial of Tobias
Rustat**

Jesus College Chapel

December 2020

The College Council and Society of Jesus College Cambridge have been undergoing an extended review of the College's historic links to slavery and its legacies. The Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP) provided an [interim report](#) in November 2019, and a [further set of recommendations](#) in November 2020. Among the recommendations is action to be taken with respect to the large memorial to Tobias Rustat, which features on the west wall of the College Chapel.

Tobias Rustat (1608-1694) was one of the College's largest benefactors before the twentieth century. Rustat was also an investor in a series of trading companies: the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, commonly called the Royal African Company, which was chartered in 1663 and reincorporated in 1672 as The Royal African Company (RAC). The fact of Rustat's involvement both with the College and in the slave trade are not in doubt. Further historical information and analysis by the Legacy of Slavery Working Party can be found in Appendix 2.

The Chapel Context

Pastorally, the Chapel stands as an inclusive and welcoming space in the heart of the College. It is a place where students are regularly (and pleasantly) surprised by its lively and open ethos, as well as the power of its stillness and beauty of its surroundings. It serves various wellbeing purposes and houses musical and other creative activities, in addition to its more obviously religious purpose. If the presence of a memorial (or any other feature) is perceived to be a barrier to members of our community, this must be taken seriously.

The Chapel is a living building, which has seen extraordinary changes in its fabric and furnishings. It is also a space that palpably connects visitors and College members to the solidity of our past: to change too much or too quickly could disserve that particular vocation of the space. Where that solidity functions in ways that are hard to bear, though, and offers a burden rather than a relief, we must think again. Conversely, the Chapel has a responsibility to minister to all; where changes may, at the same time, be perceived by members of our College community to be contentious, rushed, or unwise, it must balance the risk of divisiveness with the need, at times, to be unambiguous. The recommendation from LSWP with regard to the Chapel memorial is a rightly ambitious and substantial response.

Tobias Rustat's Memorial

Tobias Rustat had commissioned the monument during his lifetime, c.1686, including its inscription¹ (with the exception of the final two lines with his date of death). For the last eight years of his life, it resided at his house at



¹ Renfrew and Robbins record that the inscription was composed, 'or at any rate drafted' by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms: Jane Renfrew and Michael Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat and his Monument in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge', pp. 416-423 in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 70, Issue 2, September 1990, p. 419. Morgan and Morgan believe Rustat to be the author: Iris Morgan and Gerda Morgan, *Stones and Story of Jesus*

Chelsea.² By the time of its commission, Rustat was already a major donor to the College (though not a Jesuan himself, his father was). Most scholarship concurs that it is the work of Grinling Gibbons, with perhaps some other minor contributors.³ It is believed to be composed of eight separate parts and stands 4.27m high.⁴ After his death in 1694 (1693, old calendar), he was buried somewhere in Chapel and his monument installed by Society.⁵ His will, written the October before his death (in March), expressed his desire to be 'reverently buried in the Church or Chappell of Jesus College in Cambridge, where my tomb is in readinesse to be sette up'.⁶

Location and reinstallations

The monument was, it is thought, originally installed in its current location on the west wall, displacing the protruding window that now sits between Upper Hall and the gallery to the Hall.⁷ (The west wall had been put in when the convent became a College and the Nave was reduced to form a Master's Lodge.) The memorial was then moved, perhaps once or twice: two early 19th century authors locate it in the north transept (the section where the *Pietà* statue now resides)⁸ and during later Victorian restorations it was removed to the south transept (the opposing section, where the piano now resides).⁹ It only moved back to its current and original location in 1922,¹⁰ when the large 1887 organ was removed from the west end of the Nave.¹¹ We are currently beginning archival investigations into its installations for any contextual and technical insight. After the latest floor tiling occurred (possibly also 1922), a small tile in the Chancel was inscribed with Rustat's name and dates (as were a small number of other tiles). It is not prominently located, and currently lies under one of the humbler bench stalls.



Excerpt from the November 2020 LSWP Report:

'In contrast to Rustat's appearance on the donors' wall [in the Cloisters], his memorial in Chapel represents a celebration of Rustat (its text was written by

College Chapel, Cambridge, 1914, p. 229, p. 330. See too William Hamper, *Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, London, 1827, p. 40.

² Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 418.

³ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 421. The most recent edition of Pevsner (cf. 1954 edition) concurs on the likely authorship of Gibbons; Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire, The Buildings of England* (series), London: Yale University Press, 2014, p. 117.

⁴ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 419, p. 416.

⁵ Morgan and Morgan, *Stones and Story*, p. 229.

⁶ David Green, *Grinling Gibbons, His Work as Carver and Statuary 1648-1721*, London, 1964, p. 157.

⁷ Further archival work is required to verify this. Not least since Renfrew and Robbins, after Hewitt, place it originally in the north transept. Hewitt is likely mistaken in that regard, presuming that its move from north to south transept (see below) had displaced it from its original location.

⁸ W. Hewitt, Jr., *Memoirs of Tobias Rustat Esq. Yeoman of the Robes*, London, 1849, p. 86; also Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Brittainia*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, London: Cadell and Davies, 1808, p.119.

⁹ Morgan and Morgan, *Stones and Story*, p.229, p. 330.

¹⁰ Renfrew and Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat', p. 423, n. 31. Hewitt, for some reason, thinks it had been replaced on the west Nave wall 'lately' before 1849, which would mean it had had some five installations in its life by now. Hewitt is likely wrong in this, since his account fits no other information.

¹¹ Arthur Gray and Frederick Brittain, *A History of Jesus College Cambridge*, Cambridge: Silent Books, 1988, p. 197.

himself). At the Society Meeting in November 2019 several options were debated, including that of its removal for which, at that stage, no support was expressed. However, views about statues and memorials have been evolving fast all spring and summer, and many Jesus members are increasingly vocal in seeing the current location of Rustat's memorial as incompatible with the experience of Chapel as an inclusive community and a place of collective wellbeing. The placement of the memorial forces visitors to the chapel literally to look up to Rustat, and its proportions make it hard to ignore...We also noted that the Church of England recently called for a critical dialogue with society over this type of memorials: <https://www.churchofengland.org/more/media-centre/news/update-church-and-cathedral-monuments>.'

Options for permanent action: November 2020

The Fellowship and the College Council have both received and discussed in some detail the recommendation of the Legacy of Slavery Working Party that the memorial be relocated to a suitable educational exhibition space within College (at their meetings on 26th October and 2nd November respectively). Both bodies voted with overwhelming majority for the memorial's relocation to an educational space that would allow the College to acknowledge its past and offer proper contextualisation, as well as signalling its commitment to an anti-racist future for the College. There was a slight preference for finding a suitable exhibition space within College to critically contextualize it, if possible, but willingness to support its removal to an external museum exhibition if a suitable home could be found.

In the light of the recent intensification of public debates over statues and memorials, it was felt that, while permission for its removal was sought, the Rustat memorial could not be left without immediate contextualisation. The LSWP produced a leaflet which provides contextualising information on Rustat, which is available for any visitor to the Chapel. We also prepared a plasticised sign for a metal stand in front of the memorial, which directs visitors' attention to the leaflet.

Discounting alternatives to removal

Negative responses to potential options for the memorial which did not include its removal from Chapel were given on grounds both of practicality and principle. In a principled sense, consultation with the entire Fellowship suggested strongly that fostering an inclusive dialogue and culture within the Chapel and College could not be achieved if the memorial remained within Chapel, where its presence, even if contextualized, carries a significance and dominance of the space. Student representatives reported a very strong consensus among BAME students that the Chapel was perceived to be the heart of welfare and pastoral support to the College community, and that the memorial's presence was incongruous with this, and a barrier to the sense of inclusion the Chapel seeks to foster.

In a practical sense, three options were considered which did not involve removal of the memorial:

- Contextualizing installation (art, or poetry) on the west wall

This option had initially been discussed quite thoroughly, but posed several difficulties:

- It would continue to emphasise the central and elevated position of Rustat's memorial which is so key to the problematics of its current context, and would place Rustat at the centre of the continuing narrative. This would seem to foster the very opposite of a sense of inclusion.
- Given the scale of the monument, any substantially commanding artistic installation that sought to respond to it would create something of an overbearing focus; to do so would create significant visual, architectural and liturgical impact both on the focal Morris & Co ceiling above that rightly draws the viewer in the Nave to look heavenwards, and to the architectural compass of the building which encourages the visitor toward the focus of the sanctuary.
- Given the pace of developing thought in critical engagement with legacies of slavery, and the infancy of contextualization, such an installation would easily and quickly seem dated; in a decade, one might be faced with needing to commission a new installation, or look once again at removal of the monument. This was, thus, not deemed an option with any sense of long view.

- Critical plaque or words installed to provide contextualization of the memorial

This option had, on discussion in July during the Chancellor's visit, been felt by all to be an insufficient response given recent developments in thinking around responses to contested memorials of this kind. Contextualizing words, it was noted more recently during College discussions, would still leave unanswered the principled question as to why such an object was still there and elevated so prominently.

- Installation of a large curtain covering across the west wall

This option was discussed most recently, together with architectural plans and quotations. Whilst this option would remove the memorial from sight and yet ensure it was still viewable as an artistic and educational object, it was agreed that covering the memorial would send all the wrong messages, and would suggest the College were hiding its embarrassing history rather than facing up to its difficulties with honesty and seeking to reshape the future in the light of it. There were also some practical difficulties to the solution, given the depth of the protrusion of the memorial from the wall. Again, this solution also did not address the principled objection that the memorial's presence in itself created a pastoral and missional barrier to many members of the College community.

Discussion of relocating the memorial to alternative positions within Chapel had occurred with various College, Diocesan and external parties. This option was not taken forward as a formal option for consideration given (a) lack of appropriate and viable wall space elsewhere within Chapel, (b) the memorial's artistic design necessitates that it be viewed in an elevated position, which is its very problem at present, but to install it within Chapel in a less elevated position would disable its artistic appreciation, (c) once again this solution also did not address the problem of the memorial still being situated in Chapel.

Interim and permanent proposals

At its meeting on 2nd November 2020, College Council minuted its agreement ‘that the memorial should be removed from its current position and stored for the time being in College, and that thought should then be given to where it should be stored or displayed on a more permanent basis’ (CM 10279).

There is a preference that, if the memorial were to be removed, it be relocated to a suitable exhibition space within College. Information on one proposed interim option within College can be found in Appendix 1.

Removal will also present an opportunity for a study of the memorial and its construction - especially pertinent given the tercentenary of Grinling Gibbons’ death next year. It would also provide an opportunity for restoration of the monument and greater level of public engagement with it both as an artistic piece and an educational vehicle for discussion on the legacy and history of slavery.

In the longer term, the College would be supportive of temporary or permanent relocation to an external exhibition space where it can be contextualized and viewed by the public. The College is currently in dialogue with a Heritage Network of Museums’ representative who focuses on the history of slavery and Britain’s role in that history. The network includes museums in Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Edinburgh and the Museum of London Docklands Sugar and Slavery Gallery, some of which are currently expanding their work and exhibition spaces. Conversations have also begun with the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

In the first instance, the College seeks interim consent to remove the memorial, while it considers and seeks a permanent location for its exhibition, study and contextualisation.

Enc: Appendix 1 (Architect’s supporting information)
Appendix 2 (Submission by the Legacy of Slavery Working Party)
Appendix 3 (Supporting theological reflection)

Appendix 1

Jesus College, Cambridge, Chapel: The Rustat Memorial.

Notes in support of a Faculty Application

Introduction: Jesus College wishes to remove the memorial from the wall of the Chapel but not from the College. The ethical, philosophical, and theological issues surrounding this aim have no doubt been discussed elsewhere; the purpose of these notes is simply to highlight some of the practical and architectural matters implied by the planned move. What is the relationship between the memorial and the wall on which it currently hangs? Who should be entrusted to remove it from that wall? Where should the memorial be taken?

The Memorial and its supporting wall:

The Rustat Memorial has been located in various parts of the Chapel over the last three centuries. The wall into which it is currently secured, separates the Chapel from E Staircase. That wall has existed since the late C15 when the Chapel (then a Convent Church) was reduced in length. See image below. The wall backs onto Guest Accommodation on E Staircase at Second and First Floor levels and onto the Master's Lodge and E Staircase itself at Ground Floor level.



It is understood that the memorial is fixed into a part of the wall which was previously occupied by the oriel window now at the back of the Dining Hall Gallery. See image overleaf.

Appendix 1



The reveal where this window once sat, lies within the First Floor Bedroom on E Staircase and many years ago was filled with a fitted cupboard, now unused but protected by a Perspex screen. See image below, in which the Perspex has been removed.



From looking at various plans, the wall between E Staircase and the Chapel seems to be of thicknesses varying from around 950mm to around 1100mm. It is not currently possible to directly measure the thickness of the wall at this point. However, from looking into voids in the E Staircase Bedroom wall (above and beside the cupboard), it seems that the recess containing the cupboard is around 750mm deep. This suggests that the 'thin' part of the wall which supports the memorial may possibly only be around 200mm thick. This view is also rather borne out by the volume at which the Chapel organ may be heard from within the Bedroom, at least when the Perspex is absent!

Appendix 1

Visible in this 'thin' wall at the back of the recess is at least one piece of natural stone. It seems possible that this may actually be the back of one of the stones which comprise the memorial. See image below. The stone is on the left.



If the 'thin' wall is indeed only 200mm thick, and as the front of the memorial extends typically around 150-200mm forward of the wall face in the Chapel (excluding the legs of putti), we should assume that parts of the memorial may be up to 400mm thick.

The memorial is thought to be in at least eight pieces; a provisional estimate of how it is likely to be divided is shown in the image opposite.

How much does the memorial weigh? Marble typically has a density of around 2,700 Kg per m³. The likely largest section of the memorial, the central inscribed shield, numbered '8', is approximately one metre by one metre across its face. Assuming that this section of the memorial might perhaps be only 200mm thick, it would nevertheless have a volume of 0.2m³ and weigh around 540Kg. Assuming that the other pieces might be smaller in their face areas, but thicker, the whole memorial would weigh, very provisionally, perhaps 3.5 metric tonnes.

Clearly, some very substantial lifting gear and scaffolding will be required to move the stones laterally (i.e. out from the wall) from their current position and to lower them to the ground. The ease or otherwise of getting the necessary lifting equipment into the Chapel, and the need to protect from damage the adjacent surfaces including the oak panelling and bench seat below, and the stone slab floor will need very careful thought.

Cliveden Conservation have been engaged, working alongside Artful Logistics, to remove the memorial from the wall and to move it to another part of the College. Speaking as the College's historic buildings architect, the choice of Cliveden Conservation seems to be an ideal choice; they undoubtedly have the experience and resources necessary for what may prove a tricky operation.

Appendix 1



Once the stones which comprise the memorial have been taken down from the wall, the wall will be repaired as necessary, plastered, and painted to match the existing wall adjacent. The precise nature of the infilling will depend on the structure and formation of the wall which is revealed but a reasonable assumption at this stage would be that brick will be used to infill large areas. The plaster will aim to follow that which exists. The arch and jambs of the reveal on the West side of the wall appear to be sound and there is no reason to suppose that there will be any major structural issues.

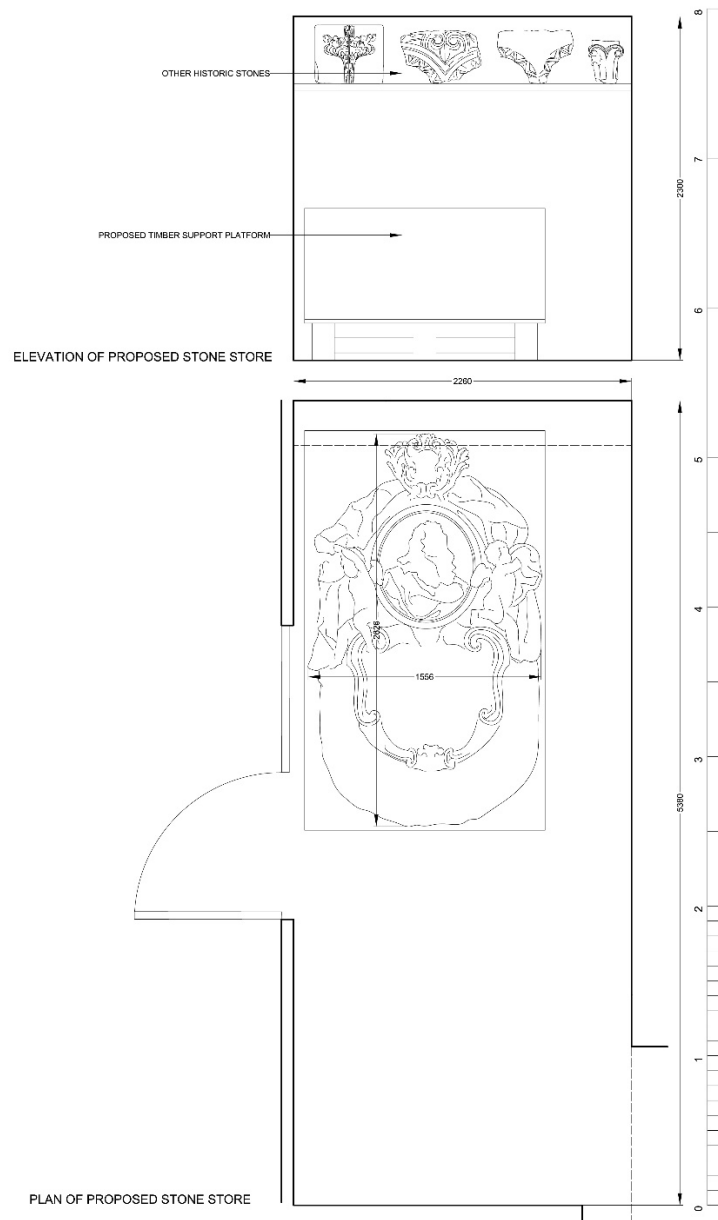
Once removed, where should the memorial be taken?

The general requirements would seem to be that the memorial should be protected from future decay (i.e not be outdoors), that it should only be visible by arrangement (i.e. be within a locked area), and that it should be capable of close study by scholars, whether of Rustat, of Grinling Gibbons or of slavery. Few areas of the College would readily meet such requirements.

Appendix 1

There is, however, a suitable room in the Basement below Staircase 8 in Chapel Court. Currently, it is used as a wine store (see image on the following page) but will soon become vacant. It offers various advantages:

- It is located in a discreet corner of the College which might suit the current sensitivities of the memorial.
- It is easily accessible via a staircase.
- It is secure.
- It is ventilated.
- It is accessible (for goods) from an external door at ground level, via a powered hoist.
- It would readily accommodate the memorial, complete, in either a horizontal or inclined position facilitating both distant and close study. The memorial is some 1550 x 2630mm and the room (with some simple modifications) offers a space 5380 x 2260mm:



Appendix 1

- g. The room might also become a proper ‘Stone Archive’, a suitable home for the many important carved stones which were once incorporated into College buildings but are currently housed in a rather leaky and remote shed at the far W end of the Hockey Pitch.

Thus the current wine store would be transformed from its present character to an entirely different room:



Conclusions:

Whilst there is no doubt that the removal of the Rustat Memorial from its current home in the Chapel is a very serious step to take, in the current circumstances it would appear to be an appropriate, prudent and wholly reversible course of action, given its history of having been in different locations within the College, the availability of the appropriate skills and experience to ensure its safe removal and transport, and the existence of a suitable place for its storage and future study within the College.

Paul Vonberg MA (Cantab) Dip Arch RIBA AABC
16 November 2020

Appendix 2



JESUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

Legacies of Slavery Working Party Submission to the Diocesan Advisory Committee

The Legacies of Slavery Working Party (LSWP) was established by the Council of Jesus College, Cambridge in May 2019 to research and reflect upon the links between the College and the legacies of slavery and imperialism. The LSWP currently has eleven members, including College Fellows from a number of cognate subjects, the College Archivist, and two student representatives. We have undertaken significant research in the histories of individuals, groups and objects with connections to slavery and imperialism, and have produced a number of reports and recommendations. In July 2020, we recommended to College Council that the memorial to Tobias Rustat (1608-93) in the Chapel be removed and relocated to a new setting. This recommendation was warmly welcomed by a meeting of the entire Fellowship in October 2020 and approved by Council the following week. The purpose of this brief paper is to explain the reasoning behind our recommendation.

Tobias Rustat was a courtier to Charles II and among the most important benefactors to Jesus College during its first two centuries of existence. Rustat had been a committed Royalist during the turbulent middle decades of the seventeenth century, and his services to Charles I and Charles II from the 1640s onwards brought him a comfortable income which he greatly expanded through his trading investments. Among these was an investment in the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, chartered in 1663 and reincorporated as the Royal African Company in 1672. Rustat's name appears on the charter of both companies, and he is named in the RAC's records as an Assistant – broadly equivalent to a director – in 1676, 1679 and 1680. During the 1680s, Rustat also appears to have invested and had administrative involvement in the Gambia Adventurers, a subsidiary of the RAC. Although our research into the details of Rustat's finances is ongoing, we already know that he invested at least £400 in the Company – a sum roughly equivalent to £60,000 today – and that he received income from the RAC's annual dividends. Given his service as Assistant, we can say with authority that Rustat had financial and administrative involvement in the trading of enslaved human beings over a substantial period of time – including in 1671, when he made a significant gift to Jesus College.

Rustat's philanthropy was broad in one sense: he gave to hospitals, universities, and to poor clergy and their families. In another sense, though, his benevolence was tightly focused. Rustat was a tireless advocate of royalist causes, and concentrated his benefactions on Royalist individuals and institutions he felt had been harmed by the convulsive political controversies of the Civil War era. Jesus College, where his father had studied, became the recipient in 1671 of the largest single gift in his lifetime: a little more than £2000 in land, to support the orphan sons of Anglican clergymen. Further gifts brought his total support for the College to around £3230, roughly equivalent to £500,000 today. Rustat was a loyal man, but not a modest one: eight years before his death he commissioned the enormous marble memorial which hangs in the Jesus College Chapel from the studio of Grinling Gibbons. He also commissioned an expansive epitaph, to be carved into the memorial, from the royalist historian William Dugdale. Rustat kept the memorial in his Chelsea house during the last

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eight years of his life, with the inscription missing only the date of his death. In their 1990 article on the memorial, Jane M. Renfrew and Michael Robbins speculate that Rustat kept it on display for his guests to admire.

The LSWP has reflected on Rustat's strong desire to ensure his own memorialisation, and on the considerable expense of the 'Rustat Monument' which came to Jesus College after his death. We have noted that Rustat commissioned the memorial at a moment when the Royal African Company was expanding its activities. Historian William Pettigrew has observed that the RAC "shipped more enslaved African women, men, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade." During the first fifty years of its existence – years in which Rustat had both financial and administrative involvement in its operations – the RAC transported and traded nearly 150,000 enslaved people from Africa to the Caribbean. Rough estimates of mortality rates from the Middle Passage and from West African slave forts (which were owned and maintained by the RAC) would suggest that thirty to fifty thousand people captured by the RAC during those years died even before they reached the plantations of the Caribbean. The rest were condemned to lives of back-breaking labour and countless forms of violence and abuse.

A number of factors influenced our decision to recommend the removal of Rustat's memorial from the Chapel, and its relocation in a dedicated space within or beyond the College where it could be seen with appropriate critical contextualisation. Beyond the practical considerations – including the knowledge that it might be removed relatively easily and without damage to the Chapel or to the memorial itself – the LSWP discussed at length issues of history, morality, memorialisation and community. The Rustat memorial occupies a prominent space in a building at the heart of the College's communal life. The Chapel is a space of worship, but also of reflection, artistic performance, and of ceremony. Students and Fellows come to Chapel to worship, to listen to the Choir and other musicians, and to seek solace from the bustle and stress of College life. It is a profoundly welcoming and inclusive space, both to members of the College community and to visitors from around the world. The presence of a large memorial to a College benefactor who became wealthy in part from enslaving other human beings casts an enormous shadow over this space, particularly in the light of what is now widely known within and beyond Jesus College about Rustat's activities. The LSWP noted with particular care the views of our Black undergraduate and graduate students, who told us that they viewed the continued presence of the memorial in the Chapel as inappropriate and offensive. The College's BME students discussed the matter as a group in October 2020 and offered unequivocal support for removal-and-relocation. They also asked that the removal of the memorial be expedited even if this means it will be stored temporarily pending its relocation to a dedicated viewing space.

The LSWP considered at length questions of morality and memorialisation, especially with regard to two arguments which have been deployed frequently in recent months in debates over commemoration and historical injustice. The first argument holds that we should not judge the past by the moral standards of the present. Yet Rustat's contemporaries were not all supportive of, or indifferent to, slavery and the slave trade. While it is true that the principal moral arguments surrounding the Royal African Company in the late seventeenth century paid no heed to the welfare of enslaved people – they were, instead, about the purported right of individual Britons to engage in slave trading, and to challenge the effective monopoly of the RAC – it is not correct to suggest that humanitarian concerns were absent from public discourse at this moment. As the historian Philippe Rosenberg has demonstrated, the welfare of enslaved people was championed in the late seventeenth century by Anglicans such as

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Morgan Godwyn, Quakers (including George Fox and Alice Curwen) and dissenters such as Thomas Tryon. (All were active in the 1670s and 1680s.) These authors all criticised the practices of slavery from moral and religious perspectives. The excesses of the slave trade, and especially its dehumanising effects on African people, were therefore hardly invisible to observers and readers in the seventeenth century. It goes without saying that the views and feelings of enslaved people themselves might have relevance here, but that Rustat and the RAC's other investors and administrators consciously chose to disregard them.

The question of what we might term the moral headroom of the past – the scope for thinking about antislavery in the 1670s and 1680s – brings us to the second argument carefully considered by the LSWP: that removing the Rustat memorial would constitute an attempt to 'rewrite' history, or even to erase it. Here it is important to distinguish between the work of history and the work of memorialisation. Rustat's memorial is of course an historical object, but it is primarily a form of commemoration. It was commissioned by Rustat with the expectation that it would glorify his memory in perpetuity, and installed in the Chapel as a celebration of Rustat's benevolence to Jesus College. The memorial has been moved around the Chapel at various points since its original installation, just as the Chapel itself has been extended, rebuilt and remodelled across the centuries. There was a place of worship on the site for centuries before Rustat's memorial came to Jesus College; it is the hope of the Working Party that the Chapel will endure for centuries after Rustat's memorial is removed. The prominent placement of the memorial in one of the most important spaces in the College is not simply a fact of history. It is a continuing choice made by the College and the diocese to celebrate a man whose benevolence is circumscribed by his participation in an enormous and enduring injustice. The removal of the memorial would neither rewrite nor erase history. The record will show that Rustat was celebrated without reservation in this space for three hundred years. But relocating the memorial will certainly *make* history, in the sense that it will allow us as a community to express our values and to demonstrate our commitment to undoing at least part of slavery's toxic legacy. Our request is not to 'erase' the memorial, but to interrogate Rustat's role in a more appropriate space – one dedicated to historical reflection, rather than to worship and community.

To this end, we have recommended that the College creates a dedicated space for historical interrogation of the Rustat memorial (and related artifacts and records regarding the College's historical involvement in the legacies of slavery and empire). The officers of the College, in conjunction with the Works of Art Committee, are currently exploring a number of options within the College which could facilitate the permanent display of the Rustat memorial (and a portrait of Rustat which has been placed into temporary storage). The LSWP has committed itself to helping in this endeavour, and to ensuring that its ongoing research into Rustat and other figures is included in a permanent exhibition exploring the College's links to slavery and empire.

Given the levels of concern expressed by members of the College community over the continuing presence of the Rustat memorial in Chapel, along with our firm commitment to develop an alternative space in which the memorial might be displayed in a critical context, the LSWP recommends that the memorial be removed from the Chapel as soon as possible. News of the College's adoption of our recommendation has been warmly welcomed across the student body and the Fellowship, and we hope very much that the Diocese will grant permission for us to proceed with our efforts.



JESUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

The Memorial of Tobias Rustat, Jesus College, Cambridge

Supporting Theological Reflection – Diocesan Advisory Committee, December 2020

This paper seeks to explore some of the theological questions at stake in considering the future of the Rustat memorial, and reflection on the College's proposal to relocate it.

Memory in Christian discipline

Memory is a vital theological theme. Whether in the Deuteronomist's repeated exhortation to 'remember' the liberation of God's people, or in Christ's command to 'do this in remembrance of me', calling the past to mind is a constructive and critical force within Christian discipleship. We remember for a reason, and on purpose, not only to look backwards but also to look forwards. There is a dual task to Christian memory – remembering as thanksgiving, and remembering as repentance.

In thanksgiving (quite literally 'Eucharist'), we are recalled to recognition of the mercies, graces, gifts and sacrifices that have shaped us, as individuals and as communities. Such gratitude is a moral and spiritual task, contending with the human propensity for that theological amnesia which is ever part of the 'slippage' of creation into its fallenness (or 'fallingness'), reclaiming that which is good which may too easily be lost. Memory, then, sustains the good; but it is also an act of reinterpretation and critique. One may recall St Augustine's notable exegesis of the memory in his *Confessions*, highlighting both its vast wonders (journeying through the 'chasms' of his memory), and its elusiveness (memories of self are as illuminating as they are complexifying). It is this continual re-turning of the memory and its critical faculty that we see in that remembrance which is characterised as repentance.

In repentance, the rehearsal of memory attends to the reconstruction of a future healed of the fractures of the past. It is a case of re-remembering, putting the pieces back together in way that moves beyond the burdens of historical trauma (be it slavery in Egypt, or the passion of Christ) and into that reconciliation which is always God's gift. Both thanksgiving and repentance, as modes of engagement with our past, involve making an assessment, a moral judgement, but perhaps repentance especially so. There can be no reconciliation without an honest and frank acknowledgement of a wrong, and no redemption without the critical space cleared to name and own the fracture. Implicit within such a posture of repentance, though, is awareness that these moments of moral judgement are likewise open to question and revision – they are open to a repentance of their own. We turn and turn again, for there is no standpoint from which to offer a final and total evaluation of ourselves morally, either as individuals, communities or a society. Such continual reformation does not, though, obviate the need for responsible judgement and appropriate action.

The Christian discipline of memory, then, is subject to two chief risks: attending to the past in such a way that its weight stifles the grace that sets us free for a new future, and skipping lightly over the need for that deep examination and repair of our past without which our aspirations for transformation lack a rootedness in the challenges and complicities we have inherited (and perhaps have ourselves propagated).

Appendix 3

The legacy of slavery is a reality we live with, in our varied ways. In our shared task of remembering, we reckon not only with historical ills, but with the continued propagation of well-established injustices and our own complicity in them. At the heart of the College's process of review over the last 18 months has been an exercise in that very truth-telling and repentant remembering that is at the heart, too, of the Christian call. This has not been so much about providing re-assessments of other people (historical figures, safely distant so as to be easy to blame) as it has been about an honest self-assessment of the subtle and sustained ways in which the livelihood, memory and built environment of the College need to adjust more unambiguously to meet the moral challenge of the contemporary significance of such historic realities. It has rightly involved attending to the voices and stories that have been silenced or ignored, as well as to how perspectives that have been centralised and celebrated serve to perpetuate this silence. This is not only a historical exercise – how we attend to our history impacts on the inclusivity of our contemporary community. An honest and critical act of remembering, both in thanks and penitence, risks an exclusionary memory if it continues to facilitate existing power narratives; such exclusionary memory cannot fail but fall short of the high task of repentance.

Memorials

Memorials function as objects within this holy discipline of remembering with thanksgiving and repentance. There is much reticence in the Scriptures about buildings and monuments and suspicion of their theological potential, which suggest we should very well expect religious material culture to be drawn into our patterns of penitence and critical evaluation. On the one hand stands a set of traditions suspicious and nervous of the theological potency of material culture: the prophet Nathan voices God's reticence about having a temple (or house) built for him, the exilic prophets warn fiercely of the capacity of sculpted figures ('idols') to be invested with theological attachment, and in the teachings of both Christ and Paul the concept of the 'dwelling place of God' shifts violently from the temple building and institution and is instead identified variously with the human community, the human body, and spiritual integrity. On the other hand stands that tradition identified with Solomon and Ezra and John the Divine, in which, in a sense we may anachronistically describe as sacramental, this potency of the built environment is drawn into the economy of God's glory, and becomes a means of divine communication and hospitality, and a place of spiritual rootedness that enables human flourishing. In both traditions, material culture is seen as theologically highly significant, potentially contentious, and in need of spiritual judgement, retrieval and critique.

In the case of memorials specifically, and in the sense we are currently examining, a distinction is rightly drawn between funeral or grave monuments and celebratory statuary. The former mark a resting place and acknowledge the deceased with the simplicity and dignity that is right to afford to all God's children. The latter are less ambiguous forms of memorialization since functionally they offer moral judgements on that which is commemorated and an identification of the contemporary community with that judgement. Celebratory monuments have a contentious role to play in the continual act of remembering ourselves under the gaze and judgement of God, in our collective responsibility for how we choose to remember our past in all its moral complexity.

In the particular instance of Tobias Rustat, the College has taken a measured approach in addressing how he is commemorated. Rustat is buried in Chapel, marked simply by a floor inscription; this recognises and honours his final resting place, towards the east of the Choir. He is acknowledged elsewhere in College, on the donors' wall in the Cloisters and in the Oriel window in Hall; these are recognitions of his generosity toward the College, alongside others. It is right that these forms of memorialization continue to recognise his benefaction and role within our College life in this way.

Appendix 3

The large Chapel memorial functions differently. Granted, it was carried in Rustat's funeral procession into Chapel, ready to be installed, since it had already been made several years before his death. But its prominent location demonstrates not where his body lies (at the other end of Chapel) but an unambiguously venerative moral statement. Likewise, its explicitly congratulatory text and grand style go some considerable way beyond merely recording his life but propound a moral assessment of the deceased and his continuing significance. The memorial is, thus, a deeply significant object in what and how the College community seeks to remember itself, what narrative it maintains and centralises. It is, by virtue of its placement within Chapel, also necessary to judge in what way this remembrance corresponds to the Christian gospel. It is incumbent upon us to ask whether such a memorial, elevated so centrally and dominantly, still speaks, implicitly or explicitly, in ways congruous with that human flourishing which is at the heart of the Christian gospel.

One may note that the memorial celebrates, explicitly, the generous Christian benefaction of Rustat, and we ought not expect the monument to be anything but a product of its time, with the moral assumptions and silences this involves. It may also be noted that the high praise of the memorial's inscription was of Rustat's design during his own lifetime; the memorial's explicit moral judgement of Rustat was his own self-assessment. The inscription is, not surprisingly, silent about the sources of some of Rustat's wealth – the wealth which the inscription attributes to divine generosity, and in turn enables Rustat's own generosity. We cannot and should not expect, from a historical perspective, such an inscription to realise our contemporary moral observations and objections. That said, we should note the ongoing pastoral impact of that silence, and that, in its current location, it can be read and perceived as contributing to historically ingrained silences (and silencings) that continue to be perpetrated as long as they are centralised and in positions of celebration (*even if* critical celebration). Nor, it might be noted, can we foster anything like reconciliation if our response to such silences is merely more (explanatory) talk by those whose silences they are not.

A liturgical parallel

There exists already a helpful parallel to such questions in the Church of England's navigation of its liturgical texts. The Christian Scriptures contain stories, sayings and teachings that modern congregations to varying degrees may experience as morally or pastorally problematic – texts which may be understood within their own historical context, but which express views that Christians have, by and large, come to view as incompatible with the Christian gospel. The theologian Phyllis Trible notably referred to many of these as 'texts of terror' – those notorious verses which have variously been used to support racial segregation, 'ethnic cleansing', gender subjugation, sexual stereotypes, and parental violence. In the contemporary Lectionary, they are treated carefully and with some sense of perspective. The Church does not ignore them, and they are not cast aside, but they are located not at the heart of the Church's liturgical landscape – on Sundays, or at the Eucharist – but in the daily round of the Office readings. They are, thus, not read in ways that might suggest clear support for the views propounded there, or that treats them as teaching texts, or that suggests in them a coherence with the heart of the gospel. But nor are they viewed as dispensable. They are read in the context of the extended works in which they appear, that they may be better understood within the thoughts, and assumptions, of the broader text. If anything, such texts are salutary reminders to attend to our own capacity to suspect those we view as different, and to collude with exclusionary systems of power to the detriment of others. They serve a critical function in questions of theological and moral judgement, but do so best and most carefully by being located appropriately at slight remove from the central and celebratory life of the Church.

Appendix 3

The fabric of the Chapel building, likewise, speaks theologically in ways already explored. It is itself a testimony, and a key currency in the economy of the Chapel's mission within the College community. Central to the concerns expressed by many College students and Fellows on the matter of the Rustat memorial has been a recognition that the Chapel's fabric is integral to the witness it provides of inclusive hospitality, welfare, and pastoral support. We must contend with its own difficult history, not by erasing that history or hiding it, but by asking how some of its features may be relocated appropriately in order to better account for the complexities and ambiguities – and clarities – of their moral messaging. Such relocation enables the telling of a different story, or the telling of the story differently. It is an act of that 're-membering' that is at the heart of repentance, by putting the pieces together in such a way that the dominating narratives of privileged power, and wealth accumulated through the exploitation of others, are no longer afforded a position of celebrated prominence but can be exhibited in such a way as to facilitate learning, contextualisation, repentance and change. It is this 'clearing of the space' that is a key step towards reconciliation and the possibility of a redemptive future.

Rustat's benefactions

Rustat's gift to Jesus, made in 1671, was part of a philanthropic project that began in the mid-1660s. His charitable giving had a political and religious agenda. An ardent royalist during the Civil Wars, he gave to support the established Church and the universities (which, like most of his contemporaries, he understood as politicised, religious institutions), and to relieve clergy and their families who had suffered as a result of the religious and political upheavals of the 1650s. In 1671, Rustat gave Jesus £2,030 2s 8d worth of land – his single largest gift – to establish scholarships for the orphan sons of Anglican

clergymen. He made a further donation to found a charity to support the widows of clergymen. One account estimates the total value of Rustat's gifts to the College at £3,230 (the equivalent of £500,000 today).

Rustat's legacy in Jesus College today is more than financial. His donation transformed the College's finances, but also significantly shaped its identity as an academic institution over centuries. Rustat's connections to slavery are unambiguous. The College as a community is committed to a process of critical self-reflection that will acknowledge and contextualise these connections, now and in the future.



Tobias Rustat



Introduction

Tobias Rustat (1608-1694) was one of Jesus College's most significant benefactors. His marble memorial, attributed to Grinling Gibbons and carved during Rustat's lifetime, is fixed to the west wall of the nave of Chapel.

Rustat had financial and other involvement in the Royal African Company (RAC), a slave trading company, over a substantial period of time, including when he donated to the College. The RAC transported nearly 150,000 enslaved people to the Caribbean. This was a brutal and sustained trade in human life that exploited thousands of people: Rustat and the other investors in the RAC were fully aware of its activities and intended to profit from its exploitation. Jesus College now acknowledges that profiting from enslavement, trafficking, and exploitation is unambiguously wrong.

Legacies of Slavery in Jesus College

In 2019, Jesus College established a Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP) to address the ongoing legacies of slavery in the College. The LSWP includes students and academics from across the College community, together with external academic members. Following the LSWP's recommendations, the College has decided to address critically Rustat's role in our history. This leaflet, which explains and contextualises Rustat's involvement with slavery, is part of that process.

Rustat's life and career

Tobias Rustat was the son of Robert Rustat (d.1637), who had been a student at Jesus in the 1580s. Rustat spent 1634-39 in Venice, and went on to serve in the royal household from the 1640s onwards. During the Civil Wars, he carried secret correspondence between the King in England and the Queen in Paris. He later joined Charles II in exile and accompanied him in his travels across France, Spain, Germany and

the Netherlands. Rustat remained in royal service after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, and much of his personal wealth came from his career as a courtier. At this time, the line between public service and private enterprise was blurry, and courtiers holding offices in the royal household profited substantially from them.

Slavery and the Royal African Company

Rustat's wealth increased when he became an investor in a series of trading companies: the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, commonly called the Royal African Company, which was chartered in 1663 and then reincorporated in 1672 as The Royal African Company (RAC). His name is on the charter of both companies; he also seems to have been involved in another slave trading company, the Gambian Adventurers, into the early 1680s. Rustat's investment in the RAC was £400 (the equivalent of £60,000 today). The RAC was not consistently profitable, but Rustat



received significant dividends on his investment. He also took a role in running the RAC, being elected for a yearly term as an Assistant (the rough equivalent of a Director) in 1676, 1679, and 1680, although he had limited involvement in the day-to-day management of the Company. Rustat thus had financial and other involvement in a slave trading company over a substantial period of time, alongside his involvement with the College.

TOBIAS RUSTAT AND HIS MONUMENT IN JESUS COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

By JANE M. RENFREW, F.S.A., and MICHAEL ROBBINS, P.S.A.

ON the west wall of the nave of the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, is a monument to Tobias Rustat (1608–93), benefactor to the college. It is a handsome composite piece in carved white marble, standing 4.27m high. A three-quarter head-and-shoulders portrait in an oval medallion is surmounted by a shield of arms; curtain draperies are held aside by two putti, balancing but not symmetrical; below is an inscription in a cartouche, bordered by a festoon of finely-cut flowers and fruit (pl. LV). The monument is not signed, and no documentary evidence as to its authorship has been found in the college records or elsewhere. Historical particulars of Rustat's career and comparison with other works of the same period can, however, furnish a reasonably probable attribution.

Tobias Rustat was born in 1608 at Barrow-on-Soar, Leicestershire.¹ He was the son of the Revd Robert Rustat, M.A., who was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, vicar of Barrow and Skeffington, and grandson of the Revd William Rustat, vicar of Barrow 1563–88. The family (fig. 1) was said to descend from refugees from Saxony. The name is possibly derived from a village called Rühstädt which lies on the right bank of the Elbe, in Kreis Perlberg, Bezirk Schwerin (Mecklenburg). Other, but less probable, possibilities are Rastede, eight miles north of Oldenburg, and Rastatt in Baden. Tobias seems to have had little or no education, although two of his brothers were at Cambridge. John Evelyn wrote of him, in his condescending way: 'He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature'. Another of the court circle, Sir John Bramston (the younger, 1611–1700), called him, by a possibly intentional slip, 'Toby Rustick'. But the same spelling occurs in a note of his appointment at Hampton Court.²

He was apprenticed to a barber-surgeon in London but apparently did not complete his apprenticeship.³ He soon entered the service of Basil, Viscount Feilding, eldest son of the Earl of Denbigh, ambassador extraordinary to the Venetian court, and travelled to Italy in a retinue of about fifty persons. He was in Venice in 1635–9. Viscount Feilding's home was at Lutterworth, Leicestershire, where Rustat's grandfather had been master of St John's Hospital. In Venice Rustat was described by his friend Thomas Raymond, secretary to Viscount Feilding,⁴ as being 'the most diligent attending servant in the whole family, early and late, very exact and complete, and in his place'. He was 'a sober person, and religious' and was not to be corrupted by the vices and debauchery of the Venetian courtezans for, Raymond remarks, 'he had been 'prentice in london to a barber-surgeon, where he saw some dreadful operations, that might well deter him from this madness . . . I helped him in his writing and Inditing, he being very unlearned.' After Viscount Feilding returned to England he began to attach himself to the Parliamentary party. Rustat left his service for that of his young first cousin the second Duke of Buckingham.⁵ Both he and his younger brother Francis Villiers were brought up by Charles I with his own children, out of respect for his late father who was assassinated in 1628. Rustat stayed in service with the Duke of Buckingham for two or three years, until shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War when Buckingham and his brother were sent abroad to travel. Rustat

then joined the household of Charles, Prince of Wales, when the prince was 'about 14 years old', in about 1644. After performing dangerous services as a royal letter-carrier between the queen in France and Charles I in England, he was sent by Buckingham and Lord Holland to arrange for Charles I's escape from Hampton Court in November 1647. Having saved Buckingham's life in Kent in 1648, he escaped to the continent and shared the life of the royal exiles, first in Paris, then at Cologne, Bruges, and Brussels, being retained with a monthly salary of forty guilders. In 1649 'by the great favour and particular care of his sovereign' he purchased the reversion to the office of Yeoman of the Robes.⁶ In October 1659 the indispensable Toby was posted all the way from Brussels to La Rochelle, with clean clothing for the king ('Toby will make all haste, being much joyed that his majesty has sent for him', wrote Secretary Nicholas to Lord Ormonde, 11 October 1659);⁷ and in the following December, for part of the journey back to Paris, he was the king's sole travelling companion.

In 1660 he returned to England and took up the office of Yeoman of the Robes, which he had held in form since he purchased the reversion in 1649. This brought him a salary of forty pounds a year plus a further sum of forty pounds which the king granted him as an annuity for life 'in consideration of his long and faithful services'.⁸ He also received a new suit of livery (of black and green velvet and black satin) on All Saints Day each year. Every three years he received 'One large New Bedd, with a bolster, well stuffed with feathers, One paire of Blanketts, One Tapistry Counterpoint, and one paire of good Downe pillows'.⁹ In the accounts of Sidney Godolphin, Master and Gentleman of the Wardrobe to Charles II, occur three items relating to the purchase for Mr Rustat of a pair of boots, a pair of spurs, and a sword in 1679.¹⁰

On his return he was also appointed Under Housekeeper at Hampton Court¹¹ for life at a salary of £300 a year and, according to Evelyn, also 'a page of the back-stairs'.¹² The emoluments of these posts were not large, but somehow, to the surprise of his contemporaries, he saved or acquired enough money to become rich. He invested in the Royal African Company of England, which had been founded in 1663 by, amongst others, the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. The king and queen and 107 others were shareholders; the intention was to exchange English manufactured goods for gold and ivory and to maintain a supply of slaves to the plantations. Rustat invested £400 in this enterprise. He was also in a position to lend money at interest.¹³ He was from time to time granted estates forfeited to the Crown; thus in 1668–9 he and another were granted the estate of the murderer Richard Sandford.

He also made substantial benefactions to a number of worthy causes: to the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral (1676), to building the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (1682), St Bartholomew's and Bridewell hospitals in London, St John's and Bellot's hospitals at Bath (1665 and 1672 respectively), St John's College, Oxford (1665), St John's College, Cambridge (where one of his brothers had been educated, 1671), Cambridge University Library (1666); to the augmentation of poor vicarages in Leicestershire (by the impropriation of the parsonage of Breedon, Leicestershire, 1688); and principally to Jesus College, Cambridge, where his father had been educated.

His benefactions to Jesus College included the endowment in 1671 of eight Rustat scholarships at the college to be held by orphaned sons of church of England clergymen ('alwaies preferring those before all others who are ye Founder's kindred'),¹⁴ 'out of a pious zeal to promote learning and to encourage learned men'. The scholars were to be 'well skilled in Greek and Latin'. To endow these scholarships he purchased the fee-farm of Waterbeach and Denny, Cambridgeshire. In 1672 he gave the college £1,020 to purchase the fee-farm of Non Eaton (i.e.

Nuneaton, Warwickshire), yielding an annual sum to be settled on six widows of orthodox clergy nominated by the Master and Fellows of the college. He paid a further sum for a Grant Mortmain for 'better securing and confirming'¹⁵ these benefactions. The annual audit of these charities, which have been supplemented over the years, and a college feast bearing his name, take place in May each year in Jesus College. There is a portrait, attributed to Sir Peter Lely but claimed to have been signed and dated 1682 by Kneller (though the signature and date are no longer visible), in the Senior Combination Room of the college. He had the satisfaction in 1686 of seeing his great-nephew John Rustat enter Jesus College and become a Rustat scholar; he graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1690–1.

Among his benefactions to Cambridge University was 'the gift of £1,000 to the Vice Chancellor, Doctors, Masters, Fellows and Scholars of the Universitie of Cambridge, for ye purchase of fifty pounds per annum for ever to be laid out by them in the choicest and most useful books for ye Publick Library there, as may appear by ye Deeds of the same dated ye first of June 1666'.¹⁶ The money was invested by the University in the purchase of the manor and advowson of Ovington Bosoms, Norfolk. The books were to be 'more advantageous to the generall studyes of all arts and sciences'¹⁷ and were to be chosen by a committee consisting of the Vice Chancellor, the Provost of King's, the Masters of Trinity and St John's, and the professors of Divinity, Law, Physic, Mathematics, Greek and Arabic. The books purchased from this fund bear Rustat's arms on the cover.

Rustat must have been pleased by the first visit of Charles II to Cambridge from Newmarket on 4 October 1671, attended by many of the nobility. 'His Majesty viewed the Publick Library and took more especial notice of the rare Eastern MSS given by George, Duke of Buckingham, formerly Chancellor of the University, and also of the many fair volumes brought here by the annual beneficence of Tobias Rustat Esq., one of his Majesties present servants'.¹⁸ The oriental manuscripts referred to were those of Thomas Erpenius's collection which was purchased by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, from Erpenius's widow in Leiden for 'a summe above their weight in silver and a mixed act both of bounty and charity',¹⁹ but much to the vexation of the Jesuits of Antwerp. They were given to the University Library by Buckingham's widow in 1632. Her husband had been elected Chancellor of the University in 1626 and remained so until his assassination in 1628. His son, the second Duke of Buckingham, in whose household Rustat had served in the early 1640s, was also Chancellor of the University from 1671 to 1674, when he was dismissed by Charles II and replaced by the Duke of Monmouth. In 1674 the University conferred an honorary degree of Master of Arts on Tobias Rustat in recognition of his benefactions to the University Library, St John's and Jesus Colleges, and in honour of the election of the Duke of Monmouth as Chancellor of the University.

Rustat testified to his attachment to the the house of Stuart by presenting to Charles II the copper statue of the king, represented as a Roman emperor, on horseback in the Upper Ward of Windsor Castle, now on the east side of the Round Tower (figure by Josias Iback, *Stadti Blarensis* — perhaps relating to Bever in Hanover — signed on the hoof, 1679;²⁰ carved white marble reliefs set into the pedestal by Grinling Gibbons, 1678–80);²¹ a brass statue of the same king by Gibbons, 1682, at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea; and a bronze of James II by Gibbons, 1686, originally in the palace at Whitehall, now outside the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. It is recorded that for the last eight years of his life Rustat kept his own funeral monument in his house at Chelsea, with the inscription fully written out except for the last two lines recording his death on 15 March 1693 (Old Style reckoning), which were added later,



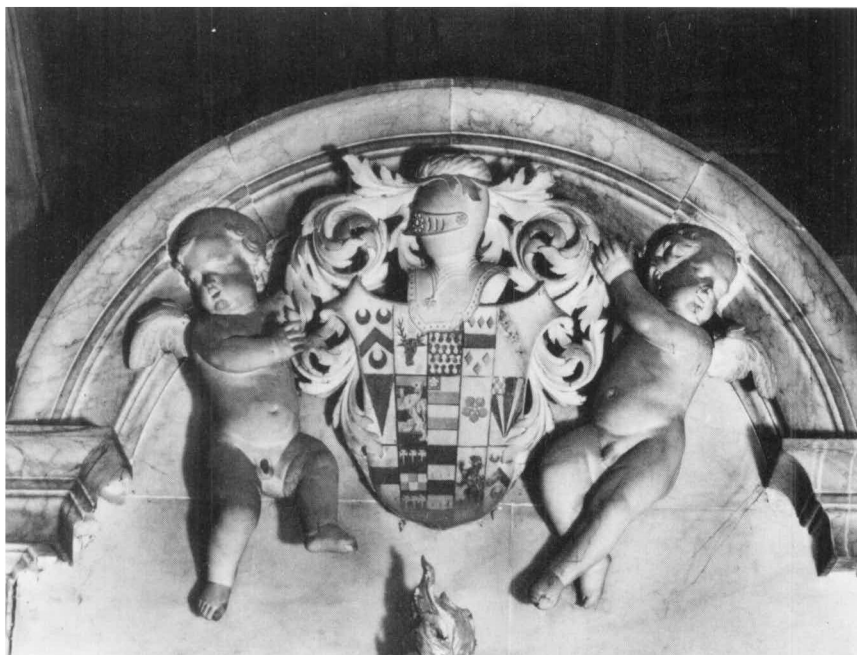
The Rustat Monument in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge
 Photograph: courtesy Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England



a. Detail of the Ferrers Monument, Tamworth Church, Staffordshire

b. Detail of the Pole Monument, Radbourne Church, Derbyshire, 1683

Photographs: courtesy Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England



b.

slightly off-centre. This may not have been as inconvenient as it sounds; recent investigation has shown that the monument is composed of eight separate pieces. Probably he proudly displayed the portrait medallion and kept the other parts stored away. The inscription was composed, or at any rate drafted, by Sir William Dugdale,²² who as Norroy King of Arms had confirmed the grant of arms and crest in 1676. It runs as follows:

Tobias Rustat, Yeoman of the Robes to King Charles the Second, whom he served with all Duty and Faithfulness, in his Adversity as well as Prosperity. The greatest part of the estate he gathered by God's blessing, the King's Favour and his Industry, he disposed in his Lifetime in Workes of Charity; and found the more he bestowed upon Churches, Hospitalls, Universities, and Colledges, and upon poor Widows and orphans of Orthodox Ministers, the more he had at the year's end. Neither was he unmindful of his kindred and relations, in making them Provisions out of what remained. He died a Bachelour, the 15th. day of March, in the year of Our Lord 1693. Aged 87 years.

(The New Year in 1693, before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in Great Britain in 1752, began on 25 March. The age given on the inscription does not agree with the date now assigned to his birth, 1608, on the evidence of the baptismal entry in the register of Barrow-on-Soar.) The funeral procession was noted thus by Narcissus Luttrell: 'Thurs. March 22 1693/4 Mr Toby Rustick, a courtier 80 years old, and formerly housekeeper of Hampton Court was yesterday carried thro' this city in order to be buried at Cambridge.'²³

After the succession of orders for the royal statues, it would be surprising if Rustat went for his own monument to anyone but Gibbons. Gibbons²⁴ was born in Rotterdam of English parents on 4 April 1648 and trained in Holland, probably in the studio of Artus Quellin. In the middle of the century Quellin was engaged on the decoration of Amsterdam Town Hall (now the Royal Palace), where the work, mainly in marble, combined a classical treatment of figures with naturalistic decorative detail. Gibbons came to England before he was twenty and after a brief spell in Yorkshire settled at Deptford, where he became engaged in ship-carving. He was employed by Thomas Betterton to carve decorations for the 'Duke's House' playhouse in Dorset Gardens, 'with which Sir Peter Lilly was well pleased and inquired after the artist that performed them. Mr Gibbons was by this means recommended to king Charles II who had ordered the beautifying of his palace at Windsor in which work he was employed'.²⁵ In 1671 he met John Evelyn, the diarist, who lived at Sayes Court, close to Deptford, and probably through him was introduced to Sir Christopher Wren, surveyor general, and Hugh May, comptroller of the king's works at Windsor. It was possibly through May that he first met Tobias Rustat, who was among his earlier patrons. The standing figures of Charles II and James II are both shown in Roman armour and classical pose. The white marble relief panels set into the red granite pedestal for the equestrian bronze statue of Charles II at Windsor show Gibbons's skill in working in marble. Here he compliments the king on his encouragement of naval affairs, combining instruments for navigation with fish and festoons of fruit and flowers. A shield on the west side of the pedestal is inscribed:

THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL
 CAROLO SECUNDO
 Regum optimo
 Domino suo clementissimo
 TOBIAS RUSTAT
 Hanc effigiem humillime
 Dedit et Dedicavit
 Anno Domini
 MDCLXXX

If the date for the Rustat monument was indeed 1686, this places it in a period when the output of Gibbons's studio is known to have been extraordinarily large. In 1683–6 he was responsible for five royal statues for the Royal Exchange (Charles II, 1683; Edward VI, Queen Mary, James I, and James II, 1685); the statue of James II commissioned by Rustat, 1686; sculptures for the Noel monument, Belton, Lincolnshire, 1683; the Rutland monument at Bottesford, Leicestershire, 1683–4; the Campden monument at Exton, Rutland, 1683; the Pole monument, Radbourne, Derbyshire, 1683; the great reredos at St Mary Abchurch; the font for St James's Piccadilly, 1684; three chimneypieces in Whitehall Palace; and the elaborate works for the Roman Catholic chapel at Whitehall, including the huge altarpiece on which he worked with Arnold Quellin.²⁶ This represents so much work going on at the same time that writers have been disposed to doubt that it can all have been carried out by Gibbons; but evidence has slowly come to light which proves it to have been so. It is not impossible that Gibbons could have made the Rustat monument as well in about 1686.

Mrs K. A. Esdaile in her book on church monuments stated that there are letters from Gibbons about heralds' work on monuments in the British Museum and at the College of Arms; but there is no reference to the Rustat monument in the detailed catalogue of the British Library's MSS or at the College.

We have found four discussions of the monument on art-historical grounds. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner wrote in 1954 in his Cambridgeshire volume in the *Buildings of England* series that 'it may well be by Catterns', comparing it with the double monument to Sir Thomas Baines and Sir John Finch (1684) in the chapel of Christ's College, which is Joseph Catterns's only known work. That certainly has oval portrait medallions, two putti, and garlands; but the arrangement is quite different, and the attribution is unconvincing. In his Staffordshire volume (1974), however, Pevsner wrote of the Ferrers tomb at Tamworth (pl. LVIA) as 'probably carved by Arnold Quellin (cf. the Rustat monument at Jesus)', so perhaps he changed his mind.²⁷

Dr Margaret Whinney linked the Rustat monument with that to Robert Cotton, who died in 1697, at Conington, Cambridgeshire, which was, unusually for him signed, by Grinling Gibbons. She wrote: 'Perhaps the finest example of this type is that to Gibbons's patron, Tobias Rustat . . . It suggests the hand of Quellin. The fruit and flowers, moreover, are noticeably poorer in design and cutting than those from Gibbons's own hand on the Cotton monument'.²⁸ Arnold Quellin worked for or with Gibbons, especially on the carving for James II's chapel at Whitehall. If it is true that Rustat had his own monument made eight years before his death in March 1693–4, it would be only just within Quellin's lifetime (he died in September 1686, aged about thirty-three).²⁹

David Green, in his study of Grinling Gibbons, wrote:

The two *putti* (on the Pole monument at Radbourne, Derbyshire, 1683 (pl. LV1b), for which there is documentary evidence in an agreement with Gibbons) are in precisely the same pose (indeed they are almost replicas) as are those who struggle with the heavy drapes (drapes not of mourning, but of death's mystery, of darkness and oblivion) above the portrait medallion of Tobias Rustat (the same who commissioned Gibbons for the royal statues), on his superb wall monument in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge: . . . as Dr. Whinney noticed, the *putti* there almost certainly derive from those on the Van den Eynde monument by Francis Duquesnoy in S. Maria dell' Anima in Rome.³⁰

François Duquesnoy (or Fiammingo) was the master of Artus Quellin, and it is known that his work was appearing in London during the mid-seventeenth century; Nicholas Stone's son bought some figures by him. Francis Bird, who died in 1731, at one time assistant to Gibbons, had several Duquesnoy models, sold in 1751, and Rysbrack also had some, sold in 1767. However, comparison of the Rustat *putti* with those at Radbourne shows that there is no close resemblance between them.

David Green continued:

The sculptor of the Rustat monument has never been identified. In Rustat's will of [20] October 1693, he desires to be 'reverently buried in the Church or Chappell of Jesus College in Cambridge, where my tomb is in readinesse to be sette up'. Since everything about his large cartouche memorial (it is almost fourteen feet high) is good . . . it is pleasing that it has the whole wall to itself.³¹ It has been thought too accomplished for Gibbons. Now perhaps it needs to be acknowledged as Gibbons at his best, working with or without the assistance of Nost.³² That Gibbons should take special pains with Toby Rustat's memorial, designed in that shrewd old retainer's lifetime, was natural enough.

Accordingly Mr Green included the Rustat monument in his list of Gibbons' works (although there he dated it 1693, some seven or eight years too late) and not in his appendix 'Some monuments in the style of Grinling Gibbons'. Geoffrey Beard, in his *The Work of Grinling Gibbons*, which appeared after this article was written, also includes the Rustat monument among Gibbons's works 'without documentation but on the basis of strong circumstantial evidence'.³³

All Gibbons's acknowledged works in Cambridge³⁴ are later, of the 1690s: the decoration of the interior of the Wren Library, Trinity College, which he began in 1691, and the Cotton memorial at Conington (1697). In 1693 Gibbons was appointed Master Sculptor to the Crown.

Judgements differ about the quality of the work of the Rustat monument in detail; but there is not much uncertainty about its authorship, though there may be about the executants of the different components. We think the evidence supports the attribution to Grinling Gibbons and also Quellin, with a possible contribution from John Nost.

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The marble monument of Tobias Rustat in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, has never been attributed to a designer or sculptor on documentary evidence. From a review of Rustat's career and connections, it can be concluded that Grinling Gibbons and his studio were responsible for it, with parts carved by Arnold Quellin and possibly John Nost.

NOTES

¹ The entry of his baptism at Barrow-on-Soar is dated 17 September 1608. In his will he left £10 to the poor of Barrow.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, L, 2–3 entry by W. P. Courtney, citing earlier references; W. Hewitt, Jr., *Memoirs of Tobias Rustat Esq. Yeoman of the Robes* (London, 1849); Lord Braybrooke (ed.), *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B.* Camden Society, old ser., 32 (London, 1845), 253 cited; under an entry for A. Dievot in R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1851* (London, 1953), 130; William Bray (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn F.R.S.*, 4 vols. (London, 1850), II, 142, 24 July 1680; E. Law, *History of Hampton Court in Stuart Times*, 3 vols. (London, 1888), II, 246n., citing Harleian MSS 1656, fol. 218; G. Davies (ed.), *The Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire*, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 27 (London, 1917), 10, 15, 46, 52–8.

³ Rustat's name is not in the index to the Register of Admissions to the Freedom of the Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons 1522–1664 (City of London, Guildhall Library MSS 5265/1).

⁴ Thomas Raymond was the nephew of Sir William Boswell, ambassador at The Hague in the reign of Charles I, who 'trained him up in the Low Countries' (Hewitt, *op. cit.* (note 2), 13), and after the Restoration was made Keeper of the Papers of State in Whitehall. Lady Boswell endowed, in 1675, two scholarships at Jesus College, Cambridge, where her husband had been a fellow, for boys from Sevenoaks School.

⁵ The Duke of Buckingham's home was at Brooksby, Leicestershire, only five miles from Barrow-on-Soar.

⁶ Tobias Rustat (1716–93) wrote of his famous namesake and forebear in May 1743: 'He was, it seems, one of the few servants of the king allowed to attend him when in Scotland where he remained by Buckingham's intercession . . . Tobias Rustat also fought at Worcester (September 1651) and took much delight in showing an old gilt sword which had been the king's and which he presented to him

after the fight . . . After the king's escape from Worcester he, with great hazard, escaped with the Duke of Buckingham'. Notes written by Rustat in May 1743 while he was at Jesus College, Cambridge. Original owned by John Hemsted, Norwich, who has transcribed them. On 21 November 1651 a warrant of the Council of State issued a 'Pass for Toby Rustill beyond seas' (Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1651–1652* (London, 1877), 545), where he rejoined the king in exile.

⁷ Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1659), IV, 404, 456.

⁸ Hewitt *op. cit.* (note 2) 34.

⁹ *Ibid.* 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹ This post concerned the maintenance of the buildings and gardens. Rustat lived at Hampton Court, and as he grew older he was allowed a deputy, Mr English, to help him with the work. He continued to reside at Hampton Court until the reign of William III, when he moved to Chelsea and took much delight in watching the progress on building the Royal Hospital there.

¹² William Bray (ed.) *op. cit.* (note 2) 24 July 1680.

¹³ J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library, a History* (Cambridge, 1988), 375, 376–80.

¹⁴ Hewitt *op. cit.* (note 2), 55–7. In 1672 John Holney was ejected from his scholarship, he not being the son of a deceased clergyman!

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 59. Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa* (1732 and 1779) Lib. XIV no. IX, 50.

¹⁶ Hewitt *op. cit.* (note 2), 49.

¹⁷ J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library, a History*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), I, 379.

¹⁸ C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1842), III, 549.

¹⁹ Oates, *op. cit.* (note 17) 165–6.

²⁰ W. H. St John Hope, *Windsor Castle: an Architectural History*, 2 vols., (London, 1913) II, 552, 555.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 551–2.

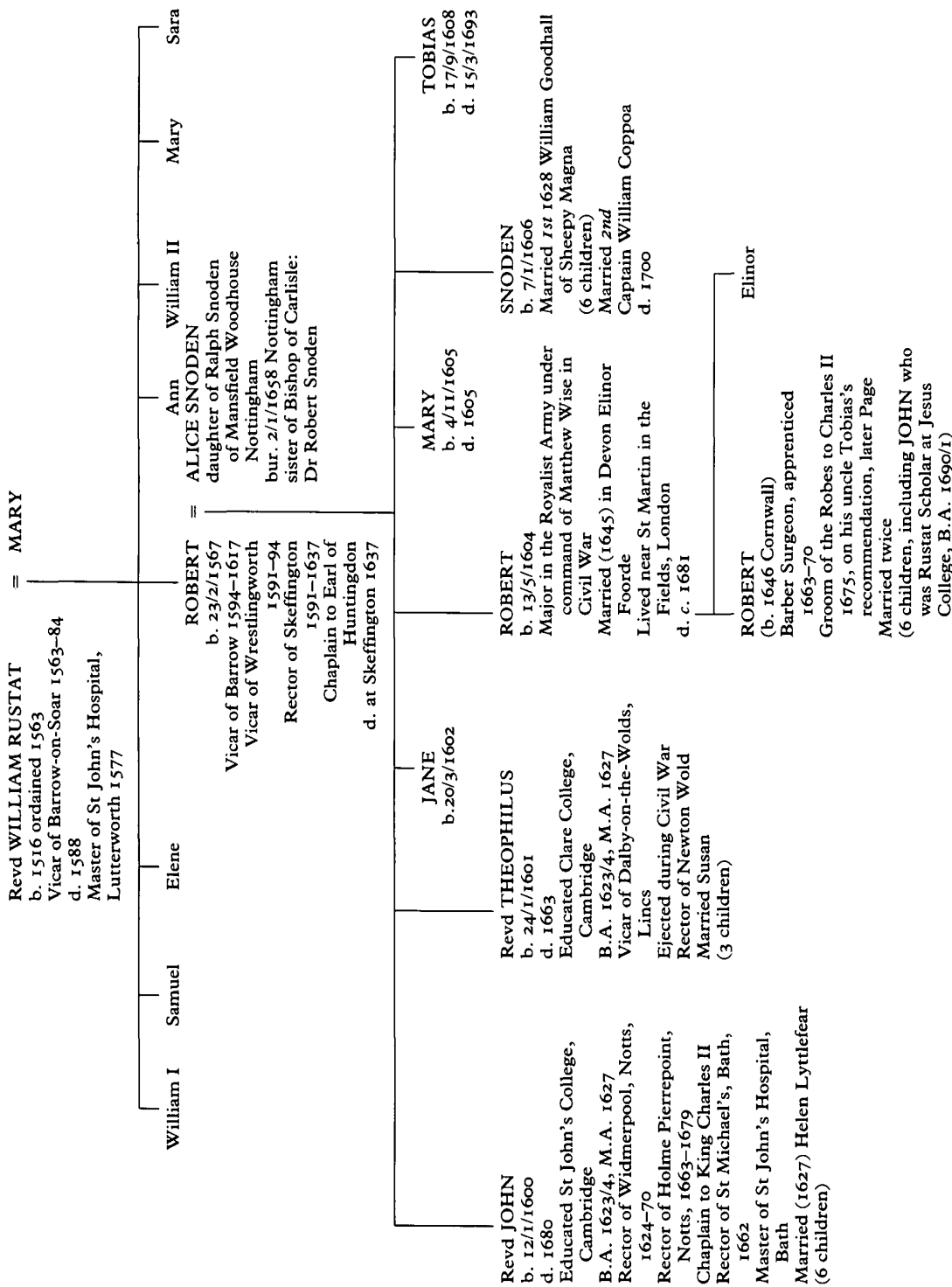


FIG. 1. Rustat Family Tree: those in capitals are mentioned in the text

²² W. Hamper, *Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (London, 1827), 40.

²³ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857) III, 285.

²⁴ Gunnis, *op. cit.* (note 2), 167–70.

²⁵ *Virtue Note Books* 1, Walpole Society XVIII (Oxford, 1930) 125, quoted in R. Gunnis *op. cit.* (note 2), 167.

²⁶ K. A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510–1840* (London, 1946), 75. Mr R. C. Yorke, Archivist, kindly investigated for us at the College of Arms.

²⁷ N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* (Harmondsworth, 1954), 72–3; *Staffordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 276; Gunnis, *op. cit.* (note 2), 89. Catterns was suggested by Mrs Esdaile as the author of the Rustat monument (*pers. comm.* Dr John Physick). The *Buildings of England* files do not throw any light on a possible change of mind by Pevsner (*pers. comm.* Bridget Cherry).

²⁸ M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830*, revised by J. Physick (Harmondsworth, 1988), 127–9, 444 n., 60, 61, comparing the Ferrers monument at Tamworth.

²⁹ Arnold Quellin (1653–86) was the son of Artus Quellin (II, 1625–1700), cousin of Artus Quellin (I, 1609–68), under whom Gibbons had worked at Amsterdam (G. Beard, *The Work of Grinling Gib-*

bons (London, 1989), 9–10). Gibbons was in partnership with Arnold Quellin from 1681 until the beginning of legal proceedings between them in May 1683; but the two were working together again in the mid-1680s (Beard, *ibid.* 52–3).

³⁰ D. Green, *Grinling Gibbons, His Work as Carver and Statuary 1648–1721* (London, 1964), 157; M. Whinney, *op. cit.* (note 28), 80; information on the Bird and Rysbrack sales from Dr John Physick, to whom we are indebted for discussion on this point.

³¹ It was not always there; originally it was in the north transept and ‘lately’ (1849) was removed to the west wall of the south transept (Hewitt, *op. cit.* (note 2), 86; I. and G. Morgan, *Stones and Story of Jesus College Chapel* (Cambridge, 1914), 330); it was again removed in 1922 and set up on the west wall of the nave, where it now is.

³² Green, *op. cit.* (note 30), 157. On Nost (or van Ost), Quellin’s foreman who later married his widow, see Gunnis, *op. cit.* (note 2), 279–82. His earliest independent work seems to have been the monument to Sir Hugh Wyndham at Stilton, Dorset, set up in 1692.

³³ Green, *op. cit.* (note 30), 173, 183; Beard, *op. cit.* (note 29), 65 and pl. 94.

³⁴ M. Whinney, *Grinling Gibbons in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1948), in which the Rustat monument is not mentioned.