

Monumental Brass Society

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Editorial

Four years of collective reflection on the 1914-18 War have brought the nature of commemoration into sharp focus and resulted in both renewed public interest and imaginative new commemorative forms. The ceramic poppies at the Tower of London, an art installation entitled 'Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red' by Cummins and Piper, captured the public imagination. As a result of the commemoration of the centenary of the First World War there has been a revival of interest in war memorials, especially local ones. They can be found in almost every village and town and have been restored and written about extensively on the many websites devoted to recording and studying them. Most parish churches contain military memorials, perhaps a medieval knight or eighteenth-century officer and almost certainly one to those killed in the two world wars. Our understanding of the commemoration of those who died as a result of conflict has been underpinned and greatly enriched by the growth of 'memory studies' as an academic discipline during the last thirty years. Much of the research in this field has focused on how the victims of conflict have been remembered and there is a rapidly growing literature on war memorials.

In the light of these developments this year's *Transactions* is devoted to the 'war dead'. It seeks to show how they were commemorated in brass over the *longue durée*, from the mid fourteenth to the twentieth century. As the articles by Nigel Saul, David Green and Christian Steer make clear, in the Middle Ages only military commanders, not ordinary soldiers, were commemorated. Despite the lengthy wars of this period, notably the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses, as Nigel Saul points out, the adoption of the chivalric code ensured that there were relatively few knightly deaths in battle. Instead of being put

to death the defeated were captured and ransomed. Unlike the combatants of modern warfare, those killed in battle in the Middle Ages were not generally remembered as 'war dead'. The monuments of soldiers, rather than noting the manner of their deaths, listed the battles they fought, the offices they held and the captains they served as models of brave, honourable, courteous and virtuous behaviour for others to follow. Sir Nicholas Dagworth's memorial, discussed by David Green, is typical of most medieval knights who after military service returned home to die in their beds, often after further service in local and royal government. In this context, as Christian Steer shows, the comparison of Sir Humphrey Bourchier with Achilles is all the more remarkable. Such praise for his martial virtues is unique among surviving English medieval monuments. In the Middle Ages a record of the date of death – in order to carry out the obit or anniversary each year – was of much greater concern than its heroic nature; the eschatological function of monuments to elicit prayers for the soul of the deceased was crucial. Medieval patterns of commemoration, albeit in Protestant form, continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Richard Busby and Michael Harris demonstrate in their articles. Those who fought in the Civil War were commemorated in a very similar way to their medieval predecessors. The same is true of those who died in the many wars of the 'long eighteenth century', though few were commemorated in brass, a deeply unfashionable material in this period.

From the later eighteenth century, however, as Romanticism spread, heroic deaths in battle were celebrated but this was still largely confined to the glorification of commanders such as Nelson. St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey became

‘national memorials’ honouring their sacrifices. Although, as Michael Harris notes, changing attitudes can be seen in the memorials of the dead of the Napoleonic Wars, it was not until the later nineteenth century that there was a fundamental change in how the war dead were commemorated and who was commemorated. Patterns of commemoration were democratised and industrialised as society and the nature of warfare changed.

Democratisation resulted in the commemoration of the ordinary soldier not just their commanders. This complex process was the result of many factors, among them changing attitudes to soldiers, national pride and the long term underlying economic and social change brought by industrialisation. Volunteer forces were considered more worthy of respect and therefore commemoration. National pride in the causes for which they sacrificed their lives reinforced this belief. Perhaps the most eloquent expression of the democratisation of commemoration is the recording of the names of the war dead. Lists of names became the major component of monuments, their *raison d’être*. Listing the names of the war dead on memorials was partly a consequence of the changing nature of war in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially its scale. As war became industrialised and military technology advanced, total war became possible. The number of dead increased massively and the destructive power of weapons made it impossible to identify many of them. A record

of their names on a memorial was all there was to remember them by. Total war also brought civilian casualties on a mass scale and memorials to mark their contribution.

Recent scholarship has challenged the convention that the mass commemoration of the war dead was the result of an outpouring of grief following the First World War. David Meara discusses its roots in Britain’s late nineteenth-century Imperial wars, especially the Second Boer War. He also considers the industrialisation of commemoration, the commercial mass production of monuments. The revival in the popularity of monumental brasses coincided with the need for very large numbers of memorials to remember the war dead of the Boer War and the First World War; not only did increasingly large numbers of ordinary soldiers have individual memorials but a wide variety of groups – military units, schools, places of work, churches, sports clubs and village communities – had collective monuments. Whilst most Boer War memorials are to be found in churches, there was growing secularisation in the commemoration of the dead of subsequent twentieth century wars, a theme developed by Jonathan Trigg. His study reminds us of the scale, diversity and ubiquity of commemoration of the war dead in the twentieth century. Brass memorials continue to be used for this purpose in our own time and can be seen in the Basra Memorial Wall at the National Memorial Arboretum in Staffordshire.

Commemoration of the War Dead in Late Medieval England

Nigel Saul

Among the many knightly memorials to have come down to us from the Middle Ages are a number which commemorate men who either fell in the course of war or died from war wounds. How the bodies of casualties were treated after an engagement in this period depended, first, on which side those casualties had fought and, second, on the nature of the conflict in which they were involved, this last a matter connected in turn to the laws of war. The surviving tomb monuments of war dead, which number some two-and-a-half dozen, are reviewed in roughly chronological order, consideration being given, initially, to the monuments of men who had fallen in war against external enemies, chiefly the Scots and the French, and, then, to those of the casualties of civil conflict. Relatively few of the monuments make any overt visual or textual reference to the circumstances of death of the person commemorated, death in the field generally being absorbed into a more general narrative of chivalric achievement. The idea familiar to us today of sacrifice in war is one which arose in the second half of the eighteenth century in the wake of the emergence of a new Romantic sensibility.

Prominent among the tombs and brasses of the late Middle Ages are those of the military elite, the Second Estate, the knights and esquires whose duty it was to defend the other two orders of God's creation. Almost invariably, these men were shown on their monuments in armour, in mail hauberks on monuments from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in plate later on, and often with tournament helmets placed under their heads. The men's military attire does not necessarily mean that they had all had direct experience of combat: some of those commemorated were stay-at-

home knights, who had spent the bulk of their careers either running their estates or administering the shires. Choice of attire on monuments was a matter governed not by personal taste or experience, but by a man's standing in society. All the same, a good many of those who were represented on their monuments in armour had, indeed, fought at some stage in their career. England, after all, was a country which was at war for much of the late Middle Ages, first with the Scots from the 1290s to the 1330s, then with the French and their allies until the 1450s. It was generally the case that those who fought on campaign did so in their youth, settling down once they had succeeded to the family estates. A few, however, and generally those with little or no prospect of succeeding to an inheritance, led the lives of professional soldiers. At least some hardened campaigners lived to a ripe old age. Sir Matthew Gourney was said on his tomb epitaph to have lived to 96, while Sir John Waleys, according to a late tradition, survived to be a hundred.¹ Nonetheless, some of those who took to the field did actually lose their lives, either succumbing to disease in the course of sieges or falling in battle. How were these victims of war commemorated on their monuments, if they were commemorated at all? Were their monuments distinctive, and adorned with the trappings of chivalric honour? Or were they largely indistinguishable from those of others commemorating members of the military class? These are questions worth considering at a time when commemoration of the war dead of a century ago is very much in our thoughts.

1 *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, (London, 1907-10), I, p. 159.

In some sense, it can be argued that it was in that great struggle of a century ago that the habits of war associated with the Middle Ages were finally extinguished. On the eve of the Great War chivalric values were still central to the beliefs, manners and behaviour code of the English aristocratic class. The language of chivalry continued to provide a fund of metaphor for upper-class life, with men speaking of the nobility of sacrifice, the justness of war fought in a right cause, and life itself a battlefield on which gentlemen had to fight impure thoughts in themselves and injustice in others.² Baden-Powell and others like him encouraged their audiences to fight by speaking of the necessity of leadership, the value of heroism, and the importance of honour. Just weeks into the War, however, the experience of life in the trenches was putting paid to such talk. War, the shatterer of illusions, was now revealed for the grim, inglorious thing that it was: a bringer of fear, disease, death, carnage and mutilation. Above all, war, the great leveller, was seen to spare no one, however distinguished. Officers fell on the battlefields of Flanders alongside the men they commanded and led over the top. Officers were killed, maimed and mutilated by the shells which landed in No Man's Land just as much as the 'poor, bloody infantry' were. This was not heroic warfare as it had been imagined in the rules of chivalry idealised by the Edwardian ruling class. This was not warfare, indeed, as it had ever been fought in the Middle Ages. In the medieval period, at least before the mid fifteenth century, the commanding class,

when they entered the fray, had generally been spared the prospect of death. The knights and higher nobility, the elite of the medieval armies, had observed a code of honourable behaviour towards one another. If a knight on one side overcame a knight on the other, he did not kill him; rather, he took him prisoner and ransomed him. This was the essence of the chivalric code as it had emerged in the twelfth century, when monetisation of the economy had made possible ransoming in place of killing or enslavement. For most of the period from the mid twelfth century to the mid fourteenth remarkably few English knights lost their lives in battle. In the engagement between Henry III's forces and the rebel barons and the French at Lincoln in 1217 fewer than half-a-dozen men of note were killed.³ Even in the great battles of the Hundred Years War relatively few English knights fell victim to French crossbow fire. It is a mark of the gradual, but marked, decline of chivalry at the end of the Middle Ages, however, that this code of honourable behaviour should by stages have become eroded.⁴ In the battles of the Wars of the Roses between 1455 and 1471 knights on the losing side were being slaughtered on a scale that had no precedent. Yet in wars between sovereign states the old rules still applied. At the battle of Pavia in 1525 King Francis I of France was captured, not slain, and his release made subject to an agreement between himself and his captor, the Emperor. The use of firearms and cannon did not have any substantial effect in making warfare more lethal for the upper classes until after about 1450.⁵

2 M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 281-2.

3 N.E. Saul, *For Honour and Fame. Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London, 2011), pp. 10-11, 350.

4 In this connection it is worth noting the brass inscription, once in the north ambulatory of Westminster Abbey but now lost, commemorating John Windsor (d. 1414), a combatant in the battle of

Shrewsbury in 1403, in which it was said that he had killed many in war, but later repented of bloodshed and ended his days in piety. The inscription is noted in J. Dart, *History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, 2 vols, (London, 1723), II, p. 18.

5 It is fair to add that, while chivalry involved a code of honourable behaviour between knights, its terms did not apply to the infantry, whose lives were generally not spared in battle.

To this background, it is perhaps less surprising than it might initially appear that the number of monuments of war dead to have come down to us from the Middle Ages is relatively small. There are between two- and three-dozen such monuments, nineteen of them sculpted, eight of them brasses and just one an incised slab.⁶ Naturally, we should allow for the fact that a great many medieval monuments have been lost. Quite a few fell victim to the upheavals of the Reformation and the religious struggles which followed, notably the seventeenth-century Revolution; others were displaced in the course of tidying-up operations or rebuilding programmes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The biggest gap in our knowledge relates to the contents of the great Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys, whose existence was brought to an end at the Dissolution. Some of the larger of these institutions housed fine collections of monuments of aristocratic patrons and benefactors who ranked among the leading commanders of medieval England. In the case of some of these houses, generally those with a strong institutional memory, we have burial lists giving us the names of those who were interred within their walls. For only a handful, however, are we also given details of the tomb monuments which were placed over their graves. Sometimes modern archaeological finds come to our rescue where the documentary sources are lacking. In the 1960s the well-preserved remains were uncovered at Walsingham Priory, Norfolk, of a fighting man, thought to have been Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, who is known to have been buried in the priory in 1369.⁷ Since there were

no remains of a sculpted effigy or tomb chest in the vicinity, it is likely that he was commemorated by a floor brass. In the light of our limited knowledge of the erstwhile tomb monuments of the monasteries, it is inevitable that our knowledge of commemoration of the war dead should be derived chiefly from survivals in cathedrals and parish churches. Even in respect of these latter institutions, however, we have to acknowledge that the surviving corpus is likely to be incomplete. A good many medieval monuments, which survived the Reformation, were swept away in the course of ill-judged restorations in the Victorian period or earlier. Sometimes, however, we are able to remedy the deficiencies in our ignorance by resort to antiquarian sources. It is thanks to an unnamed Cheshire antiquary, for example, that we learn about a now lost monument at Wybunbury to a casualty of the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. It is worth adding that our information is confined largely to funerary commemoration made between the mid fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We know very little about the monuments of those who lost their lives in the long drawn-out Scottish wars of Edward I's and Edward II's reigns, in the course of which the English suffered a major defeat at Bannockburn. It is quite possible that some of the noble-born victims of these campaigns are commemorated by monuments still extant but lacking inscriptions and today therefore unidentifiable.

The survival of at least a decent scattering of monuments to war dead attests to the concern of widows or other relatives of victims to see the corpses of their kinfolk brought back to the

6 Mention should also be made of one retrospective monument, that at Whitchurch, Shropshire, dating from the early sixteenth century, to the earl of Shrewsbury, who had been killed at Castillon in 1453 (B. Langston, "'Talbot's tomb' revisited', *Shropshire History and Archaeology*, 89 (2014), pp. 49-56).

7 C. Green and A.B. Whittingham, 'Excavations at Walsingham Priory, Norfolk, 1961', *Archaeological Journal*, 125 (1968), pp. 255-90. In 1981 the remains were discovered on the site of the chancel of St. Bees Priory, Cumberland, of a medieval man, subsequently identified as Sir Anthony de Lucy, who died in 1368.

land of their birth and given honourable burial. The procedures to be followed at the end of a battle were fairly standard by the late Middle Ages. In most cases, once the clash of arms was over, the heralds would tour the field to compile lists of the armigerous dead, identifying them by reference to the arms on their shields or surcoats.⁸ In the case of a battle fought abroad, the friends or companions-in-arms of the deceased would take the initiative in arranging his burial, either interring him locally or, if he was particularly distinguished, having his bodily remains eviscerated and embalmed and brought back to England.⁹ It was the usual practice for armies in this period to take a cauldron with them on campaign so that the flesh could be boiled quickly after death as the first step to evisceration. Once the deceased's remains had been surrendered to his relatives, interment would then be made, and appropriate commemoration arranged in accordance with his last wishes. If the nobleman's death had occurred not abroad, but in a civil war engagement, what happened to his body would have been largely dependent on the whim of the successful commander. For those who had given their lives on the winning side there would be the prospect of honourable interment: their

bodies would be gathered up, their relatives informed, and all the arrangements made for a decent burial. For those who had fallen on the side opposite, however, the prospects were less certain. If the commander wished to make an example of his opponents, he might have the remains of the defeated ringleaders chopped into quarters and despatched to the leading towns of the realm for display over public gateways. While those of less exalted rank might escape such a fate, they could nonetheless suffer the indignity of having their bodies heaped into a pit alongside those of the fallen infantry and archers. Where very large numbers fell, as at the bloodbath of Towton in 1461, hardly any effort was made in the clearing-up to separate the remains of the gentleborn from those of the other ranks.¹⁰ All of the fallen, whether humble or exalted, would be buried where they had been slain. Only the more fortunate, those with friends or relatives with an interest in their fate, were granted the privilege of honourable burial, either in a chapel near the field or in a parish church near the family home. John, Lord Wenlock's remains, initially interred in Tewkesbury Abbey after his death in the battle in the town, were retrieved for burial in or near the tomb he had prepared for himself in Luton church.¹¹

8 For the procedures followed after a battle was over I owe much to the chapter 'The Days of the Dead' in Philip Morgan's forthcoming study of the battle of Shrewsbury.

9 In 1346, for example, the body of Sir John Daunay, who had died in Normandy on 3 August, a couple of weeks before the battle of Crécy, was brought back for burial in his home church of Sheviok, Cornwall. The stone effigy of a knight, dating from the 1370s, now in the north aisle, is traditionally associated with him, and may have been commissioned by his grandson, Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, after his entry into the Daunay inheritance (N. Cusworth, 'The Daunays' dovecote and manor-house: a lost relationship rediscovered', *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, n.s. 2, 8 (2005), pp. 16-31, at 18, 19).

10 For Towton, see *Blood Red Roses. The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton, A.D. 1461*, eds V. Fiorato, A. Boylston, and C. Knusel (Oxford, 2007).

11 W.E. Hampton, *Memorials of Wars of the Roses. A Biographical Guide* (Upminster, 1979), p. 14. In the 1460s Wenlock constructed a chantry chapel for himself in Luton church in the angle between the chancel and the north transept, the wall separating it from the chancel pierced by a splendid two-bay screen with space for two tomb chests, one of which Wenlock doubtless intended for himself (C. O'Brien and N. Pevsner, *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 217, 219).



*Fig. 1. Sir William de Crathorne (d. 1346), Crathorne, Yorkshire (N.R.).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*



*Fig 2. Sir John de Wautone (d. 1346) and wife, Ellen, Wimboldsley, Leicestershire (LSWI).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Those who had been captured by their opponents and then subsequently executed might have the opportunity to make a will in which to settle their affairs and ask for the commissioning of a monument.

The three earliest extant and identifiable effigial monuments to medieval war dead all commemorate victims of the campaigns of 1346. 1346 was Edward III's *annus mirabilis*. In July of that year the king launched a major invasion of France to vindicate his claim to the French crown, which he had inherited from his mother Isabella, sister of the last Capetian king, Charles IV. After he had captured and sacked the city of Caen, he marched east, crossing the Somme at Blanchetaque and engaging the French in battle at Crécy (26 August), where he scored one of the most remarkable victories of the age. Edward reaped the fruits of his skilful deployment of men-at-arms – that is, knights and esquires – alongside archers armed with the longbow. From Crécy, with the French in disarray, Edward marched on to Calais, where he reduced and occupied the town after a gruelling eleven-month siege. In the autumn, three months after he had left for France, the Scots, who were allied to the French, launched an invasion of their own, a thrust into the English northern counties. They too went down to defeat, at Neville's Cross near Durham (17 October), the Scots' king himself being wounded and captured.

One of the relatively few English knights to have lost his life at Neville's Cross was Sir William de Crathorne, a Yorkshireman who just a month before had declared his will in his local parish church at Crathorne and was

now brought thither for burial. His freestone tomb effigy (Fig. 1), placed today in a modern niche on the north side of the chancel, is the earliest surviving of the sample we will be considering. The knight is depicted cross-legged, at prayer, and attired in a mail hauberk, over which he wears a gown or surcoat hanging to mid-calf. Held over his left arm and attached to it by a short strap is a shield, with arms carved on it in relief, which provide the essential clue to identification. It is not known whether the effigy was once accompanied by an inscription; and if there was one, either sculpted or painted, it has not survived. The monument is a product of the so-called Ingleby Arncliffe school of sculptors, who operated in the Guisborough area of North Yorkshire in the 1330s and 1340s.¹² It has no visual attributes to identify the person commemorated as anyone deserving of special attention.

The same can be said of the first of the two brasses to commemorate victims of the campaigning of 1346. This is the well-known memorial at Wimbish, Essex, to Sir John de Wautone and his wife, Ellen (Fig. 2), an elegant composition with miniature figures of the knight and his wife, the latter in fashionable attire, in the head of an octofoil cross, most of it now lost, and a marginal inscription surrounding the whole, likewise lost.¹³ According to his *inquisition post mortem*, taken in February 1347, Sir John died on 31 December of the previous year, that is to say, in the course of the siege of Calais and presumably of dysentery.¹⁴ A younger son who had risen through the favour of the FitzWalters, de Wautone was a regular campaigner who had fought in Edward III's campaigns in Scotland

12 B. and M. Gittos, 'The Ingleby Arncliffe group of effigies: a mid-fourteenth century workshop in North Yorkshire', *Church Monuments*, 17 (2002), pp. 14-38, at 28-9.

13 The shaft of the cross rises from a beast, to judge from the shape of the indent an elephant.

14 *CIPM*, VIII (London, 1913), no. 681.

and had been present, a few weeks before his death, at the battle of Crécy.¹⁵ It is not known whether the text of the epitaph made any reference to the circumstances of his death, but it is unlikely, given that this was an age when inscriptions typically recorded the date, and not the cause, of death.¹⁶ A curiosity of the brass is its extraordinary lack of heraldic reference, there being none of the display of shields of arms usually found on the monument of a knight. Why no heraldry was included is not clear. The effect, however, is to give us a brass in which the iconographic emphasis is almost entirely religious and not chivalric.

Very different in character is the third of the monuments to commemorate a victim of the campaigns of 1346-47, the celebrated brass at Elsing, Norfolk, of Sir Hugh Hastings, the most distinctive of all extant English medieval military monuments. Hastings, a veteran of campaigns in both Scotland and Aquitaine, had been employed in 1346, while Edward was in Normandy, on a diversionary raid in Flanders, and on completion of his duties there had joined the king's host outside Calais. In the following year, however, in the unhealthy conditions of the protracted siege, he contracted dysentery and, returning home, he died in July 1347. Hastings's brass, a composition of extraordinary complexity, provides a vivid commentary on his career. In the populated side shafts of the canopy, in place of the saints who are usually represented, are represented the lords and knights who were his principal comrades-in-arms. In the uppermost niche on the sinister side

is shown Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, the king's cousin, under whom he had fought in Aquitaine in 1345. Beneath this at one time, but now lost, was the figure of Laurence Hastings, earl of Pembroke, his own half-brother, under whom he had served in Brittany. On the dexter side in the uppermost position went Edward III himself, and beneath Edward, Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, alongside whom he saw action at Calais. In the lower tiers of the shafts are represented other commanders whom Hugh would have known on campaign – Ralph, Lord Stafford, Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and a fellow Norfolk knight, Sir Aymer St. Amand. In the upper half of the brass is represented the ascent of Sir Hugh's soul to heaven and, above that in turn, St. George triumphing over the dragon, the two together standing for the triumph of the Christian faith over death. So detailed is the knowledge shown on the brass of Sir Hugh's career that its design may be attributed to someone with or under whom he had fought on campaign, and that person is most likely to have been Henry of Grosmont, whom he named as his principal executor.¹⁷ Earl Henry was a founder member of the Order of the Garter, and it is not coincidental that in the canopy oculus is shown none other than the martial figure of St. George, who was shortly to be adopted as patron saint of the Order. Here on the brass at Elsing, the earl was honouring a knight who, only two years before, had served under him and was one of the most experienced commanders of his day.

15 *The Fighting Essex Soldier. Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth Century*, eds C. Thornton, J. Ward and N. Wiffen (Hatfield, 2017), p. 44. He was serving in 1346 with another lord with a stake in Essex society, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (G. Wrottesley, *Crécy and Calais* (London, 1898), p. 163).

16 So that the anniversary of the deceased's death could be liturgically marked each year.

17 N.E. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages. History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 216-18.

The mood of chivalric celebration, which was inspired by the victory at Crécy, and which is so evident on the brass at Elsing, is also encountered on the monuments of other leading commanders who lived to die in their beds. At Lingfield, Surrey, Reginald, Lord Cobham's career in arms was celebrated in a rich armorial running round all four sides of his tomb chest, commissioned in the early 1360s. Reginald was one of the earliest successor knights to be elected to the Order of the Garter, in about 1352, and had seen service in the Low Countries in the 1330s, at Crécy in 1346 and at Poitiers a decade later. The range of contacts that he made in the course of his thirty-year career in arms is reflected in the variety of arms selected, those on the south side including William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, and those on the north side Thomas, Lord Berkeley, his father-in-law, William, Lord Roos, and Sir Walter Pavely. At the foot are the arms of Sir Stephen de Cossington and Sir Waresius de Valognes, his two principal recruiting sergeants.¹⁸

In the second half of the century representation of the Garter itself became a way of highlighting chivalric distinction increasingly popular on the monuments of those whose prowess had earned them election to the Order. The two earliest monuments on which the Garter is represented are those of Reginald, Lord Cobham at Lingfield again and William, Lord Fitzwaryn, at Wantage, Berkshire, (d. 1361), the latter an alabaster product. These are followed in the next decade by the sculpted monuments of Sir Richard Pembridge in Hereford Cathedral and John, Lord Mohun,

formerly in Torre Abbey and now fragmentary, and later in the century by those of Sir Richard Burley and Sir Alan Buxhill, both formerly in St. Paul's Cathedral and now lost but known from engravings. The earliest extant brass-bearing slab to show the Garter is that attributed to Sir Thomas Felton (d. 1381), formerly in Little Walsingham Priory and now in East Barsham church, Norfolk, from which the brass inlays have been lost but on which the indents are still well preserved. From the early fifteenth century there are numerous good examples of brasses showing knights wearing the Garter, among these the memorials of Sir Peter Courtenay in Exeter Cathedral, Sir Simon Felbrigg at Felbrigg, Norfolk, and Thomas, Lord Camoys, at Trotton, Sussex.

Between the Crécy-Calais campaign of 1346-7 and Henry V's expedition to France in 1415 only one extant monument remains to a known victim of the Anglo-French hostilities, and that is the brass at Cobham, Kent, to Sir Reginald Braybrook (Fig. 3), second husband of Joan, Lady Cobham, and a junior member of a substantial Bedfordshire family. An occasional administrator in his adopted county of Kent but a fairly regular soldier, he met his death in the course of Thomas of Lancaster's naval expedition to Flanders in 1405. Joining in the assault on the citadel of Sluys alongside his commander, he sustained a wound which led to his being invalided to Middelburg in Flanders, where after lingering for four months he died.¹⁹ His body was repatriated to England, and interred in the Cobham mausoleum at Cobham, and three or four years later a brass was placed to his memory by his widow, probably around the time that she commissioned the memorial to

18 N.E. Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England. The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 149-68.

19 *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, eds J.S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols, (Stroud, 1992), II, pp. 349-50.

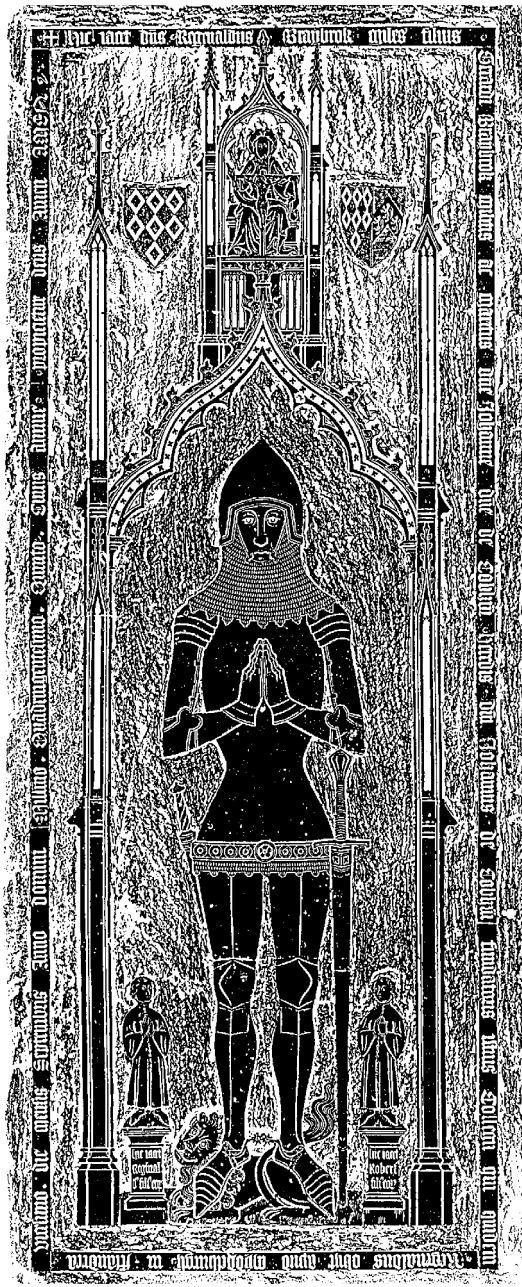


Fig 3. Sir Reginald Braybrook (d. 1405), 2nd husband of Joan, Lady Cobham, Cobham, Kent (M.S.X).
(© Lack, Saul and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses in St. Mary Magdalene, Cobham, Kent*)

her third husband, Sir Nicholas Hauberk, to which Braybrook's is similar. It is a brass in the established Cobham tradition, a product of London style B, and shows the deceased in armour under an elegant single canopy, with an inscription which records his death at Middelburg. It is a memorial of some importance in the present context in that it is the first extant to hint at the death of the person commemorated in action abroad.²⁰

Alongside Braybrook's brass may be considered another to an Englishman who fell abroad: the Norfolk knight, Sir Roger Felbrigg, whose death occurred while he was serving in far-off Prussia in 1368.²¹ Like Braybrook's memorial, it records the circumstances of his death, differing from it, however, in noting his foreign interment:

*Ceste ymage est fait en remembraunce de Mons'
Roger de Felbrig qi murust en Prus et la est son
corps enterre*

The Baltic front constituted an important crusading theatre in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, attracting the involvement of many English knights who were temporarily deprived of an outlet for their energies by the peace with the French agreed in 1360. They fought alongside or in the service of the Teutonic Knights against the Slavs, some of whom were still pagan. Roger's brass, which

20 Saul, *Death, Art and Memory*, p. 105.

21 He appears to have died at Neu Kauven in September around the same time as two other young English knights, Sir Anthony Lucy and Sir John de Multon (T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: the English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), p. 94). He had set off in the company of a group of north Norfolk men led by Lords Fitzwalter, Beaumont and Ufford, having appointed attorneys to act for him in October 1367 (*ibid.*, pp. 79-80; *CPR 1367-70*, p. 18). I am grateful to Martin Stuchfield for advice on the likely date of this brass.

shows him with his wife and alongside his parents, is a highly individual commission, the inscription of which, exceptionally for a medieval epitaph, refers to the figures above. The brass was probably commissioned around 1380 by Roger's son, Sir Simon, the Garter Knight, who sought to couple his pride in ancestral memory with the honouring of his father's chivalric exploits.

Full scale hostilities with the French were to be renewed by Henry V just ten years after Braybrook's death, in 1415, following the failure of negotiations to produce satisfaction of the king's demands for large territorial concessions in France. The king's plan was to seize the port of Harfleur, on the Seine, which he could use as a forward-base in future operations in France, and then to lead his army on a raiding march or *chevauchée* across Normandy to Calais. Henry believed that, by demonstrating the French king's inability to defend his people, he could both undermine the latter's authority and assert the rightfulness of his own claim to be ruler of France. At Harfleur, however, the siege operations proved both more difficult and more prolonged than he had anticipated, and it was a much-reduced English force that finally set off on 8 October for Calais. In the unhealthy conditions of the Harfleur siege camp many of Henry's knights had succumbed to dysentery, dozens of them dying and many more being sent home unfit for combat. Yet on the battlefield of Agincourt just three weeks later the ill-judged French decision to force the English to fight in conditions unfavourable to cavalry was to give the king his greatest and most celebrated triumph. Two years later in 1417, in the wake of this victory, Henry was to embark on the conquest of Normandy and three years after that, following recognition of

his claim to the French crown, on the conquest of France itself.

The English victory at Agincourt was so overwhelming and complete that in contrast to the slaughter on French side there was only a handful of English casualties of noble or knightly rank. The two most notable of these were Edward, duke of York, the king's cousin, and Michael de la Pole, the young earl of Suffolk. York's body was brought back to England for burial at Fotheringhay, his family mausoleum, where he was shortly to be commemorated by a fine memorial brass, now almost entirely lost, but the slab of which remains, partly exposed, immediately to the south of the high altar. On the evidence of the surviving outline, the brass was a magnificent composition, which showed the duke in full armour, his head resting on a crested helm, and above and enclosing his figure a tall canopy with inhabited side buttresses.²² The text of the marginal inscription is unfortunately not recorded, so we cannot say if it made reference to the circumstances of his death. The fate of the earl of Suffolk's bodily remains is unreported by contemporaries and will probably never be established. The fact that there is no monument to him in the de la Pole mausoleum at Wingfield, however, suggests that his body was not brought home for burial. Just one Agincourt battle victim of knight bachelor rank is thought to be commemorated by an extant monument: Sir Roger Vaughan, who is identified with the alabaster effigy at Bredwardine, Herefordshire.²³ The effigy dates from at least a couple of decades after his death, however, and the identification with Vaughan is uncertain in the absence of an inscription or, indeed, any record of one. The effigy is today placed on a modern tomb chest on the south side of the chancel.

22 P. Whittemore, 'The brass of Edward, duke of York, d. 1415, at Fotheringhay, Northants.', *MBS Trans*, XVII, pt 2 (2004), pp. 128-31.

23 T. Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight, 1400-1450* (London, 2015), p. 302 and figs. 2.115, 2.142, 2.155.



Fig. 4. *Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (d. 1415) and his wife Beatrice, Arundel, Sussex.*
(photo.: © author)

In addition to the monuments of the victims of Agincourt are those which commemorate casualties of the siege camp at Harfleur. There are again three of these, two of them to magnates and one to an ordinary knight. The grander of those in the former category is that at Arundel, Sussex, commemorating Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and his wife, Beatrice, daughter of King Joao of Portugal (Fig. 4). Placed in the centre of the chancel of the former collegiate church, now the Fitzalan Chapel, it is a fine alabaster commission consisting of an elaborate chest with weepers and shields around the sides and, on top, the effigies of the earl and countess, he in robes and a coronet and she in a mantle.²⁴ It is one of the most lavish commissions of the prolific workshop of Thomas Prentys and

Robert Sutton at Chellaston, Derbyshire. Despite the earl's strong military record, which included service in Wales against the rebels between 1401 and 1405 and in France against the Burgundians in 1411, there are no overt military references on the monument, the iconographic emphasis being strongly on status and the deceased's need for intercession. The heraldry is known to have included the arms of Warenne, Bohun and Beauchamp, all noble families to which the Fitzalans were related. There is no extant inscription around the edge, nor any sign that there ever was one.

The other monument to a magnate who died is that at Wingfield, Suffolk, to the elder Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who was invalided home from Harfleur, and,

²⁴ R. Gough, *The Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 3 vols. in 5, (London, 1786-99), II, pt ii, pp. 45-6 and plate XXII; L. Clark, H. Kleineke and S. Payling,

Agincourt 600. A Band of Brothers: Parliamentarians and the Battle of Agincourt, 25th October 1415 (London, 2015), p. 21.

alongside him, his wife, Katherine, daughter of the earl of Stafford. This monument, like its counterpart at Arundel, is a large sculpted commission, although in this case consisting of an arcaded chalk chest with wooden effigies of the earl and countess on top. Again, there is a conspicuous absence of either textual or visual reference to the earl's career and the circumstances of his death. Such reference is perhaps hardly to be expected in this case, as the monument was almost certainly commissioned in the earl's lifetime: the details of the armour point to a date of around 1410 rather than 1415 or later.²⁵ It is known that there was once an inscription on the monument, probably around the chamfered edge and presumably commissioned after the earl's death. This is lost today, however, and its terms are unrecorded.²⁶

The one extant monument to a bachelor knight who died at Harfleur is the magnificent brass at Kidderminster, Worcestershire, to Sir John Phelip, his second wife, Maud (née Harcourt), and her first husband, Walter Cokesey. This is a superb product of London style B showing the three persons, near life-size, under a rich triple canopy and with an inscription at the foot.²⁷ John Phelip was the younger brother of the better known William Phelip, later Lord Bardolf, another active soldier, who is commemorated by the fine alabaster monument at Dennington, Suffolk.²⁸ Sir John had served in France in 1411, and had contracted to serve in Normandy four years later with a retinue of 120 men.²⁹ His memorial,

in contrast to those of the two magnates, makes a point of honouring his service at Harfleur and recording his death there. On the foot inscription are the following lines:

*Miles honorificus Johannes Phelip subiacet intus
Henricus quintus dilexerat hunc ut amicus
Consepelitur ei sua sponsa Matildis amata
Waltero Cokesey prius Armigero sociata.
Audax et fortis apud Harflew Johannes bene gessit
Et Baro vim mortis patiens migrare recessit
M C quarter V Octobris luce secunda
Sit hujus alme Jesu tibi spiritus hostia munda.*

In recording the knight's death overseas the inscription invites immediate comparison with that on Sir Reginald Braybrook's brass at Cobham. It goes further than Braybrook's, however, in also recording his prowess in arms and the affection which King Henry V had for him. The brass was in all probability commissioned by John's brother William, as his own marriages were without issue and his widow, Alice, the future Alice Chaucer, was very young when he died.³⁰ If this was the case, then a ready explanation is to hand for the inclusion of all the military details.

Henry's second invasion of France in 1417 and the lengthy operations which followed were to produce their own crop of casualties, these being relatively few in the field, but rather larger in the dysentery-ridden siege camps. The most distinguished noble casualty to be commemorated by an extant monument was the king's own brother, Thomas, duke of

25 S. Badham, 'Medieval monuments to the de la Pole and Wingfield families', in *Wingfield College and its Patrons. Piety and Prestige in Medieval Suffolk*, eds P. Bloore and E. Martin (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 135-176, at p. 167.

26 *The Chorography of Suffolk*, ed. D. MacCulloch, Suffolk Record Society, 19 (1976), p. 73, speaks of 'the former epitaph', but does not cite it.

27 *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society, 1894-1984*, ed. M.W. Norris (Woodbridge, 1988), no. 119.

28 Clark, Kleineke and Payling, *Agincourt 600*, p. 19.

29 *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, IV, pp. 68-70.

30 He named William as one of his executors (*ibid.*, p. 70).

Clarence, who fell in 1421 at Baugé in Anjou. A rash soldier, keen to win a name for himself, Clarence picked an engagement that he should have avoided and he paid the ultimate price for his folly. His monument in Canterbury Cathedral is one which he shares with his wife, Lady Margaret Holand, and her first husband, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. It consists of a dark Purbeck marble chest surmounted by the alabaster effigies of the three persons commemorated, all of them represented in heraldic attire.³¹ The effigies lack any of the traditional hallmarks of Prentys's and Sutton's work and are probably products of a London workshop. The monument may be dated on stylistic grounds to the late 1430s and was probably commissioned by Lady Margaret on completion of the chapel in which it was to be accommodated. As with the monuments at Arundel and Wingfield, it is without any direct reference to the military careers of the two men commemorated. Likewise a victim of Baugé was another magnate, John, Lord Roos, who is commemorated by a monument formerly in Belvoir Priory but now in the chancel of Bottesford church, Leicestershire. The monument is a fairly standard product of the Midlands alabasterers, consisting of an armed effigy on a chest and is again lacking direct visual reference to the knight's military career.³² There is no surviving epitaph.

Far more distinctive is the monument at Arundel commemorating a victim of a later campaign, John, earl of Arundel (d. 1435), Earl Thomas's successor in some of his titles and a casualty of a siege. This takes the form

of a grand double-decker composition with a conventional effigy of the earl armed in the upper part and a representation of his decaying corpse beneath. An early example of the *transi* genre, which sought to shock the onlooker into repentance by encouraging reflection on death, it can be dated on stylistic grounds to the late 1430s or early 1440s. The monument was originally a cenotaph. Arundel, one of England's most distinguished captains, was captured by the French at Gerberoy and, dying in confinement three weeks later, was buried in the church of the Cordeliers at Beauvais.³³ It is highly likely that the choice of a *transi* monument constituted the family's response to the unusual fate of his corpse, with the incorporation of a sculpted cadaver acting as a substitute for the presence of a natural body.³⁴ A decade-or-so later, at the family's behest, the corpse was repatriated back to England by his former retainer, Fulk Eyton, and reinterred in the monument, so that the function of the latter then became the more conventional one of a focus for intercession. Two other fifteenth-century monuments to war veterans were to take the *transi* form, those of Sir John Golafre (d. 1442) at Fyfield, Berkshire, now Oxfordshire, and Sir Sampson Meverell (d. 1462) at Tideswell, Derbyshire, the latter incorporating a brass (Fig. 5). It is possible that in these two later cases the *transi* format was chosen to present the onlooker with a contrast between worldly chivalric honour and the levelling effects of death. It is equally possible, however, that the choice was inspired by the taste for the macabre fashionable among the Lancastrian courtier elite at this time.

31 C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp. 504-6.

32 Clark, Kleineke and Payling, *Agincourt 600*, p. 26.

33 A. Curry, 'Fitzalan, John (VI), seventh earl of Arundel (1408-1435)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/9532 accessed 17 March 2016.

34 J. Barker, 'Stone and bone: the corpse, the effigy and the viewer in late medieval tomb sculpture', in *Revisiting the Monument: Fifty Years since Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture*, ed. A. Adams and J. Barker (2016), <https://courtauld.ac.uk/research/courtauld-books-online/revisiting-the-monument>, pp. 113-36.

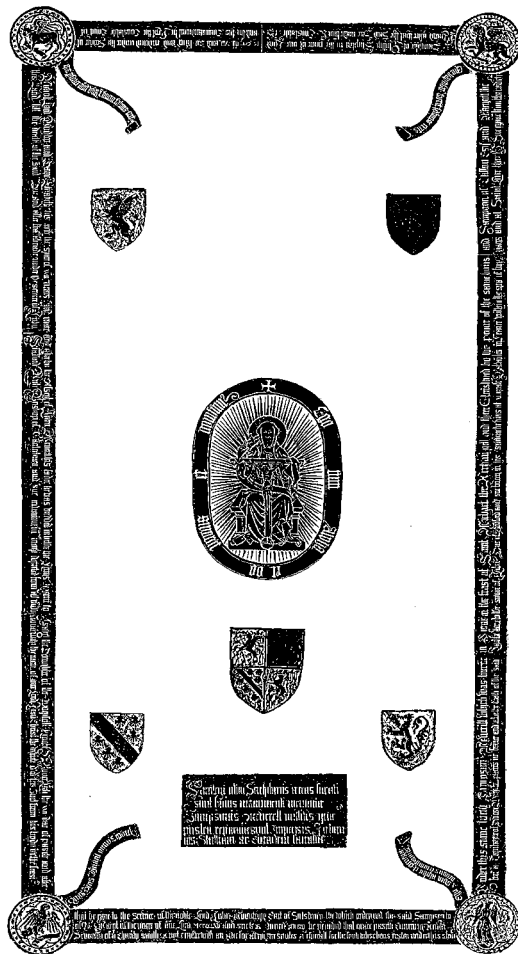


Fig. 5. Sir Sampson Meverell (d. 1462),
Tideswell, Derbyshire (LSWI).
(© Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Derbyshire)

In the absence of more documentary evidence, it is difficult to be certain which explanation is the more likely.

There are a handful of other monuments commemorating casualties of the Lancastrian phase of the Hundred Years War. At Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, is the fine alabaster monument from the Prentys and Sutton workshop to Sir Edmund de Thorpe and his wife consisting of a high chest surmounted by effigies on which both the knight and his lady are shown wearing SS collars and he is shown with an orle around his bascinet (Fig. 6). Sir Edmund was a seasoned campaigner whose career in arms stretched back to Richard II's reign and who died, probably of dysentery, at the siege of Louviers in June 1418.³⁵ At Porlock, Somerset, is another alabaster monument to a victim of the operations of 1418, in this case John, Lord Harington, who had enlisted to serve in 1415 but had to be invalided home, and who indented to serve again two years later. Harington's monument dates from at least twenty years after his death and, like that at Ashwellthorpe, is without visual reference to his career in arms.³⁶ On neither of these monuments is there an extant epitaph. In Westminster Abbey, off the north ambulatory, is the striking monument of Sir Lewis Robsart, Lord Bourchier, K.G. and his wife, a freestone tomb chest without effigies placed under a rich arcaded screen separating the ambulatory from St. Paul's chapel.³⁷ Robsart had been slain at the battle of Conty, in Picardy, on 27 November 1430, refusing to flee even when heavily outnumbered by the French.³⁸ His monument is likewise without extant epitaph. One other monument to a battle victim of these years is known to us, though now lost, and that is the lavish

35 Clark, Kleineke and Payling, *Agincourt 600*, pp. 20-1; *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, IV, pp. 598-600.

36 Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight*, p. 302 and fig. 0.16; Clark, Kleineke and Payling, *Agincourt 600*, p. 25.

37 RCHM *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London. I, Westminster Abbey*, 2 vols, (London, 1924), I, p. 37 and plates 62, 65. Banners, symbols of

Robsart's banneret status, are incorporated in the carving on the screen.

38 D.A.L. Morgan, 'From a death to a view: Louis Robessart, Johan Huizinga, and the political significance of chivalry', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. S. Anglo (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 93-106.



Fig. 6. Sir Edmund de Thorpe (d. 1418) and wife, Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

monument for which Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, made provision in a codicil to his will in May 1427.³⁹ Eighteen months after he had made the codicil, the earl was to be killed at the siege of Orléans. Since the monument, which was to be placed in Bisham Abbey, was almost certainly ready for installation by that time, it can only have carried any reference to his demise if retrospectively altered.⁴⁰

Broadly speaking, the monuments to the victims of the Lancastrian phase of the War are less distinctive in their imagery than those of the preceding fourteenth-century phase. On no

monument of these years is there a funerary counterpart to the display of chivalric pride found on the Hastings brass at Elsing; nor on any commemorative armorial is there a grand celebration of the comradeship-in-arms forged on campaign of the sort found on such fourteenth-century monuments as that at Lingfield. Brian Kemp has drawn attention to the appearance on the bascinets of some of the knights commemorated of a carving of the Latin abbreviation of the words 'Jesus of Nazareth' ('*Ihc Nazaren'*'), a practice which originated in the belief that inscribing the sacred name on the forehead assured protection

39 *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols, Canterbury and York Society 42, 45-7 (1937-47), II, p. 397.

40 A big monument, of the kind for which the earl made provision, would take between a year and eighteen months to be prepared and delivered. In 1419, in the contract which she made for her and her husband's monument at Lowick, Northamptonshire, Katherine,

Ralph Green's widow, requested delivery within fourteen months (S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "'Cest endenture fait parentre': English tomb contracts of the long fourteenth century", in *Monumental Industry. The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century*, eds S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (Donington, 2010), pp. 217-8).

from sudden death.⁴¹ As Professor Kemp points out, the inclusion of such a feature might be thought especially appropriate for those who were regular participants in war. Yet, although the words are found on many of the monuments of veterans, they are by no means found on them all. Nor is their appearance confined exclusively to the monuments of veterans; the words appear, for example, on the monument at Northleigh, Oxfordshire, of William Wilcotes, who was a lawyer and administrator. The fact that the monogram is found solely on monuments produced by the alabasterers may suggest that it was a stylistic conceit of that particular group of workers.

In the fifteenth-century phase of the War the monuments to those who fell in action are virtually indistinguishable iconographically from those of the men who fought and yet were to die peacefully in their beds. The emphasis in the secular imagery of both categories of monuments is on status and kinship rather than on service in arms. On a few monuments, mention might be made in the epitaph of military distinction. On his brass at Trotton, Lord Camoys (d. 1421) is said to be a 'strenuous knight' and a 'counsellor of the king'. On one or two other monuments mention might be made of offices held in occupied Normandy. At Dodford, Northamptonshire, Sir John Cressy (d. 1445) is described as captain of Lisieux, Orbec and Pont l'Evêque. Where, as in the case of Lord Camoys's monument and Walter, Lord Hungerford's at Salisbury, the knight commemorated had been honoured with election to the Order of the Garter, the Garter was invariably shown on the left leg. References of this sort, however, are by no

means confined to the fifteenth-century phase of the war; they are found both long before and long after. The onlooker is given precious little sense on any of the monuments of this period that between 1415 and 1453 England was engaged in a desperate military struggle in France. Most surprisingly of all, on not one monument to an Agincourt veteran is any reference made, either visually or in text, to the great victory won on St. Crispin's day 1415.

The reasons for this absence of chivalric reference are not altogether clear and can only be guessed at. One possibility might be that in an age when production levels of knightly monuments were steadily rising, such monuments were simply stock products, and not bespoke commissions tailored to individual requirements. Yet, as Tobias Capwell has recently shown, on many effigies individual pieces of armour are represented very precisely, arguing against standardisation and implying that clients were directly involved in the production process through supply of pieces to the sculptors.⁴² An alternative, and perhaps a more plausible, explanation might be that in this later phase of the war popular enthusiasm failed to reach the levels that had been reached in the earlier phase of the struggle. In the 1340s the victory at Crécy and its sequel, the capture of Calais, had generated a great sense of euphoria in England, which was reflected in the outburst of tourneying which had followed and, above all, in the foundation of the Order of the Garter. Between them, the twin victories had restored the self-confidence of the English knightly class, which had suffered a knock with the defeat at Bannockburn over thirty years before. In 1415 Henry V's defeat of the French at Agincourt, although a remarkable triumph,

41 B. Kemp, 'English Church Monuments during the period of the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, eds A. Curry

and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 195-211, at p. 203.

42 Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight*, pp. 36-49.

and although turned to great propagandist effect by the king, was never perceived in quite the same terms as a turning-point in English military fortunes. The picture with which we are today familiar of Agincourt as a victory without compare is one which was created nearly two centuries later by Shakespeare. It is worth remembering too that after Agincourt came not further field victories but a long slogging match, a war of attrition involving many long drawn-out sieges. Knightly participation in the war declined, and with local garrisons in France taking on greater responsibility for defence of the conquered lands, a gulf developed between the professionals in the field and a gentry class at home little involved in the struggle.⁴³ The growing sense of detachment felt by an elite in England which had once been united in its commitment to the war may constitute the main reason for the lack of chivalric reference in the period's monuments.

When we turn from monuments to the victims of external war to those which commemorate the casualties of internal armed struggles, we find ourselves contemplating, at least in the fifteenth century, a potentially rather greater pool of examples. The period of instability that stretched from Henry IV's seizure of the throne in 1399 to Richard III's death at Bosworth nearly ninety years later was one punctuated by rebellion, insurrection and civil war. Down to 1405 the Lancastrian Henry IV faced repeated challenges from an unholy alliance of the Percies and erstwhile Ricardians. His son, Henry V, barely a year into his own reign, nipped an incipient uprising in the bud at Southampton shortly before he set

off on what was to be the Agincourt campaign. Mid-century, the combination of resentment at the partisan rule of Henry VI and his queen and the reopening of the dynastic question led to the eruption of full-scale civil war, Henry VI's overthrow, and the accession of the Yorkist line under King Edward IV. In 1469 the break-up of the Yorkist alliance and the defection of Warwick the Kingmaker inaugurated a new wave of blood-letting that was to culminate in the battles of Tewkesbury and Barnet in 1471; while, finally, in the 1480s Richard III's seizure of the crown and the removal of his nephew Edward V set in motion a chain of events which was not finally played out until his successor's triumph over the Yorkist rump force at Stoke in 1487.

The battles fought in the course of this long series of struggles produced a higher tally of noble and knightly casualties than did the wars against the French, Scots and their allies. In external wars – wars between sovereign states – knights of different allegiances fought according to the laws of war, capturing and not slaying opponents and releasing them in return for payment of an agreed ransom. In internal conflicts, the conventions of war were different: a state of *guerre mortelle* was held to apply, in which no mercy was to be shown.⁴⁴ Once the princely ruler or commander on each side had unfurled his banner, neither side was to give quarter to the other, nor any of that side's knights take prisoners and exact ransoms. In the eyes of those in each army, the combatants on the side opposite were traitors, and liable therefore to be treated according to the laws of treason – that is, either slain on the field or tried and executed afterwards. Reflecting on

43 M.H. Keen, 'The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England', in his *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 239-55.

44 Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, pp. 352-3.



Fig. 7. Sir Robert Goushill (d. 1403) and wife, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

the Wars of the Roses, the French writer Philippe de Commines said ‘the wars lasted for so long that, by the end, all of the houses of Warwick and Somerset had had their heads cut off’ or were killed in battle’.⁴⁵

The numbers of knights and noblemen who fell in the battles of the Wars of the Roses were sometimes very large. The battle of Towton, fought on Palm Sunday 1461, was probably the bloodiest battle ever fought on English soil, with perhaps as many as 9,000 soldiers slain. Unfortunately, however, our sources tell us very little about either the numbers of casualties in these battles or the rank of those who fell. The heralds, as always, would have toured the field in the wake of the engagement to search

out the identifiable dead, matching arms and badges to the ranks and titles of knights known to have taken part.⁴⁶ Their lists, however, were usually discarded once they had served their immediate purpose, and only a handful have survived. The identity of a great many of those who ended up on the losing side in battle would remain uncertain, with few, least of all the relatives, having a close interest in preserving the memory of their involvement in treasonable activity.

One of the fiercest battles of the fifteenth century was the engagement which Henry IV fought at Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403 against his opponents, the Percies, and which resulted in an emphatic victory for the king.⁴⁷ There are

45 *Memoirs of Philippe de Commines: The Reign of Louis XI, 1461-83*, ed. M. Jones (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 89.

46 For my understanding of the procedures which were followed after battles, I owe much again to advance sight of Philip Morgan’s ‘The Days of the Dead’.

47 For discussion of the battle, see C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 216-27. Thomas Walsingham gives a list of the most distinguished casualties in the battle (*The St. Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, II 1394-1422*, eds J. Taylor, W. Childs and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2011), p. 373).



Fig. 8. Sir Robert Mavesyn, (d. 1403), Mavesyn Ridware, Staffordshire.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)

five extant monuments to casualties of this encounter, all of them commemorating men who fell on the king's side, and four of them including an effigy in the round.⁴⁸ All of the monuments are highly standardised products which make use of stock elements; none retains a contemporary inscription; and none makes any visual reference to the circumstances of the commemorated's death. At Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire, is the big alabaster monument of Sir Robert Goushill and his wife (Fig. 7), showing him with an orle around his bascinet and an SS collar round his neck, hand-in-hand with his wife in one of the favourite motifs of the Midlands alabasterers.⁴⁹ Sir Robert was badly wounded at Shrewsbury and, according to the chronicler Walsingham, was finished off by an unfaithful servant who pocketed the money from his purse.⁵⁰ At Clifton, not far from Hoveringham, is the monument, likewise of alabaster, of Sir John Clifton, placed end-to-end with a second effigy on a chest, probably that of his wife.⁵¹ At Ashbourne, Derbyshire, is the effigy, again of alabaster, of Sir Edmund Cokayne, showing him with the Cokayne arms of the cockerel on his coat-armour, alongside the earlier effigy of his father. The panelled chest on which they lie was probably commissioned to hold them both.⁵² Also in Derbyshire, at Bakewell, is the effigy of Sir Thomas Wendesley, who was carried home

from the battle badly wounded and expired a few weeks later. The effigy, today on a modern plinth, shows him wearing an SS collar, a mark of his Lancastrian attachment.⁵³ The fifth monument in the group is an incised slab at Mavesyn Ridware, Staffordshire, to Sir Robert Mavesyn, heavily re-cut and equipped with a new inscription in the early nineteenth century, when a large collection of retrospective monuments to the Mavesyns was commissioned (Fig. 8). All but one of the monuments to Shrewsbury victims were probably commissioned by the widows of those they commemorate. The exception is the monument to Sir Thomas Wendesley, whose marital status is uncertain, and whose monument may have been commissioned by one of the guilds of which he was a member.

All the other monuments which we will be considering commemorate casualties of battles of the Wars of the Roses or the various lesser engagements or family feuds associated with that struggle. In contrast to the monuments of casualties of Shrewsbury, with one exception they commemorate men who ended up on the losing side in the fighting. The first of the group in order of date is that at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, to Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, Worcestershire, and his wife. Sir Humphrey was a victim of Jack Cade's Rebellion, the uprising in 1450 which toppled

48 I am excluding from consideration here a possible precious-metal monument which, it has been suggested, may have been commissioned retrospectively for Hotspur himself (S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk, "'Monumentum aere perennius'? Precious-metal effigial tomb monuments in Europe, 1080-1430', *Church Monuments*, 30 (2015), pp. 7-105, at pp. 57-8). The evidence for the possible existence of this monument, which is afforded by a lawsuit in 1422 between Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and a group of York marblers and foundrymen, is too tenuous to allow of any certainty.

49 A. Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs of the pre-Reformation Period in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 96; M. Downing,

Military Effigies of England and Wales, 5: *Northamptonshire-Shropshire* (Shrewsbury, 2012), p. 67.

50 *St. Albans Chronicle*, II, pp. 373-5.

51 For Clifton's career, see *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, II, pp. 593-4.

52 K. Wilson-Lee, 'Dynasty and strategies of commemoration: knightly families in late medieval and early modern Derbyshire, part I', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), pp. 85-104, at pp. 90-1.

53 M. Downing, *Military Effigies of England and Wales*, 1: *Bedfordshire-Derbyshire* (Shrewsbury, 2010), p. 111; for Wendesley's career, see *The House of Commons 1386-1421*, IV, pp. 807-9.

William de la Pole, Henry VI's chief minister, and was to mark the beginning of the end for Henry's regime. Stafford was making his way across Kent, to bring armed relief to his distant kinsman John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, when he and his men were ambushed in a narrow pass near Sevenoaks, and he himself cut down.⁵⁴ His monument at Bromsgrove is a well-executed product of the alabasterers, consisting of the figures of the two commemorated on a chest and showing Stafford himself with an orle and SS collar. The monument is today lacking its epitaph. It is possible that the commission was placed in Humphrey's lifetime, as his wife is not shown in widow's attire.

From the years which saw the gradual collapse of Henry VI's regime and the accession of Edward IV in 1461 come a group of four monuments to battle casualties, all of them to men of exalted rank. At Pleshey, Essex, is the indent of the lost brass of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, a prominent Lancastrian killed at the battle of Northampton, showing him in the robes of a Knight of the Garter with his wife, under a canopy and super canopy. According to Dugdale, Buckingham was buried in the immediate aftermath of the battle in the Grey Friars church at Northampton, but his body was presumably reinterred at his widow's behest at Pleshey, where he had founded a chantry.⁵⁵ The emphasis on the brass, a product of London style D, was very much on stateliness and rank, as befitted a duke.

A notable victim of the second of the two big engagements of 1460 was Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, a leading Yorkist who was captured after the Lancastrian victory at Wakefield and subsequently executed. Like Buckingham, the earl was initially interred locally, but in 1463 his remains were ceremoniously reinterred at Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, the family mausoleum. The badly defaced alabaster effigies of a knight and his lady now at Burghfield, Berkshire, have been plausibly identified on heraldic grounds as those of the earl and his wife and point to the one-time existence of a monument of great magnificence.⁵⁶ How the effigies came to make their way the fifteen miles from Bisham to Burghfield is still unexplained. Among the other casualties of the Wakefield debacle was Richard, duke of York himself, who, like his comrade-in-arms, was a few years later to be ceremoniously reinterred, in his case at the Yorkist mausoleum of Fotheringhay.⁵⁷

The other two monuments from this period both commemorate victims of the battle of Towton on Palm Sunday 1461, a resounding Yorkist victory, which reversed the verdict of Wakefield. The first of the pair is a plain freestone tomb chest in the churchyard at Saxton, near Towton, traditionally associated with Ranulph, Lord Dacre of Gilsland, one of the leaders of the Lancastrian forces in the battle.⁵⁸ The other, likewise in Yorkshire, is the monument at Methley, near Leeds, of Lionel, Lord Welles, another leading

54 For his career, see J.C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509, I: Biographies* (London, 1936), p. 792.

55 For discussion, see R. Gough, *History and Antiquities of Pleshey in the county of Essex* (London, 1803), pp. 163-6.

56 M. Duffy, 'Two fifteenth-century effigies in Burghfield church and the Montagu mausoleum at Bisham (Berkshire)', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), pp. 58-84.

57 A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with P.W. Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York*, 21-30 July 1476

(London, 1996). In 1482 Edward IV ordered the sum of as much as £100 to be paid to hasten the completion of a monument over his father's grave (R. Marks, 'The glazing of Fotheringhay church and college', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 131 (1978), p. 82).

58 V. Fiorato, 'The context of the discovery', in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of the Battle of Towton*, eds Fiorato, Boylston, and Knusel, pp. 1-14, at p. 12.



*Fig. 9. Lionel, Lord Welles (d. 1461), Methley, Yorkshire (W.R.).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Lancastrian and a Lincolnshire landowner, whose first wife had been the daughter and coheiress of Robert Waterton of Methley, a friend of Henry IV (Fig. 9). This second monument is a fine alabaster product and consists of the effigies of Lord Welles, shown in armour with an heraldic surcoat, and his first wife in a mitred headdress and heraldic mantle, the two on a chest lined with standing angels holding shields. The monument is a puzzling one in that it is not clear either when it was commissioned, or by whom. The fact that there are no arms on it relating to Welles's second marriage to Margaret, the widow of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, might be taken to suggest that it was commissioned by Welles himself on his first wife's death, which

occurred sometime between 1434 and 1447. On the other hand, it could have hardly been commissioned before 1457, because Welles is shown wearing the insignia of the Order of the Garter, to which he was not elected until that year. Pauline Routh has pointed out that the omission of the SS collar, so odd on the effigy of an ardent Lancastrian, might be taken to point to a date after the Yorkist victory in 1461 in which he met his death.⁵⁹ One way of reconciling the inconsistencies in the evidence might be to suppose that the monument was commissioned by Welles's widow, although with her own arms deliberately omitted in order to conceal her association with a supporter of the fallen regime.

⁵⁹ P. Routh, 'Lionel, Lord Welles and his Methley monument', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 63 (1991), pp. 77-83.

There are five extant monuments to the memory of knights who fell in the second phase of the Wars, between 1469 and 1471, when Henry VI was briefly reinstated on the throne and Edward IV, driven into exile, had to fight his way back. Three of these commemorate knights who fell in battle, a fourth a knight who was executed after a battle, and a fifth the victim of a family feud.

The battle of Edgecote, fought on 26 July 1469, and a victory for Warwick the Kingmaker over the Yorkists, claimed three victims who are commemorated by monuments or who are known to have been so commemorated. At Kington, Herefordshire, is the fine, although today much restored, monument of Thomas Vaughan of Hergest, a Yorkist casualty, a big alabaster composition, showing Thomas and his wife, he in armour and she in a mantle.⁶⁰ On the evidence of the armour in which Thomas is shown and from the long hair which he sports, down to the shoulders, it is likely that the monument was commissioned some years after his death, by which time the Yorkists were safely back on the throne. Also in the Marches, in Abergavenny Priory is the monument of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook who, with his elder brother William, the earl of Pembroke, was captured at Edgecote and subsequently executed by Warwick. Again, it is a fine alabaster composition, showing

Sir Richard in armour alongside his richly attired wife, probably modelled on the similar monument, close by, of the knight's father Sir William ap Thomas and his wife. As in the case of Vaughan's monument, on the evidence of the long hair of the male figure and the style of the armour represented, it seems likely that the contract was placed with the alabasterers some years after the knight's death. Richard's brother, the earl of Pembroke, was likewise honoured with a monument, now lost, in his case in the grander surroundings of Tintern Abbey. Earl William's intentions regarding his burial and commemoration are complex and difficult to fathom. In his first will, made in 1468, he initially requested burial at Abergavenny, lower down changing this to Tintern, but then in a second will, made shortly before his execution, reverting to his initial choice of Abergavenny.⁶¹ Whatever his intentions, he was in the event interred at Tintern, and there, a few years later, he was commemorated by a monument, now lost, which an antiquarian drawing suggests consisted of an alabaster chest with effigies, on which the earl's status was emphasised by the coronet on his head.⁶² It is worth remarking that those on the losing side of an engagement who yet survived the fray to be executed afterwards had the opportunity, denied to those who fell in the field, of being able to draw up a will and arrange suitable commemoration for themselves.

60 The monument was restored in 1846 by Benjamin Jennings (A. Brooks and N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 399 and pl. 70).

61 Cardiff, Central Library, MS 5.7, ff.55-8 (the *Herbertorum Prosapia*); TNA, PROB 11/5/305. For the first of these references, I am grateful to Rhianydd Biebrach. The position in Abergavenny Priory which Herbert had selected for his tomb, in the Hastings or Herbert chapel, close to his parents' tomb, was the one which his brother's widow was later to claim for their own tomb (R. Biebrach, 'Commemoration and culture: the monuments of Abergavenny Priory in context', in *An Anatomy of*

a Priory Church: The Archaeology, History and Conservation of St. Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny, ed. G. Nash (Oxford, 2015), pp. 143-62, at pp. 151-2).

62 Cardiff, Central Library, MS 5.7, f. 75. The Herberts' taste was very much for monuments from the Midlands alabasterers. Their influence may account for the choice of a closely similar sort of monument for the Vaughan couple at Kington, as Thomas Vaughan was William and Richard Herbert's half-brother. Vaughan's mother, Gwladys, had taken Sir William ap Thomas as her second husband (Hampton, *Memorials of the Wars of the Roses*, pp. 81-2).

A notable casualty of the battle of Barnet (14 April 1471), which restored Edward IV to the throne, was Sir Humphrey Bourchier, the son of John Bourchier, Lord Berners, who is commemorated by a brass in Westminster Abbey. Bourchier was originally buried in the church of the Austin Friars, London, but his remains were later exhumed and reinterred in the more honourable surroundings of the Abbey, perhaps on the initiative of his Bourchier kin, who were keen Yorkists. The brass, although today lacking its effigy, is a remarkable one because the inscription, which is still extant, unusually for a medieval memorial, celebrates the deceased's death in battle. Its opening lines read:

*Hic pugil ecce Jacens Bernett fera bella cupiscens
Certat ut Eacides fit saucius indiq(ue) miles.
Vi cecidit Vulnus mars porrigit Arma cruore
Sp(ar)sim tincta rubent, dolor en llacrimabilis hore
Lumine nempe cadit, quo xp's (Christus) morte resurgit.*

The verses, comparing Humphrey to Achilles, honour the deceased's bravery in battle at Barnet, and record that, although he was assailed on all sides, it was the god of war himself, Mars, who inflicted the fatal blow. It has recently been suggested that a possible context for these lines is to be found in the chivalric culture of Edward IV's court, which was strongly influenced by an interest in the models of Classical Antiquity.⁶³ Bourchier's heroism made a fitting subject for celebration because, in contrast to the other civil war casualties we have encountered, he fell on the winning side. Although the author of the inscription cannot be identified, the text is

likely to have been commissioned by one of the commemorated's Bourchier kin, perhaps by Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, Edward IV's Treasurer. Both Humphrey's brass and the earl's own at Little Easton, Essex, are products of London style D, the workshop generally favoured by the Bourchier circle.⁶⁴

A small inscription brass also forms part of the commemorative ensemble at Aldbury, Hertfordshire, set up to honour a knightly victim of the battle of Tewkesbury, which was fought in 1471 and which sealed the fate of the Lancastrian cause (Fig. 10). The persons commemorated were a close confidant of Queen Margaret of Anjou, Sir Robert Whittingham of Pendley, Hertfordshire, and his wife Katherine Gatewyne. In the wake of the Yorkist seizure of the crown in 1461, Sir Robert had followed Margaret into exile in France and had returned with her ten years later.⁶⁵ He had evidently intended seeking burial in the Bonhommes' house at Ashridge, close to Aldbury, and at some stage a substantial freestone monument was raised to his memory there; in 1588, however, this was removed to Aldbury. The story of its travels and re-use is related on the inscription plate placed in or shortly after that year on the church wall close to the tomb. Beginning with Whittingham's death at Tewkesbury – which there was no obstacle to mentioning under the Lancastrians' Tudor successors – it records that Sir John Verney, Whittingham's son-in-law, was buried in the tomb, along with his son, Ralph, and his wife after them; and that in the eighteenth year of Elizabeth the tomb was removed to Aldbury by Edmund Verney and his wife, who also 'made this chapel with the vault

63 C. Steer, "The Lorde Barons Slaine at Barnet Field", *The Ricardian*, 26 (2016), pp. 87-98. See also his article in this volume. There is a note on the brass in J.S.N. Wright, *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 25-6.

64 S. Badham, 'Patterns of patronage: brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier kinship group', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt 5 (2007), pp. 423-52.

65 Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509, I: Biographies*, pp. 943-4.



*Fig. 10. Sir Robert Wittingham (d. 1471) and wife, Aldbury, Hertfordshire.
(photo.: © author)*

where in they lie'. In its present state the tomb chest is considerably larger than the effigies which now rest on it, and it is likely to be a creation of the Elizabethan age. It has a gadrooned edge of that period, and the display of heraldic blazons on its sides is entirely Elizabethan. The effigies themselves, however, are original, and are of considerable distinction, showing Sir Robert in armour and a heraldic tabard with a wild man at his feet and his wife

in widow's attire.⁶⁶ It is possible that the two effigies were commissioned at slightly different times as, although they appear of broadly the same date, Katherine's is slightly shorter than her husband's and is carved from a lighter coloured stone. It is possible that Katherine commissioned her husband's effigy sometime after 1471, while her own was commissioned after her death by her daughter, Margaret, and son-in-law, Sir John Verney, towards the end of

⁶⁶ *VCH Hertfordshire*, II, ed. W. Page (London, 1908), p. 147.

the 1470s.⁶⁷ Although the Whittingham estates had been forfeited to the crown in the 1460s, the attainder was lifted by Edward IV in 1472 in recognition of the loyal service rendered to him by Sir John's father, Sir Ralph. The Verneys would thus have had the means to complete a task that Katherine herself had initiated a few years earlier.

Alongside this monument, we need to consider a monument now lost, but formerly in the church at Wybunbury, Cheshire, commemorating another victim of the battle of Tewkesbury, Sir John Delves. This monument is known from a drawing probably made by William Sedgwick for Sir William Dugdale and appears to have been destroyed when the church was rebuilt in the 1790s (Fig. 11).⁶⁸ It took the form of a large alabaster chest with angels holding shields around the sides and on top an incised slab showing Delves, his wife Ellen, and alongside them their son. There was a shield at each corner, a fish, the family emblem, near the bottom, and around the edge the following inscription:

*Hic iacet Johannes Delves miles et Elena uxor eius
nec non Johannes Delves armiger filius et heres
predicti Johannis qui quidem Johannes miles obiit
quarto die Maii anno Domini MCCCCXXI
quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.*⁶⁹

Like Whittingham, the elder Delves was a committed Lancastrian and a supporter of Margaret of Anjou, and fell on the losing side in the bloody engagement. The inscription is curiously cryptic in recording the date of Delves's death while overlooking the circumstances of that death and altogether ignoring the fact that the younger Delves was likewise a victim of the debacle. Delves the younger was captured in Tewkesbury Abbey shortly after the battle and almost immediately executed. The two men's bodies were exhumed some years later and brought back to the church of their home parish of Wybunbury for burial. On the admittedly imprecise evidence of the drawing, the monument appears to have been commissioned around 1490, after the Bosworth encounter had brought the Lancastrians' eventual heir to the throne, and the initiative of the elder Delves's widow may be presumed.

67 Puzzingly, the brass inscription says that the 'monument was placed and erected in the monasterie of Ausheritch [Ashridge] by Sir Robert Whittingham' himself, implying presumably that he commissioned it in his lifetime. It is difficult, however to see how this could have been the case when for a full decade before his death he was in exile in France.

63 C. Steer, "'The Lorde Barons Slaine at Barnet Field'", *The Ricardian*, 26 (2016), pp. 87-98. See also his article in this volume. There is a note on the brass in J.S.N. Wright, *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 25-6.

64 S. Badham, 'Patterns of patronage: brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier kinship group', *MBS Trans*, XVII, pt 5 (2007), pp. 423-52.

65 Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509, I: Biographies*, pp. 943-4.

66 *VCH Hertfordshire*, II, ed. W. Page (London, 1908), p. 147.

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68 I am very grateful to Philip Morgan for drawing my attention to this monument. It is reproduced in Delves L. Broughton, *Records of an old Cheshire family: a history of the lords of the manor of Delves near Uttoxeter in the county of Stafford and Doddington in the county of Chester* (privately printed, 1908), opposite p. 20. Delves Broughton's source was almost certainly Sedgwick's drawing for Dugdale in *Chartularium Mainwaringiana* (in private possession). For the contents of this volume, see P. Whittemore, 'Sir William Dugdale's "Book of Draughts"', *Church Monuments*, 18 (2003), pp. 23-52, at p. 52.

69 The inscription is given in BL, Harley MS 2151, f. 134v, a volume of notes and drawings by Randle Holme, which also on the same folio has a much sketchier outline drawing of the tomb.

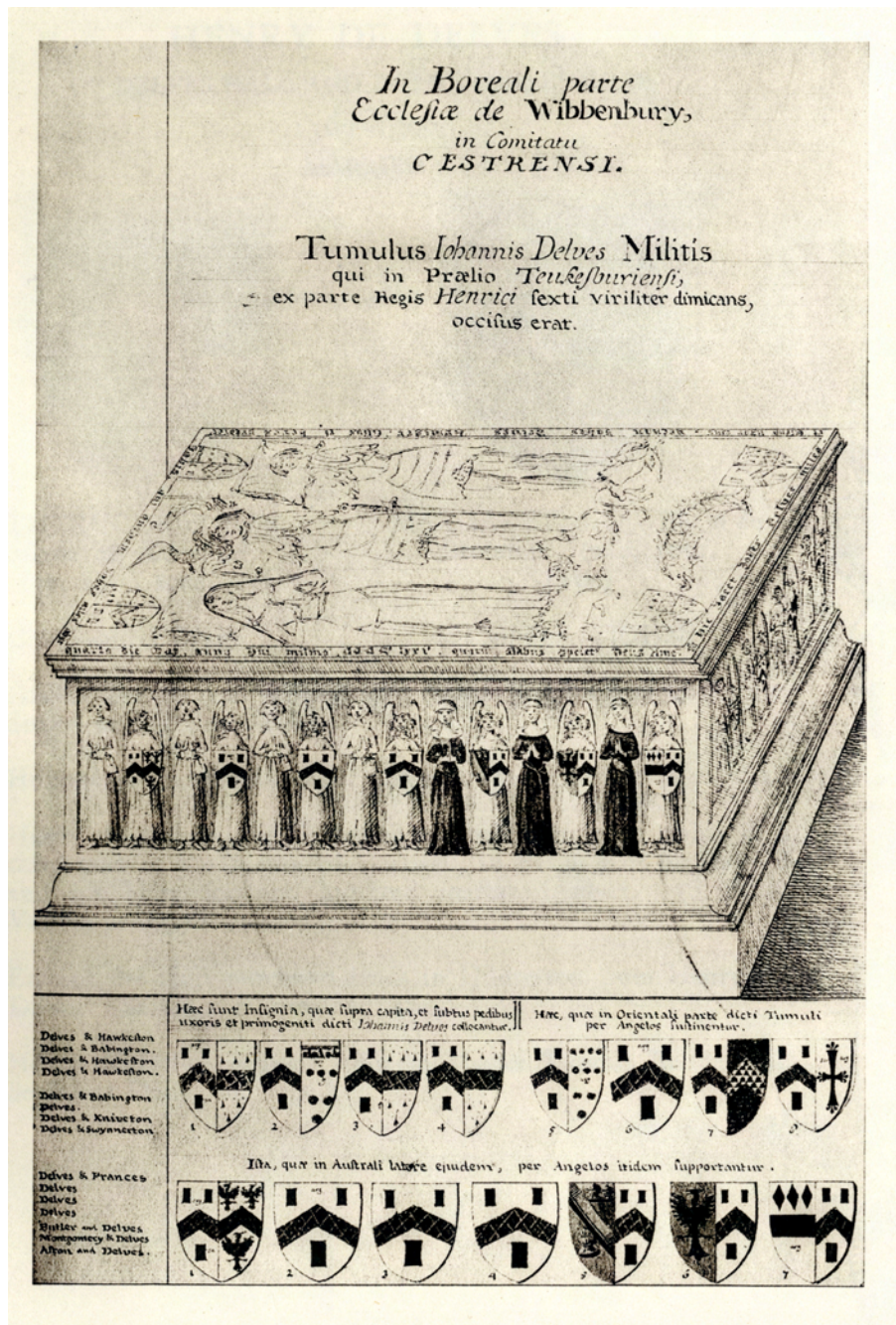


Fig. 11. Drawing of lost tomb monument of Sir John Delves, his wife Elena and son John, c. 1490, Wybunbury, Cheshire.
(photo.: © Special Collections and Archives Department, Keele University Library)

Typically, casualties on the losing side of Wars of the Roses battles were only honoured with monuments some years after their deaths.

The one remaining monument in this group is that commemorating Sir Robert Harcourt (d. 1470) and his wife, Margaret, at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. Sir Robert, who had the misfortune to be the only man of knightly rank to be killed in Henry VI's Readeption, fell not in a pitched battle but in a sordid scuffle. For some years, the family had been engaged in a tit-for-tat struggle with their bitter rivals, the Staffords of Grafton, Worcestershire. In 1448 Sir Robert and his supporters had been responsible for the killing of Richard Stafford, a kinsman of Sir Humphrey Stafford, the man commemorated by the monument at Bromsgrove. Five years later the Staffords had replied by besieging Stanton Harcourt house, forcing Robert to seek refuge in the church tower nearby.⁷⁰ In 1470 the feud flared up again, and Robert was hacked to death by the Bastard of Grafton and 150 of the family's retainers. Robert's fine alabaster monument in Stanton Harcourt church affords no indication of his ruffianly character, emphasising rather his status and showing him in the robes of the Order of the Garter, to which as a loyal Yorkist he had been elected in 1463.

Just one monument has come down to us commemorating a battle casualty of the last phase of the Wars of the Roses, set off by Richard III's usurpation in 1483, and that is the small mural brass at Morley, Derbyshire, of John Sacheverell, who fell at Bosworth in 1485 (Fig. 12). The brass is exceptional for recording the commemorated's death in the battle, which it refers to as '*in bello Ricardi tercii iuxta Bosworth anno domini M CCC lxxxv*'. As we have seen,

on only one other monument of the Wars of the Roses period is any reference made to the deceased's death in battle, and that is on Sir Humphrey Bourchier's brass in Westminster Abbey, which refers to his death at Barnet. Sacheverell's brass differs from Bourchier's in that the person it commemorates had the misfortune to die on the losing side, that is, in this case Richard's – a circumstance which, it might be supposed, would lead to the omission of any direct reference to the engagement. It is worth recalling in this connection that at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire, the Catesby family who, a little earlier, had commissioned the brass of another Ricardian victim, the king's notorious henchman William Catesby, executed three days after the battle, had circumvented the problem of the commemorated's allegiance by simply entering an incorrect date on it for his death: 20 August, two days before the battle, and five days before his execution. Catesby's brass was commissioned in about 1507 when Richard's supplanter, Henry VII, was still on the throne, and memories were probably still raw. Sacheverell's brass, on the other hand, was commissioned much later, in the 1520s, when such memories were fading. Even so, it is striking that the epitaph should avoid spelling out precisely on which side the commemorated was engaged, referring cryptically to 'Richard III's battle'. The Sacheverells, like the Stathams who preceded them in the lordship of Morley, were a family who attached high importance to cherishing dynastic memory, always ensuring that every generation was properly commemorated in Morley church. In an England dominated by the Tudors, however, they had to be watchful about making too much of their forebears' allegiances.

70 Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, 1439-1509, I: Biographies*, pp. 420, 792.

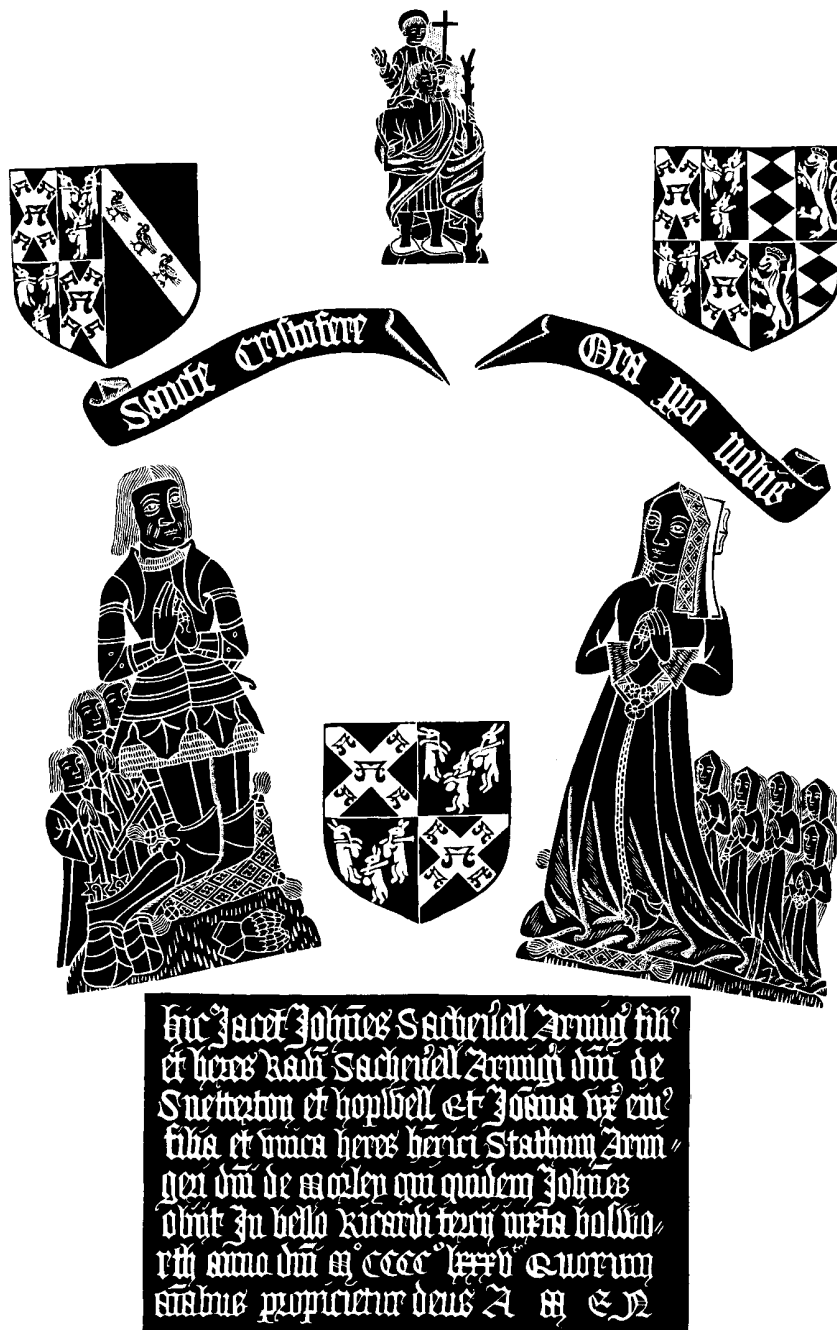


Fig 12. John Sacheverell, esq., slain at Bosworth Field in 1485, and wife Joan, engraved c. 1525, Morley, Derbyshire (LSW.VIII).
(© Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Derbyshire)

What conclusions may we draw from the monuments which have come down to us commemorating England's medieval battle casualties? Somewhat over two dozen such monuments have survived, in a variety of media – alabaster, freestone and brass. Most of these are commissions of the grander sort, involving chests surmounted by effigies in the case of sculpted monuments, and effigial compositions with canopies in the case of brasses. A number of the monuments are quite elaborate in conception with extensive text and visual imagery. On very few of them, however, is much play made of the fact that the commemorated had met his death on active service. Of the monuments which retain their epitaphs, only four make explicit mention of this fact, one honouring the memory of a casualty of fighting on the continent, and the others, casualties of fighting in civil strife at home. On only one of the group is any significant visual imagery included referring to the commemorated's fighting career, and that is Sir Hugh Hastings's brass at Elsing. The extant monuments of the war dead have very little to distinguish them from the monuments of those of their peers who fought in the wars but returned to die peacefully at home. In sharp contrast to the position today, no particular distinction was seen to attach to those who had sacrificed their lives in the field.

In the early Middle Ages, popular attitudes to sacrifice in battle had been rather different from this. A warrior who had lost his life in the thick of the battle was seen as a tragic hero, valiant and steadfast in the face of unfavourable odds. He was honoured and valourised, and so too were those of his retainers who stayed with him to the end and shared his fate. The memory of these men would be cherished, perhaps even celebrated in literature, as Ealdorman Byrhtnoth's death was in the

Song of Maldon. From the early twelfth century, however, as chivalric values spread across Europe, there was a gradual decline in the barbarism and bloodshed of warfare. As we have seen, in chivalric war a regime of capturing and ransoming replaced that of slaying, with the result that relatively few high status combatants lost their lives. It has to be conceded that there were occasionally very high casualties on the losing side in the battles of the Hundred Years War. Where these occurred, however, as they did for example at Agincourt, it was because the lethal and indiscriminate effect of the English arrow fire made the taking of prisoners impracticable.

So far as the commemoration of knights on church monuments was concerned, what mattered was not so much how a knight died as how he had conducted himself while living. A chivalric knight was expected by his contemporaries to be brave, honourable, courteous and virtuous. Through his conduct he was supposed to be a model to others, a source of inspiration to generations to come. On knightly epitaphs, therefore, what received emphasis was not so much the manner of death as battles fought, offices held, and captains served. Thus, at Tideswell, Derbyshire, the inscription on the brass of Sir Sampson Meverell, who died in 1462, recorded that he had served in France under both the earl of Salisbury and the duke of Bedford, and that the latter had knighted him. By the sixteenth century, as the amount of textual comment on monuments increased, so the number and range of such details increased with it. At Flamborough, Yorkshire, in 1520 it was recorded on Sir Marmaduke Constable's brass that he had fought in both France and Scotland, and that he had taken part in the victory over the Scots at Flodden in 1513. At Thame in



*Fig 13. Sir John Clerk (d. 1539), Thame, Oxfordshire (MS.VIII).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

1539 it was recorded on Sir John Clerk's brass that at the siege of Th  rouanne he had taken prisoner none other than Louis of Orl  ans, duke of Longueville (Fig. 13). Information of this sort was deemed to be of far greater importance than the manner of the commemorated's death. Indeed, when death was recorded on epitaphs, it was not so much the manner of it that mattered as the date: recording the date was essential, so that the deceased's obit, or anniversary, could be observed each year. Thus, on Sir Bertin Entwysell's brass, now lost, at St. Peter's, St. Albans, it was recorded that he had died on 28 May 1455, but not that he had actually been a casualty on the losing side in the battle of St. Albans, fought a few days before.⁷¹ It was the same on the Delves's slab at Wybunbury. In chivalric society, how a man died was only of consequence insofar it added to the deceased's accumulated fund of honour – as it clearly did in the case of Humphrey Bouchier's death at Barnet.

When, in that case, did the modern idea of honouring those who had made the ultimate sacrifice in war make its appearance? Almost certainly the key shift in attitude occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the new Romantic sensibility emerged. A sign of the changing times was the enormous success of Benjamin West's painting 'The Death of General Wolfe' (1770), in which Wolfe was shown as a Christ-like figure, sacrificing his life at the moment of victory over the French at Quebec. A generation later, in both text and image,

Nelson's death at Trafalgar was likewise portrayed in terms of the sacrificial death of a hero who had given his life for his country. Feeding into this new Romantic sensibility was an emerging British identity, partly encouraged by a somewhat self-conscious Protestantism, which led to a novel interest in the memorialisation of battle sites. A good example of this phenomenon is afforded by Nathaniel Griffiths's building of an obelisk on his Flintshire estate in 1736 to mark the site of the Christian British victory over the pagan Saxons in 429. Early in the nineteenth century, confirmation of the arrival of a new mood is found in the construction of the Lion Mound, with its great bronze lion on top, at Waterloo, to mark the site of Wellington's victory over Napoleon a decade before.⁷² Almost certainly, the outlook which was to find its apotheosis in the building of War Memorials after the First World War was the creation of a shift of sensibility which occurred in the modern period. Little direct counterpart to it is found in the tombs and monuments raised to the memory of the battle dead of the Middle Ages.

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71 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Hertfordshire* (Stratford St. Mary, 2009), pp. 531, 534. Characteristically, the emphasis in the epitaph was placed on the offices that he had held: he was said to have been vicomte and baron of Briquebec in Normandy and bailiff of Constantine. For Entwysell's death after the battle, see

J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 579.

72 I. Atherton and P. Morgan, 'The battlefield war memorial: commemoration and the battlefield site from the Middle Ages to the modern era', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 4, pt 3 (2011), pp. 289-304.

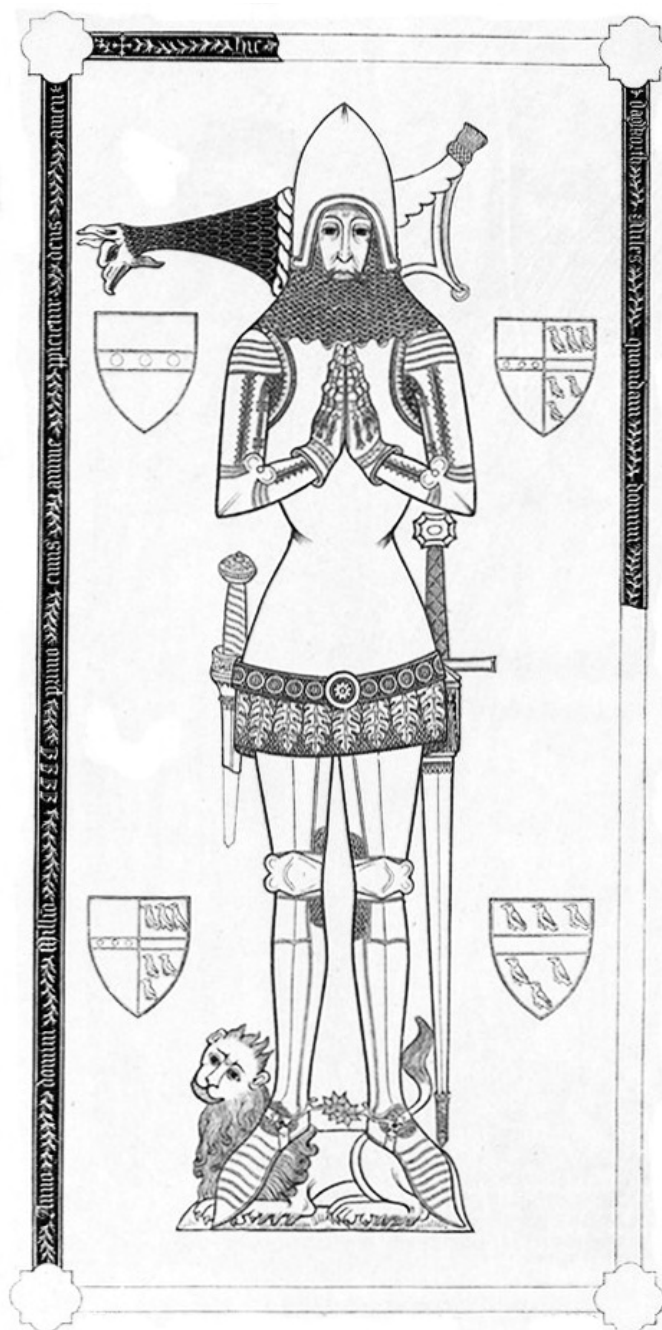


Fig. 1. *Handbook of Arms and Armor: European and Oriental including the William H. Riggs Collection* (New York, 1915).
(engraving: © B. Dean)

The Brass of Sir Nicholas Dagworth

David Green

Sir Nicholas Dagworth (d. 1402) is buried in St. Andrew's church Blickling, Norfolk. His magnificent London series C brass reflects his status, a distinct cultural ethos and his position as a member of an inter-related group of high-ranking royal servants, valued as much by Richard II for their counsel, their administrative ability and their domestic service as for their military prowess. Although it is unlikely that the brass offers a true likeness of Sir Nicholas, the brass's style and its unusual crest make this a deeply personal memorial.

Introduction

Sir Nicholas Dagworth died on 2 January 1402 and was buried at the east end of the south aisle of Blickling church, Norfolk. A splendid London Series C brass commemorates him in full armour (Fig. 1), a lion *couchant* at his feet, and surrounded by his family arms (*ermine on a fess gules three bezants*), along with those of Rosall (*gules a fess between six martlets or*). Eleanor, Dagworth's wife (c. 1377-1432), was the daughter of Walter, and sister and coheir of Sir John Rosall of Shropshire (d. 1402). The surrounding border-legend bearing Dagworth's epitaph is decorated with ornamentation – a foliage-trail lies between each word. This is unusual for Series C brasses,¹ although the text itself is simple: *Hic iacet Nicholaus de Dagworth Miles, quondam Dominus de Bliklyng, qui obiit die Mensis Januarii Anno Domini Milesimo cccc primo, cuius anime propicietur Deus Amen.*

This brief statement offers little indication of Dagworth's rich and varied career, one which reflects many aspects of England's involvement in the Hundred Years War and its satellite conflicts in the period up to c. 1390. He fought in France, along the Scottish border and in the Iberian peninsula, worked with the Free Companies, undertook garrison duty and was employed in raiding expeditions. With the conclusion of his active military service he began a series of royal commissions in England and Ireland, as well as important ambassadorial missions to Italy, Flanders and the papacy. While not referenced explicitly, the Anglo-French conflict as well as Dagworth's close connections to the royal court clearly influenced his depiction on his memorial brass. It reveals him to have been one of a select number of Richard II's chamber knights as well as a significant member of the East Anglian military community.

Life and career

Despite his later military and political eminence, Dagworth's parentage is uncertain: it is likely but not certain that he was a younger son of Nicholas Dagworth (d. 1351), who held estates in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, and nephew of the noted military commander, Thomas, Lord Dagworth (d. 1352), with whom he first took service.² Thomas Dagworth was much involved with the early stages of the Breton civil war in which the English-allied Jean IV de Montfort (d. 1399) fought against Charles de Blois (d. 1364) and his Valois

1 S. Badham, 'The London C Workshop', *MBS Trans*, XVII, pt 3 (2005), p. 235.

2 For full biographical details see L.S. Woodger, 'Dagworth, Sir Nicholas (d. 1402), of Blickling, Norf.', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons*

1386-1421, ed. J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, C. Rawcliffe, 4 vols, (Stroud, 1992), II, pp. 733-6; E.L.T. John, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1377-1422', Unpub. MA thesis (University of Nottingham, 1959), pp. 243-56.

supporters for control of the duchy of Brittany.³ One of several subsidiary conflicts that became associated with the Hundred Years War, this struggle saw Plantagenet and Valois kings seeking to gain influence in a key political region.⁴ Following Thomas' death, Nicholas Dagworth joined the retinue of Edward the Black Prince (d. 1376). He participated in the devastating *grande chevauchée* (1355), one of the most destructive raids of the Hundred Years War, and also saw service at the battle of Poitiers (1356) where Jean II of France (1350-64) was defeated and taken into English captivity. The connections Dagworth made to the Black Prince and members of his retinue in this period would be significant for the remainder of his career.

With King Jean in custody, Edward III (1327-77) sought to make good his own claim to the French throne. Dagworth fought in the expedition that besieged the coronation city of Reims in 1359-60, soon after which he was knighted. Although the English campaign failed in its main objective it did secure a significant treaty, that of Brétigny-Calais (1360), which brought an end to Plantagenet-Valois hostilities in France until 1369. The lull in the fighting in the primary theatre of war meant that Dagworth, like many professional soldiers, sought alternative employment elsewhere: he took service in the ranks of the

Free Companies.⁵ These mercenaries soon became entangled in another struggle which would be drawn into the wider orbit of the Anglo-French struggle, attracting Plantagenet and Valois attention during this 'cold war' phase of the conflict. Like Brittany, Castile offered major political advantages to one of the major powers if a compliant ruler could be placed on its throne. A struggle between King Pedro 'the Cruel' (1350-66, 1367-9) and his half-brother Enrique 'the Bastard' of Trastámara (1366-7, 1369-79) provided an opportunity for the English and French to involve themselves in Iberian affairs. The new king of France, Charles V (1364-80), charged the mercenary captain, Bertrand du Guesclin (d. 1380), with ousting Pedro in favour of Enrique, and Dagworth alongside English *condotierri* such as Hugh Calveley (d. 1394) and William Elmham (d. 1403) joined his army. Edward III wrote, on 6 December 1365, forbidding their participation in this enterprise but his order appears to have arrived too late.⁶ Dagworth like his comrades, may, subsequently, have been induced to join the Black Prince in his own Spanish campaign in 1367, which culminated in the battle of Nájera and saw Pedro restored to the Castilian throne once again.⁷ Dagworth's military career in the 1360s appears to have been extremely profitable. It may well have been the spoils of war accrued during these years which furnished him with

3 M. Jones, 'Sir Thomas Dagworth et la guerre civile en Bretagne au XIV^e siècle: quelques documents inédits', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, 87 (1980), pp. 621-39; M. Jones, *Ducal Brittany, 1364-1399: Relations with England and France during the Reign of Duke John IV* (Oxford, 1970), p. 145; C.J. Rogers, 'Dagworth, Thomas, first Lord Dagworth (d. 1350)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/50128 accessed 6 July 2017.

4 With regards to English policy in this period, especially what has been described as Edward III's 'provincial strategy', see J. Le Patourel, 'Edward III and the Kingdom of France', *History*, 43 (1958), pp. 172-89; P. Crooks, D. Green and W.M. Ormrod,

'The Plantagenets and Empire in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Plantagenet Empire, 1259-1453: Proceedings of the 2014 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. P. Crooks, D. Green and W.M. Ormrod (Donington, 2016), pp. 16-17.

5 K. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries I: The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2001), p. 326.

6 *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios imperatores*, ed. T. Rymer, 3 vols. in 6 (London, 1816-30), III: ii, p. 779; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 39-42.

7 Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 69-70.

the means of purchasing Blickling in 1368 and perhaps also property nearby at Billington, Norfolk.⁸

The English position in France declined after 1369 as did the health of the Black Prince. Consequently, Dagworth found himself in service elsewhere, first on the Scottish border (as constable of Norham castle, 1370-3) and later at the courts of Edward III and Richard II (1377-99). He was granted a life annuity of 100 marks in 1373, back-dated two years, and soon after became a vital part of the English diplomatic machine, undertaking missions to Aquitaine, Avignon, Naples, Milan, Rome and Flanders. First, however, he served in Ireland where he became embroiled in the investigations into the lieutenantancy of William of Windsor (d. 1386), which was much discussed in the Good Parliament of 1376. For a brief period, from late 1377 until November 1378, he also played a central role in the king's council in Ireland.⁹ In 1381 he undertook negotiations with Pope Urban VI (1378-89) in Rome and with the rulers of several Italian city-states. This swiftly became an area of personal expertise as, by May 1385, he had become, in effect, the permanent English ambassador at the Roman Curia.¹⁰ As such he began discussions regarding the possible canonisation of Edward II, a

topic of much interest to King Richard. Dagworth's links to the king were, however, dangerous as well as profitable. As a knight of Richard's chamber, he became a focus for attack by the Appellants in 1388.¹¹ Arrested and confined in Rochester Castle Dagworth expected to be tried by the Merciless Parliament, but his value as a diplomat saved him and in November he was named among the ambassadors who began the negotiations with France that resulted in the truce of Leulinghen (18 July 1389).¹²

He retired from royal service around 1394 and settled in Blickling where he built a manor house and married Eleanor Rossall, a lady of the royal household many years his junior. Dagworth was in London on 6 December 1396 and clearly in poor health as he drew up his will and requested to be buried in St. Benet's church, Paul's Wharf.¹³ In the event, he lived for another five years, and, indeed, sat in parliament in 1397. He may have feared the consequences of Henry Bolingbroke's usurpation of the throne but, despite his close links to the Ricardian court, the new Lancastrian regime did not seek revenge against him and, indeed, shortly before Dagworth's death Henry IV (1399-1413) confirmed his annuity.¹⁴

8 Henry Knighton suggests Dagworth was also involved in profitable military action in France in either 1366 or 1368 (*Knighton's Chronicle*, 1337-1396, ed. G.H. Martin (Oxford, 1996), pp. 192-3 and n. 5).

9 P. Crooks, 'Negotiating Authority in a Colonial Capital: Dublin and the Windsor Crisis, 1369-78', *Medieval Dublin 9*, ed. S. Duffy (Dublin, 2009), pp. 150-1; B. Smith, *Crisis and Survival in Late Medieval Ireland: The English of Louth and their Neighbours, 1330-1450* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 60-1, 69.

10 During this period, he also worked alongside the noted mercenary captain, John Hawkwood (W.P. Caferro, 'John Hawkwood: Florentine Hero and Faithful Englishman', in *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay

(Leiden, 2008), p. 314).

11 C. Given-Wilson, 'The King and the Gentry in Fourteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 37 (1987), pp. 91-2.

12 J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, III: Divided Houses* (London, 2009), pp. 674-7.

13 N.H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as Well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1826), pp. 138-9.

14 D. Green, 'The Household and Military Retinue of Edward the Black Prince', Unpub. PhD thesis, 2 vols (University of Nottingham, 1999), II, p. 50.

East Anglia and the Hundred Years War

East Anglia appears rather distant from the main theatres of conflict in the Hundred Years War. Few major expeditions departed from Norfolk and Suffolk and the region does not have a military reputation comparable to those 'enjoyed' by counties along the Scottish border or the Welsh marches, most notably Cheshire. Its contributions to the military effort are more commonly associated with shipping, fishing and agriculture than with *chevauchées* and sieges. This is, however, not a fair representation.¹⁵ The Ufford earls of Suffolk, *condotierri* such as Robert Knolles (d. 1407), the much-maligned John Fastolf (d. 1459) and the much-celebrated Thomas Erpingham (d. 1428) who commanded Henry V's archers at Agincourt, were among many with East Anglian connections who, like Nicholas Dagworth, carved out notable military careers for themselves. Another who did so was Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) whose exquisite brass at Elsing (approximately fifteen miles from Blickling) has been much studied.¹⁶

Hastings' memorial is particularly well-known for its depictions of his illustrious companions-in-arms. There are no similar figures on Dagworth's brass although some years after his death Nicholas was also commemorated alongside fellow *milites strenui* from Norfolk and Suffolk in a stained glass window Thomas Erpingham commissioned in the now lost Austin Friary church of St. Michael

at Conisford in Norwich. This window, part of a wider chivalric commemoration programme, was dedicated to 'all the lords, barons, bannerets and knights that have died without male issue in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk since the coronation of King Edward III'. It is a clear indication that the region not only contributed to the war effort but members of the local nobility and gentry were proud of so doing.¹⁷

Nicholas Dagworth, therefore, formed part of this general military community. He was also one of more than fifty individuals from East Anglia who were drawn into the Black Prince's service even though Edward had very limited territorial holdings in the region.¹⁸ Dagworth was closely associated with a number of these men, especially the professional soldiers William Elmham and Matthew Gournay (d. 1406). Another who saw service in the retinue of the Black Prince and was also commemorated in the Erpingham window was the Garter knight, Thomas Felton (d. 1381). It is notable that Felton was among the first of those of high-status commemorated with a brass from the Series C workshop. Originally buried in Little Walsingham, Norfolk, the indent of Felton's brass is now to be found in East Barsham in the same county.¹⁹

15 For further discussion of this subject see P. Caudrey, 'War and Society in Medieval Norfolk: The Warrior Gentry, c. 1350-c. 1430', Unpub. Ph.D. thesis (University of Tasmania, 2010), esp. pp. 257-8; D.P. Franke, 'War, Crisis and East Anglia, 1334-1340: Towards a Reassessment', in *The Hundred Years War (Part III): Further Considerations*, ed. L.J.A. Villalon and D.J. Kagay (Leiden, 2013), pp. 187-216.

16 Among many works see L. Dennison and N. Rogers, 'The Elsing Brass and its East Anglian Connections', *Fourteenth Century England*, I, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 167-93; J. Luxford, 'The Hastings Brass at Elsing: A Contextual Analysis', *MBS Trans*, XVIII, pt. 3 (2011), pp. 193-211.

17 F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, IV (London, 1808), pp. 86-8; J. Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk Before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration*, BAR British Series 317 (Oxford, 2000), p. 51.

18 D. Green, 'Edward the Black Prince and East Anglia: An Unlikely Association', in *Fourteenth Century England*, III, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 83, 86, 97.

19 P. Morgan, 'Felton, Sir Thomas (d. 1381)', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/9275 accessed 6 July 2017; Badham, 'London C Workshop', pp. 238-9.



*Fig. 2. Brass of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, upper part.
(photo: © Andrew Midgley)*

Dagworth's memorial

Dagworth's brass makes no overt reference to these associations nor to the Hundred Years War. There is, of course, nothing unusual about the absence on his memorial of symbolism directly linked to the Anglo-French conflict. As Brian Kemp has noted, 'although the war dominated the thinking of the military classes for well over a century, no special types of monument or particular iconographic conventions were produced for those who took part. Their monuments followed the same basic lines as others...knights who had fought were commemorated no differently from knights who had not'.²⁰

Nonetheless, Dagworth's choice of design for his brass is significant in several ways. The coats of arms and his depiction in armour reveal family ties and offer a clear indication of status. Furthermore, it demonstrates, implicitly, his association with the royal court. Series C brasses, manufactured in a small London workshop for a relatively brief period (c. 1390-c. 1407), were much favoured by a number of Richard II's chamber knights. In addition to Dagworth, this group included Sir John Cray (d. 1392) at Chinnor, Oxfordshire, Sir George Felbrigge (d. c. 1401) at Playford, Suffolk, and Sir William Bagot (d. 1407) at Baginton, Warwickshire. A somewhat

²⁰ B. Kemp, 'English Church Monuments during the Period of the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 195.



Fig. 3. Brass of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, middle part.
(photo: © Andrew Midgley)

more tenuous connection in this regard can also be made to the Brocas family, members of which were linked both to the Black Prince and Richard II. Arnold Brocas' children, Raulin and Margaret, are commemorated by a Series C brass at Sherborne St. John, Hampshire.²¹

Another distinctive element of Dagworth's brass is that his head is shown resting on a helm surmounted by an exotic crest which has been identified as either a griffin or a long-necked

goat (Fig.2).²² Such crests are a rarity in late medieval funerary memorials and especially so in the case of brasses. Fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century helms of this sort are most commonly associated with knights who had court connections and were, at some stage, active participants in tournaments. It may be that Dagworth had once carried the device as part of an elaborate costume. Certainly, the Black Prince and members of his retinue were much given to

21 N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 103; S. Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group', *MBS Trans*, XVII, pt 5 (2007), p. 423; Badham, 'London C Workshop', p. 248.

22 J. Corder and J. Blatchly, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Crests: Heraldic Crests of Suffolk Families* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 324; Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*,

pp. 228-30. Other examples of this sort include: John Foxley (d. 1378) at Bray, Berkshire – helm crowned by a fox's head (a pun on his name); William de Brien (d. 1395) at Seal, Kent – helm topped by a hunting horn; William Lord Roos at Bottesford, Leicestershire (d. 1414) – peacock head and feathers. See also Kemp, 'English Church Monuments', p. 202.



Fig. 4. Brass of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, lower part.
(photo: © Andrew Midgley)

tourneying and on occasion fought disguised or in costume.²³

There is no question that Dagworth's court connections were strong, although much less is known about his tournament credentials. We cannot be certain that he fought the famous duel with Bertrand du Guesclin, later the constable of France, before the walls of Rennes in 1357. Older editions of Froissart's chronicle suggest that Dagworth and du Guesclin engaged in 'three courses with spears, three strokes with battle axes, and

three stabs with daggers'. It is likely, however, that Dagworth was still serving in the Black Prince's retinue at this time, rather than with Henry, duke of Lancaster (d. 1361), who commanded the English forces outside Rennes. The Amiens and Luce editions note du Guesclin's opponent as Nicolas d'Angourne and Nicoles d'Augourne respectively who has, most probably, been mistaken for Dagworth.²⁴

In other respects, Dagworth's memorial is typical. It shows many of the distinctive characteristics of Series C military brasses:

23 J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalrous Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 68; R. Barber and J. Barker, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 32.

24 John Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France and Spain*, ed. and trans. T. Johnes, 3rd edn. 12 vols (London, 1808), XII, p. 374; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Le Manuscrit d'Amiens*, ed. G.T. Diller, 5 vols (Geneva, 1992), III, p. 133; Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. S. Luce et al., 15 vols (Paris, 1874), V, p. 86.

the bascinet, which leaves the face exposed, is tall and pointed; mail is clearly evident at the armpits and behind the knees (Figs 2 and 3). The jupon reaches nearly half-way down his thighs, and the decorative lower edge of its border is deeply cut in a leaf pattern. The sword hilt bears transverse lines topped by diagonal threads, and the belt on which it is carried is defined with ornamented circular sections (Fig. 3). The feet, slightly out-turned, are protected with shapely, curving sabbatons. The rather cheerful lion at his feet has a closed mouth and a great deal of curly hair covering its chest and shoulders (Fig. 4).²⁵

Conclusion

Dagworth's brass, like similar memorials, was the product of a range of motives

concerned with the demonstration of status and a particular cultural ethos. He first came to prominence during the campaigns of the Hundred Years War and it is in the capacity of a knight that he was commemorated. However, the brass also reveals his membership of a cohesive and inter-related group of high-ranking and trusted royal servants valued by Richard II as much for their counsel, their administrative ability and their domestic service as for their military prowess.²⁶ Like most brasses, it is unlikely that this offers a true likeness of the commemorated individual. Dagworth, like many clients, was probably much more interested in the proper representation of his status – shown through dress and heraldry.²⁷ Nonetheless, the brass's style and its unusual crest still make this a deeply personal memorial.

25 Badham, 'London C Workshop', p. 238.

26 Given-Wilson, 'King and the Gentry in Fourteenth Century England', p. 92; Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk*, pp. 50-1.

27 N. Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 185-9.

The Death of Achilles: The Funerary Brass of Sir Humphrey Bouchier

Christian Steer

Sir Humphrey Bouchier, heir to baron Berners and a kinsman to Edward IV, was killed at the battle of Barnet on Easter Sunday 1471. He was one of a handful of prominent Yorkists to fall that fateful day and was commemorated close to his cousin and namesake Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Cromwell, in Westminster Abbey. The figure brass to Sir Humphrey is long gone but the indent reveals that it was a product of the London D workshop. The foot inscription, written in hexameter verses, has survived and compares this fallen Yorkist commander to the Homeric hero, Achilles. Such a comparison is unique in medieval epitaphs in England. This article will consider the circumstances of Sir Humphrey's burial in Westminster Abbey, and those which led to the commission of such a remarkable text comparing his military prowess to a Greek hero of the Trojan War.

The pantheon at Westminster Abbey contains an almost unbroken run of tombs for English monarchs from the time of Henry III (r. 1216-72) until the death of George II in 1760. The abbey is a showcase of tomb innovation not only in the memorials commissioned for members of the royal family, but also in those which were ordered for favoured courtiers, generals, statesmen, clergy and men of letters. The literature on these monuments is impressive, ranging from studies of the thirteenth-century

shrine-tomb for St. Edward the Confessor, to the monumental brass for earl and countess Mountbatten of Burma at the west end of the nave.¹ Monuments to the Plantagenet dynasty have received particular attention but those of their liegemen have generally remained in the shadows.² This article addresses this lacuna by considering the death, burial and commemoration of Sir Humphrey Bouchier, killed at the battle of Barnet in 1471. He is today best remembered by an indent for a lost figure brass on a high tomb in the chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr (Fig. 1). The marble top slab shows the outline of this fallen Yorkist recumbent with his head on a plated brass helm and Saracen crest, alongside four separate coats of arms and six individual knots displaying the family badge.³ At the foot of the indent is an epitaph in hexameter verse which, uniquely amongst late medieval epitaphs, celebrates Sir Humphrey as a warrior comparable to the legendary Greek hero, Achilles.⁴

The Bouchier Family

Sir Humphrey Bouchier was the son and heir of John, baron Berners (d. 1474), a younger son of William, count of Eu, by Anne, countess of Stafford (Fig. 2).⁵ The countess was the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of

1 J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 230-34; D. Meara, *Modern Memorial Brasses 1880-2001* (Donington, 2008), pp. 237-41.

2 P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (London, 1995). See also N. Saul, 'The Fragments of the Golafré Brass in Westminster Abbey', *MBS Trans.*, XV, pt 1 (1992), pp. 19-32 on the brass of a royal courtier.

3 The brass is briefly discussed alongside other Bouchier memorials in S. Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bouchier Kinship Group', *MBS Trans.*, XVII, pt 5 (2007), pp. 423-52.

4 I have been unable to find any other surviving text on an English memorial, or in the written sources, which compares the deceased to Achilles. The epitaph for Sir Humphrey Bouchier is the only known example.

5 On the family, see L.S. Woodger, 'Henry Bourghier, earl of Essex, and his family, 1408-83' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1974); their entries in the *Complete Peerage* (hereafter CP) and *Registum Thome Bourghier Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1454-1486*, ed. F.R.H. Du Boulay, Canterbury and York Society, 54 (1957), pp. vii-xxiii.

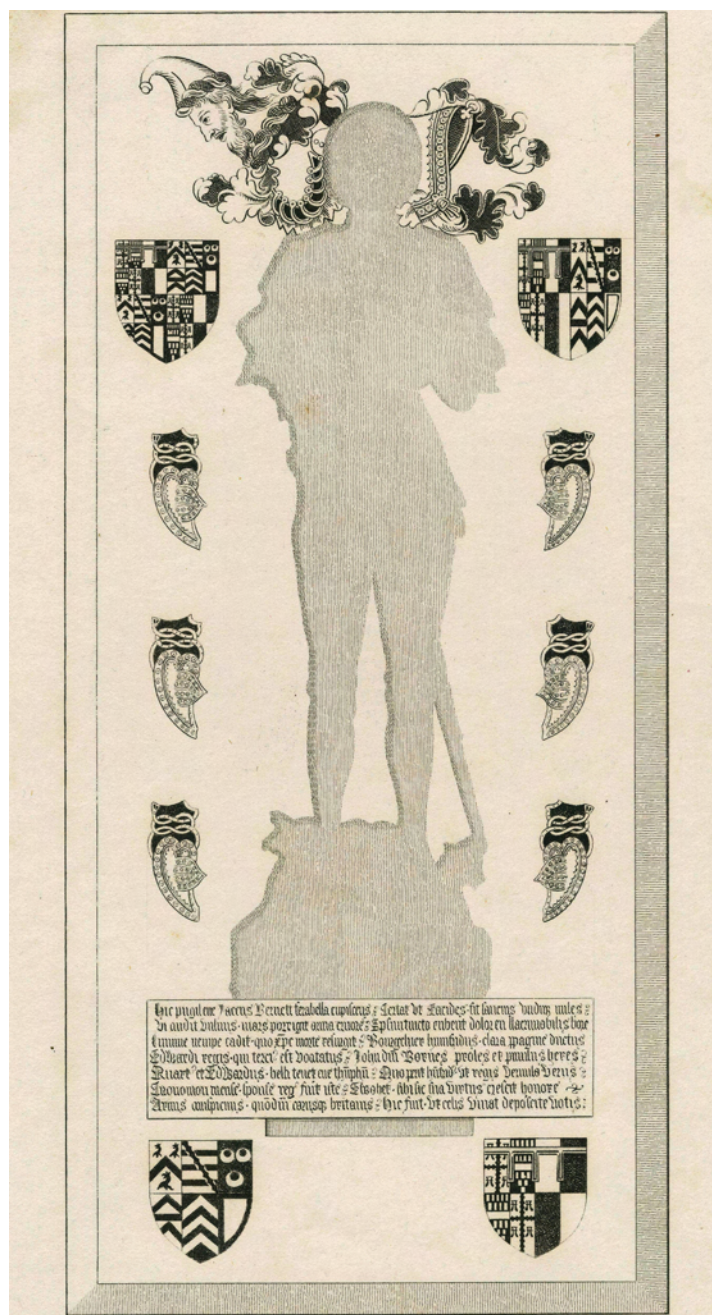


Fig. 1. Sir Humphrey Bourchier (d. 1471), Chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr, Westminster Abbey, taken from G.P. Harding, *Antiquities in Westminster Abbey* (London, 1825).
 (photo.: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

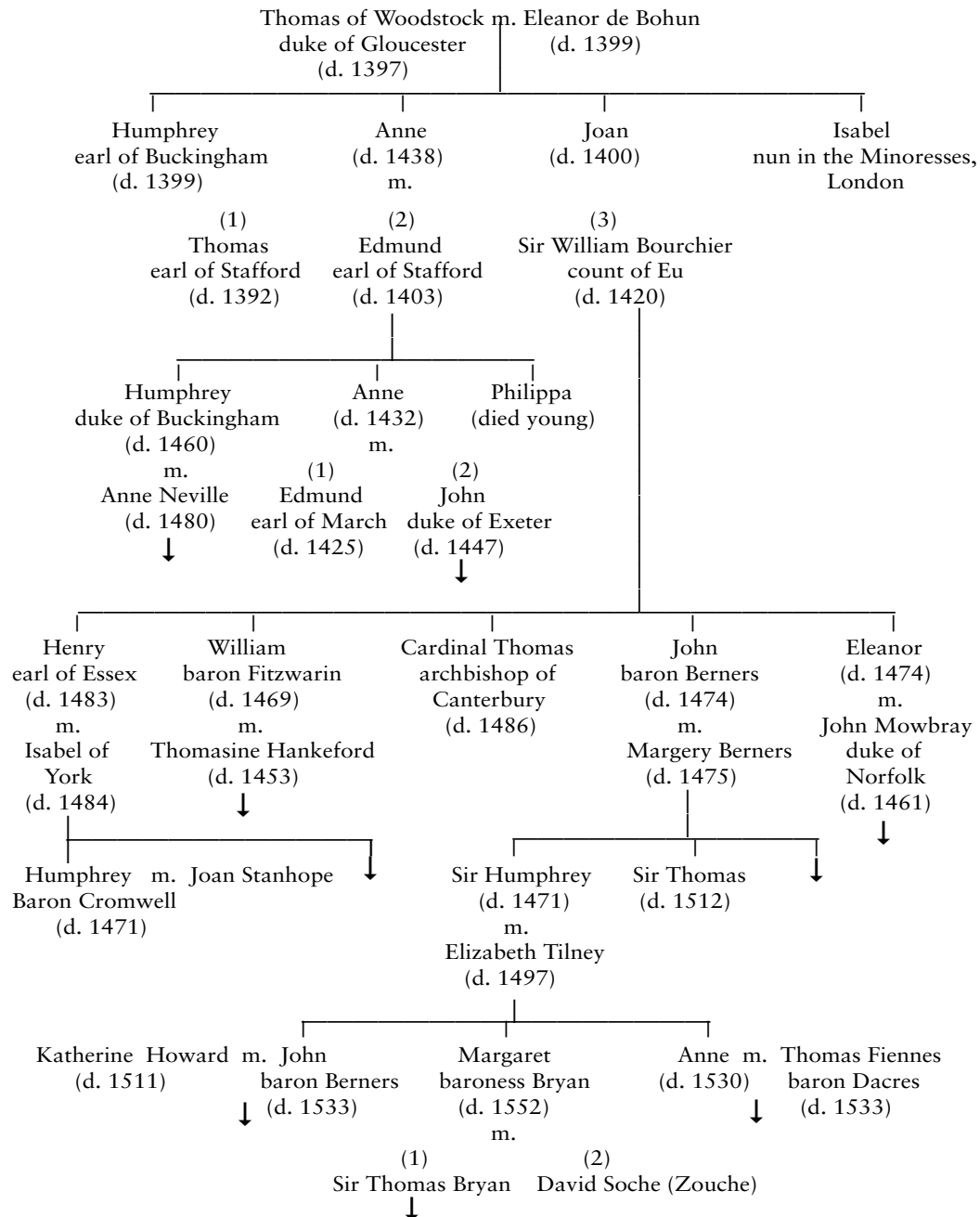


Fig. 2. The family of Sir Humphrey Bourchier (d. 1471).
(Drawn for the author by Shaun Tyas)



*Fig. 3. Henry Bouchier, earl of Essex (d. 1483),
Little Easton, Essex, formerly Beeleigh Abbey, Essex.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*



*Fig. 4. Isabel of York, countess of Essex (d. 1484),
Little Easton, Essex, formerly Beeleigh Abbey, Essex.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

Gloucester (d. 1397), through whom she was a granddaughter of Edward III. Her mother was the de Bohun heiress, Eleanor, who died in 1399. Both her parents were buried in Westminster Abbey where they were commemorated by fine monumental brasses. Anne was their only child to reach maturity. She married thrice: first to Thomas Stafford, earl of Stafford (d. 1392); later to his younger brother Edmund, earl of Stafford (d. 1403), by whom she had two surviving children; and finally, to William Bouchier, count of Eu (d. 1420), with whom she had five children who lived to reach maturity and make dynastic marriages. Countess Anne died in 1438 and was buried in Llanthony Secunda Priory, Gloucestershire, where she had arranged her tomb.⁶ Here the Augustinian canons were to celebrate a perpetual chantry for the countess and her third husband, for Henry VI and for her children: Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham; Henry, Viscount Bouchier; William, Lord FitzWarin; Thomas Bouchier, bishop of Ely; and John, Lord Berners, to be paid for from an endowment provided by the countess.⁷ This aristocratic matriarch not only ensured her own commemoration but also that of her family.

The breakdown of royal government in the mid fifteenth century and the outbreak of civil war – better known as the Wars of the Roses – brought almost every English noble family into armed conflict. The Bouchiers were no exception. The eldest son, Henry, married Isabel, sister of Richard duke of York, and

fought for the Yorkist cause at Northampton (1460), St. Albans (1461) and Towton (1461). Edward IV's triumph and accession to the English throne brought just rewards to his followers and on 30 June 1461 Henry Bouchier was created earl of Essex. He served the crown as treasurer of England and as steward of the household and remained a loyal supporter of his nephew Edward IV for the remainder of his life. The earl's son and heir Humphrey, Lord Cromwell, was killed at Barnet in 1471 and was buried with his forebears in Westminster Abbey where his grave was marked by a brass, now lost.⁸ Lord Essex died in 1483 and was buried in Beeleigh Abbey, Essex, where his countess joined him eighteen months later. They were later transplanted with their memorial brasses to the parish church of St. Mary's in Little Easton, Essex (Figs 3 and 4).⁹ Henry Bouchier's younger brother William became baron FitzWarin through marriage to Thomasine Hankeford, heiress to the FitzWarin estate in the West Country, where William and his son Fulk remained steadfast supporters of the Yorkist regime.¹⁰ Lord FitzWarin died about 1469 and was buried under a memorial in the choir of the Austin Friars church in Broad Street in the city of London.¹¹ This was evidently a temporary arrangement, for the will of his son Fulk, proved on 10 December 1480, asks for a marble stone with an inscription to be placed over his father's grave in the parish church of St. Michael and All Angels at Bampton, Devon.¹² The third brother Thomas entered the Church, becoming bishop of

6 CP, V, pp. 177-8; Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Chichele 1, f. 479.

7 CPR 1452-1461, p. 153.

8 J. Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 482.

9 L. Clark, 'Bouchier, Henry, first earl of Essex (c. 1408-1483)', *ODNB* online edn, ref: odnb/2987 accessed 14 December 2017. On the brass see Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage', pp. 432-6 and *A Series of*

Monumental Brasses, Indents and Incised Slabs from the 13th to the 20th Century, eds W. Lack and P. Whittemore, 1 pt 1 (privately published, 2000), pp. 1-2 and pl. 4.

10 CP, V, pp. 505-06; C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. 79.

11 London, College of Arms, MS. CGY 647, f. 16.

12 TNA, PROB 11/7 f. 7v. For a possible identification of the tomb for Thomasine Hankford, see B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *Devon* (2nd edn, London, 1989), p. 147.

Worcester and later of Ely before his election to the see of Canterbury in 1454. He was appointed cardinal in 1467 by Pope Paul II. The cardinal-archbishop is perhaps best remembered for his role in persuading Queen Elizabeth Woodville to surrender her younger son Richard into the hands of the Protector – his uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester.¹³ He crowned Gloucester as Richard III on 6 July 1483, but then appears to have distanced himself from court. Cardinal Bourchier died on 30 March 1486 and was buried beneath an imposing monument next to the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁴

The fourth Bourchier brother, John, married the wealthy heiress Margery Berners shortly after the death of her first husband John Feriby in 1441. She brought a handsome property portfolio to the marriage, including a large tenement in Thames Street, London, and an estate in Gloucestershire. John Bourchier was later appointed joint constable of Windsor Castle, serving with Lord Fauconberg from 1455. The office stayed in the family until the end of Henry VII's reign.¹⁵ Lord Berners was made chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth Woodville, for which he was granted £40 *per annum*; his wife Margery was appointed governess to Princess Elizabeth and in 1468 was awarded £100 for her continuous service.¹⁶ Lord Berners drew up his will on 16 March 1473 in which he requested burial in the chapel of the Holy Rood at Chertsey Abbey, Surrey, to which he bequeathed a jewelled

silver cross complete with images of the Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist and valued at a remarkable £40. This was to cover the cost of his burial in the abbey and to secure intercessory prayers from the abbot and brethren.¹⁷ He made no specific provision for his tomb but there is little reason to doubt he was appropriately commemorated. Berners had four surviving children: two sons, Humphrey (discussed below) and Thomas, who were each accorded knighthood, and two daughters, Joan, married to Sir Henry Neville, killed at the battle of Edgecote Moor in 1469, and Elizabeth, wife of Robert, baron Welles and Willoughby, executed following his failed uprising against the king in 1470. The widowed Bourchier sisters died in 1470. Their brother Sir Thomas switched allegiance and was later one of the disgruntled Yorkists who rebelled against Richard III in the autumn of 1483. He prospered under the new Tudor dynasty and died on 22 December 1512. He was buried in the newly-built chapel he had commissioned at Boxley Abbey, Kent.¹⁸ Their mother Lady Berners had died in 1475, only a year after her sister-in-law, Eleanor, only daughter to William and Anne Bourchier. Eleanor was herself married to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, who, following the second battle of St. Albans in February 1461, fled to the Yorkist cause and fought with the young Edward IV at Towton a month later. He died later that year and his duchess in 1474. They were buried in the ducal mausoleum at Thetford Priory, Norfolk.¹⁹

13 *The Usurpation of Richard III* by Dominic Mancini, ed. C.A.J. Armstrong (Gloucester, 1989), p. 88.

14 L. Clark, 'Bourchier, Thomas (c. 1411-1486)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref: odnb/2993 accessed 14 December 2017.

15 S. Bond, 'The Medieval Constable of Windsor', *English Historical Review*, 82 n. 323 (1967), pp. 225-49 at 248-9.

16 TNA, E404/74/1/100. See also, A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466-7', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 50, pt 1 (1967), pp. 443-81 at 450.

17 TNA, PROB 11/6 ff. 112v-113.

18 TNA, PROB 11/14 ff. 114-115. There is an account of his funeral procession from Leeds Castle (where he was constable) to Boxley Abbey in BL, Additional MS. 45131, ff. 145v-146.

19 *CP*, IX, pp. 607-08.

The Bouchier family were committed to Edward IV's cause. They served him faithfully throughout his reign and during his temporary exile in the Low Countries. They fought for him and died for him. And when it came to their commemoration as loyal supporters of the House of York, it was the martial prowess of Sir Humphrey Bouchier which was celebrated.

Sir Humphrey Bouchier

Humphrey Bouchier was probably born shortly after his parents' marriage in the early to mid 1440s. His father arranged a profitable marriage for him to the Lincolnshire heiress, Elizabeth Tilney, step-daughter of Sir John Say, speaker of the House of Commons, and adherent to the Yorkist regime. In 1466 Humphrey was appointed constable of Windsor Castle, an office he served alongside his father. He was later retained as a carver to Queen Elizabeth with a fee of 40 marks *per annum*.²⁰ Humphrey and Elizabeth had at least one son, John, born in 1467, who was to succeed his grandfather as baron Berners in 1474.²¹ They also had two daughters, Margaret, appointed baroness Bryan (d. 1552), who was thrice married and who served Henry VIII as governess of the royal children;²² and Anne (d. 1530), wife of Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, and lady of the bedchamber to Queen Katherine of Aragon.²³ Their mother Elizabeth made a second marriage in 1472 to Thomas Howard, created earl of Surrey (1483), and died in 1497.

Sir Humphrey remained loyal to the Yorkist cause during the Readeption of 1470-71 and Henry VI's brief return to power. His exact whereabouts are unknown, but on Edward IV's return in the spring of 1471 the Bouchiers quickly rallied to his cause. It was on Easter Sunday, 14 April 1471, that the Yorkists met the Lancastrian force led by Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, at Barnet (Fig. 5). The battle was confused and uncertain but after five hours or so the Yorkists emerged victorious, Warwick and his brother Lord Montague were dead, and the duke of Exeter and earl of Oxford had fled. Some 3,000 men were thought to have fallen that day. Edward IV returned to London before readying his forces for their march west to engage with the army of Queen Margaret and Edward of Lancaster. The bodies of Warwick and Montague were displayed in St. Paul's Cathedral before being taken to Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, for burial alongside their father Richard, earl of Salisbury, and their brother Sir Thomas, who had themselves fallen at Wakefield eleven years before.²⁴ In a letter written three days after Barnet to the city authorities in Cologne, the Hanseatic merchant Gerhard von Wesel gave an account of the battle.²⁵ Another letter, written on 4 May 1471 by Jean de Molesmes, secretary to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to the mayor and aldermen of Dijon also referred to the recent battle at Barnet and set down the names of notable casualties. These included the Yorkists Humphrey Bouchier, Lord Cromwell, his cousin and namesake Sir Humphrey,

20 Myers, 'Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville', p. 450.

21 *CP*, II, pp. 153-54.

22 S. Brigden, 'Bryan, Sir Francis [called the Vicar of Hell] (d. 1550)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref: odnb/3788 accessed 14 December 2017.

23 *CP*, IV, pp. 9-10.

24 'Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Final Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI', ed. J. Bruce, reproduced in

Three Chronicles of the Reign of Edward IV (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 131-93 at 164-7. On the battlefield see B. Watson, 'Barnet: the ongoing archaeological search for Greater London's only medieval battlefield', *London Archaeologist*, 14 pt. 5 (2015), pp. 231-8, and P.W. Hammond, *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 66-80.

25 H. Kleineke, 'Gerhard von Wesel's Newsletter from England, 17 April 1471', *The Ricardian*, 16 (2006), pp. 66-83.



Fig. 5. The battle of Barnet, from *The Arrival of Edward IV* (Bruges, 1471).

(Ghent University Library, MS 236, f. 2)

(photo.: © Ghent University Library, BHSL.HS.0236)



Fig. 6. The church of the Austin Friars (top, centre), WA1950.206.7
 Anthonis van den Wijngaerde, *Panorama of London as seen from Southwark: London Bridge, 1554*.
 (photo: © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

William Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele and Bernard de la Forssa, a Gascon nobleman.²⁶ The death of Sir Humphrey was also noted in a letter written by Sir John Paston (who had fought on the losing side) to his mother dated 18 April 1471.²⁷

The remains of Sir Humphrey Bourchier were taken to the Austin Friars church in London for burial (Fig. 6).²⁸ An entry in *The Great Chronicle of London*, now known to have been written by

Robert Fabyan, recorded, 'And upon the Same Moneday (Easter Monday) was the Corps of the lord Barnes Reverently browgth unto the Frere Augustynys & there buried in the Quere upon the Sowthe syde of theyr ffounder'.²⁹ Above Fabyan's entry recording 'the lord Barnes' a later sixteenth-century hand has inserted the name 'Sir Humphrey Bourchier'.³⁰ It is to be remembered that it was here that Sir Humphrey's uncle FitzWarin was buried only two or so years before Barnet (see above).

26 L. Visser-Fuchs, 'A Ricardian Riddle: The Casualty List of the Battle of Barnet', *The Ricardian*, 8 (1988), pp. 9-12.

27 *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971-6), II, pp. 437-8.

28 C. Steer, 'The Lorde Barons Slaine at Barnet Field', *The Ricardian*, 26 (2016), pp. 87-98.

29 *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds, A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938), p. 217. On the identification of Robert Fabyan as the author, see M.T.W. Payne, 'Robert Fabyan and the Nuremberg Chronicle', *The Library*, 7th ser., 12 pt 2 (2011), pp. 164-9.

30 *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds Thomas and Thornley, pp. xxi-xxiv.



Fig. 7. The tomb-scape in the Chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr.
(photo: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

It was not uncommon for members of the aristocracy who had died suddenly in times of political crisis to be temporarily interred in one of London's mendicant churches.³¹ However, unlike Sir Humphrey's uncle there is no evidence that Sir Humphrey himself was commemorated by a memorial at Austin Friars. The list of tombs at Austin Friars made by the herald Thomas Benolt c. 1504 omits any reference to a monument for him. This tomb was also omitted from John Stow's original account of the monuments from Austin Friars and only appears as an addition made to his 1603 edition, probably based on the entry

in *The Great Chronicle*.³² However, in his record of the tombs in Westminster Abbey, Benolt recorded not only a memorial for Humphrey, Lord Cromwell in the chapel of St. Thomas, but also one for 'the lord barnes', close to the monumental brass of the duchess of Gloucester.³³ This can be none other than Sir Humphrey Bourchier, heir of Lord Berners. The description of young Bourchier, and the reference in *The Great Chronicle*, suggests that Sir Humphrey was also known by his father's title, albeit as a misspelling of Lord Berners. It was unusual for the heir to adopt his father's aristocratic title in his lifetime, and this might

31 C. Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds C.M. Barron and C. Burgess (Donington, 2010), pp. 117-42 at 135-6.

32 BL, Harley MS. 538, f. 63 and C.L. Kingsford, *A Survey of London by John Stow*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), I, p. 178.

33 London, College of Arms, MS. CGY 647, f. 2v.

suggest some form of infirmity or disability of the elder baron, with his heir assuming duties on his behalf.

Lady Elizabeth Bouchier was granted probate of her husband's estate in the archbishop's court at Lambeth on 18 June 1471. The will is undated and a mere six lines long:

It is my will that my wif pay my dettes And
if she so doo then she to have such goodes
as I have to hir use and to my children And
if she do nott than my stuff to be sold to the
valewe of my dettes and my dettes to be
paide therewith and my wif and my children
to have the surepluse And performyng herof
I will that thies persones undrewriten have
full power to see it doone my lord my fadir
my lady my modir my wif Sir John Say
maister Thomas Rous Sir Robert Scayman
and John Weston.³⁴

Sir Humphrey's concern was for his debts to be settled and any surplus to provide for his wife and children. Unlike many other surviving wills from the fifteenth century there is no provision for intercessory prayer, bequests to religious houses or legacies to friends and family. The silence of the will is loud. It is a will written in a hurry, perhaps on the eve of battle, and its brevity suggests that Sir Humphrey relied also on verbal instructions given to his executors.

The Brass of Sir Humphrey Bouchier

The indent for the armoured effigy of Sir Humphrey, set upon a Purbeck marble slab,

is one of several monuments to survive in the chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 7).³⁵ It is today in the south of the chapel immediately before the sculptured effigy of Sir Bernard Brocas (d. 1395). Benolt's early sixteenth-century list of tombs reveals that little has changed, and that the chapel remains almost exclusively a mausoleum for cadet branches of the English royal family.³⁶ Here lie buried William of Windsor (d. 1348) and his sister Blanche of the Tower (d. 1342), children of Edward III.³⁷ The king's younger brother, John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall (d. 1336) is commemorated nearby, while to the west of the chapel is the monument to William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, a half-brother to Henry III, who died in 1296. Sir Humphrey's great-grandmother, Eleanor de Bohun, duchess of Gloucester, is commemorated in the middle of the chapel alongside the brasses of her descendants Humphrey, Lord Cromwell (now lost), and Sir Humphrey. Thomas Benolt also noted the remains of nine royal infants (without naming them), the children of Henry III and Edward I who were buried in the chapel. Only two non-royals were permitted the honour of burial here: Sir Bernard Brocas, soldier, courtier and chamberlain to Queen Anne, whose sculptured effigy remains between two pillars on the south wall, and Robert Waldeby (d. 1398), a royal clerk and bishop of Chichester, who was elevated to the archbishopric of York in 1396.³⁸

34 TNA, PROB 11/6 f. 33.

35 *RCHM, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London: Volume 1. Westminster* (London, 1924), pp. 41-4 at 42; J.S.N. Wright, *The Brasses of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 25-6.

36 London, College of Arms, MS. CGY 647, f. 2v.

37 On these royal children see J.D. Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, 16 (1953), pp. 25-40 at 34-5; *RCHM, Westminster*, p. 42.

38 N. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, eds J. Blair and B. Golding (2nd edn, Oxford, 2003), pp. 196-218 at 211-12.



Fig. 8. The eagles shown on the arms of Henry Bouchier and Isabel of York.
(photo.: © The British Library Board, MS Royal 2 B. XIV, f. 7)

The figure of Sir Humphrey may now be lost but several notable features can be interpreted from its matrix. He was evidently shown in complete body armour with a plated skirt and scallop-shaped couters, a noted feature on the armour of other London D brasses of comparable date. The outlines of these are similar to those on the monumental brasses of, for example, Robert Ingylton, esquire (d. 1472) in St. Michael's church, Thornton, Bucks., and of Sir Anthony Grey (d. 1480) in St. Alban's Abbey, Herts. Sir Humphrey was shown bare-headed, with long straight hair resting on a helm with a Saracen crest (the plate for which has survived). His sword hung from a belt and sloped from right to left; an outline of a dagger is visible on the



Fig. 9. The Bouchier knot, the family's heraldic badge, from the brass of Sir Humphrey Bouchier.
(photo.: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

right-hand side. It is likely he wore the Yorkist collar of suns and roses around his neck. An early-eighteenth-century description of the brass written in 1711 reveals that his feet rested on a leopard and an eagle.³⁹ The eagle was used as a footrest on other Bouchier brasses and can still be seen on the surviving memorial for Humphrey's uncle, the earl of Essex, and his consort in Little Easton church,

39 J. Crull, *The Antiquities of St. Peter's or the Abbey Church of Westminster*, 2 vols (4th edn, London, 1741), I, pp. 48-9.



Fig. 10. Inscription in 14 Latin verses from the brass to Sir Humphrey Bourchier.
(photo: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)

Essex. A close parallel may be seen with the eagles used to illustrate Henry and Isabel's armorials in her psalter, accompanied by the Bourchier knot and Yorkist fetterlock (Fig. 8).⁴⁰ The marble slab at Westminster Abbey is rich with its own heraldic imagery. Four coats of arms at the top and bottom display the arms of Bourchier, Louvain, Berners, Tilney and Thorpe, and there are also six Bourchier knots, the family's heraldic badge, three on either side of the knight (Fig. 9). The upper dexter shield, and that on the lower sinister side, include the label of three points, to indicate an eldest son dying in his father's lifetime.

The marble slab is entirely smooth around its circumference and lacks any marginal inscription. The epitaph at the base of the figure of Sir Humphrey is the only text that we know of, albeit with a shorter indent immediately beneath the foot inscription for a lost half-line (possibly the date of death).⁴¹ The inscription is a remarkable composition, written in hexameter verses which eulogise this fallen nobleman as worthy of comparison with the mythical warrior, Achilles (Fig. 10). The asterisk mark in the transcription which

follows indicates a square dot in the text, with the forward slash indicating the verse end:

Hic pugil ecce Jacens Bernett fera bella
cupiscens/ Certat ut Eacides* fit saucius undiq(ue)
miles/ Vi cecidit* Vulnus* mars porrigit arma
cruore/ Sp(ar)sim tincta rubent* dolor en*
llacrimabilis hore Lumine nempe cadit* quo xp's
[Christus] morte resurgit/ Bourgchier humfridus*
clara p(ro)pagine ductus Edwardi regis* qui
terci(us) est vocitatus/ Joh(an)n(is) d(omi)ni
Barnes* proles et p(ri)mulus heres/ Quart(us) et
Edwardus* belli tenet ecce th(ri)u(m)phu(m)/
Quo perit hu(m)frid(us)* ut regis vernula verus/
Cironomon mense* sponse reg(is) fuit iste/
Elizabet[h]* sibi sic sua virtus crescit honore/
Armis conspicuus* quo(n)d(a)m carusq(ue)
brita(n)nis/ Hic fuit* Ut celis vivat deposcite
votis:*

(Behold this champion lying here who, eager for the fierce fighting at Barnet, fights like Achilles. The soldier receives wounds from all directions. He fell by force. Mars offers the wound. His [shield of] arms spattered by blood glows red in colour. Lo, the grief of the tearful hour. And indeed he falls on the day on which Christ rose from Death;⁴² Humphrey Bourgchier,

⁴⁰ BL, Royal MS. 2 B. XIV, f. 7.

⁴¹ The foot inscription measures 76cm x 20 cm and the indent, which is centred, 35cm x 4.5cm.

⁴² Easter Day.

sprung from the glorious line of King Edward, called the Third, the son and first heir of John, Lord Barnes (*recte* Berners). And behold, Edward the Fourth holds the triumph in the battle, in which Humphrey dies as a true, faithful servant of the King. He was Chief Carver of the King's wife Elizabeth; thus is his virtue increased by the honour. He was formerly distinguished in arms and dear to Britons; ask in your prayers that he may live in Heaven.)

The comparison with Achilles (referred to as 'Eacides') is unique in English funerary epitaphs.⁴³ The text is unusual in other ways also, for it was rare for death in battle to be recorded so clearly on a monumental inscription.⁴⁴ There can be little doubt of the ferocity of this knight on the battlefield, whose death came not at the hands of mere mortals, but who was felled by the mightiest of warriors, Mars the god of war. Elsewhere, the description of 'spattered by blood' is graphic and leaves little to the imagination. This has particular resonance given the Bourchier arms, *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable*. The use of red tincture in the gules may have provided extra significance to Sir Humphrey's bloodied state.⁴⁵ The personalisation of the verse is also evident elsewhere, in the reference to the Resurrection. To die on this most holy of days, and in a just and noble cause, associated this steadfast knight with the Resurrection and Christ's own sacrifice for all time. It guaranteed

his ascent to Paradise. The text is also at pains to emphasise Sir Humphrey's lineage from Edward III, through whom he was a cadet member of the English royal family, serving them in peace and in war and for whom – ultimately – he gave his life. The inscription for Humphrey's cousin and namesake, Lord Cromwell, on his (now lost) brass close by, recorded his own kinship to the Yorkists and that he too died fighting for them on Easter Day, 1471.⁴⁶ However his inscription was conventional, whereas the text composed for Sir Humphrey took note of his daily service to the Crown as chief carver to Queen Elizabeth and his attendance at the royal court. The request for prayer at the end of the text is different from the formulaic '*cuius anime propicietur Deus*' (on whose soul may God have mercy) on so many English medieval brasses.⁴⁷ The concluding sentence, '*Ut celis vivat deprecate votis*' (Ask in your prayers that he may live in Heaven) is an elegant adaptation, with the focus placed firmly on the reader to provide intercession and, ultimately, salvation.

Sir Humphrey's epitaph is engraved in a script used by the London D workshop of the 1470s.⁴⁸ We can be confident therefore that the text is contemporary with the production of the figure brass, suggesting a relatively swift exhumation and reburial from Austin Friars to Westminster Abbey during King Edward's second reign. Closer examination of the inscription reveals not only the care taken in its composition but

43 'Eacides' was used by the first century poet Statius to describe Achilles and later adopted by John Lydgate in the *Siege of Thebes*. For other Classical comparisons on medieval monuments see R. Favreau, *Epigraphie Médiévale* (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 193-5.

44 N. Rogers, 'The Biographical Brass', in *Recording Medieval Lives*, eds J. Boffey and V. Davis (Donington, 2009), pp. 233-42 at 239. The inscription on the seventeenth-century retrospective brass of John Dering (d. 1425) in the church of St. Nicholas at Pluckley, Kent, is a noted exception and post-medieval.

45 I thank Nigel Ramsay for this interesting suggestion.

46 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 482.

47 J. Bertram, 'Inscriptions on Late Medieval Brasses and Monuments', in *Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent*, eds J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth and D.N. Parsons (Donington, 2001), pp. 190-201.

48 S. Badham, J. Blair and R. Emmerson, *Specimens of Lettering from English Monumental Brasses* (London, 1976), pp. 4 and 18-19.

also the engraver's inexperience with the metrical features of the text, for he evidently misjudged the length of lines two and three of the inscription. The engraver has used two devices to divide the text, a curlicue marking the verse end and a square dot. The latter was perhaps meant to indicate the caesura (or pause) in each hexameter. This suggests the care taken by the anonymous author of this text – almost certainly a scholar – who was careful to insert the caesura. Readership of English commemorative texts is a complex question which cannot be resolved in this short essay, but the use of the caesura may also suggest that the epitaph was meant to be read aloud. We know that visitors to Westminster Abbey took note of the royal mausoleum and epitaphs,⁴⁹ and the gathering of friends and family at the tomb on particular anniversaries, or at times of pageantry and display, can be found elsewhere.⁵⁰ The recording of Sir Humphrey's date of death as Easter Sunday and not as 14 April, suggests that it would for evermore cause his memory to be honoured on the greatest day of the Christian year. The Westminster monks would have been sufficiently well educated to read the Latin text, as were Bouchier's courtly friends. The tomb would have been the focus of Sir Humphrey's obsequies, for which the sacrist was to receive £6.⁵¹ The solemnity of the occasion, with the monks reciting the Office of the Dead, would juxtapose sharply with the epitaph marking

the violence of Sir Humphrey's death and his prowess in war.

This remarkable inscription is, moreover, the only known example of a late medieval English epitaph to compare a fallen knight to Achilles. It was the patron of the brass who influenced this text, and the circumstances of this particular composition deserve further consideration. It is to be remembered that military training and the study of ancient war formed part of the staple education of young men in aristocratic and gentry households. The standard textbook on the art of war, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, written by Flavius Vegetius Renatus in the late Roman period, was well known and translated into English prose in the early fifteenth century.⁵² The Bouchiers and their contemporaries would have grown up in the military culture of their age and been influenced by chivalric tales of war, heroism, cowardice and greed. *The Troy Book* begun in 1412 by the monk of Bury, John Lydgate (c. 1370-1449/50?) and presented to his patron Henry V eight years later, was particularly influential.⁵³ Lydgate's poem was formed of five books containing over 30,000 lines.⁵⁴ It was based on Guido delle Colonne's thirteenth-century *Historia destructionis Troiae*, itself a version of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* of about 1160.⁵⁵ The legend was popular and Lydgate's version was one of three translations into Middle English undertaken in the early decades of the

49 M. van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 12-36.

50 E.g. at the Grey Friars church, London, on the feast of St. Francis (C. Steer, 'The Order of St. Francis in Medieval London: Urban Benefactors and Their Tombs', in *Saints and Cults in Medieval England*, ed. S. Powell (Donington, 2017), pp. 172-98 at 190).

51 B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 2002), p. 382, n. 10 and 11.

52 N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984), pp. 181-210 at 185-6.

53 D. Gray, 'Lydgate, John (c. 1370-1449/50?)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref: odnb/17238 accessed 31 December 2017.

54 *Lydgate's Troy*, ed. H. Bergen, Early English Text Society OS, vols. 97 (1906), 103 (1908), 106 (1910) and 126 (1935).

55 *The Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, eds G.S. Burgess and D. Kelly (Cambridge, 2017).



Fig. 11. Stephen Scrope presenting his translation of *Epistre d'Othéa* to Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, c. 1450–60, attributed to the London artist William Abell, St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. H. 5 f. 1.
 (photo.: © Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge)

fifteenth century.⁵⁶ Achilles was responsible for the deaths of Hector and Troilus and because of this he does not receive a favourable press in Lydgate's poems. The comparison with Sir Humphrey is then, at first glance, puzzling.

The importance of Lydgate's text is its readership and its popularity amongst the gentry and aristocracy of the fifteenth century. We find, for example, a number of high quality, illuminated manuscripts of Lydgate's *Troy Book* in the hands of magnates, including one commissioned around 1457 by William Herbert (later earl of Pembroke) who was shown with his wife Anne Devereux kneeling before their king.⁵⁷ Other tales of Troy also found their way into royal and aristocratic libraries, such as Christine de Pisan's *Epistre d'Othéa*, translated into English by Stephen Scrope around 1450-60.⁵⁸ It is of particular note that Scrope's patron was Humphrey, duke of Buckingham (Fig. 11). The duke was the half-brother of Lord Berners, and thus uncle to young Sir Humphrey, which suggests that the legend was well-known in the Bouchier household. The duke's daughter, Anne Cobham, bequeathed her (or possibly her father's) copy to Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of

Richmond, in her will of 1472.⁵⁹ The king was later to commission a copy of *Epistre d'Othéa*.⁶⁰ Other copies of the Troy legend belonging to members of the English royal family included a copy of delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, now in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, bearing the signature of Richard III.⁶¹ Manuscripts which contained copies of Lydgate's *Troy Book* and *Siege of Thebes* have survived elsewhere, for example one was formerly owned by the Knyvett and Thwaites gentry families of fifteenth-century Norfolk.⁶² It is striking that even members of the London clergy owned copies of the history of the Trojan war, such as William Ragenhall rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, who died in 1404.⁶³ The popularity of these texts was evidently spread amongst a wide-ranging readership in fifteenth-century households.

The legend of Troy, with its rich cast of notable characters, was admired in aristocratic and gentry circles of the mid fifteenth century. Such legendary figures were quite at home in the royal court too. Edward IV's own interests in chivalric romances and histories were particularly influenced by his short exile in Burgundy in the autumn and winter of

56 *John Lydgate Troy Book: Selections*, ed. R.R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, 1998), pp. 1-16; C.D. Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature* (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 3-34; and D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970), pp. 122-51. See also C. Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England: From Lydgate to Malory* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 75-113.

57 BL, Royal MS. 18 D ii; K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts: 1390-1490*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), II, pp. 282-84.

58 *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, eds P. Binski and S. Panayotova (Turnhout, 2005), p. 270.

59 TNA, PROB 11/6 f. 40.

60 D. Pearsall, 'Was There a "Yorkist Literature"?' in *The Yorkist Age*, eds H. Kleineke and C. Steer (Donington, 2013), pp. 221-36. For the text, see *The Epistle of Othea translated from the French text of Christine de Pisan by Stephen Scrope*, ed. C.F. Bühler,

Early English Text Society OS, vol. 264 (1970), esp. pp. xi-xxi for discussion and appendix B by A.I. Doyle, 'A Note on St. John's College, Cambridge', pp. 125-7.

61 A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 158-60 and 286-8; and *eadem*, 'Richard III's Books: VII. Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*', *The Ricardian*, 8 (1989), pp. 190-6.

62 Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.5.2. On the ownership, see D. Pearsall, 'Notes on the Manuscripts of "Generydes"', *The Library*, 5th ser., 16 pt. 3, (1961), pp. 205-10. I thank Holly James-Maddocks for this reference. See also M. Johnson, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2014).

63 LMA, DL/AL/C/002/MS09051/001/001, ff. 120v and 121. This was evidently a copy of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.

1470-71.⁶⁴ The magnificent library of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruuthuse, contained, amongst many other manuscripts, a copy of Raoul Lefevre's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* composed in the 1460s. King Edward and Queen Elizabeth both had copies of this work in their libraries. The Yorkist court continued to influence the production and circulation of literary texts throughout the 1470s and beyond; to borrow the words of Derek Pearsall, 'the introduction of printing into England made Edward IV's influence on the literary culture of his reign more visible and specific'.⁶⁶ It was Yorkist patronage that was to influence the printing press of William Caxton and it is of little surprise to find the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, which he printed in Bruges in 1473-4, dedicated to Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy.⁶⁷ The patron of Sir Humphrey Bourchier's memorial brass was clearly aware of Lefevre's account in which Achilles was portrayed as a hero. One passage is very striking:

Achilles was of right grete beaulte / blonke
[fair] heeris & cryspe gray eyes and grete/
of Amyable fighte / large brestes [musclcd]
& brode sholdres grete Armes / his raynes
[loins] hyghe ynowh [enough] / an hyge
man of grete stature / and has no pareyll ne
like to hym amonge alle the grekes /
desiring to fighte / large in yeftes [gifts] and
outerageous dispense [spending].⁶⁸

This striking paragon of beauty, strength, bravery and military prowess brought Achilles

a new world of admirers. It is telling that his emergence from the pages of Caxton's translation came only three or four years after Sir Humphrey's death when his memorial was under commission. Achilles provided a new idol with whom this fallen knight could be compared.

There can be little doubt about the importance attached to the commissioning of this fine brass and its accompanying text. Sir Humphrey's death in battle suggests that he had little influence (if any) on the design, and certainly none on the choice of words for his foot inscription. The most natural patrons were his executors, i.e. his parents, his widow Lady Elizabeth, Sir John Say (step-father to Lady Elizabeth), master Thomas Rous, Sir Robert Scamand and John Weston. Lord and Lady Berners died in 1474 and 1475 respectively and are unlikely to have been much involved. In April 1472 Lady Elizabeth remarried Thomas Howard, a veteran of Barnet, later elevated to the peerage as earl of Surrey, by whom she had ten children. She died in 1497. The identities of three of the remaining executors remain uncertain, although all three were probably part of the Yorkist force gathered at Barnet on the eve of battle. The prefix of 'master' suggests Rous was an educated man in holy orders who served as confessor in the Bourchier retinue. He may be the chaplain of the same name who was appointed vicar of Eynsford, Kent, by Archbishop Bourchier

64 On the king's interest in books see J. Backhouse 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts' in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 23-41.

65 M. Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', *The Modern Language Review*, 66 (1971), pp. 481-7 at 484.

66 Pearsall, 'Was There a Yorkist Literature?', p. 233. On the king's influence on the Yorkist court see,

for example, D. Harry, 'Learning to Die in Yorkist England: Earl Rivers' *Cordial* in *The Yorkist Age*, pp. 380-98.

67 H. Schnitker, *Margaret of York, Princess of England, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1508* (Donington, 2016), pp. 261-2.

68 *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye Written in French by Raoul Lefevre, translated and printed by William Caxton (about AD 1474)*, ed. H.O. Sommer (London, 1894), 2 vols, II, p. 541.

in 1476.⁶⁹ The identity of Sir Robert Scamand remains unknown, although he was possibly a member of the Lincolnshire family of Scamand.⁷⁰ John Weston was perhaps the Knight Hospitaller who served as prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, Middlesex, between 1476 and 1489. We can be more certain of Sir John Say, who died in 1478, a longstanding Bouchier associate who had served the earl of Essex as deputy treasurer of the exchequer on three occasions, the last being in 1475-8. In 1476 he was appointed keeper of the great wardrobe. Sir John was a member of parliament and a former speaker of the House of Commons; he was the brother of the recently deceased William Say, dean of St. Paul's, as well as kinsman to Sir Humphrey's widow, Elizabeth.⁷¹ John Russell, bishop of Rochester and Lincoln, and John Morton, the future archbishop of Canterbury, then master of the rolls, were amongst his executors in 1478; William, Lord Hastings was appointed his overseer.⁷² So Sir John was at the heart of the Yorkist court, a close association which explains a number of remarkable similarities between Say's own memorial in the church of St. Augustine at Broxbourne, Hertfordshire, and those of the Bouchier family.⁷³

In 1476 Sir John entered into an agreement with the mason Robert Stowell for an extension

to the south aisle of St. Augustine's. Here he commissioned two monuments, one a tomb chest with brass effigies for himself and his first wife, Elizabeth, and the other a floor slab nearby which was perhaps intended for his second wife, Agnes.⁷⁴ The contract sets down that both memorials were to be inlaid with brasses.⁷⁵ It seems likely that Sir Humphrey Bouchier's brass was also organised by his kinsman at the same time in 1476 only a year or so after Caxton's translation of *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* had been printed. The similarities between the Bouchier-Say brasses are striking, for example the identical scallop-shaped elbow pieces on their effigies. On the monument for Lord Essex, now in St. Mary's church in Little Easton, Essex, we find other similarities such as the pommels of the swords, the posture of the mittened hands, and the design of the plated armour. It is not surprising that prominent courtiers should commission their respective brasses from the same workshop, but the close association between the Bouchier family and Sir John Say may also mean that he was more involved in the commissioning of Sir Humphrey's epitaph than simply choosing a similar design to his own brass. Sir John was part of the Yorkist 'establishment' and favoured by crown and court. He is likely to have been familiar with the popular texts of the day and he was ideally placed to mark the death of his young kinsman

69 *Registrum Thome Bourchier*, ed. Du Boulay, p. 324. There is no record of Thomas Rous (or variants) in the lists of graduates from Oxford or Cambridge, although this does not preclude his education in either town or overseas.

70 The will of 'Sir' Robert Scamand (Skayman), parson of North Creke, Norfolk, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 19 July 1505. He bequeathed 6s. 8d. to his kinsman, another Robert Scamand, who was of Stallingborough, Lincolnshire (TNA PROB 11/14 f. 272).

71 J.L. Kirby, 'Say [Fynys], Sir John (d. 1478)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref: odnb/24764 accessed 14 December 2017.

72 TNA, PROB 11/6 ff. 263v-264.

73 Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage'; J.P.C. Kent, 'Monumental Brasses: A New Classification of Military Effigies, c. 1360 - c. 1485', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 11 (1948), pp. 70-97 at 86-7.

74 Agnes was in fact buried with her former husband Sir John Fray in the now lost church of St. Bartholomew the Little (by the Exchange) in London.

75 L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1967), pp. 537-8 and discussed in N. Saul, *Lordship and Faith: the English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 225-7.



*Fig. 12. Tomb of Sir Humphrey Bourchier,
Chapel of SS. Edmund and Thomas the Martyr, Westminster Abbey.
(photo: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)*

as worthy of an ancient warrior, and to commission the verses commemorating his friend.

Sir Humphrey Bourchier was considered by his friends to be a young Achilles, ferocious on the field of battle and an exemplar of knightly prowess. Only the god of war could slay this spirited gallant. His swift committal in Austin Friars reminds us of the role of the friaries as temporary places of burial during times of political and civil unrest. The exhumation of Sir Humphrey's remains, and their subsequent reburial in Westminster Abbey, are reminders of the steps taken by executors – in quieter times – to ensure appropriate commemoration (Fig. 12). It was a trust that was well placed. The guiding hand of Sir John Say in overseeing the commission of young Bourchier's memorial and its remarkable epitaph is particularly striking. It perhaps reveals something of his own literary tastes. But this also reveals how the dissemination of literary texts, now available in the vernacular and widely circulated in the closing decades of the fifteenth century, could be taken as the inspiration to commemorate a

fallen comrade. Sir Humphrey Bourchier was a knight worthy of ancient legend.

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Brasses of the English Civil War: Two Case Studies

Richard Busby

The English Civil War not only divided the whole country, but also forced individuals, towns or counties to take opposing sides. These case studies use two surviving brasses to illustrate the outcome for each of the aristocratic families commemorated, the Royalist Stanhopes of Shelford, Nottinghamshire, and the Asheton family of Middleton, Lancashire, who supported the Parliamentary cause. The two brasses, which are very different in size and quality are discussed and reasons are suggested why one individual, Col. Michael Stanhope, was so modestly memorialised and why Major-General Ralph Asheton has a brass reflecting his military and family status.

A surprisingly wide selection of brasses produced during the Civil War still survive. This turbulent period is not generally regarded as a time when brass production was at its best. It is arguably better remembered for the destruction of brasses by men like William Dowsing in East Anglia and by Cromwell's soldiery in Lincoln and Winchester cathedrals and elsewhere. This paper will not dwell on those events but look at two specific brasses commemorating men who played a significant local part in the war, or died as a direct result of the conflict, one Royalist, Col. Michael Stanhope, the other Parliamentarian, Major-General Ralph Asheton.

Col. Michael Stanhope (1625-48)

The small brass of Col. Michael Stanhope (Fig. 1) in the north aisle of St. Mary and All Saints, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds,

Nottinghamshire (M.S.I), disguises a dramatic local event towards the end of the Civil War. Stanhope's modest oval brass, set in a large slab, has a skull and cross bones at the top, traditionally symbolising death, and an empty hour glass between wings at the base, signifying that time flies and that our life on earth is limited; a simple decorative border surrounds the edge.¹ Bramley, in his survey of Nottinghamshire brasses, suggests that the symbolism on the brass dates it stylistically to after c. 1660.² However, the skull and hour glass (whilst not always winged) can be found on earlier brasses of the 1640s and 1650s, such as that of Thomas Carew (d. 1656), and his wife at Hacombe, Devon (LSW.V). This portrays Carew kneeling in armour and contains several of the symbols seen on the Stanhope brass, but there the similarity ends. Certainly, these symbols become more common on ledger stones and on tombstones and chest tombs in churchyards from the 1660s onwards, but by this date engraved brasses (except inscriptions) were rapidly and with very few exceptions, declining in popularity and merit. The inscription on Stanhope's brass reads:

Here lyes the BODY of / Collonell
MICHAELL STANHOPE/ who was slayne in
Willough-/by Feild in the Month of / July
1648 in the 24th / Yeare of his age being /
A Souldier for KING/ CHARLES the first.

Whilst we cannot be certain that Stanhope's memorial at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds was

1 The brass measures 330-363 x 276-309 mm. The plate is slightly worn, corroded at the edges and is secured by eight brass rivets.

2 J. Bramley, 'Nottinghamshire Monumental Brasses', *Transactions of the Thorton Society*, 17 (1913), p. 127; C. Brown, *A History of Nottinghamshire* (London, 1891), pp. 69-70, 78-79.



*Fig. 1. Col. Michael Stanhope (d. 1648), Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire (M.S.I).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

placed there by surviving members of his family, rather than in their principal burial place at Shelford, Nottinghamshire, it can be argued that the ending of the inscription, which makes it quite clear that Stanhope died fighting for the Royalist cause, supports the family's involvement in commissioning the brass. Every published record of the brass and slab, suggest they have remained in their original location in the north aisle since Stanhope's death. The second edition of Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1790) states that it was located, as now, 'near the entrance of the place where the Willoughby monuments are preserved', but, regrettably, no mention of it was made in the first edition of 1677.³

Stanhope died in the battle that ensued as the opposing forces passed through Nottinghamshire in 1648. They met on 5 July in a 'beane' field at Willoughby, near the Leicestershire border. At least 550 mounted Parliamentary troops under the command of Col. Edward Rossiter confronted the Royalists at Willoughby Field.⁴ Young Michael Stanhope was one of the seven to eight hundred on the Royalist side, the leaders of whom were drawn mainly from aristocratic families from the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, Derby and Rutland under the command of Sir Philip Monckton. Despite the disparity in numbers and the use of firearms by the Royalists, the latter forces suffered many casualties, often in close hand to hand combat. Over 100 Royalist prisoners were taken and

many more were killed but only some thirty of Rossiter's men died. The dead were buried near where they fell, or in the local church. Col. Stanhope died on the day of the battle, the last Civil War battle fought in Nottinghamshire.

Michel Stanhope was a member of a prominent aristocratic Royalist family from Shelford, Nottinghamshire, one of the eleven sons of Philip Stanhope (1584-1656), Baron Stanhope (cr. 1616) and later first earl of Chesterfield (cr. 1628), and his first wife Catherine (d. 1636), a daughter of Francis, Lord Hastings. He was baptised at SS. Peter and Paul church, Shelford, on 27 January 1625.⁵ All the Stanhopes supported the Royalist cause and paid a high price for their loyalty to Charles I.⁶ Their plans to build a grand house at Shelford, which it was said would have rivalled Wollaton Hall at Nottingham had it ever been completed, were ended by the Civil War. Instead, in 1645 they turned the existing house into a garrison, under the command of Col. Philip Stanhope, Michael's elder brother, who was killed there on 27 October that year, and buried at Shelford. Two years earlier, in 1643, their father, also Philip, had been captured at the siege of Lichfield, imprisoned in London and had his estates sequestrated; he remained in custody until his death in 1656 and was buried at St. Giles-in-the Fields, London. A third son, Col. Ferdinando Stanhope, had died at East Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, in 1643 and was buried at Shelford. Given the family's

3 R. Thoroton, *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, 2nd edn, with additions by J. Throsby, 3 vols (Nottingham, 1790), I, p. 71.

4 Numerous accounts of the battle exist. One of the best is W.F. Beardsley, 'An account of the Battle of Willoughby Field, in the County of Nottingham' *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 10, Pts. 1-6 (1905-10), pp. 79-88. This includes a transcript of a rare tract in the Monckton Papers, published on 11 July 1648, which

gives both an account of the battle and a list of those on the Royalist side who were captured.

5 Nottinghamshire Baptisms Index 1538-1917, transcription on-line at: <http://searchmypast.co.uk/record?id=prs%2fnotts%2fbap%2f00838273> accessed 10 December 2017.

6 P.R. Seddon, 'Stanhope, Philip, first earl of Chesterfield (1583/4-1656)', ODNB, online edn, ref: [odnbn/26252](https://www.oxforddnb.com/odnbn/26252) accessed 25 April 2018.



Fig. 2. Ralph Asheton, esq. (d. 1651) and wife Elizabeth, Middleton, Lancashire (M.S.V).
 (rubbing: © Patrick Farman)

circumstances in 1648, it is perhaps not surprising that Michael has only a small memorial at Willoughby and was not, unlike his brothers Philip and Ferdinando, brought back to Shelford for burial. However, subsequently Michael Stanhope's memory was perpetuated at Shelford on a large Victorian mural brass inscription in the south aisle with an inscription including the words "*Intra Ædem M. Stanhope, Miles, In Bello Civili pro reg Interemptus*" erected by the fourth earl of Carnarvon in memory of his wife Evelyn, only daughter of the sixth earl of Chesterfield, who died in 1877.

Major-General Ralph Asheton (1606-51)

St. Leonard's church, Middleton, Lancashire (now in Greater Manchester), contains the brass of a man with strong associations with the English Civil War, that of Ralph Asheton who played a leading role in the Lancashire Parliamentary forces (Fig. 2).⁷ Whilst it was described as 'curious' by Mill Stephenson and is certainly out of the ordinary, it also conforms to a standard type of commemoration in keeping with his family's social status and background.⁸ Made up of four separate components, the figure of Ralph Asheton is shown in full body armour, still commonly seen on brasses at this time, with a pointed breastplate with medial ridge, and short metal skirt below. He also wears full shoulder, arm and leg armour, the latter longer than usually found on similar brasses, and reaching down to his leather boots with their spurs. His left hand rests on his hip, whilst in his right hand he holds an officer's baton, signifying his senior rank.

A sword hangs from a diagonal strap and a scarf is shown draped from his left shoulder. Bareheaded and with a small moustache and a short, pointed beard, he stands in front of an arched recess, appearing every bit the Major-General that he became during the Civil War (Fig. 3). Unusually, Ralph is shown on his wife's left side, rather than the more traditional position on her right side. Asheton's wife Elizabeth (d. 1662) stands in front of a similar recess and faces towards her husband. She wears a full-length, plain dress with three-quarter length sleeves with large cuffs; over it she wears a plain full-length cloak with hood. Two of her three daughters, Elizabeth (b. 1636) and Marie (b. 1636; buried 1 February 1659), are similarly dressed, but without a hooded cloak; the third, Anne (baptised 23 June 1644) died young and is shown in a shroud.

The plate showing the three sons is noteworthy (Fig. 4). His eldest surviving son and heir, Sir Ralph Asheton, Bart. (1626-65), later M.P. for Clitheroe, Lancashire, in 1660, the year he was knighted, is shown bareheaded and in armour similar to his father's and also holding an officer's baton. He had command of a regiment at the second siege of Lathom House in 1645, after an earlier unsuccessful siege there in 1644.⁹ Ralph senior, in a letter to his friend Alexander Norris of Bolton refers to his son's part in the siege, 'I rejoyce to heare yt my son's regiment doeth so well before Latham...', though it took until December 1645 before the house was finally overcome.¹⁰ Ralph junior

7 The measurements of the brass are: male effigy 445 x 239 mm; female effigy 436 x 234 mm; inscription 296 x 730 mm; sons 216 x 165 mm; daughters 225 x 165 mm; shields: dexter 232 x 197 mm, sinister 235 x 209 mm; slab: 1615 x 840 mm visible.

8 M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926), p. 271.

9 E. Broxap, *The Great Civil War in Lancashire, 1642-51*, 2nd edn (Clifton, New Jersey, 1973), pp. 101-02.

10 T.D. Whitaker, *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honour of Clitheroe in the Counties of Lancaster and York to which is Subjoined an Account of the Parish of Cartmell*, 4th rev. and enlarged edn, J.G. Nichols and P.A. Lyons, 2 vols (London and Manchester, 1876), II, pp. 153-54; J. L. Thornley, *Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London, 1893), pp. 291-314.



*Fig. 3. Major-General Ralph Asheton, esq. (d. 1651), Middleton, Lancashire (M.S.V).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*



*Fig. 4. Sons of Ralph Asheton: Ralph (d. 1665) in full armour holding a baton; Richard (d. 1630) in a shroud; and John (d. 1659) in school dress, Middleton, Lancashire (M.S.V).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

was also involved in other skirmishes. The Middleton parish burial register states that he was buried at Middleton on 2 May 1665, though the date is given two years earlier in the bishop's transcripts.¹¹ The second son John (b. 1632) is shown in what appears to be school dress, with long hair, high collar and cravat, breeches tucked into boots, all under a long cloak. After school in Middleton and at King James's Grammar School, Almondbury, West Yorkshire (founded by an ancestor of his mother), in 1649 he was admitted as a pensioner, aged 17, to Caius College, Cambridge, but died in 1659 and was buried at Middleton on 1 February that year along with his sister Marie. The third son Richard (1625-30) died young and is shown in a shroud.

As well as images of Asheton, his wife and six children the brass contains two heraldic shields and a Latin inscription. The blazons on the two shields proclaim the family's status and connections. They show: Sinister: Quarterly 1 & 4: *Argent, a mullet sable, pierced of the field* (Asheton).¹² 2 & 3: Quarterly 1 & 4: *Ermine, on a fess gules, 3 annulets* (Barton); 2 & 3: *Paly of six, argent and vert* (Middleton) Dexter: Quarterly 1 & 4. *Argent, 2 bends sable* (Kaye). 2 & 3; *On a chevron, 3 rooks* (?) (unidentified).

The inscription in Roman capital letter reads:

*MEMORIÆ SACRVM / RADVLPHI
ASSHETON ARMIGERI DOMINI DE
MIDDLETON PII IN DEVM / PATRIAM ET*

*SVOS COPIARVM OMNIVM IN AGRO
LANCASTRENSI / (SVPREMI SENATVS
AVTHORITATE CONSCRIPTARVM)
PRÆFECTI FORTIS/ ET FIDELIS. QVI
CVM E CONJVGE SVA ELIZBETHA
(FILIA IOHANNIS / KAYE DE
WOODSOME IN COM EBORACENS
ARMIGERI) SVSCEPISSET FI= / LIOS
TRES RICHARDVM, RADVLPHVM,
IOHANNEM, TOTIDEMQ FILIAS/
ELIZABETHAM, MARIAM, ANNAM.
OBDORMIVIT IN JESV 17º FEB / ANNO
DOMINI 1650 ÆTATISQ SVÆ 45
CVRRENTE.*

(Sacred to the Memory of Ralph Assheton, Esquire, Lord of Middleton, who was devout towards God, his Fatherland and his Family, a strenuous and faithful commander of all the forces of Lancashire (by authority of the Members of Parliament). By Elizabeth his wife, the daughter of John Kaye, Esquire, of Woodsome, Yorkshire, he had three sons, Richard, Ralph and John, and as many daughters, Elizabeth, Mary and Ann, after which he fell asleep in Jesus on 17 February AD 1650 [17 February 1651 N.S.] during the 45th year of his age.)

The brass and its black marble slab were removed from their original position on the south side of the Asheton family chapel in St. Leonard's Middleton, along with other slabs and brasses, in the second half of the 19th century. They now all lie in the sanctuary there and remain in a good state of preservation.¹³

11 The transcript is probably incorrect as some entries appear rather confused at this time.

12 The piercing colour of the mullet is frequently given as gold rather than argent.

13 Some nineteenth century descriptions of the church and monuments say the brass was 'entirely covered by the boarding on the side of the stairs and covered by old carpets, matting, brushes and every sort of filth',

which was later removed by the rector (*Iter Lancastrense: a poem written c. 1636 by Rev. Richard James*, ed. T. Corser, Chetham Society, old ser. 7 (1845), pp. 28-31). For an illustration of the brass based on a drawing by Thomas Birch made in 1782, see p. 30. See also J. Dean, *Historical Middleton* (Oldham, n.d. [c. 1886]), pp. 108-117 and 155-6 available online at <http://link4life.org/images/pdfs/local-history>.

The brass appears to be good quality London work, though there are no similar examples elsewhere for close comparison with any one workshop. It does not have quite the same attention to detail as the Edward Marshall style brasses of 1638-41 at Penn, Buckinghamshire (LSW.III-V) or the earlier brass of 1629 to Sir Edward Filmer and his wife, signed by Marshall, at East Sutton, Kent (M.S.I), so cannot be definitively attributed to that workshop. The figures of Ralph Asheton and his two surviving sons are drawn and engraved with more attention to detail than those of his wife and daughters. Close examination of the engraving itself, shows it to be rather shallowly cut, and with jagged edges, especially the plates of the children. Most of the children's faces are rather simplistic and featureless, and the heraldry is more crudely drawn compared with that on Ralph's parents' brass nearby. Shading on the adult figures, common by this date, adds further dimension to the effigies, though to a lesser extent than on the earlier brass of 1618 to Ralph's parents, Richard Asheton and his wife Mary (M.S.IV). The latter is more traditional London work (Fig. 5), and arguably closer in style to the workshop of Southwark-based engraver and sculptor Gerard Johnson the Elder (d. 1611), and whilst not by the elder Johnson himself is perhaps by his son of the same name (d. 1624). It shows them in civilian dress, the male effigy holding a skull, but with their children, the heraldry and overall layout similar to Ralph Asheton's brass. The inscription is also in Latin and ends with the same style of wording: "*ÆTATISQ SVÆ 41 CVRRENTE*".

Asheton's family and military career:

The whole Asheton family strongly supported the Parliamentary cause, and because they held extensive lands in Lancashire, their allegiance was very welcome to the Parliamentarians. There has been much confusion between this Ralph Asheton and at least two of his namesakes: his uncle Ralph Asheton of Whalley (c. 1606-80), M.P. for Clitheroe, Lancashire, in 1626, 1628 and 1640, and for Lancashire from 1640 to 1648; and another relative, Ralph Asheton of Downham, Lancashire, (d. 1643).¹⁴

Ralph Asheton of Middleton, was born in 1606, the eldest of the sons of Richard Asheton (d. 1618) and Mary, née Venables (d. 1644), both parents being of armigerous status.¹⁵ Whilst still a minor Ralph married, on 4 May 1623, Elizabeth, daughter of John Kaye of Woodsome Hall, Almondbury, by whom he had the three sons and three daughters depicted on his brass.

Ralph Asheton trained as a lawyer at Gray's Inn and was called to the Bench on 13 August 1639, but never practised.¹⁶ At the beginning of the First Civil War, Asheton joined the Parliamentary forces and quickly attained the rank of colonel. In 1643 and 1644 he was in command of upwards of 500 men comprising twelve full companies, mainly foot soldiers, and thirteen companies of horse. By June 1643 nearly all of Lancashire was in Parliamentary hands.¹⁷ In the course of this fighting Asheton saw considerable action: at Manchester; the siege of Bolton; the relief of Lancaster, where Royalist forces fled

¹⁴ *VCH, Lancashire*, V, pp. 166-67.

¹⁵ The parish registers of Middleton can be viewed on-line at www.ancestry.co.uk or <http://www.lan-opc.org/middleton>.

¹⁶ *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889*, ed. J. Foster (London, 1889), p. 223.

¹⁷ For a recent survey of the Civil War in Lancashire see J.M. Gratton, *The Palatine and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-51*, Chetham Society, 3rd ser. 48 (2010).



Fig 5. Richard Asheton, esq. (d. 1618) and wife Mary, Middleton, Lancashire (M.S.IV).
 (rubbing: © William Lack)

after three weeks on hearing of his approach; and at Wigan, where his musketeers and other forces plundered the town, despite being forbidden to do so. He had other successes at Fylde, Hornby, Thurland Castle and Adwalton Moor, and also took part with his older brother in the first unsuccessful siege of Lathom House, Lancs., in 1644.¹⁸ In addition to his military role, on 1 April 1643 Asheton was appointed to the committee for 'sequestering notorious delinquents' estates', giving him the legal right to seize almost any property in Lancashire on Parliament's behalf.¹⁹

After being recalled to London for a time, at the start of the Second Civil War (May-August 1648), the House of Commons made an Order on 17 May 1648 sending Asheton back to Lancashire, this time as Commander-in-Chief of all the county's forces with the rank of major-general. By this time, Lancashire had seen a royalist revival.²⁰ The Parliamentary forces soon reversed this. Asheton took Bentham House in Westmoreland on 16 June, before playing a major role in the Battle of Preston on 16-18 August 1648, where as part of Cromwell's combined force, he defeated the Royalists and Scots. Cromwell, in a letter to William Lenthall, commended Asheton's Lancashire forces above all other units and there were similar accolades from a Parliamentary Committee in 1648-49.²¹ However, soon afterwards Asheton's military career began to wane as he increasingly disagreed with Parliament. He opposed the execution of Charles I and at first refused

to comply with Parliament's ordinance of February 1649 to disband the 4,000 Lancashire troops, which he considered a poor reward for his support of the Parliamentary cause for seven years.²² He was over-ruled and on 1 May 1650 an order was issued to the 'Sheriffs of London' by the Council of State:

'To deliver Lieut. Col. Ralph Ashton, prisoner in the Compter for debt . . . to be brought before Council on a charge of high treason, he being informed against as a very dangerous person'.²³

By then he had been relieved of his command and dismissed and the Third Civil War of 1648-51, was nearing its end.²⁴ Within a year Asheton was dead. He died at Middleton on 17 February 1651, in his 45th year, and was buried in the family chapel of his parish church on 25 February under a marble stone with its distinctive brass.

In the light of the final stages of his career both his brass and inscription can be seen as acts of defiance. They express Asheton's pride in and justification for his actions. By showing him in full armour with sword and baton he is, metaphorically, still in command, despite his final dismissal by Parliament in 1650, ostensibly for debt, but in reality because he refused to execute direct military orders, and to support the execution of Charles I. The inscription proclaims his devotion to 'God and his Fatherland' and, in a rebuttal beyond the grave of Parliament's charge of high treason, that he was a 'faithful commander'.

18 Broxap, *Great Civil War in Lancashire*, pp. 88-9, 101-2.

19 *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War*, ed. G. Ormerod, Chetham Society, old ser. 2 (1844), p. 90.

20 B.G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-60*, Chetham Society, 3rd ser. 25 (1973), p. 27.

21 *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Great Civil War*, ed. Ormerod, pp. 257, 261.

22 Broxap, *Great Civil War in Lancashire*, p. 174.

23 *CSPD, 1650*, p. 539.

24 Broxap, *Great Civil War in Lancashire*, p. 175.

Despite his apparent disgrace, Asheton's long and detailed will, made on 20 January 1649 and proved on 10 May 1651, suggests that in his final months he was allowed to retire quietly.²⁵ He left extensive property and monetary bequests to his wife Elizabeth and son John, made smaller gifts to two of his brothers and their families, and small legacies to his servants. As the will confirms, neither he or his family were financially ruined. Indeed, after the Restoration his eldest son was rehabilitated and given a baronetcy. The family's fortunes were largely unaffected by Ralph senior's break with Parliament in 1649-50.

Conclusion

The brasses of Michael Stanhope and Ralph Asheton could not be more different. Despite the fact that both their families enjoyed similar social standing, and that both men were much lauded for their military exploits, Asheton's was much grander and reflected his social status, whilst Stanhope's was very simple. Stanhope died as a direct result of battle, whilst Asheton died naturally at home, albeit disillusioned by his treatment by Parliament and by the outcome of the war.

Asheton and his surviving sons and family did not suffer financially, nor did he lose his sons in battle, whereas Stanhope was only twenty-four years old when he died in 1648, by which time his father was in prison, the family estates had been sequestered and two of his brothers had been killed in battle. With the family leadership in disarray, Michael Stanhope was given a simple memorial. For both families, commemoration and memorialisation were just as important in the 1640s and 1650s as they had been to previous generations. But in times of civil war circumstances could change everything. The Stanhopes, having backed the losing side, were unable to commemorate their dead in the manner expected of a recently enobled family. Ralph Asheton found himself overtaken by events as the Civil War turned to regicide and his epitaph sought to vindicate his achievements.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Martin Stuchfield for photographs of the brasses at Middleton and Willoughby-on-the-Wolds and also to Jerome Bertram for a fresh translation of the Asheton inscription.

25 TNA, PROB 11/216/512; *Abstracts of Probate Acts in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, eds J. and G. Matthews, 9 vols (London, 1902-27), V, p. 166.

Commemoration of the War Dead in the 'Long Eighteenth Century'

Michael Harris

There were many wars in the 'long eighteenth century', but few brasses: the medieval craft had petered out, and brasses did not begin to flourish again until the advent of the Gothic Revival in the 1830s. Nevertheless, the few brass inscriptions that do exist are worthy of attention, not least because of the variety and skill of the lettering that they display before it was swamped by the standard Gothic of the Revival period. During the 'long eighteenth century', soldiers killed in battle were usually buried near to where they fell, and sailors were committed to the deep. If the war dead were mentioned in memorials at all at home, it was often only as part of one to a widow or child. Since early authors scarcely mentioned eighteenth-century brasses, and the County Series has only reached Huntingdonshire at the time of writing, it is possible that more will come to light to add to our knowledge.

To write about brasses commemorating the war dead in the 'long eighteenth century' (c. 1700 to c. 1815) presents several problems. While there were plenty of wars, there are few brasses of any sort commemorating those who died in them. It was customary to bury those slain in battle close to where they died. Society showed no interest in commemorating their deaths, except for political reasons in the case of the powerful. Even then, other forms of memorial were often preferred.¹ Families sometimes commemorated their war dead, but more often than not, the memorial formed part of one erected later to the widow, or to a child who had died. As a general rule, therefore, the deaths of non-commissioned men were not commemorated, since their families could not afford it. Furthermore, the brasses that survive are poorly recorded.

Few were catalogued before the advent of the *County Series* of handbooks which has reached Huntingdonshire at the time of writing.

So far, over this entire period, only eleven brasses have been discovered which commemorate people who could be considered as 'war dead', that is those who went away to war in the armed forces and never returned. Of the eleven, four are inscriptions that refer to officers killed in action, of which one is in private possession, one buried and one lost. The other seven commemorate four who died of fever, an army officer who drowned in a shipwreck, a naval officer who died on duty ashore, and a civilian prisoner of war. To these have been added a further fifteen brass inscriptions commemorating naval and military officers who died in old age, to provide a wider range of martial eighteenth-century inscriptions to consider. The twenty-six brasses in this sample are listed in the Appendix. Although every effort has been made to compile as complete a list as possible, this list is far from definitive. It is to be hoped that it will elicit information about other military brasses, especially those from counties in the second half of the alphabet.

The 'long eighteenth century' coincides with the final expiration of the traditional monumental brass, and ends before the Gothic Revival under the influence of Pugin in the 1830s.² Early authors did not really consider brasses made later than the seventeenth century to be brasses at all and simply ignored them, although Haines

1 B. Tomlinson, *Commemorating the Seafarer: Monuments, Memorials and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015).

2 D. Meara, *Modern Memorial Brasses: 1880-2001* (Donington, 2008), p. 15.

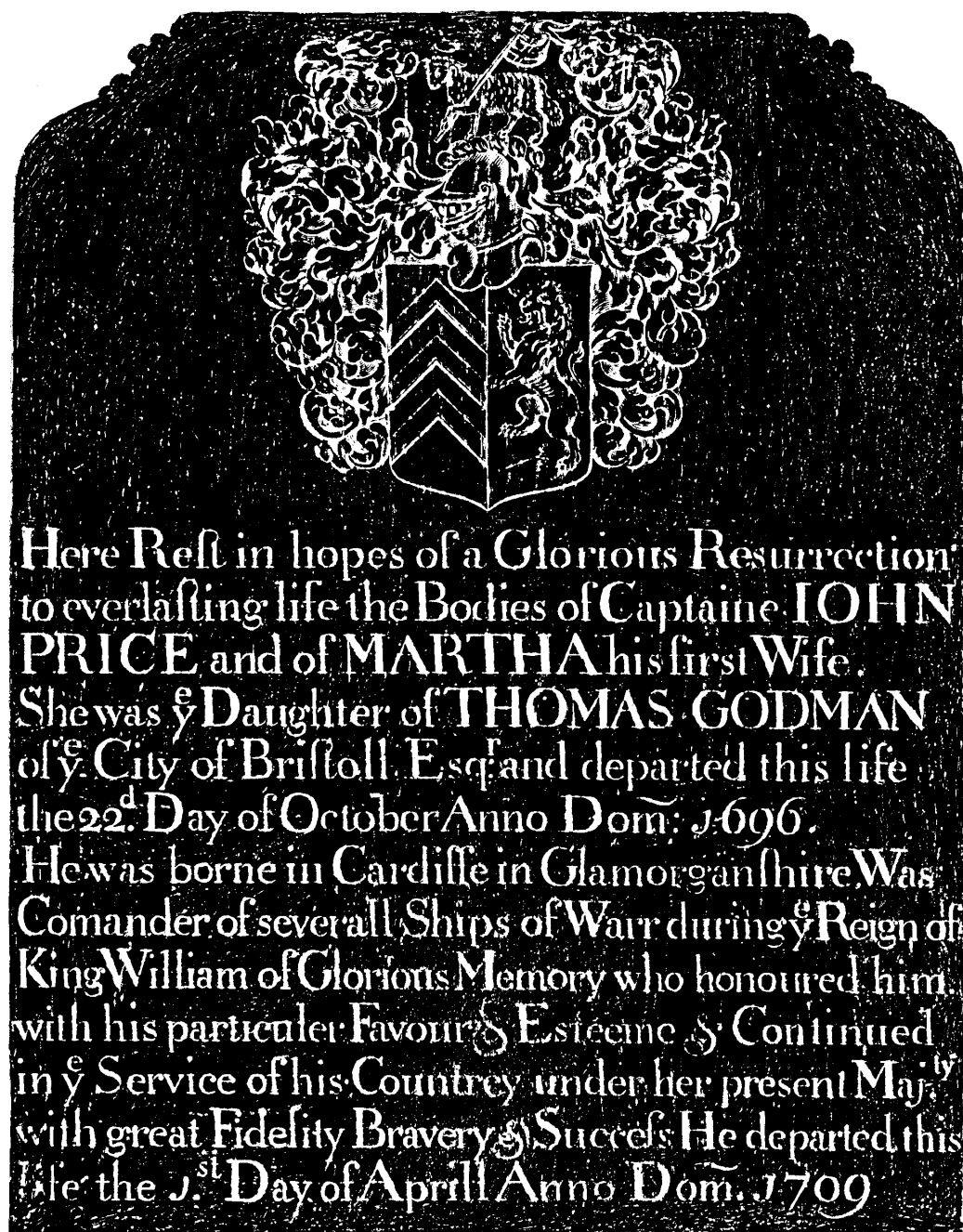


Fig. 1. Captain John Price, R.N. (d. 1709) and wife Martha, St. Clement, Leigh, Essex (LSW.VIII).

(© Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Essex)

included an appendix listing ‘modern’ brasses which was almost entirely limited to the products of Hardman and Waller, starting in 1840, and a few are mentioned by Mill Stephenson.³

Most eighteenth-century brasses are small – less than 450 mm square – simple inscriptions; some bear an achievement of arms, and a few mid-century examples have a border of some description. Much of their interest lies in their lettering, which underwent a new flowering, possibly encouraged by the publication of printed specimen books and manuals. By 1700 the most common form of lettering on brasses was roman capitals, accompanied sometimes by lower-case, resembling a form of modern printing to the reader. This style continued throughout our period, becoming occasionally more embellished: a late form of roman capitals, resembling the typeface Bodoni, is used in the Grenville (1747) and Moss (1799) brasses. In parallel, italic, cursive and script lettering appeared by the 1740s, again probably inspired by published writing manuals, the latter using joined-up lower-case letters and variations of thickness of line as with pen writing. In describing them, the taxonomy used by Thomson has been followed. There is as yet no generally agreed method, the difficulty being that lettering styles do not always lend themselves to standard groupings.⁴

In considering the group of twenty-six brasses that conform to the above criteria there are several strands to be followed. First, the dwindling number with their roots in the medieval craft. Here the brass of Captain

John Price R.N. (d. 1709) at St. Clement, Leigh, Essex (LSW.VIII), should be mentioned, as his is the only figure brass of them all (Fig. 1). Although the figures themselves are missing, the lettering of the surviving inscription – in roman capitals and lower-case – is of high quality, in contrast to that of Captain Walter Barttelot (d. 1702) at Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XII), which, by the thinness of the plates and the poor quality of the engraving, represents the dismal level of skill to which the old craft had generally fallen (Fig. 2).

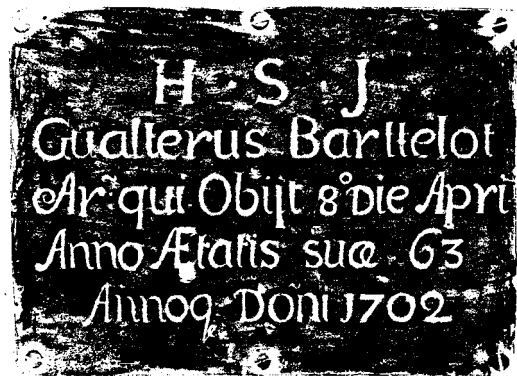


Fig. 2. Captain Walter Barttelot (d. 1702),
Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XII).

The lettering here is roman capitals and lower-case, with two ligatures.

H · S · J
Gualterus Barttelot
Ar qui Obijt 8^o die Apri
Anno Ætatis suæ 63
Annoq Doni 1702

Indeed, the last example of the old craft in our selection is again at Stopham, to

3 H. Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1861), II, Appendix A, pp. 237-42; M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926); M. Stephenson, *Appendix to a List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1938).

4 G. Thomson, *Lettering on Gravemarkers: A Guide to Recording and Analysis* (Waterbeck, 2011); G. Thomson, ‘Lettering on Small Brass Plates 1600-1850’ in *MBS Trans*, XVIII, pt 5 (2013), pp. 467-89.



Fig. 3. Captain Charles Barttelot (d. 1738),
Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XIV).

Walter's son, Captain Charles Barttelot (d. 1738) (M.S.XIV) (Fig. 3). It is a minute (100 x 130 mm) flimsy piece of brass with poor and mis-spelt lettering in roman capitals: merely a grave-marker. Neither Walter, nor his younger brother Henry, had felt it necessary to stipulate what sort of memorial they were to have. The Barttelots of Stopham had been commemorated in brass since the fifteenth century, but perhaps it was the poor quality of Walter's brass that made them think again.⁵ Henry stated simply in his will, 'My body I commit to the earth to be decently and Christian like brought to the ground and buried at the discretion of my [wife]', knowing that she would do the right thing, which was to bury him at Stopham, with a brass memorial.⁶ However, she took care that a decent engraver using decent brass plate was employed when he died in 1710: unfortunately we do not know his name, as he must have been a pioneer of the new style based on skilled lettering using better-quality plate which formed the core of brass-engraving in the

coming century. His nephew, Captain Charles, a bachelor, showed in his will that he wanted to be commemorated in the new fashion, using marble, and 'desired' his executors 'to lay and place the same stone over my grave as now is upon or over my father's grave [including the brass plates] and to direct and order them to cause a black marble stone by way of monument to be affixed to the church wall as near to my grave as conveniently may be with an instruction thereon signifying my age and the day of my departure out of this world'.⁷ His little brass grave marker was later placed on 'the same stone'.

The first of the naval or military new-style brasses is an inscription in St. George's Chapel, Windsor (LSW.XIV), to Captain Richard Vaughan (d. 1700) who had fought as a Royalist in the Civil War, and 'THEREIN LOST HIS SIGHT BY A SHOTT' – we do not know the circumstances – 'IN RECOMPENSE WHEREOF HE WAS IN IULY 1663 MADE ONE OF THE POOR KNIGHTS OF THIS PLACE'. The use of roman capitals here is significant as they, together with script, were used for much of the coming century. The quality is as high as that on Captain Price's brass, although the latter uses lower-case as well. Captain Vaughan himself is of interest as he is one of the few commoners of that era whose likeness exists in the shape of a drawing by Peter Lely in the British Museum.⁸

On 3 May 1747, only nine years after Charles Barttelot's death, Captain Thomas Grenville, R.N., was killed during the First Battle of Finisterre in the War of the Austrian Succession (1742-8), in which

5 J. Bertram, 'Embellishment and Restoration: The Barttelots and their Brasses at Stopham, Sussex', *MBS Trans*, XVIII, pt 4 (2012), p. 356. Henry Barttelot was a merchant, living in Southwark, Surrey.

6 TNA, PROB 11/514/354. His brass is at Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XIII).

7 TNA, PROB 11/682/426.

8 British Museum, 1847, 0326.17.

Admiral Anson defeated a French force which was defending a convoy in the Western Approaches.⁹ Grenville, a young aristocrat in command of the 58-gun *Defiance* at the age of twenty-eight, was the only British captain to die in that action. Anson wrote of him, 'the King has lost an excellent officer; there is no man in the whole fleet that was so generally esteemed'.¹⁰ Being part of a political family, he had been elected M.P. for Bridport in 1746 and was a member of the 'Cobham Cubs' – Whig patriots, among them William Pitt. The intention was to place a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. This did not happen, but his uncle, Viscount Cobham, erected a large rostral column to his memory in the grounds of Stowe which included a long Latin inscription at ground level. The inscription concludes with a political message that his death was 'alas, a rare influence of true British bravery from which let all British officers learn their duty', perhaps a reference to the politically swayed courts martial and parliamentary enquiries of 1744 following the disastrous battle of Toulon. Grenville was buried at All Saints, Wotton Underwood, Buckinghamshire, the south aisle of which had become the Grenville aisle in the early eighteenth century, the family being the owners of nearby Wotton House. It is dominated by a two-tier 'columbarium' against the south wall in which are stored eighteen stone coffins in much the same arrangement as a modern mortuary. On the end of each coffin 'drawer' is an oval brass plate (310 x 446 mm) on which are engraved the details of the deceased. Captain Thomas Grenville is to be found among three dukes and a prime minister; his brother George.

Set in the floor of the aisle are another sixteen similar plates, designed to accept more members of the family, but many are blank, as a result of the family dying out before all the vacancies were filled. Captain Grenville's brass (LSW.VI) is clearly a grave marker, but using sturdy plate with very fine lettering, reading:

CAPTAIN THOMAS GRENVILLE
of his MAJESTY'S Ship
 DEFIANCE
Fifth son of Richard Grenville Esq':
And Hester Temple his wife
 SLAIN 3 MAY 1747
 Aged 28

What makes it significant is that it is the earliest example in our sample of the use of any lettering other than roman capitals or lower-case, using italic in the second line, and the new script in lines two, four and five.

Two years later, in Cornwall, one finds another naval memorial, but to a very different sort of man, not much younger, but a mere midshipman, without political influence, or 'interest' as it was called. It is to Christopher Borlase (d. 1749), at Ludgvan, Cornwall (LSW.I), (Fig. 4). This touching inscription and shield is on a small plate (296 x 217 mm) set in a light green-white marble frame, mounted on the north wall of the chancel of what was then his father's church. The Reverend William Borlase, as well as being the rector of Ludgvan, was an antiquary and naturalist, and a fellow of the Royal Society.¹¹ It is a very personal memorial, and its position, close to the rector's station in the church, complements the wording:

9 D. Baugh, 'Grenville, Thomas Henry (1719-1747), naval officer', *ODNB* online edn, ref:odnb/11499 accessed 4 April 2017.

10 TNA, SP 42/69.

11 D. Boyd Haycock, 'Borlase, William (1696-1772), antiquary and naturalist', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/2910 accessed 5 April 2017.

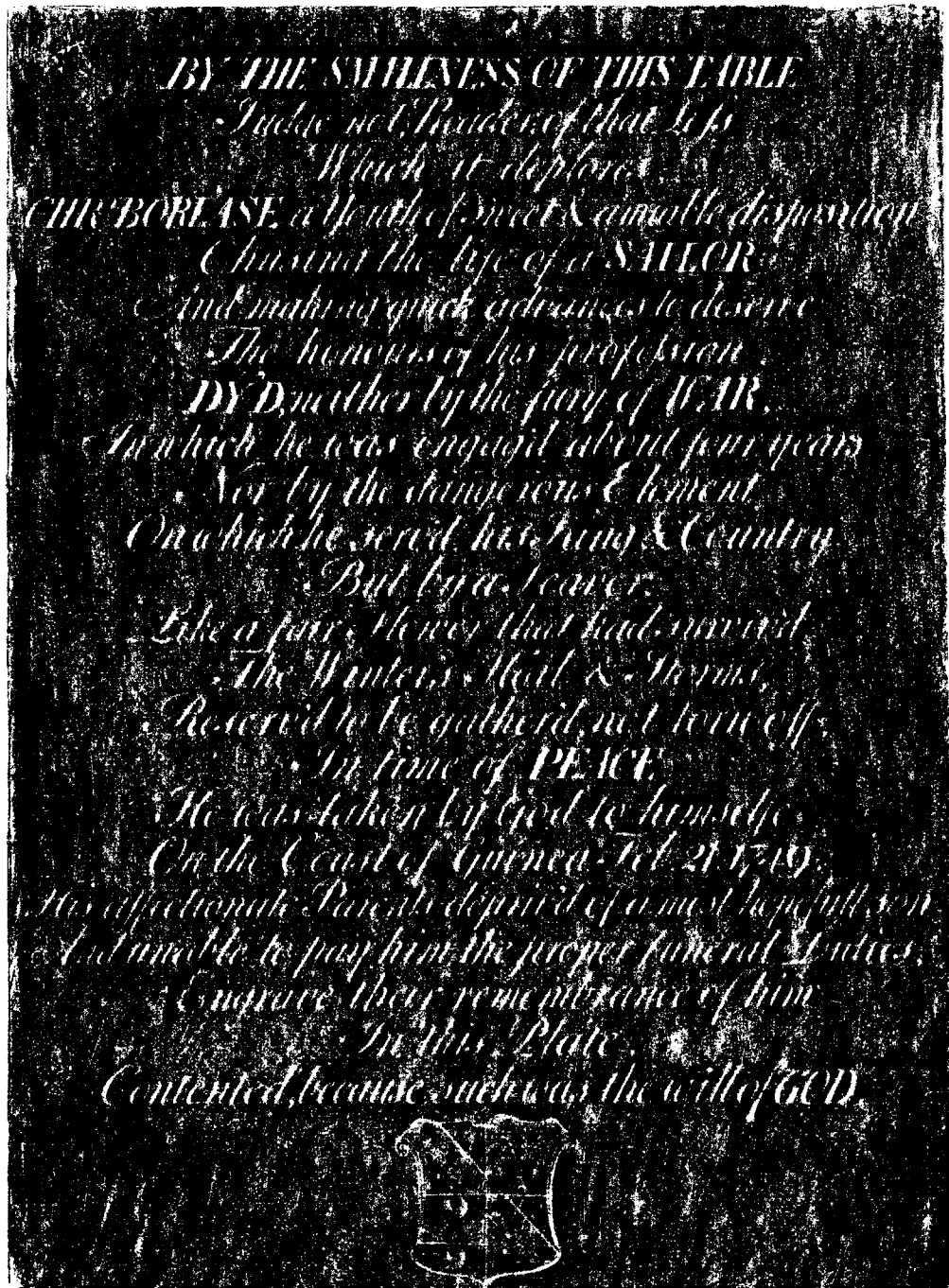


Fig. 4. Midshipman Christopher Borlase (d. 1749), Ludgvan, Cornwall (LSW.I).

BY THE SMALLNESS OF THIS TABLE
Judge not Reader of that loss
Which it deploras.
CH. BORLASE, a youth of sweet and amiable
disposition
Chusing the life of a SAILOR
And making quick advances to deserve
The honours of his profession.
DY'D, neither by the fury of WAR,
In which he was engaged about four years
Nor by the dangerous Element
On which he served his King & Country
But by a Fever,
Like a fair flower that had survived
The Winter's Hail & Storms,
Reserved to be gather'd, not torn off.
In time of PEACE
He was taken by God to himselfe
On the Coast of Guinea – Feb 21 1749.
His affectionate Parents, depriv'd of a most hopefull son
And unable to pay him the proper funeral Duties,
Engrave their remembrance of him
In this Plate.
Contented, because such was the will of GOD.

The inscription is beautifully engraved in lettering that lies between cursive and italic, possibly nearer the latter, marking the appearance of a new style. The engraving is shallow, although it has survived over two hundred and fifty years of polishing.

As his epitaph reveals, Christopher Borlase had a short and tragic naval career. He joined the Navy on 21 May 1744, aged fourteen, at Spithead as a volunteer aboard HMS *Monmouth*, a 64-gun ship-of-the-line, was rated midshipman on 30 March 1747 and stayed with the ship until she was paid off in

September 1748 at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession having, among many other activities, taken part in the first battle of Finisterre where Captain Grenville was killed. It is not clear where he went after serving in the *Monmouth*. His inscription states that he died of fever 'on the coast of Guinea' on 21 February 1749/50, that is seventeen months later. His will, dated 6 February 1746, was not proved until 31 October 1751, leading one to suppose that he was appointed to another H.M. ship, deployed to protect the British slave trade in the Gulf of Guinea, and which did not return to England until sometime in 1751, when his will would have been landed.¹²

While the small plate at Ludgvan was designed to be displayed in the chancel, small plates in general lent themselves for use as coffin plates. The earliest of these, now lost, was in Westminster Abbey to John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough, one of Britain's greatest generals. Dated 6 June 1722, it was placed on the Ormond vault in Henry VII's Chapel there.¹³ However, when Marlborough's widow died in 1744, his remains were removed to be with hers in the chapel of the newly-built Blenheim Palace at Woodstock, Oxfordshire. The fate of his plate is unknown.

In 1750, we encounter the first known extant coffin plate, that of Vice-Admiral of the White the Hon. Fitzroy Henry Lee at Spelsbury, Oxfordshire.¹⁴ It is hung, with others, in modern wooden frames, like pictures on a wall, with very neat engraving and entirely modern spelling, befitting a grandson of Charles II, and a member of the aristocratic Lee family from nearby Ditchley Park. The inscription,

¹² TNA PROB 11/790/505.

¹³ J. Dart, *Westmonasterium*, 2 vols (London, 1723). II, p. 56. The Ormond vault is now under the RAF Chapel.

¹⁴ J. Laughton, 'Lee, Fitzroy Henry (1699–1750), naval officer', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/16280 accessed 4 April 2017.

beneath an achievement of arms, is entirely in roman capitals, including the superscript ^{'BLE'}.

THE HON.^{BLE}
FITZROY HENRY LEE,
VICE ADMIRAL OF HIS
MAJESTY'S WHITE SQUADRON,
SEVENTH SON OF
EDWARD HENRY) EARL & COUNTESS
AND) OF
CHARLOTTE) LITCHFIELD
DIED APRIL 15.TH 1750
IN THE 50.TH YEAR OF HIS AGE

There are six other extant coffin plates, basically giving rank, age and date of death. General MacKenzie, Royal Marines, at Dallington, Sussex, (d. 1791) (Fig. 5) has particularly fine and bold engraving under an achievement of arms.¹⁵ Colonel Irving (d. 1796), Brough, Westmorland (LSW.VIII), with a flimsy plate and poor lettering, is unique in omitting his rank in favour of his life-appointment as governor of Upnor Castle – he also has a helm. If Irving's is flimsy, Captain Pitman's, at Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire, (d. 1752) is as battered and as filthy as when it was dug up in 1881.¹⁶ In contrast, Major Cavendish (d. 1809) (Fig. 6), a grandson of the duke of Devonshire, has a beautiful plate in Derby Cathedral (LSW.XXIX) engraved in roman capitals with the exception of one word in lower case – 'in' – probably to fit all the words into a very full fifth line. His father is mentioned, as well as his service in Spain and the dreadful shipwreck that cost him his life.

The two remaining coffin plates, both dated 1759, are to members of the Wolfe family, father and son, the son being Major General James Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec.¹⁷ He was killed on the field of battle on 13 September and his body was brought home in HMS *Royal William*, arriving at Portsmouth on 17 November, whence it was taken to Greenwich for burial three days later in the family vault in the parish church of St. Alfege with only five mourners present. His coffin plate's inscription is very brief. It is engraved 'MAJOR GEN^L/JAMES WOLFE/AGED 32 Years/1759' in a variety of scripts, despite its brevity. His name and year of death are in roman capitals, his rank and the word 'AGED' being italic; and the word 'Years' is in script, the tail of the letter 'Y' having such an extensive flourish that it splits the numerals of the year in the line below. This contrasts with his father's more elaborate plate, engraved only eight months earlier, using script throughout. The rubbings of these two brasses, made in 1859, are displayed in Quebec House, Westerham, Kent, James Wolfe's childhood home. The brasses themselves are buried in the family crypt.¹⁸ There is a marble memorial to Wolfe's memory in Westminster Abbey, erected in 1773 which is his real, public monument.

In addition to these seven coffin plates, there is another similar brass which has not been seen in public since 1792, that of General George Augustus Eliott, first Baron Heathfield, who died in 1790, and was buried

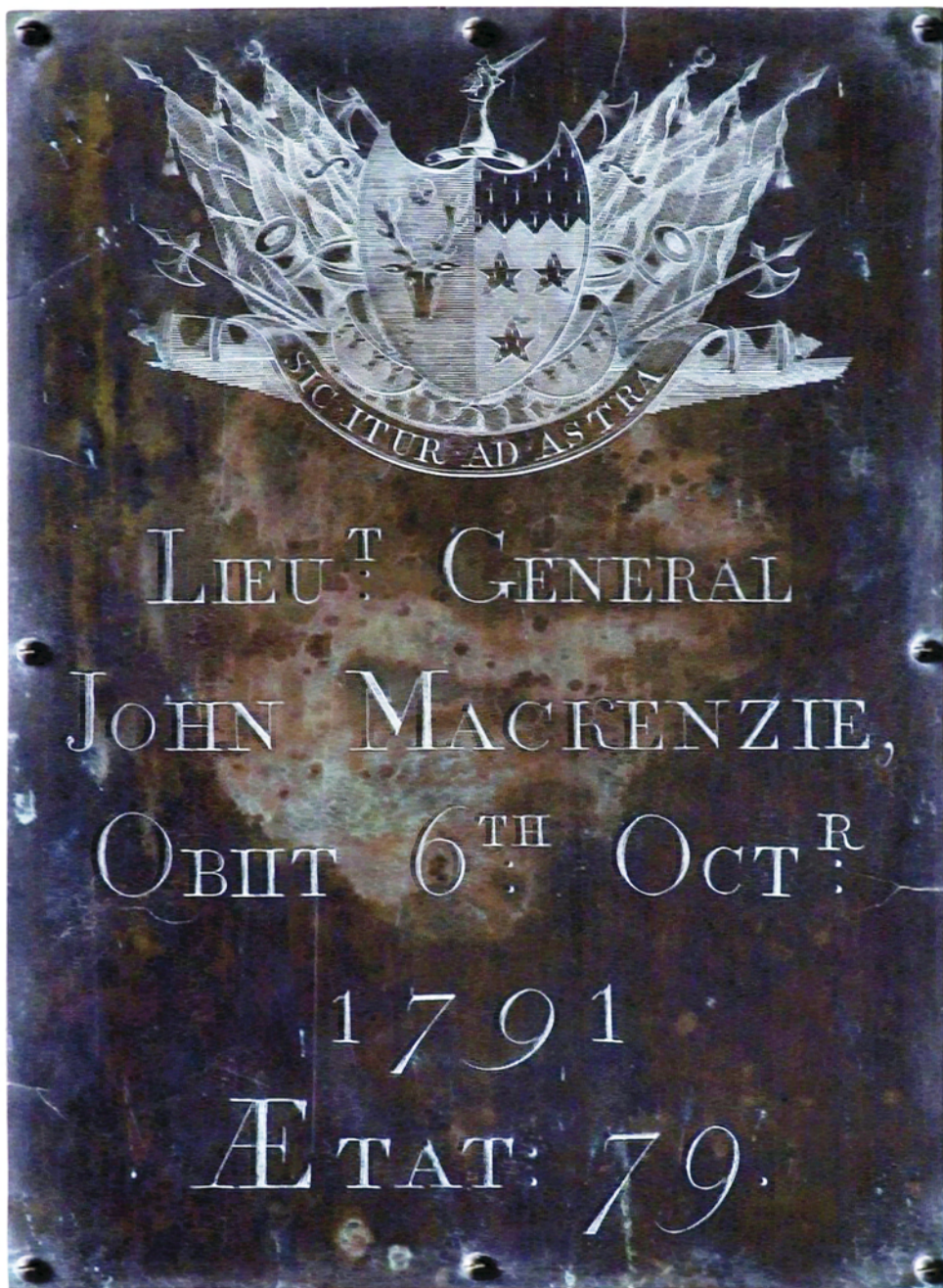
15 www.sussexrecordsociety.org/dbs/esm/church/730/>subpara.73D accessed 19 February 2018.

16 A note in the Chesham Bois burial register reveals that 'the tomb of John Pittman Esq was found in digging the foundations for the new vestry, 1881. The plate on the coffin was taken off and fixed in an oak frame and fastened to the wall of the vestry (inside) just over against where the tomb was found'.

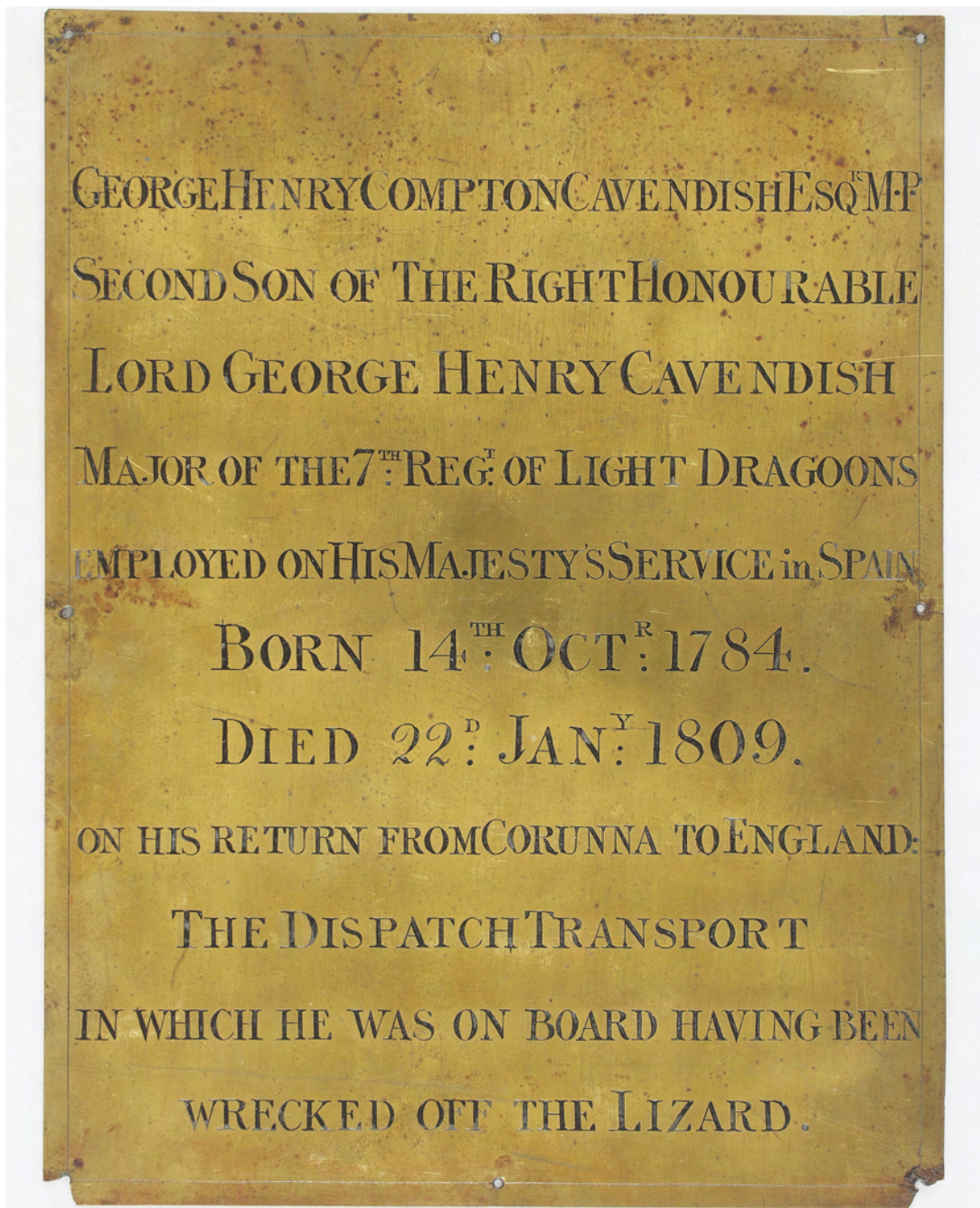
www.bucksfhs.org.uk/images/stories/origins/vol19_02.pdf accessed 27 December 2017, pp. 24-27.

17 S. Reid, 'Wolfe, James (1727-1759), army officer', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/29833 accessed 6 April 2017.

18 In 1859, following a series of Burial Acts, the vault was filled in with earth and powdered charcoal.



*Fig. 6. Lieutenant-General John Mackenzie, R.M. (d. 1791), Dallington, Sussex.
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*



*Fig. 7. Major George Cavendish (d. 1809), Derby Cathedral (LSW.XXIX).
(photo.: © Martin Stuchfield)*

at Heathfield, Sussex.¹⁹ He was a popular hero having, as governor of Gibraltar, withstood the Spanish army and navy during the ‘Great Siege’ from 1789 to 1792. As such, he has a large marble memorial in St. Paul’s cathedral but, at Heathfield, he was commemorated by a brass plate, inscribed:

The Right Honourable George Augustus
Elliott, Lord Heathfield, Baron of Gibraltar,
Knight of the Bath, General of
His Majesty’s Forces, Governor of Gibraltar,
and Colonel of the
15th Regiment of Light Dragoons,
died at Aix la Chapelle,
July 6th, 1790, aged 73 [*sic*] years.
This plate was part of a Spanish gun
belonging to the floating battery destroyed
before Gibraltar by the deceased,
September 13th, 1782.²⁰

This plate is no longer at Heathfield because the general’s son inherited the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Francis Drake of Buckland Monachorum, Devon. The second Lord Heathfield obtained a faculty to re-bury his father there and ordered a large, imposing marble memorial from a fashionable sculptor of the day, John Bacon. It is so large that it could not be aligned with the existing vaulting and was erected off-centre in the south aisle and tellingly the words ‘JOHN BACON R.A. SCULPTOR, LONDON. 1795.’ are carved at eye-level.²¹ By this date such monuments were erected more for the glory of the sculptor

than to the memory of the deceased.²² Of the brass plate there is no sign, but it was recorded as being in the vault below in 1835 and is almost certainly still there.²³ The general’s hatchment remains in the chancel of All Saints, Heathfield, as does a wall tablet, placed there in 1974, recording that there was once a tablet to his memory, without specifying either its material or its disposal.



Fig 7. Lieutenant Murdo Grant, R.N. (d. 1759),
Grappenhall, Cheshire (LSW.III).
(photo.: © Richie Profit)

Six of the plates in this sample commemorate more than one person. That of Lieutenant Murdo Grant, R.N., (d. 1759), a particularly attractive little brass mounted on a pillar in the nave at Grappenhall, Cheshire, (LSW.III) (Fig. 7), records simply his rank and date of

19 J. Falkner, ‘Elliott, George Augustus, First Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar, (1717–1790)’, *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/33000 accessed 17 December 2017. His monument in St. Paul’s Cathedral is by Rossi. There is also a huge painting, *The Defeat of the Floating Batteries at Gibraltar* by J.S. Copley in the Guildhall Art Gallery, London.

20 T. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols (Lewes, 1835), I, p. 576.

21 West Sussex Record Office, Faculty Papers, 1732–c. 1946: EP/II/27/27 Heathfield 1811.

22 A. Forty and S. Küchler, eds, *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford, 1999), p. 97.

23 Exeter, Southwest Heritage Centre, 346M/F/686, folder dated 19 March 1835: ‘Particulars concerning the coffins in the Drake family vault at Buckland Monachorum’. Access to the vault is via a cemented stone ledger slab and requires the fitting of a beam and the use of a chain hoist.

death but also that his daughter Nancy died a week before him. The lettering, well executed, is a mixture of roman capitals and lower-case, with script incorporating some fine flourishes. Also in Cheshire, a lost brass once in Chester Cathedral dated 1816, (LSW.XII) was inscribed 'Emma Currie, aged eight months, daughter of Lt Colonel Currie who lost his life at the Battle of Waterloo'.²⁴ In the Official Bulletin of the battle, published in *The Times* on 22 June 1815, the list of deaths includes 'Lieutenant-Colonel Currie, Lord Hill's Staff'. General Hill commanded Wellington's 2nd Corps on the right of the line. Currie, who was killed by grapeshot, had been on Hill's staff since 1809 in the Peninsular War and had stayed with this successful but humane general. He was a Major in the 90th Foot which Hill had helped to raise in 1794 and at the time of Waterloo, he was a brevet (or temporary) lieutenant-colonel.

As well as the brass to his daughter, at his widow's death in 1845 their surviving children erected a stone tablet in the church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, now deconsecrated as the St. Mary's Centre, which reads:

IN THE VAULT BENEATH LIE THE
REMAINS OF / ANNA MARIA CURRIE
/ WHO DIED AUG. THE 30TH 1845
AGED 57, / RELICT OF LIEUT
COLONEL EDWARD CURRIE, / WHO
SERVED WITH MUCH DISTINCTION
ON THE PERSONAL / STAFF OF THE
LATE GENERAL LORD HILL, G.C.B.
THROUGHOUT THE / PENINSULAR

CAMPAIGNS AND FELL ON THE
FIELD OF WATERLOO / WHERE HE
WAS EMPLOYED AS AN ASSISTANT
ADJUTANT GENERAL / IN THE ARMY
UNDER THE COMMAND OF FIELD
MARSHAL / HIS GRACE THE DUKE
OF WELLINGTON K.G. &C / THIS
HUMBLE TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY
OF THEIR LAMENTED / PARENTS IS
INSCRIBED BY THEIR SURVIVING
CHILDREN.²⁵

This inscription is a typical example of the Victorian need to record the heroic deeds of such men and reflects changing attitudes to the commemoration of the war dead. Thirty years earlier, having been buried elsewhere, he had merely been a tailpiece on his baby daughter's memorial.

The last of this group of multi-subject memorials is at Bisley, Gloucs. (LSW.CXXXI), to Captain John Hamstead, R.N. (d. 1813) and his wife Mary, who died six weeks after him. Geography is important here: the fact that it is brass number one hundred and thirty at Bisley draws attention to the tradition of using many small brass plate memorials, both internal and external, in Gloucestershire churches in that era.²⁶ Affixed to a pillar near the pulpit, this is a small, wide plate with its upper edge curved convexly. The lettering is mostly roman capitals, with some words in italic: 'ROYAL - NAVY' and '1813'; whereas 'his Widow' is mainly lower-case, and the word 'and' is in a very small script with a flourish on the 'd' that almost encircles the whole word.

24 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Cheshire* (London, 1996), p. 46.

25 J. and D. Bromley, *Wellington's Men Remembered: A Register of Memorials to Soldiers who Fought in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo*, 2 vols, (Barnsley, 2012-15), I, p. 225.

26 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire* (London, 2005), pp. 30-45. There are 323 brasses recorded in Bisley church and churchyard.

Another aristocrat's memorial is that to General Sir Henry Clinton (d. 1795), in the Lincoln chapel in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Berkshire (LSW.XVII).²⁷ Unique in having a tinted Achievement of Arms in relief on a large plate, with an inscription engraved on a separate plate, screwed on to its lower half, the lettering is in roman capitals:

GENERAL SIR HENRY CLINTON K.B.
GOVERNOR OF GIBRALTAR
COLONEL OF THE 7TH LIGHT DRAGOONS
LATE COMMANDER IN CHIEF IN AMERICA
HE WAS THE ELDEST SON
OF
ADMIRAL THE HONBLE GEORGE CLINTON
HE DIED 23RD DECEMBER 1795
AND WAS BURIED IN THIS CHAPEL
31ST DECEMBER 1795

Henry Clinton, also an MP, spent nearly all the American War of Independence in America, being the army Commander-in-Chief from 1778. He was thus General Cornwallis's superior when the latter surrendered at Yorktown in 1782, and many, including Cornwallis, blamed him for the surrender and for losing the war. He died in London before taking up the post of Governor of Gibraltar, but that did not prevent his executors mentioning the appointment in his inscription.

There are two brasses in private possession, although the first is described as 'lost'. It is from West Boldon, Durham, (LSW.20), (Fig. 8), and its continued existence in private possession was only discovered in 2018, where it had been since the church's restoration in the nineteenth century. It records the death in action on

10 June 1719 of Captain Whitfield Greenwell at the battle of Glen Shiel in the West Highlands, although it was not engraved until 1770 on the death of his widow. This battle was the last sputtering of the 1715 Jacobite uprising. Captain Greenwell was one of the officers of the government army, commanded by Major-General Wightman, which put an end to the rebellion at this battle defeating a force of rebel highlanders supported by 300 Spanish troops. The inscription itself, which commemorates his wife Jane, reads:

Here lyes the body of
IANE GREENWELL *wife of Cap^t,*
WHITFIELD GREENWELL *who was*
killed at the Battle of GLENSHEILD [sic]
in the year 1719

This little brass (100 x 150 mm) has a decorated border, an unusually early Gothic initial, and the lettering is in script, with names in roman capitals.

The second brass in private possession is that to Commander John Ralph Moss, R.N., who died of fever in 1799. A large rectangular plate surmounted by a semi-circular disc, it is the product of a London workshop and was originally mounted on a wooden headboard on a grave at Hogsties, Grand Cayman island in the West Indies.²⁸ Most of the long inscription is in a late style of roman capitals and lower-case, capitals for 'MEMENTO MORI', 'SACRED' and words describing place: 'BAY of HONDURAS' and his ship 'MERLIN'; and the single line 'Aged 40 Years' is in script. Ligatures are not used.

27 I. Gruber, 'Clinton, Sir Henry (1730-1795), army officer', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/5687 accessed 15 December 2017.

28 M. Harris, 'The Victor of St. George's Cay: Commander John Ralph Moss, R.N. (1759-99)', *MBS Trans*, XIX, pt 1 (2014), pp. 57-80.



Fig. 8. Jane Greenwell, wife of Captain Whitfield Greenwell (d. 1770), West Boldon, Durham (LSW.20)
formerly lost now in private possession.

In contrast to the simple record of facts that appear on most memorials of the period, a few, to those who were cut off in their prime display parental emotion. The lost brass at St. Just-in-Roseland, Cornwall, (LSW.5), to Midshipman John Hunt, R.N. (d. 1806), recorded by Polsue, reads:

To the memory of John Hunt, R.N., of H.M.S. *Glory* and *Barfleur*; Fifth son of Rowland Hunt of Boreatton in the County

of Salop, Esqr. Who in a life of 16 years performed every duty to his God, his Parents, to the poor, and to his King & Country. Died Feb. 6, 1806.²⁹

The wording is reminiscent, albeit more restrained, of the parental grief expressed in Christopher Borlase's memorial. John Hunt joined HMS *Glory*, a 98-gun second rate ship-of-the-line in 1804, as a volunteer 1st Class, aged fifteen and joined HMS *Barfleur*,

29 J. Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, 4 vols (Truro, 1867-72), II, p. 305.

as a midshipman on 9 October 1805.³⁰ *Barfleur* was a unit of the Channel Fleet, one of whose anchorages was in Carrick Roads, north of Falmouth; St. Just lies across the estuary to the northeast. It is clear from the St. Just burial records that members of ship's crews who died in the anchorage were landed there for burial. Several are recorded from *Barfleur*, one being Midshipman John Hunt, who was buried on 7 February 1806. Captain Robert Barlow's log for 6 February records starkly 'Departed life Mr. J^{no}. Hunt Midshipman'; and the next day 'Sent the body of the deceased to be interr^d'.³¹ A seaman had died on 5 February, and two others the following month. As this memorial testifies, it was not easy to keep the crews of such large crowded ships healthy.

Grief at the death of a son is also evident in a unique early nineteenth-century memorial to a civilian prisoner of war, Dr. John Jackson (d. 1807), at Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, LSW.XI. Jackson, like many British citizens, probably took the opportunity to visit France following the Peace of Amiens in 1802 and was caught unawares when war broke out again on 18 May 1803, leading to his internment. It includes what must be the earliest, possibly the only, use of press cuttings on a brass:

JOHN JACKSON M. D.
DIED JAN^y 2nd 1807. AGED 29.
READER, blame not a Father for recording
the death of a Son
In the words of the public papers of the day,
as follows:
"We are sorry to announce the death of our
countryman, Dr. Jackson, at Verdun,
In France, where he was a prisoner of war."

The following short tribute to his memory
we extract from a Paris paper of the
21st of January

Verdun, January 15

"Dr. Jackson the English Physician died
here on the 2nd Inst. of a putrid fever.

His funeral was attended by all his
Fellow-countrymen who are prisoners of war,
as well as by the Medical Gentlemen and the
Inhabitants of Verdun, whose esteem
and friendship he had gained by the
benevolence which he displayed towards
the unfortunate of every description;
He delighted to rescue the wretched from
the bed of sickness and death, and afforded
them both medical and pecuniary assistance!"

Not only is it a large plate (418 x 614 mm), but its style differs from contemporary examples. The lettering consists of roman capitals and lower-case of a traditional nature. However, capitals at the beginning of words, or standing alone, are filled with a red substance, and lower-case letters with black. Apart from the shape of the letters themselves, the design looks more Victorian than Regency in style. Two lines are in script, and a variety of font sizes are used for different sections of the memorial. During the Napoleonic Wars Verdun was used for interning both prisoners of war and 'detenus', civilians who happened to be in France when war was declared. Several descriptions of life there can be found in the *Naval Chronicle* of that era.³²

By the early nineteenth century, after a decade of conflict with France and following the popular naval victories of the Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar, it began to be

30 TNA ADM 35/688. *Glory* Pay Book: SB No. Vol 1; ADM 35/2132 & ADM 35/2133, *Barfleur* Pay Book. SB No. 680.

31 TNA ADM 51/1584 *Barfleur* Captain's Log.

32 *Naval Chronicle*, XXXII (1814), p. 89 et seq.

considered appropriate to record some of the dead man's naval deeds, rather than simply his date of death and age. This can be seen in the brass to Captain Henry Inman, R.N. (d. 1809) at Burrington, Somerset. It is a unique brass as it is cast, not engraved, and is surmounted by a cast fouled anchor, the badge of the Admiralty. The lettering is roman capitals in relief, and there is a simple perimeter line by way of decoration.

CAPTAIN HENRY INMAN, R.N.
1762 - 1809
SON OF REV. GEORGE INMAN, VICAR.
HE SERVED MOST GALLANTLY IN
THE MEDITERRANEAN, WEST INDIES,
THE CHANNEL, AND THE BALTIC;
ALSO UNDER VISCOUNTS
HOOD AND NELSON.
HE DIED WHILST NAVAL
COMMISSIONER AT MADRAS.

Henry Inman, the vicar's son, had a full and active career as a naval officer, dying from fever only twelve days after arriving in Madras to take up his post as naval commissioner, in charge of the naval dockyard there. He had served with distinction as a junior officer in the American War of Independence, was promoted captain in 1794 and was in command at sea almost continuously until his health failed in May 1806. At the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 he commanded the frigate *Désirée*, which he had captured from the French the year before, earning Nelson's praise, and the 74-gun *Triumph* during Admiral Calder's action against the Franco-Spanish fleets off Cape Finisterre in July 1805.

A late example of roman lettering in a memorial for an officer of the Napoleonic War is the grave marker for Admiral of the Blue Sir Robert Moorsom (d. 1835) at Cosgrove, Northamptonshire.³³ Of good quality, and about the same size as Captain Charles Bartellot's poor example nearly a century earlier, it, too, lies below his actual stone memorial on the wall above:

R.M
ObtApr14.1835
ÆT. 75.

The lettering is roman capitals with one ligature, and lower-case.³⁴ Moorsom had been captain of the 74-gun *Revenge* at Trafalgar, where he distinguished himself, being the first to engage the Spanish flagship, although being wounded himself. He carried the Great Banner at Nelson's funeral.

Gothic was already in evidence by the 1830s and can be seen in the monument to Rear Admiral William Carnegie, seventh earl of Northesk (d. 1831), Nelson's third-in-command at Trafalgar, in St. Paul's Cathedral. He lies in the crypt in a box tomb adorned only with a plain brass plate (350 x 606 mm) which reads, within a simple border of double black lines:

Sacred to the memory of William vii Earl
of Northesk G.C.B. Admiral of the Red
Rear Admiral of Great Britain and third in
Command in the glorious Victory of Trafalgar.
Born April x M D CClxxxi
Died May xxviii MDCCCxxxi

33 E. Drake, 'Moorsom, Constantine Richard (1792-1861)', *ODNB*, online edn, ref:odnb/19155 accessed 6 April 2017. Moorsom and Moss (above) served together as midshipmen in *Ardent* and *Courageux* from 1777 to 1783.

34 The stone plaque, three times the size and surmounted by a palm frond, says very little more.

By the time another Trafalgar captain, Henry Digby (d. 1842) of the 64-gun *Africa* was commemorated c. 1863, Gothic memorials were in full flower. His widow died that year, and their joint memorial at Minterne Magna, Dorset (LSW.IX), is on a large (1000 x 1500 mm) mural rectangular plate, consisting of an inscription extolling his 'gallantry and daring' during the battle, under an elaborate canopy with a decorated border by Waller.³⁵ Further examples of the Victorians commemorating their past heroes in brass can be found among the dozens of inscriptions in the Royal Garrison Church, Portsmouth, mostly engraved c. 1875 when the church was re-built.

Memorials to the eighteenth-century war dead were merely inscriptions, lacking effigies, as was the case with almost all brasses of the period. English engravers had lost the art of making pleasing effigies, and thus lost the market to sculptors, who also produced most of the inscriptions as well. Norris knew of only eight eighteenth-century figure brasses. When Horace Walpole commissioned a brass effigy of Bishop Ralph Walpole (d. 1302) c. 1755 to embellish Strawberry Hill, his Gothic Revival house at Twickenham, he had to use a Swiss engraver.³⁶ Although Norris appears to admire the quality of the effigy of the last-known eighteenth-century English figure brass, that of Benjamin Greenwood (d. 1773), at St. Mary Cray, Kent (M.S.VI), few would agree with him.³⁷

Only a handful of the war dead of the 'long eighteenth century' were commemorated in brass. Only eleven per cent of the three thousand memorials to those who fought in the Peninsular War (1809-14) and the Waterloo campaign (1815) catalogued by David and Janet Bromley are recorded as being of brass.³⁸ Some engravers made use of stone, though, in the form of frames for their inscription plates, mostly plain, except for the elaborate example at Kirkland (1805). Kirkby Stephen (1807) has a wooden frame of uncertain date. Metallurgically, two plates are of special interest, those at Burrington (1809) and Buckland Monachorum (1790); the former because it is the only example of an entirely cast memorial, and the latter because it claims to have been made from a melted-down Spanish cannon.³⁹ Nevertheless the variety and high standard of lettering repay inspection of these little plates which continue to draw attention to the lives of the warriors who left their parishes, never to return. As for their wording, most followed the simplest form of contemporary inscription: name, date of death and age, the only extra detail being naval or military rank. General Wolfe was limited to just the year rather than the actual date. Of the other ten deaths on active service, two Cornish memorials for young men feature parental grief and pride, those at Ludgvan (1749) and St. Just-in-Roseland (1806). Inscriptions were generally short until the end of the century. At West Boldon we are simply told, in an inscription engraved c. 1770,

35 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Dorsetshire* (London, 2001), p. 132.

36 A. Wagner and R. D'Elboux, 'A Commemorative Brass to Bishop Ralph Walpole from the Cloister at Strawberry Hill', *MBS Trans*, VIII, pt. 3 (1945), pp. 99-102.

37 M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), I, p. 250; M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, (London, 1978), fig. 265.

38 J. and D. Bromley, *Wellington's Men Remembered*, *passim*.

39 Although this plate is sealed in a vault, more of the same metal is said to be the raw material for a motto, *Calpes Defensori*, affixed over the door of a folly, known as the 'Gibraltar Tower', erected on the Heathfield estate in 1793 (Horsfield, *History, Antiquities, and Topography of the County of Sussex*, I, p.575).

that Captain Greenwell 'was killed at the Battle of GLENSHEILD [*sic*] in the year 1719', while at Wotton Underwood, the only clue to Captain Grenville's end in 1747 is the one word, 'slain'. It seems to be the outbreak of the long, politically charged, war against France in 1794, during which it was felt that the country was fighting for its very existence, that it was deemed proper to set out on a memorial the patriotic deeds of the commemorated person.

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Appendix: War-related Brasses in the Long Eighteenth Century

1700	Windsor, St. George's Chapel (LSW.XIV), Capt. R. Vaughan	303 x 418 mm	Roman capitals	Arms
1702	Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XII), Capt. Walter Barttelot (Fig. 2)	200 x 280 mm (inscr.) 200 x 200 mm (arms)	Roman capitals and lower-case, 2 ligatures	Arms
1709	Leigh, Essex (LSW.VIII), Capt. J. Price, R.N., and wife Martha (Fig. 1)	602 x 460 mm	Capitals and lower-case inscr. (figures lost)	Arms
1722	Westminster Abbey, John Churchill, 1st duke of Marlborough		Lost coffin plate	
1738	Stopham, Sussex (M.S.XIV), Capt. Charles Barttelot (Fig. 3)	100 x 130 mm	Roman capitals	
1747	Wotton Underwood, Bucks. (LSW.VI), Capt. T. Grenville, R.N.**	310 x 446 mm (oval)	Late roman capitals, italic and script	
1749	Ludgvan, Cornwall (LSW.I), Midshipman C. Borlase, R.N.* (Fig. 4)	296 x 217 mm	Between cursive and italic: nearer to italic marble frame	Arms
1750	Spelsbury, Oxon, Vice-Admiral The Hon. Fitzroy Lee	407 x 302 mm	Roman capitals, inc. superscript ^{'BLE'}	Arms
1752	Chesham Bois, Bucks. (LSW.IV), Capt. John Pittman, R.N.	352 x 277 mm	Roman capitals and script	Border
1759	Grappenhall, Cheshire (LSW.III), Lt. Murdo Grant, R.N.* and dau. Nancy (Fig. 7)	210 x 160 mm	Roman capitals and lower-case; together with script incorporating some fine flourishes	Border
1759	Greenwich, St. Alfège, Kent, buried in vault, Lt.-General E. Wolfe (rubbing at Quebec House, Westerham, Kent)	315 x 234 mm	Script	Border
1759	Greenwich, St. Alfège, Kent, buried in vault, Major-General J. Wolfe** (rubbing at Quebec House, Westerham, Kent)	425 x 345 mm	Roman capitals and italic, with the word 'years' in script	
1770	West Boldon, Durham (LSW.20), Jane, w. of Capt. W. Greenwell** (Fig. 8) (a lost brass recently discovered in private possession)	100 x 150 mm	Gothic initial, roman capitals and script	Border
1790	Buckland Monachorum, Devon, General George Eliott 1st baron Heathfield of Gibraltar	buried brass	Lettering style unknown	
1790	Lewes, St. Anne, Sussex, Capt. James Cranston, R.N. and dau. Catharine (and separate plate to w. Catherine)	450 x 610 mm	Roman capitals	

1791	Dallington, Sussex, Lt-General John Mackenzie, R.M. (Fig. 5)	410 x 310 mm	Roman capitals; one ligature	Arms
1795	Windsor, St. George's Chapel (LSW.XVII), General Sir Henry Clinton	560 x 407 mm	Roman capitals	Arms
1796	Brough, Westmorland (LSW.VIII), Lt-Col. Paul Irving	407 x 308 mm	Roman capitals with 2 ligatures; and lower-case	Helm
1799	Grand Cayman, W. Indies, Cdr John Ralph Moss, R.N.* (in private possession; see <i>MBS Trans.</i> , 19, pt 1 (2014), pp. 57-80)	839 x 359 mm	Late roman capitals and lower-case; and script Memento Mori above	
1805	Kirkland, near Skirwith, Cumberland (LSW.IV), Capt. L. Holmes, R.N.	260 x 240 mm	Lettering unreadable (dark and high up)	
1806	St. Just in Roseland, Cornwall (LSW.5), Midshipman John Hunt, R.N.*		Lost brass inscription.	
1807	Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland (LSW.XI), John Jackson, M.D.*	418 x 614 mm	Roman capitals and lower-case. Many initial letters are in red, the remainder in black	
1809	Derby Cathedral (LSW.XXIX), Major George Cavendish* (Fig. 6)	407 x 306 mm	Roman capitals, one word in lower-case	
1809	Burrington, Somerset, cast plate, Capt. Henry Inman, R.N.*	366 x 535 mm	Roman capitals in relief Cast fouled anchor above	Border
1813	Bisley, Gloucs. (LSW.CXXXI), Capt. John Hamstead, R.N. and w. Mary	105 x 365 mm	Roman capitals, some italicized; and script	
1816	Chester Cathedral (LSW.XII), Emma, 8-month-old dau. of Lt.-Col. Edward Currie** (lost brass inscription)			
1835	Cosgrove, Northants, Admiral Sir Robert Moorsom	110 x 150 mm	Roman capitals, one ligature, and lower-case	
<i>Related Brasses in Gothic Script.</i>				
1831	St. Paul's Cathedral, Admiral William Carnegie, seventh earl of Northesk	350 x 606 mm		
1863	Minterne Magna, Dorset (LSW.IX), Admiral Sir Henry Digby (d. 1842) and w. Jane (d. 1863)	1000 x 1500 mm	Engraved by Waller	
c. 1875	Royal Garrison Church, Portsmouth	Many	Some are at the English Heritage Store, Fort Brockhurst, Alverstoke, Hants	

**Killed in Action; *Died on Active Service

‘Sorrow and Pride’: Commemorating the Anglo-Boer War in Brass

David Meara

Based on a case study of the Anglo-Boer War memorial to members of the Oxfordshire Imperial Yeomanry in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, this article seeks to explain the factors that caused an explosion of commemoration of those who died during the period 1899-1902, which resulted in the commissioning of many memorial brasses, often of slight artistic quality, but fulfilling the important function of giving expression to feelings of sorrow and pride, particularly amongst members of the middle classes. This contributed to the democratisation of commemoration and provided a stepping-stone to the outpouring of public commemoration provoked by the First World War.

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 caused an hitherto unprecedented public and personal expression of remembrance throughout Britain which resulted in a large number of memorials being erected to commemorate the fallen, many of them in the form of memorial brasses in churches and cathedrals. The forces at work which influenced their erection included the expression of civic and personal pride, the need to give expression to sorrow and grief, pride in the exploits of Empire and changes in the structure and recruitment methods of the British Army which opened its ranks to the aspiring middle classes for the first time. This meant that there was a strong desire amongst this more educated class to erect memorials to those who had died and thus contributed to what might be called ‘the democratisation of commemoration’.

The causes of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 are complex, but broadly speaking are threefold. Firstly, the Boers believed they had

been forced by the British both out of the Cape and then out of Natal in what became known as the First Boer War. Secondly, the discovery of gold near Johannesburg turned the Transvaal from a very poor to a very rich country and the failure of the Jameson Raid (1895-6) encouraged the Transvaal government to re-arm against the British. The third cause of the war was the personal antipathy between Paul Kruger, the president of the Transvaal, and Sir Alfred Milner the British high commissioner in South Africa which meant negotiation became impossible as the two sides slid towards war. The Boer ultimatum demanding that the British should leave South Africa expired on 11 October 1899 and Britain was then at war with the republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The war can be divided into four parts: Part 1, the Boer offensive and the sieges of Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith; Part 2, the British attempts to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith, including so-called “Black Week” in December 1899, and the Battle of Spion Kop in January 1900; Part 3, the British offensives, the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith, the march on Johannesburg and Pretoria, and the flight of President Kruger; and Part 4, the guerrilla war pursued by Lord Kitchener leading to the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902 and the ending of hostilities. The British employed about 500,000 troops against the Boers, who for much of the war had fewer than 25,000 men in the field. The British lost just over 20,000 men, of whom 7,582 were killed in action or died from their wounds, and just over 13,000 died from disease. It was

a war that was bitterly fought, but it was also in many ways the last of the ‘gentlemen’s wars’, in which civilized attitudes were displayed on both sides. As James Morris comments ‘These were Christian armies, fighting each other at the end of the Christian era: Boer and Briton shared a trust in many old truths, and a homely familiarity with the prophets and patriarchs of their creed’.¹

When the war began there existed immense pride in the British Empire and confidence that the war would be quickly won. By the end of the war this confidence was considerably dented, but there remained a strong belief in the rightness of Britain’s cause expressed by the majority of people from Queen Victoria downwards and a desire to commemorate the sacrifices made by people from all parts of Britain in the name of Country and Empire. This resulted not just in stained glass windows and marble and brass plaques in churches, cathedrals, and schools, but also in public statues, crosses, obelisks, alms-houses and water troughs in extraordinary profusion all over Britain. The range of memorialisation of those killed during the Anglo-Boer War has been comprehensively documented by Valerie Parkhouse.² Basing much of her research on the work of Sir James Gildea, she shows that no previous war had resulted in such a popular and public expression of remembrance.³ This, she argues, was stimulated not just by patriotism and grief, but also by changes in the organisation of the army which meant that rank and file soldiers were commemorated as well as officers. This is reflected in the large number of names on regimental memorials to be found in cathedrals

and churches across the land, the first time this had happened on such a large scale. The scale of this memorialisation was first pointed out by Gildea. The index of architects, sculptors and firms in his study *For Remembrance* lists 304 names, including some of the major sculptors and architects of the time. From this index Parkhouse has identified the major suppliers of brass memorial tablets as follows:

1. Gawthorp and Sons – at least 33 memorials
2. J. W. Singer and Sons – at least 11 brasses
3. Gaffin and Co., London – 33 memorials
4. Hart, Son Peard and Co. – 9 brasses
5. Heaton, Butler and Bayne – 9 memorials
6. Clayton and Bell – 8 memorials
7. Burlison and Grylls – 5 memorials
8. J. Wippell & Co. – many different memorials, especially brasses.
9. John Hardman & Co.
10. Jones and Willis

Most of these firms produced off-the-peg memorials, often advertising the range of available products in brochures such as the catalogue page from J. Wippell and Co., dated 20 May 1903, (Fig. 1) which shows just how dull, formulaic and commercialised the process of commissioning a memorial had become. Occasionally these firms would produce a more bespoke memorial and the products of Robert Lorimer in Scotland were generally of a higher artistic standard.

Because of the proliferation of such poorly-designed off-the-peg memorials, particularly in brass, a reaction developed within artistic circles against the use of brass memorials and their quality was increasingly debated.

1 J. Morris, *Farewell the Trumpets: An Imperial Retreat* (London, 1978), p. 61.

2 V.B. Parkhouse, *Memorializing the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902: Militarization of the Landscape: Monuments and Memorials in Britain* (Kibworth Beauchamp, 2015).

3 J. Gildea, *For Remembrance: In Honour of Those Who Lost Their Lives in the South African War, 1899-1902 – Lest We Forget* (London, 1911).



Fig. 2. Memorial to the special correspondents who died during the Boer War
in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.
(photo.: © The Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral)

In response to this Lawrence Weaver (1876-1930), the architectural editor of *Country Life* and an influential architectural writer and powerful advocate of the Arts and Crafts Movement, wrote a book *Memorials and Monuments* (published in 1915) to draw attention to the best examples of memorial design from seven centuries and to point to contemporary artists who could design memorials in a sympathetic style.⁴ In his preface he states that 'After the war in South Africa hundreds of monuments of all kinds were set up in thankful remembrance of those who gave up their lives'. But he goes on to say that these monuments 'revealed the exceeding poverty of memorial design in Great Britain'. He singles out for

criticism 'the persons who are curiously called monumental masons ... who bring to their task neither taste nor knowledge' and adds that 'The clerical tailors who sell most of the engraved brasses have mainly succeeded in making that form of memorial the most dreary'.

There is no doubt that the number of British and Allied deaths during the Boer War provoked an avalanche of memorialisation, with a consequent lowering of artistic standards, although Weaver was able to illustrate a number of fine examples, including the South African War memorials at Eton College (1908) and at Haileybury College

4 L. Weaver, *Memorials & Monuments: Old and New: Two Hundred Subjects Chosen from Seven Centuries* (London, 1915).

(1904), designed by Reginald Blomfield. In his chapter on brasses, Weaver illustrates an engraved bronze tablet to five members of the Hamilton family in Hythe Church, Kent, including three sons who died in the Boer War, one killed by lightning, one who died of enteric fever and one killed in action. It was erected in 1912 and designed by Edward E. Dorling. Weaver uses this example approvingly to illustrate fine Roman lettering admirably set out, with the Gothic letters for the motto above the enamelled shield of arms adding variety to the composition. By contrast, Weaver is generally highly critical of the quality of 'modern' brasses, saying that 'many are bad to the point of being ludicrous'. He says it would be hard to find an uglier memorial than the brass set up on the wall of the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral in honour of the besieged garrisons of the Transvaal, 1880-1. Weaver describes the monument as follows: 'There is an engraved architectural framework which depicts columns etc., of the meanest detail, and shelters two military figures, ugly in themselves and absurdly out of scale with the rest of the scheme. The rest of the plate is occupied by ill-designed lettering'.⁵ By contrast Weaver was enthusiastic about the memorial on the north side of the south aisle of the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral to special correspondents who died covering the war in South Africa 1899-1902 (Fig. 2). It consists of a bronze gilt panel with raised lettering within a red marble frame and was designed by Sir William Goscombe John, R.A., and dedicated on 14 January 1905. On the right-hand side of the panel the figure of a woman sits in contemplation, holding a laurel wreath, against a background of hills. The inscription lists

the names of thirteen journalists and the companies they worked for.

A fairly typical memorial brass to the South African War is that in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford to the Oxfordshire Company of the Imperial Yeomanry (Fig. 3). It is on the south wall of the south nave aisle and consists of two rectangular plates with a simple ornamental border enclosing the inscriptions. The cathedral chapter minutes of 13 March 1902 record that 'Leave was given for the erection in the Cathedral of a brass in memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the 40th Company of the Imperial Yeomanry who have fallen in the South African War'. From the tenor of the minutes the process was uncontroversial, and did not provoke much debate, because on 4 October the minutes record that the memorial was unveiled by the Bishop of Oxford and a subsequent minute of 12 March 1903 refers to a design for a further memorial brass. After various modifications suggested by the dean the second brass to the men of the 59th Company of the Imperial Yeomanry was agreed on 1 June 1904.⁶

There are no original designs or drawings of the monument to the Oxfordshire Yeomanry in the archive, but this was a standard off the peg design, with very little ornamentation. The first panel of the memorial commemorates 'the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 40th Oxfordshire Company 10th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry raised in Oxford 1900 who were killed or died of wounds or disease' and lists their names, together with details of where and when they

5 Weaver, *Memorials & Monuments*, p. 258.

6 Oxford, Christ Church Cathedral Archives, Chapter Minutes, vol. D and C ii. b. 11, pp. 253, 256, 260, 271. Information kindly supplied by Judith Curtheys, cathedral archivist.

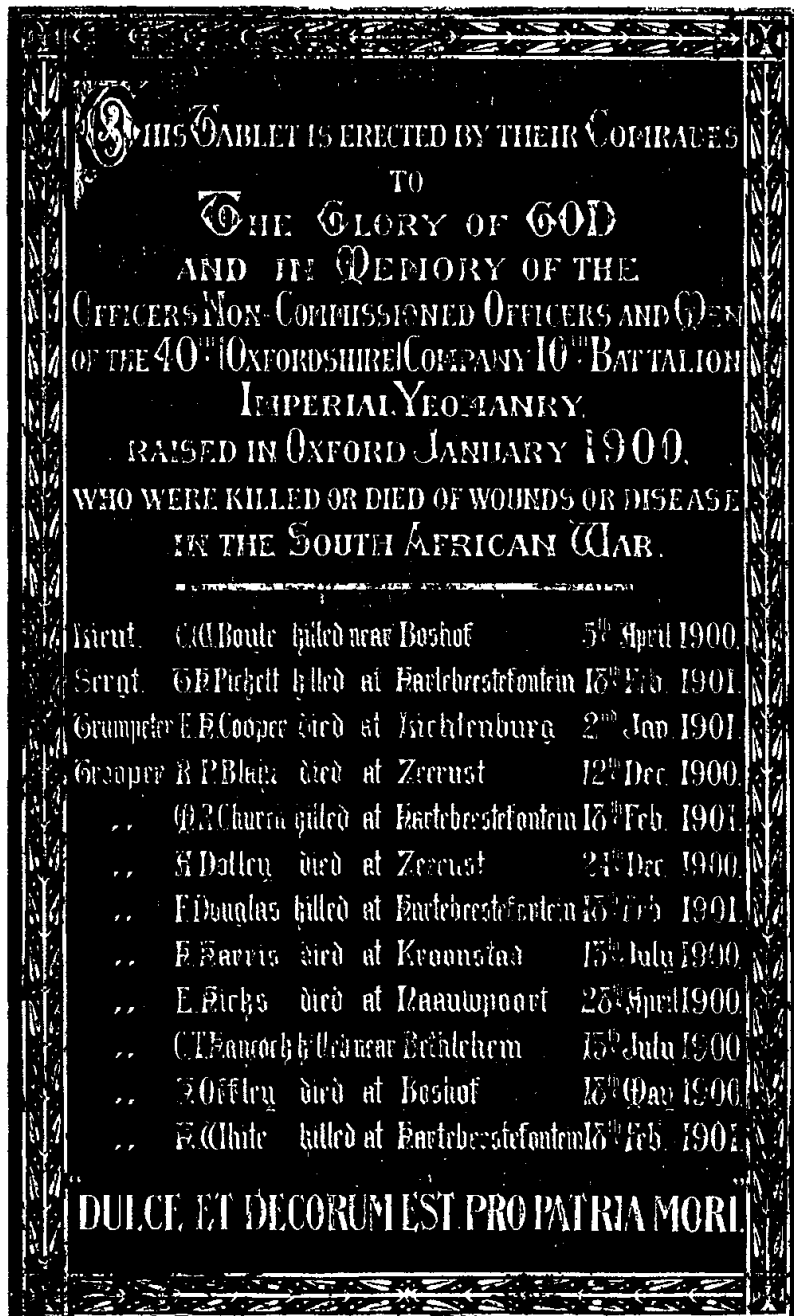


Fig. 3. Memorial to the members of the Oxfordshire Company of the Imperial Yeomanry who died in the South African War, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.



Fig. 4. Major John Fisher (d. 1901), Holy Trinity, Weymouth, Dorset (LSWIII).
(© Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Dorsetshire)

died. These are given in Appendix 1 with additional details of the actions in which they died. The second brass, mounted next to the first, commemorates the officers and men of the 59th Oxfordshire Company 15th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry. They are listed in Appendix 2. Lawrence Weaver found such memorials to be lacking in artistic merit, but their primary purpose was to provide a record of those who had died in the conflict, and to list their names. Because the scale of the war and its human cost was so much greater than earlier colonial conflicts, there was a corresponding desire to memorialise those who had died in an attempt to assuage the grief and anxiety felt by the general public as well as the establishment.⁷ In this context the lack of artistic merit was entirely secondary to the need for detailed commemoration.

It would be impossible in an essay of this kind to give a comprehensive survey of the brasses commemorating the Anglo-Boer War, but by studying the volumes of the *County Series* so far published it is possible to form an idea of the range of memorials laid down in our churches.⁸ A more elaborate brass is that to Major John Francis Fisher (d. 20 November 1901) at Holy Trinity, Weymouth, Dorset, subscribed to by members of the Railway Pioneer Regiment (Fig. 4). I suggest that the conclusions of a wider survey would correspond closely to the conclusions of this article, that the overall artistic standard of such memorial brasses is of little merit, but that in the minds of those commissioning such memorials this was a secondary consideration to the desire to commemorate by name all those who had fought and died, both officers and ordinary ranks.

7 P. Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War* (Liverpool, 2013), especially chapters 2, 3 and 4.

8 W. Lack, H.M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore eds, *passim*.

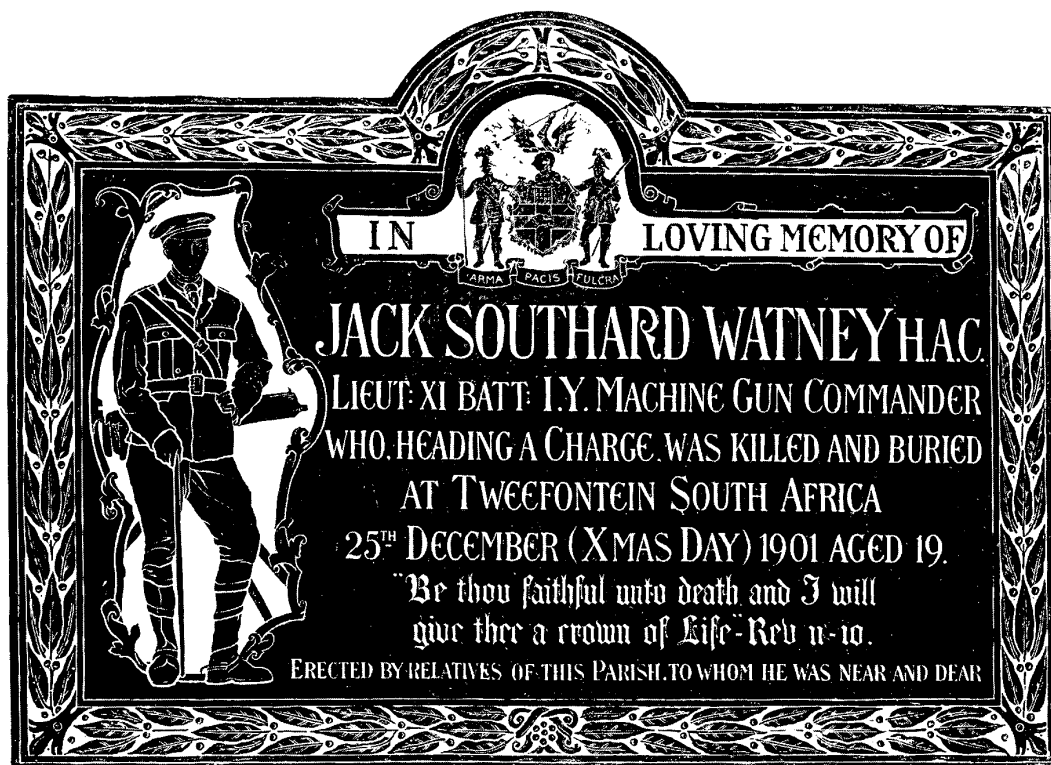


Fig. 4. Lt. Jack Southard Watney, H.A.C., Birchanger, Essex (LSW.II).
(© Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, Essex)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic Wars the army drew most of its recruits from the lowest classes of society. Discipline was harsh and the pay was low. The Duke of Wellington famously described his men as 'the scum of the earth'. As the century progressed a series of reforms were introduced, notably by Edward Cardwell and Hugh Childers, secretaries of state for war in the 1870s and 1880s, which reduced the normal period of service to twelve years, introduced fixed recruiting areas and depots, and later integrated the militia and volunteers into the regular regimental system. They also

significantly improved soldiers' pay, conditions and housing, so that the army became more attractive as a career. As a result, by the time of the Boer War there had been a significant change in the attitude of the general public to the army which encouraged volunteers from the middle classes, as well as from the working classes, to enlist. About 30,000 volunteers signed up for service, and this created a greater engagement with the army by the middle classes and a consequent fresh interest in the fate of the common soldier. 'Rank and file' men were now commemorated both as soldiers and as citizens of a specific place.⁹ Furthermore

9 A. Bruce, *Monuments, Memorials and the Local Historian* (London, 1997), p. 24.

those who died were buried far from home, thus depriving their loved ones of graves in Britain around which to mourn and this created a strongly felt need to find other forms of commemoration.

As Peter Donaldson has pointed out, the conflict in South Africa thus 'provides a fascinating stepping-stone to the outpouring of public commemorative effort provoked by the Great War of 1914-18'.¹⁰ The title of this article, 'Sorrow and Pride', reflects the two dominant emotions which moved individuals, communities, schools and regiments to erect memorials to those who had died in the South African conflict and which are often to be found expressed in memorial inscriptions, sometimes combined with a chivalric theme and buttressed by expressions of the Christian hope of life beyond death. The brass to Jack Southard Watney, who died at Tweefontein, is an example of an inscription with an overtly Christian reference (Fig. 5). The text includes a quote from Revelations 2.10, 'Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of Life'. Colonel E.E. Browne of the Royal Scots Fusiliers argued strongly that figurative monuments 'educated and enriched the minds of youth, engendering a spirit of

reverence for, and a desire to emulate, noble deeds and personal sacrifices undergone by their countrymen in times of stress and danger. Thus, the dead in the service of their country were made alive again ... in the marble and bronze of the sculptor'.¹¹ And Major Edwards, commanding officer of the volunteers from Elland, a small village in West Yorkshire, on the unveiling of a memorial to Sergeant Hemmingway, who died at Kimberley in 1901, could write 'This was no wasted life; he gave it to his country – he lived a good man: he died a hero. What more can be wished for'.¹²

Major Edwards' comment aptly sums up the sense of national pride, dedication to duty and desire to commemorate the individual sacrifices made in the course of the Anglo-Boer War, which have been the themes of this essay. Memorial brasses in particular, in their profusion across the churches and cathedrals of Britain, are a reminder of these desires coming together to make personal military commemoration possible in a way hitherto unknown. The artistic standard of many memorials may not have been high, but they were fulfilling a more profound function of expressing both personal sorrow and national pride at the end of the Victorian era.

10 Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, pp. 1-9.

11 Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, p. 55.

12 Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War*, p. 108.

Appendix 1: The 40th Oxfordshire Company 10th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry

Rank	Name	Manner of Death	Location	Date
Lieutenant	C.W. Boule	Killed	At Boshof. A battle took place 5th April 1900 between British forces and French volunteers of the Boer forces. The 3rd and 10th Battalions of the Imperial Yeomanry surrounded the Boers under Comte de Villebois-Mareuil, who was killed before the volunteers surrendered. British losses were three killed and ten wounded.	5 April 1900
Sergeant	T.H. Pickett	Killed	At Hartebeestefontein, scene of a skirmish in which British forces led by Lord Methuen were descending an escarpment above the town when they were confronted by entrenched Boer forces. After numerous casualties on both sides the British secured the pass.	18 February 1900
Trumpeter	E.H. Cooper	Died	At Lichtenburg. In November 1900 a British force under Col. Robert Baden-Powell secured the town. On 3 March 1901 18 British soldiers were killed in a Boer attack on the town.	2 January 1901
Trooper	R.P. Blake	Died	At Zeerust, a township on the strategic Rustenburg to Mafeking road, from which Lt.-General Sir Frederick Carrington set out in support of Lt.-Col. Hore, besieged at Elands River Post.	12 December 1900
Trooper	M.R.C. Church	Killed	At Hartebeestefontein (see above).	18 February 1901
Trooper	A. Dolley	Died	At Zeerust, a trading post and township situated in the North West Province and occupied by Col. Baden-Powell in May 1900. In August that year an engagement took place between a garrison of 500 stationed near the Elands River and a Boer force of 2-3,000. The siege was lifted when the garrison was relieved by Lord Kitchener.	24 December 1900
Trooper	F. Douglas	Killed	At Hartebeestefontein (see above).	18 February 1901
Trooper	H. Harris	Died	At Kroonstad, in the Orange Free State. It was the site of a concentration camp opened in November 1900; the town was on the railway line between Bloemfontein and Pretoria. In May 1900 the British under Lord Roberts launched a major offensive along the line of the railway but had to pause at Kroonstad to repair the railway.	13 July 1900
Trooper	E. Hicks	Died	At Naauwpoort, South Western Transvaal. An important railway junction, and a major stores depot for the British.	28 April 1900
Trooper	C.T. Hancock	Killed	Near Bethlehem, Orange Free State. The Boers had made this their temporary capital, but were pushed back by the British during the summer of 1900.	13 July 1900
Trooper	H. Offley	Died	At Boshof (see above).	18 May 1900
Trooper	H. White	Killed	At Hartebeestefontein (see above).	18 February 1901

Appendix 2: The 59th Oxfordshire Company 15th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry

Rank	Name	Manner of Death	Location	Date
Lieutenant	G.D. Green	Killed	At Modderfontein, a farm in the Transvaal where a British force was overwhelmed by a Boer force under Jan Smuts. The post was later relieved by the British 2-5 February.	(31 January 1901)
Corporal	G.H. Turner			
Private	F.G. Tuiss	Died	At Hoopstad.	
Private	G.R. Brook	Killed	Near Lindley, located between Bethlehem and Kroonstad Kroonstad in the Orange Free State. The town was a Boer stronghold but changed hands several times during the war. On 27 May 1900 the Imperial Yeomanry occupied positions around the town, but were overcome by Boer forces. Eighty men from the Yeomanry were killed.	(June 1900)
Private	G. Boyles	Killed	At Freiburg.	
Private	A.Y. Beeching	Killed	At Knigtersdorp.	
Private	M. Bond	Died	At Kroonstad (see above).	
Private	F.W. Ford	Killed	At Gatstrand, a steep ridge of hills, which was a hideout for the Boer Commandos.	
Private	H.C. Jackson	Died	At Boshof (see above).	
Sergeant	Dan Legge	Died	At Knigtersdorp.	
Private	C.J. Plim	Killed		
Private	C.K. Toller	Killed	At Heilbron, a town on the railway connected to the Bloemfontein to Pretoria line, and seat of government of the Orange Free State until the British occupied it in May 1900. The town changed hands a number of times during the war.	(June 1900)
Private	E. Welshman	Died	At Kroonstad (see above).	(July 1900)

Notes:

1. I have assumed that 'Killed' means killed in action, and 'Died' means that the soldier died either of wounds received in battle, or from disease. During the Anglo-Boer War about 13,000 British troops died of disease, while about 7,500 were killed in battle or died from wounds received.
2. Dates in brackets are approximate, based on the location, where the memorial does not give a date of death.

The Brass Memorials to Conflict of the Liverpool Region

Jonathan Trigg

This article represents the preliminary results of the author's research into the commemoration of conflict in the north west of England. More specifically, it considers a case study of the brass memorials from in and around the city of Liverpool, investigated over the past twenty years. In doing so, it examines the ways and means in which the people of the Liverpool region came to terms with death as the result of conflicts ranging from the Crimean War through to the Second World War. The preponderance of the memorials relate, not unsurprisingly, to the First World War. War memorials have been scarcely studied in this region, and the overall project aims to rectify this deficiency. Through a series of thematic investigations, individual case studies are used to show how memorials can reveal private, personal reactions to trauma-related anguish, but also how they can be used to demonstrate communal, community reactions. Very often these two sets of responses were in opposition to one another. Consideration of these issues is important, not least because the memorials, and acts associated with them, framed the memory of conflict.

Introduction

The research presented here presents some preliminary observations that arise from a survey of the conflict-related memorials of north west England (in this case the historic counties of Cheshire and Lancashire). In this article, observations will be presented on the brass memorials of this type from the Liverpool region. Consideration will be given to those memorials dating from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. In particular, however, it concentrates on those relating to the Great War, and then, for purposes of comparison, later

examples, primarily relating to the Second World War. Thus, this work forms part of the broad church referred to as 'memory studies'. It is a study of how the people of Liverpool came to terms with deaths resulting from warfare and the aftermath of these deaths. As can be seen by the evidence presented here, the echo of conflict resonates long after the cessation of hostilities.

Whilst many of the memorials are in their original location, as will be shown, a number have been moved for a variety of reasons. They do not automatically commemorate the dead; they can be erected to mark peace, for example, or to commemorate specific events. As will be seen, they can be religious in form, but can equally be secular. They are rich in textual detail and, as they exist in considerable numbers, they can be used to provide reasonably secure statistical and other analyses. They can also be interpreted in the light of historical documentation, and it is, moreover, relatively easy to date them to the period of their construction.

From a methodological perspective, a considerable number of memorials and other commemorative forms have been examined, both public and private, interior and exterior. This was supplemented with a search of the historical documentation, including archival and newspaper searches. Each monument has been recorded in a database maintained by the author although inevitably for reasons of space, not all can be discussed here in their totality.¹

1 This cannot be reproduced here for reasons of space. Interested parties are encouraged to contact the author for further details or for exchange of information.

Thus, for the purposes of this article, selected case studies are highlighted.

Background to the study

Liverpool in the period under consideration – broadly speaking the memorials cover events from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries – was composed of a great diversity of communities, socially, economically, politically, racially and in religious character. This was largely due to the trade which passed through the city. During the 1840s there was a considerable influx of Irish migrants as a result of the potato famine, and there were other significant German, Greek, Nordic, Polish and Jewish communities.² There were equally strong Welsh and Scottish influences, attracted by opportunities of work as specialist clerks, engineers and in the shipping industry. Liverpool is also home to the oldest Chinese community in Europe, and the first black community in the United Kingdom. Liverpool's population peaked in the 1930s with 846,101 individuals being recorded in the 1931 census. The Census of Religious Worship for England and Wales (1851) shows the number of places of worship in Liverpool as follows: Anglican 61, Methodist 30, Catholic 17, Baptist 11, Independents 10, Presbyterian 6, Unitarians 4, Jewish 3 and others 20.³ Economically speaking, it was a prosperous commercial centre. Whilst there were landed aristocratic families, notably the Stanleys (earls of Derby), merchants and shipowners were the backbone of Liverpool's economy. One third of British exports, and one quarter of its imports were processed through the port,

the institution which formed the basis for the majority of the employment in the city. In addition, and in the wider environs, there was shipbuilding and milling which was present at Birkenhead, on the other side of the Mersey River. At the other end of the social scale were the unskilled dock labourers and similar occupations. There were also industries supporting shipping: the warehouse business and finance sector – which facilitated the creation of a lower middle class tier in the city. There were also ancillary industries. Together these industries defined the character of the city and its inhabitants and therefore form the background to the memorials.

Memorials to conflict-related events and military subjects have been erected in Liverpool since at least the early nineteenth century. Perhaps the earliest extant such memorials are those to Horatio Nelson: an obelisk situated in Knotty Ash (*c.* 1805) and the better-known bronze statue on a pedestal situated in the Exchange Flags (construction of which commenced on 15 July 1812, with the unveiling on 21 October the following year, the eighth anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar and the death of Nelson).⁴

At time of writing, 1,211 memorials have been recorded by the author in the study area. To put this into context, it has been estimated that over 10 per cent of the Great War British dead came from this region.⁵ Materially, the memorials are composed of six broad component categories: metal, wood, stone, paper, glass and brick. The first three of

2 T. Crowley, *Scouse: a Cultural and Social History* (Liverpool, 2012).

3 *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales*, (London, 1854), p. 122. Whilst the use of a census of this date is not ideal, this was the only religious survey carried out during the relevant time period.

4 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1217963>, accessed 2 April 2018; T. Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1997), pp. 53-5.

5 A. Hogan, *Merseyside at War* (Stroud, 2014), p. 9.



*Fig. 1. The bell from HMS Liverpool commemorating the Battle of the Atlantic, Liverpool Cathedral.
(photo.: © author)*

these can be further broken down into sub-categories, such that monuments made with metal components can be sub-divided into brass, bronze, copper, silver and lead. A total of 206 memorials in the study area are either entirely or partially composed of brass, and it is these which will form the basis of this article.⁶

6 Included in these figures are memorials known to have existed but since lost (for example, that to the men of George Henry Lee, which is no longer trading), or known only through the historical record. It does not include generic, for example regimental memorials. In addition, there are currently forty-one monuments known to be of ‘metal’, although the specific metal is as yet unknown, due to the current inability to view them; further work will hopefully remedy this situation. Interestingly, the closure of churches, which is a frequent cause of ‘lost’ memorials, did not occasion

What these figures demonstrate is that of the identifiable components of Liverpool war memorials, brass is the most common, the next most prominent being bronze (169 examples). Ninety-three of the brass memorials are private memorials (those erected to individuals), with the remainder being memorials to groups of people (for example military units or communities).

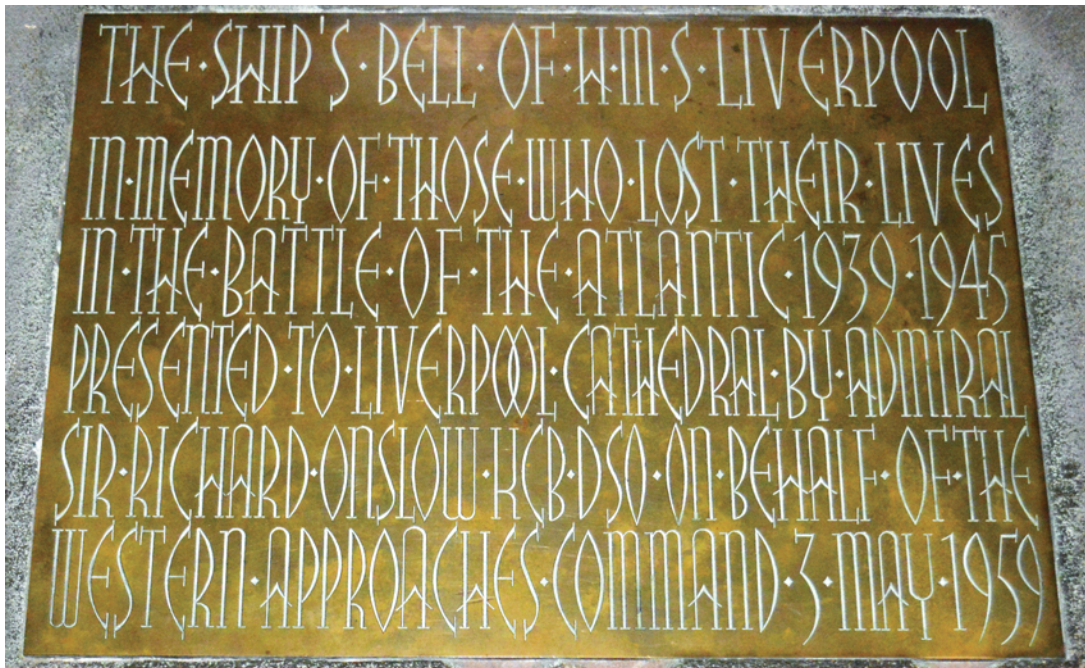
The data gathered as part of the author’s research has been compared with that held by the Imperial War Museum’s War Memorial Archive and the two sets of information combined. The number of brass war memorials in the Liverpool region is set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Brass war memorials in the Liverpool region	
Conflict	Number of memorials
Second Boer War	8
First World War	145
Second World War	43
Others	10 ⁷
Total	206

The memorials concerned have been visited by the author over the period from 1999 to the

the loss of any known brass monuments, all of which were re-sited, either to other churches or museums. Presumably, this reflects the ease with which they can be dismantled and moved.

7 These comprise: the Mahdist War (1881-99) 2; Anglo-Zulu War (1879) 1; Crimean War (1854-6) 1; Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) 1; and the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) 1; the remaining four memorials pertain to deaths whilst on active service (in 1891, 1894 [3 memorials] and 1914).



*Fig. 2. The brass plaque associated with the bell from HMS Liverpool, Liverpool Cathedral.
(photo.: © author)*

present day, although this vital element of the research is ongoing.

The form of memorials

As expected, the vast majority of the brass memorials in this survey are in the form of plaques. The only examples which do not fall into this category are two freestanding crosses and three ships' bells. In a maritime city such as Liverpool, it is to be expected that ships' bells are used as a commemorative form. What is perhaps surprising is that there are so few examples. All three bells commemorate 'events' relating to conflict, one from the First World War, the other two from the Second World War. Only one of these bells is outside a museum location. The HMS Liverpool bell in the Anglican cathedral (Figs. 1 and 2), was installed as a memorial to those who lost their lives during the Battle of the Atlantic, 1939-45.

The other bell with a clear memorialising function is that from HMT City of Edinburgh, which is engraved with the following inscription: 'EUROPEAN WAR/ 1914-1919/ H.M.T./ "CITY OF EDINBURGH"/ TRANSPORTED/ 6TH RIFLE BN./ THE 'KING'S (LIVERPOOL) REGT./ SOUTHAMPTON TO HAVRE/ 24TH FEBRUARY 1915/ PRESENTED TO HEADQUARTERS/ BY/ THE ELLERMAN LINES LTD.'

Of the freestanding crosses, one is discussed in more detail below. Of the plaque memorials not of the 'traditional' or 'simple' form (i.e. broadly rectangular or square, or basic varieties thereof), the other format is also the cross. Many of these are freestanding while others are associated with an additional memorialising element, such as a memorial

window. It is worth noting here that cross form memorials reflect, as King argued, the religious preoccupations of those who erected them.⁸ As such, the form of these memorials, and the freestanding cross, enabled the mourners to promote their religious interests.

Memorial associations

Most brass memorials were dedicated to individuals or sometimes to pairs of family members (e.g. brothers). There were vast numbers of the dead who have no known grave – 187,821 of the total of 591,171 Great War Commonwealth War Graves are unidentified.⁹ This figure, however, only relates to those actually buried, not the untold numbers who, for a variety of reasons were never recovered. Furthermore, from 1915 the War Office decreed that there would be universal non-repatriation of any servicemen who died overseas. As a result, there were practical and financial reasons why many mourners could not visit a loved one’s grave and certainly not frequently. It is therefore not surprising that memorials to individuals were erected by families and friends in place of a grave at which to mourn, although this of course also applies to community memorials.

The next largest set of brass war memorials relates to the dead of a specific location and more specifically the members of a parish or other religious congregation. These are discussed later in the section on religion. Other memorials are to wider groups such as military

units, Lads’ Institutes, schools, places of business and sports clubs. The breakdown of numbers is set out in Table 2, where the term association refers to the type of commemoration, as opposed to its location:

Table 2:
Analysis of associations of memorials

Dedicatory element	Number
Place of worship	39
Place of business	16
School	19
Military unit	21
Individual/family	94
Sports club	4
Action ¹⁰	6
Hospital	1
Orange Lodge	1
Lads’ Institute	2
Total	203 ¹¹

Some memorials have unclear associations. The memorial in what is presently ‘The Dispensary Pub’ (formerly ‘Kelly’s Wine Bar’), Smithdown Road, Toxteth (Fig. 3), is to a group of men, but the original dedication is not in the inscription and the building has no obvious religious or industrial heritage. *Gore’s Directory* for 1900 suggests the building was at that time a private residence.¹² Presumably it has been moved here from

8 A. King, ‘The Politics of Meaning in the Commemoration of the First World War in Britain 1919-1939’ (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1993).
9 *Annual Report of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission 2015-2016*, p. 35.
10 Taken here to mean a memorial which references a military action associated with the locale, for example the Battle of the Atlantic. All of these types of memorial commemorate Second World War actions.

11 The shortfall is made up by memorials which have an unclear association.
12 *Gore’s Directory of Liverpool and its Environs, Including on the Cheshire Side, Birkenhead, Tranmere, Oxtown, Rock Ferry, Bebington, & part of Eastham, Hoylake, West Kirby, New Brighton, Bidston, Wallasey, Liscard, Seacombe* (1900, London), p. 494.



Fig. 3. The memorial at the Dispensary Pub, Smithdown Road, Liverpool.

(photo.: © Imperial War Museum War Memorials Archive)

somewhere else. Memorials are sometimes found in schools, some to individuals but most to groups of former or current staff and pupils. There are memorials to other forms of educational institution, such as the university, but as they are not brass are not discussed here. There are brass memorials to the dead of the Education Offices, but these are considered as places of work for the purposes of this paper, and there are, of course, the Lads' Institutes which are also considered as separate.

Of the four school-based memorials to individuals, one is to David Jones, VC from Heyworth School which is discussed in greater detail below. The remainder are to the school as a community, with one exception. This is the memorial at St. Anne's Church of England School. In this case, a communal memorial which lists forty-four names also commemorates the fact that 'THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY LYDIA M. STURGEON. IN MEMORY OF HER BROTHER SERGT. ROBT. GLYN GRIFFITH. WHO WAS A TEACHER IN THIS SCHOOL. BURIED IN SOME CORNER OF A FOREIGN FIELD THAT IS FOR EVER ENGLAND'. There are no examples of memorials in schools which commemorate a conflict prior to the Great War. Indeed, there is only one example which is not Great War in date. At the Florence Melly School a memorial commemorates nineteen old boys who died during the Second World War. The other immediately noticeable pattern is that, with one exception, the school memorials are dedicated in primary schools, rather than those of a higher level of education. Perhaps this is indicative of the fact that many of those commemorated on these memorials were from less well-off communities, for whom secondary education was the exception rather than the rule. The one exception is the beautiful memorial in the form of five brass panels mounted on Belgian marble on green Westmoreland stone at Merchant Taylor's School, Crosby. Designed by old boy Lionel Budden, and sculpted by Herbert Tyson Smith, it was unveiled by the Reverend S.C. Armour of Liverpool Cathedral, headmaster of the school from 1863 to 1903. Inscribed on the tablets are 155 names.¹³

13 C.F. Kernot, *British Public School War Memorials* (London, 1927), pp. 184-5.



Fig. 4. The Liverpool Institute Memorial.
(photo.: © author)

Over time many schools were closed and often their buildings were demolished, taking the plaques out of their vital contextual premises. In some cases, the moves were minimal; this, for instance, is the case with the Liverpool Institute memorials which are still in the same building (Fig. 4), but not in their original

location, which is, at present, uncertain. The memorial from St. John the Baptist School, Toxteth has been moved to St. Cleopas' church, Toxteth Park, while the Granton Road memorial is now at Venice Street. The Florence Melly School was demolished and rebuilt on the same site, whilst St. Lawrence's School was



*Fig. 5. The Liverpool Pals Battalion Memorial at St. George's Hall, Liverpool.
(photo.: © author)*

moved and rebuilt on a different site, albeit relatively close by. This, of course, undoubtedly reflects a fraction of those memorials which, once un-sited, are now lost. The mechanisms behind the moving of these memorials deserve further investigation.

Memorials located in places of work represent the greatest degree of diversity in terms of scale in this study. At one end, there are, for example, the memorials to the Great War dead of the Garston Tramways (five names), the Associated British Ports (also at Garston, six dead), and Litherland Tramways which records eleven Great War fatalities. The memorial to the men of George Henry Lee's recorded the names of sixteen dead. The memorials from the Liverpool Education Offices record nineteen Great War and four Second World War dead, while the memorial to the dead from A Division of the Liverpool City Police commemorates thirty-one dead. Twenty Williams and Williams employees died in the Second World War, whilst

570 served and were commemorated for having survived. Finally, the Liverpool Stock Exchange memorials record thirty-eight dead and 215 returned from the Great War, and eighteen dead and 280 returned from the Second World War.

Other forms of association can be found in the memorials when considering the concept of identity. This is seen in the units represented in both the inscriptions and in representative elements, such as regimental badges, recorded on memorials. Not every memorial represented records a specific unit (either generically as a group, or individually). Some list no associated unit, others just a regiment or unit, while yet others specify a particular battalion. Unsurprisingly, the Liverpool connection is the strongest, with fifty-four memorials referencing the King's Liverpool Regiment, eight of which specifically cite its Pals battalions (the 17th to 20th) (Fig. 5). The distinction of being the first Pals battalion formed, and resultant pride

therein, was held by the 17th Battalion. Other local regiments present on the memorials include the West Lancashire Brigade (twice),¹⁴ the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, the King's Own Royal Lancashire Regiment, the Lancashire Voluntary Artillery, and the Cheshire Regiment (also twice). Furthermore, regiments with wider ranging geographical recruitment, such as Welsh regiments, may also recall familial histories.¹⁵ Perhaps most noticeable are the fifty-four King's Liverpool memorials, fifteen of which specifically cite the Liverpool Scottish Battalion (the 10th).

The maintenance of hereditary identity was important in Liverpool. Scottish and Welsh identity, for example, was maintained through the foundation of distinct institutions, often based on religion. This can be seen in the establishment of Scottish and Welsh churches and chapels, but also the distribution of Welsh newspapers in the city, which also played host to the national Eisteddfod on a number of occasions. There are also, of course unsurprisingly, many other examples of memorials to men of the naval branches of service, both military and civilian, representing Liverpool's maritime position and connections. Also noticeable are the number of memorials which commemorate men of the 6th Rifle Battalion of the King's Liverpool Regiment (four). Noted as a 'middle class' battalion,¹⁶ the presence of these memorials indicates the financial ability to pay for a memorial. But they were also a status symbol and membership in the Rifles (and the Liverpool Scots, to a lesser extent) identified the soldier as a member of that class.¹⁷ Thus, Rifleman R.F. Ellison recorded that his unit was made up of, among

others, solicitors, and accountants.¹⁸ Selection for the Rifles was based on education and occupation.¹⁹

The role of women in conflict should not be forgotten. There are two examples of brass memorials specifically to women from the study area, both of whom were nurses. Numerous women are remembered on memorials to actions such as 'the Liverpool Blitz' in the Second World War, and women feature prominently in a number of Great War memorials nationally. Perhaps most significant in Liverpool, however, is the memorial to Nursing Sister Elizabeth Stuart Jones who died in the Second Boer War, which is considered in greater detail below and is important as a pre-Great War example of a female fatality.

Military iconography

This is perhaps one of the more problematic categories to consider – almost all the memorials under consideration have some level of connection with military subjects, if only to name the unit in which they served. Furthermore, inscriptions may be militaristic in format, or there may be military elements in the adornment of the memorials. As a result, if for no other reasons than clarity, this section will be treated in a broadly chronological fashion. Neither inscribed evidence nor the presence of cap-badges as part of the memorial design – a common element – will be considered here.

One of the most impressive, yet simple, memorials is that erected to Lieutenant A.T. Bright (d. 1879) in the church of St. Matthew and St. James, Mossley Hill. This example of

14 For example, the memorial plaque to the 13th Battery 3rd West Lancashire Brigade Royal Field Artillery (TA) in the Garston British Legion Club (Hogan, *Merseyside at War*, p. 38).

15 Hogan, *Merseyside at War*, pp. 6-7.

16 H.B. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: the Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 17.

17 McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, p. 20.

18 London, Imperial War Museum, IWM DS/MISC/49.

19 McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers*, pp. 29-30.

an ornate brass cross plaque is embellished with the representation of a sword which hangs from the shaft. The imagery of a sword suspended from a cross is mirrored in the memorial to Lieutenant Guy Patterson, which features a sword hung from the cross and resting on one side of the plaque. On the Second Boer War memorial to the Mersey Rowing Club, a pair of crossed rifles at the top left-hand side of the plaque mirrors a pair of crossed oars on the opposite side. War was not, of course, just a case of land battles – the sea was also involved and, from the Great War onwards, also the air. From this point of view, it is also interesting to note that the Great War memorial to the dead of the Garston Tramways bears naval emblems in the form of torpedoes at each corner.

The date, construction and erection of memorials

Whilst the precise dating of memorials, especially those which were erected in a relatively short space of time, can be difficult, comparison of the dates of ceremonies such as unveilings or dedications, can offer a reasonably secure chronology. This can then be used to analyse trends in memorialisation, and how the erection of brasses compares with other trends. Unfortunately, the nature of brass war memorials is such that this form of data for these types of monuments is sparse. Monuments which were erected by communities tended to generate committees which provided official minutes and unveilings which were frequently reported on in various media. As has been shown, the majority of brass monuments were dedicated to individuals, and thus were commissioned by family groups who did not leave a retrievable documentary

trail. There are some exceptions, for example where memorials to individuals are located in public places, such as the memorial to Sergeant David Jones who, as a Victoria Cross winner, had a memorial erected to him in Heyworth Street School, Everton. Other dates for memorials can be gleaned from elements of the inscription.²⁰ Two of the eight memorials which date to the Second Boer War have attributable dates. That to Lieutenant William Kenyon was unveiled at Toxteth Congregational Church on the 19 October 1902, two years after his death. Meanwhile, All Hallows' Church, Allerton, erected a church clock with dedicatory brass plaque to commemorate the safe return from the conflict of two parishioners – in this case, the plaque bears the date Easter 1908.

Permanent war memorials relating to the Great War were built in Liverpool from before the end of the conflict itself and this fact is reflected in the brass monuments considered here.

Table 3 sets out the ceremonies associated with these memorials.

It is particularly noteworthy that all of the earlier wartime monuments are to individuals and were unveiled by significant, high status figures. Wartime memorials to communities or groups are unusual, if not unknown. There are, of course, significant reasons for the high-status unveilings, whether they be family connection or achievement. Wilson and Wainwright both came from families who held military and thus social rank. Thomas Wilson Wilson was the younger son of Colonel George Adshead Wilson, commander of the 6th (Territorial) Battalion, the King's Liverpool Regiment, in

20 The dates of memorials here are extrapolated from memorial inscriptions and documentary sources in addition to data held by the Imperial War Museum's War Memorials Register at <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials>.

Table 3:

Ceremonies associated with the Great War memorials of the Liverpool region

Memorial	Associated Ceremony and Officials (where known)
Thomas Wilson (Christ Church, Sefton Park)	Unveiled 23 January 1916 by the Bishop of Liverpool ²¹
Henry Wainwright (Christ Church, Sefton Park)	Unveiled 25 June 1916 by the 18th earl of Derby
David Jones (Heyworth Street School Everton)	Unveiled 3 April 1917 by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool and dedicated by the Rev. E.M. Wilson
St. Anne's Church, Aigburth	Faculty for the memorial granted January 1918, dedicated 13 March 1918
Thomas Price Mitchell (Christ Church, Sefton Park) ²²	Unveiled and dedicated 22 December 1918
Church of the Good Shepherd, West Derby ²³	Unveiled Easter 1920
Marine Engineers Association	Unveiled 4 May 1920 by Sir John Hill
St. Peter's Church, Aintree	Unveiled 16 May 1920
St. Mary's Church, Sefton ²⁴	Dedicated 26 June 1920 by the Bishop of Liverpool
Webster Road School, Edge Hill	'1920' ²⁵
St. John the Baptist School, Toxteth	Unknown ceremony, June 1921
Church of the Good Shepherd, West Derby ²⁶	Dedicated 6 October 1921
Christ Church, Sefton Park	Dedicated Easter 1923
Merchant Taylors' School	Dedicated 6 October 1923 by Canon S.C. Armour

21 Liverpool Record Office, 283 AIG 14/46, *Aigburth Parish Magazine*, No. 567 March 1916, p. 3.

22 Liverpool Record Office, 283 AIG 14/51, *Aigburth Parish Magazine*, No. 602 February 1919, pp. 5-7.

23 The memorial pulpit lists the names of the dead. The monument inscription reads 'EASTER 1920 HERBERT FOULGER', where Foulger, otherwise unknown, is presumably the artist responsible for either the design or construction.

24 The brass memorial commemorates the dead as

well as the fact that it was the war memorial chapel; the inscription reads 'THIS CHAPEL WAS DEDICATED JUNE 26TH 1920'.

25 Based on the date on the memorial.

26 The inscription reads 'THESE CLERGY STALLS ARE DEDICATED TO THE GLORY OF GOD, AND TO COMMEMORATE THE SERVICES OF THE MEN OF THIS CHURCH, WHO FOUGHT FOR KING AND COUNTRY DURING THE GREAT WAR 6TH SEPTEMBER 1921'.

which Thomas served.²⁷ Henry Wainwright, also of the King's Liverpool Regiment, was the son of Colonel Henry Wainwright.²⁸ In both cases these were pre-war soldiers whose memorials were erected at the behest of their brother officers. David Jones, VC, as we have seen, was a pre-war territorial. The fact that the memorial was located in Heyworth Road School, where he was educated, and was unveiled by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool (Councillor, later Sir Max Muspratt J.P.) indicates a case of community and civic pride.²⁹ Such pride is reflected in the fact that Jones also had a stone civic memorial raised to him at Everton Library, as well as being commemorated at what was presumably his place of worship, the now-closed St. Nathaniel's, Edge Hill.³⁰ There are at least sixteen individuals with a Liverpool connection who are VCs who are commemorated on the Liverpool VC memorial in Abercromby Square. The wartime unveiling by high status figures of memorials to notable figures can also be seen elsewhere in the country. The memorial to Edith Cavell on Tombland, Norwich was unveiled by Queen Alexandra in October 1918 – Britain's highest-ranking female unveiling a memorial to her most noted female casualty.³¹

As can be seen, there is an emphasis on memorials which were erected early in the Great War memorialisation process, being either wartime constructions or a marked clustering in 1920 and 1921 (at least, so far as the small sample size allows reasonable

inferences). This, no doubt, can in part be explained by the fact that this form of memorial (plaques) was comparatively inexpensive and thus required a lesser degree of fundraising or, in the case of family memorials, little or no fundraising at all. Additionally, they were a comparatively quick form of memorial to construct. Wilson's memorial was erected roughly eight months after his death, Jones' six months and Wainwright's just over four months. Notably, only two Great War (as well as one of the two dateable Second Boer War memorials) record a particularly significant date – Easter, strengthening the link between religion and commemoration, and also the connection to sacrifice and resurrection, the religious justification for the Great War and others. There are likewise no links to, for example, dates of death, or specific events such as the 1 July or 11 November, as is seen elsewhere.³² This suggests that there was a greater need or desire in the early stages of the memorialisation process for timely commemoration, and that perhaps there was even an element of pride in achieving it. This is in stark contrast to Liverpool's civic memorial, the Liverpool Cenotaph. The design competition was not announced until 1926 and it was not completed and unveiled until 1930 due to the fastidious perfectionism of the memorial's sculptor, Herbert Tyson Smith.³³ The early dates for Liverpool's memorials are, however, also consistent with national patterns. Although Great War memorials were still being built into the late 1930s,

27 *The Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1915, p. 8; Liverpool Record Office, 283 AIG 14/45, *Aigburth Parish Magazine*, No. 558 June 1915, p. 2.

28 *Illustrated London News*, Issue 4011 (Vol CXLVIII), 4 March 1916, p. 311.

29 Hogan, *Merseyside at War*, p. 14.

30 D. Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun: British First World War Memorials* (York, 1988), p. 22.

31 Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, pp. 6-7.

32 J. Trigg, 'Memory and Memorial: A Study of Official and Military Commemoration of the Dead and Family and Community Memory in Essex and East London', *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 3 (2007), pp. 294-315.

33 P. Curtis, ed., *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside* (Liverpool, 1989), p. 6.

most of those reported on were military and many located overseas.³⁴

Epigraphic evidence

Words are extremely important in any form of literate commemoration, and it is to this aspect I will turn next.³⁵ Commemoration, writes King, is focused principally on the dead, and the indications from the epigraphic evidence presented by the Liverpool brasses would seem to support his assertion.³⁶ In the cases where the names of those commemorated are listed, all but three name the dead only. Notably, two of these latter memorials relate to the Second Boer War: the clock at All Hallows' Church, Allerton was erected as a thanks offering for the safe return of two members of the congregation; and twenty out of the twenty-three names on the memorial of the Mersey Rowing Club returned. The other example is Boundary Street East Methodist Church, Everton. There are also a number of examples of memorial which have inscriptions of the order of 'all those who served' *vel. sim.*, but the majority of memorials are specifically to the dead.

Memorials are, of course, not just about the dead but also the living. Just as they commemorate the dead, they also refer to the mourners – a monument marks the dead, but also the mourners, and frequently the latter are publicly recorded. As such, therefore, the erection of a memorial marks 'the dead properly appreciated, by a particular group of people in a particular place'.³⁷ The groups of

mourners represented by Liverpool's brass memorials include official groups and military units, communities, comrades, religious congregations and family members. Indeed, even the committees involved in the commissioning of memorials are recorded in inscriptions. The death of Joseph Langton in 1896 was commemorated in the church of St. Dunstan, Edge Hill, because it was 'DEEPLY REGRETTED BY HIS BROTHER OFFICERS, WHO HAVE ERECTED THIS TABLET', while in the same church the memorial to Major-General William Earle (killed in action in the Sudan in 1885) was 'DEDICATED BY HIS BROTHERS AND SISTERS'. Langton is also commemorated on a family memorial in this church, which he shares with his younger brother, Charles, who died in 1869 at the age of three.³⁸ This records that they were the 'SONS OF CHARLES & JESSIE LANGTON. THIS BRASS IS ERECTED BY THEIR PARENTS AND SISTERS'.

The link between donors and memorials is highlighted in some inscriptions. The memorial to those from the Florence Institute for Boys ('The Florrie') who died in the Great War states that it was 'ERECTED BY THE COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS'. The Great War memorial at St. Anne's Church, Aigburth, is a granite plaque with an ornate alabaster surround. Immediately beneath the memorial, however, is a brass donor's plaque stating 'THIS MEMORIAL WAS ERECTED BY WILLIAM P WETHERED

34 King, 'Politics of Meaning in the Commemoration of the First World War', p. 31.

35 For reasons of consistency and clarity direct quotations from memorial inscriptions are presented here in block capitals with the original spelling and punctuation retained.

36 King, 'Politics of Meaning in the Commemoration of the First World War', p. 9.

37 King, 'Politics of Meaning in the Commemoration of the First World War', p. 22.

38 It is interesting to note the almost twenty-seven year gap between the death of Charles and his commemoration on this memorial. Presumably it was due to the primacy given to the elder son.



Fig. 6. The memorials at Garston Royal British Legion, Liverpool.
(photo.: © author)

CITY COUNCILLOR AIGBURTH WARD'. Examples of unit memorial inscriptions which refer to donors include that to the Fifth Cadet Battalion of the King's Liverpool Regiment (Great War) at Garston British Legion (Fig. 6) 'THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE COMMANDING OFFICER (LIEUT COL A. E. HARRISON) OFFICERS, N.C.OS., CADETS, AND SUPPORTERS OF THE ABOVE BATTALION IN MEMORY OF THEIR FORMER COMRADES...'.

While most 'local' memorials in places such as parish churches were erected by family members, that erected at St. James' Church, West Derby, to Corporal W. Jones, who died at the Battle of the Somme, is relatively unusual in the respect that it was 'ERECTED BY HIS COMRADES OF / B. COMPANY 11TH THE KING'S (LIVERPOOL) REGIMENT (PIONEERS)'.

References to places of burial, or lack thereof, in epitaphs strengthen the link between the missing and the lack of a grave to mourn at and the erection of individual memorials. Such a link can be traced back to the earliest relevant brass memorials. In All Saints' Church, Childwall, there is a complex painted montage with an associated brass plaque erected to the memory of William Pitcairn Campbell, a major in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers who died at Scutari on 22 March 1855. The memorial, with its composition of four vignettes, recalls that Campbell was 'APPOINTED TO THE QUARTER MASTERS STAFF AT SCUTARI NOVR. 1854 DIED THERE OF FEVER FROM ATTN -DING HIS BROTHER SOLDIERS IN THE HOSPITAL MARCH 22ND 1855 AND BURIED THERE MARCH 24TH 1855'. The memorial at St. John the Baptist's Church, Tuebrook, manufactured by Jones and Willis Ltd, records the death of

Nursing Sister Elizabeth Stuart Jones who died at the military hospital at Bloemfontein, South Africa, in 1900. It records that 'HER BODY LIES RESTING IN THE CEMETERY THERE'. References to burials abound in the Great War memorials as well. For example, the memorial to Henry Currie Wainwright, erected by his fellow officers reads 'DIED 5TH FEBRUARY 1916 FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION THE PREVIOUS DAY AT MARICOURT, FRANCE AND WAS BURIED IN THE MILITARY CEMETERY AT AMIENS'. The memorial at Christ Church, to John Burrell, an ornate brass plaque set on a slate mount, is inscribed 'ERECTED TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF JOHN STAMP GARTHORNE BURRELL M.A. OXON 2ND LIEUTENANT THE 4TH BATTALION OF THE CHESHIRE REGIMENT KILLED IN ACTION AT SUVLA BAY 9TH AUGUST 1915 AND INTERRED NEAR SULAJIK WELL GALLIPOLI PENINSULA AGED 31 YEARS'. In Trinity Congregational Church, Orrell Park, there is a plaque to Frank Vernon whose inscription states that he was wounded in action in Belgium, and died, presumably of those wounds, on 7 February 1915. It also records that he was interred in Bailleuill Churchyard [*sic*], France. The cemetery there was on the site of an important hospital; the implication is clear – Vernon was wounded in Belgium, moved to be treated in Bailleuill where he died and was buried. The memorial inscription provides quite a narrative. Notably, none of the seven relevant Second World War memorials bear any details of burial.

Interestingly, there are also memorials which reference the absence of a body for burial. The memorial to Lieutenants Geoffrey and

Kenrick Burton at St. Nicholas' Church, Blundellsands, records the fate of the latter as 'REPORTED WOUNDED AND MISSING JUN 1918'. The memorial erected to the Currey Dawson brothers in Christ Church, Sefton Park, is inscribed 'TO THE HONOURED MEMORY OF MAINWARING CURREY DAWSON LIEUTENANT KINGS AFRICAN RIFLES WHO DIED AND WAS BURIED AT SEA...'. Likewise, at St. Mary's Church, Woolton, there is a memorial to 'MAJOR H. P. J. COWELL, R.H.A. WHO DIED OF WOUNDS RECEIVED AT SUVLA BAY AND WAS BURIED AT SEA AUGUST 9TH 1915'.

George Mosse hypothesised that the memory of the Great War served to glorify conflict.³⁹ However, the evidence from the brass memorial epitaphs does not support this, and this is emphatically the case with the Great War examples. In fact, the only inscription on a Liverpool brass which fits the theory is from the memorial in St. Stephen's Church, Gateacre, to Lance Corporal Isaac Woods who was killed at the Battle of Omdurman on 2 September 1898. This memorial is another example of a memorial demonstrating civic pride. The full and expressive text of the epitaph reads:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN
MEMORY OF LANCE CORPL ISAAC
WOODS WHO WAS KILLED IN THE
CHARGE OF THE XX1ST LANCERS IN
THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN ON THE
2ND DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1898. THIS
GLORIOUS VICTORY GAINED OVER THE
DERVISHES DELIVERED THE SOUDAN
FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE KHALIFA
AND HIS FANATICAL FOLLOWERS. "I AM
THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE."

39 G. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford, 1990).

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF GATEACRE’.

The religious elements of commemoration

Commemoration is, in many respects, a religious phenomenon. Randolph Churchill, for example, was heavily criticised for continuing to campaign in Liverpool on Armistice Day 1935. In response to his critics, Churchill acknowledged that the two minutes silence, and by extension the trappings of commemoration, was ‘the most sacred ceremony Britain observes’.⁴⁰

As might be expected, memorials were (and are) most commonly located in a church, either as primary or secondary depositions. I use the latter term to refer to memorials that have been relocated, most frequently due to a change of use of the building. The primary location of 110 brass memorials is a church and a further nine churches are secondary depositions. In most of the latter cases, these are transfers of a memorial from one church to another but there are examples, such as the memorials from the Liverpool Stock Exchange and St. John the Baptist School, Toxteth, of a memorial being moved from an essentially secular to a religious location. In addition, there are two memorials which are sited in the chapel of a school which might in essence also be classified as a religious location. Where brass memorials were originally located in churches, the most numerous (80) were in Anglican establishments. Churches and chapels of other denominations containing brasses are: Baptist (1), Methodist/Wesleyan (10), Congregational (6), Presbyterian (3), Roman Catholic (3), Salvation Army (3) and one other (the Cambridge Street Mission).

At some locations there are groups of memorial brasses, perhaps best considered as

‘assemblages’. At St. Matthew and St. James’ Church, Mossley Hill, there are six brass memorials to individuals killed in conflict. The earliest are those to Lieutenant Arthur Bright (killed in action in 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War), Lieutenant Maurice Rayner (killed in action at Maiwand, Afghanistan in 1880) and Corporal Harold Rayner (died of fever whilst on service in Mashonaland in 1891). A brass plaque surmounted by an ornate cross is dedicated to Lieutenant Guy Patterson of the Royal Scots, who died at Ranikhet, India, on 20 May 1914. Of the two Great War memorials, one is a brass and enamel plaque inscribed ‘TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN FOND MEMORY OF EDMUND CECIL GLADSTONE BUCKLEY CAPTAIN 6TH (RIFLE) BATTN. THE KING’S (LIVERPOOL REGT.) KILLED IN ACTION 5TH. AUG. 1916 AT GUILLEMONT, AGED 27 YEARS. ELDER AND DEARLY LOVED SON OF EDMUND AND LYDIA GLADSTONE BUCKLEY’. Finally, there is a memorial to Second Lieutenant Vyvian Bisset Leitch of the 10th Battalion, the King’s Liverpool Regiment, the Liverpool Scots. He was the son of William Bisset and Josephine Leitch.

Perhaps the finest assemblage of brasses, certainly the greatest in number, is that to be found at Christ Church, Sefton Park, where there are twelve. Here, the earliest example is that to Sub-Lieutenant Francis Meister (killed in action in the Gambia on 23 February 1894). The remainder are Great War memorials. There is a memorial to Henry Wainwright of the ‘17TH (SERVICE) BATTN. THE KING’S (LIVERPOOL REGT.) (1ST CITY) WHO DIED 5TH FEBY. 1916 FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION THE PREVIOUS DAY AT MARICOURT FRANCE’ and a brass plaque to the memory of Second Lieutenant

⁴⁰ *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 November 1935.

John Burrell who was killed in action at Suvla Bay, 9 August 1915. A memorial to Private John Irvine commemorates his death on 9 April 1918 in the Battle of Givenchy while serving with the King's Liverpool Regiment. Like the reliefs on the Liverpool Cenotaph, and many other Liverpool Great War memorials, this monument was the work of Herbert Tyson Smith. Another plaque is inscribed 'IN LOVING MEMORY OF EDWARD HENRY BROCKLEHURST CAPTAIN 6TH (RIFLE) BN. THE KING'S (LIVERPOOL REGIMENT) KILLED WHILST LEADING A CHARGE NEAR YPRES FLANDERS 5TH MAY 1915. AGED 36 YEARS'. Another memorial tablet reads:

'TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF WILLIAM JAMES JONES L.L.B. LIEUT. 6TH RIFLE BATT: THE KING'S L-POOL REGT. / KILLED NEAR ARRAS WHEN IN COMMAND OF A TRENCH RAID JUNE 28TH 1916 / AGED 23 YEARS FALLING TO THE MOMENT HIS TASK WAS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED. / HE RESTS NEAR BEAUMETZ CEMETERY FRANCE. PRO DEO PRO PATRIA'.

The brass tablet is surmounted by an ornate wheel cross and at the base is the representation of a sword and the badge of the Liverpool Rifles. A further plaque gives the sad details of Private Arthur Leech of 'THE 18TH BN. OF THE KING'S (LIVERPOOL REGIMENT) WHO FELL IN ACTION AT THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME 1ST OF JULY 1916, IN HIS 19TH YEAR. FOR GOD, KING & COUNTRY'. The Currey Dawson plaque commemorates two brothers. Lieutenant Mainwaring Currey Dawson was serving with

the Kings African Rifles in East Africa when, on 23 September 1916, he died of wounds. His brother, Lieutenant Norman Currey Dawson, was killed in France on 28 March 1916. On the plaque to Edward Nicholls are the words: 'IN MEMORY OF EDWARD ALFRED NICHOLLS RIFLEMAN OF THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLES AND OF CHRIST'S CHURCH LAD'S BRIGADE WHO DIED FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED WHILST FIGHTING IN FRANCE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1918, AGED 19 YEARS. 'FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT WITH ALL THY MIGHT'. The memorial which commemorates Thomas Wilson Wilson shows that he was killed in action near Ypres on the 5 May 1915. A plaque shows that Private Thomas Mitchell of the 10th (Scottish) Battalion of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment died of wounds aged nineteen on 3 August 1917. Lastly, there is a parish memorial in the form of a stained glass window, stone dedicatory panel and four brass plaques listing the names of fifty-two parishioners who died.

The religious influences have their roots in the Victorian and Edwardian periods at both political and organisational levels.⁴¹ With one exception (that to the Mersey Rowing Club), every pre-Great War memorial was originally located in a church. Religious elements are also present in the format the memorials take. The splendid plaques to Lieutenant Bright in St. Matthew and St. James', Mossley Hill and to Major Joseph Langton (d. 1896 at Quetta where he is buried) in St. Dunstan's, Edge Hill, are both surmounted by ornate crosses. Crosses also form part of the internal ornamentation of plaques, as is the case with the plaque to Sub-Lieutenant Francis Meister, and the Greek Cross within a circle which forms part of the memorial to Corporal Harold Rayner.

41 King, 'Politics of Meaning in the Commemoration of the First World War', p. 12.

Finally, religious sentiments are expressed in inscriptions, often in the form of a biblical quotation or, for example, phrases similar to the inscription on the memorial to Lieutenant Maurice Rayner, which is prefaced 'TO THE GLORY OF GOD'. The inscriptions on the memorials to Francis Meister and Joseph Langton refer to Isaiah and St. John's Gospel respectively 'ISAIAH CHAP. 58 VER. 6-8' and 'I GIVE UNTO THEM ETERNAL LIFE'. JOHN.X.28/ TO THE GLORY OF GOD'. At St. Stephen's Church, Gateacre, the memorial to Lance Corporal Isaac Woods, who died at the Battle of Omdurman, reads 'I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE'. Langton has two brass memorials at St. Dunstan's. The second, erected by his comrades, quotes the Song of Solomon 4.6 "UNTIL THE DAY BREAK, AND THE SHADOWS FLEE AWAY." CANT IV.6'. Finally, the inscription on the memorial to Nursing Sister Elizabeth Stuart Jones (d. 1900 in South Africa) in St. John the Baptist's Church, Tuebrook, is framed with the words 'TO THE GLORY OF GOD... "GRANT HER LORD ETERNAL REST / LET LIGHT PERPETUAL SHINE UPON HER"'.

Conclusion

Two long-term trends are, it seems to me, important in this analysis of the brass memorials to war and conflict in the Liverpool region from the Crimean War to the Second World War. Within this period of roughly a century the modern practices associated with commemorating premature loss of life as the result of conflict were formulated. From a general point of view, the erection of permanent communal memorials in public locations commenced from the middle of the nineteenth century. Perhaps more importantly, this period saw for the first time the listing of

the names of 'other ranks' as well as officers on memorials. This was a significant change as most military memorials of the preceding period were private commissions by the wealthy officer class, mainly in churches, and where communal generally they listed only officers. As has been shown some earlier commemorative traditions were maintained in Liverpool's brass war memorials – notably the predominance of church locations – but others were challenged. As well as lists of names including all ranks and, importantly, women, many more individual memorials to the non-officer class were constructed. The second long-term trend is the change in the nature of commemorative acts in the post-Second World War period. The 'Never Again' attitude which characterised the inter-war period seems to have been changed by the onset within a generation of a second worldwide conflict. As a result, perhaps, there were fewer new memorials erected, in favour of making additions to existing ones. The centenary of the First World War has, however, re-invigorated the commemorative process generating renewed interest in it and new and imaginative forms of commemoration.

Acknowledgements

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Cover: Detail of the brass to Sir Symon Felbrygge, K.G., banner bearer to Richard II (d. 1443), Felbrigg, Norfolk (M.S.III). (*photo.*: © Martin Stuchfield)

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