

# THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

## PART I 4

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In renewing this series after a gap of several years it is appropriate that this number should deal with Harrow, partly because the church at Harrow has one of the best series of brasses in the county, but also because the Society made a special visit to Harrow for its eighteenth general meeting on 6 October, 1859. The meeting was held in the Speech Room of the School with the Vicar of Harrow in the chair. After a paper on the history of Harrow by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, Mr. William Tayler made some remarks on the value of Sepulchral Brasses, both as historical records and as relics of ancient art; and drew the attention of the company to the rubbings from those in Harrow church, which were suspended round the room; particularly that of John Byrkhede, Rector of Harrow. On this a paper was subsequently written by Mr. John Gough Nichols. Mr. Charles Baily announced the recent discovery in the church of two fragments of Flemish brasses (also more fully described by Mr. Alfred Heales). A paper was also read on the Parish Registers, which had been carefully bound in anticipation of the Society's visit.

These accounts and papers all appeared in Volume I of our *Transactions*, published in 1860.<sup>1</sup>

If it be thought that the Harrow brasses have therefore been described, one must say that, apart from Nichols' account of the Byrkhede brass, and Heales' description of the palimpsests, the written account was very inadequate. Nor, apart from the two Flemish pieces, were any of the brasses illustrated. It is an essential part of the work of recording our monuments of the past that every description should be adequately illustrated.

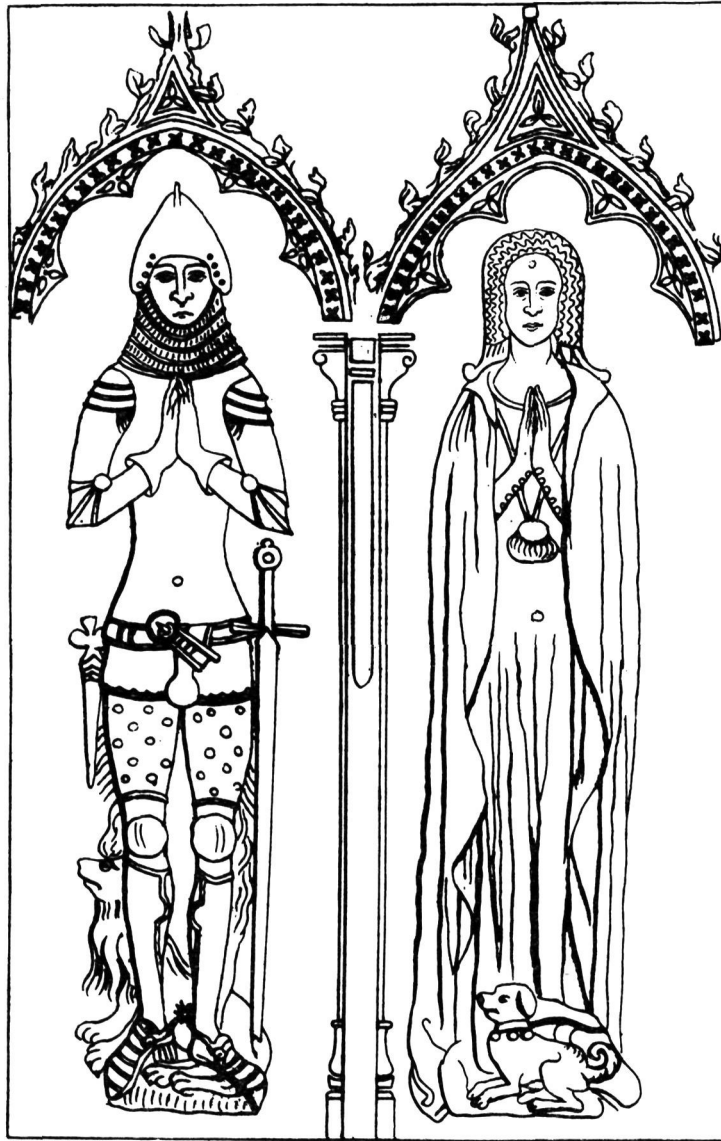
While I still retain the written permission from the Rev. Prebendary Joyce to rub the brasses in Harrow church, dated September 7th, 1922, the rubbings then taken are now inadequate for the purpose of illustrating this article. I am therefore greatly indebted to Mr. Lawrence James and to those of his pupils at Merchant Taylors School who assisted him in preparing for me a set of very good rubbings which he has allowed me to use.

Before describing in detail the brasses at Harrow, it must be stated that Harmondsworth, next in alphabetical order, now has no brasses, nor have any indents been seen in or around the church. Mill Stephenson<sup>2</sup> has recorded that the following brasses disappeared from the church at the restoration in 1864 (what a pity the Society did not visit Harmondsworth in its first years as well as Harrow!).

1. Two civilians, one much mutilated; also 6 sons and 6 daughters, c. 1600.
2. Agnes Urmeston, widow, 1614; an inscription.
3. Leonard Davies, pastor, 1623.
4. Daniel Bankys, gent. 1665 and wives Mary, by whom 9 sons and 10 daughters, and Elizabeth, by whom 2 sons and 4 daughters; an inscription.

## HARROW

- I. Edmund Flambard, in armour, and wife Elizabeth, c. 1370, on a bracket under a double canopy, all lost but male effigy and pediments of the canopy. On the Chancel floor.



MONUMENTS . Pl. VI.

Fig. 1  
Edmund Flambard and wife Alice (from F. Grove), No. I

The original composition, an excellent early example of a "bracket" brass, must have measured at least 7 ft in length. What remains of the brass is set in its original stone which has at some time been broken transversely, the lower part now being missing. The illustration in Plate. 1 shows what remains of the indent and of the brass. The figures of Edmund Flambard and his wife are beneath a double canopy at the head of a bracket supported by a long stem. The foot of the stem is now missing. Beneath the spandrels of the bracket,

one on either side, are the indents for two shields and around the edge of the stone is the indent of a marginal inscription on a fillet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ins wide. The stone is 38 ins wide and the maximum length remaining, on the sinister side, is 75 ins.

The bracket and the shafts of the canopy have long been missing, but a small piece of the stem of the bracket was found and replaced at the end of the last century.

The figure of Edmund is but 25 ins high, and shows him in armour typical of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. His bascinet is large, with aventail held by simple attachments. Over the tight-fitting jupon his swordbelt is hung around the hips, with simple buckle and the belt end looped in a half hitch. The sword hangs at his left side and the dagger at his right. The thigh armour is covered with small circles often described as *pourpointerie*, or studded armour, but the circles really represent coloured velvet or material coverings to rivet heads. The lion at his feet has the facial characteristics of a dog.

The figure of his wife, long since lost, is shown in a rather crude drawing (Fig. 1) in F. Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, the Supplement, Vol. 2, published in 1787, plate VI. She is shown in mantle and gown, with a girdle from which hangs a pomander. The headdress is of the wavy or *nebulé* kind. At her feet is a dog with bells round its neck.

The marginal inscription was recorded by Weever<sup>3</sup> (p. 531) as:

Edmund Flamberd and Elizabeth gisont icy  
Dieu de s'almes eyt mercy. Amen.  
Flamberd Edmundus iacet hic tellure sepultus  
Coniux addetur Elisabeth et societatur.

Of this Edmund it is recorded that in 1334 he was in charge of horsemen and foot soldiers raised by the City of London to assist the King in his war with Scotland. He was allowed by the City the sum of "200 marks for gowns, lances, standards and the wage of a minstrel". He was also M.P. for Middlesex. The Calendar of Patent Rolls has several references to Edmund Flambard.<sup>4</sup> He is described in 1347 as "King's Sergeant at Arms" and as "yeoman" of Queen Phillipa. He was in that year appointed Constable of Bristol and confirmation of letters patent by the Queen is dated "before Calais"—where *inter alia* she interceded for the six burghers. On January 6, 1352, he paid a sum of money to the Black Prince's chamber "for play" (or gambling debts) from the Queen.<sup>5</sup> He resigned as Constable in 1360 and in 1371 he, "the King's Esquire", was exempted for life from being put on assizes, juries or recognitions. In quoting the inscription Weever writes: I finde divers of the Surname of Flamberds; of Flamberds in this Parish (now the habitation of a worthy Gentleman, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet) to be here interred.

## II. John Flambard, in armour, c. 1390; inscription in two lines of Latin verse.

Also on the Chancel floor is this second brass to a Flambard, in a stone 29 ins wide and probably about 100 ins long, although the top 23 ins has been replaced by material of a different colour.

Some twenty years later (in style) this is another armed figure showing the same general items of protective covering. This splendid figure, 4 ft 10 ins high, is showing signs of wear. It appears to have been engraved in a different workshop from the older brass to Edmund. J. P. C. Kent,<sup>6</sup> in his classification of military effigies on brasses distinguishes the brass of Edmund Flambard as Series A, and that of John Flambard as Series B, being contemporary with similar brass effigies at Etchingham in Sussex and Broughton, Lincs. A small piece of the aventail on the right shoulder is missing as is also the belt of the sword.

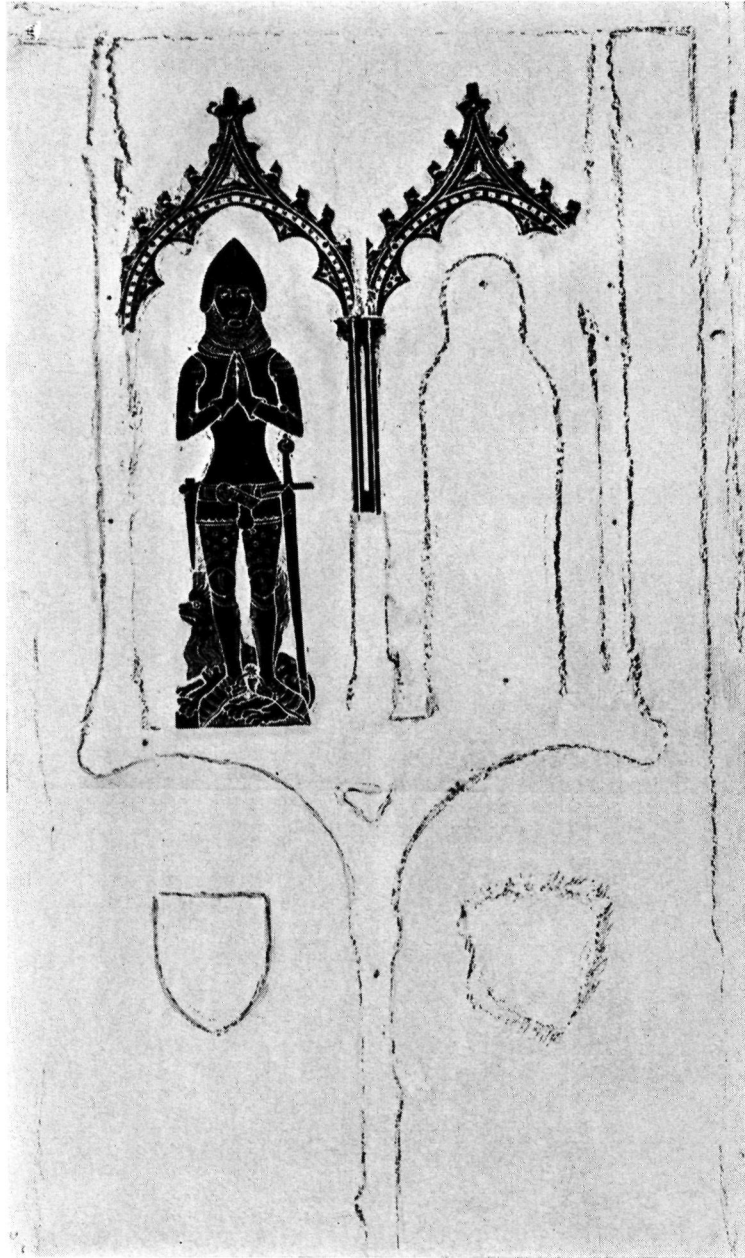


Plate 1. Edmund Flambard and wife Elizabeth, c. 1370, No. 1

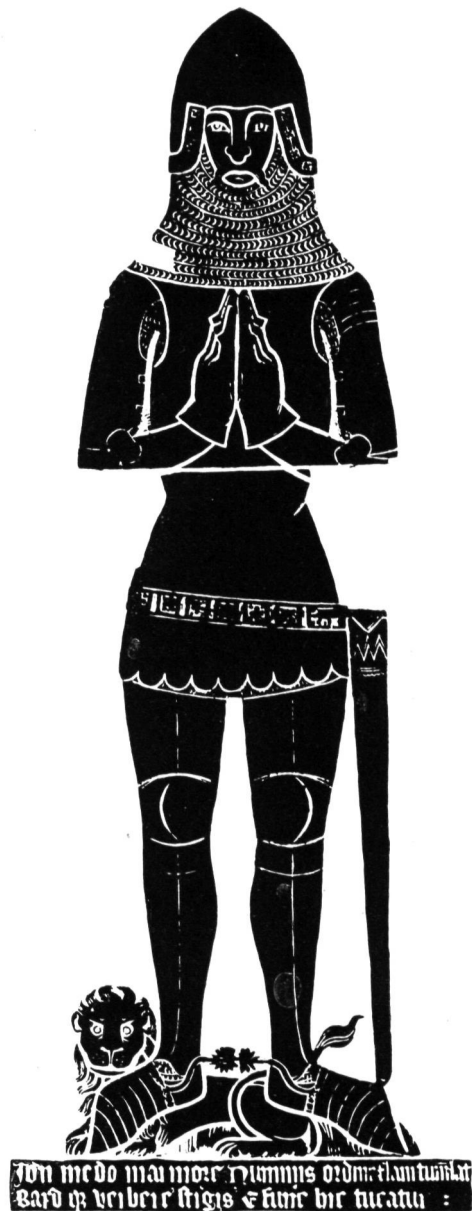


Plate 2. John Flambard, c. 1390, No. II



Plate 3. Simon Marcheford, Rector and Canon of Sarum and Windsor, ob. 1442, No. III

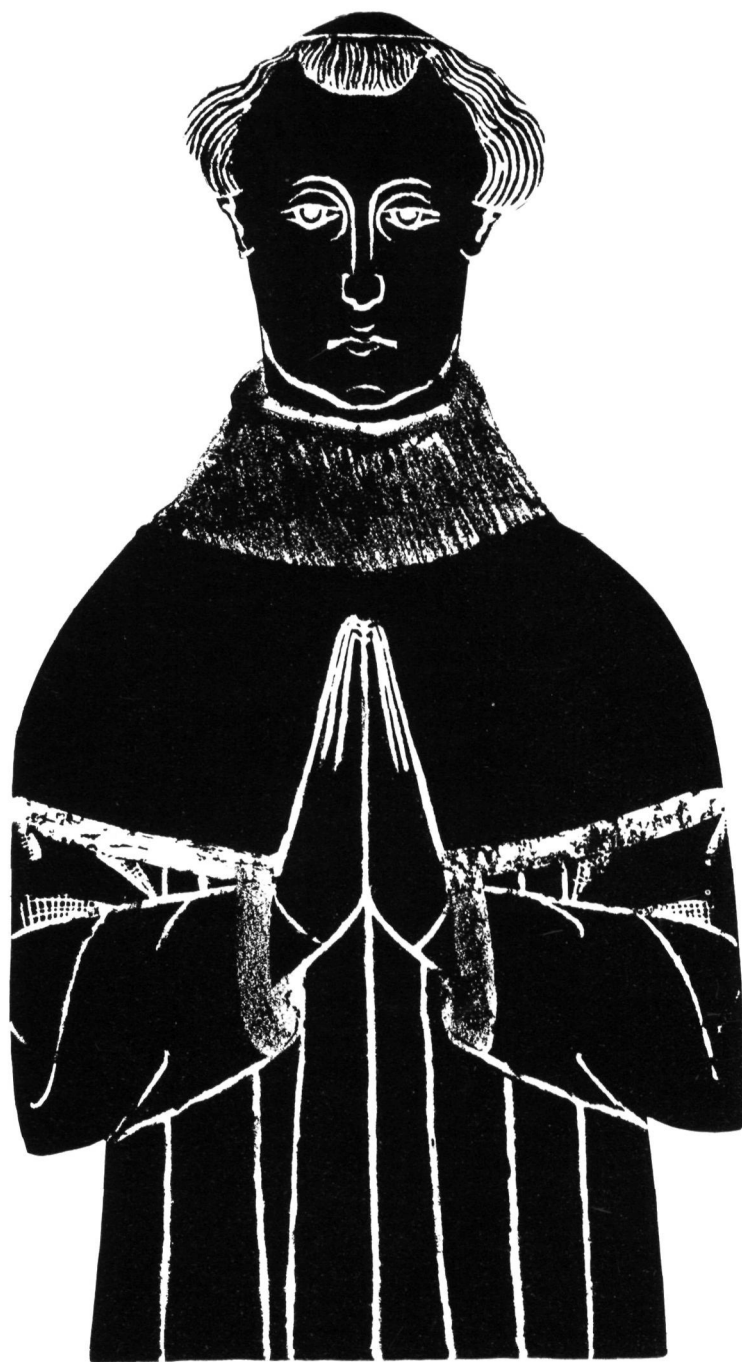


Plate 4. Half-effigy of priest in academic costume, *c.* 1460, No. IV

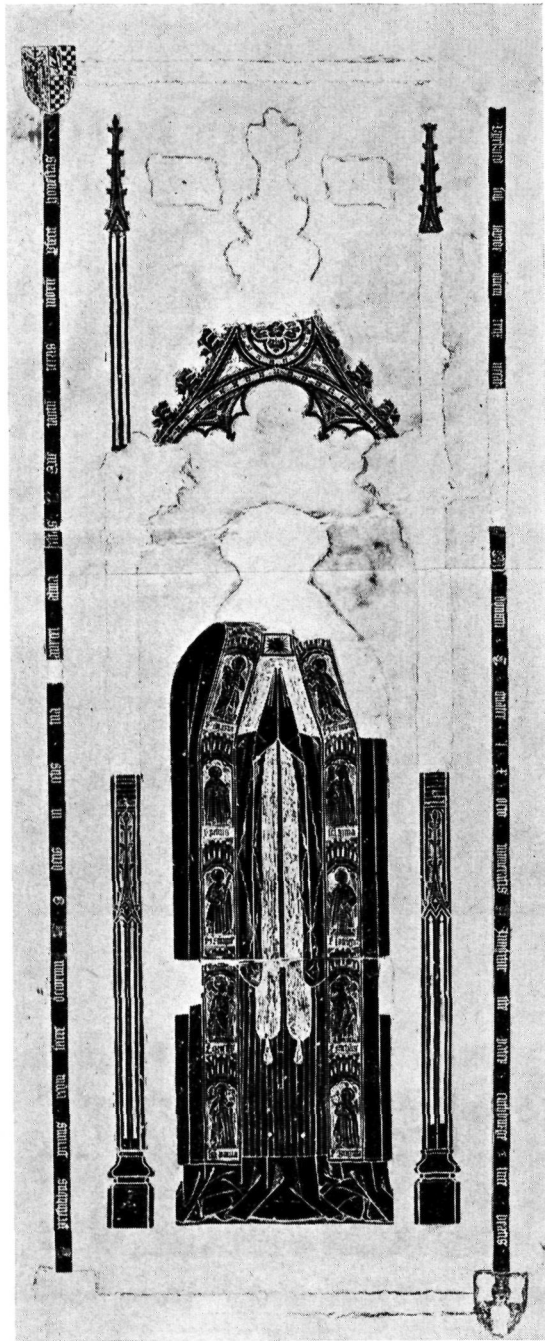


Plate 5. John Byrkhede, Rector and Canon of Wells, ob. 1468, No. 5

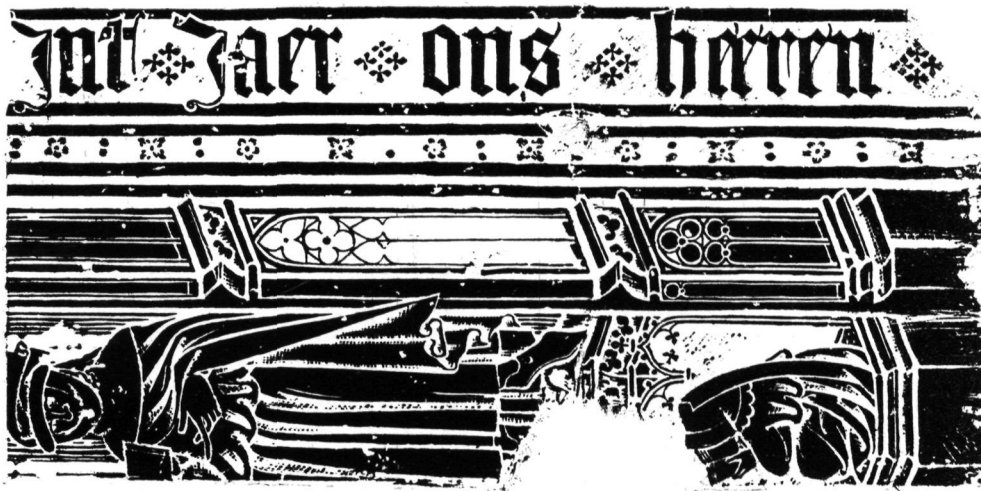




Plate 6. George Aynesworth, ob. 1448, with wives Agnes, Isabel and Joan, No. VI

Pray for the soules of Thomas Downer Annes and Aleis  
his wyfys the whiche Thomas dyed the xij day of  
December y<sup>e</sup> year of o<sup>r</sup> lord 1502 In o<sup>r</sup> whos soules Jhu have mercy

Plate 7. Thomas Downer, ob. 1502, and wives Annes and Aleis, No. VII



Here lyeth buried y<sup>e</sup> body of the late wyfe of Antony  
 frankyshe of Waterbrotham in the countye of Buck  
 Gent and daughter of William Gellany of Wenden in  
 the parryshe of harrold upon the holl in the churche  
 of seyd Elmyer and Katheryn his wyfe, which Antony  
 and Dorothe had thre betwene them one sonne and  
 thre daughters viz Gerrit frankyshe, Jone, carye  
 fraunces and Jone, and the sayd Dorothe did depart  
 out of this world the xx. day of August 1574

Plate 8. Dorothy Frankyshe, ob. 1574, No. VIII



Plate 8a. Enlarged Section of palimpsest Brass—the narrow strip on the right of the inscription—see plate 8



Here Dorothy Frankyshe lyeth, whos mortall bodyes are dead,  
 But to enioye immortall rest, her soule to heuen ys fled.  
 Whyles lyfe dyd last, she was a paterne of good lyfe,  
 Devotte to god, good to the poore, a chaste and perfect wyfe.  
 For christ hys crosse she cald agaynst the paine of death,  
 Whiche she with mynde & eye beheld, untill her later breath,  
 And so gave up her soule to god, which lyfe dyd lend.  
 Who for her good sayd worthy lyfe, gave her a happy end.  
 Whylough y death to dynt of deathe had brought her corpe a deape,  
 Yett small god, her eternall soule, eternallye doth keepe.

Plate 9. Dorothy Frankyshe, ob. 1574, No. VIII



Plate 10. William Wightman, ob. 1579, and wife Etheldreda, No. IX



HEARE LYETH BVRVED THE BODYE OF JOHN LYON LATE OF PRESTON  
IN THIS PISH YEOMAN DECEASED THE .iiii<sup>th</sup> DAYE OF OCTOBER  
IN THE YEARE OF OVR LORD. 1592 WHO HATH FOUNDED A FREE  
GRAMMER SCHOOLE IN THIS PISH TO HAVE CONTINVANCE  
FOREVER AND FOR MAINTENAVNCE HEREOF AND FOR RELEYTE  
OF THE POORE AND OF SOME POORE SCHOLLERS IN THE VNIVER  
SITYES, REPAYRINGE OF HIGH WAYES, AND OTHER GOOD AND  
CHARITABLE USES HATH MADE CONWAYNCE OF LANDS OF  
GOOD VALVE TO A CORPORACION GRAVNTED FOR THAT PVRPOSE  
PRAYSE BE TO THE AVTHOR OF A GOODNES WHO MAKE VS  
MYNDEFVLL TO FOLLOWE HIS GOOD EXAMPLE.

Plate II. John Lyon, ob. 1592, and wife, No. X



Plate 12. Civilian and wife, c. 1600, No. XI





Plate 13. John Sonkey, ob. 1603, and wife Alice, No. XIII

HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF KATHERINE CLERKE WIDDOW THE DAUGHTER  
OF THOMAS MARTIN OF THIS PARISH DECEASED & LATE THE WIFE OF  
HENRY CLERKE OF RISLIPE IN THIS COVNTIE ESQVIER DECEASED (AND  
BYRIED AT HEYES WHERE HIS MONVMENT IS ERECTED) WITH WHOME SHE LIVED  
VNTILL HIS DECEASE LIJ YEARES HER CHARITIE COMENDS VNTO VS Y FAITH SHE  
HAD IN Y MERCIES OF GOD THOROW CHRIST IESVS FOR AMONGST OTHER HER  
ALMES DEEDES SHEE GAVE IN HER LIFE TIME TOWARDS THE MAYNTEYN  
NANCE OF XII POORE PEOPLE OF THIS PRISHE YEARELY XII FOR EVER VI  
DWELING IN HARROW HILL AND VI IN ROCKSYE. HIR GODLY & PEACEABLE END  
APPROVED HIR HONEST AND VERTVOVS LIFE SHEE DYED AT HIR HOVSE IN LONDON  
THE XXVI DAY OF DECEMBER 1613 BEING LXXXIIII YEARES OF AGE

WHO WAS IN SEASON AS FVLL RIPNED CORNE  
BROUGHT HETHER WHER & WHENCE SHE FIRST WAS BORNE

Plate 14. Katherine Clarke, ob. 1613, No. XIII

The two-line inscription immediately below the figure is on a plate  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$  ins and is a curious, inaccurate attempt at classical pretension, with the surname broken between two lines:

Jon me do marmore Numinis ordine flam tum' lat  
Bard q'e verbere stigis E fun'e hic tueatur.

Gardner<sup>7</sup> quotes the interpretation of this inscription by Mr. Edward Scott of the British Museum as:

'John modo marmore Numinis ordine Flam. tumulatur  
Bard quoque verbere flumine de Stygis hic tueatur'

which he translated:

"John Flambard is now buried in marble by the ordinance of God.  
By God's stripes also may he be saved from the river of Hell."

In contrast to Edmund, there seems to be no reference in the Rolls or other records to the activities of John Flambard.

III. Simon Marcheford, Rector, Canon of Sarum and Windsor, in cope, 1442; head and inscription lost.

This very small, simple, but attractive brass has suffered much with time. The head has been missing for at least 200 years; the inscription has disappeared since Gough recorded it at the end of the eighteenth century, and an accompanying shield has gone also. It was relaid in the nineteenth century, but was recorded as loose by Mill Stephenson in 1923. It was again relaid but is now again loose and kept in the vestry (Jan. 1973).

The overall height of the figure would have been about 16 ins; the remaining headless piece is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ins. The priest is clad in processional vestments: cassock, surplice, almuce and cope. The cope orphrey and the morse are decorated with simple quatrefoils.

This brass is not mentioned by Weever, nor by Lysons, but curiously it was recorded by Gough (*Sepulchral Monuments*, 1786) who quotes the following inscription, now missing:

Hic iacet dns Simon Marcheford quonda'canonic sar ac  
Ecce libe capelle regis de Windesor, et rector isti eccleie qui obiit  
iiii die februarii A dni mccccxlii  
Cujus aie p'picietur deus. Amen.

Simon Marcheford was rector of Harrow from 1400 to 1437.

IV. Half effigy of priest in academic costume, c. 1460; inscription lost. Relaid in chancel, within altar rails.

This is a half-effigy of a priest in tippet and hood, the dress of a Master of Arts, in style of the middle of the fifteenth century. The figure, 18 ins high, has been relaid before the altar within the Communion rails. Gardner suggested that it might commemorate Robert Kyrkeham, who was rector. He succeeded Byrkhede in 1469 and died in 1471, which is a rather late date to put upon this brass.

V. John Byrkhede Rector, Canon of Wells, 1468, in cope with saints on the orphreys; head lost, canopy and marginal inscription mutilated; on Chancel floor.

In the first volume of the *Transactions* of this Society, published in 1860, there appeared an article on the "Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow" (pp. 269-275) by Alfred Heales, followed

by an account by J. G. Nichols (pp. 276–284) of one of these, that to John Byrkhede. Nichols' contribution on this one brass was comprehensive, too long to quote in extenso, but justified by what would have been in its original state one of the most attractive brasses in the county, as well as of great historical interest. It is unfortunately much mutilated, although the outline is still clear, as can be seen in the illustration. It is in its original stone on the Chancel floor, a stone that measures 112 x 45 ins. The figure of John Byrkhede when complete was 4 ft 5 ins high. The head and neck are missing; there is a piece on the lower dexter side gone and portions of the outer sinister side. Parts of the side shafts of the single canopy and the upper part of the pediment have gone. The whole was surrounded by a fillet of brass with marginal inscription, with a shield of arms at each of the four corners. The top and the bottom fillets are missing and a small part from each side. The top dexter and the bottom sinister shields remain. There were also two scrolls above the canopy, one of which remained at the time (1786) that Gough described this brass, with the inscription "Jhu blessyd mitt thu be".

The figure is in processional vestments, with long cassock falling over the feet, a full-sleeved surplice, an almuze whose fur is represented as is usual on brass by lead inlay. The cope is one of a small group on brasses richly ornamented on the orphreys by a series of saints in canopied niches. On the dexter side these are from top to bottom: S. Maria, with child; S. Petrus, with keys and open book; S. J. ev'ngel', with chalice and serpent, and palm branch; S. Ric'us, as a bishop; Sca Paula, with closed book. Those on the sinister side are S. Joh' Bapt'a, with Agnus Dei on a book; Sca Anna, with young Virgin; S. Laurenci', as a deacon with gridiron and closed book; S. Nic'us, as a bishop; S. Brigitta, with hands extended, and rays descending from heaven. The names have been embroidered on the cope beneath each figure. Several of these saints are rarely found illustrated in this way, for example St. Richard and St. Paula. The latter was said by Nichols to have been a Roman widow, whose life was written by St. Jerome. Reference will be made later to St. Richard.

The inscription was recorded by Weever with several omissions and errors. Gough reproduced this, correcting most of these and Nichols amended Gough's errors. The inscription read:

( Sta moriture vide doceat te massa Johannis)  
 Byrkhed' sub lapide quem trux necat (Atropos annis)  
 \*M domini C quater LX octo numeratis\*  
 Jungitur iste pater Cuthburge luce beatis.  
 (Hunc caritas, gravitas, fides, prudentia morum)  
 \*Presulibus primis regni fecere decorum.\*  
 O deus in celis tua(l)auriet alma(m)aiestas\*  
 Quē tantū terris morū pfecit honestas.



Fig. 2

Wheatsheaf from the Arms of John Byrkhede, No. V

These hexameters rhyme in couplets. The parts missing today are shown in brackets.

This inscription is interspersed with garbs or wheatsheafs (indicated by stars) and the shield at the bottom sinister corner appears to be, on a field *arg.* 3 garbs *or.* The argent is deduced from the filling of lead in the shield tray surrounding the garbs. However, Birkenhead of Backford, co. Chester, is described by Burke as *Sa*, three garbs *or.*, a bordure *ar.*, and related names such as Birkehover (Lancs.), Birkes, Birket (co. Chester), all carry variations on the same field of sable with three golden wheatsheafs. One must assume, therefore, that the lead infilling was intended only as a bordure. It is possible that during the nineteenth-century restorations in the church the garbs may have been loose and lead was used liberally and without due heraldic accuracy. One of the garbs on the shield has been missing for a long time. It is unpleasant to have to record that a second has disappeared literally within the last year or two.

The third, being somewhat loose, has now been removed for safe keeping to the vestry. The illustration hereby is to scale from a rubbing of this one remaining example (Fig. 2).

The one shield remaining at the top bears the arms of Archbishop Arundell, being the arms of the See of Canterbury impaling those of Arundell. Burke gives Canterbury as *az.*, an episcopal staff in pale *or.*, ensigned with a cross patée *ar.*, surmounted by a pall of the last charged with four crosses formée—fitchée *sa.* edged and fringed *or.* This differs from that given by Woodward<sup>8</sup> which gives the crozier as *arg.* and the cross patée as *or.* On the brass all that is seen of the crozier behind the pall is the head of the cross patée and the spike at the foot, both in brass, *i.e.* *or.* The sinister half of the shield bears, quarterly, 1 & 4, *gu* a lion rampant *or.* (FitzAlan), 2 & 3 chequy *or.* and *az.* (Warrenne) for Arundell. The missing upper shield was described by Gough as bearing the arms of another Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chicheley; Canterbury, impaling *or.*, a chevron between three cinquefoils *gu.*

The presence of these arms on Byrkhede's brass and the commendation in the inscription that his "standing, gravity, trustworthiness and prudent character made him respected among the chief prelates of the Kingdom" is some indication of the connection between Harrow and the See of Canterbury.

Considerable lands at Harrow were given in early times to the Archbishopric, and these holdings were renewed at the time of the Conquest. William's Archbishop, Lanfranc, was Lord of Harrow according to Domesday, and caused the building of Harrow church, which was consecrated by his successor Anselm.

Succeeding Archbishops made many recorded visits to Harrow; the Rector was presented by the Archbishop and in 1237 the Vicarage was endowed. This important and interesting endowment document was signed not only by Archbishop Edmund Rich, afterwards canonised as St. Edmund, but also by Richard Wic, his Chancellor, who later became Bishop of Chichester. This is the St. Richard who appears on the orphrey of Byrkhede's cope.

Archbishop Arundell was a visitor at Harrow in 1398 before he was banished by Richard II for high treason and again in 1407. It is suggested by Nichols that Byrkhede may well have been indebted to Arundell for his education. Arundell died in 1413 and was succeeded as Archbishop by Henry Chichele, whose arms were also once upon the Byrkhede brass. The relation between these two men was close. Byrkhede was Steward to the Archbishop and appears as one of the associates who purchased estates for the Archbishop's foundation of All Souls' College at Oxford. The founder laid the first stone in the year 1437 in which year Byrkhede was preferred to the Rectory of Harrow which he held for 30 years.

He rebuilt much of the church and to him is attributed the spire, a most remarkable landmark; yet he caused much devastation to the local woods, not only for this building at Harrow, but for "the building of the college of the Lord Henry Chicheley, the late Archbishop". The name of John Byrkhede appears as one of the executors of the Archbishop's will.

The Register of Chichele, of Canterbury, vol. 1 (as quoted in Emden's *Register of Oxford Graduates*) has numerous references to the appointments of John Byrkhede. He vacated the Rectory of Patching in October 1416 on admission to that of Hollingbourne, both in Kent. He vacated Hollingbourne in 1419 on appointment as Canon and Prebend of Cobham. Within two months he was Rector of Blackawton in Devon, which he exchanged in September 1422 for that of Hawkhurst in Kent, a living he retained to his death.

He was made a Canon of Wells and Prebend of Timberscombe on 11 July 1428 which also he retained until death, as his Rectory at Harrow to which he was appointed on 1 October 1437.

He became a member of the Council of the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury in 1429, and was still serving in 1447. He was Seneschal or Steward to Archbishop Chichele in 1431 and acted as his co-feeffer in his acquisition of property for All Souls' College. He was an executor of the Archbishop in 1443 and in the same year became Treasurer to Cardinal Beaufort. He was admitted on 5 April 1465 a member of the confraternity (*confrater quoad suffragia*) of All Souls' College.

He died on 31 August 1468 according to the Calendar MSS of the Dean and Chapter of Wells (ii, 92) and the brass inscription gives 1468 also. Yet his will<sup>9</sup> was dated 24 July 1467. It is quite clearly 1467, although the will immediately following is dated September 1468 so the discrepancy may be clerical error in the writing of the will! It is a long and interesting will, much of it included in Nichols' account in Vol. 1 of our *Transactions*. He describes himself as Rector of Harrow and asks to be buried in the chancel there. But his gifts include money to his poor parishioners at Hawkhurst and vestments to the parish church of Wigan, in Lancashire. He left his best gilt chalice and paten to Harrow; his second to Hawkhurst. His executors were his cousin Hugh Ives and his nephew Gilbert Hert. To the former he left his best standing cup of silver, covered, engraved "Al my pleser". To his nephew he left 10 marks and to Gilbert's mother, Avicia Hert, who was John Byrkhede's sister, he left 20 marks and his best gown of scarlet ingrain.

VI. George Aynesworth in civil dress, 1488, with three wives: Agnes with 1 son, Isabel with 5 sons and 6 daughters, and Joan with 2 sons; mural in south transept.

This excellent example of a late fifteenth-century civilian and his family appears to be in its original stone, but this has been taken from the floor, cut down in length so as just to accommodate the metal pieces, and set vertically on the south wall of the south transept. The remaining, or visible, stone is 35 ins high and 29 ins wide.

Heales records that it was discovered during the restoration of the church, not long before the Society visited Harrow in 1859.

There are four principal figures, that of George Aynesworth, about 18 ins high, those of his three wives a little shorter. The first wife is on his dexter side, the two others on the sinister side. They all stand in full-face position on mounds of grass. He wears a long plain gown reaching to the feet and fitting tightly round the neck. From his girdle hangs a purse and rosary. The three ladies are all dressed alike, a plain garment up to the neck and an overgown with fur on the lapels and the cuffs. They wear identical horned headdresses.

Beneath these four figures is a rectangular plate, about 2 ins deep and 26 ins wide on which is engraved a two-line inscription in blackletter that reads:

Orate pro anima Georgii Aynesworth ac p̄ aiabs Agnetis Isabelle et Johanne uxor ei' q'  
Quidem Georgi' obiit xiiii die mēs' Februarii a° dñi m° cccc° lxxxviii° q' r̄ aiabs ppiciet' de' amen

This brief and much abbreviated inscription is typical of many brasses of this period; his death only is recorded.

Below the inscription are four plates with children, one beneath each main figure. Below Agnes his first wife is one son, an interesting little figure about 5 ins high of a priest in academic vestments. By the second wife Isabelle he had five sons and six daughters. The sons are on one plate below the father and the daughters below the first wife on his left hand. These children are facing sideways, the sons and daughters towards one another; they are about 4 ins high, noticeably smaller than the first son, and they are in ordinary civilian costume, the girls with small framed headdresses. Beneath the third wife is a small plate with two sons, also facing to the dexter.

VII. Thomas Downer, 1502, and wives Annes and Aleis; inscription only; Chancel.

On the floor of the Chancel is part of a slab—what remains measures 37 x 30 ins, in which is a rectangular indent formerly occupied by an inscription plate. This plate, when whole, was 3 ins deep and 17½ ins wide. It is now loose and in three pieces and is kept in the vestry (January 1973).

The inscription is in three lines of blackletter, in English, and reads:

Pray for the soulys of Thomas downer Annes and Aleis  
hys Wyfys the whyche Thomas dyed the xvi day of  
Decēber y<sup>e</sup> yere of o<sup>r</sup> lord m v<sup>c</sup> ii ð whos, soulys Jhū have mēy.

Thomas Downer was evidently a considerable farmer in the northern part of the parish. He made his will on the 9th December<sup>10</sup> asking to be buried in his parish church of Harrow on the Hill "before ovr lady autler in the aley".

After bequests to the high altar for tithes forgotten, to the chantry priest and to the two clerks of Harrow church, and 12d to Stanmore church, he leaves 4d and a sheep to each of his godchildren. He left sheep and cattle—variously described as calves, a bullock, a cow, oxen and keyne to more than a dozen named people. Among these were John Downer of Cornehill Hall; also Thomas, Richard and Emote Downer. More importantly he leaves to his son John Downer six oxen and a plough, six keyne and eight colts, a cow cart with six horses belonging to it with all their apparel. To his wife Alis he leaves another cart with five horses. His farm of Bentley he leaves to his wife and his son John for a period of four years, following which he wills that his neighbours have what remains of the lease in return for praying for his and all Christian souls, and paying the rent. A second farm and wood he leaves to his son John. Yet another he leaves to his wife and her assignees, on the understanding she pays a priest 9 marks a year to pray for his soul; she also receives his house "in Bessy" for her lifetime.

VIII. Dorothy Frankyshe, 1574. Two rectangular plates, one with an inscription, the other with ten lines of English verse; both plates palimpsest with Flemish work on the reverse.

The prose inscription plate measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins high and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  ins wide. Upon it, in nine lines of blackletter engraving is the following inscription:

Here lyeth buried y<sup>e</sup> body o(f Doroth)ye, late wife of Antony  
Frankyshe of Waterstrotford in the Countye of Buck:  
Gent' and dowghter of William Bellamy of uxenden in  
the parryshe of Harrow upon the Hyll in the Countye  
of Myd' Esquyer and Katheryn his wyfe, which Antony  
and Dorothye had isue betwene them one sonne and  
fowre dowghters viz Gerratt Frankyshe, Jone, Mary  
Fraunces and Jone, and the sayd Dorothye did depart  
out of this world' the xx' day of August A<sup>o</sup> (15)74.

On the other plate,  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 19$  ins, is, in ten lines of engraved blackletter, the following:

Here Dorothye Frankyshe lyeth whos mortall lymes ar dead  
But to enioye iñmortall rest, her soule to heven ys fleadd  
Whyles lyfe dyd last she was a paterne of good lyfe  
Devoute to god, good to the poore, a chast and perfet wyfe  
For christ hys crosse she cald' agaynst the pang<sup>s</sup> of death  
Which she with mynd & yie beheld untyll her later breath  
And so gave up her gost to god which lyfe dyd lend  
Who for her good and worthy lyfe, gave her a happye end  
(Alt)howgh y<sup>t</sup> death w<sup>th</sup>dynt of dart hath browght her corp<sup>s</sup>asleap  
(The ete)rnall god, her eternall soule, eternallye doth kepe.

If this memorial is pictorially disappointing the historical interest is considerable. The lady was born a Bellamy, a member of that family of Uxendon in the parish of Harrow who were steadfast in their allegiance to the Roman faith during Elizabeth's reign; who gave shelter and succour to Babington and to many priests, and who in consequence suffered greatly. Dorothy's mother Katherine was indicted for treason and died in the Tower. Three of her brothers perished, one by painful execution, and two in prison, officially recorded as by their own hand.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, during a period of some religious tolerance, the family had continued to attend Harrow church and there is record in the parish registers of baptisms and deaths in the family, and of the marriage on 8th December 1567 of Anthony Frankes and Dorothy Bellamy. It was after the Papal Bull of 1570 that more severe restrictive measures came gradually into force and absence from church or the hearing of Mass was punishable by heavy fine. The Bellamy family incurred such punishment as recusants.

By her early death Dorothy escaped from the tragedy that overtook her family. The Harrow burial registers record that: 1574 August the xxxjth day Dorothy Franke.

In her short married life of less than seven years the inscription tells us that she bore five children

The wording of the inscription, in these circumstances, is particularly interesting, lacking any suggestion of earlier Catholic phrases. It is perhaps transitional in phraseology to protestant but not yet puritan feeling.

The interest of this brass is greatly heightened by its being palimpsest. The two inscriptions are engraved on the reverse side of previously-used brass plate. Alfred Heales must have experienced a thrill of discovery known to those of us who are interested in brasses when palimpsest work is uncovered. His account of the Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow comprises a brief account of those existing, covering just over one page and an account of these two plates taking up the remaining four and a half pages, illustrated by the superb



woodcuts of Utting. He describes how "when the edifice was restored, a few years since, one of them, being detached, was found to be engraved on the contrary side. The other of the two remained *in situ*, though loose, until October last, when, whilst some rubbings were being taken in anticipation of the meeting of this Society, it also became detached, and was found, like its companion, to be engraved on the under side".

On the reverse are portions of two much larger brasses, engraved without doubt in Flanders in the late fourteenth century, and probably laid in some church in the Low Countries. It is likely that they were torn up in the great Calvinist iconoclasms in 1566 and, there being a good London market for the metal, they were brought over as scrap metal for English engravers to re-use. Many brasses laid down in this country in the decade 1570-1580 (and even later) are engraved on this metal imported from the Low Countries and our experience in restoring these memorials has revealed many palimpsest brasses.

These two specimens at Harrow are particularly clear and beautiful and were described and illustrated not only by Heales in the first volume of our *Transactions*, but more widely in the following year by the brothers Waller<sup>11</sup> in their wonderfully illustrated series of plates of Monumental Brasses. They are easily recognised as engravings of that most distinguished Flemish school of brass engravers of which we have eight remaining examples in this country (e.g. Thomas de la Mare at St. Albans).<sup>12</sup> On the reverse of the prose inscription is a small portion from the sinister side of a large composition. In a niche of the canopy, of which part of a side shaft is to be seen, is a small figure of a prophet, with a book or scroll in his right hand. Below is a much smaller hooded figure, seated and reading a book. Part of the marginal inscription is at the edge of the original brass. It reads: "Int. Jaer. ons. heeren," being the Flemish equivalent of "in the year of our Lord".

On the other side of the verse plate is a small part of the large figure of a lady, showing the lower part of the face, the chin covered by a wimple, the fingers of hands held together in prayer over a garment highly decorated with leaf patterns, dragons and lions' heads. The head is resting on a cushion, elaborately embroidered with leaves and two birds—one an owl. The cushion in turn is supported by two angels. On her left is a small canopied niche with the figure of St. Paul and, outside this, part of a marginal inscription, interrupted by a shield bearing three stags trippant. All that remains of the inscription is "xv" being probably the day of the month on which she (or her husband) died.

These plates are now kept in the vestry.

IX. William Wightman, in armour, 1579, and wife Etheldreda (Awdrey); marginal inscription mutilated; achievement plate and two shields, a third shield and plates for one son and four daughters lost.

The original stone in which this brass remains is on the Chancel floor and measures 84 x 34 ins. The outer dimensions of the marginal inscription are 78 x 29 ins. Within this frame (the top strip of the inscription is lost) are the figures of William Wightman and his wife, 27 and 26 ins high respectively, standing and turned slightly towards one another. He is dressed in armour, with ruffed cuffs and collar behind his neck despite the armour fitting high into the neck with haute-pieces around the shoulder. The laminated tassets in front of the thighs cover what appears at one side to be puffed material of a doublet. The sword hangs on his left side.

The lady is in a gown with embroidered edging, but plain petticoat. She wears a ruff and plain French hood. The bottom two inches of this effigy are missing.

Above the male figure is a rectangular plate on which is his shield of arms surmounted by helm, crest and mantling. He was granted these arms on 14th July 1562, namely: *Argent on a bend engrailed gules between three Cornish choughs proper as many leopards' faces or.* The crest is a stork argent winged sable membered gules holding in the mouth a snake winding round the body vert.

Above the lady is a shield with the arms of Wightman impaling Deering, *gules three stags heads coupé or.*

Below the man's figure is a clearly cut indent of a single small male figure representing one son, and below this the indent for a shield now missing. Beneath the lady is the indent for a plate for daughters, though it is not evident how many. Below this is a shield with the Wightman arms.

In the library of the Society of Antiquaries is a drawing of this brass dated 1810 which is attached to a faint rubbing said to be from the Alexander collection, among the Phillipps MSS. The brass was then in a more complete condition, but the lower dexter shield was already missing. The figure of the son was there and the other plate showed four daughters. The top strip of the inscription existed and enables the whole to be recorded:

("Hic iacet Gulielmus Wightman armiger qui tam summis quam / infimi)s viris gratus charusq' semper fuit cum ob integritatem vite humanitatem morum, ac curam reip singularem, tum propter mag(nam hosp)italitatem quam in/rectoria de harrow per . 27 annos coluit vixit cum dulcissima / uxore sua Etheldreda annos 31 suscepitq ex ea quinque liberos quorū quatuor superstites reliquit, cum summo omnium dolore excessit e vita 28 die Januarii A<sup>o</sup> dñi 1579".

The Register of Burials at Harrow confirms that he was buried there 1 February 1579/80; also his wife's burial is shown: "22 June 1596 Awdrey Whightmann".

The full name of Etheldreda appears on the inscription on the brass, but is contracted to Awdrey in the Register and also in William Wightman's will<sup>13</sup> made on the 20th December 1578, from which the following extracts help to amplify the circumstances and personalities of this interesting memorial. He gives to "Awdrie his deare and entierlie beloved wife" his lands known as "home close" near "the Cittie of Coventry" and all his freehold land in Harrow he bought of Richard Bayton and John Grenehall. He also bequeathed to his wife and to his daughter Frances Streynsham the remaining terms of his lease of the parsonage of Harrow which he had bought from John Ailworthe, of the grant of the Rt. Hon. Roger Lord Northe, Sir William Cardell Kt., Master of the Rolls and Sir James Dyer Kt., chief Justice of the Common Pleas and of his lease in reversion of tythes of the same parsonage of the grant of the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch College, Oxford. He leaves his personal horse or gelding with his best saddle and bridle and his little silver cane to Thomas Dearinge, his brother-in-law. To all his servants he leaves half a year's wages above any current wages unpaid at his death. To Jane Cowdell he leaves 20 marks towards "her preferment in marriage" provided she follows in her choice of husband the advice of his wife and daughter whom he appoints his executors. If she fails to take their advice the dowry is to be reduced to only 10 pounds.

Finally he ordains that immediately after his death his executors sell as much of his goods, chattels, plate, jewels, corn and stock upon his ground as is necessary to pay his debts. A considerable list of these debts follows the will.

When, in 1955, a piece of the inscription fillet worked loose it was taken up for repair. There was engraving on the back. The present writer was able to share the excitement and pleasure experienced a hundred years earlier by Alfred Heales and others over the brass to Dorothy Frankyshe.

In August 1955, with the vicar's consent and with the supporting interest of the late Leslie Lampitt and other members of the parish council, all eight pieces that remained of the inscription were taken up and were found to be palimpsest, as were the two shields and the achievement plate. The metal used was dark in colour and thick, in contrast to that used for the two main figures. I judged these to be of later thin plate and unlikely to be palimpsest. This was confirmed when the small separate piece on which the feet of the male figure are engraved was lifted and had no engraving on the reverse.

All the engraving on the reverse of the eleven palimpsest pieces came from a large Flemish brass not more than fifty years earlier in date than the Wightman memorial. No doubt it had come from a church in the Low Countries at the 1566 looting and rioting. It was possible to put these reverse pieces together to get some indication of what the original was like. A piece of a brass at Rufford in Lancashire has engraving on the reverse from the same Flemish brass. This discovery was described in detail in the *Transactions* of the Monumental Brass Society.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently other palimpsests have come to light in churches at Bradfield, Essex, and Thames Ditton, Surrey, which also appear to come from this same original.

X. John Lyon in civil dress, ob. 1592, and wife; mutilated; relaid in stone and mounted on first pillar from the east of the north arcade of the Nave.

This brass was lifted and reset in a red marble slab, 37 x 27 ins and mounted on the pillar at the east end of the north arcade of the Nave. Above it is a marble by Flaxman erected by subscription of Old Harrovians in 1813, with a Latin inscription by Dr. Parr.

The two figures are simply drawn and modest in size, about 19½ ins high. He is shown standing in doublet and plain trunk hose, with a short cloak. The left foot is now missing. The lady, also with ruff and undecorated costume with gown open in front wears a hat with a brim turned up at the sides. About 4 ins at the bottom of this figure is lost. Heales reported that the figure of a child was lost.

Below is a rectangular plate 10 ins high and 24 ins wide (with a chamfer missing on the sinister side at the top). On this is an inscription in English in eleven lines of Roman capitals. This reads:

HEARE LYETH BURYED THE BODYE OF IOHN LYON LATE OF PRESTON  
IN THIS PISH YEOMAN DECEASED THE iii<sup>TH</sup> DAYE OF OCTOBER  
IN THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1592 WHO HATH FOVNDED A FREE  
GRAMMER SCHOOLE IN THIS PISH TO HAVE CONTINVANCE  
FOR EVER AND FOR MAINTENAVNCE THEREOF AND FOR RELEYFE  
OF THE POORE AND OF SOME POORE SCHOLLERS IN THE VNIVER  
SITYES, REPAYRINGE OF HIGH WAYES, AND OTHER GOOD AND  
CHARITABLE VSES HATH MADE CONVAYAVNCE OF LANDS OF  
GOOD VALVE TO A CORPORACION GRAVNTED FOR THAT PVRPOSE  
PRAYSE BE TO THE AVTHOR OF ALGOODNES WHO MAKE VS  
MYNDEFVLL TO FOLLOWE HIS GOOD EXAMPLE.

It is curious that the inscription records the death of John Lyon on 3 October 1592, whereas in the Register of Burials is the entry: "4 September, 1592, John Lion of Preston". Also in the Register is: "Aug. 1608; the 30th day was buried Wydowe Lion of Preston."

John Lyon was a yeoman or tenant farmer of some substance, of a family that had been in the parish some two hundred years. Lyon farm is, or was until recently, to be found at Preston, and neighbouring the Bellamy family at Uxendon. John Lyon also purchased in

1568 a property at Maddon, co. Beds., for over £500. He represented the tenants in the Manor and was Beadle of the Manor Court. Other members of the Lyon family were living nearby at Alperton and Ruislip.

Of a well-established local family, hard working and active in affairs of the local community, John Lyon was among those of his period who were inspired to found schools for the wider education of the young. After much planning and with help from Sir Gilbert Gerard, the Attorney-General, whose brother William lived at Flambards on the Hill, he obtained a Royal Charter, dated 19th February 1572, for the foundation of a free grammar school, and for other good works which are also recorded on the inscription on his brass. The charter starts with "Whereas our beloved subject, John Lyon, of Preston, . . . hath purposed in his mind a certain grammar school and one schoolmaster and usher, within the village of Harrowe-upon-the-Hill of new to erect, found and forever to establish for the perpetual education, teaching and instruction of children and youth of the said parish; and also two scholars within our University of Cambridge and also two scholars within our University of Oxford, liberally to endow and maintain, and other common ways as well between Edgware and London as in other places at his own very great charge intends to repair and amend, and other endowments and works of piety."

Nineteen years after this charter, and two years before his death, he drew up "Orders, Statutes and Rules" for running the School. These show great care and precision.

Those who would read further about his foundation and his charities will find a transcript of both the Charter and of the Orders, Statutes and Rules of John Lyon in the book by E. D. Laborde on Harrow School, published in 1948. These documents, he says, were originally kept in the Governors' chest, made when the School House was first built, and kept in the Governors' Room, with three locks whose keys were distributed among the Governors. They have now been transferred for safe keeping to a local bank.

#### XI. Civilian and wife, c. 1600 with text; inscription lost; floor of Chancel.

This brass appears to have been relaid in a paving stone and the original design is unknown. The inscription is missing and, in the position it would normally occupy beneath the two figures, is a small rectangular plate, 4 ins deep and 15 ins wide, on which is engraved a vulgate invocation in three lines of blackletter.<sup>15</sup> This reads:

Credo q̄ redemptor meus vivit et in  
novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum  
et in carne mea videbo deū salvatorē meū

The two large figures, 50 and 48 ins long, are excellent of the period; well drawn and executed with the usual excess of hatching, or shading to show perspective. They are standing on circular discs or plates and are turned partly facing towards one another. It is always difficult to decide whether portraiture is to be seen in brasses at this date; the details of moustache and beard give character to the face, but it was common fashion at the time and most male figures are so shown. He is dressed in doublet and hose, the doublet buttoned up the front to the neck, around which is a ruff. Three buttons are on each of his cuffs, much as in the useless manner of modern times. Over this costume is worn a long gown with false sleeves. His shoes, too, are recognisedly modern, with tongues and being tied with laces.

The lady also wears a ruff and her outer garment is parted in front and supported by a farthingale to show the splendid patterning of her petticoat. Embroidery is also present

on the bodice with its peaked stomacher. She wears a bonnet with material folded over the top, no doubt elegant but giving a rather flat-headed appearance on brass.

The lack, for many years past of inscription or heraldry leaves us with no evidence of the names of the two people commemorated by this splendid brass.

XII. John Sonkey in civil dress, 1603, and wife Alice, two shields; mural; north transept.

This brass is so similar to the last in design, style and method of engraving that it would seem likely that they were both executed by the same craftsman. So alike are they that this brass can best be described by the way in which it differs from No. XI. The two figures are of equal size and appreciably smaller than the last, being  $36\frac{3}{4}$  ins high. The man's beard is rather more prominent to the extent that it obscures the ruff in front. His outer cloak is not parted in front to show the doublet and hose, except for the buttons up to the neck. The three sleeve buttons appear as before. The shoes are not laced, but both figures are standing on circular discs.

The lady's bodice has vertical stripes in place of the horizontally arranged embroidery of the larger figure; the petticoat is well embroidered. Her right arm from the elbow to the shoulder is missing, as is part of her left shoulder and a piece of the sinister side of her gown.

These are the figures of John Sonkey and his wife Alice. In the Register of Burials is the entry: December, 1603: the 15th day buried Mr. John Sonkey of . (This was left blank.)

The brass has long since been moved from its original stone. It was on the floor of the north Chapel, in a new stone, but came loose some years ago. It has now been mounted on a wooden board on the north wall of the north transept.

Two shields have been associated with these figures and are now mounted immediately above them. One shield bears *Barry of 6 or and* , a canton . The other has *argent, on a bend 3 fishes* impaling the first coat.

Sonkey does not appear in Burkes General Armory, but Sankey (co. Worcester) bears *sable, three fishes in bend between two cotises argent* while Sankey (co. Bedford, Bucks., and Lancaster) has *Argent on a bend sable three salmon of the field*.

The second of these would correspond with the present brass.

XIII. Katherine Clerke, widow, 1613; inscription only.

On the floor within the Communion rails lies this brass in a restored floor. The plate is rectangular, but with two small rectangular pieces out of the two bottom corners. The overall height and width is  $16\frac{3}{4} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$  ins with the bottom narrower by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins on either side. The inscription is in Roman capitals in thirteen lines of which the last two lines are shorter being in the narrower brass. The height of the narrower piece is  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins on the sinister side but only  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ins on the other side.

The inscription reads:

HERE LYETH THE BODYE OF KATHERINE CLERKE WIDDOW THE DAUGHTER  
OF THOMAS MARTIN OF THIS PARISH DECEASED & LATE THE WIFE OF  
HENRY CLERKE OF RISLIPE IN THIS COVNTIE ESQUIER DECEASED (AND  
BVRIED AT HEYES WHERE HIS MONVMENT IS ERCTED) WITH WHOME SHE LIVED  
UNTILL HIS DECEASE LII YEARES HER CHARITIE COMENDS VNTO VS Y<sup>e</sup> FAITH SHE  
HAD IN Y<sup>e</sup> MERCIES OF GOD THOROW CHRIST IESUS FOR AMONGST OTHER HER

ALMES DEEDES SHEE GAVE IN HER LIFE TIME TOWARDS THE MAYNTEYN  
 NANCE OF XII POORE PEOPLE OF THIS PRISHE YEARELY XII<sup>e</sup> FOR EVER VI  
 DWELING IN HARROW HILL AND VI IN ROCKSYE HIR GODLY & PEACEABLE END  
 APPROVED HIR HONEST AND VERTVOVS LIFE SHEEDYED AT HIR HOUSE IN LONDON  
 THE XXVI<sup>TH</sup> DAY OF DECEMBER 1613 BEING LXXXiiii YEARES OF AGE  
 WHO WAS IN SEASON AS FVLL RIPNED CORNE  
 BROUGHT HETHER WHER & WHENCE SHE FIRST WAS BORNE

The Register of Burials records: January 1613/14 "The 13th day was buried in the Chancell neare unto the body of Mr. Sonky Mistress Katheren Clarke of London". The inscription tells us that she died at her house in London on 26th December.

It is interesting that she evidently wished for burial in the place where she was born, the daughter of Thomas Martin, and not where her husband was buried. We are told on the inscription that her husband was Henry Clerke of Ruislip and that he was buried at Hayes "where his monument is erected". There is indeed a brass to him in Hayes church although the figure is now lost. He was clerk of the peace for Middlesex for 35 years, a benefactor to the poor and died in 1609 at the age of 80, having been 52 years married to his wife Katherine. They both experienced longevity, for she was 84 at her death.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Alfred Heales, "Sepulchral Brasses at Harrow", *Trans. L.M.A.S.*, 1, (1860) p. 269 J. G. Nichols, "The brass of John Byrkhede, *ibid.*, p. 276. W. D. Cooper, "The parish registers of Harrow", *ibid.*, p. 285. Account of the eighteenth general meeting at Harrow, *ibid.*, p. 366.
- <sup>2</sup> Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, 1926, p. 317.
- <sup>3</sup> Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, (1631), p. 531.
- <sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 462; 1345-48, p. 466, 546; 1350-54, p. 319; 1358-64, p. 570; 1364-67, p. 228.
- <sup>5</sup> Black Prince's Registry, 4, 74.
- <sup>6</sup> Kent, J. P. C., *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 3rd series, XII, 1949, pp. 70-97.
- <sup>7</sup> S. Gardner, *Architectural History of Harrow Church*, 1895.
- <sup>8</sup> Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 172.
- <sup>9</sup> P.C.C. 24 Godyn.
- <sup>10</sup> P.C.C. 19 Blamyr.
- <sup>11</sup> J. G. & L. A. B. Waller, *A series of Monumental Brasses . . .* (1864), Introduction, p. x.
- <sup>12</sup> See *M.B.S. Trans.* 11, 50.
- <sup>13</sup> P.C.C. 9 Arundell.
- <sup>14</sup> *M.B.S. Trans.*, 9, 317.
- <sup>15</sup> Job, 19, vv. 25, 26.