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SHORTER NOTES

The English in the Golden Fleece group of armorials. *Paul A. Fox writes:* Steen Clemmensen ably demonstrates in his recent paper (*CoA* 3rd ser. 2, pp. 11-44) that the English section of the Grand Armorial de la Toison d'or (c. 1435) must have come from an earlier source. Unfortunately, his contention that this source dates between the spring and early summer of 1397 is highly controversial, and poorly supported by the evidence cited. The most obvious reason for doubting such a date is that the list is headed by Humphrey, created Duke of Gloucester in 1414, and regent of England in 1422 on the death of Henry V. The shield depicted is England and France modern with an argent border. Clemmensen suggests that this might have originally been for Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who was impeached and murdered in 1397, and bore the same arms with France ancient. This is a completely unnecessary contention, for which the only evidence mustered in support appears to be the presence of a shield for the Earl of Derby [no 6], and the fact that Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, became Duke of Hereford in 1397. This is not tenable because the arms given for the Earl of Derby were never used by Bolingbroke. They belong to a previous Earl of Derby in the reign of Edward III. This is one of the historical coats of arms of great personages which were included, to which we can add William de Bohun Earl of Northampton [32] and David Strabolgi Earl of Atholl [30].

The various shields which date from after the reign of Richard II are all dismissed by Clemmensen as later interpolations, when in fact they provide crucial dating evidence. In truth, the arms of the parliamentary nobility and leading knightly families changed little from the time of Richard to that of Henry VI. The shields which definitely belong to a post-Ricardian era include Stanley quartering the kingdom of Man [no 103], not granted until 1406, and those of Sir Thomas Erpingham and Sir John Fastolf, two men who did not rise to prominence until the reign of Henry IV [91 and 135].

The presence of the lions of England with a label argent, ascribed to *le côte de marscha*[...] (Earl Marshal: no 5) is, I believe, of key dating importance. The Mowbrays were created Earls Marshal in 1386 and Dukes of Norfolk in 1397. They lost the dukedom in 1399 and it was not restored until 1425. The fact that they are given the lesser title of earl suggests that the English shields in the Toison d'or date prior to 1425. One might therefore tentatively date the compilation of the English source roll between the appointment of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester as regent in 1422, and 1425, a date which requires no subsequent interpolations, and is completely in accord with the estimate by Pastoureau and Popoff of 1420-30 (Clemmensen's footnote 16). This date also coincides with the high point of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance which followed the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, before it was tarnished by the personal animosity which erupted between Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Burgundy in 1425.

Steen Clemmensen responds: Paul Fox questions my dating of the English section of the Toison d'or armorial, and not without reason, since no date can satisfy the data as presented; and the data must be valid as we appear to agree on the identification of families. However, Dr. Fox is wrong in assuming that my dating is based on the arms of the Earl of Derby. The arms attributed to Derby *alias* Henry Bolingbroke *alias* Henry IV are a mistake on the part of the compiler, and to me an understandable one as explained on p. 19 of my article.

My dating is based on three sets of arguments. First, it is much easier to explain additions in a copy of a manuscript than to argue for insertion of historical arms in the principal manuscript, especially of gentry arms. The names mentioned by Dr. Fox are very famous and we agree in the case of Northampton and almost in that of Strabolgi — but this does not explain the inclusion of the arms of lords and gentry extinct by 1420. Secondly, the general pattern is much better for 1397 than later. Can anyone suggest another point in time when there were two prominent Percies? At this time we have three, Northumberland [no 19 in the sequence], his brother, Thomas [102], and his son, Hotspur. Similarly, two Cherltons [19, 102], two Corbets [146, 147] as in the Willement Roll and other sources, two Courtenays [13, 130], Devon and Peter, two FitzWarins [81, 134] — one extinct by 1414, and last but not least the placing of Mortimer, Earl of March [2]. Thirdly, there are at least seven lines extinct by 1420: FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel [8], extinct 1415, succeeded by the then Baron Maltravers [129]; Hamlyn (quartering Plescy) [143], extinct by 1398; Neville, Baron Furnival, a peer only in the period 1383-1407 [56]; Bardolf [10], extinct by 1408; Mauley [73], extinct by 1415; Cobham of Cobham [41], later represented by a daughter's son, Thomas Brooke (d. 1439); and Robert Knolles, K.G., d. *s.p.* 1407 [53].

The choice between Humphrey and Thomas for the Duke of Gloucester [no 1] is one between conjectures by either Dr Fox or me (but note the inserts of Lancastrians in the later copies of the sequence in the Lutzembourg and Clémery rolls, cf. p. 18, para. 1); and there ought to be a Bedford with Humphrey in 1425. As for the entry for the Earl Marshal [5], this could be anyone; it shows the arms of the office used since Brotherton, though Dr Fox and I agree that it stands for Mowbray, usually named Earl Marshal in the period from 1379 to 1425. Erpingham [91] was already prominent as a senior, if not the chief, steward of Derby and Lancaster before 1399.

Anyone looking for further controversy might consider that the trio, Ratcliffe, Clifton and Stawell [138-140] was adopted from the Peace of Arras roll (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms fr 8199, fo 15r nos 5-6, 15v no 1), and was not present in the source manuscript. They fit very well with Dr. Fox's assessment, but as with my other 'interpolations' I consider them 'improvements', probably made in the office of Toison d'or king of arms, where both manuscripts were produced.