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Now scattered throughout parish churches, manor houses and museums, the funeral hatchments of Great Britain attest to the evolution of cultural attitudes toward death and public mourning. Documented in the British Isles from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, they became commonplace in the funeral obsequies of the nobility and gentry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reaching the height of their popularity between 1830 and 1850. Although their vogue declined significantly after 1880, modern archaizing examples are known. Today scholars value hatchments for the evidence they provide on heraldry, genealogy and local history as well as for their inherent artistic qualities. Contributing to our knowledge of these armorial paintings is the previously unknown hatchment of the first Baron Wrottesley (1771-1841), of Wrottesley Hall, near Tettenhall (Wolverhampton), Staffordshire.

¹ The following abbreviations are used throughout this article: SRO = Staffordshire Record Office (Stafford); WALS = Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies (Wolverhampton); WSL = William Salt Library (Stafford); *HiB* = *Hatchments in Britain*, general editors Peter Summers and John E. Titterton (ten volumes, various places 1975-94).

² John E. Titterton, *HiB* 10, pp. 7, 11, 15, 17-18, 33-6. On the evolution of funeral practice in England see Paul S. Fritz, 'From "public" to "private": the royal funerals in England, 1500-1830', in Joachim Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: studies in the social history of death* (New York 1981), pp. 61-79; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London 1984), pp. 36-7, 89-101, 166-215; Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford 1996), pp. 194-203; Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (edd.), *Death in England: an illustrated history* (New Brunswick 2000), pp. 156-64, 166-70, 189-90, 221-4, 242-5; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: visual culture in the English death ritual*, *c.1500-c.1800* (London 1991), pp. 9-12, 54-79; Nigel Llewellyn, 'Claims to status through visual codes: heraldry on post-Reformation funeral monuments', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge 1990), pp. 145-60; John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (Pittsburgh 1971), pp. 11-12, 19-31, plates 41-2, 85; and Anthony Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (London 1978), pp. 79-85.

³ Titterton, op. cit. pp. 33-6.

⁴ The painting, now in a private collection in the United States, was sold at public auction by Rago Arts and Auction Center, Lambertville, New Jersey (Discovery Auction, 24 Jan. 2009, lot 37). The catalogue entry describes the work as an untitled twentieth-century painting from a private collection in New Jersey. We thank the present owner for permission to study and reproduce the work.

The painting measures 49×49 inches, but it may have been cut down from a standard size of 54×54 inches, perhaps when it was wax-lined. Aside from exhibiting paint touch-ups throughout, the canvas has been patched in a few places. The gilding remains bright and fresh, but the areas of lighter pigments, especially the white background, show darkening due to varnish discoloration. The various restorations cannot be accurately dated, but the oak stretcher appears to be from the nineteenth century. The whole has been newly framed in the traditional style in a four-inch black moulding with a gold fillet. In the present article, we discuss the salient features of Lord Wrottesley's hatchment, focusing on its heraldic elements, its subject's biography, and its likely provenance.

Heraldic identification

The two individuals referenced in the hatchment can be readily identified by their arms. In the dexter half (against a black background, for the deceased), *Or three piles sable and a canton ermine*, with a baronet's badge at fess point, for Wrottesley, impaling, in the sinister half (against a white background, for the widow), *Azure a maunch argent tasseled or over all a bendlet gobony argent and ermine*, for Conyers (see **Plate 7**). Above the shield, over a baron's coronet, is the Wrottesley crest: *Issuant from a crest coronet or a boar's head argent charged with an ermine spot sable*. The supporters – *On either side a unicorn rampant argent langued gules armed crined unguled tufted gorged with a crest coronet and chained the chains reflexed over the back or* – are thought to have been granted to Sir Hugh de Wrottesley, K.G. (d. 21-9 January 1381), the most celebrated (but equally the most notorious) member of the Wrottesley family. Sir Hugh assumed the arms of Sir Roger Basset, the brother of Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton (d. 1298), between 1333 and 1349. Sir Roger's only child and heir, a daughter named Joan, married Sir Hugh's father, William de

 $^{^5}$ On the two standard sizes of hatchments – 45×45 inches (one ell square) and 54×54 inches (a yard-and-a-half square) – see Titterton, op. cit. pp. 13, 24, 37. The possibility that Lord Wrottesley's hatchment was a non-standard size cannot be discounted.

⁶ For alternative designs of the Wrottesley crest, see Joseph MacLaren (ed.), *Knight & Butters' Crests of Great Britain & Ireland, Dominion of Canada, India & Australasia* (2 vols., London n.d.) vol. 1, p. 435; vol. 2, pl. 3, nos 3 and 6.

⁷ During the early stages of the Hundred Years' War, Sir Hugh served in the retinue of the Black Prince at the Battle of Crécy (26 Aug. 1346) and afterwards at the Siege of Calais (4 Sep. 1346 - 4 Aug. 1347) and was one of the original Knights of the Garter when Edward III founded the Order in 1348. Although it is widely thought that the unicorn supporters were granted to Sir Hugh, they do not appear in a family seal until the fifteenth century, when they were used by Sir Walter Wrottesley (d. 10 Apr. 1473). This coincidence indicates that Sir Walter may have been a Knight of the Garter as well, even though no extant evidence confirms it. A later Walter Wrottesley purchased the baronetcy from Charles I on 22 August 1642; it was conferred on 30 August. For a discussion of all these matters, see George Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley of Wrottesley, Co. Stafford* (Exeter 1903), pp. 105-10, 115, 153-4, 240-1, 243, 298, 314-18.

Wrottesley, in 1313, Presumably in conjunction with his election as a Knight of the Garter (1348), Sir Hugh took up his maternal grandfather's arms (with a change of tincture for difference), abandoning the Verdon fret that the Wrotteslevs had borne since the thirteenth century (for representative illustrations of the Wrottesley arms. see the Appendix at the end of this article, section A). The Convers arms in particular prove that this painting was commissioned for the funeral obsequies of John, Lord Wrottesley (d. 16 March 1841), the first baron and ninth baronet, whose widow (and second wife) was Julia Convers (b. 1781/82, d. 29 September 1860), daughter of John Convers of Copped Hall (otherwise Copt Hall or Copthall), Essex. Lady Wrottesley was the widow of Captain John Bennett, the brother of the baron's first wife, Caroline Bennett, who had died on 7 March 1818; the second marriage took place on 19 May 1819. 10 Inconsistencies in the tinctures of the Convers arms – which the Essex branch usually bore in the form Azure a maunch or over all a bendlet gobony gules and ermine – suggest that the hatchment was incorrectly painted (for representative illustrations of the Convers arms, see the Appendix, section B). 11 The motto VIS UNITA FORTIOR ('Strength is Increased by Union'), an evocation of the Stafford Knot, is remarkable for its political sentiment in a time when hatchments typically bore such conventional religious mottoes as RESURGAM ('I shall rise again'), MORS JANUA VITAE ('Death is the gateway to life'), and IN CAELO OUIES ('In heaven there is rest'). 12 This particular motto emphasizes the Wrottesleys' ties to Staffordshire, the county in which they had maintained their seat since the Conquest and which they had represented regularly in Parliament since 1708, when John Wrottesley, who be-

⁸ Wrottesley, History of the Family of Wrottesley, pp. 62-5.

⁹ Notices of the baron's death appeared in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle* (17 March 1841) and *The Staffordshire Advertiser* (20 March 1841). SRO: D1364/1/17, Tettenhall burial regs., p. 186 no. 1483. The dowager Lady Wrottesley's final illness and death are poignantly described in a letter by George Wrottesley (WSL: 29/74, dated 2 Oct. 1860). For her obituary, see *London Review* 1.14 (6 Oct. 1860), p. 328, and *Illustrated London News*, 13 Oct. 1860.

¹⁰ Lady Caroline was a posthumous victim of her husband's liberal politics. On 15 Jan. 1821, the loyalist newspaper *John Bull* published an article insinuating that she had had a sexual relationship with a servant. For a summary of the subsequent prosecution for criminal libel brought at the instance of Sir John, see *Edinburgh Annual Register* 14 (1821), pp. 55-60 (appendix), and *Gent's Mag.* 1821 (ii), p. 559. Found guilty, the owners and printer of the paper were fined and imprisoned.

¹¹ Some authorities report the Conyers maunch to be argent, but we have found none in which the bendlet is argent and ermine (as opposed to gules and ermine). See Papworth pp. 977-79, s.v. maunch, and 'Glover's Ordinary of Arms, Augmented and Improved', in William Berry, Encyclopædia heraldica, or Complete Dictionary of Heraldry (3 vols., London n.d.) vol. 1, pp. 84-5, s.v. maunches, &c. Although the silver maunch may be a difference for a Conyers female, we consider it more likely that the tinctures were misinterpreted, either when the painting was first made or during a later stage of restoration.

¹² Titterton, op. cit. pp. 46-7.

came the fourth baronet in 1712, was returned alongside Henry Paget, the future Earl of Uxbridge (1714).¹³

Lord Wrottesley: gentleman farmer, politician, businessman

Born at Wrottesley on 25 October 1771, John Wrottesley, then heir apparent to the baronetcy, obtained (by family purchase) a commission in the British army on 24 September 1787, one month before his sixteenth birthday.¹⁴ Following his training under Marcel de Pignerolle at the Académie d'équitation d'Angers (near Anjou, France), he saw regular combat in different regiments of the infantry and light cavalry between 1790 and 1795, resigning his commission in that year at the rank of major. Having come of age on 25 October 1792, he returned home to manage his large estate and to marry, on 23 June 1795, Lady Caroline Bennett, daughter of Charles (Bennett), fourth Earl of Tankerville (d. 10 December 1822), a well-known conchologist and cricket enthusiast. In 1799, Sir John commenced his public service as a Member of Parliament, representing Lichfield until he lost his seat in 1806. He was returned to Parliament in 1823 for Staffordshire and in 1833 for South Staffordshire, losing his seat again in 1837 but taking up another in the House of Lords when he was elevated to the peerage on 11 July 1838. His political legacy seems to have been modest. A Whig like his father, he supported pro-parliamentary and liberal social causes, concerning himself mainly with issues of agriculture, the military, and banking. His expertise in the last area was based on his management of the Wolverhampton Bank which he operated between 1822 and 1833 in partnership with Francis Holyoake. The bank's success derived largely from investments in the booming iron industry. Following Holyoake's death in 1834, however, Wrottesley withdrew from the venture.

¹³ On the history of the Wrottesleys' presence in parliament, which is conjectural for the medieval period, see Josiah C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, vol. 1 (= *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 3rd ser. 1917-18: Stafford 1919), pp. 246-9, 253 (Sir Walter Wrottesley), 256 (Henry Wrottesley), 284 (Richard Wrottesley), 305 (Walter Wrottesley); vol. 2 (= *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 3rd ser. 1920 & 1922: Stafford 1922), pp. 199-202 (Sir John Wrottesley, fourth baronet), 286-9, 293-4, 297, 301-4 (Sir John Wrottesley, eighth baronet).

This capsule biography of Lord Wrottesley draws mainly on the following sources: Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, pp. 364-77; E. I. Carlyle (rev. Anita McConnell), 'Wrottesley, John, second Baron Wrottesley (1798-1867)', *Oxford DNB* (online at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30089); and his obituary in *Gent's Mag*. 1841 (i), pp. 650-1 (with a few errors of fact). On Lord Wrottesley's work in Parliament, see N. J. Tringham, 'Parliamentary representation', in *VCH Staffs* xiv, pp. 92-5 at 94, and especially Josiah C. Wedgwood, *Staffordshire Parliamentary History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, vol. 3 (= *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 3rd ser. 1933 pt. 1: Stafford 1934), pp. 10-36, 47-50, 53-9, 62-5, 68-77, 89-92, 101. Anecdotal accounts of 19th-century life at Wrottesley can be found in Geoffrey Hancock, *A Tettenhall History* (Tettenhall n.d.), pp. 44-6, 49, 51, with background information on the family on pp. 12-15, 19-21, 23-4, 26-32, 79. For a modern historical perspective on the Wrottesleys in Tettenhall, Codsall, Patshull, Trysull, Womburne, and Woodford Grange, see *VCH Staffs* xx, pp. 5, 11, 18-21, 25, 26-8, 29-35, 36, 39-43, 46-7, 82-4, 86-8, 90, 168-9, 184, 189, 191-2, 195, 202-4, 209-13, and 225.

From his seat at Wrottesley Hall, Sir John managed a vast agricultural enterprise. farming approximately 1, 500 acres. 15 Like many of his wealthy neighbours, he kept cattle (the less common short-horned variety). Leicester sheep, and small pigs; he also cultivated turnips and corn on a large scale, presumably as supplemental winter fodder. 16 Following a national trend toward improvement, he embraced scientific advances to maximize the commercial potential of his holdings. His interests extended to tile drainage, animal husbandry, mechanized planting, and natural fertilizing. 17 Lord Wrottesley's house was a symmetrical brick structure in the William and Mary style built around 1690 near the site of the original fortified hall (see Figure 1, over). 18 At the time of its sale by auction on 5 November 1963, the estate consisted of almost 3.260 acres, including twelve farms, six parcels of arable and pasture land. woodlands, and several cottages, all of which generated a rental income of £10,504.19 All of Lord Wrottesley's fourteen children - six of whom died before the age of sixteen – were the offspring of his first marriage to Caroline Bennett (whose arms are not depicted in his hatchment). His surviving sons pursued standard careers as clergymen, lawyers, and military officers. Of particular note are the achievements of his eldest son, John, the second baron, who, as a highly respected mathematician and

¹⁵ Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, p. 369. In *A Topographical History of Staffordshire, including its Agriculture, Mines, and Manufactures* (Newcastle-under-Lyme 1817), William Pitt reported that Lord Wrottesley farmed six or seven hundred acres (pt. 2, p. 95). In 1851, the entire estate consisted of 2,319 acres, according to William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Staffordshire, and the City and County of the City of Lichfield* (2nd edn., Sheffield 1851), p. 207. A map dated September 1634 (SRO: D3548/1) indicates that Wrottesley manor consisted of about 125 parcels totalling almost 1,388 acres, of which about 443 acres were held in demesne, excluding the enclosed Wrottesley Park (453 acres).

¹⁶ Pitt, *Topographical History of Staffordshire* pt. 2, pp. 37-8, 94-5. Pitt remarks that the Wrottesley estate also had good timber stands, especially oak (pt. 1, p. 184; pt. 2, p. 57). In addition, the family operated a freestone quarry; see Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (2 vols., London 1798-1801), vol. 2 pt. 1, p. 199. For general comments on agriculture in Staffordshire, see especially White, op. cit. pp. 53-6, and C. R. J. Currie, 'Agriculture 1793 to 1875', in *VCH Staffs*. vi, pp. 91-121, with specific references to Lord Wrottesley's farming practices at 93, 97 and 114.

¹⁷On Lord Wrottesley's improvements, especially his drainage program, see Pitt, *Topographical History*, pt. 2, pp. 85-6, 94-5.

¹⁸ The house has been attributed to the Smith brothers by Andor Gomme, *Smith of Warwick: Francis Smith, architect and master-builder* (Stamford 2000), pp. 26-8, 63-5, 75, 79-80, 92-7, 384, 452, 558. Nevertheless, George Wrottesley reports that one of the hoppers for the drainpipes bore the date of 1689, an indication that the new structure may have been built by the brothers' father, Francis. See Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, p. 408, correcting an erroneous date reported on p. 340, n. 1. For a depiction of the medieval Hall, see the 1634 map cited in note 15 (SRO: D3548/1).

¹⁹ This information comes from the original 1963 sale catalogue (WSL: Sc Q/3/29; WALS: D-TET/14/2/29). The third baron, Arthur, reportedly owned about 5,800 acres when he died on 28 December 1910; see *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 4 Jan. 1911. On 23 Oct. 1929 the family sold approximately 1,500 acres in South Staffs. (sale catalogue at SRO: D5450/7/1-2; WALS: DX-738/1).



Figure 1: Engraving of Wrottesley Hall based on a drawing by Stebbing Shaw (1801). The pediment displays the arms of Wrottesley impaling Archer: see Appendix A (vi). The hatchment was probably displayed on the façade of this building following Lord Wrottesley's death.

From Shaw, The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire, vol. 2 pt. 1, pl. XXVII facing p. 204.

astronomer, became President of the Royal Society on 30 November 1854, having been elected a Fellow in 1841.

The first baron's second wife, Julia Conyers, remains little more than a shadow. The Convers family originated in Yorkshire and County Durham, and at least one nineteenth-century writer speculated that the 'gobony' bendlet was a sign of their illegitimate descent.²⁰ Distinguished for their parliamentary service since the seventeenth century, the southern branch of the family was financially successful as well as politically connected. Julia's great-grandfather, Edward Conyers (1693-1742), purchased the Copped Hall estate in 1739; his son John (1717-1775), Julia's grandfather, demolished the old Tudor structure and replaced it with a new Georgian hall in the 1750s. Julia's brother, Henry John (1782-1853), who inherited Copped Hall in 1818, was a staunch Tory known for his violent temper and mania for hunting.²¹ In contrast, Julia was called 'delightful' by Lord Palmerston, then Secretary at War in Spencer Perceval's premiership, in a letter to his sister Frances (29 October 1810).²² Though not an unbiased source, George Wrottesley also referred to her as 'one of the most agreeable women of her day'. 23 In keeping with the custom of upper-class females, Julia dabbled in sketching and painting, but little else is known about her character and interests.24

²⁰ John Woodward, *A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, with English and French Glossaries* (rev. edn., 2 vols., Edinburgh and London 1896), vol. 2 pp. 183-4. On the Conyerses of Horden, Durham, who were created baronets on 14 July 1628, see Thomas Wotton, *The English Baronetage* (4 vols. in 5, London 1741) vol. 2 pp. 99-[105], and E. Kimber and R. Johnson, *The Baronetage of England* (3 vols., London 1771) vol. 1 pp. 312-15. For the Conyers family of Norton Conyers, see Scott Norton, 'Norton Coat of Arms Study' (*www.nortonfamily. net*). The pedigree of the Essex branch can be found in Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), *The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634* (Harl. Soc. pubns. 13-14: London 1878-79), vol. 2 pp. 649-50, indicating descent from Thomas Conyers (d. 1449) of Whitby, North Yorkshire. Also useful is J. Horsfall Turner, *The Coats of Arms of the Nobility & Gentry of Yorkshire* (Idle 1911), pp. 54, 150, 156, 195, 219-20, 236, 241, 243, 245, 255.

²¹ On the Conyers family at Copped Hall, see Raymond Cassidy, *Copped Hall: a short history* (Waltham Abbey 1983), pp. 16-20, and Sylvia Keith, *Nine Centuries at Copped Hall* (n.p. 2007), pp. 36-52. See also Burke, *LG* 1847, vol. 1 pp. 252-3, which references Sir Gerard Conyers (d. 1737) as the grandfather of Edward (who purchased Copped Hall) even though he was, according to modern sources, an uncle. Henry John Conyers had three daughters, all of whom were married but had no issue. The Copped Hall estate was sold in 1869. We are grateful to Alan Cox, Chairman of the Copped Hall Trust, for additional information on the Conyers genealogy.

²² Evelyn Ashley, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry John Temple*, *Viscount Palmerston* (2 vols., London 1879), vol. 1 pp. 62-3.

²³ Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, p. 374.

²⁴ Seven of Julia's drawings survive in an album recently acquired by the New York Public Library: *Pforz BT (Lamb, Ca.) 01, ff. 12, 16, 27, 28, 38, 40r, 44. For digital images, see digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm. Also relevant is bloomsburyauctions.com/detail/NY029/338.0. In recent years, Matilda Conyers (1753-1803), one of Julia's paternal aunts, has been recognized for her fine botanical drawings and paintings. A large cache of letters written

The passing of Lord Wrottesley on 16 March 1841 was a notable event. His funeral, which took place on 23 March, drew crowds of mourners from the surrounding communities, not to mention a host of curious spectators. A description appeared in *The Wolverhampton Chronicle* on 24 March 1841,²⁵ and is worth repeating in full:

LORD WROTTESLEY'S FUNERAL

The funeral of the above respected nobleman took place yesterday (Tuesday), at Tettenhall, and the esteem in which his lordship was held by his neighbours was testified by the presence of a large concourse of persons in addition to those parties invited to attend the funeral ceremonies. The arrangements were entrusted to Mrs. Lovatt, of this town, and the attention given by that lady and her assistants to the details and general conduct of the funeral were such as to excite general admiration. The utmost order reigned throughout, and the day being fine enabled the carriages to put down in the turnpike road opposite the church, instead of proceeding to the gates, as intended if the weather had proved unfavourable.

The procession left Wrottesley about one o'clock, and reached the beautiful village where the family vault is situated about two, arriving in the following order:—

Mute.

Mute.

Clerk.

Clerk.

Beadle.

Beadle.

Eighteen Tenants, on horseback, with hatbands and scarves.

First coach.—The Rev. I. H. Bright, the Rev. C. Cotes, the Rev. M. Kemsey, and the Rev. G. Inge.

Second Coach.—H. Crump, Esq. of Albrighton, surgeon to the deceased.

Coffin maker.

Plumber.

Undertaker.

Assistant.

Mute.

Mute.

Page.

Plume. Page.

Groom. { Steward, bearing cap of state and coronet. } Groom.

THE HEARSE.

(Footnote 24 continued)

by Julia to an unidentified correspondent (or correspondents) at Aston Hall near Oswestry, Shropshire, dating between 1800 and c.1857, may throw additional light on her private life, but we have not examined them. The letters are now NLW: Aston Hall Estate Records, Correspondence, nos. 7007-29, 7381; summary descriptions in vol. 4 of the collection schedule at isys.llgc.org.uk/isysquery/irl8953/4/doc. The same archive also contains letters from other members of the Wrottesley family about Julia and numerous references to the Conyers and Wrottesley families in general; see nos 243-5, 1162-3, 1416, 1735a, 1736, 1769 (schedule vol. 1: isys.llgc.org.uk/isysquery/irl8953/1/doc); nos 2914, 2916, 2924, 2966, 2978, 2980, 3031, 3098, 3141, 3162, 3212, 3227, 3232-4, 3246, 3248, 3261, 3336, 3609, 3718 (vol. 2: isys.llgc.org.uk/isysquery/irl8953/2/doc); nos 4912, 4917, 5330, 5434, 5592, 5683 (vol. 3: isys.llgc.org.uk/isysquery/irl8953/3/doc); and nos 5838, 6028, 6095, 6174, 6207, 6219, 6242, 7030-2 (the last with two original sketches by Julia of Aston Hall), 7186, 7380, 8298 (all vol. 4 as above).

²⁵ Abridged versions of this article later appeared in *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 27 March 1841, and *Gent's Mag*. 1841 (i), pp. 650-1.

Third coach.—Lord Wrottesley, the Hon. Edward Wrottesley, Lieutenant Col. the Hon. Charles Wrottesley, the Hon. Walter Wrottesley.

Fourth coach.—The Hon. Arthur Wrottesley, H. Straubenzee, Esq. John Conyers, Esq. W. Giffard, Esq. E. Monckton, Esq. J. Cotes, Esq.

Fifth coach.—The Earl Talbot, the Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Hatherton, Sir F. Lawley, Bart.

Sixth coach.—Sir G. Pigot, Bart. T. Cotes, Esq. E. Monckton, Esq. W. Inge, Esq. Seventh coach.—Sir T. F. F. Boughey, Bart. T. Holyoake, Esq. G. Holyoake, Esq. F. Taylor, Esq.

Private carriages.—Including those of the late Lord Wrottesley, the horses dressed with black hammer cloths, &c. the Earl of Dartmouth, Earl Talbot, Lady Ward, Lord Hatherton, Sir T. F. F. Boughey, Bart. Sir George Pigot, Bart. Sir F. Lawley, Bart. T. W. Giffard, Esq. E. Monckton, Esq. T. Cotes, Esq. W. Inge, Esq. Miss Hinckes, G. Holyoake, Esq. H. Hordern, Esq. T. Boycott, Esq. &c. &c.

The pall was supported by the Earl of Dartmouth, Earl Talbot, Lord Hatherton, Sir F. Lawley, Bart. Sir R. Pigot, Bart. W. Inge, Esq. E. Monckton, Esq. and T. Cotes, Esq.

The service was impressively read by the Rev. E. J. Wrottesley, incumbent of Tettenhall, and a nephew of the deceased; and an occasional dirge from the organ, while the necessary arrangements were being made for the removal of the coffin, &c. added to the imposing solemnity of the interment. The vault is situated under the north chancel, which was fitted up for the reception of the mourners, pall bearers, &c. and amongst the afflicted family group who inspected the interior of the vault, at the conclusion of the service, we noticed the widowed Lady of the nobleman whose funeral obsequies we are recording, as well as the Hon. Miss Mary Wrottesley and Mrs. Robert Wrottesley. These ladies did not take part in the procession, but arrived about half an hour previously.

The mourning coaches, which were provided by Mr. Smith, of the Swan Hotel, in this town, were each drawn by four black horses, surmounted by plumes, &c.; and the hearse was drawn by six black horses, similarly caparisoned. The procession throughout was flanked with pages in funereal costume.

The coffin was made by Mr. Checketts, of this town, and was singularly elegant in its appearance. It was covered with black velvet, with gilt furniture, a crest on each of the handles, and the arms on the top of the inscription plate, which was surmounted by a baronial coronet. With these exceptions, the coffin was perfectly plain. A shell and leaden coffin were also used.

The mournful ceremony terminated about three o'clock, but many persons were afterwards admitted to see the vault.

In this town many of the shops were partially closed during the day.

The late Lord Wrottesley was eldest son of Major General Sir John Wrottesley, the eighth Baronet, by Frances, eldest daughter of William, first Viscount Courtenay; was born October 24, 1771, and succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death, April 23, 1787. He married first, in 1795, Lady Caroline, eldest daughter of Charles, late Earl of Tankerville, and by her, who died March 17, 1818, had issue ten children, of whom seven survive. The present Lord Wrottesley was born August 5, 1798; married, July 28, 1820, Sophia Elizabeth, third daughter of Thomas Giffard, Esq. of Chillington, by Lady Charlotte Giffard, sister of the late Earl of Devon, and has issue several children.

The article makes no mention of a hatchment borne aloft, secured to the hearse or to one of the mourning coaches, or displayed on the house or in the church of interment. Efforts to locate an itemized list of the baron's funeral expenses, which might

include the fee paid for his hatchment plus the name of the painter who executed it, have not been successful. The painting could have been commissioned in the weeks prior to Lord Wrottesley's death, as he had been mortally ill for months, occasioning the publication of at least one premature report of his passing, in *The Staffordshire Advertiser* on 6 February 1841.

A comprehensive survey of hatchments in Great Britain records only one for a member of the Wrottesley family: Frances (b. 1743, d. 13 April 1811), second daughter of the Very Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley (1721-1769), the seventh baronet (see **Plate 8a**). Sir Richard inherited the baronetcy in February 1732, after the premature death of four older brothers, two of whom predeceased the fourth baronet. As a second wife, Frances outlived her husband, Admiral Hugh Pigot, by almost nineteen years; he died on 15 December 1792. By all appearances, the Pigot-Wrottesley union was strategic. As a Member of Parliament, Pigot was a political ally of the third Duke of Grafton (Augustus Henry FitzRoy), Prime Minister between 1768 and 1770, whose second wife was Elizabeth Wrottesley (d. 25 May 1822), Sir Richard's third daughter. The marriage thus sealed an important Whig alliance and affirmed the social and economic bonds between the Wrottesleys and the Pigots, who maintained their seat at the neighbouring estate of Patshull.

In contrast to the Wrottesley arms, the Conyers arms appear on several hatchments, many of which were commissioned for distant relatives belonging to the family's northern branches.²⁹ In the present context, the most relevant Conyers hatchment is that for Caroline (d. 8 January 1848), sister of John Conyers (1748-1813), Julia's father, and consequently Julia's paternal aunt. The painting hangs in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Clare, Suffolk (see **Plate 8b**).³⁰ Caroline married Lt.-Col. John

²⁶ The painting hangs in the Church of St. Giles in Stoke Poges, Bucks. For details, see the entry by Peter Summers in *HiB* 4, p. 75. No Wrottesley hatchments are known among the fifty-seven recorded in Staffordshire; see *HiB* 8, pp. 145-63 (this section by John E. Titterton based on work undertaken by Joe Tindale and Ian Swinnerton).

²⁷ Her last will and testament can be found at SRO: D3211/41, 43. Admiral Pigot was the brother of George, Lord Pigot, the ill-fated Governor of Madras, who once owned the celebrated Pigot diamond.

²⁸ The famous Gainsborough portrait of Elizabeth, Duchess of Grafton, is among the collection of paintings at Woburn Abbey, seat of the Dukes of Bedford. Elizabeth's mother Mary was the second daughter of John (Leveson-Gower), 1st Earl Gower, whose eldest daughter Gertrude married John (Russell), 4th Duke of Bedford. See Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, pp. 346, 352.

²⁹ See *HiB* 3, pp. 28 (Church of St. Mary the Less, South Bailey, Durham, probably for Thomas Bowes, d. 13 March 1844), 132 (Church of St. Michael, Kirklington, for Sir Christopher Wandesforde, d. February 1686), 152 (St. Mary's Church, Thirsk, for John Bell, d. 23 April 1822), 156 (Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Thornton Watlass, for an unidentified individual); 4, p. 89 (Church of St. Bartholomew, Brightwell Baldwin, Oxfordshire, for the Rev. James Norton, d. 31 October 1853).

³⁰ Entry by Joan Corder, *HiB* 2, pp. 82-3. In depictions of the Conyers arms, the precise number of gobbets (compartments) in the bendlet as well as the sequence of tincture and fur appear to be matters of artistic licence. We thank Eric Hardy for allowing us to reproduce his photographs of this hatchment and the one for Caroline's husband.

Barker of Clare Priory on 10 April 1799, with her brother Edward (d. 1822), Vicar of Epping, officiating. Barker's hatchment, also at Clare Church, shows that he died at the age of 54 on 27 November 1804 (see **Plate 8c**). Curiously, as seen in the case of Lord Wrottesley's hatchment, the Conyers arms in these two paintings are improperly depicted – although the maunch is correctly tinctured *or*. In Caroline's hatchment, the bendlet should be gobony, not paly; in John's, the ermine spots should run bendwise instead of perpendicular. Such errors suggest that these paintings were made by inexperienced artists or based on ambiguous models and/or instructions.

Provenance

The whereabouts of the Wrottesley hatchment before its public sale in Lambertville, New Jersey, in early 2009 is a matter of speculation. Since hatchments were typically removed to parish churches following the prescribed period of mourning for the deceased (generally six to twelve months), it is conceivable that Lord Wrottesley's ended up in the Church of St. Michael and All Angels in Tettenhall, the site of the Wrottesley family chapel and vault. At the time of Lord Wrottesley's death, the church was undergoing renovation, and it is uncertain whether the hatchment would have been hung in the Wrottesley chapel in time for the re-opening on 7 November 1841.³¹ Significantly, Stebbing Shaw, writing in 1801, refers to a pair of hatchments hanging above the north window in the Wrottesley chapel, one for the seventh baronet, Sir Richard (d. 20 July 1769), and the other for the eighth baronet, Sir John (d. 23 April 1787), the first baron's grandfather and father, respectively.³² Clearly, then, the Wrottesleys had a custom of memorializing the baronets with hatchments placed in the family chapel at Tettenhall. A later lithographic print taken from a drawing by Henry Burn and published in October 1844 shows the interior of St. Michael and All Angels with, apparently, three hatchments on the wall separating the Wrottesley chapel and the vestry, one of which is obscured by a column (see Figure 2, on p. 35 below).³³ Although Burn made no attempt to capture the heraldic details of these hatchments, one of them is conceivably the very work discussed here.

³¹ On the church renovations, see James P. Jones, *A History of the Parish of Tettenhall, in the County of Stafford* (London & Wolverhampton 1894), p. 249. The extant documentation in SRO does not mention the hanging of a hatchment around this time; see Records of Tettenhall Regis, St. Michael and All Angels (Church of England), Churchwardens' Accounts 1761-1851 (D1018/1), Churchwardens' Accounts 1836-48 (D571/A/PC/1), Churchwardens' Book 1841-57 (D571/A/PC/2), Miscellaneous Accounts 1841-47 (D571/A/PC/3), Memoranda of Accounts, 1833-46 (D571/A/PO/11) and Miscellaneous Architectural Plans and Drawings (D571/A/PC/28-35, D1364/4/28).

³² Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 197: 'In the North window is this coat of arms and crest: Or, three piles Sable, a canton Ermine (*Wrottesley*). A boar's head Azure, issuing out of a coronet Or, Wrottesley's crest. Over these have recently been put up two hatchments for the late sir Richard Wrottesley and his eldest son.'

³³ The only original copy of the image that we have traced is in the Wolverhampton Art Gallery (acc. no. W768). On the artist, who moved to Australia in October 1852, see Patricia Reynolds, 'A note on Henry Burn, 1807?-1884', *La Trobe Library Journal* 3. 11 (April 1973), pp. 49-59. The Tettenhall print is not referenced in her catalogue *raisonné* of Burn's output

If Lord Wrottesley's hatchment had been displayed in Tettenhall Church after his death, it must have been removed before 2 February 1950, when the church was destroyed by fire (see **Figure 3**, on p. 36 below). Had the painting hung on the chapel wall, it would doubtless have perished along with the other interior decorations. In all likelihood, the Wrottesley hatchments were taken down during the church restoration of 1882-3, a programme overseen by A. E. Street, the son of the noted restoration architect George Edmund Street, who drew up the plans for the work but died before executing them. The Victorian enthusiasm for cleansing church interiors of their post-medieval accretions meant that hatchments were often relegated to storage cabinets, lofts, and bell towers – when they were not simply discarded or destroyed. Nevertheless, the records of Tettenhall Church at this time are incomplete, and we have turned up no references to the fate of the Wrottesley hatchments. Significantly, however, one of the features of the 1882–3 restoration was a new oak-panelled partition between the Wrottesley chapel and the former vestry on which was hung

(Footnote 33 continued)

(pp. 54-8). A watercolour of the interior of Tettenhall Church by Samuel Restall Lines (d. 9 November 1833) is at the Birmingham Art Gallery, but we have been unable to examine it; see Whitworth Wallis and Arthur Bensley Chamberlain, *Illustrated Catalogue* (with Descriptive Notes) of the Permanent Collection of Paintings in Oil and Water-Colours and the Collection of Statuary, and the Pictures at Aston Hall (Birmingham 1899), pp. 90-1 (no. 163). We have not encountered any other interior views of Tettenhall Church showing hatchments on display.

³⁴ Descriptions and images of the destruction are widely available. See, among other sources, Staffordshire Advertiser, 11 Feb. 1950; Wolverhampton Chronicle, 10 Feb. 1950; Jon Raven, Tettenhall (Tettenhall n.d.), p. 38; Audrey Boliver, 'Beauty from Ashes': an account of the rebuilding of the Collegiate Church of St. Michael and All Angels, 1950-1955 (Tettenhall 2005), pp. 3-5, 9-11, 13; The History and Development of the Collegiate Church of St. Michael and All Angels (rev. edn., Tettenhall 2010), pp. 10-13. The only parts of the church that escaped ruin were the porch, the bell tower, and the Wrottesley family vault. Although Lord Wrottesley's hatchment may have been stowed in either of the last two places – especially considering that the ancient parish chest, once kept in the vestry, was removed to the bell tower around 1840 and then destroyed during the 1882-3 restoration (Jones, Parish of Tettenhall, p. 248) – the painting is not recorded in any extant documentation. The Minute Book of the Church Restoration Committee (Apr. 1950 to May 1955) indicates that some 'memorials' and 'relics' survived the fire (SRO: D4832/3, minutes for 11 March 1952 and 10 Aug. 1954), but these items must have been the remnants of stone and brass monuments formerly scattered throughout the building.

³⁵ For descriptions of the restoration and the newly refurbished church, see Jones, *Parish of Tettenhall*, pp. 248, 250-3, 260-3; id., 'Tettenhall Collegiate Church: a short history', *Parish Magazine* (1922-3), unpag. (copy at WSL: 8/9/00); id., 'Tettenhall Church, past and present', *Wolverhampton Journal*, Sep.-Nov. 1906, available at *www.historywebsite.co.uk/articles/Tettenhall4/Church.htm*. Also useful are two newspaper articles in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle* of 28 March 1883 ('St. Michael and All Angels, Tettenhall: an archæological sketch') and 4 Apr. 1883 ('Re-opening of Tettenhall Parish Church').

³⁶ Except for the Faculty for Improving the Parish Church dated 1882 (SRO: D1364/4/5), no documentation relating to Street's restoration has been found. In theory, the hatchments for the seventh and eighth baronets, though not recorded in public collections, could still survive in private hands.



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Figure 2: Henry Burn, Interior of Tettenhall Church, dedicated to the Rev. E. J. Wrottesley (Wolverhampton: Thomas Simpson, October 1844). Two family hatchments (of a likely total of three) can be seen in the gallery above the Wrottesley chapel at far left.

Wolverhampton Art Gallery, W768.



Figure 3: The destruction of Tettenhall Church (2 February 1950), showing the ruins of the Wrottesley Chapel behind the centre column.

Reproduced from Audrey Boliver, 'Beauty from Ashes': an account of the rebuilding of the Collegiate Church of St. Michael and All Angels, 1950–1955 (Tettenhall 2005), p. 5.



Figure 4: Detail of the Wrottesley Chapel at Tettenhall Church, showing the oak partition with the Wrottesley shields dating from the 1882-3 restoration.

William Salt Library (8/6/00).



Figure 5: View of Wrottesley Hall from the south west (c.1900), showing the destruction after the fire of December 1897.

William Salt Library (8/15/00).

a sequential arrangement of escutcheons bearing the polychrome coats of arms of eighteen Wrottesley family members (see **Figure 4**).³⁷ This display, which occupies two complete rows ending with the arms of the second baron (d. 27 October 1867), was executed in a neo-Gothic style consistent with Street's restoration aesthetic. It arguably served as a more comprehensive and orderly tribute to the Wrottesleys than an awkward grouping of hatchments, whose popularity, in any event, had begun to wane by the time of the second baron's death.

If Lord Wrottesley's hatchment had been removed from Tettenhall Church in the 1880s, it may have been returned to the Wrottesley family, perhaps to be displayed with other heirlooms and memorabilia at Wrottesley Hall. The house, however, was also gutted by fire, on the night of 16 December 1897 (see **Figure 5**), and although

³⁷ For colour reproductions, see Jones, *Parish of Tettenhall*, plate facing p. 260. The family members commemorated are the hereditary lords of the manor who bore the Wrottesley arms, omitting the fifth and sixth baronets, who died in their minorities. The arrangement is chronological, alternating from top to bottom, left to right. The design may reflect the hand of distinguished historian and antiquary George Wrottesley, the second baron's third son. Descriptions of the partition appear in Charles Masefield, *Staffordshire* (London 1910), p. 232, and Gilbert Twemlow Royds, 'The five "Royal Free Chapels" of the county', in W. Beresford (ed.), *Memorials of Old Staffordshire* (London 1909), pp. 138-61 at 148-9. Although these volumes were published before the death of the third baron (28 Dec. 1910), we have uncovered no evidence indicating that shields were to be added for successive Wrottesley heirs.

contemporary accounts indicate that some of the building's contents were saved – including most of the plate, a few pieces of furniture, and some 'family paintings' – it seems highly unlikely that the hatchment was among the handful of rescued objects.³⁸ Perhaps, then, the painting was stored elsewhere on the manor, either in an outbuilding or in one of the cottages. If so, it may have been sold at public auction in 1963, when Richard, the fifth Baron Wrottesley, liquidated the estate and moved to South Africa.³⁹ Efforts to locate a catalogue of the house sale, reportedly handled by the

³⁸ The most detailed accounts of the blaze appeared in the Staffordshire Advertiser of 18 Dec. and the Wolverhampton Chronicle of 22 Dec. 1897. The rescued paintings, which included a number of fine seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes, were sold at public auction in the summer of 1968, following a long dispute between the family and H.M. Inland Revenue. See the Sotheby sale catalogues Old Master Paintings, 19 June 1968, pp. 8-9 (lots 16-26), and Important Old Master Paintings, Wednesday, 10 July 1968, pp. 5-9 (lots 1-8). (A few of these works may have been acquired after the fire or removed from other Wrottesley properties.) For the furniture that was saved, see Sotheby, Fine English Furniture, Bird Pictures, Fine Clocks, Rugs and Carpets, and Works of Art, 28 June 1968, pp. 53-4 (lots 161-3). It is unclear whether several items of furniture consigned for sale by Richard Wrottesley in 1969 came from the old Wrottesley Hall; Sotheby, Objects of Art, English and Continental Furniture, Eastern Rugs and Carpets, 6 February 1969, p. 22 (lots 87-90). A Joshua Reynolds portrait of Mary Wrottesley (b. 22 Nov. 1740, d. 17 Dec. 1769), eldest daughter of Sir Richard, the seventh baronet, was also salvaged, but the fate of a Gainsborough portrait of Sir Richard remains unknown (Wrottesley, History of the Family of Wrottesley, pp. 351, 354). At least one interior view of Wrottesley Hall, rebuilt on a smaller scale in 1923-4, does not show the hatchment (or any of the rescued artwork) on display; see 'Wrottesley Hall, Staffordshire, as rebuilt by Messrs. F. T. Beck and James A. Swan', Country Life 56.1452 (1 Nov. 1924), pp. 691-2, reprinted in abridged form as 'The New Wrottesley Hall: Midland architects' happy design', Express and Star (Wolverhampton) 1 Nov. 1924. The biggest loss was the Wrottesley library. Most of the manuscripts - manorial and family documents - were destroyed in the fire, but a few were saved. For an overview of the collection see HMC Second Report, pp. 46-9, and W. de G. Birch, 'On documents in the possession of Lord Wrottesley of Wrottesley Hall, Staffordshire', JBAA 29 (1873), pp. 354-71. The printed books were apparently never catalogued, but they included a Shakespeare Second Folio (misidentified as a First Folio in some accounts of the fire) and many examples of early English printing. Like the manuscripts, a few printed books were saved. On the controversy about the Wolverhampton Fire Brigade, which refused to help extinguish the fire because Wrottesley Hall lay outside their jurisdiction, see 'Fire protection for country houses: a crying need', Country Life Illustrated 6.138 (26 Aug. 1899), 234-6; 'Country mansion fires', Journal of the Society of Estate Clerks of Works 11 (1898), p. 15; 'Notes of the month', *The Antiquary* 34.2 (Feb. 1898), pp. 33-40 at 36, quoting a letter from Mr J. Russell Larkby followed by an excerpt from the Globe, 16 Dec. 1897.

³⁹ A number of hatchments were reportedly sold at such house sales in the late 1950s and early 1960s. See *HiB* 1, pp. 7-8 (one from Buccleuch House, Richmond, sold after 1953), 17-18 (two from Ecton Hall, Northamptonshire, sold in 1956); 3, pp. 44-5 (two from Belsay Castle, sold in 1962); 4, pp. 87-8, 111-12 (describing the general editor's acquisition of the Buccleuch House hatchment and another one for an unidentified duke of Northumberland). More recent dates marking the possible dispersal of Wrottesley family property include 23 Oct. 1977, when the fifth baron passed away, and 9 Nov. 1970, when his son and heir Richard died unexpectedly in a motor accident (see WALS: LS/L07CUT/549).

firm of Walker, Barnett, and Hill, have proved unsuccessful. ⁴⁰ A further possibility is that the painting, if among the original contents of the house, remained at the rebuilt Wrottesley Hall throughout the 1960s, when the building was used as a country club and casino. This enterprise lasted only a few years, however, and the furnishings and fittings of Wrottesley Hall were again dispersed at a public sale, on 16 September 1970. A contemporary account of the sale mentions that antiques were among the large number of utilitarian objects sold (kitchen equipment, chinaware, beer mugs, etc.), but no hatchment or armorial painting is mentioned. ⁴¹ This auction was likewise handled by Walker, Barnett, and Hill, but we have been unable to locate copies of the original catalogue.

Although the evidence is inconclusive, we believe that Lord Wrottesley's hatchment resided in Tettenhall Church for about forty years until it was returned to the family following the 1882–83 restoration. Having somehow survived the fire of December 1897 (perhaps because it was stored in an estate outbuilding), the painting was most likely sold in 1963 along with the contents of the new Hall. The item was presumably brought to the United States by an antiques collector or dealer.

Conclusions: avenues for further research

The present study is a preliminary attempt to contextualize Lord Wrottesley's funeral hatchment. Further research may yield more information on its 170-year history. Although the 1897 fire destroyed almost all the Wrottesley family papers, the correspondence of Lord Wrottesley's sons, John and Walter, named as trustees of his will (dated 30 June 1835), could cast light on the funeral expenses, including those associated with the preparation of any hatchments. In this regard, the widely known collections of Wrottesley material at the Wigan Archives Service (Leigh), the Staffordshire Record Office (Stafford), and the William Salt Library (Stafford), examined in 2011, have not proved to contain relevant material. A historical study of nineteenth-century hatchment makers also remains to be done. Although Lord Wrottesley's hatchment may have come from a London shop, a local source cannot be ruled out. A thorough examination of trade papers and advertising materials could help identify the coach, sign, or herald painter who manufactured it. A logical starting-point for this kind of research is the list of Wolverhampton professionals who

 $^{^{40}}$ We are grateful to Ms Patricia Gooding of Berriman Eaton (Tettenhall), who helped us make contact with Mr Hill concerning the sale of the Wrottesley property.

⁴¹ Express and Star, 16 Sep. 1970.

⁴² The enrolled probate copy of Lord Wrottesley's will is TNA PROB 11/1948/80. The witnesses were P. H. Rooke, barrister, Middle Temple; C. H. Ludlow, student of Lincoln's Inn; and H. Bellenden Ker of Lincoln's Inn. Probate records at the Lichfield Diocesan Archives, which we have not examined, are unlikely to provide any further information.

⁴³ The Wrottesley collection at the Wigan Archives Service (Edward Hall Diary Collection, EHC240–245/1588) contains miscellaneous materials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including bank accounts, military records, receipts, and personal correspondence.

⁴⁴ In the greater part of the West Midlands, only John Thorp of Birmingham (Belmont Row) and William Bayley of Coventry (Much Park Street) are identified as herald painters in *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory* [for Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Monmouthshire,

organized and/or participated in Lord Wrottesley's funeral: Mrs Lovatt, Mr Smith (of the Swan Hotel), and Mr Checketts. To our knowledge, moreover, arts historians have not yet studied Staffordshire hatchments of the Victorian period. A stylistic analysis of Lord Wrottesley's hatchment could lead to a positive identification of its maker. With respect to provenance, the professional papers of George E. Street and his son, currently unlocated, might explain if and how the painting left Tettenhall Church. Finally, living residents of Tettenhall may have information on the sale of Wrottesley Hall and its contents, either in 1963 or 1970, when the nearly 800-year history of the Wrottesley family in Great Britain began its most recent chapter.

(Footnote 44 continued)

Rutlandshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, North Wales, South Wales] (London 1835), pp. 278, 311. In Hereford, Thomas Maddox did business as a coach painter, and Richard Spencer (Church Street) was a coach herald painter (p. 8). No one is specifically listed as a herald painter in Staffordshire, although coach builders, who arguably employed painters, were located in Lichfield (p. 133), Newcastle (p. 138), the Potteries (p. 146), and Wolverhampton (p. 200). White (note 15 above), p. 116, lists six coach builders in Wolverhampton in 1851. Building, sign, and furniture painters are found in almost every city and town in the region, and it is possible that some of these artisans produced hatchments for a wealthy clientele.

⁴⁵ The library of the Heraldry Society (London) houses a nearly complete collection of images of British hatchments; see the description at *www.theheraldrysociety.com/imagelibrary.htm*. We thank Dr Andrew Gray, Archivist of the Society, for his assistance with the present project on Lord Wrottesley.

⁴⁶ We thank Audrey Boliver (Tettenhall) and Maureen Hunt (Wolverhampton) for their assistance in researching this paper.

* * *

Appendix: Representative illustrations of the Wrottesley and Conyers arms

A. Wrottesley

- (i) The tomb of Sir Ralph Bassett (c.1390), third (and last) Lord Bassett of Drayton, formerly in Lichfield Cathedral. On the assumption of the Bassett arms by the Wrottesleys see Sampson Erdeswick, A Survey of Staffordshire, rev. edn. by Thomas Harwood (London 1844), pp. 359 (note b), 363, 419 (note a). Reproduced from Shaw, History and Antiquities of Staffordshire, vol. 2 pt. 1, pl. II facing p. 6. Arms: Or three piles in point gu. a canton erm., for Bassett (assumed by Wrottesley, with a change of tincture for difference). See **Figure 6**.
- (ii) Facsimile of the arms of Sir Walter Wrottesley taken from a wax seal affixed to a charter granting to his wife Jane (Joan) and two others a general power of attorney (3 Oct. 1471). This seal, which contains the earliest known depiction of the unicorn supporters, suggests that Sir Walter, like Sir Hugh, was a Knight of the Garter. Reproduced from Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, p. 243. Arms: *Qtly 1 & 4 Or three piles sa. a quarter erm.* (Wrottesley), 2 & 3 Gu. a chevron az. between three garbs or (Baron of Reading). See **Figure 7**.
- (iii) Detail of a reproduction of the alabaster slab (1521), formerly in the Wrottesley Chapel in Tettenhall Church, marking the grave of Sir Richard Wrottesley (d. 1521) and his wife Dorothy Dudley (d. 1517). Reproduced from Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley*, pl. facing p. 256. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley) impaling *Or two lions passant az*. (Sutton of Dudley). See **Figure 8**.

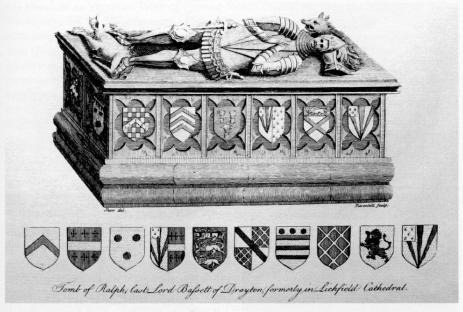


Figure 6: c.1390.



Figure 7: 1471.



Figure 8: 1521.

(iv) Sketch of the armorial glass, showing the arms of Sir Hugh de Wrottesley, K.G., formerly in a parlour window at Wrottesley Hall (as recorded 10 Apr. 1663). The glass was later relocated to the Wrottesley Chapel in Tettenhall Church. Reproduced from WSL: S.MS.426/6 (Staffordshire Church notes [18th c., deriving from Dugdale's Visitation of 1663-4]: Arms at Wrottesley House, Tetnal Church, Wolverhampton Church, Sir Jn. Wyrley's Chapel at Hampsted). Arms: *Or three piles gu. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley, assumed from Bassett with a subsequent change of tincture for difference). See **Figure 9**.

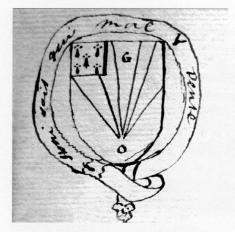


Figure 9: 1663.



Figure 10: 1686.



Figure 11: c.1690.



Figure 12: c.1740.



Figure 13: c.1750?



Figure 14: 1801.

- (v) Detail of an engraved Table of Formed Stones (1686), showing the arms of Sir Walter Wrottesley, 3rd Bt. The engraving exhibits the traditional quartering of the Wrottesley arms with those of Baron, based on the marriage of Sir Walter Wrottesley (d. 10 Apr. 1473) to Jane (Joan) Baron, sole heiress of William Baron, Esq., a Teller of the Exchequer (Wrottesley, History of the Family of Wrottesley, pp. 238–40, 375). The third quartering shows 'arms of patronage' for Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Sir Walter, one of Warwick's most trusted lieutenants, tied his fortunes to the Kingmaker and his Yorkist cause (Wrottesley, History of the Family of Wrottesley, pp. 216-43). Reproduced from Robert Plot, The Natural History of Stafford-shire (Oxford 1686), Table XI, facing p. 186. Arms: Qtly 1 & 4 Or three piles sa. a canton erm. (Wrottesley), 2 Or a chevron az. between three garbs gu. (Baron of Reading), 3 Chequy of ten or and az. (Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick). See Figure 10.
- (vi) Detail of pediment of Wrottesley Hall, built c.1690. The pediment, now part of the rebuilt Wrottesley Hall (1923-4), was rescued from the ruins of the old Hall (destroyed by fire in December 1897) which had been erected by Sir Walter Wrottesley, 3rd Bt. His first wife was Eleanora Archer (d. Jan. 1694). Authors' photograph. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm.* (Wrottesley), impaling *Erm. a cross sa.* (Archer, co. Essex). See **Figure 11**.
- (vii) Armorial bookplate of Sir Richard Wrottesley, 7th Bt. (b. 12 Apr. 1721, succeeded Feb. 1732, d. 20 July 1769). Authors' collection. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley) with a baronet's badge at fess point. See **Figure 12**.
- (viii) Engraving of the Wrottesley arms from an unidentified 18th-century peerage. WSL: pbox T/3/1. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley) with a baronet's badge in sin. chief. See **Figure 13**.
- (ix) Detail of the arms from an engraving of Wrottesley Hall based on a drawing by Stebbing Shaw. Reproduced from Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, vol. 2 pt. 1, pl. XXVII facing p. 204. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley) with a baronet's badge in sin. chief, impaling *Gu. a bezant between three demi-lions rampant ar*. (Bennett) with a mullet in chief for cadency. See **Figure 14**.
- (x) Arms of the Wrottesley baronets. Reproduced from William Betham, *The Baronetage of England* (5 vols., London 1801–5), vol. 1 pp. 482-6. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm.* with a baronet's badge in sin. chief. See **Figure 15**.
- (xi) Armorial bookplate of the Rev. Robert Wrottesley (b. 2 June 1801, d. 20 Jan. 1838). Third son of the first baron, he was appointed perpetual curate of Tettenhall in 1825 and presented to the rectory of St Michael's Church in Himley, Staffs., in 1830. In 1828, he married Georgiana, daughter of Sir George Pigot of Patshull. On the quarterings, cf. A (v) above. Authors' collection. Arms: Qtly 1 & 4 Or three piles sa. a canton erm. (Wrottesley, with a mullet in chief for cadency), 2 Or a chevron az. between three garbs (Baron of Reading), 3 Chequy or and az. (Warwick, 'arms of patronage'). See Figure 16.
- (xii) Detail of a red wax seal used by Sir John Wrottesley, M.P., on a letter to the Hon. George Lamb (dated 7 Dec. 1831). Authors' collection. The seal depicts the Wrottesley crest, *Issuant from a crest coronet a boar's head*. See **Figure 17**.
- (xiii) Coat of arms from Henry Burn, Interior View of Tettenhall Church (Wolverhampton: Thomas Simpson, October 1844). Wolverhampton Art Gallery, W768 (**Figure 2** above). Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm.* See **Figure 18**.
- (xiv) Coat of arms accompanying the obituary of the 2nd Baron Wrottesley (d. 27 Oct. 1867), Gent's Mag. 1867 (ii) pp. 820-1, at 820. Arms: Or three piles sa. a canton erm. See Figure 19.
- (xv) Arms of the Barons Wrottesley, as illustrated in Debrett 1970, pp. 1163-4. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm.* See **Figure 20**.



Figure 15: 1801-5.



Figure 16: c.1820.



Figure 17: 1831.



Figure 18: 1844.



Figure 19: 1867.



Figure 20: 1970.

B. Convers

- (i) Armorial bookplate of Mary Conyers (c.1770?). Identified as an altered version of the bookplate of Matilda Conyers (1753-1803) in E. R. J. Gambier Howe, *Franks Bequest* (3 vols., London 1903-4), vol. 1 p. 235 (no. 6670). Authors' Collection. See also Alfred A. Bethune-Baker, 'Essex bookplates', *Home Counties Magazine* 5 (1903), pp. 175–9 at 177. The identity of Mary Conyers remains unknown. She may have been an unrecorded daughter of Edward Conyers (d. 1742). Arms: *Az. a maunch or over all a bendlet gobony gu. and erm.* See **Figure 21**.
- (ii) Detail of the arms in the base of a sterling silver basket made by the London firm of John Wakelin and William Tayler (1786/7) for John Conyers II (1748-1813) and his wife Julia Catherine Matthew, as a gift from Jeremiah Milles (1751-1797). Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish, & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York 1997), pp. 195-6 (photo at 196). For further examples of the Conyers arms on silver, see Charles B. Sworder, 'The Alms Box at All Saints Church, Epping', *Essex Review* 17. 65 (Jan. 1908), pp. 207–11. Arms: *Az. a maunch or over all a bendlet gobony gu. and erm.*, with a crescent in chief for cadency and the arms of Matthew in pretence (*Sa. a lion rampant ar.*). See **Figure 22**.
- (iii) Armorial bookplate of Henry John Conyers (1782-1853). Henry was the brother of Julia, second wife of Lord Wrottesley. Bod.: Johnson Bookplates, p. 174 (no. 1458). Arms: Az. a maunch or over all a bendlet gobony gu. and erm., with a label of three points for cadency. See **Figure 23**.
- (iv) Armorial bookplate (c.1800) of Julia Conyers, most likely the daughter of John Conyers of Copped Hall and second wife of Lord Wrottesley, but possibly the daughter of Henry John Conyers and his wife Harriet, daughter of Thomas Steel. This Julia lived at Copped Hall until 1869 and died in 1907 without issue. Bod.: Johnson Bookplates, p. 175 (no. 1459). Arms: Az. a maunch or over all a bendlet gobony gu. and erm. See **Figure 24**.
- (v) Arms of the Conyers family of Horden, co. Durham, baronets. Betham, *Baronetage of England* vol. 1, pp. 334-8. Arms: *Az. a maunch or*, with a baronet's badge in chief. See **Figure 25**.
- (vi) Coat of arms accompanying obituary of the Dowager Lady Wrottesley (Julia Conyers), in *London Review* 1. 14 (6 Oct. 1860), p. 328. Arms: *Or three piles sa. a canton erm*. (Wrottesley) impaling *Az. a maunch or over all a bendlet gu*. (Conyers). See **Figure 26**.
- (vii) Coat of arms accompanying obituary of the same Dowager Lady Wrottesley in *Illustrated London News* 13 Oct. 1860. Arms: *Three piles and a canton* (Wrottesley) impaling *A maunch and over all a bendlet gobony* (Conyers). Tinctures not represented. See **Figure 27**.



Figure 21: c.1770?



Figure 22: 1786-7,



Figure 23: 1782-3.

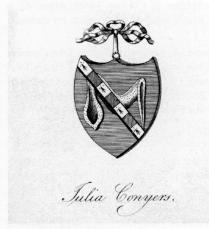


Figure 24: c.1800.



Figure 25: 1801-5.



Figure 26: 1860.



Figure 27: 1860.



Funeral hatchment for the First Baron Wrottesley (d. 16 March 1841), of Wrottesley Hall, near Tettenhall (Wolverhampton), Staffordshire. *See page 24*.

Private collection, New Jersey (United States of America).

PLATE 8



Above (a), funeral hatchment for Frances Wrottesley (d. 13 Apr. 1811), second daughter of the Very Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley, 7th Bt., in the Church of St Giles, Stoke Poges, Bucks. Her husband was Admiral Hugh Pigot (d. 15 Dec. 1792), brother of George, Lord Pigot, of Patshull, Staffs. Pigot impaling Wrottesley on a wholly black background. See page 32.

Below left (b), funeral hatchment for Caroline Conyers (d. 8 Jan. 1848), widow of Lt.-Col. John Barker of Clare Priory, in the Chuch of St Peter and St Paul, Clare, Suffolk. Caroline was the paternal aunt of Julia Wrottesley. Barker impaling Conyers (the bendlet wrongly rendered *paly* rather than *gobony*) on a wholly black background. See page 32.

Below right (c), funeral hatchment for Lt.-Col. John Barker of Clare Priory (d. 27 Nov. 1804), in the Chuch of St Peter and St Paul, Clare as above. Barker impaling Conyers, the dexter half of the background black. See page 33.



Image by courtesy of Eric Hardy



Image by courtesy of Eric Hardy