THE FUNERAL ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENNOX

By FRANCIS W. STEER, F.S.A.

Charles Lennox, 1st Duke of Richmond and of Lennox (of the new creation), natural son of King Charles II by Louise de Keroualle (afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth) was born in London on 29 July 1672; his numerous dignities and appointments are listed in *The Complete Peerage*, vol.x (1945), p.837. He died on 27 May 1723 at Goodwood, an estate which he had bought in 1720 and which had the mansion earlier than the present one still standing. The Duke's remains were interred in Westminster Abbey on 7 June 1723, the event being recorded in the Abbey register as follows:—

The high, puissant and most noble Prince Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Earl of March and Darnley, Baron of Settrington and Methuen, one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter: in the vault at the East end of K.H.7th's Chapel.

Among the archives of His Grace The Duke of Richmond and Gordon now deposited in the West Sussex Record Office is a detailed account of the cost of his ancestor's funeral, and this is here reproduced on p. 157 as closely to the original form as the limitations of print will allow.² Although the document is self-explanatory there are a few points deserving of notice. The first is that every possible charge was levied by the undertaker who made sure that no outward sign of respect to the deceased should be omitted. The journey to London from Goodwood took two days, the cortege staying one night at Guildford where preparations were made for the body to lie in state. Upon arrival in London, the coffin was taken to the Jerusalem Chamber immediately to the south of the west doorway of the Abbey; the Chamber dates from the late 14th century and is a gracious apartment where the Dean and Chapter now hold their meetings. For the reception of the Duke's remains, the Chamber was "hung deep in mourning" and an elaborate catafalque was erected in the form of an alcove hung with velvet and black ostrich plumes. Streamers with coronets on each side, silk escutcheons of arms, buckram escutcheons (240 of them), 120 ducal stars on pasteboard and 60 crests were used to decorate the

¹ Edited and annotated by Joseph Lemuel Chester (1876), p. 308.

² I am much indebted to His Grace The Duke of Richmond and Gordon for giving me permission to reproduce this document.

Chamber and three other rooms (two of them presumably the

present Jericho Parlour and College Hall).

The trophies cost £47, but the ducal coronet, crimson velvet cap and cushion were the undertaker's which he hired for a paltry 30s. for the occasion. Ten large candlesticks stood round the coffin, 112 sconces held lights in the Chamber and rooms, 150 branch lights of white wax and an equal number of men to carry them "to Light the whole procession in the Abby" cost £45. The heat generated by all this burning wax in high summer necessitated the payment of 8s. 6d. to the Abbey glazier to take down the windows of the Jerusalem Chamber and other rooms to cool them. The hatchments and fittings to hang outside Richmond House in the Privy Garden and at Goodwood House cost £17. Attendants, and attendants on them, the hire of cloaks, palls, scarves, gloves, hat-bands all had to be paid for, and Nicholas Strawbridge duly presented his bill for £422 13s. 7d. made up as follows.:—

For the Funeral of His Grace Charles (Late) Duke of Richmond &c, at Westminster Abby 3d June 1723 By Nicho Strawbridge & the Comp^a of Upholders att Exeter Change

Daid a man in maurning his haroshyra and Charges 5

Paid a man in mourning his horcehyre and Charges 5			
days being sent to Goodwood by order and Con-			
tinued there to Assist the Plum'er to make the			
Leadon Coffin £2 10: and pd the Hyre of anothr			
horce at Guilford 7/6	2	17	6
A Hearce and 6 Horces 4 days to bring his Grace to			
Town 35 pr day	7		-
2 Mourning Coaches and 6 horces 4 days to attend att			
35s. pr day Each	14	_	_
Black Velvett to cover the Hearse, and houseings for			
the Horces	2	-	_
17 Plumes black Ostridge Feathers the Journey to dress			
the Hearse	3	_	-
4 Horsemen in Mourning 4 days horce hyre and charges			
at 10s. pr man p de	8	-	_
10 Pr Sheep Gloves, 10 Hatbands for 4 horcemen 3			
Coachmen and 3 postillions 3s	1	10	_
7 Cloakes for Coachmen and horcemen 4 days	1	8	_
6 fine Cloakes for 4 of his Graces Gentlemen and 2	_	-	
others: 4 days at 2s	2	8	_
A Large Velvett Pall the Journey	- ī	_	_
A Roome for the Body hung deep in mourning wth	•		
Cloth one Night at Guilford 6 Plate Candlesticks			
and Wax Tapers burning all night	2		NO10
	2	_	_
Pd 2 men to watch by the body all Night and bearers		10	
to take the Coffin out the Hearse and putt it in again		10	-

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8 Bearers in mourning to take the Body out the Hearse				
and carry it to the Jerusalem Chamber		8	-	
Pd the Turnpikes for the Coaches and horces going			121	
and comeing back		4	7	
The Funeral from the Jerusalem Chamber vizt	_			
A Large Elme Coffin covered with Crimson Genova				
Velvett finish ^d w th water Guilt nailes 4 pr best				
handles 9 Crownels and a Flower, all Gilded	30	-	-	
A Large brass Plate with His Graces titles of Honour				
&c Engraved thereon and Water Gilt wth Gold:	5	_		
to fix on the Crimson Coffin	3	5	-	
A Leadon plate the same Sawdered on the Leadon Coffin		10		
Coffin		10		
Cloth and the Floor of the State Covered	6	10		
Paid the Joyners for building a Large high Alcove for	U	10		
the Body to Lye in raised on three Steps, 6 Fluted				
Pillers: 3 Large Arches, and the floor Cov ^d	6	5	_	
Hanging the Alcove and Pillers wth Velvett and black				
Plumes of Ostridge Feathers round it	6	10	-	
A Velvett Cannopy over the Body & black Plumes				
Ostridge Feathers round it	2	5	-	
A Velvett Raile round the Body & black Plumes Os-				
tridge Feathers round it	2	-	-	
A Large new Velvett Palle	1	-	-	
A Crimson Velvett Cap on a Crimson velvett Cushion:				
and a Dukell Crownett all the time on the Coffin, and	1	10		
at Guilford the night ye body lay there	-	10	-	
10 Plate Candleesticks on Stands by the Body 112 Plate Sconces for the Jerusalem Chamber and the	1		-	
0.1	5	12		
61 ½lb. Wax Tapers and Small Candles for the Candle-	3	12		
sticks and Sconces	8	4	_	
24 Silk Streamers wth Crownetts on Each Side to	Ū	•		
Intermix wth the Feathers round the Raile and				
Cannopy at 6s	7	4	-	
18 Silk Escutcheons verged wth Silver wth Dukell				
Crownetts and the Arms Quartered in a Garter att	_			
7/6 Each	6	15	-	
20 dozen of Buckeram Escutcheons verged wth Dukell				
Crownetts: the Arms of England Quartered in a Garter & for the 3 roomes and State 3/6 Each	42			
10 dozen of Dukell Starrs on pastboard for the State	72	_		
Roome 2s	12	_	_	
5 dozen of His Graces Crests in a Garter for the State				
Roome 2s	6	-	_	

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20 White Wax Flambeuax, and 20 men in Mourning to stand in the Courtyard and light the Company to the Jerusalem Chamber	2	10	
150 Branch Lights of white wax: and 150 men in mourning to carry them to Light the whole pro-	2	10	_
cession in the Abby 6s	45	-	_
cheons to carry the Body the whole procession 4 Managers in Mourning to fitt all the Lords and putt the whole procession in order, Silk Scarves for Do	1	10	-
15[s.]	3	10	_
Supporters and the Arms of England Quartered: for the 2 houses in London and Goodwood Covering the 2 outside Frames in Mourning Iron	16	_	-
hold fasts, nailes &c	1	-	-
at 3/6		1	6
33 Best Hatbands for do: at 3/6	5	15	6
 18 pr Sheep Gloves for 6 Conductors & 12 bearers 57 pr Gloves for the Lords Gentmn that fitted on the Collers of the order and other Servants belonging to 		18	_
them 1/6	4	5	6
8 pr Gloves for the Singing Boys		8	_
Paid the Sergent 10s: the Corporal 5s: and 16 Souldiers at 2/6 Each	2	15	
Paid the Glazior of the Abby to take down the windows of the Jerusalem Chamber and Other Rooms: to cool	_	10	
the rooms. & putting them up again		8	6
ye Cheif mourner	1	-	_
Printed Ticketts on Royall paper wth the Edges Japand to Invite the Co		10	_
For Mr Wildes attendance 4 days in the Country to Goodwood and back wth his Graces Corps to Town and the Night of the Funeral: directing the State			
and the whole Procession of the Funeral	4	4	_
	£422	13	7

This was not the total cost of the Duke's funeral expenses.¹ The ducal homes in the Privy Garden and at Goodwood had to be furnished with mourning and the bill for this came to £233 10s. 6d. made up as follows:—

¹ No record of payments to the Abbey authorities appears to have survived among the Goodwood MSS. in the West Sussex Record Office.

Sett Mourning Furnished His Grace the Duke of Richmond Att His House in Privy Garden the 10th June 1723 By John Sanderson & the Company of Upholders att Exeter Cha

The Dineing Room Furnished wth Lt Grey Cloth Hangings 4 Window Curtins and Vallents and 10 back Stools coverd Short

The Bed Chamber Furnished wth fine Cloth Hangings, a Fine Grey Cloth Bed Compleat and A Carpett round it: 4 Pr Window Curtins and Vallents also 10 Back Stools covered Short

The Green Room Furnish'd wth fine Light Grey Cloth Hangings, 4 Window Curtins and Vallents, and 10 back Stools covered

His Graces Drawing Roome Furnished With fine Lt Grey Cloth Hangings Window Curtins, Vallents and Chaires

The Great Dineing Roome Furnish'd with 6 Curtins & Vallents with 10 back Stools covered Short

Her Graces Dressing Roome Furnished wth fine cloth Hangings 4 Window Curtins and Vallents 3 back Stools and 2 Square Stools covered Short

Another Roome Furnished with Cloth Hangings, Window Curtins and Vallents and back Stools

The Passage to Her Graces Dressing Roome Hung wth Cloth The above perticulars was Compleated and putt up the day above Mentioned to Stand 12 months for NB The 22d June 1723 Mr Foster was taken Ill: upon weh His Grace Ordered all the Mourning to be taken down and Sent back to Exeter Change; there to Remaine for His Further Orders; and the Charges of 2 Upholders to take it down wth 8 men 2 days to bring the Goods back and paper up the Chaires &c comes to Paid 3 Upholsterers 3 Days Work, tax thred: &c. to

put up the mourns and Also porterage of the Goods

from Exeter Change ...

£100 -

2

£104 10

Sett Mourning Furnished His Grace the Duke of Richmond Att Goodwood in Sussex the 29th June 1723

The Dineing Room below Furnished wth 2 Pr Lt Grey Cloth Window Curtins and Vallens also 12 back Stools Covered Short The Drawing Room next the Dineing Room below: Furnished wth fine Light Grey Cloth Hangings, 2 Pr Window Curtins and Vallents also 12 back Stools covered Short

The Drawing Roome next the Great Stair Case Furnished wth Light Grey Cloth Hangings 2 Pr Window Curtins and Vallents. and 12 back Stools Covered Short

The Bed Chamber Furnished wth a Fine Light Grey Cloth Bed Compleat Cloth Hangings round the Roome 2 pr Window Curtins with Vallents and 12 back Stools Covered Short

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The Yellow Drawing Roome Furnished with Light Grey Cloth Hangings. 2 Pr Window Curtins with 6 back Stools covered Short The whole to Remaine in Use 12 months for £120 For Parpering Cording and Porters to pack up all the	
said Goods 2 days time and Cartage to the Inn att Southwark	
Paid an Upholsterer 3 days horce hyre and Charges to Goodwood to take Measure of the Rooms 1 7 6 Paid another Upholster horce hyre and Charges 7 days	
to help put up the aforesaid Mourning 7/6 2 13 – Paid another Upho 13 Days horce hyre and Charges	
Ditto 3 9 6	
£129	
The Duke was succeeded by his son, another Charles (1701-1750), whose still-born child was buried in September 1724 at a charge of £8 19s. 0d., viz.—	? ∳e
The Fun ¹¹ Of the Son of his Grace Cha ^s . Duke of Richmond & Lenox. Perform'd by the Company of Upholders at Exeter Change Sept ^r . ye 7th 1724	
An Elme Coffin lin'd with a Sarsnet Quilt and Ruffle & Insear'd and a lead Coffin with an Inscription chas'd in Lead	
bims heads Silver'd 3 10 0	į
A Depositum of Titles Engrav'd on a Copper plate and Silver'd for the Velvet Case 1 15 0	
A Velvet Pall	
2 Branch Lights & 2 men in mourning to light at the Vault 10 0)
A Man in mourning to Carry the Body to and from the Coach)
£8 19 0	-)
The account of the Funeral of His Grace Charles	-
(Late Duke of Richmond) as pr bill delivered is £422 13 7	
The Bill for Mourning Furnished at Privy Garden £104 10 6 The Bill for Mourning Furnished att Goodwood £129 0 0	
The Bill for the Funeral of His Graces Child £8 19 0)
£665 3 1	L

The total of these four accounts is £665 3s. 1d., a considerable sum by any standards, but its value is better appreciated when we realize that a labourer's wage in 1725 was about 10d. a day and an artizan earned between a shilling and 1s. 8d. a day.

This is not the end of the story, for James Spershott of Chichester

wrote in his journal1-

1749. The Duke of Richmond's new vault diged and made in the Cathedral, and his father (the then late Duke) taken from Westminster and brought into it.

And soon after was his own death and burial there.

The grant of a vault in the Lady Chapel of Chichester Cathedral is incorrectly said by Dallaway2 to be to the 3rd Duke but he is right in dating this event as "about the year 1750." Willis says³ that the vault "robbed the chapel of its due altitude." The truth about the vault is that the Dean and Chapter of Chichester "out of their especial Regard to his grace [Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny] and for & in consideration of the Sum of One Hundred & Five Pounds of lawfull money of Great Britain" granted him "full leave, Licence and authority, to make a Vault," 59ft. 6in. long and 15ft. wide (together with the steps leading to it), "in the Virgin Mary's Chappel, commonly called the Lady Chappel." This transaction was sealed by the Dean and Chapter on 2 April 1750,4 and in the Wood and Money Account for 1749-50 is noted the receipt of £105 " from the D. of Richmond for a Grant of a Burying place."5

In making their grant, the Dean and Chapter stipulated that a payment of £5 was to be made to them whenever the Duke or his heirs "shall direct or appoint any Corpse to be laid or deposited in the said Vault." Such a payment is not identifiable in the Chapter accounts on the occasions of the interments of the 2nd Duke or his wife. The entries in the Register for the Precinct of the Close⁶ are as follows:-

Charles Lenox Duke of Richmond Lenox & Aubigny &c &c &c was buried Aug. 18: 1750

Sarah Dutchess Doweger of Richmond Lenox & Aubigny &c &c &c was buried Aug. 28. 1751

The body of the 1st Duke was brought from Westminster Abbey to Chichester for re-burial on the occasion of the funeral of his son,

Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. 30, p. 154.

History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, Vol. 1 (1815), History and Antiquities of the City of Chichester, p. 125.

R. Willis, The Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral (1861), p. 31. From this remark we may conclude that the floor level of the Lady Chapel was seriously disturbed by the heads of the vaults rising above the floor.

Diocesan Record Office, Chichester, CAP. I/3/4, p. 117.

Diocesan Record Office, Chichester, CAP. I/24/1.

Diocesan Record Office, Chichester, PAR. 46/1/1/1.

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but no entry was made in the Chichester register although the Westminster Abbey Funeral Book records the removal of the 1st Duke's remains on 16 August 1750.

On a marble tablet at the end of the vault was this inscription:—

Sibi et suis, posterisque eorum,
Hoc Hypogæum vivus f [ieri] c[uravit]
Carolus Richmondiæ, Liviniæ,
et Albiniaci dux,
anno æræ Christianæ 1750
Hæc est Domus ultima.

These words were the reason for one of the best epigrams ever composed, the author being the Reverend William Clarke, Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral. He wrote—

Did he, who thus inscrib'd the wall, Not read, or not believe St. Paul, Who says there is, where'er it stands, Another house not made with hands, Or may we gather from these words, That house is not a house of Lords?¹

All the Dukes of Richmond up to and including the 8th (who died in 1935) were buried in this vault but it is now sealed off.

¹ See John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 4 (1812), pp. 363-381, and Clarke's letters in the same volume, pp. 395-489; a slightly different rendering is in *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. X (1945), p. 838.