# Monumental Brass Society

## FEBRUARY 2021

BULLETIN 146

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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. Complete and send in the form that 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 Sally Badham, Richard Busby, David Meara, Nicholas Rogers, Nigel Saul, Philip Whittemore and Rosalind Willatts.

The virtual A.G.M., deemed necessary due to the continuing Covid-19 pandemic, was a huge success resulting in the largest attendance for more than twenty-five years. I am extremely thankful to Rosalind Willatts for capturing the spirit of the occasion especially the most informative and enjoyable presentations that followed the formal business.

Nigel Saul's postscript focusing on the circumstances of Bishop Waltham's interment in Westminster Abbey and the context of his physical commemoration is a particularly valued contribution relating directly to the late Jerome Bertram's paper in the 2020 issue of *Transactions*. Philip Whittemore's article follows a similar theme detailing the elaborate burial arrangements for William Gonson whilst Sally Badham brings to our notice the plethora of post-Reformation benefaction brasses that exist. Finally, David Meara highlights the work of John Hardman & Co. and the creation of a fine surviving Edwardian brass in the Roman Catholic cathedral at Plymouth.

# Personalia

We welcome as new members:

**Richard Bolton**, 6 Kings Avenue, Winchmore Hill, London N21 3NA
**Aimee Caya**, 1136 Haselton Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44121, U.S.A.
**Stephen Jeffcoat**, Classeys House, Low Ham, Langport, Somerset TA10 9DP.
**Leah Morgan-Ellis**, Wilmington Lodge, Trenley Drive, Canterbury, Kent CT3 4AW (Associate).
**Philip Muijtjens**, 88 Richmond Road, Cambridge CB4 3PT (Associate).
**Martin Speight**, Hall Farm, Middlehope, Craven Arms, Shropshire SY7 9JT.

It is with very deep regret that we report the death of **Roland Op de Beeck** (1929-2020) of Antwerp who was elected an Honorary Member of the Society in 1964. The Society also mourns the passing of **Trevor Palfreeman** who had been a member since 1973.

Cover: Achievement from the brass to James Darell, esq., 1638, from Hampton, Middlesex (M.S.I). The brass was uncovered during a major reordering of the church that took place in autumn 2020. *(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

# Annual General Meeting

# Virtual – 17th October 2020

The A.G.M was not, as planned, at Trotton in the heart of Sussex. We were not to be welcomed by the calm serenity of Lady Margaret Camoys who has gazed on visitors to the church for over seven hundred years. In this year of pestilence we met by video conferencing, each speaker being in his own study and each attending member staring at their computer screens (or other devices). Such a method was better than nothing. H.M. Government's decree having precluded a meeting in person, we had to use a virtual method. But it lacked the spontaneity and frisson usually experienced; it lacked the talking and chatting to others; and it lacked the opportunity to immerse oneself in the venue and feel the timelessness of medieval monuments and brasses. Nevertheless the "virtual" form of presentation enabled far more people than normal to "join" the meeting through the ether.

The formal business was slickly transacted and then we had a feast of addresses, with speakers talking and showing illustrations from their homes.

David Lepine gave a scholarly account of medieval clergy as found on brasses. He expertly explained that the almuce was worn by many clergy, but on brasses was frequently hidden under over-vestments. The almuce was a fur cape often with fur tassels around the hem, but more importantly it had two long pendants hanging down the front. These pendants are often the only bits seen on brasses. As with Challe's talk later the layers of ecclesiastical garments were expounded. David discussed the strange brass to Sir Peter Legh, 1527, at Winwick, Lancashire, who took holy orders after the death of his wife and is shown on his brass in his priestly chasuble over his military armour which includes a sword. A large shield of arms is on his chest (rather than a chalice), and his full achievement is above him and his wife. He thus asserts his double status. David discussed the roles of clergy in chantries and parish churches, bringing to life this important part of the medieval world reflected in brass on the floors of our churches.

Caroline Metcalfe then gave an in-depth account of the brasses at the parish church of East Grinstead, Sussex. Although the earliest mention of a church was 1078, the present church was erected in 1789 after an earlier church had been destroyed by the fall of the tower. Three figure brasses and a long inscription in English were rescued from the rubble and remounted on the south aisle wall; a marble slab with inscription in Latin recorded the rescue and the destruction of the church. There are two knights in armour (London G), and between them a smaller civilian effigy, dated c.1520 (London F). But the long inscription, in English black letter, makes it clear that the original brass was primarily to Dame Kateryn Grey, 1505, daughter of Thomas, Lord Scales. Her two husbands portrayed in armour were first Sir Thomas Grey and secondly Richard Lewkenor who came from the nearby manor of Brambletye. Kateryn served two Queen Elizabeths, Elizabeth Woodville (queen of Edward IV and mother to the child Edward V) and Elizabeth of York (sister of Edward V and the wife of Henry VII Tudor). Caroline discussed the benevolence of Richard Lewkenor and Kateryn to the town and the church. This was an interesting account of a remnant of a larger composition and an early example of brass conservation.

Challe Hudson, from North America, now in London, came to brasses from the perspective of one who not only studied historical gown design, but who made replica historical costumes. She explained in detail the pediment headdresses of the early 16th century, which were even more elaborate than most of us imagined. The pediment was above a pointed stiffened form which she demonstrated could sometimes be seen on brasses under the pediment. From making such headdresses herself, she showed some that she had constructed; and she threw light on the bunched fabric behind the heads of ladies. From portraits of the period she was able to demonstrate that the lappets were often heavily embroidered and sewn with borders of pearls. These too appear on brasses. The headdresses were

*Upper half of a lady, engraved c.1520, Society of Antiquaries of London (M.S.VIII). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)*

complex garments, layered and structured, whose complexity is hinted at in many brasses. Challe's account, concentrating on just one type of headdress, threw refreshing light on the ladies we have so often looked at but not fully understood.

Virtual presentation allowed more than double the number of people from afar to attend, but reality is far better. Perhaps in the future a mixture may be possible, with proceedings taking place in person, yet broadcast remotely to distant members. Our thanks go to those who mastered the technology to enable the meeting to take place virtually, and enable so many of us to observe or participate.

**Rosalind Willatts**

## A.G.M. formal business

The 2020 Annual General Meeting, delayed due to the Covid-19 pandemic, was held via Google Meet's video conferencing platform on 17th October. Apologies were received and the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on 13th July 2019 were approved by the meeting and signed. The Report and Accounts for 2019 were also approved. Paul Larson, F.C.I.I. was elected as Independent Examiner.

The meeting proceeded to elect the Hon. Officers *en bloc*: Martin Stuchfield as President; Paul Cockerham, Nigel Saul, Nicholas Rogers, David Meara and Stephen Freeth as Vice-Presidents; Penny Williams as Hon. Secretary; Robert Kinsey as Hon. Treasurer; and David Lepine as Hon. Editor.

The President thanked Jane Houghton as the retiring member of the Executive Council. Derrick Chivers and Challe Hudson, as duly nominated members, were elected to fill the vacancies created.

Michael Boon was elected an Honorary Member. The President paid tribute to his very significant contribution, having served as the Independent Examiner from 2014 until 2020.

Three presentations followed the formal business as follows: David Lepine spoke on *'Spiritual Gentlemen'? Rank and status among the late medieval clergy: the evidence of monumental brasses*; Caroline Metcalfe on *The monument to Dame Kateryn Grey (d.1505) in St. Swithun's church, East Grinstead*; and Challe Hudson on *Interpreting the layers in the lines: Studying early Tudor women's costume on monumental brasses and effigies*.

At the Executive Council meeting held on 10th October 2020 the following appointments were approved:

*Hon. Assistant Secretary:* Caroline Metcalfe

*Hon. Bulletin Editor:* Vacant

*Hon. Conservation Officer:* Martin Stuchfield

*Hon. Heraldic Adviser:* Thomas Woodcock, Garter Principal King of Arms.

*Hon. Technical Editor:* Matthew Sillence

**Penny Williams, Hon. Secretary**

# The brass of John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury (d.1395) in Westminster Abbey: a postscript

In his article on the brass of Bishop Waltham (d.1395) in Westminster Abbey, Jerome Bertram focussed principally on the distinctive features of the brass's design and the identity of the saints represented on it. He commented much less on the circumstances of the bishop's interment in the abbey and the context of his physical commemoration there. On these matters too, however, there is something to be said. Both matters, moreover, have an important bearing on how we are to make sense of this exceptional, if now mutilated, memorial.

Waltham was a scion of a brilliant and prolific dynasty of royal administrative clerks. Among his uncles were Richard and John Ravenser, both of whom had held office as keeper of the hanaper, one of the administrative offices at Westminster, while his great uncle was John Thoresby, who had served as archbishop of York from 1352 to 1373.[1] It is hardly surprising, to this background, that Waltham himself should have risen quickly in the royal administration. In 1381 he was appointed keeper of the rolls of chancery, while from 1381 to 1386 he acted as receiver of the Commons' petitions in parliament. In October 1386 he was appointed to one of the top three posts in the royal government, that of keeper of the privy seal. By this time, however, England was in a state of crisis. In parliament that month, Richard II's ministers were driven from office by a Commons opposition furious at the country's lack of preparedness to meet a French attack, and new ministers were appointed. Waltham was one of the new men. There can be little doubt that in Richard's eyes Waltham was tainted by the brush of baronial opposition. Yet in office he was to prove himself an able and effective administrator, and it is likely that he was responsible for the extension in the use of the *sub poena* writ to bring cases before the king's council. In 1389, when Richard reasserted his authority, Waltham and his fellow officers were dismissed, but within two years Waltham himself was brought back and appointed to a still higher post, that of treasurer. He had evidently won the approval of his royal master. Once again, he was to prove himself both brisk and resourceful in his management of the king's affairs, instituting a successful reform of the customs administration and sponsoring an export scheme designed to revive wool production in the north of England. By the time of his death in September 1395, he had proved himself one of the outstanding royal ministers of the age.

It is to this background of a highly successful career in royal administration that we need to view the extraordinary events which were to unfold after his death. In his will Bishop Waltham had asked to be buried in his cathedral church of Salisbury in a 'fitting and convenient place'. Richard, however, hearing of this decision and overruling the deceased's wish, sent his councillor William Scrope, who was also one of the executors, to Salisbury to claim the body for burial in the Confessor's chapel of Westminster Abbey – on the grounds, so the chronicler Thomas Walsingham records, that the bishop was 'deserving of burial among kings'. The Salisbury chapter were powerless to stand in the king's way, and accordingly Waltham's body was transferred to the abbey. Only after Richard's deposition in 1399 did the canons summon up the courage to submit a petition for the recovery of the vestment which the bishop had bequeathed to Salisbury but which had gone with his body to the abbey.[2]

The reason for Richard's extraordinary initiative is to be found in his desire to enhance the dignity of royal service by according especially deserving royal servants the honour of burial in the most sacred parts of the abbey. He appears to have been moved by the similar initiative of King Charles V of France in arranging burial for distinguished captains and curialists of non-royal birth, such as Bertrand du Guesclin, in the abbey of St-Denis, the French royal burial church. In the second half of his reign Richard had a number of his most favoured friends or servants interred in the abbey's eastern chapels and ambulatory. In 1388 two of his chamber knights, who had been executed by the baronial opposition, were interred in St. John the Baptist's chapel. Seven years later Sir Bernard Brocas, chamberlain to Richard's

*John de Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer (d.1395), Westminster Abbey (M.S.III).*
*(A Series of Photolithographs of Monumental Brasses in the Abbey, by E.M. Beloe, (1898))*

queen, Anne of Bohemia, was laid to rest under a fine tomb in St. Edmund's chapel. In the year after that, another of the king's chamber knights, Sir John Golafre, was interred not far away in the south ambulatory. Golafre, like Waltham, had been buried in the abbey at the king's express wish. In his will the knight had requested burial next to his father in the Grey Friars church at Oxford, but on his death bed he consented to Richard's request that he permit his body to be taken instead to the abbey. In 1398 one of the king's most senior clerics, Robert Waldeby, archbishop of York, was laid to rest, as Brocas had been, in St. Edmund's chapel. And finally, in 1399 the duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor de Bohun, was likewise buried in a magnificent tomb in St. Edmund's chapel.[3]

What is remarkable about the series of monuments to these men and women is that all but one of them made use of brass effigies – moreover, brasses from the same workshop, London style 'B'.[4] In Bishop Waltham's case, in the light of the limitations on space in the Confessor's Chapel, there was actually no alternative to a brass or slab. It is tempting to suppose that Richard himself may have had a hand in placing these commissions.[5] Not only were all those concerned given the honour of abbey burial at the king's direct command; the brasses themselves are ones of quite exceptional splendour, and on one of them – that of Archbishop Waldeby – the royal arms appear, impaled with the retrospective arms of King Edward the Confessor, Richard's saintly predecessor and someone to whom the king was devoted. Richard is known to have been a keen patron of metalwork and fine objects. His own (and his wife's) tomb monument in the abbey, which he commissioned in 1395 from the workshop of Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, has on top effigies of gilt copper alloy, with an inscription around the edge using the letter forms of style 'B'.

Who could have negotiated with the 'B' engravers the precise specifications for Bishop Waltham's brass is unfortunately very hard to say. No obvious candidate stands out among the list of executors in Waltham's will.[6] The first-named of the group is William Scrope, later earl of Wiltshire, the man whom Richard had sent to Salisbury to claim the body for the abbey; a hard-nosed courtier knight, he is unlikely to have been closely involved. All the other executors were either relatives, such as William Waltham, royal clerks such as Roger Walden and Ralph Selby, clerks of the bishop's household such as John Gowayn, or canons of Salisbury, whose services were now largely redundant so far as matters relating to his interment and commemoration were concerned. If a guess were to be hazarded, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the negotiations would have been handled by the likes of Walden and Selby, and that either they or other clerks would have contacted Yevele and Lote, the mason contractors favoured by the king, who used 'B' inscriptions on the sculpted monuments they produced. The inclusion of St. John of Beverley among the saints represented on the brass might be taken to indicate the inclusion of a northerner among the parties involved, perhaps either William Waltham, who came from north Lincolnshire, or (at least to judge from his name) Ralph Selby. But beyond that it is very difficult to go.

In any event, the context for Bishop Waltham's burial and commemoration by a brass in Westminster Abbey is to be found in the curiously meddlesome way with bodies of King Richard II.[7]

In previous reigns highly regarded lay servants of the crown had been allowed burial in the abbey, generally in less prestigious areas. In the next reign, that of Henry IV, royal favour was to be transferred to Canterbury Cathedral, where the Black Prince had been buried in 1376, and where later the king himself, his half-brother, John Beaufort, and his son, Thomas, duke of Clarence, were all to be buried.

**Nigel Saul**

1 For Waltham's career, see R.G. Davies, 'Waltham, John (d.1395)', O.D.N.B., online edn., ref: odnb/28645, accessed 12th November 2020.

2 N.E. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', in *The Cloister and the World. Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (1996), pp.196-218, at pp.210-11.

3 For these interments, see N.E. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafre Brass in Westminster Abbey', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, pt.1 (1992), pp.19-32, at pp.24-5.

4 Saul, 'Fragments of the Golafre brass'; S. Badham, 'Cast copper-alloy Tombs and London Series B Brass Production in the Late Fourteenth Century', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XVII, pt.2 (2004), pp.105-27.

5 With the exception, however, of that for the Duchess of Gloucester's memorial, which was commissioned shortly after his deposition and for which Nicholas Rogers suggests her chief executor Gerard Braybrooke was probably responsible: Badham, 'Cast copper-alloy tombs', n.49.

6 An abstract of the will is published in English translation in E. Kite, *The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire* (2nd edn., Bath, 1969), pp.96-9.

7 For Richard's meddlesome ways more generally, see N.E. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp.461-2.

# William Gonson's funerary agreement

In the north transept of St. Mary's church, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire is a worn brass inscription commemorating five members of the Gonson family, Christopher Gonson (d.1498), his wife Elizabeth, and their three surviving children, William, Bartholomew and Agnes. Accompanying the inscription is a heart bearing a verse from the litany: S(an)cta Trinitas / unus deus / miserere / nobis. The brass was erected by Bartholomew in 1543 when all three children were still alive although 'dyverse other …. chylderne [had] dep[ar]tyd to God'. Bartholomew (d.1546) became a priest having trained at Oxford and in later life became vicar of St. Mary's.[1] Nothing is known about Agnes.

Of William Gonson's early life nothing is known. He was in all likelihood the Captain William Gonson who was in government service in the early 16th century. By 1513 he was a clerk at the navy storehouse at Deptford with responsibility for receiving rigging, ordnance, armorial banners, etc for the king's ships.[2] In September 1524 he was appointed Keeper of the Storehouses at Erith and Deptford receiving 12d. a day.[3] He was also a Gentleman Usher of the King's Chamber and twenty years later was an Esquire of the Body. He was made Vice-Admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1536, a position he held until his death. Gonson was never formally appointed to the office of naval administrator but in the 1520s and 30s he became progressively more responsible for naval finances being styled 'paymaster' or 'treasurer'. He was responsible in 1539 for sending a fleet to Calais to bring Anne of Cleves to Dover before her marriage to Henry VIII.

It is not known when Gonson married, but his wife was Benet, daughter of Richard Waters. They had six sons: David, Richard, Christopher, Arthur, Anthony and Benjamin, and four daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, Avis and Thomasine. The family home was in Thames Street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London. Gonson had good city connections and his children important godparents. He would have been well paid, not only for his naval work, but also from his own trading links. He was a member of the Grocers' Company, being appointed its warden


*Large inscribed heart from the brass to Christopher Gonson, 1498, wife Elizabeth and three children, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire (M.S.I). (History of Leicestershire, by John Nichols, II (1795), pl.46, fig.10, p.240)*

in 1525.[4] By the 1540s his ships were sailing to Crete and Turkey, bringing back luxury goods, such as wine, carpets and spices. Gonson did not go on these voyages. A family member often acted as captain. His son Richard died at Crete while in charge of the *Matthew Gonson* on one such voyage.

Following the Suppression of the Monasteries with a large amount of property on the market, Gonson bought the manor of Warley, Essex, together with other properties in 1540.[5] Two years later he received licence to alienate the reversion of the house and site of St. Thomas of Acon in London.[6]

In 1544 Gonson committed suicide. No details survive as to the exact date that it happened or where, but it was recorded that he 'feloniously killed himself'. This probably happened by 5th August, when his son Benjamin took over the post of naval administrator in his father's place.[7]

By law suicides had to be buried at a crossroads with a stake driven through their heart as they were not allowed to be interred in consecrated ground. Their property could be confiscated. But it would

appear that Gonson's fate was hushed up and he was buried in St. Dunstan-in-the-East under a stone he had chosen four years earlier. His property was not confiscated, nor was the family name disgraced as his son Benjamin was appointed to the position of naval administrator. This alleviates any suspicion that Gonson's suicide was connected with dishonesty in his naval post. Another possible reason for his suicide was the execution in 1541 of his son David, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem who had denied the authority of the king in spiritual matters. At the time of Gonson's death England was at war with France, and the strain to make sure that the navy had enough ships, manpower and provisions to enable it to fight must have been immense.

**Gonson's agreement**

Gonson left no will. He had the foresight to make his burial arrangements four years before events were to catch up with him, and these can be found among the vestry minutes of St. Dunstan-in-the-East.[8] On 27th November 1540 Gonson made an agreement with the parson, John Pallgrave, and churchwardens, Henry Holland and James Nedame, that he would pay the sum of twenty marks to the church. This would be put to the use of the church, although it is not specified exactly for what. In return Gonson could add at his own cost a 'Reamembraunce gravenne in metal' to a marble stone already in the Trinity chapel of the church. He could not take away any existing brass work on the stone. The slab singled out to be Gonson's memorial was the gravestone of John Norwich, grocer of London, who had died in 1390. The agreement allowed Gonson to be buried under the slab at his own cost within eight days of his death, with any disturbance of the paving around the slab having to be made good.

It also allowed his wife Benet to be buried under the same stone following her death, her executors paying 40s. to the church.[9] Some form of

*St. Mary's church, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire.*
*(photo: © Alamy)*

engraving was to be added to the stone, either in the form of a brass or an incised inscription.

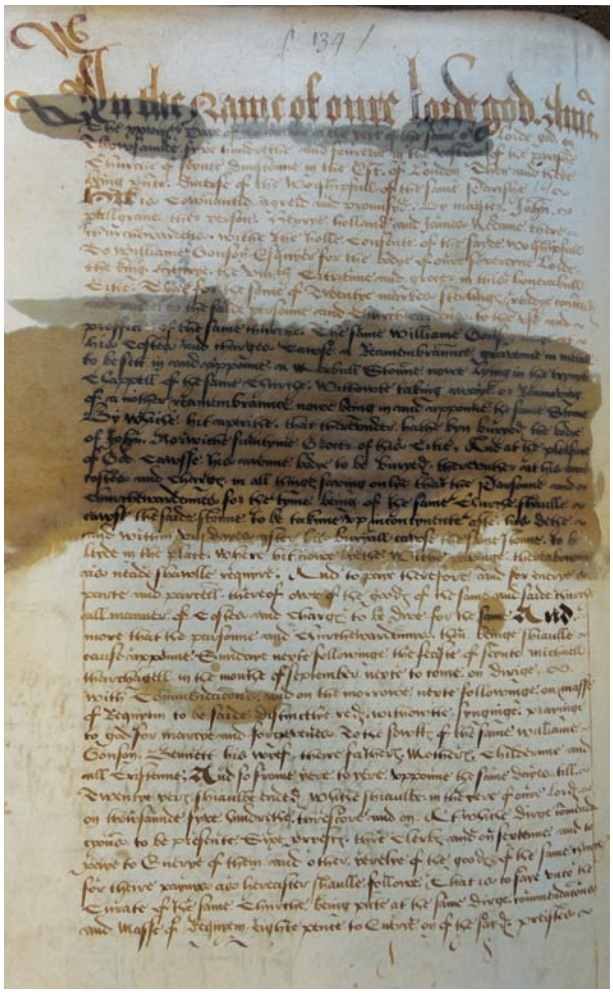
Gonson also arranged with the parson and wardens that on the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel next (29th September) a dirge with commendations (psalms) was to be said with six priests, three clerks and sexton present. The priest was to receive 8d., the clerks and sexton 4d. each and the churchwardens 13d. This was to be followed by a said requiem mass the following day, together with prayers asking for mercy and forgiveness. Those to be remembered were Gonson, his wife Benet, their fathers and mothers, their children and all Christian souls. The saying of dirge and requiem was to be held annually for a period of twenty years, ending in 1560.

At the end of twenty years the majority of those who were to be remembered by the dirge and requiem would be dead. Gonson's parents, Christopher and Elizabeth, certainly had died. Of Gonsons own family his son David had been executed in 1541 but the remaining children were all alive, with his wife Benet dying in 1545/6.

John Stow in his *Survey of London* records that John Norwich had a monument in the church but does not give any details, nor is Gonson's monument mentioned. This was not the only dual use. Stow records that Ralfe Greenway, grocer and Alderman re-used the stone of Robert Pepper, 1559, also in the church, perhaps as both had died in the same year.[10]

Testators could never be too careful about commissioning a monument as executors could not always be relied on to carry out their wishes. A number of testators went so far as ordering their monument before they died. William Worsley's will of 1498-9 mentions his stone then lying in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral,[11] while James Wylford, citizen and merchant taylor, 1526, asks for burial in St. Bartholomew-the-Less in a tomb that he had lately repaired.[12] Joan Brytten, 1540, asks to be buried in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's Cathedral under a stone that had already been prepared for her.[13]

This was not the only way to ensure commemoration. On occasion it was possible to buy slabs directly from a church. At St. Dunstan-in-the-West in 1529 a gravestone was sold to the executors of a man who died the previous year, although the brass work had been removed.[14] In 1551 a stone from St. Faith's below St. Paul's Cathedral was sold to Mistress Crooke, a widow for 10s.[15]



*William Gonson's agreement with the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-East. (London Metropolitan Archives, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS04887)*

I am grateful to Chris Byrom for his help.

**Philip Whittemore**

**William Gonson's agreement with the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-East**
L.M.A. P69/DUN1/B/001/MS04887
Made: 27th November 1540
Between: John Pallgrave, parson, Henry Holland and James Nedame, churchwardens and William Gonson, esq. of the body to Henry VIII, citizen and grocer.

- Twenty marks sterling to be paid to the parson and wardens.
- Gonson may at his own cost cause a remembrance to be engraved in metal to be fixed in a marble stone lying in the Trinity Chapel, without removing any other brasswork on the stone to John Norwich.
- Gonson to be buried under the stone at his own cost within eight days of his death.
- The stone to be relaid in its original position with new paving if required.
- On the Sunday following the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in September, a dirge with commendations to be said.
- On the following day a requiem read asking for mercy and forgiveness for the souls of William Gonson, Benet his wife, their fathers and mothers, their children and all Christian souls for a period of twenty years [to end in 1560].
- Those present at the dirge to comprise six priests, three clerks and the sexton.
- The curate to receive 8d., the priests 4d., the parson or his deputy 8d. for candles, the churchwardens 13d. One penny to be offered at the mass by one of the wardens.
- To 13 poor householders 4s. 4d.
- Benet my wife may be buried under the same stone paying the church 40s. [rest unreadable].
- The sum of £13 6s. 8d. received by Henry Holland.
- Witnessed by Henry Holland, James Nedame, Thomas Blow, Edward Wat...., Thomas a Wood, Thomas Hunt, Thomas Raynoldes, Thomas War.

1 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501-1540* (Oxford, 1974), p.251.
2 *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I*, ed. C.S. Knighton and D. Loades (Navy Records Society, 2011), CLVII, p.547.
3 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII* (London, 1870), IV, pt.1, p.693 (25).
4 W.W. Grantham, *List of the Wardens of the Grocers' Company from 1345 to 1907* (London, 1907), p.17.
5 *Victoria County History, Essex*, VII (1978), p.166.
6 J. Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, in the Cheap, London* (London, 1906), p.133, p.141.
7 The National Archives, E 351/2193, m. 1.
8 London Metropolitan Archives, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS04887.
9 The wording and the amount of pence are illegible.
10 J. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), I, p.134.
11 *Testamenta Eboracensia*, IV (Surtees Society, LIII (1869), p.157.
12 *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLVIII (1936), p.32.
13 *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547*, ed. I. Darlington (London Record Society, 1967), p.69.
14 L.M.A. M.S. 2968/1, f.98v.
15 H. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation* (London, 1939), p.277.

# John Pyke, 'magister scholarum'

One question Nicholas Orme was unable to answer in his article on 'Schoolmasters and Pupils on Brasses before the Reformation' was the location of the school where John Pyke, *magister scholarum*, taught.[1] A clue is to be found among the records of the Petty Bag Office in the Court of Chancery (TNA: PRO, C241/233/17). This document, dated 11th May 1447, relates to a debt of £20 owed by John Clophill, otherwise called Kelsey, of London, gentleman, to John Pyke, Master of the Scholars of St. Martin's, London, which was registered before William Estfield, Mayor of the Staple of Westminster, on 17th May 1431. St. Martin's is the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand, suppressed in 1542, which was the location of a well-established grammar school, probably in existence by the late 12th century.[2] Pyke was most probably buried at St. Martin's; the date of suppression fits with the reuse of the inscription and shield for LSW.IV at Denham, Buckinghamshire, which commemorates Amphillis Pekham (d.1545).[3] Another possibility, suggested by their association with the figure of a Franciscan friar, is that Pyke's brass came from the London Greyfriars, although his name is not included in the extensive early-16th-century list of monuments there.

**Nicholas Rogers**

1 N. Orme, 'Schoolmasters and Pupils on Brasses before the Reformation', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XXI (2020), p.78
2 C.M. Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (Oxford, 1996), p.226.
3 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p.55, p.58.

# Philanthropy and brasses after the Reformation

A central tenet of Christian belief is the concept of charity towards others, as emphasised in many passages of the New Testament. Jesus said 'For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good'.[1] In the medieval period, the principal categories of good works aimed at helping the poor and infirm and considered especially meritorious were set out in the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy. They comprised: feeding the hungry; giving drink to the thirsty; clothing the naked; sheltering the homeless; visiting the sick; visiting the imprisoned; and burying the dead. Their practice was popular as an act of both penance and charity, so both giver and recipients were deemed to benefit. The inscription on the brass to John Terry (d.1524), a former mayor of Norwich, boasted his good deeds, even to the extent of recording the amounts of money expended: 'The same to preserve and also to ayde And eyke to be mayntayned cc l [£200] have payed Among the Cytizens in love for eye to remayne Therewyth for a Tyme to earn ther Need and Payne And over that ccl l [£200] to purchase Lande or Fee To comfort and releve por Fowks at necessyte. When herafter yt chanceth the Kings Tasks be layde The rents of the same for them to be payde For the wyche Dedis Gode that ys but one Extend his Pety upon the same John ...'

Philanthropic good works in the community continued after the Reformation, inspired by practical Christian living and the concept of social responsibility, specifically to improve the material, social and spiritual welfare of others through charitable activities. After the mid-16th century, individuals appear to have engaged in charitable activities on an enlarged scale, spurred on primarily by Protestant ethics.[2] Brasses recording charitable good works in their inscriptions are less common after the Reformation, although this is not due only to changes in religious mores. For the most part medieval inscriptions concentrate on the basic details about the people commemorated including the date of death and the good works they carried out, both in terms of church building and beautification and good works in the community with the aim of attracting prayers to assist their souls through Purgatory. Eulogistic inscriptions emphasising the character and personal virtues of the deceased are first found in the 15th century, especially on clerical brasses, although this probably had more to do with growing literacy than with any shift in theology. Such inscriptions were later extended to monuments to the laity, becoming more common in the reign of Henry VIII, even before his break with Rome. The focus on the soul of the departed was no longer regarded as significant, in part due to the new doctrine of predestination, the doctrine that all events have been willed by God, usually with reference to the eventual fate of the individual soul. Inscriptions instead invoke the Renaissance concept of recollection of the living person, his or her qualities and personality and clearly reflect the growing influence of Humanism, which became the dominant theme of later monuments.[3] Post-medieval inscriptions on brasses have been assiduously recorded and sometimes illustrated in *The County Series* but there has been little attention paid to their textual content, especially that recording philanthropic acts.

**Brasses which combine memorialisation with records of benefactions**

Post-Reformation monumental brasses mentioning charitable good deeds can be divided into two categories. The first comprises brasses which are chiefly memorial in nature, recording the deaths of individuals, but also recording their good deeds. A particularly interesting example incorporating both brass and stone is at Marnhull, Dorset, commemorating Robert Sidlin (d.1596) (Fig.1). This carved-stone hanging wall monument is signed at the bottom by Lynil Brine. In it is set a brass plate of evidently local manufacture engraved with the following inscription: 'Anno Domini 1596 Of Robert Sidlin Alyas Warrin here The Bodie lyes intirred ovr brother deer For love that he vnto this parrishe bore Ten povnds he gave a stocke vnto the poore Which frinds of his in trvste shall styll retayne With them and their assignes aye to remain To Robert Pope John Hilson their names be To Roger Clarke and Thomas Clarke did he Committ the stocke and did them fowr pray A povnd yeerly vnto the poor to paye comfort them in their distresse and need A good example and a Godly deede.'

*Fig.1. Robert Sidlin (d.1596), Marnhull, Dorset. (photo: © Brian and Moira Gittos)*

This is one of many examples recording support for the poor. Another is at Sotterley, Suffolk, to Alice Lappage (d.1593), wife of Robert Edgar, gent., comprising just an inscription; it records, among other bequests, 'to the poore at her burial gevan by her exequtors £8' and to each of various local towns '£4 … to be payd within the space of 4 yeres after her death to the use of the poore'. As well as general support, including gifts of food, the provision of schools and almshouses is also recorded. The inscription brass to Robert Smith (d.1596) at Brancaster, Norfolk, notes that 'a free school he built and two almshouses of fame'. Another Norfolk brass, at Old Buckenham, reads: 'Here lyeth the body of Mathew Sturdyvant, gent: who ended this life ye 21 day of March 1604, when he was of ye age of 85 yeares and did give by his last will towards the maintenance of a schoole in this parish for ever £100 and towards three newe bells to be bought £20 – Hodie Mihi Cras Tibi (Today for me, tomorrow for you)'.

Similar examples are found in the following century and beyond. An inscription at West Wickham, Cambridgeshire, reads: 'Here lyeth Phillipp Richardson ... gent aged 69 yeares, died the 9th day of Aprill 1634 and was buried the 11th day following. He gave to the poore people of West Wiskham tenn pounds by his will for the purchasinge of lande'. An inscription set into the sedilia at North Luffenham, Rutland, memorialises Robert Johnson (d.1625). He was also Archdeacon of Leicester and used his wealth for the betterment of his flock: 'Robert Johnson Bacheler of Divinitie a painfull ++ preacher Parson of North Luffenham, had a Godlie care of Religion and a Charitable minde to the poore. He erected a faire free Gramar schoole in Okeham.' A stone-framed plate at Calverton, Nottinghamshire, carries the text: 'Under this monument close by this wall, lieth ye body of Mistris Jane Pepper; interred ye 17th day of January anno domi 1686/7 who gave unto the poor of Calverton all her part of ye church close Calverton forever & a silver plate also to ye parish church thereof.' Again, William Delawood of London (d.1696) was commemorated by a mural brass in a stone frame at Great Hormead, Hertfordshire (Fig.2). It states that he was buried in the chancel of the church and sets out charitable

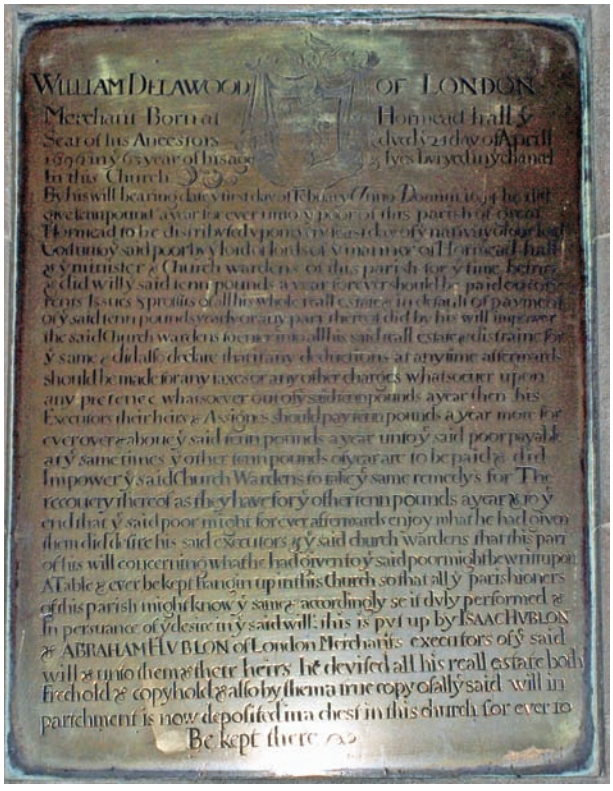



*Fig.2. William Delawood (d.1696), Great Hormead, Hertfordshire. (photo: © David Robarts)*

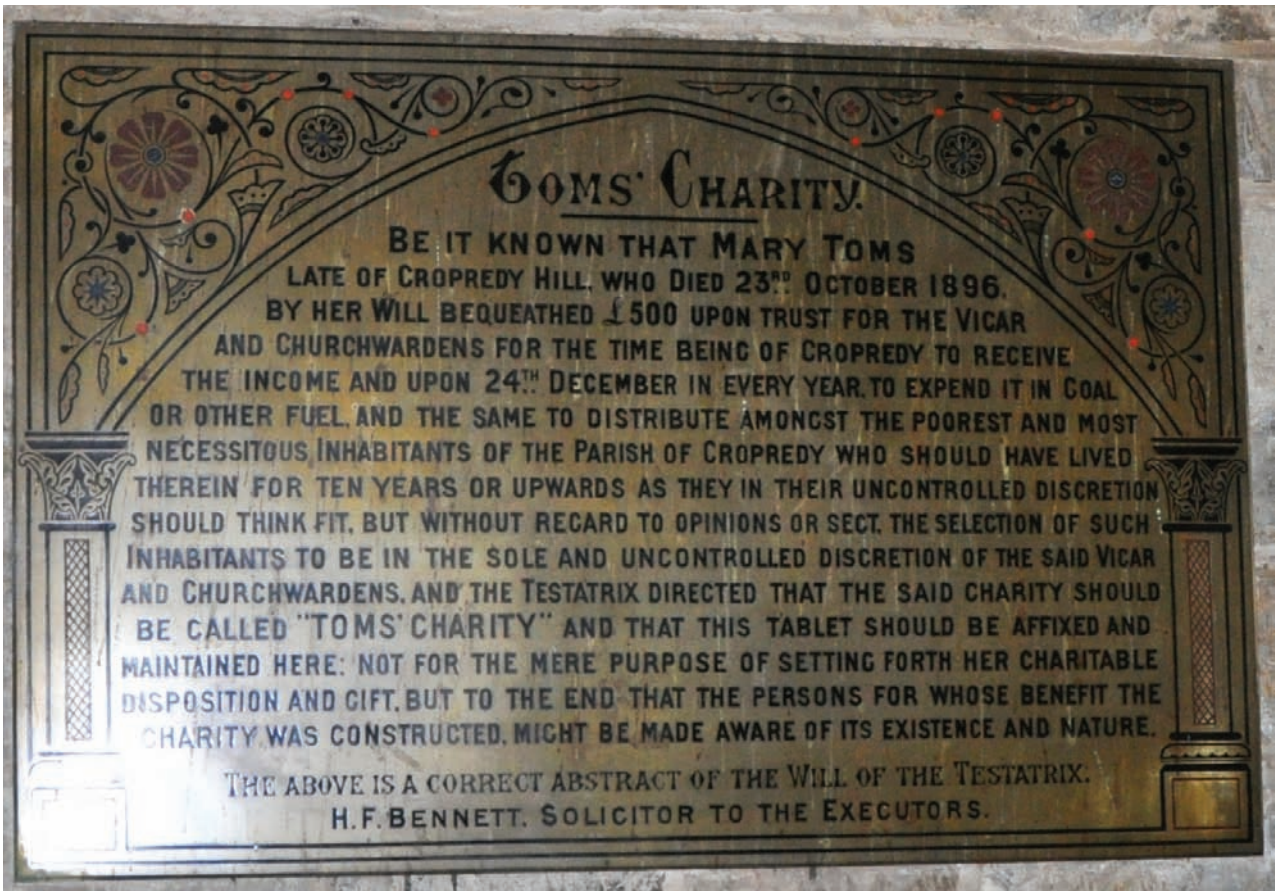



*Fig.3. Inscription recording benefactions of Mary Toms (d.1896), Cropredy, Oxfordshire. (photo: © Guy Thornton)*

provisions in his will. It includes the information that: 'By his will gave tenn pounds a year to the poor to be distributed upon every feast day of ye nativity of Our Lord God by ye Lord or Lords of ye manner of Hormead Hall ... And desired the church wardens that this part of his will concerning what he had given to ye said poor might be writt upon a table & ever be kept hangin up in this church so that all ye parishioners of this parish might know ye same & accordingly se it duly performed.' Delawood set up another plate in a stone frame at Braughing in the same county relating to his benefactions to that parish.

**Brasses recording charitable good works**

These examples all illustrate that in the post-Reformation period, there was a blurring of the distinction between monuments to the deceased and records of charitable donations. Yet, there is a second category of brasses to be considered, *viz.* those that are not memorial in nature but solely concern the recording of charitable good works. Benefactions are mostly recorded on wooden charity boards, which are commonplace in our churches, but some were also documented in more durable materials including engraved brass plates.

Mounted on the bread cupboard at St. Mary-without-the-Walls, Chester, Cheshire, is a brass with an achievement and inscription. It records that 'Raph Proby of Brampton gent 1605 by Will gave XL (£10) for brede (bread) to workinge poore of this p'ish … did in his life time give and deliver unto ye church wardens & parishoners … sufficient meanes to provide Xll penny loaves of the assise in this Cittye for ever, to be delivered in this church every Saboth after Devine service for ever to XII poore of this parish, they beinge no idle beggers.' The self-righteous tone is by no means unusual, benefactors frequently favouring what they regarded as the deserving and orthodoxly pious poor. Mary Toms (d.1896) of Cropredy, Oxfordshire, was an unusual exception, her benefaction brass stating that 'by her will bequeathed £500 ... upon 24th December in every year to expend income in coal or other fuel ... to distribute amongst the poorest and most

necessitous inhabitants … who should have lived therein for 10 years … but without regard to opinions or sect ... in the sole and uncontrolled discretion of the vicar and churchwardens' (Fig.3). At Great Wishford, Wiltshire, a high quality inscription records that Sir Richard Howe (d.1730) left to the lord of the manor all the tithes of which he was possessed in Asserton Mead and Asserton in the parish of Berwick St. John in trust for the support of a master to teach 20 poor boys and a mistress to teach 20 poor girls at the school he built in 1722. In his will he endowed the school with tithes valued at £30. A master and a mistress were to receive £10 each for teaching subjects including the church catechism to boys and girls respectively. The school's remaining income was for fuel and repairs. This brass recording his generous endowment was mirrored by the foundation stone of the school, now used as the village's primary school. Rather more unusual is the framed brass plate at Ledsham, Yorkshire, which sets out in great detail the rules by which the benefactions set out in the will of Lady Elizabeth Hastings (d.1739) were to be enacted.

Further examples are found into more recent times. A brass with coloured inlay at Shelley, Essex, records the benefactions of Henry Kimpton (d.1817) and William Bullock (d.1822), again to benefit the poor. At Knottingley, Yorkshire, a plate framed in stone with heads of putti in sunburst at top has a text in an elegant script recording the benefactions from 1809 onwards of Elizabeth Brown of York. Dividends of stock bought with £200, for teaching 14 poor girls; and under her will, £2 10s. 4d. per annum was paid to poor widows. A framed brass, at Brome, Suffolk, has key elements of the text inlaid in colour, although the plate is dulled and hard to read. It records that in 1850 Mary Ann Page gave £500 to support the poor of the parish, the interest to be distributed annually. Even later, at Tarrington, Herefordshire, is a mural brass recording that John Peter Taylor (d.1931) left £20 for distribution annually on St. Thomas Day amongst the poor of Tarrington and £100 for supplies for children attending the Sunday School.

Finally, some individuals chose to proclaim their good works in multiple churches. At Flordon, Norfolk, is a framed brass stating that in 1816 Thomas Clabburn bequeathed £200, the interest of which was to be devoted to bread or coals for the poor. It was only one of a series set up following Clabburn's death. There are other brasses recording his good works at Newton Flotman, Tasburgh, Tharston and in Norwich, All Saints' and St. John Timberhill, among other extant churches. In addition, Norfolk Museums Service holds a plate formerly in St. Etheldreda from the destroyed church of St. Peter Southgate. This duplication is explained by a notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle* for January 1819. It announced that Mr. Thomas Clabburn, of All Saints, Norwich, had left the following bequests: To the parishes of St. John Timberhill, St. Michael-at-Thorne, St. Michael-at-Coslany, and St. John de Sepulchre, £200 each; and to All Saints' and St. Paul's, £400 each; the interest to be given in bread and coals the first Monday in February each year. To the parish of Tasburgh, £400; and to Tharston, Flordon, and Newton Flotman, £200 each; the interest to be applied in like manner.

**Conclusion**

This brief and highly selective survey illustrates how brasses continued to record charitable good works in the community after the Reformation, albeit with the motivation of benefitting the soul through Purgatory being replaced by a desire to demonstrate practical Christian living and social responsibility. On the whole, there was little difference in the causes espoused from medieval times, notably help for the poor, in terms of food aid, the provision of free schooling and setting up of almshouses. One notable change was the preference to aid only the industrious, worthy and orthodoxly pious poor. Prisoners and those who were regarded as the instigators of their own misfortunes received little sympathy. This short article is a 'trial trench' into a largely ignored aspect of brasses, in the hope that it may inspire others to pursue this further.

**Sally Badham**

1 King James Bible, Mark 14:7.
2 W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660* (New York, 1959). His studies have attracted criticism, chiefly because his financial data covers an extended period and no allowance was made for inflation, thus distorting the precise figures over time. Nonetheless, used with some caution as to overall financial levels, they provide an invaluable insight into charitable giving.
3 R. Rex, 'Monumental brasses and the Reformation', *M.B.S. Trans.*, XV, pt.5 (1990), pp.376-94.

# Facing east or west?: The brass to Bishop William Vaughan (1814-1902) at St. Mary and St. Boniface R.C. Cathedral, Plymouth

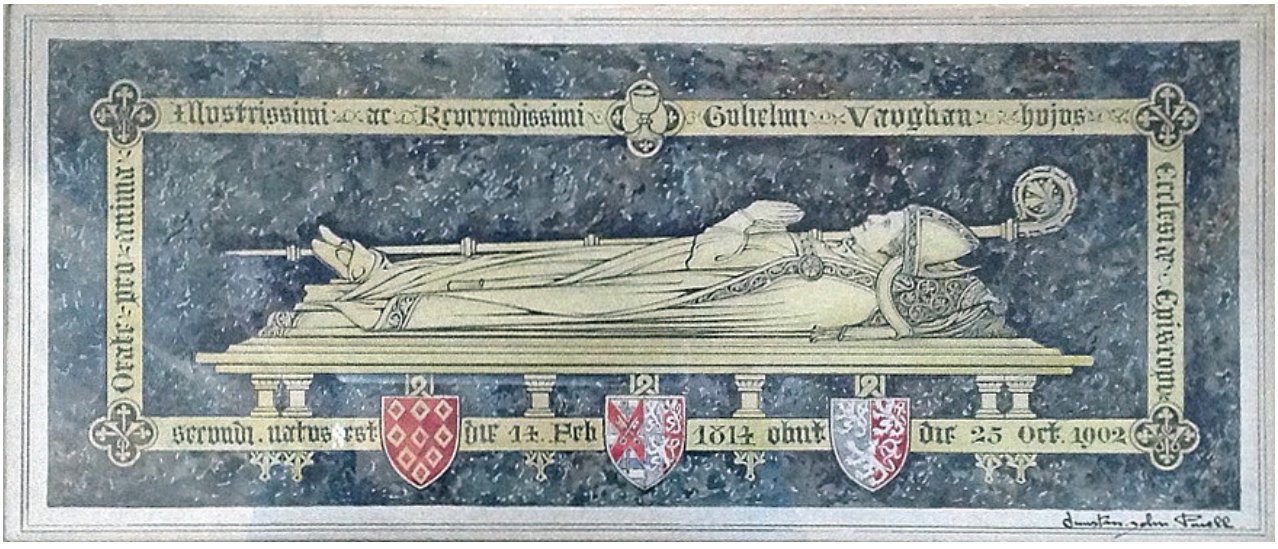
*Bishop William Vaughan (1814–1902).*

At the end of November 2017 Stephen Freeth contacted me to draw my attention to Lot 194 in a forthcoming auction at P.F. Windibank Auctioneers in Dorking, Surrey. The lot was a design drawing for the brass to Bishop William Vaughan, 1902, in the R.C. Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Boniface, Plymouth, Devon (LSW.I).[1]

The design drawing is coloured, signed by Dunstan Powell of John Hardman and Co., and set in a black frame (of later date). Interestingly it differs considerably from the brass as finally engraved, not least in that the design shows the Bishop facing in the opposite direction! In the drawing the figure is clothed in a cope, whereas the finished brass shows him wearing a chasuble. There are also differences in the heraldry, the quatrefoils at the corners of the inscription, and in the wording of the inscription. So the discovery of this original design drawing raises a number of interesting questions, and highlights the way in which initial designs could be modified according to the wishes of the client during the commissioning process.

William Vaughan was born in Hereford in 1814. Educated at Stonyhurst and the English College in Rome, he became priest-in-charge of the Lyme Regis mission in 1838. After later taking charge of Clifton Pro-Cathedral he was consecrated bishop on 16th September 1855 by Cardinal Wiseman.

The brass is medieval in style rather than classical: the decoration is essentially Gothic, and the inscription is rendered in black letter with Lombardic capitals. It is set in a slab of Belgian granite, and cost £58 5s 6d.[2]




*Design drawing for Bishop Vaughan's brass by Dunstan Powell of John Hardman and Co.*

A similar design in the Anglican tradition can be seen in the brass to George Pellew, Dean of Norwich Cathedral, (d.1866) at Norwich Cathedral. This was designed and made by T.J. Gawthorp and Son of London.[3]

The design drawing for the Vaughan brass is signed by Dunstan John Powell, who was the first surviving male child born to John Hardman Powell (1827-95) and Anne Pugin (1832-97) on 8th August 1861. He was named, appropriately, after the patron saint of metalworkers. Nicknamed 'Danny', he followed his father into the firm of Hardman and Co., and worked mainly as a stained glass designer (see his fine window in St. John's R.C. Cathedral, Norwich). He never married and died in 1932.[4]

The change of orientation of the bishop's effigy is interesting. There is no requirement in church law regarding the position of burial but it has been the custom for Christians to be buried facing towards the east, reflecting the Christian belief that at the end of time Jesus would return from the east. But the rubrics also direct that if the corpse is that of a priest or bishop then the position should be reversed, and the head should face the altar, due to the belief that they will continue to look after their flock in the afterlife, and guide them when the Second Coming happens. It is uncertain how early this provision was introduced although there is a reference to it in the *Diary of Johann Burchard* (1450-1506), who was Master of Ceremonies to Pope Innocent VIII (1432-92) and Alexander VI (1431-1503), whereas the custom of the feet facing east in the grave is alluded to by Bishop Hildebert in the 12th century, and discussed by Durandus in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (VII: 35), a book published in 1280 which provided explanations of the meaning of Christian liturgy and ritual, church furniture and architecture.

There are two possible explanations for the change of orientation of the bishop's effigy. One is that the final position of the brass in the cathedral was changed after the design drawing had been produced. The brass is now sited in the south transept in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, which was designed by F.A. Walters when the cathedral was restored in 1920-7. The other possible reason for the change is that there was confusion about the east-west orientation, either on the part of the cathedral chapter or by Hardmans themselves, and this was then rectified before the brass was finally engraved. Further research, both in the Hardman records and the cathedral archives, is needed to discover whether there is any information to explain the various changes made to the design, and hopefully this will be possible once the Covid-19 restrictions have been relaxed. But this fine coloured design for the Vaughan brass reminds us of the trouble taken by the firm of Hardman and Co. when executing an important commission such as this.

**David Meara**

1 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Devonshire* (London, 2000), pp.230-1; W. Lack, and P. Whittemore, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century*, I, pt.3 (April 2002), pp.20-1, pl.30.
2 *Hardman Glass Day Book* (1903-5).
3 Meara, David, *Victorian Memorial Brasses* (London, 1983), p.85.
4 Fisher, Michael, *Guarding the Pugin Flame: John Hardman Powell 1827-1895* (Downton, 2017).


*Bishop William Vaughan, St. Mary and St. Boniface R.C. Cathedral, Plymouth, Devon. (photo: © Plymouth Diocesan Archives)*

# Notes on books, articles and the internet

*Lt. Ralph Zouch Drake-Brockman, M.C., (1888-1917).*

**War memorials on-line.**

For those wishing to locate a war memorial the Imperial War Museum has a comprehensive list, often with details and photographs, which can be accessed via a number of headings [www.iwm.org.uk/memorials]. I took the hardest approach by trawling through most of the entries, which are in random order with a reference number as they were submitted by organisations or individuals. I was, of course, looking for memorials specifically with figure brasses (not simply inscriptions or regimental war memorials bearing many names). After searching through several hundred entries I did not reach the end of the list! So far, I have only found two, one of which is illustrated below.

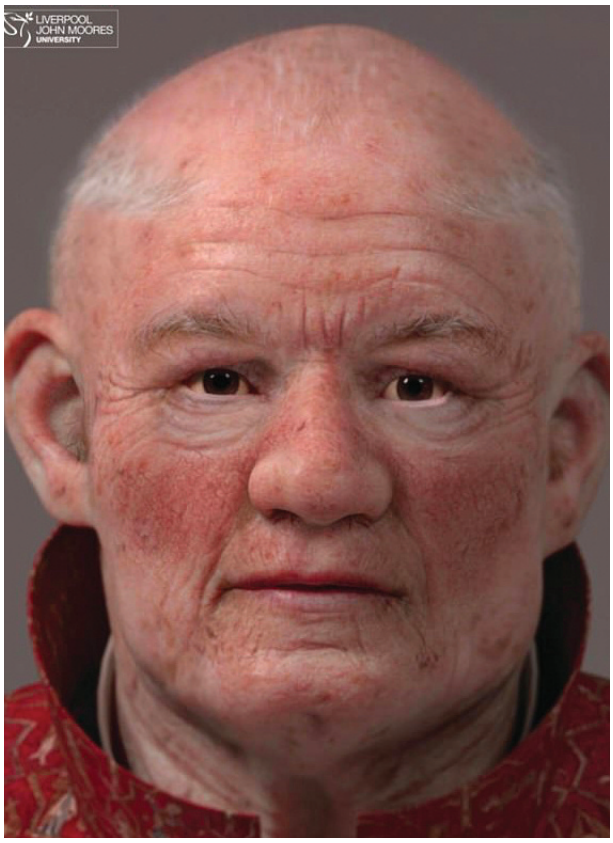
This good example is a memorial to Lt. Ralph Zouch Drake-Brockman, M.C. (1888-1917) and can be seen on the north wall of the chancel of St. Martin's church at Cheriton, Kent.

*Lt. Ralph Zouch Drake-Brockman, M.C., Cheriton, Kent.*

Unusually for the time, the inscription is in Latin, and accompanies the kneeling figure of Lt. Brockman in uniform with officer's sword, the family arms and crest and the military cross [he was Gazetted on 15th June 1917 'for conspicuous gallantry', only three months before his death on 29th September 1917 at the age of 29]. He served in the Royal Field Artillery and was killed at Messines, Belgium, and buried in Kandahar Farm Cemetery, Heuvelland, West Flanders. Born in Folkestone, Kent, he was the eldest son of Alfred Drake-Brockman, solicitor, and his wife Caroline, other members of the wider family also serving with distinction in World War I and II. The name of the designer and engraver/maker of the brass is not known.

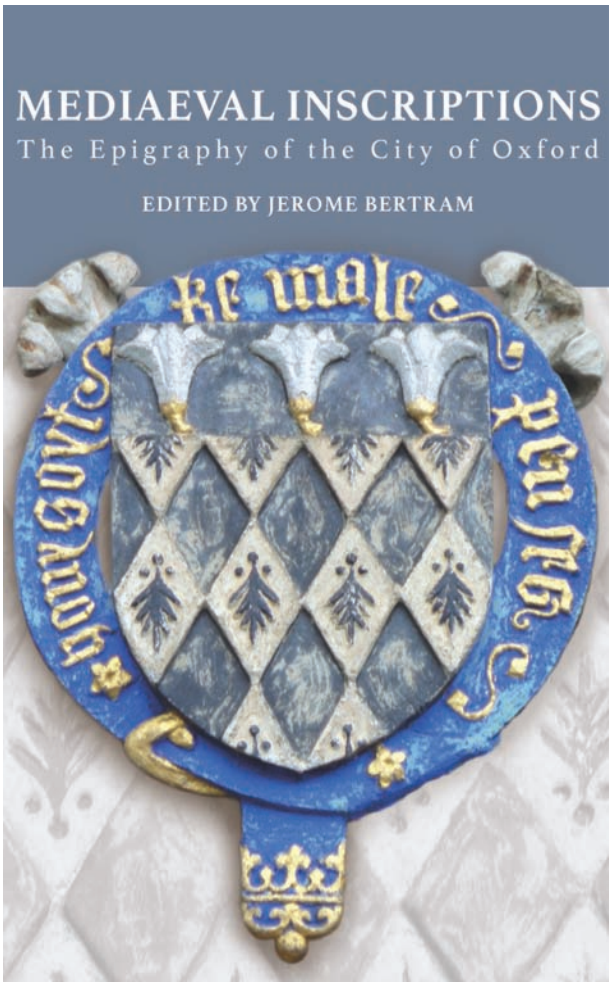
The other brass I chanced upon was to 2nd-Lt. Nigel Neis Ramsay (1876-99) of the 2nd Battalion Royal Highlanders (The Black Watch), who died in action at Magersfontein, South Africa, on 11th December 1899, aged 23 years. His brass shows him in full uniform and kilt, sporran, sword, bareheaded and carrying his feather bonnet. Beneath him is a three-line inscription in black letter, saying that he was the eldest son of Sir James H. Ramsay, 10th Bart. of Bamff (1832-1925). Adjoining the figure is Charlotte (1853-1904), the second wife of Sir James. The hands are shown clasped in prayer with a three-line black letter inscription, all in the medieval style. The brasses are in the church of St. Ninian, Alyth, Tayside, Scotland – again, the name of the engraver/maker is unknown. A photograph of the latter brass on the I.W.M. website is unfortunately not very clear. When using this site one should stress that it is easier if you know the location of the memorial.

**Have you seen this man?**
The brass of Abbot John de Wheathampstede, Abbot of St. Albans 1420-40 and 1452-65, is long since lost, though the mutilated indent remains (LSW.86). In November 2017 the Abbot's coffin was discovered with the upper half of the cadaver remaining, including the skull. Forensic reconstruction by a team from Liverpool John Moores University's Face Laboratory has resulted in a digital image of the abbot's face and is the subject of a short article in *The Alban Link* by Professor James G. Clark of Exeter University (issue 93 (Autumn 2020), pp.4-7). Professor Clark's book *John of Wheathampstead: Renaissance Abbot* is available from the cathedral shop price £4.50 + £1.50 p+p.




*Facial reconstruction of Abbot John de Wheathampstede. (photo: © Face Lab Liverpool John Moores University and St. Albans Cathedral)*

**Jerome Bertram (ed.). *Mediaeval Inscriptions: The Epigraphy of the City of Oxford.*** (Boydell & Brewer for Oxford Record Society [vol.LXXIV], £35.00, hardback (August 2020). ISBN 9780902509764). 305 pp.; 30 b/w illus.; bibliography; indices.




This is the first part of a two-part work, the second of which will cover the medieval county of Oxford. Following a detailed 'Introduction', the main part of the book is a catalogue (pp.33-265) of examples in brass, stone, glass, wood and other materials, each entry with full details: location, references, transcription (and in many cases translation) of the inscription, lettering style, location in building (past and present), biographical details and sources used. Of the 30 illustrations, 12 are from rubbings. Some 500 known medieval inscriptions are cited here of which 480 were brasses. The author admits modestly that 'the task of finding them and recording them has been complex…' The volume will be reviewed in more detail in the next issue of the *Transactions*.

**John Alban and Carole Rawcliffe. 'Nicholas Parker of Honing: a fifteenth-century Norfolk Gentleman'.** *Norfolk Archaeology*, XLVIII, pt.1 (2018), pp.67-82; 4 illus.; refs.

Comparatively little is known about the private lives of minor late medieval Norfolk gentry. This paper

takes one example, Nicholas Parker of Honing (d.1496), who, despite leaving few legal or official documents, also left no known will (although named in other people's wills). Despite having a brass at SS. Peter and Paul's church, Honing, the authors could find little to connect him, or his family, with this part of Norfolk; nor indeed the name of his first wife (see family tree p.69), though his three subsequent marriages are documented. A further complication was that there were several Nicholas Parkers at this time. Parker is known to have acquired several properties in Norfolk, including one in Norwich, where he was appointed as a gaol commissioner in 1483. His fourth wife was also a Norwich lady, Agnes Ebbys, widow of a well-connected local mercer in the city; but it was not all plain-sailing for the couple and Nicholas Parker is not even mentioned in her will. He is also thought to have quarrelled with the powerful Paston family.

*Nicholas Parker, esq., 1496, Honing, Norfolk (LSW.I). (photo: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Parker's simple Norwich-3 style brass shows him bareheaded and in full armour, with his sword hanging vertically in front of him [see also photograph of the brass (pl.1, p.68) and engraving from Cotman (2nd edn. (1839) pl.4, p.76)]. His armour is described in detail and the brass compared to similar examples elsewhere in East Anglia. Apart from his brass, a fine illuminated missal commissioned by Parker survives in Cambridge University Library (sample illus. pl.2, p.73). The article ends with four appendices transcribing legal documents associated with Parker, followed by 84 'end notes' (pp.79-82). A well-researched and documented paper by two staff members of the University of East Anglia.

**Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Musings and meditations on medieval monuments made of (precious) metal – a discussion paper'**, *MeMO News*, issue 21 (November 2020), pp.41-61; illus. (12 in colour, 1 b/w); refs.

This interesting paper takes a wide-ranging view of all types of cast metal tomb effigies in Western Europe, as well as brasses (esp. pp.53-54). One question the author asks in the latter context is whether flat medieval brasses were initially seen as cheaper substitutes – or did the cast tombs and incised slabs 'actually inspire the creation of flat sheet brasses?'. Clearly they were easier to transport and being flat, could be used in locations which did not interfere with the liturgical use of the building, especially in favoured positions near the high altar. There is much more to this paper than the above suggests and a longer review is anticipated in a future *Bulletin*. If you feel that is too long to wait, you can download the complete newsletter from the MeMO website at the following address, https://mmr.sites.uu.nl/ Alternatively, if you wish to go directly to the pdf-version, please use: https://mmr.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/227/2020/11/MMR-021.pdf.

I am very grateful to Sally Badham, Leslie Smith and Martin Stuchfield for information or copy received.

**Richard Busby**