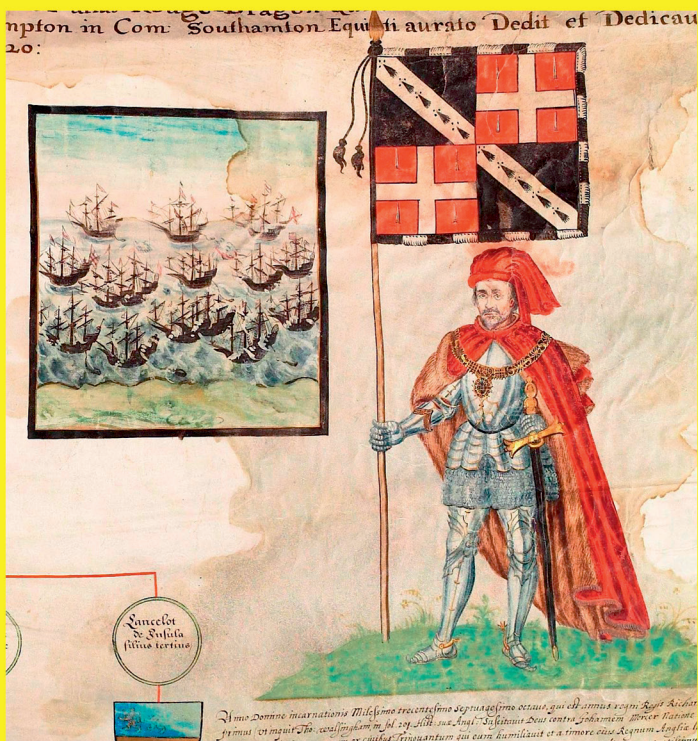


# The Coat of Arms

# Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society



**Series 4 Volume 7 Number 241 2024**



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# THE COAT OF ARMS

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# The Coat of Arms

Volume 7–2024



# UNRAVELLING THE LEMSFORD MEMORIAL CHAPEL'S ARMORIAL CEILING

STEPHEN HUMPHREYS, Ph.D., Dip.H.S.

## Abstract

*Lemsford's chapel has a claim both to be the last privately funded non-royal memorial chapel in England and, in its monument to Lady Florence, to be the last such erected in an English parish church. The chapel's attraction could easily rest upon these two claims alone, but this would be to ignore the heraldic scheme to be found in the ceiling. All the ceiling shields of this scheme are described; the majority are straightforwardly representative, but two aberrant shields raise important questions about the whole pattern as depicted.*



*Figure 1: The Lemsford Memorial Chapel.*

Source: [hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com](https://hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com).

## Introduction

In considering heraldic ceiling schemes it is hard not to admire the scholarship that went into Fox's monumental account of the heraldic ceiling bosses to be found in Canterbury cathedral's great cloister.<sup>1</sup> Impressively, Fox dealt with approaching 900 shields, badges,

<sup>1</sup> Paul A. Fox *Great Cloister: a lost Canterbury tale* (Oxford, 2020) Various podcasts are also available at: [www.drpaulfoxsa.com/canterbury-cloister](http://www.drpaulfoxsa.com/canterbury-cloister). ]

## THE COAT OF ARMS

and other heraldic devices, many of which had suffered tincture degradation over the centuries or had been subject to misleading prior scholarship. He then had to research the biographies of the hundreds of individuals represented. None of those challenges confronted the present author, and indeed the following account of a scheme of heraldic ceiling bosses which may be found in a Hertfordshire church is very different in both scale and purpose from that discussed by Fox. The Hertfordshire church scheme discussed here comprises just two dozen shields whose recency of placement (less than a century ago) ensures no loss of colour; its purpose was not to honour any donors, and only one family is really at its focus. At first sight it might seem a simple scheme of limited interest, but soon it acquires more significance as it offers an unusual - possibly unique - instance of marshalled arms.

The heraldic shields displayed in the Brocket chapel in the church of St John the Evangelist, Lemsford, Hertfordshire (Figures 1 and 2a), catalogue the owners of neighbouring Brocket Hall over the centuries, but they do not do this neutrally. Rather, the display was intended to convey an established social position for the Nall-Cain family – soon afterwards the Barons Brocket of Brocket Hall – who had commissioned the display.

For the Nall-Cain family to be seen as traditional members of the upper classes rather than upstart *nouveau riche* was an important objective of the family at the time, and if all the previous owners of the Hall had their own coats of arms, certainly the ceiling display could be arranged to show that the Nall-Cains were no exceptions in this. However, in choosing to display one or two shields of doubtful design the family appear to have unwittingly drawn attention to their strategy. The deployment of more venerable heraldry than a family was really entitled to is hardly unheard-of, but the Lemsford case is not exactly typical of these.

Although the family's confused genealogy has been much discussed, the heraldic project at Lemsford has not previously been interpreted in a context of the family's objective of wishing "to assert an aristocratic lineage."<sup>2</sup> Seen in this light, the shields referring to the Nall-Cain ancestry are attractive to those heraldists whose enjoyment derives from the detective work inspired by architectural coats of arms. Interest is particularly aroused by two shields whose design stimulates a desire to investigate further. Thus, whilst for the majority of visitors the display serves to evoke a sense of historical continuity associated with the locality, for the more heraldically curious other perspectives emerge.

Discussion of the ambiguous shields follows the identification of all the shields in the chapel's ceiling (elsewhere the church is essentially heraldically sterile), but firstly it is appropriate to describe pertinent aspects of the chapel and its builder.

### In Memoriam

The chapel was added to Lemsford's church in 1930 and has the appearance, and many of the attributes, of a chantry chapel. Such chapels can be characterised as privately funded dedicated spaces, built within a church, and intended for priestly performances of 'chantry duties'; those duties typically included the regular saying of prayers for those memorialised in the chapel, and otherwise maintaining the space for the family's use. Chantry chapels were suppressed by virtue of the Dissolution of Colleges Acts of 1545 and 1547.

<sup>2</sup> C. Routledge, *Cain's: the story of Liverpool in a pint* (Liverpool, 2008) p. 131



## THE LEMSFORD CHAPEL



Figure 2, left, 2a: the heraldic ceiling within the Brocket chapel at Lemsford; right, 2b: the tomb of Lady Florence Nall-Cain.

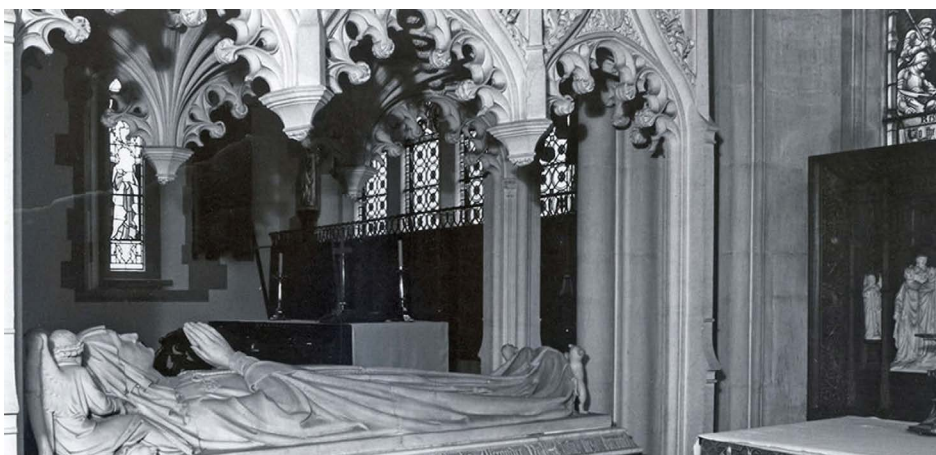
Source: [hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com](http://hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com).

But the Reformation was a long time ago, and if the legislation was seen by some as dissuasive of further constructions, Sir Charles Nall-Cain of the Node in Hertfordshire had other views. He commissioned and privately funded the addition of a chapel and accompanying family vault to his local parish church in memory of his first wife after her death in 1927. And if the romantic vision of medieval chantry chapels includes a good display of heraldry, the memorial chapel at Lemsford, Hertfordshire was not to disappoint. The chapel, which was dedicated in 1930, is believed to be the last private non-royal chapel to have been built within a church in England.<sup>3</sup> The stone-canopied monument to Florence Nall-Cain (**Figures 2b** and **3**) inside the chapel is also believed to be the last such monument to have been built within an English parish church.

In 1930 Sir Charles Alexander Nall-Cain, Bart (1866-1934) was chairman of the brewing firm Robert Cain & Sons which had been founded by his father in Liverpool. For his liberality to the hospitals of Liverpool Charles was made a baronet in 1921, his elder brother William Cain (1864-1924) having received the same honour the previous year. He married Florence Nall, the mother of his children, in 1888. She was the daughter and only surviving child of William Nall, gentleman (1816-1883) of Kegworth in Derbyshire (according to *Burke*). A will, proved in Liverpool in 1883, described William Nall as a

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth II added the King George VI memorial chapel to St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1969.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 3: the tomb of Lady Florence Nall-Cain at Lemsford*

Source: [hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com](http://hertfordshirechurches.files.wordpress.com).

“gentleman of Southport in Lancashire.”<sup>4</sup> From the census he was a farmer in Kegworth who on his retirement moved to Lancashire. Sir Charles and Lady Cain changed their surname by deed poll to Nall-Cain on 14 July 1921, a fortnight after Charles Cain had been created a baronet on 1 July 1921. In 1923 the couple departed the Node, Codicote, and relocated a few miles away, taking up residence in Brocket Hall, Lemsford, which had been on the market since the death of Lord Mount Stephen in 1921.

During Lady Florence’s final illness the King’s physician was called to attend upon her. She died on 21 October 1927, just over a week before the originally intended marriage date of her only son, Arthur Ronald Nall Nall-Cain (1904-1967), to Miss Angela Beatrix Pennyman, daughter of the Rev. W. G. Pennyman, vicar of St. Mark’s North Audley Street. Her son’s intended best man was the Hon. David Bowes-Lyons, the youngest brother of the then Duchess of York.<sup>5</sup> In her will Florence made very generous bequests to her many servants, including £500 to her maid, £200 to her housekeeper, and £100 each to her butler, gardener, coachman and chauffeur.<sup>6</sup> At her funeral, which was well attended by the nobility, some of these servants acted as pallbearers.

A year later Sir Charles took as his second wife Miss Anne Page Croft, daughter of the late Mr Richard Benyon Croft, of Fanhams Hall, Ware, and sister of Sir Henry Page Croft, M.P. for Bournemouth. The marriage took place at St. James’s Church, Piccadilly, on 27 October 1928, with the Rev. W. W. Clarke (vicar of Lemsford) officiating. In 1933 Sir Charles was ennobled in the New Year’s honours list as Baron Brocket of Brocket Hall. He survived only one more year, and died on 21 November 1934.

The chapel and its heraldic decoration strongly suggest that Sir Charles had developed an interest in heraldry and medievalism. This interest manifested itself as

<sup>4</sup> National Probate Register. His estate was valued at £16,567. His appointed executors were his widow and his brother Joseph Nall, gentleman of Papplewick in Nottinghamshire. The father of the brothers was Joseph Nall, born at Duffield in Derbyshire in 1789, who later moved to Nottinghamshire.

<sup>5</sup> From her obituary in the *Hertfordshire Express* 29 October 1927, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Liverpool Echo* 10 January 1928.

## THE LEMS福德 CHAPEL

soon as he became aware of his forthcoming baronetcy, as he received his first grant of the arms of Cain quartering Nall from the College of Arms on 10 August 1921, only five weeks after his baronetcy.<sup>7</sup> These are not the same arms as those which occur in the chapel, of which more will be said presently. Sir Charles went on to champion, and to involve himself in, the granting of a coat of arms to Hertfordshire County Council,<sup>8</sup> the county where he had taken up residence and was politically active. He is understood to have been the author of the county's motto, 'Trust & Fear Not', and the actual patent of arms was presented to Sir Charles in his capacity as High Sheriff of Hertfordshire by Sir Henry Farnham Burke, Garter, at a well-attended banquet held at Brocket Hall on the evening of 8 July 1925.<sup>9</sup>

Inspiration for the idea of creating a family chapel was locally available to the baronet in Brocket Hall's neighbouring churches of St Helen's in Wheathampstead, and St Etheldreda's at Hatfield, both of which boast Brocket chapels containing monuments to that earlier family which had given its name to Brocket Hall. It was in memory of the deceased Florence that Sir Charles set about arranging for the restructuring of St John's, Lemsford. The church had been erected by the Dowager Countess Cowper as a memorial church to her late husband, the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl Cowper, in 1859, some 70 years previously. In addition to his remodelling of the church to incorporate the memorial chapel, Sir Charles also lengthened the chancel, installed electric lighting, added communion rails, altar-hangings, new choir and priest stalls, and a family vault.<sup>10</sup>

The Bishop of St. Albans dedicated the new chapel on Sunday, 13 July 1930. At the close of the service the vicar presented each member of the choir with a prayer and hymn book, the gift of Sir Charles Nall-Cain, to commemorate the occasion. In the following year Sir Charles succeeded in obtaining the advowson for Lemsford church, which remains with his descendants.<sup>11</sup> The chapel boasts an alabaster tomb in the medieval style, on which lies an effigy of Lady Florence Nall-Cain, and the chapel's east window was also given in her memory. Florence's tomb has Nall-Cain heraldry around its base and her feet rest upon the crests of Nall and Cain. In the chapel ceiling are a number of coats of arms which reference the Nall-Cains and their family alliances in the early half of the twentieth century, and also commemorate other families associated with Brocket Hall in the past. The arms thus tell the history of Brocket Hall and its owners. That the shield designs are all well-executed and contain a good degree of detail suggests that the commissioners of the ceiling display had a fair level of heraldic understanding.

<sup>7</sup> CA Grants 89/32.

<sup>8</sup> Grant of 3 June 1925.

<sup>9</sup> Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies: DE/L/214.

<sup>10</sup> The architect for the remodelling was the ecclesiastical specialist F.E. Howard who later donated his design sketches for the Brocket chapel to Heritage England (ref MD93/09021-09141).

<sup>11</sup> Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies: D/EP/E74/1-20.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

|   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
|   |   | 3 | 4 |   | 11 | 12 |    | 19 | 20 |    |   |
| W | 2 |   |   | 5 | 10 |    | 13 | 18 |    | 21 | E |
| E |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | A |
| S | 1 |   |   | 6 | 9  |    | 14 | 17 |    | 22 | S |
| T |   | 8 | 7 |   | 16 | 15 |    | 24 | 23 |    | T |

Figure 4: scheme of layout of the armorial shields in the Brocket chapel.

The twenty-four ceiling shields are arranged in three bays of eight. All are identifiable as custodians of Brocket Hall, as follows:

### Western bay: the early custodians of Brocket Hall



Figure 5, left: shield 1, FitzSimon; centre: shield 2, Asshe; right: shield 3, Brocket.

1. *Gules three escutcheons argent (FitzSimon)* Although in his autobiography the current (3<sup>rd</sup>) Lord Brocket states “The first house on the site, called Watershypps, was built in 1239 for the Brocket family”<sup>12</sup> it has been suggested that the property was first in the possession of a Simon Fitz Ade whose family became known as Fitz Simon. John FitzSimon represented Hertfordshire in the Parliament of 1290 as did Nicholas FitzSimon in 1377.

2. *Argent a fess sable and overall a saltire gules (Asshe)* bearing an escutcheon of pretence for **FitzSimon** [the fess is normally given as Azure]. Nicholas FitzSimon’s daughter Elizabeth married William Asshe, and their daughter and sole heir, Elizabeth, married (before 1432) Thomas Brocket, son of Sir Thomas Brocket and his wife Dionice Sampson. The couple had no children and her estate went to his brother’s family.

<sup>12</sup> Brocket, 2004, p. 4



## THE LEMSFORD CHAPEL

3. *Or a cross flory sable (Brocket)*. The estate was now in the Brocket family, whose origins may be traced to Yorkshire.



Figure 6, left: shield 4, Reade; centre: shield 5: Winnington; right: shield 6: Lamb.

4. *Gules a saltire between four garbs or (Reade)*. The last Brocket to have the house was Mary, wife of Sir John Reade (d.1694). Her husband was created a baronet in 1642, but the title was annulled by Parliament after the Civil War. Oliver Cromwell however intervened and created another baronetcy for him in 1652, and the original baronetcy was restored when Charles II regained the throne in 1660.

5. *Sable a border argent charged with eight martlets of the field (Winnington)* bearing an escutcheon of pretence for **Reade**. Love Reade, daughter of Sir James Reade, 2nd Baronet of Brocket Hall, married Thomas Winnington (1696 – 1746), in 1719. The couple had no issue and the estate was sold to Sir Matthew Lamb in 1746.

6. *Sable on a fess ermine between three cinquefoils or two mullets vert (Lamb)*. The shield bears a baronet's badge for Sir Matthew and Sir Peniston Lamb, 1<sup>st</sup> & 2nd Baronets. The tinctures used for the cinquefoils and the mullets in shields 6 to 8, are more usually given as argent and sable respectively. Sir Peniston Lamb became Viscount Melbourne.



Figure 7, left: shield 7: Lamb; centre: shield 8, Lamb; right, shield 9, Earl Cowper.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

7. *Sable on a fess between three cinquefoils erminois two mullets vert* (**Lamb**). Surmounted by a viscount's coronet for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscounts Melbourne. The important reference here is to William Lamb, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Melbourne (1779-1848) who was Queen Victoria's first Prime Minister from 1835-1841, and who entertained his monarch frequently at Bocket Hall. His wife Lady Caroline Lamb had an affair with the poet Lord Byron.

8. Tierced arms **1** *Quarterly, 1: Argent three martlets and on a chief engrailed gules three annulets or* (**Cowper**); **2:** *Quarterly or and gules a bend sable* (**Clavering**); **3:** *Quarterly (i) Azure billety and a lion rampant or (ii) Or a lion rampant gules crowned azure (iii) Gules a fess argent (iv) Gules two lions passant in pale or and overall on an escutcheon argent a lion rampant sable* (the **Prince of Nassau d'Auverquerque**); **4th:** *Gules a fess between three crosses crosslet or* (**Gore**, for 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cowper); **2: Lamb**; **3:** *Quarterly i & iv, Or an eagle displayed sable; ii & iii, Argent on two bars sable six martlets or* (**Temple**, Viscount Palmerston). Surmounted by a viscount's coronet, for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Melbourne. On the death of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Melbourne in 1848 the property was inherited by his sister, Emily Lamb, the widow of Peter Leopold Louis Francis Nassau Clavering-Cowper, 5th Earl Cowper (1778-1837). She remarried, this time to Henry John Temple, 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Palmerston, who was Queen Victoria's third Prime Minister, in office 1855-58 and from 1859 until his death in 1865. His widow died in 1869 when her son, George Cowper, 6th Earl Cowper, inherited the property.

### Central bay: the custodians are joined by the Irish

9. *Quarterly, 1: Argent three martlets and on a chief engrailed gules three annulets or* (**Cowper**); **2:** *Quarterly or and gules, a bend sable* (**Clavering**); **3:** *Quarterly (i) Azure billety and a lion rampant or (ii) Or a lion rampant gules crowned azure (iii) Gules a fess argent (iv) Gules two lions passant in pale or; overall On an inescutcheon argent a lion rampant sable* (the **Prince of Nassau d'Auverquerque**); **4:** *Gules a fess between three crosses crosslet fitchy or* (**Gore**). Surmounted by an earl's coronet for the Earls Cowper.

10. *Gules on a chevron argent three mullets gules, in chief a mullet argent for difference* (**Kerr**); an escutcheon of pretence: *Argent three martlets and on a chief engrailed gules three annulets or* (**Cowper**). Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Talbot Kerr, G.C.B. married in 1873 Lady Anabel Cowper (d. 1906). She was the youngest daughter of the 6th Earl Cowper, and inherited Bocket Hall after the death of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl in 1905. The mullet indicates that Lord Kerr was a third son.

11. As last, (**Kerr**) without the escutcheon of pretence. The Kerrs did not live at Bocket Hall, which was rented out from 1873. After the last tenant - Lord Mount Stephens - died in 1921, the property was put on the market and purchased by Sir Charles Nall-Cain.



## THE LEMSFORD CHAPEL

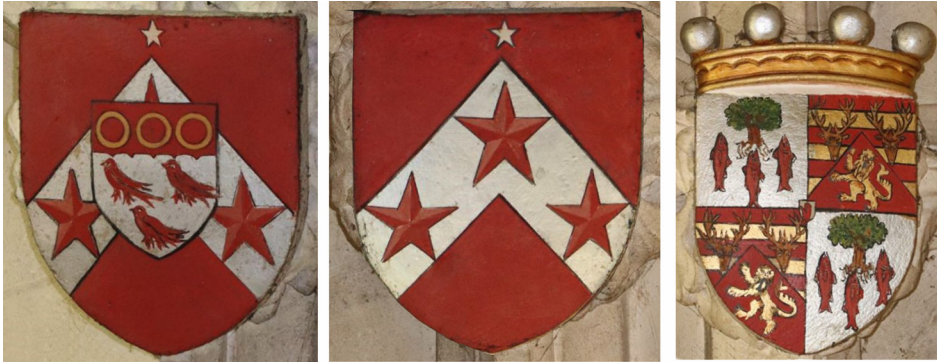


Figure 8, left: shield 10, Kerr; centre, shield 11, Kerr; right: shield 12, Nall-Cain.

12. Quarterly, 1 and 4: Argent three salmon haurient gules and in chief an oak tree proper (**Cain**); 2 and 3: Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag's heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (**Nall**); at the centre point a baronet's badge. The Nall-Cains have arrived. The baron's coronet must have been added above the shield several years after the chapel was dedicated as the barony was only created in 1933. The marshalling of this coat would normally suggest it referenced a line from the son of the union of Cain-Nall, and thus, here, Arthur Ronald Nall Nall-Cain.



Figure 9, left: shield 13, O'Cahan; centre, shield 14, O'Cahane; right, shield 15, Cain.

13. Azure a fess per pale gules and argent between, in chief, out of the horns of a crescent a dexter hand couped at the wrist and apaumee surmounted by an estoile, between, on the dexter, a horse counter-salient, and on the sinister, a lion rampant, each also surmounted by an estoile; in base a salmon naiant argent between in dexter three lizards passant in bend sinister gules and in sinister an oak tree eradicated proper; overall on an escutcheon argent a cross Calvary on three grices silver (**O'Cahan**, Prince of Limavady, co. Londonderry).

## THE COAT OF ARMS

These somewhat involved attributed arms represent an individual who pre-dated heraldry by several hundred years. The shield in the chapel does not quite adopt the customary O’Cahan blazon. The descent of Sir Charles from this individual is entirely speculative.

14. *Gules three fishes hauriant two and one or (O’Cahane)*. Whilst these are the traditional arms associated with the O’Cahane’s, the genealogical connection with Cain of the Node appears to be conjectural.

15. *Argent three salmon haurient gules and in chief an oak tree proper (Cain)*. These arms were granted by the Ulster Office on 13 May 1916 to Thomas Cain of Ballasalla on the Isle of Man, gentleman, and to the descendants of his grandfather Robert Cain the elder, of Ballasalla, with due and proper difference.<sup>13</sup> Sir Charles Nall-Cain was not entitled to these arms as he was not descended from the grandfather of Thomas Cain of Ballasalla.



Figure 10, left: shield 16, Nall; centre: shield 18, Nall-Cain with an escutcheon of Nall; right: shield 19, Nall-Cain quartering Nall.

16. *Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag’s heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (Nall)*. The shield supporting a baron’s coronet must be regarded as incorrect as the Nall family have never been ennobled.

### Eastern bay: the Nall-Cain and Pennyman connection

17. As 12 (Cain quartering Nall) surmounted by a baron’s coronet.

18. *Quarterly, 1 and 4: Argent three salmon haurient gules and in chief an oak tree proper (Cain); 2 and 3: Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag’s heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (Nall); in pretence: Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag’s heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (Nall)*. Surmounted with a baron’s coronet. The presence here of Nall in pretence over Nall-Cain can only mean that the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Brocket

<sup>13</sup> National Library of Ireland: Genealogical Office of Ireland MS 111c p. 25.

## THE LEMSFORD CHAPEL

is indicated here, and the only reason for this strange usage would be if he had received a grant of quartered arms, to which he might then add his wife's arms on an escutcheon of pretence, which was indeed the case. This would, however, only apply if she was an heraldic heiress. To add a wife's arms twice to one's shield is a sufficiently rare heraldic usage to immediately arouse the curiosity of a heraldist.



Figure 11, left: shield 20, Pennyman; centre: shield 21, Nall-Cain quartering Nall with an escutcheon of Pennyman; right: shield 22, Pennyman.

19. Quarterly, 1 and 4: quarterly (i+iv) Argent three salmon haurient gules and in chief an oak tree proper (**Cain**); (ii+iii) Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag's heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (**Nall**); 2 and 3: **Nall**. The son of an heraldic heiress would be justified in adding his mother's arms again to his paternal arms. This shield therefore represents the future 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Brocket who acceded on 21 November 1934. This usage would require a formal grant from the College of Arms which was never obtained, and thus the arms do not appear in any of the Peerages. Shields 18 and 19 are discussed further below.

20. Quarterly of twelve, 1: Gules a chevron ermine between three half-spears staves broken or headed argent (**Pennyman**); 2: Argent a chief gules (**Worsley**); 3: Or on a chief dancetty azure three plates (Latham?); 4: Quarterly argent and gules on the first a mullet sable (Breton?); 5: Argent on a bend sable three covered cups argent (not identified); 6: Argent a fess gules between three parrots vert (?Lumley/ Marmaduke/ Cullingwike); 7: Argent a squirrel gules (?Hartford, Nutshall, Squire); 8: Argent a fess sable (Kighley?); 9: as 1 (Pennyman); 10: Azure five mascles voided in cross or a chief ermine (**Norcliffe**); 11: Or on a chevron azure a martlet between two pheons or (**Warton**); 12: Argent on a bend gules three garbs or (**Maltby**). This shield introduces a family which the Nall-Cains were now allied with by marriage: the Pennyman family.

21. As 19 (**Cain-Nall** quartering **Nall**) and on an escutcheon of pretence: Quarterly, 1 and 4: Gules a chevron ermine between three half spears, broken staves or headed argent (**Pennyman**); 2 and 3: Argent a chief gules (**Worsley**). In 1927, Arthur Nall-Cain married Angela Beatrix Pennyman, younger daughter of the Revd. William Geoffrey Pennyman of Ormesby Hall in Yorkshire.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

22. *Gules a chevron ermine between three half spears, broken staves or headed argent (Pennyman).*



Figure 12, left: shield 23, Worsley; centre: shield 24, Nall-Cain impaling Page Croft; right, 12c: Nall lozenge from the tomb of Florence Nall-Cain.

23. *Argent a chief gules (Worsley).* After the death in 1852 of Sir William Pennyman of Ormesby Hall, the 7<sup>th</sup> baronet, his cousin James White Worsley (1792 -1870) assumed the additional surname of Pennyman.

24. *Per pale dexter: Quarterly 1 and 4: Argent three salmon haurient gules and in chief an oak tree proper (Cain); 2 and 3: Per chevron barry of six gules and or in chief two stag's heads caboshed proper; in base gules a lion rampant guardant or (Nall); impaling, sinister: Quarterly 1 and 4: per fess dancetty azure and argent, in the first quarter a lion passant guardant or (Croft); 2 and 3: Argent two martlets in pale gules between as many flaunches erminois and overall a fess sable (Page).* Sir Charles Nall-Cain took Anne Page Croft as his second wife on 27 October 1928. The baron's coronet could have been added no earlier than 1933.

### Armorial and Genealogical irregularities

Shield 18 stands out in its peculiarity. It reads as a *granted* (rather than a *marshalled*) quarterly coat of arms to recognise 'Nall-Cain' and the marriage of the head of that family to a heraldic heiress of the Nall family, but there are irregularities with the arms of both Cain and of Nall. In 1921 Sir Charles had received different arms to these from the College of Arms with new quarterings for both Nall and Cain: Quarterly 1 and 4: *Azure a griffin segreant between three garbs or* (for Cain); 2 and 3: *Argent a bee proper between three roses gules* (for Nall). There were two crests, that for Cain being *A griffin segreant resting upon a coronet of five Tudor roses or*; while that for Nall was *A bee proper between two roses gules stemmed vert*.

In 1928 Sir Charles changed the Cain crest, quartering and motto (**Figure 13b**) in a grant from the Ulster Office, taking the arms which had been granted by the Ulster Office in 1916 to Thomas Cain of Ballasalla on the Isle of Man (**Figure 13a**). In order to use the arms of this gentry family of Cain, Sir Charles claimed descent from John Cain of Ballabeg (not Ballasalla) in the Isle of Man, who in turn was said to be descended

## THE LEMSFORD CHAPEL

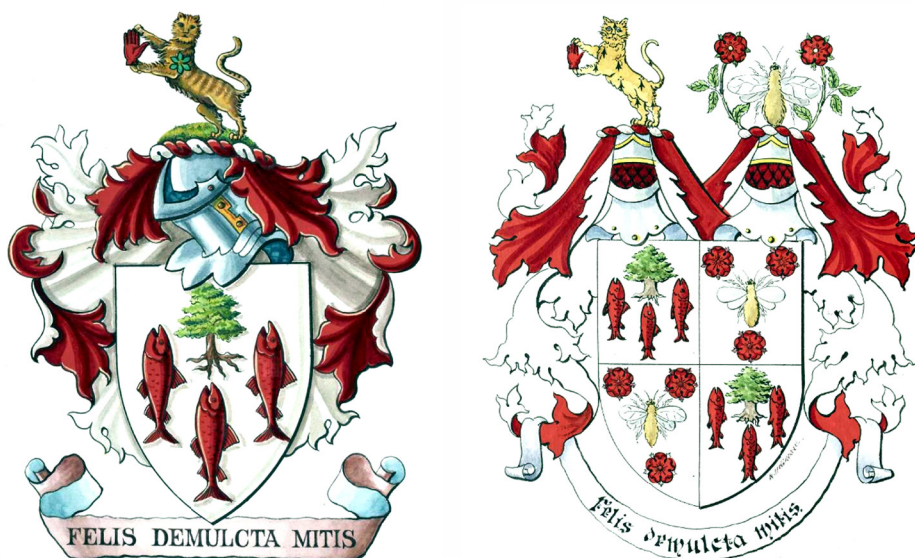


Figure 13, left, 13a: arms of Thomas Cain of the Isle of Man granted by the Ulster Office in 1916; right, 13b, arms granted to Sir Charles Nall-Cain, Bart by the Ulster Office in 1928. ©National Library of Ireland.

from Manus Cain who received a grant of land on the island in 1631.<sup>14</sup> In the 1916 grant the *suitably differenced* arms were permitted to all descendants of Thomas Cain's grandfather, Robert Cain the elder of Ballasalla, but Sir Charles was not so descended.<sup>15</sup> The pedigree given in *Burke* for Sir Thomas's elder brother Sir William Cain, Bart makes their grandfather James Cain, born in Galway in 1787.<sup>16</sup> The pedigree of the barons Brocket from recent editions of *Debrett* takes the Galway descent back to around 1600<sup>17</sup>; it is entirely at variance with the Isle of Man descent which was used to secure the Cain arms in 1928. The justification for granting Sir Charles the Manx Cain arms was presumably that the families shared a remote common ancestry, and that the arms were suitably differenced by quartering with those of Nall. The Cain crest was adopted with difference. The crest granted to Thomas Cain was: *On a mount vert a cat salient guardant or holding between the paws a dexter hand couped gules and charged on the shoulder with a narcissus vert*. Sir Charles's crest was simpler: *A cat salient guardant ermine holding between the paws a dexter hand couped gules*. He retained the Manx Cain motto of *Felis demulcta mitis* (the cat stroked is meek).

<sup>14</sup> This is the descent given in the 1928 Ulster Office confirmation of the grant: National Library of Ireland, Genealogical Office of Ireland MS 111c, p. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Cain was only son of Robert Cain of Ballasalla son of Robert Cain the elder of Ballasalla son of Patrick Cain of Limavady in Ulster.

<sup>16</sup> *Burke* 1956.

<sup>17</sup> *Debrett* 2009.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

The Nall family were not armigerous until Sir Thomas' grant of arms in 1921. After the changing of the Cain arms in 1928 the resulting combination of the arms of Cain and Nall was not entirely satisfactory, both shields having the field argent. This would not work at all well if an inescutcheon of Nall was to be placed over Cain. Following his wife's death Sir Charles evidently decided that he wanted something better, and more visually striking, for her tomb, and he therefore obtained a new design from the College of Arms which was granted on 31 Oct 1929.<sup>18</sup> As a consequence of this both the 1921 and 1928 grants became superfluous, and the 1929 grant supplies the version of the arms which is found at Lemsford. As well as the shield of Nall being completely changed, the bee crest of Nall was also modified to become *Within a leathern garter buckled gules a bee or*.

Given that these Nall arms were granted posthumously it is highly questionable for Florence Nall-Cain to have been given the status of a heraldic heiress on shields 18 and 19 at Lemsford. As to the idea that the Nall-Cains were not as heraldically knowledgeable as they might have been, a clue to their level of heraldic comprehension may be evidenced in the heraldry surrounding the sides of Lady Florence's tomb, where lozenge-shaped shields of Nall are to be found (with a little difficulty, such is the closeness of pillars and other structures) at both the head and foot panels. A lozenge-shaped shield ought to indicate a spinster or widow, but not the deceased wife here memorialised. On the main aspect of the tomb are three arms on shields, firstly of Cain quartering Nall, secondly of Cain quartering Nall with an escutcheon of Nall, and thirdly, of Nall. The two lozenges of Nall appear to be signalling that these were Florence Nall's arms during her spinsterhood, but this was never the case. The implication of this heraldic solecism in combination with the escutcheon placed on shield 18 and the quartering on shield 19 is that there has taken place a transgression of the norms of heraldry in order to elevate the status of Lady Florence's ancestors. Her family, with its gentry status, was more venerable than that of Cain, and it was important to emphasize this, even if they did not have their gentility confirmed with a grant of arms. Florence's great-grandson the 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Brocket has stated, "Charles's first wife, Florence Nall, came from a smart Nottinghamshire family, who were a cut above the Cains. She told Charles that she would only marry him if she could keep her name. So Charles Cain and Florence Nall became Charles and Florence Nall-Cain."<sup>19</sup>

Ultimately though, perhaps it is apposite that the family's armorial achievements should be as confusing as the family's origins. We read in one account of those origins, that:

"the 1920s into the 1930s seems to have been the time period in which the story of Robert Cain's Irish ancestry became clouded, perhaps because the newly created peer [i.e. Charles, 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Brocket] wanted to assert an aristocratic lineage....*Burke's Peerage* changed its entry on the Cain family in the 1930s. Early editions list Robert Cain's father as James Cain of Dublin, who married Mary Dean in 1824. Later editions give his birthplace as Galway, his marriage to Mary Deane of Cork in 1824, and his social background as belonging to the gentry. Neither version of the story appears to be true."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> CA Grants 97/75.

<sup>19</sup> Lord Charles Brocket, *Call Me Charlie* (London, 2004) p. 2

<sup>20</sup> Routledge, op. cit., p.131.

## THE LEMS福德 CHAPEL

### Conclusion

The creation of the Lemsford chapel in 1930 was a highly romantic tribute to a much-loved wife and mother, providing her with a grand place of burial, and surrounding her with heraldry which placed her on a pedestal. She was given an exalted heraldic status which was not hers by right, one which fulfilled her bereaved husband's need to reinvent the past in order to enhance his family's prestige.

### Afterward

The year after the chapel was built the bearer of shield 19, Lord Brocket's son and heir Arthur, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Brocket, was elected as M.P. for the Wavertree division of Liverpool, having been educated at Eton and Magdalene College Oxford, then at the Inner Temple, where he was called to the Bar. His tenure in the House of Commons was terminated by his father's death in 1934, whereafter he became active in the House of Lords. He was a well-connected and popular figure, but in recent decades some journalistic commentators have wrongly stated that he was interned during the Second World War as a Nazi sympathiser, and that Brocket Hall was sequestered.<sup>21</sup> While it is true that, like many other members of the aristocracy at the time, he made the wrong call in allowing himself to become enamoured with the glamorous aspects of Nazi Germany in the 1930s, he must be judged by the values of his own time, as his sympathies were shared by many prominent members of the aristocracy. It was reported in the press that he attended Adolf Hitler's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday celebrations in Germany in April 1939, having been at a Nuremberg rally in the previous year.<sup>22</sup> However, after the continuance of war became inevitable his sense of duty to his country came to the fore. The tragic consequences of his own previous convictions caused him to suffer a nervous breakdown in January 1940. Whether his various country estates were requisitioned or voluntarily given to the government is unclear, although the press reports suggest a voluntary transfer, and the estates were certainly not sequestered.<sup>23</sup> Brocket Hall became a maternity hospital for the duration of the war, while his Scottish estate at Knoydart in Lochaber became a training centre for Commandoes and the S.O.E., and Bramshill Park in Oxfordshire was given over to the Red Cross.<sup>24</sup> Lord Brocket played an active role in the House of Lords throughout the conflict. His tarnished posthumous reputation is largely undeserved.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> One example of the genre is Paul Callan, 'Hitler's aristocratic admirers', *The Daily Express*, 12 September 2009, who stated that Lord Brocket had been accused of lighting fires at Brocket Hall to guide German bombers on their way to London, an accusation which was without foundation. For a clear statement that Lord Brocket was never interned see Nicholas Julian Crowson, *Facing the Fuhrer: The Conservative Party's Attitudes and Responses to Germany, 1937 to 1940, with Particular Reference to Backbench and Constituency Opinion*, University of Southampton Ph.D. thesis (1994), p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* 20 April 1939, pp. 13-14.

<sup>23</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* 10 January 1940, p.7.

<sup>24</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 September 1940, p.4.

<sup>25</sup> The author would like to thank the following: Mr Frank Puranik of St. John's church, Lemsford for his photographs of the individual Lemsbury shields and for his permission to reproduce them; Mr Nigel Johnson, churchwarden of Lemsbury, for assisting the author with access; and finally, Mr Thomas Johnston, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, for providing information on the College of Arms grants to Sir Charles Nall-Cain.

# THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL of 1620

## PART 1, AN EDITION

BERNARD A. JUBY, HON. F.H.S.

### Abstract

*In 1620, John Philipot, as Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, prepared an illustrated armorial genealogy for a presumed kinsman in which family he purported to belong. Here is presented an illustrated translation.*



Figure 1: the Philipot Pedigree Roll. This and all the other images of the roll in this paper ©Hampshire Archives and Local Studies.

### Introduction

Amongst the seventy-nine Paulet Papers lodged at Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Winchester, is an armorial pedigree produced in 1620 by John Philipot (sic), then Rouge Dragon Pursuivant.

Written in Latin, on three sheets of vellum glued together, it shows eighteen generations, including fifteen generations of the family of de Lisle of the Isle of Wight and eleven generations of the family of Phil(l)(i)pot(t). It includes four figures, numerous annotations, four painted seals, the Lisle Arms on a roundel, the Philipot Arms of twenty quarters, and one hundred and fifty painted shields of arms.

It forms part of the Paulet Papers for lack of issue of the senior line of the Philipots, descending through Lucy (line 17), one of the daughters of Sir George Philipot/Philpot of Thruxton, who married Lord Henry Paulet (*Sable three swords in pale argent, hilts and pommels or*) who was a younger son of the 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Winchester, and ancestor of the 12<sup>th</sup> Marquess. The marriage probably took place after the pedigree was composed, as it is unlikely that such an important connection would have been omitted.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

JOHN PHILIPOT (c. 1589–1645), Somerset herald, was born at Folkestone, Kent, between 1587 and 1592, as the son of Henry Philpot and his wife Judith, daughter and coheiress of David Leigh, servant to the archbishop of Canterbury. The family name was Philpot, but John insisted upon inserting an ‘i’ between the two syllables.

At the end of 1612 he married Susan, the only daughter and heir of William Glover, whose brother was Robert Glover (1544–1588), Somerset herald, through which connection no doubt Philipot owed his introduction to the College of Arms. He was appointed a pursuivant-of-arms extraordinary, with the title of Blanch Lion, in October 1618, and on 19 November he was created Rouge Dragon pursuivant in ordinary. By his office he was brought into close connection with William Camden, for whom he entertained profound respect. Camden frequently nominated him as his deputy, or marshal, in his visitations, and Sir Richard St. George (when Clarenceux) and Sir John Burroughs (when Norroy) employed him in the same capacity. He participated in the Visitations of Kent in 1619, of Hampshire in 1622, of Berkshire and Gloucestershire in 1623, of Sussex in 1633, and of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Rutland in 1634. He died prematurely, in great obscurity, in London, and was buried on 25 November 1645 within the precincts of the church of St. Benet, St. Paul’s Wharf.<sup>1</sup>

### The Pedigree

Sometimes the names have been reversed and therefore do not match the impaled arms below them. Some of the place names have been difficult to establish and have been literally translated.

### The Header

“The pedigrees and ramifications of the illustrious and ancient family of Philipot, to which are also attached to the sides the lineages of other families whose gentle arms are recognized to have transmigrated into these together with the shares of the estates of the spouses. ALL [are done] with the utmost faith and diligence from the patents and archives and charters of the king and from the monuments (from which, above all, it is common to get the face of truth itself) [and are] enclosed in this diagram/plan by JOHN PHILIPOT alias Rouge Dragon who gave and dedicated this symbol of friendship and token of eternal love to his most illustrious cousin Sir John Philipot of Compton, knight bachelor of the county of Southampton, [dedicated] in the year of Salvation [i.e. of the Lord] 1620:

On a black-bordered panel are the words:

“Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Ireland - Greetings to your beloved and faithful Chevalier John de Lisle of Wootton. Because of the advisability and absence of our council for some difficult and urgent business concerning the State and defense of our Kingdom of England, and the Church of England, we order Parliament to be held at Westminster the next day of Easter in a month. And there to have an interview with you and with the noble and great men of our aforementioned realm in the name of the faith and obedience which bind you to us and we order you to treat that matter,

<sup>1</sup> Thompson Cooper, ‘John Philipot (c. 1589-1645)’, *DNB*.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

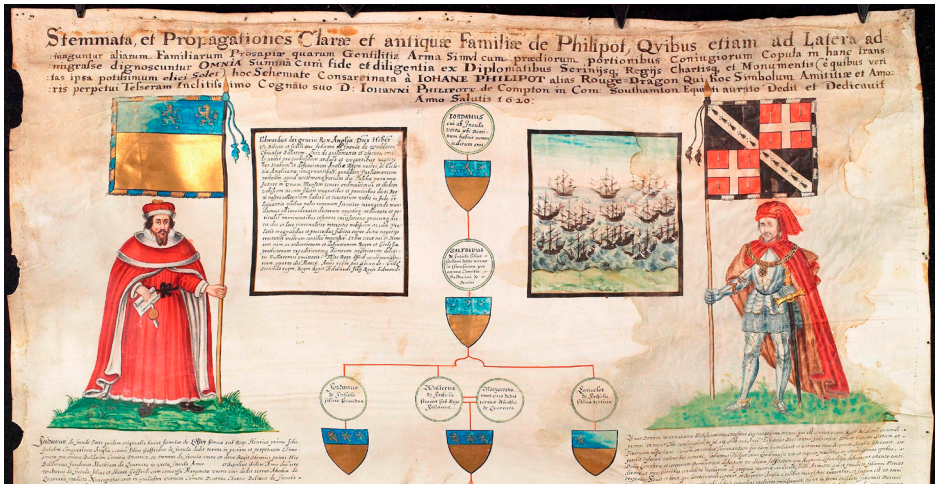


Figure 2: The Header.

ceasing the excuse of difficulties and impending dangers, [and we order] that on any of the aforementioned days and places you interact personally with us and with the aforementioned great and noble Prelates, and discuss the aforementioned matter. And in this [we order] that you omit nothing, as you love us and the honor and the good and the defense of the Kingdom and the Church, and the carrying out of the aforementioned affairs. Witness the king at Westminster on the fourth day of March in the second year of his reign: that is, in the second reign, King Edward son of King Edward.”

To the left of this is a robed figure holding the banner of the **Lisley** Arms with the inscription: “Jordan de **Lisle** (in Latin, de Insula, i.e. of the Isle of Wight) one of the original founders of this family of Lisley, flourished under King Henry the First, the son of William the Conqueror of England, whose son Geoffrey de Lisle gave the lands in pure and perpetual alms (donation) for the soul of Baldwin, Count of Devon, and Lord of the Isle, which was taken from the gift of King Henry the First. Here Baldwin founded the Abbey of Quarr on the Isle of Wight in the year [empty space] and was buried there in the year of God 1155. Walter de Lisle, son and heir of Geoffrey, with the permission of Margaret his wife, gave the aforesaid land to the Abbey of Quarr. Named as heir in the charter of William Vernon (or de Redvers), Earl of Devon, he was appointed Bailiff of the Isle of Wight, and flourished under King John.”

### Charter of Matthew de Columbaris

“Be it known to all that I, Mathew de Columbaris, have given and hereby confirm by my charter to John of the Isle of Wight, and to Nichola his wife, the whole of my manor of Chute within the knight’s fee of Hyde in the County of Wiltshire, with all the services of free men and peasants, and with its woods, fields and pastures.

And if it should happen that the said Nichola dies without an heir from the said John, leaving the said John surviving, my wish and grant is that the said John shall hold and possess the whole of the said manor during the whole term of his life, free from all service toward me or my heirs. Paying from thence an annuity to me and my heirs of



## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

two pounds sterling for two yearly terms, that is to say, at the Feast of Easter £10 and at the Feast of Michaelmas £10, for all services. In order that this my present gift may be permanently corroborated I have confirmed the present charter with the impression of my Seal with these witnesses, the Lords Henry Hussey, John de Grimstede, John de Cormail, Richard de Portsey, Richard de Havering, Peter de Eston, and Philip de Croker, knights, John de l'Isle, rector of the church of Waldeslute, William de Gerebert, William de Rusterhull, Ralph de Gorges, and others."

On the right is an armoured, cloaked figure holding a banner with the quartered arms **Philipot** and below it the inscription:

"In the year one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight (1378) of the Most Merciful Incarnation of the Lord, which is the first year of the reign of King Richard the second, as Thomas Walsingham states in the 201st folio of his English History, God raised against the Scotsman and nefarious pirate John Mercer, and freed the Kingdom of England from the fear of him, one of the Trinovantes [Celtic, pre-Roman citizens of south-eastern England], who humiliated him [John Mercer], as will be evident below to those who wish to look.

John Philipot, citizen of London, was a man endowed with intelligence and very great wealth, who owing to the inadequacy (I speak no untruth) of the Lord of Lancaster and the other Lords who should have defended the Kingdom, and sympathizing with the oppressions of the inhabitants, hired and paid with his own money a thousand men-at-arms, who took away from the said John Mercer the ships and goods which he had taken by force. As he protected the kingdom of England from such wretched people it happened that the Almighty, who always attends to pious wishes, was benevolent to him and his successors, so that in a short time John Mercer was captured as a prisoner of war, together with all the goods he had taken with violence at Scarborough, and fifteen ships of the Spaniards, laden with many riches. Thus there was immense jubilation among the whole people, who were full of praise and admiration for the benevolence and grace of John Philipot, whereas for the nobles they had only rude words, harsh and painful, as is the custom of the common people.

The illustrious people of the kingdom of England, that is to say, the barons and earls, seeing such laudable actions by John Philipot, driven by the impulses of their own spirit, attempted to undermine him, stating that he should recognize himself as guilty and culpable, yet their own indolence was clearly evident to the plebs, so that at length the nobles started not only to plot privately against John Philipot, but also to denounce him publicly, stating that it was not lawful for him to do such things, without the council of the King and the Kingdom.

John Philipot himself is said to have answered without hesitation, I had not intended either my money or my men to be exposed to the dangers of the sea, nor was it my intention to take away by military action the good reputation of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, leader [of the royal forces], nor to gain riches for myself; rather, I sympathized with the misery of the people of the country, a consequence of your own indolence which has brought the people to such misery by exposing the kingdom to plundering by the despised nations, there being not one of you who has lifted his hand in their defense. I risked myself and my goods in the saving of my people and in freeing my country. And (it is said) the earls could make no answer."

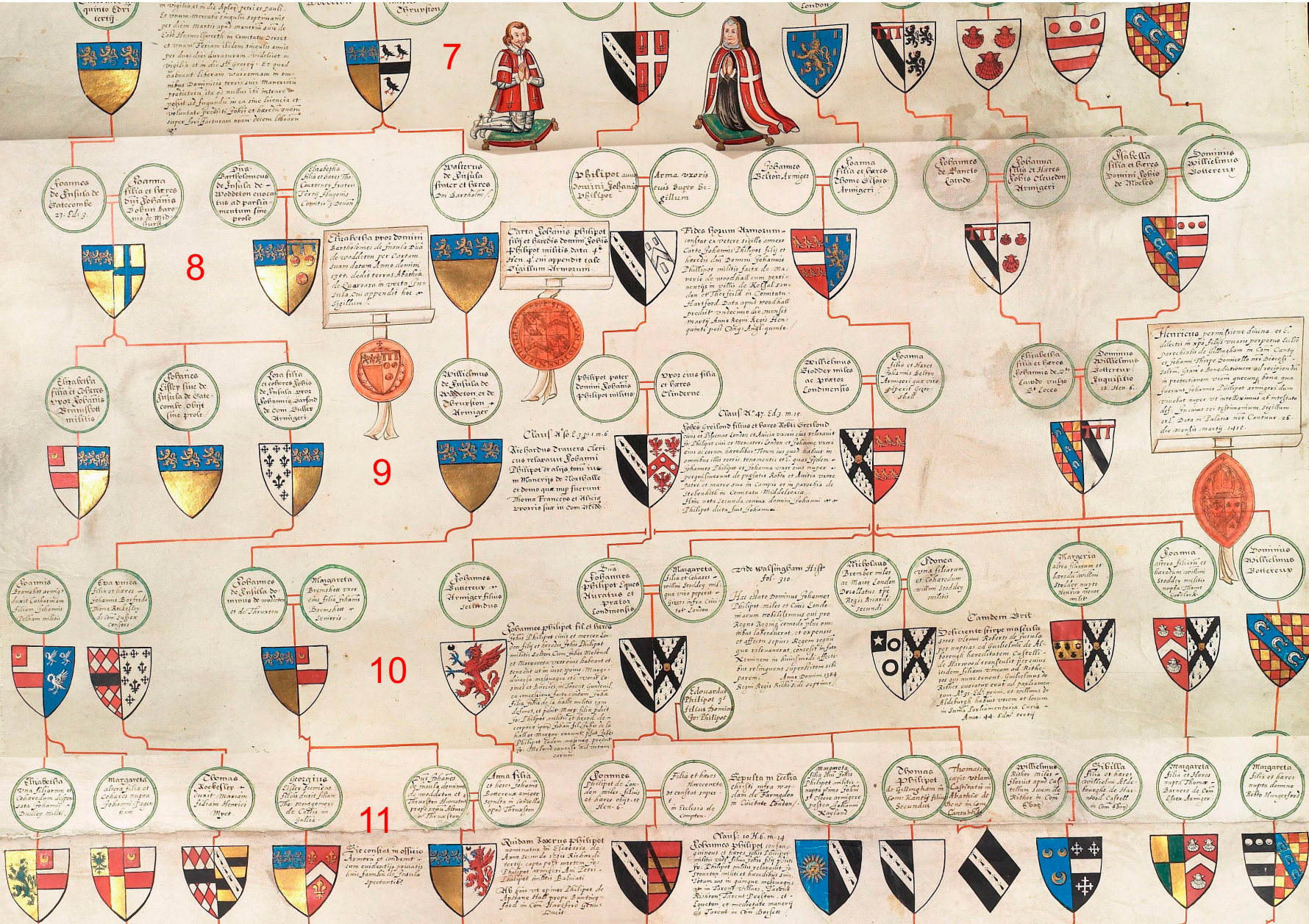




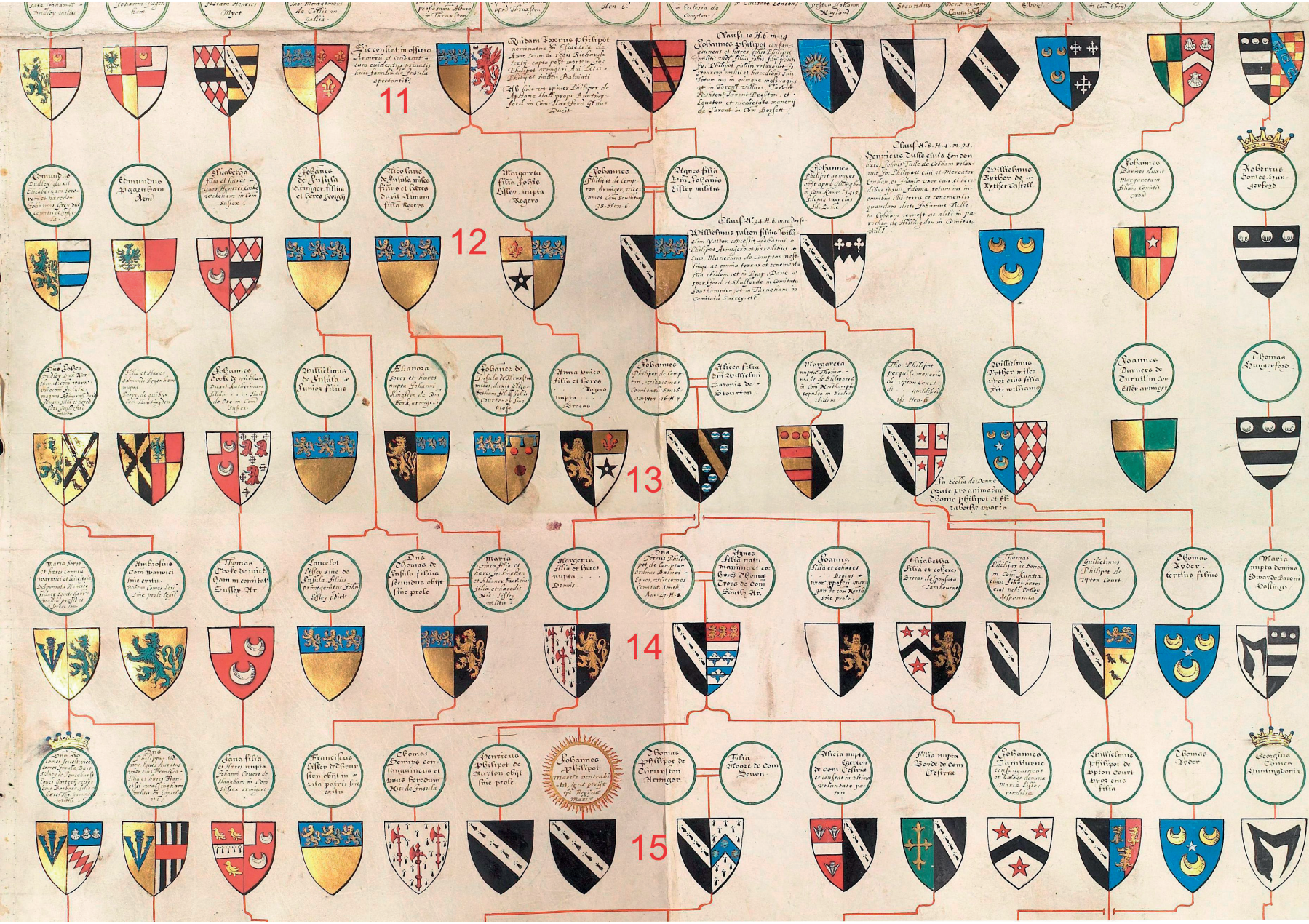




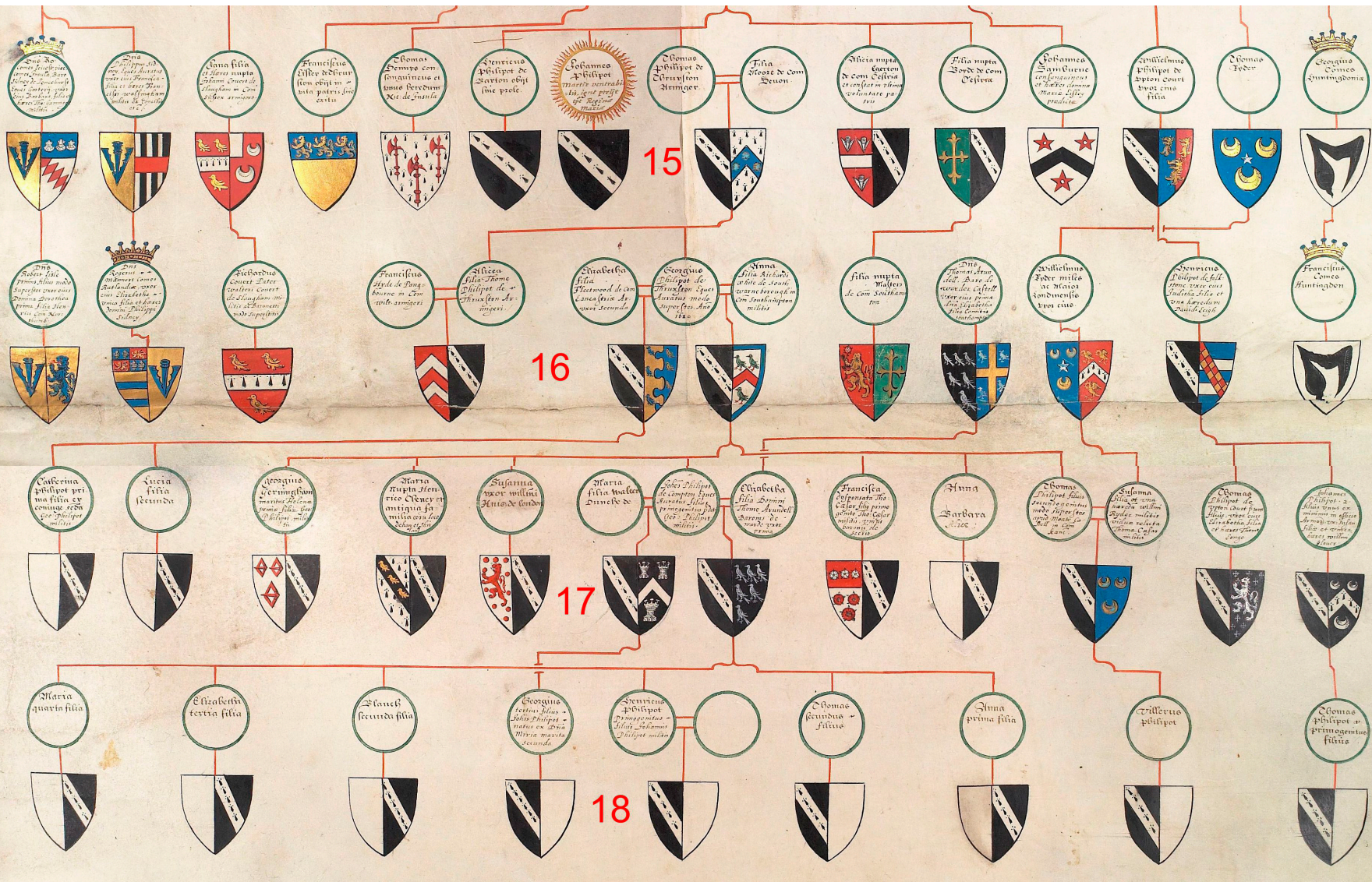














Insignia paterna domini Johannis  
Philpot Malien et Susssexii suorum



Insignia Rodricum Johannis Philpot de  
Pauersham Jura consule et Justiciarii  
ad pacem in Com. Kent



Clipeus Henrici pro laudabili seruitio  
Henr. Johannis Philpot assignatus



Arma Philpot de castro Treuincia



Arma Nicholaj Philpot Tensarii regius  
cui per Henr. Quintum Henr. Rex d. bellu  
maderum de Apstren Hall in Com. Harff



Insignia Gentilitia Familie huius Romini  
de Philpot infra Regni Helcones



Huntley Philpots de Gualtia a quo  
moderna familia de Huntley in  
Comitatu Gloucestria



1 Philpot

2 Clipeus honoris

3 Clynderne

4 Stoddy

5 O'Brien

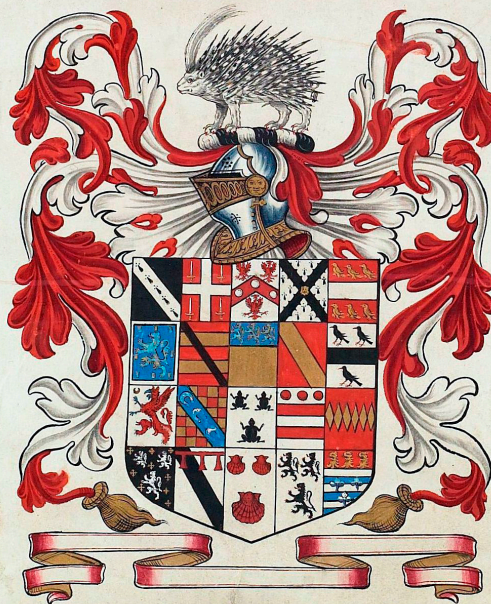
6 Greors

7 Harecourt

8 Lisle

9 Columbarijs

10 Coemades



11 Botreaux

12 Idem

13 Idem

14 Mootes

15 Neuomarch

16 Preux

17 Saincelo

18 Cleudon

19 Cheucroil

20 Troys

Conuenit cum Originali modo in Manibus G. Johannis  
Philpot de Compton in Com. South: Equitis Aurati atque  
huius Romini et familie Heredi primarij, Approbata  
et Confirmata Regibus Anglorum

Jr. Philpott Rouge dragon

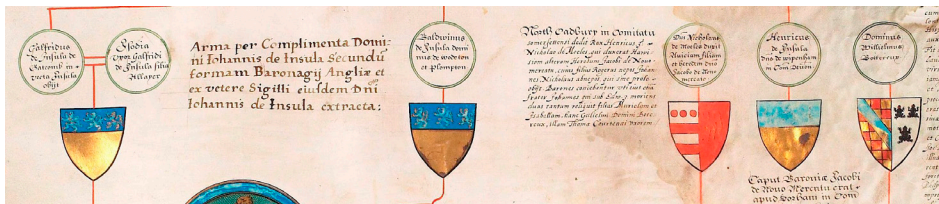
## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Lines 1-3

Between the two captions are the first three generations of de **Lisle**:

1. Jordan who was named after the Isle of Wight where he had lordship.
2. Geoffrey de **Lisle**, son of Jordan, who donated lands to charity for the soul of Earl Baldwin of Devon.
- 3a. Jordan de **Lisle**, second son.
- 3b. Walterus de **Lisle** who prospered under King John.
- 3c. His wife Margaret who donated lands to the Abbot of Quarr.
4. Lancelot de **Lisle**, third son.

### 4<sup>th</sup> line: 5 shields

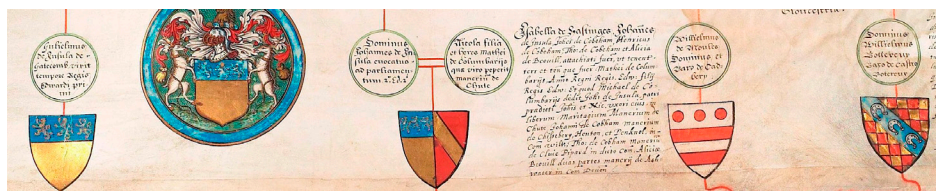


1. Goeffrey de **Lisle** of Gatcombe on the Isle of Wight.
2. Isolda, wife of Geoffrey de **Lisle** and daughter of **Allaver**.
3. Baldwin de **Lisle**, Lord of Salcombe, who died in the first year of king Edward II.  
Followed by the text: King Henry the third gave North Cadbury in the county of Somerset to Nicholas de Moels, who married Hawise the second heir of James de Newmarch, whose son Roger, nephew Nicholas, and great-nephew John (who died without issue) were created Barons like his brother John, who died under Edward III leaving only two daughters, Muriel and Isabella, the latter being the wife of William Lord Botreaux, the former being the wife of Thomas de Courtenay.
4. Lord Nicholaus de **Moels** (*Argent two bars gules in chief three torteaux*) married Avice, daughter and heir of lord James of **Newmarch** (*Gules, unfinished, but from the quarterings below, no. 15, Gules six fusils in fess or*).
5. Henry de **Lisle**, lord of Wipenham in the county of Devon.  
Below this is: "The caput of the barony of Jacob of Newmarch was at Dorham in the county of Gloucester."
6. Lord William **Botreaux** (*Checky or and gules a bend azure*) impaling *Argent three toads sable* (for Botreaux of Cockermouth, co. Cumberland).



## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

### 5<sup>th</sup> line: 4 shields



1. William de **Lisle** of Gatcombe lived during the reign of Edward the First  
This is followed by a coat of arms on a plate, with the superscription,

“Coat of arms extracted by the Compliments of Lord John de Insula according to the form of the Baronage of England and with the old seal of the same Lord John de Insula.”

2. Lord John de **Lisle**, summoned to the second parliament of Edward II (his arms impaling)

3. Nicola, daughter and heir of Matthew de **Columbers** (*Gules a bend or*) who brought to her husband the manor of Chute.

Followed by the text: “Isabella de Hastings John de Lisle, John de Cobham, Henry de Cobham, Thomas de Cobham and Alice de Beoville stated that they held what belonged to Mathew de Columbers in the reign of king Edward, son of king Edward (i.e. Edward II), and what Michael de Columbers gave to John de Insula, the father of the aforesaid John, and to Nicola his wife, in frank marriage<sup>2</sup> the manor of Chute; to John de Cobham, the manor of Chissebery, Henton, and Denknol in Wiltshire; to Thomas de Cobham the castle of Cleve Pipard in the aforementioned region; to Alice Beoville two parts of the manor of Ashwater in Devon.”

3. William de **Moels**, Lord and Baron of Cadbury.

4. Lord William **Botreaux**, Baron of Castle Botreaux (*Checky gules and or on a bend azure three horseshoes argent*).

### 6<sup>th</sup> line: 9 shields



1. Baldwin de **Lisle**, Lord of Gatcombe, died in the first year of king Edward II.

2. John de **Lisle**, the younger son.

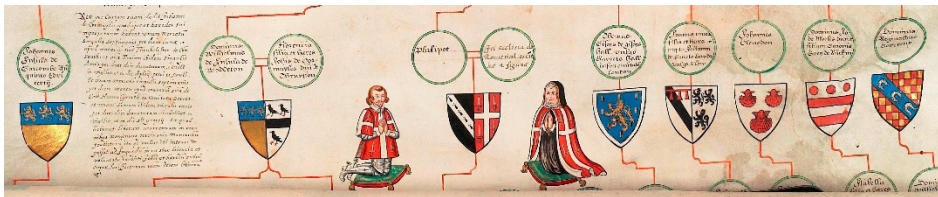
3. Lord Walter de **Lisle** of Wootton; 4. Margaret his wife (No arms are shown).

<sup>2</sup> A feudal law by which the property of the wife (usually given as a marriage gift to the bride) became also the property of her husband.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

4. **Philpot** (*Sable a bend ermine*) - the original father.
5. John **Gisors**, knight, Mayor of London, and Constable of the Tower (*Azure billetty and a lion rampant or in border argent*).<sup>3</sup>
6. Alexander **Cheverell** (*Argent three lions rampant sable*).
7. Roger de **Clevedon** (*Argent three escallops gules*).
8. Lord Roger de **Moels** married Alice, daughter and heir of William **Preuze** (*Sable crusilly of cross crosslets or a lion rampant argent*).<sup>4</sup>
9. Lord William **Botreaux**.

### 7th Line: 8 shields



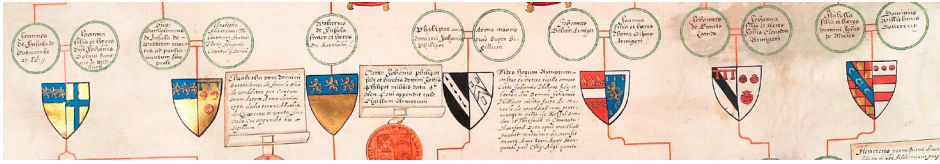
1. John de **Lisle** of Gatcombe in the fifth year of Edward the third.  
Then, "In the year 32 of Edward I (1303-4) the king by his charter granted to John de Cormeilles that he and his heirs shall have in perpetuity one market every week on Monday at his manor of Thruxton in the county of South(hampton) and one festival there every year for two days, that is to say on the Vigil and on the day of the Apostles of Peter and Paul. And one market every week on Tuesday at his manor of East Hemsworth in the county of Dorset and one festival there every year for two days, that is to say on the Vigil and on St. George's day. And that they should have free enclosed land for breeding game in all the lands of the aforesaid manors, so that no one may enter there to make the game flee without license and without the consent of the aforesaid John and his heirs, upon forfeiting ten pounds of silver."
2. Lord William de **Lisle** of Wootton.
3. his wife Florence, daughter and heir of John de **Cormeilles** (*Argent a fess sable between three crows proper*), sire of Thruxton.  
Next two kneeling figures, tabarded and cloaked respectively, and between them the arms of **Philpot** impaling **Philpot** – the latter bearing the superscription, "In the church of Romney there exists this image."
4. Thomas **Gisors** of Gisors Hall, commonly known as Garrets Hall in the city of London.
5. Joan (**Cheverell**, as per 6-6), only daughter and heir, married to John de Sancto Lawdo, commonly known as **St Lo** (*Argent a bend sable a label of three points gules*).
6. John **Clevedon**.
7. Lord John de **Moels** married the daughter of Baron Gray of Ruthin.
8. Lord Reginald **Botreaux**.

<sup>3</sup> Gysors was Lord Mayor of London 1245/6/8, and 1311/4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the arms with Hauteville on line 17 where the cross crosslets are argent.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

### 8<sup>th</sup> line: 7 shields and 2 documents bearing wax seal impressions



1. John de **Lisle** of Gatcombe 23 Ed. 3 (1349-50) his arms impaling Joan, daughter and heiress of Lord John **Bohun**, baron of Midhurst (*Argent a cross azure*).
2. Lord Bartholomew de **Lisle** of Wootton summoned to parliament, without issue, his arms impaling Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas **Courteney**, brother of Hugh, the third Earl of Devon. (*Or three torteaux and a label of three points azure*).

Next a sealed document which reads, "Elizabeth, the wife of Lord Bartholomew de Insula of Wootton, by her charter dated to the year of Our Lord 1355, gave the lands of Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight to which this seal is affixed." The seal is a facsimile in red showing de Lisle impaling Courteney.

3. Walter de **Lisle**, brother and heir of Lord Bartholomew.

There is then another document bearing a seal which reads, "Charter of John Philipot, son and heir of Lord John Philipot, knight, dated 4 Henry IV (1402-3), to which this seal is affixed", showing, *Quarterly 1&4 Philipot quartering on a bend a chevron between three billets, 2&3 on a chevron between three eagles displayed(?) multiple roundels*.

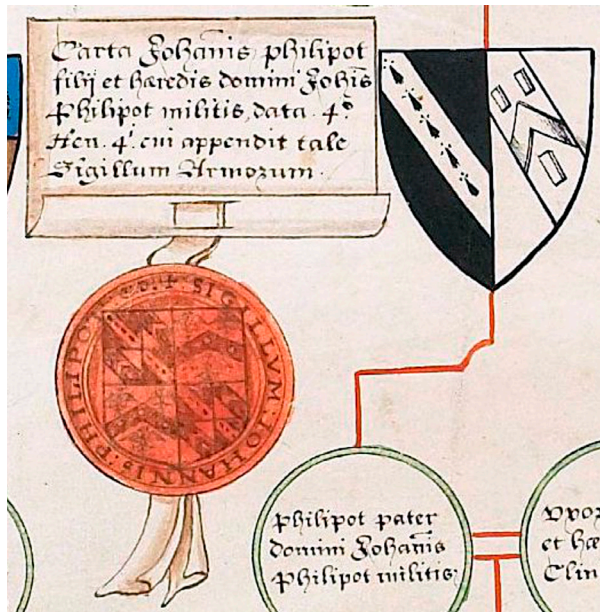


Figure 3: Seal of John son of Sir John Philipot 1402-3, line 8 no. 3.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

4. **Philipot** Anno Domini John Philipot (*Sable a bend ermine*) impaling the arms derived from the above seal *on a bend a chevron between three billets two and one*.

This is followed by a text which reads, "The truthfulness of these arms is established by an old seal annexed to a charter of John Phillipot, son and heir of the said Lord John Phillipot, knight, made of the Manor of Woodhall, with appurtenances in the towns of Kelshall, Sandon and Therfield, in Hertfordshire. Given at Woodhall on the eleventh day of March in the 5th year of King Henry V (1418)."

5. John **Belton**, esquire (*Gules a fess argent between six martlets or*) impaling the arms of Joan, daughter and heir of Thomas **Gisors**, esquire.

6. John of **Saint Lo** (*Argent a bend sable a label of three points gules*) impaling the arms of Joan, daughter and heir of John de **Clevedon**, esquire.

7. Isabella, daughter and heir of Lord John de **Moels** impaling the arms of Sir William **Botreaux** (the names have been accidentally reversed, and are therefore reversed in relation to the arms below).

### 9th line: 7 shields



1. Elizabeth de **Lisle**, daughter and coheirress, wife of John **Bramshott** (*Argent a fess and on a canton gules a crescent or*), knight.

2. John **Lissey**, or de **Lisle** of Gatcombe, died without issue.

3. Laura, daughter and coheir of John de **Lisle**, wife of John **Barford** of Sussex, esquire (*Argent semy of cross crosslets three fleurs de lis sable*).

4. William de **Lisle** of Wootton and Thruxton, esquire.

This is followed by the text; "Close Roll 24 Edward III m. 6 (1350-51) Richard Travers, clerk released to John Philipot and others the whole right of the Manors of Northall and the house which belonged to Thomas Fraunceys and Alice his wife in the county of Middlesex."<sup>5</sup>

5. Philip the father of John **Philipot**, knight, impaling his wife the daughter and heiress of **Clynderne** (*Argent on a chevron between three eagles displayed gules as many plates*).<sup>6</sup>

This is followed by the text: "Close Roll 47 Edward III m.15 (1373-4): John Greyland, son and heir of Robert Greyland, citizen and fishmonger of London, and Alice his wife released to John Philipot, citizen and merchant of London and Joan his wife and their heirs all the right which he had in all those lands and tenements that the same John Philipot and Joan his wife lately acquired from the aforementioned Robert and his wife

<sup>5</sup> CCR 1369-74, p. 582.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of roundels on a chevron between three birds see *DBA*, vol. 2, pp. 456-7.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

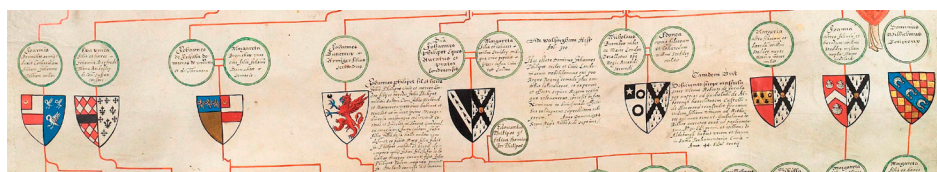
Avice, her father and mother, in the fields and in the parish of Stepney in the county of Middlesex. Hence note that the second wife of John Philipot was called Joan.”

6. William **Stody**, knight and governor (Praetor) of London (*Ermine on a saltire engrailed sable a leopard's head or*), impaling the arms of his wife Joan, daughter and heiress of John **Belton**, esquire, who brought Gisors Hall to her husband.

7. Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John de St Lawdo, commonly known as **Saint Lo**, impaled with the arms of her husband Sir William **Botreaux**, inquisition 12 Henry VI (1433-34). Once again, the names of the spouses are the wrong way around in relation to the arms below.

This is followed by the ecclesiastically sealed document; “Henry... to our beloved in Christ the perpetual vicar of the parish of Gillingham in Kent and to John Thorpe young nobleman of our Diocese, greeting. To receive whatever goods belonged to John Philipot, esquire while he was living, who as we understand died intestate. In witness whereof our seal. Dated in our Palace of Canterbury on 26th March 1415”. The arms show the See of Canterbury impaling **Chicheley**, a chevron between three cinquefoils, for Archbishop Chicheley.

### 10<sup>th</sup> line: 9 shields



1. John **Bramshott**, esquire, who married Catherine the daughter of John **Pelham**, knight (*Azure three pelicans vulning themselves proper*).

2. Eve, only daughter and heiress of John **Barford** impaling the arms of her husband Thomas **Rokesley** of Sussex (*Lozengy gules and argent a fess sable*).

3. John de **Lisle**, lord of Wootton and Thruxton (impaling) Margaret **Bramshott** his wife, daughter of John Bramshott senior.

4. John **Botreaux**, esquire, second son (*Argent a griffin beaked and armed azure, a crescent sable for difference*).

This is followed by the text; “John Philipot son and heir of John Philipot, citizen and mercer of London, son and heir of John Philipot, knight, sends greeting. John Melond and Margaret his wife have and hold as in the right of Margaret diverse messuages etc. known as Cosmes and Burcies in Tarrant Gunville, granted to them by a certain Joan, daughter of John de la Halle, knight, now deceased and by the aforesaid Margaret the daughter of the aforesaid John Philipot, knight, and heir of the body of Joan daughter of John de la Hall and Margaret, deceased. John Philipot concedes the abovementioned messuage to John Melond for his lifetime.”

## THE COAT OF ARMS

5. Lord John **Philipot**, knight bachelor, and Praetor of London (impaling) Margaret, daughter and coheir of William **Stoddy**, knight, who brought to her husband Gisors under the walls of the city of London.

On a roundel to the right of this are the words; “Edward Philipot, third son of Sir John Philipot”, followed by, “See Walsingham’s History folio 310: During this summer Lord John Philipot, knight and most noble citizen of London, who had done for the kingdom and the King more than any other with all his labours, and had often helped the King and the kingdom with expenses and affection, fell into fate (i.e. died), leaving the name in such affections to survive him, in the year 1384, seventh of the reign of king Richard the second.”

6. Nicholas **Bramber**, knight and Mayor of London, beheaded under King Richard the Second (*Argent two annulets and on a canton sable a mullet argent*), impaling the arms of Idonea, one of the daughters and coheirs of William **Stoddy**, knight (as per 9-6).

To the right of this is the text, “(from) Camden’s *Britannia*: in the absence of a male heir the sister of the last Robert de Lisle in marriage to William de Alborough, transferred the inheritance of the Castle of Harewood through his only daughter to Rithers, who now holds it. William of Rither was summoned to parliament in the 31st year of Edward the First, and William de Aldeburgh was summoned to a great council in the year 44 of Edward the Third.”<sup>7</sup>

7. Margaret, another daughter and heir of William **Stoddy**, married Henry **Venor**, knight (*Gules on a fess or five escallops sable*, impaling Stoddy).

8. Joan, another daughter and heirs of William **Stoddy**, knight, married Thomas **Goodlack** (*Gules a chevron between three escallops argent*).

9. Lord William **Botreaux**.

### 11th line: 12 shields



1. Elizabeth (**Bramshott**) a daughter and co-heiress betrothed to John **Dudley**, knight (*Or a lion rampant queue fourchee azure*).

2. Margaret (**Bramshott**), second daughter and co-heiress, married to John **Packenham** (*Quarterly or and gules in the first quarter an eagle displayed sable*).

3. Thomas **Rokesley** (as per 10-2) married Mary, daughter of Henry **Merrit** (of Wiltshire) (*Barry of six or and sable a bend ermine*).

<sup>7</sup> Slight reference is made to part of this statement in William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1695) p. 714.



## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

4. George **Lisley** the second son, married the daughter of Thomas **Montgomery** of Calais in Gaul (*Gules a chevron argent between three fleurs de lis or*).<sup>8</sup>

This is followed by the text; “So is established in the office of Arms, and confirmed with the visible proofs that pertain to this family of de Lisle”

5. Lord John de **Lisle**, lord of Wootton and Thruxton, buried near the top of the hill in Thruxton; impaling his wife Anne, daughter and heir of John **Botreaux**, esquire, buried in the chancel at Thruxton.

To the right of this: “which Roger Philipot was named in the escheat taken in the second year of King Richard the Third (1484-5), after the death of the John Philipot, esquire, grandfather of Peter Philipot, knight of the Bath. From here came the line of Philipot of Aspenden Hall, near Buntingford in Hertfordshire.”

6. John **Philipot** of London, knight, son and heir, died 15 Hen VI [1436-7] impaling the arms of his wife, the daughter and heir of **Harcourt** (*Gules two bars or and overall a bendlet sable*) as it is established above in the Church of Compton. A note besides this says: “Buried in the Church of Christ (the Greyfriars) in Faringdon Ward in the city of London.”

To the right is the text; “Close Roll 10 Henry VI (1431-2), m. 14: John Philipot, kinsman and heir of John Philipot, knight, that is to say the son of John, son of the abovementioned John Philipot, knight, remitted to John Stourton, knight and his heirs all rights in messuages in Tarrant Villars, Tarrant Rushton, Tarrant Preston, and Loveton, and half of the manor of Tarrant, in Dorset.”<sup>9</sup>

7. Margaret, the daughter of lord John **Philipot**, knight, married first to John **St. Clere**, esquire (*Az the sun in splendour or*), and then to John Naylond.

8. Thomas **Philipot** of Gillingham in Kent, second son (impaling a blank shield).

9. Thomasina (**Philipot**) takes the life of chastity in the Abbey of Denny in Cambridgeshire (arms of Philipott on a lozenge).

10. William **Rither**, knight, who flourished at his castle of Rither, in Yorkshire, (*Azure three crescents or*), impaling the arms of his wife Sybil, daughter and heir of William **Aldeburgh** of Harewood Castle in Yorkshire (*Sable a fess between three crosses crosslet argent*).<sup>10</sup>

11. Margaret (**Stoddy**), daughter and heir, who married to the Thomas **Barners**, esquire, of Essex (*Quarterly or and sable*).

12. Margaret (**Botreaux**), daughter and heir, married to lord Robert **Hungerford** (*Sable two bars argent and in chief three plates*).

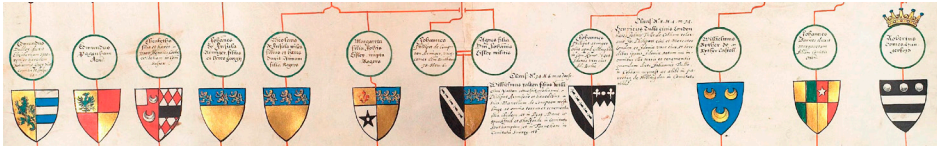
<sup>8</sup> Sir Thomas Montgomery, K.G. 4<sup>th</sup> Nov 1476, died 11th January 1495.

<sup>9</sup> CCR 1429-35, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> Aldeburgh's son died in 1391 and left no male heir so the estate passed to his two daughters, Sybil and Elizabeth. They and their husbands Sir William Ryther and Sir Richard Redmayne shared occupation of the castle, either simultaneously or in a fourteenth century version of time-share, an arrangement the two families continued for more than 200 years. The last resident was Robert Ryther, who retired to his wife's family's estate in Lincolnshire around 1630. In 1657 the amalgamated Harewood and Gawthorpe estates were bought by Sir John Cutler.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

### 12<sup>th</sup> line: 11 shields



1. Edmund **Dudley** married Elizabeth, sister and heir of John **Grey**, sheriff of Isle (*Argent two bars azure*).
2. Edmund **Packenham**, esquire.
3. Elizabeth (**Rokesley**), daughter and heiress, wife of Henry **Cooke** of Wikeham in Sussex.
4. John de **Lisle**, knight, son and heir who married Arman daughter of Rogers.
5. Nicholas de **Lisle**, knight, son and heir, married Irma, daughter of **Rogers** (q.v.).
6. Margaret, daughter of John **Lisley**, who married **Rogers** (*Argent a mullet pierced sable and on a chief or a fleur de lis gules*).
7. John **Philipot** of Compton, esquire, sheriff of Southampton, 38 Hen. VI. (1459-60), impaling the arms of his wife Agnes, daughter of Sir John **Lisley**, knight.

This is followed by, "Close Roll 34 Henry VI (1455-56) m.10 dorse: William Yalton, son of William Yalton, granted to John Philipot, esquire, and his heirs, the manor of Compton Westling with all his lands and tenements there, and in Lyat, Dane, Sparkford, and Shalford, in the county of Southampton, and in Farnham in Surrey, etc."<sup>11</sup>

8. John **Philipot**, esquire, died at Gillingham in Kent in 1415. His arms impaling those of his wife Idonia the daughter of Bame (*Argent on a chief indented sable a plate between two trefoils argent* (?).

To the right of this the following: "Close Roll 8 Henry IV(1406-7), m. 34: Henry Tulle, citizen of London and heir of John Tulle of Cobham, to John Philipott, citizen and mercer of London, and Idonia his wife, and the heirs of Idonia, of all right in all his lands and tenements formerly belonging to John Tulle in Cobham and elsewhere in the parish of Hillingdon in the region of Middlesex."<sup>12</sup>

9. William **Ryther** of Ryther Castle.
10. John **Barnes** married Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Oxford [**Vere**] (*Quarterly gules and or in the first quarter a mullet argent*).
11. Robert, Earl of **Hungerford** (as 11-12).

<sup>11</sup> CCR 1454-61, p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> CCR 1405-9, p. 226.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

### 13<sup>th</sup> line: 13 shields



1. Lord John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Warwick, sheriff of the Isle, and Lord High Admiral, married Joan, the daughter and heir of Edward **Guldeford**, knight (*Or a saltire between four martlets sable*).
2. The daughter and heiress of Edmund **Packenham**, married to **Pole** of Huntingdonshire (*Per pale or and sable a saltire engrailed counterchanged*).
3. John **Cooke** of Wickham married Katherine daughter of Hall of Ore in Sussex (*Argent semy of crosses crosslet three lion's heads erased gules*).
4. William de **Lisle**, the younger son.
5. Eleanor de **Lisle**, sister and heir, married to John **Kingston** of Berkshire, esquire (*Sable a lion rampant queue fourchee or*).
6. John de **Lisle** of Thruxton, knight, married Elizabeth, daughter of John **Courtney**, (*Or three torteaux and a label of three points azure*), without issue.
7. Anne, only daughter and heiress of **Rogers** married to **Brocas** (*Sable a lion rampant guardant or*).
8. John **Philipot** of Compton, Sheriff of Southampton 16 Henry VII (1500-1), impaling the arms of his wife Alice, daughter of Lord William, baron of **Stourton** (*Sable a bend or between six fountains*).
9. Margaret (**Philipot**) married to Thomas **Wake** of Blisworth in Northamptonshire, buried there in the church there (*Or two bars gules and in chief three torteaux*).
10. Thomas **Philipot** acquired the manor of Upton Court from Guildeford in the reign of Henry VI, his arms shown impaling *Argent a cross between four mullets gules* – unnamed, but Papworth gives these for Danbury, Flammicks (or Flammyke) and Flamyn.

To the right is the text, “In the church of Downe. Pray for the souls of Thomas Philipot and Elizabeth his wife.”

11. William **Ryther**, knight (*Azure three crescents or, a mullet argent for difference*) his wife a daughter of **Fitzwilliam** (*Lozengy argent and gules*).
12. John **Barnes** of Turvil in Essex, esquire.
13. Thomas **Hungerford**.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

### 14<sup>th</sup> line: 13 shields

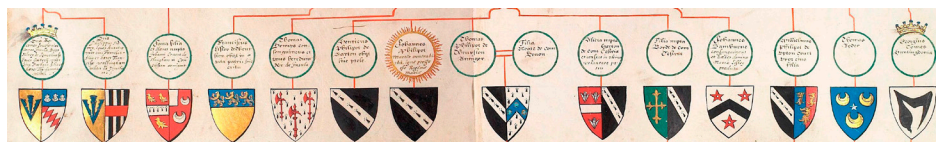


1. Mary (**Dudley**) sister and heiress of the Earl of Warwick and Leicester (*Or a lion rampant azure*), betrothed to Henry **Sidney** Knight of the Garter, Prefect of Wales and Secretary (*Or a pheon azure*).
2. Ambrose (**Dudley**) Earl of Warwick without issue. Robert, Earl of Leicester without legitimate issue.
3. Thomas **Cooke** of Wickham in Sussex, esquire (*Gules two crescents and a canton argent*).
4. Lancelot **Lisley** or de **Lisle**, eldest son of the aforesaid John Lisley.
5. Lord Thomas de **Lisle**, the second son, died without issue, impaling his wife Mary, only daughter and heir of John **Kingston** and Eleanor his wife, daughter and heir of Nicholas **Lisley**, knight.
6. Margaret (**Kingston**) daughter and heir married **Dennis** (*Ermine three battle-axes in pale gules*).
7. Lord Peter **Philipot** of Compton, knight of the Bath sheriff of South(ampton) 27 Henry VIII (1535-6), impaling the arms of his wife Agnes daughter born the eldest and coheiress of Thomas **Troys** of Hampshire, esquire (*Barry of six argent and azure three trefoils slipped counterchanged on a chief gules three lion's heads erased or*).
8. Joanna, daughter and coheir of **Brocas**, wife of Christopher Morgan of the county of North..., died without issue (impaling a blank shield).
9. Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of **Brocas**, betrothed to **Sambourne** (*Argent a chevron sable between three mullets gules*).
10. Thomas **Philipot** of Down in Kent, whose daughter and heiress was promised in matrimony to Nicholas **Petley** (impaling a blank shield).
11. William **Philipot** of Upton Court, his arms impaling (**Meriwether**) (*Or three martlets Sable on a chief azure a lion passant regardant or*).<sup>13</sup>
12. Thomas **Ryder** - - third son
13. Mary (**Hungerford**) married to Lord Edward, Baron **Hastings** (*Argent a maunch sable*).

<sup>13</sup> John Meriwether, d. 1634, of Shepherdswell in Kent married Alice Crayford, in Great Mongeham, Kent on Jan. 13, 1612. By patent dated 26th July 1609, these arms were confirmed to him. He lived at the Mansion Place, and held Butter St. Farm, Shepherdswell, which was alienated to him by the Boys family. The author is grateful to Richard Dempster for this information.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

### 15<sup>th</sup> line: 14 shields



1. Lord Robert (**Sidney**), Earl of Leicester, Sheriff of the Isle, Baron Sidney of Penshurst, Knight of the Garter; impaling the arms of his wife Barbara, daughter and heir of Thomas **Gammage**, knight (*Argent five fusils in bend gules on a chief azure three escallops argent*).
2. Lord Philip **Sidney**, knight bachelor, impaling the arms of his wife Frances, daughter and heir of Francis **Walsingham**, knight and counsellor (*Paly of six argent and sable a fess gules*).
3. Jane (**Cooke**), daughter and heir, married to John **Covert** of Slaugham in Sussex (*Gules a fess ermine between three martlets or*).
4. Francis **Lisley** of Thrupton died in his father's lifetime without issue.
5. Thomas **Dennys** kinsman and sole heir of Nicholas de Lisle (*Ermine three battle-axes in pale gules*).
6. Henry **Philipot** of Barton died without issue.
7. John **Philipot**, a venerable martyr, who was burnt at the stake under Queen Mary.
8. Thomas **Philipot** of Thrupton, esquire impaling the arms of his wife, a daughter of **Moore** of Devon (*Ermine on a chevron azure three leopard's faces or*).
9. Alice (**Philipot**) married to **Egerton** of Cheshire (*Gules a fess argent between three phaeons or*), , as is mentioned in her father's last will.
10. (**Philipot**) an unnamed daughter who married **Boyd(ell)** of Cheshire (*Vert a cross patonce or*).
11. John **Sambourne** (*Argent a chevron sable between three pierced mullets gules*) kinsman and heir of the aforesaid Lady Mary **Lisley**.
12. William **Philipot** of Upton Court. His wife was the daughter of **Crus** (*Per pale azure and gules three griffon's heads erased or*).<sup>14</sup>
13. Thomas **Ryder**.
14. George (**Hastings**), Earl of Huntingdon.

<sup>14</sup> The arms of Cloke of Kent.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

### 16<sup>th</sup> line: 11 shields



1. Lord Robert Lisle (**Sidney**) eldest surviving son impaling the arms of his wife Lady Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry (**Dudley**), Earl of Northumberland.
2. Lord Roger **Manners**, Earl of Rutland (*Or two bars azure and a chief quarterly azure and gules on the 1st and 4th two fleurs de lis or; on the 2nd and 3rd a lion of England*); impaling the arms of his wife Elizabeth the only daughter and heiress of Lord Philip **Sidney**.
3. Richard **Covert**, father of Walter Covert of Slaugham, knight and baronet, his eldest surviving son (*Gules a fess ermine between three martlets or*).<sup>15</sup>
4. Francis **Hyde** of Pangbourne in Wiltshire, esquire (*Gules two chevrons argent*), impaling the arms of his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas **Philipot** of Thruxton, esquire.
5. Elizabeth the daughter of **Fleetwood** of Lancashire, esquire (*Per pale nebuly or and azure six martlets three and three counterchanged*) impaling (as his second wife) the arms of her husband George **Philipot** of Thruxton, knight bachelor, still living in 1620.
6. Anne, daughter of Richard **White** of South Warnborough in Hampshire, knight (*Argent a chevron gules between three popinjays vert in border azure*), impaling the arms of her husband Sir George **Philipot**, as last.
7. Unnamed daughter (of **Boydell**) married (impaling) **Masters** of Hampshire (*Gules a lion rampant guardant or tail forked supporting in the paws a united rose of Lancaster and York stalked and leaved vert*).
8. Lord Thomas **Arundell**, baron of Wardour Castle (*Sable six swallows argent, three, two and one*) impaling the arms of his first wife the Lady Elizabeth (**Wriothesley**), daughter of the Earl of Southampton (*Azure a cross or between four hawks close argent*).
9. William **Ryder**, knight, and mayor of London, impaling the arms of his wife (*Gules a chevron Ermine between three pelicans vulning themselves*).<sup>16</sup>
10. Henry **Philipot** of Folkstone, impaling the arms of his wife Judith, daughter and heir of David **Leigh** (*Azure two bars argent and over all a bend compony or and gules*).
11. Francis Earl of Huntington (**Hastings**).

### 17<sup>th</sup> line: 12 shields



<sup>15</sup> Sir Walter Covert (c. 1544 - 1632) was knighted in 1591. He represented Sussex in Parliament on numerous occasions.

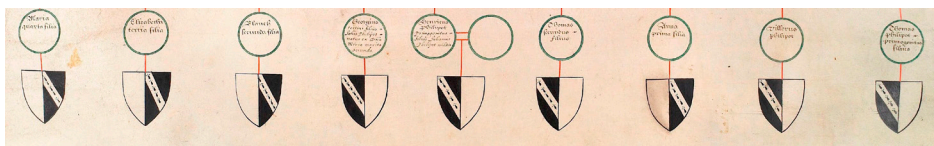
<sup>16</sup> The arms of Stone of Holme-juxta-Mare, Norfolk.



## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

1. Catherine **Philipot**, eldest daughter by the second wife of George Philipot, knight.
2. Lucy (**Philipot**), the second daughter.
3. George **Gerningham**, (*Argent three lozenge buckles gules*), impaling the arms of his wife Helena, eldest daughter of George **Philipot**, knight.
4. Mary (**Philipot**) married to Henry **Cheney** from an ancient family located at Dehay in Lancashire (*ermine on a bend sable three martlets or*).
5. Susanna (**Philipot**), wife of William **Anix** of London. (*Argent a lion rampant gules within an orle of torteaux*).
6. Mary daughter of Walter **Dunche** (*Sable a chevron between three towers triple-towered argent*), impaling the arms of her husband John **Philipot** of Compton, knight bachelor, eldest son of George Philipot, knight.
7. Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Thomas **Arundell**, Baron of Wardour, impaling the arms of John Philipot of Compton (as last) as his first wife.
8. Frances (**Philipot**) betrothed to Thomas **Caesar**, the eldest son of Thomas **Caesar**, knight, a Baron of the Exchequer (*Argent three roses gules and on a chief gules three roses argent*).
9. Anne, Barbara and Alice (**Philipot**).
10. Thomas **Philipot** second but eldest surviving son of the castle of Moat in Kent, impaling the arms of his wife Susanna, daughter and heir of William **Ryder**, knight (*Azure three crescents or*) and widow of Thomas **Caesar**, knight.
11. Thomas **Philipot** of Upton Court, eldest son, impaling the arms of his wife Elizabeth daughter and heir of Thomas **Tonge** (*Sable semy of crosses crosslet and a lion rampant argent*).
12. John **Philipot** second son, one of the youngest in military service; impaling the arms of his wife Susan, daughter and sole heir of William **Glover** (*Sable a chevron ermine between three crescents argent*).

### 18<sup>th</sup> line: 9 shields



The entire row comprises Philipot impaling blanks with no spouses named;

1. Mary, the fourth daughter.
2. Elizabeth, the third daughter.
3. Blanche, the second daughter.
4. George, the third son of John Philipot, born of Lady Mary, his second wife.
5. Henry Philipot, eldest son of John Philipot, knight.
6. Thomas, the second son.
7. Anne, the eldest daughter.
8. Villerus (William?) Philipot.
9. Thomas Philipot, eldest son.

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ADDENDUM of the quarterings of Sir John Philipot of Compton, with some additional arms deemed to be of relevance. The additional arms are arranged in two columns of four on either side of the full achievement and are as follows:

Left side:

1. The paternal insignia of Lord John Philipot, knight, and his successors (*Sable a bend ermine*).
2. The current arms of John Philipot, Jurat of Faversham, and J.P. in Kent (*Sable a bend ermine in sinister chief a lion's head facing to dexter argent*).
3. Shield of honour awarded to the praiseworthy service to Lord John Philipot (*Gules a cross between four swords in pale argent, hilted or*).
4. Arms of Philpot (sic) of the province of Wales (*Per pale azure and gules a lion rampant facing to dexter holding in its paws a tree, all argent*).

Right side:

5. Arms of Nicholas Philipot (sic), the royal barber, to whom for his services King Henry gave the manor of Aspenden Hall in Hertfordshire (*Sable a bend ermine and in sinister chief a lion passant argent*).
6. Arms of the gentry family of Philipot (sic) in the kingdom of Ireland (*Azure a bend ermine*).
7. Blank
8. Huntley Philipot (sic) of Wales from whom descend the modern family of Huntly of Gloucestershire (*Argent on a chevron between three stag's heads caboshed sable as many hunting horns argent*).

The quartered arms are as follows, the constituent shields being blazoned in the description of the pedigree.

Quarterly of 20:

1. Philipot, 2. Philipot augmentation, 3. Clynderne (the earliest Philipot heiress), 4. Stody (the second Philipot heiress, quarterings 5 and 6 also came with her), 5. Bolton, 6. Gisors, 7. Harcourt (the third Philipot heiress), 8. Lisle/Lisley (the fourth Philipot heiress, quarterings 9 to 19 came with her), 9. Columbers, 10. Corneilles, 11-13 Botreaux, 14. Moels, 15. Newmarch, 16. Preuze, 17 Saint Lo, 18. Clivedon, 19. Cheverell, 20. Troyes (the fifth and most recent Philipot heiress).

The Crest, *A porcupine passant proper*.

Below the shield the following certification:

"This agrees with the original in the hand of Sir John Philipot of Compton in Hampshire, knight bachelor and head of the name and family. Approved and Confirmed by the Kings of Arms.

Signed, John Philipott, Rouge dragon."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The author wishes to thank: the Hampshire Archives and Record Office staff; the Paulet family, for their permission to use the pedigree; Mr David Rymill, Archivist, for his overall help, in particular with the Paulet/Lucy Philipot marriage; and Mr Adam Jones (CCRA), Technical Officer, for supplying the images.

He is greatly indebted to Daniele Scarpi, Ph.D., Associate Professor in the Department of Management at the University of Bologna, Italy for his generosity in translating the latin inscriptions, without whose labours this publication would not have been possible.

# THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL of 1620

## PART 2 : A CASE OF HERALDIC MISDIRECTION

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

### Abstract

*The beautiful Philipot of Compton pedigree roll was utilised by John Philipot, as a trusted member of the College of Arms, in order both to aggrandise his ancestors and to lay claim to a venerable coat of arms to which he was not entitled. Either through defective research or artful duplicity, he managed to convince both his colleagues and other historians that his supposed ancestors had been granted an augmentation of honour, which he then assumed for his personal use.*

The beautifully executed Philipot of Compton pedigree roll, created in 1620 by John Philipot, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant (and from 1624, Somerset Herald), for his distant kinsman Sir John Philipot (d. 1634), was clearly a labour of love.<sup>1</sup> It is not only artfully balanced, but it includes those little vignettes and copies of seals which were so beloved by contemporary antiquaries. The commission provided him with the opportunity to ‘prove’ how he was related to the Philpots of Compton Wasseling in Hampshire<sup>2</sup>, who were indisputably descended from a man of great repute, Sir John Philipot (d. 1384), who had been Mayor of London, and was knighted for his staunch defence of the city, both before and during the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381. The attentive reader will notice that already two different spellings of the surname have been used. The modern spelling of Philipot was the version almost universally utilised in Rouge Dragon’s day, but his great hero, the mayor, had styled himself Philipot, and so it was to this archaic spelling that he reverted. It was the style which he used when he signed the pedigree roll.

He certainly collected a good deal of information, some of it accurate, but a careful study of the genealogy reveals that a great falsehood has been perpetrated: while the descent of Rouge Dragon’s client is mostly correct and accurate from the time of Sir John Philipot (d. 1384) [although the knight has been conflated with his son John (d. 1415) – of which, more later], he has slipped himself onto the pedigree in a quite improper manner. The descent is signed as being checked and authorised by the kings of arms, but this is likely to have applied only to the client’s descent, with the pursuivant being trusted to record his own ancestors honestly and reliably.

In reality the herald’s only notable male line ancestor, and the first to qualify as a gentleman, was his father Henry Philipot (d. 1603), who had three times been elected as mayor of Folkestone. It is this individual who heads Somerset Herald’s family pedigree in the London visitation of 1633.<sup>3</sup> He was commemorated with a non-heraldic brass plate

<sup>1</sup> Hampshire Record Office MS 93M86W/1; the College of Arms has Philipot’s draft pedigree, CA MS Ph. I: 81 O ff. 27b-29.

<sup>2</sup> The descent of this family from Sir John Philipot can be charted with reference to Paul A. Fox, ‘Philpott of London’, in *Great Cloister, a Lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 527-8; *VCH Herts*, vol. 3, pp. 240-44 (Woodhall); *VCH Hants*, vol. 3, pp. 406-8 (Compton), and vol. 4, pp. 387-91 (Thruxton).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Jackson Howard and Joseph Lemuel Chester (edd.), *The Visitation of London 1633-5*, 2 vols (Harl. Soc. vols 15+17, 1880-83), vol. 2, p. 163.



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in the south chancel aisle of Folkestone church.<sup>4</sup> Henry left money for his younger sons, John included, to be apprenticed when he reached the appropriate age.<sup>5</sup> He was duly apprenticed to a London linen draper in 1604, becoming a freeman linen draper in 1611, but the direction of his life changed following his marriage in 1612 to Susan Glover, the niece of Robert Glover, Somerset Herald (d. 1588).<sup>6</sup> This might well have been in keeping with the aspirations of John's mother Judith, whose father David Leigh had been a secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury and came from a long line of Cheshire gentry, the Leighs of Adlington.<sup>7</sup>

Prior to Henry, the certain ancestors of John Philipot comprise a mere two generations of solidly affluent yeomen farmers residing in the parish of Sibbertswold, now known by its alternative name of Shepherdswell, and located in proximity to Dover and Folkestone. William Philipot (d. c. 1553) left to his eldest son Sampson his messuage and tenement called Upton Court in Shepherdswell, then a farm, and previously the location of a manorial court.<sup>8</sup> John's father Henry (called Harry in his father's will of 1553) was the second son of William, who had married Rose Cloke at Elmsted in 1539. On the pedigree roll Rose's arms are given as *Per pale azure and gules three griffin's heads or*. So far as can be ascertained, the pedigree, on which Rose is not actually named, is the sole source for these arms.<sup>9</sup> There is no gentry family of Cloke listed in the 1530 visitation of Kent.

William (d. c. 1553) was the only son of William Philipot of Shepherdswell, who made his will in 1513.<sup>10</sup> The earlier William had lands and tenements in Shepherdswell and Ringwold, the former including land and tenements in Upton, which the testator's brother Thomas was to inherit if William's son died without issue. The testator's wife was named Joan, and the overseer of the will was Master John Boys.

Once again the wife's family is not named on the pedigree roll, but Joan is accorded the arms *Or three martlets sable on a chief azure a lion passant guardant or*, which were very similar to arms confirmed by Clarenceux Camden in 1609 (with the addition of a crest<sup>11</sup>) to John Meriwether (d.1634) of Shepherdswell, excepting that the Meriwether arms were charged on the chief with a sun in splendour and not a lion, as is shown by Philipot's own Kent visitation records of 1619-21.<sup>12</sup> This family was present in the parish in the earlier sixteenth century and, according to Hasted, took over ownership of the manor of Upton Court from the family of Boys during Elizabethan times.<sup>13</sup> Had William Philipot been married to a Meriwether our pursuivant would surely have given the arms

<sup>4</sup> W.D. Belcher, *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols (London 1888-1905), vol. 2, p. 48, no. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Kent Archives, Consistory Court of Canterbury PRC 32/40/45b.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Woodcock, 'John Philipot (Philipot) c. 1589-1645, *New DNB*.

<sup>7</sup> David Leigh, being only a minor cadet of the house, does not feature either in the 1580 Visitation of Cheshire or in Ormerod's pedigree of the family in George Ormerod, *The history of the County Palatine and City of Chester* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. revised by Thomas Helsby, 3 vols in 6 (London 1882), vol. 3, pp. 661-3.

<sup>8</sup> Archdeaonry Court of Canterbury PRC 17/30/84.

<sup>9</sup> Far be it from the author to suggest that Philipot invented the arms, but if he did do so he might have taken for his inspiration the arms of the local Kentish family of Boys: *Or a griffin segreant per fess azure and sable*.

<sup>10</sup> Archdeaonry Court of Canterbury PRC 17/12/275b.

<sup>11</sup> W. Harry Rylands (ed.), *Grantees of arms named in docquets and patents to the end of the seventeenth century* (Harl. Soc., vol. 66, 1915), p. 170.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Hovenden (ed.), *The Visitation of Kent taken in the years 1619-21 by John Philipot, Rouge Dragon* (Harl. Soc., vol. 92, 1898), p. 193.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 12 vols (Canterbury, 1797-1801), vol. 9, pp. 378-9.

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that had been ‘confirmed’ to the head of the family in the Jacobean era. Not knowing the surname of his great grandmother, he simply invented arms for her based on those of a local family well known to him.

It is quite evident that John Philipot did not have any information on the generation prior to William Philipot (d. c. 1513), and that his attempt to fill the void is a fabrication. He plugs the gap with the name Thomas Philipot, whom he says purchased the manor of Upton Court from the Guildeford family during the reign of King Henry VI. Unfortunately the herald’s own son and heir Thomas Philipot completely undermined this statement in his book on the history of Kent, *Villare Cantianum*.<sup>14</sup> Thomas reported that the manor of Upton Court belonged anciently to the Uptons, and then to the Goldsbroughs until early in the reign of Henry VII, when it passed to the family of Guildeford; then during the reign of Henry VIII, it passed to John Boys, esquire, of Fredville. Edward Hasted in his history of the county inserts the Philipots as owners between Guildeford and Boys, and before the reign of Henry VII, using misinformation clearly derived from John Philipot.<sup>15</sup> William Philipot (d. c. 1513) only held the tenancy of part of the manor, and was certainly not its lord. In fact, it was probably because John Boys was the lord of Upton manor in 1513 that he became the supervisor of William Philipot’s will in that year.

Without any proof that a Philipot owned land at Upton during the reign of Henry VI the herald’s pedigree falls apart, and no evidence can be found to substantiate the family having even resided in the parish at this time. Moreover, John Philipot has aggrandised his ancestors as owners of a manor when they were in fact mere yeomen who were not eligible to bear arms, although they might theoretically have inherited arms from ancestors who had been gentlemen. In order to address the question of whether Philipot might have been descended from Sir John Philipot the mayor we need to consider the pedigree from the opposite direction, taking the knight as the starting point.

Sir John Philipot (d.1384) was a wealthy wool merchant who was residing in London by 1357, and who was elected to represent London in parliament eight times between 1369 and 1383.<sup>16</sup> During his period as mayor in 1378-79 he both improved the city’s defences and dealt effectively with pirates. He was knighted by Richard II on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1381 with three other Londoners, on the day that Wat Tyler, leader of the Peasant’s Revolt, was executed.<sup>17</sup> As is explicitly stated in the pedigree roll, Philipot by 1620 was advocating the idea that Sir John had been granted an ‘augmentation of honour’ by Richard II in 1381 with the arms *Gules a cross between four swords in pale argent*. One of the most prominent features of the pedigree roll is the figure of Sir John in a suit of armour, wearing his chain of office, and holding a banner which quarters these arms.

The arms are reminiscent of those which had apparently only been granted to the city of London just before the Peasants’ Revolt: *Argent a cross and in dexter chief a sword gules*.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Philipot makes further mention of the ‘augmentation’ in *Villare Cantianum*.<sup>19</sup> His father had been so successful in promoting as fact what was no more than a personal theory that it was widely picked up by other historians, and until now has never been seriously challenged.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Philipot, *Villare Cantianum* (London, 1659), p. 321.

<sup>15</sup> Hasted, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 377.

<sup>16</sup> Pamela Nightingale, ‘Sir John Philipot (d. 1384)’, *DNB*.

<sup>17</sup> Sir Charles Oman. *The Great Revolt of 1381* (Oxford, 1906), p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> Fox, *Great Cloister*, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

<sup>19</sup> *Villare Cantianum*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

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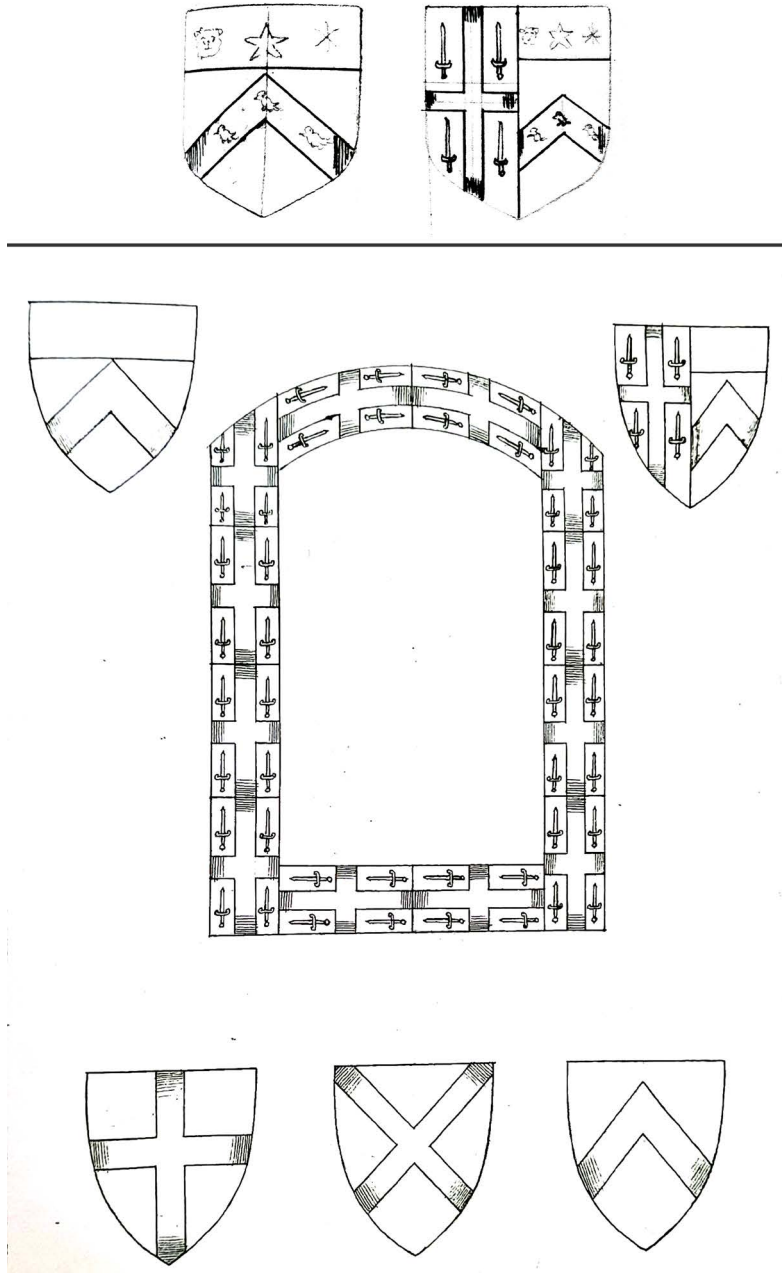


Figure 1: John Philipot's record of the heraldry from the manor of Grain in Gillingham, BL Egerton MS 3310A, f. 24. Above this are Hasted's additions to the two upper shields from his own annotated copy of Philipot's church notes, BL Add MS 5479, f. 69. Both manuscripts ©British Library.



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No record of the grant was enrolled by the central administration, and it is important to consider on what evidence Philipot made his claim. There is ample evidence for the mayor's arms *Sable a bend ermine*, which were recorded from his tomb.<sup>20</sup> Philipot would have found the cross and swords arms ascribed to his surname in the records of the College of Arms, and specifically in Garter Wriothesley's Book of Crosses.<sup>21</sup> He visited the chapel of the manor of Grange in the parish of Gillingham in Kent which was sold by the mayor's grandson John Philipot (d. 1436) in 1431. There he discovered, surrounding one of the windows, the cross and swords arms (**Figure 1**), which he was happy to attribute to the former mayor. The chapel had other arms carved into the stonework, among them an impalement with the cross and swords arms on the dexter side, while on the sinister side he identified a chevron and a chief. It did not worry him that this did not match arms attributable to the wives of Sir John Philipot. These were Lady Joan Samford (d. 1374), whom Sir John married before 1357, Margaret Croydon, and Margaret Stodey, the widow of John Birlingham.<sup>22</sup>

When Edward Hasted visited the chapel in the eighteenth century he was able to perceive some further features of the impaled arms, which he added to the copy which he had made of Philipot's church notes: *On a chevron three martlets, on a chief a mullet of six points between two leopard's faces* (Figure 1).<sup>23</sup> Hasted was unable to identify the arms, but it is quite certain that they belonged to Simon Dolsely (d.1362) who was Mayor of London in 1360, and who died without surviving male issue.<sup>24</sup> What we have therefore, is not an augmentation, but a straightforward impalement for the man who married Simon Dolsely's daughter. This was John Gisors (d. 1351), who had served two terms as mayor, from 1311 to 1313 and in 1314-15.<sup>25</sup> Joan Gisors, his daughter, was a principal beneficiary of the will of her grandfather Simon Dolsely in 1362. She married John de Stodey (d. 1375) and her daughter Margaret married Sir John Philipot (d.1384) and later Adam Bamme (d. 1397) of Gillingham.<sup>26</sup> It appears that the manor of Grange came to the Philipot family through the Gisors-Dolseley inheritance, and there is no evidence that the Philipot arms ever appeared in the chapel attached to the manor. In the Philipot pedigree roll we are presented with a very garbled version of the ancestry of Margaret Stodey, and are supplied with arms for her Gisors ancestors of *Azure billetty a lion rampant or in bordure argent*. These arms are not attested for any member of the complex Gisors family tree prior to the fifteenth century, when they were ascribed to an

<sup>20</sup> DBA, vol. 1, p. 343.

<sup>21</sup> DBA, vol. 3, p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> The antecedents of Joan (or Jane) Samford (sometimes Stamford) are unknown, but she might well have belonged to the Sandford family of Westmorland which had strong links to London, and who are discussed by the author in CoA no. 237 (2020), pp. 139-142. The arms of Croydon and of Stodey are discussed below.

<sup>23</sup> BL Add MS 5478, f. 69, published with Hasted's additions in Irene J. Churchill (ed.), *A Seventeenth century Miscellany*, Kent Records, vol. 17 (1960), pp. 112-3. Hasted published this blazon in his *History of Kent*, op. cit. vol. 4, p. 237, where he accidentally converted the chevron into a fess, and consequently failed to identify the bearer.

<sup>24</sup> DBA, vol. 2, p. 448, *Gules on a chevron argent three martlets gules, on a chief azure a mullet of six points between two leopard's faces or*; Sylvia L Thrupp, *The merchant class of medieval London 1300-1500* (Chicago, 1948), p. 337. Dolseley's son predeceased him and his only surviving issue in 1362 was Joan, a nun.

<sup>25</sup> Thrupp, op. cit., p. 345; Elspeth Veale, 'John Gisors (d. 1351)', *DNB*.

<sup>26</sup> 'Adam Bamme (d.1397), of London', by C.R. in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, online at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org).

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unspecified member of the family in Fenwick's Roll.<sup>27</sup> This source was well known at the College of Arms.

Having dealt with the pursuivant's erroneous theory that Sir John Philipot was granted an augmentation of honour, we must also consider another source for the supposed augmentation illustrated on the pedigree roll, a husband and wife wearing the cross and swords arms (**Figure 2**), copied from the glass of Old Romney church. Sir John Philipot had no connection with Old Romney, but it is recorded that the family of Brockhill donated a window to that church, of which no vestige remains.<sup>28</sup> One of the versions of the Brockhill arms was *Gules a cross between four crosslets fitchy argent*, sufficiently similar to the Gisors arms or 'Philipot augmentation' to have been easily confused with them.<sup>29</sup> All that remains to suggest the possibility of a second coat of arms belonging to Sir John Philipot is the surname recorded in Wriotheley's Crosses, which must have been based on faulty information; perhaps the Gisors arms once appeared on a Philipot family tomb. Two final criticisms of the fallacy of the 'augmentation' are that firstly, the concept of such an augmentation was anachronistic during the reign of Richard II; and secondly, it would not have been granted to Sir John Philipot alone. The three other men who were knighted on 15th June 1381, including the mayor, Sir William Walworth, would surely also have been granted the same privilege, for which there is no evidence.

It is ironic that a seal known only from the pedigree roll effectively disproves the earlier part of the pedigree. This is the seal of Sir John Philipot's son and heir,<sup>30</sup> the London mercer John Philipot (d.1415) who was a king's esquire to Henry IV in 1400-1 and who in 1407 made a quitclaim concerning the manor of Grange in Gillingham. Rouge Dragon Philipot illustrated the seal of the king's esquire on the pedigree roll, stating that it was appended to a charter of 1402-3.<sup>31</sup> On this seal the paternal Philipot arms at 1 and 4 (*Sable a bend ermine*) (quartering *On a bend a chevron between three billets* for his paternal grandmother) quarter at 2 and 3 what has been drawn as *On a chevron between three eagles displayed multiple roundels*. These are not the arms of Stodey, so on the basis of this seal Sir John Philipot's third wife Margaret de Stodey cannot have been the mother of his son John, ancestor of the later Philipots, and the three quarterings which were added on her behalf to the family arms need to be removed.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> DBA, vol. 1, p. 244.

<sup>28</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana* vol. 13, p. 417.

<sup>29</sup> DBA, vol. 3, p. 187.

<sup>30</sup> There was an eldest son Edward who must have predeceased his brother John without leaving male issue, and a young son Thomas who only appears in a late codicil of his father's will of 1381, and who almost certainly died in childhood, see Thrupp, p. 360 and R.R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of wills enrolled in the Court of Husting, London*, 2 vols (London, 1889), vol. 2, pp. 275-7.

<sup>31</sup> Pedigree roll line 8, no. 3., illustrated on p. 29. He adds much confusion at line 8 no. 4 with the suggestion that he had found the arms of a bend ermine impaling the bend with the chevron between three billets on a seal appended to a deed of John son of Sir John Philipot dating to 1418. This cannot be correct as the younger John died in 1415, but perhaps there was a minor transcription error which made the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Henry IV the fifth of Henry V. If so the date could be amended to 1404, but the seal he was using would have been an ancestral one. These arms cannot be identified.

<sup>32</sup> The Stodey quarterings are nos 4 to 6 in the quartered shield attached to the pedigree roll.

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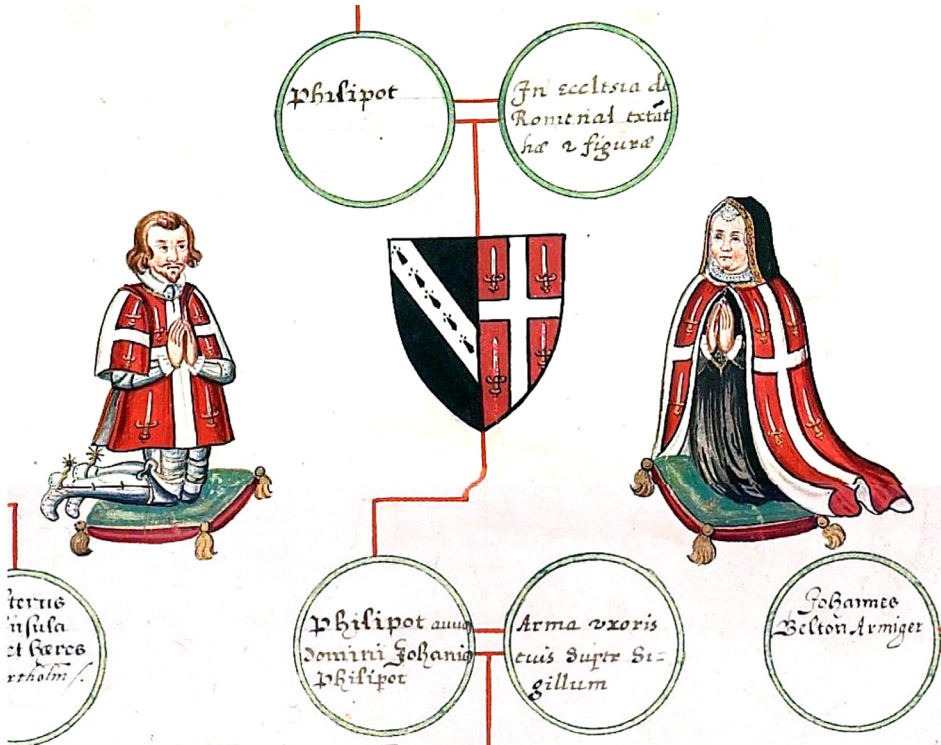


Figure 2: Husband and wife wearing heraldic mantles, probably with the arms of Brockhull, recorded by Philipot from Old Romney church in Kent, and illustrated on the Philipot Pedigree Roll, Hants Record Office 93M86W/1. The impalement associated with this couple was not recorded in the church. As a reconstruction it negates Philipot's later contention of an augmentation granted to Sir John Philipot, whom the pedigree places three generations later.

The arms of the mother of John Philipot, king's esquire, do have something in common with the arms of his presumed grandfather Richard de Croydon (d.1375), fishmonger, as are known from his seal, *On a fess between three dolphins three roundels*.<sup>33</sup> Rouge Croix Philipot could be quite inaccurate in his antiquarian recording, and a fess might easily become a chevron, or a dolphin an eagle.<sup>34</sup> There is the commonality between the badly worn seal and the seal of Richard de Croydon of having three charges, and three roundels in the centre. The pursuivant has ascribed these arms colours on his pedigree roll: *Argent on a chevron between three eagles displayed gules as many plates*, and has wrongly made them the arms of Sir John Philipott's mother, giving the name as Clynderne, which might well be a mis-transcribed version of Croydon. He has gone on to make these arms the most ancient Philipot ancestral quartering at number three on his multiply quartered

<sup>33</sup> Thrupp, op. cit., p. 336.

<sup>34</sup> This statement is based on an in-depth study of his rather inaccurate church notes collected from Canterbury Cathedral, BL Egerton 3310A.



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shield appended to the pedigree roll. The author contends that the seal was inaccurately copied by Rouge Dragon from the muniments of the Compton Philpots, and he likely had only his own notes to reference when the pedigree roll was compiled. This would explain why he only managed an approximation of the arms that can only have come from Margaret Croydon.

At this point we can see the herald's pedigree beginning to unravel from the other direction, a trend which is set to continue. Returning for a moment to the verified historical pedigree of Philipot, John Philipot the king's esquire was twice married, firstly to Idonia Austin, and secondly, in 1407, to Elizabeth Ruyhale (d.1428) whose maiden name was probably Brugge.<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth brought him lands in Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and they had three sons, John (d.1436, ancestor of the Compton branch), Thomas and Edward. Rouge Dragon has moved John (d. 1415) from his correct place in the pedigree, making him the son of his own son Thomas, and married to Idonia Bamme instead of his actual wife Idonia Austin.<sup>36</sup>

This is probably a deliberate misplacement to provide a father for the fictional Thomas Philpot who 'purchased Upton Manor in the reign of Henry VI'. In the pedigree roll reference is made to a Tudor memorial inscription for a Thomas Philpot at Downe church in the north-west of Kent. This had recently been noticed by a colleague, Nicholas Charles, *Lancaster Herald*.<sup>37</sup> What makes this Thomas especially interesting is that in the glass of Downe church were once the arms *Sable a bend ermine*.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Philpot of Downe, however, died without male issue leaving four daughters, and could not have been the individual of that name whom Rouge Dragon confabulated and placed in fifteenth-century Sibbertswold.<sup>39</sup> The inclusion of Philpot of Downe in the pedigree reveals a cynical manipulation of facts, its purpose being to imply that the herald's ancestors had some connection with north-west Kent, thereby linking them with the descendants of Sir John Philipot.

If, as seems heraldically probable (based on the lost glass from Downe church), Thomas Philpot of Downe was the younger son of John Philipot, esquire (d. 1415) then the only possibility of the herald being descended from Sir John Philipot would be if he was descended from Edward Philipot, who is last attested in the will of his mother Elizabeth Ruyhale, made and proved in 1428.<sup>40</sup> There are, in fact, far more probable potential ancestors. In 1388 Robert and Stephen Philpot were tenants of William Guildeford in areas of Romney Marsh and the adjacent Kentish Weald not far removed

<sup>35</sup> Fox, *Great Cloister*, op. cit., p. 528.

<sup>36</sup> The arms supplied are based on the legitimate arms of Bam or Bame, *Ermine on a chief indented sable two trefoils argent*, see *DBA*, vol. 3, p. 53. It has already been noted that Sir John Philipot's widow Margaret de Stodey married Adam Bamme.

<sup>37</sup> *BL Lansdowne MS 874*, f. 40v. Lancaster visited the church in 1611. The inscription was reported in John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent* (London, 1631), p. 331.

<sup>38</sup> *Kent Records*, vol. 22 (1980), pp. 36-7. These were recorded by Thorpe in *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769) p. 949, and also noted by Thomas Philipot in *Villare Cantianum*, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>39</sup> Hasted, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 55; Nicholas Rogers, 'Nicholas Charles's notes on Cudham and Downe', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 99 (1984), pp. 109-114 (112). This Thomas Philpot appears to be the same individual who held Philipott's Manor at West Leigh in the Lowy of Tunbridge, *Villare Cantianum*, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> *TNA PROB 11/3/188*.

## THE PHILIPOT PEDIGREE ROLL

from Folkestone.<sup>41</sup> Given that the herald himself connected his remote ancestors with the Guildefords, one or other of these men is a likely candidate to be his ancestor. The surname Philpot probably originated in Kent, and was present in diverse places within the county in the fifteenth century; another potential ancestor was Henry Philpot (d.1430) who was MP for Hythe 1406-19.<sup>42</sup> In terms of the herald's connection with Sir John Philipot the most that can be said is that the two men almost certainly shared a common ancestor. The London mayor's father was probably Adam Philpot (d.1348) of Halstow on the Isle of Grain.<sup>43</sup>

Having got away with his various impostures John Philipot proceeded to adopt both the ancient arms of Philipot and the augmentation of honour which he had invented. These he quartered, with the 'augmentation' in the first and fourth quarters, as can be seen on his book stamp.<sup>44</sup> In 1622 his widowed mother Judith married Robert Dering of Egerton, the uncle of Sir Edward Dering (1598-1644), thereby bringing her son into the orbit of another individual who was intensely interested in his own Kentish ancestors.<sup>45</sup> Dering, although a younger man, was considerably higher up the social ladder than Philipot, having already been knighted by the time that Philipot became a pursuivant; he went on to receive a baronetcy in 1627. Both men recorded heraldry from Kent churches, Philipot from 1613 and through the 1620s, and Dering from 1628 to 1634. Both men made records of the Canterbury cloister vault, without which this author's reconstruction of that monument would not have been possible.<sup>46</sup> Both men hoped to find their ancestors in the cloister vault, and Philipot in particular is likely to have been particularly drawn to it because the arms of the London Philipots occur there twice. It is notable that on the pedigree roll he chose to include certain arms which he had noted in the cloister, but which were of little relevance to the pedigree.<sup>47</sup> Both men discovered that their genealogical researches did not quite match their hopes and expectations, and so both men falsified their own pedigrees and adopted bogus arms for themselves and their ancestors. In Dering's case he authenticated these in various ingenious ways, including the creation of fake brasses in Pluckley church, for which he sponsored blocks to be made as illustrations for Weever's *Funerall Monuments* of 1631.<sup>48</sup> Given the family connection it is hard to imagine that Philipot was not at the very least involved in putting

<sup>41</sup> TNA CP 25/1/110/237 no. 731.

<sup>42</sup> A.P.M. Wright, 'Henry Philpot' in *Hist. Parl.*

<sup>43</sup> Charles Johnson (ed.), *Registum Hamonis Hethe Diocesis Roffensis 1319-1352*, 2 vols (Cant & York Soc vols 48-9, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 968, 1027; and Nightingale, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Hugh Stanford London, 'John Philipot, M.P., Somerset Herald 1624-1645', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 60 (1947), pp. 24-53 (52).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>46</sup> Dering's sponsorship of *Soc. Ant.*, MS Thorpe 162, which records the cloister, must be considered as a near certainty given the Dering arms on the frontis, and the pressmark which shows that it initially belonged to a large library, in keeping with a volume from Surrenden Dering.

<sup>47</sup> The arms which coincide between pedigree roll and cloister are Pelham, Botreaux, Clevedon and St Lo. He may have included certain other families in the roll because he believed he might have observed them in the cloister, although they were not tinctured, and might therefore have belonged to a variety of families (the deduced correct identification supplied in parentheses): Cooke (Batisford), Ryther (Monins), Cheverall (Chiche), Moules (Devereux), Hungerford (Devereux), and Cormayles (Framlingham).

<sup>48</sup> R.H. D'Elboux, 'The Dering Brasses', *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 27 (1947), pp. 11-23; Weever, op. cit., pp. 292-3.

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in a good word for Dering with Garter Segar so that his impostures could receive the official seal of approval.

Philipot's own misdeeds included the forgery of documents at the College of Arms for which he was found guilty and suspended in March 1639, and not reinstated until he was pardoned a year later.<sup>49</sup> He attempted to gild the lily of the Philipot pedigree roll with the quite unnecessary invention of arms for a fictitious Nicholas Philipot, the supposed royal barber to an unnumbered King Henry whom the herald stated was granted Aspenden Hall in Hertfordshire by that monarch.<sup>50</sup> This story appears to be founded on the herald's awareness of the ownership of Aspenden by John Philpott, but the manor was only acquired in 1553, having been granted by Edward VI.<sup>51</sup>

The sad conclusion of this story is that John Philipot, as Somerset Herald, through his adherence to Charles I during the Civil War, suffered sequestration and imprisonment in 1645, and died shortly afterwards. The two surviving younger sons of Sir John Philpot of Compton (d. 1634; for whom the roll was created), namely Henry and Thomas Philpot, both compounded for 'delinquency' as staunch royalists the previous year, 1644, and after suffering great hardship, they died in the early 1650s. The Philipot pedigree roll survived through the offspring of the two daughters of Sir George Philpot, eldest son of Sir John Philpot (d. 1634), while the hugely useful collection of antiquarian records made by Somerset herald came to be dispersed through various repositories.

<sup>49</sup> Woodcock, loc. cit.

<sup>50</sup> Philipot Roll line 8 no. 4. Aspenden was called "Apstan Hall", but its location was given as near Buntingford in line 11 no. 5, which confirms this as Aspenden. There is no record of the arms in any known armorial.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Clutterbuck, *The history and antiquities of the county of Hertford*, 3 vols (London 1815-27), vol. 3, p. 347. The author would like to thank Dr Nigel Ramsay for his comments on this paper.



# CAROLINA HERALD AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF NOBILITY IN THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA

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## Abstract

*Carolina Herald, the first and only heraldic authority in what is now the United States, is a unique and relatively unexplored part of early American heraldic history. Laurence Cromp, serving as Carolina Herald, was appointed by the Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina in 1705 after previously serving as York Herald, and became the first English officer of arms appointed outside of Europe. Cromp's new role included granting arms and overseeing the unique heraldic elements associated with the province, which included a badge, neck and chain insignia, and coronets of rank. The two surviving grants of arms by Cromp are discussed, and the continuing impact of Carolina Herald's work is explored. It has continued to influence heraldry, with examples noted from the Confederate States of America as well as from the present day.*

## Introduction

Heraldry has been part of the cultural heritage of the United States since the initial European colonization of North America.<sup>1</sup> Recognized as an important part of family history and personal identity, many founders of the United States themselves used heraldry, continuing the armorial traditions from their homelands.<sup>2</sup> Despite significant research into the heraldic practices of the nation's founders, relatively little scholarly work has been undertaken concerning the country's first and only heraldic authority, Carolina Herald. Serving as the heraldic authority for the Crown, the College of Arms in London had statutory control over all heraldic matters in England and the British Empire's overseas colonies.<sup>3</sup> In the early eighteenth century, however, no officers of arms either directly facilitated colonial heraldry or were officially assigned to overseas jurisdictions.<sup>4</sup> Carolina Herald, appointed in 1705, served as the first English officer of arms appointed outside of Europe and would remain the only overseas herald until the appointment of Delhi Herald of Arms Extraordinary in 1911.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the later Delhi Herald, whom the Crown appointed, Lawrence Cromp was appointed by the Lords Proprietors of the then Province of Carolina as Carolina Herald, serving as the heraldic authority of the Province of Carolina, and granting arms to the Carolinian nobility.<sup>6</sup> Concerning armorial bearings, Carolina Herald was given authority to oversee the use of several unique heraldic elements, specifically a badge, neck and chain insignia, and coronets of rank.<sup>7</sup> While the unique aspects of Carolinian heraldry have since faded from

<sup>1</sup> David Robert Wooten, 'Why would Americans want armorial bearings?', *The Armiger's News* (2006).

<sup>2</sup> Dom William Wilfrid Bayne, 'Heraldry in the United States of America', *CoA* no. 55 (1963).

<sup>3</sup> 'Colonial Empire (Municipal coats of arms)', *House of Commons* vol. 328 no. C914 (1937).

<sup>4</sup> Walter H Godfrey and Anthony Wagner, *Survey of London - Monograph 16, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street* (London, 1963), pp. 229–306.

<sup>5</sup> 'Delhi Herald Extraordinary', *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias*, online at en-academic.com.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Woodcock and Robinson, op. cit., p. 159.

modern practice, understanding the unique office of Carolina Herald allows for a greater appreciation of early American heraldic history.

### Early nobility and heraldry in the Province of Carolina

In the Charter of Carolina of 1663 the eight men who sought to cultivate and use the land of the present-day North and South Carolina received powers not dissimilar from that of a vice-regal representative, able to manage their affairs as they best saw fit.<sup>8</sup> These men were significant figures in British society, consisting of a duke, three earls, a baron, and three knights, and were each presented with the title of Lord Proprietor by King Charles II.<sup>9</sup> All of the original Lords Proprietors were armigerous, with their arms being the first heraldic bearings associated with the Province of Carolina.<sup>10</sup>

### Arms of the Province of Carolina

Dating 1663, the arms of the Province of Carolina (**Figure 1**) were designed by Thomas Simon, chief engraver of the mint, and were displayed prominently on the province's seal. Impressions of the seal used by the Lord Proprietors survive on a wide array of letters patent, grants of land, and other official documentation.<sup>11</sup> The first appearance of these arms on an object other than a seal came in 1709, accompanying a newly published map of the province.<sup>12</sup> With all of the aforementioned depictions, the arms were only ever displayed monochromatically (either via relief on physical objects or ink on paper representations), without even heraldic hatching, and the majority of depictions since have continued in similar vein. The first colourized version of the arms is found on a map produced in 1711. While it is not clear if the colours used in that depiction are accurate to the wishes and intentions of the Lord Proprietors, the dedication of the map to them suggests their cognisance.<sup>13</sup> This cartograph, being the only documented example of the arms in colour provides crucial evidence.

The arms contain many of the same references and allegories as other arms and seals of British lands in the New World. Notably, they share many similarities with those of Jamaica, which came into use just one year previously, in 1662.<sup>14</sup> The use of cornucopias went on to become popular in American arms to illustrate the bountiful land of the settlement.<sup>15</sup> The motto, '*domitus cultoribus orbis*', which translates 'tamed by the cultivators of the world', reflects the justifications made for colonial authority, and especially the notion that Native Americans had not been making proper use of the fertile land on which they lived.<sup>16</sup> The buck on the crest may be an allusion to the arms of the City and Corporation of Raleigh in Virginia, the first English colony in North America,

<sup>8</sup> The Avalon Project at the Lillian Gold Law Library: King Charles II, 'Charter of Carolina' (1663).

<sup>9</sup> Office of the North Carolina House Principal Clerk, 'Tapestries in House Chamber: coats of arms of eight Lords Proprietors' (2004), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Office of the North Carolina House Principal Clerk, op. cit., pp. 6–7.

<sup>11</sup> Benjamin Justice, 'The art of coining Christians: Indians and authority in the iconography of British Atlantic colonial seals, 1606–1767', *Journal of British Studies* vol. 61 (2022), pp. 124–126.

<sup>12</sup> University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library VC970.2 L42 c.2: John Lawson, 'Lawson map of North Carolina' (London, 1709).

<sup>13</sup> Edward Crisp et al., *Complete description of the province of Carolina in 3 parts* (London, 1711).

<sup>14</sup> Justice, op. cit., pp. 123–124.

<sup>15</sup> Ben Marsh, 'The meanings of Georgia's eighteenth-century great seals', *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* vol. 96 no. 2 (2012), p. 203.

<sup>16</sup> Justice, op. cit., p. 124.

located on land which would later become part of the Province of Carolina.<sup>17</sup> It is the use of Native Americans as supporters, though, that is the most richly symbolic aspect. A Native American of Manhattan later went on to feature in the 1686 seal of New York City, while New York and other colonies used supporters of non-native men and women; but the depiction of a family unit was unique, and has drawn various interpretations, including a wish to represent something distinctive and local, to signal the stability of society, or indeed the bringing of tribute.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Nobility and the Fundamental Constitutions**

While the Lords Proprietors had significant authority over the Province of Carolina, there was uncertainty about how the province would be administered, and how the new nobility would be structured. Enlisting the assistance of philosopher John Locke, the Lords Proprietors crafted a founding document for the province called the *Fundamental Constitutions*, which was implemented in early 1669 (although the Carolinian Assembly never ratified them). While the document contained sections addressing almost every aspect of life in the province, it also created a new system of nobility unique to the Province of Carolina.<sup>19</sup>

Below the Lords Proprietors there was to be a hereditary nobility, styled as landgraves (a German title, the feminine form being landgravine), with similar standing to earls in England.<sup>20</sup> Landgraves were to receive a significant amount of land, usually more than 48,000 contiguous acres for which they would hold the responsibility for farming, administration, and other economic activity.<sup>21</sup> There was to be only one landgrave per county. It was stipulated that upon the death of a Lord Proprietor with no suitable heir one of the landgraves would be chosen by the remaining Lords Proprietors to assume the vacant role and title. Below landgraves, and with a status similar to that of a viscount, were cassiques (also spelt caziques and caciques). Two cassiques were to be created per county, and by extension, per landgrave, with similar responsibilities to the landgraves, and a grant of land consisting of approximately 24,000 acres.<sup>22</sup>

These two main categories of nobility, landgrave and cassique, were granted seats in the provincial parliament, and they thus often took on various legislative duties. Below the higher nobility were the lesser titles of baron, and of lord of the manor. Each county was to be divided into eight 12,000-acre baronies. Of those, four were to be directly subservient to the landgrave of the county, with the remaining four assigned to the two cassiques. Lords of a manor were to have contiguous landholdings of between 3,000 and 12,000 acres.<sup>23</sup> Neither barons nor lords of the manor have been identified in the surviving records, and indeed very few individuals ever received titles of nobility.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Woodcock and Robinson, op. cit., p. 156; John D. Neville and National Park Service, 'Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina, The First English Colony' <https://www.nps.gov/fora/learn/education/the-first-english-colony.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Two particularly noteworthy sources on this topic are: John Bryan Grimes, *The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina: 1666-1909* (Raleigh, 1916), p. 4.; Justice, op. cit., pp. 123–125.

<sup>19</sup> Julian Vic Brandt, 'The curious Carolina nobility', *Charleston Mercury* (Charleston, 2020).

<sup>20</sup> John Locke, 'The fundamental constitutions of Carolina' (1669); CA Ms I 9, f. 200: 'Robes and insignia of the nobles of the province of Carolina' (1705).

<sup>21</sup> Brandt, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Locke, op. cit.; Brandt, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> Locke, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> Brandt, op. cit.



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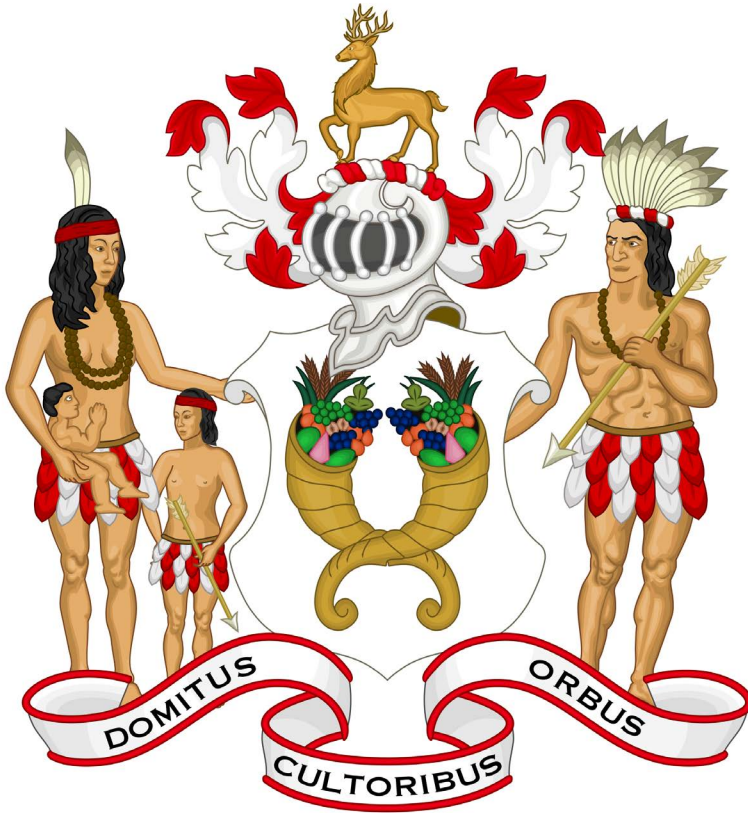


Figure 1: arms of the Province of Carolina, source: Wikimedia Commons.

### Blazon of the arms of the Province of Carolina

Arms: *Argent two cornucopias proper in saltire, mouths upwards*

Crest: *A buck trippant*

Supporters: *On the dexter side a Native American woman proper girt about her waist with feathers alternately gules and argent, on her head a feather, holding a baby in her arms, and at her side a small Native American boy holding an arrow all proper; On the sinister side a Native American man proper, girt about his waist with feathers alternately gules and argent, on his head a crown of feathers, and holding a large arrow, all proper.*

Motto: *'Domitus cultoribus orbis.'*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The general blazon for the arms of the Province of Carolina was extracted from: Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Book of Public Arms* (London, 1915), p. 158.; with modifications made based on additional depictions and modern sensibilities. The additional depiction utilized to establish the tinctures was: Crisp et al., *op. cit.* Various sources were also used to verify the blazon, including: CA Ms I 9, f. 194: 'The arms, Crest and Supporters of the province of Carolina drawn from the impression of the Great Seal of that province' (1705); Grimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5; South Carolina Department of Archives and History P 900099-3: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 'Great Seal of the Lords Proprietors' (1672); His Majesty's Stationery Office, *Flags, Badges, and Arms of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas* vol. II (Arms) (London, 1910), p. 33(a).

## CAROLINA HERALD

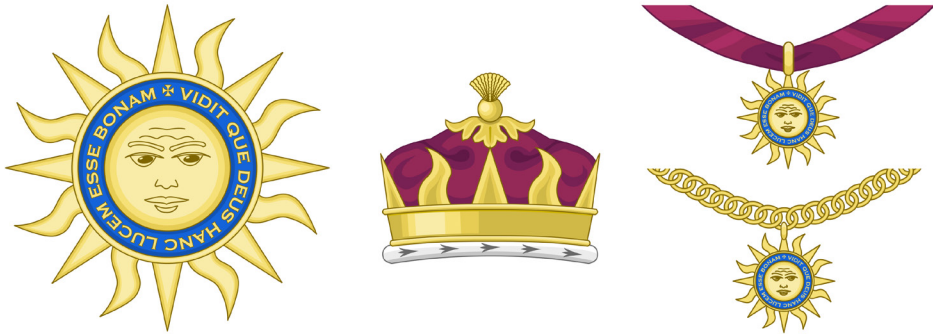


Figure 2: left: pendant insignia of the Carolinian ruling elite; middle: the Cap of Honour of Landgraves and Cassiques; right: associated neck ribbon and collar.

### Laurence Crompton, Carolina Herald

In order to implement the newly created system of nobility in the Province of Carolina Laurence Crompton, at the time York Herald, was selected in 1705 to serve as the Province of Carolina's principal herald by the Lords Proprietors. Before this post Crompton had begun his career as a herald-painter in Worcester, before joining the College of Arms as Portcullis Pursuivant in 1690. He was promoted York Herald in 1700.<sup>26</sup> Appointed on 1 June 1705 as Carolina Herald, Crompton would be responsible for the investiture of the Carolinian nobility, granting arms to individuals residing within the Province of Carolina, and prosecuting those seeking to usurp another's legitimate arms. Presumably it was in order to carry out the prosecutorial aims of his position that Crompton was additionally appointed as "President of [the Lord Proprietors'] Court of Honour", though whether this Court was ever formed or convened is unknown.<sup>27</sup> His work as Carolina Herald will be explored further, with the two grants he created discussed, and the various insignia to be used by him described.

Included within Crompton's letters patent creating him as Carolina Herald was the creation of insignia for members of the Carolinian nobility, sometimes referred to as the Order of the Sun of Carolina.<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood this was intended as a badge of rank or office for Carolina's nobility, intended to be worn by landgraves and cassiques. The insignia comprised a purple ribbon (or sash) with a sun pendant attached, and a gold collar with the same pendant (**Figure 2**). They provided a means of visual recognition for these noblemen. There does not appear to be any distinction made between the purple ribbon and the gold chain, suggesting that a nobleman could choose to wear either depending on the occasion.<sup>29</sup>

The quasi-order was given a motto: '*viditque deus hanc lucem esse bonam*' (And

<sup>26</sup> Godfrey and Wagner, op. cit., pp. 182–193.

<sup>27</sup> South Caroliniana Library 63670781: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 'Carolina herald appointment of Laurence Crompton' (1705).

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Brogan and Charles Mosley, *American Presidential Families* (New York, 1993), p. 758.

<sup>29</sup> The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, op. cit.

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God saw the light that it was good).<sup>30</sup> This likely refers to the belief that the colonisation of the New World was not only a noble endeavour, but one which pleased God, and thus served to convey divine approval to both the Province of Carolina and to those who would lead it. The pendant suspended from both forms, the sun in its splendour, with a motto surrounding it, serves as one of the few elements that remained consistent in its visual depictions across the various letters patent issued by and for Cromp.<sup>31</sup>

A badge of the Carolinian nobility was also to be used in the heraldic achievements of landgraves and cassiques since, as specified in the patent, the arms Cromp granted were to have their shields placed “upon the Face of the Sun in its Glory.”<sup>32</sup> Using the sun as a heraldic badge upon which the arms were placed may also prove an interesting connection to the College of Arms, considering Cromp’s previous post as York Herald (which uses a rose upon a sun as the badge of office), but it could just as likely be a coincidence. The specifics surrounding this badge, though, are unknown. Considering the two documented grants of arms issued by Cromp, it may have been intended to be borne only by landgraves and cassiques, similar to the use of supporters by peers in the United Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> But with only grants made to members of the new Carolinian nobility, and with little evidence providing insight into Cromp’s thoughts on the matter, it is unclear whether the intention was to grant arms upon the sun badge to other prominent Carolinians who were not nobility.

An alternative interpretation would be that the sun badge was not intended to act as an adorning badge in the traditional sense, but to act as a regional identifier, differentiating arms granted in the Province of Carolina from those granted in the United Kingdom.<sup>34</sup> This theory is supported by a depiction in **Figure 3** showing the sun badge used by an heir of a landgrave. The eldest sons of peers in the United Kingdom bearing courtesy titles may not use supporters, and it would follow that Cromp, having experience as an English officer of arms, would abide by the same principles.<sup>35</sup>

It is unknown to what extent Cromp was involved in the design or establishment of the insignia that he was charged with regulating, to what extent this system of heraldry was ever utilized in Carolina, and whether either the Lords Proprietors or Cromp ever produced any of the insignia depicted. Cromp’s involvement in the design is questionable since the descriptions of the insignia within the patent creating Carolina Herald do not conform to the rules of blazonry, most notably concerning the names of tinctures, which would be surprising for an individual with as much heraldic experience as a sitting officer of arms.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Fairbairn*, vol. 2, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> See: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, op. cit.; State Archives of North Carolina PC.450: Laurence Cromp, ‘Manuscript copy of Christopher de Graffenried’s grant of arms by Carolina Herald’ (1709); CA Ms I 9, f. 200.

<sup>32</sup> The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, op. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909), pp. 419–420.

<sup>34</sup> South Carolina Genealogical Society, ‘Carolina Heraldry’, *The Carolina Herald*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1972).

<sup>35</sup> Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide*, op. cit., pp. 424–425.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*



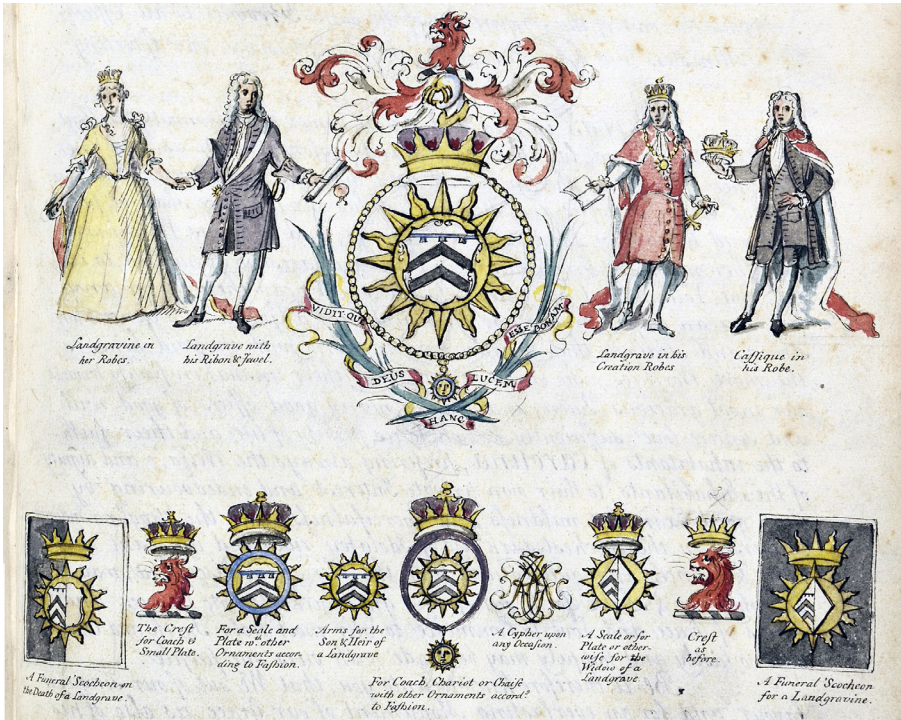


Figure 3: Robes and insignia of the nobility of the Province of Carolina. Courtesy of the College of Arms, MS I. 9, fol. 200r. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants of Arms.

### Blazon of the insignia of the Carolinian Nobility

Pendant Insignia: *The sun in its glory [with sixteen rays alternating straight and wavy] or and about the face of said sun an annulus azure fimbriated and inscribed with the words 'vidit que deus hanc lucem esse bonam' or.*

Ribbon Insignia: *A neck ribbon purple with as a pendant the Pendant Insignia.*

Chain Insignia: *A chain collar or with as a pendant the Pendant Insignia.*

Badge: *The sun in its glory [with sixteen rays alternating straight and wavy] or.<sup>37</sup>*

### Blazon of the Cap of Honour of Landgraves and Cassiques

Cap of Honour: *A coronet of eight rays alternating straight and wavy or with a cap purple turned up with ermine and surmounted by a tassel or.*

Coronet: *A coronet of eight rays alternating straight and wavy or.<sup>38</sup>*

<sup>37</sup> The general description was extracted from: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 'Carolina herald appointment of Laurence Crompt'; with modifications made to conform to the regulations of blazonry. Additionally consulted to ensure accuracy were Crompt, op. cit., and CA Ms I 9, f. 200.

<sup>38</sup> No textual description or blazon was provided for the Cap of Honor of Landgraves and Cassiques; thus the following sources additional to those in n. 40 were consulted in the creation of the blazon and visual depiction: Graffenried, op. cit., p. 185; and, The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, op. cit.

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Moreover, as a result of these imprecise descriptions of the insignia, it has been difficult to ascertain precisely how such insignias, chains, and caps of honour would have been depicted in reality. It is based on consulting various letters patent, depictions of landgraves' arms, and wax seals from the time that the depictions of the insignia have been created which appear below.

Whether the scheme was ever properly implemented is to be doubted. Several published armorials have included at least one entry with an individual's arms being placed on the pendant insignia of the Carolinian nobility, although Carolina is never mentioned.<sup>39</sup> The publication of these armorials was a significant time after the Carolina Herald went into abeyance, and so the reliability of such depictions is unclear. Crompt's appointment, and the office of Carolina Herald, did not last long. In June of 1715 Crompt died, insolvent, with no replacement ever being appointed.<sup>40</sup> Whether or not this was in part due to the Lords Proprietors being displeased with the performance of Carolina Herald remains unknown, but given the multitude of issues facing the Province of Carolina at the time, including a war against the Yamassee tribes in 1715, and an armed rebellion against the Proprietary government in 1719, it is more than likely that filling the office was simply not a priority.<sup>41</sup> Few records appear to have been created by Crompt during his tenure as Carolina Herald, and even fewer have survived to the present day in libraries, special collections, or archives.

### Grants of arms

Despite some previous sources finding no evidence that Crompt created any letters patent during his time as Carolina Herald, it has been possible to identify two instances, one a grant of arms (to Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried, Baron of Bernberg), and the other a confirmation of armorial bearings (to Landgrave Abel Ketelby).<sup>42</sup> The heraldic achievements of these two noblemen, depicted in **Figure 4**, provide illustrations of the unique badge and cap of honour granted to members of the Carolinian nobility.

### Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried, Baron of Bernberg

Christopher de Graffenried was a nobleman from Switzerland, also holding the title of 1st Baron of Bernberg, on whom was bestowed the title of landgrave by the Lords Proprietors on 8 July 1709.<sup>43</sup> Shortly after his creation as landgrave, he was granted arms by Crompt in letters patent dated 8 August 1709, which served as a matriculation of the arms he used as Baron of Bernberg, but with the addition of the sun in its splendour as an adorning badge and the cap of honour of a landgrave placed above the escutcheon (**Figures 4b** and **5**).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Blazons depicting the badge of the Carolinian nobility used to adorn coats of arms can be found in: Fairbairn, op. cit., p. 88.; Walter Isaacson, *The British Herald* vol. 2 (Sunderland, 1830), p. 423.

<sup>40</sup> Godfrey and Wagner, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup> David M. Ramsay, *Ramsay's History of South Carolina* (Newberry, S.C., 1858), p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> Brandt, op. cit.; Joseph I. Waring, 'The Carolina Herald', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* vol. 72 no. 3 (1971); Woodcock and Robinson, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>43</sup> State Archives of North Carolina PC.450: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 'Original patent from the Lords Proprietors creating de Graffenried a landgrave of Carolina' (1709). Special thanks to the State Archives of North Carolina for its assistance in procuring this document.

<sup>44</sup> Crompt, op. cit.

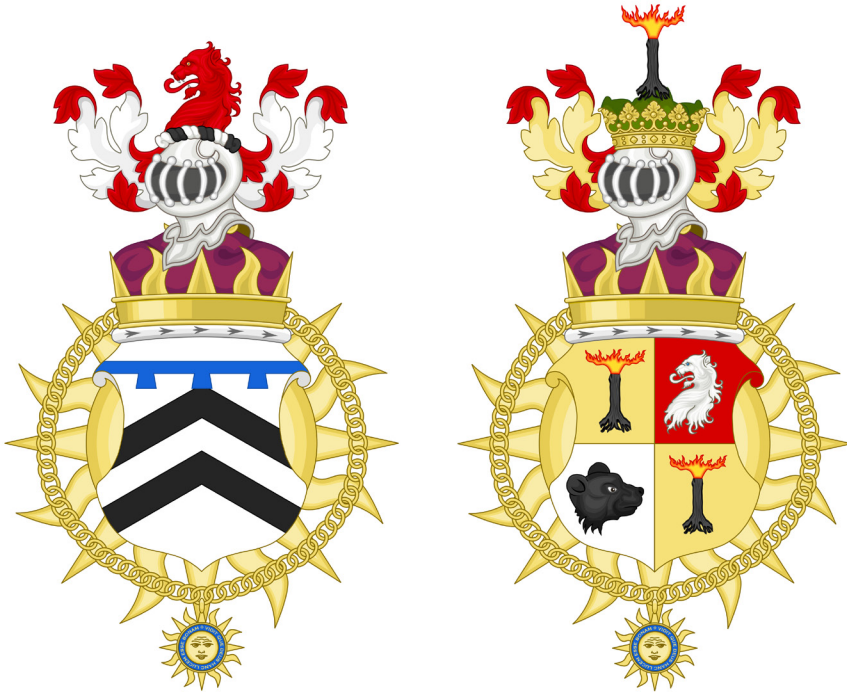


Figure 4, left, 4a: arms confirmed to Landgrave Abel Ketelby; right, 4b: arms granted to Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried, Baron of Bernberg, utilizing the heraldic elements as befitting of their titles and status. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

**Blazon of the arms of Landgrave Abel Ketelby**

Arms: *Argent two chevrons sable a label of three points azure.*

Crest: *A lion's head erased gules.*

Adorned: *The arms placed upon the face of the sun in its glory.*<sup>45</sup>

**Blazon of the arms of Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried, Baron of Bernberg**

Arms: *Quarterly: first and fourth the ancient arms of his family (Or a ragged staff in pale and fired at the top proper); second, Gules a lion's head erased argent; third, Argent a bear's head erased sable.*

Crest: *Out of a ducal coronet a trimount vert and upon it a ragged staff in pale and fired at the top proper.*

Adorned: *The arms placed upon the face of the sun in its glory.*<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The blazon for the arms of Landgrave Abel Ketelbey was extracted from: Robert Tresswell and Augustine Vincent, *The Visitation of Shropshire taken in the year 1623* vol. 2 (London, 1889); with the visual representation based on the depiction in: CA Ms I 9, f. 200.

<sup>46</sup> The blazon for the arms of Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried was extracted from: Crompton, op. cit.; with the Crest being that of the de Graffenried family as used by Christopher de Graffenried: Graffenried, op. cit. Where differences exist between the blazon presented in the letters patent issued by the Carolina Herald and other sources, the blazon in the letters patent was given precedence.





# TO ALL AND SINGULAR,

to whom these presents shall come, Laurence Cromp Esq. CAROLINA HERALD, sendeth Greeting. Whereas His Excellency the Palatine, and the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the rest of the true and absolute Proprietors, of the Province of Carolina, have by their Commission or Patent, under their hands, and the Great Seal of the said Province of Carolina, bearing date the First day of June 1703, made, constituted and appointed, Me the said Laurence Cromp, to be President of their Court of Honor, and Principall Herald of the whole Province of Carolina aforesaid, by the name of CAROLINA HERALD, To hold the same during the Term of my Naturalall life with all J<sup>rs</sup> &c. And whereas it was by their Predecessors, established and constituted, and is by them, their Heires, and Successors for ever, to be observed, That there be a certain number of Landgraves and Casiques, who are to be the Testuall and Hereditary Nobles and Peers of the said Province. And as a lasting Monument of the Favour of the said Palatine and Lords Proprietors, to the merit of the said Landgraves and Casiques, Did authorize, empower and direct, Me the said Carolina Herald, to devise, give, grant, and assign, to the Landgraves and Casiques of the said Province, Upon the face of the Sun in its glory, such Armes and Crests, as I should think most proper, and over the Escutcheon of the said Armes, a Landgraves and Casiques Cap of Honor, Which said Badges and Distinctions of Honor, they are not to make use of, till assigned by Me. And likewise I am to invest the said Landgraves and Casiques in Robes of Scarlet interlaced with Gold, To be by them worn on all great and solemn occasions, And also to invest them with a purple Ribbon or Gold Chain, with the Sun in its Glory Pendant at the same, with this Motto VIDI' TRUE DEUS HANC LUCEM ESSE BONAM, which said Gold Chain and Sun, or Purple Ribbon and Sun, they are required always to appear in, And knowasmuch as it appearing to Me, that the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of the Province aforesaid, have by their Patent bearing date the Twenty eighth day of July last created Christopher De Graffenried, one of the Foreingn Council of Berne, and late Governor of Switzer in Switzerland, a Landgrave of the said Province of Carolina, who having directions from the said Lords Proprietors, That such proper alterations may be made in his Armes, and that such addition may be granted and assigned to him and his Heires as shall belongeth Landgraves of Carolina Know ye therefore That I the said Carolina Herald by vertue of the Power and Authority granted to me by my Commission or Patent as is above mentioned, Have devised, and doe by these Presents give, grant, and assign, to the said Christopher De Graffenried Landgrave of Carolina, Upon the face of the Sun in his Glory, Four Coats Quarterly, First On a Ragged Staff in Pale and fesset at the Top Proper, (as the antient Armes of his Family) Second Gules a Lions head Crested Argent, Third Argent, a Beares head Crested Sable, the fourth as the first, And over the Escutcheon of the said Armes a Landgraves Cap of Honor, as in the Margin hereof they are more plainly depicted, Which said Armes on the face of the Sun, and Cap of Honor, are to be born by him and his Heires for ever, as Landgraves of Carolina. And I am farther empowered to invest the said Landgrave, with Robes of Scarlet, and Purple Ribbon or Gold Chain and Sun, as aforesaid, Draughts of which are depicted in the Margin hereof. Given under my hand and Seal this Eighth day of August One thousand seven hundred and nine

Laurence Cromp Carolina  
Herald.

(Seal)



I hereby certify that I have carefully traced over the lettering on this document, for the purpose of restoring the same, & that no words or letters have been changed or omitted. The original style of lettering has also been retained.

August 9<sup>th</sup>  
Dec. 9 - 1800

Page

Figure 5: Manuscript copy of the grant of arms to Landgrave Christopher de Graffenried by Carolina Herald. Courtesy of the State Archives of North Carolina.



It was these arms that Graffenried would utilize for the remainder of his life, seemingly preferring the landgrave's cap of honour, reflecting his New World exploits and achievements, to the baronial coronet of his homeland.

Landgrave Graffenried made considerable use of his new heraldic bearings, with several notable uses of his arms, adorning badge, and complete achievement in Carolina and Switzerland. While Graffenried was in Carolina, he often carried a necklace with his arms displayed on a gold sun and, in at least one instance, impressed members of a local Native American tribe with the piece.<sup>47</sup> However, it is unclear from historical sources whether these arms were displayed on a landgrave's adorning badge (sun in its splendour) or the pendent of the Carolinian nobility (sun in its splendour with an annulet *azure* and motto *or*). Graffenried additionally had a seal commissioned utilizing the heraldic achievement granted to him by Carolina Herald, displaying both the adorning badge and cap of honour prominently and using it on various personal and official documents as landgrave.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the most elaborate use of Landgrave Graffenried's achievement came after his death in the form of a memorial in his ancestral hometown. Located in the Reformed Church in Worb (in the canton of Bern, Switzerland) and installed in 1926 by one of the Landgrave's descendants, the stained glass window prominently displays Graffenried's arms displayed upon a sun within a mantle and the crest upon a baronial coronet.<sup>49</sup> While the mantle, coloured *or* and lined *gules*, does not appear in any of the letters patent issued by Cromp, the remainder of the achievement serves as one of the most extravagant depictions of a landgrave's heraldic achievement still in existence.

### Landgrave Abel Ketelby

Much less is known about Abel Ketelby, with little material available to document his life before he was created a landgrave on 24 March 1709.<sup>50</sup> His arms appear in the most comprehensive reference document on Carolina heraldry endorsed by Cromp (**Figure 3**). Such a prominent depiction suggests that he was of some importance either to the Lords Proprietors or to Carolina Herald personally. This document has served as the foundation for much of our current understanding on the topic of Carolina heraldry with its depiction of different styles of achievements for landgraves and cassiques.

An interesting aspect of Ketelby's arms is that they were passed on through his daughter to the Rundle family.<sup>51</sup> The Rundles quartered *Argent two chevrons sable*, but which the label unaccountably modified to one of eight points, the whole "enclosed by a garter, irradiated by sixteen rays of a star or, the garter [azure] bearing the words, in gold letters, *Viditque Deus hanc lucem esse bonam*" (**Figure 6a**).<sup>52</sup> Though minor errors in the blazon of the achievement were made, such as describing the annulet as a garter, the arms registered in the roll contain key hallmarks of those of a landgrave or cassique. Here is a rare instance in which the motto of the Carolinian nobility was published and associated

<sup>47</sup> S. M. Brinson, 'The early history of Craven county', *The North Carolina Booklet* vol. X no. 4 (1911), p. 184.

<sup>48</sup> Graffenried, op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>49</sup> A photograph of the window is lodged in the Berne Burgerbibliothek, Ref FN.K.A. 1101.

<sup>50</sup> CA Ms I 9, ff. 200-201: The Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 'Letters Patent of the Proprietors of Carolina creating Abel Ketelbey a landgrave' (1709). Special thanks to Thomas Johnston, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, for his assistance in procuring this document.

<sup>51</sup> Woodcock and Robinson, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>52</sup> *BGA* under Rundle.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

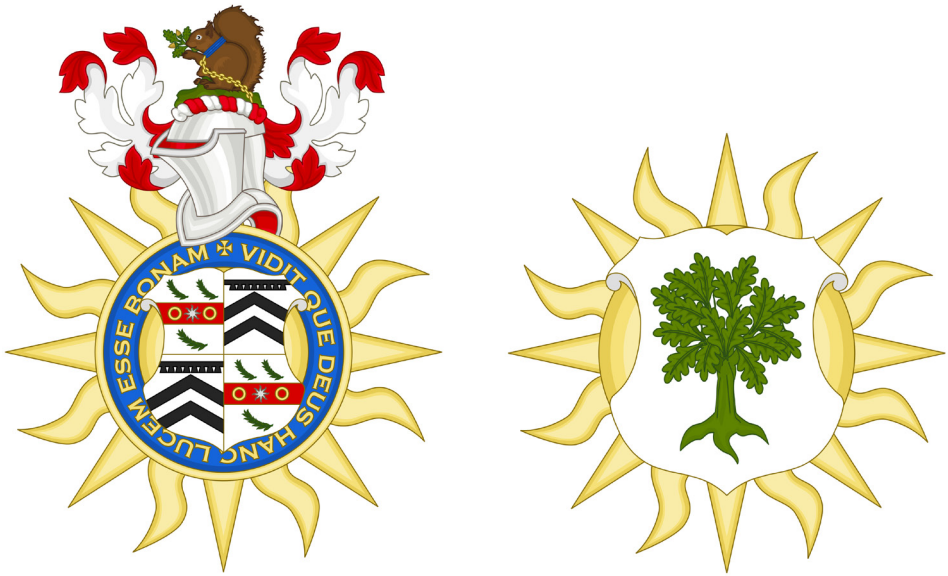


Figure 6, left, 6a: published arms of Rundle; right, 6b: assumed arms of the South Carolina Genealogical Society. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

with heraldic bearings, albeit not with the Carolinian nobility explicitly.<sup>53</sup>

### Carolina as a crown colony and beyond

Following the transition of the former Province of Carolina (split into the Provinces of North and South Carolina in 1712) away from proprietorship and towards its new status as a crown colony, the College of Arms once again assumed sole heraldic authority over the divided Province of Carolina.<sup>54</sup> The case of the Ketelby arms may suggest that the College was prepared to recognise at least some of the bearings granted by the Carolina Herald. The number of subsequent patents granted was very limited,<sup>55</sup> while the unique heraldic traditions of the province have fallen mostly to history.

It has been speculated that the heraldic traditions of Carolina influenced the short-lived Confederate States of America, with symbolism seen on one of their flags. The proposed flag, submitted for consideration in 1862, contained a blue escutcheon charged with a golden sun in the centre, utilizing the same colours and symbolism as was present in the Province of Carolina. Of some interest in the draft bill establishing this flag is the symbolism included, which includes mention that “the sun manifests... dominion, generosity and stability”, language not dissimilar from the mottos of both the Province of Carolina and the Carolinian nobility. Some historians have taken this line of thinking further, theorizing that perhaps, had this design been adopted, the insignia of the

<sup>53</sup> Fairbairn, vol. 2, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> South Carolina Genealogical Society, ‘Carolina Heraldry’, *The Carolina Herald*.

<sup>55</sup> Woodcock and Robinson, op. cit., pp. 161–164.

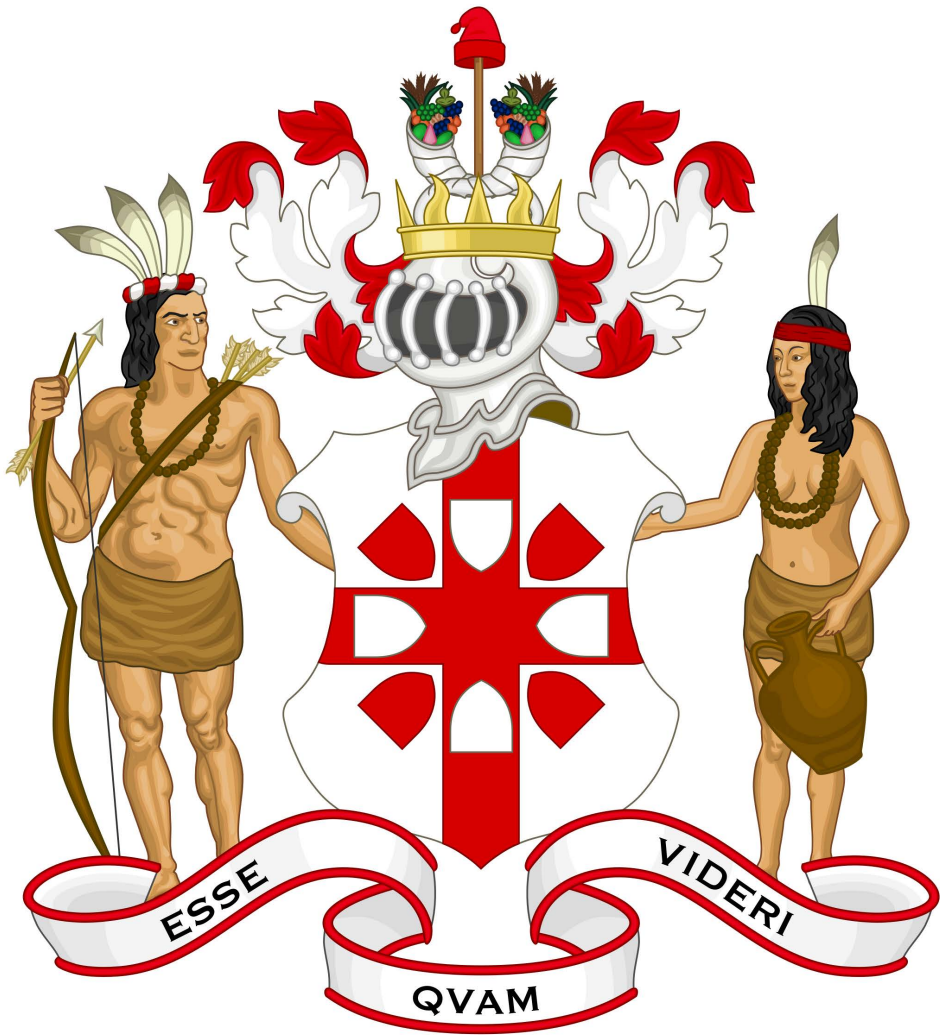


Figure 7: Coat of arms granted to the Senate of the State of North Carolina. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Carolinian nobility might have been used to establish a decoration or order of merit in the Confederate States of America.<sup>56</sup>

The tradition of placing one's arms on a sun has not been completely lost in the years since the dissolution of the Province of Carolina. In 1972 the South Carolina Genealogical Society opted to utilize this tradition in preparing the organization's assumed arms, placing the shield (*Argent a tree vert*) upon the same sixteen-rayed gold

<sup>56</sup> Brogan and Mosley, op. cit., p. 763.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

sun (**Figure 6b**).<sup>57</sup> Another interesting use of the heraldic elements of the Province of Carolina can be seen in the arms of the Senate of North Carolina (**Figure 7**). Granted in 2005 by the College of Arms, the heraldic achievement uses several features of both the arms of the Province of Carolina and of those elements used by Carolina Herald. The crest of the achievement prominently features two cornucopias in saltire, taken from the escutcheon of the arms of the province. The use of red and white as the achievement's main tinctures is also retained, as is the inclusion of Native Americans although their placement, clothing, and accoutrements have been changed. Finally, the coronet used on the arms directly correlates with that used by landgraves and cassiques, information on which has been preserved in the College of Arms archive.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the significant amount of time since the office of Carolina Herald was left unfilled, there is some interest in the possibility of bringing back the office to regulate heraldry in the Carolinas, and to provide a heraldic authority in the United States. The idea of bringing the office out of abeyance has been discussed primarily within the framework of an interstate compact encompassing both North and South Carolina. Under this basis the Carolina Herald, renamed to the Carolina Heraldic Authority, would grant arms to United States citizens by classifying them as personal decorations or honours (since titles of nobility are prohibited in the United States) and would be protected by trademark and copyright law. Nevertheless, while existing research points to a legal means of calling the office out of abeyance, there has been little public interest for such an authority to exist. Despite some public interest surrounding heraldry, especially as the internet makes heraldic resources more accessible, the desire for such regulation appears minimal, with little enthusiasm for creating another ancillary governmental entity.<sup>59</sup>

### Conclusion

Carolina Herald, serving as the first and only officer of arms in what is now the United States, inhabits a unique place in the heraldic history of the country, but it is one now largely overlooked. Despite this fact the office has had an impact on history which is still being felt. It is hoped that further research in archives may lead to the discovery of additional grants or other documentation that would help to illuminate the brief North American career of Laurence Crompton as Carolina Herald.

<sup>57</sup> South Carolina Genealogical Society, 'Front Matter', *The Carolina Herald*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1972).

<sup>58</sup> College of Arms, 'Senate of North Carolina', *Newsletter* no. 8 (2006).

<sup>59</sup> 'A Southern call to arms: an armorial compact', *William Mitchell Law Review* vol. 16 no. 5 (1990).

# THE SYMBOLISM OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS PART 3: ARMS UTILISING AFRICAN SHIELD TYPES

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

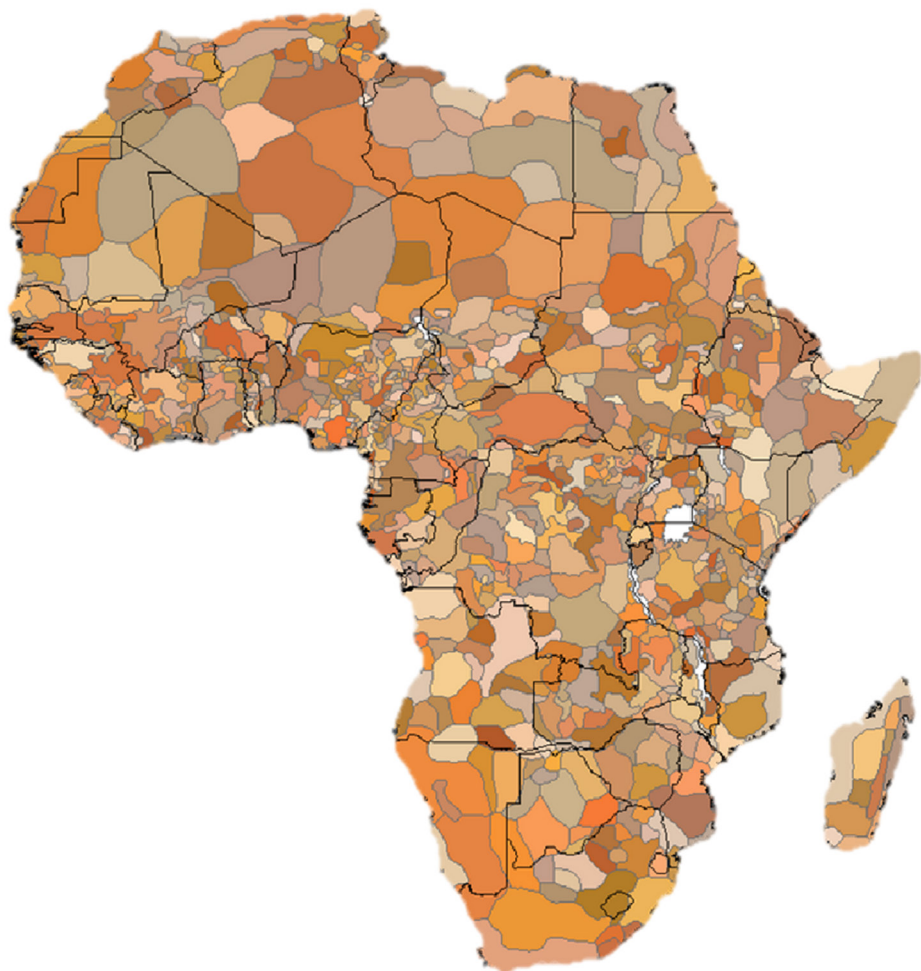
## Abstract

*The description of the coats of arms and national emblems of the African nations is concluded with an account of the thirteen states which have to a greater or lesser degree been inspired by European heraldry but combined with African shield types.*



Figure 1: the countries included in this, the final part of the series on the emblems of the nations of the African continent.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 2: peoples and ethnic diversity on the African Continent based on George Murdock's *Ethnic Map* of 1959, public domain.*



### Introduction — African shield shapes and symbols

Africa is characterized by an impressive variety of ethnicities, peoples, and cultures (**Figure 2**). A precise determination of the number of indigenous tribes proves to be problematic due to the blurred separation of the terms “ethnicity” and “people” in a culture which manifests great dynamism and complexity.

According to recent estimates, there are more than 3,000 different ethnic groups living in Africa, each characterized by their unique language, traditions, and customs. They are as wide ranging as the Berbers in North Africa, the Yoruba in West Africa, the Maasai in East Africa, the San (Bushmen) and the Zulu in Southern Africa, to name only a few.

### Shield shape and function

Few parts of the world offer such a wealth of shield shapes as Africa, where shields have been used both for military and everyday purposes. Just as in Europe, they have been accorded spiritual and mythological significance, and symbolic aspects.<sup>1</sup> The dimensions and composition of these shields, along with their paintings and motifs, provide valuable insights into their intended use. The non-military uses of shields in Africa have seen them playing an important role in ceremonies such as rain making, harvest blessing, weddings, funerals, spirit summoning, the expulsion of spirits, and dance. There have also existed special shields for warriors, wizards, fortune tellers and rulers. In **Figures 3 and 4** are illustrated some of the distinctive African shield types, some of which have a very long history. The Berber shield, for instance, dates back to ancient Roman times.

The dominant shield shape in southern and eastern Africa is the *Nguni* shield (**Figure 4**), an oval pointed shield which has many variants. Almost half of the nations (six out of thirteen), covered in this article have based their national emblems on this shield type. The *Nguni* people are historically a multi-ethnic Bantu speaking group which migrated to southern Africa in the remote past. There are more than 500 Bantu languages which are spoken by approximately 240 million people, or 30% of the African population. In South Africa, the historic *Nguni* kingdoms of the Ndebele, the Swazi, the Xhosa, and the Zulu are located in today's southern and eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces. The most notable of these kingdoms is the Zulu Kingdom, ruled in the early nineteenth century by the warrior king Shaka. He further dominated the Xhosa Kingdom, that had long been in existence by the seventeenth century. Zulu shields are richly symbolic, being of different sizes depending on the rank of their bearer, and made of cowhide stretched on a wooden frame. Their characteristic patterns and colours not only serve as symbols of protection, but are also an expression of social affiliation, and of position in society.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Der Ursprung der Kultur*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1898).

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 3: shields mainly from northern, western and central Africa. Top row, left: Berber shield of the Maghreb, northern Sahara, Adarga people, source Wikimedia Commons; top centre: Tutsi dancing shield from Rwanda, public domain; top right: Igbo wicker shield from Nigeria, source Musée Dapper; bottom row, left: Wandala shield from the Central African Republic, public domain; bottom centre: Dinka shield, Somba, Sudan, public domain; bottom right: Tuareg shield made of antelope skin, Saharan, Algeria 1120x710mm, source The Mary Ruth Weisel endowment for Africa, Oceania and the Americas, Minneapolis Institute of Art, item no. 2016.27.*

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS



*Figure 4: shields of eastern and southern Africa. Top row, left: Zulu shield from South Africa, 775x438mm, source Horniman Museum no. 1969.403; top centre: Tswana shield made of cow hide from southern Africa, 966x533mm, source Horniman Museum no. 3.315; top right: Nguni type shield donated by Sir Apolo Kagwa, former Prime Minister of the kingdom of Buganda in Uganda in 1902, 676x302mm, source Horniman Museum no. 8.3. 50/30; bottom row, left: Somali shield 310mm, source Horniman Museum no. nn763; bottom centre: Turkana shield made of hippo hide, Uganda 930x378mm, source Horniman Museum no. 2016.36; bottom right: Ethiopian Amhara shield, nineteenth century, 450mm, public domain.*

### **Adornments and shield decoration**

The native flora and fauna which can be found in African heraldry include:

**Fauna:** Buffalo, Horse, Quagga (extinct), Roan antelope, Zebra, Eland antelope, Kudu antelope, Bontebok antelope, Ugandan Kob, Rhinoceros, Elephant, Lion, Leopard, Cheetah, Lizard, Crocodile, Parrot, Crowned crane, Crested Crane, Secretary bird, Shuebill, Widowbird, Falcon, Faucet, Cassowary, and African fish eagle.

**Flora:** Palm tree, Baobab tree, Thorn tree, Strelitzia, Aloe plant, Orange River Lily, Barberton Daisy, Sorghum plant, Coffee plant.

**Gods:** From the world of mythology can be found the gods Olorun of the Yoruba religion and Unkulunkulu of the Zulu religion; while from the world of everyday objects are used the spear, knobkerrie, machete, drum, bongo, basket, beehive and gourd.

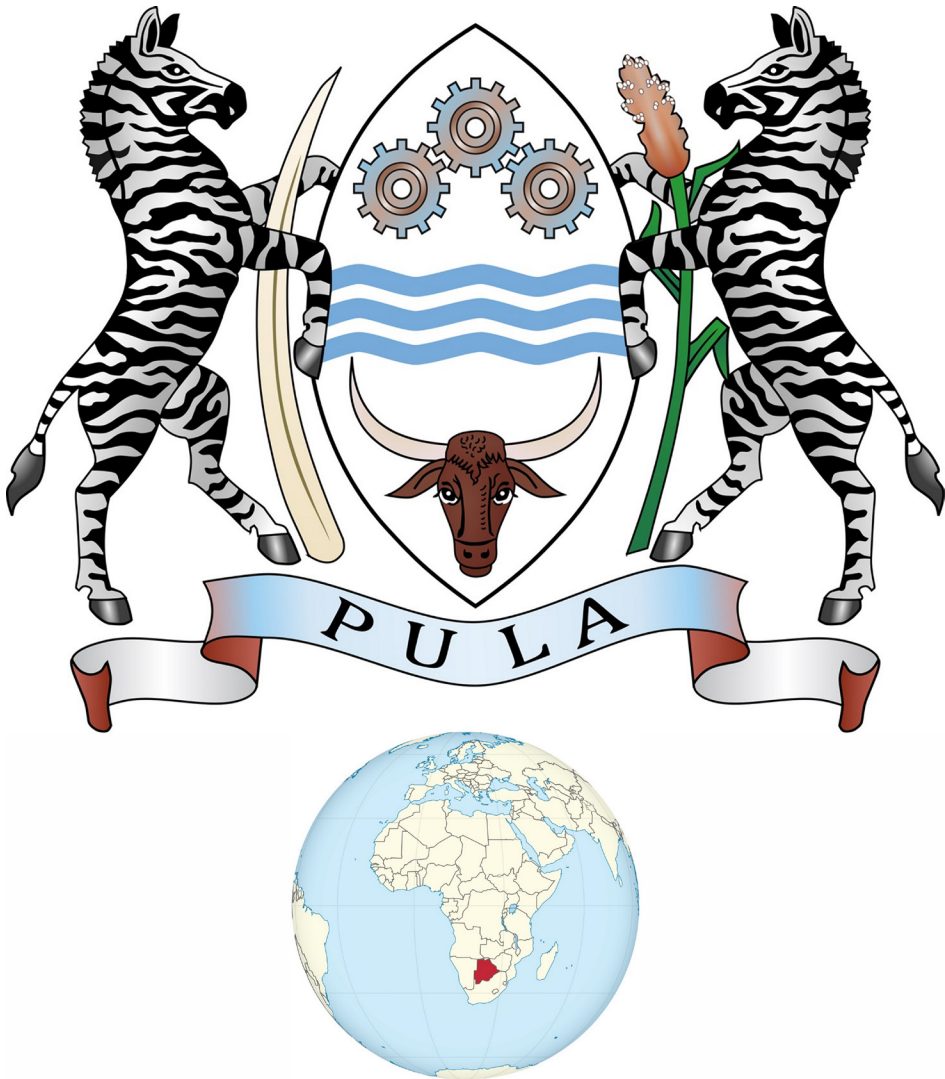


## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of Botswana

British Protectorate as Bechuanaland  
Independence from Great Britain  
Coat of arms adopted

March 31, 1885  
September 30, 1966  
January 25, 1966



*Figure 5: coat of arms of the Republic of Botswana and the location of Botswana on the globe: Wikimedia Commons.*

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

### Official description (Figure 5)<sup>2</sup>

*Blazon: Argent three barrulets wavy in fesse azure (Botswana blue) between in chief three cogwheels azure (Botswana blue), one above engaged with two below; in base a brown bull's head caboshed proper.*

*Supporters: on either side a zebra the dexter supporting a white elephant's tusk, the sinister a green stalk of sorghum and brown sorghum head with white grains proper.*

*Motto: "Pula" in black on an azure (Botswana blue half-tone) scroll. The reverse side of the scroll is red.*

### Explanation of symbolism

The three cog wheels represent mining and industry in Botswana. The three wavy blue bands in the centre represent the importance of the few rivers in the country. The bull's head is the traditional symbol of wealth, in a country where personal wealth has been seen in terms of cattle. The two Zebras, one supporting an Elephant's tusk, represent the natural fauna of the country which are so important for tourism, while the head of sorghum represents agriculture.

The motto "Pula" means "let there be rain", hence the colour of the scroll. Pula is both a greeting, and the name of the Botswanan currency.

### History

The Tswana were a Bantu people from Central Africa who settled in this area around the year 400 AD, their tribal name being the origin of the current country name. A Tutsi society emerged which lasted for about a thousand years, until it was replaced by the rise of the Butwa kingdom in the fourteenth century. The Butwa were then ruled by various dynasties that lasted for over 400 years, culminating in the "Great Zimbabwe."

In the first half of the nineteenth century, conflicts and territorial disputes arose between the Boers, settled in the Cape region since the seventeenth century, and the British, who declared the region a British crown colony in 1806. In 1833 a ban on slavery, which was the livelihood of many Boers in the Cape region, having been enacted by the British Parliament, the Boers were induced to seek out new areas of settlement in the northern region from 1835 onwards. Despite a strong army, the Boers were unable to subdue the Tswana peoples, some of whose princes developed strong ties with the British Empire. In 1910, the British government attempted to unite the protectorate with the Union of South Africa, but the Tswana tribal chiefs successfully opposed this, and the plan was abandoned.

In the 1960s the colonial administration took steps to bring the country to independence through the establishment of a legislative and an executive council. The first elections that were free and open to voters were held in 1965, and in 1966 the country gained independence as the Democratic Republic of Botswana.

<sup>2</sup> Given in: "An Act to declare the Arms or Ensigns Armorial of Botswana, the National Flag of Botswana and the Standard of the President of Botswana; and to provide for matters incidental thereto", see [botswanalaws.com](http://botswanalaws.com).

## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of Burundi

|                                                    |              |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| First contact by German missionaries and explorers | 1856         |
| German colony within German East Africa            | 1899-1916    |
| Union of Ruanda-Urundi                             | 1919/1920    |
| Under Belgian and United Nations Governance        | 1922–1962    |
| Independence from Belgium as a kingdom             | July 1, 1962 |
| Republic of Burundi, current emblem adopted        | 1966         |



Figure 6: emblem of the Republic of Botswana, Wikimedia Commons.

#### Description (Figure 6)<sup>3</sup>

Emblem: *On a shield gules bordered or a lion's face or*, the shield resting on three spears  
Motto: *Unité, Travail, Progrès* (Unity, Work, Progress).

<sup>3</sup> As per article 11 of the national constitution of June 7, 2018.



Figure 7, left 7a: proposed coat of arms for German East Africa 1914; centre, 7b: location of Rwanda on the globe; right, 7c: coat of arms of the kingdom of Rwanda 1962-1966, all from Wikimedia Commons.

## Explanation of symbolism

The current emblem is based on the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Burundi, used from 1962 to 1966 (**Figure 7c**), which was very similar to the current design. The main difference is that in the arms of the kingdom a royal karyenda drum between two green laurel branches was placed on top of the shield, the symbol of the mwami (king). The number of spears was four, corresponding to the ancient insignia of chiefs. The reduction of the number of spears to three in the modern coat of arms refers to the three main tribes, Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa. The previous national motto *Ganza Sabwa*, in Kirundi means “(the Mwami) rule and rule.”

## History and former emblems

Rwanda and Burundi have common historical roots. The original population in these regions were the Twa, who were absorbed by agricultural Bantu-Hutu tribes from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. In the fourteenth century Tutsi tribes established a kingdom called Banyarwanda on what was then a much larger territory in Rwanda, the majority of whose population also belonged to the agricultural Hutu people. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pastoralist Tutsis from the northern region of what is now Rwanda migrated to the southern territory of Burundi. Although they were a minority they gained the upper hand due to falling Hutu crop yields. In around 1650 the Tutsis founded a Kingdom in Burundi and led most Hutu into feudal serfdom.

Beginning around 1856, European explorers and German missionaries began arriving in the area. In 1899, Burundi became part of German East Africa, for which arms were devised in 1914 which never came into use (**Figure 7a**). Following the outbreak of the First World War, in 1916 Belgian troops occupied the area, and in 1923 the League of Nations transferred the territory to Belgium, which was administered with Rwanda (see below) as Rwanda-Urundi. Following the dissolution of the League of Nations in 1946 it became a United Nations trust territory, but still under Belgian administrative sovereignty. On January 20, 1959, Burundi's ruler Mwami Mwambutsa IV called for Burundi's independence from Belgium and the dissolution of the Rwanda-Urundi Union. In 1962 Burundi gained independence from Belgium and for four years the country was ruled by a monarchy until a Republic was declared in 1966.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of Djibouti

French Colony  
Independence from France  
Emblem adopted

1896  
June 27, 1977  
1977



Figure 8, left, 8a: emblem of the Republic of Djibouti; top right, 8b: Location of Djibouti on the globe, both from Wikimedia Commons; bottom right, 8c, a typical regional shield, repeated from figure 4.

#### Description (Figure 8a)<sup>4</sup>

*A central shield (or) surmounting a spear; the shield and the spear flanked by two hands, each holding a traditional Djibouti dagger; in chief a five-pointed-star (gules), the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. The official description includes no mention of colours.*

#### Explanation of symbolism<sup>5</sup>

Unusually, the symbolism is described by statute in the following manner: the laurel wreath shall represent peace granted to the Djibouti people after the victory obtained during the attainment of independence on 27 June 1977. The shield, the spear, and the star shall symbolize defence of the national sovereignty and integrity of the territory. The

<sup>4</sup> Blazoned from Law no. 91/AN/00/4th L Defining the Seal of the Republic, Article 1. The description is here translated from French and rendered into a format more intelligible to heraldists, as the authors of the law were not thinking in terms of heraldic blazon.

<sup>5</sup> Law no. 91/AN/00/4th L, Article 2.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

two traditional daggers held by two hands shall symbolize the culture and traditions of the people as the foundations of national solidarity.

The shape of the shield on the spear in the centre of the emblem corresponds to a traditional round shield common to many parts of Africa, while the interior space between the laurel branches alludes to the shape of a *Nguni* shield. The daggers are in the forms of machetes.

### History

Between the seventh and the tenth centuries the region of what is now Djibouti came under the rule of Arab sultans, who Islamized the nomadic pastoralist population. From the thirteenth century onwards the region was settled by the Afar, a nomadic Arab tribe. Their descendants remain as one of the two largest ethnic groups in the country, along with the Issas who arrived later.

Between 1843 and 1886 France acquired Djibouti through treaties with the Somali Sultans. Although it was a small, dry and sparsely populated country, it became strategically important due to the Suez Canal, completed in 1869. Originally called French Somaliland, the colony voted to remain under French rule in 1958 and 1967. In 1967, it was renamed the Territory of the Afars and Issa, but adopted the name of its capital Djibouti on June 27, 1977, when France granted the territory independence. On September 4, 1992, voters approved a new multi-party constitution in a referendum. In 1991 a conflict broke out between the Afars and the Issa-dominated government, which led to great devastation.

### Kingdom of Eswatini - formerly Swaziland

British Protectorate of Swaziland  
Independence from Great Britain  
Coat of arms adopted

1907  
April 19, 1968  
April 19, 1968

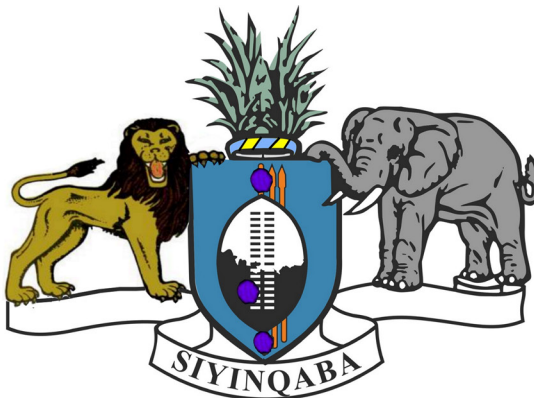


Figure 9, left 9a: coat of arms of the Kingdom of Eswatini; right, 9b: location of Eswatini on the globe, both from Wikimedia Commons.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Description (Figure 9)

Blazon: *Azure, a Swazi battle shield resting on two spears and a throwing stick, with purple feather decorations, all proper.*

Supporters: dexter, a lion passant, sinister, a she-elephant, both proper

Motto: SIYINQABA "We are the fortress"

Crest: A royal feather headdress proper.

### Explanation of symbolism

Here we have a *Nguni* shield with the national symbols of the Swazi king placed on a classical heraldic shield, a very rare combination of African and European shield types. The shield rests on two spears and a fighting stick, the whole ensemble is decorated with bunches of feathers of the strikingly regal local bird, the Purple-crested turaco. This combination of elements was first used on a regimental flag granted by the king in 1941. On the arms, above the shield (which in turn stands for protection) is the royal headdress or *lidlabé* which is worn by the king at the *Ncwala* harvest festival. It is made of the black tail feathers of the Widowbird. The blue field of the shield is the colour of peace. The lion supporter stands for the king, and the she-elephant for the queen.

### History

The Swazi language is part of the *Nguni* linguistic group, which includes Zulu. The Swazi people maintain a strong monarchical tradition. Their territory took the Europeanised name of Swaziland in 1839 under king Sobhuza I, whose son and successor Mswati II considerably expanded the kingdom. In the later nineteenth century Swaziland came under pressure both from the expanding Zulu kingdom, and from European powers. The British and the Dutch Boers both sought control of the region, leading to the First Boer War in 1881. After the war, the British established a border between the Boer Transvaal and Swaziland, and to the latter they granted relative autonomy under British protection.

In 1903, the British officially recognized the Kingdom of Swaziland as a protectorate, and it remained under British control until it gained independence on September 6, 1968. Britain attempted to establish a constitutional monarchy, which was a failure, and in 1973 King Sobhuza II suspended the constitution and seized absolute power. In 2018 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary celebrations of independence from Great Britain King Mswati III changed the name of the country to the Kingdom of Eswatini, meaning Land of the Swazis in the native tongue. The change was, in part, intended to eliminate a relic from the colonial era.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

### Republic of Kenya

|                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| British Colony                  | July 1, 1895      |
| Member of British East Africa   | 1895              |
| British Crown Colony            | 1920              |
| Independence from Great Britain | December 12, 1963 |
| Coat of arms adopted            | 1963              |



Figure 10: coat of arms of the Republic of Kenya. Wikimedia Commons.

#### Official description (Figure 10)<sup>6</sup>

Arms: *Per fess sable and vert, on a fess gules fimbriated argent a cock grasping in the dexter claw an axe also argent.*

Supporters: *On either side a lion or, grasping with the interior forepaw a spear of estate, the hafts of the spears crossed in saltire behind the shield. The whole upon a compartment representing Mount Kenya proper.*

Motto: *Harambee. "All for One" (in Swahili).*

<sup>6</sup> National flag, emblem and name Act, 10<sup>th</sup> Dec 1963, revised 2012, pp. 9-10. Online at [Kenyalaw.org](http://kenyalaw.org).



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 11, left, 11a: postage stamp of the British East African Company 1890; centre, 11b, location of Kenya on the globe, source Wikimedia Commons.; right, 11c: postage stamp of the British East Africa Protectorate 1896.

### Explanation of symbolism

The symbolism is partially defined by law.<sup>7</sup> The shield (in the *Nguni* form) contains the colours of the National flag: black for the people of Kenya; red for the bloodshed during the struggle for freedom; green for the agriculture and natural resources; and white for unity and peace. The cockerel holding an axe is the symbol of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party that led the country to independence, and is variously said to represent authority, the will to work, success, and the breaking of a new dawn. The supporting lions holding spears represent protection, unity, and defence of freedom.

The compartment stands for Mount Kenya and in the foreground are examples of Kenya's agricultural produce - coffee, pyrethrum, sisal, tea, maize, and pineapples.

It is interesting to note that the lions and spears appeared in stamps of the British East Africa Protectorate in 1896, with the face of Queen Victoria where the shield now appears (**Figure 11c**). The official badge of the East Africa Company as was borne on a roundel upon a Blue Ensign, and appeared on the local stamps (**Figure 11a**) was of a sun on splendour surmounted by a crown.

### History

The city of Mombasa was in existence as an important trading centre and sultanate by the twelfth century, under local rulers. It was visited in 1498 by the Portuguese Vasco da Gama, who brought his fleet here searching for a sea route to the East Indies. When Africa was divided among the colonial powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884, Europe's struggle for colonies reached its climax. One of Britain's wins was Kenya. The "Imperial British East Africa Company" was incorporated in 1888 and given remit to administer Kenya from its base in Nairobi. Quite soon, in 1895, the area was brought under direct British government control as the British Protectorate of East Africa. In 1920 Kenya became a crown colony as part of British East Africa, which also included present-day Uganda and Tanzania. There was considerable European settlement, with displacement of indigenous communities.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

Kenya played a significant role in Africa's fight for independence, with the Mau Mau Uprising being a pivotal moment in the country's history. The uprising began in 1952 with the aim of reclaiming land taken by European settlers, and demanding independence from British colonial rule. The uprising was ultimately crushed, but Kenya gained independence in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the independence movement, became Kenya's first president, and his party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), dominated Kenyan politics for the next several decades.

### Kingdom of Lesotho

|                                 |                 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Kingdom of Basutoland           | 1822            |
| British Protectorate            | March 12, 1868  |
| British Crown Colony            | 1884            |
| Coat of arms of Basutoland      | March 20, 1951  |
| Independence from Great Britain | October 4, 1966 |
| New coat of arms adopted        | October 4, 1966 |
| Coat of arms amended            | October 4, 2006 |

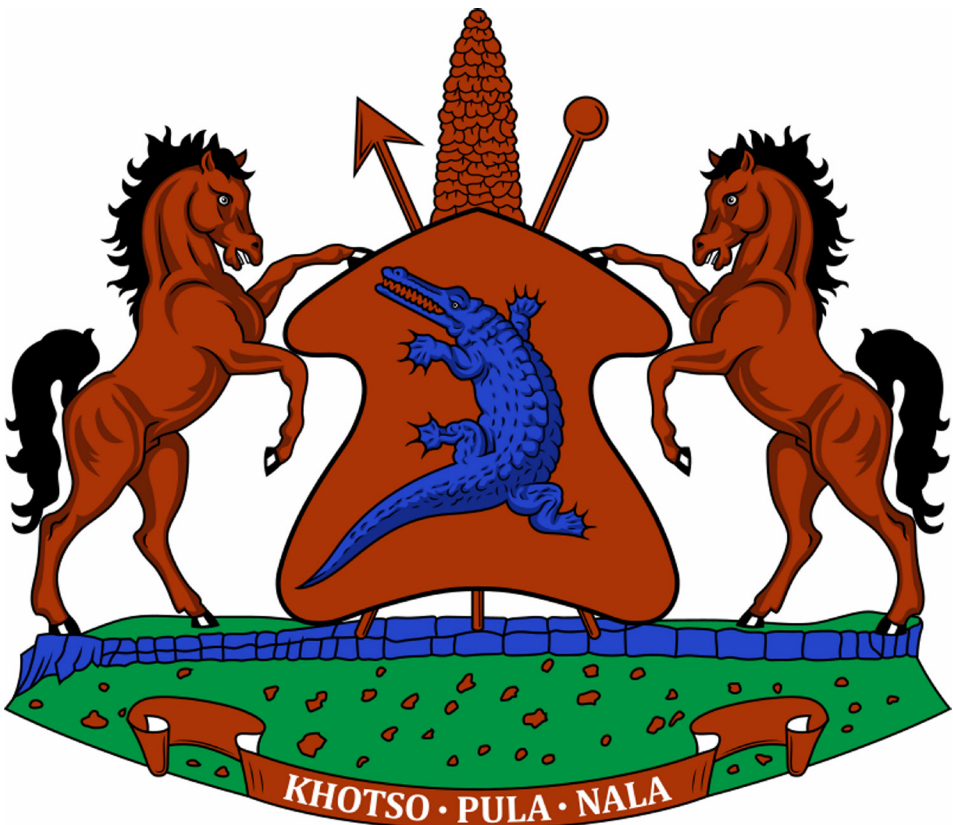


Figure 12: coat of arms of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Wikimedia Commons.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 13, top left, 13a: coat of arms of Basutoland; top right, 13b: typical Tswana-type Basuto shield, as used on the colonial era arms, repeated from figure 4; centre right, 13c: location of Lesotho on the globe; bottom, 13d: original coat of arms of Lesotho at the time of independence in 1966, all from Wikimedia Commons.

### Description (Figure 12)<sup>8</sup>

Arms: *On a Lesotho shield (brown) a crocodile embowed (azure). Behind the shield a thyrsus of ostrich feathers erect, together with a barbed assegai (lance) and a knobkerrie (club) in saltire (brown).*

Supporters: *two bay horses.*

Compartment: *the summit of Thaba Bosiu.*

Motto: *“Khotso, Pula, Nala”* (in Sesotho) *“Peace, Rain, Prosperity.”*

### Explanation of symbolism

The crocodile is the emblem of Lesotho's largest tribe, the Bakwena, to which belong the royal family. The horses represent nobility, while the lance, club and thyrsus denote royal power. Thaba Bosiu, Mountain of Night, is both the highest peak and the country's most important cultural site. Here is buried King Moshoeshe I, founder of the kingdom.

### History and former coats of arms

In around 1820, Moshoeshe I (1785-1870) successfully defended the Basotho people against both the Zulu conquests and Boer property claims. In doing so, he created the conditions for a monarchical form of rule and the later identity of the Basotho nation. Almost all citizens of Lesotho belong to the Sotho ethnic group (Basotho meaning the southern Sotho) who speak the Sesotho language.

From 1836, there were escalating conflicts between the Sotho and the Boers, who were moving north-east as part of their Great Trek of 1835-1841. Moshoeshe I asked the British for assistance and received a protection treaty with the British Cape Colony (the Napier Treaty) in 1843. In 1868, Basutoland became a British protectorate and in 1884 it came under British rule as a crown colony, but did not receive its own coat of arms until 1951 (**Figure 13a**). The arms of Basutoland contain many of the key elements which are found in the current arms: the crocodile on the shield, the shield in Basuto form on the crest, and behind it the lance and club in saltire (but with an arrow rather than a thyrsus). The motto was also similar: KHOTSO KE NALA (Peace is Prosperity).

After the Second World War, the desire for independence became explosive, and the British government had to allow elections based on a new constitution with the restrictions of a constitutional monarchy based on the British example. In 1960, Moshoeshe II was crowned king. The conservative Leabula Jonathan won the 1965 elections and became the first Prime Minister of Lesotho, which gained independence on October 4, 1966, with the new name of Lesotho, which means 'Land of the Sesotho speakers.' The coat of arms as it originally appeared was more in tune with heraldic principles, having the crocodile proper on a field or (**Figure 13d**). It was modified in 2006 to coincide with a change in the national flag, which currently has three horizontal stripes of blue, white and green.<sup>9</sup> The crown of Lesotho was placed on the centre of the flag, while on the new matching royal flag the central crown was replaced with the national arms. The addition of blue to the arms is an allusion to the national colours. It is unclear why the field colour of the shield was altered to its current rather unsatisfactory brown, but a reduction in the overall number of colours might have been intended to keep down reproduction costs.

<sup>8</sup> Lesotho Government Gazette extraordinary, Sept 30, 1966.

<sup>9</sup> The new flag is detailed in the National Flag Act 2006, *Lesotho Government Gazette Extraordinary* 4 Oct 2006. A revision of the state arms was not included here, but can be seen on the government website.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of Rwanda

|                                                    |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| First contact by German missionaries and explorers | 1856             |
| German colony within German East Africa            | 1899-1916        |
| Union of Ruanda-Urundi                             | 1919/1920        |
| Under Belgian and United Nations Governance        | 1922–1962        |
| Belgian colony                                     | October 20, 1924 |
| Independence from Belgium                          | July 1, 1962     |
| Coat of arms adopted                               | 1966             |
| Current emblem adopted                             | May 26, 2003     |



Figure 14: emblem of the Republic of Rwanda, Wikimedia Commons.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

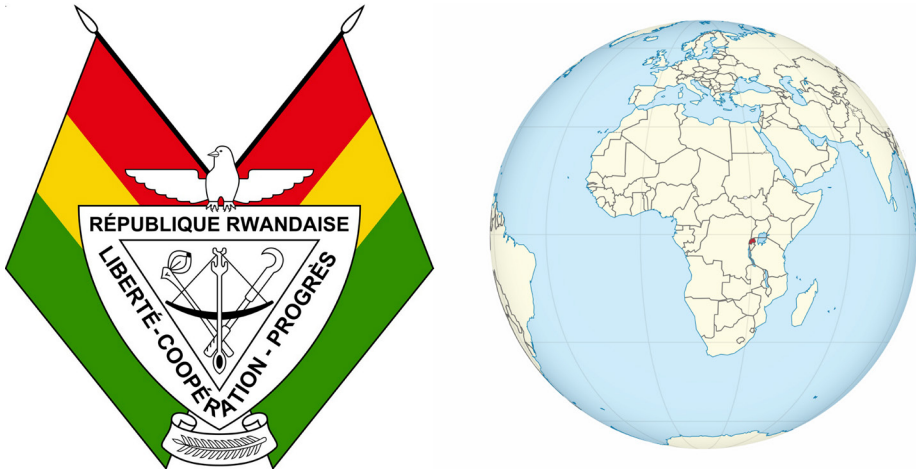


Figure 15: left, 15a: emblem of Rwanda 1962-2001; right, 15b: Rwanda on the globe. Both from Wikimedia Commons.

### Official description (Figure 51)<sup>10</sup>

*The Seal of the Republic is made up of a circular green rope with a green knot at the base, bearing on its upper part, the imprints “REPUBULIKA Y’U RWANDA”. At the bottom of the knot is the motto of the Republic: “UBUMWE, UMURIMO, GUKUNDA IGIHUGU”. All these inscriptions are in black against a yellow background. The Seal bears the following ideograms: the sun with its rays, sorghum and coffee tree, a basket, a blue wheel with teeth and two shields, one on the right and one on the left.*

### Explanation of symbolism

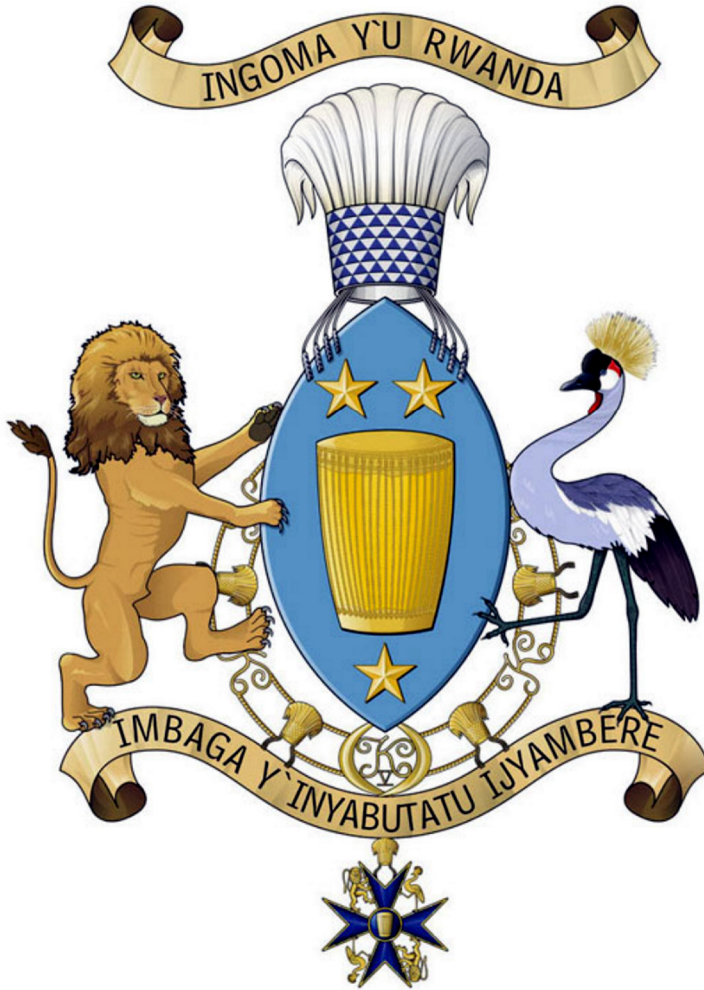
The cog wheel is for manufacturing industry, sorghum is part of the staple diet of poor farmers, while coffee is the most important cash crop for export. The basket with its pointed lid for storing produce is a ubiquitous and distinctive Rwandan product. These items are all protected by the two highly distinctively-shaped Tutsi shields, which face outwards. The motto *UBUMWE, UMURIMO, GUKUNDA IGIHUGU* means Unity, Work, Patriotism in the Kinyarwandan language.

### History and former coats of arms

A long line of Tutsi kings expanded its control over much of present-day Rwanda between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. They were placed under the control of the German East Africa Company by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, and formally became a German colony in 1899. The Rwandans retained most of their autonomy and did not have to pay taxes, but did have to recognize the German emperor as supreme ruler. Belgium and Great Britain seized the Rwandan-Burundian part of German East Africa during the First World War in 1916 and at the end of the war the League of Nations placed the two kingdoms under Belgian administration as the mandate area Ruanda-Urundi.

<sup>10</sup> As defined by the Rwandan constitution of 2003 with amendments through 2015, Article 9: National Symbols of Rwanda,

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 16: the royal arms of Rwanda as devised in 2007.*

Source: Royal House of Rwanda.

From 1925 the area was administered as the seventh province of the Belgian Congo. In 1957 an emancipation movement developed among the Hutu in Rwanda, demanding not only freedom from the Belgians but also the renunciation of the monarchy. King Kigeli V was deposed in 1961, and went into exile.

The first head of government was the Tutsi Louis Rwagasore, who was murdered after a few days. After a retaliatory strike in which four Hutu trade unionists were killed, open conflict broke out between the two peoples in Rwanda in early 1962. The original national arms of 1966 (**Figure 15a**) were centred on a shield of European shape, on which were placed a bow and arrow, a hoe and a billhook, but with an overarching message of

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

peace, as demonstrated by the dove resting on the shield, and the olive branch below it. Between 1990 and 1993 there was civil war in Rwanda, followed in 1994 by the genocide against the Tutsi which resulted, according to official estimates, in between 500,000 and a million deaths. It is in this context that the placement of the Tutsi shields on the 2003 arms have a certain poignancy. Rwanda joined the Commonwealth of Nations in 2009. Arms were devised for, and adopted by, the exiled King Kigeli V in 2007 (**Figure 16**) and although not the national arms, they are of considerable interest in their use of traditional Rwandan emblems. On the shield, which is of the Nguni type, is a sacred royal drum, the Kalinga, symbol of royal authority. The shield is encircled by the collar of the Order of the Drum. The crest is the royal headdress. The lion does not surprise as a royal supporter; the crested crane (or grey-crowned crane) is a much-loved and highly endangered local species. The three golden mullets stand for the three tribes of the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa. The title *INGOMA Y'U RWANDA* translates 'Kingdom of Rwanda', while the motto *IMBAGA Y'INYABUTATU IJAMBERE* means 'Three Peoples United Will Prosper'.

### Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe

|                            |               |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Portuguese Colony          | 1935-1951     |
| First coat of arms         | 1933          |
| Portuguese province        | 1951-1974     |
| Independence from Portugal | July 12, 1975 |
| New coat of arms adopted   | 1975          |

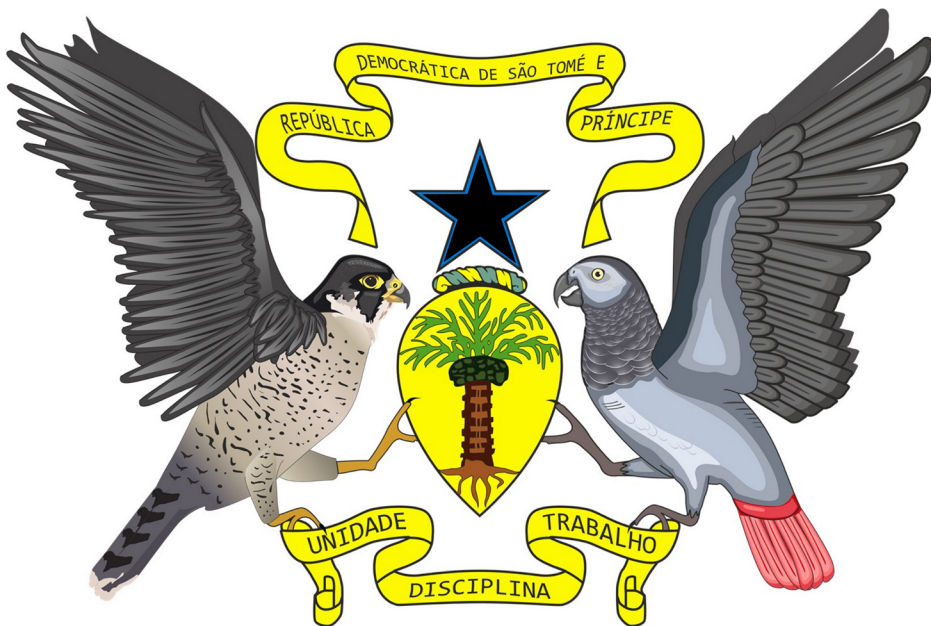


Figure 17: coat of arms of São Tomé and Príncipe, Wikimedia Commons.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

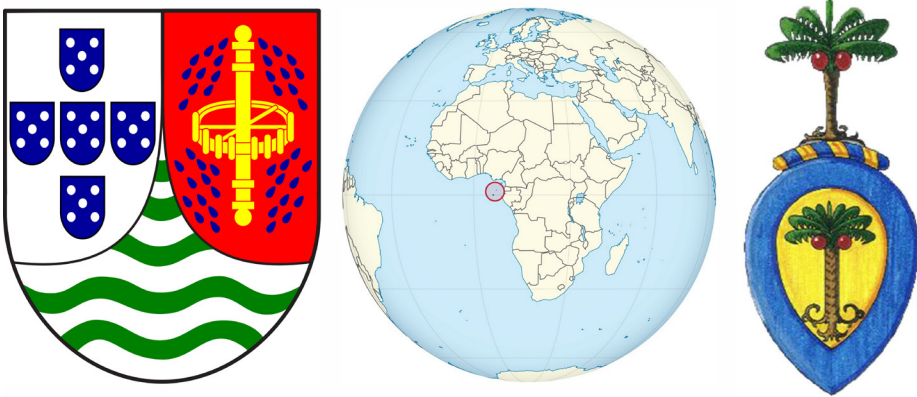


Figure 18, left, 18a: colonial arms of São Tomé and Príncipe 1935–1951; centre, 18b: São Tomé and Príncipe on the globe, both from Wikimedia Commons ; right, 18c, provincial arms of the island of São Tomé, source, flaggenlexikon.de.

### Description (Figure 17)<sup>11</sup>

Arms: *On an oval shield (or) a palm tree (proper).*

Crest: *(On a torse or and azure a mullet sable fimbriated azure).*

Supporters: *sinister, a parrot; dexter, a falcon.*

Motto: UNIDADE, DISCIPLINA, TRABALHO (Unity, Discipline, Work).

### Explanation of symbolism

The shield is in fact a tear-drop shape, coincidentally not dissimilar to a shield of the Maasai tribe from Kenya, a country on the same latitude but on the opposite side of the African continent; but clearly intended to closely match the shape of the island of São Tomé. The tree is a coconut palm, the characteristic tree of the islands, although the greater proportion of the cultivated land is now used to produce cocoa pods. The black star is taken from the two black stars on the national flag, which in turn was inspired by the black star on the flag of Ghana and stands for African emancipation. The birds, representing the two islands, are the Lanner falcon (*Falco biarmicus*), the sacred falcon of the Ancient Egyptians; and the African grey parrot (*Psittacus Erithacus*), one of the greatest bird mimics, and therefore a popular pet.

### History and former coat of arms

On December 21, 1471, the Portuguese seafarers João de Santarém and Pedro Escobar discovered the island of São Tomé off the west coast of Africa, and on January 17, 1472, the island of Santo António, which was renamed Príncipe in 1502. The first Portuguese settlements were established between 1485 and 1500, serving both as a trans-shipment point for the slave trade between Africa, Portugal, Brazil and the Caribbean islands, and as a place to keep expelled Portuguese Jews and prisoners. A plantation economy emerged with changing crops of sugar cane, coffee and, from around 1850, cocoa, which made the

<sup>11</sup> Rendered into heraldic blazon from the Constitution of República Democrática de S.Tomé e Príncipe of December 6, 2002, published January 25, 2003, part I Article 14.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

islands the largest cocoa producer in the world at the beginning of the twentieth century.

On August 13, 1913, a treaty was signed by Germany and England stipulating that the two islands should be transferred to the German colonial empire in the event of a potential international insolvency of Portugal. Due to the loss of the German colonies in the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919, this treaty of 1913 became invalid. The islands became a Portuguese colony with their own coat of arms (**Figure 18a**) in 1935, and in 1951 were integrated into the Portuguese state as a province. The key feature of the arms used in the colonial period was *Gules a mill-wheel or spilling drops of water argent*, the personal emblem of King Alphonso V of Portugal, during whose reign (1438-1481) the islands were discovered.

The end of the colonial period began with the emergence of various liberation movements on the African continent. In Ghana, the Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe was founded in 1960 as the forerunner of the MLSTP Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (from 1972). After the Portuguese Carnation Revolution in 1974, the MLSTP was recognized as a legitimate representative body, with independence finally achieved on July 12, 1975. The MLSTP dominated the country, which was a one-party state for the first 15 years after the end of the colonial era.

### Republic of South Africa

|                                              |                    |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Portuguese discovery by Bartolomeu Dias      | June 6, 1488       |
| Trading post by the Dutch East India Company | 1652               |
| British colony                               | 1806               |
| Boer Republics                               | 1836-1886          |
| South African Republic                       | January 17, 1852   |
| Union of South Africa                        | May 31, 1910       |
| Independence from United Kingdom             | May 31, 1910       |
| Coat of arms adopted                         | September 17, 1910 |
| Current coat of arms adopted                 | April 27, 2000     |

#### Official description (**Figure 19**)<sup>12</sup>

*Arms: Or two San human figures of red ochre, statant respectant, the hands of the innermost arms clasped, with upper arm, inner wrist, waist and knee bands argent, and a narrow border of red ochre; the shield ensigned of a spear and knobkierie in saltire sable. Thereabove a demi-secretary bird displayed or, charged on the breast with a stylized representation of a protea flower with outer petals vert, inner petals or and seeded of nine triangles conjoined in three rows, the upper triangle gules, the second row vert, or inverted and vert, and the third row vert, or inverted, sable, or inverted and vert. above the head of the secretary bird an arc of seven rays faceted or and orange, the two outer rays conjoined to the elevated wings.*

<sup>12</sup> Government Gazette Statskoerant No. 418. No. 21131; Government Notice No. 425 (www.gov.za).

## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 19: coat of arms of the Republic of South Africa, Wikimedia Commons.*

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

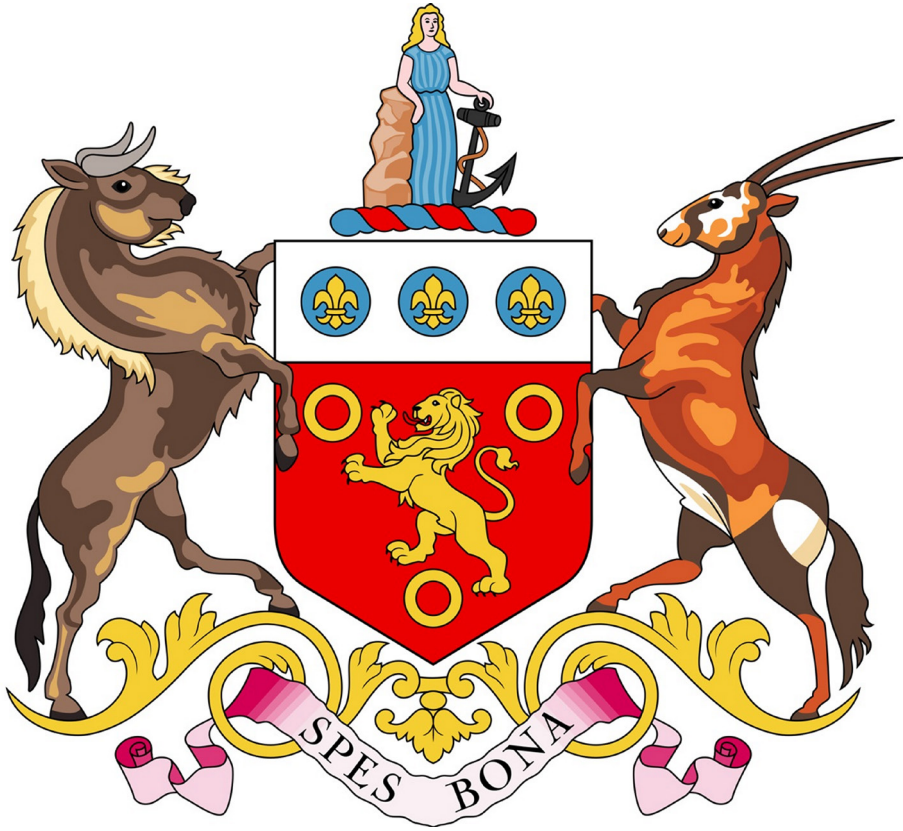


Figure 20: coat of arms of the Cape Colony as a British colony from 1875 to 1910, Wikimedia Commons.

*Motto: Upon a riband vert, the motto !KE E: /XARRA //KE in letters argent. Issuant from the ends of the riband two pairs of elephant tusks curving inwards, the tips conjoined to the wings of the secretary bird, Or, there within and flanking the shields, two ears of wheat.*

### Explanation of symbolism

The coat of arms was designed by Mr Iaan Bekker of the design agency FCB.<sup>13</sup> It is perhaps the most richly symbolic of any national coat of arms. To begin with the human figures on the drum-shaped shield are taken from the ancient Linton Stone, a piece of rock art now in the South African Museum in Cape Town. They were drawn by the oldest inhabitants of southern Africa, the Khoisan or Khoe-San. The name is a combination of the names given to the Khoe herders and the San hunter-gatherers. The language which they spoke, and which is still used by descendants of these most ancient inhabitants of the region, has been used for the motto. The two figures link their arms in greeting, and represent unity. The motto “Unity in Diversity” underscores this message.

<sup>13</sup> Foote, Cone & Belding (FCB), is one of the largest global advertising agency networks.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

The ears of wheat are for agriculture, fertility, and the germination of new ideas, while the elephant tusks stand for wisdom, strength and moderation. Moving up to the spear and knobkierie which rest on the drum, these are emblems of defence and authority, but they have been laid down to represent the desire for peace. The protea flower, that most iconic of South African species, stands for the flowering potential of the nation. The secretary bird is a snake hunting bird which therefore protects the nation, but is also regarded as a messenger to heaven. The bird rises up towards the sun as the source of light and life. The whole design is intended to resemble a bird hatching from an egg as a sign of rebirth, renewal and ascendancy.

### History and former coats of arms

The original inhabitants of southern Africa were Khoi peoples comprising the Khoikhoi (at that time called “Hottentots”) and the San (Bushman), names combined in the collective name ‘Khoi-San’. Genetic studies indicate that these peoples are older than other ethnic groups of modern humans and that their origin dates back around 100,000 years. It is assumed that around 25,000 to 40,000 years ago, the Khoi-San (a hunter-gatherer society) migrated from the north to southern Africa and left behind cave and rock paintings that still exist today throughout southern Africa. The Khoi-san peoples were expelled, conquered, and absorbed by Bantu-speaking peoples from more northerly regions in the fourth and fifth centuries AD.

The first visual contact with the southern tip of Africa (later called Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese King John II) was made by the Portuguese seafarer Bartolomeu Diaz in June 1488. In the seventeenth century as Portugal’s naval power waned, English and Dutch merchants began to push Portugal out of the spice trade. The Dutchman Jan van Riebeeck founded the first permanent trading settlement at the Cape of Good Hope on an expedition with 90 Calvinist settlers on behalf of the United East India Company in 1652.

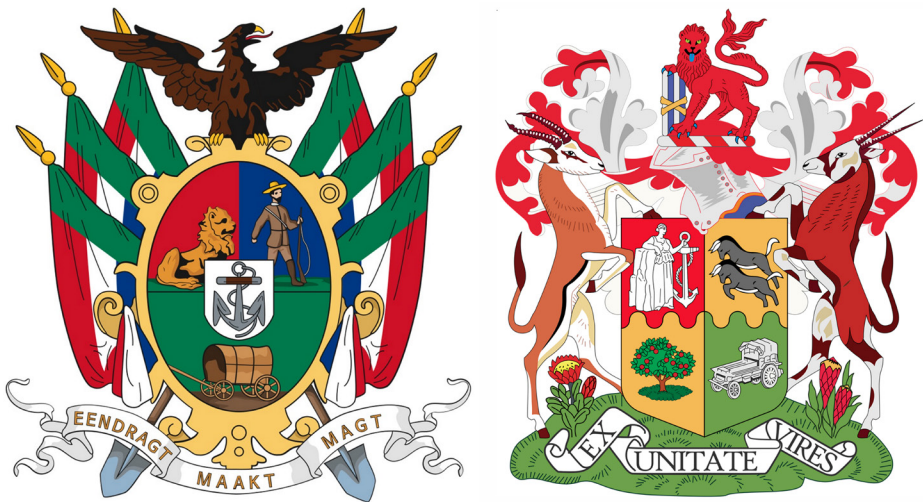


Figure 21, left, 21a: South African Republic, 1857–1902; right, 21b: South African Union from 1910, both from Wikimedia Commons.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

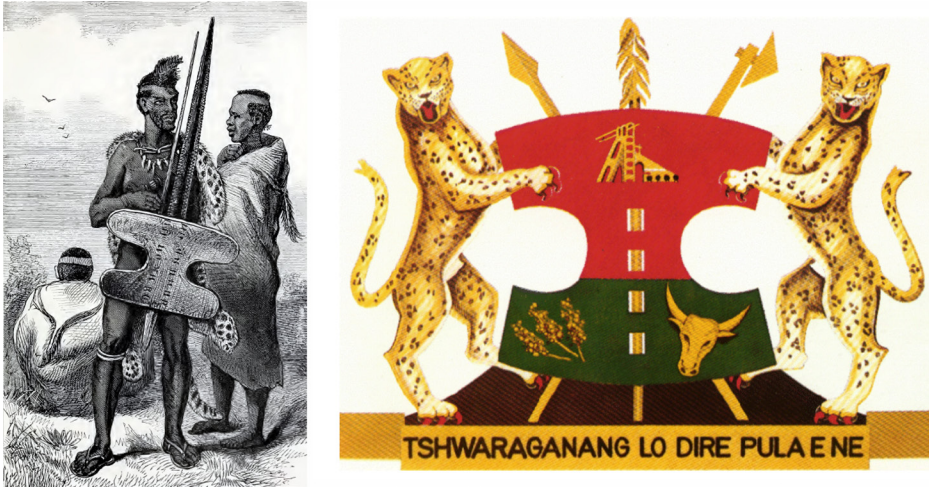


Figure 22, left, 22a: Bechuana warrior carrying a Tswana-type shield from Keith Johnston, *Africa* (London, 1878), p. 448; right, 22b: arms of Bophuthatswana 1972, source [www.geocities.com Armoria Patriae](http://www.geocities.com/Armoria/Patriae).

In 1795, French troops under Napoleon invaded the Netherlands. British troops then landed in Cape Town to secure it for the Netherlands against a presumptive French invasion. The governor of Cape Town handed the area over to the British on September 16, 1795. After failed Dutch reconquest attempts in 1801 the area fell to the Napoleonic Batavian Republic. In 1806, the British re-occupied the Cape region as part of the Anglo-French colonial conflict to keep Napoleon's forces away and to control maritime trade routes. On January 8, 1806, after the Battle of Blaauwberg, the Cape became a British colony, and in 1910 it became part of the Union of South Africa as the Cape Province. The Cape Colony was granted arms by the College of Arms in 1875 (**Figure 20**). These featured annulets from the arms of Jan van Riebeeck, fleurs de lis for the Huguenot settlers, the crest of a figure of Hope resting on a rock, and supporters of a gnu and an oryx.

During the "Great Trek" of 1835-1841, large numbers of Boers left the Cape area and founded new republics in the interior. They had lost their dominant position due to increased British immigration from around 1820, such that in 1828 English became the official language of the courts. A decree in the same year enabled the natives to acquire their own land, which ultimately meant the abolition of slavery, and deprived many Boers of their economic livelihood. The Boers established their own South African Republic (or Transvaal Republic) for which their government authorised a coat of arms in 1858 (**Figure 21a**). This republic was annexed by the United Kingdom in 1877, following which two major wars were fought between the protagonists, the First and Second Boer Wars of 1880-1881 and 1899-1902, from which Britain emerged as the victor.

In the early nineteenth century the Zulu built a powerful kingdom under their king Shaka by subjugating neighbouring tribes and establishing a centralized military system. In 1879 an undeclared war broke out between the Zulu people and the British Empire. After initial Zulu successes Zululand lost its sovereignty and was incorporated into the

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 23, top left, 23a: arms of the Northern Cape, granted in 1998; top right, 23b: arms of KwaZulu-Natal, granted in 2004; bottom left, 23c: arms of the KwaZulu homeland 1972-1994 with a Nguni (in this case Zulu) shield; bottom right, 23d: South Africa on the globe. All from Wikimedia Commons.

British colony of Natal. On May 31, 1910, the South African Union was created by the unification of the four British colonies and former Boer republics. These were Cape Province, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal, of which the two latter were former Boer republics. A new coat of arms was granted by the College of Arms later the same year with emblems taken from the earlier arms of the four provinces (**Figure 21b**). There was Hope with her anchor (the Cape Colony), two black wildebeest (Natal), an orange tree (Orange Free State) and a trek waggon (Transvaal), The supporters were a springbok and an oryx, while the motto *EX UNITATE VIRES*, ‘Strength from Unity’ prefigures the rather different message of inclusivity in the current national motto. Of

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

these arms only the Proteus flower from the compartment found its way onto the revision in the year 2000.

The Natives Land Act of 1913 restricted the land ownership of the black population and divided it into areas that were intended exclusively for whites and exclusively for blacks. Blacks were not allowed to acquire land in the “white” areas and vice versa. As a result, the black population only had around 7% of the territory of the Union of South Africa as living and usable space. In 1931, the “Statute of Westminster” gave formal full independence to the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations and granted South Africa formal independence from Great Britain.

South Africa became the Republic of South Africa on May 31, 1961, leaving the Commonwealth because of international criticism of apartheid policies. In 1963 the republic established its own Bureau of Heraldry under a State Herald, an office which still thrives today. Between 1959 and 1994, apartheid policies in South Africa created ten Homelands (Bantustans) for the black population. The independent status of these homelands was not internationally recognized, and they ceased to exist on April 27, 1994, when they were reincorporated into South Africa with the adoption of the new democratic constitution. From 1972 the Bureau of Heraldry began to create coats of arms for the Homelands using a mixture of shield types: European, round, oval, Nguni (Zulu) and Tswana. The latter type of shield is closely related to the Sotho shield (from a related tribe) found on the arms of Botswana, being a small shield used in stick-fighting exercises. It was utilised in 1972 for the arms of Bophuthatswana (meaning the Tswana people) [**Figure 22b**].

President F.W. de Klerk began abolishing Apartheid laws in 1990 and the same year released Nelson Mandela after 20 years of imprisonment. The system final ended in 1994 with a democratic change of government, and the first general election in which people of all races could vote, with Nelson Mandela elected as the country’s first black president. With the dissolution of the Homelands, South Africa was divided into nine new provinces, each of which was granted arms by the Bureau of Heraldry between 1996 and 2004. Two of these are illustrated to show the fine work of the Bureau. The Northern Cape (**Figure 23a**), granted in 1998 feature a majestic Sweet-thorn Tree (which has medicinal properties, and was formerly used in the manufacture of Gum Arabic), two marigolds, a diadem of Bushmen beadwork, an Oryx, and a Kudu. The motto means ‘Strive for a better life’ in the Bushmen language. In the merger of Kwazulu with Natal, to form Kwazulu-Natal, (**Figure 23b**) the Zulu-shaped shield and lion supporter was retained from the former (**Figure 23c**), while from the latter the mountain-scape of the Drakensberg range and one of the two black wildebeest from the shield was kept, with the animal recruited as a supporter. The Strelitzia or Bird of Paradise flower, a native species now cultivated all over the world, was entirely new, as was the crest of the local beehive hut. These were the last of the provincial arms to be granted, and were approved in the same year as the new national arms.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of South Sudan

|                                          |              |
|------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Part of Turkish-and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan | 1821-1956    |
| Autonomous Region of Sudan               | 2005–2011    |
| Unofficial coat of arms devised          | 2011         |
| Independence from Sudan                  | July 9, 2011 |
| Current coat of arms adopted             | July 2011    |



Figure 24: emblem of South Sudan. Wikimedia Commons.

#### Description (Figure 24)<sup>14</sup>

Arms: A south-Sudanese shield or resting on a spade and spear in saltire.

Supporter: An African fish eagle proper standing on a ribbon or with the name of the Republic of South Sudan

Motto: JUSTICE LIBERTY PROSPERITY, on a white scroll.

<sup>14</sup> Government of South Sudan website, [www.goss-online.org](http://www.goss-online.org).

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

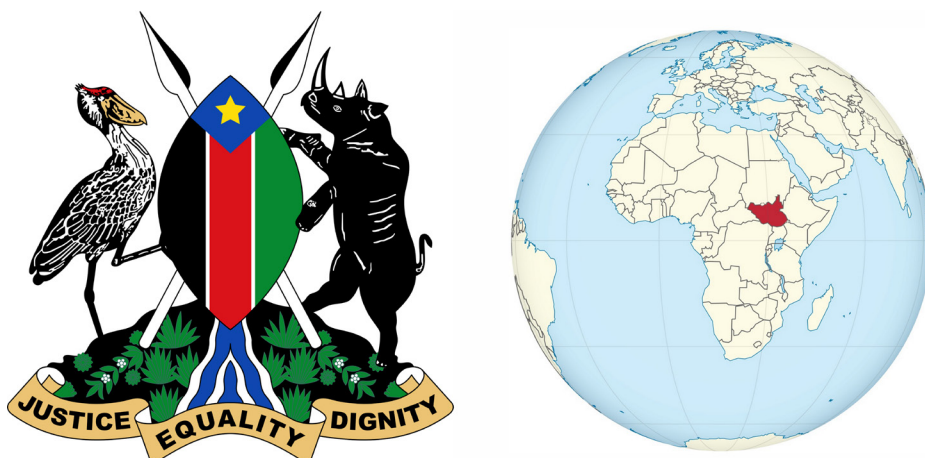


Figure 25, left, 25a: unofficial coat of arms of Southern Sudan 2005–2011; right, 25b: South Sudan on the globe. Both from Wikimedia Commons.

### Explanation of symbolism<sup>15</sup>

The shield represents the people and is of the characteristic shape of the shields borne by the Dinka and Nuer tribesmen in the South Sudan region. It is deliberately plain so as not to resemble the specific markings of any of the sixty different tribes.<sup>16</sup> The crossed spear and spade symbolize the people's resolve to protect the sovereignty of their republic and to work hard to feed it. The eagle is also on the arms of Zambia and Namibia. It is a large and powerful bird, one common in most areas of South Sudan, and intended to represent strength, resilience, vision, and majesty.

### History and former coat of arms

The history of South Sudan as the youngest nation in Africa begins with the declaration of independence in 2011. Although it was part of the Republic of the Sudan (see next) for almost 55 years, it is culturally very different from the remainder of that country. Its religious composition is 60% Christian and 33% Animist, in contrast to the predominantly Islamic north. After decades of secession wars in from 1955 to 1972, and again from 1983 to 2005, it became an autonomous region in 2005. An unofficial coat of arms then came to be used by certain government departments (**Figure 25a**), although the emblem of the Sudan continued to be the official version. The unofficial arms featured the new regional flag on a shield of *Nguni* shape, with supporters of a shoebill and a rather strangely conceived rhinoceros, above a compartment of the flowing waters of the Nile surrounded by its fertile black earth. The rhino was taken from the pre-Islamic arms of Sudan. Since independence Sudan and South Sudan have been enemies, but a peace agreement was signed in September 2018 after five years of civil war.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> [Workthatwork.com/4/branding-south-sudan](https://www.workthatwork.com/4/branding-south-sudan).

## THE COAT OF ARMS

### Republic of the Sudan

|                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Anglo-Egyptian Condominium      | 1899-1956         |
| Independence from Great Britain | January 1st, 1956 |
| Coat of arms adopted            | 1956              |
| Current coat of arms adopted    | 1969              |



Figure 26: emblem of the Republic of Sudan. Wikimedia Commons.

#### Description (Figure 26)

The 'shield' of Muhammad Ahmad the self-proclaimed 'Mahdi' borne upon the breast of a Secretary bird with wings outstretched. Above it a scroll bearing the national motto *An-nasr lanā* "Victory is ours", in Arabic; below it a second scroll with the words 'Republic of the Sudan.'

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

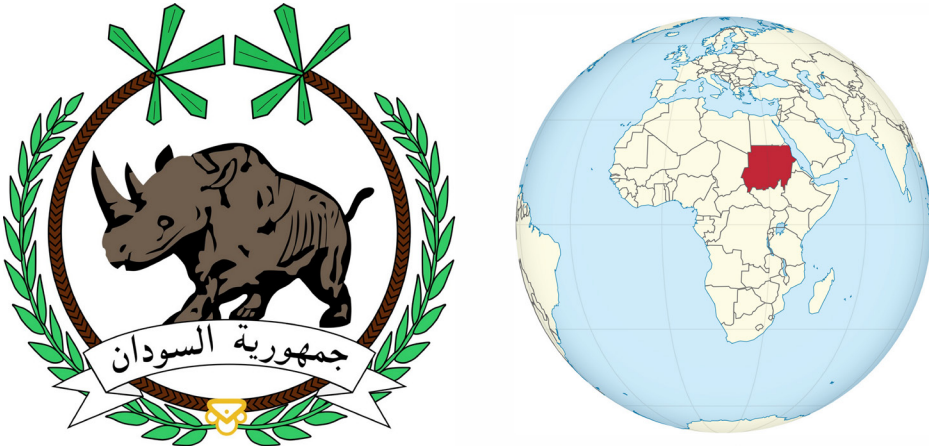


Figure 27: left, 27a: emblem of Sudan 1956 -1970; right, 27b: Sudan on the globe.  
Both from Wikimedia Commons.

### Explanation of symbolism

The Secretary bird is a large species admired as a killer of snakes. It was chosen as a distinctively Sudanese and indigenous variant of the coat of arms, the 'Eagle of Saladin' which was adopted by neighbouring Egypt (and by other Arab states), as a mark of Arab nationalism. Egypt and Libya, with which the country became politically merged in 1969, adopted their similar devices in the same year. The 'shield' of Muhammad Ahmad, as it is described on the website of the Sudanese embassy in London, seems more likely to be a breastplate, as no shields of this type are known from Sudan. There are many shields from the period in museums, and their shapes are either circular, oval, or of the Nguni type.

### History and former coat of arms

In the nineteenth century the Khedives (Ottoman viceroys of Egypt) began to conquer Sudan, and in 1820 they founded Khartoum as a military camp. In the late-nineteenth century the movement of the Sudanese Islamic religious leader Muhammad Ahmad spread. He defeated the Egyptians in battle in 1881, and in 1885 he defeated and killed the British governor, General Gordon, in Khartoum, founding a new capital at Omdurman, where he died on June 12, 1885. He remains a national hero to Sudanese Muslims. The 'Mahdi's' successor, Caliph Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, was defeated by Egyptian troops under the command of the British general Lord Kitchener at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. The country was governed until 1956 as an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Civil war broke out between the Christian-black south and the Islamic-Arab north of the country in 1955. On attaining independence in 1956 the country adopted the emblem of a Brown rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) encircled by palm trees and laurel branches (Figure 27a).

In 1969 a military coup established a new regime and a new coat of arms. The country's history since that time has remained difficult and unsettled due to ongoing civil wars.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

### United Republic of Tanzania Formerly Tanganyika

|                                              |                  |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| German Protectorate                          | 1891             |
| British Mandate of Tanganyika Territory      | 1922             |
| British United Nations Trust Territory       | 1946             |
| Independence from Great Britain as a kingdom | December 9, 1961 |
| First coat of arms adopted                   | 1961             |
| Republic of Tanganyika                       | June 9, 1962     |
| Republic of Tanzania                         | November 1, 1964 |
| Revised coat of arms adopted                 | 1964             |

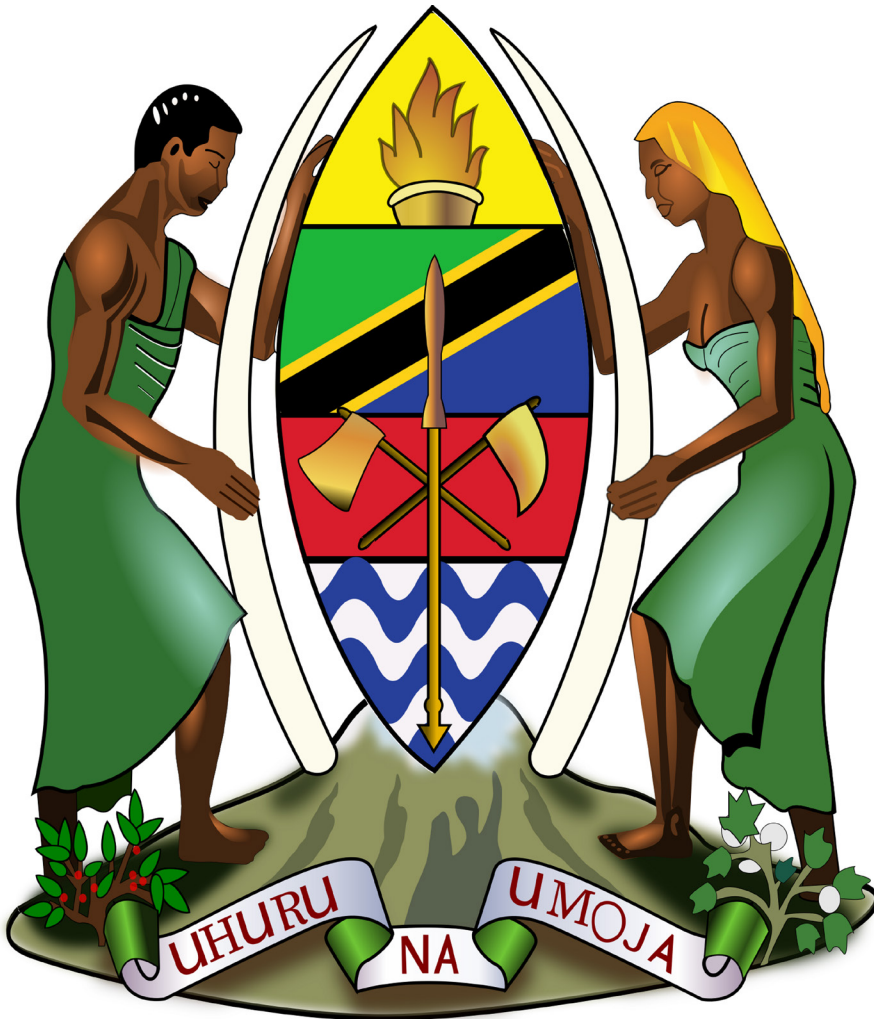


Figure 28: coat of arms of Tanzania, Wikimedia Commons.

## AFRICAN NATIONAL SYMBOLS

### Description (Figure 28)<sup>17</sup>

*Arms: On a Nguni shield, per fess of four: first, a torch couped or, its flame proper; second, the flag of Tanzania (Per bend sinister vert and azure, a bend sinister sable, fimbriated or); third, Gules an axe and hatchet in saltire or; fourth, Barry wavy argent and azure; over the lower three a spear in pale or.*

*Supporters: Dexter, a Tanganyikan man vested vert, supporting an elephants' tusk; Sinister a Tanganyikan woman vested vert, her headscarf orange, supporting an elephants' tusk. Compartment: Mount Kilimanjaro, with a clove bush at the feet of the man and a cotton bush at the feet of the woman.*

*Motto: Uhuru na Umoja (in Swahili) 'Freedom and Unity'*

### Explanation of symbolism<sup>18</sup>

The original designer of the arms and also the reviser in 1964 was Jeremiah Wisdom Kabati. The torch is that which was lit on Mount Kilimanjaro on independence day in 1961. It represents freedom, enlightenment and knowledge. The crossed axe and hatchet and the spear were added following the union with Zanzibar in 1964, and are said to be tools for the defence of freedom and the development of the country. Tanzania is a country of great lakes, including Lake Tanganyika to the west and Lake Victoria to the north; the wavy bands of water represent these lakes, as well as the sea and coasts of the United Republic. Cotton is one of Tanzania's most important exports (now with coffee and cashew nuts), while cloves are a principal export of Zanzibar.

### History and previous coat of arms

In 1698 the offshore island of Zanzibar became an overseas province of the Sultanate of Oman, and the archipelago became a centre both of the slave trade and of the cultivation of cloves. In the 1840s, German missionaries reached Mount Kilimanjaro on the mainland for the first time. The Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone settled beside Lake Tanganyika in Ujiji (near Kigoma) in April 1867, where Henry Morton Stanley found him on November 10, 1871 after a long search.

In the course of the "Scramble for Africa", the German Empire in East Africa concluded numerous contracts with regional tribal chiefs from 1884 onwards, to build a private-sector colonial empire. In 1886 and 1890, Anglo-German treaties were concluded, which established the British and German spheres of influence in East Africa. The "Protectorate" of German East Africa was established, and in 1891 the colony of German East Africa was created. Arms were devised for Deutsch Ostafrika in 1914 (**Figure 7a**) but did not come into use as during the First World War, in 1916, the territory was occupied by Great Britain and Belgium, and in 1922 the League of Nations transferred the territory to Great Britain as a mandate. When Tanganyika gained its independence in 1961 it was initially a kingdom, with Queen Elizabeth II as monarch. The original national arms (**Figure 29a**) were quite similar to those used today, but the shield was divided into only three parts with the torch overall, and a different flag. On June 9, 1962, a republic was declared with Julius Nyerere as President.

<sup>17</sup> The arms are pictured in the Tanzanian *National flag and coat of arms Act* of May 7, 1971, but are not blazoned therein. They are backdated in this document as being the official arms since April 26, 1964.

<sup>18</sup> Archived from the Tanzanian National website.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

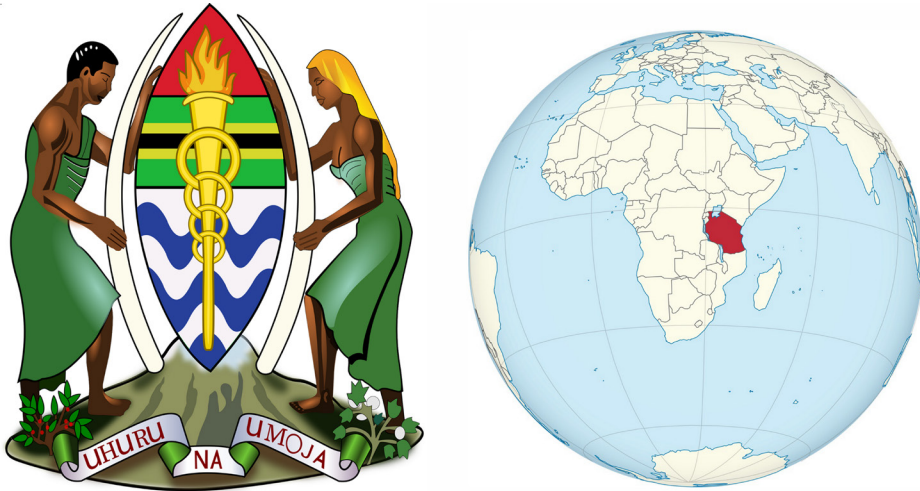


Figure 29, left, 29a: coat of arms of Tanganyika 1961-1964; right, 29b: Location of Tanzania on the globe. Both from Wikimedia Commons.

Nearby Zanzibar itself became independent in 1963, and April 26, 1964 the two countries merged under the name “United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar”. This required a new flag, and a change in the arms. On November 1, 1964 the name of the country was changed to the “United Republic of Tanzania”, a combination of the names of the two countries which has no specific meaning.

## Republic of Uganda

British Protectorate of Uganda  
Independence from Great Britain  
Coat of arms adopted

1894-1962  
October 9, 1962  
October 9, 1962

### Official Description (Figure 30)<sup>19</sup>

Arms: [on a Nguni shield] *Sable upon the fess point a sun in splendour and in base a Ugandan drum or, the skin and guy-ropes argent, a chief barry wavy of six azure and argent; behind the shield two Uganda spears of estate crossed in saltire proper.*

Supporters: *dexter, a male Uganda kob proper; sinister, a crested crane proper.*

Compartment: *A grassy mound down the centre of which flows a river between, in dexter, a sprig of coffee, and in sinister, a sprig of cotton, both leaved and fructed proper.*

Motto: *FOR GOD AND MY COUNTRY.*

<sup>19</sup> National Flag and Armorial Ensigns Act October 9, 1962.

### Explanation of symbolism

The radiant sun is taken from the badge of the British East Africa Company (**Figures 11a and 31b**). The drum is a symbol of power for the Ugandan kings, the country having possessed a variety of kingdoms concurrently in its recent history. The waters in chief are for Lake Victoria, the source of the White Nile. The black field of the shield is for the rich black soil which that river carries north. The river on the compartment is the same river Nile which traverses the country, helping to produce the main export cash crops of coffee and cotton. The spears are for the authority of the state. The crested crane was the badge of Uganda during the British Protectorate (**Figure 31a**), used as a roundel on the Blue Ensign; while the Uganda Kob is a characteristic local subspecies of this type of antelope.

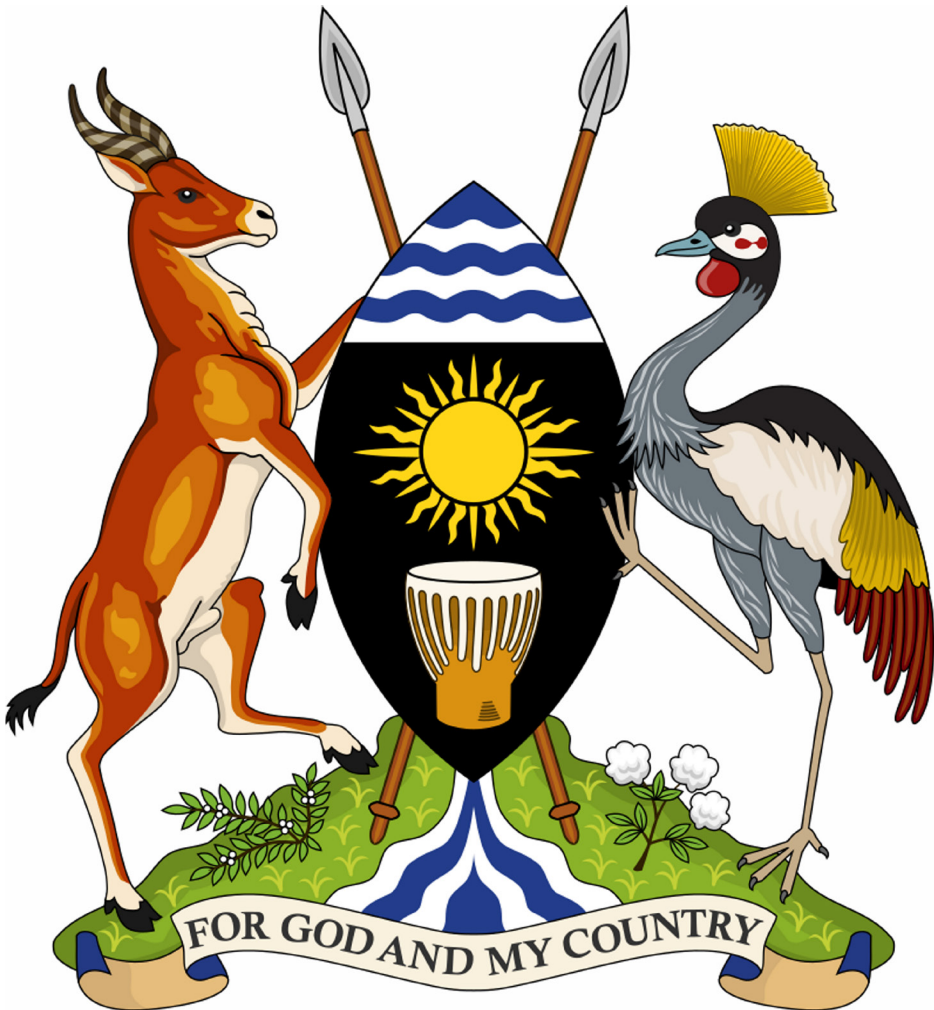


Figure 30: Coat of arms of the Republic of Uganda, Wikimedia Commons.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

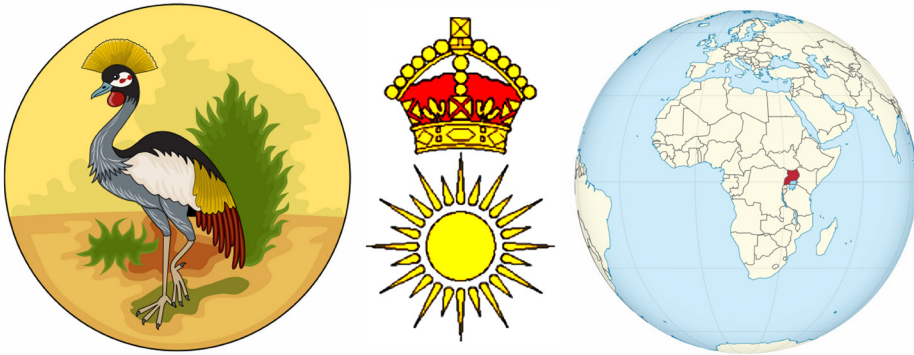


Figure 31, left, 31a: badge of Uganda as a British protectorate, Wikimedia Commons; centre, 31b: badge of the British East Africa Company as drawn by Martin Grieve; right, 31c: *location of Uganda on the globe*, Wikimedia Commons.

### History

The oldest ethnic group, the Twa, were displaced about 2,000 years ago by migrating Bantu peoples, who in turn fled south to escape Nilotes from the South Sudan region. Migrant herders, including Hima and Tutsi, arrived in the area around the fourteenth century and formed connections with the Bantu, from which the empire of the Kabaka kings of Buganda emerged. The succession of the Kabaka kings has been almost uninterrupted since 1374. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the kingdom of Buganda, which gave the current state its name, dominated the regions around Lake Victoria. In the first centuries AD, there were already Greek and Roman contacts on the East African coast. However, it was only from the seventh and eighth centuries that there was an extensive Ottoman trading system there, with an impact on the inner regions such as Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. Export items included slaves and ivory. Buganda became the largest slave exporter in the region of the northern lakes.

At the end of the nineteenth century, during the “Scramble for Africa” Great Britain extended its rule to East Africa and the Imperial East Africa Company was commissioned to occupy Uganda in 1888. In 1896, Uganda, including the Kingdom of Buganda, became a British protectorate. On gaining its independence in 1962 the first President was King Mutesa of Buganda.

# TREASURES OF THE HERALDRY SOCIETY BOOKPLATE COLLECTION PART 2: THEMES OF ARCHITECTURE, LANDSCAPE AND TREES

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

## Abstract

*Heraldry has been popularly combined with architectural, garden and landscape motifs on bookplates using the vehicle of quasi-monuments, of houses, of castles and of landscapes, all with specific family connotations. A further means of expression has been the utilisation by architects, architectural historians, and antiquarians of architectural elements. While the tree is a natural metaphor for the family, it has sometimes been included as a canting device.*

Here are presented in rough chronological order some 26 bookplates, with a few related additions. Of these, ten might be classed as quasi-monuments, while eight pertain to landscapes relevant to the family concerned. In four, a tree is the predominant feature, while a further four utilise abstract architectural elements.

## HOARE

In the Collection are two fine bookplates which were made for early members of the great banking family of Hoare.<sup>1</sup> The superb architectural bookplate of William Hoare (1716-1753) [ **Figure 1**<sup>2</sup>] belongs to the period after his uncle Henry Hoare (1677-1725) had built his great Palladian mansion at Stourhead in Wiltshire (1721-25) and perhaps he drew some inspiration from this house when he commissioned the artwork. Fittingly, another bookplate in the collection is that of Henry, the builder of Stourhead, a fine early piece of English bookplate design dated 1704 [ **Figure 2**<sup>3</sup>]. William was the grandson, and Henry the son, of the founder of the banking dynasty Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1718), a goldsmith, and Lord Mayor of London in 1712-13. Richard employed an engraver, Benjamin Rhodes, to place heraldic and other motifs on the silverware of his clients. The sketchbook of that engraver, covering a period from 1694-1698, includes work done for Richard himself, and for Dorcas, Lady Ashfield, who apparently bore the same arms, although the engraving was for silverware, and there are no hatching tinctures.<sup>4</sup>

Lady Dorcas was the daughter of James Hoare (d.1696), a goldsmith who served as Comptroller of the Royal Mint in the Tower of London from 1661.<sup>5</sup> As a private banker and goldsmith he worked at the Golden Bottle in Cheapside, where he is listed in the

<sup>1</sup> Both are in Porteous Coll. vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Franks 14880. In describing this as an architectural bookplate the author has been asked to point out that bookplate scholars would describe it as being of the 'pictorial armorial' type (a very broad category), and that the descriptor 'architectural' is reserved for a particular type as exemplified by the bookplates of Bree and Boyd illustrated below.

<sup>3</sup> Franks 14859.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Humphreys, 'An engraver's late-seventeenth-century heraldic sketchbook', CoA no. 237 (2020), pp. 23-53.

<sup>5</sup> William Chaffers, *Gilda Aurifabrorum* (London, 1899), pp. 70-1.

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 1: bookplate of William Hoare (1716-1753). 103x86mm.

*Little London Directory* of 1677, the same place where Richard Hoare began to work as a goldsmith in 1672 following his apprenticeship.<sup>6</sup> Between 1687 and 1692 the two men moved their sign of the Golden Bottle to Fleet Street where Hoare's Bank is still

<sup>6</sup> *The Little London Directory 1677* (London, 1863), appendix; Victoria Hutchings 'Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1719), *New DNB*. It should be noted that the *DNB* makes no reference whatsoever to James Hoare.





*Figure 2: bookplate of Henry Hoare (1677-1725) with the nominal date 1704.  
79x61mm.*



## THE COAT OF ARMS

located today.<sup>7</sup> When James Hoare made his will in 1695 Richard Hoare, goldsmith, and Dorcas, Lady Ashfield (the executor) were charged together with the approval of any marriages which James's grandsons might contract.<sup>8</sup> The heraldry, the will, and the business relationship together point to a close kinship between James and Richard. The current understanding is that James was linked to the Hoare family of Green's Norton in Northamptonshire and that Richard's father Henry was born fourteen miles away at Walton in Buckinghamshire, making such a connection distinctly plausible.<sup>9</sup>

The misconception that a particular coat of arms belongs to a surname is not a modern phenomenon. The two goldsmiths, being upwardly socially mobile, needed arms, and a ready-made coat was available, that of the Hore family of Risford or Rushford in the parish of Chagford in Devon, *Sable a double-headed eagle displayed in border engrailed argent*. The men understood that the heralds would take a dim view of their adopting these arms without making some distinction, and so initially they reversed the tinctures, as can clearly be seen from Henry Hoare's bookplate, *Argent a double-headed eagle displayed in border engrailed sable*. By the time of his death in 1725 Henry Hoare was using a bookplate on which the field of his arms was sable, a practice followed by all subsequent members of the family. During the 1720s the Devon Hores were fast fading away, and the last record of a member of that family in the Chagford parish registers is in 1725.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps then there were diminishing concerns that the usage by the bankers of the arms of the Devon family might be challenged. As a consequence of the usage in the nineteenth century the London Hoares were mistakenly accreted onto the Devonshire family. In 1776 when Henry Hoare of Stourhead obtained an exemplification of the arms, the heralds were content to add an ermine spot for difference to the arms with the field sable. William Hoare of the architectural bookplate was buried with his grandfather in the family vault within the church of St Dunstan-in-the-West on Fleet Street.

## HUNT

The tree on the bookplate of William Hunt (1731-1796) attorney-at-law in Stratford-upon-Avon is a reference to the surname of Hunt's wife Catherine Oakes (1734-1813), daughter of Mr Thomas Oakes, of Tamworth in Staffordshire [Figure 3].<sup>11</sup> The shield hangs suspended from an ancient oak tree. The impaled arms are dexter, *Azure a bend between six leopard's faces or* [Hunt]; sinister, *Argent (?) on a fess or between three oak leaves as many acorns (proper?)* [Oakes] The latter has not been properly engraved, and

<sup>7</sup> *Old and new London* (London, 1878), vol. 1, pp. 32-53. This source states that James Hoare's father was a citizen and cooper of London. There is reference to his employment at the royal mint in 1636, in which period he was surveyor of melting. He was promoted to become Comptroller of the Mint in June 1660. By 1662 his son James had studied under him for many years, and James Hoare senior having "grown old in his office", petitioned that James junior might eventually succeed him. James junior became clerk of the Mint and died in 1680. He was evidently the father of the grandsons mentioned in the will of 1696. Father and son (listed as goldsmiths) were both elected as Fellows of the Royal Society in 1664. The records of the Royal Society state that the son was born in 1642, but no record survives of his baptism, nor indeed has it been possible to locate one for his father. See *Calendar of Treasury Books*; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Charles I and Charles II; Roger Ruding, *Annals of the British coinage* (London, 1840), vol. 1, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> TNA PROB 11/435/314.

<sup>9</sup> *CoA* no. 238 (2021), p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Devon* (Exeter, 1895), p. 480.

<sup>11</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 1; Franks 15747.



Figure 3: bookplate of William Hunt (1731-1796). 102x78mm.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

the field should be sable. The collection also includes in the same volume a derivative bookplate without the tree for their third son William Hunt (1765-1852), which dates after 1790 when he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn.<sup>12</sup> His was a life full of promise which ended in pathos. He worked as a barrister in the Norfolk circuit, was the last recorder (or municipal judge) in his mother's hometown of Tamworth from 1817-1842, and lived out his life as a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge (where he had been appointed a fellow in 1788, and later bursar, being senior proctor of the university in 1807) as "the most notorious drunkard in the university", who for many years kept his coffin under his bed.<sup>13</sup>

### WADE

The dog on this bookplate [Figure 4] rests its paw on a helm as an artistic device to indicate that the animal is the crest of the bookplate owner.<sup>14</sup> The arms *Azure on a saltire between four fleurs de lis or five escallops argent* were confirmed by Camden in 1604 to the Wade family of Bilston in Suffolk, while Crisp records for Wade of Orford in Suffolk the crest *A talbot passant argent spotted gules gorged with a collar a line reflexed over the back or*.<sup>15</sup> Robert Watson Wade (c. 1755-1835) who was First Clerk of the Irish Treasury from 1770 until 1794, married Mary Parks at St Anne's Dublin on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1774. The implication of the bookplate is that the eagle is Mary's crest (and the eagle looks very much in charge), while the tree suggests the anticipation of a burgeoning family that never materialised.<sup>16</sup> Alternatively it might be argued that the tree was intended to form part of the landscape of a park in allusion to the wife's maiden name, as with the previous bookplate which is of similar date. In 1783 Robert commissioned the Dublin artist William Mossop to produce a commemorative medal for the doctor who had saved his life.<sup>17</sup> Three years later he and his wife were granted a state pension at the behest of Viscount Mountjoy who was then Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and in 1794 Wade sold his house and its contents in Dublin to set up an office in London at 1 Cushion Court, Old Broad Street.<sup>18</sup> By 1803 he was working at the London Stock Exchange, of which he became the principal secretary. Aside from his professional life he was a poet and a book collector, and by 1791 was a member of the Royal Irish Academy. A manuscript translation of Dante's *Inferno* by him in 1805 is now in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>19</sup> In 1815 he commissioned the Dublin engraver W. Redmond to produce engravings for a translation of works by the Italian poet

<sup>12</sup> Franks 15746.

<sup>13</sup> Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>14</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll; Franks 30486.

<sup>15</sup> BGA and Crisp, *Visitations of England*, vol 4, p.137. It must be admitted that there is no sign of a collar on the bookplate, but the dog does indeed have a central line.

<sup>16</sup> In BGA there are two families of Parke who bore the arms of an eagle displayed. The surnames Parke and Parks are essentially the same.

<sup>17</sup> Medallists vol. 4, pp. 164-6.

<sup>18</sup> *The Parliamentary Register*, vol. 15 (London, 1801), p.791. Wade was connected to William Parks, presumably his brother-in-law, in the receipt of another pension from the Irish civil list. Mountjoy was slain in 1798 at the head of his regiment while fighting Irish rebels, see GEC vol. 9, p. 353. The house sale was listed in the *Dublin Evening Post*, in which was recorded on 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan 1796, p.4, the address of his London office and the length of time he had worked for the Irish Treasury.

<sup>19</sup> U.Penn MS codex 2045.





Figure 4: bookplate of Robert Watson Wade (c. 1755-1835). 97x63mm.



and polymath Alessandro Tassoni.<sup>20</sup> Wade's facility with the Italian language is a potential pointer towards his unknown education and antecedents. His wife predeceased him, and his will of 1831 left his estate to his unmarried sister-in-law Jane Parks.<sup>21</sup> He was buried in 1835 at Old St Pancras church in London, his residence then being 52 Burton Crescent, now Cartwright Gardens.

### BENNETT

The pyramid was coming into popular usage in the eighteenth century for funeral monuments, and indeed Richard Henry Alexander Bennett, F.S.A., F.R.S. (1743-1814) probably ordered the cenotaph in that form which was installed for his father-in-law Peter Burrell (1724-1775) at Bennett's home parish church at Beckenham in Kent.<sup>22</sup> The pyramidal church monument dates not too many years before he ordered his bookplate [Figure 5], to which Fincham ascribes an approximate date of 1780.<sup>23</sup> It was engraved by John Hughes (d.1776) of Bond Street, London who took over the business there in 1765.<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Bennett had a particular symbolism in mind for his bookplate. It might be supposed that the pyramid is a good metaphor for the accumulation of knowledge, but an explanation must be found for the figure of indeterminate gender who takes centre stage. Since the figure carries a caduceus he must be male, and he has lain down this instrument so that his hands might be free to point to crucial words of wisdom in the book which lies open on his lap. Juxtaposition with the pyramid makes this figure Hermes Trismegistus, and carries the strong implication that Bennett was interested in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which would have naturally drawn him to freemasonry, even if such had not been the source of his awareness of the science. It has been difficult to glean very much about his other learned preoccupations. The *Gentleman's Magazine* tells us only that he died at his house called Privy Garden in Pall Mall, Whitehall.<sup>25</sup> He attended Westminster School from 1754, and very likely went on the Grand Tour, although no record of his travels survives.<sup>26</sup> In 1766 he married Elizabeth Emilia Burrell (1751-1837), of a famously beautiful family, who through the marriages of her four siblings between the years 1775 and 1779 became extraordinarily well connected.<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth's brother married a daughter of the Duke of Ancaster, her sister Susannah married Algernon Percy, later Earl of Beverley, her sister Frances married the Duke of Northumberland, and her sister Elizabeth married the man who shortly

<sup>20</sup> As was recounted in glowing terms by the book's editor: Samuel Walker (ed.), *The Memoirs of Alessandro Tassoni* (London, 1815).

<sup>21</sup> TNA, PROB 11/1846/187. There was a brief obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1835, pp. 666-7.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Burrell's place of burial, and the site of his principal memorial, was Holy Trinity Cuckfield, Sussex, where many of his ancestors had been laid to rest, see J.H.Cooper, 'Cuckfield families III, Burrell', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* vol. 43 (1900), pp. 1-43.

<sup>23</sup> Fincham p.46. The bookplate is in the Porteous Coll. vol. 20; Franks 2204.

<sup>24</sup> David Alexander, *Biographical Dictionary of British and Irish Engravers 1714-1820* (2021). The author is indebted to Mr Anthony Pincott for this information. Fincham erroneously states the engraver to be R.B. Hughes, but there was no such person.

<sup>25</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1814, pt. 2, p. 415. Privy Gardens had belonged to his father-in-law Peter Burrell.

<sup>26</sup> The Westminster School records state that he was elected F.S.A. in 1765 and F.R.S. in 1767.

<sup>27</sup> For the pedigree see Cooper, op. cit., p. 34.



Figure 5: bookplate of Richard Henry Alexander Bennett (1743-1814)  
by John Hughes. 110x78mm.

afterwards became Duke of Hamilton. Bennett ‘inherited’ from his step-father Richard Brull the parliamentary constituency of Newport on the Isle of Wight, which he represented in parliament in 1770-74. It was during the early part of his parliamentary period that he commissioned the fine portrait of himself from Johan Zoffany which now hangs at Houghton Hall in Norfolk. It is interesting to note that Brull was considered by his contemporaries to have possessed an exceptional understanding of the science of engraving.<sup>28</sup> The only son and heir of Richard and Elizabeth Bennett was Captain Richard Henry Alexander Bennett, R.N (1769-1818) who was made post captain in 1796 and went on to command the 74 gun H.M.S. *Fame* through the Napoleonic Wars, while concurrently sitting as member of parliament for Launceston between 1802 and 1812. One of the two daughters, Isabella, Lady Gordon (1772-1867) became an accomplished watercolour artist, having studied under J.M.W. Turner. The arms on the bookplate are *Gules three demi-lions argent* (for Bennet of Babraham, which should correctly have a bezant in centre point), quartering unknown (Alexander?) and impaling *Vert three escutcheons argent each with a border engrailed or* (for Burrell of Beckenham).

## HOLDSWORTH

The shield on this bookplate [Figure 6] is resting on the shoreline, a great source of prosperity for the family of Holdsworth, which took an income from all tolls levied at the port of Dartmouth and its adjacent coastline between Salcombe and Torbay. The bookplate<sup>29</sup> was created for Arthur Holdsworth V (1757-87) and his wife Elizabeth (1760-1814) following their marriage in 1780, from which time until his death Arthur was both governor of Dartmouth Castle and MP for the town.<sup>30</sup> A graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, Arthur was very fond of books, and made specific provision in his will for how his library at Widdicombe was to be divided between his various sons.<sup>31</sup> The family had mercantile interests in Newfoundland and in Oporto in Portugal, Arthur’s father and namesake (1731-1777) having been sent to Lisbon to work with a merchant house when he reached his majority, under the terms of his own father’s will.<sup>32</sup> The broken column on the bookplate is likely a reference to the fact that both husband and wife had lost their fathers in childhood. In the year of Arthur V’s birth Richard Howe, as a promising Royal Naval captain, had been appointed to one of the two parliamentary seats which Dartmouth then possessed, the town being a rotten borough very much in the pocket of the Holdsworth family. Howe held the seat until his elevation to the English House of Lords in 1782. As Vice Admiral Howe he commanded the North America station during the American War of Independence.<sup>33</sup> In 1780 Arthur named his firstborn son Arthur Howe Holdsworth in his honour. Widdicombe House in the parish of Stokenham was a manor purchased by Arthur’s grandfather Arthur III (d. 1754), and rebuilt by him in fine style in 1720-25.<sup>34</sup> The heraldry on the bookplate is curious: Holdworth impaling

<sup>28</sup> *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 1806, p. 289.

<sup>29</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 19; Franks 15052, engraved by Barnes & Co. of Coventry Street, London, who were active c.1780-1830, see Fincham p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Sir Lewis Namier, ‘Arthur Holdsworth (c.1757-87)’, in *Hist Parl.*; Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>31</sup> *TNA PROB* 11/1158/118.

<sup>32</sup> For the will of Arthur Holdsworth III in 1754 see *TNA PROB* 11/806/41. For the previous generations of Arthurs see BLG 1879 p. 797.

<sup>33</sup> Roger Knight, ‘Richard Howe, Earl Howe (1726-99)’, *New DNB*.

<sup>34</sup> Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, vol 6, Devon (London, 1822) p. 463.



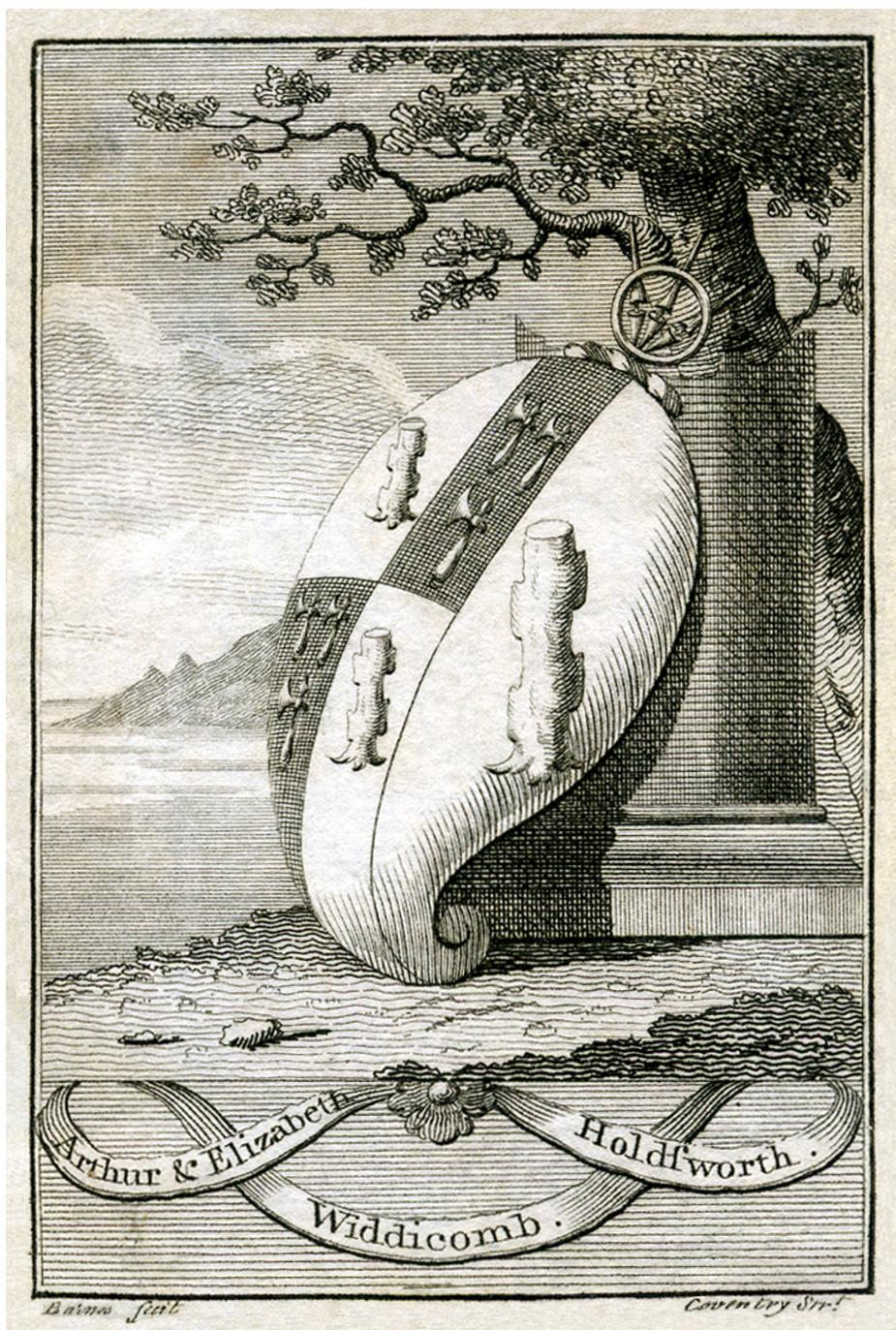


Figure 6: bookplate of Arthur and Elizabeth Holdsworth of Widdicomb. 93x63mm.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

Holdsworth. Elizabeth was the daughter of Robert Holdsworth (d. 1769), another member of the Dartmouth mercantile family. Cousin marriages between Holdsworths were not uncommon in the town. For instance, in the register of the parish of Dartmouth St Clement for the year 1727 are recorded eight marriages, of which three are Holdsworth family marriages, two of these being cousin marriages. The third was the marriage of Arthur Holdsworth I to the heiress Marcella Gibbs, which is why Holdsworth of Widdicombe here quarters the arms of Gibbs, *Sable three pole-axes argent*. The Holdsworth ancestral arms were *Argent the stem of a tree coupé and eradicated in bend proper*. The crest of *Three tilting lances meeting in base within an annulet* is not elsewhere described. The flourishing tree behind the broken column indicates that despite vicissitudes, and notwithstanding the broken tree of the family heraldry, the line would continue.



Figure 7: bookplate of Gregory Lewis Way(1756-1799) 64x88mm.

### WAY

Gregory Lewis Way (1756-1799) was very much following both his own preoccupations and the spirit of his era when he depicted himself on his bookplate [Figure 7] wearing a suit of armour and carrying a heraldic shield.<sup>35</sup> Educated at Eton College and Christchurch, Oxford, he married Ann-Frances Paxton in 1779 and purchased a fine house rather modestly known as Spencer Farm (in Essex) in 1783. Thereafter he devoted himself to literary pursuits, putting together a great library with a focus on “old romance and early

<sup>35</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 8; *Franks* 31145.

## BOOKPLATES

editions of English poetry”, for which he designed his own bookplate. He published a number of books, including one called *Fabliaux*, a collection of French medieval texts, and a collection of his own correspondence called *Spencer Farm*, both of which works were illustrated with small vignettes of medieval scenes in which knightly preoccupations played a prominent part.<sup>36</sup> *Spencer Farm* was published posthumously with a forward by William Wordsworth and had on its frontis an impression of this bookplate, with a note underneath stating that Way had designed it.<sup>37</sup> In this instance the tree simply acts as riverside scenery. The armoured man is contemplating the River Way in Dorset, close to Bridport where his family had resided, and carrying the arms first combined in a grant confirmed by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, in 1574: *Quarterly 1&4, azure three lucies haurient in fess argent; 2&3, sable two bars bendy of six argent and gules*.<sup>38</sup> Way died young at the age of only 43, and a non-heraldic mural tablet was installed in his memory within Great Weldham church in Essex.

## DAMER

The bookplate of Anne Damer (1749-1828) perfectly sums up the guiding passions of her life, the classics, dogs, and her work as a sculptor [**Figure 8**].<sup>39</sup> On the neo-classical monument which bears her arms she (or possibly some other woman) points to the instruments of her profession, with which she later asked to be buried, together with the bones of her favourite dog. She was the highly educated only daughter and heir of Field Marshal Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795) and his third wife Charlotte Shorter, and the goddaughter of that great literary and artistic figure of her age, Horace Walpole. In 1767 she married John Damer (d.1776), a younger son of Lord Milton, but the union was not a happy one. There was no issue, the couple separated after seven years, and John committed suicide a year later. Literature, and learning how to sculpt, were the great consolations of Anne during this period. She spent much time at Walpole's neo-gothic residence of Strawberry Hill, where in 1789 she was introduced to the sisters Mary and Agnes Berry, who Walpole was later to describe as his “twin wives.” It was Agnes who designed this bookplate, which was engraved by Francis Legat (d. 1809) in 1793. Legat was a Scot who had settled in London in 1780 to work for the publishers Boydell, and who went on to become engraver to the Prince of Wales. Anne later developed a particularly close and passionate friendship with Mary Berry, who was a writer, and the two women visited Paris together in 1802 to meet Napoleon.<sup>40</sup> Anne exhibited 32 works of sculpture at the Royal Academy between 1784 and 1818. These were primarily busts. Her sitters included George III, Charles James Fox, and Lord Nelson.

She bears her husband's arms of Damer on a lozenge, as is appropriate for a widow: *Barry nebuly of six argent and gules over all a bend engrailed azure*, differenced with a label of three points. Her own paternal arms of Seymour are presented as an inescutcheon, as befits an heraldic heiress. Her father, as Henry Seymour, originally bore the Seymour arms of *Quarterly 1+4, Or on a pile gules between six fleurs de lis azure three lions*

<sup>36</sup> Gregory Lewis Way, *Fabliaux, or tales bridged from French manuscripts*, 2 vols (London, 1796-1800).

<sup>37</sup> Gregory Lewis Way, *Spencer Farm* (London, 1845).

<sup>38</sup> BLG 1846.

<sup>39</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 17; *Franks* 7096. For Damer's biography see Alison Yarrington 'Anne Seymour Damer (1749-1828)', *New DNB*.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Kent & Pat Rogers, 'Mary Berry (1763-1852)', *New DNB*.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

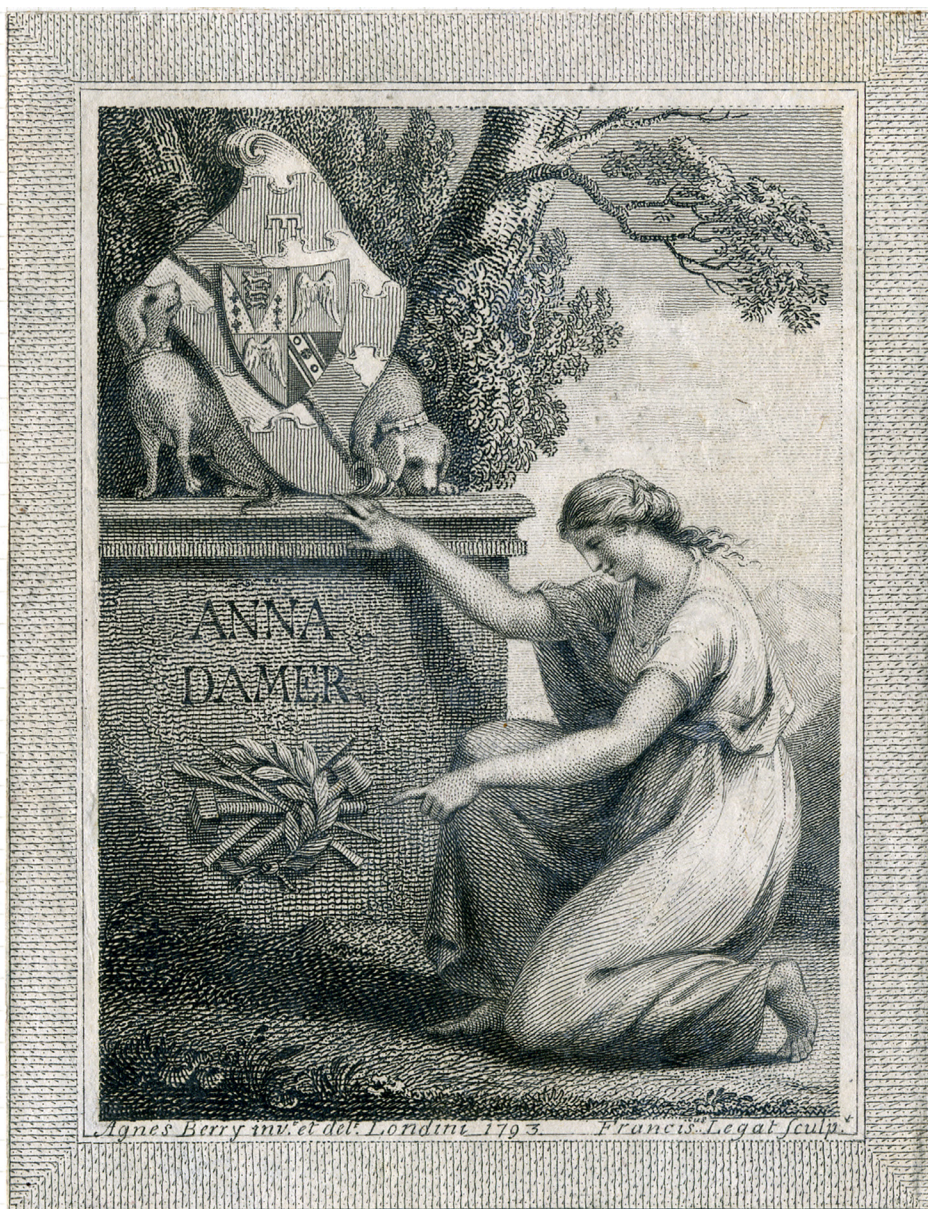


Figure 8: bookplate of Anne (Seymour) Damer, 1793. 128x97mm.





Figure 9: arms of Horace Walpole and ancestors (real or imagined) on the ceiling of his library at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. Photograph by the author.

*passant guardant or*; 2+3, *Gules three wings conjoined in lure or*. On inheriting the estates of the Earl of Conway, and changing his name, he had substituted into the fourth quarter the arms of Conway, *Sable on a bend cotised argent a rose between two annulets gules*. At Strawberry Hill heraldry remains omnipresent, even though much of the original scheme is no longer present. The largest surviving assemblage of shields is on the ceiling of the library which Anne knew so well (**Figure 9**) with the central arms of Walpole, *Or on a fess between two chevrons sable three crosses crosslet or*, differenced with a mullet argent. Anne subsequently had her name on the bookplate amended from Anne Damer to Anne Seymour Damer, perhaps following the death of her father in 1795.

## SYMMONS

The engraver of this bookplate [**Figure 10<sup>41</sup>**], Francis Sansom senior (1756-1810) specialised entirely in botanical work, and was the principal engraver for the *Flora Londoniensis* from 1777 to 1798. The same engraving can be found on the dedicatory page to John Symmons, F.R.S. (1745-1831) in *Hortus Paddingtonensis, a catalogue of the plants cultivated in the garden of J. Symmons esq, Paddington House*.<sup>42</sup> The book lists the “4000 species both exotic and indigenous” collected by Symmons with the aid

<sup>41</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 8; Franks 28733.

<sup>42</sup> William Salisbury, *Hortus Paddingtonensis* (London, 1796).



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 10: bookplate of John Symmons c. 1796. 103x101mm.

of his friend Sir Joseph Banks, and the two plants which frame the central arms must represent the most prized specimens in his garden. While Fincham supposed the plate to date around 1780<sup>43</sup>, Symmons did not settle in Paddington until after 1792, and the most likely scenario is that the engraving was made in 1796 for the book, and subsequently adapted for use as a bookplate. Symmons was an important and influential man, and it is remarkable that he has no entry in the *DNB*. In 1799 he published his own *Synopsis plantarum insulis Britannicis indigenarum*, but botany was by no means the full extent of his natural history interests. He gave a case of lepidoptera to the Linnaean Society, of which he was a co-founder<sup>44</sup>, and he collaborated with the surgeon John Hunter on

<sup>43</sup> Fincham, p. 81.

<sup>44</sup> R.J. Cole, 'Biographical note on John Symmons F.R.S.', *Annals of Science* vol. 10 pt 3 (1954), pp. 272-3.



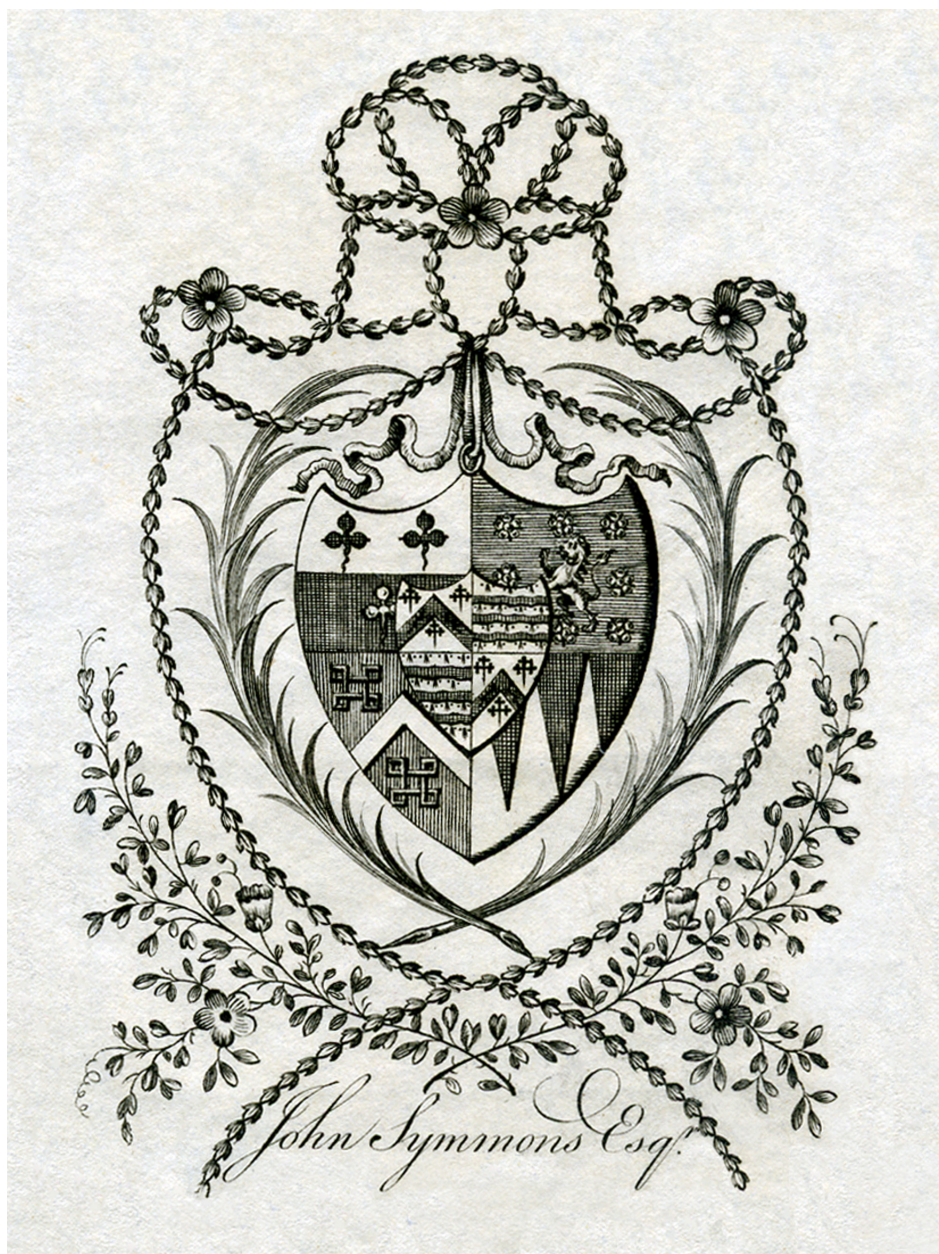


Figure 11: earlier bookplate of John Symmons. 93x70mm.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

research into the cross breeding of dogs and wolves.<sup>45</sup> He accumulated a vast library, much of which was auctioned off when he ran into financial difficulties in 1828. He not only inherited estates in Pembrokeshire, but he also married, as his second wife in 1773 the wealthy heiress Anne Barlow (1737-82) whose arms were then added in pretence to his original bookplate<sup>46</sup> [Figure 11], which is also in the Society's collection, and is in the floral style termed 'festoon and wreath.' He was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1794, and was a member of at least two other highly select social groups, the Society of Dilettanti (60 members), for which he later proposed Lord Elgin, and the Catch Club (25 members), to which the Prince of Wales was elected in the same year.<sup>47</sup> Martha, Symmons's daughter by his first marriage, married the surgeon Anthony Carlisle, F.R.S., who is believed to have been the anonymous author of a Gothic novel, *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (London, 1797), in which the character of Lord Oakendale, a libertine, drew upon that of John Symmons.<sup>48</sup> It has been argued that the personage of Carlisle himself was an important inspiration for Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.<sup>49</sup> To the arms of Symmons, *Per fess argent and sable three slipped trefoils counterchanged*, have been added a number of ancient quarterings.<sup>50</sup> The arms of Barlow of Slebech on the escutcheon have been inaccurately engraved on both bookplates, indicating that the bearer was using the arms incorrectly. They should properly be *Argent on a chevron engrailed between three crosses crosslets fitchy sable two lions passant respecting each other argent*.<sup>51</sup> This is surprising as Symmons was a keen heraldic antiquarian.<sup>52</sup> Anne Barlow was descended from the brother of William Barlow (d.1569), bishop of St David's and later of Bath and Wells, who from his seal quartered the Barlow arms with *Ermine three bars nebuly* (unidentified) of which we see a variant with bars wavy here.<sup>53</sup>

## DOWNES

The classical urn is an uncommon motif on a bookplate [Figure 12<sup>54</sup>], and three possible explanations for that of William Lord Downes of Aghanville (1751-1826) present themselves. He was educated at Trinity College Dublin, and went on to become Vice Chancellor of the University of Dublin from 1806 until his death. He would have seen many such urns in neo-classical Dublin, and perhaps this was purely decorative. Alternatively, it might be a specific urn from a place which he knew and loved; but the most likely explanation is that this very learned man chose an urn for its specific

<sup>45</sup> Roland Thorne, 'The last of the Symmons of Llanstinan', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society* no. 19 (2010).

<sup>46</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 2; Franks 28732.

<sup>47</sup> Don Shelton. 'Sir Anthony Carlisle and Mrs Carver', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840*, vol. 19 (Winter 2009), pp. 54-69.

<sup>48</sup> Shelton, op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> Donald C. Shelton 'Anthony Carlisle and Mary Shelley-Finding form in a *Frankenstein* fog', *Athens Journal of Philology*, vol. 6 no. 2 (2019), pp. 105-130.

<sup>50</sup> At 2, Gwynfardd, *Azure a lion rampant in orle of roses or*; at 3 Bowen, *Gules a chevron between three Bowen knots argent*, for 2 and 3 see *Siddons DWH* 3, pp. 38-9; at 4 Hulle, *Argent three piles sable*.

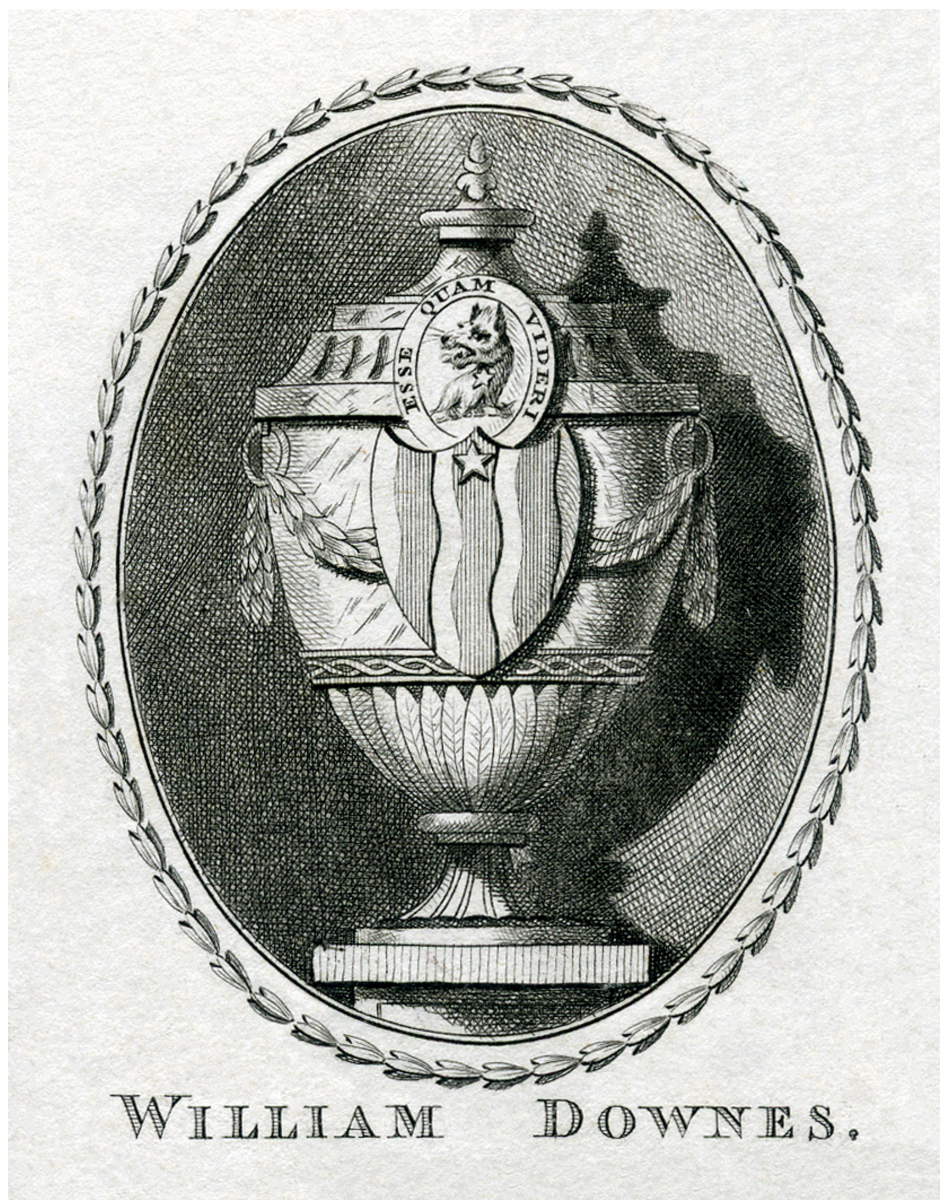
<sup>51</sup> *Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* pp. 38-9.

<sup>52</sup> Thorne, op. cit.

<sup>53</sup> *Siddons DWH* 3, p. 16. For the Barlow descent see *West Wales Historical Records*, vol. 3 (1913), pp. 117-152.

<sup>54</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 50; Franks 8985. The plate was twice reworked, and once re-engraved following the same design.





*Figure 12: bookplate of William, later Lord Downes. 89x70mm.*

## THE COAT OF ARMS

association with the commemoration of the dead. In 1802, the year prior to his appointment as Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland there was a death which is said to have troubled him very greatly.<sup>55</sup> He lost his best and greatest friend William Tankerville Chamberlain, a man of the same age with whom he had studied, lived and worked, and with whom the judge was ultimately buried in St Ann's church, Dublin. In the words of their joint epitaph "their friendship and union was complete." It is further recorded on the monument that he became a surrogate father to his friend's children, to whom he was a most generous benefactor. Lord Downes had suffered another great loss in his infancy when in 1754 his father Robert committed suicide by falling on his own sword in his parlour, which at the time was generously put down as a freak accident. In around 1805 he purchased a country home outside Dublin called Merville which had one of the best gardens in Ireland.<sup>56</sup> His barony, granted in 1822, was allowed to pass to his cousin General Sir Ulysses Burgh G.C.B who had been twice wounded serving under Lord Wellington in the Peninsular Wars. The arms *Argent three pallets wavy gules* with a mullet for difference, and the crest of *a wolf's head argent charged with a mullet* derived from Lord Downes's ancestor Robert Downes of Debnam in Suffolk.

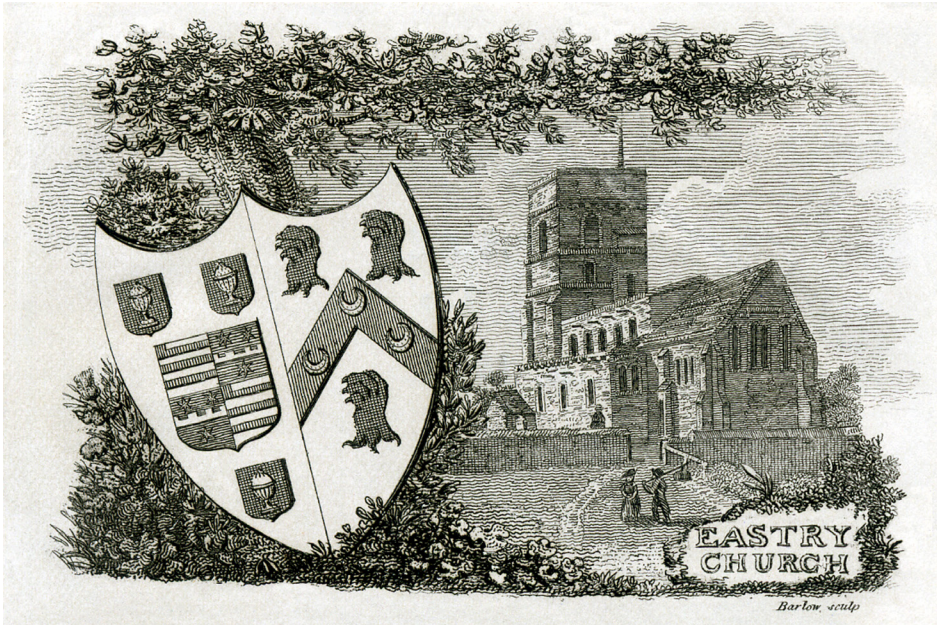


Figure 13: bookplate of William Boteler of Eastry, Kent by John Barlow. 93x62mm.

<sup>55</sup> *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

<sup>56</sup> W.N.Osborough, 'William Downes 1751-1826', *New DNB*.



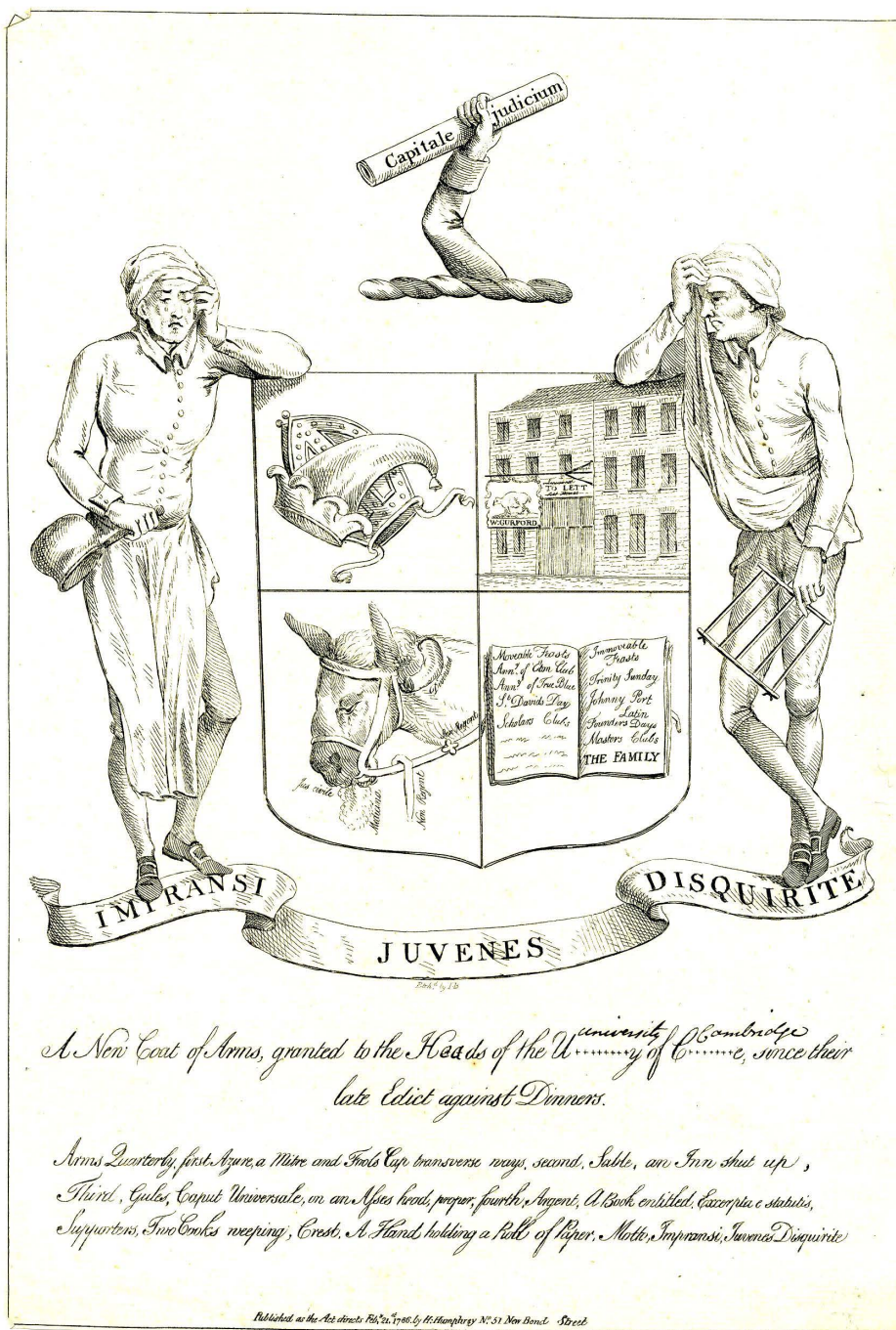


Figure 14: satirical coat of arms etched by John Barlow in 1786.  
© The Trustees of the British Museum, asset number 84724001.



## BOTELER

William Boteler F.S.A. (d.1818) of Eastry in Kent was a very important collaborator of Edward Hasted in the compilation of his four-volume history of Kent and he chose as the engraver of his bookplate [**Figure 13**<sup>57</sup>] John Barlow, who engraved at least some of Hasted's plates. Boteler's circle of highly productive Kentish antiquarians included his brother-in-law William Boys F.S.A. who was the author of *Collections for a history of Sandwich*, a large tome combining history with natural history. In placing the local church on his bookplate Boteler was not simply referencing the most obvious local landmark, as this was an ancient monument which had doubtless been the subject of much personal study. The arrangement of the arms of the two wives of Boteler on the bookplate is curious. The arms of his first wife Sarah, daughter of Thomas Fuller of Statenborough in Eastry occur in pretence over the arms of Boteler (they are Fuller quartering Paramore), while the arms of his second wife, whom he married in 1785, are impaled. She was Mary, daughter of Captain John Harvey R.N.

John Barlow of Blackfriars Road, London entered the Royal Academy Schools age 26 in 1786, and was active as a seal engraver and printmaker until 1810. He engraved a satirical coat of arms in 1786, one of his earliest known works [**Figure 14**].<sup>58</sup>

## STANLEY

It is worthy of note that John Thomas Stanley F.R.S., F.S.A. (1766-1850) named only himself on his bookplate [**Figure 15**<sup>59</sup>] and not the highly educated wife to whom he was entirely devoted, Maria Josepha Holroyd (1771-1863). Notwithstanding, she has a heraldic presence here in the impalement of his arms. The explanation for the omission of her name is presumably that she was not a book collector, and had little personal use for a bookplate. The design dates between their marriage in 1796 and John's accession as the 7<sup>th</sup> baronet of Alderley Park in Cheshire in 1807. After he was ennobled as Baron Stanley of Alderley in 1839 a new bookplate was ordered.<sup>60</sup> Maria was brought up at Sheffield Park in Sussex, her father John Holroyd later becoming the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Sheffield. A close friend of her youth was the historian Edward Gibbon (d.1794). Her family had very liberal values and she was allowed to choose her own husband. The resulting partnership has been described as "a perfect match of two worldly and endlessly inquisitive people."<sup>61</sup> Husband and wife were both multilingual and extremely well-travelled. Maria was sitting in the President's box of the National Constituent Assembly in Paris in July 1791 when it was being determined that Louis XVI would be restored as a constitutional monarch.<sup>62</sup> Adeane's two volume biography of her makes fascinating reading.

John, meanwhile, was having adventures of his own. At the age of sixteen he fell in love with the fifteen-year-old Princess Caroline of Brunswick (the future wife of George IV) while travelling in Europe.<sup>63</sup> In 1789 he visited Iceland, at that time a thing seldom done, and brought back botanical specimens for his friend Sir Joseph Banks to give

<sup>57</sup> *Marshall-Pierson Coll.* B202; *Franks* 3144.

<sup>58</sup> British Museum 1868,0808.5473.

<sup>59</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 30; not in the *Franks* collection.

<sup>60</sup> *GEC* vol 11 pt 1, pp.252-3.

<sup>61</sup> Marvin Stern, 'Lady Maria Josepha Stanley (1771-1863)', *New DNB*.

<sup>62</sup> J.H. Adeane (ed.), *The girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd* (London, 1896), p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> J.H. Adeane, *The early married life of Maria Josepha Lady Stanley* (London, 1899), pp. 22-3.

BOOKPLATES



Figure 15: bookplate of John Thomas Stanley of Alderley Park in Cheshire.  
115x93mm.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

to Kew Gardens.<sup>64</sup> It was probably through his botanical interests that he came to be elected as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1790. This also explains why the tree on his bookplate is covered with other plants and flowers. On the shield are the ancient arms of Stanley, *Argent on a bend azure three stag's heads caboshed or*, quartering at three those of John's mother the heiress Margaret Owen of Penrhos, *Gules a chevron argent between three lions rampant or*. The impaled Holroyd arms are *Azure on a fess dancetty argent between three griffins passant as many escallops gules*. Given great prominence is the ancient eagle and child crest of Stanley which had been in use since the fourteenth century, and which the author has argued elsewhere was probably based on an Arthurian story told at the court of Richard II.<sup>65</sup> The baronets of Alderley were descended from the 1st Lord Stanley, Sir Thomas Stanley, K.G (d. 1459), the progenitor of their line being a younger brother of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Derby who received his earldom from Henry VII in gratitude for his betrayal of Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth. The family motto *Sans changer* is in the lower part of the bookplate, while attached to the tree are two separate latin inscriptions: *Nam pove mox pateant* "For soon they will be revealed" and *Mihi te duce luminis ortus*, "lead me to the rising light." The meaning of the second message seems clear as it is written above a rising sun, but the first message might be interpreted in a number of ways. In view of John's botanical interest it might well be an allusion to new species being discovered, in which case the rising light could be the birth of new scientific knowledge.

## NICHOLLS

Here we have our first example of a heraldic bookplate taking the form of an antique mural tablet [**Figure 16**].<sup>66</sup> There is a twentieth century example in the Collection of the herald Michael Maclagan, which takes the form of a contemporary mural monument, as has been described elsewhere.<sup>67</sup> Twin messages were being conveyed by the placement of the arms of Charles Nichols (1768-1843) in an antique context: firstly that he came from a long-established gentry family; and secondly, that he had an interest in antiquarian matters. The explanation for what at that time was an unusual design is that the artist and etcher, John Sell Cotman (1782-1842), was not in the business of producing bookplates, and no other ex-libris has been attributed to him. The connection between the two men was the port of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk where Nichols had established a private boarding and day school for the gentry in 1802, and where Cotman was employed from 1812 to 1818 as a drawing master for the daughters of the local banker Dawson Turner.<sup>68</sup> In this period Cotman was sketching Norfolk antiquities, his employer being especially interested in examples of datable medieval architecture. This led to various published works, notably *A series of etchings illustrative of the architectural antiquities of Norfolk* (London, 1818). The year of the bookplate, 1814, is significant in that it marked a great civic celebration in Yarmouth to mark the downfall and abdication of Napoleon, for

<sup>64</sup> Adeane 1899, op. cit, pp. 93-4.

<sup>65</sup> Paul A. Fox, *Great Cloister, a lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 608-610.

<sup>66</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 52; the catalogue entry for Franks 21821 confirms that Cotman was the artist.

<sup>67</sup> Brian North Lee, *Some Bookplates of Heralds* (Bookplate Society, 2003), p. 96.

<sup>68</sup> Sydney D. Kitson, *The Life of John Sell Cotman* (London, 1937), chapter 8, pp. 155-168; for Nichols see Charles John Palmer, *The perustration of Great Yarmouth*, 3 vols (Great Yarmouth, 1874), vol. 2, pp. 176-7. Palmer states that Cotman had "etched for Nichols a shield of arms", but adds regretfully that "the plate is lost".



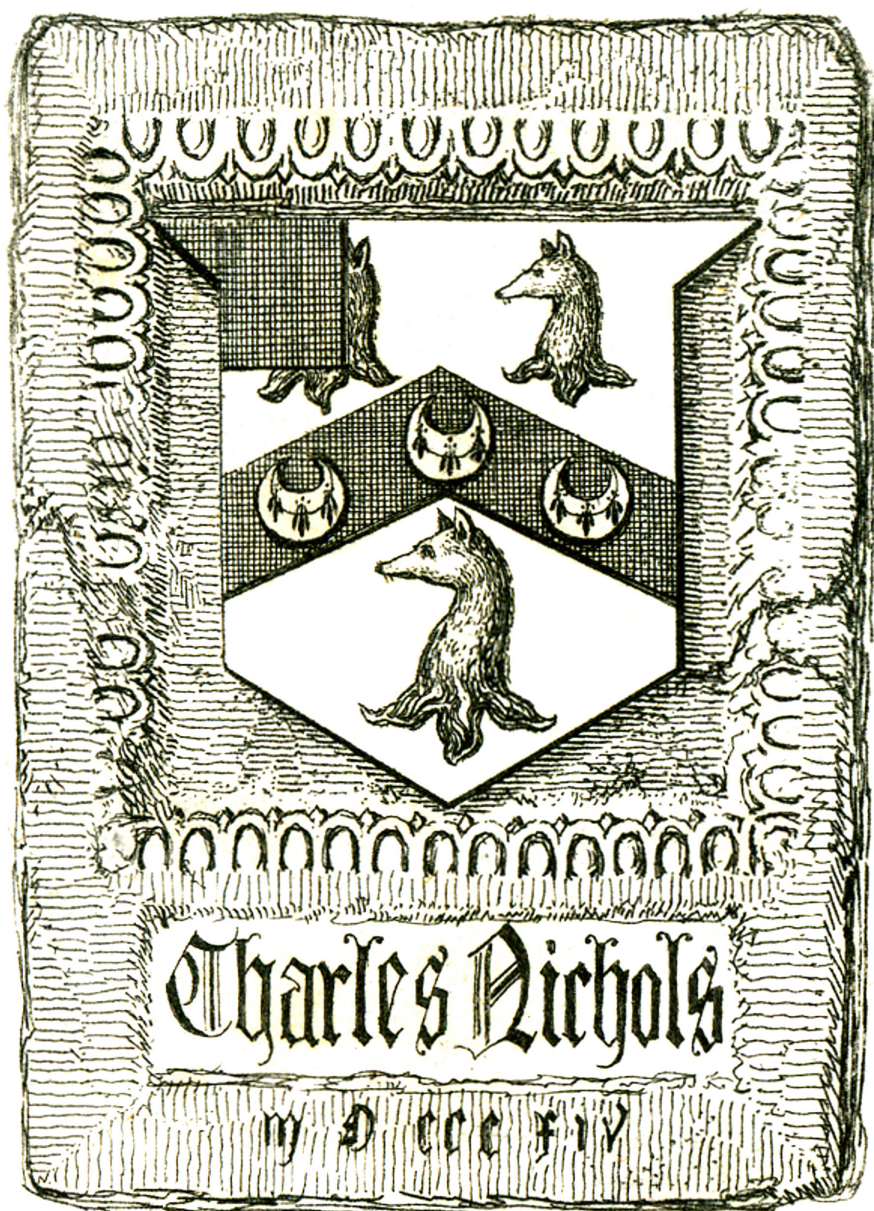


Figure 16: bookplate of Charles Nichols by John Sell Cotman. 72x53mm.

which Cotman was asked to make sketches to illustrate a commemorative book.<sup>69</sup> Since those times Nichols's name has become forgotten while Cotman's star has ascended as one of the most notable artists of the *Norwich School*. What can be gleaned about Nichols is that he was born at Harleston in Norfolk and was notable as a teacher of Greek and Latin. He is said to have been a friend of Dr Samuel Vince (1750-1821) who had been first a schoolboy and later a teacher of the previous generation to Nichols at Harleston, had been awarded both the Copley Medal and the fellowship of the Royal Society, and had then become the Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge in 1796, a post which he held until his death.<sup>70</sup> Nichols owned the old Turner family home which had belonged to Dawson Turner's father, the Revd Francis Turner.<sup>71</sup> Nichols's personal library is alluded to in his will, which reveals him to have been a wealthy man who also owned land at Halvergate on the Norfolk Broads and at Browston in Suffolk.<sup>72</sup> His arms, *Argent on a chevron azure between three lynx's heads sable as many crescents ermine* (without the canton sable that he bore for difference) were recorded in the Norfolk Visitations.<sup>73</sup>

### STRICKLAND

While the slightly earlier bookplate of Charles Nicholls features an ancient mural tablet, that of Jarrard Edward Strickland (1782-1844), although medieval in form [**Figure 17**], is contemporary in its heraldry, since Strickland's arms are impaled with those of his wife Anne Cholmeley (1786-1829).<sup>74</sup> Thus, in the desire of client and designer to have something medieval was created something incongruous, the tomb of a living person on his bookplate. The designer was another famous antiquarian artist, Thomas Willement (1786-1871), with this bookplate being one of his earliest known. Fincham gives it an approximate date of 1820. Willement was the son of the herald painter to the Duke of York, another Thomas Willement (1761-1826), and worked with his father at his business near Oxford Street in London until he himself took over in 1822. He became herald painter to George IV, and we remember him today both for his heraldic books, beginning with *Regal Heraldry* in 1821, and for the wonderful heraldic stained glass which he produced for many great houses from 1812 onwards. Willement worked with some of the great architects of his time, for instance from 1827 with Anthony Salvin (1799-1882).<sup>75</sup> He designed a bookplate for Salvin, which might well be relevant to Strickland's choice of Willement, the architect being Jarrard's fourth cousin. This might sound a little distant (it was Jarrard's great grandmother Ann who was a Salvin) but the family name Jarrard came from the Salvin family, and it is probable that the cousins were acquainted.

Jarrard Strickland inherited a love of heraldry from his mother Cecilia Townley who had commissioned in 1764 (with her first husband Charles Strickland) a manuscript with 128 painted quarterings of their combined arms for their home at Sizergh Castle in Cumberland.<sup>76</sup> The person who undertook the necessary research for this was Cecilia's kinsman Charles Townley, then Clarenceux, and later Garter King of Arms.

<sup>69</sup> Kitson, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

<sup>70</sup> Anita McConnell 'Samuel Vince (1749-1821)', *New DNB*.

<sup>71</sup> Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-77.

<sup>72</sup> TNA PROB 11/1983/21. He made three codicils to his will of 1837 between 1839 and 1843. He was married in 1809 to Ann Reynolds who predeceased him and there were no surviving children.

<sup>73</sup> Walter Rye (ed.), *The Visitations of Norfolk*, Harl. Soc. vol 32 (London, 1891), p. 209.

<sup>74</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol. 1; *Franks* 28409.

<sup>75</sup> Stanley A. Shepherd, 'Thomas Willement (1786-1871)', *New DNB*.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel Scott, *The Stricklands of Sizergh Castle* (Kendal, 1908), p. 200.





Figure 17: bookplate of Jarrard Edward Strickland. 103x90mm.

The Strickland family were Recusant Catholics and Jacobites, Jarrard's great grandfather Walter Strickland (d. 1714) having been Groom of the Bedchamber to the Old Pretender at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Jarrard was educated at the English Catholic College in Lisbon from 1791, and then in 1799, being a younger son, was apprenticed to an attorney in London, before being sent in 1801 as a cadet officer for the East India Company in Bombay. He returned home as a lieutenant in 1808, marrying Anne Cholmeley (whose mother was a Howard) in London in 1814. His later career was as the land agent for the Catholic Viscount Dillon in Ireland, who provided Loughglynn House in Co. Roscommon for his use. The arms on the bookplate are *Quarterly 1+4 Sable three*



## THE COAT OF ARMS

*escallops argent* (Strickland), 2+3 *Argent billetty a fess dancetty sable* (Deincourt); impaling *Gules in chief two helmets and in base a garb or* (Cholmeley). The crest is a holly bush. The quartered arms of Strickland with Deincourt were recorded by Dugdale in 1664 for Walter Strickland (d.1569) from the Strickland Chapel of Kendal church.<sup>77</sup> The Strickland arms were correctly within a bordure engrailed argent, but the rendering on the bookplate is a valid piece of antiquarianism. The Deincourt quartering is from the marriage of an ancestor to the heiress Elizabeth Deincourt c. 1239. Although the arms of the main Deincourt line *Azure billetty and a fess dancetty or* date to the mid-thirteenth century<sup>78</sup>, their arms as used by the Stricklands are essentially attributed, and thus the tinctures vary. Sometimes they have been given as *Sable billetty and a fess or*. A painted version of the bookplate design, likely executed by Willement, can be seen close to the sitter's right hand on the portrait of Jarrard by his daughter Harriet which is now at Sizergh Castle.

## HAWKINS

It is interesting to compare two contrasting variations on an architectural theme engraved by the same company for two brothers in the early 1830s. The brothers were Henry Montonnier Hawkins (1805-1871) and his younger sibling Robert Ralph Augustus Hawkins (1814-1869). The family's country seat of The Gaer was in the parish of St Woolos, Monmouthshire, but the father of the brothers, Dr Anthony Montonnier Hawkins M.D. (d.1833) had been a London physician, and their widowed mother Jane was still maintaining a house at 10 Montagu Place, Marylebone in 1851. Thus it was to a London engraver, William West, of 35 Margaret Street, that the brothers both went.<sup>79</sup> The more satisfactory of the two bookplates from the heraldic perspective is that of Robert [Figure 18], which can be dated between October 1832, when he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and 1837, when he took his B.A. He was subsequently admitted to Lincoln's Inn, and his bookplate was amended to reflect his change of domicile.<sup>80</sup> That of the elder brother [Figure 19] probably dates before his marriage in February 1835 to Jane Fenwick of Longwiton Hall in Northumberland. Since Jane's mother was a Manners and a relation of the Duke of Rutland there would surely have been some heraldic allusion to her ancestral arms had the bookplate post-dated this happy event.<sup>81</sup> It seems likely that the commissioning of the bookplates was prompted in some way by the death of their father in 1833.

Taking Robert's plate first, we have on the central shield the ancestral arms plus five quarterings derived from two heiresses. The first heiress, represented at quarter 2 is his grandmother Florence Seys, daughter and coheir of William Seys of the Gaer, *Sable a chevron between three spear heads argent* (for Seys). The second heiress, recalled at quarter 3 is his mother Jane Nicholl of Tredunnoch, with the arms *Sable three pheons*

<sup>77</sup> Edward Bellasis, 'Strickland of Sizergh', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* vol. 10 (1889), pp. 75-94 (75-6).

<sup>78</sup> Fox, *Great Cloister*, op. cit., pp. 262-3.

<sup>79</sup> Fincham p. 105 has West active between around 1830 and 1846, and dates his work for the Hawkins brothers to 1830, which is clearly an approximation. The bookplates are Franks 14152 and 14164. Both are in Porteous Coll. vol. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Franks 14161.

<sup>81</sup> Jane died of complications of pregnancy shortly after the birth of their daughter Jane Henrietta in December 1835.

BOOKPLATES

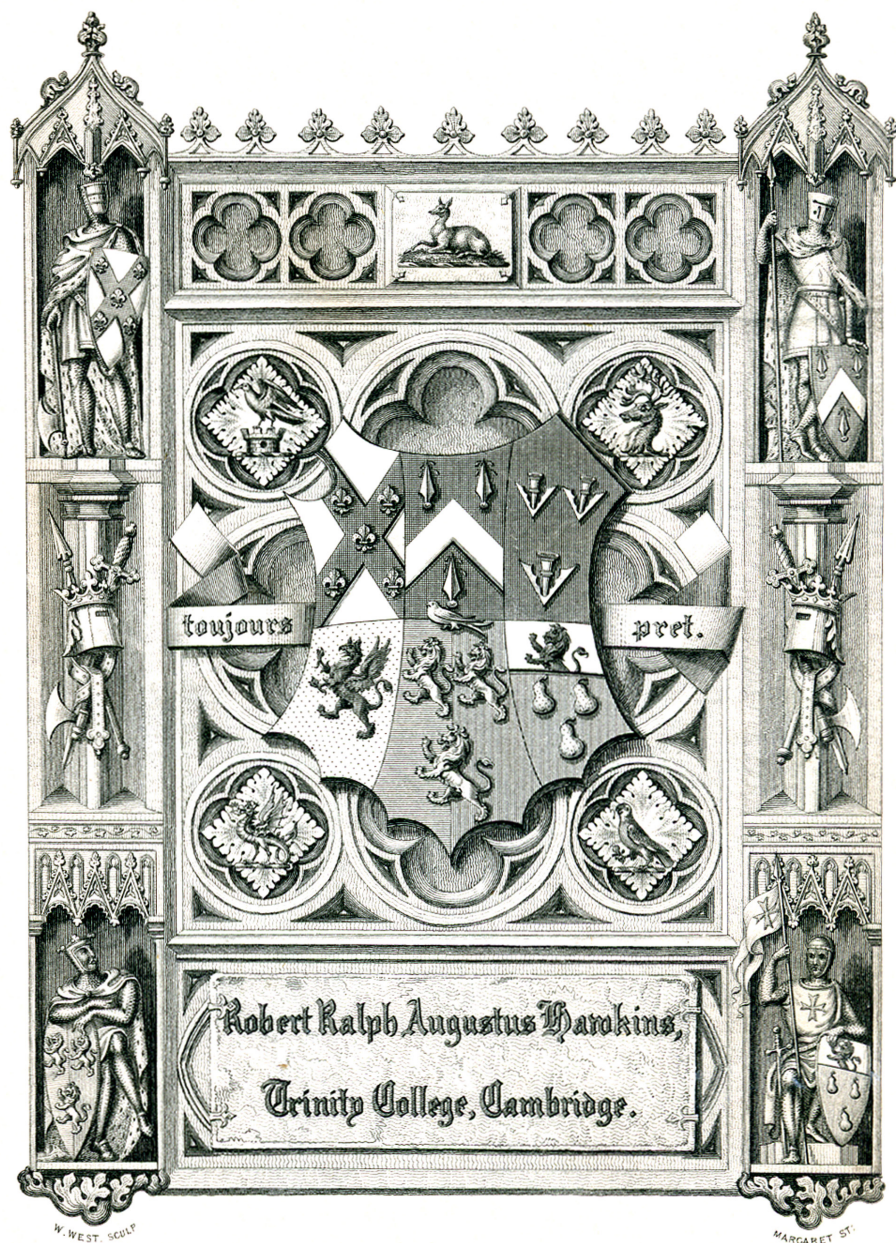


Figure 18: bookplate of Robert Ralph Augustus Hawkins by William West. 123x94mm.



# THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 19: bookplate of Henry Montonnier Hawkins by William West. 120x93mm.



*argent* (for Nicholl) followed by her three ancestral quarterings of Morgan, Herbert and Perrot.<sup>82</sup> The paternal arms of Hawkins, *Argent on a saltire sable five fleurs de lis or*, were then of some antiquity, being those of an old Kentish knightly family formerly residing in the parish of Boughton-under-Blean, a church in which many of their monuments were recorded in the eighteenth century, with the arms being noted there in 1614 by John Philipott from the brass of Thomas Hawkins (d.1553).<sup>83</sup> The family being at that time Recusant, in 1715 their home of Nash Court in Boughton was plundered and torched in response to the Jacobite rising of that year.<sup>84</sup> The family must have been at least nominally Anglican in the first half of the nineteenth century for Dr Anthony Hawkins and most of his sons to have attended university.

The knightly effigies which surround the shield of Robert's bookplate repeat shields 1,2,5 and 6, while for balance the crests are those of 1,3,4,5 and 6. Henry has opted for the same crests, but has added three earlier quarterings for his grandmother and two for his mother. He has rather overdone things with the addition of six knights who likely had some perceived link with his ancestors, plus six further shield which stand for noble houses of Wales. The effect is not visually displeasing but is heraldically questionable. Henry's mother was the informant for a good deal of high blown speculation about the origins of the family ancestors which appeared in *Burke's Landed Gentry* in 1852.<sup>85</sup>

## BROWN

Here we have our second antique mural tablet, a form adopted here because this is a presentation bookplate commissioned for the architect John Brown (1805-1876) in 1840 when he was honorary Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects, whose arms appear at the top [Figure 20].<sup>86</sup> The wording of the commemorative inscription is "presented to their esteemed friend and secretary by the members of the I.O. Book Club." In between these words are the initials of those who clubbed together to pay for the artwork and engraving, which were undertaken by John Cleghorn (1818-1881) who resided in Fulham, and who is best known for his architectural engravings, although in the census he described himself an artist and Professor of water-colouring and painting. His known bookplates date 1840-60. This is a nice piece of work, but the arms are entirely bogus, the three mallets having perhaps been chosen to reflect the motto below *vi et virtute*, "with force and power."

The presence of a second motto above is a feature of Scots heraldry, and is in fact an amalgamation of the mottoes of two Scottish clans *Altera merces* (Maclean) "another reward" and *Clarior hinc honos* (Buchanan), "hence the greater honour", which together

<sup>82</sup> At 4 is Morgan of Tymawr, *Or a griffin segreant sable*, at 5 is Herbert of Magor, *Party per pale azure and gules, three lions rampant argent*, and at 6 Perrot of Llandegveth, *Gules three pears or, on a chief argent a demi-lion issuant sable, armed gules*.

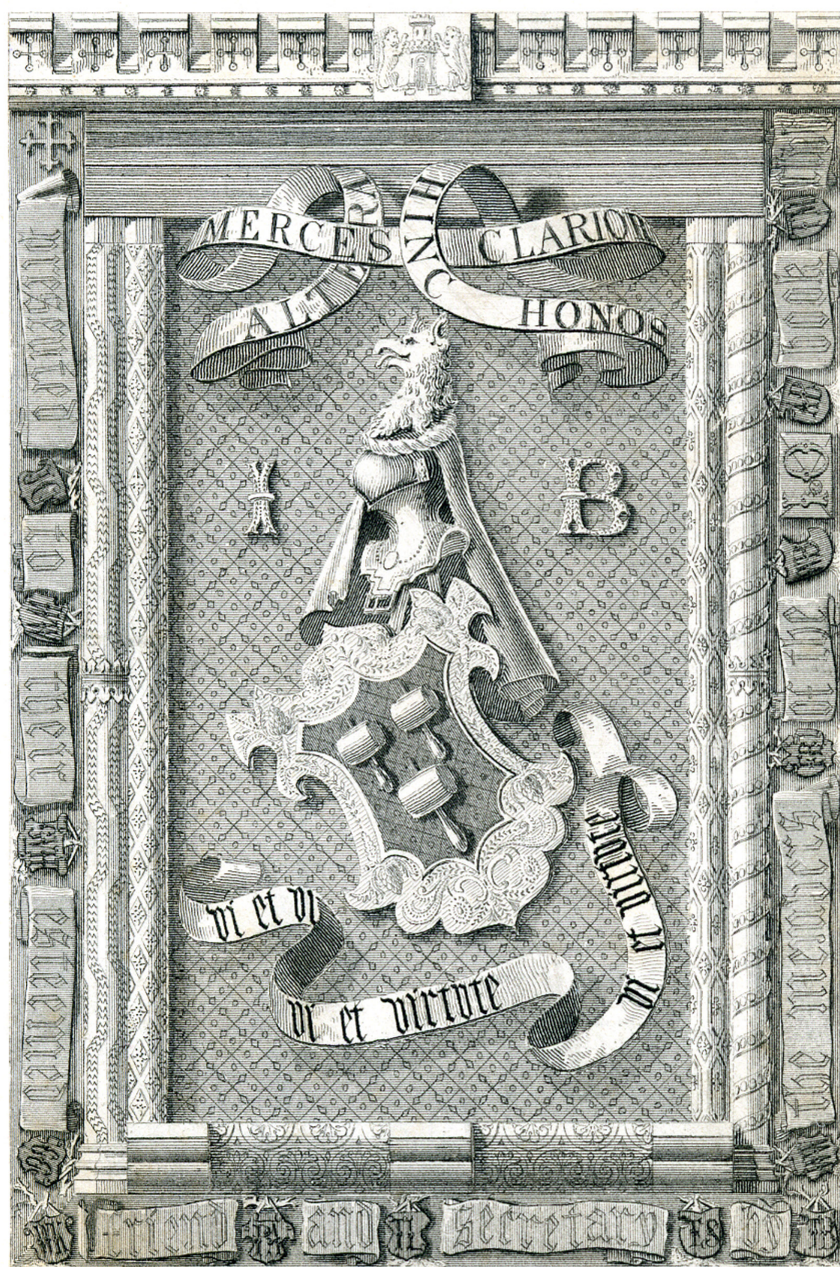
<sup>83</sup> Philip Parsons, *The monuments and painted glass of upward of one hundred churches chiefly in the eastern part of Kent* (Canterbury, 1794) pp. 86-88. Philipott's notes are *BL MS Egerton 3310a*, f.21r, published in *Kent Records a Seventeenth Century Miscellany* (Ashford, 1960), p. 102.

<sup>84</sup> Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* (Canterbury, 1798), vol. 7, pp. 9-11.

<sup>85</sup> *BLG 1852*, pp. 927-929. Here the Hawkins family are an adjunct to Nicholl of Tredunnock. Jane was similarly the head of the family of Nicholl as listed in *Burke's Commoners* of 1838, vol 4, pp. 649-652, but here without the Hawkins pedigree.

<sup>86</sup> *Porteous Coll.* vol 3; *Franks* 3991-3 (twice reworked).

# THE COAT OF ARMS



JOHN CLEGHORN. DES. DEL. ET SC.

Figure 20: bookplate of John Brown by John Cleghorn. 124x85mm.

## BOOKPLATES

give “the next reward is greater than the honour.”

John Brown was a scion of an important Norwich family, but one who, according to Walter Rye, claimed no heraldry.<sup>87</sup> In Victorian times one of the architect’s kinsmen still held an original grant of 1480 made to Christopher Brown of Leicester with the arms *Party per bend argent and sable three mascles voided or, countercharged*, and the motto *aprendre amourir*.<sup>88</sup> John was not the first architect in his family, his uncle William Brown of Ipswich (1778-1851) having followed the same occupation.<sup>89</sup> Although brought up in Yarmouth he was able to make use of strong family links in Norwich where his uncle Crisp (or Crispin) Brown was mayor in 1817, and where another uncle, the Revd. James Brown, M.A., was the chaplain of Norwich castle 1825-52 and an honorary canon of Norwich Cathedral 1849-56.<sup>90</sup>

By 1856 John was surveyor of the County of Norfolk, and ran his business between Norwich and London.<sup>91</sup> He married Harriet Tuthill of Southwood in Norfolk in 1829, and by 1841 his by then large family was residing in Norwich supported by four servants, although John himself was away on business on the day when the census was taken. In 1845 he had offices in the Norfolk Chambers at 179 The Strand in London. John and Harriet’s son John Henry Brown had become the Norwich Cathedral architect by 1881. John senior died at the family home in Chelsea in 1876.<sup>92</sup>

## FITCH

An exact contemporary of John Brown was another Norwich denizen who was the author of a book on the medieval gates of Norwich, Robert Fitch, F.G.S., F.S.A. (1802-1895).<sup>93</sup> It comes as no surprise that this historian would have chosen a bookplate which incorporates medieval architectural motifs [**Figure 21**].<sup>94</sup> The bookplate was designed in the 1850s by Walter “Wat” Hagreen (1811-1866) who assisted with some of Fitch’s publications, and was an anastatic printing on pale blue paper, a lithographic process on zinc invented by Rudolf Appel a few years previously.<sup>95</sup> For many decades from 1827 Fitch ran a chemist’s shop in Norwich. He had a passion for collecting fossils and antiquities, of which he assembled an impressive collection which was bequeathed to

<sup>87</sup> Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families*, 2 vols (Norwich 1911-13), vol. 1, pp. 72-3.

<sup>88</sup> Charles John Palmer, *The perustration of Great Yarmouth*, 3 vols (Great Yarmouth, 1872-5), vol. 2, p. 267. The full text of the letters patent is printed in Willoughby A. Littledale (ed.), ‘A collection of miscellaneous grants’, *Harl. Soc.* vol. 76 (1925), pp. 41-2.

<sup>89</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1849*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New Haven, 1995), p. 169. This source unaccountably refers to his nephew, “Norwich’s leading Victorian architect” as Robert Brown.

<sup>90</sup> J.A.Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. The links in John Brown’s pedigree are established by the place and year of birth supplied by the 1871 census for Chelsea, with his brother James William Brown (born in Yarmouth 1808) having been present at John’s wedding to Harriet Tuthill. One of John’s sisters, born at Yarmouth in 1812, was baptised Christiana Cossey Brown, after her grandmother Christian Cossey, who married Crisp Brown at Mendham in Suffolk in 1767.

<sup>91</sup> On his marriage licence of 1829 he was a resident of St George’s Bloomsbury.

<sup>92</sup> National Probate Register 1877. He died at 15 Gertrude Street, Chelsea on 8<sup>th</sup> Sept 1876, having been born in Yarmouth on 5<sup>th</sup> Aug 1805.

<sup>93</sup> Robert Fitch, *Views of the Gates of Norwich* (Norwich, 1861).

<sup>94</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll.

<sup>95</sup> Franks 11518. John Blatchly, ‘Two unusual architectural armorials by another Hagreen’, *Bookplate Society Newsletter*, vol XIV, pp. 43-45. The author is grateful Anthony Pincott for this information.



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the Norwich Castle Museum. It was his activity as a geologist which first brought him to the attention of academia. He was elected as a Fellow of the Geological Society in 1844, and between 1849 and 1851 he corresponded with Charles Darwin, providing the naturalist with fossils that were important in the development of his theories on evolution later published in the *Origin of Species*.<sup>96</sup> Fitch was a founder member and long-serving officer of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, sheriff of Norwich in 1867, and also a J.P. there. He was not by established descent entitled to use arms of Fitch of Hudsell in Essex that appear on his bookplate, *Vert a chevron between three leopard's faces or*. His estate at death was worth £31,995. His surviving younger son John Robert Fitch carried on his work as a chemist in the Market Place of Norwich.

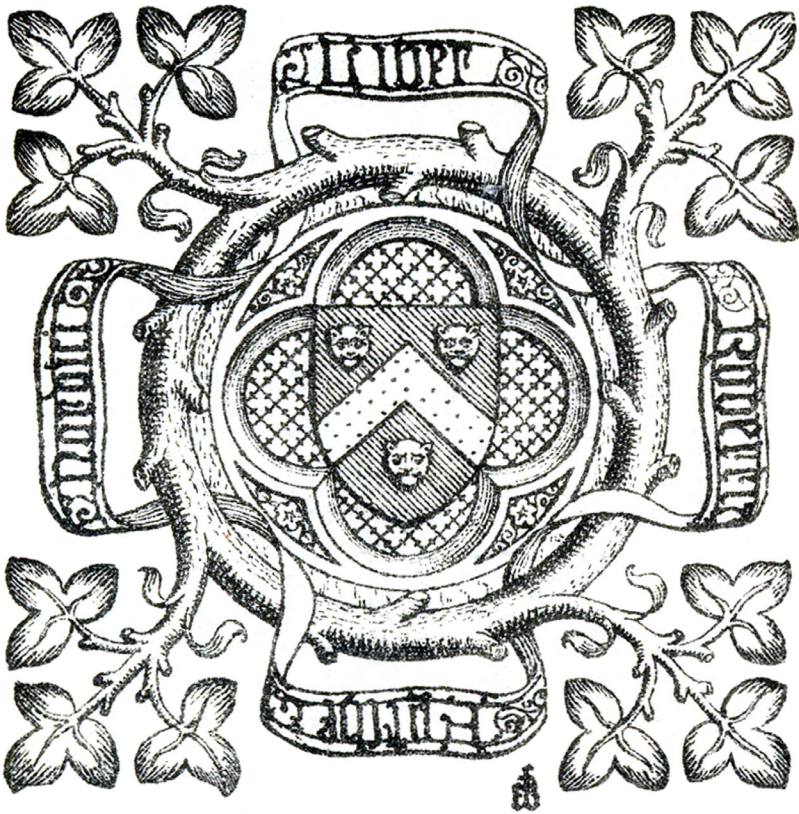


Figure 21: bookplate of Robert Fitch by Walter “Wat” Hagreen. 79x79mm.

<sup>96</sup> Thaddeus J. Trenn, ‘Charles Darwin, Fossil Cirripedes, and Robert Fitch: presenting sixteen hitherto unpublished Darwin letters of 1849 to 1851’, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1974) vol. 118, no. 5, pp. 471-491.

## BOYD

It is interesting to compare two bookplates created only a few years apart for a father and his daughter. Although both are in the form of a medieval seal, the earlier of the two, that of the daughter Julia Boyd (1846-1892) takes architecture as its inspiration, whereas that of her father Edward Fenwick Boyd (1810-89) is more conventional. Before describing the bookplates it is instructive to understand the nature of the relationship between father and daughter. Edward was a colliery manager who married his wife Ann Anderson in 1841. She was from an armigerous Northumberland gentry family. They had four children, of whom Julia (baptised Juliana Fenwick Boyd) was the eldest. Of the three sons, one became a solicitor, one a mining engineer, and one a barrister. Following the death of her mother in 1861 Julia remained at home in Moor House, Leamside, Co. Durham “as the constant and devoted companion of her father until his death in 1889.”<sup>97</sup> She was a keen antiquarian and genealogist, a collector of books and bookplates, took an interest in politics, frequently attended the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (of which she was ultimately elected a fellow) and in 1886 published a book on the engraver Thomas Bewick, whose oeuvre had included heraldic bookplates.<sup>98</sup> This was dedicated to her father.

In 1877 she chose to have her own bookplate [**Figure 22**<sup>99</sup>] made by John Henry Le Keux (1812-1896) who had engraved plates for John Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice*, and who in 1864 fortuitously moved to Durham, where he remained for the rest of his life. Le Keux was the son of another engraver, John Le Keux (1783-1846), and studied under James Basire III in London. He exhibited architectural drawings at the Royal Academy in the period 1853-65. In all probability Julia chose him because she sought the architectural look, but alternatively the style of her bookplate might have been borne from his own artistic background. We might suspect that she also had a hand in the creation of a bookplate for her father circa 1880 [**Figure 23**<sup>100</sup>], as a typical bookplate enthusiast wanting to try out a different artist. This bookplate was engraved, or at least commissioned through, Thomas Moring (1819-1884) of 44 High Holborn, London, whose primary occupation was that of seal engraver, but who also created commemorative medals, and who exhibited as an artist in the Royal Academy summer exhibitions of 1840-46.<sup>101</sup> His son Alexander also trained as a seal engraver and in 1895 set up as a printer with the De La More Press, which published an edition of his father’s bookplates, albeit that some were actually by other engravers.<sup>102</sup>

The arms and crest are those of the ancient Scottish family of Boyd, *Azure a fess chequy argent and gules*, differenced with lozenges, which on the father’s bookplate

<sup>97</sup> *Durham County Advertiser*, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1892, p. 8.

<sup>98</sup> Julia Boyd, *Bewick gleanings* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1886). Note the bookplates on pp. 66-68 which were from her personal collection.

<sup>99</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll. B218; Franks 3369.

<sup>100</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll. B217; Franks 3358; Fincham p. 67.

<sup>101</sup> The beginning of Moring’s career can be followed in the census. In 1841, age 22 he was lodging in Brompton, Kensington and working as a seal engraver. In 1851 he was living with his father John Moring, a turner, in Battersea, and by 1861 he was at 44 Holborn, his primary occupation still given as seal engraver.

<sup>102</sup> Alexander Moring (ed.), *One hundred bookplates engraved on wood by Thomas Moring* (London, 1900).

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Top, *Figure 22*: bookplate of Julia Boyd by John Henry Le Keux, 70x71mm; bottom, *Figure 23*: bookplate of Julia's father Edward Fenwick Boyd by Thomas Moring.



## BOOKPLATES

impale Anderson quartering Anderson.<sup>103</sup> On Julia's bookplate the Boyd fess looks indented, but here the artist has erred. After death released Julia from her filial duties she removed her extensive collections to a new home in Gainford, and in August 1890 set off travelling the world, accompanied only by her maid. She visited Melbourne and Tasmania, Fiji and other South Sea islands, and had just concluded an extensive exploration of New Zealand when she died in Auckland in 1892. A lengthy obituary of her was published in the *Durham County Advertiser*.

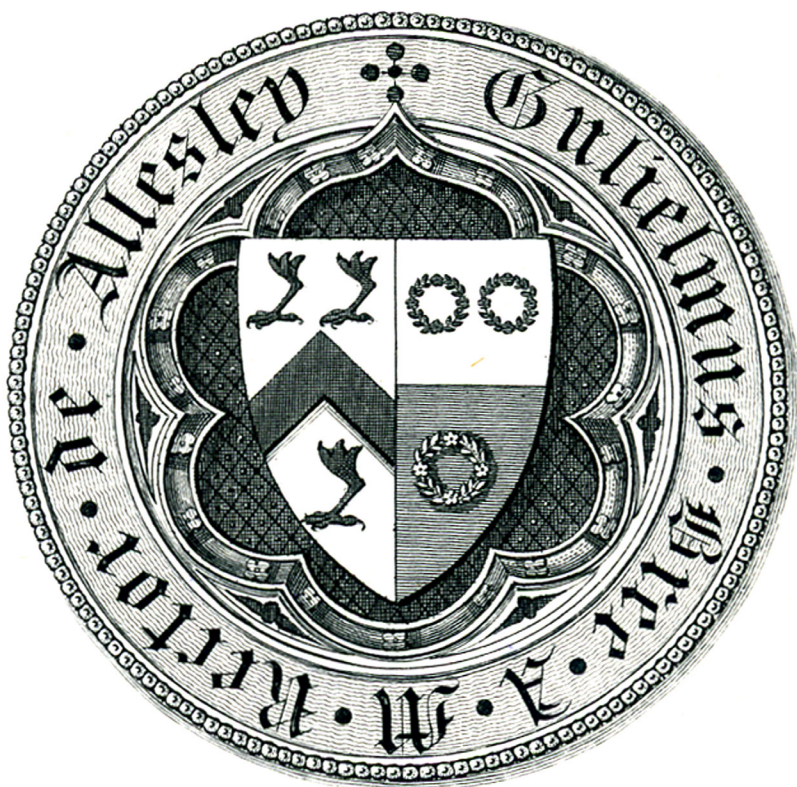


Figure 24: bookplate of the Ven. Dr William Bree. 63x63mm.

<sup>103</sup> *Gules three trees argent* was granted to Anderson of Newcastle in 1615, here differenced with three martlets argent in fess; *Or on a chevron between three hawk's heads erased sable as many acorns slipped or, on a canton sable three martlets argent*, was granted to Anderson of Newcastle in the reign of Edward VI. The Boyd crest as seen here is ascribed in Fairbairn to Julia's brother George Fenwick Boyd (1849-1909).

## BREE

Of similar date to the bookplate of Julia Boyd, and similarly of a quasi-architectural seal type, we have that of the Ven. Dr William Bree, M.A., D.D. (1822-1917), Rector of Allesley in Warwickshire, by an unknown artist [Figure 24].<sup>104</sup> The arms being those of Bree impaling Duke, for the cleric's first wife Mary (1819-1888), daughter of the Revd. Edward Duke, whom he married in 1853, the bookplate must date before his second marriage to Sophy Adele Biggs in 1889, and presumably also predates his appointment as Archdeacon of Coventry in 1887.<sup>105</sup> It is interesting to note that his family held the rectorship of Allesley continually from 1749, his father the Revd William Thomas Bree (1786-1863) having been rector there from 1823.

## RYLANDS

William Harry Rylands, F.S.A. (1847-1922) on becoming a freeman of the *Worshipful Company of Masons* in 1894 decided that he needed to celebrate with a new bookplate [Figure 25].<sup>106</sup> He was an extraordinarily energetic antiquarian who edited many volumes of Visitation and other heraldic material for the *Harleian Society*, of which he became chairman. This in no way represented the boundary of his interests as he was secretary of the *Society of Biblical Archaeology* and closely involved with the *Palestine Exploration Fund*. He is said to have been an accomplished artist, notably in the drawing of ancient monuments, and given the architectural theme, it is likely that he designed this bookplate himself.<sup>107</sup> The reason for his excitement on becoming a freeman of the Masons was that he was already a senior freemason and took a keen interest in the history of his order. The banners are the family arms as granted to his father in 1877 (top left), the *Worshipful Company of Masons* (top right), the city of London where he resided, and of which he was now a freeman (bottom left), and the *Society of Antiquaries* (bottom right). The architecture is entirely imaginary and somewhat fantastic, and might have been inspired by a monumental piece of silver tableware. By a strange coincidence, given that Harry's elder brother Paul lived in Birkenhead, the huge tower topped with a great bird with its wings outstretched somewhat presages the Royal Liver Building in Liverpool of 1908-11, topped with its Liver birds.

The arms of the Cheshire family have a slightly unexpected history. In the 1870s it was realised that they had been using assumed arms, a situation which needed to be regularised, but how best to go about it? The matter was discussed with Sir Bernard Burke, who in his capacity as Ulster King of Arms said that he was happy to confirm the existing usage, and in 1875 issued letters patent to that effect to Paul Rylands, supplying for him an address in Dublin.<sup>108</sup> The arms granted were *Quarterly 1 & 4, Per fess dancetty or and gules; 2 & 3 ermine, on an inescutcheon or a griffin passant vert*. The father of Harry and Paul, Thomas Grazebrook Rylands F.S.A. (a notable collector of rare books and manuscripts), commissioned a bookplate of these arms from the monk Dom Anselm

<sup>104</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll.; Franks 3601.

<sup>105</sup> The Archdeacon's obituary is in the *Coventry Evening Telegraph* 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 1917 p. 2.

<sup>106</sup> Marshall-Pierson Coll.

<sup>107</sup> For his obituary see *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* vol. 74 (1922), pp. 149-151.

<sup>108</sup> The original document is now in the archive of the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies in Canterbury.

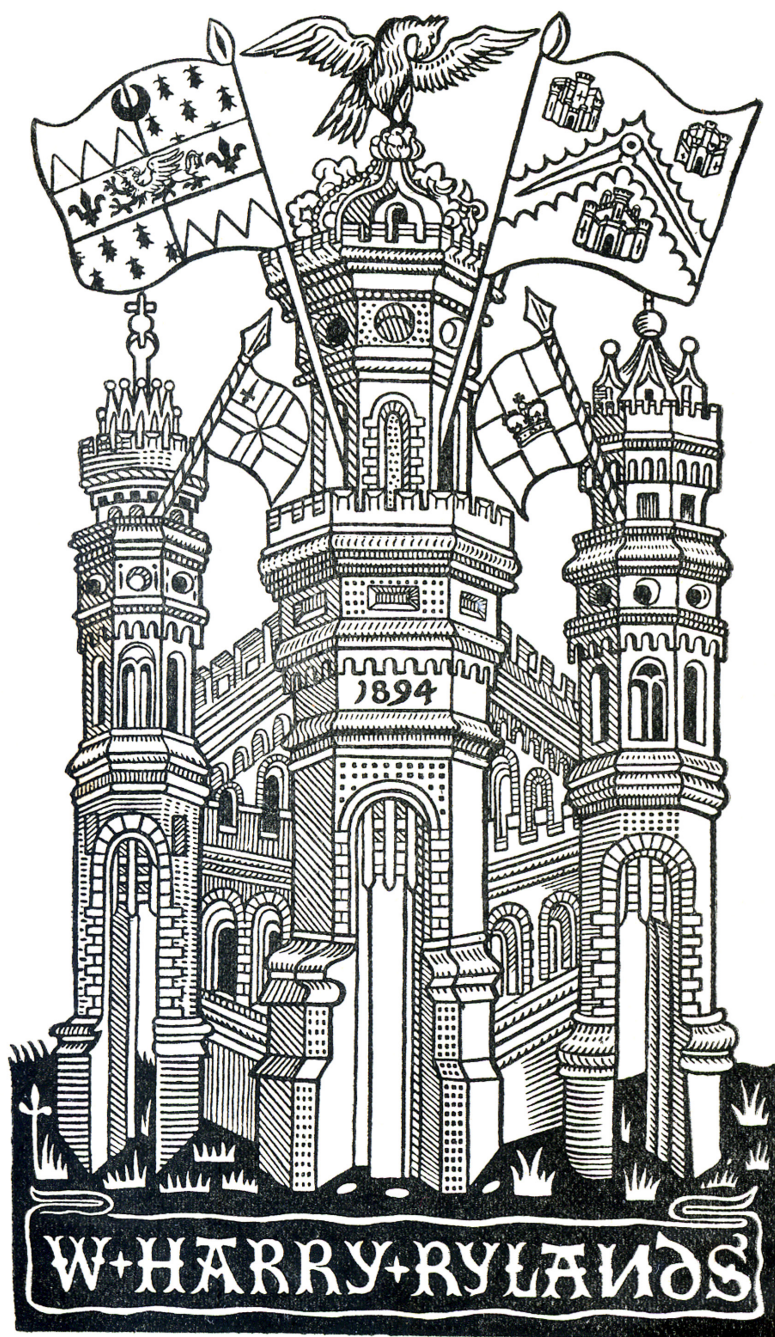


Figure 25: bookplate of William Harry Rylands, probably designed by himself in 1894.  
136x82mm.



THE COAT OF ARMS



J. Paul Rylands F.S.A  
Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire.

Figure 26: bookplate of J. Paul Rylands by Dom Anselm Baker.

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Baker. The intention must have been to take the grant to the College of Arms and have it registered in England, but Garter Woods declined to grant the arms as requested, and at the centre of the shield instead of the inescutcheon was placed *A fess azure thereon a griffin passant regardant between two fleurs de lis or*. The motto was also changed. Dom Anselm then reworked the plate and in the Society's Collection is the version of this made for Harry's brother J. Paul Rylands F.S.A. (1846-1923) [Figure 26<sup>109</sup>], a barrister who edited a variety of heraldic sources for publication.

### WATSON-ARMSTRONG

The architecture of this bookplate is a testament to the industrial might created by the engineer William George Armstrong, F.R.S. (1810-1900) who invented and manufactured both the hydraulic crane and the breech-loading Armstrong field gun. In 1887 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Armstrong of Cragston in Northumberland. His great-nephew William Henry Armstrong Fitzpatrick (1863-1941), as the designated heir to the vast Armstrong fortune, adopted the name and arms of Armstrong in 1889, the same year that he married Winifreda Jane (1860-1914), the daughter of General Sir John Miller Adye, G.C.B. (1819-1900). In 1894 Lord Armstrong purchased Bamburgh castle in Northumberland and set about restoring it, and thus we see the castle featured on Winifreda's bookplate of 1897 [Figure 27].<sup>110</sup> She clearly had an artistic eye, and her father the general was noted as both a writer and an artist. While serving as governor of Gibraltar in 1883-86 General Adye oversaw the installation of two massive eighteen-inch bastion guns, each weighing 111 tons, which had been produced by his friend Lord Armstrong. Winifreda became Lady Armstrong of Bamburgh and Cragston in 1903 after her husband was raised to the peerage, but died at a relatively young age in 1914. The Watson-Armstrongs lost their only daughter Winifreda in 1912, but happily their only son William survived the trenches of the First World War. The arms are *Quarterly 1&4, gules in fess a tilting spear or; headed argent, between two dexter arms embowed in armour* (for Armstrong); *2&3, argent a fess embattled counter-battled between two crosses bottonny in chief and a martlet in base gules* (for Watson), impaling *Azure a fess dancetty between three cherubim's heads or, faces argent* (for Adye).

<sup>109</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 1 and Marshall-Pierson Coll; Franks 25841.

<sup>110</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 35.



# THE COAT OF ARMS



INV. W. P. B. 1896

Figure 27: bookplate of Winifreda Jane Watson-Armstrong by J&E Bumpus Ltd 1897.  
126x90mm





Figure 28: bookplate of Dame Margaret d'Almaine Boord née Mackinlay.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 29: bookplate of Sir Thomas William Boord, Bart.  
by Charles William Sherborn, 1898. 117x90mm.





Figure 30: bookplate of Harry Percy Boord by Robert Osmond of J.&E. Bumpus Ltd, 1918. 101x73mm.



## BOORD

There are three Boord family plates in the Porteus Collection. Of the three, the one that is important here [Figure 28<sup>111</sup>] in that it displays both heraldry and a garden, is that of Dame Margaret d'Almaine Boord née Mackinlay (1842-1918) who married Thomas William Boord, F.S.A. (1838-1912) in 1861. He was a gin distiller and Conservative M.P. for Greenwich 1873-95, given a baronetcy in 1896, subsequent to which both husband and wife had a bookplate made. His [Figure 29<sup>112</sup>], by Charles William Sherborn (1831-1912), carries the date 1898, and hers by a different artist, is very likely of similar date.<sup>113</sup> It shows in a form that no longer exists the famous gardens at Wakehurst Place in Sussex where they resided. They sold the house to Gerald Loder (later Lord Wakehurst) in 1903 and he reworked the gardens. Such is their importance that they are now maintained by the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. A copy of Dame Margaret's bookplate was found inside the 1892 edition of Reginald Blomfields's *The Formal Gardens of England*, and clearly gardening was important to her. Their second son Harry Percy Boord, M.A. (1868-1923), who worked for his father, and never married, had his own bookplate engraved in 1918 by Robert Osmond for J.&E. Bumpus Ltd, whose salesman W.P. Barrett took credit for the true engraver's work [Figure 30].<sup>114</sup> The arms are *Per fess azure and gules a goat's head erased within an orle of eight martlets argent*, the crest *A goat argent gutté-de-poix resting the dexter leg on an escutcheon gules charged with a martlet argent*.

## MARYON-WILSON

Sir Spencer Pocklington Maryon Maryon-Wilson (1859-1944), 11<sup>th</sup> baronet of Eastbourne, was clearly extremely proud of his Jacobean mansion of Charlton House in Greenwich which was built 1607-12, and which had come into the family on marriage to Jane Weller, the Maryon heiress, in 1767. He commissioned his bookplate [Figure 31<sup>115</sup>] in 1901, at which time Charlton was sustained by a huge household comprising 23 staff. The family arms *Sable a wolf rampant and in chief three estoiles or, on a canton argent a sinister hand gules*, have been superimposed on the house by the artist, as has the name of the house and its date of purchase; while the central bust is a reconstruction. It is not present today, and was not present when the 8<sup>th</sup> baronet, Sir Thomas (d.1869) was photographed by the front door, a picture once owned by Prince Albert, and still in the Royal Archive. The First World War brought an end to Charlton as a domestic residence. The family moved out in 1916 when the house was converted into a military hospital. A massive increase in taxation, combined with rising wages, made the old lifestyle unsustainable, and the family never returned. Sir Spencer put the house on the market in 1919, auctioning off the contents, but it was not sold until 1925 when the Metropolitan Borough of Greenwich decided it might make a good town hall.

<sup>111</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 18.

<sup>112</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 41.

<sup>113</sup> Sherborn was one of the great bookplate artists of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, see Charles Davies Sherborn, *A sketch of the life of Charles William Sherborn* (London, 1912) for rather more than a sketch of his father's life plus a full listing of his work. Dame Margaret's bookplate appears as plate 15 in *Fifty Book Plates Engraved on Copper by Thomas Moring*, op. cit., but was not necessarily by Moring. The author owes this information to Anthony Pincott

<sup>114</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 35.

<sup>115</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 10.

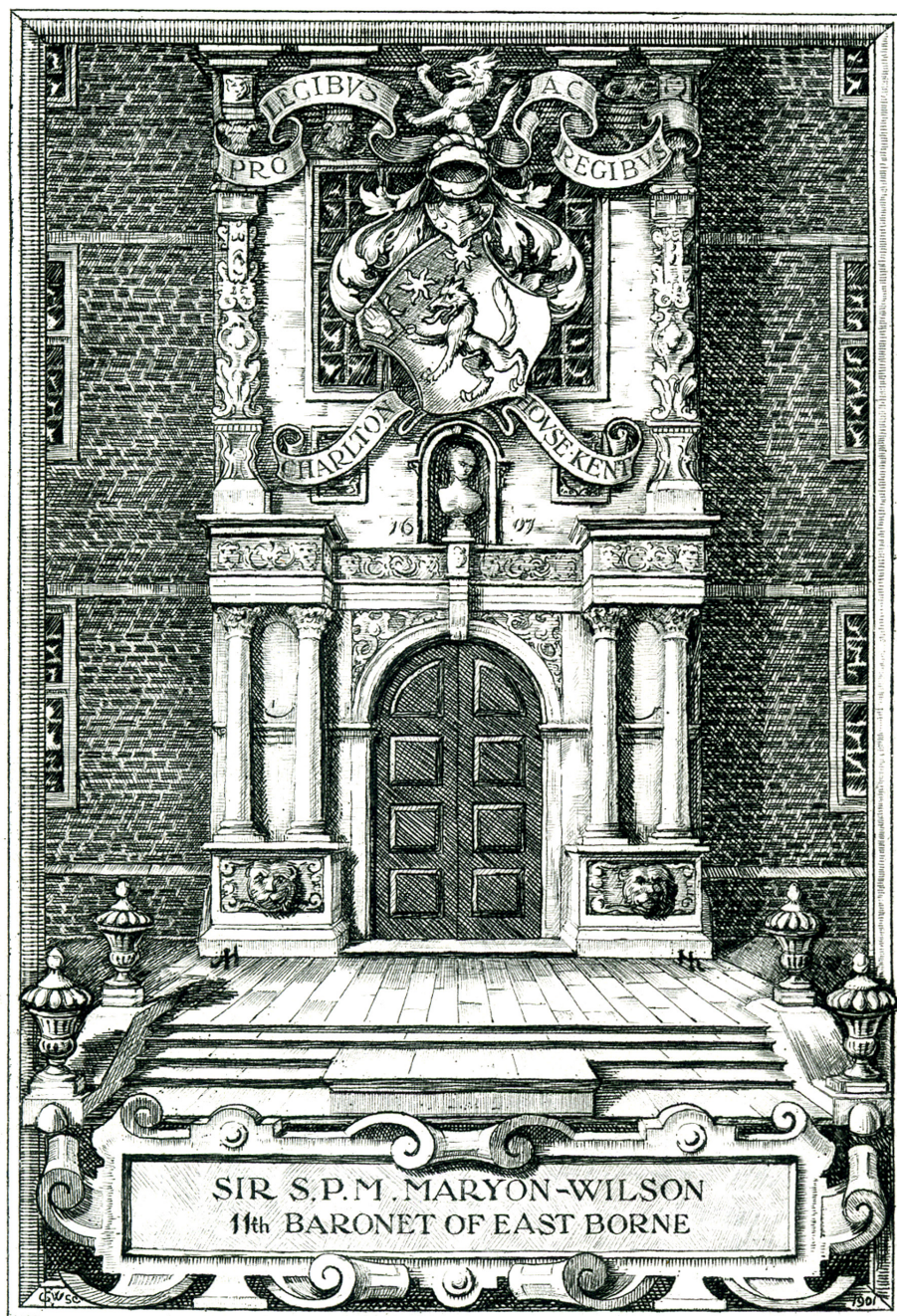


Figure 31: bookplate of Sir Spencer Pocklington Maryon Maryon-Wilson, Bart. by George William Eve, 1901. 140x97mm.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

The year 1901 was an important one for the artist commissioned to design and engrave the bookplate, George William Eve (1855-1914), as it marked a very important commission: he was asked to design the invitation for the coronation of Edward VII. Moreover, this was the year when he finally felt sufficiently financially secure to marry Mary Ellen Hopewell. George had been introduced to the College of Arms as a teenage artist by his father William Edward Eve (1815-1870), who was himself employed as a herald painter. The death of his father in 1870 rent the family asunder, and we find George at the age of seventeen living on his own as a boarder in Camberwell, working as a heraldic artist. He subsequently diversified into enamelling, and in 1881 was describing himself as an ornamental sign artist. In the catalogue of his works the earliest dated bookplate is 1886.<sup>116</sup> He later wrote that he was heavily influenced in his designs by the sixteenth century bookplates of Albrecht Durer, and by seventeenth century arms of the city of London engraved by Richard Wallis.<sup>117</sup>

In 1897 he came to the attention of the royal household, and Queen Victoria commissioned a series of three bookplates from him for the royal library. The Society's collection includes the larger of the three, signed by the artist.<sup>118</sup> The bookplates were amended for Edward VII in 1902, and a new series produced for George V in 1911.<sup>119</sup> Eve was noticed by the *Ex Libris Society* and this gained him commissions from the United States.<sup>120</sup> In 1903 he was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers. In the 1911 census for Mortlake, Surrey, he described himself as an artist, etcher, heraldic designer, and examiner for the Art Board of Education. He continued to work in the year of his death, 1914.

## DEFOREST

The bookplate of Ethel Catherine Hannah de Forest (1881-1966) marks the very high point of her life, the year 1907, when her second son Alaric was born, and when she was enjoying the high life in the company of her millionaire playboy husband the Baron de Forest. The story of the man who swept her off her feet, Maurice Arnold de Forest (1879-1968) is somewhat reminiscent of the fictional *Great Gatsby*. His de Forest parents were American circus artists who both died of typhoid in Istanbul in 1882, whereupon he had the enormous good fortune to be adopted by a childless German-Jewish financier and philanthropist, Baron Moritz de Hirsch (d. 1896) and his wife Clara (d.1899). Maurice was educated at Eton College and Christ Church, before inheriting the vast fortune that came with Schloss Eichhorn in Moravia. In 1899 the Emperor Franz Joseph created him Baron de Forest, and the following year this title was recognised in England by royal licence. In 1902 his first marriage was annulled by papal dispensation. As a racing driver he set a new world speed record of 96 mph in 1903, while the year 1904 saw his marriage to Ethel, who was the only daughter of Sir William Cansfield Gerard, Bart, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Gerard of Brin in Lancashire. This brings us back to Ethel's bookplate [Figure 32]

<sup>116</sup> George H. Viner, *A Descriptive catalogue of bookplates designed and etched by George W. Eve* (Kansas City, 1916).

<sup>117</sup> George Eve, *Heraldry as art* (London, 1907), p. 89; *London's Armory accurately delineated* (London, 1677).

<sup>118</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Brian North Lee, *British Royal Bookplates* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 68-70, 91-93, 113-14, 170-71.

<sup>120</sup> His work for the Queen was noted in the *Ex Libris Journal* vol. 9 (1899), p. 60.





Figure 32: bookplate of Ethel Catherine Hannah de Forest, later Countess de Bendern, by W.P. Barrett, 1907.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

which was designed by W.P. Barrett, who proudly exhibited it to the *Ex Libris Society* in 1908.<sup>121</sup> The castle, fittingly surrounded by a forest, is Schloss Eichhorn, where the couple's friend Winston Churchill spent part of his honeymoon. The harts in the border are taken from the shield of the Baron de Hirsch, and are a simple canting device. They became the supporters of the arms of de Forest.<sup>122</sup> The shields in base are Ethel's paternal arms of Gerard, *Argent a saltire gules*. The paired wings are the crest of de Forest. The central crown is that of a German baron, while the fleurs de lis and the Tudor roses are simple embellishments. In 1909 Baron de Forest established a prize for the first trans-Atlantic flight by a British built aeroplane. Unfortunately by 1911 it was being put about by Ethel's family that her husband had been physically violent towards her, for which reason she had left him. He responded with an unsuccessful libel action in the High Court which was reported all around the world, for instance in the *New York Times* of 16<sup>th</sup> April 1911. He counter-claimed that she had become infatuated with a young Guards officer. Whatever was the truth of the matter the couple never divorced, but remained separated. Baron de Forest went on to suffer further misfortune, being forced to relinquish his foreign title in 1920, while Schloss Eichhorn was compulsorily purchased by the Czech government in 1925. Then he bounced back. Moving to Liechtenstein, in 1932 the Grand Duke created him Count Maurice de Benden, and thus his estranged wife became a countess. This is the title that she used on making her will, which was proved in 1966. She died while on holiday in Monte Carlo, leaving an estate worth £10,790.

## HUSSEY

Scotney Castle in Kent, which takes centre stage in this bookplate, was transformed in the 1830s into a picturesque ruin and the centre of a new landscape garden after the Hussey family built a new home nearby. Mary Rosamond Hussey (1877-1958) was the wife of the next owner Edward Windsor Hussey (1855-1952), and the daughter of Lt Col Phillip Robert Anstruther of Fife in Scotland, who died of wounds received in action in 1880. The couple were married in 1900, and Rosamond commissioned her bookplate [Figure 33] in 1908 from J & E Bumpus Ltd in London, the engraving being undertaken by Charles Bird, who was obliged to append the iniquitous initials of the chief salesman W.P. Barrett.<sup>123</sup> Only one of the books illustrated has a readable title *Home and Garden*, possibly an allusion to the book of that name published in 1900 by the famous garden designer Gertrude Jekyll. The Scotney Castle Library still includes a copy of Jekyll's book *Roses for English Gardens*, published in 1902. The roses adorning the left margin were what Rosamond loved to grow while the thistles on the right are for her Scottish heritage. The arms are *Or a cross vert charged with a pierced mullet argent* (Hussey) impaling *Argent three piles issuing from the chief sable* (Anstruther, baronets of Balcaskie in Fife). The Anstruther arms have not been differenced, as is absolutely required in Scotland for the cadet of a house, but such an omission is not unusual to find with impaled arms. The musical score is that of an unidentified four-part harmony. The castle and gardens are now one of the glories of the National Trust, to which they were donated in 1970.

<sup>121</sup> *Ex Libris Journal* vol. 18, pp. 106-7. The engraving was undertaken by Charles Bird who worked for J&E Bumpus Ltd in The Strand. It is in the Porteous Coll. vol. 35.

<sup>122</sup> Fox-Davies *Armorial Families* p. 521.

<sup>123</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 39.





Figure 33: bookplate of Mary Rosamond Hussey by Charles Bird, 1908.



## ASHBURNHAM

Ashburnham Place in Sussex features on the bookplate [Figure 34], by an unidentified artist, of the last person of that surname to hold the estate, Lady Mary Catherine Ashburnham (1890-1953).<sup>124</sup> The view of the house has since changed considerably. On D-Day 6<sup>th</sup> June 1944 two B26 Marauder bombers of the 394<sup>th</sup> USAAF bomber group collided in the busy skies over Sussex. One of the two aircraft crashed near Ashburnham Place carrying a full load of bombs and exploded, causing considerable damage, with serious long-term consequences to the fabric of the property. Following the death of Lady Mary a combination of dry rot and death duties made it necessary to demolish most of the house in 1959, and all that remains today is the rather ugly truncated stump of what was once a Palladian mansion, set in a Capability Brown landscape. Mary's ancestor Bertram, the fourth earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878) was a great collector of books and manuscripts, and owner of the Stowe Collection, which was sold in a series of auctions following his death; a large part of it is now in the British Library. The heraldic highlight is the fifteenth century William Bruges's Garter Book, now B.L. Stowe ms 954. The family were once believed to have held Ashburnham before the Norman Conquest, but that has since been revised to the twelfth century. Separate branches of the family who bore the same arms, *Gules a fess between six mullets argent*, received a peerage and a baronetcy respectively in the seventeenth century, their common ancestor being in the thirteenth century. The baronetcy is still extant, but the peerage ended in 1924 with the sixth earl, Lady Mary's uncle, she having been the daughter of the fifth earl. The usage of the full achievement of the earldom on her bookplate is slightly irregular, although it can be justified as relating to the family seat rather than to the Honourable Lady Mary Ashburnham, and it serves as a fitting tribute to her ancestors. The shield is Quarterly 1, Ashburnham (as described above); 2, *Gules a chevron between nine crosses patty argent* (for Berkeley); 3, *Azure semy de lis and a lion rampant argent* (for Holland); 4, *Sable a chevron between three boy's heads couped at the shoulder argent, each with a serpent entwined about the neck* (for Vaughan). The supporters are *Two greyhounds sable collared and lined or*. The crest, not shown, that was used by both the earls and the baronets, is slightly canting: *Out of a ducal coronet or an Ash tree proper*.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Porteous Coll. vol. 18 & 41.

<sup>125</sup> The author wishes to thank Mr Anthony Pincott, Treasurer of the Bookplate Society for his invaluable assistance, and for providing a critique of the first draft of this paper.



Figure 34: bookplate of Lady Mary Catherine Ashburnham. 97x68mm.

# A PAINTING OF ARMS ENSUANT FROM THE 1664 VISITATION OF NORFOLK

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.H.S. AND PAUL A. FOX, F.H.S.

## Abstract

*The head of the Wall family of Aldeby in Norfolk commissioned a painting of his arms in eight quarterings from John Withie, the herald-painter who rode on the Visitation of that county in 1664. The arms painted are at variance with the official record, as is also the pedigree which William Wall appended to it. The object raises questions concerning the process of finalising Visitations.*

## The Manuscript

A manuscript comprising the arms and pedigree of the family of Wall was discovered by the first author in an antique shop in Surrey in the mid-1990s. The painting of the arms of Wall, which is of good quality, appears to be the principal object of the manuscript, as indicated by the frame painted around it<sup>1</sup> – in what would later be called a library painting. It has a narrative pedigree appended written in three different hands. This is unlike a pedigree roll of the usual type which would be formally set out with lines, decorated with many impaled shields, and where the achievement is placed at the foot to illustrate the pedigree. Here the pedigree seems to have been added to explain the quarterings in the initial painted achievement.

The seventeenth-century pedigree was copied by Alfred William Morant in 1869 when it belonged to Mr. Baker of Bungay, and was later published by Walter Rye in his *Norfolk Families*.<sup>2</sup> Rye reserved judgement regarding the unseen original pedigree – ‘as to the authenticity of which I offer no opinion.’<sup>3</sup> The provenance of the manuscript prior to Mr. Baker’s ownership and its subsequent history in the intervening period before its most recent acquisition is unknown.

The parchment pedigree is now folded in half widthways and displayed in a nineteenth-century frame that is glazed on front and back, so that most of its face can be seen (**Figures 1 and 5**). It was removed from its frame recently for examination, and comprises a sheet of parchment 556 mm long and of variable width- 217mm at the upper end, 213mm at the fold and 215mm at the lower end. The pedigree had been folded and glued to a board before framing and had partly split along the fold. The verso is somewhat obscured by adhering paper and glue but appears to be blank. The upper part of the face is occupied by a painted achievement of arms to which the pedigree on the remainder of the parchment refers, following the order of the quarterings. The numbering of each quartering is indicated by dots for the first four, and then by numbers 5, 6 and 7 (twice). Number 8 is absent as the identification of this coat was unknown to the compiler. There are later additions in two different hands at the end of the pedigree.

<sup>1</sup> Although it doesn’t have a bottom edge.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred William Morant’s *Pedigrees of Norfolk Families* (1870), Norfolk Record Office RYE Ms. 24, p. 357; Walter Rye *Norfolk Families*, 2 vols (Norwich, 1911-1913), vol. 2, pp. 973-4.

<sup>3</sup> Rye *ibid*.





Figure 1: the upper part of the Wall pedigree with its painting executed by John Withie. Photograph by Steven Ashley.

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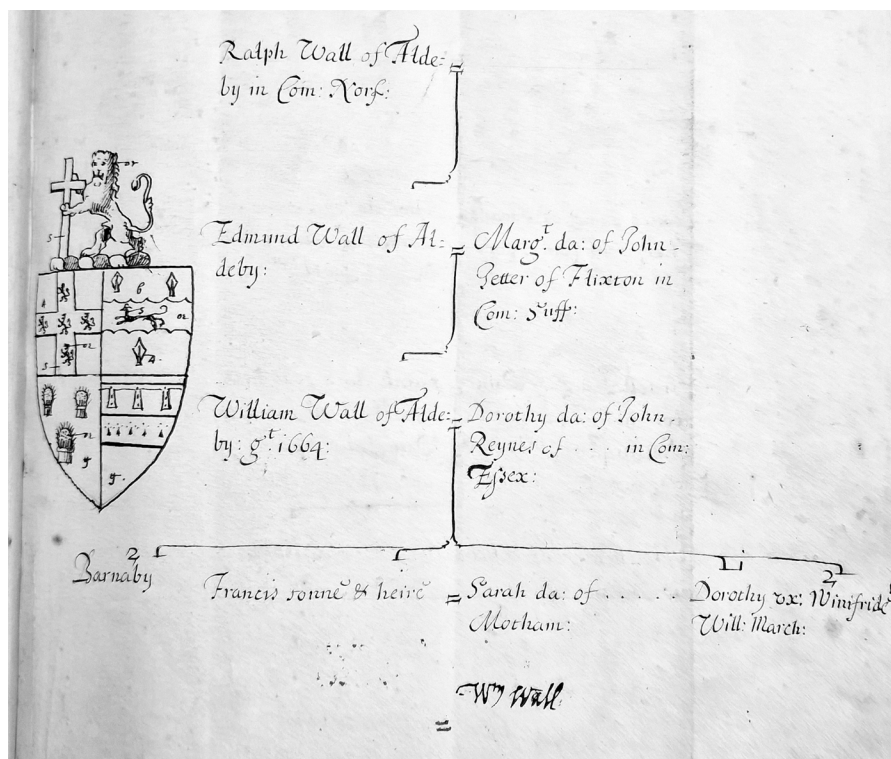


Figure 2: the Wall of Aldeby page in the office copy of the 1664 Visitation of Norfolk, CA Ms. D20 f. 30. The drawing of arms by John Withie, the writing in an uncertain hand. Photo by Paul A. Fox. Courtesy of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms.

### The Family

William Wall, esquire (d. 1666) was no run-of-the-mill country gentleman—his family led unusual and often perilous lives because of their adherence to Catholicism, and had been forced to quit Norfolk for Lancashire in around 1620 as a result of persecution by their neighbours. Their baptisms and marriages are not to be found in the Anglican parish registers, only their burials. It is likely that most of their children were born in Lancashire, and certainly their two older sons. The eldest, John (c. 1620-1679), was sent to the English seminary at Douai (in Flanders) before completing his studies at the English College in Rome between 1641 and 1645, when he was ordained priest.<sup>4</sup> He returned to England under the alias of Francis Johnson in 1648 before leaving for the safety of Douai in 1651, and becoming a Franciscan. In 1656 he commenced 21 years of service as a priest in Worcestershire, necessarily under conditions of great secrecy. The second son William Wall, born in around 1625, was also educated at Douai and the English College in Rome before returning to England as a Catholic priest in 1651. The

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Byrmand Trappes-Lomax, 'The parentage and family of the martyr Blessed John Wall O.F.M.', *Recusant History*, vol. 6 (1961-2), pp. 195-200.

eldest daughter Dorothy (c. 1618-1684), said to have been born at Richmond in Surrey, entered the novitiate as a Franciscan nun at the Poor Sisters of St Clare of Nieuport (now in Belgium) in 1641, but did not to take final vows and returned home to be married.

The family probably returned to Norfolk when the monarchy was restored in 1660 and Puritans were no longer in the ascendant. Thus it was while residing at Aldeby that the family recorded its arms and pedigree before Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux, in 1664. In the same year two of the family's sons were still following the dangerous calling of priesthood in England, while in 1665 Barnaby and Winefride, the two youngest offspring of William Wall and his wife Dorothy Reynes, were convicted of Recusancy while residing at Aldeby.<sup>5</sup>

Bysshe allowed only half of the eight quarterings which William Wall claimed (**Figure 2**), and the first two generations of the pedigree as recorded by William himself were also not given official sanction. The family might well have found it difficult to provide the necessary evidence as a consequence of their religious affiliation. These difficulties acted as a powerful motivation for the commissioning of the heraldic artwork which could be utilised to privately set the record straight.

There is no mention of the pedigree in the 1666 probate inventory of the possessions of William Wall, unless it was classed as one of the six pictures which hung on the walls, three in the parlour and three in the hall.<sup>6</sup> Luckily for William and Dorothy they both died before their two priestly sons were apprehended. John was taken prisoner near Bromsgrove in 1678 and sent to London to be interrogated by Titus Oates. Refusing to swear the Oath of Supremacy that made Charles II the head of the English Church, he was tried on 25 April 1679 and having been convicted of high treason he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Worcester on 22 August. Ironically the monarch on whose behalf John was sacrificed to maintain the security of Protestantism himself became a deathbed Catholic less than six years later. John is now Saint John Wall, having been canonised by Paul VI in 1970. It was also in 1679 that John's brother William was taken, and tried at the Old Bailey. He was spared the death sentence and later professed as a Benedictine monk, dying overseas at Lambspringe Abbey in Germany.

### **The artist: John Withie (1593-1677)**

The pedigree, although unsigned, is almost certainly the work of the herald-painter John Withie who was 71 years old when he rode out with Sir Edward Bysshe on his Visitation of Norfolk. It is well established that Withie rode for Bysshe on his Visitation of Suffolk of the same year, as his rough working notes have survived.<sup>7</sup> His age on undertaking these exertions was more remarkable then than it would be today. He came from long-lived stock, his own father and namesake having lived into his eighties, although not to the age of a hundred years ascribed to him in additions to the 1620 Visitation of Devon.<sup>8</sup> The father bequeathed to his local church a copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, evidence

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Norfolk Archive Office, DN/INV/55A/13. William owned a modest collect of books to the value of 20 shillings which were found in the study together with lumber of diverse sorts.

<sup>7</sup> BL Harl. Ms. 1085; W. Harry Rylands (ed.), *A Visitation of the County of Suffolk 1664-1668 by Sir Edward Bysshe*, Harl. Soc., vol. 61 (1910), preface p. v.

<sup>8</sup> J.L. Vivian, *Visitations of the County of Devon*, 2 vols (Exeter, 1895), vol. 2, p. 814. Local legend is not always to be trusted. The painter's grandparents John Withie and Joan Juell married at Berryarbor in Devon on 24 September 1548, their son John being buried at Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1632/3.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 3: painting by John Withie for an exemplification of the arms of Peter Faringdon alias Farnden of Sedlescombe in Sussex granted by Richard St George, Clarenceux on 28 February 1634/5, and witnessed by John Withie together with his son Augustine.*

Note the distinctive faces of the lions. Harleian MS. 1470, f. 3. ©British Library.

Photograph by Paul A. Fox.

that the herald painter would have received a staunch Protestant upbringing.<sup>9</sup> There being such enormous prejudice against Catholics in late-seventeenth-century England, the Wall family doubtless concealed their beliefs, but could not evade local gossip. If Withie

<sup>9</sup> Will of John Withie, clerk, of Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire, 1633, TNA PROB 11/163/565.

picked up on this it did not preclude him from treating the family with courtesy, which gained him a commission.

By 1613 the young John Withie was starting to collect heraldic material, presumably while still training as a herald painter, and in 1616 he made a collection of the arms of the aldermen who had held Aldersgate ward in London since 1451/2.<sup>10</sup> It is a reasonable assumption that he had acted as an intermediary in the grant of arms to his father in 1612, to which a crest was added by Camden in 1615, and which was subsequently confirmed to the painter stainer by Sir Richard St George as Clarenceux (after 1623).<sup>11</sup>

By 1621 John Withie had his own establishment at Holborn in London, being married to his first wife Rose Tilcock.<sup>12</sup> The couple's eldest child, Alice (d.1637), was born on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1622. Rose was to bear five more children: two of the sons assisted their father in his work: Augustine, born in 1624, and Jewell, born in 1632 who was given as his Christian name the surname of his father's grandmother Joan Juell.<sup>13</sup> Most of the children were baptised at St Andrew's Holborn, a church which survived the Great Fire, but had come very close to being destroyed. Augustine is last attested as working with his father in 1655, and Jewell in 1647.<sup>14</sup>

John worked closely with a number of the kings of arms with whom he rode on their visitations. While travelling he took the opportunity to make church notes, for instance at Arundel church in 1634 while accompanying John Philipot on a visitation of Sussex.<sup>15</sup> He was associated with Richard St George, Clarenceux (d. 1635) in the early 1630s, and following the Restoration with Sir Edward Bysshe, then downgraded to Clarenceux, having earlier been parliament's intruded Garter. He was lending large sums of money to Bysshe in the period 1660-63, but their business relationship ultimately turned sour, with Bysshe going to law in 1676 for money that Withie owed him.<sup>16</sup> In between these two, in the later 1640s Withie was working with William Ryley, the Parliamentary intruded Norroy, for whom he purchased paper for the printing of a book on the nobility in 1651.<sup>17</sup>

Withie's large home in Holborn had 11 hearths in the 1666 Hearth Tax. He lived in this district for his whole adult life, including throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth periods, and was one of three herald painters commissioned to undertake the extensive painting that was required for the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell's funeral on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1658.<sup>18</sup> At some stage he lost his first wife and remarried Margaret Salmon, the widow of Samuel Bailey, a London grocer. Margaret predeceased him, and there is a mention of her church monument in the list which was made before the Great Fire of 1666, but its location is not known.<sup>19</sup> John was warden of the Painter-Stainers' Company in 1646 and 1652, and Master in 1657. The company has some fine examples of his work on public display, one of which is given in **Figure 4**. His will mentions none of his children, and it is probable that they all predeceased him, perhaps during the Great

<sup>10</sup> BL Harley Ms. 909.

<sup>11</sup> Vivian, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> *Boyd's London Families* no. 10271; *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, NS vol. 3 (1880), p. 361.

<sup>13</sup> Jewell was apprenticed to a London vintner on 4 May 1652.

<sup>14</sup> BL Harl Mss 1372 and 1470.

<sup>15</sup> BL Harl. Ms. 1076, f. 224.

<sup>16</sup> BL Harl. Ms. 1372 is Withie's record book; the suit with Bysshe is TNA C7/552/29.

<sup>17</sup> BL Harl. Ms. 1372.

<sup>18</sup> BL Harl. Ms. 1372, f. 48; Harl. Ms. 1099.

<sup>19</sup> Major Payne Fisher and G. Blacker Morgan, *Catalogue of the tombs in the churches of the city of London AD 1666* (London, 1668, reprinted 1885), p. 93.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 4: painting of the arms of the Painter-Stainers Company made by John Withie in 1649, now on display in the Painter-Stainers Hall. Note the triple lines around the margins. Photograph by Paul A. Fox*



## A PAINTING OF ARMS

Plague of 1665. He took his last apprentice, Charles Chandler, on 29 September 1676. When he was laid to rest in St Andrew's Holborn on 20 August 1677 he was described in the register as "an antient man, a Harrold painter."<sup>20</sup> His primary bequests comprised £100 to the poor of St Andrew's Holborn, £100 to the Bridewell Hospital, £50 to St Bartholomew's Hospital and £100 to his nephew Nicholas Hicks.

Withie kept a large private collection of heraldic and genealogical material, from which his distinctive handwriting and artistic style can be discerned.<sup>21</sup> His portrayal of lions was particularly distinctive, and the lions of his autograph manuscripts (for example **Figure 3**) match those of the Wall manuscript. The rendering of the Wall arms in the College of Arms's office copy of the 1664 Norfolk Visitation (Ms. D20) is also a stylistic match to the Wall pedigree. It was the work of the herald-painter who rode out on a Visitation to produce the final record copy.<sup>22</sup> The calligraphy in the Norfolk Visitation does not, however, match Withie's informal hand. Either the College's Wall pedigree was entered by a herald, or Withie might have utilised a different fine hand in such cases. The late Norfolk armorist Ron Fiske found the following literary reference to this manuscript, the source of which we have been unable to trace: "These are the arms given to the herald painter John Withie by William Wall of Aldeby at the 1664 Visitation."

### A matter of signatures

The College pedigree was signed by William Wall, and the question arises, where did that traditional signing off take place? It is unclear whether the finalised volume was routinely taken back to the county by an agent, or whether the head of each family visited the College of Arms, or Withie's house in Holborn. Perhaps it was a mixture of both. A third possibility favoured by Adrian Ailes is that these were facsimile signatures, just as the enrolled copy of William Wall's will of 3 March 1665 in the Norwich Archives is a facsimile.<sup>23</sup> Wall, having commissioned private artwork, would have needed to visit London to check and collect it, but his case might not be typical. When Withie copied a grant of arms he would often sign to verify authenticity, and it is worthy of note that the Wall 'library painting' is unsigned. Withie would not have been prepared to validate an unofficial rendition with his signature, of which his employer Sir Edward Bysshe would have taken a dim view.

In due course William's younger son and heir Francis (d.1677) entered himself and his wives onto the manuscript, as Francis's own eldest son William (d. 1685) in his own time. On the monument of William the grandson in Aldeby church are the simple arms of Wall impaling those of his wife Sybill Davy.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Edward Town, *Biographical Dictionary of London Painters 1547-1625*, Walpole Society, vol. 76 (2014).

<sup>21</sup> For his known surviving manuscripts see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Papers of British Antiquaries and Historians* (London, 2003), p. 225.

<sup>22</sup> For the work of the herald-painter on a visitation, with specific reference to John Withie, see Adrian Ailes, 'Artists and artwork of the heraldic Visitations 1530-1687', *CoA* no. 228 (2014), pp. 69-82.

<sup>23</sup> Interestingly the facsimile signature of William Wall on the archival copy of his 1666 will (Norfolk Record Office, NCC wills Stockdell 274) is fairly close to the Visitation signature.

<sup>24</sup> Edmund Farrer, *The Church Heraldry of Norfolk*, vol. 1 (Norwich, 1885), p. 97. The arms of Davy are *Sable a chevron engrailed ermine between three annulets argent*. William died without issue, his heirs being his two brothers who were then still minors. His will is Norwich Archive Office, NCC wills Register Calthorpe 168.



## A PAINTING OF ARMS

### Transcription

With key names in bold and surnames linked to quarterings underlined

- **John Wall** of Aldby in Norfolk in Edward the fourths
- raine Matched the sole daughter & heir of **Beverley** of Norff gent.
- **John Wall** in Henry the seventh's raine Matched with the daughter & co heir of John Umpton [**Unton**] of Suffolk gent
- **Ralph Wall** in Henry the Eighth his Rayne Matched with the daughter & soile heir Nicholas **Gavell** gent
- 5 **Edmund Wall** in Queene Elizabeth's Rayne Matched with the daughter of Edmund **Jetter** of [Flixton in] Suffolk gent
- 6 **William Wall** in King James his Rayne Matched with the daughter & co heir of captain John **Reins** of Kent [Essex] Esqr which said John Reins Matched with the daughter and sole heir of **Acworth** of Polton in Bedfordshire Esqr
- 7 Acworth Matched with the daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Rowland Litten in Bedfordshire and the howse matched before with an heir but by what name I know not the coat is three Roses in afield argent viii
- [change of hand] **Francis Wall** in King Charles the second's reign Matched with Sarah the daughter & co Ayer of Thomas **Motham** of Guton [Gayton] in Norfolk Esqr ix
- Francis Wall** Matched second with [Lucy?] the daughter Of S<sup>r</sup> Edward **Barkham** of West Acre in Norfolk Baron<sup>et</sup> x
- [change of hand] **William Wall of Aldeby** [later of Ringsted, Suffolk] in King Charles the second His tyme in the year 1684 being the six & thirtieth of His Reign Matched with Sybil the daughter of Robert **Davy** of Ditchingham in the County of Norff gent xi

The eight quarterings are:

- 1, Wall, *Argent on a cross sable five lions rampant or*;
  - 2, Beverley, *Gules three bars ermine*;
  - 3, Unton, *Azure on a fess engrailed or between three spearheads argent a greyhound courant sable*;
  - 4, Gavell, *Gules three garbs or*;
  - 5, [Wasle<sup>25</sup>], *Gules a fess and a label of three points ermine*;
  - 6, Raynes, *Checky gules and or on a bend azure a griffin's head erased between two eagles close or, a canton ermine*;
  - 7, Ackworth, *Ermine a griffin segreant per fess or and gules armed gules and vert*<sup>26</sup>;
  - 8, [too many possibilities], *Argent three roses gules slipped and seeded proper*.
- The crest comprises *A lion rampant guardant or supporting with both paws a long (or Latin) cross sable*.

The motto reads: LE PORTE ET SUPPORTE LE RAY [he bears it and supports the King]<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Papworth p. 715.

<sup>26</sup> A family of this name with similar arms was based in Suffolk, Corder, p. 405.

<sup>27</sup> Ray here standing for Roi. The crest takes the cross and the lion from the family arms.



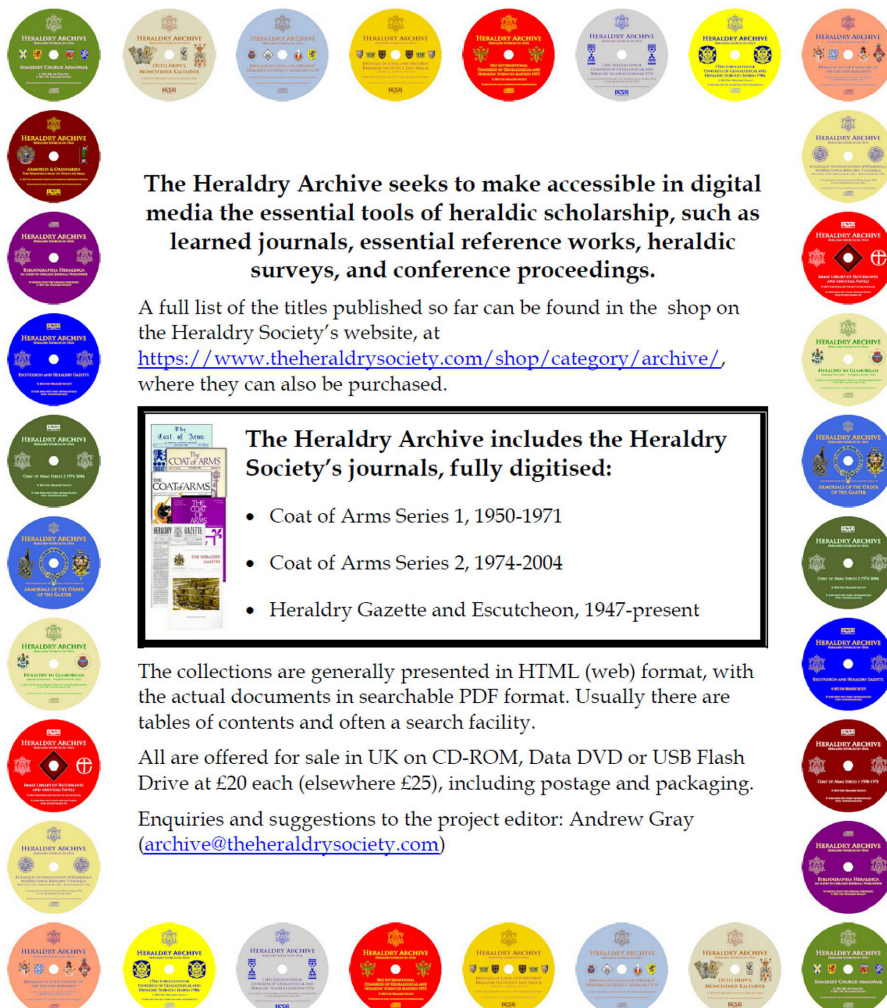


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# THE CHINESE DRAGON: HISTORY AND MANIFESTATIONS

MIGUEL PINTO-CORREIA, M.Sc.

## Abstract

*The dragon has captivated the imagination of individuals across many cultures and geographical regions. This paper explores the symbolism and significance of the dragon in Chinese society, considers its incorporation into modern Western heraldry, and proposes an improved nomenclature of blazoning.*

## The dragon in Chinese culture

An archetypal monster of folklore and mythology, in Chinese culture the dragon, *Lóng* (龍), assumes a prominent and diverse position. In contrast to its winged Western counterparts, malicious beings which are capable of spewing fire, non-winged Chinese dragons are much more complex and intricate. Commonly symbolic of attributes such as strength, wisdom, benevolence, auspiciousness, and harmoniousness, they also represent, at times, the concepts of destruction, creation, and transience.<sup>1</sup> They are closely associated with natural elements, notably water, as entities responsible for regulating precipitation, rivers, lakes, oceans, and atmospheric phenomena such as clouds.<sup>2</sup>

The dragon's strong association with the elemental forces of nature and water sources establish it as a symbol of nourishment, exerting a direct influence on agriculture and, consequently, on the essence of existence.<sup>3</sup> The concept of evil-tempered dragons was introduced by Buddhists, and such dragons were said to be responsible for floods and storms. Thus the "Chinese people did not take the wrath of the dragon lightly and would try and appease the animal through sacrifices."<sup>4</sup> Ultimately the dragon became a symbol of political power.<sup>5</sup> Its use to represent imperial dominance is traditionally traced back to the mythical reign of Huáng Dì (黃帝), the Yellow Emperor, supposed to have reigned some 25000 years B.C. A historically documented correlation between the dragon and the emperor can only be substantiated from the reign of Emperor Hàn Gāozǔ (漢高祖), who ruled 206-195 B.C., and who founded the Han Dynasty. The Han Chinese adopted the term "sons of the dragon" as a significant component of their national and ethnic identity.<sup>6</sup>

With the consolidation of imperial political power, the dragon assumed the role of a symbol of the emperor's power and of his *Tiānmìng* (天命, which refers to the belief in a divine mandate to govern), thus becoming an essential element in the artistic

<sup>1</sup> Evan Tueller, *Taking Flight on the Dragon 's Back: An Analysis of the Chinese Dragon as Monster and Symbol of Unattainable Power* (Thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder 2013), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lihui Yang and Deming An, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology* (Oxford, 2008), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Marinus Willem de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan* (Amsterdam, 1913), p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Tueller, op. cit., pp. 15-19.

<sup>5</sup> Quiquang Zhao, *A study of dragons, east and west* (New York, 1993), p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Dikötter, *The construction of racial identities in China and Japan: Historical and contemporary perspectives* (Hong Kong, 1997), pp. 76-77.



Figure 1, left, 1a: the five-clawed imperial emblem, the ‘dragon a la cour’ on a Qing Dynasty costume, Musée Guimet; right, 1b, plain yellow banner of the Qing Dynasty, the source of both is Wikimedia Commons.

and architectural expressions connected with the Imperial court.<sup>7</sup> The dragon gradually evolved into a distinctive emblem of imperial authority, conferring upon the Emperor the exclusive privilege of donning robes embellished with dragon motifs. This association strengthened the Emperor’s role as the divine intermediary connecting Heaven and Earth. Throughout the span of Chinese civilisation, the dragon has assumed a significant part in religion, festivals and cultural gatherings, one which continues to have significance in rural areas of China.<sup>8</sup> Under the Chinese zodiac, individuals born in the year of the dragon are commonly believed to possess inherent power, confidence, and the ability to create wealth.

### Physical attributes

Based on the *Shuōwén* (說文), a historical document originating from A.D. 200, a comprehensive classification of scaly reptiles is presented, encompassing 369 distinct species, which contain various aquatic creatures, serpents, and reptiles of the lizard family. The dragon is presented as the most prominent among these. Chinese culture recognises many kinds of dragons, with distinct physical characteristics based on their habitats, and over one hundred different ‘species’ of dragons have been recognised.<sup>9</sup> These can be divided into three distinct categories: the powerful and instantly recognised *lóng*, inhabiting the sky, earth and water; the *Jiǎo*, which inhabits the marshes and shallow bodies of water and is similar to the *lóng*, but hornless; and the primordial *kuí*

<sup>7</sup> Charles Alfred Speed Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives: An alphabetical compendium of antique legends and beliefs, as reflected in the Manners and Customs of the Chinese* (Shanghai, 1941), p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Yang & An, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

<sup>9</sup> M. Carr, Chinese Dragon Names. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 13.2 (1990), pp. 87–189.



## CHINESE DRAGONS

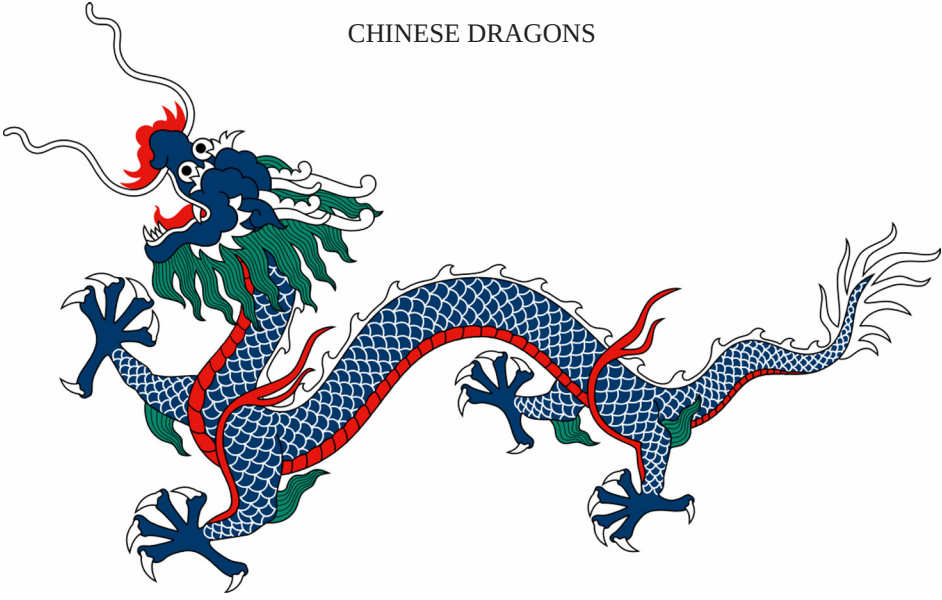


Figure 2: a blue Chinese dragon passant. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

(夔), which has only one leg.<sup>10</sup>

This study will focus on the *lóng*, since it corresponds to the heraldic charge known as the ‘Chinese dragon’ (also known as the Oriental or Asian dragon). The consensus attributes of this monster are that it has a head resembling that of a camel, antlers like those of a deer, eyes reminiscent of a rabbit, the ears of a cow, the neck of a snake, the belly of a frog, scales similar to those of a carp, the claws of a hawk, and the palms of a tiger.<sup>11</sup> The *lóng* is always represented with four legs. A distinction is made between male and female dragons: the horn of the male is undulating, concave, and steep; while the female dragon has a distinctive nasal structure, has rounded pointed horns, and may carry a fan in her tail.<sup>12</sup>

The dragon was depicted during the *Han* Dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) with three-clawed feet, and this form of the dragon is first recorded on imperial robes during the *Tang* Dynasty (618-906 A.D.), when it became introduced into Japan, a country which continues to favour this early variant.<sup>13</sup> It was not until the time of the *Yuan* Dynasty (1279-1368) that the Son of Heaven (or Emperor) adopted the dragon with five-clawed feet as his imperial emblem.<sup>14</sup> The number five is commonly linked to the mastery of traditional Chinese elements, namely wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, symbolising the world and, therefore, the universe. It became a crime punishable by death during the *Ming* Dynasty (1368-1644) for anyone other than a member of the immediate imperial family to use the five-clawed dragon.<sup>15</sup> Highly favoured officials and lesser members of

<sup>10</sup> Roy Bates, *All about Chinese dragons* (Morrisville NC, 2007), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Williams, 1976, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> Bates, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> Valery Garrett, *Chinese dress from the Qing Dynasty to the present* (North Clarendon VT, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Linda Komaroff, *Beyond the legacy of Genghis Khan* (Los Angeles, 2019), pp. 303–324.

<sup>15</sup> C. Ripley, ‘The Dragon of China’, *The Open Court*, (1913), pp. 461–466, on p. 461.

the imperial family could be gifted with the *mǎng* (蟒) or python robe, which featured a four-clawed dragon. Those who wore the python robe without entitlement, in accordance with the Great Ming Code of 1397, were to be punished with one hundred lashes and three years of penal servitude, while those caught making such a garment illegally were to be beheaded.<sup>16</sup>

During the *Qīng* Dynasty (1644-1912) the use of the five-clawed dragon was extended to princes of the second order, while princes and princesses of the third and fourth order and their consorts wore the four-clawed dragon.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the *mǎng* came to be worn by an ever-expanding group of courtiers. It was designated for ministers of the first to third rank in 1538, but by the later *Qīng* Dynasty was worn by both civil and military officials down to the ninth rank.<sup>18</sup> Although the garment continued to be called the *mangfu* (mang robe), by the later *Qīng* Dynasty the greater proportion of the imperial court, its eunuchs and mandarins, were wearing the five-clawed dragon (the *lóng*). This came about because the emperor could confer it on anybody he wished, and he gave it to so many individuals that it became difficult to know who was entitled to wear it, and so effective control broke down.<sup>19</sup> The emperor's personal robe, of course, had many other features which marked it out. Beyond the confines of the court, the wider world of the merchant class was permitted to wear the three-clawed dragon.

Notwithstanding the above, the number of claws is also a matter of geography, especially when considering Korea and Japan. Upon the establishment of Buddhism in Korea, the Koreans embraced a four-clawed 'Chinese' dragon. The Koreans and the Japanese subsequently developed a belief that theirs were the original dragons, as characterised by their specific number of claws.<sup>20</sup> During the *Míng* period the Korean kings imitated the practice of the Chinese emperors in adopting the five-clawed dragon.

The end of the monarchy in China soon brought to an end the usage of the dragon as an emblem of authority, but not the profound significance of the dragon to the people of China. We will consider below how the symbolic number of claws might be utilised in the modern world. The Chinese dragon has seen a comparatively late incorporation into heraldry, being first granted to persons and territories associated with or originating from the Far East.<sup>21</sup>

### The Chinese Dragon in Heraldry

Examples have been sought of grants containing the Chinese dragon which have been made by modern heraldic authorities, with a focus on England and Canada. The findings suggest that a better terminology and an enhanced understanding of the Chinese concept of the dragon could be beneficial. Let us take first the College of Arms in London.

<sup>16</sup> BuYun Chen, "Wearing the hat of loyalty: Imperial power and dress reform in Ming Dynasty China", in *The right to dress: sumptuary laws in a global perspective, c.1200–1800* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 416-434.

<sup>17</sup> Alan Priest and Pauline Simmons, *Chinese textiles* (New York, 1934), pp. 60-61.

<sup>18</sup> Sophie Volpp, 'The gift of a python robe: the circulation of objects in "Jin Ping Mei"', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 65, no. 1 (2005), pp. 133-158.

<sup>19</sup> Garrett, op. cit, pp. 16-17; Chen, op. cit., p. 432.

<sup>20</sup> Bates, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Bedingfeld & Peter Gwynn-Jones, *Heraldry* (London, 1993), p. 81.

## CHINESE DRAGONS



Figure 3: arms of Viscount Gough of Goojerat. Source: Wikimedia Commons. The chief of the second and third quarters is an augmentation of honour showing the breached walls of Tarifa in Spain (he was there in 1811) with the badge of the Spanish Order of Charles III suspended therefrom.

### College of Arms grants

According to College records there have been 24 grants of arms, 38 crests, and 24 badges incorporating a Chinese Dragon motif since this charge was first categorised in the 1980s.<sup>22</sup> These are not the earliest instances of the use of the charge in British heraldry. The first such usage known to the author is that of Field Marshal Viscount Hugh Gough of Goojerat (1779-1869), and dates to the 1840s. Gough, who was raised to the peerage as a baron in 1846, and made a viscount in 1849, distinguished himself as a military commander in the Napoleonic Wars before going on to command the British forces in both China and India. He was commander-in-chief in China during the First Opium War (4 September 1839 – 29 August 1842).

His most notable victories are represented by the two supporters of his arms, the lion to the dexter being chained with an eastern crown bearing the word ‘*Punjab*’, while

<sup>22</sup> The author is grateful to Thomas Johnston, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, for extracting this information.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 4: arms of the crown colony of Hong Kong 1959-1997.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

the sinister supporter of the Chinese dragon (said<sup>23</sup> to have been taken from the Chinese imperial flag, **Figure 1b**) is gorged and chained with a mural crown sable, inscribed with the word 'China' (**Figure 3**). The documented blazon does not mention the number of the dragon's claws, but four claws are shown on the drawing of the achievement reproduced in both Burke and Debrett.

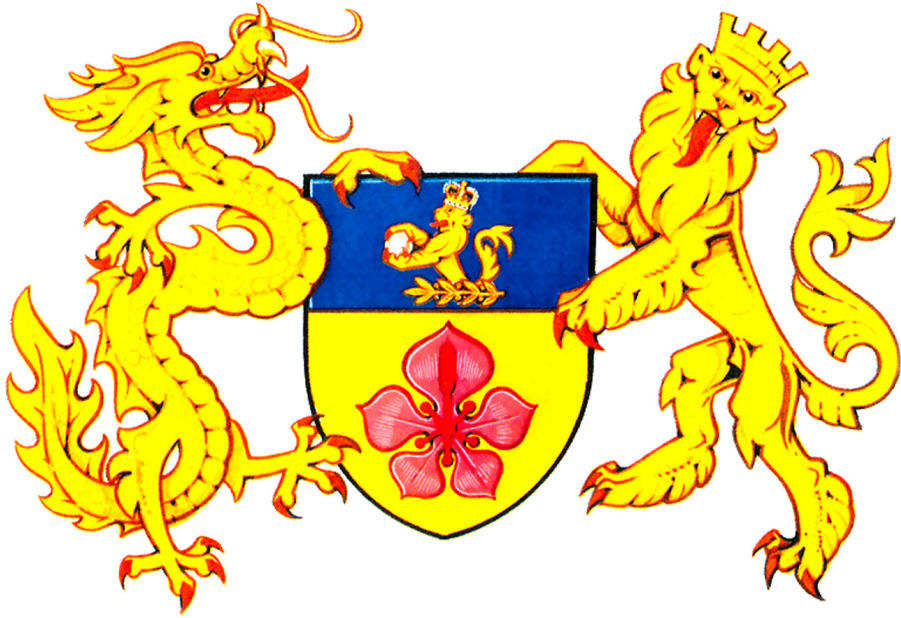
Arguably the most prominent and notable instance of the usage of the Chinese dragon in British heraldry before the 1980s occurs with the coat of arms granted to the crown colony of Hong Kong in 1959, according to a design by Mr. G.C. Hamilton (**Figure 4**).<sup>24</sup> These are blazoned as follows: the arms: *Argent on water barry wavy azure and argent in base two three-masted Chinese junks in full sail bows inwards also proper on a chief embattled gules a naval crown or*; the crest: *On a wreath argent and azure a demi lion or royally crowned proper holding between the paws a pearl also proper*; the supporters: *On the dexter side a lion or royally crowned proper and on the sinister side a Chinese dragon gold*; the motto: "Hong Kong."<sup>25</sup>

Although the Chinese dragon artistically depicted in the royal warrant greatly resembles those found in temples across Hong Kong, the grant omits to mention the number of claws, which, as per the design accompanying the grant, are again four

<sup>23</sup> Burke PB 1866.

<sup>24</sup> G. C. Hamilton, *Flag badges, seals, and arms of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1963), pp. 37–38.

<sup>25</sup> All official depictions of the armorial achievement have a compartment of grass vert with waves barry wavy azure in base, but this is not mentioned in the blazon of the royal warrant.



*Figure 5: arms of the Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1979.*

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

in number. The pearl on the crest is an allusion to the fact that Hong Kong was then known as ‘The Pearl of the Orient’, although it has been suggested that the lion crest has appropriated the pearl from the Chinese dragon and is preferring it to the British lion supporter. Any such impression was avoided in 1979 when the Urban Council of Hong Kong petitioned for arms from the College of Arms (**Figure 5**). In this instance the lion on the chief offers the pearl to the Chinese dragon supporter. Once again the dragon has four claws, the designer being the local educator and artist Kan Tai-Keung (靳埭強).

With three exceptions all College of Arms grants surveyed which feature Chinese dragons have the monster painted with four claws, but without the number of claws being specified in the blazon. Further examples of dragon supporters are those granted to the University of Hong Kong in 1981, and to the Sino-British Fellowship Trust in 1955. In the latter example the dragon is blazoned “proper” and is painted with multiple colours. One must ask what was understood by this instruction, given that the Chinese tradition allocated different tinctures to the dragon depending on the ruling dynasty. There are five possible colour options, as will be detailed below. These refer to the traditional Chinese cardinal points: North, South, East, West and Centre. To complicate matters the dragon might also change its appearance depending on the circumstances in which it finds itself.

One individual who appears to have been granted as a supporter a five-clawed imperial dragon (as was drawn, but not so specified in the blazon) was Sir Robert Hart, Bart., G.C.M.G. (1835-1911). As inspector general of the Chinese Imperial Customs he came to be highly valued by the imperial family, and was awarded various honours, including the ‘double dragon’, and the ancestral rank of First Class for three generations,

## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 6, left, 6a: arms of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company;  
right, 6b: arms of the Gemmological Association of Hong Kong.  
Both from heraldry-wiki.com

by the Chinese emperor.<sup>26</sup> He thus had the usage of the five-clawed dragon, and it was natural for this to be used as one of his supporters after he became entitled to use them in 1889 on becoming G.C.M.G. He was made a baronet in 1893.<sup>27</sup>

A fine example of the use of a dragon as a charge on the shield is that of the Peninsular and Oriental (P & O) Steam Navigation Company, granted in 1937, and having in base a four-clawed Chinese dragon azure (**Figure 6a**). There is a second example of a five-clawed Imperial Chinese dragon granted on a crest, being that of the *Gemmological Association of Hong Kong*, granted on April 18, 1990 (**Figure 6b**). The crest is blazoned: *An Imperial Chinese dragon rampant and undulant or supporting with both foreclaws and enfiled on a fan of fourteen segments respectively gules tenne or vert azure purpure gules tenne or vert azure purpure gules and sable thereon in base a diamond brilliant cut in profile proper*. As for the reason as to why an Imperial Chinese dragon was assigned to an association, the author was not able to find a reason. As to whether the attitude of undulant is the most appropriate, given that Chinese dragons are by default represented as undulant, the author shall address this matter further in this paper.

Of five other non-corporate grants surveyed, one of the dragons has three visible

<sup>26</sup> Burke PB 1915.

<sup>27</sup> His letters patent are now Queens University Belfast MS 15/8, and date to 1901.



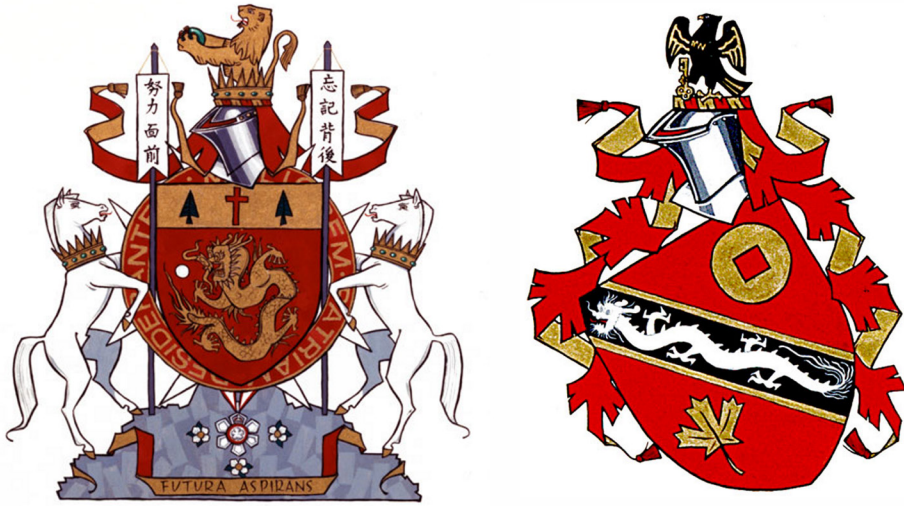


Figure 7, left: 7a: arms of David See-Chai Lam; right, 7b: arms of Derwin James Kah Wai Mak. Both by gracious permission of the Canadian Heraldic Authority.

claws, and the remainder have four.<sup>28</sup> In general the College of Arms has avoided using five claws, this being a sign of imperial authority, while adhering to a customary approach of refraining from explicitly describing the number of claws in a Chinese dragon. This effectively means that it becomes a matter for the herald painter's discretion.

### Canadian Heraldic Authority Grants

Canada has a tradition of embracing emblems from other cultures, and the Chinese dragon is to be found in the *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Badges of Canada* in all the main heraldic contexts, as a charge, a crest, a supporter, and as a badge.<sup>29</sup> It has been confirmed to the author by Alix Chartrand, Saguenay Herald, that as with the College of Arms there exists no official position on the number of claws the Chinese dragon can have.

The earliest entry alluding to a Chinese dragon in the *Public Register* is that of the Honourable David See-Chai Lam, 25th Governor of British Columbia, dated August 28, 1989 (**Figure 7a**). His shield is blazoned as follows: *Gules a Chinese dragon or reaching for a pearl argent on a chief or a Latin cross gules between two pine trees vert*. No mention is made of the Chinese dragon's attitude nor the number of its claws, although the dragon depicted in the letters patent possesses five claws, in a possible reference to the vice-regal office of the armiger.

<sup>28</sup> Those with four claws are Geoff Kingman-Sugars (March 25, 1981, and also Bureau of Heraldry (South Africa), certificate 3442, July 30, 2004); Jonathan Frederick Moon (29 April 2019, Grants 182/77); Baron West of Spithead (demi-dragon crest); and Nicholas Marnit Schaerf (5 February 2021, Grants 183/146). The example with three claws is to John Terry (12 November 2019, Grants 182/200). The author is grateful to Rouge Croix Pursuivant for these examples.

<sup>29</sup> The Register may be seen online at [www.gg.ca/en/heraldry/public-register](http://www.gg.ca/en/heraldry/public-register).

## THE COAT OF ARMS

| The Chinese Dragon in Canadian Heraldry |                                            |                          |                               |                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Armiger                                 | Device Type                                | Number of Claws Depicted | Attitude                      | Notes on Blazon                                                                       |
| David See-chai Lam<br>1989              | Charge                                     | 5                        | Reaching for an object        | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Derwin James Kah Wai Mak<br>1990        | Charge                                     | 3                        | Passant                       | Blazon mentions the number of claws                                                   |
| Fung Fai Lam<br>1998                    | Charge                                     | 3                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon mentions the number of claws and legs                                          |
| Royal Roads University<br>1998          | Supporter                                  | 4                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Kwantlen Polytechnic University<br>1999 | Charge                                     | 3                        | Rampant <u>respectant</u> all | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Neville George Poy<br>2004              | Crest                                      | 4                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Norman Lim Kwong<br>2007                | Upper half of the supporters (Lim dragons) | 4                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| John Francis Archibald Pyke<br>2010     | Crest and badge                            | 4                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Wong's Benevolent Association<br>2011   | Charge                                     | 4                        | Naiant                        | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |
| Jonathan Morissette<br>2014             | Charge and badge                           | 4                        | (Not blazoned)                | Blazon does not mention the number of claws or the dragon type (Western vs. Chinese). |
| Brandt Channing Louie<br>2022           | Charge and badge                           | 3                        | Combatant (rampant)           | Blazon does not mention the number of claws                                           |

*Table 1: grants of Chinese dragons made by the Canadian Heraldic Authority.*

Of subsequent grants, only two have specified the number of claws, in both cases with respect to three-clawed dragons. The first of these was a grant dated March 20, 1990 (**Figure 7b**) to chartered accountant and author, Mr. Derwin James Kah Wai Mak, whose shield was blazoned: *Gules on a bend sable fimbriated or between in chief a bezant pierced square and in base a maple leaf or a three-clawed Chinese dragon passant argent langued gules*. The grantee recalls the specificity of this matter on his website: “The Chief Herald of Canada did not let my imperial pretensions get too far... [he] explicitly blazoned the dragon to have three claws (that is, three toes per paw).”

## CHINESE DRAGONS

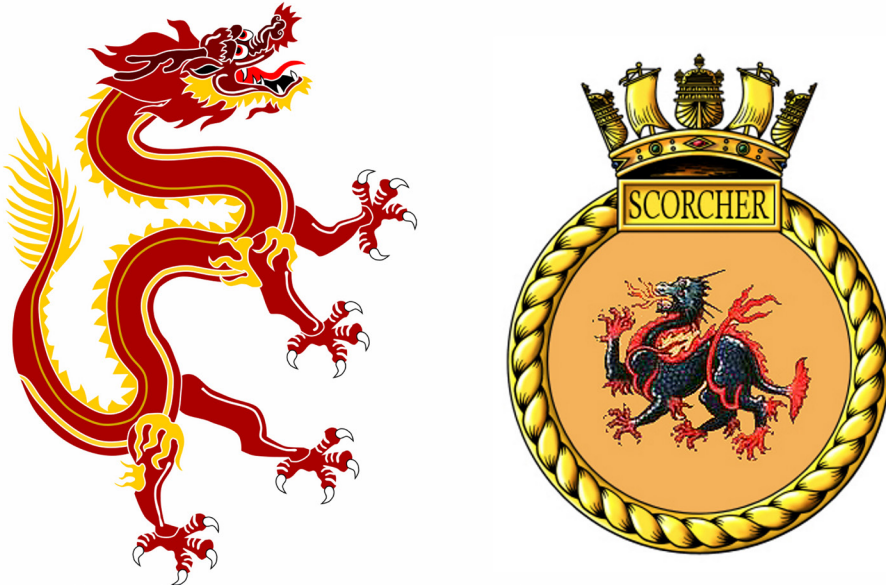


Figure 8, left, 8a: Dragon rampant from the Chinese Dragon Banner, source: Wikimedia Commons; right, 8b: the badge of H.M.S./M Scorchers with dragon passant ©Royal Navy Research Archive.

The second three-clawed grant was made eight years later, on March 9, 1998, to Mr Fung Fai Lam, with differenced versions to Sann Grace Lam and Kakay Lam. The shield was blazoned: *Gules a four-legged Chinese dragon, each leg with three claws grasping between the foreclaws a film sprocket or pierced of the field charged with a television picture tube or*. On no subsequent grants were the number of claws (drawn as either three or four) specified in the blazon, as detailed on **Table 1**.

### A Proposal for the harmonization of the number of claws

In the grants that we have seen there has been a lack of consistency in the number of dragon claws specified. The number of claws officially granted ought to accurately reflect the status of the armiger, and might subsequently be modified to reflect any change of status.

#### Five Claws

Just as the five-clawed dragon was reserved for the imperial court in China, it would be fitting for the highest echelons of societal hierarchy to bear this charge. It should thus appertain to royal families, to high-ranking representatives of the Crown: Regents, Counsellors of State, Governors-General, Lieutenant Governors, Lord Lieutenants; and by extension, to bodies corporate established under a Royal Charter.

#### Four Claws

Although the usage of the four-clawed dragon almost disappeared in the later Chinese imperial court, the legal basis which designated who should wear the *mǎng* dragon remained in force. It should appertain to high-ranking armigers not directly representing



## THE COAT OF ARMS



Figure 9, left, 9a: arms of Wong's Benevolent Association, by gracious permission of the Canadian Heraldic Authority; right, 9b: bronze lion sejant of the Jīn Dynasty (1115-1235) in the Saint Louis Art Museum, source: Wikimedia Commons.

the crown, where deemed appropriate by the competent heraldic authority. This group would include those with noble descents, knights or dames of officially recognised orders of chivalry; members of the Cabinet/ Privy Council; ambassadors; and judges.

### Three Claws

A three-clawed dragon, accessible and widespread in its Chinese representation, would be ideal for the broader base of armigers, denoting their honour without the specific distinctions of royalty, peerage, or other high rank in society.

### A Proposed scheme for the blazoning of the Chinese Dragon

Certain positions of the Chinese dragon have equivalence to those of the Western heraldic dragon, but since the Chinese variety is so long and sinuous it can adopt attitudes which are unique to itself, and it would be helpful to have recognised blazons for these. A possible scheme is proposed below, beginning with the terms which are already in existence.

#### Chinese dragon rampant (Figure 8a)

This has been the attitude generally employed when the dragon is used as a supporter, and should probably be regarded as the default representation wherever the attitude has not been specified in the blazon.

#### Chinese dragon passant (Figure 2)

Being a water creature the Chinese dragon is as likely to be swimming as it is to be walking (passant), but the two attitudes are almost interchangeable in the context of a heraldic depiction. It is proposed that a Chinese dragon passant should be depicted in a way that conveys the idea of walking with the dexter paw raised, similar to that of a lion or a talbot passant. A Chinese dragon passant occurs in British naval heraldry as the H.M.S./M Scorchers's heraldic insignia (Figure 8b).

## CHINESE DRAGONS



Figure 10, top left, 10a: Dragon globular on the banner of Neil Thompson, source, Chinese-armorial.com. The remaining images are from the Nine Dragons Screen in front of the Palace of Tranquil Longevity in Beijing, source: Wikimedia Commons. Top right, 10b: *dragon à la cour*; bottom left, 10c: *dragon à la cour atteindre queue inferieure*; bottom right, 10d: *dragon à la cour atteindre queue superieure*.

### Chinese dragon naiant

This blazon is found on the Canadian grant to Wong's Benevolent Association (**Figure 9a**) in which the swimming dragon can be seen to be embowed. There would be no distinction between a dragon naiant and volant given the nature of its movement in both air and water.

### Chinese dragon sejant

A suitable model for a sitting dragon would be the Jīn Dynasty bronze shown in **Figure 9b**.

### Chinese dragon globular

This blazon was introduced by Michael O'Comain, the Irish Herald of Arms in 2018 for the arms of Neil Thomson (**Figure 10a** <sup>30</sup>) to describe a Chinese dragon passant whose body is embowed almost in a circular shape.

<sup>30</sup> Office of the Chief Herald of Ireland, July 17, 2018. Volume Aa Folio 91.



*Figure 11, dragons descending from Heaven, left, 7a: a bronze of the Tang dynasty; right, 11b: a nineteenth century wood block engraving, both from Wikimedia Commons.*

### **Chinese dragon à la cour**

This is how the dragon is most commonly depicted in Chinese imperial artwork i.e. ‘in the court’, notably on the front of the court robe (**Figure 10b**). The head is affronté, the limbs splayed, and the body curved into a reversed C-shape, either circling a (flaming) pearl or not. The tail and its tip are somewhere in the dexter flank of the shield.

### **Chinese dragon à la cour atteindre**

Variations of the standard imperial court dragon have the monster facing to sinister or dexter and reaching (atteindre) for a pearl. There are two sub-variants of these, queue supérieure (tail uppermost) and queue inférieure (tail lowermost) as seen in **Figure 10 c and d**. The latter posture is seen on the shield of David See-Chai Lam (**Figure 7a**).

### **Chinese dragon cadent**

Another common depiction of the Chinese dragon in traditional artwork is that of the animal descending (cadent means falling) from Heaven. Examples are provided in **Figure** of an ancient bronze example, and of a nineteenth century engraving.

### **Chinese dragon glissant**

The dragon gliding in the manner of a snake would be an appropriate description when the monster is compressed in fess, in bend or in pale, as in the arms of Derwin James Kah Wai Mak (**Figure 7b**).



### Metals, tinctures and the Chinese dragon

Usually, Canadian heraldry depicts the Chinese dragon in Or, while British heraldry also makes use of azure and gules, or of multiple tinctures. In Chinese thought, as at the imperial court, there are five cardinal colours of Chinese dragons based on the Five Elements of Earth (Or), Fire (gules), Wood (azure/vert<sup>31</sup>), Metal (argent) and Water (sable), in accordance with the principles of Yin and Yang. There are also links with the seasons, and with particular emotions which are complex and beyond the scope of this paper. Some of the associations of the five colours of dragons are as follows:<sup>32</sup>

1. The Azure Dragon, also known as the Blue-Green Dragon (青龍-*Qīnglóng*) or Green Dragon (蒼龍-*Cānglóng*), is revered as the deity representing the eastern direction and symbolising the essence of spring. This dragon is perhaps one of the most revered dragons, as it is part of the Four Auspicious Beasts (四象-*Sìxiàng*), along with the north's Black Tortoise, the south's Vermillion Bird, and the west's White Tiger. The Four Auspicious Beasts are mentioned as heraldic animals on war flags in the Book of Rites (禮記-*Lǐjì*), a collection of texts describing the social forms, administration, and ceremonial rites of the *Zhōu* Dynasty. The Azure dragon was the national heraldic animal featured in the national flag (1889-1912) during the *Qīng* Dynasty and was later integrated as one of the symbols featuring the Twelve Symbols national emblem (Figure 12) that represented the Republic of China and the Empire of China from 1913 to 1928.
2. The Red Dragon, also known as *Chilóng* (赤龍) or *Zhūlóng* (朱龍) in Chinese, is associated with the southern region and is regarded as the embodiment of the summer season. Emperors of the *Míng* Dynasty favoured the red dragon as their heraldic device.<sup>33</sup>
3. The White Dragon, known as *Báilóng* (白龍) in Chinese, represents the western direction and symbolises the spirit of autumn.
4. The Yellow Dragon, known as *Huánglóng* (黃龍) in Chinese, stands for both earth and the centre of all things. Emperors of the *Qīng* Dynasty favoured the yellow, or golden, dragon as their heraldic device.
5. The Black Dragon, known as *Hēilóng* (黑龍) in Chinese, is linked to the northern region and symbolises the essence of winter.

<sup>31</sup> Blue and green share the same symbolism since the first is often considered, in China, as a shade of the latter.

<sup>32</sup> K.S.Tom, *Echoes from old China: Life, legends, and lore of the middle kingdom* (Honolulu, 1989), p. 55.

<sup>33</sup> L. N. Hayes, *The Chinese Dragon* (Shanghai, 1922), p. 51.

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*Figure 12: The Twelve Symbols national emblem which depicts the Azure dragon and the pheasant-phoenix. Source: Wikimedia Commons.*

### Conclusion

In the context of medieval European origins, we find the dragon in British heraldry as emblematic of authority, courage, and safeguarding, and also as a formidable opponent to be vanquished. The Chinese dragon is associated with a whole realm of quite different cultural meanings which must be explored sensitively in order to avoid conveying unwanted messages; but notwithstanding, its addition to the heraldic milieu opens up exciting opportunities.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The author would like to acknowledge the input and guidance of Dr Paul Fox in the writing of this paper.

# INVESTIGATING MEDIEVAL AMPULLAE

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

## Abstract

*The origins of certain ampullae purchased by pilgrims from religious sites have been shrouded in mystery, even though they may be decorated with coats of arms. Confusion has arisen between generic ampullae decorated with pseudo-heraldry, and ampullae which are marked with debased or incomplete versions of the arms of a particular monastery. A further problem is that many monastic arms went unrecorded, or existed in a previous form which was never recorded. Some archaeologists have tended to assume that the heraldry on them is bogus, but this paper will demonstrate that identifications can be made.*

## Introduction

The ampulla was a small container, originally made of tin, and later, primarily of lead, used to preserve holy water, holy blood or holy oil taken from sites of religious pilgrimage. The practice was popularised in Canterbury within a few years of the canonisation of Thomas Becket (d. 1170) in 1173. Gerald of Wales observed the wearing of these ampullae around the neck as early as 1179.<sup>1</sup> Small remnants of the saint's blood were mixed with large amounts of water, the consumption of which might lead to miraculous cures. From very early on the ampullae took the form of scallop shells, an idea copied from the shells given to pilgrims who visited the shrine of St James at Compostella in Spain. The shell, or heraldic escallop, was on its way to becoming a universal emblem of pilgrimage. The rather basic scallop shell was abandoned at Canterbury early in the thirteenth century in favour of ampullae with increasingly elaborate representations of St Thomas and his life. Ampullae were the only kind of pilgrim souvenirs available in the thirteenth century, and most surviving examples from that century are from Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> The scallop shell went on to be much used as a design for ampullae produced for other English sites of pilgrimage, most particularly at the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk.

## Pseudo-heraldry

The earliest heraldic ampulla known to the author originated from Canterbury, and was found at the site of Vintry House in the city of London.<sup>3</sup> This fretwork piece carries three shields on each face placed back-to-back. The larger of the three shields sits on each face below the actual ampulla (or container), the container having a depiction of the saint. On one face the large shield has the three chevrons which would have been so well known to contemporaries as the arms of Clare, whilst on the other is quarterly plain and patterned, a bendlet overall, almost certainly for Despenser. Since the families of Clare and Despenser were allied in 1306 with the marriage of Eleanor de Clare and Hugh le Despenser the younger, the back-to-back shields might allude to the marriage. If so, the

<sup>1</sup> J.S. Brewer (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 1 (London, 1861), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges – Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London, 1998), pp. 204-5; Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim and Secular Badges* (London, 1986), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer 1998, op. cit., pp. 58-9, fig. 17.



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*Figure 1: The London Blackfriars barge T-shaped ampulla, of the generic type Museum of London 93. 215/2 ©Museum of London.*



Figure 2: another generic T-shaped generic ampulla, PAS LIN-C1EB16, dimensions 46x39x8mm.

ampulla would date between 1306 and 1326, when Despenser suffered a traitor's death. What make this object particularly interesting is that the four smaller shields (two on each face of the container, again back-to-back) are entirely generic space fillers: a saltire, a chevron, two bends, and gyronny of four. The object then, was not commissioned by the nobility, but was created for the pilgrim market at a time when the two families concerned were prominent in English life. This usage of both heraldry and pseudo-heraldry as an aid to marketing persisted until the Reformation ended the trade in holy relics.

The next datable ampulla (**Figure 1**) from c. 1400, provides another example of pseudo-heraldry. Its inverted T-shape (or 'heater' shape) allowed it to accommodate three shields on each side, all of them bogus. It was found in the river Thames near Blackfriars during the excavation of a medieval barge.<sup>4</sup> This generic holy water container was likely devised in this manner so that it could be sold to a variety of different religious foundations, who might fill it and then sell it on to visitors. A similar example was found at Somerby in Lincolnshire.<sup>5</sup> Its six shields look rather more plausible as the sort of arms that a monastery might bear, and indeed the arms to the right in the left hand picture (**Figure 2**) are likely to be the authentic arms of a priory, as will shortly be discussed; while two religious foundations are known to have used the cinquefoil (as seen at the centre of the other face) as the main feature of their arms. These are St Mary de Pré in Leicester (*a cinquefoil ermine*) and Gerondon Abbey in the same county. Here once again there is a mixture of genuine and bogus heraldry.

<sup>4</sup> Museum of London 93. 215/2, see Spencer 1998, op. cit. no. 214d, pp. 205-6.

<sup>5</sup> PAS LIN-C1EB16

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Figure 3: ampulla perhaps from Anglesey Priory, top: PAS DUR-694C08, below: PAS LVPL-822AD8. Dimensions 57x51x10mm.

### The arms of Anglesey Priory?

The final example of an ampulla of this type which will be cited bears rather unusual looking arms of *A bend with in base a demi-bend sinister and an annulet, and in chief a canton sinister* (**Figure 3**).<sup>6</sup> This is close enough to the crudely executed shield on the previous example to suggest a commonality. The shield placed in the central position is surmounted with a crown, indicating that the abbey was dedicated to the Queen of

<sup>6</sup> PAS DUR-694C08 found Burneside, Cumbria and PAS LVPL-822AD8 found Marbury, Cheshire.



Heaven, the Blessed Virgin Mary. The adjacent arms are probably *Three bends sinister* to the left and *A chief* to the right: these might be generic; although the left shield is somewhat eroded, and might originally have been three chevrons. On the other side are the priory's initials A.P., with its arms repeated to the right, as can be seen on a second example of the ampulla which has this face better preserved.<sup>7</sup> The arms on the other side of the initials comprise a plain cross. The findspots for the two vessels are unhelpful: Burneside in Cumbria and Marbury in Cheshire, with no priory holding the requisite initials having existed in the north-west. The only plausible candidate would appear to be Anglesey Priory near Cambridge, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The priory having enjoyed the patronage of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare, Dugdale recorded from its ruins the Clare arms *Or three chevrons gules* impaling those of de Burgh, *Or a cross gules*.<sup>8</sup> It is to be wondered whether the intention of the inverted Y-shape form by the arms was to imply the letter A. Anglesey Priory was not a major centre of pilgrimage, but it did have some powerful supporters, its patron in the mid-fifteenth century being Richard, duke of York, who was also patron of Walsingham Priory.<sup>9</sup>

### The various arms of Walsingham Priory

Walsingham Priory was second only to Canterbury as a centre of pilgrimage, and it is not therefore surprising that a very large number of ampullae have been found from all over the country bearing its characteristic markers of the letter W and the crown.<sup>10</sup> Relatively few have been heraldic. Walsingham was the quintessential Marian site in England, being one of the key places where the Blessed Virgin is believed to have appeared. The primary arms used were *Argent on a cross sable five lilies argent*, the lilies sometimes rendered as billets.<sup>11</sup> A feature of ampullae in general is the somewhat cursory rendition of arms, so that on the two Walsingham ampullae illustrated here (**Figure 4**) the crosses are plain. The upper example illustrated, which has another crown on the reverse (a common feature of many Walsingham ampullae) is very fine.<sup>12</sup> Above the priory arms is the letter W which stands both for Walsingham and for Maria, depending on which way round it is read. It is composed of two interlocked Vs which also stand for *Virgo Virginium* (Virgin of Virgins). Above the letter W, around the neck of the vessel are the lilies of purity, an attribute the Blessed Virgin. Above the crown on the other face the decorative border matches the upper part of the Holy House at Walsingham as it is seen on pilgrim badges.<sup>13</sup> The second heraldic example is much more basic, with the Virgin's crown placed above the arms.<sup>14</sup>

Monasteries sometimes changed their arms with the passage of time. Being under the authority of the Church they required no permission to do so, excepting if they wanted to use the royal arms. Different priors and abbots with an interest in heraldry might have their own ideas. Walsingham has another shield type associated with it on

<sup>7</sup> PAS LVPL-822AD8 found Marbury, Cheshire, 57x51x11mm.

<sup>8</sup> Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817-31), vol. 6, pp. 394-5.

<sup>9</sup> VCH Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, vol. 2, pp. 229-34.

<sup>10</sup> Brian Spencer and Nicholas Griffiths, *Salisbury Museum medieval catalogue. Part 2, Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges* (Salisbury, 1990), nos 180-184, pp. 60-62, 89-90; Mitchiner, op. cit., pp. 138-141.

<sup>11</sup> John Goodall 'Arms of religious corporations', in Steven Ashley (ed.), *At the roots of heraldry: collected papers of John Archibald Goodall*, Harl. Soc, N.S. vol. 21 (2018), p. 132.

<sup>12</sup> PAS BUC-386E55 found Slapton, Bucks

<sup>13</sup> Mitchiner, op. cit., p.101.

<sup>14</sup> PAS WMID-89AAA2 found Rugby, Warwicks 54x34x7mm.

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*Figure 4: ampullae of Walsingham Priory, Norfolk. Top, PAS BUC-386E55; below, PAS WMID-89AAA2.*

## HERALDIC AMPULLAE



Figure 5, the second shield type of Walsingham Priory as found on ampullae, left, PAS SWYOR-E92C12 dimensions 40x30x8.4mm; right, PAS PUBLIC-F47330 dimensions 23x30x7mm.

ampullae (**Figure 5**).<sup>15</sup> Here is *A fess, on a chief the letter M between two lilies*. Below the fess is unspecified hatching. If, as seems likely, this shield was used within the priory it might well have included additional elements. The shield is once again surmounted by the Virgin's crown, with another crown decorating the reverse.

From the above examples it must be concluded that Brian Spencer was overstating the case when, in commenting on an ampulla charged with a shield bearing a simple cross, he opined "it is unlikely that basic shields-of-arms such as the cross ... could have any true significance."<sup>16</sup> If an ampulla charged with an apparently basic shield can be matched with another that provides more information, then a provenance might be determined. In any event certain major institutions bore plain unadorned crosses for their arms, including Norwich Cathedral Priory, St George's chapel Windsor and St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, whilst various others (including Canterbury Cathedral) had plain cross bearing charges which might be missed off a design. For ampullae carrying shields with plain bends we need to consider whether there might have been a charge on the bend which has not been depicted, as would be the case, for instance, with Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire (*Or on a bend azure three ram's heads argent*).

<sup>15</sup> PAS SWYOR-E92C12 found Harrogate North Yorkshire and PAS PUBLIC-F47330 found Winterbourne Whitechurch, Dorset; for a better example see Mitchener 1986 p.141, no.402.

<sup>16</sup> Spencer 1990, commenting on fig.170 pp. 59, 85.



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Figure 6, a series of ampullae identified by the author as being of Kyme Priory; top left 6a: PAS SWYOR-BA44D1 found Selby, Yorkshire 44x31x11mm; top right, 6b: PAS NMS-9349E5 found Watlington, Norfolk 45x31x8mm; bottom left, 6c: PAS LIN-13E791 found Nettleton, Lincolnshire; bottom right, 6d: PAS LINC5FADF found Hogsthorpe, Lincolnshire 44x31mm.

### Kyme Priory

Metal detectorists have been repeatedly turning up in recent years a type of heraldic ampulla charged with a chevron (**Figure 6**) with a distribution centred on Lincolnshire. Detectorist Tom Redmayne has postulated that the source is a pilgrimage site within that county.<sup>17</sup> The occurrence of bogus heraldry on ampullae has become such an established fact that the reporting finds officers assumed that this must be another example. The heraldry is, however, quite distinctive: *A chevron and in base an estoile*. The estoile subsequently became stylised and so its origin as an estoile was obscured in these examples (**Figure 6c** and **d**). Other examples miss the estoile from the shield completely, as in **Figure 7** where it has been placed on the reverse side of the ampulla. But these arms are known from a thirteenth-century seal belonging to Philip de Kyme, son of Simon de Kyme of Lincolnshire.<sup>18</sup> Kyme Priory was a small Lincolnshire foundation under the

<sup>17</sup> As was noted in the finds report for PAS LIN-C5FADF.

<sup>18</sup> *BM Seals* no. 11140; *DBA* vol. 2, p. 279.



Figure 7: another Kyme Priory ampulla type, PAS WMID-E813DA found in Mickleton, Gloucestershire, dimensions 42x27x3mm.

patronage of the Kyme family, from which no arms were recorded by antiquarians, but there can be little doubt that its arms have been revealed by this series of ampullae, even though the tinctures remain lost.

### Bromholm Priory

There are two known versions of the arms of Bromholm Priory in Norfolk, one of which is *Argent a patriarchal cross sable fimbriated and in border or*.<sup>19</sup> The double-armed patriarchal cross was brought back from Constantinople in 1220, and it was understood that it contained part of the True Cross of Christ. The priory, with the additional attraction of its 'Holy Rood', soon afterwards became a popular centre of pilgrimage. The importance of this example is that on the known ampullae the primary element of the arms is not presented on a shield, perhaps because its usage as an emblem predated the heraldic usage. Such an ampulla was recently found in Norfolk (**Figure 8**). The decoration of the other side cannot be discerned, although previously published examples featured the Holy Rood on the reverse.<sup>20</sup> Two horse pendants with the patriarchal cross

<sup>19</sup> Goodall, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> The recently found ampulla PAS NMS-6458D3 is further discussed in Andrew Rogerson and Steven Ashley, 'A Bromholm Ampulla from Beeston St Andrew', *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Newsletter* Spring 2023, pp. 7-8. The published examples are Spencer 1998, *op. cit.*, nos 180, 180a, pp. 162-5.

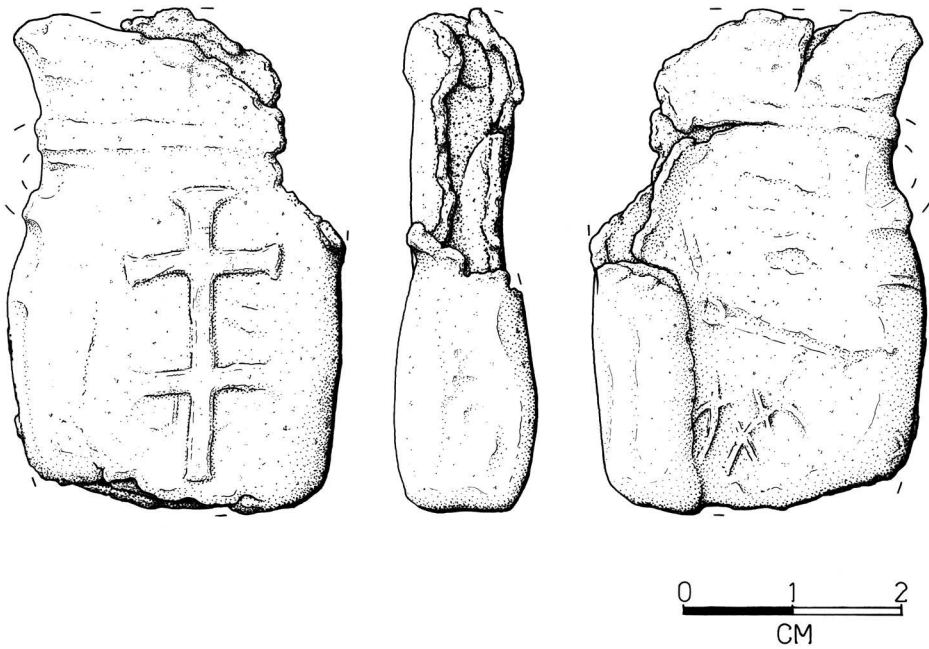


Figure 8: a Bromholm Priory ampulla with the patriarchal cross, found in Norfolk PAS NMS-6458D3.

have been found in the vicinity of the monastery.<sup>21</sup> In the fifteenth century the religious focus of the priory became the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and this largely replaced the cross on the ampullae.<sup>22</sup>

### Personal arms on ampullae

Brian Spencer, noting the presence of the distinctive arms of Mortimer, *Barry a chief paly the corners gyronny and over all an escutcheon*, on an ampulla in the collection of his museum in Salisbury, stated “this is one of the few instances where the arms on an ampulla are identifiable.”<sup>23</sup> He concluded that it might be a special commission from that noble family. Given the tendency to manufacture ampullae with somewhat imperfect versions of monastic arms, it seems more likely that these are the arms of Winchcombe Abbey in Gloucestershire, which bore the arms of Mortimer differenced with a cross crosslet fitchy on the escutcheon.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> One of these is PAS NMS-7EB4D5.

<sup>22</sup> Mitchinor, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-3.

<sup>23</sup> Spencer 1990, *op. cit.*, fig. 173, pp. 59, 86.

<sup>24</sup> Goodall, *op. cit.*, p. 136.





Figure 9: an ampulla of the personal type probably made for Sir Thomas Cooke (d. 1478), PAS YORYM-181F63, dimensions 59.5x34x11mm.

Only one case has been identified in which an ampulla is charged with the shield of a single individual rather than a monastery. The arms thereon appear to be *A chevron compony between three roses or cinquefoils*. This design (**Figure 9**) is only known to have been used by the Suffolk family of Cooke, from which one individual stands out. He was Sir Thomas Cooke (d. 1478), a fabulously wealthy London merchant who became mayor of that city in 1462<sup>25</sup>, and who bore *Or a chevron compony gules and azure between three cinquefoils azure*.<sup>26</sup> He was a native of Lavenham in Suffolk, which is not outlandishly far from South Cave in the East Riding of Yorkshire where the ampulla was found.<sup>27</sup> This example was most likely created as a means of granting personal largesse to those of modest means, or perhaps as a donative to some religious foundation.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Anne F. Sutton, 'London Mercers from Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* vol. 42 (2010) pp.162-185.

<sup>26</sup> Joan Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms*, Suffolk Record Society, vol. 7 (1965), p. 170. The same arms are ascribed to his descendants in *DBA*, vol. 2, p. 349.

<sup>27</sup> PAS YORYM-181F63 found South Cave in the former East Riding of Yorkshire.

<sup>28</sup> The author wishes to thank Steven Ashley for reviewing this paper and for providing the example of the recently discovered Bromholm ampulla.



# THE SIDNEYS OF PENSHURST

COLIN LAFFERTY-SMITH

## Abstract

*The distinctive arms and crests used by the Sidney family since the sixteenth century are considered, as well as the reasons why they may have been adopted. Examples of their usage over the last five centuries are presented.*

## Introduction

The Sidneys of Penhurst Place, sometime Earls of Leicester and of Romney, and later Barons and Viscounts De L'Isle and Dudley, rose to national prominence in the fifteenth century. Marriages to heiresses of the Brandon Dukes of Suffolk and the Dudley Dukes of Northumberland increased their position, titles, and heraldry. The male line died out in the 1700s but the Sidney name and titles were revived shortly thereafter through the female line. The family returned to the national and international stage in the form of the 1st Viscount De L'Isle V.C., K.G. (1909-1991). He was awarded the Victoria Cross for his defence of Anzio in 1944, and served as Governor General of Australia from 1961 to 1965.

## The Porcupine

Perhaps the first, and certainly one of the more eye-catching, displays of heraldry to greet a visitor to the gardens of Penshurst Place is a giant porcupine (**Figure 1**). The porcupine has been used as both a crest and a heraldic supporter by the Sidney family since the mid-1500s. The founder of the Sidney family fortunes was arguably Sir William Sidney (1482 – 1553).<sup>1</sup> He served Henry VIII with distinction, both as a naval commander, and at the Battle of Flodden against the Scots in 1513; he was then appointed as governor to the household of the infant Prince Edward.

The early court prominence of Sir William owed much to his family connections with the influential Brandons through his mother, Anne Brandon, who would later become a heraldic heiress and add many quarters to the Sidney arms. Sir William accompanied his kinsman Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1484-1545) to France when Princess Mary, King Henry VIII's sister, travelled to marry Louis XII of France. Unfortunately Louis died shortly after the marriage and, controversially, Princess Mary then married Brandon in secret.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Like many families, the same first names have been used by many generations. References in this article to Sir William Sidney are to this individual unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> This was Brandon's third of a series of rather grand marriages. His first was to Margaret Neville, widow of Sir John Mortimer and daughter of John Neville, 1st Marquess of Montagu. His second was to Anne Browne the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne (and step-daughter of Margaret Neville's sister). Between his wedding Anne and Princess Mary, he contracted to marry Elizabeth Grey, 5th Baroness Lisle (1505–1519), and was thus created 1st Viscount Lisle of the third creation in 1513, but the contract was annulled and he surrendered the title. Two months after Princess Mary's death in 1533, Brandon married Katherine Willoughby, 12th Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, the daughter and heiress of William Willoughby, 11th Baron Willoughby de Eresby.



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*Figure 1: Porcupine sculpture at Penshurst Place. All images are by the author unless otherwise stated.*

The Sidney family believe it was following this eventful trip that Sir William adopted the porcupine – one of King Louis XII's personal emblems – as the family crest.<sup>3</sup> Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) had inherited the porcupine symbol from his grandfather Louis I, Duke of Orleans (1372 – 1407) who instituted The Order of the Porcupine in 1393 to commemorate the baptism of his eldest son, and Louis XII's father, Charles. Louis of Orleans chose the porcupine “*to intimate something of revenge against John Duke of Burgundy, his mortal Enemy, no less than self-defence, against all his designs and assaults, of which this Animal is a proper Emblem.*”<sup>4</sup>

The porcupine was known to the Romans as an import from north Africa, which since that time has become established in Italy and other parts of Europe. Pliny described it as a type of hedgehog, but with longer quills.<sup>5</sup> Topsell, writing in 1658 (based largely on a translation of a sixteenth-century book on natural history by Conrad Gesner) stated that porcupines were being bred in Africa and India to be sold in Europe as a curiosity.<sup>6</sup> Their quills, he noted, are extremely sharp, and when the animal is attacked these are sometimes cast off with such violence that they become impaled on trees, or in the flesh of men or dogs who hunt them. He noted that “*the pilgrims that come yearly from Saint James of Compostella in Spain do bring back generally one of their quills in their caps, but for what cause I know not*” It has been argued that “the bellicose role of the porcupine within royal propaganda became increasingly less adequate to the image of a ‘père du peuple’ that Louis XII adopted in 1506”.<sup>7</sup> So it appears that the porcupine emblem was adopted by the Sidneys around the same time as it was falling out of favour in France.

But when exactly did the Sidneys start using the porcupine? Sadly, no crests appear on the tomb of Sir William Sidney in the Sidney Chapel at St John the Baptist Church, Penshurst (Penshurst Church). The porcupine crest does appear on the monuments of two of Sir William's children. These are: Sir Henry Sidney K.G. (1529 –1586) who served Queen Elizabeth as Lord President of Wales and Lord Deputy in Ireland, in the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Little Walsingham, Norfolk (**Figure 2a**); and Frances Sidney (1531 – 1589, Countess of Sussex and the founder of Sidney Sussex College Cambridge), in the Chapel of St Paul at Westminster Abbey (**Figure 2b**). As such, the porcupine crest was clearly in use by the 1580s. It was, however, also used earlier. The earliest reference to the use of the porcupine crest by the Sidneys that I have found is a reference to the funeral of Sir William in the *London Provisioner's Chronicle* by Henry Machyn.<sup>8</sup> Machyn has been assumed to have been a merchant who rented or sold trappings for English funeral processions in the mid-sixteenth century. His entry for 24 February 1553 reads:

“The twenty-fourth day of February was buried Sir William Sidney, knight, in the county of Kent at his place, called Penshurst, with two heralds of arms, with his standard and his banner of arms and his coat of arms and four banderoles of armours, and his target and mantle and helmet and *the crest a blue porcupine* and

<sup>3</sup> Margaret P Hannay, Michael G Brennan and Mary Ellen Lamb (edd.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to The Sidneys, 1500–1700 Volume 1: Lives* (Abingdon, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Elias Ashmole, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672).

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 8.53.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, 2 vols (London, 1658), vol. 1, p. 457

<sup>7</sup> Nicole Hochner, ‘Louis XII and the Porcupine: Transformations of a Royal Emblem’, *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2001), pp. 17–36.

<sup>8</sup> Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore (edd.), Henry Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563*, online at: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>.





Figure 2, left, 2a: a quill-less porcupine from the tomb of Sir Henry Sidney K.G. (1529 –1586) at Little Walsingham, Norfolk, Wikimedia Commons; right, 2b: porcupine from the monument to Frances Sidney (1531 – 1589), Countess of Sussex at Westminster Abbey, photograph by the author.

seven dozen and a half escutcheons.”

This was not to be the last heraldic funeral in the Sidney family: Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral procession in 1587 - one of the most elaborate ever staged - was captured in Lant’s Roll, named after draftsman and herald Thomas Lant. It was engraved in 1587 and consists of 31 oblong plates; putting the plates in sequence would create a 10 metre long roll. A fully digitalised version is available at the Bodleian website (**Figure 3**) and Kuin has written a summary of the heraldry.<sup>9</sup> Some 500 years later, the porcupine continues to be used both by the Sidneys – the café at Penshurst is called the Porcupine Pantry – and as the mascot of Sidney Sussex College.

### The Pheon and the Broad Arrow

The base of the porcupine statue in figure 1 alludes to the shield of the Sidneys, *Or a pheon azure*. Following analysis of various deeds and seals at Penshurst, Kingsford<sup>10</sup> asserted that the first datable use of the pheon by a Sidney is on the seal of a deed of 1451. His conjecture is that since the heads of the family for over fifty years were called William, it is possible that the long use of a seal with a capital W may have been the origin of the almost W-shaped pheon.

At various points in time, a similar image – commonly referred to as a ‘broad arrow’

<sup>9</sup> Roger Kuin, ‘Hieroglyphics of nobility: the banners in Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral procession’, the Sidney Journal, vol. 33.2 (2015).

<sup>10</sup> C. L. Kingsford ‘On some ancient Deeds and Seals belonging to Lord De L’Isle and Dudley’, *Archaeologia*, vol. 65 (1914) , pp. 251 - 268.



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Figure 3: the 1587 funeral of Sir Philip Sidney as drawn by Thomas Lant, Christ Church, University of Oxford, Aldrich 1.1.

– has been used as a logo to mark government property. Fox-Davies stated that this use “originated in the fact that one of the Sydney family, when Master of the Ordnance, to prevent disputes as to the stores for which he was responsible, marked everything with his private badge of the broad arrow, and this private badge has since remained in constant use.”<sup>11</sup>

It is true that Henry Sidney, 1st Earl of Romney (1641-1704), son of Robert Sydney, 2nd Earl of Leicester and Lady Dorothy Percy, was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1693 to 1702, after playing a leading role in ensuring the succession of the Dutch House of Orange to the English throne in 1689. Sadly, however, the story about the broad arrow deriving from the Sidney arms / badge does not appear to be true. The use of the broad arrow to signify royal or government connections appears to go back beyond Lord Romney. Examples include: 1, a reference from 1386 to barrels marked with an “Arrowhede” to indicate that they were for the King’s household; 2, correspondence from Sir Thomas Gresham in 1553/4 referring to royal ammunition marked with the “brod arrow”; and 3, an ordinance of Charles I establishing a crown mark in 1627.<sup>12</sup>

Given the confusion about its origins, perhaps Fox-Davies was right when he suggested that “the officers of His Majesty ... should represent to the Government that the pheon is not a Crown mark, and that some recognised Royal badge should be used in its place, or else they should place its status upon a definite footing.”

<sup>11</sup> Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry* (1904).

<sup>12</sup> O. F. G. Hogg, ‘The Broad Arrow: Origin and Use of the Ordnance Mark of Serviceability’, *Army Ordnance*, vol. 14, no. 81 (1933), pp. 161–63.

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*Figure 4: the bear and ragged staff crest with the ragged staff motif incorporated into a building, both at Kenilworth Castle.*

### **The bear and ragged staff crest**

As well as the distinctive porcupine, the Sidneys have used the bear and ragged staff normally associated with the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick as a crest (**Figure 4**). The Sidneys adopted this crest because the Dudleys had done so before them. Prior to being raised to the Dukedom of Northumberland in 1551, John Dudley (then Viscount Lisle) had been made Earl of Warwick in 1547. The titles of the viscountcy and earldom reflect the Dudleys' illustrious maternal ancestors. John Dudley was descended from Richard Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick via Richard's eldest daughter Margaret Beauchamp. Margaret was co-heiress to the Barony of Lisle which had been created by writ for her great-great-grandfather Gerard de Lisle (d.1360) in 1357.<sup>13</sup>

The Lisle title passed through Margaret's eldest son John Talbot, who became 1st Viscount and 1st Baron Lisle (1423–1453). The Viscount's daughter and heiress – Elizabeth had a daughter, also Elizabeth (6th Baroness Lisle in her own right) who married John Dudley's father Edmund.

<sup>13</sup> GEC, vol. 8, pp. 50-51.



Figure 5, left, 5a: crest of Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester, K.G. at Penshurst Church; right, 5b: silverware of Philip Sidney, 2nd Baron De L'Isle and Dudley.

On 12 March 1542, King Henry VIII ennobled John Dudley, as Viscount Lisle ‘in right of his mother.’ It is said that upon being appointed Earl of Warwick, John Dudley started using the ragged bear and staff as an emblem. I have not yet been able to find evidence of this, and he has no monumental tomb as a consequence of his trial and execution in 1553. There is, however, plenty of evidence of its use by John’s sons, including John 2nd Earl of Warwick, Ambrose 3rd Earl of Warwick and Robert 1st Earl of Leicester. This family has spectacular tombs in the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary’s church Warwick (**Figure 6**). The Sidneys were particularly proud of their Dudley lineage. In his *Defence of the Earl of Leicester* Sir Philip Sidney said:

“I am a Dudley in blood, that duke’s daughter’s son, and do acknowledge, though in all truth, I may justly affirm, that I am, by my father’s side, of ancient, and always well-esteemed and well-matched gentry, yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my chiefest honour is to be a Dudley, and truly am glad to have cause to set forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended...”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Philip Sidney, ‘A Discourse in Defence of the Earl of Leicester, 1584’, *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Knight*, ed. by William Gray (Boston, 1860), pp. 305-323.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



*Figure 6: tomb of Ambrose Dudley, K.G. in the Beauchamp Chapel of St Mary's Church Warwick.*



Figure 7: the monument to Ambrosia Sidney in St Lawrence's church Ludlow.

The bear and ragged staff emblem has been frequently used by the Sidneys including:

- as a crest, encircled by the Garter, in the stained-glass window memorialising Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester, K.G., in Penshurst Church (**Figure 5a**),
- as a supporter of the arms of Sir Henry Sidney on the elaborate monument in St Lawrence's church Ludlow (**Figure 7**) to Sir Henry's daughter (and Robert's sister) Ambrosia Sidney, who died aged 9. The monument includes two examples of the Sidney's eight quartered arms, as well as the arms of her uncle and godfather Ambrose Dudley, 3rd Earl of Warwick, from whom she derived her name.
- on silverware of Philip Sidney, 2nd Baron De L'Isle and Dudley on display in the kitchens of Penshurst Place (**Figure 5b**).



## THE COAT OF ARMS

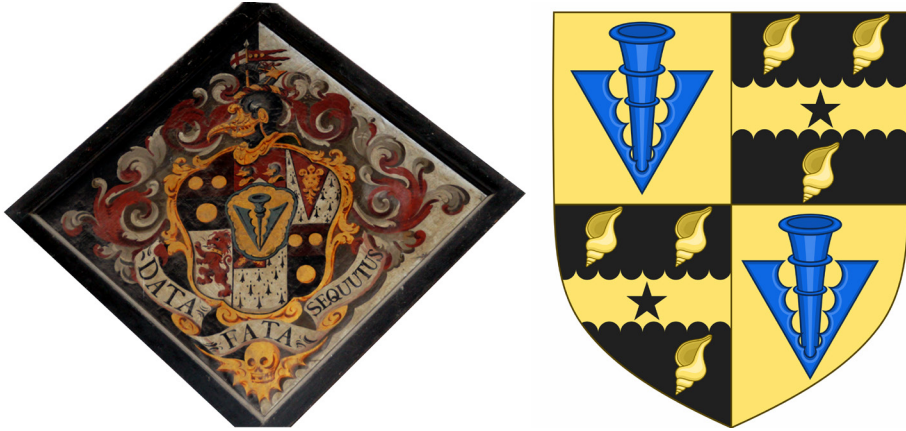


Figure 8, left, 8a: hatchment for Henry Streatfeild (d. 1762) in St Mary the Virgin Chiddingstone Kent. He married Anne Sidney, natural daughter of Jocelyne, 7th Earl of Leicester. Note the bordure engrailed in the Sydney arms; presumably representing her illegitimacy; right, 8b: The coat of arms of Sir John Shelley-Sidney, 1st Baronet by MostEpic on Wikimedia Commons.

### The end of the original Sidneys

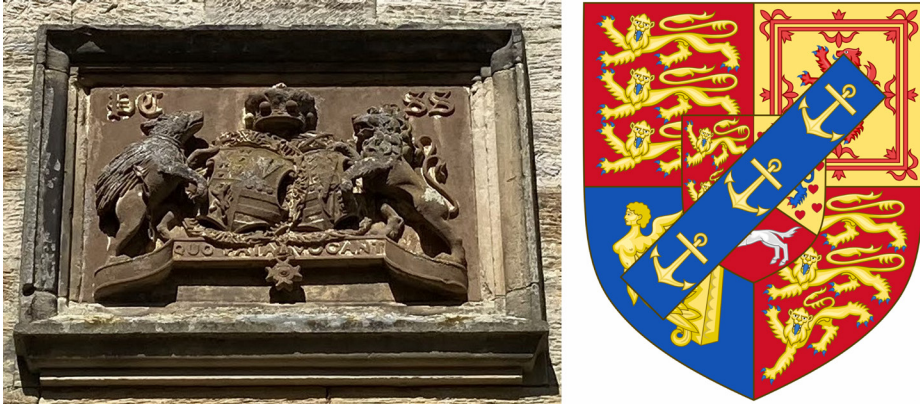
The principal male line of the Sidneys died out in 1743 upon the death of Jocelyn Sidney, 7th Earl of Leicester (1682-1743). The circumstances of Jocelyn's life and death resulted in a variety of court cases, not only in the years immediately thereafter, but also 40 years later.<sup>15</sup> The main issue had been his disastrous marriage to Elizabeth Thomas, whom he wed when she was aged 18 (in 1717). The marriage was never consummated, perhaps because Jocelyn would not obtain her huge fortune until she reached the age of twenty-one, and so he might not have wanted to risk losing her in childbirth. As a consequence of his lack of ardour the relationship collapsed.

Without legitimate offspring, Jocelyn left most of his property to his illegitimate daughter Anne, who went on to marry Henry Streatfeild of neighbouring Chiddingstone Castle in 1752 (**Figure 8a**). Following his death in 1762 his two nieces, Elizabeth and Mary, the daughters of his elder brother Thomas (1681-1729), challenged the will with their husbands William Perry and Sir Brownlow Sherrard. After years of legal wrangling, a compromise was arrived at whereby Mary Sherrard received a lump sum and inherited various estates in Wales, while Penshurst went to Elizabeth Perry. The cases forty years later related to inheritance of both estates and titles. A John Sidney, calling himself the Earl of Leicester, claimed to be the son of Jocelyn and his wife Elizabeth. John's lawyers failed to persuade the members of the Grand Assize, who concluded that Elizabeth Perry

<sup>15</sup> Dr Robin Eagles, *Great Quarrels and Disputes' or A Bun in the Oven? The Penshurst Claimant and the earldom of Leicester*, online at [historyofparliamentonline.org](http://historyofparliamentonline.org).



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*Figure 9, left 9a: arms of the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron De L'Isle and Dudley and his wife Lady Sophia FitzClarence at Penshurst Place; right, 9b: the arms of Lady Sophia's brother, George Augustus Frederick FitzClarence, 1st Earl of Munster (1794-1842), eldest illegitimate son of King William IV of the United Kingdom and his long-time mistress Dorothea Jordan, being the royal arms of King William IV (without the escutcheon of the Arch Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire and without the Crown of Hanover) debauched by a baton sinister azure charged with three anchors or, by MostEpic, Wikimedia Commons.*

was entitled to her estates.<sup>16</sup> Neither John Sidney nor his son were able to convince the House of Lords to recognise them as Earls of Leicester. After her victory against John, Elizabeth Perry tried, but failed, to be recognised as Baroness Sidney of Penshurst, a barony created for Robert Sidney (later 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Leicester) on the accession of James I in 1603.

### **The modern Sidneys: the Perry and Shelleys**

The Sidney name was revived by one of Elizabeth Perry's grandchildren. Elizabeth Perry's daughter, Elizabeth Jane Perry, married Sir Bysshe Shelley, 1st Baronet of Castle Goring, in 1769. Sir Bysshe Shelley's eldest son from his first marriage became the second baronet of Castle Goring whereas John, a son from his (second) marriage to Elizabeth Jane Perry, changed his name to John Shelley Sidney in 1793 by Royal Sign Manual.<sup>17</sup> Heraldically, this Sign Manual resulted in Sidney being quartered with Shelley, with Sidney in the most prominent first quarter (**Figure 8b**).

John was created 1st Baronet of Penshurst Place in 1818, and in 1824 he unsuccessfully petitioned to terminate the abeyance of the barony of De L'Isle. He married Lady Sophia FitzClarence, illegitimate daughter of King William IV and his mistress, the actress Dorothea Jordan, in 1825, and was finally raised to the peerage as Baron De L'Isle

<sup>16</sup> John Sidney, earl of Leicester, *The Trial at Bar between John Sidney, Earl of Leicester... and Elizabeth Perry on Monday the 11th of February 1782* (London, 1782).

<sup>17</sup> Edmund Lodge, *The peerage of the British Empire* (London, 1848), p. 248.

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*Figure 10, top, 10a: arms of Sir William Foulis 7th Baronet of Ingleby who married Mary Anne Turner of Panton House, From the Heraldry Society Image Library; bottom left, 10b: the Foulis crest on the ceiling and on silverware (10c, bottom right) at Penshurst Place.*



THE SIDNEYS OF PENSURST



Figure 11: memorials to three Sidney brothers and their wives in Penshurst church, Kent.



## THE COAT OF ARMS

and Dudley in 1835. This marriage, and his noble status, is celebrated heraldically at Penshurst Place in a carving above the door to what is now a toy museum (**Figure 9a**). It shows the arms of the 1<sup>st</sup> baron: Quarterly 1, a grand quarter of Dudley and Shelley; 2, Sidney; 3, Dudley; 4, Grey, the whole encircled with the order of Hanover, and accolé with a version of the royal arms for his wife (**Figure 9b**).

Before inheriting, the second baron, also a Philip (1828-1898), married Mary Foulis (1826-1891), the only child of Sir William Foulis, 8th Baronet of Ingleby Manor (**Figure 10a**). Upon his marriage to Mary, Philip assumed the additional name (and arms) of Foulis after that of Sidney by Royal Licence, but relinquished it after her death in 1891.

Other than a hand-drawn example in the Heraldry Society Image Library, I have not been able to find any examples of shields bearing Sidney and Foulis quarterly. It might be expected that Foulis would have been placed in the first quarter given the ordering of the names in the Royal Licence, but the notice in the *London Gazette* is not explicit on this aspect. Philip's memorial in Penshurst church, erected by his second wife Emily Frances Ramsay, shows the Sidney pheon shield alone, and the memorial to Mary Foulis, Baroness De L'Isle and Dudley at St. Andrews Church, Ingleby Greenhow, North Yorkshire is not heraldic. There are, however, examples of the Foulis crest - *Out of a crescent argent a cross formée fitchée sable* – at Penshurst Place (**Figure 10b** and **c**).

After the death of the second baron, the barony passed between three of his four sons: Philip the 3<sup>rd</sup> baron (1853-1922), Algernon the 4<sup>th</sup> baron (1854-1945) and William the 5<sup>th</sup> baron (1859-1945).

These three brothers are represented heraldically in Penshurst church (**Figure 11**):

- Philip the 3<sup>rd</sup> baron's arms are impaling those of his wife Lady Elizabeth Maria (née Vereker), widow of William Harvey Astell and daughter of Standish Vereker, 4th Viscount Gort.
- Algernon, the 4<sup>th</sup> baron, who served in the Second Boer War, was unmarried and his arms appear alone.
- William the 5<sup>th</sup> baron's arms appear with those of his wife Winifred Bevan.

The 6<sup>th</sup> baron, William, was perhaps the most famous of the modern Sidneys. After attending Eton and Cambridge, he became a chartered accountant and Territorial Army officer. During the Second World War, he served with the Grenadier Guards and was awarded the Victoria Cross. He was elected to the House of Commons later that year. After succeeding his father as 6<sup>th</sup> Baron De L'Isle and Dudley in 1945 he served as Secretary of State for Air from 1951 to 1955, and was elevated to a viscountcy in 1956, before serving as the last British Governor General of Australia from 1961 to 1965. In 1965 he succeeded a distant cousin as 9th Baronet of Castle Goring, and in 1968 he was appointed a Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter. He died in 1991 as The Viscount De L'Isle, V.C., K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.St.J., P.C. His memorial (**Figure 12**) shows the simple Sidney shield accolé, with that of his wife being Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure on a chevron or a chaplet vert (for Vereker) ; 2 and 3, gules a saltire vairy or and azure (for Prendergast). This reappearance of the Vereker arms in the Sidney chapel is because the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount's wife, Jacqueline Vereker (1914–1962), was the great-niece of Elizabeth (née Vereker) Astell, the wife of the 3<sup>rd</sup> baron.



Figure 12: memorial to the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount De L'Isle and his wife in Penshurst church.

# A MEDIEVAL CRESCENTIC ARMORIAL HARNESS PENDANT FROM BURSTWICK, YORKSHIRE: ROMAN ANTECEDENTS AND ROMANESQUE PARALLELS

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.S.A., F.H.S.

## Abstract

*A medieval crescentic armorial harness pendant, found near the east coast of Yorkshire, is unparalleled in England but finds comparable examples on the Continent. Crescent-shaped pendants have been given dates from Roman to medieval, and diagnostic features on examples from both periods recorded on the Portable Antiquities Database are noted herein.*

## Discovery and context

The armorial harness pendant which forms the subject of this note was found in August 2022 by a metal-detectorist in Burstwick, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> The findspot lies c. 2 km to the north of the village and site of Burstwick Castle, and c. 9 km inland from the much eroded (and eroding) Holderness coast, which runs south from Flamborough Head down to Spurn Head at the mouth of the River Humber. The latter is near the site of the lost medieval port of Ravenspurn, now under the North Sea.<sup>2</sup> Around 13 km to the west of Burstwick is Kingston upon Hull, which became the foremost east-coast port in medieval England, trading mainly with Scotland, Scandinavia, the Baltic, and northern Europe.<sup>3</sup>

## The pendant

The copper-alloy pendant is cast in the form of an inverted crescent<sup>4</sup> with an integral suspension-loop and a double-concave lower/inner edge and damaged points (**Figures 1 and 2a**). The face of the crescent has the remains of champlevé enamelled decoration comprising three shields, each placed on a blue-enamelled roundel, with traces of engraved oblique cross-hatching on the remaining, unenamelled, face. The pointed triangular form of the shields was a particular characteristic of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century.<sup>5</sup> The surface of the metal is very corroded, but some fragments of

<sup>1</sup> Portable Antiquities Scheme database number (hereafter PAS) YORYM-143F57 (found at TA 21799 29624). The pendant was found by Mr Paul Wright and recorded on the PAS database by Mrs Rebecca Griffiths.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Bolingbroke landed here in 1399 on his way to dethrone Richard II.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the extensive trading links and development of material culture around the North Sea littoral during the Middle Ages see B. Ayers *The German Ocean: Medieval Europe around the North Sea* (Sheffield, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Heraldically also known as a *crescent pendant* (*pendu* in French).

<sup>5</sup> G. Grazebrook, *The dates of variously-shaped shields with coincident dates and examples* (Liverpool, 1890), pp. 12-19, Plate 1, no 1.



## A CRESCENTIC HARNESS PENDANT



Figure 1: the pendant with its three enamelled shields, PAS YORYM-143F57, for scale see figure 2.

gilding survive, on both faces.<sup>6</sup> Red enamel occupies the upper third of each of the three shields, with the apparently plain lower part, somewhat pitted and decayed, having no identifiable charges. The blazon is therefore apparently *Or a chief gules*, or—possibly *Argent a chief gules* if the arms were originally silvered. The possible significance of these arms is discussed below. The pendant is 40.5mm long, 38.2mm wide, 2.7mm thick and weighs 8.8g.

### Continental parallels

The combined form and decoration of the Burstwick pendant is exceptional. No other English example of a crescent-shaped pendant bearing arms is known to the writer.<sup>7</sup> None is present in his published survey of c. 250 pieces of medieval armorial horse

<sup>6</sup> There are also some patches of white paper fibres—presumably packing material—adhering to the surface, which unfortunately were not removed before the photograph was taken.

<sup>7</sup> The crescent itself is a common heraldic device. For many arms displaying crescents and other related lunar forms see M. Van de Cruys *De maan, de Wassenaar en de maanroos: Een heraldische beschouwing van een hemellichaam* *Heraldicum Disputationes – Jubileumuitgave* (Wijnegem, 2015).

furniture from Norfolk,<sup>8</sup> nor in Sir John Baker's collection of c. 2000 examples of similar armorial equestrian fittings,<sup>9</sup> and none was found in a recent search of pendants and other fittings recorded on the PAS online database.<sup>10</sup>

The Burstwick pendant finds its most useful parallels on the Continent—in Denmark and in Germany. In 2003 Anne Pedersen of The National Museum of Denmark published a gilt and enamelled copper-alloy pendant of similar form to Burstwick- crescentic with double-cusped lower edge, but of finer execution (**Figure 2b**).<sup>11</sup> The Danish pendant had been “found amongst old scrap iron in a smithy” in Jørlunde, in northern Jutland. It is decorated with a scheme which is either proto-armorial or armorial, comprising a central roundel bearing an eagle displayed, set between a pair of flanking wyverns.<sup>12</sup> Art historical parallels for the find led Pedersen to suggest a date of manufacture in the second half of the twelfth century or first half of the thirteenth century. One of the parallels cited is another double-cusped crescentic pendant with enamelled zoomorphic decoration, which is around twice the size of the two examples discussed above (**Figure 2c**). It was discovered on excavations in Neuenburg, in Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany, in a secure archaeological context dating to the second half of the twelfth century. The pendant displays two fabulous confronted long-eared quadrupeds, their heads touching, both with upward-pointing wings which end in a long-eared dragon-like head. The three points at the lower edge of the pendant end (or ended) in roundels, the larger central one decorated with a possible lion passant regardant to sinister, and the surviving left-hand roundel decorated with a quatrefoil. The right-hand roundel is missing.<sup>13</sup>

## Crescentic pendants—Roman, and Medieval

It can sometimes be difficult to differentiate between Roman crescentic (or lunate) pendants and medieval<sup>14</sup> crescentic examples.<sup>15</sup> Roman pendants may display some of the following characteristics: a circular suspension-loop,<sup>16</sup> sometimes collared<sup>17</sup> or

<sup>8</sup> Steven Ashley *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (Dereham, 2002), or amongst at least as many examples again, discovered since publication (but before all finds were added to the PAS database), which were drawn and recorded by the writer and are now lodged in the archives of the Norfolk Historic Environment Record ([www.norfolk.gov.uk](http://www.norfolk.gov.uk)).

<sup>9</sup> Or in a further 1000 or so recorded in a separate database (personal communication Sir John Baker). Selected finds from his collection are discussed in John Baker ‘The earliest armorial harness pendants’, *CoA*, vol. 2, pt. 1, no. 229 (2015), pp. 1-24 with plates 1 and 2, and ‘Heraldic Insights from Small Metal Artefacts 1250–1350’ in Nigel Ramsay (ed.) *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Donington, forthcoming).  
<sup>10</sup> <https://finds.org.uk/database>, consulted June 2023.

<sup>11</sup> A. Pedersen “Fundet mellem gammelt jærn i en smedje...” in P. Grønder-Hansen (ed.), *Arvesølv: Studier fra Nationalmuseet tilegnet Fritse Lindahl 2003*, pp. 7-16 with English summary at pp. 225-6.

<sup>12</sup> The fields appear to contain the remains of blue enamel. The bird, beasts, and borders to the roundels and crescent retain traces of gilding in the incised detail. NB the schematic hatched drawing of this pendant (**Figure 2b**) does not follow later heraldic conventions (i.e. *Petra Sancta*).

<sup>13</sup> Pedersen op. cit., p. 11, fig. 5. The decoration on the missing roundel is likely to have mirrored that on the surviving flanking roundel.

<sup>14</sup> Broadly dating from the mid-late eleventh century to the fourteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Demonstrated in print by the misdating of a double-cusped crescentic probable mid-late eleventh- to twelfth-century pendant with zoomorphic decoration and animal-head terminals as ‘late Roman’ (T.D. Kendrick *Anglo-Saxon Art to AD 900* (London, 1938), pp. 29, plate xv, no. 3).

<sup>16</sup> PAS: SUSS-F28597.

<sup>17</sup> AS: PUBLIC-FA4C64.

# A CRESCENTIC HARNESS PENDANT

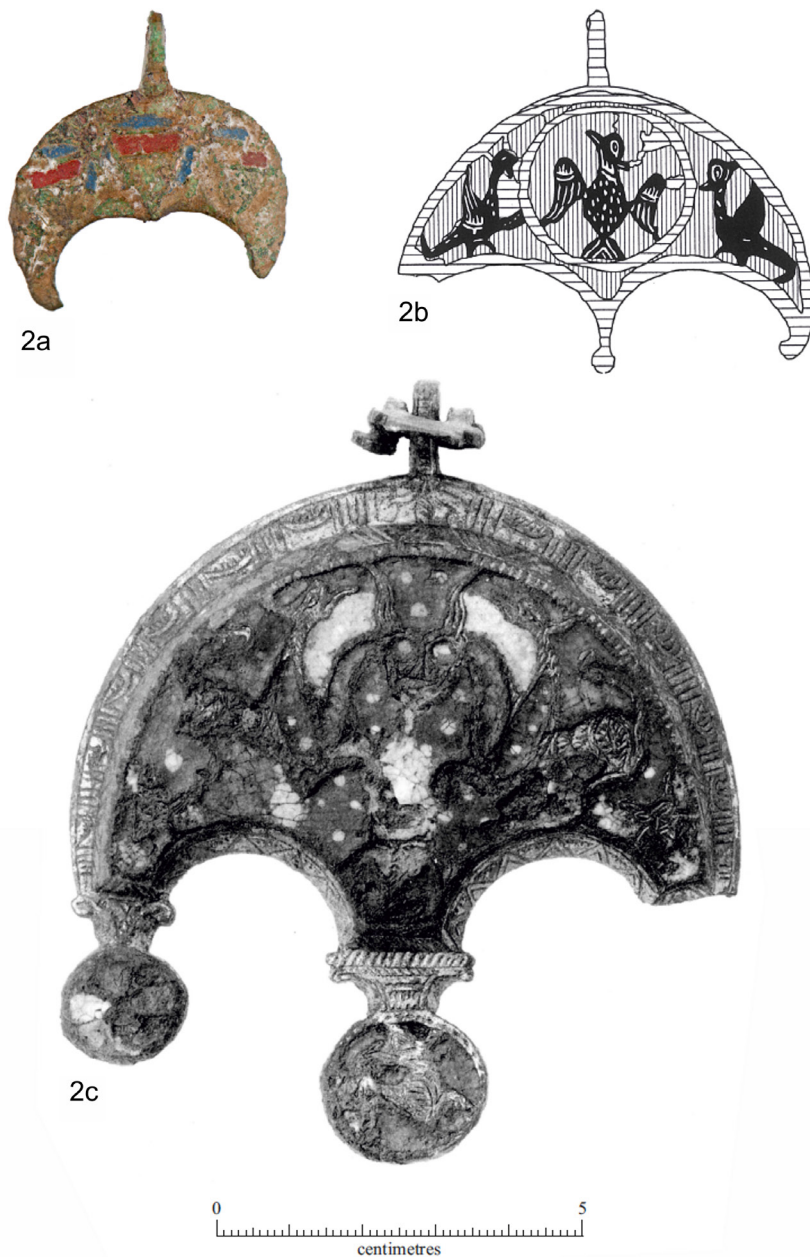


Figure 2. 2a: harness pendant from Burstwick, Yorkshire; 2b: harness pendant from Jørlunde, Denmark, after Pedersen 2003 (Schematic reconstruction: Thomas Bredsdorf, The National Museum of Denmark); 2c: harness pendant from Neuenburg, in Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany, after Pedersen 2003 (Photograph: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen-Anhalt). Scale 1:1.



projecting from a sub-rectangular moulding or platform.<sup>18</sup> The inverted crescents are often closed with the points ending in a knop<sup>19</sup> or knops<sup>20</sup> where conjoined. Some have a perforation at the mid-point of the lower/inner edge.<sup>21</sup> Occasionally the face of the pendant is decorated with enamelled cells,<sup>22</sup> or punched annulets.<sup>23</sup> It should also be noted that the surface colour of Roman copper-alloy objects recovered from the ground usually appears a distinctive pale olive-green colour due to the combination of alloys used at the time.

On medieval pendants the suspension-loop is usually flattened on the reverse<sup>24</sup> (but not invariably<sup>25</sup>), the inverted crescent has open points,<sup>26</sup> and the face is usually gilded.<sup>27</sup> At least one example has points in the form of stylised animal heads.<sup>28</sup> Another has a serrated lower edge and engraved interrupted rocker-arm decoration on its face.<sup>29</sup> Two further crescentic medieval pendants should also be mentioned here: both are elaborate, double-cusped, but with an exaggerated central point projecting from the lower edge in the form of a trefoil or elaborate trefoil, creating an m-shape in a similar manner to a group of medieval buckle plates, where it was suggested that the m-shaped form might refer to the Virgin Mary.<sup>30</sup>

The apparent similarity between some Roman and medieval pendants is demonstrated by the medieval Burstwick pendant and its contemporary Continental parallels. All three pendants have a double-cusped lower edge, a form paralleled by three crescentic pendants illustrated on the PAS Database which are convincingly assigned to the Roman period.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the Burstwick example and its Continental parallels can be confidently ascribed to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries- they are not Roman, but 'Romanesque.'

## The Arms

At first sight the potential for armorial identification does not look promising. Although only one individual is known to have borne *Or a chief gules*, the DBA lists twelve

<sup>18</sup> PAS: NLM-C1D22D.

<sup>19</sup> PAS: LEIC-CE3F62.

<sup>20</sup> PAS: WMID-2A5C72.

<sup>21</sup> PAS: LVPL-6E70B4. See M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome* (Oxford, 2006), p. 120, figure 70, no. 4.

<sup>22</sup> PAS: SWYOR-C99474. See S. James *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928-1937: Final Report VII, The Arms and Armour and other Military Equipment* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 88-9, fig. 41, no. 192.

<sup>23</sup> PAS: YORYM-CDFBDB. Although punched annulets are more often found on twelfth- and early thirteenth-century horse furniture, see Ashley (2002), op. cit., p. 6, fig. 6, nos. 6-7, 9-13 for example.

<sup>24</sup> PAS: HAMP-DCF864.

<sup>25</sup> PAS: NMS-85810F.

<sup>26</sup> PAS: BERK-6F20A6.

<sup>27</sup> PAS: SWYOR-6FC678.

<sup>28</sup> PAS: NMS-574716. Animal-head terminals are commonplace on twelfth-century small finds, see Steven Ashley 'Anglo-Norman Elite Objects from Castle and Countryside' in J.A. Davies, A. Riley, J-M. Levesque, and C. Lapiche (edd.), *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 281-298, where a variety of examples is illustrated throughout.

<sup>29</sup> PAS: NMS-85810F.

<sup>30</sup> PAS: SF-358227; NMS-4BB793. See A. Rogerson and S. Ashley 'A distinctive medieval buckle-type with a bird- or M-shaped plate' *Medieval Archaeology*, (2017), pp. 395-98, at p. 397.

<sup>31</sup> PAS: SWYOR-B03244; NMS-816D1A; PUBLIC-FA4C64.

medieval possibilities for *Argent a chief gules*.<sup>32</sup> It is possible to eliminate half of these quite quickly,<sup>33</sup> leaving six (giving a total of seven) requiring more detailed evaluation. The findings on these seven are detailed in the appendix. If a horse pendant is found in a location where people might have congregated, or beside a highway, then its owner might have come from any part of the country, but if found in a more remote place then the first question to be addressed is whether any possible bearer lived in the vicinity of the find. The location at Burstwick is somewhat off the beaten track.<sup>34</sup> The only families with any local connection thrown up by the heraldic investigation are those of Champagne and Hercy, the former in the personage of Piers de Champagne in the late thirteenth century, the latter in the time of Hugh Hercy in the early fifteenth century. The fifteenth century seems stylistically too late, and thus we are left with only Sir Peter de Champagne, who bore *Argent a chief gules*, as a likely local owner. The question then arises whether the life of this individual might potentially shed any light on the object.

## Sir Peter de Champagne (d. 1296)

Sir Peter held knights' fees both as a tenant in chief of the crown in Lincolnshire and as a retainer of the king's brother Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, in Dorset. He was granted free warren for his manors of Saxby, Barrow-upon-Humber, Scawby and Dunham in Lincolnshire in 1267.<sup>35</sup> Here he had a total of two knights' fees, while at Shapwick in Dorset he held two and a quarter fees from the Earl.<sup>36</sup> Barrow-on-Humber is close to Burstwick, lying just across the river Humber. Moreover, Sir Piers worked as an itinerant justice of gaol delivery in many counties from 1289 onwards, including in Yorkshire. On 24 February 1270 he was granted letters of protection for four years to accompany the Prince Edward (later Edward I) to the Holy Land on the Ninth Crusade. He had not personally taken the cross, and was there to protect his lord, for which he would have received payment. It must have been the greatest adventure of his life. The Prince departed for France on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1270 and travelled to Acre via Tunis, Sicily and Cyprus. He returned in September 1272, visiting Sicily, southern Italy, Rome, Orvieto, Milan and Paris on his way back to England to be crowned king.<sup>37</sup> Sir Peter was called upon again by Edward I for military service in Wales in 1277, and accompanied his monarch to Gascony and Spain in 1286. On all these expeditions a fellow traveller was the baron Sir John de St John (d. 1302), lord of Basing (who coincidentally bore *Argent on a chief gules two rowels or*); the two men were sent to Aquitaine on a final mission together in 1293. St John was close to the king and a trusted lieutenant.<sup>38</sup>

As to Sir Peter's antecedents, his arms indicate a Breton ancestry, as the Champagne family of Brittany, which included a twelfth century Crusader, bore the arms *Ermine a*

<sup>32</sup> DBA, vol. 3, pp. 3-5.

<sup>33</sup> Durward, Lasser and Menzies being Scottish; Vivon a repetition (of Fors); Popham an incomplete blazon of a well-known family, and the Templars an error as the Templar banner was correctly *Argent a chief sable*, as was listed many times by Matthew Paris.

<sup>34</sup> Although, as noted above, not far from the site of the lost medieval port of Ravenspurn.

<sup>35</sup> Charles Moor, *The knights of Edward I*, 5 vols, Harl. Soc. vols 80-4 (London 1929-32), vol. 1, pp. 190-1.

<sup>36</sup> CIPM 1291-1300, no. 360 and no. 423 (p. 288).

<sup>37</sup> Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 73-85.

<sup>38</sup> GEC vol 11, pp. 323-5; More, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 175-7.

*chief gules*.<sup>39</sup> Sir Peter de Champagne would have been able to draw upon influences from many parts of Europe, and even the Holy Land, and perhaps the highly distinctive horse pendants represented by this example were intended to memorialise his travels.

## Conclusions

The crescentic medieval harness pendant from Burstwick, with its enamelled armorial decoration, is unparalleled in England, and its exemplar may lie somewhere in Northern Europe or Scandinavia. However, in contrast to the vast and steadily growing corpus of examples of armorial horse furniture in England,<sup>40</sup> found by metal-detectorists and reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme,<sup>41</sup> in many European countries metal-detecting is either prohibited or very strictly controlled. Consequently, there is far less Continental material available for study. That said, there are exceptions- The Netherlands does permit responsible detecting and now has an online database like the PAS,<sup>42</sup> and Norway is following suit, although, at present, only the Southwest Jutland Museums' archaeological collection is available online.<sup>43</sup>

Elsewhere, a small group of five fourteenth-century crescentic pendants and mounts from Finland and Gotland (Sweden) was published in 2013.<sup>44</sup> Two of these artefacts were found by Finnish metal-detectorists, but the most chronologically useful example was part of the Amunde Hoard, found on Gotland and datable to c. 1361.<sup>45</sup> Although crescentic, they are unrelated to the pendants discussed above, as they take the form of 'The Man in the Moon', that is, where the moon has an anthropomorphic face. Evidence for the manufacture of undecorated medieval crescentic harness pendants is provided by an early fourteenth-century bronze matrix, discovered on the site of St Olaf's Church in Lödöse, Sweden.<sup>46</sup> Confirmation of the method of employment of such fittings can be seen on thirteenth-century bronze aquamaniles, as on an example from the church of St Mary, in Vå, Southern Sweden, where crescentic pendants are shown suspended from the breast-band of the horse. The production of aquamaniles of this type has been traced to Northern Germany.<sup>47</sup>

Lastly, some useful work has been done on old European museum collections of

<sup>39</sup> Steen Clemmensen, *Ordinary of Medieval Armorial*, Champagne 10, online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk); Pol Potier de Courcy, *Nobiliare et Armorial de Bretagne*, 2 vols (Mayenne, 2000), vol. 1, p. 217. This family should not be confused either with the Counts of Champagne in France or with the Barons of Champagne Parcé in Maine and Anjou.

<sup>40</sup> And to a lesser extent, Scotland, and Wales. For England see for example: Ashley (2002), Baker (2015, and forthcoming); J. Goodall and T. Woodcock 'Armorial and other pendants, studs and ornaments of the medieval period, in the light of recent metal-detector finds' *Antiquaries Journal* (1991), pp. 239-47; and N. Griffiths 'Harness pendants and associated fittings' in J. Clarke (ed.), *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment*, (London, 1995), pp. 61-71.

<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, an unknown quantity of material is found and not reported.

<sup>42</sup> <https://portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/public>, consulted June 2023.

<sup>43</sup> <http://sol.sydvestjyskemuseum.dk>, consulted June 2023, producing one broken undecorated possibly crescentic medieval harness pendant.

<sup>44</sup> V. Immonen 'Connecting Things through the Visual Arts: medieval crescent moon pendants as horse ornaments' *Norwegian Archaeological Review* (2013), vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 175-193.

<sup>45</sup> Immonen, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>46</sup> Immonen, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>47</sup> Immonen, op. cit., p. 187, who illustrates a similar thirteenth-century bronze from Northern Germany in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 9).



## A CRESCENTIC HARNESS PENDANT

Medieval horse furniture. In 1994 María Luisa Martín Ansón published a catalogue of the 136 pieces of Spanish horse furniture held in the Museu Frederic Marès in Barcelona,<sup>48</sup> and more recently, Céline Champcourt catalogued and discussed the 179 mostly armorial pendants, mounts and other harness fittings collected at the beginning of the twentieth century by Count Raoul de Rochebrune, now in the Musée Dobree in Nantes, as a basis for her dissertation.<sup>49</sup> This latter assemblage includes a fourteenth or fifteenth-century Spanish inverted crescentic pendant, the curved arms of the crescent springing from a central shield, with gilt and enamelled decoration.<sup>50</sup> Other French, Italian, and Spanish examples of armorial horse furniture are present in British collections, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the British Museum, but await publication.<sup>51</sup>

### Appendix: armorial investigation<sup>52</sup>

#### *Or a chief gules*

1. Thomas FITZSIMON occurs in rolls from the time of Richard II. He was retained by John of Gaunt circa 1372-82<sup>53</sup> but did not continue into the service of Gaunt's successor as Duke of Lancaster, his son Henry IV, and presumably died in the reign of Richard II. Clemmensen in his account of Willement's Roll places him in Gloucestershire in the affinity of Lord Grey of Ruthin.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Argent a chief gules*

2. Piers de CHAMPAGNE occurs in rolls of Edward I.<sup>55</sup> He died in 1296 leaving two daughters as coheirs and was based at Barrow-upon Humber and Saxilby in Lincolnshire. Barrow is just across the Humber from Burstwick where the pendant was found.

3. Matthew COLUMBERS occurs in Glover's Roll from the reign of Henry III.<sup>56</sup> He was based in Hampshire and Wiltshire and died in 1272 leaving a brother and heir Michael who died without issue in 1284.<sup>57</sup> This family is not known to have held land anywhere near Burstwick.

<sup>48</sup> M.L. Martín Ansón *Catàleg de xapes de guarniment*, Fons del Museu Frederic Marès 2 (Barcelona, 1994). Many of the pieces are armorial, but none is crescentic.

<sup>49</sup> C. Champcourt 'Pendants, plaques de harnais et autres petits objets métalliques, médiévaux' réunis par le Comte Raoul de Rochebrune entre 1904 et 1924, conserves au musée Thomas Dobrée à Nantes' (École du Louvre, Mai 2017) (Unpublished).

<sup>50</sup> Champcourt, op. cit., pp. 87-8, cat. no. 930.1.101.

<sup>51</sup> The writer is grateful to Anne Pedersen for an offprint of her paper on the Jørlunde pendant, and for permission to reproduce images from the publication; to Andrew Hall for editing the images; and to Sir John Baker and Andrew Rogerson for their helpful comments on this note.

<sup>52</sup> The author wishes to thank Dr Paul Fox, for his assistance with this aspect of the enquiry, and also with the biography of Sir Peter de Champagne given above.

<sup>53</sup> Sidney Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1964), p. 441.

<sup>54</sup> Steen Clemmensen, *Willement's Roll of Arms* (Farum, 2008), online at [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk).

<sup>55</sup> Gerard J. Brault, *Aspilogia 3 Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272-1307)*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 97-8.

<sup>56</sup> Hugh Stanford London, 'Glover's Roll c. 1253-8', in Sir Anthony Wagner (ed.), *Aspilogia 2, Rolls of Arms of Henry III* (London, 1967), p. 153.

<sup>57</sup> Sir William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London, 1675), vol. 1, p. 633.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

4. William de FORS, is also in Glover's Roll.<sup>58</sup> This individual was later confused in armorials with the Earls of Albemarle of the same name, who bore different arms. He was of Vivonne in Poitou and Chewton in Somerset and died in 1259 leaving four daughters as coheirs. His wife was Maud Ferrers (d.1299) daughter of William Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and widow of Simon de Kyme (d. 1248), who did not hold any known part of the barony of Kyme. This is likely to be an incomplete blazon as the family of Vivonne in Poitou bore *Ermine a chief gules*.

5. Hugh HERCY sealed with these arms in 1428.<sup>59</sup> The tinctures are ascribed to 'Hugh Herty' in the fourteenth century Thomas Jenyns' Book. Hugh Hercy is described in the 1428 deed as being the son of Katherine, widow of Marmaduke Constable, knight. This was Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough (d. 1377), sheriff of Yorkshire 1366-7. Flamborough is just north of Holderness, and the Constable family held widely in the peninsula. Hugh de Hercy held Grove in Nottinghamshire, as his ancestors had done from the thirteenth century, and his descendants continued to do so until the seventeenth century.<sup>60</sup> A tomb of Hugh Hercy in Grove church dating 1455 carries these arms.

6. Sir Thomas SAUNFORD is ascribed these arms in the Carlisle Roll of 1334 and Powell's Roll of c. 1350. This cannot be Thomas Saunford or Sampford of Drayton in Hampshire who acceded in 1289 and died in 1327, leaving a son and heir Richard who died the same year. It must be Thomas de Saunford or Sampford 'of Suffolk' who was summoned to a Great Council in 1324 and summoned to fight in Guyenne in 1325.<sup>61</sup> The arms of this knight are not listed in *Suffolk arms*,<sup>62</sup> and it has not been possible to locate his holdings in Suffolk; moreover, when Thomas de Saunford, knight owed money in 1344 it was to be levied on his property in Middlesex.<sup>63</sup> His primary holding was at Harefield in Middlesex, where he held a manor in 1349 which subsequently passed through his daughter and heir to the Swanland family.<sup>64</sup>

7. WORSLEY 'of Yorkshire', so described in the Military Roll of c. 1446, but this must be a later interpolation as the Worsleys who bore these arms were a Lancashire family in the medieval era, anciently based at Worsley.<sup>65</sup> They only moved to Yorkshire in Tudor times. Corder ascribes the same arms to Worsley of Woodbridge in Suffolk, which is another post-medieval connection.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Hugh Stanford London, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>59</sup> Lewis C Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, Northants Rec Soc vol. 15 (1950), no. 489.

<sup>60</sup> John Throsby (ed.) *Thoroton's history of Nottinghamshire, republished, with large additions*, 3 vols (London 1797), vol. 3, pp. 260-264.

<sup>61</sup> Francis Palgrave, *Parliamentary writs and writs of military summons*, 2 vols in 4 (London, 1827-34).

<sup>62</sup> Joan Corder, *A dictionary of Suffolk arms*, Suffolk Record Society vol. 7 (1965).

<sup>63</sup> CCR 1343-46, p. 350.

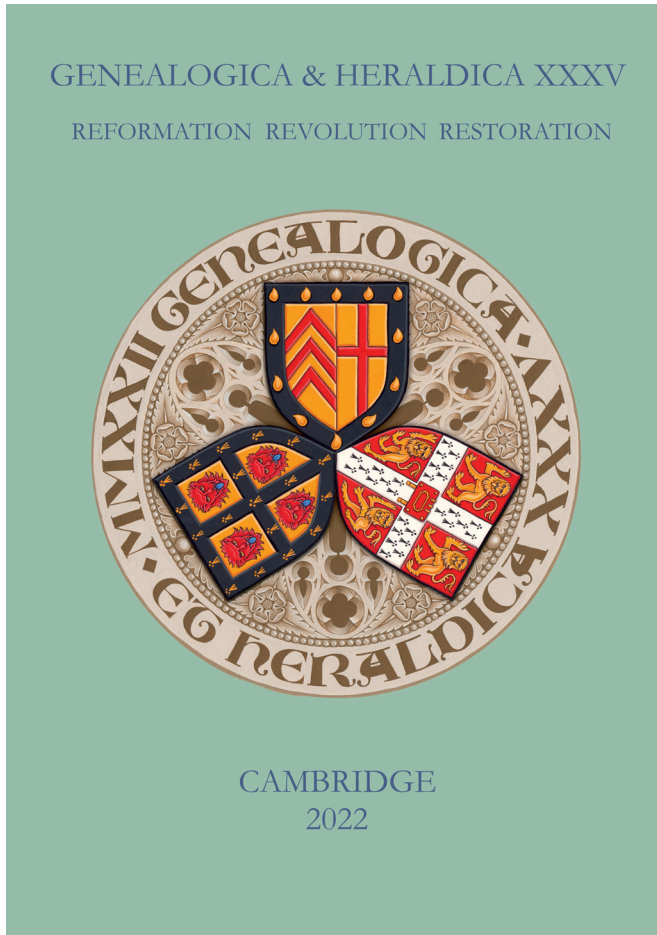
<sup>64</sup> William Frederick Vernon, *Notes on the parish of Harefield* (London, 1872), p. 26.

<sup>65</sup> VCH Lancashire, vol. 4, pp. 376-92.

<sup>66</sup> Corder, op. cit., p. 231.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Paul A Fox (ed.), *Genealogica & Heraldica XXXV: Reformation, Revolution, Restoration. Proceedings of the 35<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences*. Cambridge 2022. London: The Heraldry Society, 2023. xvi+497 pp, colour illus. throughout. Hardcover 978-0-904858-07-5. £35. PDF available at <https://www.theheraldrysociety.com/congress-proceedings>.



In a feat of editorial celerity the proceedings of the 35<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences have already been published, a little over a year since the event took place in Cambridge in August 2022. The volume contains 39 of the 52 papers which were given, or scheduled to be given, at the Congress, 30 of which are heraldic in scope. The themes of this congress were Reformation, Revolution, and Restoration; the proceedings are accordingly divided into four sections, one for each theme, plus a section for papers which deal with all three. Although the congress was



held in an Anglophone country, slightly fewer than half the papers deal with heraldry of England, Scotland, or the USA; all the papers however are in English.

Reading through the proceedings, one finds papers can be broadly grouped into one of three types: scholarly argument with a definite finding, historical exposition of an element of heraldry related to the conference theme, and new techniques for heraldic research. This last category is the smallest, but perhaps the most interesting. Peter Howarth suggests returning to the approach of nineteenth century sigillographer Germain Demay, and comparing the date a family last used a non-heraldic seal with that of their first use of an heraldic seal. By doing so Howarth shows that heraldry appeared to have spread outwards from Flanders and the surrounding region from 1170, which is several decades later than the dates proposed by Wagner or Pastoreau for the ‘origin’ of heraldry. At the other end of the spectrum, both temporally and technologically, is the work by Torsten Hiltmann and Philipp Schneider on a digital heraldic ontology. Broadly speaking this is a formal model in which all elements of a coat of arms can be specified using a hierarchical controlled vocabulary, e.g. a lion is a sub-class of beast, which is a sub-class of charge; it can have one or more tinctures, attitudes, or charges of its own. The advantage of this over conventional blazon is that the concepts themselves can be stored in a database, and every instance of a coat of arms expressed in this way can be linked to each concept, or combination of concepts, that it contains, making it easy to search for patterns such as “on a fess ... between 3...” familiar from ordinaries such as Papworth. This is not a new idea – the National Archives of Finland produced a similar ontology a few years ago<sup>1</sup> and one can see echoes of the arrangement of Guillim’s *Display of Heraldrie* from 1610, but Hiltmann and Schneider take it a step further by also defining ontologies for material representations of coats of arms, objects that contain or display these representations, and the entities represented by coats of arms. This approach to a systematic study of the heraldic record looks to have great promise.

The discoveries presented in those papers of the ‘scholarly argument’ type make for fascinating reading. Adrian Ailes with typical meticulous scholarship has identified that the so-called ordinances of the Rouen chapter meeting of English heralds are a later forgery. Luc Duerloo shows how the distribution of saints in municipal arms in the Low Countries reflects the geographic success of the Counter-Reformation. Klaas Evenboer uses similarity of artistic style to identify several unattributed manuscripts as having been produced by Hendrik van Heessel, 15<sup>th</sup> century King of Arms of the Ruwieren. Drăgan-George Basarabă (**Figure 1**) shows clerical grants of arms in sixteenth to eighteenth century Transylvania were made without discrimination by religious affiliation. Agnieszka Żurek finds that William Morris’s use of heraldry in his high medieval romances declined over time as Morris’s ideas moved more towards socialism. Nathaniel Nagar demonstrates evidence of collaboration between early modern English antiquaries and heralds. Andrew Gray examines the activity of the College of Arms during and after the English Civil War, and finds that one third of grants made during the Interregnum (and subsequently annulled) were later regranted.

The ‘historical exposition’ type papers range widely in time and space. The volume includes papers on the development of the arms of Habsburg-Austria (1740–1918), the royal family of Belgium (1831–2019), Gustav I of Sweden (1523–1560), the crown in the Hungarian arms (1878–1997), Lithuania (1345–present), and Spain (1808–1833). This last is particularly interesting as Gerard Mari i Brull takes for his source the ‘sealed

<sup>1</sup> National Archives of Finland (2022), HERO – Ontology of Heraldry, <https://finto.fi/hero/en>.

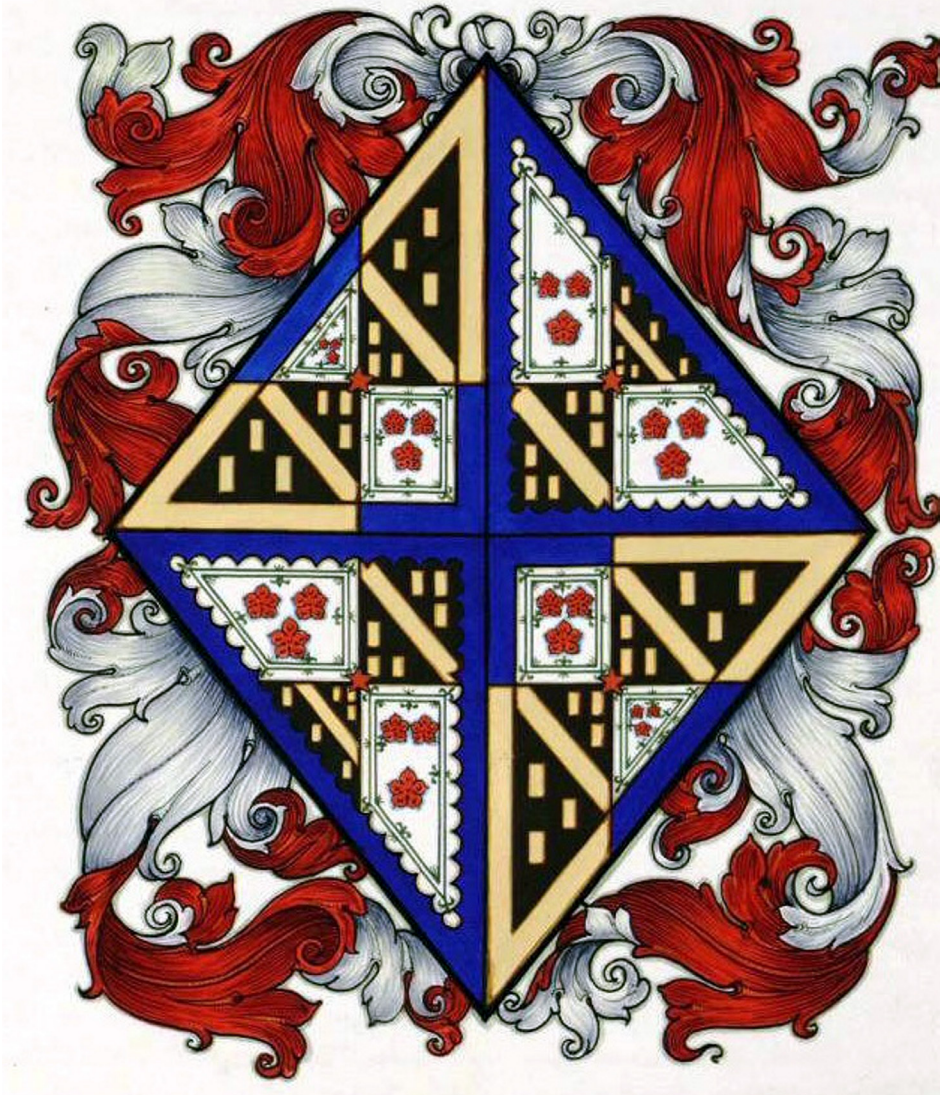


Figure 1: ornate Transylvanian grant of arms in the National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-P 491-II.-XII.-22, from page 95 of the Cambridge Proceedings.

paper' of legal documents as preserved in notarial books. Without the printed seal of the monarch such documents were invalid; the seal was also updated each year, so could cope with rapid changes to heraldic insignia, such as in the turbulent period considered. There are also papers on medieval English, and modern Swedish, rolls of arms. The development of a Maltese heraldic authority is paralleled with efforts which, thus far, have not resulted in the same for Australia. The phenomenon of *damnatio memoriae* is considered in both the early modern Netherlands and twentieth century Spain. The current Lord Lyon surveys the early history of his office, and tantalisingly closes with a call for the removal of criminal sanctions for breaches of heraldic law, for the use of modern enforcement penalties, and for the succession to arms and dignities to follow the normal laws of inheritance. North America is represented by papers on the settlement of Nova Scotia, post-revolution arms of American States (**Figure 2**), American heraldic organisations and publications, and honorary grants of arms to American citizens. The remaining heraldic papers cover arms of Danish political figures, Swedish orders of Knighthood, and armorial graffiti in the keep of Norwich Castle.



## THE COAT OF ARMS



**Figure 2:** Lyon Office exemplification of arms matriculated for Mary Cleman Delafield née Livingston in 1916, from page 269 of the Cambridge Proceedings.

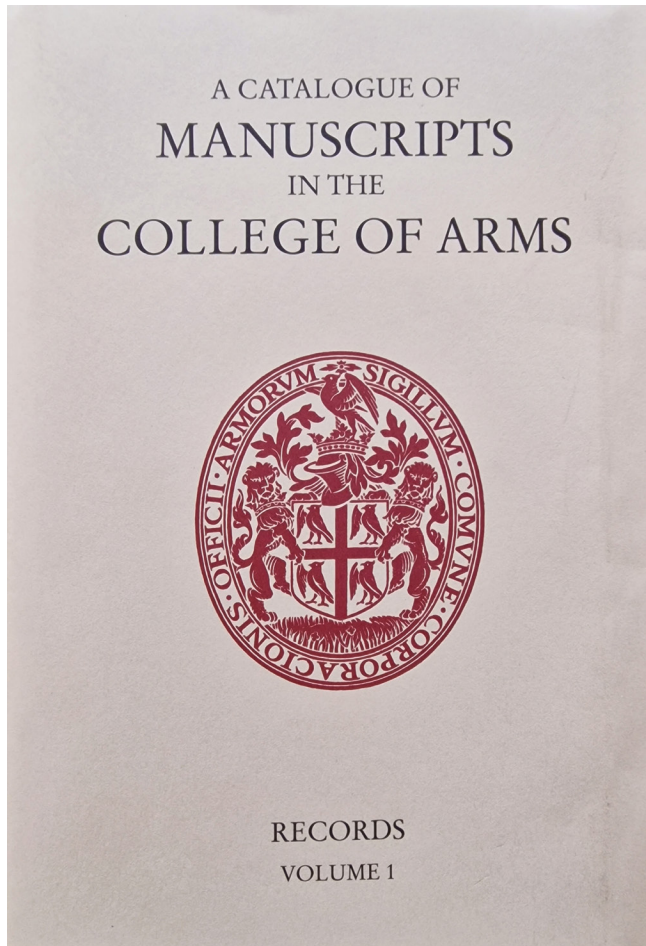
The papers themselves comprise 462 pages; the front and end matter make up another 50 pages containing the full conference programme with abstracts, a list of delegates, and photographs from the Congress. As will be evident from the foregoing discussion the topics of the papers are wide ranging, and their quality high. This volume is sure to be gratefully received by those who, like this reviewer, were unable to attend the congress, and a valuable reference for those who did.

*Philip Allfrey*



## BOOK REVIEWS

Robert Yorke, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms: Records. Volume 1*. London: College of Arms, 2023. 739+lxv pages, 32 colour plates. Hardcover ISBN 978-0-9506-980-3-8. £60.



What this long-anticipated reference work supplies first and foremost is a name index of all the families, persons, and organisations who are named anywhere in the Tudor Visitation documents, but it goes so much further than this. Each name is given its absolute context within a meticulous page by page analysis of every manuscript, thereby permitting the reader to most effectively target his own research requirements. This book completely transforms the accessibility of a whole tranche of College of Arms manuscripts for those working both within and without the College, greatly facilitating comparisons with the corpus of related Visitation material to be found in the British Library and other archives. The volume does not include the Tudor 'proto-Visitations' of 1498 and 1513 which, together with another of c.1480 are included in CA MSS M3 and M4, already catalogued by Campbell and Steer.

## THE COAT OF ARMS

The earliest visitation material detailed within the volume is that gathered by Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux (d.1534) and Thomas Tonge, Norroy (d.1536). The records of the former have been briefly summarised by Ramsay, but Yorke provides us with a detailed breakdown of the majority of the Benolt visitation material from the early 1530s under D.13, H.7, H.18 and H.20.<sup>1</sup> Another precious early record is Tonge's Visitation of the North 1530–1 which is considered under D.4. This manuscript includes material gathered from important state occasions back to the burial of the Earl of Salisbury in 1463, and these are very plausibly events in which Tonge participated as a junior herald.

Previously the only available nominal list of family names from the Visitations was that provided in Cecil Humphery-Smith's *Armigerous Ancestors* (Canterbury, 1997) a list running to 545 pages. Many of these families actually disclaimed their right to bear arms, as is clearly designated in Humphery-Smith's index. This earlier index provided an entry point into Sims' *Index of Pedigrees contained in the Heralds' Visitations and other manuscripts in the British Museum*, which is freely available to download online. On its own Sims is a cumbersome research tool because it is necessary to search through every county for a given name. It might be imagined that this does not matter too much if it is known where a family lives, but frequent changes of residence by gentry families can make it hard to predict in which county Visitation the earliest pedigree might appear. Yorke's new index actually makes the British Library archive more readily accessible by linking families to specific Visitations.

What distinguishes the College's collection of Visitations material from that in the British Library is that the former is canonical, with the greater proportion having been in continual use by the heralds since the manuscripts were first deposited in the Heralds' archive in the sixteenth century. Of the 67 items listed, no less than 47 appear in a 1618 catalogue. We can find in the College's records many of the original rough sheets that were drawn up at the very times when the heralds rode out. The College has also retained a great many original 'office copies', these being the final record of the Visitation after a proportion of the rough sheets were weeded out. The weeding out process is somewhat mysterious, but a disinclination by clients to pay the necessary fees is likely to have been a significant factor. The business of a Visitation began with the gathering of the names of the larger freeholders from the county sheriff, these being the men with land or property worth £100 a year or more. The lists were divided up into the hundreds or wapentakes, and the freeholders were summoned to the main towns of each hundred to account for themselves. The evidence for these processes as revealed by the Visitation documents themselves is one of the many topics considered in the 65-page introduction. The peerage were not required to participate, being under the direct authority of Garter King of Arms, but notwithstanding quite a few peerage families have been listed in the Visitations, and sometimes the heralds used their residences as regional bases.

An enterprising initiative was introduced in 1558, from which year those who were either not prepared to pay the fees, or were otherwise deemed to be ineligible, had to

<sup>1</sup> Nigel Ramsay, 'Clarenceux King of Arms and the Office of Arms', in *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, 14: *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, ed. N. Ramsay and J. Willoughby (London, 2009), pp. 169–202.

## BOOK REVIEWS

disclaim their right to bear arms at the local market cross. For the more substantial yeomen farmers this would not have been troublesome, but for any who aspired to be counted as gentlemen the ritual can only have been deeply humiliating. Not surprisingly the attitude towards the visiting heralds could be hostile, and the records reveal that Cooke was disrespected by a particularly rough lot of local citizens in Shropshire (MS G.15) many of whom were summoned to appear before the Earl Marshal's court, presumably to face a fine for contempt.

The catalogue, comprising 471 pages, is highly meticulous, and in addition to describing every aspect of each volume in detail, comments or marginalia of historical significance have been noted. Attention has been drawn to sections of the Visitations where heraldry has been recorded from churches and houses, and all such have been included in the subject catalogue under 'church notes.'

In order to compile section two of the book, 'a complete list of Tudor Visitation Manuscripts by County', it was necessary for the author to inspect the related manuscript material in other archives. The end result of this enormous labour has been the creation of a clear and succinct summary of an entire class of documents, which is of inestimable value. For the first time the College of Arms material is placed alongside that in the British Library and elsewhere in a manner which is both detailed and easy to comprehend. The names of later owners and copyists have been provided, with further information on these individuals given in Appendix III. The lists will provide a solid foundation for future investigations into how and why selected Visitations were copied, and to what uses they were put. The list reveals that some of the Visitations were copied a great many times. These include the 1583 Visitation of Staffordshire, with three later copies in the College archive plus another 25 in other repositories. The 1561 Visitation of Suffolk spawned six later copies now housed in the College, and 19 others which are elsewhere.

Most of the Visitations have been published in some format, and most of these publications are now available online, but none of these was taken directly from the College's collection. Yorke has listed all of the later copies and related them to the College manuscripts from which they derive. Sections 1 and 2 taken together will make comprehension and analysis of the diaspora of material much more straightforward. York's Section 2 in its masterful handling quite supersedes, so far as sixteenth century is concerned, Humphery-Smith's own lists of the Visitations by county as provided in Section II of *Armigerous Ancestors*, but the latter will remain useful until the College is able to catalogue its seventeenth-century Visitations.

The relevance of *Records Volume 1* is by no means confined to the sixteenth century, as we have just seen. Some of the manuscripts catalogued contain important seventeenth-century additions, a good example being MS H.2. This comprises Robert Cooke's contemporary, but incomplete records of the 1574 Visitation of Kent. A much better record in the hand of Cooke's deputy Robert Glover came to the attention of Sir William Dugdale in 1677, and he had it copied and interleaved with Cooke's own version. The 'Out of Series' section of manuscripts which are catalogued in the final part of Section 1 are of seventeenth-century date, but of considerable importance. These include an early seventeenth-century copy of Robert Glover's *Book of Entrances* which include many of Glover's 1584-5 church notes from Yorkshire; and *Trefoil Dugdale* which includes Dugdale's copy of Tonge's 1532-3 Visitation of Lancashire.

Of the appendices, the first lists the surviving Visitation commissions between 1530 and 1603, while the second provides a chronological list of the Visitations. The latter must be considered as important due to misunderstandings which have arisen when



## THE COAT OF ARMS

editors of Visitations have taken the date when a manuscript was copied as the date of a Visitation. Appendix IV delineates the contents of the non-Visitation manuscripts which sit alongside them in the same shelves. They contain a diversity of subject material, and amongst them, some church notes. All is rounded off with three indices by the author (families and persons, places, subjects), the first two of which, as already stated, are the essential *raison d'être* for the whole project. Attempting to read the whole volume is not a task for the faint hearted, but has been rewarded with some hidden gems. Not least among these are the pages summarised under the subject index as illegitimacy (see also concubines). One is left wanting to know rather more about William Dakyns, fl. 1580-98 'notorious imposter and forger of pedigrees', listed in Appendix III.

This work must be regarded as an essential source for all scholars of medieval and early modern heraldry and genealogy.

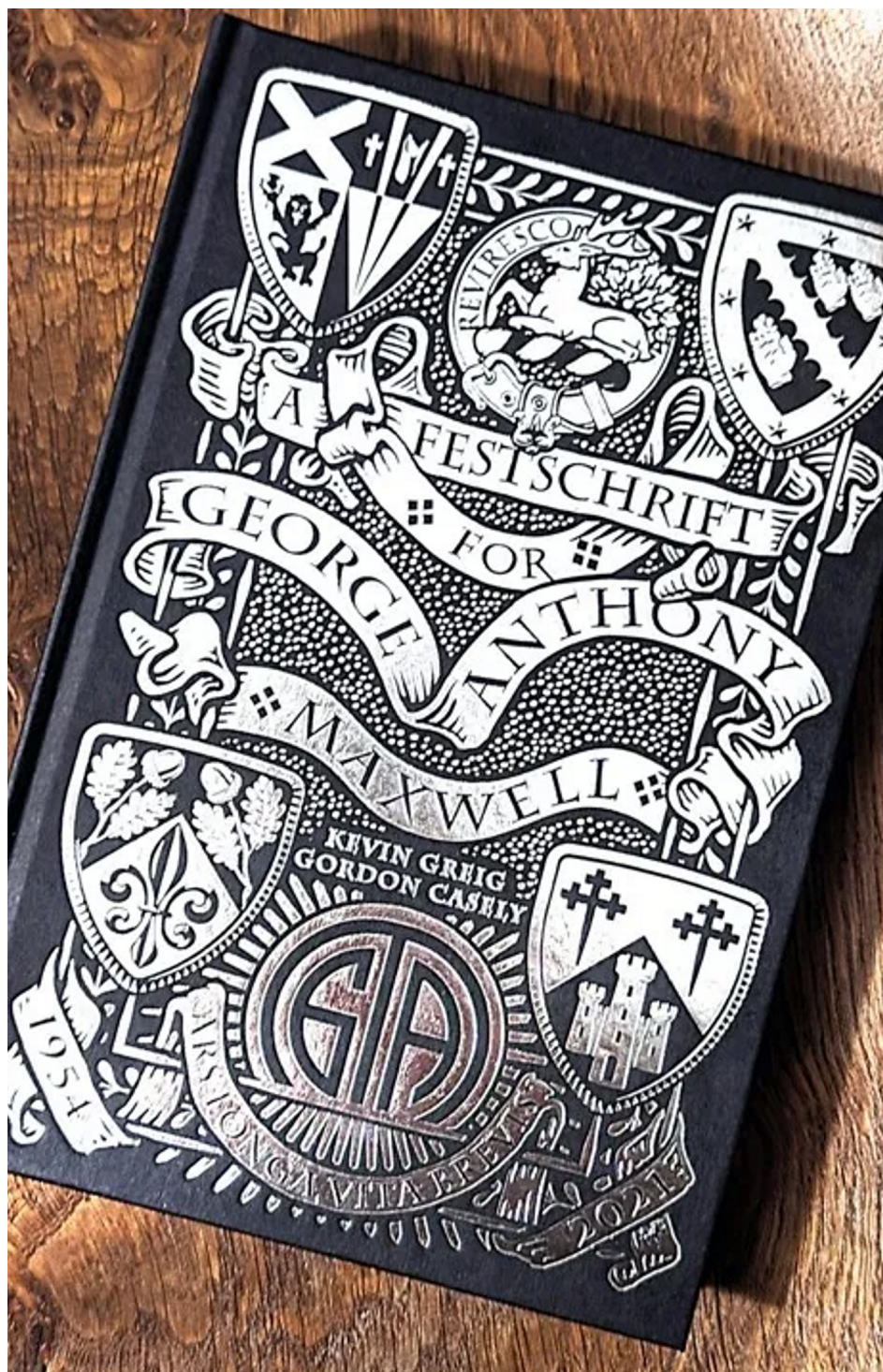
*Paul A. Fox*

Kevin Greig and Gordon Casely (edd.), *A Festschrift for George Anthony Maxwell*, Palfrey Press, 2023. 387pp, colour illustrations throughout. Hardcover ISBN 978-1-960736-00-0. £25.

This Royal size (234x156 mm) hard-cover book is a labour of love by three well-known members of the heraldic world. Edited by two of the late Anthony Maxwell's friends, Kevin Greig (artist and antiquarian) and Gordon Casely (journalist, heraldist, and piper), and published by Brady Brim-DeForest (publisher, antiquarian, and patron of the heraldic arts) via his Palfrey Press, the volume has been produced in honour of the heraldic work of the late George Anthony Maxwell. Greig also designed the silver-embossed black cover with, at the top, the arms of the current Lord Lyon, Dr Joseph J. Morrow, the bonnet badge of Clan Maxwell and Greig's own arms. At the bottom are the arms of Brady Brim-DeForest, the Maxwell 'GAM' monogram and the arms of Gordon Casely.

Normally a Festschrift is collated and presented to the recipient in their lifetime, but in producing this lovely book the authors may be forgiven since they have brought him to life again with this collection of his heraldic work. As they are the first to admit, the volume is not exhaustive (I have two examples of his work which are not included) but enough pieces are present to show his broad range of artistic ability, from armigerous families' coats of arms, badges, banners and bookplates, ecclesiastical heraldry, precious metal work and carpentry, to a selection of his published articles.

Essentially in full colour, mainly one coat of arms per page, with added notes (often by the armigers) and asides – some of which made me laugh out loud – there is a foreword by Lord Lyon King of Arms, an appreciation by Gordon Casely, an introduction by the editors, and a comment by the publisher.





## THE COAT OF ARMS



It is set out in eight chapters: Personal Arms, Corporate and Civic Heraldry, Email signatures, Insignia and Badges, Penwork and Sketches, Precious metals, BA(Hons) Woodwork, and a sample of published articles. There is also a useful alphabetical index of the artwork. The book is an unnumbered, limited edition of 300 containing 387 printed pages and is available via <https://heraldry.scot/?product=a-festschrift-for-george-anthony-maxwell>.

One or two minor hiccups, which do not detract from the pleasure of this book, are that the neck ribbon of a knight (page 305) of The Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem is worn by all Knights (not just Knights Grand Cross); the Arms of that Order (page 288) are actually those of the Grand Bailiwick of Scotland (hence the inclusion of the thistle) and there is one littoral – a missing 't' (as a former Editor I tend to proof-read as I go along) which I will leave you to find when you add this book to your library.

*Bernard Juby*



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 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.                   | Antiquaries' Journal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| b                         | born                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Balfour Paul,<br>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). Cite by number only                                                                                                                                           |
| 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 &amp; Baronetage</i> . 106th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Crans, Switzerland, 1999)                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Burke PB 2003             | <i>Burke's Peerage Baronetage &amp; Knightage. Clan Chiefs. Scottish Feudal Barons</i> . 107th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Wilmington, Delaware, 2003)                                                                                                                                        |
| CA                        | The College of Arms, London                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| CChR                      | Calendar of Charter Rolls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| CCR                       | Calendar of Close Rolls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

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|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CEMRA          | A. R. Wagner, <i>A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms</i> [Aspilogia 1] ( London 1950)                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| CFR            | Calendar of Fine Rolls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| CIMisc         | Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| CIPM           | Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| CLR            | Calendar of Liberate Rolls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| CoA            | <i>The Coat of Arms</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| co.            | comitatu: in the county of                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Coll.Top.&Gen. | <i>Collectanea Topographica &amp; Genealogica</i> (1834-43)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| CPR            | Calendar of Patent Rolls                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 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). Cite by number only                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Fairbairn      | <i>Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (fourth edn., 2 vols., London and Edinburgh 1905)                                                                                                                                                                |
| Fincham        | Henry W.Fincham, <i>Artists and engravers of British and American book plates</i> (London, 1897)                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 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                                                                                                        |
| Franks         | E.R.J.Gambier Howe (ed.), <i>Franks Bequest, Catalogue of British and American Bookplates Bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks</i> , 3 vols (London 1903-4). Cite by number only                                                                   |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 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-)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 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)                                                                                                                                                |
| 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 &amp; 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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |



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|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 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 <a href="http://www.british-history.ac.uk">www.british-history.ac.uk</a> and <a href="http://www.sd-editions.com">www.sd-editions.com</a> ) |
| qtly.             | quarterly                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Reid & Wilson     | <i>Ordinary of Arms</i> volume II, ed. David Reid of Robertland and Miss Vivien Wilson (Edinburgh 1977)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 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<br>repr. | <i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> (6 vols., ed. J. Strachey, 1767-77, 1783, with index 1832)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 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                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 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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