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DEATH, COMMEMORATION AND THE HERALDIC FUNERAL IN TUDOR AND STUART CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE: Part I

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'Out of this transitory life...'*

Over the last two decades, scholars of England's early modern period have attempted to shed light on 'that dark spirit',[1] death. Art and social historians have considered beliefs and practices relating to death and commemoration to further a greater understanding of Tudor and Stuart society. Surprisingly, the pageantry of the heraldic funeral has not attracted as much attention amongst scholars, as it must have with onlookers along the processionals' paths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When it has, oftentimes the emphasis has been on the seemingly profligate nature of these obsequies. They were elaborate affairs indeed, ordered and marshalled by representatives of the College of Arms[2] and modelled on late thirteenth-century French Court funerals, the intent of which was to demonstrate that 'the king never dies'.[3] As Mervyn James points out, however, as much as our twenty-first century sensibilities may find these affairs objectionable, it is uncertain whether this view would have been held by people of the time.[4] Nevertheless, the great disparities in the economic and social structure highlighted by the pomp of the heraldic funeral—and seeming improvidence at spending sums better used to combat social ills—might easily lead one to discount the significance of such obsequies.

Clare Gittings's 1984 study provides insights into trends relating to death and burial in Berkshire, Kent, Lincolnshire and Somerset, but does not consider the heraldic funeral in these areas.[5] Rather, Gittings discusses features of several high

* A standard phrase used by heralds and their deputies in their funerary announcements: e.g. Richard St George, Norroy, and Randle Holme: BL Ms Harl. 2041, 2129, Lansdowne 879.

[1] Shakespeare, *Coriolanus* II. i. 157.

[2] A 1568 order vested in the College of Arms and their representative heralds the responsibility for arranging the public obsequies of 'all such noble and honourable personages' and 'all other gentill and noble personages' (known as the heraldic funeral); *Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, ed. T. W. King with additions by F. R. Raines (Printed for the Chetham Society, 1869), pp. 1-3.

[3] J. Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London 1991; repr. 2002), p. 173; E. H. Kantorowicz *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton 1957), pp. 418f.

[4] That is, 'until Puritan attitudes began to gain wide acceptance': 'Two Tudor funerals', in *Society, Politics and Culture*, ed. M. James (Cambridge 1986), pp. 176-87, at 176.

[5] C. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London 1984), p. 18.

profile aristocratic and royal funerals, including that of Sir Philip Sidney (the subject of J. F. R. Day's study).[6] She concludes that heraldic funerals were 'extravaganzas'.[7] Her emphasis is on the role of the ritual as an instrument of Elizabethan and Jacobean 'social policy' that disregards the individual deceased.[8] This view, informed by a broad review rather than an in-depth localised examination, downplays the role and regional import of the heraldic funerary ritual amongst those of gentle and noble status in other parts of the realm. Additionally, her inference that representative generalisations can be made about the heraldic funerary ritual without consideration of evidence on a county by county basis is problematic.[9]

David Cressy's study of the funerary preferences of Essex gentlemen through the examination of wills is area-specific, but does not consider the heraldic funeral. His work underscores the value of a narrow focus: 'one period, one county, and one social class'.[10] In a similar way, Mervyn James limits the scope of his examination in 'Two Tudor Funerals'. His central concern is the heraldic funeral and specifically, an analysis of the obsequies of Lords Dacre and Wharton.[11] He grounds his study in Dacre and Wharton's respective societies, linking ideas of kinship and loyalty ties to attendance, participation and ordering of their funerals. His work also points up the advantages of situating a study of the ritual in a specific area. Julian Litten's work, although not situated in a particular area, offers the most comprehensive historic analysis of the heraldic funeral. It examines the role of the College of Arms and provides a detailed account of the heraldic appurtenances used in the processionals.

Whilst all of the aforementioned work has contributed to an on-going understanding of death and commemoration in Tudor and Stuart society, there remains work to be done on the regional significance of the heraldic funeral. With this in mind, this present two-part article analyses the heraldic funerary ritual in a previously unexamined area: the north-west counties of Cheshire and Lancashire. It is a local, in-depth review that employs several different evidence sources to further an understanding of the significance of this ritual amongst gentry and noblemen in this

[6] Gittings, op. cit. pp. 170, 231; J. F. R. Day 'Death Be Very Proud: Sidney, subversion, and Elizabethan heraldic funerals', in *Tudor Political Culture* ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge 1995; repr. 2002), pp. 179-203.

[7] Gittings, op. cit. pp. 180, 226.

[8] See Gittings, op. cit. pp. 168, 175. The idea of heraldic funerals serving as 'social policy' is from Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 – c. 1800* (London 1997), p. 61.

[9] Gittings argues that 'luckily' the accounts she examines are from counties which 'are relatively well-distributed geographically', inferring that because of a dearth of evidence elsewhere, in some way her findings can (or should) be considered representative; op. cit. p. 13 and passim.

[10] D. Cressy, 'Death and the social order: the funerary preferences of Elizabethan gentlemen', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. D. Cressy (Aldershot 2003), pp. 99-119 at 101.

[11] Dacre's funeral took place at Carlisle in 1563 and Wharton's in 1568 (near) York: James, op. cit. pp. 178f.

area from 1572 to 1684. Part one considers the import of the heraldic funeral and commemorative practices through an examination of family chapels, funeral certificates, monuments, sermons, post-funerary inventories and wills. It considers themes that pervade the ritual—lineage, inheritance, individual and familial honour and solidarity—through an examination of the ordering and pricing of the heraldic funeral, heraldic display, commemorative monuments and burial requests. It inquires why executors and heirs (and perhaps testators themselves) were willing to spend considerable amounts on an heraldic funeral. It considers regional differences in relation to other studies. Part two will employ extant funeral accounts, monuments and wills to analyse the heraldic funerals of Edward Stanley, the third Earl of Derby, Sir John Savage and Sir Peter Legh in their regional context: the milieu of the 'lineage culture'.[12] The approach owes a great debt to the work of Mervyn James, as it considers dependant, tenant and kinship ties, heraldic prescription and practice, attendees and mourners. The concluding reflection ties both parts of the study together, as the themes from part one are considered in relation to the three funerals analysed in part two.

Because of the limited size of this project, the study is qualitative rather than quantitative. Even so, the evidence sources further a better understanding of the significance of the heraldic funeral and, specifically, what they offered to the individual deceased, his family and the community. Only forty wills were examined. Despite the small sample size, they were helpful in establishing the extent of the testator's concern for his funeral and burial. As Cressy suggests, although wills may have questionable reliability in terms of whether they reflect 'true attitudes and expectations rather than scribal formulae', they do provide 'a distinctive historical voice'.[13]

The limited number of extant funeral sermons and post-funerary inventories and accounts of mourning is unfortunate, as is the absence of an existing will for Sir John Savage. The inventories and accounts available, however, offered insights into costs of mourning attire and post-funeral feasts, whilst sermons furthered the notion of the individual's significance in heraldic obsequies. Because of the limitations of this evidence, the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive. Extant funeral certificates and accounts proved to be a valuable resource. These detailed records, compiled by the College of Arms representatives, the two men called Randle Holme,[14] include narratives of several heraldic funerals and memoranda relating to the pricing and rank-specific ordering of such obsequies.

[12] For 'lineage culture', cf. M. James, 'The concept of order and the Northern Rising, 1569', in *Society, Politics and Culture*, pp. 270-307 at 272.

[13] Cressy, op. cit. p. 101.

[14] The Holmes were father and son, and the first two of the four Randle Holmes of Chester who were heralds and arms painters. The two referenced were deputy heralds of Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales: Randle Holme I (*c.* 1571-1654/5); Randle Holme II (bap. 1602-1659). See the 'skeleton pedigree' in J. P. Earwalker, *The Four Randle Holmes* (Chester 1892: reprinted from the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society*, 1891), frontispiece.

The construction of funeral monuments as an integral part of this ritual made their examination as evidence particularly important. They provided a rich source of biography and family history and were thematically linked with the funerary ritual itself. A main focus of this analysis is the sometimes disregarded prominence of heraldry on monuments and in the procession. Although the ranking of monuments by Nigel Llewellyn suggests they were less important in Cheshire and Lancashire (47 and 17 respectively) than elsewhere,[15] these figures are significant if viewed in context. As Phillips and Smith note, the gentry in this area were 'numerically thin on the ground' and 'comprised only between 2 and 3 per cent of the population' of Lancashire in 1642. Further, 26 of the Cheshire monuments belong to families listed in the *Vale Royal* as 'principal gentlemen'.[16]

Funeral sermons though meant to instruct, like inscriptions on monuments offered clues to the deceased's personality. Although composed by ministers cognizant of the principle of *de mortuis, nil nisi bonum*, as Peter Marshall notes, there was a growing consciousness amongst the clergy that 'mercenary praisemongering' at funerals reflected poorly on their office.[17]

Through the evidence examined, this paper will suggest that from its organization and marshalling, to the preaching of the sermon and erecting of commemorative monuments, all aspects of the heraldic funerary ritual in Cheshire and Lancashire were intended to celebrate, express and symbolise the honours and virtues of the deceased individual and his line, whilst emphasizing familial and kinship ties and the notion of continuity.[18]

[15] Especially compared with the 105 monuments in Middlesex/London. Llewellyn ranks monuments by density per square mile. At the start of the Civil War, there were only 14 top ranking gentry in Cheshire and 13 in Lancashire, which casts the number of monuments per gentry/nobles in a different light. See C. B. Phillips and J. H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (London and New York 1994), pp. 12, 24. For a funeral monument ranking list see Table 1.1 in N. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge 2000), p. 8; Llewellyn's figures represent remaining monuments. Some monuments and churches were destroyed. The most famous local example is the monument of Alexander Cotes and his wife at St. John the Baptist in Chester. All that remains is a copy of a contract/drawing and a notation indicating the work was completed. Church records relate that the church was 'almost destroyed; the monuments broken and mutilated'. No Elizabethan tombs remain which is 'surprising' given the 'importance of the church and size of the city: Samuel Cooper Scott, *The Lectures on the History of St. John the Baptist Church and Parish in the City of Chester* (Chester 1892), pp. 82-5. See also M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cheshire* (Malvern 1995), pp. 7, 10, 13.

[16] D. King, *The History of Cheshire: containing the King's Vale-Royal entire* (2 vols., Chester 1778), 2, pp. 52-53; H3v-H4r.

[17] '(Speak) nothing but good of the dead'; P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford 2002), pp. 267f.

[18] The sense of 'continuity' expressed at heraldic funerals is from James, 'Two tudor funerals', p. 177.

1. Honour, inheritance, lineage and the individual in the heraldic funerary ritual

'According to his virtue let us use him, With all respects and rites of burial'
(Shakespeare, *JC* v. ii. 75-6)

In the sermon preached at Great Budworth, Cheshire, at the funeral of 'that worthie and worshipfull Gentleman, Master Thomas Dutton of Dutton, Esquire' after his death on 28 December 1614,[19] minister Richard Eaton tells the assembled congregants 'there shall be no difference between the rich and the poore in the grave': 'Yesterday the tallest Cedar in Libanus, to day or to morrow a broken stick trodden under foot; when death comes, no difference'.[20] But whilst Eaton forwarded the notion that death was 'the great equalizer', in many ways, in death, as in life, the long-established hierarchies of early modern England's 'ordered society'[21] prevailed, and found full expression not only in the elaborate obsequies and exequies of royalty and foreign sovereigns in the capital, but also in the heraldic funerals and commemorative monuments of English gentry and noblemen throughout the realm. In Cheshire and Lancashire heraldic funerals were a significant and persistent part of the societal death ritual throughout the Tudor and Stuart period, as north-west noblemen and gentry also left this world for the promise of Elysium with more than the simplicity of their winding sheets (**Plate 4**).[22]

The austerity of the Littleboys tablet illustrated in Plate 1 offers neither a sense of the grandeur of an heraldic funeral, nor the expense. Focusing attention on the profligate nature of the ritual, Gittings argues, 'many widows and heirs must have seen their potential inheritance evaporate in a whirl of black mourning cloth and heralds' fees'.[23] To be sure, even non-royal heraldic obsequies were costly. Only part of the expense however, arose from the fees Richard St. George declared 'to be demaunded and receaued to my use according to ye severall degrees' for the participation of the College of Arms.[24] The cost for a nobleman's funeral is not specified, but for a knight the fee was 20s, for an esquire, 13s 4d and for 'a gentleman of Coat

[19] The date the sermon was given is not indicated in either the published version or in Dutton's funeral certificate. Dutton's date of death is taken from his funeral certificate in *Cheshire and Lancashire Funeral Certificates AD 1600-1678,* ed. John Paul Rylands (Record Society 1882), pp. 77-78; Richard Eaton, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeralls of that Worthie and Worshipfull Gentleman, Master Thomas Dutton of Dutton, Esquire* (London 1616), A3v in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [accessed 09 May 2005].

[20] Eaton, B1r.

[21] For the phrase and significance of 'ordering' see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York 1988), passim.

[22] As David Cressy notes, whilst no body was put into the grave without at least a shroud or winding sheet, the wealthy often had coffins; *Birth, Marriage & Death: ritual, religion and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford 1999), p. 430.

[23] See Gittings, *Death, Burial, and the Individual* (note 5 above), pp. 166-187 at 175.

[24] St. George was Norroy King of Arms. *Cheshire and Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, p. vii.

of Armo^{r}' 6s 8d.[25] These fees do not include the herald's (Holme's) own charges for funeral work—which were by the item, not by one's degree—and involved the making of funeral attachments and appurtenances including 'ten escscochons on taffaty' to '60 pencills[26] for poore' and could total £52 8s and 4d.[27]

Post-funerary inventories suggest several other charges a family might incur. The amounts 'layed out for the buryall' of Sir George Beeston at Bunbury, Cheshire on 13 October 1601 lists a payment of 3s 6d: 'To the carpenter for makinge of the coffyne', whilst there is a separate entry and charge of 2s 6d 'for makinge the hearse'.[28] Payment to the painter appears to be listed in the following entry: 'to henry paynter for the funeral worke_____ xviij^{l}'.[29] The charges for the burial of Thomas Shuttleworth at Bolton in the Moors, Lancashire on 13 September 1593 included 5s for the funeral sermon and 6d for 'makinge the grave'.[30]

Just as funeral expenses varied from funeral to funeral, charges appear to have varied from county to county, and may reflect heraldic discretion. Gittings finds that the 'usual fee' for a funeral sermon before the Restoration was 10s, as does Cressy, which differs from the 5s spent on the Shuttleworth sermon.[31] Gittings's study reveals a difference in price for the same item between ranks, with a helmet and crest for an earl costing £2 and for a knight 26s.[32] The Holmes' table of 'Rates of Funerall Work' in the north-west makes no such rank distinctions, with a helmet and crest priced higher than in Gittings's study at £3 10s.[33] In Cheshire, Sir Richard Grosvenor's 1645 charges totalled £27 14s 6d and thirty-one years later, Sir George Warburton's amounted to considerably less: £18 in 1676.[34] In Lancashire, Sir Rafe Ashton's 1665 bill amounted to £32 13s 4d.[35] Additionally, the charges for Grosvenor's helm, crest and coat of arms in 1645 are surprisingly more than those of Ashton's twenty years later: Grosvenor's were £4 each and Ashton's £3 10s. Further, Ashton's spurs in 1665 cost 10s, the same as Grosvenor's 'brass Spurrs guilt in oyle and spur leathers

[25] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. vii.

[26] Scocheons were 'the prototype of modern hatchments', pensels, smaller penons that were supplied by the heralds in large numbers mainly to bedeck the hearse. See Litten, *The English Way of Death*, pp. 173-194 at 176.

[27] Holme's 'Rates for Funeral Work' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. xxii.

[28] Cheshire and Chester Archives, Chester (henceforth CCA): Sir George Beeston Inventory, WS 1601.

[29] There is no punctuation after the name 'henry', which is not unusual in writing of this time, but makes it impossible to say with certainty whether 'paynter' is his surname or occupation. CCA WS 1601.

[30] Lancashire Record Office, Preston (henceforth LRO): DDKS 3/3/2 (Thomas Shuttleworth Account).

[31] Gittings, op. cit. p. 138; Cressy, 'Death and the social order' (note 10 above), p. 108.

[32] Gittings, op. cit. p. 172.

[33] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. xxii.

[34] A note next to the sum, 'agreed for' suggests that there was bargaining over the price in this case and perhaps others in this area: *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. xxii. This challenges Gittings's view (p. 175) that heraldic funerals were 'enforced' and always necessarily financially constraining.

[35] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. xx-xxii.

siluered' twenty years earlier.[36] This suggests that the Holmes' charges did not necessarily increase over time. Further, it differs from Cressy's findings in Essex that heraldic management of funerals 'allowed little freedom for idiosyncrasy or innovation',[37] as all men were baronets and had differing expenses based on the appurtenances employed.

Construction of commemorative monuments contributed to the cost of heraldic obsequies. The copy of a contract dated 1602 and written on a drawing of the alabaster monument for Alexander Cotes, gentleman of Chester and his wife, indicate that 'the somme of ten poundes', payable in three instalments, was charged by Maxmilian Coult of London 'to make frame erect & set up' the monument.[38] William Massey of Puddington, Cheshire (*d.* 1579) left £13 6s 8d in his will for an alabaster tomb with effigies of his wife and himself.[39] These prices are relatively low compared to charges incurred for monuments erected by Nicholas Stone in other parts of the country.[40] Stone's work ranged from 'a little tombe in a wall' at £8 to 'Sir Edmond Paston's tombe' in 1635 at £100.

Heraldic funerals were ordered according to rank. The higher ones rank, the more complex the funeral arrangements (and more numerous the mourners) one was entitled to. Holme notes that a knight was allowed to have all the appurtenances as a lord or baron, 'save his bannerowles'.[41] With this in mind, total expenses for funerary appointments understandably varied between ranks. The painter's bill for hatchments, helmet of steel, great banner, the standard, painting the 'chariot' and the like for Edward, the third Earl of Derby's funeral in 1572 came to £63 10s and 4d, well over the £18 paid to the painter for Sir George Beeston, knight.[42]

But the idea that the higher one's rank, the greater the expenditures did not always follow. Because more gowns for the poor were commissioned for the 1598 funeral of Henry Stanley of Bickerstaff, the charges came to 42s 6d, whilst the making of twelve 'gownes for the poore' for Beeston's funeral cost only 8s.[43] This is curious, as Beeston was a knight and hero of the defeat of the Armada and Stanley was

[36] Ibid. pp. xx-xxi.

[37] Cressy, 'Death and the social order', p. 100.

[38] The reverse side of the remaining copy indicates the amount was paid. The document and the monument no longer exist; copy in Samuel Cooper Scott, *The Lectures on the History of St. John the Baptist Church and Parish in the City of Chester* (Chester 1892), insert between pp. 84 and 85.

[39] The monument is said to have been destroyed; *Hist. Parl.: The Commons 1558-1603*, p. 32.

[40] Stone was master mason to James I and Charles I. His notebook records work completed in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Middlesex (especially London and Westminster), Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Northumberland, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Warwickshire, Yorkshire, Scotland and Ireland, but not Cheshire or Lancashire. See Nicholas Stone, *The Notebook and Account Book*, edd. W. L. Spiers and A. J. Finberg (Walpole Society, Oxford 1919), U2v-U4r.

[41] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. xv; BL Harl Ms 2129 ('Funeral Orders and Church Monuments'), fo. 54a.

[42] CA Ms Vincent 151, fo. 308; CCA WS 1601.

[43] LRO DDF 993, Account of Mourning of Henry Stanley; CCA WS 1601.

only an esquire, but the total for just the Stanley mourning blacks alone reaching £132 18s 4d may be explained by the fact that Stanley was also the nephew to the second Earl of Derby.[44] This again suggests that there was some discretion and flexibility in heraldic prescription.

Post-funerary accounts and inventories demonstrate that the bill for heraldic funerals could reach substantial amounts. The charge for butter alone, supplied for the post-funeral dinner for George Beeston, was 22s 8d.[45] The willingness to spend such sums is interesting, given Camden's characterisation of local gentry as having grown up 'more and more by their frugality, and the ancient self-contented simplicity'.[46] The question then, is why were executors, heirs, widows (and perhaps testators themselves), willing to pay for an heraldic funeral?

In the forty wills examined, no testator requests an heraldic funeral *per se*, although it may be an implied expectation, in that several men, like Richard Shuttleworth, indicate a desire to be buried according to their 'degree and callinge'.[47] Frequently, the testator tacitly acknowledged that his funeral might be costly. References in several wills speak to the paying of funeral expenses. Henry Stanley of Bickerstaffe's 1598 will specifies what should happen to his assets after his 'funerall and debtes' are 'dischardged'.[48] Nevertheless, the families of the deceased might have chosen to neglect their wishes and saved their inheritance. Conversely, other families provided for an heraldic funeral when there was an expressed desire by the testator that ceremony and funeral expenses be limited, as was the case with Peter Legh.[49] Although Cressy explains such requests for little pomp may have simply been a response to the contemporary 'conventional proclamation against excess',[50] it gave families like the Leghs a way out of spending their inheritance should they choose. Yet, like the Leghs, many of the gentry in Cheshire and Lancashire still chose a heraldic funeral for their deceased relative. Why?

Part of the explanation may rest in the fact that heraldic funerals allowed for demonstrations of ardent community, family, and kinship loyalties. Cheshire and Lancashire gentry families were a 'close-knit group', with 'two in every three gentry marriages' taking place 'within the two counties'.[51] Members of the Legh family married into the Calveley and Trafford families.[52] Peter Warburton (*d.* 1626) was linked by his marriage and those of his children to the Houlcrofts of Lancaster, Egertons and Breretons of Chester, and the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, Lancashire.[53]

[44] LRO DDF 993; CCA WS 1601; Henry's father, James, was the earl's second brother.
[45] CCA WS 1601.
[46] *Britannia*, ed. and trans. Edmund Gibson (London 1695), fo. 789.
[47] PCC (NA): PROB11/112.
[48] LRO DDF 992.
[49] His funeral is discussed in Part Two of this article (forthcoming).
[50] Cressy, 'Death and the social order', p. 105.
[51] B. Coward, *The Stanleys Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby 1385-1672: The origins, wealth and power of a landowning family* (Chetham Society, Manchester 1983), p. 121; C. B. Phillips and J. H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (London and New York 1994), p. 24.
[52] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates,* pp. 123f.
[53] Ibid. pp. 181f.

Phillips and Smith note that 'four-fifths of the greater gentry families of both counties had lived there as gentry before the Reformation'.[54]

With this in mind, the heraldic, rank-specific regulations regarding who could serve as principal mourners at funerals may be viewed as other than 'galling' as Gittings argues.[55] Amongst this close-knit group, an invitation to act as a mourner or attendant in an heraldic funeral might be not only a show of respect, but also considered a 'privilege' and 'distinction' similar to that which was reserved for 'the four highest judges of the kingdom's supreme court' when it came to carrying the corners of the mortuary pall at the funeral of French kings.[56] This is especially plausible given the consonance of English heraldic funerary obsequies with 'the extremely elaborate and complex proceedings of the public expression of homage paid at the French Court funerals of the late thirteenth century'.[57]

The willingness to spend significant sums on heraldic obsequies and commemoration may also have reflected the desire to secure one's family's standing in the community. At a time that saw a great expansion of and fluid movement between the upper ranks of society, heraldic funerals in Cheshire and Lancashire helped to feed what Lawrence Stone notes was an 'insatiable demand for status and honour between 1558-1641'.[58] In much the same way that a family's seating place in church reflected their position in the local social order, an heraldic funeral and advantageously located commemorative monument or chapel served to secure not only the status of the family in society, but effectively, that of the deceased (and his line) into perpetuity. This became an important consideration as the social order in Tudor and Stuart England that historically was based on landed wealth was being challenged by trade and a rising merchant class.[59] Furthermore the unpredictability of the official attitude – Elizabeth's parsimonious desire to reserve the peerage ranks for 'men of ancient lineage', followed by the 'inflation of honours' for revenue under James I between 1603 and 1629[60] – increased the precarious appearance of family social status. Consequently, 'between 1540-1640 there steadily built up an intense acquisitive pressure for outward marks of social distinction'.[61] And as 'honourable descent' was the yardstick by which entry to the 'community of honour' was granted to princes, lords and mere gentlemen alike,[62] as F. R. Raines suggests, in Tudor and Stuart Cheshire and Lancashire 'the imposing pageantry of an heraldic funeral' was regard-

[54] Phillips and Smith, op. cit. p. 18.

[55] Gittings, op. cit. p. 175.

[56] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (note 3 above), p. 415.

[57] Litten, op. cit. p. 173.

[58] L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, abr. ed. (Oxford 1967), p. 61; See also J. F. R. Day for the use of the heraldic funeral 'to bolster the position of the gentry'; 'Death Be Very Proud' (note 6 above), p. 179.

[59] Phillips and Smith, op. cit. p. 12.

[60] Stone, op. cit. pp. 39, 48-52, 59.

[61] Ibid., p. 38.

[62] M. James, 'English politics and the concept of honour' in *Society, Politics and Culture* (note 4 above), pp. 308-415 at 332.

ed 'as the standard of birth and ancestry, and the best external proof of lineage that could be supplied'.[63] Hence, just as the confirmation and authentication of one's coat of arms by heraldic visitation served to sanction one's standing, the granting of an heraldic funeral, marshalled by an agent of the College of Arms, could be viewed as a benchmark of legitimacy and status: for not all were entitled to, or allowed, an heraldic funeral.

Lancashire Deputy Herald Leonard Smedley used his position to maintain differences in degree and to avert 'confusion of ranks' by preventing rising mercantile families from partaking of heraldic obsequies, thus reinforcing the view that this social 'privilege' was reserved for those of 'true' status.[64] Likewise, the Randle Holmes' copious notes and drawings attest to their strict concern that such funerals were ordered 'according to the degree and estate of the defunnct'.[65] Moreover, the presence and participation of the herald in one's funeral conferred further honours on the deceased and his line. Dressed in their mourning blacks with the tabards of the royal arms, the heralds represented the implied, extended authority of the crown itself.[66] Their inclusion in the ritual distinguished the deceased as one of authentic gentility or noble blood, reaffirmed his loyalty to the crown[67] and thus declared him deserving of such rights (and rites).

Because lineage was inextricably linked to honour and status, the heraldic funeral in Cheshire and Lancashire was indeed concerned with the deceased individual (and his line) and was not, as has been asserted, merely an exercise intended to prove that the aristocracy and social order 'remained unaffected by the death of one of its members'.[68] An analysis of extant funeral certificates, sermons, commemorative monuments and the funerary procession underscores this idea.

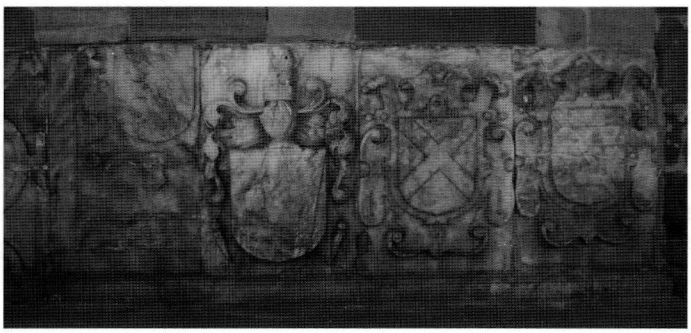


Figure 1. Legh chapel, church of St Oswald, Winwick, Lancashire: heraldic display on stone wall.

[63] F. R. Raines, 'Introduction', in Leonard Smethley and Randle Holme, ed. F. R. Raines, *Letters on the Claims of the College of Arms in Lancashire in the Time of James the First* (*Chetham Miscellanies* 5: Chetham Society, Manchester 1875), p. vii. Smedley was also spelled 'Smethley'.

[64] Raines, ibid.

[65] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. xiv-xix.

[66] Gittings, op. cit. pp. 173f.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., p. 175.

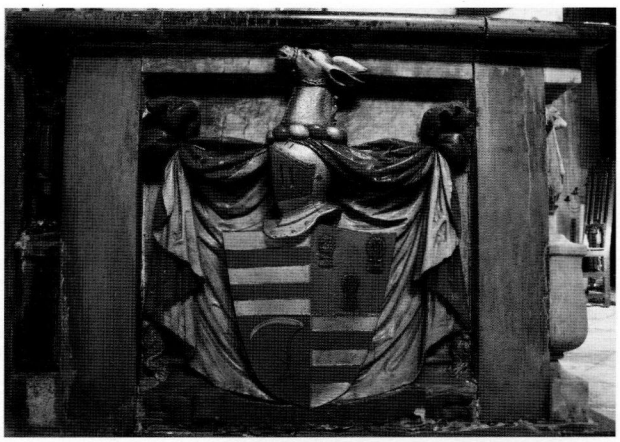


Figure 2. North chapel, church of St Lawrence, Over Peover, Cheshire: painted coat of arms, head of tomb of Sir Philip Mainwaring (d. 1648) and his wife Ellen.

Unmistakably, perhaps the most striking and dominant feature of such obsequies was the heraldry, something that was, and continues to be, unquestionably family- and individual-specific. Historically, heraldry was an inherited 'family possession' that served to symbolise 'the owner's identity' as well as his 'status'.[69] The prominence afforded it in every aspect of the heraldic funerary ritual served in much the same way, to make a visual link between the deceased and a long, distinguished line, thus contributing to that idea of honour through descent.[70] In the funeral account of Sir John Savage, Randle Holme relates the significance of the presence of the Savage coat of arms in 'signifyinge that therby in field he was knowne when face and Corpes were Unshoen'.[71] Just as heraldry was often displayed in windows and on fireplaces in gentry homes, the deceased's family home, hearse and coffin were draped with heraldic achievements. The funeral procession to the church was awash with colourful banners, bannerols, guidons, pennons, pensels, scocheons, standards and targets that paid tribute to the defunct's ancestry through their coats of arms and impalements, which highlighted the marital connections of the deceased or his line.

Heraldic display was also prominent in this period on funeral monuments and in family chapels like the Legh Chapel at Winwick (**Figure 1**). The Mainwaring mortuary chapel in Cheshire provides an excellent example of what Richard Cust relates was a feature of the integration of monuments with heraldry, 'a conjunction of blood and tenure'.[72] The emphasis on heraldic display is considerable, with the family coat of arms on the oak rood screen as well as on the tomb of Sir Philip and his wife, Ellen (**Figures 2** and **3**), shields and coats of arms displayed on the walls, as well as an exquisite carving of the impaled arms of Sir Philip and his wife domi-

[69] A. R. Wagner, *Heraldry in England* (Harmondsworth 1946), pp. 5, 7.

[70] Richard Cust, 'Gentility and Honour' The University of Birmingham Social and Cultural History of Renaissance England lecture (University of Birmingham, 20 October 2004).

[71] *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. ix; Harl Ms 2129 fos. 64r, 65r-v.

[72] Richard Cust, 'How to read Funeral Monuments as sources on gentry honour in Early Modern England', University of Birmingham School of Historical Studies and Humanities Interdisciplinary Seminars, University of Birmingham, 26 January 2005.

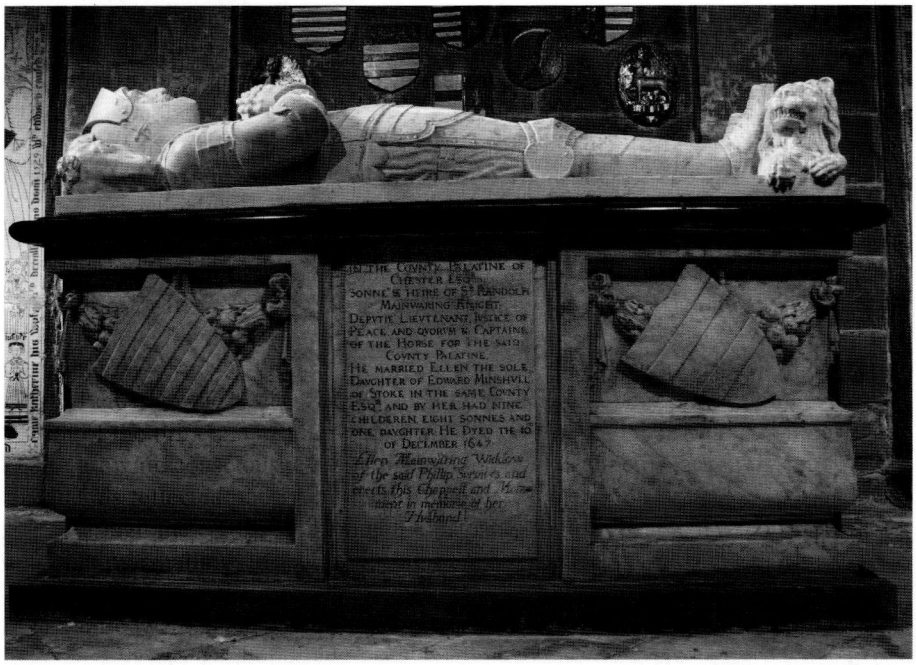


Figure 3. North chapel, church of St Lawrence, Over Peover, Cheshire: side of tomb of Sir Philip Mainwaring. Visible beyond, shields of arms attached to the wall of the chapel.

nating the ceiling. Sir Philip's head rests on an ass (as does his ancestor Sir Randle, whose effigy and tomb are located in the 1456 chantry chapel in the same church), reflecting the crest of the family coat of arms and symbolic of the family's Norman-French motto purportedly dating back to the Crusades.[73]

This desire to associate oneself with a long and distinctive pedigree is further evidenced at Gawsworth in Cheshire. Here, four generations of the Fitton family are grouped in the chancel, the two sons and daughters of Sir Edward Fitton represented as figures with their mother beside the tomb. The use of the common motif of the vine continues the theme and takes on a literal dimension on the tomb of Francis Fitton, where it extends between, and almost appears to link, two distinct sets of familial armorial bearings (**Figure 4**).

This idea is revisited in the inscription above the tomb of Sir Edward (d. 1619) and his wife, Anne: HERE'S THE BLEST MAN HIS WYFE THE FRVITFVLL VINE | THE CHiLDREN TH'OLIVE PLANTS [...]. And in a strikingly literal interpretation, a 'line' or rope links thirteen shields of arms above the tomb of Sir Edward Fitton (d. 1619) and his wife, Anne (**Figure 5**). This reflects the understanding of the time that one's honour and virtue was viewed as 'cumulative' and informed by lineage.[74]

[73] John Colley and John Pritchard, *Church of St. Lawrence Over Peover: a history and guide* (n.p. 1989), passim.

[74] Cust, 'Gentility'.

Above, *Figure 4*. Chancel, church of St James the Great, Gawswoth, Cheshire: table tomb of Francis Fitton (d. 1608).

Right, *Figure 5*. Chancel, church of St James the Great, Gawsworth, Cheshire: upper portion of monument to Sir Edward Fitton (d. 1619).

The Fitton family grouping serves as an example of the manifestation of familial solidarity[75] and a visible reminder of the sense of the accretion of honour and virtue through one's line. Additionally, the building of family chapels and testators' requests to be buried near their ancestors demonstrate a desire to secure the family's place in the local hierarchy. Such burial requests, in the wills of Cheshire and Lancashire gentry dating from 1572-1677, are at odds with Gittings's findings that testators' concern over their funerals was 'swept away with doctrinal changes at the Reformation'.[76] Further, they contradict the notion that such directions, like the burial of one's remains, was 'uncommon'.[77] Rather, wills here are consonant with the results of Cressy's Essex study, which finds 'dozens of gentlemen used their wills to make specific funerary requests'.[78]

In Lancashire, Henry Stanley of Bickerstaffe (1598) requested interment in the family chapel at Ormskirke: 'there to be sepultured and buryed amongst my ancestors'.[79] Others were more precise, like John Talbot of Salesbury (1677) and Roger Nowell of Lancaster (1591), and gave place specific burial instructions similar to those of John Stringer of Crewe (1588) who asked 'to be buryed in the highe Chansell of the p(ar)ishe Church of farnedon'.[80] Edmund Assheton of Chadderton (1584) and Francis Legh of Lyme Handley (1653) both mentioned their wish to be buried near their ancestors, whilst John Warren of Poynton (1587) and Thomas Aston (1613) requested burial in the chancel of their parish churches near a specific ancestor.[81] Edward Stanley of Lancashire (1572), Edward Tildesley of Morleys in Lancaster (1586) and Peter Legh of Lyme (1635/6) all left wills that, unusually for this group, offer instructions for commemoration. That of Tildesley outlines his request in specific detail:

> [...] in my chapel in the p'ishe churche of leighe in the said Countie of lanc' neare the bodies of my late wyfe Anne Tildisley Dought' and sole heire of Thomas Leyland of Morleys, Esquier, and the bodie of Thomas Tildisley sonne and heire of me the saide Edwarde Tildisley, Deaceased AND I will that one large stone shalbe provided and erected in Tombewise in the chappell with Fower Imags or pictures of Brass Representinge The said Thomas

[75] For a sense of solidarity in burial requests and groupings see Cressy, 'Death and the social order', p. 111.

[76] Gittings, op. cit. pp. 86f.

[77] Gittings, ibid.

[78] Cressy, 'Death and the social order', p. 105.

[79] LRO, DDF 992.

[80] Nowell's and Stringer's wills, *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester with an appendix of abstracts of wills now lost or destroyed*, transcr. G. J. Piccope, ed. J. P. Earwalker (Chetham Society, Manchester 1884), pp. 103-6, 114f. Talbot's will, *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories from the Ecclesiastical Court*, ed. G. J . Piccope (Chetham Society, Manchester 1861) vol. 3, p. 105.

[81] Assheton will, *Lancs and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, ed. Piccope vol. 2, p. 169. Aston's will, CCA: WS 1613. Warren's will, *Lancs and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester*, transcr. Piccope, ed. Earwalker, pp. 99-101. Francis Legh's will, PCC (NA): PROB11/226.

> leylande, my said wiffe Anne Tildisley, my saide sonne Thomas Tildisley, and me the said Edwarde Tildisley.[82]

Whilst burial near, or with, one's ancestors was a common request within this group, the most unusual example of a desire to maintain familial solidarity in death came from Edward Halsall of Halsall (prov. 1594) who asked to have his late wife and son moved so they would be reunited in burial along with his present wife:

> And my will is that my bodie be beryed [. . .] in the p'isshe churche or chauncell of Halsall wishinge [. . .]. that suche p'tes of the bodie of Ursula my late wife and of Richard H. my sonne as shall then remayne unconsumed maybe taken owt of the p'isshe churche of Prescott where they were buryed and layd in grave with me where also I am verye desirous to have Anne nowe my wife [. . .] likewise to lie [...].[83]

Just as family groupings demonstrated solidarity, as Howard Colvin relates, family chapels were considered to be symbols of social status.[84] Their positioning, usually on either the north or south side of the chancel in what was considered 'the most privileged space within the building',[85] served as a visual reminder of the family's place in society. Several of the leading families in Cheshire and Lancashire paid to have chapels erected to house family monuments, commemorative brasses and slabs including the Bickerstaffes, Breretons, Cholmondeleys, Leghs, Mainwarings, Savages, Scarisbricks, Stanleys and Warburtons.

A preoccupation with lineage was also evident in funeral sermons. The sermon given by William Leigh at the funeral of Thomas Legh of Adlington on 16 February 1601 and another by Richard Eaton for Thomas Dutton *c.*1614 are each addressed to members of the deceased's family. Leigh's is dedicated to Sir Urian Legh, knight, son of Thomas.[86] Eaton's sermon is directed to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, knight (son-in-law and sire of Dutton's one-year-old grandson, Dutton Gerard), his wife, Eleanor, (the deceased's daughter), and the widow, Thomasine Dutton.[87]

The wife's role in extending the line was also celebrated in the sermons. Addressing Legh's widow, Minister Leigh offers his blessings and prayers for the

[82] Edward Stanley's will, PCC (NA): PROB11/54. Peter Legh's will, CCALSS: WS 1635. Tildisley's will: *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester*, transcr. Piccope, ed. Earwalker, pp. 132-151.

[83] *Lancs and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, ed. Piccope, vol. 2, p. 214.

[84] H. Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven and London 1991), pp. 255f., 258.

[85] Ibid., p. 258.

[86] William Leigh, *The Christians Watch: or An Heavenly Instruction to all Christians, to Expect with Patience the Happy Day of their Change by Death or Doome.* Preached at Prestbury Church in Cheshire at the Funerals of the right worshipfull Thomas Leigh of Adlington Esquire, the 16. of February Anno 1601 (London 1605), A2r in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [accessed 09 May 2005].

[87] Ancestry of 'Thomas Dutton, Esquire' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. 77f.; Eaton, A3v.

'helping hand of providence and protection, with my verie good Lady your Vine, and all your Olive branches', whilst Eaton addressing Gerrard and the widow Dutton does much the same asking, 'that you and your good Ladie, your worshipfull mother in law, with the rest of your line and familie maie be kept by the power of God'.[88] In his sermon, Eaton attends to Dutton's 'birth and progenitours' briefly, suggesting, 'it be worthy respect to descend from the loines of those that are worthy and worshipful'.[89]

This idea of a 'collective' familial honour – the accretion of which would help to cement more securely a family's place in the social order (and at death, in perpetuity) – was expressed by Dr William Chaderton as part of the funeral sermon he delivered at the funeral of Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, in 1593. Chaderton indicated to Ferdinando, the earl's son and heir, that he 'inherits' his father's virtues.[90] Notably, this sentiment also is clearly visible in Cheshire and Lancashire funeral certificates. They mark heraldic participation and include relevant details of the deceased's age, date of death, place of interment, rank and public service. The emphasis, however, is clearly on lineage. Particulars of ancestry, first and successive marriages, issues of the marriages and issues of subsequent generations responsible for continuing the line are included. In many instances, a drawing or blazon of the deceased's arms is prominent.[91]

Names of sons and heirs (both alive and deceased) are mentioned in their father's funeral certificate entry. Significantly, however, those achievements by sons that could bring honour on their family – especially through outward manifestations of gentility including university education, military or public service – are conspicuously included. The funeral certificate of William Bispham, gentleman, of Lancashire recounts his son Samuel's work as 'one of the Docters of Phisick in ordnary to Kinge Charles' yet merely mentions the age of his other son, William, who is his heir.[92] The funeral certificate of Robert Brerewood, Mayor of Chester (*d.*1601) indicates that his heir and son, who predeceased him, was 'M^r^ of Artes, reader of Astronomy Lecture in Gresham Colleeg in London'.[93] The aforementioned Thomas Legh's funeral certificate includes a reference to his second son Thomas's service and death whilst serving as a captain in Ireland and his fourth son, Raffe's demise 'at an asalte beforeth Newry, in the realme of Ireland'.[94]

Clearly, the heraldic funeral, family chapels, commemorative monuments and funeral certificates were informed by the sentiment of the time: 'For a man's very

[88] Leigh, A3v; Eaton, A3v.

[89] Eaton, Dv.

[90] 'Henry Earl of Derby' in *Lancs Funeral Certificates* (note 2 above), p. 27.

[91] For example, see 'Hugh Leigh, Alderman' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. 128; for extensive paintings of the coats of arms of each deceased alongside his/her funeral certificate entry see CA record Ms I.24, and many other Mss in the same record series (shelfmark 'I').

[92] 'William Bispham' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. 198f.

[93] 'Robert Brerewood' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, p. 39.

[94] 'Thomas Legh' in *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. 124f.

being as honourable had been transmitted to him with the blood of his ancestors, themselves honourable men'.[95] This emphasis on lineage and collective honour did not preclude however, consideration of the individual deceased. As Mervyn James suggests, 'there can be no doubt that the principal emphasis in the funerary ritual was on the greatness of the dead man'.[96] And such was the case in Cheshire and Lancashire, as J. F. R. Day relates: the elaborate heraldic funeral of Edward Stanley, the third Earl of Derby, served to proclaim 'the dead man not only a gentleman of rank but also a man of honour and godliness'.[97] This, as well as the consideration of Dutton and Legh's virtues in Eaton and Leigh's funeral sermons, works against suggestions that heraldic funerals emphasised the 'replaceability' of the individual and served mainly to commemorate 'the person who filled a certain rank'.[98]

Unquestionably, funeral sermons were mainly homiletic; they were meant to reinforce godly virtues and remind mourners of their own mortality. The didactic intent of Eaton and Leigh's invocation of Legh and Dutton's meritorious qualities is clear. The men are to serve as examples of piety and virtue for the living. Nevertheless, acknowledging the value of funeral sermons to the community does not suggest the individual in whose honour the sermon is delivered is inconsequential. On the contrary, it was through the public reminiscence of the virtues of the deceased individual that the community was exhorted to 'remember death'.

The public recounting of the deceased's virtues also contributed to the family 'capital' of honour, thus enhancing the reputation and prestige of the family name. As such, this played an important part in heraldic obsequies.

Despite the fact that the deceased's public role was mentioned in Eaton and Leigh's sermons, the emphasis was on the uniqueness of the individual and not his rank. Eaton does note of Dutton, 'It was well knowne he was a good magistrate in this country [. . .] Hee was full of courage in the execution of Justice' and states 'I know not wel how to parallel him with any of his ranke and place'.[99] Along with lauding Dutton for his public service, however, Eaton emphasises the private qualities others may not have witnessed first-hand: specifically, Dutton's hospitality to others and, perhaps most importantly, 'his love and kindnesse to his poore friends and neighbours'.[100] Whilst this attention to a gentleman's charitable works might be viewed as simply a non-specific funerary panegyric and an exemplar of the *de mortuis* principle, Eaton's explication of his claim of Dutton's beneficence to his neighbours and the poor takes on a personal, anecdotal quality that negates this idea. Eaton relates, 'he was ready to speak for them, to write for them, and to lend them money in their neede. It was his resolution to keep some money by him alwaies, if God should so blesse him and inable him, that he might lend (as he said) five pounds,

[95] James, 'English politics', p. 325.
[96] 'Two Tudor Funerals' (note 4 above), p. 177.
[97] 'Death Be Very Proud' p. 185.
[98] See N. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* (note 8 above), p. 60; Gittings, op. cit. p. 175.
[99] Eaton, D2r, D3r.
[100] Ibid., D2v

tenne pounds, or twenty pounds, to any neighbour or Gentleman upon an urgent occasion [...]'.[101] Likewise, Leigh recounts individual specifics about Legh, asserting that he did not let 'the canker' of his gold 'rust his soule', he prayed for his friends and enemies and he frequently provided an 'ableman' to serve as 'an assistant to ayde and helpe the pastor heere'.[102]

It has been argued that monuments and their inscriptions in this period also denied the sense of the individual, as they focused on the 'public' rather than the 'private' person.[103] However, at the time, gender constructs promoted a conflation of both roles, as one's private function—as the head of one's family—had public resonance.[104] As such, the inclusion of personal family details that identified the deceased in his role as a son, husband and father can be viewed as part of both his private and public self and very much a comment on the individual. As Philippe Ariès notes in *The Hour of Our Death*, even the earliest epigraphs can be seen as statements of individuality, the evolution of which ranged from 'discreet statements of identity' to 'expressions of familial solidarity', with tombs reflecting 'the physical appearance of the man, the symbol of his personality'.[105]

In Cheshire and Lancashire, the commonplace display of coat of arms on tombs demonstrated familial affiliation and collective honour. It also served a biographical function akin to that which Neil Cuddy suggests displays of arms in portraiture of the time did: to fix 'the sitter's exact identity as well as his or her dynastic position'.[106] Additionally, funerary iconography exhibited 'many of the ideals and beliefs that shaped gentry culture' and in this way reflected the individual, the life they lived and values they embraced; "gentle" lives informed by Protestant theological constructs of masculinity, 'Ciceronian concepts of virtue' and Castiglione's courtier.[107] Consequently, it was not unusual to find the public image depicted in an effigy in full plate-armour with inscriptions that outlined the deceased's service and virtues, since this was how they defined themselves.

Sir John Warburton's truncated effigy in Great Budworth is in full armour. A brass commemorative plaque represents him as a husband to Mary, the father to four sons and three daughters, and a man constant in religion, a lover of letters and friend of the poor.[108] Philip Mainwaring is depicted in full armour (**Figure 3** above). His actual armour is displayed on the chapel wall. In the same church, his ancestors Sir Randle and Sir John Mainwaring are portrayed in plate-armour, and a suit of mail respectively.

[101] Eaton, ibid. [102] Leigh, F7r . [103] Gittings, op. cit. p.185.

[104] Amussen, pp. 34-36.

[105] P. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, (trans. Helen Weaver, Harmondsworth 1981), pp. 202, 217.

[106] N. Cuddy, 'Dynasty and Display: Politics and Painting in England 1530-1630' in *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, ed. K. Hearn (London 1995), pp. 11-44 at 10).

[107] Cust, 'Funeral Monuments'; Amussen, pp. 35-45; A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford 2003), p. 88.

[108] *in religione constans | amator literaru(m) & amicus pauperu(m).*

Mainwaring's monumental inscription portrays him as a husband to Ellen, a father to eight sons and one daughter and the son and heir to Sir Randolph, knight, deputy lieutenant, justice of the peace and captain of the horse. On his memorial tomb on the north side of the sanctuary in Bunbury Church, Cheshire, naval hero Sir George Beeston is in full armour, his tomb illustrative of a Tudor ship. The inscription outlines Beeston's much-lauded naval service against the Armada, but also exemplifies Ariès' idea of collective epigraphy in that the inscription above the Beeston effigy refers to Beeston, his parents, and his son.[109]

Heraldic funerals and commemoration continued in Cheshire and Lancashire into the late seventeenth century. The monument to Richard Legh of Lyme in St Oswald's Winwick is dated 1687; that of Thomas, third Earl Rivers, Viscount Colchester and Savage, in St Michael and All Angels Macclesfield is dated 1694 (**Plate 5**). Accounts for obsequies date as late as 1688. The latter challenges Gittings's contention that the 'heralds' monopoly over funerals of the Elizabethan era [...] did not outlast the Queen herself'.[110] Harleian Ms 2129 in the British Library (entitled 'Funeral Orders and Church Monuments') contains Holme's drawing of the hearse 'set up at Bowden Church' in Cheshire in August 1684 for the heraldic funeral of George Lord Booth, Baron of Delamare, as well as a record of the charges for the heraldic funeral of Lord Assley on 19 September 1688 of Crewe Hall, who was 'carried away' to Staffordshire to be interred.[111] Lists of charges in the same collection for the funerals of Sir Richard Grosvenor in 1645, Hugh Leigh and Humphrey Chetham in 1653, Sir Rafe Ashton in 1667 and Sir George Warburton in 1676 indicate that the heraldic funeral remained important throughout this period.[112] This differs from the findings of Gittings and Day, who argue that the seventeenth century saw the herald's control of funerals undermined, with night burials 'prevalent' amongst persons of status, and private funerals without heralds becoming the norm.[113] There were in fact night obsequies, as the funeral of Sir Rafe Assheton in1617/8 attests, but the heraldic funeral and a torch-lit burial were not mutually exclusive.

[109] Cf. J. P. Rylands and F. C. Beazley, 'The Monuments at Bunbury Church, Cheshire: Pt. I', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 69 (1917), quoted at http://www.bunbury.org.uk/johnpapers/sirgeorgebeeston3frame.htm [accessed 20 May 2005].

[110] See C. Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular: 1558-1660' in *Death in England: an illustrated history*, edd. P. C. Jupp and C. Gittings (Manchester 1999), pp. 147-73, at 170. The findings in Cheshire and Lancashire are in keeping with Sir Anthony Wagner's observation that such obsequies continued into the late seventeenth century, when he notes, 'the fashion for such funerals collapsed rather suddenly about 1690'. He cites peers' funeral certificates demonstrating heraldic participation in these obsequies as late as 1691 and the lament of John Gibbon in 1671 over the decline of heraldic funerals (and fees collected):'It was my hard hap to become a member of the Heralds Office, when the Ceremony of Funerals (as accompanied with Officers of Arms) began to be in the Wane . . . In eleven years time I have had but five Turns'. Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London 1967), p. 112.

[111] Harl 2129, fos 56 r-v, 63r.

[112] Ibid., fos 14Ar, 15v, 17Ar; *Cheshire and Lancs Funeral Certificates*, pp. xx, 128, 200.

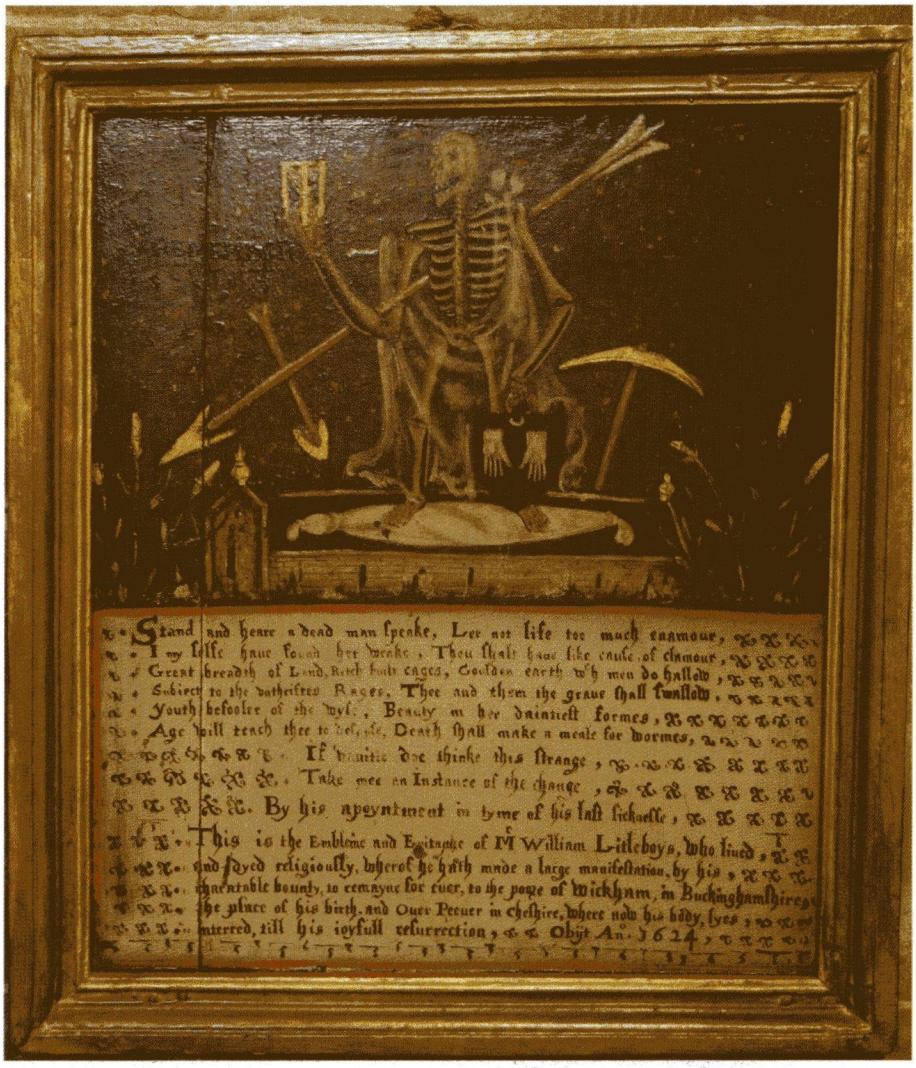
[113] Gittings, op. cit. p. 188; Day, op. cit. p. 183.

Whilst Assheton was buried in Cheshire one day after he died, three weeks later he received a heraldic funeral replete with all the trappings – trumpeters, Grammar school boys reciting 'elegiac verses and lachrymose lamentations', two heralds from the College of Arms in London – and marshalled by Randle Holme.[114]

[114] Raines, op. cit. (note 63 above), pp. xiv-xv.

The second and concluding part of this article will appear in the next number of The Coat of Arms.

PLATE 4



St Lawrence's parish church, Over Peover, Cheshire: memorial tablet to William Littleboys (d. 1624) on the east wall of the Mainwaring north chapel. The departed lies in his winding sheet, surmounted by Death who holds, among other attributes, an emblematic coat of arms. *See page 39.*

PLATE 5

Parish church of St Michael and All Angels, Macclesfield, Cheshire: monument to Thomas, 3rd Earl Rivers, 1694. *See page 53*.