

UPTON CHURCH AND THE BULSTRODE BRASSES

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Upton is an ancient parish near Slough. It was an important settlement, while Slough was an insignificant hamlet. Nicholas Pevsner, when describing the parish church of St Lawrence, wrote that if it were not for the nineteenth-century additions, it 'would be a perfect example of the Norman parish church'.¹ The church, like many built towards the end of the eleventh century and during the twelfth, consists of a chancel, a central tower and a nave. The building material is a mixture of flint and pudding-stone and the quoins are of white clunch. The fabric has undergone a number of alterations; some of the authorities think that it was definitely built before the Conquest.² First the nave was lengthened and the sculptured Norman doorway was moved westward to be in the centre of the exterior wall. Even more important was the rebuilding of the chancel with its fine groined roof.

The explanation of the building of this elaborate chancel is to be found in the history of the church. Before 1066 the manor, with the church, had belonged to Harold, the last Anglo-Saxon king. It was confiscated by William the Conqueror, who granted the main manor and the church to one of his followers, Hugh de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), whose son Pagan re-granted the church and its assets to the house of Augustinian canons which had been established in Merton, Surrey.³ (There was a second, smaller manor, also in Upton; this was granted by the Conqueror to another powerful Norman baron called William Peverell. It is possible that the second manor may have developed into Bulstrode.) Some of the canons came to Upton; they took over the chancel of the church as their chapel and are thought to have built cells in the neighbouring Upton Court, a fine mediaeval house.⁴ The chancel seems to have been inadequate, so they built the present structure in about 1160 (Fig. 1, upper). The vault, although impressive and unusual, is simple. As Pevsner says, it consists of two bays which are 'divided by semicircular responds and an unmoulded transverse arch. The

ribs are rolls on a flat unmoulded band and rest on corbels'.⁵ These ribs were decorated with a simple geometric pattern painted in black, red and yellow.

As can be seen in the published records of the Society, some interesting reports were published. The first was in Vol. 1 of *Records of Buckinghamshire* and the second in Vol. 7. The former drew attention to the wall-paintings on the walls of the nave, one of which represented the Adoration of the Magi and the other, below this, a kneeling figure accompanied by a scroll with the incomprehensible words *Dñe ... tuas adipleto*. Attention was also drawn to the consecration crosses placed round the church, those in the chancel being foliate and enriched with colour and gilding. Unfortunately several of these had been obliterated.⁶

In the nineteenth century the church was nearly derelict. The tower had been struck by lightning and the rest of the building was in ruins. It was nearly demolished, but at the last minute benefactors came forward who not only repaired the existing building but also enlarged it by constructing a new aisle on the south. In order to give access to this from the old nave, they broke through the south wall and replaced it with an arcade of pointed arches resting on fat circular Norman-style pillars. The architect was Benjamin Ferrey, a pupil of Pugin; he was the builder of many small churches and also re-designed Bulstrode House.⁷ The work on Upton church began in 1847. Ferrey carefully preserved the vaulted chancel, but he took down the wall with its small round-headed arch which separated it from the nave. He also took down the two pointed arches which probably sheltered the nave-altars on either side of the opening into the tower chamber. Eventually the three arches were built into the east wall of the new south aisle which he added to the church (Fig. 1, lower). This is recorded in the nineteenth-century *Records of Buckinghamshire* and is confirmed by the author of the South Buckinghamshire volume published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.⁸



FIGURE 1. Upper: church interior showing chancel. Lower: nineteenth-century south aisle, church interior showing brasses mounted under arches.



FIGURE 2. Kneeling figure of Agnes Bulstrode, d. 1462; from Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (1994).

The older round-headed arch forms a recess in the middle of the wall and the pointed arches are placed on either side. These are of different size and date. The one nearest the chancel frames a beautiful carved arch in oak with shafts and capitals which may have come from one of the side altars; these were used by the laity, while the high altar in the chancel was monopolized by the canons. The central arch probably dates from the twelfth century, and the other two are thirteenth- or fourteenth-century. The one near the window has a continuously moulded jamb.

The Bulstrode brasses are now erected vertically within the second and third recesses. (The re-erection of the brasses in this way is controversial. No doubt they suffer less from wear and tear and are more easily visible, but it would be more correct to see them in their original positions.) Unfortunately, when this work was carried out at Upton, several figures were lost and also inscriptions and coats of arms.

The earliest of the Bulstrode brasses in Upton church represents Agnes Bulstrode, who died in 1462 (Fig. 2).⁹ It was probably commissioned by

her husband William before his death ten years later. He was an important figure in the history of the family. Agnes is shown kneeling and dressed in a shroud, which illustrates the preoccupation with death characteristic of the late Middle Ages. The figure is now isolated at the top of the recess nearer the altar, and is above the monument to Edward and Cecill Bulstrode, but it was once part of a large memorial to Agnes, her husband William and their nine sons and two daughters, whose figures were engraved on separate plates. It is interesting that the daughters wore 'butterfly' head-dresses characteristic of the period. Writing in 1733 Browne Willis reports that in Upton church 'there was an ancient stone with the Portraiture of a man and woman in brass', and there was also a Latin inscription.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the figure of William, and three of the four shields which Browne Willis also mentioned, had disappeared. Volume 7 of *Records of Buckinghamshire* reports that Mr Russell, who was helping to conduct a party of members of the [Buckinghamshire Archaeological] Society round Upton church, said



FIGURE 3. Memorial brass to Edward Bulstrode, d. 1517, and three wives; from Lack, *et al* 1994. One of the wives and the inscription is now missing.

there was a rubbing (dated 1819) showing the brass of Agnes and an indent of the figure of William, and also engravings of their nine boys and two girls and of a long Latin inscription, all of which were shown on separate plates. He reported that this rubbing had been given to the Archaeological Institute (now the Royal Archaeological Institute). This has been identified by Mr McHardy of the Society of Antiquaries as a rubbing of the same date in the Society's Library. This rubbing shows Agnes, the children and the inscription, but there is no trace of the indent of William. This is not surprising, as it would be difficult to reproduce an indent in a rubbing. In their book on Buckinghamshire brasses, Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore (1994) reproduce this rubbing, which they call a 'composite illustration'. Mr McHardy also drew the writer's attention to a rubbing which shows Agnes alone, as she now exists. This rubbing is dated 1864; the remaining parts of the monument seem to have been lost between 1819 and 1864, probably when the brasses were set up in the south aisle.

As already shown, Browne Willis (1733) describes the figures and also says that there was a shield at each corner of the monument and that three of these had been torn off, leaving only one, which was quartered with the arms of Bulstrode and Shobbington. He also records the inscription which runs:

Orate pro animabus Willi Bulstrode & Agnetis uxoris ejus filie Willi Norreys de Bray et pro animabus Rici Roberti Isabella Johis Willi Edmundi, Agnetis Thome Rogeri Henrici et Georgii filior[um] p^r dei [sic, praedictae?] Willi Bulstrode et Agnetis que quidem Agnes mater obiit 12^o Die Aprilis A^o [anno] Dni [domine] MCCCC LXII et Anno Regis Edwardi quarti II^o et praedictus Willius Pater Anno ... aetatis ... [not filled in]

Browne Willis also gives a diagram of the arms on the one surviving shield, which shows Bulstrode quartered with Shobbington. As the charges are included in all the shields associated with the Bulstrodes, they are given here:

BULSTRODE

sa stags head cabossed arg attired or; between the antlers a cross patty fitchy of the last,

through the nostrils fess-way an arrow or feathered arg, i.e. on the black ground a silver stag's head cut off at the neck; between the gold antlers a cross with the bottom arm longer than the others and all expanding towards the extremities; through the nostrils crossways a gold arrow feathered with silver.

SHOBBINGTON

argent a chevron gu between three squirrels sejant sa, i.e. on a silver ground a red chevron between three black squirrels sitting up eating nuts (nuts probably red).

The Shobbington arms are included perhaps because, according to the 'Book of Bulstrode', John Bulstrode married Agnes Shobbington about 1265.¹⁰ The name Shobbington is also associated with the Legend of Bulstrode, which says that the Anglo-Saxon owner of Bulstrode was called Shobbington and that, when William the Conqueror sent a Norman lord to take over the property, Shobbington and his seven sons, mounted on bulls, confronted and defeated him, and afterwards Shobbington, mounted on his bull, went to William himself and swore fealty to him if he was allowed to keep the land. The family then took the name of Bulstrode.¹¹ The story is first found written down in the preface to the *Letters of Sir Richard Bulstrode to the Duke of Arlington* published in 1712 a year after Sir Richard's death; he was a grandson of Edward and Cecill.

Next in date to the broken memorial to William and Agnes is that commemorating Edward Bulstrode (d. 1517) and his wives; this occupies the whole of the space within the recess on the east wall of the south aisle nearest the window (Figs. 1 and 3). A book containing rubbings of shields which accompanied monumental brasses, including those of Upton, is also in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. These were probably made in the mid-nineteenth century. The rubbings are accompanied by exquisitely written notes which help to identify the charges. Unfortunately these brasses were already badly defaced when the rubbings were made. It is strange that, while the monumental figures are excellently preserved, the shields were almost indecipherable even in the mid-nineteenth century.

Edward stands in the centre, and figures of two



FIGURE 4. Photograph of arms: Bulstrode quartered Empson (Edward's first wife; brass missing). For position see Fig. 3.

of his three successive wives stand on his left, but sadly that of his first wife, Mary Empson, which stood on his right, has disappeared (Fig. 3). Shields on which the arms of Edward himself and the three wives are shown are placed in the corners of the recess. The illustration in Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore's book shows all three wives; it must therefore have been taken from an earlier rubbing. There are several rubbings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries which show all the figures, and the illustration in the book is evidently based on one of these.¹²

Lipscomb gives an excellent description of the figures and the costume.¹³ He says that Edward's hair was cut short and combed down on either side of his face and that he wore plate armour with a skirt and gorget of ringed mail. It can be seen that the hilt of his dagger is below his right elbow and that his sword, which hangs from his reticulated belt, has a pyriform pommel. Lipscomb continues by describing Edward's broad-toed shoes and his

large spur rowels. He also describes the ladies. Mary Empson, Edward's first wife, wore a square head-dress with long lappets of embroidery and had sleeves with deep ermine cuffs; round her waist was a long girdle passing through a rosette and hanging to the ground; this ended in a tassel or jewel. The other two ladies looked towards their husband and were placed more in profile so that the backs of their headdresses were visible. Otherwise their costume was like that of Mary Empson, but there were no jewels at the end of their girdles. Below the figures there was a rectangular plate, now lost, which bore an inscription:

Of your charite pray for the Soules of Edward Bulstrode Esquire for the Body of King Henry 7th and Kyng Henry the 8th, and Mary, Helen & Margaret his Wyffes; which Edward deceased the 2^o day of August in the Yere of our Lord God MVCXVII, on whose Soules Jhu [Jesus] have mercy.

The shields in this recess at Upton bear charges which relate them to Edward and his wives (Fig. 3). They are now erected in the corners framing the figures. As already shown, it is very difficult to decipher the charges. The shield which relates to Edward is now placed in the bottom southern corner under the wives (in the book by Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore it is shown in the top northern corner); it is not known why it was moved, but perhaps this was its previous position. The charges on this shield are Bulstrode 1 and 4, and Shobbington 2; 3 is complicated because it includes the arms of Kniffe. (Richard Bulstrode married Alice Kniffe in 1503.) The arms of Bulstrode and Shobbington are the same as on the brass of William and Agnes. Those of Kniffe of Chalvey are placed in a small compartment at the top of 3 which has a striped blue and silver background; there are two crossed knives or swords: *paly of six arg az in chief sa two swords in saltire or the hilts or*. Below the canton there are other charges which seem to be five small open roses or perhaps *mullets*. These arms have not been identified.

The shields of the three wives are all divided vertically (i.e. *per pale*), the charges of Bulstrode, Shobbington and Kniffe being on the dexter side and that of the wife on the sinister. The shield belonging to Edward's first wife, Mary Empson, is now placed in the top north corner of the recess. The colour of the background (field) is not known. The charges are a green chevron between three small gold bags tied at the neck. In the notes accompanying the rubbing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries these are called *filiastres*, but in Burke's *General Armory* they are identified as *bougets*. These are objects carried on a pole, rather like a yoke (Fig. 4).

The shield bearing the arms of the second wife, Elyn Brant or Brent, is placed in the bottom northern corner of the recess. The sinister part of the field, which belonged to Elyn, bears the arms *gules a wyvern arg rampant*, i.e. on a red ground a silver wyvern (a winged dragon with eagle's feet) standing on its hind legs in a threatening position.

The shield bearing the arms of the third wife, Margaret Norrys, is placed in the top southern corner of the recess (Fig. 3). As usual, the arms of Bulstrode, Kniffe and Shobbington are on the dexter half and those of Margaret on the sinister. These show a *bend arg three cinquefoil flowers*, i.e. on a wide silver band running diagonally there are

three open five-petalled flowers. Margaret outlived her husband and was buried at Hedgerley where the family had property.

On the memorial the children of the wives are shown in small scale under the brasses commemorating their mothers. Mary Empson had four boys, Elyn Brant seven boys and two girls, but Margaret Norrys had ten children; a brass on which she and the children are commemorated is in Hedgerley church. This must have been brought from the original church, which was not on the same site. The arms on the accompanying shield are the same as those at Upton.

The finest of the Bulstrode brasses is that commemorating Edward Bulstrode (d. 1599) and his wife Cecill (Fig. 5).¹⁴ Edward was the son of Thomas, whose will is quoted in note 15. This Thomas was the son of George (the son of Edward who died in 1517); George married Joan Piggot. Cecill was the daughter of John Croke, who held the manor of Chilton in Buckinghamshire and like Edward was a prominent lawyer. The brass occupies the lower part of the recess below the kneeling figure of Agnes.

The figures of the numerous children of the couple are shown below the main figures, and there is a most beautifully lettered inscription written in English which reads:

Here lyeth bried the bodye of Edwarde
Bulstrode Esquier, and Cecill his wife, one of y
daughters of Iohn Croke Esquier, by whome he
had issve .4. sonnes, Henrye, Thomas, Edward
and William and .vj. daughters, Elizabeth,
Margaret, Anne, Cecill, Magdalen, and Dorothy.
Whoe departed this mortall Life y^e last daye of
Aygust in the yere of our Lorde God. 1599

There is also a small plate bearing the name of the first wife of Henry (Edward's eldest surviving son). This has now been moved to the west end of the south aisle.

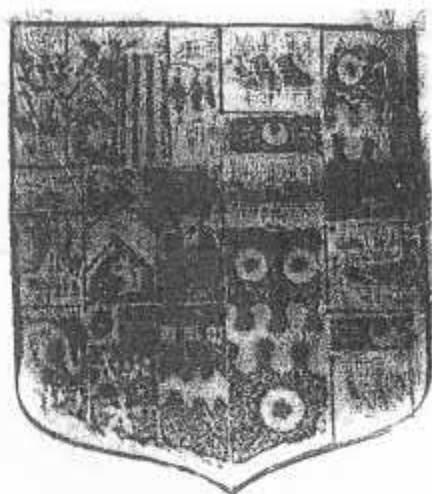
Although Edward and Cecill were Puritans, they wear the most elaborate clothes. Again, Lipscomb described them; he says that Edward 'has no helmet and his hair is short; he has a thin pointed beard and whiskers on his upper lip. Over his armour he wears an embroidered or embossed doublet with long flaps apparently made of overlapping steel plates.' These plates, which have pleated leather or velvet edging called *picadills*, prevented



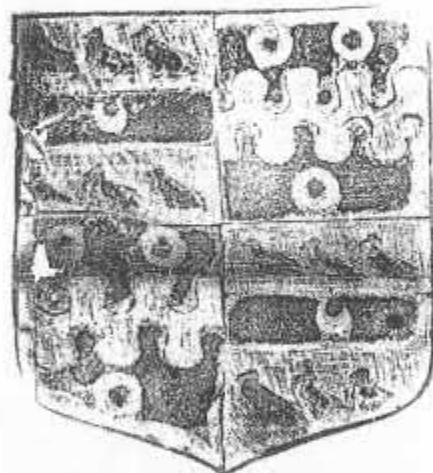
Figure 5 Memorial to Edward Bulstrode (d. 1599) and his wife Cecill Croke, from a rubbing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London (shields and scrolls now missing). From Lack *et al* (1994)



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIGURE 6. Rubbings of shields over the figures of Edward and Cecill, made by Lipscomb in 1824. (Library of Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, Aylesbury). (a) from shield in centre (b) shield over head of Edward Bulstrode. (c) shield over head of Cecill Croke: Croke quartered Bulstrode.

the flap rubbing on the greaves which cover his legs. He has a long sword with a large hilt and round pommels. The armour contrasts strangely with the sleeves of his doublet which have scalloped wrist-bands and the great pleated ruff which surrounds his throat. Cecill wears a similar ruff. On her head she has a low-winged headdress without lappets but partly covered by a veil. She has a pleated stomacher cut short at the waist; her gown

hangs open to show her embroidered or damasked petticoat, whose hem is decorated with a wreath.¹⁵

The figures of Edward and Cecill, their children and the inscriptions which survive were part of a large composition, the upper part of which was probably destroyed when the brass was set up in its present position. The complete monument is shown on a very large rubbing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the illustration in

Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore is taken from this. It is, however, less impressive on a smaller scale. The main loss is the fat, almost three-dimensional scrolls which used to rise up between the figures and which were inscribed with Latin verses. These are illegible on the large rubbing, but were recorded by Browne Willis. On the scroll over the head of Edward are the words *Fleres si scives unum tua tempora mensi*, and on that over Cecill's head *Rides cum sit forsitan una Dies*. A Latinist friend of the writer's cousin Paul Winby translated them. The first means 'You would weep if you knew the end of your days', and the second 'You would smile perhaps if it happened on the same day'. (In spite of Cecill's protestations, she married again after Edward's death.)¹⁶

Between the scrolls shown in the large rubbing there is a small rectangular plate which carries an inscription in Hebrew characters. In translation this reads 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' (Job, 19, v. 25). This text was used by Edward's father, Thomas, in his will (quoted in note 15). I asked Mr Lack about this and he told me that inscriptions in Hebrew characters were rare; he gave examples, most of which date from the early seventeenth-century and are included in memorials to members of the clergy or of the teaching profession.

Another important element of the composition, as reproduced in the rubbing, is the three shields placed above the figures. Details cannot be seen in the rubbing but they are clearly recorded in rubbings made by Lipscomb in 1824 and now preserved in the library of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society in the County Museum at Aylesbury (Fig. 6). These rubbings show that the importance of the central shield, which is placed lower than the others, is emphasised because it is surmounted by the crest of Bulstrode (a bull's head cabossed between two wings) and its rich tasselled mantling. (Crests were only introduced in the late seventeenth century, and special permission had to be obtained to display them.) This shield bears the Bulstrode arms, elaborately quartered. Details are given in Appendix A.

The last of the Bulstrode monuments in Upton church commemorates Henry Bulstrode, eldest surviving son of Edward and Cecill (Fig. 7). He was an important man; he entered Oxford when he was thirteen and then joined the Inner Temple. The family had interests in Cornwall as well as Bucking-

hamshire, and Henry was MP for Helston in 1614 and then for Buckinghamshire in 1625; later he was appointed Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. He was very wealthy. In 1626 he nearly doubled his property by buying the estates of William Drury of Chalfont St Peter. (The Drurys has acquired the manor and considerable property in Chalfont when Missenden Abbey, which had owned it, was dissolved.)¹⁷

It seems probable that Henry rebuilt Bulstrode House, which is said to have burnt down during the reign of Elizabeth. It is interesting to find that the early eighteenth-century engraving of the house by Bowles shows details which are consistent with the architectural fashions of the early seventeenth century (Fig. 8).¹⁸

During the Civil War, Henry took an active part in the fighting. He raised troops to protect the Hampdens who were being persecuted by the king, Charles I. It seems likely that he, the Hampdens and other Buckinghamshire Puritan gentry drilled on the camp in Bulstrode Park. This no doubt contributed to his financial ruin.¹⁹

Lipscomb records that the monument to Henry was in the nave.²⁰ Browne Willis records the inscription. The monument was in the form of a tomb chest with a flat top. This lid was broken and was apparently lying about in the churchyard; it is said to have borne indents of the figures of Henry and his wife Bridgetta and of a shield with their arms.²¹

Only the front of the chest is preserved and is erected at the west end of the south aisle of the church. It consists of a beautiful rectangle of black polished marble framed with swags of white alabaster. On it there are two long inscriptions, finely cut; the first records the deaths of Henry and Bridgetta with particulars of their families. Bridgetta died in 1651.

Hic intumescitur Henricus Bulstrode filius primogenitus Edwardi B. & Cecillie uxoris ejus et Bridgetta fidelis uxor dicti Henrici antea Relicta Johis Allen civis Londiniensis, quae Bridgetta fuit filia Henrici Evans et Janae Uxoris ejus filia Johis Wake de Clevedon in Com. Somerset. A. et desponsata fuit dicto Henrico B. 20^o Die Julij 1615, et placide dormivit in Christo 29 Octobris 1631, Et praedictus Henricus obiit in spe Resurrectionis ad vitam aeternum per Jesum Christum clementissimum Salvatorem suam.

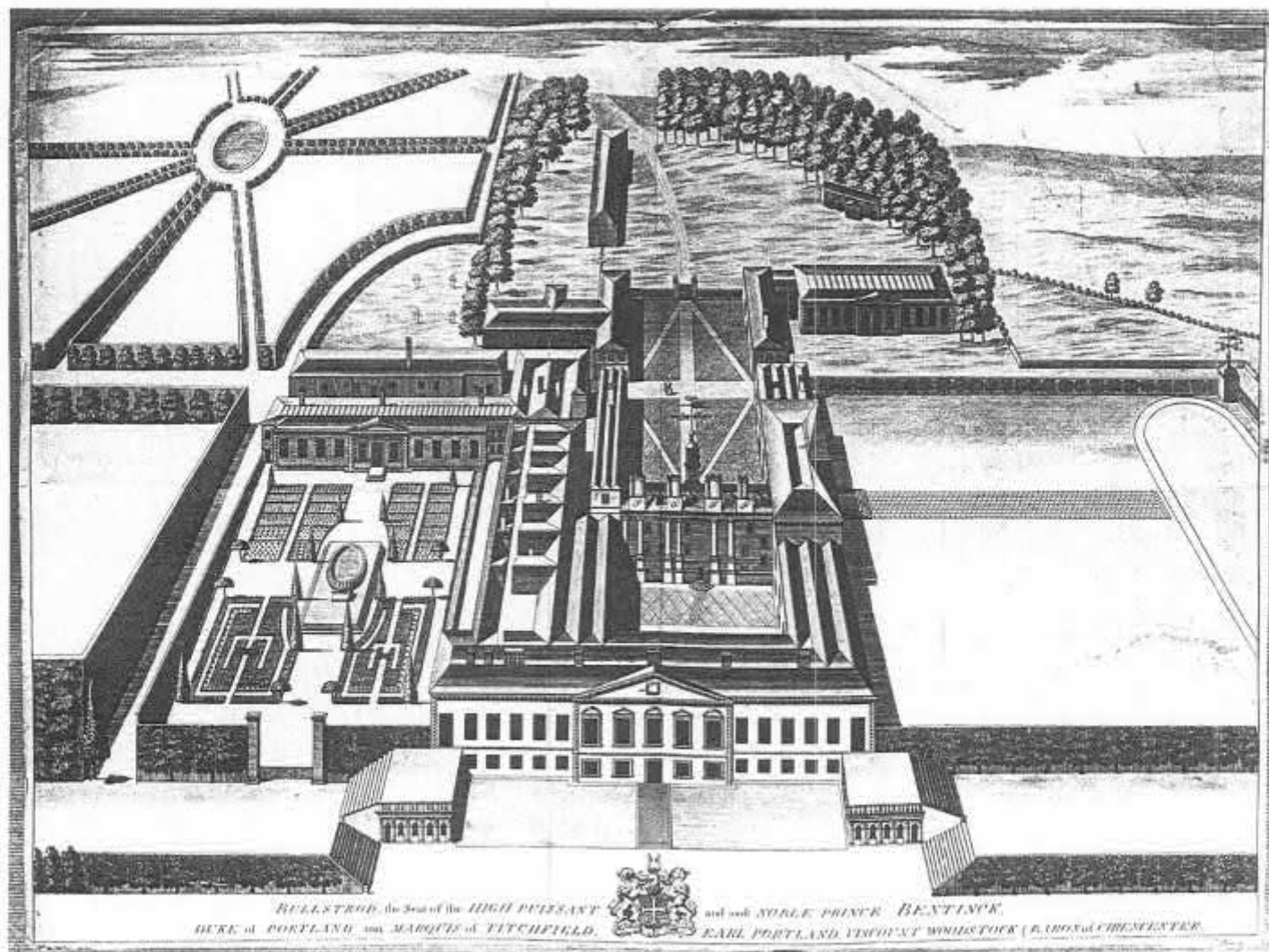


FIGURE 8. Bulstrode House from an engraving by Bowles, 1718.

The date of Henry's death is not filled in, but it occurred in 1643.

The second inscription is in verse and refers to Bridgetta. It was transcribed by both Browne Willis and Lipscomb; Browne Willis's version seems the more accurate. A study of the inscription *in situ* shows that the wording is:

*Invicta pietate necis prostrato trophais
Hec jacet hec oculos clausit utraque manu
Dulce mori aeterna anhelans terrestre reliquis
Mors mihi fit lucrum Christus et alma quies*

This has been translated by Mr Winby's Latinist friend, who suggests:

Her piety not conquered e'en by Death
That closed each eye, she with her last breath
Gladly left earthly kin
Death was her gain and Christ her timely rest

There is a small shield, again framed in alabaster, above the monument; this is in good repair and retains its tinctures, but it is too high up to study. Browne Willis records the charges (see Appendix B). This shield is not recorded by Lipscomb.

Henry's son Thomas, who was a colonel in Cromwell's army, inherited all his father's property, but was forced to sell almost all of it, saying sadly that it was 'the inheritance of his ancestors.' Lipscomb says that Thomas was buried in Upton,²² but his grave has not been found. There were members of the family in the parish throughout the nineteenth century; for instance, it is recorded that their 'high seat' was destroyed in 1887.²³

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REFERENCES

1. N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England. Buckinghamshire* (1960), 237.
2. 'The old church at Upton', *Recs. Bucks*, 1 (1854-5), 201; also 'Proceedings of the Society', *Recs. Bucks*, 7 (1891-2), 75-79.
3. G. Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), Part 8, 574-75.
4. *Recs. Bucks*, 7, 75. The remaining parts of the house do not warrant this early dating.
5. Pevsner, *op. cit.*
6. *Recs. Bucks*, 1, 200-06.
7. Revd Pownell W. Phipps, *Record of the Church, Rectory and Vicarage of Upton-cum-Chalvey* (C. Luff, 1886). An excellent account of the raising of funds is given by Mrs S. Neal, *Go Beastly Bomb, Why Fall on Slough?* (1998).
8. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire*, 1 (1912), 278.
9. W. G. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield and P. J. Whittemore, *The Monumental Brasses of Buckinghamshire* (1994), 221. I am very grateful to Mr Lack for much advice and for permission to reproduce plates from his book, and for sending me photocopies of notes made by Canon Rutter which are based on the Browne Willis MS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Browne Willis); many references to this MS will be found in the following pages.
10. There are several MS copies of this book which was compiled in the early twentieth century by H.W. Bulstrode, a member of the family; the copy used here is in the library of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society at the County Museum, Aylesbury. The story is told here, and there is a slightly shorter version in G. Edmonds, *A History of Chalfont St Peter and Gerrards Cross* (1968), 20-21.
11. 'Book of Bulstrode', 3.
12. Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *op. cit.*, 222.
13. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Part 8, 574.
14. *ibid.*, Part 1, 28; Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *op. cit.*, 224.
15. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Part 8, 575. A very inter-

esting insight into the mentality of people of this time is given by the will of Thomas Bulstrode, who died in 1560. (He was Edward's father and himself the son of George who was one of the sons of Edward, d. 1517.) Thomas first quotes from Job 19, v. 25: 'I know that my Redeemer liveth', and then provides that 'a godly sermon' should be preached at his burial 'by some godly and well-learned man not under the degree of Master of Arts', and another when the month was up and another when the year was up. He leaves his long-bow, the quiver of shafts and arrows, a corselet and a pike to his son Francis, and to his son Edward all his books, his poll-axe, daggers, sword, cross-bow, and a quiver of arrows and bolts. He makes bequests to relatives, servants and the poor, and leaves the residue his wife Ann: 'she shall have my house at Hedgerley as I did use to occupy it, and my farm at Coltnet (Horton), to keep these houses in good repair and not to let them, except to a son.' Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 23.

16. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Part 1, 28.
17. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 26.
18. *ibid.*, illustration opposite p. 48. For general background of architecture and the arts in the early seventeenth century, see Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986).
19. C. V. Wedgwood, *The Great Rebellion*, Vol. II, 143; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 36; R. Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury* (1885, republished 1971), 161; G. Lamb, 'Aylesbury in the Civil War', *Recs. Bucks*, 41 (2001), 183-91 (p. 184).

The Royalist army was besieged by the Parliamentarians in Reading. The garrison was eventually surrounded, but some soldiers escaped and joined with other Royalist soldiers to forage in the Vale of Aylesbury. Henry was guarding the town, but he was old and died in 1643. At the beginning of the war he had mustered troops to support the Parliamentary cause and was joined by other Puritan gentry such as the Penns and Hampdens. He may well have drilled them on Bulstrode camp, and this is possibly the basis of the Legend of Bulstrode. Here the Penns and Hampdens are mentioned, although the families probably did not exist in the Anglo-Saxon period. (See above).

20. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Part 8, 575.
21. Lack, Stuchfield and Whittemore, *op. cit.*, 222.
22. Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, Part 8, 575.
23. 'State of parish churches', *Recs. Bucks*, 6 (1887-91), 166.

APPENDIX A

SHIELDS OVER THE FIGURES OF EDWARD AND CECILL BULSTRODE (Figs. 5 and 6)

The central one is the most elaborate and is surmounted by the Bulstrode crest with its rich mantling. The charges agree with those listed in Lipscomb's *The History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* and also by Browne Willis. They were evidently well preserved in 1824 when Lipscomb made the rubbings which are now in the library of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society in the County Museum at Aylesbury.

The shield is in ten pieces. Lipscomb and Browne Willis both describe the charges, but their descriptions are not very clear. The charges on the rubbing show:

1. Bulstrode
2. *three birds' heads erased* [not known]
3. *three pales in chief and hound courant* [this is certainly a misunderstanding of the crossed knives or swords seen in the Kniffe arms which always appear on all the Bulstrode shields]
4. *three lozenges in fess* [omitted in the list by Browne Willis and not known]
5. *a pair of barnacles in chief*, i.e. a charge founded on the form of spurs [called pinchers by Browne Willis]
6. *chevron three squirrels segant* [Shobbington appears in all the Bulstrode shields]
7. the Bulstrode crest *a bull's head cabossed int. two wings* [this seems to have been adopted by the family in the sixteenth century and is adapted from the crests. Application for crests had to be made to the proper authorities at this period.]
8. *ermine a pair of barnacles (pinchers)*
9. *five stars in canton, a crescent moon with star issuant*
10. *a fess indented in fess three leopards' faces* [this charge belongs to the Piggots; Edward's grandfather, George Bulstrode, married Joan Piggot.]

The shield over Cecill's head shows the arms of Croke:

1 and 4 *six martlets* [i.e. swallows; they are shown without feet as it was believed that they never perch] *in fess a crescent moon*

2 and 3 *a fess nebule three annulets* [rings].

The shield over Edward's head is divided per pale; the Bulstrode arms on the dexter side are the same as those on the central shield. The arms of Croke on the sinister side, as above. It is possible to make out some of the charges on the rubbing from the Society of Antiquaries, especially the fess nebule and martlets.

APPENDIX B

SHIELD OVER THE MONUMENT TO HENRY BULSTRODE

The monument in the south aisle of the church is surmounted by a small shield. The charges are listed by Browne Willis, but not by Lipscomb. They are the same as those on the shields of Henry's father Edward, except for no. 9 which Browne Willis shows as:

argent six foils gules on a canton sable [not identified].