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MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY

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Editorial

WITH this issue we begin a new volume of *Transactions*, and we begin too a new era in the Society's history. In the past year we have lost a President as well as a Vice-President, and a new President has been elected, one who writes later in this issue about his predecessor, as our Treasurer does about his. John Page-Phillips' wide range of knowledge will be particularly missed, but members will be glad to know that his voice will yet speak to us: his seminal paper on the sixteenth-century brasses, unaccountably not published when he first wrote it in 1958, will appear in the near future, and those still mystified by references to schools of engraving and styles of script will be at last enlightened. His knowledge of palimpsests too will continue to appear: in this issue we are introduced to some newly discovered palimpsests, on which he had been consulted.

I am pleased to find no shortage of material offered for our publications, so that our only constraint is, inevitably, financial. In particular it is gratifying that members who have not previously written for *Transactions* have sent in articles, though I am always glad to hear from our regulars as well! There still remains much to research and many of the brasses of Europe to examine and illustrate, so I have no fear that the subject will ever be exhausted. Still, lest we exhaust the readership, we must remain careful to write for the non-specialist as well as the expert. Brasses must never become boring! A recent Anniversary Address at the Society of Antiquaries (published in *Antiquaries' Journal* LXVIII (1988) part I) gives us some most salutary advice on the writing and presentation of material - I suspect we would all do well to re-read it regularly, and resist the temptation to shroud our knowledge in academic obscurity. Like any Society, we depend for our existence on those hundreds of ordinary members who are not specialists but enjoy a relaxing read about their favourite topic. That is why I do not intend to resort to microfiches as so many county journals do these days, but to continue the Society's tradition of publishing readable text and clear illustrations, particularly of brasses that have not been illustrated before.

The Brass of King Erik Menved and Queen Ingeborg: Restoration and Examination

By KNUD HOLM

(This article was originally published in the 1972 yearbook, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (pp. 171-82) by the Danish National Museum under the title of “Erik Menveds og Ingeborgs gravplade - restaurering og undersøgelse.” The cover showed a startling coloured photograph of the back of the plate when first lifted, brilliant with green and red copper salts and cauliflower-like exudations which turned out to be a magnesium triple salt containing chlorine. These and other colour plates showing the lurid red cement in which the nineteenth-century restorers had seen fit to bed the brass cannot here be reproduced. A number of highly technical illustrations showing details of the metallurgical analysis have also been omitted. In compensation Mr Holm has made available for us a number of photographs of the engraving which were not reproduced in the original version. Figures 1 to 3 show the extent of the original surviving brass, and the quality of the engraving, a detail of which features the two lions at the king’s feet (Fig. 4). We are very grateful to Knud Holm and the National Museum of Denmark for permission to reproduce this article. We also acknowledge thanks to our member Derrick Chivers who on discovering this article on a visit to Copenhagen in 1990, arranged for its translation by Hanné Ryge Nielsen and instigated publication for the Transactions of this account of the only substantial brass known to survive in the kingdom of Denmark. Ed.)

THE reason for my first visit to St Bendt’s church in Ringsted was that a small piece of the grave plate of Erik Menved and his queen, Ingeborg, was reported loose. Should some inquisitive tourist have discovered this, it would have been the easiest thing in the world to take away the fragment, which would neatly fit into a pocket, as a souvenir. In re-fixing the piece we found that it was not part of the original brass but had been engraved by the sculptor Professor Magnus Petersen when the brass was restored in 1883.

How was the brass fixed to its setting? It is embedded in a large black stone slab of Tournai marble (in reality a dense, compact limestone) from Belgium (Fig. 5). Like the brass itself, this was prepared sometime after Erik’s death in 1319. The brass is made up of a number of plates, most of them square. In a few places the head of a fixing rivet was visible, but for the most part the rivet-holes were simply filled with a wax paste. What other material would there be between the brass and the stone? All around the edge I found a soft black wax paste filling the places where the edge of the stone had been eroded (some rodent!) intended merely to

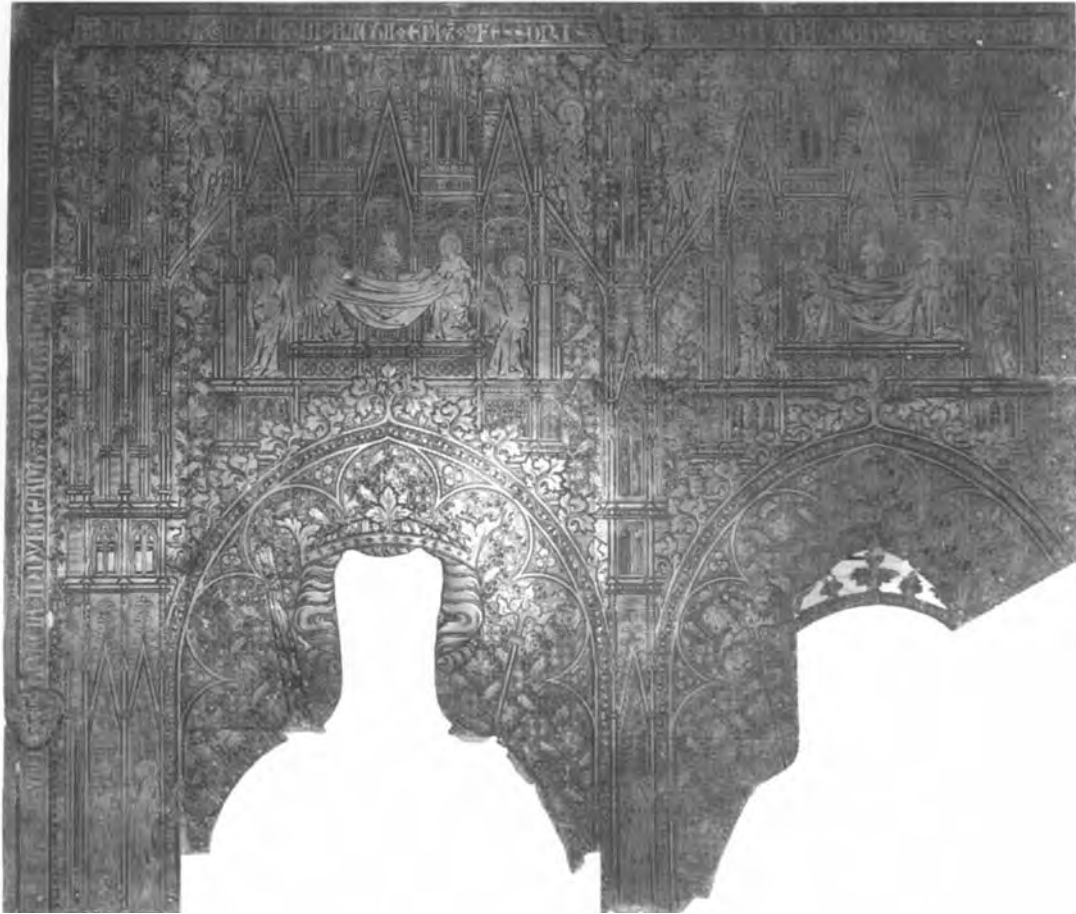


FIG. 1
 Ringsted, Denmark
 King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
 Upper part of the brass

cover up the damage. In one corner, where a large piece of the stone was missing, a piece of block-board had been inserted under the brass and covered with black wax. I thrust a knife into the wood, and water oozed out around the knife blade. This called for investigation - was the whole slab as damp as that? Apparently there was a layer of some substance between the brass plates and the stone. In some places, where the black wax had been scraped away, a moist red flaky compound appeared. Something evidently had to be done: I reported my findings.

Erik Menved's brass (Fig. 6) belongs to a category of sepulchral monuments known throughout western Europe, that is to say at least in Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, France, Spain and Portugal. In the Nordic countries only four mediaeval brasses of any importance remain today, one



FIG. 2
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Dexter side of the brass

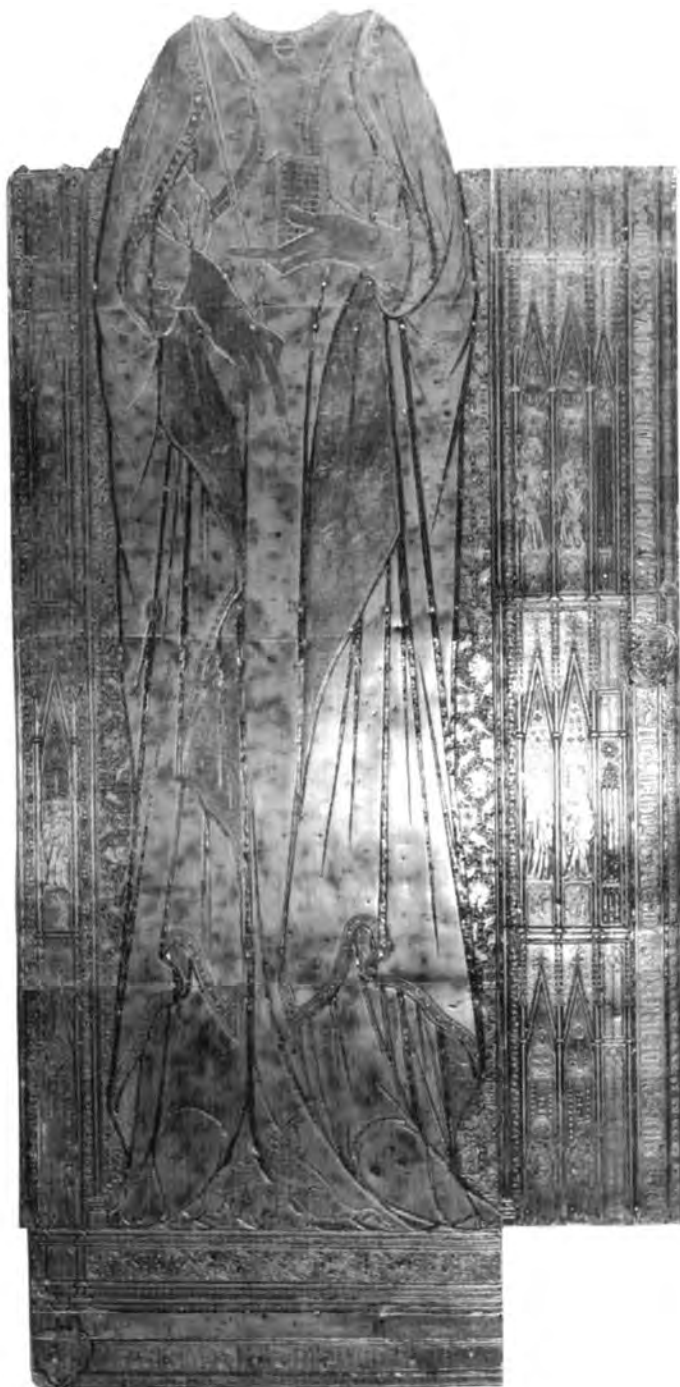


FIG. 3
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Sinister side of the brass

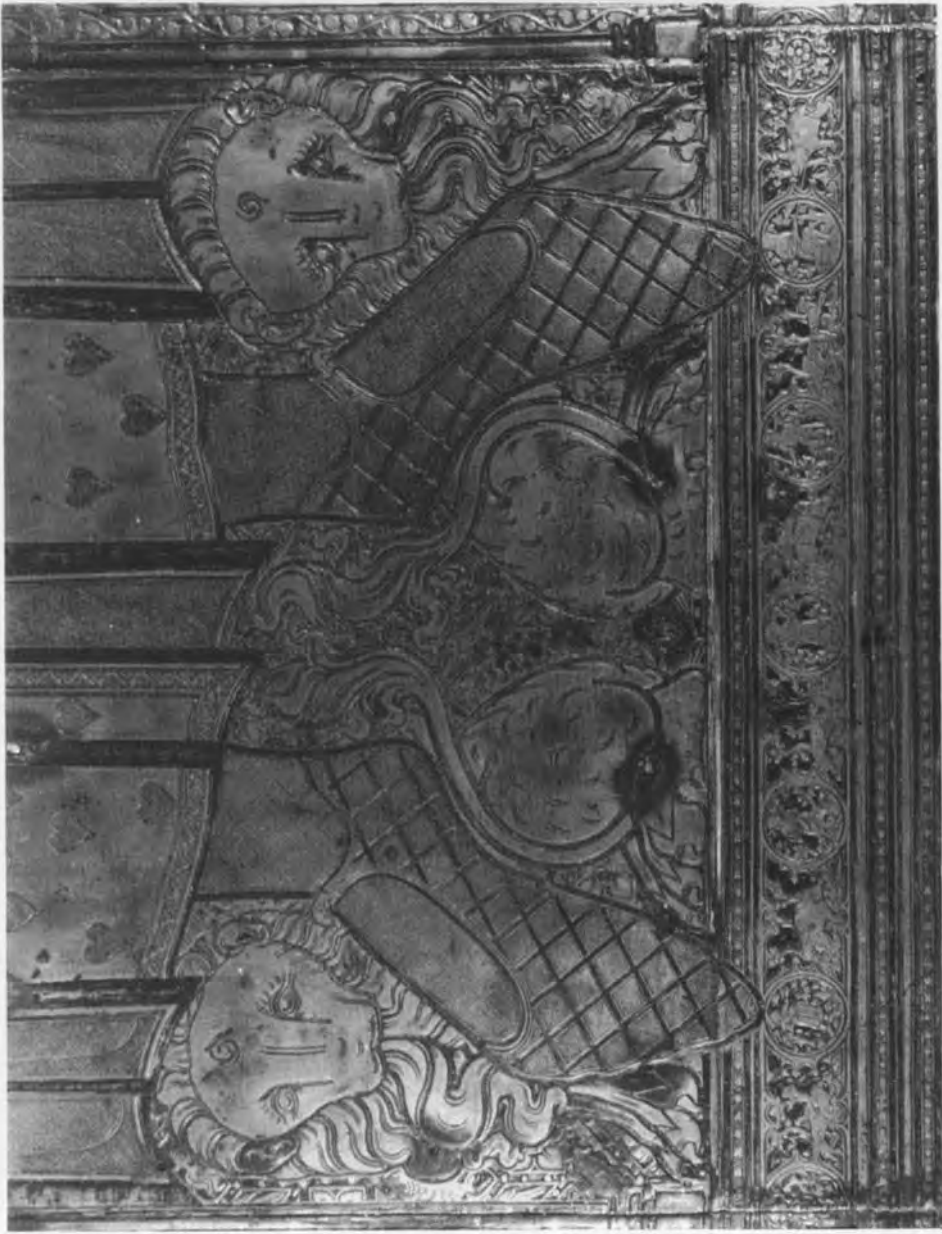


FIG. 4
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erik Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Detail of King's feet of lions

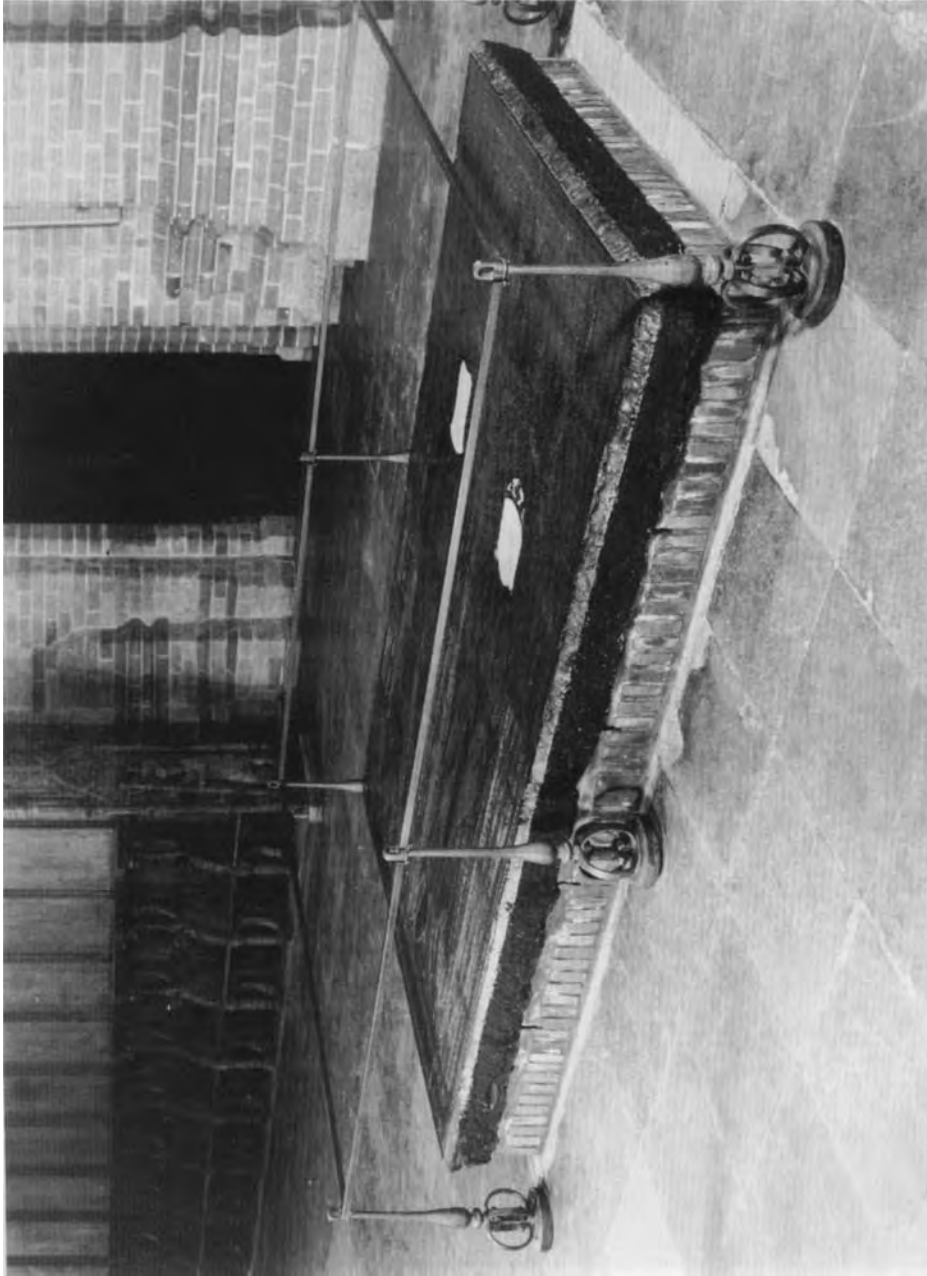


FIG. 5
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erik Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
The Brass in its slab

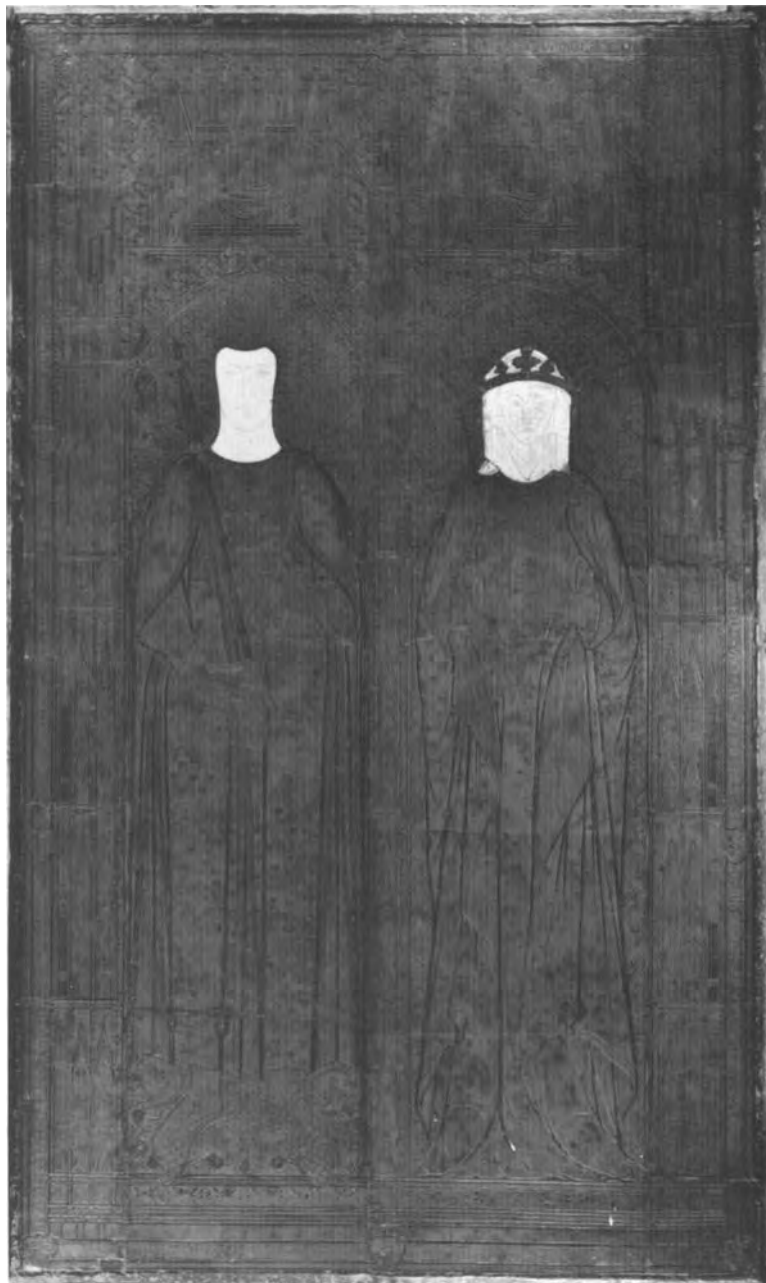


FIG. 6
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Overall size 2.83 x 1.68 m

each in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. Apart from the numerous brasses in Great Britain, nearly all of which were made there, very few survive. They were always a costly commodity, but they were probably much more widespread than is suggested by the number which remain. We know that there were several in Denmark, in Roskilde and Ribe cathedrals as well as elsewhere. Belgium is listed first among the above-mentioned countries because the western provinces of Belgium, Flanders, Namur etc, were among the most important locations for the manufacture of these monuments. Indeed, a number of the best brasses are of Flemish origin, with that of King Erik Menved considered one of the finest of all. The Flemish brasses are richly decorated. All ornamental details, figures, inscriptions etc, present themselves as hollows and grooves sunk beneath the otherwise smooth surface of the plate. They appear typically black against the brighter colour of the metal. Sometimes an area is left open to give place for an inlay of for instance alabaster. This is the case in King Menved's brass with the heads and crowns of both king and queen inserted as incised sheets of alabaster (Figs. 7, 8). The king's head and small parts of the queen's were replaced when the brass was restored in 1883.

The available sources do not give any clear information as to the technique used to produce the decoration, so further investigations have been initiated in addition to those mentioned here: I hope to have the opportunity to return to this subject. Although an enormous amount of literature has been produced on brasses, especially in Great Britain, nearly all deals exclusively with the decorative characteristics, the pictorial image and its style. In dealing with technical matters, many writers have depended on unreliable traditions and superficial inspection of the monuments themselves. This can result in misinterpretation if it is not followed up by technical investigation. It is true that such investigations have been carried out before,¹ but the techniques applied were the usual ones used for metals: metallographic examinations (i.e. microscopic examinations of the structure of specially treated surfaces, usually carried out on samples extracted from the metal) and a quantitative chemical analysis. So far, such examinations have not provided answers to all the questions regarding manufacturing techniques as, for understandable reasons, our scientists are reluctant to extract samples from the ornamented surfaces.

An analysis of the metal from Erik Menved's brass resulted in the following breakdown of the alloy, including major "impurities":

Tin	3·66	Copper	75·46	Zinc	15·21
Gold	—	Iron	1·22	Arsenic	0·14
Silver	0·09	Nickel	—	Antimony	—
Lead	3·92	Cobalt	0·08		
				Total:	99·78

(This analysis was gravimetrically carried out by Hand Nyström, engineer, at the metals laboratory in the conservation department.)

¹ Notably by our former President, Dr. H.K. Cameron, in *M.B.S. Transactions*, VIII (1946), 109-130, and *Archaeological Journal*, 131 (1974) 215-237. Ed.

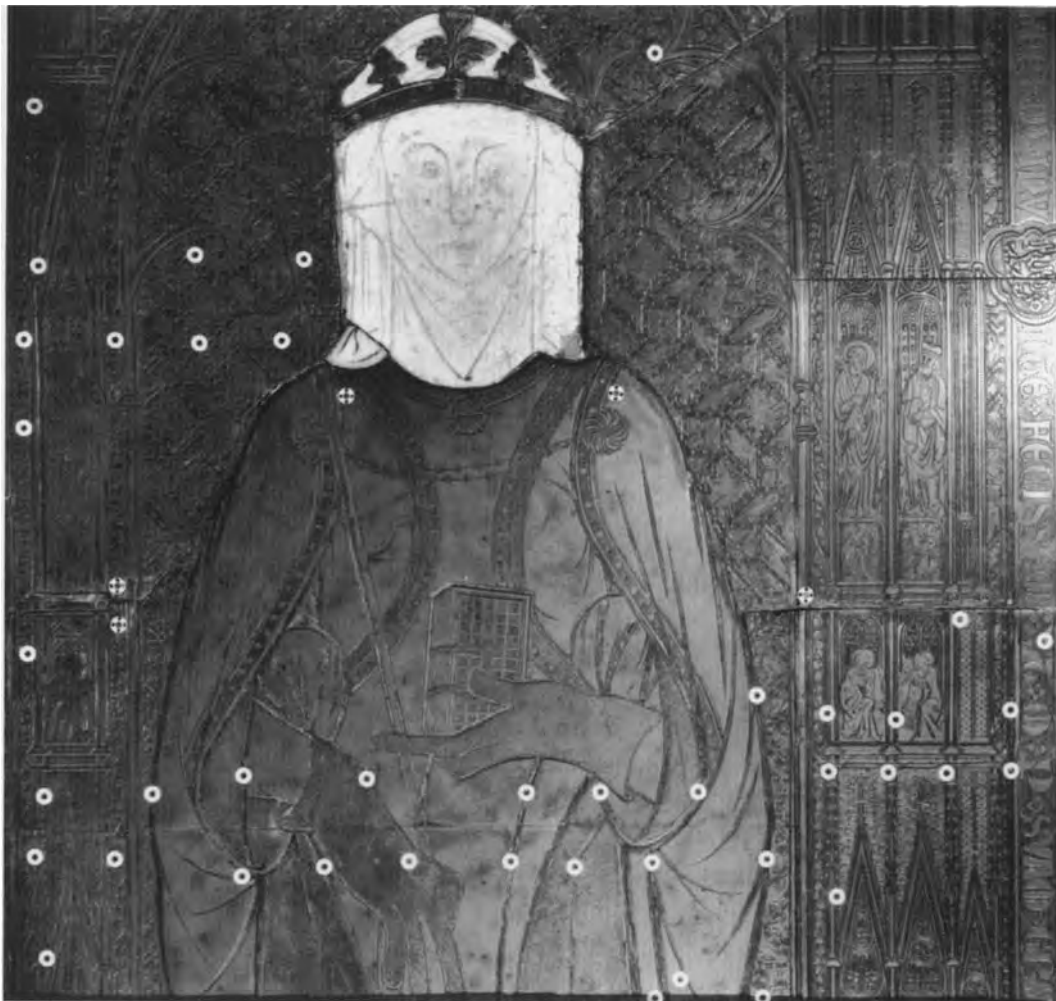


FIG. 7

Ringsted, Denmark

King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319

Detail of Queen: the original rivet holes have been marked

Mediaeval alloys were probably produced in compliance with very accurate formulas. However, there could be variations in the formula from place to place. Checking the composition of the melt and the cast metal was difficult and, as can be seen from analyses carried out on mediaeval metal, a fair amount of variation naturally results from the fact that the composition of the metal will change if the metal is repeatedly melted. This is because components - some more than others - will evaporate or oxidise. Furthermore, to the extent that scrap metal is added to the melt, uncontrolled quantities of metals - some of them "foreign" to the alloy



FIG. 8
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Detail of Queen's head after removal of plates

formula - will be introduced. In addition to the proper alloy components, there are always small amounts of other metals which are present in the various ores.

As for the alloy in question, copper and zinc as well as tin and lead are considered intentional components, i.e. substances which have been added to the melt on purpose in certain fixed amounts. The content of zinc in the plates has given rise to their reputation as consisting of "brass". Today one is tempted to designate the material as "red brass" because of the lead and tin content, but the zinc content is larger than in today's "red brass", as the colour of the metal shows. The designation "statue bronze" is probably more appropriate, as this metal, at least in certain traditions, has a quite similar composition. This is an interesting piece of information if it could be proved that there be a continuous tradition of casting statuary going back to the fourteenth century or even earlier. However this question will probably have to be examined in more detail through supplementary analyses.

Old alloy formulas state that brass, itself an alloy, should be one of the

components of various cast alloys. This is due to a peculiar feature in brass production, i.e. that it was carried out without anyone ever seeing the metallic zinc. In principle, zinc is reduced fairly easily from the ores when heated by means of coal. However, the metal is so volatile that it evaporates rapidly during heating (its boiling point is as low as 907° C) and the vapours immediately combine with atmospheric oxygen to form a solid white zinc oxide. Extraction of the metal has therefore to take place via distillation under vacuum. This technique was not known in Europe until three or four centuries after the death of Erik Menved, and brass actually continued to be made according to the ancient calamine method until as recently as the first half of the last century. Brass manufacture is carried out by heating and melting previously smelted copper with a mixture of coal and zinc ore (calamine, smithsonite $ZnCO_3$) or zinc white, produced naturally or artificially. Copper quickly absorbs zinc in its surface causing the melting point to fall. The material is thereby gradually turned into brass without the need to reach the melting point of pure copper. The brass is run and can subsequently be laminated or forged into a plate or form other alloys - for instance the one under discussion here.

In Ancient Greece and Rome, brass made with calamine was called *oreichalkos*, aurichalcum or orichalcum, which means - or came to mean - yellow or golden copper. Its history began sometime in the centuries before the birth of Christ. Systematic production of the metal has not been proven to have taken place before the Romans produced and used it for coins, known as orichalcum coins. Such coins occur from around the year 50 B.C. Earle R. Caley, an American expert in the discipline which he himself has named archaeological chemistry, has proved how the orichalcum coins gradually degenerated from their original very pure, brass.² Their zinc content was reduced through repeated remelting. The Romans probably had only limited access to zinc ore. The zinc content decreased, and at the same time the tin and lead content increased. Caley reasonably suggests that the explanation for this is that, when remelting took place prior to each new minting of the metal, a certain quantity of old coins containing plumberiferous tin bronze were included. Thus, the orichalcum coins eventually consisted of an alloy of copper, zinc, tin and lead, the same metals which constitute Erik Menved's grave-plate. However this theory should not necessarily lead one to suppose that the mediaeval alloys, a thousand years later, are simply a random amalgam. In that connection it is interesting to note that the hills of Belgium are sources of copper, zinc, tin and lead, as well as clay for crucibles and slate for moulds, not to mention the black Tournai marble used for the monuments. It is reasonable to assume that, particularly in areas such as these where there is ample access to raw materials, a more formalised practice would be developed.

Examination of the structure of an undecorated section of the metal on the edge of one of the plates showed, as expected, a typical cast-metal structure. The individual plates, seen clearly in the photographs of the back of the brass (Fig. 10), were cast one by one. Their size not only tells us how big the mould was but probably also how big was the crucible and thus the quantity of liquid metal the

² Caley, Earle R. "Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys. Origin, Composition and Manufacture" in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 151, New York, 1963, 1-115.

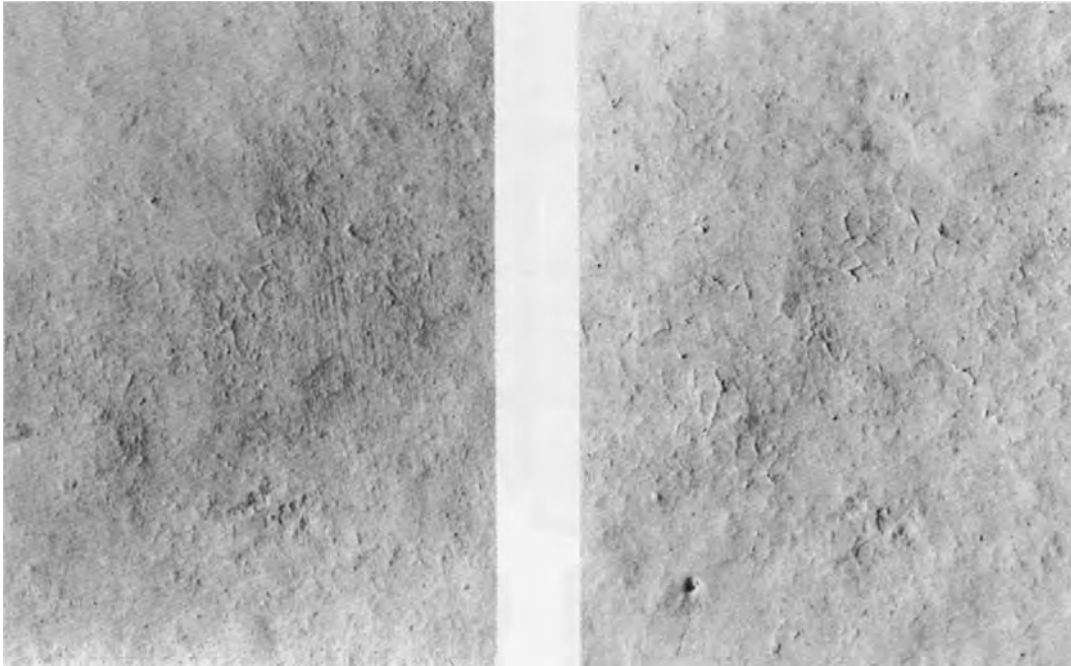


FIG. 9

Ringsted, Denmark

King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319

Silicon rubber casts of the reverse of two plates, showing fine details which occur on both

foundrymen felt they could handle with confidence. The same half-mould was used to form the back of several of the plates, as could be seen by comparing the reflection of fine details, such as crackles or strokes in the clay coating which was presumably spread on the stone mould (of slate or some such material). (Fig. 9) When a microprobe examination was carried out, the selected area was marked by means of a Leitz Durimet microhardness measuring instrument. The metal was not particularly hard (approx. 124 HMV_{50}). The electron microprobe analysis showed that despite its poor solubility into copper when cold, iron is evenly distributed in the metal owing to the quick cooling of the material. Lead is liberated as small globular inclusions. A certain amount of tin is concentrated in a copper-tin phase particularly rich in tin, which is interdendritic (forming branched crystals) in the place where it solidified last during cooling. Dense white spots in the scanning photographs of respectively zinc and sulphur, which coincide with light grey inclusions in the metal, are presumably simply zinc sulphide which - originating from the calamine - are now deposited as impurities in the metal.

As mentioned above, Erik Menved's brass was assembled from a number of smaller plates. Figure 11 shows how these plates are distributed and which pieces were replaced during the 1883 restoration. Figure 12 shows the numerous holes,

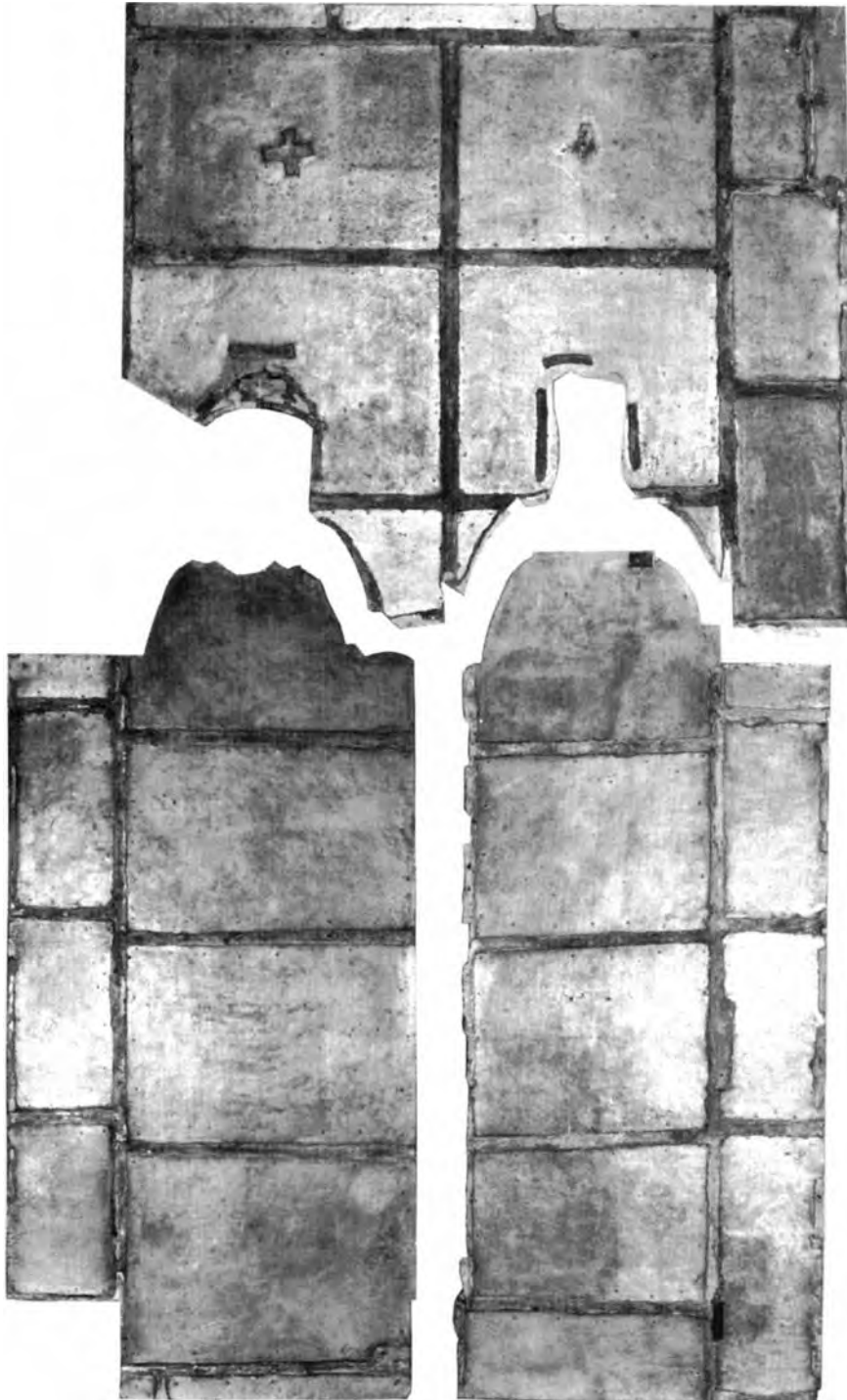


FIG. 10
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Reverse of plates.

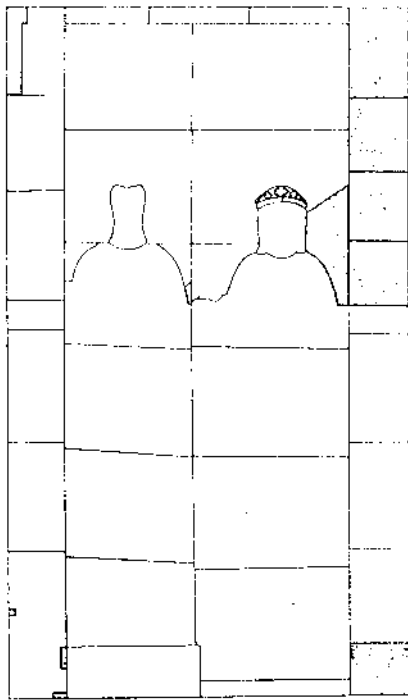


FIG. 11
 Ringsted, Denmark
 King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
 Diagram showing arrangement of plates
 Shaded areas indicate new parts inserted in 1883

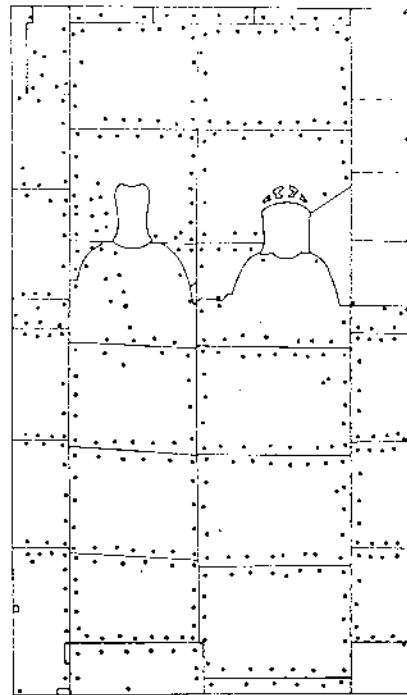


FIG. 12
 Ringsted, Denmark
 King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
 Diagram showing original rivet holes

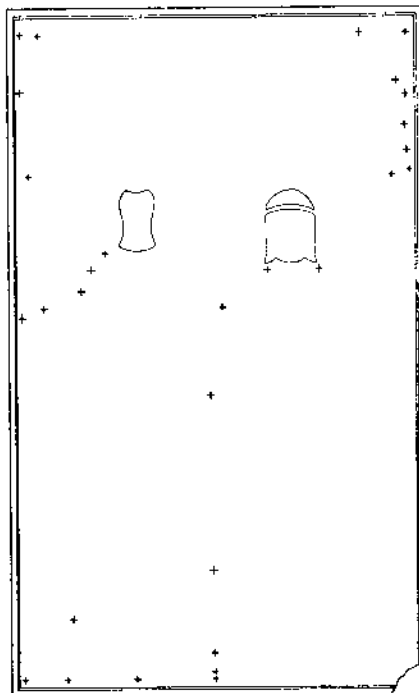


FIG. 13
 Ringsted, Denmark
 King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
 Diagram showing iron studs inserted in earlier restoration, pre-1883



FIG. 14
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Detail of dogs at Queen's feet

385 in number, along all adjacent edges in the original plates. These holes have served no useful purpose for a long time. The plates were probably originally assembled by means of metal strips rivetted on the reverse. The whole brass was bedded in pitch, of which many traces were found in hollows in the stone under the red substance which was later used to fill the gap between the stone and the brass. If the brass was originally fixed by any means in addition to the pitch it could probably only have been at the corners. The stone is equipped with pins in three



FIG. 15
Ringsted, Denmark
King Erike Menved and Queen Ingeborg, 1319
Detail of canopy angel

corners. The fourth pin is missing, where the corner of the stone was broken away. The only original corner of the brass has a hole which corresponds to the pin in the stone, but it is impossible to tell at what date the hole was drilled. The pins at the top may have been positioned a little further away from the edge of the plate than that at the bottom because of the detailed ornamentation. The plates are now assembled in three large sheets (Fig. 10) held together by thick bands of solder applied along all seams. Originally we intended to remove these to facilitate cleaning and restoration of the brass, but when we discovered how securely they were fixed, and that no serious corrosion seemed to have intruded beneath them, we decided to leave them. The soldered joints clearly date from before Magnus Petersen's restoration of the brass, but it is believed they are not original. A number of iron pins fixed in the stone with beds of cast lead apparently stem from an earlier restoration during which the brass was arranged into the three main sheets (Fig. 13).

The restoration and conservation of the monument carried out after its condition was reported consisted of cleaning off all the colourful salts on the reverse of the metal plates with various solvents and applying a corrosion inhibitor. The plates were first cleaned with an alkaline Rochelle salt solution. This was followed by cleaning in diluted sulphuric acid and brushing with a brass-bristled brush. Finally the plates were rinsed in distilled water, dried and treated with the corrosion inhibitor Benzoetiazol. The face of the plates was not touched. The corner of the stone was repaired by fitting in a new piece of Namur marble. The red substance was removed from the stone together with other infills of plaster and wax. The brass was rebbed in a mixture of petroleum wax and pitch and secured to the stone with threaded bushings and screws which were filed down to remove their slots. Bearing in mind the moisture which we found, the stone was raised some distance off the floor and placed on a ventilated footing of brick. The aim was to eliminate the possibility of moisture penetrating from below or condensation resulting from the floor having a colder temperature than the brass. However it is very doubtful whether either of these phenomena had contributed to the dampness. Analyses carried out on the red filling compound have shown that it was so hygroscopic that it is reasonable to conclude that it was the sole cause of the problem. The compound is probably an artificial magnesium cement, "Sorel's cement", mixed with sawdust and red iron oxide. The water it absorbs decomposes it and its high content of magnesium chloride and water make it a very unsuitable base for the metal.

Recent microscopic examinations have shown that the "refilling compound" present in almost all the engraving lines of the brass (visible in Figs. 14 and 15) largely consists of dirt and wax which has accumulated in the course of time, as well as metallic salts (i.e. corrosion products) and remnants of a very thin black coating which is probably the only original substance. It may also be that the brass has been subjected to black oxide treatment, carried out by heating the plate after applying linseed oil to it. A decision has yet to be taken as to whether the conservation process should be followed up by cleaning the face of the brass as well.

(For a discussion of the design and manufacture of the brass, see H. K. Cameron, "Flemish Brasses in Denmark", *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIII, part 3 (1982), 169-88. Ed.)

The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey

By NIGEL SAUL

IN the safe of the muniment room of Westminster Abbey are the fragments of the brass of Sir John Golafre (d. 1396). (Fig. 1) They consist of a canopy finial and five fragments of a marginal inscription in raised lettering. The slab to which they belonged still survives in the south ambulatory, hard by the tomb of Golafre's master, King Richard II.

The condition of Golafre's brass has been fragmentary since at least the late seventeenth century. There were only a few remains to be seen when Keepe wrote a description of it (the earliest surviving) in the 1680s. 'On the pavement', he wrote, 'There is a large grey Marble stone, with a little part of an Inscription, and a Coat of Arms still remaining in the brass, whereby so much light may be gathered that it was placed there for Sir John Golofre knight, who was second husband to Philippa Lady Mohun, afterwards Dutchess of York, he died anno 1396.'¹ Keepe's words were echoed some forty years later by Dart in his *History of the Abbey*: 'Near the basis of Richard the Second's Tomb', he wrote, 'in the Area, is an ancient flate Stone in the Pavement, formerly plated with a Man's Effigies (sic) and a Canopy with Arms, and an Inscription around it, of which I can find no more remaining than broken words: "Under this is buried Sir John Golofre, called Lord of Langley, natural son of Sir John Golofre knight by Johannet Pulham."'² Evidently in the time of Keepe and Dart enough of the inscription survived to permit an identification of the commemorated. By the nineteenth century this was no longer the case. When Brayley wrote in the 1820s he had to rely on the word of his predecessors: 'Another ancient Slab is mentioned by Dart, as being "near the Basis of Richard the Second's tomb" and "formerly plated with a man's effigy and a canopy with arms"... Not the least trace of letters is now visible; but in Dart's time there remained the following inscription in "broken words"' - and then he proceeds to repeat the words that Dart had given.³

Brayley greatly exaggerated the degree of deterioration of the fragments. To say, as he did, that 'Not the least trace of letters is now visible' was plainly misleading. Even today the greater part of the lettering is still legible; and certainly Herbert Haines, writing a generation after Brayley, had no difficulty reading it, as the comments in his *Manual*, published in 1861, bear witness.⁴ All the same, by the end of the nineteenth century the condition of the pieces was beginning to give rise to

¹ H. Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (London, 1683), 161.

² J. Dart, *Westmonasterium, or The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster* (London, 2 vols., 1723), ii, 21.

³ J.P. Neale & E.W. Brayley, *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster* (2 vols., London, 1818, 1823), ii, 175.

⁴ H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses* (London, 1861, repr. 1970), cxvi, 130. Haines, incidentally, was the first scholar to notice the broom sprays and white hart on the inscription, for which see below, 28.

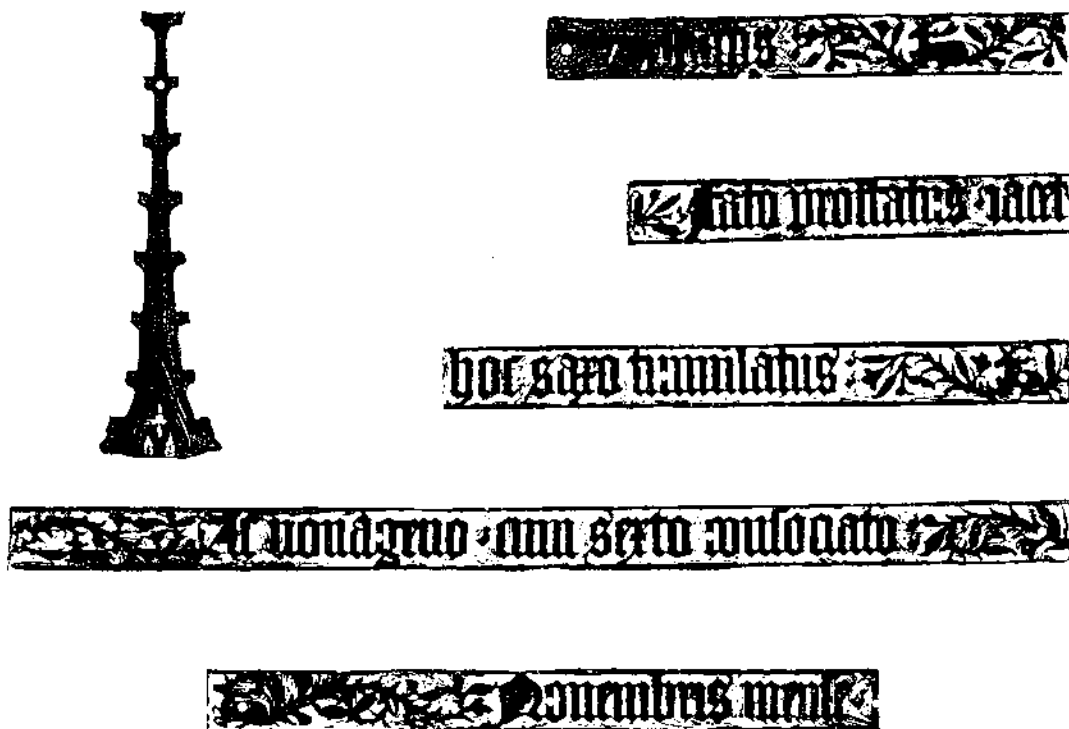


FIG. 1

Surviving fragments of brass to Sir John Golafre, 1396

London, Westminster Abbey, IV

Length of longest strip 745 mm

Rubbing by Malcolm Norris

concern, and in 1922 they were taken up to save them from further wear and tear.⁵ At first they were kept in the Abbey museum. Later, however, they were transferred to the muniment room over the east cloister, where they remain to this day.

Doubtless because of their disappearance from view the fragments have received little attention from modern scholars. They are briefly treated in J.S.N. Wright's *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey*, and they are noted in passing by D. Cook in his article on the Courtenay brass in Exeter Cathedral.⁶ Nowhere, however, have they been considered in any detail, and nowhere have they been illustrated. The neglect of the fragments is undeserved. Not only are they of great interest in their own right; they also add considerably to our understanding of courtly patronage of the brass engravers in the later fourteenth century. To appreciate their wider significance it is helpful to begin by looking in a little detail at Golafre's career in royal service in the reign of Richard II.

⁵ The date was established by Mr N. MacMichael, the late Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey. I owe the information to his successor, Dr Richard Mortimer.

⁶ J.S.N. Wright, *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1969), 29. D. Cook, 'The Brass to Sir Peter Courtenay, K.G., in Exeter Cathedral: a Reappraisal (II)', *M.B.S. Trans.*, xiv, part 3 (1988), 197-204.

The Career of Sir John Golafre

For a man who rose to not inconsiderable heights at court Golafre's origins were unpromising. He was a younger and illegitimate son of a moderately rich south Midlands knight. His father, another Sir John, who died in 1379, held a string of manors in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire, probably the most important of which was Fyfield (Berks.) where a later member of the family was to be commemorated by the earliest surviving English cadaver effigy.⁷ John the younger's prospects of inheriting land were slight, because although his father had no legitimate issue there were collateral kin with a claim on the estates. Like others in his position in the middle ages he sought a career for himself in royal service. Fortunately his family connections were of assistance to him here. His father's second wife was Isabella, widow of Thomas Missenden, an esquire of Edward III, and daughter of Sir John Brocas, a household knight of that king and a man well connected at court.⁸ Using these connections, and probably also connections with other curial officials from his locality,⁹ Golafre gained admission to the household of Richard II. By 1384 at the latest he had become an esquire of the king's chamber with a fee of £20 per annum.¹⁰ In 1385, when Richard invaded Scotland, he was knighted, and his fee was increased to 100 marks.¹¹ Two years later, as a further mark of favour, he was appointed keeper of the king's jewels and plate in succession to the newly ennobled John Beauchamp of Holt.¹² Golafre was by this time one of the busiest and most highly esteemed of the chamber staff. Among his regular associates were Sir Nicholas Dagworth and Sir George Felbrigg, chamber officials of long standing who are commemorated by well known brasses at Blickling and Playford respectively; and in his circle of acquaintances were to be numbered Sir William de Brien and Sir Robert Bardolf, two other knights in the king's service who are also commemorated by brasses - perhaps significantly, brasses from the same workshop in London. (Fig. 2)

Golafre's work as a chamber knight involved him in a range of diplomatic and administrative business on the king's behalf. Particularly important was his work as a royal envoy to other courts. According to Henry Knighton, the Leicester chronicler, he was entrusted by Richard with visiting France in 1387 to arrange a peace conference to be attended by himself and Charles VI of France. This visit brought him into conflict with the duke of Gloucester and the lords opposed to Richard who favoured continuance of the war. In December 1387 orders were issued for his arrest, and Golafre was obliged to stay abroad until the storm had blown over.¹³ Some six or seven years later, in a period of happier relations between Richard and his nobility, he was commissioned by the king to visit Poland to enlist support for a

⁷ For the family descent see G. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (London, 2 vols., 1847), i, 395. According to Lipscomb, John's mother was one 'Johannet or Jenny Pulham'.

⁸ *Victoria County History of Berkshire* (4 vols., 1906-24), iv, 346; A. Goodman, 'Richard II's Servants and the Missenden Inheritance', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, xvii (1965), 350-1.

⁹ Notably Sir Richard Abberbury of Donnington (Berks.), for whom see S. Walker, 'Sir Richard Abberbury (c.1330-1399) and his Kinsmen: the rise and fall of a gentry family', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxxiv (1990), 113-40.

¹⁰ *C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls) 1381-5*, 480.

¹¹ *CPR 1385-9*, 22, 219; *C(alendar of) C(lose) R(olls) 1385-9*, 176.

¹² *CPR 1385-9*, 291.

¹³ J.R. Lumby ed., *Chronicon Henrici Knighton* (Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1895), ii, 243, 256, 296.

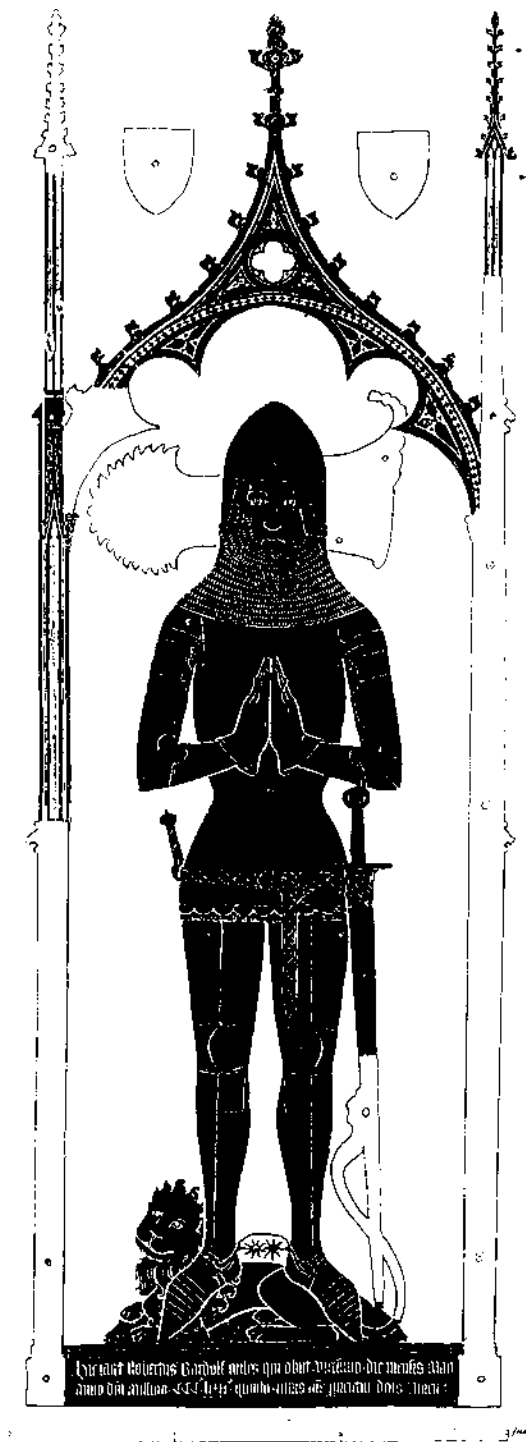


FIG. 2

Sir Robert Bardolf, 1395
Mapledurham, Oxfordshire, I
Height of figure 178 cm

Illustration from M.B.S. Portfolio

amended by J.F.A.B. by kind permission of J. J. Eyston of Mapledurham House

joint Anglo-French crusade against the Turks. He was granted letters of protection and attorney in February 1394 and was away for the better part of a year, but the outcome of his endeavours is unknown.¹⁴ Few Poles were present on the crusade when it eventually set out, so the possibility must be considered that the visit was not a success.

For all the importance of his diplomatic work, it was not as a diplomat that Golafre was chiefly known, but rather as a knight - as a fighting man. He had served in the king's contingent on the Scottish campaign of 1385, and he may well have seen active service before that in France.¹⁵ In 1395 he served in the first of Richard's two expeditions to Ireland.¹⁶ In the middle and later years of Richard's reign, however, opportunities for military service were increasingly limited by extensions to the truce made in 1389 between England and France, and knights like Golafre tended to seek renown instead on the tournament circuit. One of the most celebrated tournaments of the age was that held at St Inglevert near Calais in March and April 1390. This had its origins in the challenge of Jean Boucicault and a group of French knights to maintain themselves in the lists against any who would meet them. Among the English knights who responded was John Golafre. Froissart, the Hainault-born chronicler of chivalry who knew him personally, gives a description of his meeting in the lists with the Frenchman Sir Reginald de Roie. The two men, he says, advanced at each other at full gallop and hit each other's helmets, but neither was unhelmed nor had his lance broken. Their horses refused to run the second course to their annoyance, but at the third tilt they struck each other's shields and broke their lances. They were supplied with new ones, and then passed their fourth tilt without striking blows. They then returned to their corners.¹⁷

In view of Golafre's evident fame as a knight it is hardly surprising to find him entrusted with responsibilities of a military nature at home. The most important of these involved him in building up the military side of the royal household. By royal letters patent of 20 June 1392 he was appointed to ensure that all yeomen of the king's household carried bows with them and had regular practice in archery.¹⁸ The object was to provide Richard with a company of archers (many of them of Cheshire origin) who would serve as his personal bodyguard and attend on him at all times. More conventionally Golafre was also entrusted with the custody and maintenance of important royal castles. In March 1389 there is the first reference to him as constable of Wallingford, an office he was to hold until his death. In 1390 he was appointed constable of Flint in north Wales, and two years after that constable of Nottingham. Across the Channel he served as captain of Cherbourg until the restitution of that port to Charles III of Navarre in 1394.¹⁹

As his career progressed, Golafre began to share in the distribution of lands and offices that made up the small change of patronage at court. In 1384 he was one of a group allocated property forfeited by John Northampton, the London politician

¹⁴ J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-1399* (London, 1972), 200-1, 240-1.

¹⁵ *CPR 1385-9*, 22. The extent of his earlier military service is difficult to establish because of the shortage of evidence.

¹⁶ *CPR 1391-6*, 494, 536.

¹⁷ T. Johnes ed., *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles* (London, 2 vols., 1862), ii, 437.

¹⁸ *CPR 1391-6*, 74.

¹⁹ *CPR 1388-92*, 23, 297; *CPR 1391-6*, 281; *CCR 1392-6*, 18.

condemned to imprisonment that year.²⁰ Shortly afterwards he was granted for life the manor of Shotwick, in the Wirral, provided that its yield did not exceed £35 per annum.²¹ After the death of John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, in 1389 he was granted co-custody of the estates of that valuable inheritance.²² Finally, towards the end of his life, he was granted custody of the royal estates of Beckley and Wychwood Forest in Oxfordshire.²³ It is difficult to say exactly how much these properties and offices would have been worth to him, but a figure of £300-400 a year probably would not be far short of the truth. This was not a large amount for a man with a position to maintain at court and who lacked the resources of an inherited estate to fall back on. Golafre probably hoped that marriage to a rich widow or heiress would transform his prospects, as it had those of many landless knights before him. But if this was so, it was a hope only partly fulfilled. His betrothal to Philippa, daughter of Sir John de Mohun and widow of Lord Fitzwalter, while it brought him the trappings of status, brought him little in the way of landed wealth. Philippa was a co-heiress, but her mother had sold the greater part of the reversion of her estates to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell to the disinherison of her daughters.²⁴ Probably to the end of his life Golafre was dependent on the greater part of his income on the fees that he received from the crown.²⁵

Golafre died at Wallingford castle, probably aged between 40 and 50, on or shortly after 18 November 1396. His will, which he had made three years before in January 1393, shows him to have been a man strongly moved by affection both for King Richard and for the members of his family.²⁶ To Alice Golafre, his sister, he left £20, and to Elizabeth Golafre, William Golafre and John Golafre his cousin, £10 each. To King Richard he left his best horse, a badge of the white hart (which he had presumably received from the king in the first place), a stone with a sapphire set in it, a cup, and a golden chain. Richard's own devotion to Golafre is indicated by the close interest that he showed in the latter's place of burial. Golafre had asked to be buried in the Grey Friars' church at Oxford, close to his father, but as he lay dying he received a request from the king, to which he acceded, to allow his body to go to Westminster Abbey.²⁷ Richard had taken a similar interest in the matter of his servants' interment a year earlier, following the death of his former treasurer John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury. Waltham had asked to be buried in his cathedral of Salisbury, but the king had sent Sir William Scrope to claim the body

²⁰ *CPR 1381-5*, 468, 472.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 473.

²² *C(alendar of) F(ine) R(olls) 1383-91*, 352-3.

²³ *CPR 1391-6*, 550, 718.

²⁴ G.E. Cokayne ed., *The Complete Peerage* (London, 12 vols. in 13, 1910-57), v, 479-80; ix, 24. Philippa died in 1431 and was buried in St Nicholas's Chapel, Westminster Abbey (*Complete Peerage*, v, 480).

²⁵ He and Philippa were granted an annuity of 100 marks by the king on the occasion of their marriage, presumably in recognition of their limited landed resource (*CPR 1388-92*, 154). There is a possibility that at some stage John acquired a life interest in the manor of Sarsden (Oxon.), which was part of the family estates because he made bequests to the manorial servants there in his will (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel, i, fos. 155^v). The absence of any escheators' inquisitions makes it fairly clear, however, that he held no estates in fee at the time of his death.

²⁶ Lambeth Palace, Reg. Arundel, i, fos. 155^r-155^v.

²⁷ '...et etiam legavit corpus suum huiusmodi sepeliri in ecclesia conventuali Westmonasterii ubi dominus noster Rex disposuit.' Golafre's original request was for burial with the Grey Friars at Oxford, and not Wallingford, as in Wright, *Brasses of Westminster Abbey*, 17.

for the Abbey. A few days later it was interred with due solemnity in the Confessor's Chapel.²⁸ It was Richard's belief that burial in the eastern part of the Abbey - a right hitherto reserved for kings and their immediate kin - bestowed honour and recognition on those who had distinguished themselves in royal service. In 1388 he had caused two of his chamber knights who had been executed by the Appellant opposition to be interred there, in St John the Baptist's Chapel.²⁹ In 1395, besides having Waltham interred near the Confessor, he had Sir Bernard Brocas, the queen's chamberlain, buried in St Edmund's Chapel.³⁰ In 1396 Golafre himself was buried in the ambulatory immediately below the position reserved for the king's own tomb. And in 1397, finally, Robert Waldeby, archbishop of York, and one of the king's favourite clerks, was given a similarly dignified burial in St Edmund's Chapel.³¹ (Fig. 3) Significantly, all of these men, with the exception of Brocas and possibly the two knights, were commemorated by brasses - and, moreover, brasses from the same workshop. This raises the possibility that Richard was instrumental in determining not only their place of burial but also the manner of their commemoration. He is known to have been a keen patron of metalwork and fine objects.³² His own (and his wife's) tomb in the abbey, which he commissioned in 1395, was topped by effigies of copper and latten, gilded. (Fig. 4) Among English monarchs of the late middle ages he was probably the most active in offering business to the marblers and latten-makers of the city of London.

Golafre's Brass

By considering the slab and the surviving brass inlays together it is possible to form an impression of the character and appearance of Sir John Golafre's brass.

The marble slab still lies in what must be its original position in the floor of the south ambulatory, a little to the south-west of Richard's tomb. It measures approximately 308 by 123 cm. As a result of some six centuries of wear it is today almost effaced. But in a favourable light it is possible to pick out the outline of the lost inlays of brass. In the centre of the composition was the armoured figure of the commemorated, some 170 cm in height. Above the figure rose an elegant single canopy, and surrounding the whole there was a marginal inscription. In lay out and design the brass bore a strong resemblance to another of almost exactly the same date in the Abbey - that of Archbishop Waldeby in St Edmund's Chapel. (Fig. 3)

There appears to have been one peculiarity in the design of the brass which sets it apart from Waldeby's, and indeed from most other surviving brasses of the period. This was the placing of two shields of arms - one above the other - rather than the usual one between the canopy gable and each of the buttresses. It is impossible to be absolutely certain on this point in view of the condition of the slab, but both the indents and the location of the surviving rivets make it highly likely. One shield on each side may have borne the impaled arms of Golafre and his wife, and another

²⁸ Wright, *Brasses of Westminster Abbey*, 11, and in more detail N.E. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', in W.J. Blair & B. Golding eds., *The Monasteries and Lay Society* (Oxford, forthcoming 1994).

²⁹ L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey eds., *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), 332.

³⁰ Wright, *Brasses of Westminster Abbey*, 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 15-17.

³² J. Blair & N. Ramsey eds., *English Medieval Industries* (London, 1991), 137, 154, 160.



FIG. 3
 Archbishop Robert de Waldeby, 1397
 London, Westminster Abbey, V
 Height of figure 171 cm
Illustration from Beloe



Figures of Richard II. & his Queen Anne.

FIG. 4
Effigies of King Richard II and Queen Anne of Bohemia, after 1395
London, Westminster Abbey, Drawing by William Blake
engraved by William Basire for Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*

those of the king.

The principal surviving fragments of the brass are five strips of the marginal inscription. (Fig. 1) These are in raised lettering and read as follows:

...tus... (rest effaced)	37 by 4 cm.
Fato prostatus iacet	31.5 by 4 cm.
hoc saxo tumulatus	44 by 4 cm.
Ac nonageno cum sexto consociato	74.5 by 4 cm.
Novembris mense	47 by 4 cm.

(...lies here, laid low by fate...buried under this stone...when six years more were added to ninety, in the month of November...)

Few though the remains are, they are sufficient to show that the inscription was a composition in rhyming hexameters. Hexameters are used on two other surviving brasses of this period - those of Archbishop Waldeby, also in the Abbey, and of Golafre's fellow chamber knight and slightly younger contemporary, Sir Peter Courtenay (d. 1405) in Exeter Cathedral. On the latter, interestingly, raised lettering is again used.³³ The coupling of rhyming hexameters with the use of raised lettering was a conceit generally, though not invariably, reserved for the grandest and most elaborate of brasses.

A distinctive feature of the inscription is the separation of the hexameters by sprays of broom in which Richard's emblem of the white hart sometimes appears. Leaf-sprays of one sort or another were quite commonly used to decorate inscriptions in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. On Sir Peter Courtenay's brass they were used to divide up the hexameters in much the same way as on Golafre's; and on Eleanor de Bohun's brass, only a few yards away from Golafre's in Westminster Abbey, they were used to fill up an entire empty fillet at the end of the inscription. These sprays were generally of indeterminate leaf form. Contrary to what David Cook has recently suggested, there is no reason to suppose that they were meant to represent broom, because the distinctive pods are absent.³⁴ Broom appears on only one other surviving brass - that of Viscount Beaumont (d. 1507) at Wivenhoe, Essex, and then on a footrest and not on the inscription.³⁵ The appearance of broom on Golafre's brass is to be accounted for by the knight's close association with Richard II. Richard had been given a collar of broom pods only a few months before Golafre's death by Charles VI of France, when he had married Charles's daughter. He had subsequently adopted it as a device of his own, and was shown wearing it on the Wilton Diptych which was painted at roughly this time.³⁶ Collars were very personal devices which sovereigns bestowed on only the most honoured and deserving of recipients. The fact that the emblem of a collar was depicted on Golafre's brass is a clear sign of the intimacy that existed between the knight and the king and of the interest that the latter took in his commemoration.

Equally indicative of the intimacy between the two men is the presence on the brass of a second Ricardian device, the white hart couchant. The white hart was the

³³ D. Cook, 'The Brass to Sir Peter Courtenay, K.G., in Exeter Cathedral: a Reappraisal', 202, 204.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 202

³⁵ The brass is illustrated in M. Norris, *Brass Rubbing* (London, 1965), 48.

³⁶ For the history of the broom pod device see M.V. Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies*, eds. L.S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (Oxford, 1937, repr. 1968), 278-83.



FIG. 5

Detail of brass to Sir Symon Felbrygge and wife Margaret, 1416
Felbrigg, Norfolk, III

Photo K. & S. for Malcolm Norris

most famous and widely used of the devices that Richard adopted. Unlike the collar of broom pods it served as a badge - in other words, as a labelling device which identified the wearer as a dependant of Richard's and thus as a beneficiary of his lordship. According to the Evesham Abbey chronicler it was distributed for the first time at the Smithfield tournament of October 1390, at which Richard presided.³⁷ Thereafter it was worn almost routinely by the knights and esquires in Richard's service. On brass it is a rarity (unlike most other 'bastard feudal' devices) because after 1399 its use was discontinued. Other than on Golafre's brass it is only found on the brass of Sir Simon and Lady Felbrigg at Felbrigg (Norfolk). (Fig. 5) Felbrigg, like Golafre, was a servant and intimate of Richard II. A scion of a Norfolk gentry family, he became one of Richard's chamber knights in the early 1390s and in 1395 was appointed the king's standard bearer. The brass which commemorates him - and which was laid down in 1416 on the death of his wife, a lady-in-waiting to Richard's first wife Anne of Bohemia - has many allusions to his career in Richard's service. Not only is the white hart prominently displayed at the junction of the two

³⁷ G.B. Stow ed., *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Philadelphia, 1977), 131-2.

canopy gables; Sir Simon himself carries the banner, the emblem of his office; and the inscription celebrates his and his wife's connections with the king.³⁸ Such evocations are somewhat strange on a brass laid down more than a decade after Richard's downfall and death, but the king was evidently held in high esteem by those who had known him. The main reason for this must have been the quality of his lordship: Richard made a point of consistently honouring and dignifying those who were employed in his service. The interest that he took in the burial and commemoration of someone like Golafre was one very clear example of this. Burial in a place of repute like Westminster Abbey conferred posthumous esteem on the deceased. It may have been a recollection of the importance that Richard attached to burial that led Felbrigg to memorialise Richard on his own burial-place in Felbrigg Church.

One final one aspect of Golafre's brass remains to be discussed, and that is its 'style' or workshop origin. A number of clues to 'style' are given by the fragments that survive. The first and most striking of these is the pair of bears' heads at the base of the finial of the canopy buttress. These are one of the hallmarks of series 'B', the most prolific of the main London workshops of the day. Identification with 'B' is confirmed by an analysis of the lettering of the inscription. With its elegant forms and long diagonals on the 'S's this is wholly consistent with the lettering on contemporary 'B' brasses. It has already been noted that the literary form and manner of engraving of the inscription bears a strong resemblance to those on another high-quality 'B' brass, that of Sir Peter Courtenay in Exeter Cathedral.

Coming as it did from the prolific 'B' atelier, Golafre's brass was the product of a school of marblers with strong associations with the court. The other great brasses of this date in the Abbey - those of Bishop Waltham (d. 1395), Archbishop Waldeby (d. 1398) and the duchess of Gloucester (d. 1399) - are also from the 'B' series. 'B' had built up a strong link with the court by this time: it is possible, indeed, that members of the workshop were involved in the tomb of Richard himself, for there are strong similarities between the lettering on the tomb's inscription and some of the letter forms on 'B' inscriptions.³⁹ At the very least the firm was doing well out of Richard's policy of rewarding his friends and servants with burial in the Abbey. Whenever a curialist was buried there on his orders, the contract for the brass went almost invariably to craftsmen of this workshop.⁴⁰

A very different pattern of patronage is revealed by a study of the taste in brasses of those of Richard's chamber knights who were not honoured with burial in the Abbey: and the majority of them, of course, were not. The brasses of some eight or nine of these men survive.⁴¹ Some of the brasses were probably laid down a few years after the deaths of the commemorated - for example, those of Sir Arnald Savage at Bobbing (Kent) and of Sir John Russell, Richard's master of the horse, at

³⁸ J.D. Milner, 'Sir Simon Felbrigg, K.G.: the Lancastrian Revolution and Personal Fortune', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxxvii, i (1978), 84-91.

³⁹ M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials* (2 vols., London, 1977), i, 52.

⁴⁰ One exception may be noted, and that is the tomb of Sir Bernard Brocas in St Edmund's Chapel. This has an effigy in relief, but on the chamfered edge of the chest is a fillet of brass which in its use of the leaf device has affinities with the 'A' and 'C' series of brasses.

⁴¹ A list of Richard II's chamber knights may be found in C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (New Haven and London, 1986), appendix V.



FIG. 6
Sir William Bagot and wife Margaret, 1407
Baginton, Warwickshire, I
Height of figures 143 cm
Rubbing by Stan Budd

Strensham, Worcestershire.⁴² Savage's brass was probably laid down by his son, and is therefore not to be considered an expression of his own taste; Russell's is difficult to identify stylistically.⁴³ The remainder are all more or less contemporary with the reign. Two of the brasses are of style 'B': those of Sir Robert Bardolf (d. 1395) at Mapledurham, Oxon. (Fig. 2), and of Sir Peter Courtenay at Exeter. The majority, however - those of Sir George Felbrigg (d. 1400) at Playford, Suffolk, Sir Nicholas Dagworth (d. 1401) at Blickling, Norfolk, both of them like Golafre active diplomats, Sir William Bagot (d. 1407) at Baginton, Warwickshire (Fig. 6), and John Cray (d. 1392) at Chinnor, Oxfordshire - are clear products of London series 'C'.⁴⁴ This identity of taste is very striking - indeed, all the more so bearing in mind that 'C' was one of the smaller workshops of the day. Felbrigg, Dagworth, Bagot and Cray were all men who knew one another and worked alongside one another. It must be assumed that one set the fashion for a 'C' brass (Cray died first), and that the others followed suit. The possibility has to be considered that they were familiar with one another's forms of commemoration from having served in the office of feoffee or executor. There is no confirmation of this in the surviving wills of members of the group, however, and in the absence of more evidence it would be unwise to be dogmatic on the point.⁴⁵

What emerges from this study of the taste in brasses of the courtiers and chamber staff of Richard's reign is that two very different patterns of patronage were operating. On the one hand there was the preference for style 'C' evinced by a group of chamber knights and esquires, many of them close to the king - but who were not honoured with burial in Westminster Abbey. On the other, there was a commitment to style 'B' among those who opted for, or were given the privilege of, burial in Westminster Abbey. 'B' was clearly the firm which enjoyed the highest favour with the crown. The commissioning of 'B' brasses for Golafre, Waltham, Waldeby and the other courtiers buried in the Abbey was as much an expression of royal taste as of the taste of the individuals commemorated.

My thanks are due to Malcolm Norris for the generous assistance that he has given in the preparation of this article.

⁴² Savage's brass can be dated on stylistic grounds to c.1420 and was probably commissioned at the same time as that of his son who died in 1420 (Haines, *Manual*, 93). The dating of Russell's brass is controversial. Russell died in 1405, but the brass may have been laid down a year or two later.

⁴³ The brass has recently been found to be palimpsest, and the figure on the reverse appears to be that of an 'A' female 'waster'.

⁴⁴ Cray's brass has characteristics which are different from the rest, but a 'C' identification is suggested by the elaborate sword belt, the cross-patterning on the hilt of the sword, the splayed-out feet and the positioning of one knee above the other.

⁴⁵ The wills survive of two members of the group - Sir Nicholas Dagworth and Sir George Felbrigg (respectively, N. H. Nicholas (ed.) *Testamenta Vetusta* (London, 2 vols., 1826), i, 138-9; Norfolk Rec. Office, NCC Wills 1400, 261, 262 Harsyk). Dagworth's was made five years before he died and expresses a desire for burial at St Benet's near Paul's Wharf in London; in the event he was, of course, buried at Blickling. The executors whom he named were John Winter of Little Bellingham and John Cressham. Felbrigg's executors were his wife Margaret, Sir Roger Drury, Sir Roger Cavendish, John Lovell clerk, and two other clerks whose names are illegible. Of the people named here the only person certainly commemorated by a surviving brass is Drury (at Rougham, Suffolk); and that is of style 'B'. (It is not clear that the John Winter commemorated by the brass at Winter Barningham is John Winter of Little Bellingham).

Sir Robert Clifford – Yorkist Traitor or Tudor Spy?

By JONATHAN MOOR

THE parish church of St Mary at Aspenden near Buntingford in Hertfordshire possesses an exceptionally fine early Tudor heraldic brass. (Fig. 1) Set into the back wall of an altar-tomb in the south east corner of the south aisle, under a carved canopy of Purbeck marble, the brass commemorates Sir Robert Clifford (died 1508) and his wife Elizabeth (died 1526).¹ The knight wears a tabard over his armour bearing Quarterly 1st and 4th *checky or and azure, a fess gules* for Clifford; 2nd and 3rd *gules, three rings or parted sable, three quatrifoils or, differenced over all with an annulet*. He kneels on an embroidered cushion at a prayer desk. His wife, also kneeling, faces him. She wears a pedimental head-dress, heraldic kirtle and mantle. The mantle bears the arms of Clifford on its dexter side, and on the sinister *Ermine, three bars wavy sable* for Barley. A shield placed behind the knight bears the arms of Clifford, while the one behind the lady bears the arms repeated on her mantle. Both the figures and the two shields still retain much of their original colouring.

A scroll inscribed with the words "Miserere nobis peccatoribus" is directed from the effigy of the lady to a large indent which once contained a representation of the Holy Trinity. A similar scroll from the knight is now lost, though three rivets which helped to retain it in place remain *in situ*. It read "Benedicta et sancta Trinitas".² Two daughters kneel behind their mother though the small figures of two sons, similarly placed behind their father, are now lost.

Underneath the main figures is an inscription in raised black letter script:

..... syr Robt Clyfford late knyght for the body to y^e moist excellent prnce kyng henri y^e vij and / maister of hys ordynaunce also dame Elysabeth his wyf & late wyf to sr Rauffe Josselyn knyght whiche / syr Robt Clyfford was the thyrd son of Thomas late lord Clyfford & the seid syr Robt decessed the xv day of march / in the xxij yer' of the Reigne of kyng henr' y^e vij & the said dame Elisabeth decessed the ---day of---in /Mt CCCCC---.....

The date of Elizabeth's death was never filled in. The phrases asking for prayers for the souls of Sir Robert and his wife have been cut away, probably during the mid-sixteenth century. As the removal of the offending phrases has been carried out relatively neatly, the work may have been done on the orders of descendents of Sir Robert and his wife in an attempt to save the memorial from complete destruction. Doubtless the Trinity was removed at the same time. It seems likely that the damage done to the inscription may have caused the two sons near to it and the shields at each end to work loose and become lost. Five other shields, four on two sides of the tomb chest and one in the centre of the canopy, are also missing. Around the top edge of the tomb chest (Fig. 2) is a chamfer inscription

¹ She made her will 1 May 1526, proved 20 July of the same year, P.C.C., 9 Porch.

² J.E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire* (London 1870-73), I, Edwinstree Hundred p. 93.

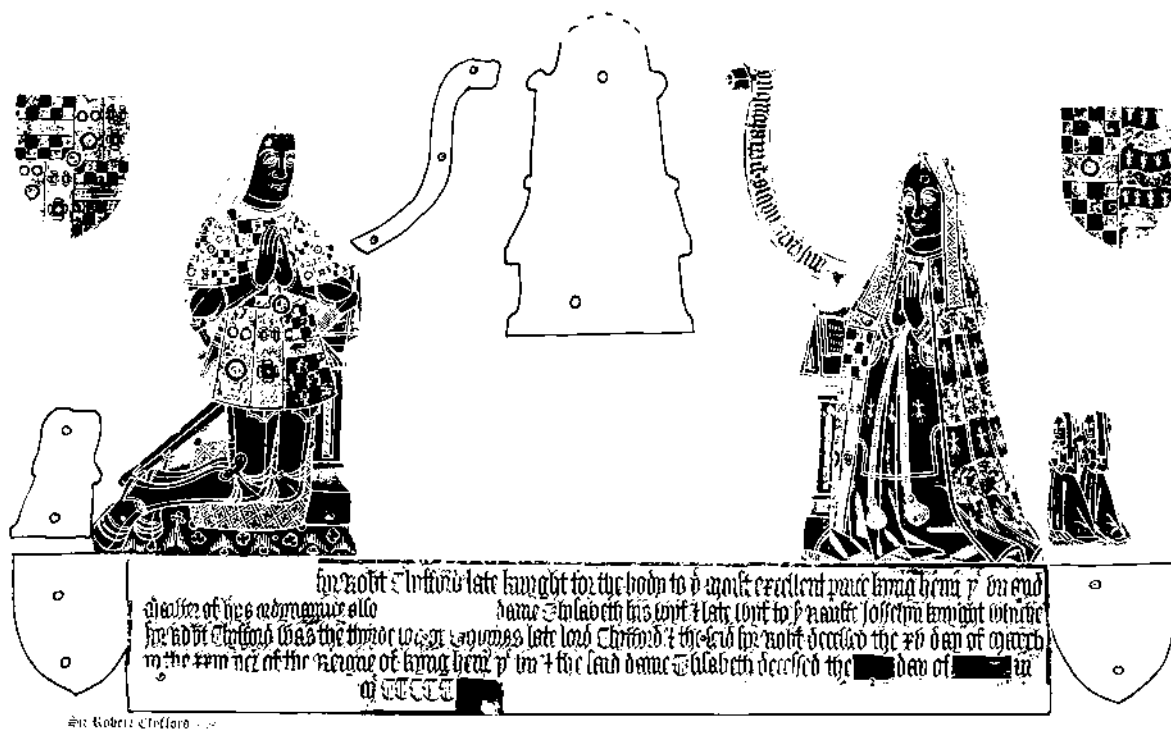


FIG. 1

Aspenden, Hertfordshire, M.S. I
 Sir Robert and Elizabeth Clifford, 1508
 Height of main figures 43 and 41 cm
 Rubbing by Jonathan Moor

in raised black letter script. On it is the text from the Book of Job, 19:25-26, "Credo quod redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum / Credo animam meam vitae meae".

Sir Robert Clifford was responsible *c.* 1500 for the building of the south aisle and porch of Aspenden Church.³ In the spandrels of the exterior arch of the porch are two shields. That on the left bears Clifford impaling Barley, while that on the right bears Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure, a circular wreath argent and sable, with four hawks bells conjoined therto in a quadrangle or, differenced with a mullet* (Jocelyn); 2nd *barry nebule of six or and sable* (Blount); 3rd *sable, a fesse between three pheons argent* (Malpas). Over the doorway within the porch is a shield bearing Clifford impaling Quarterly of four, 1st and 4th *a saltire engrailed on a chief two mullets*; 2nd and 3rd *a cross*.

Sir Robert Clifford, his wife Elizabeth and her first husband Sir Ralph Jocelyn, all three in heraldic dress, are portrayed in fifteenth-century stained glass in Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Suffolk. Beneath the kneeling figures is written

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

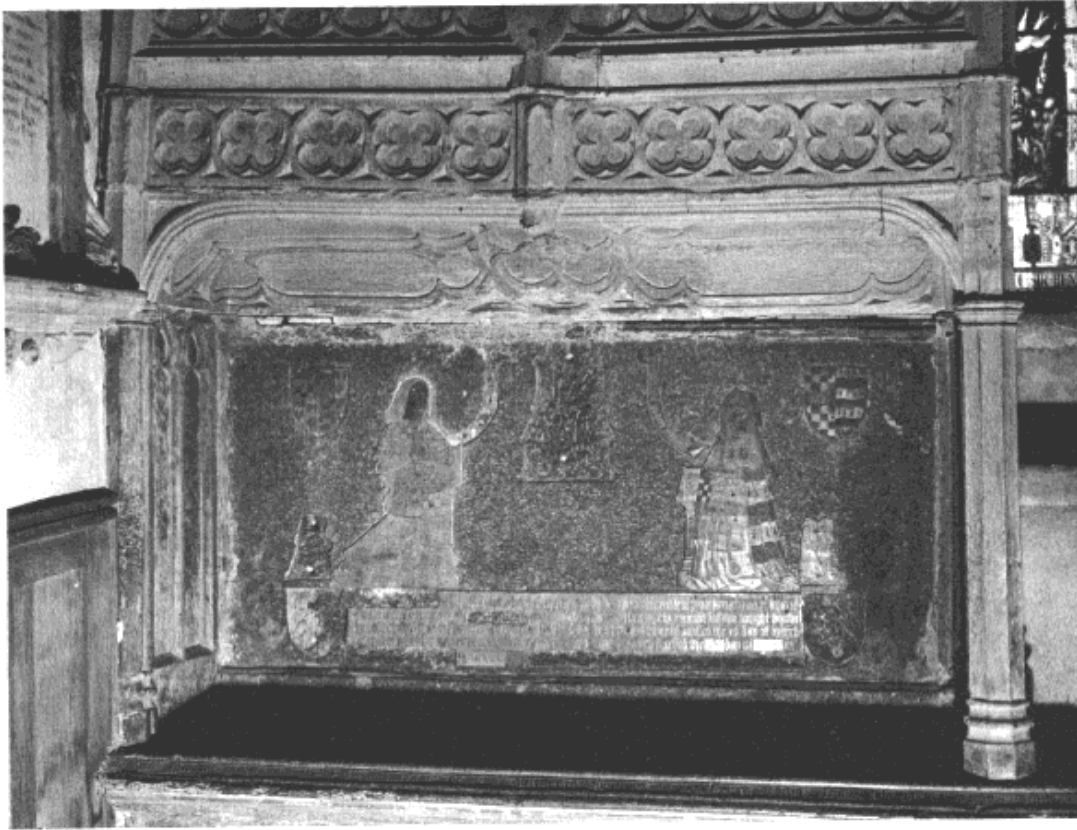


FIG. 2
Aspenden, Hertfordshire, M.S. I
Sir Robert and Elizabeth Clifford, 1508
Photograph by A. and E. Wright for Malcolm Norris

"Pray for the soul of Ralf Joslin twice Mayor of London and for the good estate of Robert Clifford and Dame Elizabeth his wife".⁴ The stained glass was paid for by John Clopton, a kinsman of Sir Robert Clifford.⁵

Sir Robert was the third son of Thomas Lord Clifford by his wife Joan daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland.⁶ Sir Robert's father was killed fighting for the Lancastrians at the first battle of St Albans on 22 May 1455 and was buried in the Abbey Church there.⁷ Sir Robert's two elder brothers also died in the service of the House of Lancaster. John Lord Clifford fought at the battle of Wakefield on 31

⁴ C. Woodforde, "The Medieval Stained Glass of Long Melford Church, Suffolk", in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, III, (1938).

⁵ John Clopton of Kentwell Hall, Long Melford, Suffolk, married Alice daughter of Robert Darcy of Maldon, Essex. Alice's sister Elizabeth married William Barley, the brother in law of Sir Robert Clifford.

⁶ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* (London 1913), III, viii, p. 293.

⁷ *Ibid.*

December 1460 where "for slaughter of men he was called the Butcher".⁸ He was killed by a stray arrow at Ferrybridge, Yorkshire on 28 March 1461 on the eve of the battle of Towton.⁹ Sir Roger was executed on a charge of treason in the summer of 1485 on the orders of Richard III, because of his involvement in a conspiracy on behalf of Henry Tudor, then in exile in France. Having been tried and condemned at Westminster, Sir Roger was drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the City to be executed. As he was dragged past the sanctuary of St Martin le Grand, helped by his confessor, he attempted to escape and was only narrowly prevented from so doing by the soldiers guarding him.¹⁰

Until the latter years of the reign of Edward IV, nothing is heard of Robert Clifford, but by 30 July 1477 he had become one of the king's esquires when "during good behaviour" he was given an annuity of £40.¹¹ Some two years later, following his marriage to Elizabeth Barley, the widow of Sir Ralph Jocelyn, Robert Clifford gained possession of the manor of Aspenden. In January 1450/51 the manor had been purchased by Sir Ralph Jocelyn and his first wife Philippa, the daughter of Philip Malpas.¹² Following the death of his first wife Sir Ralph married Elizabeth Barley; shortly after his death which occurred on 25 October 1478, his widow married Robert Clifford.¹³

In June 1481 Robert Clifford received a further annuity of £40 out of the revenues of the manors of Heversham, Morland and Warcop, Westmorland, "held in chief by knight service during the minority of Richard Neville kinsman and heir of George late Lord Latymere knight".¹⁴ In April 1483 he was appointed as a commissioner to decide who in Hertfordshire should be expected to contribute to the subsidies granted to Edward V during the last Parliament. He was ordered to send his findings to the Treasurer and the Barons of the Exchequer and to appoint collectors, "so that the sums shall be answered for at Whitsunday".¹⁵ Robert Clifford had begun to perform administrative duties in Hertfordshire as early as February 1479, when he was appointed as a justice of the peace. He sat on three further commissions of the peace for the county during the reign of Edward IV; in March 1479, August 1480 and May 1482,¹⁶ but held no further administrative posts until after the accession of Henry VII.

On 28 April 1485 Richard III granted a pardon to Robert Clifford "late of London esquire alias late of Colchester Essex alias late of Westminster Middlesex of all offences committed by him before 26 April".¹⁷ The offences committed are not specified, but bearing in mind the strong Lancastrian sympathies of the Cliffords, it is quite likely that Robert was implicated in conspiracies afoot at this time to place Henry Tudor on the English throne.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, ix, p. 293. John Lord Clifford is reputed to have killed both Richard Duke of York and his second son Edmund Earl of Rutland at the battle of Wakefield. After the battle it is said he cut off the Duke's head, placed a paper crown upon it and sent it to Margaret of Anjou as a present.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁰ J. Gairdner, *The Life and reign of Richard III* (London 1878), p. 251.

¹¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1476-85), p. 47.

¹² *V.C.H. Hertfordshire* Vol. IV, p. 19.

¹³ J.E. Cussans, *Hertfordshire*, I, p. 93.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1476-85, p. 274.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 533.



FIG. 3

Westminster Abbey, London
 Tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York
 by Pietro Torrigiani, 1512
Photograph RCHME Crown Copyright

Following the accession of Henry Tudor (Fig. 3) in August 1485, the fortunes of Robert Clifford improved. He was reappointed as an esquire for the king's body as he is so described in March 1486, when he was made Chamberlain of the town and port of Berwick upon Tweed for life.¹⁸ In the following month he received a grant of property in Yorkshire, formerly belonging to Francis Viscount Lovell. This comprised the manors of Stillingfleet, Askham Bryan (near York), Dringhouses (a township on the south side of the city) and Upton (a few miles south of Pontefract).¹⁹ However in May 1486 he was ordered to pay an annuity of 40 marks to Sir John Egremond out of the revenues of these manors.²⁰

Robert Clifford resumed his administrative duties in Hertfordshire the month after the battle of Bosworth and sat on all eleven commissions of the peace issued for the county between September 1485 and May 1493.²¹ He was also appointed

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1485-94, p. 85.

¹⁹ Rev. W. Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII* (London 1873), I, p. 409.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

²¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1485-94, p. 488.

as a justice for the East Riding of Yorkshire in November 1486, October 1489 and in February and May 1493.²² In July and August 1486 he served on two further commissions in Hertfordshire. The first was to ascertain the extent of the lands held by Robert Mortymer at his death and who was his rightful heir.²³ The second was to find out about all lands and property in Hertfordshire which had belonged to Edward IV, Richard III and the latter's principal supporters "and to certify the king hereofin the Exchequer".²⁴

He had been knighted by February 1488, when as Sir Robert Clifford he stood surety on behalf of Sir John Scrope of Bolton.²⁵ Sir John had been implicated in Lambert Simnell's rebellion. In December of the same year Sir Robert was appointed to find out who in Hertfordshire was liable to furnish archers for the king's army and to take muster of them for a military expedition to Brittany.²⁶ Also in December 1488, together with his nephew Henry Lord Clifford, he received the keeping of the king's mills in Penrith, Cumberland.²⁷

In June 1490 Sir Robert Clifford became further involved with the affairs of Brittany, when together with Roger Machado, Richmond King of Arms, he was despatched by the king on a diplomatic mission to the duchy. At the end of the fifteenth century Brittany was still independent of France, but her last duke Francis II was old and had no son. When he died in September 1488 he left the duchy to two young daughters, Anne and Isabel, whom he placed under the guardianship of Marshal de Rieux. France hoped to exploit the situation in the duchy to her own advantage and bring Brittany under the control of the French Crown. England could not permit such an aggrandisement of French power and so between September 1488 and December 1491 (when Anne Duchess of Brittany finally married Charles VIII of France) Henry VII attempted, by diplomacy and military intervention, to ensure that Brittany retained her independence. It was for this reason that Sir Robert Clifford and Roger Machado were despatched to Brittany in the summer of 1490.

A day by day account kept by Roger Machado of the embassy is still in existence.²⁸ It seems that he took a dislike to Sir Robert Clifford as is illustrated by the following three passages taken from his journal. Following their arrival in Southampton and "having seen the boat that Richmond [Machado] had ordered... Robert [Clifford] refused the said boat because it was too small as it appeared to him for his person".²⁹ They travelled on to Portsmouth whence on 4 July 1490 they set sail for Brittany aboard a larger vessel named *The Magdalen*. They sailed down the English coast past Poole and Swanage until they reached Weymouth, which they left "against the wishes of the sailors, because the wind was insufficient; but Master Clifford commanded them to depart to shorten the voyage... to

²² *Ibid.*, p. 506.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²⁷ *Fine Rolls*, 1485-1509, p. 93.

²⁸ "The Journals of Roger Machado Richmond Norroy King of Arms", in *Memorials of King Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, (London 1858) 369-389.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

accomplish what the king had commanded us".³⁰ However as a result of Sir Robert's impatience, they were unable to reach Brittany owing to contrary winds and they were forced to put into Guernsey. Coming into the harbour of St Peter Port, *The Magdalen* was attacked by two French vessels, one from Cherbourg and the other from St Malo. "They attacked us very fiercely; but we defended ourselves ... so well that if Master Clifford had allowed it we might have taken them both".³¹ The reason given for Sir Robert's unwillingness to pursue the French vessels is that he was concerned for the safety of their mission.

Finally on 12 July 1490 they reached Brittany and six days later met Marshal de Rieux in Vannes, to whom they opened their commission. As the Bretons feared a French attack on Nantes, Roger Machado was sent back to England at the end of the month, to ask the king to despatch an English army to Brittany with all speed. He returned to Brittany in mid August 1490 and rejoined Sir Robert who had remained behind in Nantes. Further negotiations then ensued with Marshal de Rieux and the Duchess of Brittany. The two envoys returned to England in mid October 1490 and Roger Machado noted in his journal that amongst the gifts he received at that time "in honour of the king my master" was "a handsome gilt war sword" from Sir Robert Clifford "for at that time he had nothing else to give me".³²

In July 1491 Sir Robert was appointed to collect funds in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon for an expedition to France because "Charles of France... unjustly occupies the king's realm of France and his duchies of Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine [and] ... threatens the destruction of this his realm of England".³³ However in November 1492 a peace treaty was concluded between England and France - the Treaty of Etaples. Sir Robert was a member of the English delegation which met emissaries from the French court to discuss the terms of the treaty prior to its ratification. He acted as interpreter between Sir George Neville and Monsieur de Guise.³⁴

By 1493 Sir Robert Clifford appeared to be firmly committed to supporting the Tudor dynasty, but in June of that year an event took place which brought his loyalty to Henry VII into question and overshadowed the rest of his life. The story of Perkin Warbeck and the trouble which he caused Henry VII between 1491 and 1497 is well known; perhaps less so is the part played in the intrigues surrounding him by Sir Robert Clifford. In June 1493³⁵ Sir Robert together with his brother in law William Barley set sail in secret from England to Flanders, to the court of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy (sister of Edward IV) the chief supporter of Perkin Warbeck's claim to be Richard Duke of York (the younger of the two princes alleged to have been murdered in the Tower).

According to Polydore Vergil "Margaret was exceedingly pleased by Robert's arrival and easily persuaded him that all which had been rumoured concerning Duke Richard [Warbeck] was true. Later she showed him her Peter [Warbeck] who had assumed the part of Richard with great skill. Having seen the youth

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³³ *Cal. Pat. R. 1485-94*, p. 353.

³⁴ *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner (London 1863) II, p. 291.

³⁵ J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors* (Oxford 1952) p. 123.

Robert forthwith believed him to be of royal descent and reported in this sense to the conspirators [in England]".³⁶ Polydore Vergil says that William Barley and Sir Robert Clifford were implicated in the English side of the Warbeck affair and that they "with general consent [of their fellow conspirators] ... were sent to Flanders".³⁷ Whilst there, they both witnessed a deed between Warbeck and Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, dated 10 December 1494, in which the duchess was promised the town and castle of Scarborough if Warbeck's invasion of England proved successful.³⁸ "During this time [1494] the king sent spies into Flanders, some indeed who, pretending they fled to the rediscovered Duke of York were to find out the conspirators' plans and their names; and yet others who, with an offer of forgiveness were to persuade Robert Clifford and William Barley to return [to England]. These emissaries performed both their duties well ... and persuaded Robert Clifford to return. William Barley, indeed, would hear nothing of returning then, but two years later, having been forgiven by Henry he came to his senses and returned home".³⁹

Prior to his return to England Sir Robert Clifford disclosed the names of his fellow conspirators to Henry VII's agents in Flanders. "Not many days later Robert Clifford, induced partly by Henry's promises, partly by the knowledge that the conspiracy had been found out and many punished, abandoned hope of its success and secretly fled out of Flanders to England [December 1494]. The king learnt of this beforehand and anticipated that through Robert's evidence a considerable number of magnates would be identified as members of the conspiracy, ... [so] before Robert's arrival he deliberately established himself in the Tower ... in order that he might at once imprison ... any members of the plot whom Robert might name".⁴⁰

On 4th January 1494/5 the king summoned a meeting of his counsellors in the Tower and when all were assembled, Sir Robert Clifford "came to the king ... first excused his own conduct ... and revealed the whole extent of the conspiracy and all that had been arranged in Flanders. Then he spoke about the members of the conspiracy and especially pointed out William Stanley".⁴¹ Sir Robert admitted that he had been involved in the conspiracy and begged for forgiveness which the king granted after an elaborate display of reluctance. Nevertheless the King said he found it hard to believe that Sir William Stanley was implicated in the conspiracy. Sir William and his brother Thomas Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby and married to the king's mother Margaret Beaufort) had won the battle of Bosworth for Henry Tudor in August 1485. It had been Sir William Stanley who had retrieved Richard III's crown from a thornbush on the battlefield and had set it on Henry's head. Was it possible that he too had turned traitor?

According to Polydore Vergil, Sir William's only involvement with Perkin Warbeck had been "when ... talking at large with Robert Clifford [in March 1493]

³⁶ *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537*, ed. and trans. D. Hay, Camden Society, 3rd Series, LXXIV (1950), p. 69.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74-5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

about the man ... who claimed to be Edward's son he [William] asserted that if he were sure that the man was Edward's son he would never take up arms against him".⁴² The views about the identity of Perkin Warbeck, which Sir William Stanley allegedly expressed to Sir Robert Clifford, seem only to suggest indifference towards Henry VII. Nevertheless it is quite possible that Sir William was angered because he had not been made Earl of Chester and perhaps the reception given to Perkin Warbeck by Margaret Duchess of Burgundy impressed him.

The extent to which both Sir Robert Clifford and Sir William Stanley were involved in the conspiracy remains uncertain to this day. However enough proof of Stanley's involvement seems to have been forthcoming, as he was found guilty of high treason and executed on 16 February 1494/5. Polydore Vergil has the following to say about the part played by Sir Robert Clifford in the conspiracy. "We will mention ... the view (in our judgement an erroneous view) held by many today concerning the flight of Robert Clifford. They claim that Robert did not desert the king, but that he was sent by the king as a spy into Flanders to find out whether the popular rumours about the youth were true or not and whether any of the English nobility were taking sides with him. But Robert was a most devoted follower of King Edward's family, and led astray by this sentiment seems to have gone in order to prepare the way ... for the other conspirators to take up arms on behalf of the youth; later, such are the inconstant and contradictory purposes of men, he decided, probably for his own interest to change his mind...".⁴³

In the opinion of the writer, Polydore Vergil was wrong to dismiss the idea that Sir Robert Clifford could have been one of Henry VII's secret agents. After all, as Vergil himself admits, this was the view held by many people. If Sir Robert had turned traitor, then he is unlikely to have given up the safety of Flanders for the promise of a pardon in England. Once Sir Robert had betrayed his fellow conspirators and returned home, Henry VII would have been under no obligation to keep his side of the bargain. No doubt the king could have employed his agents in Flanders to compel Sir Robert to return home, had it been necessary. It may well be that those very spies, who were allegedly sent to Flanders with the offer of a pardon for him, went there to ensure that Sir Robert did not fall foul of any genuine Yorkist supporters whilst on his way back to England. It is the writer's view that for the eighteen months Sir Robert Clifford was in Flanders he was acting as an *agent provocateur* for Henry VII.

It is also very improbable that Sir Robert was a "devoted follower of King Edward's family". The Cliffords remained staunchly loyal Lancastrians throughout the troubled years of the fifteenth century. His father and two elder brothers had all been killed in the service of the House of Lancaster and Sir Robert would not have forsaken the cause for which the Clifford family had shed so much blood. After the death of John Lord Clifford at Towton in March 1461, Edward IV confiscated his estates and granted the Lordship of Westmorland to his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester and the Barony of Skipton to Sir William Stanley.⁴⁴ Both the Lordship of Westmorland and the Barony of Skipton were hereditary

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ G.E.C., *Comp. Peer.* III, p. 294.

possessions of the Clifford family. Sir Robert's willingness to denounce Sir William Stanley as a traitor may in part have been due to the fact that the Barony of Skipton was the rightful inheritance of Sir Robert's nephew. Such was the enmity that existed between the Cliffords and the House of York, that Sir Robert's sister in law Lady Phelipe (the widow of John Lord Clifford) hid her eldest son Henry away on the northern fells and had him brought up as a shepherd, in order to save him from Yorkist vengeance.

The dramatic events which took place at the Council meeting in January 1494/5 seem to have been part of an elaborate pretence. The king must have already known that some of his own counsellors were involved in the conspiracy, otherwise he would not have arranged for the Council meeting to take place in the Tower. It is almost certain that he knew in advance that Sir William Stanley would be denounced as a traitor. It is interesting to note that Sir Robert Clifford received a general pardon from the king on 22 December 1494.⁴⁵ Therefore he had received the benefit of the king's mercy some two weeks before the Council meeting took place. The plea made by him for clemency following his denouncement of Stanley was all part of the same pretence. Naturally Sir Robert was well rewarded for his disclosures, for later in January 1494/5 Henry VII gave him a gift of £500⁴⁶ and in August 1495 made him Master of the Ordinance for life.⁴⁷ Henry VII would not have given this position to Sir Robert Clifford if he did not trust him implicitly.

Early in 1497, the king raised loans throughout England to pay for an expedition to Scotland - the Scots having invaded the north of England in the autumn of 1496. In Cornwall, hostility towards the loan flared into open rebellion. Why, demanded the Cornish, should they be taxed for "a small commocion made of ye Scottes...".⁴⁸ In July 1497, in response to the Cornish revolt, Sir Robert Clifford and John Dygby knight marshal were appointed "to execute the office of constable and marshall of England with respect to the rebels who levied war in Devon and Cornwall".⁴⁹

In the summer of 1498, William Barley returned home to England from his self-imposed exile in Flanders. Although he received a royal pardon, his brother in law Sir Robert Clifford, his kinsmen Richard Barley of Stapleford Abbots, Essex, Thomas Barley of Kimpton, Hertfordshire and Sir James Tyrell, undertook in July of the same year to guarantee his lifelong allegiance to Henry VII.⁵⁰ (It was the same Sir James Tyrell who prior to his execution in 1502 allegedly confessed to the murder of the Princes in the Tower on the orders of Richard III.) Why William Barley chose to remain in Flanders for some two and a half years after his brother in law had returned to England remains a mystery. Perhaps he had come to believe Perkin Warbeck's claims to be Richard Duke of York. However by 1498 this no longer mattered: Perkin Warbeck had been captured by Henry VII in September 1497 and placed in close confinement in the Tower (he was executed in November 1499).

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1494-1509, p. 13.

⁴⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography* XX, pp. 749.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1494-1509, p. 37.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵⁰ *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1485-1509, p. 313.

Sir Robert resumed his administrative duties in October 1501, when he was reappointed as a justice of the peace for Hertfordshire.⁵¹ He served in a similar capacity in February 1503⁵² and in the following September was one of those appointed to try prisoners detained in Hertford gaol.⁵³ However, less than two years later, his loyalty to Henry VII was again in doubt.

In May 1505 the king received four recognizances, each for £100, from Sir Robert, his son Thomas, William Barley and his brother Thomas, that they would pay the king 100 marks annually on the Feast of All Saints between 1505 and 1508.⁵⁴ In June 1505 all four made a further joint recognizance to the king for 1,000 marks that "Robert [will be] true in his allegience and [will] appear before the king and Council within a month of warning".⁵⁵ What prompted Henry VII to demand such recognizances is unclear. Perhaps the king was ensuring the continued loyalty of certain of his servants by obliging them to make regular financial contributions to the Crown.

The death of two of the king's sons, Edmund in June 1500 and Arthur in April 1502, had caused a temporary loss of confidence in the Tudor dynasty, not least amongst the members of the royal household, some of whom were openly discussing the possibility of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham or Edmund de la Pole Earl of Suffolk assuming the crown.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Sir Robert Clifford was present at the meeting of Henry VII and Archduke Philip of Burgundy at Windsor Castle in January 1506.⁵⁷ The Archduke and his wife Joanna (sister of Catherine of Aragon) had been en route for Spain from Flanders, when a tremendous storm arose in the Channel and forced their vessel to take shelter in the port of Melcombe Regis in Dorset. In July 1506 Sir Robert served as a justice of the peace in Hertfordshire for the last time.⁵⁸

Early in 1508 Sir Robert and his son Thomas made seven further recognizances, each for £60, to the king and thereby promised to make seven half-yearly payments of £50.⁵⁹ However Sir Robert was not destined to fulfill his part of the obligation. When he made his will on 18th February⁶⁰ he must have known he did not have long to live, and he died less than a month later on 15 March 1508. The will, which is surprisingly brief, makes no provision for the fine brass which to this day marks the place where he was honourably buried.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1494-1509, pp. 642-3.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

⁵⁴ *Cal. Close. R.* 1485-1509, p. 182.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁵⁶ *Letters and Papers, op. cit.* I, pp. 231-40.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 88.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1494-1509, pp. 642-3.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Close. R.* 1485-1509, p. 321.

⁶⁰ P.C.C., 35 Adeane.

Appendix: The Will of Sir Robert Clifford, 1508
 (Public Record Office, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 35 Adeane, 281)

In the name of god Amen In the yere of oure lorde god M^c. The xviiith day of february The xxiiith yere of oure sou[ve]rin lorde kyng henry the viith I Sir' Robert Clifford knyght beyng in / goode and hole mynde make this my testament and last will aftir this forme folowing ffirst I bequeth my / soule to almighty god And my body to be buried in oure lady church of Asp̄den Also I bequeth to the hygh' / aulter for dett[es] to almighty god forgotēn XXS. Also I bequeth all my good[es] moevable and unmovable / to Dame Elizabeth my wifwt all dett[es] and dewties to me oweyng or belonging aswell ofland[es] lett[es] as / bargaynes or dewties owyng. Also I bequeth my bargayn' and Indentur' sealid wt the prior seale of Crist / church and all his Covent seale the which Indentur' I bought of S'r John Cutte knyght to the foresaid / Dame Elizabeth my wif to geve or dispose at hyr mynde Also I geve and bequeth to the forsaide Dame Elizabeth / free libertie of all my goodes moevable or unmoevable by this my testame[n]t to sell or dispose ev[er]y parcell or / p [ar] cell [es] of land[es] or of goodes or to make hir will of thesame or of any other land[es] which she stonidith enfeoffed / or feoffiz enfeoffed to his use or will I will she bee as free by this my will as if she were unmarried hir to / geve or to sell And to dispose in good wark[es] and deed[es] of charitie in discharging of hir conscience and myn / towching the will of S'r Rauff Josselyn knyght whos soule Jhu m[er]cy. Also I will that the forsaide Dame Elizabeth / be myn so ole Executare trusting hir to doo for me as I wold have done for hir in discharging of myn conscience / This ys my last will made the yere and daye above written. in the presence of my broder Thomas Barlee / Sir' Cristofer Chadwyke p [ar] son of the p[ar]ishe church of Asp̄den and many othez.

Proved at Lambeth 15 May 1508.

Souldern, Oxfordshire - A Problem Elucidated

By PAUL COCKERHAM

THE University Library at Cambridge now houses the collection of brass rubbings originally built up in 1847-8 by members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and accommodated for a long time in less than adequate conditions in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.¹ Although the collection was founded in the nineteenth century, the vast majority of rubbings were added after 1920 when Ralph Griffin was appointed Hon. Keeper of the Collection, and the high standards he set for the inclusion of rubbings, (to be complete, to be unmounted, and where possible to show lost portions etc), have become almost universally accepted. To mark the centenary of the collection, an interesting and well-illustrated paper was published² giving a documentary, anecdotal and statistical account of the rubbings; and the historical value of the collection was emphasized particularly, by comparison of old and new rubbings of individual brasses. One example at Souldern, Oxfordshire, which comprised two memorials, one c. 1460 and the other c. 1580, mistakenly laid down together, is described in detail.

“[The rubbings] may provide a correction to Mill Stephenson’s List. He describes the heart and scrolls as No. I, c. 1460, with inscription lost, and the inscription (mutil.) to John Throckmorton as No. III. The very battered old rubbing (Fig. 1) shows the inscription mutilated, two pieces lost from the left-hand scroll and divisions in the metal of the middle and right-hand scrolls: there is no mastic in the lines. The modern rubbing (Fig. 2) shows that the whole brass has been restored and relaid in a paving stone and the lines filled with mastic. The whole inscription is new with a blank piece of metal at its end to fit the indent; the missing pieces of scroll have been replaced and there are now no divisions in the metal. Mill Stephenson no doubt took his description from the rubbing in Coll. Soc. Antiq. . . . but possibly the rubbing illustrated in Fig. 1 shows the state of the brass before relaying. The inscription may be contemporary with the heart and scrolls. Unfortunately the rubbing is not dated . . .”

The situation is further complicated inasmuch as Mill Stephenson associated the old, mutilated inscription to John Throckmorton with the small, separate figure of a child, also found in the church, dating both as c. 1580 (Fig. 3). This effigy is now [1991] relaid in its own slab of limestone (99·5 x 48·5 cms) on the south side of the

¹ For a general description of the collection see R.J. Busby, *A Companion Guide to Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (1973), 153-4; P. Heseltine and J. Christian-Carter, *Lost Brasses from the Cambridge Collection* (1984); M. W. Thompson, *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1840-1990* (1990), 50-1. The rubbings were deposited in the University Library in February 1986, (recorded in the C. U. L., *Report of the Library Syndicate 1986-7* (1988), 7), following their storage in unsatisfactory accommodation in rooms in Downing College and a warehouse; the present home of the collection, hopefully, is to prove permanent.

² G. A. E. Ruck, ‘Centenary of a Collection’, *M. B. S. Trans.* viii, part 5 (March 1949), 220-33, also printed as ‘An Account of the University Collection of Brass Rubbings in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* xlv (1950), 33-46. This was based on an earlier paper, ‘Monumental Brasses - with special reference to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society’s Collection’, *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* xxxvii (1938), 50-9.

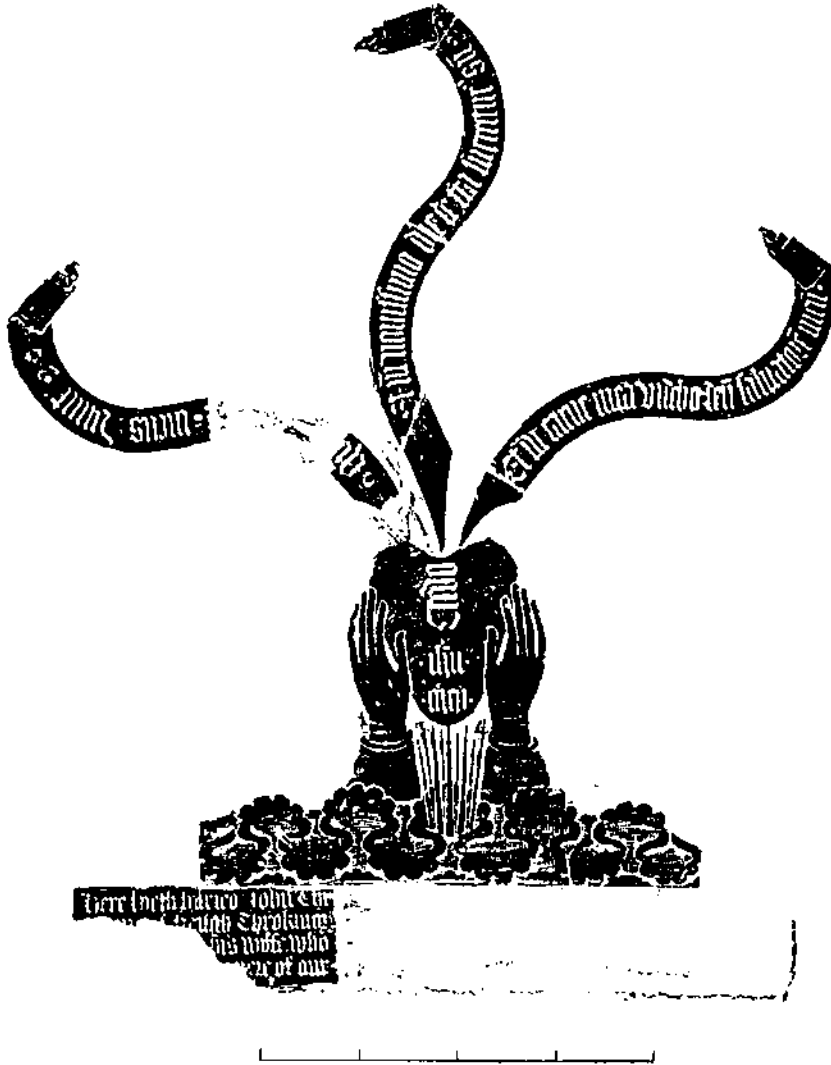


FIG. 1

Souldern, Oxfordshire

Heart brass, c. 1460 (M.S.I.) and inscription to John Throckmorton [1573] (M.S. III)

Illustration from M. B. S. Transactions VIII, p. 227

chancel floor; it shows a tall, rather elongated figure of a boy with close cropped hair, dressed in a long gown tied at the waist with a narrow sash, rising to a high collar with a frill at the neck, and falling in long, straight folds to just above the ankles. His feet are encased in shoes, and he stands on a tiled floor.³ The brass has a deep surface indentation at the midpoint of the effigy, which slightly obscures an

³ The brass is London work; it is almost identical to several other brasses of this period showing male children, for example those on the brass to Fraunces Holbrok, (1581), at Newington-next-Sittingbourne, Kent (M.S. IV), illustrated by W. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses* i (1888), 87, No. 175. There is no sign of the original slab.

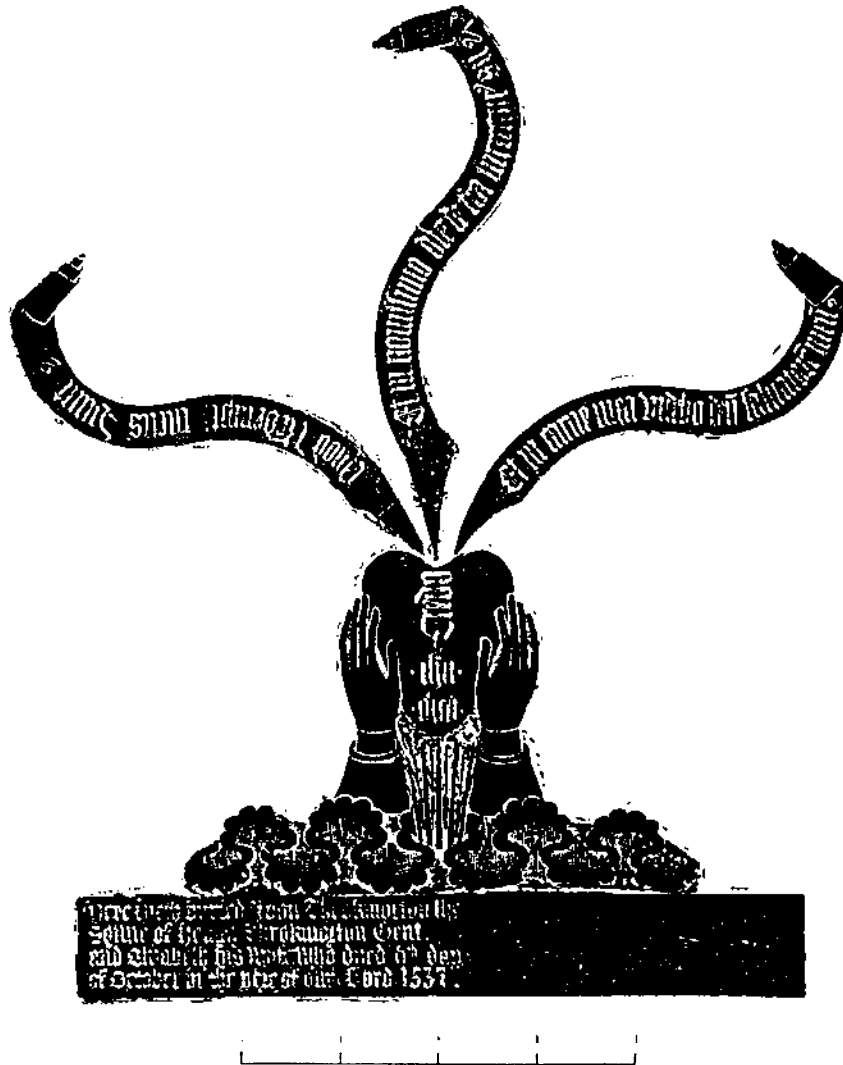


FIG. 2

Souldern, Oxfordshire

Restored heart brass, and inscription to John Throckmorton [1573], c. 1882

Illustration from M. B. S. Transactions VIII, p. 228

empty rivet hole. There are no visible means of fixing the brass in its current slab.

The brass heart, three scrolls and inscription, arranged exactly as in the later Cambridge rubbing, are all relaid in a slab of Purbeck marble (170.5 x 74.5 cms), showing some signs of surface wear, on the north side of the chancel floor. The brass components are in poor condition with much surface verdigris, and are badly buckled in places; as with the previous memorial there are no signs of any means of fixing - rivets, screws or the like. As the plates fit exactly into the indents in the



FIG. 3
Souldern, Oxfordshire
? John Throckmorton [1573] (M.S. III)
Rubbing by Paul Cockerham

original stone, the illusion that the inscription belongs to the heart and scrolls is complete. Apart from an unassociated brass to Thomas Warner, priest, 1514, (M.S. II), again relaid in a new slab on the south side of the chancel floor, there are no other brasses or indents in the church, though large areas of the floor are paved with ledger slabs of a light-coloured, crumbling, sandy limestone,⁴ exactly the type used to accommodate the boy's figure.

The current situation differs slightly from the entries in Stephenson's *List* therefore, as there are apparently three separate monuments in the church - (i) the anonymous effigy of a boy, c. 1580; (ii) a heart, 3 scrolls and inscription, all restored and attributed to John Throckmorton, the son of Heugh Throckmorton, Gent. and Elizabeth his wife, who died 6 October 1537; and (iii) the brass to Thomas Warner, 1514. This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the form the brasses originally took, by an examination of the available documentary and genealogical evidence.

A number of antiquaries visited Souldern and recorded the inscriptions in the church. The indefatigable Anthony Wood was there on 20 October 1658,⁵ and his notes⁶ read as follows:

"In y^e chancell are these two following on brass plates upon marble stones :
Here lyeth buried John Trokmorten y^e sonne of Heugh / Throkmorton
Gentleman & Elizabethe his Wyfe who / who [sic] dyed y^e vi day of October
in y^e yere of o^r Lord god 1573:

On y^e other :

Of your charitie pray for ye soul of Master Thomas / Wain (or Warn,
I cannot well tell) late parson of this / church which decessed xi die Aprilis
A : M : D : XIII.

There is another neere to the former, but y^e plate of brass is toren off, there yet remaineth, 2 hands holding up a hart, & from thence coming forth scrowles of writing."

Later that same year, on 23 December, Dr. Matthew Hutton also noted the two inscriptions much as Wood, recording them as being on the floor of the chancel.⁷ These two sets of original notes were thereafter copied frequently, without acknowledgement or enlargement, except by Richard Rawlinson, writing at the start of the eighteenth century.⁸ He added his own observations, supplementing Wood's description of the heart brass as follows:

"On a brass plate on a gravestone, the inscription being lost under it, are two hands holding up a heart, on which is Jhesu Mercy and Credo. On scrowls proceeding from it, Quod Redemptor meus vivit - Et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum - Et in carne videbo dominum salvatorem meum."

⁴ See J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner (eds.), *The Buildings of England - Oxfordshire* (1974), 406-8.

⁵ A. Clark (ed.), 'The Life and Times of Anthony Wood - I', *Oxford Historical Society* xix (1891), 263.

⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood MS. B15 fo.77r.

⁷ Bod. Lib. MS. Rawlinson B.397 fo.230r.

⁸ Bod. Lib. MS. Rawlinson B.400 c. fo.l 70r/v; these and Wood's notes were transcribed (not always correctly) by F. N. Davis, 'Parochial Collections made by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson - iii', *Oxfordshire Record Society* xi (1929), 270-1. The latest inscription noted by Rawlinson at Souldern is dated "1717" so presumably he visited the church about then.

Thereafter, no antiquaries appear to have visited Souldern and made a personal record of the brasses⁹ until the middle of the last century, when the Rev. Henry Addington made a rubbing of the heart brass, showing the inscribed heart being lifted up by a pair of hands, rising above the clouds in a sunburst. Two scrolls survived entire, but of the third only “Qu . . . meus vivit” remained. Unfortunately the rubbing has been cut out and mounted, so that not only are no indents shown, but the central and left hand scrolls have been inadvertently transposed.¹⁰ A more valuable record is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries,¹¹ a rough-looking rubbing, unsigned, undated and inscribed simply “Souldern, Oxon.” It shows the component parts remaining as in Addington’s rubbing, though firstly, as it has not been mounted, and secondly, as some of the stone surround has been rubbed, the indent of the missing part of the dexter scroll is apparent. Much more vague however is the outline of the inscription indent below the clouds, although it is plain that there was one and that the inscription to John Throckmorton was not then occupying that space, as demonstrated on the earlier of the Cambridge rubbings. A separate rubbing, showing the inscription complete except for the right hand portion, is also in the Society of Antiquaries’ collection,¹² associated with (probably by Mill Stephenson), but on a different sheet from, the figure of the boy. The inscription, in 4 lines of English black-letter script (7.6 x 19.4 cms remaining), reads as follows:

“Here Lyeth buried John Thr[ockmorton]
 Sonne of Heugh Throkmort[on Esq.]
 and Elizabeth his wyfe, who [dyed the vi day]
 of October in the yere of our L[ord God 1573]”

At some later time this plate must have been taken up and laid into the inscription indent under the heart brass, in which position it was copied by the author of the older of the Cambridge rubbings. By that time however, the inscription plate had suffered further damage along its left hand and lower edges, but with its vertical dimensions still intact it appears to fit snugly into the matrix.

⁹ This is not to say that accounts of Souldern do not appear in the writings of other historians, but without exception, until recently, they all seem to have been based on the notes of either Wood or Hutton. For example, Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. e.286 fo.9lr is a copy by Nathaniel Greenwood (a contemporary of both men) of Hutton’s notes at Souldern, although to confuse the issue, in the same volume are first-hand accounts of several churches never visited by Hutton. Greenwood’s notes are copied in Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. e.262 (fo.93 for Souldern) and British Library Harleian MS. 6365 fo.47r., where the date of the Throckmorton inscription is given as ‘1537’. Sir John Peshall copied an entry for Souldern in the eighteenth century (Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. c.307 fo.89v.) mistaking the date of the inscription as ‘1474’. Disappointingly, Henry Hinton’s notes (Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. d.795 fo.267r; MS. Top. Oxon. d.797 fo.76r; MS. Don. c.9l p.3l) are all derivative from Wood/Hutton. At the turn of the century, Percy Manning copied the notes made by the Oxford Archaeological Society (see Note 13) but obviously visited the church as well, recording all three brasses as they are today, in particular noting that the effigy c. 1580 “is of course that of a small boy in the ordinary child’s long gown, tied round the waist with ruffs at the neck and feet”; Bod. Lib. MS. Top. Oxon. d.196 pp.215-7. See P.S. Spokes, *A Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library relating to the City, County and University of Oxford* (1964), 106, 109; J. F. A. Bertram, ‘A Regency Collection of Brass Rubbings’, *M. B. S. Trans.* xii, part I (1975), 90-100.

¹⁰ British Library Add. MS. 32490 YY42.

¹¹ Rubbing No. 28/322.

¹² Rubbing No. 28/324, again unsigned and undated. The collection of brass rubbings in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes rubbings of (i) hands holding a heart, and three scrolls, c. 1460 [E.5685-191 I], and (ii) mutilated inscription to John Throckmorton, 1573 [E.386- 1933]. Neither is signed nor dated and reveal no further information; the origin of the rubbing of the inscription is obscure, but it was probably deposited, as was the rubbing of the heart, in 1911 by the Society of Antiquaries as surplus to their collection.

A comparison of these old rubbings with the plates found in situ today, reveals that the heart and hands, the scrolls and the foot inscription, are all modern restorations, though the copies (save for the inscription) are extremely accurate. This was noted by members of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Society,¹³ although the date on the inscription was recorded as '1573' (which is factually correct) instead of '1537' as it actually appears. "The attention of the present Sir Nicholas Will. Throckmorton having been called, in 1881, to the dilapidated state of this interesting family memorial, by the Rev. Dr. Rotton, he at once caused it to be restored. Another brass, also in the chancel, bears the effigy of a girl [sic] of apparently 16 or 17 years of age. This has been recently (1882) cleaned and replaced at the expense, and by the direction, of Dr. Rotton."¹⁴

From all this documentary evidence it is clear that there were originally three brasses: firstly, the heart, hands and scrolls, (inscription lost before 1658), c. 1460; secondly, the effigy and inscription to Thomas Warner, 1514; and lastly, an inscription to John Throckmorton, 1573. One puzzle is that the small figure of the boy, c. 1580, was never noticed by anyone,¹⁵ but by virtue of their similarity in date, must be associated with this last inscription.

Another way of confirming a link between the effigy and inscription is to explore the genealogy of the Throckmortons at Souldern, and if possible to verify that a son of Heugh Throckmorton could indeed have died young in 1573. At the outset, the comment made in the Victoria County History¹⁶ that "The relationship of Hugh Throckmorton to the rest of the family has not been traced" is not encouraging. However, Hugh Throckmorton was the son of John Throckmorton Esq. of Crimplasham, Norfolk, by his second wife Thomasyn, the daughter of Thomas Dereham of Crimplasham; in turn this John Throckmorton was one of the grandsons of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton, Kt., which does in fact establish a link with the main family line.¹⁷ John followed his father, Sir Richard Throckmorton, in holding high office with the Duchy of Lancaster, being appointed for life into the position of Receiver of Kenilworth in 1535, also groom of the chamber, and bailiff of the Duchy properties at Higham Ferrers and Passenham, Northamptonshire.¹⁸ He died in office in 1554, by his will of 12 February 1554 making his wife Thomasyn the chief beneficiary and sole executrix, and leaving "to George Throckmorton my eldest sonne one geldinge [and] to my three other sonnes Hugh, Thomas and George the younger, to every one of them one Colt [and] my

¹³ Oxford Archaeological Society, *Historical and Descriptive Notices of the Parish of Souldern, Oxfordshire* (1882), 37; (2nd. edn. 1887), 27.

¹⁴ It is logical to suppose that the metalworking firm of John Hardman & Co., Birmingham, from whom the Throckmorton family had already ordered one brass (see D. Meara, *A. W. N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses* [1991], 119), might have been the company requested to do the restoration work. An extensive search of their records (Birmingham Central Library - Archives) for this period however, reveals no entries associated with work done for the family or at Souldern, so presumably another, perhaps more local company, was employed.

¹⁵ Usually Wood, Hutton and Rawlinson noted the existence of a brass figure when associated with an inscription, although more attention was always focussed on the latter; perhaps in this case the figure was by then loose from the slab, or being so small, perhaps beneath their notice?

¹⁶ Victoria County History, *Oxfordshire* VI (1959), 306.

¹⁷ C.W. Throckmorton, *A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Throckmorton Family* (Old Dominion Press, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A., 1930), 262ff.

¹⁸ R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (1953), 562, 583.

apparel [to] be equally devyded by the discrecion of my sons wief amonge my three sonnes Hugh Thomas and George the younger.”¹⁹

After his father’s death, Hugh Throckmorton married Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of John Collet, mercer of London, by his wife Katherine, the daughter of Thomas Wall, salter, of London and Grundisburgh, Suffolk.²⁰ This John Collet died in 1531, probably relatively young, as his wife re-married and had further issue. His second son and heir, William Collet, married in 1551, which date provides a starting point for estimating the date of marriage of Hugh and Elizabeth. Hugh’s elder brother, George (later Sir George), did not marry until c. 1565-70,²¹ so, with an allowable margin of error, it is not improbable that Hugh and Elizabeth were married between 1555 and 1561, when it was recorded in the visitation of that year. It is therefore perfectly possible that their son, John, dying in 1573, would still have been a minor, hence his depiction as a child on his own memorial, which although an unusual occurrence is by no means unique.

One further point that requires elucidation is the association of the Throckmortons with Souldern - a small parish close to the Northamptonshire border. There were Throckmortons not far away at Chastleton, a thriving branch of the family, and links with the Catesby family in Northamptonshire, but there is no obvious involvement with Souldern itself. Hugh is known to have purchased the advowson of Souldern from the King before 1571 and thereafter lived in the parish, as in that year he presented a new incumbent to the living,²² and he was a lessee of the rectory as late as 1590.²³ Hugh did not pass on the advowson to any of his descendants, but instead it was the origin of a dispute between two rival claimants which persisted for nearly a century. Apparently the advowson became split into two parts, one of which was granted to a distant cousin, Francis Throckmorton, the conspirator, who was attainted in 1584, by virtue of which action his portion reverted to the Crown. The other moiety was purchased in 1572 by Hugh’s elder brother George Throckmorton of Fulbrook, Buckinghamshire,²⁴ for £100 and one hundred sheep, although in turn he sold it in 1611 just before his death, to Thomas Norbury, the resident incumbent.²⁵ The association of Hugh and Elizabeth Throckmorton with Souldern therefore appears to be brief. No monuments to them survive (if they were ever erected); there appear to be no wills on record. It is not improbable that John Throckmorton was their only child and heir, hence his death

¹⁹ Public Record Office, ref. PROB I 1/37, P. C. C. register 3 More.

²⁰ J. Corder (ed.), *The Visitation of Suffolk 1561 - II*, Harleian Society, New Series 3 (1984), 234.

²¹ See Throckmorton, *op. cit.*, 273, 285; George’s second son was born in 1573, and some of his grandchildren were baptized in 1595-6.

²² J. C. Blomfield, ‘Souldern’, *History of the Deanery of Bicester, Oxfordshire* (1882), 69.

²³ V. C. H., *Oxfordshire* VI, 307, quoting Oxford Record Office document ref. Oxf. Dioc. d.16 fo.149v. In this deposition by Lawrence Styles of Souldern, it is stated that Hugh Throckmorton is reputed farmer of the parsonage of Souldern, and that Mr Throckmorton or his deputies take all the tithes belonging to the parsonage of Souldern.

²⁴ This indenture of conveyance survives, signed and sealed by Hugh Throckmorton; St. John’s College, Cambridge, Archives ref. D.86 No. 88.

²⁵ St. John’s College, Cambridge, Archives ref. D.86 No. 90. On this occasion the price was £200. Eventually the matter was resolved by both claims to the advowson ending up in the possession of St. John’s College: in 1623 the Crown’s moiety of the advowson was granted to John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who was a great benefactor of the College. The other moiety was retained by the Norbury family at Souldern until 1662, when it was delivered up to the College (ref. D.86 No.82), although repercussions about the tithes persisted, ending with a case in Chancery in 1676.

affected the couple greatly, and they chose to commemorate him with a brass. Their future affairs subsequently were of no great importance and they appear to have died in relative obscurity.

In summary, the entry for Souldern in Mill Stephenson's List should now read: I. Heart inscribed "Ihu m'cy" held by hands issuing from clouds, and three scrolls with text from Job xix, c.1460; inscr. lost, all renewed 1881-2 and rel. in original Purbeck slab, C. II. Thomas Warner, parson, 1514, in almuce, sm., rel., C. III. John, son of Heugh and Eliz. Throckmorton, 1573, eff. rel., C., inscr. renewed 1881-2 (enr. with date of death 1537) and rel. under No. I. Rubbings survive in Cambridge University Library and the Society of Antiquaries recording the original heart, hands and three scrolls (1 mutil.), and the inscr. (mutil.) to John Throckmorton.

Repairs to Brasses, 1991

By WILLIAM LACK

THIS is the tenth report on repairs which I have prepared for the *Transactions*. Thanks are due to Martin Stuchfield for invaluable assistance at Abbots Bromley, Clavering and Gosfield and for funding the work at Clavering and Gosfield; to the late J. C. Page-Phillips for palimpsest information; to the Redundant Churches Fund; and to the incumbents of all the churches concerned. Financial assistance has been provided by English Heritage at Crick and by the Council for the Care of Churches at Whinburgh.

ALBURY, SURREY (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

Lady Henrietta Drummond, 1854.¹ The Drummond Mortuary Chapel was designed by A. W. N. Pugin on behalf of Henry Drummond (1786-1860).² There are six Hardman-engraved brasses³ in the chapel, to Henry Drummond, his wife Henrietta, their daughter and three sons. The Henrietta Drummond brass, comprising a decorated cross, Agnus Dei, two scrolls, two shields and an inscription, lies in a black slab (1990 x 915 mm) in the north east corner of the chapel. On 6 December 1990 I removed the sinister scroll which had come loose. Integral cast lugs on the reverse had been bedded in a hard compound. I relaid the plate on 19 November 1991. The dexter shield was also re-secured.

ABBOTS BROMLEY, STAFFORDSHIRE

M.S.I. John Draycote, 1463 (Fig. 1).⁴ This London (sub B) brass comprises a three-quarter length effigy in civilian dress (353 x 169 mm, thickness 3.6 mm, 3 rivets) and a three-line Latin inscription (91 x 525 mm, engraved on two plates, thicknesses 3.2 mm and 4.0 mm, 3 rivets). The brass was originally laid in the chancel where the plates had become quite worn. It is now set in a modern marble slab (610 x 610 mm) on the north wall of the north aisle and the original slab is lost.

I removed the brass on 25 September 1991. The plates had been bedded on plaster-of-paris and secured by brass nails set in the same material. The slab is some 2 m from the ground and for this reason the brass had hardly ever been cleaned and had suffered considerable corrosion. After cleaning I rejoined the two parts of the inscription.

The brass was reset in its slab on 5 November 1991.

¹ Illustrated in *Victorian Memorial Brasses*, by Rev. David Meara (1983), pl.20.

² *Drummond's Chapel*, by R. C. Warmsley.

³ The three earliest of these brasses were designed by Pugin, see *A. W. N. Pugin and the revival of Memorial Brasses*, by Rev. David Meara (1991), p. 83.

⁴ The brass was described briefly by Charles Masfield in 1913 ("The Monumental Brasses of Staffordshire", *Trans. North Staffs. Field Club*, XLVII, 165-6) but has never previously been illustrated.



FIG. 1

Abbots Bromley, Staffordshire
 M.S.I. John Draycote, 1463
Rubbing by William Lack

CADEBY, LEICESTERSHIRE

Rev. Edwin Boston and wife Audrey, 1986.⁵ This brass was commissioned by 'Teddy' Boston's widow and was designed by Alfred Fisher, stained glass designer,⁶ and engraved by our member Peter Hutchings. It comprises a plate engraved with two effigies (514 x 208 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 4 rivets) and a five-line inscription in English (121 x 178 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 2 rivets). On 27 March 1991 these were delivered to me by Mrs Boston together with a slab of Welsh slate (787 x 354 mm, thickness 53 mm). After fitting rivets, I secured the plates in the slab. The brass and slab were collected from me on 16 April 1991 and soon after were mounted murally in the chancel. Another brass to Mr Boston will be positioned in the neighbouring church at Sutton-Cheyney.

⁵ In *M.B.S. Bulletin* 55 (October 1990), pp. 463-5, our late president described the acquisition by the M.B.S. of the Boston collection of brass rubbings.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 463, for Fisher's design of the brass.



HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF KATHARINE DABRIGECORT
 DAUGHTER VNTO THOMAS LEGGATT OF DAGNEHAMS IN
 THE COUNTIE OF ESSEX ESQUIRE & LATE WIFE VNTO
 THOMAS DABRIGECORT OF PRESTONE CANDIVER
 GENTELMAN WHO DYED THE VITH
 DAYE OF IUNE 1607:

FIG. 2
 Preston Candover, Hampshire
 M.S.I. Katherine Dabrigecourt, 1607
Illustration from M.B.S. Trans.

PRESTON CANDOVER, HAMPSHIRE⁷ (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

I removed all three brasses from their slabs on 27 July 1989.

M.S.I. Katherine Dabrigecourt, 1607 (Fig. 2). This Johnson style brass comprises a semi-profile female effigy (597 x 225 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 10 rivets), a six-line English inscription in Roman capitals (167 x 544 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 10 rivets) and the upper sinister shield (567 x 131 mm, thickness 2.3 mm, 3 rivets). The upper dexter shield has been lost for many years. I removed the brass from the original slab (1520 x 650 mm) in the chancel. About half of the rivets in the effigy and inscription had sprung and the plates were loose. The effigy and shield were still held by the original rivets and plugs but the inscription had been relaid and bedded on large runs of lead with one end held by an iron clamp. The plates show hammer marks on the reverses. The slab has flaked extremely badly, especially on the south side, and the indents have completely disappeared. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Inscription to Dorothy Marshe, 1610. I removed this three-line English inscription in Roman capitals (79 x 439 mm, thickness 1.7 mm, 4 rivets) from its slab (1175 x 610 mm) immediately north of M.S.I. After removing corrosion I fitted new rivets.

Inscription to Revd John Waterman, 1726. I removed this round-topped English inscription in eight lines of Roman capitals (210 x 418 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 4 rivets) from the same slab as M.S.II. It had been relaid in the same way as the inscription of M.S.I and the reverse was heavily corroded. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

On 19 November 1991 the brasses were relaid in their slabs.

CLAVERING, ESSEX

Group of four sons and one daughter, c. 1530 (Fig. 3).⁸ This Cambridge school brass (157 x 122 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 1 rivet) was not listed by Mill Stephenson. It was deposited in the Essex Record Office in Chelmsford in 1953. Its earlier history is not known although a rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries shows that it had been discovered by 1939. It is palimpsest, the reverse showing part of an armoured effigy, c. 1400.⁹ The original slab remains in the churchyard but is very worn.

After negotiating its return on indefinite loan from the Record Office, Martin Stuchfield took possession of the plate on 7 November 1991 and shortly afterwards delivered it to me. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, fitted a new rivet to the brass and rebated the brass and facsimile into a hardwood board together with a small plate recording the donation of the board and facsimile by Mr Stuchfield. The board was mounted on the south wall of the south aisle on 7 December 1991.

⁷ The brasses were described and M.S.I illustrated by C. J. P. Cave in 1908, *M.B.S. Trans.*, V, 270-2.

⁸ *M.B.S. Bulletin* 59 (February 1992), p. 537.

⁹ J. C. Page-Phillips, *Palimpsests* (1980), pl. 155, no. 1C1.

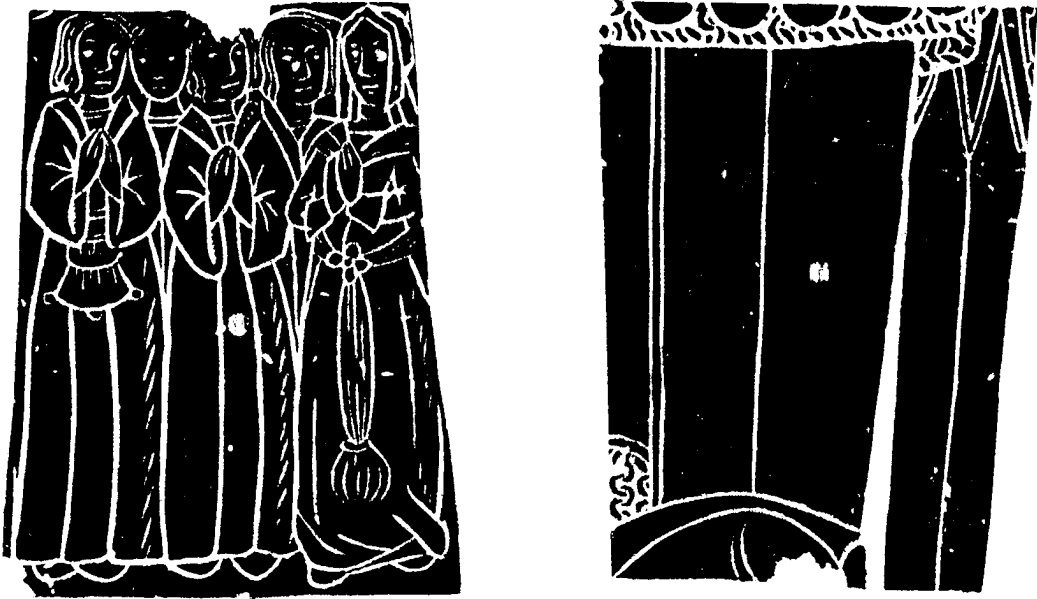


FIG. 3
 Clavering, Essex
 Group of four sons and one daughter, c.1530
 Obverse and reverse
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

CRICK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The nine brasses, all London-engraved and dating between 1597 and 1681, are laid in sandstone slabs in the nave, mostly in the central walkway. Over the centuries the slabs had become badly worn and the plates had become proud with some of the corners bent up and dangerous. On 5 June 1991 I collected two loose plates and removed the others from their slabs.

M.S.I. Inscription to William Bucknell, 1597. I removed this four-line Latin inscription in capitals (128 x 470 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 11 rivets) from a badly worn slab (1870 x 715 mm) in the central walkway. Three rivets above the inscription show that there was originally a shield but the indent has worn away. After cleaning I repaired a fracture and fitted new rivets.

M.S.II. Inscription and shield to William Bucknell, 1624. This brass comprises a six-line English inscription in capitals (172 x 418 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 6 rivets) and a shield (151 x 131 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 3 rivets). The inscription had been detached since 1984 and I removed the shield from the slab (1950 x 810 mm) which lies outside the central walkway and is comparatively lightly worn. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.III. Inscription to John Bucknell, 1625. I removed this four-line English

inscription in capitals (111 x 525 mm, thickness 1.6 mm, 8 rivets) from its slab (1990 x 530 mm). The slab is fractured and worn and a group of three rivets are the only evidence for a missing shield. After cleaning I fitted new rivets to the brass.

M.S.IV. Inscription to Susan Bucknell, 1655. This six-line English inscription in capitals (193 x 503 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 7 rivets) is laid in the same slab as M.S.II. The plate is damaged along the bottom edge and had been secured by iron clamps. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.V. Inscription to John Bucknell, 1658. This four-line English inscription in capitals (161 x 319 mm, thickness 1.3 mm, 7 rivets) was removed from its slab (2130 x 900 mm) in October 1984. The slab was badly worn and the brass damaged and bent up. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and repaired several fractures.

M.S.VI. Inscription to Alice Baglye, 1666. I removed this four-line English inscription in capitals (155 x 313 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 8 rivets) from its badly worn slab (1820 x 800 mm) in the central walkway. The brass had been laid so as to be read from the west and was secured with iron rivets driven into lead plugs. The plate is damaged along the bottom edge. After cleaning I repaired cracks and fitted new rivets.

M.S.VII. Inscription to Richard Baglye, 1672. I removed this inscription in two Latin and eight English lines of capitals (255 x 254 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 8 rivets) from its badly worn slab (1985 x 920 mm) in the central walkway. The brass was secured with iron nails driven into lead plugs. The bottom dexter corner is broken off across the rivet hole. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.VIII. Inscription to Alice Firebras, 1675. I removed this inscription in two Latin and eight English lines of capitals (254 x 251 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 9 rivets) from its badly worn slab (1965 x 970 mm) in the central walkway. The brass, very similar in size and design to M.S.VII, is almost effaced. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

M.S.IX. Inscription to John Adams and wife, 1681. I removed this ten-line English inscription in capitals (335 x 367 mm, thickness 2.2 mm, 12 rivets) from its badly worn slab (2120 x 1060 mm) in the central walkway. It had been secured by iron rivets driven into lead plugs and arranged in pairs. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

After the slabs had been re-surfaced and the indents recut by T. H. Higgins Ltd. of Wellingborough, I relaid the brasses on 14 and 29 October 1991.

GOSFIELD. ESSEX

M.S.III. Two shields, the remains of the brass to Robert Wilford and wife, 1545.¹⁰ These two shields have had a somewhat chequered history. One of them¹¹ (*Wilford impaling Fermour*, 154 x 135 mm, thickness 4.0 mm, 1 rivet) was listed by Mill Stephenson.¹² It was stolen from the church prior to 1944 and bought at auction in

¹⁰ *M.B.S. Bulletin* 58 (October 1991), 529, and 59 (February 1992), 537. A full account will appear in a future issue of the *Transactions*.

¹¹ Illustrated in *M.B.S. Bulletin* 58, 529.

¹² *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (1926), 119.

1990 by Martin Stuchfield. The second shield, with the arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company, is not complete (83 x 115 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 1 rivet). It was found close to the church in 1978 and deposited in the Colchester Castle Museum. Both shields are palimpsest with their reverses showing common heraldry.¹³

Martin Stuchfield negotiated the return of the fragment to the church on indefinite loan and delivered it to me. After cleaning I produced facsimiles of both sides of the complete shield and of the reverse of the fragment. These were rebated into a hardwood board together with the fragment and a small brass plate commemorating the return of the fragment and the donation of the board and facsimiles by Mr Stuchfield. The board was mounted on the wall of the north chapel on 7 December 1991.

NORWICH, ST. JOHN MADDERMARKET (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund).

When listed by Haines in 1861¹⁴ the brasses mostly remained in their slabs though some were then loose. They had been taken up and mounted murally before 1891¹⁵ and by 1926 had been collected together on boards at the west end under the gallery.¹⁶ After the church became redundant it was used by the Greek Orthodox Church for some years and in 1984 the brasses were removed from the church and loaned to the Norfolk Museums Service. The church was vested with the Redundant Churches Fund in March 1990. I collected brasses from the Bridewell Museum on 28 February 1991 and from the Castle Museum on 5 April 1991. The plates were black with corrosion and all the rivet holes had been countersunk for screws.

M.S.I. Walter Moneslee and wife Isabel, 1412 (Fig. 4). This London (series D) brass comprises a civilian effigy (462 x 127 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 4 rivets), a female effigy (458 x 131 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 4 rivets), a two-line Latin inscription (76 x 689 mm, thickness 3.4 mm, 4 rivets) and a nineteenth-century inscription (114 x 184 mm, thickness 2.4 mm, 4 rivets). The original plates are worn and the bottom dexter corner of the female effigy is broken off across the rivet hole. The original slab (2090 x 1200 mm) lies at the west end of the nave but is badly worn with the indents barely decipherable. After cleaning I repaired a fracture in the male effigy and fitted new rivets. The brass was rebated into a hardwood board with the plates positioned as in the slab.

M.S.II. John Todenham, *c.* 1450.¹⁷ This London (series B) brass comprises a civilian effigy (401 x 227 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 3 rivets), an inscription in two English lines (227 x 474 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 4.3 and 4.2 mm, 3 rivets) and a scroll (230 x 340 mm, engraved on two plates both with thickness 2.7 mm, 4 rivets). The head of the effigy has been fractured from the body at some stage and rejoined

¹³ *Palimpsests*, pl. 169, no. 62M1, and 'Sixth Addenda to Palimpsests', *M.B.S. Bulletin* 58, pl. 213, no. L418-2.

¹⁴ *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, by Rev. Herbert Haines (1861), II, p.144

¹⁵ *A List of Norfolk Monumental Brasses*, by Rev. Edmund Farrer (1891), 63-5.

¹⁶ Stephenson, 352-4.

¹⁷ Illustrated in *English Church Brasses*, by E. R. Suflling (1910), and 1970 reprint, fig. 110, p. 179.



FIG. 4
Norwich, St. John Maddermarket
M.S.I. Walter Moneslee and wife Isabel, 1412
Rubbing by William Lack

with a solder joint still in sound condition. The brass was originally laid in the chancel.¹⁸ The slab (1780 x 760 mm) now lies in the north chapel, with its axis running north-south, and is in reasonable condition. There are indents for two scroll inscriptions below the foot inscription. After removing corrosion I rejoined the two parts of the scroll and fitted new rivets to the brass.

M.S.III. Ralph Segrym and wife Agnes, 1472.¹⁹ This Norwich (series 1) brass comprises a civilian effigy in mantle (905 x 260 mm, thickness 3.9 mm, 6 rivets), a female effigy (872 x 261 mm, thickness 4.1 mm, 6 rivets), one merchant mark (145 x 122 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 4 rivets) and a modern inscription (115 x 183 mm, thickness 2.5 mm, 4 rivets). The foot inscription and another merchant mark are lost. The brass was originally laid down in the south chapel.²⁰ The slab (1830 x 1250 mm) lies in the nave and is in sound condition. After removing corrosion

¹⁸ Haines, II, 144.

¹⁹ Suffling, figs. 113 and 114, p.182.

²⁰ Haines, II, 144

Here lieth buried y^e body of maister Nicholas Sutherton
 late mayor & alderman of this noble ciyt of Norwich the death
 yere after y^e he was made dilectus first of this noble ciyt
 whiche was the yere of our lord 1540 the 2 daye of November on
 whiche soule save yous gentle maye for as he ys so shall y^e be

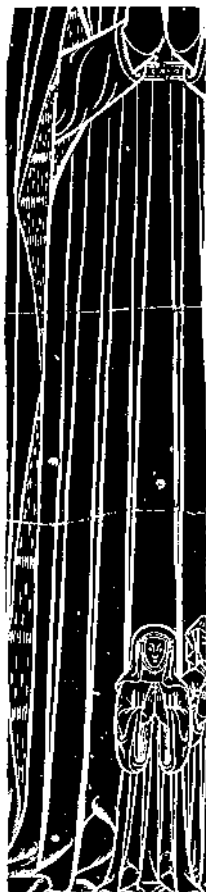


Fig. 5
 Norwich, St. John Maddermarket
 M.S.IX. Inscription and shield to Nicholas Sutherton, 1540
 Obverse and reverse
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

I fitted new rivets.

M.S.V. John Martin, *c.* 1500. This Norwich (series 2b) inscription in two Latin lines (60 x 222 mm, thickness 3.8 mm, 2 rivets) was formerly laid in a slab (470 x 625 mm) which still survives at the west end under the gallery. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a hardwood board.

M.S.IX. Inscription and shield to Nicholas Sutterton, 1540 (Fig. 5). This Norwich (series 6d) brass comprises an inscription in five English lines (148 x 647 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 6 rivets) and a shield (166 x 142 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 4 rivets). When the brasses were removed from the church in 1984 it was thought that this brass was lost. Remarkably it was found in the north aisle in 1989, the inscription being broken into five pieces which had all survived. It is a known palimpsest, the reverse showing part of a Norwich (series 1) lady with children at her feet.²¹ The slab (2320 x ?1220 mm) still lies in the north aisle but is partly concealed by wooden flooring and the indents are filled with cement. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the palimpsest reverse, rejoined the five pieces of the inscription with a backing-plate and fitted new rivets. The brass and the facsimile were rebated into a hardwood board.

M.S.XI. Inscription to Richard Skottowe and wife, 1619. This inscription in six English lines of capitals (209 x 590 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 12 rivets) is battered and fractured. After cleaning I repaired two fractures, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into the same board as M.S.V.



FIG. 6

Norwich, St. John Maddermarket
M.S.XII. Inscription to John Melchior, 1657
Obverse and reverse
Rubbing by H. Martin Stuchfield

M.S.XII. Inscription to John Melchior, 1657 (Fig. 6). This plate, engraved with a skull and crossbones and an English inscription in four lines and four verses of capitals (257 x 321 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 8 rivets) is strictly speaking a palimpsest

²¹ *Palimpsests*, pl. 144, no. 24 N1.

reverse, the more modern side being a four-line English inscription to Mary Ann Kemp, 1845, who is commemorated by another brass in the church. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the 1845 side, fitted new rivets and rebated the brass and facsimile into the same board as M.S.V and XI.

M.S.XIII. Inscription to John and Cornelius Melchior, 1713. This brass comprises an inscription in seven English lines of capitals (306 x 457 mm, thickness 6.4 mm, 8 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into the same board as M.S.V, XI and XII.

M.S.XIV. One merchant mark. This plate (153 x 120 mm, thickness 2.8 mm, 2 rivets) had come loose from its slab (1860 x 720 mm) in the south aisle. There is an indent for an inscription (215 x 460 mm) and there are three other identical merchant marks still *in situ*. The slab was for many years partially covered by wooden flooring, the recent removal of which revealed the indent for the loose mark at the upper dexter corner. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and blanked a surplus rivet hole.

The Adamson brasses. These two inscriptions, in five and four English lines respectively, commemorate William Adamson, 1707 (260 x 460 mm, thickness 6.6 mm, 6 rivets) and his wife Mary, 1706 (216 x 461 mm, thickness 6.7 mm, 6 rivets). After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brasses into a hardwood board.

The Emperor Brasses. These two inscriptions, each in four English lines, commemorate Sarah Emperor, 1735 (170 x 169 mm, thickness 1.4 mm, 4 rivets) and William Emperor, 1761 (engraved on a lozenge-shaped plate made of copper, 327 x 328 mm, thickness 2.1 mm, 4 rivets). After cleaning, which revealed the head of a cherub and a skull on the 1761 plate, I repaired three fractures in the 1735 plate, fitted new rivets and rebated the brasses into the same board as the Adamson brasses.

The boards were mounted on the west wall under the gallery on 30 May 1991. M.S.II, III and XIV were relaid in their slabs on 12 August 1991. Removal of cement from the indents of the merchant marks of M.S.III and careful examination of the original lead plugs and rivets still *in situ* showed that the surviving mark was originally laid on the dexter side and I relaid it in this indent. The modern inscription from M.S.III was secured to the side of a pew close to the slab.

PONTESBURY, SHROPSHIRE

I removed three inscriptions to members of the Harrison family on 26 November 1990.

Inscription to Revd. Hamlet Harrison, 1843. I removed this nine-line English inscription (571 x 500 mm, thickness 1.7 mm) from the south wall of the chancel. The plate is relatively thin and is rivetted to a black-painted steel frame.

Inscription to Frances Ann Harrison, 1863. I removed this eleven-line English inscription (305 x 406 mm, thickness 3.7 mm) from the east wall of the sanctuary. It was engraved by Jones & Willis and has the date "July 1899" on the reverse.

Inscription to William Harrison, 1901. I removed this seven-line English

inscription (458 x 764 mm, thickness 3.7 mm) from a slate slab on the south wall of the sanctuary. It was engraved by Jones & Willis and has the date "May 1905" on the reverse.

The plates had become blackened with corrosion. After cleaning, polishing and lacquering they were re-secured on 9 January 1991, the brass to Frances Harrison being positioned on the south wall below that of her husband.

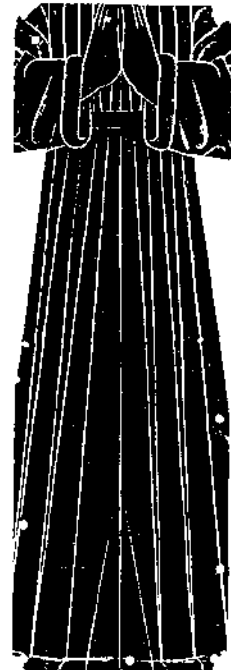
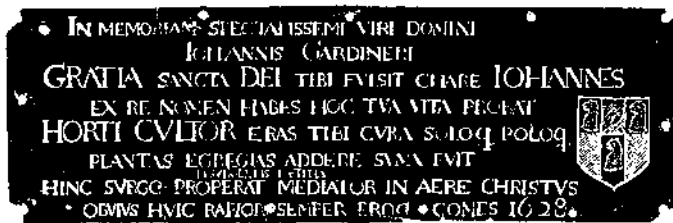


FIG. 7
Shrewsbury, St. Mary
M.S.I. Inscription to John Gardner, 1628
Obverse and reverse
Rubbing by William Lack

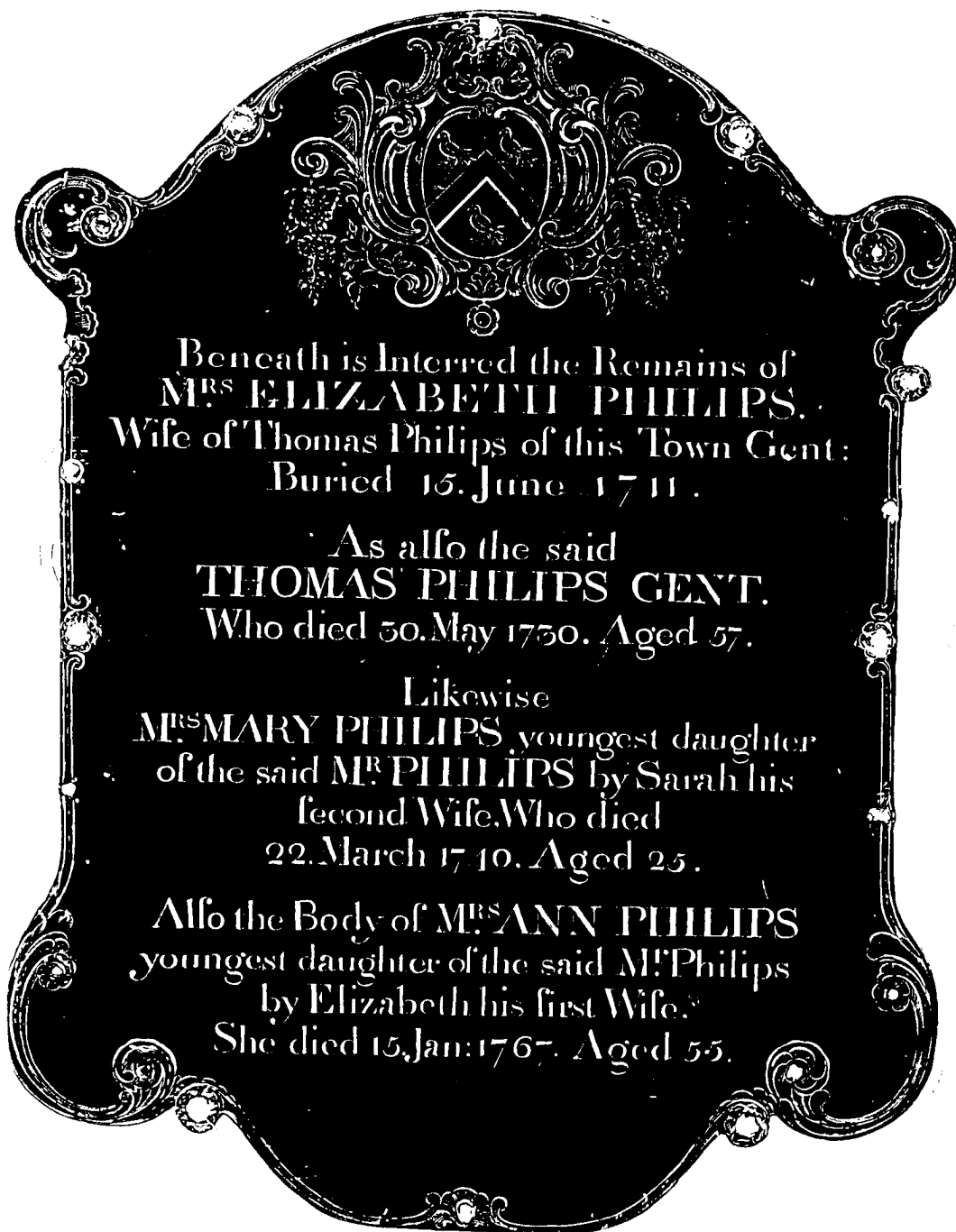


SHREWSBURY, ST. MARY (vested in the Redundant Churches Fund)

I removed three brasses on 26 November 1990.

M.S.I. Inscription to John Gardner, 1628 (Fig. 7). I removed this plate, engraved with a Latin inscription in nine lines of capitals and a shield (181 x 561 mm, thickness 3.0 mm, 10 rivets), from the east wall of the north chapel. It proved to be palimpsest, the reverse showing the main part of a civilian effigy, *c.* 1470.²² Two triangular sections from the base of the effigy had been neatly fitted and rivetted to the main plate with ferrous backing-plates and brass rivets. The ferrous plates had corroded

²² 'Sixth Addenda to Palimpsests', pl. 216, no. M505-1/3.



Beneath is Interred the Remains of
M^{RS} ELIZABETH PHILIPS.
Wife of Thomas Philips of this Town Gent:
Buried 15. June 1711.

As also the said
THOMAS PHILIPS GENT.
Who died 30. May 1730. Aged 57.

Likewise
M^{RS} MARY PHILIPS youngest daughter
of the said **M^R PHILIPS** by Sarah his
second Wife. Who died
22. March 1740. Aged 25.

Also the Body of **M^{RS} ANN PHILIPS**
youngest daughter of the said **M^r Philips**
by Elizabeth his first Wife.
She died 15. Jan. 1767. Aged 55.

Fig.8

Shrewbury, St. Mary

Inscription to Mrs Elizabeth Phillips and family, 1767

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

badly and I removed them. After cleaning I produced a resin facsimile of the reverse and mounted this on a hardwood board. I rejoined the triangular sections to the main plate and fitted new rivets.

Inscription to Mrs Elizabeth Phillips and family, 1767 (Fig. 8). I removed this plate, engraved with an achievement and sixteen English lines (907 x 695 mm, thickness 1.7 mm), from the south face of a pillar between the chancel and the north chapel. There are eighteen rivet holes in the plate. After cleaning and polishing I fitted eight new rivets.

Inscription to Edward Gough, his wife Mary and his sister Martha, 1895. I removed this rectangular plate, engraved with a cross and seventeen English lines (575 x 400 mm, thickness 2.7 mm, 4 rivets), from the north wall of the Trinity Chapel. It was engraved by T. Thomason and Co. of Birmingham. After cleaning and polishing I fitted new rivets.

On 3 July 1991 the brasses were re-set and the board carrying the facsimile was mounted close to M.S.I.

WHINBURGH, NORFOLK

M.S.I. Shield, *on a bend cotised three martlets*. On 8 August 1991 I removed this shield (153 x 121 mm, thickness 2.9 mm, 1 rivet) from the original slab (1730 x 765 mm) in the nave at the foot of the chancel step. The slab has indents for another shield and a contiguous inscription above. After cleaning I fitted a new rivet and relaid the brass on the same day.

YORK, ST. MICHAEL SPURRIERGATE²³

The church is now redundant and is run as a Christian Centre by the St. Michael's York Trust. I removed all four brasses on 20 February 1991. There is heavy traffic over two of the brasses and it was decided that they should be mounted on boards.

M.S.I. Chalice and inscription to William Langton, 1466 (Fig. 9). I removed this Yorkshire (series 2) brass, comprising a chalice (243 x 116 mm, engraved on two plates with thicknesses 3.1 and 2.8 mm, 2 rivets) and a two-line Latin inscription (80 x 667 mm, thickness 3.5 mm, 3 rivets), from the original slab (2065 x 1025 mm) at the east end of the north aisle. The inscription had been relaid and secured with large headed nails and the chalice had been repaired and rivetted to a brass strip, the ends of which had been bent down and bedded in cement in the slab. After cleaning I repaired a fracture, rejoined the two plates of the chalice and fitted new rivets. The brass was rebated into a hardwood board.

M.S.II. Inscription to William Hancock, 1485. I removed this York (series 3) four-line Latin inscription (120 x 533 mm, thickness 1.9 mm, 4 rivets) from its slab (2100 x 1020 mm) at the east end of the south aisle. It had been relaid and was secured by one screw and one nail. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

²³ The brasses were described and illustrated by Mill Stephenson in 1904, *Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, XVIII, pp. 60-4.



FIG. 9

York, St. Michael Spurriergate

M.S.I. Chalice and inscription to William Langton, 1466

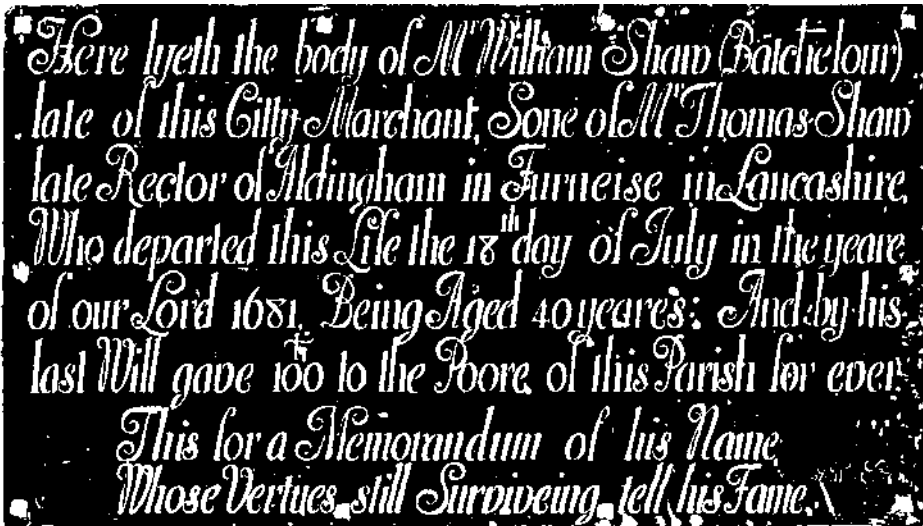
Illustration from Yorks. Arch. Jour.

FIG. 10

York, St. Michael Spurriergate

M.S.IV. Inscription to William Shaw, 1681

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

M.S.III. Inscription to William Wilson, c.1500. I removed this York (series 4) three-line Latin inscription (95 x 503 mm, thickness 4.7 mm, 5 rivets) from a sandstone slab (1390 x 960 mm) in the nave. The slab, which lies in a very busy area of the church, is incised with an almost illegible inscription dated 1746. After cleaning I fitted new rivets and rebated the brass into a hardwood board.

M.S.IV. Inscription to William Shaw, 1681 (Fig. 10). This English inscription in eight lines of cursive script (273 x 482 mm, thickness 1.8 mm, 10 rivets) is signed by Joshua Mann (Fig. 11).²⁴ I removed it from the same slab as M.S.II. It had become battered and bent. After cleaning I fitted new rivets.

On 24 April 1991 M.S.II and IV were relaid and the two boards were mounted on the south wall of the south aisle.²⁵

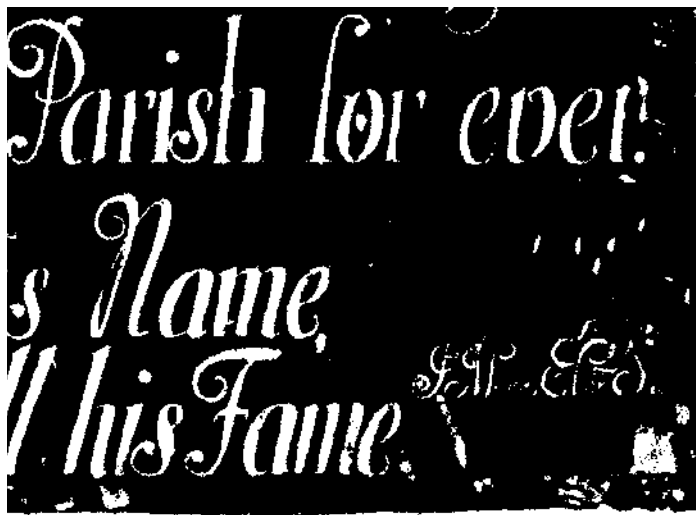


FIG. 11

York, St. Michael Spurriergate

M.S.IV. Inscription to William Shaw, 1681: detail showing engraver's name

Rubbing by Philip Whittemore

²⁴ 'Elusive Virtuosi - Thomas and Joshua Mann', by R. J. Malden, *York Historian*, VI (1985), pp. 43-58.

²⁵ M.S.I and III have since been removed from their boards and rebated into a single ash board.

Obituary

JOHN REGINALD COTTLE, M.A. (1924-1992)

JOHN Reginald Cottle was a man of diverse interests who joined the Society in 1950 shortly after coming down from Cambridge where he read Classics at Magdalene College. A period of eighteen years elapsed before he succeeded Gerard Leighton as Hon. Treasurer. His meticulous methods and conscientious work ensured the safe stewardship of the financial affairs of the Society during a twenty-one year period, including the exciting growth of the late 1960s and



early 1970s which saw membership numbers increase dramatically. During the latter part of his time in office he suffered from ill health and he reluctantly relinquished the post in 1989 whereupon he was elected a Vice-President. He was additionally a Trustee and represented the Society at meetings of the Council for British Archaeology from 1970 until his death on 9th April 1992.

John Cottle was born at Clifton, Bristol, on 18th November 1924 and was educated at Bristol Grammar School (elected President of the Old Bristolians' Society 1987-88). During the early War period he joined the ARP and also served

as a firewatcher at Bristol Grammar School being the recipient of the Lord Mayor's commendation for Civil Defence in 1942. Later in the War he served with the Royal Marines and the Gloucestershire Regiment completing his service with the Occupation Forces in Japan. Immediately upon demobilisation he went to Cambridge and in 1949 was appointed to teach Classics at Dulwich College which profession he continued until early retirement in 1985.

Whilst at Dulwich College an interest in Scouting was renewed which culminated in serving as a Scout Commissioner for twenty years. His numerous interests included being founder and President of the Dulwich College Society for International Affairs (1950-84); Editor of the Newsletter for the Far East Services Association; Hon. Treasurer and Trustee of the United Nations Association London Region (1950-92); Vice-President (1967-92) and Chairman (1955-67) of the Southwark / Dulwich United Nations Association and Chairman of the Camberwell Community Association (1953-66).

His most supportive wife Pauline, a first-class honours historian from Dublin, who had been secretary to the Northern Ireland Prime Minister and Liberal Candidate at a Parliamentary election, predeceased him in March 1990 following 41 years of marriage. His close family life continued with his son, daughter and three grandchildren to whom we offer our deepest sympathy.

H. MARTIN STUCHFIELD

JOHN CAULFEILD PAGE-PHILLIPS, F.S.A. (1930-1992)

JOHNSON Caulfeild Page-Phillips, President of the Monumental Brass Society from 1985, died on 14 November 1992, following a long period of illness, at his home, St Peter's Hall, South Elmham, Suffolk. He was tended to the last by his family, and remained involved in his work as President until his final day. He must be counted among the most memorable of the Society's fellowship, having made a very great contribution to all aspects of their work, and attracting in the process an unusual closeness of relationship. His passing has led to a remarkable sense of shared personal loss as we collectively unite with Barbara and all John's family in their bereavement.



John's life may be briefly summarised. He was born on 17 June 1930 in Melbury Osmund Rectory, Dorset, his father being the Reverend Thomas Western Page-Phillips and his mother Kathleen Montgomerie Caulfeild. His childhood remained in the country, the family moving to Combe Bisset in 1938 and again to Wimborne in 1947. The curate at the Minster, Jimmy Mann, introduced John to the fascination of memorial brasses.

John was a student at Eton. He completed National Service in the Royal Corps

of Signals, and from there went to Cambridge, reading English and Anthropology at Magdalene College. He worked for eight years with ICI, during which period he was briefly married to Claudia, and their daughter Livia was born. Inheriting money he established in 1964 the business of Phillips and Page in Church Street, Kensington, and a year later married Lorna. Their first son, Benjamin, was born in 1969, and their second, Thomas, in 1973. John moved his family to Campden Hill Square in 1969, and in the same year purchased St Peter's Hall, a house that fully matched his love for the Mediaeval. In 1981 he sold the London home, marrying Barbara in that year, and making St Peter's Hall his permanent home. John and Barbara carried on the antique business but through the medium of trade fairs rather than a fixed outlet. While stricken with cancer for over two years, John resisted its invasion with notable courage, matched by the devotion of his wife and the whole family including Barbara's children Neil, Thalia and Tim.

John was an unforgettable person, full of paradoxes but driven by an infectious enthusiasm. He had immense energy which was expended with particular generosity on the Monumental Brass Society, and on brass-related projects whether of his own or of others initiation. On occasions he neglected his own achievements, most notably his unpublished but seminal work on sixteenth-century brasses. He was insatiably curious, delighting in investigating problems which related to his family, to challenging subjects such as ley lines, the Turin shroud or the origins of works attributed to Shakespeare, and to palimpsest brasses on which he became the leading authority. He was a very active antique dealer, but again more out of interest for the articles themselves than potential commercial margins. As Barbara writes, "I never think of John as a businessman, he liked the hunt for antiques but I don't think he was really tuned in to the cold commercial calculations. He bought things because he liked them - and then hoped other people would too". His election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, in spite of his profession, recognised his scholarly integrity.

There is no doubt that John enjoyed his role as President, which gave legitimacy to his leadership. But long before that recognition he had established a personal role as innovator and facilitator, attracting around him all those absorbed by the problems posed by brasses, sharing ideas and information and encouraging others to do likewise. The concept of "intellectual property" was alien to him; he was equally willing to share antiques even those most appealing to him. His home at St Peter's Hall reflected his commitment to conservation, yet he gave it a delightful personal touch with Victorian brass inscriptions set teasingly around the building even in the toilets. Lastly he was a person of great humanity and kindness, often concealing this by an indifferent front to overt affection, but giving most effective support to many in need. Employment in his shop was a lifeline to those he reached. Personally John would reluctantly spare me minutes on the telephone, yet spend great time, energy and resources in ensuring the publication of my writing.

John's antique dealing was separate from yet associated with his life with the Society, more especially while his shop was the main outlet for brass-rubbing material. The only factors that limited his various interests were his own personality and tastes. Among the latter were most mediaeval objects, derelict brasses and

monuments, pilgrim's badges and miserere seats. Religious objects of all sorts attracted him, models of the Holy Sepulchre, icons, Palestine or Ethiopian crosses, pictures of Saints, Hindu Gods and Buddhas. Pictures in unusual materials were his specialities, whether of straw work, hair, felt, feathers, sand, glass or pin-prick pictures. On my last visit to Norwich in his company he bought a modern Romanian painting on glass because he liked it and to encourage the artist. Carved nuts were another delight, his collection of humorously worked coquilla nuts being remarkable. Ethnographic objects were acquired in abundance, Ashanti stools, Fijian spears and cock-fighting spurs from Bali. Furniture rarely excited John unless it was strange, exotic or startling - indeed one object he possessed for a time had to be covered, with its female-shaped legs with falling stockings leading provocatively to the ornament on the top! Objects of uncertain purpose - distinctive in their shape, ingenuity and tantalising appearance brought surprises to his home, his shop, and the stalls on which he sold. His knowledge of all these things was prodigious to be enjoyed by those who associated with him.

St Peter's Hall was a unique interest. This mediaeval manor, radically changed by the Tasburgh family in the early sixteenth-century, apparently using much attractive spoil from Flixton Nunnery, was in a dilapidated state when John bought it, its character somewhat obscured by internal subdivision. John recaptured its Tudor quality, restoring the hall to its full height, freeing the great Gothic windows and introducing appropriate panelling. Other rooms such as the library above the Hall were treated with comparable care. A Tudor-style garden completed the ensemble. So many members were guests at that home that it will remain associated with the Society whatever its future.

John's work for the Society can be viewed in three major aspects. Firstly was his considerable writing. Notable but as yet unpublished is his study on London brass styles from c.1535 to the early seventeenth century, *A Sixteenth-Century Workshop*, written in the late 1950s, in which he applied the analysis initiated by Dr J. P. C. Kent but introducing the study of scripts, and with particular reference to likely palimpsest compositions. His attention to this field was stimulated by Major H. F. Owen Evans' discoveries at Easton Neston and Somerton.

His revision in 1969 of Macklin's original short introductory text, *Macklin's Monumental Brasses*, provided an inexpensive and fresh source of information, drawing attention to the importance of the study of style, the relationship of brasses to allied arts, and to questions concerning the dating of the earliest English brasses. There was some criticism that John had taken too many liberties with the original, but he characteristically wanted to associate that notable President's name with the progressing study. *Children on Brasses*, 1970, was an informative and well illustrated book, recording changes in style and costume through the medium of children plates, and in consequence recording much little known or poorly published material - the Llandinabo lad at prayer in the pond where he died being an example. John wanted to follow this up with a second study on shrouds and skeletons, printed white on black or dark grey paper, but the market would not allow.

His most important work was of course the two-volume *Palimpsests: the Backs of*

Monumental Brasses, bringing together in a scaled relationship all known reused fragments both in Britain and Europe, describing the historical circumstances of their occurrence, making perceptive links between fragments and presenting a wealth of new material most especially on the products of the Flemish workshops. The original resting place of several reused brasses was identified. He developed in a revealing and systematic way the work pioneered by Mill Stephenson and Ralph Pearson. The Society is rightly maintaining his record in the *Bulletin*. In the pursuit of this interest John was far more than a writer, participating actively in discoveries and identifying likely examples. His failure after much effort to discover a practical technology to record reverses without moving plates was a tolerated frustration. His participation in the remarkable discovery at Frenze, of the panel possibly related to St Edmund's Shrine, was a well deserved privilege. John's last contribution to palimpsests is hopefully yet to come in the publication of the Society's book, *Brasses in Art and History*.

The second aspect was his far-reaching contacts both within and outside the Society. Internally he was continually in touch with all who were committed to the subject, developing ideas, supporting projects and creating a venue for discussion and shared enjoyment. Most memorable and influential were the evenings he and Lorna hosted at Campden Hill Square, where the most productive scholars of the subject habitually met after meetings, enjoying a generous hospitality, a warm reception subsequently extended by him and Barbara at St Peter's Hall. It was from these linkages that he so often became involved in supporting work such as Sally Badham's *Brasses from the North East*, 1979, and my own *Monumental Brasses: the Craft and the Memorials*, finally published in 1978. He was very well known within the antiques trade and with museum curators, and from these links gained access to old collections of rubbings and - most important - knowledge of the sale of derelict brasses of which he secured an important collection, and created opportunities for others. The restoration of the damaged plate of boys to Horncastle (1519) was a consequence of his detective work, as also the acquisition and transfer to museum custody of the highly important Sarah Hornby brass by the Wallers from the now demolished chapel of the Pitt House Schools at Torquay. Equally his shop became a focal point for all interested in brasses, and from accidental contacts in the sale of rubbing materials he received information of value. John was the creator of a network which it will be difficult to sustain or replicate.

The third aspect was his many projects, which climaxed at the centenary of the Society in 1987. It is only possible to touch upon these, but in so doing John's importance is clear. He ran a Brass Rubbing Centre in London and supported another in Cambridge, setting standards in presentation and information to the users that respected the seriousness of the study. His relationship with the production of facsimiles was critical, helping to establish the business Brass and Mediaeval Facsimiles Ltd in 1972, and a large range of subjects excellently produced by Michael Ward and Brian Cooper were sold through his shop, including some exquisite Continental examples such as Abbess Scornay at Nivelles. Hence Phillips and Page became a supplier to other Brass Rubbing Centres. The shop was for long the centre for the provision of brass rubbing material of all sorts through the period

in the Sixties and early Seventies when rubbing was at its most popular. Together with Roger Greenwood, John investigated and reproduced varieties of coal-hole covers as these devices rapidly vanished from city streets. John's initiative in consolidating the Portfolio Plates of the Society in the volume printed by Boydell and Brewer in 1988 made this invaluable series available in a scale and date sequence which is useful to all interested in brasses. While his direct role was a minor one, it was under John's Presidency that the centenary volume *The Earliest English Brasses* was conceived and published in 1987, a very significant and greatly needed contribution to monumental research. John's ambitions still remain to be realised in the book *Brasses in Art and History*, hopefully to be published in 1994/5.

The centenary excursion to Elsing, a finely conceived event, was a memorable day, bringing into focus what is best and dynamic in the work of the Society. Those present admired the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, the facsimile of the brass in its less damaged state which is among the finest with which John was associated - it was borrowed for the Age of Chivalry Exhibition in the Royal Academy, and learned the history of Sir Hugh, the excavation of the grave, and his relationship to the Order of the Garter. This took place both in the church and in the Gothic ambience of Elsing Hall. The "Witness in Brass" Exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum was supremely John's conception, its themes related to the continuum in thought and design between the Elsing and the Sarah Hornby brasses, bringing together a wealth of exhibits the like of which will not be readily enjoyed again. Only those close to John knew the difficulties he faced over this initiative and the characteristic resourcefulness with which he overcame them. And lastly was the Bruges Conference in September 1992, coinciding with the unveiling of a plaque to the memory of the great antiquary James Weale, so right for that Europe-focused year, yet so complicated on account of the various parties involved in two countries and the increasing crisis of John's health. Despite his illness John personally ensured the provision of the excellent catalogue. The entire event was most successful if at times anxious, the only regret being John's enforced physical absence.

In conclusion, other past Presidents and distinguished members have made contributions to the Society's work which John would have immediately hailed as of equal or more significance than his own. Despite his will to achieve he was fundamentally a remarkably humble man. What is unique is the centrality of his influence. He was in the midst of the Society before and during his Presidency, promoting, supporting, sharing and encouraging. The Sixties and Seventies were a remarkable period for brass rubbing and the reawakening of interest in these memorials: these years and the Eighties registered a renewed assertion of the Society's scholarship. Viewed in retrospect it was a period of unusual opportunities, and John above all ensured that many were taken, and in so doing helped others to make ideas reality. John was in the midst of the action, contributing notably to its success, and at the same time enjoying it to the utmost. As correspondents to Barbara have acknowledged, John made working with the Society "fun" for those associated with him. His service, his inspirations and his company will deservedly leave a lasting memory.

MALCOLM NORRIS

Portfolio of Small Plates

THIS, which has become a regular feature of the *Transactions*, was intended to replace the old *Portfolio*, that unbound collection of large plates which served for nearly a century to illustrate many of the larger brasses of Europe. The old *Portfolio* of its nature could not have any text, but frequently it happened that *Portfolio* plates were accompanied by a short article in *Transactions*, not always in the same year. Now that the two publications have merged, it seems sensible to accompany each of the plates with at least some text. Members however should not delay to send rubbings for publication under the rubric of *Portfolio* because they have no accompanying text ready: that can always be provided. The criterion for publication should remain the same however: send us brasses, indents or incised slabs that have not been previously illustrated, (or not in any accessible place), ensuring that the rubbing is complete, including any indents and rivets, and not doctored or “touched up” other than removing accidental slips off the edge of the plate.

Fig. 1: John Hacche and wife E—, c. 1485, Nayland, Suffolk, M.S. III.

This interesting, but terribly mutilated, brass is identified by Mill Stephenson as the remains of the memorial to John Hacche and his wife E—, daughter of John Hamond. Although Weever¹ mentions some inscriptions at Nayland, this is not among them. It is mentioned by Malcolm Norris who comments on the extraordinarily tall canopy, and attributes it to the “F” series of London brasses.² The chief peculiarity which might easily be missed is that the lady is holding a book under her left arm. The height of the surviving piece of female effigy is 31 cm.

Fig. 2: David Lloyd and Thomas Baker, 1510, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford, M.S. III.

This touching little brass to two Oxford fellows who died together on Christmas Eve (and the story behind that has not yet been told) is often cited as giving our only representation of a mediaeval undergraduate. In fact, however, the cloaked Thomas Baker, described as “scholastic” in civil law, was a graduate, for he was admitted as a Fellow of All Souls in 1499.³ David Lloyd, in the more normal academic dress, was admitted Fellow in 1495, was ordained priest in 1496 and presented by the College to the living of Pennard, Glamorganshire. He was later sub-warden of the College in 1505 and law bursar in 1506-7.⁴

The brass is in its original slab of “Unio” Purbeck marble, measuring 1.27 by 0.61 m; the taller figure is 31 cm tall, the inscription 48 cm long. It is London work, of the “G” style, although the two figures do look rather different and there may have been two hands at work. We are grateful to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls for exceptional permission to make this rubbing.

¹ Weever, John, *Funerall Monuments*, (1631) p. 771.

² Norris, Malcolm, *Monumental Brasses, The Memorials*, 1977, p. 150.

³ Emden, A.B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Vol. I (1957), p. 94.

⁴ Emden, op. cit., Vol. II (1958) p. 1153.

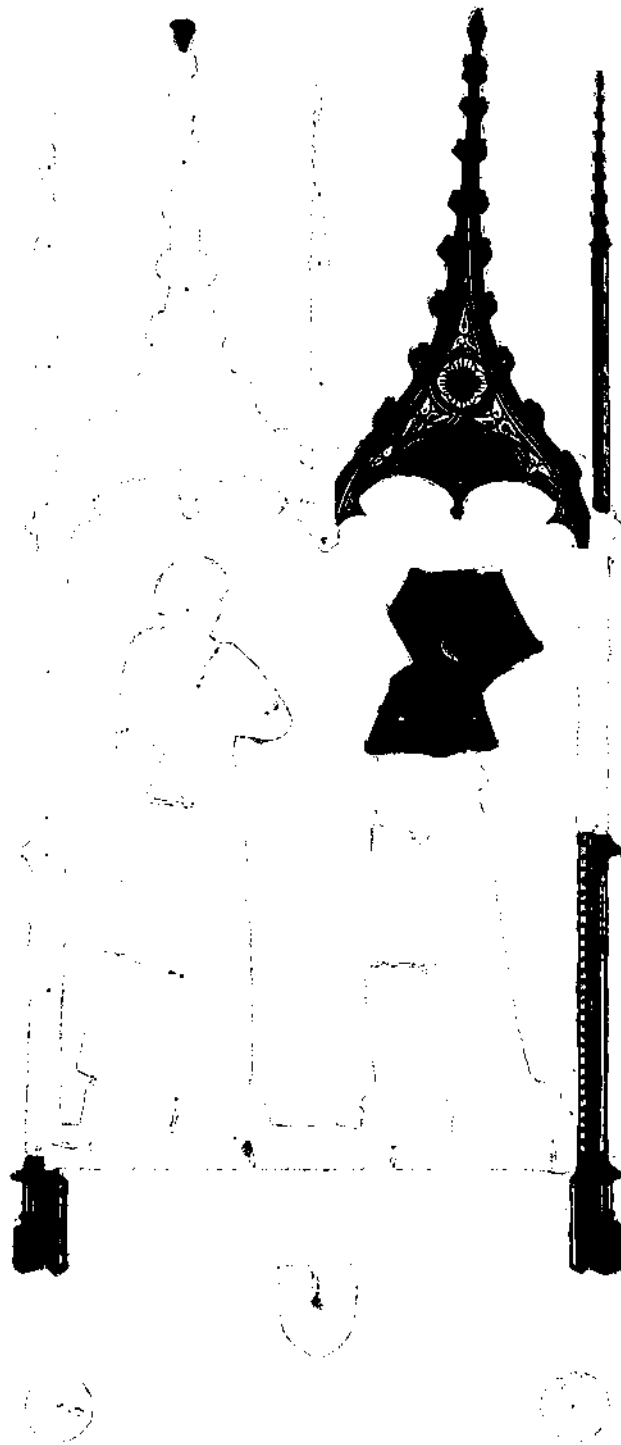


FIG. 1
Nayland, Suffolk
M.S. III, John Hacche and wife E----. c. 1485
Rubbing by D. A. Chivers

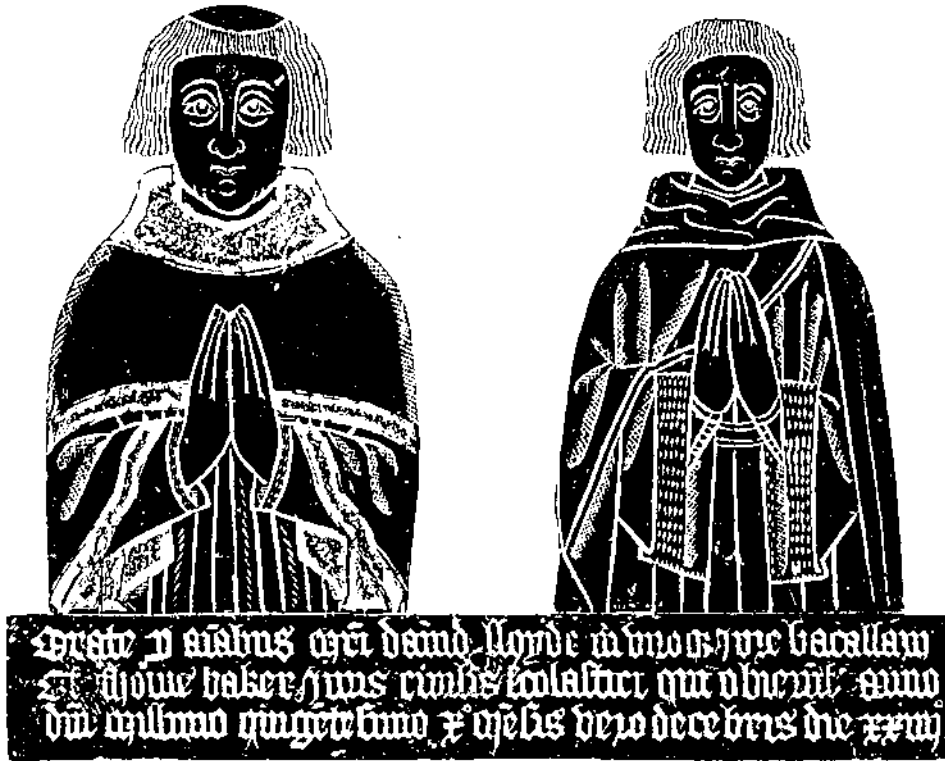


FIG. 2

All Souls College Chapel, Oxford
 M.S. III. David Lloyd and Thomas Baker, 1510
 Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 2 September 1992

Fig. 3: Prior John Weddisbury, 1518, English College, Rome (Incised Slab).

Several years ago I wrote an account of the incised slabs in the English College, including a description but no illustration of this, the most elaborate.⁵ The original slab, of Travertine marble, measures 2.15 by 0.95 m, set in a modern frame of similar marble. It is clearly of local Roman manufacture, and is markedly similar to one in S. Onofrio to Vasino Gamberia, 1501, which has the same flow of drapery with the curious accentuation of the knees. The well-known slab to Cardinal de Cusa, 1464, in S. Pietro in Vincoli is not dissimilar,⁶ for there was a remarkable continuity of style in Roman renaissance incised slabs.

John Weddesbury seems to have made little impression during his time as Prior of Worcester (an office which had carried the right to mitre and crosier since 1351, and to which he had succeeded on 16 September 1507).⁷ Anthony Wood calls him William Woddysbury and states that he supplicated in 1517 for the degree of

⁵ *M.B.S. Trans.*, XII, part 4 (1978), pp. 281-2.

⁶ F.A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, II, plate 10b.

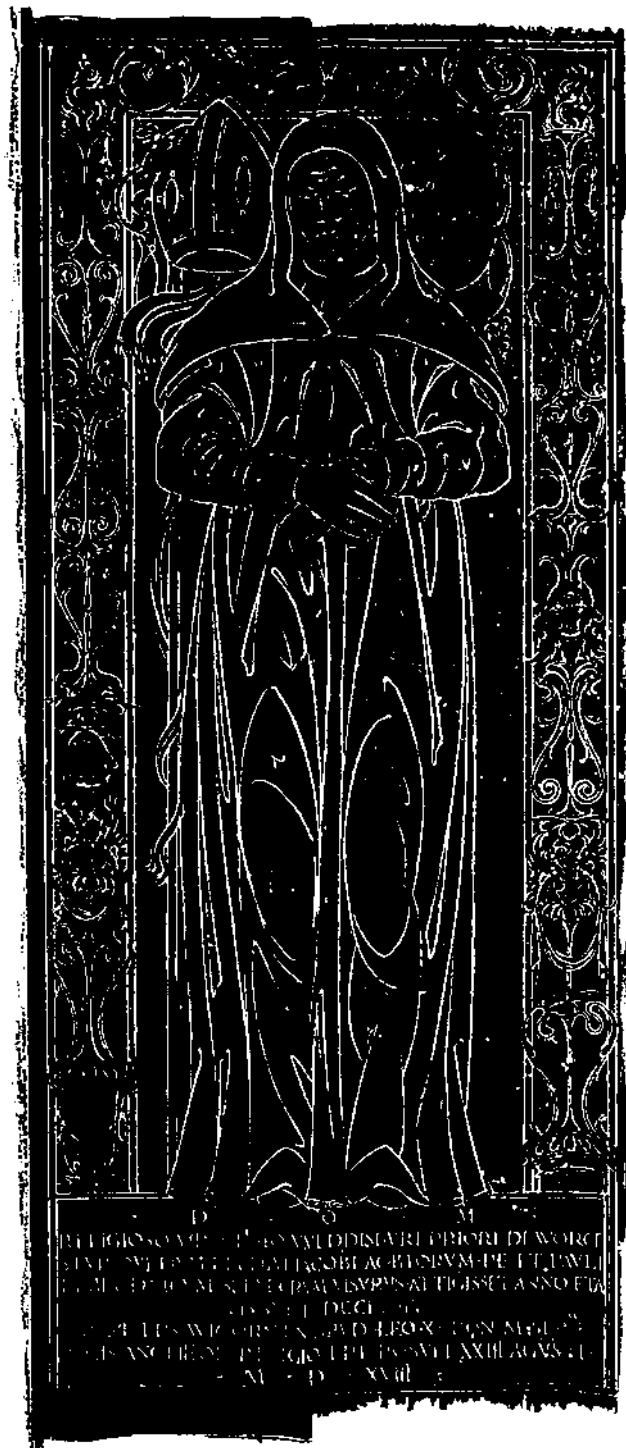


FIG. 3
English College, Rome
Prior John Weddisbury, 1518 (Incised Slab)
Rubbing by Jerome Bertram, 13 November 1975



John Radcliffe
 Richard Molyneux
 Eleanor Radcliffe
 Eleanor Maghull
 1568

Dame, wherfore was thy guide in life
 and aid my dowryes guide
 some wether left are not alone
 when soule from bodie part
 And though that death with durt of death
 hath brought my corpe on life
 yett ethernal god my ethernal soule
 ethernallye sothe kepe



FIG. 4.
 Sefton, Lancashire
 M.S. III. Richard Molyneux, 1568, and wives Eleanor Radcliffe and Eleanor Maghull
Rubbing by Patrick Farman, 1985

Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity, which degree he apparently was not granted.⁸ In this case he may be the same William Wednesbury who was banished from the university of Cambridge in 1465-6.⁹

Fig. 4: Sir Richard Molyneux, 1568, and wives Eleanor Radcliffe and Eleanor Maghull, Sefton, Lancashire, M.S. III.

Sir Richard was the son of Sir William Molyneux, the hero of Flodden, whose brass (M.S. II) is well known. His first wife was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall, by whom he had five sons, William, Richard, John, Anthony and Alexander, and six daughters Jane, Ellen, Alice, Maria, Ann and Margaret, and two more not named; their figures survive below their mother's. The second wife was also Eleanor, daughter of Robert Maghull of Maghull, by whom he had Thomas, Robert, Eleanor and Anthony, whose figures are lost. The allegorical verses above the children seem to play on his two marriages. The remaining scraps of marginal inscription have been relaid wrongly: Thornely cites Baines as recording a little more of it, "... bodyes of Sir Richarde <Molyneux, kni>ghte & Dame Elenor his wyffe <whose soules God pdon..."¹⁰ The brasses are London work, of the "Lytcot" style.

Fig. 5: John Rolle, 1570, and Margaret Rolle, 1592, St Giles in the Wood, Devon, M.S. II and III.

This is clearly a brass of local design, although based on quality London work. The lady is elegantly, if somewhat clumsily, shown holding a book and her children are varied, some kneeling on one knee, others on two. The somewhat involved verses inform us that here lies the wife of Rolls of Stevinstone, six of whose sons died young. Further information was forthcoming on a marginal inscription, noted by Mill Stephenson as mutilated, but in fact all lost long since, as is a shield. Now laid immediately below her brass is the little inscription and shield for her husband, John Rolls, Lord of Stevinstone, who died in 1570: the lettering in this case is London (Southwark) style, and must actually date from about 1590.

Fig. 6: Thomas Scott, 1616, Northwold, Norfolk, M.S. II.
by Dr. J.M. Blatchly, M.A., F.S.A.

A rectangular plate 51 x 69 cm, with inscription to Thomas Scott, Rector, who died 12 November 1616 aged 68 and was buried under the same slab as his mother, including four Latin verses of his own composition, with a translation into English verse by his eldest son, and a shield of arms, *Scott* impaling *Mingay*. Above is the indent for another plate, 25 x 40 cm, presumably for the rector's mother, whose husband, also Thomas, had been Vicar of Mildenhall with two breaks from 1541 to 1573, and Rector of Northwold 1563 to 1576 when he died. The lettering, though

⁸ Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 1815, I, p. 1517.

⁹ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, C.U.P. 1963, p. 624.

¹⁰ Thornely, James, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire & Cheshire*, 1893, p. 229; see also *M. B. S. Trans.*, XIV pt. 5 (1990), pp.430-1.



FIG. 5
 St Giles in the Wood, Devon
 M.S. II and III. John and Margaret Rolle, 1570 and 1592
Rubbing by Philip Whittemore, 1989

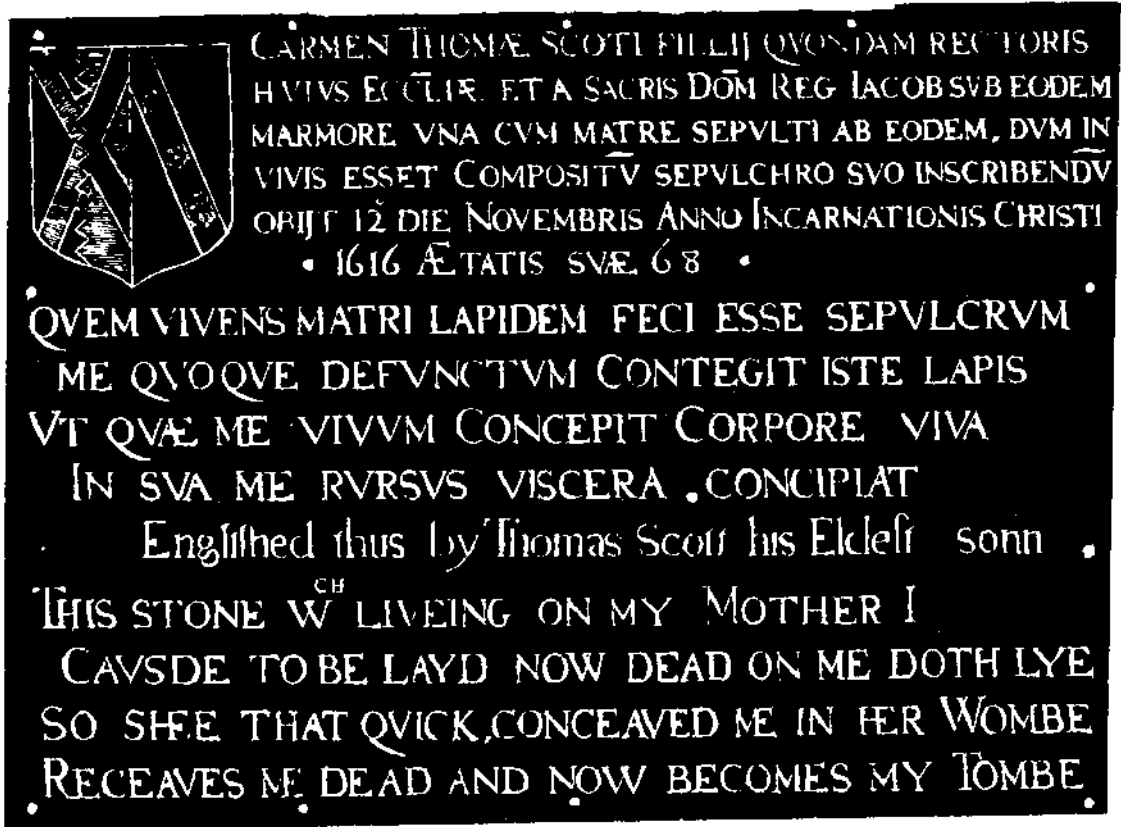


FIG. 6

Northwood, Norfolk

M.S. II. Thomas Scott, 1616

Rubbing by Dr. J. M. Blatchly, 1990

of standard type, differs somewhat from contemporary London styles, and thus may indicate local manufacture.

There are apparently at least four clergy called Thomas Scott, among whom a great deal of confusion reigns. The one commemorated here matriculated at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1566, proceeded B.A. in 1568/9, and M.A. in 1572. He was ordained deacon in Lincoln in 1572/3 and priest at Ely, 1575 as chaplain to the bishop. He succeeded his father at Mildenhall, 1574 to 1595, and Northwold 1576 and was presented to Oxborough in 1579. His wife was one of the Mingays of Norwich, a family influential in the diocese under Parkhurst. In 1585 Thomas published *A Sermon of Repentance* which he had preached at the Rolls Chapel.¹¹

In 1603 Scott wrote replies from both his own parishes to letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury requesting information about recusants and the state of the clergy. In his answers he stated that he was a preacher of thirty years' standing, "qualified by the late Bishop of Ely (Dr Cox), then by Sir James Dier, late Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by Sir Christopher Wray, late Lord Chief Justice of England, and that now he is Chaplain to Sir Francis Gawdye, second Judge of the King's Bench".

Thirty years after his last excursion into print, he published *Christ's Politician*.¹² The work is entered in the Stationers' Register on 19 November 1615 as by Master Scot, but the imprint is dated 1616, and the book is dedicated to Queen Anne. The titlepage names the author as one of King James' chaplains, which fact is mentioned on the brass memorial, and gives him a B.D., but from which University it cannot be established. It is a matter of debate whether he or his son Thomas was the author of another book from the same publisher, Francis Constable, and a strangely satirical one at that, which appeared the same year. If as seems likely, the elderly man portrayed on the engraved titlepage of *Philomythie*¹³ represents the author, this Thomas Scott, rather than his son, then aged only 36, must be the author. The other figure portrayed, top left, is Aesop, making the deaf and dumb sign for A to the author. This may be the earliest recorded portrayal of sign language.¹⁴

The inscription on the brass is curiously ambiguous over whether the translator of his father's epitaph is "Thomas Scott his son" treating the "his" as a genitive, or whether it is "Thomas Scott, his son" naming the boy after his father. If the latter, it refers to Thomas Scott III, author of over twenty controversial tracts, among which his anonymous *Vox Populi* (1620) attacking Gondomar and the Spanish marriage, led to his eventual arrest, after which he emigrated to the Low Countries. In May 1622 he was welcomed from Gorinchem as preacher to the English garrison at Utrecht, but met a tragic end there in 1626, aged 46, when he was murdered by John Lambert, an English soldier waiting for him to emerge from preaching in church. An engraving of Thomas Scott by William Marshall (the brother of Edward Marshall the brass-engraver) shows the same arms as on the brass.

¹¹ STC. 22108.

¹² STC. 22074.

¹³ STC. 21869 etc.

¹⁴ A.M. Hind (*Engraving in England*, II, p. 44) seems to be of the view that this authorship attribution is likely, but in that case one must reject the statement in PRO S.P. 14/119/60 and 14/118/102 that the author of *Vox Populi* (the son Thomas) wrote a "book of birds" in "my Lord Somerset's time".

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY GENERAL FUND

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1991

		1990	1991		1991
594	Balance at 1st January 1991				
11,313	Cash in hand and at bank				8.11
2,879	National Savings Bank				2,810.79
2,000	12½% Treasury Stock 1992				—
38	Charifund				—
	"Palimpsests" Deposit Account				562.73
			18,438.01		137.50
					1,426.71
					551.11
					145.00
					101.50
					5,743.45
<i>Receipts</i>					
6,494	Subscriptions	6,392.81			
—	Income Tax recovered	959.30			
207	Donations	330.56			
307	Sale of Centenary publications	79.37			
808	Sale of other publications	588.01			
148	Fund raising effort	170.90			
803	Conference	411.17			
2,080	Interest	2,119.43			
			11,051.55		
			£29,489.56		
					23,746.11
					£29,489.56
					4,717.99
					14,149.43
					2,878.69
					2,000.00
					—
					23,746.11
					£29,489.56

H. M. Stuchfield
Hon. Treasurer

R. G. Oakley
Hon. Auditor

15th February 1992

Audit Certificate: I have examined the Receipts and Payments Account of the Monumental Brass Society General Fund for the year 1991, and certify that it is correct according to the books, vouchers, and information supplied to me.

28th February 1992

Notes:

1. No value has been placed on the Society's library, stock of publications and computer equipment.
2. At 31st December 1991 the Society was still due to produce the 1989, 1990 and 1991 Transactions for which the estimated liability amounted to approximately £14,700.
3. At 31st December 1991, the value of the 12½% Treasury Stock 1992 was £3,000.00 and the Charifund holding was worth £6,463.06.

MONUMENTAL BRASS SOCIETY CONSERVATION FUND

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December 1991

		1990	1991		1991
5,257	Balance at 1st January 1991: Barclays Bank PLC		5,770.49		
				<i>Payments</i>	
		75		Grant to Clavering, Essex	100.00
				Grant to South Ormsby, Lincolnshire	100.00
				Grant to Daylesford, Worcestershire	100.00
589	<i>Receipts</i> Interest	5,770		Balance at 31st December 1991: Barclays Bank PLC	5,936.64
			<u>466.15</u>		<u>£6,236.64</u>
					<u>£6,236.64</u>

15th February 1992

H. M. Stuchfield
Hon. Treasurer

Audit Certificate: I have examined the Receipts and Payments Account of the Monumental Brass Society Conservation Fund for the year 1991, and certify that it is correct according to the books, vouchers, and information supplied to me.

28th February 1992

R. G. Oakley
Hon. Auditor

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NOTE: Contributors are solely responsible for all views and opinions contained in the Transactions, which do not necessarily represent those of the Society.