Post Reformation Monuments, mainly in Derbyshire.

By Mrs. Arundell Esdaile.

IN spite of my title, it is impossible to treat of Post-Reformation Monuments without first saying something of Pre-Reformation monuments, in order to stress the changes that took place in the course of time. In the first place, a very suitable motto for Pre-Reformation sculpture might be, *Ubi marmor, ibi sculptor,* for in early days the sculptor lived by the source of his material, and this was one of the notable differences between Pre- and Post-Reformation sculpture; others will appear later.

In dealing with Derbyshire monuments therefore, I must begin with Chellaston, to whose famous alabaster quarries the earliest allusion appears to be in John of Gaunt's Register for 1374 (no. 1,394, June 13th)[1] in which the Duke instructed his agent at Tutbury to make ready for the construction of the tomb of the late Duchess for Old St. Paul's. Two very special blocks of alabaster were to be selected for her effigy and his, and if the Duke's own quarries could not supply the material, the agent was to go to Chellaston, as the Duke had heard that Tutbury could produce one suitable block only, and two were required. The alabaster was to be selected by the bearer of the letter, evidently on behalf of the sculptor;

[1] Quoted in Mr. Chatwin's first article on Warwickshire Effigies, *Birmingham Archaeol. Trans.*, xlvii, 1924, p. 37.

and we know from other sources that the alabaster used was in fact very fine and white.

Some forty years later, in 1418, we get the superb tomb of Ralph Greene and his wife at Lowick, Northants, the agreement for which is in existence. I quote the translated and abbreviated form given by Crossley[2] from the original in Halstead's *Genealogies* (1685): "Feb. 4, 1418-19. An indenture between Katharine who was the wife of Ralph Greene, Esquire, William Oldwyncle, and William Marshall, clerks, on the one part, and Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton, of Chellaston, in the County of Derby" "Kervers" on the other part, witnessing that the said carvers have covenanted and agreed to make and carve well, honestly, and profitably, a tomb of stone called alabaster, good fine and pure, containing in length nine feet and in breadth four feet, two inches, upon which tomb shall be made two images of alabaster, the one of an esquire armed at all points, containing in length seven feet, with a helm under his head and a bear at his feet; and the other image shall be the counterfeit of a lady lying in her open surcoat, with two angels holding a pillow under her head, with two little dogs at her feet; the one of the said images holding the other by the hand, with two tabernacles called gablettes at their heads, which tomb shall contain at the sides with the ledgerment three feet on which sides shall be images of angels holding shields according to the device of the said Katharine, William and William. And also the said carvers shall make an arch above all the said tomb in length and breadth, with pendants and knots and a crest of faytes and other work pertaining to such a tomb, the which images, tomb and arch shall be proportioned, gilded, painted and arrayed with colours well and sufficiently in the pure, honest and profitable manner that pertains to such work. And

[2] Crossley, F. H., *English Church Monuments*, p. 30.

all the said works shall be presently done and performed in all points in manner aforesaid and set up and raised by the said Thomas and Robert in the parish church of Lowick . . . at the costs and peril of the said Thomas and Robert between now and the feast of Easter in the year of grace 1420. For doing and performing which works the sculptors were to receive £40 sterling in four portions, the last to be paid when everything was finished according to the contract.''

The tomb is one of the finest in England, but before we turn to other works which may be assigned to these Derbyshire artists, we must note that there is no question of the effigies being portraits; the image of an esquire, the counterfeit of a lady, are all that is asked for, and that though the lady herself commissioned the work. Herein lies one profound difference between mediaeval and nearly all later sepulchral art; I shall return to the point later.

Mr. Chatwin thinks that the effigy of Sir John de Birmingham at Birmingham may be an earlier work, and that of Isabel Cockayne at Polesworth, Warwick, a later work by the same Chellaston artists; I venture to say that while this is highly probable, the Sir Thomas Arderne (d. 1392) and his wife at Elford is most certainly by our Chellaston carvers, Sutton and Prentys, since not only is the style of the effigies the same, but there is a device common to both so odd that two different workshops could hardly have hit on it. The lady's right arm, both at Lowick and Elford, is laid across her body, her right hand clasped by her husband's; but instead of taking it from above, as would be easy and natural, he clutches it from below, displaying all his fingers round her hand. I repeat, we have only to go to Elford to see a certain second work by our Derbyshire sculptors.

To Chellaston too may be ascribed the effigies of Sir John Cokayne and his son Edmund which lie, bereft

of their tomb chests, in Ashbourne church; and the very beautiful other Sir John and his wife Joan, their neighbours, since it has what Mr. Philip Chetwin calls " the characteristic Chellaston type " of Angel[3] on the tomb chest. Mr. Crossley ascribes the two Sir Ralph Fitzherberts at Norbury (d. 1473, 1483)[4] to a later Chellaston workshop, and the Lady Jane Cokayne (1404) to a Burton alabasterer.

The next works with which we have to deal, are both, fortunately, documented, and are in Derbyshire churches, though in fact carved at Burton. These are the Montgomery monument of 1494 at Cubley, and the Foljambe monument at Chesterfield,[5] and it is the agreement for the latter which stipulates that the carvers, Henry Harpur and William Moorecock of Burton, are " to make a tomb for Henry Foljambe in St. Mary's Quire, in the church of All Hallows in Chesterfield, and to make it as good as is the tomb of Sir Nicholas Montgomery ";[6] the Babington tomb at Ashover is certainly by the same hands: weepers and canopies proclaim it;[7] and it is an early and interesting example of the treatment of the hair best described by the German term for it in classical art, the *Melonen-frisur*. Some fifty years later we see this style in an early work which can be safely attributed to Richard and Gabriel Roiley of Burton, at Stoke Dry, Rutland; the weepers here are distinctive and the work not too bad; the *dégringolade* of the Roiley workshop may be profitably studied in the Harpur tomb at

[3] *Birmingham Archaeol. Trans.*, xlvii, p. 89; for illus. of the Cokayne monuments see *D.A.J.* vol. 1, N.S.; *Ibid.* vol. viii, N.S.; Planché, J. R., *Monuments of the Cockayne Family in Ashbourne Church*, in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, vol. vii, 1852.—Ed.

[4] Illus. in *D.A.J.*, vol. ii, p. 50; Cox, *Derbysh. Chruches*, vo. iii, p. xii.

[5] Illus. in *D.A.J.*, vol. xliii, p. 60.—Ed.

[6] *Miscell. Geneal et Topogr.* I, p. 354; cf. *Birmingham Archaeol. Trans.*, vol. xlviii, p. 136, where I find that Mr. Philip Chetwin independently notes the likeness of the Ashover tomb to these works.

[7] For a valuable summary of their work cf. *Birm. Archaeol. Trans.* l.c. pp. 139-41.

Swarkestone and the Sir Humfrey Bradbourne (1581)[8] at Ashbourne. We know a good deal about the Roileys —far more than we know of many far better sculptors indeed—since two agreements of theirs exist, those for the Shirley tombs at Bredon, Leics. and for the Fermor tomb at Somerton, Oxon.; their chinless effigies, ill-proportioned but amusing weepers, tomb-chests with clumsy misunderstood pilasters and old-fashioned Gothic lettering, agree in every point with the Derbyshire tombs here identified as theirs. There was no attempt at portraiture in the Roileys' work; the old phrases, "a portraiture of a gentleman," of "a faire gentlewoman in the habiliments proper thereto" occur in their agreements in strong contrast to the London agreements of the period, with clauses specifying "the portraiture of the Countess as she was in life," or effigies "as like as may be to the life," to quote but two examples. Of this change to realism something must be said directly; but first it seems proper to touch for a moment on Derbyshire brasses.

Brasses are a typically English form of memorial, but less abundant in this county and in Staffordshire, because of the local industry of the incised slab such as the Master John Law (1458) in Derby Cathedral.[9] There are fine brasses at Ashbourne, Kedleston and elsewhere, but that of Thomas Cokayne (1537) belongs to an age when sculptors were beginning to take on the work done in mediaeval days by the latteners; by the end of the sixteenth century, and all through the seventeenth, it was the regular thing for a sculptor to supply brasses.[10]

[8] Illus. in *D.A.J.*, vol. x, N.S.—Ed.

[9] Illus. in Cox and Hope, *All Saints*, pl. ix.—Ed.

[10] See my paper in the Monumental Brass Society's *Transactions* for 1937, for a long series of sculptors from 1590 onwards who did such brasses. This Thomas Cokayne, however, is not in a good state, and the Purbeck marble in which the brasses are set sadly needs beeswaxing all over if the surface is not to disintegrate entirely. Similarly the fine brass of Frances Cockayne (1538) needs rubbing up with paraffin and some resetting.

We are very near the Reformation here, and that event produced legislation which had a profound effect on the history of English sculpture. First of all, images of saints and angels were forbidden, and this led first to the great extension of figures of children on the base instead, next to the use of the classical imagery of the dead, the urn, the sarcophagus, the lighted lamp, always with carvings of flowers and fruit, the universal emblems of the Resurrection, and an increased use of such images of death as skulls, crossbones and hour-glasses.

Now for the question of portraits. There is documentary evidence to prove that, from the twelfth century onwards, great men, kings, queens, bishops, mitred abbots and great nobles had state funerals, in which an effigy of the dead was set on a great hearse with a waxen face taken from a death mask, this effigy being subsequently used by the sculptor of the permanent monument; the survivor represented on such a tomb *might* also be a portrait; that of Henry III for instance was ordered to be made *ad similitudinem regis*, though the tomb was in fact erected for his Queen. In ordinary cases, however, an order was sent to a carver for an effigy of a knight, a lady or a priest, particulars of the heraldry being used for purposes of identification. In such cases—and they are 99 per cent. of our mediaeval monuments—portraiture was not only impossible but unthought-of; I have quoted more than one agreement to prove the point. But the sixteenth century saw a settled England: Wolsey was a notable patron of the arts, and when his pupil Henry VIII scrapped the design by English artists for his father's tomb in favour of Torrigiani's, when he employed Holbein as his painter, lesser folk as well as greater began to demand realism in their monuments and pictures. When Henry VIII quarrelled with the Pope, Italian sculptors were dispossessed by Flemish, and a stream of Protestant

refugees from the Netherlands came over to England, as they continued to do under Elizabeth, and introduced a new style of decoration, strapwork, "antiques" or arabesques, inlays of coloured marbles and the like, which were combined with classical settings into an ornate and decorative whole.

All were prepared to make actual portraits, and after the Reformation there was a great demand for monuments. Not only were the squires and mercantile classes rising into wealth, but the despoiling of the Church led to an enormous porportion of the soil of England changing hands. The New Men either ordered their own monuments, or approved the designs for them, in their own lifetime, as many wills prove, or were commemorated by their descendants; Sir Edward Mansell of Morgan, Glamorganshire, frankly says on the tomb which he erected to his grandfather while erecting his own: "This monument is here made for his remembrance, because he was the fyrst purchaser of this seat."

Sculptors, English and Flemish, began to settle in London; the best men no longer lived by the quarries, but preferred to be in close touch with their patrons, who could thus get at them without the necessity of having "plots" and "patterns" sent by the waggon or by special messenger, the whole business being carried on by correspondence only; consequently, when sculptors' yards were in London, their materials had to come to London, and though black marble was imported from Belgium, and white marble became popular under Charles I, up to 1660 alabaster and touch, or black Derbyshire marble, were still the favourite materials; and were even then only gradually ousted by foreign marbles. Only the old-fashioned carvers stayed at the quarries; naturally enough, the work there produced became poorer; at Burton, for example, noble works of art were being turned out in the 1540's and after; by

the 1580's the Roileys of Burton were producing the sort of stuff you have seen at Swarkestone and Ashbourne, and a yet more singular example of this provincial conservatism is at Fenny Bentley, a large altar tomb to the Beresford of Agincourt (who lived till 1473)[11] was erected by his descendants somewhere about 1580, as the borders of " antiques " (i.e. arabesques) in the pure Anglo-Flemish tradition, show; yet Sir Thomas Beresford and Agnes his wife, and their living children are all, without exception, shown in shrouds in the pure 15th century tradition, the main figures as effigies—mere sacks to all appearance—the others as small incised figures on the base; the Beresford Bear is twice incised; the "antiques" used as a border, skulls, cross-bones, helmets &c. connected by ribbons, are also incised.

It is astonishing to realize that this archaic work is, as its ornaments show, roughly contemporary with that of the great Countess of Shrewsbury, Bess of Hardwick, in Derby Cathedral,[12] entirely in the fashionable Anglo-Flemish style, and a very fine work of its class; let us look for a moment at the practice of the great nobles of the age before discussing the question of authorship. Court circles—Russells, Cecils and so forth—employed the Master Mason or the Master Carver to the Crown, as their sovereigns did: Cornelius Cure did the Russell monuments at Chenies and the tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots, Maximilian Colt, those of Queen Elizabeth and of Lord Salisbury, the latter at Hatfield, as well as much work in the house itself; so at a later date Nicholas Stone and Edward and Joshua Marshall both built and carved for Charles I and II and their Courts in the true mason tradition. Whom was the Countess likely to employ on her buildings and on the monument she erected in her lifetime? Hardly a Crown official, since Elizabeth had

[11] Illus. in *Reliquary*, vol. 6, 3rd series, p. 94.—Ed.
[12] Illus. in Cox and Hope, *All Saints*, pl. V, and p. 90.—Ed.

sent her to the Tower. Moreover, the greatest builder of her age must have had an architect always at her service to build " most sumptuous buildings and most stately tombes,"[13] like that Walter Hancock or Hancox of Shropshire who died in 1599; who should that architect be but " Mr. Robert Smithson, Gent., Architector Surveyor unto the most worthy House of Wollaton, with divers others of great account; he lived in the Fayth of Christ 70 years, and then departed this life, ye xvth of October, Anno Dom. 1614," as his epitaph in Wollaton Church has it. Smithson seems to have been a pupil or assistant of Thorpe's; all his work shows a London training, and he was in touch, as we shall see, with London masters of the day. Now the Countess bequeathed Wollaton, Nottinghamshire and her two Derbyshire houses, to her favourite son, to the House of Wollaton, in fact; Smithson was an old man—he only outlived his patroness six years—and the son would hardly have taken him on after the Countess's death without good reason. If we regard Smithson as the Countess's architect, his position at Wollaton as an old man becomes intelligible; and if he were her architect, he would certainly be responsible for her monument. That he was responsible I hope to prove.

The collector Lord Byron, as Horace Walpole tells us, bought a great collection of Smithson family drawings from a descendant of Robert Smithson's; of recent years this collection was bought *en bloc* by the R.I.B.A.; and except for a drawing by Thomas Ashby, sculptor of Fulke Greville's monument at Warwick which has on it a note addressed to his friend Mr. Smithson—John Smithson, son of Robert, probably—the collection appears to be homogeneous. One of the largest drawings, touched up with colour and endorsed " Tombe at Derbye," is that of the Countess's monument. How did it get into the

[13] Registers of Much Wenlock, *Shropshire Archaeol. Soc. Trans.*, 1887, p. 188.

Smithson Collection if a Smithson—from the date Robert—did not design it? Sculptors, as we know from their wills, were careful to bequeathe their designs to their descendants, and the existence of this drawing in the Smithson collection is enough to prove its authorship.[14]

We have seen that the Countess's favourite son employed Smithson as architect and surveyor; we know that Smithson's son and grandson worked for the same family; we may I think, take it as proved that Robert Smithson worked in the same capacity for the Countess, and from contemporary practice we know that her "Architector and Surveyor" would, as a matter of course, design her monument.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the mediaeval practice of designing and carving applied to all members of the Masons' Company down to 1720, and to many of them much later. All Wren's church builders executed monuments; we have their buildings accounts and their signatures on monuments to prove it. Long after the great Countess died, this unity of function went on; the fatal divorce between design and execution began, so far as I can discover, with James Gibbs.

Our next artist is of a much lower order than Smithson. When "Mr. Franciscus Williamson, Civis Peterburghensis," died in 1598, his family waited some years to commemorate him, and then erected a large and elaborate tomb in Barnack church near Peterborough, giving the commission to an artist who happily signs his work in full, "Tomas Greenway of Darby 1612."[15] His work is marked by a free use of "antiques" of Anglo-Flemish origin, much provincialised, by a curious incompetence in the treatment of fingers, and by an odd backward tilt of male figures. I feel quite sure that other works by Greenway must be discoverable; if he had a reputation as far

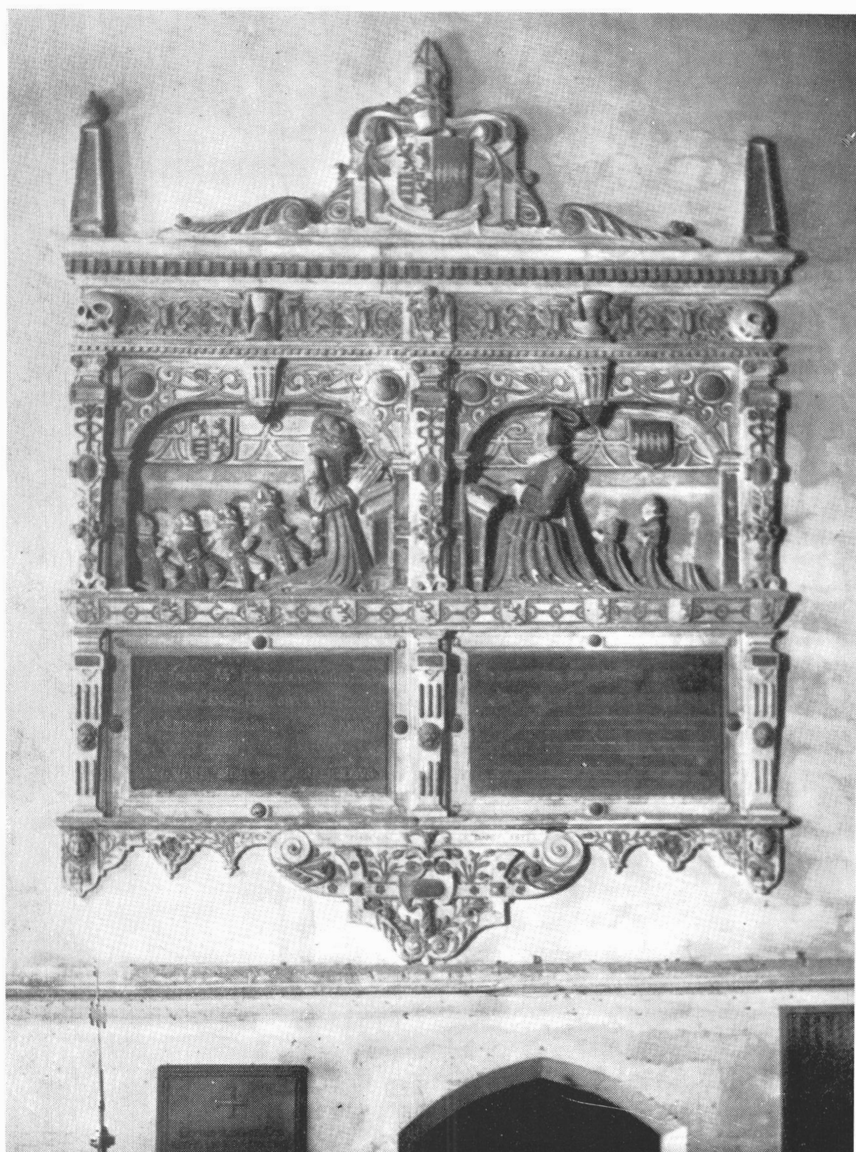
[14] Reproduced Walpole Soc. xxi, 1932-3, pl. xix; on p. 15 it is described as a typical example of "a 'plot' for a London type of tomb."

[15] See Plate II.

away as Peterborough, his native town and county must surely contain examples of his art; but for the War, I had planned a tour of the county to look for them, but Derbyshire archaeologists may know the style; it is tempting to identify the Sir Thomas Cockayne (1618)[16] at Ashbourne as his, since the male figures have the same tilt, but it seems almost too good; possibly it is by his master, whoever he was, since it is apparently local work, or perhaps he had himself improved.

At Edensor is a noble monument to two Cavendish brothers, the later dying in 1616, which can safely be ascribed to that Maximilian Colt already mentioned. It represents the decay of earthly power in the spirit of Shirley's famous poem "The glories of our birth and state Are shadows, not substantial things." The emblems of power, robes, arms, coronets are there, but the holders of these have diminished to the bare bones which the artist shows. The massive structure, the carving and the conception are pure Colt, that Maximilian who came over as a Hugenot refugee in 1595 and was still working here more than half a century later: his nephew John refers to him as, "my late uncle" in a petition of 1660, and he was certainly alive when his wife died in 1645. He was successful early, since in 1604 he was patronised by James I, who commissioned from him the tombs of Queen Elizabeth, and of his own two little daughters in Westminster Abbey, and by the Cecils; Lord Salisbury's tomb at Hatfield tells the same tale as the Edensor tomb; the Earl lies in full robes, holding his white staff; below him lies his skeleton, in the same posture. It may give you some confidence in this identification of the Edensor tomb, if I mention that, when Colt's own Book of Drawings for 1619 turned up at the College of Arms in 1934, the only three monuments there given which I had seen were already ascribed in my notebooks to Maximilian Colt. A good example of his work is the fine tomb of the 6th Earl of Rutland at Bottesford.

[16] Illus. in *D.A.J.*, vol. viii, N.S.—Ed.



MONUMENT TO FRANCIS WILLIAMSON (d. 1598)
at Barnack, near Peterborough, signed, "Tomas Greenway, of Darby, 1612."

Facing p. 94.

It is something of a descent to turn to the poor early work attributed to Edward Marshall (1598-1675) in the crypt of Derby Cathedral, especially as it is now dismembered, dismal and dirty; in Murray's Handbook to Derbyshire, even in the 1892 edition, I regret to say, it is described as " a sumptuous but heavy monument to William, Earl of Devonshire (1628), and Christian his wife;[17] they are represented by ghastly white effigies standing upright under a marble dome, while busts of their four children occupy the angles." It is most unfortunate that exigencies of space led to the breaking up of the work in the 70's, but at least statues and busts might be removed from the dusty and damaging neighbourhood of the hot pipes which encircle them.

Marshall was to do very much finer work than this, if it is his. He was in fact a great sculptor; the shrouded effigy appears elsewhere both in his work, that of his son Joshua and that of his pupil Thomas Burman to whom I am rather inclined to attribute the Derby tomb; a particularly grand signed work by Marshall is the Elizabeth Culpeper at Hollingbourne, Kent, but it is only one of many.

We now come to what must be called the greatest work of art I shall deal with, the astounding monument erected at Blore, Staffordshire,[18] by Elizabeth, wife first of the Hon. Henry Howard (d. 1616), then of the famous Loyal Duke of Newcastle, whose second wife was the equally famous and eccentric Duchess Margaret.

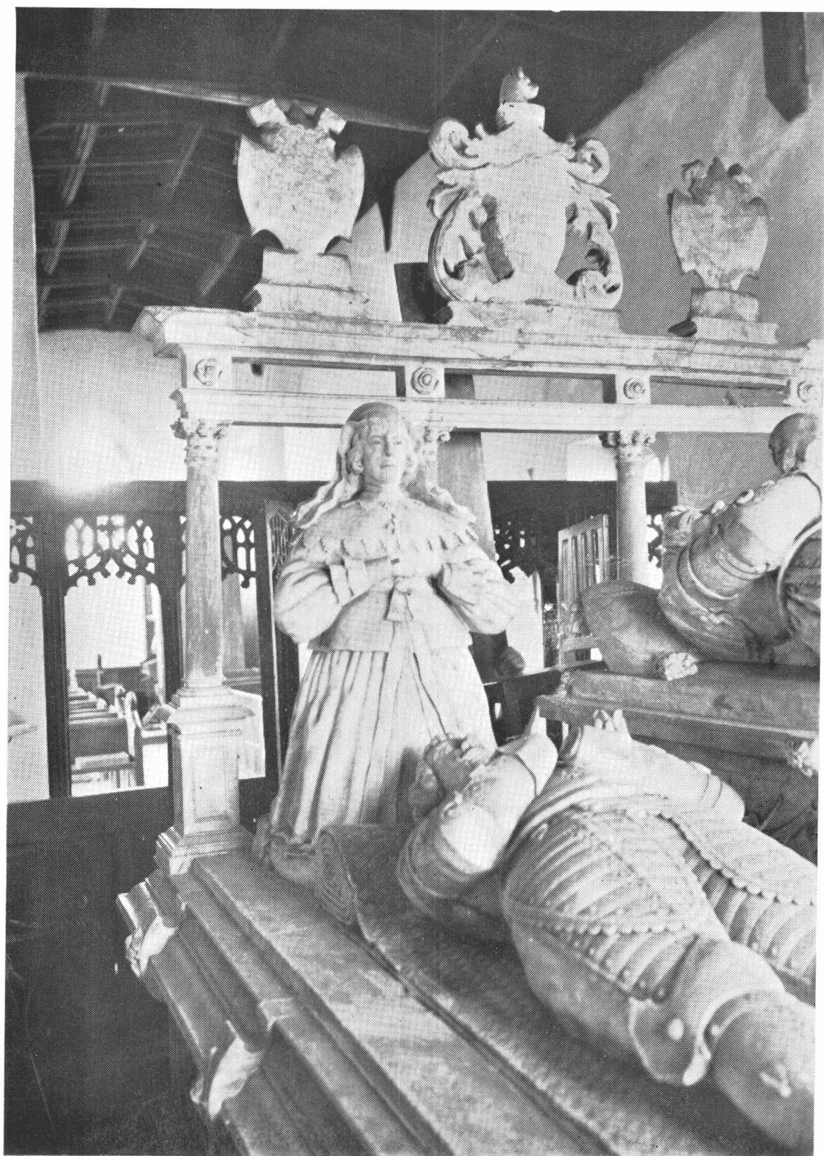
Two great screens at head and foot consist of four columns supporting a cornice on top of which, most unarchitecturally, is another cornice (in one place dropping) bearing three great shields of arms supported solely on four blocks of alabaster with long open spaces between them; on top of this second cornice are three shields of arms; the centre one on the W. end of the screen

[17] Illus. in Cox and Hope, *All Saints*, pl. VIII.—Ed.
[18] See Plate III.

being enriched with mantling. On the vast altar tomb lie three effigies, and two kneeling figures, Henry Howard with his widow weeping at his head, William Basset her father in the centre, and on his left her mother Dame Judith, at whose head Elizabeth, represented here as a young girl, kneels, again in tears. At the feet of Howard come Judith Basset and children's coffins. This astonishing work was obviously commissioned after the death of Howard in 1616 and before Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke in 1618; is the latter event the reason for the absence of an inscription? It is clear that the future Duchess was responsible for the work and that she piously desired to commemorate both husband and parents. The skill with which she is represented as a young girl in the one effigy, as a widow, older, yet unmistakably the same, in the other is amazing. The delicate bands of "antiques," hour-glasses, helmets, drums, pipes, skull and crossbones round the edges of the raised structure on which Sir William Basset lies are a pleasant feature of the work.

The author of this astonishing work must most certainly be Epiphanius Evesham. You will not find Evesham in the Dictionaries, since his memory was long preserved only by two allusions, one in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1818,[19] stating that he was a pupil of Richard Stevens; the other, quoted from Vertue, in Walpole's *Anecdotes* to the affect that the monument of Dr. Owen, Dean of St. Paul's, who died in 1618, was by "that most exquisite master Epiphanius Evesham." From Henry Holland's account of St. Paul's in 1633 (no other authority notes this) I find that this lost work was a brass, which illustrates my remark on the connection of sculpture with brasses. In 1932 Mr. Ralph Griffin, V.P.S.A., found his signature on a Kentish monument and wrote to ask me if it meant anything to me. Luckily it did; I had in

[19] II, p. 598. The first account of Evesham appeared in the *Times* on January 30, 1932.



HOWARD MONUMENT AT BLORE, STAFFORDSHIRE,
by Epiphanius Evesham.

Facing p. 96.

fact collected a series of monuments as those of an unknown but very fine sculptor, and Evesham is now a well known artist, fully deserving of his title " exquisite Master." He was, as the pedigree in the College of Arms and the 1593 Visitation of Herefordshire show, the fourteenth and youngest child of a Herefordshire squire; the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* had access to a document not yet traced stating that he was a pupil of Richard Stevens of Southwark (d. 1592), and a Southwark training could indeed be postulated from his signed works; but he was the most devout, delicate and intense sculptor of his age, and the most original; he can represent emotion without absurdity, and his detail is exquisite; but he is often quite unstructural, and clearly had no training whatsoever in masonry or the art of building; in this he differs profoundly from his contemporaries; probably his gifts with the chisel were so great that his master did not waste them on the merely structural aspect of his commissions; as a boy of sixteen Evesham had engraved a sundial, still in existence, for a cousin up in the Black Mountains between Wales and Hereford, and he may well have been entrusted with brasses as well as sculpture for his master.

I have so far failed to trace his death or his will, but he was working in the 1640's, and must have been an old man when he died. I have found his work from Lincolnshire to Kent, from Somerset to Essex, and it was a delight of no mean order to find him represented at Blore by a work so magnificent.

The monument has no analogies—but this applies to nearly all his work: it betrays the architectural weakness of his documented works, a weakness found in him alone among the sculptors of his age; and it has the imagination which sets " that most exquisite master," in a class apart. The arrangement of the recumbent effigies, which are typical of his work, is based on that of his master Richard

Stevens' famous Sussex tomb at Boreham, Essex; the arabesques are of their time, but executed as he only executed them; and I have no hesitation in saying that the work is a masterpiece, if not actually the finest, as it is the most original alabaster in England.

The Civil War broke up the trade in monuments, as was only natural when the Puritan party regarded them as Popish, so much so that Hobbes has to devote a chapter in the *Leviathan* to show that they are not breaches of the Second Commandment but what he calls—" A civil honouring of the person." After the Restoration, a new and dramatic style of monument appeared in the works of John Bushnell and C. G. Cibber, but the members of the Masons' Company, i.e. the great bulk of our sculptors—did not employ it. Not that they did not vary the old motifs. The shrouded figure, for instance, which we have seen standing, was familiar earlier in the century, especially rising in ecstasy to meet the Resurrection; but both William Stanton of Holborn (1639-1715) and his son Edward (1681-1734) used it kneeling, as it was very occasionally used in 15th century brasses.

Some dozen years ago, Mr. Osbert Sitwell sent me a print of an ancestral monument at Morley, Derbyshire, as to the authorship of which he consulted me. I could not give it at the time, but it is now absolutely certain that it is from the studio of William Stanton of Holborn, who, in the 1670's, had an assistant with one marked peculiarity—that he made his heads too large for his bodies. Two of the three kneeling figures on the Harrison monument at Hurst near Reading signed by Stanton, who certainly carved the far better third figure, have this peculiarity, and the kneeling figure with hands clasped as if to greet the Resurrection is, as I have said, a notable feature of more than one documented work of his son Edward. This Derbyshire monument is peculiar in that it preserves a feature of Elizabethan monuments,

the spandrel filled with a floral design; it is the latest work I have seen to do so; otherwise the setting, with curved pediment broken by a coat of arms, is typical of its day.

There is a good mural monument at Fenny Bentley to a Beresford who died in 1681, signed by a local sculptor, Hall of Derby,[20] who is otherwise unknown to me; but may be a precursor of the firm who, I am informed, did much mason work in the late 18th and early 19th centuries; it is of the type usual in London work of the period, with volutes and a gadroon edge, which look as if he had had a London training; probably more ambitious works by him exist, and I commend his work as worthy of investigation.

As we must now turn to Tissington and the later Fitzherbert monuments, I cannot resist mentioning one most interesting, and I believe unique, feature of that church, the altar rails. These are pure Burton work, and must date from 1570-80; they have the typical Burton turned pillars such as we saw on the Bradbourne tomb at Ashbourne by the Roileys, and they may even be from the Roiley studio.

The two pairs of kneeling figures in the church, John and Francis Fitzherbert (d. 1619, 1642) and their wives, is of the local school of alabasterers, and is interesting but not first-rate. The next work that calls for notice is that to William Fitzherbert (1679), with cherub heads and palm branches above a gadroon edge, set against a plain background surmounted by an urn. These ingredients, executed in this particular style, occur again and again in documented works by a master, whose wood-

[20] Joseph Hall carried on the spar and marble works at the corner of St. Helen's St. and King Street, Derby, early in the 19th century, which were originally founded by Messrs. Brown & Son. In Derby Cathedral there are seven monuments signed by him. Caroline Bingham (d. 1846); John Bingham (d. 1819); Rev. Wm. Borrow (d. 1852); Thomas Darby (d. 1849); Henry Haden (d. 1831); John Hope (d. 1819); Edward Ward (d. 1827); Samuel Weatherhead (d. 1847).—Ed.

carving is incomparable but whose marble monuments are frequently dull and poor and too often pretentious. It was not quite Grinling Gibbons' fault: commissions by the score were thrust on him,[21] and he employed a staff of excellent Flemish sculptors, Quellin, Dievot and Laurens to assist him on his more important works—indeed, we know for a fact that they not only cast, but modelled and carved, the statues he designed; but he had no gift with marble, more's the pity.

A far more interesting work in this church, here first identified, needs some preface. One of the most satisfactory things in the scanty literature of our later monuments is the fact that the antiquary John le Neve, meditating a Book of Epitaphs to be entitled *Monumenta Anglicana* to be published in several volumes, thought it worth while about 1715 to consult the leading sculptors of his day on the subject of the epitaphs they had themselves cut. Only five replied, namely, Francis Bird of Lincoln's Inn fields, Thomas Green of Camberwell, James Hardy of Piccadilly, William Palmer of Gray's Inn Lane, and Edward Stanton of Holborn. The result is a quite curious commentary on the badly kept office books of the period. Bird sent in nine epitaphs, Green five, Hardy eleven, Palmer ten, and Edward Stanton about a hundred and fifty, including some of his father's. In a number of cases all the sculptors forgot the church where the epitaph, i.e. the monument in question, was, sometimes even the county; and among these is one from Mr. F. Bird—(vol. III, 1717, p. 205) Le Neve is scrupulous in acknowledging his authorities—simply headed "In . . . " in marked contrast with its successor " In Kensington Church, Middlesex," though oddly enough its predecessor, from Mr. Stanton, is equally blank, though the

[21] Since this lecture was delivered. I have been working on Gibbons, and there are, no fewer than nineteen *documented* monuments by him, a quite astonishing number; only two of these are signed.

Stanton epitaphs, in proportion to their numbers, are much the best documented by their carvers.

The epitaph cut by Bird runs as follows:

Underneath lies interr'd the Body of
Mrs. MARTHA FITZHERBERT
who was born in November 1667
And died at *London* December the 16th
Anno Domini 1699.

Not for her sake, but for our own we greive,
Ours is the loss, since we without her live.
Who saw her Virtues and their value knew,
And gladly would the same bright path pursue,
Must ever mourn the too untimely fate
Of that fair pattern they should imitate.

This Monumental Marble and her Bust
Now rais'd in Honour of her sacred dust
Succeeding Time that by slow degrees will waste,
But her lov'd Memory alwaies last;
As they decay, that shall fresh lustre gain,
And undefac'd an endless date maintain."

Until June, 1939, my notes on Bird's work merely stated that this monument evidently had a bust: when visiting Tissington I stupidly forgot the le Neve reference, though noting on the spot that the work was in a very fine style, and was obviously by a great London master; it was only afterwards that I recalled the missing Bird monument, and realised that he was the master in question. It consists of a bust set on a voluted base, with palm branches, and a lozenge of arms set in front. The treatment of the cornice is purely architectural, as one would expect from a colleague of Wren's, and the treatment of curtain tables and cherub head below is excellent, recalling in composition the rather similar bust of Sidney,

Lord Godolphin in Westminster Abbey, one of the very few eighteenth century works praised by nineteenth century authors.

The great interest of our Derbyshire monument is that it is the only female portrait by Bird yet identified,[22] if we exclude the statues of Queen Anne for St. Paul's Churchyard (now replaced by an abominable "copy") and Minehead; the head is finely carved, the drapery most effective, and it is great gain to have another work by Bird thus satisfactorily identified, and to be able to set a female bust beside such noble masculine portraits as the Lord Godolphin or the splendid Sir Orlando Gee at Isleworth. May I remind you here that Bird's unpopularity is largely due to the statement of Horace Walpole that he was responsible for the Sir Cloudesley Shovell in Westminster Abbey, which Addison abused as strongly as the Gothic-ridden Dean Stanley himself; now that Grinling Gibbons' receipt for £322. 10s. to the Treasury has turned up, the guilt rests at last in the right quarters.

Twenty-nine years younger than Bird, John Michael Rysbrack (1696-1770), Fleming as he was, has always been looked on as an English sculptor, since he came over in 1720, and spent the whole of a long and honourable life in this country. Rarely poor, often very good, and occasionally brilliant, he was the most prolific of our sculptors between 1730 and 1770; there is a good example of his elaborate works at Kedleston, and another, designed by Adam and curiously *petite* by contrast, drawings for which are in the Soane Museum; his Countess of Bessborough (1760) in Derby Cathedral will be familiar to you all. To the Neo-Hellenists Banks and Flaxman, Rysbrack was, like Roubiliac, anathema, but both are now coming to their own, though the only example of the brilliant Lyonese who came to England about 1727

[22] See Plate IV.

and died prematurely early in 1762 is the early and interesting, but not very typical, Chambers monument in Derby Cathedral, erected in 1737, with its busts and urns and architectural setting.

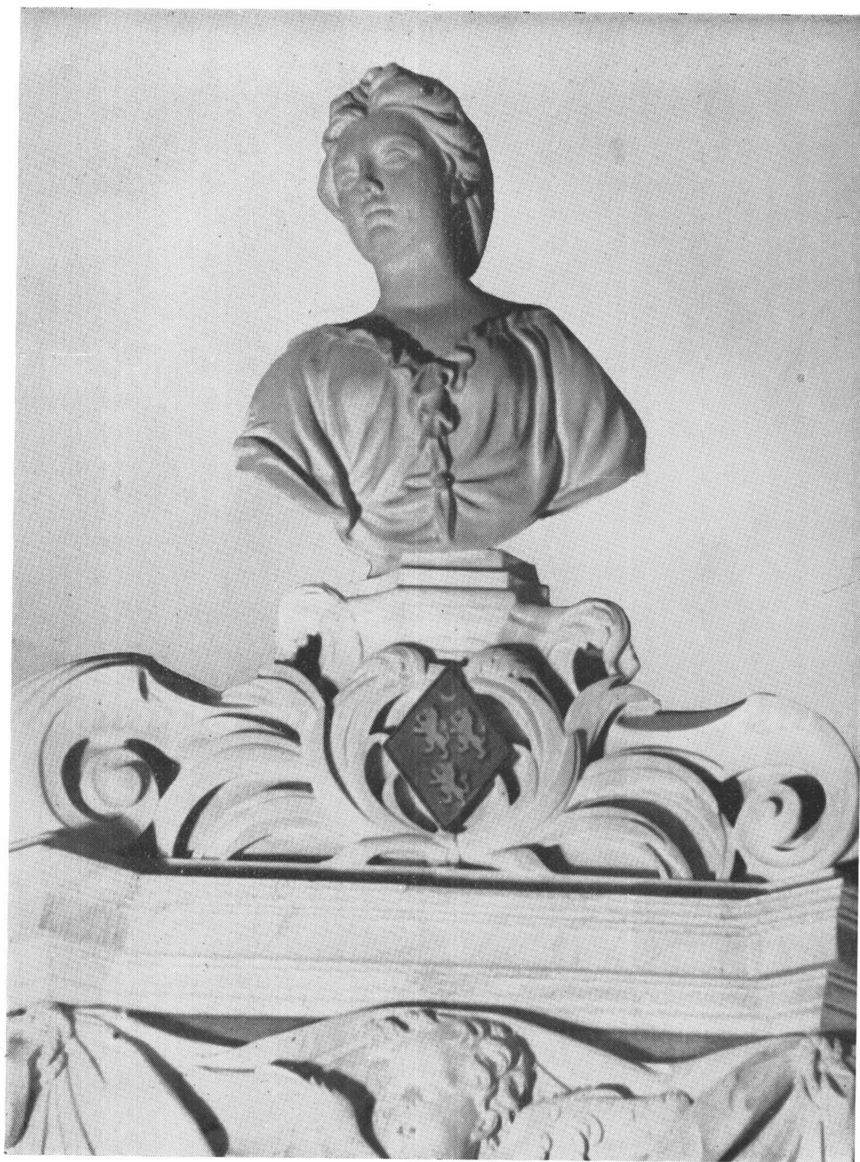
Banks, of course, is the author of perhaps the most popular of Derbyshire monuments, the little Penelope Boothby by Ashbourne,[23] at sight of which Queen Charlotte burst into tears; but on revisiting it I confess I have found if somehow unsatisfying, though it is far better than Banks' full-sized terracotta model in the Soane Museum, which is frankly bad.

At Derby[24] may be seen a work by that strange link between the 18th and 19th centuries, Joseph Nollekens, R.A. (1737-1823). Nollekens was a pupil of Rysbrack's friendly rival and fellow-countryman Peter Scheemaker, who lived to be nearly a century old and trained most of the best known English sculptors from 1830-1870; even Banks, who detested his style, was glad to work in his studio as a young man, and Nollekens carried his pyramids and allegorical figures into the 19th century. Dr. Johnson knew him, called him Nolly, and said that he could chop out a bust with any man; in the Cathedral we have both a bust and an allegorical figure, the latter the least meretricious female of the kind in all his works, with one exception, that of the Howard monument at Corby. But Nollekens did but little of his own carving, leaving that to his miserably paid assistants; and consequently his work rarely has the freshness of an original work of art. Busts and statues so treated are in fact nothing but mechanised copies of the real original, i.e. the sculptor's own model; and Nollekens was one of the earliest sculptors to adopt the lamentable practice. I am quite sure that the modern unpopularity of the bust is partly due to his mechanical Pitts and Foxes, which were turned out by the score, though Chantrey, on whom

[23] Illus. in Sadler, E. A., *Guide to Ashbourne Church*, 1934.—Ed.

[24] Mon. to the Earl of Bessborough in the Cathedral.—Ed.

PLATE IV.



MONUMENT TO MARTHA FITZHERBERT (d. 1599)
at Tissington, by Francis Bird.

Facing p. 102.

I barely touch to-day, is even more to blame in that his subjects were less picturesquely dressed and draped, and usually even more dully carved.

But in Derbyshire above all I must not end with Nollekens, or with the dramatic Pike Watts Monument at Ilam which is certainly grandiose and is probably Chantrey's most dramatic work; but Chantrey,[25] who was brought up as a wood carver, was the worst sinner in our annals in the matter of not carving his own marbles; he designed, and modelled, and left the execution to his underlings, so that I decline to end this brief account of certain English Monuments with his work, even though in this case it is supremely spectacular. Happily it is possible to end with something infinitely more appropriate to Derbyshire, the two latest works I have met with in the direct line of descent from the old Derbyshire alabasterers, before the modern boom in the material, now frequently unpleasant because so often over-polished. These works are two sepulchral urns at Ashbourne, Roman in shape and Greek in ornament, to Sir Brooke Boothby and his sister (1789, 1805). The reliefs, amphorae, and on the lady's an ivy wreath, are delicately done, and under Sir Brooke's is a stone base adorned with rosette and swag of drapery bearing the signature "Josh. Evans fecit." I understand from my kind friend Dr. Sadler that one Evans, a carver, was residing at Derby early in the 19th century, and with his works this study of some Derbyshire monuments, nearly all of them in the same local material, must finally close.

[25] In the cathedral the monument to Richard Bateman (d. 1821), and that in St. Werburgh's to Mrs. Whingates (d. 1828), are by Sir Francis Chantrey.—Ed.