

The Coat of Arms

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THE COAT OF ARMS

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

The symbolism of the African nations part 2: graphic symbols as national emblems. By Rolf Sutter	1
The grisaille and heraldic glass in the chancel at Norbury church, Derbyshire. By John E. Titterton	51
Treasures of the Heraldry Society Bookplate Collection part 1: items of nautical interest. By Paul A. Fox	83
Heraldic nous in Huon de Mery's 'Tournament of the Antichrist.' By Daria S. Staroskolskaia	111
Heraldry and the authenticity of the digital record. By Paul Campbell	120
The buckle in heraldry. By Stanford A. Stewart and Paul A. Fox	131
A matter of difference. By Michael Fowle	144
The Brereton Roll: a sixteenth-century heraldic pedigree. By Anthony Bostock	151
Arms for Woden: a late sixteenth-century manuscript folio in the College of Arms. By Steven Ashley	180
The Hombreston Beast. By Robert Colley	189
A corpus of the arms of King Edward VI. By Peter N. Lindfield	198
Lady Isabel Vernon and the lost arms of Harclay. By Paul A. Fox	219

A medieval stone cross base in the churchyard of St Mary the Virgin, Southery, bearing the arms of Stoke.	
By Steven Ashley	232

BOOK REVIEWS

Ghermani and D'Annoville, <i>Image et Droit: du ius imaginis au droit à l'image</i> , By Philip Allfrey	239
--	-----

Cunningham, Curry, and Dryburgh, <i>Status, Identity and Authority: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives and Heraldry presented to Adrian Ailes</i> . By Philip Allfrey	241
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List of Abbreviations and recurring short titles	245
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The Coat of Arms

Volume 6 – 2023



**CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DE
GENEALOGIE ET D'HERALDIQUE C.I.G.H.
COMMISSION DES PRIX ET MEDAILLES**

**Prix Son Eminence le Cardinal
Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo 2022**

To

The Heraldry Society

***For the «Coat of Arms»
the publication of the Heraldry Society founded in 1950***

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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS PART 2: GRAPHIC SYMBOLS AS NATIONAL EMBLEMS

ROLF SUTTER, PH.D., A.I.H.

Abstract

This second part of African national symbols is dedicated to emblems. In the second half of the twentieth century seventeen states adopted as a sign of their identity designs which were not in accordance with heraldic principals, although many include heraldic elements such as mullets and crescents. Most were adopted in the 1960s – when these countries achieved their independence and sovereignty. The underlying meaning and message of each symbol is explored.



Figure 1: The countries covered in this article.

THE COAT OF ARMS

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria



Figure 2: Current version of the Algerian state's emblem. Wikimedia Commons.

The Ottoman era	1516–1830
Invasion of Algiers by French forces	June/July 1830
French Colony	1830 -1962
Independence from France	July 5, 1962
Adoption of the state's seal	November 1, 1976

Description (Figure 2)¹

On a white disc in base a red crescent and five-pointed star, above it a symmetrically designed hand, the three middle fingers united and erect, the exterior fingers 'ending in a dove's beak', resting on two green ears of corn pointing downwards towards the centre; behind the hand a brown mountain, and in chief a golden sun in splendour rising over the mountain. At the base of the mountain to the left a golden factory building, a red oil-drilling derrick and the brown silhouette of a city view, and to the right a white ballot box with a ballot paper; garlanded to the left with a green olive branch in fruit and a palm branch, and to the right oak leaves and three inwardly curved green stalks of grain with golden ears of corn; around the upper three quarters of the disc the legend in red Arabic letters الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية (People's Democratic Republic of Algeria).

¹ This takes as its basis a description found on the website of the Algerian embassy in Poland.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

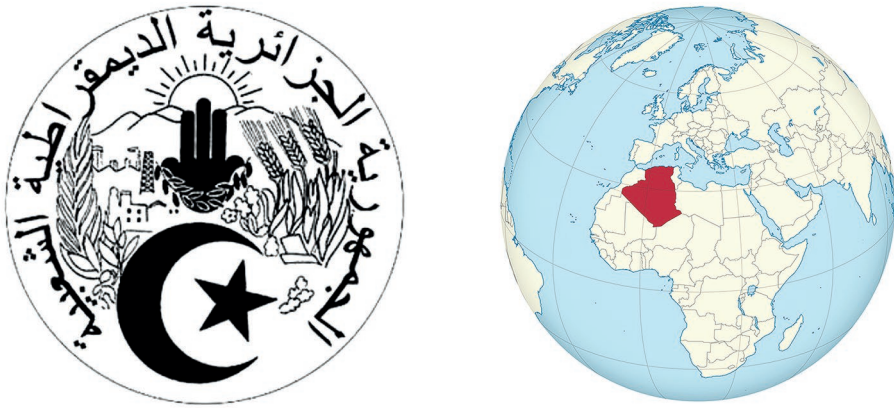


Figure 3: Left, Emblem after the new constitution of 1976; right, Location of People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Wikimedia Commons.

Some of the details can be better distinguished on the earlier black and white design from 1976 (**Figure 3**), especially “the two ends of the fingers ending in the beak of a dove”.

Explanation of symbolism

The four main symbols of the sun, representing growth and wealth, the hand (often interpreted as Fatima's Hand²) and the crescent and star (sign of Islamic unity), are arranged around the peaks of the Atlas Mountains as the country's most remarkable geographical region. The oil rig and industrial buildings, the agricultural plants and fruits are the important sources of national prosperity. The ballot box symbolizes the self-perception of democracy, which is also found in the state's name.

History and previous national emblems

Algeria belongs to the cultural area of the so-called Maghreb, countries in the north-west of the African continent: Morocco with the Western Sahara, Algeria and Tunisia, which partly cover the area of the former Roman province of Africa. The area that is now Algeria was originally settled by the Berber tribes. In 673 encroaching Arabs Islamised the population, and by the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries the majority were Muslim. In the sixteenth century Algeria placed itself under the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan as the ‘Regency of Algiers’ (1516–1830), but retained partial autonomy. The local rulers were called beylerbeys, then pashas, then aghas, and finally deys; the word dey translating as ‘uncle’ in Turkish. Some of the rulers of Algiers were notorious Barbary pirates who enslaved many Europeans, and this was one of the driving factors behind the annexation of the territory by France in 1830.³ One of the flags probably used by the pirates, as recorded in the eighteenth century, was an arm wielding a scimitar on

² In the Islamic world a symbol of protection and happiness.

³ From Mohammed I., 1671–1682 to Hussain III., 1817–1830. Other sources speak of 29 or 30 Deys.

THE COAT OF ARMS

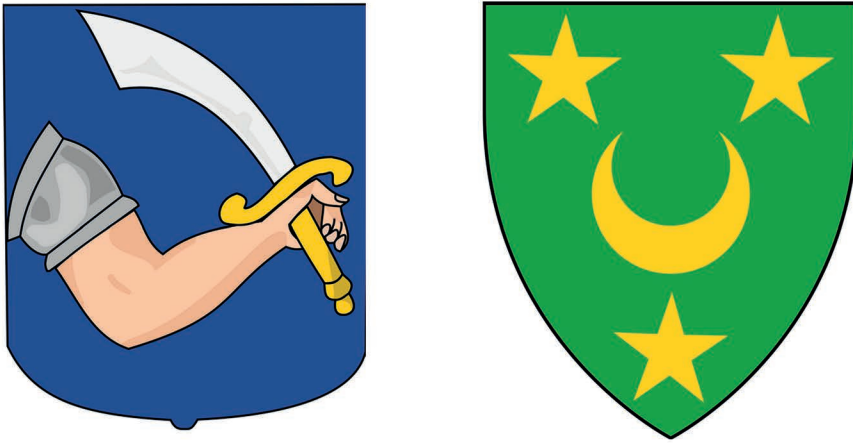


Figure 4: Left, von Hefner's shield of piracy; Right: coat of arms of Algeria during the colonial period 1830–1962. Wikimedia Commons.

a blue field, which the German heraldist Otto von Hefner illustrated as an actual shield in the following century (**Figure 4a**), although it was never used as such.⁴

Algeria as a French colony soon possessed a coat of arms, used from 1830 (**Figure 4b**). The heraldic shield *Vert a horizontal crescent between three mullets* or paid respect to local tradition where the crescent and star had long been used in its various forms by the rulers, with green considered to be the colour of Islam. The Algerian colonial period ended violently with the Franco-Algerian war leading to independence in 1962, when a new coat of arms was devised which was more overtly Islamic (**Figure 5a**), and based on the new national flag: *Per pale vert and argent over all a red crescent moon and five-pointed star*. The only difference from the flag was the addition of the red Arabic letters ج in chief which stand for الجمهورية الجزائرية “The Algerian Republic”.

During the war of independence, Algeria received support from the Soviet Union, which was the first nation to recognize the country politically in October 1960. This probably contributed to the fact that the state symbol created in 1962 (**Figure 5b and c**) is stylistically cognate to the emblems of Soviet republics. It can be blazoned as follows: *A crescent and five-pointed star gules, crested with a “Hand of Fatima” rising from three ears of wheat between two vine leaves, the outer ears of corn supporting two national flags per chevron; garlanded with a branch of laurel and a branch of olive, all proper; a scroll in base or.*

After the adoption of a new Algerian constitution in 1976 the emblem on the seal was changed to the current emblem, a coloured and stylized version of which has been in use since the first decade of the twenty-first century.

⁴ Otto von Hefner, *Die Wappen der ausserdeutschen Souveraine und Staaten* (Nürnberg, 1870) p. 51., no. 138: under the designation: “The Barbary States”.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

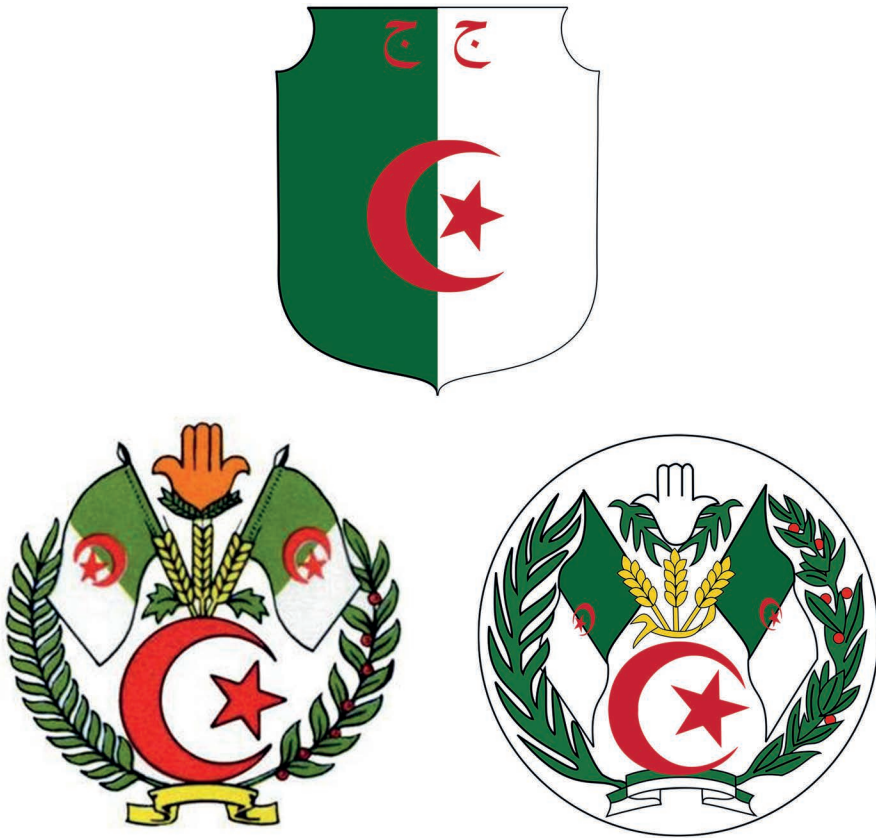


Figure 5: top: Emblem of the République Algérienne 1962–1963; below left 5b: an early conception of the later seal ; below right 5c: the emblem of Algeria 1971–1976. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Angola

First Portuguese discovery in the coastal region	1483
Portuguese colony	1575–1951
First colonial arms adopted	1934
Revised colonial arms adopted	May 8, 1935
Portuguese province as Portuguese West Africa	June 11, 1951–1975
Independence from Portugal	November 11, 1975
First emblem adopted	November 2, 1990
Minor colour change of emblem	January 2, 2010

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 6: Emblem of the Republic of Angola. Wikimedia Commons.

Official description (Figure 6)

Article 163 of the Angolan constitution from 1992 states:

The insignia of the Republic of Angola shall be formed by a segment of a cog wheel and sheaves of maize, coffee and cotton; at the foot of the design, an open book and the rising sun; in the centre a machete and a hoe; at the top a golden star; in the lower part a golden band with the inscription 'Republic of Angola'.

Explanation of symbolism.

Article 262 of the same 1992 constitution provides guidance on the meaning of the emblematic elements of the state emblem that have been incorporated into the flag: *the cogwheel symbolizes workers, the maize, coffee and cotton, industrial production; the open book represents education and culture; the rising sun represents the new country; the machete and hoe symbolize work and the armed struggle; and the star symbolizes international solidarity and progress.*

The imagery is distinctively Marxist, as can be compared with numerous other examples such as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in Africa as well as the former Soviet states of Belarus, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The hoe crossed with the machete both commemorates the revolution and honours the importance of the farmworkers. The five-pointed star is the most commonly used socialist emblem. The rising sun for new beginnings will be seen in use by various other African nations.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 7: Top left: location of Angola on the globe; top right 7b: coat of arms of the Portuguese Colony of Angola in 1933–35; bottom, 7c: colonial arms between May 8, 1935–June 11, 1951. It was used with the word Province instead of colony from 1951 to 1975. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblems.

From the sixth century onwards Bantu people moved into the area of today's Angola and expelled the original San. From 1400 onwards, northern parts of the area belonged to the great kingdom of Congo. In 1483, the Portuguese seafarer Diogo Cão was the first European to land in west Africa, and soon afterwards his fellow nationals began to develop the country from the mouth of the Congo. They Christianised the population and set up trading posts whose main trade was black slaves from the interior of the country, most of whom were shipped to South America (about two million people by the

THE COAT OF ARMS

mid-nineteenth century). Luanda, today's Angolan capital, was founded as a military base in 1575. When the Portuguese conquered the hinterland, they encountered fierce resistance from the local population, which was not pacified until the twentieth century. In 1653 what is now Angola was declared a colony. The prohibition of the slave trade in the USA in 1865 resulted in its international ban, and the Portuguese colonial rulers began cultivating coffee and sugar cane, which the Angolans were forced to grow in the plantations. In 1885 at the Congo Conference in Berlin, the borders of the Portuguese colony of Angola were defined and recognized by the European powers.

In 1933 it was determined that the territory would have its own coat of arms, and various designs emerged, the second of which is illustrated here (Figure 7b): *Gules a pelican in her piety proper surrounded by a bordure or charged with five quinas escutcheons alternating with five crosses of the Order of Christ*. The crest: *A Portuguese mural crown of five towers or*. The motto: ANGOLA. Then in 1935 all of Portugal's overseas territories were granted arms of uniform design. That granted to Angola (Figure 7c) was: *Party per pale and a base per point arched, dexter: Argent on each of five escutcheons in cross azure five plates in saltire* [for Portugal]; *sinister: Purple, in chief an elephant and in base a zebra both per pale or* [for Angola], *in base: Argent five bars wavy vert* [for the sea, denoting an overseas territory, and found uniformly on each of the shields of the colonies]. Crest: *A Portuguese mural crown with five towers or*. Supporter: *An armillary-sphere or*. Legend: COLÓNIA PORTUGUESA DE ANGOLA, changed on 11 June 1951 to PROVÍNCIA PORTUGUESA DE ANGOLA.

To counteract the pressure of the independence movements in the African population, in 1951 Portugal declared Angola an overseas province, *província ultramarina*, with limited internal self-government. The region was known as Portuguese West Africa (officially the State of West Africa). However, only whites and a few Angolans were able to take part in political life, the majority of the black population remained underprivileged. In 1953, after several waves of strikes and unrest, which were suppressed by the Portuguese military, the "Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola" (MPLA, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) emerged from several independence movements and demanded detachment from Portugal. The "União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola", UNITA, took up the armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1966. After the end of the dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, the MPLA and UNITA, together with a third independence group, the FNLA, negotiated independence with the new Portuguese government, achieved in 1975.

Republic of Cape Verde

Colony of Portugal	1495
First colonial coat of arms	1933
Revised colonial coat of arms	May 8, 1935
Portuguese overseas province	1951
Independence from Portugal	July 5, 1975
First Emblem adopted	July 5, 1975
Current emblem adopted	September 22, 1992



Figure 8: Emblem of the Republic of Cape Verde. Wikimedia Commons.

Description of the current emblem (Figure 8)⁵

Argent, on a triangle azure a torch argent; in chief the words REPÚBLICA DE CABO VERDE in black lettering, proceeding from the left to the right angles of the triangle; in base three bars azure; all encircled by a bordure of three concentric rings alternating azure and argent; at the apex of the border a plummet or; a garland of three golden links of a chain in base followed on each side by a palm leaf vert, then by five mullets or.

Explanation of symbolism.

The plummet symbolizes righteousness and uprightness and is the keystone of the Cape Verdean constitution. The ten stars represent the number of islands of Cape Verde, and are also found in a circle on the national flag adopted in 1992. The equilateral triangle symbolizes unity and equality. The torch stands for the freedom gained after many years of struggle. The three bars allude to the sea. The palm leaves point to the victory won in the struggle for national independence.

History and former national emblems.

In 1460, the Portuguese navigators Diego Gomes and António da Noli took possession of the Cape Verde Islands for Portugal, which in 1495 officially became a Portuguese colony. Ribeira Grande on the island of Santo Antão was the main base for Portuguese ships bringing west African natives to central and south America as slaves. Because of numerous attacks by pirates (such as the English privateer Sir Francis Drake), the

⁵ As defined in Article 8 of the constitution of 23rd November 1999, here rendered using more heraldic terminology.

THE COAT OF ARMS

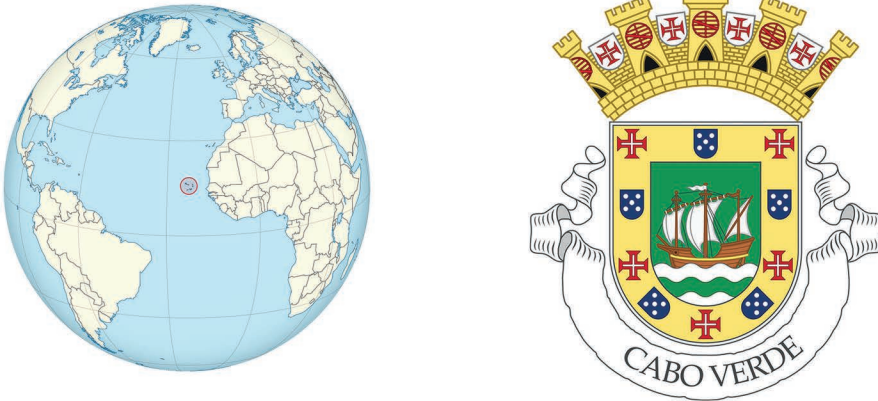


Figure 9: Left: location of Cape Verde on the globe; right, 9b: provisional coat of arms of Portuguese Cape Verde 1933–1935. Wikimedia Commons.

episcopal administration was moved to Praia on São Tiago in 1614, and from 1650 the Portuguese colony of today's Guinea-Bissau on the west African mainland was also administered from here. Due to the mixing of both populations, the islands and the mainland area remained closely connected for a long time.

In 1933 Cape Verde was one of the first Portuguese colonies to adopt a coat of arms (**Figure 9b**): *Vert, a caravel sails argent, the carpentry or, and in base barry wavy argent and vert*. The border and crest were those used by Angola in the same period. When the arms of the overseas territories were unified in 1935 Cape Verde retained the caravel (**Figure 10**).

With the decline of the slave trade (Portugal was the last colonial power to ban human trafficking, in 1876), Cape Verde lost its importance. In 1951, the archipelago received the status of a Portuguese overseas province and thus gained limited internal autonomy. As in the other Portuguese colonies, the so-called “natives’ statute” came into effect in 1954, enabling a small literate and westernised sub-group of the population to attain the privileged status of “assimilado”. The independence movement, the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), was founded in 1956 to press for full self-government, and the merger of Cape Verde with the overseas province of Portuguese Guinea. In 1961, the 1954 statute was repealed, and the entire population of the former colonies were declared Portuguese citizens. However, it was not until 1974, when the government had changed in Portugal as a result of the “Carnation Revolution”⁶, that full sovereignty was granted to Guinea-Bissau, and a year later to the Cape Verde Islands. The plan for a common state was pursued by the political leaders of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde until the early 1980s. After a coup in Guinea-Bissau, relations between the two countries deteriorated, and the goal of a common state was abandoned.

⁶ The “Carnation Revolution” was the military coup in Portugal on April 25, 1974, against the authoritarian dictatorship of the Estado Novo which was the dictatorial, authoritarian, autocratic and corporatist political regime that prevailed in Portugal for 41 uninterrupted years.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

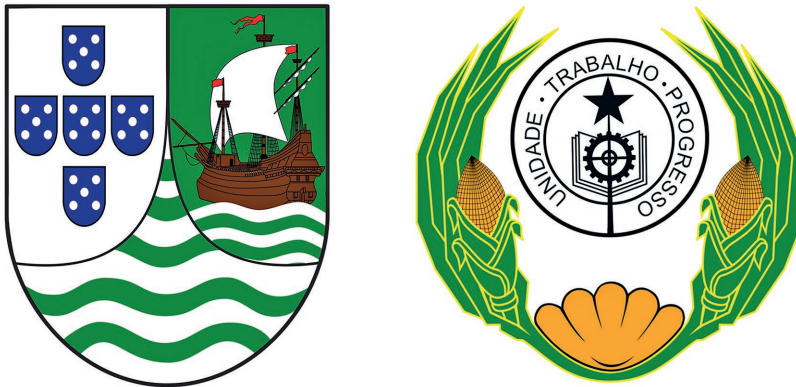


Figure 10: Left: coat of arms of Portuguese Cape Verde 1935–1975; right, 10b: first emblem after independence, in use from 1975 to 1992. Wikimedia Commons.

The first coat of arms of the new Republic (**Figure 10b**) was adopted on the day of independence, 5 July 1975, blazoned as follows: *An open book charged with a cogwheel and a five-pointed star on a pole, all sable, encircled by a bordure with the motto UNIDADE TRABALHO PROGRESSO (Unity, Work, Progress); around this a garland comprising in base a shell or, supporting two maize cobs with their leaves proper.* The centre of the design has the appearance of a gun sight which looks towards the book. This together with the surrounding cogwheel, speaks of looking to develop education and industry. The black star is for African freedom and independence. Maize is the principal food crop on the islands, while the shell represents marine wealth.

Union of the Comoros

First discovery by the Portuguese	1503
French protectorate of Mayotte	1886
French protectorate of the entire Comoros	September 6, 1887
Under administration of the French colony of Madagascar	April 9, 1908
French overseas territory	October 27, 1946
Independence of Grande Comore, Anjouan and Mohéli from France	July 6, 1975
State seal adopted (Figure 12c)	October 1, 1978
Union of the Comoros	December 23, 2001
Current emblem of the Comoros adopted	2016
Independence referendum: Mayotte remains with France	December 22, 1974
Coat of arms adopted by Mayotte.	July 23, 1982
Mayotte becomes the 101st French Department and the 5th Overseas Department	November 23, 2010

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 11: Seal and Emblem of the Union of the Comoros. Wikimedia Commons.

Description of the current emblem (Figure 11)

An eight-rayed sun vert, whose outwardly widening rays each have two pointed ends and emerge from an annulet argent in the centre; superimposed on the sun a horizontal crescent vert adorned with four mullets argent; arched above in French and below in Arabic with the country's name: "Union of the Comoros"; the whole garlanded with two laurel branches vert and argent, joined at the base by a white scroll with the legend "Unité, Solidarité, Développement" sable.

Explanation of symbolism

The crescent and four stars have been a constant feature of the national flag in its various iterations since the first flag was adopted in 1963. The colour green and the crescent are for Islam, while the four stars represent the four principal islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan, Mohéli and Mayotte. The laurel branches are symbolic of honour and victory. The design follows that of the Comorian order Ordre du Croissant vert which was instituted in 1965 (Figure 12b).

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 12: Left: location of the Comoros on the globe; centre, 12b: Order of the Green Crescent; right, 12c: Seal of the Comoros 1975–1978. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblems

The Comoros are an archipelago located between east African Mozambique and the island of Madagascar, politically consisting of two parts: the politically sovereign state “Union of the Comoros”, comprising the three islands of Grande Comore, Anjouan and Mohéli; while the island of Mayotte still belongs to France as its Overseas Territory No. 5 and Department No. 101.

The first settlers were Indonesian seafarers of Malay-Polynesian origin. From about 1000 AD, Persian seafarers and emigrants from Arabia and mainland Africa followed in different waves. From the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, Dutch, and French established trading posts. Islamic immigrants from east Africa and southern Arabia created small feudal sultanates along the coast, in which black slaves from the African continent worked on plantations. Individual sultans then took over the different islands. In the nineteenth century raids on the Comoros by pirates from Madagascar increased, whereupon the sultans asked the colonial power France for military support. In 1841 Mayotte, the southernmost of the four large Comoros islands, became a French protectorate. Then from 1886 the entire archipelago was declared a French protectorate. In 1909, the last sultan of the Comoros abdicated. The islands were merged into the Comoros colony in 1912 and administered from Madagascar, which was also French, until the end of the Second World War. In 1946, the Comoros received the status of a French overseas territory with limited internal autonomy.

The Comoros did not finally become independent until 1975, when 95% of the inhabitants of the three islands of Grande Comore, Mohéli and Anjouan voted in favour of independence. On the island of Mayotte, in 1976, over 60% of the population voted in favour of remaining under French leadership. In 1978, the three independent islands adopted a new constitution as the “Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros”, with Islam becoming the state religion.

The coat of arms of Mayotte (**Figure 13**) was designed by Michel Chabin, a former director of the Reunion Archives, and drawn by Pascal Santerre. Their proposal was adopted by the General Council of Mayotte on 23 July 1982, and they have remained in use since the island’s incorporation as a new department of France in 2011.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 13: Coat of arms of French Mayotte, adopted July 23, 1982. Wikimedia Commons.

It is blazoned as follows: the shield: *Per fess azure and gules in chief a crescent argent and in base two ylang-ylang flowers or, all within a bordure engrailed argent*; the supporters: two seahorses; the motto in Shimaore: “*Ra Hachiri*” (We are vigilant). The principal colours of red, white and blue are from the French national flag. The two flowers represent the two main islands of Mayotte which are almost equal in area. The ylang-ylang flower of the Cananga tree is important commercially as a source of perfume.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

First Portuguese discovery	1482
Tributary to Portugal	1569
Portuguese control	1665–1884
Private property of Belgian King Leopold I as “Congo Free State”	1885–1908
Belgian national colony	November 15, 1908
Independence from Belgium	June 30, 1960
Current emblem adopted	February 18, 2006

Official description of the emblem (Figure 14).

The sixth constitution of the republic since independence, approved in a referendum by the Congolese people, was promulgated on February 18, 2006, and established a revised coat of arms for the Democratic Republic of Congo, described somewhat minimally as follows: *A leopard’s head framed on the left by an ivory tusk and on the right by a spear, all of which rests on a stone, with the motto “Justice – Paix – Travail” (Justice–Peace–Work).*

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 14: Emblem of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Wikimedia Commons.

Explanation of symbolism.

There is no official explanation, but the leopard's face, the elephant tusk and the spear are all manifestations of the power of the state, being traditional kingly emblems in the region. The tusk is additionally a symbol of good luck, with further attributes of strength, dignity, patience, wisdom, longevity, and happiness. By the stone it is implied that the state rests on a solid foundation, which, given the turbulent history of the country (one of civil wars, genocides and oppression) was somewhat aspirational at the time of its adoption.

History and former national emblems.

A vast kingdom existed across the whole region from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries whose ruler was called the Manikongo or Mwene Kongo. After the navigator Diogo Cão discovered this great kingdom and made it accessible to Portugal, the Manikongo Alfonso I (baptised 1491, d.1543), received a striking coat of arms, which was awarded by the Portuguese king and published in 1541 (**Figure 15**). In 1884–5 the Congo region was ceded to Belgium at the Berlin Congo Conference, and King Leopold II took it as his personal fiefdom under the name of the Congo Free State. In

THE COAT OF ARMS

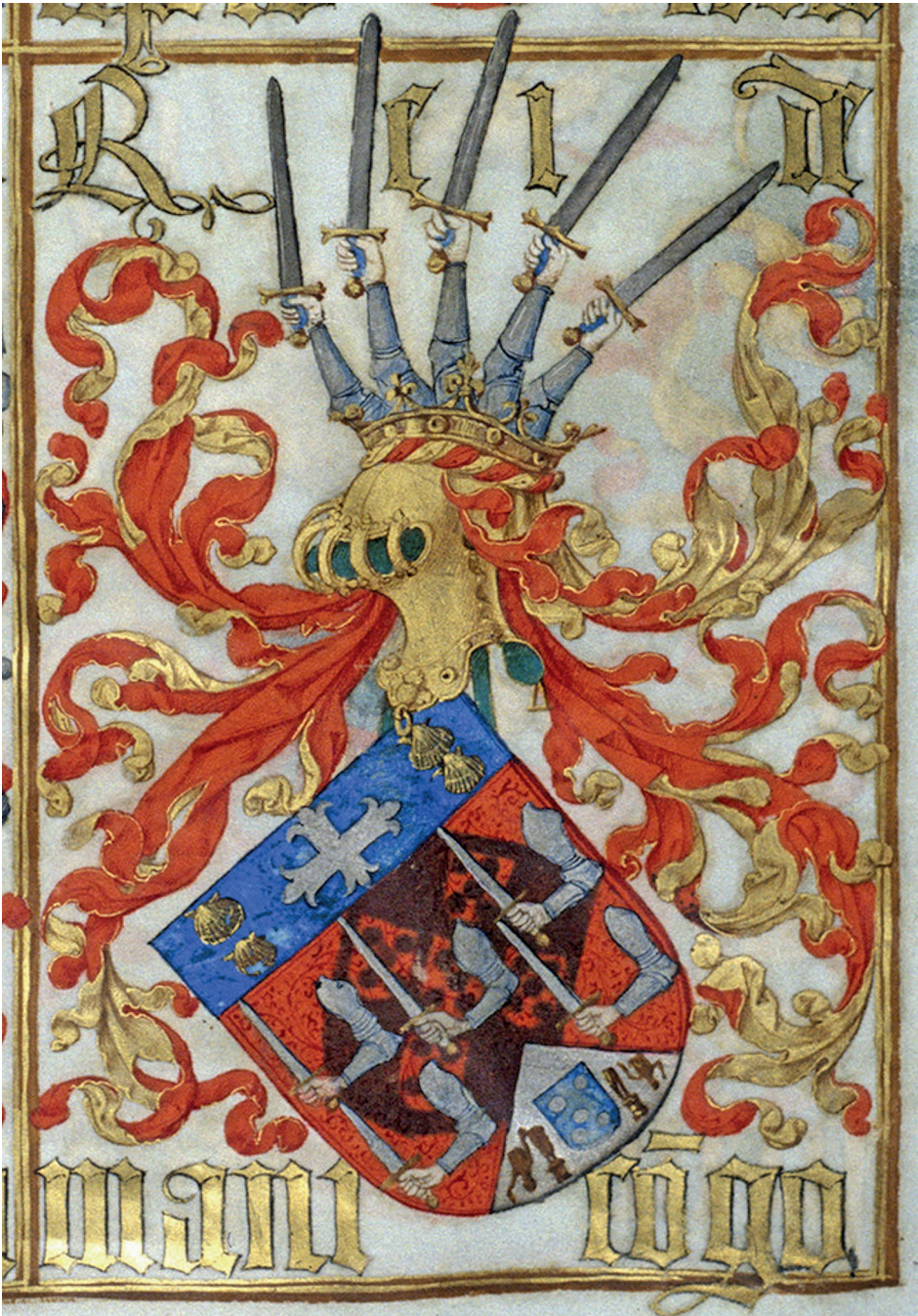


Figure 15: the coat of arms of the Mani Kongo Alfonso I. *Livro da Nobreza e da Perfeiçao das Armas dos Reis Cristãos e Nobres Linhagens dos Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal*, f.7. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 16: Top left, location of the Democratic Republic of Congo on the globe; top right, 16b: arms of the Congo Free State 1885–1906; bottom left, 16c: Belgian Congo 1908–1960; bottom right, 16d: République du Congo (Léopoldville) 1960–1963. Wikimedia Commons.

1886 the king granted his state a seal based on his own royal arms (**Figure 16b**).⁷ These can be blazoned as: *Azure a fess wavy argent in dexter chief a mullet or* [for Congo], *an inescutcheon sable charged with a lion rampant or, langued and armed gules* [for Belgium], *on his shoulder a shield Barry of ten or and sable a crancelin vert* [for Saxe-Coburg]. This shield is ornamented with the royal crown, mantle and lion supporters of the Belgian monarchy and with the motto TRAVAIL ET PROGRES (Work and progress). On the outer shield the *fess argent* represents the Congo river. Leopold II was of the House of Saxe-Coburg.

⁷ *Bulletin Officiel de l'Etat Indépendant* n° 9 (1886).

THE COAT OF ARMS

In 1906 Leopold was forced to hand over the territory to the Belgian nation as a result of his personal indebtedness combined with pressure from international protests over certain atrocities committed in his name, plus ongoing slavery. Thus began Congo's colonial period, which lasted until 1960, during which era both the newly devised shield and the arms of the Belgian kingdom remained in use in different format (**Figure 16c**). Following independence the first coat of arms was derived from the new national flag which had a central five-pointed star and six smaller stars arranged along the distaff, all yellow on a blue field. On the shield of arms (**Figure 16d**) the azure field and the larger mullet harken back to the arms of 1886, to which has been added six smaller mullets to represent the six national provinces.⁸



Figure 17: Top left, 17a: République du Congo 1963–1971; top middle, 17b: Zaïre 1971–1997; top right, 17c: Democratic Republic of Congo 1999–2003 ; bottom left, 17d: 1997–1999 ; bottom right, 17e: 2003–2006. Wikimedia Commons.

In 1963 the national flag and arms were changed, with the emblem adopted being similar to that which is in current use, the difference being that this was a coat of arms on an azure shield. There were two crossed spears instead of one, the elephant tusk was balanced with a laurel branch, and there was a green hill instead of a rock in base (**Figure 17a**). In 1971 when President Mobutu changed the country's name to Zaïre (a name derived from *nzere*, the Kikongo word for the river Congo meaning the 'river that swallows all rivers') the above device was taken off the shield to become an emblem rather than a conceptually European coat of arms (**Figure 17b**). Mobutu was

⁸ Équateur, Kasai, Katanga, Kivu, Léopoldville, Orientale.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

overthrown in the First Congo War, of 1997, which saw the country's name revert to the Democratic Republic of Congo. As a consequence of this event the emblem was changed again, with a rock replacing the motto (**Figure 17d**), a further step away from heraldry. At the same time the national flag took a step back to the stars on a azure field which had been the flag of independence, and two years later the country reverted to having heraldic arms *Azure a mullet and in chief six smaller mullets or*, matching the flag (**Figure 17c**). This was during the period of the Second Congo War, which lasted from 1998 to 2003. At the end of the war the new transitional government changed the coat of arms to *A lion's head surrounded by two laurels with, in the centre, three shaking hands* (**Figure 17e**). This worthy but unattractive emblem was thrown out by the newly elected government in 2006, as previously described.

Arab Republic of Egypt

British Protectorate	December 18, 1914
Independence from Great Britain	February 28, 1922
Egyptian royal arms become national arms	February 28, 1922
End of the monarchy, republican emblem adopted	June 29, 1953
United Arab Republic, emblem changed	November 17, 1958
Federation of Arab Republics, emblem changed	January 1, 1972
Return to emblem of 1958 with minor modification	2014

Description (Figure 18)⁹

A shield: *Tierced per pale gules, argent, and sable; supported on an eagle of Saladin or*; legend in Arabic: جمهورية مصر العربية *Gumhūriyyat Miṣr al-‘Arabiyyah* (Arab Republic of Egypt). Some might argue that this is a coat of arms because it includes a shield, but the shield is disproportionately small compared to the eagle which carries it, and this breaks the conventions of heraldry.

Explanation of symbolism

The key element is the Eagle of Saladin, representing the inspirational Islamic warrior from the twelfth century who recaptured Jerusalem from the Crusaders and who had been sultan of both Egypt and Syria, the two nations which were being re-united at the time when the emblem was adopted. The original shield borne on the eagle's chest was the united flag of the two countries.

History and previous national emblems

The ancient and medieval history of this jewel of Africa is both fascinating and complex, but not of particular relevance to a consideration of the national emblems. In 1517 the Ottoman Turks conquered the Mameluke Empire and Egypt became an Ottoman province (Eyâlet Misir), which remained under Mameluke administration until 1798. Under Napoleon, I, the French occupied Egypt from 1798 to 1801. From 1805 the Ottoman connection resumed, with Muhammad (or Mehmed) Ali, Turkish

⁹ Constitution of Arab Republic of Egypt 2014, article 223, describes the national flag, its colours, and the eagle thereon.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 18: Emblem of the Arab Republic of Egypt. Wikimedia Commons.

governor until 1848, ruling Egypt almost independently. In 1867 Ismail Pasha became Khedive. His mismanagement and indebtedness during the construction of the Suez Canal ruined the country and prompted the major European powers to intervene. Chief amongst these was Great Britain, which had the greatest political interest in the Suez Canal because of the shortened sea route to India. Open conflicts arose between the successors of Ismail Pasha and Great Britain, which led to the de facto exercise of state power by the British (a veiled protectorate) from 1882 to 1914. Egypt officially came under British administration as a protectorate in 1914, as a sultanate.

All the Egyptian national coats of arms in use between 1854 and 1953 have crescent and stars motifs involving multiples of three, either a crescent and three stars or three crescents each with an associated star. The crescent and star was adopted from the Ottomans, and the Ottomans in their turn adopted it from Byzantium (**Figure 19**). The field colour was gules until Egypt became a kingdom in 1922, when the national arms became those of the monarch, who bore *Azure a crescent and three mullets argent*. The round shield was crowned, supported by a mantle and surrounded with the collar and jewel of the Order of Muhammad Ali (**Figure 19e**). The azure field had always been used for the personal arms of khedives and sultans to denote their high rank.

After the revolution of 1953 the national emblem became *Vert a crescent and three mullets argent*, still on a round shield as had been used by the monarchs, but now borne on Saladin's legendary golden eagle, holding in each claw a globe (**Figure 20a**). For millennia falcons and eagles have been symbols of power in Egypt, used as a mark

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 19: Top left, 19a: Egypt as Eyâlet Misir 1854–1867; top middle: Location of the Republic of Egypt on the globe; top right, 19c: Khedivate of Egypt, 1867–1914; bottom left, 19d: Sultanate of Egypt 1914–1922; bottom right, 19e: Kingdom of Egypt, 1922–1953. Wikimedia Commons.

of identification by pagan, Christian, and Muslim rulers from the Pharaonic era well into the Middle Ages. Saladin (c.1137–1193) is believed to have adopted the eagle as his personal symbol in 1174 after becoming Sultan of Egypt. Subsequent Egyptian rulers of the Ayyubid dynasty which he founded, and the later Mameluke military caste, continued his tradition. The hawk is considered to be the favourite animal and status symbol of the Arabs. It was handed down as a status symbol and tribal seal by the Quraish clan, who ruled over Mecca at the time of the Islamic Prophet Mohammed, and by descendants of the Prophet.

In 1958 there was political union with Syria and the country was renamed the United Arab Republic. Two mullets vert were added to the central pale of the shield

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 20: Top left, 20a: Republic of Egypt 1953–1958; top right, 20b: United Arab Republic 1958–1971; bottom: Egypt as a member of the Federation of Arab Republics 1972–1977; bottom, 20c: and Egypt until 1984, the same with a modified legend was used until 2014. Wikimedia Commons.

(and also to the national flag) representing the two Islamic countries. The falcon was given black wings and a black tail (**Figure 20b**). In 1961 Syria seceded from the union but it was revived in 1972 when Egypt, Syria and Libya formed the Federation of Arab Republics and adopted a common national emblem, the Falcon of Quraish (**Figure 20c**), which was the national emblem of Syria (see Libya, below). The Egyptian version carried the Arabic legends ‘*Federation of Arab Republics*’ on a scroll, and below that ‘*Egyptian Arab Republic*’. The Federation was dissolved in 1977, but Egypt retained the emblem until it reverted to the Eagle of Saladin in 2014.



Figure 21: Emblem of the State of Eritrea. Wikimedia Commons.

State of Eritrea

Italian Colony	1881
Part of Italian East Africa	1936–1941
Autonomous region of Ethiopia	1987
Independence from Ethiopia; emblem adopted	May 24, 1993

Description of current emblem (Figure 21)

On a roundel argent in base the desert sand, thereon a dromedary camel facing to sinister, garlanded with two laurel branches or, joined in base with a scroll azure inscribed with the words “The State of Eritrea” (middle), and the same to the left in Tigrinya ሃገረ ኤርትራ and to the right in Arabic دولة إرتريا, all or.

Explanation of symbolism

In this desert state the camel is central to the economy, and without this beast of burden to maintain supplies during the Eritrean war of independence a positive outcome would have been impossible. The laurel branches indicate the victory of this movement. The colours azure and or are taken from the national flag on which yellow stands for the desert and blue for the Red Sea.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 22: Top left, 22a: Italian colony of Eritrea 1919–1936; centre: location of Eritrea on the globe; top right, 22c: Italian colony with fascist additions 1936–1943; below, 22d: emblem of Eritrea 1952–1962. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblems

Before gaining independence in 1993, Eritrea belonged to neighbouring Ethiopia. During the nineteenth century what is now Eritrea was a popular destination for European colonial powers. Italian troops occupied the coastal strip in 1881, and declared the entire country to be an Italian colony. In 1919 the Italian colony of Eritrea received a coat of arms (**Figure 22a**): *Per fess, in chief argent a lion passant gules, on his shoulder a mullet argent; in base Barry wavy azure and argent; surmounted by an antique roman crown of nine points.*¹⁰

The red lions allude to the Italian kingdom, which used the animal as its supporters. The white star is the symbol of the Italian armed forces, the *Stallone d'Italia*, which protects and guards the nation. The bars wavy in base represent the Red Sea, which gave its name to Eritrea. It derives from the Latin *Erythræa*, the name used for the Red Sea in ancient times. During the period of fascism (1936–1941) the shield was divided

¹⁰ *Rivista del Collegio Araldico* (1933), p. 365.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

into three to accommodate the fascist authoritarian emblem the *fascies*, placed between two green palm fronds on an upper field gules (**Figure 22c**).

In 1935 Italian troops advanced from Eritrea into Ethiopia and occupied the country. For a short time, it was part of Italian East Africa, along with Ethiopia and Somaliland. After Italy's defeat in World War II, what is now Eritrea was placed under British administration. From 1945 to 1952 it was a British Trust Territory of the United Nations. Despite the resistance of the Eritrean population, the country became a self-governing part of the Ethiopian Empire, with its own constitution, in 1952. Under article 21 of that constitution a national emblem was adopted which was placed on the centre of the national flag and also used on the state seal, this being a green olive branch and crown (**Figure 22d**).

In 1962 Ethiopia annexed Eritrea, and then fifteen years later, in 1987, the Ethiopian leadership granted Eritrea the status of an autonomous region. In May 1991, troops from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Tigray People's Liberation Front invaded the Ethiopian capital and overthrew the military regime. Transitional governments were formed in both Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Republic of Eritrea became officially independent in 1993, and Asmara became the country's capital.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

Occupation by Italy	1935–1941
Independence from Italy	May 1, 1941
Emperor Haile Selassie deposed	1974
Military government, new national emblem	1975
People's Democratic Republic, new emblem	1987
Transitional Government, new emblem	1991
Democracy restored	1995
Current emblem adopted	1996

Official description (**Figure 23**)

Azure, a pentagram with five rays of light or.

Explanation of symbolism

The pentagram is said to stand for the unity of the people, its rays the bright prospects for their future. Blue is for peace, yellow for hope, justice, and equality. Simple as it is, the emblem (which can also be found at the centre of the new national flag) reaches back to the past, since the pentagram or Star of David was at the centre of the old royal arms on Solomon's throne, while the sun's rays were a feature of two consecutive earlier national emblems that were in use from 1975 to 1991.

History and former emblems

The Abyssinian empire was an east African monarchy on the territory of today's states of Ethiopia and Eritrea, which founded its roots on the biblical Solomonic dynasty from about 1270. There was awareness in Europe in the sixteenth century that the

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 23: Emblem of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Wikimedia Commons.

kings of Abyssinia bore arms of *A lion holding a cross*.¹¹ These were linked to the legendary Christian king Prester John, likely based on a real Christian king who had sent embassies to Europe in the Middle Ages. In late-nineteenth-century Ethiopia this manifested itself in emblematic form as *A lion passant guardant imperially crowned holding in his left forepaw a processional cross with a streamer of the national colours* (**Figure 24a**). Ethiopia was brought into violent contact with Europeans when Italy attempted to conquer the country in several Italo-Ethiopian wars between 1885 and 1896. The Italians were completely defeated by the Emperor Menelik II at the Battle of Adwa in 1896, and withdrew. In the aftermath of this the Ethiopian emperors adopted a sort of heraldic achievement, although curiously lacking a central shield, which makes it technically not heraldry. Instead we have something uniquely African. This technicality is perhaps fitting for the only African nation (aside from Liberia) to have resisted European domination up to this point. The ancient lion and cross emblem also features prominently on the arms (**Figure 24b**) which have been blazoned as follows: *The Lion's Throne of Solomon, on its seat an orb proper, on its back a Solomon's seal; supporting the throne the archangels Michael and Gabriel, vested or and vert, on their breasts a cross patonce gules; above the throne an open Bible between the amharic letters Alef, Wau and Alef (for the Holy Trinity); before the throne the Ethiopian Lion (as above); all resting on a mantle gules lined argent, fringed and tassled or, surmounted with the Imperial Crown of Ethiopia, and garlanded with two olive branches; Motto: The Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah.*

¹¹ As illustrated in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Universale* (Köln, 1575), vol. 6 p. 1136.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

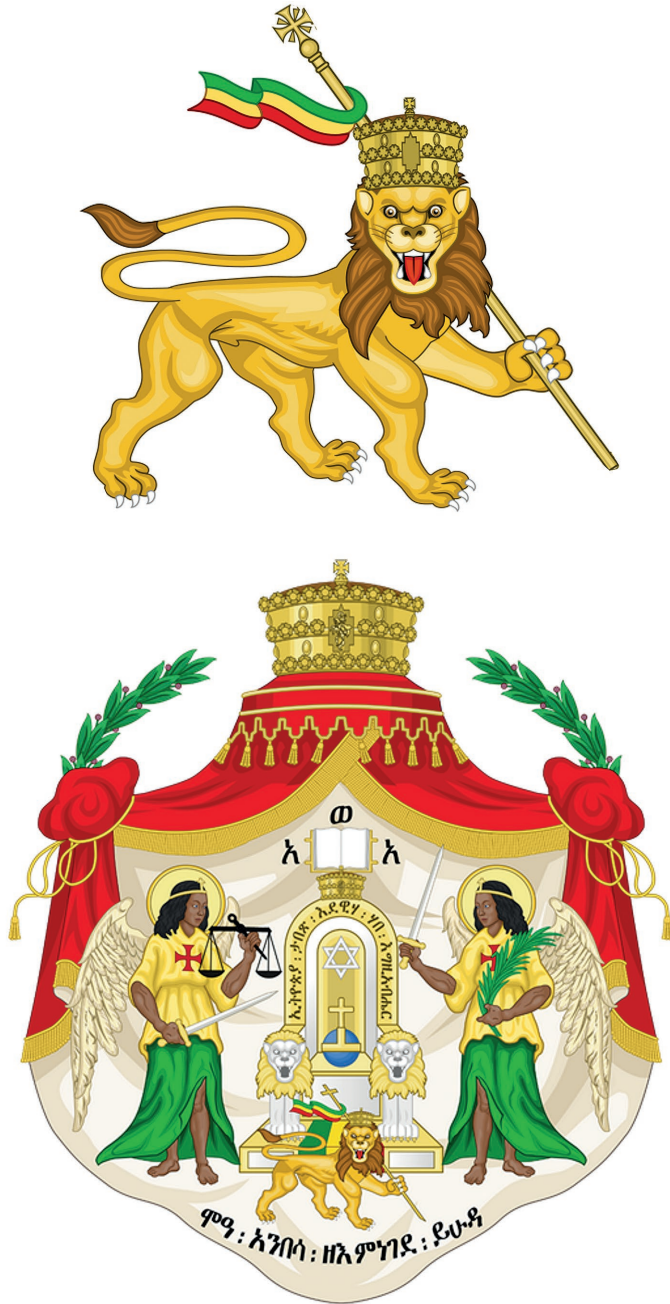


Figure 24: Top, 24a: Emblem of the Abyssinian Empire until 1975, the “Lion of Juda”; below, 24b: the Imperial coat of arms of Haile Selassie. Wikimedia Commons.

THE COAT OF ARMS

This achievement underscores the fact that the Ethiopian rulers based their legitimacy on a claim to be descended from King Solomon (970–931 B.C.); its central symbol being the Throne of Solomon, which has two lions at the base, as described in the Bible. The two warrior archangels carry their traditional accoutrements, Gabriel holding a balance which denotes the Last Judgement, while Michael carries a palm leaf symbolic of victory.

The Second Italo-Ethiopian War, also referred to as the Second Italo-Abyssinian War, was a war of aggression which was fought between fascist Italy and Ethiopia from October 1935 to February 1937. The treaty between the victorious powers of World War II and the Italian Republic that was signed in Paris on February 10, 1947 included formal Italian recognition of Ethiopian independence. The Abyssinian Empire, which had existed since around 1270 with a brief interruption from 1936 to 1941, was replaced by a series of republican regimes after a coup d'état forced the abdication of the last Emperor, Haile Selassie, in 1974. He was shamefully murdered the following year.



Figure 25: Left, 25a: Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia 1975–1987; top centre: location of Ethiopia on the globe; right, 25c: People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1987–1991; bottom centre, 25d: Transitional Government of Ethiopia 1991–1995. Wikimedia Commons.

In 1975 the Provisional Military Administrative Council – a military dictatorship-adopted a new national emblem (**Figure 25a**) which introduced a plethora of new elements: a fourteen rayed sun, a plough, a cord in the shape of the first letter of the Amharic alphabet *Hoi* (to signify an aspiration of literacy), a cogwheel, and a garland

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

comprising branches of the silver cluster leaf overlain by oil palm branches. The final element was a warrior shield and crossed spears with a tiny lion passant. The lion was such a longstanding national emblem that it could not lightly be abandoned.

In 1987 the country became the “People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia”, a one-party state based on the Soviet model. A new Soviet style emblem was devised (**Figure 25c**). This re-ordered some of the elements of the 1975 emblem. The radiant sun remained a principal feature, the sun’s disc overlain with a communist star. Also retained was the garland, the warrior shield (which was enlarged), and the cogwheel, while the crossed spears were modernised into a rifle and spear arranged in saltire. The lion also persisted, but only as its head. A new element was added, this being the upper part of the ancient Aksum obelisk; a pre-Christian cultural symbol. Yet another transitional government ran the country from 1991–5, taking an emblem which almost completely broke with tradition, although keeping the cogwheel and the garland (**Figure 25d**). Its central features were an aqueduct and a dove holding a balance. Quite plausibly the designer was unaware that the balance had once appeared on the old imperial national arms.

Guinea Bissau

Portuguese Colony	1687
Coat of arms of Portuguese Guinea	1935
Independence from Portugal	1973
Emblem adopted	1973

Current description (Figure 26)

On a roundel gules in chief a mullet of five points sable, garlanded with two palm branches vert joined at the base with a seashell or; on a semicircular white riband above the shell in black letters the motto: “Unidade, Luta, Progresso” (Unity, Struggle, Progress).

Explanation of symbolism

The emblem is closely based on that of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (the PAIGC). The black star stands for African freedom and is found on the flag and arms of numerous African countries. The colours red, green and yellow are the pan-African colours. The palm leaves stand for peace, and the shell for the Atlantic. The black star on a red field occurs as the distaff side of the national flag. A variant of the emblem exists with the field argent and the riband gules.

History and former national emblems

In 1446 Portuguese sailors landed on the shores of the Bissago archipelago during the reign of King Alfonso V. In 1588, they founded Cacheu, a trading post that became a centre for the slave trade. From 1687 the focus of slave trading moved to Bissau, a new port on the estuary of the river Geba, which became the capital of the colony in 1941. In 1935, the colonies of Portugal received their own uniformly designed coat of arms.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 26: Emblem of Guinea-Bissau. Wikimedia Commons.

The device granted to Portuguese Guinea was a black field with the golden sceptre of King Alfonso V ‘the African’ (**Figure 27a**).

In 1951 Portugal granted all of its African colonies limited self-government, but the black African majority of the population remained disadvantaged compared to the descendants of the colonialists (*assimilados*) and mixed races. As a result of growing efforts for independence, a selected part of the African population was granted Portuguese citizenship in 1954 in the so-called “Native Statute”.

In 1956, under the leadership of the Cape Verdean Amílcar Cabral, the Marxist-oriented independence movement the PAIGC was founded. In 1961, Portugal repealed the 1954 “Native Statute”, recognising the inhabitants as Portuguese citizens; but the demands for independence for Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands went unheeded. In the early 1960s, after the colonial power had put down strikes and uprisings, the PAIGC took up the armed struggle against the Portuguese troops. In September 1973, Guinea-Bissau unilaterally declared its independence from Portugal. Seventy United Nations states and the Organization of African Unity recognized the new state. After the so-called “Carnation Revolution” in Portugal in April 1974, the former mother country changed its policy towards its colonies and officially granted Guinea-Bissau independence. The name of the country appends the name of its capital city to distinguish itself from the adjacent country of Guinea.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

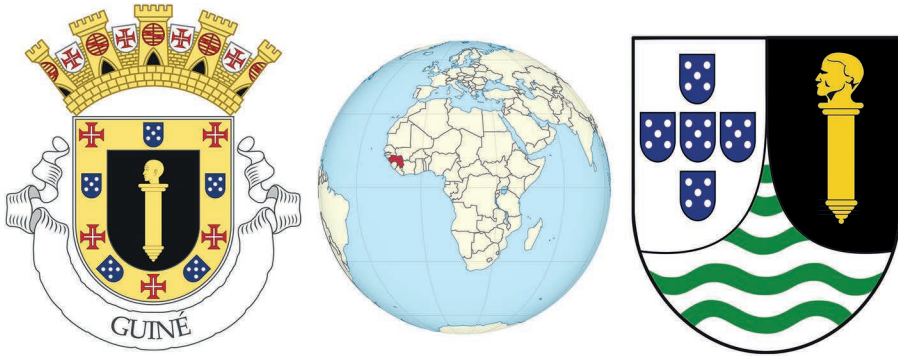


Figure 27: Left, 27a: Portuguese Guinea 1933–1935; centre, 27b: location of Guinea Bissau; right, 27c: Portuguese Guinea 1935–1973. Wikimedia Commons.

Libya

Ottoman dominion Tripolitania	1551–1911
Italy granted arms to its two Libyan colonies	April 3, 1919
Independence as a Kingdom	December 24, 1951
Coat of arms of Libyan kingdom	May 20, 1952
Military coup of Gadaffi, Libyan Arab Republic	September 1, 1969
Coat of arms of republic	November 7, 1969
Libya joined the Federation of the Arab Republics	1971
New emblem adopted	January 1, 1972
Great Socialist Libyan Arab People's Republic	1977
Emblem changed	November 11, 1977
Breakdown of central government	2011

As a consequence of the ‘Arab Spring’ of 2011 and the ousting of President Gadaffi, at the time of writing there is no cohesive national government in Libya, and the country cannot therefore be said to have a national symbol other than its flag, which is a reversion to the flag of the Libyan kingdom. Libya is included within this section because all of the emblems used since a republic was declared have been heraldically inspired pastiche rather than true heraldry.

History and former national emblems

Beginning in the seventh century, Islamic Arabs from Egypt invaded the coastline of what is now Libya, which at that time consisted of the three areas of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan. From 1551 the areas came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, while retaining extensive autonomy. In 1911 Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were occupied and annexed by Italian troops, and these received grants of arms in 1919. The western division of what is now Libya, Tripolitania, received the arms *Azure a palm-*

THE COAT OF ARMS

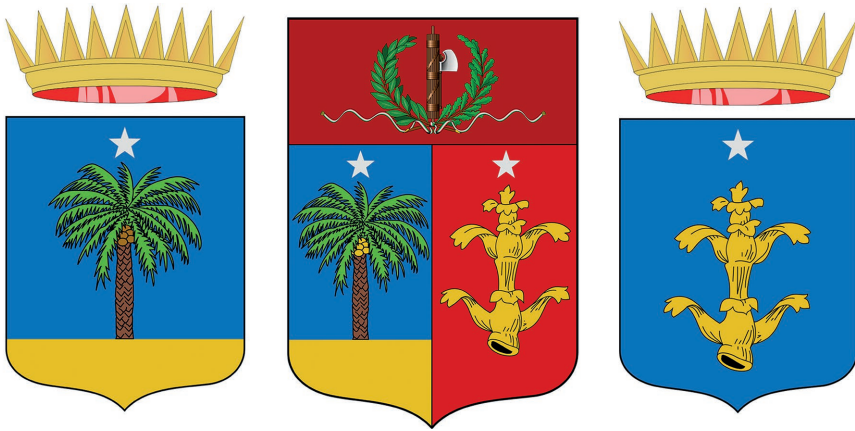


Figure 28: Left, 28a: Italian Tripolitania 1927-1934; middle, 28b: Italian Libya 1934-1943; right, 28c: Italian Cyrenaica 1927-1934. Wikimedia Commons.

tree proper, fructed or, rising from a base of sand, in chief a mullet argent; a crest of an ancient Roman crown (Figure 28a). The palm tree was copied from Carthaginian coins. The eastern division, Cyrenaica, took for its inspiration the coins of the ancient Greek city of Cyrene, which featured the mysterious silphium plant which uniquely grew in its territory, *Azure a silphium plant or, in chief a mullet argent (Figure 28c).* Pliny had quite a lot to say about silphium, which during the Roman Republic came to be highly prized as a sort of speculative currency, slightly reminiscent of the tulip mania that afflicted the Netherlands in 1634-37. By the reign of Nero the bubble had burst and the plant was being fed to sheep in Africa, the last known example being gifted to the emperor.¹² In 1939 Cyrenaica, Fezzan and Tripolitania were merged to form the Italian province of Libya, and the arms of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were combined (Figure 28b). After the allied Italian-German troops were defeated in 1943 the area came under the administration of the victorious powers as a United Nations trust territory. A new constitutional government was established under King Idris on December 24, 1951, with a new national coat of arms proclaimed the following year: *On a circular shield sable bordered vert a crescent and star argent; crested with the royal crown, surrounded by nine mullets or; all resting on a mantle gules garnished or, the whole surmounted with a second crown (Figure 29a).* The design was not dissimilar to that of the contemporary royal arms of neighbouring Egypt. The central crescent and star on a black field was taken from the new national flag; the other principal colours vert and gules were also taken from the flag.

Libya's economic situation changed when the first oil deposits were discovered in the late 1950s. Libya quickly rose to become one of the most important oil-exporting countries in the world, which introduced a great disparity in prosperity within the populace, as the proceeds from oil sales initially only benefited a few. In 1969, King Idris I was overthrown in a bloodless military coup and fled abroad. The coat of arms of the monarchy was replaced by the Eagle of Saladin with the colours of the new

¹² Pliny *Natural History* XIX, 15.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Figure 29: Top left, 29a: Kingdom of Libya 1951–1969; top right, 29b: Libyan Arab Republic 1969–1977; centre: location of Libya on the globe; bottom left, 29d: Libyan Arab Republic within the Federation of Arab Republics 1972–1977; bottom right, 29e: Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Republic 1977–2011.

Wikimedia Commons

national flag on a central shield, once again imported from Egypt (**Figure 29b**). The new national flag was also the same as that of Egypt, minus the two central stars.

Under the leadership of the army officer Muammar Gaddafi the country joined the Federation of the Arab Republics with Egypt and Syria in 1971, and this led the following year to Libya adopting a new national emblem based on that of Syria, this being the Falcon of *Quraish*, or emblem of the tribe of the prophet Muhammad (**Figure 29d**). The Arabic legend below reads '*Federation of Arab Republics*', and below that

THE COAT OF ARMS

'*Libyan Arab Republic*'. In 1977 Gaddafi proclaimed the "Declaration of the Transfer of Power to the People" and changed the name of his country to the "Great Socialist Libyan Arab People's Republic", and the national emblem was modified with a green shield (the new national flag being plain green), and the falcon facing to the dexter (**Figure 29e**). Curiously, the legend remained as '*Federation of the Arab Republics*', even though the alliance no longer existed (Egypt and Libya having gone to war with each other for four days in 1977), while the reference to Libya was removed.

Republic of Madagascar

Merina Kingdom	ca. 1540–1897
Colony/Protectorate of France	1897
Autonomy from France as Malagasy Republic	October 14, 1958
First emblem adopted	December 24, 1959
Independence from France	June 26, 1960
Second emblem adopted	December 30, 1975
Third emblem adopted	March 1993

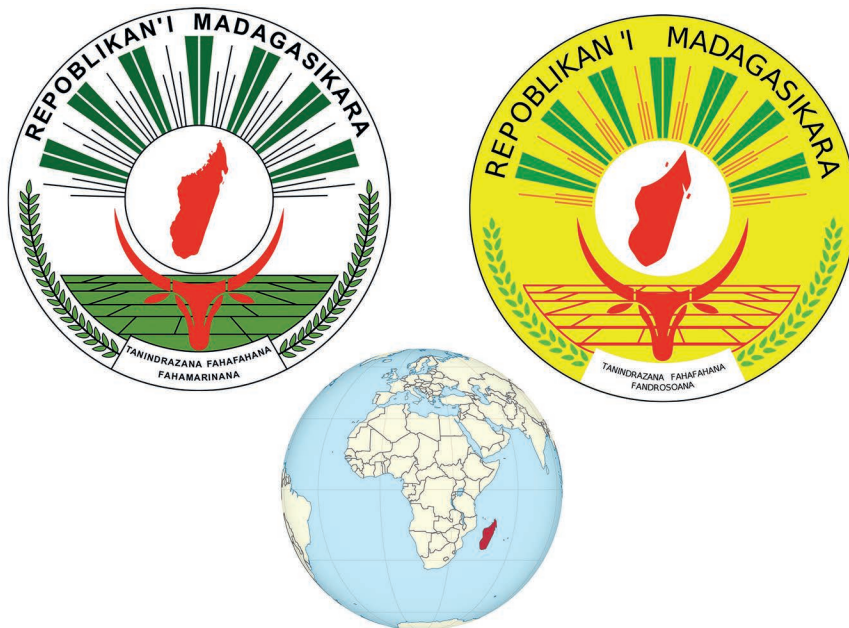


Figure 30: Emblem of the Republic of Madagascar, to the right the post 1998 version; below: location of Madagascar on the globe. Wikimedia Commons.

Description (Figure 30)

A white disc charged with the map of Madagascar in red; issuant from the upper side thereof a fan of seven green leaves of the Traveller's Tree interspersed with eight bundles of three rays. In base a green rice-field charged with a red bull's head affrontée; a garland of green leaves joined in base by a white scroll bearing the motto 'TANINDRAZANA FAHAFAHANA FAHAMARINANA' (Motherland, Freedom, Justice).

Since 1998 this has been slightly modified with a yellow background, thus including all three colours of the national flag, and the motto has been modified to 'TANINDRAZANA – FAHAFAHANA – FANDROSOANA' (Motherland, Freedom, Progress).

Explanation of symbolism

Madagascar is the home to many unique species of animals and plants, but the one chosen to represent the country is the striking Traveller's Tree (*Ravenala madagascariensis*), so called because its stems hold pockets of rainwater which can be drunk. This tree featured on the first national emblem of 1958, and also on the coat of arms of Queen Ranavalona II in 1872. The sunburst was a central feature of the arms of Queen Ranavalona III, and was introduced as an element of the second national emblem of 1975. The bull's head and the rice field underscore the importance of cattle and rice to the local economy. The bull's head together with ears of rice feature in the first emblem of the republic, and also in the 1872 royal arms, excepting that the cattle there depicted was a zebu.

History and former national emblems

The Portuguese seafarer Diogo Dias discovered the archipelago off south-east Africa on 10th August, 1500, and gave the name Ilha de São Lourenço to the biggest of the Islands. However, Portuguese, French and British attempts to settle the area remained unsuccessful until the nineteenth century. Between 1680 and 1725 Madagascar was a base for well-known pirates such as William Kidd. Around the same time, in the late-seventeenth century, the merger of several highland tribes laid the foundations of the kingdom of the Merina, which ruled between 1787 and 1897 from the city of Antananarivo. Two entirely different royal coats of arms of the Merina dynasty are known from the late nineteenth century.¹³ Firstly, the achievement of Queen Ranavalona II (1868–1883) is attested from a decree of 1872 (**Figure 31b**)¹⁴, blazoned as follows: *A plain cross ornamented dividing the field quarterly 1: a zebu, 2: two traveller's trees, 3: a native shield over two crossed spears in saltire, 4: a stalk of rice; Crest: the royal crown of Madagascar; Supporters: dexter, a dignitary in native dress, sinister, a general of the Malagasy army; Motto: 'TSY ADIDIKO IZAHO IRERY, FA ADIDIKO IZAHO SY HIANAREO'.* (Not I alone make the law, but you and me together). The illustration has ascribed tinctures, but they are not recorded. The motto is a quote from king Andrianampoinimerina (1787–1810) when he founded the Kingdom of Merina. It

¹³ 'Les Armoiries de l'ancien État Malgache', in *Documents Historiques de Madagascar* no. 4 part 7 (Ambozontany, 1970)

¹⁴ Ibid plate 3 (**Figure 31b**).

THE COAT OF ARMS

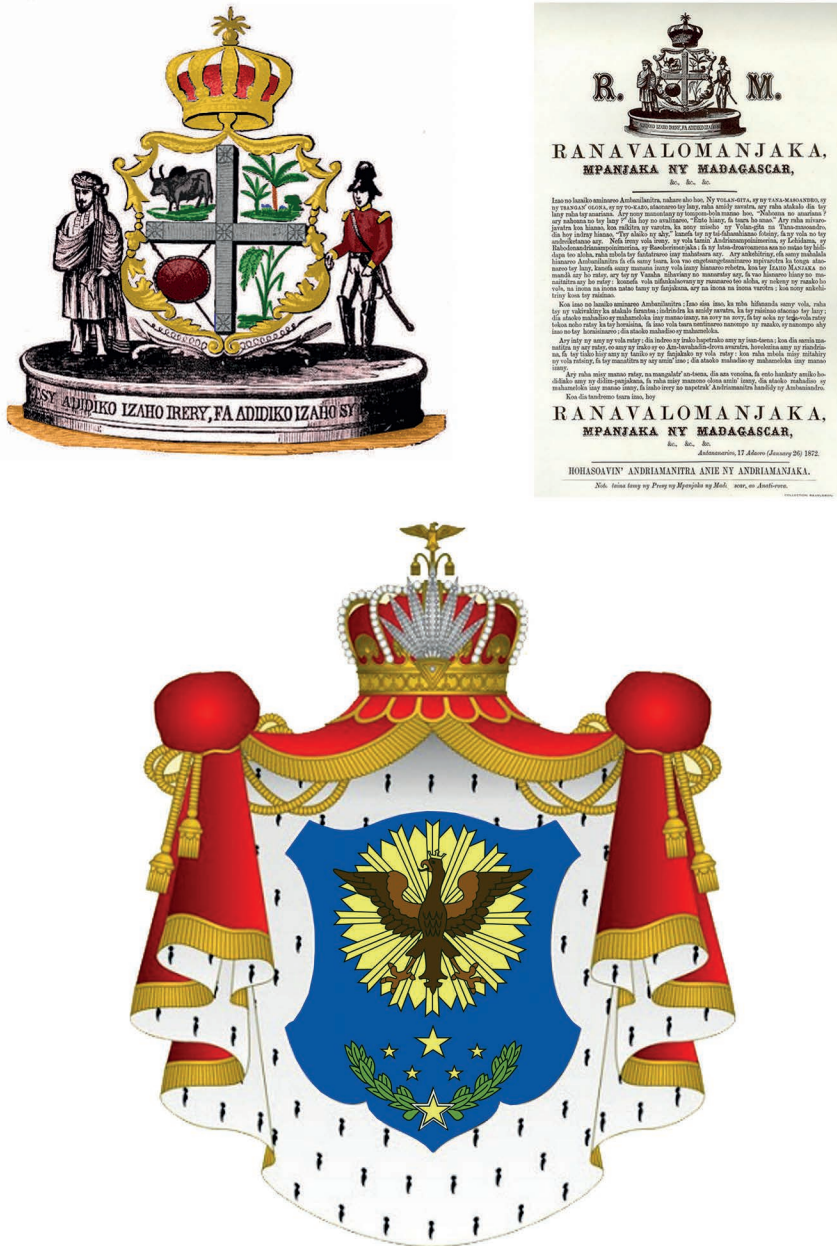


Figure 31: Top, 31a: coat of arms of Kingdom of Madagascar 1872 with royal proclamation on the right, 31b; below, 31c: royal achievement of Queen Ranavalona III (1883–97). Ref 13 and Wikimedia Commons.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

was revived by queen Ranavalona when she presented a new constitution based on the oral laws of her predecessors.

This amateurish heraldry was swept away by her successor Queen Ranavalona III (1883–97) who bore the following arms: *Azure, a sunburst or, charged with an eagle sable crowned gules, in base five mullets or; surrounded by a garland vert, the junction charged with a mullet argent, voided or.* Here shown on a mantle and with the distinctive crown of Madagascar (**Figure 31c**).



Figure 32: Left, 32a: Emblem of the Malagasy Republic 1960–1975; right, 32b: Democratic Republic of Madagascar 1975–1992. Wikimedia Commons.

Madagascar was subdued by the French and declared a protectorate in 1882. In 1896, the capital was taken. One year later, in 1897, the monarchy was abolished, and Madagascar became a French colony. The colonial administration was abolished in 1958, and Madagascar became an autonomous region of the French community. By law of 24 December 1959 a state seal was adopted. It features the crown of a traveller's tree and a bull's head sable between two ears of rice vert in base (**Figure 32a**). Domestic political unrest led to military government in 1972, and in 1975 a one-party communist system was introduced, and a new Soviet style national emblem was devised (**Figure 32b**). It introduced the sunburst found in the current national emblem, having an orange disc with a sun rising over a blue sea, charged with a rifle, a spade and a pen with three arrows above, and a cogwheel issuant in base. The emblem was surrounded by a garland with a communist red star as its crest, and the Motto: "TANINDRAZANA / TOLOM-PIAVOTANA / FAHAFAHANA" (Motherland, Revolution, Freedom).

In 1992, after the collapse of the Eastern bloc, a multi-party system was reintroduced, the communist emblem was jettisoned, and replaced with the above emblem (**Figure 30**).

THE COAT OF ARMS

Republic of Mali



Figure 33: Seal of the Republic of Mali. Wikimedia Commons.

Colony of France as French Sudan	August 18, 1890
Part of French West Africa	1895
Independence from France	September 22, 1960
National emblem adopted	1961
Current revised emblem officially adopted	October 20, 1973

Official description (Figure 44)¹⁵

The Presidency of the Republic of Mali describes the emblem of the national seal as follows: *On a blue circle the Djenné mosque, above it a flying silver vulture, in base a rising sun, in front of the sun, two bows facing outwards with their arrows. On the border of the circle, in the upper part the legend "Republic of Mali", and, in the lower part, the official motto of the country: "Un Peuple, Un But, Une Foi" (One People, One Goal, One Belief) in black capitals.*

Explanation of symbolism

The vast Djenné Mosque, which saw its origins in the Middle Ages, when Djenné was a great centre of learning, is a remarkable mud-brick building, and one of the most famous landmarks in Africa. It is annually eroded by the rainwaters and needs to be

¹⁵ Ordonnances nos. 56 and 57 of 20th of October 1973.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

constantly repaired. It stands both for the national religion and for the long history of the country. The rising sun symbolizes the longing for a free Africa. The vulture is not only one of the more significant native species, but one highly respected, and carrying many positive connotations in African folklore, including as a purifier and a bringer of fertility. The bows and arrows are an allusion to national defence and sovereignty.

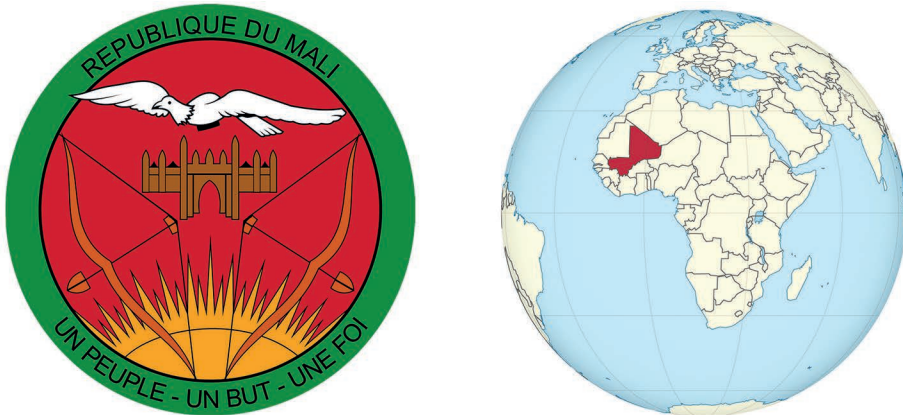


Figure 34: Left, 34a: Seal of Mali 1961–1973; right, location of Mali on the globe.
Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblem

In the pre-colonial period, three great empires arose on the territory of today's Republic of Mali: Ghana (seventh to eleventh centuries), Mali (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) and Songhai (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Ghana was conquered in 1054 by the neighbouring Mali Empire, which reached the height of its power under Mansa Musa (c.1312–c.1337). The extent of this empire became too great for effective administration, and resulted in the conquest of the Mali Empire by the burgeoning Songhai Empire in 1477, with the Songhai then controlling all trade along the Niger river. During Songhai rule Timbuktu became the most important intellectual and cultural centre of Islam in all of west Africa.

In 1591, after an invasion by Berber tribes from the north, the empire broke up into several smaller entities. In the second half of the nineteenth century France as a colonial power conquered western Africa. From 1895 to 1958 the area of Mali was administered as part of the vast territory of Afrique Occidentale Française–French West Africa–later divided into many countries.¹⁶ What is now Mali was given the name of French Sudan. On November 25, 1958, the colony gained internal independence. Then on 22 September 1960 French Sudan proclaimed itself as the Republic of Mali and seceded from the French community.

¹⁶ French West Africa was a federation of eight French colonial territories in West Africa: Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), French Guinea (now Guinea), Ivory Coast, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Dahomey (now Benin) and Niger. The federation existed from 1895 until 1958.

THE COAT OF ARMS

The emblem as first adopted (**Figure 34a**) was in the pan-African colours of red, yellow and green, which are also the primary colours of the national flag. According to the national presidential website of Mali this seal was revised in 1982, but in fact the form of this revised seal was enshrined in law on October 20, 1973. Moreover, the 1973 ordinance post-dates the usage of the revised colours on the official stamps used on government correspondence which were first issued in 1964 (**Figure 35**). Either the emblem was revised much earlier than has been supposed, or the change was inspired by the colouring of the stamps.



Figure 35: Official stamp of the government of Mali first used in 1964. The border colours of the different values vary, but those of the central emblem do not.

Photograph by Paul A. Fox

Islamic Republic of Mauritania

French Protectorate	1903
Part of French West Africa	1904
Independence from France	November 28, 1960
First emblem adopted	August 3, 1960
Revised emblem adopted	November 28, 2018

Description (Figure 36)

On a roundel vert a recumbent crescent moon with a five-pointed star overlain with a date-tree issuant from dexter base, and an ear of millet issuant from sinister base; on a bordure gules edged or the inscription above in Arabic “al-Jumhūrīya al-Islāmīya al-Mūrītānīya” and the translation below in French “République Islamique de Mauritanie” all in letters or.

Explanation of symbolism

The crescent and star and the green field stand for Islam, and this part of the emblem is taken from the centre of the national flag. Date palm and millet are among the few



Figure 36: Current seal of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania since 2018.
Wikimedia Commons.

plants that thrive in the desert state. The red border was added in 2018 at the same time that red borders were added to the national flag, to represent ‘the blood that was spilt in defending the nation’.

History and previous national emblem

At the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries – late in comparison to the rest of Africa’s colonial history – Mauritania came into the sights of French colonisation efforts. Since the country’s coast was poorly accessible, and for centuries little was known about the existing mineral resources, there was little interest in Mauritania until this time. In 1904, the area became French territory as part of French West Africa, and in 1920 a French colony. In 1946, after the Second World War, as part of the French decolonisation policy, Mauritania became a French overseas province and a member of the Union Française, a community of states created on the model of the British Commonwealth. Despite Moroccan claims on Mauritania, the country gained full independence on November 28, 1960. The original emblem from independence (**Figure 37**) was based on the first national flag of a golden crescent and star on a green field. The blood that was spilt on defending the nation is possibly a reference to border fighting which had occurred with Western Sahara and Senegal. There has been much political instability in the country, but regime changes have not resulted in further alterations to the national emblem.

THE COAT OF ARMS

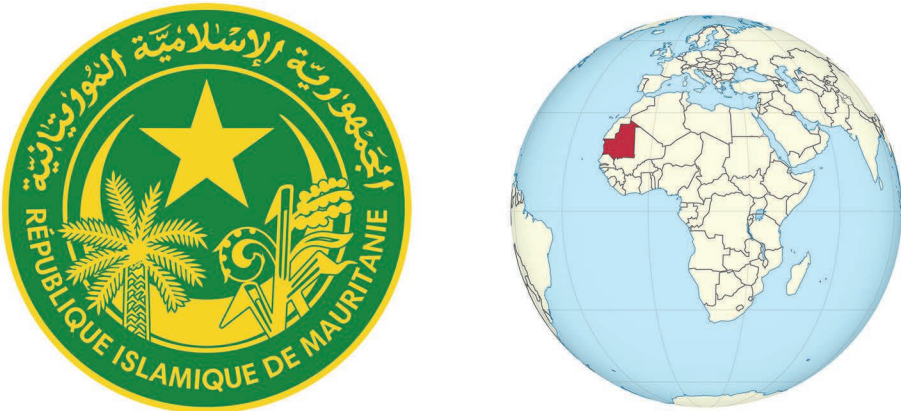


Figure 37: Left, former seal of Mauritania 1959–2018; right, location of Mauritania on the globe. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Mozambique

Colony of the Portuguese Empire	1505–1951
Portuguese overseas province	1951
Independence from Portugal	June 25, 1975
Emblem adopted (modified 1990).	June 25, 1975

Official description (Figure 38)

The national emblem of Mozambique is described under articles 68 and 69 of the Constitution of 25th June 1975: *A book, a rifle and an adze, placed on the map of Mozambique; below the map is the ocean; above the book a rising sun, and surrounding all this a cog-wheel; around the cog-wheel, to the right a stalk of maize with a cob, and to the left a stalk of sugar-cane; above all a red star; below all a red ribbon with the inscription “REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE”* (People’s Republic of Mozambique). In circa 1982 the legend was shortened to “REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE”.

Explanation of symbolism

This is taken from the same source. The book denotes education; the Soviet Kalashnikov AK-47 rifle and adze in saltire symbolize the defence and vigilance of the peasant-class and the agricultural revolution; the rising sun denotes the new life which will follow on from the revolution; the cog-wheel represents both the working-class and industry, the driving powers of the economy; the maize and the sugar cane symbolize agricultural wealth; the red star stands for the international spirit of the Mozambiquan revolution.



Figure 38: Emblem of the Republic of Mozambique. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblems

Vasco da Gama first reached the Mozambican coast in 1498. Portuguese Mozambique emerged from the beginning of the sixteenth century from several Portuguese trading posts along the 2800 km long south-east African coast, and later became the colony *África Oriental Portuguesa*, today's Mozambique. At first, the Portuguese contented themselves with trading in slaves and gold, without bothering about the political organisation of the area. They set up trading posts in Mozambique, gave property to Portuguese citizens, and thus this part of south-east Africa developed into a true Portuguese colony in the eighteenth century.

It was only during the "Scramble for Africa" that the Portuguese intensified their efforts to gradually occupy the interior of the colony, and by 1918, despite resistance, had secured political control over most of the territory. In the 1920s the African population of Mozambique organized the first serious independence movements, which were brutally repressed by the Portuguese colonial regime. In 1933 a provisional shield for the colony was designed: *Per saltire gules and argent, an armillary sphere or* (**Figure 39a**). This was used in the form of the 1935 unified design for all Portuguese colonies, as has already been described under Angola and Cape Verde. Quite soon afterwards the arms of Mozambique were changed from the armillary sphere to *Argent a bundle of seven arrows points downwards vert tied with a ribbon gules* (**Figure 39c**). The

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 39: Left, 39a: provisional coat of arm of Portuguese East Africa 1933–1935; centre: location of Mozambique on the globe; right, 39c: arms of Mozambique 1935–1975. Wikimedia Commons.

decision to adopt this emblem, being the arms St. Sebastian (who was martyred with arrows) was because the first capital of the Portuguese possessions in eastern Africa was San Sebastião de Mozambique, named after King Sebastian (1557–1578).

In 1951, the country received the status of a Portuguese overseas province as a step towards independence, but illiterate people – and thus the majority of citizens – continued to be excluded from the right to vote. Therefore, the freedom movement FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique), founded in 1962, began an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime with the help of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China. This obviously influenced the creation of a new state's emblem, which shows striking similarities with the Soviet emblem forms of that time.

Although Mozambique was granted internal self-government in 1973, FRELIMO rejected an armistice. When the Portuguese troops were recalled from Mozambique after the fall of the dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, FRELIMO formed an interim government. At the same time, around 230,000 Mozambicans, mostly of Portuguese origin, left the country. The People's Republic of Mozambique was proclaimed the following year, and its first president, Samora Moises Machel, launched a communist nationalization program and began the socialist re-education of the population.

FRELIMO became the state party and in 1977 the country signed a friendship treaty with the U.S.S.R. With the simultaneous founding of the anti-communist RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana), a civil war began that lasted for many years and claimed an estimated 700,000 lives, turning an estimated 1.7 million Mozambicans into refugees. The death of the communist president Samora Machel in an air crash in 1988 paved the way towards the restoration of a multi-party political system, with the renaming of the country in 1990, and the civil war officially ended in 1992.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

Republic of Somaliland

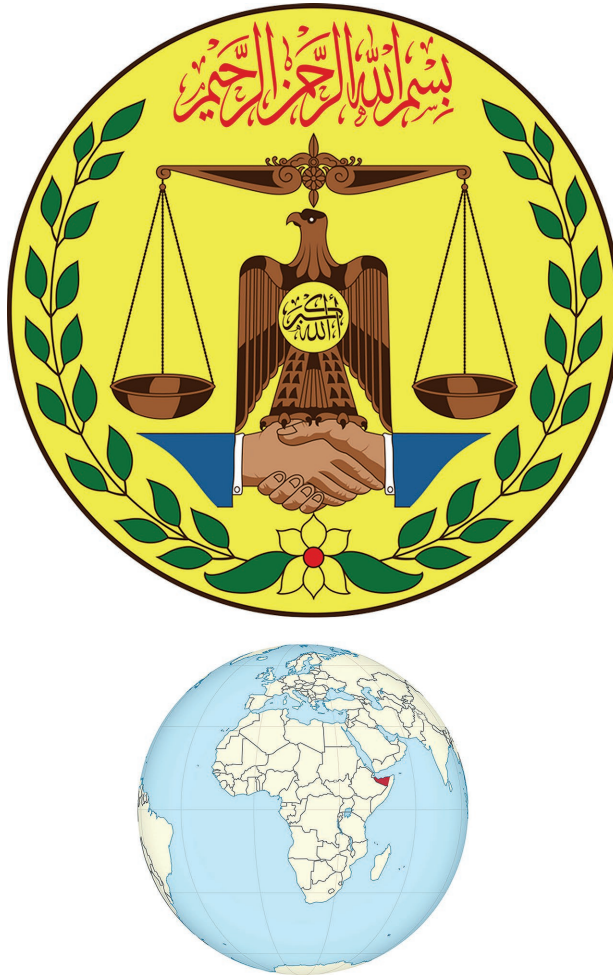


Figure 40: above: Emblem of the Republic of Somaliland; below: location of Somaliland on the globe. Wikimedia Commons.

British Protectorate of Somaliland	1886
British Somaliland colony	1920–1960
Independence from United Kingdom	1960
Union with former Italian Somaliland as Somalia	1960
Somaliland War of Independence	1981–1991
Unilateral declaration of independence	May 18, 1991
Emblem adopted	October 14, 1996

THE COAT OF ARMS

Official description (Figure 40)

The Somaliland constitution fixes the national emblem under part one, article 7 as follows: *The emblem of the nation shall consist of a coffee coloured falcon with (the words), in Arabic “ALLAHU AKBAR” (God is great) inscribed on its breast. Below the eagle are two hands shaking, and a set of scales hang above it and come down on both of its sides. The falcon and the scales and hands are in turn surrounded on both sides and below by two strands of green leaves intertwined at the base, and with the Arabic words “In the name of Allah, the Compassionate and the Merciful” inscribed at the top gap between the two leaves.*

Explanation of symbols

The emblem is clearly strongly Islamic, and the bird of prey closely matches the Eagle of Saladin used as the emblem of Egypt, Palestine and Iraq, and formerly of Libya and Syria. The shaking hands signal an agreement which has brought peace, emphasized by the surrounding branches which look to be olive branches. The scales are those of justice, either that which the government wishes to dispense, or perhaps the justice which the country feels that it deserves in being recognised by the international community.

History and previous national emblems

Having been a separate territory with its own administration as British Somaliland, its fusion with former Italian Somaliland in 1960 was not a success. A war of independence erupted in 1981 which lasted for ten years, until on May 18, 1991 Somaliland left the state federation and declared its independence, which, however, has not been internationally recognized. For its historic coat of arms as a British protectorate see part 1 of this series on African arms, under Somalia.¹⁷

Togolese Republic

Named as a Colony/Protectorate of Germany	September 5, 1884
French colony	1922
Independence from France	April 27, 1960
Emblem adopted	March 14, 1962

Official description (Figure 41)¹⁸

On an oval shield argent bordered vert two flags of the Republic back to back (issuant from) in the centre a golden (shield) charged with the initials of the Republic of Togo sable; below, two lions rampant gules back-to-back, and above the motto TRAVAIL LIBERTÉ PATRIE (Work, Liberty, Motherland) on a scroll.

¹⁷ CoA no. 239 (2022) pp. 45–7.

¹⁸ Law No. 62–10 of 14 March 1962, article 1, as clarified in a later directive: L’Union no. 580, February 26, 2013.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

Explanation of symbolism

The two young lions represent the courage of the Togolese People. They hold the bow and the arrow, the traditional means of combat, to demonstrate that the true liberty of the Togolese people is in their hands, and that its strength resides above all in their own traditions. The lions rampant and back-to-back further express the vigilance of the Togolese people in the guarding of their independence, from the east to the west.



Figure 41: Emblem of the Togolese Republic. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former national emblems

The coast of Togo was known as the Slave Coast from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The peoples of the coastal south participated in the slave trade, while the peoples of mountainous northern Togo were repeatedly attacked by black and Arab slave hunters. Due to unfavourable natural conditions no European bases were established here until 1884, at which time Togo's coast was still largely free of European influence. On July 5, 1884, parts of today's Togo were declared a German 'protected area' by a contract with the representative of the local king. On September 5, 1884, a 'protection contract' followed between the chief representative of the Hamburg trading company Wölber & Brohm and the local ruler of Porto Seguro. The demarcation from the neighboring colonies was made by a Franco-German agreement of July 23, 1897 and by German-British agreements of 1890 and 1899.

THE COAT OF ARMS

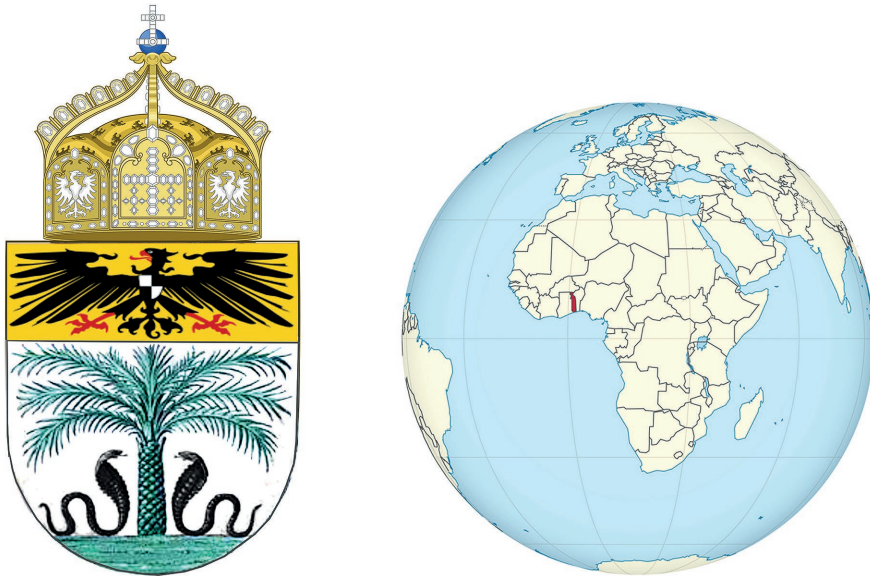


Figure 42: Left, proposed arms for the German Colony Togo 1914; right, location of Togo on the globe. Wikimedia Commons-modified.

In 1914 the German government decided to assign coats of arms to its overseas colonies, including Togoland. These received the imperial assent on July 14, 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, and were as follows: *Argent, a palm-tree on a base vert between two snakes upright sable; on a chief or, an eagle sable, beaked and clawed gules, with an escutcheon quarterly argent and sable on its breast; above, the German Imperial Crown.*

Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War the protectorate was occupied by Great Britain and France. The German police force surrendered on August 27, 1914.

Following the war, in 1922, the eastern part of the colony, which made up around two-thirds of the area, was handed over to France (French Togoland) along with the entire coast, and the western part went to Great Britain (British Togoland) as a League of Nations mandate. After World War II, it became a U.N. trust territory. In 1957 British Togoland joined the now independent Ghana. The French part was granted autonomy by France in 1955 and on April 27, 1960 Togo finally gained full independence.

AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

Western Sahara Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic



Figure 43: Emblem of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.
Wikimedia Commons.

Spanish Colony	1864
Part of Spanish West Africa	June 1946
Independence from Spain	February 27, 1976
First emblem adopted	February 27, 1976
Revised emblem	June 1991

Official description (Figure 43)

Two crossed rifles, with the national flag hanging from each barrel, above them a red crescent and star, the whole garlanded with two olive branches; in base a red banner inscribed in Arabic with the motto “حرية ديمقراطية وحدة” (Liberty, democracy, unity) in black letters.

Explanation of symbolism

The crescent and star are for Islam, the rifles underscore the desire to defend this territory in the face of ongoing military opposition, the olive branches represent a desire for the establishment of a permanent peace.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 44: Left: location of Western Sahara on the globe; centre, 44b: Coat of arms used for the Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara; right, 44c: Coin of the Sahrawi Republic from 1991. Wikimedia Commons.

History and former coat of arms

During the “Scramble for Africa” Spain was awarded this Saharan coastal area at the Congo Conference of 1884, held in Berlin, and began to set up a trading station, which later became the town of Dakhla. Spanish Sahara was formed as a colony in 1924. Morocco to the north was administered separately as a Spanish protectorate. In 1955 the largest town in the colony, El Aaiun, was granted a coat of arms by the Spanish government which came to be adopted as those of the region (**Figure 44b**).¹⁹ They are blazoned as follows: *Vert a bend wavy argent and azure, in chief a palm tree and in base a camel's head, both proper; a bordure gules charged with four triple-towered castles or and four lions rampant argent*. The river is a little optimistic, the town of El Aaiun being divided in two by a dry river. The main activity in the country is camel herding, with date palms growing in the oases. The bordure is of Spain, utilising the first two quarters of the Spanish national arms, these being the old royal emblems of Castile and Leon.

Since gaining independence in 1956 Morocco has claimed Spanish Sahara as part of its pre-colonial dominion. In 1958 the territory was placed under direct Spanish sovereignty as an overseas province, but then in 1975 Spain ceded two-thirds of the territory to Morocco in an agreement not recognized by the United Nations. The Polisario Front, which was established in 1973 to prosecute an armed struggle against the Spanish occupation, rejected this illegal move and declared the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) a state representing an independent Western Sahara.

In 1979, Mauritania signed a peace treaty with the Polisario Front, and Morocco annexed the part formerly controlled by Mauritania. A United Nations-brokered ceasefire was signed between the two parties in 1991, but the territory's sovereignty remains unresolved pending further peace talks. The SADR is currently recognised by 46 states, but only controls the southernmost part of the former Spanish Sahara. Its flag and emblem were launched in 1976. Until June 1991, when it was modified, the emblem contained a hammer above and between the two rifles, as can be found on the coinage (**Figure 44c**).

¹⁹ *Boletín Oficial del Estado* no. 334 (November 30, 1955).

THE GRISAILLE AND HERALDIC GLASS IN THE CHANCEL AT NORBURY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE

JOHN E. TITTERTON, F.S.A, F.H.S.

Abstract

This paper explores why a remarkable assemblage of heraldic glass came to be installed in a minor Derbyshire parish church. The architectural evidence that places the scheme during the later reign of King Edward I fits well with this study of the arms, which narrows down the dating of the chancel glazing to between 1299 and 1306. This period coincides with the lifetime of the church's patron Sir Henry Fitzherbert, who was involved with the Scottish wars of Edward I. There is limited documentary evidence suggesting a starting date of the building programme. The only likely common thread between the 25 coats of arms represented is a participation in those wars. It is further argued that the chapter house of York Minster, with its glazing scheme of similar date, was the probable source of inspiration.

Introduction

The church at Norbury, Derbyshire, displays a wealth of medieval artwork built and furnished over centuries by the Fitzherbert family. The family is represented by a number of monuments, including a 'crossed-legged' knight, two alabaster tombs (one with an effigy bearing a collar of Edward IV and the other with a collar of Richard III), and a Tudor palimpsest brass. The crowning glory for many is the chancel, known as the 'Lantern in Stone', with its splendid grisaille glass and heraldry. The church guidebook (2002) dates this glass to shortly before the Black Death of 1349.¹ This paper examines the evidence available to ascribe to it an earlier date of *circa* 1300. The head of the Fitzherbert family at this earlier time was Sir Henry Fitzherbert. He was the son of William Fitzherbert, and reputedly died about 1315.² The crossed-legged effigy in the church is identified as representing him.³

Architectural Features

The chancel at Norbury has a number of architectural and decorative features which are to be found in buildings and structures elsewhere positively dated to the period 1280–1300. The chancel itself can be described as 'box-like' with four windows in each of the north and south walls supported by buttresses. Each window has three lights. The top of each mullion continues both left and right and intersects to form Y tracery. The space above the lancets is filled with trefoils and cusping which give the appearance of daggers (**Figure 1c**). There is a rosette at the point of intersection of the tracery.

¹ The dating of the chancel in the guidebook is based on Rev. L.J.Bowyer, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury, Ashbourne* (Ashbourne, 1953), p. 72.

² C143/17/6, where Henry is named as Henry fitz William fitz Herbert. His son and heir, John, was summoned to perform military service against the Scots in 1316, Sir Francis Palgrave, *Parliamentary writs* (London, 1827) vol. 3 p. 860

³ Bowyer, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 1: Top left, 1a: Checkley church Staffordshire, south aisle 1280-1290 with detail top right, 1b; bottom left, 1c: Norbury church, exterior of south aisle window; bottom right, 1d: box chancel, Chartham church, Kent c.1294.

These and all subsequent illustrations are by the author.

The box-like design and the 'Y' tracery all have parallels found at St. Etheldreda's Holborn c.1285, Chartham, Kent c.1294 (**Figure 1d**) and Merton College, Oxford, 1289–1294. These are all regarded as having been built in 'The New Court' style.⁴ The 'Y' tracery and the use of rosettes places the Norbury windows very close in design to three of the south aisle windows at Stoke Golding, Leics., and the chancel windows at nearby Checkley church, Staffordshire (**Figure 1a+b**). The guidebook of Stoke Golding gives a date of 1290.⁵ The glazing at Checkley, mentioned below, has been dated as c.1280–1290.⁶

⁴ Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 12–18.

⁵ A.J.Collett, *St. Margaret's Church Stoke Golding*, 2nd ed. (Coventry, 2001), p. 13. Mr. Collett has referred to A.H.Thompson, 'St. Margaret's Church Stoke Golding: Notes on the Reconstruction of the church', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* (1926), pp. 201–202. This latter work cites no references for this dating. The eastern most south aisle window has an ogee arch which suggests a dating of 10 years later.

⁶ P.A.Newton, 'Schools of Glass Painting in the Midlands 1275–1430' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1961), vol. i, p. 10.

NORBURY CHURCH



Figure 2: Comparison of the arrangement of shields, ogee arches and 'Y' tracery on the Eleanor Cross at Hardingstone 1291-1294 (left) and Norbury (right).

The windows at Norbury include an ogee arch at the top of the lancet. This is absent at Checkley. At Stoke Golding four of the south aisle windows have geometric and curvilinear bar tracery, but the eastern most includes an ogee arch. The 'Ogee Arch' first appears in England in the Eleanor Crosses, built between 1291 and 1294.⁷ The top of the tracery design at Norbury with its shield of arms below the ogee arch is very close to the design in the blind tracery in the lower tier of the Eleanor Cross at Hardingstone (**Figure 2**). Two further internal features, the dado shafts on the north and south walls of the chancel, and the cornice, also have similarities with this Eleanor Cross.⁸ The rosette element appears in a diaper pattern on another Eleanor Cross, that at Waltham Cross.⁹ Thus many of the architectural features at Norbury are found in works being built elsewhere in the period 1290–1300. This does not preclude a later date of building using an already established style.

⁷ Bony, op. cit., pp. 19–25; N. Coldstream, 'The Commissioning and Design of the Eleanor Crosses', in David Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290–1290* (Stamford, 1991), p. 56.

⁸ H. Lambie, 'The Architecture of Norbury Chancel', Unpublished MA thesis, University of London (Courtauld Institute, 1997), pp. 9–30.

⁹ Coldstream op. cit., p. 57.

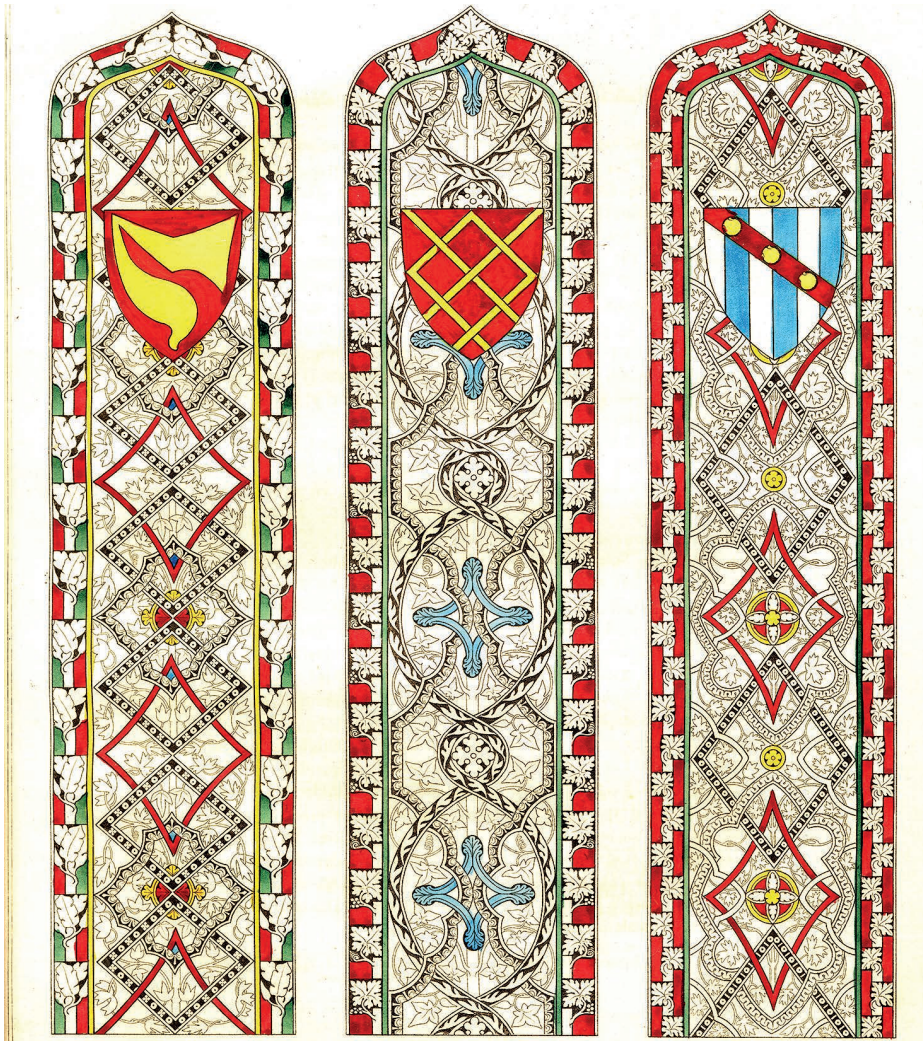


Figure 3: Drawing of three lights from the chancel by Stothard 1817 (ref. 72), sIVb, nVa and nII.

The Glazing Design

The design of the glass is a combination of borders, grisaille patterns and heraldry. The glass has been examined in detail three times in the twentieth century¹⁰ and recorded several times in the nineteenth century.¹¹ It is accepted that the heraldry and grisaille

¹⁰ Bowyer, op. cit., pp. 81–82; Newton, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 65–78; Lambie, op. cit., pp. 38–45. Bowyer and Newton disagree on the blazons in windows sIIIc and sIVa.

¹¹ Bowyer refers to J. Charles Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, 4 vols. (Chesterfield, 1875–79), vol. 3; Rev. R.R. Rawlins who recorded the heraldry in 1823 (MS on microfilm in Derby Local Studies Library) and MS by Michael Jones c.1808–1830 in private possession.

NORBURY CHURCH

glass are all contemporary and complete. There is no suggestion that any or all the shields were added later, nor that there were originally more shields at the base of the other lights.¹² The eight windows display four designs of grisaille glass. Running up through each light is a central stem from which there are stalks with naturalistic foliage. This foliage is either maple, hop or vine leaves. The border to each light is made up of white glass with a foliage design of oak, or vine set against pieces of coloured glass which are either red, or green, or red and green.¹³ Three of the designs were drawn in 1817. They show the grisaille pattern set in a variety of geometrical shapes with an heraldic shield at the top of each light (**Figure 3**).¹⁴

Naturalistic leaf patterns of ivy, maple, oak and vine started to appear in the 1290s.¹⁵ Patterns of similar grisaille and borders can be found in the windows at York Minster chapter house¹⁶, Chartham, Kent, (c.1300) and at Merton College, Oxford, in the border pattern to the founder's window (c.1294).¹⁷ More locally, examples can be found across the county border at Checkley (**Figure 4**) and Blithfield, Staffordshire.¹⁸ One geometric design, a red roundel with gold border and four leaves in a cross, is also used at Merton College with different coloured leaves (**Figure 5**). Thus both the glazing and the architecture at Norbury has parallels dated c.1290–1300.

The Glazing Materials

All elements in the heraldry and designs in gold are made using pot metal (glass coloured gold throughout). There is no use of white glass painted with silver stain, a technique only introduced from 1307–12, to produce gold/yellow glass.¹⁹ The quality is such that a piece of pot metal in the maunch in window sIVb was one of the largest pieces of pot metal glass ever encountered by the restorers, Holy Well Glass of Wells (**Figure 6**).²⁰

¹² Reference is made later in this article to the possibility that the windows and lights are no longer in their original planned position.

¹³ Newton, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 73–74, and Lambie op. cit., in footnote 72 pp. 38–9, give descriptions of the grisaille designs.

¹⁴ Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, vol. v, Derbyshire (London, 1817), plate XVIII.

¹⁵ Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 143–153.

¹⁶ The dating of the glazing in York Chapter House is problematic. Sarah Brown in *York Minster: An Architectural History c.1220–1500*, (English Heritage, 2003) p. 53, suggests that the glazing was “probably finalised, if not installed, before the end of 1292”. However, York includes the arms of France which, as at Norbury, suggests a date after the marriage of Edward I with Margaret, daughter of Philip IV of France. In 1293 Edward was betrothed to Philip IV's elder daughter, Blanche. Did the glazing at York anticipate a marriage that did not take place for political reasons?.

¹⁷ Marks, op.cit., p.147.

¹⁸ There are some examples of the use of alternating castles and fleur-de-lis. Newton, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 653, 656, 658.

¹⁹ Marks, op.cit., p. 154.

²⁰ Personal communication during site visit to the workshop when that light was being restored by Holy Well Glass.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 4: Oak borders ; Checkley (left), & Norbury (right), during restoration.

Documentary Evidence

A further piece of evidence to be considered is the records associated with Sir Henry Fitzherbert's request for blocking up the King's highway to build a new manor house. In 1292 King Edward I ordered an *Inquisition ad quod Damnum* to inquire if there would be any detriment to his interests if he allowed Sir Henry to block up the road from Yeaveley to Ellastone, which passed through Sir Henry's manor (*curia*) at Norbury.²¹ A similar Inquisition was held in November 1300.²² It was a further four years, May 1305, before Sir Henry paid the fine to block the road so that he could 'enlarge his court'.²³ The first Inquisition shows Sir Henry was planning a building programme as early as 1292, but it is not clear if the term *curia* referred solely to the manor house or included the church. The manor house, which is still standing, is closer to the road than the church. By 1305 the diversion of the road had become essential. This limited

²¹ TNA C143/17/6.

²² TNA C143/34/1.

²³ TNA C66/125 m. 22.



Figure 5: Comparison of roundel decoration at Norbury (left) and Merton College Chapel (right).

evidence shows that building works, which were being planned as early as 1292, were certainly underway by 1305.

The Heraldry

What dating evidence is to be found in the heraldic decoration of the chancel's north and south windows? There are of 25 different arms. The Fitzherbert arms are represented twice, resulting in 26 shields in total. Two shields have been reduced to plain glass but their original design can be taken from earlier recordings.²⁴ There are eight windows in total and each has three lights. There is a shield at the head of each light plus two further shields, one each in the base of lights nIIb and sIVb. The windows are identified using a code with three elements. The first character 'n' or 's' is for the north or south side of the chancel. The windows are then numbered II, III, IV and V with II being closest to the altar.²⁵ Each light is distinguished by the letters a, b or c. Again 'a' is that closest to the altar. The other two shields which are at the base of a light have the appropriate code with a suffix 'x'.

Where heraldry has been used for generations by some families it is difficult to establish a date indicative of which family member is intended. There are representatives of the Fitzherbert family living today. Consideration of the history of four families narrows down the dating of the heraldry. The Grandison arms (window nIIbx) with the escallops on the bend were borne only by Otto de Grandison who died on the continent in 1328. He came to England before 1265 and became a close friend of Edward I. Otto was a distant relative of Edward's through the latter's mother, Eleanor of Provence, who had brought to the English court a number of people from the court and family of the Count of Savoy. The paly basis of Otto's arms shows this family connection, the

²⁴ Bowyer, op. cit., pp. 82–83. The de Grandison arms were restored to colour during the restoration of 2004.

²⁵ This uses the *Corpus Vitrearum* format. Window 'I' is the east window.



Figure 6: Left, 6a: Pot metal glass of the maunch in window sIVb; Above right, 6b: the 'vair' parapet; Below right, 6c: arms of Fitzherbert from window sIIb.

arms of Provence being *Paly or and gules*. Otto may have left England permanently shortly after the accession of Edward II due to his dislike of Piers Gaveston, although he was given some commissions by the new King. The presence of the Grandison arms implies a date before his death in 1328, and presumably one before his departure in 1307.²⁶

A pre-1328 date limits the arms of Lancaster (window nIIb) to be those of either Edmund of Lancaster (brother of Edward I) or his son Thomas, Earl of Lancaster who was executed in 1322 following his revolt against Edward II. Thomas' brother, and eventual successor, Henry, is not recorded using these arms until 1333.²⁷ Thus the arms of Lancaster provide a latest date for the glass of 1322.

With a cut-off date of 1322 events in the career of the Bruce family provide an even earlier secure date before which the glass must have been erected. The name Robert de Bruce was born by successive generations. Robert, the unsuccessful competitor for the Scottish crown in 1290–1292, used the arms *Or a saltire and a chief gules* as displayed in the glass at Norbury (window sIIc), and died in 1295. His son, Robert, was, *jure uxoris*, Earl of Carrick and used the Bruce arms with the addition of *A lion passant*

²⁶ Biographical details of Otto de Grandison's career can be found in GEC vol. vi p. 69; Gerard Brault, *Rolls of Arms Edward I 1272–1307* (London, 1997), vol. ii, p. 200; C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5 vols., Harl. Soc. vols. 80–84 (London 1929–1932).

²⁷ GEC sub Lancaster; Brault, op. cit., vol. 2 sub England

NORBURY CHURCH

guardant or on the chief. He died in 1304. His son, Robert, who used the undifferenced Bruce arms, in March 1306 seized the crown of Scotland. This act, as far as Edward I was concerned, was treason. Robert defeated the forces of Edward II at Bannockburn in 1314 and remained King of Scotland until his death in 1329. It is therefore most unlikely that his arms would have been erected in an English church alongside those of the King of England after he had seized the Scottish throne.²⁸ The latest date for the glazing plan must be the end of 1305 or very early 1306.

The arms of Grandison, Lancaster, and Bruce work together to provide a latest date for the heraldry. The earliest date can be established by considering the arms of France (window SVC). In English rolls of arms during the reign of Edward I, the arms of France are only found in the company of the arms of other European rulers such as Flanders, Navarre, Spain, and the Empire.²⁹ They do not occur alone with the arms of England. The marriages of Edward I to Margaret, daughter of Philip III of France in September 1299³⁰ and, later, that of Edward II to Isabell of France in 1308, resulted in the appearance of the arms of England and France alongside each other in many forms of art in England.³¹ In the absence of the arms of any other continental rulers in the glass at Norbury, it is reasonable to suggest that the arms of France represent the family connection brought about by these marriages. The dating from the inclusion of the arms of Bruce indicate that it is the marriage to Margaret that is intended. The arms of France and Bruce set the date of the chancel glass to being between 1299 and 1306.

Timeline summary.

In summary, four different types of dating evidence give a reasonably consistent dating period for the building of the chancel:

- Architecture: ogee arch, post 1295.
- Glazing: the absence of silver stain for gold, pre-1310.
- Documentary evidence: road diversion 1292–1305.
- Heraldry: arms of France post 1299 – arms of Bruce pre-1306.

Those represented in the glass.

Using this narrow time frame it is possible to more accurately identify the 25 individuals represented in the glass at Norbury. They can be divided into three status groups. The full blazons of the arms with the identification of each person or family is given in Appendix 1. The leading group is made up of King Edward I, his wife Queen Margaret of France, his nephew, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the family of his daughter Joan de Clare, Countess of Gloucester, and his uncle by marriage, John de Warren, Earl of Surrey. On the edge of this group of leading magnates is Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. There is one more shield which represents an earl: *Azure three garbs or* could be

²⁸ GEC sub Bruce of Annandale and Carrick; Brault, op. cit., vol. 2, sub Bruce.

²⁹ Brault, op. cit., vol i, pp. 85, 176, 309 and 472.

³⁰ This marriage had been discussed as early as 1294. It was formally announced on 30 June 1298. See Sir Maurice Powick, *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1962), pp. 647, 652–3.

³¹ Three examples are: stained glass in the windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; Casket MLA 72, 12–16, I in the British Museum; and, in manuscript form, Bodl. Christ Church MS 92: Walter de Milemete's book.

THE COAT OF ARMS

the king's son, Prince Edward, as the Earl of Chester, or John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. For reasons to be explained these are taken to represent the Earl of Buchan.

The second group comprises seven barons:; Robert de Bruce, Piers de Chauvent, Robert fitzRoger, Otto de Grandison, John de Mowbray, Michael de Poynings and John de Bek. Of the eleven knights seven can be identified. They are Audley, Bassingbourne, Berkeley, Fitzherbert, Grimbaud, Hodeboville and Montfort. For three shields there is dual identification (Beaumont or Bassingbourne (again), Mandeville or Scures and de la Mare or Monceaux). A final shield could be that of four possible families: Alvingham, Broughton, Furness or Kirkby.³² One of the shields at Norbury which is not recorded in contemporary rolls of arms is that of the presumed patron of the chancel, Sir Henry Fitzherbert. The arms *Argent a chief vair or and gules overall a bend sable* can be confidently ascribed to him by combining other sources, as they continued in use by his family.³³ The nearest contemporary evidence is his undated father's seal in the British Museum,³⁴ and a seal, possibly that of his son, John, attached to a document now held in the Staffordshire Record Office.³⁵

There is no obvious hierarchy or desired order in the current arrangement of the windows, but antiquarian records, viz. a drawing by Stothard published in 1817 (**Figure 3**), and another in the Rawlins mss dating 1823 suggest that some rearrangement of the windows occurred in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁶ Four distinct patterns of grisaille glass can be identified in the eight windows, but they are not arranged symmetrically. Perhaps windows with the same grisaille pattern were originally placed in pairs of windows facing each other, an arrangement which can be found at the contemporary sites of Merton College (seven windows on each side of the chancel) and at Chartham church in Kent (four windows).

nII and nIII have matching grisaille, and pairing them would place the arms of all the earls and two leading barons together; with Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Buchan, and Robert fitzRoger facing John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and Otto de Grandison. Otto de Grandison was a cousin of the King and had been on crusade with Edward I prior to his accession. nIV and nV are another matching pair comprising primarily barons. A pairing of sIII and sV would have England, Fitzherbert and Grimbaud facing France, Fitzherbert, Mowbray and Bassingbourne. The positioning of the two Fitzherbert shields with the arms of England and France is unlikely to be a coincidence. Sir Henry Fitzherbert, as

³² *DBA* vol.1, p. 20. Alvingham and Furness are based on seal evidence. Broughton used these tinctures in the fifteenth century. Both Furness and Broughton came from the district of Furness in Lancashire. The use of similar arms in the same area suggests these families were connected.

³³ Another example of this situation is that the arms of the Blithfield family of Blithfield Hall, Staffs. are not recorded in Rolls of this period.

³⁴ *BM Seals* 9729. Henry is named as Henry fitz William fitz Herbert in TNA C143/17/6.

³⁵ *Staffordshire Record Office* D641/5/T/20/3.

³⁶ The arms of de Grandison are shown alone at the top of a light in the 1817 engraving by Stothard. In the MS of Rev. R R Rawlins the arms of Lancaster are recorded at the bottom of the nII1 light with de Warren at the top (The Rawlins MSS are in the Derby Local Studies Library.)

NORBURY CHURCH

donor, would have felt this juxtapositioning quite reasonable.³⁷ **Table A** (below) shows a possible layout of the windows with like grisaille patterns facing each other.

	North	Altar		South	
	France	Queen	King	England	
	Mowbray	Baron	Donor	Fitzherbert	
	Fitzherbert	Donor	Kt	Grimbaud	
	Bassingbourne	Kt			
	Warren	Earl	Earl	Clare	
	Lancaster	Earl	Earl	Buchan	
	Ulster	Earl	Baron	fitzRoger	
	Grandison	Baron			
	Bruce	Baron	Baron	Bek	
	Montfort	Kt	Kt	Monceau	
	??????	?	Baron	Chauvent	
	Scures	Kt	Kt	Berekley	
	Poynings	Kt	Kt	Hodeboville	
	Beaumont	Kt	Kt	Audley	

Table A

Other contemporary heraldic schemes

A close and contemporary parallel of placing personal arms in the chancel is found at Selling, Kent, which combines heraldry with grisaille patterns. Norbury and Selling are early examples of this practice to be followed most noticeably at Gloucester Cathedral around 50 years later. The glass at Selling has only five shields. Three of them, England, Clare and Warren, are also at Norbury. A fourth at Selling is *Quarterly Castile and*

³⁷ Sir William Etchingam, d.1389, placed his arms amongst those of the King and leading nobility in Etchingam church which he built in the 1370s; see Nigel Saul, *Scenes from Provincial Life, Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 151–2.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Leon for Eleanor of Castile, Edward I's first wife.³⁸ Heraldry is a significant part of the glazing scheme at York Minster Chapter House, also from the later reign of Edward I.

Heraldry started to be used as a means of decoration in various forms about 50 years before the chancel at Norbury was built. Henry III ordered heraldic glass for the castles at Rochester (1247), and Havering (1251 and 1268).³⁹ The nave at Westminster Abbey has fourteen surviving out of sixteen stone shields erected on Henry III's instruction between 1258 and 1269.⁴⁰ There are also at least two other heraldic schemes which are roughly contemporary with Norbury but in different mediums. One is the Gatehouse at Kirkham Priory, Yorkshire which is decorated with the arms of the founders and benefactors and dated 1289 to 1296. The other is the wooden choir vaults at St. Albans Abbey which date 1285 to 1290.⁴¹ The Eleanor Crosses (c.1294) have significant heraldic decoration.⁴²

The reason for the selection of the individuals displayed together in some glazing schemes is hard to discern because the surviving material is only a small part of that originally installed. At Dorchester Abbey church, Oxfordshire, some 26 shields survive out of more than double that number recorded in the seventeenth century. The shields, which date from about 1300 and thus are contemporary with Norbury, seem to relate to people with local land holdings.⁴³ At Shottesbrooke, Berkshire, only six shields now survive where Elias Ashmole recorded around 40 shields. The majority here are dated c.1340–50. Most seem to be members of the royal family and other contemporaries of the founder, Sir William Trussell, d.1363. The church was built as a chantry chapel and it is suggested that many may have contributed to the construction costs in return for obits.⁴⁴ The heraldic glazing in the chancel at Etchingham, Sussex, seems to be an armorial of the peerage c.1370, whilst a second display in the nave 'belonged not only to relatives but to friends and neighbours of Sir William Etchingham, the builder of the church'.⁴⁵

What is the connection between the people represented in the heraldry?

The display at Norbury is complete and there is no real evidence of any of the motives discussed above with regard to Dorchester, Shottesbrooke, and Etchingham. It is not an armorial of people chosen simply by status. There is the group of the Royal family and leading nobles but some obvious key nobles are absent. The most notable absentees are Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (d.1311) and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d.1324), both of whom may be considered of higher status than the Earl of Ulster. It seems unlikely that the arms represent a gathering for a single occasion or 'Occasional

³⁸ Marks, *op. cit.*, photograph p. 149.

³⁹ See Newton, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 135.

⁴⁰ C. W. Scott-Giles, 'Heraldry in Westminster Abbey' in *CoA*, vol vii, nos 51–2 (1962), pp. 90–95, 157–61.

⁴¹ Bony, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴² Coldstream *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴³ E. A. Greening Lamborn, *The Armorial Glass of the Oxford Diocese 1250–1850*, (London, 1949), pp. 120–125.

⁴⁴ Peter Begent, 'The Armorial Glass at Shottesbrooke church', *Proceedings of the Chiltern Heraldry Group*, 1979.

⁴⁵ Nigel Saul, *Scenes op cit.*, p. 149.



Figure 7: Window sIII: England; Fitzherbert; Grimbaud

Roll'. It is difficult to imagine that there could have occurred any single event of such importance where all these individuals were present with Sir Henry at the same event to the exclusion of other English nobility and knights.

The inclusion of some arms in heraldic displays of the fourteenth century has been explained as a bond of friendship. This has usually been between knights of similar status.⁴⁶ The shields at Norbury range from the King, at the top, to the very lowest

⁴⁶ Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (edd.), *Heraldry Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 58–59 and footnote 77.

THE COAT OF ARMS

within the armigerous class. Fitzherbert, Hodeboville and Grimbaud would seem to be towards the lower rungs of the ladder. Interestingly Grimbaud is in a place of honour alongside Sir Henry (the founder) and the King. Sir Henry Fitzherbert was following the fashion by using heraldry as part of his decorative scheme. He even used the *vair* design from the chief in his arms to decorate the top of the chancel parapet (**Figure 6b**). He was enhancing his own status by placing his arms in the chancel, rather than the nave, and associating himself with some of the most powerful people in the land.⁴⁷ There is no obvious common factor however which connects the individuals together.

The family connections of Sir Henry are uncertain. His father was William and his son and heir, John. There is no knowledge of the identity of the families of his mother or brothers-in-law, excepting that his mother bore the unusual Christian name of Edeka.⁴⁸ In a manuscript copy of William Flower's Visitation of Derbyshire of 1569, Henry's wife is named as the daughter of Ralph Chaddesden and the wife of his son, John, is named as a daughter of the neighbouring family of Montgomery. His daughter Margaret married a member of the local Okeover family.⁴⁹ It is surprising that none of these families is present in the heraldry in the north and south chancel windows.

Any local connection is also far from obvious. There are only five coats of arms, in addition to the Fitzherberts, which can be regarded as being local. The Earl of Lancaster was the successor of the Ferrers, Earls of Derby, who were the original feudal overlords of Norbury. The *vair* chief of the Fitzherbert arms is certainly adapted from the Ferrers arms. The Audley family had north Staffordshire estates. The manor of Hopton and Tean at nearby Checkley (Staffordshire) and Swarkestone (Derbyshire) were held by a Bek family who may be connected to the individual represented by the Bek arms in window sIVa. The Bassingbourne family were not local but may have a local family connection as their arms were also found in Checkley church. Nor is there a strong land tenurial connection between the individuals. Both Sir Michael de Poynings and John de Montfort held land from John de Warren, and Sir Warin de Bassingbourne was a tenant of Sir Roger de Mowbray. Other similar tenancies may be un-recorded but the degree of connection is very limited.

An hypothesis as to the motive for the selection of the coats of arms

The military career of Sir Henry Fitzherbert is largely unknown. He served as under-sheriff when his father Sir William was sheriff of Derbyshire in 1264.⁵⁰ He had acceded to the lordship of Norbury by 1267, and was fined for not having become a knight in 1275.⁵¹ Possibly prior to this he may have served as an esquire, in the retinue of another

⁴⁷ M. Michael, 'The privilege of 'proximity'; towards a redefinition of the function of armorials', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1997, vol xxiii, no. 1, pp. 55–74.

⁴⁸ George Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls* (1904) p. 385.

⁴⁹ Derby Local Studies Library, Local MS 6341: George Wrottesley, 'An Account of the Family of Okeover of Okeover, Co. Stafford', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* new series vol.VII (1904) p. 181. (The Montgomery arms are in Norbury's east window.)

⁵⁰ Wrottesley *Pedigrees*, op.cit. p. 345.

⁵¹ Cox, *Derbyshire churches*, op.cit., vol. 3 pp. 234–5; *Rotuli Hundredorum temp Hen III & Edw I* (London, 1812), p. 59.



Figure 8: Window sV: Fitzherbert, Mowbray, France, Bassingbourne

lord.⁵² In November 1279 he obtained letters of protection for going ‘beyond the seas’ and nominated Robert Fitzherbert as one of his attorneys to look after his interests while he was away.⁵³ Perhaps on this occasion he was in the retinue of an important figure

⁵² Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), p. 14.

⁵³ *CPR* 1272–1281, p. 332.

THE COAT OF ARMS

travelling abroad on the King's business.⁵⁴ The following day Gilbert de Clare obtained protection for a similar purpose. The nature of Henry's business is unknown. By 3rd April 1281 he had been knighted.⁵⁵ The only year when he can with certainty be placed on a military campaign is 1297, when as the holder of lands worth more than £20 a year in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire he was summoned to perform military service in person in Scotland.⁵⁶

The engagement of 'lesser' knights in the retinue of 'greater' knights became common practice towards the end of the thirteenth century. Typical of this may be the agreement at Falkirk (1298) between Sir Thomas Berkeley and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. The former undertook to serve in the latter's retinue and to provide a number of knights.⁵⁷ Here is a chain of command of four if not five levels. The lesser knights served Sir Thomas, who served Aylmer de Valence, who may have been serving under John de Warren (captain of the army), who in turn served the King.⁵⁸ If Sir Henry Fitzherbert had a similar military career which spanned at least 25 years, perhaps longer, it is likely that, like the lesser knight of Sir Thomas Berkeley, he found himself fighting alongside a number of lesser knights in the retinue of one or more knights banneret who were themselves under one or more of the commanders in the various campaigns of Edward I.⁵⁹

Three heraldic rolls, The Falkirk Roll (1298), The Siege of Caerlaverock (1300) and the Dunstable Roll (1308) show this military structure. The first two detail the commanders and the knights banneret at the respective campaigns which number over a hundred in each case.⁶⁰ The commanders named in the Falkirk Roll are Henry de Lacy, (Earl of Lincoln), Anthony de Bek, (Bishop of Durham), King Edward I and John de Warren. The arms of Edward I and Warren are at Norbury and Anthony Bek is the brother of the baron of the Bek shield, sIVa. At the Siege of Caerlaverock three commanders are the same. England and Warren and are in the glass at Norbury. As well as the above commanders, the arms of a number of knight bannerets at Falkirk and Caerlaverock are in the glass at Norbury: Nicholas de Audley, Robert fitzRoger and Thomas Earl of Lancaster from Falkirk and Robert fitzRoger, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester from Caerlaverock.

The Dunstable Roll of 1309 is different in that it is a list of those present at a tournament rather than a battle in a war. The suggestion is that it is divided into two teams, one led by the Earl of Lancaster and the 'others', possibly led by the Earl of Gloucester.⁶¹ It lists

⁵⁴ Saul, *Knights* op.cit., pp. 52–9.

⁵⁵ Isaac Herbert Jeayes, *Descriptive catalogue of Derbyshire charters* (London, 1906) no. 2713. He witnessed another charter as a knight on 3rd May of the same year, *ibid* no. 1565.

⁵⁶ Sir Francis Palgrave, *Parliamentary writs* (London, 1827) vol. 1 pp. 287,602.

⁵⁷ Henry Gough, *Scotland in 1298*, (Paisley, 1888).

⁵⁸ For discussion about the role of a knight banneret and a knight in a military retinue in this period see Knights Banneret, Military Recruitment and Social Status, c. 1270–c. 1420: a view from the reign of Edward I, in Gary P. Baker, Craig L. Lambert and David Simpkin (edd.) *Military Communities in Late Medieval England, Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, pp. 51–57.

⁵⁹ Michael Prestwich, *War Politics and Finance under Edward I* (1972), p. 66.

⁶⁰ Brault, op. cit., vol i, pp. 404–418 and 432–444.

⁶¹ A Tomkinson, 'Retinues of the Tournament of Dunstable, 1309', *English Historical Review*, 84, (1959), p. 86.



Figure 9: Window nII; de Burgh, Lancaster, Warren, and Grandison (below).

220 knights who are grouped under fifteen bannerets. There is John de Warren, grandson and successor of John de Warren, discussed above, Michael and Thomas de Poynings, probably the sons of Sir Michael de Poynings represented in the glass and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.⁶² The Poynings knights serve under John de Warren, who himself is in the service of the Earl of Lancaster.⁶³ Here we see three of the families in the glass at Norbury

⁶² Ibid, pp. 75,85.

⁶³ Tomkinson identifies this Michael as the father. However the arms of Michael in the Dunstable Roll have a border for difference.

THE COAT OF ARMS

in a clear chain of command. Analysis of the Dunstable Roll with other material shows that knights would serve different Lords at different times.⁶⁴

Of 22 shields for knights and the higher ranks in the chancel at Norbury (discounting the arms of France, and the glass jumble for Kirkby) at least seventeen served in the wars against Scotland in the period 1291–1301. A few of the knights, notably Sir Henry himself and Sir John de Hodeboville were not recorded in heraldic rolls. The collection of arms for rolls was in no way systematic, and thus it was easy for individuals to be missed out, especially if they belonged to minor knightly families. It must be hypothesized that the arms in the glass at Norbury represent Sir Henry's commanders, 'superiors' and comrades from a military career in Scotland.

Was York Minster the inspiration?

York Minster chapter house is credited as the place of origin of many of the designs in the grisaille glass at Norbury, e.g. naturalistic foliage in the borders and in the main glass with a central plant stem. It also displays many of the geometrical patterns seen at Norbury.⁶⁵ Sir Henry attended the York parliament of 1298 as knight of the shire for Derbyshire⁶⁶, and the parliament is presumed to have sat in the new chapter house.⁶⁷ Between 1298 and 1304 the government of England was based at York, and during this period both the Chancery and the Exchequer were based here. If Henry's career was in the service of military officers as outlined above then, as someone in the retinue of a baron or earl, he would have repeatedly passed through York in this period. He can be placed in Carlisle in 1307 when he once again represented Derbyshire for the last parliament of the reign of Edward I.⁶⁸

Conclusion

The dating evidence for the chancel from the four different sources agree very well with each other. The design and decoration of the window tracery and other internal features have many parallels developed to the last decade of the thirteenth century. The patterns of the grisaille glass with its borders and naturalistic foliage likewise have parallels dated between 1290 and 1300. Both York Minster chapter house (1290–1295), Merton College chapel 1289–1294, Oxford, and Chartham, Kent, under construction 1294, have similarities in these areas. The heraldic evidence can be used to narrow down the dating of the chancel glazing to between 1299 and 1306.

The architectural evidence combined with the documentary evidence shows a building programme being planned at Norbury from 1292. The chancel could have been under construction by the late 1290s with it being glazed in the first years of the

⁶⁴ Tomkinson, op. cit., p. 77.

⁶⁵ Marks, op. cit., p. 143.

⁶⁶ Palgrave, op.cit. vol. 1 p.602.

⁶⁷ Paul A. Fox 'York Minster and the role of heraldry in obtaining benefactions for the rebuilding of a great cathedral', *Proceedings of the 17th Colloquium of the Académie Internationale d'Héraldique, Fribourg 2011, Archives Héraldiques Suisses, Archivum Heraldicum* (2013) vol. 2 pp. 105–108.

⁶⁸ Palgrave, ibid.



Figure 10: Window nIII: FitzRoger, Comyn, Clare.

fourteenth century. It may be concluded that by 1306 the chancel building including the glazing was substantially complete.

The building is in the new ‘court’ style used in buildings financed by the king or his close associates and advisers at that time.⁶⁹ Merton College was founded by the king’s chancellor, Walter of Merton, Bishop of Rochester. St Etheldreda’s Holborn was built by the King’s Treasurer, John Kirkby, later Bishop of Ely. Chartham in Kent was under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsey (d.1313)

⁶⁹ Merton College was founded by the King’s Chancellor, Walter of Merton. See Lambie, *op.cit.*

THE COAT OF ARMS

while the creation of chapter house at York was under the authority of its archbishop. The appearance of this style of architecture and window glazing in a remote Derbyshire village warrants explanation.

The proposed military career of a knight working in the retinue of a leading baron provides answers to a number of questions. If Sir Henry had been in the king's service one might expect to see more references to him in state records. A military career provides the most likely explanation for how he came to know those individuals whose arms are in the windows. How else would he have met those of similar social rank to himself, who came from places remote from Derbyshire such as Essex, Suffolk, Northants, Sussex, Hampshire and elsewhere? Irrespectively as to whether or not they contributed to the cost of the glass, and whether or not such donations were generosity, mutual support or in return for prayers, they are people he must have known. Something brought them together, and the common thread for most was military service in Scotland. It is possible that his military service produced the income needed for such building works. Assuming that the glazing of York chapter house preceded the works at Norbury, the dating of the glazing of the Norbury glass provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1306 for the glazing at York.

APPENDIX

Identification of the heraldry in the North and South Chancel windows

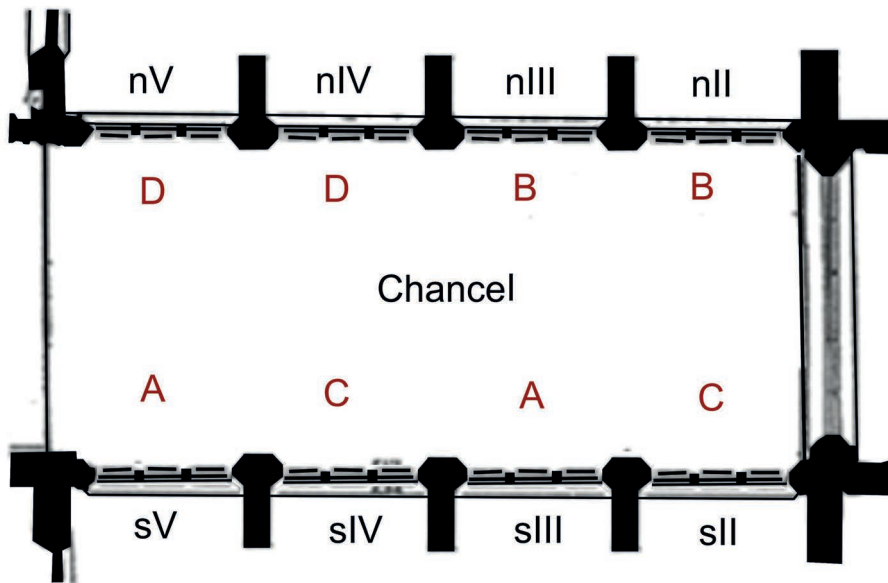


Figure 11: Current window arrangement in the chancel.
A, B, C and D have matching grisaille patterns.

NORBURY CHURCH

Photographs of the eight windows, taken after the restoration was completed, are printed in this article as follows:

Windows	nII	figure 9	page 67
Windows	nIII	figure 10	page 69
Windows	nIV	figure 12	page 72
Windows	nV	figure 13	page 74
Windows	sII	figure 14	page 76
Windows	sIII	figure 7	page 63
Windows	sIV	figure 15	page 78
Windows	sV	figure 8	page 65

The following list blazons the 26 shields of arms in the glass at Norbury and attempts to identify the individuals or families represented. Of these 23 are recorded in various rolls of arms of the reign of King Edward I (1272–1307).⁷⁰ Not present in those rolls are the arms of FitzHerbert, the local landowner, these being the only arms which occur twice. At different times the heads of some of these families were minors. Where the first mentioned member of the family has died before 1299 they have been included because this may be the individual with whom Sir Henry Fitzherbert was associated. There are three instances where the same arms are recorded as being used by two different individuals.⁷¹

An # is used to highlight those recorded as having been on a campaign in Scotland.

Window nII (Figure 9)

nIIa *Checky or and azure*

#John de Warren, Earl of Surrey (earl 1240–1304)

or his grandson John de Warren, a minor (earl 1304–1347)

John de Warren, Earl of Surrey was born c.1231 and was a most prominent member of the court of Henry III (whose half-sister he married) and Edward I. He was engaged in the war against Scotland in the late 1290s. In 1297 he was appointed captain of the army in Scotland. His retinue included Sir Michael de Poynings (window nIVb).

IIb *Gules three lions passant guardant or a label of five points of France*

Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster (earl 1267–1296) or his son

#Thomas (earl 1296–1322)

Edmund, Earl of Lancaster and Derby, was brother to Edward I and a figure of significant status after the king. Thomas of Lancaster, his son, was considered of full age in 1298 and was summoned for service against the Scots from 1297 onwards.

nIIbx *Paly of six plain argent and azure on a bend gules three roundels or*

Otto de Grandison (1258–1328), Baron

⁷⁰ With the exception of Bek and Fitzherbert, the biographical details are taken from Brault, op. cit., Moor, op.cit., and GEC.

⁷¹ This should not be surprising. The period is nearly 100 years before the celebrated Scrope versus Grosvenor case where two individuals disputed the right to the same arms of long-standing use by their families.

THE COAT OF ARMS

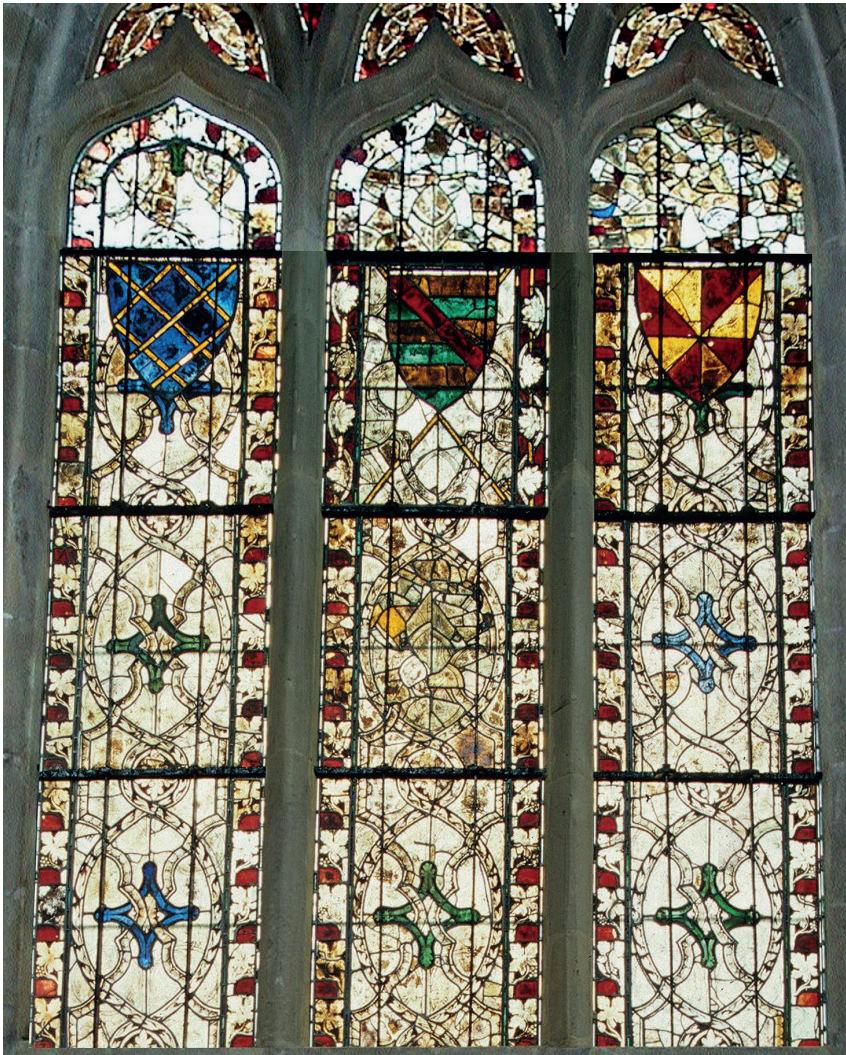


Figure 12: Window nIV: Mandeville or Scures, Poynings, Beaumont.

Otto de Grandison was a distant cousin of the king. He was a member of the Savoyard fraction at Court. He went on Crusade with the Lord Edward in 1270–72. Otto often acted as an ambassador to foreign Courts. He held appointments in Wales where Savoyards had responsibility for castle building.⁷² He was with Edward I in Scotland in

⁷² These arms were *Argent two pales azure on a bend gules three escallops or* in 1823 when recorded by Rev. R R Rawlings (MS on microfilm in Derby Local Studies Library). This may be taken as accurate as he comments that the illustration by Stothard in 1817 in Lysons *Magna Britannia* (Figure 3) is drawn incorrectly with the field as *Paly of six*. The Stothard drawing may be the source of the subsequent change and present representation. The arms were restored to colour in the restoration of 2004. See Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, (London, 1997) pp. 206–9 for Savoyard castle builders.

NORBURY CHURCH

1298. Otto may have left England permanently shortly after the accession of Edward II because of his dislike of Piers Gaveston, although he was given some overseas commissions by the new King.

nIIc *Or a cross gules*

#Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster (1271–1326)

Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, rose in prominence under Edward I, served in Scotland in 1296–7 and was chief Governor of Ireland in 1308. In 1302 his daughter Elizabeth married Robert de Bruce the future King of Scotland (window sIIc).

Window nIII (Figure 10)

nIIIa *Or three chevrons gules*

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (d.1295) or his son Gilbert, d.1314 or

Joan, Countess of Gloucester (d.1307) or

#her second husband, Ralph de Monthermer,

Gilbert de Clare was a leading figure at the end of the reign of Henry III and in the reign of Edward I. He was commander of the army in Wales in 1282. He also served abroad. In 1290 he married the King's daughter, Joan. After his death in 1295, these arms could represent his widow, and her second husband, Ralph de Monthermer, who used the Clare arms on his banner at Caerlaverock, but the Monthermer arms on his shield. Joan's son, Gilbert de Clare, b.1291, was knighted in 1306 and killed at Bannockburn in 1314. A sister of Gilbert (senior) married Roger de Mowbray (window sVb).

nIIIb *Azure three garbs or*

Earl of Chester (1265–1307)

Future Edward II, b.1284 (earl 1301–1307)

#John Comyn (d.1308) Earl of Buchan

The arms *Azure three garbs or* had been used originally by earlier Earls of Chester. In 1265 the earldom was taken into King Henry III's hands and granted to his son, the future Edward I. It continued in Edward's hands even as king until February 1301 when he created his son, Prince Edward, Earl of Chester.⁷³ However, rolls of arms dated 1279, (Herald's Roll), 1280 (Camden Roll), and 1285 (St. George's Roll and Charles' Roll) include the arms of the King of England and those of the Earl of Chester. The Smallpiece Roll, dated 1298–1306, includes the arms of all three, i.e. Edward I, Prince Edward and the 'Earl of Chester'. John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and constable of Scotland in 1293, is recorded as using these arms in a section of Scottish nobility in Collins' Roll (c.1296).⁷⁴ In view of the Scottish connection of others represented these are taken to stand for John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. Both have the rank of Earl which matches those whose glass has the same grisaille pattern.

nIIIc *Quarterly or and gules a bendlet sable*

#Robert fitzRoger (1249–1310), Baron

⁷³ GEC sub. Chester.

⁷⁴ Brault, op.cit. vol. 1, p. 364.



Figure 13: Window nV: Berkeley, Hodeboville, Audley.

Robert fitzRoger was an active knight in the reign of Edward I who served against the Welsh in 1277 and 1282 and against the Scots in the 1290s. He was at Caerlaverock with his son in 1301. His granddaughter married Thomas Audley (window nVa).

Window nIV (Figure 12)

nIVa *Gyronny of eight or and gules*
William de Beaumont (d.1304) or

NORBURY CHURCH

John de Bassingbourne (fl.1312–14)

William de Beaumont appears in only the Charles Roll (c.1285) and in records in 1274, 1294 and 1304. His recorded arms are of these two tinctures but *Gyrony of twelve*. His heirs held lands from Gilbert de Clare (d.1314), (window nIIa).⁷⁵

A John de Bassingbourne appears using these arms in the Parliamentary Roll c.1312–14.⁷⁶ Clearly William de Beaumont is the more contemporary to the glass and the life of Sir Henry Fitzherbert. Different branches of the Bassingbourne family, based at Blythborough, Lincolnshire, and Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, used the gyronny partition with different combinations of tinctures and number of divisions. See also window sV.

nIVb *Barry of six or and vert a bend gules*

#Michael de Poynings (d.1314), Baron

Michael de Poynings was a Sussex based lord and served in the retinue of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, (window nIIa), who held extensive lands in Sussex. He served in Scotland in 1295 and later.

nIVc *Azure fretty or*

Richard de Mandeville (d.1324) or

#John de Scures (d.1342)

Richard de Mandeville was based in Northamptonshire and was summoned to the king's service in 1297. John de Scures was based in Hampshire and served in Scotland in 1298, and 1300–1.

Window nV (Figure 13)

nVa *Gules fretty or*

#Nicholas Audley (d.1299) or Thomas, his son, a minor in 1299 (d.1307)

Nicholas Audley held lands amounting to a minor barony in Cheshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire. He went overseas with the King in 1297 and served against the Scots 1298/9. He was first cousin of the father of John de Montfort (window sIIb). His son Thomas married the granddaughter of Robert fitzRoger (window nIIc).

nVb *Per pale or and azure a saltire counterchanged*

John de Hodeboville (fl.1270 d.1300) or John, his son (d.1309)

Sir John de Hodeboville held land at Acton, Suffolk. Nothing else is known of him. The arms are distinctive and not used by any other family. His relative obscurity and link to Suffolk make him a key person to connect to Sir Henry Fitzherbert.

nVc *Quarterly or and azure a bend gules*

Giles Berkeley, (fl.1275 d.1294) or Thomas, his son, a minor in 1294 (d.1311).

⁷⁵ IPM of Gilbert de Clare, d.1314, *CIPM* vol. 5 1307–17 no. 538, p. 346.

⁷⁶ The Parliamentary Roll, *The Genealogist*, vol. xi, p. 238. This record is perhaps only 5–10 years after the glass was erected. During the reign of Edward I there were four branches of the de Bassingbourne family using variations on the gyronny arms (see Moor op.cit.). The identity of this Sir John de Bassingbourne and his connection to Sir Warin de Bassingbourne, (window sVbx,) is unknown.



Figure 14: Window sII Bruce, Montfort, Uncertain.

Sir Giles Berkeley of Coberley (Gloucestershire), and Eldersfield, (Worcestershire), was active in the Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire area and died in 1294 leaving a son Thomas, a minor, as his heir.

Window sII (Figure 14)

sIIa Or a saltire and a chief gules (Figure 17).

NORBURY CHURCH

Robert de Bruce, d.1295. Baron

#Robert de Bruce, d.1304. Baron

Robert de Bruce, b.1274, Earl of Carrick from 1292, King of Scotland 1306.

Robert de Bruce of Annandale, d.1295 was an unsuccessful competitor for the Scottish crown. His son, Robert de Bruce was, *jure uxoris*, Earl of Carrick. As Earl of Carrick he differenced the Bruce arms with the addition of *a lion passant or* on the chief. He resigned the Carrick estates to his own son at his wife's death in 1292. He fought for Edward I in Scotland and died 1304. Robert de Bruce, b.1274, was Earl of Carrick from 1292 and King of Scotland from 1306 and died 1329. In 1302 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard de Burgh (window nIIc).

sIIb *Bendy of ten or and azure*

John de Montfort (d.1296) or his son John (1291–1314)

John de Montfort was the son of Piers of Beaudesert, Warwickshire. He held Preston and Uppingham, Rutland. His lands at Ashted in Surrey were held from John de Warren, (window nIIa).⁷⁷ In 1294 he was in the service of the King's daughter Eleanor, Countess of Bar. His father was first cousin to Nicholas Audley (window nVa). There may be two family connections with the de la Mare family (window sIVb).⁷⁸ His son John was slain at Bannockburn.

sIIc *(Argent) two bars (gules) on a canton (gules) a cross (argent)*⁷⁹

Alvingham (13th Century seal)

Furness (13th Century seal)

Broughton (15th century refs)

Kirkby (with cross moline)⁸⁰

Seal evidence (no tinctures) shows these arms used by the Furness and Alvingham families in the thirteenth centuries. The Broughton family, recorded in the early-fifteenth century, came from Furness in Lancashire. The Kirkby family were from Kirkby-in-Furness.⁸¹ Sir William Grimbaud, (window sIIc) was the brother-in-law of John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, d.1290. Possibly these arms are intended to represent a relation of the bishop, if not himself.

Window sIII (Figure 7)

sIIIa *Gules 3 lions passant guardant or*

#King Edward I, ruled 1272–1307.

⁷⁷ *CIPM* vol iii 1291–1300 p. 225.

⁷⁸ The mother of John de Montfort, senior, may have been sister or half-sister to John de la Mare of Bradwell; also the widow of John's uncle, Robert de Montfort, had married John de la Mare of Bradwell. See GEC sub: de la Mare.

⁷⁹ Rawlins in 1823 records; 'There is no bearing', (i.e. coat of arms) for this position.

⁸⁰ *DBA* vol.1, p. 30.

⁸¹ *VCH Lancashire*, vol viii, pp. 393, 402. William Grimbaud (window sIIc) married a Maud de Kirkby, who was the sister of John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely. There is no evidence to prove his wife was from the Kirkby of Furness family. See Moor, op. cit., vol ii, p. 289.

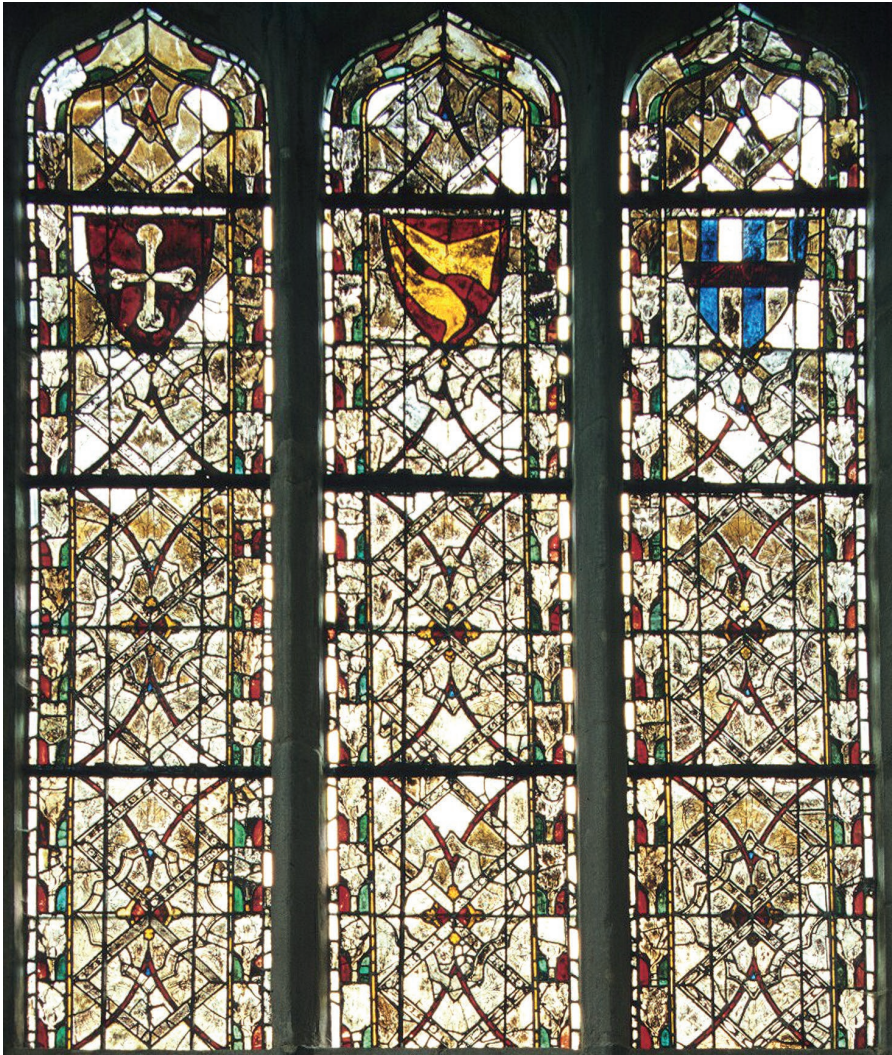


Figure 15: Window sIV: Bek, Monceaux, de la Mare, Chauveny.

sIIIb *Argent a chief vairy or and gules a bend sable*

#Sir Henry Fitzherbert (d. in or before 1316)

Sir Henry Fitzherbert, Lord of the Manor of Norbury, must have been born before 1243 to have been of age when serving as under-sheriff to his father Sir William in 1264. Sir William Fitzherbert as a king's serjeant was granted free warren in Norbury and elsewhere in 1252.⁸² Henry was active in 1307 but was dead in or before 1316 when his son and heir John was summoned to perform military service against the Scots.⁸³

⁸² CChR 1226–57 p. 403.

⁸³ Palgrave, op.cit, vol. 3 p. 860.

NORBURY CHURCH

sIIc *Argent three bars azure a bordure gules*

#William Grimbaud (1265–1302) or his son Robert (d.1325)

William Grimbaud held lands in Northamptonshire and Yorkshire. He served overseas in 1284 and Scotland in 1300. He was killed in London in 1302. He married Mabel de Kirkby who was the sister of John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely. She may be connected with the family represented in window sIIc.

Window sIV (Figure 15)

sIVa *Gules a cross moline argent*

John de Bek of Eresby (d.1304), Baron

These arms are also recorded as used by Walter de Bek d.v.p. son of John.

These arms have been blazoned previously as *Gules a cross pommel argent*. Close examination of the glass (**Figure 16**) shows that the pommel shape was used to get around technical difficulties in leading the shape of a cross moline. The pommel shaped plain glass was painted with black stain to leave the moline shape. Examination of the glass during recent restoration (2004) shows no trace of ermine flecks. Sir John de Bek of Eresby, Lincs used *Gules a cross moline argent* while his brother Anthony, Bishop of Durham used *Gules a cross moline ermine*.⁸⁴ The latter, although a cleric, was renowned for his military expertise. There is no record of John in any Scottish campaign but he was summoned to the Parliament in York in 1296.

sIVb *Gules a maunch or* (**Figure 6a**)

William de Monceaux fl.1297 or

Robert de la Mare fl.1285

These simple arms with striking glazing are recorded for two knights who lived contemporaneously. They were John de Monceaux (as listed five rolls of arms dated 1279 to 1285) and Robert de la Mare (only in Segar's Roll c.1285). The identification of a particular knight of either name who used these arms is difficult. There are two families with members called John de Monceaux. One was based in Sussex and Surrey and served against the Scots in 1298 and 1301. He was the son of a Waleran de Monceaux, d.c.1278. Waleran used the arms *Argent a bend sable*. This John died in 1302 and was succeeded by his own son John. There is no reason to suggest that these two Johns used the maunch. Another John de Munceaux was the son of Sir Ingleham de Munceaux of Berneston, who died in 1292 leaving a son and heir John aged 18.

⁸⁴ There is another family of de Bek based at Hopton, Tean and Checkely, Staffs which is close to Norbury. This family used *Gules a (plain) cross ermine*. For Bek of Eresby see *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* vol iv, (1837) pp. 342–5, and for Bek of Checkley see T. Pape, 'The Armorial Glass of Checkley Church', in *Transactions of North Staffs Field Club*, vol. lviii, (1923–24). As these two families used similar heraldry it seems probable that they were related. A further local individual is John de Bek of Swarkestone, Derbyshire, who cannot be John de Bek of Eresby. John of Swarkestone's widow, Joan, and son, John, are referred to in Lysons *Magna Britannia*, op.cit. vol v, p. 274. He was summoned in 1297 to serve with the King overseas. In 1296 he held Swarkestone and Halton from Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (window nIIb) (*CIPM* vol iii 1291–1300 p. 304, for Edmund, Earl of Lancaster).

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 16: Left: The cross ‘pomel’ of window sIVa; Right: outline of the cross moline in the left limb revealed during restoration.

When John junior died in 1297 his heir was his brother Thomas, aged 21. John was born c.1274 and therefore would not be referred to in rolls of arms in 1279.

The John de Monceaux who used the arms *Gules a maunch or* in the period 1275–1285 is probably a member of the Monceaux family who held Quarne Monceaux, Somerset, from the Mohun family, who also used the maunch. A William de Monceaux held Quarne in 1297.⁸⁵ The Robert de la Mare, who used these arms, has been identified as Robert de la Mare of Lavington whose family normally used the arms of *Gules two lions passant argent*.⁸⁶ Robert of Lavington was the son of Piers, d.1293, and grandson of another Robert. Robert, the grandson, born c.1275, would not be the Robert in Segar’s Roll of c.1285. Robert the grandfather died 1272. The Robert in Segar’s Roll is probably related to the cousins John de la Mare of Garsington and John de la Mare of Bradwell, who used the arms, *Gules a maunch ermine*, and *Gules a maunch argent*, respectively. For a kinsman, perhaps a brother, of one of them to have used *Gules a maunch or* would be quite reasonable.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ This summary is based on Brault, Moor and the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* of the two Johns. John de Monceaux appears in Moor as following Munceaus (sic).

⁸⁶ Brault, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 280.

⁸⁷ A similar practice of differencing by the tincture is exemplified by the brothers John and Anthony de Bek as discussed in the preceding entry (window sIVa).

NORBURY CHURCH

sIVc *Paly of six argent and azure a fess gules*

#Piers de Chauvent/Champvent (baron 1286–1303) or his son John (baron 1303–1344)
? Meynill of Yeaveley fl.1285 (tinctures unknown)

Piers de Chauvent was a relation of Sir Otto de Grandison (window nIIbx). He was steward of the Household in 1290 and summoned to go abroad with Edward I in 1297. He served against the Scots 1299–1301 and died in 1303. His son John served in the Falkirk campaign of 1298.

There is potential for a more local identification. The Maynell family of Yeaveley, sealed, c.1285, with *Paly a fess*.⁸⁸ (tinctures unknown). Rawlins and later recorders blazoned the arms at Norbury as *Paly of six argent and azure a fess gules* until Newton in 1962 recorded the *argent* as *or*. Examination during restoration confirmed that the tincture was argent. The ‘gold’ was caused by corrosion. All recorders identified these as the arms of Piers de Chauvent.

Window sV (Figure 8)

sVa *Argent a chief vairy or and gules a bend sable*

#Sir Henry Fitzherbert

Sir Henry Fitzherbert, Lord of the Manor of Norbury, see above.

sVb *Gules a lion rampant argent*

#Roger de Mowbray (baron 1278–1297) or his son John (a minor in 1297, d.1322) or Sir William Meer.⁸⁹

Sir Roger de Mowbray of Lincolnshire, served against the Welsh 1282 and 1283. He went to Gascony 1295 and was in Scotland with the King in 1296. His wife was the sister of Gilbert de Clare, senior (window nIIla).

There is no information on Sir William Meer.

sVbx *Gyronny of 12 or and azure*

#Warin de Bassingbourne (fl.1289 d.1317)

Sir Warin de Bassingbourne held Blythborough, Lincolnshire, from Roger de Mowbray, whose arms are immediately above these in the same light.⁹⁰ He served at Falkirk 1298. These arms were in Checkley church, Staffordshire.⁹¹

sVc *Azure semy de lis or*

France

Margaret of France (c.1280–1310), Queen of Edward I and daughter of Philip III of France, married Edward I in September 1299.

⁸⁸ Roger H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office*, vol. I (London, 1978), p. 44.

⁸⁹ These arms are recorded also in Add MS 4965 dated c.1272 as for a minor Staffordshire knight, Sir William de Mere of Maer and Norton, see George Wrottesley, ‘Staffordshire Coats of Arms 1272–1327 from Rolls of Arms in MS in the British Museum’, *Collections for the History of Staffordshire*, (1913), p. 281.

⁹⁰ *CIPM* vol iii 1291–1300, p. 359, for Roger de Mowbray.

⁹¹ T. Pape, ‘The Armorial Glass of Checkley Church’, *Transactions of North Staffs Field Club*, vol. LVIII (1923–24), p. 63. These arms, no longer extant, may not be contemporary with those at Norbury.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Note on blazoning

The arms of Poynings (nIVb), Berkeley (nVc) and Fitzherbert (sIIIb and sVa) are blazoned with a bend rather than a bendlet or a baston. There is a clear difference between the width of the bend in these arms and the bendlet in the arms of fitzRoger (nIIIc). Also their width is similar to that of the ordinaries of the fess, cross and saltire which appear in other shields.

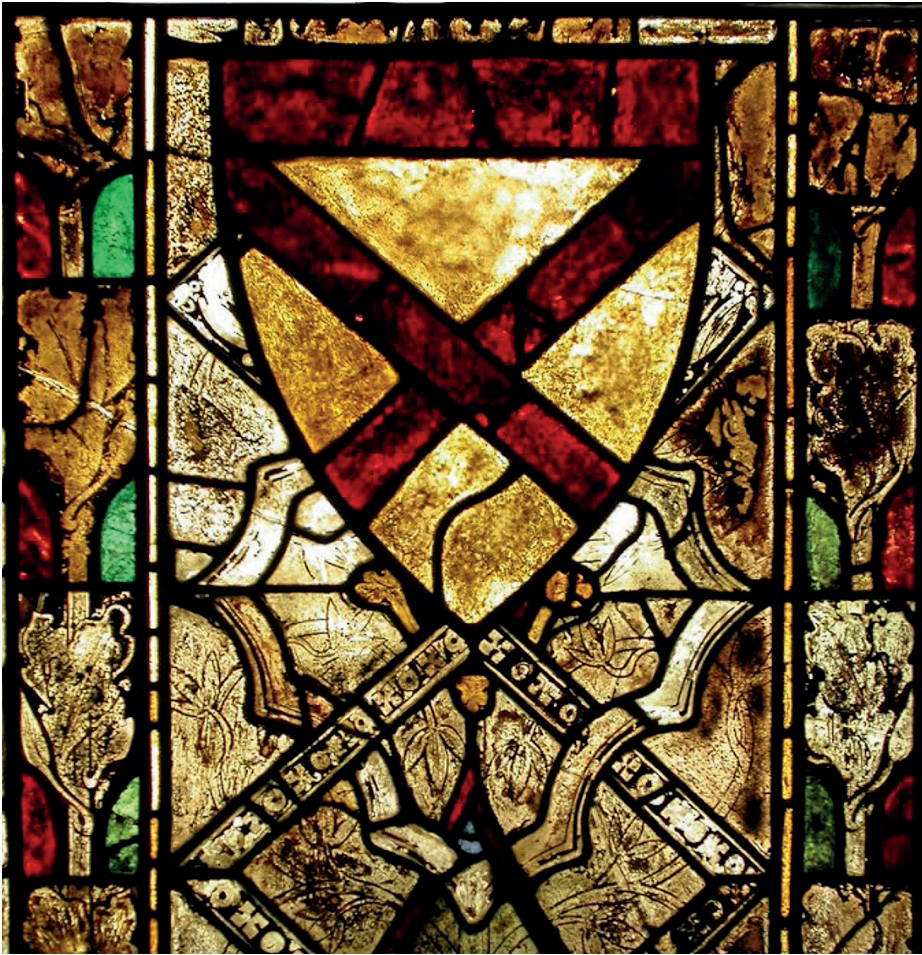


Figure 17: Detail of the Bruce arms in Window sIIa.

TREASURES OF THE HERALDRY SOCIETY

BOOKPLATE COLLECTION PART 1

ITEMS OF NAUTICAL INTEREST

PAUL A. FOX, F.H.S., F.S.A.

Abstract

The series commences with a selection of bookplates, either featuring ships and other nautical emblems, or belonging to individuals whose families were strongly connected with the sea, through the merchant marine, or the Royal Navy.

Introduction

Bookplates have not always received the attention that they deserve as an adjunct to the study of heraldry, as distinct from the considerable attention that they have received from those who collect them for their artistic merits. Their importance lies in providing convenient examples of how individuals interpreted the rules of heraldry, frequently in error, as they usually did so without reference to any heraldic authority. Fox-Davies found a huge discrepancy between the arms recorded in Burke's Landed Gentry and those to which families were actually entitled.¹ Thus the study of bookplates can be of tremendous value in the identification of arms and crests not recorded in Papworth, Burke and Fairbairn. The Heraldry Society bookplate collection comprises some 21,000 items ranging in date from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. The greater part is the 18,000 plates which were bequeathed to the Society by William Wade Porteous (1872–1963), of which approximately a third are non-heraldic. The Porteous collection is unindexed and somewhat randomly scattered through 57 volumes. The remaining 3000 plates are a combination of samples of personal arms donated by members of the Society following an appeal which went out in 1976, to which was added the twelve-volume collection of George William Marshall (1839–1905), York Herald, and author of *The Genealogist's Guide*.² His collection came to the Heraldry Society in 1978. These additions were arranged into alphabetical sequence by Leslie George Pierson, Hon F.H.S. (d.2003), and are known as the Marshall-Pierson Collection.

BYNG (Figure 1)³

Byng Viscount Torrington. Since the bookplate is anonymous the question must be for which Viscount Torrington it was designed. The usage of the naval guns on which rest both shield and supporters are testament to the family's proud descent from Admiral of the Fleet George Byng (1663–1733), who achieved his promotion to a naval captaincy for his involvement in the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. Byng was a very able commander, whose main reputation was based on a great victory over the Spanish

¹ Colin R. Lattimore, *The Bookplates of Miss C. Helard and other related matters* (Bookplate Society, 2012) section II 'Arthur Charles Fox-Davies 1871–1928', p. 23, with reference to the introduction to the 5th edition of Fox-Davies AF.

² George W. Marshall, *The Genealogist's Guide* 1879 (4th edn. Guildford, 1903).

³ Porteous vol. 56 Franks 4738

THE COAT OF ARMS

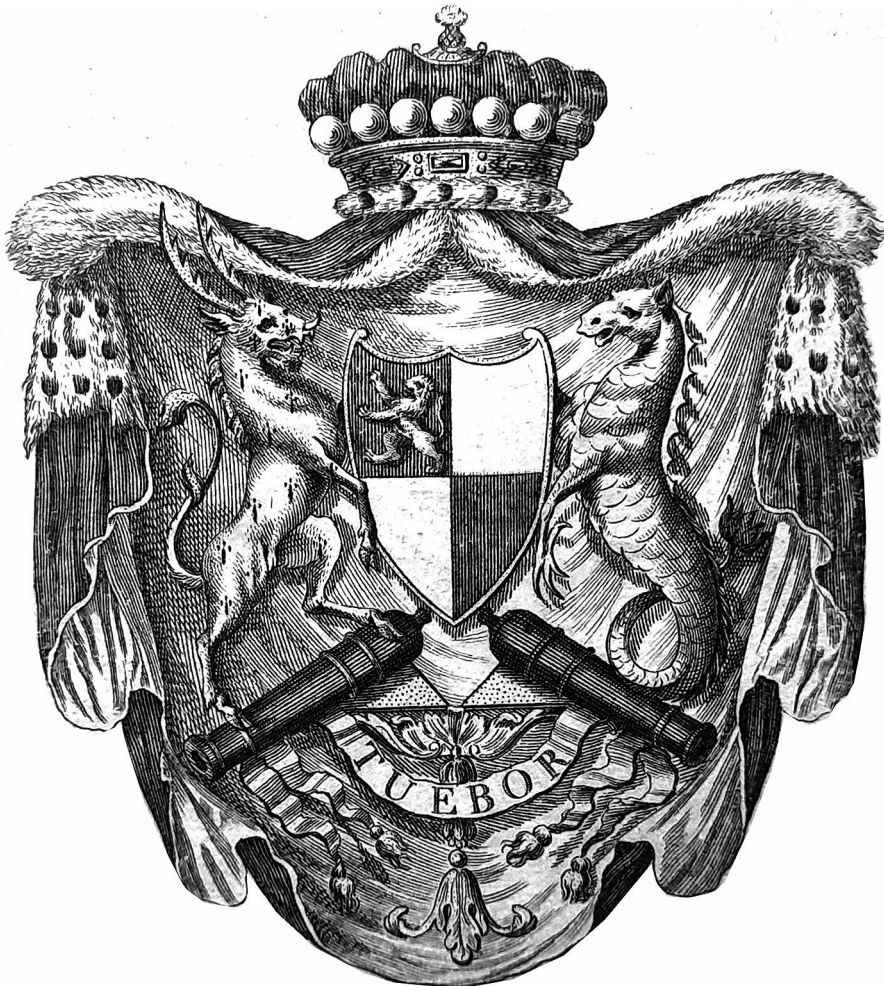


Figure 1: Bookplate probably designed for George Byng, 4th Viscount Torrington.

fleet in the Straits of Messina in 1718 when his captains captured eleven out of twenty-one ships and destroyed three others. He was made a baron in 1721 and then Viscount Torrington in 1725.⁴ The family reputation was only slightly tarnished when the admiral's younger son Admiral John Byng (1704–1757) was executed by firing squad on the quarterdeck of the *Monarque* in Portsmouth Harbour following the loss of the island of Minorca to the French. He was not considered to have 'done his utmost' to follow his orders, as was required by the *Articles of War*, but both the naval and political establishment were discomfited by his execution. It had largely come about due to the enmity of George II.⁵

⁴ John B Hattendorf 'George Byng first Viscount Torrington 1663–1733', *New DNB*.

⁵ Daniel A. Baugh, 'John Byng [1704–1757] *New DNB*.

BOOKPLATES

The use of the mantle or cloak is helpful because according to Fox-Davies this was only used with any frequency in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶ The mantle remains in widespread usage on the continent of Europe outside the British Isles. There was a vogue for using it on the carriages of the British nobility in the 1820s and 30s.⁷ This perhaps occurred when the nobility were once again able to holiday in France following the cessation of many years of conflict, leading to the importation of a French fashion. A review of the many examples of mantle usage on the bookplates in the catalogue of the comprehensive Franks Collection shows that the greater proportion belong to the later eighteenth century, with a small number of examples from the late seventeenth, and a modest contribution from the first halves of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such usage is very rare beyond 1850. The next factor to be taken into account is that only men and women of letters and learning needed bookplates for the libraries which they assembled in order to further their academic studies. With this in mind it is with high probability that this bookplate can be assigned to George Byng M.A. (1740–1812) 4th Viscount Torrington. It looks stylistically like a product of the eighteenth century, and moreover, George as a graduate of Trinity College Cambridge was the only head of the family to have received a university education. He served as minister plenipotentiary to Brussels in 1783–92, where there would have been ample opportunity to be inspired by examples of heraldic mantles. His literary output was considerable and his letters lie scattered through a range of archives, including the British Library. His son John can be discounted as he was viscount for only 25 days, which really leaves only his grandson George Byng (1768–1831) the 6th viscount needing to be considered. George might certainly be considered as a possible contender, although with very much lower probability.⁸ He followed in the family tradition of the navy, beginning as a midshipman on the *Thunderer* in 1778. Rising to become a post captain in 1795 he remained militarily active throughout the Napoleonic Wars, although without the glory of having been one of Nelson's captains, and was promoted to Rear Admiral in 1814. While it is true that he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1817, this was not a rare distinction for an admiral, whose occupation required him to become an expert mathematician, cartographer and astronomer.⁹

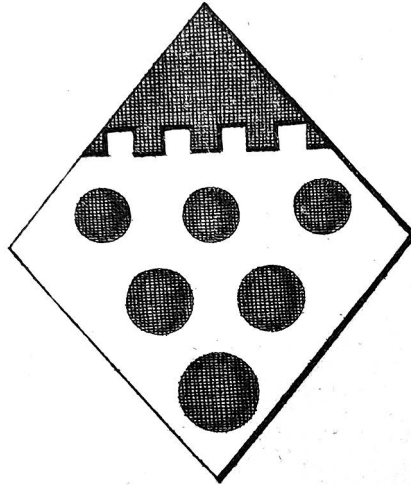
⁶ Fox-Davies, *The complete guide to heraldry* (London, 1904) pp. 399–400.

⁷ Fox-Davies, *op.cit.*

⁸ The 7th viscount was a career soldier and not a man of letters.

⁹ Anthony Pincott notes that his version of the bookplate is printed on post 1800 wove paper, and may have been reprinted for a later generation.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Mary Brouncker.

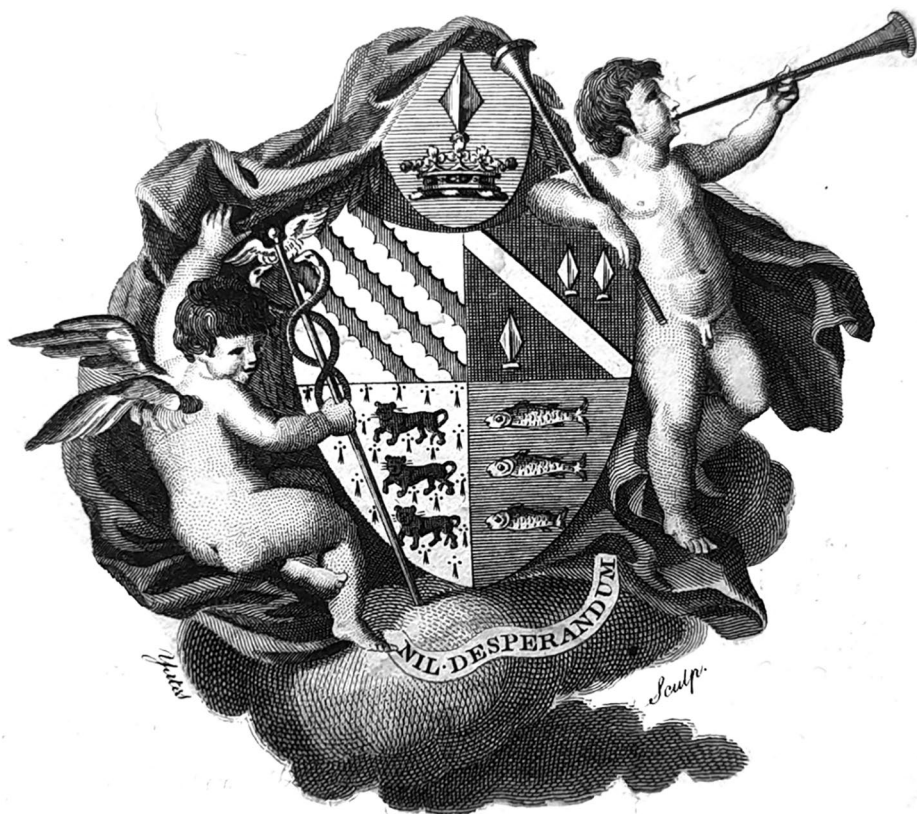
Figure 2: Bookplate of Mary Brouncker.

BROUNCKER (Figure 2)¹⁰

Mary Brouncker (c.1766–1813). Mary was born on the island of St Kitts, the daughter of the solicitor and deputy collector Henry Brouncker (1707–69) and his second wife Susanna Feuilliteau (d.1808). Bequests made to her by her father of £5000, and by her grandfather Lewis Feuilliteau (d.1769) of a further £500 left her a wealthy young woman, who commissioned her own bookplate.¹¹ She then caught the eye of a Royal Naval captain, the Hon William Clement Finch (1753–94), son of Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Aylesford, and married him in Marylebone in 1789 at the house of her stepfather John Stanley. Finch was already by then a very wealthy man in his own right, his share of the prize money from ships captured during the wars amounting to £74,000. While still an active naval commander he was advanced to flag rank as the Rear Admiral of the Blue in 1794, but died the same year. Mary married for a second time to William Strode in Marylebone in 1803. The arms are those of Sir Henry Brouncker (d.1607), Lord President of Munster in Ireland, from whom the Family on St Kitts were descended: *Argent six ogresses three, two and one and a chief embattled sable*.

¹⁰ Porteous Coll. vol. 9, Franks 3949.

¹¹ Vere Longford Oliver, *West Indian Bookplates* (London, 1914), no. 623.



Thomas Anson Esq.
SHUGBOROUGH.

Figure 3: Bookplate of Thomas Anson (1767–1818).

ANSON (Figure 3)¹²

Thomas Anson (1767–1818) later Viscount Anson of Shugborough, had this bookplate made in 1800.¹³ He was heir to a famous naval name and a vast naval fortune as the great nephew of Admiral George Anson (1697–1762). George entered the navy in 1712 and was a post captain by 1724. In 1740 as commodore of a small squadron he went in pursuit of a Spanish squadron round Cape Horn.¹⁴ He and his men suffered tremendous

¹² Porteous Coll. vol. 56; Franks 590; Henry W. Fincham, *Artists and engravers of British and American book plates* (London, 1897), p.111.

¹³ This date is from Fincham and Anthony Pincott advises caution in relying on complete precision with Fincham's dating.

¹⁴ N.A.M.Roger 'George Anson, Baron Anson 1697–1762', *New DNB*.

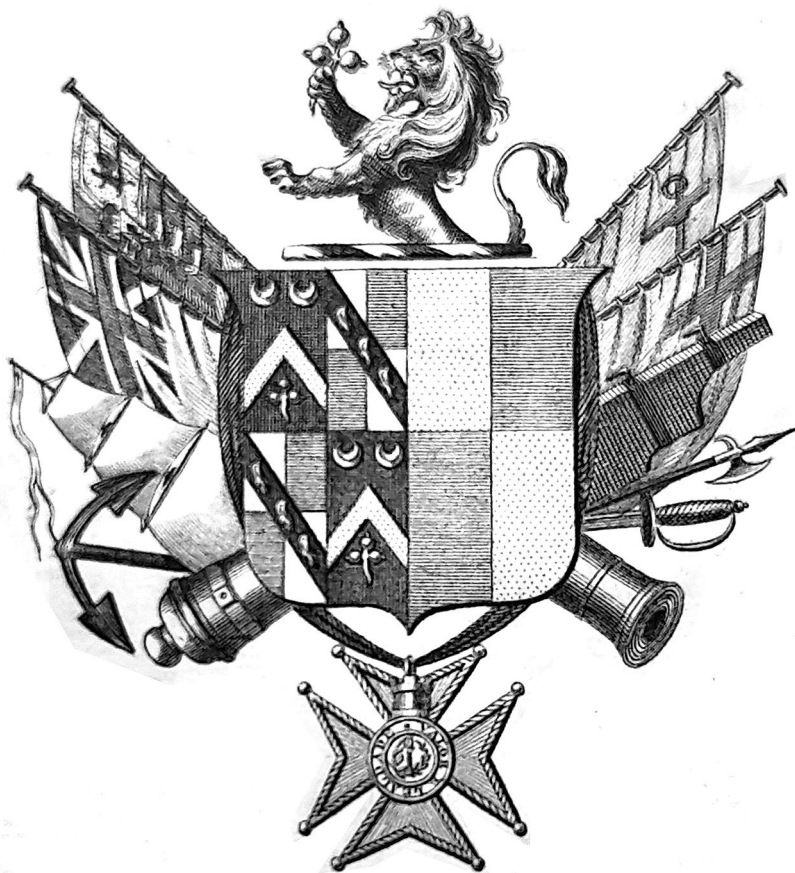
THE COAT OF ARMS

vicissitudes, but in 1743 in the Pacific Ocean he captured the annual Spanish treasure ship bound from Manila to Acapulco. It was laden with pieces of eight and silver ingots. His return home with the booty, having circumnavigated the globe, restored Britain's self esteem in a very difficult period, and made him a national hero. He was swiftly elevated to the rank of Rear Admiral and made a Lord of the Admiralty. Following a further victory over the French off Cape Finistere in 1747 which saw the capture of six men of war, and more prize money for Anson, he was elevated to the peerage as Baron Anson of Soberton. As a lieutenant he had served in the Mediterranean under Sir George Byng, and it was his misfortune to be the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1756 at the time of Admiral John Byng's failure in Minorca, for which he bore some responsibility, but it did not hinder him from returning to sea as an admiral of the fleet. He married somewhat late in life and bequeathed his entire fortune to his wife, who predeceased him in 1760. The value of his prize money approaches £22 million in today's money, he having won the lottery of life. Following his death everything went to his elder brother Thomas Anson (c.1695–1773) who had lived his life as a wealthy playboy. Thomas had been on the Grand Tour, and co-founded the Dilettanti Society in 1732. He had also been to Egypt in 1740, and was deeply immersed in classical culture, which appears to have been transmitted to his great nephew if bookplate design is anything to go on. Thomas left everything to his nephew George Adams (1731–89) apart from an annuity of £500 to George's mother Janette Anson (1691–1771) and the same to George's maiden aunt Johanna, plus some other minor bequests. George adopted the surname and arms of Anson. His son Thomas Anson, the owner of the bookplate, was a Whig MP and a loyal supporter of Charles James Fox, who obtained for him a peerage as Viscount Shugborough in 1806. Thomas married Anne Margaret Coke, daughter of the agricultural pioneer Thomas Coke of Holkham in Norfolk.

On the bookplate the cherubs hold the caduceus and the trumpet, both perhaps intended to allude to his political activism and stridency. The quarterings are 1. Anson, 2. Carrier, 3. Adams and 4. Sambrooke. This is an odd arrangement and the family later moved Adams to the second quarter. On his elevation to the peerage Lord Anson naturally adopted similar supporters of a seahorse and a lion to those which had been borne by the Admiral of a seahorse and a sealion.

The engraver of the bookplate was Samuel Yates (1757–1825), an itinerant Jewish seal engraver from Strelitz in Prussia who settled in Liverpool in 1798 following the death of his elder brother Benjamin Yates (c.1752–1798), in order to take over his brother's engraving and jewellery business in the city. Benjamin had also been a rabbi, living at 109 Frederick Street, which became a synagogue. Between them the two brothers were active in producing bookplates between 1780 and 1810.

BOOKPLATES



Rear Admiral Thomas Western.

TATTINGSTON PLACE.

Figure 4: Bookplate of Rear Admiral Thomas Western.

WESTERN (Figure 4)¹⁵

Rear Admiral Thomas Western (1761–1814) of Tattingstone Place, Suffolk was a career naval officer who entered the Royal Navy in 1780 at the age of nineteen and was promoted commander in 1793. Service on the West Indies station led to him meeting his future wife Mary Burch (1777–1856) on the island of Bermuda, and he married her there in 1794. The following year as commander of H.M.S. Scorpion (16 guns) he

¹⁵ Porteous Coll. vol. 55.

THE COAT OF ARMS

managed to capture no less than six French ships as prizes, two of them warships. In 1797 he was promoted to post captain as commander of H.M.S. Dictator (64 guns). Towards the end of his active career in 1808 he was involved in taking the Portuguese royal family to Brazil for safety in the face of Napoleonic invasion, for which service King Pedro III made him a knight of the Order of the Tower and the Sword, the order which we see on his bookplate. He effectively retired with the rank of rear admiral in 1809, following which he commissioned his bookplate (which is not in the Franks Collection) as well as a full-length portrait by local artist John Constable. The arms are those of Western (*Sable a chevron between in chief two crescents and in base a slipped trefoil or*) quartering Le Gros (*Quarterly argent and azure on a bend gules three martlets or*-another East Anglian family) and impaling Burch (*Quarterly or and azure*). The shield is suitably surrounded by naval flags, cannon and other naval items. The couple's eldest son Thomas Burch Western (1795–1873) was made a baronet.

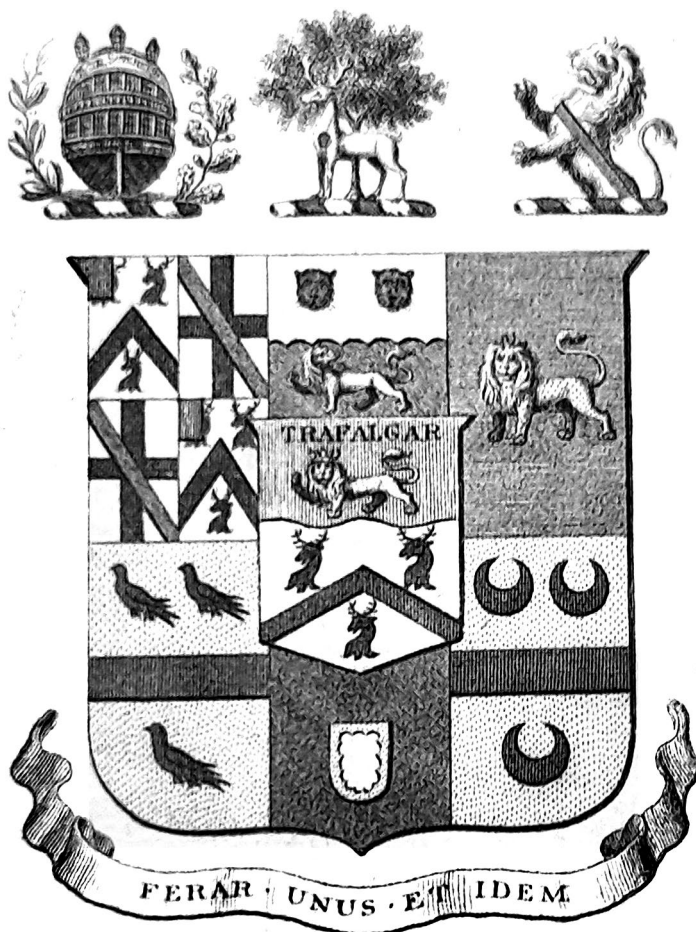
COLLINGWOOD (Figure 5)¹⁶

George Lewis Newnham-Collingwood (1782–1837) was a London barrister who adopted the surname and arms of his deceased father-in-law Vice Admiral Cuthbert Lord Collingwood in 1819, which was the year of death both of his mother-in-law Mary Bannister (née Johnson) Collingwood and his wife's only sister and coheirress Mary Patience Collingwood. These two events made George Newnham's wife Sarah the sole heir to significant wealth. She was already in receipt of an annuity of £500 for life from a grateful nation. Admiral Collingwood was a friend of Nelson and his second in command at the Battle of Trafalgar, 21st October 1805, where he controlled the lee line of ships. Naturally following Nelson's heroic death the command of the entire battle fleet fell to him. In the euphoria which followed he was not only elevated to the peerage as Baron Collingwood, but also granted an annuity of £2000 for life and his two daughters £500 each for life. He was granted his Trafalgar augmentation in 1807, Nelson's brother the Revd Dr William Nelson having received his in January 1806. Nelson was given *A fess wavy azure thereon the word Trafalgar or*, while Collingwood received *On a chief wavy gules a lion passant navally crowned or and above it the word Trafalgar or*. He further received a crest of augmentation, this being the stern of his flagship at Trafalgar, the *Royal Sovereign*, between a branch of laurel and a branch of oak. He had been a great planter of oak trees. We see this crest to the left on George's bookplate, while in the centre is the admiral's original crest, A stag at gaze under an oak tree proper. Admiral Collingwood died on his flagship off Minorca in 1810, and like Nelson he lay in state at the Greenwich naval hospital before being interred beside his friend in the crypt of St Paul's cathedral, where a fine monument was erected.

George Newnham was the third son of Thomas Newnham (d.1817), a wealthy citizen and mercer of London. He was educated at Harrow, Trinity College Cambridge, entering Lincoln's Inn in 1802 and being called to the bar in 1807. In 1803 he became a freeman mercer by patrimony. He married Sarah Collingwood (1792–1851) at St

¹⁶ Porteous Coll. vol. 55. This bookplate has also been illustrated by Peter Allpress, 'Augmentations of Honour on Armorial Bookplates', in Bookplate Journal, vol. 5, no. 2 (September 1987), p. 73, which discusses two further nautical augmentations, those of the Hon. Captain Duncan p. 70 and of Rear Admiral Sir Charles Brisbane p. 76.

BOOKPLATES



George Lewis Newnham Collingwood.

Figure 5: Bookplate of George Lewis Newnham-Collingwood.

George's Hanover Square in 1816. His original bookplate as George Lewis Newnham, esq is in the Franks Collection¹⁷, but the bookplate which followed his name change is not. He showed a strong devotion to the memory of his father-in-law, whom he probably had never met, by publishing his writings. On his earlier bookplate his secondary quarterings of Howe, Thompson and Chadworth are the same as those carved on his father's funeral monument in Bromley church, but he later added two more, of indeterminate families. In the first quarter is Collingwood differenced with a

¹⁷ Franks no. 21753.

THE COAT OF ARMS

canton quartering Newnham with Collingwood placed in the first quarter in honorific transposition. His version of the arms of Newnham (*Argent a cross sable and over all a bend vert*) are not the tinctures on his father's tomb (*Or a cross sable surmounted by a bend argent, a crescent for difference*), but the latter have been incorrectly repainted. He died at his Kentish home, Moor House in Hawkhurst in 1837, age 55 leaving two daughters, and was buried in the parish church there.

VASSALL (Figure 6)¹⁸

Captain Sir Spencer Lambert Hunter Vassall K.H., K.B. (1799–1846) entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman on HMS Venerable (74 guns) in 1812 and immediately saw action on the Spanish coast. In 1814 he was sent by the service to the West Indies. In 1819, having been commissioned as a naval lieutenant, he published anonymously a small book relating to the heroic death of his father, *A memoir of the life of Lieutenant-Colonel Vassall* (Bristol, 1819). It concluded with an account of augmentations of honour awarded to the family, illustrated with his own newly created bookplate (Franks 30248). The published plate had the legend *Spencer L.H. Vassall esquire, Royal Navy*, removed. It was engraved by Thomas Burnell of Bristol who was active in the production of bookplates from 1809 to 1845. The original arms were those of their French noble ancestors *Azure in chief a sun in splendour and in base a chalice or*, to which the English family added the crest of a ship.¹⁹ The original shield has a catholic symbolism, two members of the family having been cardinals, but both the cup and the ship, being vessels, are an obvious canting allusion to the surname.

The captain's father Lt Colonel Spencer Thomas Vassall (1764–1807) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he had been a colonel in the local militia until in the revolutionary wars he found himself on the losing side, and removed to England. He purchased his commission in 1801 in the 38th Regiment of Foot, which he turned into a crack regiment. In 1806 he was at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, while the following year he found himself participating in a grand scheme to expand the British Empire in South America. He led his men through a breach in the walls of the bastion of Montevideo (later the capital of Uruguay) and was mortally wounded, dying four days later. His heroic death was widely reported in the British press, such derring-do being the stuff of empire. The cause of his widow was taken up by the Duke of York, and it is doubtless through his intervention that the heraldic augmentation was granted, together with two pensions and a lump sum. The example of Nelson would have been fresh on everyone's mind. The breached walls of the bastion of Montevideo were added to the arms in two places: to the shield on a fess, and as an additional crest. On a canton was placed the number 38 encircled with a garland formed by a branch of laurel and a branch of cypress united, the laurel for victory and the cypress for mourning. An additional motto was also granted 'Every bullet has its billet', which we assume must have been the deceased soldier's favourite dictum. By a curious coincidence the arms of the republic of Uruguay since 1829 have borne the crest of a sun in splendour. This also appears on the canton of the Uruguayan national flag where it is called 'the sun of May', the country's independence day being celebrated on 18th May.

¹⁸ Marshall-Pierson Coll. V6; Franks 30254.

¹⁹ Harl. Soc. NS vol. 19 (2010), p. 339 gives some of the earlier history of this family.

BOOKPLATES

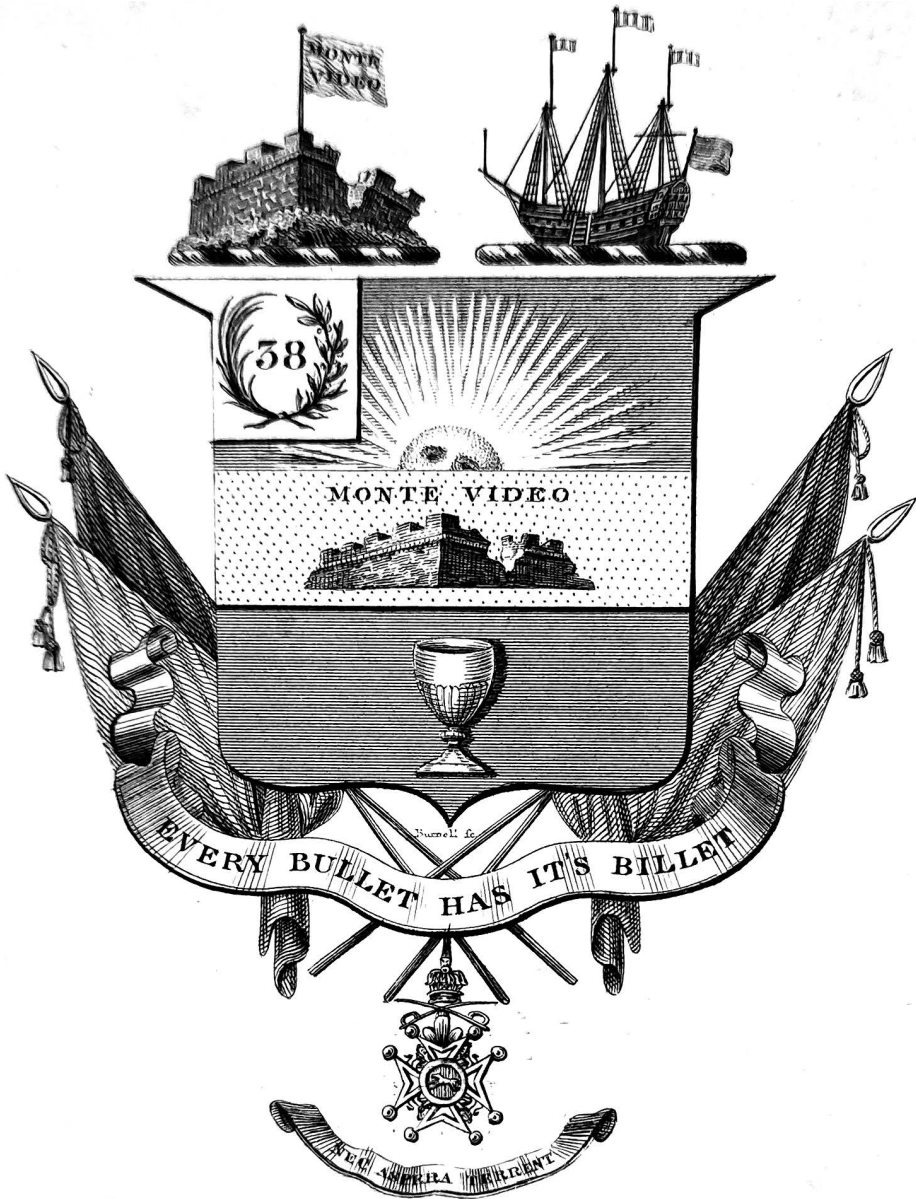


Figure 6: Bookplate of Captain Sir Spencer Lambert Hunter Vassall.

THE COAT OF ARMS

The creation of the bookplate served an important role for Lieutenant Vassall in honouring the memory of his father, and over the next sixteen years he amended it on four separate occasions as his career progressed (Franks 30248 to 30251 and 30254). This is rather unusual and suggests he was expecting a significant number of people to see it. An obvious explanation would be that he was using the bookplate as a calling card, one which told its recipient that here was the son of a famous hero. His active naval career continued until his promotion to commander in 1827, but he then found himself on half pay waiting for a suitable ship. He updated his bookplate with the title “captain”, to which he was entitled as a master and commander. We can well imagine his joy when in 1831 he was given command of a new eighteen-gun corvette and sent to the Indian Ocean.

In October 1833 reports reached the British press of ‘a very dashing attack’ and a ‘gallant exploit’ undertaken by the commander, who had taken boats to root out several nests of Malay pirates who had been terrorising the Malacca Straits. On his return to England following the end of his tour of duty in 1835 he was knighted by King William IV, who invested him with the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic order. This led to the fourth and final reworking of the bookplate with the removal of his name and its substitution with the insignia of the Guelphic Order (**Figure 6**). Although the commander was promoted to post captain in 1837, and made a Knight of the Bath the following year, he never managed to obtain another sea command. He was, however, financially secure, having inherited plantations in Jamaica from both his cousin and his uncle. In 1836 he and his mother were compensated with £2595 for the freedom of their 133 slaves, although this was only a small fraction of the 1,167 slaves that his great grandfather had owned in Jamaica on his death in 1747. The captain’s marriage in 1844 to Letitia Napier occasioned him to commission an entirely new bookplate from Wyon, with two shields accolé, one of Vassall and the other of Vassall impaling Napier (Franks 30252). They were the toasts of society, their attendance at functions being occasionally noted by newspapers. The captain was now a hero in his own right, and his earlier bookplate, which had said more about his father than himself, could be put into retirement. The euphoria came to an abrupt end only two years later with the captain’s sudden death.

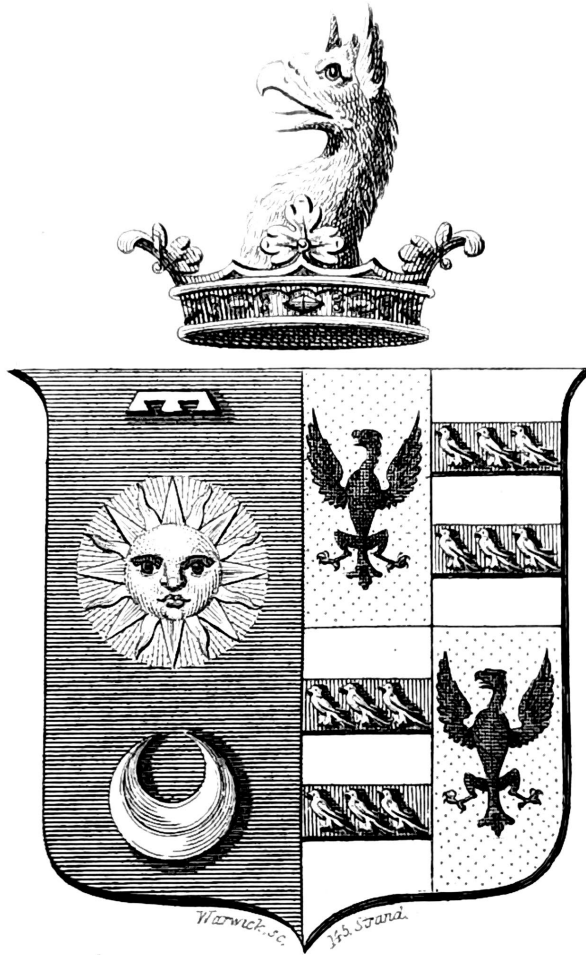
BOWLES (Figure 7)²⁰

Admiral of the Fleet Sir William Bowles K.C.B. (1780–1869) commissioned his bookplate in 1840 when he was still a naval captain, from Warwick engravers at 145 Strand, London.²¹ In doing so he was following the example of his wife Frances who purchased a bookplate from the same supplier immediately following their marriage, some twenty years earlier. William was promoted to rear admiral the following year. His maternal grandfather Sir Thomas Frankland had also been an admiral. Bowles joined the Royal Navy in 1796 as an ordinary seaman and was promoted midshipman in 1797, lieutenant 1803 and commander 1806. In that capacity he commanded H.M.S. Zebra at the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. His progress through the ranks

²⁰ Porteous Coll. vol. 55, Franks 3297.

²¹ Fincham p. 101 records about 250 bookplates engraved by the firm of Benjamin and John Warwick between 1807 and 1850, with outlets at 145 Strand and 124 Regent Street, London. Benjamin Warwick advertised as ‘seal and copper plate engraver to the royal family’.

BOOKPLATES



Captain Bowles, R.N.

Figure 7: Bookplate of the later Admiral of the Fleet Sir William Bowles.

continued to be rapid, as he was made post captain the same year, and commodore in 1816. His ancestral arms *Azure in chief the sun in splendour argent and in base a crescent or* were borne without the label for difference by the admiral's somewhat distant kinsman the Revd William Lisle Bowles (1762–1850) of Bremhill, Wiltshire, a

THE COAT OF ARMS

canon of Salisbury Cathedral.²² According to family tradition the crescent was added to the arms in 1595 to mark participation in the fight against the Turks in Hungary. There was certainly a strong martial spirit in this family of clergymen, the admiral's younger brother General Sir George Bowles (1787–1876) served throughout the Peninsular Wars and was at Waterloo. The arms of the admiral's wife, the Honourable Frances Temple, whom he married at St George's Hanover Square in 1820, are even more remarkable. Frances was the daughter of Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston, and sister of Lord Palmerston who served two terms as prime minister, 1855–58 and 1859–65. The Temple family wrongly believed themselves to be descended from Leofwin, earl of Mercia and his wife Lady Godiva, and thus bore the attributed arms of Leofwin, *Or an eagle displayed sable*, in the first quarter of their arms.²³ We see them here as an impalement, quartering Temple (*Argent two bars sable each charged with three martlets or*). It was during his brother-in-law's administration that William Bowles was made a full admiral, in 1857, and a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1862, but Bowles had real ability, and this should not be construed as nepotism. He was promoted to admiral of the fleet in 1869, four years after Palmerston's death.

RIVETT-CARNAC (Figure 8)²⁴

Admiral John Rivett-Carnac (1796–1869) was born in Bombay as the son of James Rivett (1759–1802) of the East India Company. James found himself in the unusual situation that following the death of his sister Elizabeth his brother-in-law General John Carnac wished to leave him his fortune on condition that he adopted the name and arms of Carnac, which he duly did by royal licence in July 1801. His younger son John joined the navy and soon saw his first military action in the War of 1812, age 16. In 1827 as a lieutenant he participated in the exploration of the Swan River in Western Australia, and an island offshore was renamed Carnac Island in his honour. He progressed through the ranks during times of peace to become a full admiral in 1868. The bookplate which he commissioned was later modified for use by his eldest son Col. John Henry Rivett-Carnac (1838–1923) FSA, who added his own name and the decorations which he had been awarded (mostly by foreign monarchs) were suspended below the seal design. It seems distinctly likely that it was the son who commissioned the bookplate on his father's behalf. The rationale behind this suggestion is that he was a keen antiquarian and a prolific author, and the arms adopted were different from those used by the family of the admiral's elder brother James, who had been given a baronetcy. Specifically the admiral's family adopted one version of the arms of the Suffolk family of Rivett while the baronets adopted another. On the admiral's bookplate the arms of Carnac quarter Rivett as *Argent three bars and in chief three trivets sable*, while the baronets quartered Rivett as *Per pale argent and sable on a chevron between three lozenges three martlets*

²² The father of William Bowles was already deceased, he was William Bowles (1755–1826) of Woodford in Wilts, son of the Revd William Bowles (1719–1802) and his wife Magdalen Wake, who married at Woodford by licence in 1751. The Revd William was born in Salisbury, the son of William and Jane Bowles.

²³ J. Horace Round, *Peerage and Pedigree* (London, 1910) vol. 2 pp. 15–18.

²⁴ Marshall-Pierson Coll. C35; Franks 5165.



Rivett-Carnac.

Figure 8: Bookplate of Admiral John Rivett-Carnac, early to mid-19th century.

*all counterchanged.*²⁵ Both branches of the family used the two crests of the Carnac crescent and sword and the Rivett arms and sword. John Henry Rivett-Carnac was a civil servant in India working for the Viceroy who went on to become ADC to Queen Victoria in 1894 and subsequently served Edward VII in the same capacity. His best-known work was *Life in India* published in 1910. Carnac was a famous name in British India, General John Carnac (1716–1800) having played an important role militarily in converting the East India Company from a struggling concern into a major economic power house.

²⁵ For these arms as those of Rivett see Joan Corder, *A dictionary of Suffolk arms* (Ipswich, 1965), pp. 18, 218.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 9: Third bookplate of Trinity House, later 19th century.

TRINITY HOUSE (Figure 9)²⁶

The Guild of the Most Glorious and Undivided Trinity and of St Clement in the parish of Deptford Strond in the county of Kent was founded in 1514 by charter of Henry VIII for the training and regulation of Thames river pilots. The guiding force behind it was the king's sailing master Thomas Spert (d.1541) who at the time was master of the brand-new flagship the *Mary Rose*. This fine ship went on to enjoy a successful career but was getting a bit long in the tooth in nautical terms by the time that she sank in the Solent in 1545. Spert was the first Master of the Guild and remained so until his death. The reign of Elizabeth I saw a great expansion of the powers of Trinity House when the Seamarks Act of 1566 directed them to set up beacons, with responsibility for the safety of the entire coast of the country. The first Trinity House lighthouse was built in 1609,

²⁶ Porteous Coll. vol. 32; Franks 34236.

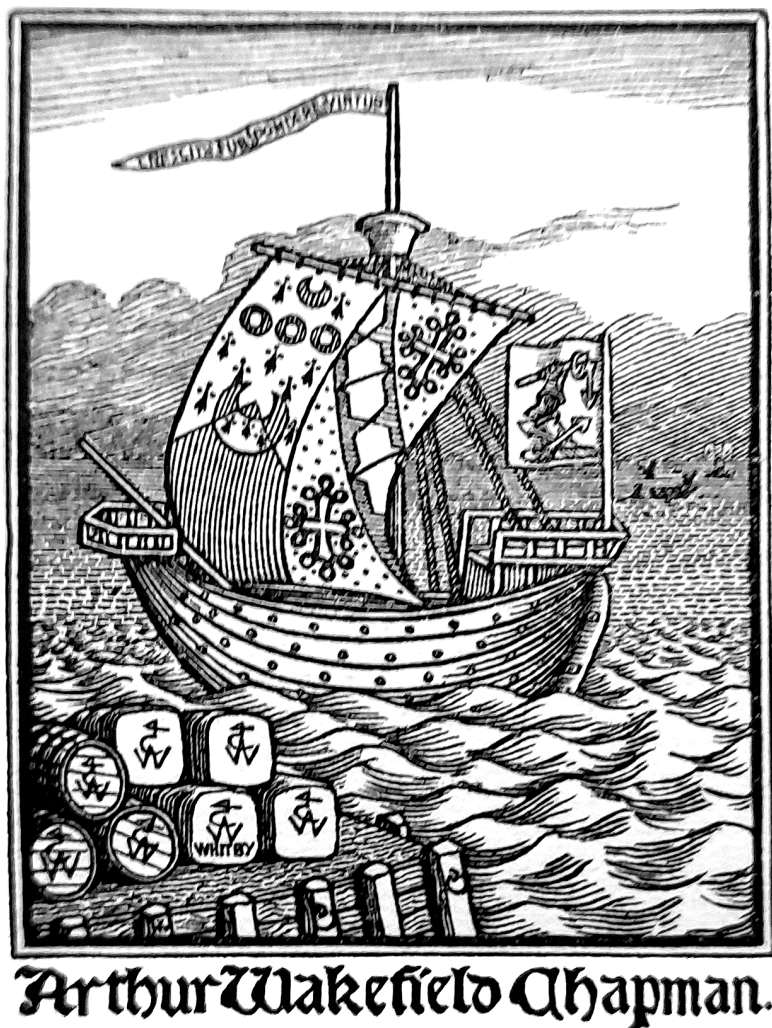


Figure 10: Bookplate of Sir Arthur Wakefield Chapman.

and ultimately every lighthouse in the land came under their aegis. In 1573 Elizabeth's heralds granted arms to the guild: *Argent a cross gules between four ships sable fore and topmasts up*, with the crest and motto as seen on this bookplate. There was no mention of sea on the letters patent but the ships have always been depicted as sailing on the waves. James II granted a charter of incorporation in 1685 and named Samuel Pepys, then chief secretary of the Admiralty, as Master. The library and the archive have suffered many vicissitudes, with most of the ancient records destroyed in a fire in 1714, and the entire building and contents, with its library, being destroyed by enemy action on 29th December 1940. Two eighteenth-century Trinity House bookplates are

THE COAT OF ARMS

listed in the Franks Collection, the Society's version being a Victorian re-design by an unknown artist.²⁷

CHAPMAN (Figure 10)²⁸

Sir Arthur Wakefield Chapman (1849–1926) was the son of Henry Chapman (1797–1854) who worked in Calcutta for the East India Company as a merchant and married his wife Priscilla Wakefield there in 1836. Arthur himself worked in Calcutta between 1875 and 1902 and became chairman of Surrey County Council 1911–17. It was perhaps his long voyages to India which made him choose a ship design for his bookplate. The arms on the ship's sail *Per chevron ermine and gules a crescent counterchanged and in chief three annulets gules*, were granted by the College of Arms in 1843. The bookplate was engraved on wood by William Harcourt Hooper (1834–1912), who from the 1850s worked for the *Illustrated London News*. He was also employed by the leading artists Sir John Tenniel, Lord Leighton and Sir John Millais to engrave their works. From 1891–6 he worked for the Kelmscott Press, including on the Kelmscott Chaucer and the *Morte d'Arthur*, engraving illustrations by Edward Burne-Jones and others.

FORWOOD (Figure 11)²⁹

Harold Stanley Forwood (1864–1925) of Bromborough Hall, Cheshire, was a Lancashire cotton merchant. The main interest of his bookplate is the arms they carry. These were granted to his father Sir William Bower Forward K.B.E. (1840–1928) and to his uncle Sir Arthur Bower Forward, bart (1836–98). These brothers were both grandees of Liverpool in its heyday. They were shipowners and merchants, both serving a term as Lord Mayor of the city. The nautical flavour of the family arms speaks of their maritime activities, and indeed Harold's father had been a ship's captain, having obtained his licence to be a ship's master in 1874. The brothers chose as the main charge on their shield a galley: *Per fesse or and azure in base an ancient galley or, sails argent*, while in chief we find the cormorant or Liver Bird, the ancient symbol of Liverpool. A bird was depicted in the borough's seal in 1352, and in 1797 the cormorant was officially granted as the city arms. Harold's father's place of death reveals that his spirit of maritime adventure lasted his whole life. He died at Reid's Palace in Funchal, Madeira.

²⁷ The two earlier designs were Franks 34234 in 'Early Armorial' style and Franks 34235 in 'Jacobean armorial' style.

²⁸ Marshall-Pierson Coll. C64.

²⁹ Marshall-Pierson Coll. F88.



Figure 11: Bookplate of Harold Stanley Forwood.

THE COAT OF ARMS

HEAD (Figure 12)³⁰

Christopher Head, M.A. (1869–1912) was a barrister working in the Admiralty division who went into local politics and served as mayor of Chelsea from 1909 to 1911. He was a collector of prints and drawings and is said to have been closely connected to the artistic world in his borough, and was also a member of the now defunct Burlington Fine Arts Club. He chose to base his 1902 bookplate on Albrecht Dürer's 1521 engraving of St Christopher carrying the Christ child on his head. This was perhaps intended as a secondary pun: Christopher Head- Christ on the head. Dürer was the first engraver to produce heraldic bookplates, although of course his St Christopher was not such an example. The upper and left sides of the bookplate with the monastery, the tree and the shield were additions designed by 'Scott', while the engraving was undertaken by John Edward Syson (1855–1921) who was on contract to the booksellers John & Edward Bumpus Ltd, based in London's West End. Head had connections with the insurance industry, his father being an insurance broker for Lloyds of London, for whom he also worked. It was fortunate that he decided to insure his life for £25,000 while on a business trip to the United States, he having only recently married the recently divorced Ethel Georgina May Chapman (1871–1960). He booked a small first class cabin on the starboard side of RMS Titanic (B11). It was located below the bridge, and four decks directly above Boiler Room 6 where the iceberg struck. He was one of those who lost his life on 15th April 1912, and one whose body was never identified. St Christopher as the patron saint of travellers let him down on this occasion. There is a sundial memorial to him in Cadogan Square in Chelsea.

FIRTH (Figure 13)³¹

Bernard Alexander Firth (1866–1929) and his wife Mary Lewton Penny (1866–1949) of Norton Hall, Sheffield had their 1903 bookplate engraved for them through the offices of the London booksellers Bumpus (agent W.P.B.). Most would consider that William Phillips Barrett abused his position as a Bumpus employee by obliging the artists to engrave these initials on the bookplates, thereby implying that he was the craftsman responsible. The actual engraver in this instance was John Augustus Charles Harrison (1872–1955).³² Harrison came from a family of engravers and was the grandson of a herald painter, Samuel Harrison. Initially working primarily as a self-employed bookplate designer, he went on from 1911 to become a noted creator of die proofs for British and Commonwealth stamps.

In the lower left corner of the Firth bookplate we have the couple's impaled arms, and to the right of this is the helmet, crest and motto of Firth. The old man of war in

³⁰ Porteous Coll. vol. 35.

³¹ Porteous Coll. vol. 32.

³² Brian North Lee, *J.A.C. Harrison Artist & Engraver* (The Bookplate Society, 1983).

BOOKPLATES



Figure 12: Bookplate of Christopher Head, 1902.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 13: Bookplate of Bernard Firth and his wife Mary Lewton, 1903.

BOOKPLATES

the drawing above carries on its stern the crest of Penny, and flies the Penny motto in streamers from its masts. This is a proud tribute to Mary's father, the Revd Dr Edward Lewton Penny D.D. (1836–99) who served as a Royal Naval chaplain on various warships between 1867 and 1880, and was chaplain to the Bermuda dockyard 1880–85, retiring in 1890. The chaplain had his own bookplate made in 1885 which depicted him standing in his clerical garb on the landing stage at Devonport dockyard with two men of war at anchor, his arms and crest on the stern of the nearest. He had died four years before his daughter and son-in-law's bookplate was made. Bernard's father was Mark Firth, a former mayor of Sheffield. The Revd Penny's bookplate was published by the Ex Libris Society in 1904.³³

DRURY (Figure 14).³⁴

Admiral Sir Charles Carter Drury GCB, GCVO, KCSI (1846–1914). There is no doubting the nautical flavour of the two arms quartered on this bookplate, a consequence of him having the navy in his blood. For his personal shield he added an anchor to the seventeenth century arms of Drury of Cambridgeshire, *Argent on a chief vert a tau between two mullets pierced or*, this being granted by the Ulster Office.³⁵ He quarters these with the arms of Maule which came from the marriage in 1747 of Anne, daughter of Captain James Maule of London to Edward Drury of Ireland, one of their sons being an admiral. Sir Charles himself was born in New Brunswick in Canada, and commanded several battleships following his promotion to captain in 1885. He was Second Sea Lord 1903–1908, and his bookplate was drawn by a very distinguished artist, Sir Neville Rodwell Wilkinson (1869–1940) in 1908 to commemorate Drury's promotion to full admiral that year, while he was serving as commander in chief of the Mediterranean fleet. He displays the three principal decorations of the K.C.B., G.C.V.O. and K.C.S.I. which he bore at that time, his G.C.B. being awarded later, on his retirement. Edward VII made him a Knight Commander of the Star of India simply for having volunteered to attend the Delhi Durbar of 1903. Just in case there were insufficient nautical allusions on his shield, the artist has embellished the design with sea shells, whales and mermen. Sea-shells were the principal charge on the shield of Sir Neville Wilkinson (*Per pale or and vert, a cevron between three sea-shells, all counterchanged*), for whom 1908 was equally a special year, when having recently retired from a military career he was created Ulster King of Arms in Ireland. This was a position which the Irish government allowed to lapse on his death in 1940. He was an amateur designer of bookplates and some sixty can be attributed to him.³⁶

³³ *Ex Libris Journal* vol. 14 (1904), p. 18.

³⁴ Porteous Coll. vol. 55.

³⁵ *Fox-Davies AF* 1929 p. 570.

³⁶ Brian Schofield and Brian North Lee, 'Bookplates by Sir Neville Rodwell Wilkinson', *The Bookplate Journal*, vol. 19 no. 1 (March 2001).

THE COAT OF ARMS

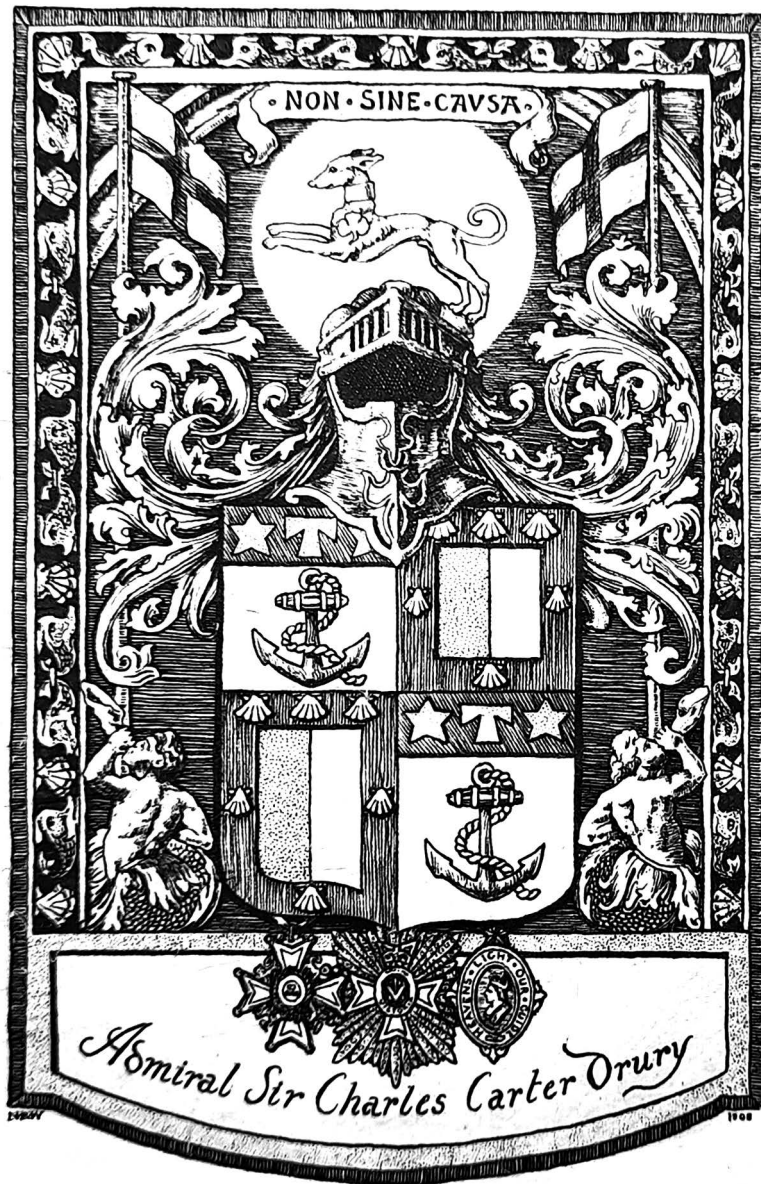


Figure 14: Bookplate of Admiral Sir Charles Carter Drury, 1908.

JONES (Figure 15)³⁷

Sir Evan Davies Jones, bart. (1859–1949) of Pentower, Pembrokeshire was a bookplate collector and would have known John Vinycomb (1833–1928), the designer of this bookplate, both by reputation and as a council member of the Ex Libris Society.³⁸ The seascape theme with a sailing vessel which he commissioned in 1919 is not just about the wonderful view over Fishguard which he enjoyed from his house at Pentower. His father Captain Thomas Daniel Jones (1829–65) of Fishguard was a merchant captain who died in Bombay while commanding the ship *Glendower* of Liverpool. His mother Martha Davies of Pentower was also the daughter of a master mariner. As a civil engineer Sir Evan was involved in building both the Manchester Ship Canal and the original Aswan Dam. He was MP for Pembrokeshire 1918–22, High Sheriff of that county in 1911, Lord Lieutenant 1932–44, and was made a baronet in 1917. His shield is blazoned *Argent a lion rampant sable collared and chained reflexed over the back or, on a chief arched sable two mullets argent*.

John Vinycomb (1833–1928) studied engraving under William Bell Scott (1811–90), a friend of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. From 1855 to 1899 he worked in Belfast in the art department of the Irish publishers Marcus Ward & Co, eventually moving to London in 1909, where in the 1911 census for Streatham he described himself as an artist, designer and illuminator. In 1890–92 he was President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and he was also a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He contributed a chapter to Fox-Davies' *The Art of Heraldry* in 1904.

BEAL (Figure 16)³⁹

Commander Noel Alfred Beal R.N. (1894–1959) was the son of a barrister, born in London. His parents were Edward William Beal (1845–1922) of Trinity Hall, Cambridge and the Middle Temple, author of a number of legal books, and his wife Jane Louisa Southey. Edward's elder brother Colonel Henry Beal (1843–1905) and their father Henry Ridley Beal (1811–81), a solicitor of 14 Southampton Buildings, Holborn, are noted by Fox-Davies in the 1895 edition of *Armorial Families* but without recording the arms.⁴⁰ On his bookplate Noel Beal bears the mullet cadency mark of a third son, and he was indeed the third of four sons. Given that the family were lawyers who worked in close proximity to the College of arms it is disappointing to discover

³⁷ Porteous Coll. vol. 3.

³⁸ Sir Evan's bookplate collection is now in the National Library of Wales, see Herbert M. Vaughan, *The Welsh book-plates in the collection of Sir Evan Davies Jones, bart., M. P. of Pentower, Fishguard; a catalogue* (London, 1920).

³⁹ Marshall-Pierson Coll. B75. The legend on the bookplate might easily be read as Noel D Beal. The middle letter could be either a lower-case A or a lower-case D. Although it might be objected that we have a different lower-case A in the surname, this would appear to be an artistic whim. Mr Owen Williams, an expert on the history of lettering, informs me that a lower-case A is a possible interpretation. He added that this 'ball and stick' lettering was invented in the early twentieth century. No Noel D Beal exists in the historical record for this period.

⁴⁰ *Fox-Davies AF* 1895 p. 80. The author tended to do this when he had not received documentary proof of the arms. In later editions he did not include the family under these circumstances, and indeed the family is omitted from later editions.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 15: Bookplate of Sir Evan Davies Jones, bart., 1919.

BOOKPLATES

that there is no record of their arms at the College.⁴¹ One can only assume that they had long been used, and perhaps theirs was a lost Commonwealth grant. The only families to have used arms of similar form and tincture are those of Snotterley of Norfolk *Gules a fess between three crosses formy argent* (also recorded with the crosses Or), recorded c.1520 as the arms of Southworth.⁴²

The second brother Lieutenant Basil Arthur Beal R.N. (1888–1917) died in 1917 when the submarine that he was commanding hit a mine off the Shetland Island with the loss of all hands. The youngest brother Gilbert Roger Wallace Beal (1902–1943) was a captain in the 3rd battalion of the 8th Punjab Regiment of the Indian Army. His comrades suffered great loss at the Battle of Monte Cassino in 1944. Noel enlisted as a naval cadet in 1906 and was a lieutenant on the dreadnought HMS Ajax at the Battle of Jutland in 1916. He was promoted to lieutenant commander in 1924 and retired in 1937 with the rank of commander. Passenger lists for 1923 and 1926 when he returned to England show that he was working on the China Station in Hong Kong. The return in 1926 is interesting because his bookplate was noted inside a copy of B.L. Putnam Weale's *Vanished Empire*, a book about the fall of the Chinese empire, newly published in London in 1926. He was active during the Second World War as an inspector of ordnance. He retired to Lee-on-Solent and died unmarried at the Royal Naval hospital Haslar, his obituary appearing in the *Portsmouth Evening News*. A medieval warship would have had an obvious appeal for this nautical bibliophile. His service record noted that he was keenly interested in naval history.⁴³

⁴¹ I am indebted to York Herald for this information.

⁴² DBA vol. 3 p. 394; *Papworth*, p. 745.

⁴³ TNA ADM 196/145/533. The author wishes to thank Mr Anthony Pincott, Treasurer of the Bookplate Society, for rendering great assistance with his encyclopaedic knowledge of the subject during the preparation of this paper, in particular for providing additional engraver attributions and references, and for correcting the first draft.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 16: Bookplate of Commander Noel Alfred Beal R.N, early 20th century.

HERALDIC NOUS IN HUON DE MERY'S 'TOURNAMENT OF THE ANTICHRIST'

DARIA STAROSKOLSKAIA, Ph.D.

Abstract

This paper summarises the heraldic aspects of a curious thirteenth-century poem, and attempts to unravel why the blazonry employed is at variance with the heraldic practice of its day.

Introduction

Li Tournoiementz Anticrit ('the Tournament of the Antichrist') is an Old French poem written in 1235–1240 by Huon de Mery, a poet of Norman birth, and a monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The plot of the poem is simple but innovative: the retinue of Antichrist consisting of human vices and sins accompanied by devils and ancient gods challenge Jesus Christ and his army of virtues, angels and Knights of the Round Table. The author, as he admits in the text, borrowed the ideas from Raoul de Houdenc and Chretien de Troyes, whose works he knew well.¹ Thus he combined courtly romance with allegory² that made the Tournament the forerunner of a whole new literary genre.

The poem is well known to modern researchers, as it was to the author's medieval audience. It has survived in twelve manuscripts, only one of which has been published with an in-depth scholarly analysis. This is the so-called "D" version³ which was first published by Tarbé in 1855⁴, and subsequently with a large critical annotation by Wimmer in 1888.⁵ Wimmer compared the D version to all other known surviving copies. The most recent study was undertaken by Bender in 1976.⁶ Unfortunately there are problems with each of the above published versions. The first and the last not only lack critical analysis, but also show errors and inaccuracies in transcription. The second is more precise but being a compilation is difficult to work with.⁷ Notwithstanding, Wimmer's edition is regarded as the definitive text and this study is based upon it.

We are not just concerned with the novelty of the Tournament. What makes it exceptionally interesting is that all the participants of the tournament on both sides

¹ K. Busby, 'Plagiarism and Poetry in the "Tournoiement Antéchrist" of Huon de Méry', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, vol. 84, no. 4 (Modern Language Society, 1983).

² K. Busby, 'Hunbaut and the Art of Medieval French Romance', in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly* (Rodopi, 1994), p. 49.

³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 25407, f. 213ra244va

⁴ P. Tarbé (ed.), *Le torneoient de l'Antechrist par Huon de Mery sur Seine, Collection des poètes de Champagne antérieurs au XVIe siècle* vol. 12 (Rheims, 1851), p. xviii.

⁵ Georg Wimmer, *Li tornoiementz Antecrit von Huon de Mery nach den Handschriften zu Paris, London und Oxford neu herausgegeben; Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* vol. 76, (Marburg, 1888).

⁶ M.O. Bender, *Le Torneiment Anticrist by Huon de Méry: a critical edition*; Romance Monographs vol. 17 (1976).

⁷ K. Busby, *Plagiarism*, op.cit., p. 505.

THE COAT OF ARMS

have heraldic arms. Altogether we have an allegorical armorial of 56 coats of arms. The earlier stages of the development of heraldry from its origins in the twelfth century are poorly understood due to a paucity of sources. The first dedicated heraldic documents – rolls of arms– were created in the 1250s.⁸ The Tournament was written some ten to twenty years earlier, making it a promising textual source on early heraldry, its application and perception.

This fact did not escape the attention of previous generations of heraldists. Just over a century ago, in 1922, Prinnet made the first study of the heraldic component of the text.⁹ He compared the description of arms from the poem with modern blazon and came to a conclusion that the heraldic language of the poem is “poor but correct, while the way of composing the arms is all wrong”. He noted that each shield has too many figures so that they seem to be all messed up and confused. Some of the terms used (such as *label*, *mirror* and *lozenge*) are quite uncommon in the context of actual thirteenth-century arms. This made Prinnet think that the author “knew heraldry only from books and his blazon was not inspired by real shields that he had seen”.¹⁰ Let us begin with two examples, firstly the arms of the Antichrist himself:

Antecrist

(The Antichrist, **Figure 1**) vv. 538–545

L'escu noir ot a faus miracles,
Qui trop estoit paranz et beaus,
Car bordez [ert] di dëableaus,
A i. crochet dampnement.
Escrit portoit son jugement
En un bende trop eslite,
Car ele estoit de mort soubite,
Fretée de pechiez mortieus.

Black shield with false miracles,
Too beautiful and exquisite,
Bordered with devils,
With a hook of damnation.
He bore his judgement written
On a rich bend
For he was of the deadly variety
Fretty of sinful death.

Cointise

(**Guile**), vv. 666–674

Portoit armes merveilles cointes
A dances d'or en vert danciées
A ii. bendes losengiées
De vaine gloire et d'arogance,
A i. mirëor d'ignorance,
Qui fet muser tote la gent,
A ii. papegais d'argent,
Qui chantent de joliveté,
A loriëol de niceté.

Carried a shield marvelously decorated
With a fess of gold indented green
And four bends lozengy
Vainglory and arrogance,
And a mirror of ignorance,
That is muzzling all the people,
And four silver parrots,
That singing of revelry,
Are songbirds of folly.

⁸ CEMRA, pp. 127.

⁹ M. Prinnet, 'Le langage héraldique dans le Tournoiement Antéchrist', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, vol. 83 (1922), p. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

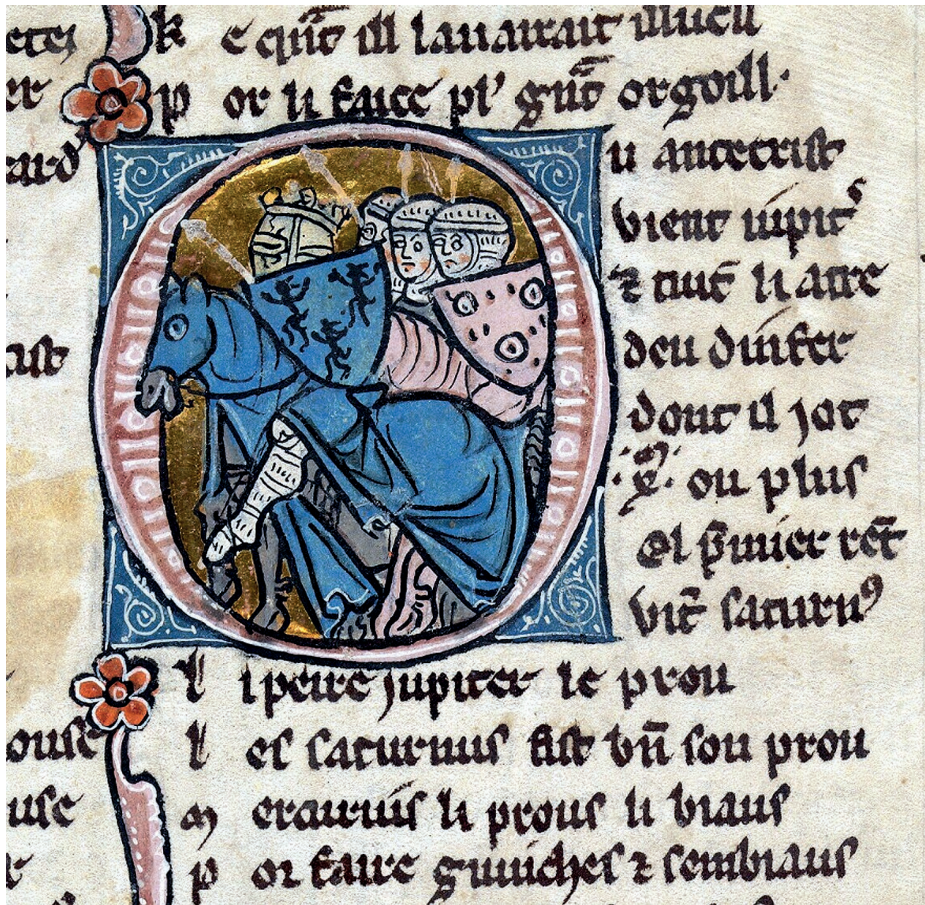


Figure 1: The Antichrist as depicted in MS Douce 308 f. 255r © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: digital-bodleian@bodleian.ox.ac.uk. The artist, in drawing a simple shield *Azure three demons sable*, was unequal to the challenge of the blazon laid down in the text.

The poem and its context

Prinet seems to be fully justified in his conclusion that the shields in the poem look nothing like real thirteenth-century arms. The figures on them are often contradictory and impossible to draw. On these grounds it has been questioned whether Huon de Mery had any knowledge of proper heraldic usage. It is, however, thought that he probably participated in the campaign of Louis IX against Peter I, duke of Brittany in 1232–1235 before retiring to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where the Tournament was written. He was surely well acquainted with the heraldic tradition that had become widely spread over Europe by that time.

THE COAT OF ARMS

There is a common misapprehension that the art of heraldry in the thirteenth century solely pertained to heralds¹¹, a belief what has led many researchers astray.¹² From this and later periods there are many examples of ‘amateurs’ creating significant works on heraldry, including Mathew Paris, Jacques Bretel, Bartolo da Sassoferrato, Nicholas Upton, Johannes de Bado Aureo and others. It is far more probable that Huon de Mery knew his way around heraldry and that the ‘mistakes’ he made were deliberate. The arms in the Tournament are intentionally fantastic, in keeping with the narrative as a whole.

The first part of the poem which describes the Antichrist’s retinue is not purely a morality tale condemning vices and sins, but is actually rather entertaining. The second part of the poem concerning Christ (**Figure 2**) and his angels, is uplifting, and focusses on lauding Christian virtues. The characters are presented as knights, and each has all the necessary perquisites: a horse, a set of armour, weapons, and a coat of arms. All these objects help to create vivid allegoric images of these abstract characters. Thus, *Cowardice* is pale of the face and constantly trembling with fear. His shield and lance are made of aspen (*tremble* in Old French) and his horse’s name is Turn-on-the-Run. He bears a hare in his arms, which is often regarded as an extremely cowardly animal.

Cuordie (**Cowardice**) vv. 11861199

L’escu pale a lievre rampant	A shield paly with a hare rampant
Portoit, qui estoit fet de tremble.	He bore, and it was made of aspen.
Couardie de paour tremble	Cowardice constantly trembled
A l’essir de Desesperance	With the feeling of Despair
De tremble avoit escu et lance,	Shield and lance were made of aspen
Car trop estoit espoëntée.	Because too much was hoped for.
i destriers, sor quoi [ert] montée,	And the horse on which he was mounted
Estoit apelez Torne-en-fuie.	Was called Turn-on-the-Run.

The didactic power of the Antichrist part of the poem is achieved through making the vices look ludicrous, while a comic edge to the narration is added with the use of artful devices. A good illustrative example to this is the shield of *Wrong*:

Torz (**Wrong**) vv. 736755

Li escuz tort, ou droiz n’a part,	A shield all wrong with nothing right,
Ert uns escuz leiz et divers;	Ugly and weird;
C’est li escuz a ii. envers	A shield with two linings

¹¹ CEMRA, p. xiv.

¹² Torsten Hiltmann, *Heralds are not heraldry, heraldry not heralds: On the benefits of clear distinctions*, *Heraldica Nova: Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History* URL: <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/766> (26.04.2021).

TOURNAMENT OF THE ANTICHRIST

Qui ressembloit i. talevaz;	Resembling a talvace ¹³ ;
C'est uns escuz honteus et maz,	This shield was shameful and malign,
Tors et boçuz et contrfez,	Twisted, biased and counterfeit,
A la tortue de tors fez	With a tortoise ¹⁴ made of wrong
Portete de deslëauté,	Borne as a sign of disloyalty,
A faus esgart de fauseté,	With false look of falsehood,
Que traïson i ot pourtait,	What betrayal there could be,
A i. faus jugement, strait	And false judgement, based on
D'une fausse alegaçion;	False testimony;
A langues d'avocacion,	And the tongue of a lawyer,
De geules a pledëors fretes,	Fretty red of a plaintiff's throat,
Que coveitise avoit pourtetes	Who is obsessed with desire
D'une grant mençonge polie;	To lie about everything;
A un blame de tricherie	And a blame of treachery
Par fauses losenges atret,	In voided lozenges,

The shield of *Wrong* has “nothing right about it” (*ou droit n'a part*). The author uses the polysemy of the word *droit* in both direct and figurative meaning stating at the same time that there is no truth in it and that it literally doesn't have a right side. A possible interpretation of “*C'est li escuz a ii. Envers*” would be that both of the shield's surfaces are insides. Such description transfers us to the world of allegory where everything is fantastic and impossible things occur. The sense of unreality is achieved through pun. It is no wonder that heraldic devices painted on such a shield are just as surreal. We find legitimate heraldic devices such as lozenges imbued with metaphysical properties such as treason and treachery.

Puns are numerous in the poem and sometimes include heraldic terms:

Outrage

vv. 1006–1008

C'ert uns escuz a iii. tarteaus	A shield with three breads
Moisiz d'orgueil, crostelevez,	Covered with the mould of pride
D'un trop levant levein levez.	Growing like yeast.

The shield of *Outrage* shows at first a flawless blazon *uns escuz a iii. tarteaus*, where the heraldic term *tarteaus* (*roundels*) stands for large circles. However, the next line reveals that these “circles” are covered with mould, so that the reader now knows that

¹³ Talvace is a type of shield made of shipboard used for protection from flying arrows. So it could not be used in a joust.

¹⁴ The appearance of a tortoise here is hard to explain; it might be due to its medieval symbolism or just because it contains “tort” (wrong) in its name. It might even be a variation of spelling of single from of heraldic term *tarteaus* (*roundel*).

THE COAT OF ARMS

the word is used also in its first meaning. “Tourteau” is Old French for large round bread.¹⁵ Thus the heraldic device is corrupted and turned into an allegory of vice.

The same fragment introduces another stylistic device frequently employed by Huon de Mery. The line “*levant levein levez*”, meaning “growing like yeast”, develops the theme of bakery, and is also an example of alliteration. The same consonant sounds are repeated consequently and must have sounded (when pronounced aloud) if not comic than at least peculiar. This helped to make the recitation of the poem more amusing. Alliteration occurs again in the shield of *Gluttony*:

Glouternie (**Gluttony**), vv. 997–1002

Armes de geules engouleés,	Arms of red, gobbled up,
Transglouties a granz goulées,	By a giant throat,
Engorgiées de vilenie,	Engorged by villainy,
A i. loier de glouternie,	And the rewards of gluttony,
A la fesse de desmesure	With a fess of disproportion
Cointes estoit a desmesure.	Decorated out of proportion.

Heraldic red (*geules*) is rhymed with the word throat (*goulées*)¹⁶, while the whole line tells us that *Gluttony* is actually eating his own shield. The alliteration here has features of onomatopoeia, another figure of speech, resembling the sound of swallowing (try reading aloud: *geules engouleés, eransglouties a granz goulées*) produces a live and vivid image of gluttony. The description ends with another heraldic pun. The heraldic fess on the shield is to be compared with fesse as the French word for the buttocks or backside which tend to be disproportionately large in the gluttonous.

Another peculiar example of alliteration used with heraldic terms is the shield of *Treason* decorated with “rising mockeries” as if they were heraldic rampant lions.

Traïson (**Treason**), vv. 819–829

A iiii. rampones rampanz,	With four rising mockeries
A une langue a v. trenchanz;	And a tongue with five tips.

Further textual analysis demonstrates that Huon de Mery was a virtuoso not only in poetry but also in heraldry as well. Only a deep insight into heraldic language could have allowed him to build its terms into the narration without ruining its skeleton, as

¹⁵ This is the origin of the heraldic term.

¹⁶ My experience of medieval heraldic poetry shows that the term *gules* made the biggest trouble for medieval poets. Every one of them developed their own way of rhyming or avoiding it. See: Daria Staroskolskaia (Ryzhova) ‘Heraldic Blazon in Tournoi de Chauvency, 1285’ *Istoriya*, 10.4 (78) (2019) URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840005014-4-1/>.



Figure 2: Christ crowned with one of his angels from MS Douce 308 f.277v
 © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: digital-bodleian@bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

Once again the artist has been unable to follow the complex blazonry of the shield of Christ (vv. 1267–75) which has as its basis *Or a cross gules between the Four Gospels*.

happened in the case of Chretien de Troye's *Lancelot*.¹⁷ Mery purposefully overloaded the shields with heraldic devices to make them look extravagant in a way that matched their armigers, and to further underscore their other worldliness he used inappropriate terms of blazonry. Thus *losenges*, so rare in thirteenth-century heraldry, occur not

¹⁷ The sudden appearance of coats of arms in Chretien de Troyes' *Lancelot* seems so out of place that many researchers have sought to find reasons for their insertion. One suggestion was that they were added because Chretien's student had to finish it for him; another that the arms were added centuries later. I would like to suggest that Chretien simply lacked the expertise to add heraldry into his narration with finesse. The initiative was later taken up by Huon. See D. Ryzhova 'Heraldry in the Romances of Chretien de Troyes' *Sredniye veka* (Middle Ages) 2018. no. 79.1 S. 36–58.

THE COAT OF ARMS

infrequently in the poem. Here are some examples of his preoccupation with the lozenge:

Corouz

(Wrath), vv. 720–722

Armes avoient losengiées	The arms lozengy
De rancune et derverie	Grudge and fury
A i. label de frenesie.	With one label of frenzy.

Cointise

(Guile), vv. 666–669

Portoit armes merveilles cointes	Bore the arms decorated
A dances d'or en vert danciées	With a dance of gold on green
A iiiii. bendes losengiées	Four bends lozengy
De vaine gloire er d'arogance.	Of vainglory and arrogance.

The key to this usage is a pun. The verb *losenger* in Old French has a meaning “to flatter” or “to deceive”, and is phonetically similar to the heraldic term *lozengié*. The shields of personified vices are just as “deceiving” as those vices themselves. In one case the lozenge pun gets a further development:

Torz

(Wrong), vv. 753–755

Par fauses losenges atret,	In void lozenges of false flattery,
A iiiii. Poinz et a i. tret,	Four lances and one hit
De traïson la poitevine.	Treason of the Poitevin.

The lozenge has four points (*Poinz*) but point is also the term for a lance.

Faus lozenges or “false deceit” in the arms of *Wrong* is also a thirteenth-century heraldic term for the *mascle*, or voided lozenge. The word *faus* in heraldic sense could be used in the thirteenth century for any kind of pierced or voided device (escutcheon, roundel, etc). Knowing this, Huon de Mery created a whole new set of fantastic heraldic charges using “false” feelings:

Traïson

(Treason), vv. 819–822

Ses faus escuz, dont diex nos gart	Voided shield, God, save us all,
As faus semblans, au faus regart	Of voided countenance and voided care
As faus besiers et as faus diz.	Voided kisses and voided words.

TOURNAMENT OF THE ANTICHRIST

In conclusion, analysis of the heraldic aspects of the *Tournament of the Antichrist* reveal the poem to be much more complex and nuanced than has been realised. An earlier scholarly impression that the author lacked knowledge and experience of heraldry must be rejected. Although the plot is rather simple it provided a vehicle for Huon de Mery's fantasy, erudition and word skill. Witty wordplays served to create an entirely novel kind of imagery, and thus his poem came to be much loved in the Middle Ages.

The fact that Huon de Mery decided to include coats of arms in his narration tells us a lot about how heraldry was seen in the early thirteenth century. This was the era when it was spreading rapidly all over Europe, as both a means of communication and as a new kind of language, one which concerned military men, but also gained the attention of society at large. The interest was cultivated by the tournaments, where the knights and their arms were on display for everybody as large attractions and sources of entertainment.

For Huon de Mery to have dared to include so many heraldic terms disguised as puns into his narration can only mean that his readers (or listeners) could understand the polysemy—the fact of his words having multiple meanings. The poem provides evidence that there was a contemporary demand for heraldic literature, and thus further refutes the old-fashioned view of thirteenth-century heraldry as a rarified knowledge administered by heralds. The growth of interest in armory can be mapped through a number of literary works starting in 1170¹⁸, and amongst these Huon's *Tournament* is a milestone on the road between Chretien de Troyes' first attempts to mention signs on knight's shields, and the first textual armorials such as *Tournament of Chauvency*¹⁹ or the *Siege of Caerlaverock*.

¹⁸ See my Ph.D. thesis, *The Spread of Blazon as a Special Language of Heraldry in English and French Texts of the 12th–13th Centuries* (Moscow, 2020) <https://igh.ru/dissertations/35?locale=en>

¹⁹ For a lexical analysis of blazon in the *Tournament of Chauvency* see: Daria Staroskolskaia, *Heraldic Blazon in the Tournoi de Chauvency*, op. cit.

HERALDRY AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE DIGITAL RECORD

PAUL CAMPBELL, M.A.

Abstract

This study, conducted in 2020, investigates the role digital records can have in proving the authenticity of heraldic documents and the wider impact they have, or could have, on heraldic art, public engagement, and the record-keeping profession. The results suggest barriers exist to providing and accessing authentic digital heraldry, which limits public interest and participation in the broader heraldic domain. A variety of possible solutions and potential new initiatives are discussed.

Introduction

Traditionally painted on paper and vellum, coats of arms can be replicated in digital formats. Such digital records present an opportunity for greater access to heraldry but also a threat that its symbolism is misused and misunderstood. Despite heraldry's endurance over the last 800 years, there are crucial challenges needing to be faced in the digital era of public access, usage, and understanding of genuine representations of coats of arms. The use of digital records in society and the emergence of digital technology pose several risks and opportunities for the development of heraldry.¹ In addition to exploring these issues in more detail, this study analyses how respected sources of heraldic information use digital records to engage with the public. It further considers what implications digital records in heraldry pose for the record-keeping profession.

Its findings are based on the opinions of professionals and enthusiasts in the heraldry field, together with literature in the broader fields of digital authentication and archival science. Although there are many publications about heraldry's origins, art and science, there is little research on how heraldry intersects with authenticity and digital records. This paper provides a snapshot of how heraldic organisations are currently regarding the challenges posed by this intersection. Without careful intervention from reputable sources of heraldic information, there is the danger that future generations will lose the value of heraldic art and symbolism forever. This paper briefly summarises a selection of the key findings of a dissertation undertaken for an M.A. in Archives and Records Management submitted to University College London in 2020. The unabridged dissertation entitled 'A new call to arms: Heraldry and the authenticity of the digital record' will be made available for download, linked to this paper, on the Heraldry Society website.

¹ The dissertation from which this paper was extracted builds on the themes raised by Paul Jagger and Quentin Peacock's lecture for the Heraldry Society: Heraldry in the 21st century: an exploration of digital heraldic design (2019). Their talk addressed scepticism amongst some heraldry enthusiasts about digital heraldry by explaining its production and use. Jagger and Peacock also speculated how heraldic documents could be verified using digital authentication.

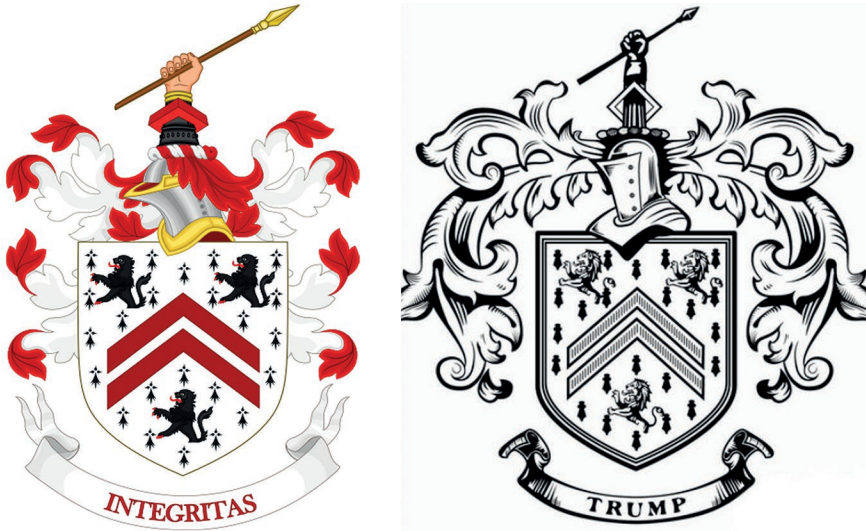


Figure 1: Left: Joseph Edward Davies' coat of arms, Wikimedia Commons; Right: The Trump Organization's misappropriated arms, Public Domain.

Fake heraldry

Despite the legitimate process for petitioning for a grant of arms, these grants are subject to misappropriation and misuse. For example, Donald Trump, President of the United States, fell foul of the Scottish heraldic authority, the Court of Lord Lyon, when he tried to use his coat of arms for his golf courses in Scotland.² Joseph Edward Davies was granted the arms in 1939. Trump had replaced the original motto, 'Integritas', with 'Trump' and trademarked the arms.³ To avoid prosecution, Trump purchased redesigned arms and registered them as a trademark a few years later.⁴

Furthermore, some companies sell designs based on other people's coats of arms, often using the myth that these arms belong to anyone who shares the surname of the grantee.⁵ However, this practice is misleading since only descendants of the grantee can inherit the arms. Nevertheless, so-called bucket shops sell misappropriated designs for use on keyrings, stationery and other household items. Passing off these designs as one's own could be considered fraudulent⁶, and a heraldic authority could block their use in the country under its purview.

The current state of international digital heraldry

Thanks to graphic design software, it is possible to recreate a coat of arms as a digital file. For example, some heraldic authorities issue a digital file which enables the grantee

² D. Hakim, 'The coat of arms said "Integrity." Now it says "Trump."', *The New York Times*, 28 May 2017.

³ Franks & Co (2019). *Legal protection for coats of arms*. Available at: https://www.franksco.com/Data/Service_Downloads/Coatsofarms.pdf

⁴ Hakim, op.cit.

⁵ K. Andreou, *Bucket shops* (2008), available at: <https://www.idtg.org/archive/350-bucket-shops/>

⁶ Stephen Slater, *The illustrated book of heraldry: an international history of heraldry and its contemporary uses* (Wigston, 2018).

THE COAT OF ARMS

to use the arms on various objects such as stationery, email signatures and clothing. Alternatively, the grantee can commission a graphic designer to create a digital file using the coat of arms depicted in the original grant. Of course, original grants and coats of arms can be scanned and published online. For example, the Canadian Heraldic Authority has a public register of arms available free of charge. However, not every country has a granting authority. Those that do vary in scope, and not all have an online presence (see **Table 1**⁷).

Research questions

The aim of this study was to critically analyse the existing knowledge of and demand for authentic heraldic digital records amongst the heraldic community. By definition, heralds or heraldic experts would consider these records to be legitimate or genuine. The following key questions were addressed:

1. What role can digital records play in proving the authenticity of grants of arms?
2. What are the tensions between advocates of traditional, hand-painted heraldry and digital heraldry?
3. Are digital records a help or a hindrance to public engagement with heraldry?
4. What are the implications of digital records in heraldry for the record-keeping profession?

Advantages and disadvantages of digitisation

Herewith are the findings from a comprehensive review of the literature. In general there has been a great dearth of published discussion of the intersection between digital records, heraldry and authenticity.

Digital technology promises to offer solutions for authenticating documents. One proposal is that a potential way to authenticate heraldic documents would be to use blockchain technology, a system of recording information in a way that makes it difficult or impossible to change, hack, or cheat the system. Land registry services, like heraldic institutions, create and maintain documents that require trustworthiness. Archival science scholar Victoria Lemieux's analysis of a proposed blockchain solution for the Honduran land registry service revealed that the threat of attacks could compromise the records' authenticity and reliability. She concluded that using cases 'with longer retention requirements and higher evidential requirements may be least well-suited' for a blockchain.⁸ Blockchain may not be suitable for proving the authenticity of grants of arms based on Lemieux's research. They are stored by heraldic authorities indefinitely and have high evidential requirements, such as proof of citizenship or professional qualifications. However, it is worth noting that Lemieux based her research on publicly-available knowledge of a vendor's proposal at the time.⁹ Other solutions may have

⁷ Online sources cited by J. McDonald, *National coats of arms and national practices*, available at: <http://www.internationalheraldry.com/national.htm>; and Wikipedia (2020) were used where available to verify the information provided. In addition, Google Translate was used for non-English language sources. Given the limited availability of English language sources and the time required to verify them, the list is not exhaustive and may contain some unintended inaccuracies.

⁸ V.L. Lemieux, 'Trusting records: is blockchain technology the answer?', *Records Management Journal*, vol. 26 pt.2 (2016), pp. 110–139 (133).

⁹ Ibid p. 134.

Country	Heraldic authority	Jurisdiction	State	Municipal	Military	Corporate	Royalty	Nobility	Individuals	English language website	Source
Azerbaijan	Heraldry Council	Nationwide	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	(Azerbaijan: State news agency, n.d.)
Belgium	Council of Nobility	Belgian nobility nationwide and municipal arms in German speaking community	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	(Association Royale Office Généalogique et Héraldique de Belgique, n.d.)
	Council of Heraldry and Vexillology	Wallonian non-nobility and everything else	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	(Fédération Wallonie Bruxelles, 2011)
	Flemish Heraldic Council	Flemish region	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	(Vlaamse Heraldische Raad, n.d.)
Canada	Canadian Heraldic Authority	Canada	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	N/A	?	Yes	Yes	(Canada: Office of the Secretary to the Governor General, 2017b)
Croatia	Ministry of Public Administration	Nationwide		Yes						Croatian	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Czech republic	Chamber of Deputies			Yes						Czech/English	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Denmark	National Archives of Denmark	Nationwide	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	(Rigsarkivet, n.d.)
Finland	Heraldic Board, National Archives of Finland		Yes					Yes	Yes	Finnish	(Wikipedia, 2020)
France	None	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(McDonald, n.d.)
Georgia	Legislative Herald of Georgia	Nationwide	Yes							No	(Georgia: State Council of Heraldry, n.d.)
Germany	None	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(McDonald, n.d.)
Ireland	Office of the Chief Herald of Ireland	Nationwide	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	(National Library of Ireland, n.d.b)
Italy	State Ceremonial Office	Nationwide	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	(Italy: Presidenza del Consiglio, n.d.)
Kenya	Kenyan College of Arms										(Wikipedia, 2020)
Latvia	National Heraldry Commission			Yes						Latvian	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Lithuania	State Heraldry Commission		Yes	Yes							(Wikipedia, 2020)
Luxembourg	State Heraldic Commission		Yes								(Wikipedia, 2020)
Netherlands	High Council of the Nobility	Nationwide	Yes	?	Yes	No		Yes	No	No	(Netherlands: Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013)
Norway	Ministry of Foreign Affairs									English	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Philippines	National Historical		Yes							English	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Poland	Heraldic Commission	Nationwide	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	(Poland: Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, n.d.)
Portugal	Heraldic Section of the Association of Portuguese Archeologists			Yes						Portuguese	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Office for Army Heraldry				Yes					Portuguese	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Office for Naval Heraldry				Yes					Portuguese	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Office for Air Force Heraldry				Yes					Portuguese	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Russia	State Heraldry Service		Yes								(Wikipedia, 2020)
Slovakia	Ministry of the Interior		Yes							Slovakian	(Wikipedia, 2020)
South Africa	Bureau of Heraldry, National Archives and Records Service		Yes	Yes					Yes	English	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Spain	Royal Academy of History	Asturias, Cantabria, Castilla-La Mancha, La Rioja and Balearic Islands	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Advisory Council of Heraldry and Symbolology of Basque Studies Society	Aragon	No	Yes	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Aragon_hoy, 2018)
		Basque Studies Society	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Institute for Canary Studies	Canary Islands	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Recorders of Arms	Castile and León	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Institute for Catalan Studies	Catalonia	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Galician Heraldry Commission	Galicia	No	Yes	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Xunta de Galicia, n.d.)
	Royal Matritense Academy of Heraldry and Genealogy	Madrid	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
Sweden	Royal Academy Alfonso X the Wise	Murcia	No	?	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Wikipedia, 2020)
	Technical Council of Heraldry and Vexillogy	Valencian Community	No	Yes	?	?	?	?	?	N/A	(Generalitat Valenciana, n.d.)
	National Archives of Sweden	Nationwide	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	(Riksarkivet, n.d.)
United Kingdom	College of Arms	England, Wales, Northern Ireland, much of Commonwealth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	College of Arms (n.d.a)
	Court of the Lord Lyon	Scotland and Commonwealth citizens of Scottish descent	Yes	?	?	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	(Court of the Lord Lyon, n.d.)
United States	Institute of Heraldry	Nationwide	Yes	No	Yes	No	N/A	No	No	yes	(Institute of Heraldry, n.d.)

Table 1: Sample of heraldic authorities' activities and scope.

THE COAT OF ARMS

emerged since which mitigate the threats outlined in her study. While blockchain is a developing technology, heraldic institutions must consider its technological and social implications.

The use of digital representations of coats of arms has led to some tension amongst traditionalists. For example, members of the Society of Heraldic Arts (S.H.A.) have debated if they should admit digital artists as craft members.¹⁰ David Wootten, the executive director of the American College of Heraldry, has criticised artists who use digital software packages to embellish achievements without understanding the nature of the elements they are depicting.¹¹ Heraldic artist and SHA craft fellow Kevin Arkinstall believes the artist needs more education to use the digital medium appropriately.¹² A painting of a coat of arms or the original grant maintains an aura by its uniqueness. Unfortunately, the layperson often has limited access to original heraldic artwork. Also, the language of blazon and heraldic symbolism is too complex for them to understand without context.

The converse argument is that digital reproductions of heraldic art, done legitimately, can demystify the original while providing access to more people. Contemporary art lecturer Tamara Trodd has argued, 'the destruction of aura does not mean the end of aesthetics'. On the contrary, art can survive 'as a realm of distinctive value regardless of medium'.¹³ The literature on this topic suggests that if digital artists understand heraldic traditions, they have the potential to drive heraldry forward by demonstrating its artistic value and enhancing its reputation and influence on broader society. The owner of Downey, a heraldic design company, cited the television drama *Game of Thrones* and the Harry Potter films as reasons for the increased interest in his firm's services.¹⁴

While the existence of bucket shops that sell designs based on other people's coats of arms may be a source of contention, Mike McKeag has argued: 'many people like coats of arms; that is why they buy those tee-shirts; that is why they buy those plaques, and key fobs and scrolls bearing what they like to think are their coats of arms'.¹⁵

So how can digital records help public understanding of heraldry? Graphic design lecturer, Dan McCabe's set out to test public attitudes towards heraldry in visitors to Southsea Castle by inviting them to create their own coat of arms. He used questionnaire responses to digitally design the arms using twelfth-century Norwegian heraldic design principles 'for the production of a clean and balanced aesthetic'.¹⁶ The resulting designs maintained heraldic traditions of over 700 years while displaying symbolism that reflected contemporary British society. Although professional designers can use software packages

¹⁰ Stephen Friar, (2018). Foreword to: D.R. Wootten, 'Digital heraldry: is it art?', *The Heraldic Craftsman*, vol. 98 (2018) pp. 4–6.

¹¹ Ibid p. 5.

¹² Kevin Arkinstall, 'Heraldic design and the digital age', *The Heraldic Craftsman*, vol. 86 (2014), p. 13.

¹³ T.J. Trodd, *The art of mechanical reproduction: technology and aesthetics from Duchamp to the digital*. (Chicago, 2015), p. 110.

¹⁴ T. Ball, 'Nouveau riche heed the call to arms', *The Times*, 11 July 2020.

¹⁵ R. M. McKeag, *The future of heraldry: a lesson from genealogy*, Heraldry Society of Scotland lecture: Edinburgh, 25 October 2003, unpublished.

¹⁶ Dan McCabe, (2016). 'The graphic herald: exploring heraldic language through graphic design', in *Emblems and enigma: the heraldic imagination* (2014) pp. 9–31 (24). Available at: <https://heraldics2014.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/1-mccabe.pdf>.

to design heraldic art, programs that enable the user to create simple coats of arms from a blazon or a library of images could help to increase public engagement. For example, DrawShield is a modern, free-to-use manifestation of this idea.¹⁷

What then of the challenges facing the heraldic record-keepers? With blockchain technology not expected to become mainstream for at least another five years, analysts Furlonger et al. recommend that record-keepers should treat blockchain as an evolving portfolio and adopt ‘an incremental approach in the use of [its] capabilities.’¹⁸

This is an issue not only for national heraldic authorities, but also for the many countries in which no granting authority exists. For example, the volunteer-led Clan Crawford Association (CCA) Armorial Project is based in the United States, its members being descendants from the Scottish Lowlands who have no claim to arms from the Court of Lord Lyon in Scotland. Clan members can have their arms digitally designed and registered by the association instead, as the project co-founders Allen and Raymond Crawford explained:

The CCA makes a clear distinction in its certificates from traditional grants of arms. Instead of a grant of arms from a higher authority, CCA members receive an acknowledgement of arms from their fellow clan members.¹⁹ Encouraging people to take an active interest in heraldry could be the answer to critics of the passive consumerism and misinformation driven by the bucket shop.

The literature suggests that record-keepers could potentially be at the forefront of digital authentication and public engagement initiatives. However, such potential can only be realised if their institutions have the infrastructure and mandate to support these aims, and clearly, further research is needed.

Methodology

Semi-structured interviews on these topics were conducted with five professionals from the heraldry sector. In addition, an online survey was carried out with a sample of heraldry experts and enthusiasts to explore their opinions on the importance of authenticity in digital heraldry. A mixed approach comprising qualitative and quantitative research methods was most suitable because the subject area depended on two groups of people in the heraldic community, the supply side (professionals) and the demand side (enthusiasts).

The interview panel consisted of two heralds, two digital heraldic artists and an archivist. They were based in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, and all but one had worked for an eminent heraldic authority either directly or indirectly. In order to gather the views of heraldry enthusiasts the author utilised his contacts in the heraldry community. For the online survey, the Heraldry Society, which has an international membership, agreed to his request to send invitations to their members via their email distribution list. The survey ran between 16–26 August 2020 and garnered 225 responses and 157 completed responses. Overall, the research is biased towards

¹⁷ DrawShield, *Heraldry creation tools – DrawShield* (n.d.), Available at: <https://drawshield.net>

¹⁸ D. Furlonger, D. et al. (2019). *5 blockchain realities for CIOs to address in the next 5 years*. Available at: <https://www.gartner.com/document/3913487?>

¹⁹ A. Crawford and R. Crawford, ‘The Clan Crawford Association Armorial: an independent armorial for the Scottish diaspora’, *The Double Tressure*, vol. 42 (2019), pp. 24–41.

THE COAT OF ARMS

English-speaking societies, particularly in the United Kingdom and North America. It does not cover the participation of communities typically marginalised by archival or heritage organisations, nor does it consider the general public's views. Research in these areas, especially in the context of digital records would be valuable not only for the heraldic community but also for the development of heraldry as a whole.

Key findings of the panel interviews

Name	Occupation	Location
Interviewee A	Digital heraldic artist	United States
Interviewee B	Former archivist for a granting authority	United Kingdom
Interviewee C	Herald	Canada
Interviewee D	Herald	United Kingdom
Interviewee E	Digital heraldic artist	United Kingdom

Table 2: Profiles of interview participants.

On digital heraldic databases

There was little awareness or enthusiasm for using digital software to authenticate grants of arms among the interviewees:

According to interviewee E, authenticity of digital artwork is dubious...in my experience, anything that's created digitally can be hacked...can be stolen, can be misused, in a different way to someone copying a painted coat of arms, or something like that. So, the integrity is really of the person who's interested in the heraldry, right? They have to do research.

On the other hand, Interviewee C said that the public register of arms, which his authority publishes online, is evidence that authentication exists. In some countries, the authenticity of a digital heraldic record may not be as crucial as those governed by a heraldic authority.

Interviewee A contended that primogeniture has died out here in the States and frankly, we don't need to use the arms anymore as a mode, an instrument of business or politics, it isn't like we're authenticating anything with these arms.

Interviewee E partially agreed; however, he said, 'It does undermine the whole process of people who genuinely are really into heraldry'.

Another challenge is making digital records easy enough for the public to digest. Interviewee A commented on the internet's effect on people's reading habits: 'They don't immerse themselves into a text anymore...deep reading is a bit of a barrier because people are just out of practice of doing it.'

Meanwhile, Interviewee C spoke about Canada's Public Register of Arms, which is available online, 'It is a service to Canadians. It is outreach as people are browsing

DIGITAL HERALDRY

the register. It is a way for the public to discover heraldry and want a coat of arms for themselves.’

Interviewee B saw the potential for a digital repository for images at her former employer, ‘you could even have thumbnail images on the internet that people could search for, and then they could order up the image of what they saw’.

Similarly, Interviewee E saw an opportunity for the College of Arms to document their grants of arms digitally, ‘I can imagine it would be a really good...way of indexing arms and whether they have a scan or...photo of the grant.’

However, both B and E recognised the resources and effort required to deliver such initiatives.

Meanwhile, Interviewee D suggested that privacy rules should be transparent and adhere to international standards such as OAIS.²⁰ Furthermore, in his view, the organisation should prove due diligence so that people can see the principles that led to the creation of the digital entity.

To capitalise on peaks in interest in heraldry, heraldic institutions could provide related digital content, such as a blog post, promoted via multiple channels such as social media, and fan forums to drive people to their websites. Success relies on such websites being optimised for high visibility on search engine results pages, good visual design and navigation, and well-written content that links to other relevant resources.

Canadian herald, Interviewee C, stated that his authority scans and publishes all grants of arms online. He said these scans provide evidence that the grants exist.

On digital heraldry

There were mixed views about the merits of traditional heraldry over its digital equivalent. Interviewees D and E did not consider digital heraldry a threat to traditional artists. Instead, they thought it complemented the conventional form.

Meanwhile, Interviewee B was sceptical about digital grants of arms, ‘I can’t see there ever being a point at which you would want your actual grant of arms to be LaserJet printed rather than done by hand on vellum.’

However, Interviewee A explained that producing digital grants was the cost-effective option for his organisation, ‘we had to keep it cheap and we had to keep it practical, and the only way to do that was to go digital.’

There was a view among some of the heraldic community that bucket shops misled the public. However, Interviewee D commented that their existence demonstrated ‘an expression of interest in heraldry’, which could eventually lead some towards sources of genuine information and services.

²⁰ B. Lavoie, (2014). *The open archival information system (OAIS) reference model: introductory guide* (2nd edition).

THE COAT OF ARMS

The data suggests that the supply side of authentic digital heraldry, for example, reputable sources and artists, struggle to adapt to the changing digital landscape.

Interviewee E explained how few digital artists exist because of the time it takes to learn the craft and create artwork with vector graphics. He also alluded to how people devalue digital artwork due to the assumption that it is easy to recreate and replicate.

One suggestion could be for granting authorities or craft associations such as the Society of Heraldic Arts to make themselves better known amongst the broader art and design field. They could explain the merits of commissioning specialists to create coats of arms and help companies to decide whether they need a full achievement or a logo based on heraldic elements.

Another solution is for reputable heraldic sources to educate non-heraldic artists about the basics of good heraldic design for both physical and digital mediums. Such resources should be simple enough to read and understand and are not intended to replace the extended training practising heraldic artists undertake. As suggested by Interviewee E, a comic book reference guide or a YouTube video could be suitable for this task.

Key findings of the questionnaire study.

A large proportion of questionnaire participants (n=192) had been granted a coat of arms by an official heraldic authority (85 or 44.27%). Thirty had inherited a coat of arms (15.62%), while thirteen had a self-assumed coat of arms.

Respondents found the artistic representations of blazons the most appealing aspect of heraldry (72 or 38.71%, see Table 3 below). However, a connection with family history was the second most appealing.

Question 2: Which of the following do you find most appealing about heraldry?							
Aspect	Ranking choice - Frequency (n)						
	Percentage (%)					Total answers	Did not answer
	Most appealing	2nd most appealing	3rd most appealing	4th most appealing	Least appealing		
Artistic representations of blazons	72	42	25	31	16	186	39
	38.71%	22.58%	13.44%	16.67%	8.60%	100%	
Symbolism of heraldic design	47	57	35	15	31	185	40
	25.41%	30.81%	18.92%	8.11%	16.76%	100%	
Heralds' professional practice and historic narratives	12	33	50	62	24	161	44
	6.63%	18.23%	27.62%	34.25%	13.28%	100%	
Study of ceremony, rank and pedigree	11	30	26	47	67	181	44
	6.08%	16.57%	14.36%	25.97%	37.02%	100%	
Connection with family history	51	23	43	28	39	184	41
	27.72%	12.50%	23.37%	15.22%	21.20%	100%	

Table 3: Most appealing aspects of heraldry

Twenty-eight respondents (15.3%) have reported a misused or misappropriated coat of arms that they have seen online. Of those, just five (19.23%) recalled a satisfactory outcome, while ten did not (38.46%). Seventy-two per cent of respondents considered that online armorial registers help to increase public understanding of heraldry. A slim majority of respondents thought that authentication software should prove the authenticity of grants of arms (74 or 43.02%). Two fewer were unsure (41.86%), while 26 (15.12%) opposed the idea.

DIGITAL HERALDRY

Respondents were also invited to make comments. The 94 comments received included the following:

British heraldic authorities [should be] a lot more open and less secretive/elusive about what they do, which reinforces the impression that heraldry is some weird elusively strange past-time for eccentric rich and upper class (sic) weirdos.

Forty-one per cent of respondents thought that making documents searchable to help with public enquiries was the most important objective for organisations that manage authentic digital heraldic documents (n=158). Protecting sensitive information from unauthorised use (n=149) had the third-highest tally of most important.

Question 11: Which of the following objectives should be most important for organisations that manage authentic digital heraldic documents?							
Objectives	Ranking choice - Frequency (n)					Total answers	Did not answer
	Percentage (%)						
	Most important	Second most important	Third most important	Least important			
Making documents searchable to help with public enquiries	65 41.14%	45 28.48%	30 18.99%	18 11.39%	158 100%	67	
Making backup copies of documents in case the originals get damaged or go missing	59 37.34%	54 34.18%	37 23.42%	8 5.06%	158 100%	67	
Making documents accessible to staff from any location	7 4.55%	27 17.53%	62 40.26%	58 37.66%	154 100%	71	
Protecting sensitive information from unauthorised use	29 19.46%	31 20.81%	25 16.78%	64 42.95%	149 100%	76	

Table 4: Most important objectives for organisations that manage authentic digital heraldic documents.

There were calls for public access to *Garter's Ordinaries*, an armorial manuscript series compiled in the late-nineteenth century which was gifted to the College of Arms.²¹ One respondent remarked, '[It] is invaluable, must be preserved and should not require physical access to Victoria St. Most commentators were unenthused about protecting sensitive information from unauthorised use, 'Nothing about heraldry should be deemed to[o] 'sensitive' - this is ludicrous'.

Question 12 - Please rank the topics discussed in this survey in order of importance.							
Topics	Ranking choice - Frequency (n)					Total answers	Did not answer
	Most important	Second most important	Third most important	Fourth most important	Least important		
Accuracy of interpretations of blazon in digital heraldry	46 46.94%	15 15.31%	20 20.41%	12 12.24%	5 5.10%	98 100%	157
Combating fake heraldry	18 18.95%	27 28.42%	18 18.95%	15 15.79%	17 17.89%	95 100%	160
Use of digital technology to prove the authenticity of grants of arms	10 10.64%	23 24.47%	19 20.21%	25 26.60%	17 18.09%	94 100%	161
The effect of authentic digital records on the public's understanding of heraldry	16 17.39%	20 21.74%	25 27.17%	22 23.91%	9 9.78%	92 100%	163
Implications for managers of authentic digital heraldic	7 7.78%	9 10.00%	13 14.44%	18 20.00%	43 47.78%	90 100%	165

Table 5: Survey topics ranked in order of importance

Several questionnaire respondents cited Canada's public register of arms as a role model for other granting authorities. However, for these digital records to meet the characteristics of authoritative records, they would have to be kept in a system that provides evidence that the documents have been unaltered and are retrievable within a reasonable amount of time.²²

²¹ A. R. Wagner, *The records and collections of the College of Arms* (London, 1952).

²² British Standards Institution (2016). BS ISO 15489-1:2016: *Information and documentation. Records management. Concepts and principles*.

THE COAT OF ARMS

The key action points arising from the questionnaire data were as follows:

- Heraldic authorities to:
 - Take more action to police misappropriated arms reported online
 - Provide services to prove the authenticity of grants of arms with authentication software
 - Publish their grant registers online, like in Canada
 - Be more transparent about their activities
- Reputable heraldic sources (such as heraldic authorities and societies) to:
 - Provide digital resources that promote the appropriate use of heraldry, for example, debunk the ‘family crest’ myth
 - Make documents searchable to help with public enquiries
 - Make backup copies of documents for digital preservation

Conclusions

The relationship between heraldry and the digital record is still developing. Reputable heraldic sources should engage with artists to provide training and education in the appropriate use of digital heraldry. This strategy would help bridge the gap between formal and informal use of heraldry, which can be applied to various use cases, from marketing to products. Greater access to documents such as grant registers and encouraging active participation could create greater demand for heraldry with an authentic narrative that bucket shops cannot provide.

Record-keepers are not just responsible for preserving historical records but also have a pivotal role in helping to support and develop heraldry itself. They should be the catalysts for adopting an interdisciplinary, post-custodial approach to promoting and delivering reputable sources of heraldic information. They should stay informed of developments that can aid digital curation, digital preservation, and public engagement, and provide transparency over their archival practice. They should also advocate for investment in IT systems and adaptations to organisational processes that fulfil the demand for digital heraldic records. If no action is taken, heraldry risks, at best, remaining a hobby reserved for a select group of affluent people. The worst-case scenario is that the stories behind heraldry remain untold, misconceptions are accepted as fact, and the value of heraldry is rendered worthless to society. Furthermore, doing nothing risks diminishing the heraldic traditions that make coats of arms distinguishable and impactful.²³

²³ This research would not be possible without the tremendous support I have received from the Heraldry Society. Membership secretary, Jane Tunesi deserves a special mention for distributing the questionnaire email invitations to members, providing distribution metrics and testing the pilot questionnaire. I would also like to thank pilot testers, chairman Robert Harrison, honorary secretary John Tunesi and council member Paul Jagger. I should give a special mention to Dr Adrian Ailes for his advice when I began to work on this paper. I also would like to thank my tutors at UCL, Dr Elizabeth Lomas, Dr Anna Sexton and Dr Jenny Bunn for their patience, insight and encouragement.

THE BUCKLE IN HERALDRY

STANFORD A. STEWART AND PAUL A. FOX

Abstract

It is here argued that although today we think of the buckle as a humble utilitarian object, it has connections with warfare and knighthood which would have been obvious to the medieval viewer, and probably explains its adoption by knights from diverse parts of Europe as an heraldic charge. In Scotland it developed particularly strong royal and nobiliary associations as a result of its adoption by members of the royal House of Stuart.

Introduction

The buckle was so widely used by medieval military men that it is not surprising to find it used as an heraldic charge from an early period and across Europe. The sword belt would be the location of a knight's most prominent buckle, that with which he was girded on becoming a knight, but he also possessed many other items of equipment which needed to be strapped on, including his spurs, his armour and his saddle.

The earliest known seal featuring buckles dates to the early thirteenth century. Robert Malet, who acceded as baron of Graville in Normandy in 1215, sealed with *three buckles* during the reign of Philip Augustus (d.1223).¹ His arms were presumably *Gules three buckles or*, as was recorded in many contemporary rolls of arms for his son Jean I Malet of Graville (d. 1297). Robert Malet's English kinsmen, who descended from the Norman baron William Malet (d.1071) of Graville, bore the same with a variety of different tinctures, *Gules buckles argent*, *Argent buckles sable*, and *Or buckles gules*.²

A second postulated early example which comes from an English context is a rather beautiful seal impression (**Figure 1a**) of Robert de St John, appended to a charter of Combwell Priory in Kent. It has been dated to c.1200 on the basis of palaeography, but a date slightly later than the Malet seal seems more probable.³ As can be seen, what was later recorded as being buckles⁴ are actually brooches, and each one is different. Walter son of this Robert de St John, of Nashenden Manor, near Rochester in Kent and Great Wakering in Essex, died without issue in 1260, having certified his father's charter concerning the advowson of the church of Whitfield on behalf of the Prior of Combwell in 1249.⁵ Walford's Roll ascribed to this Walter de St John the arms *Azure three buckles or* (*d'azur a treis fermaulx d'or*). It can only be speculated whether this blazon was a misreading of the arms or whether the son had modified them.

¹ Douët D'Arcq, no. 2678.

² DBA, vol. 2, pp. 218–9.

³ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 6 (1864–5), pp. 208–9. The date is more likely to be c. 1224–28. The other witnesses to the charter include Hugh Pincerna (Butler) as constable of Rochester (the constables from 1228 being known, and he is not one of them) and William Potin, who was clerk of works at Rochester 1224–47, see *Arch. Cant.* vol. 2, pp. 229–30, 319, and vol. 24, pp. 12–13.

⁴ DBA, vol. 1, p. 218.

⁵ *Kent Records*, vol. 15 (Ashford, 1956), pp. 228–9; Hugh Stanford London, 'Walford's Roll c.1273', in *Aspilogia II :Rolls of Arms Henry III* (London, 1967), p. 200, no. 168.

THE COAT OF ARMS

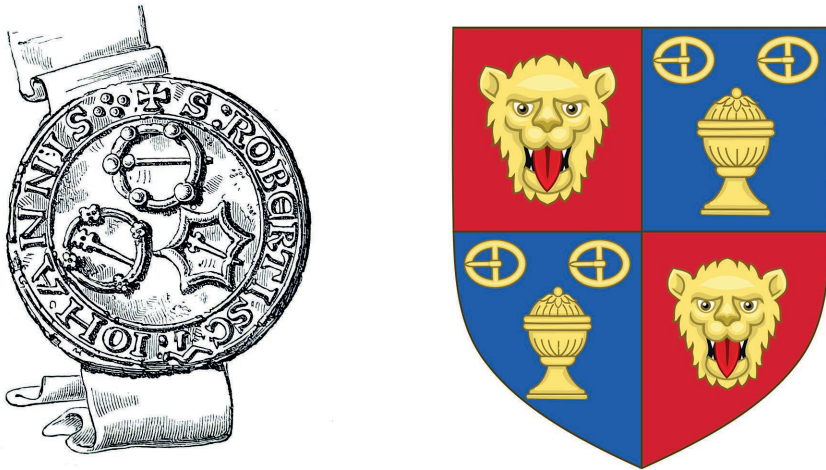


Figure 1: Left: Seal of Robert de St John c.1224-28 from *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 6 (1864-5), p. 209; Right: Arms of the Goldsmiths Company of London, Wikimedia Commons.

In modern French the word for a buckle is *boucle*, but in Norman-French it was *fermail* or *fermaille*. The use of the buckle as a solitary charge is extremely rare in British heraldry, but in the medieval period it was a popular charge in the German-speaking world.⁶ In the early centuries of heraldry we find multiple buckles employed on coats of arms in England, Scotland and Normandy, almost invariably in multiples of three, which warrants explanation. It is true that three buckles placed together are visually appealing, but would not a single buckle be sufficient to indicate a belted knight? The likely explanation is that in medieval knighting ceremonies three items were buckled to the knight: his sword, and his two spurs.⁷

As well as being a symbol of knighthood the buckle might also have served as an occupational emblem, a notable early example being the arms of the Goldsmith's Company of London: *Quarterly 1+4 gules a leopard's face or, 2+3 Azure a covered cup between in chief two round buckles tongues fessways points to the dexter, all or* (**Figure 1b**). These arms were first recorded in 1480–1500, although the company was incorporated in 1394.⁸ The buckle was clearly an important product of the goldsmith's craft at this time.

While the heraldic buckle can be found throughout Europe in the Middle Ages and beyond, in the post-medieval period, a survey of Papworth reveals that within the British Isles the charge is more prevalent in Scottish than English heraldry. In order to understand why, we focussed on the usage in Scotland in the early period. There are

⁶ Used, for example in the medieval period by the families of Hollenfels, Heintzeburg, Furspang, Wallenrode and Wedischweil, see Steen Clemmensen, *Ordinary of European Armorial*, under 'Tools' p. 57, online at www.armorial.dk.

⁷ Robert W. Ackerman, 'The knighting ceremonies in the Middle English romances', *Speculum*, vol.13 no.3 (July 1944), pp. 285–313.

⁸ John Bromley and Heather Child, *The armorial bearings of the Guilds of London* (London, 1960), p. 126.

THE HERALDIC BUCKLE

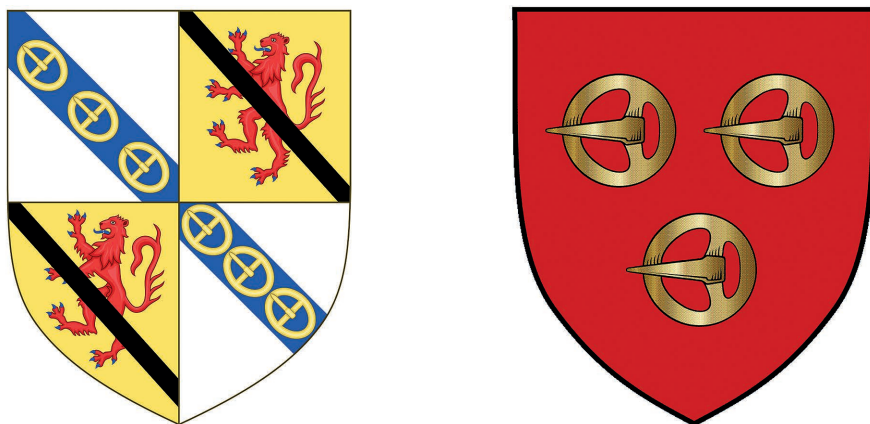


Figure 2: Left: Arms of George Leslie, earl of Rothes, from Wikimedia Commons;
Right: Arms of Sir Alexander de Bonkyll, by Fleur-de-lis Designs.

not too many examples from the medieval era. There was a family of Stirling, from whom a Sir John de Stirling ('Striveline', d. before 1357) sealed with *On a chief three hexagonal buckles* in 1296.⁹ His only daughter and heir married John de Monteith, later of Ochiltree, and carried the use of the buckle into the Menteith family, and from thence to Dalzell of the Binns. His brother's descendant Sir John de Stirling (a baron in 1363 who died without issue in 1378) bore the arms *Argent on a chief sable three round buckles or*.¹⁰ Other collateral descendants were the Stirlings of Cawder, who bore *Argent on a bend sable three buckles or*, and Stirling of Keir, who bore *Argent on a bend engrailed vert three buckles or*.¹¹

Another still extant Scots family which adopted the buckle is that of Leslie. The earliest documented evidence of their arms is the seal of Sir Norman Leslie appended to a charter of 1292, and also to the 1296 Ragman Roll, *On a bend three buckles*.¹² Walter Leslie (d.1381) in the late-fourteenth-century Bellenville and Gelre armorials is ascribed the arms *Azure on a bend ermine three buckles gules*.¹³ On becoming Earl of Ross in 1367 he commissioned a seal which quartered the above arms with the three lions rampant of Ross, stated by Papworth to be the earliest known example of quartering of arms in Scotland.¹⁴ George Leslie, created Earl of Rothes before 1458,

⁹ William Rae Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh, 1904 **hereinafter** Macdonald) no. 2690; *BM Seals* nos. 16900–1.

¹⁰ *GEC*, vol. 12.1, p. 407 and Gerard J. Brault, *Aspilogia III: The Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, p. 400.

¹¹ William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir and their family papers* (Edinburgh, 1858) details all the early members of this family.

¹² Henry Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of impressions of ancient Scottish seals* (Edinburgh, 1850, **hereinafter** Laing 1850), no. 495; Henry Laing, *Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of ancient Scottish seals* (Edinburgh, 1866, **hereinafter** Laing 1866), no.1609; Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881–88, **hereinafter** Bain), vol. 2 plate ii, fig. 17.

¹³ Gelre no. 699, Bellenville nos. 1310,1699.

¹⁴ Laing 1850, no. 496, Laing 1866, no.1611, *BM Seals* no. 16482, Papworth p. 232.

THE COAT OF ARMS

bore the arms *Argent on a bend azure three buckles or* (**Figure 2a**) which are still used by the Leslie clan today. According to family legend the buckles memorialise an ancestor who saved the life of St Margaret (d.1093) the queen of Malcolm III (1058–93), she having clung to his belt after falling into a dangerous river.¹⁵ If this was the actual stimulus for the design of the arms, here would be an instance where a single buckle would have been the appropriate charge, rather than three buckles.

There is a surprising dearth of families that have used the buckle as a canting emblem. A notable exception is the third medieval Scottish example, that of Bonkill.

The buckles of Bonkill

In 1296 Sir Alexander de Bonkyll (d.c.1300) of that Ilk sealed with arms of *Three buckles*, which in the Lord Marshal's Roll, of similar date, are tinctured as *Gules three buckles or* (**Figure 2b**).¹⁶ We have already seen these same arms used by the French family of Malet. Sir Alexander had died by the end of April 1300, when an inquisition was held for King Edward I of England regarding 'the late Sir Alexander de Bonkehille's manor of Ulvesby,' (Uldale in Cumbria), which recorded that 'the manor is in the King's hands, as Margaret daughter and heir of Sir Alexander remains with the King's enemies in Scotland.'¹⁷ Margaret's husband, Sir John Stewart, was killed at the Battle of Falkirk in 1298 before his wife had inherited the Bonkyll estate and titles from her father.

Sir John was the younger brother of James the high Steward (Stewart) of Scotland, which is the style by which he was referred in the majority of contemporary documents, unless he was called simply Sir John Stewart, or Lord John Stewart.¹⁸ Two documents of 1290 list him (together with Alexander of Bonkyll) among the nearly fifty 'Barons of the Realm of Scotland'¹⁹, but there is no mention of a territorial designation for him in any of the various contemporary documents which name him. A charter of King Robert II issued shortly after his death refers to him simply as the late Sir John Stewart, knight.²⁰

Following Sir John's death his widow Margaret married David, Lord of Brechin. Bonkyll castle in Berwickshire was during that period in an area firmly under the control of the English crown.²¹ The couple reconciled with King Edward I, who sent a letter to the Lord Chancellor of England in July 1304 stating: "The King to Master William of Greenfield, chancellor; as David of Brechin and Margaret, his wife, Scottish rebels, have come to his peace, and David has done homage and fealty, he commands that the English lands of Alexander of Bunkle, father of Margaret, whose heir she is, be restored to them."²²

¹⁵ George Way of Plean and Romilly Squire, *The Scottish Clan & Family Encyclopaedia* 3rd ed. (Glasgow, 2017), p. 270.

¹⁶ *Laing* 1850, no. 123; *BM Seals* nos.15831–2; *Bain* vol. 2 pl. v fig. 13; *DBA* vol. 2, p. 219

¹⁷ *Bain*, vol. 3 Item 1135, p. 290.

¹⁸ For instance his 1296 donation to Melrose Abbey, see below ref. 31.

¹⁹ J. Stevenson (ed.) *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286–1306* (Edinburgh, 1870), vol. 1, pp. 129–31, no. 92; Rymer *Foedera*, i, II, p. 730.

²⁰ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. J.M. Thomson et al (Edinburgh, 1882–1914), vol. 1 no. 38

²¹ We shall hereinafter refer to the place as Bonkyll and the family as Bonkill.

²² *Bain*, vol. 2, no. 1584a.

THE HERALDIC BUCKLE

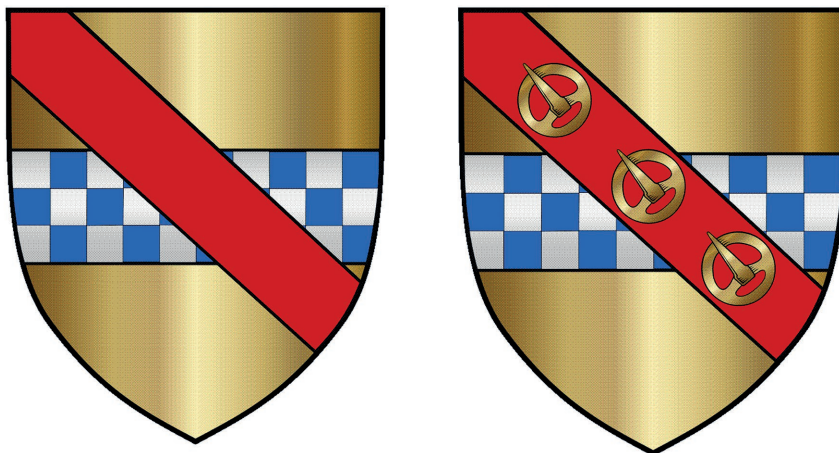


Figure 3: Left: Arms of Sir John Stewart (d.1298); Centre: Arms of Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus (d. 1361). By Fleur-de-lis Designs.

The arms of Sir John Stewart were affixed to the ‘Ragman Rolls’ of 1292 and in 1296, and to his forced submission to Edward I in 1297: *A fess chequy surmounted with a bend.*²³ An anonymous shield in the Collins Roll dating to 1296 almost certainly belongs to him.²⁴ The blazon is: *Or a fess chequy argent and azure surmounted by a bend gules* (Figure 3a).

After Margaret died the lands of Bonkylly went to her eldest son, Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkylly (d. 1319).²⁵ Sir Alexander fought with John MacDougall of Lorn against Robert Bruce, but was captured by his cousin James Douglas in 1308 and given a royal pardon. Although his arms are not recorded, he almost certainly added his maternal buckles of Bonkill on a bend gules to difference his paternal arms of Stewart. His son John (d.1331) was created 1st Earl of Angus in 1329, while his grandson Thomas, the 2nd Earl, sealed with the Stewart fess chequy over which was a bend charged with three buckles in 1357 (Figure 3b).²⁶ When Thomas died in 1361, he left only two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, whose descendants are relevant to this story, and to whom we shall return.

The buckles of Bonkill were used by other descendants of Margaret Bonkill. Her youngest son Sir James Stewart of Pierston was killed at the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, his arms unrecorded, but James’ eldest son Sir Alan Stewart of Ochiltree sealed with the Stewart *Fess chequy surmounted with a bend charged with three buckles* in

²³ Macdonald, no. 2557; *BM seals*, nos. 16950–1; F. Palgrave, *Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland*, (London, 1837), no. 109, pp. 197–8; John H. J. Stewart and Duncan Stewart, *The Stewarts of Appin*, (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 46.

²⁴ Brault, op. cit., vol 1, no. 401, p. 387; Proposed as Sir John Stewart’s arms by Bruce A. McAndrew, ‘The Sigillography of the Ragman Roll,’ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 129 (1999), p. 673.

²⁵ A letter patent of King Edward II dated April 30 1312 is the first known source that mentions ‘Alexander the Steward lord of Bonkel’, see Bain, vol. 3, no. 272., p. 54.

²⁶ Macdonald, no. 2558; *BM Seals* no.16985.

THE COAT OF ARMS

1373, and his own eldest son sealed with the same plus a label of three points in 1377.²⁷ The tinctures are unknown, but the colour of the bend is likely to have been different from that of Stewart of Bonkill.

The arms adopted by Margaret Bonkill's second son, Sir Alan Stewart of Dreghorn (d.1332) are unrecorded, and the first record of the arms of this cadet is not to be found until the time of Alan's great grandson, Sir John Stuart of Darnley (d.1429). It will be argued that the life of this Sir John marked a turning point in the popularization of the buckle as an heraldic charge in Scotland.



Figure 4: Left and Right: Arms of Sir John Stuart of Darnley (d.1429), Wikimedia Commons; Centre: seal of Catherine Seton, wife of Sir Alan Stuart of Darnley (d.1439), source, Sir William Fraser, *The Book of Carlawerock*, see footnote 32.

Sir John Stuart of Darnley (d.1429)

Firstly, his original arms. These are recorded in the late-fourteenth-century Gelre armorial at no. 700 (**Figure 4a**), and follow in the roll those of Sir Walter Leslie, being Stewart differenced with a bendlet gules.²⁸ Sir John was constable of the Scottish army in France and commander of the Scottish guard of Charles VII, who rewarded him with the lordship of Aubigny-sur-Nère in 1422 for his role in fighting the English at the Battle of Baugé, when the English king's brother the Duke of Clarence was killed. In 1427 he was made Count of Évreux, and the following year was permitted to quarter his arms with the royal lilies of France.²⁹ How amazed he would have been to know that his own direct male line descendants as Stuart kings of England would quarter the royal arms of France for an entirely different reason. The sources do not supply the full wording of the royal grant, but it appears that the arms of France were duly differenced with *A border gules semy of buckles or* (**Figure 4c**). He was the first member of his cadet branch known to have used the buckle on his arms, and his reason for so doing warrants explanation. Why should the device of a great-great grandmother, an heraldic heiress from whom he had inherited no property, be important to him?

The probable explanation is that it was a result of the great esteem in which he (and many of his compatriots) held his ancestor Sir John Stewart (d.1298), who during his

²⁷ Macdonald, nos. 2649–2650; *BM seals*, nos. 16925, 16926 and 16593.

²⁸ *Armorial de Gelre* f. 64v, online at <https://uurl.kbr.be/1733715>.

²⁹ Andrew Stuart, *Genealogical history of the Stewarts*, (London, 1798), p. 144; Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, (London, 1862) pp. 155–6.

THE HERALDIC BUCKLE

life had been a leader of the opposition to Edward I, alongside Sir William Wallace. In that capacity he was employed as one of the chief commanders of the Scottish army when he died fighting the English at the Battle of Falkirk. The buckle would have been a good way to commemorate the ancestor who had married the Bonkill heiress, and who would thus have acquired the right to add her arms to his on an escutcheon of pretence. It seems likely that it was a consequence of this adoption of the buckle by Sir John Stuart (whose surname became Gallicised through long service in France) that historians have, from the year 1712, universally (and quite incorrectly) come to refer to his ancestor as Sir John Stewart of *Bonkyll*, he being the ultimate source of the Stewart buckle.³⁰ A meticulous search of all histories of the Stewarts from the early sixteenth century onwards has revealed that the origin of this designation is a chapter headed “Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll” in a book by David Symson, whose cited evidences (notably Sir John’s gifts in 1296 of wax to Melrose Abbey from St James’s Fairs at Roxburgh for the annual Christmas festivities) only confirm that he did not use this epithet.³¹ Sir John Stuart lord Aubigny similarly died fighting to the last against the English, but far from his native land, at the Battle of the Herrings, in 1429.

The bearing by his descendants of the royal arms of France on their arms must have given them tremendous kudos in Scotland, and by association, the buckle was given a status that it had never previously enjoyed. There was considerable confusion over the successive generations as to where the bordure charged with buckles should go. Our military hero’s eldest son Sir Alan Stuart (d.1439) looks to have borne the France quartering without a bordure, if the strange seal of his wife Catherine Seton (**Figure 4b**) is to be relied upon.³² Her seal bears a curious dimidiation of her husband’s arms on the dexter side. To confuse matters the normal quarterings of his arms have been reversed, a modification of arms that was used in this period (in England) to differentiate a woman’s arms from those of her husband.³³ The Stewart quarter is most odd, being taken up almost entirely by the fess chequy. It does seem to have a bordure, but the bordure is damaged in the surviving impression, and no buckles are to be seen thereon.

Sir John Stuart’s younger son and namesake, who died in 1482, was given the French lordship of Aubigny by his elder brother. From the Berry Armorial of 1445–50 he bore France in the first and fourth quarters with a bordure of *Gules eight buckles or*, quartering at 2 and 3 Stewart differenced with a bendlet. In other words he bore the same arms that his father probably used in 1428–9. The same roll gives the arms of his nephew Sir John Stuart (d.1495) Lord Darnley, which are the same but with Stewart undifferenced.³⁴ The Scots Roll of 1455–58, on the other hand, gives for the Lord of Darnley the quarterings of France undifferenced and Stewart with a bordure gules, as

³⁰ Nisbett stated incorrectly that Sir John Stewart inherited Bonkyll in right of his wife in 1294, which cannot possibly be correct, and must have been based on a misinterpretation of his sources, doubtless influenced by Symson (next ref.). Alexander Nisbett, *A System of heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1722), p. 402.

³¹ David Symson, *A genealogical and historical account of the illustrious name of Stuart*, (Edinburgh, 1712), pp. 60–63. The Melrose charter is in Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1837), vol. 1, no. 348, p. 311.

³² Sir William Fraser, *The Book of Carloverock*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1873), vol. 2, p. 573, fig. 6.

³³ Paul A. Fox, *Great Cloister, a lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), p. 32.

³⁴ Berry nos 230, 1307, see McAndrew, op.cit., p.203.

THE COAT OF ARMS

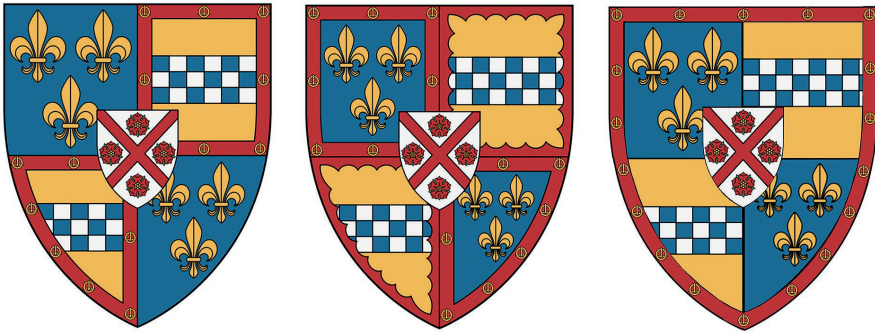


Figure 5: Left: Arms of Sir John Stuart Lord Darnley (d.1495) based on his seal of 1490; Centre: Arms used by Matthew Stuart, later 2nd Earl of Lennox in 1490, during his father's lifetime, here drawn without the additional label for difference; Right: Arms of Matthew Stuart 4th Earl of Lennox (d.1571). Source, Wikimedia Commons, modified.

per Catherine Seton's seal.³⁵ This version evidently passed as acceptable in Scotland, where to difference the arms of France might not have seemed all that important. On his seal of 1490 Sir John follows the version found on the Scots Roll, the arms of France being without a border of buckles, which was used instead to difference the arms of Stewart. On an inescutcheon are the arms of Lennox, for the earldom which he assumed circa 1475 in right of inheritance (**Figure 5a**).³⁶

The earl's son Matthew, 2nd Earl of Lennox (d.1513), who was killed at Flodden, differenced his arms during his father's lifetime by placing the bordure of buckles around the arms of France, with a bordure of Stewart engrailed (and overall a label of three points), as shown from his seal of 1490 (**Figure 5b**).³⁷ He reverted to his father's arms following his own accession.³⁸ John Stewart 3rd Earl of Lennox (d.1526) used the same arms as his grandfather, but his son Matthew the 4th Earl of Lennox (d.1571) quartered France and Stewart plain, with a bordure of buckles around the whole shield (**Figure 5c**).³⁹ He fatefully married his kinswoman Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald Douglas, 5th Earl of Angus, and therefore another descendant of Sir John Stewart (incorrectly styled "of Bonkyll"); but more importantly she was the granddaughter of King Henry VII of England through her mother Margaret Tudor. Their son the future titular king of Scotland, as husband of Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley (1545–1567), followed the earlier practice as eldest son of putting the border of buckles around the arms of France with a border engrailed gules around the arms of Stewart, during his father's lifetime; plus a label argent as a further mark of difference. The banner borne at his funeral in 1567 is charged with these arms in the first quarter, his mother's arms in the fourth quarter (for her arms see below), the triskelion

³⁵ C. Campbell, *The Scots Roll* (Dunfermline, 1995), no. 42.

³⁶ Macdonald, no. 2614, *BM seals*, no. 16956.

³⁷ Macdonald, no. 2615; *BM Seals*, no. 16970.

³⁸ Macdonald, no. 2616; *BM Seals*, no. 16971, used in 1510.

³⁹ Macdonald, no. 2620; *BM Seals*, no. 16972.



Figure 6: Two details from the memorial of Lord Darnley by Livinius de Vogelaere, commissioned by his bereaved parents in 1567, and now part of the Royal Collections at Holyroodhouse, Wikimedia Commons.

of the Isle of Man in the second, and the ancient arms of the earldom of Ross, *Gules three lions rampant argent*, in the third (**Figure 6**). He had been created Duke of Albany and Earl of Ross in 1565, but none of his three letters patent granting his lands and titles under the Great Seal of Scotland mention the lordship of Man.⁴⁰ The explanation is that the island was not actually in the gift of the Scottish crown, but was regarded as an appurtenance of the Dukedom of Albany. John Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1536) had borne the triskelion as a quartering on his arms, as had his father Alexander, Duke of Albany (d. c.1485).⁴¹ The Darnley buckles did not disappear from family usage after the headship of the house became merged with the crown in the personage of James VI & I, when the status of the buckle reached new heights.

The Bonkill buckle and the Douglas Earls of Angus

In order to map the rising reputation of the buckle following the heroic death of Sir John Stuart of Darnley in 1429, we will now return to the descendants of the eldest son of Sir John Stewart “of Bonkyll”, the Stewart Earls of Angus. This line terminated with Margaret Stewart (d.1417) the elder daughter of Thomas Stewart (d.1361) 2nd Earl of Angus, who had married the Earl of Mar. She had a natural son George Douglas (1380–1403) with William Douglas, 1st Earl of Douglas, a son whose interests she was highly successful in promoting. Upon him she managed to bestow the earldom of Angus which she held in her own right; furthermore, she managed to obtain for him as a wife Mary Stewart, the daughter of King Robert III. The king bestowed the Bonkill

⁴⁰ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, op. cit., vol. 4, nos. 1623, 1635, 1646, dating 25th May to 20th July 1565.

⁴¹ *Macdonald*, nos. 2576, 2583.

THE COAT OF ARMS

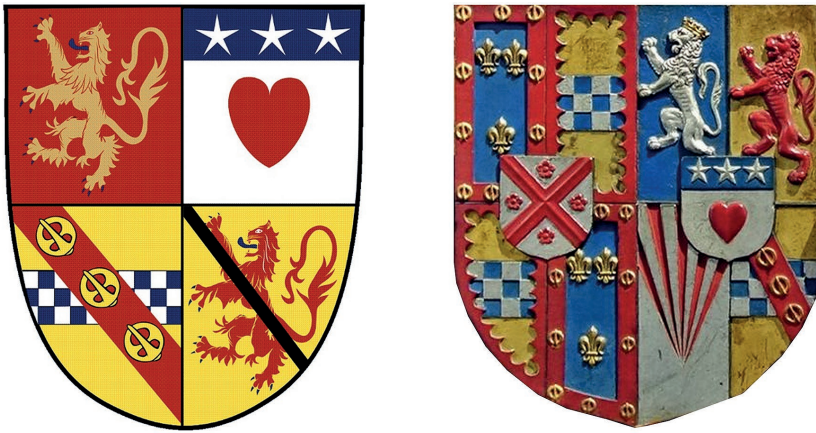


Figure 7: Left: Arms of George Douglas 4th Earl of Angus (d. 1463), Facsimile by Fleur-de-lis Designs from the Scots Roll c. 1455; Right: Arms of Margaret Stuart, countess of Lennox (d. 1578), daughter of Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, from her tomb in Westminster Abbey; photograph by Paul A. Fox.

barony upon his son-in-law.⁴² George Douglas died young, of plague, following the Battle of Homildon Hill, but not before he had fathered a son and heir William Douglas (1398–1437) the 2nd Earl of Angus.

There is no record of the arms of the first Douglas Earl of Angus, but the second, in his adulthood, used three seals. One of these is undated, and is purely Douglas. The other two, which were in use between 1427 and 1429 were the same, but with an added inescutcheon of pretence charged with three stars on a bend which must have come from his wife Margaret Hay, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester.⁴³

Prior to the second earl's death in 1437 there were no buckles. His two eldest sons who were successively earl (James, 3rd earl, d.1446; George, 4th earl, d.1463) both added a quartering to their arms of Stewart of Bonkyl, i.e. Stewart surmounted by *A bend gules charged with three buckles* or (**Figure 7a**).⁴⁴ The sudden impetus to vaunt their descent from the Stewarts of Bonkyl might have been for a variety of reasons, but the famous exploits of Sir John Stuart of Darnley would surely have been a contributory factor. The Bonkyl quartering continued to be used down to Archibald Douglas (d.1557) the 6th earl, whose daughter Margaret, as we have already seen, married Matthew Stuart 4th Earl of Lennox, and was the mother of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Margaret's personal arms of Angus impaling Lennox, as seen on her tomb in Westminster Abbey (**Figure 7b**) have the Bonkyl buckles on both sides.

⁴² Bonkyl remained in the Douglas family. In 1514 Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus wrote a letter from there, this being the same year that he married Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

⁴³ Bruce A. McAndrew, in *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 230 describes her paternal arms, which included stars, but if Margaret was an heiress in her own right the shield could have come from her mother. These are certainly not the arms of Stewart of Bonkyl.

⁴⁴ Macdonald, nos. 682–4; McAndrew *Historic Heraldry*, p. 213.

THE HERALDIC BUCKLE

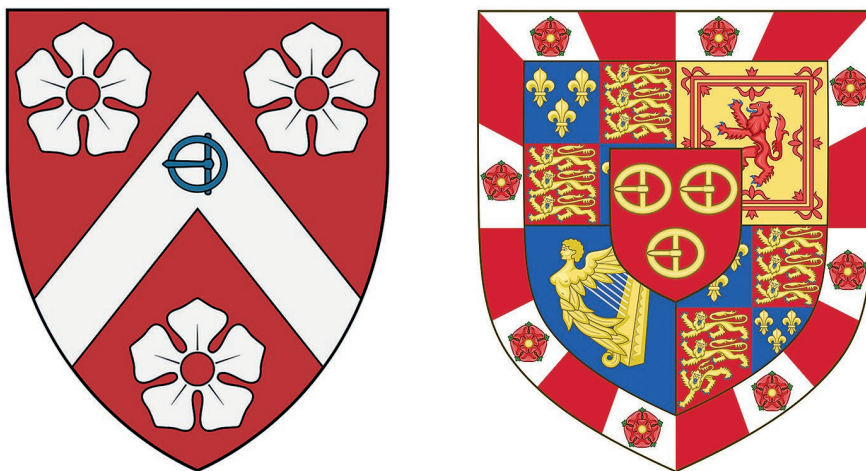


Figure 8: Left: Arms of Hamilton; Right: Arms of Charles Lennox 3rd Duke of Richmond and Gordon. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Elizabeth Stewart, the younger daughter of Thomas Stewart, 2nd Earl of Angus, married Alexander Hamilton of Ballencrieff and Innerwick and their descendant Sir Archibald Hamilton (d. before 1488) is credited with adding the buckle of Bonkill to the arms of Hamilton.⁴⁵ The earliest direct evidence of this is the seal of Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick used in 1540: *Three cinquefoils with a buckle in fess point*.⁴⁶ The buckle was later placed on a chevron (**Figure 8a**), a usage which continued through to the arms of the Hamilton Earls of Haddington.

Buckles used by other Stewart cadet branches

Over many centuries the usage of the buckle continued in a profusion of new arms as the Stewart pedigree expanded. Many of these were known descendants of the Stewarts of Bonkyll, others less certainly so. The certain descendants include the Stewarts of Rosyth who added *A bordure gules semy of buckles or* to their arms by 1507; Stewart of Grantully registered arms with *A bordure azure semy of buckles or* in 1672–77.⁴⁷ Others of less certain descent include the Stewart baronets of Goodtrees who added *three buckles or* to the bend gules on their arms in 1810.

In 1776 Charles Lennox (1735–1806) 3rd Duke of Richmond and Gordon, and the grandson of a natural son of Charles II, was recognised as Duke of Aubigny in France by King Louis XVI.⁴⁸ Following this he adopted the arms of Bonkill *Gules three buckles or* as an inescutcheon on his arms, supposedly to represent his dukedom of Aubigny (Figure 8b). He had earlier borne an inescutcheon of Bruce for his wife Lady Mary Bruce, as can be seen on his first heraldic book-stamp. This resurrection of the

⁴⁵ McAndrew *Historic Heraldry*, p. 547.

⁴⁶ *Laing* 1866, no. 1229.

⁴⁷ G. Harvey Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Stewarts* (Edinburgh, 1906).

⁴⁸ *GEC*, vol. 10, p. 841.

THE COAT OF ARMS

arms of Bonkill reminds us of the tremendous high regard with which the arms had come to be held, but also points to a huge misunderstanding concerning the arms of the duke's ancestor Sir John Stuart, Lord Aubigny, who had no right to use the arms of Bonkill.

The Lumsden Arms

A useful case study on the significance of the heraldic buckle in wider Scottish society is provided by the clan of Lumsden, the chief of which, together with the heads of two cadet branches, took the opportunity of the new Lyon Register in 1672 to record variants of the same arms, each with a buckle in centre point.⁴⁹ The family had a long heraldic history, with seals from the early fourteenth century generally showing three stars or mullets on a bend, in one instance three stars on a chevron, and in another a bend between three stars. The clan chief had led the way by adding a buckle to the centre-point of the chevron in the sixteenth century, as was recorded in the Dunvegan armorial of 1582. Alexander Nisbett opined in 1722 that “the buckle is either upon account of their alliance with the Stewarts, Earls of Angus, or a mark of their superiority and patronage”.⁵⁰ The first thing to note here is that the buckle was regarded as a mark of distinction through its royal Stuart connections. The fact that all three principal parts of the Lumsden family adopted the same arms with the buckle simultaneously points to it having been chosen to signify a significant common ancestry at some distant time in the past. The origin of the family was as the lords of Blanerne Castle (also known as Lumsden Castle, and situated very close to Bonkyll), used by the clan chief, which Gilbert Lumsden acquired in marriage to the heiress of Blanerne, taking possession of Blanerne under a charter of John Stewart, 1st Earl of Angus and Lord of Bonkyll, dated 15th June 1329.⁵¹ Likely then the family wished to vaunt their ancient feudal connection with the ancestors of the later Stuart kings. In the century following this uniform adoption of the buckle in 1672 the family continued to show its strong allegiance to the doomed House of Stuart.

Andrew Lumsden (1720–1801) of the Cushnie branch of the family became secretary to Prince Charles Edward Stuart during his ill-fated arrival in Scotland in 1745, for which he was attainted following the defeat at Culloden. He went on to serve as secretary of state to the ‘Old Pretender’ James VIII in Rome. This fact was a matter of great pride to the late David Lumsden of Cushnie (1933–2008), Garioch Pursuivant to the Countess of Mar. He was wont to define himself, only half-jokingly, as a modern ‘Jacobite’ for whom the buckle was a badge of honour as a sort of Jacobite emblem, at least within the context of his own family tree. Here shown is his design for new fireplaces at Tillycairn Castle (**Figure 9**).⁵²

⁴⁹ Sir James Balfour Paul, *An Ordinary of arms contained in the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, 2nd ed (Edinburgh, 1903), nos. 560, 763–765.

⁵⁰ Nisbett, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁵¹ Lieut-Col. H. W. Lumsden, *Memorials of the Families of Lumsdaine, Lumisden or Lumsden*, (Edinburgh. 1889), p. 7.

⁵² The authors would like to thank Eilean and John Malden for reviewing these findings, and Stanley Bird for his assistance in bringing the paper to fruition.

THE HERALDIC BUCKLE

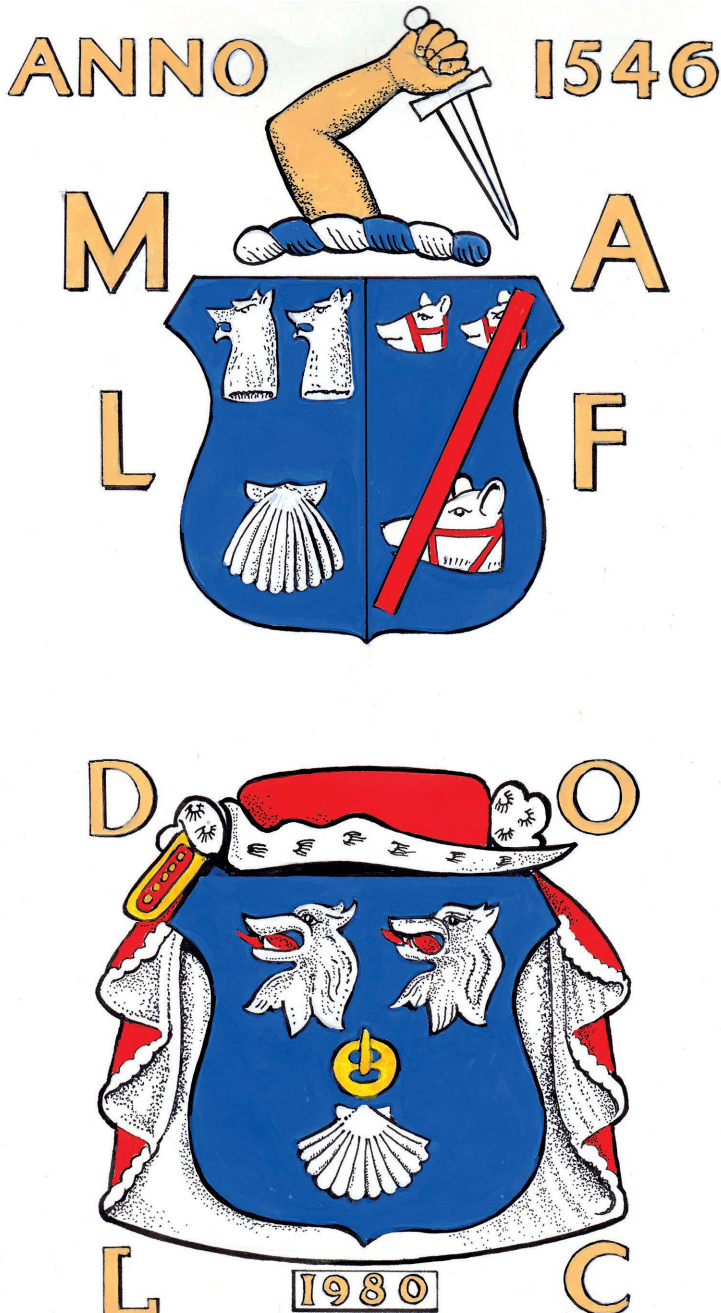


Figure 9: David Lumsden of Cushnie's designs for the restoration of fireplaces at Tillycairn Castle, showing, above, the arms of his forbears in 1546, before the buckle was introduced. From the personal collection of Paul A. Fox.

A MATTER OF DIFFERENCE

MICHAEL FOWLE C.B.E., Hon F.H.S.

Abstract

In 1692 the family of a London goldsmith, Sir Thomas Fowle, was prosecuted in the Court of Chivalry for using the arms of a like-named family from a different county. Despite having disclaimed the right to bear the arms his kinsmen have continued to use them over the last three hundred years. In 2019 the author regularised the situation for his branch of the family by obtaining a grant from the College of Arms, with arms based on but differenced from the disclaimed arms.

Introduction

Three sons of a Wiltshire farmer became successful City goldsmiths. One, Sir Thomas, an extremely wealthy goldsmith-banker, was knighted in 1686, and was later Sheriff and Prime Warden of the Company. Their nephew William, son of a Wiltshire farmer, was a craftsman-goldsmith who, in the three years before his death at age 26, produced some of the finest pieces of English silver of the late Stuart period. We begin with their story.

Sir Thomas Fowle and his family

Edward Fowle, a farmer in the village of Stanton Barnard in North Wiltshire died in 1678, father of five sons and three daughters.¹ Although Edward was probably only a yeoman or husbandman, he had apprenticed his third, fourth and fifth sons, Daniel, Robert and Thomas to London goldsmiths, to become Freemen of the Goldsmiths' Company.² The two elder sons, Edward and (my ancestor) Henry, remained in Wiltshire, as did the daughters.

By the time their father died, the three London goldsmiths had prospered. Daniel was a wiredrawer, becoming a member of the City's Common Council. Robert was a shop-keeping goldsmith who specialised in the sale of fashionable jewellery, rising to become Second Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. But the real story begins with the fifth son, Thomas, a goldsmith-banker who traded from The Black Lyon, near Temple Bar in Fleet Street. The 1666 Great Fire destroyed the bankers of Cheapside and Lombard Street, the heart of the trade, but did not reach Temple Bar, creating

¹ There is evidence of a prosperous yeoman family Fowle in Stanton Barnard from the 1520s, with documentation including property records, wills and parish register entries showing Edward Fowle's descent from William Fowle (will 1584). A pedigree has been submitted to the College of Arms for registration. There is as yet no earlier record of the family.

² This article's information about the goldsmith brothers and their goldsmith nephew William is mostly from three articles by David M. Mitchell 'Dressing plate by the 'unknown' London silversmith 'WF' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 135, no. 1083 (1993), pp. 386–400; D.M.Mitchell, 'Mr Fowle Pray Pay the Washerwoman': The Trade of a London Goldsmith-Banker, 1660–1692', in *Business and Economic History* vol. 23 pt.1 (1994), pp. 27–38; and D.M.Mitchell, 'Sir Thomas Fowle 1637–1692', in *New DNB*; and from David Mitchell's magnificent book *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London – Their Lives and Marks* (Woodbridge, 2017).



Figure 1: Left, 1a: A tazza from The Calverley Service (1683/84) made by William Fowle (1658–1684), Victoria & Albert Museum. Probably made after designs by Guglielmo della Porta, died in Rome 1577. 29½ cm diameter; Right, 1b: Seal of Sir Thomas Fowle from an agreement dated 4 August 1685. TNA C 104/112. About 1.5 cm diameter.

opportunity for the new men of Fleet Street. Thomas became immensely wealthy, acquiring land in Wiltshire, Sussex and Somerset. He served as Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, as Alderman, and as Sheriff of the City, was knighted in 1686, and was briefly MP for Devizes. It is clear from the remaining papers of Sir Thomas and his business successors, that he created a remarkable banking business.³

Several others of the family became Freemen of the Goldsmiths, but the most significant was Sir Thomas's nephew William, son of his eldest brother Edward (who had stayed farming at Stanton). William showed early talent. Born in 1658, at age 16 he was apprenticed for seven years to the great silversmith Arthur Manwaring, a regular supplier to his uncle Thomas. On Manwaring's death, unusually, William did not transfer to another Master, but remained apprenticed to Manwaring's widow.

In 1681, at age 23, William set up his own business funded by his uncle Sir Thomas, and became a Freeman of the Goldsmiths, his service testified by his apprentice Mistress. William died tragically early, only three years later⁴, but they were three extraordinary years. He had fashioned an impressive corpus of fine plate, magnificent work, for his uncle and for many others, including the Calverley Service now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (**Figure 1a**), and the Normanton Service in the Metropolitan Museum of Art – 'a remarkable young silversmith who ... produced some of the finest pieces of English silver that survive from the late Stuart period'.⁵

Sir Thomas died eight years after his nephew William, on Friday 11 November 1692, at the age of 55, of an apoplexy. On Thursday 24 November he was interred at his parish church of St Dunstons in the West, after laying in state in the Stationers' Hall;

³ TNA C104/ 107–125, a number of boxes of muddled papers dating from the 1680s to 1720.

⁴ P.C.C.will 7 Jul 1684, TNA PROB 11/413, buried St Martin-in-the Fields 13Jul 1684.

⁵ Mitchell, *Burlington Mag.*, op. cit., p. 396.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 2: Top left; Arms of Fowle, from the 1770 (or later) monument in All Cannings Church, Wiltshire, to the Revd William Fowle (1708–1770), he was Rector of All Cannings, a Wiltshire cousin, and not a descendant of Sir Thomas Fowle; Top right: 5. Arms of Fowle impaling Everett, from the 1840 memorial to William Fowle in the parish church of Chute St Nicolas, Wiltshire; Bottom left: seal matrix of William Fowle (1770–1840), with Fowle impaling Everett. William Fowle of Durrington (later of Chute Lodge) married Harriett Everett, daughter of Thomas Everett MP, of Biddesden House and 19 Bedford Square, on 9 February 1799 at St Giles-in-the-Fields. Impressions of this seal are found on correspondence from 1801; Bottom right: Bookplate of the Revd Fulwar William Fowle (1791–1876), Vicar of Amesbury 1817–76 and nephew of Revd Thomas Fowle (1765–97) who was engaged to Cassandra Austen, but died of yellow fever in the West Indies.

the lord mayor and court of aldermen accompanied the corpse, with 120 mourners and 700 other persons. About one thousand rings were given away of 10s a piece, a hundred of 20s each. The bishop of London and some of the nobility walked on foot, while the Dean of St Paul's preached the funeral sermon'.⁶

Serious Heraldic Troubles

Eighteen months after the funeral, on 7 March 1694, the King's Advocate in The Court of Chivalry proceeded against 'Robert Fowle, nephew on the brother's side and executor of the will of Sir Thomas Fowle of St Dunstons-in-the-West for displaying arms at his funeral and on a hatchment which were not those of the deceased.'⁷ Nephew Robert was also a goldsmith-banker and, as residuary legatee, had inherited Sir Thomas's business.

On 5 July 1694 the defendant, nephew Robert, being unable to prove entitlement to the arms in question, disclaimed all interest in them, and was dismissed on payment of costs. Peter Le Neve gives more detail 'Sir Thomas Fowle (who) bore G(ules) a Lyon pas' bet. 3 roses ... had no right to the arms. His Ex(ecutors) were questioned for them in the Court of Honour & Rob't his kinsman disclaimed right in my hearing.'⁸

Sir Thomas's will was complex and detailed.⁹ He sought to be generous to many, his estate being worth around £40,000.¹⁰ The greater part of it, after proper provision for his widow, was left to his only child, his daughter Susan Cope. But there were substantial charitable legacies and bequests to his brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces. He left two manors in north Wiltshire to his nephew Thomas, son of his brother Henry. Soon after the death of Sir Thomas the family of nephew Thomas acquired land at Charlton St Peter, near Pewsey, where a descendant still resides to this day.

Genealogical Enquiries

The arms disclaimed by nephew Robert, *Gules a lion passant between three roses or*, were very similar to the arms of the Fowle family of Riverhall, Sussex, their lion being passant guardant, as recorded in the 1634 Visitation of Sussex.¹¹ My family have tended to rail at nephew Robert for his disclaimer, insisting he was wrong, that Sir Thomas would not have used arms not his own. We have in vain sought a connection to the Riverhall family. In particular, some fifty years ago, another of my cousins employed a genealogical consultancy which after three or four years of research failed to find a connection to Sussex or the Riverhall arms. Remarkably however, the consultancy

⁶ Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical relation of state affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1857), vol. 2, p. 623.

⁷ 'Oldys v. Fowle', in G.D. Squibb (ed.), *Reports of Heraldic Cases in the Court of Chivalry 1623–1732*, Harl. Soc. (1956), p. 87.

⁸ George W. Marshall (ed.) *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights made by King Charles II*, Harl. Soc. (1873), p. 407.

⁹ P.C.C. will 30 Jul 1691, TNA PROB 11/413/20, buried St. Dunstan-in-the West 11 Nov 1692.

¹⁰ Berkely, Bretland and Fowle v Jonathan, William and Anthony Cope, Infants, House of Lords (1698) Colles 39 1 E.R. 169. According to the Bank of England's consumer price calculator, £10 in 1692 is equivalent to £1,700 today. Hence £40,000 in 1692 is equivalent to approaching £7m today. However, much of the estate being property, the true value in today's money was probably rather more.

¹¹ W. Bruce Bannerman (ed.) *The Visitations of the County of Sussex*, Harl. Soc. (1905), p. 114.

THE COAT OF ARMS

advised my cousin that ‘You are without doubt entitled to bear the Fowle arms in a suitably differenced form...’ An interesting fact which did come to light was that a ‘Mr Le Neve’ had been a banking customer of the business, probably John Le Neve.¹² This discovery came from a collection of deeds signed by Sir Thomas and sealed with his seal, *A lion passant between three roses* (**Figure 1b**), thus confirming that he had indeed used the arms specified by Le Neve during his lifetime.

Heraldic Irregularities

The descendants of Sir Thomas’s brother Henry have, since the mid-eighteenth century, consistently used the passant guardant version of the arms disclaimed in 1694 (that is, the Riverhall version, not the version used by Sir Thomas), with its associated crest. This is evidenced on plate, on furniture, on seals and signet rings, on many Wiltshire church memorials (**Figures 2a-d**), in Burke’s General Armory, and in Burke’s Heraldic Illustrations. We used these arms with the apparently new motto ‘*Boutez en avant*’ (Push to the front). This motto would certainly have suited Sir Thomas and perhaps it was he who chose it. On the other hand, it was an absurd motto for most of brother Henry’s descendants who, with a few outstanding military and Crown service exceptions, have been content to vegetate in rural comfort, and the like. Apart from Sir Thomas, the only one of us of real public note is poor Cousin Tom, engaged to Cassandra, Jane Austen’s beloved elder sister, but taken by yellow fever in 1797 at the age of only 31 while serving as a private chaplain in the West Indies Fleet.¹³

A Solution

At age 76, having been a Heraldry Society member for sixty years, though a silent member for the previous fifty-five, I was volunteered by crisis into service as Treasurer and a Trustee. It was time to regularise my personal heraldic iniquity – though I could do nothing about my ancestors or my many cousins. I consulted my fellow Trustee, William Hunt, quondam Windsor Herald and now Research Assistant to today’s Windsor Herald, John Allen-Petrie. With William’s help I have become respectable, with arms resembling, but differenced from, the arms wrongfully used for three hundred years (**Figure 3**). I asked for the Riverhall arms with a gold border. Tiresomely, but doubtless properly, the Kings of Arms decided that this was insufficient difference from the arms of a probably unrelated family. What about a collar on the lion passant guardant? Sadly, in my then ignorance of Sir Thomas’s seal, I had failed to ask for a lion passant, like Sir Thomas, rather than passant guardant as in the Riverhall arms. My Livery Company’s supporters include a lion gorged with a checky mural crown. What about that? Agreed – but, to avoid a giraffe necked lion, the checky mural collar has only a single course of bricks, as one might say, being blazoned *Gorged with a mural crown compony gules and argent embattled gules*.

Then the crest. William remarked that armoured arms issuing from coronets, grasping battle axes, are ten-a-penny, near impossible to difference. A change of colour? Not enough. What about a change of coronet? A mural crown perhaps? Nothing doing – mural crowns are reserved for military grandees, not available to accountants. What

¹² TNA C 104/112.

¹³ Michael Fowle, ‘The Death of Tom Fowle’, *Jane Austen Society Report* (2021) pp.49–51.



Figure 3: Grant of Arms to Michael Fowle dated 17 April 1919, scribed and illuminated by Robert J Parsons.

THE COAT OF ARMS

about a mock coronet of chained portcullises – a portcullis being a symbol of security and a feature of my Livery Company's arms? Done: *out of a circlet of portcullises three manifest or an arm embowed in armour argent holding in the hand proper a battle-axe bendwise sinister also proper.*

A badge – good to have one of those, a family innovation! I like my badge – much more attractive in reality than in blazon: *A lion sejant affronty or gorged with a mural crown comonly gules and argent embattled gules resting the forepaws on a rose gules barbed and seeded proper*' (Figure 4).¹⁴

Finally, the Motto '*Boutez en Avant*', though three hundred years in the family, would not do, for me at least. I had made my living as a chartered accountant. I am an accountant who has always recognised that the only true public service that my profession delivers is the audit of a company's annual accounts. Since 1947, such accounts have had to show a true and fair view of the state of the company's affairs and of its results.

'True and Fair' is my motto and the motto of my Livery Company, but I am not quoting my Company's motto. Like my Company, I am quoting Companies Act 1947 and subsequent UK Companies Acts. True and fair, lawyers tell us, is an abstraction or philosophical concept expressed in simple English – I like that. Truth and fairness are proper foundations upon which to build a life – a proper motto.



Figure 4: Badge granted to Michael Fowle in 2019, painted as the reverse of a table shield by Baz Manning.

¹⁴ CA Grant of Arms, 17 April 2019.

THE BRERETON ROLL: A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HERALDIC PEDIGREE

ANTHONY BOSTOCK, M.A.

Abstract

Here follows an illustrated account of a Tudor pedigree roll of unusual type, apparently created in celebration of cousinship rather than for the demonstration of illustrious descents. All of the coats of arms take the form of impalements, although certain of the spouses were seemingly not armigerous.

Introduction

The Brereton Roll, dating to 1564, is a particularly large, illuminated pedigree roll (**Figure 1**), among the thousands of treasures housed in the storerooms of the Cheshire Archives.¹ It measures 22 inches wide, is about 14 feet in length, and comprises three membranes pasted head to tail. Whilst it is not the largest known pedigree roll (in fact there is another in Cheshire archives, the Eyton Roll, which is a few feet longer) it is certainly amongst the largest.² Its stated purpose, from the two framed tablets at the head of the roll, is to delineate down to their great-grandchildren all the descendants of Sir Randolph IV Brereton (d. 1530) of Malpas, and his wife Eleanor Dutton, daughter of Peter Dutton of Hatton esquire: a marriage of two ancient and influential Cheshire families.³ There can be little doubt that it was created for the couple's ninth and youngest son Sir Urian Brereton who heads the list of sons displayed down the left side of the roll. No ordinary pedigree would otherwise relegate the current head of the family to a subordinate position towards the bottom of the roll.⁴ The brothers are linked together by a cord running down the central axis. This cord has been rubbed away at its upper part to accommodate the impaled arms of Urian's daughter Dorothy with those of her husband George Reddish (2:7), and an account of their offspring.

Each of Urian's eight brothers and the eldest two of his sisters is highlighted with a series of ornate tasselled hanging placards which are suspended from the family lines. In order to give the pedigree a more harmonious aspect, the list of daughters down the right side of the roll is headed with the youngest daughter. She was, of course, the sister closest in age to Urian, and we might infer from the positioning that she was the sister closest to his heart.

Tudor pedigree rolls tended to focus on illustrious ancestors, of whom the Brereton family had plenty, dating back to the late twelfth century, while their ancestral arms *Argent two bars sable* can be traced back with certainty the fourteenth century, although

¹ Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Chester. Ref: DDX 95

² For example, the Seymour pedigree (1604), in the Chippenham, Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, is 6 feet 2 inches wide by 22 feet 5 inches long. Another, perhaps the largest is that of the Shirley family (1632) which is nearly 12 feet wide by 29 feet long: Sir John Baker, 'Tudor Pedigree Rolls and their Uses', in Nigel Ramsey (ed.) *Heralds and heraldry in Shakespeare's England* (Donington, 2014), pp. 125–165.

³ Sir Randolph's nephew was the formidable Sir Piers Dutton, High Sheriff of Cheshire.

⁴ The next two sons listed are the second and third sons.

THE COAT OF ARMS

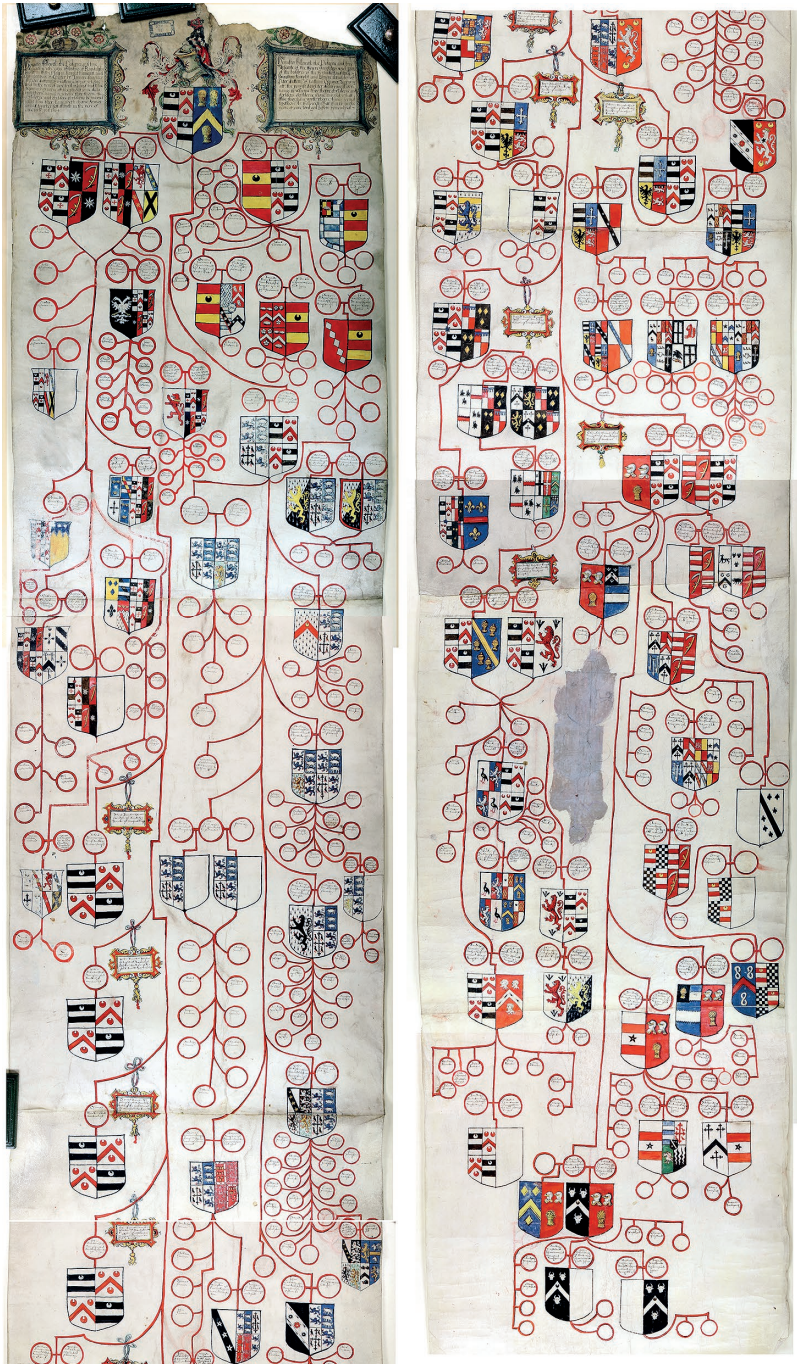


Figure 1: The top and bottom halves of the Brereton Roll. Courtesy of the Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Chester. MS DDX 95.

THE BRERETON ROLL

in all probability they were significantly older than this.⁵ Here we have a species of pedigree roll apparently not encountered by Sir John Baker, in that it was not listed by him in his chapter on the uses of these manuscripts; this is a roll of cousins, giving their arms. It celebrates the extended family network of Sir Urian, who established his own cadet line at Hanford following his marriage to the Hanford heiress. His cadet is given a separate listing in the visitations.⁶

In adopting this format, the pedigree is quite at variance with the type that was recorded in the heraldic visitations. The skeleton Brereton family tree is very close to that recorded in the 1566 and 1580 visitations of Cheshire, which were both undertaken under the authority of William Flower, Norroy.⁷ The major difference from the visitation pedigrees is the huge wealth of information which has been added about descendants in the female line. It is possible that as the youngest of many sons Sir Urian had been very much the pet of his sisters during his childhood. His desire to include them in this unusual manner certainly indicates that he held his sisters in high esteem.

At the top of the roll is a painting of the impaled arms of Sir Randolph IV Brereton and Eleanor Dutton: *quarterly 1 & 4, Argent, two bars sable, a crescent for difference* [Brereton]; *2 & 3, Argent, a chevron between three crescents gules* [Ipstones]; *impaling Azure, a chevron between three garbs or* [Hatton]. The crest is *a bear's head sable, muzzled gules, with a crescent for difference*. The coat of arms and crest occurs between the two descriptive text boxes, each of which is surmounted by a decoration of rambling roses and a barrel – a ‘briar’ and a ‘tun’ a nice pun on the family name. The overall appearance of the roll is somewhat haphazard and confusing. Over 400 individuals are named – a veritable genealogical goldmine. Individual names appear in red-lined medallions at the ends of tendrils which descend from conjoined coats of arms.

This paper will describe the Brereton Roll, the people mentioned in it, and provide some interpretation of the heraldry displayed. Heraldically this is an important document as it contains over 80 escutcheons bearing quartered coats of arms providing an armory of Cheshire, Lancashire Shropshire and North Wales gentry. In order not to complicate the narrative the majority of blazons of the arms of the families named in the roll are assigned to endnotes. The roll is here reproduced in its entirety one a series of plates, courtesy of Cheshire Archives & Local Studies Library. Each coat of arms can be located on the roll with reference to a two number identifier in which the first number is that of the plate and the second the shield number on the plate.

Sir Randolph IV Brereton (d.1530)

The key progenitor of the family on the roll was probably born at either Ipstones, Staffordshire, or Malpas, Cheshire in about 1470, son of a man of the same name, and great-grandson of another Randolph who had been a scion of the house of Brereton of Brereton. Randolph IV's wife Eleanor was the daughter of Piers Dutton and Elizabeth

⁵ George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, edited by Thomas Helsby, 3 vols (London, 1881–2), vol. 3 p. 82; Brereton of Hanford pp. 639–40; for the origins of the arms see Paul A. Fox, ‘Brereton’, in *Great Cloister, a lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 154–5.

⁶ John Paul Rylands (ed.), *The Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580*, (Harl. Soc., vol. 18, London, 1882), pp. 45–6.

⁷ Rylands, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Fouleshurst. He was made a knight in 1497; became one of the knights of the body to King Henry VII, and was appointed as the chamberlain of Chester in 1504, an important position he held for the rest of his life. He was made a knight banneret for his valour at either the sieges of Terrouanne and Tournai or the Battle of the Spurs, both of which occurred in 1513. His will of 2 August 1523 resulted in a dispute between the children and their mother which was arbitrated on by Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and subsequently by John Baker, recorder of London, and by John Pakyngton, recorder of Worcester and justice of North Wales. Sir Randolph died on 3 June 1530 and the elaborate tomb chest with his and his wife's effigies can be seen in the church at Malpas (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The monument of Sir Randolph IV de Brereton and his wife Eleanor in Malpas church. Photograph by Anthony Bostock.

Sir Randulph IV Brereton's Sons

Randulph is said to have had ten sons, but only nine are listed on the roll: Sir Randulph V, Robert, Sir Richard, John, Thomas, Peter, Sir Roger, Sir William, and Sir Urian. As the actual years of birth are unknown, the order of birth is variously given in different sources: it may be assumed that the children were born in the 1490s and early 1500s. The order in which they will be discussed follows the order given in the pedigree.

Sir Urian Brereton (d.1577) (1:2)

Sir Randulph's ninth son was married to Margaret, daughter and heir of William Handforth, and following her death to Alice, daughter of Sir Edmund Trafford, who was buried at Cheadle in 1578. These two marriages are represented by two shields. The first displays his father's arms of Brereton *Argent two bars sable and in chief a crescent for difference, further differenced on the centre point with A cross-flory gules charged with five bezants*, and quartering Ipstones, *Argent a chevron between three crescents gules*. His first wife's arms of Handforth, *Sable, an estoile pierced of six argent*, quarter those of Praers, *Gules a scythe argent*. His second wife's arms of Trafford are quarterly of four : *1 Argent a griffin segreant gules holding an escutcheon azure charged with an unidentified charge*; *2 Argent on a bend azure three garbs or* [Fitton]; *3 Argent on a bend gules three estoiles or* [Thornton]; *4 Or a saltire sable* [Helsby].

Urian became a groom of the chamber to Henry VIII and is known to have hunted with Queen Anne Boleyn. On one occasion their hounds mauled a cow to death. Their friendship is perhaps evidenced by the fact that the queen named her lap-dog 'Urian'. By 1528 he had a position within the royal exchequer, and ten years later was a king's attorney, along with Humphrey Hurleston and subsequently Randulph Cholmondeley, both of whom were related to him by marriage. Following his brother William's untimely death in 1536 he became escheator of Chester, sergeant of the peace for Bromfield and Yale, and received his brother's Cheshire estate in Chorlton, Hampton and Shocklach. Like his elder brother Roger, Urian was knighted on 19 May 1544 at Leith by the earl of Somerset and elevated to be a Knight of the Carpet on the occasion of the coronation of King Edward VI on 22 February 1547. He died on 19 March 1577.

From his two marriages Sir Urian had six sons and four daughters. The marriages of four of these sons are indicated, but only two have details of a wife. Firstly Edward, who resided at Whickleswick, Lancashire, and married Katherine, daughter of George Lathom of Irlam. He died in January 1606, and was buried at Eccles, Lancashire. Secondly William Brereton of Handforth, who was High Sheriff of Cheshire in 1590, married Katherine, daughter of Roger Hurleston of Chester, and died in June 1601. This William and his father purchased the convent of St. Mary, Chester to establish a town house. Edward's arms (3:1) and those of his brother William (3:2) and his sisters Mary (2:1) and Dorothy (2:7) are somewhat curious in the way that they quarter their mother's arms, as they show a quartered coat with 1 & 4 having Brereton and Ipstones impaled and 2 & 3 having Handforth and Praers impaled, all these then being impaled with the arms of their respective spouses. His brother Randulph (4:2) and sisters Jane and Sybil (3:3, 3:4) display their parental arms in a quite different arrangement as an impalement which in turn impales the arms of their own spouses. The distinction of the strange quartering was perhaps made to signify some inheritance from their mother.

THE COAT OF ARMS

The arms of Urian's eldest son Randolph and his fourth son, Urian, are each shown with a blank impalement suggesting that they were either married and that the artist did not know the identity of the wives, or that they were not then (1564) married. Interestingly, the coat of arms of Urian junior (2:5) is differenced with a red mullet in place of his father's cross flory (his arms also impale the Trafford quarters), while Randolph (4:2) has an additional crescent for difference over his paternal arms.

Each of Sir Urian's four daughters was married. Dorothy married George Reddish of Reddish in Lancs and had eight children. Sybil married Thomas Leigh of Adlington and had ten children. Jane (3:4) married Edward Leigh of Baguley. Lastly, Mary married Alexander Barlow of Barlow and had ten children.

Robert, Peter, Thomas and John Brereton

Robert Brereton, esquire, Sir Randolph's second son, is next down the roll at 5:2. He seems to have been unmarried, became a groom of the privy chamber and is recorded as living in 1566. Next comes Peter, a clerk in Holy Orders (5:3) who was parson of Heswall (inst.1533) and vicar of Oswestry.⁸ Peter is named as being the third son, but then so is William, so it is likely that one or the other was either the third or sixth son. Thomas Brereton, the fifth son, was also a priest and served as rector of the Higher Moiety of the church at Malpas (inst.1502): he died in 1511. Yet another priest was John Brereton (7:1) the eighth son, 'minister of Little St Bartholomew's', 'parson' of Astbury (inst.1535), and rector of both the higher and lower moieties of Malpas (inst.1533 and 1542) and of St Mary's, Chester (inst.1534). He died in 1542. None of these sons was married.

William Brereton (7:2)

The best known of Sir Randolph's sons comes next in the pedigree. Sir William, born about 1500, is named as the third son, in conflict with Peter, and may in fact have been the sixth. He became a groom of the privy chamber to King Henry VIII, and succeeded his father as chamberlain of Chester in 1530. Through his position at court he married well – to Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, first earl of Worcester, widow of Sir John Savage of Clifton, and a cousin to King Henry VII. Elizabeth's first husband was the grandson of Sir John Savage who had been a Lancastrian commander at the battle of Bosworth in 1485. When her husband fell into debt and was also being held in the Tower for murder, all his estates were forfeited to the crown, and William Brereton was granted jurisdiction over them. After Sir John Savage's death in 1529, Brereton's marriage to his widow established a family relationship with the king, and thus cemented his position as a royal servant. In reward for his work for the crown Brereton received a number of royal grants in Cheshire and the Welsh Marches. His list of offices, in addition to that of being chamberlain of Chester, is impressive: controller of Chester and Flint, steward of Halton and Longendale, serjeant of the peace in Bromfield and Yale, escheator of Chester, steward of Holt, Bromfeild and Yale, sheriff and escheator of Merioneth, sheriff of Flint, and constable of Chester castle. These eventually brought him the vast income of more than £10,000 a year. He wielded power ruthlessly, and on

⁸ Though not mentioned in the chart, he was also rector of the Lower Moiety of Malpas (inst.1542) in succession to his brother who died in office.

THE BRERETON ROLL

one occasion, with the help of Queen Anne Boleyn, and despite Thomas Cromwell's intervention, he engineered the execution of John ap Gryffith Eyton. He blamed Eyton for being involved in the killing of one of his own retainers.⁹

He ultimately fell foul of Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, and the overall political scene, becoming accused of adultery with Anne Boleyn, which led to his beheading at the Tower of London on 17 May 1536. The allegation against Brereton was that Anne had solicited him on 16 November 1533 leading to sexual misconduct on 27 November. Historian Eric Ives argues that Cromwell added Brereton to the plot against Anne to end the troubles being caused in the Welsh Marches, and to reorganise (and centralise) the local government of Cheshire and the Welsh Marches area. William's children were Henry and Thomas.

Sir Roger Brereton (8:1)

Sir Roger Brereton, the fourth son, was accused of murdering Richard Tilston before the altar of a chapel in the Palace of Westminster in 1518. He was exonerated and went on to become sheriff of Flint (jointly with his brother William) in 1532; also serving for a time as vice-chamberlain of Chester. He was knighted at Leith, Scotland, in May 1544, and became established on an estate known as Wolsacre in Malpas. He married a distant cousin, Katherine, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Brereton, and by her had three children, two of whom are named. A son also named Roger married Ann Bagnall (8:2) and had two children, while a daughter Eleanor (8:3) married a man named Brackenbury and had three children. According to the *Visitation of Cheshire 1580* she later married a Ralph Barton of Nottinghamshire.

Sir Richard Brereton (9:1)

Richard, the seventh son, was knighted in Scotland by the Duke of Norfolk in 1523. His paternal arms are differenced with a mullet azure. He married Jane, daughter and heir of Geoffrey Massey of Tatton, and established a family based on that manor. The couple had two sons: Richard, who died young, and Geoffrey (10:1), who married Alice daughter of Peter Leycester of Toft, by whom he had two children. Richard's daughter Anne married twice, firstly to John Booth of Barton (9:2), by whom she had a son John Booth (who married Ellen daughter of Peter Leigh of Lyme, their impalement at 9:7), and secondly to Sir William Davenport of Bramhall (9:3). Anne is represented not by her paternal arms, but with her maternal arms of Massy of Tatton.

Sir Randolph V Brereton (10:2–3)

Eldest son of Randolph IV, he was the head of the family at the time when the roll was created, but appears at the foot of the roll. His arms, and those of his two wives' fathers, are displayed. They are Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Butler of Bewsey, and Anne, daughter of Philip Egerton of Olton. Their five sons are recorded, including the arms of the eldest, Randolph VI (12:3), who married Mary, daughter of Sir William Griffith, chamberlain of North Wales, and had several children, including as his eldest son Randolph VII, who went on to marry a daughter of Sir William Throckmorton of Coghton, Warwickshire.

⁹ Edward Dutton, *The Ruler of Cheshire: Sir Piers Dutton, Tudor gangland and the violent politics of the Palatine* (Northwich, 2015), p. 67.

THE COAT OF ARMS

His arms are not shown, but by 1580 he was the head of the family. The families of two of Randolph V's three daughters are recorded: Elizabeth (11:1) married James Starkey of Darley and had seven children, the eldest of whom, John (11:2) married a cousin, Alice, daughter of Ralph Dutton of Hatton. The other daughter with impaled arms is Eleanor (11:3) who married her cousin Philip Egerton of Oulton. Her son John Egerton (12:4) married Jane daughter Peter Mostyn, esquire, and they had two children.

Sir Randolph IV Brereton's Daughters

Randolph and his wife Eleanor Dutton had four daughters: Anne, Eleanor, Jane and Elizabeth, and these and their families are set out on the right-hand side of the roll.

Anne Brereton (1:4)

The first recorded is Anne who married John Harcourt of Repton, Staffordshire, and had twelve sons and three daughters. John Harcourt's sons were Edward, Leonard, Randolph, Thomas, John, Francis, William, Raphe, Anthony, Richard, Robert and Simon. The last-mentioned son is the only one shown to have married (arms at 2:2), his wife being Rose, daughter of 'Maister' Cave, by whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth. The first of John and Anne Harcourt's three daughters was Mary (1:5), who married a Thomas Grey, and had three children who are not named. She is followed by Elizabeth (2:4), who married Anthony Ridgley and had five children. The third daughter is also named Elizabeth (2:3); she married Richard Broughton and had four children. After the pedigree was painted Anne Harcourt married again to John Pershall of Hordesley.

Jane Brereton (2:8)

The second daughter listed is Jane, wife of Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer (d.1545). The couple had twelve children: six sons, one of whom is not named, and six daughters. John (3:6), the second son, married a cousin Eleanor, daughter of Jenkin Hanmer of Fennes, and had three sons and two daughters. The information available to the compiler of the roll on the Hanmer family appears to have been limited, in that the arms of various spouses are not recorded. Possibly this family was marrying into a lower social stratum. The eldest son was another Sir Thomas Hanmer (6:3) who married Katherine, daughter and heir of Thomas Salter of Oswestry. He was born in February 1526, was knighted in 1547, and became MP for Flintshire in 1553. Later he served as sheriff of Flintshire. He died in 1583 leaving five sons and a daughter, of whom the son, John (7:4) married Anne, daughter of Sir John Salusbury.

Sir Thomas I Hanmer's daughter Anne married twice, first to William Clowes (2:9) and then to his relation Randolph Clowes (2:10). The compiler did not know which of these was the father of her four children. His next daughter, Mary (3:7) married Roger Keneston and had seven children. Eleanor (4:3) married her kinsman William Hanmer of Fennes and had ten children, of whom William (5:7) married Margaret daughter of 'Hugh or David Kyngston', but no arms are shown for Kyngston. Jane (5:6) married Ellis Ap Richard and had thirteen children. Katherine (6:4) married Peter Puleston and had nineteen children, including John (7:7) who married Jane daughter of Edward Almer. Lastly, Elizabeth Hanmer (7:6) married John Conway and had seventeen children including a son John (8:7). John married an unnamed lady who, judging by the

THE BRERETON ROLL

impaled arms, seems to have been a daughter of a second son of the Salusbury family, and a cousin by marriage.

Ellen Brereton (8:5)

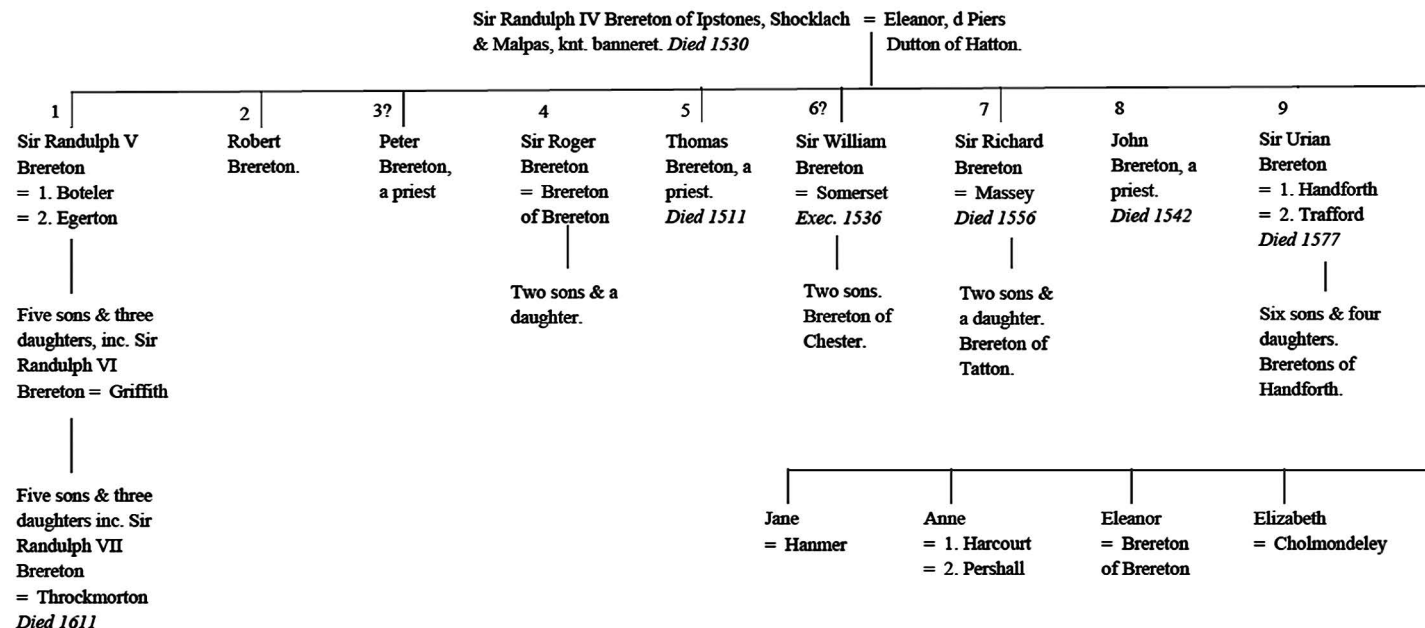
Ellen, or Eleanor, who is labelled with a hanging placard as the third daughter, married William Brereton of Brereton and had two children. Their son Richard (8:4) married Thomasin daughter and heir of George Ashley. They had three children, including George (9:4) who married Isabel daughter and heir of William Hardware of Timperley, and also produced three children. George's arms quarter the arms of Ashley. Ellen Brereton's daughter Mary (8:6) married Sir John Warburton of Arley. Of John and Mary Warburton's seven children Peter (9:5) married Mary daughter of Sir John Holcroft of Holcroft, Lancashire, and had five children. John and Mary's daughter Elizabeth (9:6) married John Booth of Dunham and had nine children.

Elizabeth Brereton (9:8-9)

Elizabeth is labelled on a placard as the 'first' daughter. She married firstly Richard Cholmondeley, and secondly Sir Randolph Mainwaring of Peover. By these two husbands Elizabeth had at least twelve children. The eldest of the four Cholmondeley boys was Hugh (10:4) who married Anne daughter of Sir George Dorman of Malpas, whose wife was a sister to Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Mayor of London in 1549. The arms used for Anne appear to be those of Hill. From Hugh and his wife the artist shows two children, Randolph and Francis Cholmondeley, but erases a third male line. Reading beneath the erasure the arms of Cholmondeley and Holford can be discerned, which would apply to the marriage of a younger Hugh to Mary daughter and heir of Christopher Holford, but why it was erased is a mystery.

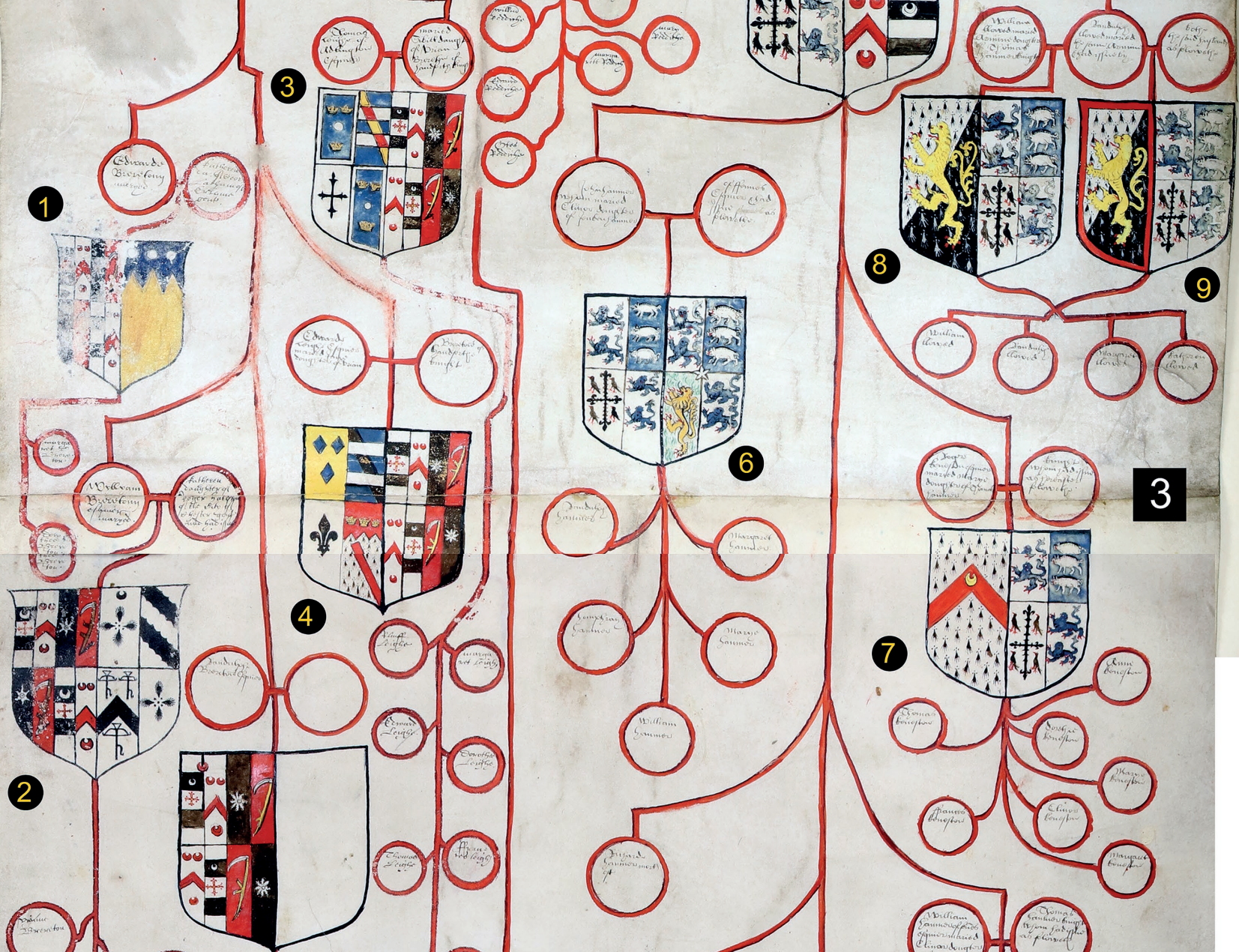
Of Elizabeth's three daughters, Katherine Cholmondeley (13:2-3) married Richard Prestland of Worth and then a member of the Hyde family, having nine children, and at least four grand-children. Her family lies at the foot of the pedigree roll. Elizabeth's daughter Anne Cholmondeley (12:5) married Randolph Mainwaring of Tarvin Sands and had nine children, of whom Henry (13:4) married Anne daughter of Thomas Venables of Kinderton and Anne (13:5) married John Davenport of Davenport. The third daughter, Ursula Cholmondeley (12:6) married Thomas Stanley of Weever and had two children.

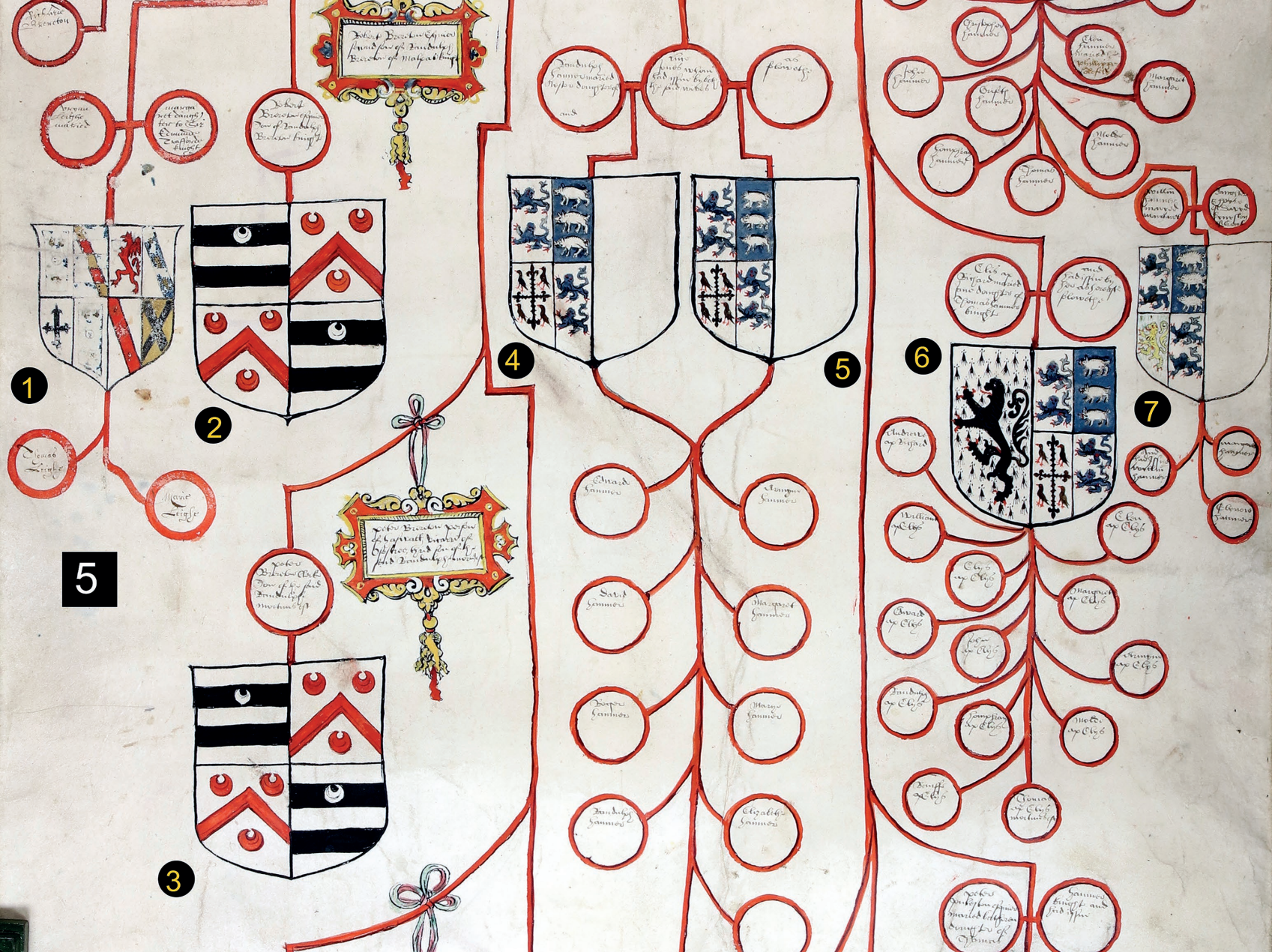
From the Mainwaring marriage Elizabeth had a son named Sir Arthur Mainwaring (11:4) who married Margaret daughter and co-heir of Sir Randolph Mainwaring, and had two daughters. An unnamed daughter of this union (12:7) married a member of the Cotton family. Elizabeth also had daughters from her marriage to Sir Randolph: Katherine Mainwaring married Geoffrey Shakerley (10:6) by whom she had three daughters; and then Christopher Holford (10:7) by whom she had at least one child. Finally, we have Elizabeth's daughter Katherine Mainwaring (10:5) who married John Davenport of Henbury and had nine children, one of whom, Randolph (11:6) married Mary, daughter of George Booth of Dunham.



A simplified pedigree chart of Sir Randolph IV's descendants



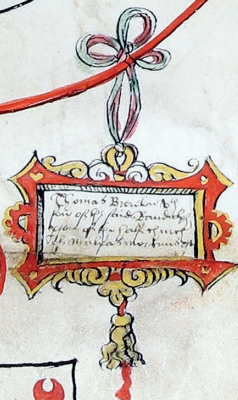






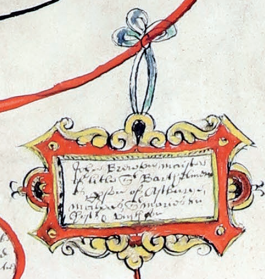
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Bishop of Exeter
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married
Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France



2



William
Bischope of
Durham
married
Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France

Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France



John
Bischope of
Durham
married
Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France

Margaret
daughter of
Robert
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4



Thomas
Bischope of
Durham
married
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Robert
King of
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5



Thomas
Bischope of
Durham
married
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6



Thomas
Bischope of
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Thomas
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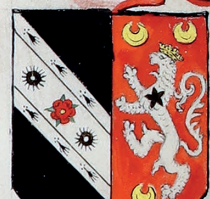
Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France

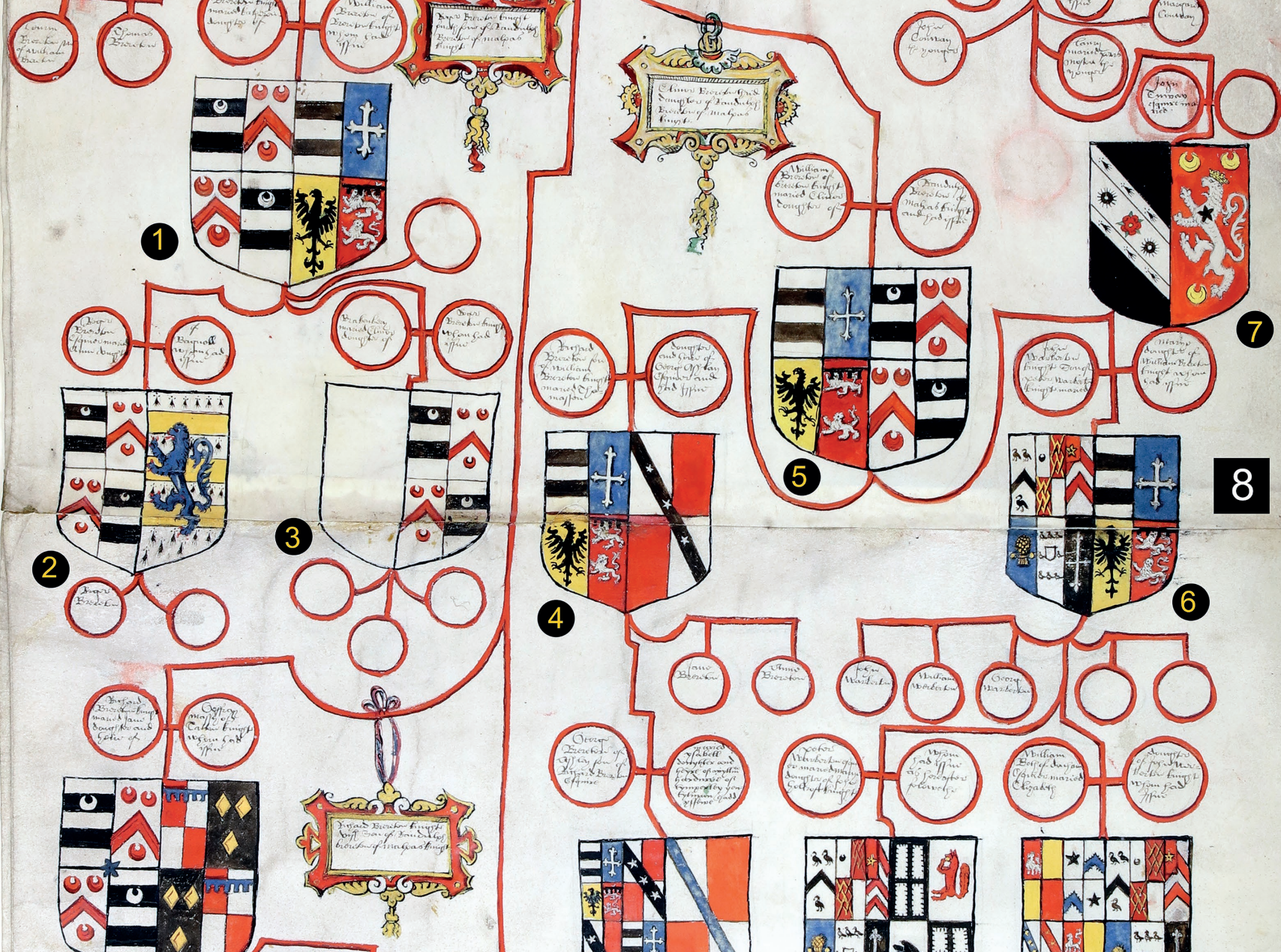
Thomas
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Durham
married
Margaret
daughter of
Robert
King of
France

Margaret
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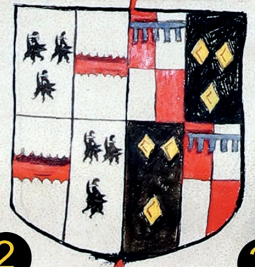




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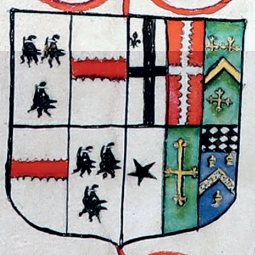
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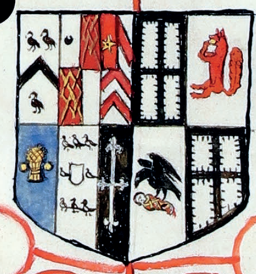
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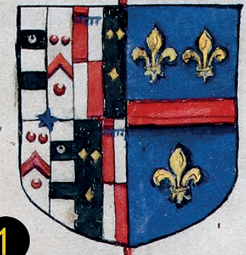


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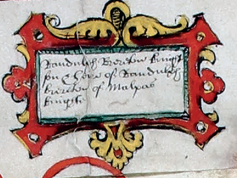
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Bartholomew
Thomas

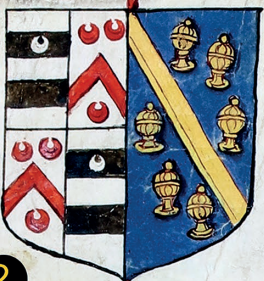


Bartholomew



Bartholomew

2



Bartholomew

Bartholomew



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4



Bartholomew

Bartholomew

5



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Bartholomew

Bartholomew

6



Bartholomew

Bartholomew

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Bartholomew

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Bartholomew

7



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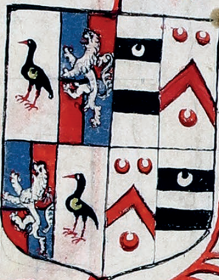
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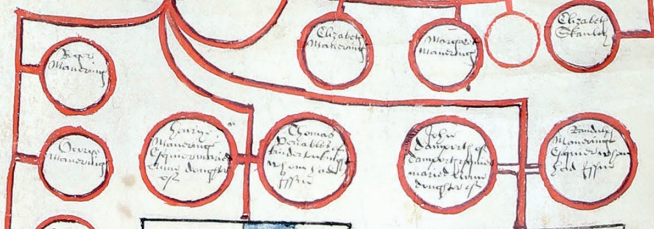


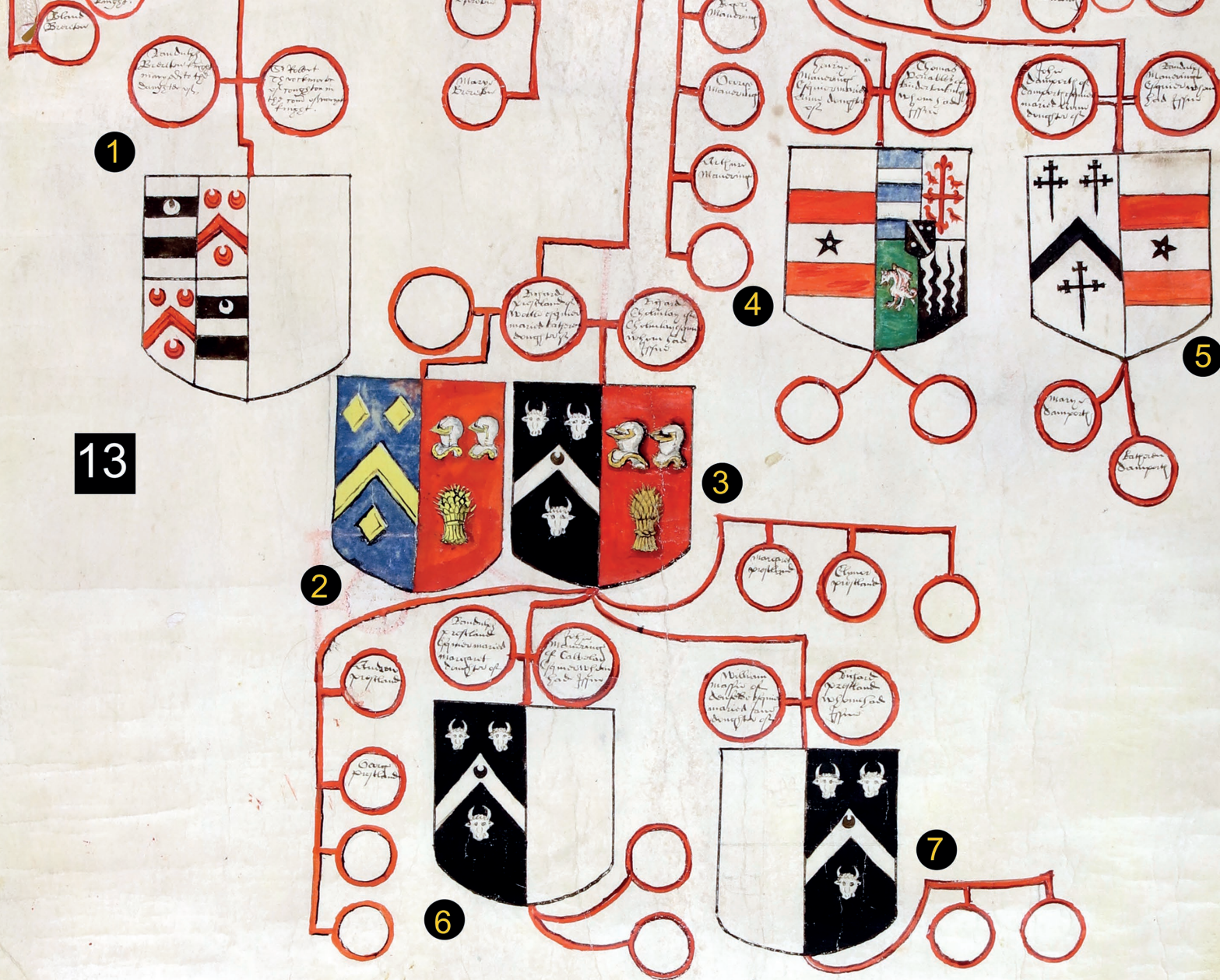
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THE COAT OF ARMS

ARMORIAL OF THE BRERETON ROLL WITH IMPALED ARMS LISTED IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE

1:1 Sir Randolph Brereton kt.-Eleanor Dutton.

1:2 Sir Urian Brereton kt.-Margaret dau. of William Handforth esq.

1:3 Sir Urian Brereton kt.- Alice dau. of Sir Edmund Trafford kt.

For the arms of **Brereton**, **Dutton**, **Handforth** and **Trafford** see main text.

1:4 John Harcourt of Repton esq.-Anne Brereton.

HARCOURT of Repton, Staffordshire: *Gules two bars or, a crescent sable for difference.*

1:5 Thomas Grey-Mary dau. of John Harcourt of Repton esq.

GREY of Donnington Park, Leicestershire: *Barry of six argent and azure a bordure compony of the same, on a canton quarterly or and gules a bear statant argent within a bordure sable bezanty.*

2:1 Alexander Barlow esq.-Mary dau. of Sir Urian Brereton kt.

BARLOW of Barlow: *Sable a double-headed eagle displayed argent legged or.*

2:2 Simon Harcourt esq.-Rose dau. of Master Cave.

CAVE: *Quarterly: 1 Azure fretty argent, an annulet for difference [Cave]; 2 Gules a chevron between three owls argent [Fleming]; 3 Barry of seven argent and azure on a bend sable cotised gules three escallops argent; 4 Argent on a chevron sable three cinquefoils argent; in pretence Argent a hound courant sable within a bordure compony argent and azure.*

2:3 Richard Broughton esq.-Elizabeth dau. of John Harcourt of Repton esq.

BROUGHTON: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Gules a chevron between three bears argent (correctly, Or) [Broughton]; 2 & 3: Gules a chevron between three cinquefoils argent.*

2:4 Anthony Ridgeley esq.- Elizabeth dau. of John Harcourt of Repton esq.

RIDGELEY: *Gules, a bend lozengy argent.*

2:5 Urian Brereton.

2:6 Thomas Leigh of Adlington esq.-Sibyl dau. of Sir Urian Brereton of Hanford kt.

LEIGH of Adlington: *Quarterly, 1 & 4, Azure, a plate between three crown or in bordure argent [Corona]; 2, Azure, two bars argent, over all a bendlet gobonny Or and gules [Leigh of Adlington]; 3, Argent, a cross flory sable [Belgrave].*

2:7 George 3rd son of Otes Reddish esq.-Dorothy dau. of Sir Urian Brereton kt.

REDDISH of Reddish in Lancs: *Argent, a lion rampant gules, collared or.*

2:8 Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.-Jane dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton kt.

HANMER of Hanmer, Flintshire: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Argent two lions passant guardant azure armed and langued gules [Hanmer]; 2 Azure three boars passant argent armed or [Jones]; 3 Argent a cross engrailed moline between four choughs sable, legged gules.*

2:9 William Clowes esq.-Armine dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

CLOWES: *Per bend sinister ermine and ermines, a lion rampant or.* These arms are the same as Mostyn.

2:10 Randolph Clowes esq.-Armine dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

3:1 Edward Brereton-Katherine dau. of George Lathom of Irlam gent.

LATHOM: *Or on a chief indented azure three plates.*

THE BRERETON ROLL

3:2 William Brereton-Katherine dau. of Roger Hurleston of the city of Chester gent.

HURLESTON: *Quarterly 1, Argent, a cross of four ermine spots the heads in centre, a crescent for difference* [Hurleston]; 2, *Argent, two bends engrailed sable* [Wagstaff]; 3, *Argent, a chevron between three cross-bows sable* [Hurleston]; 4, *Argent, a cross of four ermine spots the heads in centre.*

3:4 Edward Leigh esq- Jane dau. of Urian Brereton of Hanford kt.

LEIGH of Baguley: *Quarterly 1, Or, three lozenges azure* [Baguley]; 2, *Azure a bend sable and over all two bars argent* [Leigh]; 3, *Argent, a fleur-de-lis sable* [Levenshulme]; 4, *Ermine, on a chief indented gules three crowns Or, overall a bendlet of the second* [Corona].

3:6 John Hanmer- Elinor dau. of Jenkin Hanmer esq.

HANMER of Fennes, Flintshire: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Argent, two lions passant guardant azure armed and langued gules* [Hanmer]; 2 *Azure three boars passant argent*; 3 *Argent a lion rampant or armed and langued gules, a mullet overall for difference.*

3:7 Roger Kynaston esq.-Mary dau. of Thomas Hanmer.

KYNASTON: *Ermine a chevron gules, a crescent or for difference.*

4:2 Randolph Brereton esq.

4:3 William Hanmer of Fennes esq.-Elinor dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

5:1 Urian Leigh-Margaret dau. of Sir Edmund Trafford kt.

5:2 Robert Brereton esq. 2nd son of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.

5:3 Peter Brereton clerk, parson of Heswall and vicar of Oswestry 3rd son.

5:4 Randolph Hanmer-Hesther dau. of Hugh Jones.

5:6 Ellis Ap Richard-Jane dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

AP RICHARD: *Ermine a lion rampant sable armed and langued gules.*

5:7 William Hanmer-Margaret dau. of Hugh or David Kingston.

6:2 Thomas Brereton clerk 5th son of Sir Randolph parson, vicar of the Higher Moiety of Malpas.

6:3 Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.-Katherine dau. of Thomas Salter esq.

SALTER of Oswestry: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Gules ten billets or (4,3,2,1) a border engrailed argent charged with ten torteaux* [Salter]; 2 & 3 *Gules, two lions passant within a double tressure argent.*

6:4 Peter Puleston esq.-Katherine dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

PULESTON: *Quarterly: 1 Argent on a bend sable three estoiles or, a crescent for difference* [Puleston]; 2 *Sable three lions passant guardant argent armed and langued gules*; 3 *Ermine a lion rampant sable armed and langued gules* [Ap Richard]; 4 *Argent a lion rampant or armed and langued gules.*

7:1 John Brereton clerk 7th son of Randolph master of Little St Bartholomews, parson of Astburne etc.

7:2 William Brereton esq., Groom of the Privy Chamber to King Henry VIII-Elizabeth dau. of the Earl of Worcester.

EARLDOM OF WORCESTER: *Quarterly 1&4: Or on a fess quarterly France and England within a bordure compony argent and azure* [Somerset]; 2: *Per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant argent* [Herbert]; 3: *Argent a fess and canton gules* [Woodville].

THE COAT OF ARMS

7:4 John Hanmer son of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.-Anne dau. of Sir John Salusbury kt.

SALUSBURY of Lleweny, Denbighshire: *Gules a lion rampant argent crowned or between three crescents or.*

7:5 Roger Puleston of Emerall esq.-Magdalene dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

7:6 John Conway esq.-Elizabeth dau. of Sir Thomas Hanmer kt.

CONWAY: *Sable on a bend argent cotised ermine a rose between two annulets gules.*

7:7 John Puleston-Jane dau. of Edward Almer.

ALMER: *Quarterly: 1& 4 Azure a lion rampant or armed and langued gules [Almer]; 2 Azure a fess or between three horses heads argent; 3 Argent a chevron between three boar's heads erased sable armed gules.*

8:1 Sir Roger Brereton kt. 4th son of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.-Katherine dau. of Sir William Brereton of Browlow kt.

8:2 Roger Brereton esq.-Anne Bagnall.

BAGNALL of Staffordshire and Wales: *Ermine three bars or a lion rampant azure.* The three bars may be in error for two bars.

8:3 Brackenbury-Elinor dau. of Sir Roger Brereton kt.

8:4 Richard Brereton son of Sir William Brereton kt.-Thomasson dau. and heir of George Ashley esq.

ASHLEY of Ashley: *Quarterly argent and gules on a bend sable three mullets argent.*

8:5 Sir William Brereton of Brereton kt.-Elinor third dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.

BRERETON of Brereton: *Quarterly, 1, Argent, two bars sable; 2, Azure, a cross moline argent [Malpas]; 3, Or an eagle displayed sable; 4, Gules two lions passant guardant argent, a label of three points or [Strange].*

8:6 Sir John Warburton kt. son of Sir Peter Warburton kt.-Mary dau. of Sir William Brereton (of Brereton) kt.

WARBURTON of Arley: *Quarterly of six: 1 Argent a chevron between three cormorants sable [Warburton ancient]; 2 Quarterly argent and gules in the second and third a fret or [Dutton]; 3 Argent two chevrons gules on a canton gules a mullet or [Warburton]; 4 Argent an orle within eight martlets in orle sable [Winnington]; 5 Sable a cross patonce argent [Pulford]; 6 Azure a garb or between two bezants in fess [Grosvenor].*

8:7 John Conway esq.

9:1 Sir Richard Brereton kt. 7th son of Sir Randolph-Jane dau. and heir of Sir Geoffrey Massey of Tatton kt.

MASSEY of Tatton: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Quarterly argent and gules a label of five points azure [Massey]; 2 & 3: Sable (Azure), three lozenges Or [Baguley].*

9:2 John Booth of Barton esq.- Anne dau. of Sir Richard Brereton of Tatton kt.

BOOTH of Barton: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Argent, three boars' heads erect and eradicated sable [Barton]; 2 & 3, Argent a fess engrailed gules [Barton].*

9:3 Sir William Davenport of Bramhall kt.- Anne dau. of Sir Richard Brereton of Tatton kt.

THE BRERETON ROLL

DAVENPORT of Bramhall: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Argent a chevron between three crosses crosslet fitchy sable, a crescent for difference* [Davenport]; 2 & 3: *Sable a lion rampant or* [Bramhall].

9:4 George Brereton of Ashley son of Richard Brereton esq.-Isabell dau. and heir of William Hardware of Timperley gent.

HARDWARE of Timperley used the arms of Timperley: *Quarterly argent and gules a bendlet azure*. The Visitation of Cheshire of 1580 has George marrying 'Sibill, daughter and heire of Timperley'.

9:5 Peter Warburton esq.- Mary dau. of Sir John Holcroft.

HOLCROFT of Holcroft: *Quarterly 1 & 4 Argent a cross and bordure both engrailed sable* [Holcroft]; 2 *Argent a squirrel sejant gules* [Horton]; 3 *Argent an eagle sable preying on an infant proper swaddled gules, banded or* [Culcheth].

9:6 William Booth of Dunham esq.-Elizabeth dau. of Sir John Warburton kt.

BOOTH of Dunham: *Quarterly 1 & 4 Quarterly gules and or in the first a lion passant argent* [Booth]; 2 *Quarterly i & iv, Argent a mullet sable; ii & iii Argent a chevron engrailed azure* [Ashton and Stayley]; 3 *Quarterly: i & iv Argent on a bend azure three garbs or; ii & iii Argent on a bend gules three escarbuncles or* [Fitton and Thornton].

9:7 John Booth of Barton esq.-Ellen dau. of Sir Peter Leigh of Lyme kt.

LEIGH of Lyme: *Quarterly of six: 1 Argenta cross sable in dexter chief a fleur-de-lys of the second* [Haydock]; 2 *Gules a cross engrailed argent* [Leigh]; 3 *Vert a chevron between three cross crosslets fitchy Or* [Boydell]; 4 *Argent a mullet sable* [Walton]; 5 *Vert a cross patonce or* [Boydell]; 6 *Azure on a chevron between three covered cups or five mullets argent, a chief lozengy argent and sable* [Butler].

9:8 Richard Cholmondeley esq.-Elizabeth first dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton kt. of Malpas.

9:9 Randolph Mainwaring of Peover kt.- Elizabeth dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton kt.

10:1 Geoffrey Brereton of Tatton son of Sir Richard Brereton kt.-Alice dau. of Peter Leycester of Toft.

LEYCESTER of Toft: *Azure a fess gules between three fleur-de-lys or*.

10:2 Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt son and heir of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.-Elsbell dau. of Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey kt.

BUTLER of Bewsey, Lancashire: *Azure a bend between six covered cups or*.

10:3 Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.-Anne dau. of Philip Egerton of Olton kt.

EGERTON of Olton: *Argent a lion rampant gules between three pheons sable*.

10:4 Sir Hugh Cholmondeley kt.- Anne dau. of George Dorman.

Anne's arms are given (correctly) as those of **HILL**. Hill of Malpas is given as: *Azure two bars argent on a canton sable a chevron argent charged with three mullets azure*: Ormerod, op. cit., vol 2, p. 696. Sir Rowland Hill bore *Gules two bars or on a canton sable a chevron between three pheons argent, charged with a wolf's head erased between two mullets gules* (BGA).

10:5 John Davenport of Henbury esq.-Katherine dau. of Sir Randolph Mainwaring kt.

DAVENPORT of Henbury: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Argent a chevron between three cross crosslet fitchy sable, an annulet argent for difference* [Davenport]; 2 *Argent two chevrons and a canton gules* [Orreby]; 3 *Azure three spades argent* [Becheton].

10:6 Geoffrey Starkey esq.-Elizabeth dau. of Sir Randolph Mainwaring of Peover kt.

THE COAT OF ARMS

MAINWARING of Peover: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Argent two bars gules [Mainwaring]; 2 & 3 Gules a scythe or blade argent [Praers].*

10:7 Christopher Holford of Holford esq.- Elizabeth dau. of Sir Randolph Mainwaring of Peters kt.

HOLFORD of Holford: *Quarterly: 1 Argent a greyhound passant sable [Holford]; 2 Argent three bull's heads cabossed sable [Bulkeley]; 3 Argent a chevron between three text Ts sable [Toft]; 4 Argent a boar passant sable [Toft].*

11:1 James Starkey of Darley esq.-Elizabeth dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton kt.

STARKEY of Darley: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Argent a stork statant sable, a crescent for difference [Starkey of Olton]; 2 & 3: Quarterly azure and gules a lion rampant argent [Olton].*

11:2 John Starkey of Darley esq. son of James Starkey-Alice dau. of Ralph Dutton of Hatton.

DUTTON of Hatton: *Quarterly 1 & 4: Argent and gules in the first a mullet sable, in second and third a fret or [Dutton]; 2 & 3: Azure a chevron between three garbs or [Hatton].*

11:3 Sir Philip Egerton of Olton kt.-Elinor dau. of Sir Randolph Brereton of Malpas kt.

11:4 Sir Arthur Mainwaring kt.-Margaret dau. of Sir Randolph Mainwaring kt.

MAINWARING: *Quarterly: 1 & 4 Argent two bars gules, a crescent or for difference [Mainwaring]; 2 & 3 Checky argent and sable [Warren of Ightfield].*

11:5 George Mainwaring esq.

12:3 Randolph Brereton of Malpas esq.-Mary dau. of Sir William Griffith kt.

GRIFFITH of North Wales: *Gules a chevron ermine between three Saracen's heads erased argent.*

12:4 John Egerton esq. son of Sir Philip Egerton-Jane dau. of Peter Mostyn esq.

MOSTYN: *Per bend sinister ermine and ermines a lion rampant or.*

12:5 Randolph Mainwaring-Anne dau. of Richard Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley esq.

CHOLMONDELEY of Cholmondeley: *Gules two esquire's helms in chief argent and a garb in base or.*

MAINWARING of Tarvin Sands: *Argent, two bars gules a mullet sable, pierced of the field for difference.*

12:6 Thomas Stanley of Weever esq.-Ursula dau. of Richard Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley esq.

STANLEY of Weever: *Azure two bars engrailed argent on a canton sable a garb or.*

12:7 [Cotton]-[Mainwaring].

COTTON: *Azure a chevron gules between three cotton hanks argent.*

13:1 Sir Randolph Brereton kt.-dau. of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coghton.

13:2 [Hyde]-Katherine dau. of Richard Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley esq.

13:2 Richard Prestland of Worth esq.-Katherine dau. of Richard Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley esq.

13:4 Henry Mainwaring esq.-Ellen dau. of Sir Thomas Venables of Kinderton kt.

VENABLES of Kinderton: *Quarterly 1 Azure two bars argent [Venables]; 2 Argent a cross moline between four martlets gules [Golbourne]; 3 Vert a wyvern statant argent*

THE BRERETON ROLL

[Mostyn]; 4 *Sable three piles wavy argent meeting in point* [Eccleston]; *in pretence: Sable a bend argent between three plates* [Cotton].

13:5 John Davenport of Davenport esq.-Anne dau. of Randolph Mainwaring esq.

DAVENPORT: *Argent a chevron between three cross crosslets fitchy sable.*

13:6 Randolph Prestland esq.-Margaret dau. of John Mainwaring of Calboley esq.

PRESTLAND: *Sable a chevron between three bull's heads cabossed argent a crescent sable for difference.*

13:7 William Massy of Denfield esq.-Jane dau. of Richard Pressland of Wormstead.



Figure 3: Detail of tomb of Sir Ranulph IV de Brereton and his wife Eleanor in Malpas church. Photograph by Paul A. Fox.

ARMS FOR WODEN: A LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT FOLIO IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.S.A., F.H.S.

'[Friallaf] had a son named Voden, the one we call Odin..... His wife, named Frigida, we call Frigg'

(Prose Edda, 3)¹

'[Hengist and Horsa] were the sons of Wictgils, whose father was Wittā, whose father was Wecta, son of Woden, from whose stock sprang the royal house of many provinces'
(Bede HE, 15)²

Abstract

A late sixteenth-century manuscript folio in the College of Arms depicts attributed arms for the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England (the Heptarchy), and, notably, for Woden, pagan god and mythical kingly progenitor of the English royal house. The arms given to Woden derive from those attributed to Edward the Confessor. They bear no relation to the contemporary symbols of his cult, but testify to his importance as an ancestral founding figure in the regnal lists before English unification, and to the revival of interest from the late sixteenth century in the history of our Anglo-Saxon forebears.

Introduction

Bound in with a copy of the mid-fifteenth century Kings of Britain Roll (CA MS Vincent 170, iii, ff. 29–57) made by Richard Scarlett³ in c. 1580, is other material which includes a single folio (f. 159r)⁴ in the same hand, illustrating the arms of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and three other shields: 'Elle the son of Frye', 'Sygbertus a Saxon Kinge', and 'Woden' (**Figure 1**).⁵ Woden is clearly the focus of the record and is referred to therein as 'the kynge of Germanie', with a note describing the Saxon royal line and the designation of Wednesday from him.

Although Woden, the 'All-father' (*Alföðr*), appears as a kingly progenitor in royal genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (except that of the East Saxons),⁶ and is portrayed as such in some manuscripts (**Figure 2**), this is (to the writer's knowledge) the

¹ Snorri Sturluson, (Trans. J. L. Byock) *Prose Edda*, (London, 2005), p. 6.

² Bede, (Trans. L. Sherley-Price, Revised E. Latham), *A History of the English Church and People*, (Harmondsworth, 1955), p. 56.

³ Arms painter, genealogist and collector of manuscripts (d. 1607), see A. Ailes, 'Artists and Artwork of the Heraldic Visitations 1530–1687', *CoA* 3rd ser. 10 (2014), no. 228, pp. 69–82, at pp. 77–8. L. Campbell and F. Steer, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms*, vol. 1 (London, 1988), pp. 245–6, 492–3 and CEMRA, p. 51.

⁴ Campbell and Steer, op. cit., p. 404.

⁵ Scarlett's collection was acquired by Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald and came to the College, probably via Ralph Shelton, in 1684 (Campbell and Steer, op. cit., pp. 243–48). T. Moule, *Bibliotheca Heraldica*, (London, 1822), p. 95.

⁶ Woden was later incorporated into the genealogy.

THE ARMS OF WODEN

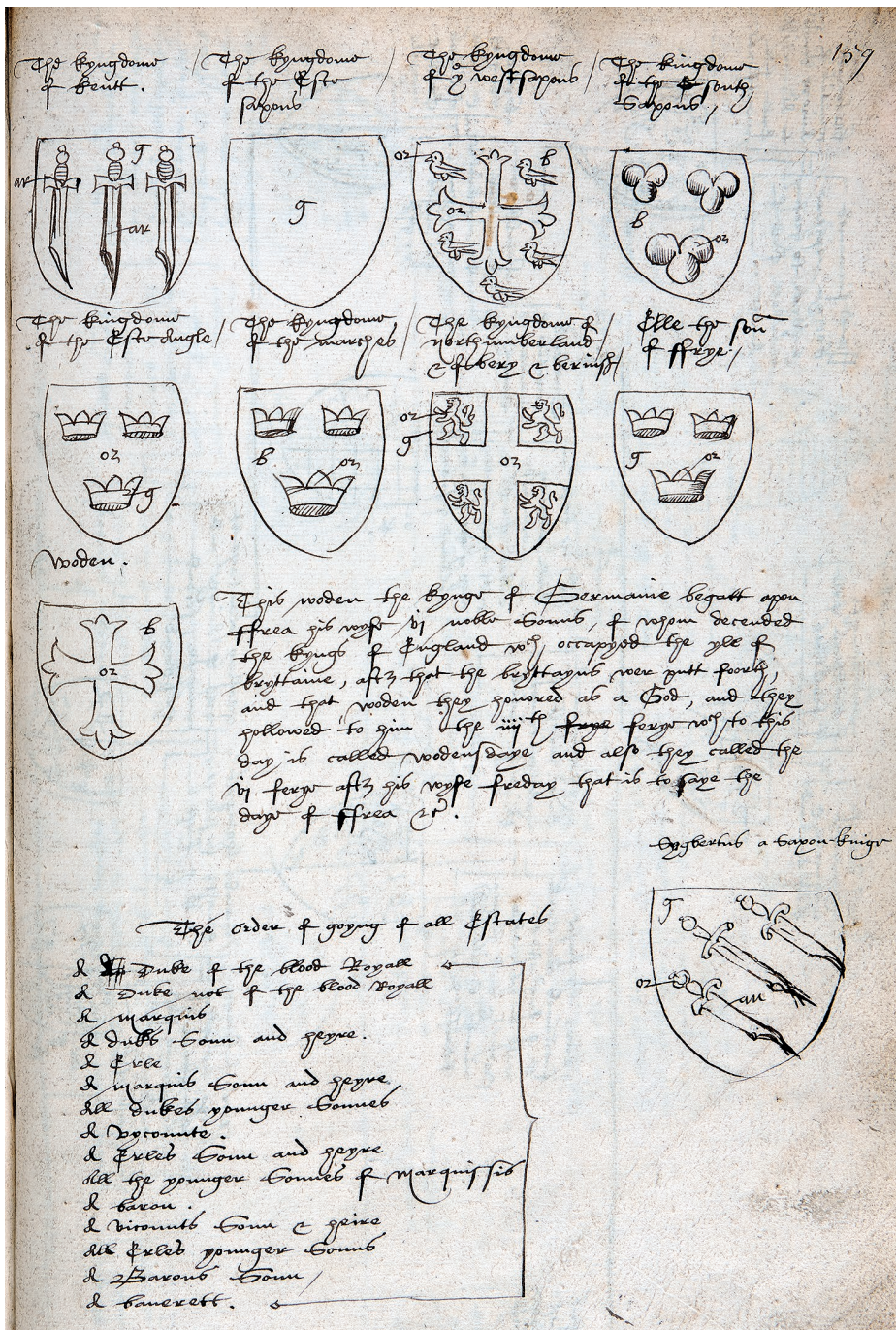


Figure 1: College of Arms MS Vincent 170, fol. 159r. (Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald's and Pursuivants of Arms).

THE COAT OF ARMS

only example of a shield attributed to him in a roll of arms.⁷ However, an examination of pedigree rolls might provide further examples.⁸

An armorial of folio 159r

The arms are listed below in the form of an armorial with spelling and punctuation standardised⁹ and the tricked drawings blazoned, and with other associated examples of attributed arms listed, giving sources. The scheme of Heptarchic arms given here appears to be copied in part from that in BL Harl. 2169, f. 9 (excluding ‘Elle the son of Frye’, ‘Sygbertus, a Saxon king’, and Woden).¹⁰ The coats seem to have been drawn quickly by hand with some resultant variation in size and shape of the shields. The arms are tricked, annotated, and laid out in an ad hoc manner in the form of notes, with an apparently unrelated entry on noble precedence added towards the bottom of the page.¹¹

KINGDOM OF KENT

Gules three falchions palewise in fess points in base argent hilts and pommels or.

Gules three falchions palewise in fess points in base argent quillons or (Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. Roll 3,¹² row 19, below roundels 1 and 2). *Gules three seaxes Argent hilts or* (RH Ancestor¹³ III, p. 205, 105, Foster 1904¹⁴ (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 2)): *A horse passant* (Clumber¹⁵ fol. 183, 1); *Azure a horse forcené argent* (Speed 1603–11,¹⁶ ‘Anno 595’ ‘Kent’); and *Gules a horse forcené argent* (Speed 1603–11, ‘Anno 456’ ‘Kent’).

⁷ For example, none is listed in *DBA*, or is present in Steen Clemmensen’s online corpus of rolls of arms (www.armorial.dk).

⁸ The writer would be pleased to hear of any such shields.

⁹ The unedited transcription reads: The Kyngdome of Kentt / The Kyngdome of the Este Saxons / The Kyngdome of ye west Saxons / The Kingdome of the south Saxons / The Kingdome of the Este Angle / The Kyngdome of the marches / The Kyngdome of Northumberland & of bery & burnish / Elle the son of Frye / Woden / This woden the kynge of Germanie begatt opon Frea his wife vi noble Sonns, of whom descended the Kyngs of England wch occupied the yle of bryttaine, after that the bryttayns were putt forth, and that woden they honored as a God, and they hollowed to him iiiith ferye wch to this day is called wodensdaye and also they called the vi ferye after his wife freday that is to saye the daye of Frea etc. / Sygbertus a Saxon Kinge.

¹⁰ See *CEMRA*, pp. 101–2, and Oswald Barron, ‘A Fifteenth Century Book of Arms’, *The Ancestor*, vol. 3, (1902) pp. 185–213.

¹¹ The Order of goyng of all Estates / A Duke of the blood Royall / A Duke not of the blood Royall / A Marquis / A dukes Sonn and heyre / A Erle / A Marquis Sonne and heyre / All dukes younger Sonnes / A Vycounte / A Erles Sonn & heyre / All the younger Sonnes of Marquissis / A baron / A Vicountes Sonn & heire / All Erles younger Sonns / A Barons Sonn / A banerett

¹² Bod. MS Bodleian Rolls 3 Genealogical History from Brute to Edward I (1275–1300). The arms referred to in this note appear to be sixteenth or seventeenth-century additions to the roll.

¹³ Randle Holme, BL Harl. MS 2169. O. Barron (ed.) ‘A fifteenth century Book of Arms’ *The Ancestor*, vols. 3–5, 7, 9.

¹⁴ Joseph Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms: Harleian MSS. Nos. 2169 and 6163* (London, 1904).

¹⁵ National Library of Scotland MS.2515 fols. 182–3, 17th century (shields of c. 1608–16) (formerly Clumber MS.183), J. Campbell-Kease, ‘Some Seventeenth Century Decorations at Derby Place’ *CofA New Ser.* 11 (1995), no. 171, pp. 91–103.

¹⁶ John Speed, *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae* 1st edn (London. 1611). See also J. Lloyd ‘The Saxon Steed and the White Horse of Kent’ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 138 (2017), pp. 1–36, fig. 5.

THE ARMS OF WODEN



Figure 2: Woden depicted as the progenitor of Anglo-Saxon Kings in the twelfth-century manuscript *De primo Saxonum adventu*. BL Cotton Caligula A.viii fol. 29r. ©British Library Board.

KINGDOM OF THE EAST SAXONS

Gules.

Gules [blank] (RH Ancestor III, p. 205, 106, and Gules three crowns or Foster 1904 (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 3)); Azure three trefoils (2, 1) argent (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3,

THE COAT OF ARMS

row 19, below roundels 7 and 8); *Gules three seaxes in pale argent the hilts and pommels or* (Speed, cited in Henderson,¹⁷ p. 338).

KINGDOM OF THE WEST SAXONS

Azure a cross patonce between five martlets or.

Azure a cross fleury between four martlets argent (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 19, below roundels 5 and 6. Arms attributed to St Edward the Confessor, see below.

KINGDOM OF THE SOUTH SAXONS

Azure three trefoils (2, 1) or.

Azure three trefoils (2, 1) argent (RH Ancestor III, p. 205, 107, Foster 1904 (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 4)); *Gules* (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 19, below roundels 3 and 4).

KINGDOM OF THE EAST ANGLES

Or three crowns (2, 1) gules.

Argent three crowns gules ('Roy de Northfolke', RH Ancestor III, p. 205, 108, Foster 1904 (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 5)); *Three crowns (2, 1)* (Clumber fol. 183, 7); *Six crowns (3, 2, 1)* (Speed, in border (Henderson p. 338)); *Gules three crowns or (2, 1)* (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 19, below roundels 9 and 10).

KINGDOM OF THE MARCHES [MERCIA]

Azure three crowns (2, 1) or.

Azure three crowns (2, 1) argent (RH Ancestor III, p. 205, 109, Foster 1904 (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 6)); *A dragon rampant* (Clumber fol. 183, 5); *Azure a saltire argent* (Speed (Henderson p. 338)); *Gules three crowns or (2, 1)* (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 19, below roundels 11 and 12)

KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND [NORTHUMBRIA] AND OF 'BERY AND BURNISH' [BERNICIA?]

Gules a cross between four lions rampant or.

A cross between four lions ('Seynt Oswalde', Roy de Northwumberlonde', RH Ancestor III, p. 205, 104, Foster 1904 (Harl. 2169, fol. 9, 1)); *A cross between four lions rampant* (Clumber fol. 183, 4); *Azure a cross between four lions rampant or*, and *Azure a lion rampant or* (Speed (Henderson p. 338)); *Azure a cross argent between four lions rampant or flanked by two shields: Or a boar salient sable and Party per saltire four increscents counterchanged or and gules* (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 19, below roundels 13 and 14); and Northumbrian Kings: *Gules a cross between four lions rampant argent* (Bod. MS. Bodl. Roll 3, row 21, 13 and 14).

ELLE THE SON OF FRYE

Gules three crowns (2, 1) or.

Three crowns are attributed to St Edmund, King Arthur, Sigibert, Uffa, Erpenwald, Sebba, Loegre, the kingdom of the Marches (Mercia) (see above), and others.¹⁸

¹⁷ A. Henderson, 'Some Attributed Arms appearing in John Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*' *CofA New Ser.* 11 (1996), no. 176, pp. 335–44.

¹⁸ Ashley in prep. 'Painted Shields and Hollow Crowns: Attributed Arms of Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman Kings on the Winchester Mortuary Chests'.

THE ARMS OF WODEN

WODEN

Azure a cross patonce or. (Figure 3a)

Part of the group of related crosses attributed to various Anglo-Saxon kings.¹⁹

‘This Woden the King of Germany begat upon Frea his wife six noble Sons, of whom descended the Kings of England which occupied the isle of Britain,²⁰ after that the Britons were put forth, and that Woden they honoured as a God, and they hallowed to him fourth weekday which to this day is called Wodensday [Wednesday] and also they called the sixth weekday after his wife Friday that is to say the day of Frea etc.’

SYGBERTUS, A SAXON KING

Gules three falchions bendwise argent hilts and pommels or.

Gules three crowns or (2, 1) (‘King Sigheirius’ CA MS M3 78); *Gules three crowns or (2, 1)* (CA MS B18, fol. 5v); *Gules three crowns or (2, 1)* (Speed, Cambridgeshire County map (Henderson pp. 344)).

Woden

Woden first appears as the premier god of the Germanic tribes in the late first century AD, when he is recorded by Tacitus as ‘Mercury’ (to whom, ‘on certain feast days’, human sacrifices were made).²¹ Over time, Woden undergoes a transformation from a Migration Period deity to a legendary kingly progenitor of all but one of the Anglo-Saxon royal houses.²² He is one of several probable former gods incorporated in Bede’s *History of the English Church and People* (completed in 731) as early kings in a genealogy for the Kentish royal house. This inclusive construct allowed familiar and important mythical figures to be retained in a post-conversion Christian context.²³

Much of what we know of Woden is derived from later sources, which describe his eventual incarnation as Óðinn, the All-father, god of war, poetry, magic, and death. A major source is Snorri Sturluson’s *Prose Edda*, a collection of myths compiled in Iceland in c. 1220. Nevertheless, some contemporary material evidence for worship of the god survives in the archaeological record.

¹⁹ Ashley op. cit.

²⁰ This appears to take account of the genealogies of the Heptarchy where six of the seven royal houses claim descent from Woden, see above.

²¹ C. Tacitus, *Germania* G9, Trans. H. Mattingly, Revised S.A. Handford as, *The Agricola and The Germania*, (Harmondsworth, 1948), p. 108. See H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 140–41; T. Rowsell, ‘Woden and his Roles in Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogy’ *Medievalists.net*, (2012), p. 7, and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), p. 8.

²² That of the East Saxons, who ‘traced descent from Seaxnet, a god also worshipped by the Old Saxons of Germany’ Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early-Saxon England* (London, 2003) p. 15. See also D.N. Dumville, ‘The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 5, (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 23–50. Although apparently an important god, little is known of Seaxnet, but he does appear in a probably eighth-century Old Saxon baptismal vow: ‘I renounce all the words and works of the devil, Thunaer, Woden and Saxnot, and all those demons who are their companions’ (D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism*, (London, 1992), p. 38).

²³ Barbara Yorke, ‘Ingeld, Weland and Christ’, *Quaestio insularis* vol. 14 (2013), pp. 1–14, at pp. 2–3.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 3: Left, 3a: Arms of Woden, *Azure a cross patonce or*, a detail from College of Arms MS Vincent 170, fol. 159r. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms; Right, 3b: An early seventh-century gilt copper alloy mount set with garnets, possibly depicting the head of Woden, 38.2 x 25.2mm (Portable Antiquities Scheme database, BERK-DB4E15).

The Angles, Saxons and Jutes brought not only their families and livestock with them as they crossed the German Ocean at the dawn of the fifth century, but also their gods-Woden, Thunor, Tiw, Frig, and others. Although the temples and idols of the invaders and settlers no longer stand,²⁴ some material manifestations of the pagan pantheon remain. Notable finds over recent years include a series of probable early seventh-century mounts in the form of a cast copper alloy horned head, sometimes gilded and inlaid with garnets for eyes. The heads are bearded and male, and the horns appear to spring directly from the hair and end in bird-headed terminals with conjoined beaks. It has been suggested that these mounts depict the head of Woden (**Figure 3b**).²⁵

The horned heads shown on the mounts are paralleled by those of dancing, spear-wielding figures (albeit clean-shaven possible servants or devotees of the god) on a variety of contemporary small finds, including on helmet-plates on the Sutton Hoo

²⁴ Excavations uncovered the remains of a probable pagan temple, within which are three large post-holes-possibly settings for standing idols, at the royal residence of Northumbrian rulers at Yeavering (*Ad Gefrin*). The early seventh-century building (D2) may have been re-used as a church before its destruction in c. 632–3. Tantalising traces of other possible shrines or temples, usually associated with cemeteries, survive elsewhere, such as at Bishopstone (Sussex), Lyminge (Kent), and Spong Hill (Norfolk), see Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–66.

²⁵ Details of the fine example illustrated herein (and others) can be found on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database, BERK-DB4E15. Three less elaborate examples are shown in B. Ager and S. Worrell 'Soberton', and A. Rogerson and K. Penn 'Letheringsett and Glandford', in H. Geake (ed), *Portable Antiquities Scheme, 'Medieval Britain and Ireland, 2002'*, *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), pp. 202–17, at pp. 205–6, fig. 1, f, and pp. 208–9, fig. 2, c and d.

THE ARMS OF WODEN

helmet;²⁶ on a Vendel period²⁷ bronze die (one of four) for making helmet-plates, found at Torslunda, on the island of Öland; and helmet-plates from Valsgärde and Old Uppsala (all in Sweden). A seventh century heavily gilded buckle from Finglesham (Kent) also bears a horned figure, holding two spears.²⁸ All appear to have been associated with the cult of Woden/Oðinn.²⁹

Intriguingly, there are examples of figures which may have been modified to appear as if blind in one eye, alluding to the one-eyed Woden/Oðinn. On the Sutton Hoo whetstone 'sceptre', one of the eight carved bearded heads has had the left eye struck out.³⁰ One of the figures on the purse lid also has had the garnet gouged-out of his left eye;³¹ and foils have been removed from behind the garnets on the left-hand side of the great helmet,³² thereby reducing their ability to reflect light to suggest a blind side in the wearer, perhaps as a personification of the god. These modifications to elite items of dress are also found in the ancestral homelands of the English, such as on a possibly sixth-century buckle tongue found in Elsflëth, near Bremen, Germany, where the bearded head has had the left eye removed.³³

The occurrence of English place names derived from the name of Woden (Wanborough, Wansdyke, Wednesbury, Woodbridge etc., and others which may be derived from Woden/Oðinn's nickname Grim (hooded or masked), such as Grim's Ditch and Grimes Graves),³⁴ provides further evidence for the presence of his cult, and his continued significance is suggested by his prominence in regnal lists.

Bede and other chroniclers appear later to have negated Woden's role as a pagan god by converting him into an ancestral figure, a legendary progenitor of what were by then mostly Christian royal houses. This strategy of retention through the conversion of a mythic figure into an historical figure,³⁵ may have been, in part, a sop to those who were reluctant to dispense entirely with their old gods, customs, and beliefs. It would also have underlined the shared genealogies of Anglo-Saxon royal houses, thereby helping both to legitimise them and to strengthen relationships between them.³⁶

²⁶ Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial Volume 2, Arms, Armour and Regalia*, (London, 1978), pp. 186–9, 205–25; S. Marzinzik, *The Sutton Hoo Helmet*, (London, 2007, reprint 2022), pp. 22–3, fig. 10, pp. 34, 48–9, fig. 24.

²⁷ Late sixth to late seventh century AD.

²⁸ Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, H.R. Ellis Davidson and C. Hawkes, 'The Finglesham Man', *Antiquity*, 39 (1965), pp. 17–32, Plates III And IV.

²⁹ H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Pagan Scandinavia*, (London, 1967), pp. 96–100.

³⁰ Bruce-Mitford op. cit., pp. 316–7, where the eye is described as looking 'more sunken'.

³¹ Bruce-Mitford op. cit., see Plate 13 (a) and Fig. 358 (a).

³² Marzinzik op. cit. pp. 29–30.

³³ N. Price and P. Mortimer, 'An Eye for Odin? Divine Role-Playing in the Age of Sutton Hoo', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 17 (3), (2014), pp. 517–538.

³⁴ See Brian Branston, *The Lost Gods of England*, (London, 1957), pp. 38–42; Wilson, op. cit., pp. 11–21; and G.R. Owen, *Rites and Religions of the Anglo-Saxons*, (London, 1981), p. 116. Regarding the nickname, James Lloyd comments: 'Grim literally meant a mask, hence its use as a byname for Woden (who would go about amongst mortals in disguise) but it had a secondary meaning of apparition, spectre or wraith, so in some names might mean that a place was believed to be haunted, rather than that it was associated with Woden'.

³⁵ Euhemerism.

³⁶ Rowsell op. cit., pp. 4, 8.

The attributed arms

In his role here as ancestor of the kings of England (CA MS Vincent 170, iii, fol. 159r), Woden has been given arms bearing the familiar cross patonce – a generic charge on many arms attributed to Anglo-Saxon kings. This group of arms, centred around a cross, is likely to derive from the shield attributed to Edward the Confessor during the great rebuilding of Westminster Abbey under Henry III. The shield is one of sixteen carved in the choir in c. 1260–3³⁷ and comprises *A cross patonce between five birds*.³⁸ These arms provided the exemplar and inspiration for most if not all subsequent fictive cross-based arms of Anglo-Saxon kings and saints.³⁹

The attributed arms of Woden as shown here bear no relation to the cult signs and symbolism traditionally associated with the god – the eagle, the raven or crow, the turning wheel or flashing disc, dancing horned or helmeted warriors, and the spear. Some of these devices may have been inherited from his ancient and divine antecessor, the Scandinavian sky god, Tiwas.⁴⁰

Significantly, Richard Scarlett's record was made at a time when scholars and antiquaries were becoming more sympathetic to our Anglo-Saxon forebears, and beginning to question much of the fabulous nonsense propounded in favour of 'British' History in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannia* (c. 1136), and subsequently by many others. By 1574, Christopher Watson⁴¹ felt able to praise pagan Saxons as people of most honourable antiquity because they were descended from gods, and not, like the Britons, from mere mortals such as Priam. The tide had turned, so that, by 1611, John Speed, in the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, could add the family trees of the principal Saxon royal houses and their associated fictive heraldry, and show their descent from Woden and Frea.⁴²

As noted above, Richard Scarlett may have copied some of the arms of the Heptarchy from BL Harl. MS 2169, fol. 9. However, arms attributed to 'Sygbertus, a Saxon king' as shown in other manuscripts are different from those presented here, and Scarlett's sources for the latter, and for the remaining arms, of 'Elle the son of Frye', and lastly, Woden, remain unknown.⁴³

³⁷ See Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400*, (New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 76–9, fig. 115, and C.W. Scott-Giles, 'Medieval Heraldry in Westminster Abbey', *CoA*, no. 51 (1962) pp. 90–5 and no. 52, pp. 157–61; R. Turner, *Medieval Arms of Westminster Abbey* (NP, 2018), pp. 13, 15, cites evidence provided by Warwick Rodwell (the Abbey Archaeologist) for a likely date of 1262– early 1263 for carving the shields. Also see J. Hillson, 'Heraldry, Time and the King's Two Bodies: The Palace and Abbey at Westminster 1253–1363' in T. Hiltmann, M. Metelo de Seixas (eds), *Heraldry in Medieval and Early Modern State Rooms*, (Ostfildern, 2020), pp. 29–52.

³⁸ Probably eagles, later to become martlets.

³⁹ Ashley op. cit. The other group of crown-based arms derive from those given to Edmund king and martyr.

⁴⁰ Ellis Davidson, op. cit. (1967), pp. 72–3, 109; also see Ellis Davidson, op. cit. (1979), pp. 59–60.

⁴¹ d. 1581, translator of Polybius, and author (see T.D. Kendrick, *British History*, (London, 1950), p. 116).

⁴² Kendrick op. cit., p. 165.

⁴³ I am grateful to the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms at the College of Arms for permission to publish photographs of CA MS Vincent 170, iii, fol. 159r; the British Library for making available the image from Cotton Caligula A.viii fol. 29r; the Portable Antiquities Scheme for Figure 3b; and Adrian Ailes, James Lloyd, Andrew Rogerson, and Melanie Rolfe for their helpful comments on the text.

THE HOMBRESTON BEAST

ROBERT COLLEY, PH.D., F.S.A

Abstract

Herewith is considered an original grant of arms from the reign of Queen Mary I which bears some unusual features, not least among them being the crest of an otherwise unknown fabulous beast with rather a curious name.

Introduction

During the early Tudor period heralds introduced a menagerie of new composite beasts of their own imagination which Rodney Dennys called ‘a flock of curious and chimerical creatures which the lively minds of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century heralds conjured up.’¹ I do not speak of the presumed misinterpretations of real but unfamiliar creatures that were reported to inhabit distant lands, which tended to be derived from medieval bestiaries, and had undergone an heraldic evolution.² These included the tyger and the antelope or yale; but I speak rather of purely invented monsters like the egrentyne³, having a dog-like body and head with the forefeet cloven and the hind feet webbed; the enfield⁴, with the head and ears of a fox, the body, hind legs and tail of a wolf and the forelegs of an eagle; or the ypotryll⁵, a beast with two camel-like humps, a head and tusks rather like a boar, ox-like legs with cloven hooves and a long, smooth, curled tail.

Most of these beasts were never defined in words at the time of their inception, but were identified by names inserted either in the margin, or by the side, of drawings of badges, banners or supporters – the bagwyn supports the banner of William Fitzalan eleventh Earl of Arundel with only the words ‘A Bagwyn’ written alongside to identify it.⁶ Many such creatures which appeared suddenly in the armory of the period were met with infrequently, often being reserved for one or two families and subsequently vanishing again into the confused mists from which they sprang. These include the caretyne, an animal with the head and body of an heraldic tyger, with mane, tufts and tusks, flames issuing from its mouth and one ear, the horns of a bull and legs and hooves of a horse; as a badge on the standard of Sir Francis Bryan.⁷ The resort to these fanciful creatures waned generally in the middle of the sixteenth century with the conservatism

¹ Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, (London, 1975), p. 150

² Peter Gwynn-Jones, ‘Heraldic Monsters,’ in Henry Bedingfield and Peter Gwynn-Jones, *Heraldry*, (London, 1993), p. 83; John Vinycomb, *Fictitious & Symbolic Creatures in Art*, (London, 1906); T.H. White (ed.) *The Book of Beasts*, (London, 1954); Ann Payne, *Medieval Beasts*, (London, 1990).

³ Dennys op. cit., pp. 155–6, dexter supporter of Fastolfe; CA Ms E12 f. 42v.

⁴ Dennys p. 156; CA Grants cxxix f. 316.

⁵ Dennys p. 166; B.L. Add Ms 40742 f. 10; H.S. London, ‘Minor Monsters viii,’ in CoA no. 28 (Oct 1956), p. 143.

⁶ Dennys p. 150; Lord Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms* (NP, 1904), p. 44; C.A. Ms. I2 fo 11.

⁷ Dennys p. 153; de Walden, op. cit., p. 285; CA Ms I2 f. 134.

THE COAT OF ARMS

of heralds like Hawley, Hervey and particularly Cooke, and their return to the more traditional storehouse of charges.⁸



Figure 1: Letters Patent with grant of arms to John Hombreston of Herts, 1554. This and all subsequent photographs with the gracious permission of the owner.

The Patent of Arms (Figures 1 and 2)

There were, however, some exceptions to this return to orthodoxy. In 1554, on the 'xvij day of June in the fyrst yere of the reigne of our most Dread souereign Lady Quene Mary' William Hervey, then Norroy King of Arms, signed a patent of arms to 'John hombreston of ye county of herforde gentylman...Sone & heyre to Wylliam hombreston Second Sone to Thomas hombreston sone & heyre of Thomas hombreston of ye county of herford gentylman.'⁹

The document is finely decorated on three wide borders with the crowned Tudor rose, fleurs-de-lys, carnations, strawberry plants, cornflowers, cinquefoils, roses and pansies, as well as seed pods and leaves. Hervey is depicted full-length with red hair and beard, wearing his tabard, standing within the initial letter T, pointing with his wand to the painting of the coat of arms. The grant follows the usual lengthy form with its preamble appealing to the antiquity of bearing arms. The coat of arms is blazoned 'argent thre bares Sable in chefe Thre peletes within a bordure engrailed azure bezante' (Figure 4).¹⁰ The shield is suspended by gold straps from the helm. After stating that 'I fownde no crest vnto the Same as comenly to all auntyent Armes there belongeth none' Hervey assigns an unusual crest – 'on a wreth argent and Sable Manteled of the Same' is 'a

⁸ For Cooke in particular see R.Colley, *The Grants of Arms of Robert Cooke, 1567–93*, (forthcoming in the CoA).

⁹ Original grant in a private collection in the U.S.A.

¹⁰ In modern terminology – *Argent three bars sable in chief three pellets within a bordure engrailed azure bezanté*.

THE HOMBRESTON BEAST



Figure 2: The painting of the achievement in the border of the grant.

mvsquylybeth [sic] hed Razed azure bezanted and horned gold.' The beast is shown in the painted arms as having a horse's face, yellow eyes, thick brown lips, a very long slender neck, small ears and two long backward - sweeping gold horns.

There exists a single copy of the grant text at the College of Arms in *Misc. Grants* 7, *Le Neve's Ms. Of Grantees of Arms*. Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms, saw this

THE COAT OF ARMS

patent in 1710 in the hands of an arms painter. He copied what he saw and spelled the word as Musquylybeth.¹¹ This copy, of course, did not have the same value as a Tudor manuscript, but fortunately the original patent came to auction in 2020.¹² Having the opportunity, now, to examine the actual document, it appears that le Neve's careful transcription may not, understandably, have been entirely accurate in relation to this word. The way in which the letters are formed produced difficulties for le Neve then, and no less for us today. It is necessary, therefore, to explore this in a little more detail.

The Palaeography

A careful review of the lettering of the document suggests that the word should read as 'usquylybeth' and the suggestion has been made that the initial letter, which to le Neve looked like an 'm,' was an entirely made up character (**Figures 3 and 4**).¹³ Phonetically it resembles the Latin words *usque*, *libet* or *quolibet* ('so far,' 'it pleases' or 'anyone you like' respectively) which suggest, perhaps, some vagueness of identity, or something which is not known exactly; or equally, the name of a beast conjured up from these words. Alternatively – and very tentatively – there is a Welsh phrase 'Ys gwn i beth' meaning 'I wonder what?' In the sixteenth century could there have been a phrase 'Ys gwel i beth' meaning 'I see what?' both of which could mean something yet to be known or a mystery? There were several Welshmen who served at the College of Arms at this time – Gruffudd Hiraethog was the first deputy herald for Wales,¹⁴ and both his teacher Lewys Morgannwg, one of the best-known herald bards, with Richard Thomlyns both served Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms for many years,¹⁵ and a little later this association continued with the presence of Thomas Jones of Tregaron and Lewys Dwnn.¹⁶

¹¹ I am grateful to Mr Robert Yorke, College of Arms for this information.

¹² Dominic Winter Auctioneers, 4 March 2020, lot 210.

¹³ The initial letter which le Neve transcribed as 'm' is not the 'm,' or even the 'w,' of the rest of the script: its formation is entirely different. It is not 'iy' because the upper part of the 'y' is formed differently from all other 'ys' and its tail goes to the left whereas all the other 'ys' go to the right. Although the initial minim lacks the dot, this was not uncommon and similar 'is' in the patent also lack the dot. The formation of the downstroke, however, is different from all the others. The second letter (as an alternative to a 'y') is similar to a 'g' without its cross-stroke and there are several examples in the document where the bowl of the 'g' lacks the bar or there is evidence of only a faint tick. All, including this example, also have the tail to the left with a slight curl at the end. The bowl, however, is more pointed and written as a single 'v' stroke rather than the two separate strokes of the other 'gs'. It is also noticeable that the first 'u' in the word is written as a 'v'. Generally, scribes used both 'v' and 'u' to depict the same letter 'u', but the 'v' form was reserved for the initial letter in a word: so, for example, we see 'vnto' throughout the document. The 'u' form was used for the medial letters in, for example, 'azure', 'graunted' and 'Esquyer.' Here, the medial 'u' is written 'u' but the first 'u' in the word is written as 'v.' The choice of which form to use was based not upon sound but upon appearance: it was purely a matter of calligraphy. See Roy Frank Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication*, (London, 1977).

¹⁴ Michael P. Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry*, 4 vols (Aberystwyth, 1991–2006), vol. 1, p. 314

¹⁵ Robert Colley, 'The heraldry and history of the pedigree roll of Gawen Goodman of Ruthin 1584' *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions*, (2014), pp. 73–90, 77.

¹⁶ Robert Colley, 'Letters from Tregaron – A Study in Heraldic Practice in Elizabethan Wales, in CoA no. 239 (2022), pp. 183–200.

THE HOMBRESTON BEAST

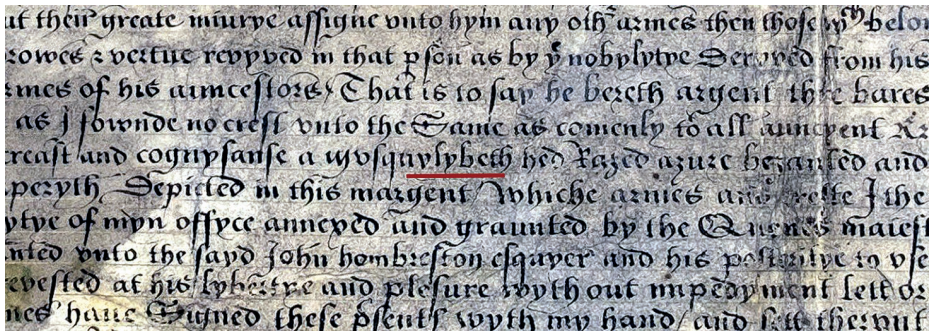


Figure 3: Detail of the grant with the word *usquylybeth* indicated.

On this basis the word is probably best interpreted as an *usquylybeth*. The closest that the Hombreston beast comes to any known heraldic monster is the camelopardal which itself evolved from the camelopard. Randle Holme in his *Academy of Armory* of 1688 describes the latter as ‘a Beast engendred of the Camel and a Female Libard, or Panther; and hath the Head and Neck of a Camel, mane of a horse, body of a Hart, and cloven-footed like a Camel; having the fore-Leggs longer than the hinder; their colour is red, mixed with white, under his Belly; being full of spots.’¹⁷ This is a valiant attempt at describing a giraffe.¹⁸ The Camelopardal was a similar creature that ‘hath two little horns growing on his head, of Iron colour, turning a little backwards and smooth. His mouth but little, like an Harts; his Neck long having no Ears; and the fore-Legs longer than the other; which makes his back decline towards his Buttock, which are like an Asses.’¹⁹

Although similar, the beast in the patent differs from Holme’s description in several aspects – it has ears and long horns, a horse’s face, no mane and a large mouth with thick lips (Figure 5). It veers more towards the composite end of the spectrum. On the other hand, it is similar to the camelopardal illustrated in Konrad Gesner’s *Historia Animalium* of 1551. Both have ears, long backward-sweeping horns and a horse-like face.²⁰ Of course, we see only the head of the *usquylybeth* in the crest and not the body of the animal, but this is probably the only illustration of it that will be seen. Whilst neither Robson²¹ nor Fox-Davies²² believed that the camelopardal was in heraldic use, Parker, writing in 1894²³ believed, but without citation, that he had seen one used as a crest. The Hombreston Beast, therefore, may well be one of the earliest attempts, if not the earliest, at depicting the camelopardal in heraldry.

¹⁷ Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, (Chester, 1688), Book II. Ch.ix, p.178.

¹⁸ For an extensive examination of this see Jordan Walbesser, ‘Of Camelopards and Camelopardels’, *CoA* no. 238 (2021), pp. 38–56, the camelopardal discussed at p. 53.

¹⁹ Holme, *op.cit.*

²⁰ Walbesser *op.cit.* at p. 52, and also similar to his illustration of the horned giraffe illustrated by Erhard Reuwich in 1486, at p. 42.

²¹ Thomas Robson, *The British Herald*, (Sunderland, 1830), at p. 25 as cited by Walbesser *op. cit.*

²² A.C.Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, (London, 1909), at p. 227 as cited by Walbesser *op. cit.*

²³ James Parker (ed.), *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry*, (London, 1894), at p. 87 as cited by Walbesser *op. cit.*

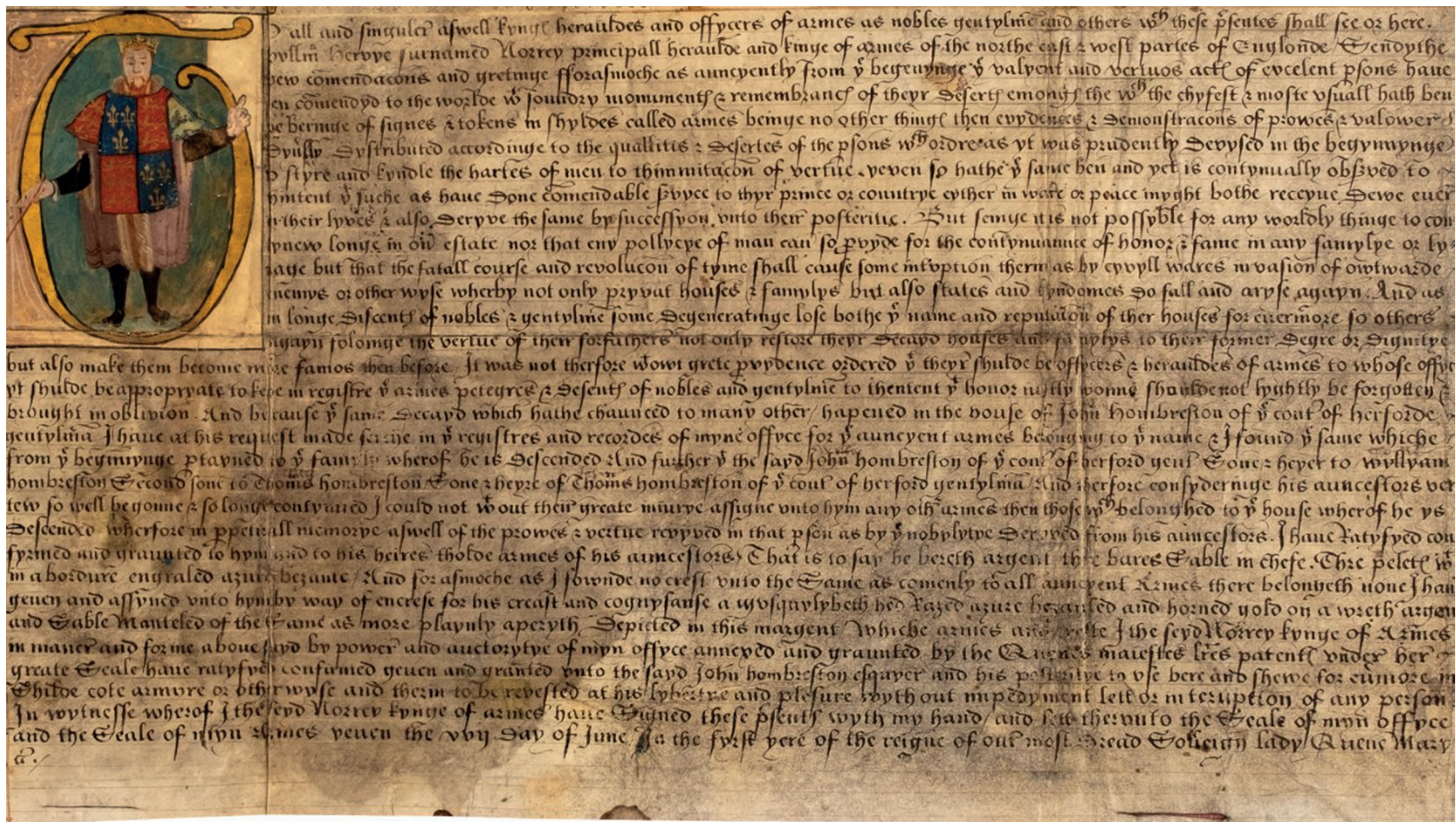


Figure 4: Detail of the complete text of the grant.

Done vnto the seyd
 John Morrey knyght of armes

The preparation of the patent

A vellum membrane would have been painted with the generous decorative border first of all. The basic design of border on Elizabethan grants of arms was variable; most had a mix of flowers, seed pods, leaves and fruit, and the symbols of the authority by which the grant was made – at least for the grantees who could afford such an elaborately decorated patent. Stocks of vellum with ready done borders awaiting the insertion of both the text and a painting of the arms being granted, would have been held in the heralds' office.²⁴ The Hombreston borders are a particularly intricate example and would have been expensive to produce. The arms would then be painted in the top left-hand quarter of the vellum by a painter, and a draft of the text written out. While the king of arms was responsible for the content of the draft text, some farmed the drafting work out to colleagues or juniors. They may even have employed one or two of the arms painters who regularly accompanied the heralds on their visitations to their provinces. Whilst a herald could be an accomplished limner and penman, such as Segar and Glover, the work of the herald, artist and scrivener were in essence clearly distinct. The text followed a standardized formula to a greater or lesser degree. At the draft stage, the compiler, not recognizing the strange beast in the painted arms may have written 'vsquylybeth' preceded by a character used by him to signify that something needed to be done to clarify the word; whether its orthography be Latin or Welsh (or neither), it was something unknown. The scribe who ultimately wrote the text in a display hand would have copied the same word faithfully. For whatever reason the word was never corrected, and the final scribe copied exactly what he saw. Such instances are not unknown. For example, John Speed, using Saxton's map of Wiltshire, finding that the village of North Burcombe had been marked but not named, marked the place Quare (i.e. *query*), intending to query the name. This, however, was overlooked and his notation was engraved on the new Speed map of the county and the error was perpetuated by other map-makers for well over a century.

Anomalies in the patent

There are several anomalies in the patent itself. William Hervey introduces the preamble as being 'surnamed Norrey principall heraulde and kinge of armes of the northe east & west partes of Englonde' but Hertfordshire was clearly within the jurisdiction of Clarenceux King of Arms.²⁵ Sometimes a king of arms would make grants to people who seem to be outside his province, but on closer inspection these turn out to be grantees whose families came from outside but were living within his jurisdiction. In this case, however, the Hombreston family does not seem to have originated anywhere other than Hertfordshire. This patent therefore seems to have been made *ultra vires*. In addition, the forenames of both the grantee and his ancestors appear to have been incorrect as they have been struck through with the alteration of the names written above in a rough Secretary Hand. These alterations were there when le Neve saw it, and

²⁴ Clive Cheesman, 'Grants and Confirmations of Arms,' in Nigel Ramsay (ed.) *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, (Donington, 2014), pp. 68–104, 78.

²⁵ The jurisdiction of Clarenceux was south and east of the river Trent; that of Norroy to the north and west. The rights of the two kings of arms were, in relation to each other, exclusive in their provinces: Cheesman *op.cit.*., p. 71.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 5: The Hombreston Beast.

were probably written in very soon after the production of the grant. Although signed, the document does not appear to have been sealed, since the tag slits show no sign of having been expanded by the ribbon.

Finally, two records of the Hombreston arms made at about this time or a little after show the crest as a gryphon's head, and it may be that the inclusion of an unknown mysterious beast was challenged or disliked by the grantee at a time when the taste for fabulous creatures was beginning to wane.²⁶ For all of those reasons it may be that the patent was never actually issued. It is possible that another patent, now lost and unrecorded, was issued lawfully by Clarenceux King of Arms the same year as this 1554 document, with the crest of the gryphon's head. It was not uncommon for different heralds to make out a grant to the same person within weeks of each other:

²⁶ For example, the monsters in crests granted by Cooke in the main, were limited to the gryphon, dragon and unicorn; Colley – Cooke's Grants, forthcoming.

THE HOMBRESTON BEAST

a grant of arms was drafted by Cooke for John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury in June 1588 but a similar grant made on 4 July 1588 by Dethick.²⁷

At the time of the Visitation of Hertfordshire in 1634 while the arms recorded are similar to those in the patent, the crest is clearly a gryphon's head erased.²⁸ In an earlier manuscript of tricked arms of mid-Tudor date, *College of Arms Ms. 2 G2* at folio 49v, while the arms are the same as the 1554 patent without the bordure, the crest is *Azure a gryphon's head erased argent, ears sable and charged with three pellets*. The usquylybeth's head seems to have been eschewed by the grantee and his descendants or other branches of their family.

Conclusion

Whatever the Hombreston beast is called, whether an usquylybeth or an early attempt to portray a camelopardal, it is another addition to the family of heraldic monsters that were created in the early sixteenth century, and disappeared almost as quickly as they came.²⁹ The patent, which has been examined in detail, allows us to glimpse more closely perhaps, the process of producing such a document and the many pitfalls that could be encountered before the document was issued.³⁰

²⁷ Charles Spencer Perceval, 'Whitgift Gatherings', *Surrey Arch. Soc. Collections*, II (London, 1864) vol. 12, pp. 194–202, 198.

²⁸ Chetham's Library Ms 7995 A.7.58 Visitation of Hertfordshire 1634: Hombreston of Walkhorne,

²⁹ For other 'minor monsters' see the series of articles by H.S. London in *CoA*, vols. iii and iv, 1955 and 1956 respectively.

³⁰ I am grateful to the following for their help in the preparation of this article: Mr Robert Yorke of the College of Arms, Dr Nigel Ramsay, Mr Thomas Lloyd, Wales Herald Extraordinary, Dr Susan Davies, Chetham's Library, Manchester, Mr Emyr Evans of the National Library of Wales, Mrs Jean Bews, Angela James for patiently preparing the typescript, and Dominic Winter Auctioneers and the owner of the Hombreston manuscript for their permission to publish the images.

A CORPUS OF THE ARMS OF KING EDWARD VI

PETER N. LINDFIELD, F.S.A.

Abstract

The form of the royal arms used during the six-year reign of the boy-King Edward VI has been a neglected topic because of the small number of verifiable examples. How the royal arms were depicted in this period is of potential utility for the dating of contemporary heraldic objects. This paper lays out the beginnings of a Corpus, from which it is hoped that further examples will come to light.

Introduction: a time of change.

The reign of Edward VI (1537–53) from 1547 to 1553 is characterised by a reforming zeal which impacted not only Christian ceremony but also the decoration and appearance of churches. As the son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, he was the first King of England to be raised Protestant. During his nominal rule church interiors were reworked by the removal of the rood—depictions of the crucified Christ—as well as images of saints: the former being replaced with the royal arms. Such a substitution is recorded and explained by Bishop Gilbert Burnett (1643–1715) in the second part of his *History of the Reformation* (1681):

But now they that were weary of the Popish Superstitions, observing that Arch-bishop Cranmer had so great a share of the young Kings [sic] affection, and that the Protector and he were in the same Interests, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion; and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motions of the State. So the Curate and Church-wardens of *St. Martins* [sic] in *Ironmonger Lane* in *London*, took down the Images and Pictures of the Saints, and the Crucifix out of their Church, and painted many Texts of Scripture on the Walls; some of them *according to a perverse Translation*, as the Complaint has it; and in the place where the Crucifix was, they set up the Kings [sic] Arms with some Texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Bishop and Lord-Major of *London* complained to the Council. And the Curate and Church-wardens being cited to appear, answered for themselves, That the Roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the Crucifix and Images were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: That the charge they had been at in repairing their Church was such, that they could not buy new Images: That they had taken down the Images in the Chancel, because some had been guilty of Idolatry towards them. In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiss, they asked pardon and submitted themselves. Some were for punishing them severely; for all the Papists reckoned that this would be a leading Case to all the rest of this Reign.¹

As Munro records, the painting of the King's arms at St Martin's is representative of a broader trend, even if, as the passage quoted above indicates, the installation of

¹ Gilbert Burnet, *The History of The Reformation of the Church of England in two Parts*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., (London, 1681), vol. 2, p. 9.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure1: The Restored Edward VI Armorial Panel in St Mary's, Westerham, Kent.
Image courtesy of St Mary's Westerham Heritage Trust.

THE COAT OF ARMS

the royal arms within the church was legal, but the removal of the rood was neither customary nor legal.²

The reconceptualisation of St Martin's decoration, however, was far from unique, and a 1550 inventory of St Dunstan's-in-the-East, London, records a 'small hangyng of red and blew sarsenet with the Kynges Armes'.³ Further examples from Essex churches include that at Wix, where an inventory from 1552 details a 'cloth stayned and wrytte with the scripture, the Kings Majestys Arms in the middle, which cloth is hanging upon the candell-beam'; at Paglesham £2 3s 4d was spent on 'paynting the King's Arms and wrytting of the schriptures within the Church'; and at St Mary's, Maldon, 6s 8d was spent on 'one hundred of gold for the Kyng's Majesties Arms, and 12d for one pottell of oyle for the same'.⁴ Churches in Edward VI's reign were being decorated with the King's arms.

Official and legal instruments issued during Edward VI's reign to remove roods and replace them with royal arms do not appear to exist, despite which Cautley concludes that this trend was enacted at churches across the country: 'In any case it is quite obvious that at the close of Edward's reign a large number of roods had been destroyed, and an equally large number of arms put up in their place, and yet of the latter, owing to the reversal of policy in the succeeding reign, only one [...] definitely established example of the arms of Edward VI survives.'⁵

Diarmaid MacCulloch deems the installation of Edward's arms *in lieu* of the removed roods to be an essential feature of the English Reformation: 'The display of royal arms announced an essential feature of the Edwardian Reformation: it was a revolution directed from above by the monarch, his council and the Parliament at Westminster. Those who ruled the realm took it upon themselves to decide the form in which the European Reformation would be presented to the people of England.'⁶ Consequently, the introduction of the royal arms into English churches appears to be a visual and physical manifestation of the country's break from Rome.

Establishing the form of the arms.

There is, as MacCulloch notes, one surviving example of a 'genuine' sixteenth-century Edwardian coat of arms still preserved in an English church today, at Westerham in Kent (**Figure 1**). He further observes that most sets of royal arms with initials 'ER' are clearly Elizabethan, but the Westerham example is marked as the arms of a Tudor king [rather than queen] by its inscription '*Vivant Rex curat lex*'.⁷ A good example recording Elizabeth I's arms can be found in the Great High Chamber of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (**Figure 2**), Bess of Hardwick's exceptional and geometrically profound Elizabethan 'prodigy house' built between 1590 and 1597; this achievement has numerous formal similarities with Edward's Westerham arms, but there are also certain differences, especially in terms of the shield's shape. The four horizontal boards of oak

² H. Munro Cautley, *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches* (Ipswich, 1974), p. 2.

³ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 22: Kew, National Archives, Exchequer King's Remembrancer Church Goods 4/98, f. 5v.

⁴ As quoted in Cautley, *Royal Arms*, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999), p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*

ARMS OF EDWARD VI

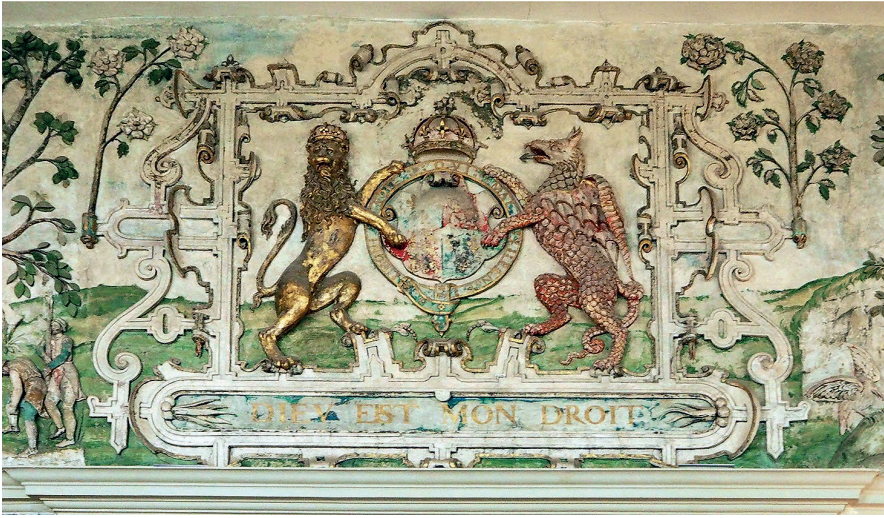


Figure 2: Elizabeth I's Achievement in the High Great Chamber, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire; after 1590. Peter N. Lindfield

that make up the Westerham arms' panel was analysed using dendrochronology (tree-ring growth pattern analysis) when the work was being restored in 2013. The top three boards returned dates using this investigation, however the lowest, identified as 'board D' during the analysis, did not return a date. Furthermore, none of the boards included sapwood (the outer, and, hence, newer and softer rings of the tree under the bark): this prevents dendrochronology from giving a precise felling date. To give a *terminus post quem* for each piece of wood, a minimum of eight sapwood rings was added to give the earliest possible felling date: the boards were thus found to date to after 1526 (board A); to after 1532 (board B); and to after 1541 (Board C). The conclusion is that the wood used to construct the panel upon which the arms were painted was assembled sometime between 1541 and 1573.⁸ This date range, of course, supports the assertion that the achievement refers to Edward VI.

The character of the royal achievement is important, even if the boards' dendrochronological analysis cannot offer an exact date of production: VIVAT REX clearly indicates that the arms cannot belong to Elizabeth I. It therefore shows the characteristics of Edward's arms: the escutcheon is of a teardrop shape surrounded by an English Renaissance-style strapwork border encircled by the garter. The lion and dragon supporters are especially important and curious, as will become evident later in this essay. Like the arms of Edward's father, Henry VIII, the lion supporter is crowned. It looks out and confronts the viewer, while the dragon remains in profile. Other notable characteristics include the *cartouche*: it contains the motto but it also acts as a compartment, supporting one foot from each supporter at each end, where acanthus scrollwork and strapwork rests upon a lion's foot. There are notable similarities linking this achievement with the royal arms depicted on coins minted during Edward's reign.

⁸ Ian Tyers, "Royal Coat of Arms for Edward VI, from the Church of St Mary the Virgin Westerham, Kent: Dendrochronological Analysis of Oak Boards," *English Heritage Research Report Series* 30 (2014), pp. 3, 6.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 3: Top, 3a: An Edward VI gold half sovereign of 1549–50, E.5107; Middle, 3b: An Edward VI coin of 1547–49, E.196; Bottom, 3c: An Edward VI shilling of 1549, E.232. All examples from the British Museum.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI

In particular, the 1549–50 gold half sovereign depicts the uncrowned King in profile on the obverse, and the reverse is finished with the crowned royal arms set on a slightly teardrop shaped oval escutcheon, garnished with strapwork, and within the royal ER cypher (**Figure 3a**).⁹ The shape of the shield bears a strong relationship with that incorporated into the Westerham panel. A very similar but earlier coin minted 1547–49 (**Figure 3b**), shares a similar bust of Edward on the obverse as depicted in Figure 3, albeit this time crowned, and the royal arms on the reverse are identical to those depicted in Figure 3.¹⁰ A shilling minted in 1549 (**Figure 3c**) depicts a crowned Edward VI on the obverse and uncrowned version of the royal arms seen in Figures 3 and 4 on the reverse.¹¹ Consequently, the application of the crown on coins minted during Edward's short reign varied considerably. Another gold coin, this time dating to 1549–51, sets the royal arms on the reverse, with the supporters—a crowned lion and dragon—resting on a strapwork compartment below (**Figure 4**).¹² The escutcheon has here reverted from an oval-shape to the typical form with a rectangular section in chief, and it is no longer garnished. Despite the 1549–51 sovereign depicted in Figure 4, there is a clear precedent for Edward's arms being applied to an oval or oval-teardrop-shaped escutcheon surrounded by strapwork. The application of the crown appears inconsistent, yet the examples depicting his achievement all include a crowned lion.



Figure 4: An Edward VI gold sovereign of 1549–51. British Museum E.191

An incomplete picture of Edward's arms

The Westerham achievement and the abovementioned coins, the latter supposedly a good indicator of his arms' appearance at specific dates, only offer a partial account of the history and appearance of the King's arms. There is in fact a whole *Corpus* of Edward's achievements, mostly carved in wood, all noticeably alike and yet to be

⁹ London, British Museum, E.5107.

¹⁰ London, British Museum, E.196.

¹¹ London, British Museum, E.232.

¹² London, British Museum, GHB.462 and London, British Museum, E.191.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 5: Views of the First Landing in Rolleston's Principal Staircase Hall. 1892. Author's collection.

differentiated from the examples already cited and depicted in Figures 1 and 3–4. This is an expanding *Corpus*, and those discussed here are certainly not the only examples that were produced in the sixteenth century: other examples will perhaps emerge over time, and, like a number discussed below, they will possibly be misinterpreted as representations of Edward's father, Henry VIII (when ER is absent), or, perhaps, Edward's far more famous and longer-reigning sister, Elizabeth I, when ER (but not REX) is included. These misreadings have occurred because of the similarity between the achievements of each of these monarchs. Details of some of Edward's achievements examined here have been circulated recently by Stephanie Brooke, however the full extent of this *Corpus* was not shared with her, and, consequently, the significance of these arms has not hitherto been addressed in print.¹³ This essay gives a full account of my research on this *Corpus* of Edwardian achievements.

Three examples of Edward VI's arms from this *Corpus* are installed directly onto the walls or into panelling set up in country houses. The first and most significant is that seen on the staircase of Rolleston Hall in Staffordshire (**Figure 5**), the seat of the Mosleys. Sir Nicholas Mosley (c.1527–1612), Lord Mayor of London (**Figure 6**), was rewarded by Elizabeth I with gifts of furniture in 1599/1600 for his services to the city, including an elaborately carved bed. In his *Family Memoirs* (1849), Sir Oswald Mosley (1785–1871), 2nd Baronet, the patriarch of the family in Victorian Britain, wrote that:

'Before the termination of his year of office, the Queen [Elizabeth I] was graciously pleased to mark her high approbation of the services of the lord mayor by conferring upon him the honour of knighthood, and she gave him, at the same time, a handsomely-carved oak bedstead, together with some other articles of furniture, for the new house which he

¹³ Stephanie Brooke, 'The Uncrowned Lion: The Royal Arms of Edward VI', in academia.edu, 2022.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 6: John Brand, Sir Nicholas Mosley. 1792. NPG D25446.
National Portrait Gallery, London.

had recently erected at Hough End [Manchester], on the site of the old mansion which his ancestors had inhabited.’¹⁴

Whilst Elizabeth’s gift is not listed in the royal household accounts, these gifts had a well-established Mosley family tradition, and we can see at least one of these gifts, the bed, itemised in Sir Nicholas’ will as a present from the Queen: ‘Also I give and bequeath to my said wief in lieu of her chamber two of my best beddes wth the furniture accordinglie, except the best tapestrie coverings, and the best bedstocke, the Queen’s gift, also excepted’.¹⁵ When the Mosley family moved south to Rolleston in Staffordshire from various ancestral properties in Manchester, including Hough End Hall and Ancoats Hall, they transported some (but not all) of their royal gifts lavished upon the family’s illustrious ancestor.

¹⁴ Sir Oswald Mosley, *Family Memoirs* (N.P., 1849), p. 6.

¹⁵ Annie C. Williamson, *Sketches of Fallowfield and the Surrounding Manors, Past and Present* (Manchester, 1888), p. 39.

THE COAT OF ARMS

As is further recorded in Sir Oswald's *Memoirs*, his ancestor at the turn of the nineteenth century re-acquired some of the family's treasures left behind:

The residence of the Mosleys near Manchester was vacated and a portion turned into a farm house. At the beginning of the present century, the grandfather of Sir Oswald, the squire of to-day, visited the place at a period in its history when a sale was in progress, and was not a little astonished at discovering the oaken treasures mutilated and converted into various forms of domestic service. The worthy baronet secured all on which he could lay hands, and they were speedily transferred to Rolleston. Here, however, many specimens were allowed to remain stowed away—probably owing to the undignified process to which they had been subjected—for several pieces were disfigured by a daubing of white paint—and the remote chances of restitution to their former state. It was reserved for the present Sir Oswald to rescue them from their obscurity, and, piecing them together, restore them to something approaching their original magnificence. We find them in innumerable forms adorning various portions of the mansion. A large quantity of these valuable and interesting cuttings was in existence in Ancoat's Hall, the ancestral home of the Mosley's.¹⁶

Perhaps one of these heirlooms was the royal coat of arms installed above a settle marked N.M. 1596 (in reference to the year in which Sir Nicholas purchased the Manor of Manchester) set on the first landing of Rolleston's principal staircase hall photographed in 1892 (**Figure 5**). This arrangement of settle and heraldry on the house's staircase was recorded in the description of a ball that took place in 1895 and published in *The Derby Mercury* as:

'Half-way up the grand stair-case there is to be seen another piece of beautiful carving in a massive settee. This is noteworthy in a sense other than the artistic, inasmuch that it carries the reflection a century or two back, when an ancestor of the family—Sir Nicholas Mosley, Knt.—was Lord Mayor of London. Above are displayed the arms of the Clothiers' Company, of which the original possessor was master in the year that he was also chief magistrate.'¹⁷

From the photograph of Rolleston, including its staircase hall, being from 1892, just three years before this description, it can be seen that the carved wooden panel set above the N.M. 1598 settle does not belong to the Clothier's Company, but, instead, it is the royal coat of arms, presumably included in the royal 1599/1600 gift to Sir Nicholas. Unlike the Westerham achievement, and the coins mentioned earlier, the Rolleston example shows the lion and dragon both looking out from the panel, and the lion is also uncrowned. Furthermore the strapwork surrounding the escutcheons on the Westerham panel and coins is extended dramatically above the shield in the Rolleston example to be in line with the heads of the supporters, which stand on an undulating grassy compartment. Similar strapwork also forms a repetitive border framing the royal achievement's panel.

If this carved panel came to Sir Nicholas Mosley (and, hence, passed to his descendants) via Elizabeth I, this achievement was almost certainly sourced from the royal collection, and, putatively, made for Edward VI during his reign. Quite why *The Derby Mercury* reported the achievement as that of the Clothiers' Company is difficult to tell: perhaps it was an error on the part of the reporter or newspaper, or, perhaps, by

¹⁶ Anon. 1895, 2.

¹⁷ Anon., "The Ball at Rolleston Hall," *Derby Mercury* 1895.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 7: The Edward VI achievement in the Library's overmantel, Combermere Abbey, Cheshire. Courtesy of Combermere Abbey.

THE COAT OF ARMS

1895, a few years after the photograph reproduced here was taken, the panel had been replaced by another depicting the arms of the worshipful company.

The formal characteristics exhibited by this achievement are representative (but with minor stylistic variations) to several other known achievements forming this *Corpus*. The second example from this *Corpus* is installed at the centre of the chimney overmantel in the Library at Combermere Abbey, Cheshire (**Figure 7**). This example is of a more upright format, the characteristics of the supporters and strapwork being almost identical to those seen in the Rolleston example. Especially notable is the phrasing of the dragon's wing, which appears akin to a scroll—mirroring the achievement's strapwork decoration—apposed directly into the beast's flank. This matches the Rolleston example, but is quite unlike the more naturalistic wing depicted on the Westerham panel, and on the coins already discussed. The compartment beneath the arms on the Combermere version remains the same as found on the Rolleston example, and so too does the strapwork border. There are, however, several notable differences in the phrasing and design of this panel when compared with the Rolleston example. These differences include the addition of two scrollwork 'rolls' to the bottom of the shield, and the extension of the two upper strapwork 'rolls' with forked and splayed streamers. This additional ornament appears to relate to the panel's more upright format, with the changes 'filling' in what would otherwise have been empty space. Despite the different format and strapwork decoration, the Combermere panel evidently shared a similar template with that at Rolleston, which clearly did not directly influence the Westerham achievement.

Given that Combermere was a medieval foundation and that it had a strong royal connection, it is entirely possible that these arms preserved today at the house and installed in the room's sixteenth-century panelling were introduced during Edward's reign following the Abbey's dissolution, and came into the ownership of Sir George Cotton (1505–45). Cotton was granted the property in 1541, and he was described in King's *Vale-Royall* as 'a man of singular account for wisdom, integrity, godliness, gentleness, facility, and all generous dispositions'.¹⁸ It is highly likely that after Combermere's abbey church had been demolished and the remainder of the monastic buildings were converted into a Gothic country house this royal achievement was installed in the house.

Another, even more upright—essentially square—version of this achievement, preserving the same supporters, and with very similar strapwork decoration around the escutcheon (albeit with modified lower scrollwork) is now installed in Plas Newydd ('New House') in Llangollen, Denbighshire (**Figure 8**). Located on the door leading from the entrance hall into the Parlour, this decoration is part of an extensive building and refashioning programme undertaken by the 'Ladies of Llangollen', who acquired and deployed seemingly limitless quantities of carved oak spolia to decorate both the outside and inside of the house (**Figures 8–9**).¹⁹ Unlike the Mosleys at Rolleston Hall,

¹⁸ Anon., *Handbook for Shropshire, Cheshire and Lancashire* (London: John Murray, 1870), p. 76; Daniel King, *The Vale-Royall of England* (London, 1656).

¹⁹ See Elizabeth Mavor, *The Ladies of Llangollen: A Study in Romantic Friendship* (London, 1971), *Plas Newydd and the Ladies of Llangollen*, (Ruthin, 1988), and Freya Gowrley, *Domestic Space in Britain, 1750–1840: Materiality, Sociability and Emotion* (London, 2022), pp. 139–66.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 8: Top, 8a: Plas Newydd, Llangollen; Bottom left, 8b: exterior detail; Bottom right, 8c: The Edward VI achievement installed on the Parlour door, Plas Newydd.
Peter N. Lindfield.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 9: Carved panelling installed in the interior of Plas Newydd, Llangollen.
Peter N. Lindfield.

almost all of the main ‘show’ rooms in this modest house have their walls and even ceilings decorated with antiquarian-style carved woodwork and clearly a manifestation of what Clive Wainwright deemed to be the Georgian ‘romantic interior’.²⁰ The royal achievement incorporated within the door at Plas Newydd (**Figure 8c**) is of notably poorer quality compared with the previous examples mentioned here in this article, but it nevertheless demonstrates a continuity of the *Corpus*’ specific visual, decorative, and formal conventions, including the domed, hemispherical escutcheon, strapwork, and supporters with the lion uncrowned, and the dragon having an outwardly directed gaze and a strap-work-like wing.

A version of this achievement was sold by Christie’s, London, in January 2009 having come from The Roger Warner Collection, and it was listed as ‘a Henry VIII carved-oak relief of the Tudor coat-of-arms’ c.1540 (**Figure 10a**).²¹ It represents a subtle modification of the two examples from the *Corpus* already discussed: extra strapwork scrolls have been added to the sides of the escutcheon, a decorative programme extended with the addition of forked flares at the bottom of the escutcheon; and with a shield in the form of a domed tear-drop, rather than being of hemispherical shape. The uncrowned lion supporter is quite inconsistent with Henry VIII’s known arms from

²⁰ Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home, 1750–1850* (London, 1989), offers a study of the romantic interior focussing on a select number of case-studies (of which Plas Newydd is not one).

²¹ Christie’s, *The Roger Warner Collection: Part 1* (London, 2009), lot. 150.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 10: Top, 10a: Edward VI's achievement sold as 'a Henry VIII carved oak relief of the Tudor coat-of-arms' c.1540'. Christie's, London; Bottom, 10b: Edward VI's achievement from the Peter Gwynn Collection. Sotheby's, London.

THE COAT OF ARMS

late in his reign (the period to which Christie's ascribed it). The whole composition of this achievement is consistent with the *Corpus* under examination in this essay. The description of this lot in the sale brochure does, however, obfuscate the exact monarch that the achievement could refer to: it notes that the arms were 'used by Tudor monarchs from Henry VII to Elizabeth I. The lion and dragon supporters were used by all the sovereigns'.²² Christie's also makes the point that this achievement relates to one that was sold from the Peter Gwynn Collection by Sotheby's, London, on 27 November 2001 (**Figure 10b**).²³ The Gwynn achievement, whilst the lion supporter is uncrowned, is fundamentally different in formal stylistic terms to the *Corpus* examined here, including the shape of the shield, character of the supporters and mantling, the nature of the compartment, and the naturalistic form of the dragon's wing. Neither does it echo the form of the strapwork scroll seen on the Roger Warner Collection heraldic panel (**Figure 10a**).

Christie's also linked The Roger Warner Collection's 'Henry VIII carved-oak relief' (Figure 13) to a Tudor royal achievement included in Victor Chinnery's landmark book on oak furniture (**Figure 11a**), captioned 'relief carved armorial panel; English; Oak, late sixteenth century. The Royal Arms of England, with the Tudor supporters, the Lion and Dragon'.²⁴ This armorial, while stylistically related to those in the *Corpus*, has some characteristics that are divorced from the remainder illustrated and discussed here. Although the lion is uncrowned, the supporters look towards each other. The escutcheon is also flat, rather than being domed, but with its teardrop shape and encircling strapwork scrolls that create a barbed appearance, it is a more extreme, yet still related, modification of this *Corpus*' characteristics.

A similar example passed through Christie's, London, in 2008 (**Figure 11b**), however it is a modification of this *Corpus*' typology by phrasing the shield with barbs at the top and an ogee point at the foot. Sold as a 'a *papier-maché* armorial panel of the Tudor royal arms', no attempt was made to attribute it to a specific Tudor monarch.²⁵ A possibly-related example is found at Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire (**Figure 12a**). It has a domed shield and strapwork border and might be associated with Edward VI, but there is no documentary evidence. Brooke considered it to refer to that monarch because 'the lion has no crown, which probably means that it dates instead from that of Edward VI'.²⁶ Unfortunately, she did not realise that there is clear evidence that the lion supporter's head once bore a crown, as there is the remains of what appears to be a *torse*, which must surely be the ermine register of a crown (**Figure 12b**). Brooke does not acknowledge that Edward's lion supporter was crowned at times, as demonstrated above in reference to coinage, and as illustrated, for example, by the achievements of Guildford Grammar School (dated 1552), and of Sherborne School in Dorset.

My fifth and final example is a tester ('four poster') bed that passed through Bonhams Skinner, Marlborough, Massachusetts, USA, in 2020 (**Figure 12c and 13**), with a panel incorporated within the headboard and initialled with ER. Although there

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid; Sotheby's, *Peter Gwynn Collection* (London, 2001), lot. 28.

²⁴ Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture: The British Tradition* (Woodbridge, 1986), fig. 2:176, p. 174.

²⁵ Christie's, *Christie's Interiors: Oak Edition* (London, 2008), lot 425.

²⁶ Brooke, *The Uncrowned Lion*, op. cit.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 11: Top, 11a: Edward VI's achievement included from Victor Chinnery's Oak Furniture: The British Tradition; Bottom, 11b: Edward VI's achievement sold as 'a papier-maché armorial panel of the Tudor royal arms'. Christie's, London.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 12: Top left, 12a: Achievement in Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire, perhaps that of Edward VI, Peter N. Lindfield; Top right, 12b: Top of the lion supporter's head from the Little Moreton Hall royal overmantel, Peter N. Lindfield; Bottom, 12c: Edward VI's achievement installed within the headboard of a tester bed. Bonhams Skinner, Marlborough, Massachusetts, USA.

are minor points of difference from the *Corpus*, such as the pared-back strapwork and the form of the crown, there are key points of similarity, notably the shape of the dragon's wing and the fact that both supporters confront the viewer; and we can see this as an integral part of the Edwardian group of achievements.

Need we be concerned that the known arms of Edward VI sometimes included a crowned lion supporter? The observation must be placed in the context of a continual evolution of the Tudor royal arms, and its variable application. Henry VIII, upon

ARMS OF EDWARD VI



Figure 13: Tester bed as per Figure 12c. Bonhams Skinner, Marlborough, Massachusetts, USA.

accession to the throne, continued to use his father's supporters of dexter: a *dragon gules* ; sinister: a *greyhound argent collared gules*; before they were modified around 1529 to: dexter a *lion guardant crowned or*; sinister: a *dragon gules*.²⁷

The *Corpus* of Edward's arms examined here may seem to be just a footnote to a monarch who reigned only briefly and has been cast into the shadows by his far more famous, and, perhaps, notorious father and sister. This *Corpus* nevertheless helps reinforce the variable characteristics of monarchs' arms in Tudor England. These achievements also show that there was a coherent and consistent phrasing of Edward's arms at some point in his reign. We can, for example, see how this *Corpus*' visual phrasing and characteristics relate directly to the armorials incorporated within upper and lower borders of the first edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*, published

²⁷ See also Peter N. Lindfield, "Heraldic Depictions of Royal Continuity," *The Society for Court Studies International Quarterly Newsletter* Spring (2021), pp. 4–6.

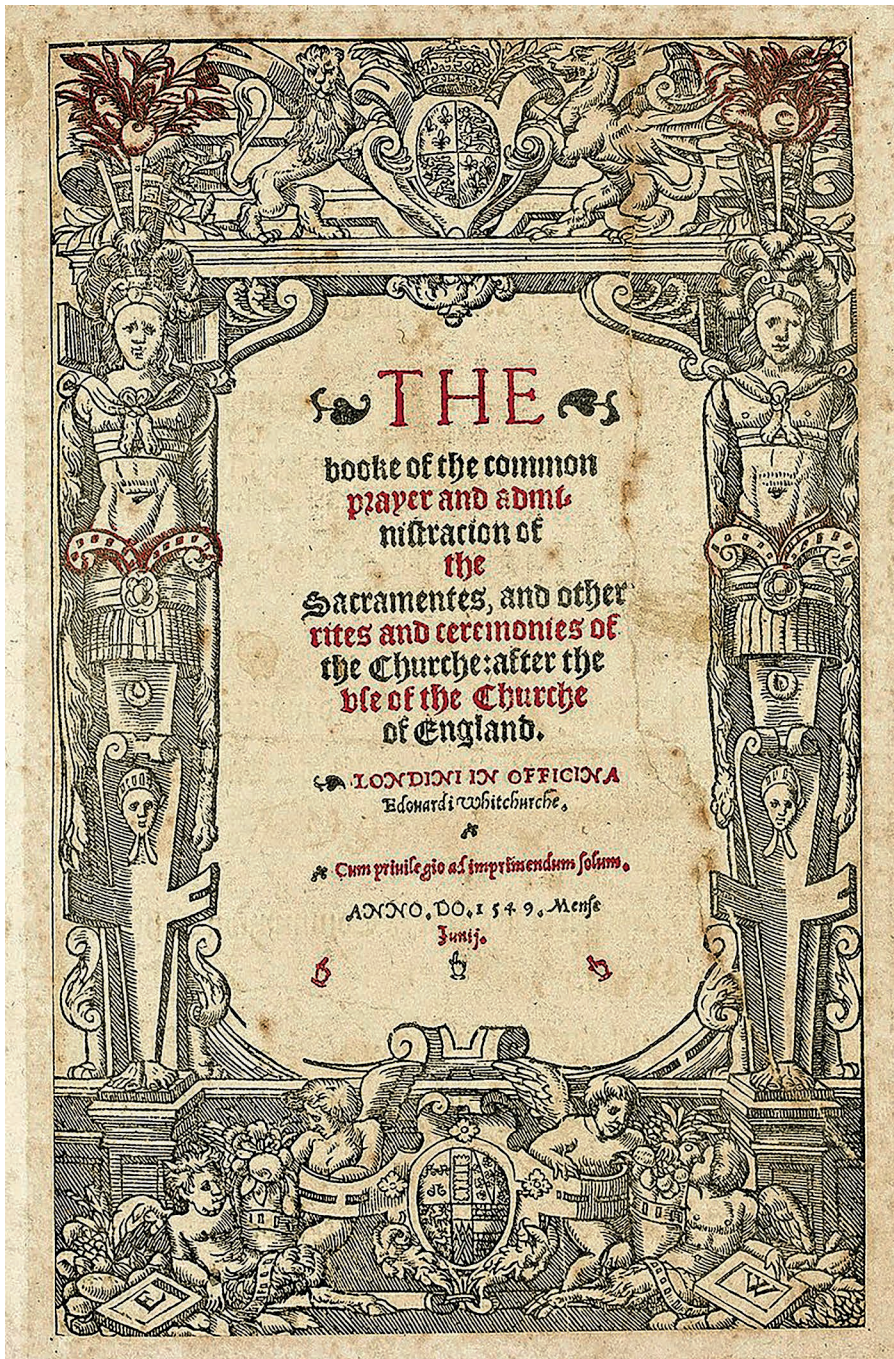


Figure 14: Title page to *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549). Image in the Public Domain.

ARMS OF EDWARD VI

in 1549 (**Figure 14**). Its upper border (**Figure 15a**) depicts the royal arms with an uncrowned lion supporter, which offers a competing presentation of Edward's arms compared with the crowned lion supporter on the coin depicted in Figure 4 above. The dragon supporter, however, remains in profile, and its wing does not adopt the very distinct strapwork-like scrolled appearance seen in this *Corpus*. The lower border's achievement (**Figure 15b**) of the arms of Queen Catherine Parr (who published her own book of *Prayers and Meditations* in 1545, and died in 1548) is of relevance in that the disposition of the surrounding strapwork is *en suite* with the style of the decoration essayed by this *Corpus*. *The Book of Common Prayer* may not be the *Corpus*' model, but, nevertheless, it illustrates how the royal achievements discussed in this essay are not entirely unprecedented in comparison with the heraldry found on coins minted during his kingship. Hopefully this analysis will bring more examples from this *Corpus* to light in the future.

APPENDIX

Corpus' currently known members

- 1: Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire: photographed achievement (now lost) installed on the house's principal staircase hall in 1892, perhaps ex royal collection? (Figure 5).
- 2: Combermere Abbey, Cheshire: achievement in-situ and installed in the Library's overmantel (Figure 7).
- 3: Plas Newydd ('New House'), Llangollen, Denbighshire: achievement in-situ and installed on the door leading from the Hall to the Parlour (Figure 8).
- 4: Square panel, ex-Roger Warner Collection, sold by Christie's, London, in January 2009: listed as 'a Henry VIII carved-oak relief of the Tudor coat-of-arms' c.1540 (Figure 10a).
- 5: Achievement installed in a tester bed's headboard panelling, sold by Bonhams Skinner, Marlborough, Massachusetts, USA, in 2020 (Figure 12c, 13).

Tangentially related examples

- A: 'relief carved armorial panel. English. Oak, late sixteenth century', included in Victor Chinnery's *Oak Furniture: The British Tradition* (Figure 11a).
- B: 'a papier-maché armorial panel of the Tudor royal arms' sold by Christie's, London, in 2008 (Figure 11b).
- C: Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire: overmantel installation (Figure 12a).

THE COAT OF ARMS

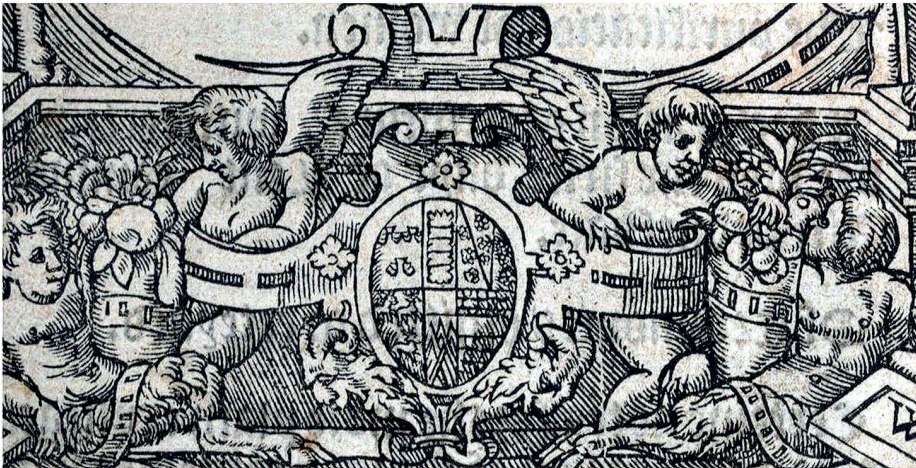
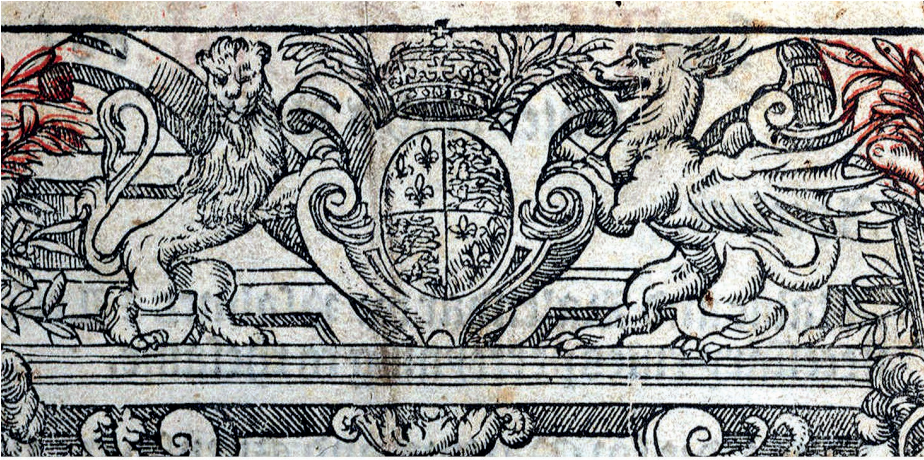


Figure 15: Top, 15a: Detail of the upper border from the title page to *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549); Bottom, 15b: the lower border of the same with the arms of Queen Catherine Parr. Images in the Public Domain.

LADY ISABEL VERNON AND THE LOST ARMS OF HARCLAY

PAUL A. FOX, F.H.S., A.I.H.

Abstract

The recent discovery of the seal matrix of Isabel de Vernon, and the online publication of her heraldic psalter, have prompted this new investigation of the arms of the Harclay family, from whence Isabel sprang. It is evident that her family used two different arms, one based on the cross of St George, and the other based on the three escallops of the Dacre family. The latter are not recorded in any armorials, and might thus be described as lost. The background to this dichotomy is explored.

Introduction

The house of Harclay (Harcla or Hartcla) was established at Dalston in Cumberland by the reign of King Henry I, and later constructed a castle at a place called High-head there. The surname came from the manor of Hartley in the parish of Kirby Stephen in Westmorland, where the Harclays also constructed a castle, this being a very dangerous region as a consequence of its proximity to Scotland. During the reign of Edward I the head of this family, Sir Michael de Hartcla (d.1311), rose to singular prominence by serving as sheriff of Cumberland for fully thirteen years, from 1285 to 1298, having earlier been deputy sheriff of Westmorland in 1276–7. He served in the Scottish Wars, and with his wife Joan had six sons and two married daughters.¹

The eldest son and heir William Harcla (named as such in 1278) was imprisoned on a charge of murder in 1286 (of which more later), served militarily at Falkirk in 1298, and thereafter disappears from view. The family lands were divided between the younger brothers Andrew and John by their father Michael, with Sir John Harcla (d. 1322) receiving High-head and Sir Andrew receiving Harclay.² Andrew went on to cover himself in glory in July and August 1315 while serving as sheriff of Cumberland (a position held from 1311, and which he went on to retain for most of the time until his death), when he successfully defended the city of Carlisle from a major siege by Robert de Brus (the future king), who was a particularly dangerous opponent, having himself previously served as sheriff of Cumberland and constable of Carlisle. For this service Edward II rewarded Harcla with 1000 marks, and his mailed figure bearing his distinctive arms was drawn conspicuously above the first capital of the royal charter granted to Carlisle the following year (**Figure 1**).

Sir Andrew performed an even greater service for Edward II in 1322, when on 16th–17th March he led an army which defeated and captured the king's enemy

¹ The sons were William (the eldest), the next two were Andrew and John (their order of precedence difficult to determine, but Andrew was probably the third son), Master Michael, Master Henry and Sir James. The married daughters were Isabel and Sarah.

² George Wrottesley, *Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls* (London, 1905) p. 67; John held land in four counties: *CIPM* 1317–27, no. 378.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 1: Detail of Sir Andrew de Harcla wielding a spear on the battlements of Carlisle from the charter of Edward II to the city of Carlisle in 1312. Source: TCWAAS vol. 6 (1883), p. 319.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in the Battle of Boroughbridge. The following week a delighted monarch belted him as Earl of Carlisle, with a grant of lands worth 1,500 marks a year.³ Fatefully, just before Boroughbridge, Edward II had issued Harcla with a commission to treat for final peace with Robert de Brus, but it was not until in January 1323 that he met with the Scottish king at Lochmaben and concluded a peace treaty on terms that were very favourable to England.⁴ Upon hearing of it the English king moved swiftly to eliminate Harcla, who was arrested for treasonable discourse with the enemy, and executed without trial at Carlisle on 3rd March 1323, receiving the full traitor's death. Like Icarus he had been borne aloft by his wings of fame, but had flown too close to the sun. Five years later his sister Sarah, following the death of her husband Robert de Layburne of Cunswick, was granted permission to retrieve the quarter of Sir Andrew which was still hanging from the walls of Carlisle Castle, and to give it burial.

³ GEC vol. 3, p. 31.

⁴ John Mason, 'Sir Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlisle', in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (hereinafter TCWAAS), vol. 29 (1929), pp. 98–137.

The arms of Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlisle

It is now time to consider the singular arms borne by Andrew de Harcla, *Argent a cross gules and in dexter chief a martlet sable*. They are recorded in a number of contemporary rolls of arms, dating from between 1300 and 1309, as well as on the 1316 charter illustrated in Figure 1.⁵ In the *Parliamentary Roll* his arms are recorded together (consecutively) with those of his father, *Argent a cross gules*. In the *DBA* this roll is given the date c.1312, but its arms appear to have been collected in the period 1306–9.⁶ The arms of the head of the family were identical to those of St George, which warrants explanation. It was King Edward I who popularised the veneration of the warrior St George, having brought this interest back with him from his participation in the Ninth Crusade, of 1271–2. He utilised banners of St George on his military campaigns, and his knights bore the cross of St George on their ailettes to mark themselves out as English.⁷

This development must have placed the Harclas in a quandary. It is not likely that the family arms were adopted during the reign of Edward I because of that monarch's use of the arms to represent St George. The implication is that they were in use by the family prior to the 1270s. While such usage entitled them to continue to bear the arms, they had ceased to be distinctive and personal, a bit like a Scot wearing the Royal Stuart tartan today. This was not a problem for Sir Andrew since his arms were duly differenced, and it seems that he continued to bear the same arms on becoming the de facto head of the family, when his brother John died leaving a son who was only a minor. The martlet was generally thought of as a suitable cadency mark for a younger son who would not expect to inherit land from his father. Since the martlet had no feet (according to popular belief) it could not land on the ground. This is how our understanding of the Harcla arms stood at the time of the discovery by a metal detectorist of the seal matrix of Isabel de Vernon in 2018.

Lady Isabel de Vernon

Sir Michael de Harcla secured the betrothal of his daughter Isabel to Gilbert le Fraunceys (1263–1330), the son and heir of Richard le Fraunceys, whose mother was the Vernon heiress Avis de Vernon. It was a great match as both the Vernon and Fraunceys families were considerable landowners. Richard died suddenly in early 1278 and Michael moved swiftly to marry his daughter to the fourteen-year-old Gilbert Francis (as we would call him today). This caused the ire of Edward I, who directed that Sir Michael appear before him immediately to explain why he had married his daughter to the heir of one of his tenants-in-chief without having first sought royal sanction.⁸ Gilbert was the heir to extensive property in four counties, including Haddon Hall in Derbyshire,

⁵ Gerard Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I, Asplologia III*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, p. 215: specifically the Nativity Roll of c.1300, the First Dunstable Roll of 1308, and the Parliamentary Roll. The Dunstable Roll appears to have been recorded in blazon, and martlet has been misread as mullet.

⁶ Paul A. Fox, 'Rolls of Arms', in Nigel Ramsay (ed.), *Heralds and Heraldry in Medieval England*, forthcoming.

⁷ D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, 'The Display of arms in their primary martial contexts', *CoA* no. 235 (2018) pp. 218–257 at pp. 256–7.

⁸ *CIPM* 1272–1291, no. 246.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 2: Seal matrix of Isabel de Vernon with a computer generated seal impression. Portable Antiquities Scheme LANCUM 1BD7C9.

Pitchcott in Buckinghamshire, Harlaston in Staffordshire, and Mauld's Meaburn (with much else besides) in Westmorland. He adopted the surname Vernon and a differenced version of the long-established arms of this great Norman family, *Argent fretty sable*, to which he added a canton gules.

In 1286 Richard was accused of inciting the murder of a neighbour, in which Sir Michael de Harcla's eldest son William was said to have been a direct participant. It was further charged that William de Harcla had been sheltered by his sheriff father.⁹ Isabel de Clifford, who in her widowhood had become the sheriff of Westmorland, intervened on behalf of her tenants Michael de Harcla and Richard de Vernon in order to have the case tried out of county, thus securing their acquittal.¹⁰ The eldest son of Richard and Isabel, Richard de Vernon (d.1323) was married by 1290 to Eleanor, daughter of Giles Fiennes; he married as his second wife Maud de Camville, in 1309. Maud was the mother of Gilbert and Isabel's grandson and heir William, who was born c. 1313. The year 1323 was a terrible one for Isabel, marking both the death of her eldest son and the gruesome execution of her brother Andrew. She had left various valuables with him for safekeeping at Carlisle castle, among them various items of knightly apparel, including a silk horse trapping and a pennon, which were confiscated on his attainder.¹¹

Isabel's seal matrix (**Figure 2**) was discovered in proximity to her manor of Maulds Meaburn, and is a fascinating item.¹² It is a variation on a common format for the seals

⁹ Frederick W. Ragg, 'Mauld's Meaburn, le Fraunceys and de Hastings', *TWCAAS*, NS, vol. 11 (1911), pp. 321–41.

¹⁰ Alexa Sand, 'Cele heure memes: An Eccentric English Psalter-Hours in the Huntington Library', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2 (Summer 2012), pp. 171–211.

¹¹ Constance M. Fraser, 'Four Cumberland Widows' in the 14th century', in *TWCAAS* vol. 64 (1964) pp. 130–7, citing TNA SC8/259/12914, also published in *Surtees Society* vol. 194 (1981), pp. 115–7. There is nothing to suggest that she was present in the castle at the time when her brother was executed.

¹² P.A.S. LANCUM 1BD7C9. This is now in the possession of Marymount University in Los Angeles, CA.

LOST ARMS OF HARCLAY



Figure 3: Seal of Michael de Harcla, 1318, Durham Seals no. 1188, with the gracious permission of Durham Cathedral Library. Outlines of escallops are highlighted in the right hand image.

of noblewomen in which the lady is shown standing between the arms of her husband and her father, typically with the arms outstretched to touch them. In this case the arms of her husband are absent, and we unexpectedly have what can only be her paternal arms in the surprising form of *Three escallops*. In the place where her husband's arms might have been we see a male bust in profile. The implication is that we have here the seal of a widow who holds her deceased husband in veneration. There is also the widow's consolation in the form of a pet animal, which the author of the provisional report on the seal to the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* proposed to be a squirrel, but the animal depicted seems disproportionately large to be a squirrel. Moreover, to the medieval mind the vulgar sexual metaphor to 'crack a nut' would have been evoked by combining a lady with a squirrel¹³: hardly suitable for an elderly matron. A pet dog seems more likely.

The discovery of the seal matrix raised the necessity to review any seal evidence for Isabel's father, and among the Vernon deeds at Belvoir Castle is his armorial seal appended to a quitclaim from Michael de Harcla to his son-in-law Sir Richard de Vernon, knight, concerning the manors of Haddon in Derbyshire and Appleby in Leicestershire dated 10th July 1302. This seal is charged with *Three escallops*.¹⁴ The same collection has a fine example of the seal of Sir Richard de Vernon, *Fretty a canton*, appended to a deed of 1302–3.¹⁵ Michael de Harcla also possessed an equestrian seal, which was inherited by his priestly younger son Michael, who in 1318 appended an impression of

¹³ Malcolm Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 57–8.

¹⁴ *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle* 4 vols (H.M.C. London, 1888–1905), vol. 4 p. 28. On the preceding page is a document of 1242 relating to the execution of the will of Sir William de Vernon, knight, by his brother Robert de Vernon and others, Robert being the father of Hawise de Vernon who married Gilbert le Fraunceys.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 29.



Figure 4: Kneeling figure presumed to be Lady Isabel de Vernon from her psalter, with her paternal escallop arms of Harcla and the arms of an unknown religious foundation. Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17, f. 175v.

it to a receipt for a corrody from the Prior of Durham.¹⁶ The official catalogue describes both the shield and the horse trappings as bearing three undecipherable charges. The authors feel that elements of multiple escallops can be discerned, even though the seal is small and the impression is sub-optimal (**Figure 3**). The improbability of a priest commissioning an equestrian seal points strongly to it having been made for the father.

In 1331 the recently widowed Isabel de Vernon claimed dower from the manor of Pitchcott in Leicestershire from her grandson Richard, as did Maud, the widow of her son.¹⁷ Isabel was still living in 1348 when she was in receipt of dower from the manor of Rockcliffe in Cumberland.¹⁸ In addition to the effigy on her seal we see Isabel depicted in an attitude of prayer (**Figure 4**) in the psalter which she donated to the Cistercian nunnery at Hampole, near Doncaster in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is to this key document and its heraldry that we must now turn.

The Vernon Psalter

This beautiful object, now in the Huntington Library in California, contains in its marginalia fifteen coats of arms of the friends and family members of Isabella and her husband, including one probable religious house.¹⁹ Three of these are variants on *Three escallops*, of which one is the only shield in the manuscript to have been painted twice, *Per pale gules and argent three escallops, two and one, counterchanged* (**Figure 5a**). This occurs on the pivotal page with the vignette of Isabella kneeling in prayer before a Virgin and Child while turning the pages of her psalter. With high confidence these must be her personal arms, those which she inherited from her father. The second instance of the same arms is on a folio which includes the arms *Gules three escallops, two and one, ermine* (**Figure 5b**). This is very close to the arms of the important family of Dacre who were neighbours of Harclay, and who bore *Gules three escallops argent*. The conversion of the escallops to ermine might be expected in a cadet of the Dacre house, but such usage is not attested.

There are three possible explanations for Sir Michael de Harcla's adoption of the scallop arms. The first would be that he was just copying a popular local motif; the second would be feudal cadency, and the third would be descent from the house of Dacre. The second explanation can be quickly eliminated as the Harclas were feudal tenants of the Cliffords, not the Dacres. While the first explanation cannot be ruled out, the third has greater merit. There are many medieval examples of families adopting secondary arms based on maternal descents, which sometimes became what have come to be known as 'shields of peace'. Sir Michael was not drawing upon the arms of his wife Joan, who was the daughter of the William FitzJohn.²⁰ Is there any evidence to support a Dacre descent?

¹⁶ Durham Seals no. 1188 and Durham Cathedral Misc Ch. 4599. The legend reads ..ichaelis d(e) Hartc.

¹⁷ VCH Bucks, vol. 4, pp. 89–91 gives a detailed account of the Vernon ownership of Pitchcott, which should be read alongside William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, 3 vols (London, 1923–4), vol. 2 p. 278.

¹⁸ T.H.B. Graham, 'Rockcliff', in *TCWAAS*, vol. 24 (1924), p. 65.

¹⁹ Huntington Library, San Marino CA, MS EL 9 H17.

²⁰ Henry Summerson, 'Andrew Harclay, earl of Carlisle (c.1270–1323)' *New DNB*, Dr Summerson kindly informed me that the source for Joan's parentage was TNA CP40/244 Rot. 32d from the Michaelmas legal term 1322. He concluded from this case that Joan's father, William son of John, was a Yorkshireman. This source has been accessed, for more of which see below.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 5: Arms from the Vernon Psalter: left, 5a: arms of Sir Michael de Harcla f. 85v; right, 5b: putative arms of Master Henry de Harcla. Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17.

There is certainly evidence of a close and amicable connection between the Harcla and Dacre families which might have been a consequence of cousinship. Thus far we have not yet encountered Isabel's brother Master Henry de Harcla, an Oxford scholar who went on to study in Paris, before becoming Chancellor of Oxford University from 1312 until his death in 1317. In 1296 Henry was installed as rector of Dacre through the nomination of the then head of the Dacre family, Sir William de Dacre.²¹ The next head of the Dacre family, Sir Ranulph, went on to exchange property in Westmorland with another brother of Isabel, Master Michael de Harcla, in February 1323, in an agreement signed at High-head. The castle of High-head was at this time no longer in the hands of Sir John de Harcla, since on his death in 1322 it had passed in wardship to his brother Sir Andrew. Following Andrew's attainder Sir Ranulph de Dacre was granted possession.²²

The arms *Gules three escalloped ermine* in the Vernon Psalter did not belong to either Sir William or his son Sir Ranulph de Dacre, and Master Henry must be considered as a strong candidate to have been the bearer. Isabel included the arms of her famous brother Sir Andrew in the psalter, and it would be surprising had she not also included the arms of her equally eminent brother, Master Henry. An additional reason for supposing these to have been the arms of Master Henry is that there was an obvious contemporary example for him to follow in the guise of a clerical figure who was much admired in the north for his military prowess: Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham (d.1311). Bek, who had accompanied his friend the Prince Edward on the Ninth Crusade, adopted as his arms *Gules a cross moline ermine*. His brothers adopted similar arms, including the eldest brother and family head John de Bek, who bore *Gules a cross moline argent*. In the

²¹ *The register of John de Halton, bishop of Carlisle, A.D. 1292–1324*, 2 vols. (Canterbury & York Society, 1913), vol. 1, p. 85; the same register records his ordination as priest in 1298, on p. 108.

²² Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The history and antiquities of the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1777), vol. 2, p. 319.



Figure 6: Arms from the Vernon Psalter: Left, 6a: banner of Sir Andrew de Harcla from f. 61r; right, 6b: arms of Sir Richard Goldsborough from f. 85v. Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17.

Bek family it is probable that the bishop took the lead in the adoption of arms. Family members sought to enhance their own prestige by vaunting their relationship with the great man of the family.

We know that Sir Michael de Harcla was using his new arms by 1302, notwithstanding the fact that his original arms went on to be recorded in the Parliamentary Roll. The arms of St George were becoming unsatisfactory, and so he adopted a version of what are likely to have been his maternal arms. Possibly Master Henry took the lead by adopting his own version of the Dacre arms after he became rector of Dacre in 1296.

The fourth Harcla coat in the Psalter, that of Sir Andrew Harcla, with its St George cross and martlet, has been altered from a shield to a banner (**Figure 6a**). Alexa Sand, in her detailed analysis of the Psalter²³, was under the impression that this change could only have occurred after Andrew was belted as an earl in 1322, but as a leader of the army he is likely to have acquired the status of a banneret long before this time, having been made a warden of the Scottish March and subsequently, in 1315, entrusted with the defence of Carlisle, for which he was placed in command not just of foot soldiers but also of other knights.

The sequence of the fifteen shields, as listed in the appendix, begins with the three lions of England and the arms of St Edward the Confessor, following which around 20 folios later, in what Sand has identified as the position of honour, are the arms of Sir Richard Vernon together with those of his son Richard (**Figure 7**). The latter are differenced with a

²³ Ref 10.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 7: Arms from the Vernon Psalter: Left: arms of Sir Richard Vernon the husband of Isabel de Vernon; right: arms of their son Sir Richard Vernon the younger with a martlet for difference. Both from Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17, f. 61r.

martlet argent on the canton in proud emulation of the example of his military hero uncle, Sir Andrew Harcla. The strength of Vernon's admiration for Sir Andrew was sufficient to overcome the disinclination of an eldest son to use the martlet as a mark of cadency.

The only shield which has been painted with its own page (as opposed to being paired with another shield) in the Psalter is that of Sir Roger de Clifford (d. 1282), *Checky or and azure on a fess gules three cinquefoils argent* (Figure 8). It seems almost certain that the arms are being used here to commemorate Sir Roger's wife Isabel de Clifford (d.1292), rather than the knight himself. We have already seen how in 1296 Isabel worked to save both Sir Richard de Vernon and Sir Michael de Harcla from a serious charge, being their feudal overlord, notably at Harclay castle.²⁴ The cinquefoils were Roger Clifford's cadency mark as the eldest son during his father's lifetime, but he predeceased his father, tragically drowning in the Menai Straits. The shield has been most carefully placed next to the Latin words for 'justice' and 'truth' in the text, a juxtaposition that would have been fully appreciated by family members.²⁵

A number of the shields in the Psalter belong to knights who were present in the Scottish campaign of 1301 in which Sir Richard de Vernon served. These are firstly Sir Richard Goldsborough of Goldsborough in Yorkshire, *Vert* (usually azure) *a cross patonce argent*,²⁶ the colour of whose arms has likely corrupted from azure to vert with

²⁴ Sand, op. cit.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 190.

²⁶ DBA, vol. 3, pp. 142–3, 146, 149. Sand tentatively attributed these arms to Sir Richard Vernon's paternal line of Franceys, based on the fact that in Urswick Church the tomb of Amicia le Franceys (d. c. 1300), a possible relation, bears a floriated cross and pair of shears. This is however, not in a heraldic context and the floriated cross has been described as 'one of the most familiar of all devices on medieval tombstones in England': TCWAAS, vol. 2 (1893), p. 317.



Figure 8: Arms of Isabel de Clifford, Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17, f. 129v.

the passage of time (**Figure 6b**); secondly, Adam de Gurdon (d.1305) of Wilts and Hants, whose arms *Gules three fleurs de lis argent* are based on those of the Cantilupe family, of which he was a retainer²⁷ (**Figure 9b**); and thirdly, Hugh Lord Pointz (d.1308) who was in dispute with Sir Brian Fitzalan of Bedale (d.1302) for using the same arms *Barry or and gules* (**Figure 9a**). They are ascribed here to Pointz because Fitzalan did not coincide with Sir Richard Vernon on campaign in Scotland, whereas Pointz was there throughout the whole period of 1298–1303.²⁸ As Isabel and her husband resided in the far north, they would have had the opportunity to entertain his military friends on their way to and from the sphere of action.

The remaining three shields do not appear in any armorials, but they almost certainly include those of the two otherwise missing grandparents, those of Franceys for Sir Richard Vernon's father, and of FitzJohn for Isabel Harcla's mother.²⁹ Of these, it is very tempting to link the unidentified arms *Lozengy or and gules a canton argent, overall a bendlet sable* (**Figure 9c**) with the obscure Yorkshire family of FitzJohn. In 1322 Sir Andrew de Harcla claimed seven messuages, 22 acres of arable and six acres of pasture at Burton in Bishopdale (now Burton-cum-Walden) in the Yorkshire Dales, which had been held by his mother Joan, daughter of William son of John.³⁰

²⁷ Brault, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 210; *DBA*, vol. 4, p. 29.

²⁸ Rev. Charles Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, 5 vols. (London, 1929–32), vol. 2, p. 29, and vol. 4, p. 89; *DBA*, vol. 1, p. 88–9. We have here *Barry of six gules and or*, but the difference between the two would not have been recognised at the time, and the number of bars might also vary. Sir John de St Owen was ascribed *Barry of six gules and or* c. 1285 but subsequently changed his arms, most likely because of the similarity with Fitzalan and Pointz; and he did not coincide with Sir Richard Vernon in Scotland.

²⁹ There is no link with the major tenant-in-chief Richard Fitz John (d.1297), of whom, by a curious coincidence, Isabel de Clifford (d.1292) was a niece and coheir in her descendants, see Farrer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 306; Pedigree in *GEC*, vol. 5, p. 437; *CIPM 1291–1300*, no. 422.

³⁰ See note 20.

THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 9: Arms from the Vernon Psalter: left, 9a: arms of Hugh Lord Pointz f. 97v; centre, 9b: arms of Adam de Gurdon f. 97v; right, 9c: arms perhaps belonging to FitzJohn f. 113v. Huntington Library, San Marino, California MS EL 9 H17, f. 129v.

In citing Joan's parentage the implication is that the lands had been her inheritance, a somewhat larger holding of three bovates (roughly 45 acres) having been held there by her husband Sir Michael de Harcla at the time of *Kirkby's Inquest* from the heirs of Thomas de Burgh, as part of the Honour of Richmond.³¹ The epithet 'son of John' is challenging to trace with any certainty; there are occurrences of William son of John in all three Ridings of Yorkshire.³²

Lozengy arms were uncommon, and in Yorkshire the notable thirteenth-century exemplar was that of the FitzWilliam family of Sprotborough which bore *Lozengy argent and gules*. The arms in the Psalter have two marks of difference: a canton and a bendlet. *Lozengy or and gules a canton ermine* was recorded in Glover's Roll of c. 1255–58 for John de Neville of Laceby in Lincolnshire³³ but published pedigrees reveal no connection between this family and that of FitzJohn.³⁴ Lady Isabel Vernon's gift of her psalter to Hampole Priory is intriguing because by implication this Cistercian nunnery was either close to a place where she regularly resided, or she had some ancestral connection with it. The priory was not only very close to Sprotborough, but

³¹ R.H. Skaife (ed.), *The Survey of the County of York taken by John de Kirkby* (Surtees Society vol. 99, 1866), p. 151.

³² A man of this name held three bovates in Harwood in 1264, four tofts at Hunmanby in 1297, and was linked to Saxton and Towton in 1269, Sneaton in 1290 and Drax in the reign of Henry III. Harwood, Saxton, Towton and Drax are in the West Riding, Sneaton in the North Riding, and Hunmanby in the East Riding, see William Brown (ed.) *Yorkshire Inquisitions vol. 1* (Yorkshire Record Soc vol. 12, 1892), pp. 95–6, 110, 124, 126; *Yorkshire Inquisitions vol. 2* (Yorks. Rec. Soc. vol. 23, 1898), p. 98; *Yorkshire Inquisitions vol. 3* (Yorks. Rec. Soc. vol. 31, 1902), p. 67. Of these Hunmanby is the most intriguing as here the feudal overlord was Robert de Tateshall, who also held at Burton in Bishopdale.

³³ *DBA*, vol. 2, p.229; Hugh Stanford London, 'Glover's Roll', in *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, (London, 1967), p. 149.

³⁴ W.O. Massingbird, 'Lincolnshire Neville Families', in *The Genealogist*, New series, vol. 27 (London, 1911), pp. 1–7.

LOST ARMS OF HARCLAY

had actually been founded by ancestors of the Fitzwilliam family, who remained as patrons of it.³⁵ Just possibly Isabel was descended from a forgotten cadet branch the FitzWilliams. The latter family did not settle on a fixed surname until the fourteenth century, using instead a series of different patronymics.³⁶

The arms *Argent a sword in bend gules* next to the kneeling figure of Isabel de Vernon are probably those of her favourite religious foundation. Sand believed she had identified them as Kilpeck in Herefordshire from Papworth, but here the sword would be sable, and unfortunately the attribution of these arms has been lost.³⁷

APPENDIX

The coats of arms in the Vernon Psalter

f. 42r side: *Azure a cross pattée between five martlets or*: **St Edward the Confessor**.

f. 42r bottom: *Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or*: **England**.

f. 61r side: *Argent fretty sable a canton gules*: **Sir Richard de Vernon** (d. 1330).

f. 61r bottom: *Argent fretty sable, on a canton gules a martlet argent*: **Sir Richard de Vernon the younger** (d. 1323).

f. 73v side: *Gules three escallops two and one ermine*: query **Master Henry de Harcla** (d. 1317).

f. 73v bottom: *Per pale gules and argent three escallops counterchanged*: **Sir Michael de Harcla** (d. 1310).

f. 85v upper side: *Argent a cross gules and in dexter canton a martlet sable*, on a banner: **Sir Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlisle** (d. 1323).

f. 85v lower side: *Vert (recte azure) a cross pantonce argent*: **Sir Richard Goldsborough** (d. after 1324).

f. 97v upper side: *Barry of six gules and or*: **Hugh Lord Pointz** (d. 1308).

f. 97v lower side: *Gules three fleurs de lis argent*: **Adam de Gurdon** (d. 1305).

f. 113v upper side: *Lozengy gules and or a canton argent, overall a bendlet sable*: **Unidentified**, query **FitzJohn of Yorkshire**.

f. 113v lower side: *Argent two chevrons sable and in chief two roses gules*: **Unidentified**, but very similar to the later arms of William of Wykeham, who bore an additional rose. Query by exclusion the arms of **Franceys**.

f. 129v side: *Checky or and azure on a fess gules three cinquefoils argent*: **Sir Roger de Clifford** (d. 1282).

f. 175v upper side: *Per pale gules and argent three escallops counterchanged*: **Sir Michael de Harcla**.

f. 175v lower side: *Argent a sword in bend gules, point downwards*: **Unidentified** religious foundation.

³⁵ Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), vol. 5, p. 487, charter no. 3; *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 213–5.

³⁶ W. Pailey Baildon, *Baildon and the Baildons*, 3 vols (N.P., 1912–1927), vol. 1, pp. 343–54.

³⁷ *Papworth* p. 1102. The author would like to thank Dr Nigel Ramsay for commenting on the first draft of this paper; and, for their assistance with seals: Mike Harkness at Durham Cathedral Library, Victoria Perry, the archivist at Belvoir Castle, and Margie Burnet, archivist at Haddon Hall. This investigation would not have begun without the relentless prompting and indefatigable enthusiasm of longstanding Heraldry Society member Major Nicholas Musgrave.

A MEDIEVAL STONE CROSS BASE IN THE CHURCHYARD OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN, SOUTHERY, BEARING THE ARMS OF STOKE

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.S.A., F.H.S.

Abstract

A report of a rare fifteenth-century armorial cross base from Southery in Norfolk, the heraldry of which has not been previously noted. Its probable donor is identified as the archdeacon of the diocese under which the church fell.

Introduction

Southery, a village on the southern part of an island on the edge of the Norfolk fens,¹ has two churches, one medieval and ruined, the other Victorian and standing. A recently published survey of church heraldry in the Norfolk Deaneries of Fincham and Feltwell,² lists both the old and the new parish churches as ‘Churches where no heraldry could be found’. This short note describes an extant but overlooked object of some heraldic and religious significance, a medieval armorial limestone cross base, and is intended to supplement the minimal entry in an otherwise comprehensive publication.

Location, description, and history

A medieval cross base now stands around five metres to the north of the porch of the new church of St Mary the Virgin, Southery (built in 1858), adjacent to the path to the church. The base comprises a single block of limestone³ carved to form a pedestal with chamfered stop-angles and a square mortice hole for the missing cross shaft (**Figure 1**). This form of square socketed stone with stop angles is generally ascribed to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.⁴

The pedestal is 72 cm square, 60 cm high, and has a 30 cm square mortice hole in the upper face. The north face of the base is undecorated. The remaining three faces each bear a shield carved in counter relief. That on the east face is armorial, 20 cm wide

¹ The villages of Southery, to the south, and Hilgay, to the north, stand on a roughly figure-of-eight shaped ridge comprising an outcrop of Kimmeridge clay, with other Jurassic rocks including Sandringham sands capped by deposits of glaciofluvial drift and chalky till, surrounded by peat on the Norfolk fen edge (R.J. Silvester *The Fenland Project, Number 4, The Wissey Embayment and the Fen Causeway* East Anglian Archaeology 52 (Gressenhall, 1991), p. 74.

² C. Cockerill, T. Cockerill, and R.J. Meeds *Heraldry in Norfolk Churches: 12 Fincham and Feltwell Deaneries* (undated, c. 2020), p. 105.

³ Probably from the quarries at Barnack, Cambridgeshire. See D. Purcell, *Cambridge Stone* (London, 1967), pp. 29–34.

⁴ Most Norfolk square pedestals have stop angles, see M.W. Burgess *A Survey of Medieval (and earlier) Freestanding Crosses in Norfolk* (June 2020 (published online at www.hiddeneia.com)), pp. 4–5, and examples at p. 19 (Clenchwarton), p. 22 (Croxtan), p. 24 (Downham Market), p. 25 (Dunton), etc.

A MEDIEVAL STONE CROSS



Figure 1: The medieval stone cross base at Southery. Photograph by the author.

and 23 cm high,⁵ and is discussed below. The other two shields are blank and probably unfinished.⁶

The earliest record of the cross base known to the writer is a drawing attributed to Rev. James Bulwer, now in the collections of the Castle Museum, Norwich (**Figure 2**).⁷ The drawing, executed in pencil and wash, shows the stone at a slightly oblique angle with a carved armorial shield occupying the main face. The arms on the shield are depicted as *Barry of eight a chevron over all* (see below). A blank shield is shown on the oblique view of the face on the left-hand side, and there is a square mortice in the upper face. To the right of the drawing is a cursive inscription on two lines: *Southrey. 1849*.⁸

The drawing was made around nine years before the new church and churchyard were completed. The base is said to have been moved to the new churchyard from

⁵ These dimensions exclude the surrounding groove.

⁶ The shields are centred on each face but set at different heights. The tops of the shields are respectively (east, south, west) 10 cm, 6.5 cm and 17 cm below the top of the pedestal. The shield on the south face is 20 cm wide and 23 cm high. The shield on the west face is 20 cm wide and 22 cm high, with the surrounding groove unfinished and not joined but stopping short just beyond both angles at the incomplete upper edge.

⁷ Accession number: NWHCM:1954.138.Todd15.Clackclose.128. Rev. James Bulwer (1794–1879) was a member of the Norwich School of Painters and friend of John Sell Cotman, with whom he went on sketching expeditions (A. Moore *The Norwich School of Painters* (London, 1995), pp. 81 and 93).

⁸ Employing the alternative variant spelling of Southery.

THE COAT OF ARMS

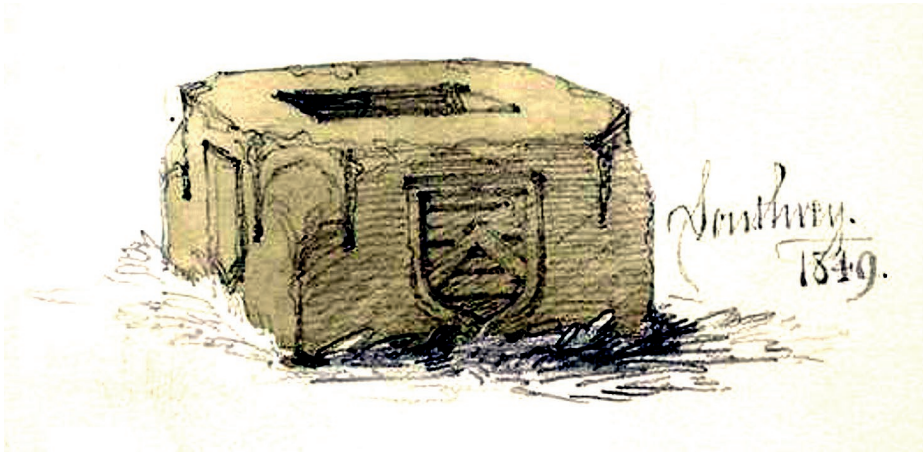


Figure 2: Drawing, ‘Stone Carving, Southery 1849’ attributed to the Rev James Bulwer (1794–1879) pencil and wash on paper, 8.9 cm x 13.3 cm. (NWHCM : 1954.138.Todd15.Clackclose.128).

that of the old church of St Mary, of which the ruins still stand (**Figure 3a**).⁹ The old church is around 150 metres to the north-east of the new church, and it was there that Bulwer was likely to have made the drawing. The base is not recorded in Blomefield,¹⁰ but some armorial monuments in the old church are, the most notable of which is a gravestone formerly visible in the pavement of the nave (by the pulpit), set with a brass armorial shield and plate, inscribed thus:

Here lyeth the wife¹¹ of William Stokes, late of Wyverstone in the county of Suffolk, gent. she departed the 11th day of February, An. Dni. 1639, aged 81 years.

The arms on the accompanying shield were blazoned: *Barry of ten argent and gules a chevron over all or*.¹² These seventeenth-century arms on the (lost) monument for Stokes match those of the finished shield on the cross base (the cross stylistically of fourteenth or fifteenth-century date) excepting that the medieval example has only eight bars.

⁹ The church was drawn by Robert Ladbrooke (1769–1842), an English landscape painter who, along with John Crome, founded the Norwich School of painters. His *Views of the Churches of Norfolk*, a series of 677 lithographic plates, was published in five volumes in 1843 (Moore, op. cit., p. 47). For a description of the extant ruins see N. Batcock *The Ruined and Disused Churches of Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 51 (1991), pp. 8, 51, Plate XI. The ruins of the old church at Southery will be familiar to devotees of W.H. Barret’s *Tales from the Fens* as the setting for ‘The Legend of the Southery Wolfhound’, ed. E. Porter (London, 1963), pp. 136–39.

¹⁰ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols (London, 1807), vol. 7, pp. 433–7.

¹¹ Her name was Ann, recorded in the will of William Stokes, 1 August 1630, NRO NCC Purgall 225.

¹² Blomefield, op. cit., p. 434. See also J. Corder *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms* (Ipswich, 1965), col. 144., Papworth, p. 374, and *E.A. Misc.* (Ipswich, 1920), p. 76.

A MEDIEVAL STONE CROSS

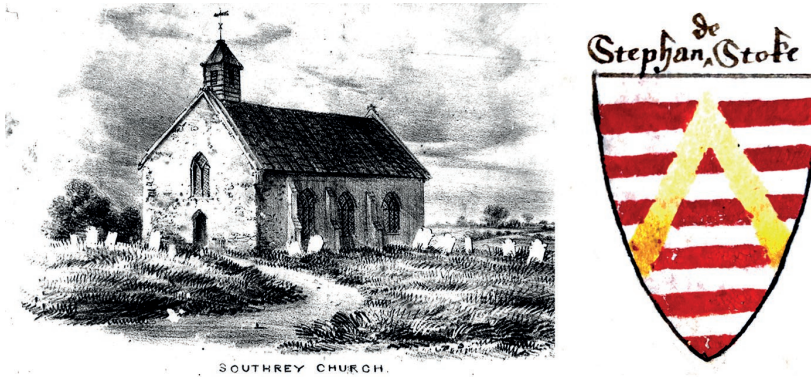


Figure 3: Left, 3a: Church of St Mary, Southery as drawn by Robert Ladbroke in 1832 from his *Views of the Churches of Norfolk*, 5 vols (Norwich, 1843). Right, 3b: arms of Stephen de Stoke from Soc. Antiq. MS 664 (17th-century copy of 13th-century lost original). Both images photographed by the author.

The Arms of Stoke

The arms attributed to Stephen de Stoke as recorded in the late-thirteenth-century Collins' Roll (Q 160) were *Barry of twelve argent and gules a chevron or* (**Figure 3b**).¹³ There are a great many places named Stoke, indeed the majority of counties seem to have at least one (there are two in Norfolk and three in Northamptonshire¹⁴), and in many of these there resided gentry families who adopted Stoke as a surname. The Stephen de Stoke of Collins' Roll was a sub-tenant of Peterborough Abbey at Etton in Northants and Sibberton in Hunts in 1242, and he settled the latter on Robert de Stokes for life in 1272.¹⁵ This family was almost certainly a cadet of the knightly family of Stoke who were military tenants of Peterborough Abbey in Stoke Doyle, Ashton, Elton and Warmington, in Northants and Hunts, which Wimund de Stoke held in 1125–8.¹⁶ Both families had ceased to hold their knight's fees before 1300, but they persisted within the squirearchy in Warmington and Elton. Thomas de Stokkes held these places in 1375; John Stokkes and his wife Alice in 1390, and this was perhaps the same John who held a quarter of a knight's fee in Warmington in 1428.¹⁷

The probable donor identified

Warmington is at least thirty miles from Southery, and the Northamptonshire family of Stoke Doyle is not known to have established any cadet branches in either Norfolk or Suffolk before the end of the medieval period. There were no incumbents of that name in the parish church, nor were any of the abbots of Bury St Edmunds, who had

¹³ Collins' Roll, c. 1295: ed. Gerard Brault in *Aspilogia* 3; *DBA* vol. 2, p. 267; Soc. Antiq. MS 664 (copy of lost original).

¹⁴ Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 445–6.

¹⁵ *VCH Northamptonshire* vol. 2, pp. 486, 531.

¹⁶ W.T. Mellows (ed.), *Henry of Pytchley's Book of Fees* (Kettering, 1927), pp. 144–7. Elton is not far from Etton, but they are separate places.

¹⁷ *VCH Northamptonshire* vol. 3, p. 116.

THE COAT OF ARMS

patronage of the living, so named. How then might the Stoke arms have come to adorn the Southery cross? The answer to this conundrum is to be found in the personage of Master John Stokes, D.C.L., a wealthy pluralist who was Archdeacon of Ely from 1444 until his death in 1466. Southery church is close to Ely Cathedral, and although the village is situated in Norfolk, its church fell within the jurisdiction of the diocese of Ely and was therefore part of John Stokes' domain. There are certainly precedents for archdeacons donating carved stonework to parishes under their care. A prime example is the font at St Clement's, Sandwich in Kent which has four shields, one of them belonging to the then archdeacon (of Canterbury, from 1400 to 1407) Robert Hallum.¹⁸

The parentage of John Stokes is unknown, but something of his family affiliation might be inferred from the arms under discussion. He was awarded his D.C.L. at Oxford in 1428, and was connected with the diocese of London in which he was ordained priest in 1430.¹⁹ He was working as a clerk in the Chancery in 1441, and it is doubtless through royal patronage that he obtained some of the more important of his many preferments, including that at Ely.²⁰ He went on to serve four archbishops of Canterbury in a judicial capacity, primarily as auditor of the Archiepiscopal Court of Causes. In 1459–60 Thomas Playter in his capacity as principal legal adviser to Sir John Fastolf sought out Stokes at Lambeth to obtain his advice.²¹ Stokes's 1466 will makes many pious benefactions, almost all of them directly connected with his benefices, but with some potentially revealing exceptions.²² For instance, following on from a gift of £10 to the prior and community of Ely, he made a bequest to two Cambridgeshire churches in the vicinity of that foundation, neither of which had been his personal livings; they were Haddenham and Wilburton. He also left money to the poor of Cambridge, another place with which he had no direct connection, and in this regard it should be noted that three brothers who were his presumed kinsmen as members of the Stokes family of Warmington had belonged to the new royal foundation of King's College. These were John Stokes (d. 1458), a king's esquire and serjeant porter of the gate who went on to serve the Provost of King's in a similar capacity; Sir William Stokes (d. 1485), a king's scholar in 1445–47 and a college fellow in 1447–8; and Thomas Stokes, clerk

¹⁸ J.B. Rossiter, 'The font at the church of St Clement's Sandwich', in *Archaeologia Cantiana* vol. 103 (1986), pp. 127–140. The other three arms on the Sandwich font are those of the monarch, of the town, and a merchant's mark somewhat reminiscent of one which features on the postulated arms of the architect Stephen Lote in the Canterbury Cathedral cloister, illustrated in Paul A. Fox, *Great Cloister, a lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), p. 460.

¹⁹ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957–59), p. 1782.

²⁰ *CCR 1435–1441*, p. 440.

²¹ Colin Richmond, 'The expenses of Thomas Playter of Sotterley, 1459 – 60', in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, vol. 35, pt. 1 (1981), pp. 41–52.

²² TNA PROB 11/5/287. The will mentions three kinsmen: Robert Stokys, Walter Stokys, and Master John Stokys, none of whom can be identified with certainty.

A MEDIEVAL STONE CROSS

(d. 1495) who was a king's scholar 1448–51 then a fellow until 1458.²³ Southery itself was not mentioned in the will, but if Master John Stokes had not made a gift to that church during his lifetime then the Prior of Ely, Henry Peterborough, might have paid for a cross to commemorate his former colleague, donating it to a parish which Stokes had known.

The heralds' visitations do not confirm the entitlement of William Stokes, gent (d. 1639) of Wyverstone, Suffolk, to use the ancient arms of Stokes. Not only is Southery quite far from Wyverstone, but William Stokes in his will mentions no property in Norfolk. The likely reason for his widow Ann Stokes to have been buried at Southery rather than with her husband at Wyverstone was that in her widowhood she went to live with some relation. Just possibly the presence of the Stokes arms on the cross in the churchyard might have influenced her decision to seek burial there. Her husband's link to the Stokes family of Warmington is as yet, unproven, but plausible, since the line had continued into the sixteenth century in Northants. Thomas Stoke, gent held land in Warmington in 1510, while another kinsman William Stokes held in Etton in 1492.²⁴ There are very few instances of families that were extant in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries bearing arms in like form to those of Stokes. Indeed, the only family which needs to be ruled out is that of Talworth of Suffolk. This family, which bore *Barry or and azure a chevron gules*, had no discernible link to Southery.²⁵ The Talworth chevron was taken from the arms of their overlords the Clare earls of Gloucester.

The cross base

Basil Cozens-Hardy lists three distinct classes in his pioneering survey of Norfolk stone crosses: Churchyard, Wayside, and Boundary, with the caveat that some in each category may also be Memorial.²⁶ The cross base at Southery, although not listed in the survey, is clearly part of a Churchyard cross, almost certainly derived from the churchyard of old St Mary's. It is also Memorial, in that it displays personal arms, and is one of a very small number of armorial examples recorded in Norfolk. Of more than 140 stone crosses noted by Cozens-Hardy, only one, at Hunstanton, is described as armorial, or potentially armorial as the shields which decorate it are blank.²⁷ A more recent survey by Michael Burgess brings the total crosses recorded for the county to more than 300, although both Cozens-Hardy and Burgess's figures also include crosses known only from documentary or place-name evidence.²⁸ Burgess' total of extant material remains of crosses is c. 99.²⁹ Included amongst these are a short note and photograph of the

²³ Alan Rogers, 'Eton's First 'Poor Scholars': William and Thomas Stokes of Warmington, Northamptonshire (c.1425–1495)', in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, no. 64 (2011), pp. 5–21. Rogers identified the arms of this family as *Or on a fess gules three crosslets argent*, based on a quartering in the Rutland Visitations, but the quartering has probably been incorrectly labelled since these arms are well attested in the medieval era to the family of Colville, see *DBA* vol. 3, p. 460.

²⁴ Devon Archive Office MS 1038/M/T/13/128; Northants Record Office F(M) charter 686.

²⁵ *DBA* vol. 2, p. 267.

²⁶ B. Cozens-Hardy 'Norfolk Crosses' *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 25, (1934), pp. 297–336.

²⁷ Cozens-Hardy, op. cit., p. 316.

²⁸ Burgess, op. cit.

²⁹ Burgess, op. cit., p. 6 (examples in museum collections have not been included).

THE COAT OF ARMS

armorial cross base at Southery (although without a description or discussion of the arms), the abovementioned cross from Hunstanton, and a further armorial cross at Tilney All Saints. The latter has an engraved shield bearing a central cross on each of the four faces of the stone cross shaft.

The freestanding cross at Southery would originally have served as a focus for religious celebrations, in particular processions, as on Psalm Sunday.³⁰ Such elaborate expressions of traditional Catholic faith were suppressed during the Reformation, and it is probable that the cross was taken down either at this time, or during the period of iconoclasm throughout the English Civil War and Commonwealth in the mid seventeenth century.

It is thought that there are the remains of fewer than 2,000 medieval standing crosses extant in England,³¹ of which a tiny proportion is likely to be armorial. The cross base at Southery, so long overlooked, is in fact a rare and important survival, a material link to the Middle Ages, its people, both high and low, their rituals, customs, and beliefs.³²

³⁰ See E. Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 23–4, Pl. 3. Other, secular, events, such as the reading of proclamations, may also have taken place beneath the cross.

³¹ <https://historicengland.org.uk/>.

³² I would like to thank Andrew Rogerson for transcribing the will of William Stokes from a copy made in the Norfolk Record Office, and both Andrew, and Melanie Rolfe for their helpful comments on this note. I am also grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of London for allowing me to photograph and reproduce the shield bearing the arms of Stoke from Collins' Roll (Q 160), Soc. Antiq. MS 664 (Figure 3b). Finally, I would like to thank Dr Paul A. Fox for his assistance in attributing an archdeacon of Ely as probable patron of the armorial cross base.

BOOK REVIEWS

Näïma Ghermani and Caroline Michel D'Annoville (edd.), *Image et Droit: du ius imaginis au droit à l'image*, Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2022. 432pp. Paperback 978-2-72831561-1 €32. E-book 978-2-72831562-8 €9.99.

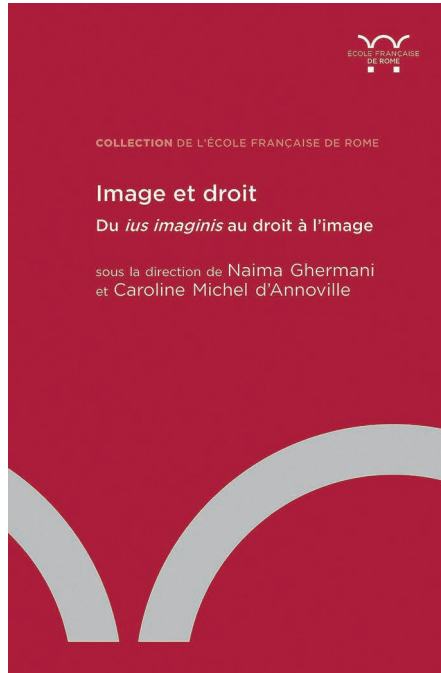


Image et Droit contains the proceedings of three colloquia held at the French School of Rome. Drawing upon the “iconic” turn in history (i.e. studying images for their historical rather than art historical value), the 20 essays in this volume explore the intersection of images with the law, ranging from the *ius imaginis* of ancient Rome (restricting which families were allowed to possess funeral masks of their ancestors) to image copyrights and identity theft on social media. The book is divided in five sections, each with an introduction by the editors. The section most likely to be of interest to readers of this journal is entitled ‘L’image juridique : signes, symboles, insignes’ (The legal image: signs, symbols, insignia).

Most of the chapters are in French (for which Google Translate suffices for the non-Francophone), however three of the five discussed below are in English (those by Ramsay, Bauer, and Bedos-Rezak). Anne-Laure Connesson deals with the role of heraldry within the *damnatio memoriae* as practiced in fifteenth-century Florence. She takes as a case study the Pazzi family, the losing side in the anti-Medici conspiracy of 1478. In addition to death sentences, banishment, and confiscation of property, all public instances of the Pazzi arms (*Azure two dolphins addorsed in pale between*

THE COAT OF ARMS

five crosses potent or) were to be destroyed, the remaining family members given six months to register new arms with the authorities, and any heraldic artist who emblazoned a shield with the Pazzi arms subjected to a fine of 50 gold florins. But Connesson shows that, despite the severity of this punishment, it was not completely carried out. While coats of arms on the exterior of the Palazzo Pazzi, and in their chapel – a highly symbolic location – were destroyed, heraldic symbols in secondary locations were left untouched. And although consideration was given melting down any coins which bore Pazzi symbols due to their having been struck during the tenure of a Pazzi as Ufficiale della Zecca (Master of the Mint), this was not carried out for pragmatic reasons. Arms could also be voluntarily modified by the exile, and Connesson uses a precisely dated shield of the Pazzi arms to demonstrate how such modifications could be used to convey political messages after return from exile.

The chapter by Nigel Ramsay is dedicated to the fourteenth-century treatise *De insigniis et armis* by Bartolo de Sassoferrato, one of the earliest, and most influential, works on heraldry. Ramsay provides a brief biography of Sassoferrato (an Italian lawyer and judge) and a synopsis of the work, but the bulk of his essay discusses its reception. Although not specifically written for them, *De insigniis* found greatest reception amongst those with a professional interest in heraldry, in part because of his authoritative statements on the questions which were to dominate heraldic law for the next century and a half: who could grant arms, who could bear them, and what happened when two people claimed the same arms. Ramsay goes so far as to claim that the choice of the civil law as a framework for armorial disputes was due to Bartolo. His treatise was not universally acclaimed however. Bartolo, as the leader of an Italian school of legal thought based on a civil law approach, was attacked by French humanists, for philosophical, stylistic, and political reasons. One such attack was written by Lorenzo Valla in a letter of 1433 longer than *De insigniis* itself. Unfortunately Ramsay does not tell us what this letter contained (although he does cite a printed edition), beyond saying it was virulent, and did not grasp the nature of heraldry. He concludes his essay by reviewing the editions of *De insigniis* that have been produced since the nineteenth century, and concludes that they are all lacking in some way: Hauptmann's 1853 German edition, although invaluable in identifying references to the *Corpus iuris civilis*, was based on a printed edition of 1493 (*De insigniis* was written c. 1355); Jones's English edition was based on a mixture of three fifteenth to seventeenth century manuscripts plus an eighteenth century edition; the 1994 edition by Cavallar, Degenring, and Kirshner collates an impressive number of manuscripts, and has a substantial introduction about the Italian politico-historical context, but neglects both the heraldic context and many manuscript witnesses held outside central Europe; finally, Cignoni's 1998 edition merely reprints the 1550 Latin text with an Italian translation and a short introduction.

Laurent Hablot considers the coat of arms as a “performative image” in the medieval visual landscape – it proclaimed identity and asserted rights, and therefore came to be regulated. Hablot looks to the period before any written regulations were promulgated, and examines accounts of heraldic conflict to see what they can tell us about the unwritten rules governing their use. He identifies three areas of conflict: heraldic homonyms (two or more parties bearing the same arms), heraldic regulation (who has the right to arms or para-armorial emblems) and degradation of arms as a

BOOK REVIEWS

punishment. Hablot's approach is to compare theory to practice, with examples drawn from French and Italian medieval sources. Theory suggests such conflicts could be resolved by amicable resolution, trial by combat, the judgment of the local Lord, or the judgment of king in parliament. The examples Hablot provides demonstrate all of these except for trial by combat. From the range of parties involved in these cases he concludes that even if not everyone bore arms, all were affected by the phenomenon. His chapter draws on some of his earlier publications, and the argument is unfortunately somewhat abbreviated here.

The last chapter in this section, by Volker Bauer, deals with images of genealogical trees in seventeenth and eighteenth-century legal documents from the Holy Roman Empire. Their purpose was usually to establish a right to certain privileges by demonstrating the required number of noble ancestors. Bauer briefly defines the types of literature in which such images might be found, and examines a few examples in detail. The *Ahnenbaum* (ancestral tree) produced by Christiane Lucie von der Schulenburg to demonstrate her eligibility to enter the convent of Stererburg is particularly beautiful, as each member is identified by their coat of arms.

The final chapter which is likely to be of interest to heraldic audiences is that of Brigitte Bardos-Rezak, who focuses on the destruction of seal matrices. She argues that the large increase in the number of known seal matrices, thanks to initiatives such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme, requires a re-evaluation of our understanding of seal usage. Too many seals have been found to have been accidentally lost, which implies they were deliberately discarded. Bedos-Rezak posits that the medieval mind saw seals as being an "extended dimension of personhood that did not fully coincide with the physically embodied self" (para. 23), and that the defacement, destruction, or disposal of seal matrices was needed to keep this in sync with changes of status (including death) of the physical person.

All of these essays use continental European examples of heraldry – mostly French or Italian, which makes a refreshing change for Anglophone readers, and is appropriate given that the French School of Rome hosted the colloquia which led to this volume. This format has left its mark, though, in that restrictions of time or space have prevented the authors from developing their arguments as fully as one might wish. This volume has been published open-access online, and can be read for free at <https://books.openedition.org/efr/38685?lang=en> before deciding whether to purchase a print or ebook copy for reference.

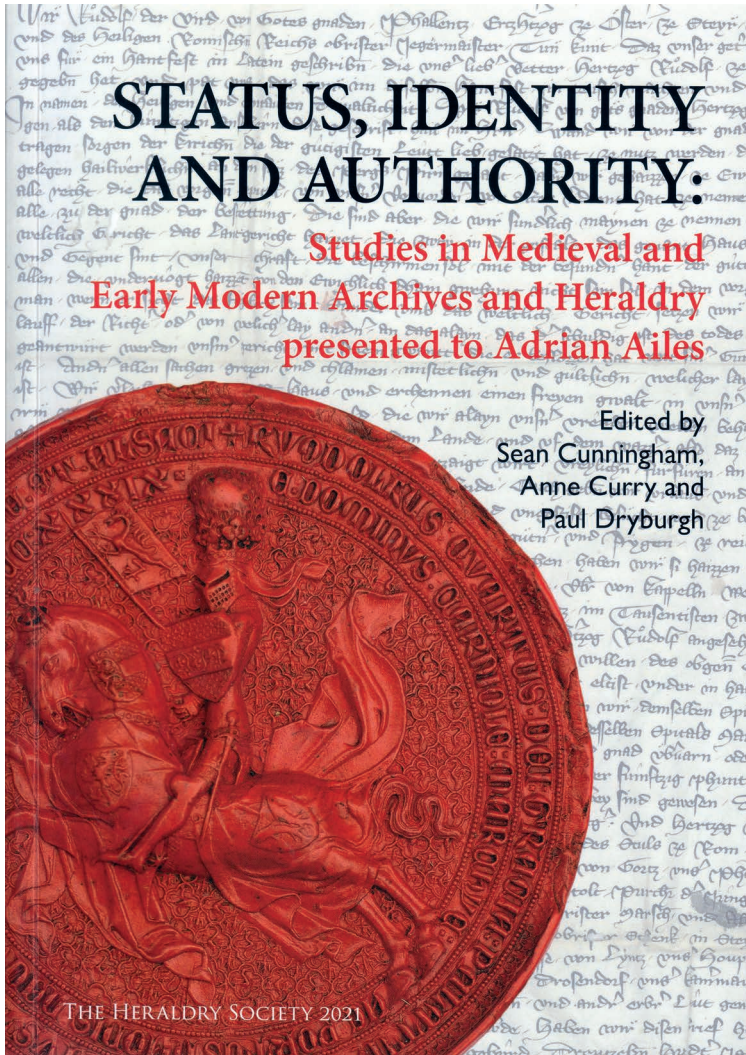
Philip Allfrey

Sean Cunningham, Anne Curry, and Paul Dryburgh (edd.), *Status, Identity and Authority: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives and Heraldry presented to Adrian Ailes*. London: The Heraldry Society, 2021. xx + 257 pp + 3 tables. Colour illustrations throughout. Paperback 978-0-90-485806-8. £18.

This volume, as the title suggests, is a festschrift for Adrian Ailes, on his recent retirement as Principal Early Modern Records Specialist at The National Archives. I was fortunate to have had Adrian as an external examiner for my dissertation, and with characteristic generosity nominated me for associate membership of the Académie Internationale d'Héraldique shortly thereafter.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Adrian was born in 1956 and developed an interest in heraldry at an early age. His University education led to a B.A. in Classical and Medieval Studies, an M.A. in Medieval studies with a dissertation on the development of the royal arms in England, a second M.A. in Archive Studies in which he looked at early grants of arms, and a D.Phil. on Ashmole's visitation of Berkshire in 1665-6. During his tenure at TNA, one of his focuses was the wax seal collection, of which he is the acknowledged expert.



Thus it is fitting that his festschrift is divided into three sections reflecting his different interests: Heraldry and iconography, Seals, and Archives and history.

The volume opens with a biography of Adrian by the editors, a bibliography of his published works, and a colour rendering of his arms, granted 1992, with their canting motto “A l’ombre de tes ailes”. The first of seven essays in the Heraldry section is by

BOOK REVIEWS

Adrian's wife, Professor Marianne Ailes. She builds on Adrian's work on the attributed arms of Charlemagne by examining depictions of arms in two fourteenth century copies of the Charlemagne narratives *La Destruction de Rome* and *Fierabras*, and concludes that the use of arms in the illuminations serves the purpose not only of identification of characters and indicating relationship between them, but also of political propaganda. Professors Alison Stones and D'Arcy Boulton also examine pairs of manuscripts. Stones starts off by discussing attributed arms in two fifteenth-century *Lancelot* manuscripts, but spends most of the chapter interrogating what the coats of arms contained therein can tell us about the owners of these books. Boulton describes in detail two Elizabethan armorials of the English peerage, now held in the Morgan Library in New York, and concludes that they are the earliest examples of such armorials to illustrate full achievements. This section also includes contributions by two former officers of arms – Elizabeth Roads (Snawdoun Herald), and Thomas Woodcock (Garter King of Arms). Inspired by discussions with Adrian Ailes on Scottish heralds some years ago, Roads discusses their role as messengers, amply supported by archival sources. Woodcock traces the use of crests featuring a mower or thresher by three interrelated Lancashire families (Ashton, Trafford, and Pilkington). Early heraldic writers claim that an ancestor in each of these families adopted this dress as a disguise to escape captivity after a battle. Based on genealogical and sigillographical evidence, Woodcock concludes the most likely candidate is the battle of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire (1322) and subsequent flight back to Lancashire. Dr Laurent Hablot also investigates crests, building on Adrian's work on shared crests. Through a series of examples he presents a convincing argument for the princes or nobles granting the use of their own crest to favoured subjects or retainers. The remaining chapter in this section is by Steven Ashley, who draws together archaeological evidence for the use of lions as an emblem in a proto-heraldic context.

The second, and shortest, section of the festschrift contains contributions relating to seals. Professor Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, in a comprehensive survey, illustrates how English prelates, canon lawyers, and legal practice, influenced the canon law doctrine of the *sigillum authenticum*. Professor Sandy Heslop looks at the use of secret seals in the twelfth century, in particular the use of classical intaglio gems. He suggests that these may have been adopted by clerics who had spent time in Rome, and that designs on non-heraldic seals in later centuries may have been inspired by them. Professor Brian Kemp and Dr Marcus Späth both examine specific seals. Kemp examines a serendipitously found seal of Edmund Guest, bishop of Salisbury in the 1570s, a rare example of an Elizabethan episcopal seal. Kemp situates the development of iconography on Guest's seal in the context of his predecessors, but finds the prominent position given to St James a mystery. Späth draws out the multiple messages embodied in the splendid equestrian seal of Rudolph IV of Austria, which adorns the cover of this volume: a claim to social status rooted in contemporary political context, a part of a visual strategy, yet also a statement of *magnificentia* and patronage through its technical excellence.

The final section of the work, history and archives, opens with contributions by the three editors: Dr Sean Cunningham, Professor Anne Curry (now Arundel Herald Extraordinary), and Dr Paul Dryburgh. Cunningham provides a convincing

THE COAT OF ARMS

re-identification of a fifteenth century household account book as belonging to William Smith, dean of Westminster, shortly before his promotion to bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and examines what this can tell us about everyday life in high-ranking households in early modern London. Curry contextualises the ‘Agincourt Exception’ – Henry V’s order that those who bore arms at Agincourt did not need to provide proof of their right to a coat of arms for the 1417 campaign. She argues that this does not connote increased royal oversight of heraldry, but rather deals with Henry’s concern for good order and preservation of social status.

Dryburgh’s chapter is in a way the odd one out in this volume, for though it is related to a medieval subject – the Bayeux tapestry – it deals with the very modern narrative of the (ultimately unsuccessful) negotiations between the British and French governments for the tapestry to be loaned to England for the 900th anniversary of the Norman Conquest. Nevertheless, it is a tour de force of the use of archival sources.

The final three chapters deal with phenomena from the mid-seventeenth century. Dr Clive Holmes provides a critical reassessment of the idea of Civil War flags, particularly cavalry cornets, playing a role as propaganda vehicles, pointing out their small size, obscure imagery, and problems with the authenticity of the surviving evidence. Dr Andrew Wareham argues that George Downing, envoy to the Estates General in the Hague, was a key figure in the establishment of the Hearth Tax, a topic on which Adrian Ailes has researched a connection with the heralds. Finally, Dr Hannah Worthen, who was supervised by Adrian during her Ph.D. research at The National Archives, uses a series of case studies to illustrate the workings of the Kent Sequestration Committee, and to show how female landowners were able to mitigate the effects of sequestration of their estates.

The volume concludes with an index, which focuses mainly on proper nouns – names, places, literary works, heraldic charges. More general concepts such as counterseals or propaganda are not indexed. This minor issue notwithstanding, *Status, Identity and Authority* is handsomely produced and generously illustrated in colour throughout. The authors are, in the main, senior figures in their fields, and the quality of all contributions is similarly high. Despite not having a theme apart from being in some way in dialogue with Adrian’s work, the volume coheres nicely, and provides something of interest for students of heraldry, sigillography, or history in general.

Philip Allfrey

List of Abbreviations and recurring short titles

Al. Cant.	J. and J. A. Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i> (2 parts in 10 vols., Cambridge 1922–54)
Al. Ox.	J. A. Foster, <i>Alumni Oxonienses</i> (2 series in 8 vols., London 1887–92)
Ant. J.	<i>Antiquaries' Journal</i>
ar.	argent
b	born
Balfour Paul, Ordinary	Sir James Balfour Paul, <i>Ordinary of Arms</i> (second edn., Edinburgh 1903)
BL	The British Library, London
BM	The British Museum, London
BM Seals	W. de G. Birch, <i>Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum</i> (6 vols., London 1887–1900)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford
Boutell, rev. JBL	<i>Boutell's Heraldry</i> , revised by J. P. Brooke-Little (rev. edn., London 1970)
BRS	The British Record Society
Burke GA	J. and J. B. Burke, <i>The General Armory</i> (London 1842; enlarged edn. London 1878, re-issued with a supplement 1884). Unless otherwise specified, a citation of this book refers to the frequently reprinted edition and supplement of 1884.
Burke LG	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry</i> (first edn., 3 vols. 1843–9; many subsequent edns.) Cite by year only; e.g. Burke LG 1952. Editions and their years are conveniently listed in Burke's Family Index (London 1976)
Burke LG Scot	<i>Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain together with members of the titled and non-titled contemporary establishment</i> . 19th edn., volume 1: The Kingdom in Scotland; ed. Peter Beauclerk-Dewar (Wilmington, Delaware, 2001)
Burke PB	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage</i> . Cite by year only; e.g. Burke PB 1970.
Burke PB 1999	<i>Burke's Peerage & Baronetage</i> . 106th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Crans, Switzerland, 1999)
Burke PB 2003	<i>Burke's Peerage Baronetage & Knightage. Clan Chiefs. Scottish Feudal Barons</i> . 107th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Wilmington, Delaware, 2003)
CA	The College of Arms, London
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CEMRA	A. R. Wagner, <i>A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms</i> [Aspilogia 1] (London 1950)

THE COAT OF ARMS

CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
CIMisc	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CLR	<i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i>
CoA	<i>The Coat of Arms</i>
co.	comitatu: in the county of
Coll.Top.&Gen.	<i>Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica</i> (1834–43)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSP Dom	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
CSP For.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign</i>
CSP Ire.	<i>Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland</i>
CSP Ven.	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice</i>
CTB	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
CTP	<i>Calendar of Treasury Papers</i>
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DBA	<i>The Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary</i> . Vol. 1 ed. D. H. B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock (London 1992). Vol. 2 ed. T. Woodcock, Hon. J. Grant and I. Graham (London 1996). Vol. 3 ed. T. Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2009). Vol 4 ed T.Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2014).
Debrett	J. Debrett (original editor), <i>Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> (London 1802). Many subsequent edns. with various titles down to Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, ed. Charles Kidd (London 2003). Cite by year only.
d.	died
div.	divorced
dsp	Decessit sine prole- died without issue
DNB	<i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Unless specified otherwise, the original edition is intended. The 2004 edition should be referred to as 'new DNB'.
Douët D'Arcq	M Douët D'Arcq, <i>Collection de sceaux</i> , 3 vols (Paris 1863–68).
erm.	ermine
Fairbairn	<i>Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (fourth edn., 2 vols., London and Edinburgh 1905).
Fox-Davies AF	Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, <i>Armorial Families. A Directory of Gentlemen of Coat Armour</i> (first edn., Edinburgh 1895; seventh and last edn., 2 vols., London 1929. Cite by year only.
fun. cert.	funeral certificate
GEC	G. E. C[okayne], <i>Complete Peerage</i> (first edn., 8 vols., London and Exeter 1887–98; revised and enlarged edn. by Hon. Vicary Gibbs and others [G. E. C.'s editorship nominal], 13 vols. in 14, London 1910–59; supplement vol. 14, Stroud 1998). Unless otherwise specified the revised edition is intended.
Genealogical Mag	<i>The Genealogical Magazine</i> (1897–1904)
Genealogist	<i>The Genealogist</i> (1876–1922)
Gen Mag	<i>The Genealogist's Magazine</i> (1922-)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Gent's Mag.	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> . Up to 1810 cite by year and page number only: thus Gent's Mag. 1779, p. 643. From 1810 the pagination started afresh halfway through the year, so cite (e.g.) Gent's Mag. 1843 (ii), p. 221.
Godfrey & Wagner	Walter H. Godfrey and Sir Anthony Wagner, with H. Stanford London, <i>The College of Arms</i> (London Survey Committee monograph 16: London 1963)
Grantees of Arms	Joseph Foster, ed. W. Harry Rylands, <i>Grantees of Arms named in Docquets and Patents to the end of the Seventeenth Century</i> (Harl. Soc. vol. 66, London 1915).
gu.	gules
Harl. Soc.	Harleian Society
Hist. Parl.	<i>The History of Parliament</i> . Cite the various parts in the form Hist. Parl.: The Commons 1660–90.
HMC	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i> . The folio series of HMC reports may be cited in the form HMC Seventh Report (1881); the octavo series as HMC Portland IV (1891).
IPM	inquisition post mortem
JBAA	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
m.	married
MI	monumental inscription
Misc.Her.& Gen	<i>Miscellanea Heraldica et Genealogica</i> (1874–1938)
Moule	Thomas Moule, <i>Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnae Britanniae</i> (London 1822)
N & Q	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
NEHGR	<i>New England Heraldic and Genealogical Register</i>
NLW	The National Library of Wales
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections
Pap. Reg.	<i>Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters</i> (14 vols., 1894–1961)
Pap Petits	<i>Petitions to the Pope</i> (one vol., 1897).
Papworth	J. W. Papworth, ed. Alfred W. Morant, <i>Ordinary of British Armorial</i> (London 1872)
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PCY	Prerogative Court of York
PPR	Principal Probate Registry
PR Scot	Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.
PRO	Public Record Office
PROME	<i>The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England</i> , gen. ed. C. Given-Wilson, edd. P. Brand, A. Curry, R. E. Horrox, G. Martin, W. M. Ormrod, J. R. S. Phillips (16 vols., Woodbridge 2005: also online at www.british-history.ac.uk and www.sd-editions.com)
purp.	purpure
qtly.	quarterly
Reid & Wilson	<i>Ordinary of Arms</i> volume II, ed. David Reid of Robertland and Miss Vivien Wilson (Edinburgh 1977)

THE COAT OF ARMS

Rietstap	J. B. Rietstap, <i>Armorial Général</i> (2nd ed., 2 vols., Paris 1884–7, with 8 supplement vols. and 6 vols. of illns. by V. and H. V. Rolland, Lyons 1904–54)
Rot Parl	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> (6 vols., ed. J. Strachey, 1767–77, repr. 1783, with index 1832).
sa.	sable
Shaw, Knights	Wm. A. Shaw, with G. D. Burtchaell, <i>The Knights of England</i> (2 vols., London 1906).
Siddons DWH	Michael Powell Siddons, <i>The Development of Welsh Heraldry</i> (4 vols., Aberystwyth 1991–3, 2007). Volume 2 (A Welsh Armorial) may be cited as DWH 2; volume 3 (An Ordinary of Welsh Arms together with Mottoes of Welsh Families) as DWH 3; and volume 4 (supplementary volume) as DWH 4.
Siddons Badges	Michael Powell Siddons, <i>Heraldic badges in England and Wales</i> 4 vols (Woodbridge 2009)
Soc. Ant.	The Society of Antiquaries of London
TNA	The National Archives, London
unm.	unmarried
V&A	The Victoria & Albert Museum, London
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History of England</i> . Specific county histories may be cited as, e.g., VCH Bucks, VCH Oxon and so forth.
vt.	vert
WG 1	P. C. Bartrum, <i>Welsh Genealogies A.D. 300–1400</i> (8 vols., Cardiff 1974). Cite by ancestral or regional heading, e.g. Adam ab Ifor 1, Tegeingl 5.
WG 2	P. C. Bartrum, <i>Welsh Genealogies A.D. 1400–1500</i> (18 vols., Aberystwyth 1983). Cite as for WG 1. A descent running from WG 1 to WG 2 with the same name and number may be cited simply by reference to WG.

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ARTICLES

The symbolism of the African nations part 2: graphic symbols as national emblems. By Rolf Sutter	1
The grisaille and heraldic glass in the chancel at Norbury church, Derbyshire. By John E. Titterton	51
Treasures of the Heraldry Society Bookplate Collection part 1: items of nautical interest. By Paul A. Fox	83
Heraldic nous in Huon de Mery's 'Tournament of the Antichrist.' By Daria S. Staroskolskaia.....	111
Heraldry and the authenticity of the digital record. By Paul Campbell	120
The buckle in heraldry. By Stanford A. Stewart and Paul A. Fox	131
A matter of difference. By Michael Fowle.....	144
The Brereton Roll: a sixteenth-century heraldic pedigree. By Anthony Bostock.....	151
Arms for Woden: a late sixteenth-century manuscript folio in the College of Arms. By Steven Ashley	180
The Hombreston Beast. By Robert Colley	189
A corpus of the arms of King Edward VI. By Peter N. Lindfield	198
Lady Isabel Vernon and the lost arms of Harclay. By Paul A. Fox.....	219
A medieval stone cross base in the churchyard of St Mary the Virgin, Southery, bearing the arms of Stoke. By Steven Ashley	232
Book Reviews.....	214
List of Abbreviations and recurring short titles.....	245