ON THE MONUMENTS AND EFFIGIES IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH AND THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK.[1]

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

When we consider the greatness and the dignity of the ancient house of Warwick, passing for more than four centuries through the lines of Newburgh, Plessitis, Mauduit, Beauchamp, Nevill, and Plantagenet, and come to Warwick to look for their tombs, we are at once reminded of the famous speech of Lord Chief Justice Crewe: "Time hath his revolutions, there must be a period and end to all temporal things, *finis rerum*, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene, and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? Where is Mowbray? Where is Mortimer? Nay, what is more, and most of all—where is Plantagenet?" Lord Crewe said of Vere of Oxford, "no king in Christendom hath such a subject," and, like Oxford, the house of Warwick rose through a series of great men, and, in the time of the Beauchamps, and particularly the Nevills, to such a pitch that they became at last too great for subjects, and after giving a succession of earls for upwards of four hundred years the ancient house fell at last, as it were, by its own weight.

But we have "come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him;" to talk not of honours and pedigrees, but "of graves, of worms, and epitaphs," and provoke the tombs and silent dust to render up an account.

This being the case, the question at once presents itself, how is it that with so long a succession of great men here we find so comparatively few of their monuments, even of cadets? Many circumstances have contributed to bring this about. Chief among them are, the re-building of the choir in the time of Edward III; the transference, to a

[1] Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, held at Leamington, August 8th, 1888.

great extent, of the principal place of sepulture to Tewkesbury, owing to the marriage of Richard de Beauchamp with the heiress of Despencer; and the disastrous fire of 1694.

In the former case we have it on the authority of Rous, who lived from 1411 to 1491, and must certainly have known persons who saw the re-building, that the monument of Thomas de Newburgh who died in 1242, sixth Earl of Warwick, and divers more of his ancestors were removed when the choir was rebuilt, and never set up again. Probably Thomas de Beauchamp the builder, had little idea who were here commemorated, and it was no uncommon way of dealing with ancient monuments in the middle ages, particularly when a new fabric had to be raised. This ill-treatment of monuments has descended to our own time, but with a difference. It will be remembered that when Henry VI. went to the Abbey to fix the spot for his own grave, it was proposed to him, with the same reckless disregard for antiquity which marked those times, to move the tomb of Eleanor, to make room for him; but the King said he "could in no wise do it." He asked, with strange ignorance, the names of the kings among whose tombs he stood. It was then suggested that the monument of his father, Henry V., should be pushed aside, to which he answered, "Nay, let him alone, he lyeth like a noble prince; I would not trouble him." And finally it was settled—"forsooth and forsooth, here will we lie! here is a good place for us." He never came to it.

We may be sure that no such piety troubled Thomas de Beauchamp. He was a man of action, one of the warriors of Cressy and Poictiers, so the monuments of the Norman Newburghs were swept away to make room for the new choir which arose at his bidding, and in the midst of it he and his countess still "sleep in dull cold marble." There probably may have been some monuments of the Beauchamp family here which were wiped out by the re-building of the choir, but their burials are not recorded. We know that the Plessitis and Mauduit earls rest, the one at Missenden, 1262, and the other at Westminster, 1267. The marriage of Isabel, sister of William Mauduit,

and eventually countess of Warwick in her own right, with William de Beauchamp, first brings that family here. William died in 1269, and his son of the same name, who first bore the cross-crosslets, in 1298, and both are buried at the Friars Minors, Worcester. Guy, the son of the last-named — Gaveston's "Black Hound of Arden," who died in 1315—lies at Bordesley, and his son was Thomas de Beauchamp, the builder of the choir, who succeeded him at the age of two years, and whose monument we will now proceed to notice.

The whole memorial is of alabaster, but not of the very purest kind. The earliest instance of the use of this material for a monument is the effigy of John de Hanbury, at Hanbury in Staffordshire, said to be not later than 1240. This requires confirmation. The first alabaster monument of importance is the tomb and effigy of John of Eltham in Westminster Abbey, who died in 1334, and from this time onwards the material gradually deteriorated from spotless white to the veined and stained stones of which effigies and monuments were made in the Jacobean time, and, in short, until the material, on account of its utter unfitness for the purpose, was entirely given up for effigies at the advent of Nicholas Stone, who always used marble for his beautiful figures. There are two from his hand in Stoneleigh Church. Certainly the old men did the best they could with the material, and concealed its defects more and more completely by painting the figures to the life, as well as the tombs. Countless monuments show this practice. At the present day the strange appreciation of an unsightly material for its own sake, has brought about the re-use of alabaster, which has such a disquieting influence, and plays so large a part in modern restoration.

A few indentures of agreement for making monuments have come down to us, and they are valuable in more ways than one. They show that these memorials were no mere haphazard productions, but that both sculptors and executors laboured to produce the best likeness they could of the deceased, and no doubt the greater the man, so much the more was the care taken. They tell us where the sculptors, "kervers" or "marblers," worked; they give us the prices, and are full of curious informa-

tion concerning sculptural and architectural terms that would long ago have passed into oblivion but for these particular records.

Alabaster was worked in the middle ages, and later, at Hartshorne, Chellaston, Burton-on-Trent, Fauld and Tutbury, and an enormous number of monuments must have been produced, for we meet with them everywhere. It was used alike for kings and commoners; large numbers have been destroyed, and, as evidence of the favour in which it was held on the continent, we find English workmen taking over to Nantes the alabaster effigy of John, Duke of Brittany under a safe-conduct from Henry IV., and setting it up in Nantes Cathedral in 1408. It may be convenient to note the distinction between the true alabaster of the ancients, a carbonate of lime, and the gypceous English alabaster, a sulphate of lime. The former is hard, and the latter quite easily worked.

The monument of Thomas de Beauchamp consists of an altar tomb with panelled sides, containing thirty-six "weepers" standing in niches under simple canopies, or, as they were called, "hovels," a word used now in quite a different sense. The tomb sustains the effigies of Beauchamp and his wife Catherine. Earl Thomas is shown in a suit of armour, well known to us by the monuments and brasses of the last quarter of the XIV. and the first of the XV. centuries. That is to say, generally, he wears a bascinet, a camail, épaulières, brassarts, coudières, avant-bras, a jupon, a baudric, a mail hauberk, cuisses, jambes, and sollerets. These are the usual names by which the military equipments of the time were known, and on examining the harness more closely, we at once infer that it represents a special suit, no doubt copied from Beauchamp's own armour, and we gather from the shape of the bascinet that this form of headpiece had only lately grown out of those of the rounder type of an earlier period, it being necessary to bear in mind that armour, like architecture, never stood still, but, like the great science, was ever progressing, and in a state of transition from one style to another, the amount of change depending more or less upon the political and military events of the time. How complete the change was in the space of about a century may be more fully realized on

comparing the effigy of a De Montfort, who died in 1275, with that of a Grandison, who was living in 1340; or the effigy, now under consideration, of Thomas Beauchamp, who died in 1370, with that of "Brass Beauchamp," who "deceased full Christianly" in 1439, and with whom we will deal presently.[1]

Taken alone,—such was the accuracy with which sculptors copied actual armour,—the bascinet of Thomas de Beauchamp would, in the hands of an expert, date the figure within five years, and from it, and other details, we judge that the effigy was made in the Earl's lifetime, and just before his last expedition into France. Special points in the armour help us to this conclusion,—the demi-brassarts sprung on and not hinged as in later times, showing the fine quality of the metal, and strapped over the mail sleeves of the hauberk; the details of the baudric; the particular forms and small articulations of the elbow and knee pieces, and further evidences that need not be gone into now. It is, indeed, difficult, and unfair even to an archæological audience, to attempt to hold the interest on matters purely technical, or of small detail, with nothing to point to. There will fortunately be an opportunity to-morrow of seeing this accurate reflection of a fine suit, and it is the more desirable to study it because the rarity of actual armour of this time is perhaps not sufficiently recognized. Here and there we get an isolated bascinet, an imperfect camail, or a coute; but of complete suits of this period, in their integrity, no single example exists. The nearest approach we have to such a thing are those priceless relics at Canterbury, the shield, the sword sheath, the helm, the jupon, and the gauntlets of the Black Prince. It is very melancholy and humiliating to think that they have so long been the prey of dust, damp, rust, neglect, spiders, and decay, and we may again take the opportunity of intreating the authorities, before it is too late, to set up a proper glass case for their protection hard by the beautiful

[1] Mr. Hartshorne exhibited three full-sized drawings by himself of Richard Wellesbourne de Montfort, from his effigy at Hughenden, and one of a Grandison from his effigy in Hereford Cathedral. These were lent for the occasion by the obliging courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries. He also exhibited two full-sized drawings of "Brass Beauchamp."

monument with which these unique personal memorials are so inseparably connected.

With regard to the effigy of the lady, it offers nothing very remarkable in the way of costume. She is habited in a close-fitting kirtle with tight sleeves reaching half-way over the back of the hand, in the very usual fourteenth century way, and closely fastened to the elbows with Oriental profusion by a multitude of little buttons, which must have been a sad exasperating work to do up. This comfortless garment is laced up the front and cut low in the neck, and could have nothing at all to recommend save the plea of fashion, which was, of course, everything. Round the hips is a picturesque girdle buckled on the left side and studded with roses. Under the chin is worn a small wimple,—they were just now dying out,—and on the head we find one of the numerous variety of head-dresses of the fourteenth century, more singular than beautiful. No hair is shown, but a mass of small pleated work surrounds the face and is kept in form by a veil, or handkerchief, lightly passed over it, and of which the ends hang down. This head had a long course; it was warm and comfortable, and re-appeared, long after, in a slightly altered form in the caps of our own grandmothers.

The Earl has gallantly taken off his right gauntlet, and holds the lady's right hand. There are some other instances of this fashion in effigies, and it also occurs in brasses, all between 1370 and 1420. There is reason to believe that the monument is the work of Robert Sutton and Thomas Prentys, carvers of Chellaston, in Derbyshire, who made the monument of Ralph Greene at Lowick, in Northamptonshire, the agreement for which has been preserved for us in that rarest of printed books, "Halstead's Genealogies."

Concerning the array of thirty-six weepers round the tomb, they are all in civil costume, the ladies wearing heads like the paramount figure. They form a most valuable series, and perhaps no monument, save that at Earls Colne to Richard and Lancerona de Vere, with its twenty-four weepers, gives so much variety of lay costume. This latter monument seems also to be from the hand of the Chellaston artists, and several others may be identified.

Now, a few words as to the manner of the interment of Thomas Beauchamp and his wife. It was the custom in early times to wash and salt the dead body, to wrap it in an ox hide, which, in special cases was gilt, carry it on a bier, and lay it in a stone coffin. These were usually set level with the pavement of the church, a heavy lid laid thereon, and carved either with a cross or the effigy of the deceased. King John was so interred, but in his Royal robes, and on his head the Monk's cowl, the passport through Purgatory—

> "And they who to be sure of Paradise,
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."

And for further security against the Evil One, the coffin placed in Worcester Cathedral between the sainted bodies of Oswald and Wulstan, a wise precaution for the worst, if the ablest, of the Angevins.

Out of this pavement burial the altar tomb gradually grew, the stone coffin, by the same degrees, being superseded by those of lead, and of wood with angular-shaped or flat lids. The lower orders were buried without coffins, but enveloped in a shroud, drawn together and tied about the head and feet; and this practice, which necessitated the use of a bier to bear the carcass to the grave, continued until the time of Charles II., when the enactments in the 18th and 30th of his reign, for burial in woollen cloth, somewhat altered the mode of laying out, and brought in the use of wooden coffins for all classes. It must be remembered that the bodies of important persons were not commonly placed below in vaults until after the Civil Wars, and by the end of the fourteenth century the rude process of salting and wrapping in leather had necessarily developed into the important and complete art of embalming. The process now was to wash, bowell, anoint, and saturate the body with preservative balsams and aromatics. It was then closely wrapped in cere-cloths, "cered," hence the word cerements; habited in robes of state, "apparelled"—never in armour which was far too valuable to bury away; placed in a leaden coffin, "leaded," and finally "cofred," "chested" or coffined in wood; this outer case, at the particular time of which we are speaking, was usually

covered with velvet with a white cross on the lid in damask from end to end. This was then carried to the church with most picturesque and solemn funeral rites as may still be seen in their fullness in Italy, and placed beneath the great herse set up for the purpose, and of which we will speak more particularly later on. Here the coffin remained until the time arrived to place it in the tomb prepared for it.

The above is a general outline of what must have taken place at the death of Thomas de Beauchamp, and it would not be difficult to conjure up all the actors, the armour, the vestments, the costume, "the trappings and the suits of woe," fill in the details, and paint a picture of the whole scene.

Concerning the man himself, in his lifetime, he was distinguished amongst a crowd of men of distinction. He attended the king in his wars in Scotland and France, and did great service in 1340. He was created Earl Marshall of England, and made one of the marshals of the army in France, and, as a chief commander, he led the van under the Black Prince at Cressy. At Poictiers he fought so stoutly that, like a good workman, his hand was extremely galled by his sword and battle axe. He was one of the first of the Order of the Garter, constituted in 1344, or 1350, and occupied himself later on by warring against the infidels, that convenient safety valve for exuberant soldiers. His military ardour did not hinder him from the more enduring works of building and piety. The walls of Warwick Castle, which in Earl Mauduit's time had been demolished, he rebuilt, and fortified the gateways, and it must be to him that we owe the great range of vaulted sub-structures and the grand tower called Cæsar's. Finally, as we have already noticed, he founded the choir of St. Mary's by his will, dated Sept. 6, 1369, and made the town of Warwick toll-free. In his sixty-second year, he again took the field in France, and, old as he was for that age, he drove the French forward from Calais, wasted the district and relieved the English army then in dire straits. But the pestilence laid hold of him, and, dying in France Nov. 13, 1370, his body was brought hither and placed, as we have seen, in the midst of the choir which he had founded,

by the side of his countess, Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, who died a few weeks before him.

The upper end of the monument is a little darkened by the action of the fire of 1694, and it appears that when the church was re-built certain necessary repairs were made to the tomb, and the damage to three or four of the weepers made good in plaster. At the same time the alabaster sword was replaced by one of iron and not following the ancient line which is shown by the marks of the crutches, or supports for it. This was a fatal error, and, as we have it in Hudibras :—

> "Ay me! what perils do environ
> The man that meddles with cold iron."

How great exactly the mischief of the fire was to the monuments of the earls of Warwick we shall now never know, but the next one we have to deal with suffered to such an extent that only the brasses remain. These are fixed on the east wall of the nave, and a modern Latin inscription tells us that they were snatched from the sacrilegious flame and so set up in 1706.

The figures are of a kind and time so shortly removed from those of the effigies already described that the change in the armour and dress is not considerable. Moreover, they are so high up that their really important parts cannot well be seen. These are the examples of the "ouvrage poinconné," or pounced work, in which the Beauchamp cognizances and the diapered patterns are executed. The heraldic devices on the bronze effigy of Richard II. and his Queen in the Abbey are well known and beautiful instances of this most tedious and delicate work in fine dots or punctures; the examples at Warwick being the only others that have been noticed, we may conclude that both subjects are from the hand of the same artists, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmiths of London. The word pounced survives in "pounce box." The persons here commemorated are Thomas de Beauchamp, second son and heir of Thomas in the choir, and Margaret his wife. By his will dated November 28, 1406, she gave her body to be buried in the collegiate church at Warwick, and willed that at her burial there should be five tapers, containing five pounds of wax, burning about her corpse from the beginning of

service on the eve before her funeral, until the high mass of requiem on the morrow after; and at the same time there should be twenty torches held burning by twenty poor men about her herse, and which were afterwards to remain for the high altar and other altars of the church for the honour of God and according to ancient custom and right.

Earl Thomas succeeded his father at the age of twenty-four years, and in 1376 was made Governor of the Channel Isles, a much more important post four centuries ago than it might be at the present day. In 1379 he was chosen by Parliament to be governor of the King, Richard II., then a minor, as the best qualified for so high a charge. In this employment he seems to have had neither success or satisfaction. The King showed a turbulent spirit and a weakness for giddy favorites, who pushed him on to all sorts of extravagance and iniquity. He even entered into contrivances to put his governor to death. Upon this, Warwick and Gloucester took up arms, and the King having been curbed by the Parliament in 1387, he shortly after discharged some of his great officers and counsellors, the Earl of Warwick being one of them. Thus dismissed, he retired to his castle at Warwick and amused himself with building. It was at this time that the remarkable tower called after Guy arose, and both this and the body of the great church were finished in 1394, and the choir also completed by this Thomas de Beauchamp. But the king's resentment and jealousy continued, and by stratagem he obtained possession of the Earl's person. He threw himself upon the Parliament for justice, but was condemned to lose his head for having arrayed himself against his Sovereign. But his life was spared, his castle and inheritance taken from him, and himself banished to the Isle of Man for life. But he was soon removed to London, and entirely restored by Henry IV. He died April 8, 1401, and was buried, as we have seen, in the body of the great church which he finished. By his will, he left to his son Richard the sword and coat of mail of Guy, which he had received in 1369 as an heirloom from his father. This shows how ancient is the veneration for this—must it be said before an audience in Warwickshire—mythical personage!

We now come to a memorial that is, with the single exception of the chapel and tomb of Henry VII., the noblest monument in England; and though our business now is not with architecture but with tombs and effigies, we may not pass over the Beauchamp chapel in absolute silence, because it fortunately happens that the whole of the accounts for it have been preserved. Thus we have the agreement and charges for the windows, to be made of glass from beyond the seas, and no glass of English make. This is interesting as showing us in what low estimation English art in glass was held at the time. The agreement and charges for the desks and organ house; for the painting of the doom on the west wall; for the stone images about the east window; the charges for the stone-work of the chapel; for the tomb, and the pavement and steps about it; for the table plates; the herse; "the scripture of declaration;" the weepers; the scutcheons, and the effigy of Richard de Beauchamp.

From these records we gather more particularly that William Austin, citizen and founder, of London, covenanted to cast and make an image of a man armed, of pure latten, garnished with certain ornaments, namely, with sword and dagger, with a garter, with a helm and crest under his head, and at his feet a bear muzzled, and a griffin; all according to patterns, and all which to be brought to Warwick and laid on the tomb at the peril of the said Austin. It is important to notice that these items were made according to patterns, and there can be no doubt that the armour and accoutrements were copied from the earl's own suit and weapons. The herse and its details were made after a special pattern provided by the executors.

Then we have contracts with the goldsmith for whoning, polishing, and perfecting to the guilding the image of the man, and all the apparel thereto belonging, as well as the figures of the weepers and the escutcheons. Agreements for the gilding and burnishing of these particulars follow, showing what minute care was taken to have everything of the best possible make and finish, all the gold being provided by the executors, for they knew then, as we know now, that all is not gold that glitters.

The agreement for the tomb of Purbeck and the pave-

ment was made with a marbler of Corfe, with so many small housing with hovels over them, for the weepers which the lattener cast and the goldsmith finished. The total charge for the chapel and tomb amounted to nearly £2,500 of money of that day, the memorial having been begun in 1442 and carried through to its completion in 1465.

The agreement for casting the effigy was entered into a few years after Beauchamp's death, and we are justified in considering that we have here an accurate representation of the man and his armour. The marked character of the countenance and the furrowed brow so well accord with the life of extreme activity which he led that they can hardly be the imaginary creation of the lattener.

The effigy lies on the plates upon the table of the tomb. It represents a man fully armed with the hands in the position of earnest supplication, as seen in the *Orantes* in the catacombs at Rome, and which is retained by the priest in the most solemn part of the mass. The figure was drawn by Charles Alfred Stothard in 1813, and forms the subject of four beautiful etchings in his Monumental Effigies. Of it he writes as follows in a letter to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, Dec. 22, 1813 :—

"Your conjectures respecting Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, are right; it is indeed a great acquisition. I never saw armour so well made out on any monumental figure. Every Buckle, strap and hinge is attended to. The best idea I can give you of it is to say that it appears to be a suit of brass armour, having the Head, Hands and straps added in the same metal. What I think will much interest you in this figure is that the back of it is as much finished as the front. Having obtained leave of the Mayor of Warwick to turn the effigy round, I made a drawing in this view, which explains some things I never before understood, particularly straps and pieces of armour on the shoulders of Lord Hungerford at Salisbury."[1]

As to the armour of Richard de Beauchamp, it demands a much more careful study than can now be

[1] This interesting letter in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne, was exhibited to the meeting as a relic of an extremely talented man, whose melancholy death by an accident in the prime of life antiquaries will never cease to regret.

given, but attention should be particularly directed to the reinforced pauldrons, or shoulder guards, with the upper edge turned over and showing the origin of the great upright pass guards of later times; the placates, reinforcing the lower part of the breast and back plates, and forming a cuirass à emboitement; the tassets round the hips; the tuiles hanging from them in front, and the culets behind. The real suit from which this was copied was, in all probability, of Milanese make.

For examples of effigies showing the back armour the following may be instanced:—St. George at Prague; St. George at Dijon; Bernabo Visconti at Milan; the Scaligers, Mastino and Cansigniorio at Verona; Gatta Melata by Donatello, at Padua; Colleoni at Venice; and the armed men in Ucello's picture in the National Gallery. Round the verge is the "Scripture of Declaration," a very picturesque piece of old English, which is broken up by figures of the bear and the ragged staff, the one being here represented by a * , and the other by ‡. The inscription runs as follows:—

* Preieth deboutly for the Sowel whom god aſſoille of one of the mooſt worſhipful Knightes in his dayes | of monhode & conning ‡ Richard * Beauchamp ‡ late Eorl of Warrewik * lord Deſpenſer of * Bergabenny, & of mony other grete * lordſhips, whos body reſteth here under this tumbe in a fulfeire vont of Stone ſet on the bare rooch, thewhuch viſited with longe ſiknes in the | Caſtel of ‡ Roan therinne deceſſed ful criſtenly the laſt day of * April the yer of oure ‡ lord god A. M | CCCCxxxix, ‡ he being at that tyme * Lieutenant genral and goverher of the Roialme of Fraunce and of the Duchie of Normandie, by ſufficient ‡ Autorite of oure Sou'aigne lord the King * Harry the vj. thewhich body with grete deliberac'on and ful worſhipful condnite | * Bi See * And by * lond was broght to Warrewik the iiij day of ‡ October the yer abouefeide, and was | * leide with ful Solenne exequies in a feir cheſt made of Stone in this Chirche afore the weſt dore of this ‡ Chapel according to his laſt Wille * And ‡ Teſtament ‡ therin to reſte til this ‡ Chapel by him deviſed i' his lief were made. Al thewhuche Chapel founded ‡ | * On the Rooch, And alle the Membres therof his ‡ Executours dede fully make And Apparaille * | * By the Auctorite of his Seide laſt Wille And ‡ Teſtament And * therafter By the ‡ same Auctorite Cheydide * Trantlate ‡ ful * worſhipfully the ſeide Body into the vont abouefeide, Honured be god therfore * ‡ * ‡ *

This remarkable inscription may be compared with another, equally curious, and of the same date, on the

brass of Richard Quartremayns and his wife in Thame church:—

O certeyne dethe, that now hast overthrow
Richard Quartremayns Squyer and Sibil his wife, that lie here now full lowe,
That withe real princes of Counsel was true and wise famed,
To Richard Duke of York, and after with his Sone Kyng Edward the iiij^th named,
That founded in the Chirche of Thame a Chauntrie, vi pore men and a fraternite,
In the Worshipp of Seynt Christofere, to be relieved in perpetuyte.
They that of her alms for their Soulis a paternoster and ave devoutly woul sey,
Of holy fadurs is granted they pardon of dayes forty alwey.
Whiche Richard and Sibil oute of the worlde passid in the yere of oure Lord MCCCCLX

With regard to the herse, it is a simple framework or cradle of bronze gilt, and, unlike the usual herses of this time, was made as a permanent addition to the tomb, and, as the agreement states, "to beare a covering to be ordeyned." The covering was a rich pall, and we ascertain that when certain repairs were done to the monument in 1683, under the superintendence of Dugdale, a new velvet pall was provided to lie over the herse. The usual herse of the period of Beauchamp was a complete architectural composition, with tabernacles and images made and cast in wax, and ornamented with tapers, banners and pencelles.

Herses of this kind were only temporary affairs, and as special examples we may recall those set up in four different churches to receive the corpse of Anne of Bohemia on its way from Wandsworth to Westminster in 1394, and for which four and a-half tons of wax was used. As time went on these things lost their dignified architectural character and gradually became the mere gloomy structures of black cloth and candles which are represented in our own day by the senseless "lids" of black feathers, the ungainly Normandy horses, and the scarves, gloves and hat-bands of the wily undertaker,—"Wasteful and ridiculous excess," "in the first days of distracting grief"

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, son and heir of Thomas, was born in 1381, and had as his god-fathers King Richard II and Scroop, Archbishop of York. He

took part in 1402 in the suppression of the rebellion of Owen Glendowr, and fought at Shrewsbury against the Percies. At the age of twenty-three he first displayed the knightly character, with which throughout his life he was so strongly embued, and proclaimed jousts to all comers. In 1407 he proceeded to the Holy Land visiting many foreign courts on his way, showing extraordinary proficiency and prowess in the lists, both with lance, sword, and axe. At the coronation of Henry V he was constituted Lord High Steward, as the patent expresses it, "for his known wisdom, and indefatigable industry." In 1415 he was Captain of Calais, and held there a famous festival of arms; and in 1420 he was made Knight of the Garter and appointed guardian of the king's eldest son, which was confirmed by parliament at the king's demise in 1422.

On the death of the Duke of Bedford he was made Regent of France, and lieutenant-general in that realm, and in Normandy. He rebuilt the chapel at Guy's Cliff and founded a chantry there, and died at Rouen, April 30, 1439. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Viscount Lisle, from whom the Dudley Earls of Warwick are descended. His second wife was Isabel, daughter and heir of Thomas le Despencer, who survived him only three months, and is buried with her ancestors the De Clares and Despencers under a noble monument in the solemn interior of Tewkesbury Abbey.

There also lie his son and successor Henry, Earl and Duke of Warwick, who died in 1450; his daughter Ann, wife of Richard Nevill, the stout Earl of Warwick, the "King Maker," who succeeded in her right and was slain at Barnet in 1471; George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the murdered Earl of Warwick, 1477; and his wife Isabel, eldest daughter of the "King Maker." All these rest in nameless graves beneath the stately vaults of Tewkesbury.

With the barbarous beheading of the next successor, Edward Plantagenet, in 1499—his sister Margaret was overtaken by the same fate at the age of seventy in 1541—the title lay dormant until 1547. It was then revived in the person of John Dudley, created Duke of Northumberland in 1551, and whose blood, like that of his father Edmund, and his brother Guildford, was required and answered for him at the block in 1553.

Ambrose, his elder son was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Warwick, by a new creation, in 1557, and it is refreshing to turn from violence and carnage to his simple tomb.

Since the death of Richard de Beauchamp the old order of things has quite passed away. The Gothic is clean gone, and the new style presents us with a Renaissance altar tomb of considerable merit. The sides are divided by Doric pilasters and columns containing shields of arms with many quarterings, hung up alternately with red and blue ribbons, and with inscriptions below them. The ends contain shields with supporters, within rich arabesques. The effigy of the man on the top is a well proportioned and lordly figure, in the mantle of the Garter, and is a capital example of the armour of the period, which smacks, however, rather of the upholsterer than of the armourer. Here we have large tassets made to accommodate the bombasted trunk hose, and cuffs and frills indicative of the milliner—altogether not very terrifying. The sword-belt gives a good example of a carriage or hanger, and the hands are very lifelike, as they often were in monuments of this period.

Earl Ambrose was master of the Ordnance, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and Chief Butler of England. He married three times, but left no issue, and lies alone on his tomb. At his death, February 21, 1589, the title became extinct, and the lordships and lands which he had obtained by grant, part of the inheritance of the old Earls of Warwick, reverted to the crown.

The tomb of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, brother of Ambrose, is also in the Beauchamp Chapel, and consists of a gorgeous erection, in which most of the details of the five orders are represented, with more than the usual English Renaissance latitude. The monument with its meretricious decorations is in some respects a type of the man. Certainly the scrambling, wormy, red ribbons which are mixed up with ragged staves, roses, and Roman armour will hardly inspire an epic. Justice has lost her scales, and Fortitude her sword, and perhaps the happiest features of the whole are the sixteen pennons radiating fanwise round the black marble inscription. This has a very pretty effect ; precisely the same thing may be seen

in the fine monument of Sir George Fermor at Easton Neston, 1612. The whole is coloured in a high key and must have been insupportably garish when it was new. The altar tomb advances to the front and is ornamented with monstrous continuous and wavy ragged staves, roses, and heraldry.

The effigy of the man shows him in full armour like his brother. He wears the mantle of the Garter, and the collar of the Order of St. Michael, instituted by Louis XI in 1469. The Countess Lætitia wears a red mantle, lined ermine. The tomb is protected in front by very good iron railings, which have fortunately been allowed to remain. The Earl of Leicester died in 1588, she in 1634.

Hard by the tomb is a painted wooden tablet in Lettice's honour, with a quaint jingle by Gervas Clifton, not quite "a maker and model of melodious verse." From this we gather that she is buried in the vault beneath, and we are invited, with poetical licence, to gently stir the mould in order to see—

"that face, that hand,
Which once was fairest in the land."

Such painted inscriptions were quite usual in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but have seldom been preserved. There is a fine example over the south door of Boston Church, which runs as follows:—

"My corps with Kings & Monarchs Sleeps In Bedd;
My Soule With Sight of Christ In Heaven Is Fedd:
This Lumpe, That Lampe, Shall Meete & Shine More Bright,
Then Phœbus, When Hee Streames His Clearest Light."
Omnes Sic Ibant, sic Imus, Ibitis, Ibunt,
(Rich: Smith, obiit
(ano Salvtis 1626 [1]

In the dexter base corner is a death's head with a heart in the mouth.

The following is a late example of these wooden memorials from Elmstead church, near Colchester:—

Here Lieth the boody of William Martin
The Sunn of Thomas Martin who died the
30 day of January in the yeare of our Lord 1664
as carefull Mothers do To Sleep laye ther babes
that would to long the wantons playe.
So to prevent my youth aproaches harme[s],
Nature my nourse had me to bead betime[s].[2]

[1] Communicated by the Rev. G. B. Blenkin.

[2] Communicated by the Rev. W. W. Godden.

Before leaving the chapel, we may glance at the charming monument and effigy, "the little, little grave," of "the noble Impe Robert of Dudley," son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, who was "taken from this transitory unto the everlasting life, in his tender age," in 1584, and is "here laid up among his noble ancestors." It is a tasteful memorial of a child with his shield of sixteen quarterings above his effigy.

In the Chapter House, which it almost fills, is the impressive monument, in alabaster and black marble or "touch," of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. This is quite free from the oddities and vulgarities with which many of the monuments of this time are overlaid. It was set up by Greville in his lifetime, and he was a man of so much taste that it is difficult to understand how he could have thrust so good a tomb into so cramped a space. Perhaps, having lived alone all his life, he desired not to be intruded upon afterwards. The form of the sarcophagus is admirable, and it may be supposed to contain the body.

Probably, with the exception of the inscription on the tomb of the great Edward, who lies wrapped in cere-cloth and cloth of gold of crimson at Westminster, there is no such pithy inscription in England as that on the verge of Greville's tomb:—

"Fulke Greville. Servant to Queen Elizabeth. Councillor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney. *Trophæum peccati.*" Horace Walpole, in his usual airy way, says, in *Royal and Noble Authors*, "No man seems to me so astonishing an object of temporary admiration as the celebrated friend of Lord Brooke, the famous Sir Philip Sidney."

The funeral was conducted with the greatest solemnity under the personal direction of Segar *Garter*, *Richmond*, and *Somerset*, and no doubt it is to the Heralds' College that we are indebted for the funeral achievements, which were carried in the procession, and which now lie upon the tomb. These were regulated by a scale of prices and according to the rank of the dead man.

In 1601 Queen Elizabeth granted the park of Wedgnock, and in 1605 James I. granted the Castle of Warwick,—both of which had reverted to the crown on the death of

Ambrose, Earl of Warwick,—to Sir Fulke Greville, who repaired and adorned the venerable pile at a great expense, making it, as Dugdale says, "not only a place of great strength, but of extraordinary delight, and the most princely seat within the midland part of the realm." Happily for antiquaries and persons of taste, this is as true at the present day as it was two hundred years ago, and more so.

To go into any account of the life of Sir Fulke Greville would involve so large a digression into the teeming history of the time of Elizabeth that we will only mention the sad end of this accomplished man. He was mortally stabbed by an ungrateful villain, his man-servant, in his chamber at Brooke House, Holborn, and, after languishing in agony for twenty-nine days, yielded up his spirit Sept. 30th, 1628.

Thus must conclude what is no more than a slight sketch. But, in the making of it, so many thoughts have crowded in upon the mind, that the difficulty would have been large indeed if we had not decided in the outset to take a mere gloomy funereal view in treating of the great men of the House of Warwick, who have left such enduring marks upon history, and such deep "footprints in the sands of time."