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# THE COAT OF ARMS

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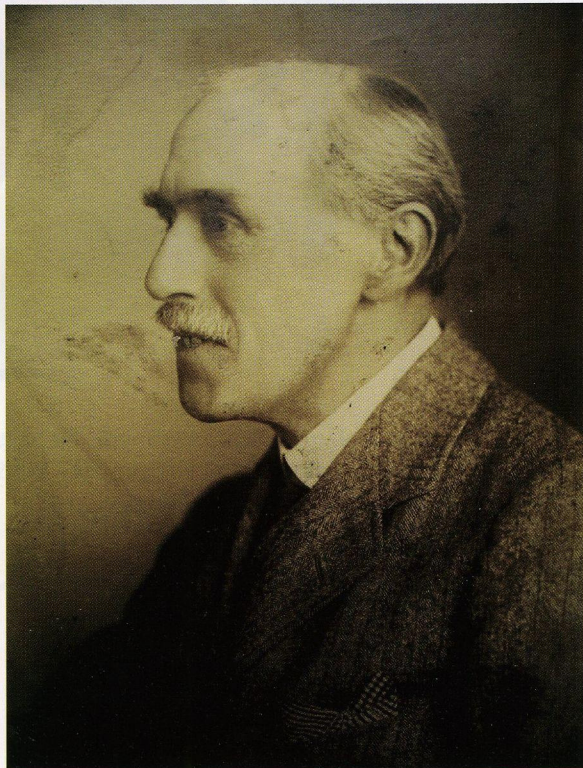
## PLATE 4

Above (a), obverse and reverse design of the Jubilee Medal of 1887 as preserved in the Chapter Books of the College of Arms. CA record Ms Chapter Book XV, p. 115.  
*See page 129.*

Below (b), Charles Athill, Clarenceux King of Arms (d. 1922). From a photograph in possession of the College of Arms.  
*See page 130.*



Images by courtesy of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms



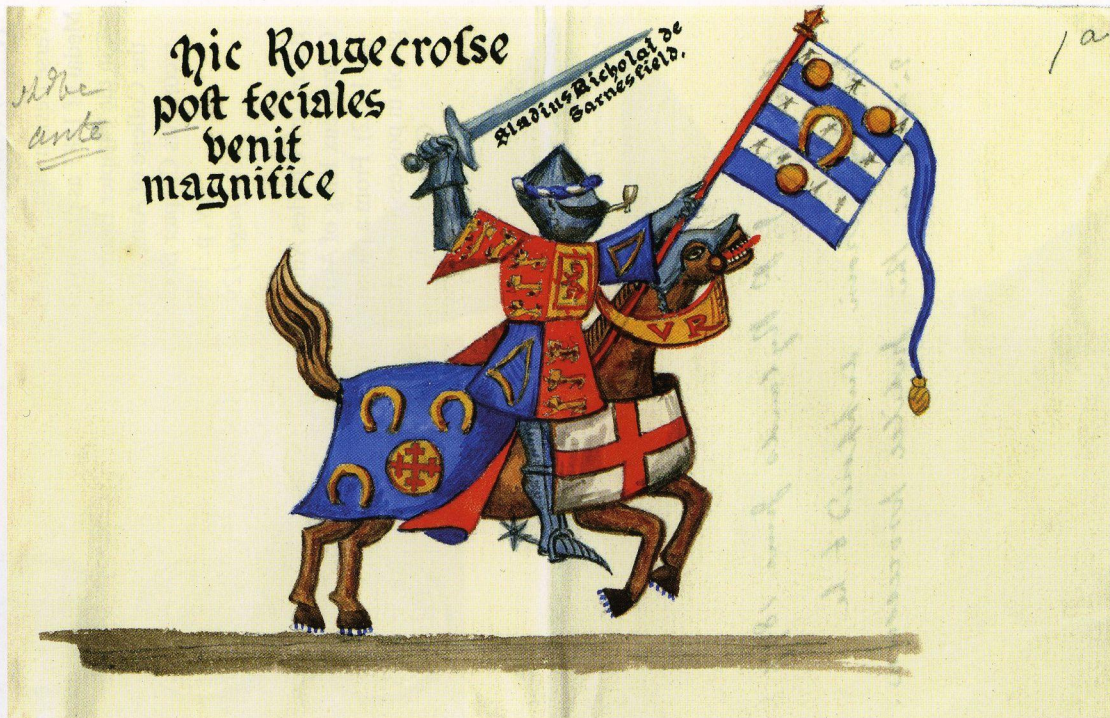


Image by courtesy of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms

John Paul Rylands, cartoon sketch of G. W. Marshall as Rouge Croix, 1897.  
CA Ms Marshall Correspondence 3, fo. 1a. See page 135.

# QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE PROCESSIONS AND THE HERALDS, 1887 AND 1897

*Duncan Green*

And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you.

*Leviticus 24:10.*

The modern use of the word 'jubilee' seems to have arisen largely 'by conflation of the Latin *jubilo* (I rejoice) with the Hebrew original *jobel* (literally a ram's-horn trumpet). Simple celebration therefore became, as it has remained, the key note of jubilee.'<sup>1</sup> Celebrating fifty years of service is by no means a phenomenon of recent years; some medieval monastic orders 'permitted a jubilee for those completing fifty years' obedience'. The papacy celebrated jubilees every fifty, and then every twenty-five years, when there were opportunities for pilgrims to gain greater remission of sins. These papal jubilees were specifically imitated by festivals in honour of the fifty-year reigns of Henry III in 1265 and of Edward in 1377.<sup>2</sup> Yet these early royal jubilees did not evoke the public response of those which were held from the eighteenth century onwards.

The 1809 jubilee of George III was marked by a large number of provincial celebrations, many of which were instigated by private citizens rather than by authorities. The celebrations of longevity were naturally charged with patriotism. The British monarchy had by this date become a mark of distinction from the regimes of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, where national celebrations were grand and popular. There was an element of competition. Moreover, royal ceremonials were perceived as a useful anodyne to national discontent at a time of widespread economic distress and political disunity, after twenty years of war with France.<sup>3</sup> Yet the king himself was incapacitated in 1809, and no ministry was in command of the government; no central organization of the jubilee celebrations was therefore possible. The only explicitly royal event was a party at Frogmore, where 'the gates were thrown open for the nobility, gentry, and others having tickets of admission'.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Richards has observed that 'in 1809 George III's jubilee had been a private party, marked with lavish dinners, society balls, and other events largely for

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm Chase, 'From millennium to anniversary: the concept of Jubilee in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England', *Past and Present* 129 (November 1990), pp. 132-47 at 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Linda Colley, 'The apotheosis of George III; loyalty, royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820', *Past and Present* 102 (February 1984), pp. 94-129; see also Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, 27 October 1809, p. 3.

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the benefit of exclusive court circles. By contrast Victoria's jubilee was designed for maximum public exposure'.<sup>5</sup> In her first jubilee, Victoria appeared in a procession through London, with members of the public arriving *en masse* to watch the ceremony. David Cannadine discusses this change in the mode of celebration, asserting that during Victoria's reign, the development of a 'widening franchise, the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, electricity, the tram', contributed to an age of 'change, crisis and dislocation'. Thus the 'preservation of anachronism' became necessary, and with public celebrations the 'impotent but venerated Monarch' could present a 'unifying symbol of permanence and national community'.<sup>6</sup>

Thus Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee of 1887 became one in a line of increasingly substantial royal celebrations. The central occasion in this and subsequent jubilees was a formal procession through the streets of London. In 1887 the destination was Westminster Abbey: a service was held at the scene of the Queen's coronation. In 1897 and thereafter the service was held in (or near) St Paul's Cathedral, where far more people could be accommodated, denoting a desire to include a greater and more democratic range of people to witness the spectacle.

State ceremonies were (and are) the responsibility of the Earl Marshal and his department; the heralds form his staff for such duties. The Victorian jubilees however were not state occasions.<sup>7</sup> Following the death of Prince Albert, Victoria had no desire to participate in lengthy and complex state ceremonies: she would consent to the jubilee celebrations only if her staff could control them. As semi-state occasions the jubilees did not come under the authority of the Earl Marshal, or the College of Arms. In this paper we shall use the minutes of the Chapter of the College of Arms, a previously unpublished source, to investigate the heralds' relationships with the official jubilee celebrations. Extracts from the minutes show that those relationships were not at this period straightforward or uncomplicated; correspondence quoted in the minute books may shed some light on how the College of Arms was perceived in circles closer to the administration of the Victorian monarchy, as well as on how members of the College responded to issues raised by the jubilees. We shall see that the heralds and their expectations tended to be caught between differing notions of ceremony; and that the officers used the celebrations to put forward their own conceptions of their place within the royal machinery.

The golden jubilee celebrations were organized almost entirely by Sir Spenser Ponsonby-Fane, Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, and by his kinsman Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's Private Secretary. Little or no assistance or leadership was to be had from government, with Salisbury's administration occupied

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Richards, 'The image of Victoria in the year of Jubilee', *Victorian Studies* 31.1 (1987), pp. 7-32 at 12.

<sup>6</sup> David Cannadine, 'The context, performance and meaning of ritual: The British monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", c. 1820-1977', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983), pp. 101-64 at 122.

<sup>7</sup> Not all in the audience would have appreciated the distinction: the *Illustrated London News* of 25 June 1887 described the 1887 jubilee as 'the grandest state ceremony of this generation'.

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elsewhere. There was no-one in overall charge, since the Prince of Wales was busy or disinclined.<sup>8</sup>

The focus of the jubilee was to be a lengthy procession through London to Westminster Abbey on 21 June 1887. The occasion is first mentioned in the minutes of Chapter in the context of a desire to contribute to the subscription for a gift for the Queen;<sup>9</sup> on Thursday 3 February 1887

Garter [Sir Albert Woods] informed Chapter that a movement was being made amongst the members of the Queen's Household to commemorate Her Majesty's Jubilee, and that a subscription was being set on foot for that purpose; it was resolved that twenty four guineas be subscribed to that end from the funds of the College.

On Thursday 2 June 'The treasurer was authorised to expend £20-10-0 on the arrangements for illuminations on the night of the Queen's Jubilee'.<sup>10</sup>

The heralds' records indicate a desire to participate in the proceedings, at least at a distance: by illuminating the College, and subscribing to the Household's gift, the heralds were asserting their membership of the Household, their right to be involved on a closer level than that available to members of the public. The officers of the College of Arms also expressed a desire to have tickets to watch the proceedings. Tickets at Westminster Abbey were indeed made available for the heralds, but these were to generate anxiety and recriminations. Their sale was of course strictly forbidden, as they were not transferable. Two tickets were however discovered on sale at the Civil Services Stores in the Haymarket for £100, and Scotland Yard was asked to investigate.<sup>11</sup> A Special Chapter was held at the College of Arms on 20 June 1887, at which Garter Woods handed to the Registrar a letter and a document. The letter was addressed to the Lord Chamberlain from Godfrey Lushington, a senior civil servant in the Home Office.<sup>12</sup> The enclosure contained confidential extracts from a Police Report, which read:

Mr Mitchell on his return told me that a Clerk in the Heralds' College named Athill or Atbill had offered them three tickets for the interior of the Abbey at 10 guineas each, but he subsequently wanted 15 guineas, and that at the time when this Clerk was asking them to sell the tickets he informed them that another Clerk in the Heralds' College whose name he did not mention had sold his ticket for 50 guineas.

In reply to me as to why he did not tell me these facts last night, Mr Mitchell replied that he could not have done so without the consent of his father, whose permission he had now obtained to do so, trusting that what he had said would be in confidence.

Chapter minutes record<sup>13</sup> that Garter then asked each officer in turn

whether he had sold or attempted to sell any of his tickets of admission to the Abbey on Tuesday 21 inst. All replied in the negative, except Bluemantle [Charles Athill]

<sup>8</sup> Jeffrey L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant. Ceremony and confusion at Queen Victoria's court* (London 1979), pp. 40-43, 60-61.

<sup>9</sup> CA record Ms Chapter Book XV, p. 77.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Lant, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>12</sup> CA record Ms Chapter Book XV, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.



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who admitted that he did write to Mitchell to offer his tickets for sale, and handed in a statement.

In his statement,<sup>14</sup> which is dated the same day as the Chapter, Bluemantle Athill states the following:

When I was told that I should have tickets for the Abbey I consulted my wife as to whether she would like to go. She said 'No! the crowd would be great and it would be very inconvenient getting up from the country.'

At that time I had not received the tickets and, consequently, did not know that they were not transferable, and I thought that there could be no harm under the circumstances in disposing of them as I had heard of Peers and other distinguished persons who had disposed of their tickets on similar occasions. Accordingly I wrote to Mitchell's and asked whether they could dispose of them for me, saying that I expected £10-10-0 a piece. They wrote back saying that they would certainly fetch that sum and asked where the places were. At that time I had not received the tickets but as soon as I had I at once called on them when they at once offered to purchase but I said that I was not disposed to part with them as I had originally intended.

On reflection I was glad that I had so decided for I thought that it would have been an undignified proceeding on the part of a Officer of Arms to be "selling" tickets and I therefore decided to make use of them myself. The tickets are now and always have been since they were given to me, in my possession.

Garter then handed in a letter<sup>15</sup> from the Duke of Norfolk dated 19 June 1887:

Norfolk House  
St James's Square SW  
June 19 1887

My dear Garter,

I am informed that two Officers of the College of Arms who had received tickets for the Ceremony at Westminster Abbey on the 21<sup>st</sup> inst., have been offering such tickets for sale.

I must beg you at once to ascertain if this is true. If it is you must inform the Officers in question that I prohibit them from attending at the Abbey and also that I suspend them from duty at all ceremonials until further orders.

The tickets if not sold must be returned to me at once that I may send them back to the Lord Chamberlain's Office as I do not think they should be made use of by the Officers of the College.

Believe me,

Yours very truly  
(signed) Norfolk E. M.

By attempting to sell his tickets, Bluemantle had perverted the relationship with the Crown that Chapter, by subscribing to the Household's gift, and seeking tickets, had been seeking to assert. Bluemantle Athill however subsequently wrote to the Earl Marshal suggesting that the sentence might be too severe for the crime. Jeffrey Lant reports that 'Mrs Athill, who had originally decided not to attend the service (thus prompting the attempted sale), was now "keenly disappointed" that she could not do so.'<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>16</sup> Lant, op. cit., p. 86.

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Following the Jubilee celebrations the officers, as members of the Royal Household, were awarded Jubilee Medals, which had been designed by Empmeyer.<sup>17</sup> Details can again be found in Chapter Book XV. The minutes of a chapter held on Thursday 3 November 1887 state:<sup>18</sup>

Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to confer Her private medal, in silver, struck by Command of Her Majesty in commemoration of her Jubilee, on the undernamed Officers of Arms, viz.:—Sir Albert W. Woods, Garter; W. A. Blount, Clarenceux; G. E. Cokayne, Norroy; H. M. Lane, Chester; W. H. Weldon, Windsor; E. Bellasis, Lancaster; A. S. Larken, Richmond; A. S. Gatty, York; H. F. Burke, Somerset; C. H. Athill, Bluemantle; W. A. Lindsay, Portcullis; and A. W. Woods, Rouge Dragon; who each had a letter addressed to them individually of which the following is a copy:

Balmoral  
12 Oct. 1887

Dear Sir,

The Queen desires me to send you this medal to be worn in Commemoration of Her Majesty's Jubilee.

I am,  
dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,  
(signed) Fleetwood J. Edwards

An additional letter from Sir Henry Ponsonby is inserted in the minutes:<sup>19</sup>

Balmoral  
Sept. 4 1887

Dear Sir Albert,

The Household have got orders to wear the Jubilee Medal on all occasions with and after any other decoration – But before War Medals.

The Officers of the Army and Navy have got a private memo to the same effect.

Yours truly  
(signed) Henry T. Ponsonby

The minutes state that Garter informed Chapter that 'the Medal was to be worn by Officers, when in uniform, on the left breast, and that it was to take precedence of all other Medals.' A picture of the Jubilee Medal (see **Plate 4a**) was pasted into the Chapter minute book.<sup>20</sup> This concluded the College's involvement in the Golden Jubilee.

It is worth noting however that at a Chapter of 17 June 1889, Garter Woods reported that the Earl Marshal had lifted the suspension of certain Officers from ceremonial duties. He also handed in the following letter from the Earl Marshal, addressed to the Registrar of the College:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199. Lant reports that the medals were struck in gold for members of the Royal Family and royal guests; in silver for members of the royal household and certain officers of the armed forces; and in bronze for about 14,000 others.

<sup>18</sup> CA record Ms Chapter Book XV, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, between pp. 114 and 115.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172f.

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Norbury Hill House  
Upper Norwood  
June 9, 1889

My dear Sir,

I shall be obliged if you will inform the Chapter at its next meeting that having regard to certain complaints which I received some time since from Chapter with regard to Mr Bluemantle I have in offering promotion to that gentleman received from him a full and explicit assurance that there shall be no further grounds for any complaints of the kind.

Believe me,

Yours very truly  
(signed) Norfolk

Charles Athill was promoted to Richmond Herald by Letters Patent dated 5 July 1889. He subsequently became Norroy King of Arms in 1919, and Clarenceux later in 1919. He was appointed M.V.O. in 1911, and died, an eminently respectable officer, in 1922 (**Plate 4b**).<sup>22</sup>

\* \* \*

The Diamond Jubilee ten years later was a more significant, because a more confident, event. With the rise of sensationalist daily newspapers, such as the *Daily Mail*, launched in 1896, the monarchy became 'virtually sacrosanct' in the British press.<sup>23</sup> Reports were also more vivid and immediate due to improvements in photography and printing technology. As such, royal occasions became events for the nation; and with Victoria declared Empress of India, royal events had by the late nineteenth century become Imperial occasions. This was especially true of the Diamond Jubilee, where Joseph Chamberlain arranged for colonial premiers and 50,000 troops from around the Empire to participate in the procession. Jeffrey Lant noted another reason for the scale of the event: Victoria had passed the milestone of the longest reigning Monarch in 1896, but demanded that celebrations be put off until the sixtieth anniversary of her accession. The double celebration became Victoria's 'supreme moment of apotheosis as the matriarch of Europe and mother-figure of an empire of unprecedented size, power and prosperity.' The term 'diamond jubilee' was coined for the occasion, by compounding the concept of a celebration of a period of time, associated hitherto only with fifty years, with the term used to denote the sixtieth anniversary of marriage.<sup>24</sup>

The celebrations in London took place on 22 June 1897; the central event was a procession to St Paul's Cathedral, where a short service took place outside the west end, with the elderly Queen remaining in her carriage. The whole was paid for by

<sup>22</sup> Godfrey and Wagner, *CA*, p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> Cannadine, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 123.

<sup>24</sup> Lant, *op. cit.*, pp. 215f. Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine, 'Conflict and consensus on a ceremonial occasion: the Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897', *Historical Journal* 24.1 (March 1981), p. 111-46.

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the government rather than the Privy Purse (which had met the bill in 1887); the arrangements were largely therefore in the hands of government departments rather than those of the Lord Chamberlain. The Prince of Wales chaired the organizing committee, with the Lord Steward responsible for the allocation of seats at St Paul's, and the Duke of Portland, Master of the Horse, making the arrangements for the procession.

Although this was to be a semi-state occasion as in 1887, Chapter Book XVI at the College of Arms shows the inclusion of the officers of Arms to have been seriously considered. The reason for the sudden consideration of including them in the Procession is perhaps explained as 'although the Queen had characteristically declined to consider using the accoutrements of full state, members of the organising committee were full of suggestions how to make the final result more imposing than it had been at the time of the golden jubilee'.<sup>25</sup> One such suggestion might have been the involvement of the Heralds, as marked in Chapter meetings.

On Thursday 6 May 1897 'Rouge Dragon [Everard Green] enquired about seats for the Jubilee procession, & Norroy [William Weldon] read an extract of a letter received from the Lord Steward's Department & addressed to Garter dated 3 May 1897':<sup>26</sup>

The Lord Steward does not yet know what he will have to give in this way, but as such seats as are given will be in the garden, it will devolve on him later to make the distribution. He had already made a note of the College of Arms amongst the Queen's Household, & no doubt will communicate with you later.

Then, on Friday 14 May 1897, Norroy Weldon, chairing the Chapter meeting in the place of Garter, handed in the following correspondence, which had been received by Garter and passed to him:

Master of the Horse,  
Royal Mews,  
Buckingham Palace,  
6 May 1897.

Dear Sir Albert Woods,

I am desired by the Master of the Horse to inform you that His Grace, having recently seen the Prince of Wales at Newmarket, H.R.H. expressed a wish that the Heralds of the Royal College of Arms should be included in the Royal Procession of June 22<sup>nd</sup> next.

I am,

Yours faithfully,  
(signed) H. P. Ewart,  
Major General

This letter was produced, encouraging the involvement of College officers in the Procession. Garter Woods was however a man of 81 in 1897, and the event might

<sup>25</sup> Lant, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>26</sup> CA record Ms Chapter Book XVI, p. 169.

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well have proved excessively strenuous. The entries and letters that follow show the development of the College's planned involvement:<sup>27</sup>

Norfolk House,  
St. James's Square S.W  
11<sup>th</sup> May 1897.

My dear Garter,

The Master of the Horse has written to tell me that Lion (*sic*) & Ulster are to ride in the Procession on June 22<sup>nd</sup> & he wishes to know what the Officers of the College of Arms would wish to do. I fear there can be no question of your undertaking anything so fatiguing, but I think the College should put in as strong an appearance as it can, especially as there is no procession to be marshaled (*sic*) in the Church.

The Duke of Portland intimates that those taking part in the Procession will provide their own horses. I am disposed to suggest to the College that as many officers as may be should take part, & it would be a pleasure to me to do what I can to personally facilitate such an arrangement. The question of costume would have to be considered, so I should like to know as soon as possible what is the general feeling. I conclude they would ride in tabards, & I think we must do something to improve upon the ordinary trousers and cocked hat.

I should like to hear from you, therefore, at your earliest convenience. I feel strongly that as many as can ought to take part.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,  
(signed) Norfolk.

PS. I go to Sheffield to-night until late on Thursday.

Master of the Horse,  
Royal Mews,  
Buckingham Palace,  
11 May 1897.

Dear Sir Albert Woods,

I have your letter of yesterday, & am desired by the Master of the Horse to inform you in reply that he has heard from the Lord Chamberlain that "Lyon" & "Ulster" are to ride in the Procession and find their own horses. The Master of the Horse is in communication with the Earl Marshal about the other Heralds. I remain,

Yours faithfully,  
(signed) Henry Ewart,  
Major General.

The minutes of this Chapter continue:<sup>28</sup>

Whereupon the following officers consented to ride in the procession, subject to proper arrangements being made satisfactory to his grace the Earl Marshal with trained military horses & suitable trapping, while with respect to the trousers and cocked hats they were not collectively prepared (it being presumed that the other officers of the Household wd be wearing the same) to suggest anything else.

A further instruction to Garter was proposed that those officers who do not ride would be willing to be of assistance at St. Paul's or elsewhere. CLARENCEUX moved

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 173f.

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that this instruction be omitted, which was seconded by WINDSOR & put to the vote, when there appeared

<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
WINDSOR	PORTCULLIS
NORROY	ROUGE DRAGON
CLARENCEUX	BLUEMANTLE
	RICHMOND
	SOMERSET
	LANCASTER
5	6

The motion was accordingly lost, & the further instruction was ordered to be carried out.

SOMERSET moved & CLARENCEUX seconded that the warmest thanks of the Chapter be tendered to GARTER for his able & successful defence of the interests of the College with reference to the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal which was agreed to.

In the entry for Thursday 3 June 1897,<sup>29</sup> the minutes record that Norroy Weldon again handed in correspondence on the subject, received from Garter Woods:

Lord Chamberlain's Office,  
St. James's Palace S.W  
29<sup>th</sup> May 1897.

My dear Sir Albert,

By order of the Prince of Wales, The Duke of Portland, who is managing the Royal Procession, has been in correspondence with the Duke of Norfolk as to some Members of the College of Arms riding in the Procession.

The Lord Chamberlain understands from His Grace that there will be a King at Arms, 2 Heralds, & 2 Pursuivants- as well as Ulster & Lord Lyon (I wish we could hope that you could be among them). Will you very kindly advise me, without loss of time, as this is quite a new departure, how to proceed in order to communicate with them in proper order of Precedence, the Master of the Horse's instructions as to the position they are to occupy.

Excuse a type written letter,

Yours truly,  
(signed) S. Ponsonby-Fane

The response to the Comptroller of the Royal Household is recorded:

The following Members of the College of Arms are to ride in the Royal Procession- at present they are without instructions from His Grace the Earl Marshal, or His Grace the Duke of Portland.

Juniors first

Two Pursuivants

Portcullis. Thomas Morgan Joseph-Watkin Esq:

Bluemantle. Gordon Ambrose Lee Esq.

Four Heralds.

Windsor. William Alexander Lindsay Esq:

Richmond. Charles Harold Athill, Esq:

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 175f.

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Somerset. Henry Farnham Burke, Esq:

Lancaster. Edward Bellasis, Esq.

One King of Arms.

Norroy. William Henry Weldon, Esq. who will act as Deputy Garter, in Garter's unavoidable absence. In addition to the above it is understood that Lyon and Ulster Kings of Arms are to attend. If so they will ride in the procession after the four Heralds and before Deputy Garter.

Lyon King of Arms, J Balfour Paul Esq.

Ulster King of Arms, Sir Arthur E. Vicars.

Chapter, however, was to be disappointed. Despite the efforts of Norroy, the College of Arms was not to be represented in the Procession:<sup>30</sup>

Lord Chamberlain's Office  
St James's Palace S.W.  
2<sup>nd</sup> June 1897.

Dear Sir Albert,

There seems to have been an impression on the part of the Prince of Wales's Jubilee Committee that the College of Arms had claimed to take part in the Procession to the City, & it was there agreed to, mainly on the grounds that it would be acceptable to them.

It has now been represented that the College of Arms had put forward no claim of the kind & in fact, though ever ready to obey commands, as it was not an Earl Marshal's procession, had no expectation of being called upon. Further, that there are certain difficulties in the matter of providing the horses & equipments & members accustomed to equestrian exercise.

Under these circumstances H.R.H. thinks it will be desirable to relieve them of the duty, which has been hitherto only informally discussed between the Duke of Portland & the Duke of Norfolk & the Lord Chamberlain desires me to request that you will make this known to His Grace, & to the Members of the College who may have been spoken to on the subject.

Yours very truly  
(signed) S. Ponsonby-Fane.

The minutes record the reaction:<sup>31</sup>

Norroy reported that he had just seen the Earl Marshal at Norfolk House, who, after some conversation on the subject of the foregoing letter decided to see the Prince of Wales on the subject at once, in the hope of re-considering his decision, which he did, & on returning informed Norroy that the Prince had said that as it was not an Earl Marshal's procession, & that as we had not offered ourselves to ride, together with the fact that some of us were not horsemen, therefore there was a possibility of an accident, he thought it better to adhere to the determination arrived at. The Earl Marshal stated that on his request, the Prince had promised we should each have two tickets (for self & lady).

Some officers were angered by the suggestion that heralds might not be able to conduct themselves properly on horseback: it might be considered akin to slights on their gentility. William Lindsay, Windsor Herald and grandson of the Earl of

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

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Crawford, gave notice at a Chapter on 1 July 1897 of the following motion,<sup>32</sup> withdrawn at the following Chapter on 8 July:

That Mr. Norroy be requested to ascertain who it was who made the false statement to H.R.H the Prince of Wales that the Officers of Arms could not properly discharge their duty on horseback.

The indignation that some officers felt at not being supposed capable of riding in the Procession seems to have been discussed outside Chapter. This, at any rate, is the most likely explanation for a cartoon which the antiquarian and editor John Paul Rylands sent his friend G. W. Marshall, Rouge Croix, in June 1897.<sup>33</sup> The picture (**Plate 5**) shows a mounted Marshall, in armour and tabard (with a pipe protruding from his helm), holding a banner of his arms and brandishing a sword. The pseudo-medieval caption reads *Hic Rougecrosse post feciales venit magnifice* ('Here comes Rouge Croix after the heralds, magnificently'). One can only conclude that Marshall had given Rylands a wry account of Chapter's discussions.

Although the college did not participate in the Procession, the original desire for tickets was satisfied with some generosity. The Earl Marshal wrote to Garter:<sup>34</sup>

The Camp  
Arundel  
8 June 1897

My dear Garter,

The Lord Steward writes that he is putting the following tickets at the service of the College in the stands which are being erected for Her Majesty's Household for the 21<sup>st</sup>.

Garter 10  
2 Kings 5 each

4 each for each Herald & Pursuivant & Heralds Extraordinary & Earl Marshal's Secretary.

He makes the number 76 in all but appears to think there are 5 Pursuivants. He is also sending 10 tickets for the Earl Marshal separately.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,  
(signed) Norfolk.

P.S. I have asked that the tickets except those for myself, shall be directed to you at the College.

Tickets:

Garter 10; Clarenceux 5; Norroy 5; Heralds 6, 24; Pursuivants 4, 16; Heralds Extraordinary 2, 8; E.M.'s Secretary 4:- 72.

At the same Chapter meeting of 1 July 1897, it is recorded that the following motion had been submitted by York and was moved by Windsor:

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182f.

<sup>33</sup> CA Ms Marshall Correspondence 3. fo. 1a. The sword is labelled *gladius Nicholai de Barnesfield* ('the sword of Nicholas de Barnesfield'), no doubt in reference to some previous exchange between Rylands and Marshall.

<sup>34</sup> CA record Ms Chapter Book XVI, pp. 180f.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

That the Registrar be instructed to write to the Earl Marshal on behalf of the Chapter, & ask him to ascertain from the Lord Chamberlain why the Officers were not requested to subscribe to the Household's present to Her Majesty as they were in 1887.

Clarenceux, chairing the Chapter, declined to put the motion to a vote. The answer in any case was that the subscription list was confined to the immediate Household, consisting of great officers, lords, grooms, equerries and so on.

Although no heralds appeared in the London procession, it does seem that in some quarters they were figures who might be expected to be present at a great national ceremony. *The Times* reported that 'at the Henry the Sixth gate at Eton College, Eton boys dressed as Heralds will be posed on the return of the Queen from London to Windsor. Two of the Heralds will be young Indian Princes'.<sup>35</sup> Both heralds and Indian princes were regarded as essentially medieval: sources of colour, display and even amusement. The combination of the two in a tableau at Eton suggests a desire to create the greatest possible effect in the short time available; ceremonial was not necessarily taken completely seriously. Perhaps the presence of these boy-heralds suggests a regret that the jubilee had not provided greater and more spectacular state ceremony.

Some argued that the procession and service in London were an insufficient mark of respect to the sovereign and more importantly to her people. For others, the notion of celebrating the Queen's longevity in any way was grotesque. Cannadine has argued that reactions to jubilee celebrations were diverse; and more importantly, that what took place around the country on 22 June 1897 represents the resolution of a variety of particular conflicts.<sup>36</sup> The heralds had no doubt begun with no expectation of being asked to participate in what was a private, rather than a state, occasion. They sought merely to use the jubilee as an opportunity to assert their membership of the Royal Household, their right to participate in the giving of gifts, and to watch the action from a privileged position in the stands. Once invited to process, it was no doubt a blow to the pride of some officers that the invitation should have been so casually retracted. The absence of the heralds from the procession in London was the conclusion or resolution of a conflict within the apparatus of royal ceremonial, about what was necessary or possible. The Queen's insistence on a private occasion conflicted with the public's desire for a splendid celebration. The officers of the College of Arms, as organizers of state ceremony, but not of private occasions no matter how public, were perforce reactive, caught between a monarch and her people.

The 1897 jubilee was a rare public display from the Queen, reclusive following the death of Albert. An element of poignancy must have been felt by all. This was to be Victoria's last major celebration, observing herself; 'now comes my swansong'. However, she also observed that 'No one ever, I believe, has met with such an ovation as was given to me, passing through these six miles of streets.'<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *The Times*, Saturday 12 June 1897.

<sup>36</sup> Hammerton and Cannadine, 'Conflict and consensus', pp. 145f.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Cannadine, 'Context, performance and meaning', p. 134.