

From the *Transactions* of the
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

Some Early Berkeley Ladies

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1965, Vol. 84, 31-43

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By E. S. LINDLEY, F.S.A.

EVA, wife of Robert FitzHarding (c. 1087-1170) the first certain ancestor of the family, was a niece of William the Conqueror. All that is known of her is that she bore him five sons and two daughters, after Robert's death founded and endowed the house of the Magdalenes of Bristol, and died as their prioress.

The marriage of his son Maurice (c. 1115-1189) was purely political. King Henry I having dispossessed Roger of the earlier house of Berkeley of most of its estates to grant to FitzHarding, there was danger of a lasting feud between the two houses: to avert this the king made Robert and Roger agree to a marriage between their eldest children. Alice was 'a lady of great virtue' and made numerous bequests.

Alice's husband was succeeded by his son Robert II (c. 1165-1222), who was twice married. The first, Julian de Pont l'arch was of so high status as a niece of William Marshall Earl of Pembroke that she was privileged to buy and sell land in fee simple in her own name and without reference to her husband. The parentage of the second, Lucy, is not recorded. Neither of them bore him children, so that he was succeeded by his brother Thomas I. It is noticeable that his endowments were always for the souls' health of both these wives.

The wife of this brother Thomas I (c. 1167-1243) was Joan de Somery. She too was a niece of William Marshall, but there is no mention of her too having had privilege. After her husband's death she secured for life estates including the Manor of Wotton, and resided principally in the manor house that he had built there. She obtained a royal grant for a weekly market and annual fair in the manor and chose Wotton from among the hamlets comprising it to hold them in: a year later she agreed with its inhabitants to constitute it a Borough, which her son confirmed by deed. For all this she was known as 'Domina de Wotton'. She is said to have been inclined to petty suits.

Thomas I was succeeded by his son Maurice II (c. 1218-1281) who was married to an Isabel of whose parentage there is dispute. Several high authorities make her daughter of Edmond earl of Cornwall, but John Smith adduces evidence that she was thus married before Edmond was born: others pronounce her daughter of

Edmund's famous father Richard, and so niece of King Henry III; but this too Smith finds impossible: Smith's own derivation, on which some authorities agree, also makes her a niece of Henry III, and he finds her named as such in some royal land grants. Nothing personal about her is recorded. But she may be to blame for some detail of grants under which Queens Mary and Elizabeth later supported their claims to disputed Berkeley manors.

Joan de Ferrars, wife of the next lord, Thomas II (*c.* 1245-1321), was singularly matched to her husband. The full household and estate accounts that they left show how she worked like a farmer's wife in managing house and dairy, while he was an improving husbandman and estate manager, though his short-sighted leasing policy hampered several generations of his successors in a rising economy. She conducted her own land transactions under her own seal, though nothing is known to account for this privilege. In her latter years of poor health she sawed billets and sticks in her chamber for exercise, 'buying yearly certain fine handsaws for 2*d* each'. John Smith testifies to her sweetness of disposition, her freedom from pride, the familiarity of her carriage, her moderation in all successes and affairs, and avoiding all vain delights.

Eve, daughter of Eudo lord Zuch, first wife of Maurice III (1281-1326), died after twenty-four years of marriage: next, Isabel de Clare outlived him and did not remarry. Nothing is recorded of either, except that both brought in considerable portions in money and land.

Margaret Mortimer was first wife of Thomas III (*c.* 1293-1361): John Smith traces her pedigree back to Cadwallader, but tells us nothing of her, except that she died young at 30, seventeen years after marriage, for the first seven years of which Thomas had been in prison for treason and had not brought her home: but this does not imply separation, and she bore him four sons and a daughter.

Ten years after Margaret's death, Thomas III married Katharine daughter of Sir John Clyvedon and widow of Sir Peter le Veel of Charfield: she survived Thomas by twenty-four years. A year after his death she went on an unspecified pilgrimage overseas. Her marriage portion, augmented by her Veel dower, made her a very rich woman: she added to this by securing a number of grants from her husband for herself and for her only surviving son John; she also made John grants herself, to such an extent that his line, the Berkeleys of Beverstone, for several generations rose to a status rivalling that of the senior line: John Smith speculates that the reason why Thomas at one time tied up many of his properties may have been to safeguard himself from her importunities on behalf of her own children. She endowed and

regulated an existing school at Wotton and is credited as its foundress: it was named after her, and after surviving an attempt to suppress it at the Dissolution, and a number of actual and attempted frauds in the endowment, is one of the very oldest schools in the country. Her father, Roger Mortimer, being the principal leader in Queen Isabel's rebellion against King Edward II, brought the Berkeley family into a prominent place in that rebellion, which led to the murder of that king in Berkeley Castle.

Elizabeth de Spencer wife of Maurice IV (*c.* 1331–1368) was married very young when he too was only 8: their first child was not born till thirteen years later in 1352. Four years later Maurice was most severely wounded at Poitiers, captured and held to ransom, and not fit to return home for four years: he died of the effects of his wounding eight years later aged 37: Elizabeth survived Maurice by twenty-one years, dying still a widow when still under 58. Thus her experience of married life was not very happy: married in infancy, when she did join her husband he was in the French wars from Crécy onward, but for unspecified visits home: when he did get home at last she had only the care of the wounded man till he died. John Smith names Elizabeth's father as Hugh lord Spenser, and her responsible brother was also Hugh: twelve years before the wedding Maurice's father had been of the party which hunted down and slaughtered King Edward II's hated favourites, Hugh Spenser the elder, earl of Winchester, and his son Hugh Spenser earl of Gloucester: it is a pity that Smith does not comment on the curious fact of a wedding with the daughter of a family who must have been related to the dead traitors.

Margaret, daughter of Gerard Warren lord de Lisle, was the wife of Thomas IV (1352–1417): they were married when he was 14, and she only 7 but should remain with her father for four years: the early marriage was agreed as Thomas' father felt his end approaching, and wanted to spare him from becoming a royal ward: the estates could not be saved from such wardship, but harm was avoided by de Lisle being given the custody. Margaret brought her husband the close and affectionate friendship of her father, and then the baronies of her father and mother to add to the Berkeley titles, and very extensive estates. John Smith describes her only as 'a very mild devout lady but nothing active in her family': she died aged about 30, and when Thomas died nineteen years later her bones were translated to be buried beside him under the famous brass in Wotton church: such was his grief that he did not marry again though only 38 and without heir-male. The devoutness of the pair had earned them a bull from Pope Urban VI to choose their own confessor, and a second for him

to give them remission as well as absolution, and a third for them to have a portable altar for private masses.

Before going on to the next wife we must deal with Elizabeth the sole heiress, whose marriage to the ruthless Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick involved the family in nearly two centuries of bitter struggle and war. At the death of Thomas IV his heir James was away, and Beauchamp being on the spot took the opportunity of seizing the important deeds of title and copying many more: he then laid claim to all the Berkeley property in the name of his wife. In a first phase there were suits, which Beauchamp took steps to block, but they finally found for James over the entailed property, and for Elizabeth over the rest; in spite of this Beauchamp retained possession forcibly, with the further advantage of custody while they were in royal wardship. During Beauchamp's absence in the wars in France, Elizabeth managed the affairs herself: on one occasion when she was called down from the east so urgently that she rode on horseback instead of in one of her cumbrous six-horse coaches, she laid a complaint that James Berkeley had garrisoned the Wotton rectory house to prevent her entering, and that his men had fired arrows and shouted obscenities at her as she passed: her accounts refer also to her tame bear which travelled in the care of two grooms (*Trans. BGAS*, vol. 70, pp. 83 and 90). These accounts show that she was indeed a *grande dame* with her own lavish establishment. When she died, aged only 31, in 1422, she was buried in Kingswood Abbey in a fine marble tomb, which has not survived the dissolution.

The Berkeley blood of her daughter Margaret and her remarkable character also call for mention. She was the eldest of three daughter-coheiresses in the absence of an heir-male. She pursued her father's feud with the Berkeleys with all his ruthlessness, with an added venomous rancour. She was not mollified when James beat a servant sent to serve a *sub-poena* and forced him to eat it seal and all: when James sacked and damaged her house at Wotton, she retaliated by gaining admission to Berkeley Castle by treachery, and seizing James and his sons in bed: she then kept them in fear of death for several weeks, forcing them to sign deeds, and repeatedly to acknowledge them in public at Bristol and Cirencester. When James' devoted and beloved wife was representing him at Gloucester in one of the many suits raised by Margaret, the latter seized her, threw her into gaol and kept her there till she died. 'The valiant Talbot', her husband, being in command in the French war, she instigated him to call up James' two younger sons: the elder was killed, and the younger, a youth of less than 19, was captured and an exorbitant ransom demanded. At last

Nemesis struck: Margaret's husband and son were killed in the same campaign in 1453. These bereavements so chastened both protagonists that they allowed the feud to subside. Ten years later a formal peace agreement was signed, only six weeks before James died, while Margaret survived for four years.

James (c. 1394-1463) was married three times. The first wife was a young Dorsetshire lady of the Stafford family, who died very young and of whom John Smith gives no account. Next he married Isabel Mowbray, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshall: she was the widow of a Ferrars, of the family into which Thomas II Berkeley had married five generations before: Isabel brought James a more valuable collection of estates than his ancestors had acquired by any previous marriage: she bore him four sons and three daughters. The bond between them and her practical support appear from a charming letter which is worth copying from John Smith :—

To my right worshipful and reverend lord and husband
bee this I're delivered.

Right worshipful and reverend lord and husband, I commend mee to you with all my whole hart, desyring alwayes to heare of your good wellfare, the which God maintayne and increase ever to your worship. And it please you to heare how I fare, Sr. Squall and Squall; Thomas Roger and Jacket have asked surety of peace of mee, for their intent was to bringe mee into the Tower, But I trust in God tomorrow that I shall goe in bayle unto the next Terme, and soe to goe home And then to come againe; and Sur I trust to God and you will not treat with them, but keep your own in the most manlyest wise, yee shall have the land for ones and end: Bee well ware of Venables of Alderley, of Thom Mull and your false Counsell; keep well your place, The Earle of Shroesbury lyeth right nye you, and shapeth all the wyles that hee can to distrusse you and yours, for hee will not meddle with you openly noe manner of wise, but it be with great falsdome that hee can bring about to beguile you, or els that hee caused that yee have so fewe peopull about you, then will hee set on you, for hee saith hee will never come to the king againe till hee have done you an ill turne; Sur your matter speedeth and doth right well, save my daughter costeth great good; At the reverence of God send money or els I must lay my horse to pledge and come home on my feet: keep well all about you till I come home and trete not without mee, And then all thinge shall bee well with the grace of Almighty God, who have you in his keeping: written at London the wednesday next after whitsunday.

Your wife the lady of Berkeley.

This letter made James pawn some church furniture to enable him to send money as asked: the lady was the wife Isabel whom Margaret later gaoled to her death: 'Shroesbury' was Margaret's husband Talbot.

Four years after the two Talbots and the two young Berkeleys fell in battle, James took a step of insurance against further trouble by taking as his third wife Jone Talbot, daughter of Margaret's step-son in the senior Talbot line: the contract for this politic marriage included clauses to secure support from her family and so weaken Margaret's hand. There was no issue, and we know only that after James' death six years later she married again. Just before James' death, age and bereavements had brought the two parties together in a peace agreement, but on his death Margaret at once reopened the suits. She died six years later.

The successor William (c. 1425-1491) was inordinately vain and ambitious for empty honours, quarrelsome and a great hater: he began fourth in rank in the roll of barons, but felt he was owed a dukedom for being William Berkeley, and dispersed all his estates in big grants to the king and to influential high officers, gaining in the end a marquissate and appointment as Earl Marshall and Great Marshall of England. William, soon after his father's death found himself faced by a somewhat similar antagonist in the person of Margaret's grandson Viscount Lisle. When the latter's attempt to suborn the porter of Berkeley Castle was detected and frustrated he was so deeply mortified that he sent William an insulting swash-buckling challenge to battle: William replied in kind and rapidly collected a force: they met on Nibley Green: Lisle was killed, and his band routed, with William's in hot pursuit, riotously sacking the Wotton manor house: this resulted in Lady Lisle's miscarrying, a son born dead, a final and total extinction of Margaret's male line. A bachelor till 41 William then had three wives, of whom John Smith remarks 'The first he loved not nor she him: the second he loved entirely both living and dead, and she him: the third he loved, and she over-ruled him for her own ends'. From the first, soon and without issue, he secured a divorce from the bishop: she appealed to the Pope who called for the records of the case: at that the matter was allowed to drop undecided. His second marriage was to Jone (or Jane), widow of Sir William Willoughby and of noble descent: there was much controversy that this marriage was bigamous: but William disregarded it and the two children of it died too young for their legitimacy to be questioned. She brought in a considerable estate, and William settled as much on her in jointure, and out of his affection made her further great gifts. Two years after Jone's death, William married Anne ffynes, who after seven years of this union remained a widow for some years: there was no issue. She does not seem to have brought in any estate: William gave her a life interest in a large block

of manors near home: King Henry VII to whom the reversion had been granted induced her to surrender these to him: in anticipation of a visit to Berkeley by the King she is said then to have demolished the hall of the Wotton house leaving it a mere rubble pile, and to have used the timbers and lead to roof the great kitchen at Berkeley: but the last Lord Berkeley suggests that this is unlikely because a wholesale repair had to be carried out eight years later. Smith asserts that she fomented the feud between William and his brother Maurice: also that she prevailed on her husband to her own advantage, and there certainly is record of gifts to her.

John Smith, a rather dry lawyer, concerns himself mainly with properties and pedigrees: when he does deal with a personality, he does not probe behind the obvious: a psychoanalyst would have found *The Case of William Berkeley* deeply interesting, even without the clues likely to be buried in the Berkeley muniments. It looks as if the lack of early result from his late and unsuccessful first marriage had led to a festering resentment on realizing his childlessness, with a gnawing suspicion of impotence, which would at times be turned upon the wife: brother Maurice had been quite promptly successful and that would start a hatred of him, and the 'base blood' of his wife was a further peg on which to hang his wrath: birth of two children by the second marriage would end the reproach, but the resentment might well continue in the sub-conscious mind and be fanned by their deaths: so it could grow into a determination to deprive his brother of his inheritance, and lead to a determination to succeed spectacularly in some way, and so to try to buy high titles with the property he was dispersing. A most unattractive case.

The brother Maurice V (1435-1506) who succeeded was married to Isabel Mead, a widow whose three children had died young, of a good middle-class family old-established on some land: her father was an alderman and had several times been mayor of Bristol: there were three sons and a daughter: Isabel survived her husband nine years without remarrying. John Smith is so taken up with following Maurice's dogged campaign to recover some of the lost family property that he has no more to say of her than that 'she was a virtuous lady and evermore content with better or harder fortunes', with some remarks on the occurrence of the number 7 in the ages of those concerned: he does, however, give us the account of her end and funeral sent to her son at Calais. After four days of recital of 'David Sawter' by relays of priests, and peals of bells in five churches, she was conveyed first in a horse litter to her mother church, the Priory in

Coventry: the procession of dignitaries, mourners, friars, 100 priests, and dependants, led by thirty women in her livery 'in blake gownes and kerchews upon their heds of oon ele every kerchew which was not surveled nether hemmed bycause they mought be knowne lately cut out of new cloth' each with a taper of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs of clean wax: a 'drynkyng' was made for the mayor and his brethren, with a first course of cakes comfets and ale, a second of marmelet, snoket, red wine and claret, and a third of wafers and blanch powder with romney and muskadel: 'and I thanke God noe plate ne spones was lost yet ther was xxii desyn spones': next day riding to Austin Friars in London, met by the Abbot of Combe in his mitre censing the hearse and a concourse of five or six thousands and the singing of hundreds of masses: but there was no heraldic pageantry, the lady not having been armigerous. It is a pity that my limited subject excludes mention of Maurice V's assiduous study of the stolen deeds recovered from Wotton by William and then trudging from court to court to recover manors.

Maurice VI (c. 1467-1523), son of the last, at 17 married Katharine Berkeley of the Stoke Gifford branch of the family: she survived him by three years but without issue. All that Smith tells us about her is that she was most careful of her husband's affairs: and that she never took exception to his having begotten and reared a bastard at Calais whom he never allowed to come to England.

Thomas V (1472-1532) who succeeded on the death of his brother, first married Alienor Constable, a young Yorkshire widow with a son: till he succeeded they lived principally on a Yorkshire manor of hers, and then at Mangotsfield: she was 'a mild and virtuous lady taking great care for the education and marriage of her two sons and two daughters'. A year after her death Thomas married Cicely Rowdon of Gloucester, who survived him after six years of marriage: she was known as 'my lady Cicely of Bristol' from having lived largely there, and died there. Thomas being 51 at succeeding, his wives will have lived less as great ladies than as countrywomen married to a large-scale sheep farmer, himself meticulously managing (not just herding) his flocks of hundreds and even thousands on Cotswold.

Thomas VI (1505-1534) had been contracted by his father to marry Katharine Howard of the Norfolk ducal family: Smith has not been able to fathom just how far this was carried out, but the marriage was not consummated and so was void. He then married Mary, daughter of George Lord Hastings: they lived together lovingly for nearly eight years, but without issue, when she died. Within a few months Thomas married Anne Savage of a Cheshire family with a

jointure more suited to a younger son than to a cadet of a family of landed nobility. Fecund, she bore a daughter only ten months after marriage, and conceived a son in the night after her churching; but Thomas died two full months before his birth. A brunette of medium height, good-looking, and her daughter was a noted Court beauty when she married the Earl of Ormond. Thomas then working and managing big flocks on Cotswold, she proved a keen country housewife, and even after they succeeded to property she inspected her in- and out-door departments in early mornings, summer and winter. Dominating her husband, and generally over-bearing, she was yet over-indulgent with her children, spoiling them and letting them off education: her daughter parted from Ormond after only a year, for incompatibility of temperament; and her son's earlier life was completely unrestrained. Having been one of Ann Boleyn's train-bearers and following the Old Religion she was favoured by Queen Mary, especially after their prompt and powerful support against the Wyatt rebellion: they raised considerable loans from tenants and pawned the family plate to equip and send a force of 500 men in response to the queen's summons.

Ann's obstinacy and inexperienced ignorance of property affairs were heavily detrimental to the family position: she acted contrary to even Queen Mary's advice, causing her son a loss which John Smith estimates at £50,000 during his life: having bought her son's wardship made her freer to follow her own will. Quarrelsome as well, she plunged into a rancorous feud over property at Yate in which the parties raided each other, and her opponents were actually planning to light a rick which might fire Yate Court with her and her *werish* (sickly) boy when interrupted: she used her Court influence to get herself appointed to the commission for adjudicating on the case, with obvious result and consequences: and she let herself become so absorbed in all this that two baronies in Ireland were lost to her son by default.

Thomas had added liberally to Ann's jointure: at his death she made a further liberal demand for dower from her son, which he heedlessly granted. When the time came to vacate Yate Court for him to live in she retired to Callowdon where she promptly initiated a fresh set of feuds. Characteristically, she was intestate when she died there in 1564. She had remained a widow.

Henry (1534-1613) at age 20 married 16-year old Katharine Howard, of a branch of the family of the Katharine to whom his father had first been contracted. By reason of her father's attainder and execution she brought in but small marriage portion: but she was

restored in blood on Queen Elizabeth's accession, and a dozen years later was richly endowed with manors for life by special Act of Parliament: both then and later lovely, tall, stately and dignified, quick-witted and exact in speech and writing, skilful in French and perfect in Italian: though she would sing to only two or three on the lute in her chamber, servants and even John Smith would gather under her window to listen: Henry bought her a lute of mother of pearl for which Queen Elizabeth had offered a hundred marks. When he came to London and to court as a young man, Henry celebrated his release from too fond apron strings by taking to gaming and the chase with hound and hawk: his young wife matched him in these tastes and extravagance, and they were then over-spending by some £1500 a year: he had also to sue for livery of his hereditary estates, and began instituting other suits, and he had to provide his grandmother's dower as well as that of his mother Anne of which she had secured an increase on his recovering properties. For the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, Katharine had a petticoat of crimson satin and a gown of cloth of gold and crimson velvet shoes as part of her outfit, which was outshone by Henry's splendid costume. With a train of a hundred or more friends and retainers they progressed from manor to manor, hunting over a dozen counties: Katharine was good with long bow and cross bow, kept a cast or two of merlins, sometimes in her own chamber to the detriment of her garments: no wonder Anne exclaimed 'by God's blessed sacrament, this gay girl will beggar my son Henry'. In the early years they had once arranged to retrench by boarding with Katharine's mother for 10s a week plus 4s for her gentlewomen and 3s for their gentlemen and yeomen: Thomas VI had once taken a similar measure, but for 25s 4d a week: Henry and Katharine do not seem to have kept this up for long: they also began selling off land towards covering the overspending.

Queen Mary had not taken up the claims to ex-Berkeley property which came to her by the attainder of Northumberland: Queen Elizabeth too had left them dormant till Katharine's father and other Howards in turn became involved in plots: in one of the surveys carried out preliminary to action, we meet Robert Hale of Wotton, grandfather of Sir Mathew, who resolutely refused to take part in portions of the presentment as untrue. The ensuing court cases were so prolonged, and so involved, with suborning of witnesses and abstracting of documents that even lawyer John Smith does not report it all in full. At last Henry decided to press his case with all strength, and secured a favourable verdict subject to payment of some £8000: the value of property recovered was £35,000: but he had to sell land for £41,000

to cover this and his debts. His present opponents were more reasonable, and so after 197 years the ancient dispute was settled at last. An earlier occasion is recorded when Katharine pleaded with Elizabeth on her knees for consideration, but received the reply 'no, no, Lady Berkeley, we know you will never love for the death of your brother': that event had done much to mature the 'gay girl'.

Katharine's sense of dignity is exemplified by a set of household Standing Orders on the attendance conduct and dress of the seventy-odd gentlemen: semi-royal state. John Smith had the greatest respect and devotion for the mistress, twenty-eight years his senior, who had house-trained him when he entered the household as a page, a raw youth of 17. He quotes an instance when he crossed the gallery at the opposite end of which she was, hurrying with a covered dish of her son's breakfast, and gave her only a 'running leg' or curtsey: she called him back to make a leg again and again and again, and lifted all her garments to the calf to show him the grace of drawing back the foot and bowing the knee: he goes on to deprecate the newly introduced anticke and apeish gestures and the French way of cringing: also the ending of letters with 'your humble servant' in place of 'your loving friend'. Later, she was once advised that a finger would have to be cut off at the palm, or lance all along to the bone: she refused to be held, and stood the operation without blenching or showing a sign.

Her husband could not bear to take part in the long pompous procession of her funeral, marshalled by the heralds for this lady of near-royal lineage; so John Smith wrote him a full account. Her coffin was carried beforehand from the house at Callowden to that of a civic dignitary in Coventry, at night, by persons of good quality: next morning the procession was there mustered by Garter King at Arms and Chester Herald, to proceed through the crowded streets to St Michael's church. It was headed and conducted by six principal yeomen in long black cloaks carrying black staves, followed by seventy poor women in mourning gowns and Holland kerchiefs: then thirty gentlemen's servants in black coats: next the servants of gentlemen, esquires, and knights in black cloaks, and the household yeomen: then the earl's gentlemen to the number of seventy-four, two by two, including John Smith as one of the Lady's secretaries, followed by the household officers, including the Steward bearing a white rod: behind him a related high gentlemen bearing the great banner of honour, and then the chief gentlemen of the county and the earl's chaplains. Before the coffin went Chester Herald with an assistant to marshall the traffic: the coffin was carried by eight of the earl's chief gentlemen and

yeomen, with four more of most note (named) in support: near its four corners four named esquires, each bearing a bannerroll with the lady's and Henry's arms quartered: then Garter in full livery, escorted by the Lady's gentleman usher with a small white rod and another gentleman usher, both bare-headed: the earl of Derby's eldest daughter followed as chief mourneress supported by the arms of two related gentlemen, in gown, mantle, train and tippet of black, 'parys' head, tippet, wimple, veil and barb of fine white lawn, her train born by an esquires: and there were six more principal mourneresses, dressed according to their stations only that their trains were tucked up and not borne: after four more esquires two by two, then fourteen ladies and gentlemen attendants, and eight chambermaids, came lastly the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of Coventry, and commons in great numbers. They passed with slow steps and frequent pauses.

At the church the seventy poor women lined the aisle: Garter King placed the seven chief mourneresses next to and facing the hearse, with the other principals two yards out, and the rest in the nearest seats. After a psalm and an address, during another psalm all the mourners described as wearing heads of lawn walked in procession round the hearse, and the waiting gentlewomen and chambermaids were separated from them and seated on one side of the aisle, the rest in their former places: Garter King conducted the seven principal ladies up to make an offertory: after the banners had been offered up by those who bore them, Garter brought up the heir and invested him by delivery of the banners: the Steward and the Gentleman Usher, after many obeysances, broke their rods at the hearse. Then back to the house in town, and on to Callowden, where Henry had provided refreshments enough for a good thousand persons beyond those listed. The College of Arms has an account of the costs and charges for heraldry: Garter King's fee £10 plus £10 for gown and liveries and £7 8s transportation: Chester Herald, £3 6s 8d fee plus £4 16s 8d for gown and liveries and £3 15s transportation: the velvet pall and hearse not priced: the painters' bill included £2 10s for the great banner, £5 6s 8d for the four bannerrolls and the balance of £25 10s for four doz. 'pensceles' and dozens of escutcheons on card, on buckram, or on metal.

After only about a year Henry aged 63 married a widow, Jane daughter of Sir Michael Stanhope, aged about 64: she lived for twenty years more, surviving Henry by four years. Smith tells us nothing about her: he is a little scornful of the 'amorous humour or dotage of old men,' since at their ages there was no hope of children,

and they are thought never to have bedded together. For the last thirty years of his life Henry had kept the most meticulous accounts, a great change from his youthful habits: he died aged 80, in great pain, after eating some 'small custards' to which he had taken a fancy at an earlier meal.

Henry's son Thomas (1575-1611) predeceased his father and so did not succeed to title and property: he left a widow and a son. He had been spoilt by his mother and poorly educated, was recklessly profuse in expenditure and died in debt. He had married Elizabeth Carey, daughter of Lord Hunsdon, who brought in a marriage portion of £1000 and land to the same value, apart from her prospects as the only child: both she and Thomas had been god-children of Queen Elizabeth, and Thomas had been envoy to convey news of his succession to King James. Elizabeth is the subject of violently contradictory estimates by John Smith: when in 1631 she sold the Wortley estate for only £1500 he protested to the verge of insubordination, and recorded accusations of fraud by her on her son George: thus, that she had drawn unaccounted profits of some £11,000 on sales and leases, partly for herself and to give to friends, and partly for her grandson. On the other hand at about the same time she is called her son's 'noble mother' in the text, and in the general preface 'that matchless noble mother'; some of the matters which Smith reports do support this. Once Thomas' and her extravagant expenditure was examined and found to amount to some £1500 more than their annuity of £600, while they had already sold some £7000 of land: there was then a written agreement between them and Smith, on retrenchment and control over them: there is also Elizabeth's own note of having paid out a total of £6955 7s, with the remark 'I hope in God the like will never be again': at an early date Elizabeth had bought liberties in property for her son with £7000 of her own purse: when the overseers of the will wanted to lay the debt on the executors, she would not agree and took them upon herself.

It was for the son George that John Smith largely wrote his chronicle, with frequent exhortations to learn from the virtues and be warned by the vices of his ancestors: he was 10 when his father died, but his mother soon secured the wardship: at 12 he is said to have shown virtue and progress in learning: at 13½ he married Elizabeth Stanhope aged 9: but the chronicle soon ends without light on the lady.