

The ancient roofs and heraldic bosses in Godalming Church

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The presence of scaffolding in the nave of the church for the month of November 1996, necessary for the re-wiring and re-illumination of the church, afforded a rare opportunity to gain access to the elaborate medieval, Tudor and 19th century timbers above the ceiling. The ceiling itself dates from 1840, but of the total 152 bosses and half-bosses which adorn it, 133 date from c 1500–1540. Of these, seventeen are carved only with foliage but 116 of them display coats of arms, badges and cyphers. It was possible to identify almost all of these. Some of the tinctures, which had been incorrectly overpainted either in 1840 or in 1964, were corrected. The opportunity was also taken to analyse the splendid timbers of the 14th century chancel roof and of the lead-clad spire, which was restored in 1988. The timbers of the tower, the 18th century bell frame (replaced in 1976) and the late medieval roofs of the tower, transepts and south chapel were also noted. Of the remaining roofs, those of the aisles and north chapel date from Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration of 1879 and that of the porch from its construction in 1911 by Samuel Welman. After a short discussion of the likely forms of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman roofs, which have now gone, each ancient roof is described in chronological order: chancel, tower and spire, Lady chapel, transepts and finally, the composite nave roof and ceiling with its Tudor bosses. The heraldry of the latter, with an armory, and inventory, concludes the survey.

Introduction

In the 1670s, John Aubrey described Godalming church as 'a fair pile of building'.¹ Indeed it is possible to identify work in the church's fabric and furnishings from every century from the 9th to the 20th — a rarity even for an ancient cathedral. Godalming's carved Anglo-Saxon stones have been dated c 820–40.² Some of these were discovered as rubble around the Anglo-Saxon chancel arch of c 1000, which was dismantled in 1879 and replaced by Sir Gilbert Scott with the present Gothic one.³ Some of the walls of this church, dating from the late 10th or early 11th century and consisting of a nave and chancel, survive today as the two eastern bays of the nave and the choir, separated from each other by the Anglo-Saxon west chancel wall which now forms the base of the west wall of the tower.

It is this wall that provides the evidence for the shapes of the roofs of the two-celled pre-Conquest church. The line of the chancel roof may be identified from the now chipped back dripstone which originally protected the roof where it abutted the east side of the west chancel wall. This is now visible on the west wall of the ringing chamber in the tower and was observed by Nevill, who noted in 1880 that 'some height above the wall and visible from the ringing chamber was the line of attachment of a queen post roof clearly marked on the east side of the wall, and a stage above that the line of termination of a gable showing the original height of the roof over this wall'.⁴ Wooden panelling now hides everything except the top of the dripstone. About 1m above the apex of this dripstone, two *oculi* (circular windows) were inserted which, standing above the chancel roof, brought light into the nave, or a chamber above it, from the east.⁵ These windows can be viewed from the east, above the ceiling of the ringing chamber. During repairs in 1992 and 1996 they were briefly visible from the west side — below a dripstone, comparable but higher than that on the east face of this wall — and above the ceiling of the nave.⁶ Given the height of the Anglo-Saxon nave walls and the position of the *oculi* in the

1 Aubrey 1718, 4, 5.

2 Tweddle 1983, 35–6; 1991, 246.

3 Nevill 1880, 282.

4 *ibid.*, 277.

5 Welman 1900, 8–16.

gable at their east end, there is little reason to doubt that the present medieval roofline of the nave follows that of its Anglo-Saxon predecessor.

The initial Norman additions to the pre-Conquest church consisted of the breaching of the east wall of the Anglo-Saxon church to build a large chancel with three windows in the north and south walls,⁷ and the building of a squat tower over what had been the Anglo-Saxon chancel. Nothing is known of the roof of the Norman chancel, since the walls were raised about 1m when the sanctuary was extended in the 14th century. Welman, however, thought that some of the original Norman timbers in the tower were still discernible in 1900, although many of them were more than half rotted away.⁸ The re-hanging of the bells in a new steel frame in 1976 involved the removal of the old wooden frame and the associated timbers of the roof. Beetle and rot had taken their toll but samples of some of the timbers were treated and deposited in the south transept where they remain.⁹

The roofs

CHANCEL

At some time in the first part of the 14th century, the Norman chancel was extended by 4m to the east. Three surviving features bear testimony to this work. Outside, two typical diagonal buttresses support the new structure. Within, the *sedilia* and *piscina*, though restored in the 1880s, are evidently Decorated work. Most importantly, the splendid new oak roof, partly erected on the Norman walls, which had been heightened by approximately 1m, and partly on the eastward extension, betokens a substantial benefaction, most probably by the rectors of Godalming, who were the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. This roof has rafters, collars, ashlar pieces to the inner wall-plate and a central collar purlin (fig 1). This is supported by crown posts which are tall and without capital or base. There are no braces down to the tie-beam and only two upwards to the collar purlin. The line of these is continued as a fillet down the east and west faces of the crown post. The proportions and character of the crown posts suggest a date in the first half of the 14th century, and this is confirmed by the crenellated mouldings of the wall-plate. In the restoration of 1997, the interstices between the rafters were painted white, rather than the blue which had been introduced in 1962. This has enhanced the visibility of this noble roof.

TOWER AND SPIRE

Hassell's drawing of the interior of the church of 1828 and another drawing made between the restoration of 1840 and 1879 both show the ceiling of the tower before it was raised to its present position by Sir Gilbert Scott, to accommodate his rebuilding of the eastern and western arches.¹⁰ These drawings show a ceiling with two rafters running east to west, an arrangement doubtless largely dictated by the position of a trap door in the centre to allow for the hoisting and lowering of the bells to and from the belfry above. The present ceiling, although placed some 2m above its predecessor, seems to be otherwise similar to it and might date in part at least from the construction of the galleries and bell frame in the 18th century.

6 Bott 1997, 7. Access to the roof space above the ceiling of the nave was until 1997 only possible through a trap door at the west end. In 1997, an external trap door was made through the tiles on the north side of the nave roof at the west end.

7 Bott 1997, 6.

8 Welman 1900, 29: 'There are three main beams running north and south which carry these joists. The centre one differs from those at the sides, which look like later insertions. From its appearance I think it probable that the centre one with its braces may have been the truss of the original Norman or very early roof, over the low Tower.'

9 Bott (1997, 48) shows a photograph of the frame during its dismantling in 1973. The largest timber now in the south transept is one of the main horizontal beams. The mortices in what previously was its lower edge point to a system of cross braces. The bell frame was of a form 'W' in the classification by Elphick (1945). He quotes an example dated 1731 at Chichester. Thomas Lester of London provided a bell to Godalming in 1740 and two others in 1746 (Bott 1997, 50). It would seem likely that 1740 was the date of the frame, although since this type of frame was used throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, it might have been introduced when a later bell was added.

10 Bott 1997, 17, 12. The faculties of both 1840 and 1879 allowed for the raising of the belfry floor (*ibid.*, 20, 24).



Fig1 Godalming Church. Chancel roof, pre-1350, viewed from the west.

In his survey of the fabric of the church in 1900, Welman adduced evidence from the timbers of the spire that an earlier, probably 13th century, building preceded the present splendid structure.¹¹ It was broach-shaped and was probably similar to that which survives at Shere. The early Norman tower was heightened to support it. The 14th century saw considerable enhancement of the church's fabric and the heightening of the spire was probably part of those works. The tower was further raised at this time to support the new construction. The spire is octagonal and is carried down by pendants into the top of the tower.¹² The bases of the pendants have now gone.¹³ Originally the pendants helped to spread the sideways thrust from the spire over a larger section of the tower and to make it less likely that the spire should be blown over. A survey of the structure of the spire made during the restoration of 1992¹⁴ shows that it consists of a series of horizontal 'floors' supported by vertical towers with cross-braces. The first is between levels 1 and 2, the second between levels 2 and 4 and the third between levels 4 and 5, all three 'floors' having central posts. A central post (in tension) runs between level 5 and the top. The octagonal corner posts are outside these and the whole is covered in lead. The top of the spire evidently suffered some considerable damage early in the 19th century, for substantial repairs were carried out in 1818. A new rafter measuring 6m in length and 0.5m round, formed from the beam of the gallows of the convicted murderers Chennell and Chalcraft, was placed in the south-west corner under the cross which supports the weathercock.¹⁵ Both the beam and the cross bear the date 1818. The upper part of the lead-work of the spire was renewed in 1954. As a result of a slippage of the lead towards the base of the spire in 1986 the entire lead roof, weighing 10 tons, was removed. The lead was re-cast and 12 tons of lead were replaced in 1988. At that time, some of the timbers of the base of the spire on the south side were found to be in a rotten state and needed replacement.¹⁶

THE SOUTH (LADY) CHAPEL

The Norman chancel was breached on both its south and north sides by the introduction of a two-arched arcade on each side in the early 13th century. Judging by the style of the eight lancet windows and the fragments of wall painting which adorned them, this work was done *c* 1220.¹⁷ Nothing remains of the roof which must have accompanied these works. The east and south-east fenestration of the chapel was completely altered *c* 1280, a Geometrical window being introduced in the east wall and three grouped lancets in the south wall. The two windows at the west end of the south wall are of later medieval date. The present roof seems to be of the same period. It has rafters and collars and braces (or *souslacs*) joining them, with ashlar pieces in the south wall-plate. The north wall-plate rests on wooden corbels. The tie-beams are moulded and so are the wall-plates, with that deep cove which is characteristic of the 15th century. There are no crown posts. The roof has been considerably altered with an inserted purlin on the north side and there has been a ceiling, three mortices for which exist on the upper section of the tie-beam. The most likely date for these is the end of the 16th century, or the beginning of the 17th, judging from the debased classical decoration on at least two of the five corbels on the north side.¹⁸ Certainly from the early 16th century onwards, the south chapel was associated with the lords of the manor of Westbrook. The Westbrooks themselves and later the Oglethorpes and Nathaniel Godbold were buried here.¹⁹ Doubtless it was, initially at least, the Westbrooks who ceiled the roof in the early 16th century, adorning their work with the heraldic bosses which were transferred and amalgamated with others in the nave in 1840.

11 Welman 1900, 25–9.

12 *ibid.*, 29–35.

13 Bott 1997, 49.

14 Caroe & Partners, plan printed in Bott 1997, 83.

15 Bott 1997, 75–6.

16 *ibid.*, 81.

17 Bott 1996, 24–30.

18 Bott, 1997, 42–7, where rubbings of the carvings are reproduced.

19 *ibid.*, 35.

TRANSEPTS

Although originally constructed in the Norman period, both transepts were remodelled in the 13th century when arches leading into the north and south chapels and aisles were constructed. The present roofs of both transepts, however, date from a 15th century further remodelling, possibly when the large north and south Perpendicular windows of the transepts were constructed. In the upper lights of the north transept window there were originally some stained glass quarries and a white *rose-en-soleil* — a badge of Edward IV. These were perhaps contemporary with the roof above.²⁰ The roofs have rafters, collars and *souslances* with ashlar pieces on both sides and moulded wall-plates. While the south transept has remained structurally unaltered since the 15th century, Sir Gilbert Scott moved the north wall of the north transept 3m northwards in 1879. The additional timbers required to cover this extension may be clearly seen from the upper vestry. The roofs of both transepts show signs of having been ceiled. This may have been done at the time that galleries were placed in the transepts in the 18th century.

NAVE

As already noted, the roof line of the Anglo-Saxon nave is still discernible from the dripstone above the *oculi* on the west side of the chancel arch. The Anglo-Saxon roof covered what are now the two eastern bays of the nave. Two further bays were later added to the west, the first probably in the early 16th century and the final bay in the restoration of the church in 1840. The presence of scaffolding in the nave, to facilitate the re-wiring of the church in 1997, made possible a full examination of the timbers of the nave (fig 2).

Starting from the Anglo-Saxon wall at the east end, the timbers of the roof are arranged in three sections. The first section (10m in length) has collars, curved *souslances* and rafters and is probably of early 16th century date. The second section (6m) incorporates some re-used rafters which show dovetail lap joints where once scissor braces were fixed. The top ends of the rafters have been cut off; the dovetail joints are now almost at the apex of the roof. These timbers are most probably the remnants of the nave roof which was formed in the 13th century when the north and south aisles were built. At that time (and until the 16th century) the roof of the nave also embraced the aisles. Hence the rafters would have been longer. The third section of the nave roof (5m), covering the west bay of the nave, dates from 1840. The ceiling of the 16th century nave roof was flat.²¹ The top of the ceiling of 1840 is also flat but is supported on the south and north sides by sharply canted sides which are each divided into two rows of square panels. The uppermost part of the ceiling is similarly divided into three rows of square panels. Bosses are placed at the intersections of the ribs composing each of these seven rows of square panels. Three octagonal louvres were placed in the central section of the ceiling of 1840. While the church retained its galleries in the nave this was probably a necessary requirement. The pulley system associated with the opening of these louvres, from the floor below, may still be seen above the ceiling, in the timbers of the roof (fig 2); a cleat on the side of the back pew on the south side of the nave shows how this system continued to be used even after the restoration of 1879. The ceiling of 1840 is the work of John Perry, surveyor of Godalming, who was also responsible for the construction of the new town hall (the Peppercot) in 1814. This has prototype octagonal louvres in its ceiling.

The restorers of 1840 amalgamated in the nave all the heraldic bosses previously placed there and in the north aisle and south chapel (fig 3).

²⁰ In 1978, all this glass was removed to the central rose of the east window of the Lady chapel, where it can be more easily viewed.

²¹ It may be seen in the two watercolours of 1828 by Edward Hassell reproduced in Bott 1997, 17.



Fig 2 Godalming Church. Nave roof from the west showing successive construction: at the far end is the west face of the chancel arch with the two *oculi* visible, then the roof timbers of the 16th century roof and finally the timbers of the extension of 1840. The 16th century roof has collars and braces but no beams. The disused notches and peg holes near the apex of the nearer part of this roof show that the timbers were probably re-used from an earlier (perhaps 13th century) scissor-braced roof. The three gilded louvres in the ceiling below were operated by a series of pulleys in this roof and managed from the gallery at the west end of the nave, which had been extended in the 1840 restoration. One of these pulleys may be seen in the foreground. After the removal of the west gallery in 1879, the apparatus was operated from the ground. A cleat on the back pew on the south side is evidence of this arrangement.

The medieval heraldry and the bosses in the church

References to bosses are by row (R) and number in the row, as set out in the Inventory.

The earliest heraldry in the church — the painted glass panel depicting the white *rose-en-soleil* of Edward IV, originally placed in the north transept — was not noticed by any of the early antiquaries.²² John Aubrey, however, writing in the 1670s, recorded the arms of England in the east window of the chancel. He also noted the arms of the duke of Cornwall and of England in the east window and those of St George and of France modern, quartering England, in the south window of the south chapel.²³ Aubrey's descriptions of the shapes of the shields present some helpful pointers to the dates of the heraldry he describes. The chancel east window had a shield 'in such a shap'd escutcheon as at the Temple Church in London'. This would suggest a 13th century date, although the east window probably dated from the early 14th century.²⁴ The east window of

²² See note 20.

²³ Aubrey 1718, 4, 5, 7–8.

²⁴ Bott 1997, 14, 19.



Fig 3 Godalming Church. Nave ceiling of 1840 with its 152 bosses and half-bosses, of which 133 are of early Tudor date, viewed from the east.

the south chapel containing the arms of the 'duke of Cornwall' and the royal arms 'in a sharp escutcheon' also suggest a 13th century date and coincide with the architecture and furnishings of this part of the church.²⁵ On the other hand, Aubrey's references to the arms of St George and of France modern, in the south window of the south chapel, would point to a 15th or even 16th century date — both consonant with the surviving fenestration there. One fragment alone survives of all these coats of arms. It is in the east window of the Lady chapel — *two lions or*, evidently derived from one of the royal shields recorded by Aubrey. Some of his record is, however, eccentric. He noted that Godalming church 'has a handsome leaden spire at the west end and is dedicated to the honour of St Nicholas'. In fact, Godalming spire is placed at the crossing and has been dedicated to SS Peter and Paul since at least 1220, when Dean Wanda referred to it in his *Inventory*.²⁶ Aubrey evidently confused Godalming with Compton, three miles away.

Turning to the bosses, all now located in the nave ceiling, the following discussion is divided into four parts: first a description of the bosses and the problems of their interpretation, second an Armory, third a Commentary and finally an Inventory of the bosses as they are now. Photographs of individual bosses are shown in figures 4–27.

Hitherto, the bosses have been the subject of only two studies. The earliest description found is that of the Revd Owen Manning, published after his death in 1804 and reprinted with some omissions by Welman in 1900: 'The roof of the Nave, the South Chancel and part of the North Aisle, is divided into panels or compartments, with small frames of wood, in the junctures of which are placed divers coats and other devices of the nobility, etc., who had probably been contributors to the repair of it.' Manning then blazons sixteen coats of arms in the south chancel and end of the transept adjoining, followed by a further thirteen in the roof of the nave, and continues: 'These are all the varieties we meet with, some of which are in different parts of the church, repeated. The rose frequently occurs; sometimes the red only; at others surmounted with the white.'²⁷ Unfortunately Manning took no account of the repetitions of some of the arms and, while noting that some were in the Westbrook chapel, gave no indication of either their arrangement or of the larger series in the main body of the church. A further source of difficulty is that they were all re-arranged in 1840 in the new ceiling to the nave roof and were partially repainted in 1964, often with incorrect colours. Manning's identifications are sometimes at fault through some of the arms having been mis-read, so he could not correctly identify them. A short note by the late C.J.P. Cave was illustrated by four photographs and corrected one of the mistaken identifications in Manning's publication. Cave made 42 photographs of the bosses, but his collection of prints in the library of the Society of Antiquaries did not include all of them, and enquiries at the Courtauld Institute, to whom the negatives were given, have been fruitless. Some of the bosses are shown from slightly different angles, and there is one coat in Manning's account for which his blazon is incomplete and it can no longer be found in the church.²⁸

The bosses were made in two layers: the basic square rosette, and the applied shields or badges, the originals of which were all carved in relief before painting. The rosettes were carved by at least two craftsmen who used patterns with different outlines and relief in the corner leaves. The shields also were carved by three craftsmen with markedly varying abilities. This is shown most clearly in the carvings of the Royal Arms (R4/3 and 15; figs 4, 5), while other variants of the same charge or the proportions and disposition of charges in a coat are also obvious. The bougets (leathern water bottles) in the Roos (R1/3 and R6/3) and Bouchier arms (R1/13 and R6/13) and the engrailed crosses in the latter were also differently proportioned. Similar variants are seen in the coats associated with Westbrook, the third molet being inverted in one carving (R4/12, cf R3/

25 *ibid*, 10, 30. The duchy of Cornwall dates from 1337. The arms given in Aubrey's blazon are those of the 13th century earls of Cornwall.

26 *ibid*, 3.

27 Manning & Bray, 1, 631–2.

28 Complete sets of coloured photographs of all the heraldic bosses as they were revealed in 1997 before restoration are being deposited in the libraries of the Society of Antiquaries and Godalming Museum. The restoration work of 1997 was generally confined to the correction of gross miscolouring, eg the Royal Arms where white paint (instead of gold) had been daubed on the fleurs-de-lis of France and the Garter (R4/3).

8 and R4/4) and the angles in the dance being more acute (R3/6 and R4/10) or obtuse (R3/14). A third carver must have been responsible for the group made to the order of Walter Champion between 1528 and 1534, with their use of a typically Italianate scrolled Tuscan shield (fig 26). This is of particular interest as the use of Italian renaissance style decoration outside the immediate court circle was uncommon in Henry VIII's reign.

The style of the carving and the inclusion of the arms granted to Champion in 1527–8 show that the bosses date from at least two periods in the early 16th century. The presence of the personal arms of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester (d.15 October 1528) provides a *terminus ante quem* for the main series. Hitherto the dates of the bosses have been discussed without the benefit of either an accurate identification of the arms used or of the schemes they displayed. Discussion was further influenced by a misunderstanding of the lost inscription in the east window, recorded by Aubrey as suggesting that the work was done before 1509. Since this read *Orate pro anima Henrici Septimi R* it must date from after his death on 21 April 1509, otherwise it would have been worded *pro bono statu*. It is significant that, with the exception of the inclusion of some of the remoter ancestral connections in the scheme, the arms of the peers all relate to families prominent at the time. It is perhaps reasonable to assume either that Thomas Manners, lord Roos (1515), KG (1523) and earl of Rutland (1525), whose family and connections feature so largely in the scheme, played an important part in the commissioning of the work or that this was done by someone with a particular reason to stress his ancestry. The inclusion of the badge for Edward VI as Prince of Wales (R1/4, R4/9, R6/4) is unlikely before his birth in 1537, and it was used in this form on plate in Henry VIII's post-mortem inventory.

Reference has also been made to the rolls of arms using the sigla from the *Dictionary of British Arms* for the identity of the arms depicted, and the pedigrees in the *Complete Peerage* have provided the genealogical basis for much of the discussion.

The heraldry on the Westbrook tomb chest in the south chapel has been lost and the only other early monument recorded, for Thomas Purvoche (d.1509), had one shield which is unknown and his name does not occur in the rolls.²⁹ The failure to find any reliable evidence for the arms and pedigree of the family of Westbrook is a major problem. There is no mention of them in the *Calendars of Fine Rolls 1430–85*, which would have recorded appointments to local offices in the county administration, nor any wills which can be related to the alleged monuments in the church to members of the family. Apart from the arms associated with the Westbrook family and those of Reading Abbey, none of the arms on the bosses relate to the history of the Godalming manors recorded in *VCH*.³⁰ The reversal of the impalements with Mautravers (R4/7) and Warenne (R4/1), both being placed first instead of second, is most unusual in England. However, it is not uncommon on the continent, especially in Germany and Italy, where not only can the shields be turned round but also the charges in the quarterings face to the middle.

ARMORY

* Coats seen in the south chancel (Westbrook chapel) by Manning (M) and described in Manning & Bray (M&B) numbers 1–16

** Champion group

Cross references have been given from erroneous identifications in the foregoing accounts.

Sigla used in *Dictionary of British Arms* (DBA)

B Glover's Roll, c 1255–8
 Birch *British Museum seals*, ed W de Gray Birch, 1887–1900
 CRK Creswick's Roll, c 1510
 CY County Roll, temp Ric 2

DI3 Visitation of the south, 1531
 DV Domville Roll, c 1470
 IH7 Visitation of Hampshire and IoW, 1530
 PLN Peter le Neve's Book, ed J Foster, in *Two Tudor books of Arms*, de Walden Library, 1904, 1480–1500 (Harl 6163)
 PT Portington's Roll, temp Hen VI
 SK Starkey's Roll, 1410
 Vinc College of Arms MS Vincent 88, 17th century
 WBIV Writhe's Book IV, c 1435
 WGA Writhe's Garter Armorial, c 1488
 X Pat Thomas Wriothesley's Roll of Patents, ed Mill Stephenson & R Griffin, *Archaeologia* 69, temp Hen VIII

²⁹ Bott 1997, 35.

³⁰ *VCH*, 3, 32.

* **Barnack:** *Silver 3 horse brays Gules*, M&B 12; R3/15 (fig 23).

Also called barnacles, a canting coat, and so drawn in PLN f.15v, 3; cf CRK 1941 with the brays sable and SK 507 with the same but red cords. The charges were wrongly described as 'pairs of Sheers, serrate' and the arms not identified (M).

* **Berners:** *Quarterly Gold and Vert*, M&B 1; repainted as *Quarterly Silver and Azure*, but corrected in 1997 R3/11 (sh), R1/1, 6/1 (loz), R1/16, 6/16 (square).

Cave has two versions of this coat, on a lozenge and also on a shield, but both given as *Quarterly Gold and Azure*, another version of the Berners arms but not that borne by the West Horsley family who used the coat as given in M and the 14th century glass at West Horsley, cf CRK 1409, SK 65, etc.

The last two with outside squares seem to be modern replacements and the repainting was wrongly done.

* **Bourchier:** *Silver a cross engrailed Gules and 4 bougets Sable*, M&B 2; R1/13 (fig 13), 6/13.

John Bourchier, lord Berners of West Horsley (M). His seal used c1455–74 shows that he used Bourchier quartering Louvaine quarterly with Berners (Birch 7665).

The cross varies in width and the bougets are rendered quite differently in the two shields.

Carpenters' Company: *Silver a chevron engrailed between 3 pairs of compasses, expanded at the points Sable*, R1/17.

** **Champion:** *Silver 2 wings joined with tips upward Purple and 4 trefoils Sable with ermine tails Silver, on a chief party Gules and Azure a lark splayed Gold*, M&B 28; R1/7, 11 (fig 26), 6/7, 11.

This was wrongly described, and so misidentified by M who omitted the four trefoils. The arms were granted to Walter Champion of London, Northcray, Kent and Godalming by Charles V's ambassador during his visit to London in 1527–8 (BL, Harl MS 1499, ff. 112v–13). The original coat of the family may have been *Silver 3 trefoils Sable*, but the evidence for both pedigree and arms is unsatisfactory.

** **CYPHER:** *the initial WC tied by a lace*, an Italian shield type, R3/17, 4/16; R3/16 and 6/15 (fig 27) have the C carved slanting downwards; R4/17 has rather thinner and more decorative Roman capitals.

Espec: *Gold 3 wheels Gules or Sable (sic)*, M&B 21; *Silver 3 wheels Sable*, R4/13 (fig 17). The field was corrected in 1997.

The arms are those of Espec and are known from later carvings on the gatehouse at Kirkham priory, Yorks founded by Walter Espec in 1122 (*Archaeologia*, 21, pl. xvii) but not found in the early rolls of arms but were later claimed as a quartering by their Roos descendants. The correct colours are *Gules 3 wheels Silver* (*Visitation of the North*, 161 [Surtees Soc 144]).

FitzAlan: see Harcourt and Mautravers

* **Fox:** *Azure a pelican pecking its breast Gold*, shield in a Garter, M&B 3; R3/1 (fig 11), 3/13.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester 1501–28 and, ex-officio Prelate of the Order of the Garter. In the 1515 Parliament Roll his arms have a gold border and are im-

paled by those of the see of Winchester (Willement, ed, 1829, no 4).

This was wrongly described by M as a falcon and identified as the badge of the house of York.

Harcourt: R1/14, 6/14: *Gold 2 bars Gules*, in M 26 as *Barry Gold and Gules* (FitzAlan of Bedale); R1/14, 6/14.

Identified by M as FitzAlan of Bedale, but their arms were barry (B141 etc). The arms are those of Harcourt (B 69 etc) but no reason for their inclusion has been found. Contrary to M's belief, there was no connection between the FitzAlans of Bedale and the earls of Arundel.

* **Henry VIII:** *Azure 3 fleurs de lis Gold* (France), impaling *Gules 3 leopards Gold* (England), shield in a Garter, M&B 10; R4/3, 15; they were made by different carvers.

Wrongly identified, despite the obvious lack of the label as Prince Arthur (M). This is one of several impaled coats in the series where the arms should have been quarterly. Cave rightly drew attention to this eccentricity. It is unlikely that it was done to make the design more legible as this does not seem to have influenced the carvers of roof bosses in churches where the height was much greater than here.

CYPHER: a lozenge *Azure with the cypher HR crowned Gold*, a double gold fillet round the edges is purely decorative, R1/9 (fig 6); R6/9 has a lozenge with scalloped edges and no fillets.

BADGES: *A fleur de lis Gold*, the badge for France; R1/6 (fig 10), 6/6.

A portcullis with chains Gold, inherited from the Beauforts, R1/8 (fig 8), 6/8 (broken).

A double rose Silver on Gules buttoned Gold, the Tudor badge for the union of Lancaster and York, R1/10 (fig 9), 5/15, 6/10, 17; R1/17 and 6/2 have lost the central carving leaving a dowel hole for the lost part.

A Tudor rose in a sun Gold, R1/2, 15.

An uncommon form of the badge but cf WGA 9, College of Arms I2, p. 1 and Prince Arthur's tomb at Worcester.

BADGE OF HEIR APPARENT: *3 ostrich feathers Silver in a crown all on rays Gold*, R1/4, 4/9 (fig 7), 6/4.

Most probably for Edward VI when Prince of Wales.

Howard: *Gules a bend and 6 crosslets fitchy Gold*, shield in a Garter, M&B 20; R3/9; with quarterings for England (sic), Warenne and Mowbray M&B 23; R3/5 (fig 12).

This was wrongly blazoned by M with the Flodden augmentation. For Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey (1473–1554), KG 1510 (Parliament Roll 1515 no 21 with the full quarterings as 23 with a label).

Hull: see Malmain

Knight: see Champion

These were wrongly blazoned and identified with arms granted in 1514 to William Knight, later bishop of Bath and Wells (1541–7), by the emperor Maximilian, in Vinc 88 (M). As carved the arms do not correspond with the Latin description in the grant: *Per fess Gold and Gules, in chief a demi double eagle Sable crowned Gold and on the breast a demi rose Gules, in base a demi sun Gold issuing from the party line*. Due to later overpainting the arms were still not correctly blazoned by Cave and were in fact those of Champion (qv).

* **Malmains:** *Azure 3 right hands Gold*, M&B 9; R4/5 (fig 24).

M's identification of the arms as Hull, which he proposed on the basis of the arms being in Hambledon church and also on the basis that 'this coat is fixed at that precise point of the South Chancel which is the entrance into the Westbrook Chapel', is quite impossible. The known arms of John Hull of Hambledon, granted by Wriothesly and Benolte in 1527, were quite different: *Silver on a chevron Azure between 3 demi lions passant Gules 3 bezants, on a chief Azure 2 piles Sable* (X Pat 152).

The arms appear to be a variant of Malmains but the reason for their presence is obscure. There may have been a connection with the lost coat noted below.

* **Manners:** *Silver 2 bars Azure and a chief Gules*, arms M&B 19; R1/12, 6/12.

Manners, wrongly blazoned as Barry, a chief (M), AS 229 etc.

BADGE: *Silver a bull's head erased Gules a crown and chain about the neck Gold*, badge on a shield, M&B 6; R3/12 (fig 14). The crown and chain were corrected in 1997.

The crest of Manners (Wriothesly's Crests), not identified by M&B. The placing of a crest or badge on a shield is now regarded as wrong but was done in the later Middle Ages, often for a tournament device (Goodall in *Antiq J*, 77 (1997), 182, 215 and a forthcoming study of the subject).

* **Mautravers:** *Sable a fret Gold*, M&B 18; R3/2 (loz); impaling FitzAlan *Gules a lion Gold*, M&B 25; R4/7 (fig 19).

Mautravers, often fretty but a fret as here is seen on the seal of John Mautravers 1327 (Birch 11556). In the impaled coat the correct order is reversed.

Mowbray: see Warenne

* **Norbryge:** *Silver a chevron Gules and 3 molets Sable*, M&B 11; R3/8, 4/4 (fig 21), 12.

Following a note in one copy of the 1530 Visitation this was identified as Warner of Sheppey in Kent but as the coat was impaled in another copy by William Westbrook, whose sole wife was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Henry Norbryge of Guildford, the coat must be intended for her.

However, the only occurrence of the coat in *DBA* is for families of 'Byulyton' and Plesssets or Plessely in the late rolls (PLN 729, 1019 and WBIV 150, etc).

Norfolk, Thomas Howard duke of: *Quarterly 1 Howard, 2 Gules 3 leopards Gold* (Brotherton), *3 Checky Gold and Azure* (Warenne), *4 Gules a lion Silver* (Mowbray), in a Garter, M&B 23; R3/5.

Thomas (Howard), duke of Norfolk (1443–1524) KG 1510, Parliament Roll 1515 no 7. The arms of Brotherton should have a label and the Mowbray lion seems to have been wrongly painted gold but the Howards did not acquire the FitzAlan coat until much later. The 1514 Flodden augmentation is also omitted. The Mowbray lion was corrected in 1997.

Oglethorpe: *Silver a chevron embattled between 3 boar's heads Sable*, R6/2.

* **Roos:** *Gules 3 bougets Silver*, M&B 4; R1/3, 6/3 (fig 15).

The bougets, leathern water bottles, are clearly gold, but the arms were inherited by George Manners, who

was descended from the Roos of Hamlake family, who bore them silver. He lived at nearby Compton. The bougets were corrected in 1997.

* **St Leger:** *Azure fretty Silver a chief Gold*, M&B 22; R3/7 (fig 16).

Sir Thomas St Leger, a quartering of George lord Roos (M, W), CRK 1682 (name added), DV 2792 and PT 920.

* **Tiptoft:** *Quarterly 1/4 Silver a saltire engrailed Gules* (Tiptoft), *2/3 Gold a lion Gules* (Cherleton of Powis), M&B 5, 17; R3/3 (fig 18).

One of the bosses noted by M appears to have been lost. For the arms see CRK 277 and the signet of John earl of Worcester 1451 (Birch 13948).

* **Warenne:** *Checky Gold and Azure, impaling Gules a lion Gold* (FitzAlan), M&B 13, 24; R4/1, 11.

M's blazon was wrong and the impaled coat, which should have FitzAlan in the first place, was presumably for the marriage of the heiress of the last earl of Surrey with FitzAlan.

* **Warner:** see Norbryge

* **Westbrook:** *Gules a leopard's face with a fleur de lis issuing from it Gold*, M&B 8; R3/4, 4/8 (fig 20), 14.

Westbrook of Godalming (M), Cave 7. The descent of the family seems to be obscure but the coat is found with a quartering and impalement for Norbryge and ?Warner (PLN 847, 1 H7, f. 3 and DI3, f. 71v).

* **Westbrook, quartering for:** *Sable a dance Gold & 3 fish swimming Silver*, M&B 16; R3/6 (fig 22), 14, 4/10.

The arms have not been found independently in the rolls but M and others have assumed, following Glover's ordinary, that it is an alternative coat for Westbrook; and clearly a dance could be allusive to water. Unfortunately the only Westbrook seals in the Loseley archives at the Surrey History Centre are non-armorial.

A note on one of the armory cards for the *DBA* at the Society of Antiquaries identifies it as Norbryge but this must be wrong. The 1530 Visitation shows William Westbrook with a wife Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Harry Norbryge of Guildford, a draper, who died in 1512 when his will mentions his daughter Margaret and a son-in-law Westbrook (PCC 1512, 20 Fettiplace). The Visitation makes no mention of a second wife and the arms are quartered by Westbrook in PLN 847 and the Surrey Visitation 1530 with the impaled coat discussed above under Norbryge.

Unidentified

R1/5, 6/5: *Azure a cross engrailed ?Silver*.

Not in M, who had one with *Sable a cross engrailed Gold* (no 30), the arms of Ufford. The two shields have the crosses drawn with wider or thinner arms. The photographs of 1997 show that the quarters were very roughly finished compared with the standard of the other carvings, and they may originally have been other shields with Bouchier from which the bougets have been roughly trimmed. However, if they have been wrongly repainted they could be for Dallingridge, *Silver a cross engrailed Gules* (CY 640 etc) and fall in the Berners group. Their absence from M&B makes this less likely.

** R3/18 Italian sh: *Azure a latin cross couped Silver*, M&B 27; R3/10.

It was called 'an emblem for the Church of Christ' by M, but the cross is couped not pierced and was subsequently painted gold. No early coat with a latin cross is known and the dubious Champion pedigree does not help with the identification.

** R4/2 Italian sh: *Azure 3 scallops Silver*, M&B 29; R4/2.

Identified by M as Shelley, but it is not so given in the rolls of arms and it is more probably for Reading Abbey (Parliament Roll 1515 no 30).

* R4/6: *Gules 3 loops of twisted withies Gold*, M&B 15; R4/6 (fig 25).

This has not been identified but may have been for a marriage of an earlier Westbrook. The pedigree of this family is incompletely known and no medieval armorial seals for them have been found.

The following shield has not been traced and as the blazon is incomplete cannot be identified:

* *Silver on a cross Gules 5 . . . Gold, impaling Sable 3 hands Silver with their backs affrontée*, M&B 14.

COMMENTARY

The arms and badges fall into several distinct groups: the Royal heraldry, the arms of the bishop, the families of Manners, Howard, and Bouchier lord Berners in the peerage and the Westbrooks with some others not at present placed in these contexts.

The Royal arms and badges

These comprise a version of the Tudor royal arms, the badge of the Prince of Wales or Heir Apparent, and three badges, the fleur de lis for France, the various roses and the Beaufort portcullis, together with the cypher for Henry VIII. The post-mortem inventory shows that he used many versions of the rose badge, including both the red and white roses singly, as well as a wide variety of the double, Tudor rose, badges.

Bishop of Winchester

The diocesan at the time, although the advowson of the church had belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury since the 12th century. It is interesting that the personal arms only are used, which may indicate that Richard Fox gave money for the work.

Peers

Numerically the largest group after the royal arms and badges, they appear to fall into related groups, the choice of impaled coats indicating certain key alliances rather than abbreviated quarterings as suggested by Cave.

The Howard group

Thomas duke of Norfolk with his quarterings but without the Flodden augmentation granted with the ducal title in 1514; the marriage of his grandparents John Arundel and Eleanor Mautravers, daughter of John Mautravers. His son Thomas Howard was created KG in 1510 and earl of Surrey in 1514. In the 1515 Parliament Roll, however, he is given the full arms with a gold label.

The Berners group

With the Howards, the arms of Berners, Bouchier and Dallingridge can be connected. In the 1514 Scottish campaign John (Bouchier), lord Berners, was marshal for Thomas Howard. His grandfather John Bouchier KG (d.1474) married Margery daughter and heir of Richard Berners (d.1421) by Philippe daughter of Edward Dallingridge. The family, however, usually bore the arms of Bouchier quartering those of Louvaine, as on their seals and the stall plate at Windsor.

The Manners group

This represents several lines connected with George Manners (d.1513), who was styled lord Roos (although never summoned) in right of his mother Eleanor, co-heiress of Edmund lord Roos. She was a daughter of Philippe Tiptoft, another family represented on the bosses. George Manners married Anne, daughter of Thomas St Leger, and they were the parents of Thomas Manners, lord Roos (1515), KG (1523), earl of Rutland (1525), died 1543.

The coat with the three bougets were used by the ancestors of Eleanor Roos from the time of her ancestor Robert Roos (d.1226) whose mother was the sister and heiress of Walter Espec, monk of Rievaulx (d.1155). The seal of Eleanor's father in 1431 illustrates the medieval approach to ancestral quarterings and the desire not to place too many in a single shield so that its legibility would be lost. His main shield bore Roos quartering Badlesmere with the peacock from the crest above it, flanked on the left by shields with a wheel for Trusbut and chequy for Vaux, and on the right by two more with an eagle and three wheels for Espec (Birch 13091).

The two coats for Tiptoft were probably included for the ancestry of Philippe, who married Thomas Roos and whose father John Tiptoft (d.1443) married Joyce, co-heiress of Edward lord Cherleton of Powis. The quartered coat of Tiptoft and Cherleton of Powis would be right for their son John Tiptoft (1427–70), who was created earl of Worcester in 1449 and KG in 1462. He is of particular interest as one of the small number of English patrons of humanist studies in the 15th century, having studied law in Italy and collected books during his stay there. Participating in the Wars of the Roses, his professional attitude to war and inclination to the Roman rather than the Common Law led to his unpopularity.

The Arundel group

The final series in the arms associated with the peerage relate to two important heiress marriages in the 14th century. Edmund (FitzAlan), earl of Arundel (1285–1326) married Alice (d.1338), sister and heiress in her issue of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey. The reason for the reversal of the usual order of the arms is unclear since both families were of equal status. Their grandson John Arundel in 1364 married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of John lord Mautravers (d.1349, R4/7), and was styled lord Mautravers, *jure uxoris*, although never summoned in that title. Here too the arms are reversed but here the importance of the wife's inheritance to a younger son provides an explanation.

The Westbrook group

Little evidence has been found for the descent of the Westbrook family who held a reputed manor in Godalming. The estate may have derived its name from Richard de Westbrook in the 14th century whose relationship to those of the name holding the estate in the 15th century has not been established. According to Welman there was a long verse inscription for a William Westbrook, JP, who died in 1437, in a manuscript in the earl of Onslow's collection.³¹ The subsequent descent of the Westbrook family is also obscure and the first certain reference comes in 1488 when John Westbrook of Godalming 'gentilman' was one of the mainpernors or sureties for William Somner as collector of the subsidy and alnage on cloth. A William Westbrook and his wife Elizabeth (d.1514) were buried in the church, but their handsome tomb chest in the south or Westbrook chapel has lost all the shields which were fixed to it together with the inscription. The 1530 Visitation has a brief entry for William Westbrook of Godalming, Surrey, who married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Harry Norbryge of Guildford (d.1512), but had no issue. Somewhat surprisingly the arms depicted were: *Quarterly 1/4 Gules a leopard's face jessant de lis Gold* (Westbrook), *2/3 Sable a dance Gold and 3 fish swimming Silver* (?), *impaling Silver a chevron Gules and 3 pierced molets Sable* (Norbryge?). The same combination is found in PLN 847 and both would seem to relate to the man who died in 1514 but his inscription makes no mention of the second marriage and the identification proposed in *DBA* must be uncertain.

31 Welman 1900, 57.

The Champion group

The constituent parts are clearly distinguished by the use of Italianate shields. Walter Champion was the son of Arnold of Godalming, apprenticed in the Drapers' Company in 1490, free in 1498 and of the Livery in 1500. He served as one of the Wardens in 1514 and 1522, was sheriff in 1529 and alderman of Aldersgate ward in 1532, dying in 1533. His will shows him to have been a wealthy man and included a bequest of £10 'towards the Reparacions and ornantes of the paryshe church of godalminge in Surie where I was borne'.³² On 20 March 1528, he was granted the arms used here and a crest by count Gabriel Ortenburg, the imperial ambassador then in London.³³ The reason for this, beyond his 'humble request', is not stated but it seems possible that, in accordance with the practice then and later, his house had been requisitioned by the government for the ambassador's lodging. His wife's maiden name is unknown and it may be that the coat with the Latin cross was intended for her; the suggestion by Manning that it was 'an emblem for the Church of Christ' seems to be without foundation since the tinctures which he saw made it *'Azure a cross pierced Silver'* and not the red cross on a white ground which might have been expected. The extended pedigree of the family in the printed Visitation of Berkshire does not help and the medieval coats attributed by the compiler to the wives have not been found in the rolls.³⁴

INVENTORY

It has been noted that in the first great 19th century restoration of the church, in 1840, the nave was extended by one further bay westwards and a new ceiling, consisting of seven rows of square panels, was erected over both the old nave and the new work, as shown in figure 3. At the same time, all the ancient bosses were collected from the old ceilings of the church and amalgamated in the nave. In 1964, when the whole of the interior of the church was redecorated, some of the bosses were repainted. In 1986, taking advantage of the scaffolding in the nave, necessary for re-wiring the church, it was again possible to repaint the ceiling and, where necessary, the tinctures of the coats of arms which had been improperly done either in 1840 or in 1964.

The design of the ceiling of 1840 demanded 102 bosses and a further 50 half-bosses for the extremities of the ceiling, at the wall-plate on the north and south sides and at the walls at the east and west ends. It can be demonstrated that 93 of the bosses and 40 of the half-bosses are of early Tudor date. One boss (row 6/2) had lost its shield and had been crudely painted with a rose. A new shield was placed here in 1997. This displays the arms of General James Oglethorpe of Westbrook, who left Godalming in 1732 to found the colony of Georgia. The shield in row 1/17 had also disappeared and the boss had been crudely painted with a Tudor rose. A new shield, displaying the arms of the Carpenters' Company, long associated with Godalming, was placed here in 1999. The Carpenters' Company generously made and presented the mobile ceiling-viewing mirror to the church in 1998. Both the new shields were carved by the vicar, the Revd John Ashe. The remaining 9 bosses and 10 half-bosses (all roses) date from 1840.

Starting at the south-east corner of the nave and proceeding westwards and northwards, there are eight rows of bosses. There are half-bosses at the four extremities of the ceiling. The whole heraldic bosses in Rows 1, 3, 4 and 6 are identified below. Rows 2 and 5 are devoted to Tudor roses.

South wall plate: 16 roses, foliage, W and C (for Walter Champion) and one coat of arms (as R3/10).

Row 1: 17 coats of arms, badges and cyphers

Row 2: 17 Tudor roses

Row 3: 17 coats of arms and cyphers

Row 4: 17 coats of arms, cyphers and a badge

Row 5: 17 Tudor roses

Row 6: 17 coats of arms, badges and cyphers

North wall plate: 17 roses, trefoils, W and C (for Walter Champion).

³² PCC 1533, 10 Hogen.

³³ BL: Harl. MS 1499, ff. 112v–13 (copy by Norroy Tong).

³⁴ Harl Soc 57, 99–102.

The coats of arms, badges and cyphers in Rows 1, 3, 4 and 6 are listed below. Rows are numbered from the east. *Italic numerals in parenthesis indicate the figure numbers, 4–27, of those illustrated.*

Row 1	Row 3	Row 4	Row 6
1 Berners	1 Bishop Fox of Winchester (11)	1 Warenne, Mowbray	1 Berners
2 Tudor rose	2 Mautravers	2 unidentified	2 Oglethorpe
3 Roos	3 Tiptoft, Cherleton of Powis (18)	3 England, France (4)	3 Roos (15)
4 Prince of Wales	4 Westbrook	4 Norbryge (21)	4 Prince of Wales
5 unidentified	5 Howard, Brotherton, Warenne, Mowbray (12)	5 Malmain (24)	5 unidentified
6 France (10)	6 quartering of Westbrook (22)	6 unidentified (25)	6 France
7 Champion	7 St Leger (16)	7 Mautravers, FitzAlan (19)	7 Champion
8 Beaufort (8)	8 Norbryge	8 Westbrook (20)	8 Beaufort
9 Henry VIII (6)	9 Howard	9 Prince of Wales (7)	9 Henry VIII
10 Tudor Rose (9)	10 St George	10 quartering of Westbrook	10 Tudor rose
11 Champion (26)	11 Berners	11 Warenne, Mowbray	11 Champion
12 Manners	12 Manners (14)	12 Norbryge	12 Manners
13 Bourchier (13)	13 Bishop Fox of Winchester	13 Espec (17)	13 Bourchier
14 Harcourt	14 quartering of Westbrook	14 Westbrook	14 Harcourt
15 Tudor rose	15 Barnack (23)	15 England, France (5)	15 Walter Champion (27)
16 Berners	16 Walter Champion	16 Walter Champion	16 Berners
17 Carpenters' Company	17 Walter Champion	17 Walter Champion	17 Tudor rose

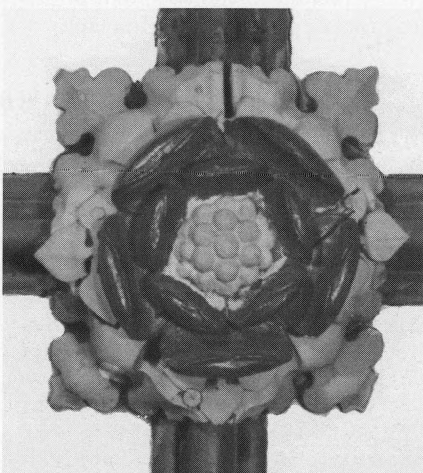
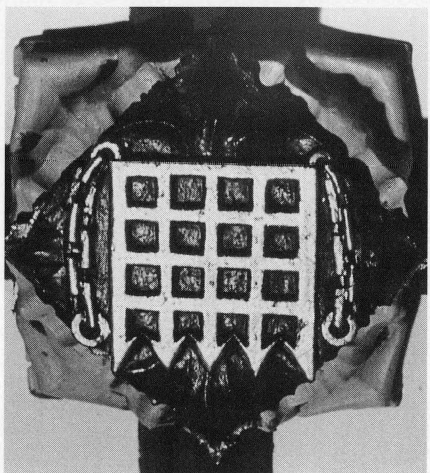
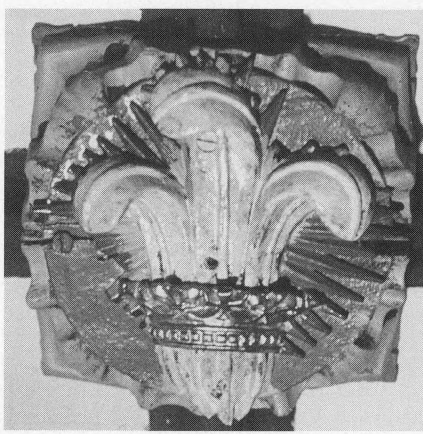
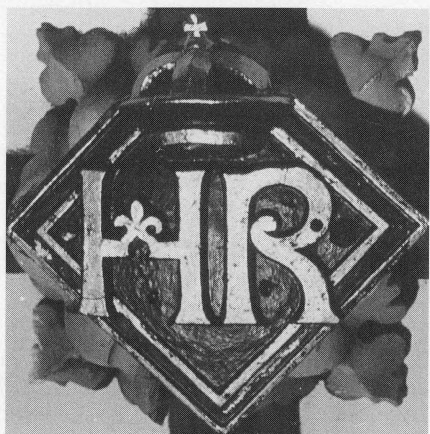
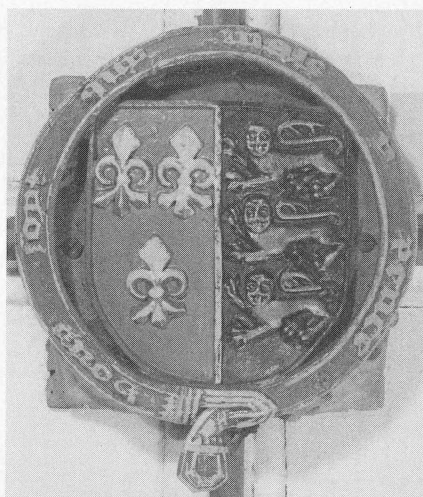
Such was the work of identification and restoration of the heraldic bosses that was possible during the short period of the month of November 1997, when scaffolding was in place in the nave. A later generation may be able to examine more fully the original paint-work on the coats of arms. Such a study might perhaps reveal errors or fill the lacunae in the present survey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful thanks are due to Thomas Woodcock, LVO, Norroy and Ulster, for both displaying and making available copies of manuscripts in the College of Arms. Ann Ballantyne was able to inspect some of the original painting underneath the overpainting of some of the bosses in 1840 and 1964. Her findings were valuable in the restoration work which was done in 1997. R E Head has kindly produced the excellent photographs for this article. We would also like to thank Janet Kenway for preparing the typescript.

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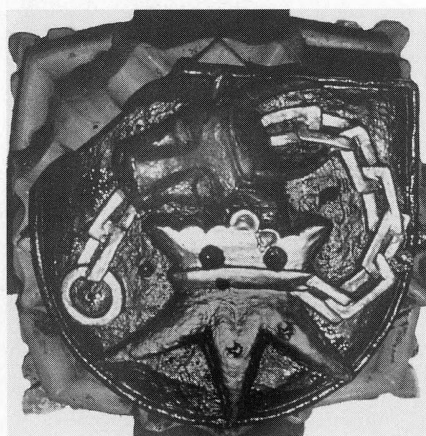
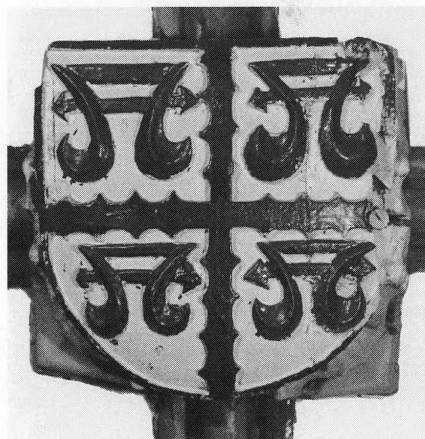
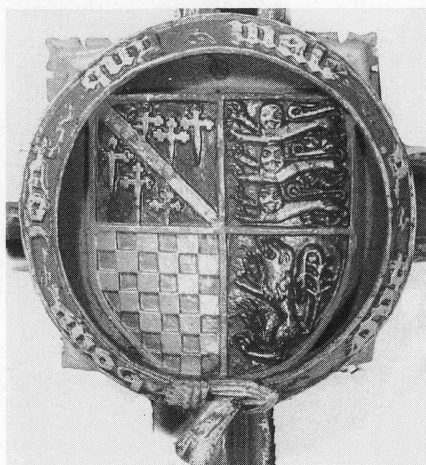
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Figs 4–9 Roof bosses in Godalming Church

- 4 England, France (R4/3)
- 6 Henry VIII (R1/9)
- 8 Beaufort (R1/8)

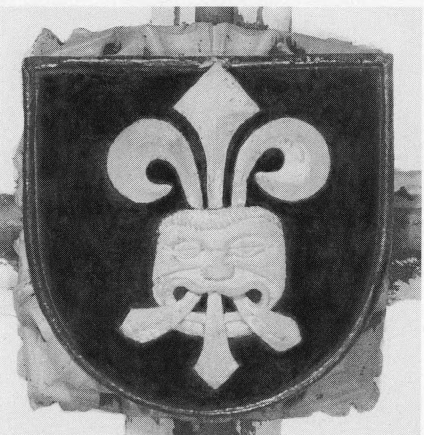
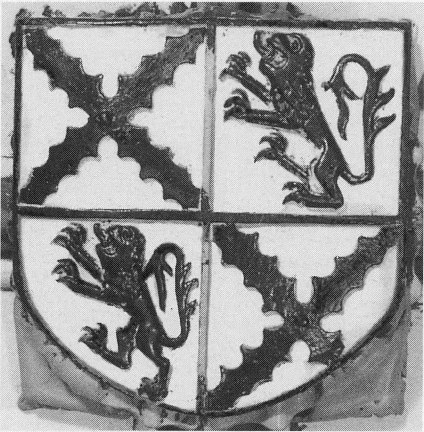
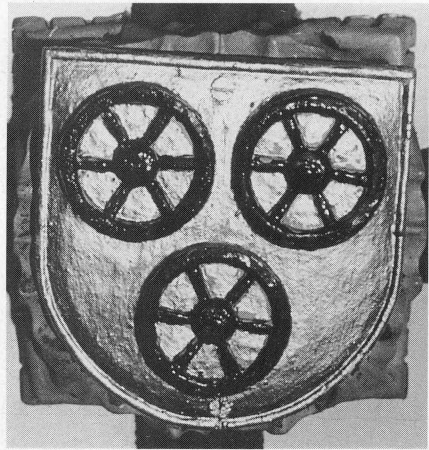
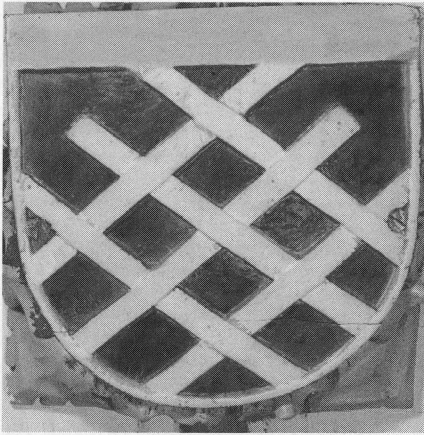
- 5 England, France (R4/15)
- 7 Prince of Wales (R4/9)
- 9 Tudor rose (R1/10)



Figs 10–15 Roof bosses in Godalming Church

- 10 France (R1/6)
- 12 Howard, Brotherton, Warenne, Mowbray (R3/5)
- 14 Manners (R3/12)

- 11 Bishop Fox of Winchester (3/1)
- 13 Bourchier (R1/13)
- 15 Roos (R6/3)



Figs 16–21 Roof bosses in Godalming Church

16 St Leger (R3/7)

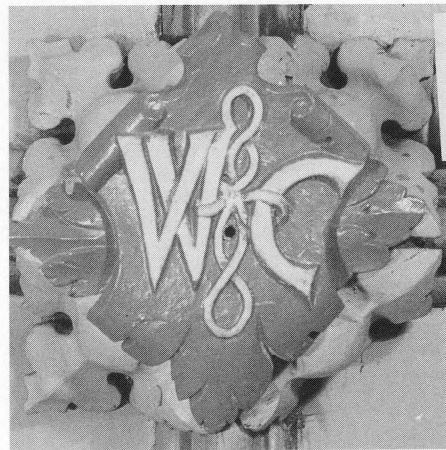
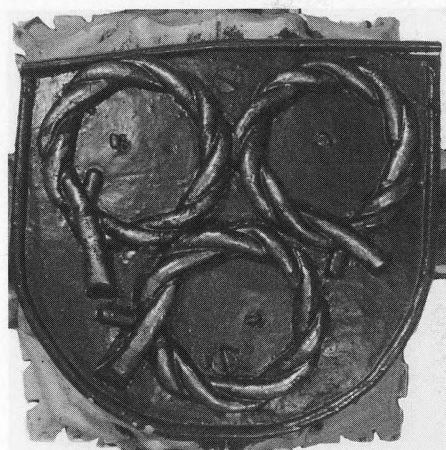
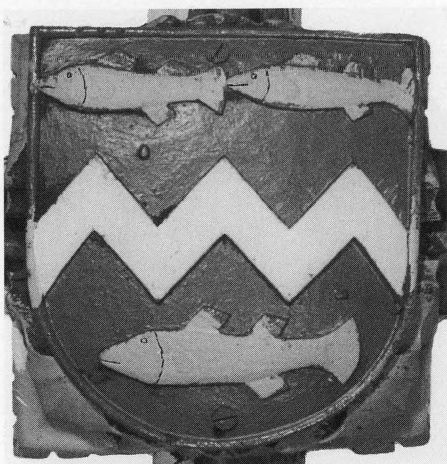
18 Tiptoft/Cherleton of Powis (R3/3)

20 Westbrook (R4/8)

17 Espec (R4/13)

19 Mautravers, FitzAlan (R4/7)

21 Norbryge (R4/4)



Figs 22–27 Roof bosses in Godalming Church

22 Quartering of Westbrook (R3/6)

24 Malmain (R4/5)

26 Champion (R1/11)

23 Barnack (R3/15)

25 Unidentified (R4/6)

27 Walter Champion (R6/15)