

**CHURCH MONUMENTS OF DEVON AND
CORNWALL C1660-C1730**

by

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ABSTRACT

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CLIVE JAMES EASTER

This thesis is concerned with an analysis of church monuments in the south west peninsular counties in the period 1660-1730 and sees the monument within this region as a culturally significant object that has hitherto been largely ignored. The focus of this thesis is an analysis of the monuments themselves based on a photographic archive. This is complemented by an examination of wills and the requests for monument and other status indicators contained in those documents. The thesis also considers how the placement of the monument is an indication of social status or status pretensions and how the materials used in the manufacture of the monument also have a status dimension.

Chapter 1 examines the available literature and establishes the methodology of the project. Chapter 2 looks at issues surrounding wealth and commemoration including the role of the church and the death ritual as practised at that time. Chapter 3 considers the patterns of monument distribution and also provides an analysis of the component parts of the monument. Chapter 4 focuses on the work of artists and workshops and shows that of the two major workshops working in the early seventeenth century – John Weston of Exeter and the Jewells of Barnstaple – more examples of their work have been identified as a result of this study. The chapter also looks at examples of work from artists outside the region and probable work from London yards has been identified. The final chapter looks at issues surrounding social status. The interpretations of modern authors

are considered and the chapter goes on to show how status is expressed on the monument. Patterns of distribution by social status are examined and an analysis is provided of peninsular counties monuments based on social status models.

CHURCH MONUMENTS IN DEVON AND CORNWALL 1660-1730

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Author's declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

This study was entirely self financed and is solely the work of the author.

Regular art history seminars, appropriate conferences and other meetings were attended at which work in progress was presented. External institutions were visited for consultation purposes.

Presentations were given yearly to the Art History group of the University of Plymouth in Exeter.

No papers have been published during the period of registration for this thesis.

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Signed 

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CHAPTER 1. Justification, literature review and thesis outline.

PART 1. Introduction and Justification for the research

A review of the art-historical literature concerning the arts in Britain in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reveals a widely held belief that this was a low point in the development of the arts in general and of commemorative sculpture in particular. This project sets out to scrutinize this situation and seeks to interpret the commemorative legacy of the southwest peninsular counties in a more sympathetic light. It also attempts to show the surviving memorials as a more significant and sophisticated art form than previously recognized.

In-depth reading concerning artistic developments within the Baroque period suggests that as far as church monuments are concerned it is a largely neglected area of study. The majority of the available literature is dominated by accounts of the careers of a few mainly London-based mason-sculptors. While much metropolitan work is clearly impressive and the subject of much learned study, the work of less important artists, frequently from the shire counties, has been largely neglected. Until very recently there has been little serious literature on the more modest monuments seen in provincial churches. Similarly, there is very little literature on regional or provincial sculptors, with the notable exception of Rupert Gunnis's Dictionary of British Sculptors, originally published in

1951. Articles published in Church Monuments, the journal of the Church Monuments Society, since 1985 have made significant contributions to addressing these serious shortcomings.

Focusing my interest on the southwest peninsular counties, it soon became apparent that there was little reference in the standard literature of British church monuments to the monuments of the region. Medieval and later period monuments in Devon are recorded in general books on the subject as in B Kemp's English Church Monuments (1980) while the importance of the early military effigy at Atherington is recorded in H Tummings' Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century (1980).

Books relating specifically to Devon monuments are dominated by WHH Rogers Sepulchral Monuments of Devon (1877) and his Memorials of the West (1888). The latter is of limited value due to the inclusion of ephemeral material such as poems that are unconnected with the subject. The 1877 volume concentrates exclusively on medieval monuments.

Cornish county surveys by CS Gilbert An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall (1817), FWL Stockdale Excursions in the County of Cornwall (1824) and J Polsue Parochial History of the County of Cornwall (1867-73) have commented extensively on commemorative sculpture of the Baroque and earlier periods and are significant for this study in that they have provided important information on monuments that have not been listed

elsewhere e.g. Pevsner's Buildings of England series. From examining the works of Gilbert and Polsue the key criticism is that neither adequately differentiates between sculpted monuments and ledger slabs.

The principal value of Gilbert is his inclusion of useful family data as well as transcripts and translations of inscriptions from the more important monuments. The Eliot memorial, dated 1722, at St Germans (C53) is described as "*the most magnificent that the whole county produces*" and that it was erected by "*the famous Rysbrack*" particularly takes him. The Piper and Wise monument at Launceston (C28) receives similar treatment and is described as "*a stately monument composed of rich marble and elegant sculpture*". Both these important monuments will be discussed at greater length in subsequent chapters.

Accounts earlier than these nineteenth-century surveys are few in number. Early travellers within the peninsular counties, such as Celia Fiennes (1695) and Daniel Defoe (1724), recorded interesting and occasionally relevant information on the towns and the prosperity of the region. While these provide a useful contemporary insight, they have limited value for the current project in that they only mention a few select towns and fail to record any examples of commemorative sculpture. By contrast, John Prince's Worthies of Devon (1701) is highly valued for the details he included of the contemporary monuments in Exeter Cathedral and various parish churches as well as important biographical details that are relevant to the interpretation of social status. Another highly

important work looking at the whole county of Devon is that by Richard Polwhele A History of Devonshire (1793 – 1806) where the topography of the county is recorded along with details of significant numbers of monuments of the period under review.¹ Polwhele's work is doubly valuable as some of the monuments he lists, especially in Exeter, are now lost and others have been moved. Of particular value is the hand-written journal of the Revd Jeremiah Milles (c1770) detailing his visits within Devon during his time as Dean of Exeter Cathedral.²

Three twentieth-century books also provide helpful detail. Beatrix Cresswell's 1908 study of the Churches of Exeter is especially relevant as it discusses churches that have since been demolished and records an important lost monument, that to Sir Benjamin Oliver, d1672, formerly in St John's.³ John Stabb's Some Old Devon Churches (1909) is useful in that it records some inscriptions but fails to acknowledge many important monuments. PD Thomas, in his Aspects of Exeter (1980), reproduces a photograph of the interior of St John's church, finally demolished in 1957, where the Baron monument (undated but stylistically dating from the early eighteenth century and almost certainly by John Weston) is clearly visible.

¹ The description of Devon given by Sir Edward Pole in 1635 and printed in 1791 is not considered to be relevant to this study.

² Jeremiah Milles *Parochial Collection* MS Top Devon. Bodleian Library. This manuscript in five volumes is an account of the parish churches of Devon and contains much useful information regarding commemorative sculpture including some freehand sketches of monuments.

³ From Cresswell's photograph it is clear that this monument is of the Main Group style discussed more fully in chapter 3.

The city of Exeter has received much attention and relevant studies have been conducted by Little Exeter and its Surroundings (1953), Hoskins Exeter In The Seventeenth Century: Tax & Rate Assessments 1602-1699 (1957) and Industry, Trade & People in Exeter 1688-1800 (1968) and Stephens Seventeenth Century Exeter (1958). Little is the most useful for any description of commemorative sculpture while Hoskins and Stephens provide much useful information on the economy of the city.

The circumstances surrounding English cathedrals in the seventeenth century has been the focus of a recent study by SE Lehmberg Cathedrals Under Siege (1996) with Exeter cathedral being included in the study. Lehmberg's investigation helps to contextualise Exeter cathedral within the religious life of the peninsular counties while simultaneously seeing the cathedral against a backdrop of national trends, especially during the Civil War and the Interregnum.

However, as can be seen from this review of pertinent sources, no comprehensive survey and analysis of church monuments in Devon and Cornwall exists. Believing that an in-depth study of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth-century monuments of the peninsular counties was long overdue this project sets out to remedy what is seen as a serious omission from the knowledge base. One of the principal aims of this project is to provide a representative archive of the monuments of the peninsular counties for the use of future scholars. The data has been analysed, providing information about the position of the monument from

which deductions can be made about social status. The analysis has also highlighted clusters of monuments that are clearly the work of the same artist or workshop and which have previously escaped any attention, analysis or description.

Initial visits to churches in Devon and Cornwall looking at the monuments of the Baroque period with a view to assessing the scale of the project, suggested that there was a need to record the details of the monuments in a quick and easy way. A basic survey sheet was drafted on which to record the raw data (fig1). This includes the name of the parish, the dedication of the church, the type of monument being recorded (although with but very few exceptions, e.g. the Eliot monument at St Germans (C53), they proved to be of the same hanging wall type) the name or names of those commemorated, the dates of death, the position of the monument in the church, any artists' signatures, the existence of original paint or other decoration and the language of the inscription. A large section of the form was set aside for a general description of the monument.

Data regarding the size of the monument was initially thought to be appropriate but accurate measurements are difficult to achieve because of the positions of many monuments. I believe that the size of a monument is only important if it has a particular bearing on the social status of the deceased. This project sets out to show that all monuments, by their very existence in a church, have some social status perspective and that even general descriptions of size would be adequate for this purpose. As a topic

of this thesis, social status is a key factor in the analysis of commemorative sculpture in the peninsular counties in the Baroque period. However, social status needs to be considered against a backdrop of the commemorative traditions, as they existed in the period and, as such, it is discussed within a wider analysis.

An important part of this project was the recording of any signatures found on the monuments: throughout Britain, the vast majority of monuments at this date are unsigned and it is important to note the existence of an identifiable artist's work. Having examined the lists of signed works in the two counties as noted by Gunnis, the research adds only one new monument to the list – the Nicholas Sayer monument at Morebath (D163) dated 1713 and signed by John Weston of Exeter. Similarly, the existence of original painted decorative schemes should also be noted, but as the research progressed it soon became clear that many monuments have at some time been repainted either in part or totally and that examples of original painted decoration would require careful investigation that goes beyond the limits of this thesis. Attempting to note the materials from which a monument was made was also important as was attempting to determine where, in the case of locally made monuments, the stone was quarried.

The largest section on the record sheet provided for a general description of the monument. Any outstanding features needed to be recorded and the language of the inscription, either English or Latin, was identified,

especially where the wording is faint or has faded. Lastly, the date of the visit was recorded.

The data record sheet was trialled and it appeared to work satisfactorily, needing no modifications. The University of Sussex is currently using a more complex digital database for a Funeral Monument Census complete with drop-down boxes to indicate specific features, e.g. the numbers of heraldic shields, the number of allegorical figures etc. (See www.cogs.susx.ac.uk/lab/vision/census). While this system is ideal for recording information from photographs, using it on site with a laptop computer would be slow and time consuming. However, it could be used effectively by a non-specialist for the entry of data onto a date base. The much simpler system used in this project, while requiring it to be hand written, can be effectively managed on site. There is a virtue in its simplicity as it is more restricted in its focus than that used by Sussex University. However, for the data sheet to be effective it cannot exist in isolation; it still needs a photograph. The system used throughout this project is also more chronologically restricted than the Sussex survey, where the amount of data required to fulfil the criteria of monuments from other periods is greater. This survey is restricted to a much narrower band of monumental forms.

This project has two databases, one for each county, initially based on the monuments of the period as recorded by Pevsner in the Buildings of England Series volumes for Devon and Cornwall. As the empirical

research progressed it soon became clear that Pevsner's survey was not entirely accurate, as more monuments were found in some churches than his original listing suggested. The initial listing from Pevsner identified 150 monuments in Devon and 50 in Cornwall but my research has added a further 82 monuments for Devon and 31 monuments for Cornwall, greatly increasing the total number of monuments in the two counties. This, in itself, clearly indicates that the production of tomb monuments was much more developed than had previously been suspected.

I worked through the Buildings of England volumes for Devon and Cornwall by Pevsner and also chose other likely sites in populous towns and villages to ascertain if they contained unrecorded monuments of the period. The survey to date has found monuments of the period in a total of 122 churches in Devon and 43 churches in Cornwall. The churches were initially selected on the basis of their likelihood to contain monuments. The Historic Devon Gazetteer published by the Devon Library and Information Service lists a total of 543 parishes or postal areas in the county but some of these are Victorian creations. The effect of removing these non-contemporary parishes from the original list reduces the figure in Devon to 468. These parish lists have been checked against those listed by Pevsner and Hoskins's Survey of Devon. From this it is possible to extrapolate that Pevsner and Hoskins between them list 25% of the available parishes with monuments of the period 1660-1730. In Cornwall, the situation is slightly different. The list of parishes taken from the Ancient Parishes of Cornwall web site identifies 259 parishes with 213

that existed at the time the monuments were erected. This gives a figure of 20% of the available parishes having monuments of the period in Pevsners' and Hoskins's accounts: a little less than for Devon.

Nineteenth century publications by Richard Polwhele The History of Devonshire (1793-1806), CS Gilbert An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall (1817) and J Polsue Parochial History of Cornwall (1867-1873) suggested the locations of other monuments not listed by Pevsner and visits to these churches enabled the survey to be expanded. Several important monuments were thus added to the database. To date my own survey has visited over 150 churches in Devon and more than 70 churches in Cornwall. A large road map has the parishes colour coded to show the patterns of distribution within the two counties; the analysis of this distribution is discussed in chapter three. It is important to note, however, that this research never intended to visit every single parish church in the two counties. My aim was to investigate a sufficiently high proportion of churches (including private chapels in country houses) to enable me to accumulate a large enough database for analysis. The attached gazetteer is therefore not intended to be comprehensive but it is considered to be representative.

The initial survey of the Baroque period monuments in Devon and Cornwall took two years to complete. Because of the amount of travelling involved, it was necessary to visit several churches in a single day: the visiting being aided by the prior identification of clusters of monuments in

each county that could be visited in a single excursion. In order to plan each excursion effectively, contact with the parish clergy was made in advance by consulting Crockford's Clerical Directory, for telephone numbers. Because of vandalism and theft, access to churches can be difficult. Restrictions on access are not confined to specific environments; town churches are just as likely to be locked as rural ones. Because of this planning, every church in the two counties was accessible on the day of the visit.

Having gained access to the church and located a monument it was photographed and recorded on the survey sheet. Specific details of a monument would also be photographed where it was felt necessary to do so, especially if the details would aid the interpretation of social status or any other significant aspect of the monument. Unfortunately because of poor light, especially in the winter months, it was not always possible to see the monument clearly and on-site analysis was occasionally difficult. Full analysis of the monument would only then be possible via the printed photograph.

The importance of accurate photography cannot be overstated and an advanced photographic system with interchangeable lenses is essential. Unless there were sound operational reasons not to, all monuments were photographed as near to full frontal as possible. Some monuments are located in very awkward places, e.g. the Radford monument of 1703 at Chawleigh, (D50) where the organ is placed directly in front of the piece,

making full frontal photography impossible. Monuments placed high on walls needed telephoto lenses to photograph them properly and one problem, if the monument is placed in a tower or similar place, is one of distortion and the effects of foreshortening. One key advantage of the detailed photography was that while the details of the monuments might not be clear from the ground, they were visible once the photograph was developed.

The initial photographic analysis confirmed some early suspicions, especially those regarding possible workshops. Through the close examination of groups of monuments displaying broadly similar features, it was possible to identify clusters of monuments from which it was possible to consider patterns of distribution. The analysis of these distribution patterns suggested possible centres of origin or the locations of likely workshops. One significant and quite large group of monuments containing over 27 examples was found to exist mostly within a twenty-mile radius of Exeter. Another much smaller but still significant cluster in north Devon was observed as being within the area around Barnstaple.

The large group that has been identified as a direct result of the photographic analysis has clearly identifiable features that include broadly similar treatments to the apron section, similarities in the format of the inscription panel and further comparisons in the form and arrangement of the upper cornice. I have termed this the Main Group and further analysis has shown that these monuments almost certainly originated from an

Exeter workshop, the parish churches of Exeter containing the largest single concentration of examples from this workshop. The identification of this group, other related sub groups, and clusters of monuments that the empirical research has identified as originating from a probably Barnstaple based workshop would not have been possible without the decision to photograph all the known monuments of the period within the two counties. The recognition of the Main Group and those centred on Barnstaple are of paramount importance to the understanding of memorial sculpture of the period. This project therefore can be fully justified on the grounds that no photographic survey and accompanying analysis of the Baroque period monuments for the southwest peninsular counties has been undertaken before and the evidence that has been gathered constitutes a significant contribution to knowledge.

Having gathered the photographic data, each monument has its own entry in the gazetteer. From the very outset of the project, I decided that a gazetteer was an essential component of the thesis and that it should contain as much information regarding the monument and the deceased as possible. This project sets out to collate a considerable amount of divergent material and to establish a methodology for subsequent study.

In practice, however, this has proved difficult as very little is known about some of the individuals commemorated.

Within the gazetteer, basic details of the monument are included such as the parish, the name and date of death along with a reference to any eulogising verses included within the inscription. The artist responsible for the monument is identified where possible and biographical details of the deceased are included. The gazetteer for Devon and Cornwall will form the second volume of this thesis.

Throughout the project, no monument of the period c1660-c1730 found within the peninsular counties has been excluded either from the gazetteer or, where the discussion warrants, the main body of the thesis. This has been a deliberate policy. The project is intended to show that all monuments, irrespective of size, materials used, the position within the church or the status of those commemorated, can inform on the basic thrust of the proposal – that of attempting to understand how the social status of the individual(s) commemorated was reflected in the monument. As will be shown in chapter five, the ways in which social status is interpreted now will be different from contemporary interpretations and it is important to clarify interpretative distinctions and provide appropriate analyses. The project sets out to see the monument not only as a commemorative object and a work of art but also as an object with a social dimension: one that possesses a status perspective that enables the spectator to gain insights into the world of those commemorated. The monument is therefore a window on the past that demands an appropriate interpretation. By having no qualitative selection criteria, the project is able to permit the interpretation of the whole range of monument styles

and types as well as consider the influences of materials and position within the church. Some of the monuments seen within the two counties are very large and would have been very costly items while some are clearly very modest affairs that would have cost very little. Size is not everything in a monument; quality is also relevant but the factors that determine quality are more difficult to define. The survey has shown that, with some exceptions, the quality of monuments in the two counties is remarkably consistent.

As will be shown in chapter four, only a few monuments have been identified as having been made outside the peninsular counties and only one local artist, John Weston, has work that is markedly, and consistently, different from other locally made products. Workshop practice, including the actual skills used by the sculptor to produce the monuments, and any issues relating to the design process, have not been prime considerations within the research. These points have been excluded because they would form a separate analysis beyond the parameters of this research. Clearly, some local work is obviously of inferior quality to some of the work imported from metropolitan and other sculptors. It has been a conscious decision not to prioritise a formalist analysis as that would inevitably produce hierarchical distinctions.

This project aims to provide an overview of the form, styles and commemorative traditions of the peninsular counties in the Baroque period. It is able to make significant new attributions to known artists

based on stylistic analysis and simultaneously identifies important individual monuments that have hitherto not received the attention they deserve, as well as several clusters that can be grouped together as the work of individual artists. The identification of the Main Group is a significant contribution in itself. The project also attempts to contextualize the monuments against a backdrop of commemorative needs and wider social aspirations. This approach to the ways in which church monuments are interpreted has not formed the basis of any previous major study and, as will be shown, has only been given passing references in other publications.

Limitations of the project

Despite the scope of this project, it has a number of limitations. It must be noted that amongst these is the serious lack of primary data upon which to base the research. Losses of primary data such as wills and church warden's accounts during World War II have hindered the research and of the surviving records based within the county record offices the vast majority are of little relevance to the theme of this study. The records kept in the archives of Exeter Cathedral have proved useful, especially in adding to the career details of John Weston and in providing an understanding of the procedure for burial in the Cathedral church. The principal source of information for burials and an indication of social status are the various wills that have been consulted. An attempt has been made to recover the wills of all those commemorated on the 313 monuments described in this dissertation. Transcripts of wills have been

found in the Devon Record Office and West Country Studies Library, both based in Exeter, but the main source is the Public Record Office in London. Just over sixty wills of persons commemorated by sculpted monuments in the two counties were examined in the Public Record Office in Islington, London and it is these documents in particular that have contributed most to the understanding of social status.

A small group of these wills has also provided primary evidence for the costs of monuments but this is too small a sample from which to extract much meaningful data. One serious limitation is that there is no indication in the will as to whom the contract for making the monuments is awarded and where the monuments were made. Only one costed monument, the Coryton monument at St Mellion of 1711 (C59) appears to be local work, the remaining three for which costs are known being imports from outside the counties.

The importance of the monument's position in the church with reference to social status has already been suggested. As will be shown, commemoration within the family aisle or a chapel at the end of an aisle was an important contemporary social statement, but subsequent remodelling of the interior or alteration to specific parts of the church can destroy the context in which the monument was intended to be seen. Similarly, other monuments have simply been moved within the church, occasionally for liturgical reasons, again destroying their original context. Two notable examples of this are the Eliot monument at St Germans,

which was moved from the chancel to the back of the church in the late nineteenth century, and the Harris monument at Stowford, (D197) which has suffered a similar fate. The Eliot monument is the less fortunate of the two in that in its present location it is very poorly lit and clearly no longer a dominant feature of the church. Monuments such as that to Ambrose Radford at Chawleigh 1703 (D49) are obscured from view by organs and others, once in a private chapel within the church, are now less visible because the chapel has been turned into the vestry, which is usually kept locked thus making access and viewing difficult.

Another limitation of this thesis concerns the degree of emphasis that can be placed on the survival of original decorative schemes. Clearly, a great many monuments retain some if not all of their original paintwork but others, such as that at Exminster to Phillipa Cooke 1695 (D119) and those at Kilkhampton (C21, C22, C24) have been totally repainted and as such we have little idea as to the original colour scheme.⁴

Another restriction of this thesis, as already stated, is that it was not possible to visit every church within the peninsular counties. The monuments in the gazetteer should not be seen as constituting the total number for the region despite every effort having been made to view and photograph all the recorded examples.

⁴ Richard Polwhele *History of Devonshire* Vol. 2 p110 gives a description of the Cooke monument gives an idea of its original decorative scheme and he describes it thus. "Against the north wall of the west side of the pulpit is a heavy monument; the black marble pillars of which and the festoons green and gilded, and other work designed for ornament, serve only to betray the bad taste of the sculptor."

However, from those that have been seen and recorded the patterns and types are clearly identifiable and it is unlikely that any monuments will come to light that will alter the interpretations included within this thesis. It has been a deliberate policy to look at as many churches as possible close to the major towns and centres of population while also looking at churches close to the major coastal towns as the patterns of distribution suggest that monuments were brought into the region via the coastal trade.

As the collection of primary data drew to a conclusion it was important that I test its representative status. To do this I undertook two trial surveys to record whether the numbers and types of monuments found in a particular sector was compatible with or differed from the overall conclusions found from analysing the data collected in the gazetteer.

Using a standard road map of the region, with a scale of 3 miles to 1 inch, I selected two random areas to be surveyed as trials. The first sector selected was almost exactly diagonally bisected by the A377 Exeter to Barnstaple road and covers an area of 36 square miles. The sector is bounded by the parishes of Newbuildings to the east, Penstone to the south, East Leigh to the west and Eastington to the north. Of the 13 parishes within the grid, only Morchard Bishop, the largest parish, contained 2 unrecorded monuments of the period, one of which was comparable with my Main Group category (see below).

The second area was immediately south west of Exeter and is bounded by the parishes of Dunsford to the north, Claphan to the east, Lower Upcott to the south and Wolleigh to the west. The parishes of Dunsford, Trusham and Ashton lie within this grid and already contain recorded monuments. Additional monuments have been found in this area at Christow and Bridford. This strongly suggests that there are other monuments within the two counties that have not been listed and therefore do not feature in my gazetteer. However, it also suggests that any unrecorded monuments will not differ in any significant way from those already found and listed.⁵

Conclusions based on the research

The conclusions reached from the empirical research suggest that the commemorative art of the peninsular counties was more diverse than originally thought. Local sculptors were able to provide monumental sculpture that suited the needs of those who were able, eligible and had sufficient funds at their disposal to be commemorated by a sculpted memorial within their parish church. In addition, the analysis of types and styles has revealed the existence of a major group of monuments that has not been previously identified; this has been termed the Main Group.

The evidence surrounding the Main Group has shown that the vast majority of examples exist within a 20-mile radius of Exeter although examples exist in Kingsbridge (D147) in south Devon and Lezant in

⁵ The monument at Christow to Elizabeth Gibbon died 1660 is almost certainly by the same hand as the Sir George Chudleigh monument at Ashton dated 1657. These villages are two miles apart.

Cornwall (C30). The evidence also suggests that Main Group monuments are the products of an Exeter-based workshop. This group can be supplemented by smaller sub groups that are clearly related to the Main Group and the suggestion put forward here is that these products all came from the same workshop but were designed and executed by different hands.

The most widely known sculptor of the period is John Weston of Exeter and the research has shown that hitherto unrecorded monuments can be ascribed to him on stylistic grounds with some certainty. Key amongst these new attributions to Weston is the Piper and Wise monument dated 1732 at Launceston (C28) and the Anne Chichester monument of 1725 at Shirwell.(D186).

Similarly, new attributions can be suggested for the Jewell workshop with the Davie monument of 1709 at Buckland Brewer (D40) being chief amongst them.⁶ The existence of the Jewells has been noted by Gunnis but one of the achievements of this thesis has been to expand the number of monuments that can be attributed to them.⁷

It has not been possible to identify and name any other artist producing church monuments at this period but what has been achieved by the empirical research is the attribution of significant monuments to the

⁶ See chapter three for further attributions to both Weston and the Jewells

⁷ Rupert Gunnis *A Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, Abbey Library 1951.

known artists and to show that important groupings exist that had not been formerly acknowledged.

The photographic analysis, in conjunction with supporting research, has identified a number of possible metropolitan monuments, despite the fact they are all unsigned except one. This signed monument is that in Exeter Cathedral to John Grant, 1736 (D96) which carries the signature of Peter Scheemakers. The Eliot monument at St Germans (C53), traditionally ascribed as being by JM Rysbrack, is not signed by him. However, as will be shown, there is strong circumstantial and stylistic evidence to suggest that several monuments are possible metropolitan products while others are likely to have been made in Bath or Bristol.

This therefore shows that some individuals were prepared to commission artists from outside the peninsular counties to provide memorial sculpture and that such individuals were more aware of developments beyond the region than previously thought.

What the empirical research has done above all else is considerably to expand the numbers of known monuments within the two counties and it therefore goes far beyond the figures originally gleaned from Pevsner and the other writers previously mentioned. The work undertaken by Pevsner and his assistants remains a towering achievement but it is difficult to understand why some monuments were recorded while others within the same church were ignored.

As has been stated, issues of social status have not been fully explored prior to this project and it is because of the empirical research and subsequent analysis that concepts of status can be more fully appreciated and analyzed. The empirical research will show that indicators of social status were more widespread than previously suspected and that status was important in the minds of contemporary spectators.

PART TWO. Related studies

Introduction

This section is concerned with an examination of recent unpublished material relating to memorial sculpture as well as the literature surrounding death, commemoration, funeral and burial rites as they existed in the Baroque period as well as the structure of later seventeenth and early eighteenth-century society. The published and unpublished sources also comment on, and allow comparison with, the legacy of funereal and burial practices as inherited from pre-Reformation England and their relevance to the period under review.

There exists something of a problem regarding the extent of the literature and its suitability to the current project. Simply put, there is no previous research regarding the Baroque period monuments of the peninsular counties or the social status of people at that time within the region upon which to build. The difficulties of locating appropriate published and unpublished material highlight the unfashionable nature of this kind of work within established art-historical disciplines: that of attempting to

define or illustrate social status through the medium of commemorative sculpture. While the profile of commemorative sculpture has increased in the last twenty years or so it remains an ultimately unfashionable subject as a topic for art-historical discussion, possibly because of its associations with the macabre but also because sculpture has traditionally played a Cinderella role in comparison with painting and architecture. As there are no appropriate methodologies upon which the research could be modelled, the project demanded an individualistic and innovative approach to the interpretation of the data. The collection of the data proved fairly straightforward but there is no obvious precedent for its analysis. Ironically, the available secondary research material for the peninsular counties is not of a comparable date to this study and what is of a comparable date does not pertain to the region.

Unpublished sources

The consultation of unpublished work has centred exclusively on recent developments – within the last twenty years – and their accompanying analyses concerning memorial sculpture in general and the various ways in which authors have considered the range of issues relevant to their subject area. A total of nine PhD theses have been consulted and of those three are particularly relevant studies; the theses of Christine Faunch (Church Monuments and Commemoration in Devon c1530 – c1640), 1998, Matthew Craske (The London Trade in Monumental Sculpture and the Development of the Imagery of the Family in Funerary Monuments of

the period 1720-1760) 1992, and John Lord (The Patronage of Sculpture in Lincolnshire 1660-1800) 1986.

As a starting point, Adam White's thesis Church Monuments in Britain 1560-1660 (1991) is a wide-ranging study that can be looked upon as a general introduction to commemorative sculpture in the century up to 1660. The bulk of this thesis is taken up with a biographical dictionary of British sculptors in that century that includes their signed, documented and convincingly attributed work as well as other attributions that he does not accept.⁸

White considers the changing situation regarding religious images along with the influx of Netherlandish sculptors in the reign of Elizabeth, Classical learning and the early Stuart renaissance and the influence on sculptural trends of the monuments being erected in Westminster Abbey. While his sources are drawn from all over Great Britain, White considers only four monuments in Devon and none in Cornwall. The thesis is limited by its generality but the impressive biographical dictionary must stand as the ideal for any subsequent lexicon.

⁸ The Walpole Society, Vol. LXI 1999, subsequently published White's biographical dictionary.

Matthew Craske's thesis The London Trade in Monumental Sculpture and the Development of the Imagery of the Family in Funerary Monuments of the period 1720-1760, although concentrating on the metropolitan trade within the mid eighteenth century, aims at placing the monument within the context of social change within the family unit. As well as including a detailed photographic gazetteer, his study provides an important analysis of the ways in which metropolitan sculpture was seen in the period 1720-1760 with a key point being the symbiotic relationship between patron, sculptor and anticipated spectator that existed in the period. Craske cites only one example of a metropolitan-made monument in the peninsular counties, that of the Eliot monument of 1722 at St Germans, Cornwall, (C53)⁹ and discusses stylistic similarities between this monument and that to the Duke of Buckingham, 1720-23, by Scheemakers in Westminster Abbey. While there are no other comparisons with peninsular counties monuments, the significance of Craske's work lies in his placing of the monument within a social context. He argues that the survivability of a (metropolitan) workshop can be seen as directly associated with the ability of the monument designers to evaluate the social status of their clients and respond accordingly. The main disadvantage of Craske's thesis is the concentration solely on metropolitan artists. Artists in the shires were also concerned with imagery and the family and their approach could have been compared with metropolitan ones. While it is accepted that London based artists were setting national

⁹ Craske suggests that Alexander Pope might have been responsible for the inscription on the Eliot monument but fails to mention any connection with James Gibbs, Rysbrack's employer at the time the monument was commissioned.

trends, the adoption of these trends by provincial and other artists could have been given some degree of coverage.

His ideas on the relationship of sculptor, patron and audience have considerable relevance to the study of monuments in the peninsular counties although the geography and economy of the local situation were sufficiently distinctive to make direct comparisons difficult. Living in less populous centres, West Country sculptors might have enjoyed more intimate professional relationships with their clients than metropolitan ones. And although west-country sculptors were dependent on a smaller client pool, their clients needs could be no less demanding than their metropolitan contemporaries.

Christine Faunch's study, Church Monuments and Commemoration in Devon c1530 - c1640 also employs a detailed photographic record. It is particularly relevant in that she provides a cogent methodology for interpreting Devonian monuments against a backdrop of the social and economic conditions of the period while simultaneously examining the religious conditions surrounding commemoration within the period immediately prior to my work. Her thesis begins by outlining the geography of the county and goes on to discuss the economic background of the inhabitants, especially those in Exeter, as well as patronage, workshops, effigial styles and analyses of the language used in inscriptions. Of particular importance is her analysis of known and likely workshops with evidence for workshops being located in Exeter,

Barnstaple and Plymouth. My thesis cites anecdotal evidence for the continuation of at least the Exeter and Barnstaple workshops while the continued existence of a Plymouth based workshop remains unsubstantiated. This Plymouth based workshop may have ceased operating during the Civil War.

Her inclusion of a detailed gazetteer is particularly important as sculptural and commemorative trends within a given family and within the county as a whole can be detected and compared with those shown in the gazetteer to the present project. The value of her contribution lies in it being a starting point for subsequent discussions of commemorative trends and traditions in the county and of which the current project can be seen as an extension.

The 1986 thesis of John Lord The Patronage of Sculpture in Lincolnshire 1660-1800 outlines the conditions surrounding patronage within a specific and essentially rural area after the Restoration. This study is not wholly concerned with commemorative sculpture, as Lord rightly points out that a sculptor would produce various domestic items e.g. fire surrounds as well as garden statuary. A sculptor might also work for various members of the same family, sometimes more distant relatives as well as unrelated people who would move within broadly similar social and political circles. The present project considers that the approach adopted by Lord is highly relevant in that the known output of the Exeter based artist John Weston and the Jewell family from Barnstaple is very modest

and that they may well have provided a range of as yet unidentified domestic objects as well as providing a general mason service.¹⁰ An important conclusion drawn by Lord is that despite the relative isolation of Lincolnshire (and of many similar rural areas), local landowners were not necessarily precluded from interesting themselves in sculptural developments elsewhere. This has direct relevance for the southwest peninsular counties and although they are more culturally isolated than Lincolnshire, the principle remains and will be discussed in chapter four. Another of Lord's conclusions that has a direct bearing on the current project is that the commissioning of a monument is seen as a key means of enhancing social prestige in the eyes of contemporary observers.

Of relevance to any discussion of ideas concerning death and the concept of resurrection in the seventeenth century is the 1992 PhD thesis of Roger Bowdler (Monuments of Decay and Resurrection: Themes of Mortality in Seventeenth Century English Church Monuments)

¹⁰ In the Bodelian Library, Oxford (MS Rawlinson C495) is a highly significant account book that details the work undertaken by a mason at the end of the 1650's. This has been identified by Sir Howard Colvin as belonging to Thomas Cartwright the elder (c1617-1702) and lists a wide variety of work ranging from designing and executing tomb sculpture to making chimney pieces, and supplying and laying marble flooring. On the basis of this account book it can be assumed that others employed in the masonry trades would have undertaken broadly similar work although it is clear that tomb sculpture, probably because of the expenses involved, was not a significant part of every masons business.

His study opens with discussions and analyses concerning the contemplation of decay, an examination of the body - soul dichotomy, the iconography of the charnel tomb and the significance of the ways in which the resurrection is portrayed on individual monuments. He also looks at a variety of sources for the resurrection monument along with two related aspects of contemporary perceptions surrounding ideas of death – the decay of the physical body and the resurrection of that body. Most of his evidence is drawn from monuments erected immediately prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. He has gathered evidence from Pevsner's Buildings of England series as well as from national photographic collections and then contextualised his data. Bowdler admits that his survey of resurrection monuments may be incomplete but the conclusions he has drawn would enable any unrecorded monument to be analysed using the criteria he has established. Resurrection themes within the monuments of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the peninsular counties can be interpreted using this methodology. This has been particularly relevant for the resurrection panels by John Weston, more fully discussed in chapter four.

The approach he has adopted for his empirical research falls broadly in line with the approach adopted in this project; namely using Pevsner and similar published sources as a starting point and building on that data.

A follow-on from the work of Bowdler is the 2001 thesis by Julian Litten Post Reformation Vault Burial in English Churches from 1550 until the

introduction of the Metropolitan Interments Act of 1850 with particular reference to the counties of Essex and Somerset.¹¹ Litten starts with references to John Weever¹², which is followed by an analysis of the work of John le Neve writing in 1719¹³. Weever was the first writer who provided an analysis of church monuments and his findings, more fully discussed below are an interesting insight into the ways in which the monument was interpreted during the Caroline age. While Litten's analysis of published material leans heavily towards anything concerned with, or providing an understanding of, vault burial he also discusses the impact of antiquarian writers such as Gough¹⁴ and Dart.¹⁵

Despite the importance of these early studies they have only limited value to the present project in that they do not, with the exception of Weever, make any comment on social status. The strength of Litten's work lies in his overall analysis of burial patterns and trends. Within his chronological span, the period under review in this dissertation is included and the trends and practices that he discusses would be relevant

¹¹ This is the only unpublished study consulted to date that includes a section on previous research.

¹² John Weever *Ancient Funerall Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland and the Islands adjacent, with the Dissolved Monasteries Therein contained; Their Founders, and what Eminent Persons have been therein interred. As also, the Death and Burial of Certain of the Blood-Royal, Nobility and Gentry of these kingdoms, entombed in foreign nations.* London 1631

¹³ John le Neve *Monumenta Anglicana: Being Inscriptions on the Monuments of several Eminent Persons Deceased in or since the Year 1600 to the end of the Year 1649*, 5 volumes London 1719. Vol. 2 covers the years 1650-1679, Vol. 3 the years 1680-1699, Vol. 4 for the years 1650-1715 Vol. 5 for the years 1650-1718. As much of le Neve's work was concerned with recording inscriptions, it is an invaluable resource for the identification of monuments as he was furnished with material from sculptors like William Stanton, Francis Bird and Thomas Green of Camberwell.

¹⁴ Richard Gough *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*..... London 1796.

¹⁵ J Dart *Westmonasterienia or the History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter's Westminster.* 2 Vols. 1733.

to attitudes to burial and commemoration within the peninsular counties in the period 1660-1730.

Published sources

Within the range of published sources examined during the research for this thesis it became apparent that there is an absence of specific data relating to church monuments and the commemorative traditions of the peninsular counties in the Baroque period. The standard texts relating to the period pay almost no attention to non-metropolitan sculpture or, if they do, then only the most prestigious and spectacular examples are listed. This concentration on élites sculpture falsifies the record not only for the peninsular counties but also for the whole country, as much more material exists than is recorded.

By looking closely at the most prominent and well-respected studies of commemorative sculpture for the period, it is clear that they consistently ignore minor sculpture and provincial products in particular.

The approach taken in this thesis is one that looks at the function of the monument and not at its artistic quality. The monuments are seen as the products of their age and are not compared with earlier work.

Recent studies by Matthew Baker and David Bindman concerning the sculptor Louis François Roubilliac (1705-1762) Roubiliac & the Eighteenth Century Monument - Sculpture as Theatre (1996) and Baker's study Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth Century

Sculpture (2000) have considered the visual interpretation of eighteenth - century sculpture. Both works are relevant to the present project in that they have attempted to place the monument within a sociological context. They note the absence of a sustained discussion of sculpture in contemporary texts with the result that the reading of sculpture as a register of social and ideological concerns has been difficult because the link between the visual image and socio-political ideas was lacking. The role and status of the artist in society is a continuing theme as is the introduction of continental ideas, especially during the Palladian period, where Rysbrack, Roubilliac and Guelfi are important artists.

The contribution by Margaret Whitney Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830 (1964) (revised by John Physick (1988)) to discussions of Baroque memorial sculpture in general is highly relevant. Again, the peninsula counties receive no mention for this period as she argues convincingly for a major overview of trends and the work of the dominant metropolitan sculptors. However, this remains appropriate as local examples – especially the Eliot monument at St Germans - can be directly compared with their metropolitan contemporaries. Her collaboration with Sir Oliver Millar English Art 1625-1714 (1955) in an overview of English art in the period 1625-1714 also remains significant in that sculpture is considered alongside painting and architecture and placed within a cultural context. Commemorative sculpture in the peninsular counties is again not discussed, with the emphasis being placed on metropolitan artists.

For the period immediately preceding this dissertation, the contributions by Nigel Llewellyn are particularly important. His The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual 1500-1800 (1991) includes the period covered by this review and makes particular reference to the death ritual and changing social attitudes. A much deeper analysis of the commemorative sculpture of the Post Reformation/Pre Restoration period is Llewellyn's Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England (2000). This considers the monument's place in art and art historical debate, patronage, materials, the monument within visual culture and the function of the monument, all of which are relevant to this dissertation.

Both Michael Foss The Age of Patronage: The Arts in England 1660-1750 (1971) and Judith Hook The Baroque Age in England (1976) explore the coincidence of the emergence of the Baroque age with a period of profound political change and the increasing impact of a new political philosophy. Hook argues convincingly for seeing Baroque art in political terms while Foss examines the political framework of the Restoration settlement, the impact of foreign artists and the rise of the amateur architect.

The increasing politicisation of the arts, and of architecture in particular, is more fully explored by Foss who also makes the significant point that the considerable expense of Baroque art was not necessarily of prime consideration to the patron although few could manage a major artistic project more than once. Church monuments are almost totally dismissed within these two studies despite them being some of the most enduring

products of the Baroque period in Britain. As background material, both are excellent studies but they fail to mention the peninsular counties and therefore one can only infer that the patronal situation here was the same as elsewhere.

Hooks' study is a sound introduction to Baroque art but also fails to consider the contribution made by monumental sculpture to the development of contemporary culture. Foss's work is particularly relevant regarding the impact of court patronage and in providing an effective overview of that patronage within the higher echelons of the social élites but tends to ignore the parish and lesser county gentry. Both authors fail to discuss patronage in the peninsula counties. The current project will attempt to address this imbalance by examining in detail how memorial sculpture acts as a barometer of artistic patronage within the confines of localized social élites. A re-evaluation of the developmental impact of memorial sculpture is also valid in the context of comparisons with metropolitan alternatives and the expectations of parish and minor county gentry.

It has been particularly useful to refer to works such as Keith Wrightson's English Society 1580-1680 (1982) and his Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain 1470-1750 (2002) for discussions concerning social status and the structure of society in the period under review. Wrightson looks at the processes of social change and considers the ways in which social stratification, social mobility and familial

relationships impacted on English society in general. By understanding contemporary perceptions of the social order, Wrightson is able to provide a detailed analysis of social relationships and mobility within those relationships. There are references to Devon and Cornwall within specific discussions and, although the social structures of the two counties are not given any specific mention, it can be inferred that the social situation here was little different from anywhere else. As an introduction therefore, Wrightson's study provides a useful backdrop against which to interpret the social conditions of a rural and agricultural economy.

Discussions of social élites by Lawrence and Jeanne Stone An Open Elite? England 1540-1880 (1984) has provided substantial background information on the social hierarchies of the Baroque period with valid distinctions made between parish and county gentry. The book analyses birth rates, inheritance, social mobility and the need to maintain property within the family. This project considers that many of the Stones' observations are directly applicable to the social élites of the peninsula counties. While there is no direct discussion of the landed élites in the West Country, the Stones' methodology is pertinent as the social conditions of the gentry and aristocracy are relevant to the underlying attitudes concerning death and commemoration. Lawrence Stone's earlier work The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (1967) concerning the crises faced by the aristocracy in that period is also relevant in providing key background data for the social conditions as they existed immediately prior to the Civil War. Again, specific references to the peninsular counties

are wanting but the outlined trends suggest that the problems facing the aristocracy here were no different from those elsewhere.

Works by Fletcher Gender, Sex & Subordination in England 1500-1800 (1995) and Cressy Birth, Marriage & Death in Tudor England (1999) concerning domestic conditions are relevant to this project in that they provide important background information regarding the status of women and, to a lesser extent, the status of children in seventeenth-century society. Both of these are broad general studies but the information they provide is appropriate in helping to define the social boundaries and interpersonal relationships in both the period under review and the decades preceding it. Broadly similar views are expressed by Stone, The Family, Sex & Marriage in England 1500-1800 (1977) in a magisterial study of this highly complex subject.

Contextual studies of related areas have concentrated on discussions of the death ritual as it existed in seventeenth-and early eighteenth-century Britain while also looking at broader interpretations of funereal practice. The most influential work on this subject is that by Philippe Ariés The Hour of our Death (1981). Ariés's work is of fundamental importance in any understanding of the historical perspectives of death and how death has been interpreted throughout the ages. His analysis is novel in that he identifies different types of death as experienced at different periods in the development of western culture. The real significance of his work lies in the understanding of a pan-European perspective that allows for the

interpretation of death within differing European subcultures and with differing religious perspectives. He offers a methodology to anyone attempting to decipher the unconscious expression of the sensibilities of a given period and consequently identifies five types of death – The Tame Death, The Death of the Self, Remote and Imminent Death, The Death of the Other and the Invisible Death. He also considers four psychological themes viz. Awareness of the Individual, Defence of Society Against Untamed Nature, Belief in the Afterlife and Belief in the Existence of Evil. These are relevant for the present study in that they provide a framework in which attitudes and reactions to death can be seen within a particular historical context. Belief in an afterlife was an important aspect of the dying process and the concept of the resurrection became an increasingly visual component of commemorative art throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.

Ideas of the good death had originated in antiquity and existed throughout the medieval period. The Restoration period was marked by contemporary ideas about dying well, especially within the Puritan tradition where the principal support of the dying was their resource of faith. The prayers and counsel of those surrounding the deathbed was a source of spiritual sustenance, while reciprocal comfort was provided by the willing surrender of the soul. The sacramental tradition within the Church of England stressed the confession of sins, the comfort imparted by absolution and the final communion: this approach being an inheritance from medieval Catholicism. English Catholics continued as far as possible

to maintain their ancient rites including extreme unction, absolution, the viaticum and masses for the dead.

Issues relating to the sociology of death and commemoration for the period have focused on those studies that have considered dying as a rite of passage. None of the following studies have any direct analysis of social status as illustrated by the monument but it is clear that there was a hierarchy of burial within the body of the church. Clare Gittings Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (1984), Ralph Houlbrooke Death, Religion & the Family 1480-1750 (1998) and Clare Gittings and Peter Jupp Death in England (1999) have all explored the collapse of the doctrine of purgatory and the Puritan resource of faith and all three studies reach broadly similar conclusions.

While providing useful general insights into historical approaches to death and the socio-religious attitudes of the post reformation period there is little reference to Britain, the main focus being on French and other continental examples. References in the literature to death and the broader death ritual tend not to be limited to any specific period, but are spread over time in order to illustrate changing attitudes and practices. The changes brought about by the Reformation are the subject of many studies, while the changes effected by the rise of Puritanism in Britain warrant detailed analysis. Puritan beliefs concerning death survived the Restoration but were regarded with deep suspicion by many Anglican clergy. While Devon possessed several Puritan strongholds, evidence for

the erection of memorials commemorating devout Puritans remains inconclusive.

PART THREE. Outline of the Thesis

Approach to the thesis.

This project is concerned with recording the monuments of the peninsular counties, establish criteria for their analysis and understand how the monuments reflect social status. The photographic record and distribution map have provided the nucleus for much of this analysis.

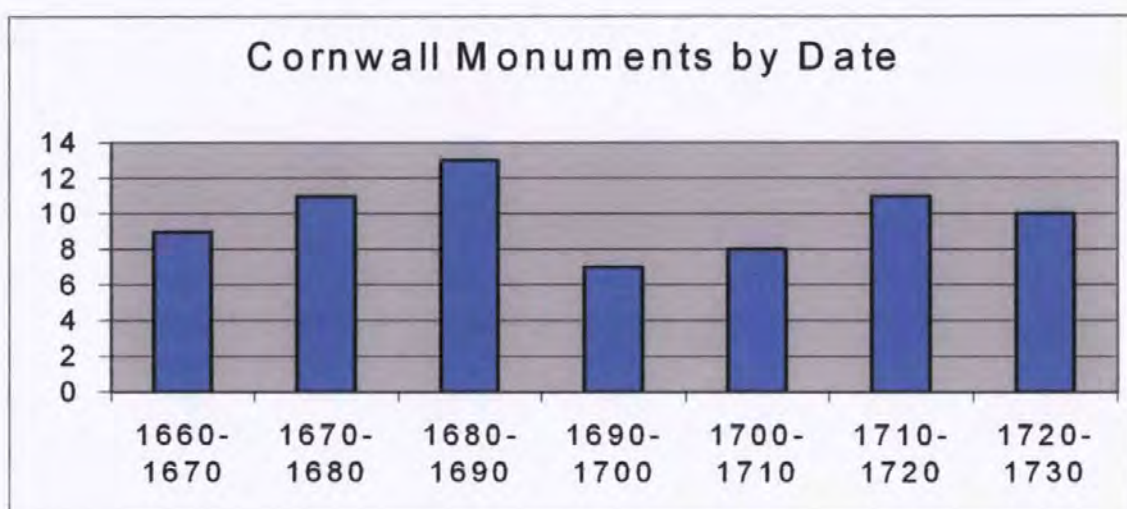
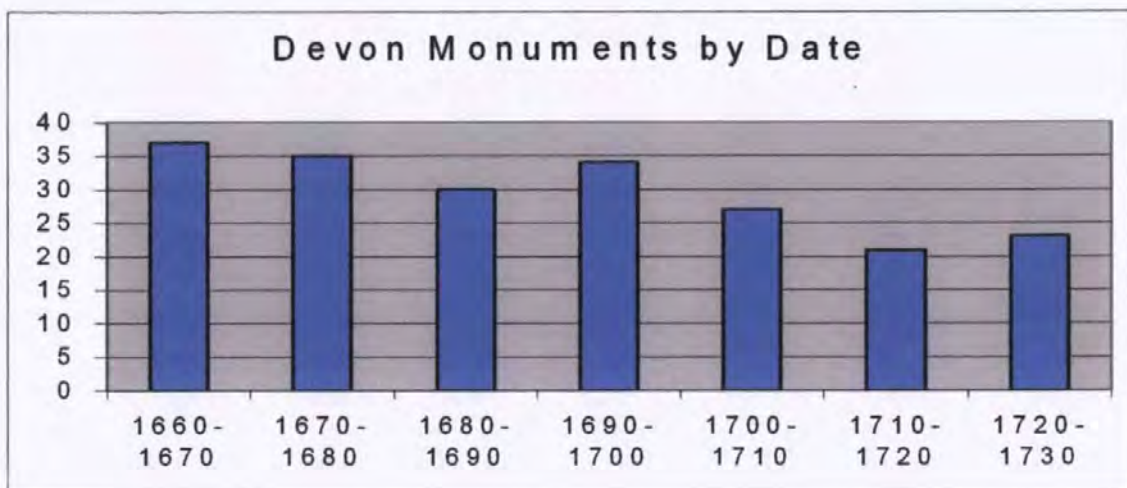
The original numbers of monuments for each county, as revealed by Pevsner, was 150 for Devon and 50 for Cornwall, making a neat 200 monuments in total. The empirical research has revealed that to date there are 266 monuments in Devon and 84 in Cornwall. Interestingly, the percentage rise from the original starting figure is not wildly dissimilar given the numbers involved, a 77% rise for Devon and a 68% rise for Cornwall.

Having plotted the locations of those monuments identified by Pevsner and others on a large road map, patterns of distribution were evident at an early stage in the project's development. In Cornwall, more so than Devon, it became clear that many of the monuments of the period are located around the coastal regions and that their importation into the area by sea was a realistic possibility. The distribution map also showed that groups of monuments were clustered around important Devon towns like

Barnstaple and Cornish towns like Fowey. This encouraged a close examination of the individual monuments within these clusters and their emerging similarities suggested a common origin.

The creation of graphs and charts as an analytical tool also revealed hitherto unrecognised patterns. For both counties, roughly a third of the parishes containing monuments of the period had three or more monuments, a surprisingly high figure. Many of these proved to be to members of the same or related families, boosting ideas of familial commemoration and the public display of lineage.

Analyses of chronological distribution by date also revealed interesting patterns. For both counties taken together, the number of monuments erected by decade drops slowly from 1660 to 1720 and is then followed by a modest rise. However, when the chronological distribution for each county is examined, in the period 1660-1690 Cornwall shows a steady increase while Devon shows a modest decrease. In Cornwall, the pattern of increase is the same for the period 1690-1720 while in Devon the pattern of decrease is also broadly similar for the same period. This can be seen in the following graphs, the analysis of which is fully explained in chapter three.



The photographic analyses revealed more effigial monuments than were originally suspected.¹⁶

An analysis of these showed that despite obvious numerical differences between the two counties, the numbers of effigial monuments were not dissimilar, with Cornwall having 18% or 15 monuments out of a total of 81 and Devon having 12.5% or 29 examples out of a total of 232 monuments. This statistical data is explained in chapter three.

¹⁶ This includes busts as well as full-length effigies.

This project set out to provide an explanation and analysis of the ways in which monuments of the period within the peninsular counties reflect social status. No other study so far located has made this a central theme although it has been a contributory factor in some earlier work as stated. The starting point involved distinguishing the respective titles of persons named in inscriptions. Having done this, each county's number of monuments per inscription-based title was plotted on a graph. This revealed that, despite numerical differences between the two counties, there are broadly similar trends within the main status groups including peers, knights, gentlemen, the clergy, ladies and esquires. The position the monument occupies in the church was also examined as this has a direct bearing on issues of social status as will be shown in chapter five. This analysis revealed slightly different trends between the two counties but existing theories on the positions of monuments in churches were vindicated as a result of this analysis.

Another major consideration in the approach to this project was the desire to investigate local workshops and see if any monuments can be grouped together to suggest local workmanship. The work of John Weston of Exeter is known and has been publicised.¹⁷ The Jewells of Barnstaple, father and son, are known to have been working in the early eighteenth century but their output has not, prior to this investigation, been adequately quantified.¹⁸ For any worthwhile survey of the monuments of

¹⁷ Clive J Easter *John Weston of Exeter and the Last Judgment*. Church Monuments, the journal of the Church Monuments Society, Vol XVI 2001

¹⁸ See Gunnis op cit.

the period in Devon and Cornwall it is important to understand the contributions of local artists.

Christine Faunch, in her cited thesis, has convincingly proved that Exeter was a regional centre for church monument manufacture in the early seventeenth century and it is also clear that Barnstaple possessed a significant monument workshop at that time.¹⁹

The dearth of references to metropolitan products within what little literature there is on Restoration period monuments in the peninsular counties might suggest that there were no metropolitan made monuments in the region apart from the Eliot monument at St Germans of 1722 (C53). However, the analysis of the photographic survey and discussions with staff at the Courtauld Institute suggested that there were in fact many more monuments in the peninsular counties that are possibly the work of metropolitan artists, thus helping to dispel any ideas of cultural isolationism within a commemorative context.

The aims and objectives of this study are therefore multi-functional. The study looks closely at the monuments of the period within a broad cultural framework, examines how the monuments reflect social status and identifies groups of monuments that might be the work of individual

¹⁹ Within early seventeenth century Exeter, one tomb sculptor has been identified, namely John Deymond. He is known to have produced monuments at Bovey Tracey, to Nicholas Everleigh, d1618 erected 1620, at Bickleigh to Elizabeth Eriseys d1618, at Broad Clyst to Sir John Acland 1613-14 and others. See A Wells-Cole 'An Oak Bed At Montacute'. *Furniture History*, the journal of the Furniture History Society Vol. XVII 1981.

artists or the products of a particular school and found largely within a particular location.

Partly because no other study exists for these monuments and partly because of the innovative nature of the analytical process that I have suggested, this study is able to take what have been largely ignored commemorative objects and interpret them as culturally significant social status objects that would have been seen by the contemporary audience in a different way from twenty first century spectators. This study has also been able to identify previously unrecognised monuments and consign them to groups that can then be seen as collective workshop products.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis comprises four main chapters and a gazetteer in two parts, Part 1 for Cornwall and Part 2 for Devon. Chapter two serves as a broad introductory chapter that describes the economy of the peninsular counties, those commemorated by church monuments, and a general description of the death rite. The availability of suitable materials for commemorative sculpture is investigated and the importance of Beer limestone is noted, along with a description of the quarrying activities there.

Within chapter one the writings of early travelers such as Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe are acknowledged, while trade, industry and wealth within the counties are discussed in chapter two. The significance of the

Devon serge and other woollen trades is also noted in chapter two along with the diverse nature of sea-borne trade in general. These aspects of the commercial life of the counties form a backdrop against which to show how the social élites acquired some or all their wealth and to illustrate how important regional and coastal trade was in the period under review. The chapter also examines the structure of seventeenth and eighteenth-century family life and the patriarchal nature of the traditional family unit. The importance of wills and other documents is discussed, primarily as barometers of social status and wealth while the goods left at death and the ways in which funerals were to be arranged are seen as important status indicators. Other social status indicators are discussed including the physical size of the monument and its position within the church. These aspects are given greater prominence in chapter four.

Chapter three analyses the patterns of monument distribution and considers the components used within the typical monumental format as seen within the two counties. This is then broken down into detailed discussions of the component parts of the monument including inscription panels, canopy forms, aprons, busts and effigies, effigial forms, heraldry, drapery, polychrome, uses of foliage and allegorical symbols. The analysis of much of the data requires it to be expressed in chart format and this chapter contains charts dealing with patterns of geographical and chronological distribution.

Chapter three also acknowledges that there is no single instance that can be identified as the quintessential example of a peninsular counties monument of the period although the Drewe monument of 1675 at Broadhembury (D38) can be seen as a piece that displays the majority of the features of a typical model. The Drewe monument is also a prime example of the Main Group monuments that are more fully discussed in chapter four.

Chapter four opens by looking at the products of known artists. Signed monuments in the two counties are rare and the only metropolitan artist to be represented on a signed monument is Peter Scheemakers as previously noted. This section continues by making the case for the attribution of monuments to metropolitan and other artists including William Stanton. The career of John Weston of Exeter is examined and a distribution map shows the locations of his signed and attributed monuments with the majority of his work being seen in Exeter parish churches and the area to the north of the city. Discussions of his signed and traditionally attributed monuments lead onto new attributions that are the direct result of the empirical research. Less is known of the Jewells of Barnstaple but their work is treated in a similar way to that of Weston with new attributions forming a significant section.

Part three of the chapter deals with the case for a previously unidentified workshop. While the precise location of this workshop remains unknown, the case is made for it being located in Exeter and a distribution map

shows that most of the monuments are located within 20 miles of the city. Features common within this group are identified and smaller clusters that display partial similarities are discussed.

Chapter five concentrates on social status and opens with a section outlining modern understandings of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century social status. This section looks at social stratification, the composition of social élites and social hierarchies, the dearth of aristocratic monuments in the peninsular counties, methods of defining the classifications of social groupings, patterns of wealth acquisition, concepts of deference and social perspectives concerning the placement of the monument in the church.

The second part of chapter five is concerned with social status and its expression within the monuments of the region. Based on empirical research this section establishes a variety of criteria for considering the social status of the deceased and their family. Statistical analysis of the various status groups is examined, firstly within each county and then throughout the region as a whole. The section then goes on to examine the locations of monuments within the churches and it can be seen that both counties follow broadly similar trends. The importance of wills is noted and instances of monuments specified in wills are discussed. Despite the small number involved, these have proved to be invaluable in that the amount to be spent on a commemorative monument is given as well as the amounts of money and goods within the estate of the deceased. The language used on inscriptions is analyzed showing roughly equal uses

of English and Latin in both counties. Indicators of social rank are also discussed and the chapter concludes with an analysis of the monuments of the counties based on the theoretical models that I have established.

Volume 2 consists of the gazetteer for Devon and Cornwall. This illustrates nearly all the monuments included in this research project, each individual entry showing the basic details of name, date, parish, whether a eulogizing inscription is included, the status of the person commemorated and, where known, brief biographical details. This gazetteer is intended to form a major contribution to any future discussion of the church monuments of the southwest peninsular counties.

CHAPTER 2. Wealth, death and commemoration.

Introduction.

**Part 1. The economy of the southwest peninsular counties
1660-1730.**

Part 2. The commemorated: wills and status indicators.

Part 3. The death rite and the role of the church.

Part 4. Materials used in the manufacture of monuments.

Introduction.

This chapter has been divided into four sections, each section commenting on a specific part of the circumstances surrounding the erection of a church monument. The purpose behind Part 1 is to provide a working overview of the economic circumstances within the southwest peninsular counties in the period 1660-1730. Trade, industry and wealth as well as the geographical distribution of that wealth are examined in this section. The ability of the local economy to support a trade in memorial sculpture is examined and acts as a precursor to discussions in later chapters: likely centres of monument production are also considered.

Part two looks at the social classes of persons commemorated on sculpted monuments during the period 1660-1730 in the two counties. The format of the last will and testament is examined and the significance of these documents as important social status indicators is considered. This again

acts as a precursor to further in-depth discussions of this topic in chapter five.

Part three looks at how death was perceived at this period, the role of the church, the burial service and interment of the body followed by commemoration.

Part four looks at the materials used in monument manufacture in the southwest peninsular counties, the quarries from which these materials were extracted and their transportation.

Part 1. The economy of the southwest peninsular counties 1660-1730.

Much of our understanding of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century economic conditions within the southwest peninsular counties has been gleaned from travellers to the region and the descriptions they recorded of the towns and villages they saw. Modern writers such as CGA Clay Economic Expansion & Social Change: England 1500-1700 (1984) have made significant contributions to our understanding of the economic situation in the country as a whole in the period up to 1700 while James Whetter Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century (1974) has made an important contribution to understanding the economic conditions in the county during the period under review. As will be shown below, some of these early travellers, like Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe were clearly impressed by the wealth of cities like Exeter. Exeter's prosperity was

largely based on the serge trade but like other centres of population its inhabitants also included members of the gentry whose wealth was derived from land rather than trade. Defoe, for example, writes of Totnes in 1724 as 'having more gentlemen than tradesmen of note'.¹ Nevertheless, although many of the monuments analysed in this thesis were erected to the memory of the landed gentry, a relatively high proportion of them honoured those whose fortune had been made, partially or wholly, in trading endeavours. It is important, therefore, to review the principal trades of the two counties in this period and to consider their links to memorial sculpture. This section will show that travellers within Devon and Cornwall during the period 1660-1730 clearly recognised the importance of the serge and other woollen trades on the local economy, as well as the extent and variety of the international trade conducted in the peninsular counties. This section will therefore provide a brief overview of the principal trading ports of the two counties as well as looking at the destinations of ships from those ports. The importance of agriculture in Devon and Cornwall will also be considered as will the Cornish tin industry. Lastly, the section will focus on the mason trade in Exeter.

Tristram Risdon (c1580 – 1640) wrote his Survey of the County of Devon over a period of about 25 years and completed it in 1630 but it was not published until 1714. This is a significant study of Devon was compiled on the eve of the Civil War and he provides an important overview of the county, as it existed at that time. Of particular significance for this dissertation he arranges the population according to social rank and puts

¹ Daniel Defoe *A Tour Thro the Whole Island of Great Britain* Vol.1 p224 1724

the gentry first and in this he includes all noblemen, knights and esquires and this is followed by merchants, artificers and labourers. The first account that is contemporary with the period under review is the travels of Willelm Schellinks between 1661-1663.² While no mention is made by Schellinks of commemorative sculpture, his journal is a useful indicator of the trading activities of various towns in the peninsular counties and some of the key personalities in those towns. He describes Exeter, as being '*governed by 24 persons*' and that there are '*17 or 18 churches*' with the Cathedral being the largest. He fails to mention Barnstaple and Bideford, on the north Devon coast, but he was clearly impressed by the extent of the pilchard trade in Fowey. Plymouth is described as '*a very populous and busy large town that it may be compared with a city.*'³ Plymouth is similarly described by Count Magalotti, who travelled with Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1667 as '*among the best cities in England*'. Magalotti's description of Plymouth includes passing reference to the damage caused to the medieval monuments during the Civil War. However, it is thought that the term 'monuments' as used here does not specifically refer to funerary monuments.⁴

² M Exwood and HL Lehmann *The Journal of William Schellinks Travels in England 1661-1663* Royal Historical Society 1993.

³ Schellinks op.cit p115

⁴ R Pearce Chope *Early Tours of Devon & Cornwall*. David & Charles 1967. This anthology contains selected passages relating to Devon & Cornwall by Count Magalotti, 1667 p92-111, Celia Fiennes, 1695 p111-137, Daniel Defoe 1724 p145-175 and Dr Stukeley, 1724 p137-145.

Writing in 1695, Celia Fiennes makes a more thorough description of the towns she passes through.⁵ Exeter is described as being “very well built” and she was clearly impressed by the serge trade for she writes of

..... ‘incredible quantity (of serges) made and sold in the town. Their market day is Friday..... which can take up three whole streets..... the whole town and country is employ’d for at least 20 miles round in the spinning, weaving, dressing and scouring, fulling and drying of the serges, it turns the most money in a weeke of anything in England, one weeke with another there is 10000 pound paid in ready money, sometimes 15000 pound; the weavers brings in their serges and must have their money which they employ to provide them yarne to goe to work againe.

Plymouth “has no great houses in the town and ... two churches but nothing fine” although she records that the houses are all built of limestone with “slate at the top”.⁶

Daniel Defoe, also writing in 1724, provides a significant contemporary account of some of the principal towns of the peninsula counties and the main business of each one.⁷ Of Exeter he writes

A city famous for two things which we seldom find united in the same town – viz, that it is full of gentry and good company, and yet full of trade and manufactures also. The serge market held here every week is well worth a strangers seeing..... The people assured me that at this market is generally sold from sixty, to seventy to eighty and sometimes a hundred thousand pound value in serges in a week.

⁵ C Morris (ed) *The Illustrated Journals of Celia Fiennes 1685-1712*. Macdonald & Co 1982 p197.

⁶ Chope *ibid*

⁷ Chope *ibid*

The major industry throughout the whole of Devon was the manufacture of serge cloth and Defoe suggests that it is 'a trade too great to be described in miniature.....'

Exeter's main trading centres at this time were Holland, Portugal, Spain and Italy with a large proportion of the serge export trade going to Holland. The rapid rise of the serge trade from the 1640's stimulated the demand for greater wool production. The serge business was by no means a new enterprise in the 1640's as both Devon and Cornwall had long been centres of the broadcloth or kersey trade dating back to the fifteenth century and earlier.⁸

Exeter had always been the principal port of the southwest peninsular counties. In 1702 Exeter was the 4th largest port in the country but by 1714 it had slipped to 14th place with Plymouth and Bideford as the only other significant ports in the region.⁹ The reasons for this slippage are complex but a rise in the trade of ports further east certainly accounted for a significant part of the loss of Exeter-based trade.

With respect to the other ports of the region, Dartmouth had long been an important trading port and merchants there were heavily involved in business with ports in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Newfoundland. A

⁸ For a discussion of the importance of the cloth industry immediately prior to the period under review see D Seward 'The Cloth Industry in the Early Seventeenth Century' in R Burt (ed) *Industry and Society in the South-West* pp29-50 Exeter papers in economic history, University of Exeter 1970.

⁹ As an indicator of the extent of southwest involvement with trade in North America, of the total of 186 ships despatched to Newfoundland in 1698-1700, 92 sailed from south western ports.

quarter of the outward trade of Dartmouth was with the Channel Islands while the Newfoundland and Rotterdam trade accounted for another quarter. The remaining trade involved a variety of ports in North America and Europe. The Dartmouth merchant Thomas Boone, whose white marble monument, dated 1685, can be seen in Townstall church, Dartmouth (D76), was a very prosperous merchant who lived in some splendour in his house at Mount Boone in the parish.

By the early eighteenth-century there was a reversal of fortune between Barnstaple and Bideford with the former in decline and the latter on the rise with Barnstaple having the greater inland trade despite Bideford having more merchants. As for the general extent of trade in the period, Bideford was more important than neighbouring Barnstaple and traded with Virginia and Maryland for tobacco as well as a more general trade with Newfoundland. In total, about 60 per cent of Bideford's trade was with North America. The outward trade from Barnstaple was significant in that nearly 60 per cent went to Newfoundland while of the remainder most was centred on trade with Cork in Ireland. Some trade also existed with New England. Other north Devon ports such as Ilfracombe traded with Ireland and all of them traded with south Wales for coal. This was mainly used to fuel the limekilns situated along the Taw and Torridge estuaries.

Approximately 40 per cent of Plymouth's trade was centred on North America, from New England to Barbados, but the town also had a flourishing cross channel trade despite the small size of the average cargo

of about 20 tons. Plymouth also enjoyed trade connections with Bilbao and Alicante in Spain and Leghorn (modern Livorno) in Italy.

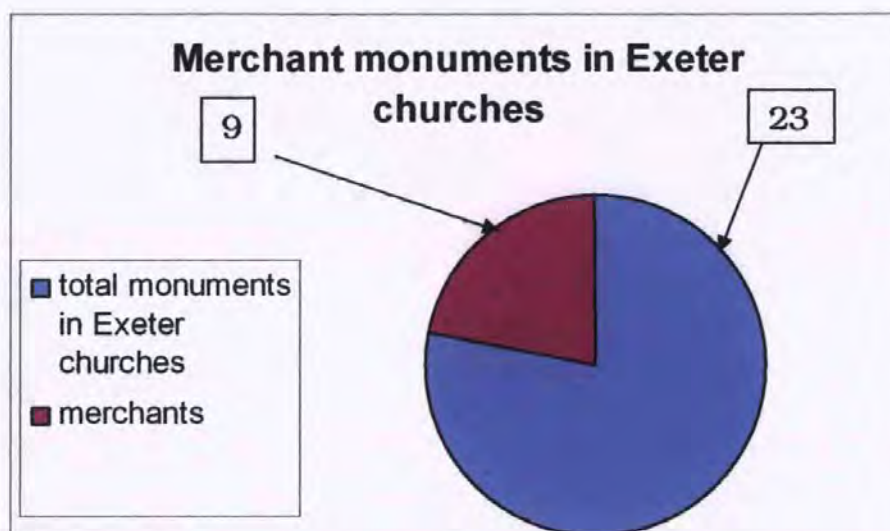
All this proves that there was a very healthy trade within the area based on shipping and import/export. As well as indicating the wealth of the merchant class in this period, the shipping trade is also important for the production of monuments. As will be shown later in the thesis a number of monuments found within the peninsular counties were not made here and were almost certainly brought into the area by sea. For example, the Eliot monument by Rysbrack at St Germans (C53) almost certainly arrived by boat: it is likely that it came from London by coastal vessel to Plymouth and then by a smaller boat to St Germans, the village lying at the navigable end of the St Germans or Lynher river. This river joins the Tamar between Saltash and Torpoint on the Cornish side. Similarly, it will also be shown that quite a number of monuments made within the region were most probably transported to their final destination by sea and then by river and road.

The coastal shipping trade that was such a part of the overall trade of the peninsular counties thus enabled the easy transport of monuments from the sculptors' workshops to the churches in which they would be erected. Chapter two looks closely at patterns of monument distribution but it is clear that significant numbers of monuments were moved this way. The road network was slow, poorly maintained and the safety of breakable objects could not be guaranteed. Of course, many monuments had to be transported by road as will be shown but the patterns of distribution

suggest that rivers were used where possible and roads were the last resort.

These contemporary descriptions of the foremost towns and the principal businesses carried on within them are significant in providing valuable background information on the likely sources of income for many of the families who could afford to be commemorated by a sculpted memorial in their parish church or, more impressively, Exeter cathedral. Because memorial sculpture has always been considered a luxury item, only those with appropriate disposable income could afford to erect a monument and therefore as a socio-economic group, merchants, or those who made their money from trade or commerce, are well represented by commemorative sculpture within the parish churches of Exeter. Only one monument to a merchant of the period currently exists within Exeter cathedral although lost monuments, of which there are known to be several, may have included other monuments to merchants.

Within the Exeter churches, excluding the cathedral, 32 monuments of the period have been identified. Of these, 9 commemorate merchants. This represents 28% of the total monuments of the period – a percentage that is very much higher than originally thought.



The importance of the various woollen trades within the southwest peninsular counties has long been recognised. CGA Clay's work on economic expansion and social change: in the period 1500-1700 provides a valuable insight into the economic importance of the kersey and later serge trades in Devon and Cornwall in the seventeenth century but equally important is the contextualisation of this trade within a nationwide analysis.¹⁰ Exports of serges increased rapidly from the 1670's and constituted the most important part of the country's textile exports with well over half the trade going through Exeter.

James Whetter, in his illuminating study of the Cornish Economy in the seventeenth century, provides a sound analysis of the various trades and occupations in the county.¹¹ Cornwall possessed no great aristocratic families with enormous estates but Daniel Defoe wrote in 1724 of the

¹⁰ CJA Clay *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700* Cambridge University Press 1984.

¹¹ James Whetter *Cornwall in the 17th Century* Lodenek Press Padstow 1974

numerous Cornish gentry – it was these gentry that owned the majority of the land.

Agriculture within the peninsular counties, while not being the most financially significant activity, did occupy more working hours than any other occupation. The conditions surrounding agricultural activity have been discussed by Havinden *The Southwest and the Land* (1969).¹² The majority of the population was engaged in some way or other in agricultural activities with most of the land owned by the gentry. In the eighteenth century, most farms were between 20-40 acres, a few were over 200 but none over 300 acres. As in so many other areas, agriculture was the main activity within the county and was the basis of the economy and of society as a whole but it was not the most important activity commercially speaking. The manorial system remained in force in Cornwall, much more so than in Devon, with lands being rented out to tenants who farmed the land, often on leases of three lives.

By comparison with Devon, Cornish cloth production was minimal. By far the greatest Cornish export at that time was tin, much of it used in the pewter industry, followed by lead and copper. Tin production began to rise after the Civil War with production mainly derived from fairly large workings, some of which were deep hard-rock mining operations.

¹² See MA Havinden (ed) *The Southwest and the Land* 1969. Exeter papers in Economic History, Exeter University.

Throughout the seventeenth-century, production of tin increased by 20 times with the importance of the industry being recognised in royal control for part of the century. The miners were organised into four Stanaries¹³ or areas, each with its own court, with a Lord Warden as the Crown's representative presiding over all. In order for the tin to be assayed, it was brought to a coinage town – Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Truro, Helston and later Penzance - where it would be stamped if it were up to standard.¹⁴

Economically, Cornwall prospered in the seventeenth century with a corresponding population increase of 20% from 100,000 to 120,000.¹⁵ The stanaries or the tin miners courts, organised on the lines of a medieval guild, had ceased to be of any real significance by the end of the seventeenth century due to the growth of the state, the power of the towns and that of individual merchants. Certainly during the Restoration period local merchants were beginning to invest in tin mines to a considerable extent. William Worth of Penryn, whose very modest monument at St Gluvias (C57) is dated 1689, was, in 1684, coining over 242,000 lbs of tin. With coinage duty payable at the rate of four shillings per hundredweight this comes to well over £400. The involvement of merchants in the mining enterprise benefited the industry in that it encouraged modernisation and proper systems of accounting. The extent of the Cornish tin industry cannot be overstated and towards the end of the seventeenth century, Cornwall was producing over 1500 tonnes of tin per year.

¹³ These stanaries were Foweymore, Blackmore, Tywarnhaile and Penwith and Kerrier.

¹⁴ See FWL Stockdale *Excursions in the County of Cornwall*, 1824 p 58. He states that more tin is exported from Truro than any other port in the country and large quantities of copper are also exported from Truro to Swansea and Neath in Wales.

¹⁵ The Protestation Lists for 1641 give a population of just over 105,000.

As already noted, in the seventeenth century there were no large concentrations of the Cornish woollen industry unlike Devon but sheep rearing continued as an important agricultural investment with a healthy trade in the export of wool, sometimes in the raw state or processed as yarn.

The export trade must have been lucrative, as it appears to have encouraged smuggling. A 'Mr Goodall' of Fowey is reported as having been engaged with a St Malo registered ship that regularly carried tin and wool without paying customs duty while James Kemp of Penryn was said to smuggle as much as 30cwt of wool abroad in pilchard hogsheads. Both these individuals have monuments erected to them; John and William Goodall are commemorated at Fowey (C15) with a double kneeling effigy monument dated 1686 while James Kemp has a monument at St Gluvias (C54) dated 1710.¹⁶

Having considered, in broad terms, the mercantile and commercial activities of the counties, it is appropriate to look closely at the specific trade of mason. An analysis of the Freemen of the city of Exeter between 1660 and 1730 reveals that by far the most frequent area of business to which young men were apprenticed was that of the cloth industry with its wide variety of individual trades.

¹⁶ See Whetter op cit p 107.

However, within the lists, a significant number of references exist to the apprenticeship of masons.¹⁷ For a mason or mason-sculptor the apprenticeship was seven years and most new entrants to the trade were aged about 14. While dates show occasional bursts of activity in the hiring of apprentices there are equally long periods during which no mason apprentices appear to be entering the trade. The Exeter sculptor John Weston is not mentioned in the lists of Exeter Freemen and other craftsmen were admitted, evidently having served their apprenticeship elsewhere.

From the point of view of this thesis, the mason trade is of obvious significance for it is likely that most of the monuments under review were produced locally by skilled masons. In his magisterial study of the builder Smith of Warwick, Andor Gomme¹⁸ has shown that Smith was perfectly able to produce church monuments of quality that satisfy the needs of discerning clients.¹⁹

¹⁷ While the number of masons actually recorded in the lists of freemen are low, one Jonas Bampfield is recorded as having taken on apprentices in 1692, 1700, 1705 and 1714 while another ten masters employed apprentices between 1699 and 1729.

¹⁸ Andor Gomme, *Smith of Warwick*, Stamford 2000

¹⁹ Sir Edward Isham commissioned Smith to rebuild the church at Lamport, Northants and Smith signs the monument in the church to Sir Justinian Isham 1730. It is known that this monument, consisting of an inscription tablet flanked by fluted pilasters that are superimposed on a coloured marble frame and with an open segmental pediment, cost £87. Gomme considers the possibility that Smith might have been responsible for the architectural setting for a bust by Scheemakers of the next Sir Justinian who died in 1736/37. The opposite is also true in that William Stanton 1639-1705, the prolific tomb maker, was the master mason responsible for the building of Belton House in Lincolnshire for Sir John Brownlow.

While the records show a modest mason trade in Exeter it is worth noting that not all monuments were produced by masons or mason-sculptors as trained artists also produced large quantities of commemorative sculpture.

As will be shown in chapter four, a significant but as yet unnamed workshop was producing church monuments during the period under review and was almost certainly located in Exeter. An analysis of the lists reveals that the name of Bampfield occurs some 14 times, sometimes as apprentices but mostly as master. This strongly suggests that the Bampfield family had an established practice in Exeter but so far no work that can be positively identified as coming from their workshop has been identified.

No commemorative work can be assigned to any of these craftsmen named in the Exeter lists of freemen but it is highly likely that some of these masons were responsible for producing commemorative sculpture. It is understood that builders and those associated with the building trades had a long history of producing commemorative sculpture, sometimes on an occasional basis, sometimes more regularly and that the mason sculptors working in the Restoration period and later were producing some of the best tomb monuments of the period. Nevertheless it is tantalising to think that some of the masons craftsmen identified from the records might have worked at this workshop.

Part 2. The commemorated: wills and status indicators.

This section looks at the types of people commemorated by sculpted monuments, their wills and what those wills say about concepts of social status. Inscriptions are then examined, their language – English or Latin – and the section concludes with an overview of the eulogising verse.

As will be more fully discussed in chapter five, it is important to understand the types of people being commemorated by church monuments at this time within the southwest peninsular counties. From the survey of the monuments in the region, as one would expect, no monument commemorates an artisan of any type. At the other end of the social spectrum, the monuments at Tawstock to the Earl and Countess of Bath represent the aristocracy, dated 1659 and 1680 respectively (D210 & D211), as does the more modest monument at Calstock to Jemima, Countess of Sandwich who died in 1674 (C6). Social rank, as described on inscriptions, is dominated mostly by ‘Gent’ and ‘Esquire’ with merchants, knights and the clergy forming smaller social groups. The squirearchy was the dominant social group in Devon and Cornwall at this time. Lawrence Stone has discussed the role of the county squirearchy at length but it needs to be said here that the emergence of this social class in the later seventeenth century owed much to the formation of an identity through lineage.²⁰

Status achieved through commerce is less common. Because it was the centre of trading and commerce in the two counties, there are a significant

number of merchants' monuments in Exeter as has been discussed above. Within the rest of the peninsular counties there are very few monuments to merchants despite the business dealings that must have occurred throughout the rest of the region. The term middling class, within the context of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is often centred on the merchant classes and contemporaries often singled out merchants as a race apart from other members of the commercial and manufacturing world. Merchants were ideologically separated from manufacturers and shopkeepers and as a financially independent group could afford the occasionally large sums spent on funerary monuments but the scarcity of monuments to this social group outside of the confines of Exeter, are surprising. While it was quite common for the younger sons of landed families to be apprenticed to merchants, there was no hard and fast distinction between the various social status levels that applied at that time and as a consequence it was not difficult for merchants – men of wealth and (local) power to claim the status of 'gentleman'.²¹ This may explain the paucity of monuments commemorating merchants as such. As a social instrument, the will is an integrated document in that spirituality and the dispersal of property are considered as key component parts in the process of dying.

The formation of a will can be interpreted as a symbolic process and functioned as the final act in the worldly existence of the testator and

²⁰ See Lawrence Stone. *The family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, Penguin 1979.

therefore the will is an essential element of the mortuary process.²² For Christians, it was both a social and moral obligation to provide for ones dependants and there was some social pressure on the dying person to prepare their last will according to established practices. The will also serves to prepare the dying person for separation from the material world.

After a divine salutation and possibly some reference to the reigning monarch and the date, often given as the number of years the monarch has reigned, the traditional format of the will opens with the testator indicating their mental and physical condition and making a bequest for their soul. This bequest is not necessary in order to make the will a lawful document. Concerns for the soul usually precede the sections dealing with property and the provisions made for specific individuals. If the testator was sick or not fully in command of their mental faculties, the inclusion of a formal spiritual preamble may provide reassurance and comfort. These preambles ask for the forgiveness of sins, for salvation, for eternal life or a combination but the actual wording and language employed may say more about the scribe and use of standard formats than the requests of the dying person. Within a will there may be a reference for a funeral sermon to be delivered by a minister specifically chosen by the testator and at a place of the testator's choosing, normally their parish church. Within the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it is not uncommon to find a provision for mourning rings as well as cloaks, hats and gloves and bequests to servants and other non-family members. Wills also

²¹ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700*. Macmillan 1994.

²² For a fuller discussion of the function of the will see Ariés. *Op cit* p196-198

occasionally provide for the establishment of an institution or supply an endowment in the form of a single monetary grant or, more rarely, the purchase of lands to support an existing or intended institution.

For those commemorated by sculpted monuments within both counties, representative samples of their wills nearly all start with the phrase in the 'Name of God Amen' and their opening phrases often make a statement of faith. Requesting burial in a particular church and in a particular place within the church is not uncommon as is the request to be buried near their parents or spouse. The will of Sir George Putt is dated 10th June 1686 and he specifically requests that his body is 'interred in my aisle within the church of Gittisham.....in the vault there made for that purpose'.²³ Similarly, the will of John Mayne, died 1680 'merchant of the city of Exeter' clearly states that his body is to be buried 'in the chancel of St Petroc's church, that is near my father and mother.'²⁴ Of course, wills sometimes request the erection of a monument with varying levels of detail and these are more fully discussed in chapter five.

The lengths of wills vary from the single page document as used for the will of Revd. George Hughes (D147), died 1667 at Kingsbridge²⁵ to up to seven pages of close script as used for the will of Sir William Coryton, died 1711 at St Mellion, Cornwall (C59), although long wills are often reserved for those with large estates and several children for whom provisions are

²³ Public Record Office PROB 11/386 28

²⁴ Public Record Office PROB 11/363 83

²⁵ Public Record Office PROB 11/324 100

to be made, legacies given to others and endowments established.²⁶ The will of the Exeter merchant John Mayne is not untypical of the more extensive format in that it leaves the bulk of his estate to his son – who appears to be unmarried - or his heirs etc and if this line of descent fails then his daughter inherits the estate and then her heirs etc. inherit. John Mayne is clearly concerned to leave his estate within his immediate family and makes extensive provision for that. He also leaves modest bequests to his servants and, interestingly, leaves money for the establishment of schools in Exeter and Topsham and the provision of a house for a schoolmaster. £200 is also left in his will to the towns of Dartmouth, Barnstable and Bideford to aid the better teaching of reading, writing and the art of navigation provided that these towns could raise £600-£700 as their part in the enterprise. As a merchant John Mayne clearly regarded navigational skills as being highly important.²⁷

The will of Sir George Cary who died in 1684, states quite clearly that he requests burial in the chancel of Clovelly church amongst his ancestors and as near to his first wife, Dame Elizabeth, as possible. His second wife was Dame Martha and Sir George's will states that if she is pregnant at the time of his death with a daughter, then £5 is to be paid to her (the daughter) as soon as she is weaned. Interestingly, he leaves his brother £100 and £10 is left to the Devon antiquarian Thomas Risdon who was living with him at that time. He also requests 40 gold mourning rings and gives half a year's wages, as well as their normal salary, to his servants. ²⁸

²⁶ Public Record Office PROB 11/530 251

²⁷ Public Record Office PROB 11/363 83

²⁸ Public Record Office PROB 11/379 18

Gascoigne Canham, rector of Arlington who died in 1666/7 left £40 for the 'binding out' to apprenticeship of poor children whose parents 'usually and orderly go to church'. His cousin was William Polwhele (an ancestor of Richard Polwhele, author of the History of Devonshire, published in 1793) to whom he bequeaths £12 per annum for life. Five pounds was willed to Mr Henry Travers of Loxhore 'if he preaches at my funeral as I desire' while his servant, Mary Beare, receives the very generous legacy of £200 along with his furniture and 'one cow and one horse or mare, not the best nor the worst.'²⁹

These wills follow a typical format in that the estate is carefully bequeathed to ones heirs in a variety of hierarchical arrangements. Also, in keeping with established practice, servants are often left a small legacy and charitable donations are not uncommon. Only in a small number of cases are there specific references in the will to the erection of a monument. While this topic is more fully discussed in chapter five, it is worthwhile to note that in the will of Sir William Coryton, died 1711, mentioned above he requested that no more than £200 be spent on his monument in St Mellion church. Robert Fry's monument at Membury, dated 1725 (D154), was to cost about £100.³⁰

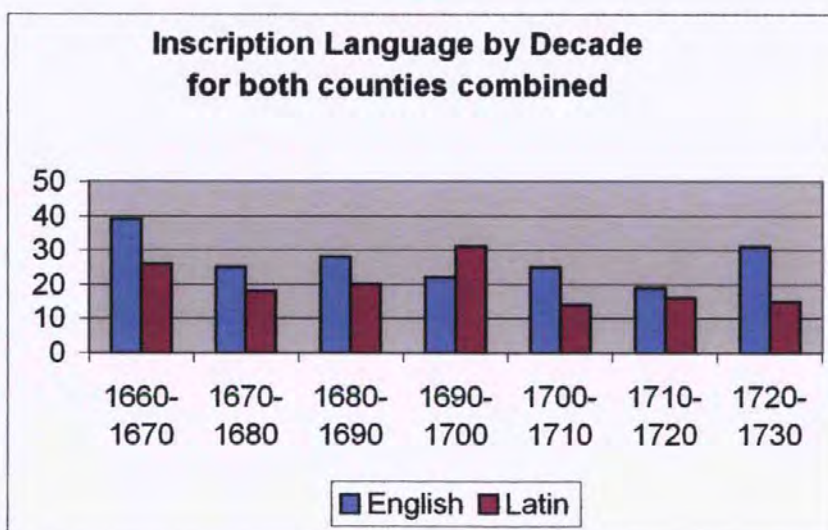
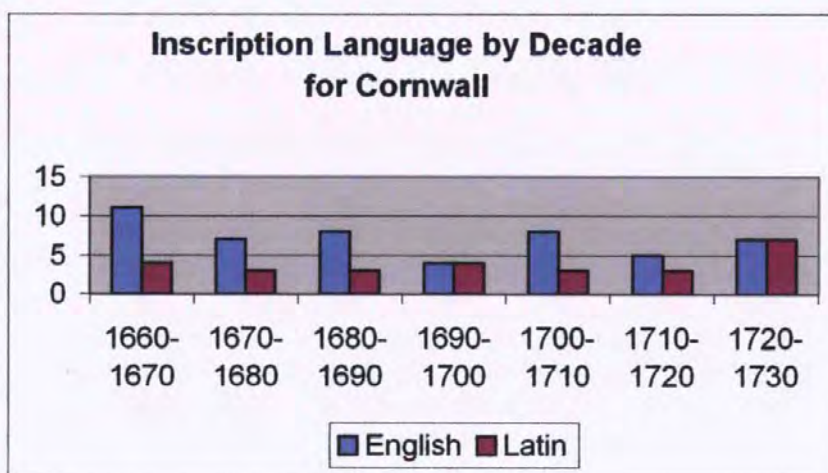
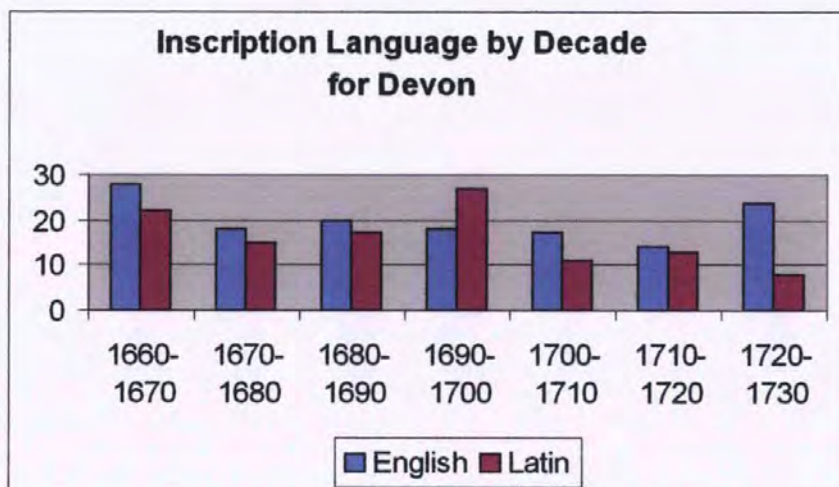
Because memorial sculpture was always a highly priced luxury item, it was available only to a privileged few but even if the monument, by contemporary standards, was only a modest piece, the fact that it was

²⁹ Exeter Public Records Moger Vol.5

³⁰ Public Record Office PROB 11/610 44

placed within the parish church conferred upon the individual being commemorated an automatic claim to social status. Other factors can be taken into account when considering the status of the commemorated. These would include the physical size of the monument, the quality of the materials employed and the degree of decoration used, including painted and sculpted additions to the main body of the monument. The employment of realistic portraiture, either as a bust or, more rarely a complete figure either standing seated or reclining, must be considered as a key social statement not only because of the costs of such an addition but because of the skills of the artist required to produce a reasonable likeness. In only one known instance is there a painted portrait of the deceased included on the monument – that at Swimbridge to Charles Cutliffe dated 1670 (D199).

The length of the inscription and the language employed can also be seen as indicators of social status. Internationally and nationally, Latin remained the language of the educated while those who could have some claim to education, but were not part of a professional élite, increasingly employed the vernacular. For the peninsular counties, an analysis of inscriptions for both the beginning and end of the period reveals some interesting data.



Of the 50 known monuments in Devon from c1658-1670, English and Latin inscription are almost equal with 28 English and 22 Latin. At the other end of the chronology for this thesis, of the 32 known monuments

1720-1733 the ratio is 3-1 in favour of English with 24 and 8 respectively. For Cornwall the situation is slightly different although the small number of known monuments may render a direct comparison difficult. For the decade 1658-1670 15 monuments are known with 11 – roughly 3 to 1 in favour of English inscriptions while for the period 1720-1730 there are also 14 known monuments with equal distribution of the two languages.³¹ This data is significant for the educated classes in Cornwall in particular. English appears to be the predominant language although Latin is employed in 3 important monuments, one of which is a metropolitan product – the Eliot monument dated 1722 at St Germans-by JM Rysbrack (C53). The other two, at Madron (C33) and Menheniot (C34), are both to clergymen and the Menheniot monument could also be metropolitan in origin.

Within the peninsular counties, 45 monuments dating from the period under review have eulogising verses in the vernacular and it can be assumed that some of these would have been written by poets and other educated individuals.

While it is difficult to determine the extent of any social status perspectives in the employment of eulogising verses, it nonetheless clearly indicates a degree of didactic sophistication on whoever commissioned the monument as well as requiring a level of educational skill on the part of

³¹ The start date of c1658 has been taken to account for the time lapse between the death of the person concerned and the erection of the monument. Similarly a slight extension after 1730 is also valid in that prevalent tastes would not have changed very quickly. The inclusion of Latin on inscriptions remained in fashion until well into the eighteenth century.

the reader. These verses have an intellectual resonance and they help to draw the reader into the emotional intensity of the family's grief at the loss of a loved one. There is a strong emotional perspective to these verses that is highly individualistic. It provides a degree of emotional involvement that the normal wording of the inscription could not usually aspire to.³²

The position of the monument in the church also says something about the social status of the commemorated. It had long been a feature within parish churches that a section of the building might be set-aside for a particular family, especially if they had at some period been responsible for its construction, enlargement or decoration. While private chapels are themselves an indicator of social status the ordinary churchgoer would not have necessarily had access to the chapel. This exclusivity heightens the overall impact of the chapel and those to whom access was denied would probably have seen the monuments at a distance. Grouped together they would create the experience of familial status and longevity combined with a display of wealth, power, influence and patronage. The continuation of an area traditionally used by one family means to display funerary art has the effect for the spectator not only of providing continuity with the past but also of displaying familial lineage and the status of that lineage. Examples are not infrequent but significant familial groupings can be seen at Tawstock, Clovelly, Newton St Cyres, Molland and St Mellion with the Clovelly group being perhaps the most significant.

³² The monument at Swimbridge to John Rosier dated 1658 has a verse written in semi legal language. As he was a lawyer this is a clear pun on his profession.

The Tawstock monuments commemorate various individuals including the family of the earls of Bath but at Clovelly the chancel of the church contains monuments to the Cary family dating from 1540. What is significant here is that a group of seven monuments dating from 1652 to 1700 are largely the products of a single workshop and are clearly set up so as to impress upon the spectator a sense of dynastic pride.³³

Part 3. The death rite and the role of the church.

This section is concerned with the art of dying, the death rite and the role of the church in the death process. The conditions surrounding burial are also considered.

In early modern England, premature death was a more common occurrence than it is now and most people died before they reached what we in the twenty-first century would call old age. Christians were taught from an early age that death was not part of God's original plan but came about as a consequence of sin.

In medieval and later iconography, death, like the soul, became personified and was seen as a ruthless adversary, pictured as a walking skeleton sometimes armed with an arrow-like dart, carrying a scythe or hour glass or holding a grave-digger's spade.³⁴ Religious tracts and funeral

³³ While the earliest of this group of monuments, to William Cary, is dated 1652 it has a style that suggests a date of manufacture sometime in the 1670's. As will be shown in a later chapter, these monuments were almost certainly made in Exeter.

³⁴ See *The Dance of Death* woodcuts of 1538 by Hans Holbein the Younger for early examples of death represented as a walking skeleton. Holbein's portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, in the Pinakothek, Munich, has a skeletal figure at his shoulder, scythe in hand and pointing to the hour glass on the table before him.

sermons challenged the natural fear of dying by asserting that no one should fear death if they are buoyed up by Christian faith. The Protestant Order for the Burial of the Dead was, like its Catholic predecessor, full of references to the living, to resurrection and to joy. An enormous quantity of theological advice was directed at reminding people that death could strike at any time: there was widespread belief that the main business of life was to prepare for death, which while it only comes once, is for eternity.

Common cultural practice has the ability to turn each rite of passage into a social and collective event. Death is just such an event and these cultural practices continually reconstruct meanings for death from combinations of observed personal experiences and religious teaching. The death ritual was a prolonged process and for that reason can be described as a rite of passage with the dying person at the centre of the group.

As well as being the centrepiece of a sort of theatre, the deathbed was also the place from which the dying person could finalize their domestic arrangements, draft their will and give instructions for their burial.

It was an accepted part of the death ritual in the early modern period that the sick room became an arena where friends, relatives, neighbours, helpers, servants and possible heirs gathered, watched and waited for mortal life to end. From the frequency of death and the literature surrounding it, it is apparent that most people did not fear death – what they did fear was dying alone.

Ideas of the 'good death' had originated in antiquity but in the period following the Reformation it assumed ever-greater priority.³⁵ In reality there were two contrasting models of this concept of the good death – one following the Puritan tradition, which put an emphasis on the inner resource of faith at the time of death with the dying person benefiting from the prayers and counsel of those around him. The alternative, or sacramental tradition, emphasised the confession of sins to a formally recognised clergyman and where the departing individual gained comfort from both the last communion and absolution. If the wording of many of the surviving wills of the period examined as part of this research is a fair indicator then it is this sacramental tradition that is almost universally found. This suggests that most of the individuals commemorated by sculpted monuments were probably not of the Puritan persuasion.

Burial inside a church required the permission of the incumbent and a fee was payable to the sexton and churchwardens, at least for repairing the disturbed floor of the church. In many cases, the landed gentry, aristocracy and anyone else who were patrons of the living could simply demand burial inside the church, often in or very near the chancel, and the incumbent would have had little say in the matter.

As a consequence, the cost of removing and replacing masonry and tiles was a practice that was limited to the wealthy. Contemporary visitors noted the dominance of bishops' monuments in Exeter Cathedral.

³⁵ See P Airés *The Hour of our Death*. Knopf 1981. See also Jupp & Gittings (eds) *Death in England* Rutgers University Press 1999.

Celia Fiennes's comments on the cathedral are interesting in that she records 'several good monuments and effigies of bishops'. Like the journal of Celia Fiennes, Dr William Stukeley's 'Itinerarium Curiosum' of 1724 simply records that, for Exeter, 'there are many monuments of bishops in the cathedral.'³⁶

For the middling sorts of people, funerals appear to have taken on a standard format irrespective of the environment, with only the landed gentry, higher clergy and aristocracy having the luxury of an elaborate funeral. Aristocratic families, and anyone who had the right to an armorial bearing, had long been entitled to a full heraldic funeral i.e. one that is arranged by the College of Arms, but such a funeral was prohibitively expensive, took time to arrange and as the seventeenth century progressed such elaborate funerals were used less and less.³⁷ Funerals were occasionally conducted at night but they were more expensive than daytime ones due to the increased inconvenience.

By the time of the Restoration, the sermon had become the centrepiece of the funeral and, as seen in the will of Gascoigne Canham cited above, sometimes specific requests were made for a particular theme in the funeral sermon. Sermons served to reinforce the concept of the Protestant doctrine of death and the afterlife while simultaneously providing consolation for the bereaved.

³⁶ Chope *ibid*

³⁷ For a discussion of heraldic funerals see J.Litten *The English Way of Death, The Common Funeral Since 1450*. Robert Hale, London 2002 pp 173-194

As well as commenting on the qualities of the deceased, the principal underlying purpose of the funeral sermon was to remind the mourners of their own mortality and to reinforce established Christian doctrines. However, a complementary consideration is that the funeral also served a legitimate social purpose in that it was the prime vehicle for showing respect for the dead and the underlying ideal was one of 'decency' – it was a social prerequisite that the funeral was conducted with decorum and respect.

For the types of individuals commemorated by church monuments in the southwest peninsular counties, the typical funeral would have consisted of a sermon followed by interment in the churchyard. Extra-mural burials were the usual practice but evidence in the form of ledger slabs beneath or adjacent to a surviving wall monument strongly suggest that the person commemorated has an intramural burial – buried within the walls of the church.

Part 4. Materials

This concluding section looks briefly at the materials available to the monument maker, the quarries from which those materials were extracted and then looks specifically at the employment of limestone for commemorative sculpture. A fuller analysis of the materials used in monument manufacture is made in Chapter three, part 4.

The southwest peninsular counties of Devon and Cornwall are geologically unique within the United Kingdom displaying extremely varied rock types

and formations as well as considerable mineral richness. The mineral deposits, some of which have been worked since antiquity, have included tin, copper, arsenic, lead, zinc, iron ore, antimony and wolfram and the extraction of these, especially tin and copper, gave rise to considerable levels of industrial activity, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The most significant, easily recognisable and most well known feature of the geology of Devon is the granite mass of Dartmoor covering some 300 square miles. However, there are, for good reasons, no known examples of interior church monuments for the period 1660-1730 within the two counties that use granite.

Within Devon are found sizable deposits of limestone and slate, both of which are used extensively in monument production. Unfortunately, very few of the available limestones and other workable stones had more than a local reputation. None could compare with the famous oolitic limestones such as Portland stone seen farther east along the south coast.³⁸ Of the Devon limestones, only Beer limestone, which was widely used for interior work with occasional exterior applications, had anything more than a local reputation.

³⁸ Oolitic limestone is one that contains particles or grains of sand.



Map showing limestone deposits in Devon

Devon as a whole is rich in a wide variety of limestones suitable for building and decorative purposes with notable quarries at Plymouth, Yealmpton, Berry Head, St Mary Church, Ipplepen, Buckfastleigh, Ashburton, Chudleigh and Newton Abbot, all in south Devon. The colour of the limestone varies from light to dark grey. Many of the local limestones used for decorative purposes are quite hard and will take a high polish, thus highlighting their colours and textures and are sometimes referred to as 'marbles'.

An acknowledgement of their production in south Devon goes back to Westcote's time when it is known that they were used for memorial sculpture.³⁹

³⁹ T Westcote *A View of Devonshire in 1630*

The paler types of stone seen on Baroque period monuments in the peninsular counties suggest that the coloured types had ceased to be popular by the mid seventeenth century.

The various shades of polished grey or nearly black 'marble' frequently used for sills and columns and occasionally on the console brackets of many hanging wall monuments may well have originated from the south Devon quarries. In a footnote referring to south Devon, Westcote states that 'marble' masons are established in many of the local towns and work the local 'marbles' but demand is limited to the immediate vicinity. It would be tantalising to imagine that these same 'marble' works were in operation during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and using local materials to produce commemorative sculpture. However, at the present time, there is insufficient data available on this aspect of local stone working.

The quarries of south Devon also produced some good building materials. Quarries at Ideford produced limestone that was almost white in colour with blue grey varieties found at Chudleigh and Plymouth. The episcopal palace at Chudleigh was built of the local limestone and as early as 1535 the quarry was considered sufficiently valuable to be leased at £10 per annum. As an ornamental stone, the granites of Devon are almost universally underdeveloped. A type of white granite is known to have been quarried near Okehampton that resembles statuary marble but its possible use in the Baroque period for commemorative sculpture has yet to be identified.

In north Devon, good magnesian limestone was occasionally quarried at various sites between Hatherleigh and North Tawton. Sometimes known as Lee Stone it was used for dressings although again its use has yet to be identified in conjunction with commemorative sculpture.

Local artists used the various limestones found within the counties extensively and it appears that they used imported materials, e.g. white marble, somewhat sparingly. The vast majority of monuments seen in the two counties are an amalgam of materials – light coloured materials contrasting with dark materials but with dark or black inscription tablets being the norm. The monuments of the Exeter tomb makers, discussed at length in chapter four, are typically made of a fine limestone with black inscription tablets.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the extent and variety of the trading activities carried out in the southwest peninsular counties and how that trade generated wealth. Contemporary writers such as Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe thought it appropriate to comment on the extent of the textile trade in general and the serge trade in particular and they provide a clear indication of the scale and importance of commercial activities in the region, especially in Exeter. More recent studies have proved that mineral extraction, notably tin mining, was of vital importance to the economy of Cornwall at this time.

From an analysis of the types of people commemorated by church monuments it has been shown that the lack of any quantifiable aristocracy in the two counties, as defined by hereditary titles, is made up for by a substantial local landed gentry who provided for themselves and their families the bulk of the monuments seen in the period under review. Traders and merchants, especially within Exeter, formed a recognisable social group and they too could afford a lasting memorial. As a contemporary writer, the importance of John Prince cannot be ignored and some of the biographical details he provides are of considerable importance in recording the lineage and social position of some of those commemorated in the region.

An initial analysis of the wills of many of those commemorated by a monument indicates the extent to which they were concerned with arranging their estates before death and, in a small number of specific instances, providing a permanent memorial to their memory. The death ritual and the role of the church was more than ceremonial as it allowed for an opportunity to glorify local patrons. The employment of local materials enabled the aspirations of the church and of local benefactors to be brought to an aesthetic conclusion that satisfied the needs of the parish élite. Lastly, the materials from which the monuments are made have been considered along with the availability of those materials, especially limestone and the significance of the Beer quarries in particular thus showing that most of the materials used for church monuments in the region were sourced locally.

CHAPTER 3 Distribution and Component Analysis

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the patterns of church monument distribution during the period c1660-c1730 within the southwest peninsular counties. The patterns of distribution are initially examined for the whole region, then scrutinised for each county and finally analysed chronologically. The range and variety of monument forms are then considered along with the arrangement and significance of the individual component parts including a discussion of allegorical components. It must be stated from the outset that the date of death recorded on the monument cannot be assumed to be the date when the monument was made. However, for statistical purposes, the date recorded on the monument is the one by which the monument has been categorized.

Part 1 Geographical and Chronological Distribution.

In total, the research has identified 266 monuments of the period c1660-c1730 in Devon and 84 in Cornwall. This gives a grand total of 350 although this thesis does not claim that this is the definitive number of monuments for Devon and Cornwall for the period under review. In order to aid the analysis, a small number of monuments have been included that date from either the late 1650's or the early 1730's because they conform to types found at either end of the period.

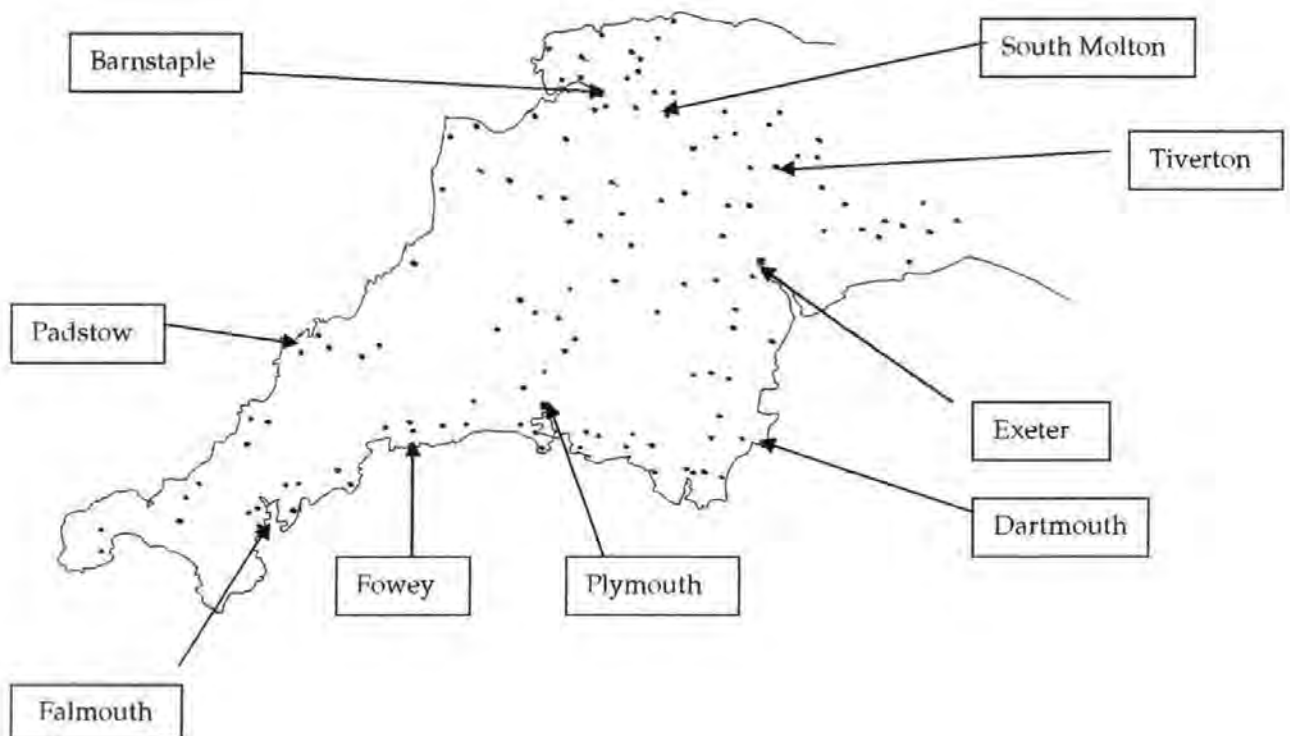
A casual glance at the patterns of distribution (figure 1) for monuments of the period in the two counties would suggest a somewhat random

dispersal, especially in Devon. As has been shown in chapter two, Exeter was by far the wealthiest city in the region and with its general trading and mercantile connections, probably the busiest. Chapter two has also stated that this wealth was largely derived from the serge and related trades and that Exeter contains the most monuments within any town in the peninsular counties - 32 known monuments or 12% of those known to exist within Devon. As will be shown in chapter four, evidence has emerged to show that Exeter possessed a significant workshop engaged in monument manufacture and the mere fact of having an important workshop in the city may have contributed to the numbers of monuments found there. The cathedral has the largest single collection of monuments of the period in the city with 7 examples. The parish church of St Mary Arches has 6 examples; St Martin and St Petrock have 4 examples each while St Stephen and St Michael and All Angels have 2 examples each. The parish churches of St Thomas and St Pancras have one example each. There is clear evidence to show that some monuments in the city have been lost. At least two monuments of the period have been lost from the Cathedral – almost certainly as a result of bombing in World War II but lost monuments are illustrated by Beatrix Cresswell Exeter Churches 1908 and Peter Thomas and Jacqueline Warren Aspects of Exeter 1980. Cresswell illustrates the monument of Sir Benjamin Oliver, died 1672 formerly in St John's church while Thomas and Warren show an interior view of the same church where two monuments of the period can be seen.

While these two monuments are unnamed, one appears to be the work of John Weston of Exeter.¹

Although not immediately clear from the map shown below, the distribution pattern reveals that there are three monuments of the period 1660 – 1730 situated within Dartmoor National Park at Chagford 1664, Cornwood 1696 and Peter Tavy 1722. No monuments have been found within the modern boundary of Bodmin Moor.

Figure 1. Distribution of Monuments within the southwest peninsular counties



¹ St John's church was demolished in 1937; the tower remained standing for another 20 years but was pulled down in 1957. There is no evidence to suggest that the monuments were relocated. For other demolished churches in Exeter see Bryan Little *Exeter and its Surroundings*, Batsford 1953.

An analysis of the coastal region from Dartmouth, around the southern coasts of Devon and Cornwall and half way up the northern Cornish coast to Padstow and slightly beyond reveals an interesting distribution pattern in that there is a definite concentration of monuments of the period along the coastal regions of the two counties. For Cornwall, the majority of the monuments of the period have been found in the coastal areas with only a few locations further inland and these are located near the western boundary with Devon and close to the Tamar river. The wealth of the coastal towns in this area has already been discussed in chapter two with much of the wealth of the area being the direct result of overseas as well as local trade. The wealth generated through trade would have provided sufficient funds for the importation of commemorative art although no records have yet been found detailing the actual import of any form of sculpture.

Modest clusters of monuments can be found centred on Kingsbridge, Plymouth, Looe, Fowey and Falmouth with smaller groupings around Penzance and Padstow. Other small semi-coastal groups have been identified in the area around Camborne and Newquay on the north Cornish coast. The monuments in these coastal regions are likely to have been manufactured elsewhere as there is no evidence, stylistic or documentary, to suggest otherwise. It can therefore be assumed that many of the monuments within these clusters were imported into the region via the considerable coastal trade that has been noted during the period.

As James Whetter has pointed out in his important study of seventeenth - century Cornwall, there was a marked increase in Cornish trade in the later part of the century and several merchants grew very wealthy but perhaps not all were entirely scrupulous in their business dealings.² The dubious trading practices of 'Mr Goodall' of Fowey have already been recorded in chapter two along with the equally uncertain commercial ethics of James Kemp of Penryn.³ However, by the late seventeenth century, Fowey had begun to suffer economically due to the expansion of trade in St Austell. The river Fal had considerable social and economic significance and the Trefusis monument dated 1680 at Mylor (C39) is a likely import into the far west of Cornwall via Falmouth. In Devon, the Boone family of Dartmouth had considerable mercantile dealings and the monument to Thomas Boone, discussed in chapter two and dated 1681, in St Clement's, Dartmouth (D76) is an elaborate piece, possibly from a minor metropolitan workshop. Monuments to merchants in Exeter were almost certainly made in the city.

A great deal of the Atlantic trade was centred on the north Devon ports of Bideford and Barnstaple and a significant cluster of monuments can be seen radiating from Barnstaple.⁴ Within a 9 mile radius of Barnstaple there are 19 parishes that contain monuments of the period. Within this cluster there are 8 parishes that have 3 or more monuments:⁵ Tawstock,

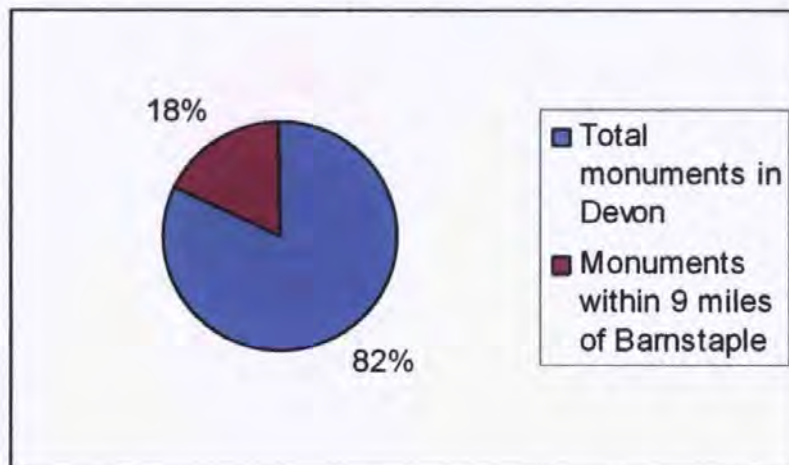
² See James Whetter *Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century* 1974, Padstow p143-72 for an explanation of the extent of Cornish trade at this time.

³ See below for an analysis of the Goodall monument of 1686 at Fowey. This monuments almost certainly would have been 'imported', possibly in one of Goodalls own ships

⁴ Many of the monuments in Barnstaple date from the earlier part of the seventeenth century and clearly reflect the towns commercial prosperity.

⁵ The radius of 9 miles from Barnstaple was selected on the distance from the town to the village of Morthoe on the coast at Morte Point.

the seat of the Earls of Bath, has the finest collection of monuments in any parish church in the peninsular counties and contains no fewer than 13 from the period under review. Only those in Exeter cathedral rival the Tawstock collection for chronological diversity and sheer numbers. Braunton, Shirwell, Swimbridge and Heanton Punchardon have 5 examples each, Barnstaple has 4 examples and the parishes of Arlington, Bishops Tawton and Loxhore have 3 examples each. Bittadon, Abbotsham, East Down and Atherington each have 2 examples while Morthoe, Combe Martin, Pilton, Huntshaw, Yarnscombe, Chittlehampton and Charles have but 1 example each.



Percentage of monuments within a 9 mile radius of Barnstaple

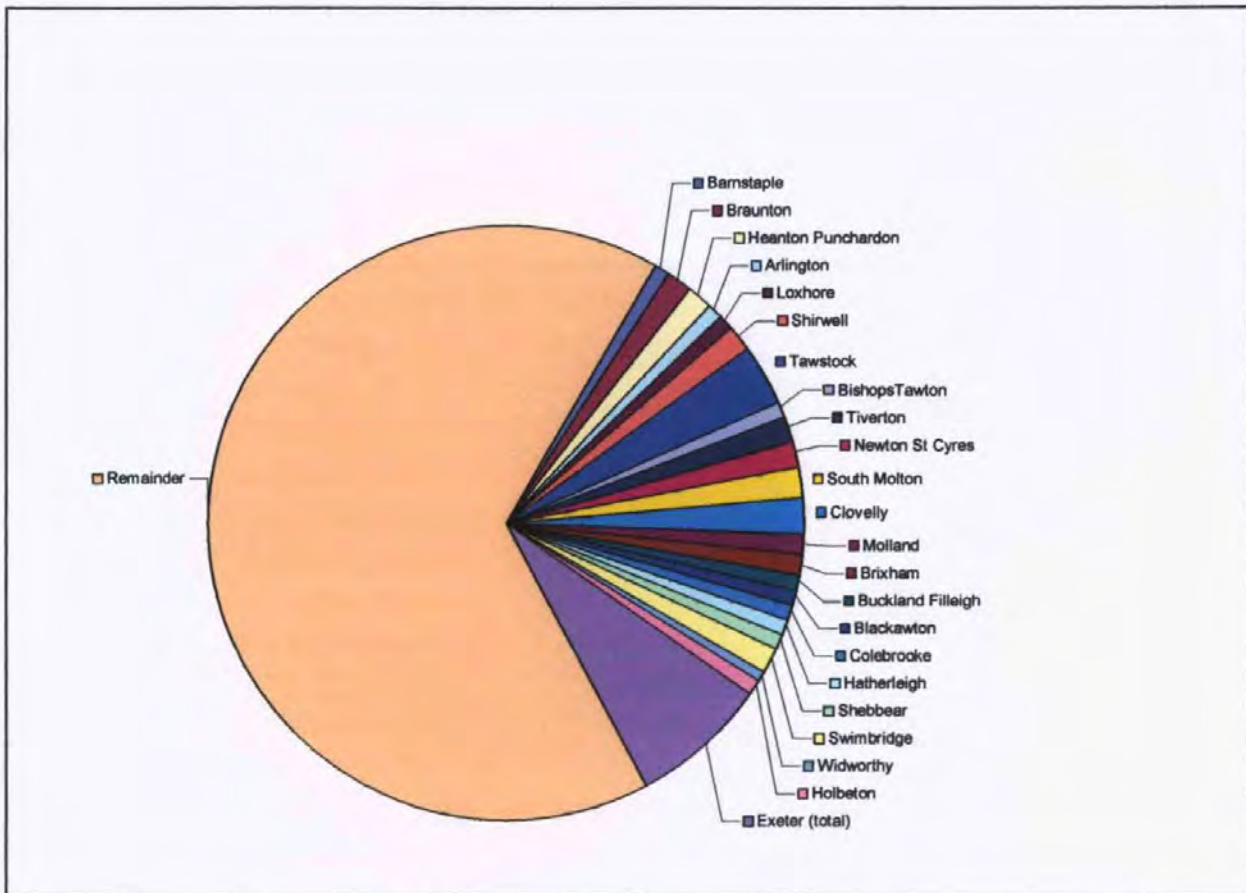
In percentage terms, within this radius from Barnstaple there are a total of 59 monuments or 18% of all those found in Devon for this period. While this number is obviously bolstered by the remarkable collection at Tawstock, it still represents a very high density within a small area.

Of these 59 monuments, 24 have been observed to possess features that suggest they could be the products of the Barnstaple workshop. This workshop, its products and the only identified monument makers associated with the town, Thomas Jewell, father and son, will be discussed at greater length in chapter four.

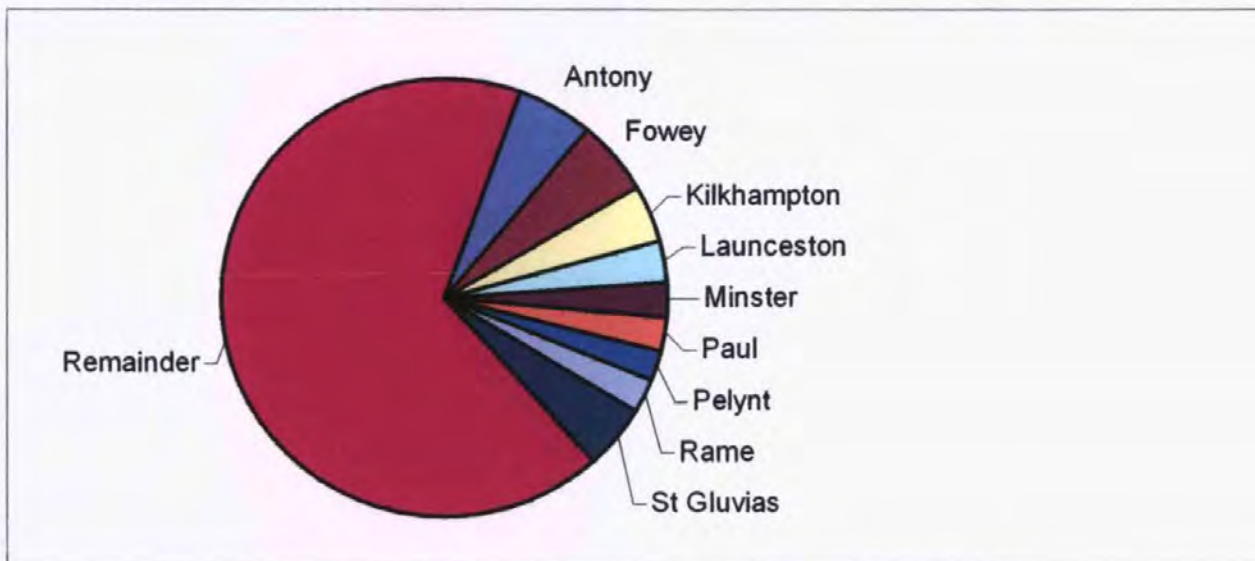
For the area north of Dartmoor towards Barnstaple, west towards Holsworthy and east towards Tiverton and Honiton, the pattern of distribution is surprisingly even but few parishes contain more than one monument of the period. There are however significant collections dating from c1660-c1730 with the churches at Clovelly, which has 7 examples, South Molton with 6 examples and Tiverton and Newton St Cyres containing 5 examples each.

This thesis has identified many of the eight Cary family monuments at Clovelly as being of Exeter manufacture although there is stylistic evidence to suggest that at least one, possibly two could have been made in Barnstaple. That the Carys chose to have the majority of their family monuments made in an Exeter workshop is an indication of the consistent and continuing patronage of a workshop by one family. Despite the size of the county and the distance by road from Clovelly to Exeter, the family had a choice – either use a local workshop (Barnstaple) or one that was better placed to meet their needs (Exeter).

Analysis of monument distribution for Devon & Cornwall



Churches in Devon with three or more monuments



Churches in Cornwall with three or more monuments

From the pie chart for Devon it can be seen that, including Exeter, there are 23 locations out of 117 (or 20%) that contain three monuments or more. A remarkably similar situation exists for Cornwall as can be seen in the second chart where 9 locations out of 39 (or 23%) have three or more monuments. The reasons for this surprising similarity despite the differences in numbers are probably associated with the familial commemorative traditions of wealthy social élites. For example, the chancel of Clovelly church, as already considered, is entirely given over to monuments of the Cary family. This series of eight monuments dates from the mid seventeenth century through to the early eighteenth century. As a group, this important series of monuments will be discussed at length later in the thesis and familial commemorative traditions as a whole are a theme that will be explored more fully in chapter five. The Clovelly group is a highly significant collection that is representative of a strong familial commemorative tradition albeit over a relatively short time span.

Part 2 Chronological Distribution

A reasonable time-scale for the erection of a monument would be about five years after the date of death but there are known instances where a monument was erected quite some time after death and therefore almost certain to be in a style that would not have been recognised by the commemorated person or persons. An extreme example of this late monument erection is the monument at Kilkhampton to Sir Beville Grenville who died of wounds received at the battle of Landsowne in 1643 (C25); the actual monument was finally erected by his grandson as late as 1714.

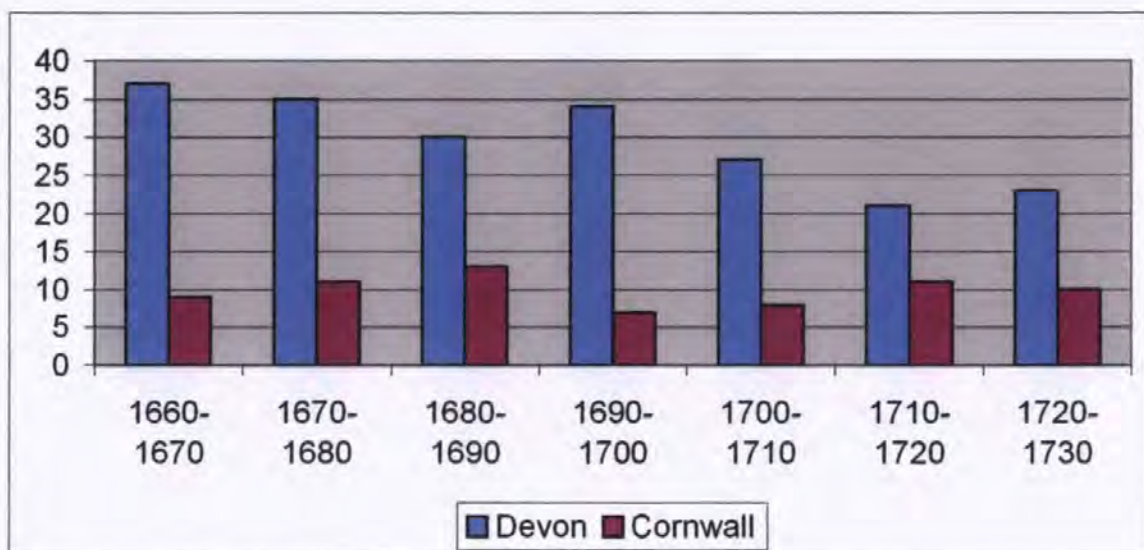


Figure 2 Distribution of monuments by county

From the above chart it can be seen that the period 1660-1690 shows the greatest collective number of monuments being erected – a remarkably consistent combined total of 46 per decade – with Cornwall showing a decade on decade increase, albeit a very modest one, from 1660-1690. This modest rise in the number of Cornish monuments is followed by a sharp drop, by almost half from 13 to 7, in the decade 1690-1700, which is then followed by another very modest but nevertheless sustained rise. The reasons for this hiatus are unclear and are possible related to a downturn in economic prosperity. By contrast, Devon shows a gradual fall in the number of monuments erected from 1660 to 1690 (from 37 in the decade 1660-1670 to 30 in the decade 1680-1690), a slight recovery in the decade 1690-1700 and then another sustained fall up to 1720 and with only a slight recovery during the decade 1720-1730. It is essential to bear in mind the modest numbers involved, especially for Cornwall, and that the data for the county shows only nine monuments in the period 1660 – 1670 and thirteen in the period 1680-1690. With such modest

numbers, any fluctuation will have a readily visible effect on the distribution graph.

Trade fluctuations may account for some of the turbulence in these numbers with the expansion of the Cornish tin industry after the Restoration being a possible factor.⁶

Certainly, as the eighteenth century progressed smaller and simpler monuments were being erected nationally. Large, expensive and grandiose monuments gradually falling from favour and in that respect the southwest peninsular counties were broadly following national trends.

Part 3 Typological Distribution and Component Analysis

Nationally, a key distinguishing feature of Baroque period monuments is the almost universal rejection of the recumbent effigy or effigies as the principal component of the monument. While effigial sculpture, either standing, reclining, or, more rarely, seated, remains an important component of monuments by metropolitan artists, many other monuments, especially those made in the shire counties and more remote areas, do not employ effigial forms: they rely instead on the inscription as the main focal point of the composition. Another defining feature of Baroque monuments is their position within the church. The Baroque

⁶ See CGA Clay *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700* Vol. II Cambridge University Press 1984. pp 64-82 where the expansion and financing of the Cornish tin industry from 1660 is analysed. The Godolphin family in west Cornwall financed large scale mining operations but their only family monument of the period is that to Sidney Earl Godolphin, Chief Minister to Queen Anne, died 1712 and buried in Westminster Abbey. His monument includes a bust and was sculpted by Francis Bird (1667-1731).

period saw the final phasing out of large, free-standing monuments; the large-scale monuments that were produced at this time tended to be built against the walls of the church and employ classically derived architectural features that act more as a frame than a housing. Smaller monuments also make extensive use of classically inspired architecture with the inscription being the main focus of the composition although portrait sculpture in the form of busts or, toward to the end of the period, medallions is often as prominent as the inscription. One of the defining characteristics of south-west peninsular counties monuments of the Baroque period is the almost complete dominance of the inscription panel within the design of the piece - the written word replaces earlier iconographic representations and monument forms now revolve around a moderate repertoire of architectural and decorative features.

Only two examples are known to exist within the southwest peninsular counties that display the essential qualities of an effigial English Baroque monument. The actual qualities of a monument of the period have proved to be notoriously difficult to define as the Baroque style, in its extreme forms, involves a degree of emotional intensity and, for commemorative sculpture, involvement with the spectator. The prime example of this is the monument at Ashburnham, Sussex to William Ashburnham, died 1676 by John Bushnell. Here the male figure is portrayed with his hands gesticulating outwards in a gesture of grief over the dead body of his wife who is crowned by a flying putto. The key elements of the quintessential Baroque monument would include a flamboyant style, the manipulation of the classical orders of architecture and the use of *contrapposto* in effigial

forms. Less exuberant monuments than this are, of course, frequently found. Although not as elaborate they deploy a consistent repertoire of stylistic devices. Metropolitan manufactured or inspired monuments make extensive use of white marble for the key components of the composition and wall monuments, for which the period is particularly noted, make extensive use of supporting console brackets, unfluted Italian Renaissance style columns with variants on Corinthian capitals and cartouches, often enclosed within scrolls resembling rolled up paper. The cartouche as a monumental form in its own right is also frequently seen and is fully discussed later in this chapter.

Within the south-west peninsular counties, no locally or regionally produced monuments of the period 1660-1730 can be identified as quintessential examples of memorial sculpture of the period although some cartouche monuments such as that to Henry Northleigh, dated 1693 at Exeter St Michael and All Angels (D110) have many of the qualities of metropolitan examples. As will be shown in chapter four, the peninsular counties, like other regions of the country, imported monumental sculpture from metropolitan and other workshops but the lack of signed examples makes positive attribution difficult; a reliance on stylistic analysis being constantly problematic. The Eliot monument at St Germans, dated 1722 and an early work by JM Rysbrack (C53) is the prime example within the peninsular counties of a piece of metropolitan Baroque commemorative sculpture. With its employment of Roman armour and a reclining pose for the male figure, a seated and melancholic pose of the female figure and winged putti supporting a portrait medallion

against an obelisk that is itself positioned in front of an architectural backdrop this is an up-to-date example of English Baroque commemorative art, albeit a restrained one.⁷

The Harris monument, dated 1726 at Stowford (D197), is the only other monument in Devon or Cornwall that has any key elements of a quintessential effigial Baroque monument. Almost certainly a metropolitan product despite the highly questionable quality of the figure carving, the monument shows two figures standing either side of a steeply sided trapezoidal sarcophagus, the front of which carries the inscription that is itself surmounted by a triangular obelisk. The monument stands on a box tomb, the figures standing either side of the sarcophagus with the male figure to the left and the female to the right. The backdrop is formed of a broken pediment supported on thin pilasters and with a swagged cartouche beneath the pediment. Like Edward Eliot, Christopher Harris wears Roman armour but he also wears a full-bottomed wig in the Baroque fashion. His left hand is raised to the chest while the right hand, shown with drapery behind, is moving away from the body in a very restrained quasi-operatic posture. His right foot is also turned away from the body thus accentuating the contrapposto pose. The figure of Mary Harris is more controlled in that she is shown wearing a full skirt which she gently gathers in her left hand while the right hand is tentatively brought to the level of her right breast. In both instances the heads are turned inwards and their gaze does not engage with the spectator.

⁷ This monument is more fully discussed in chapter four.

As would be reasonable to suppose, many monuments within the southwest peninsular counties display strikingly similar characteristics thereby strongly suggesting local manufacture and it is possible to identify groups of monuments that could be ascribed to a local workshop. With the exception of known artists, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, the precise location of this regional workshop cannot be proved but the available evidence points to Exeter. This also will be more fully explored in chapter four.

To single out any monument within the region as illustrating the definitive qualities of a particular West Country style would be extremely difficult.⁸ Although geographically removed from the principal centres of influence, considerable variations are evident within peninsular counties church monuments despite an adherence to established forms.

The engraved slate plate, used internally and externally, is the most basic monumental form of encountered during the period but few internal examples have been found despite their popularity, especially in Cornwall and west Devon, during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Examples of inscription-only slate plates occur at Shebbear on the Rigsby and Battishill monuments of 1699 (D183) and 1666, at Black Torrington on the Bampfield and Coham monuments of 1721 (D24 & D25).

⁸ The identification of regional or local workshops will be discussed later but a casual glance at the corpus of identified monuments of the period suggests that the output of named sculptors is much greater than previously known and that the products of previously unidentified workshops can be seen.

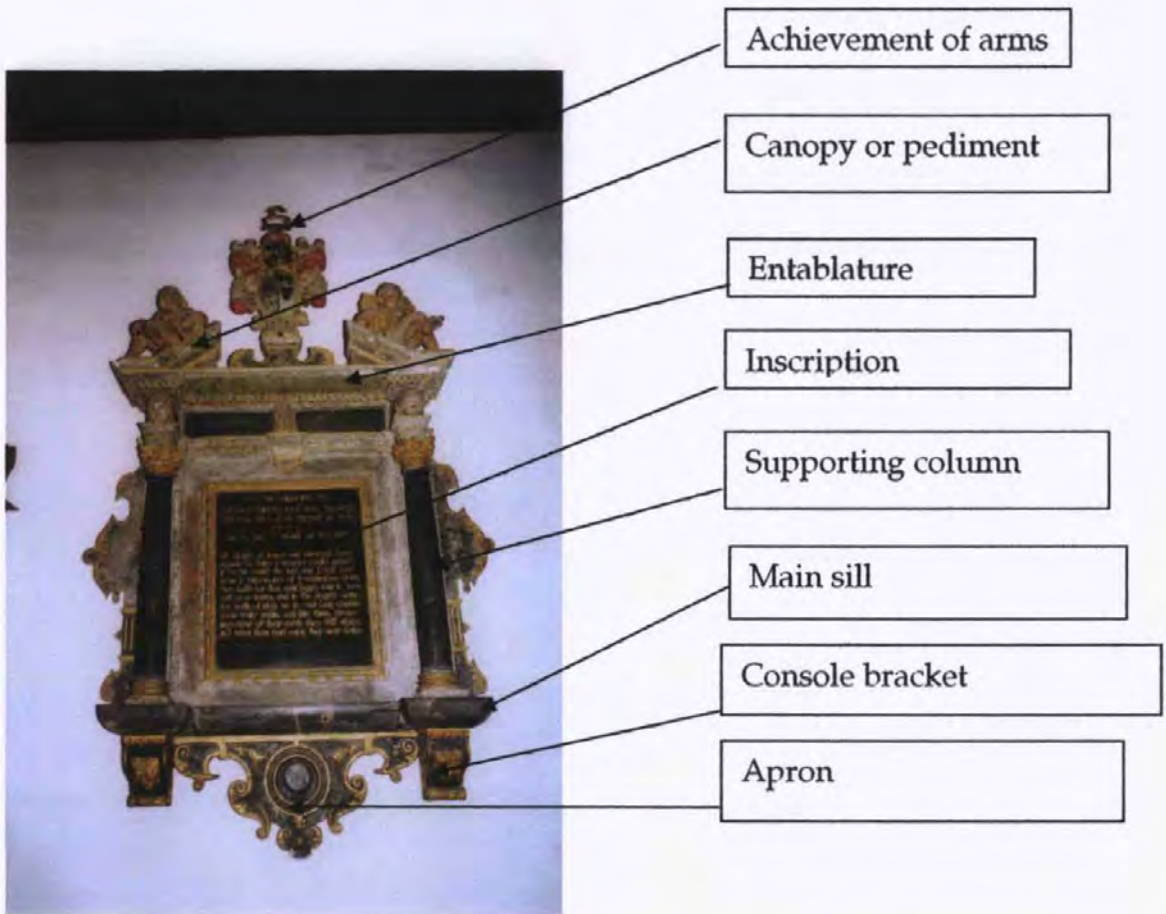
Examples portraying the human form exist at Michaelstow to Jane Merrifield, 1662 (not illustrated), at Lamorran to John Veryan 1666 (not illustrated), at Iddesleigh, to Willmotta Veale, 1681 (not illustrated), and at St Enodoc to John Mably and daughter, 1687 (not illustrated).⁹ The Michaelstow and St Enodoc examples are particularly crude in their portrayal of the effigy. Wall mounted plain inscribed slabs that are not made of slate are occasionally found with examples at Kingsbridge to William Duncombe 1698 and Grace Blancheflower 1683 (not illustrated) and Revd Trosse 1678 at Dawlish (not illustrated) but such monuments have not formed any noteworthy aspect of this research.

The standard format for interior sculpted memorials in the period c1660-c1730 is the hanging wall monument.¹⁰ The monument to Francis Drewe, dated 1675 at Broadhembury, Devon (D38) is a good example of the conventional style for a hanging wall monument and it has a format and content that can be used as a benchmark for understanding the arrangement of the component parts of the monumental style of the period nationally. In addition to the style and format of the monument, this example is also illustrative of the types of materials used in the typical peninsular counties monument, how particular materials are employed and the colour schemes used.

⁹ Other examples are the monuments to Arthur Plebie 1699 at Cubert, Anne Venton 1728 at Buckland Filleigh The John Yeo tablet at Hatherleigh 1662 is an incised plate that would also fall within this category.

¹⁰ Major exceptions to the hanging wall monument type are the Eliot monument 1722 at St Germans, the Lady Narborough monument at Wembury 1678, and the Bouchiere d1659 and Fane d1680 monuments at Tawstock. The Eliot monument is built against a wall at the back of St Germans church while the others are all free standing but the Lady Narborough has been moved from the chancel area to the rear of the church.

Typical hanging wall monument – Monument to Francis Drewe.



This monument, selected on the basis of it being a typical example of a peninsular counties monument of the period 1660-1730 is of the hanging wall type where the inscription is enclosed by columns which carry an entablature and pediment.

The Drewe monument consists of a vertically orientated framed inscription tablet set within a surround decorated with stylised acanthus leaves that follow a tessellated design.¹¹ The wording of the inscription is very simple and about two thirds of the space is occupied by a eulogising verse. Two plain columns with classically inspired capitals flank the inscription and stand forward of the inscription surround. The columns support an entablature with the frieze bearing three human masks. Above the horizontal cornice is an open pediment on which recline two naked winged figures, each holding objects representative of death: in this instance a skull, an hour-glass and an inverted torch. It appears that both putti originally held torches but only that to the right of the spectator survives.¹² An achievement of arms is placed centrally within the pediment and raised on a short scrolled plinth. The supporting columns stand on a projecting sill that is in turn supported by two console brackets – in this instance decorated with lion masks – while between the brackets is an apron in the form of a scrolled decorative arrangement.¹³

The design of this and similar monuments is symmetrical about a vertical centre line and all are taller than they are wide. Such a monument is essentially two-dimensional with the inscription tablet at its centre, for which there is a special significance. Black or a suitably dark material was

¹¹ If the Drewe monument is taken as a typical example of the hanging monument format it is also appropriate to know a little of the person commemorated. Typically, information is scant but it is known that Francis Drewe was the grandson of Edward Drewe who had been Sergeant-at-Law to Elizabeth 1 and who died in 1622. He built a large H plan house, The Grange, in 1602-3 on the site of the grange of Dunkeswell abbey. His son Thomas, who we must assume was the father of Francis, completed the house.

¹² Sometimes these additional components were made of wood and the socket on the left putto seems to indicate that this is indeed the case here.

¹³ The significance of this actual design is fully explored in chapter four.

a deliberate choice in many instances as it can be interpreted as a subtle reference to death, a life now non-existent and formless.

Part 4 Materials and their applications

From the corpus of identified examples, the most commonly used material for commemorative sculpture of the period 1660-1730 within the southwest peninsular counties is limestone. The availability, transportation and likely sources of this material have been outlined in chapter two. White, grey or veined marble is also used but it is not as common as limestone and the general shift in favour of the pale marbles is a developing feature of the period. Nationally, from about 1660 the use of true marble became increasingly widespread and even within the peninsular counties, traditionally somewhat behind metropolitan developments, it is used with increasing frequency for a variety of monuments. By the end of the period, marble is used almost to the exclusion of other materials. Most of the limestone employed in memorial sculpture within the peninsular counties did not compare with the finer grades quarried at Beer or the famous Portland limestone found further east. A noticeably finer grade of limestone, which is almost white, can be seen on the monument to Sir John Davie, 1692 at Sandford (D182). At the time of writing it is not known where this material might have originated.¹⁴

¹⁴ This monument may be an import from a workshop located outside the region. It will be discussed more fully in chapter 4.

The village of Beer lies to the west of Seaton in east Devon and the Old Quarry, situated entirely underground, has been worked from as early as the Roman period.¹⁵ This Cretaceous period limestone has the advantage that when freshly quarried it can be cut easily with a handsaw and then hardens on exposure to the atmosphere.¹⁶ Beer limestone has been employed for both interior and exterior work in many east Devon churches, as well as Exeter Cathedral where it was used externally from the early twelfth century. It was also used in south Devon for external work, especially for those churches that could easily be reached by sea.

Beer stone was used externally at Blackawton and would have been imported via the port of Dartmouth which is only 5 miles away from the village. Its external use at Marlborough and West Alvington were as a direct result of easy transport from Kingsbridge or, less likely, Salcombe where the distances are four miles and one mile respectively. The Old Quarry at Beer was at the peak of production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while the New Quarry continued to produce serviceable stone until well into the twentieth century. Leland, writing in the sixteenth century, does not record the Old Quarry and no references to the quarries from seventeenth or eighteenth-century travellers to the region have been found.¹⁷

¹⁵ The 'New Quarry' at Beer, also underground was opened in 1883 and much of this material has been used in church restoration. Both Old and New quarries are now closed.

³⁵ The Cretaceous period rocks were formed between 146 – 65 million years ago.

¹⁷ John Leyland *Itinerary- Travel in Tudor England*. Reprinted by John Chandler 1993.

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Dean Jeremiah Milles states that Beer

*was famous for an excellent kind of freestone which is of a light yellowish colour when first hewn out of ye rock..... resembles exactly the Bath stone only it is rather softer*¹⁸

In 1822 Lysons¹⁹ simply records Beer stone being despatched by boat to various destinations, while Henry de la Beche in his 1839 Report on the Geology of Cornwall, Devon and West Somerset has little to say about the quarry despite the importance of the material.²⁰ De la Beche also provides interesting information on the decorative uses of the harder limestones now often referred to as 'marble', but provides no references or suggestions as to their uses in commemorative sculpture. Other smaller quarries in east Devon were far less notable than Beer, but they were of considerable local importance in medieval and later times, but most probably as sources of building stone rather than the finer grades required for quality carving.

Alabaster is also very occasionally seen. Usually pink or with a myriad of pink and red veins running through it, the alabaster used in peninsular counties monuments almost certainly originated from the area of north Somerset.

¹⁸ Jeremiah Milles Bodleian Library *MS Parochial Collection*. Top Devon. C8.

¹⁹ Lysons Revd D and S *Magna Britannia Vol 6 Devonshire* 1822

²⁰ Henry T de la Beche *Report on the Geology of Cornwall, Devon and West Somerset*, London, 1839.

One monument that might be made of alabaster is that at Bittadon to Edward Pointz dated 1691 (D21). The sill, inscription frame, apron, weeping putti and entablature are made of a veined material that resembles alabaster that is known to have been quarried in north Somerset. The open segmental canopy and reclining angels are made of limestone. The oval inscription tablet is dark grey marble. At Ashprington, the upper cornice on the Kelland monument dated 1692 (D7) is possibly also made of alabaster while the kneeling effigy, cornice and arch on the monument of John Roe, died 1657, at St Minver (C61) is almost certainly alabaster. Slate is occasionally seen as in the monuments at Black Torrington to Benoni Bampfield dated 1721, (D24) and Mary Coham dated 1725 (D25). By the 1660's, the slate monuments so frequently seen in Cornwall in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries are in steep decline and the incised effigial plates at St Enodoc and Michaelstow are extremely crude.

White marble started to be used for commemorative sculpture in increasing quantities after the Restoration. John Weston of Exeter, working in the early eighteenth century and whose work will be discussed at length in chapter four, made extensive use of white marble for his monuments. An expensive imported material, there are few monuments in the peninsular counties that use white marble but important examples can be found at Tawstock on the large monument to Henry Bouchier, 3rd Earl of Bath 1657 by Thomas Burman (D210) and the monument to his wife Rachel Fane, died 1680 by Bathazar Burman (D211), Thomas's son.

Also at Tawstock are the white marble monuments to Sir Bouchier Wrey dated 1696 (D214), Lady Rolle dated 1705 (not illustrated), Florence Wrey dated 1724 (D206) and Sir Henry Northcote dated 1732 (D215), all the work of Thomas Jewell of Barstaple.²¹ The monument at Stowford to Christopher and Mary Harris dated 1726 (D197) is a possible metropolitan product made of white marble with a black marble tomb chest and short triangular obelisk. Possibly the most important monument in the two counties is that at St Germans to Edward Eliot dated 1724 by JM Rysbrack (C53), a London-made piece in white marble.

While marble was the sole material on many monuments, especially cartouches, and it was also employed in conjunction with other, more locally obtained, materials. This is particularly well illustrated on the huge Davie monument of 1709 at Buckland Brewer (D40) where the entablature and canopy, console brackets and volutes are carved from what appears to be differing grades of limestone and the angels that stand on the main sill and outside of the supporting columns appear to be carved from a fine grade limestone. The main and subsidiary inscription panels are of white marble while the sill and supporting columns are of black marble.²² An instance where key component parts of a monument might have been bought in can be seen on the monument at St Mellion to Sir William Coryton dated 1711 (C59).

²¹ There were two Thomas Jewells of Barnstaple, father and son. Their work is fully discussed in chapter 4.

²² This monument is a likely product of the Jewells of Barnstaple, an attribution that is justified in chapter 4

Here the bulk of the monument is made from a fairly fine-grained limestone. However, the four supporting columns at the front of the composition, a single column at the rear on the side of the male figure and three pilasters, one on the male side and two on the female side, are made of grey-veined marble. These columns and pilasters are fluted and rest on limestone bases carry composite Corinthian capitals, also in limestone. This curious mixture of materials is not easily explained but the possibility must exist that the workshop responsible for the monument either bought in the pieces ready made to order or incorporated this material simply because it was readily available, possibly already existing in the workshop. Typically, statuary marble is fine grained. This permits the rendering of delicate detail and the material takes a high polish very well. Examples of fine detailing in marble can be seen at Braunton on the monument to Margaret Allen (D30) dated 1709,²³ at Exeter cathedral on the Benjamin Dollen monument dated 1700 (D91), on the Putt monument dated 1686 at Gittisham (D122), and at Antony on the Carew monument dated 1731 (C2).²⁴

²³ This monument has been identified as the work of Thomas Jewell of Barnstaple and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4

²⁴ This monument, described by Rupert Gunnis, has been identified as the work of Thomas Carter despite the lack of an obvious signature. It is clearly an imported piece, probably of metropolitan manufacture even without the possible attribution. The monument to Sir John Molesworth and wife Jane 1735 at Egloshayle, Cornwall, has been identified as the work of Henry Cheere – see M Baker 'Roubiliac and Cheere in the 1730's and 40's' *Church Monuments* Vol.X 1995pp. 90-109 – and this monument has distinctive curving volutes of the same basic format as seen on the Carew monument at Antony. The suggestion is that this feature, unknown in the southwest peninsular counties at this time, originated from a metropolitan workshop, which, while not confirming the production of the Carew piece as a metropolitan product, certainly adds weight to the argument that it might be.

The visual effects created by using different coloured materials were not lost on West Country monument makers but the increasing use of white or veined marble heralded the decreasing use of colour in a composition. By the end of the period colour was hardly used at all except for the tinctures on shields of arms or the discreet use of gold highlights.

It was the visual richness of the materials that became increasingly significant from the 1720's. The Lovett monument of 1700 at Tawstock (D205) is a good illustration of the point. The inscription is in black marble, the pilasters are of grey veined marble and other structural components appear to be of pink alabaster.

A dark marble background contrasting with a white or very lightly coloured marble foreground object is another technique employed for visual effect. The Calmady monument of 1694 at Wembury (D227) shows this to good effect where the white marble baldacchino with the inscription is placed on a dark marble background with arch, sill and aprons all of the same material. Painted limestone cartouches, one now lost, stand at the ends of the canopy with a painted urn in the top centre.

Countering this use of contrasting coloured marbles is the monument made all of one material. This can be seen at Camborne on the Pendarves monument of 1726 (C8) where there is no evidence of polychromy ever having been used apart from highlighting the lettering of the inscription and we must be open to the possibility that this may have been repainted.

Monuments made of or employing wood exist from the medieval and Renaissance periods but the significance here is that the material was used at all given the availability of stone or marble in its various forms. A few fully recumbent wooden effigies exist from the medieval period and in very rare instances effigies were constructed of a wooden core and overlaid with metal plates but in the early modern period, wooden monuments are scarce and are universally of the inscription tablet format.²⁵

Five monuments in Devon have been found to be made of painted wood and of these two are clearly by the same hand. No wooden monuments of the period have been found in Cornwall. The earliest wooden monument is that at Ashton to Sir George Chudleigh, dated 1657(D8). At Christow the Elizabeth Gibbon monument (D54) dated 1660 follows the same basic format and the painting style, especially in the depiction of the armorial bearing at the top, clearly indicates a common origin. The Chudleigh monument, discussed at length in later chapters, comprises three main sections, a lower inscription panel, a central panel with 24 shields of arms and an upper curved section with a single display of arms complete with supporters and mantling. The Gibbon piece is a simpler affair with an inscription panel with a curved top. The inscription panel on the Chudleigh monument is made up of two wide boards placed horizontally, the upper section has three boards also placed horizontally while the

²⁵ Two important medieval monuments in Westminster Abbey are made of a wooden core overlaid with metal plates. One is that to William de Valence, died 1296 while the other is that to King Henry V died 1422. The de Valence monument is French in style and the figure, lying on a tomb chest, is decorated with plates of Limoges enamel. The Henry V monument originally had the wooden core covered in silver plates and with the king's head in silver with gold teeth.

centre section has three boards placed vertically. The Gibbon monument is made of two very wide boards placed vertically.

At Lynton, the small painted wooden monument to Thomas Grose dated 1734 (D151), has an inscription panel made up of four vertical boards set within a semi-circular-topped frame. While the painted decoration on this monument is discussed later, the overtly religious symbolism displayed on the frame sides and top – the inverted equilateral triangle with Hebrew lettering at the top being a clear representation of the Trinity – would have been unthinkable at the beginning of the period under review.

At Trusham, the monument to John and Mary Stooke dated 1697 (D224) is made of wood but this is not apparent until the piece is examined very closely. The key feature of the monument is the employment of two oval portrait busts that rest on a cornice above an inscription tablet all enclosed within a very shallow arch. Two Corinthian pilasters support an entablature with a simple pediment. The whole monument has been extensively painted to resemble stone and marble.

Two other monuments that are made of wood but have been painted to resemble marble can be seen at Paracombe on the Walter Lock monument of 1667 (D172) and at Tawstock on the George Fane memorial of 1668 (D207). Both monuments feature a stone inscription tablet set within a wooden surround or frame. The Lock monument, the simpler of the two, has a black inscription set within a simple black frame that has been

grained. Similarly, the Fane monument has a white marble inscription tablet set within a more elaborate frame where the wood has been painted in order to emulate veined marble, indeed it requires very close inspection to prove that the frame is wooden, such is the quality of the paintwork.²⁶

Brass, once commonly used within church monuments, is only rarely used in the period 1660-1730 and surviving examples of this material in the peninsular counties show it used on inscription plates as seen at Landulph on the monument to Sir Nicholas Lower 1655 (not illustrated) and at Woodland on the Thomas Culling monument of 1670(D235).²⁷ The Lower monument has a shield of arms engraved on a projection above the inscription all enclosed within a plain moulded surround. The Culling monument has the inscription plate placed within a brass frame with applied decoration and the engraved achievement of arms, placed in the top centre of the plate, is particularly delicate.

Part 5 Inscription panels

The key feature of hanging wall type monuments of the period 1660-1730 is the dominance within the design of the inscription panel. Reference has been made in chapter two to inscriptions and eulogising verses with bar charts to record the instances by decade of the uses of Latin and the vernacular. Instances of Greek being used in the inscription can be seen on the monuments to Francis Trefusis, dated 1680 at Mylor(C39), where it

²⁶ It cannot be verified that this paintwork is original. The possibility must exist that it has been at some time repainted but the work is of the highest quality.

²⁷ The brass inscription plate to Dame Elizabeth Lower d 1638 adjoins the plate to Sir Nicholas.

is used for the opening two lines of the inscription, and on the monument of 1692 to James Railard (D94) in Exeter cathedral. A unique feature of the Capt. Hutchens monument of 1709 at Paul is the partial use of old Cornish (C45).

The eulogising verse, while clearly an additional part of the inscription in that it follows on from the basic details of the deceased, frequently invites its readers to stop and ponder the life and virtues of the deceased or they are reminded of the fate that ultimately awaits them. The Drewe monument is not untypical of the format in that the actual details of the deceased are very perfunctory. The inscription gives his name and title – in this instance Esquire – the day, month and year of death and his age at death. On this monument, the eulogising verse occupies about two thirds of the available space while the details of the deceased occupy the remaining third.

The reasons for the dominance of the inscription are concerned with the impact and predominance of the written word, increasing levels of literacy within society, the rejection of iconography and any personal interpretation of images as well as the survival of the puritan preference for preaching rather than ritual. On a more practical level, the production of figurative and other iconographical sculpture would not only have increased the costs of the monument but added to the time taken to produce it while letter cutting was cheap and an inscription panel could be produced quickly.

The seventeenth century was an increasingly literate age with the proliferation of political and religious pamphlets during the Civil War and Interregnum testifying to general literacy levels as a whole. With the emphasis clearly on the written word and the inscription panel being central to the experience of the monument for the spectator, peninsular counties examples display only a limited variety of inscription panel formats. Oval, square or rectangular are the most common with semi-circular top sections being seen on a number of square or rectangular panels. The panels, irrespective of format, are predominantly vertical. Oval inscription panels are occasionally convex and vertical, while horizontal flat or convex subsidiary oval panels are sometimes seen beneath the main sill. In some instances, as at Pilton on the Lethbridge monument of 1713 (D174), the degree of panel curvature is very pronounced.

A foliate surround, shown in a wide variety of types, or simple architectural moulding may border the inscription panel. In those instances where the monument is more in the form of a cartouche, invariably made of a single piece of material, the inscription is cut on a plain, frequently convex, central panel with the moulded edges of the cartouche forming the frame. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that strapwork decoration, a traditional feature of many late Elizabethan and early Jacobean decorative schemes, remained popular in the peninsular counties long after it has ceased to be used elsewhere. The apron format of an important group of Exeter-made monuments, identified in chapter four as the Main Group, owes much to the influences of earlier strapwork designs with one example, that to members of the Rodd family up to

1693/4 at Exeter St Stephen (D116), showing a decayed form of this decorative format.

The area on the typical peninsular counties hanging wall monument formed by the supporting columns, lower sill and upper cornice that contains the inscription panel is also frequently decorated. Where an oval inscription panel is seen, it is not uncommon to find winged cherub heads in the corner spandrels while other monuments employ a floral arrangement or similar decorative scheme. The decorative schemes that surround the inscriptions are as varied as any component on the monument but trends are discernible. Heavily carved surrounds are not common although notable examples do exist. At Antony on the Carew family monument of 1705 (not illustrated), the vertical oval inscription is set within a limestone panel decorated with heavily carved flowers, foliage, winged cherub heads and wreathed bird-winged skulls, all tied together with a gold painted ribbon. The Snell monument at Atherington dated 1707 (D9) has the vertical oval inscription panel set within a frame consisting of winged cherub heads in the upper corners, deeply cut palm fronds at the bottom and very delicately cut flowers and leaves between the two. Some inscriptions are very simply framed as in the Sir Robert Cary monument dated 1675 at Clovelly (D61) where there is no decoration at all other than very simple moulding to the actual frame of the central panel.

A few examples in north Devon employ remarkably similar features of heavily cut inscription surrounds consisting of winged cherub heads in the top corners, flowers and foliage at the sides, but with a loose grouping

of winged skulls and bones at the bottom. The John Davie monument at Buckland Brewer dated 1709(D40) is a notable example of this decorative scheme.²⁸

The lower sill is usually plain and made of black or dark marble. The supporting or console brackets, positioned towards the ends of the sill, vary in size and decoration. Plain console brackets with lion mask decoration are common while in north Devon, on larger examples, there is a tendency to use large brackets with heavy floral decoration. Single console brackets are the norm but the Bastard monument of 1703 at West Alvington(D229) and the Hooper monument at St Martin's, Exeter of 1715 (D100) have double brackets. The sill is occasionally gadrooned as at Bittadon (1691)(D21), Bishops Tawton, (D17) Braunton (D29)and Great Torrington (1698) (D123), Chawleigh (1703) (D49), Huntshaw (1704) (D141), South Molton (1709) (D193), Abbots Bickington (1710) (D1), Shirwell (1712) (D189), Pilton (1713)(D174), Camborne (1726) (C8) and Tawstock (1732 & 1700) (D215 & D205).

Rarely seen are subsidiary figures positioned outside the main frame of the monument but standing on the main sill. At Bittadon on the Pointz monument of 1691, cherubs clothed in simple drapery, one holding a skull, stand on the sill looking in towards the inscription. At Molland on the two Courtenay examples of 1727 and 1731 (D160 & D158) cherubs

²⁸ The same decorative scheme is used on the monument at Loxhore to Philip Hammond dated 1704 and on the monument to Sir Henry Northcote dated 1732 at Tawstock, signed by Jewell of Barnstaple. As will be discussed in chapter 4, it is considered by me that this artistic device is a hallmark of the Jewell workshop and other examples will be cited to reinforce this theory.

with simple drapery about their groin and falling in folds behind stand in front of the main pilasters, each cherub supporting an oval escutcheon of arms. The virtually identical examples at Bishops Tawton to Francis Chichester 1698 (D17) and at Great Torrington to Sarah Gooding 1698 (D123) have caryatid figure standing outside but next to the supporting columns.

Part 6 Cartouches

As a monumental type, the commemorative cartouche became popular from the 1660's until the 1730's and in the peninsular counties there are 27 examples in Devon and 6 in Cornwall. The examples found in the peninsular counties range in date from 1686 until 1728 with notable examples at Exeter St Michael and All Angels to Henry Northleigh dated 1693 (D110), at Harberton to Nicholas Browse dated 1696 (D126), at Paul to Capt. Elton 1710 (DC42), at Tiverton to Revd John Newte (D220) dated 1715 and signed by John Weston, and at Ipplepen on the Neyle family monument dated 1726 (D143).²⁹ These monuments typically consist of an inscription that is framed by foliate scrolls, drapery, and cherub heads appearing from behind drapery or foliage, and edging scrolls that resemble rolled paper. The actual surface on which the inscription is placed is seldom flat and frequently uses part of any drapery as a surface on which to display it. The bulbous or curved surface for the inscription is entirely in keeping with Baroque styles. An urn is occasionally seen at the top of the composition and an armorial bearing is another frequently encountered symbol.

The cartouche format satisfies the criteria of the Baroque monument in that it is frequently quite ostentatious but more importantly it openly manipulates existing design elements. The popularity of this particular form of monument lies in its completeness and its normally modest size often permitted these monuments to be secured either to the piers in the church or the walls thus saving space. Equally importantly, they could be placed near to the pew or seat of the deceased. No study has been found that is solely concerned with this monumental format but there is clear evidence that research into these monuments is long overdue. What has been observed within peninsular counties examples of cartouche monuments, are the interesting variations in quality.

Examples that were almost certainly produced locally can be seen at Halberton on the Clark monument dated 1728 (D125) and at Madron on the Borlase/Harris cartouche of 1725 (C32).

Part 7 Pediment and Canopy Forms

In keeping with national developments, the pediment and canopy forms seen on monuments in the southwest peninsular counties vary considerably at this time. The types typically range from the simple to the ambitious, from the well cut and well proportioned to the crude and unsophisticated. Equally typical is the employment of architectural forms that owe their inspiration to classical styles and Renaissance interpretations of those styles.

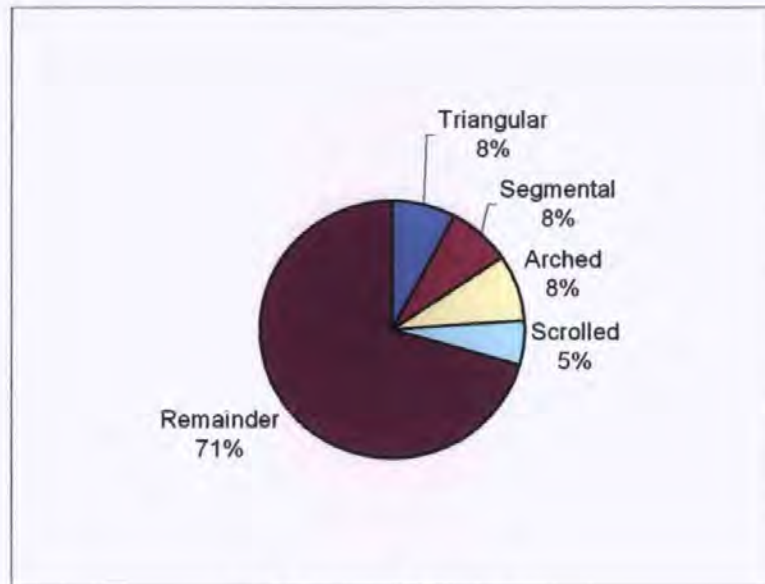
²⁹ Stylistically, the Neyle monument could be the work of John Weston of Exeter. This

While many of the canopy forms seen within the peninsular counties are stylistically conservative, they nevertheless freely employ classical or quasi-classical forms and it is the manipulation of the classical orders of architecture that is a key feature of the Baroque. However, none of the architectural features seen on monuments within the two counties are on a truly grand scale if compared with their metropolitan contemporaries. The Eliot and Harris monuments have been discussed as the best examples within the region of full Baroque monuments but even these have modest architectural features if compared with some of their metropolitan contemporaries, e.g. the monument at Bletchingly, Surrey to Sir Robert Clayton 1705 by Richard Crutcher, the monument to Viscount Campden, 1686 at Exton, Rutland by Grinling Gibbons to name but two.

The architectural arrangements that can be found above or replacing the entablature vary considerably in format from the fully formed classical pediment via the more casual application of classical forms through to the total rejection of architectural decorative schemes in favour of heraldic displays of various levels of complexity. These levels of heraldic display, when unaccompanied by architectural forms, are often very modest arrangements where an achievement of arms is flanked by skulls, cherubs or flame topped urns or vases.

Part 7.1 Triangular Pediments

An analysis by percentage shows the similar numbers of each of the four pediment forms – triangular, segmental, scrolled and arched.



Pediment Forms

There are 36 monuments in the southwest peninsular counties that display the triangular pediment in one form or another. The applications of the classical triangular pediment, in open or broken format or, more rarely, in the full form, are not uncommon but the majority of examples that use this architectural device use it as the vehicle on which angelic or cherubic figures recline. The Putt monument at Gittisham dated 1686 (D122) and the Harris monument at Stowford dated 1726 (D197) are perhaps the best examples of the triangular pediment, the earlier of the two being of the broken type. The Harris piece has naked cherubs reclining on the pediment while the Putt piece is unadorned. The open pediment is the most common format seen throughout the two counties as it allows an achievement of arms to occupy the centre of the canopy.

Good examples of the triangular pediment other than those already commented upon can be seen at Menheniot (1674) (C35), Bittadon (1675)

(D22), Kilmington (1735) (D146) and Broadhembury (1737) (D39). These last two, while strictly speaking falling outside the chronological range of the research, are included as noteworthy examples. A very plain and quite small example is that at Trusham on the monument to John and Mary Stooke dated 1697 (D224).³⁰

The open pediment on the Prouze monument of 1664 at Chagford (D47) is surprisingly small compared with the rest of the entablature and appears to be used solely as a means of elevating the achievement of arms. Two examples at Menheniot, on the Jonathan Trelawney monument dated 1674 (C35) and the Edward Trelawney monument dated 1726 (C34) are good examples of the differing levels of understanding that relate to the pediment. The earlier example shows an entablature supported only by the inscription panel and with steeply angled and heavily moulded sides to form an open pediment form. The mouldings on the sloping cornice and the horizontal cornice do not match. The later Trelawney monument has a fully moulded entablature with a heavily moulded horizontal cornice and with the moulding repeated on the inner sides of the sloping cornice. The angle of the slope is also greatly reduced and clearly demonstrates a greater level of architectural understanding on the part of the designer.³¹

³⁰ Unusually, this monument is made of wood and carries two oval portrait busts. This aspect of the monument is more fully discussed below.

³¹ The 1726 Trelawney monument is an understated but quite sophisticated piece that, while unsigned, could very well be a metropolitan product. Discussions have also suggested that this could be by Rysbrack but this remains unsubstantiated.

Part 7.2 Segmental Pediments

A number of monuments, especially in north Devon but seen at other locations in the two counties, use a semi circular arch on top of the entablature instead of the more usual segmental pediment. These semi circular arches do not extend over the whole length of the canopy but occupy approximately the central third of the available space, the remaining space being taken up with object like funerary urns. A typical example of this arrangement is the Sarah Gooding monument dated 1698 at Great Torrington (D123).³²

Amongst examples of the segmental type of pediment, fully formed examples are rare although notable examples are those on the monument at Mylor to Francis Trefusis 1680 (C39) and on the Judith Stevens monument dated 1676 at Great Torrington (D124).³³ The William Fellowes monument at Eggesford dated 1723 (D88) has a full segmental pediment with a typically Baroque achievement of arms in the centre. The simplicity of the classical design and quality of execution suggest that this monument may be the product of a metropolitan workshop.

The open form of the pediment is more widespread within both counties with notable examples at Bittadon on the Pointz monument dated 1691 (D21), at St Newlyn East on the Lady Margaret Arundell monument also dated 1691(C63) and at Dartmouth St Saviour on the Vavasour monument dated 1727 (D78) and signed by John Weston of Exeter. Some

³² The similarities between this monument and several others are fully discussed in chapter 4.

³³ It appears that a bust is missing from the plinth on the sarcophagus.

examples, as at Padstow on the Prideaux monument dated 1683 (C43), have volute termini at the open ends of the pediment.

Monuments with arched tops that are not strictly pediments in the classical sense can be seen on several examples within the peninsular counties. At the less sophisticated end of the spectrum is the canopy on the monument to Simon Westlake dated 1667 at Exbourne (D90), where a simply moulded solid stone arch acts as the canopy. That at Kelly on the monument to Richard Edgcombe dated 1710 (D144) is a similarly simple example but in this instance it is made of jointed blocks. At the higher quality end of the spectrum is that on the Pengelly monument of 1722 at Whitchurch (D231).³⁴ While this example is not large or particularly flamboyant it is well cut and visually very attractive. Other good examples of arched pediments are those at Fowey on the Goodall monument of 1686 (C15) and the Pocock monument of 1692 at Peter Tavy (D173). In North Devon an important group of examples exist whose style of superstructure decoration is unlike any other seen in the peninsular counties.³⁵

This form of arched decoration can be seen on seven monuments dating from 1698 to 1713 and consists essentially of a semi circular moulded arch placed centrally on the entablature on which sit two large winged angels that support an achievement of arms. The two examples that date

³⁴ This is a signed John Weston product and the format of the arch is repeated on the Anne Chichester monument of 1725 at Shirwell. These will be discussed in greater detail below

³⁵ That there is a common origin to these monuments seems highly likely and other features of this group will be discussed in chapter four, especially the obvious parallels between the Bishops Tawton and Great Torrington examples. Barnstaple might be the place of manufacture.

from 1698 can be seen at Bishops Tawton (D17) and Great Torrington (D123), as already discussed, and while these architectural features are essentially identical there are differences in these arched forms. The Bishops Tawton monument – to Francis Chichester - has the two angels with outstretched wings and loose drapery sitting on the outer curves of the arch that is flanked by small foliate volutes. These angels support two palm branches that fall inwards, the resulting shape appearing like a series of hearts that get progressively smaller. In the spandrel beneath the arch is a small achievement of arms. The Great Torrington example – to Sarah Gooding - has the angels as before but supporting an escutcheon of arms. A simple inscription added in 1702 now occupies the spandrel.³⁶ Also dating from 1698 is the Incedon family monument at Braunton (D29). Here the angels are as before and support a full achievement of arms with the words *Mors Parua Vitae* in the spandrel. With subtle changes to the drapery and a bolder use of polychrome, the Incedon example appears livelier than the other two. The Chawleigh monument – to Ambrose Radford dated 1703 (D49) – is damaged on this section and the monument is difficult to appreciate fully as a large pipe organ is placed in front of it. The left side angel is broken across the middle and the top of the supported shield is also missing but the remaining angel shows it to be of the standard form. The example at South Molton on the Joan Bawden monument dated 1709 (D193) shows a slight difference from the others in that the arrangement is larger and lacks the crispness of the earlier examples. The last example of the type is that on the

³⁶ These angels all wear loose drapery and have bare arms and legs. The head of the right hand angels looks to the front while that on the left has the head turned to the right and looking up.

Lethbridge monument dated 1713 at Pilton (D174). Here the arch is smaller than before while the angels have over-large wings and slightly exaggerated drapery. The angels continue to support an escutcheon with their outer arms while their inner arms appear to hold a laurel wreath. The supporting foliate volutes have been moved away from the arch and serve no purpose.

The Fulford monument dated 1700 at Dunsford (D84) and the Dollen monument also dated 1700 in Exeter Cathedral (D91) have the exaggerated arched canopy similar to those seen on dormer windows of the period. This may be a Dutch influence with ideas imported into Exeter via the trade with Holland and the Low Countries. In both instances there is a vertical oval beneath the arch.

Monuments with semi circular arches that could be mistaken for segmental pediments can be found at Sandford on the Sir John Davie monument of 1692 (D182). Here the arch is flanked by two Baroque cartouches while the visually dominant aspect of the canopy is the full achievement of arms.

The William Glynn monument of 1699 at Cardinham (C10) has a central semi-circular arch surmounted by a large flaming urn decorated with masks and drapery. Small cherubs rest on the outer edges of the arch and angels in loose low tunics stand at the ends.

At Kilkhampton, the Coryndon monument of 1711(C23) has a plain moulded arch flanked by kneeling angels and surmounted by an achievement. Within the spandrel are placed a book and an hour-glass.³⁷

Part 7.3 Scrolled Pediments

The scrolled pediment form is only slightly less popular than the other two types, as discussed. While the form is perhaps less likely to vary than the other types, good examples can be seen on the monuments to Philippa Cook dated 1695 at Exminster ((D119), Pears Edgcumbe dated 1666 at Calstock (C7) and Elizabeth Coryton dated 1677 at Colebrooke (D64). The monument to Thomas Boone dated 1681 (D76) at Dartmouth St Clement, which may be a metropolitan product, shows the scrolled pediment form surmounting an internal segmental pediment.

The Daniel Cudmore monument dated 1679 at Templeton (D216) is an interesting example of what is almost certainly local workmanship. This monument is essentially two-dimensional and possesses a crude superstructure that resembles a pedimental canopy with an achievement of arms in the centre and two smaller shields of arms in the spandrels of the pediment. The design incorporates two naked reclining female figures at the extremities, one holding an hourglass and the other a skull. Between them, and acting as the entablature on which to support the pediment, are two arabesque panels.

³⁷ These flanking angels show similarities with others that will be discussed more fully later

The obvious lack of sophistication in the design of the upper sections of this monument are strangely at odds with the frame of the inscription which is altogether better made despite its reliance of outmoded strapwork motifs and a hesitance in the overall design. Given the proximity of the village to Tiverton, these shortcomings are surprising as both the artist and patron could not fail to be aware of the more sophisticated monument designs there and indeed the likely influence of Exeter-based craftsmen.

Part 8 Aprons

Returning to the Drewe monument at Broadhembury (D38) as the illustrative example, the area of the monument beneath the main horizontal sill and between the supporting console brackets has seldom received attention. This area, termed the apron, is frequently the vehicle for a death symbol, a secondary inscription panel, a heraldic display, winged cherubs or winged heads or displays of foliage frequently in the form of palm branches. In many instances these features are displayed against a drapery backdrop or within a strapwork surround. The format of the apron on the Drewe monument is significant in that it is used on a number of monuments within Devon and, as will be shown in chapter four, provides evidence for a common origin of the monuments.

The monument at Kilkhampton to Sir Bevill Granville dated 1714, (he died in 1643) (C25) has side panels depicting trophies or arms and banners. These are repeated in the design of the apron where they form the backdrop to a subsidiary inscription panel bearing a eulogising verse

taken from verses by Martin Llewellyn of Oxford University and printed in 1643.³⁸

A tiny portrait bust can be seen in the apron of the monument to George Lugg, date unknown, at Shirwell (D188) while at Tiverton on the monument to Richard Newte dated 1678 (D221) there is a skull with an open book flanked by a candle in a candlestick and a vase with flowers.

If a secondary or subsidiary inscription panel is displayed in this area it is not always used, the Harris monument dated 1677 at Plymstock (D179) being an example. A terminal for the apron is either a bird or a bat-winged skull or skulls, a foliate drop or a smaller console bracket.

Part 9 Effigial Forms - Standing, kneeling, reclining and portrait busts.

For reasons that are unclear Cornwall has, proportionately, more monuments of the period than Devon that incorporate an effigial component. The reasons behind this phenomenon may lie in the possibility that the effigial monument, in its variety of formats, appealed more to the evidently conservative Cornish gentry. While a few monuments in the two counties display obviously archaic architectural and decorative forms, the majority are not as far behind their metropolitan contemporaries in overall format as was thought at the start of this

³⁸ This panel gives every appearance of being the wrong way up. The gauntlet on the left has the fingers at the bottom and the helmet, whose edge overlaps the frame of the inscription panel, is up side down.

research.³⁹ The inclusion of an effigial component, whether a portrait bust or kneeling or reclining effigy, would have added considerably to the final cost of the monument and therefore the incorporation of such a conceit would have had a direct bearing on the reinforcement of the social standing of the person or persons commemorated. There is also a possibility that, with the exception of slate plates, all the effigial monuments were imported into Cornwall from workshops outside the county. Effigial monuments in Devon are rarer and in some cases of demonstrably lesser quality than their Cornish counterparts. This latter phenomenon is also difficult to explain but may have its origins in the local manufacture of some monuments compared with the obvious importation of others. Another possible factor is the likelihood of more modern social aspirations amongst some of the Devon gentry.

³⁹ See the monuments at Colyton 1658 and St Mellion 1711 discussed below.

Part 9.1 Standing Figures

There are only two monuments⁴⁰ dating from the period under review within the southwest peninsular counties that possess standing figures: the monument at Tawstock to Lady Rachel Fane, Countess of Bath died 1680 (D211) and the monument at Stowford commemorating Christopher Harris and his wife dated 1726 (D197).⁴¹

The Fane monument shows an almost life-sized free-standing figure wearing a heavy fur edged robe and with a small coronet on her head. The effigy stands on a limestone drum-shaped pedestal carved in the round with shields of arms and a larger lozenge of arms with supporters surmounted by a countess's coronet and with a white marble inset inscription. No other monuments are known to me that follow the same format as the Fane monument but it stretches the imagination to believe that it is an entirely original concept.

⁴⁰ Although outside the strict chronological parameters of this thesis, there is the standing figure of Sir William Pole, Master of the Household to Queen Anne, died 1741, at Shute. Gunnis attributes this figure to Sir Henry Cheere alone and states that the artist was paid £137 for the figure in 1746 and that it cost £25 12s to send to Devon and for Cheere's own man, Richard Breach, to erect it. Pevsner considers that it might be by Richard Hayward working in Cheere's studio. What is more important is that Pevsner states that the monument has no religious content. It is doubtful therefore that it can be strictly considered as a piece of commemorative sculpture in the traditional sense. Dated 1632 is the monument at Ottery St Mary to John Coke that shows a standing figure in contemporary dress within an aedicular format. See also the Northcote monument at Newton St Cyres dated 1637. For a fuller description of these pre Civil War monuments see C Fauch 'Constructing the Dead' *Church Monuments* Vol XIV 1999 pp 41-64. See also the unpublished PhD thesis of C Fauch Church monuments in Devon C1530-C1640, University of Exeter 1996.

⁴¹ The Fane monument was carved by Balthasar Burman, son of Thomas Burman and is a copy of the elder Burman's statue of the Countess of Shrewsbury at St John's College Cambridge. See Todd Gray *Devon Household Accounts 1627-59 Part II Henry, 5th Earl of Bath and Rachel, Countess of Bath 1637-1655*, Devon and Cornwall Records Society 1996. Plate 6 of Gray's book illustrates a portrait of the Countess by or in the style of Sir Anthony van Dyck. Other portraits of the Countess are known to exist.

The Harris monument at Stowford shows two standing figures with a trapezoidal sarcophagus between them that is in turn surmounted by a squat obelisk.⁴² He is dressed in Roman costume, bare-headed and wearing a long curly wig. His left hand is brought to the chest while the right hand is extended outwards in a vaguely theatrical gesture. She is shown wearing a contemporary style dress with a low cut bodice and a veil over the hair. Despite its obvious design shortcomings this monument, may be compared with the Eliot monument at St Germans, whose reclining figure is contemporary in terms of date but more importantly in terms of style and the portrayal of the figures. These monuments, and that to the Countess of Bath, are highly important examples of commemorative art within the peninsular counties in that they represent the full Baroque style in monumental sculpture as produced by metropolitan artists.

Typically, none of the figures on these monuments have any visual interaction with the spectator: they all look away, a feature that is also discussed in chapter 5. However, both the Harris and Eliot monuments have been moved from their original positions in the chancel to the back of the church and therefore the original scheme can no longer be appreciated. The monument to Countess Rachel appears not to have been moved.

⁴² Pevsner considers that this monument is of provincial workmanship. There is no evidence to support the theory that these are provincial products and as the format is not repeated elsewhere in the peninsular counties it is likely that they were carved outside of the area. While a metropolitan workshop is unlikely to have produced such odd looking figures it is not altogether impossible.

Part 9.2 Kneeling Figures

The monument to William and Elizabeth Cotton, died 1656, at Minster (C38) is a typical example of the kneeling figure monuments of the earlier seventeenth century. The monument shows a main sill supporting two pilasters on which rests an open arched canopy with an achievement of arms in the centre. A secondary sill is placed halfway between the sill and the arch apex, on which are placed two kneeling figures facing each other across a prayer desk. Beneath this secondary sill is an inscription tablet while lower still is a row of kneeling children: boys beneath their father, girls beneath their mother and with another prayer desk separating the sexes. A second inscription panel, with shield of arms, is placed within a strapwork-inspired surround beneath the main sill. A monument of modest proportions, the figure cutting is typically naïve and unsophisticated but characteristic of the genre.

By 1656 this style was becoming old-fashioned by fashionable metropolitan standards although it remained popular in the shire counties for quite some time. This technique of showing the male and female figures kneeling at a prayer desk and facing each other has its origins in the Netherlandish-inspired monuments of the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, but by the Restoration it was becoming out-moded. Its survival in the southwest peninsular counties suggests that it was a commemorative format with which sculptors and patrons alike were comfortable and the style fulfilled the dedicatory needs of the middling classes and those who could afford to have a monument erected to their memory. At Thurlestone, the Stephens monument, dated 1658 (D218),

again shows the parents kneeling and facing each other but with the children arranged behind their parents in descending order and with a tiny chrysome child above the second daughter. Again, this format, showing the children in descending order behind their respective parents, is something of an anachronism by metropolitan and most regional standards of the time.

By contrast and possibly of metropolitan manufacture is the monument at St Minver to John Roe dated 1657(C61). This is a much more sophisticated piece than it first appears and as will be shown in chapter four it has strong parallels with metropolitan examples of a similar date. The figure is shown kneeling on a mat, with a prayer desk in front, and holding a book, probably the bible, in his lowered right hand while the left hand is brought to the chest. The figure is placed within a niche that is flanked by Corinthian columns that in turn support a plain entablature: unusually there is no heraldic achievement or any other decorative component above the entablature. The inscription is beneath the sill.

Dated 1659, the monument at St Tudy to Anthony Nicoll and his wife Amy (C64) shows the two kneeling figures fully in the round and with a prayer desk between them. Here the figures are placed directly on top of a large tomb chest that has a central panel showing five sons and with a short eulogising verse. The main inscription is placed centrally behind the figures. The church guidebook suggests that Amy Nicoll erected this

monument in 1681 but this cannot be verified.⁴³ The monument is of a pretentious scale and on the box tomb at least has employed expensive materials but it unfortunately lacks quality of cutting despite the boldness of the execution.

The monument at St Martin by Looe to Walter Langdon and wife dated 1676 (C58) is particularly significant in that it is signed by Nicholas Abraham 'fecit 1678'.⁴⁴ Not dissimilar in concept from the Nicoll monument, this bold example has a backdrop that consists of two columns that support an open segmental pediment in the centre of which is a large achievement or arms and two modest and stylised flaming urns on short block pedestals. Beneath the entablature is the inscription. Described by Pevsner as ambitious but conservative for its date, the monument nevertheless displays a quality of execution that is unusual within peninsular counties monuments at this time with better quality figure cutting than usually seen in the two counties. While virtually nothing is known of the artist, the monument has obviously been imported into the region and clearly demonstrates that the portrayal of the figures in a kneeling posture and facing each other across a pray desk was still a fashionable style. The conceit of showing kneeling figures facing each other clearly survived well into the eighteenth century as is shown on the monument at Knebworth, Hertfordshire, to Lytton Strode and wife dated 1732 but made c 1740-45.⁴⁵

⁴³ The monument was moved in 1873 from the choir.

⁴⁴ Abraham merits a mention in Gunnis but there is tantalisingly little known about this artist and no other monuments can be ascribed to him

⁴⁵ See M Baker *Figured in Marble – the Making and Viewing of Eighteenth Century Sculpture*. V&A publications. 2000

The John Harris monument dated 1677 at Plymstock (D179) has close parallels with the Trefusis monument at Mylor dated 1680 (C39) especially in the portrayal of the kneeling figure. On both monuments the single figure clad in almost identical contemporary military costume kneels at the prayer desk with the inscription behind them and with a segmental pediment above.⁴⁶ Both these monuments are on an ambitious scale and are boldly executed. However, they both lack any particular sophistication in the figure cutting and the architectural elements are not very well handled.

The monument at Wembury to Lady Narborough, nee Calmady, who died in 1677 (D228) (appendix 13A) shows the figure of the lady, kneeling at a prayer desk and placed on top of a large ornately curved sarcophagus, which is supported on the backs of four lions. These lions rest on a larger box tomb of black veined marble with white marble insert panels on the sides. Because it is free standing, this monument is unlike anything of the period within the peninsular counties. The bulging sarcophagus is clearly Baroque in inspiration while the kneeling figure appears to be of almost secondary importance to the rest of the monument. The monument is now positioned at the back of the church but was moved from the chancel area in 1887. Prior to its removal to its present location it must be assumed that the kneeling figure would have been more prominent in the visual experience of the churchgoer than now. She was the first wife of Sir John Narborough (died 1688), a notable naval commander. He commissioned a

⁴⁶ There is a strong stylistic similarity between these two monuments and a common origin is a possibility.

drawing of the monument soon after its erection and requested that it be sent to him.⁴⁷

The father and son monument at Fowey to John and William Goodall dated 1686 (C15) is boldly executed, displaying a range of features suggesting that it might be of Exeter or certainly west-country manufacture. The similarly dressed figures, facing each other over a prayer desk, are dwarfed by the scale of the composition but despite its shortcomings in both the design and the sculptural quality it remains an impressive piece. Being merchants and recorded as possibly evading customs duty (see chapter two) it can be assumed that they were quite wealthy and that they or their executors were therefore well placed to provide an elaborate monument.

Pevsner in his *Buildings of England* series for Cornwall describes the monument at North Hill to Henry Spoure dated 1688 (C41) as one of the most endearing of Cornish examples. It is unusual in that the figure of Henry Spoure is not the main one and stands within a shell-headed niche as does his sister on the other side of the inscription, behind the figures of his kneeling parents who face each other in the usual way. The scale of this monument makes it impressive while the architectural details are well cut and of the period. While the kneeling figures are quite well executed, the standing figures are much less sophisticated by comparison.

⁴⁷ The original is among his papers in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. See appendix for Devon.

Possibly the most enigmatic of peninsular counties effigial monuments of the period 1660-1730 are those at St Mellion to members of the Coryton family. The earlier of the two, commemorating William and Elizabeth Coryton is dated 1651 but made c 1656 (C60). However, it is the monument to Sir William Coryton died 1711 (C59), his grandson, to which attention is drawn. Pevsner considers these two monuments to be utterly reactionary compositions and of a type that was fashionable c1600. That the style is finding favour in Cornwall in the 1650's is not altogether surprising but *'to find it still in 1711 goes beyond belief.'*⁴⁸

On both monuments two life-sized figures kneel facing each other in the usual way with a prayer desk between them. On the Sir William Coryton monument of 1711 an arrangement of double columns at the front with a single column and pilaster at the back support entablatures above each figure that are linked together by a coffered soffit with an open pediment above. A large achievement of arms is placed centrally within the open triangular pediment that completes the whole ensemble. Allegorical figures stand at the extremities of the entablatures along with shields, palm branches and an inscription tablet on the back wall.

The remarkably archaic style of the later monument, clearly at home in the Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions, is outlined in Sir William's will in which he clearly specifies that his monument is to be

'of form and likeness much the same as my Grandfathers and Grandmothers.'

⁴⁸ Sir Nicholas Pevsner *Building of England Series – Cornwall* 1990 p 190

Of equal importance is the detail in the will saying that the monument is to cost c £200.⁴⁹ While it must once have been a quite imposing monument within the family chapel, the overall sculptural quality is not high and the columns and pilasters, being made of a different material from the rest of the monument suggests that they might have been purchased, ready-made, by the sculptor. This therefore suggests some degree of subcontracting on the part of the sculptor. Malcolm Baker argues convincingly in favour of there being a considerable degree of collaboration and sub-contracting in mid eighteenth-century sculptors' workshops.⁵⁰ It is entirely possible that such practices were not uncommon earlier in the century and even before that.

The kneeling figures of Revd Duke Pearce and his wife dated 1716 at Madron (C33) appear surprisingly small compared with the rest of the monument. Husband and wife kneel facing each other in the traditional way with a large inscription panel acting as a backdrop. The entablature is supported on large columns with an open segmental pediment in the centre of which is a flame-topped urn. Angels in theatrical poses stand at the ends of the canopy. Why the kneeling figures should be so small when compared with the rest of the monument is puzzling but the inscription is clearly the dominant part of the monument.

⁴⁹ PRO PROB 11/530/251. This particular will and its importance will be discussed below.

⁵⁰ M Baker, *Figured in Marble – the making and viewing of eighteenth century sculpture*. V&A 2000 pp 70-84

Possibly imported into the region via Penzance, the monument has a bold composition but would probably appear very outmoded by the standards of c1720.

Part 9.3 Reclining Figures.

With the exception of the Eliot monument of 1722 at St Germans, all the reclining figure monuments seen in the two counties are somewhat old-fashioned. The Boscowan monument of 1659 at St Michael Penkevil (not illustrated), displays the archaic conceit of having the full-length reclining effigy, with the head in this case unsupported and with the visible right hand resting on a skull: the left hand holds a book. On the wall behind the effigy is a triple columned architectural arrangement with four small inscription lozenges and two further inscriptions on the plinth.

The huge Pole monument at Colyton is dated 1658 (D68) and, according to Pevsner, still entirely in the Elizabethan tradition.⁵¹ The effigies, lying on their sides and facing away from each other, rest their heads on their hands and recline beneath a soaring canopy. The possibility must exist that this is West Country work and that those commissioning the monument were comfortable, for their own reasons, with an extremely archaic format.

⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the detailed accounts given by Jeremiah Milles c1770 in his Parochial Collection (Bod MS Top Devon Vol. IX C9) the reference to Colyton is very scant and the Pole monument is not mentioned at all.

Even more unusual is the enormous Hele monument at Holbeton (D139). Here three generations of the family are arranged in four tiers and Pevsner notes the date of 1670 for the death of Sir Thomas Hele. The two upper tiers show the familial arrangement as originally seen at Minster. The second tier shows a reclining male figure with kneeling female figures at the head and feet. On the lowest tier are two male figures kneeling and facing each other with a prayer desk between.⁵² Two columns support allegorical figures while curved and voluted forms reminiscent of strapwork flank a central roundel with an achievement of arms. It is difficult to imagine this monument as a product of the 1670's as it is more in keeping with the Jacobean or Caroline style earlier in the seventeenth century. Indeed, Jeremiah Milles records that part of the inscription was visible when he saw it and notes the date of 1630.⁵³

At Uffculme is a reclining figure thought to represent Sir William Walrond of Bradfield (D226) who died in 1689. He is shown dressed in armour and with his head supported by the right hand. There is no surviving inscription to accompany this figure and it is placed on a windowsill at the north end of the north aisle.

Milles records that:-

In the N end of the N isle is a monument of a gentleman in armour and a large full bottomed wig reclining on his right hand and over him on a tablet is the following inscription

*Here lyeth one whom had you living seen
His posture in this house had kneeling been
Oft by the word awakend heretofore*

⁵² This huge monument occupies the whole of the east wall of the north aisle and appears to be in its original position. Pevsner considers the possibility that the kneeling figures at the front could be reused from earlier monuments.

⁵³ Milles *op cit* Vol. X.

*Now till the great trump sound shall wake no more
Reader make use of time whilst time you have
For there's no worshipping within the grave*

No name is given and the inscription is no longer visible and it must be assumed that the present arrangement is a remodelling.

The Eliot monument at St Germans dated 1722 (C53), more so than the Harris monument of 1726 at Stowford (D197), possesses those characteristics that are typical of the metropolitan Baroque. This piece is without doubt the most ambitious monument of the period under review in the region.⁵⁴ The male figure reclines on the right of the composition, dressed in Roman costume and with the left forearm, supporting a broken sword, resting on a cushion. His right hand is operatically brought to the chest and his gaze is directed to his wife. She is seated with her legs crossed at the ankles, her left hand is brought to her cheek and her head is above the level of his.⁵⁵ In her right hand she supports an open book. Behind on a horizontal cornice rests an obelisk with two putti supporting an oval portrait medallion. Two further putti stand at the ends of the sculpted backdrop.

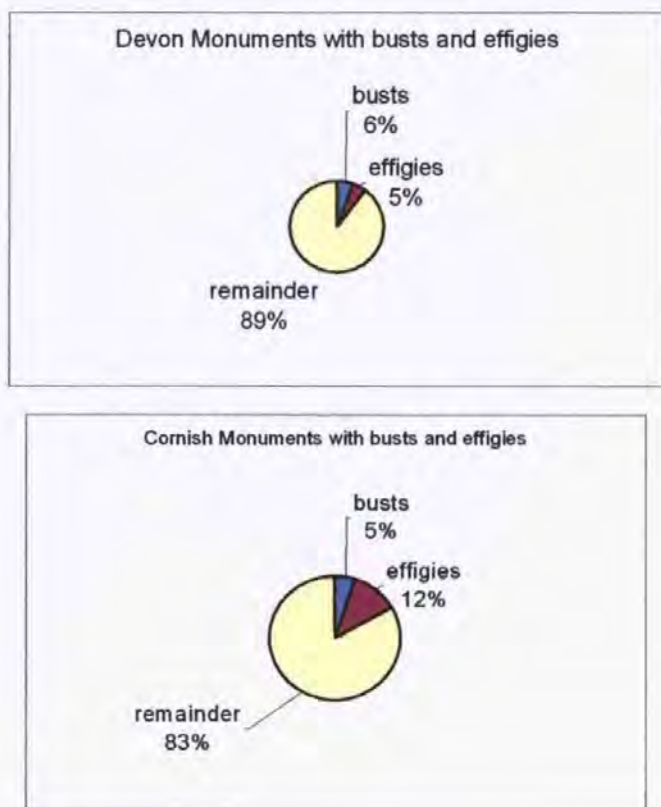
The figure work is white marble – possible Italian – while the architectural details are sculpted in grey veined marble.

⁵⁴ This is one of the first of Rysbrack's monuments. His career is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the significance of seated figures see Clive Easter 'Notes on the monuments and Career of Thomas Green of Camberwell: Some Recent Discoveries' *Church monuments* XV1 2001

Part 9.4 Busts

By far the most significant addition to the superstructure of the hanging wall monument format seen in the peninsular counties must be the incorporation of a bust: the employment of which can be seen on 13% of monuments erected during the period under review. As the analysis shows, the percentage of busts is remarkably similar for both counties. This is particularly surprising given the differences in total numbers.



Comparative analysis of busts and effigies for the two counties

Cornwall has a greater percentage of effigial monuments of the period for reasons that will be explained below. The employment of effigial sculpture suggests an élite social group which was prepared for the high cost of such an addition to the monument.

The incorporation of an effigy or portrait bust is therefore an important social statement and says much about the status, supposed or otherwise, of the deceased and their immediate family.

For the spectator, the bust or effigy is a powerful reminder of the physical appearance of the deceased and some are no doubt accurate likenesses. This important addition tends to elevate the status of the monument to an altogether new level. The inclusion of a bust, especially when used as a replacement for the achievement of arms, suggests that familial lineage was less important than the immediacy of the individual. The interaction of the spectator and the effigial sculpture will be discussed in chapter 5.

Showing the deceased as a demi-effigy or bust has been a representational technique used on funerary art from the earliest times. By the later seventeenth century and throughout a large part of the eighteenth century, highly detailed and accurate portrait busts were being produced by metropolitan and other sculptors not only for funerary sculpture but also as parts of iconographical programmes within more domestic and indeed estate settings.⁵⁶ It can be convincingly argued that the period from the Restoration until the 1750's and beyond can be seen as the apogee of the portrait bust as used in commemorative sculpture.

⁵⁶ For fuller discussions of the role of portrait busts in the eighteenth century see M Baker, *Figured in Marble – the making and viewing of eighteenth century sculpture*. V&A 2000. The role of the portrait bust is also discussed by M Whinney, Revised by John Physick *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* Pelican. 1988.

For reasons of definition, the bust employed on church monuments of the period, within the peninsular counties, can be interpreted in two ways; the stylised representation of the deceased and the (accurate) portrait bust.

As to the position of the bust on the monument, it can replace the central achievement of arms on the canopy, it can be incorporated within an architectural arrangement, it can be contained within a wreath-like oval surround or it can be free standing within the whole monument. Two monuments of 1654 that contain busts of the deceased are relevant to the research in that they have stylistic parallels with later examples: these are the monuments at Swimbridge to Tristram Chichester (D203) and at Bickleigh to Peter Carew (not illustrated).⁵⁷

The Carew monument at Bickleigh (D16) shows two half figures placed on the sill and beneath semi circular arches with flowers in the spandrels and with an inscription panel separating the two figures.⁵⁸ Instead of their hands being placed together in the attitude of prayer, his right hand is brought to cover the heart and her left hand is also raised to the chest but she holds a book: both half effigies are full frontal. At either end of the composition, simple half columns support a simply moulded cornice on which is placed an achievement of arms supported by winged angels, all carved from a single piece of material.

⁵⁷ The possibility of attributing these monuments to a specific workshop will be addressed in chapter 4.

Very similar to the Carew monument is the monument at East Down to Edward Pine and wife, dated 1663 (D86), which shows full frontal portrait busts in oval frames within a rectangular composition.⁵⁹ On the projecting lower sill stand two short Ionic columns that support a cornice on which stand a central achievement of arms flanked by two cartouches of arms. The male figure is depicted with long shoulder length hair, a moustache and a goatee beard. His clothing consists of a wide collar with armour that appears to consist of articulated shoulder plates or epauliers while his wife wears a veil that frames the face and a gown with a wide frontal. Beneath the main sill is an inscription in a curved frame that resembles strapwork and with a shield of arms *per pale* of those above.

The monument at Yarnscombe to John Pollard and wife dated 1667 (D236) is broadly similar to the Pine monument but the ancillary features make it an inferior product. The portrait busts are now in roundels rather than ovals but are still forward facing. The figure of John Pollard is essentially the same as that of Edward Pine save for a fuller rendition of the hair. The figure of his unidentified wife is slightly more sophisticated than the earlier example in that the veil is pulled back slightly to reveal the short curled hair while what appears to be ruched clothing is seen at her neck.

⁵⁸ The inscription records that while he died in 1654 his wife had died in 1619, leaving him a widower for 35 years

Architecturally, the Pollard monument is the simpler of the two despite it having more decoration.

The Pine monument displays simple raised corner spandrels while the Pollard piece has flowers in the lower spandrels, winged cherub heads in the upper spandrels, a flame-edged heart in the bottom centre and a raised shield in the upper centre. On the Pollard monument, two roundels flank the achievement on the upper cornice, the left bearing a skull with crossed bones and a winged hourglass on the right. A skull on the Pollard monument replaces the shield at the bottom of the Pine monument and the inscription frame is essentially the same.

These three monuments, all of the same basic format show considerable similarities and two are clearly the products of the same workshop. East Down is six miles north of Barnstaple and Yarnscombe is six miles south and the possibility must exist that these monuments are Barnstaple products. There is little real attempt at portraiture in these examples, the bust merely being an interpretation of a conventional appearance.

The monument at Swimbridge to Tristram Chichester 1654 (D203) is an altogether different piece having a more sophisticated design that shows the half figure with his right elbow resting on a skull and his head resting on his right hand.⁶⁰ Unusually, the pose of the figure shows the eyes

⁵⁹ The inscription on this monument is now almost impossible to read but is given in full by Milles *op cit* C9

⁶⁰ Pevsner in his Devon volume of the Buildings of England series describes his monument as "deplorably bad".

closed and the face turned slightly upwards as if in a state of contemplation.

The half effigy is placed within an oval with winged heads in the spandrels and with a small shield of arms behind his head. Two columns support a plain frieze in the centre of which is an inscription tablet. Above the entablature is a scrolled pediment with a large central achievement of arms. Beneath the lower sill is a larger inscription panel in a very restrained scrolled surround with a shield of arms at the bottom. Two further shields of arms are displayed on strapwork sides outside the columns.

Dating from 1658, the monument at Buckland Brewer to Philip Venning, aged 6 (D41) is clearly a product from the same workshop and probably by the same hand as the Chichester monument.⁶¹

The pose of Philip Venning is also similar to Tristram Chichester and the case is made here that these are not melancholic poses but poses more in line with a studious or thoughtful attitude. Monuments displaying the melancholic attitude were a peculiar phenomenon of the seventeenth century and have their origins in the intellectualisation of the process of grief but these appear not to show any level of emotional distraction.

⁶¹ The inscription on this monument includes an acrostic and the difficulty of composing such a piece suggests a high level of intellectual sophistication. Written in three stanzas, the third, not an acrostic, is superior to the other two. With sophisticated imagery centred on a (family) tree, the untimely death of the young son sees the end of the family line. The author of this poem was clearly well read and it might be the father as writing poetry was part of a gentleman's education. For this information and an analysis of this inscription I am indebted to Professor Jean Wilson.

For the southwest peninsular counties, the most important example of the true melancholic pose is that seen on the Eliot monument of 1722 at St Germans (C53) by JM Rysbrack, which will be fully discussed in chapter four.

The justification for considering these two monuments as not being melancholic lies in the understanding of melancholy, as it existed at the time. Melancholy was interpreted as a contemplation of the physical imbalance in the four bodily humours and was thought of as more than just an ailment but as a natural state for those suffering bereavement. From the sixteenth -century grief and mourning were seen as inseparable, the latter embracing the former's outward behaviour and where melancholy was associated with black bile, one of the humours, or any condition that resulted in an excess of it.⁶² What is highly significant is that the Chichester and Venning monuments are perhaps the last examples of a commemorative tradition within north Devon that shows young males on their monuments posed in this way. Christine Faunch⁶³ discusses this development and she expands on it in an article published in 1999.⁶⁴

⁶² See Ralph Houlbrooke *Death Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* Oxford 2000. p 226. Houlbrooke discusses Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586) where, in the the discussion, help is sought for a melancholic friend.

⁶³ C Faunch 'Church Monuments in Devon C1530-c1640' unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Exeter 1996

⁶⁴ C Faunch 'Constructing the Dead, late sixteenth and early seventeenth century effigy sculpture in Devon.' *Church Monuments*, the journal of the Church Monuments Society, Vol. XIV 1999 pp 41-64. Faunch discusses Devonian examples of the melancholic pose in the early seventeenth century and considers their possible origins.

At Newton St Cyres is the small monument to Sherland Short dated 1632 that shows him seated at a desk with an hour-glass, books and his elbow propped up on a skull and with musical instruments at his feet. He was 14 years old when he died. At Instow, the monument to John Downe dated 1640 shows the figure as forward facing although the head remains propped up on one hand. Of much greater significance is the monument at Barnstaple to Nicholas Blake dated 1634.⁶⁵ This monument is clearly the pattern for the Tristram Chichester monument at Swimbridge thus strengthening the argument for the Chichester – and Venning – monument being products of a Barnstaple based workshop.

At Uffculme (D226) three free standing half effigies, a male figure, a female figure and a child, possibly a girl, are placed on the top of a box tomb. The edge of the box tomb carries a date of 1663 and the front panel has two male busts in ovals and caryatid-like figures of Faith, Hope and Charity at the ends and in the centre. There is some confusion over who might be represented on the front of this tomb as Jeremiah Milles describes the two portrait ovals but notes that around one is an inscription recording the date of death as 1627.⁶⁶ This must represent William Walrond, the grandfather of the Sir William Walrond mentioned earlier who was buried on 19th July 1627. There is no evidence of this inscription on the extant tomb. The identity of those commemorated by the three half effigies is uncertain but they may represent William Waldron who died 1650 and his wife Ursula Speccot who died 1698. These may have been brought to the

⁶⁵ See Jean Wilson *The Darlings of the Gods*, Church Monuments, the journal of the Church Monuments Society Vol XVIII 2003 pp65-90 for an analysis of this monument and the accompanying inscription.

church from Kentisbeare.⁶⁷ Certainly, it seems difficult to believe that these three figures are anything other than a casual addition to the box tomb effected during a reordering of the Walrond chapel to create what is in effect a mausoleum to three generations of the family.

In Exeter cathedral are three monuments of the period under review that incorporate a bust – Edward Cotton dated 1675 (D93), Edmund Davy dated 1692 (D92) and Benjamin Dollen dated 1700 (D91). The Cotton monument, made of white marble is situated in the South Quire aisle and shows the bust, placed in a large oval with raised flowers border, in three-quarter profile and wearing typical clerical garb of the period - a loose gown with a wide collar and a tight fitting skullcap. The inscription is shown beneath the oval on a flat section of drapery that is secured to the foliate external edges of the oval frame. A modest cartouche of arms is placed at the top of the oval. The monument to his father, bishop William Cotton, died 1621, is situated close by in the south Quire aisle.

Placed high on the west wall of the south transept of the Cathedral is the quite modest monument to Edmund Davy dated 1692. The basic format of the monument is very similar to the Cotton monument but the inscription is very brief merely giving the name, his title as Doctor of Medicine and date of death. The bust is different from the Cotton monument in that Davy is shown bear-headed, with a long wig and a cravat.

⁶⁶ Milles *op cit* Vol XII.

⁶⁷ This is discussed by Milles *op cit* who says '*Near this place (the reclining effigy already discussed) are 3 half lengths in alabaster almost as big as the life of a man a woman and a girl which are said to belong to the Waldron family.....brought hither from Kentisbeare where some of the family is buried.*'

Typically, a portrait bust as used in a commemorative context will have the gaze diverted away from the spectator, often slightly upward. This is certainly the case with the Davy bust although the Cotton example is more naturalistic. However, the positions of these two monuments could hardly be different, Cotton is at ground level and easily visible while Davy is much higher up and in a less visible part of the building. As a consequence, any concepts of visual interaction with the spectator are negated due to the positions of the two pieces.

Situated on the east wall of the north transept is the monument to Benjamin Dollen dated 1700. Rupert Gunnis stated that the monument is signed by John Weston but this attribution cannot be substantiated as no signature is visible from the ground and it bears no similarities to any other known Weston product.⁶⁸ Indeed, Weston's career may have only been in its infancy at this date although the possibility must exist of the monument being made some time after death.⁶⁹ The design of this monument is fully discussed in chapter four.

The bust is placed within an oval frame that is situated beneath the semi circular moulded canopy. Foliage and flowers that terminate in wreathed skulls border an inscription in a plain moulded frame. Volutes with foliage curve from the edges of the sill and around the bottom to frame a ship under sail in the apron.

⁶⁸ Rupert Gunnis *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1951* Abbey Library

⁶⁹ This monument will be discussed in chapter 4.

The bust is shown wearing a large lace cravat and a full-bottomed wig. The gaze is upward and to the right.

The monument to William and Mary Hooper dated 1682 at St Petrock, Exeter (D114) shows two busts on plinths within the main part of the monument. The busts are placed within shallow niches with their plinths resting on a sill with the inscription beneath.

Above a plain entablature is a superstructure with a wreathed circular panel flanked by pilasters with side volutes and with an open segmental pediment above the horizontal cornice. The busts are clearly the most important part of the monument and it is interesting to note that both figures are forward looking although her gaze is downward. His bust is very naturalistically carved and could well be a portrait taken from the life. She died in 1658 thus making her figure more representative than realistic.

At St Newlyn East is the monument commemorating Lady Margaret Arundell (C63) who died in 1691. This is a highly significant piece that is likely to be a metropolitan product.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Pevsner describes this monument as simple. By metropolitan standards this may be so but by Cornish standards of the late seventeenth century this was a grand monument to an important lady within an important family. The origins of the monument will be discussed below.

Two curtains tied to the supporting columns reveal the inscription while the bust on its moulded plinth is placed centrally on the entablature and between the curves of the open segmental pediment.

The bust itself shows a bare-headed, short-haired woman wearing a bejewelled low cut gown and with a string of pearls at her neck. The monument is sited on the west wall of the north transept in what had been the former Arundell chapel. If the position of the monument is original then it is clear that no interaction with the spectator was intended as the bust clearly looks away and to her left. We can assume that the bust is to remind the spectator how she looked in life and, with the high quality materials used for the monument and the obvious high cost of the bust itself, remind us also of the social position of the family.

At Shirwell the monument to Frances Lugg 1712 (D189) has a marble bust placed centrally on the entablature and with stylised flaming bowls at either side. While the main material for the monument is limestone, with a black inscription panel, the use of a marble for the bust is a curious blend. Fully frontal, the cutting is uninspiring if comparing this with the Arundell bust and it appears somewhat stiff. The eyes appear not to be particularly detailed or they are shown closed – an unusual feature, if that is the case. The bust is strangely out of proportion with the rest of the monument and it is possible that it might be an imported component, possible from a minor metropolitan workshop as the inscription clearly states that her father was a London man and she may well have had living

relatives in London at the time of her death who could have provided the bust or suggested a workshop that could produce one.⁷¹

The monument at St Gluvias to James Kemp 1715 (C54) shows the bust, placed on a low plinth, beneath a baldachino that is suspended from the underside of the entablature. The inscription panel, placed beneath the sill, is framed on the left and right sides by an arabesque with long haired heads at the top while a bird winged skull with pineapple finial completes the arrangement.

Unfortunately the bust has been painted, it is high on the wall, the monument may well have been moved and there appear to be missing parts. However, the significance of the bust lies in its design – it is forward facing and may be by a different artist from the rest of the monument.

At Membury is the touching monument to Francis Fry died 1718 (D153). A bust, showing a woman in simple flowing drapery and with short hair, is supported by a slender plinth that rests on a sill, beneath which is a modest inscription flanked by volutes recording that it was erected in 1723. Beneath the main sill of the monument is a longer verse extolling her virtues. Made of high quality white marble, this bust more than any other in the south west peninsular counties, exemplifies the highest standards of figure carving at that time.

⁷¹ The overall design of the monument strongly suggests that it is a Barnstaple product but this will be more fully explored later.

Perhaps even more of a reminder of conspicuous consumption and to emphasise social status is the monument at Camborne to Sir William Pendarves dated 1726 (C8) and signed by James Paty of Bristol who died in 1746.⁷² Here an inscription tablet has a moulded frame set between plain pilasters that support an entablature with an achievement of arms placed in the top centre. The bust of Sir William is placed above the inscription and with the top of his head in front of the entablature. He is shown wearing a full-bottomed wig, the right side falling over his shoulder; a cravat is tied at the neck and he wears articulated armour.

It is highly likely that Paty would have been aware of the latest metropolitan trends in commemorative sculpture and as this monument is probably his best work it is reasonable to assume that he would have employed the latest features as he understood them. Sir William's gaze, as is typical, is not directed at the spectator and when combined with the slightly haughty facial expression the viewer is left feeling totally detached from the monument and therefore the commemorative experience. It must be assumed that this is intentional on the part of the monument designer and is a means of separating the living from the dead.⁷³

⁷² Gunnis *op cit*

⁷³ This theme is developed by Aires, *op cit* p 602 where he discusses the 'relationship between man's attitude towards death and his awareness of self, of his degree of existence, or simply of his individuality'.

At Yealmpton, the large monument to Edmund Pollexfen, 1710 (D237) shows the whole monument surmounted by a bust placed in the centre of the scrolled pediment. The bust is shown with a full bottomed wig and facing directly out from the monument. The monument was probably moved to its present position during the mid nineteenth century restoration of the church. The use of white and veined marble strongly suggests that this could be a metropolitan product although the artist is unknown. A similarly white marble monument is that at Antony to Mary Carew 1731 (C2). This shows a modestly sized oval on a small plinth in front of a section of drapery that is tied at the corners but otherwise unsupported and which has beneath the unemblazoned shield at the top a celestial scene of two winged cherub heads above clouds. The monument is the work of Thomas Carter the Elder of London and therefore represents an important example of metropolitan work.

Two easily overlooked busts are those seen on the Piper and Wise monument dated 1726 but probably erected in 1731 at Launceston.⁷⁴ These busts have small shields of arms accompanying them, no doubt to differentiate the persons commemorated. That on the left, to Richard Wise, has very simple overall drapery while the bust to Granville Piper has the same off the shoulder drapery but with an open tunic beneath. Their elevated position on the monument is such that they are not readily noticed by the spectator and there are no opportunities for visual interaction. These busts, with attendant armorial devices, are not of the

⁷⁴ These busts are placed at the very top of the monument and can only really be appreciated from the other side of the church.

same sculptural quality as the rest of the monument. They are ancillary components but stress the inseparable nature of their earthly friendship.

Two examples have been found that display painted portrait busts: at Swimbridge on the John Cutliffe monument dated 1670 (D199) and at Trusham on the John Stooke monument dated 1697 (D224). The Cutliffe monument shows the portrait in an oval sculpted frame with two ovals of arms on the left and right sides and a winged head above. Beneath is a rectangular inscription panel flanked by plain pilasters with side ornaments. Beneath the sill is a skull in a strapwork apron. The portrait shows a man wearing long hair that appears not to be a wig and with a cravat tied at the neck. The painting is on canvas.

At Trusham the Stooke monument of 1697 shows two portraits in ovals resting on a sill that itself surmounts an inscription that is flanked by volutes. The whole arrangement set beneath a shallow but clearly delineated arch. Two large pilasters support an entablature with a triangular pediment in the centre. The whole monument is made of wood. The portrait busts show a man with curly hair visible beneath a skullcap and wearing a jacket with a cravat at the neck. The portrait of his wife shows her with a large scarf worn over the head and a gown tight to the neck. There seems to be no connections between these examples save for the painted portrait busts. What these busts display in their various forms is the clear intention to maximise the impact for the spectator of the social aspirations of the deceased and their family. Whoever was responsible for the individual examples clearly intended to indicate the

levels of expenditure they were prepared to tolerate in order to ensure that the spectator was in no doubt as to the social importance of the deceased.

Part 10 Heraldry

The use of heraldry on memorial sculpture pre-dated the use of inscriptions as the means of identifying the deceased and/or their family. The employment of heraldic devices to denote familial lineage, hereditary claims and connections reached its apogee in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. From the civil war onwards, heraldry remained a significant but increasingly restrained element within the design of commemorative sculpture and was sometimes the only coloured part of the monument. The prominence of the family escutcheon with the design concept has already been alluded to with, typically, the placing of the heraldry with the canopy of the monument or, more rarely, within the apron. As a powerful reminder of social status, the display of heraldic achievements will be discussed in chapter five.

At Ashton the monument to Sir George Chudleigh d1657 (D8) illustrates how the extensive use of heraldry could overshadow the inscription, thus making the heraldic elements the most significant parts of the monument. The monument consists of three tiers; the curved upper section has the main achievement of arms complete with mantling, supporters and motto. The central section has 24 shields arranged in four vertical columns of six per column with an oval escutcheon in the top centre with a long foliate pendant acting as a divider to the panel thus creating 12 shields on either

side and the lowest section has the inscription.⁷⁵ In this example the claims to social status throughout the extensive use of heraldry are the principal objectives of this monument.

Another largely heraldic monument is that at Tawstock to Peter Bold dated 1666 (D213). Here a slate plate is divided vertically into two sections, that on the left bearing 8 shields with a legend above each one stating who the arms relate to, to whom the person was married and their issue. The whole of the right side of the plate is taken up by a single large painted achievement.⁷⁶

Part 11 Cherubs and Angels

Cherubs had been a popular component within commemorative sculpture since the Renaissance. Cherubs, shown either as a winged head or fully carved in the round, can be seen on commemorative sculpture as reminders to the spectators of those who inhabit the celestial world. Cherubs carved in the round are frequently shown carrying objects associated with death, such as skulls, hourglasses or scythes or, more rarely, as supporters to cartouches of arms.

⁷⁵ There is some confusion over this monument as Prince in his *Worthies of Devon* 1701 states that he could not find the date of Sir George's death, as there was no inscription on his grave. This raises the possibility that the monument was erected in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, many years after Sir George's death. However, the monument at Christow to Elizabeth Gibbon is clearly by the same hand as the Ashton example and such a late date as the end of the century for the erection of both monuments seems highly unlikely.

⁷⁶ Bold spent 33 years in the service of Henry Bouchiere, Earl of Bath, the monument being erected by the Earl's widow, Lady Rachel Fane. Her own monument is discussed in chapter 4.

Within the angelic ranks, Seraphim and Cherubim are placed in the First Hierarchy. Their representation on commemorative sculpture is relevant in that the Seraphim are absorbed in perpetual love and adoration immediately around the throne of God. They are representatives of Divine Love and within the established iconography they are sometimes portrayed holding candles and their gowns are usually painted red. The Cherubim know and worship God and are representative of Divine Wisdom. They often hold books and their gowns are painted blue. An example such as the Glynn family monument of 1699 shows winged figures at the ends of the canopy superstructure wearing a long red gown and with a blue low cut tunic over the top. It can therefore be argued that figures such as these are a hybrid of the Cherubim and Seraphim, employed to suggest both Divine Love and Wisdom. Monuments displaying similar angelic figures can be seen at Abbots Bickington on the Pollard monument of 1710 (D1) and the monument at St Minver to Thomas Darrell dated 1697 (C62). It is worth noting that the polychrome on these figures is original and therefore part of the decorative scheme as initially conceived.

Winged cherub heads of varying degrees of visibility are often seen emerging from the drapery at the sides of cartouches as seen at Exeter St Michael and All Angels on the Henry Northleigh monument of 1693 (D110) or within the foliate surrounds of inscription panels as at Atherington on the Anthony Snell monument of 1707 (D9).

Within the peninsular counties, the most frequent placing of cherubs carved in the round is as part of the canopy or superstructure with them often shown reclining on the external sloping or curved sides of the pediment and holding a death-related object. Cherubs shown standing on the main sill are rare in the two counties with examples at Bittadon on the Pointz monument of 1691 (D21) and at Molland on the Courtenay monuments of 1727 (D160) and 1732 (D158).⁷⁷ At Dartmouth two cherubs stand on the main sill in front of the supporting pilasters on the Vavasour monument dated 1727 (D78) signed by John Weston. Winged cherubic heads frequently appear within the corner spandrels of inscription panels or as part of the inscription design. They also appear on aprons and other elements of the monumental design.

The employment of angel figures is slightly different. Angels had, for much of the sixteenth century, been regarded along with other figures such as saints as popish symbols and were therefore removed from the repertoire of monument makers. They reappeared in the early seventeenth century but the period from the Restoration and into the eighteenth century saw them more frequently employed.

John Weston, as will be discussed later, frequently employs winged angel figures often holding trumpets while other notable examples can be seen at Buckland Brewer on the huge Davie monument, almost certainly a

⁷⁷ Secular figures that appear in this position outside the main frame of the monument can be seen at Antony on the monument to three generations of the Carew family up to 1705. These figures, dressed in long robes with a heavily fringed cape, could be religious but as they carry no identifying attributes nor are they shown with wings, their identity is uncertain.

product of the Jewell workshop in Barnstaple, where two large winged angels stand on the sill outside the main frame of the monument. Their flowing drapery and extensive body movements accentuate the pose of each figure whose line of sight appears to focus on the cartouche of arms on the entablature.

The monument to William Glynn dated 1699 at Cardinham (C10) has both angels and cherubs on the superstructure. The angels, dressed in fringed tunics worn off the shoulder so as to reveal the breasts and long underskirts slit to reveal the forward knee, stand at the ends while the cherubs lean into the curve of the central arch.

The north Devon group of monuments having arched canopies and angels has already been described but another style of canopy angel, as illustrated by the single example at Abbots Bickington on the Pollard monument of 1710 (D1), can be seen in a number of instances. This style, with the angel kneeling and in this instance supporting a Baroque heraldic cartouche, is repeated elsewhere and will feature in chapter 4 in the section on workshop attributions.

The two almost identical monuments at Bishops Tawton, the Chichester monument (D17) and Great Torrington, the Gooding monument, both of 1698 (D123) have caryatid figures standing on the main sill and outside the main supporting columns. These are unique, as are the bas-relief figures at Barnstaple on the Harris monument of 1688 (D14). Here the

figures, wearing what can best be described as classical Greek costume, stand outside the main frame of the monument.⁷⁸

Part 12 Allegory

Symbols as references to abstract concepts have been used in commemorative sculpture since the earliest times. By far the most easily recognised and socially significant use of symbolism on monuments was in the employment of heraldry. Through the establishment of formal heraldic codes heraldry would refer directly to social status and familial lineage and was consciously employed on commemorative sculpture to indicate and reinforce those concepts. The rapid expansion of commemorative sculpture from the thirteenth century and the increasing sophistication of that sculpture led to the establishment of a repertoire of additional images, including the personification of moralistic concepts surrounding the Virtues and Vices that could be understood by the educated élite.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, the pre-Reformation repertoire of saints and overtly Catholic religious imagery had long since vanished to be replaced by references more concerned with death, eternal life, Resurrection and the Last Judgement along with the merits of the virtuous life.

While the inscription panel is the vehicle to record the life, achievements and death of the person commemorated, the main structure of the monument acts as

⁷⁸ The significance of these figures will be discussed in chapter 5 as it is likely that they are personifications of two of the Cardinal Virtues but displayed in a totally unique way.

the conduit to display that symbolism associated with salvation and immortality. Ultimately, the symbolism of the period 1660-1730 was essentially secular and frequently classical in origin, whose prime underlying message can be interpreted as the promise of eternal glory and freedom from earthly constraints. The inscription frequently alludes to the concept of eternal salvation while the ancillary components reinforce that message. In West Country examples, with the inscription frequently being the dominant feature it then becomes the prime component of the monument: it is detached and iconographically distinct from the surrounding allegory. This has the effect of relegating any allegorical components to the periphery of the visual experience, the eye concentrating on the written word of the inscription rather than any surrounding imagery. By encouraging the spectator to concentrate on the inscription it is the written word rather than any imagery that has assumed superiority.

Two strands of symbolism are clearly evident within the peninsular counties monuments of the period 1660-1730. One is directly concerned with death, everlasting life and the perpetuation of the memory while the other takes its meaning from the status of the deceased. Within the repertoire of available allegorical images, the skull is the most prominent and the most obvious death symbol. However, while it is openly portrayed in painting as a symbol of mortality and the imminence of death, it assumes additional dimensions when used within the context of Baroque period commemorative sculpture. It is not only symbolic of imminent death and the transience of human life but now becomes an art object in its own right – a component that is an integral part of the design and one

that the design of the monument relies upon for visual impact. The skull is used as an abbreviation for the whole skeleton – a device frequently used in the funerary art of previous periods.

Examples of the use of skulls abound: it often forming the central decorative element of the apron as seen on Main Group monuments as fully discussed in chapter four. The skull, with or without the addition of bird or bat wings, often appears as a supporting bracket to the apron. John Weston of Exeter often uses pairs of addorsed skulls or even a group of four as seen on the Scobell monument at St Blazey 1729 (C50), at the bottom of his compositions, usually with prominently ribbed wings behind. The most likely explanation for showing the skull with bird or bat wings is to enhance the dramatic effect – to introduce a more gruesome element into the composition. Although of modest size, the wreathed skull with bat wings as seen on the monument at Braunton to Margaret Allen 1709 (D30), is a good example. Skulls are also occasionally used on the entablature of the monument where they are crowned, and set on plinths at the ends of the entablature as at Dodbrooke on the monument to Elizabeth Beare, dated 1666 (D81). This crowning of the skull and its placing on the entablature or within the main design of the monument is an oblique reference to the ultimate triumph of death.

The flaming urn or, more rarely a dish, is often placed within the canopy, with the flame of life burning above it. As an allegorical symbol, the urn has direct association with the containment of the ashes of the dead; a practice stemming from classical antiquity and in this context the object is

used not only as a decorative feature but also as a potent reminder of mortality. The meaning here is that the flame of life burns but it cannot burn forever – the fuel must eventually run out and the flame is extinguished as life is also extinguished.

Monuments to Military men are found in both counties and the display of arms is therefore a direct reference to their martial lives. At Kilkhampton in Cornwall is the large monument to Sir Beville Granville (C25) who, the inscription states, *was at length slain of wounds at the battle of Landsdowne, July ye 5th 1643.*⁷⁹

This monument shows an impressive array of weapons in the side panels including firearms, pole arms, swords, banners and a trumpet while a curiously inverted helmet flanked by axes is placed beneath the lower inscription. Another large monument that displays military equipment is that at Braunton on the monument to the Ineldon family up to 1698 (D29). The reasons why these trophies are used on this monument are as yet unclear. Another example of the uses of trophies of arms can be seen at Heanton Punchardon on the monument to Sir Arthur Bassett who died in 1672 (D133). During the Civil War Colonel Bassett was Governor of Barnstaple for the King and a prominent Royalist. These trophies are therefore symbolic of his military service.

⁷⁹ The monument was not erected until c1714 – 71 years after his death

A similarly symbolic reference can be seen on the monument to Capt. William Hutchens dated 1709 at Paul (C45).

Figures denoting death are often shown with a scythe and/or hourglass while a skeleton holding a spade can be seen at Clovelly on the slab to Anne Cary dated 1655 (D55). The figure of death holding a scythe can be seen on the monument to Elizabeth Cary dated 1677, also at Clovelly (D56). The symbolism of both the Last Judgement and the Resurrection were powerful reminders of what awaited the true believer after death. John Weston of Exeter produced a remarkable quartet of Last Judgement panels only two of which are still fully associated with their monuments. One of the four panels is now in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum Exeter, dates from c 1712 and was part of a lost monument from Ashprington. These Resurrection panels are fully discussed in chapter four.

Naturally, while skulls, as already discussed, are a ubiquitous and potent symbol of death there are others that the contemporary spectator would have very clearly understood. However, the available evidence suggests that there are in fact only a few unambiguous examples of direct reference to death and burial. The personification of death in a variety of guises was nothing new by the Restoration period; it having gained a place in the iconographic repertoire as early as the fifteenth century and by the early seventeenth century it was commonplace on monuments from the Southwark workshops in London. The immigrant Netherlandish sculptors who settled in that area developed a particular style that is easily

recognisable and frequently employs some form of personification of death, the standing skeleton with a scythe and/or hourglass being a common example.

The monument at South Molton to Edward Broad who died in 1684 (D191) is unique within the peninsular counties in that it clearly shows a coffin, grave diggers tools, as well as a skull and an hour glass in the panels immediately flanking the oval inscription. Representations of coffins and gravediggers tools were common enough on printed material from the late seventeenth century and the surviving invitation tickets to funerals, and associated ephemera, were particularly common vehicles for this type of imagery.

The hour-glass had also been popular since Elizabethan times and numerous monuments in Devon and Cornwall show it in one form or another, sometimes in the apron section, sometimes being held by cherubs, sometimes as a free standing object with or without the addition of angels wings. Other allegorical references to life and death exist including the use of the palm branch, often seen in the apron of the monument or the side volutes. The palm branch is a symbol of the ultimate victory over death, of everlasting life while inscriptions are often framed with husk like decoration – the husks holding the seeds of life.

The palm branch makes an appearance during this period and its symbolic association with the martyr's victory over death would not have been lost on the educated élite of the period nor the association of Christ's

triumph over sin and death. Similarly, laurel leaves are seen as the borders to a number of inscriptions, the idea being that the laurel symbolises triumph and eternity, a triumph over death and eternal life.

While seen on only a couple of monuments in the peninsular counties the obelisk is an important allegorical symbol connected with everlasting life. Originally an ancient Egyptian symbol, it was used during the seventeenth century as a decorative element as on the monument at Tawstock to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Bath who died in 1659 (D210). This monument has been identified as the work of Thomas Burman of London, an influential mason sculptor who died in 1674, and it therefore represents metropolitan rather than provincial representations and allegory. A smaller case of the use of obelisks is the monument at Brixham to John Upton dated 1687 (D37). Here the obelisk is an almost inconsequential ancillary object placed on the entablature.

In only one particularly noteworthy example does costume have an allegorical role. This concerns the Eliot monument at St Germans (C53). The style of the piece is very much in keeping with fashionable monuments of period in that it shows Edward Eliot in Roman costume with his wife seated and gazing down at him as he reclines on a bed of cushions. The employment of Roman costume for men appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century and had its origins in the heroic portrayals of Louis XIV, the Sun King. Adopted by both Charles II and James II, the style remained limited to royalty until after the

Glorious Revolution when it was increasingly used by men of military or civic status.

Roman military costume, as employed on monuments, is an allegory that is making a specific suggestion. Through being shown wearing this costume the wearer is signifying his adherence to the classical principals of civic duty and political liberty as well as demonstrating high moral and civic standards as it was believed were practiced in ancient Rome. The cult of heroism and the use of Roman dress extend beyond the obviously military. Through the visual code of the costume, the wearer is indicating to the spectator that he operates and functions within a society of shared moral, spiritual and political values. The monument is therefore making a conscious statement of the ability of those commemorated to see themselves as upholders of the classical values of political liberty and civic virtue. This subliminal message would not have been lost on contemporary spectators. The figure of Elizabeth is also not without meaning in that by being shown seated and with her particular pose she invites the spectator to adopt a melancholic state and to contemplate bereavement and the afterlife. This again is making a symbolic and allegorical statement that the culturally aware contemporary spectator would have fully understood.

An extremely important concept in the iconographical repertoire of the period was the allusion to the Seven Virtues or the three Theological Virtues and four Cardinal Virtues. The Theological Virtues are Faith, shown as a woman with a chalice or cross, Hope, shown with an anchor

and Charity shown as a nursing mother with children at her feet. The Cardinal Virtues are Temperance, shown holding a sword, Prudence who holds a mirror and serpent, Fortitude who is frequently portrayed with a sword and Justice who holds a sword and scales.

The Piper and Wise monument at Launceston dated 1726 (C28) has four free-standing female figures arranged on two tiers. This is the best example in the peninsular counties showing the Cardinal Virtues. The upper tier shows Charity with her children flanked by Faith with the Vase on the left and Hope with the anchor on the right. In the lower tier the inscription panel is flanked by Prudence with the serpent on the right and Fortitude on the left. What makes the personification of Fortitude unusual is that she holds the Fasces, a bundle of sticks with an axe in the centre, which was the ancient Roman symbol of magisterial authority.

Both Piper and Wise had been aldermen of the borough of Launceston and the allegorical figures are references to the qualities that holders of Civic office should have. It can also be argued that the positioning of the figure is not accidental. The inscription remains the main focus of the monument and it is placed at a convenient height for the spectator to read it. At the same height are Fortitude and Prudence suggesting that these may be the prime attributes of a holder of civic office while Temperance, Charity and Hope are less significant personal qualities. Other examples of the display of the Virtues are rare but individual personifications can be seen at St Mellion on the Coryton monument of 1711.

Part 13 Conclusion.

It has been shown that the patterns of distribution are different for each county. Within Cornwall there is a concentration of monuments around the coastal regions while in Devon the distribution is more random. What is also surprising is the similarity within the counties of the percentage of churches having three or more monuments and for which there is no immediate justification. Differences in the chronological distribution can be accounted for by the simple numerical disparity between the counties.

The typical peninsular counties monument, as exemplified by the Drewe monument at Broadhembury, while not fully embracing metropolitan developments is nonetheless within the established patterns of the period. Materials are frequently sourced locally rather than employing imported marble and this will have a direct influence on the surface treatment used – many monuments have the limestone painted to resemble more expensive marble. Architecturally, peninsular counties monuments of the period are in keeping with national developments despite the restrained nature of much of the forms used. Instances of the more blatant manipulation of the classical orders are absent from the two counties.

Effigial forms tend to be conservative by metropolitan standards but not as old fashioned as originally thought although blatant examples - Colyton and St Mellion – exist of outmoded styles

This distribution and component analysis has shown that earlier ideas regarding the lack of sophistication in Baroque period monuments in the

peninsular counties are unjustified. While not as sophisticated or modern as metropolitan examples their variety, their repertoire of components and their use of symbolic devices all indicate a proficient practice in the production of church monuments, satisfying the needs of a discerning clientele.

Chapter 4 Artists and workshops

Introduction

Part 1. Known artists from outside the region, their work in Devon and Cornwall and further attributions.

Part 2. John Weston of Exeter and the Jewells of Barnstaple with attributions to their workshops.

Part 3. Two hitherto unidentified workshops in Devon.

Part 4 Smaller workshops in Devon and Cornwall

Introduction

This chapter is chiefly concerned with providing an analysis of the work of known artists working in Devon and Cornwall, whether local or from London or elsewhere. The work of sculptors based outside the region is discussed and the work of identified local sculptors is analysed along with new attributions that add significantly to the record of their output. Within this chapter the case is made for the existence of two previously unidentified major regional workshops. Some unidentified work is here attributed to workshops outside Devon and Cornwall: London or the provinces. Other unidentified work is here attributed to smaller workshops in Devon.

Part 1 of this chapter is concerned with a discussion of both signed and unsigned monuments within the peninsular counties that are, or can be,

attributed to artists normally working outside the region. With unsigned examples, parallels have been drawn with monuments sited outside of the peninsular counties whose authorship is known or suspected. Part 2 is a detailed examination of the signed and traditionally ascribed works of John Weston and the Jewells, father and son, along with new attributions that have been made on the basis of the research conducted for this thesis. Part 3 offers an analysis of important groups of monuments and the corresponding evidence for the existence of two significant but previously unidentified workshops. Possible smaller workshops or the identified products of other unconnected workshops form part four of this chapter.

In the case of individual monuments, my method of attribution has been to compare the overall style of the monument with others that are signed and then to look more closely at specific features and again make appropriate comparisons. This has been the principal method by which I have attributed previously unrecognized monuments as the work of either John Weston or the Jewells. For monuments that have been attributed to artists working outside the region, e.g. William Stanton, the same method has been used although the diversity of Stanton's output is such that a few specific examples have been used. In the case of a Weston monument that formerly existed in the church of St Andrew in Plymouth, the only reference we have is that given by Dean Jeremiah Milles. The monument was lost during World War II.

In the attribution of monuments to the Main Group category, a clearly recognizable set of features has been identified and in other examples, while not every feature is present, sufficient areas of similarity exist so as to make an informed judgment. Groupings of other monuments have been made using the same method.

A monument that is attributed to an artist is therefore considered to be his work, in whole or in part. If there is reason to believe that a monument was produced in the workshop of the artist and under his direction but not by his hand, it is listed as 'of the workshop' of the artist.

Following standard cataloguing practice, the following descriptive terms are appropriate.

- Attributed to an artist – a work that is, in all probability, by the artist in whole or in part
- Workshop of an artist – a work produced in the workshop or studio of the artist possibly under his supervision.
- 'Of the circle of' an artist – a work of the same period and displaying the influence of the artist.
- 'A follower of the artist' – a piece executed in the style of the artist but not necessarily by a pupil.
- 'In the manner of' an artist– a piece executed in the style of the artist but at a later date.

There are only a small number of artists who have been identified as having been responsible for producing church monuments in the peninsular counties in the period 1660-1730. The most important local artists so far identified as working in Devon during this period were John Weston in Exeter and the Jewells, Thomas the Elder and Thomas the Younger, in Barnstaple although this chapter will offer speculative evidence of other identifiable artists. The importance of Weston and the Jewells is entirely due to the recognition of their signed works and this will be fully discussed in this chapter.

A few monuments, while unsigned, have traditionally been ascribed to Weston on stylistic grounds and the research undertaken for this thesis has identified others that are almost certainly his work and yet others that are likely to be by him. Both Gunnis and Pevsner have noted the importance of John Weston's work while that of the Jewells of Barnstaple, also recorded by both authors, has received little attention by comparison. My research has also added to the number of likely monuments by these two artists. With the exception of Michael Chuke of Kilkhampton, whose work will be discussed later, no identified artists have been found living and working in Cornwall at this time. This is possibly due to the scarcity of information regarding the county and also that monuments appear to have been imported into the county from elsewhere as outlined in chapter two.

Part 1. Known artists from outside the region, their work in Devon and Cornwall and further attributions.

Although falling slightly outside the intended chronological parameters of this thesis, my research has located only one monument of the period within the peninsular counties that is actually signed by a major metropolitan sculptor. This monument, in Exeter Cathedral, commemorates Prebendary John Grant (D96) who died in 1736 and is signed by Peter Scheemakers.¹ Peter Scheemakers the Younger (1691-1781) trained in the workshop of his father, Peeter Scheemaeckers the Elder (1652-1714), an Antwerp sculptor.

Peter the Younger spent several years working as a journeyman sculptor in Copenhagen before coming to London in 1720 where he found work initially under Francis Bird (1667-1731) and very soon after under Denis Plumier (1688-1721).² It was while working for Plumier that Scheemakers met Laurent Delvaux (1696-1778) with whom a business was established. In 1728 they sold up and travelled to Italy to study sculpture. Scheemakers returned alone two years later and established a business in London, moving a number of times as the business expanded. The costs of monuments from his studio ranged from the £40-£50 charged for a wall tablet complete with architectural surround, the type that might be purchased by the minor gentry, to £300 for a double effigy monument

¹ This monument was made c1737. See 'Peter Scheemakers' by Ingrid Roscoe, *The Walpole Society* vol. 61 1999 pp 194.

² Bird is best known for his work on St Paul's Cathedral where he executed several major pieces including the panel over the west door for which he was paid £329 in March 1706 and £650 for the Conversion of St Paul in the same year for the great pediment. This latter piece being 64 ft long and 17ft high. See R Gunnis *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851* 1951.

with architecture that might suit the tastes of grand aristocrats. The modest scale of the Grant monument suggests that it might have cost in the region of £50. Scheemakers' workshop did not only produce church monuments but also busts, statues and chimneypieces. Monuments and other products for which he alone was responsible appear to date from c1730 and he continued working until 1771 when he retired to Antwerp and died there in 1781.

My empirical research has established the existence within the peninsular counties of unsigned works that are thought likely to be the products of important metropolitan artists or artists working in regional centres. Although unsigned, the Edward Eliot monument at St Germans (C53), dated 1722, is traditionally attributed to John Michael Rysbrack on stylistic grounds. J M Rysbrack (1694-1770) was the son of Peter Rysbrack, a landscape painter and etcher from Antwerp, who worked in England but later settled in Paris after the reaction against Catholics following the Popish Plot of 1678. Rysbrack came to England in 1720 having already trained as a sculptor under the Flemish sculptor Michael Van der Voort. The younger Rysbrack and Peter Scheemakers were known to each other but it was Rysbrack who was the more successful artist until Scheemakers eclipsed him with his standing statue of William Shakespeare for Westminster Abbey 1740-41. As well as commemorative sculpture, Rysbrack's considerable output included statues, busts, reliefs and chimneypieces with a number of his early monuments being located in Westminster Abbey. Rysbrack retired in 1765 and died in Oxford in 1770.

Within the literature on Rysbrack, only Webb refers to the Eliot monument.³ Webb also considers the possibility that the architect James Gibbs was probably responsible for the design of the monument: she also states that Rysbrack signed the monument.⁴ . At the time of Eliot's death, Rysbrack was working for James Gibbs (1682 - 1754) and their involvement together lasted until c1729. Eliot's wife Elizabeth was the sister of James Craggs, one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, who died in 1721, and who had a monument erected to him in 1727 in the nave of Westminster Abbey. Although the Craggs monument was executed by Giovanni Battista Guelfi (fl 1715-1734) it too was designed by Gibbs and Edward Eliot's brother Richard supplied the marble for it.⁵ The obvious question therefore is did Richard Eliot also supply the marble for his brother's monument? This appears to be a reasonable possibility but cannot as yet be verified.

The work of other important metropolitan and regional artists is represented within the peninsular counties. James Paty the Elder of Bristol (working 1721-1746) signed the monument to Sir William Pendarves at Camborne dated 1726 (C8) as discussed in chapter three. There were in total four members of the Paty family based in Bristol, James the Elder, James the Younger (born c 1746), Thomas (1713-1789)

³ MI Webb, 'Michael Rysbrack, Sculptor' *Country Life* 1954³ p215. She considers the monument to be more rococo than usual for Rysbrack.

⁴ Webb *op.cit* I have found no signature on this monument but the piece was moved to its present location to beneath the north tower sometime after 1875. Old photographs show it in the chancel and it is possible that a signature has been placed in an obscure position and therefore not readily accessible.

⁵ See Terry Friedman *James Gibbs* 1984 p341 note 48. See also G Sherburn *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope* vol.2 p226. Oxford 1956

and William (1758-1800).⁶ James the Elder was admitted a freeman of the city of Bristol in 1721 and in that year signed a monument at St Mary Redcliffe. James the Younger signed several monuments as did Thomas and William Paty. That the Pendarves family were able to employ a Bristol-based sculptor – of whom no other works in the peninsular counties have been identified - is an indication of the possible extent of a sculptor's reputation.

The corpus of monuments so far identified within the peninsular counties includes examples that, despite being unsigned, are recognisable as the likely products of metropolitan workshops or of other artists working in other recognised centres of church monument production. This new identification therefore helps to create a significant corpus of material from which reasonable conclusions might be drawn.

One of the most important metropolitan based workshops whose work is known to exist in areas far removed from London is that of the Stantons and as will be shown there is a very strong possibility that this workshop exported memorial sculpture to the peninsular counties. Thomas Stanton (1610-1674), who established the family firm, was apprenticed to William Kingsfield under the auspices of the Masons' Company and became free in 1631. He was admitted to the livery in 1645-46, served as Warden in 1657-58 and was elected Master of the Masons' Company in 1659-60. By May 1638 he was living in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn, and in 1639 he had premises next to the church. Few monuments can be ascribed to

⁶ See Gunnis *op cit* pp 294-295.

Thomas Stanton with any certainty and he appears to have signed only two.⁷ It was Thomas's nephew William Stanton (1639-1705) who became one of the foremost mason-sculptors of the late seventeenth and very early eighteenth centuries and is the person most readily associated with the Stanton dynasty of sculptors. William became free of the Mason's Company in 1663 and in 1688 and 1689 was Master of the Company. He was also an architect and in 1686 was employed by Sir John Brownlow on the building of Belton House, Lincolnshire. His range of patrons included modest or minor gentry up to aristocratic families and the output of the workshop, while under constant review by scholars of commemorative sculpture, is increasingly seen as vast. William's son Edward continued the family business after his father's death, himself dying in 1734.

My research argues that several monuments within the peninsular counties have the features of standard Stanton products and that they are seen as possibly originating from the Holborn workshop. Despite being unsigned, they have close parallels with other known Stanton products from elsewhere in England or parallels with monuments that have been ascribed to the Stanton workshop on stylistic grounds. That they are unsigned is not an uncommon phenomenon.⁸

The monument to John Roe, died 1657 at St Minver (C61), shows a male figure in profile kneeling on a cushion at a prayer desk: in his lowered

⁷ See Adam White *A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors*. The Walpole Society 1999 pp108-110

⁸ Mrs KA Esdaile first brought the Stantons to notice in her article 'The Stantons of Holborn', *Architecture Journal* LXXXV 1928. For another account of the Stanton practice see Gunnis *op cit*.

right hand he holds a book and the left hand is brought to the chest. Both the figure and desk are enclosed within a plain niche. Forward of the niche are two columns supporting an entablature on which there is no longer any display of decorative or heraldic components although they almost certainly existed. Beneath the sill and between the console brackets is an inscription tablet set within a plain moulded frame. This effigy and some of the architectural features are made of alabaster, a material seldom seen at this time due to the alabaster beds becoming worked out.

The Roe monument has very close parallels with a double effigy monument in the church of St Leonard, Streatham, London to John Massingford and wife dated 1653 (Appendix 1A). The Massingford figure has a very similar pose to that of John Roe despite a slight difference in the depiction of the right arm; bent at the elbow in the Roe example and straight on the Massingford figure. The treatment of the left hand on both figures is virtually identical. The Massingford monument shows a prayer desk between the kneeling figures and they are portrayed against a backdrop of two shallow niches with a horizontal moulding. The coffered under surface of the projecting entablature acts as the canopy above the figures. The area between the foliate console brackets has two shields of arms with a central inscription panel. Beneath a subsidiary sill a winged head with side scrolls is placed centrally while small stops appear in line with the console brackets. The similarity of the poses, the thin identically moulded main sills and overall similarities in the architecture strongly suggest a common origin for these two monuments.

The style of the Massingford monument and its location suggests that it is the product of a notable metropolitan workshop. Analysis of both monuments suggests that they might be the work of Thomas Stanton but, being unsigned, this must remain speculative. Both monuments fall comfortably within Thomas Stanton's working life and if the Roe piece is his work, as I firmly believe it to be, then it is a highly significant monument given that few pieces have been identified as being by Thomas Stanton or possibly coming from his workshop.⁹

At Padstow, a lengthy inscription panel dominates the large monument to Edmund Prideaux who died in 1683 (C43). This panel is flanked by two columns that support an entablature that is in turn surmounted by an open segmental pediment with foliate stops at the breaks: a large urn with gadrooned lid is placed centrally on the pediment. Beneath the sill are two simple console brackets with a panel between them having a modest cartouche of arms accompanied by drapery and palm branches. This monument has close parallels with that of Sir Paul Rycout, died 1700, at Aylesford in Kent (Appendix 2A). The main similarities lie in the size and format of the inscription panel, the format of the supporting columns and console brackets and the mouldings on the main sill. The form of the superstructure differs on both monuments with the urn of the Prideaux monument being replaced with an achievement of arms and an arch of

⁹ For pointing out the connection between the Massingford and Roe monuments I am grateful to Mr Geoffrey Fisher of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. I am also indebted to Dr Adam White for his analysis of these monuments and his confirmation of the attribution to Thomas Stanton. White lists only 16 monuments that are signed, documented or firmly attributed to Thomas Stanton and the possibility that both the Massingford and Roe pieces are his work adds significantly to his oeuvre. For a discussion of the work of Thomas Stanton see A White, *Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors 1560-1660* Walpole Society 1999 pp1-163

foliage. The Rycaut monument has a secondary inscription panel between the console brackets as well as a foliate support bracket. The Rycaut monument has been ascribed to William Stanton on stylistic grounds and the clear similarities between it and the Prideaux monument suggest that the earlier piece is also a Stanton workshop product.¹⁰

Another potential Stanton workshop product is the monument at Brixham to Antony Upton, dated 1669 (D35). Dominated by a large oval inscription panel set within a heavy foliate border of laurel leaves tied with thin ribbon binding and plain flat raised corner spandrels¹¹, the monument has close parallels with two other monuments, at Barlow Gurney, Somerset to William Gore died 1662 (Appendix 3A) and St Helen's Bishopsgate, London to William Finch, died 1672 (Appendix 4A) which have been ascribed to William Stanton on stylistic grounds.¹² Considerable areas of similarity exist in all three monuments – the treatment of the wreath surrounding the inscription, the uses of different script styles within the inscription, similar architectural styles and broadly comparable apron formats and general decorative elements although the Upton piece is the simpler of the three. The flame-topped urn on the entablature at Brixham appears disproportionately small and isolated but the monument has almost certainly lost a pediment, possibly of the open segmental type.

¹⁰ The Rycaut monument has been attributed to William Stanton by Bruce Bailey, the photograph of it being in the collections of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

¹¹ Laurel is used in this context as it symbolises triumph and eternity.

¹² For drawing my attention to these parallels I am grateful to Geoffrey Fisher at the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

The undeniable similarities between the Finch, Gore and Upton monuments strongly suggest that they are all the product of a single workshop and they also display clearly identifiable Stantonesque features. Despite their geographical locations and that there are ten years separating the dates of death the likelihood is that all three are indeed products of William Stanton's workshop and were probably made to a stock design.

The monument at Camborne to William Pendarves erected 1685 (C9) could possibly be a product of the William Stanton workshop as the area beneath the main sill in particular has features similar to other Stanton pieces and the monument is clearly not local work. The swags seen on the Upton monument are repeated on the Pendarves piece but on a smaller scale and are arguably more hesitant in execution.

The incidence of possible products of the William Stanton workshop in the peninsular counties continues with the monument at St Newlyn East to Lady Margaret Arundell (C63) who died in 1691. This is one of the finest late seventeenth century monuments in the peninsula counties. The Arundells were a large and wealthy family who owned extensive estates in Cornwall. The monument is placed on the west wall of the south transept, an area that formerly served as the family's private chapel. It shows a large inscription panel that has been revealed by having curtains drawn back and looped to the columns that support the entablature. At the outer sides of the columns are decorative volutes with flowers. The open segmental pediment has bouquets of flowers placed on the outer edges

while a beautifully executed bust of Lady Margaret, placed on a small plinth, occupies the central section. This bust has the gaze directed towards the high altar and it is reasonable to assume that this was intentional rather than accidental therefore suggesting that the artist was made aware of the final position of the monument within the church. If indeed this is the case then it has notable implications for the involvement of the artist in understanding the positioning of the monument. This point will be further discussed in chapter five.

The Arundell monument has very close parallels with monuments at Blithfield, Staffordshire to Lady Bagot, dated 1686 (Appendix 5A) and at Sprowston, Norfolk to Sir Paul Paynter, also dated 1686 (Appendix 6A).¹³ All three have features strongly suggestive of Stantonesque products as identified on the monuments at Brixham, Barrow Gurney and Bishopsgate. The Blithfield monument has the looped curtains shown in virtually the same manner as on the Arundell piece while the shallow fringe that acts as a pelmet is identical. Foliage lying on the outer curves of the pediment is a feature common to all three monuments but the treatment of the rest of the pedimental decoration differs in all three. Lady Arundell's monument is the only one of the trio to have a portrait bust while Lady Bagot's monument has a flame topped urn and that to Sir Paul Paynter has an achievement of arms with foliage. Similarly, the area beneath the main sill differs between all three. Lady Arundell has the family achievement with supporters; Lady Bagot has a secondary inscription panel with drapery looped tightly across the top and with an

¹³ Again, I am grateful to Geoffrey Fisher for pointing out these similarities.

achievement of arms with foliage in the lower or extended section. Sir Paul Paynter's monument again has a secondary inscription with the tightly looped drapery but this time it terminates in a shallow group of palm branches tied with a ribbon.

I consider that these differences are of only incidental importance and that the case for Lady Arundell's monument being by the same hand as those at Sprowston and Blithfield is made. Again, the monuments are all unsigned but stylistic analysis strongly suggests that they originated from the Stanton studio. Although on an altogether larger scale, the effigial monument to Thomas, Earl Rivers dated 1694 at Macclesfield, Cheshire is signed by William Stanton and displays some of the features found on the above mentioned monuments especially the shallow fringe and the treatment of the curtains tied to the supporting columns.

Balthasar Burman (fl 1678-1688) was responsible for the standing monument of Lady Rachel Fane, 1680 at Tawstock (D211).¹⁴ His father was Thomas Burman (1618-1674) who was bound apprentice in 1633 to Edward Marshall (1598 - 1675). Marshall's monuments are extremely important and Thomas Burman was to become the master of John Bushnell (d1701) who, were it not for mental instability, could have been one of the outstanding sculptors of his age. Adam White has identified Thomas Burman as the artist responsible for the monument to Countess Rachel's husband Henry, 5th Earl of Bath who died in 1654 but the

¹⁴ See note 41 chapter 3

monument was erected c1659 also at Tawstock (D210).¹⁵ The standing figure of Lady Rachel is a copy of the figure of the Countess of Shrewsbury at St John's College, Cambridge by Thomas Burman.

A Devon monument that may have been inspired by metropolitan examples is that at Cadeleigh to Bridget Higgons who died in 1691 (D45). The monument consists of a vertical box-like chest on a moulded base with an oval frontal inscription panel within a foliate border. On the top is a gadrooned plinth supporting an urn. The monument is unsigned but it has very close parallels with four other known monuments, three of which are either signed by or ascribed stylistically to the workshop of William Stanton while John Bushnell signs the fourth. The signed example by William Stanton can be seen in Worcester Cathedral and commemorates John Bromley who died in 1674 (Appendix 7A). Here the base has a simple oval inscription panel with raised corner spandrels, a gadrooned support on the top with a plinth supporting an urn. The base is flanked by side foliate volutes, as is the Higgons monument. The monument is at Caverswall, Staffordshire to George Cradock, who died in 1675 (Appendix 8A), is unsigned but is virtually identical to the Bromley piece thus making an attribution to William Stanton very plausible. The third in the group that might be a Stanton product is that at Chichester Cathedral to

¹⁵ See A White, *A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors c1560-c1660* Walpole Society, vol 61 1999 p14. The Earl's monument has not always received a good press. GT Harris comment in the 1926-27 volume of Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries when he reported on the 1843 edition of JH Markland *Remarks on English Churches And on the Expediency of Rendering Sepulchral Memorials Subservient to Pious and Christian Uses* where the Earls' monument was considered "almost unequalled in singularity and absurdity. A huge sarcophagus rests on the backs and shoulders of four wolves or nondescript animals". Writing in 1954 WG Hoskins in his *Devon* described it as 'massive and ugly' but Pevsner was kinder when he described it as 'A splendid, relatively restrained free-standing monument of black and white marble'

Bishop King who died in 1669 although it may have been made sometime later. At Westminster Abbey the monument to Abraham Cowley died 1674 (Appendix 9A) by John Bushnell offers further comparisons.¹⁶

This monument has a box chest of the same format as the Stanton example but without the corner spandrels and with a larger urn having a diagonal band of foliage running from top left to bottom right.

There is a clear and obvious similarity between the Higgons monument and those similar examples cited above. However, the Higgons piece clearly lacks the sophistication of execution seen on the other examples, it lacks a cuboid base to the urn and the lettering on the inscription is obviously inferior.

Bridget Higgons' second husband was Sir Thomas Higgons, a London lawyer, and he may well have been aware of the designs for the other pieces as well as actually seeing the one in Westminster Abbey. While the inscription at the base of the piece states that the monument was 'created' i.e. commissioned, by her son, Sir Simon Leach, his stepfather may have influenced him in his design choice.

¹⁶ See Gunnis *op.cit.* The monument was paid for by the duke of Buckingham but his finances were so complex that they were taken over by Sir Robert Clayton who made the disbursements to Bushnell amounting to £100 between 5th June and 15th September 1674.

The likely conclusion, therefore, is that the design of the Bridget Higgons monument was inspired by the examples of Stanton and Bushnell but that it is the product of a non-metropolitan, possibly local, artist.

Iconographically, there are important aspects to these monuments that demand a consideration. The significance of the urn as an iconographic object has been discussed in chapter three but attention is drawn to the box chest. Evisceration was practised until the later eighteenth century as a means of preserving the soft organs and visceral chests remain in family and other mausolea.¹⁷ What is portrayed here can be interpreted as a morphing of the traditional sarcophagus format, used to hold the complete body, into a reduced accommodation for the important body parts; the urn being the container for the deceased's 'ashes'. Nigel Llewellyn argues that in the 1600s urns became '*the focus of new attention*' in that they were increasingly the centrepiece of iconographic programmes.¹⁸ By the eighteenth century the acceptance of the urn could be both in the antique sense as a receptacle for cremated remains or as an ossuary into which the collected bones of the deceased has been placed. Full cremation was anathema to eighteenth-century thinking.

The monument at Membury to Frances Fry, who died in 1718 (D153), was erected in 1723. This has a square inscription panel, with volutes at the sides and is placed on a plainly moulded sill. Above the inscription is a

¹⁷ I am grateful to Dr Julian Litten for information regarding visceral chests and he informs me that typically a visceral chest is about 450mm cubed. See also his *English Way of Death* Hale 2002.

¹⁸ Nigel Llewellyn *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* Cambridge University Press 2000 p44

small sill on which stands a portrait bust. Beneath the main sill is a eulogising verse, again with side volutes. The inscription panel and bust are sculpted in white marble and set against a backdrop of grey marble with modest pilasters and a gently curving superstructure with urns at the ends. The backdrop appears to have lost some decorative components.

This monument has very close parallels with a memorial in Bath Abbey to Dorothy Hobart, who died in 1722 (Appendix 10A), signed by Harvey of Bath (firm working 1687-1740). The Hobart bust is placed on a scrolled plinth, has a downcast gaze with her hair swept back over her head and then falling over her right shoulder. The drapery has a distinctly crinkled edge but falls off the body on the right side fully revealing the right breast. The inscription, placed beneath the main sill has foliate volutes of the same form as seen at Membury and the foliate apron is similarly treated. The Membury bust has a similarly downcast gaze with the head inclined to the right and a softer but nevertheless similar treatment to the drapery although there is no exposed breast. The hair is similarly treated, again falling over the right shoulder. Based on these similarities, I consider that an attribution of the Fry monument to Harvey of Bath is fully justified.

Also by Harvey of Bath is the signed monument at Barnstaple to Elizabeth Incedon who died in 1717(not illustrated). This monument is dominated by an inscription panel that is flanked by plain pilasters and supports an entablature that displays triglyphs and guttae. The simply curved superstructure is fronted by an achievement of arms with a flame-topped urn at the top.

Nicholas Abraham (fl 1678-1688) signed the monument at St Martins by Looe (C58) to Walter Langdon who died in 1676 (see chapter three). Nothing is currently known of this artist except that he was required to appear before the London Mason's Company '*and be sworn to the company*'.¹⁹ No other monument has been identified as his work despite the significance and competence of execution of the Langdon piece. It is tantalising to think that Abraham might have been a local sculptor but there is no evidence to suggest the location of his workshop.

Pevsner suggests that either William Kidwell (died 1736) or William Stanton (1639-1705) might be responsible for the monument to Sir Thomas and Lady Ursula Putt of c1686 at Gittisham (D122) although this cannot be verified.²⁰ The monument features two large flame topped urns placed on the lid of a box tomb. An architectural backdrop consists of a triangular pediment with a cartouche of arms in the centre, the whole supported on short pilasters. The whole monument is placed within a large black marble niche. Certainly the quality of execution and originality of the design suggests at least a regional or more possibly metropolitan artist but unless further evidence is forthcoming, any attribution must be treated with suspicion. William Kidwell, actually a member of the Painter Stainers Company with a yard in Westminster Hall Gate, is perhaps an unlikely candidate for the Putt monument if indeed it was made shortly after Sir Thomas's death, unless he had a very long working life. Of the

¹⁹ Gunnis .*op cit*

²⁰ Another suggested possibility is that this unusual monument is the work of Abraham Storey. Again this cannot be verified but it would be extremely important if this were the case.

two suggested artists, Stanton is by far the more likely candidate but the design is unlike any of those known to be by him.

The monument to Mary Carew 1731 at Antony (C2) is attributed to Thomas Carter the Elder (died 1756).²¹ This monument, clearly an innovative piece, has significant stylistic comparisons in the distinctive forms of the volutes beneath the main sill with later work at Egloshayle to Sir John Molesworth c1735 but made c1750 by Sir Henry Cheere (1703-1781). This particularly distinctive style of curved volutes is found on other Cheere monuments dating from the 1740's although it appears that the design originated with Van der Voort in Antwerp.²² If the monument to Mary Carew dates from the early 1730's then it is in advance of anything by Cheere but I strongly suspect that the monument may date from the 1740's.

Weale of Plymstock St Mary (no dates known) of whom nothing is known, signed the monument at Plymstock to John Harrys who died in 1733 (D180). A modest monument this shows an inscription panel flanked by plain pilasters that support an entablature and a segmental pediment. A simple apron has later inscriptions added.

At Lynton, Pevsner records that the painted monument to Thomas Grose 1734 (D151) is the work of Phelps of Porlock (no dates known) of

²¹ Both Gunnis and Pevsner cite this monument as the work of Carter but on initial inspection no signature could be found.

²² For a discussion of this form of volute see M Baker 'Roubiliac and Cheere in the 1730's and 1740's.' *Church Monuments*, Journal of the Church Monuments Society vol. X 1995 p 90-109. See also M Baker *Figured in Marble – the making and Viewing of eighteenth century sculpture* V&A 2000

whom nothing else is known.²³ While the visual focus of this monument is centred on the inscription, the figures either side are not without significance. That on the left is of a man with a sickle raised high in his left hand while the figure on the right, probably St Mary, wears a crown and carries a cross. Both figures have angels with trumpets above them while in the curved upper section is a heavenly vision complete with the inverted triangle bearing sacred monogram in Hebrew.

A possible metropolitan monument is that at Calstock to Lady Jemima Sandwich who died in 1674 (C6). She was the wife of Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich who was a noted admiral and statesman under Charles II.²⁴ Her modest monument in veined marble with a white marble inscription on suspended drapery and two heavily cloaked and hooded figures seated on the canopy is unlike any similar example in the peninsular counties and, partly because of her high social status, it may be a metropolitan piece. No positive attribution has been made thus far.

One significant point to emerge from the research is that there is strong evidence to support the view that important metropolitan and regional artists were supplying commemorative sculpture to the social élites of the peninsular counties during the period under review to an extent not previously recognised.

²³ This monument is high on the wall at the back of the church and no signature could be seen from the ground.

²⁴ For an account of her life and burial at Calstock see Claire Tomalin *Samuel Pepys, The Unequalled Self*, Penguin 2003. Various references but p334 for her burial.

While their works in the two counties, especially those credited to William Stanton, are unsigned, the stylistic analysis argues convincingly for positive attributions. This has implications for the awareness of those commissioning the monuments of developments in London and elsewhere, thus reinforcing the view that the peninsular counties were not as culturally isolated as was thought. This heightened awareness of developments elsewhere also has implications not only for social status, as will be discussed later, but also for the possible impact that these monuments made on local producers.

Part 2. John Weston of Exeter and the Jewells of Barnstaple with attributions to their workshops.

John Weston of Exeter

Without doubt, John Weston was, by the contemporary standards of the peninsular counties, a major artist during the early years of the eighteenth century. His importance was first recognised by Gunnis in 1953 and as far as can be ascertained no other published work on his life or products was attempted until I examined his known output, firstly in 1996 and more thoroughly in this thesis.

Nothing is currently known of John Weston's early life, his apprenticeship or freedom. As far as can be determined he was unrelated to Bishop Stephen Weston who was appointed to the diocese in 1724. It is evident from the surviving signed and traditionally attributed monuments that his

career began in earnest early in the second decade of the eighteenth century and that he continued to produce monuments well into the 1730s.

The earliest reference so far found to John Weston is dated February 1722/3 when the Dean & Chapter of Exeter Cathedral allowed him to rent *a shed and courtlage in the Cathedral Close at a rent of 25s per year.*²⁵

This property had previously been rented out to one Francis Jewell.²⁶ Weston held the office of Clerk of the Works to Exeter Cathedral from 1730 to 1742 at an annual salary of £10.²⁷ It is assumed that Weston died c1748 as the St Mary Major Land Tax Assessment refers to the 'late Mr Weston's house.'²⁸ Interestingly, a reference for Saturday 13 July 1751 states that the Dean and Chapter

*agreed to grant an estate in late Mr Weston's tenement within the close for a term of 31 years from 30th June last under the former yearly rent for the sum of £43 upon surrender of the last lease provided the money be paid in two months for the first day.*²⁹

No record of his death or burial has been found.

²⁵ Chapter Act Book D&C 3565 (1716-1727) p 298.

²⁶ Clive Easter 'John Weston of Exeter and the Last Judgement', pp84-90 Church Monuments 1995. This Francis Jewell may possibly be related to the Jewells of Barnstaple whose work will be discussed later in the chapter. If this is the case then it raises intriguing possibilities regarding the influences under which they might have worked.

²⁷ Weston was inexplicably replaced as Clerk of the Works in 1742 by one Arthur Bradley and as the Cathedral archives show consistent payments to Bradley during the period of Weston's office it is conceivable that Bradley was Weston's deputy and therefore a logical choice for Weston's job when it became vacant.

²⁸ Easter *op cit*. His house was valued at £6 10s while his loft and workshop in the cathedral cloister was valued at £3.

²⁹ See Chapter Act book of Exeter Cathedral, (no. 3568) for Saturday 13 July 1751.

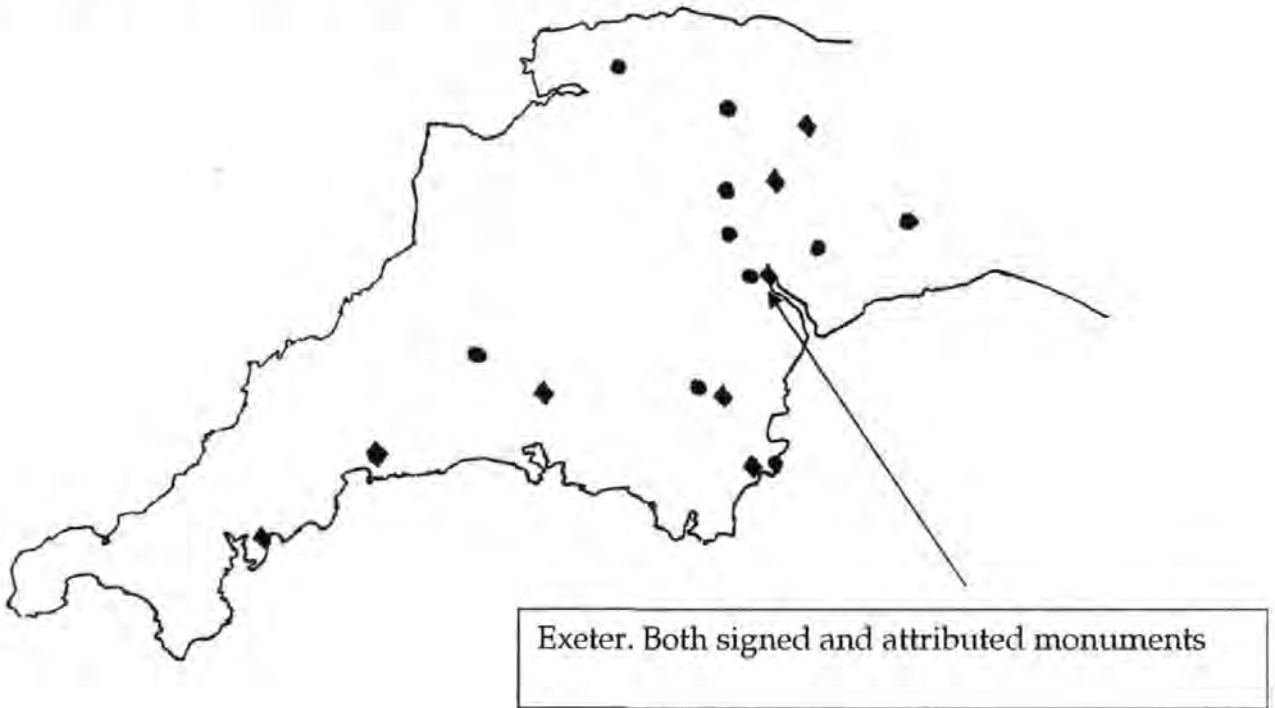
Weston has a total of only eight signed monuments dating from the 1710s to 1730s and it is possible that his work for the cathedral occupied much of his time: he could also have been engaged on other work of which no documentary or other evidence survives.

It seems unlikely that Weston's identified or traditionally attributed church monument output would have been sufficient to sustain a business and his work for Exeter Cathedral may have been in more of an honorary capacity as there are very few references in the cathedral account books to payments made to him. Nevertheless, being employed, in whatever capacity, by the cathedral authorities would have been a significant boost to his business and social status within the city. In his capacity as Clerk of the Works to the cathedral he would have been close to the major centres of patronage within the city and therefore in a position of some influence.

John Weston's overall style is generally one of restraint and in that respect while he is one of the foremost sculptors working in the peninsula counties, his work fails to display the more exuberant characteristics of his metropolitan contemporaries.

Distribution of Monuments by John Weston

◆ = Signed monument ● = attributed monument



Signed monuments by John Weston.

One of the developments in funerary art in the seventeenth century was the increasing appearance of monuments signed by the artist or artists responsible for making them. Nevertheless, while the practice of adding a signature gained momentum from the 1630's, the vast majority of monuments remained unsigned until well into the eighteenth century. The addition of a signature to a monument strongly suggests a rise in the status of the sculptor, from being a stonecutter to that of artist-craftsman.

Within the peninsula counties there are only eight monuments that bear John Weston's signature. His earliest signed monument is that at Tiverton to Revd. John Newte who died in 1715 (D220). This modest but well executed cartouche clearly failed to attract Polwhele's' attention although

he does record a ledger slab to Newte.³⁰ By the contemporary standards of the peninsular counties this monument ranks as a significant example of the genre and it would not be out of place in a more metropolitan environment.

In the church of St Petrock, Exeter is the monument dated 1717 to Jonathan and Elizabeth Ivie (not illustrated). The main body of the monument is now positioned above the entrance doorway, the dominant component being the lengthy inscription engraved on the drapery of a baldacchino. Architecturally somewhat conservative, the angels reclining on the canopy are also a visually commanding feature and are significant in that they are highly distinctive and represent a qualitative departure in the portrayal of angelic forms from other monuments seen within the peninsular counties. These angels are well carved with the loose drapery of their gowns falling off the shoulders to reveal a breast. This portrayal of the angelic form became, as will be shown, one of the hallmarks of Weston's output. The angels are portrayed holding trumpets and as such can be seen as reminders of the Last Trump; they would also aid and direct the contemporary spectator to the importance of the Last Judgement and Resurrection.

There is within the church an oval panel depicting the Last Judgement with two winged skulls, acting as a support bracket that was once part of the Ivie monument but has now become detached. This panel is one of four that exist displaying this subject, three being horizontal and one

³⁰ Richard Polwhele 'History of Devonshire' 1793-1806 Vol.2 p353fn

being vertical. The Ivie panel consists of a flat horizontal oval with a scrolled edge on which are placed two distinct scenes, one above the other. The lower scene has figures emerging from their graves while others are in the process of being lifted upwards by angels. On the right of the scene one figure is being dragged away by a demon while an angel with a sword tries to intervene. The upper scene, set against a cloudy backdrop, shows angels, some with trumpets, accompanying the saved. The spirituality, emotion and violence evident in this panel is striking and more intense than the other panels that make up the group.

Beatrix Cresswell writing in 1908 reports that the Ivie monument was brought to St Petrock's when the old church of St Kerrian was pulled down in 1873. It must be assumed that this is when the Last Judgement panel became separated from the main body of the monument. Cresswell, quoting from Jenkins, states that the monument, as it existed in St Kerrian's, was not in good order but the Last judgement is described as '*a fine piece of marble sculpture*'.³¹

She also rightly considers that the carving on the panel is different in style from the carving on the rest of the monument and indeed this difference is repeated on other monuments within the group. This raises difficult but interesting questions and issues as to specific areas of responsibility in the production of these monuments. Did Weston carve the panels and contract out the rest to workshop assistants or is it that the panels are by

³¹ See Beatrix Cresswell *Exeter Churches* 1908 p 147-52. She provides no other details about Jenkins. The photographic illustration of the Last Judgement panel (facing page 147) is the earliest I have encountered.

another hand? Weston is not known to have employed assistants and nothing is known for certain regarding his workshop practice, but the panels are clearly the work of a very competent sculptor and the fact that the monuments are signed indicates that they are by his hand.

The monument at Whitchurch to Francis Pengelly dated 1722 (D231) is an interesting illustration of Weston's increasing maturity of style. The prime focus of this monument is the vertical oval panel showing the Last Judgement with the inscription placed on the front panel of the box tomb; as this is the only one of the four surviving Resurrection panels to be placed vertically it allows the design to incorporate four distinct tiers instead of the two found on the other examples. The lowest tier has the naked dead rising from their graves with angels as seen on the Ivie tablet while the distance between the lower tier and the next is now increased, thus enabling Weston to emphasize the gulf between earth and heavenly salvation. The second tier shows the saved with their attendant angels and others with trumpets having reached heaven while two more angels on the third tier continue to welcome the saved. This heavenly scene is presided over by a seated God the Father placed at the top of the panel.

Architecturally, the Pengelly monument is as restrained as the Ivie monument but the angels holding trumpets are replaced with larger, winged angels reclining on the outer curves of the central arch, their heads resting in their hands. The loose thin drapery worn by these angels clearly reveals the contours of the body beneath and each figure has the fabric looped across the body so as to expose a breast, much as on the Ivie

example but here the execution is a little more refined. These figures are near mirror images of each other with only slight differences in the drapery. Standing to either side of the Last Judgement panel are two allegorical figures that are personifications of Religion (holding a book) and Fortitude (wearing a sword). As Pengelly was a lawyer, the figure of Fortitude is entirely justified. These personifications are similarly attired to the reclining angels but only the figure of Fortitude has the exposed breast. Both standing figures have their head turned outward with no corresponding interaction with the spectator. The idiosyncratic style of these personifications is highly significant as their form is repeated on other Weston monuments and such is their uniqueness that they are indicators of Weston's likely authorship on two important but unsigned monuments that are discussed below. The Pengelly monument is not recorded by Polwhele and Hoskins (1954), while describing the monument as good, describes the Last Judgement as '*a sort of celestial ballet on a medallion.*'³²

Weston's signed monument at St Blazey to Henry Scobell dated 1729 (C50) sees a return to the inscription being placed on the drapery of a baldacchino. The canopy architecture is a repeat of that shown on the Ivie monument but the reclining angels are less well defined although the treatment of the heads and the exposure of a breast are almost identical to those on the Pengelly monument. These angels are virtual copies of those seen at Whitchurch. Between the large console brackets is an oval panel of the Last Judgement with a distinctive group of four winged skulls

³² WG Hoskins *Devon* 2003 p515

underneath. The design of this Last Judgement is similar to that at St Petrock, Exeter although it is more restrained, displaying less emotion and less violence. The lower of the two scenes shows the dead rising up and readying themselves for the journey to heaven. The upper scene is markedly less crowded than on the other examples within the group with two angels with trumpets at the edges heralding the arrival of the saved while in the centre are two angels with their charges gazing upward as if continuing their journey.

The fourth Last judgement panel is displayed in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter and was part of a now lost monument from Ashprington that probably commemorated a member of the Kelland family. This is further discussed below. The panel depicts the Last Judgement on two levels, similar to the Ivie example as already discussed.

At Dartmouth St Saviour, the monument to Roger Vavasour (D78) who died in 1696, and his son Henry, who died in 1727, is an accomplished and dignified piece that shows Weston's ability to produce quality, restrained work.³³ This monument is one of Weston's more refined pieces with regard to its design and quality of execution but it lacks the attention to detail found on metropolitan products. This is particularly apparent in the standing putti and the lower oval panel between the console brackets.

³³ Jeremiah Milles, records this monument as being in the north cross aisle and states that the inscription records Roger Vavasour died fighting.

Another factor that renders this monument incapable of comparison with the best regional or other metropolitan products is the spacing of the wording on the inscription. The first half pertains to Roger Vavasour, the spacing and positioning of the lettering illustrating care and attention to detail.

This is not repeated in the second half where it is clear that much less care has been taken over the layout of the wording although the actual lettering is precise and easily read.

The angels reclining on the outer curves of the open segmental canopy carry no attributes or objects related to the cult of death. Each has the typically exposed breast and wears thin, diaphanous drapery while the putti, standing in front of the supporting pilasters, are of typical forms; that on the left having the arms crossed over the chest while that on the right has its left hand raised as if to wipe away a tear. These are typical examples of standing putti and suggest that Weston is aware of stock forms and is using them appropriately.

In the monument at Gerrans to Edward Hobbs dated 1732 (C20) Weston returns to the basic format of the Pengelly monument at Whitchurch for the treatment of the inscription and the Scrovell monument for the treatment of the canopy; the canopy is supported not on classical columns but by two pairs of modest console brackets with cherubs reclining disinterestedly on the outer curves, one with a skull and the other with an hourglass. An urn is placed on the top of the arch

The vertical oval format seen on the Pengelly monument shows it resting on a short plinth and this is repeated at Gerrans. Here the oval panel carries the inscription and is supported by two female figures, all beneath a baldacchino, the drapery of which has been parted to reveal the tableau. These supporting figures display more restrained drapery than that seen on other Weston monuments although the basic form is similar to that on the Pengelly monument. The restraint is continued into the poses as there is no exposed breast and as they carry no attributes or other symbols and cannot be interpreted as personifications. The area beneath the main sill is unlike those traditionally associated with Weston as the oval sub-sill panel has heavily scrolled sides, carries an achievement of arms in relief and displays winged heads at the top corners. A lower console bracket carries an oval with lightly carved gravedigger's tools in relief. The winged skull console brackets are also unlike those usually seen on Weston monuments. Another novel feature of this monument is that the inscription, supporting figures and baldacchino are cut from a single piece of white marble and so form a coherent whole.

At the time this monument was made, the cutting of the main composition from a single piece of material was not entirely unknown within Weston's recognised or suspected output. As will be shown below, there is evidence to suggest that it had been pioneered on an earlier monument and was therefore not a new concept.

At Morebath is the Sayer family monument (D163), the last date on the main inscription being 1737. This is almost certainly the date from which

the monument originates and therefore a very late example of Weston's work. An addition to the inscription is dated 1740. Quite a modest monument now situated at the west end of the north aisle, it has probably been moved at some time.³⁴ Only recently recognised by me as a Weston product, the cherubs supporting the achievement of arms are typical of Weston's style and the apron has direct parallels with the 1728 Hall monument at Newton St Cyres.³⁵

The Taylor monument at Denbury, dated 1733 (D80), is arguably Weston's most up-to-date monument. Above a gadrooned sill, a trapezoidal sarcophagus form, that rests on escutcheon-fronted supports, carries the inscription while above a secondary sill is a sharply pointed obelisk with a fouled anchor, nautical instruments and a portrait medallion that reflect the nautical traditions of the family.³⁶ Behind the obelisk are stacked gun barrels and ramrods. The whole composition is sculpted in white marble against a black marble background. The typically Weston scroll-edged panel between the console brackets carries the scene of a naval action.

A very contemporary monument, this example clearly illustrates Weston's awareness of metropolitan-inspired design developments. While it fails to demonstrate a fully mature reflection of contemporary design it does prove that fashionable design ideas were available to progressive artists and patrons.

³⁴ The original position is impossible to determine as the church was heavily restored by Butterfield in the nineteenth century.

³⁵ Weston's signature, previously unrecorded and therefore unidentified appears on the plinth supporting the achievement of arms.

³⁶ Pevsner records that Weston's receipt for this monument is dated 1736 but makes no reference to the costs involved.

Unfortunately nothing is known about Weston's training as a sculptor. This raises questions of where and how he obtained his knowledge and influences. The church monuments that can be convincingly identified as his work are sufficiently different from other monuments in the region to suggest that some of Weston's influences came from outside the peninsula counties. This is especially so of the four surviving Last Judgement panels. There are two London examples of this subject dating from the late seventeenth century that are remarkably similar to those used by Weston and appear to predate his use of the design. The best example so far known is that seen built into the north wall of the church of St Andrew's, Holborn. Formerly above a cemetery gateway, the panel shows the scene of the resurrection on two levels (Appendix 11A). In the top centre is Christ in Glory accompanied by winged putti with trumpets while in the billowing clouds that separate Him from the earth are more putti blowing trumpets. In the church of St Mary at Hill, also in London, is a somewhat cruder example of the same subject but sufficiently close to the Holborn panel as to suggest a common origin. Some of the figure poses on these two panels are sufficiently similar to those by Weston as to be more than coincidental. My conclusion therefore is that Weston was aware of these panels, or the designs for them, and offered the design to prospective clients.

As will be discussed below, there are a number of monuments that have been traditionally ascribed to Weston and my research has uncovered others that I feel could be added to this list. By examination of his signed and traditionally attributed works, a corpus of potentially identifiable

features can be noted and these can then be used on other monuments to suggest or deny his authorship. However, due to the range of his designs and the diversity of patrons' demands, the quintessential John Weston monument is extremely difficult to define.

If the monument has an architectural superstructure, then the employment of reclining angels having such features as long diaphanous drapery, the likely exposure of a breast with the drapery looped beneath it and a short hairstyle might suggest his authorship. The employment of additional standing female figures, dressed in long loose gowns, again with short hair, possibly an exposed breast and the gaze directed away from the spectator would also be a typical Weston feature. While the length of the drapery alone on these ancillary figures is not an indication of it being carved in the Weston workshop, the combination of all these features would, within the context of peninsular counties commemorative sculpture, strongly suggest Weston as the artist responsible. Inscriptions may be lengthy, in either Latin or the vernacular and if an integral part of a cartouche monument then the appearance of winged cherub heads at the sides, again while not solely limited to Weston, might suggest his authorship.

Monuments Traditionally Attributed to John Weston

The Benjamin Dollen monument dated 1700 (D91) in Exeter cathedral has been cited by Gunnis as Weston's work and he further states that the monument is signed.³⁷ Dollen was a London merchant and his will specifies that his executor, Sir William Tilley (of Pentille Castle near St Mellion in Cornwall), is to inter his body in a place he thinks fit.³⁸ Why the cathedral was selected as the site of his monument is unknown. None of the features shown on this monument are repeated anywhere within Weston's known or suggested output thus rendering the attribution suspect. The very delicately cut wreathed skulls, bunched foliage, thinly cut leaf volutes, sprays of drop flowers and ship relief are features not seen on any other known John Weston product and therefore the attribution to him must be regarded with suspicion. The Dollen monument is clearly based on a design by the seventeenth century French artist Nicholas Blasset (1600 -1659) (Appendix 12A): indeed, the Dollen monument is a virtual copy of this design with only a modest manipulation of the original to include a ship at the bottom of the composition and the elongation of the niche housing the bust. The suggestion put forward here is that the Dollen monument was produced in London by an as yet unidentified sculptor.³⁹

³⁷ The monument is placed high on the east wall of the north transept and I have examined this monument as closely as possible from the ground and can find no evidence of a signature.

³⁸ See Dollen's will in the Public Record Office PROB 11/461 page 174

³⁹ Nicholas Blasset was born in Amiens 8th May 1600 and died there 2nd March 1659. He was the son of the sculptor Phillippe Blasset (1565/70 - 1624). His biography (Grove Art Research Library (www.artnet)) discusses his funerary sculpture and comments on his productivity and that his workshop was one of the most interesting of the provincial workshops of the first half of the seventeenth century.

The monument to Sir Thomas Northmore, who died in 1713 (D117), at St Thomas, Exeter is unsigned but is traditionally attributed to John Weston.⁴⁰ Architecturally more complex than the Ivie monument of 1717, the design is heavy and Polwhele, who states that the monument is by ‘*Weston of Exeter*’, was clearly unimpressed by it, considering it to be clumsy.⁴¹ Conversely, Jeremiah Milles was more favourable in his appraisal when he described it as ‘*a handsome monument in marble*’.⁴² The angels reclining on the outer curves of the open segmental pediment are of exactly the same format as seen on other Weston products but the key identifying feature is the design on the urn in the centre of the canopy. This carries a Resurrection scene with identical figures to those seen on the Last Judgement panels on the Scrovell, Ivie and Pengelly monuments. Two angel figures stand on the main sill and that on the left is very similar to that seen on the Davie monument at Buckland Brewer dated 1709. Cresswell does not comment on the design of the monument but she does record the existence of a floor slab lying at its base.⁴³

The Hooper monument of 1715 at Exeter St Martin (D100), while unsigned has been recognised by both Pevsner and Gunnis as a Weston product. Polwhele considers ‘*the workmanship in a heavy style and the design is certainly very crowded*’.⁴⁴ The attribution to Weston is entirely valid as it displays several features common to his work. Typically, the canopy angels have the loose drapery, general body style and exposed breasts as

⁴⁰ Easter *op cit*.

⁴¹ Polwhele p 102

⁴² Dean Jeremiah Milles, Parochial Collection Bodelian MS Top Devon C8 Vol XII.

⁴³ Beatrix Cresswell, *Exeter Churches* 1908, Exeter p175

⁴⁴ Polwhele *op.cit* p 14

seen on his signed works.⁴⁵ The treatment of the double console brackets reflects those seen on the Northmore monument while the standing putti, especially that on the left, are very similar to those seen at Dartmouth on the Vavasour monument of 1727 (D78). Another area of similarity is that of the design of the oval panel between the console brackets and the pair of skulls at the very bottom is also of a style seen in Weston's other known examples. By contrast, the employment of a kneeling effigy is unique within Weston's known oeuvre.

Pevsner suggests that the two John Courtenay monuments of 1727 (D160) and 1732 (D158) at Molland may be by Weston and he doubtless based his opinion on stylistic analysis. The 1727 monument to John Courtenay has two putti standing in front of the main pilasters and that on the right is almost identical to that on the Vavasour monument at Dartmouth. The style of this particular putto, with the arms crossed on the chest, is an unusual one amongst those seen on monuments in the peninsular counties; indeed this portrayal is only associated with monuments by Weston. The angels reclining on the canopy appear to have lost whatever they were originally holding (probably a trumpet) but their style of diaphanous dress and single exposed breast are of a fashion most commonly associated with Weston. The style of the console brackets is also repeated on other examples of his work.

⁴⁵ First visited in April 2001 the canopy angels each held a trumpet. When next visited in February 2003 these had been removed.

This monument is unusual within Weston's known output in having an arabesque-like floral surround to the inscription while another curious feature shown here is the more ghoulish treatment of the adorsed skulls at the very bottom of the composition.

The monument of 1732 to the Honourable John Courtenay has broadly similar architectural features to the 1727 monument but this time the inscription panel is rectangular instead of oval and the border is more regular, being composed of ovals with flowers. A curious feature of the standing putti is that they are mirror images of each other, each supporting a shield of arms. The open segmental pediment has a cartouche of arms that is more elaborate than the 1727 monument and the pose of the angels figures on the canopy is more vertical than other examples. Their costume is more refined although less diaphanous and there is no exposure of the breasts.

Beneath the projecting sill are two large console brackets and a scene of the Resurrection between them. This particular panel is surprisingly unsophisticated by the standards of the Last Judgement panels and the obvious lack of quality is not easily explained. However, as will be shown, this example has direct parallels with a similar scene on the canopy urn seen on the Piper and Wise monument erected c 1731 at Launceston (C28). The monument is not large but it is in a prominent position within the church and although the Resurrection panel is low and located behind railings, it would be clearly visible to a spectator. This Resurrection panel is carved from limestone unlike the Last Judgement panels, which are

produced from marble. The obvious lack of sophistication in the execution of this panel is unlikely to be due to the material; fine grades of limestone - Portland in particular - can take quite detailed carving. The reasons for this panel being so unlike anything Weston is known to have produced are difficult to analyse. It may be that while the panel was produced in his workshop it is possibly the work of a much less talented carver and that it might have been produced in a hurry.

While the Courtenay monuments at Molland are unsigned there can be little doubt, based on broad stylistic evidence, that they are the products of the Weston workshop. The Resurrection panel is a clear departure from the accepted style and quality usually associated with John Weston and the reasons for this anomaly are as yet unresolved. However, there seems little doubt that John Weston was the sculptor responsible for these monuments.

Polwhele records the existence at Clyst Honiton of an '*elegant marble monument*' that he thinks probably commemorated Francis Weller.⁴⁶ Jeremiah Milles also comments on this monument and says that it was erected at the east end of the north wall of the chancel. He ascribes it to Henry Webber who died in 1737.⁴⁷ At the time of writing there are in the church three sculptural fragments, obviously from a monument; a simple cartouche of arms with drapery backdrop and two putti.

⁴⁶ Polwhele *op.cit* Vol 2 p199

⁴⁷ Milles *op cit.* Vol IX

The narrow horizontal edge to the cartouche of arms carries the name "John" on the left side and is obviously part of a signature. Any lettering on the right side has been erased. Each putto wears unusual drapery that covers the top of the head and falls behind to the ground and with a band crossing from one hip to the inner thigh, thus neatly concealing the genitals.

The style of the putti and the surviving inscribed name all strongly suggest that these fragments are indeed the work of John Weston. We must therefore assume that Polwhele was correct in his attribution of these fragments to the Weller monument.

New attributions to John Weston based on the research

Erected in 1711 is the monument at Upottery to John Hutchins and wife dated 1709 (not illustrated). This is a modest piece consisting of an inscription panel in black marble within a simple limestone frame flanked by pilasters in grey veined marble that support an entablature and open segmental pediment with a cartouche of arms in the centre. Between the console brackets is a scroll-edged oval panel containing two crossed palm branches. A bird-winged skull, not unlike those seen at Gerrans is seen at the very bottom. The whole style of the monument is one of restraint and while the oval between the console brackets is decidedly hesitant in style the remainder of the piece is well proportioned.

The possible attribution of this monument to the Weston workshop is made on the basis of the similarities of the architecture to that seen on

other Weston pieces, especially the segmental pediment at Molland on the Courtenay monument of 1727. However, amongst the new attributions to Weston this example is possible the most speculative.

A possibly early attribution to Weston or is of his circle is the Anna Stucley monument at Brixham dated 1713 (D34). This cartouche has the drapery knotted at the upper left and right corners and winged cherub heads at the sides. The marble is heavily veined but the cutting is good with positive neat lettering. At the bottom are two strange looking skulls but their drawing and quality of execution appear different from the cartouche suggesting that they might be by another hand. If this monument can be attributed to Weston the design of these skulls is quite unlike anything known to have been produced by him. It is worthwhile comparing this cartouche with the signed example at Tiverton to John Newte 1715 (D220).⁴⁸ The cherub heads are very similar in both examples but the treatment of the drapery is different, as is the lettering. On the Newte monument the drapery is more restrained and there is less of it than on the Stucley piece. The lettering on the Stucley piece is heavier than that seen at Tiverton but is nevertheless similar to the overall style employed on other Weston monuments.

⁴⁸ The quality of this monument is such that it is entirely possible that it is a product of a metropolitan work shop. It has some similarity with that at Exeter St Michael and All Angels to Henry Northleigh d1693 and that at Harberton to Nicholas Browse d1696. The similarities lie in the arrangement of the knotted drapery at the sides and the heart shaped form of the armorial bearing, These are similar to work produced in London, possible by James Hardy (c1632 c1721) although Hardy never signs his work. A list of some of Hardy's work was given to Le Neve for inclusion in his *Monumenta Anglicana* c1719. At the time of writing I remain to be fully convinced about this attribution but it remains a possibility.

The console bracket skulls at Tiverton are very different and are typically Weston products whereas the Brixham example is like no other in the two counties. The Stucley cartouche is suggested as a possible Weston product despite it having noticeable differences with other known examples of his work. The possibility must exist that this monument was designed by Weston but produced by another hand.

The Charles Harwood monument dated 1718 at Talaton (D204) shows the cartouche form on a larger than usual scale. A lengthy Latin inscription is placed on a section of drapery that has prominent side loops, a not untypical Weston feature while the whole drapery form is similar to that seen on the Ivie monument as discussed. Above the drapery are two large winged cherub heads separated by an urn on which is carved in low relief a winged figure flying above a skull with crossed thighbones. This urn rests on a small plinth that has a ring in the centre through which passes the top part of the drapery. Beneath the bottom edge of the inscription is a modest cartouche with a low relief carving of a cross-crosslet.

The attribution of this monument to Weston is based on a number of key factors. The similarity of the looped inscription to that seen on the Ivie monument is perhaps more than coincidental. Similarly, the plain bottom edge of the inscription is also very similar to that seen on the Ivie monument; again, this is more than coincidental. The design of the urn with its low relief carving of the winged figure is also similar to other known Weston products including the Northmore monument at Exeter St Thomas. It has also been observed as part of the empirical research for

this thesis that Weston is prone to lengthy inscriptions and again this monument has such a feature that, while nothing in itself, it is a contributory factor in the attribution of the piece. That the whole monument, with the exception of the heraldic cartouche at the bottom, is carved from a single piece of white marble is unusual within the peninsular counties except for work known or firmly attributed to Weston. The case is therefore made that the Harwood monument has many features that strongly suggest that is a John Weston product.

Smaller than the Harwood tablet, is the cartouche monument at Cheriton Fitzpaine to Revd. Nicholas Hickes who died in 1718 (D51). This shows an oval inscription with a drapery background, again with prominent side loops and with an integral cartouche of arms in the top centre flanked by two winged cherub heads. A forward facing bird-winged skull at the bottom acts as a supporting bracket. This cartouche is clearly of the circle of John Weston on the basis of its overall similarity with the Harwood monument and the particular treatment of the drapery. The drapery shown here is clearly thinner and less bulky than on the Harwood, Ivie and Newte monuments as discussed; while the whole format, overall design and treatment of the cartouche form clearly lie within Weston's recognised output. Whilst it is admitted that such similarities are by themselves insufficient evidence for a definite attribution, the way in which the subject matter is treated is strongly suggestive of the circle of John Weston.

At Shirwell, the monument to Anne Chichester who died in 1725 (D186) is remarkably similar in design to the Edward Hobbs monument at Gerrans of 1732 (C20) as previously discussed. The monument is also related, architecturally, to the Ivie monument. The main focus of the piece is the oval inscription, resting on a small plinth and supported by two female figures. The supporters also hold back the drapery of the baldacchino, unlike their counterparts on the Hobbs monument although this is simply an artistic difference to which no significance can be attached. The figures on each monument have broadly similar drapery, consisting of thin gowns, low cut at the neck but not revealing a breast. The sills have precisely the same mouldings although the sub sill ovals are different, the Hobbs example having tightly scrolled edges and an achievement of arms in light relief while the Chichester piece has a plain oval panel with light scrolling to the edges. On both monuments the skull console brackets are identical. Also indistinguishable on both monuments is the decoration to the baldacchino cap: the form is introduced on the Ivie monument although there it is flatter than in the two later examples. The bottom central console bracket is interesting in that it portrays crowns and coronets amongst gravediggers' tools and human bones.

On inspection, no signature could be found on the Chichester monument but its similarity with the Hobbs piece and architectural affinity to the Ivie monument are such that an attribution to John Weston is entirely valid.

William Neyle erected a monument at Ipplepen in 1727 (D143) to members of his family from 1701. Of an essentially cartouche format, the body of

the monument is formed of drapery while the inscription is placed on an overlaying cartouche with cherubic heads at the sides. Beneath the inscription is an oval armorial display, itself within a scrolled border. The scrolled edges to the inscription are particularly similar to that seen on other Weston products. The overall design of the monument is one of restraint and some of its smaller features fit within Weston's recognised output. It is for these reasons that I tentatively ascribe the monument to John Weston.

I have attributed the monument at Newton St Cyres to Thomas Hall (D168) who died in 1728 to John Weston entirely on stylistic grounds despite the originality of some of the features. No signature is visible from the ground. Although quite a plain monument and architecturally unambitious, the design of the open segmental pediment with reclining angels has all the hallmarks of the Weston studio. The casual body style of the angels and loose treatment of the drapery is very Westonesque, being of a type seen on the Hooper monument of 1715 at Exeter St Martin, the Ivie monument of 1717 at Exeter St Petrock, the Vavasour monument of 1727 at Dartmouth, and the Courtenay monuments of 1727 and 1732 at Molland. The two winged cherub heads above the oval inscription panel have some similarity with those on the William Williams (D118) monument at St Thomas's, Exeter dated c1740 whose authorship is discussed below. The apron section beneath the sill is very similar to that seen on Weston's signed monument at Morebath to Nicholas Sayer 1733 (D163) as already discussed while in contrast, the very modest flower

console brackets have not been observed on any other known or suggested Weston piece.

One of the most unusual monuments in the peninsula counties is that at Launceston to Granville Piper and Richard Wise (C28). The inscription is dated 1726 but the monument also bears the date of 1731, presumably the date of erection. Polsue refers to it as an '*elegant and costly monument..... the magnificent cenotaph reaches from the floor to the ceiling and is supported by colonnades of polished marble pillars*'.⁴⁹ CS Gilbert also thought highly of it describing it as '*a stately monument composed of rich marble and elegant sculpture*'.⁵⁰

Pevsner describes it as '*Sumptuous, uncommonly classical and uncommonly good. It should be possible to recognise its master*'.⁵¹ The monument is arranged in three main tiers. The lowest tier, which acts as the base, has three black marble panels with grey marble surrounds; the central panel being set back from the other two. The middle tier has the inscription in the centre with two freestanding female figures at either side. Four columns support the third tier where two further freestanding female figures flank a freestanding group of a female figure with attendant children, a personification of Charity.

The figures flanking the inscription, described in chapter three as Prudence and Fortitude (although Polsue states that they are Fortitude

⁴⁹ J Polsue *Parochial History of the County of Cornwall 1867-73* Vol 3 p72.

⁵⁰ CS Gilbert *An historical Survey of the County of Cornwall*. Plymouth Dock 1817.

⁵¹ Sir Nikolaus Pevsner *The Buildings of England – Cornwall* Penguin 1990 p97

and Wisdom), wear long thin loose-fitting gowns. The figure of Prudence, on the left, has a thin gown with a cloak-like garment worn over and secured at the breast with a clasp and with a small strip of fabric draped over her left wrist. This figure holds the Fasces, the ancient Roman symbol of magisterial authority. The figure on the right, representing Fortitude, is similarly attired but the right breast is deliberately exposed. This figure holds a serpent.

The figures on the third tier are dressed similarly to those in the lower tier in that they wear two layers of thin draperies. The right hand figure representing Hope, shown with the anchor, has a band of fabric draped over the left elbow and looped across in front of the body in a way that is not altogether clear. Faith, on the left has the head turned sharply away from the spectator. Charity, in the centre with children has, unlike those who flank her, an exposed breast. The front facing busts above the third tier each have a small cartouche of arms in front of them while the centrally placed urn is decorated with a scene of the Resurrection.

Within the peninsula counties, the format of this monument is without parallel and certain features point to it as being a Weston product. The freestanding female figures are all very similar in style to other Weston figures, especially those on the Pengelly monument of 1722 at Whitchurch (D231), the Chichester monument at Shirwell c1725 (D186) and the Hobbs monument at Gerrans of 1732 (C20). Their drapery is particularly noticeable as being within Weston's known style. Also, the children shown at the feet of Charity have exactly the same style as the cherubic

figures seen on Weston's other monuments although the portrayal of these figures is often of a standard type – over-large heads and plump bodies.

The use of busts in the way shown on the Launceston monument is not repeated elsewhere within Weston's surviving output. The employment of a Resurrection scene, shown here on the urn, is certainly part of Weston's recognised decorative schemes as shown on the Northmore monument at St Thomas Exeter (D117) while the decorative scrollwork in the corner spandrels of the inscription panel has parallels with the John Courtenay monument of 1727 at Molland. That major component parts of the Piper and Wise monument were either designed or produced by Weston seems clear. However, that other elements of the design of this highly significant monument are not compatible with other known examples of his work is also clear. I conclude therefore that John Weston was the sculptor responsible for this monument based on the evidence that major component parts are similar to other examples of his work despite the originality and innovative nature of the design.

Dating from c1737 is the modestly sized cartouche in the church of St Martin, Exeter to William Howell (D102) and members of his family. The similarities between this monument and the Talaton cartouche as previously discussed are clear with an obvious comparison in the treatment of the drapery. Also, the winged cherub heads are all but identical thus adding to the likelihood of these two monuments having a common origin. The case for the Talaton monument being a Weston

product has been made and because of the broadly similar treatments and identical cherub heads, I ascribe the Holwell monument to John Weston.

The inscription on the William Williams monument, in the church of Exeter St Thomas is included by Polwhele and records a date of death of 1740.⁵² Beatrix Cresswell echoes this but she records that the inscription was illegible by the time she saw it.⁵³

The possibility exists that this is a very late example of John Weston's work. The angels reclining on the open segmental pediment are not unlike those seen on the Courtenay monument of 1732 and clearly display the drapery forms for which his work is noted. The mannerist figures standing on the main sill are more animated than others seen on Weston's monuments; that on the right has the exposed breast seen on many other Weston figures and their sculptural quality is such that an attribution to Weston is entirely valid.

From the surviving records it appears that John Weston was responsible for other monuments that have been lost or destroyed. A monument formerly at Ashprington has traditionally been ascribed to the Kelland family and Jeremiah Milles confirms this attribution and dates it to 1712. He also describes that '*underneath is a relief of the Resurrection not ill done*' but fails to identify it as a Weston piece despite his apparent awareness of

⁵² Polwhele op.cit Vol 2 p101

⁵³ Cresswell's record of the inscription is taken from Jenkins.

Weston's work.⁵⁴ This monument is not recorded by Pevsner and evidently collapsed before he recorded the church. A Resurrection panel now in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter and clearly by Weston originally formed part of this monument and another section, with drapery and cherub heads is also there.⁵⁵

The church of St Andrew, Plymouth was gutted by enemy action during World War II. However, Milles records the existence of a monument on the east wall of the south aisle to Canon Gilbert of Wadham College Oxford and Canon Resident of Exeter who died in 1722. Milles states that: -

*Underneath it is a bas-relief of a Resurrection done by Weston the stonecutter of Exeter and not ill executed.*⁵⁶

Nothing further is known of this monument.

Cresswell records that in the church of St John, Exeter, finally demolished in 1957, there are three monuments dating from the period under review. One is to Sir Benjamin Oliver, died 1672, another to Benjamin Chilcote and his daughter; she died 1711, and lastly to Thomas Baron died 1708.⁵⁷ Cresswell illustrates the Oliver monument and it appears that Thomas and Warren illustrate the other two.⁵⁸ A photograph of the interior of St John's Church illustrated by Thomas and Warren shows two monuments positioned, according to Cresswell, on the west wall. The larger of the two, probably the Baron monument that originally came from St George's

⁵⁴ Milles *op.cit* Vol IX. This monument has also been thought to commemorate a member of the family of the Earls of Cork and Orrery but there is no justification as yet for this attribution.

⁵⁵ I was instrumental in seeking the removal of this fragment to the museum but its condition, heavily encrusted in algae having exposed to the elements for about forty years, rendered it impossible to read the inscription.

⁵⁶ Milles *op.cit* Vol XI.

⁵⁷ Cresswell *op.cit* P 69.

⁵⁸ Peter Thomas and Jacqueline Warren *Aspects of Exeter* 1981, Baron Jay p 80-81

church, shows a monument with an oval inscription tablet placed within a rectangular frame.⁵⁹ Two detached columns and two pilasters support an entablature upon which is an open segmental pediment with reclining angles. Two putti stand on the sill outside the main frame. These putti and the overall style of the monument are suggestive of Weston's work. The smaller monument has a horizontal oval inscription panel surrounded by skulls (?) and surmounted by a bust that appears to be remarkably similar to those shown on the Piper and Wise monument at Launceston. This too might be a Weston product although the style is not one normally associated with him.

The work of John Weston of Exeter has been recognised as being superior to that of his peninsular counties contemporaries in both design and quality of execution. His Last judgement panels are unparalleled within the iconography of English Baroque commemorative sculpture and stand as a testimony to his ability to handle a delicate subject matter with confidence. To paraphrase Gunnis, Weston was up to the best provincial standards of the early eighteenth century and can often equal contemporary metropolitan products.⁶⁰

The Jewells of Barnstaple.

The principal account of the Jewell family is that given by Gunnis.⁶¹ There were two Thomas Jewells, Thomas the Elder who died in 1728 but whose date of birth is unknown and Thomas the Younger, born in 1676 and died

⁵⁹ See Cresswell *op.cit*

⁶⁰ Gunnis *op.cit* pp 429

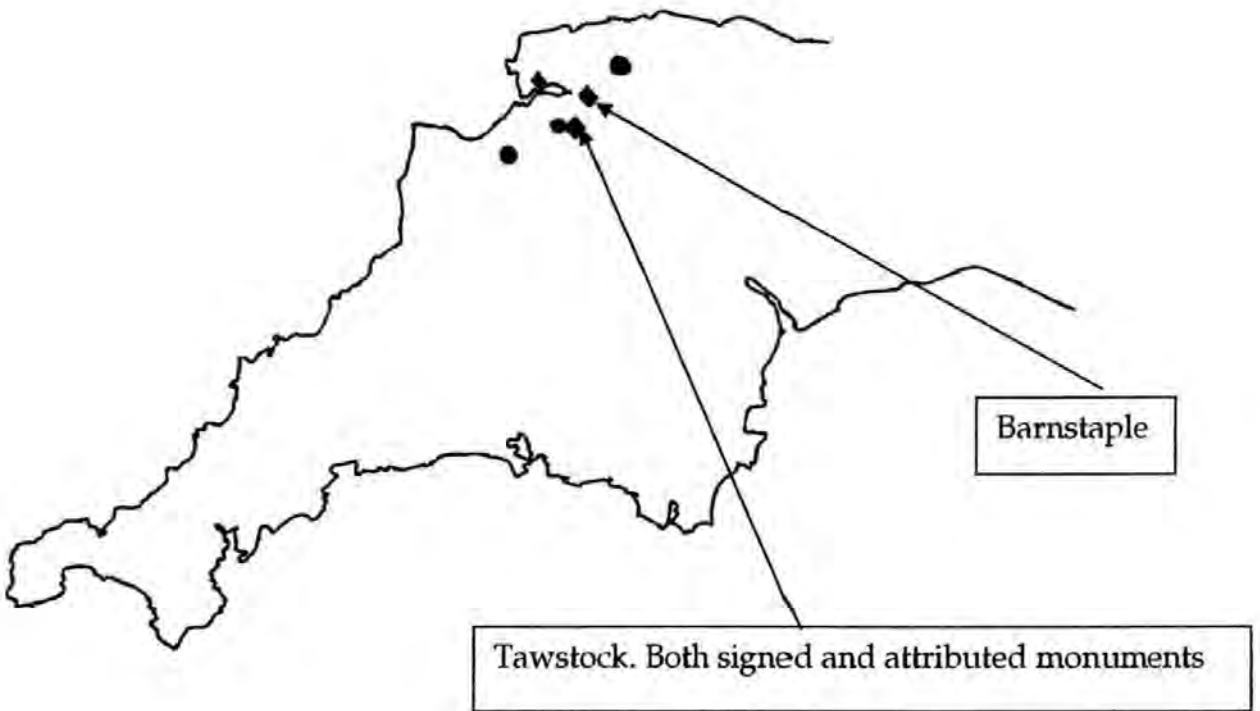
⁶¹ Gunnis *op.cit* p 219

in 1758 who, it must be assumed, was the son of the elder Jewell. To date, no details have surfaced regarding their apprenticeships or the precise location of their workshop or workshops and all that is known is that Thomas the Younger became a Freeman of Exeter in 1734. The conclusions based on the research suggest that the work of the Jewells appears to be limited to the Barnstaple area.

For monuments that are either signed or attributed to the Jewells prior to 1728, it is impossible to differentiate between the hands of father or son. It is clear that Thomas the Younger must have inherited Thomas the Elder's designs as a recurring theme within their work appears to be a particular rendering of a skulls and bones motif seen at the bottom of inscription panels. This was used by both craftsmen and continued after 1728.

Distribution of monuments by the Jewell's of Barnstaple

◆ = Signed monument ● = attributed monument



Monuments signed by the Jewells

There are only two monuments that are clearly signed "Thomas Jewell" that date from the 1730's and are therefore the work of Thomas the Younger while Gunnis reports that a monument of 1705 at Tawstock is also signed and therefore almost certainly the work of Thomas the Elder. This 1705 monument commemorates Lady Rolle, wife of Sir John Rolle (not illustrated) and consists of a cartouche with winged skulls at the sides and a complex monogram design in a sub cartouche between the supporting bracket and the main tablet.⁶² Also at Tawstock is the signed

⁶² The monument is placed high on the wall of the north quire aisle and the signature recorded by Gunnis could not be seen. The possibility also exists that this monument has been moved.

monument to Sir Henry Northcote who died 1729 (D215).⁶³ This monument, an extremely accomplished piece, is the work of Thomas Jewell the Younger. Architecturally competent but restrained, the oval inscription is bounded by drapery and with two winged cherub heads in the top corners. At the bottom is a jumble of human bones and bird-winged skulls that this research has identified as the distinguishing feature of the workshop. The gadrooned sill, apron and console brackets are extremely well cut while the achievement of arms, set between two winged putti that lean on Baroque shields, is very delicately handled. These winged putti and their pose is, as will be shown, another possible identifying feature of this workshop.

At Braunton, the monument to Robert Hales who died in 1737 (D32) is signed on the supporting bracket to the apron.⁶⁴ A very modest monument, it is dominated by an inscription panel while the simple Roman Doric entablature has a row of triglyphs with guttae in a typically classical arrangement that appears somewhat at odds with the very plain and simple moulding to the pilasters.

While any concept of a quintessential Jewell monument is slightly more difficult to define than a similar monument by John Weston, there are trademarks that suggest their authorship. The winged skulls and bones at the bottom of inscription panels have been noted as a key identifying feature and it also appears that an idiosyncratic rendering of the standing

⁶³ From the details recorded on the inscription it is possible that the monument was probably erected in or soon after 1732.

⁶⁴ The actual signature reads "Thomas Jewell Barnstaple Fecit"

putti with Baroque cartouche shields is another feature associated with their work. That the monument at Tawstock to Sir Bouchier Wrey dated 1696 (D214) carries the motto *Memento Mori*, and is the prime example found in the peninsular counties from the period under review to do so, is an indication that the workshop was aware of changing tastes and attitudes towards death and commemoration amongst its clientele. The skulls and bones grouping used by the workshop can be seen as a response to the *memento mori* concept. This is an interesting and significant development. The *memento mori* concept – whereby an object is kept as a reminder of the inevitability of death – was of course not new at this time and the monument assumed the role as the prime focus of the concept. Three other instances exist where a skull is accompanied by the words *Memento Mori* at St Gluvias on the Worth monument of 1689 (C57) and the Collier monument of 1691 (C55) and the monument at Falmouth to Thomas Corker 1700 (C12).⁶⁵ Cadaver effigies dating from the late medieval period, seen either in isolation or in conjunction with fully lifelike effigies, can be seen as the high point of the *memento mori* concept in funerary art. Similarly, the employment of skulls and other skeletal figures were constant reminders to the spectator of the inevitability of death and such symbols were used throughout the period under review in a variety of positions on the monument.

⁶⁵ It appears that these three monuments might well be by the same hand and that the artist might have been working in Falmouth or very nearby

It can be interpreted that on the Sir Bouchier Wrey monument as discussed above the idea of actually spelling out the words and placing them either side of a pair of skulls is to reinforce the message given by the image of the skulls and for the spectator to be reminded that the skull is a death symbol and not a decorative object.

Monuments Traditionally attributed to the Jewells.

The monument to Sir Bouchier Wrey 1696 (D214) considered above has been ascribed by Gunnis to Thomas Jewell the Elder. The format of this cartouche differs little from that to Lady Rolle dated 1705 (not illustrated) although in the earlier example the monogrammed cartouche has been replaced by the two skulls and the MEMENTO MORI phrase. The obvious similarities between the two monuments strongly suggest a common origin and the attribution to Jewell must be considered valid.

The monument to Margaret Allen dated 1709 at Braunton (D30) has also been attributed by Gunnis to Jewell the Elder on stylistic grounds. Clearly cut from a square slab of marble and positioned lozenge-wise, the design is unusual but highly effective. The inscription is bordered by rolled edges producing a circular form with a delicate arrangement of flowers at the top. The left and right extremities are formed by palm branches and topped by wing-like forms. At the top are two cherub heads while a wreathed skull with bat wings forms the bottom corner. The basic format of this monument is repeated on another monument at Tawstock, that to Robert Lovett dated 1710 (not illustrated). With the Lovett monument, the inscription is less carefully positioned and altogether more cramped.

The lettering of the Bouchier and Lovett monuments are very similar while that employed on the Allen monument is different, possibly suggesting another hand at work. Yet again at Tawstock is the monument erected in 1726 to Florence Lady Wrey who died in 1724 again attributed to Jewell by Gunnis. The main cartouche format is the same as that seen on the Rolle and Bouchier cartouches as described but this time it has a subsidiary oval at the bottom along with a bird winged skull. The whole composition is, uniquely for the Jewells, placed against a black marble obelisk.

New attributions to the Jewells

From the monuments seen during the course of the primary research, all but two, the Northmore monument at Tawstock of c1732 and the Hales monument of 1737 at Braunton, have dates of death falling within the life span of Thomas Jewell the Elder. In making attributions to the Jewell workshop, or more precisely the workshop of Thomas Jewell the Elder, it is necessary to work backwards. While the known signed monuments are only two in number, the Northmore monument, dated to c1732, is highly significant in helping to recognise the workshop style. The observation has already been made that the winged skulls and bones at the bottom of the rectangular panel in which the inscription is positioned is a highly significant identifying feature. Also, the putti, lazily leaning on shields, are another possible indicator of the workshop and it appears to be a significant feature found on earlier monuments. The possibility must therefore exist that the son inherited his fathers' designs and incorporated them into later monuments.

An early monument that the research has attributed to Thomas Jewell is that at Buckland Brewer to John Davie who died in 1709 (D40). This huge monument is placed on the west wall of the north aisle and is one of the largest hanging wall monuments in the peninsular counties. The large central panel with oval inscription is bordered by bunched flowers on ribbons, two winged cherub heads in the top spandrels and the cluster of winged skulls and bones at the bottom, as seen on the Northmore monument of over twenty years later. The Davie monument must be the work of Thomas Jewell the elder. The architectural style employed here is not repeated elsewhere within the known or suspected Jewell output. Interestingly, the standing angel on the left side is almost identical to one used by John Weston on the Northmore monument of 1713 (D117) at Exeter St Thomas. While there is no suggestion that the two artists worked together the possibility must exist that they were aware of each others work and that Weston might have influenced Jewell the Elder.

The monument at Loxhore to members of the Hammond family up to 1720 (D150) with a later addition dated 1727 has an inscription frame that is virtually identical to the Davie monument and has the putti standing on the entablature of the form identified with the workshop. I have ascribed this monument to the Jewell workshop. At Antony, the Carew monument commemorating Sir John, Sir Richard and his daughter Rachel Manaton (not illustrated) has a number of similarities with the Hammond monument, especially in the treatment of the inscription panel but notably, the winged skulls and bones associated with the Jewell workshop are absent, replaced by a more formalised arrangement of frontal winged

skulls with wreaths. The upper winged cherub heads are also of a more sophisticated form than seen at Loxhore and on other Jewell monuments. While an attribution of the Carew monument to the Jewell workshop is speculative, the similarities are possibly more than coincidental.

An unidentified monument at Barnstaple that is thought to commemorate a member of the Stevens family (D13) is a copy of the Loxhore monument with the substitution of an achievement of arms for the flame-topped urn in the centre of the canopy. The monument is placed high on an internal wall in the Lady Chapel but this may not be its original position.⁶⁶ The date of the monument also remains unknown but its style suggests a date somewhere towards the end of the second decade or beginning of the third decade of the eighteenth century. It too has all the hallmarks of a Jewell product.

The bust on the monument at Shirwell to Frances Lugg dated 1712 (D189) has been discussed in chapter three where it was also thought that this monument might be of possible Barnstaple manufacture. The inscription panel has large winged heads in the top corners, flowers and foliage on ribbons at the sides and two skulls with bones in the bottom corners. Here, the skulls are less well drawn and not the same as seen on other recognised Jewell products but there are sufficient areas of similarity for me to suggest that this is a product of the Jewell workshop although, as

⁶⁶ The current incumbent has informed me that during the Victorian restorations many of the monuments were moved and some even removed and discarded. This as yet unidentified monument is likely to have been moved during the restorations but its original position is unknown.

alluded to in chapter three, the bust might be “imported” from another workshop.

Conclusion

John Weston and the Jewells of Barnstaple have been identified as the principal church monument sculptors of the period 1660-1730 although the work of Michael Chuke of Kilkhampton, discussed in part four of this chapter, has not gone unrecorded. An analysis of the signed, traditionally ascribed or, as a result of empirical research, newly attributed products of Weston and the Jewells shows Weston as the more innovative artist whose work can be found within Devon and Cornwall while the output of the Jewells appears to be limited to the area immediately around Barnstaple. Typical examples of the work of these artists have been discussed with key characteristics highlighted but the range of Weston’s output is clearly the greater.

Weston’s novel and innovative approach to the representation of the Last Judgement and its similarity with London examples is a clear indication of his exposure to influences from outside the region.

What is unique about this representation is Weston’s use of the Last Judgement as either an integral part of the design, as seen on the Pengelly monument at Whitchurch, or as a major ancillary component as on the Scobell monument at St Blazey.⁶⁷ Similarly, the female figures he employs

⁶⁷ At the time of writing, I know no other examples of the Resurrection and Last judgement from this period.

as either supporters to inscriptions or other features or personifications are also unique within the peninsular counties.

By comparison, it has been shown that the Jewells did not adopt such innovative ideas, their products being more conventional. Weston's figure carving is clearly superior to that of the Jewells, especially in his representation of putti, standing angels or, in the case of the Piper and Wise monument at Launceston, the personifications of the Virtues. It is frustrating not to be able to identify where or when Weston learned his trade but it is likely that his apprenticeship was not served in the West Country.

Within his repertoire of forms, his employment of putti standing outside the main frame of the monument is in accordance with many early eighteenth century hanging wall monuments. Only a few others in the peninsular counties employ this feature such as the Pointz monument at Bittadon dated 1691 (D21).

Also, his employment of winged cherubic heads within the drapery of a cartouche monument is another feature common to many contemporary monuments from both metropolitan and other locations but otherwise untypical amongst other peninsular counties monuments. What singles out Weston's work is his highly innovative treatment of the female form when used as an ancillary component within the composition of a monument.

It has to be remembered that neither John Weston nor the Jewells were working within a cultural or artistic vacuum. If Weston was responsible for the Piper and Wise monument, as I have suggested, then a piece of that level of sophistication, which would not be out of place in a more metropolitan environment, could not have been created by an artist-craftsman working in artistic isolation.

Such an artist-craftsman could not be insulated from developments and influences from further afield. The frustration of knowing so little about Weston's career is tempered by the realisation that within the south west peninsular counties he is recognised as the most important sculptor of the early eighteenth century. From the known and surviving monuments it can be assumed that their patrons would have been aware of commemorative traditions and developments not only within the peninsular counties but further afield and, as has been shown, metropolitan influences and finished monuments found their way to the region in numbers not previously suspected. Patrons chose local artist craftsmen because they were available and able to supply the desired product within an established time frame and, no doubt, at an affordable price.

Part 3. Two hitherto unidentified workshops in Devon

Exeter

The vast majority of the sculpted tomb monuments dating from the period under review are unsigned and therefore cannot be ascribed to any of the artists previously discussed within this chapter, whether metropolitan, regional or local. Nevertheless, a detailed examination of the format, materials, decorative elements and component parts of the remainder has shown that significant numbers have clearly identifiable similarities and can therefore be grouped together. Further analysis of some of these groupings has shown that most fall within a narrow chronological range thereby increasing the possibility that these monuments have a common origin. In the majority of instances, the artist(s) responsible for their manufacture and the location of the workshop must remain unknown. That some monuments are clearly the products of a single workshop is, as will be shown, beyond doubt and the possibility must also exist that some are the products of a single, as yet unnamed, artist.

While the precise location of the workshops or studios responsible for these collections of unsigned monuments has yet to be accurately determined, there is strong circumstantial evidence to believe that one important workshop was located in Exeter. This assumption is based on the facts that Exeter was an important cathedral city with strong trading and cultural connections, it possessed considerable wealth and there was a strong likelihood that it attracted skilled craftsmen. The city also possessed the infrastructure to export the products of a wide variety of trades and occupations including finished sculpture. Influential and

wealthy patrons throughout the peninsula counties, and beyond, would have gathered in Exeter for business and cultural reasons and it seems highly likely that these persons would have commissioned their funerary sculpture in the city for the reasons as suggested.

Devon has a fairly high density of church monuments and Exeter was certainly an important centre for a variety of manufacturing trades including woodcarving, plaster working and, it appears, the production of church monuments. There is clear evidence to show that an important workshop was producing memorial sculpture from the late sixteenth century and that the Deymond family predominated. The case for a pre civil war workshop in Exeter has been made by both Christine Faunch⁶⁸ and Anthony Wells-Cole.⁶⁹ By naming John Deymond, they have identified an important artist and ascribed a group of highly significant monuments to him that illustrate the kinds of work that regional sculptors could produce at the beginning of the seventeenth century. John Deymond is recorded in the List of Freemen in 1597 as the apprentice of Richard Deymond who is almost certainly the artist responsible for the Eveleigh monument at Bovey Tracey. This monument has the blunt inscription '1620 ID' in a panel on the back wall of the piece above the reclining effigy.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ C Faunch 'Church Monuments in Devon 1530-1640' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter

⁶⁹ A Wells-Cole 'An oak bed at Montacute' *Furniture History* 1981. p 1-20

⁷⁰ This panel was very clearly intended as the position of the main inscription as shown on the Acland monument 1613-14 that is also recognised as a Deymond product. The possibility must exist that the '1620 ID' inscription was originally concealed beneath a thin panel of material that has subsequently become detached. This raises the intriguing possibility of whether other maker's initials and dates of manufacture are concealed beneath similar inscription panels on similar monuments.

Other monuments, including the Acland monument at Broad Clyst erected 1613-1614 can be ascribed to Deymond with a high degree of certainty but it is clear that he was dead by 1623.⁷¹ According to the lists of Exeter Freemen, Deymond had two known apprentices, John Penney and Stephen Somers but at the time of writing nothing more is known of these people. Another known tomb maker from the 1630's is a man called Wellar. He is known to have made the Reynell monument of 1633 at Wolborough and references occur to him in the Reynell family accounts for 1633.⁷² The location of his workshop has not been ascertained but it may have been in Exeter.

A group of 25 monuments dated from 1652 to possibly as late as 1693 can be grouped together whose overall format, design and quality of execution identify them as all originating from a common source.⁷³ The case has already been made for Exeter having an important school of church monument carvers in the early seventeenth century and the corresponding identification of an artist associated with that school.

⁷¹ For a fuller discussion of John Deymond and the arguments for his workshop being sited in Exeter see A Wells-Cole 'An Oak Bed at Montacute; a Study in Mannerist Decoration' *Furniture History* 1981. I am also indebted to Dr Christine Faunch for information regarding early seventeenth century sculptors in Exeter.

⁷² See Todd Gray, *Devon Household Accounts 1627-59 Sir Richard and Lady Reynell of Fords 1627-48, John Willoughby of Leyhill, 1644-46 and Sir Edward Wise of Sydenham 1656-9*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Exeter 1995 pp 107-8. The entries include 8s Wellar for carriage of tomb stones and given to Mr Wellar's man 25s, given to Mr Wellar more £6, for yorne grats (iron grates) for the tomb £20 5s weighing 9 hundred pounds 5½d the pound.

⁷³ The monument to members of the Rodd family up to 1693 at Exeter St Stephen may be from a sub workshop of this group and can be closely associated with other monuments of the 1680's. The case for these being from a sub group is outlined in section 4 of this chapter.

It appears that in the Restoration period, church monument production continued in Exeter possibly with some of the apprentices trained in the earlier workshop.

What is important is that some of the motifs employed by the pre civil war workshop are used, occasionally in a slightly modified format, in later monuments. One of the features found within the group is a lion's mask, in relief, on the console brackets. While the use of this motif was by no means restricted to the south west peninsular counties, this particular feature is seen on monuments in Devon that date from the second decade of the seventeenth century until the 1690's with very little modification to the form.⁷⁴ What makes the motif significant here is that it appears to have been used only by Exeter based craftsmen.

The monuments to Sir William Westover, died 1617, at Colyton and that to Elizabeth Eriseys, died 1618 at Bickliegh, have almost identical allegorical figures reclining on the sloping sides of the achievement supports. Both monuments show each figure to be naked, holding books and hourglasses and with the inner leg almost fully extended and resting on a section of the canopy. The overall format of these figures is remarkably similar to those seen on some of the 25 monuments within the group dated 1652-93.

⁷⁴ For example, see the monument at Talaton to Revd John Leach, died 1611 and the monument at Colyton to Sir William Westover, died 1617.

While slight differences in the poses are evident, especially regarding the posture of the inner leg, the same plump body style is apparent and the overall treatment of the figures is very similar. While there is a time lapse of nearly 60 years between the earlier monuments and the Drewe example of 1675 (D38), considered a typical example of a hanging wall monument of the period, any direct comparison is at best speculative although it appears that the original design was adhered to long after the original craftsmen were dead. It therefore seems reasonable to presume that the design was passed from master to apprentice without interruption.

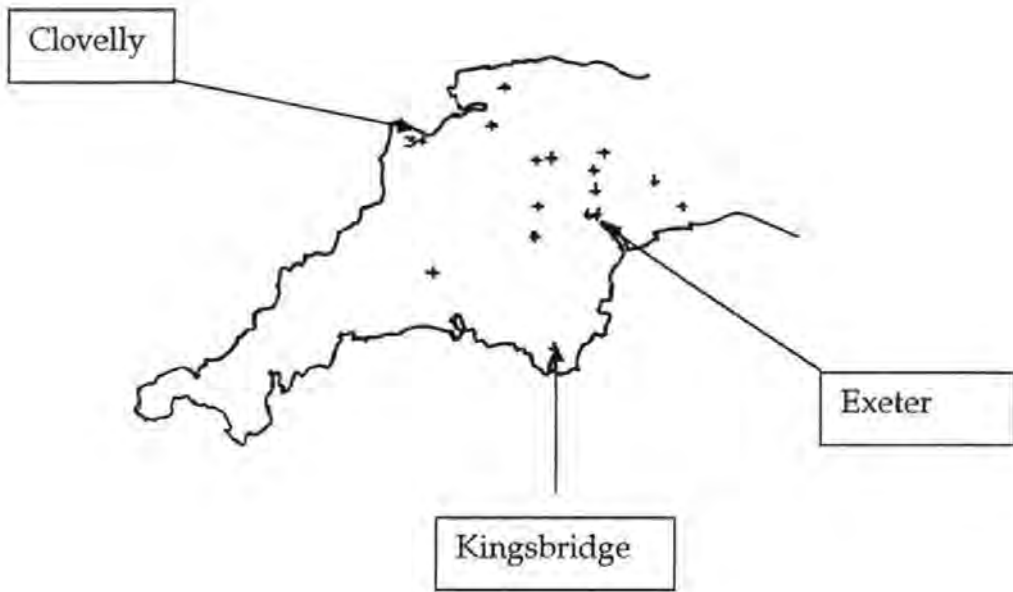
Yet another apparently common feature is the employment of human masks, often positioned immediately above the columns on the projecting ends of the frieze. Similar masks also appear in the centre of the frieze. It is possible that workshop drawings could have survived for these features and that young people trained as apprentices in the 1610's continued the house style and in due course passed that onto their apprentices who were working in the later period. While plausible, this also suggests that design ideas were stagnant and innovations were not forthcoming.

The Drewe monument at Broadhembury, dated 1675 and discussed in chapter three, is illustrative of the standard format of internal hanging wall monuments of the period and is also a typical example of the monuments within this significant group. The group includes monuments at Clovelly 1652 (D62), 1675 (D61) and 1680 (D57), Exeter St Stephen 1662 (D115) and 1693 (D116), West Worlington 1663 (D230), Chagford 1664 (D47), Chawleigh 1666 (D50), Exeter St Mary Arches 1666 (D104)

and 1673 (D107), Arlington 1667 (D5), Kingsbridge 1667 (D147), Exeter Cathedral 1667 (D98), Cadeleigh 1669 (D46), Bishops Tawton 1669 (D19), Lezant (Cornwall) 1670 (C30) , Tiverton 1670 (not illustrated), Swimbridge 1670 (D199), Crediton 1674 (D70), Broadhembury 1675 (D38), Colebrooke 1677 (D64) Exeter St Petrock 1680 (D112), Thorverton 1681 (D217), Dunchideock 1683 (D82), Exeter St Michael and All Angels 1684 (D109) and Widworthy 1685 (D233). Eighteen of these monuments display such striking similarities that they clearly originate from the same workshop while another six are considered by me to be late examples that can be added to this group. There are very probably others that have yet to be identified, as the monuments cited in this thesis should not be considered as the total number in the two counties.

The monument dated 1652 at Clovelly (D62) is one of a number that commemorate the Cary family in the church and one of three that clearly originate from the same workshop. However, it may have been erected some time after the 1650's, as it is virtually a copy of another monument in the church dated 1680 and also one in Exeter cathedral dated 1667. I have identified this significant group of monuments as the Main Group.

Distribution of Main Group monuments.



The first consideration to note regarding the patterns of distribution is that there are six monuments from this group in various Exeter churches including the Cathedral, three in Clovelly and one in Cornwall.

As is evident from the distribution map, most of the monuments of this group occur within a 20-mile radius of Exeter with the city, understandably, possessing the greatest concentration; interestingly 3 sites in north Devon possess examples with the suggestion being that the Exeter workshop was favoured over the local ones, centred on Barnstaple. The existence of a monument in this group in Kingsbridge almost certainly suggests that the monument was transported by sea from Exeter while a monument from this workshop, found in Lezant, Cornwall (C30), is intriguing and for which there is no ready explanation.

Common features within this group include an apron design that clearly has its origins in a decayed strapwork idiom. The outer edges are raised and treated with a light foliage decoration while the central form is a circular or, more rarely, oval band with a forward facing skull in high relief minus the lower jaw and frequently with crossed bones behind it. The console brackets on these monuments are often small and frequently decorated with lion masks in high relief.

The main sills are universally plain with a simple ovolo moulding. The columns supporting the entablature are, typically, placed forward of the main plane of the monument and carry Corinthian capitals. Within the entablature, whose forward projecting ends are supported by the columns, the architrave is typically of two layers. The frieze is plain save for a centrally placed human mask that is repeated on the forward projections although 8 examples do not display masks. The cornice is typically decorated either with egg-and-dart or dentil moulding and surmounted by a plain or moulded upper section that supports the pediment. Six monuments in the group have open triangular pediments, nine have an open segmental pediment, four have no pediment at all and one monument has a scrolled pediment. Of the six monuments displaying an open triangular pediment, they are all remarkably similar and display short end sections of pediment and identical naked putti.⁷⁵ The putto on the left always holds an hourglass while a skull accompanies the putto on the right.

⁷⁵ Exeter, St Stephen 1662, West Worlington, 1663, Chagford 1664, Arlington 1667, Broadhembury and Clovelly 1675.

Achievements of arms are centrally placed within the canopy in all six examples. The Chagford piece (D47) differs slightly from the others in the group in that it has cartouches of arms instead of putti and the pediment form is much simpler. The apron forms are all as described above but the Chagford example is simpler than the rest and has a shield of arms instead of the skull. The Clovelly example has a winged cherub head in the apron.

Those monuments that employ the open segmental pediment display achievements of arms in the centre with but one exception, that at Clovelly, 1680 (D57) where a winged cherub, naked save for a narrow band of fabric at the waist, blows a long trumpet and stands on the plinth normally reserved for the achievement of arms.⁷⁶

The Hall monument of 1667 in Exeter Cathedral (D98) is, understandably, a fine example of the genre with a typical canopy display showing an oval achievement of arms raised on a plinth between the two curves of the pediment and two flanking ovals or arms on short bases at the sides. All three ovals are enclosed within scroll-edged cartouches. The format is repeated at Clovelly 1652 (D62), Exeter, St Mary Arches, 1673 (D107) and 1666 (D104) and Bishops Tawton 1669 (D19). The monuments at Bishops Tawton 1669 and St Mary Arches 1666 have the naked winged putti as seen on the triangular pediment examples.

⁷⁶ Exeter St Stephen 1693, Exeter St Mary Arches 1666 and 1673, Exeter Cathedral 1667, Clovelly 1652 and 1680, Bishops Tawton 1669, Crediton 1658 and Widworthy 1685.

Of the other examples remaining from this group, the monument at Crediton to Agnes Vennor 1658 (D62) has a depressed curvature to the pediment and is the only example so far found of Main Group monuments that has decorated side panels. There are no supporting columns here and the sides show tight flower bunches tied by ribbons at the tops and bottoms while hourglasses occupy the space between them. The apron format is more hesitant than that portrayed in other examples and the canopy is much less ambitious in design. All the other examples in the group are more sophisticated in design and execution than this piece. While the Clovelly example, dated 1652 as discussed, carries the earliest date I firmly believe that the Vennor monument at Crediton, for the reasons given, is the earliest example of the Main Group monuments series so far found.

Of the five monuments within the group that have no pediment, that at Kingsbridge to Revd. George Hughes, 1677 (D147) clearly shows evidence of lost parts. The central achievement is very modest and the monument has close design parallels with that at Lezant in Cornwall to Thomas Snell 1670 (C30), which has pointed finials at the ends of the canopy. These two monuments are also similarly sized and, along with that at Exeter St Mary Arches, to Nicholas Brooking 1666 (D104) have raised leaf decoration to the console brackets replacing the usual lion mask. The other three monuments that have no pediment are those at Thorverton 1681 (D217), Dunchideock, 1683 (D82) and Exeter St Michael and All Angels 1684 (D109). Like the Kingsbridge and Thorverton examples, these three can be grouped together as they show virtually identical features. All

have large central achievements of arms on the canopy flanked by smaller cartouches of arms. Inscriptions are placed in plain frames and the console brackets are also unadorned. The aprons are simpler than other examples within the group and while clearly displaying the same outline features, the scrolling is much simpler and the strapwork origins of the design are less obvious.

At Colebrooke, the Lady Elizabeth Coryton monument dated 1677 (D64) has a scrolled pediment and is the only example so far found with this pedimental form. The angels resting on the outer curves of the scrolls are of the traditional format for this group while the central achievement of arms, albeit minus the top third, appears to be of a form seen on the other examples within the group.

The monument at Widworthy to Alice Isack dated 1685 (D233) has an apron design that was clearly inspired by those on other Main Group examples but here it is much less sophisticated and is without any central emblem or device. The canopy angels are particularly crude and do not follow the format of the others. Also, there are two side volutes between the sill and the entablature that are not seen on other Main Group monuments.

This example has been included with those of the Main Group, as I believe that it possesses sufficient features to justify inclusion although it must be considered to be on the margins of the group style.

In all the examples of this group, the inscription panel is rectangular and the language employed is either Latin or the vernacular.

Decorative strapwork sides can be seen on eight monuments within the group with examples at Exeter St Stephen 1662 (D215), West Worlington 1663 (D230), Exeter St Mary Arches 1666 (D104), Arlington 1667 (D5), Bishops Tawton 1669 (D19), Tiverton 1670 (not illustrated), Colebrooke 1677 (D64) and Broadhembury 1675 (D38). This decorative component had ceased to be used on metropolitan inspired monuments at this time and its continued use in the peninsular counties suggests that established decorative schemes remained popular here for some time after they had ceased to be fashionable elsewhere.

The three examples at Exeter St Mary Arches 1666 (D104), Arlington 1667 (D5) and Bishops Tawton 1669 (D19) have identical side strapwork decorations that are the length of the supporting columns, and with an oval in the centre. At Broadhembury, 1675 (D38), the version is more mannerist and the oval is omitted while at West Worlington there is a slightly different version that has the central oval but also has the more mannerist traits of the Broadhembury example. At Exeter St Stephen the Potter monument of 1662 has slightly different proportions to the decoration and a human mask replaces the oval. The Colebrooke monument of 1677 has an altogether more simplified version, with a human mask, that appears to have lost the original curvy form.

The data presented here clearly makes the case for a workshop based in Exeter that was producing commemorative sculpture after the Restoration but unfortunately no documentary evidence has yet surfaced actually naming a monument maker of the later period. However, the Exeter lists of Freemen name several masons working in the city and the name Jonas Bampfield occurs several times. What is equally intriguing is that the name Bampfield or Bampfeld also occurs at times during the appearance of Main Group monuments although there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that there was more than one Jonas Bampfield.⁷⁷ Masons traditionally made church monuments as well as other objects and it is tempting to think that Jonas Bampfield, some of the apprentices he is known to have trained and some of the other names recorded in the Lists were responsible for at least some of the monuments of the Main Group.

Barnstaple

In chapter three I noted the existence of a significant group of monuments in north Devon dating from 1698 to 1713.

The principal defining feature of this group is the treatment of the canopy where a semi circular arch has two seated winged angels holding a shield of arms. Barnstaple has already been noted for the work of the Jewells

⁷⁷ The Bampfield family was dominant in Devon from the fourteenth century and by the seventeenth century it was one of the top ten families in the county. It cannot be determined here if the Bampfields whose name occurs in the Exeter Freemen lists are members of this important local family but it must be considered a realistic possibility that they were a cadet branch of the family. The late sixteenth century Bampfield House stood at the corner of Catherine Street and Bampfield Street until destroyed by fire in the air raid of May 1942. Surviving photographs show it to have been a richly decorated house. For an account of this house see Peter Thomas and Jacqueline Walker, *Aspects of Exeter*. Baron Jay, 1981.

and a monument workshop certainly existed in the town before the Civil War.

The six monuments that make up this group are all large and elaborate structures whose locations strongly favour Barnstaple as the most likely site of the workshop. Apart from the almost identical treatment of the central feature of the canopy, another defining characteristic of the group is the handling of the apron and the design of the console brackets.⁷⁸ While other monuments in north Devon show similar treatments to the console brackets, this is insufficient evidence to unequivocally attribute the monument to a Barnstaple workshop. However, the overall style of some monuments makes a Barnstaple origin highly likely.

The Tristram Chichester monument at Swimbridge, (D203) discussed in chapter three, is one of a group of forward facing demi figures of a type used to commemorate child scholars as well as civic dignitaries in Barnstaple and Bideford in the mid seventeenth century.⁷⁹

An extremely unusual monument at Barnstaple commemorates Richard Harris who died in 1688. The console brackets clearly originate from established forms and the angels reclining on the scrolled pediment are of a type that can be seen on other monuments as far south as Ashprington. What makes this example noteworthy is the inclusion of two full-length

⁷⁸ These aprons universally consist of drapery upon which is placed an achievement of arms and the console brackets are treated with stylised acanthus leaves on the outer curves and with cherub heads and crossed wings.

⁷⁹ See C Fauch 'Constructing the Dead; late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Effigy Sculpture in Devon'. *Church Monuments* the journal of the Church Monuments Society vol. XIV 1999 pp 41-64

bas-relief figures standing outside the main frame of the monument. Both are female and that on the right appears to hold an anchor – a personification of Hope - while that on the left has an attribute that might be an hourglass. Almost certainly of local e.g. Barnstaple manufacture, the uniqueness of these figures represents the high point of mannerist commemorative sculpture within peninsular counties. Other characteristics of monuments emanating from possible Barnstaple workshops are less readily defined but there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the town possessed a notable sculpture workshop prior to that of the Jewells. It is entirely possible that Thomas Jewell the Elder served his apprenticeship with this workshop and that he subsequently took over the business.

Part 4 Smaller workshops in Devon and Cornwall

Of the two counties, it is clear that Devon possesses a greater variety of monument forms and groups than Cornwall. An examination of the available evidence shows that while definable similarities exist between monuments, grouping them together as products of a recognisable workshop is much more difficult. There is evidence to suggest that small collections of monuments might form distinct sub groups and carry recognisable features from either the Exeter-based Main Group or from a Barnstaple-based workshop other than that operated by the Jewells.

The work of John Weston and the Jewell's of Barnstaple has been discussed in part two of this chapter. The only other known local artist working during the period under review in the peninsular counties is

Michael Chuke of Kilkhampton (1679-1742).⁸⁰ Gunnis states that Chuke was responsible for some of the monuments at Kilkhampton but none are signed and so far no documentary evidence has emerged to prove these attributions. His workshop, we can assume, was therefore a small one that produced only a few identifiable products.

Four closely related monuments that constitute a sub section of the Main Group, can be seen at Exeter St Petrock 1680 (D113), Meshaw 1683 (D155), Exeter St Mary Arches 1688 (D108) and Cheriton Fitzpaine 1691 (D52). In all four examples there is a secondary sill beneath the console brackets with one, that at Exeter St Stephen, having the apron beneath that sill. Two of the four have aprons and their form is clearly related to that used on Main Group examples but it is debased and only that at Meshaw has the skull in the central roundel.

Of the four, that at Exeter St Stephen is the latest and sees a return to a more recognisable Main Group format but it has changed - it is now simpler and more restrained.⁸¹

The other three display steeply angled sides to the open pediment, identically formed cartouches of arms at the ends of the canopy and similarly treated central achievements of arms.

⁸⁰ Chuke was at one time apprenticed to Grinling Gibbons but he returned home and was employed on decorative work at Stowe House (demolished 1739). Chuke was also responsible for producing some large plaster Royal coats of arms for local churches.

⁸¹ While the monument has every appearance of being in its original place it has obviously been recently repainted. As a consequence it is impossible to ascertain the full extent of any paint treatment, especially to the areas immediately surrounding the inscription.

The inscription panels are oval and have corner spandrel decorations – small plain ovals at Exeter St Mary Arches and identical winged cherub heads at Cheriton Fitzpaine and Meshaw. These three can be interpreted as a diversion from the Main Group while still retaining a recognisable flavour of the parent workshop. The obvious design similarities strongly suggest a single hand at work although the comparisons in apron styles at Meshaw and Exeter St Stephen are less readily explained with a ten-year difference in dates of death and possibly an equal time between subsequent erections.

Two monuments, at Exeter St Mary Arches, 1688 (D108) and at Rewe 1689 (D181), have architectural features in common with the Cheriton Fitzpaine monument but convex ovals replace the winged cherub heads in the spandrels. Another key point of difference is the appearance of a bird-winged skull with horizontal hourglass in the area between the supporting console brackets.

Another observation that may well indicate monuments from a minor workshop is the employment of a particular style of winged head seen on five monuments, four in north Devon. At Newton St Cyres the unpretentious monument to Robert Fortescue dated 1663 (D167) has a modest apron with incurving ends and a large forward facing cherub head with outstretched wings. This is repeated on the Joan Lovett monument dated 1679 at Tawstock (D208) and the two monuments are identical except for the arrangement above the entablature. The Fortescue piece has a central achievement with flaming urns while the Lovett example has a

central achievement in a cartouche with garlands of flowers at the sides. The same motif in the apron is repeated on the Judith Hancock monument dated 1676 at Great Torrington (D1232) but the whole monument is somewhat larger than the other two. Much later examples of the same design appear at Hatherleigh, firstly on the John Lethbridge monument of 1706 (D130) and later on the William Wivill monument of 1711 (not illustrated) although by the later date the form is debased and the whole monument is quite crude and an unsophisticated example of the workshop. Despite the Newton St Cyres example, it appears that these monuments may well have originated from a north Devon workshop, possibly based in Barnstaple.

No evidence has been forthcoming regarding a possible Cornish workshop during the period under review. The patterns of distribution analysed in Chapter three suggest that most monuments were imported into the county and that locally made examples, where they can be identified, have been found to be worryingly crude – the slate plates with effigial forms at St Enodoc and Michaelstow being notable examples (not illustrated).

CONCLUSIONS

In the preface to his 1994 thesis on the London monument trade, Matthew Craske argues convincingly in favour of there being a clear relationship between the commercial survival of a workshop and its ability to design monuments that accurately assess the social composition of the market and exploit the individual characteristics of their clientele. From the examples given in this chapter, that appears to be the case in the

southwest peninsular counties. The workshops of John Weston and the Jewells clearly produced a range of monuments, more varied in the case of Weston, to meet the demands of a predominantly local clientele while those examples identified as belonging to the Main Group are clearly more of a series of stock designs that can be adjusted for individual circumstances. Such a workshop evidently possessed a number of standard designs that appealed to the majority of their clients and, over a period of more than thirty years, saw little reason to alter a successful format that met the needs of those commissioning commemorative sculpture.

Chapter 5 Social Status and Interpretations of the Monument

Introduction

Part 1. Modern understandings and interpretations of social status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Part 2 Social status and its expression in memorial sculpture.

Part 3 Distribution of monuments by status groups within the peninsular counties.

Part 4. An analysis of peninsular counties memorial sculpture based on social status models.

Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with investigating the ways in which social status in England in the early modern period has been defined by various modern authors, the main differences between their interpretations and the ways in which these interpretations can be applied to memorial sculpture within the south west peninsular counties. I will introduce my theoretical models that illustrate how the social status of the deceased is reflected on the monument and these models will be tested against a variety of examples. Distribution patterns according to status groups and social rank are also analysed. The

chapter will also investigate how the local population during the period under review would have interpreted social status along with traditional or established means of social differentiation. The theoretical models are then tested against the available evidence with conclusions based on the results.

Just as chapter three gave us a typical model of the physical monument, so in this chapter I will present a model of the monument as a representation of social status. As before, the monument's variation in terms of its authorship, size and materials are understood as significant but now that significance is understood to lie in how the variety of monument types can be compared with different degrees of social status.

Part 1. Modern understandings and interpretations of social status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is clear from the published research that England, both before and after the Restoration, was a highly stratified society and that this stratification reflected major differences in wealth, power and social status. Disagreements exist amongst modern scholars as to the precise nature of this stratification, with the principal questions being centred on divisions based on analyses of wealth or status. Keith Wrightson in his important study of English society in the century up to 1680, points out that perception of the social order was something that preoccupied sixteenth and seventeenth century Englishmen.¹

¹ Wrightson K *English Society 1580-1680* Hutchinson 1982

Wrightson argues that contemporaries saw society as being composed of interrelated but unequal parts. Few people at that time questioned the existence of what was accepted as the natural order of social ranking and differentiation was seen as the key to a stable society. However, it is important to understand that any contemporary description of this social order, and of those within it, was only concerned with the position of men; women and children were not included in discussions of status as it was assumed that they would follow their husbands or fathers. The status of adult servants and apprentices was similarly regarded.

Superficially, the broad structure of English society in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries appears fairly straightforward but it was in effect far too complex to permit easy explanations of its structure and there were areas of overlap that confuse the casual observer. In discussing English society in the eighteenth century, Roy Porter believes that the social fabric was extremely intricate and that its complexity was reflected in the deeply ingrained economic division of labour and by the moral inertia of custom and precedent.²

Lawrence and JCF Stone, in discussing social élites, assert that since the fifteenth century one feature of English society that distinguished it from continental alternatives was the ease by which self-made men could achieve

² Roy Porter *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Penguin. 1990. p47.

power and status.³ The fusion between those who made their fortunes via the professions, trade, financial dealings or entrepreneurial activities and the established landed élites was eased by the desire of the newly enriched to buy into the ranks of the landed classes. These newcomers into the ranks of the landed élites appear to have been more readily accepted within English society than their continental contemporaries. However, as Roy Porter points out, the Establishment did not readily embrace audacious social climbers: it was especially difficult for interlopers to break into the very highest levels of landed society.

At a more fundamental level, the composition of local élites was never static. Currently, there are no hard facts regarding the proportion of newcomers to the local gentry at any one time, how they achieved their wealth or the extent to which they were able to establish new landed families. At a local level this complex subject has been considered by RP Flower-Smith in a discussion of how tradesmen and yeomen were beginning to make their way into the land-owning classes of the period while it is more obliquely referred to by both Whetter and Warne in their studies of Devon and Cornwall in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ For some time prior to the Restoration, and into the later seventeenth century, wealth and not birth was seen as perhaps the most important factor in determining social status.

³ Lawrence Stone and JCF Stone *An Open Elite 1540-1880* OUP 1984.

⁴ See A Warne 'Church and Society in Eighteenth Century Devon' PhD thesis 1963 and later the subject of a book of the same title, David & Charles 1969. Also JCA Whetter 'The Economic History of Cornwall in the seventeenth century' PhD thesis 1964/65 and later his *Cornwall in the 17th Century*, Lodenek Press, 1974.

It is worth remembering that wealth and income are not the same thing; wealth can be defined as the total accumulated resources of an individual and consists of fixed assets like land and buildings and non-fixed assets like cash and credits.⁵ Income is the cash produced from rents, trade or services.

The fluidity of social elitism as it existed in the period under review and the rigidly observed traditions of primogeniture were such that the younger sons of the landed élites would often be apprenticed to merchants or other practitioners within the range of socially acceptable professions. Although they had to make their own way in the world, these younger sons were often equipped with a respectable education and, not infrequently, some financial assistance from their families. While these younger sons would drop out of the immediate social hierarchy until they made their own fortunes, others who had succeeded in becoming financially secure would be brought in to the group via the purchase of landed estates. However, it must be remembered that estates were not an everyday item offered for sale; their sale would be a necessity brought about by the financial ineptitude of their current owners or, more rarely, through the inheritance of an unwanted estate.

If the definition of belonging to the aristocracy was membership of the peerage of dukes, earls, marquises, viscounts and barons then the

⁵ See Lorna Weatherill *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* Routledge 1996 p105-109

peninsular counties are not well served.⁶ It is important to note that such hereditary titles gave the individual a special position in law as well as parliamentary status. The Courtenay family, Earls of Devon, are seated at Powderham Castle near Exeter, their ancestral pedigree extending back at least to the thirteenth century but as Earls they have only one monument, of the late fourteenth century, erected to them.⁷ Sub-branches of the Courtenay family are variously commemorated, as at Molland, but these secondary family groups are at best parish gentry and certainly not aristocrats. The title of Baronet appears on only a few monuments and for the purposes of the distribution analysis that appears later in this chapter this title has been included amongst that of Sir. The Baronetcy was created in 1611 and prospective recipients of the title had to be drawn from those families that had for at least three generations been entitled to display armorial bearings as well as hold lands to the value of £1000.⁸ Beneath the ranks of the aristocracy were those titled 'gentleman' or 'esquire'. The chart below shows that these two similar social ranks constitute a significant percentage of social status indicators shown on peninsular counties monuments of the period.⁹

⁶ See Wrightson *op cit* p 23.

⁷ This monument is that in the South Transept of Exeter Cathedral and commemorates Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, died 1377 and his wife Margaret Bohun died 1391.

⁸ It must be assumed that this value was the sum that the land generated from rents and sales of produce.

⁹ The Herald's Visitation of 1620 accounted for 480 families that were of recognised gentry status but this survey may have been incomplete. See I Gowers 'Puritan Gentry in mid seventeenth century' *Devon Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* Vol XXXVIII Page 289 Puritan Gentry in mid seventeenth century Devon.

The largest single status group was that of 'gentleman', or being a member of the gentry, but the word 'gentleman' is far too broad to encompass all the gradations of the rank in a single term. Gentlemen traditionally included the nobility and that would include aristocrats, knights, esquires and professional men such as lawyers, military officers, university graduates and mid-ranking clergy. This scheme of ranking was by no means the only one at the time nor, as will be shown, do modern writers wholly agree upon it. 'Gentlemen' were not a legally defined social group; it was the ranking of the gentry that appears to have preoccupied most contemporary writers while other professionals, merchants, etc. constituted a lower rung on the status ladder. In their study of the gentry in early modern England, Heal and Holmes offer significant definitions of the gentry while also discussing the difficulties inherent in the term.¹⁰ Interestingly for this thesis, their analysis discusses the determining factors of land, lordship and social acknowledgement as the key attributes of gentle status but also highlights the difficulties of those who claim gentility but without the traditional attributes.

Memorials within the period 1660-1730 to aristocratic families in the peninsular counties are surprisingly few – there are only two in Devon and one in Cornwall.¹¹ The Devon examples are a husband and wife, Henry, Earl

¹⁰ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* Stanford University Press, 1994

¹¹ The monument at Eggesford to the Earl of Donnegal, died 1674, was erected c1650 and it is thought to be by William Wright of Charring cross. It has not been included in this thesis because of its early date of erection.

of Bath, died 1659, and Lady Rachel Fane, Countess of Bath, died 1680, both at Tawstock. These monuments have been fully discussed in chapter three. The Cornish example is the monument at Calstock to Lady Jemima, Countess of Sandwich, who died in 1674. After the death of her husband, Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, an important minister under Charles II, she retired to live with her daughter Anne, Lady Edgcumbe and died at Cotehele House.

It is significant that the monuments to these three individuals are not local work – those to the Earl and Countess of Bath are the products of Thomas and Balthazar Burman, father and son, who worked in London and have already been fully discussed (D210 & D211). Lady Sandwich's monument (C6), while unsigned and not convincingly attributed, is of a sufficient quality to strongly suggest that it too is of metropolitan manufacture.

The monument at Lanhydrock to Lady Essex Specott who died in 1689 is on the periphery of aristocratic commemoration (C26). She was the daughter of John Robartes (1606-1685) who was created Earl of Radnor in 1679. John, Lord Robartes had been a noted political figure at the court of Charles II despite having fought on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War but during the Commonwealth took no part in public life. The monument consists of a vertical rectangular inscription tablet flanked by two black marble columns that support an open segmental canopy. Lion mask console brackets support the main sill: between these brackets is an apron bearing a large winged

head and drapery. The eye is drawn to this monument on entering the church, the monument being positioned at the west end of the north wall. While architecturally unpretentious, and with only a brief inscription, the fact that it bears the title of the lady and states that her father was an Earl immediately marks this out as a monument to an individual of significant social rank.

One of the principal Cornish peers of the period was Sidney, Earl Godolphin of Godolphin, chief minister of Queen Anne who died in 1712 and was buried in the Nave of Westminster Abbey. According to Gunnis, his monument was sculpted by Francis Bird (1667-1731), an important sculptor who is best known for his work on St Paul's Cathedral.

Ten of the twenty-two monuments Gunnis records as being by Bird are located in Westminster Abbey.¹² That Godolphin is commemorated in Westminster Abbey is unsurprising given his position in the affairs of state at the time but it is unfortunate that no monument to him survives in his native Cornwall.¹³

¹² Gunnis R Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851. 1951. Bird was sent to Flanders at the age of eleven, where he worked under the sculptor Cozins and from there to Rome. He returned to England in about 1689 where he worked for Grinling Gibbons and Caius Gabriel Cibber. He returned to Rome for a short study period and was back in England by 1700. While Gunnis considers him to be a prolific statuary, Bird seldom signs his monuments thereby hindering accurate attribution although he gave a short list of his works to John Le Neve for inclusion in his *Monumenta Anglicana* of 1717-1719.

¹³ The church at Godolphin was extensively reordered in the nineteenth century. FWL Stockdale's *Excursions Through Cornwall* 1824 mentions Godolphin House but does not discuss any commemorative sculpture in the neighbouring church at Clowance.

At the other end of the social spectrum, Yeomen appear to have constituted a distinct rank amongst rural society. The term was usually applied to men who farmed above fifty acres, sometimes considerably more who could become, by local standards, comparatively wealthy. The monument at Atherington to Anthony Snell dated 1707 records his title of Yeoman while at Perranzabuloe is the monument, erected c1720, to John and Anne Cottey, the children of Edward Cottey, Yeoman. Given the strongly agricultural economic base for the region, the rarity of monuments to yeoman is surprising.

Within the minor rural gentry it appears that status depended more on the amount of land an individual possessed rather than the form that the land took. A person holding less than fifty acres would usually have been referred to as a husbandman while the lowest tier of all throughout society in general was reserved for labourers, artificers, servants etc. By the late sixteenth century the gentry, as a homogeneous group, were beginning to subdivide into the parish and county gentry and L and JCF Stone produce an important differentiation between these two groups.¹⁴ They suggest that at the parish level, the gentry would have received little education beyond the local grammar school and possessed limited interests and power while the county group were men of greater wealth and power and who perceived themselves as having an automatic claim to political leadership. Also, their education, especially by the end of the period, might well have been

¹⁴ L and JCF Stone op cit. p6-7

completed by undertaking the increasingly popular Grand Tour. In December 2003 a rare Renaissance roundel was sold at auction for £7m. Made in Mantua between 1480-1500 it was acquired by George Treby III, an MP for Dartmouth in the 1740's on his Grand Tour and its chance discovery highlights the variety of objects purchased on the Tour as parts of the collections of even remote county gentry.

Convergent ideas of social status within the gentry have been expressed by modern writers such as Keith Wrightson, Peter Borsay and Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes.¹⁵ These writers, while looking at social status from differing perspectives, all agree that issues of gentility, or the possession of gently status, were uppermost in the minds of contemporary observers.

Borsay is vague as to the precise attributes of a gentleman but birth, within his analysis, is clearly an important prerequisite. Wrightson argues for various degrees of gentility starting with the peerage and ending with parish landowners, those he terms 'mere gentlemen' but it is worth remembering that it was these mere gentlemen, or the lower gentry, who owned up to 50% of the land. Because of social mobility brought about by changing fortunes, the dividing line between being a gentleman and the rest of society was, as Wrightson observes, a 'permeable membrane'.

¹⁵ Keith Wrightson *English Society 1580-1680* Rutgers University Press 1982. Peter Borsay *The English Urban Renaissance*, Oxford 1989. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700*, Stanford 1994.

Land-generated wealth played a large part in definitions of gentility as the income funded a certain life-style and, of particular relevance to this thesis, paid for the memorials that were erected to perpetuate the memory. This in turn gave rise to local recognition of gentle status. Therefore, up to the Civil War and, one can safely assume, beyond, especially in the more rural areas, it was land-generated wealth that became the main factor that determined social position and the class hierarchy.

Borsay, like Wrightson, argues that acquiring gentility or gentle status was the most influential model amongst the wealthy and powerful as well as amongst those who aspired to their social ranks. A gradual change after the Restoration has been noted by these writers and while ancestry and land – and the wealth generated via land holdings – remained significant qualifications to acquiring gentle status, the possession of culture or being seen by ones peers as cultured increased in importance.

Acquired wealth, through trade or other commercial enterprises, is not without a place in discussions of status and gentility although conflating these two concepts can be tricky. Acquired wealth allowed the individual the opportunities for displays of conspicuous consumption and that goes hand in hand with issues of taste ergo, taste is equated with culture which is related to status. Lorna Weatherill, in her analysis of consumerism, argues that occupation and status have often been conflated and that any listing of

professionals, tradesmen and gentry does not suggest a hierarchical arrangement.¹⁶

Britain was an agrarian economy during the seventeenth century and social status and power were concentrated amongst the wealthier inhabitants of the villages as agriculture became increasingly market-orientated. These local élites were also heavily involved in local government and were keen to ensure that they applied their authority appropriately. Although concentrating on the period 1625-1640, the analysis of gentry government by AM Wolffe considers the administration of county government and the duties expected of the gentry by Charles I.¹⁷ The expectations placed on the gentry in the period under review had their origins in the demands placed on them before the civil war. Families, even among the local social élites, were not equal and deference to social superiors remained an important aspect of the hierarchical system. This is highlighted by PA Duffin who discusses the Cornish gentry and their political allegiances in the period 1600-1642.¹⁸ This study of the Cornish gentry analyses social mobility, antiquity and marriage patterns and also considers their internal stratifications, hence the relevance of this to discussions of deference to social superiors. Hierarchy and deference also applied within the family unit with the husband and father being the head of the household and to whom all other family members

¹⁶ Lorna Weatherill *op cit.*

¹⁷ AMWolffe 'The Gentry Government of Devon 1625-1640' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter 1992

¹⁸ PA Duffin 'The Political allegiance of the Cornish gentry c1600-1642'. Unpublished PhD theses, University of Exeter 1989.

deferred. This micro-structure also extended beyond the family and was replicated in the village, town, county and country with the monarch being at the pinnacle. As Amussen states, the authority of particular individuals or groups rests on the conception of society developed in a particular period.¹⁹ It is also the product of social relations – hierarchies, distances and power – rooted in both the material and the ideological worlds. Authority also carries with it social and political consequences and responsibilities.

Even within the parish churches, a highly developed and structured system of seating and ordering existed which reinforced the social position of the local élites. A pew lists survives for the parish of Hartland in north Devon dating from 1613 and shows that the lord of the manor was given pride of place in the chancel.²⁰ Others of the rank of gentleman are seated in the north and south chapels and at the front of the nave on the north side. Men and women were not seated together and this is reinforced by the 1674 seating plan for the church at Penzance.²¹ Here it is the magistrates and mayor who occupy the principal pews although the occupations and social ranks of the remainder of the congregation are not given.

¹⁹ Amussen op. cit p 187

²⁰ MJL Wickes *The Social Structure of the Parish of Hartland 1558-1620* MA dissertation University of Leicester 1980.

²¹ Included in a lecture given by GB Millett at the Penzance Institute 13th March 1876.

By the later seventeenth century the system of social segregation and elitism within the parochial hierarchy was being challenged from within the local community and notable families could no longer take for granted the respect and deference of their social inferiors. The seating order in a parish church was the visible embodiment of the local social hierarchy and any conflicts over seating arrangements are therefore a reaction to the local social order.²² I consider that the relationship of the seating arrangements in a parish church and the placing of individual monuments are important as this constitutes a direct link with the past; the monument can be seen as the means of preserving the social body and is attended by the physical body.²³

Borsay convincingly argues that house decoration, as a type of conspicuous consumption, is directly linked to social status with the liberal use of the classical orders of architecture being a mark of distinction. I believe that this argument can be carried forward to memorial sculpture. The greater the decoration employed on the monument, the greater the cost and the greater the level of conspicuous consumption. This in turn suggests the appearance of an elevated social status within the local community. The employment of classical architectural components suggests that even the most modest member of the local élite could aspire to the same decorative elements as seen on the monuments to the highest in the land.

²² See Susan Amussen *An Ordered Society, Gender & Class in Early Modern England* Columbia University Press 1988 p 138

²³ For discussions of the natural and social bodies see N Llewellyn *The Art Of Death* V&A 1991

While the use of classical architectural forms within tomb sculpture was nothing new at this time, we have to consider the extent of architectural awareness and knowledge amongst the minor parish gentry. Naturally, some would have been well versed in the architecture of classical antiquity while others would have understood very little. It is therefore reasonable to assume that for many, they were entirely in the hands of the monument designer/maker as far as architectural decorative schemes were concerned. It would be a mistake to assume that the parish gentry or squirearchy were unaware of classical architectural forms and the association of classicism with learning can be clearly traced to the earlier decades of the seventeenth century and indeed into the reign of Elizabeth I. Adam White has convincingly made the connection between classical learning and monument design and it is clear that the developments in the earlier part of the century, up to the start of the Civil War, continued after the Restoration.²⁴ It is therefore clear that some patrons would have been very well versed in classical architecture and the emergence of the Grand Tour would certainly have influenced architectural taste during the period under review. At least an element of classical learning therefore could be taken as a measure of intellectual superiority which would also impact on contemporary ideas of social status.

²⁴ Adam White 'Classical Learning and the Early Stuart Renaissance' *Church Monuments* Vol. 1 part 1 1985 p20-33.

While social status and its various divisions and interpretations occupied the minds of contemporary individuals, an important element of the social system, frequently neglected and yet to be fully discussed within a commemorative context, is that of deference. For the period of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we can consider that deference meant that those of lower social station would show respect to and be submissive to their social superiors. Modern writers such as Wrightson have investigated how this social superiority became manifest, it being clear that the traditions and practices that accompanied the concept of deference were not entirely one sided due to a degree of social reciprocity and social obligation. Wrightson convincingly argues that this reciprocity was one of unequal obligations and that the social relationship that included the recognition of power by one group and the dependence of another was based on permanent inequalities.²⁵ The comparative superior in the status hierarchy largely defined these relationships and their one-sided nature was essentially accepted by the lower social orders. The wealthy recognised their social obligations and that these obligations went hand in hand with their social position. To develop this argument further, Wrightson considers that such paternalistic attitudes provided stability in a society that was essentially concerned with the pursuit of self-interest by the individual. It was actions, the concept of *noblesse oblige*, which provided legitimacy and justification to the position of the gentry.

²⁵ Wrightson op cit p57.

While the actual cost of most actions was little, the price extracted in the form of deference and the acceptance of the social order was high. Effective associations between equals as well as bonds of patronage and clientage between those of differing status, wealth and power maintained the social relationships within a local community. This situation was more likely to exist in the villages than the towns but concepts of deference to those exhibiting the outward trappings of wealth remained. The erection of the monument that befits the social rank of the deceased can therefore be interpreted as one of these actions.

Honour is a significant concept within the sphere of social interaction that demands attention. Anthony Fletcher suggests that a gentleman's honour was the essence of his reputation in the eyes of his social equals.²⁶ This gave him his sense of worth, his claim to pride in his local community and that it contributed to his identity within that community. Honour had two components, the public and the private but it is the public aspect that is of concern here. To quote Fletcher

*We need to consider the gentry's honour in terms of lineage, of the physical expression of manhood, and of the virtue and reason which were the guiding precepts that underlay the gentry's leadership of society.*²⁷

Honour could not be contracted into. The common sort of people in the period under review saw it as existing through lineage but although this

²⁶ Anthony Fletcher *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*. Yale University Press 1995

²⁷ Fletcher op cit p126.

concept was rapidly becoming out of date by the 1660's it retained a powerful hold in the imagination of traditionalists. Evidence for this traditionalism can be seen on church monuments within the peninsular counties where ties to ancestry as well as personal achievements are equally important. The heraldic content of many later sixteenth and early seventeenth-century monuments can be interpreted as a direct indication of lineage but also as something symbolic of virtue. Although any great heraldic content to the monument was essentially dispensed with by the time of the Civil War, rare examples do exist where heraldry continued to be a major part of the monument. Within the peninsular counties, one particularly relevant example is that at Ashton to Sir George Chudleigh who died in 1657 (D8). Discussed in chapter two, this monument has a central section that contains twenty-four shields of arms displaying his family connections and matrimonial alliances. Originally erected on the north wall of the Lady Chapel, the monument now occupies a space between two windows in the north aisle. The upper section of the monument is dominated by a large achievement of arms having eight quarterings for the families of Chudleigh, Merton, Stretchleigh, Wyke of Bindon, Nonant, Prous, Gould and Chudleigh again. Sir George Chudleigh's coat of arms appears in the centre of the main panel with two vertical lines of six shields placed either side.²⁸

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of these heraldic quarterings and the families see Maxwell Adams 'A brief account of Ashton church.' *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* vol 31 p 191-193 1899.

For monuments erected in the 1660's and 1670's (and sometimes beyond) to those who served in the Civil War, reference to military service can sometimes be seen.²⁹ Possibly as part of the concept of heroic lineage but also as a visual and conscious homage that respects older chivalric codes, these monuments display trophies of arms and other military paraphernalia that seem curiously out of place in a society tired of internal conflict.

In 1701 John Prince, vicar of Berry Pomeroy, published his Worthies of Devon which lists a total of 169 eminent Devonians, many of whom had been long dead at the time of writing. Prince's work is especially important in that it is contemporary with the period under review and he writes about twenty one people that fall within the chronology of this thesis who have monuments erected to them and in six cases discusses the monument in detail, giving a transcript of the inscription and biographical details. Social status would have been uppermost in the minds of contemporary readers and inclusion by Prince would reinforce or enhance the status of the recently deceased.

²⁹ See the monument, erected c1714, at Kilkhampton to Sir Beville Granville who died of wounds received at the battle of Lansdowne 1643. Here the side panels and apron are heavily decorated with banners, pole arms, firearms, swords and the barrels of artillery pieces.

In his dedicatory Epistle Prince writes:

'Whereas your personal actions, which are great and brave, carry your honour round the universe: inscribe your names into the register of eternity; and you thereby raise trophies to your memory, which shall out-cast the mausolean monument'

This can be thought of in terms of celebrating the lives and achievements of 'worthy' people or those whose careers have made an impact on the history of the county. The fact that Prince's book was published in the middle of the period under review in this thesis may be considered significant insofar as it demonstrates an active contemporary concern with reputation and status in the southwest of England and although he claims that reputation is more lasting than a church monument there is no doubt that his contemporaries were happy to be memorialised in stone. To gauge some idea as to whom Prince is writing about, the full title includes

The most famous Divines, Statesmen, Swordsmen, Physicians, writers and other Eminent Persons, Natives of that most Noble Province.....

Prince's work must be considered as possibly unique for the time as nothing of a comparable date has come to light for another shire county. The inspiration for the Worthies might have come from Thomas Fuller's History of the Worthies of England published posthumously in 1662 although William

Winstanley's Lives of the Most famous English Poets published in 1687 might also have been influential.³⁰

With the Worthies Prince highlights the fame and or importance of a select group of Devon men – women are not recorded except as wives to ‘eminent’ men – and looks nostalgically upon the achievements of past generations, especially those who served with distinction in the Civil War. Some of the monuments he describes must have been only recently erected but unfortunately Prince provides no comments on the sculptors responsible for producing these monuments.

The six monuments he describes in detail that fall within the period 1660 to 1701 are at Gittisham to Sir Thomas and Lady Ursula Putt 1686 (D122), Heanton Puchardon to Colonel Arthur Basset 1672 (D133), Exeter Cathedral to Dr John Bidgood 1690 (D95), Edward Cotton 1675 (D92), and Edmund Davie 1692 (D93) and at Clovelly to George Cary 1680 (D57). The Putt monument is given considerable coverage by Prince including a full transcript of the inscriptions and the arms. Another fifteen persons are discussed by Prince to whom monuments have been erected but he fails to record the existence of these other monuments.

³⁰ The possibility cannot be ignored that Winstanley and even Prince were also aware of Georgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* first published in 1550 and dedicated to Cosimo di Medici.

Part 2 Social status and its expression in memorial sculpture.

The diversity of monumental forms within the southwest peninsular counties and the corresponding variety of people commemorated make a single theoretical model inappropriate. If the whole range of sculpted monuments in Devon and Cornwall is considered in its entirety, then we have a continuum that reflects the differing social levels, commemorative expectations and recognised familial and dynastic status indicators. The criteria within the continuum must include reference to subliminal status codes that the contemporary spectator would understand, for ultimately the monument must be considered within the context of contemporary social conditions.

Within the continuum there is a series of criteria upon which the models are based. These are

- The status of the deceased
- The physical size of the monument
- The location of the monument within the church
- The inclusion of heraldry
- The degree of non-heraldic decoration on the monument
- The materials used in the construction of the monument
- The artist responsible for the monument (if known). Was he local/regional/metropolitan?
- The inclusion on the monument of erudite allegory
- The inclusion of marriage, dynastic or other familial associations
- The inclusion of an effigy of the deceased

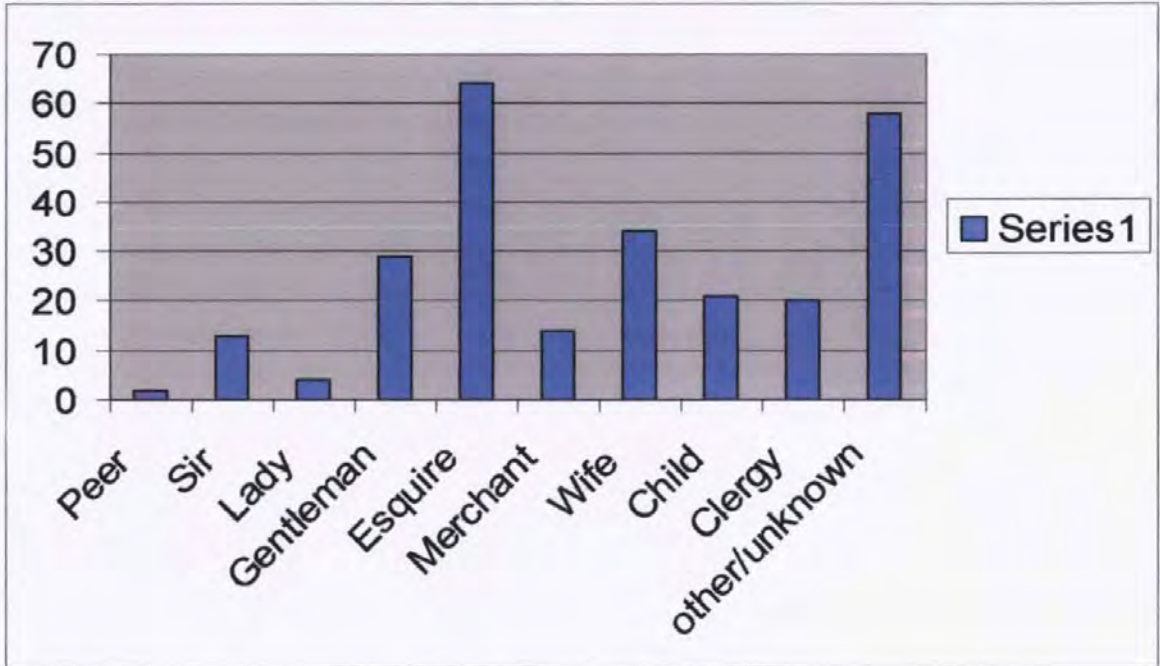
The continuum, as I have identified it, begins at the high status end where the monument is constructed of expensive, possibly imported materials, the artist is known, the monument is large and sited within a significant location in the church e.g. chancel, family chapel etc. There is considerable decoration on the monument and/or erudite allegory and the inscription records that the deceased is of recognisably high social status. Familial and dynastic connections are likely to be included along with heraldic detail. There will be an effigy of the deceased, although possibly limited to a portrait bust. A typical example of a monument at this end of the range is that at St German to Edward and Elizabeth Eliot dated 1722 by JM Rysbrack (C53).

The continuum continues to where the monument is constructed of good quality materials with the possibility of some components being made of high quality materials, the monument is sited within an important part of the church or within a family chapel. The artist is known or suspected, the monument is large with liberal use of decorative elements and allegorical references. There is likely to be inclusion of familial or dynastic references. Heraldic detail is included. There may be an effigy of the deceased but this may lack quality of execution. A typical example of this type of monument is that at Buckland Brewer to John and Mary Davie 1710 (D40), possibly by Thomas Jewell the Younger of Barnstaple, although this monument has no effigial component. The types continue where the monument is made of better quality, locally sourced materials, the artist is unknown, social rank is indicated and the monument is likely to be positioned in a less prestigious

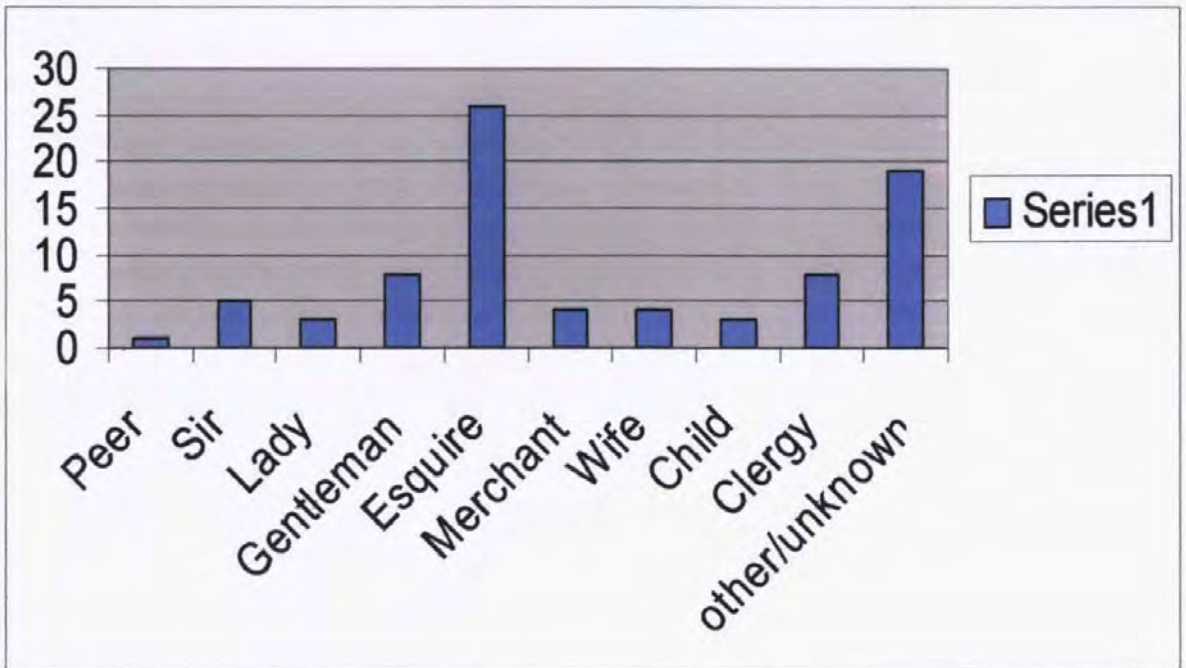
part of the church, usually within the nave. The monument is within the small to medium size range with unpretentious decoration and/or use of allegory and there may be some familial references.

At the lowest end of the spectrum, social status is not indicated on the monument or is of little relevance. The artist is unidentified, the monument is not in a prominent or prestigious position, the materials used are inexpensive, the monument is small and there is little or no allegory or decoration. Familial references may be absent or casually referred to. There is no heraldic display. A typical example of a monument at this end of the range is that at Blackawton to a member of the Cholwich family dated 1673 (D23).

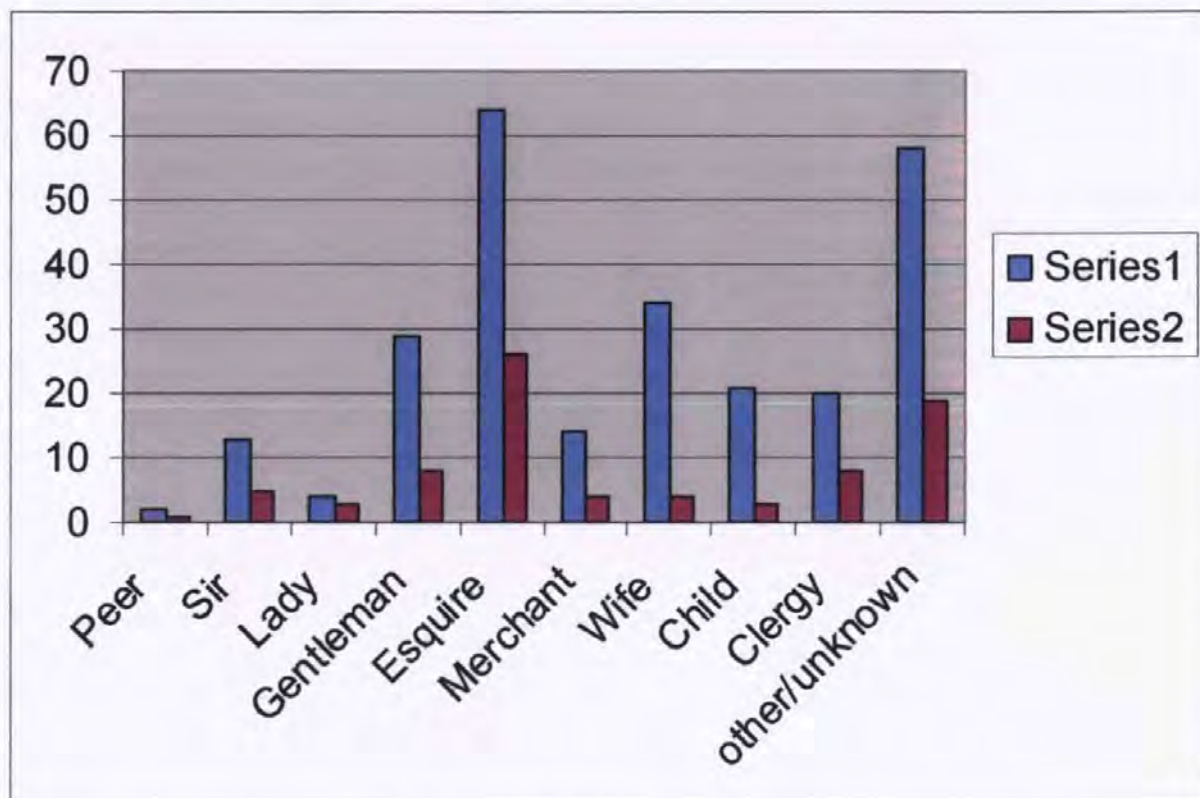
Part 3 Distribution of monuments by status groups within the peninsular counties



Devon Monuments by Status Groups



Cornish Monuments by Status Groups



Monuments by Status Groups for Both Counties

Discounting the other/unknown status groupings which, apart from monuments that do not record the social status of the individual commemorated, includes doctors, lawyers, yeomen and sea captains who are only tiny groupings and would not have any impact on the net results of status analysis, from the above tables it can be clearly seen that Esquire and Gentleman represent significant social groupings. Monuments to wives and children are only slightly less numerous and an important consideration for these groupings is that their status is determined by their husband or father and who is frequently described as 'Esquire' or 'Gentleman' or 'gent'. The empirical evidence for the peninsular counties validates the analysis of status groups given by the quoted modern authors. These authors have

discussed gentlemen and gentility at length but only Wrightson has placed Esquires within the social ranking and regards them as minor parish gentry. This study therefore demonstrates that Esquires are a more important and distinct social group than previously recognised and has differentiated between the social classes to a greater extent than general commentators on the subject. Interestingly, the professions and merchants are not well represented by commemorative monuments in the region despite the concentration of merchants and other professionals in Exeter.

Whether the monument is placed within a modest parish church or great cathedral, it occupies a public space. All strata within society would have access to the church, and therefore access to the monument, although access to monuments in private chapels would be more difficult. The question has to be asked if the ordinary churchgoer would, at any time, have access to private chapels. To have a private or semi-private family chapel within a church is itself an indication of high social status. Some of these chapels might have been in use by the same family for some considerable time and become almost a separate part of the building, some even having a private entry door. There is a continuing social perspective to the presence of a monument in a church as it is a permanent reminder not only of the individual but also the family. Despite the monument being in a private chapel within the church it would, in many instances, be visible to those outside the chapel. A monument is therefore an indicator of social

ascendancy, its size and expense being additional indicators of the "taste" of the family concerned.

This idea of the size and expense of the monument being an indicator of social status would be particularly relevant within a small parish church as the monument might very well commemorate a member of the local land-owning family or local clergy or some such individual of social significance within the community. In rare instances the position of the monument is such that the churchgoer could not fail to see it and therefore be reminded of the individual and family. One such example is that at Abbots Bickington to Thomas Pollard who died in 1710, son of Sir Ames Pollard (D1). The monument is placed diagonally across the east and north walls of the chancel and in such a modest church the congregation could not fail to be constantly aware of it. By far the most blatant example of this is the Pointz monument at Bittadon dated 1691(D21) which is strategically placed directly opposite the south door. The church is very small and it is the first feature the visitor encounters on entering the building. It is not known if the monument occupies its original position and it has clearly been repaired at some time but if the position is original then the visual impact it makes was obviously intentional.

Obviously, the prime function of the monument was to commemorate the dead. However, it is the secondary function of the monument that is relevant to this thesis and over which there has been some debate. Howard Colvin has

convincingly argued that monuments were regarded as works of art in their own right to be admired independently of the setting.³¹ However, while the monument as a work of art is clearly in line with modern interpretations, to consider it independently of its setting is a mistake. The monument must be seen within the wider context of its setting, however modest that setting might be.³² In the mid eighteenth century the stylistic eclecticism of funerary art was a matter of critical discussion. Some of the monuments erected in Westminster Abbey in particular were the source of much stylistic debate and some were openly ridiculed in the popular style journals of the day such as the Gentleman's Magazine and Connoisseur.³³

From this it can be deduced that good design is a product of good taste and possessing "taste" was seen as a social status indicator. Even by the early eighteenth century, critiques of newly erected monuments started to appear, the adverse comments regarding the monument to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, died 1707, in Westminster Abbey being a case in point.³⁴ No evidence has surfaced regarding the acceptability or otherwise of monuments erected in the peninsular counties.

³¹ Colvin H *Architecture and the Afterlife*, Yale University Press 1991

³² See Malcolm Baker *Figured in Marble: the Making and Viewing of Eighteenth century Sculpture*. V&A 2000 p50-61

³³ See Bernard Denvir *The Eighteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1689-1789*. p152.

³⁴ According to Gunnis, the Shovel monument was, for a long time, thought to be the work of Francis Bird (1667-1731) but subsequent research by Mrs KA Esdaile has shown that it is the work of Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721). Gunnis also cites those writers who have attacked the monument including Addison and Horace Walpole.

Size also matters as it, and to a lesser extent the degree of decoration placed on the monument, can be interpreted as a guide to social pretensions.

Large monuments placed in prestigious areas of the church are likely to convey a greater sense of social status than if the same monument were placed in a less significant area of the building. While this may appear obvious, it is also important to remember who is being commemorated and, as will be shown, the place of commemoration depended on various factors. The position of the monument in the church therefore has direct relevance to the interpretation of the monument from the perspective of social status. It is therefore appropriate to consider the positions available with examples from within the peninsular counties.

That some people had been guilty of ostentatious funerals, and by suggestion monuments, is mentioned by John Weever who wrote that: -

*Sepulchres should be made according to the quality and degree of the person deceased that by the tombe every one might bee discerned of what ranke he was living.*³⁵

Burial in church was, in some places, becoming a problem due to overcrowding but in rural parishes within the peninsular counties I have found no evidence to suggest that this was a problem.³⁶ Burial in church tended to be limited to those of some social standing within the community

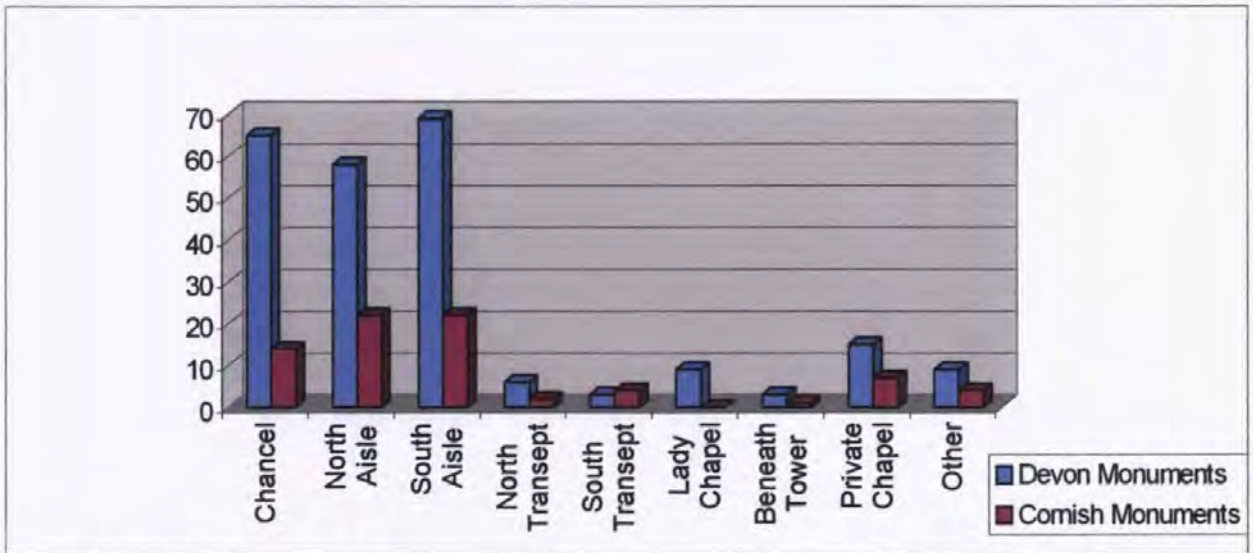
³⁵ John Weever *Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the Ilands adjacent*. 1631. Chapter 2 page 10.

³⁶ Excavations at St Augustine-the-Less, Bristol 1983/84 revealed 107 intramural burial vaults dating from the late seventeenth century.

and intramural burials are alluded to on a number of inscriptions. The words 'near this monument lies...' being a sound indicator of intramural burial. Instances where the grave slab lies immediately adjacent to the monument can be seen at Dartmouth near the Thomas Boone monument dated 1681 and at Wembury near the Elizabeth Calmady monument dated 1694(D227).

A significant number of monuments are sited within the nave of the parish church. There are likely to be a number of reasons for this including the possibility that the monument is adjacent to the family pew. However, if the monument has been moved, as quite a number have and the original location not known, then there can be little to comment upon regarding position. The eastern ends of both north and south aisles were frequently taken over by local socially élite families and used as private chapels but reordering since the erection of the monument has effectively removed this feature, the only evidence of the area having been used as a family chapel are the remaining monuments themselves. The monument is therefore considered, for the purposes of the distribution analysis shown below, to be sited in the aisle. Similarly, the north and south transepts were often used as private or family chapels in that the family is separated from the congregation at times of worship but remain visible. While it may have been difficult at times to see divine service taking place they could still hear the sermon – the centre-piece of the post Restoration liturgy. Some monuments are not sited in the normal places and those positioned at the bases of the tower or within the area used for bell ringing have almost certainly been removed from their original

location.³⁷ Other monuments have been placed at the back of the church, as at South Molton, and while these appear to be in their original location this remains to be verified. The Eliot monument at St Germans and the Harris monument at Stowford have both been moved from the chancel. These will be discussed below.



Distribution of Monuments by position within the church.

From the chart showing the patterns of distribution by position within the church it is clear that while the north and south aisles and chancel possess, as would be expected, the greatest number of monuments, the other available sites are very sparsely occupied.

³⁷ There is clear evidence that the monuments at Antony have been moved as CS Gilbert *An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall* 1817 clearly saw the monuments prior to any reordering. The significant monument to three members of the Carew family up to 1705, presently sited under the tower, cannot be in its original position.

This sparing use of other sites may be accounted for by the resiting of monuments, the desegregation of private chapels and other internal reordering. The north and south aisles and chancel would be the principal places in which worshipers and other spectators would see the monuments although the chancel might well have highly restricted vision caused by the screen.³⁸ For monuments positioned in the nave, spectators would be continually reminded of the commemorated person, their personal status and the status of their family. As the numbers of monuments are so different for the two counties, a direct comparison of where monuments are sited is difficult but broad trends are clear.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most landed families continued to bury their dead in established family chapels and any new chapels that were created, frequently from a transept, were less architecturally pretentious than their forebears and were designed more as a display of family monuments. A transept that had been converted into a private chapel or the end of an aisle that served a similar function should be considered as the ultimate status symbol within the church. The distribution chart shows that, although they are a long way behind positions such as the nave or chancel, monuments within private chapels are the largest category amongst the most sparsely populated areas of the church.

³⁸ Devon churches in particular are noted for the quality of their screens and in many instances these are very grand affairs which obliterate any viewing of the chancel.

The important monument to Lady Arundell dated 1691(C63), in the south transept at St Newlyn East and discussed in chapter four is an excellent example of a monument – in this case of high quality - in a former private chapel. She was the daughter and sole heir of Sir John Acland of Columb John in Devon and at least maintained her social status on her marriage. Similarly, the Bassett monuments at Heanton Punchardon dated 1662 (D134), 1672 (D133) and 1686 (D135), occupy the end of the north nave aisle, now the vestry, but this was originally the private chapel of the family.

The chancel of a church was the most privileged part of the building in which to be buried and or place a monument. Traditionally the preserve of the Lord of the Manor and/or patron of the living, the monument could be placed on either side of the chancel and in so doing often totally or partially blocked existing windows. It was only the east window that was never blocked and monuments do not encroach on the high altar. Lords of the Manor and/or patrons could, and frequently did, exercise considerable influence over the erection of a monument in this area. They were fully entitled to do this and commemoration within this area conferred considerable social status on the deceased and his/her family. Also, the traditional segregation of the chancel from the nave by means of a screen further suggests a degree of segregation by status. The commemorated therefore maintains a level of social separation from their social inferiors even in death. The best example of this in the peninsular counties can be seen at Clovelly where the chancel walls are completely dominated by monuments dating from the 1650's to 1700 to

members of the Cary family who were lords of the manor and lived in the house adjacent to the church. It is worth noting that the traditional large scale Baroque monument, like the Eliot or Harris pieces had, by being sited in the chancel, the propensity to seriously compromise the spatial qualities of the location. The fact that lords of the manor and or patrons of the living could erect such monuments in this location seemingly without regard for the space is also highly suggestive of their social position.

For the period under review within the peninsular counties, very large monuments within the chancel are rare. Both the Eliot and Harris monuments were moved to their present locations in the nineteenth century having formerly occupied sites in the chancel and would have been the only example of large chancel monuments.³⁹ As far as attempting to differentiate monuments by style or levels of grandeur, any monument erected in the chancel could equally well be erected in the nave unless it is of the fully effigial format such as the Eliot or Harris examples. The empirical research for this thesis suggests that it is the north wall of the chancel that appears to be more widely used for monuments than the south wall. The likely reasons for this are complex and may have something to do with the north aisle of the building appearing to be slightly more prestigious than the south aisle, especially if the church is entered by a south door as many are.

³⁹ An old photograph at St Germans showing a general view of the interior shows the monument in its original place on the right hand side of the chancel.

This would lead the eye of the visitor to the north wall of the nave and any features, like monuments that may be placed upon it

One of the key problems with social status is the difficulty of defining it. Within the highly stratified society of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries this might have been less difficult than it is now. However, the deceased's executors were obliged to make difficult value judgements about what would be an appropriate commemorative monument, where to site it in the church, how much money should be spent on it and who should be commissioned to make it. The funeral would also have to be consistent with the deceased's social status. The empirical research has yielded only a few references to monuments in wills.

Of the wills found only nine have any reference to a monument or burial within a specific part of the church, normally the aisle or seat associated with the family. Only three wills actually specify it.

The will of Sir William Coryton is dated 2nd December 1711⁴⁰ and states that

A monument may be erected and built within one year after my decease in memory of me and my said dear deceased wife in fashion much the same of that of my grandfathers and grandmothers monument and with like figures and statues of us both. In the erecting of which said monument I would not have exceeded the summe of two hundred pounds or thereabouts.

⁴⁰ Public Record Office PROB 11/530/251

The will of Robert Fry of Yearty in the parish of Membury is dated 15th December 1725 and clearly states

I also will and appoint that a monument of black and white marble of the value of one hundred pounds at least shall be erected as soon as may be after my death by skilful persons for that purpose and satt up unto my memory in the place where the east window now stands in the aisle of the parish church of Membury aforesaid in which the seat belonging to --- -- Yearty now stands and that I may be buried in the vault there as near my late dear mother and beloved daughter Frances as conveniently can and that there be at my funerall a broad pulpit cloth for the minister preaching on that occasion and also escutcheons and a hatchment on my dwelling house in all which and other expenses of my ffuneral bodies wife will think fit to lay out for her self and daughter in mourning clothes and besides the monument aforesaid I am willing that there should be more expended more than one hundred pounds.

The monument to his daughter Frances was erected in 1723 (D153) and as shown in chapter four almost certainly the work of Harvey of Bath. The artist responsible for Robert Fry's monument has not been identified and an attribution to Harvey of Bath is doubtful. The monument is placed diagonally between two windows across the corner between the east and south walls. By this placing it diagonally its visibility is increased and that must have been intentional on the part of whoever erected it. This last will and testament is also the only instance so far encountered of the request for a funeral hatchment outside his house.

The will of Sir Henry Northcote is dated 29th September 1724 and requests

*...my body to be decently buried in the church of Tawstock where my dear and everloving wife designs to be interred and to have near our graves a ffamily monument the charge of which shall not exceed fifty pounds.*⁴¹

The will of John Courtenay of West Molland is dated 1st August 1729 and was proved on 8th April 1733. In it he asks that

My body be decently and privately interred in the aisle of my parish church of Molland and in that part of it whereon now stands one old tombstone the inscription of which shows that one John Courtenay lyes there buried under it and I desire it my be specified by my dearly beloved wife and my executrix foreinafter named either by a monument on purpose or under that part of that monument lately erected by me in memory of my late honoured ffather that I am buried there in the aforesaid aisle.

As discussed in chapter four, both monuments as mentioned in the will have been ascribed to John Weston of Exeter on stylistic grounds.

While the point has been made that very large monuments in the peninsular counties are rare, the monument at Buckland Brewer to John Davie, died 1709 (D40) and that at Pilton to Christopher Lethbridge, died 1713 (D174) are notable examples of large, decorative and expensive pieces. These monuments overwhelm the spectator and we must assume that this was intentional.

⁴¹ Thomas Jewell of Barnstaple signs the resulting monument.

The Lethbridge monument, approximately 4 metres high, is placed on the south nave wall and appears not to have been moved. Lethbridge made his will in 1711 and specified that his body be laid in

....the southernmost sepulchre in the ground thereof unmolested by any person whatsoever other than my dear wife or child on top the adjoining sepulchre on the north.

He also willed five shillings yearly to the churchwardens towards the repair of the church roof '*especially that part that is over my monument*'.⁴² This does not mean that the monument was already in existence at the time of his death but clearly the maintenance of the monument was not to be hampered by a leaky roof. The will of John Davie requests that his body is '*decently buried in my aisle of the parish church of Buckland Brewer*'. Within this phrase it is the emphasis on the aisle being his that is important.

This would, in all probability have been his usual place in the church and to suggest that the aisle is "his" conveys considerable social status: there is nothing to suggest that he or his family paid for the aisle – he is following the contemporary rules of social status by claiming the aisle for his family as a member of the local social élite.

⁴² Will of Christopher Lethbridge. Public Record Office. PROB 11/538 sig 29

Interestingly, the monument is placed on the west wall of the north nave aisle – his aisle - simply because it is too big to fit on any other wall and it is not immediately visible when entering the church. The same aisle also contains the monument to Philip Venning, a child aged six and dated 1658(D41). There is nothing to suggest that the Vining and Davie families were connected in any way. John Davie is therefore referring to the aisle which he uses during Divine Service.

From the details of his will Davie left a large estate although no provision for the monument is mentioned in the will.⁴³

Another monument is recorded in the will of John Mayne, merchant of Exeter dated 30th May 1680 where he requests

My body interred in the chancel of the said parish church of St Petrox in Exeter as aforesaid and that my executors will in memory of me erect such or the like monument in the said parish church of St Petrox as is already erected in memory of Mr Lethbridge and Mr Brooking in the Parish of St Mary Arches and I desire that all things relating to my funeral may be decently performed.

The resulting monument, to John and Faith Mayne dated 1680(D113), while almost certainly Exeter work, bears no resemblance to the two specified in the will. The executors either ignored the request altogether or were interested more in the size and visibility of the piece. The earlier of the two, to Nicholas Brooking dated 1666 (D104) is clearly a Main Group monument as identified in chapter four. The Lethbridge monument, dated 1670 (D103), is a

⁴³ Will of John Davie Public Record Office PROB 11 518 sig 242.

different piece entirely having a horizontal oval inscription panel in a wreath border edged with a heavy strapwork-inspired design and with four large corner ovals. The superstructure is completed by the addition of a shallow scrolled pediment. Beneath the main sill a shallow incurved section leads to an equally shallow trapezoidal apron bearing a winged head in the centre.

The Mayne monument has an oval inscription panel within a wreath border, three ballflowers at the sides and bottom of the main panel and grey marble corner spandrels. Above the entablature is an open pediment with central achievement of arms and with two flaming urns at the ends. Beneath the main sill and between the console brackets which are decorated with lion's masks is a subsidiary oval flanked by cartouches of arms; this is completed by the addition of a subsidiary sill with secondary console brackets and a stylised cartouche bearing a monogram of J & F surmounted by a capital M.

After a standard preamble, a number of wills including those already cited to Sir Henry Northcote, John Davie. John Courtenay and John Mayne request that their body is decently buried or interred. e.g. according to the status appropriate to the deceased. The majority of those wills that comment on the practice of burial request a Christian burial or a decent Christian burial.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Other wills that specify "decent" burial are to Henry Chichester 1730, Sir Thomas Putt, 1686, Thomas Southcote 1715, William Hooper 1683, Ambrose Radford 1703, Thomas Boone 1681 and Christopher Lethbridge 1713.

It appears that for the peninsular counties, when compared with the adjacent counties of Dorset and Somerset, there is a paucity of fully Baroque effigial monuments at this time with the Eliot and Harris monuments being the only examples. The large double effigial monument to Sir John Pole who died in 1658 and his wife at Colyton is more in keeping with late Elizabethan and early Jacobean styles than anything contemporary with the date of death (D68). An even more obsolete style is that shown on the large kneeling effigial monument to Sir William Coryton who died in 1711 (C59) and his wife at St Mellion. Smaller kneeling effigial monuments, while not uncommon and showing the deceased in contemporary costume, are not of a scale to equal the Coryton monument which is by far the largest and most decorative of its kind in the region. The reasons for this dearth of Baroque effigial monuments are not altogether clear but may lie in the economic base of the region. While Plymouth, Exeter, Barnstaple and, to a lesser degree, Falmouth were important trading ports, there are very few monuments to merchants during this period, and with the exception of the double kneeling effigy monument at Fowey to William and John Goodall, 1686 none are effigial. This may be explained by a lack of local skilled portrait sculptors although it seems entirely plausible that an artist like John Weston might have been able to sculpt a portrait bust. Another possible reason for the lack of examples is that the production of large-scale Baroque effigial monuments would have been extremely costly. Transportation would also have been expensive and difficult with the ever present risk of damage in transit. The south west peninsular counties were, economically speaking, dominated by agriculture.

The region was also devoid of grand aristocratic families and therefore the expense of large scale Baroque monuments was unnecessary as there was little or no competition amongst the local social élites regarding the size and expense of the commemorative sculpture they erected. Also, if a monument was being commissioned from a metropolitan sculptor, there might have been no artist available to produce a portrait from which a sculptor might have worked. This highlights the possibility that there could be a compound effect at work here with little desire to be commemorated by a large expensive monument that in all likelihood would have to be made outside of the local area and little desire to spend the large sums of money that would be involved when a more locally made product would satisfy the needs of the family. If there was a desire for a large monument it could be supplied locally; the use of expensive materials and degree of decoration and embellishment employed on the monument becoming the social status indicators.

The Lady Rachel Fane monument at Tawstock (D211) has been discussed in chapters two, three and four and apart from her wearing a heavy fur edged and collared gown she also wears a coronet; this is the only monument in the peninsular counties to show this feature and is a direct indicator of her social and aristocratic status. Placed as it is in an estate church and to which there might have been limited access, the monument is making a specific social statement. That she wears a coronet immediately placed her within the ranks of the nobility, a feature that the contemporary spectator

would recognise. The figure is also shown standing on a cylindrical pedestal which carries the inscription and a relief carving of the armorial bearing. Around the pedestal are a series of shields of arms. As a standing figure the sculpture is elevated and the spectator is forced to raise their gaze in order to interact with the monument. The subliminal message therefore being that this is the monument to a lady of elevated social position that the spectator is obliged to look up to. The remaining effigial monuments show the deceased wearing either normal clothes or, in the case of some men, armour. Standing figures are rare; however there are two of the earlier seventeenth century in Devon at Newton St. Cyres on the John Northcote monument of 1632 and at Ottery St. Mary on the John Coke monument of the same year.

At Shute, the standing figure of Sir William Pole, died 1741, is the only other example in the peninsular counties and there is doubt over whether this figure was originally intended as a memorial. Naturally, standing figures within the Baroque commemorative tradition are occasionally seen as at Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire on the monument to Sir Thomas Wendy, 1673, at Knebworth, Hertfordshire on the Lytton Lytton monument of 1710, at Gloucester Cathedral on the monument to Sir John Powell of 1713 and at Denton Lincolnshire on the monument to Richard Welby 1714. The last two monuments are by Thomas Green of Camberwell.

Busts have been discussed in chapter three but as a social statement they are significant as they were an expensive item that required a skilled

craftsman to produce and the materials involved might have to be especially purchased for the job.

Only two monuments exist to children and both these have effigies; at Cornwood on the John Savary monument dated 1696 (D69) and at Oakford on the Margaret Spurway monument of 1692 (D170). In both instances it is the social rank of the father that is recorded and given some significance, the details of the actual child being almost an irrelevancy.

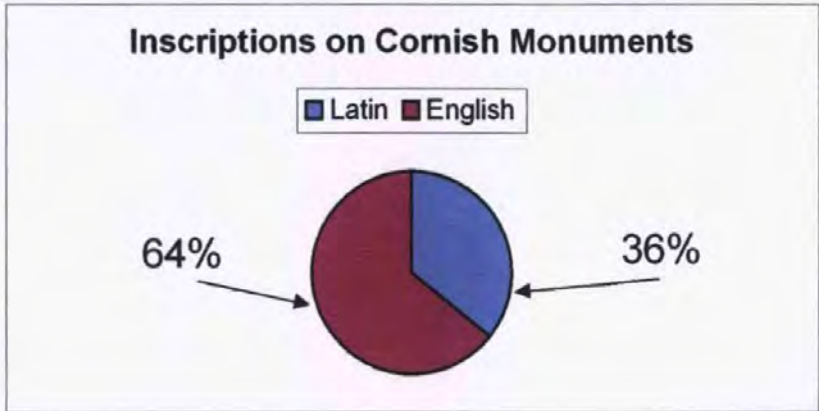
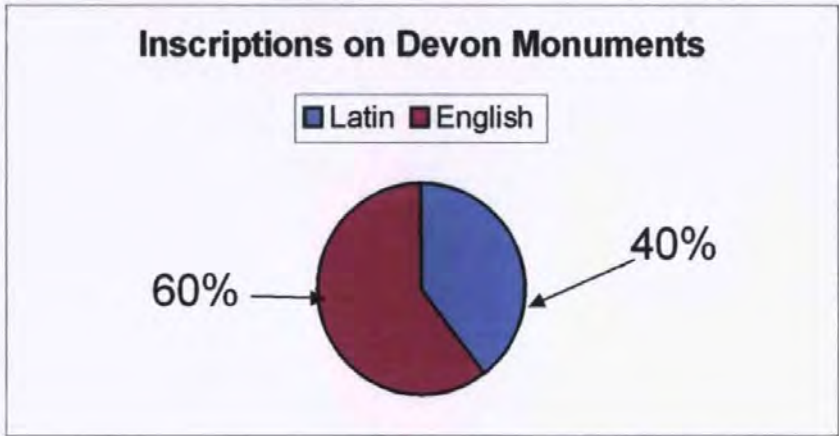
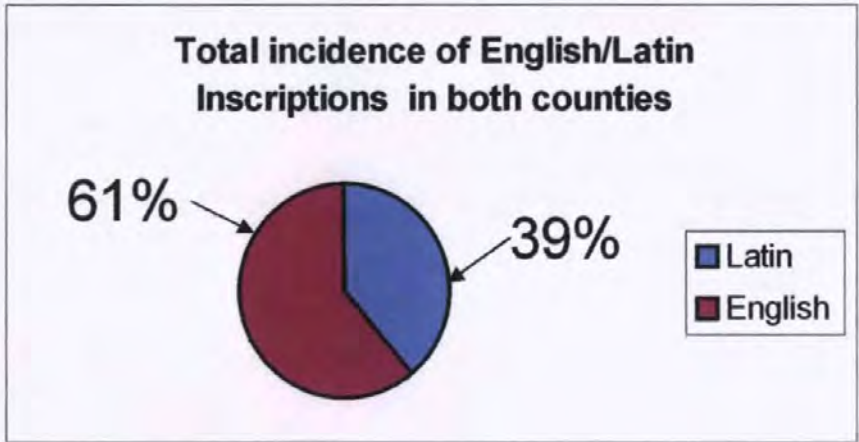
The fact that the monument was erected at all is an indication of social status irrespective of the position the monument occupies in the church, what the piece is made from or who made it.

The simple fact of erecting a monument in a parish church would immediately suggest to the spectator that the person being commemorated was of some social standing within the community, the family had sufficient funds available for the monument and, equally significant, a degree of taste.

While the degree of sculptural decoration on a monument and the size of the ensemble are directly related to social pretensions, the inscription remains the most potent indicator of status. Whether in Latin or the vernacular, the inscription is likely to record not only the basics such as the name of the deceased and the dates of birth and death but also their title, possibly some

indicator of their parents, to whom they were married, their achievements and the number of children.

Patterns of the distribution of monuments by inscription language



The patterns of distribution by inscription language for the two counties are remarkable similar despite the differences in numbers with English being used on 65% on Devon monuments, 56% of Cornish monuments and 63% overall. One intriguing factor regarding the monuments found in Exeter is that 80% have Latin inscriptions. The reasons for this probably lie in the abnormally high percentage of educated people the city would have attracted, their familiarity with Latin and the fact that Latin was the language of the educated classes.

From the middle of the fifteenth century there had been increasing demand for devotional material in English. This appears to coincide with a general growth of literacy amongst the middling ranks of society hence the increasing demand for funerary inscriptions in English rather than Latin.⁴⁵ On those monuments not employing large-scale figurative compositions within the Baroque style, it is the inscription that becomes the dominant component taking over from the effigy as the main focus of the composition. This trend had been on-going for some time but came to a head in the period after the Restoration. Even on largely figurative monuments like the Eliot and Harris pieces, the inscription is prominent and, especially in the case of the Eliot monument, lengthy. However, the focus of the figurative elements is to enhance the social status statement through conspicuous consumption of expensive materials and the less obvious but nevertheless relevant consumption of the artist's time in creating the monument. Inscriptions

⁴⁵ See Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars* Yale University Press 1992 p332

were therefore a comparatively cheap method of informing the spectator of the status of the deceased, they were quick to produce and, irrespective of the language employed, required less of the reader or spectator by way of interpretation of meaning. The usual format of the hanging wall monument as seen in the peninsular counties has the inscription panel in the centre of the composition in either oval or rectangular shape, thus making it the centre piece of the monument.

Almost all inscriptions give some indication of the social rank of the person commemorated. What is equally important is that many also provide details of social connections made through marriage and other family details. Of course, all inscriptions are different but there are identifiable trends. On the north wall of the nave of Abbotsham church is the monument to John Willett, died 1736 (D2).⁴⁶ The inscription records that he was buried by the south side of the communion rail, that he was titled Esquire, that his profession was barrister at law and, of great significance, that he was Lord of the Manor. He died childless and his heir, William Saltren, Esquire, erected the monument. The inscription is placed on an oval panel and consists of twelve lines of English text: the text occupies just over half of the available space on the panel.

⁴⁶ The position of this monument on the nave north wall is unusual. It may have been moved although at the time of writing there is no evidence to confirm or deny this possibility.

Although very short it is a remarkably concise inscription that gives the reader all the relevant data about the deceased, including the fact that he lived at Combe which is approximately 1/3 mile north by north west of the parish church. In the chancel of the same church is the monument to Margareta Burges dated 1722 (D3) that expands on the Willett inscription data. She was the wife of Revd. Samuel Burges, Master of Arts, vicar of the church and that she left an only daughter. She was buried within the chancel of the church as the inscription records that she 'Lies Buried within the Rails under a Stone Marked with her name.'

The succinct inscription on the Willett monument, the focal point of the piece, is surrounded by good quality, detailed carving of drapery, a winged skull, and palm branches. The whole central panel is set within an architectural framework that is completed by the display of the Willett arms complete with crest, helm and mantling. The monument is of local manufacture, possibly made in Barnstaple and, as the inscription states, was erected by an heir to the estate who appears not to be a blood relative. The extent of the decorative scheme and the physical size of the monument – it is approximately 5 feet by 9 feet - suggest that this monument would confirm the social status of a member of the local gentry to the contemporary spectator. The materials used are inexpensive consisting of limestone and grey veined marble. These would almost certainly have been quarried in Devon.

The contemporary spectator would have been aware of what is in effect only modest social status of the deceased even that he was lord of the manor. The monument therefore can be interpreted as enhancing his status through its size and level of decorative treatment.

Other monuments having a very short inscription set within an elaborate architectural frame with or without intricate decorative schemes can be seen at Bickleigh 1654 (D16), Exeter St Stephen 1662 (D115), West Worlington 1663 (D230), Calstock 1674 (C6), Plymstock 1677 (D179), South Molton 1684 (D191), Lanhydrock 1689 (C26), Pelynt 1704 (cartouche) (C46) Chawleigh 1703 (D49), Atherington 1707(D9) and Kelly 1710 (D144). In some cases the brevity of the inscription is surprising. The monument at Calstock to Lady Jemima Sandwich is a good example where this noble lady, married to one of the most influential seafaring men of his time, has only an eight-line inscription that gives nothing of her life, family or marriage. The architectural components are modest and the decorative elements are confined to two large weeping female figures seated at the ends of the canopy with an equally large cartouche of arms between them. However, the social status of the lady is clear as she is titled as the Right Honourable Lady Jemima, Countess of Sandwich. This would leave the spectator in no doubt as to her status. The monument is placed within the former Edgcumbe chapel and it is unlikely that the ordinary churchgoer would have had access to this area, it being placed immediately to the left of the high altar. This chapel is now the vestry of the church.

The Lady Essex Specott monument of 1689 at Lanhydrock, has an inscription of only five lines that occupies less than half of the available space on a large inscription plate. The architectural features of the monument, while not excessive, are of at least average quality for the peninsular counties and the size and position of the piece are certainly suggestive of status. Although the inscription is very short, it is worded so as to leave the spectator in no doubt as to the status of the lady in question. Her age at death is not given and she is recorded as being the youngest daughter of John Earl of Radnor. She married into the Specott family but the estate church at Lanhydrock was chosen as the place of commemoration for reasons that are unclear.

As the daughter of a peer she would be accorded considerable status. Of significance is the monument at Egloskerry to members of the Specott family up to 1705 but as there is no mention of Lady Essex this might be to another branch of the family.

Part 4. An analysis of peninsular counties memorial sculpture based on theoretical models.

Until the commencement of construction in 1880 of Truro Cathedral, the diocese of Exeter covered both Devon and Cornwall. Despite the size of the diocese, there are no sculpted monuments in Exeter cathedral to any known

Cornish persons. The sculpted monuments of the period under review that have been erected within Exeter cathedral are either to persons directly connected with the cathedral or local Exeter worthies.⁴⁷ From a status perspective, and irrespective of any professional involvement with the cathedral, having a memorial erected in such an important and imposing public building would suggest considerable influence and social standing within the local community. Burial and/or commemoration in the cathedral would be subject to the restrictions of the cathedral authorities and it is unlikely that they would permit the erection of a monument that they considered inappropriate for such a building.

The position of the monument in the cathedral would also have considerable bearing on the social standing of the individual concerned. No monuments dating from the period under review are located within the nave of the cathedral.

As this section is directly concerned with an analysis of monuments based on theoretical models as discussed in part 3 of this chapter I suggest that one of the reasons they were erected within available spaces east of the pulpitum was to maximise the social status of the person commemorated. These monuments within the cathedral are discussed first as their presence in such

⁴⁷ There is evidence from antiquarian sources to suggest that some monuments from the period under review have been lost from the Cathedral. This may well be the result of damage sustained in World War II.

a significant public building can be interpreted as setting them apart from the others within the peninsular counties.

The monument to Edmund Davy, dated 1692 (D93), can be thought of as a monument of only modest status despite the inclusion of a bust of the deceased. The piece is of a quality to suggest that it might be the product of a non-regional artist or a minor metropolitan workshop but it fails to meet any higher criteria because of its modest size, modest use of heraldry and inconspicuous position high on the west wall of the north transept. In mitigation, the location of the monument is unusual and may not be original.

The Benjamin Dollen monument, dated 1700 (D91), is placed on the east wall of the same transept. Although lacking heraldry, I consider this to be a high status piece because of the prominent position it occupies, that it was possibly made in London, it shows a bust of the deceased, has good quality decorative work and that the materials are of better than average quality. The justification for ascribing the monument to a possibly metropolitan artist is discussed in chapter four. Dollen, a London based-merchant, died in Exeter on his way to Pentillie Castle and requested in his will of 13th September 1700 to be *decently interred in such place as Sir James Tilley and my executor shall think fit.*⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Public Record Office PROB 11/461/sig174. From the will it appears that Sir James Tilley was a kinsman of Dollen.

While his executors understandably sought burial in Exeter, the Cathedral is an unusual venue for his monument and may have something to do with family and social connections. Although placed high on the wall, the visual impact of this monument and the detailed carving in a quality material suggests that it was intended as a high status piece.

There is little doubt that the monument is in its original place. If this monument could be convincingly attributed to a metropolitan artist as I have suggested then it would certainly equal the criteria used for the Harris and Eliot monuments at the beginning of the continuum.

The Edward Cotton monument, dated 1675 (D92), possesses criteria that can be interpreted as being similar to the Dollen piece. While the monument is unsigned its design and quality of execution suggest that it is probably the work of a metropolitan sculptor and I consider it to fit the criteria for inclusion in the upper range of the continuum. Like the Cotton monument, that to Nicholas Hall, who died in 1709 (D97), is positioned in the South Quire Aisle while the monument to Robert Hall, Nicholas's father, and dated 1667 (D98), is placed in the North Quire Aisle.

The prominence of these positions and the ease by which they could be viewed are strongly suggestive of the high social status of these individuals. Nicholas Hall's monument is considered by me to be a moderately high status piece despite its size, its position and the degree of decoration

employed. It is locally made, uses mostly locally sourced materials and has little by way of erudite allegory. Robert Hall's monument mirrors that to his son as it too is made from locally available materials, is of only slightly better than average quality and has three cartouches of arms as the principal decorative features.

The monuments to Dr John Bidgood, dated 1691 (D95), and that of James Railard, dated 1692 (D94), are placed in the Retro Choir flanking the Lady Chapel entrance. Both these monuments only suggest a modest status level, albeit at the upper end of the scale despite the important positions they occupy. While both monuments are quite large and they are clearly locally made, they lack any references to erudite allegory beyond the flame-topped urns on the entablature.

The final monument in the Cathedral to be considered is that of Prebendary John Grant (D96). Discussed initially in chapter one it is dated 1736 and signed by Peter Scheemakers and placed at the western end of the north Quire Aisle. This important monument is a high status piece as it meets the criteria in that it is the work of a major London sculptor and uses high quality materials. The lack of decorative components and its failure to meet the size criteria are aspects that I do not consider to be especially significant in this case.

The case has been made for the status significance of the Eliot and Harris monuments which, despite their re-siting, remain the most important Baroque period monuments in the peninsular counties. The authorship of the Eliot monument, undoubtedly the work of JM Rysbrack, has been fully discussed while the Harris monument is frustratingly unattributable although it is almost certainly the product of a metropolitan workshop despite the clear shortcomings in the quality of the figurative sculpture. As is common on Baroque monuments, heraldry is not a prominent feature on either monument and there is little on the Harris monument that can be considered as erudite allegory. However, this is not necessarily the case with the Eliot monument. That the female figure is seated and gazing down at the reclining figure of her husband is not without allegorical significance. Seated figures within the English commemorative tradition exist from the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Frequently associated with a visual interpretation of melancholy, the seated figure is also directly related to the depressive state surrounding death, bereavement and the contemplation of the afterlife.

That Edward Eliot and Christopher Harris are shown in Roman military costume is another important allegorical reference and this feature is not without significance from a social status perspective.

⁴⁹ The earliest use of the seated figure is that in Westminster Abbey to Elizabeth Russell died 1600 by Cornelius Cure. Here she has her foot resting on a skull and her head in her hand in a clearly thoughtful and melancholic pose. The prototype of this monument was that to the Duke of Buckingham in Westminster Abbey.

The Renaissance revived the use of this style of dress for those of princely rank and it became popular in England through the court masques of Inigo Jones. Roman military costume as employed on monuments is making a specific social statement. Through being shown wearing this costume the wearer suggests that he is adhering to the classical principals of civic duty and political liberty as well as demonstrating high moral and civic standards as it was believed were practised in ancient Rome.

Monuments commemorating several members or generations of a family are occasionally seen in the peninsular counties. Whatever else their architectural features might suggest, these monuments are direct indicators of the maintained, or more usually, improved status of a family over a period of time, in some case over several generations within their location. Familial status was as important as personal status in the period under review.

At Dean Prior, members of the Furze family from 1593 (D79) are commemorated on a single monument. Although it lacks a high status position in the church, it is a dominant feature within the nave it can be seen as a moderate status piece.⁵⁰ The inscription clearly states that John Worth Esquire, son-in-law of the last of the line erected the monument on 12th October 1727.

⁵⁰ The vertical oval in the apron might once have been painted with an achievement of arms.

As the monument was erected by the son-in-law, possibly on the directions of his wife, it is possible that both she and her husband were aware of or felt a desire to preserve the details of her immediate past family and state publicly, by means of a permanent monument, that her family and ancestors were gentlemen. Also, the monument records that she married into the county squirearchy, thus providing evidence of the continuation of her social status through marriage.

The Incedon family monument of 1698 at Braunton (D29) lists the deceased from 1558 to 1698 and is completed by having further additions to the family ancestry added up to 1746 in the apron inscription panel. This large dynastic monument contains the details of six successive members of the family starting with the death in 1558 of Robert Incedon. For each additional member of the family the details of the wife's parentage are included along with the status of her father: this was either Gent or Esquire. The significance of this from a social status perspective lies in the continuity of marriage within the same class levels and even when a member of the family married twice the same social levels were maintained. What is also interesting is that there were marriage partners drawn from beyond the peninsular counties. Lewis Incedon, who died in 1698, married a woman from Essex as his first wife and a woman from Kent as his second wife. It was this second wife who was responsible, along with his son, for erecting the monument. We do not know who the mother of this son was. The additional names shown in the apron inscription panel prove that the family maintained

its sense of status until at least the middle of the eighteenth century. Panels at the sides of the inscription and flanking the sides of the central canopy arrangement, are decorated with trophies of arms yet there is no indication on the monument that the family or any member of the family took part in military activities. The large size of this monument (it is approximately 6 feet by 10 feet), the degree of decoration and the strong dynastic format of the inscription all suggest to the spectator that this is a monument to a socially aware local family and therefore must be considered as a piece of moderately high status. That each successive generation styled themselves as either Gent or Esquire suggests that continuity of social status was seen as being significant for the family.

The Gregory family monument at Charles (D48) commemorates four members of the family up to 1719, the earliest date being obscured. Interestingly, the major part of the inscription is dedicated to Mary Gregory who died in 1719, the same year as her husband George who was rector and patron of the parish. He died before her, in January of that year, whereas she died in the September but his details are after hers on the inscription. This suggests that whoever was responsible for erecting the monument was mindful of her life and status as her father is mentioned as being Esquire of Ashridge in the parish of North Tawton; a prominent achievement of arms within the open pediment proclaims the armigerous status of the family. The decorative elements seen on this monument are typical of those that exist within the peninsular counties but the lack of sophistication in the cutting of

the canopy cherubs is curiously at odds with the much better quality foliate volutes at the sides therefore suggesting that this monument indicates only average status.

The Rodd family monument at St Stephen's Exeter (D116) has the main inscription bearing the latest date of 1694 while the apron panel has a date of 1703. Commemorating six members of the family from 1678, four of those recorded are siblings. The monument, as has been discussed, is part of the Main Group series and therefore made in Exeter: it is architecturally unpretentious and, typically, has the inscription panel as the dominant part of the composition. The achievement of arms, the most notable decorative component, is quite modestly sized atop a plinth within the canopy superstructure. Placed towards the west end of the south wall there is nothing to suggest that this monument is placed near the original family pew but it is clearly visible when entering the church as it is opposite the entrance door. If it is assumed that the monument is in its original position then this suggests that the subliminal intention was to make it readily visible and therefore recall the family to the mind of the contemporary spectator. If that is the case then it must be seen as a moderately high social indicator.

At Ipplepen, the Neyle family monument (D143) has a latest date of 1830 but this was clearly added at that date or soon after, the previous latest date being 1727 when the monument was erected. The monument takes the form of a modest cartouche. Constructed of white marble, this monument lacks

any bold cutting but because of the material it would probably have been an expensive piece. The heraldry is carved into a cartouche beneath the inscription and against a backdrop of drapery. The focus of the inscription is to a child, Eleonora Neyle, who died in 1727 aged 12 months and 17 days. The other four names include Eleonora's grandparents but not her mother who may have erected the monument on the death of her daughter. The familial content of this and similar monuments is indicative of a shift in the way the family was seen. The long emergence of the nuclear core family over the extended family suggests an increase in the emotional bonds within the immediate wedded family unit. That very young children are now named on monuments with increasing frequency suggests that they are increasingly regarded as individuals to be recognised in their own right.

At Kentisbeare, the Everleigh family monument (D145) is of a type typically found in Devon in particular and is almost certainly local work. Unusually, certain key words on the inscription, as well as names, are highlighted in capital letters and some dates of death are not recorded. The first name is that of William Everleigh who died in 1671 and is styled Gent and his wife Johan whose dates are not given. Their daughter Elizabeth was married to Revd. Dr Nicholas Hall, Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral and it is the details here that are capitalised thus emphasizing their social status via his qualifications and high office in the Cathedral administration. The son of William and Johan, another William also has his name in capitals while their daughter Mary's name is again capitalised, as is that of her husband John

Were of Culmstock. The effect of inscribing the names of the deceased in capital letters is to highlight them and impress upon the reader the importance of the name. Quite a large monument, it is placed in the north aisle of the church. An achievement of arms is prominently placed in the open segmental canopy while between the console brackets is a panel of drapery supported by a winged skull. To enhance the effect of using expensive materials, the limestone used for the inscription surround has been painted to resemble marble. This deliberate attempt to disguise the plainness of the limestone suggests that whoever was responsible for commissioning the monument was conscious of how the monument should appear: the illusion of using paint instead of marble suggests that while cost might have been an issue, appearance was still regarded as important. The apparent use of expensive materials is therefore creating the illusion of conspicuous consumption.

The Slowly monument at Tawstock (D209) is a family piece in the literal meaning as all those named are siblings or their parents. The main inscription panel bears the latest date of 1734. Despite possessing what could be termed pretentious decoration, the monument can only be considered within the lower ranges of the continuum: but it is demonstrably better than the very lowest levels. This example has no surviving heraldic components but it is reasonable to assume that the vacant plinth in the centre of the canopy was intended to be the base of an achievement of arms that was either never made or has been lost. The large flower-decorated side

volute to the inscription panel are the main decorative feature while the flaming dishes at either end of the canopy are significant allegorical references that the contemporary spectator would have fully understood. They are more than just a decorative feature. Two large winged heads beneath the gadrooned main sill are a little over-large to be tasteful but could well have been included as a costly decorative item to suggest the idea of unrestrained expense to an audience not fully familiar with the concept. This however is strangely at odds with the setting, the church having a great number of memorials including those to an aristocratic family, the Earls of Bath, whose monuments, with the exceptions of Rachel Fane and her husband as previously discussed, tend if anything to be understated. The possible reasons for this will be considered in the conclusion to this chapter but may lie in their being no pressing need to be commemorated by large expensive monuments.

An unusual familial monument is that at Uffculme to members of the Walrond family c1663 (D226). This consists of a box tomb, the format of which is a decayed Renaissance idiom, with three half effigies of a man, a woman and a child placed on the top. Each demi-figure is carved fully in the round, the male figure is the largest and has the left hand raised to the chest and the right hand resting on an open book. The female figure has the right hand holding a book and raised to the chest, the left hand holding a small visible section of her skirt. Between these two figures is that of a child, the right hand raised to the chest and with the right elbow resting on a book. The

left hand rests on a skull, a traditional indicator that the child died before its parents. These three effigies are forward facing. On the front face of the box tomb are two large square panels each containing a frontal portrait bust; that on the left of the spectator showing a bare headed man wearing a ruff while that on the other side shows a moustached man with long hair and a skullcap. The left panel is decorated with winged heads in the corner spandrels while the right panel has small twisted vases holding flowers and foliage as corner decoration. Between these panels are three female figures, each standing against an Ionic column backdrop. These can be interpreted as personifications of the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity. On the end panels of the box tomb are further personifications; Justice is blindfolded and holding the sword and scales and an as yet unidentified figure who holds a palm branch and a bouquet. Above these panels is a frieze of stylised cartouches and foliate sprigs. Above and behind this box tomb and placed on a window sill is a fully reclining male effigy in armour with his head resting on his right hand and the left hand brought across the body and placed over the sword blade just below the cross guard. This reclining figure is thought to represent Sir William Walrond who died in 1689. The box tomb, commemorating William Walrond (died 1667) and his wife Ursula Specott (died 1698) was erected in his lifetime in 1663. The busts are possible those of William Walrond's parents Henry Walrond (died 1650), Penelope Sidham, his mother, and younger brother Henry Walrond (died 1638).⁵¹

⁵¹ This information has come from the church guide. While these are often a source of much useful data their accuracy should not be taken for granted.

William Walrond was considered by the Bishop of Exeter to be a dangerous Presbyterian and was included in the Bishop's list of corrupt Presbyterian Justices. His uncle had been ejected from a family living for nonconformity but by 1720 nonconformity was well established in Uffculme partly because of the number of ejected ministers who lived there.⁵² Clearly, the half effigies were added to the box tomb later and the reclining effigy may not be in its original position.

This is a highly idiosyncratic arrangement that is unlike any other example in the peninsular counties. The style in which the half effigies are portrayed has its origins in the pre-interregnum period and this is confirmed in the passage quoted below from Milles while the Renaissance influences apparent in the box tomb hark back to an even earlier period. From the perspective of social status this monument, situated in the former Walrond chapel, represents not only three generations of male heirs but also three distinct modes of commemoration. The box tomb, the busts and the reclining effigy suggest to the spectator that the commemorative traditions and tastes within the family were developing from an archaic proto-Renaissance style to a more modern mode of commemoration that was culturally of the moment.

⁵² For these details of Uffculm see *Uffculm wills and inventories*, West Country Studies Library, Exeter.

Through the decoration of the box tomb there is a subtle subliminal message at work here. Images of the Theological Virtues and further images including Justice all allude to the traditions of the local squirearchy as upholders but more importantly dispensers of the law. Therefore we see hear the ever present reminder of the social standing of the family in local affairs and their responsibilities in the administration of justice.

Jeremiah Milles discusses the Walrond monuments and records a now lost inscription from the monument attributed to Sir William Walrond. The effigy is described as to

a gentleman in armour in a large full bottomed wig reclining on his right hand and over him a tablet.....

Milles goes on to describe the busts

.....near this are three half lengths in alabaster almost as big as the life of a man a woman and a girl which are said to belong to the Waldron family, of were brought hither from Kentisbeare where some of the family is buried.....

Interestingly, the box tomb is describes as having the

relievo's of 2 men round one is wrote obit aet 92 July 4 1627 posuit dilectus quondam nepos novem 1633. Round the other exaeto contentus tempore vitae discedam convivial satier

In this description Milles may be mistaken as the front of the box tomb carrying the two "relievo's" has no inscription and the inscription on the chamfered edge of the box carries a different text although it does give the date of 1663. Milles's reference clearly proves however that the busts are not

part of the box tomb and that the reclining figure was unidentified when Milles saw it. The inscription to which he refers giving no name.

Dennys Glynn erected the Glynn family monument at Cardinham in 1699 (C10) in memory of his two former wives, his two brothers and one sister, his father and grand parents. The monument, for which no documentary evidence has so far come to light, is situated at an angle across the east and south walls at the east end of the south aisle in an area that may formally have been a family chapel. The prominent position of the monument, its large size and elaborate decorative scheme all proclaim this to be a monument of status. Although the artist responsible for this monument has not been identified and there is no effigy it can be considered as a moderately high status piece as it meets the criteria of having allegorical references, the use of average to good quality materials, it is displayed in a highly visible position within the church and with a prominent heraldic display. Despite the apparent pretensions of this monument it does not quite work visually, the looped and rolled drapery at the sides of the inscription are unrealistic and the composition is slightly too wide for the height. It is important to consider this monument alongside its contemporaries in Cornwall as by local standards this is a high status monument despite Pevsner believing it to be very conservative.⁵³

⁵³ Sir Nicklaus Pevsner *The Buildings of England Cornwall*. Penguin 1970.p51.

At the left and right extremities of the composition there is also a curious blend of spiral volutes that lead onto Baroque cartouches that are surmounted by weeping putti. This is clearly an attempt to blend Baroque ideas with earlier motifs that fails to work visually thus leaving the spectator confused as to the style being employed.

As far as social rank is indicated on the monument, all the men are referred to as Esquire except one who is recorded as Gent. This therefore is a monument that makes a significant social statement.

The Specott monument at Egloskerry (C11) is a large but comparatively plain piece commemorating members of the family up to 1705. The inscription is a finely cut panel of white marble set within a grey marble architectural arrangement. The principal decorative features are a cartouche of arms placed centrally on the pediment and an apron with a central florid cartouche flanked by ballflowers. The very plain appearance of the canopy suggests that some components may have been lost. The monument is a dominant feature in the nave of the church and it is through that visual dominance that the status of those commemorated is proclaimed. The monument lacks any allegorical references and the unpretentious heraldic cartouche is merely a display of arms without making a strong visual statement about family, lineage or social connections.

While there are only two examples of monuments at the very upper end of the continuum, the Eliot and Harris pieces as discussed, monuments at the very lowest end are equally uncommon. The quintessential low status monument is the Cholwich piece of 1673 at Blackawaton (D23). Positioned on the south aisle nave wall, the monument consists of a plain black marble inscription tablet framed on three sides by a simple moulding. An equally simply moulded sill completes the arrangement. Above is a plain rectangular section with a moulded sill above but this is almost certainly not connected to the Cholwich monument. The inscription is also very simple saying that the family seat was at Oldstone, just outside the village and that they titled themselves as Esquire. That only half of the available space on the inscription tablet has been used strongly suggests that another name, possible with additional familial details, was to be added later.

On the north nave wall at Braunton is another low status monument to Nicholas Hooper dated 1675(D28) that has a simple plain inscription of seven lines set within a wooden frame. The inscription is poorly fitted to the available space and the lettering is inconsistent. These features strongly suggest a distinct lack of care in the manufacture of the piece by an inadequate craftsman.

The monument at Exbourne to Simon Westlake 1667(D90), is considered by me to be a low status piece – although clearly better than the Cholwich monument at Blackawaton - despite it having a eulogising verse within the

inscription. Positioned at the east end of the south aisle, the monument has an inscription tablet set within a crude architectural frame consisting of two slender side columns with Ionic capitals and an arched top that has an unadorned three dimensional oval in the centre. The lettering of the inscription is cut in straight lines and uses upper case letters for the main details and lower case letters for the verse. The letter style is inconsistent and the fitting of the words to the available space also illustrates a lack of skill on the part of the mason. At Parracombe the monument to Walter Lock is dated 1732 (D172) and positioned in the south aisle. This monument is, I believe, an interesting example of a borderline case. Commemorating both father and son, each having the same Christian name, the monument consists of a slate tablet giving the personal details of the two men commemorated by the monument, followed by a four line eulogising verse. A second inscription gives the details of David Lock who died in 1742 while on an additional piece of material are the details of David Lock's wife who died in 1759. The inscription states that the bodies are buried *here in this alley*. The surround to the inscription has a dark mottled surface to imitate expensive veined marble but is actually made of wood.

A monument that is just higher than the lowest level in the continuum is that at Tawstock to George Fane dated 1668 (D207). Here the inscription tablet is of white marble while the framework with arched top and side urns is made of wood, the whole ensemble being approximately 3 x 3 feet. The inscription states that George Fane was born on 8th March 1668 and died on

the 11 March 1668, thus making him at three days old the youngest person so far found to be commemorated by an internal sculpted monument in the peninsular counties. The wooden frame has been painted to look like marble thereby increasing the status perspective to the contemporary spectator. Positioned in the south aisle of the church it appears that the monument has been moved or at least taken down at some time and it is strongly suspected that the painting on the frame to resemble marble is not original.

The bulk of the monuments encountered in the peninsular counties are those where the monument is made of locally sourced adequate quality materials, the artist is unknown and the piece may not be sited within a liturgically significant area of the church. The size is likely to be small to medium and while there are possibly familial references, the use of heraldry and erudite allegory is kept to a minimum. The bulk of Main Group monuments, as previously identified, fall within the upper ranges of this category in that these monuments tend to be made of locally sourced materials, the artist(s) are as yet unidentified, erudite allegory is often not included or is very minimal and heraldry tends to be unpretentious. There are, of course, variations in the placing of Main Group monuments within this area of the continuum. The Jacob Battin monument dated 1691 at Cadeleigh (D46) is an altogether simpler and smaller piece than the Francis Drewe monument at Broadhembury (D38) that has been taken as the quintessential monument within the Main Group. Interestingly, both these monuments have large expanses of the limestone painted and grained to

represent more expensive marble, thus increasing their visual impact for the contemporary spectator. This would also be part of the of the implied visual status code of conspicuous consumption. Not all Main Group monuments were treated in this way. The William Cary monument dated 1652 at Clovelly (D62) only has the heraldic components painted, along with some gilding on the apron, upper edges of the entablature and outer curves of the segmental pediment.

With such a large grouping as those that fall within the level three category it is impractical to list all known examples but it is worth stating that there is, as would be expected, considerable diversity within the level. Of course, not all the monuments are positioned within inconspicuous parts of the church. Some are placed within the chancel, as at Clovelly, but the majority fall within the criteria established by me earlier in the chapter. Decoration is largely limited to a modest heraldic display, especially in the canopy and erudite allegorical references are limited. Familial references are also often included but tend to be limited to immediate family and not necessarily to wider family members or ancestors. Of course, some monuments are devoid of heraldry altogether such as the monument at Combe Martin to George Ley dated 1716 (D66) where the decorative components are confined to the apron and the very stylised side volutes. The entablature on this example is totally devoid of any architectural or decorative components.

Within the Exeter city churches and Cathedral, most of the monuments fall within that part of the continuum as described for the Main Group. With the exception of the John Grant monument of 1736 (D96) in the Cathedral signed by Scheemakers, none of the other Exeter monuments are actually signed. The possibility of some monuments in the city churches being the work of John Weston of Exeter has already been discussed⁵⁴ and while others clearly fall within the known output of an Exeter based workshop it has not been possible to identify individual artists as stated in chapter four although it appears that some of those recorded in the Exeter lists of Freemen might have been responsible for commemorative sculpture in the city. The monument to Philip Hooper dated 1715 (D100) at St Martin, Exeter has been convincingly ascribed to John Weston and clearly falls within the level two criteria whereas the monument to Elizabeth Hurding dated 1680 at St Michael and All Angels (not illustrated) is comfortably within the lower level three criteria as is the monument to Joseph Martyn dated 1676 in the same church (D111). The Ivie monument of 1717 now at St Petrock Exeter (not illustrated) is a product of the Weston workshop but it nevertheless falls within the upper levels of the criteria of the Main Group. Having been brought to the church from the demolished church of St Keiran, all locational significance has been lost and the monument lacks any appreciable display of erudite allegory. The detached Last Judgement, in the same church, cannot be considered as possessing erudite allegory as the significance of the imagery is clear.

⁵⁴ See chapter 4 for attributions to Weston within Exeter churches.

At St Thomas, Exeter the monuments to Sir Thomas Northmore and William Williams (D117 & D118) have been convincingly attributed to John Weston but again can only be considered as level two pieces because of the lack of any appreciable erudite allegory despite the attendant angels and, on the Northmore monument, the inclusion of an urn clearly bearing the same type of Last Judgement scene as seen on Weston's other large panels.

An unusual monument is that in St Martin's church Exeter to Edward Seaward dated 1703 (D99). This was originally erected in St Paul's church and moved to its present site sometime during the twentieth century; Beatrix Cresswell recorded it *in situ* in 1908 and she also states that a floor slab bore his name and those of his children. It is difficult to imagine that this large monument is local work, the decorative elements and overall style suggesting a metropolitan workshop but so far this has not been possible to verify with certainty. A very large monument, it consists of an oval inscription with moulded frame set within an elaborate surround of foliage and with two reclining putti amongst more foliage at the top of the composition. Unusually, there is a representation of the pelican in piety in the centre of the upper section. The lower part of the monument is dominated by two large seated putti who lean on a box plinth and with a funerary helm between them.

The putto on the right holds a shattered or broken column, a very early allegorical reference to death and the possibility that a male line had become extinct.⁵⁵

The other putto holds the fasces, that ancient Roman symbol of magisterial authority also seen on the Piper and Wise monument at Launceston and the scales of Justice. It is only the lack of an identified artist that prevents this imposing monument from being considered as a level one piece.

Monuments by the Jewel's of Barnstaple fall within the levels two and three on the continuum with the Davie monument dated 1709 at Buckland Brewer has already been cited as a typical level two monument (D40). Monuments of this size are rare in the peninsular counties and while it does not have liberal allegorical references, there are sufficient decorative elements to place the monument within this banding.

While the winged skulls and bones at the bottom of the inscription panel, previously identified in this thesis, as the Jewell trademark, are clear references to death it is on the canopy that most allegorical references are seen. Flaming urns at the ends of the entablature and a flaming urn in the centre of the segmental pediment are all direct references to the continuing flame of life while the canopy angels are weeping for John Davie's death. That

⁵⁵ The symbolism of the broken column with the head of the column lying beside it was to become popular in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Its use here is a very early example.

the flame-topped urn is uppermost on the canopy can be interpreted as an allegorical reference to the triumph of life over death. This particular allegorical reference occurs on many other monuments within the counties. The Sir Henry Northmore monument dated 1732 (D215) as already discussed is clearly a level two monument despite lacking the erudite allegory that I have identified with this banding. The imported marble used for the monument is very high quality thus putting it clearly within the banding but the main reason for including this monument into this level is the presence of a signature. More modest monuments, ascribed to the Jewell workshop and seen at Tawstock and Braunton, can be placed within the level three category as the extent of heraldry employed is minimal, the sizes are modest and allegorical references, limited to the winged skull as seen on the monument to Florence Wrey 1724 at Tawstock (D206), are hardly used at all.

The group of seven possibly Barnstaple made monuments discussed in chapter two can be placed within that part of the continuum occupied by the Main Group. They tend not to be made of expensive materials, using mostly local limestone, are large by local standards and although they lack erudite allegory they have extensive decorative carving. These monuments appear to have been placed in highly visible sites within the church, one possible exception being the monument at South Molton to Joan Bawden dated 1709 (D193), which is placed above the vestry door and partially concealed by the organ. However, the organ would not have obscured this site when the monument was first erected and consequently contemporary spectators

would have been able to see the piece much more readily. At Chawleigh the Ambrose Radford monument of 1703 (D49) is also concealed by the organ but before the installation of the instrument must have been highly visible, placed as it is at the east end of the south aisle at an angle between the east and south walls.

I believe that there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that monuments were deliberately made to be visible to anyone entering the church with the specific intention that contemporary spectators would remember the family and or the specific individual(s) recorded by the monument. That the monument was intended to be a lasting memorial is almost secondary to the importance of contemporary memory.

Conclusion

Chapter four looked closely at examples of monuments by known and attributed artists including the work of suspected metropolitan sculptors. This thesis considers that issues relating to the identity of the workshop and the quality of the finished monument are related to issues of social status. The most notable examples of social status heightened through the erection of a monument by a prominent sculptor are those of the Eliot monument at St Germans, the Grant monument in Exeter Cathedral and the Rachel Fane monument at Tawstock in as much as these are the products of major metropolitan artists despite only one of them being signed. It can only be assumed that at the time the monuments were erected the congregation

would have been aware of who made the monument and the family would have enhanced their status as a consequence of employing a regional or, better still metropolitan sculptor. However, the enhancement of status brought about by employing such an artist might have been short-lived unless the same artist or others of the same calibre were consistently employed by the family over time. The only instance where this happens is at Clovelly with the Cary family monuments. I have identified the principal monuments to the family and those situated in the chancel as being in the main Exeter products and being part of the Main Group series. However, this idea of status attached to the family through the maker of the monument is not an automatic correlation. Not all the peninsular counties social élites employed known or suspected regional or metropolitan monument makers and some high status people did not erect high quality commemorative sculpture although examples of this are rare. Sir George Chudleigh's monument at Ashton, dated 1657 (D8), is made of wood and from the heraldic display it is evident that familial lineage and ancestry were more important than sculptural quality or the conspicuous consumption of expensive materials. Bridget Higgons's monument at Cadeleigh (D45), also discussed in chapter three, is again a piece that is not sculpturally significant despite her parentage and marital status.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ She was the daughter of Sir Beville Grenville who is commemorated by a monument at Kilkhampton.

However, it appears that in the vast majority of instances, social status is directly related to the monument or rather that those of modest status commissioned and erected modest monuments. Social pretensions therefore are not common within the peninsular counties through the visual analysis of commemorative sculpture – the advice given by Weever that

Sepulchres should be made according to the quality and degree of the person deceased that by the tombe every one might bee discerned of what ranke he was living.

and quoted on page 277 appears to have been adhered to. Of course there are exceptions within the two counties. The enormous Lethbridge monument at Pilton dated 1713 (D174) has been identified in chapter four as probably a Barnstaple made product and the others within the group are similarly sized. None of those commemorated within this group can be considered as anything but local social élites and none are titled. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that within the south west peninsular counties there appears to be no direct correlation between the size of the monument and the social status of the individual(s) or family commemorated. While no instance has surfaced of a person of high social standing having a modest or simple monument, the Lethbridge example is evidence of the reverse being the case where large, expensive and ostentatious monuments have been erected to individuals who are no more than local gentry.

The usual conformity to patterns of social status made manifest through the monument has three possible explanations. Irrespective of social rank the

commemorated are secure in that ranking and are either unwilling to erect ostentatious monuments or are keenly aware of the social repercussions of erecting a monument unsuited to their standing in the community. Alternatively, local social élites were, by and large, too insular to keep abreast of developments further afield e.g. London and contented themselves with locally made pieces. A third possibility is that the dominance of locally produced works removed the need for large scale displays of status in tomb design and the consumption of expensive imported materials.

The first possibility is the most likely scenario as the highly stratified nature of society at that time would effectively censure the erection of an inappropriate monument. The local gentry, many of whom did not possess a title, would have been keenly aware of the social consequences of erecting an inappropriate memorial and they were very probably secure in their status within the local community. They did not have the need for ostentatious displays of status. The importation of monuments from metropolitan and more regional workshops shows that local social élites were very aware of the work of sculptors like William Stanton and the identification of metropolitan products in the peninsular counties proves that insularity was not the case. What probably deterred many from patronising these workshops was the sheer logistics and costs of transporting an expensive monument as well as the ever present risk of damage in transit. The patterns of distribution looked at in chapter two prove that monuments were imported into the region via the sea ports. That many of these monuments were

produced in the area in towns and cities like Exeter and Barnstaple is proof that the best way of transporting monuments was by sea but the voyage from London would have been somewhat more dangerous than from Exeter to ports in south Devon or Cornwall. Local social élites therefore did not, in the main, need to erect commemorative sculpture that made excessive social statements. They were if anything more likely to be conservative in any social status statements that the monument might indicate.

Conclusion

The widely held belief that the Baroque period, from the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 until the 1730's, is the nadir of commemorative sculpture in Britain is not a universal truth. This study has demonstrated that the sculpted memorials and sculptural traditions of the south west peninsular counties were considerably more diverse than originally thought and therefore not necessarily a low point in developmental terms. In addition, this study has also argued for the commemorative art of the period within the region to be seen in terms of continuing and developing the trends established during the Interregnum and before.

At no stage have claims have been made for the examination of all the monuments of the period within Devon and Cornwall. The sheer size of the region and the number of churches involved makes this impossible within a realistic time frame. It is not thought likely that other as yet unlisted monuments would differ greatly from those so far identified. The chances of there being a major unidentified metropolitan product within the peninsular counties are therefore thought to be miniscule.

The Baroque period has not been the focus of previous research for the peninsular counties and this study has shown that there was an active local monument trade and that locally available materials were being used in large quantities. While there is clear evidence that sometimes these local materials were embellished to imitate more expensive materials, this situation has been

interpreted within this study as a display of social pretensions and that when the monuments were first made they must have been visually impressive, doubtless an important consideration, with their faux-marble painted decoration and other indicators of the use of high quality materials.

In addition to identifying the materials from which local monuments were made, this project has also highlighted the importation in to the region of monuments that were made elsewhere, especially in London. The identification of work by major metropolitan sculptors is an important development in understanding local patronage. It also demonstrates that local families had much greater awareness of commemorative art from outside the region than previously thought. Indeed this had not been recognised prior to the research for this thesis and comparisons with monuments from other parts of the country prove that patrons in Devon and Cornwall were prepared to employ London or other regional artists to produce church monuments for themselves and their family. That work has been identified as originating from the workshop of William Stanton clearly proves this point, while the attribution of a monument in an otherwise remote area of Cornwall to Thomas Stanton is a major contribution to the understanding of that artist's output.

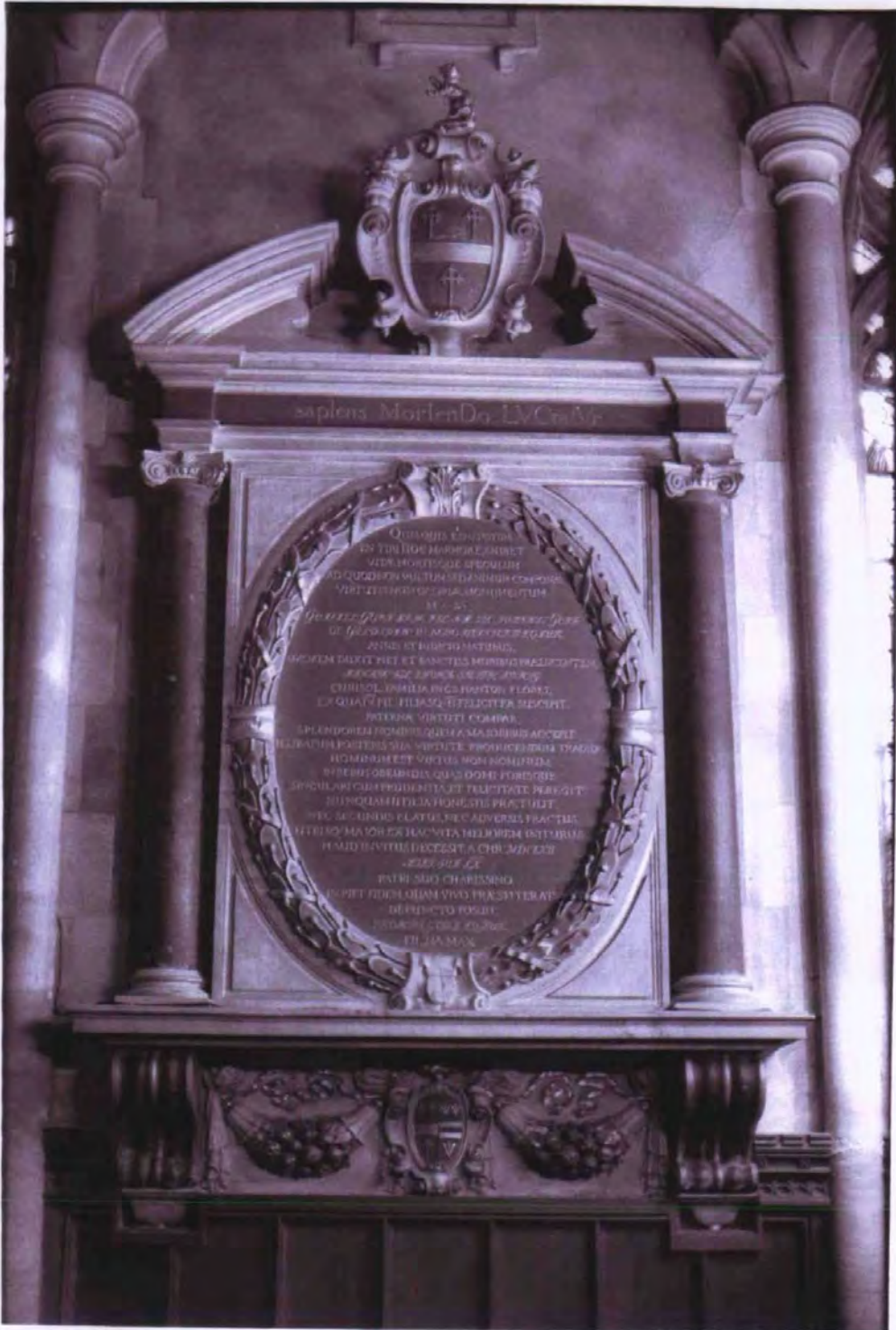
The work of John Weston of Exeter and the Jewells of Barnstaple had been previously identified but this study has shown that other highly important monuments can be added to the lists of those produced by these artists. John Weston, already thought of by Rupert Gunnis as a significant artist,



MONUMENT TO JOHN MASSINGBIRD DIED 1653, LONDON ST LEONARD
STREATHAM
APPENDIX 1A



MONUMENT TO SIR PAUL RYCAUT DIED 1700 AYLESFORD, KENT
APPENDIX 2A



MONUMENT TO WILLIAM GORE 1692 BARROW GURNEY, SOMERSET
APPENDIX 3A



MONUMENT TO WILLIAM FINCH, DIED 1672, LONDON ST HELEN'S
 BISHOPSGATE,
 APPENDIX 4A



MONUMENT TO LADY BAGOT DIED 1686 BLITHFIELD STAFFORDSHIRE
 APPENDIX 5A



MONUMENT TO SIR PAUL PAYNTER DIED 1686, SPROWSTON, NORFOLK
APPENDIX 6A



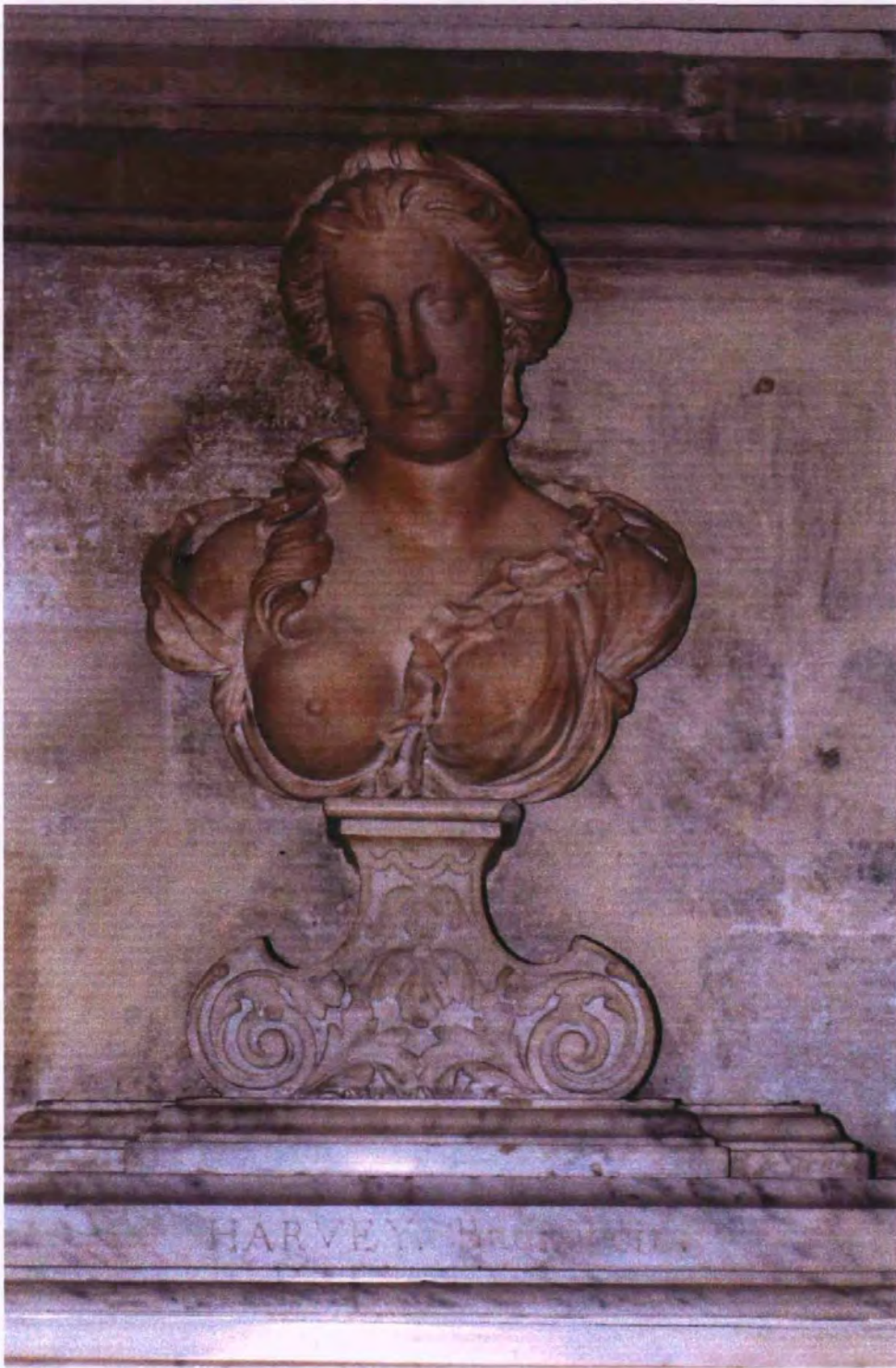
MONUMENT TO JOHN BROMLEY DIED 1674 WORCESTER CATHEDRAL
APPENDIX 7A



MONUMENT TO GEORGE CRADOCK DIED 1675, CAVERSWALL,
STAFFORDSHIRE
APPENDIX 8A



MONUMENT TO ABRAHAM COWLEY DIED 1667 LONDON, WESTMINSTER
ABBEY
APPENDIX 9A



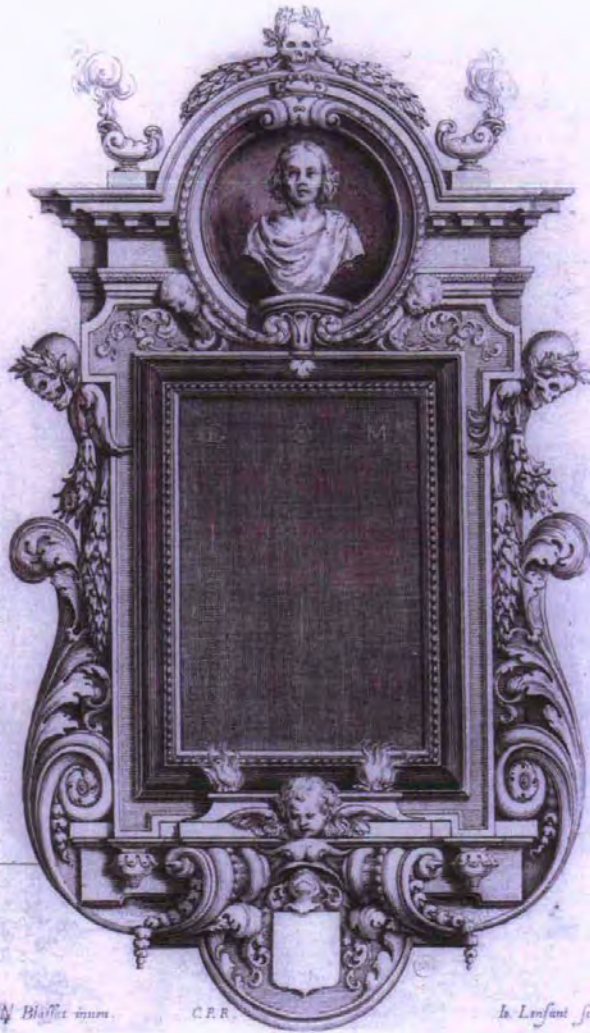
MONUMENT TO DOROTHY HOBART DIED 1722, BATH ABBEY
APPENDIX 10A



RESURRECTION PANEL, ST MARY AT HILL, LONDON



RESURRECTION PANEL, NORTH WALL, ST ANDREW'S, HOLBORN, LONDON
APPENDIX 11A



MONUMENT DESIGN BY NICHOLAS BLASSET. NOT LATER THAN 1659.
APPENDIX 12A



**CONTEMPORARY DRAWING OF THE MONUMENT TO LADY
NARBOROUGH, WEMBURY 1677
APPENDIX 13A**

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Courtenay, John died 1732	PRO PROB 11/657 91
Courtenay, Margaret died 1658	PRO PROB 11/279 364
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