

ERRATUM.

Page 39. Lettering to Illustration }
" 53. " " " } *read 1450 not 1490.*

FEMALE HEAD-DRESSES EXEMPLIFIED BY SURREY BRASSES.

BY THE LATE J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

THE second Rule of the Surrey Archæological Society states that "The objects of this Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the ancient Arts and Monuments of the County." What it is proposed to include by this is then set forth, and among the objects is the consideration of "Costume," a study which may be greatly helped by investigating the effigies on the monumental brasses still happily left us in the county of Surrey. With this object in view, the following remarks on Female Head-dresses are offered to our members, and are accompanied by reduced fac-similes from the brass figures themselves.

Although Surrey possesses the oldest brass known to exist in England, that of Sir John d'Abernoun, at Stoke d'Abernon, the earliest brass figure of a lady now remaining in this country, is to be found in the adjacent county of Sussex, being the memorial of Margarite de Camoys. It is about 1310 in date, and is considered by some as of foreign workmanship.

Only one fourteenth century brass of a lady remains in Surrey, though there are several male effigies of that period. The solitary example is that of a lady of the family of Cobbam of Sterborough, about 1370 in date. It has a large full-length figure, but unfortunately for

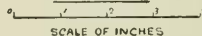
our purpose, the head appears to be a restoration, though probably a correct one, and exhibits the fashionable *nebulée* head-dress of the period; one in which the hair was wholly or in part gathered up into cauls or close caps, whilst occasionally, as in this example, the ends of the tresses are allowed to fall down the back. Engravings of this brass are given in the second volume of our *Collections* (p. 127) and in Haines' *Manual* (Vol. I, p. clxix).

Of the fifteenth century Surrey possesses several interesting examples of brasses of ladies. Dated 1414, there are at Beddington the small effigies of Philippa Carew and of her six sisters, whilst at Horley we have the fine, though mutilated, canopied brass of a lady



A LADY, c. 1420

HORLEY.



circa 1420, which supplies our first pictorial illustration of female head-dresses. In it we have an example of the *crespine* head attire, so termed from the cauls on

either side of the face, and within which the hair was entirely concealed. Here the crespines are of large size, and covered with a veil, which shows a curious variation from the manner in which it was usually worn, it being in this case gathered up behind, and not allowed, as in most examples, to fall down over the shoulders. Apparently the veil is crimped at the edges, as appears to have been the usual custom, and will be noticed as a feature in the coiffures of the fifteenth century and of the first half of the sixteenth. In the third volume of our *Collections* (p. 86) there is an engraving of the brass of Alice de Uvedaile, *circa* 1430, at Snoring, Norfolk, which exhibits a good example of the crespine head-dress, where the cauls are apparently formed of platted work, and as in early instances stand out square from the head.

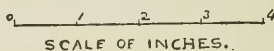
At Beddington lies the fine brass of Nicholas Carew and Isabella his wife. It is dated 1432, and the head attire of the lady introduces us to an early approach to the well-known and curious horned head-dress, in which the side cauls were more or less raised above the head of the wearer. The ladies at Horley and Beddington just mentioned wear quite plain cauls; but in many cases they show elaborately-worked ornamentation, generally partaking of a reticulated or net-work character, of which we have an instance on the brass of Joan, wife of Robert Skerne, dated 1437, at Kingston-upon-Thames, and of this an engraving is given in the eighth volume of our *Collections*. These richly-ornamented head-dresses appear to have been confined to ladies of rank, and in the last instance Joan Skerne is reported to have been a daughter of the notorious Alice Perrers, the mistress of Edward III; whilst the most extravagant example of horned head-dress to be met with in England occurs on the stone effigy of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, dated 1439, at Arundel, Sussex. This fashion is said to have been developed earlier in France than in our own country, and carried there to a much greater excess. In order to meet the requirements of these extensive articles of dress, the coronets of noble ladies were enlarged, as

may be seen in the last-named example and in many French ones. Pearls were often introduced at the intersections of the net-work of the caul, or formed borders to them, and these jewels were extensively used in dress



ISABELLA GAREW, 1432.

BEDDINGTON.



and vestments during the middle ages, which are often described as being "perled." The cauls, moreover, were frequently puffed out with false hair, or tow, a custom not entirely unknown in recent times, for about the

middle of the last century ladies wore flat bands of hair over pads or "frizees," as they were termed.

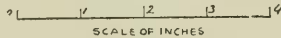
The illustration from the brass of Elizabeth, wife of John Arderne, *circa* 1450, at Leigh, is introduced here to show the great resemblance exist-

ing between examples of nearly the same date. Thus the head-dresses on the figures of Isabella Carew and of Elizabeth Arderne have the folds of the veils almost identical in form, with the same cross-hatched shading, and the crimping is shown in precisely the same manner; moreover, a large number of brasses in different parts of England might be taken for duplicates of either of these examples.



ELIZABETH ARDERNE, ca. 1450.

LEIGH.



SCALE OF INCHES

The horned head-dress, as an extravagance in costume, was much censured by the clergy, both in our own country and abroad; it also formed a fruitful subject for the caricaturist, as may be noticed on two of the miserere seats in Ludlow Church, Shropshire. One shows a hideous old hag crowned by an exaggerated horned head-dress, and the other exhibits the doom of a wicked ale-wife, who is being carried to hell by a demon, and retaining no costume save her coiffure. In like manner, in the Parable of the Virgins, some illuminations show the foolish ones conspicuous by their horned head attire.

Sometimes the horns assumed a crescent shape, and the head-dress was called a lunar one. No example of this remains on a Surrey brass, but it appears on the one commemorating a Lady Bardolff, at Heveringham, Norfolk, dated 1447.

The figure of Margaret, wife of John Ballard, 1464, at Merstham, and that of Alice Grafton, at Nutfield, of about the same date, present us with a coiffure which can hardly be termed horned, but consists of the usual cauls and veil, and was probably that worn by country dames and women of the middle classes.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century a new fashion arose in the shape of a head-dress termed "the butterfly," in which the hair was no longer confined in side cauls, but, as was once the fashion in the nineteenth century, strained violently off the forehead, whilst in mediæval days it was confined in a bonnet of more or less richness, over which were stretched wings, or lappets, of fine gauze, supported on a framework of brass or gilded wires. This new form of head attire



KATH HERTCOMBE. 1488
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

soon became a favourite with ladies of rank, and is seen in a portrait of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV, and in one of Anne, Queen of Richard III, which appears in the *Warwick Roll* of John Rouse. There are two examples of this head-dress on Surrey brasses; the earliest is perhaps that of Katharine, wife of John Herteombe, Gent., dated 1488, at

Kingston-upon-Thames. Here the bonnet is perfectly plain and the wings of small extent. The other instance is seen on the brass of Margaret, wife of Nicholas Gaynesford, *circa* 1490, at Carshalton. The

bonnet is beautifully enriched with a network diaper, and the wings are of large size. The lady who is thus attired was attached to the courts of Edward IV and Henry VII, and her husband held the position of esquire of the body to the latter monarch. A good example of this kind of head-dress is furnished by the brass of Margery, wife of Philip Bosard, 1490, at Ditchingham, Norfolk. This brass is engraved in the tenth volume of our *Collections* (p. 284). On brasses the coiffure looks cumbersome and heavy, but in the portraits above mentioned it appears a light and airy structure, the gauze covering being of transparent texture. In order to display this fashion on brasses, the effigies of ladies are turned sideways, and to correspond with this attitude those of their husbands also; a fashion which endured long after that of the butterfly head-dress had passed away.

It may be observed here that the fashions in female head-dresses frequently overlapped each other, especially during the latter part of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth.

Of the steeple head attire which is so frequently seen in illuminations of the close of the fifteenth century, we possess no instance amongst Surrey brasses, if any remain elsewhere. It was of French origin, and consisted in a steeple-shaped caul containing the hair, and from the apex of this descended a lengthy gauze veil, or rather streamer, which frequently reached to the ground. A good example of this fashion is seen in the portrait of Charlotte of Savoy, second wife of Louis XI of France, and engraved on Plate XVI of Seré's *Moyen Age*. Knight observes that a variety of it still (1839) exists in Normandy under the title of *cauchoise*, or head-dress of the *Pays de Caux*.¹

Hoods were worn at nearly all periods, and we find that in the will of Joan, Lady Cobham of Sterborough, dated 1369, there is a bequest to one of her companion maidens, Katharine Stocket, of her best corset "cum

¹ *Pictorial History of England*, Vol. II, p. 245.

meliori caputio furrurato," or, her best furred hood, and to the same lady, and the two "damsels" of the testatrix, she left all the attire for her head, "by day or night."¹ These hoods were generally black, as we see in a letter of Margaret Paston, of Norfolk, *circa* 1452, who in it requests of her absent husband to "byc a 3erd (yard) of brode clothe of blac for an hood for me of xliiii^d or iii^s a 3erd;"² and in 1492 Margaret Odeham of Bury, Suffolk, bequeathed to six poor women "VI blak dobyll hoodys," that is six lined hoods; we also hear of green, red, russet, and scarlet ones.

At the end of the fifteenth century appeared the pedimental or kennel-shaped head-dress, and this continued in vogue until, in the middle of the sixteenth, it merged into the well-known Marie Stuart or Paris hood fashion of coiffure. In Surrey we have many examples of the kennel head-dress, some of which show it perfectly plain and others richly adorned. In this



ELIZABETH SCOTT. 1532.

formerly at CAMBERWELL.



JOAN WARDE 1542.

BLETCHINGLEY.

SCALE OF INCHES.

kind of head attire the bonnet of the horned and butterfly types was retained, and sometimes covered with a

¹ *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. I, p. 173.

² *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, Vol. I, p. 83.

pendent veil. Separate from the bonnet and enclosing the face were large broad lappets, two or more in number. These assumed a gabled or angular form over the forehead, and hence the name of kennel or pedimental, bestowed on this piece of head furniture. The bonnet was usually of black velvet, and is mentioned in some wills, as for instance in that of Isabel Fleming, whose first husband was John Leigh of Addington. It is dated 28th of August, 1543, and by it she leaves to her daughter Anne Hatcliffe her "best bonnett of velvett," and a "blacke frontlett of velvett," and to Fraunces Merlonde her "oulde velvett Bonnet with the frontlet on hit." The bonnet seems occasionally to have assumed a peaked form, as may be noticed on the brass of Margaret, wife of Thomas Genyn, 1508, at Compton; and at other times it resembled a modern jockey's cap, and was composed of gores ending in an ornamental boss or stud, examples of which occur on the brasses of Sicili Roleston, 1482, at Swarkstone, Derbyshire, and of Elizabeth Clere, 1488, at Stokesby, Norfolk. By a law of 1541, the wives of those who had not provided a horse or gelding for the king were forbidden to wear a bonnet of velvet with any habiliment, paste, or edge of gold, pearl, or stone. The hair was still entirely hidden, and covered by a caul or cap, having the edges crimped as seen on the brasses of Lady Howard, 1535, at Lambeth, and that of Alys, wife of Nicholas Saunder, 1553, at Charlwood. The cross hatching of the pendants on several of the illustrations here given shows that colour was freely introduced in the more costly forms of the kennel coiffure, as on the brass of Lady Jane Iwarby, 1519, at Ewell. Such coloured frontlets were often named in wills, as in that of the Margaret Paston before alluded to, and which is dated 1504. In it she bequeaths to her daughter Margaret Browne her "fruntelet of purpill velvet," and also her "fruntelet of crymson velvet."¹ The edges of both bonnet and frontlet were often piped

¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, Vol. III, p. 470.

with gold cord, and occasionally the ends of the lappets were fringed, as indicated on the brass of a lady, *circa* 1510, at Warlingham, Suffolk.



LADY JANE IWARBY. 1510.

EWELL.



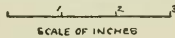
MARGERY TREGSTIN. 1521.

EWELL.



MARGARET GENYN (?) 1508.

COMPTON.



SCALE OF INCHES

About 1540 the front lappets were sometimes shortened, or were doubled up and fastened by a button, as we see



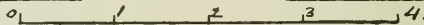
ELIZ. FROMOUND. 1542.

CHEAM.



ALYS SAUNDER. 1553.

CHARLWOOD.



SCALE OF INCHES.

in the head-dress worn by Elizabeth Fromound on the brass at Cheam, dated 1542. At other times these

pendants were folded over the head, as on an effigy at Aston, Warwickshire. Instances occur, also, showing that jewels were suspended to the frontlet, as on a brass, 1551 in date, at Frenze, Norfolk, and on a wooden effigy of about the same date at Goudhurst, Kent.

A beautiful example of a rich pedimental head-dress is furnished by the now mural brass of Lady Katharine Howard, 1535, at St. Mary's, Lambeth, whilst in the same edifice there was another excellent instance on the brass, now lost, of Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, 1545, and interesting from the fact that over the kennel frontlet was raised a structure which formed a support to the coronet of the duchess. An engraving of this figure is given in the ninth volume of our *Collections*, p. 399. A similar coroneted kennel head-dress occurs on the



brass of Elizabeth, Viscountess Beaumont, dated 1537, at Wivenhoe, Essex. A rich pedimental head-dress appears on the brass of Isabel, wife of John Leigh, 1544, at Addington, and the portraits which have come down to us of the wives of Henry VIII, and of other ladies of the period, show many variations in this curious form of head-dress; and it may be remarked here, that the ornamentation of numerous fifteenth and early sixteenth century head-dresses show a great predilection for patterns, all more or less of a reticulated or network design, which was common also on church embroidery.

The figure of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Heron, 1544, at Croydon, exhibits the next fashion in head-gear—the



ELIZABETH HERON, 1544.

LADY DOROTHE TAYLARE, 1577.

GROYDON.

EWELL.

SCALE OF INCHES

Marie Stuart, or Paris hood. It is the earliest example that I know of on a brass; but this coiffure had been seen in England long before, and as early as 1515, when King Henry VIII and his Queen kept Christmas at Greenwich, on which occasion a pageant was acted before them on Twelfth Day, and therein appeared six ladies, all in crimson satin and plunket embroidered with gold and pearls, and with French hoods on their heads.¹ With the Mary Stuart head-dress the hair of the wearers reappeared, as may be noticed under the hood worn by Elizabeth Heron.

About 1570 the Stuart head-gear became much modified, and the cap or caul is thrown further back on the head, allowing the hair to be still more seen, as on the figure of Lady Dorothe Taylare, 1577, at Ewell, and on that of Seuce Draper, of the same date, formerly at Camberwell, also on the effigy of Elizabeth Notte, at Thames Ditton. In these examples the tresses appear to be drawn back over a pad or

¹ Hall, quo. Strut's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 161.

roll, a treatment somewhat similar to that in fashion during part of the eighteenth century. The veil at the back of the head, so long in vogue, was still retained, and continued to be so far into the seventeenth century, when sometimes, as in the fifteenth, it reached the ground. The peculiar manner in which the ends of the caul are turned inwards over the ears is very marked on the brasses above mentioned.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century hats are frequently to be seen on the female effigies on brasses, and appear worn



SEUCE DRAPER. 1577.
formerly at CAMBERWELL.
 0 1 2 3
 SCALE OF INCHES.

over a cap into which the hair was tucked, and there are two good examples of this fashion in Surrey. The first is at Weybridge, where we find the three wives of Thomas Inwood, 1586, wearing hats with turned up brims; the second is at Walton-on-Thames, at which place the figure of Susau, wife of John Selwyn, 1587, is seen in a hat in all respects like a modern "bowler" or "billycock," with a perfectly plain band round it. This band appears to have been originally a scarf of silk,



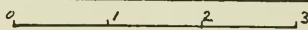
ELIZABETH NOTTE, 1587.
THAMES DITTON.
 0 1 2 3
 SCALE OF INCHES.

and an ornamental band appears on some brasses, as on that of Cecily Page at Bray, Berkshire, dated 1610.

Hats more or less like the above continued long in fashion, and were considered a sign of Puritan proclivities in the fair wearers. It is recorded that at Yarmouth in 1633 an ordinance which had formerly been made, enjoining all the aldermen's wives to wear velvet hats only, was repealed.¹



SUSAN SELWYN. 1587.
WALTON-ON-THAMES.



SCALE OF INCHES

There are several brasses in Surrey of the first quarter of the seventeenth century in which a large hood or calash is worn over the padded hair, falling down on the shoulders and behind the back and extending nearly to the ground. It appears on the figure of Alice, wife of Maurice Abbot,

1606, at Holy Trinity, Guildford, also on the effigies of Mary, wife of Richard Hatton, 1616, at Long Ditton, and on that of Margaret, wife of Richard Wyatt, 1619, at their almshouses at Godalming. This calash is usually quite plain, but the monumental effigy of Lady Mary Uvedaile, *circa* 1615, at Wickham, Hampshire (of which there is an engraving in our third volume), shows the hood ornamented with a large knot of ribbons over the wearer's forehead.

Another form of hood is seen on some brasses, and appears on the figure of Margaret Wyatt, on the tomb of her husband and herself at Isleworth. It consists of a hood gathered in at the neck, and then ending in a cover for the shoulders.

The head-dresses of married ladies having now been described, a few words will be devoted to the head

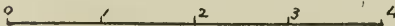
¹ Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, Vol. XI, p. 397.

attire of widows, who, in the middle ages, generally wore a peculiar costume which continued in vogue during nearly three centuries with hardly any change or



MARY HATTON, 1616.

LONG DITTON.



SCALE OF INCHES.

modification. It consisted in a throat covering called the barbe, which is generally shown stiffly pleated, and covered the shoulders; round the face was a

whimpe, and over this a veil covering the forehead, and falling on the shoulders. A mantle formed an indispensable part of the dress, but varied in its materials, accessories, and adornments. In



JANE ADDERLEY.

Lingfield Church we have a sculptured effigy of a widow, Lady Anne Cobham, the second wife of Sir Reginald Cobham, who died in 1446. She wears the full costume then considered appropriate to the state of widowhood. The veil is a double one, and the mantle charged with the arms of her own family, namely, those of Bardolf.¹ At Stoke d'Abernon we have a brass, dated 1464, showing the figure of a widow, Ann Norbury, and at Peperharrow another with that of Jane Adderley, dated 1487. Both wear the

above-described costume, which was commonly, if not invariably, assumed by elderly widows, many of whom, on the deaths of their husbands, took a vow of perpetual celibacy in the presence of a bishop, and were duly invested with a plain mantle and a ring. Such widows were termed "vowesses," and an office for their consecration occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. Spenser alludes to such a widow in his *Fuerie Queene* as—

"——— A mother grave and hore,
Whose onely joy was to relieve the needes
Of wretched soules and helpe the helplesse pore."

Instances of such vowesses connected with Surrey will be found in an article by Mr. F. Baigent, in the third volume of our *Collections*, on "Thomas Burgh and Isabella his Wife," &c.; and although there are no examples recorded on the brass inscriptions of this county, in Norfolk there are two with figures of the ladies who had bound themselves by this vow not to contract a second marriage.

¹ See *S. A. C.*, Vol. II, p. 150, where this brass is engraved.

Although widows generally clothed themselves in a sober costume, there remain brasses which show them in fashionable dress; one of these remains in the church at Frenze, Norfolk, where the brass of Jane Blenhasset, dated 1521, bears her portraiture, in all the glories of a coloured kennel head-dress and a superbly-worked golden girdle.

Before bringing this paper to a close, the head-dresses of mediæval girlhood and maidenhood remain to be described, and as regards both young girls and unmarried ladies, it appears that as a rule they wore no other head attire than a simple fillet to confine their tresses, as we see on the brass of a lady, *circa* 1450, at Lingfield, whilst



KATHARINE STOKET, *ca.* 1420. A MAIDEN LADY, *ca.* 1450

LINGFIELD
 0 1 2 3
 SCALE OF INCHES

the memorial of another maiden, *circa* 1470, at Bletchingley, has no coiffure whatever. In each may be noted the luxuriant crop of hair, a feature which is generally prominent in mediæval representations of maidens. The simple fillet worn by the lady at Lingfield is seen on a brass a hundred years older at Sherborne, Hampshire, and as late as 1508 on a Surrey example at Barnes, where the daughters of John Wylde, who are stated to have "dyed virgyns," are so represented.



A MAIDEN LADY, *c.* 1470.
BLETCHINGLEY.
SCALE OF INCHES.

In the middle ages the custom of wearing the hair unconcealed was usually the privilege of the unmarried, but instances to the contrary are to be met with, an early example being set forth by the statue of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I, dating about 1292, on her tomb at Westminster. On brasses we have examples at Winslow, Cheshire, 1461; Mugginton, Derbyshire, 1475; Tatersall, Lincolnshire, 1479, and Turweston Bucks, *circa* 1490. The concealment of the hair in mediæval times was considered decorous, and in a picture by Leonardo da Vinci, entitled *Modesty and Vanity*, the former appears hooded, and no hair showing, whilst the latter makes a display of her luxuriant tresses.

Probably unmarried ladies when they arrived at a time of life at which, in the quaint words of an 18th century will, they became "aged maidens," assumed the head-dresses of married women, as may be gathered from the demi-figure of the Katharine Stoket before mentioned, *circa* 1420, on her brass at Lingfield, where she appears in a simple veil, and this lady we know to have died unmarried, from a bequest in the will of her patroness Joan, Lady Cobham.

The figures of Susanna Arderne on a brass at Leigh, *circa* 1450, and those of her sisters on a similar memorial of her father John Arderne, *circa* 1450, in the same church,¹ exhibit a peculiar head-dress, which appears to be analogous to one described in Lord Dillon's edition of Fairholt's *Costume* (Vol. I, pp. 72, 73), and which he

¹ See engravings of both brasses, *S. A. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 144, 146.

says consisted of a simple roll "of cloth, silk, or velvet—the hair being brought through the centre, and allowed



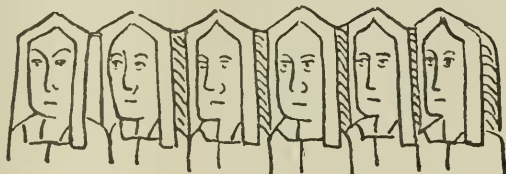
ca. 1490. Leigh.



1553.
Charlwood



1577 Ewell.



Long Ditton. 1527.



1587. Walton on Thames.



1587. Thames Ditton.

Children's Head-dresses.

to stream down the back." The same kind of head-gear is seen on the figures of the thirteen daughters of

Thomas Frowick, 1448, on his brass at South Mimms, Middlesex; it also occurs on a group of girls on a brass at Hitchin, Hertfordshire, of about the same date.

In groups of daughters we often find the eldest girl wearing the same head-dress as her mother, but perchance a trifle plainer, whilst the others have flowing locks only. In other examples both mother and children appear in the same head-gear, and when the kennel frontlet was in fashion, the daughters sport it, but without the usual bonnet. A peculiar instance of this is conspicuous on the brass of Robert Castleton, 1527, at Long Ditton, where in the quaint cluster of six daughters, each of them appears like her mother in a pedimental frontlet, but the hair, indicated by hatched lines between the figures, flows down behind in all but in the case of the eldest girl, who is distinguished by wearing a bonnet. The best example of girls wearing the frontlet only, that I know of, is on the brass of John Symondes, 1512, at Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk.

At Charlwood the daughters of Nicholas Saunder, 1553, wear plain caps and veils at the back, whilst their mother is attired in a rich pedimental hood, and the five girls of William Notte, on his brass, dated 1587, at Thames Ditton, have the hair confined in a netted roll with a stud, or brooch over the forehead.

Of the last dress worn by frail humanity—the shroud, I am aware of only one representation of it on a Surrey brass. It is at West Moulsey, and about 1510 in date.

ADDENDA.

In former times when a woman was churched she wore a kerchief on her head, and in 1640, it was complained that the vicar of Godalming refused to church a certain Mrs. Buckley, “because she was not attyred wth an hanginge kerchief.” (*Surrey Archæological Collections*, Vol. II, page 215.)

An article of enquiry at Chichester diocese, 1638, was as follows: “Doth the woman who is to be churched use the ancient accustomed habit in such cases with a white veil or kerchief upon her head?” (Brand’s *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. II, page 76.)