

Monumental Brass Society

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BULLETIN 147

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Hon. Treasurer's notice

On 1st January all subscriptions for 2021 became due. Please send £25.00 (associate/student £12.50, family £35.00) to the Hon. Treasurer, Robert Kinsey, 4 Pictor Close, Corsham, Wiltshire SN13 9XH. Payment can be made using the *PayPal* system via mbs_brasses@yahoo.com or make cheques payable to the 'Monumental Brass Society'. Many thanks to all those members who have completed Gift Aid forms. Any U.K. tax-paying member can enable the Society to reclaim tax on their subscription. The appropriate form can be downloaded directly from www.mbs-brasses.co.uk. U.S. members preferring to pay in dollars can send a cheque for U.S. \$45.00 to Shirley Mattox at 1313 Jackson Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901, U.S.A.

Editorial

I am most grateful for the contributions received from Richard Busby, Kevin Herring, David Lepine, Ian Taylor, Philip Whittemore and Rosalind Willatts.

The Society's General Meeting held in March was another that was exceptionally well attended via video conferencing. Rosalind Willatts has reported about two excellent and most enjoyable presentations.

David Lepine recounts a 'Murder Most Foul' in the spirit of Miss Marple. Surely it must be unique for a deceased person to name his murderer on a brass? Philip Whittemore, by way of contrast, contributes three small articles featuring an incised slab from Devon, the provenance of a brass in private possession and a splendid Hardman product that seems not to have been commissioned. It is especially pleasing to receive the contribution from Ian Taylor, a long-standing member from 'Down Under'. Finally, Kevin Herring continues to highlight the importance of European brasses with his focus on the fascinating series of plates at Nordhausen.

Personalialia

We congratulate **Thomas Woodcock**, our Honorary Heraldic Adviser, on his elevation to Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (K.C.V.O.) in the 2021 Queen's Birthday Honours List:

We welcome as new members:

Grant Elliott, Rose Cottage, Westlake, Ermington, Devon PL21 9JT

Matthew Thompson, c/o Thompson Architecture, 32A Yorkersgate, Malton, North Yorkshire YO17 7AB

Alexandra Weston, 15 Hallgarth, Pickering, North Yorkshire YO18 7AW.

It is with very deep regret that we report the death of **Ken Surman** who had been a member since 1974.

The Society is most grateful for the following bequests that have been received:

Jonathan Ali (1969-2019): £17,265.27 for the Conservation Fund and £8,632.64 for the creation of a prize fund 'for the best annual essay on brasses or incised slabs to remember Jonathan Ali'; **David Barrick** (1946-2018): £1,508 for the Conservation Fund; and **Brian Kemp** (1940-2019): £1,000 for the General Fund.

Cover: Detail from the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings (d.1347), at Elsing, Norfolk (M.S.I.). See article by Ian Taylor (pp.932-3). (photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

General Meeting

Virtual – 20th March 2021

After a year of Covid-restricted movement we were all better used to virtual meetings. The March General Meeting was outstanding, and kept the eyes of fifty-one members transfixed to the screen. **John Lee** spoke on *Medieval clothiers and their brasses* with **Stephen Freeth** and **Nigel Saul** recounting *The Recent Discovery of a Flemish Indent at Leatherhead*.

John Lee enlightened us about clothiers, an important group of entrepreneurs, often found on brasses, who ensured that the great medieval English Cloth Trade prospered. They flourished from the 15th to the mid 16th century. From shearing to the finished cloth, the clothier oversaw all the processes, organising domestic production and supplying materials. The speaker had elucidated much about these men that included John Compton (d.1505) from Beckington, Somerset, whose intriguing merchant's mark of a gridiron with cross and flag and the initials J.C. appears on his brass. Merchants' marks were used as individual trademarks, and were displayed on tombs because the clothiers were not armigerous. Among other merchants marks shown were those from Gloucestershire of John Bennett, 1497, at Cirencester (LSW.XII) and Edward Halyday, 1519, at Minchinhampton (LSW.III); Thomas Horton at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire (M.S.I); and John Smalwode, *alias* Wynchcom (Jack of Newbury), 1519, at Newbury, Berkshire (LSW.I). Clothiers on brasses date from 1471-1550; clothiers came from small towns in southern England from Devon to Kent and East Anglia. These men were responsible for much church building and chantries. Three generations of the Spring family, clothiers, left their mark on Lavenham church in Suffolk; at Cullompton, Devon on John Lane's additions are carvings of the wool trade such as teasels, shears and a fuller's hammer; at Bristol is a representation of a carder. At Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, money was left for vestments, a chalice and a bell. Thomas Horton of Bradford-on-Avon built a school and a bridge as well as a substantial house for himself. At Coggeshall, Essex, the Paycocke family left a highly decorated house and several floor monuments in the church.

Two of these to Thomas Paycocke, 1518 (LSW.17), and Robert Paycocke, 1520 (LSW.18), are in Belgian marble and had large rectangular plates in the continental style now lost. The clothier Paycocke brothers had trade connections with the Continent and this was reflected in the origins of their tombs. The slabs still contain their trefoil-headed merchant marks incised in stone.

Clothiers were industrialists and wealthy men, who left their mark on the country with churches and chantries and public works some of which survive to this day. They were an interesting group of citizens, many of whom are portrayed in brass. The speaker put life into them and made us look at them on a national scale as well as for their influence on small towns across southern England.

The second lecture was about the huge indented slab discovered during recent works at the church in Leatherhead, Surrey, and reburied in 2019 before anyone from the Society could inspect it. A simple query to the Society with two photos of the already re-buried slab, hardly even swept of dust, resulted in a careful study of the slab, of the history of the church and meticulous detective work to find out who was commemorated, all executed under the restraints of lockdown.

Stephen Freeth discussed the slab and the church, explaining the extensive works being done to the interior. There were so many challenges for the archaeologists that the finding in the north aisle of a 2.7m slab in three parts whilst excavating for inserting underfloor heating was a minor matter to them. The indent was not very clear.

The slab was of Tournai marble, with no chamfer, so was intended for a floor memorial. There was an indent for a marginal inscription with quatrefoils at the four corners and twice down each side. The whole appeared to date from about 1340. There was a large frilly-based canopy and a figure with a long gown to the ground. At first it was thought that this suggested a woman; moreover two fragments of Lombardic marginal inscription



*Two fragments of marginal inscription
in raised letters in French, engraved c.1340,
dug up in 1906 by P.M. Johnston,
Leatherhead, Surrey (M.S.I.).
(rubbing: © Derrick Chivers)*

had been found in the churchyard in 1906 with the letters 'GARETE', suggesting Margaret, on one of the fragments. **Nigel Saul** then gave a compelling account of his working out to whom the slab belonged, using historic documents on the internet during lockdown. He looked at possible candidates for women of status in that area of Surrey, but could find none who seemed to fit. But then it was realised that the long garment was that of a cleric.

In the early 14th century, the time of the slab, the advowson of Leatherhead was held by the Crown. This meant that there were many records. He looked at all four incumbents from 1300 and found only two possible candidates. Stephen le Blount, there from 1330-40, fitted in datewise. But Stephen was only a middle-ranking civil servant who died suddenly and unexpectedly without time to plan a memorial, nor was he of sufficient status for the slab. His successor was Thomas Crosse. Edward III, who reigned from 1327-77, as all medieval kings, liked to use clerics for his civil servants because they were educated, could write and manage affairs and because he did not have to pay them. He could reward them instead with various offices and with appointments to parishes. Thomas Crosse, promoted under him, was a high-flying civil servant. Crosse came from a Devon family. In the mid-1330s he was in Dublin, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer there working on provisioning for Edward's Scottish wars; he was then transferred to Carlisle on the same task. He was then brought back to London to be in charge of the King's Wardrobe, an important role in controlling and managing royal finances. But with the outbreak of hostilities

against France (the Hundred Years' War) in 1338 Thomas Crosse was sent to Antwerp, perhaps the most important trading port of the Low Countries. His contacts there would have enabled him to plan and order a major brass memorial and slab.

The 'Margaret' on the inscription fragment could have been Margaret of Brabant in whose household at Antwerp Crosse may have been based. 'Margaret' could also refer to St. Margaret's Day (20th July), but Crosse died in December.

Leatherhead was a fairly rich living (£35 p.a.), so Crosse probably never served or lived there, appointing a vicar in his stead. He acquired a large portfolio of benefices to have an income (c.£100 p.a.) comparable to that of a well-to-do knight. In 1345 Leatherhead was granted by Edward III to Leeds Abbey in Kent in recompense for some collateral damage by his army. Crosse probably gave up Leatherhead then. He was in 1348 appointed to the prestigious post of Dean of St. Stephen's Westminster, the sister chapel to St. George's Chapel at Windsor. But in December that year he died from the Black Death. His elaborate funeral monument with brass was already made and waiting.

It is most unfortunate that Thomas Crosse's slab was not recognised at the time of its discovery in 2019 as the most important of the many memorials in the church. Despite being re-buried we know it exists; thanks to the speakers its significance is understood.

Our thanks go to **John Lee** for compressing his work on clothiers into one fascinating talk, to **Stephen Freeth** for his study of the Leatherhead slab working from photographs, and to the brilliant detective work and exposition of **Nigel Saul** for unravelling Thomas Crosse for us.

The parallel of Thomas Crosse dying in the Black Death, and our meeting in the time of Covid-19 pestilence, was not lost. Our thanks also go to those who engineered the virtual meeting over the ether.

Rosalind Willatts

‘Malice aforethought’:

A 14th-century murder recorded in brass

Few monuments record that the deceased was murdered and fewer still name the murderer. Yet – in what must surely be a unique example – the inscription of the now lost brass of John Rouceby (d.1388) in Lincoln Cathedral read as follows:

‘... [John de] Rouceby, / formerly canon of this church ... and was wickedly killed on Le Haythe by William ... / ... / with malice aforethought, in the year of Our Lord ... May God have mercy on his soul. Amen. (... [Johannes de] Rouceby, / quondam Canonicus istius ecclesie ... & nequiter interfectus fuit super Le Haythe per Willelmum / ... / malitia precogitata, anno Domini ... cuius anime propitiatur Deus. amen.)’

What remained of the inscription in 1641 was recorded by Robert Sanderson, the Anglican divine and bishop of Lincoln from 1660 to 1663.¹ Thanks to him the horror and outrage at Rouceby’s murder echoes across the centuries.

From Sanderson’s very brief description – ‘on a verge of brass with a fair portraiture’ – it seems that Rouceby’s monument was typical of many late-14th-century clerical brasses: an effigy with a marginal inscription.² It was one of dozens of brasses commemorating cathedral clergy in the cathedral nave but unfortunately was not one of those drawn by William Sedgwick for Dugdale’s *Book of Draughts*.

Something of the appearance of Rouceby’s brass can be recovered by comparing it with surviving contemporary brasses of the higher clergy. Two brasses, both memorials to clergy known to Rouceby, one relatively plain, the other opulent, show the possible styles. It may have resembled that of John de Campeden (d.1410) at St. Cross, Winchester, a large effigy with a marginal inscription but without a canopy (Fig.1).³ Rouceby and Campeden worked together as co-feoffees of William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, between 1377 and 1385.⁴ Alternatively, it may have been grander, either having an

elaborate canopy surmounting the effigy, or portraying him wearing a bespoke richly embroidered processional cope, the choice of William Eyremynne (d.1401) at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire (Fig.2). He is portrayed wearing a magnificent cope with inhabited orphreys. Like Rouceby, he was a middle-ranking royal civil servant and by chance a kinsman of the prime suspect for his murder.⁵

What was probably a fine but otherwise fairly standard brass of its time for a successful cleric is made exceptional by its inscription. The wear and tear of footfall in the nave has removed a substantial part of the inscription including the murderer’s name and thus spared him some public ignominy, but the legal records afford no such protection and enable his name to be revealed and the full story told.

John Rouceby was robbed and murdered on the public highway at Temple Bruer on 20th November 1388 as he was returning to Lincoln. Temple Bruer lies on Lincoln Heath – the ‘Le Haythe’ recorded in his inscription – an open and exposed plateau that in the 18th century was the haunt of highwaymen. On 19th December that year Bishop Buckingham vehemently denounced the ‘treacherous and damnable’ attack on a priest in clerical dress, and excommunicated the unknown ‘satellites of satan’ who carried it out.⁶ Outrage at the murder and fears that the perpetrators would evade royal justice led to the grant, on 10th February 1389, of a special commission of oyer and terminer (to hear and determine) to investigate it.⁷ The grant was made at the request of a group of senior Lincolnshire magnates and gentry including Robert, Lord Willoughby, John, Lord Beaumont, Sir Walter Tailboys and Sir Walter Pedwardine. Pedwardine, Rouceby’s trustee and executor, was probably the driving force behind the request.⁸ Concerns about achieving justice for Rouceby also resulted in a petition to parliament in January 1390 requesting that none of those convicted of or implicated in his murder should be appointed to inquests.⁹



Fig1. John de Campden (d.1410), Winchester, St. Cross, Hampshire (LSWI).
 (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

Fears that the perpetrators would escape justice were borne out in December 1393 when Sir William Airmyn of Osgodby was pardoned for 'aiding and inducing' Ralph de Spalding of Corby to murder Rouceby.¹⁰ Airmyn had been present at Temple Bruer on Le Heythe wearing armour and bearing a sword. A month later, in January 1394, Spalding was pardoned for killing Rouceby 'because the king is assuredly informed that he is not guilty'.¹¹ These entries in the patent rolls make it clear that the William named in the monumental inscription was Sir William Airmyn, the instigator of the murder.

Who, then, was John Rouceby and why was he murdered? Rouceby was a middle-ranking clerical civil servant who was employed as either clerk, controller or surveyor of the king's works (the medieval equivalent of a project manager). For almost twenty years, from 1358 until 1377, he managed royal building works across southern England including those at Eltham, Windsor and Clarendon.¹² Among the rewards the king granted him for his service were an annuity of £10 a year in 1356 and, in 1367, the rectory of Horncastle, worth £20.¹³ That year he also received a canonry in Lincoln cathedral, the prebend of Bedford Major, probably at the king's request, which he exchanged in 1379 for the more valuable one of Carlton Paynell, assessed at £26 13s. 4d.¹⁴ On leaving royal service around 1377 he retired to Lincoln where he became a residentiary canon. He was continuously resident in the Close from 1378/9 until his untimely death in 1388 and lived in some style in what is now No.2 Minster Yard.¹⁵ This was an imposing house with a two-storey tower and a large hall from which to dispense the hospitality expected of canons. Rouceby would undoubtedly have displayed his plate on the 14th-century carved stone dresser which still survives there.¹⁶

As his name, a toponym derived from the villages of North and South Rauceby, suggests, John Rouceby was a Lincolnshire man. He seems to have been born into a minor gentry family. He is recorded in 1370 as holding an eighth of a knight's fee in Silk Willoughby and a quarter of one in Dembleby; by 1386 he held a knight's fee in Caythorpe and Brandon.¹⁷ Rouceby's principal residence on his estates was at Silk Willoughby, only three miles from Rauceby; he bought property there in 1364

and in the nearby villages of Old Sleaford, Kirkby la Thorpe, Quarrington and Everdon in 1371.¹⁸ It is likely that Rouceby was returning to Lincoln from Silk Willoughby when he was murdered; the road from Silk Willoughby to Lincoln passes through Temple Bruer.

Sir William Airmyn's motives for murdering Rouceby are not known but his attack did not come 'out of the blue'. He and Rouceby were bad neighbours – Airmyn held half a knight's fee in Silk Willoughby alongside Rouceby's eighth part – and they had come to blows fourteen years earlier.¹⁹ On 10th January 1374 a group of more than twenty-five armed men besieged Rouceby in his manor house at Silk Willoughby, holding him prisoner there from dawn until the ninth hour (about mid afternoon).²⁰ Mediation between the two sides failed and on 21st September there was a further attack, in which Sir William's son Thomas took part. Rouceby's servants were ambushed at night and beaten up. Dissatisfied with the outcome of the case before the local justices of the peace – Airmyn was not named or implicated in the first attack – in December 1374 Rouceby obtained a special commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the matter further. In his petition to the king seeking the commission Rouceby gives his own version of the attacks. He named Sir William and Thomas Airmyn and thirty-one others who, as they laid siege to his house, made continuous assaults in an attempt to kill him and his servants and burn his houses. He dared not go out on his own, could not find servants to serve him, and as a result 'his land remained untilled, his meadows unmown and his other affairs undone'.²¹ The underlying causes of what was a bitter dispute between neighbours are unknown but may have rumbled on until 1388. If the two attacks were related, Sir William's intention on Lincoln Heath may have been to rob and intimidate Rouceby rather than kill him.

Although Sir William escaped serious punishment for the murder, Rouceby's executors achieved some posthumous justice for him on his monument. Indeed, the naming of Airmyn on his inscription may reflect a sense of injustice that he was pardoned – and if so, Rouceby's brass probably dates from 1393 rather than immediately after his death. Airmyn had to live with the ignominy of being named as the culprit in a prestigious,



Fig2. William Eyremynne (d.1401),
Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire (M.S.I).
(rubbing: © Jane Houghton)

public and holy space, the nave of Lincoln cathedral, the mother church of the diocese. The damage to his reputation may help to explain why such a prominent figure – he was twice elected an M.P., serving as knight of the shire for Lincolnshire in the parliaments of 1382 and 1385 – played almost no part in local government after 1388 and why one of the leading knightly families of the county sank into obscurity in the 15th century.

David Lepine

Acknowledgment:

I am grateful to Nigel Saul for encouraging me to write this, directing me to the Lincolnshire sources and sharing his knowledge of the Airmyn family.

- 1 R. Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral: An Exact Copy of All the Ancient Monumental Inscriptions c.1641* (London, 1851), p.29.
- 2 For a discussion of them see D. Lepine, "Pause and Pray with Mournful Heart": Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XIX, pt.1 (2014), pp.15-40.
- 3 Campden's brass is usually but incorrectly dated to 1382. He did not become master of St. Cross Hospital until February 1383 and did not die until 1410.
- 4 *C.C.R.*, 1377-81, p.55, p.493; *C.C.R.*, 1385-9, p.78. For his career see A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9), I, pp.343-4.
- 5 He served as treasurer of Calais from 1376 until 1385 (*C.P.R.*, 1374-7, p.390; *C.P.R.*, 1385-9, p.99). His precise relationship to Sir William Airmyn, who was pardoned for instigating the murder, is unclear but in his will Eyremynne (an alternative spelling of Airmyn) made bequests to Sir William and Thomas Airmyn, esquire (London, Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Arundel I, f.188). Nigel Saul points out that the heraldry displayed on the morse of the cope Eyremynne is shown wearing on his brass is that of the Airmyn family of Lincolnshire.
- 6 Lincolnshire Archives Office [L.A.O.], Reg. XII f.353.
- 7 *C.P.R.*, 1385-9, p.553.
- 8 L.A.O., Reg. XII f.353. Rouceby's brief will is printed in A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills* (Lincoln, 1888), p.71.
- 9 *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, 7. Richard II 1385-97, ed., C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2005), p.135.
- 10 *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p.346. Although Spalding was styled as 'of Corby' he had local connections; in 1398 goods to the value of £10 in Navenby, 6 miles north of Temple Bruer, were forfeited to the king (*C.P.R.*, 1396-9, p.455).
- 11 *C.P.R.*, 1391-6, p.353, p.362.
- 12 *C.P.R.*, 1358-61, p.52; *C.P.R.*, 1361-4, p.108; *C.P.R.*, 1364-7, p.99; *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, pp.102-3; *C.P.R.*, 1370-4, p.274; *C.P.R.*, 1374-7, p.98, p.118, p.233, p.253; TNA E 101/484/25.
- 13 *C.P.R.*, 1354-8, p.411; *C.P.R.*, 1367-70, p.34.
- 14 J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, I Lincoln Diocese, comp. H.P.F. King (London, 1962), p.33, p.46.
- 15 K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Manchester, 1967), pp.343-5.
- 16 S. Jones, K. Major and J. Varley, *The Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln I: Priorygate to Pottergate* (Lincoln, 1984), pp.23-32.
- 17 *I.Q.P.M.*, vol.12, no.321, pp.293-4; *I.Q.P.M.*, vol.16, no.232.
- 18 TNA, CP 25/1/141/127 no.18; CP 25/1/142/134 no.22.
- 19 *I.Q.P.M.*, vol.12, no.321, pp.293-4.
- 20 *Records of Some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire 1360-1375*, ed., R. Sillem, Lincoln Record Society, 30 (1937), pp.206-7.
- 21 *C.P.R.*, 1374-7, pp.61-2.

The incised slab to John and Elizabeth Coplestone, 1458 at Colebrooke, Devonshire

The church of St. Andrew, Colebrooke, Devonshire is a fine early-14th-century building. The oldest part is the nave which has a number of blocked, round-headed arches suggesting that there was a lost Norman arcade, together with a large west tower. North and south aisles complete the general layout. The north aisle is also known as St. Katherine's aisle, and is the burial place of John Coplestone, 1458, and his wife Elizabeth.



Colebrooke church, Devonshire.
(photo: © Martin Bodman)

Coplestone was the son and heir of John Coplestone (d. ?1433) and his wife Katherine. He married Elizabeth (1412-57), daughter of John Hawley II. They had three sons, Philip, John and Walter. Coplestone held a number of appointments throughout his life. From 1417-40 he was steward of Bishop Edmund Stafford and following his death he was steward of Bishop Edmund Lacy. He was also escheator of Devon and Cornwall on a number of occasions between 1418 and 1426. He was commissioner of oyer and terminer for the counties of Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire between 1422 and his death on 21st October 1458. He represented Devon as an M.P. on three occasions, in 1421, 1435 and 1439. He was regularly appointed as custodian of estates in Devon and elsewhere.¹

In his will, dated 18th October 1458, he asked his executors to provide a marble stone (*lapidem marmoreum*) to cover his burial place and that of his wife Elizabeth.² The slab can be seen in the aisle bearing an almost effaced incised inscription in black letter, which was fragmentary when W.H.H. Rogers recorded it in about 1877.³ It seems to have read something like: '*Hic iacet Johannes Copleston / armiger qui obiit vicesimo primo die Octobris anno domini millesimo CCCC / lvi et Elizabetha uxor / eius qui obiit decimo nono die Junii anno millesimo cccclvii*'.

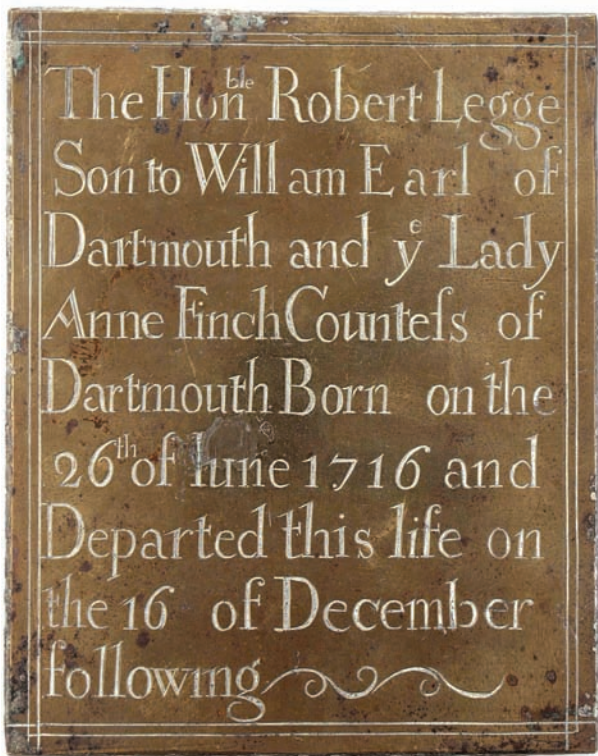
In his will Coplestone also instructed his executors to rebuild St. Katherine's aisle to match the south aisle. Stylistically the aisle and chantry are datable to the 1460s which suggests that it was John's son Philip who was responsible for its construction and for supplying the necessary fittings. Rogers recorded that at the time of his visit (1877) the chapel had recently been restored, and a prie-dieu with carved bench ends had been removed and left in the churchyard. Since his visit the prie-dieu has found its way back into the building and is now in the chancel. It is of curious craftsmanship, bearing large figures of men, one scaled, the other hairy, holding shields, with one bearing the arms of Coplestone (*A chevron engrailed between three leopards' faces*) and the other the arms of Gorges (*A gorge or whirlpool*).

The slab is one of many examples from the 1450s that have an incised inscription. What makes it of interest is that it was specified in Coplestone's will and we can see exactly what was provided by the executors.

Chris Byrom and Philip Whittemore

- 1 See 'Coplestone, John [d.1458], of Coplestone in Colebrooke, Devon,' in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, eds., J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (Stroud, 1992); accessed online.
- 2 TNA, PROB 11/4/333. It was proved in December 1459.
- 3 W.H.H. Rogers, *The Ancient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devonshire* (Exeter, 1877), p.138, although it is a somewhat garbled version. Accessed online.

The Dartmouth brass formerly at Holy Trinity, Minories



Inscription (coffin plate (?)) to Hon. Robert Legge, son of Will[i]am [Legge, 1st] Earl of Dartmouth and [wife] Lady Anne Finch, Countess of Dartmouth (d.1716), now in private possession. (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

In an article entitled ‘Bonhams sells Brass’, Martin Stuchfield reported on a brass plate that had appeared in a sale in January 2012 and had passed into private possession.¹ The brass, which was probably a coffin plate due to its lack of rivet holes, had no known provenance. It commemorated Robert Legge who died in June 1716. He was the son of William, Earl of Dartmouth, and his wife Anne Finch.

In July 1700 William Legge married Lady Anne Finch, third daughter of Heneage Finch, first Earl of Aylesford. Together they had six children according to Legge’s entry in the *O.D.N.B.*, six sons (two of whom died in infancy), and two daughters.² Parish records show that Robert was baptised on 21st July 1716 in the church of West Bromwich near the family home, Sandwell Hall, Staffordshire, and also his burial on 19th December the same year. A list of interments of the Legge family in the vault

of Holy Trinity, Minories, London includes one for Robert: ‘Robert A Child put into my Lord Dartmouths Vault being buried nine years 100 miles of[f] before March ye 13. 1725.’³

Clearly Robert was initially interred in the family vault at West Bromwich before being re-interred in the family vault at Holy Trinity. Between 1670 and 1849 no fewer than 36 family interments were carried out there, so what was the family connection with the Minories?

Born in 1672 William Legge was educated at Westminster School and King’s College, Cambridge before being appointed a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1702, and Secretary of State for the Southern Department in 1710. The family owned Heydon House next to the church. It remained the family house for a number of generations which explains the Legge connection with Holy Trinity, their country mansion in Staffordshire gradually becoming redundant.⁴

In 1893 the parish was united with St. Botolph Aldgate, Holy Trinity becoming the parish room. It suffered from bomb damage in 1940 and was demolished ten years later. At the time at least nine coffin plates were torn from the tombs in the Dartmouth vault. They were returned to St. Botolph’s in 1978 by the then Earl of Dartmouth. Due to the pandemic it has not been possible to verify their current whereabouts.⁵

Philip Whittemore

- ¹ *M.B.S. Bulletin* 121 (October 2012), p.408.
- ² *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, S. Handley, ‘Legge, William, first Earl of Dartmouth (1672-1750)’.
- ³ E.M. Tomlinson, *A History of the Minories London* (London, 1907), pp.402-4.
- ⁴ Sandwell Hall was purchased in 1701 by William, Baron Dartmouth (1st Earl of Dartmouth from 1711). Construction began in 1705 with completion by 1711. The house was the favourite residence of William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, grandson of the 1st Earl whom he succeeded in 1750. From 1853 William Legge, 5th Earl of Dartmouth resided at nearby Patshull Hall probably due to the industrial development of West Bromwich. The building was ultimately damaged by mining subsidence and demolished in 1928.
- ⁵ M. Johnson, *Crypts of London* (The History Press, 2013), pp.108-10. Six of the plates are illustrated, but not that of Robert. Presumably the brass to Constance, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, 1596, was destroyed in 1940.

A proposed brass for St. Mary's, Bury, Lancashire

The article in *Bulletin* 146 (February 2021) concerning the brass to Bishop William Vaughan, d.1902, in St. Mary and St. Boniface R.C. Cathedral, Plymouth, contributed by David Meara, reminded me of a similar drawing by John Hardman & Co. of another brass that they may have engraved, but nowhere near as grand.¹ On a sheet of thickish paper measuring approximately 22" x 15" and stamped 'Hardman & Co(mpan)y' is a design for a brass that was to be placed in the church of St. Mary, Bury. Although a number of towns and cities exist with the name Bury, this Bury is presumed to be in Lancashire.

In the centre of the sheet is a scale drawing for the brass that was to measure, when complete 24" x 15". In the upper half of the plate is a depiction of Christ crucified on a forked or Y shaped cross, also known as a thief's cross that represents the tree of knowledge. On either side of the cross are two figures, probably representing the Blessed Virgin and either Mary Magdalene or St. John (the faintness of the design precludes identification). The pencil drawing has, in part, been highlighted in ink and a yellow wash to simulate brass.

Immediately below Christ's feet is a shield bearing the conjoined initials W.H., over which flows sacred blood. Below this is the inscription lightly sketched in pencil which seems to read:

'Erected in pious memory of the late / William Harper of this town who bequeathed a sum / in trust for perpetual payment of the ground rent / of this Church and who died (June) 4th. A.D. 1889 / Eternal rest give to him O Lord.'

According to the probate records William Harper was a solicitor who lived at 36 Bolton Street, Bury, Lancashire and died on 4th June 1889. His will was proved by among others, his sister Sarah who probably acted as his housekeeper. He left a personal estate of £23,216 3s. 1d.

Why the brass was never commissioned remains a mystery.

Philip Whittemore



*Drawing by Hardman & Co.
of a proposed brass to
William Harper of Bury, Lancashire (d.1889)
(photo: © Philip Whittemore)*

¹ John Hardman and Co. initially started in business making brass buttons. John Hardman, junior (1811-67) met A.W.N. Pugin in 1837 leading to the setting up of his 'medieval metalworks' in Paradise Street, Birmingham. The business prospered to the point where the gross value of orders in 1849 amounted to £14,500. The death of Pugin in 1852 could have been a severe setback for the firm. However, John Hardman Powell (1827-95), Pugin's one-time pupil and son-in-law, assumed responsibility for the artistic direction of the metalwork and glass departments and oversaw the move to new premises at 43 New Hall Hill, Birmingham. John Hardman, junior was succeeded by his son, John Bernard Hardman, who maintained the firm's character and quality. Advertisements dated 1876 show that the company were art metal workers in gold, silver and brass, and makers of furniture and ornaments for both ecclesiastical and domestic purposes. They also styled themselves as jewellers producing seals and medals. In 1883 the two branches of metalwork and glass were again split with the glass works remaining at New Hall Hill. The metalworks were moved to King Edwards' Road and renamed Hardman, Powell and Company. The remarkable collection of company records is deposited in the Central Reference Library and the City Museum in Birmingham.

A touch of brass

In 1970, with wife Claudette and young family, I set off from Down Under, arriving in Bristol to commence a two-year surgical training. This was our first visit to the United Kingdom and we soon fell in love with the countryside and its history that beckoned at every turn. But how to assimilate all of this experience and where to start? 'Find a subject that interests you, search for it, and it will take you everywhere' – the sage words of Auntie Anne, a retired school teacher whose love was carved choir stalls.

Our dear friend Wal Watson had just returned from England with a superb rubbing of Sir John de Creke from Westley Waterless – why not? We enjoy medieval buildings and their architecture, so that would do. Fifty years later, and many returns, Claudette and I have a collection of over fifty military brass rubbings – most early, together with the kids' collection of 'glass' rubbings. They could not pronounce the "b" at their early age.

This search took us to every corner of the U.K. and on numerous adventures. They ranged from the magnificence of Westminster Abbey, where surrounded by security I was given a 'two hour window' to rub the brass of John Hunter, just before the visit of Ronald Reagan, the President of the United States. The rubbing was done to commemorate the Hunterian lecture I had just given at the Royal College of Surgeons.

At the other extreme were our experiences in delightful little villages, often in remote areas, where the church monuments had escaped the beheadings of Oliver Cromwell. Armed with a copy of *Crockford's Clerical Directory* to obtain permission, and a well-thumbed copy of the Victoria and Albert Museum catalogue *Brass Rubbings*, only once were we unable to obtain permission to record the event.

There are many stories that I would like to recount. However, three give some insight into our adventures and our experience with British hospitality.



Fig 1. Facsimile of the lost weeper of Edward Le Despencer, Elsing, Norfolk.
(photo: © Ian Taylor)

The first was a visit to Cliffe Pypard, Wiltshire, on a cold winter evening to rub the military brass that probably commemorates a member of the Quintin family, engraved c.1380. Snow covered the village hidden in a valley. It was bitterly cold and with family huddled together, I rushed to complete the work. Suddenly the door creaked and the vicar, at least eighty years of age, shuffled in with two cups, a pot of tea and a plate of Chocolate Royals – ‘I thought you might need warming up’. This could only happen in Britain, and was typical of the warmth we received almost wherever we went.

The second was the highlight. Having rubbed all the early knights from Stoke D’Abernon in Surrey to Minster-in-Sheppey, Kent, the target was Sir Hugh Hastyngs, 1347, at Elsing in Norfolk. A replica had been made in fibreglass but one of the weepers, Sir Edward Le Despencer, was missing! However, while browsing around the church, we discovered to our amazement, hidden in a dark corner, a photograph of the missing brass, apparently unnoticed.

Excited at the discovery and being a bit impulsive I offered to have a replica made. Earlier, I had witnessed this process at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, during its development and had actually advised them against framing the effigy as this would make it too difficult to rub. I discussed the offer with Rev. Alan Walker who earlier that day had shown us the hidden remains of the original brass to Sir Hugh Hastings. He was most appreciative and said he would put my offer to the next meeting of the Elsing Parochial Church Council (‘P.C.C.’).

We returned to Australia, months passed but no reply. I wrote and was informed that the P.C.C. had met; they had investigated the cost but felt that it was too much and thanked me sincerely for the offer. I insisted however that they go ahead. To summarise, the missing weeper was made following a long series of delightful letters between myself, Alan Walker and the P.C.C. (Fig.1). I ended up with my own replica to complete my rubbing. But that is not the end of the story. Subsequently, and quite unexpectedly, I received a photo and rubbing of a brass plate, now mounted beside Sir Edward Le Despencer on the full-size replica that commemorates my offer (Fig.2).

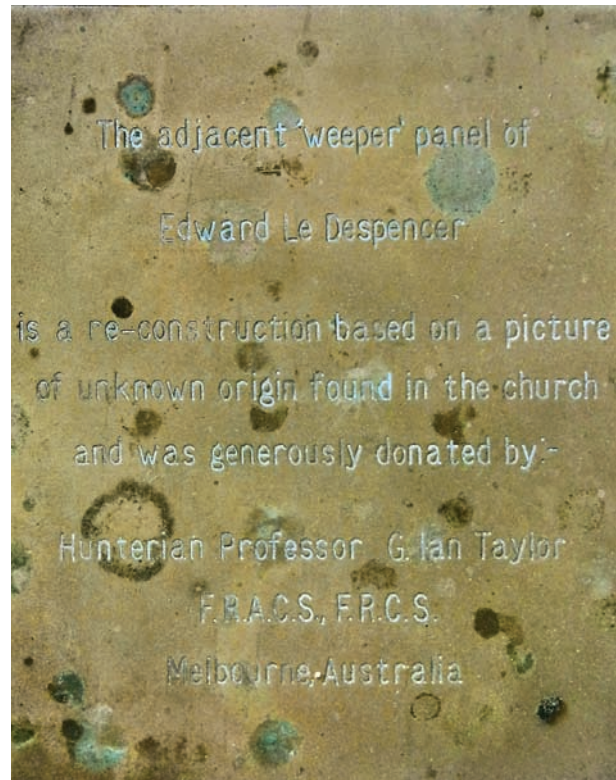


Fig.2. Inscription commemorating the gift of a facsimile of the lost weeper of Edward Le Despencer, Elsing, Norfolk. (photo: © Janet Whitham)

So today I have a permanent attachment to the U.K.

The third story involved a recent visit to Scotland. I requested permission to rub the modern brass of Robert the Bruce at Dunfermline Abbey. Normally brass rubbing is not permitted but I mentioned my membership of the Monumental Brass Society. Martin Stuchfield was contacted unbeknown to me and provided a glowing reference. This large and splendid brass engraved in 1889 resides over the grave beneath an overhanging pulpit. It is difficult to rub when on one’s knees. To help, I removed a cushion from a nearby chair and proceeded. While engrossed in the task I received a gentle tap on the shoulder from the verger. Quietly he explained that this was the cushion from the seat usually reserved for Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth when in attendance – ‘but carry on, my son!’ No sword descended on my shoulder but at least I had made two marks – a brief touch with Royalty and a commemorative plaque for the Monumental Brass Society.

Ian Taylor

The brass to Heinrich III von Werther, 1397 at Angermuseum, Erfurt, Germany

This brass commemorates a member of the von Werther patrician family, prominent citizens in the Free Imperial City of Nordhausen in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹ It is currently on loan to the Angermuseum in Erfurt (Inv. n. VII 430), together with the brass to Heinrich von Urbech the Younger, 1394. Both families were benefactors of the former St. Martini hospital in Nordhausen, founded by the brothers Johannes and Symon Segemund on 5th November 1389 for poor and sick old men.² The donor families secured burial rights in the hospital chapel by generous donations, and six brasses to them were originally located on the floor of the choir, as well as a large brass to the founders, and one to a hospital chaplain, Jacob von Immenhausen, 1395. There was also a low-relief cast bronze plate to a second chaplain and benefactor, Heinrich Salemer, 1396.

Norris refers to all the brasses as the 'Nordhausen Series', consistent in style, suggesting a 14th-century school.³ Kramer divides them into three types:

- The five small plates to the two Heinrichs von Urbech, 1394 and 1397; Hermann and Katerina von Werther, 1395 and 1397; and Jacob von Immenhausen (hospital chaplain), 1395. These are simpler in design, with inscriptions around three sides but not at the bottom;
- The two '*Miserere Mei*' brasses of Heinrich von Werther, 1397, and Hermann von Werther the Younger, c.1390. These in their complete state would have been much larger with (possibly detached) marginal inscriptions around all four sides. Heinrich's in particular has a more intricate design; and
- The largest and best quality brass, to the Segemund brothers – Johannes, died in February 1412, and his brother Symon, died in March 1422 but with his date of death blank on the brass, which was therefore laid down in his lifetime. This brass is of considerable artistic merit and finely engraved.⁴



*Jacob von Immenhausen, 1395,
formerly Meyenburg Museum, now Flohburg Museum,
Nordhausen, Germany (H.K.C.2).
(photo: © Malcolm Norris)*



*Katerina von Werther, 1397,
formerly Meyenburg Museum, now Flohburg Museum,
Nordhausen, Germany (H.K.C.4).
(photo: © Malcolm Norris)*

These differences question the claim that the brasses are all from the same workshop or style. Kuhlbrodt on the other hand sees a strong similarity between them, but not with the Segemund brass, and suggests a workshop in or near Nordhausen itself, on the basis that they commemorate 'locals'.⁵ The Segemund brass has stylistic similarity with incised slabs in Erfurt, a known centre of brass engraving, but the artists/workshops for none of them are known. No matrices survive and none are recorded.

Heinrich's brass now comprises four plates with overall dimensions of 1160 x 645 mm. When Friedrich Christian Lesser wrote his history of Nordhausen in 1740, the brass was complete, having six plates as well as a marginal inscription.⁶ A sketch on p.434 shows the whole figure (but minus a prayer scroll and the canopy) and the marginal inscription in Gothic miniscule that reads:

'Anno Domini MCCC LXXXVI / In Kalenda Septem(b)ris Henricus De Werther / Primus Bene Magnvs Factor / Huius Hospitatis Cuius Anima Requiescat In Pace' (For 'hospitatis' read 'hospitalis').

A more refined sketch of the figure, based on Lesser's version but still a caricature, is to be found in a work of 1855 by Ernst Günther Förstemann.⁷

A small strip of the inscription with the words 'Primus Bene' and two word spacers survives. This is now fixed to a board with the mutilated brass to Hermann von Werther the Younger, c.1390.⁸

An incomplete prayer scroll with the words 'Miserere Mei' issues from his fingertips with arabesques and a dragon, and a rose as a word-spacer.

The surviving brass shows Heinrich in profile under a canopy with an ogee arch, cusped and crocketed, with a prominent finial, and Germanic-style window tracery above with a crenellated top, supported by side-shafts on top of columns with pronounced capitals. He gazes upwards to a 'Dextera Dei' – the Hand of God – just beneath the canopy, protruding from what appears to be a halo representing the Trinity, in a blessing



*Heinrich von Urbech, 1394,
formerly Meyenburg Museum, Nordhausen,
now Angermuseum, Erfurt, Germany (H.K.C.1).
(A Book of Facsimiles of Monumental Brasses
on the Continent of Europe
by W.F. Creeny (1884))*

gesture pointing the index and second fingers towards the deceased. This symbol recurs on the brass to Hermann von Werther the Younger above. There are examples of this on a number of incised slabs of the period in both Erfurt and Nordhausen, with figures in profile kneeling in a crouched position, with the men in similar costume and the same cropped hair. Good examples in Erfurt are found in the nave of the Predigerkirche and on the external north wall of the Augustinerkloster chapel, both to civilians and wives.⁹

Heinrich's costume in common with the other male von Werther and von Urbech brasses is flamboyant and fashionable, indicative of wealth and status, and would have been reinforced by prominent



*Heinrich von Werther, 1397,
formerly Meyenburg Museum, Nordhausen,
now Angermuseum, Erfurt, Germany (H.K.C.8).
(rubbing: © Kevin Herring)*

heraldic display. The head of the greyhound on the crest is just visible. Von Werther's blazons were: (*Argent on a bend Sable, a greyhound courant Argent*). The field is plain (as shown by sketches in the works by Lesser & Forstemann) whereas on another of the von Werther brasses it is filled with arabesques.¹⁰

He wears a short tunic or doublet with very baggy sleeves and pronounced cuffs. An undergarment protrudes, terminating mitten-like at the fingers. A Hornfessel, probably of soft leather, is worn like a bawdrick over the right shoulder and under the left arm. Stags' antlers were part of hunting

paraphernalia in the late Middle Ages from which a horn would be hung, and real antlers would have been worn by hunting apprentices.¹¹ The ends of the Hornfessel are fastened by crowns. Two types of bell are present, conventionally-shaped ones clipped to the Hornfessel, and circular Crotal bells suspended by tassels from the tunic. The latter arrangement can be seen on the other von Werther brasses, but the Hornfessel with bells on Heinrich's brass is unique. What do the bells signify?

- The Crotal bells only appear on the von Werther brasses not the von Urbech ones. Is the connection with hart hunting, a medieval preoccupation of the aristocracy where dress and ritual were as important as the hunt itself, and perhaps in this case a theme based on the family heraldry of a running greyhound, commonly associated with hunting?
- or is it simply, as suggested in the *Limburg Chronicle*, part of a fashion outburst after the horrors of the Black Death pandemic?¹² Certainly in Nordhausen, apart from the Black Death there was the subsequent massacre of Jews blamed for it by the citizens. This was condoned by Friedrich II Margrave of Meissen, keen to get his hands on Jewish wealth, who wrote to the council on 2nd May 1349 ordering all Jews on his estates to be burned.¹³ In addition Nordhausen saw an uprising of the citizen guilds against the patricians on the city council on 13th February 1375 when the old council was overthrown and its members expelled from the city, with some beheaded in the marketplace. This followed years of extortion by the regional rulers, the Counts of Hohnstein and Stolberg in particular, with the old council members considered to be complicit.¹⁴

Both explanations have credibility. Interestingly, Panofsky refers to bells first appearing in medieval art towards the end of the 14th century and cites both Heinrich's brass and a triptych altar painting from 1403 in the Stadtkirche Niederwildungen. This is by the Dortmund artist Conrad von Soest. The central panel shows a scene from the Crucifixion, with figures in the foreground, one wearing a crown, and another, probably a courtier, with bells suspended from a collar, and with greyhounds behind him.¹⁵

Heinrich was born in 1325 to Hermann III (1290-1375) and his wife Else. He had four siblings. He married his wife Else in 1348 and they had one son Hermann IV (1350-95). They lived in Gross Furra, a district near Nordhausen, which still exists. Heinrich was mayor of Nordhausen in 1356, 1359, 1362, 1365 and 1368, prior to the expulsions of the patricians from the old council in 1375.¹⁶ Neither the Thüringen State Archives nor the Nordhausen City Archives have any documentation of his substantial benefactions, since much was destroyed in World War II. There is a document relating to the purchase from Heinrich by the Segemund brothers and their mother (founders of St. Martini Hospital) of annual rents from a number of Heinrich's tenants. Since its date is 29th November 1373 it would pre-date the hospital foundation by 16 years.¹⁷

Heinrich's brass and the others from the St. Martini Hospital are fortunate to have survived. The hospital ceased operations during the Seven Years War (1756-63) during which the chapel was used as a magazine, and again during the war of liberation from Napoleonic rule up to 1815, by which time it had been devastated and was unfit for purpose. The brasses were transferred to the secular St. Cyriaci Chapel or Siechhof (originally part of a Leprosarium founded in 1284, which became a municipal hospital in 1825) where they lay forgotten in a basement until 1859 when they were brought into the chapel and mounted on the walls. Heinrich's brass and that to the Segemund brothers were mounted on the north wall.¹⁸ In 1887 the brasses were surveyed with a view to a museum location. At the behest of Prof. Dr. Carl Boetticher, a leading art historian, they were finally housed in the Meyenburg Museum in Nordhausen in 1891.¹⁹ This museum is located north of the city centre in a residential district, and so survived the carpet bombing by the R.A.F. in April 1945 when three quarters of the city was destroyed. Most of the brasses are now in the Flohburg Museum in Nordhausen, but Heinrich's has been on loan to the Angermuseum in Erfurt for the last decade.

As for the St. Martini Hospital chapel, the tower was demolished in 1833 followed by the rest of it in April 1835.²⁰ Until 1945 the foundations were

still visible. Today the site, which is immediately below the rebuilt remnants of the Romanesque Frauenkirche, is on the edge of a D.D.R. housing estate with the street name St. Martinstrasse the only reminder.

Kevin Herring

Acknowledgment:

With thanks to Karsten Horn, curator of the Angermuseum, for rubbing permission and facilities provided.

- 1 Nordhausen is first mentioned as Frankish 'Northusen' the site of a royal castle in 927. By 1290 it had become a Free Imperial City with its walls built 1290-1330. Located in the Goldenauer a very fertile plain at what became an intersection of major trade routes, immediately south of the rich mining district of the Harz mountains, it developed rapidly during a period of sustained growth in Europe with thriving markets. It became a member of the Hanseatic League with Erfurt and Mühlhausen in 1430. Several monastic foundations in late Middle Ages.
- 2 Arch. Sig: 1.1/Ni7. Best. Sig: Stadt A. NDH 1.1. Foundation document dated 5th November 1389. The provost, abbes, prioress and convent of the Cistercian Monastery Neuwerk, with the knowledge of its patrons, sold a piece of the monastery garden to the Segemund brothers for 40 marks of Nordhäuser Pfenniges to build a hospital. The site was located outside the city walls between the garden and the River Zorge by the mill race and next to the Sundhäuser Gate on the way to the Neuendorf district.
- 3 M. Norris, 'The Schools of Brasses in Germany', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 19 (1956), p.40.
- 4 J. Kramer, *Metallne Grabplatten in Sachsen vom Ende des 14 Bis in den Anfang des 16 Jahrhundert (c.1390-c.1510)*, pp.21-30. Inaugural dissertation for Doctorate, University of Halle-Wittenberg (1912).
- 5 P. Kuhlbrodt, press article 'Grabtafeln von Künstlerischem Rang: Spätmittelalterliche Objekte gehören zum wertvollsten Bestand der Nordhäuser Museen', in *Thüringer Allgemeine* (Nordhausen), 26th October 2019.
- 6 F.C. Lesser, *Historische Nachrichten von der Käyserl. und des Heil. Röm Reichs Freyen Stadt Nordhausen* (1740), p.434.
- 7 E.G. Förstemann, *Kleinen Schriften zur Geschichte der Stadt Nordhausen*, Teil 1 (1855), pp.152-3 and facing p.152.
- 8 E. Duval, 'Nordhausens Mittelalterliche Grabdenkmäler', in *Nordhäuser Section des Harzvereins*, ed., Theodor Perschmann (1880), pl.4.
- 9 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, I (London, 1977), pp.114-15, p.120.
- 10 'Sippenverband Zierig-Moritz-Alemann, Nr. 4', in *Die Familie von Werther* (Berlin, 1940), p.10.
- 11 <http://deutsches-jagd-lexicon.de/index.php?title=Hornfessel>.
- 12 E. von Wolfhagen Tilemann and G. Zedler, *The Limburg Chronicle* (1930).
- 13 <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11587-nordhausen> 'The Black Death', Joseph Jacobs and M. Seligsohn.
- 14 B. Kannowski, *Bürgerkämpf und Friedebriefe: Rechtliche Streitbeilegung in spätmittelalterlichen Städten* (Lesser Stiftung, 2001), pp. 43-45.
- 15 E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I (1953), p.67. Also B. Corley, *Conrad von Soest: Painter Among Merchant Princes* (1996), pp.183-193.
- 16 *Die Familie von Werther* (1940), p.9.
- 17 Arch. Sig. 1.1./1 NI. Stock Sig. Stadt A. NDH Best 1.1 (29th November 1373).
- 18 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Martini_\(Nordhausen\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Martini_(Nordhausen)), [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyriaci-Kapelle_\(Nordhausen\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyriaci-Kapelle_(Nordhausen)).
- 19 Kuhlbrodt op. cit.
- 20 [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Martini_\(Nordhausen\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Martini_(Nordhausen)).

Notes on books, articles and the internet

R. Arnold, Ione Bingley, Clair Boothby, Honor Gay and Rosemary Riddell, 'Bats and churches; finding harmony on common ground', *Ecclesiology Today*, 58 (2020), pp.85-104; illus.

The harm caused to monuments, including brasses, by bats in churches is an issue of which Society members cannot be unaware. This article accepts that 'the cultural, historical and social significance of our churches and the unique fabric that they hold is unequivocal, and thus their continued protection is of high importance'. It is, however, written by members of the Bats in Churches Project and thus focusses primarily on the ecological aspects, including the legal protections given to bats and the importance of churches for their habitats following the loss of their traditional habitats, such as native woodlands and farm outbuildings. It asserts, albeit without supporting evidence, that 'it is likely that churches have sheltered bat roosts throughout their history'. Yet how does this fit with the documented photographic proof that many brasses uncovered and in superb condition only fifty years ago are now irreversibly damaged after coming into contact with bat faeces and especially urine?

There are seventeen breeding species of bats in England and populations have declined over the past century, although there has been a stable or recovering trend over the last twenty years. Nonetheless, the authors advocate at length continued prioritisation of bats over our cultural heritage, even while recognising that the tension between the two aspects results in a strain on congregations in charge of maintenance and a threat to the viability of these buildings as places of worship. Less space is devoted to the effect on historic fabric, although there is a well set-out and explained table setting out the effects of bat faeces and urine on different materials to be found in churches, including stone and copper alloy. The paper points to research projects carried out over the past thirty years, most recently and in depth by James Hales, which give a clear understanding of how droppings and urine adversely affect historic fabric and the extent to which this is permanent (as with brasses, indents

and floor slabs among other monuments) or reversible. What I personally cannot understand or accept is why these reports have not been acted upon until so very recently.

The article contains a discussion of measures trialled to facilitate the co-existence of bats and churches and the work of the Bats in Churches Project. Following a development phase in three pilot churches, the project won funding totalling £4.5m, as a result of which 102 churches with serious impacts were selected to participate. Part of the money was used to buy covers for monuments at risk while churches wait for more permanent solutions. Conservation cleaning workshops are also being established, those attending receiving a free cleaning kit. Practical solutions in terms of mitigation receive less attention, although there is reference in passing to 'more experimental approaches to separate church communities and bats'.

Finally, case studies focus on Tattershall, Lincolnshire, and Braunston, Rutland. The former illustrates the nationally-important collection of brasses, with the covers which have been used to protect them for decades and rubbings displayed on the walls. Casual visitors are no longer permitted access to the transept to view them. There is little mention of mitigation here, apart from altering access to roosts in particularly sensitive areas, such as the servery and heritage area. Primarily the piece celebrates instead a 'love our bats' approach to engaging visitors and the promotion of 'Tatty Bat' merchandise [yes, really]. Braunston, which was at risk of closure due to the bat problem making use near impossible, has, among other significant artefacts, an indent at the chancel steps. Here the outcome was more satisfactory, with the bats confined to the roof space, leaving the church itself to be used as its builders intended. What follows in other churches we wait to see.

Sally Badham

Brian and Moira Gittos. *Interpreting Medieval Effigies: The Evidence from Yorkshire to 1400* (Oxbow Books 2019, ISBN 9781789251296) is being made available for

the first time in paperback. It sets out the results of research dating back more than forty years, examining and analysing the wealth of evidence provided by the monumental effigies of Yorkshire from the 13th and 14th centuries. More than 200 examples survive, in varying states of preservation, constituting some 10% of the national corpus and providing the basis for a wide-ranging investigative discussion. Many of the observations made are also very relevant to monumental brasses, particularly some of the details of 14th-century armour. For instance, the mail-clad skull-cap such as that at Felixkirk, Yorkshire, has not previously been recognised but also appears on a number of brasses, like that of Sir William Fitzralph at Pebmarsh, Essex, and is probably what is depicted at Buslingthorpe in Lincolnshire. The distinctive costume worn by Reynald de Malyns' two wives on his brass at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, is shown in three dimensions on the alabaster lady in Holy Trinity church, Hull. Nigel Saul, in his review article

(*Church Monuments*, XXIV (2019), pp.196-201) stated, 'To sum up, this is a rich and rewarding book which uses close observational study to shed new light on the construction, decoration, and interpretation of Yorkshire's collection of pre-fifteenth-century effigial monuments.' He concluded: 'This is a landmark book, and no-one with any interest in English medieval monuments can afford to ignore it.'

The book is accompanied by (downloadable) 200+ pages of Appendices, including a fully illustrated catalogue of the 231 figures involved, each newly reappraised. The book is lavishly illustrated, as befitting such a visual subject, with the total number of images (including the Appendices) in excess of 600, just over half of which are in colour. The paperback edition will be published in July and is currently available at a pre-publication discount of only £28. The offer is available at <https://www.oxbowbooks.com/oxbow/interpreting-medieval-effigies-67141.html>.



*Knight with mail-clad skull-cap, c.1330-40, Felixkirk, Yorkshire (N.R.).
(photo: © Brian Gittos)*

Philip Whittemore has sent copies of a series of articles from *Skyline: the Magazine of the Friends of the City Churches*. All relate to brasses.

‘Overseas Connections: New World Part 1’, *Skyline* (August 2019), pp.14-15; 2 colour photos.

The main person with New World ties commemorated in the church of St. Sepulchre-without-Newgate is Captain John Smith, Governor of Virginia (d.1631). There is a fine stained glass three-light window, designed by Francois Skeat and added in 1968 (all the original glass was destroyed in World War II) and a 19th-century replacement of a fine brass erected by Smith’s friend Robert Bertie, including an achievement at the top and a 26-line eulogy in verse below (the text taken from the 1720 edition of John Stow’s *Survey of London*). There is a good colour photograph of the brass, currently not on display, on p.15.

‘Where there is brass: William Thynne’s brass at All Hallows Barking by the Tower’, *Skyline* (May 2020), p.13.

The church and its brasses survived both the Great Fire of London and the destruction of the building in World War II. There is a small reproduction of the brass of Thynne (d.1546) and his wife (M.S.X), though the memorial was restored several times by Messrs Waller in the 19th century, and again in the 1940s or 1950s, during which time parts of it were found to be palimpsest. Four shields, one son and three daughters, recorded by Thomas Fisher in c.1810, were never restored.



William Tonge, [1389], All Hallows Barking, London (M.S.I).
(photo: © Martin Stuchfield)

‘Where there is brass: worth his salt – the brass of Andrew Evyngar of 1533, at All Hallows Barking by the Tower’, *Skyline* (August 2020), pp.12-13; 2 b/w illus and 1 colour photo.

Described as ‘the most important surviving brass in a City church’, the single plate commemorating Andrew Evyngar [1533] and wife (M.S.IX) was engraved in Flanders. Although slightly worn, only the deceased’s names survived the removal of the opening and closing phrases in 1643 (see photo p.13). The brass was originally set in a slab with an incised Latin inscription and verses from the Office for the Dead, plus four evangelistic symbols at the corners, but the slab was cut down on one side in the 1830s and in 1934 the brass was moved, until a new slab was placed in the sanctuary after the destruction of the building in World War II. The brass is described briefly, followed by details of Evyngar’s many business and trading links with the continent, but little is known of his personal life. The brass has many similarities to that of merchant Thomas Pownder (d.1525) and his wife, formerly at St. Mary Quay, Ipswich and now in Christchurch Mansion Museum, which is reproduced on p.13.

‘Where there is brass: in the round – the brass to William Tonge at All Hallows, Barking’, *Skyline* (February 2021), pp.5-6; 1 colour photo.

This is the earliest surviving brass in the City, and is in memory of William Tonge, vintner of London [1389] (M.S.I). It is engraved on a circular band with inscription in Norman French round the outside and a shield bearing Tonge’s arms in the centre, once coloured but of which all trace is gone. The design is unique in England but no date of death is shown on the inscription. Tonge acquired a number of properties in and around London, as well as being a Common Councillor and Alderman, and represented the City in the Parliaments of 1377, 1380 and 1388, before his sudden death a year later.

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Richard Busby