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A CONFUSION OF ARMS: THE SHIELD OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF BREWERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON

Terence Paul Smith

On the north face of Brewers' Hall, facing onto Brewers' Hall Garden, London EC2, is an attractive painted carving of the Company's shield of arms (**Plate 7**). The motto – IN GOD IS ALL OUR TRUST – is cut in gilded letters, though not on a scroll, beneath the shield; it is now, unfortunately, marred by staining. The crest and mantling are not shown, although the crest is used for the keystone, carved by Sir Charles Wheeler, over the main entrance in the principal (south) face of the building on Aldermanbury Square. Excavations by Professor W. F. Grimes in 1958 revealed foundations connected with the mid-fourteenth-century hall and its outbuildings and with later rebuilding activity.¹ Work on the medieval hall by the carpenter John Pekker of Cambridge is recorded in 1423. The hall was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 and was rebuilt, on a different alignment, to a design by the Company's own surveyor, Thomas Whiting, in 1670–3. This building was destroyed by enemy action in 1940. The present hall, designed by Sir Hubert Worthington, was built in 1958–60.²

The Company had existed for some considerable time – certainly since the late thirteenth century – before it received its charter of incorporation from King Henry VI in 1437.³ Unlike some of the City companies, which have virtually severed any connection with the original trade or craft, the Brewers' Company still requires members to be directors of breweries operating within 7 miles of the City and with substantial trading interests in the area. The Company received two successive grants of arms, and the shields of both raise points of interest; in the case of the second, this interest extends to the use of the arms as a school badge. The circumstance of the two

¹ J. Shepherd (ed.), *Post-War Archaeology in the City of London 1946–1972* (The Archaeological Gazetteer Series, vol. 3: London 1998), pp. 44–5.

² Architectural details taken from S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. London 1: the City of London* (London 1997), pp. 379–80. For John Pekker, see J. H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (revised edn., Gloucester 1984), p. 230. For Thomas Whiting, see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (third edn., New Haven and London 1995), p. 1045. For a reconstruction of the post-Fire building, see T. M. M. Baker, *London: Rebuilding the City after the Great Fire* (Chichester 2000), p. 145.

³ R. J. Blackham, *The Soul of the City: London's Livery Companies* (London [1931]), p. 148; J. K. Melling, *Discovering London's Guilds and Liveries* (fifth edn., Princes Risborough 1995), pp. 41–2. Originally they brewed only ale; the addition of hops, to produce beer, came in (from the Netherlands) during the fifteenth century. As late as 1574 the 'Aile brewers' still outnumbered the 'beare brewers' by 58 to 33: 'Inquiry of the Privy Council and Reply of the Lord Mayor Concerning the Food Supply of the City of London, 23 March, 1574', in *Tudor Economic Documents*, vol. I: *Agriculture and Industry*, edd. R. H. Tawney and E. Power (London, New York, and Toronto 1924), p. 159.

grants is possibly responsible for a degree of confusion with regard to the second shield.

The First Grant

The Brewers' Company's first grant of arms was received from William Hawkeslowe, Clarenceux King of Arms, on 23 July 1468, and can be blazoned: *Azure on a chevron gules between three barley sheaves or three barrels argent garnished sable*.⁴ In the illuminated initial T of the patent, the arms are shown impaling those of the See of Canterbury: *Azure an archiepiscopal staff in pale or surmounted of a pallium argent fimbriated and fringed or and charged with four crosses paty fitchy sable*, and with the attributed arms of St Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas Becket, 1118–70): *Argent three Cornish choughs [or beckets] proper* (Figure 1).⁵ This was the form used on, for example, the embroidered Brewers' Pall, dated c.1490–1538, apparently used to cover the coffins of deceased members of the Company as they lay in state in the Company's hall. The arms appear on one long side of the pall; on the opposite long side is a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; on the two short sides are representations of Becket, vested with mitre and cross-staff.⁶ This iconography is explained by John Stow's observation that the Company's incorporation by Henry VI was 'confirmed by the name of St Mary and St Thomas the Martyr, the 19th of Edward IV [1479/80]'.⁷

Several points of interest arise in connection with this early shield. First, the tinctures, it will be observed, break the heraldic convention that a colour should not be placed on a colour. Second, the use of iconic as opposed to geometric charges increased considerably in the later Middle Ages,⁸ and here two different iconic charges are present as well as the geometric chevron. Moreover, the iconic charges

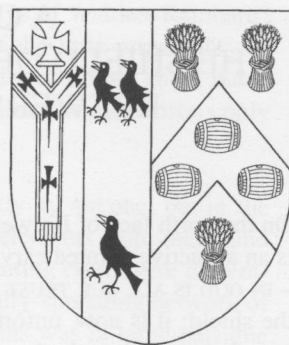


Figure 1: Arms of the Brewers' Company impaled by those of Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ CA record Ms Misc. Grants 1/79v; 5/71. J. Bromley and H. Child, *The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London* (London 1960), pp. 28–30; a photograph of the first patent is reproduced as pl. 7; unattributed quotations in the present text are from this source.

⁵ There are minor variations both in the blazon and in depictions of the arms of the See of Canterbury: A. W. B. Messenger, *The Heraldry of Canterbury Cathedral: the Great Cloister Vault* (Canterbury 1947), pp. 76–7, 143–4; 'becket' seems to be a colloquial term for *chough*: J. P. Brooke-Little, *An Heraldic Alphabet* (revised edn., London 1996), p. 48.

⁶ D. King, *Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery* (V&A Museum exhibition catalogue: London 1963), p. 58; P. Wallis, 'London, Londoners and Opus Anglicanum', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London*, ed. L. Grant (*British Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Transactions* 10, 1990), p. 137. There is a colour photograph of the pall in R. Weinstein, *Tudor London* (London 1994), p. 10.

⁷ J. Stow, *A Survey of London* (revised edn of 1603), ed. H. Morley (London 1912; re-issued Stroud, 1994), p. 285.

⁸ See for instance J. Campbell-Kease, 'A Fifteenth Century Book of Arms – *Aunciant Coates*, Harleian MS 2169', *CoA* n.s. 15 (2003–4), no. 201, pp. 3–10.

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used by the Brewers' Company were clearly chosen as being appropriate to their trade. The barley sheaves (or *garbs*) represent the principal raw material of ale and beer brewing, whilst the barrels represent the means of storing the product and of delivering it to customers. Finally, by impaling their arms with those of Thomas Becket and of the See of Canterbury, the Company was proclaiming its allegiance to Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1162 until his martyrdom in 1170. Religious as well as purely commercial interests were an aspect of guild life generally in the Middle Ages, and this, and the affiliation to Becket in particular, is underscored by the images additional to the arms on the Brewers' Pall.

The Second Grant

On 29 February 1544 a replacement grant was issued by Thomas Hawley, Clarenceux King of Arms.⁹ The original blazon of the shield, as given by Bromley and Child, reads: *Geules on a cheveron engrailed silver thre kilderkyns sable hoped golde between syx barly Sheves in sautre of the same*. Modern renderings of the shield-blazon differ slightly but are equivalent in meaning;¹⁰ an acceptable version (with alternative readings) is: *Gules on a chevron engrailed argent between three pairs of barley sheaves [or garbs] saltirewise or three kilderkins [or tuns] sable hooped or* (**Figure 2a**). The grant also included a crest: *On a wreath argent and azure a demi Moorish woman proper vested azure fretty argent crined or holding in either hand three barley ears also or*; the mantling is sable doubled argent. The motto – IN GOD IS ALL OUR TRUST – is essentially a pluralised version of Psalm 31.1 (parallel 71.1): 'In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust ...' (*Book of Common Prayer* version). The livery colours of the Company follow the field and ordinary of the second shield, being red and white.

There are several changes *vis-à-vis* the shield of the first grant. The tinctures are now 'correct' in that a colour no longer appears on a colour; the chevron is engrailed; and the barley sheaves are doubled and shown saltirewise, instead of singly and upright.¹¹ The blazon specifies 'kilderkins'

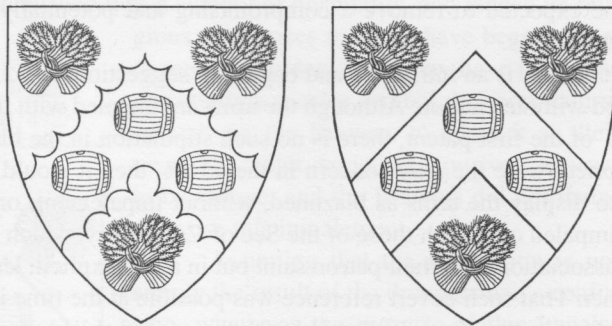


Figure 2: left (a), the arms of the Brewers Company as regranted in 1544; right (b), as recorded by Gough and Parker, 1894.

⁹ CA record Ms Misc. Grants 2/279.

¹⁰ E.g. Bromley and Child, *op. cit.* p. 28; G. Briggs, *Civic and Corporate Heraldry: a Dictionary of Impersonal Arms of England, Wales & N. Ireland* (Marlborough 1971), p. 72. Differences in modern blazon concern capitalisation or otherwise of tinctures, the substitution of *garbs* for *sheaves* or *tuns* for *kilderkins*, and/or the use of *gold* in place of *or*.

¹¹ Two single upright barley sheaves and a horizontal barrel appear on each of the rainwater-heads of Brewers' Hall.

rather than the less specific 'barrels' of the first grant, although some modern versions change this to 'tuns'. Both are iconic charges suitable to the trade of brewing, as noted of the barrels above, and in any case are indistinguishable when depicted as heraldic charges: a kilderkin is a small barrel of 2 firkins or 18 gallons capacity, whilst a tun is a larger barrel of 12 kilderkins or 216 gallons capacity.

Why Was the Shield Replaced?

In connection with the replacement grant, the Wardens of the Brewers' Company stated that they wished to have 'the armes of their said occupacion and corporacion set forthe trew and lefull [permissible, lawful] to be borne'. There are two possible interpretations of this laconic comment.

The first is the more obvious and is purely heraldic. The earlier shield, as noted, breaks the convention that a colour should not be placed on a colour since it has a chevron gules on an azure field. Changing this, as was now done by having an argent chevron on a gules field, would indeed make the arms 'trew and leful'.

Some, however, have been dissatisfied with this simple explanation and have sought a more political one.¹² In Reformation England, and to King Henry VIII in particular, Becket was anathema: he represented a challenge to royal authority and a declaration of the independence of the Church from that same authority – hardly acceptable when the king himself was now the declared Head of the Church of England. Becket's shrine in Canterbury Cathedral was destroyed, and its treasures conveniently appropriated. As John Bromley explains, the City of London itself, in 1539, 'ordered a new seal on which its arms were substituted for the effigy of the saint', whilst other City companies 'eliminated from their arms such devices as might have compromised their survival'. Similarly, therefore, the Brewers' Company might be expected to remove a compromising and potentially dangerous connotation of their arms.

This is an intriguing and beguiling suggestion, although it should not be accepted without caution. Although the arms are impaled with those of Becket in the initial T of the first patent, there is no such stipulation in the blazon itself. If political propriety were the *only* concern in the 1540s, then it would have been a simple matter to display the arms as blazoned, without impalement; or the arms could have been impaled only with those of the See of Canterbury, which would have maintained the association with their patron saint but in a less explicit, less politically charged, manner. That such covert reference was possible at the time is argued by Bromley when he avers that the crest granted with the second shield was just such an allusion to the saint: the *demi Moorish woman proper*, it is suggested, 'seems only to be explained as referring to the Saracen princess who, according to popular legend was the mother of Thomas Becket'. It is, indeed, difficult to account for this choice of crest in any other way, although the identification of the figure with the Saracen princess is not entirely unproblematic. According to the legend, she was the daughter of a Saracen prince, but the use of the expression *demi Moorish woman* (a *demy Morien* in the

¹² Notably Bromley and Child, *op. cit.* pp. viii (foreword by A. R. Wagner), 29–30, 144–5; also Blackham, *op. cit.* p. 148.

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1544 blazon) and the blonde (*or*) hair (*the here golde* in 1544) tend to suggest a person of mixed race. Nor is the figure described in the blazon as a *princess*.

Possible support for Bromley's contention concerning the reason for the change of shield *may* be found in the motto granted in 1544. By emphasising that *all* trust was in God, the Company may have been emphasising, by implication, that trust was no longer being placed in a patron saint – and more especially in one who was now, so to put it, *sanctus non gratus*.

However, even if the impaled arms of Becket *were* dropped as a matter of political expediency, this does not in itself explain the change in the Brewers' own shield as first granted, since this was neither politically nor religiously sensitive. It is no less likely, therefore, that the shield was changed in order to avoid displaying a colour on a colour. By the mid-sixteenth century the heralds were perhaps more insistent on this matter than were those of the mid-fifteenth century, a point which Bromley concedes, although still regarding this explanation as 'less probable'.

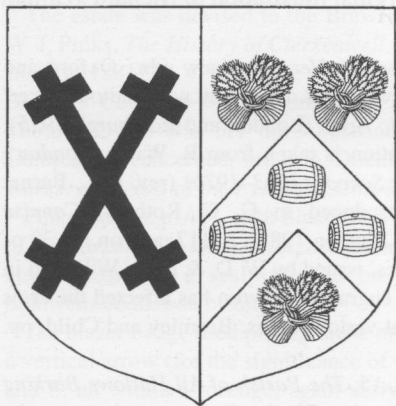
A Further Impalement

A tricked sketch in a manuscript (BL Ms Harley 472 fo. 9) of 1599 shows the Brewers' shield (with a non-engrailed chevron: see further below) impaling *Argent a saltire crosslet sable* (**Figure 3**).¹³ This is the so-called 'St Julian's cross', regarded – though with little warrant – as an emblem of the entirely mythical St Julian the Herberger (Hospitaller). As such, it appears in the arms of the Company of Innholders, granted in 1634: *Azure a chevron argent between three oatsheaves or on a chief argent a 'St Julian's cross' sable*. In an earlier (1514) depiction the arms are shown differently, the 'St Julian's cross' being an impalement (rather than on a chief) and shown as a saltire formy. The association of the saltire (in its crosslet form) with the Innholders probably established it as a symbol of hospitality, and indeed its religious resonances may not have been evident

to many beholders, who may have seen it as essentially a *secular* symbol. It seems natural enough for the Brewers to adopt it as their own. The 1599 depiction, however, appears to be unique, and the Brewers did not thereafter use this impalement.

Assuming that the illustration is not simply the result of the draughtsman's confusion, what was the *purpose* of this impalement? One possibility is that the Brewers recalled earlier times when their arms had been impaled with those of Becket and of the See of Canterbury. In 1599 this had ceased more than half a century earlier, and yet the former impalement would certainly have

Figure 3: Arms of the Brewers Company impaled by a 'St Julian's cross'. Based on BL Ms Harl. 472/9.



¹³ Bromley and Child, op. cit. pp. 144–7.

been known, since the Company retained – and presumably continued to use in the privacy of its own hall – the Brewers' Pall mentioned above. Perhaps, even, there was a covert reference in the saltire crosslet to the cross-staff borne by Becket in the images of the saint on the Pall. Possibly too the brewers felt that impaled arms were more dignified than their own arms shown alone. Either way, the impalement was one which did not share the politically sensitive associations of Becket's arms – still a matter of concern in late Tudor England, when a Protestant successor to the childless Queen Elizabeth I was by no means assured.

All this, however, must remain conjectural, and we cannot with entire confidence dismiss the possibility that the 1599 drawing is no more than a mistake – a confusion on the part of the draughtsman, perhaps, between those who made the beer (the Brewers) and those who retailed it (the Innholders).

Blazon and Depiction of the Shield: the Form of the Chevron

One significant difference between the two grants of arms is that the second includes an engrailed chevron rather than a plain one. It may be the circumstance of a double grant that has led to some confusion on this matter amongst heraldic scholars and others, including, on occasion, the Brewers' Company itself. Henry Gough and James Parker, for example, wrongly state that the second grant merely *confirmed* (rather than replaced) the first and give the blazon according to the second grant but with the non-engrailed chevron of the first (**Figure 2b**); so too does A. C. Fox-Davies, although his illustration shows the chevron engrailed; contrariwise, Geoffrey Briggs and Reginald Dare, whilst giving the blazon correctly, depict the arms with a non-engrailed chevron.¹⁴

This erroneous depiction began at an early date, for it appears on the memorial brass of Roger James, a London brewer of Dutch parentage (d. March 1591), in All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London EC3: the brass is a full length figure with the shield, measuring 6½ by 5½ inches, shown on a detached armorial plate; both are now in the sanctuary, north-east of the altar.¹⁵ It also appears in the manuscript drawing of 1599 (see above and figure 4) and in a marginal illustration to Richard William

¹⁴ H. Gough and J. Parker, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry* (new edn., Oxford and London 1894), p. 592 (also available on <http://www002.upp.so-net.ne.jp/saitou/parker/jpglosst.htm>); A. C. Fox-Davies, *The Book of Public Arms* (London and Edinburgh 1915), pp. 106, 107; Briggs, op. cit. pp. 72, 79 (the illustration is taken from R. Wallis, *London's Armory of 1677*); R. A. Dare, *A History of Owen's School (1613–1976)* (rev. edn., Barnet 1980), pp. 108, 217–18; also an engraving reproduced in G. C. Rothery, *Concise Encyclopaedia of Heraldry* (London 1915; re-issued London 1985), p. 117, and on no. 30 of a series of fifty cigarette cards of 'Arms of Companies' issued by W. D. & H. O. Wills Ltd in 1913. A similar discrepancy between a plain and an engrailed chevron has affected the arms of the Dyers' Company and the Masons' Company at various times: Bromley and Child, op. cit. pp. 80, 163.

¹⁵ A rubbing is reproduced in *Survey of London*, vol. 15, *The Parish of All Hallows Barking* (= All Hallows-by-the-Tower), Part 2 (London 1934), plate 73; the discrepancy between the depiction and the 1544 blazon is noted at p. 62; according to M. Clayton, *V&A Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs* (second edn., London 1929; re-issued London 1968),

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Seale's map of Middlesex of c.1759.¹⁶ More surprisingly, perhaps, this is the form used on a painted metal plaque of as late as 1932, attached to the north wall of the crypt in All Hallows and recording gifts by several of the City companies towards the cost of underpinning the building.

Since 1613, the Brewers' Company has acted as trustees of the Dame Alice Owen School, originally on the Owen estate in Clerkenwell, London EC1, but now relocated in Dugdale Hill Lane, Potters Bar, Herts.¹⁷ The school – founded in 1610 by Dame Alice Owen (1547–1613) and opened in 1613 – adopted the Brewers' Company arms as one of several school badges. It was the form with the non-engrailed chevron that seems to have been used on marble shields in the central curved gable and over the entrance to the master's kitchen of the 1840 school building (later replaced), and described in the late nineteenth century as 'gules on a chevron arg[ent] between three saltiers of garbes, or, as many tuns sable'.¹⁸ In the early twentieth century the school began to use the badge on the newly introduced black school cap. The blazer had a different badge, derived from the arms of the founder, Dame Alice Owen (*Argent on a mount a pomegranate tree fructed proper, borne on a woman's lozenge*).¹⁹ During the later 1930s, however, 'some commercial firms ... designed larger versions of the cap badge for use on the blazer pocket. These were sold without permission, but ... through their cheapness found a ready sale and gradually ousted the official blazer badge sold in the School'. In the late 1940s an official blazer badge based on the Brewers' Company arms was introduced. At first it had a black background and two crossed arrows beneath the shield. By 1963, however, the background was made 'a more pleasing red', corresponding to the gules of

[note 15 contd.]

p. 9, this is the only example of the Brewers' arms on a monumental brass; for James himself: J. Maskell, *Collections in Illustration of the Parochial History and Antiquities of the Ancient Parish of Allhallows Barking* (London 1864), pp. 71–2.

¹⁶ Reproduced in, e.g., Y. Beresiner, *British County Maps: Reference and Price Guide* (Woodbridge 1983), p. 162.

¹⁷ The estate was devised to the Brewers' Company by Dame Alice's will of 10 June 1613: W. J. Pinks, *The History of Clerkenwell*, with additions by the editor, E. J. Wood (second edn., London 1881), p. 476; for the history of the school: Dare, op. cit. The association with the Brewers' Company comes from Dame Alice's first husband, Henry Robinson, a brewer; Sir Thomas Owen was her third husband. For other non-brewing interests with which the Company is concerned, see P. H. Ditchfield, *The City Companies of London and their Good Works: a Record of their History, Charity and Treasure* (London [1904]), pp. 198–203.

¹⁸ Pinks, op. cit. p. 477, with illustration at p. 481; also S. Lewis, *The History and Topography of the Parish of St Mary, Islington* (Islington 1842), p. 421; the incorrect form of the chevron also appears on a seal included on the Old Owen's Association website: <http://www.oldowens.co.uk/ooa/history.php3>.

¹⁹ The blazer badge used pomegranate motifs derived from Dame Alice's arms combined with a vertical arrow (for the significance of which see note 20), and a monogram of the letters O and S, all within a lozenge, again derived from Dame Alice's arms. The arms are those of Wilkes, her maiden name. The Owen arms are: *Gu. a chevron between three lions rampant or*; they are shown impaled (dexter) with those of Wilkes (sinister) on the seal referred to in note 18.

the Brewers' Company shield, and the crossed arrows were placed above rather than below the shield.²⁰ This is the version still worn on the school blazer – the school cap, of course, has long gone.

The early badge must have continued the erroneous form with the non-engrailed chevron, for it is in this manner that some (or perhaps just one) of the schoolboys, probably in the 1930s or late 1940s, depicted their school badge – presumably copied from their own blazers or caps – in graffiti cut into a brick boundary wall

of one of the former Owen's School buildings on the corner of St John Street and Owen Street, Clerkenwell.²¹ The rubbing (**Figure 4**) shows the best example. As can be seen, the chevron is not engrailed. The 'pairs of barley sheaves saltirewise' are depicted as clearly as possible for a schoolboy scratching into brickwork – perhaps with the point of a pair of compasses. There seems to have been no attempt to include the kilderkins, presumably because of the restricted scale: the brick is only 2¾ inches in depth. The crossed diagonal lines below the shield are probably an attempt to represent the crossed arrows which appeared beneath the school badge in the middle decades of the twentieth century. These are, perhaps, an unusual form for such graffiti to take – schoolboy graffiti, after all, are often somewhat more basic – but they are of interest in providing an unexpected type of evidence in the study of historical heraldry.

It was not just Owen's School that got things wrong. The incorrect form appeared, too, over the entrance to the late seventeenth-century Brewers' Hall.²² On the other hand, the arms embroidered, in metal thread on velvet, on the three Warden's crowns of the Brewers' Company (made in 1629) show the correct

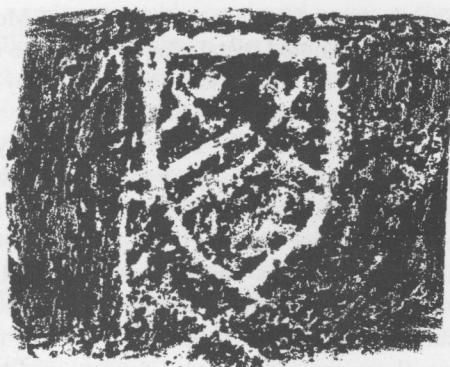


Figure 4: Graffiti by anonymous schoolboy of the Owen's School badge, c.1930.

Now lost.

²⁰ Dare, op. cit. pp. 216–17. The arrows are a reference to a story, which exists in several versions, concerning the reason for Dame Alice's foundation: the best known version, by a continuator of Stow's *A Survey of London*, relates that, when still a girl, Alice 'observed a woman milking, and had a mind to try the cow's paps, whether she could milk, which she did; at her withdrawing from the cow, an arrow was shot through the crown of her hat (then worn very tall), which so startled her that she then declared [that] if she lived to be a lady, she would erect something on that spot of ground in commemoration of the great mercy shown by the Almighty in that astonishing deliverance': this, and two other versions of the story, are included in Pinks, op. cit. pp. 473–4.

²¹ R. Cowie, T. P. Smith, and A. Westman, '329 St John Street (formerly Owen's School), London EC1' (unpublished standing building survey report, Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2003); the wall has now been demolished.

²² P. Norman, *The Ancient Halls of the City Guilds* (London 1903), drawing at p. 131.

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Figure 5: Arms of the Brewers' Company. Carving (slightly damaged), 1871: Brewers Buildings, Rawstorne Street, Clerkenwell.

engrailed chevron.²³ The correct version also appears on Brewers Buildings, a set of working-class tenement-blocks built by the Company on its estate property in Rawstorne Street, Clerkenwell in 1871–82 (**Figure 5**). This is the form currently employed both by the Brewers' Company (see plate 7) and by Owen's School.²⁴

Depiction of the Shield: the Disposition of the Barrels

In depictions of the shield, whether or not the chevron is shown in its correct engrailed form, the barrels (kilderkins or tuns) are normally shown fesswise. Occasionally, however, they are shown chevronwise, the two outer, lower ones following the directions of the chevron and the central, upper one horizontal.²⁵ On Brewers Buildings (figure 5) the barrels are shown *slightly* askew – neither fesswise nor chevronwise: this is probably due to no more than the practical consideration of fitting the barrels into the restricted space provided by the chevron. The second blazon does not specify which disposition is to be used. The accompanying sketch to the first grant, on the other hand, does show the barrels fesswise and this is also how they are depicted on the Brewers' Pall (see above). Following the sketch, the editors of the *Dictionary of British Arms* conclude their blazon of the shield: '... 3 tuns fesswise Arg[ent]'.²⁶ Although the second blazon ignores the matter, it is perhaps better to show the barrels fesswise, as is done on the shield now on Brewers' Hall (see plate 7) and on the headed notepaper of the Brewers' Company, as well as by Dame Alice Owen's School. It does – though this may be a purely subjective matter – make for a neater, less topsy-turvy, arrangement than that with the barrels chevronwise. It is also more 'natural' in that barrels are stored either vertically or horizontally, but not askew.

²³ J. L. Nevinson, 'Crowns and Garlands of the Livery Companies', *Guildhall Studies in London History* 1 (1974) pp. 72, 76, and plate 6.

²⁴ For example on the school's website: <http://www.damealiceowens.herts.sch.uk/>.

²⁵ E.g. the painting by Heather Child in Bromley and Child, op. cit. plate 5, lower right, and the illustrations reproduced in Briggs, op. cit. p. 79 and Fox-Davies, op. cit. p. 107; also on Seale's mid-eighteenth-century map mentioned above and on the Wills's cigarette card mentioned in note 14.

²⁶ *DBA* vol. 2, p. 471.

Conclusion

The Brewers' Company Arms present an interesting example of a double grant, inviting speculation as to why the replacement grant was sought, and provide an instance of how such a double grant may lead to confusion in the way the arms are blazoned or depicted. They also show how a corporate body might choose iconic charges to reflect their particular interests. Again, they illustrate how a lack of specificity in the blazon on one matter – in this case the disposition of the barrels – may lead to variant depictions. A further, and so far not well explored, aspect illustrated is the connection sometimes found between heraldry and school badges.²⁷ Moreover, this last aspect shows how even schoolboy graffiti (though not perhaps to be encouraged) may become a source in the study of historical heraldry. Finally, the shield presents us with a dignified design, unsullied by over-elaboration, although the same may not, possibly, be said of the crest. Perhaps the architect of the present Brewers' Hall was wise to omit the crest from the shield on the north wall of the building.²⁸

²⁷ T. P. Smith, 'Heraldic Arms and School Badges: a Variety of Relationships', in preparation.

²⁸ My interest in the Brewers' Company arms was prompted by an investigation of the former Owen's School buildings in Clerkenwell and I am grateful to my colleagues in the Museum of London Archaeology Service, Robert Cowie and Andrew Westman, for all their help. Thanks are due also to Pru MacGibbon and D. J. Ross, M.B.E., Archivist and Clerk respectively to the Worshipful Company of Brewers, for valuable assistance.

PLATE 7



The arms of the Brewers' Company as displayed
on the exterior of Brewers' Hall, London EC2.

See p. 37.