War, death and burial? A historical investigation into the disposal of the dead at English battles fought in Britain, 1401-1685

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Copyright Statement

Abstract

This thesis examines the documentary evidence for what happened to the bodies of those killed in battle. It focuses on battles fought by the English in Britain between 1401 and 1685AD and is the first large-scale historical investigation of this topic to be conducted. The main aim is to establish where and how the bodies were disposed of, whilst also considering what factors affected how the dead were treated and whether the Reformation led to any changes in practice. The study is conducted primarily through the examination of contemporary and near-contemporary battle accounts. It also draws on archaeology to explore whether a better historical understanding of battle disposal practices has any implications for the interpretation of battle burials (and vice versa).

Most battle accounts show little interest in the fate of the dead. Where they mention the topic, they indicate that the dead were buried on the battlefield or in churches and churchyards. Men of the elite were more likely to be taken for a church burial than lower status individuals. Some of the former were buried in churches near to the battlefield whereas others were taken substantial distances for burial on their homelands. The evidence indicates that, as expected, the Reformation did affect how contemporaries interacted with the dead in the years after a battle, as there were no longer attempts to intercede for the dead or to ensure that they were buried in consecrated ground. Surprisingly, however, there was no evidence that the Reformation led to any change in what happened to the dead immediately after a battle, as there is little evidence that people in the late medieval, pre-Reformation period tried to give the dead an immediate Christian burial.

These results have helped to develop a research agenda for both history and archaeology. Thus, future historical research could consider a wider geographical and temporal scope, in order to look for further evidence of the changes in practice that resulted from the Reformation and when these occurred. It will also be important to study conflicts where major cultural differences existed between armies, such as the various Anglo-Irish wars, to see how this affected disposal practices. Further archaeological research could involve the radiocarbon dating of church burials with weapon trauma, as a way of developing understanding for how far the battle dead were taken for burial.

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Please note: all digital mapping has been conducted to a map base comprising raster copies of the out-of-copyright 1st edition Ordnance Survey 1: 10,560 maps. Where other Ordnance Survey maps have been used, a full reference for the base map used can be found in the footnote where the figure is cited in the main text. Where additional data has been used, appropriate references will be made in the map's caption.

Acknowledgements and dedications

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Introduction

Battles have been studied by historians for centuries, as a means of understanding contemporary tactics and strategy, weaponry and armour, as well as for gaining insight into the wider political, social and religious context. They have asked questions such as 'who won this battle and how? Why was this battle fought and what implications did it have?' More recently, archaeologists have begun to study battles, looking for physical evidence of these ephemeral events. One question that has not been effectively addressed by either group, however, is 'what happened to the dead'? The objective of this thesis is to address that deficiency by conducting the first large-scale historical study of English battle disposal practices in Britain.

The primary aim of this thesis is to gain an understanding of what happened to those killed in battle. How and where were the bodies disposed of? Was any differentiation made between the bodies of the defeated and the victors or of those of high and low status? Who was responsible for the disposal of the dead? This will be achieved by studying contemporary and near-contemporary battle accounts, that is, accounts written within a century or so of the event they describe. A further objective is to a gain a greater understanding of the battle accounts themselves. This will be done through quantitative analysis, to see whether certain factors affected the likelihood of a source writer referring to the disposal of the dead. For example, were accounts written by eyewitnesses more likely to refer to the disposal of the dead than those written by second-hand authors? Did the type of account or when it was composed affect whether a source writer was likely to mention the disposal of the dead?

While this research will benefit various types of historian, such as those interested in military history or in death and burial, it also has the potential to be of use to researchers from other disciplines, such as archaeologists. A further aim of this thesis is to extract some of that archaeological potential. This will be achieved by drawing out the implications that the knowledge gained from the historical sources has for the archaeology. This will allow the exploration, for example, of whether the historical sources support the notion held by many archaeologists that the dead were buried on the battlefield. Furthermore, it will help to show whether the historical record endorses current interpretations of battle burials or whether it suggests alternative explanations. While the historical sources can help inform interpretations of the archaeology, the archaeology can also shed light on the historical record. Therefore, consideration of some excavated battle burials and traditions from this period, such as the

mass graves from Towton (1461) and Stoke (1487), will also be made, to see what implications the archaeology has for the historical understanding of battle disposal practices. This comparison of the historical and archaeological data sets will allow a deeper understanding of battle disposal practices to be gained. Extracting the implications that each data type has for the other will also help to define each discipline's research agendas in relation to battle disposal practices.

The thesis will focus on battles fought by the English in Britain between 1401 and 1685AD. Part of the reason for choosing this period is that a relatively large number of battles (67) were fought within this time frame, many of which are represented by multiple primary source accounts. Therefore, it is likely that these battles will provide substantial information on the disposal of the dead. This period was also chosen to investigate whether the religious changes of the sixteenth-century English Reformation had any effect on battle disposal practices. Did the repudiation of Purgatory and intercession for the dead, for example, lead to changes in the way the battle dead were disposed of in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

This thesis begins with a thematic review of the current literature relating to the disposal of the dead in both normative and unusual circumstances. A chapter establishing the methodology of this study and three main chapters in which the data will be considered will follow this. The battles under study have been divided into three chronological groups, comprising of battles from the late medieval, the mid-Tudor and the Stuart period. This was to facilitate comparisons of practice over time. These comparisons will be discussed in a final chapter, followed by a conclusion summarising the findings.

Chapter 1: Current literature on the disposal of the dead

1.1 Introduction

Battle disposal practices have received little academic attention as an area of research in their own right. It is unclear why this may be so – perhaps, as Von Arni noted with military casualties, academics have assumed that there is not enough data to give us a comprehensive understanding of the topic.[1] Another possibility is that scholars have simply not thought to study the topic. It is quite common for military histories to ignore the fate of the battle dead, in the sense that they only consider the number of casualties rather than what happened to the bodies.[2] This is not true for all military histories, but even those that have considered what happened to the dead have tended to focus only on a single or small group of battles.[3] This means that while there may be some understanding of battle disposal practices at an isolated number of battles, it is unclear how what is observed relates to wider practice. Was the way in which the dead were disposed of at these battles normal? Was there even a 'normal' way to dispose of the battle dead? This lack of a large, systematic study of battle disposal practices also means that we currently have a poor understanding of how these practices might have changed over time and space. Thus, there is very little understanding of how religion and religious changes affected the treatment of the dead, particularly in the Stuart, post-Reformation period. For the pre-Reformation period, scholars have noted the existence of chantry chapels sometimes built over the graves of the dead as a means of giving them a Christian burial, while on other occasions it has been noted that the dead were exhumed from the battlefield and reburied in consecrated ground.[4] However, it has not been established just how often these practices occurred, or if any other practices existed to ensure that the dead had a Christian burial. It is also unclear how these practices might have changed following the Reformation.

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[1] Eric Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier: Nursing, Medical Care and Welfare for Sick and Wounded Soldiers and the Families During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 1-2.

[2] E.g. Peter Young and Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War: A Military History of the Three Civil Wars, 1642-51* (London, 1974), pp. 105, 113, 122, 171, 287; Philip A. Haigh, *The Military Campaigns of the Wars of the Roses* (Godalming, 1995), pp. 29, 37, 53; Gervase Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars, 1513-1550: A Military History* (Woodbridge The Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 131, 153, 199; P.W. Hammond, *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Gloucester, 1990), p. 78; Francis Randle Twemlow, *The Battle of Blore Heath* (Wolverhampton, 1912), pp. 27-8.

[3] E.g. Glenn Foard, "Scottish Battlefields Inventory: Pinkie, 10 September 1547 " (2006), pp. 8, 15; P. R. Newman and P. R. Roberts, *Marston Moor 1644 : The Battle of Five Armies* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2003), p. 125; Hammond, *Barnet and Tewkesbury*, pp. 80, 101.

[4] Anne Curry and Glenn Foard, "Where Are the Dead of Medieval Battles? A Preliminary Survey," *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 11, no. 2-3 (2016), pp. 68-9.

There are similar gaps in the understanding of battle disposal practices from an archaeological perspective. No battle mass grave relating to any English battle fought in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries has yet been excavated under modern conditions. Although, there are a growing number of mass graves that relate to wider aspects of the British Civil War, such as those from Carrickmines and York, which are thought to have resulted from Civil War sieges.[5] There are also a number of early modern battle mass graves from the continent, particularly a number relating to the Thirty Years War (1618-48), such as the mass grave from the battle of Lützen (1632).[6] Given the lack of directly relevant mass graves, these early modern continental examples are useful points of comparison for what the early modern historical sources tell us about battle disposal practices. The state of archaeological knowledge for the late medieval period is better. In 2012, Richard III, the last English king to die in battle, was discovered, while there is also a mass grave excavated in 1982 that is thought to relate to the battle of Stoke (1487).[7] A number of battle graves have also been excavated since 1996 in relation to the battle of Towton (1461).[8] The information derived from Towton, in particular, on battle burials is extensive, but questions remain. For example, multiple theories have been proposed to explain who the graves at Towton Hall contain and why some of the dead were buried differently to the others, but none is clearly favoured.[9] By studying the historical material in depth and by getting a better understanding of battle disposal practices from a historical perspective, therefore, some of this uncertainty may be resolved by suggesting which theory, if any, is most likely to be correct.

This thesis aims to fill the gaps in our knowledge by systematically studying the historical sources of a large number of battles that cover a wide period. There is already some understanding of the battle disposal practices of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, but

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[5] Mark Clinton, Linda Fibiger, and Damien Shiels, "Archaeology of Massacre : The Carrickmines Mass Grave and the Siege of March 1642," in *Age of Atrocity : Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan, and Clodagh Tait (Dublin: 2007); Graham Bruce, "Fishergate, York : Mass Graves of the English Civil War," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 43, no. 2 (2009).

[6] Nicole Nicklisch et al., "The Face of War: Trauma Analysis of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Lutzen (1632)," *PLoS ONE* 12, no. 5 (2017).

[7] Richard Buckley et al., "'The King in the Car Park': New Light on the Death and Burial of Richard III in the Grey Friars Church , in Leicester, in 1485," *Antiquity* 87, no. 336 (2013); Caroline Sims, "Report on the Osteological Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field, East Stoke, Newark, Nottinghamshire," (Unpublished, 2015).

[8] Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knüsel, eds., *Blood Red Roses : The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, Second revised edition. ed. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007); Tim Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton," in *From Artefacts to Anomalies: Papers Inspired by the Contribution of Arnold Aspinall* (University of Bradford, 2006).

[9] "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 5; Malin Holst and Tim Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461," *Forschungen zur Archaologie im Land Brandenburg* 15 (2014), p. 101.

by studying all of the battles in the period, rather than a select few, this thesis will establish whether the identified disposal practices were 'normal'. It will also allow us, for the first time, to develop an understanding of general sixteenth-century battle burial practices. In covering the period that pre- and post-dates the Reformation, this thesis will further establish how religion affected the treatment and fate of the dead and look at whether the Reformation led to any changes in practice. Furthermore, while this study is not essentially archaeological, it will also begin to bridge the divide between archaeological and historical knowledge of battle disposal practices, by studying what implications a historical understanding of battle burials has for how such discoveries are interpreted.

1.2 Disposal of the battle dead

This section will go into detail about what we actually know about battle disposal practices from a chronological perspective, starting with the late medieval period, that is, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Our understanding of late medieval battle disposal practices is relatively basic. There is only one work dedicated to the topic and even this is only a short article by Curry and Foard.[10] The authors acknowledge this lack of scholarship generally, but also in relation to their own work, hence their article is entitled a 'preliminary survey'. The fact that the research is clearly only in the early stages is the major difficulty of this article. It means that Curry and Foard only come to tentative conclusions about disposal practices, based on the evidence from a handful of battles, rather than having well-formed arguments and a nuanced understanding of disposal practices based on the evidence from a wide number and range of battles.

In the article, Curry and Foard note that although the large number of bodies requiring burial after a battle would likely lead to non-normative forms of burial, some individuals were given a normative church burial.[11] The examples they give largely relate to high-status individuals (men of the nobility or gentry) who were buried in churches either on their homelands or in a church close to the battlefield.[12] Curry and Foard were unable to say what factors determined how a church was chosen to receive a body, but they suggested that distance and resources were both vital, with high-status individuals perhaps more likely to be removed to their homelands because they had the men and resources to afford it.[13] The weather or the identity of those who organised the burial of the dead could also have

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[10] Curry and Foard, "Dead of Medieval Battles."
[11] Ibid., p. 64.
[12] Ibid., pp. 65-6.
[13] Ibid., pp. 65-6.

determined who was buried where, but further research is needed to establish if this was the case.[14] While many of the examples of individuals receiving a church burial relate to the high-status dead, Curry and Foard note that the rank-and-file soldiers from Poitiers may also have received church burials, although the evidence is not explicit.[15] This suggests that combatants of all statuses could receive a church burial; however, the article does not explore the evidence and relationship of the different status combatants and their relative fates in any detail.

While there is evidence for the church burial of some of the battle dead, evidence from the battles of Towton and Bosworth suggests that there may also have been an established practice of burying some of the dead on the battlefield, close to where they had fallen, initially, but later exhuming them for reburial elsewhere.[16] This combined the practical need to dispose of the decomposing dead quickly with the religious and spiritual desire to give the dead a Christian burial. The process had official approval at both battles, but further research is required to establish the precise nature of this royal involvement.[17] Had officials been involved since the time of the initial burial because there was an established system or was the involvement more spontaneous and opportunistic? Further research is also needed to establish just how widespread this practice was – are Bosworth and Towton anomalies or was this a common way to deal with the dead? This evidence for the burial and re-burial of the dead, along with the church burial of the some of the dead, led Foard and Curry to argue that an effort was made to ensure the dead always received a proper Christian burial.[18] This argument requires refinement, however. While the evidence does show that the dead did eventually receive a Christian burial, it does not demonstrate that there was always an intention to later exhume and rebury the dead in consecrated ground. It is quite possible that it was only in the years after the battle that people came to think of the Christian burial of the dead, rather than there being an established system where it was agreed that the dead would be exhumed after a certain amount of time had passed.

The issue of late medieval battle disposal practices has been considered by other scholars, but never in great depth. One such work is *The Great Warbow,* which also notes the

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[14] Ibid., p. 66.
[15] Ibid., p. 66.
[16] Ibid., p. 67.
[17] Ibid., p. 68.
[18] Ibid., p. 70.

removal of high-status individuals for church burials.[19] The book suggests the possibility that battle disposal practices could have been affected by whether an army was fighting in hostile territory.[20] Thus, following a failed attack on the French town of Ardres in 1401 the English chose to burn their dead, rather than to bury them.[21] Strickland suggests that this may have been because the English feared the French desecrating any burials that they left behind.[22] The theory is not explored in any further detail, but it is certainly a possibility that needs further investigation.

While the understanding of late medieval battle disposal practices is still quite basic, it is still better than for the sixteenth century, for which there are no directly relevant works. Even the military histories for individual battles of the period, such as Phillips' work on the Anglo-Scots wars of 1513-50, little consider the fate of the dead.[23] An article by McGurk considers what happened to those killed in the Nine Year's War (1594-1603), an Anglo-Irish conflict, but the piece is extremely brief.[24] The only relevant evidence is that the English and Irish both participated in the decapitation and display of their opponents' heads, and that there were multiple examples of English commanders' bodies being brought home from Ireland for an honourable burial.[25] Unfortunately, McGurk did not consider what happened to the bodies of the common soldiers. On the other hand, given the current lack of scholarship on English battle disposal practices in England, it is unclear whether the battle disposal practices used by the English when abroad in Ireland would have been the same as when they were fighting on home soil anyway. This topic requires further investigation. In terms of the scholarship on individual battles, it has been noted that the English dead were buried after the battle of Pinkie (1547), although it is unclear where; while some of the Scottish dead were buried in a nearby churchyard, but others were still unburied a month after the battle.[26] It has been suggested that the vast majority of those killed were probably buried on the battlefield,

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[19] Matthew J. Strickland and Robert Hardy, *The Great Warbow: From Hastings to the Mary Rose* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005), p. 280.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] E.g. Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*.
[24] John James Noel McGurk, "The Dead, Sick & Wounded of the Nine Years War (1594-1603)," *History Ireland* 3, no. 4 (1995).
[25] Ibid., p. 22.
[26] Foard, "Pinkie Inventory", p. 8.

in mass graves, but there is no explicit evidence of this.[27] Overall, this means that the current understanding of sixteenth-century battle disposal practices in Britain is extremely limited.

More consideration has been given to the battle disposal practices of the seventeenth century, although much of the research focuses on the British Civil War in England. A difficulty with many of the articles studying the Civil War, such as those by Atherton and Donagan, is that the authors were studying the disposal practices of the Civil War in general, and so drew on evidence from multiple types of combat, including sieges and skirmishes as well as battles, to come to broader conclusions.[28] This is potentially troublesome, as the differences in the types of engagement could have meant that there were separate disposal practices for the different forms of conflict. For example, at a skirmish, the dead might always have received a church burial because there were fewer casualties, whereas at a battle there may have been too many bodies for this to be practical and so they were buried where they fell. These works fail to differentiate between the types of combat, which makes it difficult to judge whether the practices observed would all have occurred in the context of a battle.

Another problem is that some of these studies argue for 'normal' practices, despite drawing on relatively little evidence. Atherton and Morgan, for example, assert that under normal circumstances the victorious army will have buried the dead.[29] However, their statement is supported only by secondary evidence from a single battle. Likewise, Donagan draws on a single example to argue that soldiers of the English Civil War will have made every effort to bury their own dead.[30] It may be that both studies are based on in-depth analysis of the available sources, which would allow them to comment on what appeared to be 'normal' practice, but in neither case is this made clear. Both works would benefit from using numerical data to look at what proportion of sources refer to different practices to help establish what was 'normal'.

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[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] Ian Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars," in *Battle-Scarred: Mortality, Medical Care and Military Welfare in the British Civil Wars*, ed. Andrew Hopper and David Appleby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, Forthcoming); Barbara Donagan, "The Casualties of War : Treatment of the Dead and Wounded in the English Civil War," in *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. Ian Gentles, John Stephen Morrill, and Blair Worden (Cambridge: 1998).

[29] Ian Atherton and Philip Morgan, "The Battlefield War Memorial : Commemoration and the Battlefield Site from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era," *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 4, no. 3 (2011), p. 293.

[30] Donagan, "Casualties of War", p. 130.

The research has shown that, similar to observations made by Curry and Foard for the late medieval period, Civil War officers were accorded a normative church burial on a number of occasions, sometimes close to the battlefield and at other times in churches on their homelands.[31] Unfortunately, none of the articles tries to examine this practice in further detail. This means that it is unclear what factors dictated where the dead were buried or who was responsible for taking these individuals for church burials. Did their own army, for example, always bury them or could others be involved? Another aspect that requires clarification is the relationship of status or rank to church burials. These studies refer to high-ranking officers being removed for church burials, but they fail to elucidate on whether the rank and file could also be taken for a Christian burial. As a result, it is unclear if higher rank combatants were more likely to receive a church burial or whether soldiers of any status could be taken for a church burial, but because of elite bias in the sources, higher ranked individuals were more likely to be mentioned. A contemporary source did argue that Charles lost the Civil War, not because he had lost more men in general, but because he had lost more of his elite than the Parliamentarians had.[32] If this source failed to consider the common dead, then maybe so did others, which might have disguised the true extent to which common soldiers received church burials. This argument is also applicable to the sources of the medieval period, where high-ranking individuals are also noted as being taken for church burials. Indeed, Curry and Foard noted the burial of common soldiers in churchyards at both battles of St Albans (1455 and 1461) and Poitiers (1356), showing that it did happen, it is just unclear to what extent.[33]

Both Atherton and Donagan believe that most of the common dead from the Civil War will have been buried on the battlefield, although there is relatively little explicit historical evidence and few archaeological examples.[34] Where they differ is in the rationale for using the battlefield in order to bury the dead. Donagan argues that contemporaries wanted to give the battle dead a decent, Christian burial, but were overwhelmed by the large numbers of bodies.[35] Atherton, on the other hand, postulates that soldiers may deliberately

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[31] Ibid., 130; Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars", pp. 1-2; Charles Hope Carlton, *Going to the Wars : Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London, 1992), pp. 218-9. Many thanks are given to Dr Atherton for providing me with an early copy of the article, prior to the release of the book in which it was published. Please note that the page reference numbers for Atherton will be based on the draft that he sent, rather than on the page numbers from the book in which the article was later printed, as it was not available at the time of writing.

[32] Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars.", p. 5.

[33] Curry and Foard, "Dead of Medieval Battles", p. 66.

[34] Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars.", p. 6.

[35] Donagan, "Casualties of War.", p. 129.

have been 'kept away from the churchyard' and buried on the battlefield, as a means of social exclusion.[36] This argument derives partly from the fact that soldiers' burials are rarely recorded in parish burial registers, which previous explanations had suggested were incomplete because the record keepers had been overwhelmed by the numbers of bodies.[37] Atherton has persuasively argued that this is unlikely to be the reason, since burial records often continued during times of plague when there were also large numbers of dead, while records could have been updated retrospectively.[38] Instead, this suggests soldiers were deliberately excluded from parish burial registers, perhaps because they were 'troublesome outsiders', and burial registers were a record of the local community.[39] If Atherton is correct, on occasions where a local community was involved in the disposal of the dead, such negative attitudes could have affected how the bodies were treated. There may be some support for this idea of the soldier as 'the ultimate social outcast' from the Civil War-period burials at Carrickmines and Durham, where the dead were buried 'with less care and reverence than peacetime norms dictated'.[40]

A study of modern conflict-burials supports this suggestion that the form of burial could be affected by how those burying the bodies identified with the dead.[41] Komar studied how 1189 individuals killed in the ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1995, or in the Anfal campaign, which targeted Kurdish civilians in Iraq in 1987 had been buried.[42] The analysis found that some characteristics were only associated with certain burial agents. For example, mass graves and the binding or burning of the dead were only found where the burial agents were from a different ethnic group or opposing army, while these burials were also often characterised by the disorderly placement of individuals within the grave.[43] In contrast, burial agents of the same ethnic background or army as the dead mostly buried them in an orderly fashion in single graves.[44] Thus, those from an opposing army or ethnicity used abnormal forms of burial, which probably had negative connotations in those cultures, to violate the dead. Burial agents from the same army or ethnicity, on the

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[36] Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars.", p. 11.
[37] Ibid., p. 8.
[38] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[39] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[40] Ibid., pp. 7-8, 11.
[41] Debra Komar, "Patterns of Mortuary Practice Associated with Genocide," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 1 (2008), p. 123.
[42] Ibid., p. 124.
[43] Ibid., p. 125.
[44] Ibid.

other hand, adhered to normative practice, as a way of honouring the dead and helping their souls to find peace.[45]

These characteristics were applied to the 1996 Towton mass grave in an attempt to determine who had buried the dead. The erratic positioning of the bodies and the lack of artefacts (which indicated that the dead were stripped before burial) led Komar to suggest that the dead were buried by the opposing army.[46] These conclusions, however, are problematic. Forms of burial are culturally and contextually specific, so it cannot simply be assumed that the dead of the fifteenth century would be violated or venerated in the same way as the dead from modern conflict burials.[47] Moreover, the reasons for violating or venerating an individual in the medieval period may have been different to reasons in the twentieth century. In the modern examples, ethnicity was a central factor in defining whether an individual was buried in a way that venerated or violated them, but this is unlikely to have been the case for Towton, which was fought as part of a civil war.[48] Status is more likely to have been a factor that determined how an individual was treated in the medieval period, hence why the King of Bohemia was venerated in death by the victorious English at Crécy (1346), despite having fought for the opposing army, because he was high status.[49] Indeed, Sutherland has already proposed that individuals buried carefully and according to normative practice at Towton next to the more disorderly burials of the mass grave may have been buried so because they were of a higher status than those in the mass grave.[50]

While Komar's specific set of characteristics cannot be directly applied to conflict burials of the medieval and early modern periods, the idea that there is a strong relationship between the form of burial and the burial agents has promise and certainly requires further investigation. A similar idea, which relates to warfare in general (including the treatment of the dead), has already been proposed for the early medieval period by Gillingham and Prestwich. They persuasively argue that Christian opponents who were perceived to share the same cultural values would be treated according to those values (which they term as intra-

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[45] Ibid., p. 127; William N. Duncan, "Understanding Veneration and Violation in the Archaeological Record," in *Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives in Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium*, ed. Gordon F.M. Rakita, et al. (Florida: 2005), p. 206.
[46] Komar, "Mortuary Practice", p. 130.
[47] Duncan, "Understanding Veneration", p. 208.
[48] Komar, "Mortuary Practice,", p. 124.
[49] Chandos Herald in Herald Chandos and Richard W. Barber, *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince : From Contemporary Letters, Diaries and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince*, New ed. ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), p. 89.
[50] Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 5.

cultural warfare), whereas in warfare with an opponent that fought by different conventions, an army's normal warfare conventions could be abandoned in favour of adopting the opposition's conventions (inter-cultural warfare).[51] The theory is demonstrated through what happened to the Scots after the battle of the Standard (1138). Here, the Scots were expressly denied burial by the victorious English because they had acted barbarously and contrary to expected standards when they had failed to bury the English people they had killed while campaigning in northern England prior to the battle.[52] In a related point, Prestwich argues that different warfare conventions might not only have applied between armies of different cultures, but also between different members of the same army. [53] For example, he argues that different conventions might be applied to soldiers of different statuses. Thus, the warfare between a knight and common soldier appears as inter-cultural because the laws of chivalry were not applied to common soldiers, who were not ransomed like knights, but were often just killed.[54] This point will be vital to remember for the following study, since it means that any number of factors, and not just the army that an individual had fought in, could potentially have affected how they were treated in death.

Overall, the literature appears to suggest that the dead were buried. This agrees with Foard and Morris' argument that non-burial in England is likely to have been rare, because the landscape was intensively farmed and needed to be kept clear to enable farming and to prevent the spread of disease.[55] As for where the dead were buried, the literature identifies some of the dead as having been buried on the battlefield and others being removed for church burials. The high-ranking or high-status dead were regularly removed from the battlefield throughout the period under study in order to receive a normative church burial. Further investigation is required to establish whether there was a true differentiation in practice based on the status of the dead, or whether this is a bias of the sources. As for the effects of the Reformation, evidence from the medieval period shows that efforts could be made to give the dead a Christian burial in consecrated ground, but further research is required to establish just how often this was the case and whether there was an established

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[51] John Gillingham, ""Holding to the Rules of War (*Bellica Iura Tenentes*)" : Right Conduct before, During, and after Battle in North-Western Europe in the Eleventh Century (R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 29 (2007), p. 7; Michael Prestwich, "Transcultural Warfare - the Later Middle Ages," in *Transcultural Warfare from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* ed. Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin: Akadmie Verlag, 2006), p. 43.
[52] Gillingham, "Rules of War", p. 7.
[53] Prestwich, "Transcultural Warfare.", pp. 52-5.
[54] Ibid., pp. 52-5.
[55] Glenn Foard and Richard Morris, *The Archaeology of English Battlefields: Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Landscape* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2012), p. 34.

process. None of the literature for the post-Reformation period discusses the issue of religion, except to suggest that soldiers may deliberately have been buried on the battlefield as a means of social exclusion, because the churchyard and parish burial registers were seen as belonging to the local community. This study will need to redress this, thus enabling observation of whether the Reformation affected battle disposal practices.

1.3 Commemoration

A topic that briefly needs to be addressed is commemoration of the dead, as it may have had an effect on what happened to the battle dead. In the medieval period, combatants and a battle might be remembered in a number of different ways, but the most relevant form for this study are chantries and chantry chapels.[56] These foundations were created to intercede for those killed in a specific battle.[57] Some of these chapels were built on the battlefield they commemorated, but others were not, especially those that developed out of existing chapels, so their location does not necessarily pinpoint the location of a battlefield.[58] Not every battle had an associated chantry, and Morgan has argued that those that were created were deliberately founded to preserve some characteristic of a battle in popular memory, such as conquest, divine intervention or resistance.[59] For example, Battle Abbey, the chantry founded by William the Conqueror after his victory at the battle of Hastings (1066), is likely to have been created to serve as a reminder to the English of Norman military power, hence the placing of the altar over the spot where Harold Godwinson, the defeated king, was killed.[60] Morgan also suggests that the battle chapels at Shrewsbury and Evesham were made into royal foundations after initially being founded by local landowners to prevent them from becoming foci for political dissent.[61]

The nature of commemoration changed in the sixteenth century, as the Reformation led to the dissolution of the chantries through the repudiation of Purgatory and intercession for the dead.[62] As a result, Atherton and Morgan argue that early modern battlefields were seen as 'accidental landscapes' that were left unmarked and quickly reabsorbed into the

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[56] Ibid., pp. 12-3; Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 294.
[57] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 12-3; Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 294.
[58] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 12-15.
[59] Philip Joesph Morgan, "The Medieval Battlefield War Memorial," in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages : Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium* ed. Frances Andrews (Donington: 2011), pp. 290-2.
[60] Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 293.
[61] Ibid., p. 293.
[62] Ibid., p. 289.

agrarian pattern, unlike medieval battlefields.[63] This argument is not wholly convincing, however, as Foard and Morris have noted a seventeenth-century memorial dedicated to the Royalist commander on the Wigan battlefield, while King Charles chose to be reunited with his queen in July 1643 on the Edgehill battlefield, suggesting that early modern battlefields could be remembered and manipulated for political purposes. [64] The nature of commemoration did change as the result of the Reformation, and the evidence does suggest that there was less interaction between contemporaries and the battle dead in the years after the event in this later period.

1.4 Changes in warfare and army configuration

Religious beliefs and the way in which the dead were remembered were not the only things that changed substantially in the period under study. There were major innovations in warfare, weapons and tactics used, which meant that the armies and battles of the early modern period were profoundly different to their medieval counterparts.[65] While there is not the room to explore all of these changes in detail here, the general configuration of the armies and the status of the men who were fighting do need to be considered briefly. This is important in order to give us a basic grounding of who was present on a battlefield and in what numbers, since this will have had an effect on who later had to be buried. The exact numbers, types and ratios of soldiers present at a battle will have varied for each engagement, but we can still establish a general understanding of the types and numbers of soldiers present.[66]

Starting with medieval armies, the vast majority of the combatants will have been archers.[67] At the start of the fifteenth century, they usually comprised about half of a force.[68] However, from Henry IV's reign there was a trend towards greater use of archers, so that they often comprised 75% of an army. [69] From the mid-1430s, this rose further still until archers

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[63] Ibid., p. 289.

[64] Ibid., pp. 295-6; Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, p. 16.

[65] Jeremy Black, *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society 1550-1800* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Education, 1991), pp. 1-2.

[66] Christopher Knusel and Anthea Boylston, "How Has the Towton Project Contributed to Our Knowledge of Medieval and Later Warfare?," in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, ed. Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knusel (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), p. 184.

[67] Adrian R. Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 139, 144-154.

[68] Ibid., p. 144.

[69] Ibid., p. 144.

regularly accounted for 90% of a force.[70] Although during the Wars of the Roses the proportion of archers again seems to have dropped in favour of billmen.[71] The social status of archers ranged quite widely, but typically, they were below the rank of gentleman, that is, of yeomen status or lower.[72] The rest of a medieval army would be made up of men-at-arms, who often consisted of around 10% of a force by the mid-fifteenth century.[73] All men-at-arms fought with the same weapons, but the group was typically sub-divided according to the social status of an individual.[74] Normal men-at-arms were the most frequent category of soldier on the battlefield after archers, and were generally below knightly class (often called esquires); although, they could include both gentlemen and those of 'ungentle' birth.[75] Next most common were knights, who were of a higher social status than most men-at-arms, and whose class had originally been defined by their ability and obligation to fight for a lord.[76] The smallest group in a medieval army were the peers, a group that can be further divided into the upper elite of dukes, earls and viscounts and the lower elite barons.[77] The peers will have had a military education from childhood and will have been responsible for leading the army.[78]

The English armies of the sixteenth century Tudor period saw the gradual adoption and integration of continental weaponry and tactics.[79] They continued to use the traditional bow and bill, but increasingly replaced them with pike and shot.[80] Soldiers were typically recruited through the same two methods as in the fifteenth century. The first was the levy, which required all able-bodied men aged 16-60 to have arms and to fight if called upon.[81] The second was the retinue, which saw landowners and lords commissioned to raise a certain number of soldiers and, from 1511, these men could only be raised from a landowner's tenants or dependants.[82] The individual who was commissioned to raise the retinue would

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[70] Ibid., p. 144.
[71] A. W. Boardman, *The Medieval Soldier in the Wars of the Roses* (Stroud, 1998), p. 148.
[72] Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 139, 144-154; Strickland and Hardy, *Great Warbow*, pp. 287, 289.
[73] Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 95, 96.
[74] Ibid., p. 95.
[75] Ibid., pp. 95, 101, 103-5, 108.
[76] Ibid., p. 54.
[77] Ibid., pp. 23, 49, 52; A Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society 1452-97* (1981), p. 124.
[78] Bell et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 23, 49, 52; Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society 1452-97*, p. 124.
[79] James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), pp. 180-5; Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 71, 257.
[80] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 71, 81; Raymond, Ibid.; Strickland and Hardy, *Great Warbow*, p. 390.
[81] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 46-7.
[82] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

command as captain, and their friends or kinsmen would usually serve as their petty-captain.[83] As a result of this continued use of the same recruitment methods, the wider social structure was generally reflected in the formally raised armies of the sixteenth-century as they had been in the preceding century, with those of higher status commanding large numbers of lower status individuals.

By the Civil War, the pike and musket had been fully adopted as the weapons of the infantry, while cavalry had returned as a vital component of any force.[84] The question of who fought in the armies of the seventeenth century, and of the Civil War in particular and in what roles is a complex question, as it changed over time, while there were also differences between the Crown and Parliamentarian armies. King Charles, as the symbol of social order, was particularly popular with the gentry and aristocracy, whereas Parliament was more popular with the middle classes and common people.[85] As the armies at the beginning of the Civil War were generally still a microcosm of the wider social structure, this led to imbalances in their configuration.[86] Higher status individuals expected to be given commands and roles as officers, no matter how much military experience they had, while more wealthy individuals tended to serve in the cavalry, rather than the infantry.[87] As a result, the Royalists often had an over-abundance of officers, particularly as they failed to dismiss officers when they amalgamated troops and companies – there was even a term for officers who had no men to command, 'reformadoes'.[88] The Crown armies also tended to have a higher proportion of cavalry to infantry than they desired or was recommended in the contemporary literature.[89] In contrast, Parliament seems to have struggled to recruit officers, while they usually had a higher proportion of infantry to cavalry than the Royalists had, suggesting that they were able to recruit more people who were generally from the lower classes into the rank-and-file.[90]

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[83] Ibid., p. 50.
[84] C.H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (London: Methuen and Co, 1902), pp. 69-70, 119.
[85] Joyce Lee Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), pp. 128, 140.
[86] Ibid., p. 90.
[87] Ibid., pp. 90-1; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, p. 40.
[88] Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 96-7; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 25-6.
[89] Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 99-105.
[90] Ibid., pp. 98, 103.

Both sides struggled to form and maintain effective, well-trained, well-organised armies in the first three years of the civil war.[91] Parliament's armies were in a particularly dire state in 1644, a situation that led to the formation of the New Model army, England's first nationally funded standing army.[92] The New Model was made up of the remnants of three existing forces and new, pressed recruits.[93] The army represented significant departures in that it was commanded by men from the gentry who were appointed for their military experience and skill, rather than nobles who commanded by right of birth.[94] The officer corps, too, saw men being promoted for their ability and experience rather than just their social rank.[95] These changing characteristics are important to bear in mind, as such changes could have affected battle disposal practices.

1.5 Archaeology

One of the aims of this thesis is to establish the potential of the historical sources for informing the interpretation of archaeological discoveries that relate to battle disposal practices, by comparing and contrasting the historical and archaeological data sets. To do this, the current state of archaeological knowledge in relation to battle disposal practices needs to be discussed. Two broad classes of archaeological information will be used in this study. The first are antiquarians' recordings of local traditions and their reports of mass graves, which were often found by accident.[96] Both sources of information are problematic, as it is often difficult to trace the provenance, and therefore the veracity, of local traditions; while antiquarians rarely gave detailed descriptions of their findings from mass graves. This makes it extremely difficult to judge whether the association they made between burials they found and a battle are likely to have been accurate.[97] Although, even with modern excavations it can be difficult to link a burial to a battle conclusively, since they rarely contain battle-related artefacts, while even radiocarbon dating can only indicate a time frame for when an individual died rather than a precise date. Antiquarian reports of battle burials

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[91] Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 15-33; Glenn Foard, *Naseby: The Decisive Campaign* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books Limited 1995), p. 53; Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 106-9, 122.

[92] Foard, *Naseby*, pp. 53-7; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 31-2.

[93] Foard, *Naseby*, pp. 57, 74; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 35-6.

[94] Foard, *Naseby*, pp. 68-71.

[95] Ibid., pp. 73-4; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 40-1.

[96] Glenn Foard, *Battlefield Archaeology of the English Civil War*, Bar British Series 570 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), p. 2.

[97] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 32-3.

cannot be dismissed out-of-hand as there is a possibility that their interpretations were correct. Moreover, very few battle mass graves have been excavated under modern conditions, whereas quite a few antiquarian reports of mass graves have been made (most of the 106 records of battle burials in Foard's *Fields of Conflict* database are from antiquarian sources), so this abundant source of evidence cannot simply be dismissed because of its flaws.[98] Instead, the individual reports of antiquarian burial can be used, but with caution and judged on an individual basis.

The other types of archaeological source that will be used are modern excavation reports. Mass graves relating to two of the battles under study here – Towton (1461) and Stoke (1487) – have been excavated in recent years and these will be vital for interpreting and assessing the information given in the historical sources. Unfortunately, no post-Reformation battle mass graves have been located, although there are a number of mass graves relating to other aspects of the Civil War (such as the prisoner of war mass graves from Durham and Abingdon).[99] A number of early modern battle mass graves have been excavated on the continent, chiefly in relation to the Thirty Years' War, which will also be useful as a point of comparison for the historical sources, as long as it is remembered that the differences in context might have resulted in different disposal practices. There is not the room to address all of the potentially relevant excavations here, so detailed discussion will be reserved for the two that directly relate to the battles studied here - the medieval graves from Towton and Stoke. There will also be discussion of two relevant MA theses, by Richard Bradley and Rebecca Seed. The work by Bradley brought together the archaeological evidence along with traditions from battles of the British Civil War in order to test a theory presented by Burne that the dead were largely buried where the greatest fighting took place.[100] Seed's research arose as a direct consequence of this PhD and investigates the theory that the high-status dead were more likely to be removed for a church burial.

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[98] Ibid., p. 30.
[99] Tim Allen, "Abingdon: Vineyard Development," *South Midlands Archaeology* 19 (1989); "Abingdon Vineyard Development," *South Midlands Archaeology* 20 (1990); Richard Annis, "Human Remains Found at Palace Green November 2013," https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/Synthesis-HumanremainsfoundatPalaceGreenNovember2013_FINAL.pdf.; "Palace Green Library Internal Courtyard: Archaeological Monitoring Interim Report 3436," https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/3436APalaceGreenLibraryinternalcourtyardINTERIM.pdf.
[100] Richard Bradley, "Fields of Death: A Landscape Study of Mass Grave Locations on English Civil War Battlefields" (University of Birmingham, 2009).

1.5.1 Towton (1461)

In 1996, builders accidentally discovered a mass grave at Towton Hall.[101] Thirty-eight individuals were recovered and analysed by archaeologists, although the mass grave originally contained more skeletons (the builders removed at least 23 skulls) which were reburied elsewhere before the formal study could commence.[102] The mass grave was interpreted as relating to the battle of Towton (1461) and the evidence is compelling. There is extensive perimortem weapon trauma on many of the skeletons, while the mass grave is located just 1.6km north of the archaeologically located battlefield.[103] Furthermore, the sex of all of the individuals in the mass grave, where it could be determined, was found to be male, the mass grave contained no children or elderly individuals, and the average age was around 30.[104] This suggests a military population.[105] Radiocarbon dating of a tibia further reinforced the likelihood of the mass grave relating to Towton, as it gave a date of 1440-1640 at a 95% probability.[106] The relative lack of artefacts suggests that the dead were stripped, although the presence of some lace tags and strap fittings suggests that those stripping the dead were not thorough.[107] The location of the mass grave, 1.6km to the north of the battlefield, led the excavators to suggest that the grave contained men killed during the rout of the defeated Lancastrians, who are known to have fled in that direction after the battle.[108]

The excavators used an electronic distance metre (EDM) and photographs to record the exact location of each body, allowing them to analyse the placement of individuals within the grave and to later reconstruct each skeleton for osteological analysis (rather than analysing the bones in isolation).[109] Sutherland has argued from the stratigraphic sequencing that the dead were laid out systematically, in a way that maximised the use of space, with

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[101] Veronica Fiorato, "The Context of the Discovery," in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, ed. Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knüsel (Oxford: 2007), p. 2; Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 32, 87.

[102] Fiorato, "Context.", p. 2; Anthea Boylston, Malin Holst, and Jennifer Coughlan, "Physical Anthropology," ibid. , pp. 45-6.

[103] Fiorato, "Context.", p. 2.

[104] Boylston, Holst, and Coughlan, "Physical Anthropology.", pp. 46-52.

[105] Ibid., pp. 46-52.

[106] Andrea Burgess, "The Excavation and the Finds," in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton, Ad 1461*, ed. Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knüsel (Oxford: 2007), p. 33.

[107] Ibid., p. 34.

[108] Tim Sutherland and Malin Holst, "Demonstrating the Value of Battlefield Archaeology. War Graves on Towton Field - Their Location and Excavation," *Forschungen zur Archaologie im Land Brandenburg* 15 (2014), pp. 93-4; Tim Sutherland, "The Archaeological Investigation of the Towton Battlefield," in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, ed. Veronica Fiorato, Christopher Knüsel, and Anthea Boylston (Oxford: 2007), p. 166.

[109] "Recording the Grave.", pp. 36-8.

those who were buried last laid more randomly so that they filled the remaining spaces.[110] Unfortunately, the Towton monograph does not show Sutherland's reconstruction of the sequencing, which makes it difficult to assess his conclusions. If the hypothesis is correct, it means that practicality was the primary factor that determined the form of burial in this case: the burial agents simply wanted to get as many bodies in the grave as possible.[111] This conclusion is supported by the way in which the bodies were casually laid, with some in prone positions, and others in varied orientations that were contrary to normative burial practice.[112]

Since 1996, a number of other graves from around Towton Hall have come to light, which are also likely to relate to Towton, since these individuals had also sustained perimortem weapons trauma (Figure 1).[113] In 2005, Sutherland excavated a triple and single burial adjacent to the 1996 mass grave.[114] These burials contrasted to the 1996 mass grave in that the dead had been buried carefully in the standard Christian manner, in a supine position with their heads to the west.[115] Sutherland is clearly undecided why there were differences in the form of burial between these smaller burials and the original mass grave. He has variously suggested that it could have been due to differences in status or because of the army which the dead had fought in, with greater honour accorded to the high status or one's own dead.[116] Clearly further research is required to establish which theory is the most likely explanation for this contrast in burial. A number of unusual features were noted with the single burial, including two flat stones that had been placed on the shoulders of the individual and a depression to the west of the burial, filled with stones and a ceramic bead.[117] Sutherland suggested that the depression may have been where a grave marker stood, and that the bead had come from a rosary hung on the marker.[118] If correct, this might suggest that this individual was buried by someone who knew them. This produces another possible explanation for the contrast in burial, namely that those given a normative Christian burial were buried by their associates, perhaps because they were local, which enabled their friends and family to come and find their bodies.

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[110] Ibid., p. 40.
[111] Ibid., pp. 40-1.
[112] Ibid., pp. 40-1.
[113] Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 4.
[114] Ibid., p. 4.
[115] Ibid., p. 5.
[116] Ibid., p. 5.
[117] Ibid., p. 5.
[118] Ibid., p. 5.
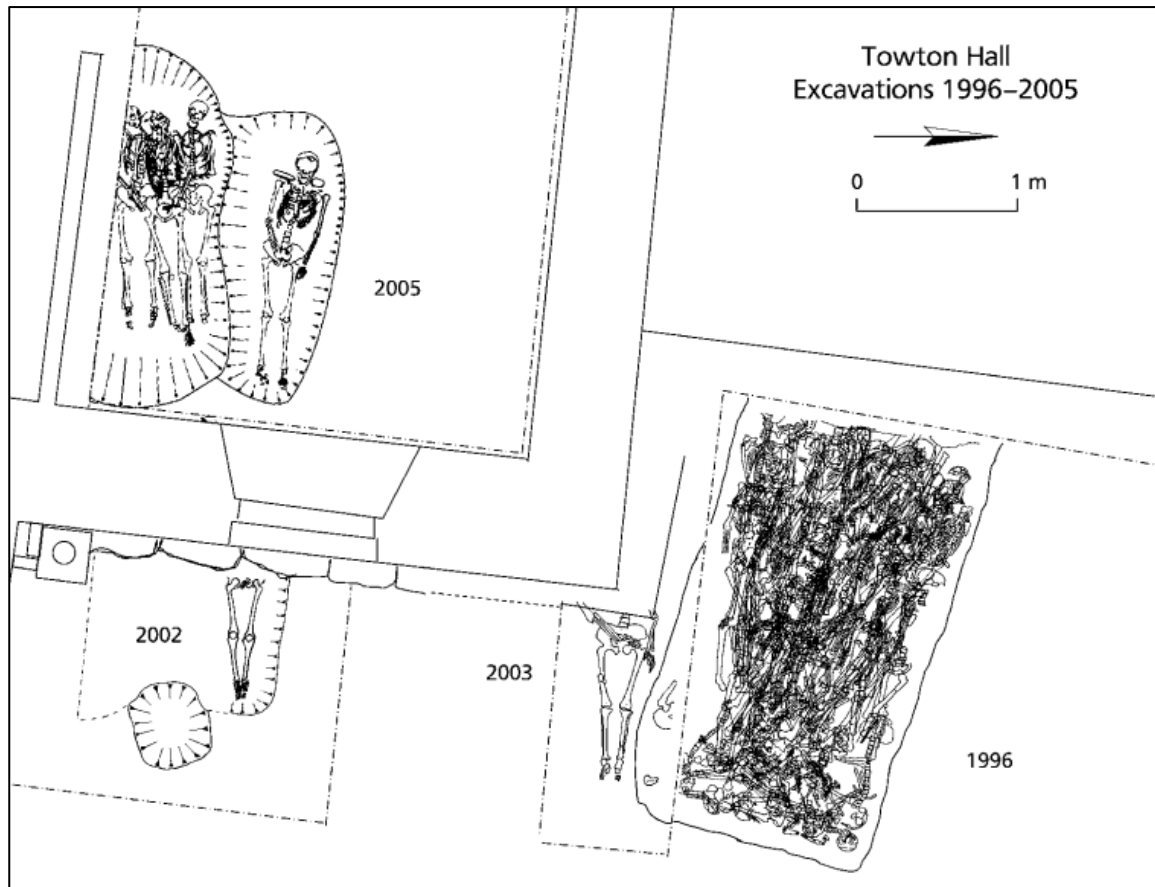
Figure 1. A drawing showing the location of the Towton Hall burials and the year that they were excavated (Sutherland and Holst 2014, 91).

Historical documentation shows that a chapel existed at Towton at the time of the battle, but its location is unconfirmed.[119] It has been suggested that the mass grave and adjacent burials occur in the grounds of this chapel, as this would have meant that the dead would be buried in consecrated ground, as was normal for this period.[120] The idea is persuasive, particularly as it explains why the burials occur in such close proximity because they all had to fit within the confines of the chapel's consecrated ground. Sutherland has claimed to have found evidence of a chapel in his recent excavations near to where the mass grave occurred, in the form of stonework, leaded windows and glass, which might further support the assertion that the chapel was located close to the mass grave.[121] Richard III, some twenty years after the battle, commissioned a chapel at Towton, the location of which is also unknown, so the remains could be from that later chapel rather than the one that existed in

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[119] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", pp. 91, 93.
[120] Ibid., pp. 91, 93.
[121] Ibid., p. 91.

1461.[122] On the other hand, the original chapel is known to have been in disrepair by 1467, so it seems quite likely that Richard's chapel replaced it, rather than the two co-existing.[123] If this was the case, the two chapels are likely to have been built in the same area. Therefore, even if the stonework is from the later chapel, it may still mark the location of the 1461 chapel.

In addition to the battle burials from Towton Hall, human bone has also been found on Towton battlefield (Figure 2). A large number of bone fragments were found above a linear anomaly recorded from a magnetic geophysical survey.[124] Many of the bones were disarticulated, while most of the fragments were under 10cm long, leading Sutherland and Richardson to suggest that they were the remnants of one of the battle mass graves exhumed at the order of Richard III in 1484.[125] Excavation of the anomaly found that the next soil context was similar to a local one that had resulted from the silting up of a prehistoric ditch.[126] Therefore, Sutherland and Richardson have argued that the Towton burial agents reduced their workload by interring the dead in an existing ditch, which they re-cut, and which would still have been visible because of the lack of medieval cultivation in the area.[127] This theory is persuasive, particularly as Richard III's exhumation order referred to the dead as having been buried in 'three hollows', which could very possibly mean a prehistoric ditch.[128] There are alternative explanations for this archaeological feature – the disarticulated bone fragments could have come from a primary burial, rather than being the remains from an exhumed grave.[129] However, when the historical and archaeological evidence is all taken together it does seem likely that Sutherland and Richardson have identified one of the exhumed battlefield mass graves.

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[122] Fiorato, "Context.", p. 12.
[123] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 91.
[124] Tim Sutherland and Simon Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves: Finding the Dead from the Battle of Towton, 1461 Ad," in *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War* ed. Douglas Scott, Lawrence Babits, and Charles Haecker (Westport: 2007), pp. 164-5.
[125] Ibid., pp. 167-8.
[126] Ibid., p. 165.
[127] Ibid., p. 166.
[128] Richard III, 'Royal grant of annuity to Saxton parish church, 19 February 1483/4' in Tim Sutherland and A. Schmidt, "Towton, 1461: An Integrated Approach to Battlefield Archaeology," *Landscapes* 4, no. 2 (2003), p. 19.
[129] Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves.", p. 167.
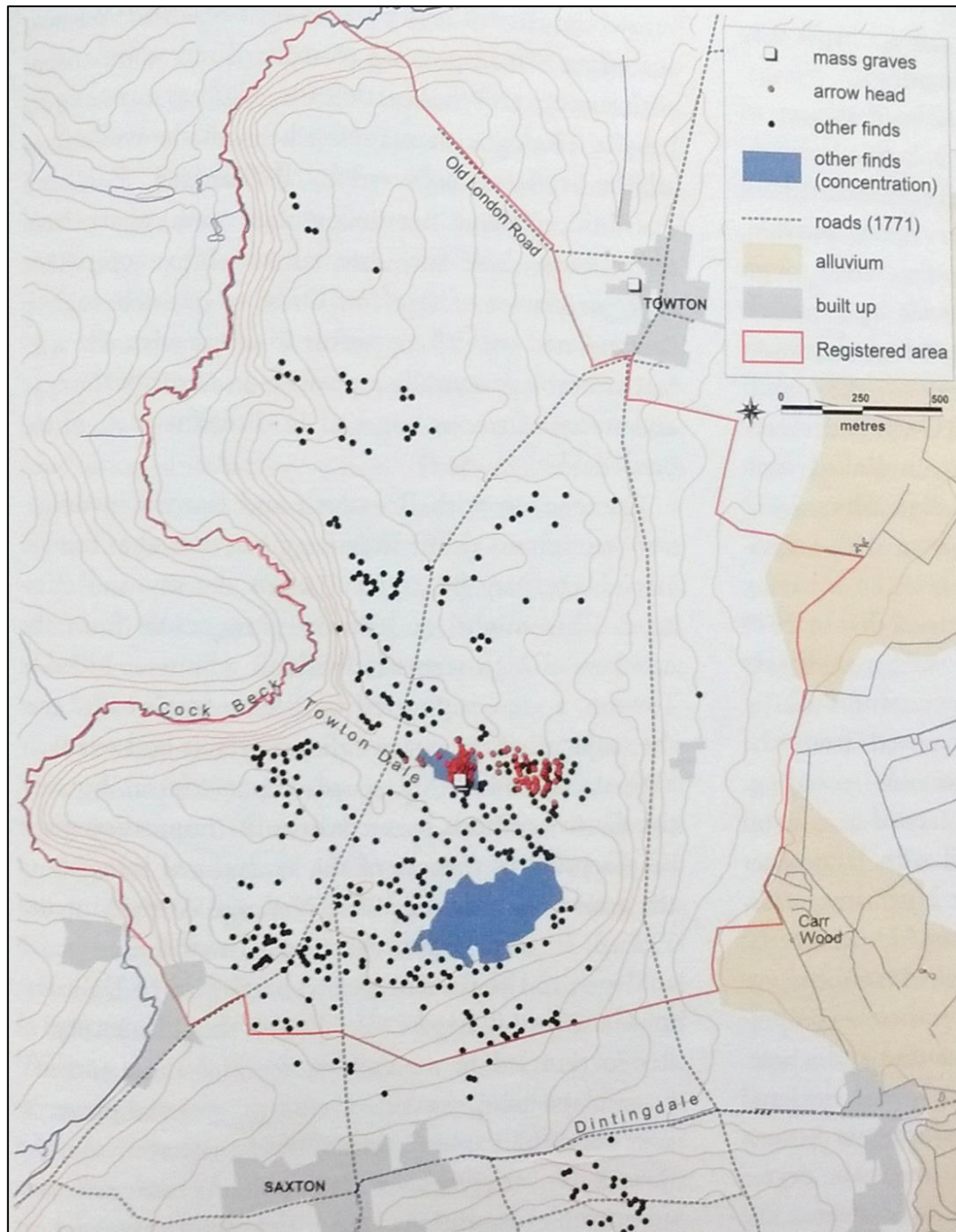
Figure 2. A map showing the location of the Towton mass graves (white boxes) in relation to the battle-related artefacts found in the battlefield surveys (Foard and Morris 2012, 87).

1.5.2 Stoke (1487)

Another mass grave, excavated in 1982, was linked to the battle of Stoke (1487), again because of its physical proximity to the traditional location of the battlefield (Figure 3) and the presence of weapon injuries on some of the bones.[130] The association seems reliable, although radiocarbon dating of the bones would help to support the case. Unfortunately, in contrast to Towton, the excavation was recorded poorly. No formal excavation report was

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[130] "HER Record M17856," ed. Virginia Baddeley (2003), p. 1.

ever produced, there is no plan of the excavation and the site diary is brief and often illegible.[131] Moreover, the bones are disarticulated, fragmentary and were not recorded *in situ*, which severely limits the potential for study because each element has to be studied in isolation, rather than as part of a full skeleton.[132] This also makes it difficult to interpret the form of burial, although a record from 1982 described the burials as 'jumbled together', implying that the dead had been buried in a careless or disrespectful manner.[133] The only formal works on the mass grave are two osteological reports, which were conducted independently, and which largely agreed on their conclusions, suggesting that they are reliable.[134]
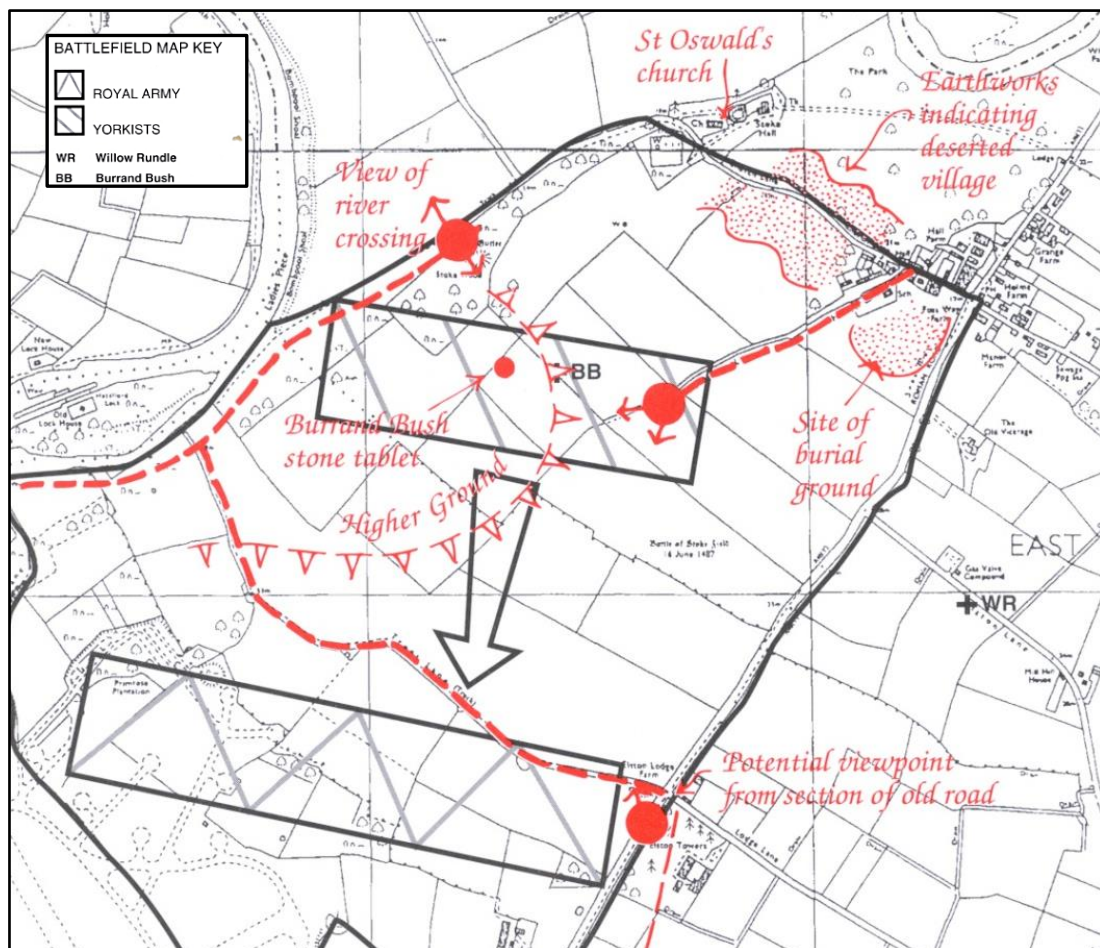
Figure 3. The Battlefields Register map of Stoke (1487), showing the proximity of the battlefield to the mass grave (indicated by the 'site of burial ground' marker) (English Heritage, 1995).

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[131] Jennifer Seward, "Battle of Stoke Field 1487: Study of Human Remains" (MSc Dissertation, Cranfield University, 2014), p. 9; Baddeley pers. comm. 13/03/2013.
[132] Ibid., pp. 26, 29.
[133] Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", appendix 2, p. 25.
[134] Ibid., p. 4.

The excavated remains consisted of at least eight individuals, based on the number of the most common skeletal element.[135] The bones that were sexed had characteristics or measurements consistent with the mass grave containing males.[136] Analysis of the os coxae, dental wear and epiphyseal fusion indicated that the individuals ranged in age from 17 to c.46, with most likely to have been in their 20s.[137] Both of these results are consistent with the expectations of a medieval military population suggesting that the mass grave is likely to relate to a battle, most likely Stoke.[138] Where the analysis of the two reports differs is in relation to the trauma observed.[139] Sims identified four instances of unhealed sharp-force trauma on one of the two skulls studied, as well as an instance of blunt-force trauma in which some healing was apparent.[140] The second skull also had sharp-force trauma.[141] In contrast, Seward identified only two instances of sharp-force trauma to one of the skulls, both of which were ante-mortem, while she also identified a partially healed sharp-force trauma to the posterior of the left parietal of the second skull.[142] Sims identified sharp-force trauma on one of the tibia, as well as on one of the radii, where she also saw evidence of healing, neither of which were identified by Seward.[143] Without being able to refer to the bones themselves, it is difficult to conclude which report may be correct. Although Seward was a Masters student, suggesting that she may be less experienced than Sims was and so more likely to miss or misinterpret observed trauma.

1.5.3 Burne's theory on battlefield burials

In *The Battlefields of England,* first published in 1950, Colonel Alfred H. Burne theorised that mass graves would typically mark where the heaviest fighting had taken place during a battle.[144] In suggesting this theory, Burne assumed that the dead would have been buried close to where they had fallen, most likely because it was the quickest way to dispose of the bodies.

Richard Bradley tested this theory in his MA thesis, by studying the location of battle burials from six battles of the Civil War in comparison to where the action from each battle is

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[135] Ibid., p. 4; Seward, "Stoke Field", p. 47.
[136] Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", p. 5; Seward, "Stoke Field", pp. 33-6, 49-53.
[137] Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", pp. 6-7.
[138] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[139] Ibid., p. 4.
[140] Ibid., pp. 8-10.
[141] Ibid., p. 10.
[142] Seward, "Stoke Field", p. 64.
[143] Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", p. 12.
[144] Alfred H. Burne, *The Battlefields of England* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2005), pp. 211, 349, 350, 419, 446-7.

thought to have been fought.[145] Bradley concluded that while Burne's theory is often correct, it is not applicable in all contexts, as some combatants might be buried in other parts of the battlefield, such as those killed fleeing a battle.[146] Bradley's results, however, must be viewed with caution. Most of the burials used in the study were from antiquarian reports made in the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, which, as was noted earlier, are not wholly reliable as they are rarely detailed, while antiquarians lacked the experience and dating techniques that archaeologists have today.[147] This means that any number of the burials used in the study could have been wrongly associated with a battle, which will have compromised the results. It seems likely, for example, that many of these antiquarian-reported burials will have been associated with a battle primarily because of their spatial proximity to the traditional location of a battlefield, while burials found further away are less likely to have been so associated because of that distance. Yet, distance should not rule out burials being associated with a battle: the Towton burials were found 1.6km from the battlefield, after all.[148] Thus, Bradley's examples may be skewed towards those that occur closer to the battlefield, compromising his conclusions and his ability to test Burne's theory objectively. One way round this may have been to use a grading system to indicate which examples were most and least likely to relate to battles, as this would have helped when interpreting the validity of Bradley's conclusions.

Although Bradley's results may be flawed, his conclusions are still worth bearing in mind, since it is possible that all his examples do genuinely relate to the battles studied. One point raised in the thesis was the possibility of rout burials occurring some distance from the battlefield, something that has also been noted by Foard and Morris.[149] They argued that, while there might be a number of burials on the centre of the battlefield, around the areas of fiercest fighting, there may also have been burials further out, most likely at 'pinch points' where troops might choose to make a stand, or in areas where the terrain made fleeing difficult.[150] They suggest that the nature of a rout, whereby the dead will have quickly become spread out, may also have caused some to be collected up in carts and taken for a church burial, as opposed to burying them where they fell.[151] Indeed, the suggestion is that

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[145] Bradley, "Fields of Death: A Landscape Study of Mass Grave Locations on English Civil War Battlefields", pp. 7-9, 14-5, 23-4.
[146] Ibid., pp. 77-8.
[147] Ibid., p. 23.
[148] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 90.
[149] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, p. 32.
[150] Ibid., p. 32.
[151] Ibid., p. 32.

those in the mass grave found at Towton Hall in 1996 may have been men killed in the rout and then brought to the chapel for burial.[152]

1.5.4 Investigating high-status church burials

In 2018, Rebecca Seed conducted research for a Master's thesis in osteology and palaeopathology that tested a theory proposed by the author in the early stages of this PhD. Seed gathered data from published cemetery excavations of churches in use between the tenth and fifteenth centuries and compared the burial locations of those skeletons that showed likely battlefield trauma. This was to test the author's theory that the high-status battle dead were more likely to be removed for a church burial than the lower status dead. Seed compared the number of individuals with weapons trauma that were buried within churches – prestigious burial locations – with the number buried outside in the cemetery, where the lower status individuals were typically buried. Seed's results are discussed in 6.4.1.

1.6 Christian Burial Practice

To be able to understand, fully, the battle disposal practices that will be observed, we must be aware of how the dead were disposed of under normal conditions in the periods under study. The Reformation led to significant changes in both religious belief and practice, so this section will consider the normative burial practices for both the pre- and post-Reformation periods. As Curry and Foard noted 'a battle was likely to lead to unusual forms of burial, since the circumstances of death made it more difficult to follow customary practices'.[153] Therefore, while it is vital to have a good understanding of normative burial practices in the periods covered, it may also be useful to consider what happened to the dead during other abnormal or exceptional circumstances. The non-normative burials most likely to bear a resemblance to battle burials are interments relating to plague epidemics, when contemporaries also had to handle disposing of unusually large numbers of bodies at once. Therefore, a section will also consider the current state of knowledge on plague burials.

1.6.1 Normative burial practice: pre-Reformation

Pre-Reformation funerary and burial practices were largely structured around the fate of the soul. Contemporaries believed that their soul was sent to Purgatory where punishment cleansed them of their sins, after which they were then allowed to enter Heaven.[154] The time a

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[152] Ibid., p. 32.
[153] Curry and Foard, "Dead of Medieval Battles", p. 64.
[154] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (New York: 1996), p. 25; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*, 1st pbk. ed. (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1, 10; Eamon

soul spent in Purgatory could be reduced by the intercessory prayers of the living, which could be attained through various means.[155] Those of lower status might have had their names written on bede rolls, which were lists of names that were read out throughout the year so the living could remember those individuals in their prayers, or they might have become a member of a guild or fraternity, which would intercede for their members.[156] Higher status individuals might found a chantry or chantry chapel, foundations where priests were hired to say intercessory prayers for specific individuals.[157]

After death, an individual was usually washed, wrapped in a shroud and displayed for a short time before being buried in the grounds of a church.[158] There were other common facets of funeral practice, such as feasts, bell ringing and processions, but the precise form of each funeral will have varied by region, as well as by the wealth and status of the individual.[159] The dead were buried on their backs in an extended position, with their hands placed on the pelvis, chest or by the sides and along an east to west orientation, with their head to the west.[160] By the late medieval period, the church had a monopoly on burial and so everyone was buried in the consecrated ground of the church or churchyard, apart from social deviants, such as excommunicates, suicides and unbaptised infants, who were excluded from consecrated burial.[161] Although, the number of baptised people actually denied a Christian burial in the medieval period is likely to have been relatively small, as the church was quite lenient. [162] For example, rulings of suicide were quite rare because they were instead classed as madness, a verdict that did not require the individual to be excluded from receiving a Christian burial in consecrated ground. [163] The literature often fails to comment on the purpose of consecrated ground, but John Mirk, a fourteenth-century Augustinian canon, intimates that it enabled everyone within the churchyard boundaries to benefit from the

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, second ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 338.

[155] Philip Morgan, "Of Worms and War: 1380-1558," in *Death in England: An Illustrated History* ed. Clare Gittings and Peter C. Jupp (Manchester: 1999), p. 132; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 8; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p 12; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 338.

[156] Margaret Aston, "Death," in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: 1994), pp. 215-6; Morgan, "Worms and War.", pp. 137-8.

[157] Aston, "Death.", pp. 215-6; Morgan, "Worms and War.", pp. 137-8.

[158] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 42-3, 48; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 130.

[159] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, Paperback ed. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 435-7.

[160] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 56; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 118, 148-9; Curry and Foard, "Dead of Medieval Battles", p. 4.

[161] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 55; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 87-90, 97, 103-4.

[162] *Death and Burial*, pp. 32, 96; Aston, "Death.", p. 217.

[163] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 32, 96; Aston, "Death.", p. 217.

masses and intercessions of the priest.[164] This is supported by Foxhall Forbes, who argued that those judicially executed in Anglo-Saxon England were buried in unconsecrated ground because it extended secular punishment into the afterlife by denying the dead prayer.[165] Foxhall Forbes is writing in relation to an earlier period, but Christian burial practices remained broadly consistent from the Anglo-Saxon period into the sixteenth century, so it is likely that the beliefs that structured such practices continued also.

Status and wealth affected where an individual was buried within church grounds. The place of burial was clearly important, hence why some individuals went to extreme lengths in order to be buried in their chosen church. Lord John Roos, for example, had his body brought from Cyprus so that he could be buried in Rievaulx Abbey following his death on Crusade.[166] Lower status individuals were normally buried in the church of their home parish, whereas higher status individuals will have had more choice.[167] Monasteries and friaries were quite popular as high-status burial places, but most chose to be buried with family in churches on their own lands.[168] The place of burial within the grounds of the church was also very important, as it reflected an individual's social status.[169] The richest, highest status individuals were interred inside the church, with burial in the chancel or choir viewed as particularly prestigious.[170] There was no rule about what status an individual had to be to be buried in a church; instead, it was dependent on what they could afford.[171] Thus, while most church burials would have been members of the gentry and nobility, lower status individuals, like merchants and tradesmen could also obtain a church burial if they had the financial resources.[172] The poorer, lower status individuals were buried outside in the church's cemetery.[173]

1.6.2 Normative burial practice: post-Reformation

Although the beliefs and funerary practices of the medieval period were by no means static or universal, the English Reformation of the sixteenth century resulted in a major shift in the

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[164] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 21; Susan Powell, "Mirk, John (fl. c. 1382-C.1414)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18818.
[165] Helen Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham2013), pp. 308.
[166] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 80.
[167] Aston, "Death.", p. 220; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 55-6.
[168] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 83-4.
[169] Ibid., pp. 86-91.
[170] Ibid., pp. 89-90; Aston, "Death.", p. 216.
[171] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 89.
[172] Ibid., p. 89.
[173] Ibid., p. 90; Aston, "Death.", pp. 216-7.

nature of religion and belief, which is likely to have affected the burial of the dead.[174] The difficulty of assessing these changes, however, is that the Reformation was not a single event but a process of change that was neither linear nor consistent, with different areas and groups across England coming to Protestantism at different times (and some never coming to it at all).[175] Even under Elizabeth I, who was ruling some two decades after the first official motions had been made towards Protestant reform, there were vigorous local campaigns to suppress activities related to intercession, showing how the changes were accepted slowly and inconsistently.[176] This gradual and highly variable adoption of Protestant beliefs will apply as much to burial practices as any other area of religious belief that changed in this period. This complicates the issue of studying sixteenth-century battle burial practices by raising the possibility that differences in burial practice could relate to the varying adoption of post-Reformation normative burial practices, rather than because of a factor relating to a battle.

A further difficulty is that post-Reformation burial practices are not well understood, archaeologically, a point reflected in the lack of literature on the topic. Many post-Reformation churches are still in use and so few archaeologists have had the opportunity to excavate, while few of the sites that have been excavated have been well published.[177] Even in the post-Reformation archaeological data that has been published, though, the sixteenth century is under-represented because it is often difficult to distinguish medieval and early modern burials.[178] What archaeological data there is suggests that there was little change in the way that the dead were buried in the post-Reformation period, and that this was true up until the nineteenth century.[179] Thus, the dead largely continued to be buried in the consecrated ground of the churchyard, on their backs with their heads facing to the west.[180]

Although the Reformation did not affect the form and location of burial for many people, it did have an impact on the beliefs surrounding death. Two of the most important

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[174] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 196; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 101-2.

[175] Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 142; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 100-2, 134, 136; Clare Gittings, "Sacred and Secular: 1558-1660," in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Clare Gittings and Peter C. Jupp (Manchester: 1999), p. 154.

[176] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 124-7, 132-41.

[177] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 198; Annia Cherryson, Zoe Crossland, and Sarah Tarlow, *A Fine and Private Place: The Archaeology of Death and Burial in Post-Medieval Britain and Ireland*, Leicester Archaeology Monograph 22 (Bristol: 2012), p. 1.

[178] *A Fine and Private Place*, pp. 2, 156.

[179] Ibid., p. 20.

[180] Ibid., p. 22; Gittings, "Sacred and Secular.", p. 166.

changes were the repudiations of Purgatory and intercession for the dead.[181] The rejection of these theological concepts completely changed the physical religious landscape.[182] The chantries, chantry chapels and monasteries were dissolved, while other forms of intercession, such as bede rolls, were also suppressed.[183] Initially, there was uncertainty over the fate of the soul following the repudiation of Purgatory, but many came to believe that the soul was sent straight to Heaven or Hell at death, and that the Last Judgement reunited the body and soul into one perfect body.[184] The repudiation of intercession and Purgatory also made the use of consecrated ground unnecessary, a point made in the writings of Protestant ministers such as John Veron and Bishop Pilkington, the latter of whom, in the late sixteenth century, wrote that 'the place of burial needeth no bishop's blessing nor popish hallowing'.[185] We might have expected this to have affected burial practice and where individuals were buried, but only the most radical reformers rejected the use of the consecrated ground in favour of burial elsewhere, and most continued to be buried in the consecrated ground of the churchyard.[186] This is likely to been because the churchyard was the communal place of burial, where individuals' families and ancestors were buried, and with whom they will have wanted to be buried with in death.

Part of the reason for this apparent continuity in burial practice is that very little of the Church's formal requirements for the burial of the dead was seen to be superstitious or popish (the major criticism of Catholic practices), and therefore did not need changing.[187] From 1552, the only things that changed in the burial liturgy were the removal of sprinkling the body with holy water and the commendation to God of the deceased's soul.[188] This lack of change was because a lot of the funerary and burial ritual, such as the ringing of church bells, was custom, rather than formal religious practice required by the church.[189] As a result, funerary practices varied widely between settlements and regions, meaning that each had to

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[181] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 196-8; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 141; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 82, 94-6.
[182] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 196-8; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 141; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 82, 94-6.
[183] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 196-8; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 141; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 82, 94-6.
[184] Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 141; Gittings, "Sacred and Secular.", pp. 152-3; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 195, 220, 226.
[185] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 460; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 296.
[186] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 404; Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 334; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 296.
[187] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 396.
[188] Ibid., p. 396.
[189] Ibid., pp. 2, 396, 403.

negotiate individually whether their traditions were acceptable after the Reformation.[190] This means that there is likely to have been a great deal of variation in funerary practice between different areas, due to regional custom as well as the differing levels of adherence to reform and the liturgy.[191] In some areas, there will have been Puritans who objected to the use of consecrated ground or to the burial of the dead with their head to the west, as they had no scriptural basis, whereas in other areas these things will have been widespread.[192] These are important factors to note, as they could explain variations in practice in relation to the treatment of the battle dead.

While the form and location of burial continued in the same form in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries for most people, the collapse of the Church of England in the 1640s gave people the opportunity, particularly the more radical reformers, to bury their dead as they wished.[193] Radical reformers were particularly keen to take advantage of this opportunity, which resulted in a widening in the forms and locations of burial from the 1640s.[194] From 1645, Parliament ordained that the Presbyterian *Directory for the Public Worship of God* was to be used to direct church practice, in which all funeral practice was seen as superstitious.[195] The Directory, therefore, permitted a very wide variety of practice.[196] Indeed, it stipulated only that a minister did not need be present at the burial of the dead, and recommended that Christian friends accompany the body to burial and that they meditate as was suitable to the occasion.[197] This essentially permitted the more radical reformers and dissenters to bury their dead as they pleased, but the majority of people seem to have continued to bury their dead in parish churchyards, according to their existing traditions.[198] With the revival and re-establishment of the Church of England in 1662, the burial liturgy that had been in use before the 1640s was re-introduced.[199] The Anglican authorities struggled to stop the more widespread practices that had been adopted in the 1640s and 1650s but even most of the non-conformist groups continued to use churchyards for burial.[200] They objected to the Church of England's formal religious practice rather than the location and

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[190] Ibid., pp. 2, 396, 403.
[191] Ibid., pp. 403-4; Cherryson, Crossland, and Tarlow, *A Fine and Private Place*, p. 85.
[192] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 403-4; Cherryson, Crossland, and Tarlow, *A Fine and Private Place*, p. 85.
[193] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 11-12.
[194] Ibid., p. 11-12.
[195] Ibid., p. 416; Cherryson, Crossland, and Tarlow, *A Fine and Private Place*, p. 89.
[196] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 11-12.
[197] Ibid., pp. 416-7.
[198] Ibid., p. 417.
[199] Ibid., pp.12, 418.
[200] Ibid., pp.12, 418.

form of burial.[201] Therefore, it seems as though pre-Reformation burial practice continued to be used by the majority of people after the Reformation. There will have been some variation, particularly from the 1640s when groups such as the Quakers had greater freedom to reject the use of consecrated ground for burial, but such non-conformists were in the minority.

1.6.3 Non-normative burial practices: plague burials

Plague burial practices are relatively well understood. There are multiple archaeological examples, the best of which is East Smithfield, which was excavated between 1986 and 1988.[202] It was one of two cemeteries specifically established on the outskirts of London to deal with the Black Death (1348-50).[203] Established by a royal servant 'at the instigation of substantial men of the city', the cemetery was in use by April 1349, having been consecrated by the Bishop of London. [204] The site was not fully excavated, but even so over 700 individuals were discovered, who had been buried in a mixture of single graves, trenches and mass graves.[205] The excavators could not determine how the single and mass graves related to each other chronologically, but reasonably suggested that mass graves will have been used when there were larger numbers of bodies requiring burial.[206] The dead had been densely packed, suggesting a desire to maximise the use of space, but they had also been carefully buried. [207] Thus, all but three individuals had been laid out according to normative practice.[208] Of the anomalous burials, one individual had been buried face down, but the excavators thought it most likely that this had been due to careless error, rather than deliberate intent.[209] The other two were found in flexed positions, but this is also likely to have been the result of carelessness or, more likely, the physical condition of the body at the time of burial – rigor mortis may have fixed the bodies in that position.[210] Evidence for the use of shrouds and coffins was found with a number of burials, including some of those in the mass graves.[211] Overall, the evidence suggests that contemporaries continued to adhere to normative practice as fully as possible, making concessions only to the large number of bodies requiring burial

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[201] Ibid., p.418.
[202] Ian Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London* ([London]: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2008), pp. 1.
[203] Ibid., pp. 1, 10.
[204] Ibid., pp. 1, 10.
[205] Ibid., pp. 12, 13, 19, 33.
[206] Ibid., p. 19.
[207] Ibid., pp. 12, 20.
[208] Ibid., pp. 12, 20.
[209] Ibid., p. 20.
[210] Ibid., p. 20.
[211] Ibid., pp. 18, 20, 21.

by using mass graves and creating a new cemetery to help the overcrowded London churchyards.

This picture is supported by other archaeological sites, such as the three mass graves containing 182 individuals that were partially excavated at Hereford Cathedral in 1993.[212] The discovery is yet to be published in detail, but the teeth of multiple individuals were tested and *Yersinia Pestis,* the bacteria that caused the Black Death, was found to be present, confirming that the mass graves contain plague burials.[213] The excavators noted that the dead 'as far as possible' were interred carefully.[214] A few appear to have been buried in the wrong orientation, with their heads to the east, while others were buried with flexed legs, but, as at East Smithfield, this was interpreted as being down to carelessness caused by the time constraints, rather than deliberate.[215] This interpretation is valid, since it seems unlikely that people would have gone to the effort of burying the dead in the churchyard had they wished to insult them. The dead were also carefully buried in the Black Death mass grave excavated at Thornton Abbey in 2016, where the presence of the bacteria that caused the Black Death (*Yersinia pestis*) and radiocarbon dating of the bones to the fourteenth century again confirmed the association of the mass grave with the plague.[216] The excavation is yet to be published, but news reports suggested that the dead had been buried in rows, indicating that they had been carefully placed in the grave.[217] These examples support the conclusions from East Smithfield that during times of plague contemporaries tried to adhere to normative practice as fully as possible, making only small concessions to time and practicality.

There is historical as well as archaeological evidence for the use of mass graves to bury the plague dead. Thus, the *Chronica Johannis de Reading* noted for 1348 that people 'dug broad, deep pits and buried the bodies together'.[218] The assertion made from the archaeology that people were keen to adhere to normative practice is also well supported,

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[212] Ron Shoesmith and Richard Stone, "Burials at Hereford Cathedral," *Current Archaeology* 12, no. 142 (1995), p. 403.

[213] Stephanie Haensch et al., "Distinct Clones of *Yersinia Pestis* Caused the Black Death," *PLos Pathology* 6, no. 10 (2010), p. 2.

[214] Shoesmith and Stone, "Burials at Hereford Cathedral", p. 403.

[215] Ibid., p. 403.

[216] University of Sheffield, "News Report: Medieval Black Death Mass Grave Discovered at Thornton Abbey," University of Sheffield, https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/archaeology/news/black-death-grave-thornton-abbey-1.664963; "News Report: Black Death 'Plague Pit' Discovered at 14th-Century Monastery Hospital," University of Sheffield, https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/news/nr/black-death-plague-pit-discover-at-14th-century-monastery-hospital-1.665411.

[217] Ibid.

[218] 'Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonmi Cantuariensis', translated in Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 74.

historically. Thus, during the Black Death, the Archbishop of York granted a number of chapels in Yorkshire, such as Beverley and Wilton, permission to consecrate their grounds as cemeteries in order to receive burials, because the parish churches had no more room in their own churchyards.[219] Not all of the historical material supports such a conclusion, however. Horrox has noted how 'almost every chronicler' mentioned that there was a general lack of respect given to the bodies of the dead, which contradicts the conclusions from the archaeology.[220] The *Historia Roffensis* and the *Chronica Johannis de Reading,* for example, both refer to the dead being thrown into their graves during the Black Death.[221] This contrast between the historical and archaeological sources is difficult to resolve. The most likely explanation is that the chroniclers were exaggerating or indulging in dramatic license. The plagues were thought to be the result of sin and the moral failings of the people, so the chroniclers, who were usually men in the service of the church, may have been encouraging readers to reform their ways by emphasising the horror and chaos of the epidemics. It is possible that some of the dead were thrown into pits. However, as Willmott has noted, the very fact that so few archaeological examples of plague mass burials are known indicates that most people who died from the plague were buried in a way that makes it difficult to distinguish them from other burials, suggesting that they continued to be buried in churchyards according to normative practice.[222]

While much of the plague burial research has focused on the medieval period, there is also some work on plague burials in the early modern period. Harding, for example, has investigated how contemporaries in early modern London dealt with plague outbreaks, using parish records such as burial registers and churchwardens' accounts.[223] This research has shown that many of the arrangements for taking care of plague deaths were organised at a parish level, not by the city.[224] The parish of St Bride, Fleet Street, for example, organised and appointed people to search the bodies of the dead to establish if they had died of plague and people to carry the plague dead to the churchyards for burial.[225] It was also the parish that decided when to start burying the dead in mass graves, as opposed to in single graves – in the

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[219] Ibid., pp. 269-71.
[220] Ibid., p. 245.
[221] Translated in ibid., pp. 70, 74.
[222] Dr Hugh Willmott, interviewed for University of Sheffield, "News Report: Black Death 'Plague Pit' Discovered at 14th-Century Monastery Hospital".
[223] Vanessa Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. J.A.I. Champion, Working Papers Series (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), p. 55.
[224] Ibid., p. 53.
[225] Ibid., p. 56.

case of St Bride's this was when the average death rate reached thirty people per day.[226] The smaller parishes may never have had to resort to mass graves. [227] The main justifications for using mass graves were the lack of space, since mass graves used space more efficiently than single graves, and the fact that it was cheaper to big one big grave than many smaller ones.[228] There are popular traditions of the London plague dead being buried in mass graves in unconsecrated ground. [229] The major source for this was the writer Daniel Defoe, who wrote a novel published in 1722 based on the Great Plague of 1665, but there is a lack of evidence for this in other sources.[230] Harding suggests that if they did exist, they were desperate, last-minute expedients, when there was no room anywhere else.[231] In 1569, the city had founded a new extra-parochial churchyard, primarily in response to the plague epidemic of 1563, and in preparation for further epidemics, they founded another in 1665.[232] This later cemetery was 'speedily set out and prepared for a burial place', the phrasing of which might suggest it was consecrated, and it was also given a wall, suggesting that even in 1665, they were keen to observe normative burial practice for as long and as fully as possible.[233]

Overall, the historical and archaeological evidence for the pre- and post-Reformation periods suggests that contemporaries continued to bury the plague dead according to normative practice. It was only when the death toll reached its peak and the churchyards were full that concessions were made, with the dead being buried in mass graves rather than individually. The archaeological evidence suggests that the dead were treated respectfully, with bodies laid carefully in the grave, although time pressures did lead to some exceptions, with individuals buried face down or in the wrong orientation. Contemporaries were keen to still give the dead a Christian burial, so entirely new cemeteries were founded or chapels which had not had burial rights previously were temporarily given permission to receive burials.

Plague burials will provide a useful point of comparison for the present study, which seeks to fill the gaps in our knowledge of battle disposal practices by studying battles from a broad timeframe, to look for evidence of continuity and change in practice, particularly in

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[226] Ibid., p. 56.
[227] Ibid., p. 58.
[228] Ibid., p. 58.
[229] Ibid., p. 59.
[230] Ibid., p. 59; Paula R Backscheider, "Defoe, Daniel (1660?-1731)," 2008 online ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7421.
[231] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London.", p. 59.
[232] Ibid., p. 60.
[233] Ibid., p. 60.

relation to religion. This methodology will help to establish to what extent the patterns identified by earlier works that have studied single or small numbers of battles apply to a large number of battles. How this will be done will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In order to build on the existing literature, which has tended to study single or small groups of battles and to gain a thorough and in-depth understanding of battle disposal practices, this study involved the systematic collection and evaluation of the historical sources relating to a large number of battles. The study focuses predominantly on one type of historical source: battle accounts, written by contemporary or near-contemporary writers, that is those writing within a century, or so, of the event they described. The battle accounts were studied both qualitatively, to determine what they said about the disposal of the battle dead, and quantitatively. This quantitative analysis was designed to gain a better understanding of the types of source writing about the disposal of the dead. For example, numerical analysis could allow us to see whether accounts written soon after a battle or by eyewitnesses were more likely to refer to the disposal of the dead than those written a significant time later or by second-hand writers. Although battle accounts were the focus of this study, and they were the only ones analysed numerically, other types of historical source that also referred to the disposal of the battle dead were also used, to give us as deep an understanding of what happened to the battle dead as possible. These other types of historical source included churchwarden accounts and parish registers. A further aim of this thesis was to investigate the implications that the historical and archaeological data on battle disposal practices have for one another. This, therefore, required the study of a number of battle burials, which were handpicked based on their reliability and what they could add to this study.

The first step for this project was to establish a period to study, since the English have fought far too many battles to be able to investigate each in any depth here. The fifteenth to seventeenth centuries were chosen, and this was further refined to the period 1401-1685AD, in accordance with the earliest and latest battles fought by the English in those centuries. There were a number of reasons for choosing this period. Firstly, the English fought a relatively high number of battles within Britain across these three centuries, suggesting that there would be plenty of data to draw upon. Secondly, the nature of these battles ranges quite widely, including rebellions, civil wars and international conflicts, which would enable the investigation to observe whether battle disposal practices were affected by the type of battle being fought. Thirdly, by studying the century in which the Reformation took place, as well as the two centuries either side, it would be possible to see if the religious changes had any

effect on battle disposal practices. Furthermore, it is quite rare for research to bridge the medieval-early modern divide, so the study could also be useful to scholars outside the world of warfare research, by showing the extent of continuity and change during the period when the early modern world fully emerged.

2.2 Secondary sources

After identifying the period for the study, the next stage was to identify all the battles fought by the English in Britain over the course of those three centuries. This was achieved by searching the *Fields of Conflict* database, which was compiled by Dr Glenn Foard and records conflicts fought in the UK.[1] The database has been collated using information from secondary published sources and other databases such as the National Monuments Record.[2] It does not claim to be complete, but is currently the most comprehensive list of English conflicts, and therefore the best place to establish which battles to study here.[3] The database records all types of conflict, including battles, skirmishes, raids and sieges, but as it is possible that disposal practices will have varied between different types of conflict, it was important to study only one form of combat. Therefore, only those classified in the database as a 'battle' (excluding those of uncertain character classified as 'battle?') were selected for study. Although, it is not always easy to establish whether an action was a battle, since combat is fluid and can develop from one type of conflict to another or can have features of multiple types of conflict. There are further difficulties in that scholars do not always adopt the same definitions of types of action.[4] For the purposes of this study, the definition of a 'battle' given by Foard and Morris in *The archaeology of English battlefields* was used.[5] Namely, that a battle is an action 'involving wholly or largely military forces, present on each side in numbers totalling c.1000 or more, and normally deployed in formal battle array'.[6] The *Fields of Conflict* database covers all conflicts fought in the UK, but as the focus of this thesis is on battles fought by the English, all Welsh and Scottish civil actions, such as clan battles were excluded from study. All international battles between the English and either the Scots or Welsh were included, though, regardless of whether they took place in England, Scotland

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[1] Glenn Foard and T. Partida, "Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Landscape: UK Fields of Conflict," (Online: Archaeology Data Service, 2011). Please see Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields* for a precise description of how the database was collated, pp. 7-10.

[2] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, p. 7.

[3] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[4] Glenn Foard, "Medieval Battlefield Archaeology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, ed. Christopher M. Gerrard and Alejandra Gutierrez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 402.

[5] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, p. 6.

[6] Ibid., p. 6.

or Wales, in order to observe whether English battle burial practices changed when they were fighting on foreign soil. A search of the *Fields of Conflict* database using these criteria found 67 battles, ranging in date from 1401 to 1685, which form the basis of this study (see Appendix A for a list of the battles).

Following the selection of the battles, the secondary literature for each battle was identified and reviewed, in order to find the battle accounts describing each battle. The secondary works were found by searching the *UK Battlefields* bibliography, the *Bibliography for British and Irish History* (BBIH), the *Archaeology Data Service* (ADS), the English Heritage battlefield reports and the bibliographies of each of these secondary works.[7] Certain works, such as Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields of Britain* and *Cassell's Battlefields of Britain,* were excluded as they had poor or non-existent referencing, which would be of little help in establishing the primary sources for each battle.[8] From the secondary works, lists of the primary source battle accounts were collated, from which full versions of the primary sources were sought. Many of the secondary works included extracts from the battle accounts and these could have been used as the basis for this work. However, given that military histories have tended to focus on the main events of a battle rather than its aftermath, it was safer to seek out the full accounts, to reduce the likelihood of missing any relevant references to the dead. The rigour of this methodology was tested by searching *Early English Books Online* (the database from which nearly all of the seventeenth-century accounts were obtained) with the names of seven battles from the British Civil War, to see if any other relevant battle accounts were discovered. A small number of sources that mentioned these battles were identified, but they were not battle accounts, suggesting that the methodology was effective. It is still likely that not all of the relevant accounts were identified and studied, particularly for those battles or accounts that have received relatively little scholarly attention. However, by referring to the major secondary works and by double-checking the accounts used in these studies through comparison with other secondary works on the same battles, it is hoped that the major battle accounts have all been identified.

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[7] Glenn Foard and T. Partida, "Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Landscape: UK Battlefields Bibliography," (Online: Archaeology Data Service, 2011). BBIH accessed online at http://cpps.brepolis.net/bbih/search.cfm?action=search_simple; ADS accessed online at http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/; English Heritage reports accessed online, e.g. National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Blore Heath 1459," (London, 1995). or National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Cropredy Bridge 1644," (London: English Heritage, 1995).
[8] C R B Barrett, *Battles & Battlefields in England* (London: Innes & Co, 1896); Richard Brooks, *Cassell's Battlefields of Britain and Ireland* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005).

2.3 Primary sources

2.3.1 Historical sources

This thesis predominantly focuses on one type of historical source – battle accounts – to study what happened to the bodies of those killed in combat. It was not possible to study all types of historical source that referred to the disposal of the dead in the time limit available, as this would have taken extensive research and archival work. Furthermore, by focusing on a single type of historical source, it was possible to undertake numerical analysis to deepen our understanding of the sources describing battle burial practices. This could be useful not only for future researchers working in this area, but also other historians by giving insights into the interests and priorities of source writers. There are drawbacks to using battle accounts, as with all source types. In this case, the problem is that battle narratives can often be formulaic, with source writers typically mentioning only a few specific details, such as the numbers of men killed and the identity of the high-status prisoners and casualties, and leaving the rest to be passed on orally. As shall be seen, it is likely that details relating to the disposal of the dead were often passed on orally. This issue severely limits what we will be able to ascertain about the fate of the dead from the historical record, but it was considered that battle accounts were still the source type most likely to refer to the disposal of the dead on a regular basis, since they are the reason that details about a battle are generally known. Furthermore, it is likely that there would be multiple accounts for each battle, increasing the chances of obtaining references relating to the disposal of the dead, whereas other source types with references to the disposal of the dead, such as financial accounts may exist only rarely for occasional battles. For the purposes of this investigation, a battle account was defined as a source that included some descriptive detail beyond just the name and date of the engagement. This meant that a wide range of sources were included. In many cases, a battle account constituted just a few lines stating the name of the victor and a list of the notables that had been killed or injured some accounts, in contrast, were extremely detailed and many pages long.

While this thesis predominantly focuses on what the battle accounts tell us about battle disposal practices, the aim was still to discover as much about what happened to the dead as possible. Therefore, use will occasionally be made of other types of historical source, which may help to support or supplement the evidence in the battle accounts. These historical sources, which include churchwardens' account, parish burial registers and private letters, were not included in the quantitative analysis, as they were not sought systematically.

Identifying the relevant historical sources for all of the battles would have required a detailed study of each, which was simply not feasible in the time. Instead, those extra historical sources that will be used were those already identified in the secondary material as mentioning the disposal of the dead.

2.3.1.1 Military manuals

Relatively little research has been done on battle burial practices, therefore, in addition to the main investigation, a small-scale study of military manuals was conducted. This was to gain an idea of whether further investigation into this source type would be profitable in the future for discovering more about battle burial practices. It was thought that manuals might have given advice on how and where to dispose of large numbers of bodies. Military manuals set out ideal military practice, which means that their advice was not necessarily followed in reality. This means that they could be a useful point of comparison, both for what the battle accounts say happened to the dead and for what can be divined from actual battle burials.

Due to time limitations, the initial sample size was small, consisting of 52 manuals. The military manuals were selected using Cockle's *Bibliography of English military books*.[9] Rather than taking a random sample, specific manuals were selected based on their language, date and subject matter, as many were unsuitable for the study. This was either because they were inaccessible to the author without extensive language training or because they were on irrelevant aspects of military practice, such as sieges. Manuals from a broad range of dates were chosen, to enable observation of any changes in practice that happened over time. The manuals that were studied range in date from 1539 to 1688. Unfortunately, while Vegetius' fifth-century work *De re militari* was still in use in the medieval period, no manuals were written by laymen or soldiers during that time, so it was not possible to include medieval military manuals in the study (although a sixteenth-century edition of Vegetius was included).[10]

As this was a sample piece of research designed to establish the potential of military manuals for further study, they were not read cover-to-cover. Instead, the contents, indexes and subtitles of each text were scanned, looking for references to the topic of interest. All of the manuals in the study had been digitised and were searchable. Therefore, to ensure that no

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[9] Maurice James Draffen Cockle, *A Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* (London: Holland Press, 1900).

[10] Charles Oman, "Introduction," in *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works*, ed. Maurice James Draffen Cockle (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1900), pp. vi, xviii.

relevant data was missed, each manual was also text-searched using a number of relevant terms, such as 'dead', 'inter', 'grave'. To prevent missing relevant references due to archaic spelling or the lack of standardised orthography in this period, searches used only the initial letters of a word, such as 'gr' for grave. Common spelling variants, such as 'sleyn', were also included in the searches. These text searches confirmed that reading the subtitles and indexes for references to the dead was an effective methodology, as they revealed no new references to the dead. The results of the study are discussed in 5.3.1.4 and a list of the manuals studied can be found in Appendix C.

2.3.2 Archaeological sources

A further aim of this thesis was to study the implications that a historical knowledge of battle burial practices might have for our understanding of both the existing archaeological data and future battle burials. For example, a better historical understanding of battle disposal practices might help to interpret the Towton Hall graves more effectively, explaining the variations in the way that the dead were buried. An interdisciplinary approach is also useful in that it allows the data types to be tested against each other, looking for both corroboration and inconsistencies in what they tell us. This would help us to understand more about the reliability of these sources. It would also give us a better idea of how comprehensive our understanding of battle disposal practices was in each data type. A practice noted by a historical source but not one evidenced by archaeology, for example, could indicate inaccuracies in the historical data but it might also suggest that archaeologists have simply not found an archaeological example of that practice yet.

Relevant archaeological examples were sought by scanning the secondary sources for references to discoveries of burials, and by searching Historic England's *Pastscape* and *Heritage Gateway* using the common name of each battle as search terms. When a relevant burial was identified using the latter two sources, further information was sought by looking at the relevant Historic Environment Record (HERs). In most cases, little further information was found on the identified burials, usually because the find had been made by an antiquarian or workmen, who did not make a detailed record of their discovery. This lack of information makes it very difficult to judge whether such finds are truly relevant battle burials, or if they relate to some other period. As a result, only those most likely to be real battle burials have been discussed, although, as shall been seen, even many of those lack the evidence to be definitively linked to a battle.

2.4 Data Analysis

Once the battles to be studied had been defined, they were split into three groups for analysis These three groups are the structure around which this thesis has been built and they consist of the battles of the late medieval period, the mid-Tudor period and the Stuart period. The late medieval period covers the years 1401-1513, the mid-Tudor period dates between 1542 and 1549, while the Stuart period consists of the years 1640-1685. The primary reason for splitting the groups as they have been was to enable the investigation of how the Reformation affected battle disposal practices. The core religious debate of the Reformation did not begin until 1517, with Luther and his 95 theses, while the debate had not made a significant impact in England until the 1530s.[11] Indeed, the first official legislature in support of reformed religion was not until 1536, when the Ten Articles were agreed, the same year the first Act that would have made an actual impact on parish life, by abolishing many holy days, was passed.[12] Thus, the battles categorised here as late medieval are also those of the pre-Reformation period. There is no specific end-date for the Reformation, but there is general agreement amongst scholars that by the end of Elizabeth I's reign in 1603, the Church of England and reformed religion had been accepted by the majority of the populace.[13] Therefore, the Stuart battles of this study also correlate to the post-Reformation period, while the mid-Tudor battles were fought in that transitional Reformation period.[14]

The battles in each category are identified at the beginning of the relevant chapters and in Appendix A. The grouping of these battles means that only nine battles are analysed in the mid-Tudor period, which covers only seven years, whereas 33 and 25 are studied for the Stuart and late medieval periods, respectively. This will affect what knowledge can be gleaned about the mid-Tudor period, as there is less data from which to draw conclusions. This imbalanced grouping is necessary, however, in order to detect changes in practice that resulted from changes over time and, in particular, the Reformation and to prevent anachronisms or confusion resulting from the mid-Tudor battles being included in the earlier or later categories. While this methodology does have some drawbacks, it has defined an agenda for future research. Thus, scholars could use it to investigate battles from a wider

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[11] Henry Ganss, "Martin Luther," Online ed., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09438b.htm.
[12] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 392, 394-5.
[13] Ibid., p. 586; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 398-402; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 134.
[14] The three groups of battles will generally be referred to as 'late medieval', -mid-Tudor' and 'Stuart'; however, these terms may be used interchangeably with pre-Reformation, transitional and post-Reformation, particularly when discussing the effects of religion, in order to make my points clearer.

geographical area that took place during the Tudor period and, in particular, those that were fought because of or during the Reformation, such as the French Wars of Religion, in order to provide more data for this period of religious transition.

The analysis of the battle accounts was both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative analysis involved reading a battle account, extracting those pieces of information that pertained to the disposal of the dead and inputting these into a table. This information was then viewed all together, looking for patterns and differences in the practices noted. References relating to the disposal of men who had been captured and then executed after a battle were not considered in this study. Nor were references to the burial of mortally wounded soldiers, that is, combatants who were wounded at a battle and only died sometime later. This was because of the possibility that such soldiers might have been treated differently in death to those killed in battle outright. Indeed, Von Arni has demonstrated that wounded men were often quartered on settlements around the battlefield to receive medical treatment in the early modern period.[15] If such men were buried in those settlements, then to use such examples could give us a false understanding of where the battle dead were buried. Unfortunately, not all sources specified whether an individual had been killed outright. To prevent examples of men who were only mortally wounded being mistakenly considered where possible, biographical searches of the relevant individuals were conducted, to look for further details around the circumstances of the death using the other battle accounts and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. This was successful in helping to confirm when some individuals died. However, it is likely that some cases that have been considered as men killed outright on the battlefield, particularly from the earlier battles, have been mistakenly included in the analysis of the dead, due to the lack of data on these individuals.

As well as qualitative analysis, the data from the battle accounts was also analysed quantitatively, to look for patterns in the types of source that were or were not referring to the disposal of the dead. For example, it sought to answer questions such as whether the Stuart sources were more likely to mention the disposal of the dead than pre-Reformation sources. Or, was someone writing a decade after a battle far less likely to mention the dead than someone who had been writing only a week after the event? This quantitative analysis investigated whether a few specific factors had any effect on whether a source mentioned the disposal of the dead. These factors were the date that a source was written in relation to the

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[15] Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier*, pp. 10-11, 22, 44-7, 48.

battle it described, the type of source (such as a letter or diary), the length of the battle account and whether the writer was an eyewitness of the battle or a second-hand author. These factors were selected, as they were considered most likely to have had an effect on whether or not a writer mentioned the disposal of the dead.

For each factor, categories were defined and each source was placed into the relevant category. For example, they were assessed as either eyewitness or second hand, or for the dating factor they were sorted into one of nine categories such as 'written up to a week after the battle', 'written between a week and a month after the battle' etc. Following this categorisation, the data was quantified, by counting the number of each type within a category. This was done for each category overall, but then the data for each group was split into two, according to whether or not each source in that group referred to the disposal of the dead. This helped to establish what proportion of each group referred to the disposal of the dead. Each number was then converted into a percentage of the whole group, to facilitate comparisons between each category within a factor and to look for significant results. For example, it would have been significant if only 10% of the source types studied had been histories, but that they constituted 90% of the sources that referred to the disposal of the dead. It would suggest that histories were particularly likely to mention the dead.

It was difficult to group some of the sources into a category, either because they fit into multiple groups or because there was not enough information on the source. The dating of many medieval sources, for example, is very imprecise. In some cases, this is because they were written up at irregular intervals over a long period but left little indication of when within that period specific sections were written. This meant that the dating of such sources often covered several of the nine date categories used here. Where there was a crossover, a source was either placed according to the category with which it had the most in common or where there was strong reasoning for a source to have been written at a certain point within a range. For example, a source thought to have been written sometime between one and seven years after a battle would have been placed in the one to five-year category, rather than the five to ten-year category because the overlap was greater for the first category. However, if there was scholarship that said a source could have been written between one and seven years after the event, but was most likely written six years after, then it would have been placed in the latter category.

The approximate length of the battle accounts was established by multiplying the number of lines dedicated to the battle by the average number of words per line. It was not vital that a more precise number be used, as the research question simply sought to know if and to what extent the general level of detail in an account affected its likelihood of mentioning the dead. This was useful as some of the battle accounts were incomplete, such as Thomas Ruthal's letter describing the battle of Flodden (1513) which had been damaged leading to loss of text, while in other cases it was difficult to determine where an account began and ended, particularly when some were not continuous.[16] The description of a battle was taken from the point that the actual fighting began until the end of the battle's aftermath.

Overall, the methodology of this thesis was determined not only by the aim to find out as much as possible on battle disposal practices, hence the need to look at various types of source and data, but also by the objective to understand more about the sources themselves. Now that the state of knowledge and methodology of this study have been established, we will move on to looking at the three data analysis chapters, starting with the late medieval period.

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[16] Thomas Ruthal, "[4461-2] Ruthal to Wolsey," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie (London: His Mjaesty's Stationery Office, 1920) .

Chapter 3: Late medieval battles (1401-1513)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data relating to the battles of the late medieval period, which for the purposes of this study, has been defined as 1401-1513. Twenty-five of the 67 battles identified for study in this thesis fall into this bracket and they can be categorised into four broad groups. [1] Fifteen were fought as part of the dynastic civil war between the Yorkists and Lancastrians now known as the Wars of the Roses (1455-1487). These have been identified by name, along with the other late medieval battles, on Figure 4. Six of the late medieval battles were Anglo-Scottish engagements. The most major of these was Flodden (1513), which resulted from a Scottish army invading northern England in an attempt to divert troops and attention away from Scotland's ally, France, where Henry VIII was campaigning at that time.[2] Three of the battles were fought because of the Welsh revolt led by Owain Glyndŵr, which took place in the first and second decades of the fifteenth century. These were the battles of Mynydd Hyddgen (1401), Pwll Melyn and Bryn Glas (1402), of which only Pwll Melyn was won by the English. The final battle is Shrewsbury (1403), which resulted from an English rebellion against Henry IV led by the House of Percy.

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[1] Please refer to Appendix A for a list of the battles and for basic information in each, such as the armies involved and who won.

[2] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 110-1; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Flodden 1513," (London, 1995), p. 1.
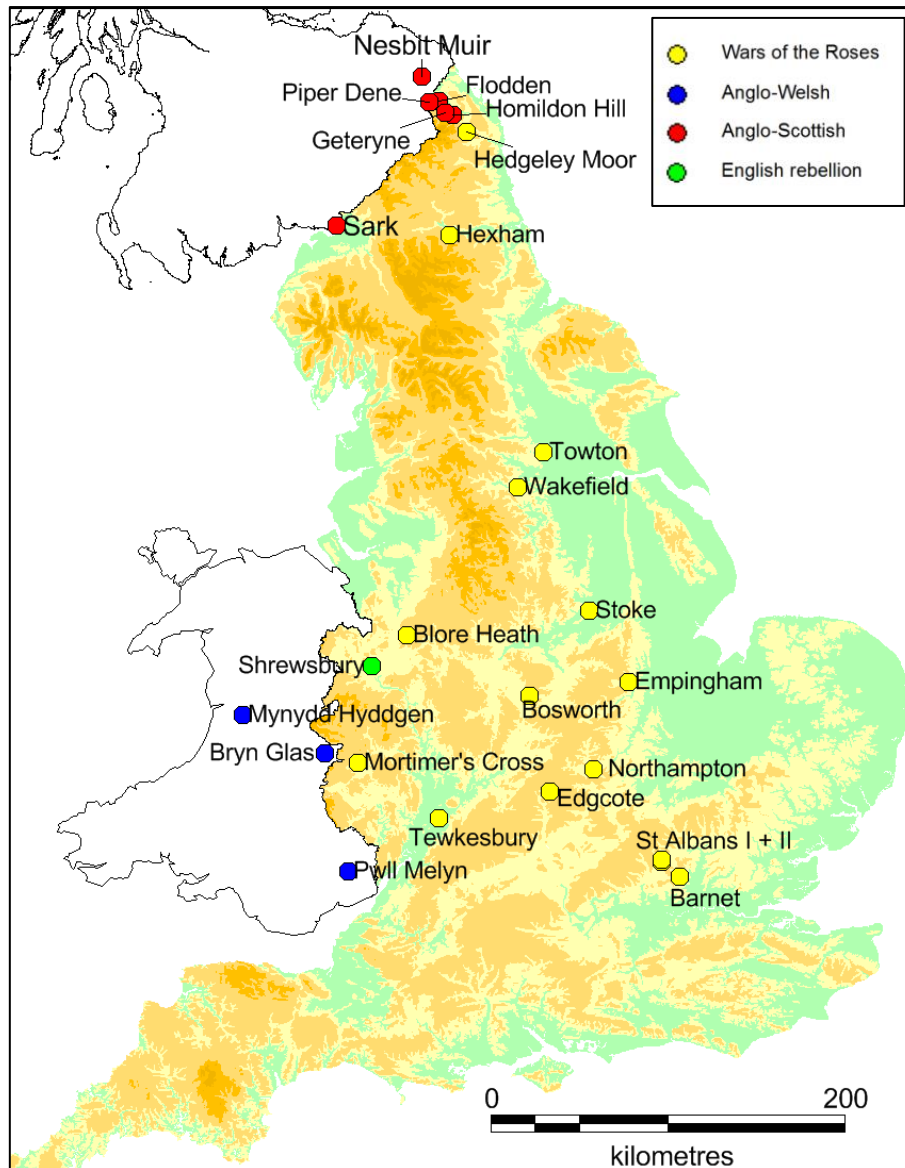
Figure 4. A map showing where in the UK the late medieval battles were fought.

330 battle accounts were studied for the late medieval battles, of which 19 (5.8%) were written by eyewitnesses and 311 were written by second hand authors (Figure 5). Chronicles were the most common type of account studied, constituting 56.4% (186/330) of the entire sample (Figure 6), while the other types of source used included letters, memoirs, biographies, histories, law reports and other narrative accounts that were more difficult to classify. For this period, in particular, dating (especially accurate dating to a small timeframe) was difficult – 123 of the 330 sources (37.3%) could not be dated accurately enough at all to be categorised. Of those sources which could be given a fairly reliable date, most were written over 50 years after the battle they described (21.5%, 71/330); while relatively few

accounts were written soon after a battle had taken place – only 17 (5.2%) were written within a week of the battle they described (Figure 7). This will have had an effect on the content of the sources, which are likely to be less detailed when written at a greater distance in time. Such sources are also less reliable, generally, as any delay in writing 'introduces the element of distortion or subjective rationalisation arising from memory loss, false memory, or contamination by other, additional, sources of information'.[3] This is something that must be borne in mind throughout, but particularly when it comes to comparing the data from across the three periods of analysis.
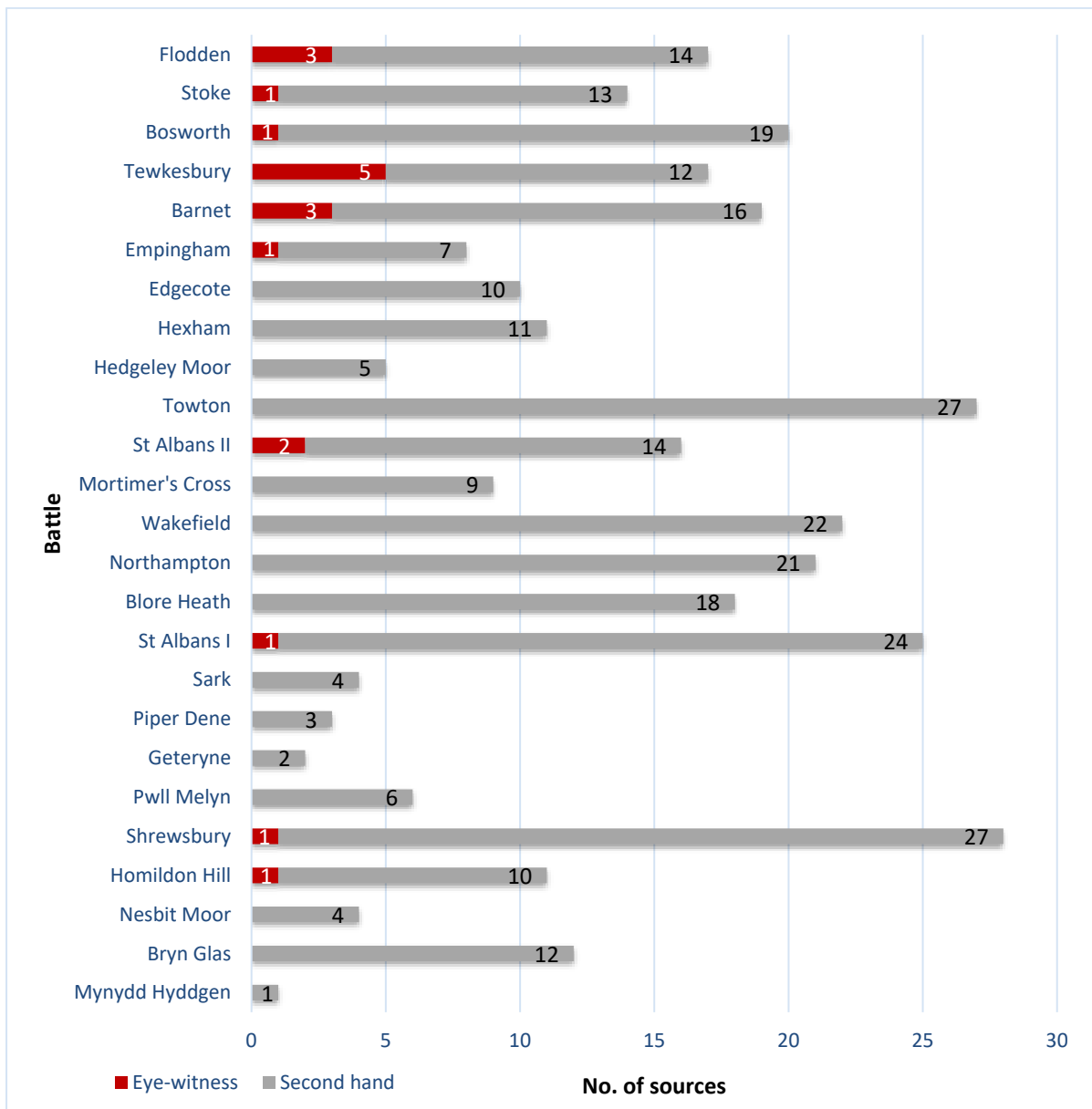
Figure 5. A bar chart showing the total number of sources studied for each battle, divided according to how many were eyewitness or second hand. Arranged chronologically, with the most recent battle at the top.

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[3] P. R. Newman and P. R. Roberts, *Marston Moor 1644 : The Battle of the Five Armies* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2003), p. xix.
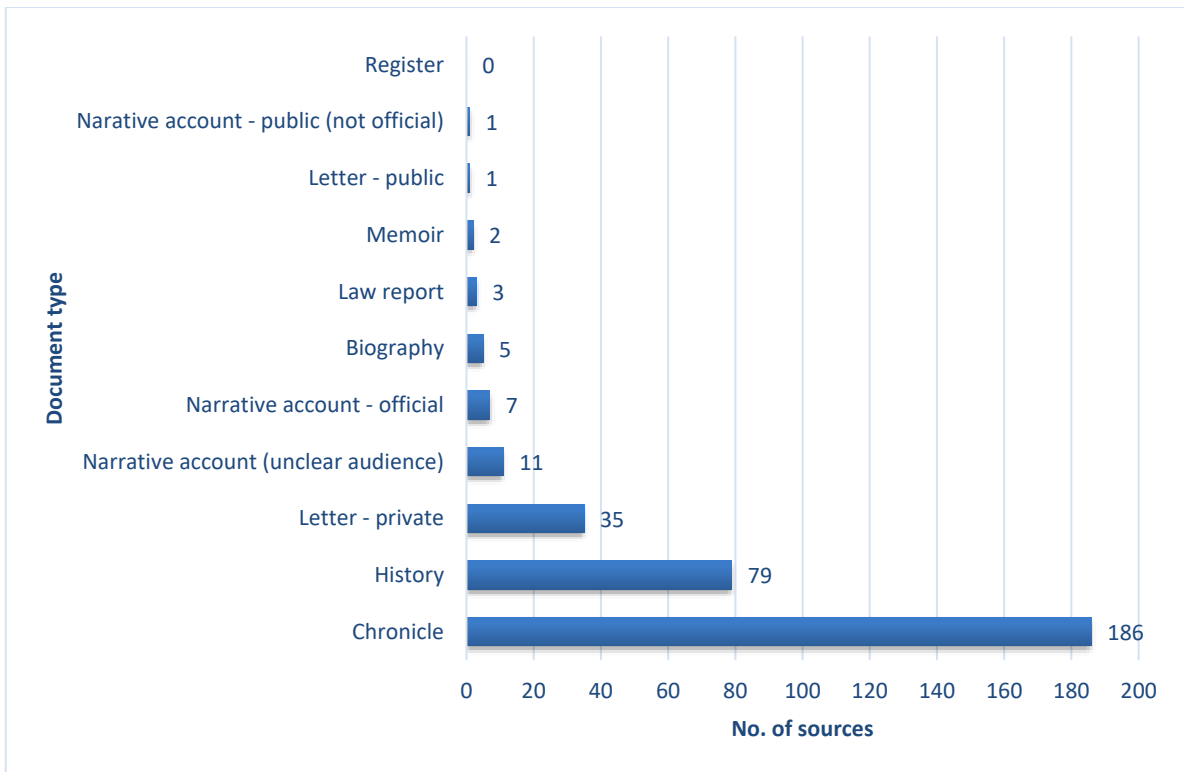
Figure 6. A bar chart showing how many of each type of document were studied for the late medieval period.
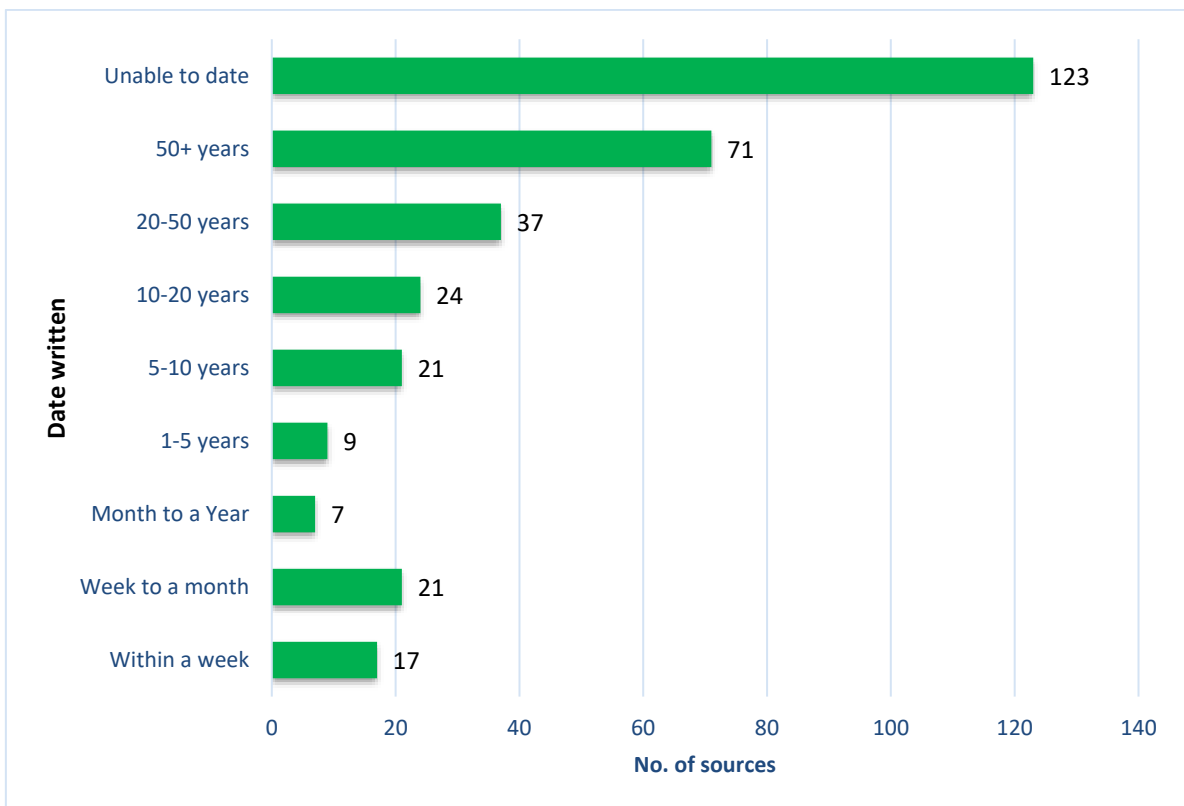
Figure 7. A bar chart showing when the late medieval sources are thought to have been written in relation to the battle that they describe.

While a relatively large number of battle accounts were studied, many of these were of poor quality, lacking any substantial descriptive detail – over half of the accounts studied (183/330) were fewer than 100 words in length (Figure 8). The difficulty of this can be demonstrated by the battle of Mynydd Hyddgen (1401), for which there is only one account. This account is a mere two lines long and simply says that there was a battle and that 'as soon as the English host turned their backs to flee, 200 of them were killed'.[4] This lack of detail in many of the accounts is likely to have a significant impact on what this thesis will be able to say about battle disposal practices of the late medieval period. Additional historical sources will be used, where available, to supplement our knowledge, but for many battles there is simply no information on what happened to the battle dead.
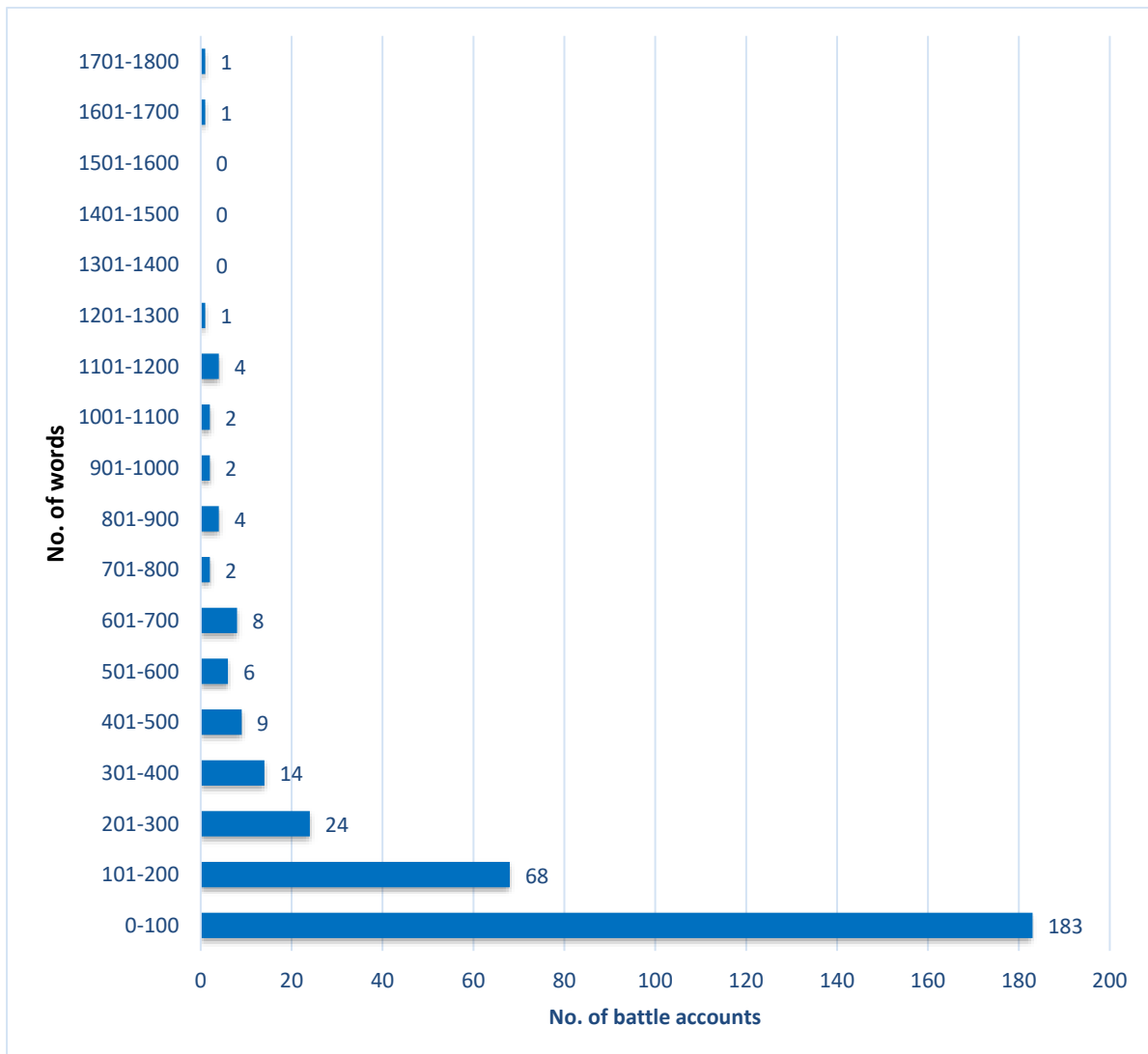
Figure 8. A bar chart showing the approximate length of the late medieval battle accounts, of which the majority are under 200 words long.

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[4] Anon, "Chronicle of Owain Glyndwr," in *Owain Glyndwr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 173.

3.2 Quantitative analysis of the battle accounts

Now that we have a basic idea of the battles and battle accounts involved in this chapter, we will begin the analysis, starting with the numerical analysis, which is designed gain a better understanding of the battle accounts that discuss the disposal of the dead.

Of the 330 late medieval accounts studied, only 48 referred to the disposal of the dead (Figure 9). At 14.6% of all late medieval sources studied, this is a surprisingly small proportion, particularly when it is considered that 97.0% (320/330) did mention the dead in some way, usually to estimate the number of combatants killed or to name the high-status dead. This would suggest that contemporaries were either not interested in the fate of the dead, or that they were unaware of what happened to the dead. These two ideas are not mutually exclusive, since it seems likely that if there had been a genuine and deep interest in the fate of the dead, the news would have become common knowledge. This lack of interest and/or knowledge in the fate of the dead is supported by the data relating to the lengths of the battle accounts. The shorter accounts generally only gave the main and most important details of a battle, such as the sides involved and the identity of the victors. Only 4.4% (8/183) of those accounts under 100 words referred to the disposal of the dead (Figure 10), suggesting that the disposal of the dead was not a topic of extreme interest or importance to contemporaries.
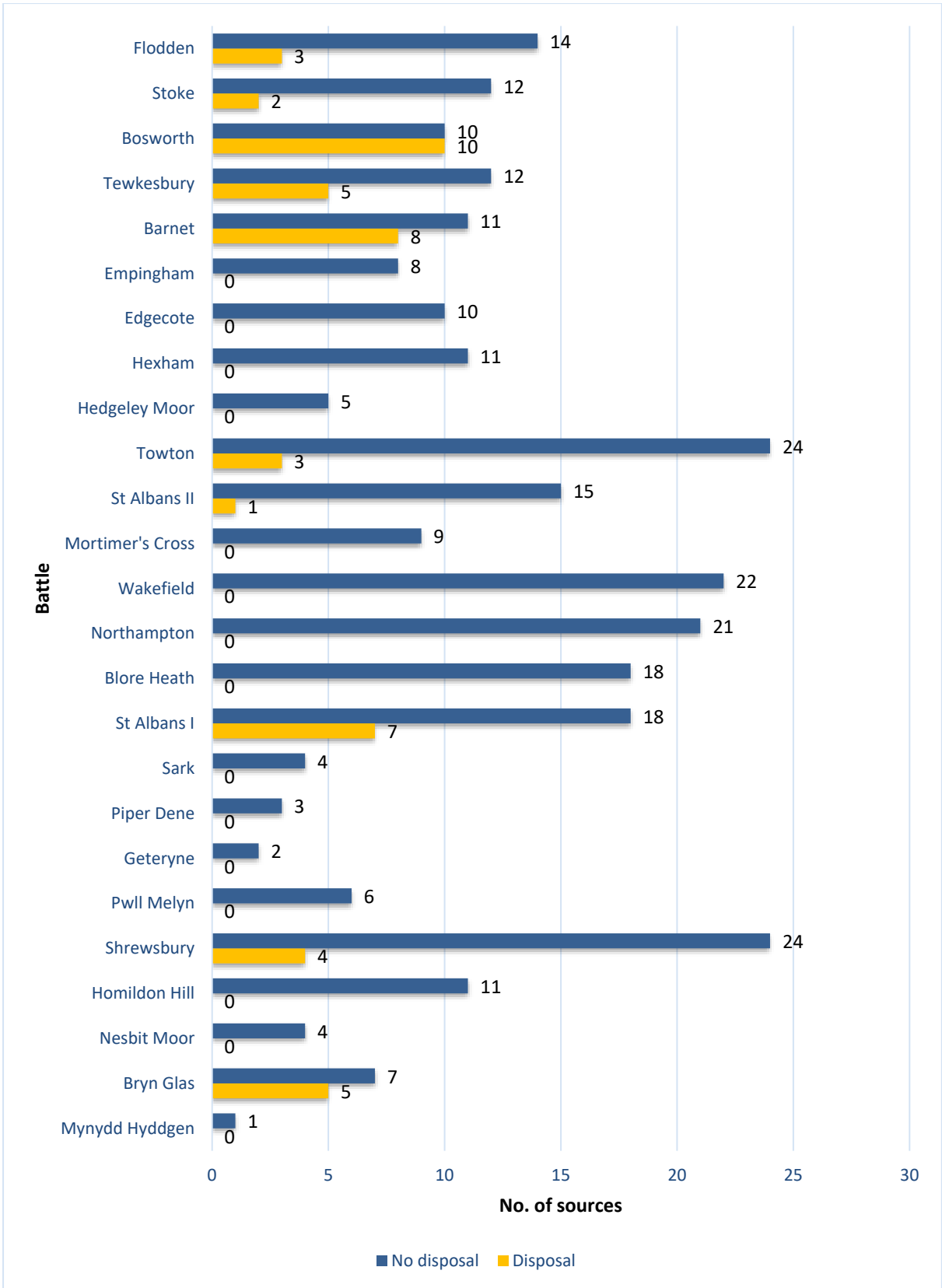
Figure 9. A chart showing how few late medieval sources mention the disposal of the dead at each battle in comparison to the number that do not. Arranged chronologically with the most recent at the top.
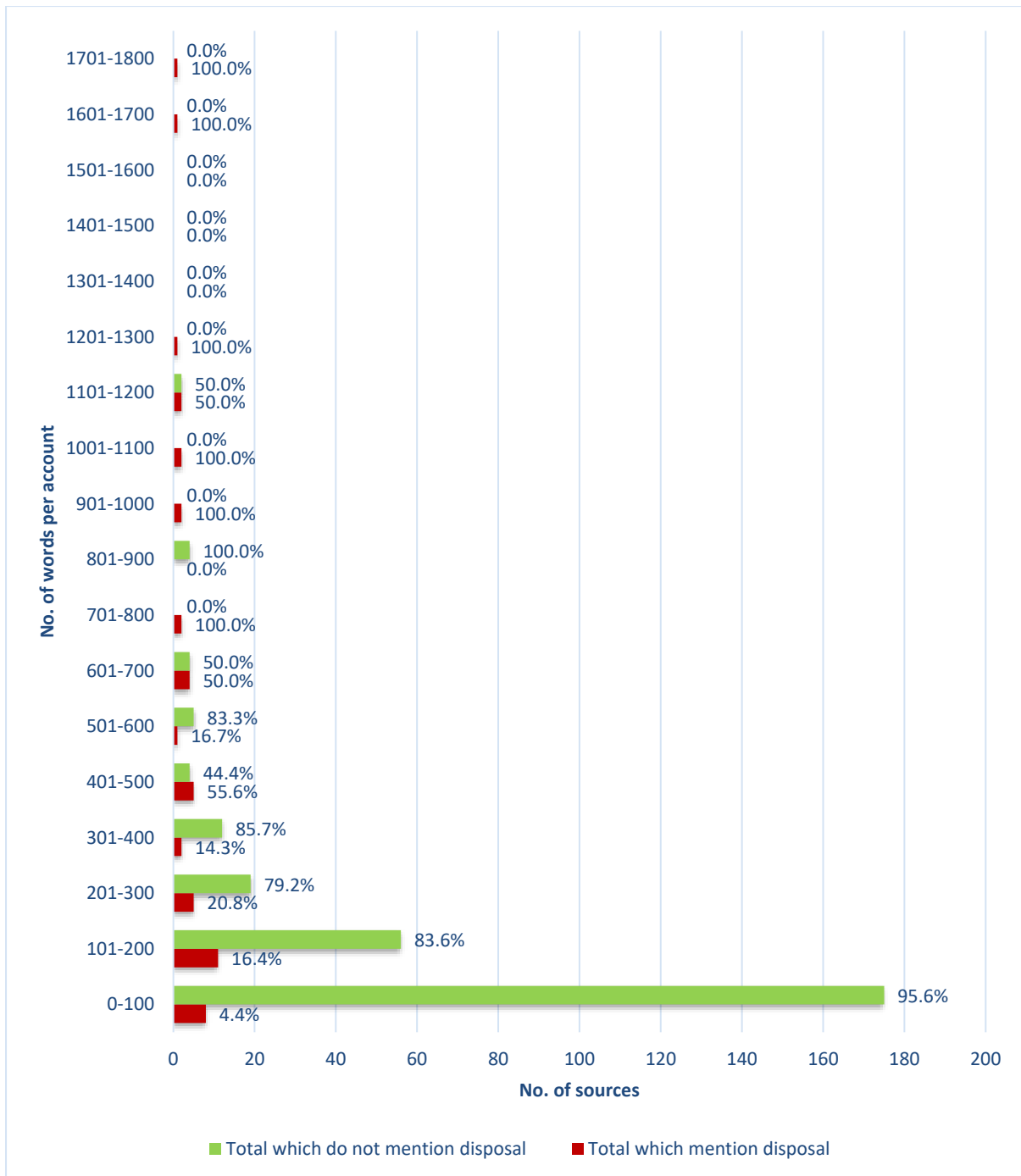
Figure 10. A chart showing how the number of late medieval sources that refer to the disposal of dead in relation to the length of their accounts. The numbers at the end of each bar show what percentage of each word count category mention or do not mention the dead; for example, 95.6% of 0-100 word-long accounts do not mention the disposal of the dead.

There is further support for this theory that contemporaries lacked interest in the disposal of the dead from a number of sources where the writers can be demonstrated as having known what happened to the dead, but who then failed to mention the topic in their accounts, suggesting that they deliberately chose to omit this information. Henry VII's letter to the city of York informing them of his victory over the Yorkist rebels at the battle of Stoke

(1487) is one.[5] The letter makes no mention of the disposal of the dead in spite of the fact that Vergil noted that it was only after the 'bodies had been given burial [that] the king travelled to Lincoln', implying that Henry was at least present for their disposal.[6] Vergil was not present at the battle himself, but his sources included men at the royal court who had been present, and so he may have been drawing on reliable eyewitness accounts.[7] It is possible that Vergil's chronology is mistaken and that the burial of the dead only occurred after Henry had left. However, as commander and king, it seems likely that Henry would have issued the orders regarding the disposal of the dead. Indeed, Vergil explicitly noted that it was Henry who 'ordered… the dead to be buried' at the battle of Bosworth which occurred two years earlier.[8] If Vergil's account of Bosworth is reliable, which is likely as he was again drawing on eyewitness accounts of the royal court, there is a precedent for the victorious commander ordering the disposal of the dead.[9] Therefore, it does seem likely that Henry was responsible for ordering the dead to be buried at Stoke, and yet his letter, written the day after the battle, makes no mention of this. Even if the letter was written before the disposal of the dead had begun, Henry could still have mentioned his intentions regarding the dead had the topic been one of importance. This suggests that he did not consider the disposal of the dead to be a topic of extreme interest or importance in relation to the reporting of a battle.

Another example where information regarding the disposal of the dead was deliberately omitted from a battle account occurs in relation to the battle of Tewkesbury (1471). For this battle, there is one battle account written by an eyewitness (the *Arrivall*) as well as an abbreviated version of it (the *Short Arrivall*), which was sent to the court of Burgundy to inform them of the outcome of the battle.[10] The *Arrivall* describes how the victor at Tewkesbury, Edward IV, 'grauntyd the corpses of the sayd [Prince] Edward, and othar so slayne in the field, or ells where, to be buryed there, in churche, or ells where it pleasyd the servaunts, frends or neighbowrs'.[11] The *Short Arrivall,* however, makes no mention of this detail. As a condensed version of the *Arrivall*, the collator of the *Short*

[5] Henry VII, "King orders service of Thanksgiving for victory, 16 June 1487", in *The York House Books 1461-1490*, ed. Lorraine C. Attreed (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991).
[6] Ibid., p. 577; Polydore Vergil, "Anglica Historia," The Philological Museum, www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/.
[7] William J. Connell, "Vergil, Polydore [Polidoro Virgili] (C.1470-1555)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28224.
[8] Vergil, "Anglica Historia".
[9] Ibid.
[10] Edward Jerningham, "An Account of King Edward the Fourth's Second Invasion of England, in 1471," *Archaeologia* 21 (1827), pp. 11-12.
[11]Ibid., p. 12; John Bruce, ed. *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. In England and the Finall Recouerye of His Kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D. 1471* (London: Camden Society, 1838), p. 31.

Arrivall must have been aware of this burial reference. Therefore, they must have deliberately chosen to omit it, suggesting that they considered this detail to be of little importance to the Burgundian court.

If contemporaries did not consider the disposal of the dead to be a particularly important topic, then why was it included in the *Arrivall's* original account? Did the writer have a specific motive for including such a detail? The *Short Arrivall* was sent to Burgundy with a letter from Edward IV himself, suggesting that he had endorsed the account – and probably the original, longer version too.[12] If so, then the writer will have had to present the piece to Edward, so that he could endorse it. It, therefore, seems quite likely that the account had been written with the intention that it would be presented to the king. If that was the case, then it raises the likelihood that the writer will have tailored their account with the king in mind, highlighting his honourable deeds and passing over less flattering ones. The writer describes themselves as 'a seruant of the Kyngs', so they may have been hoping for royal favour by the account.[13] This is relevant to the disposal of the dead reference, as the 'seruant' went to some effort to note that Edward acted with mercy, as he allowed the dead to be buried 'without any qwarteryng or defoulyng theyr bodyes', even though he would have been within his rights to do so.[14] Overall, therefore, the writer of the *Arrivall* may have mentioned the disposal of the dead in order to portray his master in a beneficial light, perhaps in the hope of advancement. Such details were probably omitted from the *Short Arrivall* because they were considered to be of less relevance or use to the people of Burgundy.

To make this quantitative analysis effective, a number of theories were developed at the outset that could be tested against the data. One of these was that the numbers of dead from a battle might have affected the likelihood of the dead being mentioned. It was posited that battles where larger numbers of men were killed would be more likely to mention their disposal as it would have required a bigger clean-up operation. This does not seem to have been the case, however. Thus, only three of the 27 sources for the battle of Towton (1461) mentioned the disposal of the dead, even though this battle is regularly described as the bloodiest in English history, with sources giving casualties in excess of 28,000 men.[15] In

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[12] Jerningham, "An Account of King Edward the Fourth's Second Invasion of England, in 1471", pp. 12-3.
[13] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 1.
[14] Ibid., p. 31.
[15] E.g. Fiorato, "Context.", p. 1; George Neville, "No. 370. George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, Chancellor of England, to Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Teramo, in Flanders," in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864); Richard Beauchamp, "No. 79 Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to Francesco Coppino, Bishop of Terni,

contrast, ten of the twenty sources describing the battle of Bosworth (1485) mentioned the disposal of the dead, even though the sources are explicit in saying that relatively few men were killed, because they fled, refused to fight or stopped fighting once King Richard had been killed.[16] The higher number of sources for Bosworth is a reflection, in part, of the fact that the king himself was killed and his body displayed before burial; although, four of the sources do also talk about the disposal of the common dead at Bosworth, independently of Richard's fate, a greater number than for Towton. This suggests there is not a simple correlation between the proportion of combatants killed and the number of sources that mention the disposal of the dead.

An unusually high proportion of sources from Bosworth (10/20) referred to the disposal of the dead because of the death of a particularly high-status individual – King Richard III. The death of such a high-ranking individual in battle was rare, so this might suggest that the disposal of the dead was more likely to be mentioned when something unusual happened – in this case, the death of a king. This theory can be explored further, as another of the late medieval battles led to the death of a king: the battle of Flodden (1513), in which the Scottish king, James IV, was killed. Initially, it appears as though the evidence refutes the idea that an unusual event, such as the death of a particularly high-status individual, increased the likelihood of sources referring to the disposal of the dead. Only three of the 17 accounts for Flodden mention what happened or was to happen to James' body. This is misleading, though, as another ten sources do discuss what happened to James' body after the battle; however, they could not report what ultimately happened to his body as, even now, it is unclear where he was buried and when.[17] The mystery of what happened to James' body will be discussed in more detail below. What is important to note here is that 13 of the 17 Flodden battle accounts did refer to what happened to his body as far as they knew at the time of writing. A relatively high proportion of the sources from Barnet (1471) – ten out of nineteen – also referred to the disposal of the dead and, in particular, what happened to the body of the Earl of Warwick. Warwick, now commonly referred to as 'the Kingmaker',

Apostolic Legate in Flanders," in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan, 1385-1618*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912); Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, trans. Henry T. Riley (London: George Bell and Sons, 1908), p. 425.

[16] Vergil, "Anglica Historia".; Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Printed for J. Johnson et al, 1807), p. 444; Jean Molinet, "Chroniques De Jean Molinet," in *The Battle of Bosworth*, ed. Michael Bennett (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), p. 139.

[17] Trevor Chalmers, "James IV (1473-1513)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14590.

had been pivotal in helping Edward IV claim the throne in 1461 and had been equally responsible for ousting him from it the year before Barnet. His would have been a household name so again, it is not surprising that particular interest was taken in his death and burial. Overall, this evidence suggests that unusual happenings, such as the death of a particularly high-status or well-known individual, increased the likelihood of sources mentioning the disposal of the dead because it made the topic one of interest to contemporaries.

Another theory that the quantitative analysis was developed to test was whether being an eyewitness increased the likelihood of mentioning the disposal of the dead. The issue has already been touched upon with Henry VII, who saw or knew what was to happen to the Stoke battle dead, but chose not to mention it in a letter he wrote reporting on the result of the battle. This suggests that being an eyewitness did not necessarily increase the chances of mentioning the dead and the numbers support this conclusion. Thus, eyewitness accounts consist of only 8.3% (4/48) of those sources which mention the disposal of the dead, whereas second hand accounts make up 91.7% (44/48). This result may be surprising until it is considered that although eyewitness source writers may have been present for the battle, they were not necessarily present when the dead were buried. John Paston II, for example, fought for the defeated Lancastrian army at Barnet (1471) and so it is likely that he had fled the field before the clean-up operation had begun, and the same was probably true of George Neville at St Albans II (1461).[18] Unfortunately, there is not enough detail on the whereabouts of most of the eyewitness source writers to establish which were present in the battle aftermaths. Therefore, it is not possible with this data set to demonstrate whether being an eyewitness did have an effect on the likelihood of mentioning the dead.

One point of interest that does emerges from looking at the eyewitness sources is that three of the four eyewitness accounts that refer to the disposal of the dead were written by clergymen resident in the town in which the battle took place. The church had a monopoly on burial in the fifteenth century so it seems likely that these men would have been actively involved in the disposal of the dead. One of the writers makes this explicit: Whethamstede, then the abbot of St Albans, described how it was he, after the first battle of St Albans (1455), who persuaded the commander of the victorious army, the Duke of York, to allow the

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[18]   Helen   Castor,   "Paston,   Sir   John   (II)   (1442–1479)," ibid.   (2006), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21512; Neville, "No. 370. Neville to Coppini."

defeated high-status Lancastrians to be buried in his abbey.[19] Whethamstede did not mention the dead at all in his accounts of those battles for which he was not present, suggesting that it was his involvement in the disposal process which had led him to include it for St Albans.[20] There may also have been an element of pride in mentioning the incident, since he had been able to influence someone as high ranking as the Duke of York. It is less clear whether the eyewitness source describing the battle of Tewkesbury (1471) was actually involved in the disposal of the dead. The account is anonymous, but from the knowledge it displays, it seems likely that the writer was a monk at Tewkesbury Abbey.[21] Their account includes a detailed list of where men killed or executed after the battle were buried within Tewkesbury Abbey, so even if they had not been present for the battle itself, as a monk of the Abbey they would still have had regular and sustained contact with the graves of the men buried there.[22] They probably also prayed for them on a regular basis, and it may have been this contact with the dead that led the source writer to consider the disposal of the dead in their account.

Another reason for undertaking numerical analysis of the sources was to observe whether particular types of source were more likely to refer to the disposal of the dead. Unfortunately, for many of the late medieval source types the sample size was too small to be able to say whether they were more likely than any other group to mention the disposal of the dead. One source type for which there was enough data was the history. They made up just under a quarter (23.9%, 79/330) of all late medieval sources studied, but they constituted 43.8%

[19] James G. Clark, "Whethamstede, John (c.1392–1465)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29197; G.M. Rushforth, "The Burials of Lancastrian Notables in Tewkesbury Abbey after the Battle, AD 1471," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 47 (1925), p. 132.

[20] John Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, Iterum Susceptae; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, Quondam Adscriptum," in *Registra Quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S.Albani, Qui Saeculo XVmo Floruere*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longman & Co, 1872), pp. 382-3, 410-1.

[21] The history of this chronicle is rather convoluted. A version is reproduced by Leland, who noted that he had taken the words 'ex libello de Antiquitate Theokesbiriensis Monasterii'. The editor's footnote further notes that it was an abstract of a 'Chronica de fundatoribus et de fundatione ecclesiae Theokusburiae'. It seems as though another version of this chronicle has been printed by Kingsford, from Harley MS 545, folio 132, a transcript written by Stow. The two texts are not exactly the same, as Kingsford's is slightly more detailed; thus, in the list of men buried, details are included on where within the abbey the dead were buried in Kingsford's version, while Leland just notes who was buried there mostly. However, the wording and largely similar chronology strongly suggest that they are from the same original source, probably written by a monk at Tewkesbury Abbey, and perhaps within five years of the battle. The differences between the texts may be the result of later writers or transcriptions editing the text, making errors or choosing only to include certain details. Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535 to 1543 with Appendices Including Extracts from Leland's Collectanea* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), vol. 4, appendix 1b, pp. 150-63; Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471," in *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (New York: Burt Franlin, 1913), pp. 376-8; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Tewkesbury 1471," (London, 1995)., pp. 2-3.

[22] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", pp. 377-8.

(21/48) of those sources which mentioned the disposal of the dead (Figure 11). This suggests that they were more likely than other source types to mention the disposal of the dead. Why might this have been the case? All of the histories were written in the sixteenth century, by the likes of Hall, Holinshed and Stow. This might have led us to suggest that sixteenth-century historians were more interested in the fate of the dead than fifteenth-century writers. However, if we take into account all of the battle accounts written by these men for the late medieval period (not just those that mention the disposal of the dead), we can see that more of them fail to refer to the fate of the dead than those that do. Thus, only six of the twenty-one battle accounts written by Holinshed for this period mention the disposal of the dead. If the writers were not especially interested in the dead, then perhaps the source type itself led to this greater likelihood of mentioning the disposal of the dead. The early historians wrote their battles accounts by collating numerous other sources – Holinshed's *Chronicles* has a list at the beginning of the work of all the 'authors from whome historie of England is collected'.[23] This list includes Whethamstede and the *Chronicle of St Albans*, both works that have details on the disposal of the dead in some of their battle accounts, such as St Albans I and Bryn Glas.[24] It, therefore, seems likely that, in consulting numerous earlier battle accounts, historians were more likely to come across references to the disposal of the dead that they might then include in their narrative. Other types of source, on the other hand, such as letters, were far less likely to have been composed with reference to other written accounts, and so had less opportunity to pick up details of what happened to the dead.
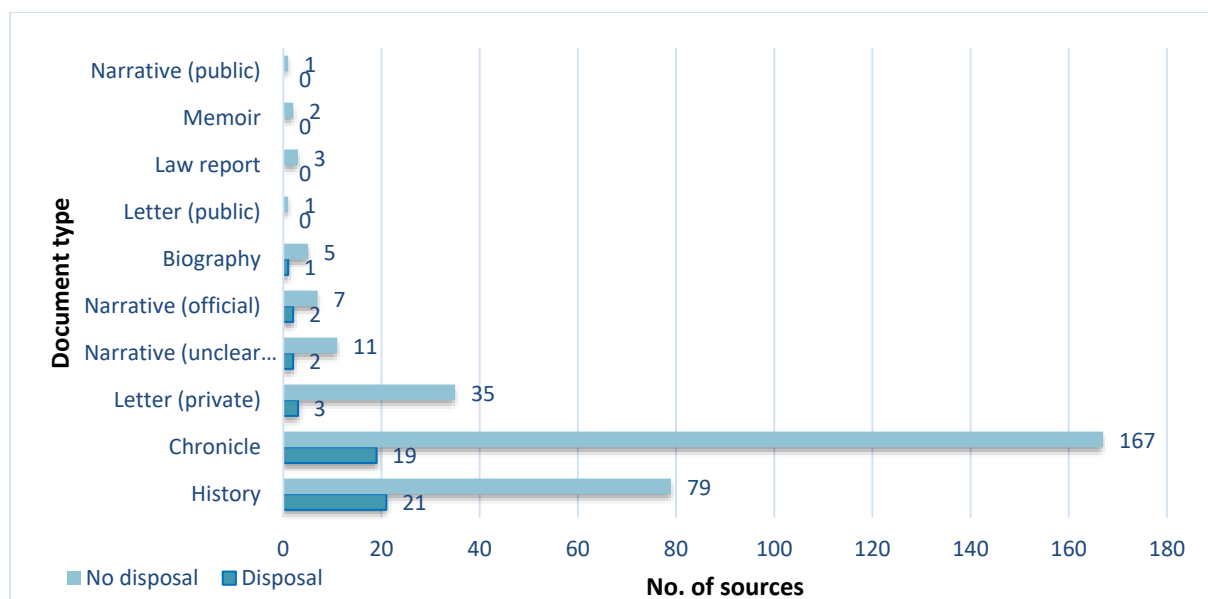
Figure 11. A bar chart showing how many of each different type of document refer to the disposal of the dead.

[23] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. ix-xi.
[24] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. ix, xi.

The historians were also writing at a greater distance in time to many of the other account writers. Therefore, they may have been prompted to consider the dead through later developments that occurred in relation to the battle, of which earlier writers would not have been aware. Stow, for example, mentioned the existence of 'a chappell' built over where the Barnet (1471) battle dead had been buried 'in memory of them'.[25] Although it is unclear when the chapel was built, it is likely to have been years after the battle, so account writers like Gerhard Von Wesel, who wrote three days after the battle will not have been prompted to consider the dead through the existence of such an edifice.[26] There is some numerical support for the idea that time had an effect on the likelihood of mentioning the disposal of the dead. Thus, those sources written over fifty years after a battle make up 21.5% (71/330) of the entire sample studied and yet they account for a third (16/48) of the sources that refer to the disposal of the dead (Figure 12). None of the seventeen sources written within a week of the battle they described mentioned the disposal of the dead. This might have led us to argue that the time it took this information to spread was the cause of this pattern. While this may have been a partial factor, it cannot fully explain the relationship. If it did, we would expect the proportion of sources mentioning the disposal of the dead to increase with each dating category that got further in distance from the date of the battle. This is not the case. Thus, 16.7% (3/18) of those written between a week and a month of a battle mentioned the disposal of the dead, whereas only 5% (1/20) of the sources written 5-10 years later did. Clearly, multiple factors affected whether a source writer mentioned the disposal of the dead. These included the source writer's level of interest (with the death of particularly high-status individuals seemingly increasing interest) and whether the source writer actually knew what had happened to the dead, a factor that was affected by whether they had been present at the aftermath and by the time at which they were writing.

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[25] John Stow, *The Annales : Or Generall Chronicle of England...* ed. Edmund Howes (London: impensis Thomae Adams, 1615), p. 423.
[26] Hannes Kleineke, "Gerhard Von Wesel's Newsletter from England, 17 April 1471," *The Ricardian* 16 (2006).
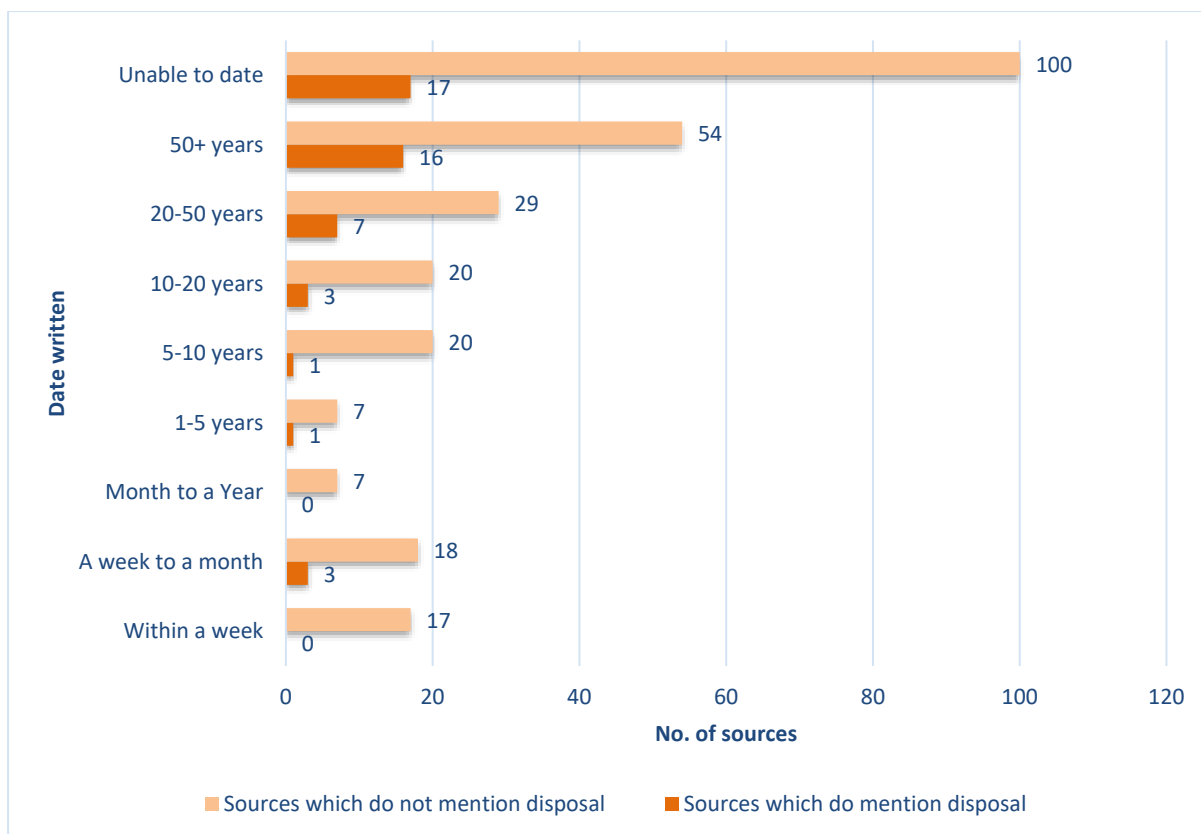
Figure 12. A bar chart showing the number of late medieval sources that referred to the disposal of the dead by when those accounts were written, compared to the number that did not mention the disposal of the dead.

3.3 Form of disposal: burial

Now that we have a better understanding of the sources and the source writers' interests, we will move on to the qualitative analysis and considering what these sources say about the disposal of the dead, starting with the means of disposal.

The sources are in common assent when it comes to how the dead were disposed of, as within the 48 sources that mention the disposal of the dead, there are 62 references to the burial of the dead. Two sources refer to the non-burial of a particular individual, but as shall be made clear in the discussion later, there is clear evidence that the original intention had been to bury this person. No other form of disposal is mentioned, indicating that burial was the typical way to dispose of the battle dead. This conclusion is supported by what the sources actually say. At the battle of Bryn Glas (1402), for example, one source noted 'an atrocity never before heard of', where the English dead were mutilated and the perpetrators 'then refused to allow the bodies to be given up for burial without payment of a large ransom'.[27] The outrage and the supposed ransom demand only make sense if there had been

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[27] John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, eds., *The St Albans Chronicle : The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. 2: 1394-1422 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), p. 323.

an expectation that the dead would be buried; indeed, it implies that people may have been desperate enough to pay a large sum of money just to bury the dead. That the dead were buried is not at all surprising, as this was the normal way to dispose of the dead in this period. This conclusion is also in line with the archaeological evidence from medieval plague sites, such as East Smithfield and Thornton Abbey, which show that people did continue to bury the dead in other periods of high mortality, and so it is likely to have been the same for the battle dead.[28]

3.3.1 Burial location: churches

We have established that the battle dead were interred, but where were they buried? Twenty-four of the 48 sources which refer to the disposal of the dead explicitly say that some of the battle dead were buried in churches immediately or soon after the battle. A further four sources refer to the dead being transferred to churches years after the battle or of chapels built over burials. These will be discussed in the battlefield burials section below, as they are fundamentally different in nature. With the exception of only two sources, all of the battle dead that were described as being taken to a church for burial were explicitly high status individuals. More specifically, with only one exception, they were all men of the upper elite: kings, princes, dukes, lords and a marquis. The one exception was the *Chronicle of Tewkesbury* which, while it did describe the burial of the upper elite, also described the church burial of men of the lesser elite – knights, gentlemen and squires. [29] This is an exceptional source in many ways, though: not only does the *Chronicle* name the high-status men buried, but also describes where within Tewkesbury Abbey they were buried. Therefore, it is not surprising that the writer went into more detail about the identity of those men buried in the Abbey, rather than just focusing on the high status. It is likely that the writer's unusual position as a monk at the Abbey is what allowed them to consider the burial location of the lesser elite.[30] Other writers, particularly those writing at a greater geographical distance, are unlikely to have had such detailed information, and they probably only heard about the fate of the most well known individuals: the upper elite. This evidence supports the theory posited earlier that sources were more likely to mention the disposal of the dead when they were high status.

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[28] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*; Sheffield, "News Report: Medieval Black Death Mass Grave Discovered at Thornton Abbey"; "News Report: Black Death 'Plague Pit' Discovered at 14th-Century Monastery Hospital".
[29] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 377.
[30] Museum, "Tewkesbury.", pp. 2-3.

While 22 of the 24 accounts that mention the church burial of the dead explicitly relates to the elite, the status of the individuals mentioned in the final two sources is less clear. The two accounts both relate to Tewkesbury (1471) and, from the similarity of the wording, it is clear that Holinshed's account is based upon the earlier and eyewitness description of the *Arrivall*. The latter says that the victorious commander, Edward IV, 'grauntyd the corpses of the sayd [Prince] Edward, and *othar so slayne in the field*, or ells where, to be buryed there, in churche, or ells where it pleasyd the servaunts, frends or neighbowrs without any qwarteryng or defoulyng theyr bodyes, by setting upe at any opne place [emphasis my own]'.[31] The reference is somewhat ambiguous. The mention of servants certainly suggests that Edward was giving permission for the elite to receive a Christian burial, but it is unclear if he was also including the common dead in this concession.

It seems very unlikely that the king would deny everyone but the nobles a church burial, but unfortunately, there is little explicit evidence to confirm that was the case. The *Chronicle of Tewkesbury's* list of men buried in Tewkesbury Abbey cannot help because it explicitly only relates to men of the elite, rather than men of all statuses who were buried in the Abbey after the battle.[32] Even archaeology can be of little help, since the *Arrivall* says that Edward only gave permission for the dead to be given a church burial. It is still quite possible that some of the dead were buried on the battlefield, in spite of the permission. Therefore, battle burials on the Tewkesbury battlefield cannot be used to argue that Edward only gave permission for the high-status to receive a church burial. The only evidence that might be drawn on is Holinshed, who elsewhere in his account mentions that Prince Edward was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey with 'other simple corpses'.[33] Holinshed cannot be taken as an independent source for Tewkesbury, since he was clearly drawing his account from the *Arrivall*. However, as a near contemporary he will have had a better understanding of who the *Arrivall* meant by 'othar so slayne in the field' than we do now. [34] Therefore, the mention of 'other simple corpses' buried in Tewkesbury Abbey might suggest that he had interpreted the *Arrivall's* words to mean that all of the dead were given a church burial and not just the elite. This evidence is tentative, however, particularly as there is no guarantee that Holinshed's interpretation was correct, or that he meant the lower status dead when he said 'simple corpses' – perhaps he meant the lower elite or gentlemen. Overall, when taken

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[31] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 31.
[32] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 377.
[33] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, p. 320.
[34] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 31.

independently, the evidence is too ambiguous to say who is described with any certainty. When considered in light of the other church burial evidence, however, the weight of evidence would tend to suggest that the *Arrivall* was referring to the elite, rather than all of the Tewkesbury battle dead. Of course, that does not mean that the lower status dead were denied a church burial, it simply suggests that their fate was not considered by their higher status contemporaries or by source writers.

The historical record refers almost exclusively to the elite, particularly the upper elite, receiving a church burial after death in battle. This may suggest that there was a differentiation in practice, with greater efforts made to remove the high-status dead for a normative church burial. However, this theory requires some testing. Firstly, would it have been possible from a practical perspective to distinguish the high-status dead from other combatants? Defensive clothing would have varied between individuals, generally, but the higher status combatants would have worn plate armour, while the ordinary soldiers would have worn items like the jack and sallet.[35] This suggests that it would have been possible to differentiate between the high-status and lower status combatants from the type of armour they wore, as long as they had not been stripped. The elite would also have been personally identifiable via their heraldry, that is, the hereditary insignia they displayed on their apparel.[36] Even a lord's retainers may have been recognisable to an extent, as they would have worn liveries – clothes and badges depicting their lord's arms and colours, like those found at Bosworth.[37] Heralds, who had a detailed knowledge of arms and kept a record of them, would have been present on the field to identify the battlefield dead.[38] Indeed, there are multiple references of them doing this at Crécy (1346); thus Jean le Bel noted how Edward III 'ordered lord Reginald Cobham…to take a herald with a good knowledge of coats of arms…and go amongst the dead, making a list of every knight that could be recognised'.[39]

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[35] Strickland and Hardy, *Great Warbow*, p. 383; Thom Richardson, "Armour," in *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton AD 1461*, ed. Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knusel (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000).

[36] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, 2005 ed. (Reading: CPI Cox & Wyman, 1984), pp. 125-32.

[37] Adrian Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda," in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 94-5; Glenn Foard and Anne Curry, *Bosworth 1485: A Battlefield Rediscovered* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 124-7.

[38] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 134-8.

[39] Jean le Bel, "The Chronicle of Jean Le Bel," in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Hundred Years Wars: From the Works of Jean Le Bel, Jean Froissart & Enguerrand De Monstrelet*, ed. Peter Edmund Thompson (London: Folio Society, 1966), p. 73; Jean Froissart, "Jean Froissart, Chronicles," ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, trans. Keira Borrill, Version 1.5 ed., *The Online Froissart* (Sheffield: HRIOnline, 2013), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart, f. 141r; Chandos and Barber, *The Life and Campaigns of the Black*

Overall, while it would not always have been possible to identify the high-status dead, particularly if they had been stripped or disfigured, it would have been possible to distinguish the majority of them from lower status combatants from their armour and heraldic devices. Therefore, it is possible that there was a differentiation in practice, with higher status combatants given priority when it came to church burials.

Further testing of the theory is still required, however, as it is possible that the lower status dead did also receive a church burials but because of elite bias in the sources, they were ignored by account writers. Certainly, there is evidence that the source writers were interested in the fate of the high-status dead; hence, 87.0% (287/330) of all late medieval sources listed the high-status men killed at each battle. Therefore, it is quite possible that this observation about elite church burials is actually the result of source bias, rather than the high-status dead being singled out to receive a different fate than the common dead. To confirm the theory, we must consider what happened to the lower status dead – where they were buried. This issue will be considered further later in the chapter.

Now we will return to the high-status church burials, to consider what more we can learn from them. One of the first things to stand out is that those who received a church burial were men from both the victorious and the defeated armies. For example, various accounts note that Lord Barnes, who died fighting for the victorious Edward IV at Barnet, was buried in the Austin Friary in London, but they also describe the burial of the defeated commander, the Earl of Warwick and his brother, at Bisham Priory (see Appendix B for the full list).[40] Quite a few of those men who had died fighting for the defeated army were also buried in churches by their victorious opponents. Henry VIII, for example, had wished to bury James IV in St Paul's Cathedral 'with funeral honours', despite the fact that James had died whilst invading Henry's kingdom, and had consequently been excommunicated for it.[41] The body of Richard III, too, was taken by Henry VII from the field and, after being displayed at Leicester, was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars there, in spite of the 'insufficient

Prince : From Contemporary Letters, Diaries and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince, p. 89.

[40] *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216.

[41] Henry VIII, "No. 2355 [4502] Henry VIII to Leo X, 12 October 1513," ed. J.S. Brewer, vol. 1, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII* (London: His Majest's Stationery Office, 1920), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol1/pp1046-1055; Pope Leo X, "De Corpore Nuper Regis Scotorum, in Praelio Flodden Field, Interdecti, Sepeliendo," in *Foedera...* ed. Thomas Rymer (London: A & J Churchill, 1712), vol. 13, p. 385.

humanity' with which his body had been treated beforehand.[42] The bodies of the Neville brothers, the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Montague, killed at the battle of Barnet (1471), were both, according to Hall, 'caused' to be buried at Bisham Priory by King Edward.[43] These examples suggest, firstly, that there was no desire amongst the victors to insult or punish their defeated high-status opponents by denying them a Christian burial in church grounds. Secondly, it suggests that, if status was an important factor in determining how the dead were treated, it overrode the question of whether the deceased had fought for the victorious or defeated army. This is something that can be seen in chivalric literature. In the *Prose Merlin,* a work of the mid-fifteenth century, for example, King Arthur, after defeating a Roman army and killing their commander, the Emperor, 'made take the body of the emperour and sente it to/Rome on a beere'. [44] This shows how, even though they had been opponents, Arthur still wished to acknowledge and honour the status of the Emperor in death.[45]

There is further support for this idea that victorious commanders who had their defeated opponents buried not only did not wish to insult them, but actually wanted to honour their status, from where these men were buried. The place in which an individual was buried was generally representative of their status, with the elite usually buried within the church and the lower status dead generally buried outside in the churchyard.[46] The burial locations of all of these men are in agreement with their status, thus, both Richard III and Prince Edward were buried in the choir of their respective churches, a highly prestigious location generally reserved for the upper elite.[47] One of the Beaufort brothers killed at the battle of Tewkesbury (1471) was buried before an altar, while the three lords killed at the first battle of St Albans (1455) were buried within one of St Albans Abbey's chapels, again a prestigious location that confirmed their status.[48] Although, the fact that Richard III was buried in a grave that was too

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[42] Buckley et al., "King in the Car Park,", p. 519; Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p, 504; Joannis Rossi, *Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford1716), p. 218.

[43] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle : Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth,...Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550* (London: J.Johnson [etc.], 1809), p.297.

[44] Anon, *Prose Merlin*, Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998), 'The defeat of Lucius; and Arthur and the Devil Cat', lines 4-5.

[45] Ibid., 'The defeat of Lucius; and Arthur and the Devil Cat', lines 4-5.

[46] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 86-91.

[47] Rossi, *Antiquarii Warwicensis*, p. 218; Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 377.

[48] "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 377; Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede.", p. 178.

small for his body suggests that this degree of concern for one's opponents was somewhat limited.[49]

Not all high-status men received honourable church burials in locations representative of their status, suggesting that status was not the only factor that determined where within a church's grounds an individual was buried. At Tewkesbury Abbey, for example, the *Chronicle of Tewkesbury* described how 'Syr William Lyrmouthe, knyght, Ser John Vring, knyght, ser Thomas Semer, knyght, Ser William Rowes, knyght, [were] all slayne in ye filde and buryed in ye churche yarde', even though other knights and even squires are described in the same passage as receiving burials within the Abbey.[50] Another example is that of Lord Dacre, killed at the battle of Towton (1461), who was 'buried in Saxton churchyard', even though the same source describes another nobleman killed at the battle being 'buried withyn Saxton chirch'.[51] The source's division in terminology is clear: Dacre was buried outside, while the other noble was inside. This suggests that it would have been possible for Dacre to be buried inside the church too, but he was not. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to determine why these men were denied burials that reflected their social status.

Lord Dacre was buried in Saxton church, which, along with Towton chapel, would have been the closest ecclesiastical building to the Towton battlefield (**Figure 2**). Tewkesbury Abbey, too, will have been the closest church to the battlefield (Figure 13), so it seems likely that practicality was a factor that was considered when choosing where to bury these high-status individuals. It has been argued by Curry and Foard that parochial boundaries would have been respected, in that the dead would have been buried in the church of the parish or chapelry in which they died.[52] This hypothesis seems to derive from Towton evidence, where the dead were exhumed from mass graves in Saxton parish (of which Sutherland and Richardson have found evidence, confirming their location) and were then buried in Saxton church, even though the chantry dedicated to the battle dead was founded at Towton chapel in the separate chapelry of Towton.[53] The argument appears to be based on flawed evidence, however, as the original exhumation order says that Richard III 'caused the bones of these same men to be exhumed and left for an ecclesiastical burial…partly in the parish church of

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[49] Buckley et al., "King in the Car Park", p. 531.
[50] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 378.
[51] Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. 4, p. 77.
[52] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 101; Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 87-8.
[53] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 101; Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves."

Saxton…and partly in the chapel of Towton'.[54] Therefore, if the mass graves all occurred in the same area, as has seemingly been assumed, the exhumation did not respect the chapelry boundary between Towton and Saxton, because some of the dead were transferred from Saxton chapelry to Towton chapelry. The Towton chapelry was a part of Saxton parish, so it is possible that the parish boundary was still respected, but there is no explicit evidence for this decision being made.
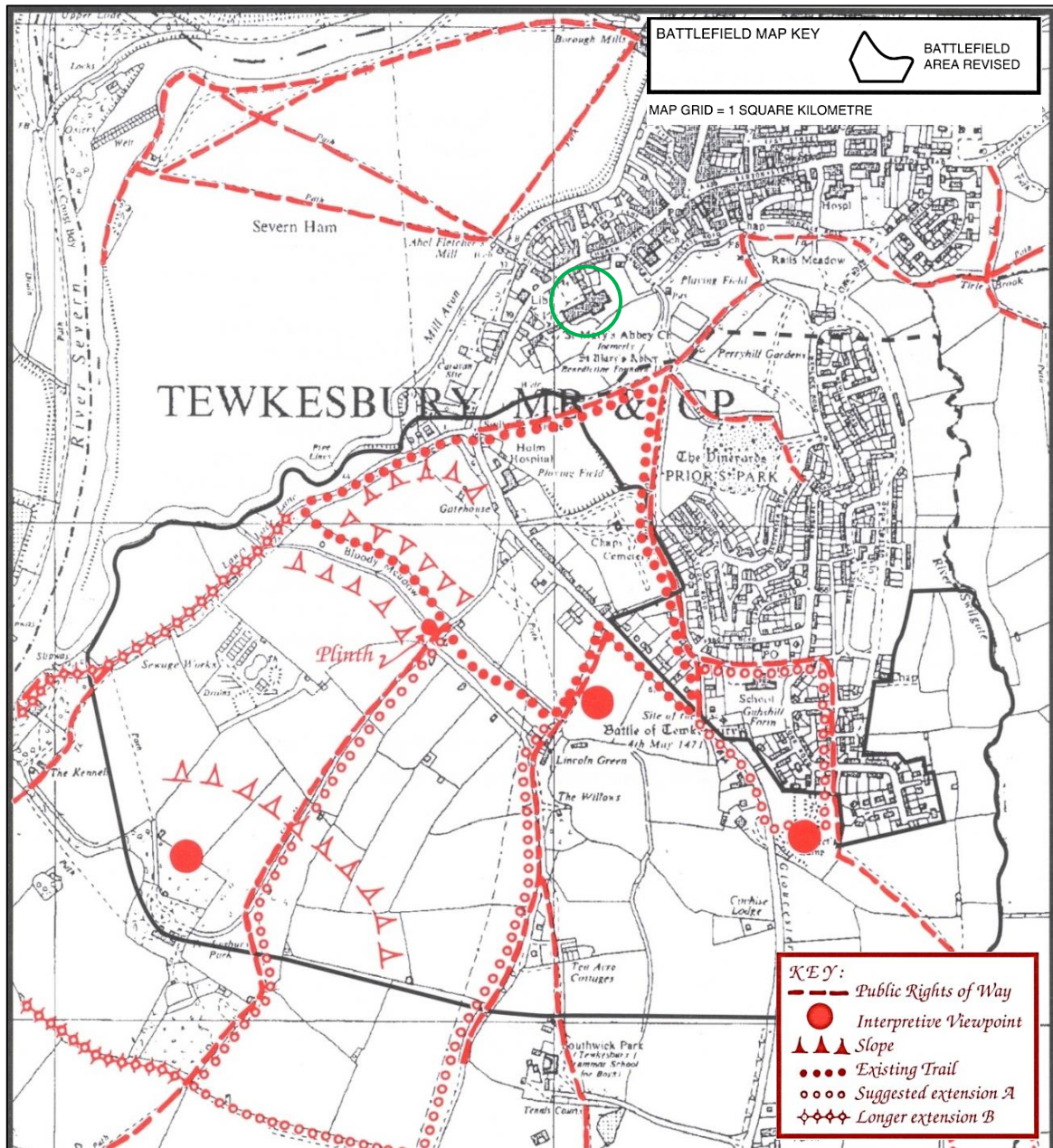
Figure 13. A map showing the proximity of Tewkesbury Abbey (circled in green) to Tewkesbury battlefield (denoted by the red circles) (English Heritage, 1995).

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[54] Richard III, 'Royal grant of annuity' in Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton", p. 19.

There may be further evidence to refute the theory that parochial boundaries would have been respected from the battle of Northampton (1460). Here, much of the battle appears to have been fought in Hardingstone parish, and yet the Duke of Buckingham was buried in the Grey Friars in Northampton, beyond Hardingstone's parish boundary.[55] The example of Buckingham also indicates that practicality was not always the only factor that was considered in church burials. The duke was buried in the Grey Friars in Northampton, but another church, Delapre Abbey, was much closer to the battlefield, indeed it may even have stood on the battlefield itself.[56] Moreover, according to Leland, some of the other battle dead were buried there, indicating that it would have been possible for the duke to be buried in Delapre Abbey, too (Figure 14).[57] The Grey Friars was most likely selected over Delapre Abbey because it was considered the most suitable burial place for a member of the upper elite in the immediate vicinity. Leland described it as 'the beste buildid and largest house of all the places of freres' in Northampton'.[58] He also noted that 'ij of the Salisbyries [were] buried in this house' – presumably meaning the Earls of Salisbury, or their relatives – whereas the only notable burials that he mentioned for the other Northampton friaries were from small, local families indicating that the Grey Friars were the most powerful and respected religious group in Northampton.[59] This suggests that the place of burial for the high-status dead could have been affected not only by questions of practicality, but also by the relative status and prestige of a church. Hence, Buckingham was buried in the most prestigious place of burial in the area. There may be evidence for this happening elsewhere: thus, the Duke of York allowed the three lords killed at St Albans I (1455) to be buried in St Albans Abbey, rather than the parish church, despite both being equally close to the battlefield.[60] Rushforth also noted that the highest status men buried within Tewkesbury Abbey were buried within the monastery section of the church, rather than the parish church zone.[61] This is likely to have been deliberate to ensure that the highest-status individuals were given an honourable burial commensurate with their status.

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[55] Glenn Foard and T. Partida, "Northampton Battlefield: 1460. An Assessment," (Unpublished, 2014)., pp. 17, 19; Carol Rawcliffe, "Stafford, Humphrey, First Duke of Buckingham (1402–1460)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26207.
[56] Foard and Partida, "Northampton Battlefield: 1460. An Assessment.", pp. 17, 19; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Northampton 1460," English Heritage, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/listing/what-can-we-protect/battlefields/.; Rawcliffe, "Stafford, Humphrey".
[57] Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. 1, p. 8.
[58] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 9.
[59] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 9.
[60] Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede.", p. 178.
[61] Rushforth, "The Burials of Lancastrian Notables in Tewkesbury Abbey after the Battle, AD 1471", p. 137.
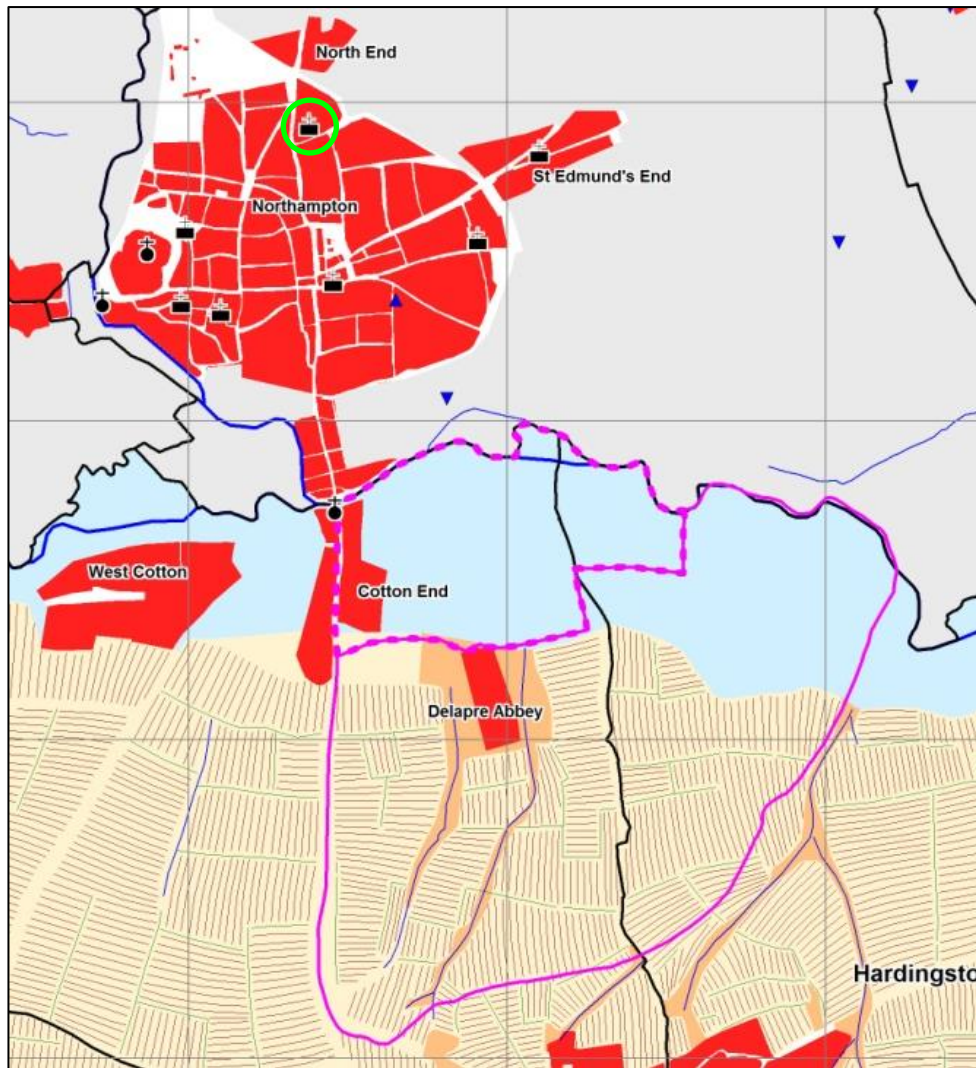
Figure 14. A 1km grid map showing the comparative distance between the Grey Friars (ringed in green), where the Duke of Buckingham was buried after the battle of Northampton (1460) Delapre Abbey, and the Registered battlefield (marked by the solid pink line) (Foard and Partida, 10).

While some of the high-status dead were buried in churches close to the battlefield, others were taken to their homelands for burial. The Earl of Argyll and his kinsman Sir Duncan Campbell, for example, were buried in the family vault at Kilmun, Argyll, after their deaths at the battle of Flodden (1513).[62] Likewise, the Earl of Warwick and his brother, Marquis Montague, killed at the battle of Barnet (1471), were buried at 'the Priory of Bissam', 'with their auncestors'.[63] Even men of the lesser elite could be taken for burial on

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[62] Jane E.A. Dawson, "Campbell Family of Glenorchy (Per. 1432–1631)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70942; Michael A. Penman, "Campbell, Archibald, Second Earl of Argyll (d. 1513),"ibid. (2005), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4468.

[63] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 297; P.H. Ditchfield and William Page, eds., *A History of the County of Berkshire*, Online ed., vol. 2 (London: British History Online, 1907).

their homelands; thus, Sir Robert Malveysin, killed at the battle of Shrewsbury (1403), was taken 60km for burial at his home church in Mavesyn Ridware, Staffordshire. [64] Unfortunately, there is not enough information to determine why some individuals were conveyed to their homelands for burial while others were interred in churches close to the battlefield. Certainly, status did not define the burial location – it was not that the highest status individuals were always taken the furthest distances or always buried on their homelands (Figure 15).[65] Thus, three knights killed at Shrewsbury were taken over 50km to be buried on their homelands, whereas the much higher status Duke of Somerset and Earl of Northumberland were both carried less than a kilometre and interred in St Albans Abbey after St Albans I (1455).[66] The Burgundian chronicler Monstrelet may hint at one factor. He wrote that, after the battle of Agincourt (1415) had ended and the victorious English had left the area, 'several Frenchmen came back to the field...some to find their masters and lords so that they might carry them off for burial in their own regions'.[67] This might suggest that the place of burial for the elite was determined, in part, by the presence or absence of friends and servants, with those high-status individuals that were buried on their homelands most likely taken there by their friends or servants. This would certainly make the most sense when it is considered that some individuals had to be taken considerable distances to be buried on their homelands. The Campbells were taken over 155km to Argyll and it seems likely that only friends and servants would have undertaken such an onerous task.

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[64] W.G.D. Fletcher, "Miscellanea, XIV: Existing Tombs of Knights Slain at Battlefield," *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 3 (1903), p. xxiv.

[65] Note, the map shows the burial place of only those high-status individuals who were buried in England. Where individuals had a burial place in common, the location was coloured according to the highest status individual. Where no lines are visible, these are burials where the site of the battle and place of burial were too close for a line to be visible.

[66] Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede.", p. 177; Fletcher, "Existing Tombs,", p. xxiv.

[67] Enguerran Monstrelet, "Enguerran Monstrelet, Jean Waurin and Jean Le Fevre," in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Anne Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), p. 170.
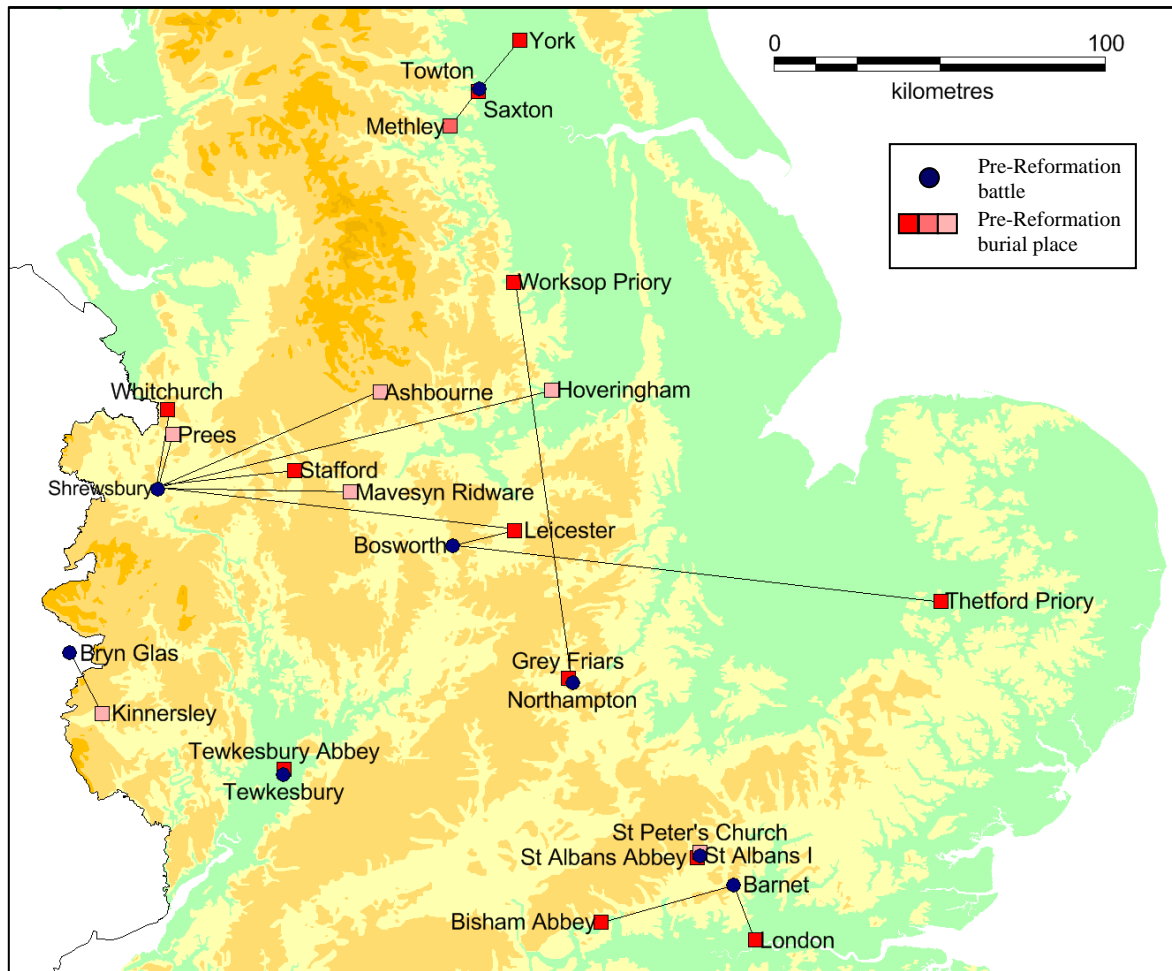
Figure 15. A map showing the how far those high-status late medieval individuals whose burial place could be ascertained were conveyed for burial from the battlefield where they died. The places of burial are colour-coded: the highest status individuals (kings, lords, earls and dukes) are denoted by red squares, barons denoted by pink and knights denoted by light pink squares.

Some high-status combatants were buried in churches in accordance with their wills, such as the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460 and was buried 120km away in Worksop Priory in Nottinghamshire and Sir Walter Blount. It seems likely that they, too, would have been buried by friends and family, as they are the individuals most likely to have known the deceased's will. Both Shrewsbury and Blount were also taken considerable distances, a point which supports the suggestion that they were conveyed by friends and family, since those individuals would be the most willing to go to such lengths to honour the wishes of the dead. [68] Blount, who was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury (1403), was conveyed over 100km so that he could be buried in St Mary-in-the-

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[68] A.J. Pollard, "Talbot, John, Second Earl of Shrewsbury and Second Earl of Waterford (c..1413–1460)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26933.

Newarke church in Leicester in accordance with his will.[69] St Mary's was not Blount's home church, but as a Lancastrian foundation it seems as though Blount was given permission to be buried there as a reward for his faithful service to the crown.[70] It, therefore, seems likely that a particular effort would have been made to bury him in this church because, as a Lancastrian foundation, it highlighted the family's loyalty and close connections to the ruling dynasty and was proof of the honour that Blount had gained in loyally serving his king. That people would undertake such extensive journeys in order to bury the dead in their homelands, or according to their wills, suggests that the elite considered their burial location to be incredibly important. There are a number of reasons why families of the high-status dead may have placed such a high value on burying their family members on their own lands. Other than simply honouring the will of the deceased, it may have been important to bring a body home as proof of death, for title and inheritance claims. People also saw knightly qualities as inherited through blood in this period.[71] Consequently, it was important for a family to be able to trace their ancestry and lineage if they were to maintain their elite social status, hence the existence of family mausoleums.[72]

Overall, the evidence shows that high-status individuals could receive a church burial following a death in battle. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to judge how often the high-status dead were removed to churches for burial, and this is particularly true for the lower elite. There is no definitive evidence for the church burial of lower status combatants in this period. The high-status dead were buried in various churches: some were buried in the church nearest to the battlefield, others were interred in churches that were both prestigious and close to the battlefield, while others were buried on their homelands. It is worth noting that the high-status could have been buried in yet other types of church not identified here. That is possible because the battle accounts only record the burial location of a small fraction of the high-status dead, leaving the fate of many unknown. It may be that future research, using other types of historical document, would be able to establish if this was the case. For example, personal documents such as letters and financial records from the involved families might refer to the burial locations of its members.

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[69] Carol Rawcliffe, "Blount, Sir Walter (d. 1403),"ibid. (2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2699.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp.33-6; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 124-5.
[72] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp.33-6; Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 124-5.

3.3.2 Burial location: the battlefield

While the majority of the accounts that explicitly give a place of burial identify churches, four sources do refer to the interment of the dead on the battlefield. Two of these relate to the battle of Barnet (1471), but the similarity of the wording indicates that the account by Stow was derived from the earlier account of the *Great Chronicle of London* and so cannot be taken as an independent source for this piece of information.[73] According to the *Great Chronicle,* 3000 men were killed at the battle who 'were buried in the said playn well upon half a myle from the Town where afftyr was byldyd a lytell Chapell/To remember the sawlys of them that were slayn'.[74] The *Great Chronicle* is likely to have been penned some time before 1496 (perhaps around 1485), well within living memory of the battle.[75] It was also written in London, and since Barnet is a borough to the north of the city, the author would have been in a good position to hear about the events of the battle, perhaps even from eyewitnesses and those involved in the clean-up operation. Therefore, it is likely that the *Great Chronicle's* account is reliable in this respect. Archaeological investigations into the mass grave and the battlefield have been conducted but have not had any success, so the statement cannot yet be confirmed archaeologically.[76]

The third source to refer to the burial of the dead on the battlefield is again by Stow, who says of the Towton (1461) dead that 'many of these [the battle slain] were first buried in fiue pits, yet appeering halfe a mile off by North Saxton Church in the feelde there'.[77] This information is copied from Leland, who was writing sometime in the late 1530s or the 1540s.[78] Leland was writing having travelled the country, so it seems likely that he got his information from locals living near the battlefield who had traditions about the battle.[79] Although none of the other Towton battle accounts mention where the dead were buried, an exhumation order of 1484 from Richard III does verify Leland's information. The order notes how the Towton 'bodies were notoriously left on the field, aforesaid and in other places, thoroughly outside the ecclesiastical burial-place, in three hollows' and that they were to be exhumed and reburied 'partly in the parish of Saxton…and partly in the chapel of Towton,

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[73] C.f. A. H Thomas and I. D Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London* (London: George W. Jones, 1938), p. 216; Stow, *Annales*, p. 423.

[74] Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216.

[75] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 99-101.

[76] Sam Wilson and Fiona Jones, "Interim Report on the Progress of the Barnet Battlefield Survey," (2016).

[77] Stow, *Annales*, p. 415.

[78] James P. Carley, "Leland, John (C. 1503-1552): Poet and Antiquary," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2006), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26933?rskey=zRSL2O&result=11.

[79] Ibid.

aforesaid, and the surroundings of this place'.[80] Leland's claim is further supported by archaeological evidence. 397 pieces of bone (mostly under 10cm long) along with an arrowhead were found overlying anomalies located on the centre of the battlefield that were recorded on an earth resistance survey.[81] These anomalies are likely to be what remains from the mass graves following Richard III's exhumation order.[82] It has been suggested that they were initially dug by re-cutting a prehistoric ditch, which would make sense of the reference to 'three hollows' in the exhumation order.[83] The lack of long bones and larger pieces of bone also makes sense in the context of Richard III's exhumation order, as these were the easiest to recover.

The final source relates to Shrewsbury (1403), where a version of the *Brut* says that, after the battle, 'þer was beriet in on[e] pitte xj C men; in which place is nowe a Chapell of oure Lady & prestes syngyng for the sawles'.[84] The *Brut's* statement is supported by references to the mass graves in government documents. A grant made by Henry VI in 1445 says that the 'Chantry of Blessed Mary Magdalene…was founded by Henry IV for the souls of certain persons who were slain in a battle in the said field…whereof about 3000 lie buried'.[85] There is not, as yet, any definitive archaeological evidence to support the historical documents. Burne claims that 'masses of human bones have been dug up underneath the church foundations', but he gives no source or further detail on this information, which makes it difficult to judge the reliability of his statement.[86] Recent attempts have failed to find any evidence of the graves, but it may not be possible to locate them without destroying the church itself.[87]

Although there are relatively few references to using the battlefield for the burial of the dead, the four references that we do have are well supported by independent sources, particularly the references for Towton and Shrewsbury. All four references describe the

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[80] Richard III, 'Royal grant of annuity' in Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton", p. 19.
[81] Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves.", pp. 164-5, 167; Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 98.
[82] Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves.", p. 165, 167-8.
[83] Ibid., p. 165, 167-8.
[84] Anon, "Extracts from Harleian Ms 53," in *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W.D. Brie (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1908), p. 549.
[85] Grant to Roger Ive, master or warden of the chantry of St Mary Magdalen in the field called 'Batailfeld' by Shrewsbury', 5 December 1445, 24 Henry VI, membrane 9, in Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VI., (Nendeln: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1971), p. 412.
[86] Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 211.
[87] Tony Pollard and Neil Oliver, *Two Men in a Trench: Battlefield Archaeology - the Key to Unlocking the Past* (London: Michael Joseph, 2002), pp. 59-60; Shropshire HER, "HER 00981: Church of St Mary Magdalene and Battlefield College, Battlefield, Shrewsbury," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MSA701&resourceID=1015.

burial of large numbers of men, a stark contrast to the sources describing church burials, which typically only relate to individuals or small groups of men. This indicates that the battlefield was used to bury the majority of the battle dead. Unfortunately, as there is only explicit evidence for these three battles, it is difficult to know if, and to what extent, this was the typical way to dispose of the battle dead. It seems likely that it was the normal practice, since it was the easiest way to dispose of a large number of decomposing bodies, but that can only be confirmed with further research.

Chapels to commemorate the battle dead were established at Barnet, Shrewsbury and Towton. In the medieval period the place of burial was very important, therefore, the founding of these chapels may be significant and relate to the use of the battlefield for the burial of the dead. Apart from social and religious deviants, everyone was buried in the consecrated ground of the churchyard.[88] The consecrated ground allowed those buried within it to benefit from the intercessory prayers and masses said within the church, which was important, as contemporaries believed it would shorten the time their souls spent being cleansed through punishment in Purgatory.[89] A battlefield was not a consecrated location, however, and we have no explicit evidence from any of the battles studied here to suggest that they were consecrated. This may be the result of the relatively poor quality of the source material, but it is also possible that these chapels may have been founded to legitimise the use of the battlefield, by interceding specifically for the battle dead, who may otherwise have received little intercession. Indeed, the Shrewsbury and Barnet chapels, by being founded atop the battlefield mass graves, directly consecrated the battle graves, thus further aiding the souls of the battlefield dead.

If these chapels were founded to legitimise the use of the unconsecrated ground of the battlefield, evidence for their foundation would be expected soon after the battle took place, to minimise the time the battle dead spent receiving no intercession. This does not appear to have been the case, however. At Shrewsbury, the first official documentation relating to the establishment of the chapel dates to October 1406 - three years after the battle had taken place.[90] Furthermore, according to some of the battle accounts, such as the *Brut*, Henry IV

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[88] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 55; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 87-90, 97, 103-4.

[89] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 8, 21; Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 308; Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 25; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 1, 10, 12; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 132.

[90] License to Richard Huse R.C Fowler, ed. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry IV.*, vol. 3: A.D. 1405-1408 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971), p. 263.

had ordered the dead to be buried. [91] If the chapel had been founded to legitimise his use of unconsecrated ground, Henry's involvement in the foundation would be expected from the project's inception. Government documents show that Henry did not become an official patron until 1410, however, four years after the chapel's foundation and seven years after the battle. [92] Atherton and Morgan have also suggested that Henry became a patron of the Shrewsbury chapel not because he was concerned for the souls of the battle dead, but to prevent it from becoming a focus for rebels. [93] Overall, the evidence suggests that the Shrewsbury chapel was not founded, primarily, to legitimise the use of the battlefield for the burial of the dead.

There is further evidence that these chapels were not founded to legitimise the use of unconsecrated ground for the burial of the dead at Towton. A chapel already existed at Towton in 1461, as a papal bull refers to how some of the dead were buried in its grounds.[94] Edward IV proposed to repair the chapel in 1467, most likely so that it could serve as a battle chantry, but it is unclear if it was ever formally invested as such.[95] This is a moot point, however, as a document of 1484 records how Richard III ordered that the Towton dead, who had been 'notoriously left…thoroughly outside the ecclesiastical burial' be exhumed and reburied in nearby churchyards.[96] If Edward IV's chantry had legitimised the use of the battlefield, there would have been no need to exhume and rebury the dead consecrated ground. This point is supported by further evidence from Richard's reign. The monarch started to build his own chapel for the Towton dead in 1483.[97] This was the year before he had the dead exhumed, which indicates that the purpose of Richard's chapel was not to legitimise the battlefield burials, as there then would have been no need to exhume the bodies.

There is yet further support for the conclusion that chantry chapels were not founded to legitimise the use of the battlefield for the burial of the dead from the battle of Bosworth (1485). There is a warrant of Henry VIII that gives Dadlington parish permission to raise

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[91] Anon, "Brut Ms Kk I.12, from the Coronation of Richard II (A.D.1377) to the Capture of Rouen (A.D.1419)," in *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W.D. Brie (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1908), p. 363.
[92] W G D Fletcher, "Battlefield College " *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 3 (1903), pp. 178-81.
[93] Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 293.
[94] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 91.
[95] Ibid., p. 91.
[96] Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton", p. 19.
[97] Fiorato, "Context.", p. 12.

alms 'for and towardis the bielding of a chapel of sainte James standing upon a parcell of grounde where Bosworth feld…was done…for the soules of all suche persones as were slayn in the said feld'.[98] The warrant was issued in 1511, showing that a chapel dedicated to the Bosworth dead was founded in Dadlington's parish in that year.[99] An indulgence that asked people to donate money to the chapel also mentioned that it was where 'ye bodyes or bones of the men sleyne in ye seyde feelde beth broght'.[100] The mention of bones, in particular, suggests that some of the dead had lain elsewhere before being brought to St James' for burial at an unspecified date, since they had had time to decompose. The reason for moving and reburying these bones is most likely so that they rested in consecrated ground and the most likely location that they were moved from was the unconsecrated battlefield. If this was the case, then the fact that the chantry dedicated to the battle dead was not founded until 26 years after the battle further demonstrates that chantries did not legitimise the existence of battlefield burials.

There may be further support for this conclusion in a pension that Edward IV granted to a vicar in 1476 so that he might 'pray…for the souls of all who were killed on either side in the conflicts at Northampton, St Albans, Sherbourne, Barnet and Tewkesbury'.[101] The most recent of those battles had been fought five years prior to the grant, a gap that again suggests that concern for the souls of those buried in the unconsecrated ground of the battlefield was not the motivating factor behind Edward's grant. Interestingly, the grant was made to a vicar in Kent, a county in which none of the named conflicts was fought.[102] This shows how battle intercessions did not necessarily take place on or even close to the relevant battlefield. This has implications for researchers, as it could mean that there are further chantries that have not yet been actively linked to their relevant battles because it has been assumed that battle chantries only occur close to a battlefield. Further research to look for these chantries is necessary to deepen our understanding of the relationship between such dedicatory foundations and battlefield burials.

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[98] 'TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511', transcribed in "Bosworth Primary Source Transcripts/Translations," in *The Bosworth Battlefield Project, ADS collection 1114*, ed. Janet Dickinson, Anne Curry, and Susan England (Archaeology Data Service online: The Battlefields Trust, Leicestershire County Council)., p. 65.

[99] 'TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511', transcribed in ibid., p. 65.

[100] 'Letter of confraternity', transcribed in ibid., p. 51.

[101] R.C. Fowler, ed. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward IV. Henry VI.*, vol. 1: A.D. 1467-1477 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971), p. 585.

[102] Ibid.

The chantry chapels dedicated to the battle dead were not founded to legitimise the use of the unconsecrated battlefield for the burial of the dead, but the chapels founded at Barnet and Shrewsbury did consecrate the battle burials. At Towton and Bosworth, the chapels did not consecrate the battle graves, but there is evidence for another practice: the exhumation and reburial of the dead in church grounds. Therefore, even though the battle dead were left in unconsecrated ground for substantial periods, this does show that there was concern amongst contemporaries that the dead receive a Christian burial. Curry and Foard have suggested that it may have been common practice to bury the dead initially on the battlefield, as a concession to practicality, on the understanding that they later be exhumed and reburied in Christian ground, once they had decomposed.[103] There is no clear evidence of this practice at any of the other battles of this period, but that may be a result of the relatively poor quality source material.

There was official approval and organisation for the exhumation and reburial of the dead at both Towton and Bosworth.[104] This may suggest that the burial and exhumation was the result of some long-term, official policy, but it seems unlikely. The victors from both Bosworth and Towton were still ruling over twenty years after their respective battles. By this time, the dead would have decomposed and the policy of exhumation and reburial could have been enacted. Yet, it was under both victors' successors that the dead were exhumed. It is also notable that Richard III ordered the exhumation of the Towton dead at an early stage in his reign. This may suggest that his involvement was politically motivated. Perhaps it was an attempt to repair his reputation and garner public support, through honouring of the common dead, following the damaging rumours he had killed his nephews.[105] If so, this would suggest opportunism on Richard's part, rather than long-term policy. This would agree with Morgan and Atherton's argument that other commemorative foundations like Battle Abbey were built to celebrate and affirm the military power of the victors, rather than out of primary concern for the dead.[106]

While Richard III's role in the exhumation of the Towton dead and the founding of the Towton chantry chapel was active and opportunistic, the nature of Henry VIII's involvement in the Bosworth chantry is less clear. Foard and Curry have suggested that he founded the chantry as part of a programme of commemoration that coincided with his visit

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[103] Curry and Foard, "Dead of Medieval Battles", p. 68.
[104] Ibid., p. 68.
[105] Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton", p. 19.
[106] Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 293.

to Merevale Abbey in 1511.[107] However, the warrant that founded the chantry was given on 24 August from Nottingham, while a grant from the 'Monastery at Merevale' shows that Henry did not visit the area until 30 August.[108] If the chantry was founded as part of a deliberate programme of a commemoration, Henry would have made the grant in Merevale, or somewhere close by, a place that had strong associations with Bosworth battle, rather than at Northampton. This may suggest that Henry's visit to Merevale was not part of a formal celebration but instead was inspired by his warrant founding the chantry. As for the chantry, there is no evidence for who conceived of the idea. The same is true for the exhumation and reburial of the dead, while it is even unclear when this happened. This means that there is not necessarily a direct, causal link between the chantry and the exhumation, which could have happened at a much earlier date. The chantry was founded two days after the anniversary of the battle, so it is perhaps this, rather than the removal of bones that inspired Henry to grant the warrant for the chantry. One possibility is that the chantry was a local initiative. Chantries have traditionally been viewed as selfish, individualistic undertakings, as they revolved around hiring a priest to say masses for a very specific group of individuals.[109] However, Burgess has persuasively argued that chantries were often founded for the good of the community, as it meant that another priest was available to help with services, which increased the parish's standing.[110] Therefore, it is possible that the chantry was a local initiative that deliberately took advantage of the anniversary of an event that was meaningful to the ruling dynasty to attract funding and attention, in order to increase the parish's reputation.

Overall, in all four of the battles discussed so far, while the dead eventually received a Christian burial, there is no evidence to suggest that any provision or consideration was made for those buried in unconsecrated ground at the time of the battle. At Barnet, the first source to mention the chantry chapel was the *Great Chronicle of London*, the relevant section of which Kingsford believed to have been written up between 1485 and 1496, so all that we know is that the chapel was probably founded within 25 years of the battle.[111] At Shrewsbury,

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[107] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 61.

[108] J.S. Brewer, ed. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Online ed., vol. 1: 1509-1514 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), pp. 454, 475.

[109] Clive Burgess, "Chantries in the Parish, or 'through the Looking-Glass'," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164, no. 1 (2011), p. 124.

[110] Ibid., pp. 106, 108-10.

[111] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century. With an Appendix of Chronicles and Historical Pieces*, p. 101; Brian Warren, "Reappraisal of the Battle of Barnet 1471 ", ed. Potters Bar and District Historical Society (Potters Bar, 2009)., p. 26.

however, it was three years before any motions were made towards founding the chantry chapel, while at Towton and Bosworth it was over twenty years before the dead were exhumed for Christian burial, and this re-interment does not seem to have been part of an official, long-term policy. There is also little evidence to suggest that these battles' victors were particularly concerned by their use of unconsecrated ground for the burial of the dead. Thus, Henry IV did not become a patron of the chantry chapel that consecrated the Shrewsbury battle graves until four years after the initial grant founding the chapel was made, while his involvement may have been intended to prevent the battlefield from becoming a focus for dissent, rather than out of concern for the battle dead. At Towton, Edward IV seems to have intended to rebuild the Towton chapel by 1467, but there is no evidence that he ever followed through with these plans. At Bosworth, the chantry was not founded until 26 years after the battle and even then it was under the victor's successor. Henry VII is even known to have visited the Bosworth area in September 1503, as he visited Merevale Abbey, and may have even commissioned a stained-glass window to commemorate the battle.[112] Yet, there is no evidence that he considered the battle dead during the visit. This suggests that those victors responsible for the burial of the dead cared little for the fact that the battlefield was unconsecrated.

Further investigation into chantries may be able to provide further support for this theory. Although most research has focused upon perpetual chantries and chantry chapels, temporary chantries were actually more common.[113] These were often set up in parish churches by the 'middling sort' – wealthy tradesmen and merchants.[114] Burgess's study of fifteenth-century wills from Bristol has shown that such foundations could be arranged and functioning within a comparatively short time.[115] Thus, one of the wills in her study asks for masses to be said for the recipient's soul for six years.[116] The will of this individual's wife, who died twelve years later, noted she 'had a priest singing in the said church by the space of five years, besides the years of her husband aforesaid'.[117] If the priest had been interceding for eleven years, the wife must have been able to set up a chantry within a year or so of her

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[112] Madeleine Gray, "Politics, Power and Piety: The Cult of St Armel in Early Tudor England and Wales," in *Rewriting Holiness: Reconfiguring Vitae, Re-Signifying Cults*, ed. Madeleine Gray, Kings College London Medieval Studies Series (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), p. 253; Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, "Merevale Abbey," *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society* 2 (1870), p. 326.
[113] Burgess, "Chantries in the Parish, or 'through the Looking-Glass',", p. 100.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., p. 117
[117] Ibid., p. 118.

husband's death. This is relevant here, as it suggests that, had there been a genuine and immediate concern for the souls of those buried on the battlefield, temporary chantries could have been founded soon after the battle to intercede for the dead. No evidence of any such temporary chantry appears to have been found in relation to these battles, which may support the theory that there was a general lack of concern over the battlefield burial of the dead. On the other hand, Burgess has noted how, even for perpetual chantries, there is very little surviving evidence, so it is possible that temporary chantries were founded for the battle dead but there is no longer an extant indication of them.[118] Certainly, this is an avenue of research that could be pursued, to see if any evidence of such temporary foundations can be found, as it would help to test the theory that the high-status individuals responsible for having the dead buried did not care for the fact that the dead were buried in unconsecrated ground on the battlefield.

The evidence suggests that those responsible for having the dead buried on the battlefield in the pre-Reformation period showed little concern for the lack of a Christian burial. This contrasts with the evidence from pre-Reformation plague burials. Here, the authorities made deliberate efforts to ensure that the dead were still buried in consecrated ground. They created new cemeteries, like the one at East Smithfield, and gave permission for chapels that had lacked burial rights to receive burials temporarily to cope with the lack of space in the churchyards.[119] Clearly, contemporaries were aware of the need to bury the dead in consecrated ground, suggesting that the failure to bury the battle dead in consecrated ground was not because people simple did not think of the issue. Indeed, the uniformity of the basic burial practice in this period, in which only social deviants were excluded from consecrated burial, means that contemporaries will have been very aware of any deviation from normative practice, and therefore aware of the fact that they were giving the battle dead an insulting, unchristian burial. At Agincourt (1415), the discord between the practical necessity to bury the decomposing dead easily and quickly, and the desire to give the dead a Christian burial was solved neatly: the local bishop 'bless[ed] the unhallowed place so that it might serve as a cemetery'.[120] That is, they buried the dead on the battlefield, thus satisfying the practical aspect, but then had a bishop consecrate the battlefield graves, fulfilling the religious requirements. There is no evidence for this practice at any of the battles studied

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[118] Ibid., pp. 119-20.
[119] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, pp. 1, 10; Horrox, *The Black Death*, pp. 269-71.
[120] The Religieux of Saint-Denis, "Histoire De Charles VI (c. 1415-22, Latin)," in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Anne Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), p. 109.

here. The Agincourt example suggests that contemporaries did have ways in which they could have given the dead a Christian burial, if they had wanted to, even though practical requirements may have forced them to bury the bodies on the battlefield. This, therefore, suggests that there was not a strong will or voice advocating the Christian burial of the battlefield dead at the time of the battle.

This lack of evidence for the Christian burial of the battlefield dead when there were strategies to prevent it, as shown by Agincourt, raises the question of whether the battlefield dead were deliberately denied a Christian burial. There is a precedent for the dead being denied a Christian burial at Northampton (1460). In a letter of early 1461, the papal legate Francesco Coppini told Queen Margaret's chaplain that 'I have heard it is said that those who fell at Northampton could not be buried without my license'.[121] Although the letter is not explicit, it implies that the dead were not buried because they were considered to have been excommunicated from the Church. Coppini, however, claims that he had not excommunicated anyone and that, instead, it was 'public opinion, which considered those men excommunicated who refused to listen to a treaty of peace, and thus opposed the Pope's mandates'.[122] While this shows that there was a precedent for the deliberate non-Christian burial of the dead, it also shows how those disposing of the dead at Northampton were not only aware of the issue of Christian burial, but were incredibly sensitive to it, denying burial to men who did not technically merit such a fate. This reinforces the idea that those burying the dead at the other battles under discussion would also have been aware of the need for the Christian burial of the dead.

While Northampton does provide us with a precedent for denying a Christian burial to the battle dead during the Wars of the Roses, the precedent may not be applicable to the other battles. Northampton was the only battle of this period attended by a papal legate.[123] Coppini had been persuaded to support the Yorkist cause in June 1460, but he left the country in February 1461 in fear of his safety, not to return.[124] In the lead up to the battle of Northampton, Coppini had borne the cross before himself and the Yorkists.[125] It seems very

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[121] Bishop of Teramo, "No. 360. The Bishop of Teramo to Master Lorenzo, of Florence, Resident with Queen Margaret," in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: British History Online, 1864).
[122] Ibid.
[123] Margaret Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy, 1417-1464: The Study of a Relationship* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 197-8.
[124] Ibid., pp. 197-8.
[125] Ibid., pp. 197-8.

likely that it was this action that caused people to deny the Northampton dead a Christian burial, as they saw it as the Church's condemnation of the Lancastrian cause. That it was the Lancastrians who were refused a Christian burial is strongly implied by the fact that Coppini wrote the letter stressing that he had not excommunicated anyone to the chaplain of the Lancastrian queen, Margaret. Although, if it was only the Lancastrians denied Christian burial, then it is difficult to understand how those burying the dead might have differentiated between the two sides, given that they would not have been wearing uniforms. The higher status combatants and their households may have been recognisable from their livery, but the hastily levied common soldiers may have been difficult to distinguish from each other. Regardless, if it was the legate's action of bearing the cross against the Lancastrians that led to their non-burial, as seems most likely, then this cannot explain why the dead at the four battles discussed above were not given a Christian burial, as the legate was not present for any other battle having fled to the continent.[126]

Overall, although there is a precedent for the deliberate non-Christian burial of the dead, the circumstances of that battle suggest that the reasons for denying the dead a Christian burial were unique. Moreover, deliberately denying the dead a Christian burial does not fit well with some of the other evidence from the other four battles. It is improbable, for example, that Henry IV would have felt so strongly as to deny the dead a Christian burial at Shrewsbury in 1403, only to later permit the founding of a chapel that consecrated their graves. The same is true for Towton, where Edward IV proposed to repair the chapel there in 1467, most likely so that it could serve as a chantry chapel to the battle dead. A far more likely explanation, rather than deliberate non-Christian burial, is that those responsible for burying the dead at the time of the battle simply did not have the time, means or inclination to put any spiritual provisions in place to care for the dead. They had more important things to consider, such as securing their thrones.

The evidence from Shrewsbury, Barnet, Towton and Bosworth suggests that the Christian burial of the battle dead in the late medieval, pre-Reformation period was not a priority to those responsible for interring the dead. This conclusion becomes particularly significant when considered in conjunction with the church burials evidence discussed above. In that section, it was shown how the high-status dead were sometimes removed from the battlefield in order to receive a church burial. It was unclear, however, if it was all of the dead

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[126] Coppini left England on 10 February 1461, as he feared for his safety. Ibid., p. 199.

who were removed for church burials, and the sources only noted what happened to the high-status dead because of source bias or whether there was actually a differentiation in practice between men of different statuses. We can now see that there was a differentiation in practice. Thus, at the four battles discussed, the majority of the dead were buried on the battlefield, and yet for each there are examples of high-status men receiving church burials, also. The Earl of Stafford, for example, who was killed at Shrewsbury was buried on his homelands in Staffordshire, while after Barnet 'the Lord Barnes [was] Reuerently browgth unto the Frere Augustynys & there buried'.[127] Contemporaries made specific, immediate efforts to give these high-status men a normative, Christian burial. The rest of the dead, however, were buried on the battlefield, where they could not receive direct intercession and it was years, if not decades, before any apparent spiritual provision was made for their souls.

The lack of evidence makes it difficult to determine how far down the social scale this differentiation carried. The *Chronicle of Tewkesbury* notes squires, gentlemen and knights who were taken for a church burial, and knights from Shrewsbury are also known to have been buried in churches on their homelands.[128] This suggests that the differentiation could extend to the lesser elite, but probably not to those below gentry status. The lack of data also makes it difficult to establish just how often status did affect the fate of the dead. The burial location of many of the elite, particularly the lesser elite, is simply unknown which means that it is not possible, from this data set, to calculate the precise number and proportion of high-status individuals who received a church burial. Further research using other types of historical source may be able to establish the burial location of more of the high-status dead and thus give us a better understanding of what proportion were successfully removed for a church burial.

The differentiation in practice, where particular efforts were made to give the high-status dead a Christian burial, while those outside the elite ranks were just buried on the battlefield implies a disregard for the latter and their souls. It suggests that those high-status men responsible for organising the disposal of the dead simply did not care enough to devote the time or resources to give the lower status dead a Christian burial. This conclusion is not very surprising when the wider nature of warfare in this period is considered. Chivalric convention still governed warfare and the conduct of high-status men in the late medieval period, but such conventions were only applicable to those of chivalric status (namely,

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[127] Fletcher, "Existing Tombs,", p. xxv; Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216.
[128] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471", p. 377; Fletcher, "Existing Tombs,", p. xxiv.

knights and lords).[129] As a result, while knights and lords could be captured and ransomed during battle, soldiers below that rank were not – they were usually just killed instead.[130] This fits with the evidence and conclusions that have been drawn here, that there was a disregard for the lower status soldier. Thus, while the lower status men were simply buried in the quickest and easiest way possible, with no regard for the fate of their souls, initially, the high-status dead were still accorded a Christian burial, even when being buried by their opponents.

3.3.3 Form of burial

Now that we have considered where the dead were buried, we will turn to the evidence for how the dead were interred. The historical sources explicitly attest to the use of mass graves for the burial of the battlefield dead. Thus, a version of the *Brut* mentions for the battle of Shrewsbury (1403) that under the chapel dedicated to the battle dead 'was beriet in on[e] pitte xj C men'.[131] The vocabulary used to describe mass graves varies. Abbot Whethamstede, when describing both battles at St Albans (1455 and 1461) referred to the dead as having been buried in ditches or trenches (the Latin term used being '*fossas*'), whereas the *Brut* said that the Shrewsbury dead were buried in a pit.[132] The second continuator of the *Crowland Chronicle* used both terms, saying that the Towton dead were 'piled up in pits and trenches prepared for the purpose'.[133] This may suggest that the nature and form of the mass graves also varied. There may be some support for this idea from the plague burials at East Smithfield. Here, excavators found the dead buried in a mixture of single graves, mass graves and trenches.[134] They were unable to determine why this variation occurred, but suggested that it may have been caused by the fluctuating numbers of burials.[135] This could explain why the form of battle mass graves may also have varied. Indeed, it is one of the suggestions for why the form of the graves around Towton Hall vary, with the smaller capacity and single graves used for men who were brought for burial after the mass grave had been backfilled.[136]

Other factors may have affected the form of mass graves. At Towton, excavators believe that the exhumed mass grave on the battlefield was created by redefining a silted-up prehistoric ditch, most likely because the use of such a feature would have meant less digging

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[129] Prestwich, "Transcultural Warfare.", pp. 44, 52-3.
[130] Ibid., pp. 44, 52-3.
[131] Anon, "Harl. Ms 53.", p. 549.
[132] Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede.", pp. 175, 387.
[133] Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 425.
[134] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, pp. 12-15, 19.
[135] Ibid., p. 19.
[136] Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 101.

than if the burial agents had started from flat ground.[137] Similarly, the mass grave at Towton Hall was placed in a former medieval strip field furrow, again because it would have reduced the workload, since previously cultivated soil would have been easier to dig.[138] This suggests that pre-existing landscape features and previous use of the landscape would have been factors that determined the nature and form of the mass graves. This means that battlefield graves may have varied in form and character quite dramatically, not only between battles, but also between burials relating to the same battle, as evident at Towton. Unfortunately, the lack of archaeological examples and detail in the battle accounts make it difficult to know how often pre-existing landscape features would have been used, although it seems likely that they would have been used wherever possible, to reduce the workload. Other factors may also have affected the form of a mass grave, such as the space and number of men available and the geology of the area. In areas of heavy clay or shallow bedrock, for example, which are difficult to excavate, rather than trying to dig down, the burial agents may have been more likely to pile material on top of the dead. Further research is needed to get a deeper understanding of these factors and variations. One way to do this would be by studying well-documented modern conflict burials.

3.4 Alternative forms of disposal

As was noted above, while the vast majority of the battle accounts that mention the disposal of the dead refer to the dead being buried, two sources referred to non-burial of the dead. Both accounts describe the same event: the non-burial of James IV of Scotland, who was killed at the battle of Flodden (1513). The evidence already discussed suggests that high-status men, particularly members of the upper elite, were likely to have been removed from the battlefield so that they could receive a church burial. The fact that James not only does not appear to have received a church burial, but was not buried at all, therefore, is particularly striking. Given this contrast, it is first important to establish the reliability of the two sources. The two battle accounts are both histories, one written by the Scottish historian Buchanan, who was most likely writing in the second half of the sixteenth century and the other by the London-based historian Stow, writing in the same period.[139] The sources of information used

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[137] Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves.", pp. 165-6;
[138] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 91.
[139] Barrett L. Beer, "Stow [Stowe], John (1524/5-1605)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26611; D.M. Abbott, "Buchanan, George (1506-1582),"ibid., https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3837; George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland. Written in Latin by George Buchanan. Faithfully Rendered into English.* (London: Edward Jones for Awnsham Churchill, 1690), p. 27; Stow, *Annales*, p. 495.

by Stow and Buchanan for their accounts are unclear, but the lack of similarity in the wording and content of the accounts indicate that they were written independently. This would suggest that they do accurately reflect contemporary understanding of what was believed to have happened to James, although that is not to say that such beliefs were correct. Their reliability is further indicated by the fact that a number of other historical sources confirm various details of their accounts; thus, the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* confirms that James' body was brought to Sheen, as Stow claimed, while a work of 1575 by Ulpian Fulwel also claims that James' 'carcas lyeth unto this day unburied' at Sheen.[140]

It is clear that both Stow and Buchanan believed the non-burial of James to have been permanent, rather than delayed. Stow claims to have been shown the coffin containing James's body, which had been 'thrown into an olde wast roome' at Sheen Monastery, in London at some point during the reign of Edward VI.[141] Edward VI ruled between 1547 and 1553, so if the body was James' he had been left unburied for some forty years. While Stow and Buchanan are both confident in their assertion of James' non-burial, there is discord between their claims and some of the other evidence relating to James. Most notably, there is existing documentation to show that Henry VIII asked the Pope for permission to bury James in St Paul's Cathedral, which was granted and which was required because James had died whilst excommunicated.[142] This clearly shows that the English had intended to bury James's body, a point that is consistent with the discussion above, that the upper elite were often removed from the battlefield in order to receive an honourable church burial.

Despite these initial intentions, James' body was abandoned. Why did this happen? There is no clear explanation, but we can discuss a few of the possibilities. Two of the Scottish sources for the battle claim that the body taken by the English was not James', but that of a decoy.[143] Therefore, one possibility is that the body was abandoned out of anger because the English came to believe this, too, that the body they had in their possession was

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[140]Anon, *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1852), p. 29; Ulpian Fulwel, *The Flower of Fame, Containing the Bright Renowne and Most Fortunate Raigne of King Henry the VIII* (London: William Hoskins, 1575), p. 22.
[141] Stow, *Annales*, p. 495.
[142] HenryVIII, "Henry VIII to Leo X,"; Leo X, "De Corpore Nuper Regis Scotorum.", vol. 13, p. 385.
[143] Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir, Being a Continuation of the Translation of the Chronicles Written by Hector Boece and Translated by John Bellenden*, ed. A.J.G Mackay (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1899), p. 272; John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland, Wrytten First in Latin by the Most Reuerend and Worthy Jhone Leslie, Bishop of Rosse, and Translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, ed. E.G. Cody and William Murison, trans. James Dalrymple (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1895), p. 146; Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, pp. 26-7.

not James'. This possibility seems unlikely, however, as a number of the battle accounts suggest that the English went to great lengths to identify the body before they brought it from the field. Hall, for example, noted how James' body was first identified by the Lord Dacre, 'who knewe hym well by hys pryuie tokens' and that later he was identified by James' own chancellor and porter who 'knewe hym at the fyrste'.[144] The English commanders could not afford to embarrass their king and countrymen by incorrectly claiming that James had been killed, so it seems likely that they did go to such lengths to confirm the dead king's identity. The English clearly were confident in their identification, too. Hence, Henry VIII told the Duke of Milan that he had received 'sure intelligence that the King of Scots himself perished in the battle, his body having been found and recognised'.[145] It, therefore, seems unlikely that the body was abandoned because of uncertainty over its identity.

A more likely possibility is that the body identified by Stow was not that of King James, who probably was buried in St Paul's Cathedral as Henry VIII had intended. The body had been enclosed in lead, so Stow would not have been able to identify the king, visually.[146] Furthermore, none of the earlier battle accounts, like that of Hall, whose chronicle was published in 1548, mentions the non-burial.[147] James' body would have been unburied throughout this period, yet only the writers of the later sixteenth century mention the issue. Therefore, it is possible that the association of James with this coffin was only established after the middle of the century, which introduces further doubts about the truth of the rumour. This hypothesis is impossible to test, but in some sense that is only of limited significance here. The evidence indicates that the English had initially intended to bury James and it is that which is most important for this study. The fact that the burial may never have happened is irrelevant here, since it seems to have been caused by some factor beyond the interests of this research.

While no other source mentions the deliberate or permanent non-burial of the dead, there was an incident at the battle of Bryn Glas (1402) where it was claimed that some of the dead were 'forbidden to be buried for a long time'.[148] A number of battle accounts mention

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[144] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 564.
[145] Henry VIII, "Number 309. Henry VIII to Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan," ed. Rawdon Brown, trans. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affaird in the Archives of Venice, volume 2, 1509-1519* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol2/pp126-137.
[146] Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, p. 27; Stow, *Annales*, p. 495.
[147] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*
[148] "Historia Vitae.", p. 79; Michael Livingston, "The Battle of Bryn Glas," ibid. , p. 474.

the incident, such as those by Holinshed and the *St Albans Chronicle*; however, the similarity in the wording and chronology implies that most were drawing on the earlier accounts of the *St Albans Chronicle* and *Historia Vitae*. [149] While the broad details of these two earliest accounts are similar, their precise details and phrasing are not, suggesting that they were written independently and therefore may be reliable in their assertion that some of the dead were initially refused burial. The *Historia Vitae* implies that it was the victorious Welsh who refused to allow the English to be buried, and this is made more explicit by the *St Albans Chronicle*, which openly says that it was 'Welsh women' who mutilated the dead and then 'refused to allow the bodies of the dead to be given up for burial'.[150] The *Historia Vitae* fails to give an explanation for why the Welsh might have denied the English an immediate burial, but the *St Albans Chronicle* claims it was because the Welsh had demanded the 'payment of a large ransom'.[151] This lack of verification makes it difficult to tell if the St Albans chronicler was writing from established fact or whether they were just providing their own interpretation of the action.

There are no other examples of the dead being denied burial for a short period in this study, but there is an example from Sweden with which it is worth drawing comparisons, to see if we can determine anything about what the intentions of the Welsh at Bryn Glas might have been. The example relates to the battle of Good Friday, which took place during the Swedish civil war between the regent, Sten Sture, and the Archbishop of Uppsala, who had the support of Christian II, king of Denmark.[152] The battle took place outside the town of Uppsala in April 1520, between the peasant levies that supported Sture's cause and Christian II's Danish mercenaries.[153] The peasants were defeated and the Archbishop of Uppsala ordered them to be left unburied, to be eaten by animals, while the Danish mercenaries that had been killed are said to have been buried in Uppsala Cathedral.[154] Sweden was under interdict at the time of the battle, which meant that no divine offices, including the Christian

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[149]Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 323; Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*; Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 3, p. 20; Stow, *Annales*, pp. 327-8; Anon, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, vol. 8 (London: Longman & co, 1882), vol. 8, p. 516.
[150] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 323.
[151] Ibid., p. 323.
[152] Ingvar Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, trans. Carolyn Hannay and Alan Blair, second ed. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), pp. 108-9.
[153] A. Kjellström, "A Sixteenth-Century Warrior Grave from Uppsala, Sweden: The Battle of Good Friday," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 15 (2005), pp. 23-4; Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, pp. 110-4.
[154]Kjellström, "Uppsala", p. 24.

burial of the dead, could be performed. [155] However, the fact that the mercenaries were permitted a Christian burial indicates that the interdict was not the reason for denying the dead burial.[156] Instead, it seems far more likely that the hostile Archbishop had meant this denial of burial as an insult to the dead, as a punishment for those who had defied him and as a warning to others that they could suffer a similar fate.

This was not the end, however, as although there is no historical evidence describing the ultimate fate of the dead, some archaeological evidence suggests that some of those killed at the battle of Good Friday were later buried.[157] Two pits discovered in May 2001 just to the northeast of Uppsala Castle contained the disarticulated remains of at least sixty individuals, many of whom had sustained a large number of sharp-force trauma injuries.[158] Radiocarbon analysis on some of the bones gave a date at 95% probability of 1440-1650AD, while most of the individuals were determined to be male.[159] These factors suggest that these individuals died in combat between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. As for the association of the pits with the battle of Good Friday, specifically, there is more uncertainty. The exact location of the battlefield is still unknown, but one suggestion is that it took place in the Stradsträdgården area, which occurs just to the southeast of the castle, and therefore close to the pits.[160] Other factors strengthen the case that these burials relate to the battle of Good Friday. Firstly, most of the remains were partially or fully disarticulated and arranged according to element, rather than in anatomical position, suggesting that the bodies had lain elsewhere before burial in the two pits.[161] Secondly, the presence of animal activity on some of the bones suggests that the bodies had been left unburied for some weeks.[162] Therefore, although it is still possible that the bones relate to some other combat, in taking all factors together it does seem likely that these burials related to the battle of Good Friday, where some of the combatants were initially denied burial by the Archbishop of Uppsala.

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[155] A Boudinhon, "Interdict," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Kevin Knight (Robert Appleton Company, 1910).; G.C. Richards, "Book Review: Acta Pontificum Danica, Vol. 6, Ed. A. Krarup and J Lindbaek (Copenhagen: Gad, 1915)," *The English Historical Review* 31, no. 123 (1916), pp. 491-2; Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, p. 113.
[156] Boudinhon, "Interdict."; Richards, "Book Review of Acta Pontificum Danica", pp. 491-2; Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, p. 113.
[157] Anon, "Historia Vitae.", p. 79.
[158] Kjellström, "Uppsala", pp. 23, 30-32.
[159] Ibid., pp. 24, 30-1, 40.
[160] Ibid., p. 24.
[161] Ibid., p. 44-6.
[162] Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any historical evidence documenting (and thus explaining) the later burial of the Swedish peasants killed at the battle of Good Friday. However, multiple theories have been proposed to explain the situation. For example, it has been suggested that they were buried following the conclusion of hostilities against Christian and the Archbishop, which occurred after the Stockholm Bloodbath in November 1520, when many of Sture's supporters were executed.[163] This explanation is unsatisfactory, however, since had permission to bury the battle dead been granted, the dead would have been buried according to normative practice, in the consecrated ground of a church.[164] It is unclear how the area in which the pits were found was used historically, but if they were found on a 'steep slope' then it seems unlikely that such ground would have been chosen for a church, suggesting that the dead were not buried in consecrated ground.[165] An attempt had been made to organise the bones as some of the common elements were placed together, which suggests a certain degree of care.[166] It, therefore, seems unlikely that these individuals were buried by antagonists, who wished to give them an unchristian burial. It also seems unlikely that the non-Christian burial resulted from the interdict, as the individuals in the pit were partially or fully skeletonised.[167] It can take some six months for the soft tissue of an unburied body to decompose, but the Pope gave permission for the interdict to be lifted, with the consent of the archbishop, only a month after the battle.[168] Therefore, there does not seem to have been enough time between the battle and the lifting of the interdict for the bodies to have decomposed to the extent that they had, suggesting that some other reason explains the burials of the Good Friday dead.[169]

Unfortunately, there is simply not enough information from the battle of Good Friday and the motivations of its actors to help in explaining the motivations of the Welsh at Bryn Glas in initially denying the English burial. Certainly there is no hint of any financial motivation at Good Friday, as the *St Albans Chronicle* claims for Bryn Glas, but that may have been due to the differences in the essential nature of the two battles, not necessarily because it was something fabricated by the chronicler. At Good Friday, the denial of burial seems to have been motivated by a desire to punish the dead, by denying them a Christian

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[163] Syse's suggestion referenced in ibid., p. 24. I could not follow up Syse's suggestion, unfortunately, as the monograph is in Swedish. Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, pp. 114-5.
[164] Kjellström, "Uppsala", pp. 23-4.
[165] Ibid., p. 23.
[166] Ibid., pp. 25-6.
[167] Ibid., pp. 44-5.
[168] Ibid., pp. 44-5; Richards, "Book Review of Acta Pontificum Danica", p. 492.
[169] Kjellström, "Uppsala", pp. 44-5.

burial, but probably also to act as a warning to others who were considering further rebellion. This could explain why the Welsh initially denied burial to the English at Bryn Glas, if they were trying to undermine the morale of the English armies who came to try to suppress them. However, the fact that they do seem to have eventually allowed the English to be buried would suggest that there was an alternative motive, perhaps financial as the *St Albans Chronicle* claimed. There were multiple claims during the British Civil War of armies trying to ransom the bodies of high-status individuals killed in battle back to their men, and although the situations cannot be compared directly due to the differences in time and context, it shows that the *St Albans Chronicle's* claim is not entirely without support.[170]

The refusal to allow some of the Bryn Glas battle dead to be buried is linked in some of the accounts to another event: the mutilation of the English dead. According to the *St Albans Chronicle* 'Welsh women went to the bodies of the slain, and cut off their genitalia, placed the penis of each man in his mouth with the testicles hanging between the teeth and above the chin, and then cut off the dead men's noses and pressed them into their anuses'.[171] The *Chronicle* also claims that this act was 'an atrocity never before heard of', and yet the only other Bryn Glas battle accounts to mention it were probably drawing on the *St Albans Chronicle* itself as their source of information.[172] These other accounts were all written decades after the event, at a point when they would have had to rely on written accounts for their information, while all three can be demonstrated as having used the *St Albans Chronicle* elsewhere in their works.[173] This, therefore, suggests that the *St Albans Chronicle* was the

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[170] James Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath in Staffordshire [Electronic Resource] : Betweene His Majesties Forces under the Right Honourable the Earle of Northampton, and Those of the Rebels, March 19. Together with a Letter from the Lord Compton Now Earle of Northampton*, Early English Books Online. (Oxford: H. Hall, 1643), p. 6; Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643," Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service, http://www.staffspasttrack.org.uk/exhibit/distinctivestaffs/disorder1.htm.; Lord John Byron' account in Layton Ring, "Wednesday, 24 September, 1645 - the Death of William Lawes During the Battle of Rowton Heath at the Siege of Chester," in *William Lawes (1602-1645) : Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: 1998), p. 162; Robert Codrington in Walter Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, Second ed. (London: Simpkin Marshall and Co, 1884), p. 16.

[171] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 321.

[172] Ibid., p. 321; compare, for example, Holinshed's account at, p. 16 with p. 303 of the *St Albans Chronicle*, or Stow p. 327 and p. 315 of the *St Albans Chronicle*.

[173] Cyndia Susan Clegg, "Holinshed [Hollingshead], Raphael (c.1525-1580?)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13505; Beer, "Stow [Stowe], John (1524/5-1605),"; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London: Longman, Green, Brown, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), p. 279; Peter J. Lucas, "Capgrave, John (1393–1464)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4591; Francis Charles Hingeston, "Introduction," in *The Chronicle of England*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), p. xxii.

only early, independent source to mention this 'atrocity', which renders the claim suspect. The reliability of this claim is further cast into doubt when it is considered that the *Historia Vitae* failed to mention the incident, despite knowing about the Welsh denying burial to the English, an act that the *St Albans Chronicle* explicitly links to the mutilation of the dead.

One possibility to explain the failure of most of the Bryn Glas battle accounts to mention this incident is that it was deliberately censored, to hide the embarrassment over the Welsh treatment of the English. There may be some precedent for this, as Dennis has argued that William the Conqueror, in the earliest elite accounts of the battle of Hastings (1066), deliberately censored how his predecessor, Harold, was killed.[174] Dennis argues that William, whose status was still uncertain after the battle, did this because he did not wish to undermine his succession by publicising how he had violently killed and dismembered an anointed king.[175] While Dennis' hypothesis is persuasive, it is unsatisfactory when applied to Bryn Glas. The *St Albans Chronicle* survives as numerous versions and manuscripts, while a number of the early historians, including Stow and Holinshed, also used it.[176] This suggests that it was a popular, well-known text in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As such, it is likely to have been a prime candidate for the rigorous enforcement of censorship, and yet it was not, suggesting that suppression was not the reason for the failure of the sources to mention the mutilation of the English dead. Although, of course, that does not rule out the possibility of self-censorship in the other accounts – Holinshed did note that 'honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speake' of the incident.[177]

A more likely possibility, one also suggested by Marchant, is that the St Albans chronicler invented the mutilation. Marchant argues that the chronicler may have done this to foster English dislike of the Welsh, by portraying Wales as a place of alterity and magic and the Welsh as a barbaric, unchristian people.[178] The chronicler did this, Marchant persuasively argues, by inverting traditional expectations of society and gender roles.[179] Thus, the Welsh

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[174] Chris Dennis, "The Strange Death of King Harold II: Propaganda and the Problem of Legitimacy in the Aftermath of the Battle of Hastings," *The Historian (London)* 101, no. Spring (2009), p. 18.

[175] Ibid., p. 18.

[176] John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, "Introduction," in *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, ed. John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), pp. xvi, xxii-xxxviii; Holinshed, vol. 1, p. ix.

[177] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, pp. 20, 34.

[178] Alicia Marchant, "*In Loco Amoenissimo*: Fifteenth-Century St Albans and the Role of Place in Thomas Walsingham's Description of Wales," *Place: an interdisciplinary e-journal* April (2008), p. 7; *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr in Medieval English Chronicles* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell and Brewer, 2014), p. 159.

[179] *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr in Medieval English Chronicles*, p. 159.

women mutilated and emasculated the dead, even though the battlefield is traditionally a male domain, while the mutilations themselves literally inverted the bodies of the dead, by switching their noses and genitalia.[180] There is further support for Marchant's idea that the chronicler had a negative view of the Welsh outside the *Chronicle's* narrative of Bryn Glas. Thus, the chronicler refers to the leader of the rebellion, Glyndŵr, as acting on one occasion against the English with 'great cruelty and brutality', and on another in a 'barbaric manner'.[181] The chronicler also refers on multiple occasions to Glyndŵr's apparent magical abilities, while Marchant has argued that the Welsh women cutting off the defeated soldiers' penises was also intended to evoke magical practices, as indicated by the fact that a fifteenth-century work on magic devotes an entire chapter to how one is to 'Deprive man of his virile member'.[182] Overall, Marchant's hypothesis is persuasive, particularly as Gillingham has also noted how twelfth century English writers also regularly portrayed the Celtic peoples as barbarians.[183] There is also historical precedent that the chronicler may have drawn on as their inspiration, the most notable example being the mutilation of Simon de Montfort after the battle of Evesham (1265), who had his 'private parts [cut] clean off'.[184]

While the lack of contemporary support for the *St Albans Chronicle's* claim that some of the dead were mutilated at Bryn Glas casts doubt on the chronicler's assertions, there may be some archaeological evidence for the mutilation of the battle dead in this period. The skeleton of Richard III, for example, had sustained sharp-force trauma injuries to both the pelvis and ribs, wounds that are unlikely to have occurred whilst Richard was alive and dressed in plate armour.[185] Therefore, it has been suggested that these wounds were inflicted after his death, once his body had been stripped naked, as a means of degrading and insulting his body and memory.[186] The third continuator of the *Crowland Chronicle*, writing within a

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[180] Ibid., pp. 159-60.
[181] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, pp. 305, 315.
[182] Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr in Medieval English Chronicles*, p. 105.
[183] John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 41-58
[184] MS 3/23B translated in Oliver de Laborderie, J.R. Maddicott, and D.A. Carpenter, "The Last Hours of Simon De Montfort: A New Account," *The English Historical Review* 115, no. 461 (2000), p. 411; William Aldis Wright, ed. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, Online ed., Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), p. 765; Thomas Wright, ed. *The Chronicle of Pierre De Langtoft, in French Verse, from the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), p. 147.
[185] Buckley et al., "King in the Car Park", p. 536.
[186] Ibid., p. 536.

year of Richard's death, did also mention that 'insults were offered' to Richard's body. [187] This may have included mutilation, although the *Crowland's* source of information is unclear and the quality of his information does decline during Richard's reign, so he may be unreliable.[188] It has also been suggested that the large number of facial wounds sustained by those in the Towton mass grave may indicate that some were deliberately disfigured by their attackers.[189] The fact that the Towton dead appear to have subsequently been honoured with a Christian burial need not conflict with this, since the burial agents and those responsible for the mutilation were not necessarily the same people with the same view of the dead. None of these potential instances of mutilation was explicitly noted in any of the relevant battle accounts; therefore, the fact that the *St Albans Chronicle's* claim is also unsupported by any other source does not necessarily mean that the incident did not occur.

It was proposed earlier in the chapter that the disposal of the dead was not a topic of particular interest to contemporary writers, and that those examples where some mention was made may have been because there had been some deviation from expectation or normative practice. This section has provided further support for that hypothesis. Thus, the St Albans chronicler described the mutilation of the dead at Bryn Glas as an 'atrocity never before heard of', demonstrating that the incident was mentioned (or fabricated) because of its deviance, and therefore its interest to the chronicler and their audience. [190] Similarly, Buchanan described the non-burial of James IV after the battle of Flodden as 'an unexplicable Hatred against the Dead', clearly showing how he considered James' fate to be insulting and a deviation from expected practice.[191] This clearly also confirms the expectation that the upper elite would receive an honourable burial after battle. Moreover, the tone of the *Historia Vitae* and *St Albans Chronicle* in describing the delayed burial of the dead at Bryn Glas also suggests that this was contrary to expected practice, a point that also helps to confirm that the normal expectation was for the battle dead to be buried.[192]

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[187] Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 504; Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, eds., *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations, 1459-1486* (London: Alan Sutton publishing for Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986), pp. 17, 30, 82-3.

[188] Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 504; Pronay and Cox, *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations, 1459-1486*, pp. 17, 30, 82-3.

[189] Knusel and Boylston, "How Has the Towton Project Contributed to Our Knowledge of Medieval and Later Warfare?.", pp. 185-6.

[190] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 321.

[191] Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, p. 27.

[192] "Historia Vitae.", p. 79; Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 323.

One final potential form of disposal needs to be considered. Accounts for multiple battles including Towton, Homildon Hill (1402) and Sark (1448) refer to combatants drowning during the battle, usually as a result of one army being routed and pursued by their opponents.[193] Unfortunately, none of the sources for the battles studied here described what became of the bodies of those who drowned. However, there is a contemporary example from Europe that could indicate what was most likely to have happened to the drowned dead. This is the battle of Morat (1476), in which a large proportion of a Burgundian army under Charles the Bold drowned in Lake Murten following their defeat and rout at the hands of a Swiss Confederate army.[194] The evidence for what happened to those who drowned comes from a near-contemporary illustration in Diebold Schilling's *Bern Chronicle,* which was commissioned by the city of Bern in 1474.[195] The image depicts how the drowned were recovered and then buried in mass graves in a nearby field (Figure 16).[196] While the different geographical and temporal context of this example means that the practice observed may not be directly applicable, it certainly raises the possibility that those who drowned may have been retrieved and buried near to where they had been recovered.

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[193] Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, pp. 425-6; Thomas Otterbourne, "Chronica Regum Angliae," in *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres...* ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1732), p. 237; Thomas Thomson, *The Auchinleck Chronicle : Ane Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for Addicioun : To Which Is Added a Short Chronicle of the Reign of James the Second, King of Scots, MCCCCXXXVI-MCCCCLXI* (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1819), p. 19.
[194] Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London: Longman Group, 1973), pp. 210, 391-4.
[195] Diebold Schilling, Mss.H.H.I. 1 Amtliche Berner Chronik (Official Chronicle of Bern), (Bern, 1478-83), https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/Mss-hh-I0001., document details in the overview tab, manuscript summary.
[196] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 789.
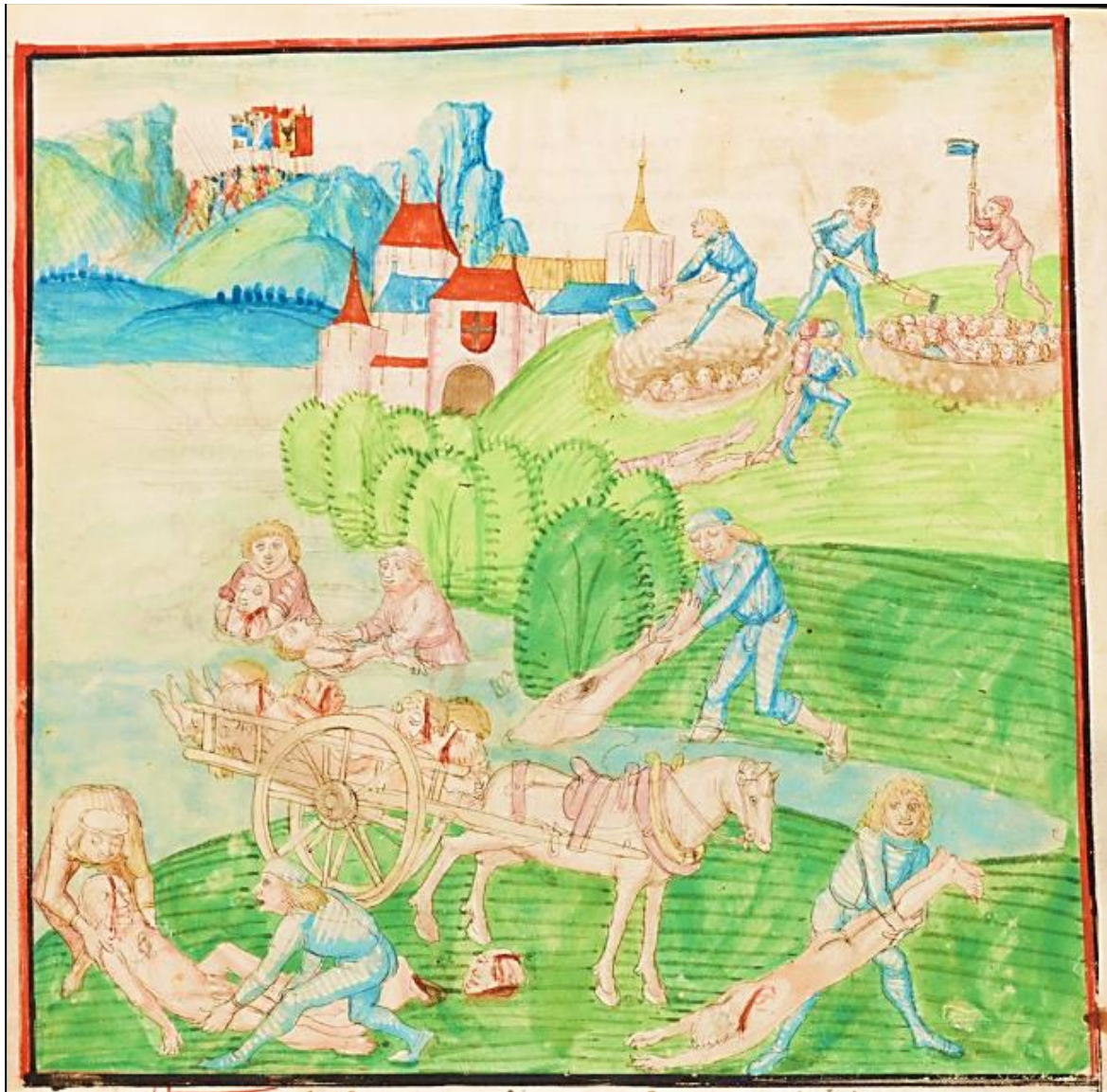
Figure 16. A drawing from Schilling's *Amtliche Berner Chronik* showing the dead from the battle of Morat (1476) being buried in front of the town walls of Murten (Schilling, vol. 3, 789).

3.5 Burial Agents

The way in which the dead were disposed of has been considered, but now we need to consider the identity of those disposing of the dead. This is important as research by Komar has suggested that the way in which those burying the dead identified with their subjects will have affected how they treated them, thus impacting on the form of burial.[197] Therefore, establishing who is most likely to have buried the dead could help archaeologists when they are interpreting battle burials. Unfortunately, none of the sources explicitly state who actually buried the dead. Many are similar to the *Great Chronicle of London,* which just says that those killed at the battle of Barnet (1471) 'were buried in the said playn', or Hall, who says

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[197] Komar, "Mortuary Practice".

that 'the bodies of the noble men, were buried in the Monastery and the meane people in other places' at the first battle of St Albans.[198]

While none of the sources explicitly says who buried the dead, there are a few occasions where the likely burial agents can be inferred. After the battle of Bosworth (1485), for example, Vergil said that the victorious Henry Tudor, whilst addressing his troops, 'ordered the wounded to be tended and the dead to be buried'.[199] This suggests that his army was given the responsibility of burying the dead.[200] The same thing happened at Stoke (1487), as Vergil wrote of how after 'the spoils of the dead [had been] gathered up and their bodies given burial, the King travelled to Lincoln'.[201] This implies that Henry (also the victor at this battle) had been waiting for his men to clear the battlefield before leaving, suggesting again that the victorious army were involved in disposing of the dead.[202] As for Vergil's reliability, his sources of information included men at court who had probably fought at both battles, so the information is likely to be accurate.[203] The victorious army at the battle of Towton (1461) may also have been involved in burying some of the battle dead. This is suggested by the *Crowland Chronicle,* which noted that the victorious commander, Edward, distributed 'rewards among such as brought the bodies of the slain and gave them burial' whilst he was waiting for the rest of his army, which was out chasing the defeated Lancastrians, to return.[204] It is not surprising that these victorious armies played a role in the disposal of the dead. They had the undisputed possession of the battlefield and therefore the dead, while they also seem to have been in no drastic hurry to pursue their next objectives. Thus, Henry was able to make a speech to his soldiers at Bosworth and collect the spoils at Stoke, while Edward waited for his army to return at Towton. This indicates that opportunity was a major factor in determining who buried the dead, with the victorious army likely to be involved if they had no pressing objectives to pursue.

The victors were not the only individuals who could be involved in the disposal of the dead. At Bryn Glas, two sources refer to how the victorious Welsh 'refused to allow the bodies of the dead to be given up for burial'.[205] Although neither source identifies whom the

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[198] Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 217; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 233.
[199] Vergil, "Anglica Historia".
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Connell, "Vergil, Polydore [Polidoro Virgili] (c.1470-1555)".
[204] Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 425.
[205] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 323; Anon, "Historia Vitae.", p. 79.

Welsh were refusing to give the bodies of the dead to, it implies the involvement of another party, most likely some of the defeated English, who wanted to bury their own dead. These may have been friends or servants of the dead who returned to the field – Monstrelet, who was drawing on eyewitness oral accounts, describes this happening at Agincourt.[206] Those refused permission to bury the dead could also have been some of the English combatants captured by the Welsh during the battle, who tried to negotiate with their captors over the fate of the dead. There may again be a precedent for this at Agincourt, where one of the sources claims that Henry V allowed a local bishop to consecrate the French burials 'at the beseechings of the princes of the blood of France', many of whom had been taken prisoner at the battle.[207] Although, Curry has proposed that this source writer, who was a monk at the abbey of Saint-Denis and not an eyewitness, was 'a good story teller…who makes it seem, perhaps, as though he knows more in detail that [sic] he really does'.[208] Therefore, this may be an embellishment not based in fact. Indeed, Curry has noted how the monk was critical of the nobility's pride, and so may have fabricated the noble prisoners' pleading involvement at Agincourt as a means of showing how low they had been brought by the defeat.[209]

There appears to be a contrast in practice between Bryn Glas and the four battles mentioned above. At the latter, the sources suggest that the dead were buried by the victors, whereas at Bryn Glas combatants seem to have taken responsibility for the burial of their own men. Yet all five battles were decisively won, with the victors seeming to stay on the battlefield for some time after the battle, so why was Bryn Glas different? One possibility is that the differences in the basic nature of the battles led to different requirements for burial agents. The four battles where the victors disposed of all of the dead were part of the Wars of the Roses, a civil war, whereas Bryn Glas was fought as the result of Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion, in which he sought independence for his country.[210] Marchant has persuasively argued that the Welsh were seen as barbaric and backward, a point on which Davies (whose book on the revolt is still the essential work) agrees.[211] Glyndŵr's rebellion, therefore, might be most accurately described as inter-cultural, whereas the battles of the Wars of the Roses

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[206] Monstrelet, "Enguerran Monstrelet, Jean Waurin and Jean Le Fevre.", p. 170; Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 137.
[207] John Polemon, *The Second Part of the Booke of Battailes, Fought in Our Age...* (At London: Printed [by Thomas East] for Gabriell Cavvood, 1587), doc im 86a; Saint-Denis, "Histoire De Charles VI.", p. 109.
[208] Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, p. 101.
[209] Ibid., pp. 100-1.
[210] R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr*, 2007 reprint ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-2.
[211] Ibid.

were intra-cultural and it may have been this that led to differences in practice regarding the disposal of the dead. At inter-cultural conflicts, armies may have wished to bury their own dead, whereas at intra-cultural battles they may have been happy to bury all of the dead, defeated and victor alike. It is not possible to test this hypothesis further here, as there is no evidence of who buried the dead at Mynydd Hyddgen (1401) and Pwll Melyn (1405), the other inter-cultural battles of this study. Therefore, further research into other medieval English inter-cultural battles, such as those fought against the Irish, is needed to provide light on the issue.

While it is possible that different parties were expected to dispose of the dead depending on whether the battle was inter- or intra-cultural, evidence from Agincourt suggests that expectations of who buried the dead may have been more flexible. Thus, while the *Chronicle of Peter Basset* claims that it was the victor who oversaw the burial 'both of his own side and of the side of his enemy'; the *Memoires de Pierre de Fenin* implies that the victors left the dead unburied, and that they were then buried by a local bishop.[212] The reliability of these sources or the truth of who buried the Agincourt dead here is irrelevant. What is important is that these source writers identified different burial agents at the same battle. This indicates that there was not a consistent practice or rigid expectation of who would bury the battle dead according to the type of battle. Instead, it suggests that contemporaries may have taken a more flexible, pragmatic approach, determining who buried the dead according to the unique situation of the battle.

The battle accounts give the impression that it was largely just the victors who buried burying the dead. It seems likely that a far greater range of people will have been involved, however, whose contribution many of the sources writers, particularly those writing at a distance of time or space, may have been unaware of. One group that was almost certainly involved on a regular basis, but who receive no mention in the battle accounts, were locals. There may be an oblique reference to their involvement in the papal legate's letter relating to the battle of Northampton (1460).[213] Here, the legate described how some of the dead 'could not be buried' because 'public opinion…considered those men excommunicated'.[214] It seems likely that the public included locals who witnessed the battle and how Coppini bore the

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[212] "The Chronicle of Peter Basset (1459, French)," in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretation*, ed. Anne Curry (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), p. 88; Pierre de Fenin, "Memoires De Pierre De Fenin (?1430s, French)," in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Anne Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), p. 119.
[213] Teramo, "No. 360 Letter of Bishop of Teramo."
[214] Ibid.

cross, and who then refused to bury some of the dead, thus implying their involvement. It was in locals' interests, of course, to help in the disposal of the dead, in order to clear their land and to prevent decomposing bodies from causing health issues. None of the sources gives any indication of how long it would have taken to bury the dead, although this would have varied for each battle depending on factors like the weather, terrain and number of bodies requiring burial. In most cases, it probably took days, but it seems unlikely that the victorious commanders will have stayed on the battlefield until all the dead had been buried. This means that they may have had to leave detachments of men to finish the clean-up operation, although on other occasions, particularly where the armies had other objectives to pursue, they may have abandoned the field and left the locals to finish the task themselves.

Overall, while the sources imply that the victorious army often played a role in disposing of the dead, particularly where their victory had been decisive and they had the time to linger on the battlefield, it seems unlikely that they were the only people involved. Instead, a wide range of people will have been involved from friends, family and servants of the deceased to locals. The battle accounts fail to depict the complexities of all the people who will have been involved in the disposal of the dead, which most likely results from the fact that most were writing at a distance in time and space and so were unaware of this activity.

3.6 Archaeological implications

All of the historical evidence has now been discussed, so this section will move on to look at what implications the understanding that has been gained from the historical sources has for archaeologists and the interpretation of battle burials. The comparison of the historical and archaeological battle burial data sets is useful because it allows both sets of data and the interpretations that have arisen from them to be tested against each other. For example, archaeological discoveries that attest to battle burial practices not found in the historical sources might imply that there are gaps in the historical record. In identifying such gaps, this work can set a research agenda for both historians and archaeologists. The discussion will focus on the burials from Towton (1461) and Stoke (1487) discussed in Chapter 1, because they are the only two battles for this period where excavations were conducted under modern conditions and relatively detailed reports on the findings were produced.

Between 1996 and 2005 a mass grave containing over thirty individuals along with a single and triple burial were excavated at Towton Hall (Figure 17).[215] They are likely to have stood in the grounds of a chapel, the existence of which was noted in a papal bull of 1467.[216] This bull described how some of the battle dead had been buried in the chapel's grounds, but that some had also been buried 'hard by it' implying there was very little space in the grounds.[217] The excavated burials occur in close proximity to each other, which is likely to be a result of them having been buried in the close confines of the chapel's grounds.[218] The recovery of building material consistent with a chapel in the area also supports the suggestion that these burials occurred next to or in the chapel.[219] This is significant, as the original interpretation of the mass grave was that it contained Lancastrians killed in the rout of that army, who were buried close to where they fell, since the mass grave was found 1.6km north of the archaeologically located battlefield.[220] This interpretation does not fit well with the historical evidence discussed here. The battle accounts suggest that the individuals most likely to be taken for a church burial were the high-status dead, not those men who had simply fallen in closest proximity to a church.

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[215] See section 2.3.1 for a discussion of the Towton Hall burials and the evidence that they are linked to the battle of Towton. Fiorato, Boylston, and Knüsel, *Blood Red Roses*; Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.".

[216] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 91.

[217] Ibid., p. 91.

[218] Ibid., pp. 90-2; Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 122.

[219] Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology", p. 91; Sutherland pers comm. 22/01/2018.

[220] Sutherland, "The Archaeological Investigation of the Towton Battlefield.", p. 166.
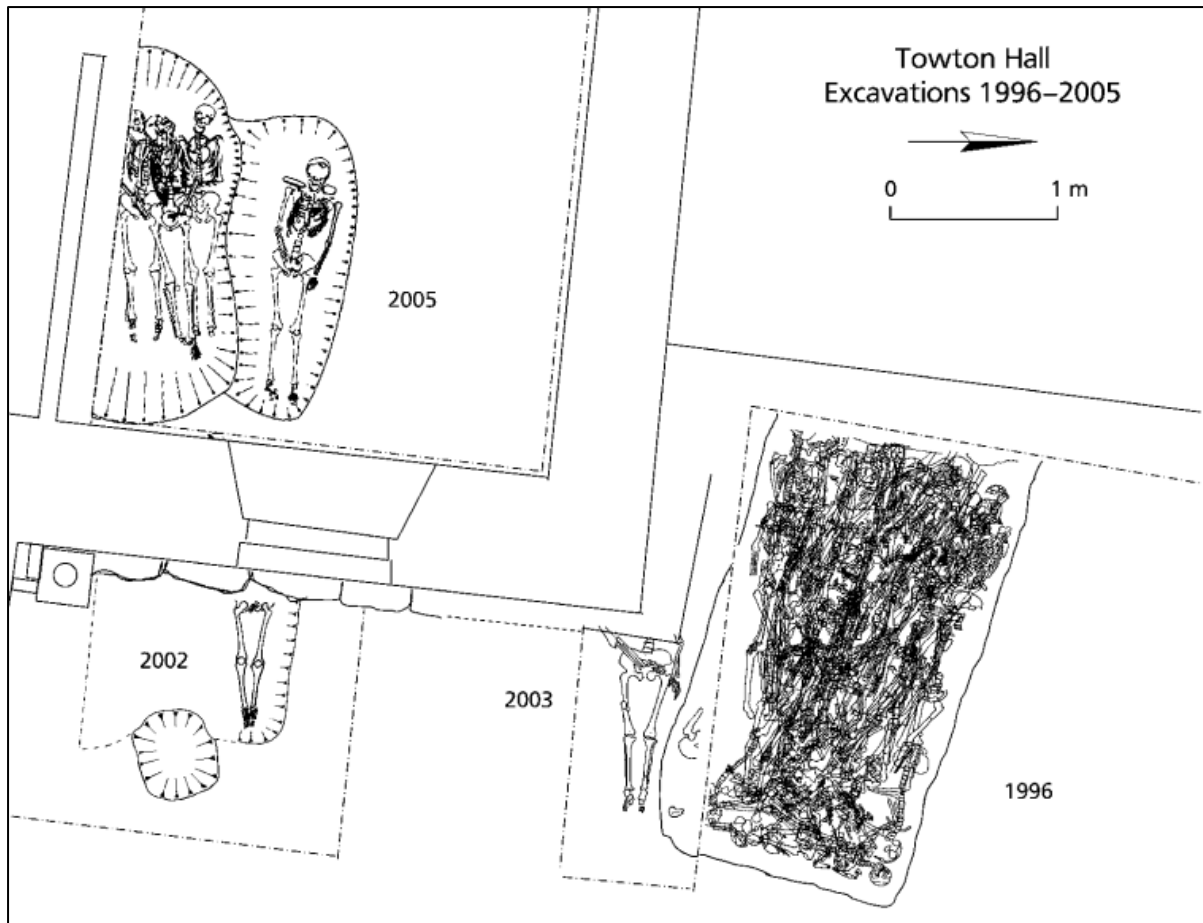
Figure 17. A drawing showing the locations of the burials found at Towton Hall and the years in which they were excavated (Sutherland and Holst 2014, 91).

The historical evidence may suggest that the interpretation of the Towton Hall mass grave containing Lancastrians is incorrect, but this study has also noted that contemporary source writers showed little interest in battle disposal practices. This is important as it raises the possibility that the historical record does not describe all battle burial practices. In fact, none of the historical sources attest to mass graves being used when burying those combatants brought for a church burial, yet the Towton Hall evidence would suggest that it did occur. Therefore, even though the majority of the historical evidence suggests that the mass grave is most likely to contain high-status men, this is not necessarily the case. Indeed, it seems quite unlikely that contemporaries would have gone to the effort of finding and conveying the bodies of the high-status to the church so that they could receive a normative burial only to give them an undignified, non-normative burial in a mass grave.

Evidence from Tewkesbury (1471) may present a more plausible explanation for the Towton Hall mass grave. An eyewitness account describes how some of the defeated

combatants fled to Tewkesbury Abbey, because they hoped 'to have bene relevyd and savyd from bodily harme', by claiming sanctuary in the church.[221] Although the writer goes on to claim that the victor, Edward IV, 'gave them all his fre pardon', the *Chronicle of Tewkesbury* gives a decidedly more violent version of events.[222] It maintains that the church had to be reconsecrated because of the blood shed in its grounds, suggesting that those who fled to the church were killed, not pardoned.[223] The *Chronicle's* version is more reliable as the writer is likely to have been a monk in the abbey, who would have been present at the reconsecration.[224] The *Arrivall's* author, on the other hand, was a servant of Edward IV who would probably have tailored his account to present his master in the best possible light, and therefore may have lied about events at the Abbey.[225] Although nothing is said about where those killed in the Abbey grounds were buried, since it was the normative place of burial, it is likely that they were buried there. Something similar occurred at Evesham (1265). A chronicle, thought to have been written in the town by an eyewitness shortly after the battle, graphically describes how the defeated army was pursued and 'everywhere killed'.[226] This included inside Evesham Abbey, which was 'sprayed with the blood of the wounded and dead' and bodies lay thick within the church and cemetery.[227] Again, no place of burial is given, but it seems unlikely that anywhere other than the Abbey was used. These examples raise the possibility that the Towton Hall mass grave does contain routed Lancastrians, who may have sought sanctuary at the chapel during the rout, but who instead were killed and then buried there.

If the mass grave is most likely to contain the bodies of routed Lancastrians, what about the single and triple graves found next to it? These burials were notable because the dead had been laid in the grave according to normative practice, whereas many in the mass grave had not – some were buried face down, while others did not lie along the traditional east-west orientation.[228] Various theories have been proposed to explain the differences, but none has gained favour over the others. Can applying the knowledge gained from the historical record shed any light on the issue? One suggestion for the differentiation is that the mass grave contains Lancastrians, whereas the smaller capacity burials contain the bodies of

[221] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 30.
[222] Anon, "From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey, 1471.", p. 377.
[223] Ibid., p. 377.
[224] Museum, "Tewkesbury.", pp. 2-3.
[225] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 1.
[226] de Laborderie, Maddicott, and Carpenter, "The Last Hours of Simon De Montfort", pp. 411-2.
[227] Ibid., pp. 385, 389, 411-2.
[228] Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 5.

victorious Yorkists, who were buried more carefully as a means of being honoured.[229] There is some historical evidence for the defeated and victorious dead being treated differently, at the battles of Bryn Glas and Northampton. However, it has also been argued that the events at Northampton are likely to have been unique due to the presence of the papal legate, and the inter-cultural nature of Bryn Glas could also have affected the treatment of the dead. Therefore, while there is some historical support for this theory, it is minimal. Moreover, much of the evidence discussed has suggested that the dead were buried in the easiest and quickest way possible. This reduces the likelihood that the dead would have treated differently according to their military allegiance, as it would have been very time-consuming, particularly as there would have been problems in differentiating the dead, since they did not wear uniforms in this period.

Another interpretation of the different burial forms, which was proposed by Sutherland and Holst, is that the smaller capacity burials were more careful as they occurred once the mass grave had been filled.[230] By this point, there would have been fewer bodies, so the dead could be buried normally rather than in a way to maximise the available space.[231] Unfortunately, none of the historical data collected here can test this hypothesis. The historical sources can offer yet another interpretation, however. At Tewkesbury, permission was given for the dead to be buried 'where it pleasyd the[ir] servaunts, frends or neighbowrs'.[232] This raises the possibility that the variation in the form of burial could have resulted from different burial agents. Individuals who were concerned only with maximising the space may have buried those in the mass grave; whereas friends or comrades who were concerned with giving the dead an appropriate, honourable burial may have buried those in the smaller graves.

Another plausible explanation for the differences between the burials is that the individuals in the smaller graves were higher status and so were buried with more care.[233] Certainly the historical evidence suggests that high-status individuals were those most likely to be conveyed for a Christian burial, and the fact that a deliberate effort was made to take them would suggest that they were probably also buried with some care, according to normative practice. Unfortunately, an individual's status cannot be determined from their

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[229] Ibid., p. 5.
[230] Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 101.
[231] Ibid., p. 101.
[232] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 31.
[233] Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 5.

skeleton, so it is not possible to test whether the individuals in the smaller capacity graves were higher status than those in the mass grave. Overall, there is not enough evidence from the battle accounts studied here to be able to say which interpretation, if any, is the most likely to be true.

A mass grave containing at least eight individuals that was excavated in 1982 is thought to have resulted from the battle of Stoke (1487).[234] The Battlefield Register locates the battlefield to the south-west of East Stoke and to the north of Syerston village, with Henry VII's ultimately victorious army having approached from the south-west.[235] The rebel army is thought to have deployed on Burnham Furlong, with Henry VII's army attacking from the south or southeast. [236] The mass grave actually occurs around a kilometre to the northeast of this location. [237] The Stoke battlefield has not yet been located archaeologically, therefore it is possible that the action has been misplaced or its extent underestimated. If it has not, however, then it seems likely that the mass grave resulted from the rout of the defeated rebel army, since it was found away from the theoretical battlefield in the direction that the rebels would have fled.[238] Further weight is lent to this interpretation from the observation that the mass grave occurred close to the ancient enclosures of East Stoke. [239] These narrow passages would have restricted the rebels' flight and made them especially vulnerable to being caught and killed by their pursuers, thus increasing the likelihood of finding rout burials in that area.[240] While the interpretation seems reliable, there is no historical evidence to support it: none of the historical sources mention rout burials or where they might have occurred. The Stoke burials, therefore, may be further proof that the picture of battle disposal practices presented by the historical sources is incomplete.

In section 4.4, it was suggested that those who drowned as the result of a battle would also have been buried close to where their bodies had been retrieved. This has some important archaeological implications, which can be best illustrated using an historical example. In a letter to the papal legate describing the battle of Towton, George Neville noted that 'At the town of Tadcaster, eight miles from York, very many of the fugitives were

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[234] See section 2.3.2 for a discussion of the mass grave and the evidence linking it to the battle. Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", p. 4; Seward, "Stoke Field", p. 47; "HER Record M17856.", p. 1.
[235] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Stoke Field 1487," (London, 1995)., pp. 1, 4.
[236] Ibid., p. 7.
[237] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 32-3.
[238] Ibid., pp. 32-3; Museum, "Stoke Field.", p. 7.
[239] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, pp. 32-3.
[240] Ibid., pp. 32-3.

drowned in the river'.[241] Tadcaster is around 5km to the north of the Towton battlefield. Therefore, if the dead were recovered and buried close to where they had drowned, then burials relating to Towton would be expected some 5km to the north of the battlefield. Towton was not an isolated incident; accounts for the battles of Homildon Hill (1402), Sark (1448), Northampton (1460), Tewkesbury (1471) and Flodden (1513) all mention combatants drowning.[242] This indicates that archaeologists cannot always expect battle-related burials to occur on the centre of the battlefield or just in churches. Instead, they must take into account routs and the locations where combatants might have fled or drowned.

3.7 Conclusions

The disposal of the battle dead was not a topic of great interest to late medieval source writers, hence why relatively few battle accounts mentioned the topic. When the subject was mentioned it was often because something unexpected had happened, such as the death of a particularly high status individual, such as Richard III or James IV or the unusual treatment of the dead, as at Bryn Glas. The content of the late medieval battle accounts clearly shows that the expectation and reality for the battle dead was that they would be buried. What little evidence there is indicates that the majority of the battle dead would have been buried on the battlefield, but that the high-status, particularly the upper elite, were more likely to have been removed for a church burial. The high-status dead were taken to a range of churches. Some were buried in those closest to the battlefield, suggesting that practicality was the dominant factor in the place of burial. Others were buried in churches that were still close to the battlefield, but which were also the most prestigious in the immediate area, suggesting that while practicality was still important on these occasions, consideration could also be given to

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[241] Neville, "No. 370. Neville to Coppini."

[242] Otterbourne, "Chronica Regum Angliae.", p. 237; Thomson, *The Auchinleck Chronicle : Ane Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for Addicioun : To Which Is Added a Short Chronicle of the Reign of James the Second, King of Scots, MCCCCXXXVI-MCCCCLXI*, p. 19; Anon, "Gregory's Chronicle," in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Camden Record Society, 1876), p. 207; "A Brief Latin Chronicle, Being the Concluding Portion of a Work Entitled "Compilatio De Gestis Britonum Et Anglorum", from Ms Arundel 5, College of Arms," in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stow, the Antiquary, and Contemporary Notes of Occurences Written by Him in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* ed. James Gairdner (London: Camden Society, 1880), p. 169; "Annales Rerum Anglicarum. Ex Qutographo in Bibliotheca Collegii Armorum Londini," in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Green and Roberts, 1864), p. 773; Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 30; Antonio Bavarin, "Number 337. Antonio Avarin to the Pesari of London," ed. Rawdon Brown, trans. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, volume 2, 1509-1519* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Ofice, 1867), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol2/pp138-150; Lorenzo Pasqualigo, "Number 340. Lorenzo Pasqualigo to His Brothers in Venice," ed. Rawdon Brown, trans. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of state Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, volume 2, 1509-1519* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867), http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol2/pp138-150.

the status of the dead, and the desire to bury them in an institution that would most adequately reflect their status. Yet other individuals were buried in churches on their homelands or churches that had been specified in their wills. In these cases, practicality was a minor concern, as many of the dead were conveyed significant distances.

As for those buried on the battlefield, no explicit spiritual provision was made for the care of their souls in the immediate aftermath of a battle; they were simply buried in unconsecrated ground. This implies a lack of care for non-elite combatants amongst those high-status men responsible for the burial of the dead. This lack of care becomes particularly apparent when the lack of spiritual provision is compared to the effort that clearly went into giving some of the high-status dead a normative church burial. For all of the battles where there is evidence of battlefield burial, there was evidence that spiritual provision was later made for the dead, showing that there was some contemporary concern for the souls of the dead, but this was always years after the battle. Moreover, these provisions, which included the founding of chantry chapels or the exhumation and reburial of the dead, never seem to have been instigated by those who had been responsible for the battlefield interment of the dead, a point that further supports the argument that there was a lack of care for the lower status dead.

The lack of contemporary interest in the disposal of the dead means that there is relatively little historical data on which to draw. As a result, in the comparison of the archaeological and historical data, the archaeological examples have more implications for our historical understanding of battle disposal practices than vice versa. Thus, the Towton Hall mass grave attests to the use of mass graves for the church burial of the battle dead, something not attested to by the historical sources. While the Stoke mass grave suggests that the rout dead may have been buried close to where they fell, again something which is not mentioned in the battle accounts. This clearly suggests that the battle accounts do not give a comprehensive picture of late medieval battle disposal practices. This highlights the need for further historical research in relation to this period, perhaps using different types of source or expanding the geographical boundaries of the study, in order to acquire more historical data.

Chapter 4: Mid-Tudor battles (1542-49)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses those battles fought during the mid-Tudor period, which has been defined for the purposes of this study as 1542-49. The English fought only nine battles in Britain in this period. This is a small sample size to analyse, particularly in comparison to the two other groups of battles studied here. However, it is important to consider the mid-Tudor battles separately to those fought in the late medieval and Stuart phases, in order to detect any changes or conflict in practice that occurred over time, particularly any that might have occurred as a result of the Reformation[1], which was happening in this period. A number of the mid-Tudor battles were fought as a direct result of the Reformation, such as the battles of the Prayer Book Rebellion, where locals were protesting against the newly instituted Protestant Prayer Book.[2] These will be of particular interest in detecting if there were any alterations to battle disposal practice that resulted from the religious changes.

Some background knowledge on the battles under investigation is required, in order to understand the context in which the battle disposal practices that will be observed took place. Three of the actions included in this group of analysis were Anglo-Scottish affairs. These were Ancrum Moor (1545) and Pinkie (1547), which were both fought in Scotland and Solway Moss (1542), which was fought in the English borders (Figure 18).[3] Solway Moss was similar to Flodden, the last Anglo-Scots battle to have been fought, in that it also resulted from the long-term alliance between the Scottish and French.[4] As in 1513, Henry was planning to invade France in 1542.[5] He wanted his northern border to be secure in his absence and so tried to force Scotland into a truce.[6] Henry sent an invasion force into Scotland, but it failed to meet the Scots in battle and so King James of Scotland, angry at the invasion, decided to conduct his own invasion.[7] James' army met a native force in the

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[1] It is probably more accurate to refer to 'reformations' rather than 'the Reformation', but for the sake of ease and understanding I shall use the capitalised term 'Reformation' throughout, meaning the general change from Catholicism to Protestantism.

[2] Julian Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 40.

[3] Historic Environment Scotland, "Battle of Ancrum Moor, Btl2," http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/BTL2.; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Solway Moss 1542," (London: English Heritage, 1995)., p. 1.

[4] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, p. 147; National Army Museum, "Solway Moss.", p. 1.

[5] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, p. 147.

[6] Ibid., p. 147.

[7] Ibid., pp. 149-53; National Army Museum, "Solway Moss.", p. 1; Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings : Mary Queen of Scots 1542-1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 79-80.

English borders and was defeated.[8] James died soon after leaving an infant heir and this led to the other two Anglo-Scots battles of this period.[9] Henry saw the opportunity to forge an alliance with the Scots, by marrying his son to the infant heir, but he failed by diplomatic means and so decided to try military force.[10] Part of this strategy involved border raiding, and this led to the battle of Ancrum Moor after a retiring English raiding force encountered a Scottish army and was defeated.[11] The other aspect of the plan involved larger-scale campaigns into Scotland, of which one resulted in the battle of Pinkie, won by the English.[12] The six remaining battles were all fought in England in 1549, as part of civil uprisings. Dussindale was fought in Norfolk as part of Kett's Rebellion, which resulted from the people reacting to unpopular field enclosures and saw the rebels defeated by a Royalist army after they had captured Norwich and the surrounding area.[13] The other five battles (Fenny Bridges, Woodbury, Clyst St Mary, Clyst Heath and Sampford Courtenay) were all won by a Royalist army and were fought as part of the Prayer Book Rebellion in Devon, in which locals had taken arms in protest over the imposition of the *Book of Common Prayer*.[14]

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[8] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 150-3; National Army Museum, "Solway Moss.", p. 1; Merriman, *The Rough Wooings : Mary Queen of Scots 1542-1551*, pp. 79-80.
[9] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 150-3; National Army Museum, "Solway Moss.", p. 1.
[10] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 156-8.
[11] Ibid., pp. 169-71.
[12] Ibid., pp. 183-99.
[13] Diarmuid MacCulloch, "Kett's Rebellion in Context," *Past and Present* 84 (1979), pp. 37, 39; Alex Hodgkins, "Reconstructing Rebellion: Digital Terrain Analysis of the Battle of Dussindale (1549)," *Internet Archaeology* 38 (2015).
[14] Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549*, pp. 35, 40.
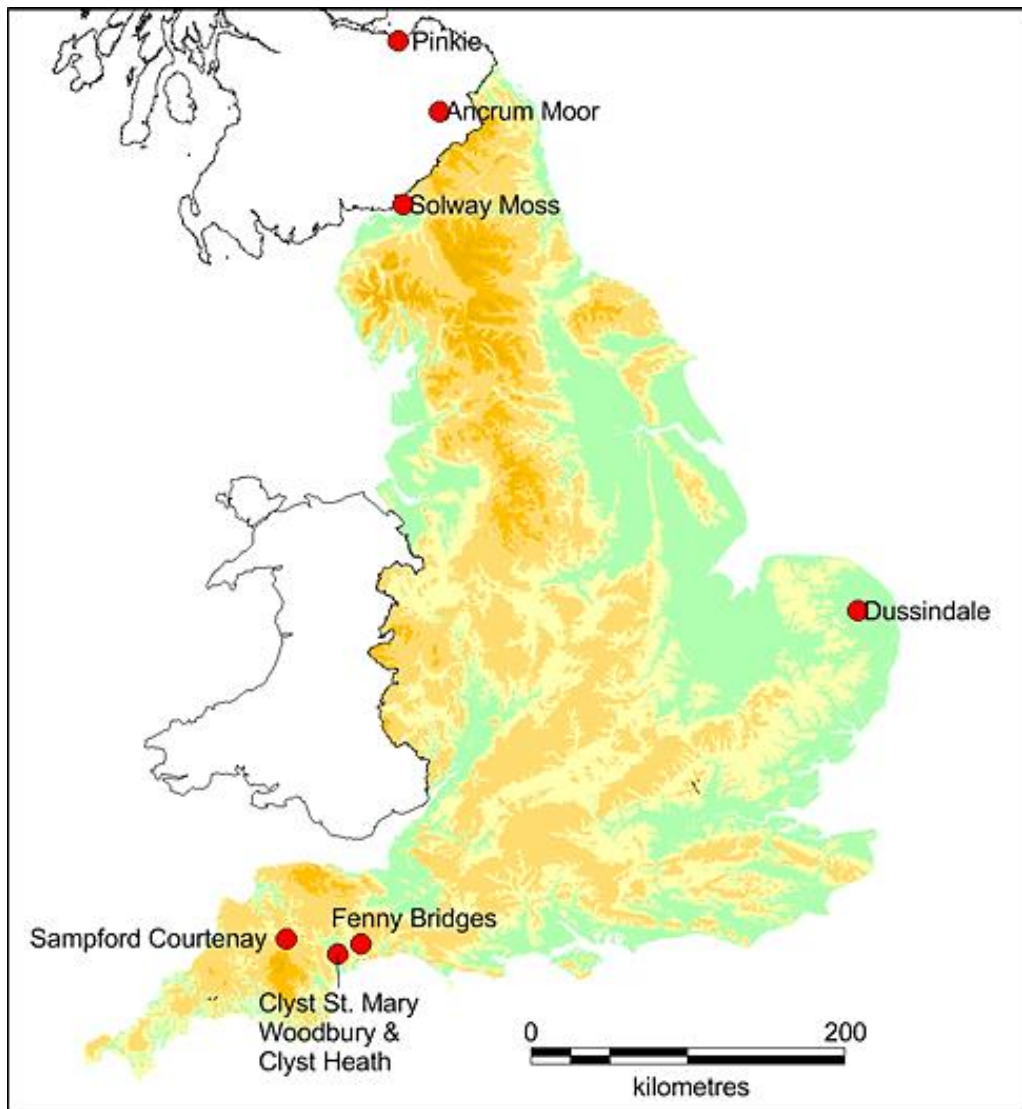
Figure 18. A map showing the location of the mid-Tudor battles.

Fifty-four accounts describing these nine battles were studied, of which five (9.3%) were written by eyewitnesses, and the remaining 49 (90.7%) by second hand authors (Figure 19). The majority of these sources consisted of letters and histories, but a handful of biographies, legal documents, narrative accounts and political diaries were also studied (Figure 20). As with many of the late medieval sources, it was difficult to date the mid-Tudor battle accounts - -Only 25 could be reasonably dated but, of these, most were written either within a month or over twenty years after a battle had taken place (Figure 21).
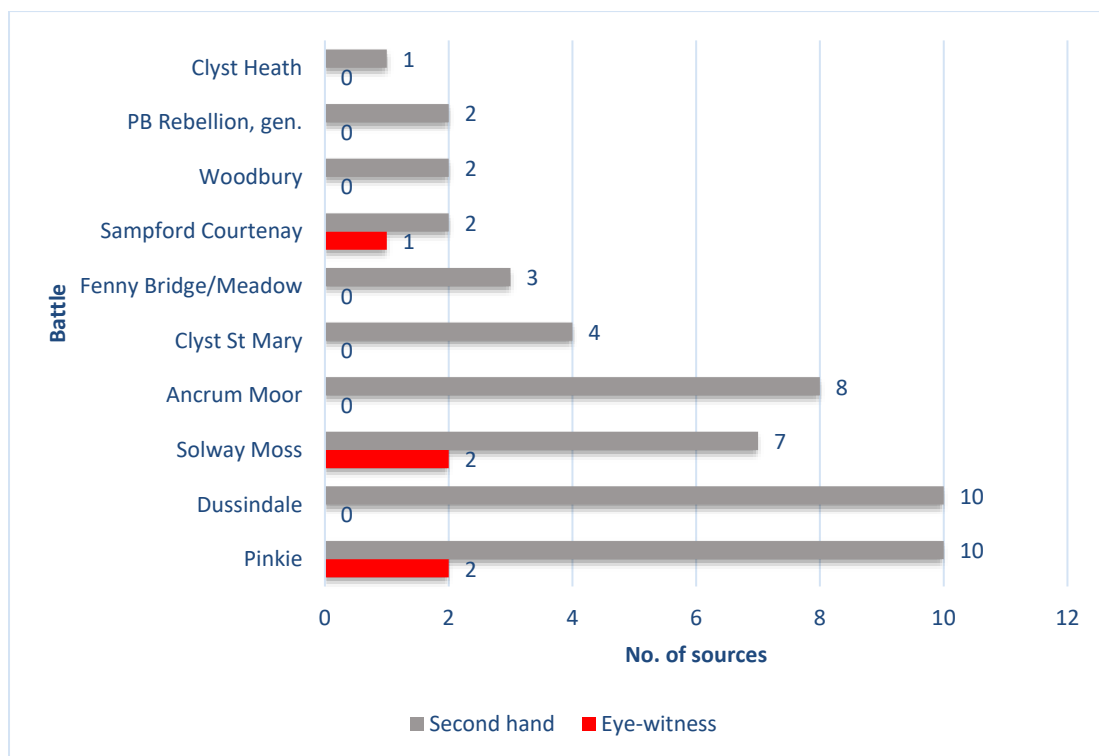
Figure 19. A bar chart showing the total number of sources studied for the mid-Tudor battles, divided according to whether they were written by second hand or eyewitness authors. Arranged by the total number of sources for each battle, smallest to largest.[15]
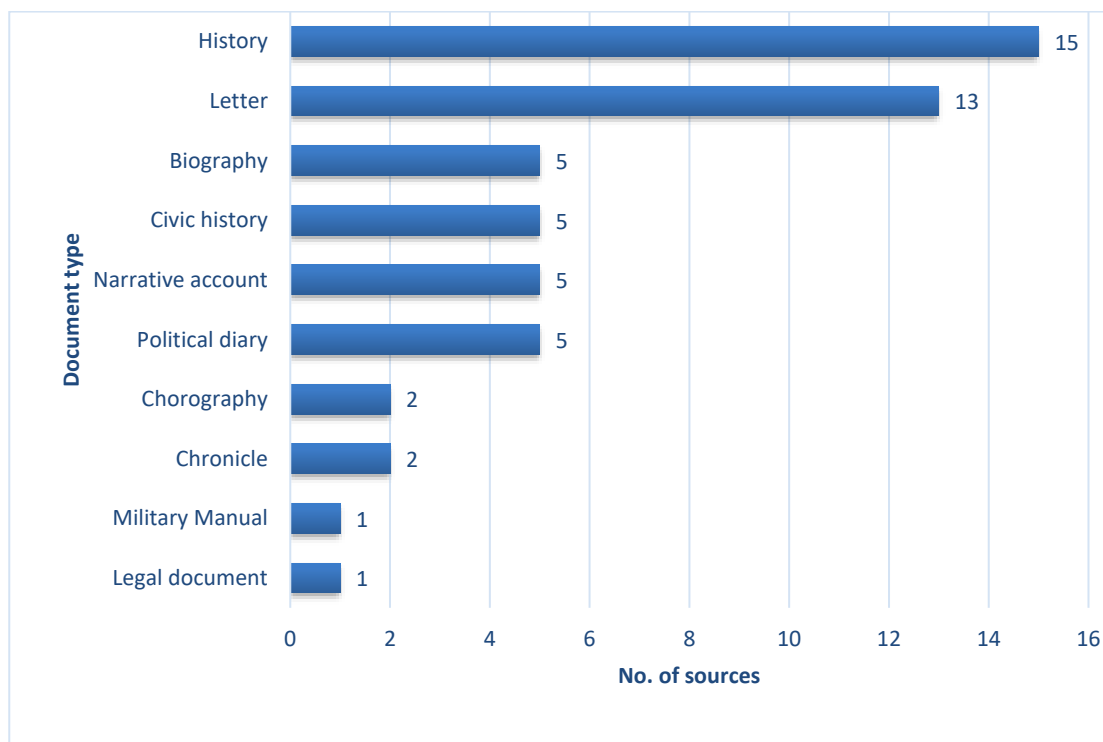
Figure 20. A chart showing the number of each different type of document studied for the mid-Tudor battles.

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[15] Please note, some of the sources for the Prayer Book Rebellion fail to differentiate between the various battles, therefore for the purposes of the numerical analysis, a tenth category – Prayer Book Rebellion General or PB Rebellion General – has been added.
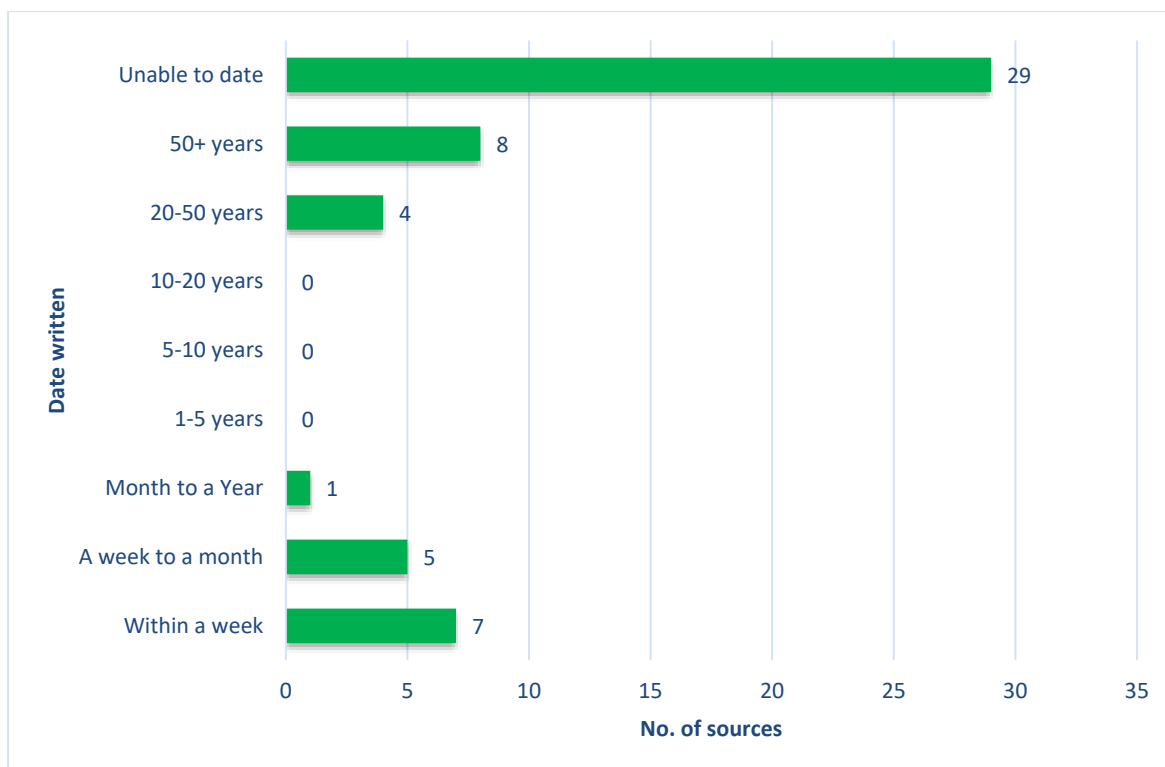
Figure 21. A bar chart showing when the mid-Tudor battle accounts were written, in relation to when the battle they describe took place.

4.2 Quantitative analysis of the battle accounts

As with the previous chapter, the analysis will begin by looking at the data quantitatively, in order to get a better general understanding of battle accounts and those writing them. Of the 54 sources studied, only seven (13.0%) referred to the disposal of the dead (Figure 22). This is once again a surprisingly low proportion, particularly given that 85.2% (45/54) of all accounts did mention the dead in some way. This suggests that mid-Tudor writers, like those from the earlier period, were not interested in the fate of the dead; a point supported by the fact that none of the shortest accounts (those under 100 words in length) mentioned the disposal of the dead. The brevity of these accounts meant that the source writers generally only gave the most important details of the event, so the failure of all to refer to the disposal of the dead suggests that the topic was not a high priority to source writers (Figure 23). There is further evidence for this lack of interest in two accounts of Pinkie (1547), those by Holinshed and Hayward. [16] Both failed to mention the disposal of the dead. [17] This is particularly telling as the wording of both suggests that they relied heavily on Patten's

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[16] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*'s full account of the battle pp. 787-83; Hayward, Sir John, *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt* (London: printed for Iohn Partridge, 1630), pp. 32-6.

[17] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*'s full account of the battle pp. 787-83; Hayward, Vaughan, *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt*, pp. 32-6.

account of the battle, which contains the most detailed description of battle burials of any of the mid-Tudor sources.[18] This indicates that Holinshed and Hayward deliberately chose to omit any mention of the disposal of the dead, most likely because they considered the subject to be of little interest.
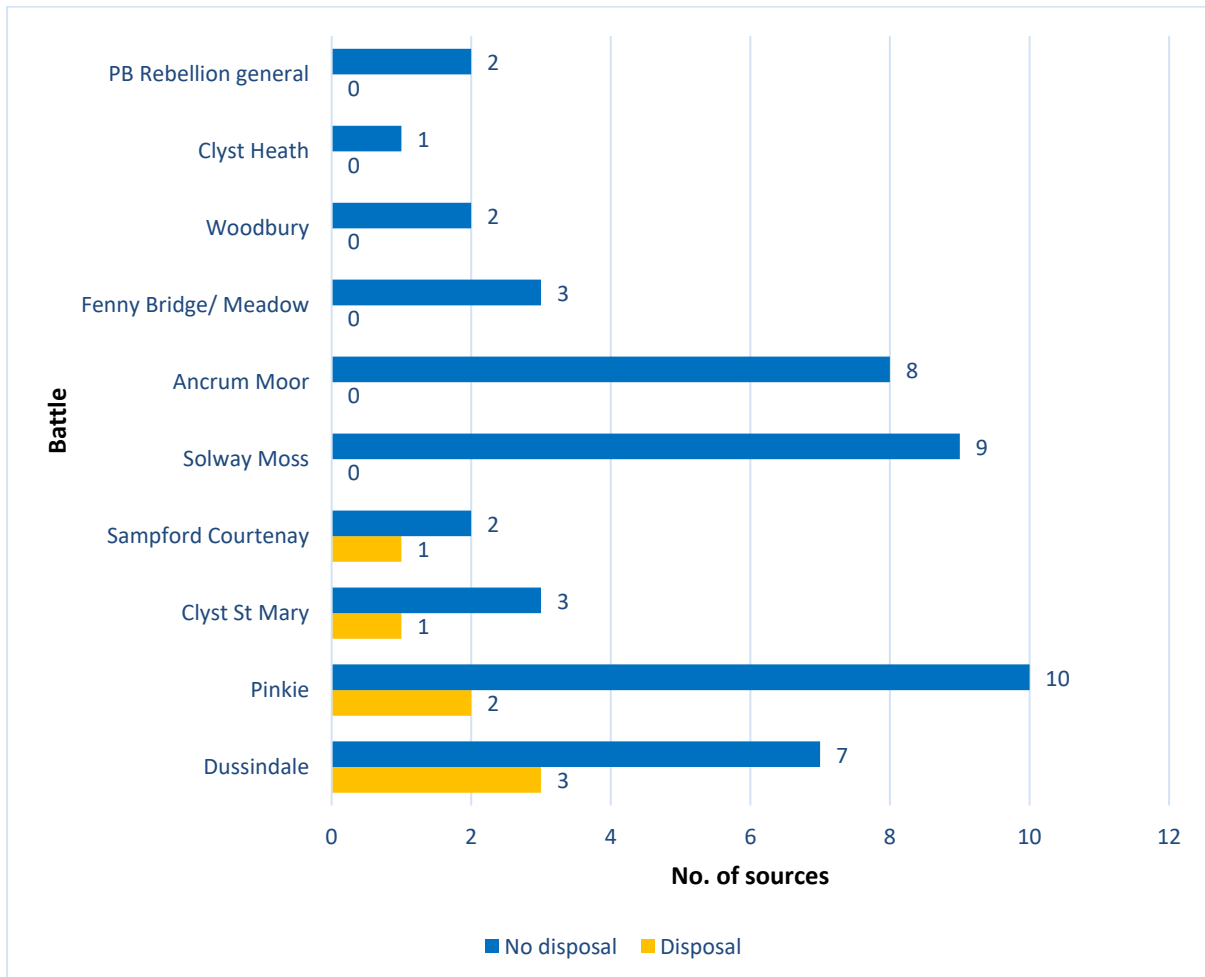
Figure 22. A chart showing how few mid-Tudor sources for each battle refer to the disposal of the dead in comparison to the number that do. Arranged by number of sources that mention the disposal of the dead, smallest to largest.

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[18] C.f. Patten doc im 102b and Holinshed, vol. 3, pp. 880-1 and Patten doc im 103b with Hayward, pp. 34-5; Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*'s full account of the battle pp. 787-83; Hayward, *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt*, pp. 32-6.
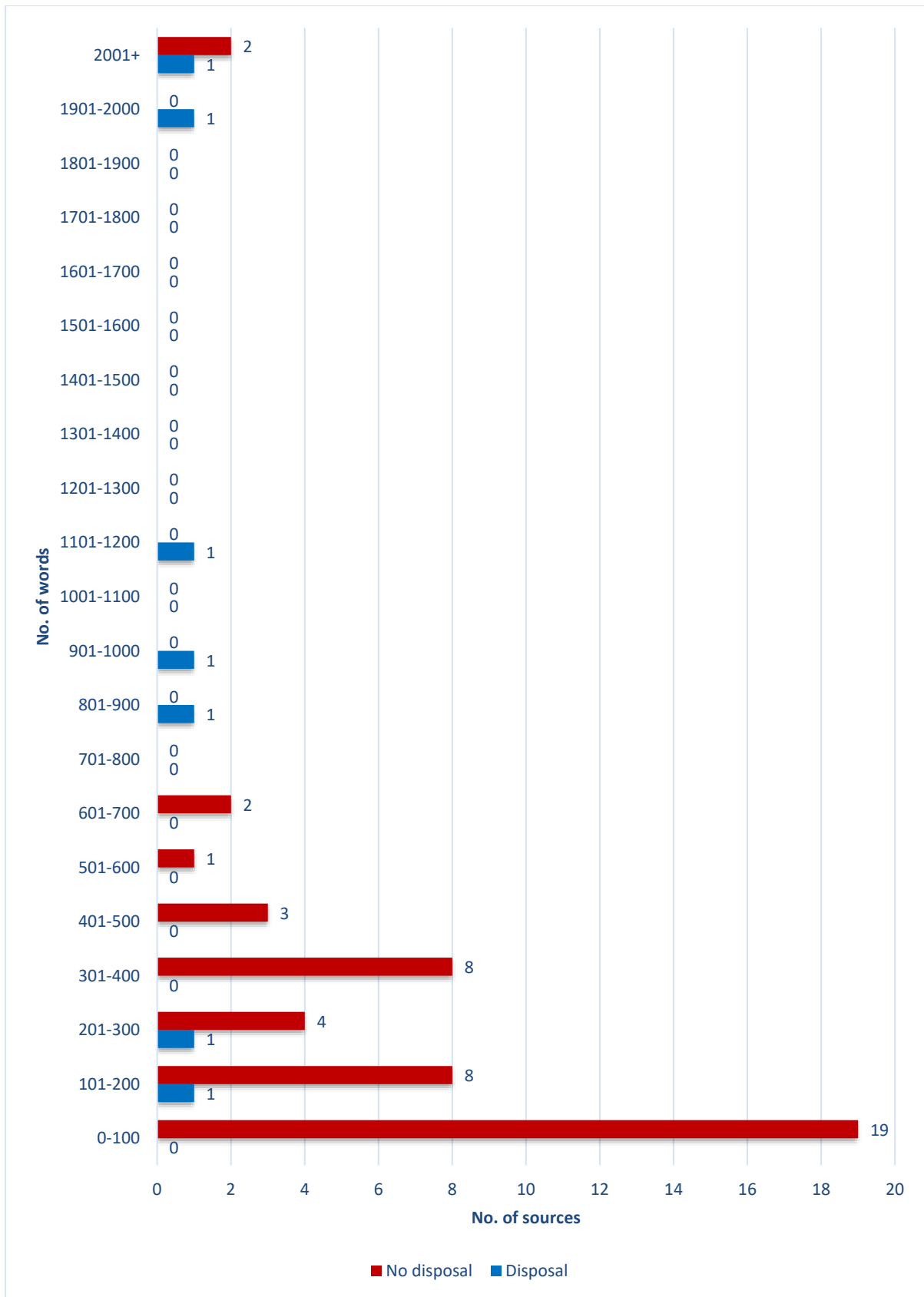
Figure 23. A chart comparing the number of mid-Tudor sources that mention the disposal of the dead by the length of their battle accounts. It is clear that the longer accounts are more likely to refer to the disposal of the dead.

The data set for the numerical analysis of the mid-Tudor period was relatively small, and this made it difficult to observe patterns and relationships. None of the sources that mentioned the dead could be dated accurately, for example, so it was not possible to observe if the date a source writer composed their account had an effect on whether or not they referred to the disposal of the dead. One point did emerge from the numerical analysis, though. Narrative accounts were substantially more likely to mention the disposal of the dead than other types of source. They accounted for only 9.3% (5/54) of the mid-Tudor sources, yet made up 57.1% (4/7) of the accounts that mentioned the disposal of the dead (Figure 24). When the nature and purpose of these accounts is considered, it does not become particularly surprising that so many considered the fate of the dead. All of the narrative accounts were written to describe very specific events, such as Kett's Rebellion or the Pinkie military campaign, which all involved battles studied here.[19] Their purpose, therefore, meant that each account went into some descriptive depth, looking at many aspects of these events so that their readers could fully comprehend what happened. This included describing the battles and their aftermaths in detail.
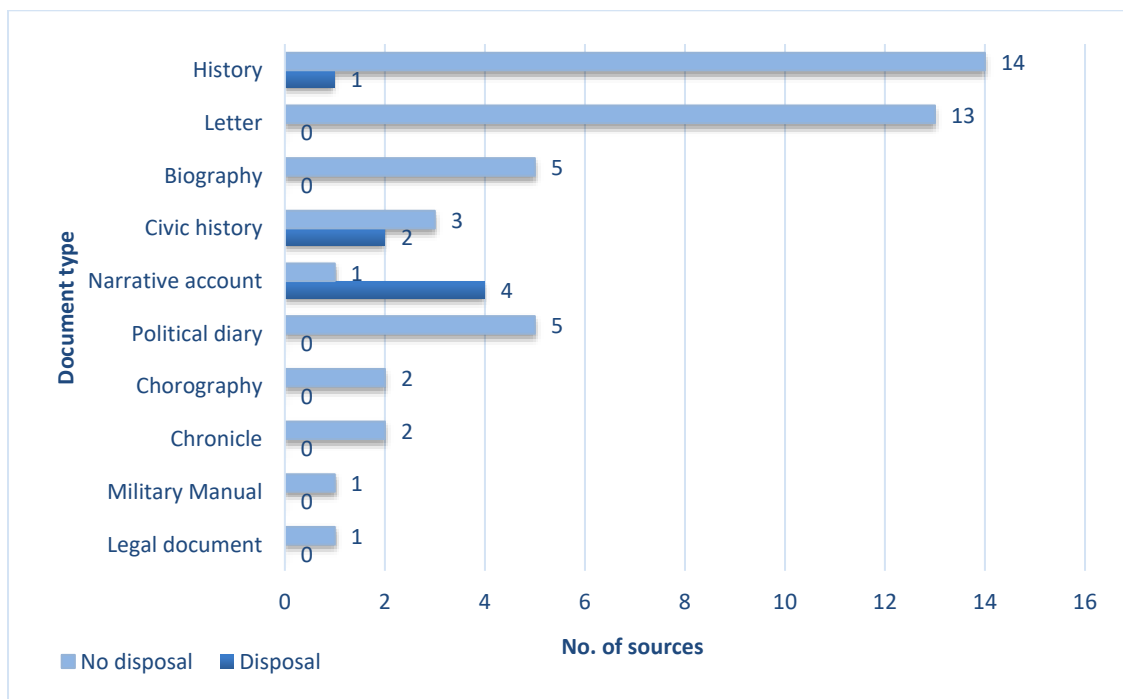
Figure 24. A chart showing the mid-Tudor source-document types that refer to the disposal of the dead in comparison to the number that do not. Arranged by total number of each source type studied.

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[19] E.g. William Patten, *The Expedicion into Scotla[N]De of the Most Worthely Fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Soomerset...* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548); Starker, "De Expeditione in Scotiam Commentarius," in *Papiers D'etat Pieces Et Documents Inedites Ou Peu Connus Relatifs a L'histoire Del'ecosse Au XVI Siecle Tires Des Bibliotheques Et Des Archives De France, Et Publies Pour Le Bannatyne Club D'edimbourg*, ed. A. Teulet (Paris: Bannatyne Club, 1852); Alexander Nevil, *Norfolke's Furies, or a View of Kett's Campe: Necessary for the Malcontents of Our Time...* trans. Richard Woods (London: William Stansby, 1615); Nicholas Sotherton, *The Commoyson in Norfolk 1549*, ed. Susan Yaxley (Stibbard: Larks Press, 1987).

Overall, numerical analysis of the mid-Tudor period sources is made difficult by the small sample size. What can be said is that the accounts writers again seem to have considered the disposal of the dead to be a minor topic of little interest. Although accounts describing very specific short-term events that involved battles were significantly more likely to mention the topic. This shows how the purpose of an account could affect the likelihood of whether the account writer mentioned the disposal of the dead. The analysis will now move on to considering what those seven accounts that mention the disposal of the dead say.

4.3 Form of disposal

Seven of the mid-Tudor battle accounts refer to the disposal of the dead and, within those accounts, there are nine references to the disposal of different individuals or groups of soldiers. All but one refer to the dead being buried. The exception comes from William Patten's eyewitness account of Pinkie (1547), which he wrote within a year of the campaign from notes he and the royal minister, William Cecil, had made.[20] Patten was marching home via 'the wey y^t the chiefe of the chase was continued in' when he saw the 'moste parte of the dead corpses liyng very ruefully'.[21] This was a week after the battle had been fought, showing that the dead were initially left unburied. However, the accounts for the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland note a payment of 22 shillings in September 1547 'to Hutoun and Robene Heriot to get cairttis to helpe to erd [i.e. to bury] the deid folks'.[22] This shows an intention that the dead would be buried. Clearly, then, if all of the disposal references are taken into account, burial was the expected form of disposal for the battle dead in this period. Of course, while the burial of the dead was clearly the intention, this does not rule out the possibility that some of the dead were left unburied unintentionally. The rout of the Scottish army after Pinkie took place over a wide area, so it is possible that some bodies were not found and buried immediately, particularly if the individual had been killed in an isolated area or died somewhere unexpected.[23] This idea could be developed in the future by researching the historic topography of battlefields and their environs. By establishing what a battlefield area looked like in detail at the time of the battle, researchers would be able to model a rout, and therefore suggest the most likely locations where combatants' bodies may have been left unburied for some time after the battle.

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[20] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 2b; Peter Sherlock, "Patten, William (d. in or after 1598)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21573 .
[21] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 130b.
[22] James Balfour Sir Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland = Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum* (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1911), p. 121.
[23] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 102-7.

While the intention was clearly for the Pinkie dead to be buried, there seems to have been some reluctance to do this. An entry in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for the month after the battle notes eight shillings paid to a messenger to 'pas to Mussilbirgh, Inneresk, Smetoun, Mountoun, Mountounhall, Sherefhall, and the remanent of the tounnes and lands of the baronyis of Mussilbirght to cause be erdit [buried] the deid persuunnes restande [lying] in the feildeis of Fawsyde'.[24] It is unclear what happened in the time between the initial entry, when some people clearly were working on the burial of the dead, and this entry, when that work seems to have stopped. Clearly, the locals were reluctant to bury the dead, hence the need for the order. This reluctance most likely arose from the fact that the task would take these people away from their own paid work, rather than because they were unwilling to bury the dead. Indeed, it would have been in their interests to do so, in order to clear the area for farming and to prevent the decomposing bodies becoming a health risk. The example is important as it shows that even where the intention was to bury the dead, the process could have been delayed for weeks or months.

Those who died under normal, everyday circumstances in this period were buried, so it is not at all surprising to find that the battle dead were also buried. However, one source demonstrates that contemporaries were aware of the need to inter the dead for more than just cultural and religious reasons. Nevil, describing the battle of Dussindale (1549), noted that the dead were buried 'lest there might breed some infection, or sicknesse from the sauour of the dead bodies'.[25] The account drew on the eyewitness testimony of Matthew Parker, who later became archbishop of Canterbury.[26] Parker's religious occupation may have made him particularly sensitive to the fate of the dead, and therefore more likely to mention the topic to Nevil, suggesting that the account in this regard may be reliable. This recognition of the health risks presented by large numbers of unburied bodies might suggest that Pinkie was unusual in delaying the burial of the dead so long.

In contrast to the apparent reluctance of some Pinkie locals to bury the dead, other individuals clearly placed a high degree of importance on the appropriate, normative burial of the dead. Thus, elsewhere in his account, Patten

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[24] Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, p. 129.
[25] Nevil, *Norfolke's Furies*.
[26] Hodgkins, "Reconstructing Rebellion,"; David J. Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie, "Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)," 2008 ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21327.

perceyued [many of the Scots] to haue bene beried in Undreske church yarde, the graues of whoom, ye Scots had very slyly for sight coouered agayn with grene turfe. By diuerse of these dead bodies wear thear set vp a stik with a clowte, with a rag, with an olde shoe or sum oother marke for knowlege, the which we vnderstode to be markes made by ye frendes of ye partie dead when they had found him, whoom then sith they durst not for feare or lack of leasure conuey awey to bery while we wear in those partes, thei had stict vp a mark to fynde hym the sooner when we wear goon.[27]

That these individuals would risk travelling to the battlefield while the enemy army was still in the area just to look for their friends' bodies indicates how important it was to them that such individuals received a decent interment. Moreover, they went to the effort of conveying their friends to the nearest churchyard for burial, even though that burial was only temporary and they could have just as easily buried them on the battlefield with a marker. This indicates the importance that some people placed on their loved ones receiving a normative Christian burial and clearly demonstrates that a normative church burial was the ideal burial location.

Overall, the evidence indicates that the typical, expected form of disposal in this period was burial. Although, the evidence from Pinkie indicates that, in some cases, this burial was sometimes delayed for weeks. This would have made the task of disposing of the bodies much more difficult and unpleasant, as the bodies would have been in more advanced stages of decomposition. Although, there is no evidence for when the Pinkie dead were buried; therefore, it is possible that the locals deliberately delayed the task, waiting for the majority of the soft tissue to decompose before they buried the dead, as this would have made the task easier.

4.4 Burial location

Only three of our nine disposal references explicitly state where the dead were buried. All three identify churches as the place of interment. Hooker made two of these references in relation to specific men killed at the battles of Clyst St Mary and Sampford Courtenay during the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549).[28] Both were taken back to Exeter and 'buried in martial Manner very honourably in the Body of the Cathedral Church'.[29] Hooker was a resident in

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[27] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 130b-131a.
[28] John Hooker, *The Antique Description and Account of the City of Exeter : In Three Parts...* (Exon: now first printed together by Andrew Brice, in Northgate-Street, 1765), pp. 79, 86-7.
[29] Ibid., pp. 79, 86-7.

the city at the time of these burials, and so is a reliable source of information.[30] He makes no mention of other Royalist soldiers being brought for a church burial even though others are known to have been killed.[31] This suggests that these two men may have been special, deliberately chosen to receive a church burial. The two casualties were relatively high-status men: Sir William Francis, killed at Clyst St Mary was a knight, and the Welshman ap Owen was a gentleman.[32] Therefore, it is possible that a greater effort was made to honour these men by giving them a normative church burial because of their status, in a continuation of the practice observed in the late medieval period. This is not the only plausible explanation, however. Hooker mentions that ap Owen was killed attacking 'more boldly than advised'.[33] Francis, meanwhile, 'was named to be the first that gave the adventure and made the entry' at Bishop's Clyst – that is, he was the first man to get past the rebel defences.[34] Therefore, it could be that the two men were given such honourable burials for their deeds in battle, rather than because of their status.

Exeter Cathedral appears to have been chosen specifically as the place of burial for these two men. Both ap Owen and Francis died in battles named after nearby settlements, so even though the precise location of the battlefields where they died is unknown, it is clear that they would have died near these communities. These settlements both had parish churches, therefore, there were legitimate places of burial for both men near to the place they had died, but instead both were taken to Exeter.[35] For Clyst St Mary this was only a journey of some 5km, but from Sampford Courtenay it was a considerable 30km (Figure 25). Furthermore, the movements of the Royalist army after Clyst St Mary are well documented: they stayed the night in the area and the following day they fought the battle of Clyst Heath.[36] Following their victory, Hooker says that they marched to Topsham where they stayed the night before coming to Exeter on 6 August.[37] The Royalists, therefore, had multiple opportunities to bury Francis, both in Clyst St Mary's parish church, but also Topsham, yet

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[30] Ibid., pp. 33, 49-65.
[31] Ibid., pp. 33, 49-65.
[32] Ibid., pp. 79, 86.
[33] Ibid., pp. 86.
[34] Ibid., pp. 75.
[35] Historic England, "Parish Church of St Mary: Grade II Listed Building," https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1333994.; "Church of St Andrew: Grade I Listed Building," British Listed Buildings, https://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101105290-church-of-st-andrew-sampford-courtenay#.WtcHTYjwaM9.
[36] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, p. 78.
[37] Ibid., pp. 79-80.

they chose to wait until they reached Exeter. This suggests that his burial was delayed deliberately and that Exeter Cathedral was explicitly chosen as his place of burial.
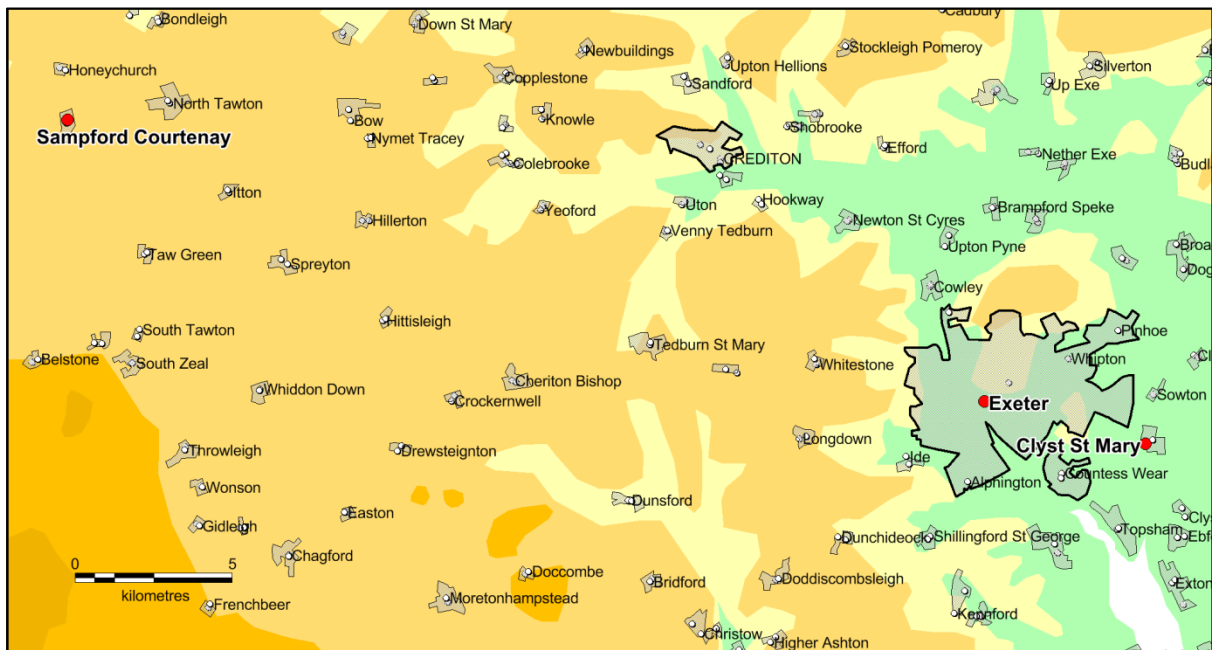
Figure 25. A map showing the positions of Clyst St Mary and Sampford Courtenay relative to Exeter, demonstrating the significant distances the bodies of Sir William Francis and ap Owen were taken for burial.

The same appears to have been true for ap Owen, although the movements of the Royalist army after Sampford Courtenay are not so precisely understood. We know that the battle was fought on 17 August, while the Royalist commander noted on 23 August that he was marching on Launceston.[38] The army's movements in between those dates are unclear. Cornwall and Troup both believe that the army continued their pursuit of the rebels into Cornwall, rather than retreating into Exeter after the battle and this seems logical.[39] Hooker does not specify when ap Owen was brought to Exeter and buried, so it is unclear if he was brought there straight after the battle, perhaps as part of a group sent back to the city to report on the victory or whether he was carried with the army until they returned to Exeter.[40] In either case, an explicit decision must have been made that ap Owen would be buried in Exeter, since the Royalists either deliberately chose to delay his burial while they finished subduing the rebels, rather than burying the body in any one of the churches they would have

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[38] Lord John Russell, "Appendix A: Lord John Russell's Report on Sampford Courtenay: 'A Copie of My Lord Privie-Seale's Newes, Sent in the Same Letter, Wherein Is Particular Mention of Motable Services of the Lord Gray and Sir William Herbert' 23 August 1549," in *Battlefields of the Prayer Book Rebellion: an archaeological resource assessment*, ed. Glenn Foard and Alex Hodgkins (Unpublished, 2009), p. 52.

[39] Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549*, p. 200; Frances B. Rose Mrs Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549. An Account of the Insurrections in Devonshire and Cornwall against Religious Innovations in the Reign of Edward VI. ... With Illustrations* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1913), pp. 300-1.

[40] Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549*, p. 201; Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, p. 87.

passed on the way. Alternatively, as seems more likely, they explicitly decided to dispatch his body to Exeter for immediate burial while they continued into Cornwall. This latter option may be implied by Hooker, since he noted only that ap Owen was 'after carried back to Exen', whereas he explicitly noted that the army 'carried with them' Francis' body after Clyst St Mary.[41]

We have demonstrated that both Francis and ap Owen were deliberately brought back to Exeter for burial, but why was Exeter selected? Hooker described ap Owen as a 'Welsh gentleman' and Francis as a man of 'Somersetshire', so they were not brought to Exeter for burial because it was their home parish.[42] The Royalists had spurned the option of burying both men in various parish churches close to where they had camped or marched, in order to bury them 'very honourably' in Exeter Cathedral.[43] Exeter was a major urban centre and the most important settlement in the region, and the Cathedral would have been at the heart of it. Therefore, the most likely explanation for why they were buried in Exeter is because the Royalists wanted to honour their men. This indicates that practicality was not always the primary factor that determined where the dead were buried. In this case, practicality was outweighed by the desire to honour the dead, which was achieved by burying them in the most important, prestigious church in the region.

One example that might have supported the argument that the status of the Prayer Book Rebellion men led to them being singled out for an honourable church burial, rather than their martial conduct, is Sir Ralph Eure, the English commander killed at Ancrum Moor (1545). Various writers, such as Jeffrey and Logan-Home have claimed that Eure was taken by the Scots and buried at Melrose Abbey in Roxburghshire.[44] If he had, it is unlikely that Eure would have been honoured for his conduct: after Ancrum Moor, the Scottish commander, according to an eyewitness, called Eure a 'fell cruel man' who had left many a 'fatherles barne [bairn]', and Eure had a generally poor reputation amongst the Scots for his

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[41] *The Antique Description of Exeter*, p. 79, 86.
[42] Ibid., pp.75, 86; Glenn Foard and Alex Hodgkins, "Battlefields of the Prayer Book Rebellion: An Archaeological Resource Assessment.," (Unpublished: Devon County Council and University of Leeds, 2009)., p. 5.
[43] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.
[44] Alexander Jeffrey, *The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire and Adjacent Districts, from the Most Remote Period to the Present Time. [with Plates and Maps.]* (Edinburgh: T.C. Jack, 1864), p. 321; G. J. Logan-Home, "Battle of Ancrum Moor, 1545," *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, no. 28:2 (1933), p. 164.

border raiding.[45] Therefore, if Eure had been buried in Melrose Abbey, it most likely would have been because of his status as a knight and Warden of the Marches.[46] However, when we review the evidence, the case for Eure's burial in Melrose Abbey appears to be weak. The theory of where Eure was buried seems to have originated from a nineteenth-century history of Melrose Abbey by James Wade. Wade interpreted two stone tombs at the Abbey as belonging to Eure and his fellow commander at the battle, Sir Brian Layton, based on an inscription on one of the tombs, which read '*Orate…anima ivoors de corbiroeg'*.[47] The original inscription was probably '*Orate pro anima…*' ['Pray for the soul of'], meaning that 'ivoors de corbiroeg' is the name. Wade appears to have interpreted the 'ivoors' as being a form of Eure's surname: Ewers or Evers. However, it seems more likely that the 'ivoors' signifies a first name, perhaps Ivo, while the 'de corbiroeg' is the surname, perhaps meaning 'of Corbridge'. According to Davidson, however, Eure was from Foulbridge in Yorkshire.[48] The second tomb appears to have been associated with Layton simply because of the proximity of the tombs and the fact that the two men were killed in the same battle. Taken together, this evidence for claiming that Eure was buried in Melrose Abbey is unconvincing. Therefore, Eure's place of his burial cannot be used to support the suggestion that status may have affected how the mid-Tudor dead were treated.

Overall, there is simply not enough data to say what factor, whether it was status or conduct in battle, was responsible for the two individuals killed during the Prayer Book Rebellion being taken for a more honourable burial. No information is given on any of the other Royalist casualties from these engagements. Therefore, the status of these two men cannot be placed in the context of the other casualties in order to determine if rank was the most likely factor for why they were selected to be taken to Exeter for burial. If there was continuity in practice, then the late medieval evidence would suggest that they were most likely separated from the other dead and taken to Exeter because of their status, but this cannot be assumed. Of course, these two factors were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Perhaps the two men were being honoured for their conduct, but it was only the fact that they

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[45] Frauncis Shrewesbury, Cuth. Duresme, and Rafe Sadleyr, "No. 418 Shrewesbury &C to Henry VIII, 3 March," in *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century...* ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H.M General Register House, 1890), p. 565.

[46] Alan Davidson, "Eure (Evers), Sir Ralph (by 1510-45), of Foulbridge in Brompton, Yorks," ed. S.T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558* (Boydell and Brewer, 1982), http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/eure-(evers)-sir-ralph-1510-45.

[47] James A. Wade, *History of St Mary's Abbey, Melrose, the Monastery of Old Melrose and the Town and Parish of Melrose* (Edinburgh: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1861), p. 333.

[48] Davidson, "Eure (Evers), Sir Ralph (by 1510-45), of Foulbridge in Brompton, Yorks".

were men of the elite that gave them the opportunity to be lauded for their conduct or for people to being open to acknowledging their brave conduct. Research in the future might be able to provide some light on this question, perhaps by looking for evidence of lower status soldiers and officers receiving recognition for their bravery.

The third and final account that gives an explicit location for the burial of the dead has already been mentioned. It was Patten's description of how some of the Scottish dead from Pinkie were 'beried in Undreske [Inveresk] church yarde'.[49] 'By diverse of these dead bodies' were markers, which Patten understood to have been set up by friends who intended to return later to convey those bodies elsewhere - most likely their home churches - for burial.[50] It is unfortunate that the location of these secondary churches cannot be established, as it would have been useful to look at the spatial patterning, and to see how far people took the bodies for burial. It seems likely that the majority of the individuals who came to the battlefield to find their friends were relatively local, since it would have been difficult for those living at a greater distance to get to the battlefield, to spend time searching the dead and then to return a second time to convey the body away. This means that there are likely to be a number of battle burials relating to Pinkie at various churches, most of which will occur in the Pinkie area, but there may be some at greater distances.

Patten's wording implies that not all of the graves had these temporary burial markers.[51] There could be various reasons for this. Some may not have had a marker because the idea did not occur to their friends or because the friends were confident that they would later be able to locate the right grave without anything to identify it. Others may not have had markers because their burial was intended to be permanent. The Inveresk churchyard may have been chosen as the permanent place of burial for various reasons. For some combatants who may have joined the Scottish army when it became apparent that a battle was to be fought in the area imminently, for example, it may have been their home church. Others may have been buried in Inveresk because of its location. In three plans drawn to help illustrate his account, Patten explicitly depicted Inveresk church as standing just to the north-west of the battlefield (Figure 26).[52] Therefore, it seems likely that Inveresk was chosen for the place of burial for some because it was the closest place of normative burial to the battlefield.[53] This

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[49] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 130.
[50] Ibid., doc ims 130b-131a.
[51] Ibid., doc ims 130b-131a.
[52] Ibid., doc ims 91, 93, 101.
[53] Ibid., doc ims 91, 93, 101.

would suggest that practicality and convenience could be major factors in dictating where some of the dead were buried.
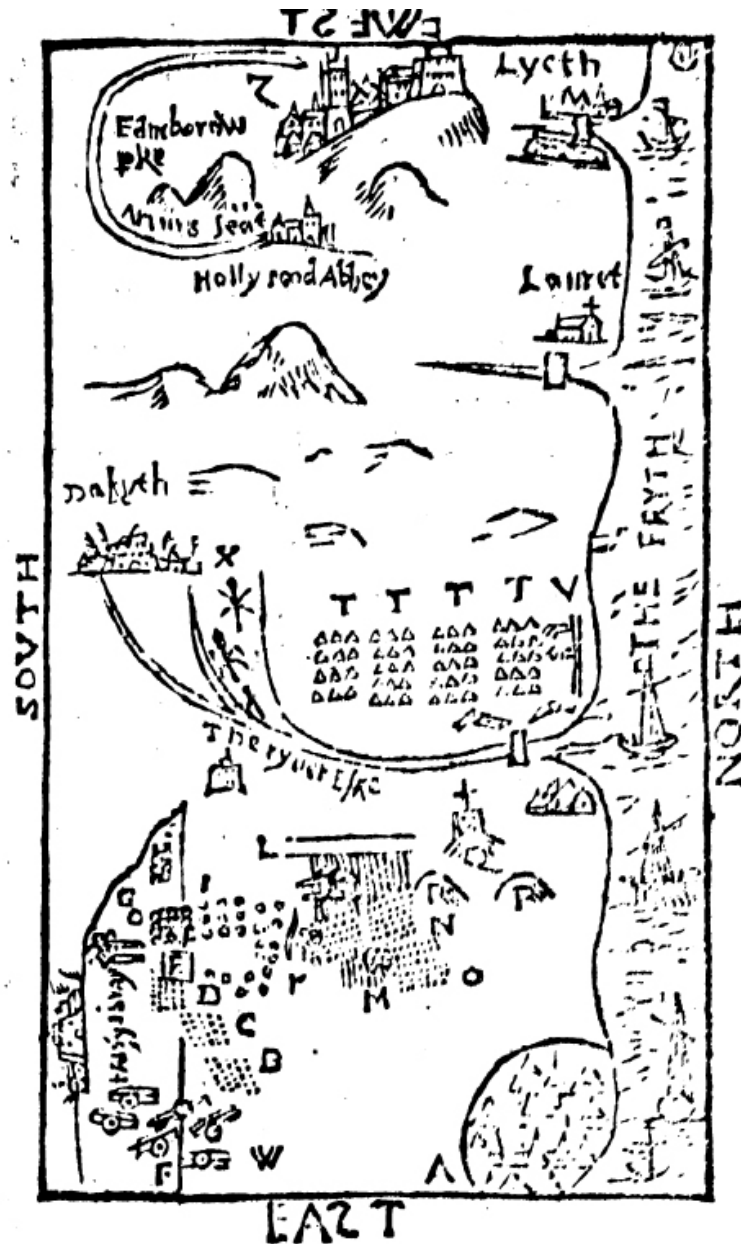
Figure 26. Patten's second depiction of the battle of Pinkie (which is taking place between the letters L, M, N), showing how Inveresk church (marked by the letter Q) bordered the battlefield (Patten, doc im 93b).

Foard and Curry have suggested that parochial boundaries would have been respected when burying the dead, with those killed in a parish then buried in the parish church.[54] Therefore, instead of practicality being the predominant factor, Inveresk may have been chosen for the burial of the dead because it was the parish church for the ecclesiastical unit in which those men had died. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to consider whether this hypothesis does apply to Pinkie. Firstly, there is not enough information on where those men

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[54] Foard and Curry, *Bosworth*, p. 101.

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buried in Inveresk churchyard died. Secondly, the parishes of medieval Scotland have not yet been fully mapped, so the extent of Inveresk parish in 1547 is unknown.[55] Nor can the extent of the modern parish be used to give support to the hypothesis, as the bounds of many of these ecclesiastical units changed after the Reformation when many new parishes were formed and others were amalgamated.[56] Indeed, it can be demonstrated that the extent of Inveresk parish has changed in the last four hundred years, as an account of the unit in 1627 includes settlements that are no longer within the parish today.[57] As a result, the only way to study this issue, reliably, would be to reconstruct the medieval extent of the parish. Unfortunately, there was not the time to do that here, although it may be a useful avenue to pursue in the future. Overall, therefore, while practicality may have been a factor that determined where the dead were buried, it must also be borne in mind that administrative boundaries could also have been a consideration in where the dead were buried.

One final source, which has been mentioned before, deserves discussion as it throws up further details about the disposal of the dead, even though it is not a battle account and so was not part of the central investigation. This was the September 1547 entry in the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland's accounts, where two men were paid 'to get cairttis to helpe to erd the deid'.[58] The statement indicates that the remaining dead from Pinkie were being collected together for burial. Unfortunately, the source does not make it clear where the collected bodies were buried. The carts may have been used to collect the dead into piles on the battlefield, or in the areas of rout, where they were subsequently buried, suggesting the possibility of battlefield burials. Equally, the carts could have been used to take the dead to nearby churchyards for Christian burial. The Scots were badly routed at Pinkie and Patten's depiction of the rout shows that the Scots spread out widely to try to avoid their pursuers and that some made it as far as Leith and Edinburgh (Figure 27).[59] Therefore, if those collected up in carts were taken for a church burial, then it seems likely that they would have been buried in a number of churches across a wide area. As for which churches, exactly, it is unclear. The

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[55] The 'Mapping of the Historical Parishes of Scotland Group' are working on the issue, having formed in 2009 with representatives from NRS, RCAHMS and the Universities of the Highlands and Islands, Glasgow and Stirling, however they are yet to publish any significant works. Simon Taylor, "The Medieval Parish in Scotland," *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 8 (2014), pp. 93, 107.

[56] Ibid., p. 105.

[57] Cf Alexander Macdonald, ed. *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland, Made to His Majesty's Commissioners for Plantation of Kirks, &C* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1835), pp. 75-81 and National Library of Scotland, "Maps Home: Boundaries Viewer: Midlothian County, Inveresk Parish, Grid Reference NT353713," https://maps.nls.uk/geo/boundaries/#zoom=12&lat=55.9259&lon=-3.0804&point=55.9306,-3.0365.

[58] Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, pp. 121.

[59] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 101b.

dead may have been buried in the church that was the closest to where they had fallen, but it is also possible, if Curry and Foard's theory carries any weight, that the dead were buried in the parish church of the administrative unit in which they had been found. It would be possible to test this theory by excavating the churches between the battlefield, Edinburgh and Leith, to look for burials with weapons trauma.
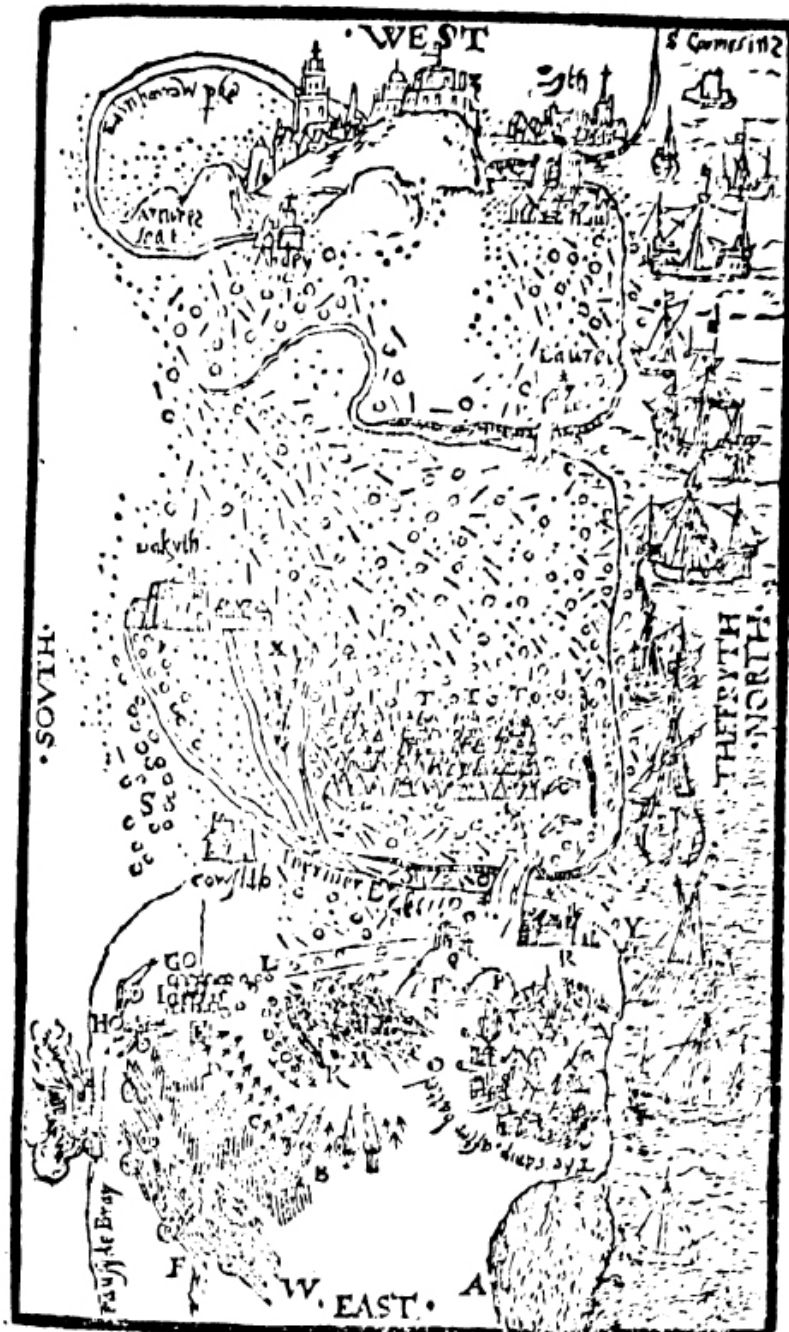
Figure 27. Patten's drawing of the rout of the Scots at Pinkie, showing how far and wide the Scots fled in order to avoid their English pursuers (Patten, doc im 101b). The dots signify footmen, the circles signify horsemen and the dashes signify footmen that had been killed (Patten, doc im 91a).

There were eight references to the burial of the dead, of which the three with explicit details of where the dead were buried have been discussed. What do the other five burial references say? Can a location be determined from implied information? Two of the remaining five sources relate to Pinkie, and refer to the burial of the English dead. Only Patten's account is worth considering, however, as *De Expeditione in Scotiam* relies heavily on the former and provides no new information.[60] Patten says that the day after the battle 'a great sort of vs rode to the place of onset whear our men lay slayn, and what by gentlemen for their frendes, and seruauntes for their Masters, al of them y^t wear knowen to be ours wear buried'.[61] This reference appears to imply that only the high-status English dead were identified and buried. If true, this would support the case for status rather than conduct being the reason for the Prayer Book Rebellion men being removed for an honourable burial. This is not necessarily the case, however. Patten recounts how the battle began with the English cavalry attacking and being repulsed by the Scots, losing twenty-six men in the offensive.[62] He goes into some detail, individually naming many of the cavalrymen killed, with whom he was clearly acquainted.[63] The English infantry never entered the battle and the only other English casualties are likely to have been amongst those with projectile weapons, who entered a firefight with the Scots, before the latter army broke and fled.[64] Patten was far less interested in those killed in the firefight. He does not even give a number for how many were killed, whereas he visited the site of the cavalry charge after the battle and identified some of those killed.[65] Therefore, it seems likely that Patten's description of the burial of the English dead relates only to the cavalry because Patten had a personal interest in the horsemen as friends and acquaintances. It is possible that the lower-status English dead were also buried, but because of Patten's own interests, he failed to note this.

The English made a specific effort to identify and retrieve some of their dead, which suggests a concern to honour those who had died.[66] Patten does not elaborate on where the English were buried, but some of the examples already discussed may serve as a precedent. The Royalists honoured two of their dead from the Prayer Book Rebellion by taking them to

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[60] Starker, "De Expeditione in Scotiam Commentarius.", p. 179; David H. Caldwell, "The Battle of Pinkie," in *Scotland and War, Ad 79-1918*, ed. Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), p. 61.
[61] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 123.
[62] Ibid., doc ims 90b-96a.
[63] Ibid., doc ims 94b-95a.
[64] Ibid., doc ims 100b-103a.
[65] Ibid., doc ims 113b-114a.
[66] Ibid., doc im 123.

a prestigious church for a normative burial. [67] Those temporarily buried in Inveresk churchyard were clearly also soldiers whose friends had wished to honour them; hence, they went to the effort of finding their bodies and giving them a temporary church burial.[68] Although the data is limited, these examples would suggest that the most likely location that the English were buried was a church. If there were as few casualties as Patten claims, then it would not have been a problem, practically, to remove the bodies for a church burial. Patten's narrative suggests that the dead were buried before the army set off for Leith, so it seems likely that, if they were taken for a church burial, the English would have been buried in a church close to the battlefield, like Inveresk.[69]

The last three accounts that mention the disposal of the dead relate to Dussindale (1549), where a Royalist army decisively defeated a rebel army. Unfortunately, there is not enough information in any of these accounts to establish where the dead were buried. Most of the relevant section of Sotherton's *The commoyson in Norfolk* is missing due to manuscript damage.[70] Originally there was a section describing what happened to the dead, but the only tantalising fragment that now survives is the gloss telling the reader that the next section was about 'The burial of ye corses deade'.[71] As for the other two sources, Nevil reported that 'The same night [as the battle] the bodies of the slaine were buried, lest there might breed some infection, or sicknesse from the sauour of the dead bodies'.[72] Holinshed, who is known to have drawn on Nevil's narrative, noted that the 'order [was] giuen by the earle [of Warwick, the royalist commander] that the bodies of them that were slaine in the field should be buried'.[73] Neither gives any indication where the dead were buried. It is tempting to suggest, since Nevil claimed the dead were buried to prevent disease, that they would have been buried in a location that was quick and convenient, such as the battlefield. However, this is not necessarily the case and it is just as possible that they were collected together and buried in nearby churchyards, like the plague dead.

Some of those killed at Dussindale certainly did receive a church burial. The parish register for the Norwich city centre church of St Simon and St Jude notes that 'four esquires

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[67] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79. 86-7.
[68] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 130b-131a.
[69] Ibid., doc im. 123.
[70] Sotherton, *Commoyson in Norfolk*; David Yaxley, "Introduction," in *The Commoyson in Norfolk, 1549*, ed. David Yaxley (Dereham: Larks Press, 1987), p. 1.
[71] Sotherton, *Commoyson in Norfolk*, p. 43.
[72] Nevil, *Norfolke's Furies*.
[73] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. 3, pp. 980, 984.

[who] were slayne in the kings army on Mushould heath, the Tewesday, being the xxvijth day of August' were buried in the 'Chancell of this Church in one grave'.[74] Friends and comrades probably brought these men for burial as the register notes the names and places of origin of the deceased, information that would have been known only to those personally acquainted with the dead.[75] That implies that comrades specifically brought the esquires for a church burial in order to honour them. Therefore, these burials cannot be used to imply that the Dussindale dead were generally brought for church burials in and around Norwich, since comrades specifically brought them. Some of the other parish register burials found by Russell could also relate to the battle.[76] None are explicitly linked to Dussindale, however, so it is possible that those men were killed in some of the other violent encounters that took place during Kett's Rebellion.[77] As a result, it is unclear what proportion of those killed at Dussindale were buried in churches.

Overall, the mid-Tudor evidence indicates that individuals could receive a church burial. However, as the evidence only relates to individuals or an unspecified number of combatants, it is unclear what proportion of those killed received a church burial. During the Prayer Book Rebellion, the church in which the battle dead were buried was explicitly chosen to honour the deceased. This involved transporting one body some 30km, showing that practicality was not the major factor determining where the individual was buried. In contrast, practicality may have been the factor that determined in which church some of the Pinkie dead were buried, although parish boundaries may also have been considered. On some occasions, the dead appear to have received a church burial because their friends made a specific effort, as in the case of Dussindale and Pinkie, while others may have been taken for a church burial because of their status or deeds in battle. As for the majority of the battle dead, there is no evidence to indicate where they were buried.

4.5 Burial Agents

Now that we have discussed where the dead were buried, we will move on to looking at who was involved in burying the dead.

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[74] Frederic William Russell, *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk: Being a History of Great Civil Commotion That Occurred at the Time of the Reformation, in the Reign of Edward VI...* (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859), p. 149.
[75] Ibid., p. 149.
[76] Ibid., p. 149.
[77] For evidence of some of the violent encounters see, for example, Sotherton, *Commoyson in Norfolk*, pp. 27-8.

Multiple examples of friends, family and comrades taking care of the burial of their loved ones were noted in the previous section. At Pinkie (1547), Patten noted that the English were buried by their 'frendes and seruantes', while an unspecified number of Scots were given temporary burials in a nearby churchyard by their 'frendes' so that they could later be taken for burial elsewhere.[78] Friends probably also brought the four esquires killed at Dussindale to a nearby church for burial, as the parish register noting the burials had information that only personal acquaintances would have known.[79] In all of these cases, it would have taken a particular and significant effort to find and bury the dead, indicating that these friends placed a high value on giving their comrades a decent, normative burial.

Those involved in burying the English dead at Pinkie were able to bury their friends and masters because they were already present on the battlefield. Thus, Patten identifies aides and fellow combatants as being responsible for identifying and burying their friends.[80] It is also possible that camp followers would have been involved. There is no explicit evidence of that for this period, but Hacker and Ailes have noted that camp followers, who were often soldiers' wives, were vital to the functioning of both medieval and early modern armies.[81] Therefore, where they had the opportunity, they too might have tried to find their loved ones' bodies, to give them a decent burial. Those who buried the dead need not necessarily have come directly from the battlefield, however. At Pinkie, some of the Scots received a church burial, but since the Scottish army had been routed and pursued from the field, even fellow combatants would have had to make an explicit decision to return in order to bury their friends.[82] It is also possible that friends and family members who had not fought in a battle would have come to the battlefield in order to give their loved ones a Christian burial. There is some indication of this at Ancrum Moor (1545), where a letter from a northern official to Henry VIII reporting on the outcome of the battle mentioned that 'many Scottishe woomen com dailie to the Borders to enquyer for their husbondes, children and freendes, to knowe, if they were taken, or be slayne'.[83] Although the source does not explicitly establish whether

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[78] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 123, 130b.

[79] Russell, *Kett's Rebellion*, p. 149.

[80] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 123.

[81] Barton C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs: journal of women in culture and society* 6, no. 4 (1981), pp. 643-4, 648-52; Mary Elizabeth Ailes, "Camp Followers, Sutlers, and Soldiers' Wives: Women in Early Modern Armies (c.1450-C.1650)," in *A Companion to Women's Military History*, ed. Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 62.

[82] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 102-6.

[83] Frauncis Shrewesbury, Cuth. Duresme, and Rafe Sadleyr, "No. 423 Shrewsbury, &c, to Henry VIII, 11 March," in *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century...* ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1890), p. 574.

these women were looking to retrieve the bodies, it seems likely that they would have taken them away for burial had they found them. It also indicates the significant effort that some people would have gone to in order to look for their loved ones.

It is unclear how far people might have travelled to look for the dead. Their ability to do so will have been limited by practical considerations, such as access to resources that would help to convey a body, like a cart, and means of travel, with those on foot less likely to be able to travel far. Anyone searching would also have had to dedicate a significant amount of time to the task, since they might have had to search the rout area as well as the battlefield. The stripping of the dead, along with the injuries that combatants sustained will have made the search even more difficult, as the dead may have been difficult to recognise. This was observed in the case of Edward Shelley, who was killed in the English cavalry combat at Pinkie, when Patten noted how he had been 'piteefully disfigured and mangled…and but by his bearde nothing discernable'.[84] It is also unclear how often friends and family will have come to the battlefield or what proportion were successful in retrieving their loved ones. The number is likely to have varied according to the context and nature of a battle, but it seems likely to have only ever been a small minority – probably only those combatants with friends and family living in the immediate area.

The English at Pinkie went to some effort to bury their own men, but Patten's comment that they only buried those 'y^t wear knowen to be ours' implies that they purposefully left the Scots unburied, many of whom were still 'liyng very ruefully…abooue grounde vnberied' a week after the battle.[85] Why did they not also bury the Scottish dead? One option is that they did it deliberately, as an insult to their defeated opponents. This seems unlikely, though, as the aim of the English 'Rough Wooing' was to arrange a marriage alliance between England and Scotland.[86] Such a deliberate insult is likely to have been counter-productive to this aim, encouraging the Scots to remain defiant, rather than weakening their resolve against the English. A more likely option is that the English left the Scottish dead unburied as a matter of practicality. A very large number of Scottish combatants had been killed in the battle – some accounts estimate 14,000 men – who it would

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[84] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 113.
[85] Ibid., doc ims 123, 130.
[86] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 157-8.

have taken a long time to collect up and bury.[87] The English were also in hostile territory and had further military objectives that they wanted to achieve.[88] Therefore, they probably chose to ignore their dead opponents because they felt that their time could be used more effectively elsewhere. If this was the case, it shows how important the English considered the burial of their own dead to be, since they did take the time to bury them despite having further objectives to pursue.

The English may have explicitly decided to leave the Scots unburied after Pinkie because they had higher priorities, but it may also be that there was no societal expectation on victors to dispose of their opponents. None of the battle accounts discuss this, but the issue was mentioned in a handful of the military manuals examined as part of this thesis.[89] Unfortunately, none of these manuals were published around the time of Pinkie, so this discussion must rely on later manuals, which necessarily introduces the possibility of anachronisms, which we must bear in mind. All of the manuals that mentioned the issue agreed that a commander was responsible for their own dead, however there was not a consensus over whether they should also bury their opponent's dead. Thus, Boyle and Rich, whose manuals were published in 1677 and 1587, respectively, specified that it was a general's duty after victory to have '*his* Dead honourably buried [emphasis my own]'.[90] Bernard and Leighton, on the other hand, specified that it was a conqueror's duty to 'shew humanities…in giving the [conquered] slaine to be buried, or causing them to [be] buried'.[91] This contrast may have resulted from the fact that the latter two writers were churchmen with no military experience, whose idea of warfare would have been heavily influenced by their Christian ideals of duty, mercy and charity.[92] Boyle and Rich, on the other hand, were both

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[87] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 118, 123; Van der Delft, "Letter of Van Der Delft to the Queen Dowager, 19 September 1547," ed. Martin A.S. Hume and Royall Tyler, Online ed., vol. 9, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain* (London: British History Online, 1912).

[88] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 118, 123; Delft, "Letter of Van Der Delft to the Queen Dowager, 19 September 1547".

[89] The scope of the study is described in 3.3.2.1 and the results in 6.3.1.4. See Appendix C for a list of the manuals studied.

[90] Roger Earl of Orrery Boyle, *A Treatise of the Art of War: Dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. And Written by the Right Honourable Roger Earl of Orrery* (London: T[homas]. N[ewcomb]. for Henry Herringman, 1677), p. 205; Barnabe Rich, *A Path-Vvay to Military Practise ...* (At London: Printed by Iohn Charlewood, for Robert Walley, 1587), doc im 34a.

[91] Alexander Leighton, *Speculum Belli Sacri: Or the Looking-Glasse of the Holy War...* ([Amsterdam]: Printed [by the successors of Giles Thorp], 1624), p. 243; Richard Bernard, *The Bible-Battells. Or the Sacred Art Military : For the Rightly Wageing of Warre According to Holy Writ...* ([London]: Printed [by W. Jones] for Edward Blackmore, and are to be sold by Iames Boler at the signe of the Flowre de Luce in Paules Church-yard, 1629), pp. 247-9.

[92] Richard L. Greaves, "Bernard, Richard (Bap. 1568, d. 1642)," *Oxford dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2009), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2249; Frances Condick,

soldiers with actual military experience and so it is their advice that is more likely to reflect reality. [93] Therefore, the English may not have buried the Scottish dead at Pinkie because they did not consider it part of their duty.

None of the sources for Ancrum Moor (1545) identified who disposed of the dead, but there is an implication in some to suggest that no official effort was made to retrieve or bury the bodies of the defeated English soldiers. The first source that indicates this is a letter to Henry VIII, written by some northern officials who were reporting on the situation ten days after the battle. [94] They mentioned that the 'The losse and slaughter of men at this late mischaunce in Scotland, seameth not to be so great as was supposed, for our souldiours comme home every daye, raunsomed'.[95] This implies that the officials' intelligence on the number of the dead was based on the number of men who had returned from the battle, as well as the accounts of those who had been present, rather than on the number of English bodies that they had buried. A second letter , sent three days after the first, confirms this, noting that 'we misse under nyne score men of all sortes that shulde be slayne'.[96] As no official effort to send men back to the battlefield had been made almost two weeks after the battle, it seems unlikely that any effort was made at all. Why might this have been the case? The battle had been fought in hostile territory, so it may have been that the English did not want to risk the chance of further bloodshed. [97] However, if they had considered the burial of the dead to be important, they could have asked for a truce with the Scots. Edward III called for a three-day truce at Crécy to allow the 'people of the land' to bury their dead.[98] This may suggest that there was little concern on the part of officials for the dead.

As with the late medieval period, although there is no explicit mention in the battle accounts, it seems likely that locals would regularly have helped to dispose of the dead. There is some hint of this in the financial accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. For October 1547, the accounts note that a messenger was paid to 'pas to Mussilbirgh, Inneresk, Smetoun, Mountoun, Mountounhall, Sherefhall, and the remanent of the tounnes and lands of

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"Leighton, Alexander (c. 1570-1649)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16395.

[93] Toby Barnard, "Boyle, Roger, First Earl of Orrery (1621-1679),"ibid. (2012), http://www.oxforddnb.com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/article/3138?docPos=3; Willy Maley, "Rich, Barnaby (1542-1617),"ibid. (2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/article/23481.

[94] "No. 422. Shresbury and Others to Henry VIII.", p. 572.

[95] Ibid., p. 572.

[96] "No. 423 Shrewsbury, &c, to Henry VIII.", p. 574.

[97] Phillips, *Anglo-Scots Wars*, pp. 170-1.

[98] Froissart, "Jean Froissart, Chronicles", folio 141v.

the baronyis of Mussilbirght to caus [to] be erdit [buried] the deid persounnes restande [lying] in the feildeis of Fawsyde' after the battle of Pinkie.[99] It is unfortunate that no more detail is given, as this reference leaves unanswered questions. Why was the order made in October, when the battle had been fought on 10 September? Does it suggest that the locals had not, initially, been involved but at the failure of others to finish the job they had to be drafted in? Certainly, someone had started to bury the dead in September, as another record in the Treasurer's accounts notes money paid to hire carts in order to move the dead. [100] Alternatively, had the locals started to dispose of the dead but for some reason stopped and had to be ordered to finish the job? In either case, it is somewhat surprising that the locals had to be ordered to bury the remaining dead. It would have been in their own interests to clear their land, so it could be used for farming and to prevent the spread of disease caused by unburied, decomposing bodies.

Overall, while the evidence for the burial agents of the mid-Tudor period is relatively weak, there is clear documentation for the involvement of friends and family, who specifically sought out their loved ones so that they could give them a decent, normative burial. In some cases, those friends will already have been present on the battlefield, as fellow combatants, aides or camp followers. In other cases, people may have specifically travelled to a battlefield to look for their loved ones, something that may have been particularly likely if they lived nearby. Otherwise, it seems that time and opportunity will have been vital factors in determining who buried the dead. Thus, at Pinkie it seems likely that the English left the Scottish unburied because they had more important objectives to pursue. Despite the relative lack of evidence, locals probably also played a regular role in disposing of the dead and they may have been left to do much of the work if, as at Pinkie, the two armies left the battlefield soon after the fighting had ended.

4.6 Archaeological implications

This section will consider the archaeology, to see if a greater understanding of battle disposal practices in the mid-Tudor period can be achieved by comparing the historical and archaeological data. Unlike the late medieval period, however, no archaeological discoveries have been definitively linked to any of the mid-Tudor battles. This severely limits what help the archaeological data can give, as the analysis has to rely on tentatively linked examples that are poorly documented.

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[99] Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, p. 129.
[100] Ibid., p. 121.

The first group of possible battle-related burials are from Clyst Heath (1549). In the 1800s, ploughing apparently uncovered a large number of bones on the Heathfield Plantation, while further human remains were reported as having been found to the east of Pines Hill in the 1960s.[101] Unfortunately, there is no further information on the discoveries in the literature, so it is unclear if any battle-related artefacts or weapon-related trauma were found with or on the bones. This makes it difficult to know if they were battle-related burials or from some other period. Moreover, even if it could be demonstrated that they were battle-related, Radford has noted that a battle took place in the same area in 1455, so any burials that are found could relate to the earlier conflict.[102] Yet another difficulty is that the Clyst Heath battlefield has not been archaeologically located. Therefore, even if the bones could be demonstrated as relating to the battle, it would be difficult to interpret their location, since it would be unclear how they related to the fighting. Overall, the association of these burials with the battle of Clyst Heath is very tentative, while too little is known about the circumstances for this data to be worth analysing any further here.

Archaeological examples associated with some of the other mid-Tudor battles are equally weak. The Ordnance Survey Name Book of 1852-3 for Midlothian, for example, records how 'It is supposed that on the top of the brae [Pinkie Brae] were buried those who were killed at the battle' of Pinkie (Figure 28).[103] However, the author also claimed to have seen 'upwards of twenty coffins being laid bare by the men working in the Quarry at the N. East end of the brae – some of which contained skulls and bones etc'.[104] This suggests that the burials are more likely to be from an unidentified cemetery, since the excavations do not seem to have taken place in an old churchyard and the battle dead would not have been buried on the battlefield in coffins. The point of burying the dead on the battlefield would

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[101] Historic England, "Devon and Dartmoor HER: MDV60788, Possible Burial Site, Prayer Book Rebellion," Heritage Gateway, http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MDV60788&resourceID=104; Alex Hodgkins, "Reappraising the Battles of the Prayer Book Rebellion" (Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2008), p. 34; England, "Devon and Dartmoor HER: MDV60788, Possible Burial Site, Prayer Book Rebellion".; map reference: 1:50,000 scale colour raster, updated December 2017,1:20,000 scale, Ordnance Survey, using Edina Digimap Service, created April 2018.

[102] G. H. Radford, "The Fight at Clyst in 1455," *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art* 44 (1912), pp. 260-1.

[103] Ordnance Ordnance Survey, *Ordance Survey Name Books: Midlothian*, vol. 8 (1852-3), 'Pinkie Brae', OS1/11/1/27.

[104] Note: the similarity of the description suggests that these are the burials referred to in the Historic Environment Scotland record for Pinkie, but which seem to have been attributed to East of the Howe Mire, not North East: Historic Environment Scotland, "Battle of Pinkie, Btl15," http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/BTL15.; Ordnance Survey, *Ordance Survey Name Books: Midlothian*, 8, 'Pinkie Brae', OS1/11/1/27.

have been to inter them easily and quickly, but using coffins would have slowed this process significantly. Someone would have had to source the coffins and then bring them back to the battlefield, when in that time it would have been just as easy to take the bodies to a church for burial instead. Long cist burials dated to the early medieval period have been found in the Pinkie Brae area, so it is far more likely that these burials relate to the earlier medieval period, not Pinkie.[105]

Further references are made to burials possibly relating to Pinkie in the Name Book, but they lack any detail. One such reference notes that 'From time to time large quantities of human bones have been found, in the tract of land described [i.e. the battlefield] and at present, some are finding in a quarry at the foot of Pinkie Brae'.[106] Without further details of location or the nature of the finds, however, it is impossible to say whether these burials relate to the battle of Pinkie. Two skeletons found in 1989 to the west of Howe Mire (as shown in Figure 28, some 2km to the southeast of Inveresk's church) may also relate to the battle, but without any evidence of trauma or battle-related artefacts, it is impossible to say.[107] The excavators noted that there was no evidence of a stone cist or wooden coffin, suggesting that they thought the burial more likely to relate to another period than to Pinkie.[108]

[105] Canmore, "Record 53674: Long Cist(S) (Early Medieval)," Historic Environment Scotland, https://canmore.org.uk/site/53674/musselburgh-links.

[106] Ordnance Survey, *Ordance Survey Name Books: Midlothian*, 8, 'Site of the battle of Pinkie', OS1/11/8/12.

[107] Canmore, "Record 53741: Inveresk, Carberry Road: Burial (S) (Period Unassigned)," Historic Environment Scotland, https://canmore.org.uk/site/53741/inveresk-carberry-road.; map reference: 1:50,000 scale colour raster, updated December 2017, 1: 40,000 scale, Ordnance Survey, using Edina Digimap Service, created April 2018.

[108] Ibid.
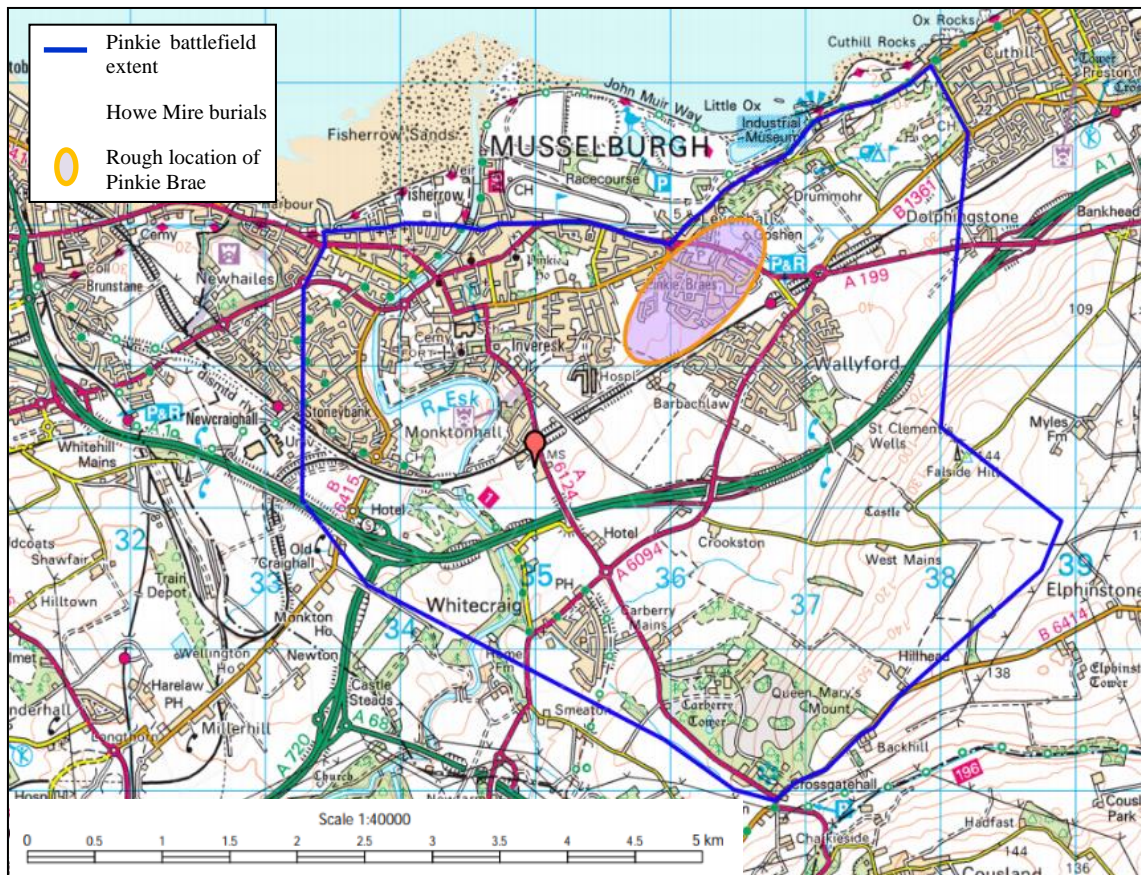
Figure 28. A map showing the registered extent of Pinkie battlefield in relation to the Howe Mire burials and Pinkie Brae
(After Historic Environment Scotland 2012).

The archaeological evidence for Dussindale is equally inconclusive. Russell believed that the dead had 'Most probably [been buried] near Magdalen Gates, where many human remains have been found'.[109] This seems unlikely, however, as Hodgkins has persuasively argued from place-name evidence that the battle took place over four kilometres to the east of the Magdalen Gates (Figure 29).[110] Moreover, the orientation of the two armies means that the defeated rebels, who the historical accounts note as fleeing from the battle, would have taken flight in an easterly direction, away from the gates.[111] Therefore, it is unlikely that any combatants would have been killed near the gates, meaning that the bodies would have had to be conveyed a substantial distance in order to be buried around the gate. It was possible for bodies to be transported a substantial distance for burial in this period, as demonstrated by the historical evidence from the Prayer Book Rebellion.[112] However, in those examples, the

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[109] Russell, *Kett's Rebellion*, p. 151, n.2.

[110] Hodgkins, "Reconstructing Rebellion,"; map reference: 1:50,000 Scale Colour Raster, scale 1:40,000, map date June 2018, Ordnance Survey, using Edina Digimap Service, created October 2018.

[111] Hodgkins, "Reconstructing Rebellion,"; Nevil, *Norfolke's Furies*; Sotherton, *Commoyson in Norfolk*, p. 43; map reference: 1:50,000 Scale Colour Raster, scale 1:40,000, map date June 2018, Ordnance Survey, using Edina Digimap Service, created October 2018.

[112] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.

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bodies were only moved such distances so that they could be buried in a suitable church. Russell makes no mention of the Magdalen Gates bones being found near a church, though. Therefore, when considered altogether, the evidence suggests that these burials are unlikely to relate to Dussindale and so are not worth comparing to the historical data. As it stands, the archaeological data for the mid-Tudor period is simply too weak to contribute to the understanding of battle disposal practices. This lack of mid-Tudor burials, in itself, is an important point to note. It is an issue that archaeologists need to address and urgently, as many of the battlefields of this period are being destroyed by modern development.
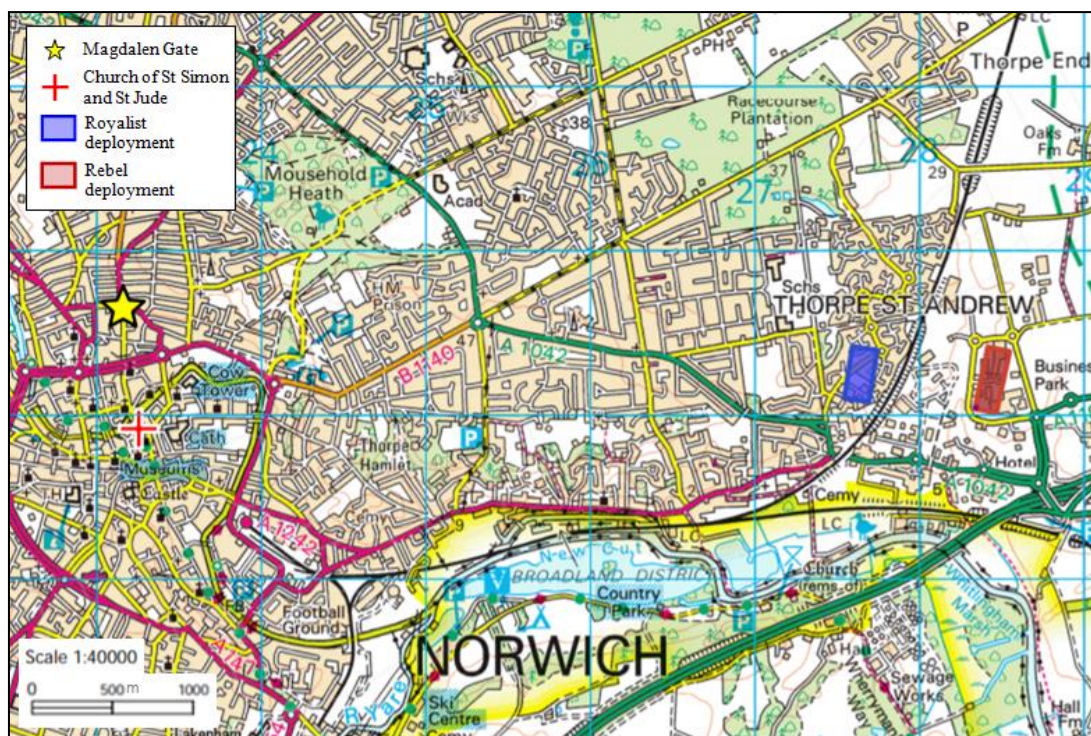
Figure 29. A map showing Hodgkins' interpretation of where the armies deployed at Dussindale in relation to the Magdalen Gate and the church of St Simon and St Jude (After Hodgkins 2015).

While the archaeology from this period can offer little, the historical sources do highlight some important archaeological implications. For example, the evidence from Pinkie indicates that there could be some delay in burying the dead. In this case, some of the dead were still unburied a month after the battle. [113] It is unclear how typical this was, or how long it was before all of the Pinkie dead were buried, but there are possible archaeological implications of the delay. For example, archaeologists might expect animal gnawing on the bones of individuals left unburied, while some skeletal elements might be out of correct anatomical position if the bodies were left long enough to disarticulate.

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[113] Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, p. 129.

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The historical evidence also attests to the involvement of friends, family and servants in identifying and burying their loved ones, and this was often in the consecrated grounds of a church. As these people will have gone to some effort to retrieve the bodies, they also would have made sure that the dead were placed carefully in the grave. Burial agents who had no attachment to the dead, on the other hand, may have been less thoughtful. Therefore, individuals with weapon trauma that have been arranged neatly in the grave are most likely to have been interred by those known to them, who wished to venerate the dead. The churches in which such burials are identified also do not necessarily need to be those closest to the battlefield, as the evidence from the Prayer Book Rebellion indicates that some individuals may have been taken further for burial, so that they could be interred in a more prestigious institution that conferred more honour upon the deceased.

One final issue that requires discussion in relation to archaeological implications is something that has already been touched upon in the previous chapter: combatants who drowned. There is evidence of combatants drowning at Solway Moss, Pinkie and Clyst St Mary. As with the late medieval battle accounts, the sources generally fail to elaborate on what happened to those who drowned, but there is one exception and it highlights some important archaeological implications. The source relates to Solway Moss and was written by an official who noted that 'Ten men was drawyn with fisher nettes furthe of Heske thre daies after'.[114] What the comment suggests is that the bodies of ten men who drowned in the battle were recovered three days after the battle further along the River Esk after becoming caught in local fishermen's nets. Unfortunately, the source fails to give any more details about what happened to these men's bodies, but given the evidence we have already discussed in this chapter, it seems likely that they would have been recovered and buried. If that was the case, since the bodies had been carried along the River Esk for an unspecified distance, it means that burials relating to Solway probably exist some distance from the battlefield, along the route of the River Esk. This is an implication that may also apply more widely, to other battles where combatants drowned. Therefore, archaeologists need to be aware of the potential for battle burials along the course of any flowing body of water in which combatants are known to have drowned. The bodies of the dead were not necessarily buried

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[114] Thomas Wharton, "A Letter of 25 November 1542, Lord Hertford to Henry VIII, Inclosed in the Foregoing: 'A Remembrance Maide Be Syr Thomas Wharton Knight, and Delivered to the Right Honorable the Erle of Hertforde, Then Lorde Warden of All the Marches, Contenyng Breifly the over-Throwe Gevyn to the Scotis between the Heske and Levyn by the West Marches of the Same, the xxiiij of Novembre'," in *The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century...* ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1890), p. lxxxv.

next to the river they were recovered from; it is quite possible that some will have been removed to a church for burial. As a result, burials with weapon trauma could also be found in churches along the route of any river or stream in which soldiers died.

It took three days for some of the Solway Moss bodies to be recovered, but it was only possible to recover them at this stage because they had accidentally become caught in fishing nets. It is quite likely that other bodies were still in the River Esk, which may not have been recovered until significantly later, if they were recovered at all. This all has potential archaeological implications. If there was a significant delay in recovering a body from the water, then it may have been in an advanced state of decomposition that may appear as a secondary inhumation. It is possible that limbs could be missing, the result of decomposition disarticulating the limb and the current carrying it away. Marine animal activity could also have had an effect on the body, and thus the nature of any subsequent burial. A three-year experiment conducted in British Columbia observed what happened to three pig carcasses that were submerged in the sea near Vancouver Island, in an attempt to increase understanding of mammalian decomposition in a marine environment.[115] Within 15 days, marine animals had completed removed the lower part of one pig's carcass and eaten much of the flesh and cartilage so that the bones were disarticulated.[116] This is likely to be an extreme example, but it does raise the possibility of burials that have been affected by the body having lain in water for some time in the presence of marine animals. The nature and effect of such marine activity would vary, depending on the fauna in the relevant body of water. Another possibility is that some bodies were never recovered at all. These individuals would have decomposed in the water, leaving bones as well as armour, clothing remnants and weapons. Although, it seems unlikely that such remains would ever be recovered, particularly as the current is likely to have spread them out along the riverbed, perhaps over a significant distance.

Overall, while the archaeological data is insufficient to deepen our understanding of battle disposal practices, the historical data does highlight some important archaeological implications. It raises the possibility of burials whose form have been affected by delays in burying the dead. One historical source also suggests that battle-related burials could occur away from the battlefield, as the result of combatants drowning in the fight. These burials

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[115] Gail S. Anderson and Lynne S. Bell, "Deep Coastal Marine Taphonomy: Investigation into Carcass Decomposition in the Saanich Inlet, British Columbia Using a Baited Camera," *PLoS ONE* 9, no. 10 (2014).
[116] Ibid., p. 4.

would occur along the course of any flowing body of water in which combatants drowned, including water courses involved in routs. Those recovered from such water sources may have been buried close to where they were found, or they may have been taken to a nearby church for burial.

4.7 Conclusions

The evidence from the mid-Tudor period indicates that contemporaries expected the dead to be buried, but the point at which they were actually buried varied quite widely. Thus, at Pinkie, while some of the dead had been buried within a week of the battle, others were still unburied over a month later. Evidence from Dussindale, on the other hand, indicates that the dead were buried quickly because contemporaries were aware of the health risks posed by large numbers of unburied, decomposing bodies. The only explicit historical evidence for where the dead were buried is in relation to churches. However, this evidence relates only to specific individuals or groups of unspecified size, and so the question of where the majority of the dead were buried cannot be answered by this data set. The archaeology is of equally little value, as there is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate that any of the burials linked to the mid-Tudor battles are battle-related.

Those individuals that were taken for church burials were buried in various types of church. Some churches, such as Inveresk, may have been chosen for their proximity to the battlefield, suggesting that practicality and convenience may have been major factors in determining where the dead were buried. Others seem to have been chosen because they were the home churches of the deceased. It seems likely that most of these churches would also have been found within a fairly small distance of the battlefield, because it would have been too difficult for most of those living further away to locate and remove their loved ones from the battlefield. Yet other churches, such as Exeter Cathedral, chosen for the burial of two men killed during the Prayer Book Rebellion, appear to have been selected because of their prestige, rather than for convenience, seemingly because it was the best way to honour the dead. As for which combatants were taken for a church burial, the explicit evidence indicates that some may have been chosen because of their status or their conduct in battle, while others were taken because they were found and removed by friends and family, who wanted to honour their loved ones. This concludes the evidence for the mid-Tudor battles, so now we will discuss the data relating to the battles of the Stuart era, the final group of battles to be studied here.

Chapter 5: Stuart battles (1640-1685)

5.1 Introduction

The final group of battles to be studied are those of the Stuart period, which is defined here as covering the years 1640-1685.

Thirty-three battles were identified for this group (Figure 30). Twenty-three were fought as part of the First English Civil War (1642-6), the conflict between Charles I and Parliament, which ended when Charles surrendered himself to the Scots at Newark in 1646.[1] Four were fought as part of the Second English Civil War (1648), which was a continuation of the struggle between Royalist and Parliamentarian supporters. This war was much shorter than the first and consisted largely of a few pro-Royalist or anti-Parliamentarian uprisings in Wales and parts of England that were quickly brought under control by Parliament.[2] There was also a Scottish-Royalist invasion that led to the battles of Preston and Warrington.[3] Charles I was executed the following year and the monarchy was abolished.[4] The Scots refused to accept this and instead proclaimed Charles' son and namesake as their king.[5] This led to the Third Civil War (1650-1), which saw the Parliamentarian army campaigning in Scotland against the Royalists.[6] The war ended with the defeat of Charles II's army at the battle of Worcester in 1651. Four of the battles studied here relate to the Third Civil War.

Only two of the battles under analysis in this chapter were not fought as part of the Civil War: Newburn Ford (1640) and Sedgemoor (1685). Newburn Ford was fought as part of the Second Bishops' War, when a Scottish army invaded northern England after Charles I tried to reform the Scottish church.[7] Sedgemoor, the latest battle of this study, resulted from the Monmouth Rebellion, when Charles II's illegitimate and Protestant son, the Duke of Monmouth, tried to depose his Catholic uncle, James II.[8] The attempt failed after

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[1] Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil War: A Military History* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2014), p. 223.
[2] Ibid., p. 14.
[3] Ibid., p. 14.
[4] Young and Holmes, *The English Civil War*, p. 297.
[5] Ibid., p. 297.
[6] Ireland also played a big part in the Civil War, but it is outside the scope of this thesis. Ibid., pp. 299-314.
[7] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Newburn Ford 1640," (London: English Heritage, 1995)., p. 1.
[8] David Chandler, *Sedgemoor, 1685: From Monmouth's Invasion to the Bloody Assizes*, 1999 ed. (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1985), p. 3; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Sedgemoor 1685," (London: English Heritage, 1995)., p. 1.

Monmouth's army was defeated and dispersed at Sedgemoor, and the Duke was himself subsequently captured and executed.[9]
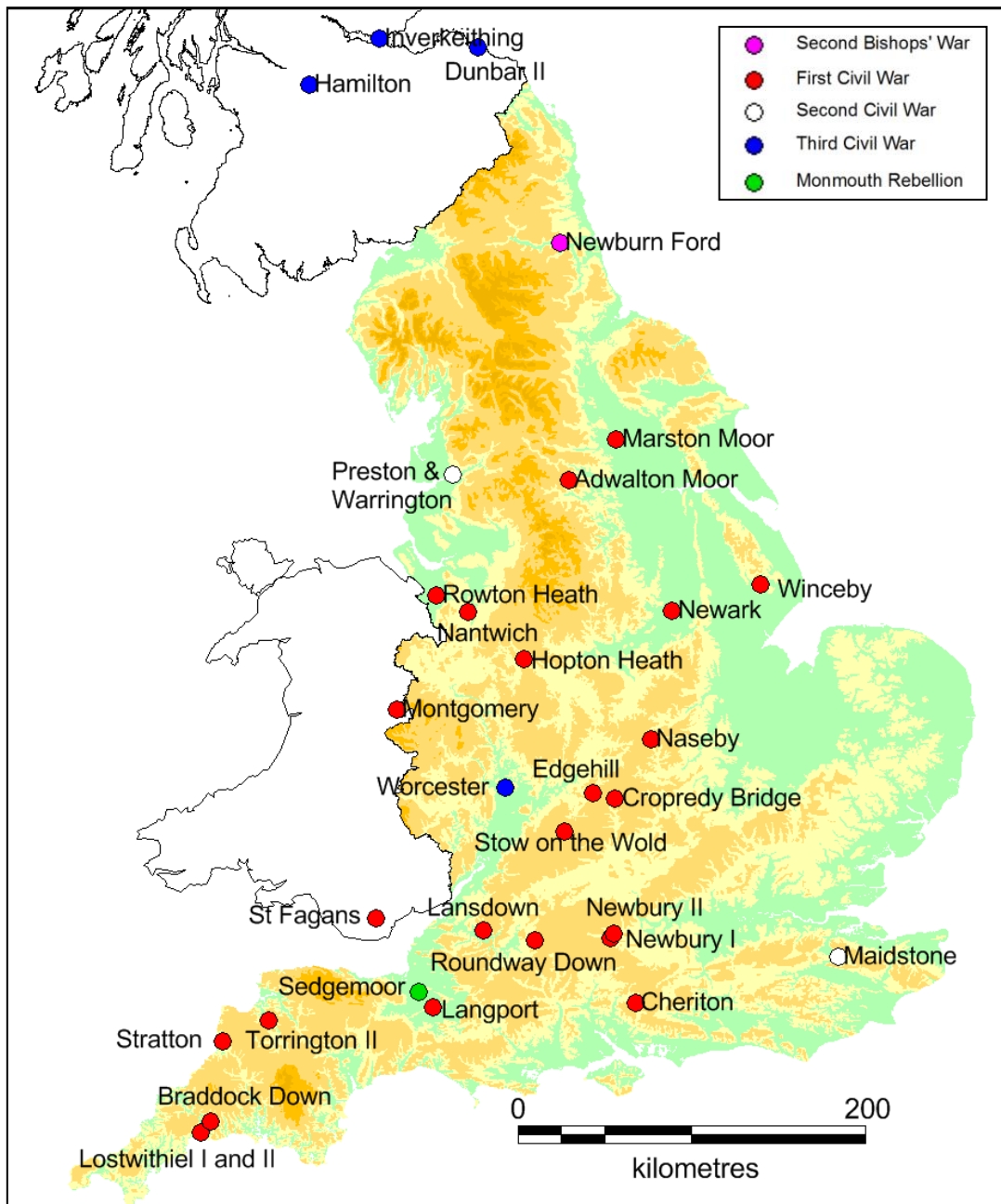
Figure 30. A map showing where the Stuart battles are located.

Three hundred battle accounts were studied for the Stuart period, of which 197 (65.7%) were written by eyewitnesses and 103 (34.3%) were written by second hand authors (Figure 31).[10] Letters were by far the most common type of battle account studied,

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[9] "Sedgemoor.", p. 13.
[10] Please note, for the purposes of the numerical work 34 battles will be considered, as many of the sources for Preston and Warrington did not distinguish between the battles, and so will be considered as one, entitled 'Preston campaign' or 'Preston general'.

constituting a third of all sources, but diaries, biographies, memoirs, periodicals and histories were also used (Figure 32). Most of the sources that could be dated were written within a week of the battle they were describing, making up 41.3% (124/300) of the sample (Figure 33). All of these characteristics represent a significant departure from the types of battle account studied for the earlier periods, which were generally second-hand, written years after the event and often in the form of histories and chronicles. This means that the Stuart sources are, generally, more reliable than the earlier sources because they will have been less susceptible to errors or distortions that resulted from a source writer not being a witness to the battle or writing many years later. It will be particularly interesting to see if these fundamental differences affect what these sources say about battle disposal practices.
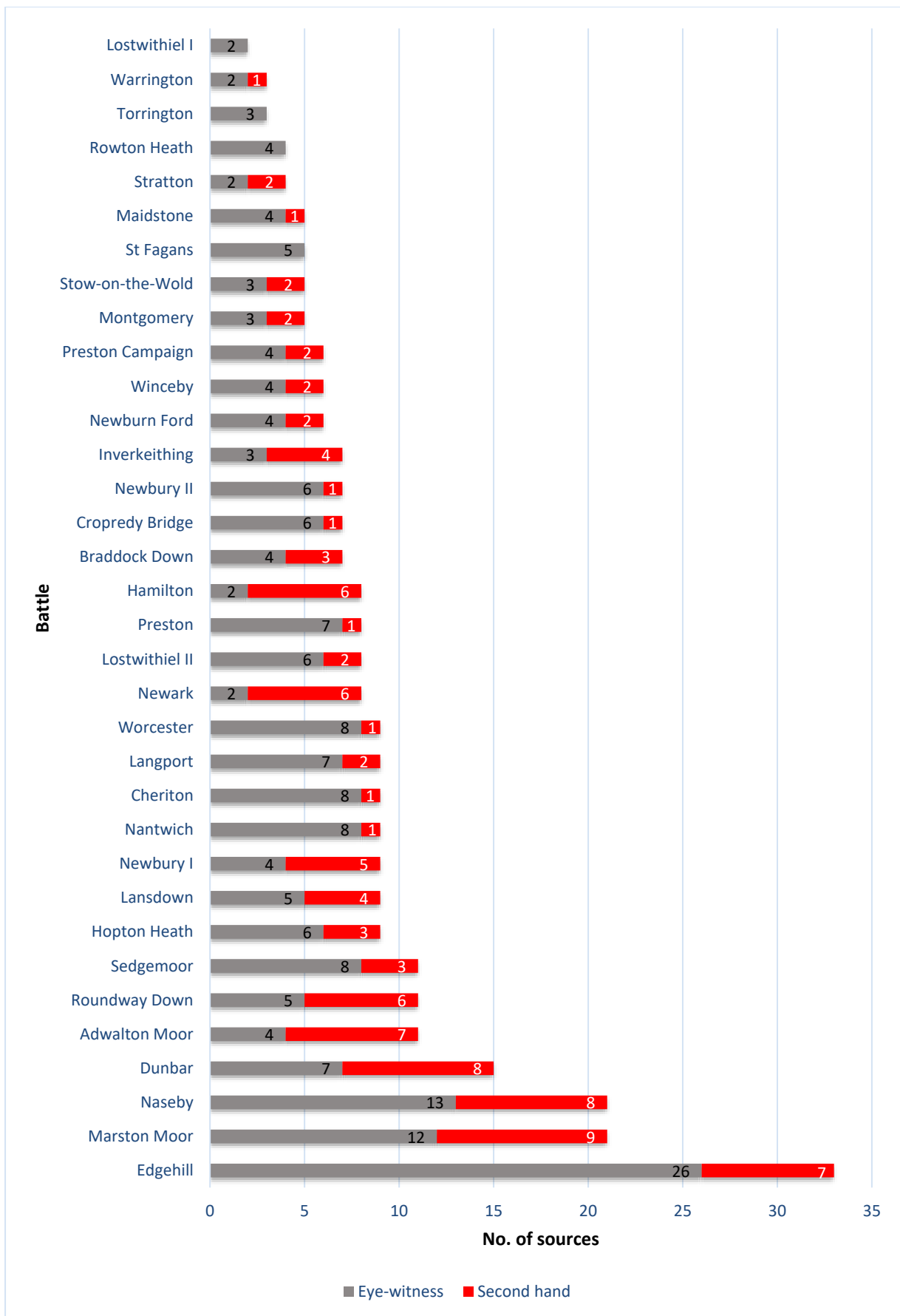
Figure 31. A bar chart showing the number of sources studied for the Stuart battles, divided according to whether they were written by eyewitness or second hand authors, ordered by greatest number of sources in total.

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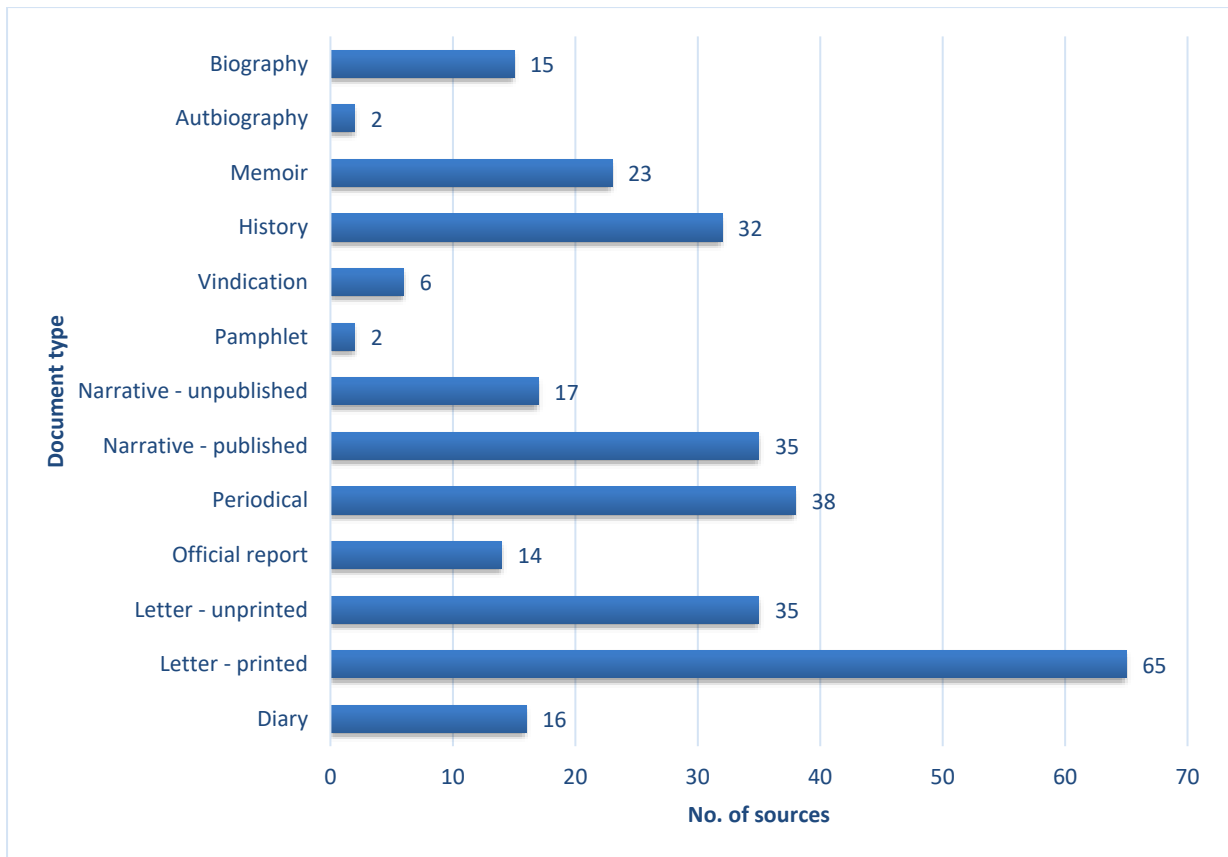
Figure 32. A bar chart showing the types of document studied for the Stuart period. Arranged according to whether the source was likely to have been written a short, medium or long time after the event, with the shortest at the bottom.
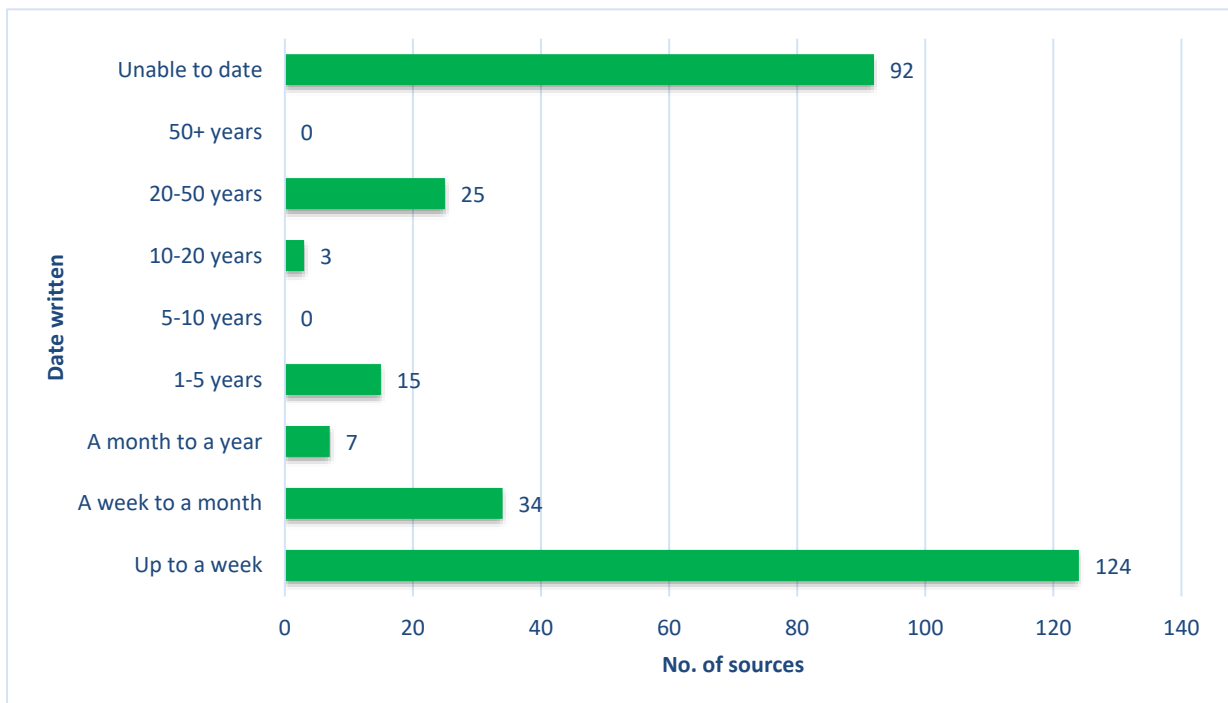
Figure 33. A chart showing the time after each battle that the sources for the Stuart period were written.

5.2 Quantitative analysis of the sources

As with the other chapters, the analysis begins by looking at the battle accounts numerically, to gain a better understanding of which sources mention battle disposal practices and why.

Thirty-six of the 300 (12.0%) Stuart sources explicitly refer to the disposal of the dead (Figure 34). As with the two earlier groups of battles studied, this is a relatively low proportion, especially considering that 88.3% (265/300) of all the Stuart sources mention the dead in some way, typically by giving an estimate of the numbers killed, or the identities of the high-status dead. The evidence from the two earlier periods indicates that this was due to a lack of interest in the topic. This may be true for this period also, although the hypothesis still needs to be tested, particularly as the Stuart sources differ so greatly in nature from those of the late medieval and mid-Tudor periods.
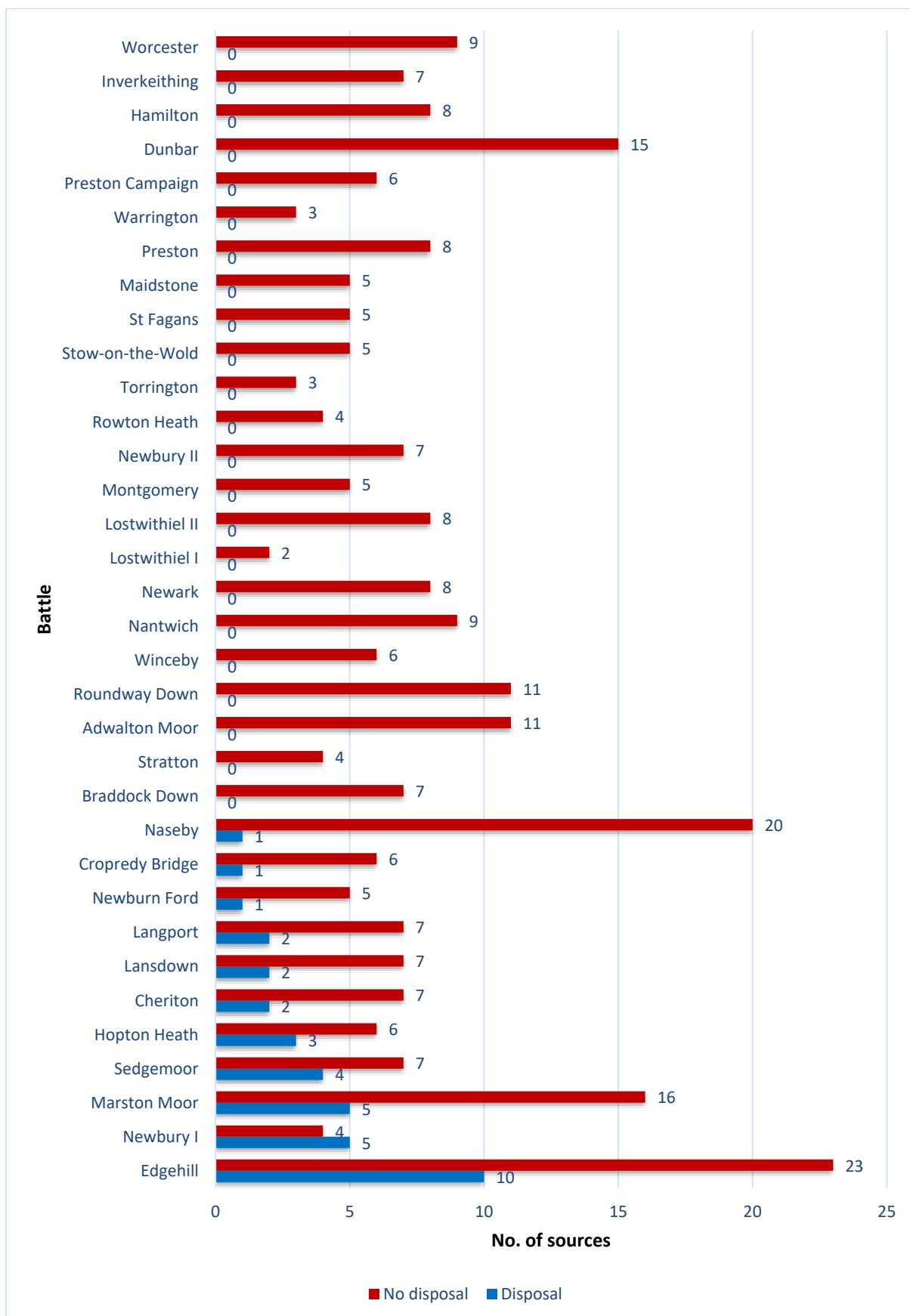
Figure 34. A bar chart showing the number of sources for each Stuart battle that refer to the disposal of the dead in comparison to the number that do not. Arranged according to the number of accounts that refer to the disposal of the dead, smallest to largest.

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Unlike the two earlier periods, most of the accounts for the Stuart battles were written within a week of the battle they described. Therefore, one explanation for why so many battle accounts fail to mention the disposal of the dead could be that the source writers were unaware of what was to happen to bodies that still lay on the battlefield. There may be some numerical support for this hypothesis, as the accounts written within a week of a battle make up only 28.6% (10/124) of sources that mention the disposal of the dead (Figure 35). This is surprising, as they constitute almost half of the Stuart sources studied (124/300, 41.3%). Sources written between a week and a month after a battle, on the other hand, account for 19.4% (7/36) of the accounts mentioning the disposal of the dead, but only 11.3% (34/300) of all sources studied. This suggests that a delay of a week increased the likelihood of a source writer mentioning the disposal of the dead, which may have been because it took that long for some writers to find out what was to happen to the dead. This pattern does not fully explain the lack of sources referring to the disposal of the dead, however. If it did, we would have expected a proportional increase in the number of sources that mentioned the disposal of the dead as we got further in time from the battle and knowledge of what had happened to the dead spread, but this is not the case.
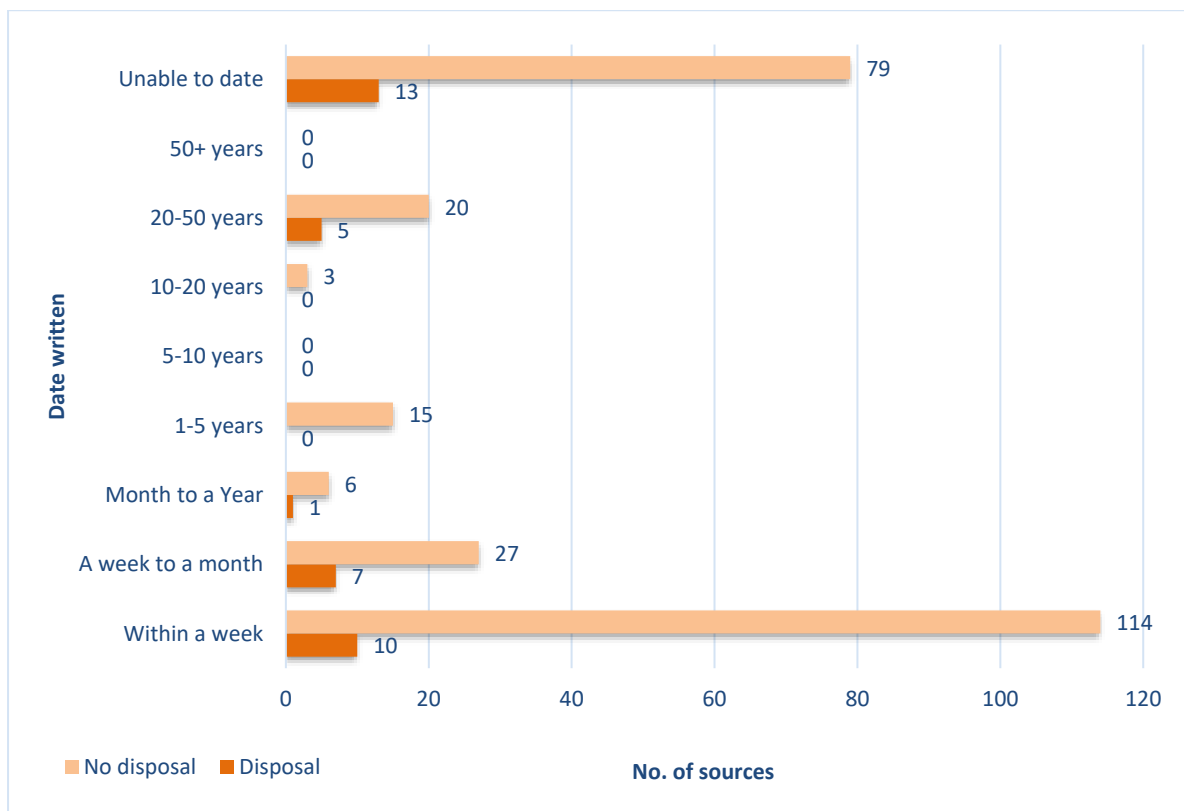
Figure 35. A chart comparing the number of Stuart sources that do and do not mention the disposal of the dead according to how long after the battle they describe that they were written.

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In earlier chapters it was proposed that a writer being an eyewitness to events is likely to have significantly increased the chances of their mentioning the disposal of the dead, because they had seen the unburied bodies. The nature of the data from the earlier periods meant that it was not possible to fully test this hypothesis earlier, but the greater number of eye-witness sources in this group provides us with a better opportunity to test the hypothesis. There is some support for the theory, but it is not overwhelming. Twenty-seven of the 36 sources that mention the disposal of the dead were written by eyewitnesses, which at 75.0% is slightly higher than the overall proportion of eyewitness to second hand sources studied, at 65.7% (197/300). This does suggest that eyewitness sources were slightly more likely to refer to the disposal of the dead than second hand source. However, we once again run into the difficulty of ascertaining whether the writer was present for the disposal of the dead as well as the battle. Some eyewitnesses certainly were not: Henry Bertie, who fought in the Royalist army at Sedgemoor (1685), for example, wrote 'in hast and in the field' as the pursuit of the rebels was still in progress.[11] It seems unlikely that any consideration had even been given to the dead at that point as the military action was still in progress. Unfortunately, even with the greater level of detail in the Stuart battle accounts, there is still not enough information on the whereabouts of the writers to establish which were present at the disposal of the dead. Therefore, it is not possible to test, fully, the theory that seeing the disposal of the dead made writers more likely to mention the issue.

Another theory that this data was collated to test was that time might have had an effect on which sources referred to the fate of the dead. We have discussed this in relation to how long after a battle a source writer was working, but what about the time between battles, could this have had an effect? The English were in an unusual situation at the start of this period, in 1640, in that the last battle they had fought in Britain had been Dussindale back in 1549. This meant that people would not have experienced burying large numbers of bodies all at once. Plague outbreaks were not entirely comparable, as even at their peak these epidemics required a parish to bury tens of bodies in a day, not hundreds or thousands.[12] One relationship that might be expected, therefore, is for more references to made to the disposal of the dead at the beginning of the period, when there was more uncertainty over how to deal with so many bodies and greater interest in what happened to them. By the end of the period, however, we might expect source writers to have become de-sensitised to the dead and too

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[11] Henry Bertie, "Letter from Henry Bertie to His Brother Peregrine Bertie, Describing the Battle of Sedgemoor'," (Bodleian, 1685).

[12] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London.", pp. 55-7.

familiar with the process of disposal to comment on it. Figure 36 gives some support to this hypothesis, as none of the battle accounts for the Second or Third Civil Wars mentions the disposal of the dead, but quite a few refer to the topic in the First Civil War. On the other hand, sources throughout the First Civil War continue to refer to the dead and in varying proportions. This suggests that unfamiliarity with the need to dispose of so many bodies may have affected the likelihood of some earlier sources writers mentioning the dead, but that other factors will have had an effect too.
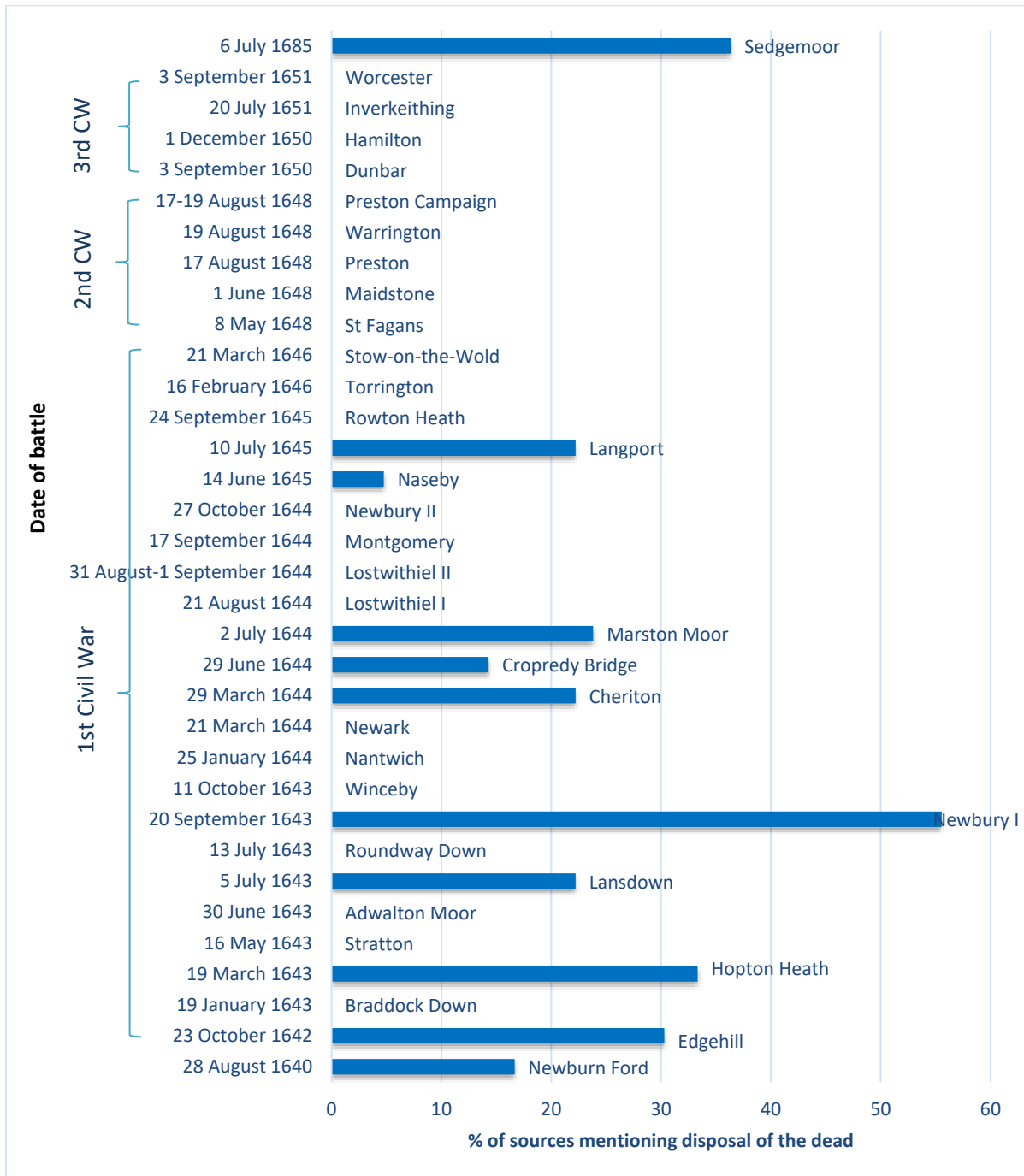
Figure 36. A chart showing the percentage of sources for each battle that referred to the disposal of the dead, arranged by the date that the battle took place, with the most recent at the top.

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For both of the earlier periods, one type of source appeared to be particularly more likely to mention the dead than others, but no such pattern emerges for the Stuart sources (Figure 37). No single type of source consistently refers to the dead, nor does there appear to be a pattern with the wider types of source, such as whether they are reflective and personal works or whether they are more public. This reinforces the idea proposed in earlier chapters that multiple factors will have affected the likelihood of writers mentioning the disposal of the dead, from their own interests and purpose in writing, to the interests of their audience and the actual extent of their knowledge.
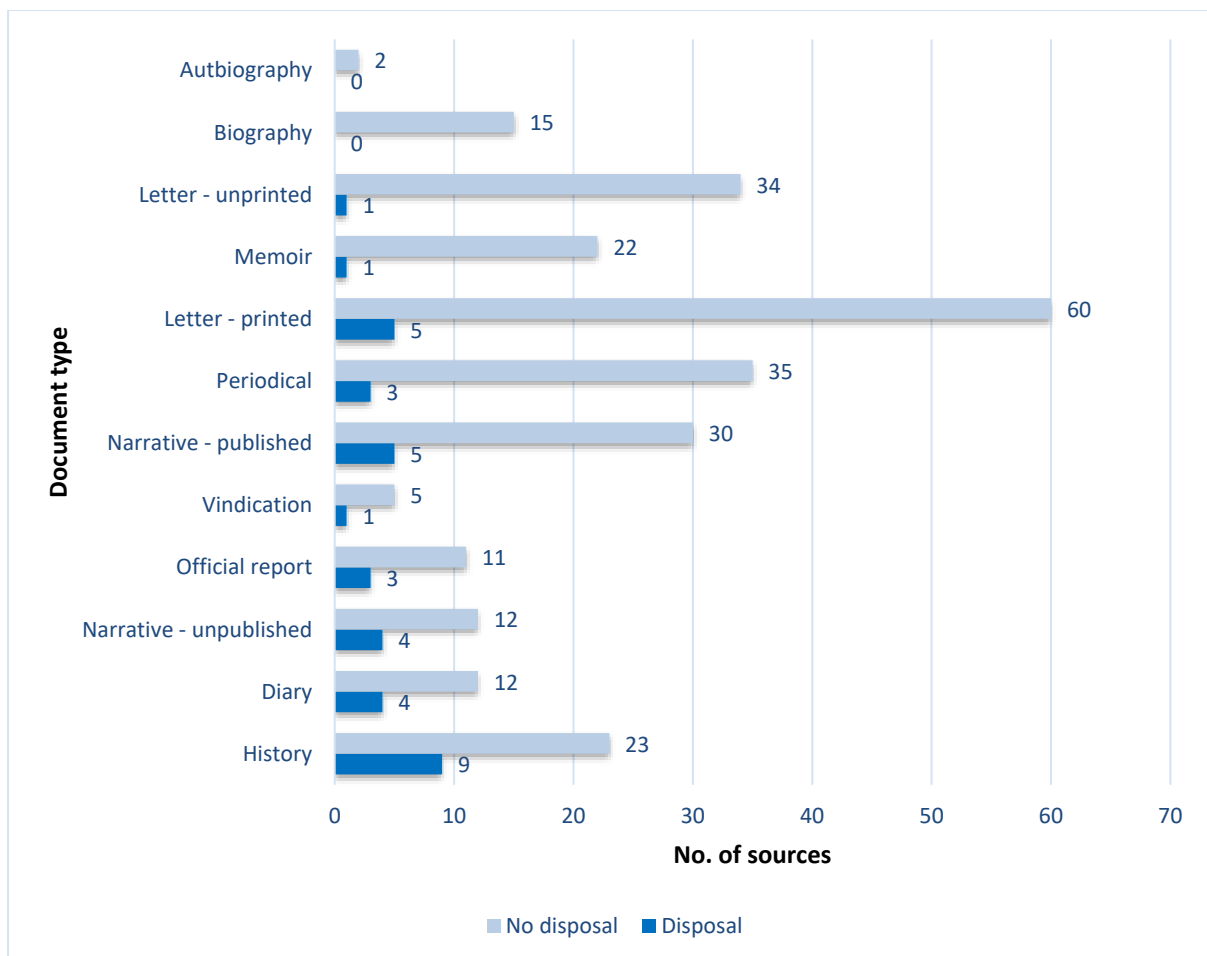
Figure 37. A chart showing the number of each document type that referred to the disposal of the dead in comparison to the number of each that do not. Ordered according to the greatest percentage of each source type that do mention disposal, starting with the smallest at the top.

There is one result of note from the numerical analysis, which is that almost half (16/36) of the sources that refer to the disposal of the dead do so as a means of ascertaining how many combatants had been killed. In all of these instances, the reference to the burial of the dead is incidental. The writers were interested in the numbers of men killed, and used the numbers buried to ascertain that, they were not directly interested in the fact that the dead

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were being buried. This can be demonstrated from Thomas May's account of Edgehill where he noted that the number of dead 'would not yet be agreed upon; yet I have heard, that the country people thereabouts, by burying of the naked bodies, found the number to be about 6000'.[13] Similarly, Lord Wharton sought the numbers of men killed at Edgehill for his report to Parliament, and so was 'informed by the Countrie men that saw them burie the dead… [that there were] about 3000 of theirs slain'.[14] This interest in the numbers of men killed, as opposed to the fate of the dead, is reflected in the wider sample: 224/300 (74.7%) of the Stuart sources mentioned the number of combatants killed. Indeed, one Parliamentarian scout even reported that 'the Kinge hath sett out a proclamacion that whoesoe ever shall say that the Kinge had any losse ate Newbury or talke of noblemen or men of qualitie to be slaine there or would fight noe more hee should presently be hanged without mercy'.[15] This shows that the issue was clearly of some importance to contemporaries, if Charles was apparently willing to hang men for claiming that he had lost large numbers. This is understandable, as high losses will have undermined morale, lost Charles public support and, ultimately, put the Royalist cause at risk. This interest in the numbers and identities of men killed is also likely to have resulted from the fact that such information will have been useful as military intelligence, particularly soon after a battle, informing commanders about the state of their opposition. Overall, the contrast in the numbers of sources that discuss the numbers and identities of men killed compared to the number that mention the disposal of the dead suggests that the latter was not a topic of particular significance or importance to contemporaries, unlike the former.

If the disposal of the dead was generally not a topic of interest to contemporaries, why did those writers that did intentionally mention the topic feel the need to do so? For some writers, the topic was mentioned because it was of specific, personal interest to the writer. Thus, at Marston Moor, Sir Henry Slingsby mentioned the disposal of the dead because he was relating what had happened to his own family members killed in the battle.[16] Other writers mentioned the topic because they or their men had taken an active role in the disposal of the dead, like Dummer at Sedgemoor and Foster at Newbury I, and so it formed a natural

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[13] Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England Which Began November 3, 1640 with a Short and Necessary View of Some Precedent Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1854), p. 264.

[14] Philip Wharton, *Eight Speeches Spoken in Guild-Hall, Upon Thursday Night, Octob. 27. 1642...* Thomason Tracts / 22:E.124[32] (London: Peter Cole, 1642), p. 9.

[15] Samuel Sir Luke, *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, ed. Ian Gilbert Philip, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Banbury: Cheney and sons, 1950), pp. 159-60.

[16] Henry Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven...* ed. Daniel Parsons (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1836), p. 114.

part of the narrative of their own actions.[17] On other occasions, the disposal of the dead was mentioned for reasons of honour. In one source describing the first battle of Newbury (1643), for example, the topic was used to question the honour of the opposition through how they treated their dead. A Royalist source claimed of the Parliamentarians that 'severall heapes of their dead were found cast into Wells, Ponds and Pits, one Draw-well of 30 fathoms deepe being filled to the top with dead bodies'.[18] This claim that the Parliamentarians had thrown their own dead into wells was vigorously refuted by a Parliamentarian periodical, which responded to the 'incredible Draw-well' by arguing that the well could not even exist given where the battle had been fought, and therefore that they could not have thrown their men down it.[19] The very fact that the Parliamentarians tried to discredit the claim suggests they were worried that to let the allegation stand might damage their reputation. If the claim was therefore false, as they suggest, then it means that the Royalists had deliberately fabricated a story about how the Parliamentarians treated their dead to impeach their opponent's honour.

Honour was also at stake after the battle of Hopton Heath (1643), where multiple sources detail how the Parliamentarians under Colonel Gell tried to ransom the body of the Royalist commander, which they had captured during the battle, back to his own men.[20] One source described the ransom attempt as 'ignorant of what belonges to the honour of a souldier', while another said that the Parliamentarians were 'practising those inhumanities the very Turks scorne to descend to'.[21] In light of such condemnation, it is significant that an account written by someone serving under Gell, describing 'what service' he had done for Parliament, noted that after the ransom attempt had failed, 'Colonell Gell caused him [the commander] to be carried in his company to Derby and buried him in the Earle of Devonshire's sepulchre in All Hallowes church'.[22] It seems likely that the ultimately

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[17] Edward Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion," in *Sedgemoor, 1685: From Monmouth's Invasion to the Bloody Assizes*, ed. David Chandler (Spellmount: Staplehurst, 1985), p. 129; Henry Foster, "A True and Exact Relation of the Marchings of the Two Regiments of the Trained-Bands of the City of London..." (London: Benjamin Allen, 1643)., p. 14.

[18] Peter Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs, Communicating the Intelligence and Affaires of the Court to the Rest of the Kingdome*, ed. Henry Hall and William Webb (Oxford: Henry Hall for William Webb, 1643), E.69[18], p. 530.

[19] Bernard Alsop, *The Weekly Account*, ed. D. Border and Philip Lane (London: Philip Lane, 1643), E.250[17], p. 4.

[20] Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".; "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell..." in *The History, Gazeteer and Directory of the County of Derby...* ed. Stephen Glover (Derby: Henry Mozley, 1829), p. 63; Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*, pp.6, 8.

[21] Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".; Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*, E.99[18], p. 8.

[22] Anon, "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell.", p. 63.

honourable burial of the Royalist commander was included in the narrative, strategically, to reaffirm Gell's honour.

Overall, the quantitative analysis of the sources has revealed that there was little interest in the disposal of the dead. The level of interest was higher in the earlier stages of the Civil War, probably because there was more uncertainty over how to handle large numbers of bodies. No single type of source was more likely to mention the topic, although a delay of a week did increase the likelihood of writers referring to the disposal of the dead. Writers discussed the disposal of the dead for various reasons, from personal interest and involvement to using it as a means to establish the number of combatants killed. It also seems to have been considered when matters of honour were concerned, used to question or reaffirm the integrity of actors. In following that thought through, where no comment was made on the disposal of the dead, it suggests it was because what was done with the dead was accepted as normal and expected, and therefore did not affect anyone's honour.

5.3 Means of disposal

The analysis will now look at what these accounts say about the disposal of the dead, starting with the means of disposal.

5.3.1 Burial

Thirty-six sources refer to the disposal of the dead and within those 36 accounts there are 59 individual references to the disposal of the dead. 76.3% (45/59) of these refer to the burial of the dead and the general tone and content of the sources make it clear that burial was the normal, expected form of burial. Thus, when reporting on the battle of Naseby (1645), one source writer noted that 'about 50 common Souldiers [were killed], as neer as can be present guessed until they come to bury the dead', showing how he had assumed that the dead would be buried as standard.[23] It is not surprising that the expectation was burial, given that this was still the normal way to dispose of the dead in this period. We will now discuss the evidence for where the dead were buried.

5.3.1.1 Burial location: church burials

Although a relatively high number of accounts refer to the burial of the Stuart-period battle dead, frustratingly few give an explicit location for where the dead were buried. Not one

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[23] Gentleman in Northampton, *A More Exact and Perfect Relation of the Great Victory (by Gods Providence) Obtained by the Parliaments Forces under Command of Sir Tho. Fairfax in Naisby Field, on Saturday 14. June 1645...Being a Letter from a Gentleman in Northampton, to His Friend in London. Published by Command*, Thomason Tracts / 47:E.288[28] (London: John Wright, 1645), p. 6.

gives a detailed description of the burial of the dead. Instead, many are very vague, following along similar lines as John Rushworth's comment from Newburn Ford (1640) that 'the Scots buried the dead', or the anonymous writer of a Royalist letter for Edgehill (1642), who said that King Charles stayed 'within 4 miles [of the battlefield] till the dead were buried'.[24]

Only six sources give an explicit burial location. Five of these report that an individual or a defined group of individuals were buried in church grounds. Coe, for example, described seeing 'many commanders buried' in the church and churchyard at 'Moriton', following the battle of Cropredy Bridge (1644).[25] While Sir Henry Slingsby reported how his kinsman had been buried in York Minster following his death at Marston Moor (1644).[26] Given the practices identified in the earlier chapters, it is immediately significant to note that four of the five church burial references involve commissioned officers, and high-ranking ones, too. Coe refers to 'commanders', Slingsby's nephew was a colonel, while the other two references relate to a colonel and a lieutenant-general.[27] This may suggest that rank was a factor that affected the treatment of the dead in this period, with a greater effort made to bury the high-ranking dead in churches, according to normative practice. The named individuals were also of a high social status, however. Thus, the lieutenant general was an earl, Slingsby's nephew was a knight and the other colonel was the second son of a baronet.[28] It is likely that Coe's 'commanders' were also men of the elite as they were Royalists, a side which was popular with the gentry and aristocracy, who expected to be given commands.[29] This raises the possibility that it was an individual's social status, not their rank, which led to a greater effort being made to give them a normative burial. This is a crucial difference. In previous periods, one's position in the army reflected their wider social status, so whether an individual was honoured for their rank or their wider social status was effectively a moot

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[24] J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, ed. British History Online (London: D. Browne, 1722), vol. 3; MS 3783 f.61 in G. Davies, "The Battle of Edgehill," *The English Historical Review* 36, no. 141 (1921), p. 40.

[25] Richard Coe, *An Exact Diarie, or, a Briefe Relation of the Progresse of Sir William Wallers Army since the Joyning of the London Avxilliaries with His Force...* Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 228:E.2[20] (London: Humphrey Tuckey, 1644), p. 6; Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114.

[26] *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114.

[27] Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6; Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114; J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army at Warwicke since the Fight...* Thomason Tracts / 22:E.124[33] (London: Henry Overton, 1642), E.124 [33], doc im 3a; Anon, "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell.", p. 63.

[28] Martyn Bennett, "Compton, Spencer, Second Earl of Northampton (1601–1643)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2007), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6035; Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114; Tim Wales, "Essex, Charles (Bap. 1600, d. 1642) in Essex, Sir Thomas, Second Baronet (Bap. 1604, d. in or after 1651)," 2016 ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/107332.

[29] Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 90-1; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, p. 40.

point.[30] Increasingly throughout the Civil War, however, particularly on the Parliamentarian side and with the formation of the New Model Army, individuals could receive commissions and promotion based on merit. Therefore, it is important in this chapter to distinguish between rank and status, and to establish which was the determining factor.

The difficulty in determining whether it was rank or status is that the handful of individuals from the battle accounts that are known to have been killed outright and then taken for a church burial were nearly always of both a high social and military rank. There is one exception, however. Lucius Cary, who was King Charles' lord privy seal and secretary of state as well as a viscount, was killed at Newbury I (1643) and taken for burial at his home of Great Tew.[31] According to Clarendon, who was a close friend of Cary and therefore a reliable source, the Viscount did not have a military commission.[32] Instead, he served at Newbury I as a volunteer, who 'put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment' where he was killed by a musket shot.[33] As Cary was still removed for a normative burial, this would suggest that it was social status, rather than rank, that led to a greater effort being made to remove certain individuals for a normative burial. This may be supported by another reference from Newbury I, where King Charles sent 'for the burying of sixty lords, knights and gentlemen of great quality, at severall places in and about Oxford'.[34] The description of these men, by their social position rather than military rank, would suggest it was the former that determined that these individuals were be taken to Oxford for burial. This conclusion could be tested in the future by looking into the burial location of officers who were promoted from the ranks, to see if they were regularly removed for church burials or not.

The sources have shown that high-status individuals could receive a normative burial. However, the theory that the high-status were more likely to be taken for a church burial cannot be confirmed without investigating what happened to the lower status dead. It is possible that all combatants were buried in church grounds, but elite bias caused the account writers to ignore what happened to the lower status soldiers. The answer may lie in Coe's

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[30] Bell *et al.*, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, pp. 1, 23, 54-5, 95, 152-3.

[31] David L. Smith, "Cary, Lucius, Second Viscount Falkland (1609/10–1643)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2014), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4841; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, to Which Is Added an Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland...* 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1826), vol. 4, book 7, pp. 241, 247-9.

[32] *The History of the Rebellion*, vol. 4, book 7, p. 253.

[33] Ibid., vol. 4, book 7, p. 256.

[34] T.V., *A True Relation of the Late Battell Neere Newbery...* Thomason Tracts / 12:E.69[2] (London : Printed for John Wright, in the Old-Bailey, 26 Septemb. 1643., 1643), p. 6.

account of Cropredy Bridge, which notes that the Royalist commanders killed in that action were buried in the church at 'Moriton', the location of which is unclear as the name does not correspond to any in the area.[35] This is significant as sis account also described how, on approaching the former Royalist position, prior to coming to 'Moriton', he saw 'many corpses lying naked and unburied, forty graves in the highway'.[36] The Royalists seem to have been in the process of burying their dead, but had run out of time and so had been forced to leave some men behind unburied. If this was the case, and those men taken for burial in the church were a selection of the unburied dead that the Royalists had been able to carry with them, then they should have been men from a mixture of ranks and status. However, according to Coe, those buried in the churchyard were 'commanders…one Lord…2 Collonels and other Officers'.[37] This suggests that, when the Royalists were burying their dead in the highway, the officers had been specifically reserved so that they could be given a church burial. This prioritisation of the high-status dead may also be seen at Langport (1645), where a scout reported to Parliament that 'Divers officers [had been] Carried dead…into Bridgewater', whereas '300 [other soldiers had been] slaine and left dead upon the place'.[38] Neither the status nor the ultimate fate of the men left on the battlefield is established, but the fact that the officers appear to have been taken away first (presumably for burial) would suggest that their disposal was considered to be more important than that of the others. These two examples, therefore, support the hypothesis that priority was given to the high-status dead when it came to church burials.

There is further evidence for the preferential treatment of the high-status dead at Marston Moor (1644), where the Parliamentarian chronicler John Vicars claimed that a Royalist prisoner was 'desired' to view the other Royalist dead so 'that those of quality, slain in this fight, might be taken away and have a more honourable buriall than the rest'.[39] The reliability of the account is difficult to establish, as the original source of the information is unknown.[40] Although, Sir Henry Slingsby did lament that his Royalist nephew Colonel John

[35] Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.
[36] Ibid., p. 6.
[37] Ibid., p. 6.
[38] Thomas Fairfax, *The Coppie of a Letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax His Quarters to the Parliament, Concerning the Great Battell Betweene Sir Thomas Fairfax and Goring at Langport on Thursday the 10. Of July 1645...* Thomason Tracts / 44:E.261[4] (London: Barnard Alsop and Iane Coe, 1645), p. 6.
[39] John Vicars, *Gods Arke Overtopping the Worlds Waves, or the Third Part of the Parliamentary Chronicle...* (London: Printed by M. Simons, and J. Macock, 1646), p. 276.
[40] Vicars seems to have obtained this information from the Parliament Scout, but the source of that periodical's information is unclear. John Dillingham, *The Parliament Scout Communicating His Intelligence to the Kingdome*, ed. Robert White and George Bishop (London: G. Bishop and R. White, 1643), E. 2[21], p. 447.

Fenwick, 'could not be found to have his body brought off', implying that someone, perhaps the Parliamentarians, had looked for the body of at least one high-status Royalist. [41] Even if the account is false, it was most likely concocted as propaganda, designed to garner support for the Parliamentarian cause by showing how honourably they treated their opponents. Such a falsehood would only be effective if it was believable, suggesting that contemporaries did accept that the high-status would be given priority when it came to the burial of the dead. If the story is true, on the other hand, the Parliamentarians probably had ulterior motives in identifying the high-status Royalist dead. The prisoner made to identify the dead clearly felt this, as although he indicated which were his high-status comrades, 'he would not say he knew any one of them', that is, he refused to name the dead. [42] This wariness was probably justified, since the names of the opposition's high-ranking dead would have been useful military intelligence to the Parliamentarians, helping them to assess the state of the Royalists' remaining forces and command structure. The information would also have been useful propaganda material. While the Parliamentarians may have had ulterior motives in identifying the high-status Royalist dead, the Royalist prisoner did still indicate which of the bodies were high status. This suggests that he did believe that the high-status Royalist dead would be taken for a more honourable burial and, therefore, that status could affect the treatment of the dead, with the high-status more likely to be removed for an honourable burial.

There is still the question of what an 'honourable buriall' entailed, as Vicars does not explicitly say. It does not seem that the issue can be resolved from the Marston Moor evidence, however. There have been no archaeological discoveries to indicate where the high-status Royalists were buried, although it may never be possible to locate them since status cannot be inferred from the skeleton, only the context and location of the burial. Equally, none of the burial registers for any of the surrounding churches list large numbers of high-status Royalist burials. Leadman notes only 19 burials listed in various registers that are either explicitly associated with the battle or are likely to relate to it due to the date of burial. [43] He does not explain if his search of the burial registers was thorough, so it is possible that there is evidence in other surviving registers that Leadman missed. However, he does note Marston Moor burials in the registers of Aldborough and Beverley, which are some

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[41] Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 114.
[42] Dillingham, *Parliament Scout*, E. 2[21], p. 447; Vicars, *Gods Arke*, p. 276.
[43] Alex D. H. Leadman, "The Battle of Marston Moor," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 11 (1891), pp. 325-7.

16km and 56km distant from the battlefield, respectively.[44] He also notes that the Marston burial register only commences in 1648 apart from a few earlier, illegible entries.[45] Young also seems to have searched the registers, but he notes the burial place of only 7 of the 33 Royalist officers he identified as having been killed at Marston Moor, and none were in registers Leadman had not used, suggesting that Leadman's investigation was thorough.[46] This lack of records for the burial of high-status Royalists in nearby churches does not necessarily prove that the high-status Royalists were not buried in a church. It is possible that the burial register for their church was destroyed, that it did not exist in 1644 or that the burials were not recorded – Atherton has noted that soldiers were regularly omitted from parish burial registers during the Civil War.[47] It simply means we have no explicit evidence of what did happen to them.

The evidence from Marston Moor itself is inadequate to indicate where the high-status Royalists were buried, but parallels from other battles can be used to suggest the most likely location of their burial. After EdgehillColonel Charles Essex was 'buryed with the solemnity of a Souldier in a Church at Warwike', while there is also the example of the 'commanders' that Coe noted were buried in the church at 'Moriton' following Cropredy Bridge.[48] In all three cases, the dead were high status and had to be taken away from the battlefield, just like those at Marston Moor, and in each example they were buried in a church. Therefore, the most likely fate of the high-status Royalists at Marston Moor (and other men who are described as being taken away or carried from the field) is that they were buried in a church. This conclusion certainly makes sense given that churches were still the normative place of burial and so are likely to have been considered honourable places for the interment of the dead, particularly since their use required someone to go to the effort of moving the dead. If the high-status Royalist dead from Marston Moor were removed from the battlefield in order to be given a church burial, then this is further evidence in support of the hypothesis that status had an impact on the treatment of the dead, with the high-status dead more likely to be removed from the battlefield for a church burial. This example also suggests that status may have been a more important factor in deciding the fate of the dead than an individual's

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[44] Ibid., p. 326.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Peter Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Kineton: The Roundwood Press, 1970), pp. 271-2. It may be worthwhile to double-check this point in the future, but I decided not to pursue that avenue here, as the focus of this study is on battle accounts rather than parish registers.
[47] Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars.", pp. 6, 8-11.
[48] J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army*, doc im 3a; Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.

military and political allegiance, since the Parliamentarians wanted to inter their high-status opponents honourably.

While preferential treatment was given to the elite, it was by no means a foregone conclusion that all of them would receive a church burial. Edmund Verney, the Royalist standard-bearer at Edgehill, for example, was never located even though his son (Ralph) specifically sent men to find the body so that it could be given a church burial.[49] These men were told 'there is no possibility of finding my Dear father's Body, for my Lord General...and twenty others of my acquaintance assured him [Ralph's messenger] he was never taken prisoner, neither were any of them ever possessed of his Body; but that he was slain by an ordinary Trooper'.[50] This suggests that there was not some universal desire amongst all combatants to ensure that all high-status dead were located and removed for a church burial. Instead, it was down to the high-status dead to identify and remove their comrades.

It is clear that there was not a universal desire to honour the high-status dead, specifically, with a church burial. However, the example of Edmund Verney does not make it clear whether the removal of the high-status dead was a general initiative of the elite or whether it was more specific. Would they remove an individual for a church burial simply because they recognised that they were high-status, even if they were not personally acquainted? Alternatively, were all of those high-status individuals who were removed for a church burial taken by personal acquaintances? There is certainly evidence of the latter. Thus, Ralph Verney noted that 'my Lord Aubigney was like to have been buried in the fields, but that one came by chance that knew him and took him into a church, and there laid him in the ground'.[51] There also appears to be evidence that it was a more general initiative, however. Hence, a Royalist prisoner was made to go around identifying the high-status Royalist dead at Marston Moor, so that the Parliamentarians could take them for a church burial, because they were not known personally to the Parliamentarians.[52] Similarly, those at Langport were removed first because they were officers.[53]

Looking at the issue from a practical perspective, in the late medieval period it would have been easy to identify the elite: they wore heraldry and had distinctive military

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[49] Susan E. Whyman, "Verney, Sir Edmund (1590-1642)," 2009 ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28228.
[50] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 121.
[51] Ibid., p. 121.
[52] Vicars, *Gods Arke*, p. 276.
[53] Fairfax, *The Coppie of a Letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax His Quarters to the Parliament*, p. 6.

equipment, such as plate armour. It would have been more difficult in the Stuart period, as there was a greater uniformity in equipment, but it would still have been possible. For example, the elite made up a large proportion of the officer corps and they were identifiable by their officers' sashes.[54] The quality and nature of high-status individuals' clothes and equipment would also have indicated their status. Thus, at Naseby one individual was identified as high-status from their coat, even though his name was unknown.[55] Individuals' clothes and equipment were only of use to a certain extent, however, since it was normal for the dead to be stripped after battle and the high-status dead would have been prime targets, given the superior quality of their garb.[56] From that point, it would have been difficult to differentiate between the high and low status dead. It may have been at that point, therefore, when it was no longer possible to identify an individual from their accoutrements alone that the job was left to personal acquaintances to recover the high-status dead. Even they would not have been able to identify their friends and masters without fail. The dead may have been buried before they had a chance to search all of the bodies, while injuries, particularly those to the face, could have made identification difficult. Overall, it seems likely that a mixture of the two practices went on at most battlefields. There probably was a general initiative of the elite to give their high-status comrades a church burial, but where it was not possible to distinguish the status of the dead or where time was limited, retrieval was left to friends. The meticulousness, character and success of this process would have varied according to the context and circumstances of the battle, affected by factors such as the numbers of dead and how long there was to search the field.

When the hypothesis that the elite made a concerted effort to identify their social equals in order to give them a church burial, but ignored the lower status dead is considered in the wider context of social relations in this period, it is not at all surprising that this

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[54] Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 90-1; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, p. 40.

[55] England and Parliament Wales, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, For...The Great Victory...Nere Knasby...* ed. Oliver Cromwell, Thomason Tracts / 47:E.288[26] (London : Printed for Ed. Husband, Iune the 17. 1645., 1645), p. 4.

[56] Examples of the stripping of the dead: Dunbar, 'Relation of the battle between the Scots and Cromwell at Dunbar' in Thomas Carte, ed. *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers, Concerning the Affairs of England, from the Year 1641 to 1660. Found among the Duke of Ormonde's Papers*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: James Bettenham, 1739), p. 383; Edgehill, Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, v. 3, book 6, p. 294; Hopton Heath, William Brereton, "Relation of the Battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, March 19, 1642, Wherein the Earl of Northampton, and Divers Other Eminent Commanders, Were Slain," in *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire...* ed. Stebbing Shaw (London: J. Nichols, 1798), p. 54; Adwalton Moor, Thomas Fairfax, "A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions; During the War There, from the Year 1642 Till the Year 1644," in *An English Garner. Stuart Tracts 1603-1693*, ed. C.H. Firth and Edward Arber (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1903), p, 380; Winceby, Dillingham, *Parliament Scout*, E.71[25], p. 149.

happened. The aristocracy, which are defined by Manning as the peers and the greater gentry, believed themselves to be a distinct, superior group who had inherited their 'gentility' and expected deference from their social inferiors.[57] The Civil War, itself, is a good example of how they often acted out of self-interest, in a bid to maintain their exclusive, privileged position as the ruling class.[58] Thus, the earl of Newcastle said that he supported Charles 'to keep up his majesty's rights and prerogatives… [for] the nobility cannot fail if the king be victorious, nor can they keep up their dignities if the king be overcome'.[59] While, in a famous sermon to the king's army, Edward Symmons preached that 'A complete cavalier…has rather chosen to bury himself in the tomb of honour, than to see the nobility of his nation vassalaged, the dignity of his country captivated by any base domestic enemy'.[60] Cromwell mirrored the view that lower status people were inferior at Edgehill when he despaired that the Royalist cavalry were made up of 'persons of quality' while his own were 'base and mean fellows'.[61] Even when acknowledging the support of the common people, Parliamentarian records refer to them as the 'ignorant' or 'meaner' sort, again demonstrating that they were believed to be inferior.[62] It is wrong to assume that everyone held such views or that they held them all of the time. It is also wrong to assume that the social elite only ever acted in their own interests and certainly further study is needed to look at the issue in closer detail than has been possible here. However, there is sufficient evidence of the elite's self-interest and their fear of social disorder and lower status individuals, that it is not surprising they would prioritise their own when it came to giving the dead a decent, Christian burial.

Although the evidence shows that the high-status dead were more likely to receive a church burial, it is unclear what proportion were successfully identified and removed, as there is not enough information in the battle accounts. Searching local parish registers for high-status burials might give us some idea of the numbers brought for burial, but it is unlikely that all of the parish registers near a battlefield will have survived for the seventeenth century. It is also possible that individuals will have been buried in churches without having their

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[57] Brian Manning, *Aristocrats, Plebeians and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (London: Pluto Press, 1996) p. 6; J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold, 1987), pp. 157-8.

[58] Manning, *Aristocrats, Plebeians and Revolution in England 1640-1660* p. 41; Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642-1646*, pp. 137-58.

[59] Manning, *Aristocrats, Plebeians and Revolution in England 1640-1660* p. 41.

[60] Edward Symmons, "A Militarie Sermon Wherein by the Vvord of God, the Nature and Disposition of a Rebell Is Discovered, and the Kings True Souldier Described and Characterized : Preached at Shrewsbury, May 19. 1644, to His Majesties Army There under the Command of the High and Most Illustrious Prince Rvpert," (Oxford: Hall, Henry, 1644), p. 16.

[61] Malcolm, p. 160.

[62] Manning, *The English people*, pp. 237-43, 261; Malcolm, pp. 159-60.

interments noted in the parish burial registers. Therefore, using parish burial registers alone would not give an accurate indication of what proportion of the high-status dead were successfully brought for church burials. The accounts regularly list by name the high-status men killed, so a more accurate indication of how many were retrieved successfully might be possible by investigating the place of burial of each named individual, using parish registers and family records. It is likely that the proportion would have varied between battles, so multiple actions would have to be examined using this methodology, but this could help us to get a more accurate picture of the practice. Various factors will have affected an army's ability to remove the high-status dead, such as the number of high-status men killed – since they only had a limited capacity for moving bodies – and how much time the army had on the battlefield following the cessation of hostilities. Even the weather conditions may have had an impact, as rain and mud may have made it more difficult to identify the high-status dead in order to remove them.

This lack of information in the battle accounts also makes it difficult to establish how far down the social scale this preferential treatment applied. Certainly, it included peers since the likes of Viscount Falkland and the Earl of Carnarvon were removed for burial.[63] Captain Houghton, who was buried in York Minster after the battle of Marston Moor, was the third son of a knight, while Colonel Essex, killed at Edgehill and buried at a church in Warwick was the second son of a baronet.[64] It can be difficult to establish the precise status of individuals, especially when they were younger sons, but this suggests that the process extended to the upper gentry, who were generally large landowners living off the rent of tenants.[65] It is less clear if the minor gentry, who had much smaller estates and were mostly farmers, were also included.[66] It may be here that parish register research would prove to be particularly useful, as they often record the rank of officers brought for burial. Looking at the date of burial would help to establish those individuals most likely to have been killed outright, rather than mortally wounded. Further research would then be required to establish

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[63] J Goddard, "Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland," (1999); Ian Roy, "Dormer, Robert, First Earl of Carnarvon (1610?–1643)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2006), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7839.

[64] Peter Robert Newman, "The Royalist Army in Northern England 1642-45" (University of York, 1978), vol. 2, p. 147; Rosemary Sgroi, "Houghton, Sir Gilbert (1591-1646) of Hoghton Tower and Walton, Lancs.," ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, *The history of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629* (Online: Cambridge University Press, 2010), https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/houghton-sir-gilbert-1591-1646; Wales, "Essex, Charles (Bap. 1600, d. 1642) in Essex, Sir Thomas, Second Baronet (Bap. 1604, d. in or after 1651)".

[65] Manning, *Aristocrats, Plebeians and Revolution in England 1640-1660*, p. 6.

[66] Ibid., p. 6.

the social status of such individuals, but this may be able to show if the lesser gentry were included in this prioritisation of the high-status dead.

As with the two earlier periods, the high-status were buried in a number of different types of church. [67] Some were interred in churches close to the battlefield or an army's post-battle quarters. Thus, Sir Ingram Hopton was buried in Horncastle, a few miles to the west of the Winceby (1643) battlefield, because it was where some of the Parliamentarians quartered after the battle. [68] Similarly, Colonel Charles Essex was interred 'in a church at Warwick' because it was the Parliamentarian army's quarters after the battle of Edgehill. [69] In these cases, practicality must have been an important factor in deciding where to inter the dead. That practicality was not always the primary factor in dictating where the dead were buried, however, is demonstrated by the example of Sir Bevil Grenville. His body was taken over 160km from Cold Ashton parsonage, where he died following the battle of Lansdown (1643) so that he could be buried on his homelands in Kilkhampton, Cornwall. [70] Similarly, Viscount Falkland's body was taken 60km from the Newbury I battlefield and buried in his home parish of Great Tew (Figure 38). [71] The distances that these bodies were conveyed suggests that being buried on one's homelands was incredibly important to some individuals, probably because of the desire to be buried in the family church with fitting honour. Such a burial would have helped the family to maintain their social status, since it readily proved their lineage, while in some cases, the body may also have been important for title claims, to prove an individual's death. Unfortunately, there is not enough detail in the sources to establish why these high-status individuals were buried in these particular churches. It is unclear, for example, why Colonel Essex was taken only to the nearby Parliamentarian garrison for

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[67] Please refer to Appendix B for a list of high-status individuals killed outright in this period whose places of burials could be identified. Unfortunately, not enough examples have been identified from the sources studied here for us to be able to do any numerical analysis on the types of church that individuals were taken to and how often such churches were used.

[68] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Winceby 1643," (London: English Heritage, 1995).; F C Massingberd, "Bolingbroke Castle and Winceby Field," *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports & Papers* 8 (1865), p. 41; Earl of Manchester, "E. Of Manchester's Letter, Giving an Account of His Victory over the King's Forces," in *Journal of the House of Lords* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), pp. 255-6.

[69] J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army*, doc im 3a.

[70] Anne Duffin, "Grenville , Sir Bevil (1596–1643)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11487.

[71] Smith, "Cary, Lucius, Second Viscount Falkland (1609/10–1643),"; John Aubrey and Thomas Hearne, *Letters Written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centures...* ed. John Walker (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; and Munday and Slatter, 1813), vol. II, part 1, p. 350.

burial, whereas Viscount Falkland was taken three times further for burial on his homelands.[72]
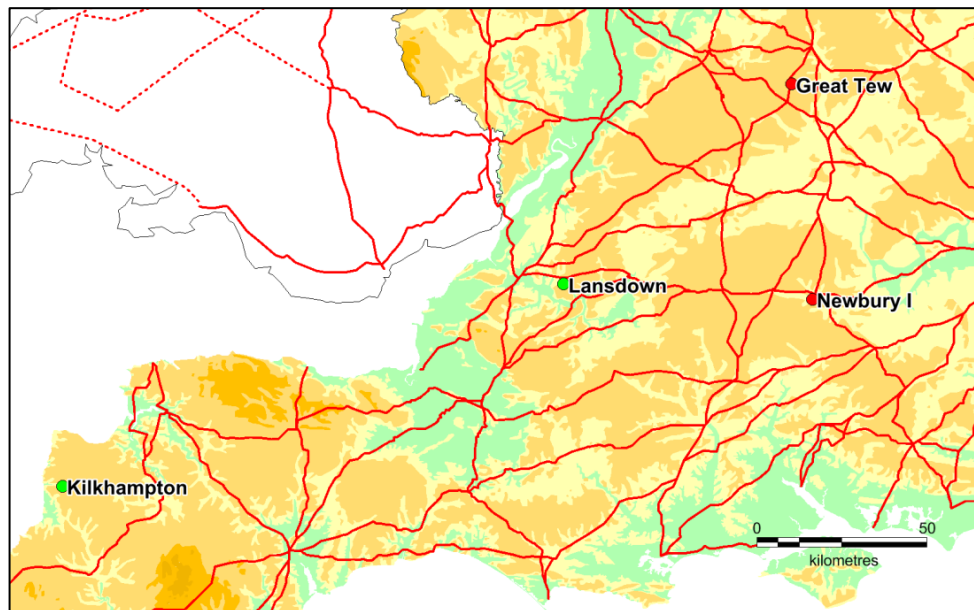
Figure 38. A map showing the location of the battlefields at which Sir Bevil Grenville (green) and Viscount Falkland (red) were killed in relation to where they were buried, on their homelands (roads after Ogilby 1675).

The Royalist Captain John Smith, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Cheriton (1644), was carried 70km before he died in Abingdon.[73] Instead of being buried in one of the nearby churches of Abingdon, as might have been expected, however, he was carried another 8km and buried in Oxford (Figure 39).[74] Smith was born in Warwickshire and lived at Ashby Folville in Leicestershire, so he was not taken to Oxford because it was his home.[75] Why, then, was Smith conveyed to Oxford for burial? Many of the Royalist's military hospitals had been set up around the city, which served as their capital during the Civil War, so it seems likely that Smith had been on his way to Oxford to receive medical treatment before his death.[76] This does not adequately explain why Smith's body was still brought to Oxford even after he had died, though. The answer may lie in Smith's biography. The piece describes how, in Oxford, Smith's body was 'entertained with exceeding griefe both to Court and

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[72] J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army*, doc im 3a; Smith, "Cary, Lucius, Second Viscount Falkland (1609/10–1643)".

[73] Edward Walsingham, *Britannicae Virtutis Imago. Or, the Effigies of True Fortitude, Expressed to the Life, in the Famous Actions of That Incomparable Knight, Major Generall Smith, Who Is Here Represented, June, 1644*, Thomason Tracts / 9:E.53[10] (Oxford : Printed by Henry Hall, in the Yeare 1644., 1644), p. 20.

[74] Ibid., p. 20.

[75] E. I. Carlyle, "Smith, Sir John (1616–1644)," ed. S.L. Rev. Sadler, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2006), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25837; 'The borough of Abingdon' in *A History of the County of Berkshire*, ed. William Page and P.H. Ditchfield, Online ed., vol. 4, Victoria County History (London: British History Online, 1924), pp. 430-51.

[76] Gruber von Arni, *Justice to the Maimed Soldier*., pp. 21-38.

City…[and] exposed to the peoples view' in the chancel of All Souls College, whilst his funeral and burial place were being prepared.[77] Smith's funeral was performed 'with as much ceremony as the shortnesse of time, and meanes of preparation for one of his quality would permit', it noted.[78] '[A]ll the chiefe Commanders of Horse and Foot then in Oxford, with a multitude of other Gentlemen' were present, including two earls and two lords who carried his body to the grave.[79] Clearly, Smith was a highly valued and popular Royalist. This suggests that the extra effort to bring his body to the Royalist capital was so that Smith's comrades could honour the man who had retrieved the Royalist standard at Edgehill, an action that had seen him knighted on the field and awarded a medal by King Charles.[80]
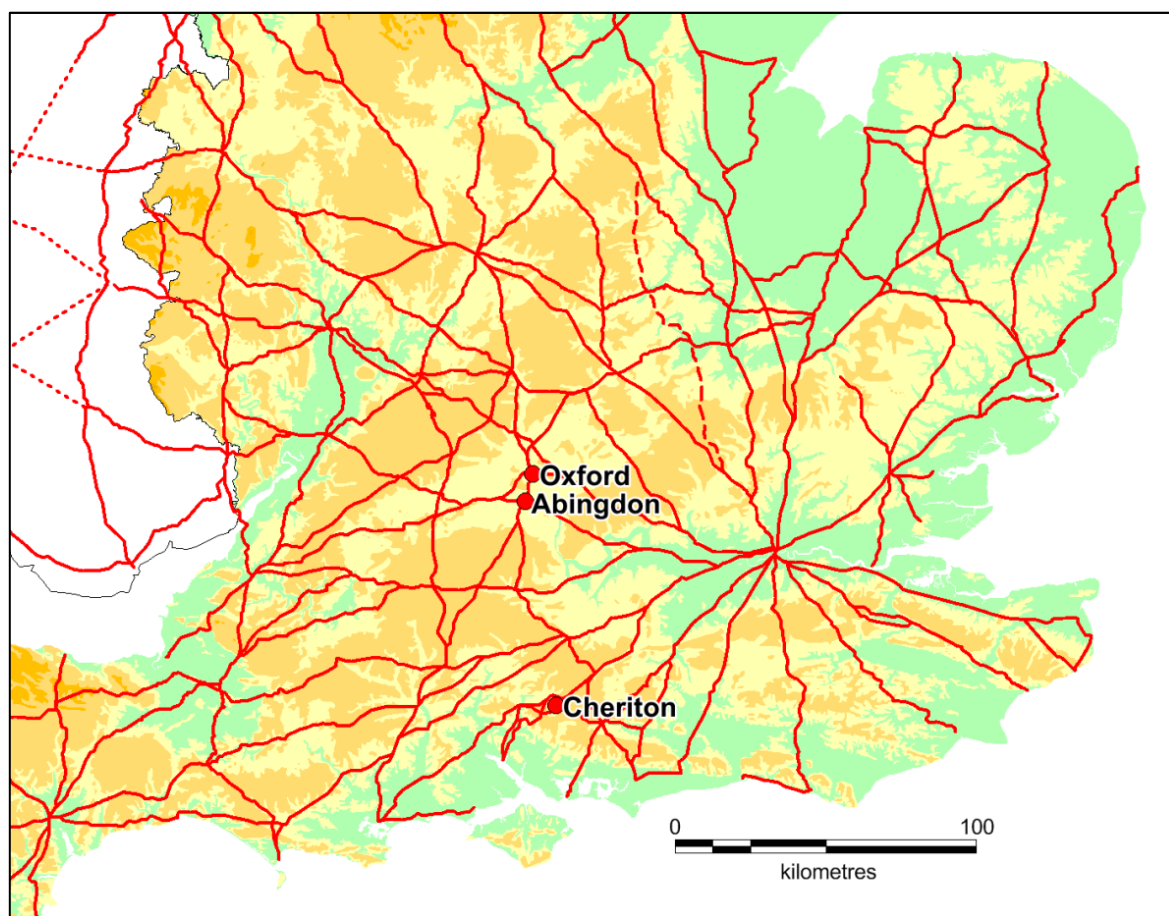
Figure 39. A map showing where Captain Smith was wounded, died and then buried (roads after Ogilby 1675).

Captain Smith was not the only Royalist specifically brought to Oxford for burial. King Charles, according to a Parliamentarian account, sent for the bodies of 'sixty lords, knights and gentlemen of great quality' who had been killed at Newbury I (1643) so that they

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[77]Walsingham, *Britannicae Virtutis Imago*, p. 20.
[78]Ibid.
[79]Ibid.
[80] Carlyle, "Smith, Sir John (1616–1644)".

could be buried in the city.[81] The churchwarden accounts for Newbury's parish church indicate that other men killed at the battle were buried in Newbury's church.[82] That these sixty men were not, suggests that Oxford was chosen deliberately as their place of burial. Two of the three Stuart brothers[83], killed at Edgehill and Cheriton, were also brought to Oxford for burial, as was the Earl of Carnarvon, who was killed at Newbury I.[84] Oxford was probably used as the place of burial for these high-status Royalist dead as it served as the Royalist capital throughout the First Civil War. Therefore, it was a Royalist focal point and at least some high-status Royalists will have been present at any one time, who could then appropriately honour their fallen comrades. Oxford's central geographical location also meant that it was relatively accessible to all armies, and a better option than trying to take a body to wherever Charles and his court may have been at the time. It is unfortunate that the burial location of only one high-status Parliamentarian killed outright in battle was identified in this study, as it would be interesting to know if they did something similar with their own high-status dead. Were they taken to London, the Parliamentarian capital, for burial? Certainly further research is needed to investigate if this was the case.

Four of the five battle accounts that describe church burials have now been discussed. It is to the fifth and final account that the analysis now turns. The source relates to the battle of Sedgemoor (1685) and it is likely to have been written by the parish vicar or churchwarden of Westonzoyland, one of the parishes in which the battle took place.[85] This is because the account was written in Westonzoyland's parish register and so must have been written by someone with access to that document, most likely one of the officials charged with keeping it.[86] The wording of the account suggests that it was written by an eyewitness shortly after the

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[81]T.V., *A True Relation of the Late Battell Neere Newbery*, E.69[2], p. 6.

[82] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64.

[83] Note, there appears to be a contradiction in the sources over the fate of one of the brothers: Lord d'Aubigney as while Clarendon claims that he was buried in Oxford, the Verney letters imply that he was identified and taken for burial in a church near Edgehill. While it is possible that he was first buried at Edgehill and later removed to Oxford, Clarendon's wording rather seems to suggest that the body was immediately taken for burial in Oxford. It seems most likely that the person who thought they had found and buried d'Aubigney's body at Edgehill was mistaken, and that it was actually someone else, which demonstrates the difficulties of identifying the dead, even when known to the identifier. Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 121; Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3, p. 289.

[84]The third Stuart brother was also buried in Oxford, after he died at the siege of Chester. Lord John Byron, "Account of the Siege of Chester," in *William Lawes (1602-1645) : Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 162-3; Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3, book 6, p. 289; Roy, "Dormer, Robert, First Earl of Carnarvon (1610?–1643),"; Luke, *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, 2, p. 158.

[85] Philip Sturdy, ed. *Weston Zoyland Church Records Referring to the Monmouth Rebellion 1685: Extracts from Weston Zoyland Registers and Notes Thereon*, 11th ed. (Sherborne: Sawtells of Sherborne, 1940), p. 9.

[86] Ibid., p. 9.

battle, while the fact that it was written in the parish register and, therefore, was relatively private makes it an unlikely source of propaganda, suggesting that the account is very reliable.[87] It says: 'Their was kild upon the spott of the King's souldiers sixtenn: ffive of them Buried in the Church: The rest in the church yeard: and they had all Christian Buriall'.[88] The place of burial in this period generally reflected one's social status, with higher status individuals more likely to be buried inside the church and lower status individuals outside in the churchyard.[89] Therefore, this suggests that five high-status individuals were buried in the church and that eleven lower status men were buried outside in the churchyard. It is not possible to establish the precise status of any of these men, but those buried in the church are more likely to have been officers, while the burial of men in the churchyard certainly raises the possibility that some were low status rank-and-file soldiers, which would be a significant departure from the rest of the evidence discussed.

There may be further evidence of lower status combatants receiving a church burial at Hopton Heath (1643). The eyewitness account of the Parliamentarian commander Sir William Brereton noted that 'Some of the inhabitants of the country report, there were neere 600 dead bodies carried away from the field the next morning, whereof, I am confident, there were not thirtie of our men'.[90] The account is not very reliable; indeed, John Sutton has described it as 'exaggerated and full of gross distortions'.[91] Thus, Brereton claimed that the battle was a clear Parliamentarian victory, which was not the case.[92] However, another Parliamentarian account does also mention the event, noting 'many Cart loads [of dead bodies] we here were carried away'.[93] Furthermore, the lack of similarity in the wording and sequence of events intimates that the two accounts were written independently, suggesting that a large number of bodies were removed from the field.[94] Young and Burne also agree with Brereton's casualty estimates, suggesting that some 550 men were killed in total.[95] Both accounts mention the cartloads of bodies being removed to impress on their readers how the

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[87] Sturdy, pp. 9-10.

[88] Sturdy, *Weston Zoyland Church Records Referring to the Monmouth Rebellion 1685: Extracts from Weston Zoyland Registers and Notes Thereon*, pp. 9-10.

[89] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 460-5.

[90] Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54.

[91] John Sutton, "Researching the Battle of Hopton Heath," (Staffordshire and Stone on Trent Archive Service, 2008), p. 5.

[92] Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54 cf. D868/S/69.

[93] Anon, *Cheshires Successe since Their Pious and Truly Valiant Collonell Sr. Vvilliam Brereton Barronet, Came to Their Rescue...* Thomason Tracts / 16:E.94[6] (London: Thomas Vnderhill, 1643), E.94[6], doc im 7b.

[94] Ibid., E.94[6], doc im 7b.

[95] Alfred H. Burne and Peter Young, *The Great Civil War: A Military History of the First Civil War, 1642-1646*, 1998 repr. ed. (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1959; repr., Windrush, Moreton in the Marsh, 1998), p. 70.

Parliamentarians fared better in the battle, either because their men accounted for so few of those removed or because the Royalists had to be taken away in so many carts. Despite this difference in emphasis, both do imply that all or many of those killed at Hopton Heath were removed from the field, including the lower status soldiers. It was argued earlier that those removed from the field were taken for church burials. Therefore, it seems highly likely that lower status soldiers received a church burial after Hopton Heath.

Hopton Heath is not the only battle where there were reports of relatively large numbers of combatants being removed from the battlefield. At Newbury I (1643), the anonymous eyewitness writer known only by the initials T.V. reported how 'the townsmen informed us that they carried sixty cart-loads of dead and wounded into the towne before I came to view the place'.[96] Also at Cheriton (1644), where E.A. noted that 'the certain number of the slaine I cannot report; they told us in Alsford that they fetcht off cart-loads of dead men, and some they buried, and some they carryed with them'.[97] Such large numbers of men are likely to have included soldiers of lower status, again indicating that lower status soldiers may have received a church burial on some occasions. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to know how often such large-scale removals occurred, or how they worked, precisely. Hopton Heath was a relatively small battle of the Civil War, with perhaps fewer than 3000 men involved in total, and relatively small losses on both sides – Young and Burne suggest some 550 in total.[98] It is possible, then, that all of the dead were removed for a church burial at Hopton Heath because, in terms of effort and practicality, it was relatively easy to do so, even though this may have been a relatively unusual thing to do with the battle dead. This hypothesis could be tested by looking at what happened to the bodies of men killed during skirmishes, a type of combat where relatively few casualties would also be expected. If they were regularly removed for a church burial, it might help to confirm the theory that the Hopton Heath dead were removed because there were relatively few of them.

Both T.V. and E.A.'s comments regarding the removal of relatively large numbers of the dead at Newbury and Cheriton related to the fact that they could not effectively judge the number of men killed, as some had been removed from the battlefield before they could count

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[96] T.V., *A True Relation of the Late Battell Neere Newbery*, E. 69[2], p. 5.

[97] E.A., *A Fuller Relation of the Great Victory Obtained (through Gods Providence) at Alsford, on Friday the 28. Of March, 1644...* Thomason Tracts / 7:E.40[1] (London: Laurance Blaiklock, 1644), E.40[1], p. 7.

[98] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Hopton Heath 1643," (London: English Heritage, 1995)., p. 7; E.g. Simeon Ashe, *A Continuation of True Intelligence ...* ed. William Goode (London: Thomas Underhill, 1644), E.2[1], p. 6; Burne and Young, *The Great Civil War: A Military History of the First Civil War, 1642-1646*, p. 70.

the bodies. Therefore, as well as a desire to give the dead a normative burial, part of the motivation for removing bodies from the field may have been to hide the extent of an army's losses from their enemy, thus denying them vital intelligence. There is support for this argument in some contemporary military manuals, such as Ward's *Anima'dversions* of 1639. He recommended that a commander facing an indecisive outcome should in 'the darknesse of the night…cause some of his Souldiers to steale away the bodies of their owne slaine men, and privately bury them; so that the enemy shall conceive that he had the worst of the fight…this will make him loth to encounter againe'.[99] The battle at Newbury I did not end decisively and neither army fully retreated and so to demoralise the Parliamentarians, and to deter them from further military action, some of the Royalist dead may have been removed. This shows how the need to limit the amount of military intelligence available to an enemy and the desire to demoralise them could have affected what happened to the dead.

Overall, the evidence suggests that while soldiers of any status could receive a church burial, higher status individuals were given priority and so were more likely to be buried in a church. There is not enough information in the battle accounts to establish the proportion of high-status individuals who were successfully identified and removed for a church burial; although, the numbers are likely to have varied according to the context and circumstances of each battle. The high-status dead were taken to various types of church, with some buried in nearby churches for convenience, while others were carried much further distances so that they could be buried on their homelands or, in the case of the Royalists, in Oxford. There is evidence to indicate that lower status soldiers did also sometimes receive a church burial, although again it is unclear in what numbers or proportions. This may have been when there were particularly few bodies to bury or as part of efforts to affect morale by disguising the extent of one's losses.

5.3.1.2 Burial location: battlefield burials

At the very beginning of this section we noted that six battle accounts gave an explicit location for the burial of the dead. Of these, five recorded the church burial of the battle dead. It is to the sixth account that we now turn, which has already been briefly discussed before. It is where the Parliamentarian diarist Coe noted how, after the battle of Cropredy Bridge (1644), in marching up 'the lane the enemy enjoyed before[,] we found many dead corpses

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[99] Robert Ward, *Anima'dversions of Warre; or, a Militarie Magazine of the Truest Rules, and Ablest Instructions, for the Managing of Warre, Etc* (London: Iohn Dawson sold by Francis Eglesfield, 1639), Bk 2, pp. 65-6.

lying naked and unburied, [and] forty graves in the highway'.[100] This is the only explicit evidence from the battle accounts of the dead being buried somewhere other than a church – in this case a highway. Coe had previously described how the Royalist and Parliamentarian forces had fought to an indecisive conclusion around a 'Bridge called Crapridden', and that at the fall of darkness both stayed there 'all night, looking one upon the other'.[101] This suggests that the Royalists had opportunistically buried some of their dead on or near the battlefield whilst they waited for further action. No reason is given for why some of the dead were buried where they fell while the officers were removed for a church burial. It has already been shown that common soldiers could receive a church burial, so the most likely option is that some were buried in the highway because the Royalists did not have the resources to convey all of the bodies to a church for burial.

While none of the other battle accounts explicitly say that the battlefield was used for the burial of the dead, a few do imply its use. An anonymous Parliamentarian account of Lansdown (1643), for example, noted that 'For souldiers, we finde but 12 dead upon the place, the enemy having buried and carryed away their own', a comment that implies the opposition had buried some of their dead on the battlefield before leaving. [102] The comment is somewhat confusing, however. The eyewitness account writer must clearly have been present on the battlefield after the Royalists had left. Yet, the Parliamentarians are known to have retired from the battle before the Royalists, leaving the battlefield and the dead under their control.[103] Therefore, for this comment to make sense, logistically, the writer must have returned to the battlefield after the Royalists had left. They do not explicitly state that they did this, nor is it clear from the narrative when the writer returned. In looking at the movements of the two armies after the battle, however, it does seem theoretically possible that the Parliamentarians returned to the battlefield shortly after the battle. They had retreated south to Bath from the battlefield initially, but quickly decided to resume their pursuit of the Royalists.[104] According to eyewitnesses, by the time they left Bath, the Parliamentarians

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[100] Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.
[101] Ibid., p. 6.
[102] Anon, *A True Relation of the Great and Glorious Victory through Gods Providence, Obtained by Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Haslerig and Others...* Thomason Tracts / 11:E.60[12] (London: Edward Husbands, 1643), p. 4.
[103] Ibid., p. 4; Ralph Hopton, *Bellum Civile : Hopton's Narrative of His Campaign in the West (1642-1644) and Other Papers*, ed. Charles E.H. Chadwyck-Healey (London: Harrison and sons, 1902), pp. 54-5.
[104] *Bellum Civile*, p. 55; Army Colonell in the, *A True Relation of the Late Fight Betweene Sr William Wvallers Forces, and Those Sent from Oxford. Vvith the Manner of Sir William Wallers Retreat to Bristoll, and the Condition of His Army at This Present. Sent from a Colonell in That Army Now in Bristoll, to a Friend of His in London. Published According to Order*, Thomason Tracts / 11:E.61[6] (London : Printed by G. Dexter, for R.

knew that the Royalists had retreated to Marshfield, which lies to the northeast of the city (Figure 40).[105] We can be fairly certain, then, that they would have taken a road (or roads) that took them directly to Marshfield. Ogilby's map of 1675 (Figure 41) shows the roads that are likely to have existed in the area in 1643.[106] It indicates that there were various options for getting to Marshfield, but one of these did include a route via Lansdown, using the Bristol to London road.[107] Therefore, it is possible that the Parliamentarians marched past the battlefield in their pursuit of the Royalists, and so would have been able to see the battlefield burials left by the Royalists. Of course, the source's viewing of the battlefield in the aftermath did not necessarily come from the whole army returning to the battlefield. Another possibility is that a Parliamentarian detachment or scout was sent back to the battlefield, at which point they saw the battlefield burials. They might have been sent back to report on the location of the Royalists or to detail if anything useful, like arms, had been left on the field.
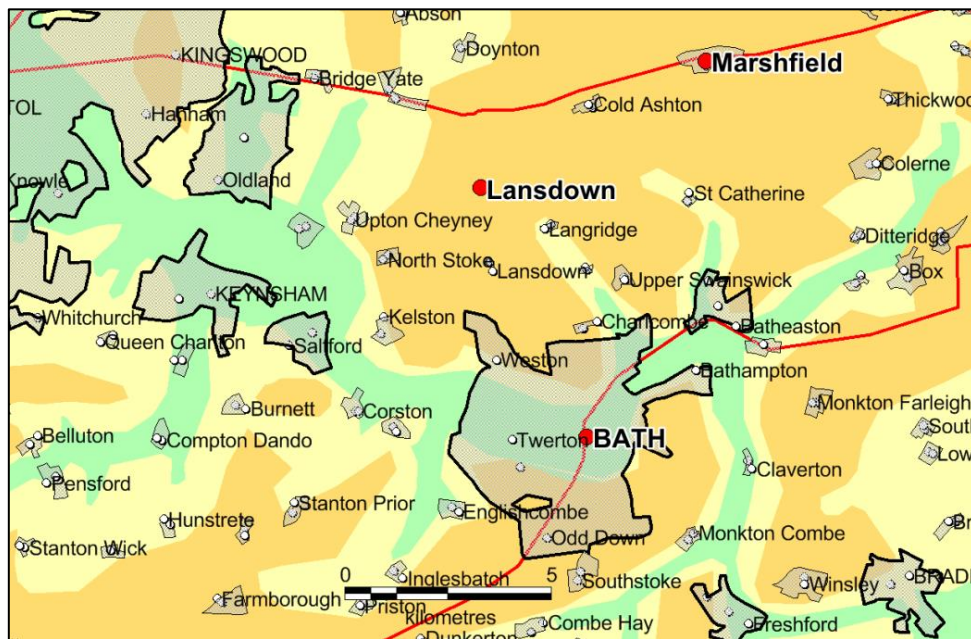
Figure 40. A map showing the approximate position of the Lansdown battlefield in relation to Marshfield, where the Royalists retreated, and Bath, where the Parliamentarians started their pursuit of the Royalists (roads, depicted by red lines, after Ogilby, 1675).

Dunscum, 1643., 1643), E.61[6], p. 2; Richard Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire : As Also a Relation of Several Passages in the Western-War, Wherein He Was Concern'd. Together, with Certain Sighs or Ejaculations at the End of Every Chapter. Dedicated to His Particular Friends: And Intended to No Other* (London: [s.n.]), p. 33; E.60[12], p. 4.

[105] Colonell in the, *A True Relation of the Late Fight Betweene Sr William Wvallers Forces, and Those Sent from Oxford. Vvith the Manner of Sir William Wallers Retreat to Bristoll, and the Condition of His Army at This Present. Sent from a Colonell in That Army Now in Bristoll, to a Friend of His in London. Published According to Order*, E.61[6], p. 2; Anon, *A True Relation..., E.60[12]*, p. 4.

[106] John Ogilby, Britannia, Volume the First: Or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales... (London: Ogilby, John, 1675), https://www.fulltable.com/vts/m/map/ogilby/a/a.htm, plate 11; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Lansdown Hill 1643," (London: English Heritage, 1995), p. 3.

[107] Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First: Or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales...*, plate 11; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Lansdown Hill 1643.", p. 3.
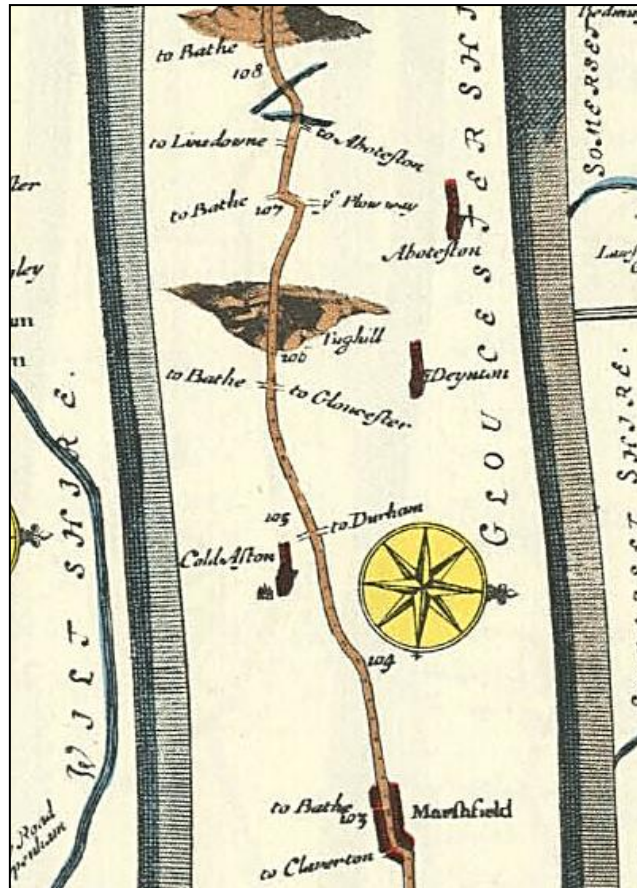
Figure 41. A section of Ogilby's road atlas of 1675 showing how one could march to Marshfield via Lansdown, using the London to Bristol road (Ogilby 1675, plate 11).

In terms of the logistics, it was possible for the Parliamentarian eyewitness to have seen battlefield graves in the aftermath of the battle, but his claims of Royalist battlefield burials appear to be contradicted by a Royalist eyewitness account. Richard Atkyns, who served in the Royalist cavalry, claimed that the Parliamentarians 'gave us no time to repair our loss; but March'd up to our head Quarters before we could bury our dead'.[108] By this point in his account, the Royalists had moved away from the battlefield to rendezvous on Togge Hill, to the north of Lansdown Hill. [109] This would suggest that the Royalists had taken their dead with them and therefore did not intend to bury them on the battlefield, as the Parliamentarian account claims.[110] Indeed, given the evidence already discussed, in removing their dead from the battlefield, it seems more likely that the Royalists intended to bury them

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[108] Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire : As Also a Relation of Several Passages in the Western-War, Wherein He Was Concern'd. Together, with Certain Sighs or Ejaculations at the End of Every Chapter. Dedicated to His Particular Friends: And Intended to No Other*, p. 33; David Stoker, "Atkyns, Richard (1615-1677)," 2008 ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/865.

[109] Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire : As Also a Relation of Several Passages in the Western-War, Wherein He Was Concern'd. Together, with Certain Sighs or Ejaculations at the End of Every Chapter. Dedicated to His Particular Friends: And Intended to No Other*, p. 33.

[110] Ibid., p. 33.

in a church instead. Atkyns is a more reliable source for what happened to the Royalist dead, as he was a direct eyewitness, suggesting that the Parliamentarian writer may have been mistaken about what they saw or heard on the battlefield. On the other hand, Atkyns does not explicitly state that he was referring to all of the Royalist dead. It is possible that they had already left some of their dead buried on the battlefield and that he was only referring to those they had brought away with them, who they intended to bury elsewhere. This point would agree with the Parliamentarian account's claim that the Royalists had 'buried and carried away their own'.[111] Unfortunately, none of the other historical sources for Lansdown refers to the disposal of the dead, so there is no way to determine which account or interpretation is accurate, but there certainly is a possibility that some of the battle dead were buried on the battlefield.

It is difficult to determine without further information why some of the Royalist dead at Lansdown might have been buried on the battlefield, while others were taken away for burial. At Cropredy Bridge, the battlefield may have been used because the army did not have the resources to carry all of the dead for a church burial and this may have been the case for Lansdown, too. This is a difficult theory to test, though, especially as neither source says how many Royalist dead there were, while a contemporary noted that the 'numbers of Common soldiers lost on either side, are very differently and uncertainly related'.[112] If some were buried on the battlefield because of the lack of resources, it means that practicality was a primary factor in dictating the burial location of the dead. Status may also have had an effect, since it was suggested that the higher status individuals at Cropredy Bridge had been deliberately chosen to receive a church burial and this may have been the case for Lansdown, too.

Overall, the evidence for Stuart battlefield burials in the battle accounts is very poor. However, other types of historical source do confirm that the battlefield could be used for the burial of the battle dead. A letter relating to the battle of Sedgemoor (1685), for example, notes how the rebels were buried 'in the more'.[113] It was written by Colonel Kirke, who commanded a regiment at Sedgemoor and who was involved in the subsequent subduing of

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[111] Anon, *A True Relation..., E.60[12]*, p. 4.
[112] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 5.
[113] Letter 1 in W. Stradling, *A Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden and Its Contents. To Which Is Added a Miscellaneous Appendix, Containing Several Ancient Documents Not before Published* (Bridgwater: George Awbrey, 1839), p. 120.

rebellion in the area.[114] The missive commanded the people of Chedzoy, one of the parishes in which the battle was fought, to help in covering the bodies buried on the moor.[115] Multiple contemporary plans and high-quality written accounts agree in placing the battlefield on the moor just to the north of Westonzoyland, which is called Sedgemoor (Figure 42 and Figure 43).[116] This makes it highly likely that the rebels killed at Sedgemoor were buried on the battlefield, close to where they had been killed. There is support for this conclusion from a plan drawn by Andrew Paschall, the rector of Chedzoy at the time of the battle.[117] Paschall produced the sketch within days of the battle, and although he had not been an eyewitness of the battle himself, he did have his parishioners' eyewitness accounts on which to draw, suggesting that his information is reliable.[118] In the bottom left corner of the drawing (Figure 44), Paschall noted that there were 'slain in ye Moor & buryed in one pit, 195'.[119] Although the link is not explicitly made, it is almost certain that Paschall was referring to the dead having been buried in a pit on the battlefield itself. Paschall probably observed this personally, since he did return to the area soon after the battle and so would have been present for the clearing of the battlefield. Overall, this strongly indicates that the rebels killed at Sedgemoor were buried on the battlefield, close to where they had fallen.

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[114] Piers Wauchope, "Kirke, Percy (d. 1691)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2011), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15664; Chandler, *Sedgemoor, 1685: From Monmouth's Invasion to the Bloody Assizes*, p. 75.

[115] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, p. 120.

[116] E.g. Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion."; Dummer plans found in his journal in Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge: 182, pp. 4-5, 8-9; James II, "King James's Account of the Battle of Sedgemore," in *Miscellaneous State Papers. From 1501 to 1726.* (London: W.Strahan and T.Cadell, 1778); Adam Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum: A Perfect Relation of the Heroick March of His Maties Truely Loyall Souldier and Magnanimous Souldier Colonell John Windham Esqre..." in *Iter Bellicosum: Adam Wheeler His Account of 1685*, ed. Henry Elliot Malden (London: Royal Historical Society, 1910); various secondary works have reproduced Paschall's plan, but the best is in Peter Young and John Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain* (Kineton: Roundwood Press, 1979).

[117] Chandler, *Sedgemoor, 1685: From Monmouth's Invasion to the Bloody Assizes*, p. 49; Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain* .

[118] Chandler, *Sedgemoor, 1685: From Monmouth's Invasion to the Bloody Assizes*, pp. 49, 98-9.

[119] Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*.

Figure 42. Dummer's contemporary plan showing the rebel army approaching the Royalist army deployed on Sedge Moore (although it is actually Langmoor) just to the north of Westonzoyland in the lead up to the battle of Sedgemoor (1685) (Dummer, 4-5).

Figure 43. Dummer's second plan confirming that the battle of Sedgemoor took place on moorland to the north of Westonzoyland (Dummer, 8-9).

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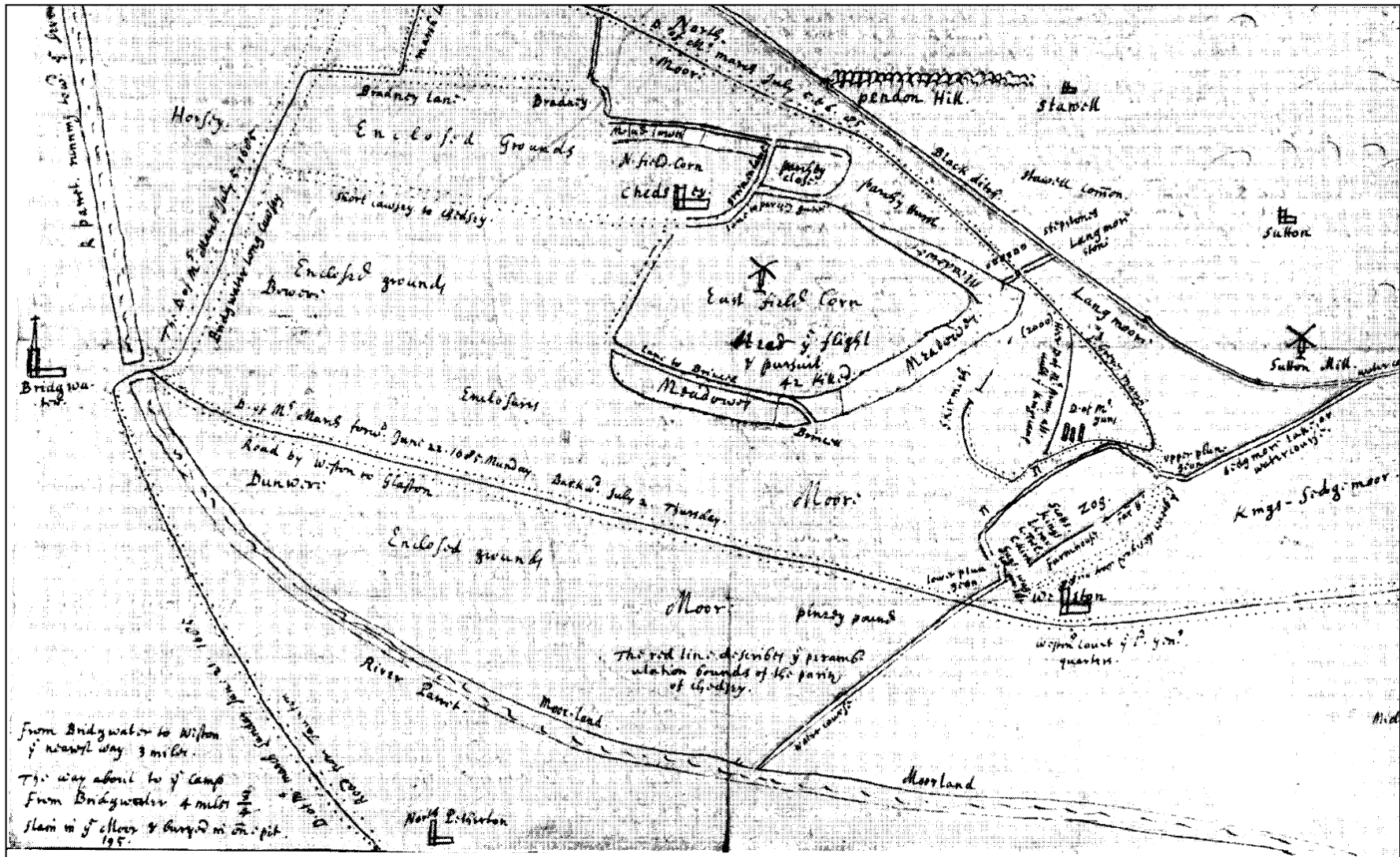
Figure 44. Paschall's contemporary plan of the Sedgemoor battlefield, with a note in the bottom left corner saying that 195 of the dead were 'buryed in one pit' (Young and Adair 1979)

It seems likely that the account of Marston Moor (1644) by John Vicars that we discussed earlier also obliquely refers to the battlefield being used to bury the dead. If we remember, the Parliamentarian chronicler claimed that a Royalist prisoner was made to identify the high-status Royalist dead so that they 'might be taken away and have a more honourable burial than the rest'.[1] Shifting the focus away from the high-status dead, the comment implies that the rest of the dead were not taken away for burial, but instead were buried near to where they had fallen. That they were buried is confirmed by another eyewitness account - that of Simeon Ashe, a Parliamentarian chaplain - who noted that 'the Countrey-men (who were commanded to bury the Corpes) tell us, they have buried 4150 bodies'.[2] Ashe's comment also makes it clear that it was the majority of those killed at Marston Moor who were buried on the battlefield, which echoes the evidence from Sedgemoor. This is not particularly surprising given that Marston Moor was the largest battle of the Civil War and the accounts commonly give casualty estimates in excess of 3000 men.[3] In this case, the use of the battlefield for the burial of the dead was a question of what was the easiest and quickest way to dispose of a large number of bodies.

Overall, although the evidence from the battle accounts is relatively weak and largely inferential, when considered in conjunction with other types of historical source, there is clear evidence for the use of the battlefield when burying the dead. Unfortunately, we cannot say how often it was used or what precise proportion of combatants were buried there, as there is not enough data. The evidence from Marston Moor and Sedgemoor suggests that the use of the battlefield was most likely a practical concession. It was a relatively easy way to dispose of large numbers of bodies that an army probably did not have the time or resources to remove.

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[1] Vicars, *Gods Arke*, p. 276.

[2] Ashe, *A Continuation of True Intelligence* ..., E. 2[1], p. 7.

[3] Ibid., E.2[1], p. 6; for example of number of casualties see Lion Watson, *A More Exact Relation of the Late Battell Neer York...* Early English Books Online., E.2[14] (London: M. Simmons for H. Overton, 1644), p. 7; W.H., *A Relation of the Good Successe of the Parliaments Forces under the Command of Generall Lesly, the Earl of Manchester, and the Lord Fairfax, against the Forces Commanded by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Newcastle, on Hesham-Moore, on Tuesday July 2. 1644*, Early English Books Online, Thomason Tracts, E.54[11] (Cambridge: Printed by W. F., 1644), p. 4. For examples of Edgehill casualty estimates, see: Nathaniel Fiennes, *A Most True and Exact Relation of Both the Battels Fought by His Excellency and His Forces against the Bloudy Cavelliers. The One on the 23. Of October Last, Neer Keynton Below Edge-Hill in Warwickshire...* (London: Joseph Hunscott, 1642), p. 8; Wharton, *Eight Speeches Spoken in Guild-Hall, Upon Thursday Night, Octob. 27. 1642...*, pp. 9-10; Stephen Marshall, *A Most True and Succinct Relation of the Late Battell Neere Kineton in Vvarwick-Shire Expressed in a Letter from That Godly and Reverend Divine Master Stephen Marshall, to His Friend a Worthy Member of the Honourable House of Commons*, Thomason Tracts / 245:669.F.6[85] (London: H.S., 1642), p. 1; William Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England...* Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 529:18 (Oxford: Moses Pitt, 1681), p. 109.

5.3.1.2.1 The effects of religious beliefs on battle disposal practices

One of the objectives of this study is to investigate whether the Reformation affected battle disposal practices. This section will look at how religious beliefs in this post-Reformation period affected the disposal of the dead..

Unfortunately, there is very little overt evidence for how religious beliefs may have influenced the form or location of battle burials in this period. There is no consideration of the issue in any of the battle accounts and only a brief mention to it in one of the other types of historical source referred to in the course of this study. The item has already been briefly discussed above, it is a letter written by Lady Sussex to Sir Ralph Verney, lamenting the failure to find the body of Sir Ralph's father after he was killed at Edgehill (1642). [4] In the missive, Lady Sussex said that 'I know itt coulde not have addede anything to him, only have sattisfiede his frindes to have had a christian beriall; but itt semes in ware ther is no difference made'.[5] Verney had been 'beriede amonst the multitude', so this all implies that he had been buried on or near the battlefield in an unconsecrated mass grave.[6] The Lady's final comment that 'in ware ther is no difference made', although slightly ambiguous, also implies she believed that, in war, no difference was made between whether the dead received Christian or unchristian burial. [7] This would suggest that the battlefield mass graves were not routinely consecrated, or at least Lady Sussex believed that to be the case. Unfortunately, the lack of data means that Lady Sussex's beliefs cannot be verified.

It is not surprising that the battlefield graves at Edgehill were not consecrated. Although people continued to be buried in churches throughout this period, the repudiation of Purgatory during the Reformation had nullified the need for the dead to be buried in consecrated ground.[8] Its purpose had been to allow those buried within its bounds to benefit from intercessory prayer, but intercession was no longer thought to benefit the soul.[9] Lady Sussex explicitly addressed this point when she acknowledged that a Christian burial 'coulde not have addede anything to him [Verney], only have sattisfiede his frindes'.[10] This clearly demonstrates that, although she would have preferred Verney to receive a Christian burial,

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[4] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 123.
[5] Ibid., p. 123.
[6] Ibid., p. 123.
[7] Ibid., p. 123.
[8] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 196-8; Morgan, "Worms and War.", p. 141; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 82, 94-6, 296; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp. 404, 460.
[9] *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 460; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 296.
[10] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 123.

she accepted his non-Christian burial on the battlefield and did not believe that it would adversely affect his soul. Once again, however, the lack of evidence makes it difficult to determine whether Lady Sussex's views about the issue were typical. If they were normal, then it seems likely that contemporaries will not have bothered to consecrate the battle graves, because they acknowledged that such a practice was no longer important for the fate of the dead. There may be some support for this conclusion in the fact that, unlike in the late medieval, pre-Reformation period, there is no evidence for people exhuming the battle dead in later years so that they could receive a Christian burial. Nor were any chantries founded to intercede for the dead or to consecrate the battlefield graves.[11] Instead, as Atherton and Morgan have argued, commemorative energies went into erecting personal memorials and caring for those maimed in battle, through the founding of almshouses for veterans and pensions for those injured, for example.[12] Overall, this suggests that religious beliefs did not have an active impact on Stuart battle disposal practices in the sense that no specific actions, such as the consecration of the battle graves, were required.

Another aspect that needs to be considered is whether conflicting Christian beliefs could affect the disposal of the battle dead. A large proportion of the people involved in these Stuart battles were Protestant, but they were not the only Christian denomination involved and there were substantial religious tensions between the different groups. There is clear evidence that religious tensions could have an effect on disposal elsewhere in the period. Some of the most notable cases can be found in the 1641 Depositions, witness testimonies documenting the crimes largely committed by Catholic Irish insurgents against Protestants during the 1641 Irish rebellion.[13] One example records how a group of Irish rebels killed a group of English soldiers in a skirmish and then refused them a 'Christian burial but buried [them] without the Citty in a Crosse high way all together in a hole', because they were 'hereticks'.[14] Another deposition tells of how one man, whilst serving in the English army after the rebellion had been suppressed, at many places saw 'very great numbers of the persons of murthered British protestants throwne vpon heapes & stript naked both men women and children, & saw the very dogs feed upon some of their Carcasses as they lay there

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[11] Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 295.
[12] Ibid., pp. 295-6.
[13] 'About the 1641 Depositions' page in Jane Ohlmeyer et al., "1641 Depositions," (Online: Trinity College Dublin, 2010).
[14] MS812, Deposition of Joseph Wheeler, Elizabeth Gilbert, Rebecca Hill, Thomas Lewis, Jonas Wheeler, Patrick Maxwell, John Kevan in County Kilkenny, accessed online, ibid., f. 203r, 203v.

vnburied'.[15] Despite this evidence that an individual's beliefs or perceived beliefs could affect how they were treated in death, there is no evidence for this being the case in the battles studied here.

Overall, although there is only a minimal amount of evidence on which to draw, it seems as though religion and religious beliefs had little active impact on what happened to the bodies of the dead in the Stuart period. There is no evidence to suggest that the battlefield graves were consecrated, or that the bodies of the dead were later moved so that they received a Christian burial. This may have been because contemporaries acknowledged that consecrated ground no longer had an impact on the souls of the dead, and therefore was an unnecessary addition. Further research needs to be done to confirm this theory by looking for sources that express similar opinions to the one discussed here.

5.3.1.3 Form of burial

This section explores the historical evidence for the form of grave in which the battle dead were buried.

There is clear evidence from multiple battles of the dead being buried in mass graves on the battlefield. At Sedgemoor (1685), for example, Wheeler described how he saw 'lying in one Heape One hundred Seventy and Fower [bodies]; which those that were digging an Pit to lay them in gave the Number of'.[16] Paschall's plan confirms the use of mass graves at Sedgemoor, as it notes that there were 'slain in ye Moor and buryed in one pit, 195'.[17] There is also explicit evidence for the use of mass graves at Edgehill (1642). This comes from the antiquarian and herald William Dugdale, who was present at the battle and claims to have made an 'enquiry from the adjacent Inhabitants, who buried the bodies'.[18] He noted that they 'took particular notice of the distinct numbers put into each Grave', implying that multiple bodies were placed in each grave.[19]

It is not surprising that mass graves were used for the burial of the dead, particularly as there is evidence for their use during other times of high mortality in this period, such as during plague outbreaks. For example, churchwarden accounts kept during the Great Plague

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[15] MS830, Deposition of Anthony Stephens, County Roscommon, accessed online via 1641 Depositions, f. 41v.
[16] Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum.", p. 164.
[17] Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*.
[18] Graham Parry, "Dugdale, Sir William (1605-1686)," 2009 ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8186; Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles*, p. 109.
[19] *A Short View of the Late Troubles*, p. 109.

of 1665 show that mass graves began to be used in the London parish of St Bride's when the death rate averaged thirty people a day, and they continued to be used until that rate had dropped below twenty.[20] Space limitations and the fact that mass graves were cheaper to dig and fill were the main reasons for using mass graves in London during the plague; whereas, on the battlefield their use will have been primarily practical and logistical.[21] The total death toll may have been similar for plague outbreaks and battles overall, however, battlefield burial agents had to contend with disposing of all of these bodies at once, whereas plague burials built up over days and weeks. Battlefield burial agents, therefore, were dealing with bodies that were all decomposing at the same time, and so had to dispose of them in the quickest, most efficient way possible, hence the mass graves.

While practicality may have been the dominant factor dictating the need for mass graves, it is possible that cost was also considered. The churchwarden accounts for Newbury parish record that £3 1d was paid 'for burying soldiers in the churchyard and Wash' following the battle there in 1643, while the Westonzoyland inhabitants charged the parish of Chedzoy money 'to beare your proportionable charges' in burying the rebels.[22] If, as Harding asserts, mass graves were cheaper to dig than single graves, then the cost of paying men to dig those graves may have contributed to the decision to bury most of the dead in mass graves. Further research is needed to establish just how much of a contributing factor this may have been, as it is currently unclear how often men were paid for interring the dead. Further investigation is needed on this topic, in general, to gain a better understanding of the financial side of battle burials.

The accounts for Sedgemoor show that mass graves varied in size, probably in response to the specific requirements of a situation. Factors such as how many bodies there were requiring burial, both generally and in the specific area, and how many other mass graves occurred in the immediate vicinity are all likely to have had an impact. At Cropredy Bridge (1644), Coe mentioned seeing 'forty graves in the highway' as he came across the former Royalist position.[23] This is significant as Royalist eyewitness Edward Walker, one of King Charles' heralds, noted in his account that 100 soldiers were taken prisoner in the battle

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[20] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London.", pp. 55-7.
[21] Ibid., p. 59.
[22] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64; Letters 1 and 2 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, pp. 120-1.
[23] Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.

and 'as many more being then slain'.[24] This suggests that Royalist casualties had been very light, an assessment with which Burne and Young agreed.[25] The Royalists lost some hundred men, and of these, some they failed to bury while others were taken to a nearby church for burial. That means that, instead of containing tens or hundreds of individuals, the forty highway graves observed by Coe can each have contained only a few individuals, at most. None of the sources explains why the Royalists used small capacity graves to bury their dead at Cropredy Bridge, but we can suggest a reason from the context of the situation. The Royalists had clearly been hurried for time, hence why some of the dead were left unburied. Burying the dead in a single, large mass grave, however, would have meant that only a few men could work on interring the dead at once. Creating more numerous but smaller graves, on the other hand, would have allowed more men to work simultaneously and so may actually have been quicker. Therefore, along with the number and density of bodies, time could also have been a factor that affected the size and nature of a mass grave. Another factor that might have affected the size of the Cropredy mass graves was the use of the roadside for the graves, as the Royalists will have used the ditches that flanked the roads. Their shape could have affected the size and shape of the mass graves, but detailed research of the historic terrain would be needed to understand the precise affects. Overall, battlefield mass graves are likely to have ranged widely in character, not only between battles, but also between the different areas of a battlefield.

The form of church burials also requires some consideration. It seems likely that many of those taken for a church burial would have been buried in a single or small capacity grave, in accordance with normative practice. This was not always the case, however. There is a reference in the Newbury churchwarden accounts to four shillings being paid for 'Carrying [a] Soldier and making a great grave'.[26] Although the reason for this great grave is not established, it was created at some point between 23 August 1644 and 20 September 1645, and so is most likely to relate to Newbury II, fought on 27 October 1644.[27] If so, this raises the possibility of men being buried in church grounds in mass graves. Such occurrences would make particular sense when a church was receiving an unusually large

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[24] Edward Walker, *Historical Discourses...* (London: Printed by W. B. for S. Keble, 1705), p. 32; Hubert Chesshyre, "Walker, Sir Edward (1612-1677)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Online: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28475.

[25] Burne and Young, *The Great Civil War: A Military History of the First Civil War, 1642-1646*, p. 152.

[26] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 179.

[27] Ibid., p. 179; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Newbury II," English Heritage, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/listing/what-can-we-protect/battlefields/, p. 1.

number of bodies. Therefore, church mass graves might be expected, in particular, in relation to battles like Hopton Heath, Newbury I and Cheriton, where sources claimed that large numbers of bodies were removed from the battlefield. Mass graves in churches may also have been used at the request of those paying for the burial of the dead, as a way of cutting expenditure.

Overall, the evidence indicates that mass graves were used when burying the dead on the battlefield, but they were probably also used within church grounds. They were primarily used because they were the easiest and quickest ways to dispose of large numbers of bodies. Mass graves will have ranged in size, from containing only a handful of individuals to those that contained hundreds. Various factors will have affected their size and form, such as the number and location of the dead and the time that someone had to bury them. As a result, it is likely that each grave will have been slightly different, their character each determined by the specific context in which they were created.

5.3.1.4 Burial advice in military manuals

A brief, final aspect of battle burials that needs to be considered is what the military manuals advise concerning the disposal of the dead. Fifty-two military manuals written or translated between 1539 and 1668[28] were analysed to see if they gave any practical guidance on how to dispose of the dead. Somewhat surprisingly, few gave much thought to the dead at all. It is unclear why this may have been the case. The issue may not have occurred to some writers. Others may have avoided the issue deliberately, perhaps because it did not fit with their ideological purpose in writing. That is, if these writers were trying to instruct soldiers on how to conduct warfare successfully, then some may have chosen to omit making detailed references to those aspects of warfare associated predominantly with loss and defeat, such as burying the dead.

Gyles Clayton, a soldier who had seen service in the Low Countries, gave the most detailed advice regarding the disposal of the dead in his military manual of 1591.[29] He advised: 'When as any Souldiour is slaine, or otherwise dead, the Company shall bring the dead body to the ground, with the sound of the Drum, and such solemnitie as his seruice

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[28] Note, although the manuals studied cover both the Tudor and Stuart periods, the results were not significant enough to be considered separately for each chapter. This chapter was chosen to host the discussion of the evidence as more of the manuals relate to 1640-85 than they do to 1542-9.

[29] Gyles Clayton, *The Approoued Order of Martiall Discipline...* (Printed at London: by I. C[harlewood]. for Simon VVatersonne, dwelling in Paules Church yarde, at Cheape-gate, 1591), p. iv.

meriteth and deserueth, if conueniently you may'.[30] The most important aspect of this advice for this study is the qualifier at the end: soldiers were only to be buried in this manner if it was convenient. It has already been argued that many of the dead will have been buried on the battlefield because it was the quickest, easiest way to dispose of them. As a result, it seems very unlikely that Clayton's practice would have been observed when burying the battlefield dead. It would not have been practical for most, since it required a company to be assembled, to have identified and gathered their dead and to have the time to perform the ceremony.

While it seems unlikely that Clayton's advised form of burial was used when burying men on the battlefield, there is evidence to suggest that ceremonies of a similar nature were performed for some of those buried in churches. Thus, the biography of Captain Smith describes how his 'Corps were carried by Gentlemen of his owne Troope', and that 'three Trumpets with black Scarfes went sounding' as his body was brought to the grave.[31] A similar military funeral appears to have been performed for 'Colonell Charles Essex [who] was buryed with the solemnity of a Souldier in a Church at Warwicke' as 'his Corps was borne to the grave by the Lord Mandevill, the Lord Brooke, and some foure or six other Colonels'.[32] It is unclear how often battle casualties will have received military funerals. It is likely to have varied according to the circumstances, with time being a major constraining factor. Thus, military funerals are less likely to have occurred where an army is known to have had pressing objectives to pursue or when it was threatened by a nearby, opposing army. Where the time was taken to inter individuals carefully in a church, though, then it seems quite likely that their burial would have been accompanied by a military funeral.

5.3.2 Forms of disposal: non-burial

The sources describing the burial of the dead have now been considered. The following sections will look at the other forms of disposal described by the battle accounts, starting with the non-burial of the dead.

There were a number of references to the non-burial of the dead, but such items can be misleading. This is because while a source may describe how the dead were unburied at one point in time, this is not necessarily how they stayed. For example, at Hopton Heath

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[30]Ibid., p. 23.
[31] Walsingham, *Britannicae Virtutis Imago*, p. 20.
[32] J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army*, doc im 3a.

(1643), one source noted how the Royalists were given 'such a salute that the enemy, in a disordered manner, drew off and marched away...but left many dead bodies behind them'.[33] Taken alone, this could imply that the dead were permanently left unburied. However, two independent Parliamentarian sources, already discussed above, mention that the Royalist dead were later taken away on carts to be buried, showing that the non-burial of the dead on this occasion was not permanent.[34] Clearly, then, it is important to read the non-burial sources in their wider context. When we do this, we are left with only four battle accounts where the fate of the dead is unknown, which raises the possibility of long-term non-burial. These four include a scout's report that 200 combatants 'were left dead upon the place' after Langport (1645), and Coe's observation that the Royalists left 'many dead corpses lying naked and unburied' after Cropredy Bridge.[35] Although these four raise the possibility of long-term non-burial, there is nothing in them to indicate that this was the case. Moreover, they are similar to the other examples of potential non-burial in that they are written a short time after the battle. Therefore, it seems more likely that the dead from these battles were also buried and we just lack the alternative sources to confirm this, unlike with the other battles.

There is no evidence to indicate that the battle dead were ever intentionally left unburied for extended periods. Instead, where the non-burial of the dead was mentioned it was clearly temporary, and often arose as a consequence of the military situation. At Hopton Heath, the Royalists were at a military disadvantage and had to retreat quickly and it was this that forced them to leave their dead behind.[36] The same thing happened at Hamilton (1650), where an anonymous letter, written three days after the battle, claimed that the Scots-Royalist army 'left 100 dead upon the place' after they 'fled' the battlefield.[37] That it was the lack of time and the military situation that often led to the non-burial of the dead rather than because an army deliberately wanted to leave the dead unburied is made explicit in one of the sources for Newbury I (1643). Here, the *Mercurius Aulicus* described how the Royalists found the bodies of Parliamentarians 'above ground whom they [the Parliamentarians] had not time to cover' before they left the battlefield.[38]

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[33] Anon, "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell.", p. 63.

[34] Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54; Anon, *Cheshires Successe*, E.94[6], doc im 7b.

[35] Fairfax, *The Coppie of a Letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax His Quarters to the Parliament*, p. 6; Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.

[36] Anon, "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell.", p. 63.

[37] John Hall, *Mercurius Politicus*, ed. Samuel Butler and Matthew Simons (London: Robert White, 1650), E.620[8], p. 460.

[38] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530.

The evidence discussed so far indicates that the non-burial of the dead was incidental, a consequence of the military situation, which meant that an army did not have the time to bury their dead. There may be one example, however, where the dead were deliberately left unburied. This is Lansdown, where an anonymous Parliamentarian source writer claimed that 'For souldiers, we finde but 12 dead upon the place, the enemy having buried and carried away their own'.[39] The comment implies that the Royalist army, who had total control of the battlefield after the Parliamentarians had retreated, deliberately left those bodies that they identified as Parliamentarian unburied, but buried or conveyed away the bodies of their own men. Why might the Royalists have deliberately left their opponents unburied? It is unlikely to have been because the Royalists lacked the time and opportunity, as their commander noted that they did not leave the battlefield for eight hours following the retreat of the Parliamentarians.[40] It also seems unlikely that the Royalists left the Parliamentarian dead unburied as a deliberate insult, as there is no outrage in the reporting of the incident. The most likely possibility is that it was common practice for an army to send some of their men back to a battlefield, to collect up any discarded weapons or other items and to view and bury the dead. There is some evidence of this elsewhere; thus, after the battle of Edgehill, it was noted that the Parliamentarians saw 'some three or four troopes of horses on the top of the hill, which came to burie the dead, and take away some of their Cannon'.[41] At Maidstone (1648), too, one source reported that 'one of the Lord Generalls footmen going to view the dead bodies met with Major Price one of the enemies party'.[42] Therefore, the Royalists may have left their opponents unburied so that those men could be buried by their own side, in the desired manner and location. This theory would explain how the Parliamentarian source writer came to see the unburied bodies at Lansdown, if he was part of the detachment that returned to the field.

The evidence largely shows how the non-burial of the dead was temporary and unintentional. However, there is one example where the dead were left unburied for significantly longer. This is from Edgehill (1642) where, three months after the battle, people began to report seeing 'strange and portentuous Apparitions of two jarring and contrary

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[39] Anon, *A True Relation..., E.60[12]*, p. 4.
[40] Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, pp. 54-5.
[41] Wharton, *Eight Speeches Spoken in Guild-Hall, Upon Thursday Night, Octob. 27. 1642...*, p. 10.
[42] George Goring Earl of Norwich, *Nevves from Bowe, and the Earle of Norwich His Speech at a Randevous on Pickenden Heath, Who Is Designed Generall of the Enemies Forces...* Thomason Tracts / 70:E.446[9] (London : Printed by B.A., MDCXLVIII. [1648], 1648), p. 2.

Armies' which appeared to re-enact the battle.[43] Contemporaries were unsure about the cause, but one explanation, given by 'some learned men', was that the apparitions had appeared because 'there may yet be vnburied kackasses found'.[44] These men believed the apparitions to be ghosts of men from Edgehill whose presence was caused by wrongs committed against them, namely the failure to bury their bodies.[45] This indicates that the non-burial of the dead was not a socially acceptable practice. As a result, the fact that there are so few references to the non-burial of the dead suggests that it was not a common feature of the Stuart period. Otherwise, contemporaries would have made comments on the use of such a socially unacceptable disposal practice.

As a result of the learned individuals' theory about unburied bodies, a 'diligent search' was made, and bodies were indeed found.[46] The phrasing, that a 'diligent search' was made, implies that the unburied bodies were not lying out in the open.[47] Instead, it suggests that the bodies had not been found and buried with the rest of the Edgehill dead because they had been hidden from sight. Perhaps they were covered by vegetation or lay somewhere unexpected that had not been searched when the dead were initially interred. This shows how it was possible for the battle dead to be left unburied accidentally and this state of non-burial could last for significant periods – in the case of Edgehill it was three months. Although there are no other references to the accidental non-burial of the dead, it seems quite likely that it would have occurred at other battles, particularly where the battlefield had a complex or enclosed terrain. There may not be any written record of these discoveries, however. Edgehill was exceptional because of the apparitions, which generated a lot of interest and therefore written accounts, whereas for other battles those discovering the bodies may simply have buried them, and left no written account of their find.

5.3.3 Other forms of disposal

The evidence discussed so far indicates that the dead were removed from the battlefield and buried in a church, or they were buried somewhere on or near the battlefield. There are two

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[43] Anon, *A Great Vvonder in Heaven: Shewing the Late Apparitions and Prodigious Noyses of War and Battels, Seen on Edge-Hill Neere Keinton in Northampton-Shire. Certified under the Hands of William Wood Esquire, and Iustice for the Peace in the Said Countie, Samuel Marshall Preacher of Gods Word in Keinton, and Other Persons of Qualitie*, Thomason Tracts / 15:E.85[41] (London: Tho. Iackson, 1643), E.85[41], pp. 4-6.
[44] *The New Yeares Wonder. Being a Most Cernaine [Sic] and True Relation of the Disturbed Inhabitants of Kenton...* Thomason Tracts / 15:E.86[23] (London: Robert Ellit, lodger neere the old Rose in Thames-street, who was an eye witnesse unto this., 1643), p. 8.
[45] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 232, 252.
[46] Anon, *The New Yeares Wonder*, p. 8.
[47] Ibid., p. 8.

sources, however, that refer to the disposal of the dead by a different means: throwing the dead into bodies of water.

The first of these relates to Newbury I (1643), where the Royalist periodical the *Mercurius Aulicus* claimed that 'severall heapes of their [Parliamentarian] dead were found cast into Wells, Ponds and Pits, one Draw-well of 30 fathoms deepe being filled to the top with dead bodies'.[48] It also claims that 'His Majesties own troope took the paines to pull up' those in the well, implying that the use of such a feature was socially unacceptable.[49] This conclusion is supported by the fact that the Parliamentarian periodical the *Weekly Account* felt the need to respond to the *Aulicus'* claims. It argued against this 'incredible Draw-well', contending that a well would not even exist where the *Aulicus* claimed, as it was too close to the river and 'luxuriant springs'.[50] Clearly, the Parliamentarian writer considered the incident to be a Royalist fabrication, designed to damage the Parliamentarians' reputation by implying that they treated their dead in socially unacceptable ways. It is likely to have been a fabrication, or at least an exaggeration. The *Aulicus* mentions that the Royalists also found 'armes and legges sticking out besides those above ground whom they had not time to cover'.[51] If the Parliamentarians had left those they had not had time to bury, whilst making an effort to bury others, it makes little sense that they would have wasted time throwing their own men down a well in a form of disposal that was socially unacceptable when they could have spent that time burying them.

The second case relates to Hopton Heath (1643) and is of a similar nature: an anonymous Royalist account claimed that 'what were slayne of the Rebells cannot certenly bee knowne, for that they threw hundreds of them into pooles and pittes thereby to conceale their losse'.[52] No other battle account mentions the incident, but this is just one of many difficulties of the Hopton Heath accounts, which are highly partisan and contradictory.[53] A number refer to an infamous incident, where the body of the Royalist commander, who was killed in the action, was taken by the Parliamentarians and held to ransom.[54] The event is

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[48] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530.
[49] Ibid., E.69[18], p. 530.
[50] Alsop, *Weekly Account*, E.250[17], p. 4.
[51] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530; Foster, "A True and Exact Relation.", p. 14; Anon, *A True Relation of the Late Expedition of His Excellency, Robert Earle of Essex, for the Relief of Gloucester with the Description of the Fight at Newbury*, Early English Books, 1641-1700 / 240:E.70[10] (London: Ralph Rounthwait, 1643), p. 19.
[52] "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".
[53] Sutton, pp. 2-3.
[54] Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*; E.94[6], doc im 7b; A true relation of what service, p. 63.

mentioned in this account, too, where it is described as an 'unparralel'd and unchristian like accion' and the Parliamentarian leaders responsible men of 'barbarisme and inhumanity'. [55] There is a marked contrast in the language used to describe the two events in this source. The writer was openly condemning of the Parliamentarians' attempt to ransom the earl, but this is lacking in their description of the Parliamentarians' use of pools to dispose of their dead, which is detailed in a neutral tone. This suggests that the incident was not fabricated as propaganda, like at Newbury I, otherwise the writer would have placed a greater stress on the incident, as they did when discussing the attempted ransom of the earl.

The Royalist writer did have the opportunity to witness the disposal of the dead in pools, as they noted that 'wee found the forwheeles of them [the Parliamentarian's ordnance] the next morning upon the place'. [56] This implies that the Royalists returned to the battlefield after the Parliamentarians had left, a point supported by an independent Royalist account. The account itself also appears to be quite reliable; thus, various details are verified by independent accounts, such as the attempted ransom of the earl or how the Parliamentarian horse retreated onto their foot.[57] If the writer had the opportunity, their account is generally reliable and it does not appear to be propaganda, then it is quite possible that they saw the bodies of Parliamentarians lying in pools on the battlefield.

However, that is not to say that their interpretation that the Parliamentarians deliberately disposed of them in this manner was correct. Indeed, the writer noted that the Parliamentarians 'made greate hast[e] home and for feare of another charge left some amunition of powder and shott with other carriages'.[58] This detail of abandoned ammunition and cannon appears in two other independent Royalist eyewitness accounts suggesting that it did happen and that the Parliamentarians left the battlefield in a hurry.[59] If so, it is unlikely that they would have had the time to throw the bodies of their dead men into pools. Indeed, even if their hurry had not been quite as great as the Royalist accounts suggest, it is unlikely that the Parliamentarians would have prioritised the concealment of their casualties at the expense of military supplies. A more likely interpretation, therefore, is that the bodies observed by the Royalist writer were those left behind by the Parliamentarians when they

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[55] Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".
[56] Ibid.; Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*, p. 3.
[57] E.g. A true relation of what service, p. 63.; E.94[6], doc im 7b.
[58] Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".
[59] Compton, *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*, pp. 3, 6.

retreated, who they had not had time to bury themselves. Maybe they were casualties who were moved during the fighting and placed near the pools to be out of the way.

Overall, the evidence for the dead being disposed of by their corpses being thrown deliberately into bodies of water is unconvincing. One of the examples looks to be fictitious, a story fabricated by one side to damage their opponent's reputation; the second may be a case of misinterpretation by the source writer. Using water to dispose of the dead was not a socially acceptable form of disposal and the fact that only two examples of this form of disposal have been found in a battle context suggests that it was not a common occurrence. The Newbury example also shows how, although few writers wrote about the disposal of the dead, contemporaries were still concerned that the dead be disposed of in a suitable manner. Otherwise, the form of burial would not have been used as a means of questioning the Parliamentarians' honour.

5.4 Burial Agents

All of the forms of disposal documented in the battle accounts have now been discussed, so the analysis will turn to looking at who was responsible for burying the dead.

Once again, the evidence is piecemeal, which makes it difficult to establish a clear picture of who contemporaries considered responsible for clearing away the dead. Two factors that will have had a major impact on who buried the dead were time and opportunity. At Newburn Ford (1640), for example, it is likely that 'the Scots buried the dead' because the English had been chased from the battlefield, and because their defeat caused them to lose control of both Northumberland and Durham to the Scots.[60] It was not until a year later, in August 1641, when King Charles signed the Treaty of London that the Scots finally relinquished that control.[61] The English army, therefore, did not have easy access to the battlefield and so did not have the opportunity to bury the dead, whereas the Scots had both the opportunity and, given the decisive nature of their victory, the time to dispose of the dead. Time may be a factor that affected who buried the dead at Sedgemoor (1685), too. Royalist eyewitness Dummer noted that 'The Dead in the Moore we Buried, and the Country People

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[60] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vol. 3; Captain Thomas Dymock, "Captain Thomas Dymock to Secretary Windebank," in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1640-1*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882); Martyn Bennett, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638-61*, 2005 ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 20-1, 79.
[61] Dymock, "Captain Thomas Dymock to Secretary Windebank."; Bennett, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638-61*, pp. 20-1, 79.

tooke care for ye intermit of those slaine in the Corne fields'.[62] Eyewitness accounts and contemporary plans show that the battle was fought on the moor, while the cornfields were the scene of the rout at the end of the battle (Figure 44 and Figure 45).[63] It seems likely the Royalists chose to bury those killed on the battlefield, as they were close to their own position and so relatively easy to bury, but left those who were further away. Furthermore, the bodies of those killed in the rout are likely to have been spread over a wide area, whereas those killed on the battlefield will have been tightly concentrated. This is likely to have affected the Royalists' decision to leave those killed in the cornfields, as it would have taken them longer to locate and collect up the bodies.

Figure 45. Dummer's third plan of Sedgemoor showing the routed rebels being pursued north into the cornfields (Dummer, 12-3).

Military allegiance is another factor that could affect who buried the dead. Thus at Lansdown one eyewitness claimed that the Royalists left their opponents unburied on the battlefield, but 'buried and carried away their own'.[64] It has been suggested that this may

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[62] Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", p. 129.

[63] Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*; James II, "King James's Account of the Battle of Sedgemore.", pp. 312-3; Dummer plan in his journal in Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge: 182, pp. 12-3.

[64] Anon, *A True Relation..., E.60[12]*, p. 4.

have occurred because it was common for an army to send men back to the battlefield in order to locate and bury their dead. There is evidence of this concern only for one's own dead at Newbury I (1643), where Parliamentarian eyewitness Sergeant Foster noted that 'after we had buried our dead, we marched fro[m] the field'. [65] More explicitly, at Edgehill, the Parliamentarian memoirist and eyewitness Edmund Ludlow claimed in drawing up on the battlefield the day after the battle, as they waited to see what the nearby Royalist army would do, that the Parliamentarians 'had time to bury our dead, and theirs too if we thought fit'.[66] Such comments suggest that these men only felt an obligation to dispose of their own comrades, whereas burying their opposition was optional. It is possible that this attitude further explains why the Royalists chose to leave those killed in the cornfields at Sedgemoor to the burial of the locals. The cornfields are where the rout of the rebels took place, and so the Royalists may have been less concerned with going to the effort of finding and retrieving the bodies of men who will have been almost entirely their defeated opponents. It is difficult to determine how widely held these attitudes may have been, particularly as one's attitudes were not necessarily reflected by their actions, not if there were other considerations that were more important. At Marston Moor, for example, the Parliamentarians did go to the effort of identifying and removing their high-status opponents. However, it has been suggested that this was because they were more interested in identifying which high-status Royalist men had been killed for military intelligence purposes, rather than because they felt obliged to give the dead an appropriate burial.

If some armies were only concerned with the disposal of their own dead, then they must have been able to differentiate their own men from their opponents. The ability of contemporaries to distinguish between men of different ranks and status has already been discussed, but to what extent would it have been possible to distinguish men from different armies? By the time Sedgemoor was fought in 1685, the Royal army wore a standard uniform, and so it would have been easy to distinguish Royalist and rebel soldiers. This was not the case during the Civil War, however. Instead, the colonel raising the regiment chose the colour of their jackets.[67] Consequently, there were a wide range of colours in both the

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[65] Foster, "A True and Exact Relation.", p. 14.
[66] Edmund Ludlow, *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England, 1625-1672*, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), vol. 1, p. 45.
[67] Peter Young, "Colours and Heraldry," in *The English Civil War: A Military Handbook*, ed. John Tucker and Lewis S. Winstock (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1972), p. 28; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, pp. 232-3; Katherine Elliott, "Clothing Soldiers: Development of a System of Production and Supply of Military Clothing 1645-1708," *Arms and Armour* 10, no. 1 (2013), p. 34.

Parliamentarian and Royalist armies, and there was often overlap between them.[68] Thus, Prince Rupert's Lifeguard wore blue coats, as did the Royalist regiments under Lord Hopton and Charles Gerard, but so also did the Parliamentarian regiments under the Earl of Stamford, Sir Henry Cholmley and Sir William Constable.[69] This lack of uniformity meant that armies had to rely on code words, flags and field signs to identify each other.[70] Code words would not have helped when identifying the dead, while flags were a highly prized commodity that demonstrated the valour of whoever had possession of them. Therefore, it is unlikely they would have been left lying around and so would have been of limited assistance when identifying the dead, except to indicate the general vicinity for where a regiment had fought. Field signs would have been the most effective means of identifying the dead. If they were considered hardy enough to be valid as a means of identifying friend from foe, when the lives of combatants were potentially at stake if lost, then it seems likely that quite a significant proportion of the dead would have been identifiable using them. Field signs were not infallible, though. Hence Thomas Fairfax claimed that when he found himself 'among the Enemy' at Marston Moor, he simply removed 'the Signal out of my Hat, [and] I past through them for one of their own Commanders'.[71] If combatants struggled to recognise one of their leading opponents without a field sign, then it is likely that they would have struggled to identify the bodies of men from their own side if they had lost their field sign or been stripped.

There would have been other ways to identify the dead, though. Friends, family and comrades would have personally identified some. At some battles, the colour of a regiment's coat may also have been unique, which would have made the men of that regiment identifiable. A military manual of 1622 also advocated that a 'Serieant-maior Generall, if in the day of Battell…[should] appoint a certaine number of Souldiers, who from time to time shall draw forth the hurt, maimed and slaine parties, which else would trouble the Squadrons'.[72] A deposition from the trial of Charles I describes how, at one point, during

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[68] Young, "Colours and Heraldry.", p. 28.

[69] Ibid., p. 28.

[70] Elliott, "Clothing Soldiers: Development of a System of Production and Supply of Military Clothing 1645-1708,", p. 34; Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, p. 233; Peter Edwards, "Logistics and Supply," in *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660*, ed. John Kenyon, Jane Ohlmeyer, and John Morrill (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 1998), p. 239.

[71] Thomas Fairfax, *Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax Written by Himself* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1699), p. 87.

[72] Francis Markham and Augustine Matthewes, *Fiue Decades of Epistles of Vvarre* (London: Printed by Augustine Matthewes, 1622), p. 172.

Newbury II 'the Foot did fetch off the dead', while at Lansdown, Atkyns mentioned how he 'met several dead and wounded officers brought off' the battlefield during the battle.[73] This suggests that the manual's advice may have been put into practice, raising the possibility that some of the dead would have identifiable from where they lay on the battlefield, behind their army's lines. This would explain how, at Edgehill, T.C was able to say that the Royalists 'lost 4 for 1' as 'where there was one in our quarters, there were 4 in the enemies'.[74] Overall, while it will not always have been possible to distinguish the soldiers from different armies, a significant proportion would have been identifiable, particularly if they had not been stripped or if they had been removed to behind their army's lines.

Soldiers were not the only ones involved in the burial of the dead: there is explicit evidence for the involvement of locals, too. Thus, at Newbury I, the Parliamentarian commander ordered the minister and constables of Enborne parish to 'bury all dead bodies lying in and about Enborne and Newbury Wash'.[75] The mention of these two local officials shows how armies made use of the local administration system to organise the disposal of the dead. Locals were involved in burying the dead at Edgehill (1642), as Dugdale noted that it was the 'adjacent Inhabitants, who buried the bodies', a point supported by eyewitness testimonies by the likes of the Earl of Clarendon and chronicler James Heath.[76] At Sedgemoor, too, Royalist eyewitness Dummer noted that 'the Country People tooke care for ye intermit of those slaine in the Corne fields'.[77] The phrasing of the sources implies that locals only became involved once an army had left the area; hence, at Newbury I, an eyewitness noted that it was 'after his Excell[ency, the Parliamentarian commander] had given order [to the locals] for burying the dead… [that] we began to march'.[78] This may have

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[73] Mr Phelps and J. Nalson, "The Trial of Charles Stuart, King of England for High Treason.The Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Trial of King Charles I, as Attested under the Hand of Mr Phelps, Clerk to That Court; with Additions by J.Nalson," in *A Complete Collection of State-Trials, and Proceedings for High-Treason, and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours; from the Reign of King Richard II to the Reign of King George II* (London: J. Walthoe (etc.), 1742), vol. 1, p. 1032; Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire : As Also a Relation of Several Passages in the Western-War, Wherein He Was Concern'd. Together, with Certain Sighs or Ejaculations at the End of Every Chapter. Dedicated to His Particular Friends: And Intended to No Other*, p. 32.

[74] T.C., *A More True and an Exacter Relation of the Battaile of Keynton, Then Any Formerly. Written by T.C. One of the Chaplains in the Army...* Thomason Tracts / 23:E.128[20] (London: Edward Blackmore, 1642), E,128[20], p. 5.

[75] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530; E.70[10], p. 19; Foster, "A True and Exact Relation.", p. 14.

[76]Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles*, p. 109; Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, vol. 3, book 6, p. 286; James Heath, *A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War in the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland...* (London: J.C., 1676), p. 41.

[77] Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", p. 129.

[78] Anon, *A True Relation of the Late Expedition of His Excellency, Robert Earle of Essex, for the Relief of Gloucester with the Description of the Fight at Newbury*, p. 19.

been the case on some occasions - certainly, locals were regularly left with the burden of finishing the battlefield clean up after the combatants vacated the area, as the evidence from Newbury I, Edgehill and Sedgemoor shows. However, it is likely that their involvement often began much earlier, but that it simply took time to mobilise the local administration system.

While locals were often left with the physical responsibility of burying the dead, some were also left with a financial burden. The churchwarden's financial accounts at Newbury, for example, note payments 'for burying dead soldiers in the churchyard and Wash: £3 1d', while £3 4s 4d was paid for 'Burying soldiers in the church'.[79] There are similar entries in the warden's accounts for 1644, such as 'carrying a soldier to burying 1s 4d, Digging graves for soldiers 4s', some of which may relate to Newbury II.[80] Likewise, the churchwarden's accounts for St Michael in Bedwardine parish record £2 9s 4s 'payd out…ffor buryall of the Scotts that were slaine & dyed in o[u]r parrish, the Pallace, the Colledge, Colledge Greene, Castle Hill & ye p[re]cincts of the s[ai]d seu[er]all places and of divers others that were brought out of ye Citty of W[orcest]er & layd in the churchyard' following the battle of Worcester (1651).[81] These sums were presumably the wages of those individuals who buried the dead, but where did the money come from? Did the armies involved provide money or did the parish have to find these funds themselves?

War funds were used to pay for the funeral of a Major killed in a skirmish in 1645.[82] The records of Francis Vernon, the deputy treasurer for the Parliamentarian army of the Earl of Essex also record how on 24 January 1643, £36 was paid to a surgeon for 'embalming the bodie of Coll[onel] Charles Essex', killed at Edgehill.[83] This shows that armies could and did sometimes pay the costs associated with the burial of their dead. This was not always the case, however, as evidence from Sedgemoor shows. Thus, Colonel Kirke's letter to the people of Chedzoy, a parish in which the battle was partly fought, ordered them to 'beare your proportionable charges' in 'burying the rebels', and in making gallows, gibbets and gemmaces 'to hang up the rebels'.[84] This was after the people of Westonzoyland parish had

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[79] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64.
[80] Ibid., p. 179.
[81] "Worcester St Andrew and All Saints with St Helen and St Alban, Churchwarden Accounts for St Michael in Bedwardine, Covering 1640-1699," (Worcestershire Archive, 1652), p. 124.
[82] Donagan, "Casualties of War.", p. 130; Atherton, "Battlefields, Burials and the English Civil Wars.", p. 2.
[83] Francis Vernon, "TNA, SP 28/143 'Account of Francis Vernon'.", f. 52v. My sincere thanks go to Dr Gavin Robinson for informing me of these examples, and for sending me transcriptions and photos of the relevant pages.
[84] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, p. 120.

complained that the rebels were 'not sufficiently covered' and that they had been at 'great charges' to make the gibbets.[85] The tythingman of Westonzoyland charged the 'parish of Chedzoy 2 pounds fower shillings and a penny', which was to be brought 'without delay, for the workmen doe desire and expect their wages'.[86] This clearly shows the parishes funding the wages of those burying the dead themselves. The fact that the letter ordering the people of Chedzoy to pay their share of the wages was from a colonel in the Royalist army also makes it clear that the army was fully aware that the parishes were paying the cost of burying the dead and that they expected them to do so.

Parishes are known to have banded together to pay for the burial of the dead on other occasions. For example, the churchwarden accounts for the parish of St Martin in Leicester record 3s 4d 'payde to the seckerston [sexton] for burieyng of the poore visited people' during a plague outbreak.[87] Further evidence from plague periods also indicates that burial fees could be suspended because of the exceptional circumstances. Thus, the clerk of St Bride's parish in London was instructed, at the height of the 1665 plague, to only collect normal fees from those 'that are able to pay'.[88] As a result, during September, only 107 paid the burial fees even though 635 people were interred.[89] It seems likely that similar ad hoc arrangements would have been made following battles, with parishes raising money wherever possible to contribute to the wages of those burying the dead and charging soldiers where they could, but otherwise doing much of the work for free. It was in their own interests to clear their land, after all, in order to prevent health issues associated with decomposing bodies and to clear the way for farming.

The financial costs of burying the dead might explain why at multiple battles those burying the dead kept a tally of the numbers interred. Thus, at Sedgemoor 'The country men that gathered up the Dead slayne in this battell gave an Account of the Minister and Church Wardens of Weston of the Number of One Thousand Three Hundred Eighty and Fower'.[90] At Edgehill, too, 'the minsters kept Tallies of all that were buried', while at Marston Moor, 'the Countrey-men…tell us, they have buried 4150 bodies'.[91] The purpose of these tallies is never

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[85] Letter 1 in ibid., p. 120.
[86] Letter 2 in ibid., p. 121.
[87] J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Methuen and Co., 1913), p. 318.
[88] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London.", p. 59.
[89] Ibid., p. 59.
[90] Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum.", p. 164.
[91] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 121; Ashe, E.2[1], p. 7.

made explicit. They would have been very useful as propaganda and military intelligence, but it is also possible that they were used for financial purposes. They might have been used to calculate the wages of those who buried the dead, which may then have been claimed back from the parishes involved or perhaps these tallies were even used to make claims to an army or official body for the wages of those who buried the dead. Certainly, further research is needed on the financial aspect of battle disposal practices, to establish how often armies paid for the burial of the dead and how, a question that may be answered by studying military financial accounts.

Overall, the evidence suggests that armies were regularly involved in burying the dead, although there is some indication that they only felt obliged to bury their own dead, and could choose whether to bury their opponents. This suggests that military allegiance could affect who buried the dead and where. There is also clear evidence for the involvement of locals in the burial of the dead. On a number of occasions, they were left to finish clearing the battlefield when the involved armies had retreated, but it seems likely that they would often have been drafted in to help bury the dead as soon as possible.

5.5 Archaeological implications

The historical evidence for the Stuart battles has now been studied. This section looks at the implications that this historical understanding has for archaeology, as well as the implications that battle burials have for the understanding of the historical record.

The historical evidence suggests that those killed in battle in the Stuart period were buried. Therefore, archaeologists should generally be looking for articulated burials, which indicate that the bodies of the dead were buried a relatively short time after death. There could be exceptions to this, however. At Edgehill (1642), the historical evidence indicates that some of the battle dead went unburied for three months before their bodies were located and, presumably, buried. Although Edgehill is the only explicit example, it seems likely that this accidental non-burial would have occurred at other battles, particularly if there was an extensive rout that led to individuals dying in isolated or unusual locations or where the battlefield terrain was particularly complex. Detailed mapping of the historic terrain of a battlefield and its surrounding area may be the most effective way to suggest those battles and battlefields where this accidental non-burial is most likely to have occurred.

The delay in burial of those accidentally left will have affected the form of their subsequent interment. Decomposition rates are affected by a large number of factors, such as

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whether the body was buried or unburied, the temperature of the environment and the state of the body.[92] Therefore, it is impossible to suggest what the precise effect this non-burial will have had; however, it is likely that accidental non-burials would be in a more advanced state of decay than those buried immediately.[93] Therefore, archaeologists might find secondary burials with weapons trauma where skeletal elements are out of the correct anatomical position because of decomposition and disarticulation.[94] There may also be animal activity, such as gnawing, on the bones of delayed burials, since the bodies were open to the air and therefore easily accessible to scavengers.[95] It is unclear where the unburied dead will have been interred, but this may have depended on the condition of the body. If it was in a relatively advanced state of decomposition, the body is more likely to have been buried in-situ, rather than removed to a church for burial, but both are possible outcomes. Therefore, archaeologists need to be aware of burials with these features in both churchyards and on and around battlefields.

The historical evidence indicates that a greater effort was often made to identify and retrieve the social elite in order to give them a church burial. Archaeological investigation could test this by comparing the burial location of individuals interred in church grounds that also have weapon trauma. If the theory is correct, a higher proportion of individuals buried in the more privileged burial locations of church grounds, such as inside the church itself, would be expected. The historical sources have also highlighted that these high-status individuals could be taken to a wide variety of churches for burial, some of which were over a hundred kilometres from the battlefield.[96] This has important archaeological implications: it means that archaeologists cannot simply assume that an individual with weapons trauma buried within church grounds was necessarily killed at a conflict that was fought nearby.

While most of the explicit historical evidence relates to the church interment of combatants, there is also clear evidence for the use of battlefields in burying the battle dead. No Stuart-period battlefield burials have been excavated by modern standards, unfortunately, but some reliable reports and traditions of battlefield burials do support this conclusion. At Naseby (1645), for example, John Mastin recorded the story of a man who claimed his

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[92] Jarvis Hayman and Marc Oxenham, *Human Body Decomposition* (London and Oxford: Elsevier, 2016), p. 92.
[93] Ibid., p. 93.
[94] Ibid., p. 93.
[95] Douglas H. Ubelaker, "Taphonomic Applications in Forensic Anthropology," in *Forensic Taphonomy: The Postmortem Fate of Human Remains*, ed. William D. Haglund and Marcella H. Sorg (London: CRC Press, 1997), p. 99.
[96] Duffin, "Grenville , Sir Bevil (1596–1643)".

grandfather had seen the dead buried on the battlefield.[97] The grandfather had been a boy tending cattle at the time and had witnessed locals coming in 'from all quarters' to strip and bury the dead, many of whom were buried so shallowly that, soon, 'matter issued from the graves and ran several yards upon the spot'.[98] While we must be cautious when trusting local traditions, the relatively early recording of this tradition combined with the fact that much of the story agrees with what we know from other battles, such as the involvement of locals, suggests that the tradition is reliable.[99] There is further support for the battlefield burial of the Naseby dead in an edition of Camden's *Britannia,* in which the editor noted that 'There are now no signs of a fight remaining, except some few holes, which were the burying-places of the dead men and horses'.[100] This edition was published in 1695, only forty years after Naseby had been fought, so it is quite likely that the editor had reliable information, perhaps from locals who witnessed the burial of the dead. [101]

There may even have been some early archaeological evidence for the burial of the dead on the Naseby battlefield, as Foard notes that labourers digging ditches during the enclosure of Sibbertoft in 1650 found a mass grave. [102] Foard's reconstruction of the battle, using both historical and archaeological evidence, suggests that the battle took place south of Sibbertoft, but that the Royalists engaged in a fighting retreat to the north that would have passed just to the east of Sibbertoft village. [103] Therefore, it is possible that this was a mass grave relating to the final stages of the battle. There is also some later archaeological evidence for the battlefield burial of the Naseby dead. In 1842, the writer Edward Fitzgerald excavated 'A stack of dead bodies, perhaps about 100, [that] had been buried in this trench'.[104] Although it is difficult to confirm if this find was related to Naseby without evidence of trauma on the skeletons or battle-related artefacts in the grave, the fact that battle-related artefacts have been found in the vicinity would suggest that the association of these burials with Naseby is reliable.[105] When taken all together, these traditions and actual burials

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[97] John Mastin, *History and Antiquities of Naseby in the County of Northampton.* (Cambridge: Printed for the Author, 1792), pp. 117-8.
[98] Ibid., pp. 117-8.
[99] Foard, *Naseby*, pp. 353-6; Wharton, *Eight Speeches Spoken in Guild-Hall, Upon Thursday Night, Octob. 27. 1642...*, pp. 9-10; Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", p. 129.
[100] Edmund Gibson, ed. *Camden's Britannia Newly Translated into English, with Large Additions and Improvements*, 1st ed. (London: A Swall, A & J Churchill, 1695), pp. 441-2.
[101] Foard, *Naseby*, p. 351.
[102] Ibid., p. 351.
[103] Foard, Naseby, pp. 275-9.
[104] Thomas Carlyle, ed. *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle* (London: 1888), p. 174.
[105] Foard, *Naseby*, pp. 212, 249, 276, 354-6.

strongly suggest that some of those killed at Naseby were buried on the battlefield, thus supporting the historical evidence.

Some of the strongest historical evidence for the battlefield burial of the dead comes from Sedgemoor (1685), and there is physical evidence to support the historical record, also. A contemporary letter referred to how the rebels had been 'buried on the more' and that 'a mount [was] erected upon' the rebels.[106] This mount still existed in 1896 when Barrett produced a sketch of the 'Sedgemoor Grave Mound' (Figure 46), and this is likely to be the same feature described by Stradling in 1839 as the 'great grave'.[107] According to Stradling, 'a man a few years since was employed to dig near [the mound], when he discovered an immense number of bones in a very high state of preservation'.[108] Although we lack definitive evidence in the form of trauma or battle-related artefacts, the consistent tradition surrounding the mount suggests that these were indeed the bones of combatants buried on the battlefield. Therefore, there is good archaeological evidence to support the use of the battlefield for the burial of the Sedgemoor and Naseby dead.
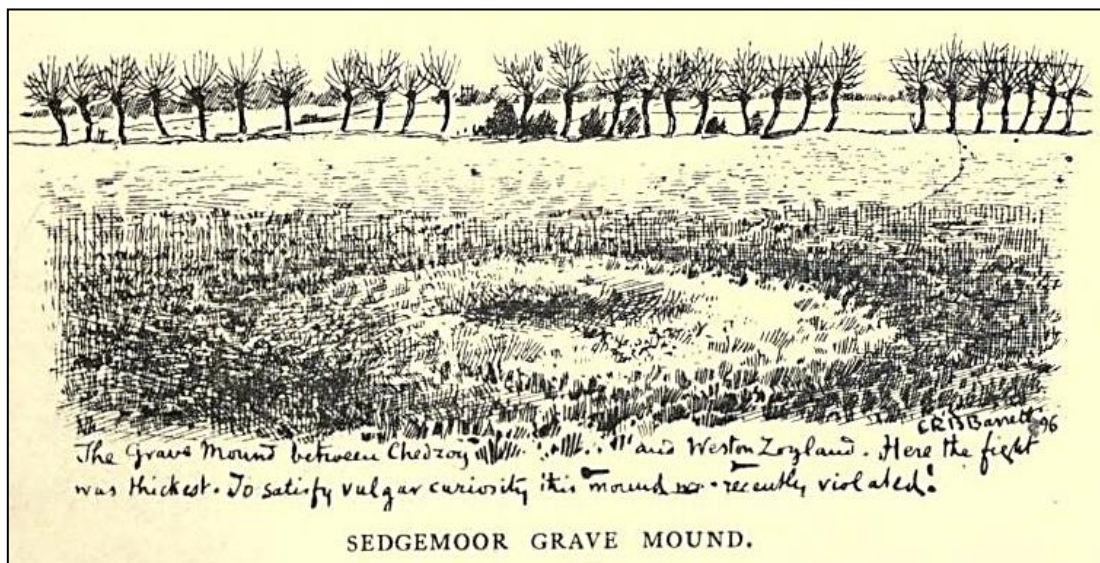
Figure 46. Barrett's sketch of the Sedgemoor grave mound (Barrett 1896, 417).

The battle accounts give very little detail about the form of these battlefield graves. A few note how many bodies were interred in individual graves, but otherwise we are given no information about their location or nature. This is where the archaeological record could come into its own, as it will be able to give us a greater understanding of where these mass graves were created and how. We still lack a battle mass grave excavated under modern

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[106] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, pp. 119-20.
[107] Ibid., pp. 119-20; Barrett, *Battles & Battlefields in England*, pp. 416-7.
[108] Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, p. 119.

conditions, but we do have antiquarian reports of battle burials, which although less reliable do give a possible idea for the nature of mass graves. In 1840, for example, one antiquarian noted how 'about four years ago' labourers diverting the Lansdown to Bath road cut into a small mound and found 'a large mass of human bones' buried together with 'caps and other military accoutrements'.[109] The mound also contained a skeleton surrounded by upright stones, suggesting that it was a Bronze Age barrow with a primary inhumation to which secondary burials were later added, which may have come from the battle of Lansdown (1643).[110] The lack of detail in the report makes it difficult to judge if the secondary burials are likely to relate to Lansdown. The presence of military accoutrements is somewhat concerning, as there is abundant evidence from the Civil War to show that the battle dead were typically stripped before burial.[111] On the other hand, the mass graves at Wisby show that it was not always possible to strip the battle dead.[112] Moreover, the location of the barrow does agree with where Lansdown is thought to have been fought.[113] The barrow occurs a few hundred yards to the south-west of the monument dedicated to Bevil Grenville, which according to the Battlefields Register occurs at the centre of the main action, on the brow of Lansdown Hill (Figure 47).[114] Therefore, it is quite possible that the barrow contains the bodies of men killed at Lansdown who were buried close to where they fell.

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[109] William Howitt, "Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry," in *The Church of England Quarterly Review* (London: William Edward Painter, 1840), p. 388.

[110] Pastscape, "Bronze Age Barrow: Monument Number 204997," Historic England, https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=204997&sort=2&type=&typeselect=c&rational=a&class1=None&period=None&county=None&district=None&parish=None&place=&recordsperpage=10&source=text&rtype=monument&rnumber=204997.

[111] E.g. Edgehill, Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, p. 294; Hopton Heath: Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54; Adwalton Moor, Fairfax, "A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions; During the War There, from the Year 1642 Till the Year 1644.", p. 380.

[112] Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby 1361*

[113] Pastscape, "Bronze Age Barrow: Monument Number 204997".; Howitt, "Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry.", p. 388.

[114] Pastscape, "Bronze Age Barrow: Monument Number 204997".; Howitt, "Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry.", p. 388; Walter Slingsby, "Clarendon Mss, Vol 23, No. 1738 (3): Colonel Slingsby's Relation of the Movement from Crewkerne to Lansdown, and after of the Taking of Bristol," in *Bellum Civile. Hopton's Narrative of His Campaign in the West (1642-1644) and Other Papers*, ed. E.H. Chadwyck Healey, Somerset Record Society (London: Harrison and sons, 1902), p. 94; Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, p. 54; National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Lansdown Hill 1643.", p. 2.
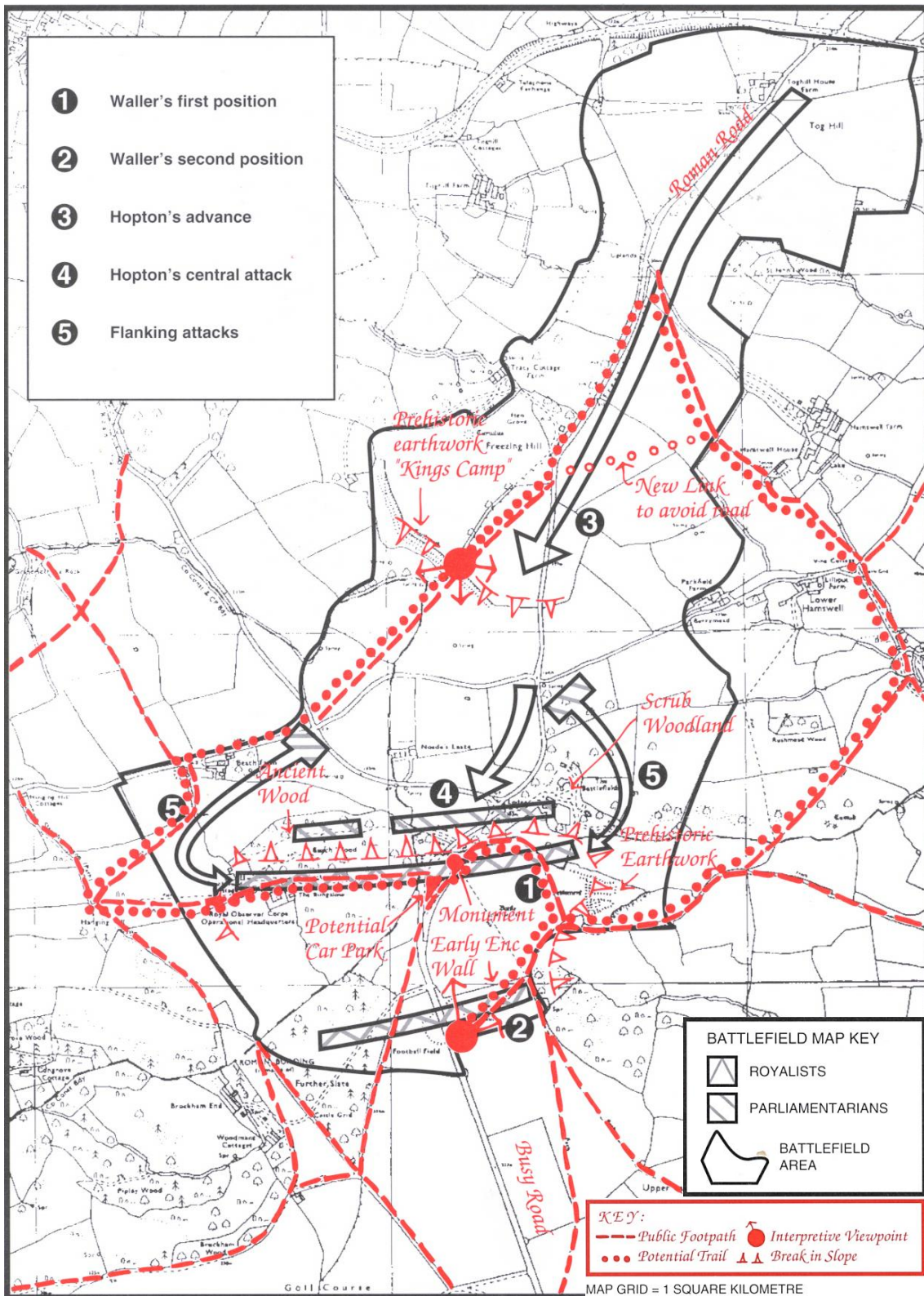
Figure 47. The Battlefields Register map of Lansdown (1643) showing how the Bevil Grenvill monument and, therefore, the barrow occur in the midst of where the main action is thought to have been fought (English Heritage, 1995).

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When considered in isolation, the evidence of the Lansdown barrow burial is not very compelling or significant. On further investigation, however, a number of other antiquarian reports of pre-existing barrows being used to bury the dead emerge. None of these is fully reliable, due to the lack of detailed information in the reports, but they do form a small body of evidence that requires further investigation. One example relates to Newbury I, where workers constructing a road in 1855 found human bones, buckles, bullets and cannon balls when they dug through one of the five barrows on Wash Common, which are believed to be Bronze Age.[115] Again, the relatively early date of the report means that the claim cannot be confirmed.[116] However, the Battlefields Register report has convincingly argued that the battle was fought on a plateau across Enborne Heath and Wash Common and that fighting took place around the barrows.[117] Indeed, there is clear primary source evidence of this: the churchwarden's accounts from the parish of Newbury record that £3 1d was 'Paid for burying dead soldiers in the churchyard *and Wash* [emphasis my own]' following the battle.[118] Furthermore, a number of lead shot have been found in the vicinity, at Blossom's Field, to the west of Wash Common Farm and by Cope Hall (Figure 48), which are likely to relate to Newbury I.[119] Therefore, it is clear that the battle took place around the barrows. What the report does not make clear, however, is whether the bones were found in direct association with the shot. It is possible that the bones are from a much earlier period and the finds were linked simply because they were found at the same time. Overall, while the evidence is not definitive, there certainly is the possibility that these are secondary Civil War burials in a pre-existing barrow.

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[115] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64; West Berkshire HER, "HER MWB1550: Wash Common Barrow Cemetery," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWB1550&resourceID=1030. MWB1550.

[116] Edina Digimap; map reference: Ordnance Survey, County Series, 1:2500 scale, published 1881, County Sheet Berkshire, British National Grid, using Edina Historic Digimap, created November 2017.

[117] English Heritage, Battlefield register report: NewburyI.

[118] Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64.

[119] West Berkshire HER, "HER MWB17979: Find Spot at Blossom's Field, Wash Common," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWB17979&resourceID=1030.; "HER MWB21384: Find Spot at Wash Common Farm," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWB21384&resourceID=1030.; "HER MWB16442: Find Spot Southeast of Cope Hall," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MWB16442&resourceID=1030.

Figure 48. An Ordnance Survey map of 1881 showing the proximity of the Wash Common barrows (ringed in red) to shot (blue circles) that are likely to relate to the battle of Newbury (After West Berkshire HERs MWB1550, MWB17979, MWB21384 and MWB16442).

Further examples of what may have been pre-existing barrows being used for the secondary burial of early modern combatants also occur in relation to St Fagan's (1648), Marston Moor (1644) and Stratton (1643), although the evidence in these cases is significantly weaker. At St Fagan's, a barrow was excavated in 1958 and found to contain cremated human remains, flint, pottery and animal bones, confirming that it is a Bronze Age barrow. [120] The field in which the barrow stands was also the subject of a recent metal-detecting survey in which four lead shot were found around the barrow (Figure 49 and Figure 50), suggesting that part of the battle took place around the barrow. [121] The weakness in this particular case is that we lack any indication as to the date of the burials: all that was recorded was that human remains were found in the tumulus in 1872. [122] The evidence of the lead shot indicates that there was fighting in the area, so it is possible that men were killed and then buried in the barrow, but it is also possible that the burials relate to some other period. As for the other examples, at Marston Moor three mounds to the north of the battlefield are

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[120] Border Archaeology, "Welsh Battlefields Historical Research: St Fagans (1648)," (2009)., p. 15; Chris E. Smith, "1648 Battle of St Fagans, St Fagan's, Cardiff: Battlefield Survey," (2013)., p. 10.
[121] Archaeology, "Historical Research: St Fagans.", p. 15; Smith, "St Fagans Battlefield Survey 2.", p. 10.
[122] Archaeology, "Historical Research: St Fagans.", p. 14.

associated with the burial of the battle dead.[123] However, they do not appear to have been excavated yet and so it is impossible to know whether they contain any burials of either Civil War date or earlier.[124] At Stratton, a handbook for travellers claims that the bones of combatants were brought up when a tumulus on Stamford Hill was ploughed up.[125] Unfortunately, no further detail is given, not even a reference or date for the find, which throws some doubt onto the reliability of the claim.
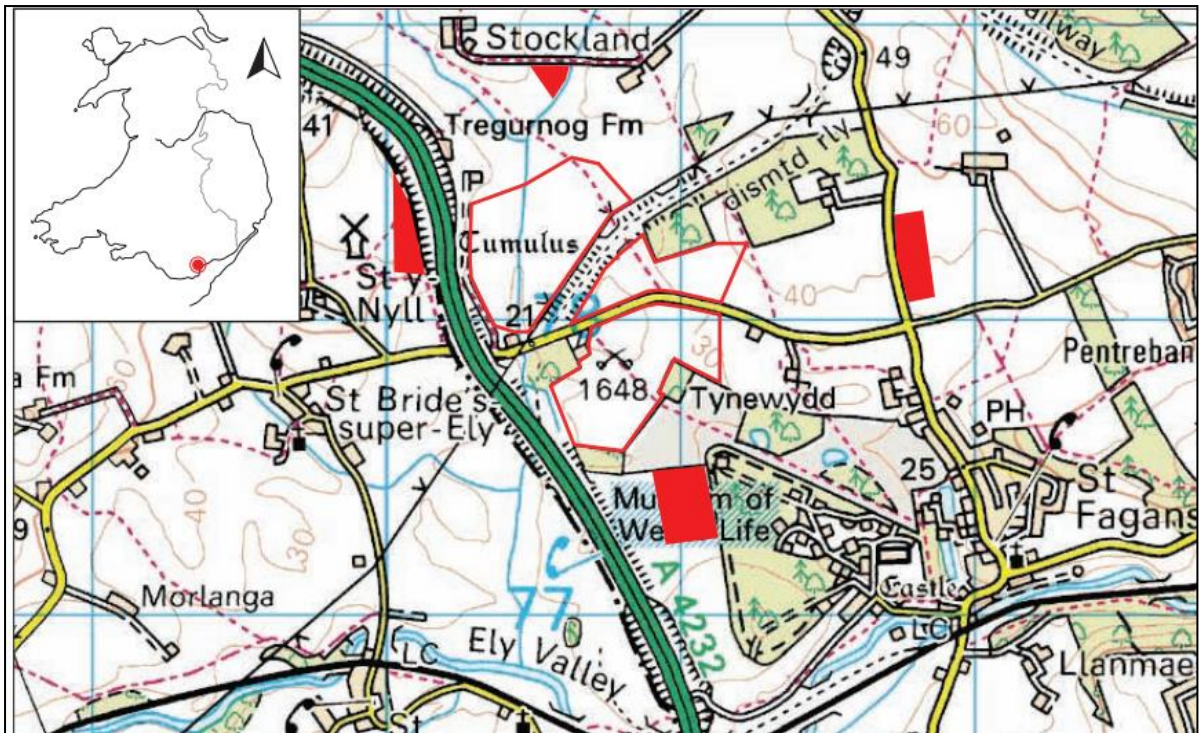
Figure 49. A map showing the areas where the battlefield investigation of St Fagan's took place in 2013 and which are believed to locate the broad battlefield limits (Smith 2013, 30). The tumulus is located in the westernmost highlighted section.

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[123] North Yorkshire County Council, "North Yorkshire Smr Number MNY11155: Three Burial Mounds Associated with Battle of Marston Moor, 1644, Wilstrop Wood," Heritage Gateway, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MNY11155&resourceID=1009.
[124] Ibid.
[125] J. Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Devon and Cornwall*, 6th ed. (London: John Murray, 1865), p. 276.
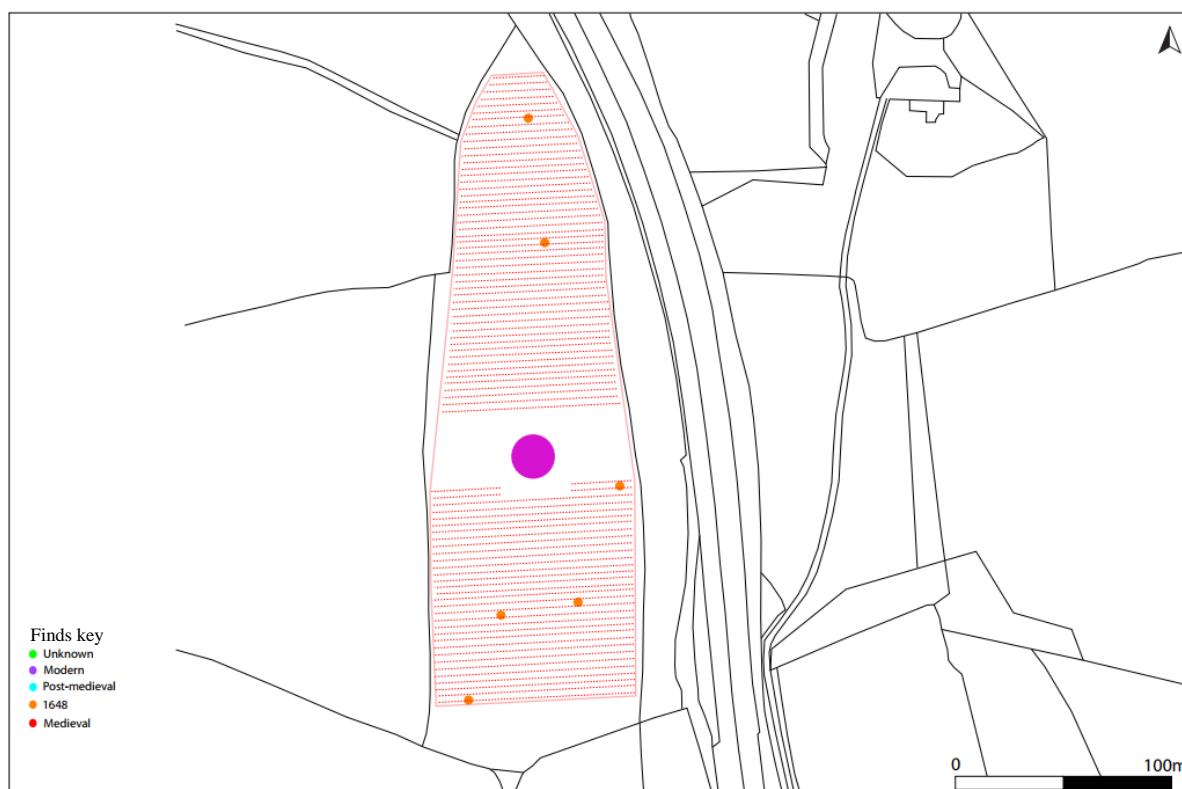
Figure 50. A map showing the finds believed to relate to the battle of St Fagan's that were found in the 2013 metal-detecting survey around the barrow (Smith 2013, 44).

Cheriton (1644) may be another occasion where a prehistoric feature was used for the secondary burial of the Civil War dead, but this time a long barrow may have been used. Again, however, there is some uncertainty over the find. The bones are known to have been found in Long Barrow Field, however the precise location of the recovery was not recorded, so it is unclear if the bones were recovered from the long barrow or elsewhere in the field.[126] The bone was part of a local museum's collection of artefacts found by metal-detectorists who had investigated the battlefield area. These finds were spatially mapped and Long Barrow Field was found to contain the highest concentration of Civil War items of all the fields investigated by the detectorists. This indicates that a significant part of the battle had been fought in the area, which increases the possibility that the bones relate to Cheriton. Furthermore, the bones have been informally analysed by an osteologist, who identified them as male and consisting of one, possibly two individuals. One of the bones also appears to have sustained conflict trauma. These characteristics do not definitively link the bones to Cheriton, as it is possible that they relate to an earlier military conflict that took place in the area, but neither does it rule them out. The bones are likely to be submitted for radiocarbon

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[126] All information on the Cheriton archaeological discoveries comes from Kevin Claxton, who presented his findings at the Fields of Conflict Conference in September 2018 and who continued discussions on the topic with the author through email. My sincere thanks to Kevin for his help.

dating in the near future, and this would certainly help to confirm if these burials are likely to relate to Cheriton. Overall, as with the other examples, the evidence is not definitive. The potential presence of trauma and the sexing of the bones suggest that they could be battle-related burials, while the presence of shot in the area suggests that Cheriton was fought around the barrow. However, the lack of information on the find means that it is unclear if the bones were recovered from the barrow or elsewhere in the field. Therefore, this could be another example of the use of pre-existing landscape features for the secondary burial of the Civil War dead, but it is not definitive.

Overall, while none of the evidence for barrows being used for the secondary burial of early modern combatants is definitive or wholly convincing when assessed individually, when taken together it is sufficient to warrant further investigation, even if only to firmly disprove the hypothesis. None of the historical accounts refer to contemporaries using barrows to bury the dead, which may suggest that these burials are more likely to be Anglo-Saxon warrior burials. On the other hand, it was noted in the late medieval chapter how few sources commented upon or were aware of the nature of mass graves, and this may be the case here too. The lack of any reference to this pattern in the historical sources does not disprove the hypothesis that barrows may have been used to bury the dead. If contemporaries were using barrows to bury the dead, it is unclear why they may have chosen to do so. Near-contemporary writings show that people were cognizant of the fact that barrows could contain ancient burials. Thus, the late seventeenth-century antiquarian John Aubrey, in his *Monumenta Britannica*, described them as the 'burying-places for the great persons and rulers of the time' and as where 'so many heroes lie buried in oblivion'. [127] Aubrey had a positive opinion of these features, hence describing the dead as 'heroes' and 'great rulers'. Therefore, one possibility is that the Civil War-dead were buried in barrows as a means of veneration, through association with the ancient heroes and leaders of the land. Further research is needed to confirm or deny this theory, perhaps by establishing what contemporaries thought of barrows more generally. Archaeological investigation is also needed to help ascertain if barrows truly were used for the secondary interment of the battle dead.

In chapter three, we discussed how a mass grave from Stoke (1487) possibly indicated that those killed in a rout could be buried where they fell. There is also some indication of

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[127] Barry M. Marsden, *The Early Barrow Diggers* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999), p. 8.

this in the Stuart period, although the evidence is significantly weaker, as once again it comes from a poorly documented discovery. The discovery was noted by Burne in his *Battlefields of England* book of 1950, where he wrote of how 'many years ago' a grave-pit containing 'about twelve skeletons laid lengthways' in a 30-foot trench was discovered on the western side of Roundway Hill (Figure 51).[128] There is some dispute over the precise location of the Roundway Down battlefield, but the Battlefields Register report has persuasively argued that the Royalists initially deployed on Roughridge Hill, and the Parliamentarians on Roundway Hill (Figure 52).[129] The battle was then fought on the eastern side of Roundway Hill. [130] If this interpretation is correct, only the Parliamentarian cavalry, who broke and fled westwards after the battle would have passed the burial site on the western side of Roundway Hill.[131] Therefore, if the burial relates to Roundway Down, it is likely to relate to the rout of the Parliamentarian cavalry. The evidence that the burial does relate to Roundway, however, is tentative. According to Haycock, the skeletons had 'bullet and sabre wounds', which, if true, would be compelling evidence.[132] However, Burne made no mention of this trauma; instead, he linked the burials to the battle because they 'had evidently been stripped before burial'. [133] Burne's failure to mention such compelling evidence along with the fact that Haycock gives no reference for the weapons trauma claim suggests that the assertion is inaccurate. As a result, there is not enough evidence to say that these burials do relate to Roundway Down and, therefore, insufficient evidence to confirm that the rout dead could be buried where they fell.

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[128] Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 380.

[129] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Roundway Down 1643," (London: English Heritage, 1995)., p. 3; map reference: 1:50,000 Scale Colour Raster, scale 1:40,000, map date December 2017, Ordnance Survey, using Edina Digimap service, created June 2018.

[130] Ibid., pp. 3-4. ; Slingsby, "Colonel Slingsby's Relation of Lansdown.", p. 98.

[131] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Roundway Down 1643.", pp. 3-4. ; Slingsby, "Colonel Slingsby's Relation of Lansdown.", p. 98.

[132] Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 380; Lorna Haycock, *Devizes in the Civil War* (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2000), p. 13.

[133] Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 380.
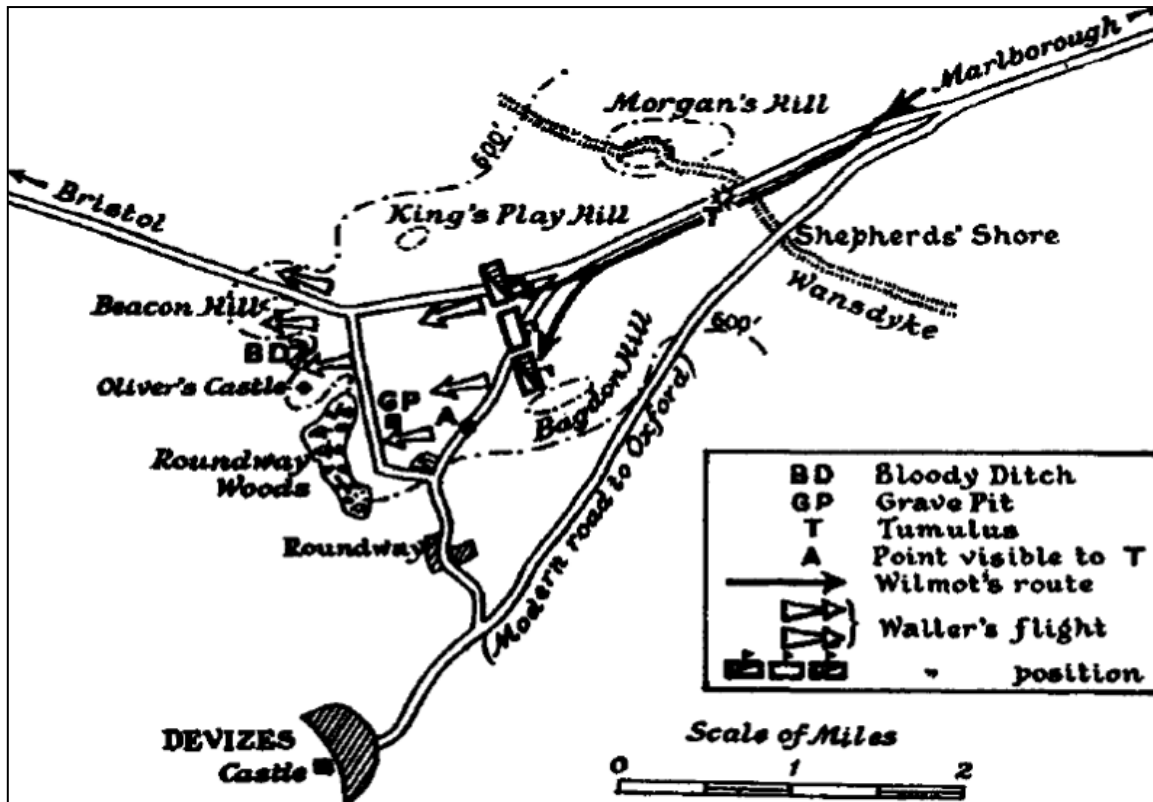
Figure 51. Burne's plan of the Roundway Down battlefield in relation to where the twelve skeletons were found (marked by 'GP') (Burne 2005, 374).
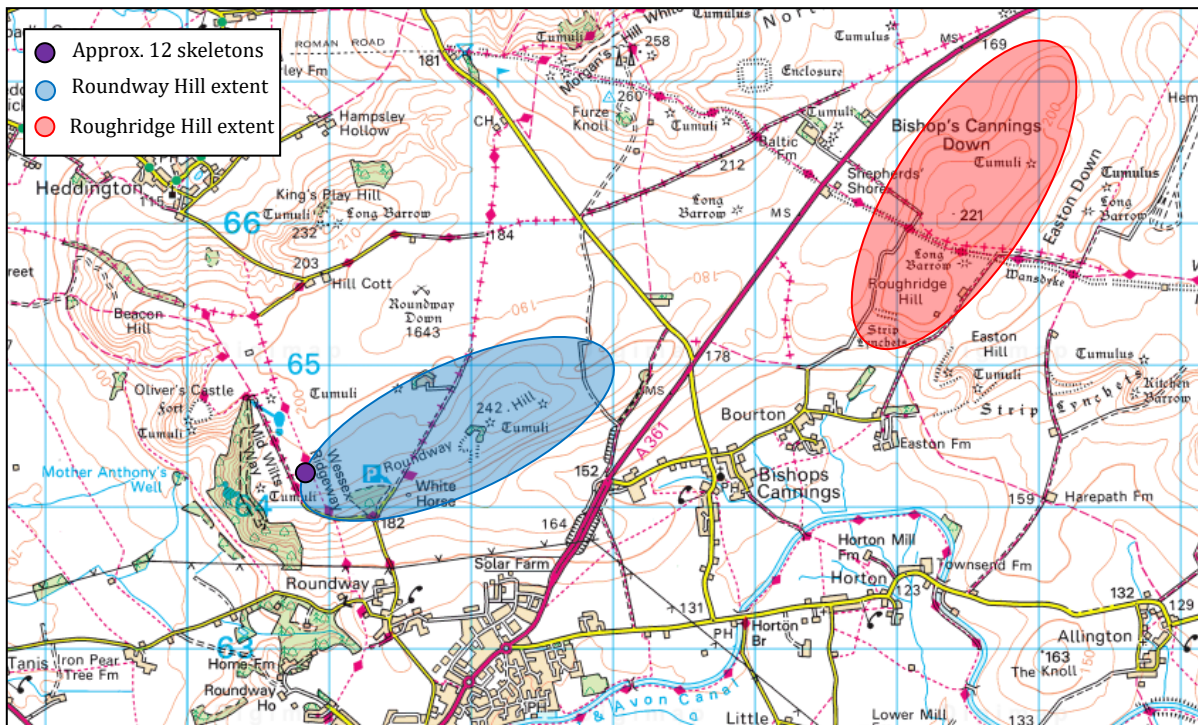
Figure 52. A map of the Roundway Down area showing the approximate location of the twelve skeletons in relation to the two hills where the armies are likely to have deployed and then fought (After Wiltshire HER MW14686).

5.6 Conclusions

The historical evidence for the Stuart period indicates that contemporaries expected the dead to be buried and, generally, this did happen. There were occasions when the dead were left unburied after a battle, but this was usually the result of armies being forced to retreat in a hurry and was short term. The only other occasion where the dead might have been left unburied was where the burial agents failed to find all of the bodies and so accidentally left some unburied. The evidence for accidental non-burial relates to one battle only, but it seems likely that it would have happened more often, particularly if the terrain of the battlefield was complex or the battle took place over a wide area. There is also a small amount of evidence for one other form of disposal: throwing the dead into bodies of water. However, when that evidence is viewed in context, it seems unlikely that the dead would deliberately have been thrown into water. Instead, it seems more likely that the situation was misunderstood by the source or the claims were fabricated, to impeach the oppositions' honour by questioning how they treated their dead.

The historical evidence for where the dead were buried is particularly poor for this period. The majority of those accounts that refer to a location identify combatants being removed from the battlefield and buried in church grounds, but there is also historical and archaeological evidence for the interment of the dead on the battlefield, often in large numbers. Individuals of higher social status were given priority when it came to church burials, an initiative that the social elite engineered for themselves. The high-status dead were buried in a range of churches. Some were buried for convenience in churches either close to the battlefield or close to where the army that was burying them was quartered. Others were taken to their homelands for burial, which in some cases resulted in bodies being conveyed substantial distances. Quite a number of high-status Royalists were also taken to Oxford, the Royalist capital, for burial so that their comrades could appropriately honour them in death. Although the higher status dead were more likely to receive a church burial, there is circumstantial evidence from battles such as Sedgemoor and Hopton Heath to suggest that lower status soldiers could also receive a church burial, and this may sometimes have been in quite large numbers. Part of the motivation of this may have been to deprive the opposition of military intelligence, by hiding the number of one's dead. Unfortunately, the battle accounts do not give enough information to calculate what proportion of the lower status combatants received a church burial.

Where possible, armies tried to bury the dead themselves, although there is evidence to suggest that some only felt obliged to bury their own men, and could choose whether they wanted to or had the ability to bury their opponents. Locals were regularly involved in the disposal of the dead; indeed, they were often left to finish off burying the dead when the armies had retreated. There is also evidence from multiple battles to suggest that local parishes sometimes had to shoulder a financial burden, as well, to pay the wages of those burying the dead.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to establish whether religious beliefs affected battle burial practices, and the evidence that they did in this period is minimal, both in the sense that few sources discussed the issue, but also in the practical sense. Only one source explicitly referred to the issue and this was not a battle account. It noted that the battlefield graves at Edgehill were not consecrated, and it implied that this was the typical practice for the Stuart period. As this was the only source to mention the topic, of course, it was not possible to test the accuracy of the source writer's understanding. This small amount of evidence suggests that religious beliefs had little active impact on the form or location of most burials, as the dead were often buried close to where they fell in unconsecrated ground. Another aspect of religious belief that was considered in relation to battle burial practices was whether the different Christian denominations treated each other any differently in death. There was no evidence for this, no references to Protestants deliberately leaving Catholics unburied or buried in unconsecrated ground specifically because of their religious beliefs, for example.

There have been few archaeological discoveries that can be convincingly linked to any of the Stuart battles. Therefore, few conclusions about battle disposal practices can be drawn from the archaeology. There is a possibility that pre-existing landscape features, particularly barrows were used for secondary Civil War burials, but this is something that requires further investigation to confirm. The study of the historical sources is more fruitful in terms of the implications it has for the archaeology. Thus, the evidence of accidental non-burial at Edgehill has raised the possibility of burials with weapons trauma that may also have evidence of animal gnawing or that are partially disarticulated, due to the extent of decomposition before burial.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The battle burial practices of all three groups of battles have now been analysed and conclusions drawn from the evidence. This chapter will now bring all of that evidence together, to look for differences and continuities in practice across the three periods under study. As with the other chapters, we will begin by comparing the results from the quantitative analysis of the battle accounts.

6.2 Quantitative analysis of the sources

One of the most surprising results from this study has been just how few battle accounts mention the disposal of the dead, a point that was true for all three of the periods under study. Only 12.0% of the Stuart sources mentioned the topic, while even the late medieval period, which had the largest proportion of sources referring to the disposal of the dead, only had 14.6%. The consistency in the proportion of sources for each period that mentioned the topic (ranging just 2.6%) is also surprising, given how drastically the nature of battle accounts changed in the three hundred years studied. In the late medieval period, histories and chronicles, often written some years after a battle by second hand authors were the most common type of source studied. By the Stuart period, on the other hand, most of the battle accounts were letters and periodicals, written by eyewitnesses a few days after the battle. This consistency suggests that the general nature of a source did not determine whether the disposal of the dead was mentioned. Otherwise, we would have expected a far greater variation in the number of sources mentioning the topic for each period.

This point was confirmed by the quantitative analysis of the sources, which found no significant relationship between the types of battle accounts that mentioned the disposal of the dead for any period. Instead, the sources that mentioned the dead ranged quite widely: some were written by eyewitnesses, others by second hand source writers, some were written within a week, while some were written over a century after a battle. A few patterns were noted. For example, histories were slightly more likely to mention the topic of study than other source types, while sources written within a week of a battle were less likely to mention it. However, in all cases, the observed relationship was relatively weak: no single source type always mentioned the disposal of the dead. This suggests that it was down to the individual interests and purpose of a writer that dictated whether the disposal of the dead was mentioned. Although, the fact that so few writers did mention the topic suggests that it was

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not one of particular interest, in general. This is supported by the fact that nearly half of the disposal references in the Stuart period were made incidentally, by account writers using the number of bodies buried to determine the number of men killed, which was their actual interest.[1]

There is evidence from all three periods that writers sometimes mentioned the disposal of the dead because something unusual or exceptional happened that suddenly made the topic interesting. The most obvious example is that of Bryn Glas (1402), where the St Albans chronicler claimed that 'an atrocity never before heard of was perpetrated' in which Welsh women mutilated the bodies of the defeated English soldiers and tried to ransom their bodies.[2] Disposal references were also often observed at battles where a particularly high status or well-known individual had been killed, since this would have been unusual and a topic of general interest to contemporaries. On other occasions, the disposal of the dead was mentioned out of simple curiosity. At Pinkie (1547), for example, eyewitness Patten seems to have mentioned the temporary burial of Scotsmen in a nearby church, whose graves had been marked by 'a stik with a clowte, with a rag, with an olde shoe', because he was curious about what was going on.[3]

On a number of occasions in all three periods, the disposal of the dead seems to have been of particular interest to writers because it related to the honour of those involved, Bryn Glas being one. There is also the incident from Newbury I (1643), where a Royalist periodical claimed that the Parliamentarians threw some of their dead into wells, ponds and pits.[4] The very fact that a Parliamentarian periodical felt the need to refute this claim, describing such 'wilde relations' as 'incredible' and physically unlikely, suggests they feared that to otherwise let the claim stand might damage their public reputation, by questioning how honourably they treated their own dead.[5] This, therefore, suggests that the Royalist periodical fabricated or embellished the incident specifically because it could damage the Parliamentarians' reputation by questioning their honour.

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[1] E.g. Wharton, *Eight Speeches Spoken in Guild-Hall, Upon Thursday Night, Octob. 27. 1642...*, p. 9; T.C., *A More True and an Exacter Relation of the Battaile of Keynton, Then Any Formerly. Written by T.C. One of the Chaplains in the Army...*, E.128[20], p. 5; Dugdale, *A Short View of the Late Troubles*, p. 109.
[2] Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss, *St Albans Chronicle*, p. 323.
[3] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 130b.
[4] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530.
[5] Alsop, *Weekly Account*, E.250[17], p. 4.

The disposal of the dead need not only have been mentioned because the way the dead were treated questioned the honour of those involved, however; on other occasions it seems to have been mentioned because it demonstrated individuals' honour. At the battle of Tewkesbury (1471), an eyewitness who served Edward IV described how he 'grauntyd' that the Lancastrian dead could be buried wherever their friends and family wanted, and that he would not display their bodies, like criminals.[6] As a servant of Edward IV writing an account that seems to have been adopted as the semi-official version of events, it seems likely that this detail was mentioned because the servant wanted to portray Edward in a benevolent light - perhaps to gain himself political advancement.[7] The *Mercurius Aulicus'* description of King Charles at Newbury I (1643), where it was claimed that he 'taking pious care of the one and the other gave strict command for the burial of their dead' may also have been intended not only to highlight Charles's honour, but to show him acting as the ideal pious Christian ruler.[8] Charles actually only ordered for his opponent's wounded to receive care. The phrasing would certainly seem to suggest that the *Aulicus* was trying to portray Charles positively, to boost his reputation and perhaps to gain him more support in the early stages of the war. This option seems particularly likely when it is considered that the same source also tried to compromise the Parliamentarians' honour in relation to how they treated their dead, by claiming that they threw them down wells.[9] Hooker's description of the two men 'honourably buried' in Exeter Cathedral after being killed during the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549) might also have been mentioned as a means of honouring the men willing to sacrifice their lives fighting for their king.[10]

Overall, the quantitative analysis of the sources revealed no particular patterns or relationships, but it did show that discussion of the topic was down to the individual interests and knowledge of the writers. This is an important point for other researchers to note, as it means that they cannot prioritise one particular type of battle account, such as eyewitness accounts, believing that these will be the only ones to mention this topic. By looking at the sources all together, this study has also been able to conclude that the disposal of the battle dead was a subject of little interest to most writers. This, again, is important as it suggests that

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[6] Bruce, *Historie of the Arrivall*, p. 31.
[7] Ibid., p. 1; Jerningham, "An Account of King Edward the Fourth's Second Invasion of England, in 1471,", p. 11-2.
[8] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530.
[9] Ibid., E.69[18], p. 530.
[10] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.

on those occasions where the topic was mentioned, something exceptional may have occurred, such as the ill-treatment of the dead or the death of an unexpected individual.

6.3 Forms of disposal

Looking now at the way the dead were disposed of, we can see that across all three periods burial was the only socially acceptable means of documented disposal. This is not surprising given that burial was the normal way to dispose of the dead throughout the entire period, and other forms of disposal, like cremation, had profoundly negative connotations.[11] This is also consistent with the evidence that we have from contemporary and near-contemporary plague epidemics, events that also led to unusually high mortality rates. Thus, we have a number of excavated plague burials from the Black Death plague cemetery established at East Smithfield, the Thornton Abbey plague burials and various historical references to the plague dead being buried.[12]

Other forms of disposal were mentioned, the next most common being the non-burial of the dead. This form had negative connotations, since it deliberately contravened normative burial practice and denied the dead a Christian burial. However, the number of sources referring to non-burial was small, while for most it was clear that the dead were not deliberately denied burial, but had to be left because their army had retreated and had not the time to bury them.[13] This was the case at Hopton Heath (1643), for example, where the Royalists were given 'such a salute that [they] in a disordered manner, drew off and marched away…but left many dead bodies behind them'.[14] In most cases, it can also be demonstrated that the dead were buried soon after.[15] Overall, therefore, there is minimal evidence to suggest that large numbers of the dead were ever intentionally left unburied for long periods after a battle.

While burial and non-burial are the only forms of disposal mentioned in the late medieval and mid-Tudor periods, another form is mentioned in two Stuart sources: the

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[11] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 97.

[12] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, p. 1; Sheffield, "News Report: Medieval Black Death Mass Grave Discovered at Thornton Abbey".; "News Report: Black Death 'Plague Pit' Discovered at 14th-Century Monastery Hospital".

[13] E.g. John Hodgson, "Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson, Touching His Conduct in the Civil Wars, &c. Written by Himself," in *Original Memoirs, Written During the Great Civil War; Being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby, and the Memoirs of Capt. Hodgson with Notes &c.* (Edinburgh: Arch. Constable and Co., 1806), p. 123; Hall, *Mercurius Politicus*, E.620[18], p. 460; Francis Neile, *The Armies Intelligencer...* Thomason Tracts / 98:E.638[15] (London: F. Neale 1651), E.638[15], p. 6.

[14] Anon, "A True Relation of What Service Hath Beene Done by Colonell Sir John Gell.", p. 63.

[15] E.g. for Hopton Heath c.f. Ibid., p. 63 and Anon, *Cheshires Successe*, doc im 7b.

throwing of the dead into bodies of water.[16] Thus, at Newbury I (1643), the Parliamentarians were accused by a Royalist periodical of throwing some of their dead into a well and ponds. [17] Similarly, at Hopton Heath (1643), a Royalist source observed that the Parliamentarians had thrown hundreds of their dead into pits and pools, as a way of concealing how many men they had lost.[18] In the case of Newbury, it is likely that the incident was fabricated as Royalist propaganda, while it also seems unlikely that the Parliamentarians deliberately disposed of their dead in this way at Hopton Heath. Therefore, it is quite possible that the battle dead were never disposed of deliberately in this manner. Even if they were, the way in which the incident was described at Newbury suggests that throwing bodies into water was a socially unacceptable means of getting rid of bodies. Therefore, it seems likely that sources would have commented upon it had it happened elsewhere and yet the fact that only two sources mention it suggest that it was not a common feature of Stuart-period warfare.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the dead were buried. On some occasions, there may have been delays in burial, but this seems to have generally been out of necessity, rather than a deliberate wish to leave the dead permanently unburied. A new form of disposal may have emerged in the Stuart period, but the minimal amount of evidence suggests that it was a very rare form of disposal, if it ever did occur.

6.4 Location of burial

One of the central aims of this research was to investigate where the battle dead were buried. Somewhat frustratingly, the battle accounts often failed to detail where the dead were buried, while those sources that did give explicit statements often only did so in relation to individuals or small groups of combatants, rather than all of the dead. For the five battles of the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549), for example, the only thing we know is that two high-status men were buried in Exeter Cathedral.[19] Consequently, we are forced to rely upon the evidence from only a handful of battles in order to make conclusions about general battle disposal practices. This is clearly problematic. It could lead us to make false assumptions and conclusions if the evidence on which we do rely is not representative of all battles. Only

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[16] It was reported that skeletons were found in a pond, which were thought to relate to the battle of Pwll Melyn (1405), however this report is not very reliable and later disturbance of the pool has found no further evidence of bones, which even if they did exist may not have related to the battle anyway. Chris E. Smith, "1405 Battle of Pwll Melyn, Usk, Monmouthshire: Battlefield Survey," (2014), 2014, pp. 5, 7.

[17] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], pp. 528-30.

[18] Anon, "Contemporary Account of the Battle of Hopton Heath, 19 March 1643".

[19] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.

further research using other types of data and sources will be able to confirm if the practices identified here were typical, but this is an issue worth bearing in mind, even so.

6.4.1 Church burials

The battle accounts for all three periods most commonly identified churches as the place of burial for the battle dead, which is unsurprising, as churches were the normal place of burial throughout the three periods under study. Most of these explicit references related only to small groups of combatants, who were nearly always the higher status dead and the upper elite – earls, dukes and lords – in particular. This was not the result of source bias: it is clear that the high-status dead were truly more likely to be brought for a church burial than lower status individuals. Thus, at Barnet (1471), the *Great Chronicle of London* explicitly said that the 'comons…were buried In the said playn', whereas a number of lords, such as Lord Barnes and even the defeated commander, were brought to London and 'Reuerently' buried in churches.[20] Similarly, at the Stuart-period battle of Marston Moor (1644), a Royalist captive was made to identify the Royalist dead so 'that those of quality, slain in this fight, might be taken away and have a more honourable burial than the rest'.[21] These examples indicate that these individuals were more likely to receive a church burial because those in charge of disposing of the dead, who had access to the resources and manpower that made a church burial possible, actively prioritised the high-status dead.

While the evidence for high status combatants being more likely to receive a church burial is clear for the late medieval and Stuart periods, it is less so for the mid-Tudor period, partly because there is less data. Hooker did refer to two of the elite killed at battles of the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549) being brought to Exeter Cathedral for burial, which could be evidence for the preferential treatment of the high-status in this period, too.[22] However, the evidence is not definitive, as we do not know what happened to the bodies of the lower status men killed at these battles – they might also have been brought back for a church burial, and the sources simply failed to mention that fact. Moreover, even if these men were specifically brought back for a church burial, it is not definite that it was because of their status: they may have been selected for such an honourable burial because of their deeds on the battlefield. On the other hand, given the compelling evidence from both the preceding and succeeding

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[20] Stow, *Annales*, p. 423; Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216.
[21] Vicars, *Gods Arke*, p. 276.
[22] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.

periods, it seems likely that there was a continuation in practice and they were brought, primarily, for an honourable burial because of their status.

One way that we could test whether this hypothesis that the high-status were more likely to be brought for a church burial would be to look at archaeological data. This is possible as while the status of an individual cannot be determined from the skeleton alone, the location in which an individual was buried within the grounds of a church throughout this period generally reflected their social status.[23] Therefore, we could look for evidence of weapon trauma on skeletons excavated from churchyards, which might suggest that they had been killed in a battle and see where within the cemetery they were located. If the hypothesis is correct, we would expect to find more individuals with battle-related trauma in the more prestigious burial locations, such as inside the church. Some research has recently been done on this subject for the medieval period.[24] From nineteen church sites, Seed found 10 examples of individuals with perimortem weapon trauma that had been buried inside a church, and 13 such individuals buried in the less prestigious churchyard.[25] At first glance, this appears to contradict the hypothesis. However, it must also be considered that far fewer people were buried inside churches than outside them, so we must look at the number of trauma burials in relation to the whole. When we do this, it does appear as though individuals buried inside a church were more likely to have been killed in battle; thus, those individuals with perimortem weapon trauma accounted for only 0.72% of extramural burials, whereas they constitute 2.12% of those buried inside the church, a statistically significant result.[26] Therefore, there is already some archaeological support for the argument that the high-status dead were more likely to be brought for a church burial in the medieval period. This research needs to be extended to look at whether the same is true for the later periods.

While there certainly is evidence that the high-status, particularly the upper elite, could be treated differently to the lower status dead, it is important not to overstate the case. The evidence that we have actually only relates to a relatively small proportion of the high-status dead; the ultimate fate of many of the elite, particularly the lower elite, is unknown. To

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[23] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 86-91; Aston, "Death.", pp. 216-7.

[24] The research was an MA dissertation by Rebecca Seed, which came about as a direct result of the historical research done here and which also led to a poster, produced by the author, Rebecca Seed and Dr Jo Buckberry, which was presented at BABAO 2018. My thanks go to Jo, in particular, for taking on and supervising the project at Bradford University.

[25] Rebecca Jayne Seed, "The Burial of the Battlefield Dead in Medieval Britain" (University of Bradford, 2018), p. 32.

[26] Ibid., p. 32.

put this into some context: at Flodden (1513), over forty high-status men are named as having been killed, including lords, leading churchmen, nobles and knights.[27] Research revealed the burial locations of only three of these men and in one case it is speculative.[28] Further research, therefore, is needed to fully establish just how often high-status combatants were brought off for a church burial, and how often they actually shared the same fate as the lower status dead. It seems likely that for many of the high-status dead who did not receive a church burial, the reason for this failure is that no-one had been willing or able to identify their bodies to remove them, but again this is something that needs testing in the future. This further research could also help to establish how far down the social scale this differentiation applied. The battle accounts suggest that the upper elite were regularly removed for a church burial, but for many of the lower elite – the knights and men-at-arms – there is little information, so it is unclear if they, too, were prioritised or whether they were buried with the lower status dead.

The location of the churches to which the high-status dead were taken for burial varied quite widely within each period, but across the three periods there was a high degree of continuity in the types of church used.[29] Thus, in all three groups, there were examples of individuals being buried in churches close to the battlefield or an army's post-battle quarters. Lord Dacre and the Earl of Westmorland's brother were buried in Saxton church, less than a mile to the south of the battlefield after Towton (1461), for example, while Colonel Essex was buried in a church in Warwick after Edgehill (1642) because this was his army's quarters after the battle.[30] Similarly, four esquires killed at the battle of Dussindale (1549) were buried in a church in nearby Norwich, seemingly because it was nearby.[31] On these occasions, the church appears to have been chosen purely for convenience: it was the easiest way to dispose of the body quickly and honourable.

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[27] *Hereafter Ensue the Trewe Encountre or -- Batayle Lately Don Betwene. Englade And: Scotlande : In Whiche Batalye The. Scottsshe. Kynge Was Slayne*, ([London]: J. Smeeton Printer ... Sold by R. Triphook (Reprinted 1809 under revise of Mr. Haslewood), 1809), p. 149; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 563; Penman, "Campbell, Archibald,"; Dawson, "Campbell Family,"; Michael A. Penman, "Sempill, John, First Lord Sempill,"ibid., https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54317.

[28] *Hereafter Ensue the Trewe Encountre or -- Batayle Lately Don Betwene. Englade And: Scotlande : In Whiche Batalye The. Scottsshe. Kynge Was Slayne*, p. 149; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 563; Penman, "Campbell, Archibald"; Dawson, "Campbell Family"; Penman, "Sempill, John, First Lord Sempill".

[29] Unfortunately, the fact that we know the burial locations of so few of the elite means that we cannot do any numerical analysis to look at how often individuals were taken to the different types of church. Indeed, the incomplete nature of the elite burial data set means that we can only identify broad, potential patterns in the types of church where they were buried, as it is possible that other types and patterns have been obscured by the lack of data.

[30] J.B., *Speciall Newes from the Army*, doc im 3a; Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. 4, p. 77.

[31] Russell, *Kett's Rebellion*, p. 149.

This practice was modified for some individuals in the late medieval and mid-Tudor periods, who instead of being buried in the nearest church, were taken to the most prestigious church in the area for burial. For example, two high-status men killed during the Prayer Book rebellion (1549) were taken to Exeter Cathedral, instead of being buried in the parish churches of the villages where they had died, seemingly because it was more prestigious.[32] The same may also be true of the Duke of Buckingham, killed at the battle of Northampton (1460), who was buried in the town's Grey Friars, rather than in one of the two churches closer to the battlefield.[33] In these instances, while practicality was still a factor in where the dead were buried – hence why they were still buried in relatively nearby churches – the individual's reputation and social status were also taken into account. Thus, those burying the dead chose to go to extra lengths in order to ensure that the individual received the most honourable burial possible, by burying them in monasteries, cathedrals and abbeys instead of a local parish church. This suggests that the elite and those responsible for burying them were not just concerned with receiving a Christian burial, in order to help their souls, but also with maintaining their social status.

This evidence relates only to the late medieval and mid-Tudor periods, but there was a practice in the Stuart period that, although quite different in outcome, was done for similar reasons. This was a practice of the Royalists, who had the bodies of some of their high-status casualties, such as Captain John Smith and the Earl of Carnarvon, specifically brought to Oxford for burial.[34] Oxford was the Royalist capital and, therefore, these churches seem to have been chosen because the capital was the best place to honour those Royalists who died fighting for the cause. Unfortunately, we do not know if the Parliamentarians had a similar means of honouring their dead, perhaps by taking them to London, their own capital, for burial, as there is not enough data. Further research, using other types of historical sources, like burial registers, might be able to establish if this was the case.

Another type of institution to which the high-status dead in the late medieval and Stuart periods were taken for burial were churches on their homelands. There are no explicit examples of this occurring in the mid-Tudor battles, but given that the practice occurs in the periods before and after, this is probably more to do with the relative lack of data, rather than it being evidence that the practice simply stopped in that period. Indeed, McGurk has noted

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[32] Hooker, *The Antique Description of Exeter*, pp. 79, 86-7.
[33] Rawcliffe, "Stafford, Humphrey".
[34] Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, p. 289; Luke, *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, 2, vol. 2, p. 158; Walsingham, *Britannicae Virtutis Imago*, p. 20; Carlyle, "Smith, Sir John (1616–1644)".

that some of the English commanders killed in Ireland during the Nine Years War (1594-1603), such as Sir Thomas Norris, were shipped back to England for burial, suggesting that the practice did continue in the mid-Tudor period.[35] While none of the individuals killed in this study had to be taken across the sea to be buried at home, some still had to be taken considerable distances. Two high-status gentlemen killed at the battle of Flodden (1513) were taken over 180km so that they could be buried in their family vault at Kilmun in Argyll; while Sir Bevil Grenville was taken some 160km to his home in Kilkhampton, Cornwall, following his death shortly after the battle of Lansdown (1643).[36] The reasons for why people went to so much effort to be buried on their homelands are never made explicit in the sources, but they are likely to have varied between individuals. For some it may simply have been the desire to be buried close to their family or in a place where they had a particular connection, whereas others may have needed the body in order to settle title and inheritance claims. For yet others they may have been concerned about establishing a continuous lineage, which was most easily done by burying all of the family in a church.[37] Being able to demonstrate one's ancestry was important as knightly qualities were seen as genetic. [38] This meant an individual had to be able to trace their ancestry in order to prove that they deserved to be a knight and a continuing part of the elite.[39] It was certainly worth conveying a body a significant distance if that helped a family to maintain their social standing.

Overall, it is clear that the high-status dead were buried in a number of different types of church and for a number of different reasons, although these stayed, essentially, the same across all three periods. Some were chosen for convenience, whereas other individuals were buried in churches which required a little more effort, but which accorded the dead greater honour, while yet others were buried in churches which required a lot of effort, but which meant that the dead were close to their families. For archaeologists, this has the implication that an individual with perimortem trauma buried within church grounds cannot be assumed to have been killed in a conflict that took place nearby. Such assumptions have been made before. An individual with multiple perimortem sharp-force trauma injuries to the skull was excavated from the cemetery of the hospital of St Nicholas in Lewes in 1994.[40] The cemetery was believed to date from the late twelfth century, while Carpenter had argued that the battle

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[35] McGurk, "Dead of Nine Years War", p. 22.
[36] Penman, "Campbell, Archibald,"; Duffin, "Grenville , Sir Bevil (1596–1643)".
[37] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 33-6.
[38] Ibid., pp. 34-6.
[39] Ibid., pp. 34-6.
[40] Luke Barber and Lucy Sibun, "The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 148 (2010), pp. 79, 103, 106.

of Lewes (1264) had taken place nearby.[41] From the location and presumed date of the cemetery, it was assumed that the individual had been killed at the battle and brought to the cemetery for burial, perhaps because they were a higher status individual.[42] Radiocarbon analysis, however, dated the skeleton to 1064AD±28 years, suggesting that they were more likely to be a victim of the Norman Conquest.[43]

The evidence for church burials in the battle accounts for all three periods relates almost exclusively to the high-status dead, which makes it extremely difficult to tell if and to what extent common soldiers were brought for church burials. There are examples for all three periods where it is possible that common soldiers received church burials, but this evidence is largely implicit. The strongest examples relate to the Stuart period. Thus, at Sedgemoor, it is implied that some of the lower status Royalist soldiers were given a church burial because eleven of the sixteen Royalists that were buried in a nearby church were interred in the churchyard, a location associated with lower status burials.[44] Likewise, at Hopton Heath, Cheriton and Newbury, it has been argued that some common soldiers may have received church burials. The sources noted large numbers of bodies being carted from the field and it seems unlikely that they would all have been high-status.[45] It has been suggested that they were removed to lower the opposition's morale, by deceiving them over the real number of their opponent's losses in comparison to their own and to deny them military intelligence opportunities.

The evidence for common soldiers receiving a church burial in the two earlier periods is weaker. There are a few examples where lower status combatants might have been included in a general description of church burials, but this is never made explicit. For example, at Pinkie, Patten described seeing 'many' Scots buried in Inveresk's churchyard.[46] He failed to note the status of any, so it is quite possible that common soldiers were amongst their numbers, who had perhaps been retrieved by family and friends who lived nearby. It is by no means certain, however and there is no way to confirm the suggestion. Similarly, in the

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[41] Ibid., p. 93; David Carpenter and Christopher Whittick, "The Battle of Lewes, 1264," ibid.152 (2014), pp. 53-4.

[42] Barber and Sibun, "The Medieval Hospital of St Nicholas, Lewes, East Sussex", p. 106.

[43] Edwina Livesey, "Shock Dating Result: A Victim of the Norman Invasion?," *Sussex Past and Present* 133, no. August (2014), p. 6.

[44] Sturdy, *Weston Zoyland Church Records Referring to the Monmouth Rebellion 1685: Extracts from Weston Zoyland Registers and Notes Thereon*, p. 9.

[45] Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54; doc im 7b;, p. 5; E.A., *A Fuller Relation of the Great Victory Obtained (through Gods Providence) at Alsford, on Friday the 28. Of March, 1644...*, p. 7; Foster, "A True and Exact Relation.", p. 14.

[46] Patten, *Expedicion*, doc im 123.

late medieval period, Leland noted that 'Many of them that were slayn [at Northampton, 1460] were buried at de la Pray [Delapre Abbey]'.[47] Again, the status of the individuals is not explicitly stated, but since Delapre Abbey was very close or even part of the battlefield, it is quite possible that those burying the dead chose to bury all of the dead there because it required relatively little extra effort.[48] There is some archaeological evidence to support the suggestion that the lower status dead could receive a church burial. Seed's recent archaeological study found that thirteen of the 29 identified battle burials had been buried extramurally, implying that they were relatively low status men.[49] This suggests that the lack of reference to the church burial of lower status soldiers may result from the bias of contemporary writers, who were only interested in the fate of the higher status dead, rather than because they never received a church burial.

The evidence suggests that it was more common for the majority of the combatants to be buried on the battlefield. Therefore, it is worthwhile considering why the lower status soldiers at the given examples may have been taken for a church burial, rather than being buried on the battlefield. At Sedgemoor, the dead were largely buried by the victorious Royalists, who lost few men in the encounter – eighty at most.[50] It, therefore, seems likely that some of the common Royalist soldiers received a church burial because the victors wished to honour their comrades and were in a position to do so because of their relatively light casualties. The relatively small number of casualties might also explain why those at Hopton Heath were brought off the field.[51] At Northampton, the abbey in which the dead were buried may have stood on the battlefield and since those burying the dead would have to collect the bodies together to bury them anyway, it may have been just as easy to bury them in the abbey's grounds. Doing so would then free them of any later obligations to give the dead a Christian burial, whether through founding a chantry or exhuming and re-interring the bones in a churchyard at another time. Overall, although the evidence is tenuous, it might suggest that common soldiers were particularly likely to receive a church burial when it involved little extra practical effort, that is, when there were relatively few bodies to bury or when the church was particularly close to where the bodies lay. One way to test this

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[47] Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. 1, p. 8.
[48] National Army Museum, "Battlefield Register Report: Northampton 1460," (London, 1995), pp. 1-2.
[49] Seed, "The Burial of the Battlefield Dead in Medieval Britain", p. 32.
[50] Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", p. 129; Anon, "A True Relation of the Late Action and Victory against the Rebels in England, near Bridgwater, on Monday the 6. Of July, 1685, from Several Hands," (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1685); D. G. Chandler, "Some Thoughts on the Battle of Sedgemoor, 1685," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 63, no. 255 (1985) p. 138.
[51] Brereton, "Relation of Hopton Heath.", p. 54.

hypothesis would be by studying skirmishes, to see if common soldiers also regularly received a church burial after these smaller conflicts, which are also likely to have resulted in relatively few casualties.

Overall, the evidence suggests that high-status individuals were those most likely to receive a church burial following their death in battle, often because those in charge of disposing of the dead actively prioritised their removal. The evidence for this in both the late medieval and Stuart periods is explicit, and while there is less evidence for it in the mid-Tudor period, the fact that this prioritisation took place in both the preceding and succeeding periods means it is very likely that there was continuity in practice. These high-status individuals were taken to a range of different types of church, but again there seems to have been a general continuity throughout the three periods. While the majority of the battle accounts refer only to the church burial of the high-status dead, there is some evidence to suggest that common soldiers could also receive a church burial. This may have been particularly likely to occur when it was relatively easy to do so, such as when there were few bodies to bury or when the church of burial was particularly nearby.

6.4.2 Battlefield burials

Most of the battle accounts that gave an explicit burial location for the battle dead identified a church as the place of interment, but a number did also refer to the dead being buried on the battlefield. This evidence is strongest for the late medieval period, where four sources clearly described the battlefield being used to bury the vast majority of the men killed at the battles of Towton, Shrewsbury and Barnet.[52] In the case of Towton, the historical sources are also backed up by archaeological evidence, namely, the remains of what are likely to be the mass graves themselves, which were exhumed by Richard III.[53] Therefore, there is clear evidence from multiple data types of the use of the battlefield for the burial of the battle dead in the late medieval period. The evidence also explicitly says that the vast majority of the combatants killed at these battles were buried on the battlefield.

The evidence in the battle accounts for the Stuart period is weaker, but when other historical sources as well as traditions and archaeological reports are considered there is very convincing evidence for the use of the battlefield. At Sedgemoor, for example, a letter refers to the dead being buried 'on the more', a point that when considered in conjunction with the

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[52] Stow, *Annales*, pp. 415, 423; Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216; Anon, "Harl. Ms 53.", p. 549.

[53] Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton,", p. 19; Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves."

battle accounts and multiple contemporary plans clearly refers to the battlefield. [54] There is also strong physical and traditional evidence that points to where the dead were actually buried on the moor.[55] The evidence from Sedgemoor and Marston Moor indicates that the majority of those killed in the battle were buried on the battlefield, suggesting that it was used because it was the easiest way to dispose of so many bodies. Although, we have already noted how quite large numbers of bodies were removed from the Hopton Heath and Cheriton battlefield, suggesting that the numbers and proportion of bodies buried on the battlefield will have varied between engagements. This will have been in response to numerous factors, such as whether an army or local populace was in a position to remove large numbers of bodies for a church burial or whether the dead needed to be removed to clear the field for further fighting or to deceive the enemy as to an army's real losses.

None of the mid-Tudor-period battle accounts refer to the use of the battlefield in burying the dead, but this is largely down to the lack of data: none of the sources identify where the majority of the battle dead were buried at all. Therefore, although there is no evidence in the battle accounts to suggest that the battlefield was used for the burial of the dead, there is also nothing to deny that it was used either. The archaeology is equally inconclusive: there were reports of bones found where Clyst Heath (1549) may have been fought, but these reports were unsubstantiated, no trauma was reported and they could have related to an earlier conflict that took place in the same location.[56] This lack of evidence is problematic; although, given the evidence from the preceding and succeeding periods, it is likely that there would have been continuity in practice and the battlefield would have been used for the burial of the dead. Further research is needed to confirm if this hypothesis is correct and, in the case of the archaeology, it is particularly urgent, as many of the mid-Tudor battlefields are being destroyed by urban expansion.

[54] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, pp. 119-20; Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*; Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", pp. 4-5, 8-9, 12-3 for his plans; James II, "King James's Account of the Battle of Sedgemore."; Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum."; Barrett, pp. 416-7.

[55] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, pp. 119-20; Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*; Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", pp. 4-5, 8-9, 12-3 for his plans; James II, "King James's Account of the Battle of Sedgemore."; Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum."; Barrett, pp. 416-7.

[56] England, "Devon and Dartmoor HER: MDV60788, Possible Burial Site, Prayer Book Rebellion"; Hodgkins, "Reappraising the Battles of the Prayer Book Rebellion,", p. 34; England, "Devon and Dartmoor HER: MDV60788, Possible Burial Site, Prayer Book Rebellion".; Radford, "The Fight at Clyst in 1455,", pp. 260-1.

Burne suggested that the dead will largely have been buried on the centre of the battlefield, where most combatants were killed.[57] Unfortunately, there is not enough detail in the battle accounts to confirm if his theory is correct in relation to the majority of the dead. There is some evidence, however, to suggest that the dead could be buried away from the centre of the battlefield. In his military manual of 1622, for example, Francis Markham recommended that a Serjeant-Major General ought 'to appoint a certaine number of Souldiers, who from time to time shall draw forth the hurt, maimed and slaine parties…and to convey them to cure, or other place for other purpose'.[58] Although it is unclear if and to what extent commanders may have followed this advice in reality, this example raises the possibility of bodies that were buried away from the centre of the battlefield (most likely behind an army's lines), having been moved in order to keep the field clear for those still fighting. There certainly are battle accounts that refer to the dead being removed from the field, such as at Lansdown, and although the fate of the dead in these cases is never made clear, it means that some battle burials may be found behind an army's lines, rather than in front.[59]

One aspect of battle burials that is not directly discussed by any of the historical accounts is what happened to the bodies of those killed fleeing the battlefield. Foard and Morris believed that the men killed in the rout after the battle of Pinkie (1547) were collected up in carts and taken for a church for burial.[60] There is not enough evidence from either Pinkie or any of the other mid-Tudor battles to confirm or refute this theory.[61] Nor is there enough archaeological evidence to say what happened to the rout dead in the Stuart period, as although a discovery from Roundway Down (1643) may suggest that the dead could be buried where they fell, the case for attributing the burial to the battle is weak.[62] The archaeological evidence for the late medieval period – namely the Stoke mass grave, but perhaps also the Towton Hall mass grave – is stronger and suggests that the dead could be buried close to where they fell.[63] This is likely to have been the case for those who drowned during a rout, too, something that is documented in multiple battles from each of the three periods. Although a reference in one of the Solway Moss accounts highlights how these

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[57] E.g. Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 144.
[58] Markham and Matthewes, *Fiue Decades of Epistles of Vvarre*, p. 172.
[59] Atkyns, p. 32.
[60] Foard and Morris, *Archaeology of English Battlefields*, p. 32.
[61] Ibid., p. 32.
[62] Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 380.
[63] Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field.", p. 4; Seward, "Stoke Field", p. 47; "HER Record M17856.", p. 1; Foard and Morris, pp. 32-3

bodies could have been washed some way from the battlefield in the water's current and so could have been buried some distance from the battlefield. [64]

6.4.2.1 Christian burials

One of the main reasons for choosing to study battles of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries for this thesis was to see if the Reformation affected battle burial practices. To make this aspect of the study easier, each of the three groups of battles studied were categorised by different stages of the Reformation. The late medieval battles are pre-Reformation, the mid-Tudor were fought during the Reformation and the Stuart battles occurred after the general acceptance of Protestantism. represents a different The location and way in which the dead were normally buried did not change for most people as a result of the Reformation. They continued to be buried in the consecrated grounds of the church, but there were some significant changes in belief that could have had consequences for battle disposal practices. The most important of these were the repudiations of Purgatory and intercession for the dead. This meant that it was no longer vital to be buried in consecrated ground which, according to pre-Reformation beliefs, had allowed those buried within its bounds to benefit from the intercessions of the living and, therefore, to spend less time being punished for their sins in Purgatory.[65] The importance of consecrated ground to pre-Reformation contemporaries can be seen in times of plague, when people created and consecrated new cemeteries specifically so that the dead could continue to receive a Christian burial. [66] Similar concerns were expected for the burial of the dead in the late medieval, pre-Reformation battlefield context, with people making a specific effort to ensure that the dead were buried in consecrated ground, so that they could benefit from intercession. It might also have been expected that there would be less evidence of this concern in the mid-Tudor and, Stuart periods, once consecrated ground was no longer relevant to the fate of the soul.

The evidence is not as clear-cut as might have been expected, however. Thus, while there is evidence for people making an effort to give some of the battle dead a Christian burial in the late medieval period by taking them to a church for burial, virtually all of the examples relate only to the high-status dead. Moreover, there are just as many examples of individuals receiving a church burial in the post-Reformation, Stuart period. It would have

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[64] Wharton, "Remembrance by Syr Thomas Wharton.", p. lxxxv.
[65] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 25; Daniell, *Death and Burial*, pp. 1, 10, 12, 196-8; Morgan, "Worms and War.", pp. 132, 141; Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 8, 21, 82, 94-6; Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 308;
[66] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, p. 1; Horrox, *The Black Death*, pp. 268-71.

taken some time for Protestant attitudes and practices to become widely adopted, which might have partly explained this lack of a clear divide. However, the fact that individuals were still receiving a church burial after Sedgemoor, which was fought over half a century after it is accepted that Protestantism had become the dominant Christian denomination suggests that there was more to a church burial than simply wanting to be buried in consecrated ground. We have already discussed some of these alternative motivations. For example, a family may have been keen to remove some of their kin to the family church vault, as being able to demonstrate one's knightly ancestry was an important means of maintain a family's social status. Similarly, it may have been important to have the physical body in order to settle title and inheritance claims amongst the elite.

What little evidence there is indicates that the majority of the dead would often have been buried on the battlefield, which was unconsecrated ground. There is good evidence from the battle of Agincourt (1415) which shows that it was still possible to give those buried on the battlefield a Christian burial. Multiple sources describe how a local bishop 'bless[ed] the unhallowed place so that it might serve as a cemetery', that is, they consecrated the battlefield graves shortly after the battle.[67] There is no evidence for anything similar taking place at any of the battles studied here. This may be the result of the relatively poor quality source material of the Wars of the Roses period rather than because the practice was no longer in use, but that is not something that we can determine here. For the post-Reformation period, there is some direct evidence to suggest that the battlefield graves were not consecrated as Lady Sussex lamented the failure to give a friend killed at Edgehill a Christian burial after he was interred on the battlefield.[68] She also noted that no difference was made in war, seemingly a reference to no difference being made between whether the dead received a Christian or non-Christian burial.[69] Unfortunately, as no other sources mention the topic, it is not possible to confirm whether what she said was true, but it does seem to suggest that the Stuart battlefield graves were not expected to be consecrated as a matter of routine. This is not surprising. What is surprising is that there is also a lack of evidence for the consecration of the battle graves at the time of the battle in the pre-Reformation period.

Late medieval and Stuart battle disposal practices in the immediate aftermath of a battle appear to be the same. Where the difference comes between the two periods is in the

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[67] Saint-Denis, "Histoire De Charles VI.", p. 109.
[68] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 123.
[69] Ibid., p. 123.

years after a battle. Thus, at all four of the late medieval battles where we have good evidence for the battlefield burial of the dead, chantries or chantry chapels were founded to intercede specifically for the battle dead, and in two cases the chapels directly consecrated the battlefield graves.[70] At the two battles where the chapels did not consecrate the battlefield graves, there is evidence that the dead were exhumed and reburied in nearby churches, and in one case, it was explicitly stated that this was done so that the dead had a Christian burial.[71] These efforts clearly show that there was a concern for the Christian burial of the battle dead in the pre-Reformation period, but that the issue was not of primary importance, as it was never apparently addressed in the immediate aftermath of a battle.[72] This suggests that the issue of Christian burial was not of primary importance. Moreover, at least three of the four battle chapels were founded by people with no direct connection to the burial of the battle dead. Thus, the Bosworth chantry was founded by Henry VIII, even though it was his father who had won the battle and had the dead buried, and who was still ruling twenty years after the battle.[73] Clearly, then, the issue was not even of enough importance that when those responsible for having the dead buried in unconsecrated ground did have the time, they bothered to do much to rectify the fate of the dead.

In contrast to these efforts to give the pre-Reformation dead a Christian burial, however lacklustre they appear to have been, there is no evidence from the post-Reformation, Stuart period of any interaction with the dead in the years after the battle. No chantries were founded and the dead were not exhumed.[74] The most likely reason for this is that contemporaries recognised Christian burial was no longer vital to the fate of the soul, and therefore that it did not matter where the dead had been buried. There is some confirmation for this, again in Lady Sussex's letter. She said she would have preferred her friend to receive a Christian burial, but it was desired only as a means of satisfying and reassuring his friends, rather than because it affected the deceased.[75] It is at this point where the lack of data from

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[70] Fiorato, "Context.", p. 12; 'TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511', transcribed in "Bosworth Primary Source Transcripts/Translations.", p. 65; Grant to Roger Ive, master or warden of the chantry of St Mary Magdalen in the field called 'Batailfeld' by Shrewsbury', 5 December 1445, 24 Henry VI, membrane 9, in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VI.*, , p. 412; Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 216.
[71] Sutherland and Schmidt, "Towton,", p. 19; 'Letter of confraternity', transcribed in "Bosworth Primary Source Transcripts/Translations.", p. 51.
[72] License to Richard Huse Fowler, *Patent Rolls. Henry IV*, p. 263.
[73] 'TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511', transcribed in "Bosworth Primary Source Transcripts/Translations.", p. 65; 'Letter of confraternity', transcribed in ibid., p. 51; Gray, "Politics, Power and Piety.", p. 253; Holbeche Bloxam, "Merevale Abbey", p. 326.
[74] Atherton and Morgan, "Battlefield War Memorial", p. 295.
[75] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, p. 123.

the mid-Tudor transitional period becomes particularly frustrating, as it means we are unable to study when these changes in practice began to occur. Certainly, further research is needed to rectify this, by looking at other battles of this period, although this will mean looking at conflicts fought outside Britain.

Overall, the evidence indicates that the Reformation did have an impact on battle disposal practices, but not in the way we might have expected. Thus, while in the late medieval, pre-Reformation period there is evidence that contemporaries were concerned with giving the battle dead a Christian burial, it was clearly a low priority as there is no evidence that those who had the dead buried did anything at the time of the battle to consecrate the battlefield graves. This means that battle disposal practices at the time of a battle and immediately after it look the same for the pre- and post-Reformation periods. Where the two periods diverge is in the later fate of the dead. Thus, in the pre-Reformation period, chantries were founded to intercede for the dead or they were reburied in churches, whereas there is no evidence of this in the post-Reformation Stuart period. The pre-Reformation response to giving the battle dead a Christian burial was inconsistent, clearly suggesting that there was no established procedure. This is unfortunate, since it would have made this topic much easier to study if researchers and archaeologists could have anticipated when and how, exactly, pre-Reformation contemporaries would have been likely to act on their concerns for the Christian burial of the dead. The fact that there does appear to have been a change in battle disposal practice across this period, however, is an important feature for other scholars and archaeologists to note, particularly for the pre-Reformation period. It means that they need to be aware of the entire history of an area, so that they can determine if and how contemporaries interacted with the dead in the years after a battle.

6.5 Form of battlefield burials

As for the form of these battlefield burials, there is clear historical and archaeological evidence for the use of mass graves in the late medieval and Stuart periods, such as in the battle accounts for Shrewsbury (1403) and Sedgemoor (1685) and the archaeological evidence at Towton (1461) and Naseby (1645).[76] Contemporary art also attests to their use;

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[76] E.g. Anon, *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 425; "Harl. Ms 53.", p. 549; Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum.", p. 164; Young and Adair, *From Hastings to Culloden : Battlefields in Britain*; Fiorato, Boylston, and Knüsel, *Blood Red Roses*; Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton."; Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves."; Sims, "Analysis of Human Remains Found at Stoke Field."; Seward, "Stoke Field"; Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, p. 119; Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, p. 174; Barrett, pp. 416-7.

thus, the *Bern Chronicle* miniature shows the dead from the battle of Morat (1476) being collected together in carts and then buried in large pits (Figure 53).[77] The sources refer to hundreds and thousands of bodies being buried – one Shrewsbury source claims that 3000 bodies were buried on that battlefield, for example – which suggests that mass graves were used because they were the easiest and quickest way to dispose of lots of bodies.[78] The precise size and nature of each mass grave will have varied between battles and between different mass graves for the same battle. Numerous factors, such as the number of bodies requiring burial and the number of other mass graves being excavated in the area, will have affected their size and shape. The nature of the terrain and geology will also have influenced the character of a mass grave, particularly as some archaeological evidence indicates that burial agents took advantage of pre-existing landscape features when creating their mass graves. Thus, at Towton (1461) a pre-historic ditch and medieval ridge and furrow were used to bury the dead.[79] These negative features made the task of burying the dead easier and quicker, by giving the burial agents a head start. There is not yet any firm archaeological evidence for the use of such features in the mid-Tudor and Stuart periods, but it seems highly likely that they would have used throughout.

Figure 53. An enlargement of the *Bern Chronicle* miniature, showing in greater detail the burial of the Morat (1476) battle dead in mass graves (Schilling, vol. 3, 789).

[77] Schilling, *Mss.H.H.I. 1 Amtliche Berner Chronik (Official Chronicle of Bern)*.
[78] Wheeler, "Iter Bellicosum.", p. 164; Grant to Roger Ive, master or warden of the chantry of St Mary Magdalen in the field called 'Batailfeld' by Shrewsbury', 5 December 1445, 24 Henry VI, membrane 9, in *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VI.*, , p. 412.
[79] Sutherland and Richardson, "Arrows Point to Mass Graves.", pp. 165, 167; Sutherland and Holst, "Value of Battlefield Archaeology,", p. 91; Burne, *The Battlefields of England*, p. 380.

Along with these negative features, there is also some archaeological evidence from the Stuart period to suggest that positive landscape features, namely barrows, could also be used for the burial of the dead. [80] Unfortunately, none of the identified examples were excavated under modern conditions, nor were they well documented, which makes it difficult to judge the reliability of such discoveries and the conclusions we derive from them. At Newbury, for example, although early modern battle-related artefacts were discovered at the same time as the burials, it was not made clear if they were found in direct association with the bodies. [81] Mounds and tumuli are regularly associated with the burial of the battle dead through local traditions. Thus, there are traditions of mounds used to bury the dead at Barnet (1471), Towton (1461), Bryn Glas (1402), Stratton (1643) and Cheriton (1644), among others.[82] This might have led us to argue that the practice of burying the dead in pre-existing mounds was, therefore, quite widespread, and that it occurred throughout the period under study. However, caution is required when using traditions, particularly when there is little evidence that a tradition has a genuine, early origin. This need can be demonstrated by Bryn Glas, where recent investigations found that the tumuli claimed to contain the battle dead were actually natural formations.[83] Furthermore, the association of mounds with the burial of the battle dead need not necessarily have arisen from the fact that a pre-existing barrow was used for the secondary burial of the dead. At Sedgemoor, they specifically created a new 'mount' to cover the rebels.[84] Moreover, even a mass grave excavated from flat ground will present as a mound initially, given that material will have been added in the form of bodies. Therefore, the association of mounds and battle burials could simply be from the fact that mass graves typically presented as mounds, rather than the fact that the dead were regularly buried in pre-existing mounds. Further research, both historical and archaeological, is needed to investigate this potential phenomena, to confirm if barrows were used for the secondary

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[80] Howitt, "Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry.", p. 388; Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64; HER, "HER MWB1550: Wash Common Barrow Cemetery". MWB1550.

[81] Howitt, "Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry.", p. 388; Money, *The First and Second Battles of Newbury and the Siege of Donnington Castle During the Civil War, A.D. 1643-6*, p. 64; HER, "HER MWB1550: Wash Common Barrow Cemetery". MWB1550.

[82] Norman George Brett-James, *The Story of Hendon Manor and Parish* (Hendon: Warden, 1932), p. 41; Burgess, "Excavation.", p. 33; Chris E. Smith, "1402 Battle of Pilleth, Pilleth, Monaughty, Powys: Battlefield Survey," (2013), pp. 9-10; Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Devon and Cornwall*, p. 276; HER, "HER MWB1550: Wash Common Barrow Cemetery".; G N Godwin, *The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45) and the Story of Basing House*, Rev ed. (Southampton1904; repr., 1973), p. 187.

[83] Smith, "Pilleth Battlefield Survey 2.", pp. 9-10.

[84] Letter 1 in Stradling, *Description of the Priory of Chilton-Super-Polden*, p. 120.

burial of the battle dead and to gain a better understanding of why this may have been the case.

While mass graves may have initially presented as mounds, the decomposition of the bodies would have caused such features to sink even, in some cases, to the point where they became hollows. Given this change, it is quite easy to understand how other mounds in the area that did not contain bodies may have become mistakenly associated with the burial of the dead over time, like those at Bryn Glas. Something similar happened at Naseby, where FitzGerald admitted having 'tried [to excavate] some other reputed graves, but found nothing' because 'it is not easy to distinguish what are graves from old marl-pits, etc'.[85] It is quite possible, therefore, that many of the traditions where specific mounds are said to contain battle burials are actually false, the mounds having become confused with the real thing over time because of their similarities. This accumulation of false traditions may also explain why we know where so few of the battle dead were buried, because people failed to recognise that the actual mass graves sank over time, so we have been left with only the falsely associated mounds as the traditional burial places.

6.6 Burial Agents

A study of modern conflict burials has demonstrated that the way in which a burial agent identified with those they were interring affected how they buried them.[86] There is archaeological evidence to suggest that this was the case in the medieval and early modern periods, too. A number of mass graves excavated in the early twentieth century and linked to the Swedish medieval battle of Wisby (1361), for example, contained bodies that had been placed in different ways.[87] Twenty individuals found at the top of one of the mass graves had been placed carefully and in the traditional east to west orientation, whereas the rest of the bodies had been thrown into the graves.[88] It is believed that those thrown into the grave were largely men from the defeated army, interred by their victorious opponents, whose main concern was burying the dead quickly rather than honouring them with a careful burial.[89] The twenty individuals buried later, on the other hand, are thought to have been men from the defeated army who had survived initially, but on succumbing to their wounds had been

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[85] William Aldis Wright, ed. *Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*, Online ed., vol. 1 (London: MacMillan and Co, Project Gutenberg, 1894), pp. 136, 138.
[86] Komar, "Mortuary Practice".
[87] Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby 1361*, pp. 49, 56.
[88] Ibid., pp. 51, 60, 76-7.
[89] Ingelmark, "The Skeletons.", p. 163; Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 101.

carefully buried by their neighbours and friends, those who had been giving them medical treatment and who wished to honour them.[90]

Such differences in the treatment of the dead can also be observed in the early modern period. The individuals buried in the mass grave relating to the battle of Wittstock (1636), fought as part of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), for example, were placed carefully in a neat, regular manner (Figure 54). [91] In contrast, some of the Lützen (1632) dead were placed haphazardly, particularly those buried last, with limbs often splayed or in awkward positions (Figure 55).[92] The excavators believe that the contrast results from the Wittstock dead having been 'buried under the watchful eye of the military leadership', whereas locals, who had a negative attitude to soldiers and the chaos they caused, buried the Lützen dead. [93] The Wittstock mass grave contained 88 skeletons, but modern disturbance had destroyed part of the grave and it is likely to have contained some 120-30 individuals originally. [94] This shows that it was possible to bury large numbers of bodies carefully. The evidence from the East Smithfield plague cemetery supports this conclusion, as all but three of the 636 excavated individuals were carefully buried, according to normative practice.[95] Therefore, in line with the modern conflict burials study, this suggests that where disorderly battle burials are discovered it is most likely that the dead were deliberately placed in such a way, as a means of insult. Although it could also be evidence that those burying the dead had been in a hurry. These examples highlight the importance of looking for historical evidence of who buried the dead, to help interpret the form of excavated battle graves and to anticipate the likely form of future battle burials.

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[90] Ingelmark, "The Skeletons.", p. 163; Holst and Sutherland, "Towton Revisited - Analysis of the Human Remains from the Battle of Towton 1461", p. 101.

[91] Nicklisch et al., "The Face of War,", pp. 11, 15; Grothe, 'The battle of Wittstock'.

[92] Ibid., pp. 11, 15; Grothe, 'The battle of Wittstock'.

[93] Ibid., p. 15.

[94] Gisela Grupe et al., "Missing in Action During the Thirty Years' War: Provenance of Soldiers from the Wittstock Battlefield, October 4, 1636. An Investigation of Stable Strontium and Oxygen Isotopes," in *Population Dynamics in Prehistory and Early History: New Approaches Using Stable Isotopes and Genetics*, ed. Elke Kaiser, Joachim Burger, and Wolfram Schier (Berlin: 2012), p. 323.

[95] Grainger et al., *The Black Death Cemetery, East Smithfield, London*, p. 20.

Figure 54. A photograph of the Wittstock (1636) mass grave showing how neatly the dead were laid (Grothe, 2011).

Figure 55. A photograph of the Lützen (1632) mass grave, showing how the dead were laid more carelessly than those at Wittstock (Nicklische et al 2017, 11).

In the examples from Wisby, Wittstock and Lützen it was an individual's military allegiance (i.e. whether they were a comrade or an opponent of the burial agent) that affected how they were buried. However, we need to be aware of the potential for other factors to influence how the dead were buried. For example, this study has clearly demonstrated how, in all three periods, status could affect where the dead were buried.[96] It, therefore, seems quite likely that status could also have affected how the dead were buried. It is possible, for example, that more effort may have been made to place the high-status dead carefully and according to normative practice, something which is particularly likely if they were buried by their servants, friends or as part of a funeral. Indeed, this is one of Sutherland's theories for the Towton Hall burials. He suggested that those buried more carefully in the small capacity graves may have been of a higher status than those in the mass grave, who were buried in a way that maximised the use of space instead.[97]

Other factors could also have had an impact on how the dead were buried. The account of Cropredy Bridge (1644) where the writer saw the unburied bodies of Royalists next to forty graves in a highway highlights how limits on time might have had ramifications for how the dead were buried.[98] It has already been suggested that the dead may have been buried in smaller graves so that more men could help to inter the bodies, but it also seems likely that the relative rush will have led to the bodies being placed less carefully in the grave than was normal. Therefore, we might expect to see limbs arrayed untidily, while some of the bodies may be prone or lying on their side or in an abnormal orientation. There is an explicit example of how limited time could influence the form of burial at Newbury I (1643). It was reported that the Parliamentarians left bodies 'in sundry places with armes and legges sticking out besides those above ground whom they had not time to cover'.[99] Other factors might have had repercussions for how the dead were interred. A source for the battle of Agincourt (1415), for example, noted that 'many [of the French] died in their flight, having a villainous death which they entirely deserved. The valiant were killed in the battle, and the miscreants in flight'.[100] This raises the possibility that men killed in a rout may sometimes have been buried with less respect and care than those killed fighting honourably in the main battle. These few examples have enabled us to suggest some of the factors that might have

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[96] Vicars, *Gods Arke*, p. 276; Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 233; Whethamstede, "Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede.", pp. 175-7.

[97] Sutherland, "Unknown Soldiers: The Discovery of War Graves from the Battle of Towton.", p. 5.

[98] Coe, *An Exact Diarie*, p. 6.

[99] Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530.

[100] Anon, "Le Pastoralet (c.1422-25, French)," in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Anne Curry (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), p. 352.

influenced how burial agents interred the dead. Unfortunately, the general lack of detail in the historical accounts studied here prevents us from gaining any more of a detailed understanding of how different factors and burial agents will have affected the form of burial. However, it is still worth gathering what little we know about burial agents from across the three periods, to get a basic understanding of who was most likely to be involved in burying the dead.

Members of a victorious army were one of the most commonly referred to burial agents. In all three of the periods, these individuals were recorded burying the majority of the battle dead, that is, not only their own men but also their opponents. In all of these cases, the victorious army buried the dead because they had the time and opportunity to do so; they had chased off their opponents, they had total control of the battlefield and the dead, and they had no further pressing objectives to immediately pursue. Despite this evidence, it is also clear that the victors did not always feel obliged to bury their opponents. Thus, at Lansdown (1643), the Royalists buried or carried away their own dead, but left the Parliamentarian dead unburied and the same happened at Pinkie.[101] In the latter case, it seems likely that this happened because the English had more important objectives to pursue; although, some of the military manuals of the period also indicate that there was not an immutable expectation on victors to bury all of the dead. Hence, they advised that a military commander only needed to dispose of their own dead.[102] At the two international battles where there was some reference to the burial of the dead – Bryn Glas and Pinkie – there was also evidence for the armies being interested in burying only their own dead. This may suggest that at international battles, in particular, commanders were less likely to feel obliged to bury their opponents, but further research is required to explore this hypothesis fully.

Combatants were not the only people involved in the disposal of the dead. There is also evidence documenting the involvement of locals, particularly in the Stuart period, where battle accounts for multiple battles, such as Edgehill, Newbury I and Sedgemoor, made explicit references to the engagement of locals.[103] None of the battle accounts for the two

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[101] *A True Relation..., E.60[12]*, p. 4; Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire : As Also a Relation of Several Passages in the Western-War, Wherein He Was Concern'd. Together, with Certain Sighs or Ejaculations at the End of Every Chapter. Dedicated to His Particular Friends: And Intended to No Other*, p. 33; Patten, *Expedicion*, doc ims 123, 130.

[102] Boyle, *A Treatise of the Art of War*, p. 205; Rich, *A Path-Vvay to Military Practise* , doc im 34a.

[103] Dummer, "Edward Dummer: A Brief Journal of the Western Rebellion.", p. 129, letters 1 and 2 in Stradling, pp. 120-1; Heylyn, *Mercvrivs Avlicvs*, E.69[18], p. 530; Anon, *A True Relation of the Late Expedition of His Excellency, Robert Earle of Essex, for the Relief of Gloucester with the Description of the Fight at Newbury*,

earlier periods explicitly mentioned locals, but some other types of historical source did imply their involvement. At Pinkie (1547), the financial accounts of a royal officer noted how locals were ordered to bury those bodies that had still not been buried some two months after the battle. [104] The papal legate's reference in a letter to it being 'public opinion' that had led to some of those killed at Northampton (1460) being denied burial also implied that locals had been involved in burying the dead at that medieval battle.[105]

The precise nature of locals' engagement in the disposal of the dead is not clear. The evidence often relates to the locals completing the clearance of the battlefield when the armies were unable or unwilling to do it themselves. At Newbury I, for example, the Parliamentarians ordered the locals to finish burying their dead, as they had to leave the area quickly because they were short on provisions and did not want to risk further action with the Royalists.[106] Despite what much of the evidence says, it does seem likely that locals would have often been involved at an earlier stage, working alongside the armies, rather than only becoming involved once an army had left the area. Although, it is also likely that it would have taken some time to mobilise the local administration system and to organise how the locals were to help. At Lützen, the locals' involvement led to the careless interment of the dead, because they blamed the combatants for the chaos they were dealing with. [107] We may expect to see similar disorderly burials at some of the battles studied here, but we cannot expect it at all battles where locals were involved in the burial of the dead. The attitude of locals to the dead will have varied according to the specific context of the battles and factors such as the general nature of a conflict, the armies involved and the identity of the dead. Such variations will have had consequences for how locals treated the dead and, therefore, the form of burial.

One final group of individuals who were involved in the burial of the dead in all three periods were the friends, servants and family of the dead. Two of the best examples of this came from Edgehill. In one instance, a son sent men to the battlefield specifically to find and retrieve the body of his father, while the other case was of a combatant who brought the body of an acquaintance for a church burial after he recognised it by chance on the battlefield. [108]

E.70[10], p. 19; Stephen Bowtell, *England's Memorable Accidents* (London: Stephen Bowtell, 1642), E.242[19], p. 88; Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion*, p. 286; May, *History of the Parliament*, p. 264.
[104] Paul*, Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, p. 129.
[105] Teramo, "No. 360 Letter of Bishop of Teramo."
[106] Foster, "A True and Exact Relation.", p. 14.
[107] Nicklisch et al., "The Face of War", p. 15.
[108] Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, 2, pp. 120, 122.

On some occasions friends, family and servants were able to retrieve a body because they were already on the battlefield as combatants or aides. However, some people did specifically travel to the battlefield to look for loved ones. Unfortunately, there is not enough information to determine how far people would travel, but given the means of transport then available and the relatively slow speed at which news of a battle will have travelled, it seems likely that the majority of those who came would have lived within a relatively small radius of a battlefield. There is also not enough evidence to determine just how often friends and family may have sought the bodies of their loved ones, or how often they succeeded; although, the rates are likely to have been affected by the specific nature and context of a battle. Those conflicts fought in hostile territory or during particularly rough weather, for example, are likely to have decreased the chances of family and friends going out to look for or finding their loved ones. In terms of the archaeological implications of friends removing the bodies of their loved ones for burial, such individuals will have most likely received a careful, normative church burial.

Overall, the evidence indicates that a consistent set of individuals was involved in the burial of the dead throughout the three periods. Combatants, especially those from the victorious army, were regularly involved in burying the dead, particularly when they had the time and opportunity to do so. Locals regularly participated, also, and it was to them that the task of finishing off the clearance of the battlefield was left when the involved armies marched away. Finally, friends and family sometimes made efforts to find and retrieve the bodies of their loved ones; however, the lack of evidence makes it difficult to judge how often this occurred or how often they were successful. The involvement of different groups of people in the disposal of the dead will have affected the form of interment, as will the way in which these burial agents identified with the different groups of combatants that they were burying.

Conclusion

English battles have been studied for centuries, but one area that is still poorly understood is what happened to the bodies of those combatants killed in these battles. The topic has been addressed in relation to a few specific battles or wars, but never in detail and never covering a wide period. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to conduct the first large-scale historical study of English battle disposal practices in Britain. As this was the first extensive investigation, a new methodology was developed to identify all of the battles fought within the chosen timeframe, systematically, and to find all of the relevant historical material, both secondary and primary.

The primary objective was to gain an understanding of what happened to those killed in battle. The investigation has revealed that contemporaries expected the battle dead to be buried and, generally, this happened. There were a few instances where the dead were not buried, but such non-burials were nearly always incidental, a consequence of the military situation or the location of where the dead had fallen, rather than a desire to leave the dead deliberately unburied. In most cases, it was also possible to demonstrate that these combatants were buried a short time later. In the final group of battles under study, there were also two examples of the dead being thrown into bodies of water. The reliability of at least one of the sources was questionable, however, while the fact that there were only two examples suggests that this form of disposal was not common.

A vital aspect of this study was investigating where the dead were buried. Many of the sources failed to give an explicit location, but where they did, they talked only of the dead being interred in churches, churchyards and on the battlefield. Social status affected the burial location, as a greater effort was made to give the social elite – those of knightly status or above – a normative church burial. The evidence largely relates to the upper elite – kings, lords, earls and dukes – suggesting that they, in particular, were prioritised when it came to identifying and removing the dead for a church burial. Unfortunately, the battle accounts only described the church burial of a handful of the elite, so it was not possible to establish what proportion of the high-status dead did receive a church burial. Certainly, some of the high-status dead did not receive a church burial because their bodies were never identified from amongst the rest of the battle dead. It was also not possible to determine how far down the social scale this preferential treatment applied.

Those members of the elite that were successfully retrieved were buried in a range of churches. Some were buried for convenience and practicality, in churches close to the battlefield or an army's post-battle quarters. In the two earlier periods, some members of the elite were buried in churches that were chosen because they were the most prestigious places of burial in the immediate area. This suggests that while practicality was still important, the desire to honour the dead was of greater consideration and caused the burial agents to go to further effort for them. This practice changed during the Civil War. Instead of taking the dead to the nearest prestigious church, some high-status Royalists were taken to Oxford, the Royalist capital, for burial where they were appropriately venerated. Finally, some the high-status dead were taken to their homelands for burial so that they could be buried amongst family.

There was also explicit historical evidence for the interment of the battle dead on the battlefield. There were relatively few references and even those sources that did refer to its use gave little detail, which made it difficult to establish just how common it was for the dead to be buried there. Those sources that did describe the burial of the dead on the battlefield were often talking about large numbers of bodies – hundreds or thousands – suggesting that it was where the majority of the battle dead were buried. This place of burial was most likely chosen because it was the easiest and quickest way to dispose of large numbers of bodies. Unfortunately, the lack of detail in the sources meant that it was not possible to establish where the dead were buried on the battlefield.

Another objective of this thesis was to conduct quantitative analysis on the battle accounts, in order to gain a greater understanding of this type of source. The analysis found that only a small proportion of the battle accounts studied mentioned the disposal of the dead. This shows that the disposal of the battle dead, generally, was not a topic of interest to late medieval and early modern contemporaries. There was also little evidence to suggest that any specific qualities of a source, such as when it was written or what type of account it was, had much effect on the likelihood of battle disposal practices being mentioned. Thus, no particular type of source was always found to refer to the disposal of the dead; instead, mention of the topic was down to the individual interests and knowledge of the writer. These writers were more likely to mention the subject when something unusual occurred, such as the death of a particularly high-status individual or the abnormal treatment of the dead.

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The timeframe of this thesis was selected to enable an investigation into whether the English Reformation had an impact on the disposal of the battle dead. The battles under study were partly grouped according to whether they had been fought before, during or after the Reformation. The Reformation did not have an effect on how the dead were treated immediately after battle, as the evidence suggests that in all three periods studied little effort was made to inter those buried on the battlefield in consecrated ground. There was a change, however, in how contemporaries subsequently interacted with the dead. Thus, there is evidence from the pre-Reformation battles of contemporaries, in the years after a battle, obtaining intercession for the dead by building chantry chapels or exhuming the bodies so that they could be reburied in the consecrated ground of a churchyard. These efforts were thought to aid the souls of the dead by reducing the amount of time they spent being punished for their sins in Purgatory. In contrast, there is no evidence to suggest that post-Reformation, Stuart contemporaries interacted with those that they buried on the battlefield in any way. This is likely to have been because, although the vast majority of people who died in everyday circumstances were still buried in the consecrated ground of the churchyard, the repudiation of Purgatory and intercession for the dead meant that the place of burial no longer affected the soul. Thus, it was no longer necessary for burial agents to go to the significant physical or financial effort of moving the dead to consecrated ground in order to obtain intercession for their souls. Overall, therefore, the Reformation did affect how people interacted with a battlefield and the battle dead, but this change only becomes evident in the years after a battle. This shift is critical and does need to be noted, as it will have had an effect on the later history, indeed the very landscape, of a battlefield and its local area.

The final aim of this thesis was to take the understanding of battle disposal practices that was gained from the historical sources and to apply it in an archaeological context. This would show whether the historical sources support current interpretations of battle burials, while also showing how the archaeology could highlight gaps in the historical record. A burial relating to the battle of Stoke, for example, indicates that combatants killed during a rout could be buried where they fell. This is not something that any of the historical sources refers to, showing the importance of studying various types of data to gain a better understanding of a topic. Doing this has also helped to define the archaeological research agenda by highlighting where the historical record refers to practices for which there is currently no archaeological evidence. For example, there are multiple historical references to combatants drowning during a battle. Applying this knowledge to an archaeological context

raises the possibility of battle burials that occur along the route and downstream of those watercourses where combatants are known to have drowned.

This thesis is the first to study what happened to the bodies of those killed in English battles of the late medieval and early modern period. As a natural result of this, many questions that were beyond the scope of thesis to answer have been posed. These could be fruitful avenues of research to pursue in the future. One such avenue would be the investigation of what happened to the bodies of those killed during smaller military actions, like skirmishes and raids. Were they buried where they fell, as many of the battle dead were or were they were removed for a church burial because the relative lack of bodies made it practical to do so? Further research is also needed into the payments that were made for the burial of the battle dead, in order to determine how common they were and to establish how they worked. This might be achieved through study of military financial accounts, as well as parish financial records. On a more general level, the methodology developed here needs to be applied to battles from different periods and from a wider geographical scope, to gain a better understanding of how battle disposal practices changed over time and space. Study of the European wars of religion, such as the Thirty Years War and the French Wars of Religion as well as the various Anglo-Irish conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will be particularly important in helping to deepen our understanding of how divergent religious beliefs between Christian denominations could affect the treatment of the dead. We could also develop our understanding of battle disposal practices by studying other types of historical source. For example, a study of wars and battles in chivalric literature would give us a better understanding of the ideals surrounding the treatment of the dead, which could prove fruitful when compared to the reality.

This study has been able to direct the historical research agenda, but by applying a historical understanding of battle disposal practices to an archaeological context, we have also been able to define an archaeological research agenda. For example, the historical sources have demonstrated that high-status individuals could be buried in a variety of churches some of which were tens of kilometres from the field of battle where they had died. A greater understanding of this practice could be gained by submitting church burials with weapons trauma for radiocarbon dating. This would help to establish at which conflict or war an individual was most likely to have been killed, which would provide a clearer picture of how far individuals were conveyed for burial and how often they were moved significant distances. Research also needs to be done to look for evidence of combatants that drowned

during or as a result of battle. This could be achieved by looking for excavations where burials with weapons trauma were found along riverbanks or in churches close to bodies of water where soldiers are known to have drowned. Further archaeological research has already been conducted as a direct result of this study, in the form of a Master's thesis investigating the relative status of church battle burials.[1] This testifies to the importance of interdisciplinary research, but, more importantly, it also clearly demonstrates the value of this thesis.

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[1] The results from the study were presented on a poster by Rebecca Seed, Dr Jo Buckberry and myself at the poster session of the 2018 British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO) conference.

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Appendices

Appendix A: the battles studied

Late medieval period battles:

Battle	Date	Type of War	Combatants 1	Combatants 2	Outcome	Number of sources	Number of eyewitness sources	Number of second hand sources
Mynydd Hyddgen	1401	Rebellion	English	Welsh	Welsh victory	1	0	1
Bryn Glas	22 June 1402	Rebellion	English	Welsh	Welsh victory	12	0	12
Nesbit Moor	22 June 1402	International, border warfare	English	Scottish	English victory	4	0	4
Homildon Hill	14 Sept 1402	International, border warfare	English	Scottish	English victory	11	1	10
Shrewsbury	21 July 1403	Rebellion	Royalists	Rebels	Royalist victory	28	1	27
Pwll Melyn	5 May 1405	Rebellion	English	Welsh	English victory	6	0	6
Geteryne	22 July 1415	International, border warfare	English	Scottish	English victory	2	0	2

Piper Dene	30 Sept 1435/10 Sept 1436	International, border warfare	English	Scottish	English victory	3	0	3
Sark	23 Oct 1448	International, border warfare	English	Scottish	Scottish victory	4	0	4
St Albans I	22 May 1455	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	25	1	24
Blore Heath	23 Sept 1459	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	18	0	18
Northampton	10 July 1460	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	21	0	21
Wakefield	30 December 1460	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Lancastrian victory	22	0	22
Mortimer's Cross	2 Feb 1461	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	9	0	9
St Albans II	17 Feb 1461	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Lancastrian victory	16	2	14
Towton	29 March 1461	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	27	0	27
Hedgeley Moor	25 April 1464	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	5	0	5
Hexham	15 May 1464	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	11	0	11
Edgecote	26 July 1469	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Lancastrian victory	10	0	10
Empingham	12 March 1470	Rebellion/ Civil war	Rebels/ Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	8	1	7

Barnet	14 April 1471	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	19	3	16
Tewkesbury	4 May 1471	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Yorkist victory	17	5	12
Bosworth	22 August 1485	Civil War	Lancastrians	Yorkists	Lancastrian victory	20	1	19
Stoke	16 June 1487	Rebellion/ Civil war	Royalists/ Lancastrians	Yorkists/rebels	Lancastrian/Royalist victory	14	1	13
Flodden	9 Sept 1513	International	English	Scottish	English victory	17	3	14
Total						330	19	311

Mid-Tudor-period battles:

Battle	Date	Type of War	Combatants 1	Combatants 2	Outcome	Number of sources	Number of eyewitness sources	Number of second hand sources
Solway Moss	24 November 1542	Anglo-Scottish, international	Scots	English	English victory	9	2	7
Ancrum Moor	27 February 1545	Anglo-Scottish, international	Scots	English	Scottish victory	8	0	8
Pinkie	10 September 1547	Anglo-Scottish, international	Scots	English	English victory	12	2	10
Fenny Bridge/ Meadow	28 July 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	3	0	3
Woodbury	3-5 August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	2	0	2
Clyst St Mary	4 August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	4	0	4
Clyst Heath	5 August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	1	0	1
Sampford Courtenay	18 August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	3	1	2
Prayer Book Rebellion general	July-August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Devonshire rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	2	0	2
Dussindale	27 August 1549	English rebellion, civil	Norfolk rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	10	0	10
Total						54	5	49

Stuart period battles:

Battle	Date	Type of War	Combatants 1	Combatants 2	Outcome	Number of sources	Number of eyewitness sources	Number of second hand sources
Newburn Ford	28 August 1640	Anglo-Scottish	Scots	English	Scottish victory	6	4	2
Edgehill	23 October 1642	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	33	26	7
Braddock Down	19 January 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	7	4	3
Hopton Heath	19 March 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	9	6	3
Stratton	16 May 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	4	2	2
Adwalton Moor	30 June 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	11	4	7
Lansdown	5 July 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	9	5	4
Roundway Down	13 July 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	11	5	6
Newbury I	20 September 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	9	4	5
Winceby	11 October 1643	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	6	4	2
Nantwich	25 January 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	9	8	1
Newark	21 March 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	8	2	6

Cheriton	29 March 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	9	8	1
Cropredy Bridge	29 June 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	7	6	1
Marston Moor	2 July 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	21	12	9
Lostwithiel I	21 August 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	2	2	0
Lostwithiel II	31 August-1 September 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Royalist victory	8	6	2
Montgomery	17 September 1644	British Civil War, Wales	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	5	3	2
Newbury II	27 October 1644	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Indecisive	7	6	1
Naseby	14 June 1645	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	21	13	8
Langport	10 July 1645	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	9	7	2
Rowton Heath	24 September 1645	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	4	4	0
Torrington	16 February 1646	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	3	3	0
Stow-on-the-Wold	21 March 1646	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	5	3	2
St Fagans	8 May 1648	British Civil War, Wales	Royalists/ 'Rebels'	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	5	5	0
Maidstone	1 June 1648	British Civil War, England	Royalists/ 'Rebels'	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	5	4	1

Preston	17 August 1648	British Civil War, England	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	8	7	1
Warrington	19 August 1648	British Civil War, England	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	3	2	1
Preston Campaign	17-19 August 1648	British Civil War, England	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	6	4	2
Dunbar	3 September 1650	British Civil War, Scotland	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	15	7	8
Hamilton	1 December 1650	British Civil War, Scotland	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	8	2	6
Inverkeithing	20 July 1651	British Civil War, Scotland	Scots/ Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	7	3	4
Worcester	3 September 1651	British Civil War, England	Royalists	Parliamentarians	Parliamentarian victory	9	8	1
Sedgemoor	6 July 1685	English rebellion, civil	Monmouth Rebels	Royalist army	Royalist victory	11	8	3
Total						300	197	103

Appendix B: high-status church burial location

Below are three tables showing the burial locations of all of the high-status men killed outright in the battles under study whose places of burial could be identified. The names were collected from the battle accounts, which often list the high-ranking and high-status men that were killed. The battle accounts occasionally note where such individuals were buried, and these too were extracted and used in this table. For most named individuals, however, the battle accounts did not note the place of burial. Therefore, other secondary sources of information were used to try to discover where the named individuals were interred. These sources included the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and family as well as local histories. Despite this additional research, it was only possible to identify the burial place of relatively few individuals, who represent only a small proportion of all the named men killed in the battles under study. The results of this preliminary survey were disappointing, but there is certainly room for further research. Detailed investigations into each of the named men using primary source material such as parish registers and local archival material would give a greater certainty than the secondary sources used here, while they would almost certainly reveal where more of the named men were buried. This would enable us to create a more detailed, accurate picture of where the high-status were buried, which, in turn, would help us to understand where such individuals were buried in those churches.

A major difficulty that was encountered during this research, particularly for the late medieval period, is that the source writers rarely identified whether an individual was killed outright or whether they were only mortally wounded. It is an important distinction, as it is possible that those killed outright were treated differently in death to those that were only mortally wounded. For example, an individual who was mortally wounded may have been taken some distance for medical treatment and upon their death was buried in the closest church. The factors that determined where an individual killed outright on the other hand might have been quite different, so it is important to differentiate between the two. Unfortunately, the source writers did not necessarily do this. This can be demonstrated by the case of Sir Bertin Entwisel. Entwisel is included in the lists of those men slain at the first battle of St Albans (1455) by the likes of Stow, Holinshed, and the Stowe and Phillipps

relations.[1] Entwisel's grave, however, notes that he died on 28 May, six days after the battle.[2] This indicates that Entwisel had only been mortally wounded, and yet he was included in the list of those slain, with no mention made to the fact that he had died later. This failure to distinguish between these two types of death in the sources is problematic and could distort our interpretations of high-status church burial locations. This problem is particularly acute for the pre-Reformation sources, which rarely discuss the detail of how or when individuals died in battle. The Stuart sources are much better at identifying whether an individual had been killed outright, probably because most were written soon after the battle, when many mortally wounded men may yet have been living. This partly explains why the Stuart period table is so small in comparison to the late medieval table, as more high-status men were identified as mortally wounded. This greater level of detail in the Stuart sources means that it may be the more viable option in terms of further research into high-status burial location, as researchers will be able to avoid distorting the spatial pattern by distinguishing between burials of those killed outright and those mortally wounded.

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[1] Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, p. 240; Stow, *Annales*, p. 399; Anon, "No. 283. The Battle of St Albans - Stowe Relation," in *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), p. 28; "No. 284. The Battle of St Albans - Phillipps Relation," in *The Paston Letters, A.D. 1422-1509*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), p. 30.
[2] John Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland and the Islands Adjacent* (London1767), p. 341.

Late medieval individuals:

Individual	Battle at which killed	Army which they fought for	Place buried	Distance travelled for burial from place of death	Type of church	Burial location within church/ churchyard	Secondary burial location	Distance travelled for secondary burial	Type of church for secondary burial	Location within secondary church
Sir Kynard de la Bere	Bryn Glas (1402)	Losers	Kinnersley church (?unverified), Herefordshire	20km	Homelands	Unspecified	N/A			
Sir Henry Hotspur	Shrewsbury (1403)	Losers	Whitchurch, Shropshire	25km	Family lands	Unspecified	York Minster	Various (his body parts from collected across the kingdom after being displayed)	Homelands	Unspecified
Edmund Stafford, Earl of Stafford	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	Church of the Austin Friars, Stafford	40km	Homelands	Unspecified	N/A			
Sir Walter Blount	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester	108km	Specified in will (became family vault)	Unspecified	N/A			
Sir Robert Goushill	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	St Michael's, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire	122km	Homelands	South transept	N/A			

Sir Robert Malveysin	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	St Nicholas' Church, Mavesyn Ridware, Staffordshire	57km	Homelands	A chest tomb in the centre of the Mavesyn Chapel in the south aisle	N/A			
Sir Edmund Cockaynes	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	St Oswald's, Ashbourne, Derbyshire	73km	Homelands	Boothyby chapel (north transept)	N/A			
Sir Richard Sandford	Shrewsbury (1403)	Victors	St Chad's, Prees, Shropshire	18km	Homelands	Seemingly in the north aisle (probably in the Sandford chapel, at the east end)	N/A			
Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset	St Albans I (1455)	Losers	St Albans monastery, Hertfordshire	Less than 1km	Near to place of death - prestigious	Lady chapel (east end of the church, near the Shrine of St Alban)	N/A			
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	St Albans I (1455)	Losers	St Albans monastery, Hertfordshire	Less than 1km	Near to place of death - prestigious	Lady chapel (east end of the church, near the Shrine of St Alban)	N/A			
Baron Thomas Clifford	St Albans I (1455)	Losers	St Albans monastery, Hertfordshire	Less than 1km	Near to place of death - prestigious	Lady chapel (east end of the church, near the Shrine of St Alban)	N/A			

Sir Ralph Babthorp and his son	St Albans I (1455)	Losers	St Peter's church, St Albans	Less than 1km	Near to place of death	Inside the church, perhaps in the chancel or transept	N/A			
Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham	Northampton (1460)	Losers	Grey Friars, Northampton	2km	Near to place of death - prestigious (?)	Unspecified	N/A			
John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	Northampton (1460)	Losers	Worksop Priory, Nottinghamshire	121km	Homelands	Unspecified	N/A			
Lord Ralph Dacre	Towton (1461)	Losers	All Saints Church, Saxton, Yorkshire	Less than 2km	Near to place of death	Churchyard, north of the church	N/A			
Sir John Neville (brother of Earl of Westmorland)	Towton (1461)	Losers	All Saints Church, Saxton, Yorkshire	Less than 2km	Near to place of death	Leland claims inside the church	N/A			
Baron Lionel [Leo] Welles	Towton (1461)	Losers	St Oswald's church, Methley, Yorkshire	14km	Homelands	South wall of the Waterton chapel (founded by his wife's father)	N/A			
Henry Percy, third earl of Northumberland	Towton (1461)	Losers	Church of St Denys, York (?unverified)	18km	Homelands	Unspecified	N/A			
Richard and John Neville, Earl of Warwick and Marquis Montague	Barnet (1471)	Losers	Bisham Abbey/Priory, Berkshire	48km (+19km for Barnet to St Paul's cathedral for display)	Homelands	Family vault (?)	N/A			

Lord Barnes	Barnet (1471)	Victors	Augustine Friars, London	19km	On victor's route- relatively prestigious (?)	South side of the quire	N/A			
Thomas a Par and John Milwater, squires of the Duke of Gloucester	Barnet (1471)	Victors	A church in Faringdonward, London	17km	On victor's route (?)	Unspecified	N/A			
Humphrey Bourchier (Lord Cromwell) and his cousin, Sir Humphrey Bourchier	Barnet (1471)	Victors	Westminster Abbey, London	18km	On victor's route - prestigious	St Edmund's Chapel	N/A			
Prince Edward (son of Henry VI)	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - relatively prestigious (?)	Middle of the choir	N/A			
Lord John Beaufort (brother of Duke of Somerset)	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - relatively prestigious (?)	Before an image of St James towards Mary Magdalene's altar in the monastery section of the church	N/A			
John Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - relatively prestigious (?)	Midst of the altar of St James, the monastery church	N/A			

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Sir Edmund Havarde/ Hampden, Sir John Locknore and Sir William Wittingham	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death	Body of the parish church, besides St George's chapel (nave?)	N/A			
Sir John Delves	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - less prestigious (?)	Beside St John's chapel, the parish church	Unspecified	Unknown	Homelands (?)	Unknown
Sir William Vauxe/Vauce	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - less prestigious (?)	Before an image of our lady, north side of the parish church	N/A			
Sir William Lermouth, Sir John Urman/Vrincy, Sir Thomas Seynor and Sir William Roues	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - less prestigious	Churchyard	N/A			
Henry Wrattesley/ Wateley, esquire	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - relatively prestigious	St John the Baptist chapel, south side of monastery church	N/A			
Henry Barrow/Baron, esquire	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - less prestigious (?)	Before an image of St Clement, parish church	his own country', place unspecified	Unknown	Homelands	Unknown
Mr Fielding, esquire and Mr Harvy, recorder of Bristow	Tewkesbury (1471)	Losers (?)	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	1km	Near to place of death - less prestigious (?)	In the church	N/A			

John Howard, Duke of Norfolk	Bosworth (1485)	Losers	Thetford Priory, Norfolk	147km	Homelands	Possibly in a chapel off north aisle of the nave, but very uncertain	N/A			
King Richard III	Bosworth (1485)	Losers	Grey Friars, Leicester	18km	On victor's route- relatively prestigious (?)	South-west corner of the choir	N/A			
Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll and his cousin Sir Duncan Campbell	Flodden (1513)	Losers	Kilmun collegiate church, Cowal, Argyll	180km	Homelands	Campbell vault most likely	N/A			
John, Lord Sempill	Flodden (1513)	Losers	Castle Semple Collegiate Church, Renfrewshire (?unverified)	155km	Homelands	Set into the north wall of the church (which had been extended specifically to accommodate his tomb)	N/A			

Mid-Tudor-period individuals:

Individual	Battle at which killed	Place buried	Distance travelled for burial from place of death	Type of church	Burial location within church/ churchyard	Secondary burial?
Sir William Francis	Clyst St Mary (1549)	Exeter Cathedral	5km	Relatively near place of death - prestigious	Body of the Cathedral church	No
Ap Owen (a Welsh gentleman)	Sampford Courtenay (1549)	Exeter Cathedral	30km	Relatively near place of death - prestigious	Body of the Cathedral church	No
Henry Wylby, esquire	Dussindale (1549)	St Simon and St Jude church, Norwich	6km	Relatively near place of death	Chancel	No
Gyles Foster, esquire	Dussindale (1549)	St Simon and St Jude church, Norwich	6km	Relatively near place of death	Chancel	No
Thomas Lynsye, esquire	Dussindale (1549)	St Simon and St Jude church, Norwich	6km	Relatively near place of death	Chancel	No
Hu (surname lost), esquire	Dussindale (1549)	St Simon and St Jude church, Norwich	6km	Relatively near place of death	Chancel	No

Stuart period individuals:

Individual	Military rank	Royalist/ Parliamentarian	Battle at which killed	Place buried	Distance travelled for burial from place of death	Type of church	Burial location within church/ churchyard	Secondary burial?	Secondary burial location	Distance travelled for secondary burial	Type of church2	Location within secondary church
Charles Essex	Colonel	Parliamentarian	Edgehill (1642)	Unspecified church in Warwick	17km	Near to place of death	Unspecified	No				
George Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny	Colonel?	Royalist	Edgehill (1642)	Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford	47km	Royalist capital - prestigious	South side of the choir	No				
Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton	Lieutenant-general	Royalist	Hopton Heath (1643)	All Hallows Church (i.e. All Saints, Derby's Cathedral), Derby	40km	On victor's route	Seemingly in the Cavendish family crypt, beneath the church	Yes	Compton Wynyates parish church, Warwick-shire	95km	Home-lands	Un-specified
Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland	Volunteer	Royalist	Newbury I (1643)	St Michaels church, Great Tew, Oxfordshire	60km	Homelands	Unknown	No				
Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon	Unknown at Newbury, likely high	Royalist	Newbury I (1643)	Jesus College Chapel, Oxford	50km	Royalist capital - prestigious	Unspecified	Yes	All Saints church, Wing, Bucking-hamshire	40km	Home-lands	Dormer family vault at the east end of the north aisle

Sir Ingram Hopton	Colonel	Royalist	Winceby (1643)	St Mary's church, Horncastle	5km	Near to place of death	Unspecified - his memorial was on the church's south wall, so perhaps there	No				
Roger Houghton	Captain	Royalist	Marston Moor (1644)	York Minster	12km	Near to place of death - prestigious	Unspecified	No				
Sir Charles Slingsby	Colonel	Royalist	Marston Moor (1644)	York Minster	12km	Near to place of death - prestigious	Unspecified	No				
Louis, Chevalier de Misier [Mézières?]	Unknown	Royalist	Sedgemoor (1685)	Church of the Holy Cross, Middlezoy	3km	Near to place of death	Chancel	No				

Appendix C: military manuals

A list of all military manuals studied, in chronological order according to date published. All were accessed via *Early English Books Online*.

Frontinus, Sextus Julius and Morison, Sir Richard. *The strategemes, sleyghtes and policies of warre, gathered togyther…* London: Thomae Berthelet, 1539

Becon, Thomas. *The true defe[n]ce of peace: wherin is declaredde the cause of all warres now a dayes, and how they maye be pacified, called before the pollecye of warre, deuysed [and] lately recognised by Theodore Basille*. London: John Mayler, 1543.

Porcia, Jacopo and Betham, Peter. *The preceptes of warre, setforth [sic] by Iames the erle of Purlilia, and tra[n]slated into englysh by Peter Betham*. London: Edward Whytchurche, 1544.

Ascham, Roger. *Toxophilus: the schole of shootinge conteyned in tvvo bookes. To all gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace*. London: Edward Whytchurche, 1545.

Machiavelli, Niccolo and Whitehorne, Peter. *The arte of warre, written first in Italia[n] by Nicholas Machiauell, and set forthe in Englishe by Peter Whitehorne, student at Graies Inne: with an addicio[n] of other like marcialle feates and experimentes, as in a table in the ende of the booke maie appere*. London: John Kingston, 1562.

Onasander and Whitehorne, Peter. *Onosandro Platonico, of the generall captaine, and of his office, translated out of Greeke into Italyan, by Fabio Cotta, a Romayne: and out of Italian into Englysh, by Peter Whytehorne*. London: William Seres, 1563.

Vegetius, Falvius Renatus and Sadler, John. *The foure bookes of Flauius Vegetius Renatus: briefelye contayninge a plaine forme, and perfect knowledge of martiall policye, feates of chiualrie, and vvhatsoeuer pertayneth to warre…* London: Thomas Marsh, 1572.

Polemon, John. *All the famous battels that haue bene fought in our age throughout the worlde, as well by sea as lande...* London: Henry Bynneman and Francis Coldock, 1578.

Rich, Barnabe. *Allarme to England: foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people liue without regarde of martiall lawe…* London: Henry Middleton, 1578.

Blandie, William and Gates, Geffrey. *The castle, or picture of pollicy: shewing forth most liuely, the face, body and partes of a commonwealth, the duety quality, profession of a perfect and absolute souldiar, the martiall feates encounters and skirmishes…* London: John Daye, 1581.

Styward, Thomas. *The pathwaie to martiall discipline…* London: T. East, 1581.

Whetstone, George and Walraven, Jacob. *The honourable reputation of a souldier: VVith a morall report of the vertues, offices and (by abuse) the disgrace of his profession…* London: Ian Paedts Iacobszoon and Ian Bouwenszoon, 1586.

Polemon, John. *The second part of the booke of battailes, fought in our age...* London: Thomas East, 1587.

Rich, Barnabe. *A path-vvay to military practise...* London: Iohn Charlewood, 1587.

Fourquevaux, Raimond de Beccarie de Pavie and Du Bellay, Guillaume. *Instructions for the warres: Amply, learnedly, and politiquely, discoursing the method of militarie discipline…* London: Thomas Man and Tobie Cooke, 1589.

Smythe, Sir John. *Certain discourses…* London: Thomas Orwin, 1590.

Valdes, Francisco and Thorie, John. *The sergeant maior: A dialogue of the office of a sergeant maior. VVritten in Spanishe by the Maister of the Campe Francisco de Valdes. And translated into Englishe, by Iohn Thorius.* London: Iohn Wolfe, 1590.

Williams, Sir Roger. *A briefe discourse of vvarre...*London: Thomas Orwin, 1590.

Clayton, Gyles. *The approoued order of martiall discipline...* London: I Charlewood, 1591.

Sutcliffe, Matthew. *The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes: described out of the doings of most valiant and expert captaines, and confirmed both by ancient, and moderne examples, and præcedents, by Matthevv Sutcliffe.* London: Christopher Barker, 1593.

Hurault, Jacques and Golding, Arthur. *Politicke, moral, and martial discourses...*London: Adam Islip, 1595.

Barret, Robert. *The theorike and practike of moderne vvarres: discoursed in dialogue vvise...* London: R. Field, 1598.

Edmondes, Sir Clement. *Observations, upon the five first bookes of Caesars commentaries...* London: Peter Short, 1600.

Segar, Sir William. *Honor military, and ciuill: contained in foure books...*London: Robert Barker, 1602.

Barnabe, Rich. *The fruites of long experience: A pleasing view for peace. A looking-glasse for warre...*London: Thomas Creede, 1604.

Tacticus, Aelianus, Gelius, Aegidius, Bingham, Captain John. *The tactiks of Ælian, or, Art of embattailing an army after ye Grecian manner...*London: Eliot's Court Press, 1616.

Davies, Edward. *The art of vvar, and Englands traynings: plainely demonstrating the dutie of a priuate sovldier; with the office of each seuerall officer belonging to a foot-company: and the martiall lawes of the field...*London: Edward Griffin, 1619.

Trussell, Thomas. *The souldier pleading his owne cause: Furnished with argument to encourage, and skill to instruct. With an epitome of the qualities required in the seuerall officers of a priuate company.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1619.

Markham, Francis. *Fiue decades of epistles of vvarre.* London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622.

Xenophon and Bingham, Captain John. *The historie of Xenophon...* London: Iohn Haviland, 1623.

Leighton, Alexander. *Speculum belli sacri: Or The looking-glasse of the holy war...*Amsterdam: successors of Giles Thorp, 1624.

Markham, Gervase. *The souldiers accidence, or An introduction into military discipline.* London: I.D., 1625.

Cooke, Edward. *The character of vvarre, or The image of martiall discipline...*London, Tho. Purfoot, 1626.

Markham, Gervase. *The souldiers grammar...*London: Henry Overton, 1626.

Markham, Gervase. *The second part of the souldiers grammar, or, A schoole for young souldiers...* London: J.N., 1627.

Achesone, James. *The military garden, or instructions for all young souldiers and such who are disposed to learne, and have knowledge of the militarie discipline...* Edinburgh: Iohn Wreittoun, 1629.

Bernard, Richard. *The Bible-battells. Or The sacred art military...* London: W. Jones, 1629.

Tacticus, Aelianus and Bingham, Captain John. *The art of embattailing an army. Or, The second part of Ælian's Tacticks.* London: R. Mab., 1631.

Watts, William and Roe, Sir Thomas. *The Svvedish discipline, religious, civile, and military...*London: Iohn Dawson, Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet, 1632.

Barry, Great. *A discourse of military discipline...* Brussels: widow of Iohn Mommart, 1634.

Barriffe, William. *Military discipline: or, the yong artillery man...*London: Thomas Harper, 1635.

Anon. *Directions for musters: wherein is shevved the order of drilling for the musket and pike: set forth in postures, with the words of command, and brief instructions for the right use of the same.* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1638.

Du Praissac, Sieur and Cruso, John. *The art of warre, or Militarie discourses of leavying, marching, encamping...*Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1639.

Ward, Robert. *Anima'dversions of warre; or, A militarie magazine of the truest rules, and ablest instructions, for the managing of warre, etc.* London: Iohn Dawson, 1639.

Henri, Duke of Rohan, Caesar, Julius and Cruso, John. *The complete captain, or, an abbridgement of Cesars warres...*London: Thomas Harper, 1642.

Hexham, Henry. *The first part of The principles of the art military...*Delft, 1642.

Hexham, Henry. *The second part of The principles of the art military...*Delft: Anthony of Heusden, 1642.

Hexham, Henry. *The third part of the principles of the art military...* Rotterdam: James Moxon, 1643.

Elton, Richard and Rudd, Thomas. *The compleat body of the art military: In three books...*London: William Leybourne, 1668.

Venn, Thomas and Tacquet, Andreas. *Military & maritine [sic] discipline...* London, 1672.

Boyle, Roger, Earl of Orrery. *A treatise of the art of war: dedicated to the Kings most excellent Majesty. And written by the right honourable Roger Earl of Orrery.* London: Thomas Newcomb, 1677.

Holme, Randle. *The academy of armory, or, A storehouse of armory and blazon...* Chester, 1688.