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TUDOR ENIGMAS

Peter Gwynn-Jones

As indicated by the title I have chosen, my intention in this article is to raise questions and speculations rather than to provide definitive answers. My hope is that it will give readers interesting food for thought which may enable them to provide some of the answers.

As most readers will be aware, to a large extent mediaeval heraldry is well covered by mediaeval rolls of arms, though exactly how, or even when, it originated remains controversial; and the answers may always continue to be elusive. It is not the purpose of this article to explore the origins of heraldry. It is sufficient to say that, along with feudalism and knight service, shields of arms were essentially part of that mediaeval social structure which was disrupted by the Black Death and which then, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, evolved into a very different world characterized by economically defined social classes. Tudor heraldry was different from the mediaeval, in both function (its decorative use, for instance, in a far wider range of items of personal and domestic nature) and distribution, being used by a far wider range of people who had come into being through those social changes.¹

In 1673 the College of Arms established a proper system of registration whereby all grants with their full text or recital were recorded.² So what happened in the intervening period between the end of the middle ages and the reforms of 1673? Docket books, miscellaneous drafts, compilations of grants, containing simply a trick, the name of the grantee and a date, entries in sundry visitations and other sources provide some indication but all too frequently they raise as many queries as they provide answers. I intend to look at some of the Tudor queries.

1. The arms of the College of Arms

The beginning of the Tudor period roughly coincides with the first foundation of the College of Arms in 1483 when John Wrythe was Garter, to be succeeded as such by his son Thomas Wriothesley in 1505. Wriothesley and his contemporary, Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, were responsible for a period of heraldry uniquely creative and distinctive. Approximately five hundred armorial bearings granted by Wriothesley and Benolt have been identified.

With the exception of those to women and clergymen, all include a crest. This was a major break with mediaeval practice where the crest was seemingly limited to those of tournament rank. Wriothesley and Benolt allowed the crest to be granted with all arms while still restricting the use of supporters; and this practice persists today. However, it may be that the kings of arms were far more active in designing new heraldry than the surviving documents imply, perhaps only issuing letters patent

¹ The bibliography is large, but an excellent starting point is M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud 2002).

² A. R. Wagner, *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London 1952), pp. 20-22; id., *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn., Oxford 1956), pp. 73-82.

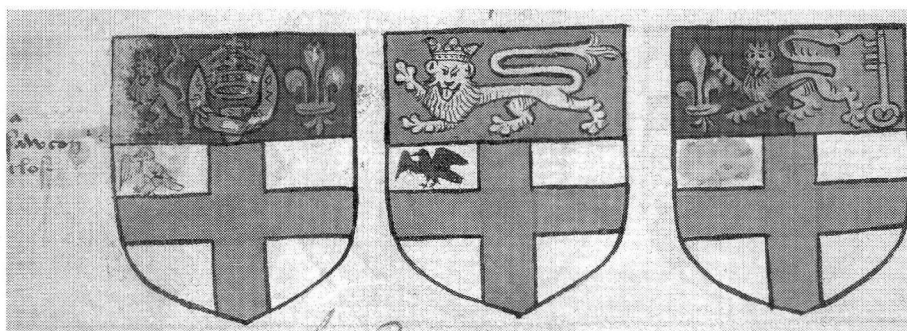
to those whose right to bear arms might be challenged. Discussion and informal sketches rather than formal documentation may otherwise have been considered sufficient. This becomes ever more likely as the sixteenth century progresses with the proliferation of heraldry and the remarkable paucity of surviving grants or full grant texts. This may explain the absence of any documentation for the arms of the College of Arms itself as well as the arms of office of the individual kings of arms.³

It is generally accepted that the arms of the College are *Argent a cross gules between four doves the dexter wing displayed and inverted azure*. However, a hitherto unnoticed manuscript in Wriothesley's own hand shows an interesting variation, including what is clearly the College of Arms bird in the seemingly patentless arms of office of Garter and Clarenceux, the latter being designated King of the South.⁴ It is to be noted that on the lefthand side, in Wriothesley's own hand, the bird is blazoned as 'a fawcon close' (**Figure 1**). I would argue with the term close; but the important fact is that birds are specifically blazoned as falcons and not doves.

Garter Wrythe adopted arms which have been blazoned as *Azure a cross or between four birds argent* and this is displayed on his seal of 1495.⁵ It is often held that Wrythe's arms form the model on which those of the College of Arms were based. If this is the case then support for the idea that the College birds were originally falcons is found in the fact that the arms appear along with others showing birds of prey and crosses in Wrythe's 'Ordinary of Raptors'.⁶ The choice of bird is thought to allude to Wrythe's position as Falcon Herald in the 1470s.

It seems to have been Wriothesley's successor as Garter, Thomas Wall, who first called the birds doves. He doubtless decided that the dove was a more appropriate charge for the heralds, representing a messenger of peace. The more aggressive falcon personal to the Wrythe/Wriothesley family lived on in the arms of the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton, and even occasionally recurs in the College's

Figure 1: Arms of office of the three English kings of arms, each with a bird in the first quarter, annotated 'a fawcon close' by Wriothesley: CA Ms A18, fo. 9v.



³ Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London 1967), pp. 133f. ⁴ CA Ms A18 fo. 9v.

⁵ BL Add Ms 37687E; illustrated and described in R. Marks and Ann Payne (edd.), *British Heraldry* (London 1978), p. 29 no. 41.

⁶ CA Ms L10 fo. 101; cf. also Ms Vincent 152 p. 61 where the birds are tricked 'close eagles'.

own arms after the time of Garter Wall. Adjacent to the title page of a collection of grants of arms made by Sylvanus Morgan, author of *The Sphere of Gentry*, there is the following statement:⁷

Colledge of Heraulds Beareth Argent a Crosse Gules between fower Faulcons, dexter wing overt, the other Close Azure Membred and Beaked of the second.

Buck says that these Armes were taken from the Arms of Writhe, alias Wriothly, and Brook blazons these birds Faulcons, not Doves.

ut nonnulli volunt,
J. G.

The initials and the use of Latin perhaps suggest John Gibbon, Bluemantle from 1670 to 1718; 'Buck' is clearly Sir George Buck or Buc, antiquary and author of 'A discourse or treatise of the third universitie of England' (in which he wrote about the College of Arms), while 'Brook' is presumably Ralph Brooke, the particularly quarrelsome York Herald of the late sixteenth century.

If Garter Wall was responsible for altering the birds in College's arms from falcons to doves, he seems to have done this without letters patent. Similarly, he may have been responsible for erasing the birds from the arms of office of the several kings of arms.

2. Garter and the provincial kings

During the Wriothesley/Benolt years, Wriothesley would appear to have had undivided control of the armorial work in both offices and this is reflected in the characteristic style of the time with its emphasis on heavy charging of the arms with different devices and with crests frequently charged with bars, bends or chevronels. Benolt on the other hand spent much of his time on foreign missions until, in 1528, he found himself in near disgrace for having declared war against the Emperor Charles V against the King's wishes and in 1530, for the first time in many years, he was not sent abroad.⁸

In was in consequence of this that, seeking another outlet for his energy, he obtained a commission 'to visite amonge other your Armes and Conysaunces and to reforme the same yf yt be necessarye and requisite, and to reforme all false armorye and Armes devysed without auctoritie'.⁹ The commission, which gave rise to the heraldic visitations, led to a row between Garter and Clarenceux which lingered on after the respective deaths of Wriothesley and Benolt which both occurred in 1534. Garter Barker, who succeeded as such in 1536, eventually signed an undertaking in Chapter in 1539 whereby it was agreed that Clarenceux and Norroy would be given the right to issue all patents of arms and crests in their provinces and that if any gentlemen should come to Garter and demand of him any arms or crest Garter would send him on to the king of arms of the province who, however, would give Garter 26 shillings and 8 pence for so doing.¹⁰

⁷ CA rec Ms Misc. Gts. 6, first opening.

⁸ For this and the sequel, see Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 160-72.

⁹ G. D. Squibb, *Munimenta Heraldica* (Harl. Soc. pubns. new ser. 4: London 1985), p. 130 no. 47: patent of aid, 19/4/1530.

¹⁰ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 179f.

Previously, histories of the College, down to and including Wagner's *Heralds of England*, have suggested that this situation prevailed for nearly thirty years until 1568. No mention is made of the April 1561 Chapter to which I will refer later. Whereas in 1539 Garter signed away to the other kings his right to give patents of arms, in 1568 the Earl Marshal laid down that in future every patent should be signed by all three kings of arms; no new arms were to be granted henceforth without the Earl Marshal's consent, though the kings might on their own authority confirm arms and grant crests to be borne with existing arms.¹¹ This may explain why so many letters patent claim to be confirmations of hitherto non-existent arms and grants of crests, with the result that confirmation appears to be synonymous with granting. It was merely a ploy to avoid the Earl Marshal's interference.

This does raise the question of the validity of garterial grants made by Barker when he had renounced granting between 1539 and his death in 1550. His grants to John Aylworth of Somerset in 1545/6 and Robert Stanysby of County Durham in 1543 are two examples of what appear to be a direct infringement of the rights of Clarenceux and Norroy respectively.¹²

Garter Wagner in his *Heralds of England* mentions that the 1568 agreement was never properly enforced since the Earl Marshal was shortly afterwards found guilty of treason and beheaded.¹³ This overlooks the fact that the Earl Marshal had been trying to enforce such reforms from at least 1561. As we shall see the kings of arms simply ignored this. The internal struggles continued but Garter was slowly able to reassert his granting authority and the plan of 1568 was ultimately to form the basis of other later reforms culminating in those of 1673. Although some improvement in Garter's position is found with the two Dethicks, the granting initiative in the mid and late sixteenth century lay with Clarenceux, in particular William Hervy and his deputy and successor Robert Cooke.

It is perhaps well that Gilbert Dethick was kept in check. A grant by him dated 1554, recently come to light, merely confirms arms to all persons named Prevost on the basis that they all had a common Norman ancestor, though no arms appear for Prevost in mediaeval rolls of arms (**Plate 1**).¹⁴ This is akin to modern 'bucket shop' heraldry at its worst. It is good that, as far as we know, Dethick does not appear to have followed this course of action with other grants of similar nature.

As a result of his disagreements with Benolt, Thomas Wriothesley produced a roll of arms claiming to show all the armorial bearings granted by him and his predecessors. This roll is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries with a copy made for Clarenceux Benolt in the College.¹⁵ It suggests that Wriothesley was making something in the region of fifteen grants a year. At the end of the century Garter

¹¹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 188-98.

¹² Aylworth, 10 March 1545/6: CA record Ms EDN 56/2; BL Add Charter 8661 (original patent). Stanysby, 8 April 1543: CA record Ms Old Grants 2/118 (facsimile of original patent, now *penes* Thomas Woodcock, Esq., Norroy & Ulster King of Arms).

¹³ Ibid. p. 198.

¹⁴ Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Ms HM 1419.

¹⁵ Soc. Ant. Ms 443, edd. M. Stephenson and R. Griffin, *Archaeologia* 69 (1920), pp. 61-110; CA Ms mun. room box 15 roll 25. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 90f.

Segar wrote of the lately deceased Cooke that he 'confirmed and gave Arms and Crest without number to base and unworthy persons for his private gain only without the knowledge of the Earl Marshal.'¹⁶ The troublesome Brooke wrote that Cooke had granted more than five hundred coats of arms.¹⁷ This suggests that Cooke made approximately twenty grants of arms a year, only five more than Wriothesley. As traditionally Cooke is thought to have issued more grants than his predecessor William Hervy, this would indicate that William Hervy might have made something in the region of fifteen to twenty grants a year.

To test this accepted view, I extracted all Hervy grantees in what is known as the 'Old Grants Index' in the College of Arms, the principal finding-aid for grants and confirmations of arms and crests prior to the consolidation of such acts in one series in 1673. This yielded some two hundred entries, thus seemingly confirming that Hervy did indeed make twenty grants of arms a year during his tenure of office as Clarenceux from 1557 to 1567.

That this relatively straightforward estimate of Tudor grants needs considerable adjustment, however, is shown by College of Arms manuscript L9. When I first came to the College this was frequently shown to visitors and vaguely ascribed to Thomas Wriothesley. However, folios 24 to 29 contain a hundred and twenty-five armorials and the style of these armorials is of a somewhat simpler nature than that which prevailed at the beginning of the century (**Plate 2**). They are listed and blazoned in full below in Appendix A. In general they are more complicated than mediaeval heraldry but far less so than Wriothesley heraldry, all of which indicates to me that they have a common origin. Many of these one hundred and twenty-five have been copied directly into two other College manuscripts,¹⁸ but only thirty-seven of them can be found in the College's early grant and confirmation records: they are almost all by Hervy in his first three years as Clarenceux. Another forty-one not among the College old grants are listed among the docquets and grant books found in the British Library, and particularly in Additional Ms 16940, a compilation chiefly consisting of grants by Hervy. All those that can be dated come from the same period with a very small minority moving into 1560 and 1561. As there are other known Hervy grants dating from 1557 to 1560 from both the College and the British Library it is clear that L9 is not comprehensive. The indication from this is that Hervy may have made as many as one hundred and fifty grants in his first three years. Fifty grants a year is considerably more than the fifteen to twenty at first estimated.

The L9 manuscript has one grant which is outside its roughly defined but nonetheless discernible chronological span. This is a grant to Thomas Powle (1514-1601), one of the six Clerks in Chancery. This man received a grant from William

¹⁶ CA Ms Arundel 40 (Lant's Observations), fo. 29/123.

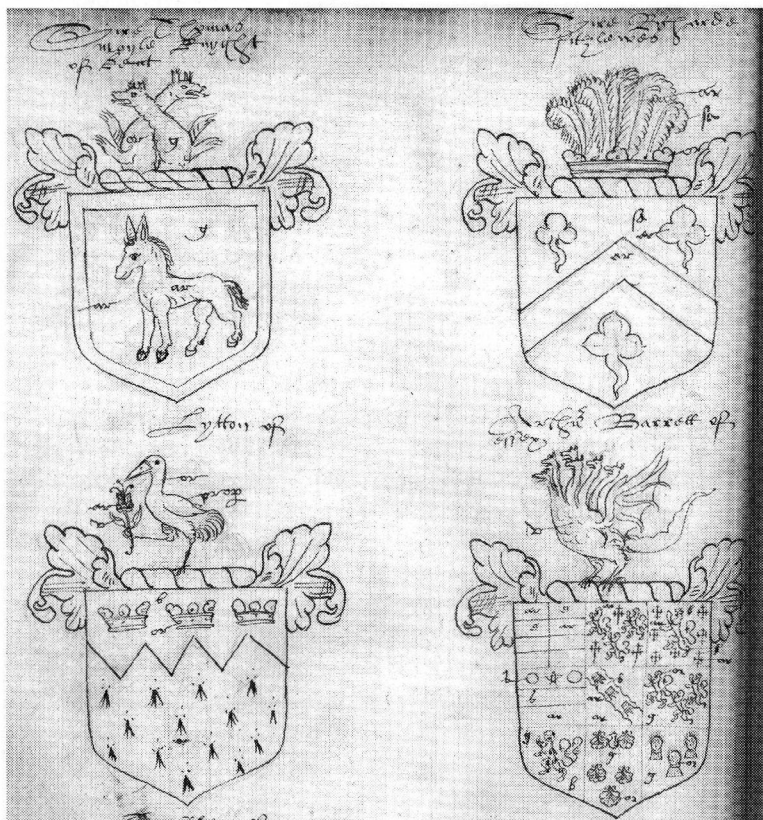
¹⁷ BL Ms Cotton Faustina E.1, fo. 141.

¹⁸ All but one of the crests have been copied as a series in record Ms Vincent 161, fos. 21 (no. 2) to 24 (no. 14), while all the coats of arms explicitly ascribed to Londoners are repeated in Ms M11, fos. 27v to 29v. The miscellany at L6, fos. 86-128v contains many of the arms in L9, in a roughly similar order and frequently with closely coinciding ascriptions, but jumbled up with other coats of arms. The relationship between the two mss is hard to divine.

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Hervy in 1559 and another from Dethick, Cooke and Flower in 1569. It is the 1569 grant which appears in L9.¹⁹ I have no doubt that this is a clerical error and that it was the 1559 Hervy grant which was intended. However this error does indicate that the folios were compiled after Hervy's death in 1567. Almost certainly the compilation was authorized by Cooke who was Hervy's deputy and successor as Clarenceux. The script is characteristic and is found in another College of Arms manuscript which can be dated from about 1583 and is now known to contain a high proportion of Cooke grants as well as those by Hervy (**Figure 2**).²⁰

Figure 2: the arms and crests of Moyle, Fitzhewes, Lytton and Barrett.
CA record Ms 2.G2/61v.



¹⁹ CA Ms L9 fo. 28b no. 1 (whence M11 fo. 31). Hervy, 10 May 1559: CA record Mss Vincent 169/102, Gts 2/561. Arms: *Per fess indented az. and gu. three demi lions passant regardant or armed and langued gu.* Crest: *Standing on a dexter arm fesswise gu. gloved ar. purfled or a hawk ppr. beaked membered and belled or jessed gu.* Dethick, 7 May 1569: CA record Mss Old Grants 57, Misc. Gts. 5/148, dating Hervy's grant 23 June 1559 and unusually explicit about its failure to please ('being not so well to be lyked of for some respects to officers of armes well known'); see below, Appendix 1, 28b. 1, for blazon, and plate 2, top left.

²⁰ CA record Ms 2.G2.

3. Dethick's Complaint and the Chapter of 1561

In my pursuit of Hervy in the official records and other manuscripts of the College of Arms, I came across a manuscript source which I have designated 'Dethick's Complaint' and which hitherto has been overlooked.²¹ This is addressed by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms, to the Earl Marshal requesting that 'it maye please yo^r grace tunderstand of the wrongs and euill doings of Clarentiulx kinge of Armes Aswell in disobeying yo^r graces orderes as Also in Doinge wronge and Iniury to me the said Garter and otheres as most Justlye shall apere and be proved before yo^r grace.'²² Dethick goes on to state that 'yo^r grace at A Chapte^r houlden at Christes church in the p'sentes of therell of Sussex the xxij Daye of Aprill in the third year of the raigne of the Quenes ma^{tie} that nowe is [sc. 1561] gave Commaundement to all the kings of Arms that none of them Should geue out any p'atents of Arms w^hout yo^r graces consent'.²³ Dethick then goes on to say that 'Also yo^r grace gaue Commaundemeⁿte that euery of the said kings of Armes should make and p'sent unto yo^r grace A bocke of all the Armes that they have geuen Sence the fyrste yeare of the raigne of the Quenes ma^{tie} the whiche the said Clare'tiulx hathe not Don to our knoweledge'.²⁴ It is clear that Clarenceux Hervy took no notice of the Earl Marshal's instructions and it is significant that it is not until 1568, immediately after Hervy's death, that the Earl Marshal's instructions were reiterated. The Earl Marshal seems to have made little headway in controlling Hervy and as Dethick complains that 'the said Clarrentiulx hathe reported in A taverne, as it is to be prowed, that he would not haue his matters Decreed by yo^{ur} grace, but by the wholl Counseill at the Counsell borde'.²⁵

After various other gripes relating to the practice of heraldic funerals, Dethick's Complaint then lists two grants made by Hervy 'Sence yo^r grace gaue commaundmeⁿt to the contrarye', a further batch of 'Armes geuen to these men by Clare'tiulx in his last visitatio' contrarye to yo^r graces Commaundemeⁿt' (that is the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk) and finally 'These Armes geuen Sence Shroftyd [Shrovetide] by the sayd Clare'ciulx An^o 1562'.²⁶ A total of twenty-six grants are listed, twenty-four to personal grantees. Dethick then concludes saying that 'wheareas the Sayde Clarentiulx hathe complayned unto yo^r grace that I should call him false Knaue and therby Slaundered him',²⁷ there are further, more obscure matters in Hervy's affairs that the Earl Marshal ought to take up with him.

'Dethick's Complaint' manifests long-standing ongoing troubles between Garter and Clarenceux. It also fills something of a gap left by Garter Wagner in his account of the sixteenth-century problems in his *Heralds of England*, where no mention is made of the Chapter held on 22 April 1561, the Earl Marshal's regulations and Hervy's dismissive attitude. Specifically, the new source allows a further hypothesis to be put forward regarding the number of grants made by Hervy as Clarenceux.

²¹ CA Ms Vincent 92 pp. 482-5. A full transcript appears below in Appendix B.

²² Ibid. 482, lines 7-12.

²³ Ibid., lines 19-24.

²⁴ Ibid., lines 31-35.

²⁵ Ibid., lines 40-43.

²⁶ Ibid. 483, line 13 to 484 line 8.

²⁷ Ibid. 484, lines 9-13.

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The list of twenty-four personal grantees contained in Dethick's Complaint as recently made by Hervy have, like those in L9, been checked against the College of Arms Old Grants Index and the records of grants and confirmations held in the British Library. Of the twenty-four only six are to be found in the Old Grants Index (interestingly one of these resided in Doncaster, suggesting that Clarenceux was not averse to poaching). Another seven are to be found among those said by Foster to be held in the British Library.²⁸

I have also endeavoured to locate the grants and confirmations attributed to Hervy in the British Library collections in other sources at the College of Arms. Some were clearly caught up in the Visitations. However, it must be remembered that many grantees did not have surviving male-line descendants; and if the grantee himself did not appear in any contemporary Visitation, the Arms would not appear subsequently. The Visitations may not, in short, be entirely satisfactory in retrieving missing Tudor arms. Furthermore after the burst of Hervy and Cooke activity in the 1560s and 1570s Cooke seems to have lost interest in conducting Visitations; his successor Lee was essentially inactive and Visitation matters were not really revived until Clarenceux Camden in the 1610s and 1620s.²⁹ Fifty years is rather a large gap, and many grantees may have fallen by the wayside.

Much more rewarding than the Visitations have proved to be a number of manuscripts which were seemingly prepared in the office of Hervy's successor as Clarenceux, Robert Cooke. Page after page of armorials feature therein and a high percentage of the Hervy grants missing from the College of Arms Old Grant Index but found in the British Library are also found in these Cooke manuscripts.³⁰

Unfortunately, Robert Cooke or whoever prepared these manuscripts in his office cannot be credited with being methodical. Grants by Cooke and Hervy are mixed up together with each other and with grants by other kings of arms both previous and contemporary. There is no indication of alphabetical or chronological arrangement. Sometimes mediaeval arms appear, and there are schemes of quarterings. Too frequently the only attribution to a grantee is a bare surname. That these manuscripts were regarded as important is borne out by their well-thumbed pages and it is quite clear from the style of design that many of the armorial bearings represent original Tudor grants; but there are others which must be confirmations or simply funeral certificates. However, many of the missing Hervy grants listed in the British Library have now been identified in these manuscripts. My estimate is that about one hundred and fifty of the coats of arms they contain are grants or confirmations by Hervy.

It now becomes possible to give, tentatively, a radically revised estimate for the total number of grants Hervy made in his career. Approximately one hundred and seventy are to be found in the College of Arms Old Grants Index, while two hundred

²⁸ See Appendix B below for details.

²⁹ Wagner, *Records & Collections*, pp. 69-71: between 1566 and 1580 Cooke visited eighteen counties; from 1580 to 1593, only five, three of them by deputy. Lee conducted no visitations as Clarenceux.

³⁰ Examples are CA record Ms 2.G2, and Mss Vincent 182, 183 and 184.

and sixty-five more are indexed separately in the Record Room. To this my estimate of one hundred and fifty from the Cooke manuscripts can be added. My impression is that thirty or forty of his grants may be caught in the Visitations; and I would propose that a hundred or so are still missing. This highly conjectural procedure would suggest a total for Hervy's career as a king of arms in the region of seven hundred grants, i.e. seventy grants a year. This is very far removed from the original estimate of fifteen to twenty grants a year.

Poor Gilbert Dethick was left far behind even though he seems to have gained some of the ground lost by Garter Barker. In his complaint, as we saw, Dethick refers to the Earl Marshal's command that all three kings should present a book listing all the grants of arms they made. If Clarenceux ignored this, Dethick would appear to have complied for I have found his list for the period between June 1559 and March 1561.³¹ The grantees number a mere sixteen, including Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and five other Bishops. If Dethick is to be believed, and it may be rather a big 'if', he was making eight grants a year, somewhat fewer than Hervy's seventy. Such ground he had made was seemingly episcopal.

In chasing Hervy grants one inevitably comes across the occasional clash between Garter and Clarenceux. For example, there is a grant to Simon Edulph apparently made by Garter Gilbert Dethick in 1559, and then an identical grant of arms and crest made by Hervy to Simon Edulph in 1562.³² Possibly poor Edulph was made to pay up twice because Hervy convinced him that Dethick's grant was invalid. This presumption may be wrong. In 1576 Robert Cooke made a grant to Robert Grove of Donhead Andrew in Wiltshire. A facsimile of the patent, with the full text, is on record in the College and it would be fair to say that anyone looking at it in isolation would consider it to establish the arms and crest for the first time.³³ Why then is there a patent from William Hervy dated sixteen years earlier in 1560, also on record in facsimile form,³⁴ granting precisely and exactly the same arms and crest to the same man? As Cooke was Hervy's deputy and subsequent successor there seems no reason for the second grant to have been made. It could not have been the product of the Garter-Clarenceux feud and does teach us to be wary of the pitfalls of Tudor heraldry. Incidentally both grants suggest confirming and granting were considered the same, perhaps to avoid the Earl Marshal's interference. The Cooke grant states that he has 'ratified and confirmed geven and graunted' and that of Hervy 'ratefied confirmed assigned and graunted'. Confirming and granting have seemingly been merged.

Before concluding with Hervy, I shall touch briefly on another interesting question: the grant of crests of women. Hervy was clearly quite prepared to do this, as is shown by his grant to Dorothy Gilbert in 1559 (**Figure 3**).³⁵ However other examples are not forthcoming, though the total number of Hervy grants to women is low.

³¹ CA record Ms Vincent's Old Grants 1 (= Vincent 157 or 178) / 219. Transcribed below in Appendix C.

³² Dethick 1559: CA record Ms Vincent 163/173. Hervy 1562: CA record Ms Vincent 161/2.

³³ CA record Ms Old Grants (facsimiles) 2/30-1.

³⁴ Ibid. 32-3.

³⁵ CA record Ms Misc. Gts. 1/61.

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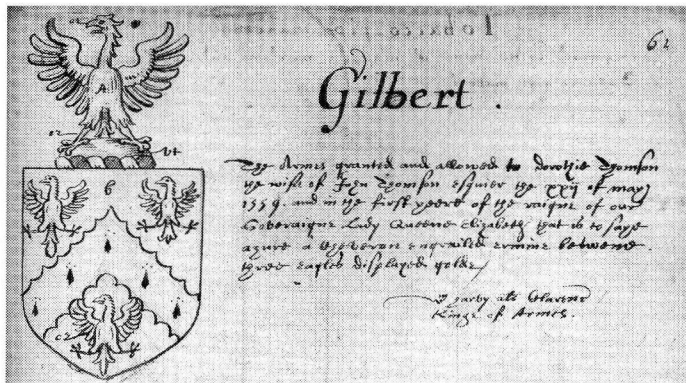


Figure 3: Note of grant of arms and crest to Dorothy Gilbert, wife of John Thomson, by William Hervy, Clarenceux, 22 May 1559. CA record Ms Misc. Gts. 1/61.

The Gilbert grant may have been a test case since only the arms are blazoned and not the crest. Cooke, Hervy's successor, made rather more grants to women; but he seems to have been somewhat more conservative and stuck to the lozenge.

4. Robert Cooke

William Hervy died in 1567 and was succeeded by Cooke who had thirty years as Clarenceux. I have mentioned that Cooke was unmethodical, but he must have been one of the most industrious officers the College has ever known. Brooke's statement that Cooke granted more than five hundred coats of arms, that is to say probably fewer than twenty a year is totally misleading. Some fifteen hundred Cooke grants are officially recognized and feature in the Old Grants Index. However manuscripts in the unofficial collections of the College which can be identified as emanating from Cooke's office, and other manuscripts hitherto unindexed but forming part of the official College records, contain scores of coats of arms that may also be his. Unfortunately, they are not chronologically organized and are frequently muddled up with mediaeval heraldry. As Cooke himself reverted to a simpler mediaeval style of design this does not facilitate the sorting out of his original material, although the crests are helpful. Many crests, though combined with a mediaeval style of arms, are such that they could only be of Tudor origin.

Three points can be made regarding these recently neglected manuscripts. First, they have been well used in the past as is witnessed by their physical state. They must, therefore, have been considered of importance and not the mere doodles of a Cooke artist experimenting. They are genuine armorials and any idea of such experimenting must be dispelled by the fact that the name of the grantee or recipient is frequently given.

Secondly, there again arises the question as to whether Tudor kings of arms actually issued letters patent or whether they simply gave some form of certificate. This is a harder question to resolve than might at first be thought. Letters patent are made to be issued to grantees, and though the College of Arms has acquired by various routes a body of patents issued prior to 1673 it is neither a large selection nor a necessarily representative one. However a fascinating campaign is under way to track down original patents in national, local and foreign archives and libraries, and have

them photographed for the College's collections. The White Lion Society has given us enormous assistance in this project. At the time of writing, 145 have been traced and photographed, providing an invaluable corpus of material on varied questions such as the development of heraldic and decorative artwork in the College and the language and style of grant texts. With regard to numbers of patents issued, however, the project has not so far caused a major re-evaluation of current views: of the 145 newly photographed patents, only 25 (a proportion of 17%) represent grants not already in the Old Grants Index. I do not pretend to know the answer except to reiterate that letters patent may have been the grand form of grant while other grantees made do with some unknown simpler method

Thirdly, Hervy and Cooke grantees should not be sought in the likes of Burke's *General Armory*. Burke based his book on a long series of earlier armories running back, ultimately, to a manuscript armorial in the College known as the 'EDN Alphabet'. This I believe in turn may have been based on an ordinary, also in the College, known as 'Smith's Ordinary'. This was compiled at the end of the sixteenth century by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, and is a detailed collection of mediaeval arms with good coverage of the Wriothesley-Benolt period. Thereafter, Smith seems to have given up. The proliferation of mid-Tudor heraldry proved too much for him. This enormous gap during what is arguably heraldry's most creative period did not therefore feature in Georgian and Victorian reference books and has therefore never been subject to the abuse of bucket-shop heraldry.

In bringing this article to a conclusion I would suggest that Cooke, always accepted as being more productive than his predecessors in office, was not responsible as Brooke was for five hundred grants of arms over thirty years. I believe this figure to be totally unrealistic. Cooke as Clarenceux acquired a reputation of granting more than his predecessor Hervy. It is tempting to think that York Herald, Brooke, left off a nought, equivalent to a typing error today. This may be an exaggeration of the true position but given Brooke's character such an exaggeration would not be surprising. Perhaps 3000, that is to say, a hundred a year, might be nearer the truth.³⁶ Much more research needs to be done.

The creativity of Cooke was not matched thereafter. Much again needs to be done on the Stuart Heralds up to 1673. Many missing Stuart grants have come to light in recent years; but generally speaking there was a downturn, moving towards the College's nadir in 1708 when no grants of arms at all were made. Nonetheless, 1603 to 1673 is a period inviting further research and is likely to yield rewarding results.³⁷

³⁶ As already suggested in my *The Art of Heraldry* (London 1998), p. 107; the hypothesis is reported by J. F. R. Day in his entry on Robert Cooke in *Oxford DNB*.

³⁷ This article is based on a lecture delivered to the Heraldry Society on 26 May 2004. I would like to offer my grateful thanks to the following for their invaluable assistance in the preparation of the article and the appendices: Julia Hett, Robert Yorke, Jack Carlson, Edward Herbert, David White (Somerset Herald), Carol Hartley and the editors of this journal.

Appendix A: CA Ms L9 / 24b-29b

For a full archival account of the manuscript see Louise Campbell and Francis Steer, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms. Collections* vol. 1 (London 1988), p. 43. This section is numbered so that a single number covers an opening (facing left and right pages) rather than the two sides of a folio; thus 25a is a lefthand page, 25b the righthand page facing it. The coats of arms appear in three rows per page, four to a row. Numbers in bold have been added here for reference purposes only.

The apparatus to each entry notes other instances of the arms in the grant records of the College of Arms, failing which, instances in the Visitations. Also noted are appearances of the arms in Mss M11 and L6 (for which see note 18 above). Details regarding other grants or confirmations to the same individuals (or close kin) are given where they may resolve or indicate a possible confusion. Biographical data are not adduced when surplus to the basic requirements of identification, and are not generally repeated when given from an earlier cited source. References to BL mss, also given in short form throughout, are cited from *Grantees of Arms*, here abbreviated *GA*. All crests, unless otherwise noted, are also in CA record Ms Vincent 161 pp. 21-24 (here abbreviated Vin 161) with minor variations not indicated here. Other CA record Mss indexed in the College 'Old Grants Index' and cited here are:

ICB 101: Hervy's Grants	Miscellaneous Grants 1-8.	EDN56: arms of various provenance.
B.EDN: Cooke's Grants.	Camden's Grants.	
Dethick's Gifts.	Grants 1 and 2.	2. H5: grants by Hawley etc.
St G. Old Grants: notebook kept by Richard St George of earlier grants.	Old Grants (facsimiles) 1 and 2.	1 or 2 H6; 2.H10.
Old Grants ✕.	F12: grants by Dethick etc.	R21.
	F13: grants by Cooke.	Vincent 157, 162, 163, 169.

The visitation and ancillary records referred to are:

C9: Nottinghamshire 1614.	D7: Devon 1564.
C14: Northants. and Rutland 1618-19.	1.D14: Cheshire 1580.
2.C15: Suffolk 1612.	D21+: Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex 1664-8.
C18: Berkshire 1623.	F1: rough notes for various visitations including London 1568.
1.C22: Dorset and Wiltshire 1623.	G1: Norfolk 1563.
2.C22: Somerset 1623.	G10: London 1568.
C23: Lincolnshire 1634.	H2: Kent 1574.
C28: Hertfordshire and Middlesex 1634.	1.H5: Surrey and Hampshire 1572.
C30: Worcestershire 1634.	H12: Leicestershire and Warwickshire 1565.
C37: Lancashire 1664-5.	H13: Suffolk 1561.
C40: Yorkshire 1665-6.	H14: Suffolk 1577.
D3: Lancashire and Cheshire 1566-7.	
D5: Yorkshire 1563.	

Reference is also made to three mss housed with, but distinct from, the Visitations (E16 ('Arms and Descent of the Nobility'), Dugdale trefoil (genealogical and heraldic notes) and 2.G2 (see p. 78 above)), and to Earl Marshal's books I.5 and I.16, official records containing office copies of funeral certificates.

24b 1 Frauncis Pope of London marchant tayle^r

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent three birds close vert wings or within a bordure engrailed azure bezanty, 2 and 3 or three demi swivels sable. No crest.

F1/261 (Hervy 1558), whence G10/63; L6/86v (18/6/1558); M11/27v; all give the crest. GA p. 202 (Harl 5887/57; Add 16940/55v). DBA 2, p. 189, suggests the birds are peahens.

2 Francis fo'beshier of Dancaster

Ermine on a fess engrailed between three griffin's heads erased sable beaked or a talbot courant proper gorged with a collar gules attached thereto a line terminating in a knot or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A unicorn's head erased azure armed crined and gorged with a coronet or.

L6/86v, 87v. GA p. 95: 1/4/1550 (Harl 1422/23; Add 16940/10).

3 henry Whellere of hay ere disbury in com Wilshier

Argent a chevron flory counter-flory vert between three bull's heads gules armed or. Crest, on a wreath or and vert: A stag's head erased quarterly argent and gules attires counterchanged.

L6/86v (1558). GA p. 274 (Add 16940/9).

4 John Carleton of Walton upon themys
Quarterly 1 and 4 argent on a bend sable three mascles argent, 2 gules on a bend cottised argent three Cornish choughs proper, 3 argent between ten roses disposed in two pales five and five gules a pale wavy sable over all a canton ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: Issuant from a coronet or a unicorn's head armed argent and sable crined argent.

L6/86v, with the motto NON PAS TROP AVANT.

5 Robert eyre of Eye in com suff

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent on a chevron sable three quatrefoils or, 2 and 3 argent a chevron ermines between three escallops gules, overlapping all the quarters a crescent azure thereon a crescent or. Crest, on a wreath or and vert: A man's leg habited per pale argent and gules spurred or charged on the thigh with a crescent or thereon another azure.

ICB 101/2 (Hervy 12/5/1558). GA p. 85 (Add 16940/193). There was an earlier grant by Barker: EDN 56/5, GA *ibid*.

6 Thomas percy of london skynne^r

Or five lozenges conjoined in fess throughout sable on each a fleur-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: A lion's head erased azure langued or gorged with a collar gules fimbriated and studded or.

L6/86v (1558); M11/27v. But cf. GA p. 157: Thomas Percy of Islington, 'Hawley' 10/8/1546 (Add 16940/201; Harl 5887/28v).

7 William bowier of Sussex & of Constance

Argent a chevron flory-counter-flory vert between three ox's (?) heads erased sable armed or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A dexter cubit arm habited bendy wavy or and gules the hand proper holding in bend sinister a crocodile's head and neck erased vert langued gules.

L6/87 (13/7/1558). GA p. 30 (Add 16940/19) reads 'Canserne'; Cansiron in Sussex?

8 John sadler of edelmonton in mydelsex

Argent on a chevron embattled gules between three eagle's heads azure beaked gules three fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A demi eagle displayed sable beaked and winged argent langued gules.

L6/87 (22/7/1558). GA p. 220: Hervy 1558 (Add 16940/19).

9 John leonerd of cheue'ing in Kent

Argent on a fess engrailed gules between three eagle's heads azure langued gules a lion passant or between two fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: a demi lion or langued gules gorged with a coronet azure holding in his paws a rose slipped leaved and barbed proper.

L6/87 (26/7/1558). GA p. 154 (Add 16940/8). In 1584 Cooke, at the funeral of Leonard's wife (cf. below 25b. 4), allowed him simpler arms (*Or on a fess gu. three fleurs-de-lys or*) and a quartering: B.EDN/5. These were used by his descendants and his nephew, Samson Lennard, Bluemantle.

10 Gomersalle

Sable a chevron engrailed ermine between

three dexter gauntlets their backs manifest argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: Issuant from a crescent or a dexter gauntlet argent holding a battle axe shaft proper blade and spike argent.

This entry is on an inserted slip of vellum, an earlier one presumably having been cut out, the name is in a slightly different hand, and the crest is not in Vin 161/21-4. St G. Old Grants 77v: 'per S^r G(ilbert) D(ethick) G(arter)'. GA p. 102 (Harl 6140 fo. 54). L6/87 has a deleted shield and crest which may represent what was originally here.

11 Edithe daughter to John rychards of Broughton in com southe

Argent on a chevron engrailed sable between three escallops azure three eagle's heads argent. No crest.

L6/87.

12 Willm golyghtley se'gent ferer [Willm replaces John cancelled]

Argent on a chevron sable between three talbots courant sable collared or a hammer (?) or ensigned with a coronet or between two horseshoes argent on a chief azure between two fleurs-de-lys or a lion passant guardant or. No crest.

M11/27v; L6/87v. GA p. 102 (Add 16940/61). L6 and GA call him John.

25a 1 Thomas huys the quenes phesic' on

Gules on a bend between two demi lions argent armed and langued azure three fleurs-de-lys sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: On a mount proper a peahen (?) argent beaked and legged gules.

M11/28; L6/87v. GA p. 131: Thomas Huys of Co. Glouc., 1558 (Add 16940/9v; Harl 6140/32 'but with different crest').

2 Geoffrey Walkeden skynner of london

Argent a chevron engrailed azure between three griffin's heads azure beaked or on a chief azure an anchor or between two bezants. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A griffin's head quarterly argent and vert langued azure beaked and gorged with a coronet or.

F1/62v (Hervy 1558: Walkeden as of Stone, Staffs., and London); M11/28; L6/87v. GA p. 264 (Add 16940/55; 5887/54).

3 John predieulx se'gent at Lawe

Argent on a chevron sable between three eagle's legs coupéd à la quise gules a closed book or between two Bouchier knots argent.

Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A dove wings expanded argent beaked and legged gules.

ICB101/3 (John Predyaux of Nutwell, Devon, serjt. at law, by Hervy 16/5/1558; book 'purpled vert'); L6/87v; M11/28. GA p. 205 (Add 16940/9; Harl 1359/15). Cooke's 1594 grant of a new shield is on record in several CA record mss.

4 Raulf grenway alderman of London

Argent on a chevron engrailed azure between three griffin's heads gules beaked azure a bezant between two anchors or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A fox's head erased quarterly argent and gules langued gules.

L6/87v; M11/12v. GA p. 106: 'of Norfolk', 1558 (Add 16940/9).

5 M^r Lewis Docter of the arches

Quarterly 1 and 4 chequy or and sable on a fess gules three lion's faces jessant-de-lys or, 2 and 3 argent between three leaves vert a chevron gules. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: A dragon's head erased vert langued gules gorged with a coronet argent.

L6/87v; M11/28. GA p. 155: '[1553?]' (Add 26753/123). Principal arms confirmed as qtg. in grant to Thomas Ivatt, searcher of the port of London, by Segar 27/6/1626: Misc. Gts. 4/85 etc.

6 S^r Francis Jobson knight

Paly argent and azure a chevron ermine between three eagles displayed or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A demi unicorn ermine tufted and armed or.

Royal grant by Ed. VI, Apr. 1553: F12/9, R21/70. L6/87v. GA p. 138 (Bod. Ms Ashmole 834 fo. 43).

7 S^r Rychard champyon maio^r of London

Or on a fess gules between three trefoils ermines an eagle displayed or all within a bordure engrailed azure bezanty. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A cubit arm sleeved gules banded or holding three roses gules slipped and leaved proper their stems conjoined.

F1/58v (Hervy 1558, giving flowers as 'purpell' quatrefoils), whence G10/4v; L5/163v (fun. cert., 1568); L6/87v; M11/9v.

8 Bayly

Or on a fess engrailed azure between three horse's heads azure three fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *An heraldic antelope azure bezanty armed or.*
L6/88.

9 John erle of exmouthe in the county of devon

Quarterly 1 and 4 or on a fess between three lion's gambes erased azure three pheons or, 2 argent a chevron between three birds ermine, 3 argent three camels sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A horse's head azure crined or.*
L6/88.

10 henry vyny of London

Azure a bend or on a chief argent a saltire engrailed gules between two Cornish choughs proper. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *A dexter arm vambraced and gauntleted proper garnished and holding an annulet or set therein a cut diamond proper.*

Old Grants 40 (Hervy, 24/1/1558-9); Misc. Gts. 5/155; L.C22/17; Vin 161/1v; L6/88; M11/28v. GA p. 264 (Add 16940 fo. 47v).

11 [blank]

12 nycholas willes waterbally of london
Argent three griffins passant sable within a bordure engrailed gules bezanty. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: *A demi griffin azure armed gules holding in the forefeet a halberd staff gules blade and point or.*
L6/88; M11/28v.

25b 1 George horde of london

Azure a lion rampant or langued and armed gules on a chief or a raven close between two mullets sable. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *On a garb fesswise or a raven close sable.*
L6/88; M11/28v. GA p. 128: 10/3/1558-9 (Add 16940/32v, 42; Harl 1422/35).

2 James Ingram of Walwarde in Warwikshier

Quarterly 1 and 4 or two pallets gules, 2 ermine on a fess gules three escallops or, 3

per fess azure and gules a lion rampant or. Crest, on a wreath or and gules: *A demi ibex argent langued gules crined armed and gorged with a coronet or.*
L6/88v.

3 Rychard Rucheburgh

Argent a chevron between three bears couchant sable. Crest on a wreath argent and sable: *A stork close argent.*

Misc. Gts. 7/514 and Grants 2/546 (Richard Rusburgh of Aylesham, Norfolk, by Hervy, 16/11/1558; stork 'sable purfled argent'); L6/88v. GA p. 219 (Harl 1422/22; Add 16940/32v, 42).

4 herman

Argent a chevron gules between three wigs sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules and out of a coronet or: *A cubit arm sleeved azure banded or holding a rose or holding a rose gules barbed seeded slipped and leaved proper and a rose argent barbed seeded slipped and leaved proper their stems conjoined.*

H2/42v: arms as impalement for Elizabeth, dau. of William Herman and wife of John Leonard (above, 24b. 9); L6/88v.

5 Lowre of cornewail

Quarterly 1 and 4 azure a chevron engrailed or between three roses argent seeded proper, 2 argent a chevron sable between three roses gules seeded proper, 3 argent on a saltire sable five annulets argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A unicorn's head erased quarterly argent and sable langued gules armed sable crined argent.*
L6/88v, 90.

6 George Webster m^a cooke to the quenes maiestie

Azure on a bend engrailed between two demi lions or armed and langued gules a rose gules barbed and seeded proper between two boars heads couped sable langued gules tusks or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A dragon's head quarterly the fesswise partition indented or and vert langued gules.*

L6/88v (1559); M11/28v. GA p. 270: Hervy 1559 (Add 16940/28; Harl 6140/31v).

7 S^r John whight maior of London

Per fess azure and or a pale counterchanged

in the azure three fountains in the or three lion's heads erased gules. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A lion's head quarterly or and azure gutty counterchanged langued gules.

F1/318 (Hervy 1559, not in G10); M11/9; EDN56 (2)/47; L6/88v.

8 Katherin sedey wiff to s^r John Wight
Argent on a fess engrailed gules between three martlets sable a cinquefoil pierced ermine between two pomegranates or. A wreath argent and sable, but no crest.

L6/88v; F1/318 as impalement for Katheryn, 2nd wife of Sir John Wight, widow of Rafe Grenway, alderman (above, 25a. 4), and dau. of John Soda.

9 Edward Wilkinson M^a Cooke

Per fess embattled or and argent three demi griffins azure armed gules ears gules. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A demi falcon displayed per pale sable and argent wings counterchanged holding in its beak a rose gules barbed slipped and leaved proper.

Misc. Gts. 2/214 (of Charlton, Kent, by Hervy 20/4/1559); L6/88v; M11/29. GA p. 279 (Harl 1359/66; Add 16940/ 11v).

10 John Bulbecke of Kingston

Argent three bars wavy azure a lion rampant argent wounded in the shoulder armed and langued gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A bull statant vert armed langued and pizzled or.

Misc. Gts. 2/107 (Hervy 24/4/1559); L6/88v. GA p. 40 (Add 16940/46v).

11 William foxe goldsmythe of london

Argent on a chevron azure between three fox's heads gules each gorged with a collar attached thereto a ring or three bezants. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A fox courant regardant per pale sable and argent holding in his mouth a wing argent the leading edge sable.

L6/89; M11/29.

12 Robert Raynes goldsmythe of London

Chequy or and gules on a bend vert a lion's face between two annulets or over all a canton ermine. Crest, on a wreath or and gules: Out of a bank of clouds a cubit arm proper holding two flowers or slipped and leaved

their stems conjoined proper.

C9/141 (Hervy 1558); L6/89; M11/29. GA p. 210 (Add 16940/8v).

1 Lomner of manyngton in norff

26a

Quarterly 1 and 4 sable on a bend argent cottised erminois three escallops sable, 2 and 3 or a saltire on a chief gules three escallops argent. Crest, on a wreath or and gules: Between two wings a demi unicorn argent armed crined and collared or.

L6/89. Cf. G1/80 for the similar arms and crest of Lomner of Sharrington, Norfolk.

2 Edward wilmott of newent in gloster

Argent on a fess gules between three eagle's heads sable langued gules a unicorn couchant or between two escallops or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A demi cat argent semy of roundels gules and azure langued gules holding a sprig of oak proper fructed or.

Vin 163/107 (Dethick 15/4/1556, specifying a 'cat savage' in the crest); Gts 1/234; Misc. Gts. 5/43. GA p. 281 (Harl 1359/67; 5887/7; Stowe 714/73v).

3 [no name]

Or a chevron sable between three holly leaves vert a chief sable. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: A demi lion argent langued and armed gules holding a holly branch proper.

L6/89; 'Richade Oseley'; all deleted, the chief charged with a lion passant guardant between two fleurs-de-lys. These charges are visible also in L9, but painted out.

4 [no name]

Or between three cock's heads erased azure beaked combed wattled and jelopped gules a fess per fess embattled gules and azure. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A wolf's head erased sable holding in its mouth a wing or.

L6/89; John Pickering, Northants. Cf. C14/136v: very similar arms said to have been borne anciently by the Pickerings of Tichmarsh, Northants.

5 Thomas Whight of Dorsett

Per fess or and azure on a fess engrailed argent between three greyhounds courant counterchanged a fleur-de-lys gules between two lozenges gules. A wreath or and azure,

but no crest.

Vin 169/166 (Thos. White, Fittleford, Dorset, by Hervy 12/6/1559); Misc. Gts. 5/73; L6/89v, with crest.

6 Thomas carus of staueley in com Westmd

Azure on a chevron between ten cinquefoils pierced argent three mullets gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A falcon rising sable beaked legged jessed and belled or talons gules charged on the breast with a cinquefoil argent.*

L6/89v. Cf. D3/47: these arms and crest for Carus of Kirkby Lonsdale, formerly of Asthwaite, Westmorland, 'By Dalton, Norroy'. GA p. 47 (Add 14295/76v, 98: Dalton to Carus of Kendal). Earlier patent by Hervy as Norroy to Thomas Carus of Asthwaite, 2.H10/4; cf. Add 16940/10v.

7 S^r Edward saunders lorde chief baron *Per chevron sable and argent three elephant's heads erased counterchanged tusked or.* Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: *An elephant's head erased sable tusked and eared argent.*

Old Grants \times 42 (Hervy 17/6/15--); L6/89v. GA p. 223: Hervy 17/6/1562 (Add 16940/40v).

8 Frauncis mo'gon of heyford in the county of northampton

Argent on a bend engrailed sable three cinquefoils pierced ermine on a chief azure a cross flory between two fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A dragon's head erased gules langued azure charged on the neck with a bar cottised nebuly or.*

L6/89v. GA p. 175 (Add 16940/57v). *H & G* 1 (1863), p. 81: Hervy 1/5/1558.

9 [no name]

Sable crusilly a lion rampant or armed and langued gules charged on the flank with an annulet sable within a bordure or.

L6/87v (on a lozenge for 'Mary Longe, wyffe to doctor owen'; lion and crosslets argent). F1/315; G10/7b: Mary, dau. of Simon Longe of the Isle of Wight and 2nd wife of Sir William Allen (Ld. Mayor 1572; cf. Vin 92/484 (below, Appx B, no. 17). GA

p. 157: 1558 (Add 16940/9v, 61v).

10 Furbusher

Ermine on a fess engrailed between three griffin's heads erased sable beaked or each charged with an escallop or a talbot courant proper gorged with a collar gules attached thereto a line terminating in a knot or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A unicorn's head erased azure armed and crined argent gorged with a coronet or.*

Cf. 24b. 2 above.

11 Benger

Or a cross vert over all a bendlet gules. Crest, on a wreath or and gules: *A cock's head erased sable beaked combed wattled and jelopped gules.*

L6/88v. Distinguish from the crest of a cockatrice granted by Dethick to Thomas Benger, Great Milton, Oxon., 1/10/1553, to accompany the same arms: Vin 163/95; Grants 1/240; Misc. Gts. 5/44; Vin 157/68; GA p. 20 (Harl 1359/63).

12 Jon grey

Argent a bend vert cotised dancetty gules within a bordure compony or and gules. No crest.

L6/89: ('Yon greye') appears twice, second time with a mark of cadency.

1 Peter Gray of Seynow in the County of Bedford Esq^r [This in a 17th-century hand] **26b**

Azure on a fess argent a bend vert cotised dancetty gules within a bordure compony or and gules. No crest.

L6/89v. 'Seynow' is Segenhoe.

2 George barnes of London [An 18th-century hand has added Vide Churchefo. 27]

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent on a chevron wavy azure between three ducks argent winged beaked and legged sable three trefoils or, 2 and 3 argent on a fess engrailed between three greyhound's heads erased sable each gorged with a collar or attached thereto a ring gules a cinquefoil argent between two fleurs-de-lys argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *Between two wings displayed argent a demi greyhound sable*

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gorged with a collar attached thereto a ring and holding a trefoil or.

L6/89v; M11/29; cf. 2.H5/96, a grant of these arms (1st quarter) and a different crest, 15/9/1552. GA p. 15 (Add 16940/18). The reference to 'Churche' (below, 27b. 12) is in respect of the arms in the 2nd and 3rd qtgs.

3 Kays se^ggent porter

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a chevron ermine between three lion's faces argent, 2 and 3 argent a chevron ermines between three quarterfoils slipped azure. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A lion's head erased quarterly per fess indented or and gules langued gules.*

EDN56/100v, 140v (principal arms only, no crest, 'Key of Kent'); L6/89v; M11/29v.

4 Roger Martyn Alderman of london

Gules on a fess argent engrailed between three swan's heads and necks argent beaked sable each gorged with a coronet azure three mascles sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A demi cockatrice vert beaked combed wattled and jelopped gules.*

L6/90; M11/9v. This design combines the two qtgs. Martin usually used: F1/204v, whence G10/1 (with the crest given here); 2.C15/16. GA p. 166 (Add 16940/58v).

5 [no name]

Gules a fess engrailed ermine between three cat's heads erased argent. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *A cat statant guardant ermine gorged with a coronet or.*

L6/107v (Thomas catharne als cadarne of the conte of pembroke: crest has no coronet; motto A VOSTRE PERIL). Distinguish from grant by Hawley 5/12/1553 with calippus' heads rather than cats': Grants 1/10, Siddons, DWH 1, p. 68.

6 Rychard godryke of London

Argent on a fess gules between two lions passant guardant sable a fleur-de-lys between two crescents or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *A demi lion guardant sable.*

L6/90 (arms and crest both much altered); M11/29v. These arms on record for Goodrick of Ribston, Yorks., with similar crests: D5/102; C40/122. The crest here may be painted over an earlier one, and unfinished.

GA p. 103 (Add 16940/34; Harl 5887/20).

7 Thomas smythe Customer of London

Per pale or and azure on a fess engrailed argent between three lions passant guardant counterchanged three fleurs-de-lys gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A panther's (?) head erased argent semy of roundels sable tusked or gorged with a collar sable studded and chained or.*

F1/204v (Hervy); L6/90; M11/29v. At G10/98, as at GA p. 235 (Add 16940/28v: 1559), there is a plain, uncharged chevron rather than the engrailed fess; at I.16/291 (son's fun. cert.) an engrailed, uncharged chevron.

8 S^r Robert Catlyn lord chief Justys

Per fess azure and or three lions passant guardant in pale counterchanged armed gules a chief argent. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *Between two wings azure a demi panther argent semy of roundels sable armed and langued gules gorged with a coronet azure.*

The chief was originally charged: ICB 101/8 (augmentation of a chief argent thereon a rose between two fleurs-de-lys gules, with a different crest; Hervy 2/9/1559); L6/90 (charges on chief and crest crossed out). GA p. 48: 1559 (Add 16940/18v).

9 Styward of nor[...] [This in a 17th-century hand]

Argent a lion rampant gules armed and langued azure over all a bendlet raguly or. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: *A lion rampant gules armed and langued azure gorged with a coronet or.*

GA p. 243 Hervy 1/5/1558 (Add 15644/60v; 16940/31).

10 James Altham

Paly of six ermine and azure on a chief gules a lion passant guardant or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A demi lion or holding a rudder proper garnished or.*

Old Grants (facsim.) 2/102 (James Altham, alderman of London, Hervy 5/9/1559); L6/90, 92v (with impalement). GA p. 4 (Add 16940/28v; Harl 5887/67v).

11 M^r Lowin draper of London

Quarterly per fess embattled three stag's heads caboshed counterchanged. Crest, on a

wreath argent and sable: A stag statant quarterly per pale indented or and azure attired azure.

F1/203 (John Lowen of manor of Gerpins alias Gerbeviles, by Hervy 1559); G10/31; L6/90; M11/29v. GA p. 159 (Add 16940/16v; Harl 5887/67v).

12 I: 16: fol: 275a plumer or plomer [This added in a later, but still 16th-century, hand]

Per chevron argent and gules flory counterflory counterchanged three martlets counterchanged. No crest.

F1/203 (Johan Plummer dau. of John Plumer and wife to John Lowen, Hervy 1559); G10/31; L6/90 (no name, arms on a lozenge). GA p. 201 (Add 16940/44v; Harl 1116/56); 202 (Segar, Add 12225/95v). I.16/275 is the fun. cert. of Walter Plummer, cit. & merchant tailor (d. 1607): these arms with a crest.

27a 1 [no name]

Or on a fess between three ravens sable and in chief a spearhead azure three crescents or. Crest, on a wreath or and gules: a raven rising sable gutty or gorged with a coronet or. EDN 56/17 (James Williams of Telacrowth, co Carmarthen, by Barker); L6/107v (James Williams, with motto IE NE CHANGERAY). GA p. 280 (Harl 5846/111v; Stowe 692/94v).

2 James Hawes Clothworker of Londo

Azure on a chevron argent three cinquefoils gules on a chief argent between two ingots (?) sable a lion passant guardant gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A stag's head erased proper attired or holding in its mouth a branch leaved vert fructed with berries gules.

L6/90. GA p. 118: Hervy 1/9/1559 (Add 16940/41v). Cf. patent of different arms but same crest by Dethick 10/3/1567 'with consent of ... Thomas ... Earl Marshal of England': Grants 1/143 etc.; GA *ibid.* (Harl 1441/68). Further revision of arms and a new crest by Cooke 29/8/1574: Misc. Gts. 5/31.

3 Trapes

Argent between two flaunches azure on each three crosses formy or a lion's face azure between six caltraps sable three and three. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: Two

wyvern's heads erased and addorsed the dexter or the sinister azure langued gules gorged with a single collar charged with three caltraps counterchanged.

Grants 2/547 (Robert Trapes of London, cit. & goldsmith, Hervy 4/6/1559); Vin 163/18; Misc. Gts. 5/72; L6/90. GA p. 257: 1/6/1559 (Add 16940/27; Harl 1359/3v; 1507/443). G10/32 has a different crest (R21/36; F12/242v: Robert Trappes of Barnsey, no date or granting king) and simpler arms *Argent three caltraps sable* allowed by Cooke (C28 (3) /41: dated 1570).

4 Johane Crispe the wife of Robert Trapes of Lond^e

Gules on a fess engrailed or between three lozenges vair three cinquefoils gules. No crest.

Grants 2/545; Vin 163/20; Misc. Gts. 5/72: Joan, dau. of Richard Crispe, Northants., Hervy 20/11/1560. L6/104v. GA: hervy 1560 (Add 16940/446; Harl 1359/2v). Cf. below, Appx B, 484. 17.

5 John Wyldgose of saltheast in com sussex

Azure on a chevron engrailed between three lion's heads erased or langued gules three cinquefoils sable. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A heraldic antelope's (?) head erased ermine attired or.

L6/87 (deleted), 90, both with motto MATURA MATURA: 6/8/1558. GA p. 279: Hervy 1558 (Add 16940/54v).

6 James Baker of Essex

Ermine on a fess engrailed sable between three wolf's heads erased azure three fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A bird's (?) head erased or beaked sable collared azure holding in its beak an annulet or set therein a gemstone sable.

L6/90v. GA p. 12: of Bures Gifford, Essex, 1559 (Add 16940/17). Patent to Henry Baker of the same place by Cooke 1574: these arms without the heads, with qtg., different crest.

7 Leigh of Leighe

Argent a lion gules armed langued and charged on the shoulder with a mullet or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A dexter lion's gamb erased gules holding a fleur-de-

lys argent each petal charged with a roundel sable.

L6/91. Cf. patent by Dethick to Richard Leigh of High Leigh, Cheshire, of these arms without the mullet and a different crest, 20 July 3&4 Philip & Mary (an impossible date, but presumably 1556 or 1557): Vin 163/124; Misc. Gts. 5/24; GA p. 153 (Harl 1441/101).

8 Soudiake

Argent between in chief two nails fesswise sable piercing the base of a heart gules and in base a cross crosslet fitchy sable issuant from a cloudbank proper in the sinister chief a dexter arm proper sleeved gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: *Issuant from a cloudbank a dexter arm proper sleeved gules cuffed argent holding a heart gules.*

L6/91. These arms (without the cross) and crest at G10/82 for George Sowdeake, cit. & grocer (with annulet for difference) and confirmed to George Southaick, cit. & merchant, by Camden: Camden's Gts. 3/24v; St G. Old Grants 73v; GA p. 238 (Harl 6179/14).

9 St Francis Knolles

Gules on a chevron argent three roses gules seeded proper. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: *An elephant statant argent ears or.*

L6/91 (two crests, including this one). More usually these arms appear as a qtg.: C18/47, E16/34v-35r, etc.

10 Lychefyld

Per chevron sable and argent in chief three lion's faces or in base a rose gules barbed and seeded proper all within a bordure engrailed ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *Out of a bank of clouds proper a dexter arm argent holding an arrow sable in bend sinister point downwards and feathered argent.*

L6/91.

11 Robert Colyere of Darlestone

Argent on a chevron azure between three unicorn's heads couped gules three branches of oak proper fructed or. A wreath argent and gules, but no crest.

Dugdale trefoil (2) 13 (Hervy 1558-9, with a crest). L6/91 (Colyerde, with crest). GA p. 58: 1559 (Add 16940/34).

12 Woode of london

Argent a wolf sable collared or on a chief azure three bezants. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A wolf's head sable gorged with a collar argent studded or holding in the mouth a wing argent.*

L6/91; M11/30.

1 Thomas lame of the wardrope

27b

Sable on a fess or between three cinquefoils ermine a lion passant gules between two mullets sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A demi lion gules langued argent collared or holding a mullet sable.*

Misc. Gts. 1/243 (Thomas Lambe, Trimley, Suffolk, Hervy 3/7/1559); Vin. 169/77; 2.C15/11 (1562: an error?); L6/89v (different crest), 91v; M11/30. GA p. 148 (Add 16940/36; 14295/47v; Harl 1359/22v).

2 William Cade of Willesden in medilsex

Argent on a fess azure between two lions passant guardant gules each charged on the shoulder with a bezant a tower triple-towered between two fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A demi lion guardant charged on the shoulder with a bezant holding a fleur-de-lys or.*

L6/92; M11/30. GA p. 43: Hervy 1559 (Add 16940/14v).

3 Thomas loutley of mydelsex

Azure on a chevron engrailed argent between three lion's heads or langued gules three martlets sable. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *Two camel's heads erased and addorsed the dexter argent the sinister sable gorged with a single collar or masoned sable.*

L6/92v. GA p. 258: Hervy 1560 (Add 16940/11v).

4 Thomas Browne of harewoode in com herford

Argent on a chevron between three mullets sable pierced gules three escallops argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: *A demi griffin vert armed and winged or langued gules.*

L6/92v. GA p. 36: Hervy 1559 (Add 16940/16v).

5 M^r guy

Azure on a chevron argent between three

TUDOR ENIGMAS

lion's faces or three fleurs-de-lys gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A dog (?) statant reguardant argent spotted sable.

L6/93: arms only.

6 John hulson of london

Azure between three suns in splendour or a lion passant guardant argent armed gules.

Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A demi griffin or holding a rudder sable garnished or.

L6/93; M11/30v. GA p. 131: Hervy 1560 (Add 16940/22v).

7 William farington

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules three cinquefoils argent, 2 and 3 argent a chevron gules between three lion's faces sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A wyvern sans wings statant vert.

L6/93 (with crescent for difference). A patent by Dalton of these arms (qtgs reversed) and a new crest: 1 or 2 H6/59v (16/12/1561); C37/55v (16/12/1560); GA p. 86 (Harl 1359/50); *Misc Gen & Her* 1 (1868) p. 61; *H & G* 1 (1863) p. 81.

8 John Duncombe of stewkley in com buckingham

Per chevron flory counter-flory gules and argent three talbot's heads erased counter-changed. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A talbot's head erased gules gorged with a collar attached thereto a ring or.

F1/130; L6/93v. GA p. 78: 1560 (Add 16940/18).

9 Cotgrave

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a fess indented ermine between three bugle horns or stringed or, 2 and 3 argent four ermine spots conjoined in cross sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A demi peacock (?) wings displayed azure gorged with a coronet or crested with three feathers azure.

L6/93v. Cf. 1.D14/156: these arms granted as a subsidiary qtg for Cotgrave by Flower, 1580.

10 grace of glamorgan shier

Gules semy of cinquefoils argent a lion rampant or its head argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A lion statant or its head argent langued gules.

L6/94 (lion in crest amid 4 trefoils vert).

11 hamon of kent

Per pale or and azure three demi lions passant guardant counterchanged. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A wolf's head erased quarterly or and azure langued gules.

H2/41 (William Hamon, Acreis, Kent, Hervy 1559); L6/94. GA p. 111 (Add 16940/45v).

12 John church of malden in essex

Argent on a fess engrailed between three greyhound's heads erased sable each gorged with a collar or garnished gules attached thereto a ring or three trefoils or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A demi greyhound sable gorged with a collar or garnished gules attached thereto a ring and holding a trefoil or.

Gts 1/401; Misc. Gts. 5/109, 3/70v: Hervy (as Clarenceux) 20/5/1557 (when he was still Norroy). L6/94v. GA p. 52 (Harl 1115/35).

1 John norton of ledes in Kent

Argent a chevron between three crescents azure. A wreath argent and gules, crest deleted.

L6/94v (crest cancelled; originally a dragon's head erased gorged with a coronet, perhaps in error for the following). Not in Vin. 161.

2 W^m hannington of hamshier

Argent on a chevron engrailed sable between three demi lions vert langued gules three trefoils slipped ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A dragon's head erased gules langued azure gorged with a coronet or.

2.H5/125 (Hawley 2/5/1556); L6/95 (three gouttes or on the dragon's neck, the coronet per pale or and argent). GA p. 112 (Add 16940/208).

3 grafton of London

Per saltire sable and ermine over all a lion rampant or armed and langued gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: Statant on a tun fesswise a falcon or legged azure holding in its dexter foot a sceptre azure.

ICB 101/16 (Richard Grafton, London, Hervy, 22/6/1560); M11/30v; L6/95. GA p. 105 (Add 16940/14; Harl 558/21v).

4 of Stroude in Berksh^r [This in a 17th-

28a

century hand]

Quarterly fess indented argent and sable four griffin's heads those in bend sable those in bend sinister or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A buck's head erased gules attired collared and chained or.

L6/96 (name cancelled, leaving only 'of Stroude in the conte of barkshir').

5 Alexander Carlyle of london

Or on a cross engrailed between two roses in bend gules barbed and seeded proper and two griffin's heads in bend sinister gules three martlets or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A martlet or holding in its beak two roses gules barbed slipped and leaved their stems conjoined proper.

L6/96; M11/30v.

6 Thomas gybson groser of london

Argent on a mount in base azure a lion statant guardant gules the head and foreparts semy of estoiles or. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A lion's dexter gamb armed azure holding a spear or headed argent flying therefrom a flag azure charged in the hoist with two and in the fly with five estoiles or.

L6/96 ('groser and vesesyon of London'); M11/30v. GA p. 99: 1560 (Add 16940/14).

7 William Blackwell Towne clarke of london

Paly argent and azure on a chief gules a lion passant guardant or armed and langued azure all within a bordure ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A swan's head erased or beaked sable gorged with a coronet azure.

L6/96; M11/31. GA p. 25: 1560 (Add 16940/38v; Harl 6140/54).

8 Mr hampson one of the clarks of the counsell

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a fess counter-compny or and azure within a bordure argent, 2 and 3 masculy gules and argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: Issuant from a demi rose couped in fess gules barbed and seeded proper a dragon's head couped or.

L6/95v; M11/31.

9 Thomas Lytill of Braye in com

Barkshier

Per chevron argent and sable in chief two fleurs-de-lys sable and in base a tower triple-towered or. On a wreath argent and sable: A horned beast (?) sable crined and armed or gorged with a coronet argent.

L6/96v. GA p. 160: 1563 (Add 6140/54).

10 S^r henry Cryps

Argent on a chevron sable five horseshoes argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: An antelope statant argent semy of roundels sable armed collared and chained or.

L6/96v (M^r hary Crispe).

11 Thomas Andrews of bury st edmond in com suff

Argent on a bend engrailed plain cottised sable between two lions rampant gules three mullets argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A turtle dove argent wings azure holding in its beak a sprig leaved proper fructed or.

H13/31; H14/9; L6/96v (with motto FIRMA FIDE). GA p. 5: Hervy 1560 (Add 16940/11v; Harl 1116/57).

12 S^r x^rpher draper mayor of london

Argent on each of two chevronels between three escallops sable three martlets argent. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A dexter arm in armour proper garnished or holding a crampon or ring downward and to the dexter gules.

F1/55 (note of patent by Hervy 'for the Confirmato' of these armes who were borne by Drap^r of melto' mowbrey of Antyquytie'); L6/96v. GA p. 77: 1560 (Add 16940/25). Different arms and crest, with these arms as a qtg., at G10/5.

1 Thomas powle one of the six clarks of 28b the chansery

Azure a fess engrailed ermine between three lions passant or langued gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A unicorn statant azure crined and armed or charged with two ermine spots or gorged with a coronet argent.

See above, pp. 77f., with note 19, for CA refs. GA p. 204: Hervy 10/5/1559 (Harl 1507/373; Add 16940/37); also a patent by Hawley 5/4/1556, *Proceedings of the Society*

of *Antiquaries* 2nd ser. 16 (1897), p. 349.

2 Rychard howlett of sydnam in com Kent

Per chevron or and sable in chief two towers triple-towered sable and in base a lymphad or masted sails furled and flags flying argent. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: *An owl argent beaked and gorged with a coronet or holding in its dexter foot a rose gules seeded slipped and leaved proper.*

Misc. Gts. 1/12v; Vin 169/22; L6/96v. GA pp. 118, 130: Hervy 12/8/1559 (Add 14295/6v; 16940/53v; Harl 1359/12v; 1115/4).

3 Anthony butler of cottes in com lyn-colne

Argent on a chevron azure three covered cups or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *A horse's head erased quarterly argent and sable crined argent.*

Charges in the field have been erased. C23 (3)/3, with three crowned demi lions passant guardant around the chevron: Hervy 18 or 28/9/1559. L6/96v: lions cancelled. GA p. 42 (Add 16940/12; Harl 1116/56v).

4 Jane Collyns wiffe to Edward West

Per chevron flory counter-flory gules and argent three hind's heads erased counter-changed. No crest.

Old Grants ✕ 14v (Hervy 6/11/1560); L6/98, 103 (impaled by West, impaling Yonge). GA p. 58, naming husband as Edmond (Harl 1105/36v; Add 16940/ 17v).

5 Stenyng

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a bat displayed sable on a chief argent three pallets gules [sic], 2 and 3 argent a chevron sable between three holly sprigs each of three leaves vert. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: *A bull statant gules armed and crined or.*

2.C22/296v; G1/142 (these arms, qtg. and crest for Stayning of Holnicote, Somerset; no patent mentioned); L6/103v.

6 Robert morley de com norff

Sable a lion's face or jessant-de-lys argent within a bordure argent semy of roundels gules. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: *A talbot statant regardant ermines langued gules gorged with a collar attached thereto an annulet or.*

Old Grants ✕ 43 (Robert Morley, Ardington, Warwicks., Hervy 20/11/1560); L6/103. GA p. 176 (Add 16940/58; Harl 1116/54).

7 John patenson de London

Argent on a fess sable three fleurs-de-lys or. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *An ermine's head erased argent gorged with a coronet sable garnished or.*

G10/87v (different crest); L6/103; M11/31. GA p. 192: 1560 (Add 16940/30; Harl 5887/76).

8 Thomas Wood of Wodend de Barkshier

Argent a lion rampant gules armed and langued azure on a chief gules three acorns or slipped and leaved proper. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A wolf sejant sable langued gules gorged with a collar compony argent and azure holding in its dexter forepaw a flower or slipped and leaved proper.*

L6/104v. GA p. 285: 1560 (Add 16940/26).

9 John olyff of foxgrave de com Kent

Per pale and per chevron or and sable three hound's heads each gorged with a collar garnished and fitted with a ring all counter-changed. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: *A cockatrice's head erased quarterly argent and sable langued gules beaked combed wat-tled and jelopped or.*

F1/63v (Hervy 1560); G10/13; L6/105. GA p. 186 (Add 16940/26v).

10 Olyver Dawbeney

Gules five lozenges argent conjoined in fess throughout each charged with a fleur-de-lys sable in chief three martlets or. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: *An elephant's head coupé vert ears and tusks or.*

2.H10/7v (Hervy 2/3/1559); L6/106; M11/31v. GA p. 71: 1556-7 (Add 16940/9).

11 William Tusser

Azure a fess compony counter-compony argent and gules between three battle axes ringed argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: *A lion's gamb erased or armed gules holding a battle axe spiked azure garnished or.*

ICB 101/10 (Clement Tusser or Tuzerd, Ryvenhall, Essex, Hervy 1/2/1560-1);

THE COAT OF ARMS

L6/107. GA p. 259 (Add 16940/60v).

12 M^r nycholas West

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent a fess dancetty sable, 2 and 3 azure three lion's faces jessant-de-lys reversed or; over all the quarters for difference a fleur-de-lys ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: Issuant from a coronet or a griffin's head azure beaked and eared or langued gules charged with a fleur-de-lys ermine.

ICB 101/1 (Hervy 13/2/1560-1); L6/107. GA p. 273 (Add 16940/19).

29a 1 Vane

Quarterly 1 and 4 azure three sinister gauntlets apaumy or, 2 and 3 counterquarterly i and iv gules two lions passant or, ii and iii sable three wolf's heads erased or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A dexter gauntlet argent garnished or holding a sword in bend sinister argent hilt gules guard and pommel or.

Cf. Vin 162/161; 2.G2/13v; GA p. 260 (Harl 5823/34v; 1441/140): same arms and crest, different subsidiary (grand) qtg., to Sir Thomas Vane, Dethick 15/5/1574.

2 Rychard daper of mydelsex

Per pale gules and sable on a chevron engrailed argent between three unicorn's heads erased argent three pheons sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A camel-eopard's (?) head coupé or.

ICB 101/7 (Hervy 11/12/1558); L6/107v. GA p. 70 (Add 16940/15v).

3 M^r Sekford

Ermine on a fess gules three escallops argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A cockatrice's head erased vert beaked gules wattled and crowned with a coronet or.

L6/107v (Thomas Sackford), 113 (Seckford, with qtgs.). GA p. 225: Thomas Seckford or Sackford, Suffolk, Hervy 1559 (Add 16940/42v; Harl 1116/60).

4 s^gnt Lynger

Barry of six argent and azure on a bend gules a lion passant or between two roses argent barbed proper. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A lion's gamb erased or armed gules holding three roses argent stem conjoined barbed seeded slipped and leaved proper.

L6/107v (Sergeant Wyngar [sic] of the bake-house).

5 Thomas grey de com lester

Barry of six and a bordure compony argent and azure over all a canton quarterly or and gules charged with a boar statant proper and a bordure sable bezanty. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: Out of a coronet azure garnished or a peacock in his pride argent tailfeathers alternately azure and argent.

H12/15: these arms and crest (peacock proper) for Grey of Langley, Leics., descended from a bastard of Henry, Lord Grey. L6/106.

6 John horneolde de com glouster

Azure on a bend embattled counter-embattled argent a wolf passant between two escallops sable all within a bordure engrailed or semy of roundels gules. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A demi unicorn gules armed crined and unguled or.

L6/105v: with a Lucy argent on each side of the bend. GA p. 129: Hervy 1560 (Add 16940/51). Cf. C30/84: these arms, without bordure, to John Horniold, Blackmore Park, Worcs, Segar 1634.

7 george brideman de com bedford

Argent on a cross sable five lozenges ermine. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure: A wolf's head quarterly argent and sable langued gules.

2.H10/8v (George Bredeman, Tingrith, Beds., Hervy 22/11/1557); L6/105v. GA p. 32 (Add 16940/10).

8 The armes of the company of m^rchants of exeter

Azure issuant from the waves of the sea in base proper a tower triple-towered or and in chief two coronets or. Crest, on a wreath or and azure: A lion's gamb erased gules armed azure holding a grappling iron gules without a stock through the ring a rope fesswise in a Cavendish (?) knot on each side of the ring gules.

D7/1; L6/97 (with supporters). GA p. 85 (Add 16940/37v).

9 Richard Wistowe

Quarterly 1 and 4 or three billets sable each charged with a bear's head erased proper muzzled sable, 2 and 3 lozengy argent and

sable. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: A bear's head erased proper muzzled sable gorged with a collar gules studded lined and ringed or.

L6/94v: of Leicestershire.

10 Wilkins of Stoke in the Hundred of Hoo in Kent [*This in a 17th-century hand*]

Gules on a chevron argent between three whelk shells or a demi lion between two martlets sable. Crest, on a wreath argent and gules: A dragon's head per pale argent and vert langued gules.

Grants 1/151 (John Wylkyns, Stoke, Kent, Hervy 16/10/1558); H2/128 (Hervy 2 Eliz. I); Misc. Gts. 5/17; L6/95. GA p. 279; Dethick 16/10/1558 (Add 16940/25v; Harl 1359/76v).

11 Thurston tyldesley of Lancashier

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent three grassy mounts proper, 2 and 3 sable three garbs or within a bordure argent. Crest and wreath without tinctures: A pelican vulning herself.

L6/94. GA p. 254; Dalton 1560 (Add 16940/48; Harl 1116/65).

12 Lee of no'thamton shier

Argent on a fess azure between three unicorn's heads sable three lion's faces or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A manticora horned or.

L6/91v (Ley of Paulersperry, i.e. Paulerspury, Northants.; no crest).

29b 1 [No name and no tinctures]

A maunch over all a bend compony. Crest, on a wreath: A bull's head erased pierced by an arrow in bend point downward.

Misc. Gts. 1/134v (Conyares of Bagded Hall, Yorks., and the Temple), 4/12v; 2.G2/62v; L6/110 (George Conyers, Whitby, Yorks.). GA p. 60; Cooke (Harl 1359/114v; Add 4964/100).

2 Fenner of Sussex

Quarterly 1 and 4 vert on a cross between four eagles displayed argent a cross formy gules, 2 gules three crossbows stocks and winding-handles or bows and strings argent, 3 counterquarterly i and iv gules a chevron engrailed argent between three falcons close

argent belled or, ii and iii argent three wolf's heads erased sable. Crest, on a wreath or and sable: An eagle displayed argent beaked and legged or.

2.G2/28v; L6/112 (John Fenne or Fenner of Fenne Place, Sussex; also with an impalement).

3 Edward buggyn

Sable a cockatrice displayed argent beaked combed and wattled gules. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: On a mount a wolf sejant holding in its mouth a fox all proper.

ICB 101/114 (Hervy 10/4/1562); 2.H10/13; 1 or 2 H6/71; L6/116; M11/31v. GA p. 39 (Add 16940/27v). Cf. 1 or 2 H6/60v (Dalton 4/7/1559: motto HONESTATEM POTIUS QUAM DIVITIAS); GA ibid. (Harl 1359/50). Alteration of crest, Cooke 20/4/1578: F12/282v.

4 [No name and no tinctures]

Quarterly 1 and 4 a fess, 2 and 3 a bordure engrailed. Crest, on a wreath and out of a coronet: A stag's head.

Clearly unfinished.

5 [No name and no tinctures]

A chief indented. Crest, on a wreath: An ibex' head erased.

Clearly unfinished. Cf. L6/115 (Edward Standen, East Molesey, Surrey: Ar. on a chief indented a lion passant guardant or; crest, on a wreath ar. and az., An ibex' head erased or semy of roundels and armed sable).

6 Bernes of Cambrydgsh'

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent two barrulets embattled counter-embattled in chief three roundels sable, 2 and 3 per pale sable and gules a lion rampant guardant argent armed and langued gules charged with a crescent sable and crowned or. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable: A hound (?) passant proper gorged with a collar gules garnished or attached thereto a line or.

B.EDN/76v (Edward Barnes, Soham, Cambs). Later grant to Sir Edward Barnes of same place by Cooke 1576: D21+/14.

7 [No name, blank arms]

8 [No name, blank arms]

Appendix B: 'Dethick's Complaint

A transcript of CA Ms Vincent 92, pp. 482-485. Square brackets indicate letters hidden by the tight binding of the volume. Contemporary deletions are shown {thus}. Commentary (at the end) is limited to the list of Hervy's grantees on pp. 484-5.

- 482 To the right highe and myghtye Prince
Thomas Duke of Norff^r Earell marshall
of England And knight of the moste
noble ordre of the Garter
- 5 Moste humblye beshechethe yo^r graces Suppliant S^r
Gylbert Dethike knight als Garter principall
kinge of Armes That it maye please yo^r grace
tunderstand of the wrongs and euill Doings of
Clarentiulx kinge of Armes Aswell in disobeying
10 yo^r graces orderes as Also in Doinge wronge and
Iniury to me the said Garter and otheres as most
Justlye shall apere and be proved before yo^r grace
- Fyrste the said Clarentiulx hathe in Chapter openly and also a[t]
other tymes said that his office was without Controlmente
15 of any ma' and that it is an office of it Selve by the vertue
of the Quenes ma^{ties} Le'res pattentes and therfore yf therell
Marshall wold Abredge him of any thinge in his office
he shold take unto him cotte and all.
- Also whereas yo^r grace at A Chapte^r houlden at Christes church
20 in the p'sentes of therell of Sussex the xxij Daye of Aprill
in the third yere of the raigne the Quenes ma^{tie} that
nowe is gaue Commaundement to all the kings of Armes
that none of them Should geue out any pattents of Armes
w'hout yo^r graces consent untill Suche tyme as yo^r grace had
25 taken further ordre it is to be prowed that the said Clare'tiulx
hathe not obeyed the same but hathe eue^r Sence perseuered
in geuinge of Armes and that to no Small no'ber yf the
truthe were knowen to his merueylous great gayene and
the great hinderannce of the other kings of Armes the
30 whiche haue obeyed yo^r graces commaundement and ordre
- Also yo^r grace gaue Commaundeme'te that euery of the said kings
of Armes should make and p'sent unto yo^r grace A bocke of all
the Armes that they haue geuen Sence the fyrste yere of
the raigne of the Quenes ma^{tie} the whiche the said Clare'tiulx
35 hathe not Don to our knoweledge
- Also yo^r grace gaue another Commaundeme't that bothe he and I
Should bringe unto M^r Barker yo^r Secretorye all Suche

- bockes and p'sedentes as myght make good for the profe of
ou^r Controuersyes the whiche I haue Don and not he
- 40 Also the said Clarrentiulx hathe reported in A tauerne, as it is [to]
be prowed, that he would not haue his matteres Decreed
by yow^r grace, but by the wholl Counseill at the Counsell
borde: the whiche wordes were spoken before yo^r grace w[as]
A Counsellor.
- 483 And wheras I at yo^r graces Commaunde'nt suffered the Said
Clarentiulx to haue the Buriall of the late Countesse of
Bedforde of the whiche he had wrongefulye ensenssed yo^r
5 grace as the Said Earell of Bedford will advouche before
yo^r grace yf he be Demanded yet the Sayd Clare'tiulx
Denied me the Buriall of the Lord Mordant not withe
Standing that I had yo^r graces Letteres for the Same, theffe[ct]
therof shalbe Declared unto yo^r grace and prowed by my lord
Mordaunte whow euill he used me in the Same.
- 10 And for that the Said Clarentiulx semeth
to condem the whole office of Armes and
the good ordre of the Same here to fore
used p'suminge upon his one good knowl[edge]
I haue thougth it good amonge a nomb[er]
15 of his Doings to mark Som the which
be these that followe
- Fyrste the Said Clarentiulx hathe Buried one terrell at S'
Martynes by Ludgate the which was attaynted and not resto
rede at his Deathe and at the Same Buriall he and
20 Somerset Did were their cottes of Armes whiche they ough[t]
not to haue Don
- Also the Saied Clarentiulx hathe buried and costomably Dothe
bury knights wives of the Citye as Aldermens wyfes withe
pinones of theire husbandes Armes and theires in pall and
25 other of the companes to the no'be^r of v piniones as for
Example at the Buriall of the ladye huite one of her
husbands and hers in pall one of the Clotheworkeres one
of the Marchantes venterouers one of the Staple And one
of the venteroures to gyuinge the w^{ch} Armes of the Compan[ies]
30 are only geue' to them Selfes in generall And not to be use[d]
but to the behoufe of them all
- Also he usethe in lyke manne^r at the buriall of any knight with
in this Cittye to haue borne before them his helme and creast
whiche he ought not to doe

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- 35 Also the Said Clarentiulx buried the wyffe of M^r henrye
Cripes the w^{ch} was the Daughter of S^r Thomas Cheyneye
And frowike And he mad all the Scuchiones of Armes
of the said Frowike and not of Cheyney and frowike as
he ought to haue Don wherbye her father myght haue
40 been knowen.
- Also the Sayed Clarentiulx hathe buryed S^r Arthure
Darcy with more cotts then he ought to haue Done
the w^{ch} cotts Do Apertayne to the Lorde Darcy that
now is w^{ch} came by his mother.
- 484 Also he buried the ladye wharton wyfe to S^r Thomas whar[ton]
and mad the Armes of the Saied S^r Thomas wharton
faulse and mad a Banne^r for the saied ladye wharton w^{ch}
he ought not to haue Done for her no^r for no^e other under
5 the Degre of A barrones wyffe and whethe^r he haue
Ame^dded the Same or no I know not.
- Also he buryed one Justyse Morgan at northehamton
with a contrarye armes that is to Saye with vj cotts
wheras he owght to haue borren but one and after for y^t
10 it was So manyfeslye know^e and Spoken of in the
Contreie he was Driuen to his great Rebuke to
take Doune the Same and amende it
- The names of certayene persones unto who[m]
the Said Clarentulx hathe geuen Armes
15 Sence yo^r grace gaue commaundeme^t
to the contrarye
- The wyffe of Robert Trapes
nycholson of the Bridghowse and his brother
- Armes geuen to these men by Clare^ttiulx in
20 his last visitatio^r contrarye to yo^r graces
Commaundeme^t vicz to
- Thomas Pettet
John Gybson
Smythe of halsworthe
25 Gryse of upston
John myles of Bro^rfeld Armig^r
John Braye
The towne of ypswiche
John harebottell
- 30 These Armes geuen Sence Shroftyd

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- by the sayd Clare'ciulx An^o 1562
- The Busshope of Gloste^r
 James Barke^r of Shropshe^r
 Edmond woulseye of norff^r
- 35 Porter of Gloste'she^{re}
 Reuell the So'veou^r
 John Cokeson of Dancast^r and his fathe^r and brethere^r
 Aleyne Shreffe of London
 Stoner of the foreste
- 40 A Creste to the groseres
- 485 {nycolson of the bridge howse and his breth'en}
 Chiball of Bedfordshe^r
 Bull Controwle^r of the mynte
 whitbroke
- 5 wade of the Chancerye
 Fyshe^r one of the vj Clarkes of the Chancerye
 Jackema^r of London and his wyffe
 Grace yeoman bysid^{es} windesou^r.
- Further maye it please yo^r grace to
- 10 understand that wheareas the Sayde
 Clarentiulx hathe complayned unto yo^r
 grace that I should call him faulse
 Knaue and therby Slaundered him
 I shall moste humblye Desye^r yo^r grace
- 15 that he maye Answer to these Articles th[at]
 followe
- Fyrste to knowe of the Sayd Clare'tiulx whow he hathe Delth[?]
 wth M^{ris} Bull nowe wyffe to M^r Roboth'n lat yeoma^r of the
 wardrope to the lat king {of} Edward whose desy^r is to
- 20 cum' before yo^r grace to Declare Some part of his Doings
- Item by what mann^r he Sowght to gette a thowsand pownd
 of M^{ris} Cooke widdow of whom he {he} had fowe'score pound
- Item how he came to be executo^r to Clare'tiulx that laste dyed
 and whethe^r the Sayd will be not Disprouded o^r not
- Item whow he vised a wydowe at windeso^r and how he gate a
 leaze from he^r to he^r undoinge wth maynye othe^r lyke not here
 to be expressed.

Commentary

The grants listed by Dethick are as follows. As in Appendix A, GA = *Grantees of Arms*.

1 (484, 17). Joan Crispe, wife of Robert Trapes or Trappes. Grant recorded at CA record Ms

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- Misc. Gts. 5/72; arms also at L9/27a.4 (see above, Appendix A).
- 2 (484, 18). 'Nycholson of the Bridghowse and his brother'. Not recorded.
 - 3 (484, 22). Thomas Pettet or Petyt, of Stepe Medow, co Suffolk. Arms and crest recorded in the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk, CA record Ms H13/87v.
 - 4 (484, 23). John Gybson, of Darsham, co Suffolk. Arms recorded in the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk, CA record Ms H13/80 (name given as Gybon there).
 - 5 (484, 24). John Smythe, of Halsworthe, co Suffolk. Arms recorded in the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk, CA record Ms H13/82v. An undated grant seemingly by Cooke recorded in Misc. Gts. 1/142v and 4/110, F13/25, and B.EDN/31; cf. GA p. 234 (Cooke, 2 Dec. 1558 - but Cooke was not a king of arms until 1566).
 - 6 (484, 25). 'Gryse of Upston'. Not recorded.
 - 7 (484, 26). 'John Myles of Bro'field Armig'. Not recorded.
 - 8 (484, 27). 'John Braye'. Not recorded.
 - 9 (484, 28). The town of Ipswich. Arms and crest granted by patent 20 August 1561 and recorded in the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk, CA record Ms H13/48v, and at other places in the College records. See *Misc. Her. & Gen.* 2nd ser 2 (1886-7), p. 343, for the patent.
 - 10 (484, 29). John Harbottle, of Crowfield, co Suffolk. Arms and crest recorded in the 1561 Visitation of Suffolk, CA record Ms H13/45v, and CA Ms Philpot 33 fo 6. GA p. 113 gives the year 1559 (BL Add Ms. 16940 fo. 51v).
 - 11 (484, 32). Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester. Arms recorded at CA Ms Vincent 156/25, with the year 1562.
 - 12 (484, 33). James Barker, of Haughmaid, co Salop. Arms and crest recorded at CA record Ms EDN 56/89; full text of grant, dated 30 April 1562, at Grants 2/558.
 - 13 (484, 34). Edmund Wolsey, of Newton, co Norfolk. Arms and crest recorded at CA record Ms G1/6. GA p. 284 gives the year 1564 (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 22v).
 - 14 (484, 35). 'Porter of Gloste'. Arms (with quarterings) and crest at CA Ms Vincent 182 fo 84. The name of the grantee may have been misunderstood at some point: cf. CA record Ms Vincent 161/20, 25v, a crest for 'Arthur Porter al(ia)s Gloster'.
 - 15 (484, 36). John Revel, of London, surveyor of the Queen's Works. Arms and crest recorded at CA record Ms 2G2/97v. GA p. 212 gives the year 1561 (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 38).
 - 16 (484, 37). John Cokson, of Doncaster, co York, and the other descendants of his father. Draft text of grant at CA record Ms ICB 101/108. GA p. 57 refers to it as a 'gift by the Earl of Warwick' (BL Add Ms. 16940 fo. 11, Harl 5887 fo. 101v).
 - 17 (484, 38). William Alleyne or Allen, sheriff of London. Arms and crest recorded in the 1568 Visitation of London, CA record Ms G10/7v. GA p. 3 dates the grant 1561 and ascribes it to Hervy (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 25v). His second wife Mary Longe was a Hervy grantee: see above, Appendix A, 26a. 9.
 - 18 (484, 39). John Stonor, 'of the foreste', co Essex. Arms and crest recorded at CA Ms R33 ('Hare's Ordinary'), fo. 87v, for 'Fran: Stonard of Essex'; cf. the 1634 Visitation of Essex, record Ms C21/186v. GA p. 244 dates the grant 1561 (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 16).
 - 19 (484, 40). The Worshipful Company of Grocers. Crest granted 14 October 1562. Draft text of the grant recorded at CA record Ms ICB 101/38-41.
 - 20 (485, 2). Richard Chibnall, co Buckingham. Arms and crest recorded at CA record Ms ICB 101/30, and again (with quarterings) at record Ms 2.G2/13b.
 - 21 (485, 3). John Bull, controller of the mint. GA p. 40 lists John Bull of London, 1561 (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 18).
 - 22 (485, 4). 'Whitbroke'. Not recorded, but cf. Dethick's grant to Hugh Whitbroke of Bridgnorth (see below, Appendix C, line 16; also CA record Ms Dethick's Gifts 6). GA p. 274 refers to a grant 'attested 1563 by Harvey' (BL Ms Harl 1116 fo. 55).

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- 23 (485, 5). 'Wade of the Chancerye'. Not recorded, but cf. CA record Ms Dethick's Gifts 34, a grant by Dethick to William Wade of Grey's Inn, 6 April 1574.
- 24 (485, 6). Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in Chancery. Draft text of the grant at CA record Ms ICB 101/73; arms (with quarterings) at Ms Vincent 183, fo 80b, and again (with crest) at Ms Vincent 182, fo 71. GA p. 88 describes Fisher as of Corston, Warwicks. (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 60v, Harl 1116 fo. 55v).
- 25 (485, 7). Edward Jakeman or Jackman, of Horton, Essex, alderman of London. Arms and crest recorded at CA record Ms G10/8; arms in Ms EDN 22 ('Smith's Ordinary') fo. 6. GA p. 135 lists the grant (BL Add Ms 16940 fo. 52v, Harl 5887 fo 51).
- 26 (485, 8). 'Grace yeoman bysid^e windesou'. Presumably to be distinguished from the grantee called Grace 'of Glamorgan shier' at L9/27b.10 (see above, Appendix A); if so, not recorded.

Appendix C: Dethick's list of grantees June 1559 to March 1561

A transcript of CA record Ms Vincent's Old Grants (= Vincent 157 or 178) / 219

- The names of thosse unto whome I
 Garter princypall king of Armes have
 geven Armes unto sence the fyrst yere
 of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady the
- 5 Qwenes ma^{tie} that nowe is wherof I
 haue heretofore delyvered a boke to the
 Duke of Norff in Collors / - viz to
- Edward Clerke of Ketelbeston in the countie of Suff xx^{mo}
 die June Anno primo Regine Ellizabeth
- 10 Mathewe Parker Archbushoppe of Caunturbury xxviiij^{vo}
 novembris Anno Secundo
 Edmound Grindall Bushoppe of London xxv^{to} Decembris
 Anno Secundo
 Arthur Dawny of Cretinghm in the countie of Suff v^{to}
- 15 Jenearij Anno Secundo
 Hugh Whitbroke of Bridgnorth in the countie of Shropshire
 xx^{mo} martij Anno Secundo
 Thomas Lyfeld of Stoke dawborne in the countie of Surr
 x^{mo} maij Anno Secundo
- 20 John Parkehurst Bushoppe of Norwiche iiij^{to} Septembris
 Anno Secundo
 Henry Hawe of Dudlyngeton in the countie of Norff xv^{to}
 Novembris Anno Secundo
 Vallentyn Browne of Tartarage in the countie of hartford
- 25 v^{to} Decembris Anno Tertio
 Robert Horne Bushoppe of winchester x^{mo} Februarij
 Anno Tertio

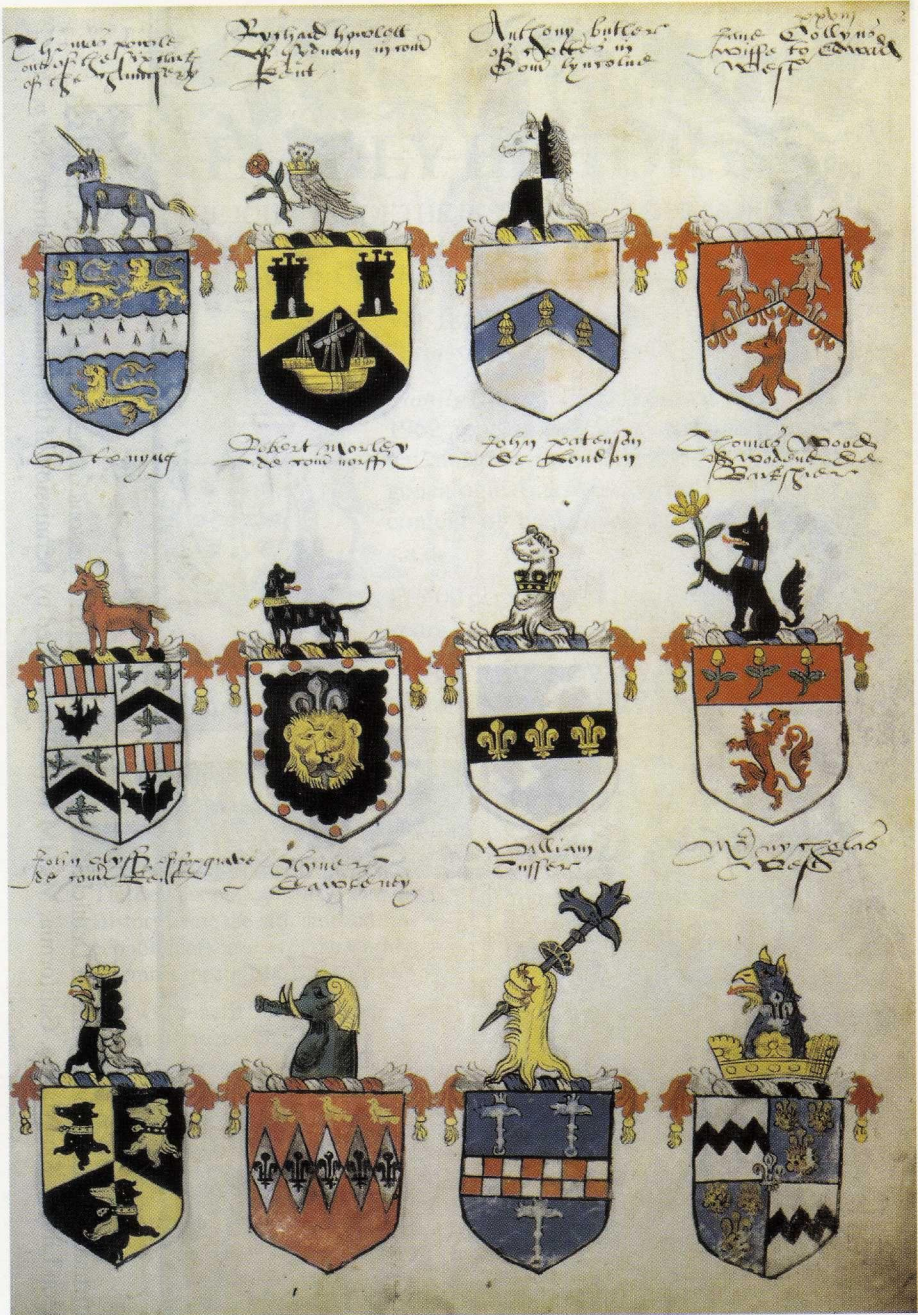
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- Edmound Sclamblerg Bushoppe of Peterborowe xiiij^o
Februarij Anno Tertio,
- 30 James Pilkington Bushoppe of Durham xxiiiij^o Februarij
Anno Tertio
John Swyfte of knightsbridge audictour in the countie of
myddx xxv Februarij Anno Tertio
Roulland Haward of London Alderman xxv^{to} Februarij
- 35 Anno Tertio
Anthony Ronne of London Audictour of hounslowe in the countie of
myddx xv^{to} martij Anno Tertio
Will'm Byrde of London coustomer xx^{mo} Martij Anno
Tertio



Confirmation of arms by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter king of arms, to all persons of the name of Prevost, 5 April 1553
 Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Ms HM 1419. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library. See p. 76.

PLATE 2



CA Ms L9 fo. 28b: arms and crests, in many cases, granted or confirmed by William Hervy, 1558-61. After 1569.

See pp. 77-8.