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# BROTHERS IN ARMS: HERALDS AND ANTIQUARIES WORKING TOGETHER IN POST-REFORMATION AND CIVIL WAR ENGLAND

NATHANIEL NAGAR

*Heraldry is everywhere, mostly in the public space and especially in the sacred one<sup>1</sup> because it provides, on the one hand, full exposure to the public in a place of regular gathering (thus contributing to the commemoration of the deceased), and, on the other hand, it exposes heraldry to destruction. England, like other regions of Europe in early modern times, experienced a Reformation, which lasted for about a century and a half. It might be defined as beginning with the dissolution of the monasteries, and terminating with the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688/9. A feature of the Reformation was its iconoclasm and the destruction of images, including both religious and secular – monuments, coats of arms, brasses, and inscriptions. This situation threatened to bring about the irrevocable loss of a vital historical source. To mitigate against this antiquarians and heralds have walked through churches and other buildings to record arms and monuments in case they would be destroyed.*

## **Historical Background**

Two main factors put church monuments and heraldry in danger: firstly the iconoclasm that was part of the ‘Long Reformation’, as defined by Alexandra Walsham<sup>2</sup>, as being a time of religious upheaval during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary the First, and Elizabethan I, followed by ongoing religious and political conflicts throughout the seventeenth century. Since the religious space was the focus of the disturbance, heraldry was drawn into the centre of the storm. Secondly, there was a consciousness that carvings, monuments and stained glass which to date had survived the attacks of religious reformers, were ephemeral things. Stones, brasses, wood etc. were susceptible to weathering and erosion, and paint was continually being lost from surfaces.

Concurrently, these were times of great social mobility, a movement that began during the reign of Henry VII’s, who appointed “new men” in key positions to run the country. These educated, professional men were not of noble of blood, but chosen merely by their merit. They were socially aspirational and coveted some of the traditional accoutrements of the nobility, such as the possession of coats of arms, and fine pedigrees. Their natural interest in heraldry went hand in hand with a desire to discover gentry ancestors who had been armigerous, and who might have the potential to provide additional quarterings to recently granted arms. It was from this group that most heralds and antiquarians sprang.

## **Who were the antiquarians?**

During the sixteenth century a movement of antiquarianism emerged in Europe, starting in Rome. Its exponents sought to establish an historical knowledge, based not only on literature, but also on material evidence such as coins, inscriptions, epitaphs, tombs, deeds, seals, and coat of arms. At the turn of the seventeenth century, a group of about

forty antiquaries under the title “the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society”, used to meet in London every Friday to discuss two issues at a time. For example, “Of the antiquity of Seals &c”; “Of what antiquity the name of dux or duke is in England [...]”; “the Antiquity & exposition of the word Sterlingor[u]m or Sterling”; and “Of th’antiquity of armes here in Englande”.<sup>3</sup>

Their works have contributed to the history of England in three different ways: firstly, by assisting genealogists tracing back pedigrees; secondly, by recording what has since been destroyed, defaced, harmed, or burned; and thirdly, by making it possible to make comparisons between the appearance of objects when they were recorded, and how they are today. An important sub-group of these English antiquarians whose focus was primarily on heraldry went on to become heralds.<sup>4</sup> Prominent among them were William Camden, William Dugdale, and William Dethick.<sup>5</sup> There might have been more, but while to be an antiquarian is not an official appointment, heralds are officials, and their number in the College of Arms is limited to thirteen at a time.

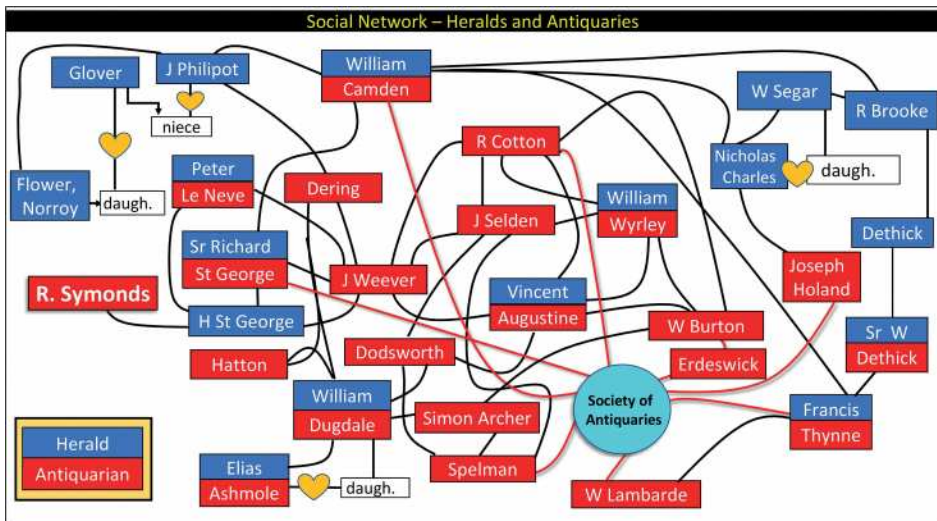


Diagram 1: a social Network of heralds and antiquaries from the late 16th to the second half of the 17th centuries.

### The bond between heralds and antiquarians

Sir Henry Spelman, an illustrious learned antiquarian, wrote an essay in 1614 about the “Terms” (of Law) in which he provided a seemingly insignificant detail concerning the circumstances for the social and family ties between heralds and antiquarians:

*“The Place, after a Meeting or two, became certain at Darby-house, where the Herald’s Office is kept: and two Questions were propounded at every Meeting, to be handled at the next that followed...”*<sup>6</sup>

Here was an opportunity for meetings between members of the two groups which led on both to professional collaborations and to friendly (and also family) ties. From another antiquarian, John Weever (1575/6–1632), we may learn more about the deep cooperation

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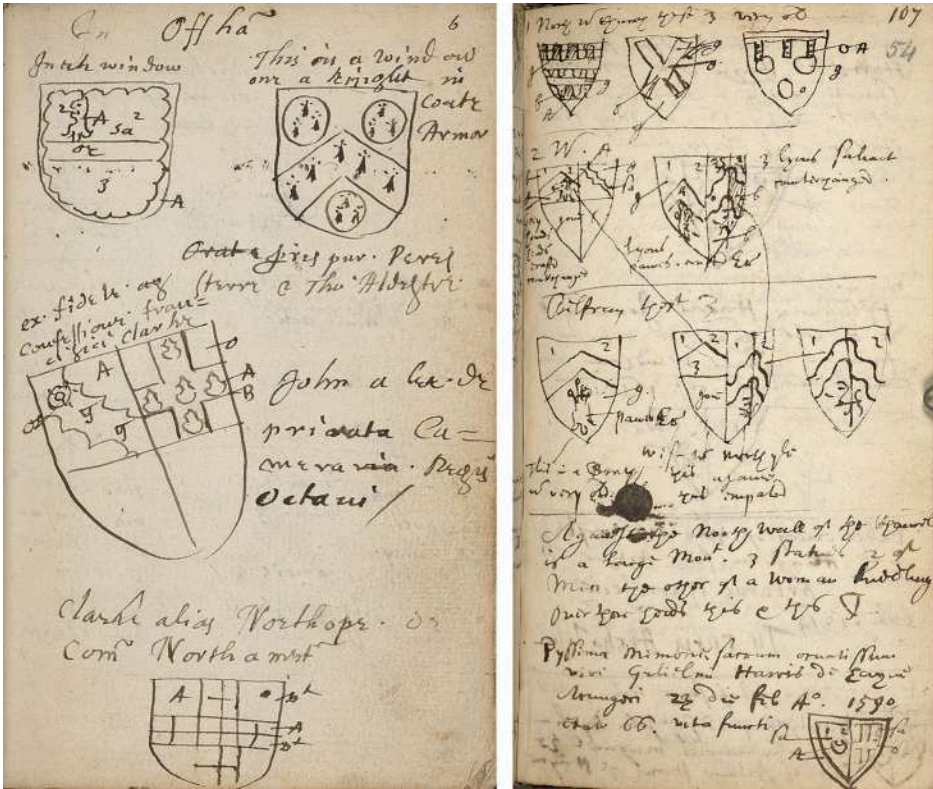


Figure 1: using the agreed notation. Left: Somerset Herald, John Philipot, BL, Harley MS 3917, f. 6r; right, the antiquary Richard Symonds, BL, Add MS 17062, f. 54r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

between these two groups. In his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* he complained he was tired of writing –

“...until I came casually into the acquaintance of my dear deceased friend, Augustine Vincent, Esquire, Windsor Herald’ [...] who persuaded me to go forward as I had begun, and withal gave me many Church-Collections [...] and by his means I had free access to the Heralds Office...”<sup>8</sup>

This excerpt well illustrates the high level of closeness between the heraldry and antiquities and leads me to my first argument, that, through this use of the Heralds’ office, the interaction between the two groups was strengthened. Mapping the network of connections between the heralds and antiquarians of that time reveals that this network was quite extensive (**Diagram 1**): some of the contacts are entirely professional, while others are linked by marriage. It can be seen that Camden, Weever, and Augustine Vincent had particularly strong connections; Ashmole (an antiquarian and herald) married the daughter of Dugdale – another antiquarian and herald. Others, such as the antiquarian Richard Symonds, on the basis of the available evidence, seem to have worked more in isolation.



Figure 2: Sharing Information: Burton and Nicholas Charles. Top, 2a and b: Nicholas Charles from BL, Lansdowne MS 874, ff. 94v–95r; bottom, 2c and d: Burton from Egerton MS 3510, ff. 97v–98r. Courtesy of ©British Library

## HERALDS AND ANTIQUARIES

Through these connections, each group was able to learn from the other: on the one hand, antiquaries became more familiar with this ‘esoteric’ field and heraldic language; on the other hand, heralds began to add to their practice of visitations some antiquarian methods, notably, in making itineraries and perambulations for notetaking.

Most non-textual information cannot be easily or sufficiently converted into textual information, and until the early sixteenth century no rules of notation were established for the recording of antiquities.<sup>9</sup> Gradually, the importance of using an accurate common language for notation was understood. As for heraldry, information on recording methods must be transmitted with extra care to establish a reliable family tree. There were two<sup>10</sup> practicable methods of recording, both of which are perfectly satisfactory. The quicker and more economical of the two is the use of blazon, but this requires the highest expertise in heraldic language; the second is to record arms ‘in trick’, by making a roughly executed sketch labelled with short, agreed-upon, notations of colours and charges.<sup>11</sup>

A common language of notations developed out of the collaboration between the groups. For instance, when noting colours they used “G” or “Gu” for *Gules* (red); “A” or “Arg” for *Argent* (silver / white); “O” for Or (gold / yellow) etc; when a charge appears more than once, it is adequate to draw it once only, and write the times it appears on the shield, in their right setting (**Figure 1**).<sup>12</sup>

### Sharing information

One important outcome of the relationship between the two groups was the sharing of information that can be observed through comparison of their heraldic note-taking works. In this paper I will demonstrate this through an exploration of the works of several individuals who were either antiquaries or heralds: the antiquaries William Burton, Richard Symonds, and Gervase Holles; the heralds John Philipot, Nicholas Charles, and Sir Henry St. George.

For my first example here are two different monuments (**Figures 2a-d**) drawn by the antiquarian William Burton on multiple pages (1597), and over ten years later – almost identically drawn – by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald (1609–13). Burton’s drawings are not coloured while of Charles’s are well-coloured.<sup>13</sup> The two sets of drawings are a fairly precise match, the original drawings being from “Mr. Stewards House”, and from the church of St Andrew’s at Holborn. There can be little doubt that Charles was copying directly from Burton’s records, or from an intermediate copy thereof.

### Antiquaries

**William Burton (1575–1645)** produced a veritable fountain of church notes recording heraldry and monuments. He was born into a noble family in north England, and inherited from his father an estate in Lindley, Leicestershire. His manuscripts<sup>14</sup> are loaded with rich information, though characterized by disorder and a dense handwriting. Nevertheless, he did try to create some order: he used double lines to create a distinction between various churches and broken lines to distinguish different parts within an individual church (**Figure 3**).

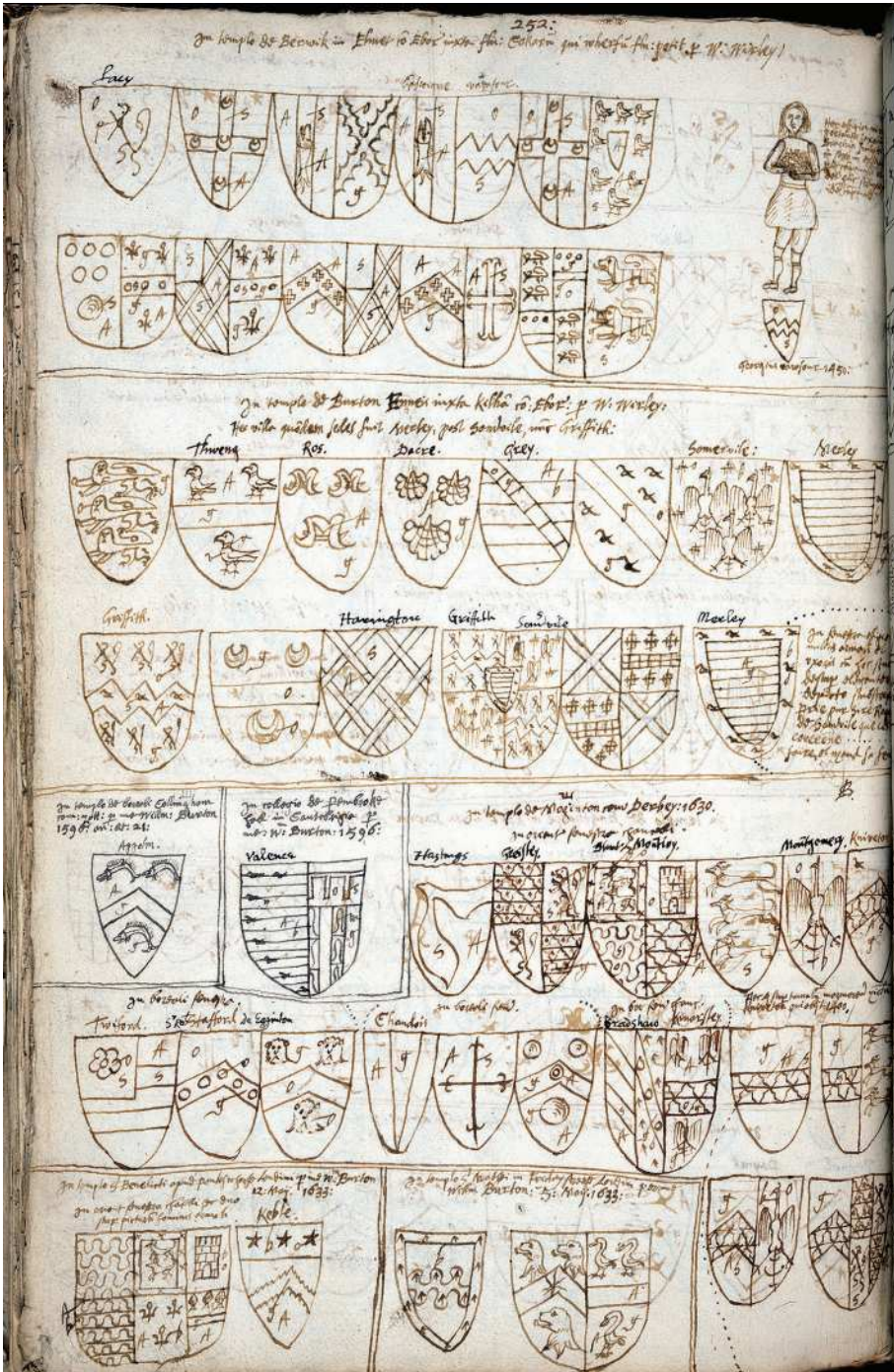


Figure 3: a typical page in Burton's notetaking, BL, Egerton MS 3510, f. 87v. Courtesy of ©British Library.





Figure 4: The monument of Lord Berkeley in the Temple Church, Bristol, by Burton. BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 85r. Courtesy of ©British Library.



## HERALDS AND ANTIQUARIES

Burton, like other antiquaries, drew his own genealogy and arms as part of his recording work. His achievement in trick, which he himself drew, is shown in his work.<sup>15</sup> The same was drawn coloured in another of his works (BL Add MS 6046<sup>16</sup>), and is probably by a heraldic painter. It is signed by William Segar, Garter, and Nicholas Charles, Lancaster. This manuscript also contains his pedigree sketched in 1598 over multiple pages<sup>17</sup>, and he had a good reason to show off as his roots are connected to the famous family of Hardwick, starting in the twelfth century. The family tree ends with Burton himself, and somebody added later the year of his death (1645)<sup>18</sup> with the names of his son (Cassibelan) and his grandson (Constantinus).<sup>19</sup>

Of his two surviving manuscripts Burton's most significant one is Egerton MS 3510, in which he covered areas other than his home county during the years 1597 to 1641: Warwickshire, Northampton, and Staffordshire. Most of the material was collected by Burton himself, but some of it he has copied or collected from heralds and antiquarians.

Although the focus of his interest was heraldry, he did not neglect church monuments and in quite a few cases documented them as well, albeit in a sloppy manner, according to his limited skills in painting. He paid little attention to the aesthetics of the painting, but was focussed on the transmission of information. For example (**Figure 4**)<sup>20</sup>, the monument of Lord Berkeley in Temple Church, Bristol: the effigy is shown as if it was lying on his side instead of on his back. I will return to his work through others.

### **Richard Symonds (1617–1660)**

A very different character from Burton is Richard Symonds. His biography is very obscure, his social network was limited, and he appears to have been both lonely and introverted. Symonds came from of Black Notley in Essex where he was baptized in 1617, going on to develop a great desire for history and antiquities. He collected many works, manuscripts, deeds, and other papers, for example, of John Leland – probably a draft of his *Itinerary*; John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*; Camden's *Britannia*; and the *Stonehenge* of Inigo Jones, just to name a few.<sup>21</sup> At about twenty years of age he began to take notes of arms and monuments. His family tree appears in the second of three volumes, now in the possession of the College of Arms, titled "Essex I-III". The seal attached to this folio displays his portrait in profile, and his incomplete coat of arms, impaled: on the dexter half – his own arms; the sinister was supposed to be the arms of his wife to-be; but he never married (**Figure 5**).

Symonds's life course can be mapped out utilising his sixteen manuscripts (**Diagram 2**): he started his own antiquarian journey in Essex 1637, then continued to the Midlands before the Civil Wars, right before he joined the King's Guard Regiment from 1644 to 1645. He left the war for Paris and Rome in 1648 for about three years (on a kind of 'Grand Tour'), ending his antiquarian experience back home in Essex. At the beginning of his mission, he took notes in his home county of Essex. For example, in Black-Notley, his own village, he has recorded arms accompanied by a description of their exact location, the material they are made of (stone), and inscriptions in their original writing (black letters, Gothic font).<sup>22</sup> He also drew some genealogies (**Figure 6**), but copied very few monuments, aware of his bad drawing skills (**Figure 7**).

During the months before joining the King's Guard in the Civil War he walked through Berkshire and Oxfordshire, taking notes wherever he could. In Oxford he took

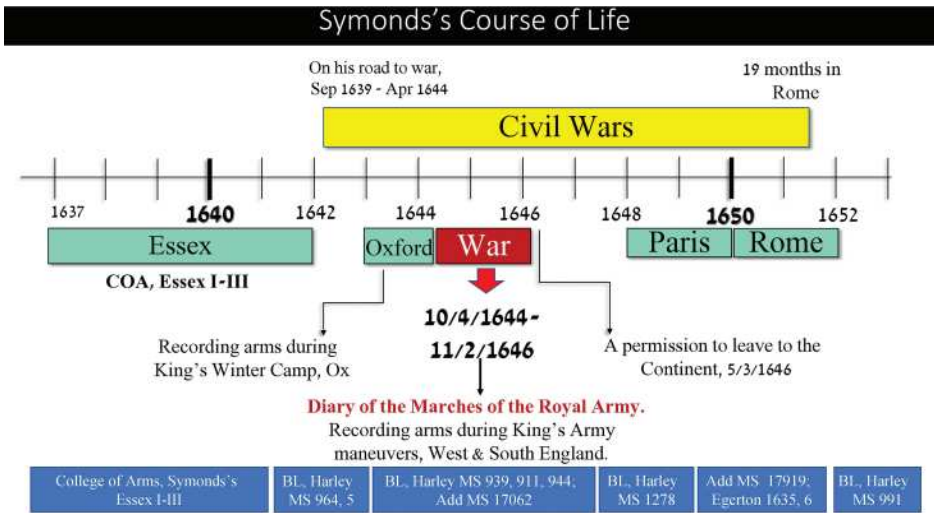
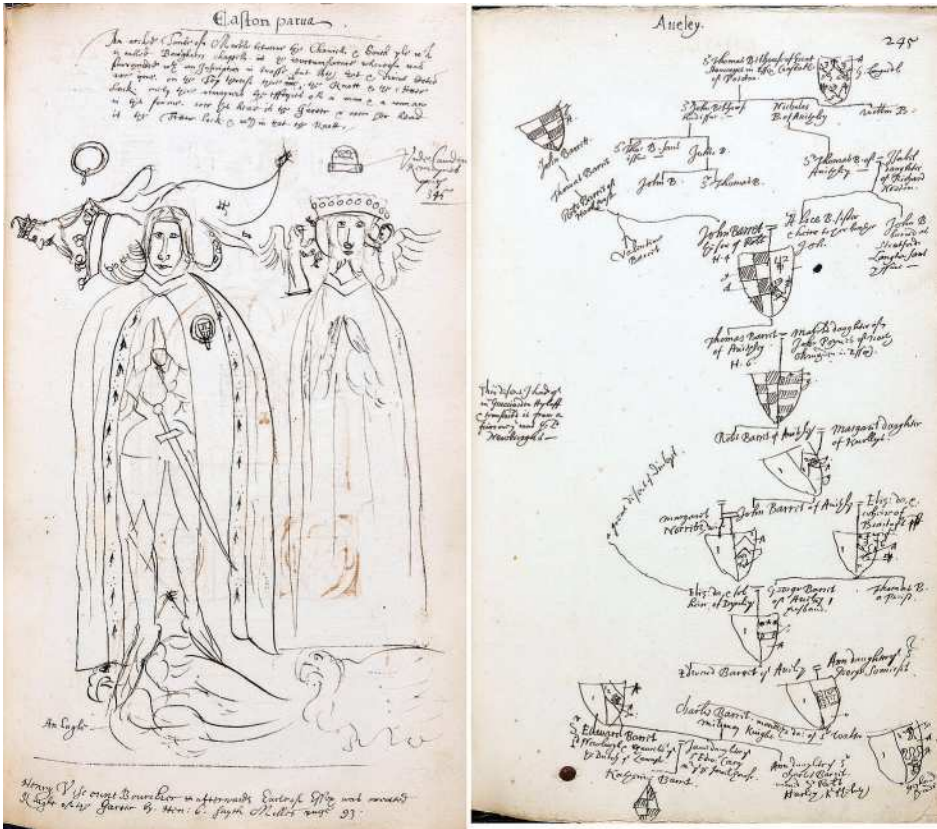


Diagram 2: Symonds's course of life through his works.

notes from the colleges –mainly arms from windows, and generally avoiding drawing a whole monument. He went as far south as Cornwall and as far north as Worcester Cathedral (1643–4), where he took note of King John's tomb; he only described the monument, rather than drawing it. He did not copy the king's arms, perhaps because they were so well known. At the bottom of the same page he described the tomb and drew the arms of Prince of Wales Arthur, son of Henry VII.<sup>23</sup>

He joined the King's Guard at Oxford in December 1643, the second year of the Civil War, serving as a cavalier. Due to his battalion's unique mission, he was far from the hustle and bustle of battle. This provided him with free time to look for antiquities around his camp, and to scribble his observations in a diary,<sup>24</sup> the extant part of which comprises four notebooks. The atmosphere of urgency during the war can be felt through these diaries (**Figure 8**): his writing is hasty, and sometimes he was short of time to copy all the arms he encountered, as he testified: "Divers other coats of arms: but time would not suffer me to take them."<sup>25</sup> The same atmosphere can be felt through the next entry he wrote right after he drew the arms of Englefield and Rossel: "Orate p[ro] a[n]i[m]a Ingelfeld, &c. 1514 or thereabouts, as I remember",<sup>26</sup> using "&c." and "as I remember" for he had no time, and this might suggest that he wrote it down only when he got back to his tent, trying to recall what he just saw.

Symonds's passion for heraldry is revealed by comments made when he found only a few arms or no arms at all: In Kilmersdon Church, Somerset, he wrote (1644): "*No armes els or monuments in this church, though a very faire & large one*"<sup>27</sup>, or: "...at Lamiat, co. Somerset [...], a small church without either armes or monument."<sup>28</sup> And finally: "*Chilton church hath no armes in it*".<sup>29</sup> Symonds is still an unsolved riddle, because he is not much discussed among researchers, though he left us many works. Being solitary is an unusual characteristic among antiquaries of his generation.



Left, Figure 6: a Brass of Henry Bouchier, 1st Earl of Essex, and his wife Isabel of Cambridge recorded by Symonds from Easton Parua, from College of Arms MS Church Notes, Symonds’s Essex, vol. 2, p. 412.; right, Figure 7: Genealogy by Symonds from College of Arms MS Church Notes, Symonds’s Essex, vol. 3, p. 245. Both images reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants of Arms.

**Gervase Holles (1607–1675)**

Gervase Holles of Grimsby, Lincolnshire in his thirties studied at the Middle and Inner Temples in London, going on to serve in local government and at the House of Commons (1640). In between he devoted four years to the study of antiquities, “pleasing my time”, as he said.<sup>30</sup> In 1642 he joined the royalist army as a captain,<sup>31</sup> as he himself testified in a family tree that he drew up: “*Geruasius Holles, Colonellus peditums sub auspiciis Caroli regis Angliae, necon Ludouici 14 regis Francia anno 1646*”.<sup>32</sup> During the Civil War he was exiled to Rotterdam in the Netherlands, returning home following the Restoration of the monarchy.

While eight of his nine manuscript works deal with deeds, documents, local stories and genealogies, in Harley MS 6829 we have his “heraldiquary”<sup>33</sup> work. It contains about 350 pages of notetaking from sacred space, mainly in Lincolnshire. Holles usually avoided drawing monuments or houses, although he provides a clear description of them.



Left, Figure 8: a page from Symonds's Diary, notetaking from "Lifton Church, Devon, 11 myles from Okehampton" 31 July 1644, BL. Add MS 17062, f. 53v; right, Figure 9: a typical page in Holles's manuscript. BL. Harley MS 6829, f. 113r. Both images courtesy of ©British Library.

Above all, he was interested first and foremost in coats of arms. A typical page of his work is illustrated in **Figure 9**<sup>34</sup>; margins are lined on four sides; the arms are coloured, usually painted in the margins. He provides the location, supplies the blazonry; and almost always the bearer of each coat of arms is named. This appears to be a unique quality of Holles – drawing, colouring, blazoning, naming.

The importance of such note taking is immense when it comes to places or monuments that were subsequently destroyed, as is demonstrated in a note taken from the Bishop's Palace ("Palatio Episcopi")<sup>35</sup> in Lincoln which was damaged during the Civil Wars and subsequently largely abandoned. The same has happened with St Peter's Church in in Eastgate, Lincoln, which was damaged during the siege in 1643, but thanks to Holles we can trace back names and families, to establish reliable family trees.<sup>36</sup>

To conclude this brief survey of antiquaries I will point out a manuscript from the Society of Antiquaries, London. This includes, in addition to accounts on families in Suffolk, notes "and arms in the churches, taken by Mr. Tilletson in 1594, later copied by the compiler of this manuscript in about 1655–7, and added to by Mr. Leverland in about 1660–1662." It is very probable that the said Mr. Tilletson is the antiquary of that



Figure 10: Heraldic notes from St Stephen Church Walbrook, by Nicholas Charles, BL. Lansdowne Ms 874 ff. 103v–104r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

county.<sup>37</sup> The volume is very thick and contains rich information about nobles, arms (in colour) and the description of monuments. The shape of the pages is very similar to that of Holles with the arms painted in the margins of the pages and the description in the centre, although not as neat as Holles.

For example, a page of notes taken from St Margaret’s Church, Ipswich, with four coats of arms on the margins, of Cardinal Wolsey – a native of that city, Devereux, Wythipoll and Gaunt. The text next to the arms provides genealogical information and local history of the families related. A genealogy is given of the Wythipoll family starting with Edmund, the high sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk in 1571, and ending with Elizabeth Wythipoll who married Leicester Devereux, 6th Viscount Hereford (1617–1676), “*who in the right of his wife is now owner of Christ church, this present year 1655*”. The compiler noted that Mr. Tylletson found in the aforesaid mansion of Wythipoll in 1594, a quartered arms which have consisted of Wythipoll, Gaunt, Thurland, and Wythipoll “as the first”.<sup>38</sup> Given the breadth of this manuscript, it is possible to extract a great deal of genealogical information from it.

### Heralds as antiquarians

As part of their mission to saving the social memory and order, several heralds have acted like antiquarians in their perambulations and itineraries, and in the visiting of sacred space for note taking. One of them was John Philipot, Somerset Herald (between

1624–45). He was well-connected with other heralds by marriage: his wife was the nephew of Robert Glover, a former Somerset Herald, who in turn, married the daughter of William Flower, Norroy King of Arms. He entered the College of Arms two years after his marriage to Glover’s nephew, and from then on, he had a heraldic career that lasted almost thirty years.

His following manuscripts (BL.Add Ms 53782; BL. Harley Ms 3917; BL. Egerton Ms 3310A) are *not* visitation books, but more like “heraldiquary” works – church notes he took in Kent: monuments, inscriptions and especially coat of arms. It is very easy to be impressed by his clean work. By virtue of being a herald, it is likely that he was assisted by a painter or that he acquired painting skills. One of his manuscripts includes many arms from Canterbury Cathedral. He opened the section of the Cathedral as follows:

*“These be the Armes which are fixed on the Roofe of the Cloysters of the most Beautifull Cathedrall Church of Our Sauuiour Christ in ye City of Canterbury, Collected by me in the Second day of March Anno Domine 1613.”*<sup>39</sup>

In a wonderful note he took from a window in Lenham Church, Kent, there is a fine example of his writing, while wearing the hat of an antiquarian: he used the agreed notations to note colours; he gave a description of the type of material from which the arms were made of

*“(these armes are cut in Marble [...])”, its exact location (“The window next above ye Doore in ye north Ile [...]), the position of figures and its defaced colours–*

*“There are 3 esquires kneling in there Coates of these Armes In this window ye coulors are soe decayed it cannot be diserned [discerned]”.*<sup>40</sup>

Fonts in churches are typical elements on which the arms of donors are commonly displayed. In separate manuscripts Philipot in noting the fonts of different churches recorded their arms in different ways: from the font of St Martin’s Church in Herne (Kent), the arms are recorded in blazon only<sup>41</sup>, while from the font of St. Clement’s Church, Sandwich (Kent), the arms are given in trick.<sup>42</sup> To all his abilities and methods of work, I should add that Philipot was a collector of both heraldic manuscripts and charters – a hobby that places him between the Herald and the Antiquarian.

## **Two heralds with an antiquarian spirit**

One of the most impressive note-taking works of which I am aware, BL Lansdowne MS 874, was executed mainly by two heralds of that time: Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, and Sir Henry St. George, Norroy King of Arms<sup>43</sup> (1581–1644), who both adopted the practices and methods of antiquarians. Before Nicholas Charles became a herald he was in touch with Joseph Holland, a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, according to some hints given in several of his manuscripts. His Visitation of Huntingdonshire under Camden (Clarenceux) gives a good idea of the value of his work as a herald, for he paid attention not just to pedigrees, but to other things of an antiquarian interest.<sup>44</sup> Some of his notes taken in 1611 include monuments and arms from churches that were destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666, like the church of “*St Nicholas Colde Abbey behinde ould Fish street*”<sup>45</sup>, the church of “*St. Albons in Wood Streete*”<sup>46</sup> and many more. Some of Charles’s notes can be found in Burton’s manuscript (BL, Egerton MS 3510), while some of Burton’s notes appears in Charles’s manuscript almost identically. This is the case in notes taken in St Stephen Church in Walbrook,



London (**Figure 10**), by both Burton and Charles: both records are very similar (the very same pattern and layout of the arms), and there is a high chance that Charles (b.1582) is the one who copied it from his elder colleague Burton (b.1575).<sup>47</sup> One way or another, it demonstrates the sharing of information between heralds and antiquaries, though one cannot deny they both – separately – visited this church.

If we return to one of the manuscripts of the antiquarian William Burton, there are notes written in the handwriting of Nicholas Charles, taken from “St Katharine’s by the Tower”, and from St Olave’s Church in the city of London. A free space below Charles’s note was used by Burton to record arms from another medieval London Church – St Mary Abchurch, which was destroyed by fire in 1666.<sup>48</sup>

The extraordinary story of Mary, Queen of Scots makes the recording of her funeral arms by Nicholas Charles especially interesting. The queen was first buried at Peterborough Cathedral in late July 1587. Her body was exhumed in 1612 when her son, King James I (and VI), ordered that she be reinterred in Westminster Abbey in a chapel opposite the tomb of Queen Elizabeth. The heraldic symbols – Tabard, banners etc., were copied in 1611 – the year before the exhumation – by Charles, in papers collected in Burton’s manuscripts.<sup>49</sup> Sir Henry St George, few years later, documented it once again, this time in MS 874<sup>50</sup>, and gave a reference or credit to Francis Thynne, an antiquarian who served as a Lancaster herald (1602–1609) immediately before Nicholas Charles. There are few differences, which raises the question as to whether these are a result of inaccurate copying, or whether there were some changes in reality.

The other major contributor to MS 874 was Sir Henry St. George, Norroy King of arms. Henry was born in Hatley St George, Cambridgeshire, the fourth of eight children and third of five sons of Sir Richard St George (1554/5–1635), Clarenceux king of arms.<sup>51</sup> His rich notes are replete with monuments, effigies, brasses, detailed inscriptions, and heraldic funeral items – tabards, hatchments, banners etc.<sup>52</sup> His most important additions to this manuscript are items from “the chappell w[i]thin the Royall Castle of Windsor”,<sup>53</sup> recording the stall plates of the knights of the Garter, the tomb of king Edward IV and the standards of king Henry VIII.<sup>54</sup>

Certain monuments excited particular antiquarian interest, and are noted from multiple sources. One such is that of Robert Curthose in Gloucester Cathedral which appears in three different manuscripts: the first of these chronologically dates to the sixteenth century and now belongs to the College of Arms;<sup>55</sup> the second is in Burton’s work;<sup>56</sup> and the last is by Nicholas Charles (**Figure 11**).<sup>57</sup> In all cases, priority was given by the recorder to convey the maximum visual information to the reader rather than an aesthetic and realistic drawing of the monument. The same approach can be seen by a note on the tomb of John de Nowers (d.1386) taken in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.<sup>58</sup>

## Conclusion

This paper has focussed on two groups – heralds and antiquarians, the trigger for their connection, and their joint efforts to preserve the heraldic and genealogical record, and indirectly to help maintain the social order in England. Their co-operation has not received the attention in research which it warrants, and one of the principal aims of my ongoing research is to fill that gap. The circumstances that led to the connection between these two groups were on the one hand prosaic – antiquaries who were looking for a place to gather on Fridays, while developing family and social ties, but led to a common goal of

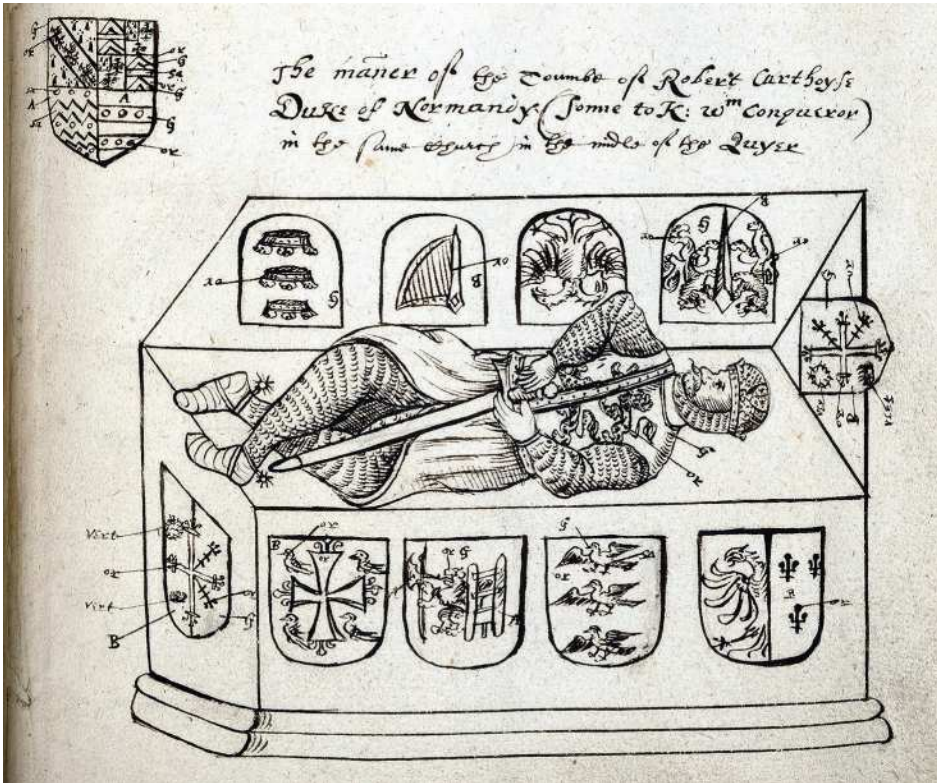


Figure 11: The monument of Robert Curthose in Gloucester Cathedral as recorded by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald. BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 88r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

creating history based on evidence – primarily heraldic – which provided a physical visual material encapsulating a rich historical story. There was a particular interest in quartered arms. It is no coincidence that ten antiquarians later became officers of arms. Through the examples shown in this paper, the cooperation between them can be clearly seen – both in formulating a brief notation method, and in the sharing of information by circulating materials from one to another. The characters I discussed in this article understood very well the importance of their work, although each chose to emphasize materials he was more interested in and which matched his drawing skills. Their dedication to this task of heraldic note-taking created a great resource with which to build reliable genealogies. The social history of England owes them a huge debt.

<sup>1</sup> Sacred space – i.e., monasteries, temples, cathedrals, churches, chapels, pilgrim routes, religious processions, and funerals.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), p. 94.

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- <sup>3</sup> Taken from an account of the Society's secretary, the Judge and Antiquarian Francis Tate (1550–1616), BL. Add MS 4015, ff. 7r, 8r, 43r.
- <sup>4</sup> By the word "herald" I include pursuivants, heralds, and kings of arms.
- <sup>5</sup> There were many others who wrote heraldic works or took notes of heraldry, either for self-interesting or to show their knowledge in this field.
- <sup>6</sup> Bod. MS e Mus. 107, f. 1r.
- <sup>7</sup> Augustin was an antiquary as well.
- <sup>8</sup> John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), To the Reader.
- <sup>9</sup> Christopher S. Wood, "Notation of visual information in the earliest archeological scholarship," *Word & Image* 17, no. 1&2 (2001), p. 95.
- <sup>10</sup> The system of hatching, developed in the 16th century by the Italian herald Silvestro Petra-Sancta, was not in use in notetaking.
- <sup>11</sup> Peter Summers, *How to Read a Coat of Arms* (Sherborne, 1986), p. 23.
- <sup>12</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 12v; BL. Harley MS 3917, f. 13v; BL. Add MS 17062, ff. 59r, 28r.
- <sup>13</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, ff. 97v–98r; BL. Lansdowne MS 874, ff. 98v–99r.
- <sup>14</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510; BL. Add MS 6046.
- <sup>15</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 29r.
- <sup>16</sup> BL. Add MS 6046, f. 3r.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 13v–14r, 14v–15r.
- <sup>18</sup> Writing unclear, looks like 1641.
- <sup>19</sup> The family tree was made in 1598, with some late additions by Burton and others.
- <sup>20</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 85r. On the title of the page Burton gave a credit to Ralph Brooke, York herald (1593–1625): once again – sharing information between a herald and antiquarian.
- <sup>21</sup> The full list of his materials is in his first work, College of Arms, Essex-I, f. 51r
- <sup>22</sup> College of Arms, Essex-I, p.120.
- <sup>23</sup> BL Harley MS 965, f. 41v
- <sup>24</sup> Symonds's war diary was transcribed and edited by C. E. Long, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Cambridge, 1998), but with no arms drawings, while in my research I emphasis the way arms were copied.
- <sup>25</sup> BL Harley MS 965, f. 41v.
- <sup>26</sup> BL Add MS 17062, f. 10v.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, fol.46v.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, fol.48v.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> P. R. Seddon. "Holles, Gervase (1607–1675)." In *New DNB*.
- <sup>31</sup> His commission in written on a piece of parchment, presented by James Berry. BL. Add Ch. 70817.
- <sup>32</sup> BL. Add MS 5531, f. 19r. English: "Colonel of the infantry under the auspices of King Charles of England, as well as Louis XIV of France in 1646".
- <sup>33</sup> 'Heraldiquarian', A term coined by Nigel Llewellyn in his article *The manuscript remains of the Randle Holmes, herald antiquaries of the 17th century*. <https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-manuscript-remains-of-the-randle-holmes-herald-antiquaries-of-the-17th-century>.
- <sup>34</sup> BL. Harley MS 6829, f. 113r.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 46.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 56.
- <sup>37</sup> During my attempts to trace his identity, the conclusion narrows towards William Tillotson (d. 1615), Suffolk clergyman and antiquary. <https://collections.sal.org.uk/mss.0004>
- <sup>38</sup> SAL. MS 667, p. 7.
- <sup>39</sup> BL. Egerton Ms 3310A.
- <sup>40</sup> BL. Harley MS 3917, ff. 60r–60v.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 32v.
- <sup>42</sup> BL. Add MS 53782, p. 20. These two fonts survived the iconoclasm, and they can be compared with the notes.
- <sup>43</sup> The description of BL Lansdowne MS 874 "[...] by Henry Saint George, Esquire, Clarencieux [...]", while this was Norroy King of Arms.
- <sup>44</sup> Nicholas Rogers, "Nicholas Charles (bapt. 1582, d. 1613)." In *New DNB*.
- <sup>45</sup> BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 7r. "Colde" – Cole. Fish street is now Queen Victoria Street. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666 and rebuilt by the office of Sir Christopher Wren.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 15v. This St Alban's medieval church was rebuilt in 1634, then destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666.
- <sup>47</sup> Compare Charles's BL. Lansdowne 874 ff. 103v–104r, with Burton's BL. Egerton MS 3510 f. 99v.
- <sup>48</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, ff.95r–96v.

## NATHANIEL NAGAR

<sup>49</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 57v.

<sup>50</sup> BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 35v.

<sup>51</sup> Rouge Rose pursuivant-extraordinary in May 1610, Bluemantle pursuivant in 1611, accompanied his father in his visitations of Derbyshire (1611) and of Cheshire (1614). He became Richmond herald in 1616, William Camden's deputy for the visitations in 1619, 1620 and 1623. Between 1633 and 1635 he acted as his father's deputy for the visitation of London, and in 1635 St George was created Norroy king of arms. From Thomas Woodcock. "St George, Sir Henry (1581–1644)." In *New DNB*.

<sup>52</sup> See for example, BL. Lansdowne MS 874: ff. 60v–61r (brasses); f. 58r, f. 62r (inscriptions).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 48r–52r.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 49r.

<sup>55</sup> College of Arms, L17, f. 205v, 16th cent.

<sup>56</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 87v, late 16th cent.

<sup>57</sup> BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 88r, early 17th cent.

<sup>58</sup> BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 78r.