THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF BEDFORDSHIRE.[1]

By the Rev. H. ADDINGTON.[2]

The county of Bedford contains a series of 109 monumental brasses: with a very few exceptions they cannot be said to be of eminent interest to those who find in other districts the stately memorials of the Edwardian knights, the sumptuous productions of Flemish art portraying the great Abbot at St. Albans, the less magnificent, but still most rich engravings to priests at Wensley or North Mimms, or of the great works by the same masterly hands to the princely civilians at Lynn. There are no noble ladies to claim our interest during the whole of the fourteenth century, no historical personages, no Shakesperian characters; nay, we must add that the idea of their having once existed in the church of St. Paul at Bedford, the earliest specimen of a monumental Brass, must be ruthlessly dispelled. The person to whom this suppositious honour was ascribed was Simon de Beauchamp, whose mother Roisia, wife to Paganus de Beauchamp, translated a college of canons irregular, from the church of St. Paul to Newenham, a college of canons regular, and a short distance from Bedford. Dugdale,[3] quoting Leland,[4] tells us "He lieth afore the high altar of S. Paul's church in Bedeford, with this epitaphie graven in brass, and set on a flat stone, 'De Bello campo jacet hic sub Marmore Simon fundator de Neweham.'"

We here observe, no mention is made of any portraiture or effigy, but simply a border fillet or inscription, probably in what we are accustomed to call Lombardic characters; yet we find even such a distinguished antiquary, as the late Mr. Hartshorne, recording this as the earliest instance of a Sepulchral Brass that can be quoted.[5] Next, the same error is perpetuated by Mr. Boutell, in his admirable work on Monumental Brasses and Slabs (p. 5), and after him in the Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses by the late Mr. Haines, (p. 14) as well as in the more extended and most valuable work of the same author, p. 43.

The slab now shown as the grave stone of Simon de Beauchamp is out of all character with the above description. On it exists the matrix of a large and somewhat heavy engrailed cross, with a small shield above each of the arms, but without traces of any inscription. Had there been a cross on the stone, the above quoted authorities would surely have remarked it, but

[1] Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Bedford Meeting, July 28th, 1881.

[2] Numerous members of the Institute will learn with deep regret that since the following paper was in type, and before it could receive the final touches from his own hand, the accomplished author was suddenly removed from among us by death.—ED.

[3] Monasticon, vol. vi, p. 374

[4] Iter, vol. i, fol. 116.

[5] Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire, p. 24.

those who are familiar with the stone crosses and coffin lids of the early part of the thirteenth century would scarcely ascribe the present memorial to a date anterior.

Here, then, we are thrown forward to nearly the end of the reign of Richard the Second, in which only two examples occur, the first of a small and demi figure at Barton in the Clay commemorating Richard Brey, Rector, who is vested in the amice and chasuble, of a character so frequently found at this period. The other is an elegant and interesting memorial of John Curteys, and Albreda his wife, at Wymington; well known from the engravings of the brass, and the church containing it in the Bedfordshire portion of Lysons's Magna Britannia. The figures are those of a civilian and his wife, represented under canopies encircled by a border fillet, with the evangelistic emblems set in quatrefoils at the angles. The inscription in Latin tells us that John Curteys was Lord of the manor, rebuilder of the church, and Mayor of the woolstaple of Calais, and that he died A.D. 1391. The figures are well designed, that of the man shews him bare headed, with cropped hair and a small forked beard; he wears pointed shoes, a long straight tunic, trimmed at the bottom with fur, with close sleeves, loose round the wrist, and edged likewise with fur. Over the tunic is a mantle, open in front, thrown over the left shoulder, and gathered up under the arms, and buttoned by three buttons over the right shoulder; this conceals the girdle, from which depends the anelace or short sword. The costume is completed by a hood worn round the neck, and mittens on the hands, with a row of buttons at the edge. The feet rest on a greyhound, whose head is looking upwards as at his master. The lady, who in this case occupies the dexter side of the slab, wears a long flowing kirtle, a gown, and a wimple round the throat and neck, and over all is a long mantle, confined by a cord passing through metal studs over the breast and hanging down in front terminated by tassels. Two dogs are seen at the feet, with collars and bells, as in the other effigy. The heads of both figures repose on richly diapered and tasselled cushions set diagonally on others which are square with ornamental borders and also tasselled.

It is pleasing to observe the altar tomb, on which the above composition is placed, still in the same site as that selected by the re-founder of the church, and it is interesting to contemplate him in this remote and retired spot, amid the turbulence and commotion of the unquiet times around him, peacefully rearing, in perhaps his native village, a shine for holy uses whose surpassing beauty still attracts many a pilgrim from afar, and still charms with its graceful proportions and design.

And now taking leave of the good woolstapler, we enter upon the fifteenth century, with all its changes and revolutions, and in doing so it will perhaps be clearer to divide our subject under the heads of Civilians, Military, Ladies, and Ecclesiastical Brasses.

I. The Civilian class presents a series of fourteen in this century, ranging from the earliest specimen at Tilbrook and Eaton Socon, to the latest dated example of this period at Campton; the two former being the only two memorials we find of Civilians, till A.D. 1450. That at Tilbrook presents the design treated in a similar manner to that just noticed at Wymington, except that the hair is not cut short, but flowing, as at Stoke Fleming in Devonshire, and the tunic appears continued high round the throat and buttoned in front, with long flowing sleeves as in later examples, and a capuchon over it.

We leave the small contemporary brass of the same nature at Eaton Socon, and notice a demi-figure at Cople, which I do not think we shall be wrong in considering as a Judge. He is habited in a coif or close skull cap, a long robe, a hood, a tippet and a mantle buttoned on the left shoulder; these were the robes of the judges, and they seem to agree with those on the specimen now under consideration.

We notice next another small figure of a civilian at Luton (Hugo atte Spetyll), to which Mr. Haines assigns the probable date of A.D. 1425, though it differs in no respect from that noticed at Eaton Socon, both wearing the hair quaintly cropped, the tunic with close sleeves, and both apparently engraved by the same hand.

We may now, on entering the latter half of the fifteenth century, collect a small group of five, at Biggleswade, at Ampthill, and at Dunstable, all of which belong to a numerous and familiar class, in which the persons are represented in gowns or tunics slit up the front, with full and deep sleeves, or, in some instances, with closer ones, gathered into loose cuffs, furred round the throat and wrists, with a band round the waist. Five other examples of the same class bring us to the close of the fifteenth century. The first of these at Turvey, is a small well designed figure, which from its great similarity to the well known brass of a notary in the church of St. Mary Tower at Ipswich, we may not inaptly consider to have been executed by the same hand; the countenances, in both alike, are "marked and bear the impress of age," and we may fairly ascribe the date to A.D. 1475, or 1480. Two smaller figures at Biddenham shew the gown with sleeves of a similar, though later character, until at Campton, A.D. 1489, and Lidlington c. 1495, we are introduced to the ordinary and well known civilian garb of the fifteenth century, the loose gown with full sleeves, the front and sleeves guarded with fur, and at Campton and at Lidlington the gypciere suspended from a belt round the waist. The pointed boots have now disappeared, and in their place are worn large round-toed shoes. The specimen at Lidlington is a good example of the civilian dress of the period, and the composition shews us the border legend and the evangelistic symbols at the angles of a period a century later since we observed them on the monument of John Curteys at Wymington.

II. We now turn our attention to the Military brasses of this century. They are eleven in number, and fairly well illustrate the armorial peculiarities of the period embraced by it. We are, of course, in the times when plate armour was exclusively worn, and the use of mail entirely superseded by it.

The first figure in armour is that of Walter Roland at Cople, of the date about A.D. 1410, where we see the knight in bascinet, gorget, a skirt of six taces and a baguette appended. Roundels of a like size and shape protect the armpits and the elbows, brassarts, with over-lapping plates and vambraces defend the arms, the gauntlets have two rows of gadlings, the sword on the left side depends from an ornamental belt passing diagonally across the taces, and on the right side is a plain misericorde, the thighs are covered by cuisses, the knees by genouillieres, with a plate beneath them over the jambs, sollerets protect the feet, and prick spurs complete the suit.

At Stevington, A.D. 1422, Thomas Salle is shewn similarly armed.

The year 1430 introduces us to the grand figure of Sir Thomas Brom-

flete at Wymington, cup bearer to King Henry V. Here we have what Mr. Hartshorne, in his wonderfully instructive little book on the Sepulchral Monuments of Northamptonshire, calls "the finest specimen of a knight in plate armour in existence." His bascinet reposes on a tilting helm, on which is his crest, the coudieres are fan-shaped and shield-like pallets protect the arm pits.

The above description will apply, more or less, to figures in armour at Thurleigh and at Cockayne Hatley, c. A.D. 1430. Then, proceeding onwards, we see in the brass of John Launcelyn at Cople, A.D. 1435, two small plates called tuiles, from their resembling tiles, buckled to the skirt of the taces, and hanging down over the thighs, and the gauntlets not divided into fingers.

In the next group of three, of two small figures in armour [1] at Meppershall, A.D. 1440-1441, and at Marston Moretaine, A.D. 1451, we see large plates called demi-placcates and pauldrons worn over the cuirass and protecting the shoulders. At the latter place the knight is bare-headed, a fashion introduced about this period. They were stirring times in which these warriors lived, and our interest in them is heightened when we reflect that they must have been among the heroes who won, with their Sovereign, the glorious day of Agincourt.

But we hasten on the close of this century, and we find a knight of the Guise family at Aspley Guise, c. 1490, and Richard Conquest, A.D. 1493, at Houghton Conquest, in both of which we find a great change has taken place since the middle of the century in the knightly apparel. Both figures at Houghton Conquest are represented bare headed, the hair cropped short, a deep collar of mail is worn round the throat, the coutes and pauldrons are of large size, the vambraces are composed of vandyked plates, and the gauntlets are formed of large overlapping plates longitudinally divided; tuiles depend from the skirt of taces, the genouillieres are diamond shapedwith invecked edges, and similar plates behind them; a sword depends across the body from a strap buckled round the waist, sollerets of several plates defend the feet, and plain pryck-spurs are worn without roundels.

III. In the next division of our subject, that of the Ladies of the fifteenth century, we notice first, the wife of the civilian at Husborne Crawley, c. A.D. 1400, where we find her wearing a tunic almost identical with that of her husband, with long sleeves loosely confined at the wrists, and shewing the extremities of an under dress, which is made so long as almost to cover the hands. The tunic is tightly buttoned up from the breast to the chin. Her hair is confined by a jewelled band over the forehead, with a braid on either side; and over the head is thrown the coverchief so frequently adopted at this period, which appears again in the brass of Margaret Lady Bromflete, A.D. 1407, at Wymington, who was the wife of Sir Thomas Bromflete, whose superb brass we have just noticed above. In this instance, the hair appears confined in a netted caul of a diamond pattern, with a plain band over the forehead, and continued above the ears and under the caul, to which the coverchief was attached. The dress of this lady consists of a plain close garment, commencing from the throat, with long and tight sleeves continued, like mittens, over the hands, and

[1] The latter also is a good example of the enormously large coutes introduced about this time.

over all is a mantle, reaching to the feet, and confined by a cord across the breast.

The wife of Nicholas Rolond, at Cople, c. A.D. 1410, wears the wimple round the throat and neck; but with this exception, there is nothing to notice until the year A.D. 1427, when we meet with an interesting example at Elstow, to Margaret Argentine, of the same class as the two last mentioned, except that, in this instance, the wimple covers the sides of the face as well as the chin, and a hood is thrown over the head.

From the year A.D. 1435 to A.D. 1451, we meet with six memorials, of which the first, at Cople, the wife of John Lancelyn, shows the lady in a long gown, with loose hanging sleeves confined with a plain band round the waist, and a collar, turned over, round the neck. Here the head-dress presents us with a new variation, the coverchief or veil being supported by a wire frame nearly straight over the head. The wife of John Boteler shows us the dress and head gear identically the same as the preceding, but on a smaller scale. Alice Halsted, at Biggleswade, A.D. 1449, is an indifferent specimen of the same class, with the peculiarity of having the name Alicia engraved on the shoulder. Ampthill, A.D. 1450, Agnes Hicchecok, and, at Marston Moretaine, Alice Reynes, show us good representations of the above described costume; and another group of five bring us to the close of the century.

Joan Carbyll, A.D. 1489, at Campton, is habited in the ordinary dress of a lady with which we are so familiar in the next century; the coverchief on the head; a plain gown, cut square across the breast; tight sleeves, with cuffs; and a rosary, terminating in a large ball with a tassel, dependent from the waist.

Agnes Faldo, at Biddenham, A.D. 1490, is an indifferent, but the sole, example of the butterfly head-dress to which we can call attention.

At Luton, c. 1490, we meet with a graceful figure of a lady in a mantle, or long cloak, over her tunic, her wimple plaited, and a hood over her head. This brass is set on an altar tomb in the Wenlock Chapel, and is surmounted by a fine triple canopy. With the mention of Isabella Conquest, at Houghton Conquest, A.D. 1493, and Margaret Goldynton, of about the same date, this series terminates. Both ladies wear the pedimental head-dress so much in vogue in the Tudor times. The cuffs are furred, and an enriched girdle, with ornamental termination, hangs down in front.

IV. We now arrive at the fourth head, under which we proposed to treat the Ecclesiastical brasses of this century; and this is a very small one.

There are but six in the whole county—a demi-figure at Houghton Regis; another at Marston Morteyne, A.D. 1420; a full length figure at Yielden; two at Shillington; and an excellent, but mutilated, composition at Biggleswade. The three first are vested in the Eucharistic robes, the amice, the chasuble, the alb, and the maniple; and do not call for any particular remark. The design at Biggleswade is highly curious. It has been disturbed in old times, and again, some twenty years ago, at the restoration of the church, which, too often, and in this particular case truly, means mutilation, was literally torn in pieces. The memorial was to John Rudyng, who was respectively Archdeacon of Bedford, Northampton, and Lincoln. He died A.D. 1481. The fragments of this brass, at the restoration of the church, were removed from its original slab, and

jumbled and compressed into a small compass, and stuck up against the chancel wall, above the vestry door. It is difficult to arrive at a reason for such wanton destruction, as comparatively few would ever divine the original arrangement; and so all interest is lost.

Of the two examples at Shillington, the first commemorates Matthew de Asscheton, A.D. 1400, who is represented in the alb, with long flowing sleeves; the almuce, shown in white metal; and a cope, with ornamented border; and a large square morse, with a diamond pattern set in it, and foliage at the angles. The border legend, which runs square on the slab, tells us he was Canon of York and Lincoln, as well as Rector of Shillington. A dog is placed at the feet of the figure; a peculiarity not often observed on the monuments of priests.

The second brass at Shillington is of Thomas Polynton, A.D. 1485, Canon of York. It is a small full-length figure of a priest, vested in the cope and stole; but is so much worn as to be nearly indistinct.

In entering upon the sixteenth century, and resuming the style of division before adopted, I do not think it will be necessary to devote much space to the Civilian series. They are a numerous class; in this county we have about twenty examples; but the costume, here and elsewhere, is monotonous, the same dress which was worn at the end of the last century, appearing on brasses as late as A.D. 1540. To describe these in order would be a mere enumeration of names and places.

I. There are fourteen figures who are habited in the usual civilian's gown of the period, sometimes plain, sometimes furred round the neck and sleeves, sometimes slit up in front and furred. The only variations noticeable are as follows:—John Peddaw, at Salford, A.D. 1505, wears a rosary, not dependent as usual from the girdle, but tucked round it. At Sharnbrook, A.D. 1522, we see the same on the figures of William Cobbe and his son, Thomas; and another, of the same size and pattern, is also worn by Alice, the wife and mother, who is represented between them. At Caddington, A.D. 1505, John Hawt has a gypciere; and at Luton, A.D. 1512, John Lamar, one larger and plainer. At Renhold, A.D. 1518, Edmund Wayte has the waist-belt, either terminating in a large knot, or the latter dependent from it; also a dog at his feet, which we do not otherwise observe in this series. Thomas Perys, A.D. 1535, is a curious specimen of rude engraving; probably the work of a native artist.

The above remarks have brought us down to the year A.D. 1544, and leave us only four examples to notice; the first being of Sir Walter Luke A.D. 1544. He is a Justice of the Pleas; and wears, over his under tunic, the ordinary gown with wide loose sleeves, and a large gypciere from his waist; and over all, an ample scarlet mantle (the traces of colour being still visible), with a hood. A coif on his head completes the costume.

In this, and the four succeeding memorials of civilians, which bring to an end this branch of our subject, we observe the introduction of a new fashion, representing the deceased kneeling before an altar or table, on which an open book is displayed.

Of the same character is the other and next memorial of a Judge also at Cople. Nicholas Luke, A.D. 1563, is a Baron of the Exchequer, and wears an under tunic with tight sleeves, and a waist belt with large

gypciere depending, over the above is a loose flowing gown, and over all a mantle and hood. Similarly treated is the memorial of Antony Newdegate, A.D. 1568, at Hawnes, who wears a doublet with square skirt, and a gown trimmed with a wide border of fur over the shoulder and down the front; but the sleeves are not full and open as in the first group we noticed of civilians of this century, but are long and reach nearly to the ground, after the manner of the modern academical gown of the Masters of Arts, with slits cut through for the passage of the arms.

This is another variety of the civilian dress, and also the first example of it we find in our county. The inscription tells us he was "curie generalium supervisorum terranem quondam regis Henrici octavi dum steterit auditorum unus."

In the last civilian monumental brass of this century, that of William Jackmain, A.D. 1592, and his two sons at Leighton Buzzard, we see another and a novel arrangement, wherein instead of the figures and inscription being cut out and attached separately to the slab, we find the whole composition engraved as a picture on a flat plate, square or oblong, and often fastened to the wall. In this instance, the three figures are represented kneeling, and are of the type with which we are so familiar in the monuments and pictures of the Elizabethan era. The centre of the three figures has the gown open in front, and shews him dressed in trunk hose with full puffed knee breeches, with a doublet and cloak over it, that on the sinister side having a hood attached. They are all bare-headed, and wear ruffs round the throat. The figures kneel on cushions, on a floor marked out with horizontal and perpendicular lines, and the back ground is divided into three compartments by truncated pillars on bases, the space behind being again architecturally marked by lines.

II. In the Military division of the sixteenth century, the county of Bedford presents us with about sixteen examples. In the early part of it the brasses bear a general resemblance to one another, and give us a good idea how the warriors were equipped who fought at Bosworth, A.D. 1485, and A.D. 1513; on them we see a skirt of mail coming down to the thighs, over it the cuirass with taces and tuillets attached to them over the mail skirt, the pauldrons have passe gardes protecting the neck, and round-toed sabbatons have taken the place of the pointed sollerets.

These remarks will apply to a series extending from the year A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1532. The best example is that of John Sylam, A.D. 1513, at Luton, but those at Cockayne Hatley, A.D. 1515 and 1527, and John Fysher at Clifton, A.D. 1528, and Ampthill, A.D. 1528, are all good. The figures are all bare headed, and William Cokyn, A.D. 1527, and John Fysher at Clifton, have their heads resting on their tilting helms. On the figure of Sir Nicholas Harve at Ampthill, A.D. 1532, the passe gardes are of large size, and stand up from the pauldrons like high collars. The swords are worn in various modes: at Cople, at Houghton Conquest, at Clifton and at Ampthill they are placed behind, crossing the legs; at Luton and at Cockayne Hatley they are girded on the left side, and at Aspley Guise in front crossing the left leg.

The small figure at Great Barford, of which I took a rubbing about the year 1843, has disappeared.

We now approach one of the most remarkable and interesting objects with which the study of these memorials presents us. Of the year

A.D. 1535 we find an elegant composition in the church of Bromham; with the exception of that at Luton, it is the only example of that graceful and decorative peculiarity, the crocketed canopy with which we are so familiar in the architecture, the tombs, and the stained glass of every period, ranging from the earliest to the latest times. Here under a triple design we observe a knight in plate armour, and his two wives to which we should assign the probable date of A.D. 1430, the same as that of Sir Thomas Bromflete, at Wymington. The costume of the ladies is that also with which we are familiar in the monuments of the same period, the hair plaited, and the coverchief disposed on a wire frame. They are dressed alike in a gown or tunic, with collars falling on the shoulders, and a belt studded with plain roundels, the sleeves loose open and furred round the edges.

Our remarks already made on the military brasses of this century will have shewn us how the warriors of the time of Henry VIII were equipped, so that we have here an interesting example of the re-adaptation of a monumental brass of the period, c. A.D. 1430, to commemorate a knight of A.D. 1435.

The arms in the pediment of the canopy are those of Dyve, a family who had possessions in Bromham from A.D. 1366, and who only became extinct in the present century. The inscription engraved on an oblong plate beneath the figures tells us that it commemorates a mother and a wife, the centre figure of the man in armour being that of Sir John Dyve, who married Isabel, daughter of Sir Ralfe Hastings who, Mr. J. G. Nichols tells us in the Topographer and Genealogist, vol. i, p. 159, was Lord Chamberlain to King Edward IV, whilst his mother was daughter and heiress of Thomas Wilde, of Bromham, Esq. What Mr. Nichols so aptly calls "the anachronism in point of costume," has given rise to a field of conjecture as to the persons for whom this memorial was originally designed. There was a connection by marriage between the family of Dyve of Bromham, and that of the Woodvilles or Wydvilles of Grafton Regis in Northamptonshire, and therefore it has been, as appears to me, rather hastily surmised that the monument originally represented Thomas Wideville of Grafton, and at the dissolution of monasteries was removed to Bromham, and re-dedicated to the memory of his great great grandson. That the memorial was re-appropriated there is no doubt, but beyond this all is mere supposition. Mr. Albert Way calls attention to it in the Archeologia, vol. xxx, p. 124; Lysons in the Bedfordshire volume, p. 695, alludes to the same idea; as does also Mr. Haines in the Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses, vol. i, p. 252.

I regret to leave the question of the migration of this brass thus uncertain and undecided, but we must past on to review the five remaining military brasses of this century, of which the first, Sir William Gascoigne, c. A.D. 1540, is the only example the county presents of a knight in armour wearing the tabard, and it is late in the style. There is here little or no variation from those previously noticed in this century the head reposes on a tilting helm, from which issues his crest, with an ample display of mantling covering the whole. Both the misericorde and the sword have ornamented hilts, the former passing from the left side behind the legs and resting on a dog; A.D. 1545, we observe a good figure to Harry Gray treated in a similar manner to the above. The first of the three examples remaining to be noticed is one of great interest to the locality in which

it is placed, it is that of the good Sir William Harpur, the great and enlightened benefactor of the town of Bedford, and the founder of the schools there. The head reposes on a morion shaped helmet with vizor, the throat has a plain gorget somewhat resembling the collar of a dog, and there appears a small ruff or collar under it. The body is defended by a cuirass to which three taces are attached, and from these two cuisses or lamoys of large over-lapping plates with ribbed edges hang over the skirt of mail, reaching nearly to the knees, gussets of mail are seen at the insteps, the sword hangs at the left side from a belt which passes round the waist, and a long misericorde is worn on the right side extending from the hips nearly to the knees, Over all, the knight wears his alderman's gown, disposed in folds behind him, a fashion not often observable, but seen in the headless figure of Ralf Lord Cromwell at Tattersall, in Lincolnshire, A.D. 1455, also in that of Sir William Yelverton, Justice of the King's Bench, who wears it similarly disposed over his armour c. 1470.

We conclude our observations on this section of the sixteenth century with noticing the memorial of Richard Faldo at Maulden, A.D. 1576, and Robert Hatley at Goldington, A.D. 1585, both are examples of what Mr. Waller calls "the decadence" of armour. The former is bare-headed and turned sideways, by which arrangement we perceive the large cuisses attached by wide straps round the thighs, and the genouillieres fastened in the same way. A ruff is worn round the neck, the pauldrons are large and almost meet across the breast, and as well as the cuisses have large scolloped edges; a sword with a handle of late design passes diagonally behind the legs, and there is a large misericorde on the right side. This is a good example of the fashion prevalent at this period of placing an oblong plate over the head of the principal figure, with an achievement engraved with the various quarterings of the family, with mantling and crest, sometimes other shields are also placed at the angles of the slabs.

Goldington presents us with a small kneeling figure of a man in armour attached to the wall within an iron frame. This, as does also the preceding figure, exhibits a ruff of the same style and size as that of the ladies, the steel skirt is worn as before, and an altar table with open book is placed before the kneeling figure. The lower part of the composition affords a good example of the epitaphs in vogue at this period, the plate on which it is engraved is divided into two parts, on the dexter of which are a series of elegaic verses; and the other side contains an English poetical translation. At Cople some forty ago I took a rubbing of William Bulkley, A.D. 1568, who was represented in the armour of the late period to which allusion has just been made; the composition was engraved on a square plate attached to the wall, and shewed two pillars on the sides behind the figures, supporting an arch on the entablature of which was a prayer in Roman characters: Jesus Nazaren Rex Judiorum Filii Dei Misereri Nostrm. From the mouths of the figures were two similar labels, shewing curious and interesting instance of the employment of the old character of earlier centuries in Jacobean times. This memorial was loose when my impression was obtained, and has since disappeared.

III. The next division of our subject, that of the Ladies of the sixteenth century, we enumerate a goodly array of upwards of thirty examples, but our observations on them will not be extended to any great length, as the

whole may be gathered into a few groups, under which the costume will present little variation.

Thus we may first class together a series of twenty-one ladies, ranging from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1528, from the churches of Houghton Conquest, Cople, Salford, Blunham, Ampthill, Caddington, Luton, Cockayne Hatley, Dunstable, Renhold, Sharnbrook, and Clifton, whose costume exhibits little or no variety; only three, viz: Alice Teddar at Salford A.D. 1505, Elizabeth and Alys Turvey at Dunstable, and Alice Cobbe at Sharnbrook, wear the coverchief on their heads; the remainder of the same group all wear the pedimental head-dress, nearly all alike, a girdle round the waist hanging down, in some cases, nearly to the feet, and ornamented tight sleeves and furred cuffs. All the above are placed beside their husbands. Alice Cobbe, A.D. 1522, is the only one of this number who is shewn wearing the rosary. Elizabeth Fysher, at Clifton, has her gown drawn up in front over her right arm, and is shewn standing on a floor divided into diamond shaped squares. Agnes, wife of Thomas Perys, A.D. 1535, at Little Barford, presents us with a peculiar specimen of a head-dress, a kind of flat hat or large cap, with the hair disposed in two large bunches on either side of the face, the whole bearing a strong resemblance to a figure at Swaffham Prior in Cambridgeshire, and being probably the work of the same hand.

Only two other specimens remain of ladies of the reign of Henry VIII. the two wives of Sir William Gascoigne in heraldic mantles at Cardington, c. 1540, and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Waren at Flitton, A.D. 1544. She wears a pedimental head-dress, a gown cut square at the neck, loose hanging sleeves trimmed with a wide border of fur, and thrown back a little below the elbow, and displaying the sleeves of an under dress, plaited and frilled.

Eaton Bray presents us respectively with a good example of the ladies' dress of the time of Queen Mary, as did Jane, wife of William Bulkeley, now lost. At Eaton Bray, A.D. 1558, Jane Lady Bray appears kneeling before an altar with a richly fringed cloth and tasselled cushion, on which lies an open book. She wears the tight-fitting head-dress and veiled dependent behind, called "the Paris hede," with which we are so familiar from our reminiscences of Mary Stuart, the hapless Queen of Scots. The gown is thrown open, with falling collar round the neck, and under it appear the collar and frill of two under dresses. The sleeves are gashed and gathered up above the elbows, so as to shew those of under garments one of which has large frills round the wrists. A large chain passes twice round the neck, the crucifix, or ornament attached to it, being concealed by the uplifted hands. A large group of daughters similarly attired, and kneeling behind their mother, and one son, complete the composition. The ground of the plate is marked out by two cross rows of lines, a large label is placed over the head, between two large heraldic lozenges.

In A.D. 1573, we see the same coiffure worn by Margaret, wife of Sir William Harpur, in St. Paul's church, Bedford. At her neck the finely plaited partlett is visible, which was a kind of habit shirt made of fine materials, and there appears a small ruff round the throat; the collar of the gown is thrown open, the sleeves are tight and striped, and have frills round the waists, a sash confines the gown at the waist, and it is thrown open in front shewing a petticoat richly embroidered with a diapered pattern. The brass of Anna Faldo at Maulden, A.D. 1576, shews

her similarly attired, and kneeling at a faldstool, over which is spread a cloth with an open book upon it.

We close this portion of our subject with noticing what I would call the third work of highest excellency in the range of these memorials for which our county is remarkable; the first having been that of Sir Thomas Bromflete at Wymington, A.D. 1430, and the second, that of the re-appropriated canopy and figures at Bromham, A.D. 1435 and 1535. The brass of Elizabeth Harvey, at Elstow, A.D. 15..., is too well known to all who are interested in our pursuits to require any lengthened description, even if more could be supplied than is already known. She is one of the only two abbesses whom our researches have brought to light, the other being Agnes Jordan, Abbess of Syon, in Denham church, in Buckinghamshire. Our example is the abbess of the House of Benedictine Friars, founded at Elstow by Judith, neice to William the First. She was elected abbess in A.D. 1501. She is represented in her religious habit, which consists of a white gown with long surplice-like sleeves, a plaited barbe, a coverchief over the head, a long mantle, and a pastoral staff resting on her right arm.

"This lady has erroneously been called the last Abbess of Elstow. She was succeeded by Agnes Gascoigne, Elizabeth Starkey, and Agnes Boyville; the last of whom, elected abbess in 1530, surrendered the abbey on the 26th August, 1540, upon a pension of fifty pounds a year."

IV. The Ecclesiastical series consists of eight examples, from A.D. 1501 to A.D. 1524. Some of them are well engraved, but do not call for any lengthened notice.

At Turvey, *c.* A.D. 1500, we have a small figure in the costume of a Bachelor of Divinity, viz. cassock, tippet, hood, and gown with the arm-holes lined with fur. At Dean, A.D. 1501, Thomas Parker, Prebendary of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury; and at Luton, *c.* 1510, Edward Sheffeld, canon of Lichfield, &c., are habited in gowns with furred sleeves, a surplice, and an almuce nebulée at the edges. The latter also wears a cap, with a peak. At Houghton Regis, A.D. 1506; at Wymington, A.D. 1510; at Langford, A.D. 1520; at Totternhoe, A.D. 1524; the priests are habited in the Eucharistic vestments; those at Totternhoe and Wymington bearing chalices with the Host.

The year A.D. 1515 presents us with a curious memorial of Thomas Wodehouse, Rector. A chalice is fixed in the slab above the inscription, and at each of the upper corners are set two wild men covered with hair, with huge clubs in their hands, in allusion to the name. This composition is engraved by Mr. J. G. Nichols in the 'Topographer and Genealogist,' vol. i, p. 74.

The memorials of the seventeenth century are eleven Civilians, two Knights, three Ladies, one Ecclesiastic, and one child.

I. Our Civilians range from A.D. 1600 to A.D. 1640, and present us with a good idea of how private gentlemen of the latter days of Elizabeth and of the reigns of James I and Charles I were accustomed to appear.

There seems little necessity to dwell on the costume of an age with which all are so familiar. These effigies, with more or less variety, wear long hose, breeches, trunk hose, doublets, fitting close to the body and long-waisted, a waist-band, ruffs round the neck, ruffles at the wrists instead of the falls or furs of earlier times, and a cloak reaching to the

knees. Sometimes, as at Tingrith, A.D. 1611, and at Leighton Buzzard, they are represented kneeling before a faldstool. The shoes are tied with large knots, and the hose are tied with garters and imposing bows. At Eyworth, A.D. 1624, the curious brass of Richard Gadburye depicts him with a long, bushy pointed beard, and a long gown, ornamented with a long row of large frogs on either front.

The figure at Yelden, A.D. 1628, is remarkably engraved, we should say, by quite a native artist. That at Hilton, A.D. 1628, has a sword on the left side, and a flat cap, with a band like a coronet around it. Robert Hogeson, A.D. 1611 is shewn kneeling at a faldstool, in front of which lie two children, with ruffs and in swaddling clothes; a remarkable instance of the late variety of this form of representation, of children in the chrysom cloth. Totternhoe, A.D. 1621, shews the dress of children; a long robe, or gown, and a collar set square to the neck, the hair curling.

II. We shall soon dispose of our notice of the Military brasses of this century; as we find but two examples, at Toddington, A.D. 1622, and at Cardington, A.D. 1638. The latter is a late specimen of a figure wearing a helmet, which is here shown with a vizor and a plume of feathers. The throat is defended by several over-lapping plates of steel. The pauldrons are large, and almost meet across the breast. The hands are covered with gauntlets with scalloped edges. From the breast-plate depend two large skirts of steel or tassets, and the sword passes diagonally behind the figure.

III. The Ladies of this century are twelve in number, and afford ample illustrations of the ladies costume in vogue until the commencement of the Commonwealth. The figure of Alice Bernard, at Turvey, A.D. 1606, wears a Paris head and veil, an enormous ruff round the throat, a gown with a peaked stomacher, which, as well as the front of the petticoat, is embroidered in a running pattern.

Margaret Gadburye, A.D. 1624, at Eyworth, is another variety of the same costume. At Cardington, A.D. 1638, the wives of Sir William Gascoigne are late examples of ladies in heraldic mantles.

Figures in hats are Agnes, wife of John Carter, at Husborne Crawley; and Magdalenne, daughter of Richard and Margaret Gadburye, at Eyworth; and Elizabeth Fynche, A.D. 1640, at Dunstable.

Biddenham, A.D. 1639, is a not uncommon example of the decline of the monumental brass to a design altogether and utterly unlike the conceptions of earlier times. An oblong plate is affixed to the wall. Two-thirds of it are occupied by the usual adulatory epitaph of the times, the subject of which is a lady, Helen Botoler. On the upper space is engraved an oval frame, in which is depicted the bust, or three-quarter length portraiture of a lady, wearing a large loose cap, probably of silk or velvet, with long flowing hair appearing at the sides under it. A rich dress is worn, with pointed stomacher, ornamented with several rows of frogs, the sleeves puffed and slashed, two large links are fastened to a necklace above, and to a brook-like ornament below. On either side of the oval containing the figure is a curtain, which is twisted round a Corinthian pillar at the outside.

IV. The only memorial of an Ecclesiastic in this century is that of

Thomas Barker, at Yeilden, A.D. 1617. It is a square plate attached to the wall, on which is engraved the figure of a man in a gown, with a ruff round his neck. He kneels on a cushion before a faldstool covered with a cloth, on which is a slanting desk with an open book. The inscription tells us he is rector of Yeilden; but there is nothing else distinguishing him from the ordinary civilians of the period.

There are now only two characteristic varieties of the monumental brass represented in this county; with a brief notice of which, we bring our subject to a conclusion.

I. The first is the remains of the elegant composition at Aspley Guise, where we find two small kneeling figures of a priest, and, probably his patron Saint, St. John the Baptist, kneeling on either side of the matrix of a foliated cross, which was probably open at the head with a representation of the Holy Trinity in the centre, as both heads are turned sideways, and the Baptist points upwards. The priest is vested in a cassock, and tippet and hood, the Saint in a loose robe gathered up under the left arm on which, and supported by the hand, lie his emblems—a book with a lamb and cross with banner. The beard is long, the hair flowing, and a nimbus round the head. The whole bears a close affinity in style to the cross and figures at Hildersham in Cambridgeshire, to Robert Paris and wife, A.D. 1408, and may presumably be ascribed to about the same date. The other divergent idea of employing the form of the cross is shewn at Sutton, a late example, heavy and rude, a plain Latin cross with trefoiled terminations to the arms, raised on three steps, and commemorating Thomas Burgoyn and wife, A.D. 1516.

II. The only other characteristic variety we would observe, is that of the dead figure enveloped in a shroud; a form, not of beauty, but repulsive, copiously adopted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which we have two examples at Dunstable, A.D. 1516 and 1518; and part of a small figure at Marston, A.D. 1506.

Such, then, is some idea of the Bedfordshire series of monumental brasses; a class, not of the highest order, but sufficient to engage interest and attention. I will only, as one who has devoted the leisure time of more than forty years to the study of this class of memorials, venture to allude to the usefulness and value of such a pursuit; how, when thrown by chance, as we are sometimes, into a new and strange locality, we find something to observe and direct our inquiries, something to interest. Thus do we discover a meaning and a purpose for our railway trip or our village walk; thus does the dull and most unpromising outpost present to us scenes of beauty, and the long-forgotten forms of the noble and the brave rise again before us; and the long dead echoes of the times which moved and stirred our forefathers, and made us what we are, ring again in our ears; and their monuments become very chronicles of the past, teaching us its history, its use, and its truth.