

# THE BRASSES OF MIDDLESEX

## PART 17: HILLINGDON

by

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- I. John, Lord Strange, *ob.* 1479, wife Jacquetta (Woodville; sister to Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of England) and only child Joan, who caused the memorial to be made in 1509. Mural, S. aisle.

This must be accounted one of the finest brasses in Middlesex and is certainly one of great historic interest. It represents John, eighth Lord Strange of Knockin and fourth Lord Mohun de Dunster with his first wife Jacquetta, fourth daughter of Richard Woodville, first Earl Rivers. Her sister Elizabeth was the Queen Consort of Edward IV. The two very splendid figures are each 44½ in. tall and are well engraved specimens of the first decade of the sixteenth century. He is shown bare-headed and in armour which in style is contemporary with the date of engraving and unlike anything he is likely to have possessed. The elbow pieces are modest in size, well-jointed and practical in appearance. The shoulders are well protected and the *haute pieces* high, particularly on the left side. The *sabatons* are rounded (as they would not have been at the time of his death). The whole figure is somewhat elongated, this being particularly noticeable in the hands which are uncovered. The body from the waist downward is too long and has to be covered by a long skirt of mail and large tassets. There is decoration on the pommel of his sword and dagger, the sword lying at a curious angle on his left side, probably to permit the engraver to join the guard to the elbow, without projecting metal. The figure stands on a grassy mound with a flower between the feet.

Lady Strange is dressed in a waisted costume with fur cuffs; around the waist is a loosely-hanging decorated girdle with a chain of rectangular links suspended in front. An outer gown, open in front, is fastened across the chest by a band decorated with roses. Over her head is a plain covering and not the currently fashionable pedimental headdress. The effigy, like that of her husband, is shown standing on a grassy mound. Between these two figures and low down just above their feet is a small effigy, 8½ in. high, of their one and only child, the daughter Joan who had the brass prepared.

Below the main figures is the base of a canopy incorporating a panel decorated with quatrefoils and four star-petalled flowers alternately, in square frames. At either end rise the main pillars supporting a double canopy over the effigies with three extending pinnacles to support a super-canopy, no doubt of rectangular shape. The super-canopy has long since been missing. Part of the dexter column supporting the canopy, between the elbow and ankle of the armoured figure is also missing as is a small piece from the bottom of the lady's figure on the sinister side.

What is left of this brass now measures overall 5 ft. 11½ in. high by 31 in. wide and is on a marble slab which is 79 in. long, 34½ in. wide and 4 in. thick. There is no indication of other indents on this stone, but there was a marginal inscription on the chamfered edge of the stone: the indent may still be seen along the upper edge. The slab was originally on a

chest tomb in the old chancel until the restoration of the church by Gilbert Scott in 1847–48. That there was originally an inscription is known from Weever<sup>1</sup> who mentions this brass at Hillingdon and who quotes the inscription as follows:

Sub hac Tumba iacet nobilis Iohannes Dominus le Strange, Dominus de Knocking, Mohun, Wasset, Warnell et Lacy, et Dominus de Colham, una cum pictura Iagnette, quondam uxoris sue, que quidem Iagnetta fuit soror Elizabethhe Regine Anglie, Johannes obiit 15 die Octobris, Anno regni Regis Ed. quarti 17. quam quidem Tumbam Johanna Domina le Strange, una cum pictura Jagnette exisumptibus suis propriis fieri fecit 1509.

Whether due to Weever, who is not always exact in recording inscriptions, or because the monument, being made thirty years after the death of Lord le Strange, was itself inaccurate, the date of death recorded as 1477 by Weever from the tomb is incorrect; contemporary record gives: 16 October, 19 Edward IV, i.e. 1479. The inscription has a curious double insistence that the mother's picture is on the brass, unusual on an actual inscription on a brass. It also provides evidence that the daughter caused the brass to be made in 1509, thus explaining the style of armour worn.

John le Strange was born in 1444 and, at the age of five, succeeded his father as eighth Lord Strange of Knockin and fourth Lord Mohun de Dunster. In 1462 a licence was issued for him 'nearly of full age, to enter into all his possessions in England and Wales and the Marches of Wales'. He had in the previous year been knighted at the coronation of Edward IV and his allegiance was to that dynasty. He was married by 27 March 1450 to Jacquetta, fourth daughter of Richard Woodville, first Earl Rivers and Jacquetta, Dowager Duchess of Bedford and daughter of Peter de Luxembourg, Count of St. Pol and Conversan. An elder sister, Elizabeth, was the wife and Queen consort of Edward IV.

Throughout his brief life Lord Strange was engaged on numerous Commissions of the Peace, of Array, and of Oyer and Terminer for the counties of Shropshire, Warwick, Middlesex and Oxford. He was one of 16 commissioners appointed in 1477 to inquire into the capture of swans and cygnets on the Thames from Cirencester to its mouth, 'by hooks, nets, lyme strynges and other engines, the alteration and deletion of the marks of swans, and the taking of swans' eggs'. Of his many possessions the manor of Colham must have been an important residence, near to London and covering a considerable area. The manor was granted to Eubulo le Strange and his heirs in 1331. According to Lysons it extended over almost the whole of the parishes of Hillingdon, Cowley and Ickenham. The house which was near to the Colne river was pulled down long before Lyson's time.

John Lord Strange died without male issue on 16th October, 1479, leaving as heir his only daughter Jane, then aged sixteen. She was married within two years as a licence dated February 26, 1481 allows George Stanley, Knight, and Joan his wife, daughter and heiress of John Lestrangle Knight, late Lord Lestrangle, to enter freely into all castles, manors and other possessions in England, Wales and the Marches of Wales, late of the said John which should descend to her after his death.<sup>3</sup> Sir George Stanley was the son and heir of Thomas, Lord Stanley who had been created Earl of Derby by Henry VII. This George predeceased his father, dying in 1497.<sup>4</sup> His widow Joan, Baroness Strange, survived until 1514, whereupon her Baronies of Strange of Knockin and Mohun de Dunster went to her son Thomas who had succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Derby in

1504. The only memorial to this eminent and rich lady is the tomb she caused to be prepared in 1509, herself already a widow, for her parents, upon which she is portrayed as a small child, though in adult costume with belt and chain not unlike that of her mother, and wearing the fashionable pedimental headdress. In her will she expressed the 'desire to be buried at Hillingdon church by my Lord my Father, in the same tomb'.

Lady Jane's insistence that this brass at Hillingdon should portray her mother Jacquetta can be explained by the existence of a second wife. John Lestrangle's marriage to Jacquetta occurred when he was very young. An entry in the Patent Rolls dated 27 March 1450<sup>5</sup> records that 'a licence for 4 marks was paid in the hanaper for Elizabeth, late the wife of Richard Lestrangle Knight deceased to enfeof . . . . (a number of named persons) . . . of the manor of Midlyngton, co. Oxford, held in chief; and for them to grant the same to John Lestrangle and Jacquetta his wife and the heirs of their bodies . . .'.

However in the Patent Rolls of date 26 February 1480–81<sup>6</sup> the statement allowing George Stanley and Jane Lestrangle his wife to enter into the property late of the said John, quoted above, continues: 'which should descend to her (i.e. Jane) on his death, and after the death of Anne, late the wife of the said John, and of Roger Kynaston Knight to enter upon the lands of the inheritance of the same John which these hold in dower or for life, saving to the King homage and fealty'. The interest of Roger Kynaston can be explained because he had married John Lestrangle's mother Elizabeth, mentioned above as widow of Richard Lestrangle<sup>7</sup>, but of Anne we know nothing more.

Summary of Will of Jane Stanley le Straunge. P.C.C. 32 Fetiplace.

Made 6 July 1513.

Probate granted 3 May (1514).

Executors: Richard Sutton Esq.; John Morton Esq.; servant and officer Thomas Stanley of the Flync, each to have 100/- for their labour.

Instructions on where to be buried according to where she dies; probably buried in Hillingdon church 'by my lorde my ffader in the same Tombe'.

1. To my welbeloved daughter Margaret the manor of Wemyngton in Co. Bedford as 'by a dede thereof made more playnly appereth'. She shall have and enjoy the same 'without interruption, disturbance or vexation of any man'.
2. To my daughter Jane to her marriage from my lands the sum of 20 marks p.a. for five years.
3. There shall be 3 priests to 'sing rede and pray in the parish church of Hillingdon to maintain godsservice and to pray for the souls of my lord and father, my lady my mother, my lorde my husband and for me' for 20 years and each of them to have for salary 10 marks.
4. My feoffs shall stande and be seased of all premises to the use of my trusty old servant Thomas Stanley for his life, that is he shall receive all revenues and profite from the same. They are listed as: The manor of Colham, Co. Middlesex (to be recovered by Richard Bishop of Winchester), the manors of Bicester & Gidlington, Co. Oxford, the manors of Whichford and Langompton, Co. Warwicks, and 'the moyte' of the Manor of Milton (otherwise called Middleton), Co. Cambridgeshire.  
Out of which he shall pay the 3 priests and daughter Jane.
5. To the Greyfriars of London 20/- yearly for 20 years to buy them bread and wine to sing mass 'that I may be prayed for there'.
6. To the four orders of friars in London, 40/- among them 'to pray for me'.

The Thomas Stanley to whom she leaves the revenue from her Lestrangle manors is not her son who was Earl of Derby, but as she describes—her trusty old servant whom she also appoints as one of her executors—'servant and officer Thomas Stanley of the Flync'. Among the Inquisitiones post mortem for London<sup>8</sup> is the following concerning

Thomas, Earl of Derby taken at Guildhall 28 January, 13 Henry VIII (1522).

Long before the death of Thomas, Earl of Derby, Joan Stanley Lady Lestrage, his mother, was seised of the manor of Holbourne and of 12 messuages, 40 gardens and 1 acre of land in Holbourn and Fleet Street. By charter dated 26 May 21 Henry VII (1506) she granted all the said premises in London to Robert Brudnell, William Grevyll, William Fayrefax serjeant-at-law, Richard Sutton, Thomas Pygott, John Cheyne, Richard Croke, Anthony Fitzherbert, Thomas Stanley, and George Herberne and their heirs, to the uses specified in indentures of the same date made between Lady Lestrage and John Pynner and his wife Parme. The said Robert Brudnell and the other cofeoffees being so seised by charter, granted to John Pynner and his wife an annuity of 10 marks issuing out of the said premises for the term of 20 years. Afterwards the said Lady Lestrage by charter dated 20 October 2 Henry VIII (1510) granted to Thomas Stanley, one of the sons of Peter Stanley esq. and Margery his wife formerly of Ewlowe in the county of Flint, all the said manor of Holborn and other premises for his life.

By bill indented dated 6 November 8 Henry VIII (1516) (after the death of Jane Lestrage) made between the said late Earl and the said Thomas Stanley it was agreed between them that before Easter the next following the Earl should demise to Thomas Stanley all the rents and profits of the courts of his manors of Milton, co. Cambs. and Sturminster Marshall co. Dorset, reserving the advowson of the Church of Milton to the Earl and his heirs. In exchange Thomas Stanley should release to the Earl such right and title as he had in the manor of Holborn. All the said premises are held of the King in free burgage and are worth p.a., clear, £10.

II. Henry Stanley, in armour, *ob.* 1528, with two shields; inscription lost. Mural, S. wall of chancel.

The original composition of this brass is revealed in a rubbing by the late Rev. H. Haines now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. It shows an armed figure with rectangular inscription plate in the usual place below the feet of the figure and four shields of arms, two above and two below at the corners of the stone. The inscription and two lower shields are outlined but were missing when the rubbing was made (*c.* 1840–50).

It was no doubt at the rebuilding of the chancel by Gilbert Scott in 1847–48 that the slab on which this brass was laid was lifted from the floor of the chancel and mounted against the south wall. The lower part of the stone with the indents of the missing pieces was broken off and is now missing. There remain on the four foot high stone the figure of a man in armour, 26 in. high, the bottom of which is now at ground level, two shields at the top corners each 6½ in. high and 6 in. wide. Lysons<sup>9</sup> writes that 'on the floor (of the chancel) is the effigies, in brass, of a man in armour, with the arms and quarterings of Stanley', but does not quote or mention an inscription, while in Weever there is no mention whatever of this brass.

The figure is in armour typical of the period and not of particular merit. The head, and hands, are uncovered, the hair being worn long. The sword and dagger are slung diagonally behind the body and no belt or other fastening is shown. He stands upon a grassy mound with flowers. An unusual feature is the Tau-cross on his chest hung from a linked chain around his neck. At some time a severe indentation has been made in the brass at his neck.

The two shields are identical and though now lacking colour, are of interest: The arms borne are *quarterly*, 1, *quarterly 1 and 4 argent on a bend azure three-stags' heads cabossed or*, for Stanley; 2 *or on a chief indented azure three plates*, for Latham; 3 *chequy or and azure* for Warren; 2 and 3, *gules three legs conjoined in the fesse point in armour proper* (shown as argent), *garnished and spurred or*, for the Isle of Man; 4, (according to Lysons) *quarterly 1 and 4 gules two lions passant argent*, for Strange; 2 *argent a fess and*

*canton conjoined gules, for Woodvile; 3 or a cross engrailed sable, for Moynes; overall an inescutcheon with a lion rampant(?) argent(?).*

### III. Two groups of children, c. 1560. Mural, W. wall of nave.

A group of six boys all dressed alike in gowns with false sleeves and with lace at the neck, facing to the sinister are on one plate, 7 in. high and with a maximum width of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. On the other plate, 7 in. high and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, are three daughters all wearing Queen Mary bonnets, small neck ruffs, and long gowns drawn in with simple girdles at the waist. These face to the dexter and it is evident that the two groups would once have been below the figures of the parents who would similarly have been facing towards one another, as on the Saunders brass.

An old and faint dabbing or rubbing in the Society of Antiquaries' library shows in association with these children evidence of a missing rectangular plate  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in. On this rubbing is also a blackletter inscription with 'Church wardens John Rayner and William Flye', though what this has to do with the brass is not clear.

Another rubbing has on it: 'relaid in S. aisle 1897'. It is now moved yet again onto a stone mounted at the W. end of the nave on a respond of the tower arch, on which stone is also set No. IV.

The older rubbing has been made on early (Georgian) watermarked paper, the different pieces lightly stuck on to a larger piece of paper. Lifting one of these up gently a drawing on the reverse side was revealed. This showed the rectangular outline of a stone (marked 'grey'), outlines of a man's and a woman's figure (each marked lost), and beneath them a rectangular outline for inscription (marked lost); below this again the inscription about the churchwardens and at the bottom the two plates one with six boys and one with three girls. The outline of the drawing indicates that the woman was wearing a broad-brimmed hat, suggesting a rather later date for this brass than 1560.

### IV. Rebus and shields to John Marsh, ob. 1561. Mural, W. wall of nave.

All that we have of this memorial, remounted on new stone so that the original composition cannot be determined, is one plate with the initials I M on it, engraved as trefoil-headed pilasters, the frame of the plate being two intertwining squares or an eight-pointed star, and three shields. The shields are all of the same size, 6 in. high and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide at the top, and all are made up from two pieces of metal. That by the side of the rebus has upon it the arms of the Mercers Company—*Gules a demi-virgin coupé below the shoulders, issuing from clouds all proper vested and crowned with an Eastern crown or, her hair dishevelled and wreathed round the temples with roses, all within an orle of clouds proper.*

Below this is a shield bearing the arms of the Merchant Adventurers: *Barry nebulée of six argent and azure a chief quarterly 1 and 4 gules a lion passant guardant or, 2 and 3 or two roses gules barbed vert.* The lower dexter shield bears the arms of Marsh: *Sable a cross argent fretty of the first between four lion's heads erased of the second.*

There is no earlier description of this brass in Weever or Lysons, but there are earlier rubbings at the Society of Antiquaries. One marks the edge of the stone indicating that it was 7 ft. 2 in. long and 3 ft. wide. A second, showing the shields all complete has upon it in writing: 'brass plate on an ancient tomb in the pavement of the middle aisle near the chancel'. A third rubbing, showing the lower part of the Merchant Adventurers shield

already missing, has on it: 're-laid S. aisle 1897'. Since then it has been mounted on two pieces of new stone (with No. III) and put against the wall at the W. end of the nave. On the back of the earliest rubbing is a drawing showing in outline the four shields and a thin rectangular plate on which could have been not more than two lines of inscription.

If this is indeed all of the original composition it was a remarkably modest memorial for a merchant of considerable wealth and property as the following extract from his will indicates.<sup>10</sup>

Will of John Marsh the elder, Mercer. P.C.C. 16 Loftes made 7 July 1557; Codicil 20 April 1561.  
Probate granted 7 May 1561.

Executrix: Margaret Marsh, wife.

Overseers: John Marsh, cousin, and Thomas Webster, servant.

1. All my debts and duties owed, of right or in conscience, to be truly paid.
2. All remaining goods, chattells, plate, debts and merchandise to be fairly priced and divided into 2 equal parts.
3. One part to Margaret my wife.
4. The second part to myself and my executor for the following legacies.
5. To the wardens and Company of the mystery or fellowship of the mercery of the City of London £200 'to the use and occupying of young men and edifying the poor people' to endure for ever. To be put in the hands of 5 poor young men of the fellowship, they putting in sureties for the same and paying annually xii pence for every pound. The return on £200 is therefore £10 annually.  
No one in the livery of the said fellowship shall have any of this money (unless they 'by misfortune be fallen in decay').
6. The wardens of the said fellowship will dispose of the £10 as follows:
  - i. To the curate and churchwardens of the chapel at Uxbridge annually the sum of £5 6s. 8d. to be paid in 4 equal portions. The curate and churchwardens to give on every Sunday in the year to 28 poor people of the parish good and sweet bread to the value of 2s. which amounts to £5 4s. in the year.<sup>11</sup> The remaining 2s. 8d. for the curate and churchwardens 'towards their pains taking to see this yearly discreetly and well done'.
  - ii. If at any time this is neglected and not done then the wardens and fellowship shall pay the £5 6s. 8d. to the hospital of St. Bartholomew by Smithfield for the relief of the poor in that house.
  - iii. Also out of the £10 the wardens and fellowship to give at appropriate times, 10s. to the poor prisoners of Newgate in the City of London; 5s. to the prisoners of Ludgate; 5s. each to both Counter pryson houses in London; and to the poor prisoners of the Kings Bench and Marshalsey in Southwark 40s. (i.e. 20s. each).
  - iv. To the poorest of householders in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry in coal or otherwise 15d. at the discretion of the wardens.
  - v. For the residue of the £10, which is 13s. 4d., 10s. to the wardens and 3s. 4d. to the parties assigned to distributing the money as above.
7. If at any time item 5 above cannot be executed because of 'the Kings and the Queens Majesties laws or their successors' then the occupying by the young men is to cease and the bequest under 6 shall be paid by the wardens and fellowship who shall invest the £200 in tenements or land.
8. As soon as possible after my decease my executor shall pay the curate and churchwardens of Uxbridge every quarter 26s. 8d. for the relief of the poor there until such time as they have made payment of the £200 to the wardens and fellowship of the mercers company.
9. To my cousin John Marsh and his wife a ring of gold of the value of 40s. to each of them.
10. To my cousin Warner and his wife a ring each likewise of 40s.
11. To Edward Elmer grocer and his wife a gown cloth to each.
12. To the marriage of 30 poor maidens £10; that is 6s. 8d. to each.

13. To my sister Agnes Kempe £10
14. To Thomas Harris her son £10 when he comes of age.
15. To my sister's children which she has or shall have by . . . Kempe, now her husband, 40s. each. If any die before coming of age, the bequest to be shared with the remaining children.
16. To the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge £4 each.
17. To the poor of the hospital of St. Bartholomew by Smithfield £20, to be given them in wool or linen, and to the other two hospitals £10, that is £5 each to be given also as wool or linen.
18. To the poor of the householders of Pinner in the parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill 40s. to be distributed at the discretion of my executors.
19. To the poor householders of Bromley-by-Bow, also 40s.
20. To 12 poor men and 12 poor women a gown of good fryse (Frisian cloth?) or other at executors' discretion.
21. To every servant in employ at my death 40s. p.a. provided they continue true and faithful service to my wife during their apprenticeship.
22. To Thomas Webster my servant, to be diligent in collecting my debts, £5 and my 2 'ware chests in the greate shoppe'.
23. To Margaret my wife all tenements in Grub Street with shops, cellars etc. and my house and lands at Adymers and all other lands and leases 'that I have or ought to have' during her lifetime.
24. After her decease all the freehold to Thomas Marsh, son of my brother Henry Marsh, and his heirs.
25. If Thomas Marsh dies without heirs then the freehold to go to John Marsh son of my cousin John Marsh. Should he have no heirs then to the next heirs 'being of the name of Marsh'.
26. Copyhold lands remain to the order of the Courts.
27. If it shall please God not to permit the name of the Marshes to inherit for lack of issue then they go to the fellowship of the Mercers Company to be sold. Half the money to be given to the hospitals in London and the other half to the 'mending of the hyghe wayes' within 20 miles compass of London.
28. Any residue after all the above to my wife Margaret; appointed the executrix. The two overseers each to have a gown.

*Codicil.* 20 April 1561.

21. To Margaret my wife and to her heirs all lands and tenements in the parish of Dagenham, Co. Essex, called Addins now being in the occupation of one Lambe.
22. To Margaret my wife the lease of the parsonage in Hillingdon and all other leases.

V. Inscription to Anne Wilson, *ob.* 1569, relaid mural on W. wall of S. aisle.

This inscription is on rather thin and corroded plate. It is in English verse in ten lines of blackletter on a rectangular plate 22 in. wide and 10½ in. high. In addition there is a small rectangular piece 3¼ in. high and 4 in. wide placed immediately above and at the middle of the main plate on which, in three lines of blackletter is:

Epitaphium  
Anne Wilson  
Quae

Immediately below the centre of the main plate is a stepped rectangular piece 2 in. high and 5⅛ in. and 2⅛ in. wide on which, in blackletter, follows:

Obiit 13 Novēber  
1569

The main part of the inscription, which is surrounded by a decorated border, and which is an acrostic, reads:

An erthly lyffe wyth erth, on erth, nott ledd in erthly wyse  
 Now erth, in erth doth lye asleape, tyll erth frome erth aryse.  
 Nott soule but corps Dyd yeld to Death: now deadly fury past,  
 Eternall lyffe the sowle enioyes, and fame in Death doth laste.  
 What parent<sup>s</sup> or what place of byrth, Myles Wilson: Brystow Towne  
 In plesaunt place from Worships race Descend<sup>s</sup> the Daughter downe  
 Lett place gyve place let parent<sup>s</sup> passe: go fame whilest brute is riffe  
 Sownd once agayne thy troumpe of prayse: cōmend her godly lyffe.  
 Oh prayses yeld for Death and lyffe of her that lyves by fame.  
 Now skyes the soule the grave y<sup>e</sup> corps, this stone conteyns her name.

VI. Drew Saunders, *ob.* 1579 and wife. Mural, W. end of nave.

This well-engraved brass retains the figures of Drew Saunders and his wife, an inscription and a lozenge with monogram and merchant mark. Indents for the missing figures of one son and one daughter are still to be seen, one at the foot and behind each parent. Rubbings of these two still exist in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; that of the daughter has the head already missing, in which mutilated condition it was recorded as still present by Mill Stephenson in 1926. The illustration shows also the indent of a shield, apparently inverted and from its shape likely to have been a century earlier in date than the brass of Drew Saunders. There is also evidence that the present inscription was fitted to an indent of larger size. The stone in which this brass was set has therefore been adapted (inverted) from earlier use, the earlier brass consisting of an inscription and a shield spaced some way below the inscription.

The two main figures are turned slightly towards one another, the man on the dexter side. He wears a beard and the hair is very neatly crimped. His garment has lace at the neck and wrists and over this he wears a full-length gown with puffed shoulders and false sleeves. This figure is 20½ in. high, that of the wife is 1½ in. shorter. Her costume is simple and plain, but rich in edging, also with lace at neck and wrists, and with puffed shoulders. She wears the 'Queen Mary' bonnet.

The inscription below is in English in four lines of blackletter. It is on a rectangular plate 4 in. high and 17¼ in. wide. It reads:

Here lyeth Drew Saunders Gentleman sumtyme  
 of the right wourshipfull companye of the merch=  
 aunes of the Estaple of England, and was  
 buried the 4 of Aprill Anno domini, 1579:

The lozenge above the two main figures has a side measuring 5½ in. Around the merchant's mark on which the initials D and S are entwined is a border lightly engraved with foliage and five-petalled flowers at the four corners.

Here too is a memorial to a successful London merchant who, as can be seen from the will extract that follows, had acquired a new dwelling for his family in Hillingdon. He is far less elaborate in his legacies than John Marsh who appears to have been childless. The male child on this brass, if a son, is not mentioned and presumably died young. His daughter's family appear to have been young when the will was drawn up and one may surmise that Drew Saunders was not old and was just achieving commercial success when he died, evidently very much a 'family man' and entrusting the future to his son-in-law. No mention is made on the inscription of his wife, whose name, as the will shows,





Fig. 1. John, Lord Strange *ob.* 1479 and wife Jacquetta, Engraved 1509.

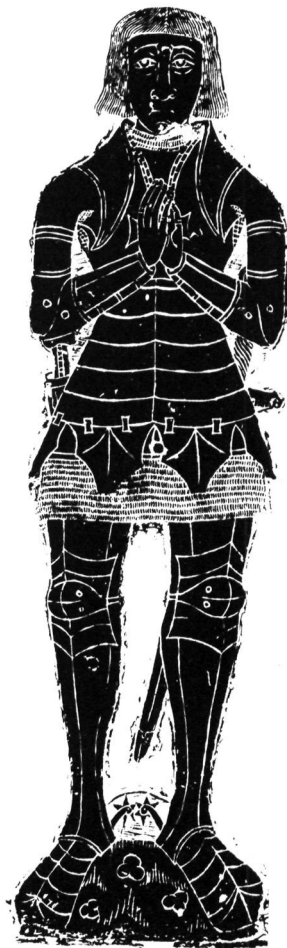


Fig. 2. Henry Stanley, 1528.

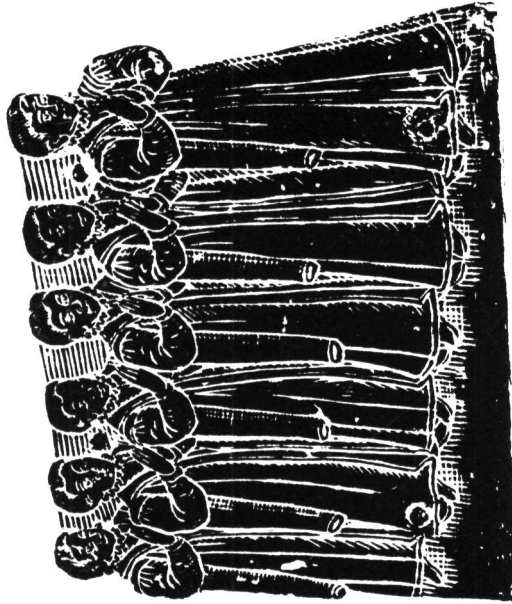
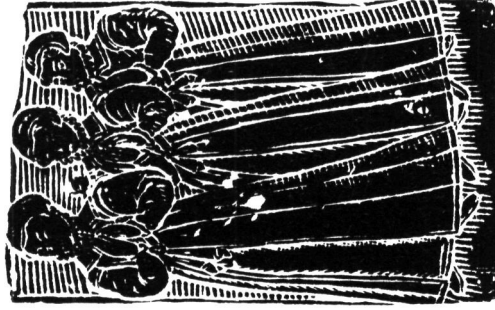


Fig. 3. Two groups of children. Late sixteenth century.

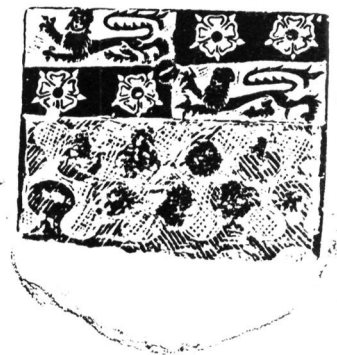
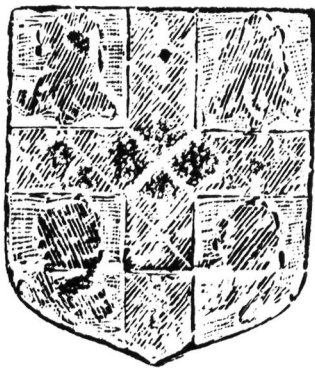


Fig. 4. Remains of Brass to John Marsh, 1561.

Stephenson  
Anne Wilson  
Esq

An certain harte with erth on erth, nitt ledd in certayn unike  
hold erth, in erth doth be a leape, full erth troupe erth erth  
A of soule, but corpe and yeld to death, with deadly ture pale,  
Erre will harte the soule r'wome, and fame in death doth laste,  
Desert parente or what place, of burth smiles willow, to yfildow condour,  
In pleasant place from death's r'wome, and t'ride the daughter dour,  
Let place ydar place let parente yelle, go fame whilist beut is r'ide,  
Soldnd once asseme thy troupe of praple, comard her oddy hite,  
Oh praple yeld for death and hite of her that yders by fame,  
Hold skere the soule the greay, y corpe this soule comens her name,

Obit 13 October  
1569

Fig. 5. Anne Wilson, 1569.



Here lyeth Drew Saunders Gentleman tynnyme  
of the right worshipfull compaignie of the merch-  
aunties of the Staple of England. and was  
buried the 4 of April Anno domini. 1579 :

Fig. 6. Drew Saunders, ob. 1579 and wife Anne.



HERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODIE OF WILLIAM GOMSALL  
LATE CITIZEN AND IRE-MONGER OF LONDON WHOE.  
CHANGED THIS MORTALL LYFE THE FIRST DAY OF IULIE  
IN THE YERE OF OVR LORD GOD 1597. IN FVLL AND PFECT  
HOPE OF A IOYFVLL RESVRRECTION. AND LEFT BEHINDE  
HIM ONE SONNE AND TWO DAUGHTERS.

Fig. 7. William Gomersall, 1597.



HERE LIETH BVRIED THE BODY OF JOHN ATLEE WHO  
WAS IN OFFICE OF THE HIGH CONSTABLE OF ELTHORNE  
HVNDRED 36 YEARES AND DECEASED THE LAST DAY  
OF NOVEMBER ANO 1599. IN THE FAITH OF IESV CHRIST  
BY WHOSE BLOOD AND PASSION I HOPE TO BE SAVED.

Fig. 8. John Atlee, 1599.





Fig. 9. Priest in mass vestments, c. 1450. (Reverse of two pieces of the Marsh Brass.)

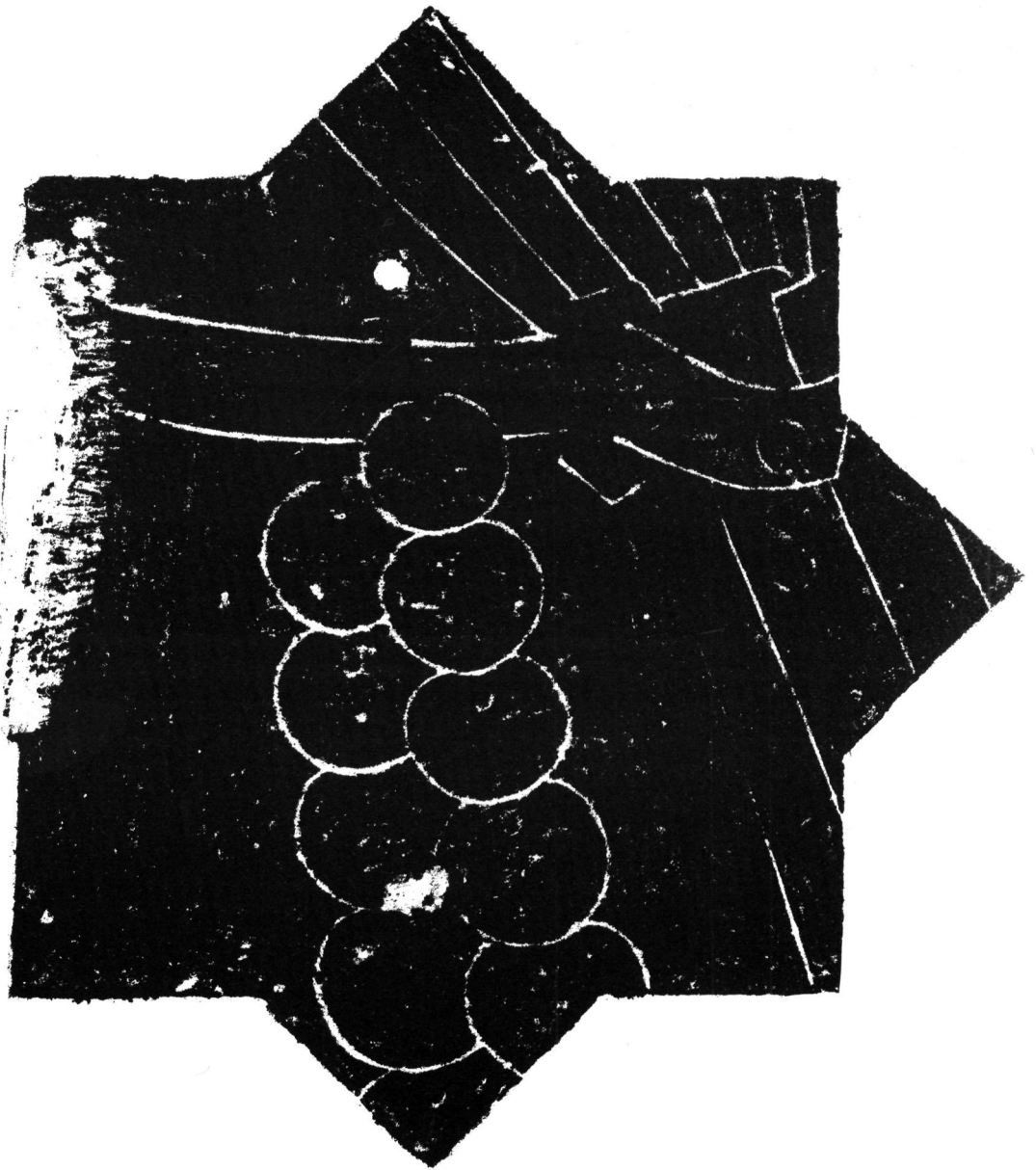


Fig. 10. Reverse of rebus from Marsh Brass.

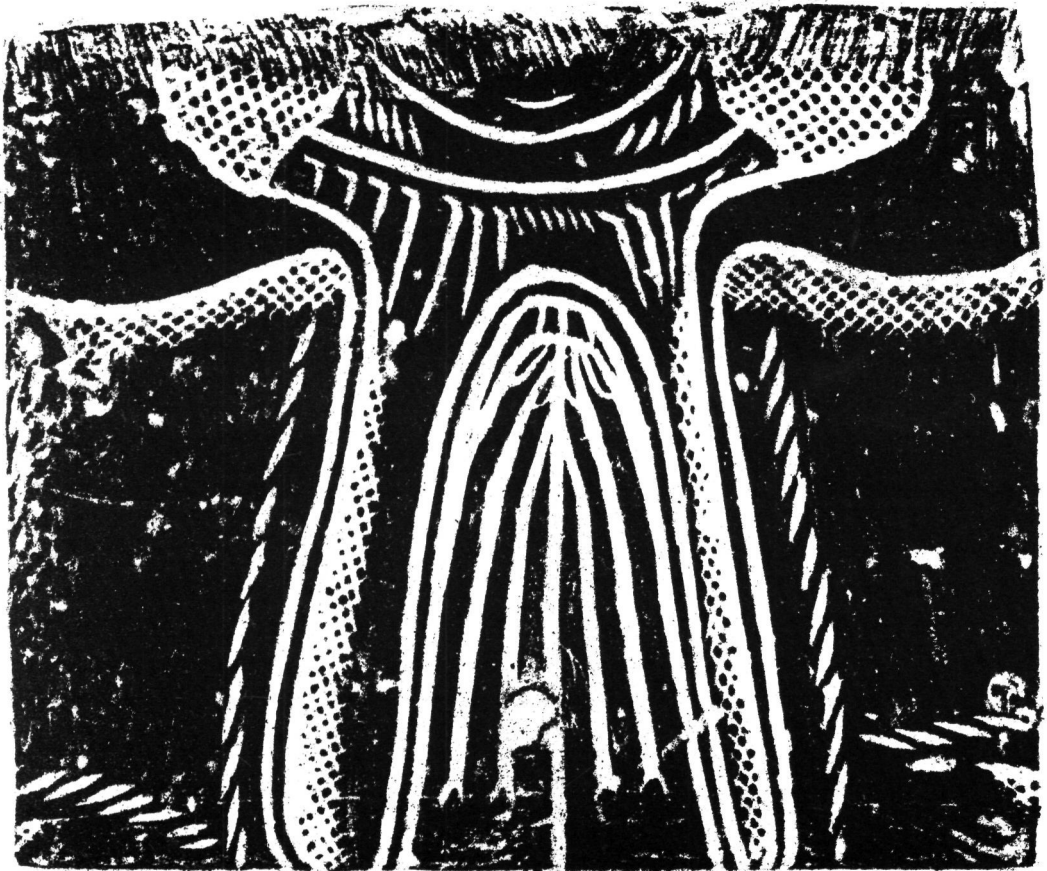


Fig. 11. Reverse of shield with Marsh arms.

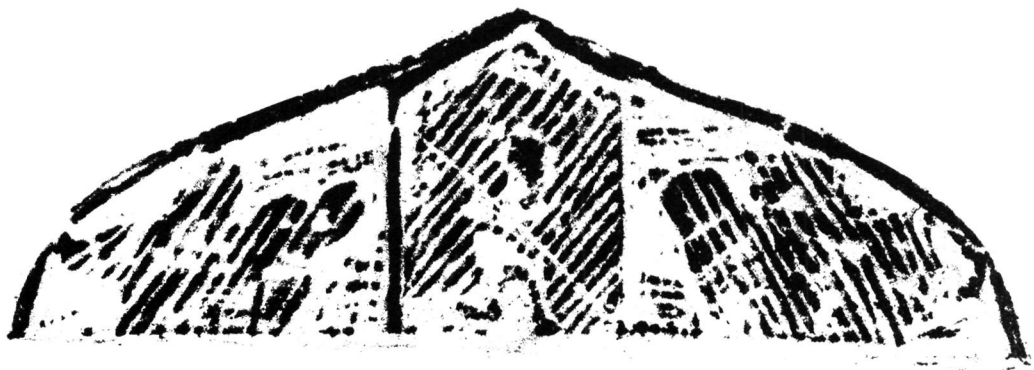
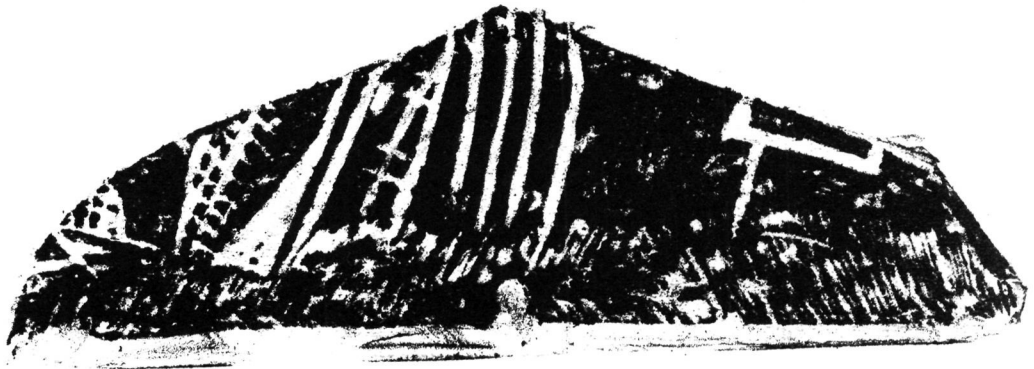


Fig. 12. Bottom piece of Marsh arms, with engraving on reverse.



Fig. 13. Bottom piece of Mercers' arms, with engraving on reverse.

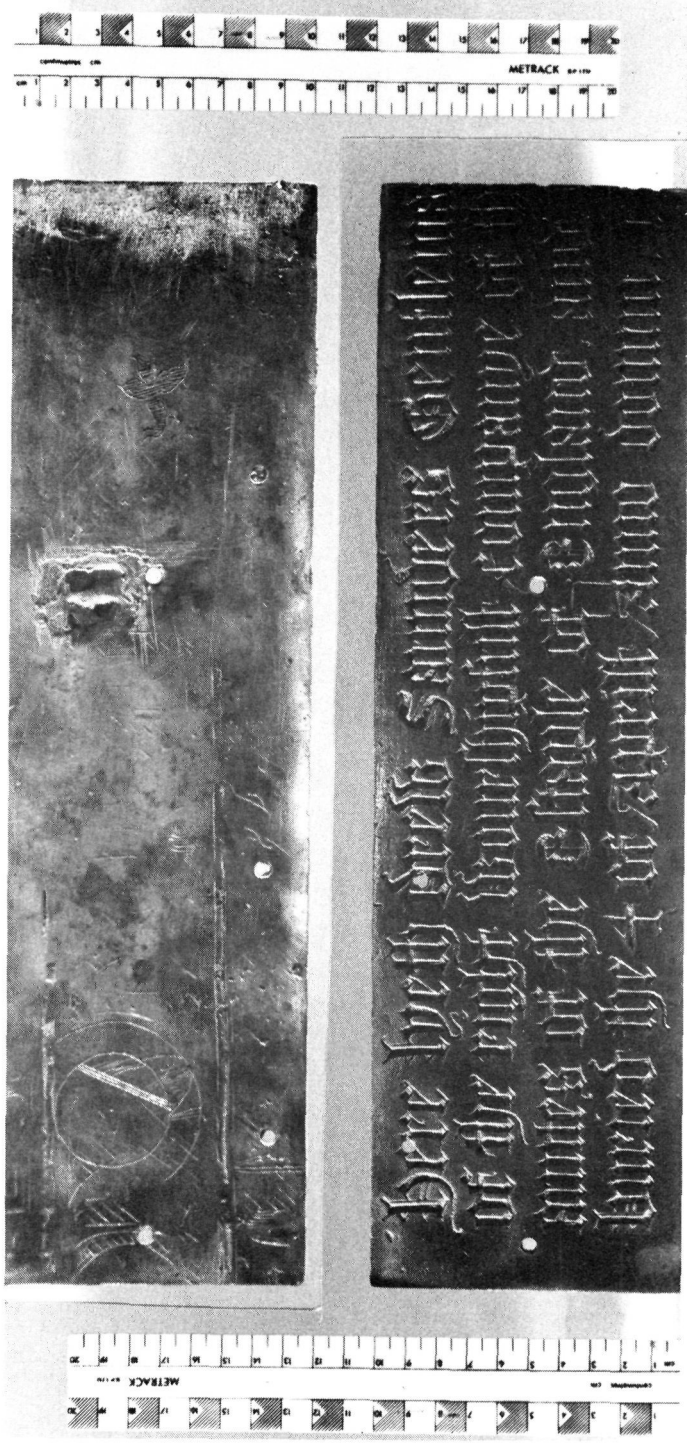


Fig. 14. The larger part of the Saunders' inscription.

Here lyeth the body of  
of the right honorable company of  
souldiers of the chace of England, who  
died the 4 of April Anno domini



Fig. 15. Smaller part of the Saunders' inscription.



Fig. 16. Hunting scene from brass at Ringsted, Denmark, c. 1320.



Fig. 17. Reverse of merchant's mark from Saunders' brass.



was Anne. There is record in Chesters Marriage Licences in London of a marriage between 'Druyone' Saunders and Anne Hatton of St. Pancras on 15 December, 1546.

Will of Drew Saunders. P.C.C. 26 Bakon.

Made 21 June (19 Elizabeth or 1577).

Probate granted 23 June 1579.

Executor: Henry Chapman, son-in-law.

1. To my wife Anne Saunders 100 marks to be paid within half a year of decease by my executor at or in my new dwelling house called Moorecrofts in Hillingdon.
2. To my wife all her Jewels with such furniture for her chamber as I shall allocate.
3. My executor shall 'suffer and permit without interruption' my wife to have during her widowhood those rooms which she and I now have and usually occupy, i.e. the little parlour, the little buttery, the stair and the little kitchen. And to have the reasonable use of such other rooms for her solace and pleasure; also free use of the gardens, orchards and grounds about and belonging to the house during her widowhood at all reasonable times.
4. My executor or his assigns at their cost shall provide and freely prepare for the said Anne and one maid or woman servant attending upon her sufficient meat, drink and fuel and necessary diet in all things during her widowhood at Moorecrofts.
5. If during her widowhood my wife shall be disposed or desirous to ride and travel amongst or to any of her friends for her recreation then my executor shall, given reasonable warning, furnish her with horse and man for these journeys; i.e. 2 horses and one man if she wishes to ride single or if she prefers to ride double, then two horses and 2 men at her own cost for travelling during her absence from Moorecrofts. Neither horses nor men shall be thus used or kept from home for more than 40 days in any one year.
6. The legacy of 100 marks to my wife shall be null and void if she does not within 5 months of my decease and before payment of the money surrender and yield up all rights title and interest in my mansion house called Moorecrofts within the manor of Colham, which are held by me of the Earl of Derby, before the steward of the said manor at a court held there or otherwise as thought best by my executor his heirs executors or assigns or his or their learned counsel in the law at the cost and charge of Henry Chapman provided that my wife is not obliged to travel out of the parish of Hillingdon to perform this act.
7. To my servant and kinsman John Saunders 40s.
8. To all my other servants 10s. apiece provided they serve out their terms and years honestly and truly with my executor as they should have done with me.
9. To Drew Chapman my nephew and godson a plain standing cup of silver with a cover all gilt.
10. To every one of the residue of his brethren and sisters, being the children of my daughter one piece of silver plate for remembrance, chosen by their parents.
11. My funeral and debts being duly paid, the residue of my goods, movable and unmoveable, to my son-in-law Henry Chapman for the use of him and his wife Sara, my only daughter.

VII. Inscription and achievement for William Gomersall, *ob.* 1597. Mural, W. wall of S. aisle.

On a rectangular plate 20<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. wide and 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. high is the following inscription in six lines of Roman capitals:

HERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODIE OF WILLIAM GOMSALL  
LATE CITIZEN AND IREMONGER OF LONDON WHOE  
CHANGED THIS MORTALL LYFE THE FIRST DAY OF IVLIE  
IN THE YERE OF OVR LORD GOD 1597. IN FULL AND PFECT  
HOPE OF A IOYFULL RESVRRECTION. AND LEFT BEHINDE  
HIM ONE SONNE AND TWO DAVGHTERS.

Central with this plate and immediately above it is another rectangular plate 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. high and 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. wide, on which is engraved a shield with helmet, crest and mantling. The

arms and crest are those of Gomersall of London recorded by Dethick, Garter, in 1568: *Sable, a chevron engrailed ermine between three dexter gauntlets argent*, and the crest: *On a crescent or, a dexter gauntlet argent grasping a battle axe gules pointed and headed of the second*.

This brass without figures is well engraved and a good example of its kind. It is a modest memorial for another successful merchant and liveryman of the City of London, with property on Deptford Strand as well as in Hillingdon. Extracts from his will follow.

It is stated on the brass that William Gomsall died on the first day of July 1597 and in the Burial Register is the record in September 1597: 'William Gomersill the thyrde day'. Probate on the will states 4 July 1596, but immediately above this statement he set his seal to the will on a day never filled in in the 39th year of Elizabeth, i.e. 1597. The will opens by stating that it is made on the twoe and twentieth of May 1597 so it seems without doubt that 1597 is the correct year.

Will of William Gomersall. P.C.C. 66 Cobham.

Made 22 May 1597.

Probate granted 4 July 39 Elizabeth (= 1597, but will shows 1596!).

Executors: Robert Gomersall, son.

Overseer: Christopher Aclye.

1. All lands and tenements in Uxbridge and in Edmonton to son Robert Gomersall &, after his decease to Robert's son William & his heirs upon condition that R. G. shall pay my wife Anne<sup>12</sup> £20 p.a. at the feasts of St. Michael and the Annunciation (or within 30 days), to be paid at the house of my son-in-law George Lee in King Street, Westminster. If at any time Robert shall fail to pay then Anne shall distrain for the sum of £30 (Nomine pena).
2. Robert shall pay his mother £20 within one month of my death at George Lee's home in Westminster.
3. These legacies to my wife are in full discharge of any claims she may make against my property.
4. To Marye Lee daughter of George Lee & her heirs my house at Deptford Strand now in the tenure of the Lord High Admiral of England.  
If she has no heir then it is to go to her brother Thomas Lee and his heirs.  
If he has no heirs then the house and wharf to come to my son and heir Robert.
5. Whoever receives the benefit of 4 must pay £10 to Thomas Nune Clerke late of Deptford until a certain Ammytie be run out.
6. Excepted from the legacy to Robert G. are two tenements under one roof next to the new churchyard at Uxbridge, with their gardens and orchards, as now divided. The one occupied by 'one Goodden' is to be given to Margaret More the wife of John More for her lifetime at an annual rent of one peppercorn (if legally demanded).  
The other tenement with the 'backsyde' to Annys Clye daughter of Lawrence Aclye of Uxbridge, at the same rent.
7. To Margaret More £10 to be paid by Christopher Aclye of Cowley within 14 days of my decease.
8. To Annys Aclye £10 to be paid by Christopher Aclye her uncle within 1 month of my decease.
9. To John Aclye nowe my servant 5 marks to be paid by Chistopher Aclye within 6 weeks of my decease.
10. To William Smith my servant 5 marks to be paid by Christopher Aclye within 4 months.
11. 7-10 to be paid by a Statute of James Matthews of Iver for recovering debts of £100.  
The surplus and all other debts owed me by Christopher Aclye to Christopher Aclye and his heirs.
12. To Jonas Arnall my servant £5 to be paid within 1 month by Robert Gomersall from debts

- owed under a Statute by William Roberts of Feltham of £120.
13. To my daughter Elizabeth 300 marks to be paid by my son Robert within 4 months from such goods as he shall receive from Thomas Lawrence of Bray, the sum of £105 to be paid by a statute of £200 for the payment of £105. Also a statute of William Roberts of £100 for the payment of £42; and by 2 bonds on William Redinge and Richard Redinge in £40 for the payment of £20 15s.; also a bond of Henry Ponde and John Clarke in £50 for the payment of £26 odd and one other bond on George Gib and William Wodon in £26 for the payment of 20 marks.
  14. To the poor people of Hillingdon £5.
  15. To Christopher Aclye a silver spoon double-gilt weighing 2 oz. and similar spoon to his wife.
  16. To Margaret Moore the wife of John Moore a wool bed with a whole and sound coverlet and 3 pairs of whole and sound flaxen sheets.
  17. To Annys Aclye a wool bed and a good and sound coverlet and a pair of flaxen sheets.
  18. To John Heager of Harwill [*sic*] £120 I do owe him by means of £115 remaining in the hands of Thomas Nedes of Ruislip and £5 remaining in the hands of John Heager.
  19. But if Anne my wife dislike or refuse my legacy to her then she shall take a third of my lands and goodes without further claim or demand, my debts funeral & legacies being first paid & deducted.
  20. And provided also that if my son Robert puts in sureties to the Chamber of London to pay William his son £500 as a legacye from me his grandfather to be paid when he reaches the age of 24 within 3 months of the decease of the said Robert then I give Robert full authority to sell and take to his use all lands and tenements.
  21. I make Robert sole executor and Christopher Aclye Overseer for which my executor shall pay him 20s.

#### VIII. John Atlee, *ob.* 1599. Mural S. wall, S. aisle.

The figure of a man, 19½ in. high, is shown facing partly to his right. He is in civilian dress of the period, a garment buttoned on the chest and with ruff around his neck. Overall he wears a long gown with false sleeves reaching to the ankles. His feet are shown in shoes; standing on a plain floor. The face, with moustache and beard, could well be an attempt at portraiture. The engraving, though with much cross-hatching, is carefully engraved and in good proportion.

Below, on a rectangular plate 5¾ in. high and 20½ in. wide is the following inscription in five lines of Roman capitals:

HERE LIETH BVRIED THE BODY OF IOHN ATLEE WHO  
WAS IN OFFICE OF THE HIGH CONSTABLE OF ELTHORNE  
HVNDRED 36 YEARES AND DECEASED THE LAST DAY  
OF NOVEMBER ANO 1599. IN THE FAITH OF IESV CHRIST  
BY WHOSE BLOOD AND PASSION I HOPE TO BE SAVED

The burial register has the entry 'Decemb. 3 John Acelye Snior'. Such variability of spelling was in those days common and it suggests that the many references to the name Aclye in the will of William Gomersall (No. 7) may be to this same family.

#### A Discovery of palimpsests

When taking rubbings in 1975, two of these brasses were found to be palimpsest. Two of the shields of the Marsh brass were found to be very loose. The rivet holding one was punched and made to hold tight, if only temporarily. The other came away. This was the Merchant Adventurer's shield, of which the lower portion was already missing. Examination showed engraving on the reverse. It was curious that the three shields

associated with the John Marsh brass, of modest size, are all made from two pieces of metal. As one was now seen to be re-used metal there was reasonable expectation that all these pieces would prove palimpsest. At this same time it was observed that parts of the Drew Saunders brass were likely to be palimpsest also. The inscription was made of two pieces of metal the smaller of which had half a hollow rivet hole at its edge, obviously from earlier use. A similar half-circle at one edge was seen on the merchant mark plate. With the authority of the P.C.C. and the interested encouragement of the vicar, the Revd. Prebendary F.C. Tyler, these plates were removed on 1st December 1975.

As expected all the pieces were found to have engraving on the reverse side.

*Engraving on the reverse of the brass to John Marsh, 1561*

At the dissolution of monastic foundations many churches were destroyed or allowed to decay. The fittings were removed and many thousands of brasses must have been cast out. Some of the plate came to be re-used, either at once or during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. It is therefore likely that the brass used for the memorial to Marsh was residual spoil from monastic churches. The four small plates of his monument were all fabricated from two pieces, chamfered at one edge and soldered together. Of the eight original pieces two of the smaller pieces are now missing; the remaining six are portions of not less than three earlier brasses. The best engraved—or preserved—is the small figure of a priest in mass vestments of date about, or a little earlier than, 1450, shown in Fig. 9. The upper part, showing hands joined in prayer, the undecorated sleeves of the alb, a major part of the plain chasuble and the maniple hanging from the left wrist—patterned with rows of quatrefoils—is on the reverse of the major (and only remaining) piece of the shield with the arms of the Merchant Adventurers. The lower piece which is obviously contiguous with the other, and is on the back of the main piece of the arms of the Mercers Company, shows the lower part of the chasuble, with the fringe of the maniple, the alb almost to the feet, and the two ends of the stole, fringed and patterned like the maniple.

The rebus with I M on it was also made from two pieces of metal, the lesser of which is now missing and as can be seen was very small, with one point only of the frame. The reverse of the larger piece is worn and was at best only lightly engraved. It is the middle portion of a quite large fifteenth century figure, probably male and a civilian. The most prominent feature is part of a belt around the waist with buckle and holes in the free end which is looped in a half hitch. From the belt hangs a rosary with beads about an inch in diameter, suggesting a figure at least four feet in height. It is curious that from so large a figure it was not possible to find a piece of metal sufficient in size to produce the whole rebus plate. The missing piece is only about 3 in. by 1½ in. in size!

The other larger piece, from the shield with Marsh's own arms, has on the reverse part of yet a third brass, tantalising in that there is all too little to be conclusive on what it represents. From the extent of cross hatching it would seem to be of later date than the other two brasses described. A chin and neck are clearly seen and there is no beard. A garment close fitting around the neck could be a cassock. Hands joined in prayer appear to support material of some kind, but this is not at all clear. An outer garment with a very large hood or cowl is shown; the costume may be academic or monastic.

The small lower piece of the Marsh shield has been made from another piece of this same earlier brass—from the style of engraving and cross-hatching. Another pair of

hands is drawn, not of a full face figure as on the other piece, but slightly turned to dexter. Cross-hatching and other definite lines are there, but interpretation is difficult. The last small piece, from the bottom of the Mercers Company arms is perhaps contemporary with the above two, but also insufficient to allow definite conclusions. It is evidently from the bottom of a figure with cross-hatched drapery folds; but what appears to be a sabaton or armed foot is also there and part of a tiled pavement beneath the foot. A gowned military figure is unusual. If it were intended as a knight with robes of chivalry, e.g. K.G., a larger effigy would be expected. On the same piece of metal is part of a blackletter inscription of at least two lines. On the first line a part of one word is shown '? andon', and on the line below 'm (?) sect'. This is not much to go on, but it has been suggested to me that it might be from a brass to Sir Thomas Brandon, K.G. who died in 1509.

*Engraving on the reverse of Drew Saunders' brass, 1579*

The outburst of religious fanaticism in the Low Countries in the year 1566 caused iconoclasm on a large scale. Many of the brasses that were thrown out of the churches found their way to the London market where the metal was turned over, cut up and re-used. Many brasses in this country in the following decade and more have been found to be palimpsest with portions of Flemish work on the reverse side. The brass of Drew Saunders proved to be one of these. As mentioned above evidence of earlier use was apparent from empty rivet holes at the edge of the plates as re-used. The thick and dark quality of the metal used for the inscription and for the rebus plate—in contrast to the thinner and lighter coloured plates used for the two main figures—is also suggestive of earlier use.

The larger piece of inscription showed evidence of engraving on the reverse, but this had been much worn. It appears to have been part of a border inscription, possibly with letters in Lombardic script, and some canopy work. It is too worn to decipher anything or even to be sure of dating.

An interesting technical feature is that a small rectangular piece of the metal was either missing or had to be replaced when the inscription was cut. This occurs immediately above the 'A' of 'Anno' in the last line and is a piece no more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. It is secured in place by a large amount of solder on the reverse side. The reverse also shows doodling marks or practising by, probably, an apprentice, which include circles and a trefoil with tail that has been cross-hatched.

The smaller piece of the inscription, which has the tell-tale half hole of an earlier rivet at one edge, has on the reverse part of a hunting scene that can be immediately recognised as work of that magnificent fourteenth century school of Flemish engraving described elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> A hound is depicted in pursuit of its prey with trees in the background—one appears to bear a holly leaf. Just not shown is the huntsman, but his right hand can be seen holding a staff and in the top left corner his other arm holding to his mouth a hunting horn. At the right hand side can be seen the marks caused by filing and chamfering this edge to be joined by solder to the other plate. Such a hunting scene would have formed a long panel across the lower part of a large brass, below the feet of the person commemorated.

A similar scene is on the great brass to King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg of Denmark, of date c. 1320 at Ringsted in that country. Beneath his feet is a boar hunt while under the Queen the chase is after deer.

This splendid brass in Denmark is of rectangular shape, measuring 9 ft. 4 in. by 5 ft. 6 in. The hunting scenes, of which an excerpt is shown in Figure 16, for comparison, is only 1½ in. high. This small piece of a similar scene now found at Hillingdon is more than 3 in. high. It must have been part of a very large brass of the middle of the fourteenth century, of Flemish engraving and in a church in Flanders robbed of its monuments in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The reverse side of the rebus plate with the initials D. S incorporated in a merchant's mark also shows part of a fourteenth century Flemish brass of this outstanding school. It is less spectacular than the dog running in the forest, showing just two forked lines representing folds in the drapery of the costume of a civilian or a lady. In contrast to English or other engraving of the period these lines are wide and shallow. The major line is 7/16 in. wide, more than twice that found in contemporary work in this country. That there could be so little engraving on this plate, some 5½ in. square, indicates that it is from a large figure, probably life size. It could well be from the same original brass as the hunting scene though there is no proof. What this piece also shows, in common with many other palimpsest pieces of about this date (the later 1570's) is prolific doodling by, presumably, apprentices in the London workshop. They bear close resemblance from piece to piece, with concentric circles, trefoils, leaves, parallel lines, sometimes with hatching. What is curious and leads to the assumption that beginners were practising, is that these lines and patterns are scratched rather than engraved; they are very shallow and thin and not practices of the engraving technique. At best they represent the use of a scribe with which the design of a brass memorial may first have been scratched on the metal plate for the engraver to follow. This present example has the added interest that, within five concentric circles, the letters I B with linking knots have been scratched:—an up and coming John Brown of the engravers trade?

These newly found palimpsest pieces are of unusual interest and add to the considerable number of those found in the London area among, mainly, sixteenth century brasses.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 530.
- <sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones Post Mortem Chancery Inq.*, Edw. IV, File 70, No. 39.
- <sup>3</sup> *Pat. Rolls*, Edw. IV, No. 27.
- <sup>4</sup> Weever (*loc. cit.*) says: 'For Sir George Stanley, sonne and heire of Thomas, Lord Stanley, Earle of Darby, the first of that name, married Joane, the sole daughter and heire of the aforesaid John Lord Strange, here mentioned, who to her fathers memory, made this monument, with whom he had both her fathers honours, and ample inheritance; of which, Thomas Stanley, sometime Lord Bishop of Man, in his pedigree of the Stanleyes, speaking of Thomas, the first Earle. thus makes his rime, a MSS: 'He married his first sonne George, to no Ferme, nor Grange  
But honourably to the heire of the Lord Strange:  
Who lived in such love, as no man els had:  
For at the death of him, divars went almost madd;  
At an ungodly banquet (alas) he was poisoned,  
And at London in Saint James Garlikith lyes buried.'" (Stow/Strype, Edition 1720; B3, p. 10, confirms a monument to him in this church.)
- <sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1446-52, p. 311, membrane 5.
- <sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1476-85, p. 218, membrane 27.
- <sup>7</sup> *Harl. Soc.* XXVIII, p. 294. Roger Kynaston de Midle et Hordley, Co. Salop, miles, 4 filius Griffini (Knighted 8 Edw. IV, Sheriff of Salop. 1461 and 1470. *ob.* 1495-96.  
m. (1) Elizabeth, d. Lord Cobham de Sterbergh relicta Dni Strange. (2) Elizabeth soror Richard Grey Dni Powis.
- <sup>8</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem* for London, British Record Society, (1896), p. 34.
- <sup>9</sup> Lysons, *Historical account of those parishes in the County of Middlesex not described in the Environs of London* (1800), p. 159. Lysons also writes that 'in the north east corner of the nave (over the manor pew) is a circular brass plate (fixed to the wall) with the arms and quarterings of Stanley, surrounded by the order of the garter—and on an escutcheon of pretence, a lion rampant.' This has long since gone, no doubt at the rebuilding of this part of the church.
- <sup>10</sup> Although mentioned as a benefactor to the Mercers Company on the list of some 90 benefactors printed in Stow/Strype (1720 ed. B.5, p. 55) he is not among the asterisked half of that number described as the largest benefactors.
- <sup>11</sup> This is the earliest known Uxbridge charity (see *V. C. H. Middlesex*, Vol. 4, p. 98). In 1908 Marsh's gift comprised an annuity of £5 and the interest on £113 stock (M.R.O. Acc. 538/8).
- <sup>12</sup> In *Chesters London Marriage Licences*: William Gomersall and Anne Gardiner spinster of the City of London; at St. Clement Danes, 13 April 1577.
- <sup>13</sup> H. K. Cameron, *Trans. M.B.S.* XI, pp. 50-81. (1970).