

THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.*

PART I.

A Notice of the Monumental Brasses to Alianore de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, A.D. 1399, in Westminster Abbey; and to Joice, Lady Tiptoft, A.D. 1446, in Enfield Church: also of a Fragment of a Cross-Brass of the Thirteenth Century in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.

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[Read, in part, at Crosby Hall, January 28, 1856.]

In selecting these Brasses to form the subject of the present memoir, I have been influenced by a two-fold motive. In the first place I have felt it to be incumbent upon us, in the very outset of our career, to enter upon that important department of our Society's future operations which will be devoted to the Sepulchral Monuments of London and Middlesex: and, secondly, I have been attracted by the intrinsic merit of these memorials, by their highly interesting character, and historical value.

Sepulchral Monuments cannot fail to occupy a prominent position in that systematic plan and in that sus-



Spandrel Ornaments: Canopy of the Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

* For an historical and descriptive notice of Monumental Brasses, I must refer to the first of my papers upon the Brasses of the county of Surrey, to be published in the "Transactions" of the Archæological Society of that county.

tained course of action on which we shall do well mainly to depend for placing our Society, notwithstanding its recent appearance, at once in a condition of equality with its sister institutions. With the monuments themselves we shall of course associate all that is connected with them—as *monumental antiquities, art, heraldry, and inscriptions*; and we shall, I trust, go on to investigate all those genealogies and family records which may be found to elucidate the details of our national history, or may in themselves possess peculiar claims for attentive consideration. In this particular matter of monuments, accordingly (as, indeed, in other matters also), our aim and object will be to search out whatsoever appears to have been neglected; to bring together and to render accessible what may be both widely scattered abroad and difficult to discover; and, with the aid of the original works themselves, to form a correct, complete, and carefully-illustrated series of notes upon the sepulchral memorials of London and Middlesex as time has spared them to us, and as we fain would cherish the desire to render them imperishable.

Thus we may hope to contribute, as becomes us, to what has already been effected and still is being done for archæology by the various local Archæological Societies which have of late sprung up, and, under such favourable auspices, have taken root throughout the country; and at the same time we may accomplish what I believe to be an essential element both of our duty and our success—we may do something towards popularising archæology; we may aid in rendering archæology a really popular study in the best acceptation of that term, because we shew it to be in itself eminently attractive, while it leads to results of which the value consists in their practical utility.

The two Brasses which I now proceed to describe may be classed with the best and most interesting of these memorials. Each possesses its own distinctive characteristics; and the two have so much in common that a careful comparison between them is calculated greatly to enhance the value of both. Hence it is that I have preferred to group these two Brasses together, to treating them separately in their chronological order. Like some few other examples, these memorials evidently did not owe their existence to the necessity for obtaining such works of monu-



BRASS TO LADY TIPTOFT.
 ENFIELD CHURCH, MIDDLESEX, A.D. 1446.

STYNG 80.

mental art as might lie flat in the pavement of a church without obtruding themselves upon the open space contained within the building itself. Both Brasses were originally designed to be placed upon raised tombs; and both, accordingly, were substituted for the more appropriate effigy and canopy sculptured in relief, in compliance with the prevailing usage and taste of the period, which had raised engraven plates to such high favour for the purpose of monumental commemoration.

In the case of either Brass, the composition consists of an effigy in the customary devotional attitude; a triple canopy, springing from pinnaced shafts and richly decorated with cusping, spandrel-ornaments, pinnacles, crockets, and finials; six shields of arms suspended from the canopy-shafts; and a border inscription on fillets of metal. The purer taste of the earlier period is shewn with remarkable expressiveness by instituting a close comparison between the details of the two Brasses, and by carefully observing the manner in which those details have been rendered, as well by the artists who have engraved the plates as by those who executed the designs. In order to facilitate such a comparison, the accompanying engravings from these Brasses are placed face to face.

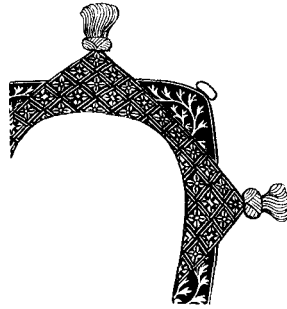
Alianore de Bohun, eldest daughter of Humphrey de Bohun last Earl of Hereford, was married to Thomas de Woodstock, youngest son of King Edward III., who was murdered by command of his nephew, King Richard II., in 1397. She survived her husband about two years, and on her decease a monumental Brass was laid down above her tomb in St. Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey-Church. The several parts of the design in this Brass are carefully subordinated, and so adjusted as to form a most harmonious whole. The effigy possesses those true attributes of noble monumental art—dignified simplicity and the solemnity of calm repose. The canopy is an architectural design of a high order, combining richness of ornamentation with much breadth and vigour in the general treatment: and the heraldic drawing of the armorial insignia, the disposition of the several shields, and the letters and ornamental accessories of the commemorative inscription, are all equally worthy of admiration. The metal in which this work is wrought is of the finest quality, and

the plates are of great thickness; and the actual engraving has been executed with the skill, freedom of touch, and careful finish which denote a master in his art.

I would here observe, with reference to the canopies, with which in Monumental Brasses the recumbent figures are so commonly accompanied and with such happy effect, that, notwithstanding their architectural character, they are not to be understood to represent the architectural coverings which were occasionally placed above the more important altar-tombs. These canopies belong absolutely to the effigies about which they are placed, and, with the effigies, they are designed to be recumbent. They appear, in suitable relief, about many sculptured effigies, as well as engraven in Brasses and Slabs. They are *Effigy-Canopies*, not *Tomb-Canopies*; and they may, without doubt, derive their origin from the stern prototype of monumental effigies themselves—the stone coffin with its lifeless occupant. The stone coffin had almost invariably a cavity adapted purposely for the reception of the head of the dead; thence, when on the coffin-lid the figure of the deceased came to be portrayed, above the head of the carved portraiture was placed, as a covering, a low arch; and, with the progress of monumental art, the effigy-canopy assumed a high degree of importance in the general design, and was made to harmonise with the architecture of the entire monument. Niched statues, those most beautiful accessories of Gothic architecture, and in particular of Gothic altar-tombs, may thus have been derived from the simple canopied coffin-lid effigies, and through them from the stone coffin itself. A niche, in its simplest form, might indeed be defined to be a stone coffin set erect. Possibly, could we investigate the subject to its actual source, we might discover that the rude carving at the head of the stone coffin was an adaptation from some covering of honour assumed by the living man; but, from what remains to us of these interesting relics, the canopied niche and the tabernacled stall appear to have been derived from the stone coffin—the accessory of honour to the living from the last resting-place of the dead.

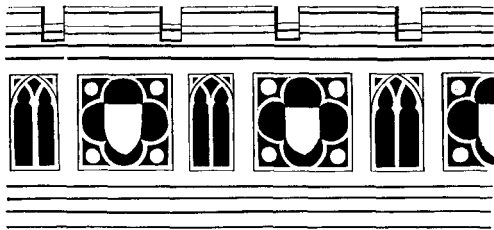
The illustrious widow of Thomas de Woodstock is represented habited in a flowing tunic, of which the ample folds cover her

feet; the sleeves, which are small, are, like the robe itself, quite plain, and at the wrists they disclose under-sleeves which fit closely and partly cover the hands, and they also have beneath the arms close-set rows of small buttons; over all is a loose mantle secured across the breast by a simple cordon having pendent ends. About the head is adjusted a coverchef, from beneath which are apparent a wimple and coif or species of cap, both of them plaited or crimped. The head itself rests upon two richly embroidered cushions with tassels, the upper one being placed diagonally with the lower.* The countenance exhibits more of character and expression than is commonly found in memorials of this class.



Diapers of the Cushions;
Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

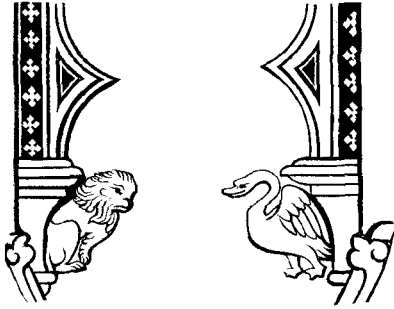
The shafts of the canopy are connected at their bases by a band of rich panel-work having an embattled cresting. The shafts themselves are divided into two graduated stages, and at each stage they are enriched with a cluster of pinnacles: from the upper clusters rise the principal pinnacles of the canopy itself; and here also spring the lateral arches, the one on the dexter side of the composition from a corbel formed by a small figure of a lion, and that on the sinister side from a corresponding figure of a swan:



Details of Canopy: Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

* When a rubbing or an engraving of a Brass is placed in an upright position, these cushions have a singular and even a disagreeable effect: but, when laid down horizontally, they appear to be both consistent and ornamental appendages of the recumbent effigy.

these figures are severally Badges of the Royal House of England and of the de Bohuns. The cusped circle which fills the



Corbels :
Canopy of Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

central area of the main spandrel or pediment over the principal arch has also within it a swan, ducally gorged and chained, and with its wings closed; while within each of the similar circles above the lateral arches a lion's face has been introduced. The cusping of all the arches of the canopy is double-feathered. All the crocket-work, the pinnacle and finial ornaments,*

with the enrichments of the lesser spandrels and of the other details are in the best style of the period, and highly characteristic of it. The upper and the central shield on either side are suspended, each from its guige or shield-belt, which passes over two of the smaller crockets of the pinnacles that are clustered about the canopy-shafts; and the two lower shields have their guiges supported by small figures, apparently of angels, which rise above the shields themselves.† The canopy remains quite perfect, with the sole exception of one of the lesser pinnacles, a part of one of the crockets, and the base of the shaft on the sinister side.

The uppermost shield of the dexter group bears the arms of THOMAS DE WOODSTOCK—*Old France and England, quarterly, within a bordure argent*: that is, the arms of his royal father, *differenced* with a silver bordure. The same shield (with the sole exception that in it the number of the fleurs-de-lys is reduced to three) was afterwards borne by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of King Henry IV. by his first wife Mary de Bohun, sister to the lady whose monument forms the subject of our present inquiry.‡ The central shield is charged with the arms of

* *Infrà*, p. 94.

† See *Appendix*, p. 108, for engravings of shields, &c.

‡ This shield appears repeatedly in the elaborate canopy beneath which the tomb of the good duke was erected by the pious care of Abbot John de

DE BOHUN—*Azure, a bend argent, cotised and between 6 lioncels or.* A shield bearing this same blazonry originally formed one of the noble series of shields of arms which were placed in the spandrels of the arcade of the north aisle of the choir in Westminster Abbey: it was in the fourth compartment of the aisle from the east, and was the seventh shield in the order of succession in that direction.* This shield, with many others of the series, has been destroyed in order to admit some one of the modern monumental intruders, which have been permitted to inflict such reckless and destructive injury upon the most national and the noblest of our English churches. These arms of the de Bohuns are described in the



Shield of arms:
DE BOHUN.
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

contemporary poem of the siege of Caerlaverock, A.D. 1300, and in the roll of Edw. II. A.D. 1308. They may still be traced upon the ruined gateway to Lanthony Priory, near Gloucester: and they also had a place in the very fine and interesting series of shields in the painted glass at Dorchester abbey-church in Oxfordshire, as they have been described and blazoned by Lee, Winchell, and Anthony à Wood.† The third shield, which is placed in the dexter base of the brass, has been attributed to MILO EARL OF HEREFORD, from whom, by marriage with his

Wheatamstede, under the south-eastern arch of his abbey church at St. Alban's. See Blore's *Mon. Remains*, and Gough's *Sep. Mon.* ii. 142. The 3 lions of England within a silver bordure had been borne by Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed "of Woodstock," second son of Edward I.: also by the two sons of that Edmund, Edmund and John Plantagenet, by his grandson Thomas Holland, and his two great-grandsons Thomas and Edmund Holland, all of them successively Earls of Kent.

* Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, i. 60.

† Sir N. H. Nicolas' *Caerlaverock*, pp. 10 and 119; *Cott. MS. Calig. A. xviii.* BRIT. MUS.; *Wood's MSS.* D. 14 and E. 1, ASHM. MUS.; Addington's *Dorchester*, p. 108; Vincent, pp. 239, 243, and 363; Nisbet, i. 91; Sandford, 231. See also *infra*, *Appendix*, p. 110.

heiress, this earldom passed to the de Bohuns: it is charged with *Gules, two bends, the one or, the other argent*. Possibly these Bends (or Bendlets) may be the heraldic representatives of the official Batons of Milo, as Constable of the Castles of Gloucester and Hereford: from them it is also possible that the *cotised Bend* of the de Bohun shield-of-arms may have been derived; and here the Bend may, perhaps, be associated with the office and rank of Constable of England, so long held in the family of Bohun.*

In the sinister group, the first shield displays the arms of THOMAS DE WOODSTOCK *impaling* those of BOHUN and HEREFORD, *quarterly*: and this, accordingly, is the united coat of arms of the Lady Alianore and her husband. I may here observe that, on her seal, this lady bore, on a lozenge, WOODSTOCK *impaling* DE BOHUN only.† The second shield of this group is that of the father and mother of the Lady Alianore: it bears DE BOHUN *impaling, quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gules, a lion rampant or, for FITZALAN; and 2nd and 3rd, Chequé or and azure, for WARREN*. This quartered coat was borne by Joanna, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey by Eleanor his wife the daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, which Joanna became the wife of Humphrey de Bohun, the last Earl of Hereford of that name. The charge originally emblazoned upon the last shield in the Brass is now lost: but this shield is given by Sandford and Dart as bearing, *Gules, a swan argent, ducally gorged and chained or*, for the earldom of Essex, which dignity, having passed from the Mandevilles to the Bohuns, was invested in Thomas de Woodstock in right of his wife, the elder daughter, and, with her sister Mary, coheiress of the last Humphrey de Bohun.‡ This shield of arms, however, was not borne by the Mandevilles, neither does there appear to be any authority for associating it in any way with the Essex earldom. The manner in which the de Bohuns bore distinct armorial insignia for their earldom of Essex I shall describe hereafter:§ they do not appear to have borne any arms

* For seal of Earl Milo, see *Appendix*, p. 111. † *Appendix*, p. 108.

‡ Sandf. 232: Dart, i. 125: Dugd. *Bar.* i. pp. 201 and 703.

§ *Appendix*, p. 110.

for their barony of Brecknock, nor do the last Earls appear to have quartered distinct arms for their several earldoms. But the Swan was a de Bohun badge: and we find that it was also the personal badge of Thomas de Woodstock, having, as it would seem, been adopted by him in consequence of his becoming a representative of the de Bohun family through his marriage. From its constant use for purposes of decoration by the de Bohuns, and afterwards by Thomas de Woodstock, this badge was evidently in great favour.* Some of the figures of the Swan in the Brass have their wings closed, while in others they are raised; some also have the ducal coronet and the chain, which appendages are not seen with others: hence it has been supposed that two distinct badges are here introduced. When assuming this badge from the de Bohuns, (supposing him so to have assumed it,) Thomas de Woodstock may have added the coronet and the chain: and the varied attitudes of the bird may have been used indiscriminately, and without any intention thereby to indicate any special signification.† This favourite device may possibly have been charged upon a shield and placed in the composition of this Brass, notwithstanding the prevailing rule of heraldic practice that the shield should be restricted to coats of arms, properly so called: as the fetter-lock appears upon two shields in the fine Brass to Sir Symon and Lady de Felbrigge at Felbrigg in Norfolk.‡ The town of Buckingham has still for its armorial cognizance the white swan, which it may have derived from Thomas de Woodstock, as Earl of Buckingham.

I have already remarked upon the excellence of both the drawing and the engraving of the various heraldic accessories in this Brass: and I am the more desirous to invite attention to these points, since the study of heraldry as an *art* has been much neglected, even by those who are familiar with it and understand its

* See *Appendix*, p. 110, and *Journal of Archaeol. Association*, vi. p. 384.

† Thomas de Woodstock is entitled "Cygnus," *the Swan*, by Gower, in his *Vox Clamantis*, in allusion to his favourite device; *Weever*, 638. See also the Wills of the de Bohuns in Nichols's *Royal Wills: Sandford*, 125: *Strutt*, Plate 57; *Archæol. Journal*, xi. 343: and a note to p. 43, at p. 369, of *Caerlaverock*; and *Archæologia*, xxi. 196.

‡ Figured in *Mon. Brasses of England*; also in Cotman's *Norfolk Brasses*.

value as a science. Much of the effectiveness of the early heraldry is the result of the free and bold drawing of its various devices, and especially of the vigorous though very decidedly conventionalized forms and the varied expression given to its animals. In our modern use of heraldry, as an architectural accessory possessing the all-important quality of being a concentrated historical record, we have much to learn in the matters of form and expression, as also in exactness of accuracy and consistency of use and application. After the close of the fourteenth century, the *art* of heraldry began gradually to decline until, in the middle of the succeeding century, there remained but little more than a tame and insipid exaggeration of the felicitous conventionalities of the early heralds. The Enfield Brass furnishes an excellent example of this change: in order to shew it the more plainly, I have placed the shields of the two Brasses together in the same page. (See p. 108.)

A hard composition (and not lead as was the prevailing usage,) was employed in the de Bohun Brass for receiving the metal, *argent*: and the gold and the other tinctures were doubtless expressed by a species of enamel or a fine mastic, and by gilding applied to the latten-plate: but of these there are now no remains.



Commencement of Inscription:
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

A swan with closed wings appears before the cross (here elegantly floriated), which forms the customary initial to the commemorative inscription. The inscription itself commences at the foot of the sinister side of the Brass, and is carried about the two sides and the head of the composition: the fillet at the base is covered with four groups of foliage, each of which springs from a small circle enclosing the figure of a swan with closed

wings and without coronet or chain: other swans were originally between each group of foliage, but of these the coronets and



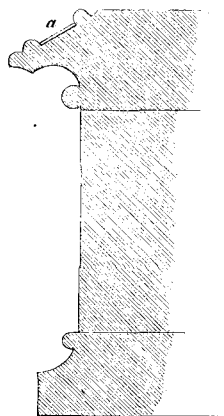
Ornamental accessories of the Inscription :
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

chains are all that now remain. The concluding words of the inscription are also lost; but I have restored them from *Weever*, *Sandford*, and *Dart*. The complete inscription is as follows:—

✠ Cy gist Alianore de Bohun eisne fille & un des heirs a Ionorable seignour mons' Humfrey de Bohun Counte de Hereford' Desser & de Northampton' & Conestable Denglet're. femme a puissant & noble Prince Thomas de Madestoke fil; a tresexcellent & trepuissant seignour Edward Roy Denglet're puis le conquest tier; & Duc de Gloucestre Counte Desser' & de Bukyngham & Conestable Denglet're Ce morrust le tier; jour Dortob'r lan du [grace Mill cccxxxix D'qui alme Dieux face Mercy. Amen.]*

This most dignified inscription has been repeatedly printed, but rarely (except in the case of the *Oxford Manual of Brasses*) with accuracy. The fillets, in width $1\frac{4}{5}$ inches, upon which it is engraved, are set in the chamfer of the bold group of mouldings which encompasses the monumental slab (as shewn in the annexed section,) and they mitre at the angles. The letters, which now appear in relief, are admirably formed, and, like the rest of the work, engraved with great skill and spirit.

The Brass to Alianore de Bohun has been several times figured: these engravings



Section of Slab and Tomb ;
shewing the chamfer in which the
inscription fillets are set.

* *Weever*, 638 : *Sandf.* 233 : *Dart*, i. 125 : *Gough*, i. 159 : *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, 146 : *Oxford Manual*, 104.

differ widely one from another; and indeed they appear to be agreed only in their inaccuracy, and in failing altogether to convey a just idea of the true character of the original. Gough's plate is singularly unfortunate: and, contrary to his usual habit, he has given a very brief and unsatisfactory notice of the monument itself, and of the noble lady of whom it is the memorial.*

The tomb which supports this fine Brass stands above the remains of the deceased lady, who was buried in accordance with the desire expressed as follows in her will, in the chapel of St. Edmund in Westminster Abbey:—“*jeo devise pur ma sepultur mon cors d'etre ensevelees en l'eglise de l'Abbeie de Westmonstre, eins la chapele de Seint Edmond le Roy & de Seint Thomas de Cantirbirs, juxte le corps de mon seignour & mari Thomas Duc de Gloucestr, & cet' filz au Roy Edward la tierce, & tout sois qe le corps de mon dit seignour & mari soit en temps avenir remue, si veule qe mon corps repose & demure en l'avant dit chapele & lieu.*”† The tomb, which rises from the midst of the pavement of the chapel, is very low, its entire height (including the massive upper slab of Purbeck marble, which is 5 inches in thickness,) being only 1 foot $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The tomb itself is composed of thick slabs of Purbeck, perfectly plain, and roughly put together: it has now no plinth, nor is any base-moulding visible, with the exception of a quarter-round hollow, from above which a small roll-moulding has been cut or broken away. Its greatest measurements are, 8 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and in width 3 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The position of this tomb is remarkable: it stands exactly south-east and north-west, instead of being true to the cardinal points. Whether this tomb, as we see it, has been despoiled of its ornamental accessories, or was originally constructed as it yet remains, or has been altogether reconstructed at some period subsequent to its first erection, it is impossible now to determine: all that can be said with any certainty is, that there is scarcely less striking a contrast between the slab with its Brass and the tomb below them, than between the fortunes of

* Sandf., Dart, and Gough, *ut supra*.

† Nichols's *Royal Wills*, 177.

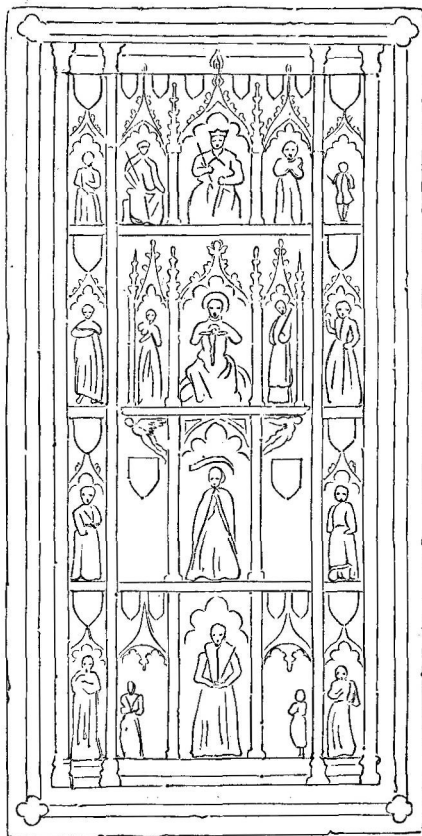
Alianore de Bohun herself in the earlier and in the closing scenes of her life.

In the pavement of this chapel, toward the south from the de Bohun tomb, lies the Brass to ROBERT DE WALDEBY, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1397; and further southward, upon a raised tomb adjoining the canopied monument to Sir Bernard Brocas with its sculptured effigy, are the remains of a third Brass, originally the memorial of Humphrey Bourchier, son and heir of John Lord Berners, who fell at the Battle of Barnet, A.D. 1471. I leave for future pages of our Society's "Transactions" all description of these Brasses, and of the monuments of William de Valence, John of Eltham, and others which are in this same chapel. But there is here one monument which appears, from the inscription which it bears, to claim some present attention. It is situated in close proximity to the tomb of Alianore de Bohun, toward the north, and it differs from it but little in height and general form; it is shorter, however, and altogether without pretension to any artistic character, and is composed of a whitish veined marble; upon its upper surface the following lines are inscribed:—

E REGIA STIRPE
 THOMÆ DE WOODSTOCK ET ELEANORÆ
 DE BOHUN DUCUM GLOCESTRÆ
 ORIUNDA,
 BARONUM ET COMITUM STAFFORDIÆ
 ET DUCUM BUCKINGHAMIÆ
 FILIA ET HÆRES,
 GULIELMI VICECOMITIS STAFFORDIÆ
 VXOR,
 MARIA COMITISSA STAFFORDIÆ
 JUXTA CINERES AVIÆ SUÆ SUB
 HOC MARMORE JACET.
 OBIIT IDIB. IANUAR. AN. ÆTATIS LXXIV.
 SALUTIS M.DC.XCIII.

This noble lady, the direct lineal representative of Thomas de Woodstock and Alianore de Bohun, and of the Dukes of Buckingham and the Earls and Barons of Stafford, married Sir William Howard, who, after having been created Viscount Stafford, was most unjustly beheaded on Tower Hill, A.D. 1680, the 32nd year of Charles II.

The body of the murdered Thomas de Woodstock himself rests in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, close beside the remains of his royal parents, having been removed thither from its first resting-place. The slab which covers his grave still continues *in situ*; but it has been despoiled of the very curious Brass which was originally affixed to its surface. Sandford and Dart have given engravings of this Brass; and the latter author describes it after the following manner:—"Between the shrine of St. Edward and the tomb of Queen Philpa, under a large stone, once finely



Sketch from Dart's Engraving of the lost Brass to Thomas de Woodstock.

plated with brass, with inscriptions now not legible, lies Thomas of Woodstock: . . . upon the tomb were the figures of himself, Duchess Elianor, Edward III., and Queen Philpa, with his brothers and sisters, as here exhibited."* From another passage in this author it would appear that this Brass was placed over the body on the occasion of its first interment, and that it was afterwards removed to Westminster Abbey. The peculiarity in the design of this Brass appears to have consisted in the absence of what may be termed any principal figure or figures. The entire stone was apparently covered with a series of small canopied figures, eighteen in number, with twenty shields of arms, various accesso-

* Sandford, p. 231; Dart, ii. 47.

ries of an architectural character, and a border inscription upon fillets set on the face of the slab and having at the angles the evangelistic emblems. In the absence of any more trustworthy authority for exact correctness, from the representation of it which is introduced into Dart's pages I have given the annexed wood-cut, in order to convey some idea of this remarkable composition.

On the 17th day of January, in the year 1373, two youthful sisters, Alianore and Mary, were left the sole heiresses and representatives of the ancient and powerful House of Bohun. On that day, in the thirty-second year of his age, died their father, Humphrey de Bohun, the eleventh and the last of the name, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, Baron Brecknock, and Constable of England. Never before had an heir male failed in this noble family, since the accession of William the Norman to the English crown; and throughout this period of upwards of three centuries the wealth, power, and honours of the de Bohuns had continued to increase. They had formed great alliances; they had acquired an illustrious reputation; and but little had they experienced of the sharp and sudden vicissitudes of those stormy times. Good service they had done to England: they had always been found ready alike to uphold the rightful prerogatives of the crown, to enforce the just observance of the Great Charter, and openly and fearlessly to resist the aggressive policy of the Court of Rome. Wise statesmen and gallant soldiers, they held a distinguished place amongst the ever-to-be-honoured barons who vindicated the principles of that true freedom, combined with that no less true loyalty from which, in union, has grown up the unique fabric of the English constitution. But the fortunes of this great house did not attain to their highest exaltation, so long as there remained a de Bohun to bear the title of Earl of Hereford. The last Earl surpassed all his predecessors in the accumulation both of his dignities and his wealth: his daughters were elevated to a rank higher than he had himself enjoyed; they were married, the one to a son and the other to a grandson of the King. The descendants of the elder sister attained to the ducal rank; and the husband, the son, and the grandson of the younger sat in succession upon the throne of England. With this culmination

of their fortunes, however, the true prosperity of the de Bohuns may be said to have ceased. A marked and most terrible change thenceforth attended them, so that scarcely a generation passed away without some overwhelming reverse of fortune, or some violent death.

It will not be possible for me here to attempt more than the slightest sketch of the history of the House of Bohun; yet even such a sketch, executed in the most simple outline, may serve to show how striking was the contrast between the Earls of Hereford, and the Lancastrian Princes, the Dukes of Buckingham and the Earls of Stafford, their successors; it may also, perhaps, induce some persons to extend an inquiry, which is able to illustrate in the most graphic manner the history of England.

The Ladies Alianore and Mary de Bohun were left by their father the two noblest and most wealthy heiresses in the realm. Alianore became the wife of THOMAS, surnamed, from the place of his birth, DE WOODSTOCK, seventh son of King Edward III. Mary was married to HENRY OF LANCASTER, the powerful and aspiring son of John of Gaunt; but she did not survive to witness his elevation to the throne, as HENRY IV. While yet young she died, Countess of Derby, A.D. 1394, "leaving behind her," says Weever, "a glorious and faire renowned issue of children, to the comfort of her husband and good of the commonwealth, viz.: *Henry*, afterwards King of England; *Thomas*, Duke of Clarence; *John*, Duke of Bedford; *Humphrey*, Duke of Gloucester; *Blanch*, married to William, Duke of Bavaria and Emperour; and *Philippa*, married to John, King of Denmarke and Norway."* A single individual represented this family in the next generation—the unfortunate Henry VI. The fifth Henry, whose brief career forms so brilliant an episode in our national history, died in 1422, aged 34 years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; Thomas Plantagenet, K.G. Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence, fell at Baugy, A.D. 1421; John Plantagenet, K.G. Earl of Kendal and Duke of Bedford, Constable of England and Regent of France, died A.D. 1435, and was buried in Rouen Cathedral;† and Humphrey Plantagenet, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Glou-

* Weever, p. 210. See also *Appendix*, p. 109. † See Gough, ii. 111.

cester, was murdered A.D. 1446, and buried in the abbey church of St. Alban. At their deaths all their honours became extinct. The two royal sisters of these princes died childless. Their father, Henry Bolingbroke, was created a Knight of the Garter by Richard II.; in 1385 he was also created, by that same Prince, Earl of Derby; and afterwards, in 1397, he was elevated to the dukedom, with the title of Duke of Hereford—a title evidently derived from the ancient earldom of the de Bohuns. The following year witnessed his disgrace, and his banishment from the memorable lists at Coventry.* In 1399 he was crowned King, when the dukedoms of Lancaster and Hereford, with the earldoms of Derby, Lincoln and Leicester, and the barony of Brecknock, merged in the crown. He died in 1412, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. The reign and the life of his sole grandson, Henry VI., were terminated by the same deed of violence, in 1471; and in that same year, “in the field by Tewkesbury,” the only child of Henry VI., Edward, Prince of Wales, was murdered; he was in the 20th year of his age; and his tragical death closed the line of Mary de Bohun and Henry of Lancaster.

The tragedy of their race began to be enacted at an earlier period with the Lady Alianore than with her younger sister. Having been at an early age affianced by Edward III. to his youngest son, Thomas de Woodstock, she was united to that Prince by command of Richard II.; and she conveyed to her husband, with her portion of the vast estates and wealth of her late father, his hereditary office of Constable of England, and the earldom of Essex. The earldom of Northampton is also said to have passed to Thomas de Woodstock; but he does not bear this title, either in his seal or in the inscription upon his widow's tomb. He had been appointed Constable, during the Lady Alianore's minority, by Edward III., and in 1377 he was confirmed in that office and rank by Richard II.†

* On this occasion Hereford displayed the de Bohun swan in union with his own badge, the antelope: his “charger was barded with green and blue velvet, richly embroidered with *swans* and antelopes of goldsmith's work.”—Sandford, p. 266. Henry V. adopted the same badges; and the swan and antelope are also said to have been used as *supporters* by both Henry IV. and Henry V.

† Rymer, vol. iii. part iii. p. 60. See also *Appendix*, pp. 109, 112.

Rarely had the married life of a noble lady commenced with happier and more brilliant prospects, than when Alianore de Bohun became Countess of Buckingham and Essex. Shortly after her marriage, her husband was created Duke of Gloucester. He was then in the prime of life; he was in high favour with the King, his nephew; and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Derby, and himself, were two of the most powerful, as well as the wealthiest and most dignified personages in the kingdom. But the sunshine of this great prosperity soon passed away, and most dismal was the darkness which succeeded to it. A man of strong mind and resolute will, the Duke of Gloucester was unable to endure the unhappy weaknesses which characterised the reign of Richard: accordingly, "he forbore not, roughlie, not so much to admonish, as to check and schoole his Soueraigne."* Coldness was succeeded by anger on the part of the King; and then suspicions were excited in the royal mind by men, who would gladly remove from their Sovereign such a kinsman as the Constable. Mowbray, the Earl Marshall, with Holland, Earl of Exeter, appear to have been the Duke's chief enemies.† The resolution of the King was soon formed and promptly carried into effect; on the 21st of September, 1397, a summons was issued, commanding Thomas Duke of Gloucester to appear before the Parliament; within a few days, the Duke was seized at his castle of Plessy, in Essex, by the Earl Marshall, and having been hurried thence to Calais was there instantly murdered. He was then in his forty-fifth year. The crime was too great to be committed with safety upon English ground; but no danger would attend upon subsequent acts of spoliation. Accordingly all the titles and dignities of the deceased Prince, with his whole property, including the entire inheritance of his wife, were at once confiscated to the crown. On the 6th of October (that is, within a few days of the murder), the King issued a characteristic mandate to the Archbishops and their suffragans, "*de orando pro animâ*

* Weever, p. 639; Froissart, iv. p. 582.

† Within the space of two years a stern retribution had fallen upon both these noblemen, and also on their master: in 1399 Richard was deposed and murdered; Exeter was beheaded for treason; and Norfolk died, attainted and in exile.

Thomæ nuper Ducis Glocestriæ, &c." The widowed Alianore received the King's permission, on the 14th of that same month, to have the body of her late husband buried, under her direction, in Westminster Abbey; but before this act of royal clemency could take effect, the bereaved lady was peremptorily commanded to convey the body for burial to Bermondsey Abbey. I do not find whether this command was enforced; it is, however, certain that the Duke's remains were not interred at Westminster at the period of his decease. Weever says, from Holinshed, that they were "conueyed with all funerall pompe into England, and buried" at Plessy, in the church there of the Duke's "own foundation, in a goodly sepulchre prouided by himselfe in his life-time;" and he adds, that these "reliques were afterwards remoued and laid under a marble inlaid with brasse in the King's chappell at Westminster."*

The Duchess retired to the Abbey of Berking, where she is said to have assumed the religious habit. The King granted to her, for her use, her own clothes, and other articles of her property, to the value of 124*l.* 18*s.*—"bonorum et catallorum, sibi necessariorum, usque ad valorem centum et quater viginti librarum, et decem et octo solidorum;" and warrants were addressed to the King's "escaetor" in Essex, and to Richard Whytynghton, Lord Mayor of London (*majori Civitat. Lond.*), to release these confiscated effects.† One son and four daughters were born to Thomas de Woodstock and Alianore his wife; they all bore the surname of Plantagenet, and their christian names were Humphrey, Anne, Joanne, Isabel, and Philippa. Isabel was a nun in the house of the Sisters Minorettes (the Minories), near London, "*dehors la porte de Algate.*" Philippa died young. Joanne married Gilbert, Lord Talbot; their only child, a daughter, died at an early age, A.D. 1421. Humphrey Plantagenet, after his father's murder, was sent with his cousin Henry, son of the Duke of Hereford, into Ireland, and there they were detained until the accession of Henry IV. to the throne. The youthful cousins were then recalled; and King Henry proposed to reinstate his

* Weever, p. 638. See also Rymer, vol. iii. part iv. pp. 135, 137, 138, and 139.

† Ibid. p. 141.

nephew in all the honours which had been enjoyed by his father. But an untimely fate awaited the young prince; he died of the plague, at Chester, on his way towards London; or, as some writers affirm, he was drowned on his passage from Ireland. According to Weever, he was buried at Walden, in Essex, by his mother, who survived him for a few weeks only.* The unhappy Duchess died at Berking Abbey, Oct. 3rd, 1399, leaving a will bearing date August the 9th in that same year. This document, printed in Nichols's *Royal Wills*, contains many interesting passages, and throughout it is a pathetic commentary upon the fallen fortunes of the testatrix. In it she speaks of her late father, as "*Humphrey de Bohun, darreme Counte de Herford d'Essex et de Northampton, et Conestable d'Engleterre:*" her late husband she styles, "*monseignour et mari Thomas Duc de Gloucestr;*" and again, "*Thomas sum tyme Duc of Gloucestre;*" her mother she entitles, "*madame et mere la Countesse d'Erford;*" and she speaks of herself as "*Alianore Duchesse de Gloucestre, Countess d'Essex, &c.*" She bequeaths to her son Humphrey, *inter alia*, some books, "*tous en François:*" "*un habergeon ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son pere;*" and also "*un crois d'or pendant par un cheyne ove une ymage du crucifix et iiii perles entour, ove ma benoison, come chose du myen qe jai mieux amee.*" To her eldest daughter, Anne, she leaves, besides other things, "*un pare de pater nostres d'ore cont' xxx ariez et iiii gaudes de get* (four large beads of jet), *qe fuesent a mon seignour et mari son pere, ove ma benoison.*"† She leaves 40*l.* "*de monnoie,*" with various books, to her daughter Isabelle, the nun. Her other money bequests are few, and have reference to her funeral expenses, and a certain gift to the Abbess and Sisters Minoresses.

Strutt, in his 57th Plate, gives a portrait of Thomas de Woodstock (from *Nero D.* vii.); he wears a double-pointed beard, and in his right hand he holds, in a wreath or jewel, a silver swan. It is also probable that the same volume contains another portrait of

* Walsingham, p. 401. Dugd. *Bar.* ii. p. 173. Weever, p. 627.

† In her will, dated, 1356, Elizabeth de Badlesmere, wife of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton (the father and mother of the last Humphrey de Bohun), leaves to one of her sisters a set of beads *of gold and jet*.

this Prince, at plate 16. Sandford informs us, that on the north side of the tomb of King Edward III. was a statuette (a “weeper”) of Thomas de Woodstock, and he adds, that his arms were on the same side of the tomb of Queen Philippa, his mother.* Both statuette and shield are now gone. This same author has figured two seals and a secretum of the Duke, with a seal of Alianore his Duchess. I propose to describe these seals, together with some other heraldic ensigns of the de Bohuns, in an Appendix to this Paper. I may here observe that the Duchess Alianore is introduced by Shakespear, as one of the *dramatis personæ* in his RICHARD II.

Anne Plantagenet, eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, was affianced to Thomas, third Earl of Stafford, and after his early death she married his brother Edmund, the fifth Earl: the marriage was solemnized A.D. 1399, and in 1403 the Earl was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury. He left one son, *Humphrey de Stafford*, who succeeded him; and one daughter, Anne de Stafford, who was married first to Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, and secondly to John Holland, Duke of Exeter: by her second marriage she had an only son, Henry, second Duke of Exeter, who was involved in the ruin of the House of Lancaster, and was found dead in the sea, A.D. 1473; this most unfortunate nobleman married Anne, sister of Edward IV., from whom he was divorced.

After the death of the fifth Earl of Stafford, his widow married William Bourchier, who, A.D. 1419, was created Earl of Eu in Normandy. In the person of her eldest son by this marriage, Henry Bourchier,† was revived the de Bohun Earldom of Essex; and through the marriage of the grand-daughter of this Earl with Sir John Devereux, K.G., were descended the Earls of Essex and Viscounts Hereford, of the House of Devereux. By their marriages with the heiresses of the Lords Fitz-Warine and Berners, the younger brothers of Henry first Earl of Essex of the House of Bourchier, became William Bourchier, Lord Fitz-Warine, and John Bourchier, Lord Berners: these noblemen were severally succeeded by their sons.

In the year 1444, Humphrey de Stafford, K.G., grandson of

* Sandford, pp. 177 and 172.

† The fine brass to this Earl is figured by Waller.

Thomas de Woodstock and the Lady Alianore, seventh Baron and sixth Earl of Stafford, was created Duke of Buckingham; and, in 1460, he fell, fighting gallantly under the Lancastrian banner, at the battle of Northampton. He had married Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, by whom he had a numerous issue. His eldest son, Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, was killed, in 1445, at the first battle of St. Alban's, where his father-in-law, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, also fell.

Henry de Stafford, K.G. son of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, and Margaret Beaufort, his wife, succeeded his grandfather as second Duke of Buckingham, and was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, A.D. 1483: he had married Katharine, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., by whom he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son,

Edward de Stafford, K.G., was restored to all his father's honours, to which was added the office of Constable of England. This was the great Duke of Buckingham, the favourite and the victim of Henry VIII., who was beheaded on Tower-hill, May 17, 1521. With his attainder and execution, the fortunes of his princely and illustrious house sunk, never again to attain to any distinguished eminence, except indeed in a single instance, when once more (A.D. 1670) a distinguished nobleman, bearing the title of Viscount de Stafford, fell, through a most false charge, beneath the axe of the executioner. The last Duke of Buckingham had married Alianore, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and was succeeded, as Lord Stafford, by Henry, his eldest son, who married Ursula, niece of Kings Edward IV. and Richard III. Two other Barons Stafford (the son and grandson of this Henry) followed in succession, when Edward, the fourth Baron, died without issue, and the barony devolved upon his kinsman, Roger, the son of Richard, himself the second son of Henry, Baron Stafford, and Ursula his wife. In 1639, this Roger Stafford was formally deprived of his rank as a Baron, by Charles I. on account of his poverty and abject condition; and in 1640 he died, having never married. Mary Stafford, his sister (who had married Sir William Howard, younger son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel), was created Baroness Stafford, and shortly after her husband was advanced to

the Viscounty of Stafford. This is the Lady whose tomb I have described (*suprà*, p. 79), and who was buried, twenty-three years after her husband had fallen a victim to the infamous Titus Oates and his associates, by the side of Alianore de Bohun, in Westminster Abbey. Henry, the eldest son of the Viscount, was created Earl of Stafford, A.D. 1688; but this earldom became extinct, A.D. 1762, on the death of John Paul Stafford-Howard, the fourth Earl. By the reversal of the iniquitous attainder of 1670, in the year 1824, the Barony of Stafford has been revived in the family of Jerningham.

I now direct my glance upwards to the origin of the DE BOHUNS, as an English family.* It is recorded that a Humphrey de Bohun was one of the military leaders who accompanied his kinsman William of Normandy on his adventurous expedition to this island, and was present with him at the battle of Hastings. In the time of Rufus, the son of this Humphrey acquired important territorial possessions near Salisbury, by his marriage with a daughter of Edward de Sarum. This second Humphrey de Bohun bore the surname of "*the Great*," and was succeeded by the third of his name after the Norman Conquest,

Humphrey de Bohun, who married Margeria of Hereford, sister of Berta, and with her co-heiress of Milo, a chieftain of the Marches of Wales, the only son of Walter, Constable of the castles of Gloucester and Hereford. This Milo is entitled Constable and Lord of Hereford; and he married Sibilla, sole daughter and heiress of Bernard de Brecknock, a feudal Baron of the Marches: he founded the second religious house of Lanthony, near Gloucester, and dying in 1143, was buried there. His five sons succeeded their father and one another, as Lords of Hereford, and died (probably by the hands of their Welsh neighbours) without issue. The honours and property of their father thus passed to their sisters, of whom the eldest conveyed the feudal Barony of Hereford to her husband, Humphrey de Bohun; Berta married William de Brewys or Braose, who, in her right, became

* I do not consider it to be necessary to give more than a general reference to Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* and his *Bar.*, to Rymer, Vincent, Sandford, &c. &c. as the sources from whence the following notice has been, for the most part, derived.

Lord of Brecknock; and a third sister, Lucia, of whom but little is recorded, is said to have married a certain Herebert, and to have had as her portion the forest of Dene and some adjoining lordships. This Humphrey was steward and sewer to Henry I. During the time of Stephen, he adhered to the cause of the Empress Matilda, and afterwards was one of the Barons who resolutely supported the authority of her son, Henry II. In the twentieth year of Henry II. he was in arms in Scotland, and was a witness to the treaty then concluded between his sovereign and William, King of Scots. He died in 1187, and was succeeded by his son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the fourth of the name, who was CON-
STABLE OF ENGLAND, and, in the Chronicle of Lanthony, is entitled Earl of Hereford. This Baron married Margaret, sister of the Scottish King, by whom he had his son and successor,

Henry de Bohun, Constable of England, and created, by charter of King John dated April 28, 1199, EARL OF HEREFORD. He was one of the Barons of Runnymede; and also one of the twenty-five Barons who undertook that the King should observe the provisions of *Magna Charta*, pledging himself to aid in compelling him so to do, in case of need. His wife was Matilda, sole daughter and heiress of Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, himself (through his marriage with Beatrice de Say) representative and heir of the De Mandevilles, EARLS OF ESSEX. Thus the honours and the great inheritance of the Earls of Essex became invested in the family of Bohun. In the year 1220 Henry de Bohun died, while on his voyage to the Holy Land: he was buried at Lanthony, and his son, another

Humphrey de Bohun, then became Constable of England, second Earl of Hereford and Earl of Essex, and was distinguished by the title of "*the Good*." An active part in all the most important events of his time was taken by this great Baron; a complete memoir of his life would, consequently, form a history of the reign of Henry III. He was one of the godfathers of Edward I.; he stood forward to secure the observance of the Charter of Liberties and of the Forest by the King; he was repeatedly engaged with the bold invaders of the Welch Marches; he went to the Holy Land; he was present in the Parliament at

London, when the King was refused a subsidy, for which he had asked, contrary to his promise; he joined with Prince Edward and others, in undertaking that the King should observe the award made by the King of France, touching the provisions of Oxford and all other differences between the King and his Barons; and he was one of the Peers who, A.D. 1246, addressed and sent to the Pope a letter, "whereby, representing the oppressions under which this kingdom then suffered from the Court of Rome, they threatened to free themselves, if sudden remedy were not otherwise had." He died A.D. 1275, and was buried at Lanthony, having married, first, Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Eu in Normandy; and secondly, Matilda de Avenbury. His eldest son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the sixth of that name, did not attain to the honours of his family, having died, A.D. 1264. He was one of the most distinguished of the rebellious Barons who were confederated with Simon de Montfort. At the battles of Lewes and Evesham he held important commands; but being taken prisoner after the defeat at the latter place, he was sent to Beeston Castle in Cheshire, where shortly afterwards he died. He had married Alianora de Brewys, one of the four daughters and co-heiresses of the great Barons—the Lords of Brecknock, a co-heiress also to Eva her mother, who was a daughter and co-heiress with her four sisters to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. By this marriage the de Bohuns added to their titles that of BARONS OF BRECKNOCK, and they acquired very considerable additions to their already numerous lordships and great wealth. His son was the seventh who bore the name of

Humphrey de Bohun, and he succeeded his grandfather as Constable of England, Earl of Hereford and Essex; he was also Baron Brecknock. True to the principles of his ancestors, and an inheritor of their spirit and daring, this Earl repeatedly resisted the encroachments of the crown, while, at the same time, he was foremost amongst those who were ready to execute the just commands of his sovereign. He accompanied Edward I. A.D. 1298, into Scotland, where he won an important victory at Roxburgh. In that same year he died at Plessy, and was buried

at Walden in Essex. By his Countess Matilda, daughter of William de Fienles, he had one son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the eighth of the name, who succeeded to all the honours and property of his father. At Caerlaverock he executed the duties of his hereditary office of Constable, and in the Roll of that siege he is described as "a rich and elegant young man." In 1302 he married Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I. The eminent position occupied by the de Bohun family is apparent, both from this alliance and also from the special causes which led to it, as they were set forth at the time in an important document: these causes were that, there having been great dissension between the King and the Earl's father, the peace and tranquillity of the realm might be established by the marriage then proposed.* Shortly after his marriage, the Earl surrendered all his honours and lordships to the King, who granted them again to him and to his heirs. Edward I. sent him as his Commissioner into Scotland. At the coronation of Edward II. he carried one of the sceptres; in the next year he was, Dugdale says, the "principal person sent by the King from York with a sufficient strength to defend the Marches of Scotland;" he took a leading part in the conspiracy to destroy Piers Gaveston; in 1313 he was at the head of another most important royal commission; having been taken prisoner at Stirling, A.D. 1314, he regained his liberty by being exchanged for the wife of Robert Bruce, who had long been a captive in England. In 1315 he delivered the King's answer to the Bishops, and was one of the Peers appointed to regulate the royal household: shortly after this he was again engaged in military operations in Scotland, and on January 19th, 1321, he was a commissioner to negotiate a peace with Robert le Bruce. In this same year, Hereford joined the Earl of Lancaster against the Despencers, and himself published the act for their banishment in Westminster Hall. In the following year, March 16th, he lost his life at the battle of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire: he was about forty-five years of age at the time of his death, and he was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at York. By his wife the Princess Elizabeth, he had six sons and four daughters;

* Rymer, i. p. 941.

of these ladies, one was married to James Boteler, Earl of Ormond, and another to Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon: his eldest son, Humphrey, died young. The Earl was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

John de Bohun, K.B., in all his dignities and estates. Having served in the Scottish wars, in consequence of his infirm state of health this Earl was permitted to depute his brother Edward de Bohun (who died unmarried), to perform the duties of the Constablership. He died A.D. 1335, without issue, having married Alice, daughter of Edmund eighth earl of Arundel; and secondly, Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton. Among his other manors was that of Enfield in Middlesex.* To him succeeded his brother

Humphrey de Bohun, tenth of the name, being then twenty-five years of age. He died, unmarried, October 15th, 1361, and was buried in the church of the Augustine Friars in London, which had been rebuilt by him in 1354. He was present at the great battle of Sluys, A.D. 1340, and at the great tournament held in the year following at London: he twice attended the King into France, and in the year 1347 he obtained the royal licence to fortify and embattle his manor-houses in Essex, Middlesex, Wilts, and Gloucestershire; of the ten edifices which thus became castles, one was at Enfield. The brother of this Earl,

William de Bohun, meanwhile, had become one of the most distinguished Barons in the realm, and when Prince Edward was created Duke of Cornwall, March 17, 1337, he had himself received the title of EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. In this same year he was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners to treat with Philip, King of France, touching the right of Edward III. to the French crown: afterwards he was repeatedly a Royal Commissioner both in France and Scotland, and almost every year found him receiving some fresh tokens of his sovereign's esteem and confidence. He was at the naval battle at Sluys, and conducted important military operations in Britany. At Cresci, in the 2nd division of the English army, (as both before and after that memorable fight,) "he approved himself a right valiant and expert commander." He was also employed, as well in a military as

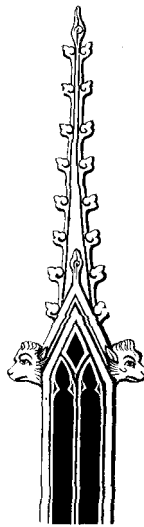
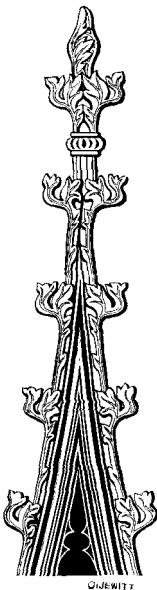
* See *infra*, p. 100.

in a diplomatic capacity, in Scotland. He was, with Humphrey his brother, one of the *Knights Founders of the Garter*. He seems, indeed, to have enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of Edward III. and to have been constantly near the King's person. It is worthy of remark that, on several occasions, in consequence of the King being unable (because of the wars) to pay to this Earl certain large sums of money due to him for his various services, he received licence to export wool into Britany: in the year 1342 it is expressly specified, that he should export two hundred sacks of wool, each sack to weigh twenty-six stone, and each stone to be equal to fourteen pounds. This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere (a Baron of great power and dignity), sister and co-heiress to Giles de Badlesmere, and widow of Edmund Lord Mortimer: he died Sept. 16, 1360, and was buried in Walden Abbey in Essex,

leaving one son and one daughter, Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun. The brother and sister were entrusted to the guardianship of Richard ninth Earl of Arundel, a comrade of their father at Cresci, and a participator with him in many most important services to their sovereign and their country. Elizabeth de Bohun afterwards became the wife of her guardian's eldest son and successor, Richard, the gallant but unfortunate tenth Earl of Arundel; from which marriage the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, &c. derive their descent. (See p. 74.)

The youthful

Humphrey de Bohun, the eleventh and *last* who bore that name, succeeded to his father, as second Earl of Northampton,



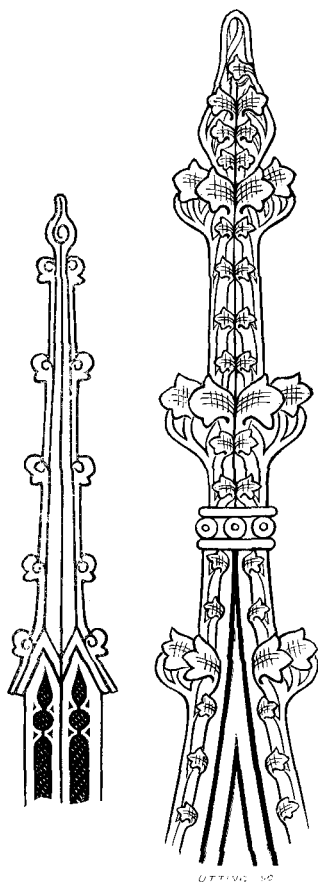
Details of Canopy: Brass of Alianore de Bohun.
(See page 72.)

and to Humphrey de Bohun his uncle, in the earldoms of Hereford and Essex, the lordship of Brecknock, and the high office of Constable of England. He thus saw the rank, dignity, and wealth of his noble and ancient house concentrated in his person; but he did not live long to enjoy his great honours. Having married Joane Fitzalan, daughter of his guardian, he died A.D. 1372.* Of the eventful fortunes of his two sole daughters and co-heiresses, the Ladies Alianore and Mary de Bohun, a sketch has already been given.

THE BRASS AT ENFIELD is to the memory of Jocosa or Joice Charlton, Lady Tiptoft, who died A.D. 1446. It lies, in its original position, above the vault, upon a raised tomb which fills the space covered by the easternmost arch on the north side of the chancel. Accordingly, towards the south, this tomb appears inclosed within the communion-rails, while towards the north it is approached from a chapel now used as a vestry.† The slab, which is of Purbeck, remains in a good condition; and the Brass itself has lost but a part of the finial to one of its secondary pinnacles, together with three of the Evangelistic emblems. Parts

* See Appendix, p. 110, note.

† With the view to inclose the chancel from the vestry, the arch-opening above the tomb is filled with a window-sash in a frame of wood. One half of the Brass is thus excluded from the church: and, less fortunate than the other moiety, it has been used as the depository for a miscellaneous collection of vestry requisites.



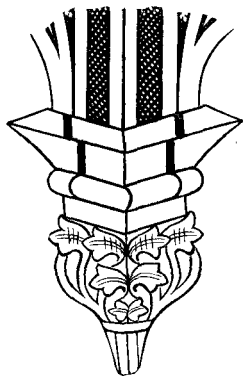
Pinnacle and Finial :
Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

of the inscription, which is incised on fillets set on the upper surface of the slab, are also shut out from view, as I shall presently have occasion to explain.



Emblem of St. Matthew :
Tiptoft Brass.

design, and in that truly artistic treatment which distinguishes the earlier memorial. This is particularly apparent in the architectural composition of the canopy; in the adjustment of the several members which compose the shafts, and in the springing of the canopy-arches from them; in the character of the crockets and finials, and also in the drawing of both the effigy and the heraldic accessories, together with the adjustment of the shields and the forms of the shields themselves. The quality of the metal, though good, is not equal to that employed in the de Bohun Brass, and the engraver's work has lost almost every trace of the masterly handling of the earlier artist.



Boss :
Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

The composition of this Brass, in its various details, appears to have been very closely adapted from the memorial to Alianore de Bohun: in the treatment of these details, however, a very decided contrast may be observed between the two works. The later Brass is richly ornamented, and on the whole it produces a good general effect, but a close examination will shew it to be deficient in purity of de-

The costume of the effigy is both characteristic and valuable, as an example illustrative of the period: it consists of the customary long and flowing robe or tunic, which is here deeply bordered with ermine, and is without long sleeves; over this appears the sidless cote-hardi (the peculiarly formed jacket which

was so long in favour in Plantagenet and Tudor times), which is sleeveless, and, like the tunic, enriched with ermine; an heraldic mantle is worn above all, and is secured by a heavily jewelled and tasselled cordon. This mantle displays the armorial ensigns of *Tiptoft*, *Powys*, and *Holland*, the wearer's husband, father, and mother; and strange, indeed, must have been the appearance of these great lions, thus displaying their heraldic peculiarities upon a lady's dress. The coiffure is an elaborate composition of the "horned" form, surmounted by an ample coronet; and, with a cover-chef, it carefully and completely removes from the sight that head-covering which is so far more beautiful than diapered goldsmiths' work—the hair. A very rich necklace supports a pendent jewel; there are narrow bracelets about the wrists, and rings on the fingers of the right hand. The countenance is large, and its features convey a somewhat peculiar expression.

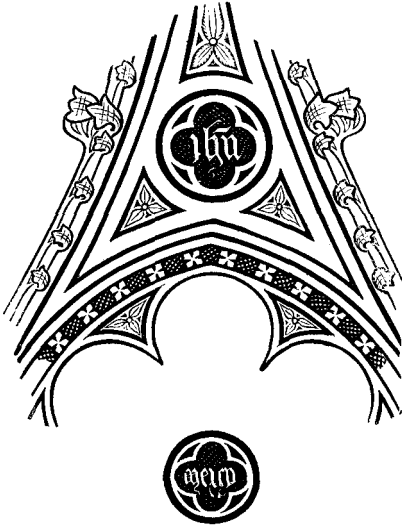


Head of Effigy :
Tiptoft Brass.

The uppermost shield of arms on the dexter side bears the arms of *CHELTON DE POWYS*,—*Or, a lion rampant gules*. Upon the third shield in this group are emblazoned the arms of *TIPTOFT*,—*Argent, a saltire engrailed gules*. And the central shield exhibits *TIPTOFT impaling POWYS*, which is itself *impaled* by *HOLLAND*,—*Gules, three lions of England, within a bordure argent*.* This impaling of *HOLLAND* with *POWYS* is very singular, the correct positions of the two coats being reversed.† On the sinister side of the canopy, the first shield bears *TIPTOFT impaling POWYS*. The central shield displays *POWYS* and *HOLLAND quarterly*—the personal arms of Lady Tiptoft. And the last shield repeats *POWYS*. There are no heraldic accessories

* *Suprà*, note at page 72.

† A similar instance occurs in the fine Brass to Sir John Harsyck and Lady (A.D. 1384), at Southacre, Norfolk, figured in *Mon. Brasses of England*.



Spandrel Ornaments, Cusping, and Crockets
Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

introduced into the actual composition of the canopy: the three circles which appear within the principal spandrils severally contain the words—

Mercy Ihu grace.

After every word of the inscription there is either a leaf, a flower, an animal or bird, or some celestial figure; the legend itself commences with an initial cross, above the effigy, on the dexter side, and, so far as it is accessible, it may be read as follows:—



Part of Inscription: Tiptoft Brass.

+ na . Jocosa . quondam . filia . et . bna . hered . Caroli . dni .
Dolores . aceciam . filia . et . bna . hered . honorabilissime . dne . Archie . et .
vror . famosissimo . Allit[i] . Johanni . Tpytoft . que . obiit . xx]ij^o . die
Septe'ber . A^o . d'ni . M . cece . xlvj . cuius . anime . et . omniu' . fideliu' de-
functor' . Ihs' . pro . sba . sacratissima . passione . miserat .

The words and letters within brackets are given from Gough.*

* *Sepul. Mon.* ii. pp. 136—141. On the 23rd of October, 1788, Gough paid a visit to Enfield church for the purpose of "examining" the tomb of Lady Tiptoft, and searching in the vault beneath it for her remains. He has given a minute description both of the monument itself and of this most improper search. The vault had been previously opened, and evidently for the purpose of successive interments. Gough mentions that in 1789, during repairs, a stone, having carved on it the date A.D. 1531, in Arabic numerals, was discovered built into the east battlements of the vestry: this may, perhaps, give the period at which the second monumental structure, described in the text, was erected.

The tomb upon which this Brass rests, exhibits the architectural features prevalent in the monumental works of the period: it is well executed, having its sides enriched with the customary panel-work; each of the four panels on either side contains within its eight-foil cusping a shield now plain.

About eighty years after the erection of this tomb with its Brass to Lady Tiptoft, a massive canopy of masonry, with a depressed four-centred arch and a square heading surmounted by a crest of Tudor-flower, was built up so as to cover both tomb and Brass, and to fill the opening of the chancel pier-arch; and this second monumental work was in part raised *upon* the upper and lower extremities of the engraven plates of the original inscription, which are thus still covered by the masonry. Gough tells us that (in 1788) he caused the plinth at the foot of one of the jambs of this arch to be removed, when he was enabled to read the portion of the inscription thus revealed; this masonry was then restored, and the inscription is consequently now interrupted in two places.

The spandrels of this canopy have each a large shield, and at the point of the arch there is sculptured an achievement of arms. This last bears, *quarterly*, first and fourth, *Gules, three water bougets argent*, for DE ROS; and second and third, *Argent, a fess between two bars gemelles gules*, for BADLESMERE. The crest is a *peacock in its pride*. The spandrel-shield, toward the east, exhibits eight quarterings, or rather, it bears LOVELL and MUSWELL *quarterly, impaling* DE ROS, HOLLAND, TIPTOFT, and BADLESMERE. The other spandrel-shield bears DE ROS, HOLLAND, TIPTOFT, and BADLESMERE *quarterly*. The arms of LOVELL are,—*Or, a chevron azure between three squirrels sejant gules*; and those of MUSWELL,—*Vert, two chevronels argent, each charged with three cinquefoils gules*.

We have, in this canopy, a remarkable instance of the appropriation of a monument to purposes of memorial not contemplated at the period in which it was originally erected. It is impossible now to determine how far the later work was here intended to affect the commemorative object of the original monument. The design may have been simply to include in the monument to Lady Tiptoft a memorial of some of her descend-

ants; or, an absolute reappropriation of the monument may have been intended, as the memorial of such descendant or descendants, to the exclusion of Lady Tiptoft herself. The latter supposition might be supported by a numerous series of examples. Blomfield evidently considered the entire tomb to commemorate Isabel, wife of Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G. and granddaughter of Lady Tiptoft; and Peter le Neve, as Gough has observed, was led to adopt the same opinion.* It is very probable, however, from the arms introduced into the canopy and already described, that this addition to the original tomb was constructed with the view to render it a family monument, and specially in order to commemorate both Lady Lovell and her brother Edmund, Lord de Ros, who died A.D. 1508, and was buried at Enfield.

Joice Cherlton, the younger of two sisters, daughters and co-heiresses of Edward Cherlton, fourth Baron Cherlton of Powys, was born A.D. 1404, the 6th of Henry IV.; her mother was Alianore, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March. She married Sir John Tiptoft, who, in 1426, was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, and to whom she brought a rich inheritance. In 1446 she died, having survived her husband three years: she left one son and four daughters. Her husband, John, Lord Tiptoft, was a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster, and was employed constantly on important services for the crown during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., and until his own decease in the reign of Henry VI. He bore the offices of Chief Butler of England, Treasurer of the Royal Household, Seneschal of Aquitaine, President of the King's Exchequer in Normandy, and Treasurer of that Duchy; and he was subsequently appointed Chief Steward of the Royal Castles and Lordships throughout Wales and the Marches. Lord Tiptoft, at the time of his death, was seized of the manor and castles of Burwell in Cambridgeshire, and of Enfield and Shepperton in Middlesex. A part of the manor of Enfield (held formerly by the de Bohuns), passed to the Tiptofts

* Blomfield's *Norfolk* (8vo ed.) i. 324. I cannot point out an error in this careful and discriminating topographer, without observing, that in his pages errors are "few and far between."

by the marriage of Lord Tiptoft's father with Agnes, sister of Sir John Wrothe.

John Tiptoft, only son of Lord Tiptoft and Joice Lady Tiptoft his wife, was born in 1428, and on attaining to his majority was created Earl of Worcester. As had been the case with his father, many high offices in the state were entrusted to his charge; but the more important of these he received from a sovereign of the House of York. In 1457 he was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in 1461 Justice of North Wales. Shortly after he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London, and Treasurer of the Exchequer. By Edward IV. he was advanced to be Chancellor and Lieutenant of Ireland; and finally he received the old de Bohun office of CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND. This nobleman was further distinguished as one of the most accomplished and elegant scholars of his day; he had been educated at Baliol College, Oxford, and he subsequently travelled through various countries, visiting Jerusalem, where he remained for a considerable time, and returning to England by way of Rome. The brief revival of the Lancasterian ascendancy, which restored Henry VI. for a few months to the throne, proved fatal to the Yorkist Earl of Worcester. He was beheaded on Tower-hill A.D. 1470. Leland describes the circumstances of his death, and Fuller adds the following remark to his notice of the same event:—"The axe thus did at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving nobility." As a consequence of his execution, all the honours of the Earl became forfeited. He was three times married: his first wife was Cicely, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of Henry, Duke of Warwick: his second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Greyndour, Esquire; and after her death, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hoptoun, Esquire, and widow of Sir Roger Corbet, Kt. county Salop. By his second marriage the Earl had one son, who died in his infancy: his only other child was the son of his third marriage, Edward Tiptoft, who was restored in blood and honours by Edward IV. He died unmarried, A.D. 1485, when his earldom of Worcester became extinct, and the second barony of Tiptoft fell into abeyance amongst the representatives of his aunts, his father's sisters.

The eldest of these ladies, Philippa Tiptoft, was married to Thomas, tenth Baron de Ros, of Hamlake.

Joane Tiptoft, her sister, was married first to Sir Edward Inglethorpe, and afterwards to Thomas, Lord Grey, of Rugemont; she died A.D. 1494, leaving issue.*

Joice Tiptoft, the third sister, was the wife of Sir Edmund Sutton, eldest son of John fourth Baron Dudley; and by this marriage she was the mother of John fifth Baron Dudley (ancestor of the Lords Dudley and Ward), and of Alianore, third wife of Charles Somerset, K.G. who, in 1513, was created Earl of Worcester, and from whom this earldom has descended to the Dukes of Beaufort.

The fourth sister, Margaret, was a nun.

Thomas, Lord de Ros, who married the eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Tiptoft, was descended from an ancient and noble race.† His ancestor, Robert de Ros, of Furfan (whose effigy is now in the Temple church),‡ was, with Henry de Bohun, one of the twenty-five Barons who undertook to enforce the observance of MAGNA CHARTA. The grandson of this Robert, feudal Lord of Belvoir, was summoned to Parliament as Baron de Ros. His descendant William, the fourth Baron, was at

* Blomfield's *Norfolk*, vii. 127. Her only daughter by her first marriage was the wife of John Neville, K.G. Marquess Montacute: she had a numerous issue.

† In Ely cathedral, in the aisle to the south of the choir, there is a canopied monument, with the effigies of a knight and of two ladies, which are said to represent John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and two of his wives; it is, however, by no means certain that one of the female figures (now much mutilated) was originally intended to form a member of the group. The knight, whose basinet is encircled by a coronet, bears the Tiptoft arms upon his jupon and shoulder-guards, and also upon a small shield depending from his tilting-helm: and he wears the collar of SS. The Earl of Worcester was buried in London, and this monument was certainly erected some years before his death: but even then he would scarcely have placed upon his own effigy the ensign of the party to which he was so warmly opposed. I prefer to consider this to be the monument of the Earl's father, the Lancastrian Baron Tiptoft, with his wife Joice Cherlton—the same lady who was afterwards commemorated by the Brass at Enfield.

‡ Figured by Stothard, and in the *Temple Church Effigies* of Edward Richardson.

Cresci, where he fought in the same division with the Earl of Hereford. Thomas de Ros himself died A.D. 1461, having suffered the penalty of an act of attainder, as the consequence of his fidelity to the House of Lancaster. His son, Edmund de Ros, obtained a reversal of the attainder, in the 1st of Henry VII.; but he died unmarried A.D. 1508. After this the Barony passed to the nephew of the last Baron, Sir George Manners, son of Alianore de Ros, who had been married to Sir Robert Manners, K.G. This Sir George married Anne, niece of Edward IV.; and their son, Sir Thomas Manners, K.G. thirteenth Baron de Ros, was created Earl of Rutland; and from him (who died in 1543), by his marriage with Alianore the daughter of Sir William Paston,* the Dukes of Rutland and the Lords de Ros derive their descent.

Isabel, the younger daughter of Thomas, Lord de Ros, was married, first, to Sir Thomas Grey, of Werke, and secondly, to Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G.; but she died without issue.

The ancestors of Sir John Tiptoft sat in Parliament, as Barons of the realm, during three generations; but their Barony fell into abeyance A.D. 1372, amongst the three daughters of Robert the third Baron. Sir Pain Tiptoft, father to Sir John, was younger brother to this Robert; they were sons of another John, the second Baron, who married Margaret, daughter of Bartholomew Lord Badlesmere; this lady's sister Elizabeth was the wife of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton; and thus (see *suprà*, p. 94) the husband of the noble lady commemorated by the Brass at Enfield, and the noble lady herself who is commemorated by the Brass in Westminster Abbey, were second cousins. The first John Tiptoft was the son of Sir Pain Tiptoft or Tibetot, who was summoned to Parliament on the accession of Edward II. He married Agnes or Anne, daughter of William, Lord de 'Ros, of Hamlake, and was the son of Robert de Tibetot, a companion in arms of Edward I. in Palestine, by his marriage with Eve, daughter of Payne de Chaworth.

In the reign of Edward I. Sir Alan de Cherlton, of Appleby

This celebrated person died A.D. 1551, and was buried in Shoreditch church, in the city of London.

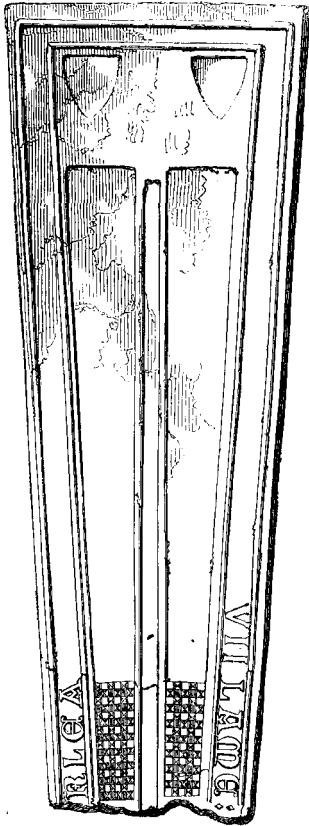
Castle, county Salop, Kt., left two sons, of whom Alan, the younger, was the ancestor of the Charltons of Ludford, and the elder John de Cherlton, A.D. 1313, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Cherlton: he had married a Welsh heiress, in whose right he had acquired the feudal Barony of Pole. He was Lord Chamberlain to the King, and took an active part in the wars both in Scotland and France; he also went to Ireland as Lord Justice of that island. His son John, the second Baron, succeeded to his father as Lord Chamberlain, and was in attendance upon the Black Prince in Gascony; he died in 1374, having married Joane, daughter of Ralph first Earl of Stafford. His eldest son, John de Cherlton, married Maud, daughter of the celebrated Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, but died without issue, A.D. 1400. He was succeeded by his brother Edward, the fourth Baron, who, like his brother and father, was summoned to Parliament as Baron "de Cherlton de Powys." By his marriage with Alianore Holland he had two daughters, his co-heiresses, between whom, on his decease in 1422, his Barony fell in abeyance. Alianore Holland was the widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and grand-daughter of Joane Plantagenet of Kent, who was grand-daughter to Edward I. Joice, the younger daughter of Edward Lord Cherlton of Powys, was married to Lord Tiptoft, and to her memory the Brass at Enfield was laid down. Her elder sister, Joane Cherlton, became the wife of Sir John Grey, of Berwyke, co. Northumberland, K.G. who, A.D. 1418, was created Earl of Tankerville in Normandy, and in 1421 was killed near the castle of Beaufort, with the Duke of Clarence and many other English noblemen and knights. The earldom of Tankerville became extinct in the 38th of Henry VI. by the attainder of Richard the third Earl, the grandson of Sir John Grey. The son of this Richard, however, a second John Grey, was summoned to Parliament in 1482, as Baron Grey of Powys. This Barony, as Sir Harris Nicolas has shown in his able *Synopsis of the Peerage*, was evidently a new creation, under the new title of "Grey de Powys," and not the old Barony of "Cherlton de Powys," to which John Grey is by some writers considered to have succeeded on the attainder of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; consequently the Barony of "Cherlton de

Powys" appears to be still in abeyance.* John Grey, the third of the name, succeeded to his father as second Baron, and he married Margaret, daughter of Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley (*suprà*, p. 102), by his second marriage with Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord de Clifford. To this John succeeded his son, Sir Edward Grey, who, in 1552, died without lawful issue. His wife was the Lady Anne Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk. At the death of the third Baron, the Barony of Grey de Powys fell into abeyance, but between whom it yet remains undetermined.

I have already shown that two personages of great importance in the foregoing memoir, both of them heroes of Cresci, married two sisters, daughters of the illustrious but unfortunate Baron, Bartholomew de Badlesmere. A comrade of William de Bohun and John de Tiptoft at Cresci, William Lord de Ros, was the son of a third sister, Margeria, wife of another William, third Lord de Ros. And the fourth and eldest sister, Matilda de Badlesmere, was the wife of another nobleman, who also did good service at the same glorious battle: he bore a name highly honoured amongst the Peers of England—John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; he was nephew and successor to Robert de Vere, sixth Earl of Oxford and seventh Lord Great Chamberlain, and grandson to Robert de Vere, the fifth Earl, who was himself grandson of another Robert de Vere, third Earl of Oxford, one of the twenty-five Barons of MAGNA CHARTA † Like so many other time-honoured dignities, the Earldom of Oxford has become extinct, and the Barony of Badlesmere is yet in abeyance: but the names of de Vere and de Badlesmere, with those of de Bohun, de Stafford, de Mortimer, de Ros, Holland, Fitzalan, Mowbray, de Cherlton, Manners, Grey, Tiptoft, and very many more, will be remembered so long as England possesses any record of times long passed away, or numbers amongst her living children those who delight to investigate her chronicles and to read the story of her historical monuments.

* See Collins on *Baronies*, p. 396, &c.; and Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, pp. 120 and 239.

† The noble but grievously mutilated effigy at Hatfield Broadoak in Essex, is probably the memorial of the fifth, and not the third Earl as supposed by Weaver: it is admirably figured in *Stothard*.

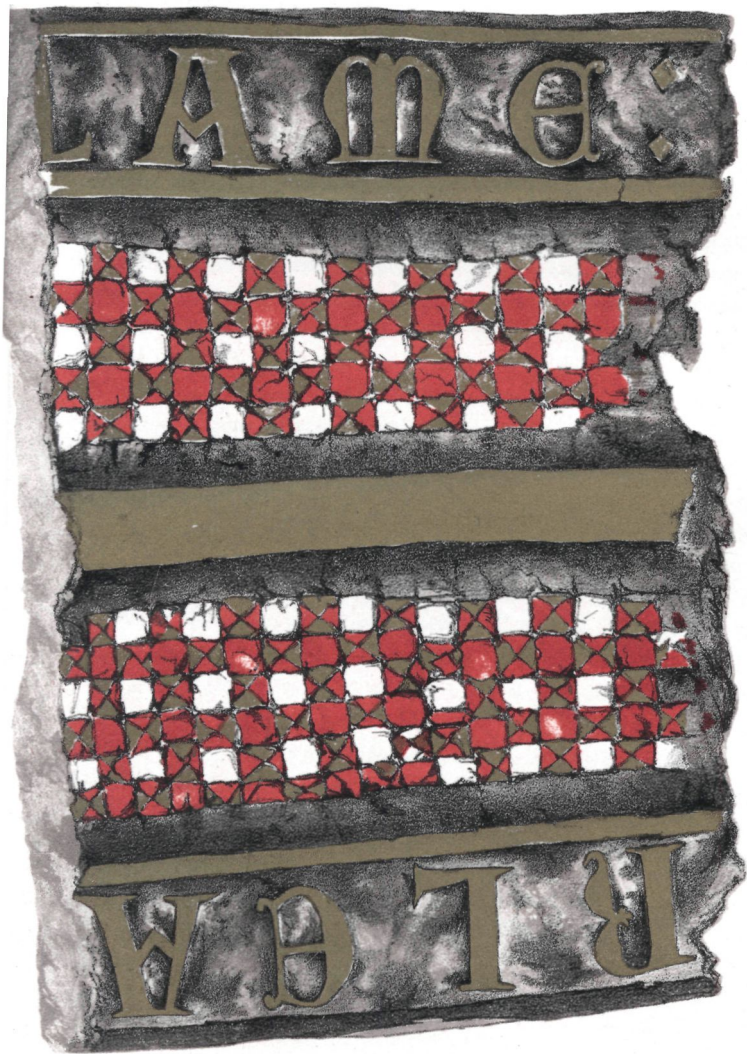


Remains of De Valence Slab.

IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, in the pavement of the Chapel of the Confessor, and partly covered by the first of the steps which lead eastwards to the tomb of King Henry V., there lies a coffin-shaped slab, which shows upon its long-worn surface certain slight indications of having been once enriched with a Cross-Brass and other decorative accessories. The attention of Mr. G. G. Scott (now, fortunately, architect to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster) having been recently directed to this slab, the stone step which had been placed over its base was by his direction removed; it thus became apparent that the lowermost part of the slab had been broken away, but that the step had preserved about nine and a half inches of it in its original condition. On this portion of the slab there remains a part of the shaft of the cross in brass, with similar portions of the narrow

fillets which inclosed the border-inscription of single Lombardic capitals, and eight of these letters, four on each side of the stone; also, between the central shaft and the border fillets, the greater part of the surface of the stone is covered with an incrustation of glass-mosaic in gold, crimson, and white, still in excellent preservation. This discovery satisfactorily explains the entire original composition.

I am not aware of the existence of any similar application of this peculiar enrichment to monumental slabs: in this instance, indeed, it would seem to have been an experiment, made by the artists employed in producing the mosaic decorations of the shrine



A PORTION OF THE MONUMENTAL SLAB

Of the Son of William de Balence, the
preserved beneath the step leading from the
SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TO THE MONUMENT OF HENRY V. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

of Edward the Confessor and of the tomb of Henry III. Though well adapted to such monumental stones as would be placed upon raised-tombs, mosaic of this class would speedily suffer when exposed to the casualties incidental to a position in a pavement. That style of inlaid-work which forms the pavement of the Confessor's Chapel would be admirably suited for the decoration of pavement-slabs; and it is a subject for surprise that it should not have been used for that purpose.

The arrangement of the tesserae in this fragment is shewn by the accompanying engravings. The Lombardic letters are very bold and effective, and sharply cut, and they fit their matrices with the most precise exactness. The four letters on the north side are *L A M E*, and they are followed by two lozenge-shaped points: on the other side the four letters are *R L E A*, and these do not readily suggest the word of which they form components. This slab has been attributed to John, eldest son of William de Valence (himself half-brother, by his mother Isabelle d'Angouleme, to Henry III.), Earl of Pembroke, and of Joan de Montchesney his wife: this John died in his infancy, and Dart informs us that "his father procured for all such as should devoutly pray for his soul, indulgence for 160 days:"* this circumstance was, doubtless, recorded in the inscription. I reserve until some future occasion any further notice of the de Valences and their monuments.

Without being able to assign to this fragment an exact date, I must consider it to have been executed before the Brass to Sir John d'Aubernoun; and, consequently, this is the earliest portion of a Brass now known to be in existence.†

* Dart, ii. p. 41. Possibly the letters *RLEA* in the inscription may have formed part of the name *DE VARLEANCE*.

† In further illustration of this paper, I have been permitted to place amongst the MS. collections of our Society a series of genealogies of the families of de Bohun, de Mandeville, de Brewys, Fitzalan, de Mortimer, de Valence, de Stafford, Bouchier, de Cherlton, Tiptoft, de Holland, and others; these genealogies are accompanied with heraldic, historical, and miscellaneous notices, also with a list of remarkable monuments to distinguished members of these families.

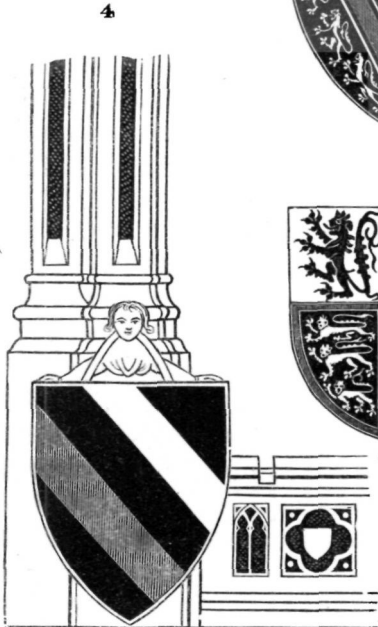
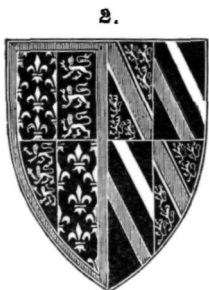
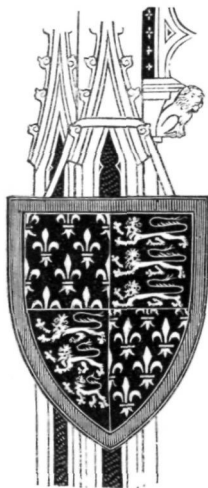
APPENDIX.

UPON the opposite page I have placed four SHIELDS OF ARMS (figures 1, 2, 3, 4) from the de Bohun Brass, and three (figures 5, 6, 7) from that at Enfield; and with the shields themselves I have associated those parts of the canopies of the two Brasses from which they are severally suspended; my object has been thus to show the contrast in artistic feeling between two works which, in their general treatment, exhibit so many points of resemblance. I would particularly direct attention to the heraldic drawing of the lions at the two periods of the close of the fourteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century. Shield No. 1 is *Woodstock*; No. 2 is *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun*, which quarters *Hereford*; No. 3 is *de Bohun* impaling *Fitzalan*, which quarters *Warren*; No. 4 is *Hereford*; No. 5 is *Tiptoft* impaling *Cherlton de Powys*; No. 6 is *Cherlton de Powys* quartering *Holland*; and No. 7 is *Cherlton de Powys*. I have given the full blazon of these shields at pages 72—74 and 97.

Many SEALS of the de Bohuns have been preserved, and they all are highly interesting. The seal of the Duchess Alianore herself is very remarkable; the legend encircles the figure of a boat upon the sea, in which stands an angel holding an oblong panel bearing the arms of *Bohun*, upon which is charged a lozenge displaying *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun*; two swans sit at the stern and the head of the boat. The seal of the Duke her husband is appended to the Foundation of Plessey College, in Essex; it is circumscribed with the legend: † *Sig. thome . filii . regis . anglie . ducis . glocestrie . comit . esserie . et . huf . ac . constabul . anglie*; within this, on a field richly diapered with swans and feathers, is the armed figure of the Duke on his barded charger. The crest on the helm is a *lion of England*, which is differenced by a *bar argent*.* Another seal of this prince is charged with his helmet and crest, his shield of arms suspended upon the stock of a tree (his rebus was a *wood-stock*), on either side of which is a shield of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and at its roots two swans.† His secretum—a small and very beautiful seal—has the legend, § *thome . ducis . glocestrie*, which is so arranged as to appear to bind together three small circles: of these, the uppermost contains the crest of the Duke; that to the dexter encloses his own shield of arms; and within the sinister circle is a shield, charged with *de Bohun* quartering *Hereford*; in the spandrel in base there is a swan, and the same figure may possibly have been introduced into the

* *Archæologia*, xxxi. 364.

† *Journal of Archæol. Association*, vi. 378.



U. T. I. N. G. S. C.

SHIELDS OF ARMS IN THE DE BOHUN AND TIPTOFT BRASSES.

two other spandrels also.* Thomas de Woodstock does not appear to have borne any arms for his earldom of Essex.

The seal of the College of Plessey, founded by Thomas Duke of Gloucester and Alianore his Duchess, is in form a pointed oval; it contains, in chief, in the three compartments of a rich tabernacled canopy, the emblem of the Holy Trinity between two angels, who bow down in adoration; in fess, the figures of the Duke and Duchess appear, kneeling, and supporting between them a model of a conventual church; in base, beneath the figures, are two shields—that to the dexter bears *Woodstock*, and the other *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun*; in point, between these shields, is a swan.

I shall here describe one seal only of HENRY IV. the husband of Mary de Bohun. This very fine example exhibits the shield suspended by its sinister angle from the helm, between two tall feathers, which are curiously entwined by ribbons charged with the significant word, *so be rey ne*. The shield itself bears the arms of the Confessor differenced with a label of three points, impaling the arms of Henry of Lancaster himself differenced with the label of five points; and this impaled coat impales *de Bohun*.† This seal appears to have been executed between the months of February and October, in the year 1399, and was affixed to a charter, now in the British Museum (Addit. Chart. 5829), in which the prince is styled "*Henry Duc de Lancastre, Conte de Derby, de Nycole, de Leycestre, de Herford, et de Northampton, seneschal d'Angleterre*:" the legend upon the seal is *s . henrici . de . lancastría . ducis . hereford . comis . derbie . et . norhampton . bar . brechonie*. From this it would appear that two of the de Bohun earldoms with their barony passed to the husband of Mary, the younger of the two co-heiresses of the last Humphrey de Bohun. The monument of Mary, Countess of Derby, is supposed still to be preserved in the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Leicester. (See *suprà*, pp. 82, 83.) After his accession, Henry IV. retained the two feathers on his secretum, which is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 361. Three seals of the Black Prince also bore feathers. ‡

The secretum of Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford, is figured, with a copy and an illustrative notice of his will, in the *Archæological Journal*; § it is small, and bears his arms on a pointed shield within a legend. The seal of this earl is highly interesting and very beautifully executed: he is represented on it mounted upon his charger, which is barded with the arms of Bohun: the legend is *s : h : de : bohvn : comitis : hereford : et : constabular : angl :* The legend which surrounds the counter-seal is *s : hvmpfridi : de : bohvn : comitis : herefordie : et :*

* These seals are figured with tolerable accuracy by Sandford, pp. 125 and 229.

† See *Archæologia*, xxxi. 365.

‡ See also Vincent, 389; and *Journal of Archæol. Association*, vi. 374.

§ Vol. ii. p. 342: see also *Archæologia*, xxi. 196, where the seal of this Earl is described by Sir Harris Nicolas.

ESSEXIE : I have given figures of the reverses of this seal, and of the seal of John, son of Earl Humphrey, the fifth earl, in order to add further examples of the de Bohun arms, and of the manner in which they were rendered. On either side of the principal shield in these seals is a small shield charged with the arms of *Mandeville*, Earl of Essex, *Quarterly or and gules*: from this arrangement the usage of *Quartering* appears to have been derived. Mr. Planché, in one of his always agreeable as well as always clever papers, derives the de Bohun swan from a *badge* of the Mandevilles; and he adds that the Mandevilles themselves bore this device with the Nevilles, in token of their descent from a common ancestor, Adam de Swanne, or Sweyn, a Dane.*

I have been obliged to give my engraving of the seal of Earl John from an imperfect impression, the date of which is 1327. The swan in the other seal is an early example of the *supporter*, afterwards so important an heraldic accessory. The secretum of the last Earl Humphrey has a swan on either side of the shield, as a *supporter*. This shield is charged with *de Bohun* impaling *Fitzalan*, which quarters *Warren*, and consequently it resembles shield No. 3 from the Brass to the Duchess Alianore.†

William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, the father of the last Earl of Hereford, bore on his seal his paternal shield differenced after the following remarkable manner: *Argent, on a bend gules, voided of the field, between six lioncels rampant azure, three stars sable*.

Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, who married Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Alianore de Bohun, bore his own arms, *Or, a chevron gules*, impaling *Woodstock* only, and not *Woodstock* quartering *de Bohun*; but the son of this Earl and Countess, Humphrey, the first Duke of Buckingham, assumed and bore the arms of *Woodstock* only, as appears from a seal of his Duchess Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland.

This duke, however, appears to have also borne a quartered shield: for, in the monument to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, at Warwick, two of the "weepers" represent the Duke of Buckingham and Anne Neville his duchess, and they are accompanied with shields of arms which quarter 1. *Woodstock*; 2 and 3. *de Bohun*; 4. *Stafford*: one shield impales *Neville*.

Those very noble and valuable relics, the Burghers Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral, contain shields of de Bohun of Hereford, de Bohun of Northampton, de Badlesmere, de Stafford, Tiptoft, de Ros, de Mortimer, de Vere, &c.: here also amongst the "weepers" are figures of William de Bohun Earl of Northampton and *Elizabeth his countess, of Margaret wife*

* See Journal of Archæol. Association, vi. 384.

† I may here, in a note, supply an omission from the text at page 95, by stating that the father of the Duchess Alianore was buried by the side of his father at Walden; and that her widowed mother long survived her: she died A.D. 1419, having been a special benefactress to the Abbey of Walden, where, after the early death of her husband, she chiefly resided, and occupied her time with religious exercises.



COUNTER SEAL OF HUMPHREY DE BOHUN,
4TH EARL OF HEREFORD, AND 3RD EARL OF ESSEX.



COUNTER SEAL OF JOHN DE BOHUN,
5TH EARL OF HEREFORD, AND 4TH EARL OF ESSEX.

of John Lord Tiptoft, and of several other persons mentioned in the foregoing memoir.

With reference to the assumption of a maternal coat of arms by the Dukes of Buckingham, Sandford quotes a curious and important memorandum from the records of the Heralds' College, to the effect following:—"That in the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward IV., the thirteenth year of his reign, on the 18th day of February, it was concluded in a chapter of the Office of Arms,—That where a nobleman is descended lineally hereditably to three or four coats, and afterwards is ascended to a coat near to the King and of his Royal Blood, he may for his most honour bear the same coat alone, and no lower coat of dignity to be quartered therewith: as my Lord Henry, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Northampton, and Stafford, Lord of Brecknock and of Holderness, is ascended to the coat and array of Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, son to King Edward III., he may bear his coat alone." "Nevertheless," adds Sandford, "the right high and mighty prince, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton (for so is he styled in the Indenture, dated 17th February, tenth Henry VIII.), did bear upon his seal four coats quarterly:—1. *Woodstock*; 2. *Bohun, Earl of Hereford*; 3. *Bohun, Earl of Northampton*; 4. *Stafford*, his paternal coat" from the Staffords; his shield, accordingly, "contained the arms of his dukedom and his three earldoms."* From these passages it would certainly appear that the lapsed de Bohun earldoms had revived in the persons of their descendants, the de Staffords: in this case, the time-honoured de Bohun earldoms are now extinct, only so far as they were affected by the unjust Act of Attainder of 1521. The silver matrix of the seal of Milo of Gloucester and Hereford was found about sixty years since near Luggershall, Wilts: it bears the figure of the baron armed and mounted, and much resembles the seal of Rufus; the hawberk, however, is longer, and to the lance a large lance-flag is attached: the legend is † SIGILLVM : MILONIS : DE : GLOECESTRIA. It is probable that this seal was engraved before Milo had established himself at Hereford. This seal is figured and noticed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 276; also vol. xxi. p. 554.

For some equally interesting and valuable remarks upon the eventful history of the Dukes of Buckingham of the House of Stafford, together with some important illustrations of the agitated period in which they lived, I refer to a paper by the truly eminent archæologist and accomplished scholar J. H. Markland, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., of Bath, which was read at Oxford on the occasion of the Congress of the Archæological Institute held in that city, and is printed in the *Journal of the Institute* for the year 1851, at page 259: this paper is entitled "Some Remarks on the Rent-Roll of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, 26th and 27th of Henry VI., A.D. 1447, 1448." I must also here specially refer to a paper in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxv. pp. 323—341), which contains a series of

* Sandford, p. 234.

curious and highly instructive "Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham," who was beheaded in 1521, with a letter commenting thereon by John Gage, Esq., and a "Summary" by Lord Bagot. The *Archæologia* also contains (vol. xxxii. p. 60) a letter from the late Dean of Hereford, Dr. Merewether, describing the discovery of the coffin containing the remains of Joan de Bohun beneath her monumental effigy, during restorations lately in progress in Hereford Cathedral. This lady is described as having been the heiress of Kilpec, in Herefordshire, and to have died A.D. 1327, having been a great benefactress to Hereford Cathedral: she appears to have been the widow of a son of the fourth Earl of Hereford.

THE OFFICE OF CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND,

held during such a long period by the de Bohuns, was invested with great powers, and in itself constituted a high rank and dignity. Thus, in the fiftieth of Edward III., Thomas de Woodstock sat in the Parliament at Westminster by the title only of CONSTABLE. With the Earl Marshal, the Constable was judge *in curiâ militari*, and the fountain and arbiter of martial law; he held his court *in aulâ regis*; and his great powers had both a very widely extended range and a directly practical application. The office appears to have been in existence before the Conquest: shortly after the Norman era it became hereditary, and was held by grand serjeanty by the de Bohuns, and (with certain interruptions) by the de Staffords as their heirs general. In the thirteenth of Richard II. the authority and jurisdiction of the Constable was specifically defined.* The office became extinct in 1521, under the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham. There were also officers who bore the distinct titles of Constable for Normandy and for Ireland. Thus the Brass to Sir Thomas le Straunge at Willesburne, Warwick, declares him to have been "nuper Constabularius Regis in Hibernia:" and the seals of William de Humet, father and son, style them Constables of the King of England in Normandy.† In France the office of Constable continued in existence until about the year 1630, when it was finally suppressed by Louis XIII.

* See also *Rymer*, vol. iii. part 3, p. 60, and part 4 of that vol., p. 162; and for further particulars respecting the office of Constable, see Hearne's Collections, ii. pp. 77, 81.

† See Gough, ii. 73, and *Archæologia*, xxxv. 493.