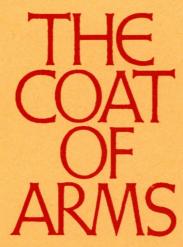
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Left (a), the full coat of arms of the Football Association; the arms as granted 30 March 1949, the crest, supporters and badge as granted 9 January 1979. CA record Ms Grants 141/301. See page 39. Right (b), the full coat of arms of the Football League, granted 25 March 1974. CA record Ms Grants 136/67. See pages 40-1.

PLATE 4



Badges granted to the Football League, intended for the use of individual clubs: (a) Blackburn Rovers; (b) Chelsea; (c) Manchester United; (d) Hull City; (e) West Bromwich Albion; (f) Leicester City; (g) Bury; (h) Birmingham City; (i) Exeter City; (j) Cardiff City; (k) Huddersfield United; (l) Lincoln City.

See pages 42-5.

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PLATE 5



Badges granted to the Football League, intended for the use of individual clubs: (a) Carlisle United; (b) Manchester City; (c) Liverpool; (d) Stockport County; (e) Blackpool; (f) Doncaster Rovers; (g) Newcastle United; (h) Sheffield United; (i) Millwall; (j) Leyton Orient; (k) Oldham Athletic; (l) Northampton Town.

See pages 45-9.

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BADGES AND 'CRESTS': THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOOTBALL AND HERALDRY

David Llewelyn Phillips

Much of the visual language of association football is heraldic in its origin and its form. Not one of the 92 football clubs currently in the English Football League, however, has received a grant of arms. Despite this there are, as this paper will discuss, twenty-five clubs that have some claim to authentic heraldic badges, as a result of the efforts of one twentieth-century officer of arms to bring them into the armorial fold.

This article will also discuss the first appearance of football in English heraldry and the armorial bearings of the game's controlling organizations. The visibility of heraldry is well served by football; the shield of the Football Association is without doubt amongst the most frequently displayed coats of arms in Britain today.

In the beginning

The origins of football are unclear. It would appear that a game known by this name has been played in Britain since medieval times, if not before. This game was a rough, tough activity more like an organised riot than the 'beautiful' game of today, and had many regional variations, the number of players, shape of the ball and size of the pitch varying from place to place.

Nonetheless an illustration in Henry Peacham's book of emblems, *Minerva Britanna* of 1612, shows a match being played (see **Figure 1**, over) and shows that football was or might be a suitable source for cultivated emblematic imagery, for all its humble, rustic associations.² Certainly the game's first fleeting appearance in heraldry dates from a similar period and would seem to have similar emblematic significance. In 1604 William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, granted arms and a crest (see **Figure 2**, over) to Sir William Jordan of Chitterne and Whitley in Wiltshire.³ The arms are *Azure crusilly fitchy a lion rampant and a chief or*; the crest is *A football or encircled by a scroll inscribed* PERCUSSA RESURGO. The crest, with its motto which

¹ For an up-to-date introduction see Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game: a history of British football* (London 2007).

² Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna or A Garden of Heroical Deuises ... newly devised, moralized, and published* (London [1612]), p. 81. The device is headed *Divitiae* ('Riches') and the caption reads: "THE country Swaines, at footeball heere are seene, / Which each gapes after, for to get a blow, / The while some one, away runnes with it cleane, / It meetes another, at the goale below / Who never stirrd, one catcheth heere a fall, / And there one's maimd, who never saw the ball./ This worldly wealth, is tossed too and fro, / At which like Brutes, each striues with might and maine, / To get a kick, by others overthrow, / Heere one's fetch't vp, and there another slaine, / With eager hast, and then it doth affront / Some stander by, who never thought vpon't."

³ College of Arms record Mss Camden's Grants 1/4v, 2/4v, 3/13v.

81

Divitia .



Figure 1: rustic football match, used as an emblem for Divitiae or Riches.

From Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna or A Garden of Heroical Deuises ... newly devised, moralized, and published (London [1612]), p. 81

might be freely translated as "Struck, I bounce back", is similar in form to the type of Italian para-heraldic device known as an *impresa* that was fashionable at the time. Jordan was a burgess of Westbury and son of a secretary of the Earl of Pembroke who had also been an M.P. Nothing in his known biography indicates why he might have been granted this crest; he may have had no direct interest in football, and it was simply that, as a man whom Fate had dealt several harsh blows, he liked the image of a ball that rebounded when kicked. As noted in the *History of Parliament*, the winter of 1601-2 saw the deaths of Jordan's father and wife within the space of a few weeks, and his mother died only six months later.⁴ What is clear from Camden's design is that the physical form of a football was something that could be generally recognised and agreed upon at that time. Interestingly, when the Jordan arms were recorded in the 1623 Visitation of Wiltshire the way that the four pieces of leather making up the ball are shown stitched together resembles that shown in Peacham's emblem.⁵

⁴ See Hist. Parl.: Commons 1558-1603, p. 387.

⁵ An example of such a ball, dated c. 1540, has been found at Stirling Castle (behind the panelling of the Queen's Chamber), and is now in the Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling. For a photograph and brief commentary see www.smithartgalleryandmuseum.co.uk/collections/starobjects and www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/dYJ9elf5QVagcSv4vUAh0Q.



Figure 2: Quartered arms of Jordan of Chitterne and Whitley, Wiltshire, together with the crest of a football granted by William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, 1604, as shown in the 1623 Heralds' Visitation of Wiltshire. CA record Ms C22/17v.

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For the next two hundred and forty years or so football remained a collection of many similar games, rather than a single game, with wide variations in local rules. It was in the nineteenth century, mainly due to the efforts of old boys of public schools such as Eton, Winchester and Charterhouse, that the rules of Association Football were established and regularised. The first meeting of the Football Association was held in the Freemasons' Arms in Long Acre, Covent Garden, on 26 October 1863. It was at this and subsequent meetings that the Football Association set out the rules of the game as intended to be played by member clubs. The first game to be played under association rules took place in Battersea Park on Saturday 9 January 1864.

Right from the outset, modern football clubs have made use of heraldry on their shirts. Many, from the date of their foundation, used without any right a version of the coat of arms of their town or city. This rarely caused problems; town and city councils were usually happy for the local team to display the town coat of arms. There were exceptions, however, sometimes emerging when the club tried to register the council's arms as a trademark.⁷ Clubs were naturally inclined to think of the coat of

⁶ A good account is given by Richard Sanders, *Beastly Fury. The strange birth of British football* (London 2010).

⁷ See for instance the case of Doncaster, discussed below, p. 47.





arms as their own, especially in cases where the council used a different artistic representation of the arms, or no longer made much visible use of the arms at all, not to mention cases where the council no longer existed and had been subsumed in a larger local authority. The situation was far from ideal.

The Football Association

At the national level and in regard to the game's governing body in England, the situation was initially similar. The Football Association used the Royal arms (either those for the U.K as a whole or for England) in various versions and contexts; see **Figure 3a**. On the national team shirts, from an early date, the version used was *Argent three lions passant guardant in pale* (sometimes *royally crowned*) *azure*; see **Figure 3b**.

But in the immediate post-war period the situation was addressed. The Football Association petitioned for and was granted arms on 30 March 1949. The blazon is given as *Argent semy of Tudor roses three lions passant guardant in pale azure*. These simple arms (see **Figure 4**) clearly derived from the unofficial arms used previously.

⁸ Local government reorganization in London in 1965 and throughout the country in 1974 meant that many municipal coats of arms used by football clubs now related to defunct authorities. Thus in 1978 Fulham F.C. actually re-introduced the arms of the (by then defunct) Metropolitan Borough of Fulham, and continued to use them till 2001. The abolition of the municipal borough and its merger with Hammersmith perhaps led to the impression that (in the words of Morgan Phillips, 'Fulham's crest', www.lbhf.gov.uk/Directory/News/Blogs/Fulhams_crest.asp) 'the old coat of arms unofficially became the property of the football club'; this is of course not the case.

⁹ See www.englandfootballonline.com/teamunif/Emblem.html.

¹⁰ College of Arms record Ms Grants 111/142.

Previous page, *Figure 3*: left (a), medal awarded by the Football Association, 1920, with the Royal arms and *ad hoc* footballing supporters; right (b), badge worn on the shirt of the English national team from the late nineteenth century.



Figure 4: Shield of arms granted to the Football Association, 30 March 1949. CA record Ms 111/142.

By permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

On 9 January 1979 the Football Association received a second grant, of crest, supporters and a badge. ¹¹ The crest granted is *On a cap of maintenance azure turned up argent a peregrine falcon rising belled and jessed holding in the beak an English wild rose slipped and leaved all proper.* The supporters are *On each side a lion party per fess argent and azure charged on the shoulder with a Tudor rose and with the interior hind foot resting on a football proper.* Essentially these are two lions in the colours of the England kit. The badge is *A representation of the Football Association Cup encircled by a chaplet of olive leaves proper.* See **Plate 3a** for an illustration.

I can find no evidence that the Football Association has ever made public use of the crest, supporters or badge. Recent correspondence with the F.A. in fact suggests that they are unaware that their coat of arms includes these elements. It also appears that they are at the time of writing unable to locate either the original grant of arms or the second grant of supporters, badge, and crest.¹²

This is interesting considering the extremely high visibility that the shield has achieved. It is probable that after the Royal arms it is the most widely recognised shield in England. On television, in print media and on merchandise, especially when major tournaments are occurring, the 'three lions' are all around us, adored by English fans and celebrated in song.¹³ It is to be noted that in most representations of the arms there are only ten roses, when eleven might have been more appropriate number. The suggestion has been made that that the College of Arms was not familiar

¹¹ College of Arms record Ms Grants 141/301.

¹² F.A., email correspondence with present writer dated 23 and 30 April 2014.

¹³ 'Three lions (on the shirt)' by Baddiel, Skinner and Lightning Seeds was no 1 in the U.K. singles chart for a fortnight in 1996 and was even a success abroad, reaching no 16 in Germany.

with number of players in a football team. Another view has it that the ten roses represent the ten regional divisions of the Football Association.¹⁴

The Football League

On the 17 April 1888, some twenty-five years after the establishment of the Football Association, the Football League was founded to organize a competitive tournament to ensure member teams a regular calendar of fixtures. Despite the creation of the Premier League, and the renaming of the old Division Two as 'the Championship', it still officiates over the four leagues in England and all 92 clubs that play in them are members.¹⁵

In the early 1970s the Football League and its member clubs (as well as the agencies responsible for the enforcement of the Trades Descriptions Act 1968) became concerned about the misuse of club badges, principally by companies that produced souvenirs. The clubs were not able to protect or license the badges since in most cases they were unregistered. Additionally, as I have noted, many clubs were using arms belonging to the towns and cities that they were located in to which they had no right. In January 1972 the Football League consulted their lawyers (H. Smith & Co.) for advice about how to protect their members' interests in their visual identity. Noticing that many of the devices were heraldic the lawyers approached the College of Arms to obtain guidance about the ownership of arms. This enquiry led to Ernest Francis, a business advisor to the Football League, visiting the College of Arms to meet Rodney Dennys who was then Somerset Herald. 17

At this meeting and in subsequent discussions it emerged that the F.A. management committee was not keen for football clubs to be granted arms themselves. This chimed in with a certain attitude at the College that—although frequently of great age—football clubs were bodies peculiarly subject to the capriciousness of fortune, and even a famous club might find itself relegated into obscurity. Accordingly, a plan was devised in which the College of Arms would grant 92 individual badges to the Football League, one for each of the member clubs; the Football League would then license the use of each badge to the appropriate club.

Before these badges could be granted, however, the Football League would itself need to become armigerous. Rodney Dennys developed a design for armorial bearings which were granted on 25 March 1974 (see **Plate 3b**). The design, *Argent on a cross gules a lion passant guardant between two lions' faces in pale or*, is a very

¹⁴ See the F.A. webpage cited in note 9. An eleventh rose appeared in the version used on the team shirts in 1950-51 but disappeared thereafter.

¹⁵ Michael J. Slade, *The History of the English Football League. Part One: 1888-1930* (Houston, Texas, 2013); Rodney Dennys, background notes for file, early 1972. For much of what follows I have been able to use the files on the topic created by the late Rodney Dennys. These (henceforth 'Dennys Papers') are in the care of the College of Arms, but they do not as yet form part of the college archives. They are at present uncatalogued.

¹⁶ Dennys Papers: Rodney Dennys, memorandum to the Earl Marshal, 5 June 1972.

¹⁷ Dennys Papers: E. T. Francis, letter to Rodney Dennys, 23 June 1972.

¹⁸ Dennys Papers: Rodney Dennys, memorandum to Conrad Swan, 19 April 1972.

¹⁹ Dennys Papers: E. T. Francis, letter to Rodney Dennys, 23 Sep. 1974.

effective one in a number of ways and it is perhaps a shame that today the Football League makes no use of it, especially since Dennys wrote in 1982 that it could at that time be seen flying as a banner twenty-five feet square above Wembley Stadium.²⁰

The crest is blazoned *On a grassy mount a football surmounted by a swift* (Apus apus) *volant all proper*. In addition to the arms and a crest the Football League was also granted a badge, *In front of a chain of twelve links in the form of an annulet argent a lion tricorporate the tails of the two upper bodies in chief or.* The twelve links represent the twelve clubs that originally formed the Football League.²¹

Next the process began to grant the club badges to the Football League. The process adopted was for each club to send the College of Arms an example of their current badge or 'crest'. Rodney Dennys then made an assessment as to whether it or something similar could be granted as a heraldic badge. If the design was suitable, he made few changes; if not he created a new appropriate design.²²

The material that Dennys received from the clubs was a very mixed bag. Many of the designs were drawn on a shield, meaning that the College of Arms would be unwilling to grant them as badges; explanations as to why clubs could not have badges on shields was to be the subject of a great deal of correspondence. The process was complex and protracted, going on for the next seven years. It was decided to grant the badges in groups of five per grant. There were in total five grants, making a total of twenty-five badges granted. Many more badges were designed and approved but not granted and the process was only completely abandoned by the Football League after Rodney Dennys's death in August 1993. The Football League did in fact pay for four more grants that were never made and the fees were returned in the early 1990s. The Football League did in fact pay for

The five grants

Between 1975 and 1979 five grants, conferring a total of twenty-five badges, were made to the Football League. The original plan was to start granting arms to teams in the First Division (then the top flight), and then to work down the order. This proved to be impossible due to inadequate response from the top-flight clubs. Accordingly the grants proceeded without regard to order of seniority or any other organizing principle; the clubs whose badges were granted first were those that submitted their current emblems quickly and with whom agreement was soonest reached over the design. The random order adopted meant that teams from very different parts of the Football League received badges; indeed some of those that did have since been relegated out of the Football League.

The process was not helped by not being conducted directly between the College of Arms and the clubs. All correspondence was channelled by way of the Football League, reflecting the fact that the badges were being granted to the Football League,

²⁰ Rodney Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds* (London 1982), p. 52. The grant is recorded at CA record Ms Grants 136/67.

²¹ Dennys Papers: E. T. Francis, letter to Rodney Dennys, 6 Dec. 1974.

²² Dennys Papers: E. T. Francis, letter to Rodney Dennys, 1 Apr. 1976.

²³ Dennys Papers: E. T. Francis, letter to Rodney Dennys, 14 Sep. 1990.

²⁴ Dennys Papers: Rodney Dennys, letter to Football League, 18 Sep. 1990.

not to the clubs. The grants do not even name the clubs the badges were intended for. It would appear from the Dennys Papers that many of the clubs were not aware that they were not the grantees.²⁵

In this section all twenty-five badges granted are blazoned (using the wording that was adopted—frequently with some diffidence — in the original grants) and their origins and subsequent fortunes briefly outlined. The aim is not to give a full account of the emblematic history of each of the clubs named.²⁶ The intention is rather to indicate the extent to which Rodney Dennys was successful in managing the competing expectations of the clubs and his senior colleagues (particularly Sir Anthony Wagner, who was Garter King of Arms for the early phase of the process and was directly involved in the blazoning of all the badges, and the design of some) in his attempt to impose a degree of heraldic form on the unruly field of football badges.

The first grant

The opening grant was made on 27 October 1975, and is recorded in the College of Arms with the reference Standards 3/180. It conferred badges intended for the use of Blackburn Rovers, Chelsea, Manchester United, Hull City and West Bromwich Albion, as follows:

- 1. Blackburn Rovers F.C.: A rose gules slipped and leaved vert within an annulet azure. See **Plate 4a**. This is a very similar to badges used by the club both before and after the grant.²⁷ The basic design had a clear heraldic form and Dennys was therefore able to grant what already existed. The version used today has the addition of text on a ribbon. Nearly every club wanted to put text in their badge, usually the name of the club or a foundation date. Following College of Arms policy, Rodney Dennys resisted such requests.
- 2. Chelsea F.C.: A lion rampant reguardant azure supporting with the forepaws a crozier or all within an annulet azure. See Plate 4b. This was another case where Dennys was able to confirm a pre-existing device that already had a strong heraldic character, made up as it was from the reguardant Cadogan lion and the crozier of Westminster Abbey, both of which featured in the arms of the old Metropolitan

 ²⁵ Dennys Papers: Football League, letter to Miss C. P. Hartley (assistant to Rodney Dennys),
 Feb. 1994; Miss Hartley to Football League, 21 Feb. following.

²⁶ There are many places to turn for general and specific accounts of professional football club emblems in England and Wales. They vary considerably in standard and reliability. The internet offers sites that clearly intend to be comprehensive (www.footballcrests.com, www.footballbadgesguide.com) as well as blogs ranging from encyclopaedic (thebeautifulhistory. wordpress.com) to avowedly subjective (www.ambernectar.org/blog/2011/07/championship-club-crest-league-table/). All sources, whatever their genre, may be written from a relatively sophisticated point of view with regard to corporate visual identity, branding and logos, but they very rarely demonstrate much understanding of heraldry (whether they support or oppose 'traditional' or 'heraldic' 'crests'); in many ways this makes them very illuminating.

²⁷ 'As for the crest [i.e. the badge], it has been Blackburn Rovers' distinctive emblem from the very beginning': *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/blackburn-rovers/*. As usual, no mention is made of its having been granted by the heraldic authorities.

Borough of Chelsea.²⁸ From 1986 to 2005 Chelsea used a very different badge with a naturalistic lion, but in the latter year they reverted to a version of the granted badge with the addition of text on the annulet.²⁹

- 3. Manchester United F.C.: A devil facing the sinister guardant supporting with both hands a trident gules. See **Plate 4c**. The red devil is a simple representation of the team nickname, and was a device that the club had used for many years. Previously, and alongside this, they had used various emblems or badges incorporating the arms of the City of Manchester. Today, the club uses an ungranted coat of arms based on the city arms, with the bendlets that forms the main charge in the field replaced by the sinister-facing devil, though it is interesting to note that in more formal contexts—such as the blazers still worn by first-team players before and after important fixtures—the unaltered coat of arms of the city is still used.³⁰
- 4. Hull City A.F.C.: A Bengal tiger's head erased proper. See **Plate 4d**. This is was another case of granting what was already in use; the fact that the tiger's head is shown in perspective ('in trian aspect' as some modern grants from the College of Arms have called it) is unspecified in the blazon. Although Hull City has made changes over the years essentially the present device is the same with the addition of a shield-shaped background; the club name also appeared but this was recently dropped at the same time as a controversial plan by the owner to rename the club 'Hull City Tigers'.³¹
- 5. West Bromwich Albion F.C.: On a roundel paly of thirteen argent and azure a missel thrush perched on a raspberry branch leaved and fructed proper. See **Plate 4e**. This once again is a badge that has been used in a very similar form since the foundation of the club, often (as today) on a shield-shaped background. Although both the bird and the branch on which it stands are sometimes alleged to be a reference to The Hawthorns, the ground where the club has played since 1900, the thrush was apparently first suggested as a badge in the 1880s, while the appearance of a raspberry branch here argues against any link with the ground name.³² Possibly Rodney Dennys received imperfect instructions and had to guess at the species of tree.

²⁸ Granted to the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the Metropolitan Borough of Chelsea on 28 Feb. 1903: CA record Ms Grants 73/235. Neither the lion nor the crozier survive in the arms of the combined Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (granted 10 Dec. 1965: CA record Ms Grants 129/20). Earl Cadogan was president of the club.

²⁹ See for instance www.soccermaniak.com/chelsea-fc.html and thebeautifulhistory.wordpress. com/clubs/chelsea/.

³⁰ See *isiphotos.photoshelter.com/image/10000yQ87YKDIo3Y* for a close-up of recent manager David Moyes with the city arms on his club blazer pocket but the club's self-assumed arms on his tie.

³¹ For a good account of the name-change controversy see *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hull_City_A.F.C.#Name_change*.

³² For competing accounts see e.g. *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bromwich_Albion_F.C.#Badge* and *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/west-bromwich-albion/*, neither displaying any awareness of the 1975 grant or any hint that the branch might be other than hawthorn.

The second grant

The next grant was dated 30 October 1975 and is recorded at Standards 3/181. The five badges it conferred, with the clubs they were intended for, are as follows:

- 6. Leicester City F.C.: In front of two hunting-crops in saltire a fox's head couped or. See **Plate 4f**. This badge was very closely based on a device that the club had been using since the 1920s and Dennys did not have to alter it substantially for it to conform to heraldic rules. An almost identical device can be seen in a publication from 1971 showing the design inside a shield.³³ Strangely, however, soon after the College of Arms grant the club adopted a new badge that has a strong heraldic quality (On a cinquefoil ermine a fox's face or) without having any existence as a heraldic badge; it is versions of this design that have been used by the club since.
- 7. Bury F.C.: A pheon or fimbriated azure the shaft surmounted by a bezant likewise fimbriated charged with a rose throughout gules barbed and seeded proper. See **Plate 4g**. I have found little if any evidence that the club had previously used this badge in this form, and today they continue to use a representation of the arms of the old County Borough of Bury.³⁴
- 8. Birmingham City F.C.: A football ensigned by a terrestrial globe proper. See **Plate 4h**. This is essentially the badge that the club continues to use today, with a scroll looped around twice bearing the club name and foundation date (1875); according to the club's website it was the winning entry in an open competition in the *Sports Argus* newspaper, in 1972.³⁵
- 9. Exeter City F.C.: Upon a torteau a football in front of a representation of the West Front of Exeter Cathedral proper. See Plate 4i. As far as I can ascertain the club has never used this badge, and both before and since has always used the arms of the city of Exeter, usually in their striking full version with Pegasus supporters, but also (occasionally) the shield alone.³⁶
- 10. Cardiff City F.C.: Within a chaplet composed of dragons passant gules and daffodils proper alternately a swift volant proper. See **Plate 4j**. The painting shows six dragons and six daffodils in the chaplet. This badge does not appear to have been used by the club. It is somewhat surprising to find the bird described (and undoubtedly shown) as a swift. The Cardiff City nickname is famously 'The Bluebirds' (supposedly deriving from the title of the Maurice Maeterlinck play *The Blue Bird*, which had a successful run in Cardiff in 1911, around the time the team

³³ See *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leicester_City_F.C.#/media/File:LCFC1948shirt.jpg* for a 1948 team shirt (said to be the first to bear a badge) with a gold fox head in profile on a white shield. ³⁴ Granted to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Bury, 28 Feb. 1877: CA record Ms Grants 59/321. The borough was abolished in 1974 and different arms were granted to the new Metropolitan Borough of Bury in 1976: Grants 139/132.

³⁵ www.bcfc.com/club/Club_Crest.aspx. No reference is made to the College of Arms or Rodney Dennys' involvement in the design.

³⁶ The city's arms were confirmed by Clarenceux Cooke together with a grant of the crest and supporters in 1564: CA record Ms C1/1/1.

adopted its royal blue strip), and all standard sources describe the Cardiff City badge as containing a bluebird;³⁷ swifts and bluebirds are not the same. Nonetheless, it is certainly the case that most versions of the club badge shown in these sources resemble the swift in form if not in colouring. A new version introduced this year has preserved this form; below the bird is a single dragon, but daffodils are nowhere to be seen.³⁸

The third grant

Five further badges were conferred in a patent dated 23 December 1976, recorded at Standards 4/9. The original patent is apparently not in the F.A. archives and would appear to be lost.³⁹ The badges and clubs concerned are as follows:

- 11. Huddersfield Town A.F.C.: A Yorkshire terrier sejant guardant resting the dexter forepaw on a football proper. See **Plate 4k**. The club are known as 'the Terriers' and were using a badge of a Yorkshire terrier from long before the grant. The badge granted in 1976 was used on a striped background for a short time, but the present club badge retains the Terrier badge as a crest over the arms of the former County Borough of Huddersfield.⁴⁰
- 12. Lincoln City F.C.: A cross argent charged with the head of a Lincoln Imp gules. See **Plate 41**. Rodney Dennys originally proposed a different design showing the full Imp inside a ring but the club rejected this version. The granted badge has never been used; however at different points the Lincoln imp has been used both on its own and as a replacement for the fleur-de-lys in the centre of the city's arms. At other times, use has been made of the city arms augmented by the initials LCFC in the quarters.⁴¹
- 13. Carlisle United F.C.: In front of a port between two towers a fox's head caboshed proper. See **Plate 5a**. A design very much like this was used for a short time after the grant and again in the 1990s but it was abandoned and the club now uses the arms of Carlisle. A fox's mask has also been used ensigned by the same mural crown that ensigns the city arms. ⁴² At home fixtures Carlisle carry a stuffed fox known as Olga onto the pitch before kick-off.

³⁷ See for instance thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/cardiff-city/.

³⁸ The club's website has a page on the new version with a glance back at some previous ones (not including the badge granted by the College of Arms) at www.cardiffcityfc.co.uk/news/article/cardiff-city-2015-crest-reveal-2322786.aspx.

³⁹ F.A., email correspondence with present writer, March 2014.

⁴⁰ Granted to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Huddersfield on 12 Oct. 1868 (CA record Ms Grants 57/53). The borough was abolished in 1974 and Huddersfield is now in the West Yorkshire Metropolitan District of Kirklees.

⁴¹ See *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/lincoln-city/*; also a report in the *Lincolnshire Echo* of 2 April 2014 (headlined 'Lincoln City's "new" badge goes back to glory days of Graham Taylor') for an account of the re-adoption of the Lincoln Imp in isolation for the current season.

⁴² See *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/carlisle-united/*. The arms of the City of Carlisle, though long used unofficially, were only granted in 1924 (CA record Ms Grants 92/47).

- 14. Manchester City F.C.: A roundel per fess azure and argent in chief a three-masted ship sails set pennons flying or in base a rose gules barbed and seeded proper. See Plate 5b. Placed in a shield-shaped outline rather than a roundel this badge was adopted by the club and used for a time from the mid-1970s, though for most of its history the club has used a badge essentially consisting of the arms of the City of Manchester—notwithstanding the fact that Manchester United were doing the same. The present version, in use since 1997, has the letters MCFC on a black fess over the city arms and places the whole shield on an eagle, with three stars over its head said to have been adopted "to provide a more 'continental' feel to the design".⁴³
- 15. Aldershot F.C.: A roundel per bend sinister azure and gules in chief a football and in base a mortar both proper. See **Figure 5**. I have found no evidence that Aldershot F.C. ever used this badge; the badge used in the club's latter years was a football with the letters AFC and the foundation date (1926). The club was wound up in the High Court in March 1992.

The fourth grant

Apparently also missing from the Football League's archives is the original patent of the fourth grant, which was dated 1 April 1977. It is recorded at Standards 4/14, and grants the following badges:

- 16. Liverpool F.C.: Statant upon a football a Liver Bird wings elevated and addorsed holding in the beak a piece of seaweed gules. See **Plate 5c**. The club never made use of this badge and continued using, as before, versions of the arms (both complete and shield-only) of the Borough and City of Liverpool.⁴⁴
- 17. Stockport County F.C.: *Upon a hurt a lozenge or charged with a cross crosslet fitchy azure*. See **Plate 5d**. As at Blackpool this badge was used by the club for a short time, though usually with a white lozenge rather than a gold one. Previously the club had used the arms of the County Borough of Stockport. ⁴⁵ The club has now reverted to using those arms though with a floating football superimposed over the lower sinister edge of the shield in a rather curious way; sometimes the shield is that of the County of Cheshire, though with the Stockport crest and supporters.
- 18. Blackpool F.C.: Upon a rose gules barbed proper a roundel tenny fimbriated argent charged with a seagull volant proper and in base a barrulet wavy argent.

⁴³ thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/manchester-city/.

⁴⁴ See *www.lfchistory.net/Articles/Article/3188* for the club's account of the history of its use and adaptation of the city arms. The arms, crest and supporters were initially granted to the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Town of Liverpool in 1797 (CA record Ms 19/389), and re-granted in 1961 to the borough (Grants 124/231) and in 1975 to the new city – until 1986 a metropolitan district with city status within the Metropolitan County of Merseyside, but now a unitary authority (Grants 138/170).

⁴⁵ Themselves a grant of a design unofficially assumed by the borough. The arms and crest were granted in 1932 (CA record Ms Grants 100/67); the supporters in 1959 (Grants 122/126).

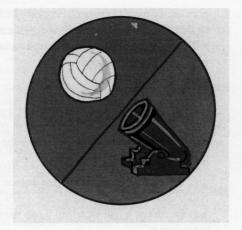


Figure 5: Badge granted to the Football League, 23 December 1976, intended for the use of Aldershot Football Club. CA record Ms Standards 4/9.

By permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms

See **Plate 5***e*. The club did use this badge (in which *tenny* stands in for the tangerine shirts of the team's home strip) for a short time but has now reverted to using the arms of the Borough of Blackpool, from which the seagull was taken.⁴⁶

19. Doncaster Rovers F.C.: A demi Viking warrior proper vested murrey a russet cloak upon his dexter shoulder and outspread and holding in his sinister hand a sword the blade resting on his sinister shoulder all proper. See Plate 5f. Dennys appears to have designed or at least codified this device, and it remains in use today though with a superimposed shield that might be blazoned Per fess argent and gules a rose argent. The reviously, the club had used a version of the arms of the borough of Doncaster, but when an application was made in 1968-9 to register this as a trademark the borough lodged an objection. The contact with Marks & Clerk over this case (and a similar one involving Rotherham United) was one of the episodes leading to disussions with the Football League on how to tackle the general issue.

20. Newcastle United F.C.: Within an annulet sable on a base vert in base four bars wavy argent and azure a castle with two towers that to the sinister with a flagstaff a magpie statant close proper. See Plate 5g. This badge was an original creation of Rodney Dennys. It was used for a few years, but the club, which had

⁴⁶ The borough arms were granted in 1899 to the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Blackpool (CA record Ms Grants 71/48) and subsequently transferred to the post-1974 borough (CA record Ms A to R 3/206). Since 1998 Blackpool has been a unitary authority. See *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/blackpool/* for an image of the Dennys design in use. ⁴⁷ At *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/doncaster-rovers/* and elsewhere the design is said to have been the work of 'a group of local students' and the winning entry in a competition to provide a replacement for the arms of Doncaster when the borough council withdrew permission to use the latter.

⁴⁸ Dennys Papers: Marks & Clerk, separate file of correspondence with Rodney Dennys, 14 Jan. 1969 to 7 Feb. 1972.

previously used the arms of the city of Newcastle, has since the late 1980s reverted to that design with the rather significant alteration of replacing the shield design with a paly sable and argent design within a gold bordure, in reference to their black-and-white striped home strip.⁴⁹

The fifth grant

The final grant in the series followed a couple of years later on 18 May 1979, the delay reflecting the increasingly painful process of agreeing on five more badges. It is recorded at Standards 4/48 and grants the following five badges:

- 21. Sheffield United F.C.: *Upon a pellet two seases in saltire blades upward argent and the hilts or in chief a rose argent*. See **Plate 5h**. This badge appears to have had some existence prior to the 1979 grant and remains in use today, though always with the usual wording (club name and foundation year) and scimitars rather than seaxes.⁵⁰
- 22. Millwall F.C.: A lion guardant salient to the sinister the forelegs at right angles the pad of the dexter exposed argent armed and langued gules. See **Plate 5i**. This is based on a device the club was using prior to the grant, showing a leaping lion in perspective, though in the immediately prior period an alternative badge of two red combatant lions rampant had been used. There was much debate between Dennys and Anthony Wagner over how this badge should be blazoned; the blazon given here is the one agreed on. This debate reflects the fact that Dennys was trying hard to preserve the rather specific position and look of the leaping lion in the original badge. However the club had already demonstrated a preference for naturalistic lions over heraldic ones, and soon afterwards they reverted to the original image, a version of which they continue to use today.
- 23. Leyton Orient F.C.: *Upon a football argent two wyverns respectant gules*. See **Plate 5j**. This badge is another relative success as the granted badge, with some additional textual additions, is essentially what the club uses today. The design

⁴⁹ See www.nufc.co.uk/page/Club/History/ClubCrest for the rather sparse account of matters offered by the club itself. The arms, crest and supporters of the City of Newcastle were granted in 1575 (CA record Ms Glover's Visitation 1/111; Miscellaneous Enrollments 1/212) and transferred to the present city council in 1974 (A to R 3/208).

⁵⁰ See www.footballbadgesguide.com/Sheffield%20United.html (the badge was introduced in 1977 'but designed apparently over 20 years previously by former player Jimmy Hagan') and thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/sheffield-united/ ('In the mid 1950s two crossed blades with the white rose of Yorkshire, set in a black shield, appeared on the player's blazers. The present roundel design was established as an official logo in the 70s. In fact, the club were one of the last to have a copyright mark and the present badge didn't appear on official company reports until 1981.')

⁵¹ Brief accounts given at *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millwall_F.C.#Badge* and *thebeautifulhistory*. *wordpress.com/clubs/millwall/*.

⁵² Dennys Papers: A. Howcroft (Football League), letter to Rodney Dennys, 31 May 1977.

⁵³ Dennys Papers: Rodney Dennys to E. T. Francis, 28 Jan. 1976, commenting on Millwall's reaction to an earlier proposal principally consisting of a lion's head.

seems to date from the mid-1970s when it replaced a predecessor consisting of a single red dragon. Rodney Dennys' role may again have been to render in a heraldic style and blazon a design presented by the club.⁵⁴

- 24. Oldham Athletic A.F.C.: *Upon a football azure a tawny owl guardant close proper*. See **Plate 5k**. The club did use this badge for a few years, both before and after the grant, though it went through various versions. Since the 2011-12 season only the owl has survived, with the upper portion of a naturalistically done bird alone superimposed on a shield that might be blazoned *Per chevron azure and argent*, with the club name in chief and the foundation date 1895 in base.⁵⁵
- 25. Northampton Town F.C.: A lion murrey armed and langued gules holding in the dexter forepaw a hammer and in the sinister a moon knife proper and resting the dexter hind leg upon a football argent. See **Plate 51**. This badge adopts murrey as the nearest heraldic equivalent to the claret of the club's shirts, and equips a lion with the tools of the shoemaker, the trade for which the town was historically famous and which still gives the club its nickname ('The Cobblers'). It was, however, never used by the club, which today employs a rather idiosyncratic version of the arms of the Borough of Northampton.⁵⁶

This was the final grant of badges to the Football League. Although many more badges were designed and agreed with the clubs they were not granted. So these twenty-five badges are the only examples of legitimate heraldic badges in English football.

Conclusion

Heraldry and football are in the popular visual memory closely connected. It is the place where people expect to see 'crests'. It would appear that none of the twenty-five clubs on behalf of whom the badges were granted to the Football League are currently aware that these grants exist.⁵⁷ In some cases the fact that the Football League has ownership over a device that the club in question now gains considerable revenue

⁵⁴ The by now familiar origin in a winning competition entry is given at www.leytonorient.com/news/article/history-wyvern-358373.aspx.

⁵⁵ See www.designfootball.com/Logo-design/New-Oldham-Athletic-Crest for a positive account. Some account of the previous designs, and an image of one version nearly identical to the granted one, with added club name, see thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/oldham-athletic/.

⁵⁶ A classic piece of old borough arms derived from a seal recorded in the 1618-19 Visitation of the county (CA record Ms C14), with two lions on either side of a castle keep; not officially granted as arms to the Borough until 1974 (CA record Ms 136/323). In the club's version one of the lions has become a dragon, a red rose has been added in base and there is an inescutcheon showing a man's shoe. At *thebeautifulhistory.wordpress.com/clubs/northampton-town/* what is clearly shown as a dragon in the present badge is termed a griffin, which may reflect belief within the club and among supporters.

⁵⁷ F.A., email correspondence with present writer, March 2014. The F.A. generally takes the line that at all levels of the game club badges are the club's to design, redesign and generally exploit: guidance is offered at www.thefa.com/my-football/football-volunteers/whatsyourpitch/clubcrest/crestandlogo (beginning 'Your crest is the ever present for your club'.)

from, could raise some interesting legal issues. In the case of Stockport County and Lincoln City, clubs that have been relegated out of the Football League and are no longer members of it, the legal issues (though of minimal financial significance) will be even thornier.

The twenty-five badges discussed in this paper represent an intriguing episode in the history of the design of heraldic badges and they merit further study, both as a meeting of different design styles and as an attempt by the College of Arms to get around its (self-imposed) prohibition on granting arms to football clubs. It also resulted in the Football League the strange distinction of possessing twenty-six separate heraldic badges—undoubtedly more than any other corporate body.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ I want to express my thanks to Richmond Herald, Clive Cheesman, for the extensive help that he has given me in preparing this paper. This paper in its original form was presented at the *Emblems and Enigma: The Heraldic Imagination*, an interdisciplinary conference at the Society of Antiquaries of London, 26 April 2014; a revised version was delivered as a lecture to the Heraldry Society on 20 May this year.