ON THE MEDIEVAL SEPULCHRAL ANTIQUITIES
OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

"The Laboriouse Journey and Serche of Johan Lelande for Englandes Antiquities, geven of hym as a Newe yeares Gyfte to King Henry the VIII in the XXXVII yeare of his Raygne," (A.D. 1548) was begun about the year 1538, and the space of time occupied by him in traversing over great part of the kingdom appears to have been some nine or ten years in duration. He took notice of the churches he visited, and especially of the sepulchral monuments therein, but without much entering into details. His work is, however, a most valuable one for reference, and we may well esteem his memory, as of one of the earliest and most painstaking of our English antiquaries.

The Ancient Funeral Monuments of John Weever, published in 1631, is perhaps the earliest work of a comprehensive kind, relating to the subject, we possess. But, with the exception of a few rude woodcuts, this work is not illustrated. It may, however, have stimulated Sir William Dugdale in his admirable work on "The Antiquities of Warwickshire" to note and give engravings of many of the funeral monuments in that county; but though he employed Wencelaus Hollar, one of the most eminent engravers of his day, the drawings the latter had to copy were extremely faulty, and are not to be relied upon.

Most of the English county histories which have been published in the last century and half have been more or less illustrated with representations of sepulchral memorials, representations however which, until the present century, hardly gave satisfaction, when we regard accuracy of detail as important.

¹ Read in the 'Section of Antiquities, at the Annual Meeting at Northampton, August 2nd, 1878.
The History of Northamptonshire by Bridges, a county gentleman, who, in the early part of the last century, collected materials for a county history, was not published till the close of that century, and the embellishments relating to the sepulchral memorials were few and unimportant.

Yet Northamptonshire contains in its churches as large and varied a series of sepulchral monuments, sculptured effigies, and incised brasses, as perhaps of any of our English counties, and these have been well and admirably illustrated by a few praiseworthy individuals.

In the year 1817 Mr. W. H. Hyett, a gentleman employed for twelve years or more in the execution of a portion of the general survey of the kingdom carried on by the Board of Ordnance, was stationed in this county, and being an admirable draughtsman was in the habit of making sketches of various monumental remains contained in different churches and churchyards. He published a work entitled "Sepulchral Memorials, consisting of engravings from the altar tombs, effigies, and monuments contained within the county of Northampton." These, engraved by W. Radcliffe from pen and ink drawings by Mr. Hyett, appeared in three numbers, containing representations of about twenty monuments and effigies. The drawings appear to have been very carefully made, and to a certain extent well illustrated the county history of Bridges, but the work was left incomplete, perhaps on account of the expense attending the engravings and publication, and the want of sufficient patronage to meet that expense.

There was one species of monumental relics which Mr. Hyett left untouched, and these were the incised brasses, of which, though many as in all parts of the kingdom have been abstracted from the leiger stones in which they were inlaid, the county of Northampton still retains a more numerous class than those we find most of our counties to possess, and it is to this class I would now direct attention.

Mr. Thomas Orton Gery, now deceased, a solicitor at Daventry in this county, commenced to make, upwards of fifty years ago, a collection of rubbings of the Northamptonshire brasses, and I believe his collection was
nearly complete. That collection is now in my possession. In 1840 the late Mr. Hartshorne published "An Endeavour to classify the Sepulchral remains in Northamptonshire," with illustrations from monumental brasses. In the year 1853 copies in tinted lithography and bronze of the sepulchral brasses in Northamptonshire appeared in a quarto volume edited by Mr. Frank Hudson, a member of the medical profession, residing at Braunston near Daventry. Mr. Hudson died shortly before the publication of his valuable work, which comprises upwards of ninety illustrations. For some portion of the letterpress accompanying these brasses I am responsible.

From 1867 to 1876 appeared in parts Mr. Albert Hartshorne's valuable work on "The Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire, from 128 scale drawings." This is one of the most important illustrative works belonging to a single county we possess, and although it is not altogether complete owing to obstacles encountered by Mr. Hartshorne, by which he was prevented making drawings of the effigies in Stanford Church, near the north western boundary of the county, his work merits no slight degree of attention and commendation from his talents as a draughtsman and his accurate knowledge of detail, both as respecting armour and costume, and of the latter both ecclesiastical and lay, which appears not only in the representations but also in the descriptive accounts with which the engravings are accompanied.

One desideratum is still left, viz. representations of the architectural features and sculptures which enrich the monuments, exclusive of the sculptured effigies or incised brasses thereon; features which, in fact, are simply characteristic of the monuments themselves. This want has to a small extent been supplied, partly by Mr. Hyett, and partly by engravings in Baker's unfinished History of Northamptonshire, representing the interiors of the churches of Great Brington and Fawsley, with the sepulchral monuments therein. But yet a sufficiency of material left unnoticed has to be supplied.

Confining myself to sepulchral effigies, both sculptured
ABBOT BENEDICT. (DIED. 1193.)
and incised in brass, out of upwards of two hundred examples, I must necessarily limit myself to a few which I consider to be of the greatest interest, and these again require to be subdivided into classes, viz., of ecclesiastics, of legal personages, of knights and others clad in armour, of laymen in civil costume, and of ladies.

Of the effigies in Peterborough Cathedral I treat but little, inasmuch as when the Royal Archaeological Institute met in that city in 1861, I then fully descanted upon them. I make however an exception. In the very interesting series of the sepulchral effigies of the abbots of that fine Benedictine church, effigies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later, I may notice the earliest, that of Abbot Benedict, who died at the close of the twelfth century, A.D. 1193. This is one of the very few sepulchral effigies we meet with in our churches of so early a period as the twelfth century. This effigy is of grey marble, executed in relief, and is very perfect. It represents the abbot, not in his cowl or monastic costume, but vested for the eucharistic rite. The vestments consist of the amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple. These vestments are very simply arranged; the chesible is long in front, the head is bare and exhibits the tonsure, whilst the upper lip and chin are—contrary to the usual practise of those times—close shaven. The pastoral staff, with the simple crook turned outwards, is held carried in the right hand, and the stem crosses the body diagonally, the ferule being thrust into the jaws of a dragon, on whose body the feet of the effigy rests, in allusion to that verse in the Psalms, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet." (Ps. xci.) In the left hand is held a book. This effigy is within a horizontal circular trefoil headed canopy, an architectural feature of the latter part of the twelfth century.

Although not one of the effigies of abbots in Peterborough Cathedral represents the abbot arrayed in monastic costume, there is in a niche of the gateway to, I think, the Bishop's palace, south-west of the cathedral, the effigy, larger than life, of a Benedictine in his monastic habit or cowl. This effigy, which is of the thirteenth century, represents, I have little doubt, not
any particular abbot or monk, but St. Benedict himself, the founder of the great Benedictine order.¹

The Benedictine church at Peterborough was converted into a cathedral by Henry VIII, A.D. 1541. John Chambers, the last abbot, was the first bishop. He died in 1556. He had erected for himself a monument and effigy in the cathedral. These were destroyed in 1643.

Thomas Dove was bishop of this see from A.D. 1601 to A.D. 1630. Gunton, who published his history of this cathedral in 1684, writes as follows—“In the north isle of the church there was a stately tomb in memory of Bishop Dove, who had been 30 years Bishop of the place. He lay there in portraicture in his episcopal robes on a large bed under a fair table of black marble, with a Library of books about him. These men (the Parliamentarian souldiers) that were such enemies to the name and office of Bishop, and much more to his person, hack and hew the poor innocent statue in pieces, and soon destroyed all the tomb, so that in a short space, all that fair and curious monument was buried in its own rubbish and ruins.”

We have indeed, now, no sepulchral effigy in this county of a bishop. In Stene Church there is but a mural monument to Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who died A.D. 1721, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, and was there buried; but the communion table, in that church, of marble bears the inscription, “The gift of Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Lord Bishop of Durham, 1720.”

Leland, in treating of Northampton, tells us of an archbishop who was buried under a flat stone in the Quier of St. Andrea’s, a monastery of Blake Monks, which stood in the north part of the town, hard by the north gate; but he omits to give the name of that archbishop.

Next to the sculptured effigies of the Abbots of Peter-

¹ A cast of this effigy is in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; it is there said to be a representation of St. Luke or St. Philip. There are but few sepulchral effigies of Benedictines in the monastic habit. There is one at Hexham, that of Prior Richard, with the hood of the cowl drawn over the face, and one in the ruins of Dundrennan Abbey, Kirkcudbrightshire, of an abbot of the Cistercian order in his cowl.
The borough is the very interesting sculptured effigy in Towcester Church of Archdeacon Sponne, who died A.D. 1448. He is represented as wearing a very long and scarlet coloured cassock, *toga talaris coccinea*, over which is worn a surplice with wide sleeves, and about his neck appears the *almucium* or fur tippet, and on his head is worn the *biretum* or skull cap. In the will of an archdeacon in 1418, the following bequest appears, "my best cassock with the worst almuce and surplice I am wearing."

Of the sculptured effigies of priests, beneath those of canonical rank, represented in the usual eucharistic vestments, viz., amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple, may be noticed that of John de Ardele, circa A.D. 1350, in the Church of Aston le Walls.

The effigy in Yelvertoft Church, sculptured in alabaster, of John Dycson, who died A.D. 1445, is somewhat remarkable, as besides the usual eucharistic vestments of a priest, amice, alb, stole, chesible, and maniple, he is represented as wearing the dalmatic under the chesible. What the wearing of this particular vestment, the dalmatic, implied, I am unable to explain.

There are sundry incised brasses representing priests in the usual eucharistic vestments, as at Newton Bromshold, Woodford, Higham Ferrers, and Chipping Warden.

At Sudborough we have, in a group in incised brass, the representation of a priest vested simply in the alb and stole, but shewing how the stole was worn over the alb priestwise and crossed in front with the extremities hanging down on each side.

At Ashby St. Ledgers the incised brass effigy of William Smyght, rector, A.D. 1510, represents him simply in a cassock with full sleeves and a tippet worn over the shoulder.

Of priests, not represented in the usual eucharistic vestments, but in the choral, processional, or canonical habit, we have at Higham Ferrers the incised brass effigy of Richard Wylleys, warden of the college there, who died in the latter part of the fifteenth century. He is represented in his cassock, over which is worn the surplice with the aumasse or furred tippet, and over all appears the cope.

At Castle Ashby is the incised brass of a priest, somewhat similar to that at Higham Ferrers.
The best and earliest incised effigy of this class is, perhaps, that in Rothwell Church, said to represent William de Rothwell, who died circa A.D. 1220, but which effigy I take to be of a much later period, viz., of the fourteenth century. The personage represented appears in a cassock, surplice, aumasse or furred tippet, and cope.

At Cotterstock Church we have the incised brass effigy of Robert Wyntryham, provost of the college there, circa A.D. 1420. He is represented in the processionial habit, the surplice with sleeves, aumasse, and cope.

Of post-reformation divines we have but few representations under the rank of dean. That, an incised brass, of Richard Lightfoot, rector of Stoke Bruerne, who died A.D. 1625, represents him kneeling before a faldstool in a Geneva gown with hanging sleeves, whilst the incised brass of William Proctor, rector of Boddington, who died A.D. 1627, represents him attired in the Geneva gown, with long demi-cannon sleeves.

Of dignitaries of the Law of judicial rank we have representations of no less than five. One of these, an incised brass, in Wappenham Church, represents Thomas Billyng, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died A.D. 1487. He wears the coif or close fitting cap, and is robed in a gown somewhat close fitting, with the tippet about his neck. The official robes of judges, as worn in the fifteenth century, are described by Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VI, who, in his work *De Laudibus Legum Anglice*, setting forth the formality in making a judge, points out the particulars in which he should thenceforth change his habit, "for being a serjeant at the law, he is clothed in a long priest-like robe, with a furred cape about his shoulders, and thereupon a hood with two labels, with their coyf. But being made a justice, instead of his hood he must wear a cloak, closed upon his right shoulder, all the other ornaments of a serjeant still remaining, saving that his vesture shall not be party-coloured as a serjeant's may, and his cape furred with minever, whereas the serjeant's cape is ever furred with white lamb."

The four sculptured effigies of judges are the effigy in
Dene Church of Chief Justice Robert Brudenell, Knight, who died A.D. 1531. He is represented in the coif and judicial square cap, scarlet gown, and mantle with the collar of SS.

The effigy in Weekley Church of Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died A.D. 1557, represents him in his judicial robes, coif, and square cornered cap, tippet, gown, and mantle, the latter fastened on the right shoulder.

The effigy of Sir Christopher Yelverton, Judge of the King's Bench, who died A.D. 1612, is in Easton Manduit Church. He appears with a coif on his head, over which is worn the judicial cornered cap. His robes consist of the scarlet gown tied about the waist, with wide sleeves faced with fur, or miniver, tippet covering the breast and shoulders, and mantle over the gown. Round the neck appears a ruff.

The effigy, also in Easton Manduit Church of Sir Henry Yelverton, Knight, who died A.D. 1629, and who was a Judge of the Common Pleas, represents him robed in the same judicial costume as that of his father, Sir Christopher Yelverton. He appears reclining on his right side, a not unusual attitude for sepulchral effigies in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century.

The effigy in Stene Church of Sir Thomas Crewe, Serjeant at Law, who died A.D. 1633, is of white marble, well sculptured, possibly the work of Nicholas Stone, though not mentioned in the catalogue, apparently an imperfect one, of his works. He is represented in the legal costume of his rank, the gown and coif.

Of effigies in armour there is a large and wonderful variety, from that in Castle Ashby Church, of Sir David de
Esseby, who died previous to 1268, to that in Lowick Church representing Sir John Germaine, Bart., who died in 1718. The first is represented in a hooded hawberk and chausses of mail, without any admixture of plate, and with a sleeveless surcoat over the hawberk, a heater shaped shield being affixed to the left arm. The latter is represented in a complete but somewhat fanciful suit of plate armour, which was however in practical disuse before and at the time of his decease.

Between the periods of these two effigies, viz., from the middle of the thirteenth to the early part of the eighteenth century we have a gradual change from armour entirely of mail to that entirely of plate, the effigies in Northamptonshire, of themselves forming illustrations of every age.

We have banded mail armour exemplified by the effigy in Dodford Church of Sir Robert de Keynes, who died A.D. 1305, and the cyclas, that peculiar garment, shorter in front of the body than behind, which succeeded to the surcoat, and preceded the jupon, which latter was close fitting, exhibited by the effigy in Paulesbury Church of Sir Lawrence de Pavely, living in 1329, that in Hinton Church of Sir William de Hinton, living in 1346, and that in Warkwork Church of Sir John de Lyons, living in 1346. This exterior garment, the cyclas, was in fashion during a limited period only, in the early half of the fourteenth century, and the effigies all over the kingdom represented with it are far from numerous.

There are no less than ten of the sepulchral effigies in Northamptonshire which are carved in wood, of these three are of ladies and seven are of knights in armour. All these appear to have been executed in the first half of the fourteenth century, and indeed we rarely meet with wooden effigies of a later period, though there are some few exceptions, as in Goudhurst Church, Kent, where there is an effigy of the fifteenth century, and in the Priory Church, Brecon, South Wales, where there is a late wooden effigy of a lady, apparently of the middle of the sixteenth century.

The wooden effigies of Northamptonshire are as follows: those in Woodford Church of Sir Walter Treylli, Knight,
SIR JOHN DE LYONS. (LIVING. 1346.)
who died A.D. 1290, and Alianora Dame Treylli, his widow, who died A.D. 1316. Those in Paulerspury Church of Sir Lawrence de Pavely, Knight, who died A.D. 1349, and Dame de Pavely, his widow, who died circa A.D. 1350.

In Dodford Church, of Hawise de Keynes, living in 1329. In Gayton Church of Sir Philip de Gayton, Knight, who died A.D. 1316. In Ashton Church of Sir Philip le Lou, Knight, living in 1315. In Alderton Church of Sir William de Combermartyn, Knight, who died A.D. 1318. In Cold Higham Church of Sir John de Patishall, Knight, who died A.D. 1350. Lastly, in Braybrook Church of Sir Thomas le Latymer, Knight, who died A.D. 1334. This latter effigy is much elongated, being upwards of seven feet in length. This elongation I have observed elsewhere in sepulchral effigies carved in wood, and this appears to have originated from the bole or trunk of the tree, out of which the effigy was carved, being insufficient in thickness in comparison with length.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century the emblazoned tabard, at a later period known in heraldic achievements as "the cote armour," fragments of which we occasionally meet with in our churches hung up aloft and forming part of the funeral achievements, was worn over the body armour; this succeeded to the jupon, which superceded the cyclas, which succeeded to the surcoat. The tabard, which is still worn on state occasions by the heralds, occurs very frequently on armed effigies in this county, both sculptured and incised on brass. A somewhat late instance occurs in the sculptured effigy in Great Brington Church of Sir John Spencer, who died A.D. 1586. About this effigy also there is this peculiarity, to the left arm is attached the targe, the oval or circular heraldic shield, no longer a portion of defensive armour, but carried in funeral processions and hung up as part of the achievement. I attribute the representation of this as affixed to the effigy to be purely the conceit of the sculptor. After, or rather during the fourteenth century, the shield affixed to the left arm, as a defensive guard, fell into disuse.

An early instance of the tabard worn over the armour appears in Lowick Church, in the incised brass effigy of
Henry Green, who died A.D. 1467; another in the incised brass effigy in the church of Ashby St. Ledgers, of Sir William Catesby, who died A.D. 1484.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Robert Baron Spencer, who died A.D. 1627, represents him in a fanciful helme with a beaver up, a richly worked corslet and pauldrons; to the skirt of the corslet is attached an emblazoned apron or tabard, a very unusual position, and the conceit of this effigy I attribute to the fancifull whim of the sculptor.

Of male effigies in lay costume as civilians, we have only one sculptured effigy of so early a date as the fourteenth century, and this, though much abraised and defaced, is a rare specimen and worthy of attention. It is the effigy in Glinton Church of a forester, with his horn slung by his side. He appears clad in the tunic and supertunic, but the effigy is so defaced that it is difficult to make out details. There are indeed but few effigies of this class to be met with. In Wadworth Church, Yorkshire, is the sculptured effigy of a forester in good preservation; this is of the fourteenth century; and in the churchyard of Newland, Gloucestershire, is a high tomb with the sculptured effigy thereon of a forester; this is of the fifteenth century, of the date 1457.

There are a few more sculptured lay effigies in this county. The effigy in Great Brington Church of William Baron Spencer, who died A.D. 1636, executed by Richard Hargrave under the superintendence of Nicholas Stone, represents him bareheaded with a falling ruff, attired in his robes of estate, the surcote and mantle faced with minever.

The effigy in Cottesbrook Church of Sir John Langham, Knight and Baronet, who died A.D. 1671, appears to have been executed long anterior to his death, as he is represented as of middle age, whereas he was eighty-eight at his death. As an alderman of the city of London he is represented in his civic robes, the alderman's gown faced with fur. The high tomb on which this effigy lies is of black and white marble, and the whole monument strikes us as the composition and sculpture of Nicholas Stone, though not mentioned in the list of his works preserved by Horace Walpole.
The sculptured effigy in Maidwell Church of Edward Gorges, Baron Dundalk, who died in the early part of the seventeenth century, represents him bareheaded, with a falling band about his neck, clad in a doublet with slashed sleeves, trunk hose, stockings and boots.

There are more of incised brass effigies of civilians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than there are of those which are sculptured.

In Hemington Church is the incised brass effigy of Thomas Montagu, who died A.D. 1517. His head is bare and his hair clubbed. He is clad in a long side gown, faced or purfled with fur, and wide but not hanging sleeves.

In Ashton Church is the incised brass effigy, of the middle of the sixteenth century, temp. Elizabeth, of Robert Marriott, yeoman. He is habited in a doublet and a long side gown faced with lambs' wool or fur, and with hanging sleeves. The title of yeoman in the reign of Elizabeth would be equivalent to that of gentleman at the present day.

The incised brass effigy in Chipping Warden Church of Richard Makepeace, yeoman, who died A.D. 1584, represents him as clad in a doublet and short cloak.

The incised brass in the Church of Aston le Walls of Albert Butler, who died A.D. 1609, represents him habited in a doublet and furred gown.

The interesting effigy, an incised brass in St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton, of George Coles, who died A.D. 1640, represents him with a falling collar, in a doublet, hose, stockings and shoes, with a short cloak.

The sculptured effigy in Stamford Baron Church, Stamford, of Cecil Lord Burleigh, the famous minister of Queen Elizabeth, who died A.D. 1599, represents him clad in a suit of rich armour, which he probably never wore, and over this is the mantle of the Order of the Garter. He carries in his hand the rod or staff of office.

The emaciated effigy, which hardly appears earlier than the fifteenth century, we find in Towcester Church beneath the effigy of Archdeacon Sponne. To this succeeded mostly in the sixteenth century the skeleton figure, "the lively figure of death." An incised brass of this description is in the Church of Church Brampton,
This is of the date 1585. In Burton Latimer Church we have represented in incised brass shrouded effigies, of a class by no means uncommon in the seventeenth century.

Representations of the Trinity in incised brass are preserved in the churches of Chacombe and Floore. These representations are not numerous.

Of the sculptured effigies of ladies we have an interesting series from the latter part of the thirteenth century circa A.D. 1285, to an early period in the eighteenth century; commencing with that in Gayton Church of Scolastica de Gayton, living A.D. 1284, and ending with that in Lowick Church of Lady Mary Mor-daunt, who died A.D. 1705. Those few of a later date I do not comment on. It is impossible to enumerate in detail, without going beyond due limits in a paper of this kind, the variations of fashion in female attire, which in succession appeared and passed away. A few observations must suffice. The effigy of Scholastica de Gayton, as it is perhaps the earliest in chronological order, so it is also one of the most beautiful and chaste in the arrangement of drapery. It must be confessed that in the latter part of the thirteenth and early half of the fourteenth century, the school of sculpture in this country surpassed generally subsequent ages in the pose, freedom, and beauty of design. The effigy of Scholastica de Gayton represents her attired in a close fitting cap, wimple round the neck and veil, the latter falling on the shoulders on each side. The body vesture consists of a plain loose robe or gown with the folds admirably adjusted, with close fitting sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists, manicae botonatae, over this is worn a mantle, open in front, and attached by a cordon from a lozenge-shaped fermail on either side. This is most gracefully disposed, the folds of the mantle being gathered up under the left arm.

The sculptured effigy in Barnack Church of a lady of the De Bernak family, about the commencement of the fourteenth century, exhibits the loose bodied gown, and mantle worn over the gown, equally gracefully disposed; the wimple is worn about the neck, whilst on the head appears the reticulated head dress, an early example, with the veil over.
The wooden effigy in Woodford Church of Alianora Dame Treylli, who died A.D. 1316, exhibits a like arrangement, though the material hardly allows to the same extent of the same graceful arrangement of the drapery.

The wooden effigy in Paulerspury Church of Dame Pavely, circa A.D. 1330, represents her attired in the wimple veil, loose gown and mantle, and exhibits as far as is compatible with the material, a like graceful arrangement.

Arriving at the fifteenth century, the change of fashion is great. In the effigy in Lowick Church of Isabella Green, who died A.D. 1419, we find the costly reticulated head dress, and may notice the absence of the wimple, the neck being bare; we meet with the close fitting cote hardi or gown, open at the sides so as to disclose the inner vest, and the mantle worn over attached by a cordon to a jewelled fermail on either side. Though well executed, we discern an absence of the graceful disposition of the drapery prevalent in the sculptured effigies of the preceding century.

Next, in the sixteenth century, we find on more than one effigy that peculiar feature which prevailed in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII and early part of that of Henry VIII, viz.: the pedimental head dress. This is exemplified in the effigy in Great Brington Church of Isabel Dame Spencer, who died circa A.D. 1530; and on that, in Fawsley Church, of Joan Dame Knightley, who died A.D. 1539; and on that, in Horton Church, of Mary Lady Parr, who died A.D. 1555. All these three ladies appear in gowns, opening square at the neck and breast, with puckered sleeves. Gold chains are worn round the neck, and mantles over the gowns, attached in front by cordons. Hanging down in front of the body of the effigy of Dame Spencer is a “Par precum,” or set of praying beads.

A diversity of head-dress of the Marian type of cap appears on the effigies in Charwelton Church of Catherine Dame Andrew, who died A.D. 1554, and of Mary Dame Andrew, living in 1565. These appear in gowns with full puckered sleeves and mantles worn over.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Katherine
Dame Spencer, who died circa A.D. 1580-1584, exhibits her wearing as head-dress the French hood; a falling ruff is worn about the neck.

In Edgcott Church, the effigies of Bridget Dame Chauncy, who died A.D. 1579, and of Elizabeth Dame Chauncy, living in 1595, exhibit both attired in a close fitting cap, gown open in front down to the waist, falling ruff round the neck, and a pomander or scent box hanging.

The effigy in Norton Church of Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who died A.D. 1602, represents her in a cap with a ruff round the neck, a rich gown and a mantle faced with ermine or minever.

In Easton Manduit Church the effigy of Mary Dame Yelverton, who died A.D. 1611, represents her attired with a ruff round her neck, a French hood on her head, and in a bodiced gown with ample skirts.

That in Weekly Church of Elizabeth Dame Montagu, who died A.D. 1618, exhibits her attired in a plain cap, a ruff round her neck, and in a bodiced gown.

The remarkably fine effigy in Stowe Church of the Honorable Elizabeth Dame Carey, who died A.D. 1630, represents her attired in a richly ornamented bodiced
gown, with ample skirts; over this she wears a mantle faced with minever, a kerchief about the head and a ruff round the neck. This is perhaps the most celebrated work of Nicholas Stone, the eminent English sculptor, who flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century, and who died in 1647. For this effigy at Stowe and the high tomb of black and white marble on which it is placed he received £220.

The effigy in Great Brington Church of Penelope Baroness Spencer, who died A.D. 1667, is likewise by Nicholas Stone. She is represented with a kerchief on her head, a full gown with sleeves vandyked at the wrists, and mantle of estate. This was executed after the death of her husband in 1636, and set up in 1638. For the two effigies and tomb Nicholas Stone received £600.

The effigy in Lowick Church of Lady Mary Mordaunt, who died A.D. 1705, represents her fancifully attired, without any head-dress, in loose drapery belted round the waist, with bare arms and bare feet, reclining on her right side, her right elbow resting on a cushion, beneath which is a skull.

To the latter part of the seventeenth century we may attribute the introduction of sepulchral effigies, attired, not in the dress of the day, but in Roman and fanciful costume.

The incised brasses of Northamptonshire exhibit many and varied specimens of female costume. Of these I shall allude to one brass only, that in St. Sepulchre's Church in Northampton of George Coles, who died A.D. 1640, and whose effigy I have already described, represented between his two wives, Sarah and Eleanor. They appear habited in bodiced gowns, with the skirts open in front, so as to disclose the petticoat. Round the neck of each is a ruff, a late example, and on the head of each is a high crowned hat, such as we meet with in the present day as forming part of the female apparel in some parts of South Wales.

The erect effigies, sculptured in white marble, in Carlton Church of Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Baronet, who died A.D. 1656, and of his Lady, exhibit them in loose drapery, or grave clothes; the heads of both are uncovered. This kind of representation was in vogue in the seventeenth century.
In the lifetime of Dr. Donne, his sepulchral effigy, afterwards placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, was thus designed and executed by Nicholas Stone, and although not included in the list of his works given us by Horace Walpole, it is not at all unlikely that these effigies may be the production of his hands.

I do not know of any effigy in Northamptonshire executed by Rysbrack. A bust in Edgcott Church of Richard Chauncy, who died A.D. 1760, is said to be by him, and I think the two busts on the north side of the chancel in Whiston Church are also the productions of his chisel. Of the far fetched allegorical conceits of Roubiliac we have that in Warkton Church representing the Parcae or Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos spinning and cutting the thread of life.

In Rockingham Church, the effigy of Lewis first Earl of Rockingham who died A.D. 1723, is represented in a Roman habit.

Amongst the churches, each of which contains a series of family monuments, may be enumerated those of Ashby St. Ledgers, Cottesbrook, Deane, Easton Neston, Fawsley, Lowick, Marholme, Rockingham, Stanford and Warkton.

The painting of effigies and monuments in colour, prevailed from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, and traces of paint still exist on those of the earlier period. Not only so, but the walls against which tombs were placed were also occasionally thus decorated, as at the back of a tomb in Dodford Church, where angels are portrayed conveying a soul to heaven in a winding sheet. This was a conventional mode of representation which prevailed from the twelfth to the early part of the sixteenth century, and it is thus alluded to by Becon, one of our early Reformers, in his treatise "The Acts of Christ and of Antichrist," A.D. 1564.—"Christ was buried in a poor monument sepulchre or grave without any funeral pomp." "Antichrist is buried in a glorious tomb, well gilt, and very gorgeously set out, with many torches and great solemnity, and with angels gloriously portured that bear his soul to heaven."

Of churchyard monuments we have some high tombs, as Leland designates that class perhaps better known as altar tombs or table monuments. Of these, delineations
Painting at the back of a tomb in Dedford Church.
have been given of some by Hyett, as of that in Corby Churchyard, where is a high tomb with a coped lid, the sides and ends being ornamented with sunk quatrefoils. This is apparently of the fourteenth century. In the churchyard at Rothwell is a high tomb with a certain degree of ornamentation, this is also noticed by Hyett, and is apparently of the sixteenth century. In Thraston churchyard is a high tomb panelled on the sides, which has not been noticed by Hyett. This appears to be of the fifteenth century. Sepulchral slabs with crosses thereon in many a varied device, from the thirteenth century downwards, are more numerous. Many of these however have been displaced from their original position. One of these, apparently of the thirteenth century, was a few years ago to be seen in the churchyard at Cotterstock; it bore a peculiar kind of ornamentation, not at all uncommon at this period, and one probably emblematic, but of which I have been unable to divine the meaning.

Bridges, or his editor, treating of Bainton, a chapel of ease to Ufford, and within two miles distant of Helpstone, observes: "Several old grave stones, with crosses on them, lie as coping on the churchyard wall." And of Helpstone: "The churchyard gate is of stone and embattled, and the walls (meaning those of the churchyard) coped with several old grave stones with crosses on them." Of Etton, distant little more than a mile from Helpstone, he says: "The wall of the churchyard, as at Maney and Baddington (Bainton?) is coped with oblong lids of old stone coffins with crosses on them. In several churchyards of the neighbouring parishes stone coffins are frequently dug up, the tops and covers of which are used for coping. They are often of a prodigious weight,
and one particularly as heavy as six men could carry. The bodies are generally quite consumed, and a hole for that purpose at the bottom of the coffin.

In the year 1865, on the demolition of the two upper stages of the tower of Helpstone Church, numerous sepulchral slabs, both entire and in a fragmental state, were found forming part of the masonry. In consequence of information received by me from the Rev. J. A. L. Campbell, then the Incumbent of Helpstone, I proceeded on the 25th of September in that year to examine them. They consisted, with few exceptions, of grave or body stones, that is of slabs which covered, or were intended so to do, the entire length of the grave. Of the ancient coffin shape form, prevalent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they gradually diminished in width from the head to the foot. They were not flat on the surface, but slightly raised in the centre, or ridged shaped in a very obtuse angle. They were of different sizes, from that of the full grown adult to that of the infant. One measured only one foot nine inches long, one foot wide at the head, diminishing in width gradually to seven and a half inches at the foot. Another two feet six inches long, was fourteen inches wide at the top; another two feet two inches long, was eleven inches wide at the top, and eight inches at the foot. All these sepulchral slabs were uninscribed, but had upon them crosses raised in low relief, and of these there were varieties. The globical cross pattee with a stem, and sometimes a stepped or graduated base, was a common pattern; on some I found a St. Cuthbert's cross, on some a plain cross flory. On not a few, about the centre of the stem of the cross, I found that common description of ornamentation which I can only liken to the iron hinges on ancient doors, an ornament so frequent on sepulchral slabs of the thirteenth century, that I cannot but think it had an esoteric meaning, which as yet I have been unable to solve. Only two or three circular headstone crosses were found. These were twenty-two inches in diameter, and about three inches thick, with short stems about

1 A cross resembling in design the pectoral cross of Anglo-Saxon workmanship found, with the remains of St. Cuthbert, in the Cathedral of Durham.

2 This species of ornamentation appears in the engraving of the sepulchral slab at Cotterstock.
six inches wide; one of them besides the stem had a tenon below it for insertion in a mortice at the head of a sepulchral slab or body stone. I found, however, no stone morticed for that purpose, but the sepulchral slab at Cotterstock, which I have described, is morticed at the head and foot for the insertion of an upright cross or head stone, and a foot stone. The other circular head stone had a short shaft but no tenon. Two of these circular head stone crosses were sculptured alike, or nearly so, with a floriated cross on each side, but on one side the spandrels were partly filled in with ornamentation, whilst on the other side the spandrels or spaces between the arms of the cross were left bare or plain. In all cases the crosses and ornamentation were in relief. In not a single case did I find an incised slab. All these sepulchral slabs and crosses, with the exception of one circular head stone bearing a St. Cuthbert cross of perhaps the eleventh, certainly not later than the first half of the twelfth century, appeared to me to be of one age or period, viz. of the thirteenth century.

But how came these numerous uninscribed sepulchral slabs and fragments to be worked up in the walls of the tower within a century from their execution? Was the churchyard thus early despoiled of its monuments, almost all of the thirteenth century, for materials to be used in the rebuilding of the church only a century later? In favour of such a practical conclusion I may state that old churches are rarely demolished without finding embedded in the walls as building material fragments of churchyard monuments of an earlier date. Such was the case in taking down a few years ago the Church of Braunston in this county, a structure of the fourteenth century, when fragments both of sepulchral slabs and of circular head stone crosses of the thirteenth century were found. I could enumerate many other like instances.

But another conclusion may be drawn to account for these remains at Helpstone than that from the spoliation of the churchyard. Helpstone is within three miles of the once celebrated quarries at Barnack. Could these sepulchral slabs and crosses have formed part of the undisposed stock-in-trade of some adventurous stone mason,
and the fashion for such articles having changed, were they on that account worked up simply as material ready at hand? I do not profess to solve the question; but the slabs and headstone crosses appeared to me to have been but little worn by attrition, or abraded by exposure to the weather.

Lastly, the study of our medieval sepulchral antiquities is, in fact, to a great extent, the study of the history of our country—ecclesiastical, military and civil. It exemplifies the progress, with sometimes an occasional retrogression, of the arts which illustrate such study at different and distinct periods. It requires indeed a knowledge of detail to appreciate and follow the gradual and almost imperceptible changes of fashion in ecclesiastical costume, in armour, and apparel, as also those in architectural design, embodying, as it were, the feelings of each successive age in the advance to a more perfect state of civilization. And to what do all these feelings tend? They point to a future, they remind us that we are not as the beasts which perish.