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St Mary's Church, Coddtenham: the 'finger and barrel' organ of 1817 in its original position before the demolition of the west gallery in 1886, preparatory to the restoration of the nave. See 'The Vanished Barrel Organ of Coddtenham Church' in this Part. (Reproduced from the Suffolk Photographic Survey by permission of the Suffolk Record Office.)

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DISCOVERIES IN THE CLERESTORY AND ROOF STRUCTURE OF ST MARGARET'S CHURCH IPSWICH

by JOHN BLATCHLY and PETER NORTHEAST

THE HIGH QUALITY of St Margaret's has long been recognised: it was 'certainly the most spectacular church in Ipswich' in Nikolaus Pevsner's estimation. Everything above the arcade openings of the tall narrow nave is carved or painted, often both. The roof structure dates from just before 1500, but most of the painting, if not all of it, was done two hundred years later. There is nothing to link the styles of the work of the two periods; indeed mid-19th-century commentators were scathing about this juxtaposition of gothic carving and baroque painting.¹ Mercifully what was written did not lead to a rebuild or a clear-out of the painted panels, so that the whole scheme which pleased late 17th-century taste could be cleaned, conserved and revealed during 1994 and 1995. This article describes and attempts to interpret the works of the two periods separately.

The earliest surviving features indicate a major rebuilding of this church in the early 14th century – the plain octagonal Decorated piers of the five-bay nave arcades and the Decorated aisle windows, including a blocked one with Y-tracery in the west wall of the south aisle. But it was the 15th-century work which made St Margaret's the grand building that it is.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Mid-15th-century wills include bequests towards the elaborate south porch, and the candlebeam;² money was still being given to making the crucifix upon the candlebeam as late as 1479.³ Wills, however, make no mention of the grandest part of the whole structure, the roof and clerestory windows. What makes it likely that the original nave structure of the 14th century included a clerestory is that the wall-painting of St Christopher high up on the north wall (part of the skirt hem is visible behind the westernmost hatchment) lost its upper parts when five pairs of large two-light Perpendicular clerestory windows were added above each bay. If there had been no clerestory at first, the nave walls need not have been so tall. Birkin Haward has kindly made drawings (Fig. 87) which show how this could have happened. Above the clerestory, richly decorated with carved stonework outside, a new and elaborately embellished double hammerbeam roof crowned everything. The final stages of the twelve-year restoration programme afforded excellent opportunities to study details of the roof, enabling recording and elucidation of the initials and symbols carved high up in wood and stone, and the identification of the late 15th-century benefactors who paid for the work. No other East Anglian roof of the many Birkin Haward has examined reveals so much. The most similar, the nave roof at St Mary le Quay, Ipswich, has a J on one shield and a B on another, but no interpretation of these initials has so far been possible.

There are in all four displays of initials, monograms and merchants' marks, which will be described in the order in which the original work proceeded. The arcade bays have been lettered A to E from the east, the roof trusses 1 to 11.

I. Of the new corbels inserted inside the nave walls to bear the new roof structure, those in the centres of arcade bays were given the extra embellishment of angels holding shields on which were carved the following:

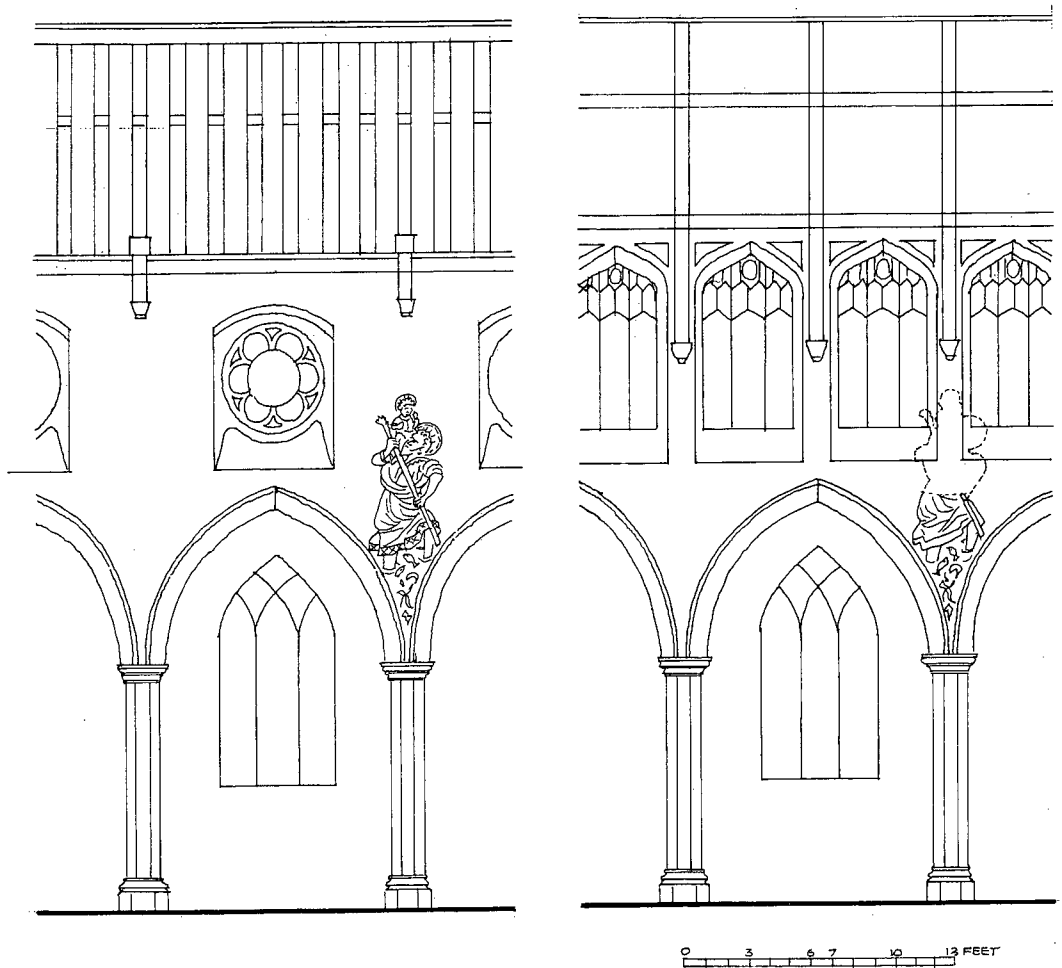


FIG. 87 – (A, *left*) Conjectural diagram of the arcade, clerestory and roof structure of the earlier church *c.* 1300, showing the mural painting of St Christopher complete; (B, *right*) Diagram showing the clerestory of the late 15th century, with the consequent loss of the upper part of the mural painting.

North Side

A: a crown on the shield (some damage to the angel); B: a floriated black letter H; C: two versions of W (one VV) and a cross on a circle (a shield?) badly re-cut on new stone let in after much of the original corbel had been knocked off; D: the main merchant's mark christianised by the extension of the vertical beyond the flat top of its usual form (Pl. XLIII); E: no emblem because no shield.

In summary: a crown, W H and the merchant's mark.

South Side

A: I; B: H; C: T/R;⁴ D: H; E: VV.

In summary: I and H T/R and W H, or less likely IH T/R WH.

The wooden figures of saints carved from the wall-posts rising from the corbels are all mutilated, some too badly to reveal their identities. Only one is a female figure, and the majority

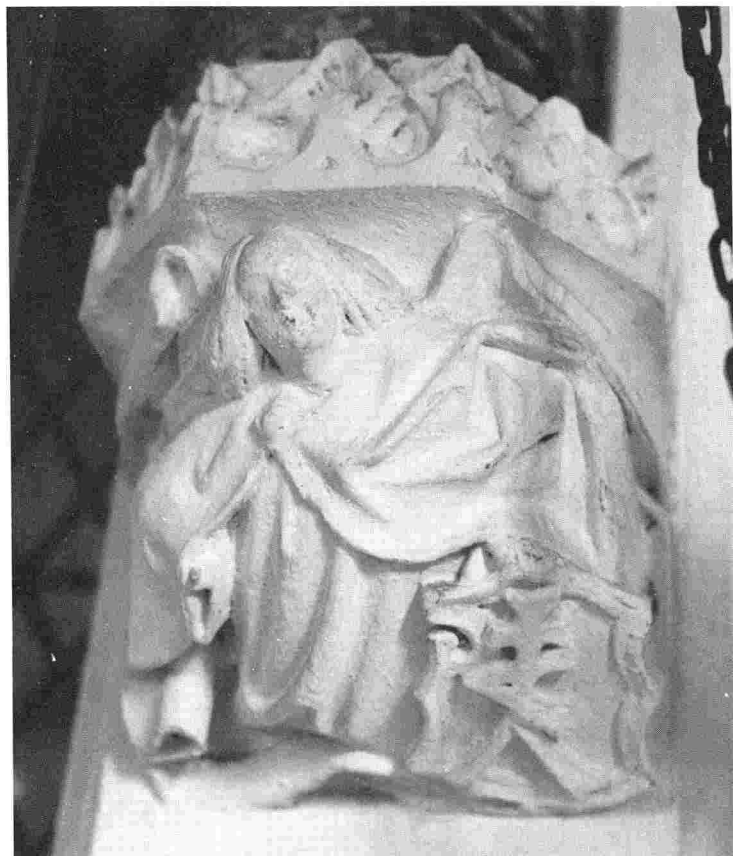


PLATE XLIII – North side stone corbel angel (D) holding jousting shield with merchant's mark of Hall, the central stem extended up beyond the flat top of the dyer's posser to form a cross.



PLATE XLIV – TILER monogram on wooden spandrel shield of north side west clerestory window in bay D.

hold long scrolls now devoid of any inscriptions (which must have been painted rather than carved). When William Dowsing came to St Margaret's in 1644, he wrote in his *Journal of destruction* (Evelyn White 1885, 252): 'There was 12 Apostles in stone taken down.' He probably meant these figures, his mistake over material arising from the fact that they were covered by whitewash at the time, traces of which can still be seen. A few figures still hold attributes in whole or part:

North side numbering from the East:

4 St Luke in a doctor's hat; 5 tassels remain from the ends of sleeves or perhaps from the cover of a book formerly held by the figure; 7 St James the Less with a fuller's club; 9 St Peter with his key.

South side numbering from the East:

3 St James the Great in a large pilgrim's hat; 5 A female saint, head covered, possibly St Anne; 6 St Philip with three loaves; 7 St Paul with a sword; 8 St Simon holding a fish; 10 St Jude holding a ship.

II. On the north exterior of the clerestory parapet frieze the ten bays have pairs of shields in the spandrels of the windows with the following pattern:

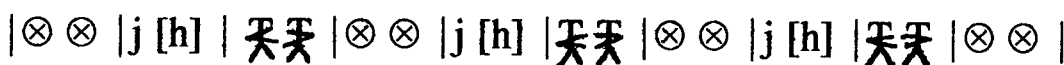


FIG. 88 – Pattern of quatrefoils, black letter initials of John Hall and his merchant's mark on stone shields in the spandrels of the north clerestory windows.

It is inconvenient that rainwater hoppers were fixed at regular intervals to cover the three shields bearing the three black letter 'h's, but enough can be seen or felt to confirm that they are similar in style to that on north side corbel B. The letters and merchant's marks are carved with flat components, as if cut out of thin sheets of clay. The merchant's mark familiar from north side corbel D is varied so that the device which crosses the stem is placed < and > so that each pair becomes symmetrical about a vertical axis. All the shields are plain in shape.

On the south exterior, the pattern is simpler and repeated five times so that each arcade bay has the same:

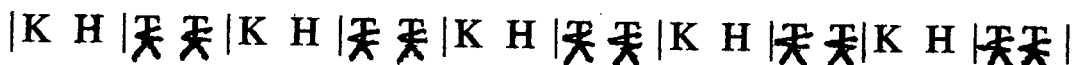


FIG. 89 – Pattern of rustic capital initials of Katherine Hall and the Hall merchant's mark on stone shields in the spandrels of the south clerestory windows.

In contrast to the north side letters, the capitals K and H have cylindrical strokes, a plain rustic form, and are borne on plain shields. The shields bearing the merchant's marks are more elaborate, of the tilting shape with upper dexter indentation for the lance. All the < strokes face the same way. The merchant's mark can now be firmly associated with the 'H' family. Further evidence that they were the main donors to the whole scheme is confirmed by the mark's

occurrence once more, carved in the style used on the north side at the meeting of the foliage trails which wind up both edges of the east nave gable. Plate XLV shows the contrast between north and south styles well.

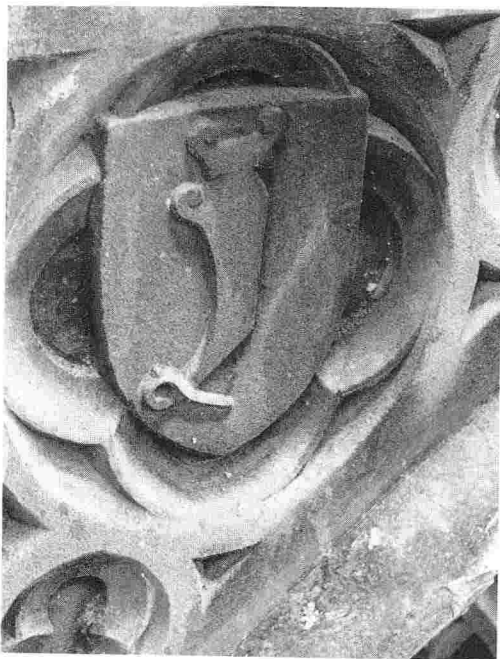
III. Inside again, mostly carved on wooden shields in the spandrels of the clerestory windows, the variety of initials and symbols is profuse. Above the windows at the west end single carved angels spread very long wings to fill the space; thereafter there are two angels with bodies the same size as before but with shorter wings, each pair separated by a crown. The carvers who embellished the roof therefore worked from west to east. The colouring on the timbers of the roof structure is thought by the experts who have examined it by taking sections to have been applied at one time, probably in the late 17th century. Apart from the colours of certain animals, which seem appropriate, there is no system; for example the H family merchant's mark can be found painted in gold on red and in white on green. The table which follows repeats what is held by the corbel angels.

EAST END

<i>On corbel</i> angel's shield						<i>On corbel</i> angel's shield
NORTH SIDE		BAY		SOUTH SIDE		
<i>on shields in clerestory window spandrels</i>						
crown	cross	3 nails	E	rose	bud	I
	branch	fox and goose	A W	rose	foliage	
h	bend	branch	E B	ladder	saltire	H
	I°	B	W	scourge	spear & sponge	
VV	M	H	E C	heart	crown of thorns	T/R
	bear	dragon	W	cross	swords & keys	
T	H	T/R	E D	sponge & spear	pillar	H
	T/R	I	W	crown of thorns	hammer	
no shield	M	H	E E	pincers	3 nails	VV
	I	H	W	dice	saltire	

WEST END

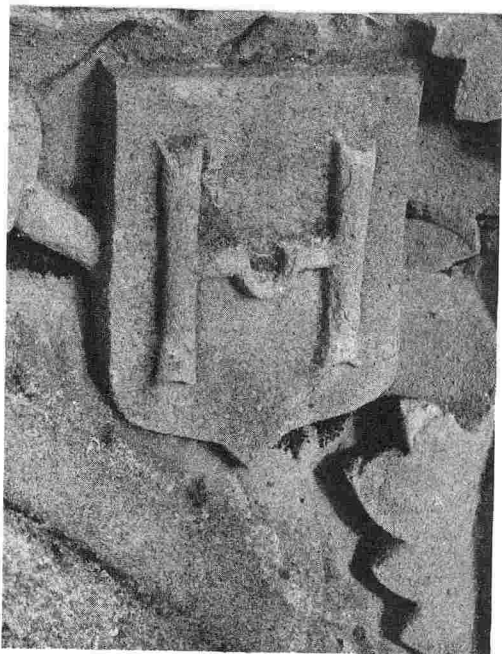
All the personal marks and initials are on the north side, while the symbols of the Passion occur at the east (canopy of honour) end of that side and along most of the length of the south side. The bear, muzzled and chained to a stake, is a reminder that public bull and bear baiting was encouraged by the Corporation (Pl. XLVI).⁵ The fox and goose had a parallel in two scenes on a corner post formerly at Half Moon Corner in Lower Brook Street but now in Ipswich Museum (Russel and Hagreen 1845, Pl. 5 and Corder 1890, Pl. 6). Here the story is concluded; the fox has met his match and hangs in a halter from a gibbet while a goose looks on (Pl. XLVII).



a



b



c



d

PLATE XLV – Devices on stone clerestory window spandrel shields: north side a. black letter J; b. merchant's mark of Hall; south side c. Rustic capital H; d. merchant's mark of Hall.

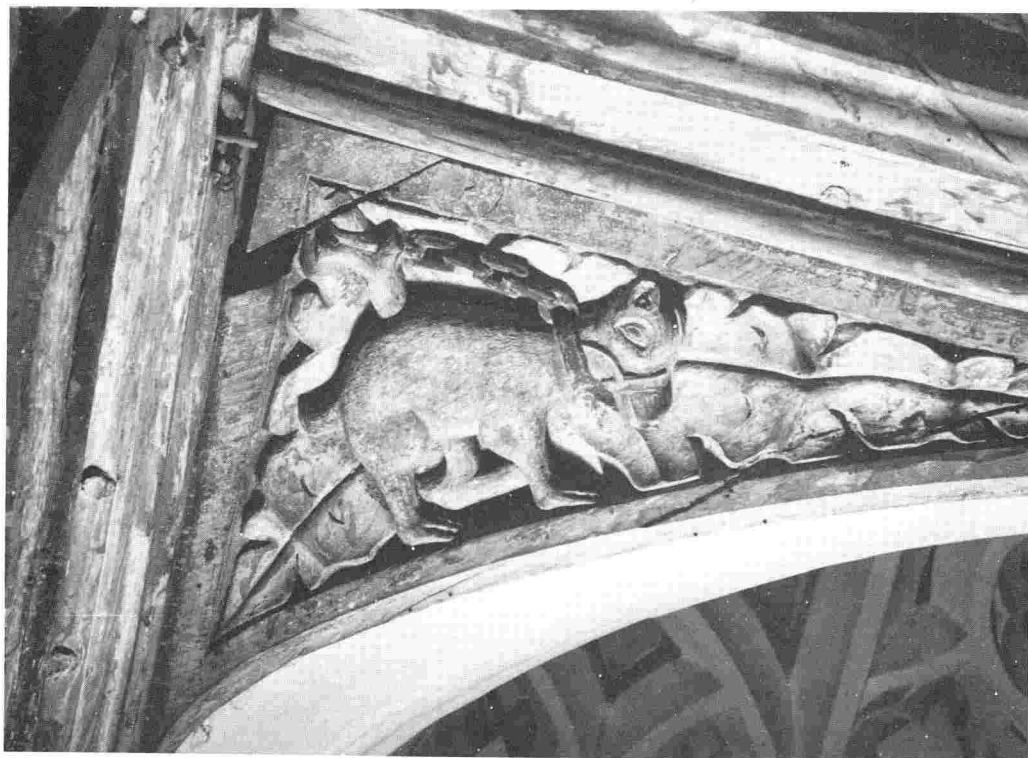


PLATE XLVI – Bear muzzled and chained to a rustic stake on wooden spandrel of north side west clerestory window in bay C.



PLATE XLVII – Haltered fox in gibbet with goose looking on in wooden spandrel of north side west clerestory window in bay A.

IV.

NORTH SIDE	BAY/TRUSS	SOUTH SIDE
plain plain plain		plain shield plain
L M H	1	H M L
floral floral floral		floral keys floral
dragon floral seeds		floral buds floral
L M H	A2	H M L
fruit floral rose		pomeg floral floral
gr ram floral rose		buds oak spiky fr
L M H	3	H M L
gr ram floral floral		oak floral gr man
m mark floral cross on shd		pomeg floral buds
L M H	B4	H M L
bud floral shield		floral floral branch
heart shd m mark pomeg		rag st shd pomeg oak
L M H	5	H M L
fruit saltire shd fl on stalks		shield fruit floral
floral m mark floral		cross shd gr man
L M H	C6	H M L
floral m mark floral		fruit floral shield
floral floral floral		floral shield 3 buds
L M H	7	H M L
floral mullet shd floral		rag st shd shield shield
m mark fruit pomeg		pomeg pomeg big bud
L M H	D8	H M L
m mark fruit pomeg		pomeg pomeg pomeg
fruit fruit fruit		pomeg pomeg pomeg
L M H	9	H M L
pomeg fruit floral		pomeg pomeg pomeg
fruit pomeg fl on stalks		branch floral fl twig
L M H	E10	H M L
floral pomeg pomeg		branch floral fl twig
floral pomeg floral		floral pomeg floral
L M H	11	H M L

WEST WALL OF NAVE

(pomeg = pomegranate; fr = fruit; rag st = ragged staff; gr = green; fl = floral or flower;
shd = shield; m mark = the H family mark)

The last series is of decorations on the spandrels on both sides of the north and south arch braces of the roof, and they are difficult to describe precisely, even to distinguish between fruit and flowers or foliage. Starting from the east end there are three double-sided arch-braces on each side (Low, Middle and High); alternate sets of devices face east and west, 121 in all.

The only emblems of significance in this display are roses and a large dragon, and, on shields, crossed keys, cross, bleeding heart, saltire, mullet of five points, ragged staff, and the H. . . family merchant's mark which occurs five times (Pl. XLVIII). There are several shields divided per pale but otherwise plain. The distribution is random, save that the merchant's mark appears four times, double-sided, on the arch braces in the centres of bays C and D, always on the north side. Fewer than one-quarter of the devices occur double-sided, i.e. back to back on the same arch brace. There is another mullet of five points on a shield, one point downwards as it is here, on a shield in a wooden spandrel at Pykenham's gate.

INTERPRETATION

The dedication of the church is to St Margaret the Virgin, that is, of Antioch, whose emblem is a dragon; the latter occurs in the third and fourth displays. Four guilds in the parish are mentioned in wills made between the dates given: St Catherine, twelve wills 1447 to 1498; Assumption of the BVM, thirteen wills 1454 to 1498; St Barbara, 1460 and 1468; and St John, 1447 only. No catherine wheels or towers occur, but the crown on the north eastern corbel angel's shield at the

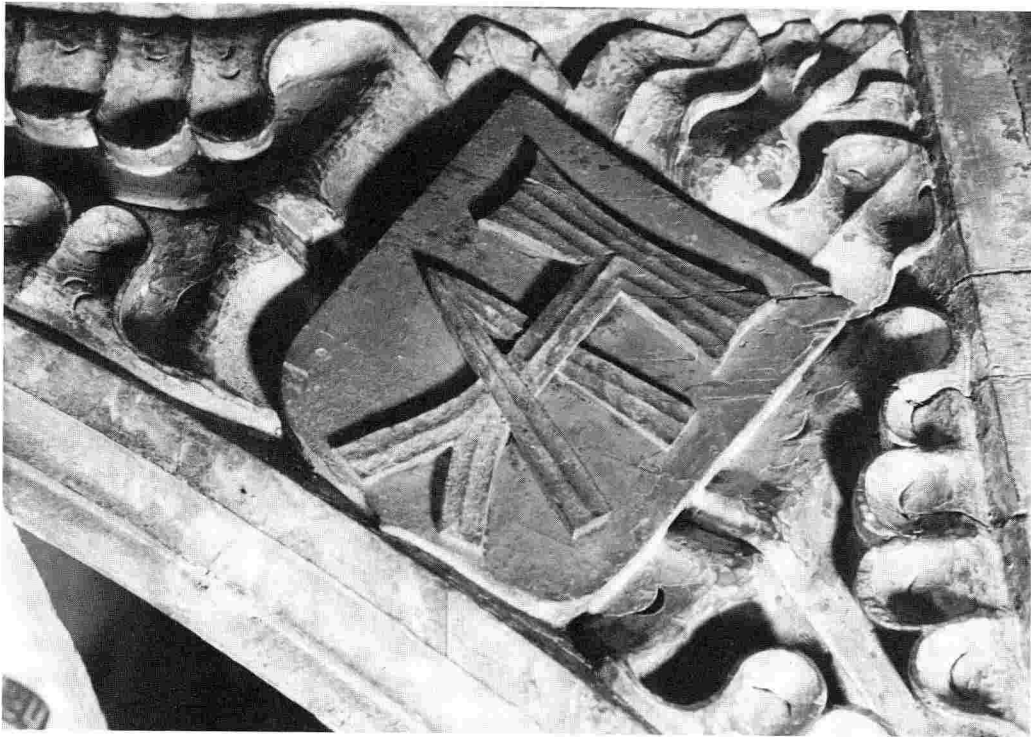


PLATE XLVIII – Hall merchant's mark on shield in east facing spandrel at middle level of roof brace 6, north side.

canopy of honour may be for the BVM, though the chapel of Our Lady and All Saints was the *south* chancel chapel.⁶

The identification of the benefactors of the new roof of St Margaret's from their initials and other devices is made possible by a reading of all Ipswich wills, P.C.C., N.C.C. and Archdeaconry of Suffolk, up to 1530. The chief donors must be the owners of the merchant's mark which occurs in three displays, as do the initials I H, W H, and M H. The clerestory frieze in stone commemorates K H, which we suggest was for Katherine Hall who died in 1506, widow for the last three years of her life of John Hall, woddyer (= dyer), Bailiff of Ipswich in 1489 and 1495. Their son William, clothier as well as dyer, who was Bailiff in 1509, 1515 and 1520 and died in 1526, also had a wife Katherine, which leaves only M H to be identified. The letter M is made like W from VV inverted, not a common representation of capital M. It could be that the apparent Ms are VVs inverted by mistake. Alternatively, the mother or a first wife of John Hall may have been a Margaret or a Mary.⁷

At clerestory level, bays 7 and 8 (arcade bay D) appear to have been allocated to H and I T/R (the sequence of initials is T/R I; H T/R). The wills of Henry and Isabel Tilemaker of the parish must be relevant. Henry's is dated 1445, proved the same year, and Isabel's was made and proved in 1460.⁸ They were both buried in the churchyard, and their gifts to the high altar of the church for 'oblations forgotten and tithes badly tithed' were, respectively, 'half a thousand tiles called Brekkys', and ten shillings, a sum which marked testators of the upper middle class. The tiles would have been useful at the time new work was in hand on the upper part of the church.

There is in Henry's will mention of 'my tenement in the parish between the tenement of John Bryd the elder, thatcher, on the west and a lane called Warrockeslane which leads from the street called Carystrete to the Friars Preachers on the east'. The strangely named Warrockeslane was Cox Lane or Greyhound Lane on Ogilby's map of 1674. The initials in bay 4, I^o and B, the B in fact written backwards, are on crosshatched backgrounds, appropriate for a thatcher, with a bend and branch on shields completing arcade bay B. The Bryd or Byrd family were well off to judge from wills of Robert (probably brother of John) 1448 and Margaret 1474.⁹

The range of dates of death of the Hall and Tylmaker benefactors suggest a date for the work on clerestory and roof taking place after 1460, but probably well within the Halls' lifetimes. Their own wills are generous to the church, and John Hall requests burial in the most privileged place in the nave 'in front of the crucifix'; no layman could ask more than to lie in front of the rood. He (and soon after his wife) had earned this honour by their generosity. The aptness of the Hall merchant's mark was first pointed out by David Warnes. The larger device represents a dyer's posser, a handled tool for agitating the cloth in the vat, the smaller V-shaped cross piece simply a pair of tongs to remove it. Lesser members of the craft must have envied the Halls this most appropriate of dyer's marks.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Royal arms of Charles II at St Margaret's are by the same artist as those at St Stephen's, Ipswich and at Cretingham, as can be seen from the presence of two naked and curly-headed figures behind the platform on which the supporters stand on all three sets. One clutches flowers, the other ears of corn; could they be Adam and Eve? Curtains drawn aside at the top add a theatrical touch. What makes the St Margaret's arms magnificent is the elaborate frame, eleven feet wide, the finest Munro Cautley had seen (Cautley 1934, 46). The gilt and white strapwork carving of the frame which includes a male and a female face at centre top and bottom respectively indicates an early 17th-century date. The frame was presumably made to house the arms of James I, subsequently, in succession, those of Charles I, perhaps the insignia of the Commonwealth, and finally, Charles II on canvas. The Royal arms used to hang over the chancel

arch, but they were taken down during Henry Ringham's restoration of 1845–6, and the three ostrich feather badge and the motto 'Ich Dien' was found fixed behind them.¹⁰ This second painting, equal in size to the Royal arms but on framed wooden boards, is dated 1660 and has the initials of the churchwardens who served that year, Thomas Carter and William Smith, in the lower corners (Pl. XLIX).

Similar discoveries were made at two other Ipswich churches which have no parallels in other parts of the country. At St Nicholas in 1849 the Feathers board, nailed to the back of the Royal arms, had the date 1661; both paintings were lost sometime last century (Grimsey 1889–91, 11). At St Stephen's in 1913 the Feathers board was found to bear the same date 1661, and the initials EG and IG stand for the year's churchwardens: Edward Gaell, gent. and John Groom the elder.¹¹ Both St Stephen's paintings await cleaning and conservation in Christchurch museum, so that the pair cleaned and re-hung in St Margaret's during 1995 are the only set which can at present be enjoyed in the church for which they were painted. In all three cases the painted Feathers faced the back of the Royal arms canvas, so were completely invisible from front or back.

Heraldic authorities are divided on the significance of the Feathers badge. Some hold to what is probably the popular view, that they are for the Prince of Wales. Others state that the badge is appropriate for Heirs to the throne, who may not always be Prince of Wales. Whoever ordered

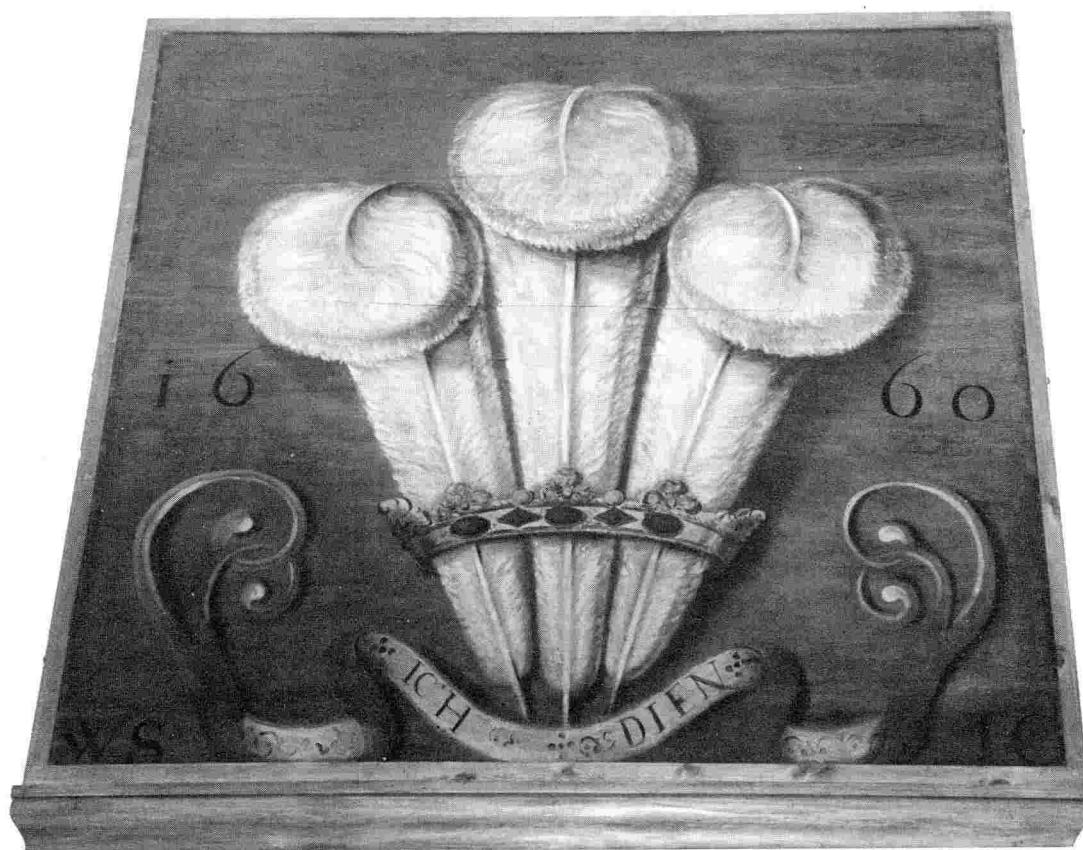


PLATE XLIX – Board with painting of Prince of Wales Feathers dated 1661 and with churchwardens' initials WS and TC.

THE EDGAR-BECK DISPLAYS OF 1695 AND 1700

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the accession of William and Mary in 1689 seems, quite as much as the Restoration, to have given cause for celebration in the Borough, and to have revived an interest in ceremonial display. That year the Corporation made one William Carpenter *alias* Cheeseman a free burgess instead of paying him 'for making pictures of King Charles II, King William & Queen Mary at Lardge, & for one frame' to hang in the Moot Hall. He was paid in 1696-7 to draw the 'towne Armes' and for 'laying the [Market] Cross in Oyle' and in 1689-90 for restoring such other ceremonial items as Beadles' staffs.¹⁴ In his will of 1700, Carpenter styled himself painter and glazier, and stated that he was still 'in perfect health of body, and memory [*sic*]' when he wrote it; it was proved the following April.¹⁵ In 1697, Thomas Steward was paid £10 for 'reviveing the pictures in the Great Court'. Unfortunately, these portraits have not survived. The following year, Steward's name appears as engraver on the great nine-sheet map of Ipswich surveyed for John Ogilby in 1674; they were available at his house in Brook Street. Both Carpenter and Steward were craftsmen with the necessary skills and experience to paint the roof panels and shields which make the roof of St Margaret's even more remarkable.

Two Tory loyalist churchmen Cave Beck and Devereux Edgar devised, and the latter paid for, the painting of the roof panels in 1694 and 1695 (Evelyn White 1903, 118-20), in 1700 providing a display of arms on shields fixed to the ends of the hammer beams where before Dowsing came angels had spread their wings. The idea may have been inspired by King William's visit to the town in 1693 when there was a great feast and the bill for oysters, tongues, sweetmeats, port and other comestibles totalled £35.¹⁶ The Edgars of Grimstone House in Tower Street, and the Red House, a mile north of the town on the road to Tuddenham, played a leading role in the delivery of justice in the town. While his father Thomas was Recorder for twenty years from 1671, Devereux was a leading magistrate of such strong Tory leanings that the Whig corporation which came to power in 1708 attempted to remove him from office, along with his colleagues Leicester Martin and Orlando Bridgeman. Queen Anne was petitioned by their allies, and reinstated them, saying 'Are these the gentlemen that were reported as ill men to me and my government? I think their case appears by this report to be very hard, and they are so far from deserving my or my government's displeasure, that they deserve my favour' (Edgar 1868, 18).

The scheme for the rectangular panels between the rafters was an elaborate heraldic tribute to the joint monarchs with the addition at the east end of the nave of four slogans which would have been on the lips of all loyal Englishmen and women. At the west end on two pairs of panels facing across the nave there are: 'Honour all Men.' and 'Love the Brotherhood.'; 'Feare God.' and 'Honour the King.', the whole of I Peter 2, 17. At St Mary le Tower, where others of the Edgar family worshipped and had their vault, the longer sentiment was painted on the wall above the corporation seat:

'Fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.'¹⁷

There are ten and a quarter sets of panels in the length of the nave, two rows on each side, and circular framed 'sky' panels (decorated sparingly with gilt stars) along the central line of the roof. Omitting the quarter panels, there were therefore fifty spaces to be filled. Plate L attempts a general view.

The sky and quarter panels are painted on plaster, as are three panels at the east end, all of which had to be conserved *in situ*. The painters, who must have started at the east end and worked west, then decided that it would be more satisfactory to paint the remainder on wooden boards at ground level. Five planks laid horizontally and butted up to each other formed a panel. Each one is small enough to be put up easily, and wide battens are needed to hold them in place. Thirty-seven panels could therefore be taken to Bristol in 1994 to the studios of International Fine Art Conservation Studios Ltd for cleaning, conserving, and, above the removable protective layer which sealed the original work, judicious restoration. Most panels have no more than conventional baroque trompe l'oeil cartouche work, all different in design, but without

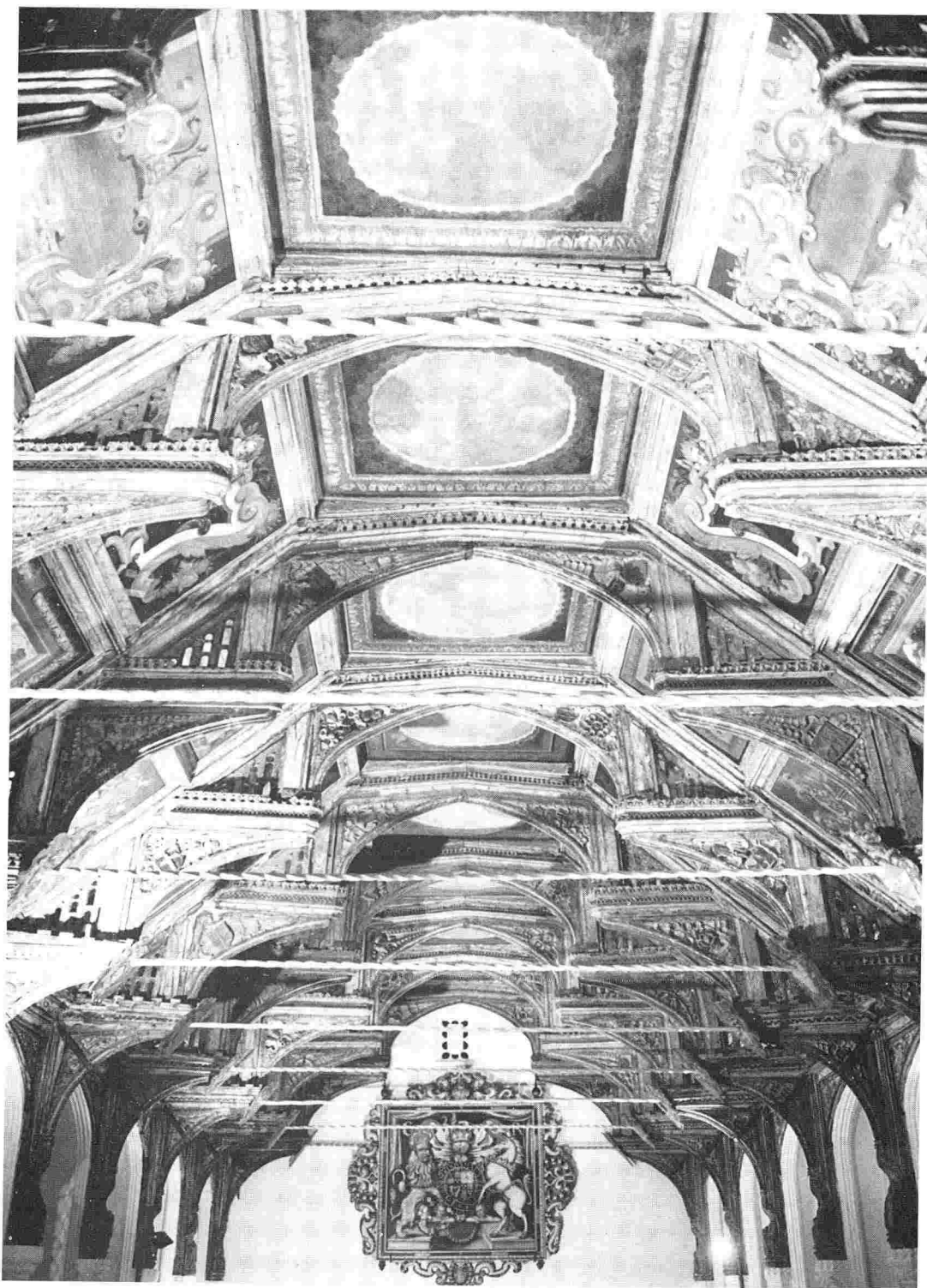


PLATE L – General view of eight divisions of the roof and the Royal Arms of Charles II in a Jacobean frame probably made for the arms of James I. The twisted iron tie-rods were inserted to check the outward movement of the clerestories in 1802. The central panels along the ridge of the roof are painted with sky and clouds in circular frames.

inscriptions, but each design is duplicated across the nave. The two main armorial panels are illustrated in Plates LI and LII. Putti hold shields with the single arms of the four countries, England and Scotland on the south on either side of an inscription which is a W and M monogram for the joint sovereigns. Opposite, on the north side, the panel includes the arms of France and Ireland, but the celebratory mood of the south panel here gives way to mourning. The royal crown is coming down off an altar or tomb, the orb rolls around at the foot of a putto, whose olive branch is drooping. The exact date at which this display was being put up will help the explanation.

Behind the wooden panels were found dabs of paint in various fresh colours, the shades used for the beams and the sky panels rather than of the wooden panels which we have suggested were painted at ground level. There are several signatures and dates, and in paint W K 1695 (See Appendix). Nicholas Browne signs on 12 December 1694, just sixteen days before Queen Mary died. How sad that, while the roof was being embellished in honour of William and Mary and the birth of democratic government, the Queen should contract smallpox and die. It seems very likely that the north panel is a mourning tribute to Mary, always the more popular of the joint monarchs. Thomas Artis and William Artis were sons of John Artis, bellman, both joiners of St Lawrence parish; the latter, a foundation scholar at Ipswich School in 1664 (Morfe 1988, 5), signs as carpenter and painter also. We cannot rule out the possibility that these men possessed the skills to paint the baroque panels, particularly after patterns given to them, but the allegorical panels probably demanded the skills of Carpenter or Steward. For his generosity, Devereux Edgar was given a pew near the front of the church on the north side (Evelyn White 1903 (1),



PLATE LI – Principal south roof panel with WM monogram for William and Mary and putti holding palm and sceptre and shields with arms of England and Scotland on left and right respectively.

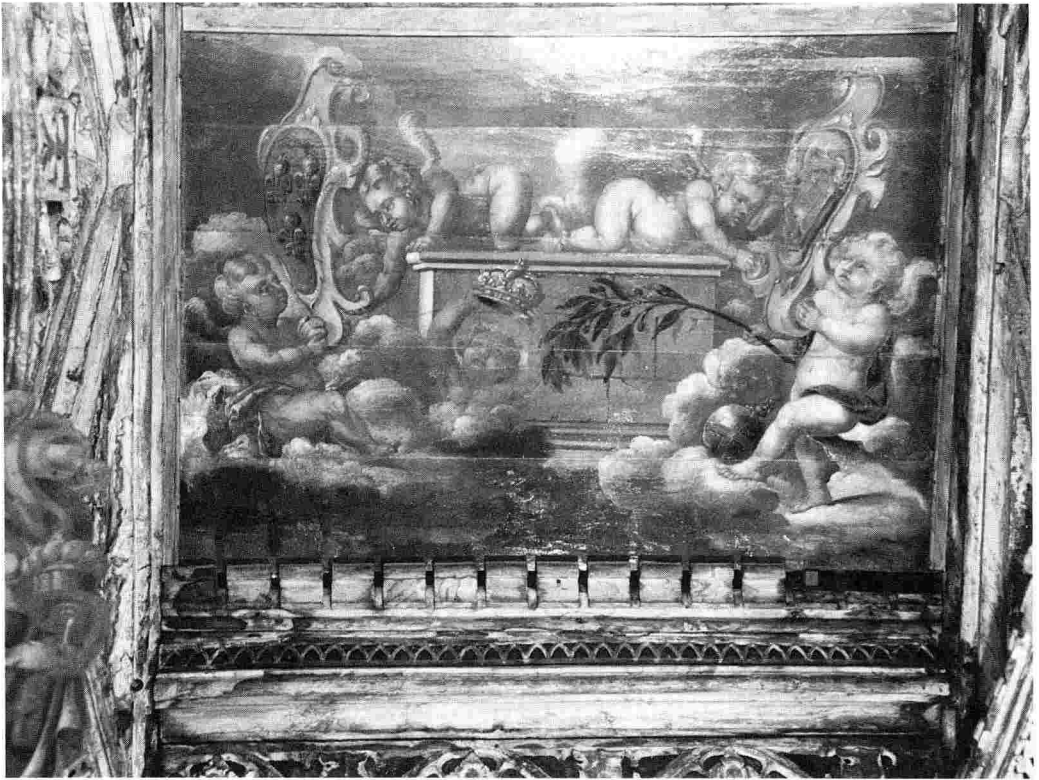


PLATE LII – Principal north roof panel mourning the death of Mary II on 28 December 1694. Putti hold the royal crown, a drooping olive branch and shields with arms of France modern and Ireland on left and right respectively; the orb lies at the foot of one of them.

118–20). Two benches, replacements for the box pews which Edgar would have known, still bear the inscription ‘RED HOUSE’ to this day though the house itself was demolished in 1937.

Finally in 1700, Beck and Edgar devised a new heraldic display to cover the stumps left when the iconoclasts of the 1640s sawed the angels off the ends of the roof hammers. The principal families of 17th-century Ipswich appear there, first the owners of Christchurch and the Red House. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Seal to Elizabeth and his grandson Nathaniel Bacon, Town Clerk, and author of the *Annals of Ipswich* down to 1649 are both there. Thomas Bunning features partly as a reward for moving his pew so that the Red House Pew could be large enough, but he was also a generous benefactor to the parish.¹⁸ The arms of Devereux Edgar and Richard Phillips occupy adjacent hammer-ends in the centre of the south side; they were churchwardens in 1694. The schoolmaster-minister Cave Beck was not armigerous, but he put up arms of his own invention at the south west end all the same: first Bek (a 14th-century Bishop of Lincoln and Norwich) impaling Cave of London, then as an afterthought he had Bek painted over the whole shield, proof surely that these shields at least were painted locally. Even if his parents had been entitled to the two coats and his mother was a Cave, he should have quartered them. Either Carpenter or Steward could have painted these shields.

The heraldic display can be dated precisely, as the shields were put up between August and October 1700, after the death indicated by shield N5 and before the marriage which would have altered shield N4:

North side from the East:

N1 Per pale Or and Gules, 3 lions passant guardant in pale within a bordure, all counterchanged WITHIPOLL impaling Quarterly Ermine and Gules STANHOPE for Sir William Withipoll (c. 1596–1645), son and heir of Sir Edmund Withipoll, who in 1621 married Jane, daughter and coheir of Sir Michael Stanhope of Orford, owners of Christchurch 1619 to 1645.¹⁹

N2 Argent a fesse and in chief 3 roundels Gules DEVEREUX impaling WITHIPOLL, surmounted by a viscount's coronet for Leicester Devereux, 6th Viscount Hereford who in 1642 married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Withipoll (N1), owners of Christchurch from 1645 to 1676. Elizabeth died in 1670 and her husband in 1676 leaving the children whose arms follow (N3 and N4) born to his second wife Priscilla Catchpole.

N3 DEVEREUX impaling Quarterly 1 & 4 Ermine a fesse nebuly Gules on a canton Gules a ducal coronet Or NORBONNE 2 & 3 Gules on a chief Argent 2 mullets Sable BACON, surmounted by a viscount's coronet for Edward Devereux, 8th Viscount Hereford (1675–1700) who in 1690 married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Norbonne of Calne, Wiltshire and Frances his wife, daughter of Sir Edmund Bacon, 4th Bt, owners of Christchurch from 1683 to 1700. Cave Beck was one of the guardians of the Hereford children, their tutor until they were 15, then their chaplain. Edward left Beck £10 in the will he made shortly before dying as a result of a duel (Moore Smith 1937, 94 and Salmon 1975, 291).

N4 DEVEREUX on a lozenge with a putto head above, for the Hon. Ann Devereux, who was born less than a month after her father the 6th Viscount died in 1676. On her marriage at St Margaret's on 29 October 1700 she brought Christchurch to her husband, a cousin, Leicester Martin. Martin, a close political confederate and fellow Justice of the Peace with Devereux Edgar, became Recorder of Ipswich in 1704 (Evelyn White 1903 (2), 193).

N5 NORBONNE quartering BACON on a lozenge with a putto head above, for Elizabeth (née Norbonne), Dowager Viscountess Hereford from her husband's death on 9 August 1700 (Moore Smith 1937, 95).

N6 BACON impaling Gules a fesse between 3 crescents Argent a canton Ermine HOLLOWAY (putto head above) for Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., Recorder of Ipswich from 1642 and Town Clerk, 1651 and M.P. 1654, all to 1660 when he died, and his second wife Susan, daughter of John Holloway of Oxford and widow of Matthew Alefounder of Dedham. Bacon, who compiled 'The Annals of Ipswich' to the year 1649, lived in the parish (Richardson 1884, v).

N7 BACON quartering Barry of 6 Or and Azure a bend Gules QUAPLODE (putto head above) the arms granted in 1568 to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Seal to Elizabeth I and grandfather of Nathaniel Bacon (Richardson 1884, vi).

N8 Quarterly Argent and Sable a cross between 4 escallops all counterchanged HOOKE impaling Vert a lion rampant Or VAUGHAN (but not the usual tinctures) (putto head above) for Theophilus Hooke, clerk, whose father Richard was a chaplain to Charles II. In 1679, Theophilus, then a widower, married Ann Vaughan, spinster of Ipswich. Hooke was incumbent of Hollesley and of Sudbourne from 1666 to 1700 where the Devereuxs inherited the manor (with Chillesford and Orford) from the Stanhopes. Hooke was executor of the 6th Viscount Hereford, and, like Cave Beck, was chosen one of the guardians of the Hereford children by their mother Priscilla before her death in 1681. The Hookes were buried at Tuddenham St Martin, Theophilus in 1700 and Ann in 1714.²⁰

N9 Argent 5 [should be 6] barrulets Gules over all a lion rampant Sable FAIRFAX impaling BACON on a lozenge (putto head above) for Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Bacon (N6) and widow of Nathaniel Fairfax M.D., whom she married at St Margaret's in 1683. Ejected from his living of Willisham in 1662, Fairfax practised medicine and heraldry and antiquities until his death in 1690. He commended Beck to the officers of the Royal Society as suitable correspondent on matters of scientific interest in the county.²¹

N10 The tenth shield is blank.

South side from the East:

S1 Quarterly 1 & 4 Per chevron Or and Azure in chief 2 fleurs-de-lis Gules and in base 5 fusils conjoined in fesse Or each charged with an escallop Gules EDGAR 2 & 3 Gules a chevron Or between 3 leopards' faces Argent EDGAR ANCIENT impaling Azure a fesse engrailed Ermine between 3 lions passant guardant Or POWLE for Thomas Edgar (1602–1692) of Grimstone House, Recorder of Ipswich 1671–1691, who in 1635 married Mary, daughter and heir of Philip Powle of London. She lived from 1616 to 1695. Thomas built Red House for his son Thomas in 1658 (Edgar 1868 *passim*).

S2 Sable semée of fleurs-de-lis and a lion rampant Or a canton Ermine PHILIPS impaling Argent on a bend Gules 3 roses Or DEPDEN for Nicholas Philips (1599–1673) merchant and linendraper, five times Bailiff of Ipswich, who married Mary Depden who died in 1642. She was first buried in St Nicholas church where Matthias Candler the antiquary, seeing her stone, wrote 'she was accounted the unparalleled beauty of her age'.²² Before his own death her husband willed that her body should be reinterred next to his in St Margaret's; their black marble slab lies in the centre nave aisle. The inscription mentions that 'in his fifth Bailywick [he] carried the mace before King Charles the second' on his visit to Christchurch in 1668.

S3 EDGAR quarterly as before (S1) impaling Argent on an escutcheon between 3 crosses formy fitchy Sable each pointing to the centre of the shield a cross Or MILESON (putto) for Thomas Edgar (1649–1677) 3rd son and heir of Thomas the Recorder, who married Agatha, daughter of Borrodaile Milesen of Little Haugh, Norton, Suffolk. They lived at the Red House.

S4 [Lost but restored in facsimile painted by Spencer Sands of IFACS Ltd and put up on 4 May 1995] PHILIPS impaling BURROUGH for Richard Philips, four times Bailiff of Ipswich and twice M.P., and Frances, eldest daughter of Charles Burrough (S6), his wife. Churchwarden when the roof panels were installed in 1694.²³

S5 EDGAR impaling SPARROWE for Devereux Edgar Esq. (1651–1739) younger brother of the last Thomas, and Temperance, daughter of Robert Sparrowe, senior, gent. of Wickhambrook, his wife who lived from 1655 until 1754 or 1755. Edgar, joint designer of the display with Cave Beck, was Churchwarden with Richard Philips in 1694. Though Devereux lived and died at Grimstone House, he was also master of the Red House after his brother Thomas's death and in the minority of his nephew Milesen, heir to that estate (Pl. LIII).

S6 BURROUGH impaling BETTESWORTH for Charles Burrough, gent., lawyer of Staple Inn, of Sproughton and Ipswich, died 1690 aged 78 and Amy his wife. Muskett tried and failed to trace Amy's family, but she was the daughter of Thomas Bettsworth of Chidden, Hambledon, Hants and died in 1701 aged 77. The clue lay in the crossed weapons on the canton, probably an augmentation of honour for service in the Royalist cause; on the ledger slab in the south aisle they appear as a plain saltire (Muskett, J.J., 1902, 293–5).



PLATE LIII – Shield S5 with arms of Edgar impaling Sparrowe for Devereux Edgar Esq. (1651–1739) and Temperance his wife. Edgar was joint designer of the display with Cave Beck and churchwarden in 1694. The shield covers the end of a hammer beam stripped of its angel by Dowsing in 1644.

S7 NORTH impaling CULLUM for Henry North Esq., B.D., counsellor-at-law, and Mary Cullum his wife (Cullum 1928, 6, 37, 87).

S8 BUNNING impaling LEA for Thomas Bunning, gent., and Elizabeth Lea, who agreed to move to another pew so that the Red House pew could be enlarged to please Devereux Edgar.

S9 BEK painted over BEK impaling CAVE for Cave Beck, minister of St Margaret's from 1657 to his death in 1706. Joint designer, with Devereux Edgar, of the roof painting schemes.

S10 The tenth shield is blank.

One of the most interesting aspects of this assemblage of arms of the great and the good of the parish at the end of a turbulent century is the extent to which people of opposing political and religious views are commemorated side by side. Some are living, but most are dead. Perhaps it represents a conscious effort by Beck and Edgar to include such able Puritan politicians and ministers as the Bacons and Fairfax. Compared with the Whigs rapidly rising to prominence in town and county, these old adversaries may in retrospect have appeared men of stature, wisdom and integrity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was in 1985 that John Woolnough lit the shields on the hammer-ends with a stage spotlight for Birkin Haward to photograph them from the floor. Then, working with Joan Corder, one of us (J.M.B.) was able to write 'Notes on the Series of Coats of Arms below the roof of St Margaret's Church, Ipswich' for *The Blazon*, No. 36, Summer 1986, the newsletter of the Suffolk Heraldry Society. Miss Corder, with whom all the details of the present article have been discussed and debated, readily agreed to much that was published then being included here to make this study complete. Other discussions with Birkin have followed over the intervening years, and his drawing (Fig. 87) is just one fruit of that. Many others have helped by bringing observant eyes and questioning minds to the roof: Hugh Belsey, Cynthia Brown and Alan Bush particularly. Michael Woodward kindly gave us permission to reproduce his general view of the roof (Pl. L). Successive vicars have been indulgent and accommodating – indeed, positively encouraging; as have vergers Ernie Caddick and his successor Frank McGregor.

APPENDIX

GRAFFITI DISCOVERED IN THE COURSE OF CONSERVATION OF THE ROOF 1994–1995

For some reason almost all the writing was found on the darker south side. Examples are here listed in apparent chronological order.

?Early seventeenth century

'J Fenton' [a John Fenton was perpetual curate of St Lawrence 1621–1631 (*Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, XXII, 10)].

Late seventeenth century graffiti behind panels

'Tho. Artis' in black paint.

'Thomas Artis 1694'.

[He and one Holder were tenants in Mr John Firman's house in St Lawrence assessed at £5 in 1689 (Chamberlain 1895, 48)].

'William Artis 1694 joyner carpenter and painter'.

'William Artis 1694 joyner of Ipswich'.

[He and Mrs Nicholls were tenants of houses of William Sayer the bookseller in St Lawrence parish assessed at £15 in 1689].

'Nicholas Browne HP 12 Dec 1694'.

'WK 1695' on north side in paint [perhaps William Kersey, House Carpenter (see VBR extracts)].

Artis family entries in IGI and original registers

William Artis married Elizabeth Aldridge on 26 January 1681 at St Matthew's.

Thomas Artis married Mary Tarver on 25 December 1687 at St Mary Stoke. Children of Thomas and Martha Artis christened at St Peter's: John 1710, Thomas 1712 (probably married Hannah Colman in 1737), Samuel 1715. It is quite likely that Mary Artis died and Thomas remarried before 1710.

Nineteenth century

In pencil or stamps impressed in the woodwork:

'W.B. 1846' [when, according to Evelyn White, gas lighting was first installed].

'G. Gould 1872' [George Gould signs everywhere.].

'W.B.W. 1872'.

'1572 [must be 1872] J Hawes J Titman 30 Robert Sparkes aged 56' [because see next]:

'G Dale 1872 J Hawes 1872 R Sparkes 1872 Titman 1872'. [James Hawes is listed as 'foreman' in White's 1874 *Directory*].

'C M Burrows 13 July 1872'.

'T. Town[e]r 20 Nov 1883'.

'G. Ellis Nov 22 1883'.

'John Hawley May 1889 Coventry Gas Company'.

NOTES

- 1 The *Ipswich Journal* reporter describing Henry Ringham's restoration and the reopening of the church for worship in 1846 (10 Jan.) wrote: 'There is an excellent timber roof in which panels have been afterwards introduced, and being painted in a rather incongruous style, the effect is much impaired.' As the century went on, writers like Clarke (1830), Wodderspoon (1850) and Evelyn White (1881) came to accept that something so unusual and interesting should be cherished.
- 2 S.R.O.I., wills of Geoffrey Shryd 1453, IC/AA2/1/128, William Silvester 1454, IC/AA2/1/106 and Robert Cady, IC/AA1/2/79.
- 3 S.R.O.I., will of Thomas Medwe, 1479, IC/AA2/3/38.
- 4 A monogram of TILER; for its precise form see Pl. XLIV.
- 5 Ipswich Chamberlain's accounts for 1572, 1578, 1579 and 1592 have references to payments to 'berewardes', for 'bayting on guyld dayes', put on 'by Mr Bailiffes cammandement'. There is no reason to suppose that these entertainments began then. Abstracts in *H.M.C. 9th Report*, Part I (1883), 248-49.
- 6 S.R.O.I., will of William Ropkin, tanner, 1512, IC/AA2/5/274. The Ropkin tomb is in the S. chapel.
- 7 Hall wills: John 1503, N.C.C. 275 Poppy; Katherine 1506, N.C.C. 105 Garnon; William 1526, P.C.C. 15 Porch.
- 8 S.R.O.I., wills of Henry Tylmaker, 1445, IC/AA2/1/19; Isabel Tylmaker, 1460, IC/AA2/2/49.
- 9 S.R.O.I., wills of Robert Bryd, 1448, IC/AA2/1/76; Margaret Byrde, 1474, IC/AA2/2/281.
- 10 *Suffolk Chronicle*, 28 Feb. 1846.
- 11 V.B. Redstone reports the discovery in a letter to *E.A.D.T.*, 23 Aug. 1913. He suggested that the feathers were displayed between the Restoration and coronation of Charles II, but as there was only one week between the election of Gaell and Groom and the latter ceremony that seems unlikely.
- 12 S.R.O.I., C4/7 and Richardson 1884, 550. The word 'sad' was Bacon's afterthought.
- 13 S.R.O.I., HD 632/1, Evelyn White's MS Materials for a history of St Margaret's.
- 14 S.R.O.I., C9/11, Chamberlains' accounts for the years concerned.
- 15 S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/131/14.
- 16 S.R.O.I., C9/11/108. In the event the King probably passed through Ipswich to Bury without entertainment, but the expense was already incurred, and the feast itself will have been no less enjoyable.
- 17 S.R.O.I., S Ips 726.5, Henry Davy's MS Recollections of St Mary le Tower over sixty years.
- 18 [Edge] 1819, 156 and Evelyn White 1903, 120. Bunning may have been the Mr Bunning of Ipswich whose antiquarian collections D.E. Davy abstracted: see Corder 1965, list of sources 'Mr Bu.'.
- 19 Corder 1890 and Moore Smith 1937 give pedigrees and much detail about the Withipoll and Devereux families.
- 20 Moore Smith 1937, 92-94, [Edge] 1819, 129, and Pearson 1905/6, 165. Beck and Hook had another ward in common: Muskett 1889.
- 21 Dow 1951, 288-96 and Salmon 1975, 291-92.
- 22 B.L. Add. MS 15520, f. 14.
- 23 D.E. Davy saw the shield in position in 1825 and described it in B.L. Add. MS 19093, f. 298 recto.

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