

FENWICK'S ROLL, A COLLABORATIVE VENTURE OF MEDIEVAL LONDON CLERKS

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

Abstract

It is often extremely difficult to determine what brought a particular roll of arms into being, but in the case of Fenwick's Roll there are strong indications that two London clerks who were cousins and members of the Lakeland family of Sandford participated in a collaborative venture that began during the reign of Richard II, and continued for some fifty years. Analysis suggests that the arms were primarily recorded at the Palace of Westminster during parliaments, at the royal courts which met in Westminster Hall, and within the Exchequer. Both cousins were dead by 1418, by which time the first section of the roll on kings, saints and peers must have been illustrated. The Sandfords apparently enlisted the help of other clerks in their venture, and so that the project was able to continue after their deaths, very likely under the supervision of the king's knight Sir Edmund Sandford, whose death sometime after 1425 seems to coincide with the end of collecting. There are no indications for the involvement of the crown or of the royal heralds until about 1440, when all the remaining pieces of parchment were gathered together and the roll was finished. During this process the newly granted arms of two London livery companies, the Grocers and the Drapers, were incorporated. At least one of these grants emanated from the pen of William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, which might be an indication that it was he who paid for the roll to be completed. It seems likely that the roll was passed down to, or purchased by, John Writhe (d.1504), who first became Garter in 1478, since Writhe's son and successor Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534) certainly owned it. It is considered that the copy which survives today was made in the early sixteenth century, the original roll being then in a poor state, perhaps through constant use. The copy shows signs of annotation by multiple Tudor heralds. It eventually passed out of the College of Arms and only returned there in the twentieth century.

The History of the roll

What can be deduced about the origins of the roll will be dealt with below, but its history from Tudor times, and the way in which it was used and abused, provide an interesting story in its own right. There can be no doubt that the complete roll, the surviving parts of which now belong to the College of Arms¹, was once in the possession of Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d.1534), who in the process of compiling his own ordinary took many

¹ CA Philipps MSS 14020 and 14921

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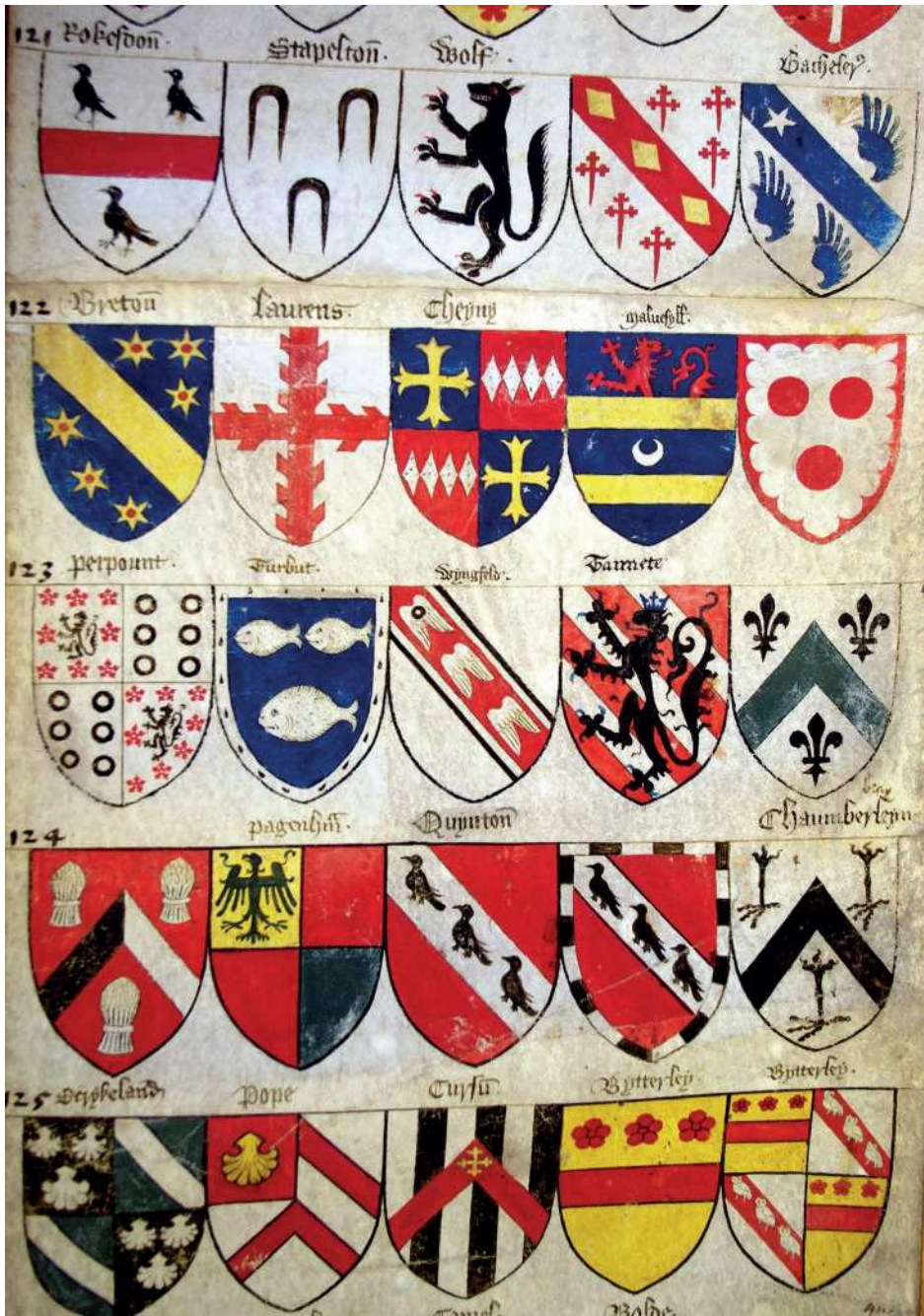


Figure 1: FK 596–620 showing labelling in many different hands. This and all other images used in this paper photographed by the author and reproduced with the gracious permission of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of arms.

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extracts which he placed in the diverse sections of that work.² The roll was possibly handed down to him by his father John Writhe (d.1504), who as Garter King of Arms in 1485 rescued the collections of the newly founded Office of Arms after Henry VII ejected the Office from its base at Coldharbour. Writhe took the records into his own home. He is known to have purchased Ballard's Book c. 1490. Even by Wriothesley's time the roll must have been in poor condition, because many of the attributions could no longer be discerned. Wriothesley was primarily interested in arms that could be related to a particular family, but in some cases he did copy arms which lacked attributions. As an example of his working method, two shields which occur close together in Fenwick's Roll (FK) became consecutive entries in Wriothesley's Book of Saltires.³ Sir Anthony Wagner dated the execution of the roll to the sixteenth century, and it may well have been Wriothesley who rescued the original manuscript by having it carefully copied.⁴ A gap of some 45 years separates the death of Wriothesley from the next recorded appearance of FK. In 1579 Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, made a painted copy.⁵ Glover did not attempt to replicate the original calligraphy, and left many blanks to show where attributions were wanting. Inspection of FK reveals no trace of earlier writing at the location of these blanks, which must signify where the writing had eroded away from the lost original manuscript. The earlier attributions copied by Glover were in a wide variety of different hands (**Figure 1**), suggesting that the roll had been the subject of research over a prolonged period of time, with names being inked in when it was believed that the arms could be identified. This would suggest successive ownership by individuals who held their own heraldic archives, presumably heralds. The gradual process of inking-in resulted in a considerable number of errors. Where Glover added his own attributions he was careful to distinguish them from the originals. Some of Glover's personal attributions were subsequently added to the original roll, but not necessarily by Glover himself. He made a number of copying errors such as minor brisures omitted, and in two places he omitted a row of shields and was obliged to add them in out of sequence. One such omission he did not pick up until he had finished, and it was necessary for him to place the missed shields at the end. It is not known who owned the roll in 1579. After Glover's time there were no further written additions, and the roll passed out of the sphere of the College of Arms into the ownership of the manuscript collector Ralph Starkey (d.1628) of Darley Hall in Cheshire, who resided at St Giles-in-the-Fields in London.

Immediately after Starkey's death it came into the possession of Sir Edward Dering, who in 1629 had the roll copied in trick (**Figure 2**). The order of the original was carefully maintained, but in rows of four rather than the original five. As was characteristic of Dering, he replaced an unattributed shield at FK 686 with his fake ancestral arms of Dering, *Or a saltire sable*. He chose this page for the insertion because of the presence here of his ancestral arms of Haute of Pluckley (**Figure 3**). In the Victorian era the Dering family divided the roll at row 64 (FK 316) and the two parts were sold at different dates. Either at

² In the *DBA* these comprise the 12 sources given the letter X from XBM to XZ. From these many transcripts there can be no doubt that Wriothesley was using the same roll which survives today.

³ FK 519 and 521 became XX 301 and 302; see *DBA*, vol. 4 pp. 384,395.

⁴ CEMRA pp. 81–3.

⁵ CA MS C.G.Y.660 (Figure 5).

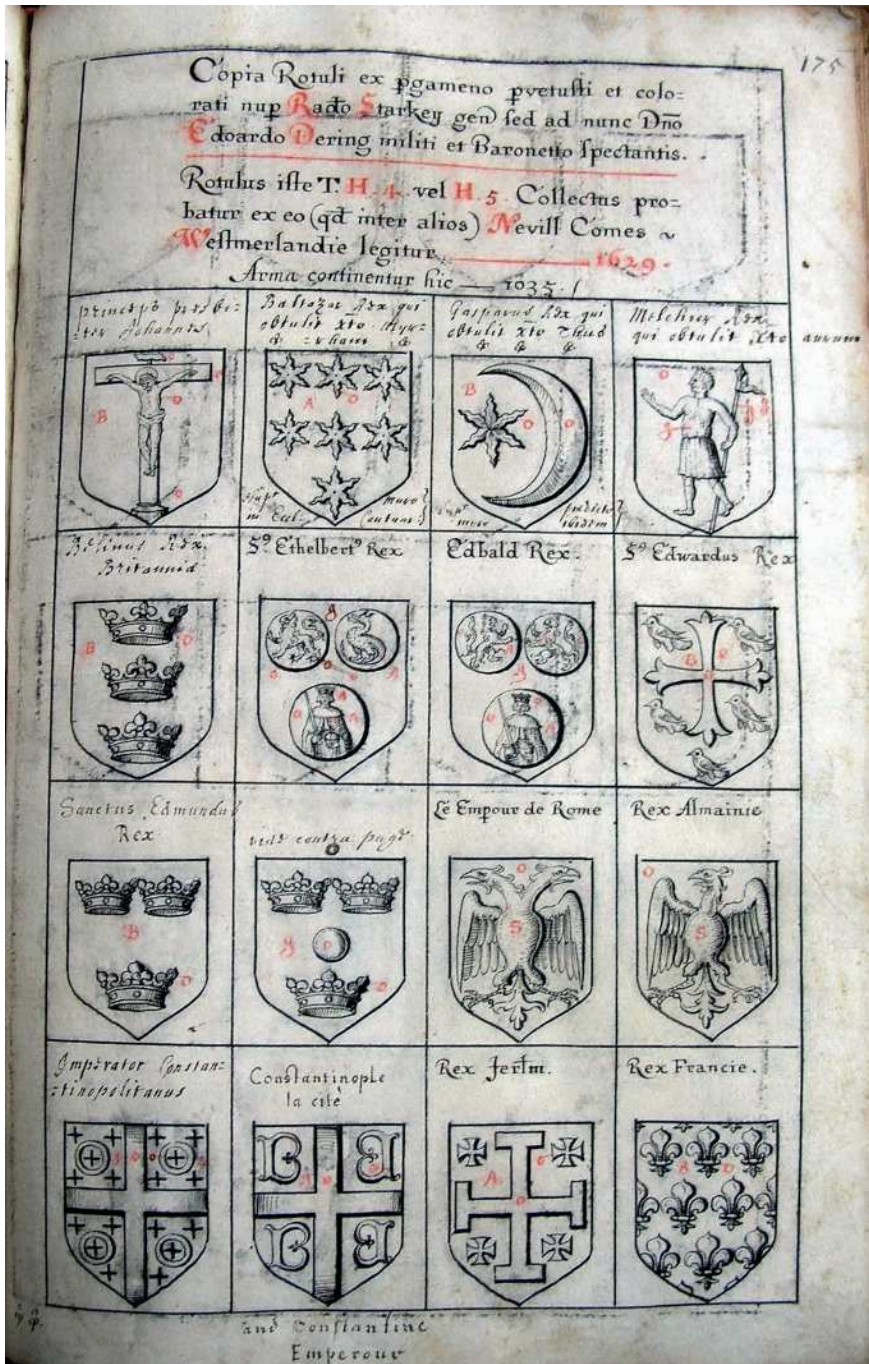


Figure 2: FK 1–16, one of the lost sections of the roll, as copied for Sir Edward Dering in 1629 and now bound up as part of CA MS Gybbon's Ordinary pp.175–226 (175).

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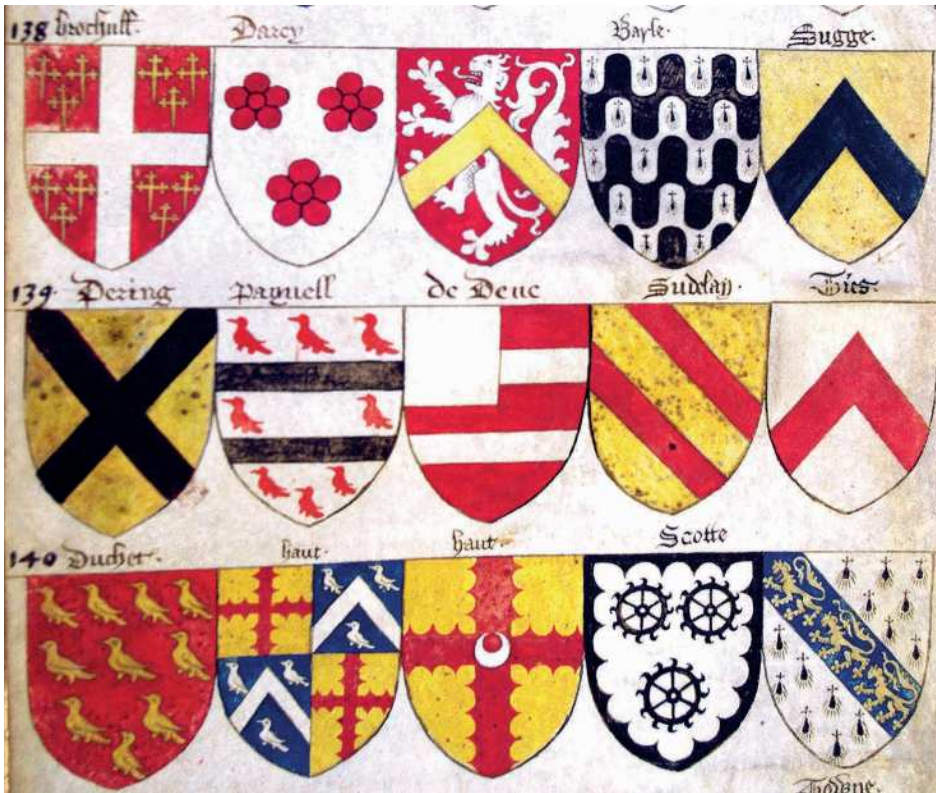


Figure 3: FK 681–695 the shield at FK 686 having been overpainted with the arms of Dering, the original arms being preserved in Glover's copy.

the time of the first sale or subsequently the prestigious royal and nobiliary opening section was further cut up to be sold in small pieces, and as a consequence rows 1–10, 16–17 and 26–29 are now lost. Rows 11–15 survive as a separate fragment at the College of Arms, while rows 18–25 have been reattached (**Figure 4**). The end section of the roll was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the Dering sale of 1858. Phillipps came to possess all the surviving parts, which Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick inherited and later sold to the College of Arms. The presence of the arms of Fenwick at FK 413 is entirely coincidental. The College is fortunate to possess both the Glover and the Dering copies of the original roll, without which reconstruction would not be possible. The numeration in the *DBA* follows the Dering copy, which was evidently checked against the original.

The structure of the roll

Following established precedent, there is a social hierarchy within the roll whereby saints come first, followed by kings and then the nobility. There are 1030 shields, of which 41 are of kings, fourteen of saints and heroes, 98 are peers (81 in the initial section and another seventeen, including various extinct peerages, scattered through the remainder). There are 39 peerage cadets, five sees, four cities, two livery companies, one religious foundation,

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270 cannot be identified, and the remaining 556 are a mixture knightly and gentry families, priests and clerks. The majority of the arms were contemporary, but there was some interest in historical material where it could be gathered from reliable sources.

Saints.

The roll begins with ten Christian heroes and saints headed by Prester John and followed by the three kings of Epiphany: Balthazar, Gaspar and Melchior (**Figure 5**). The shields of the Three Wise Men match those found in Randle Holme's Book, which is dated to the reign of Henry VI. Dering noted on his copy that in his day the same arms of Balthazar and Gaspar could still be seen painted on a mural in Canterbury cathedral (**Figure 2**). FK 5, *Azure three crowns in pale or*, was labelled by Dering as the legendary King Belinus (Cunobelinus) as recorded in Ballard's Book.⁶ FK 6 and 7 are St Ethelbert, king of Kent and his son King Eadbald. The tombs of these two kings prior to their destruction at the Reformation were in St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Edbald was an obscure figure, and knowledge of his arms suggests that the informant must have visited the abbey. Next we have the two patron saints of England, St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund, and the final saint is another obscure Anglo-Saxon king, Ethelbert of East Anglia (d.794): *Gules a roundel between three crowns or*. These arms were also recorded in Ballard's book, for which Fenwick's Roll must be considered as a likely source. Hereford cathedral was dedicated to this St Ethelbert and the arms were once on the tomb of John Stanbury who was bishop of Hereford 1453–74.⁷ The arms of Thomas Becket were added at FK 990.



Figure 4: FK 91–100, part of the peerage section of the roll which became detached and was later reattached. Here in order are lords Scales, Bardolf, Ferrers of Groby, Darcy, Berkeley, Darcy and Meinille, Roos and Badlesmere, Lovell, Strange of Knockin and Bouchier.

⁶ DBA vol.3 p.244.

⁷ DBA vol.4 p.335; CA MS M 3 (including Ballard's Book) ff.72b, 888.

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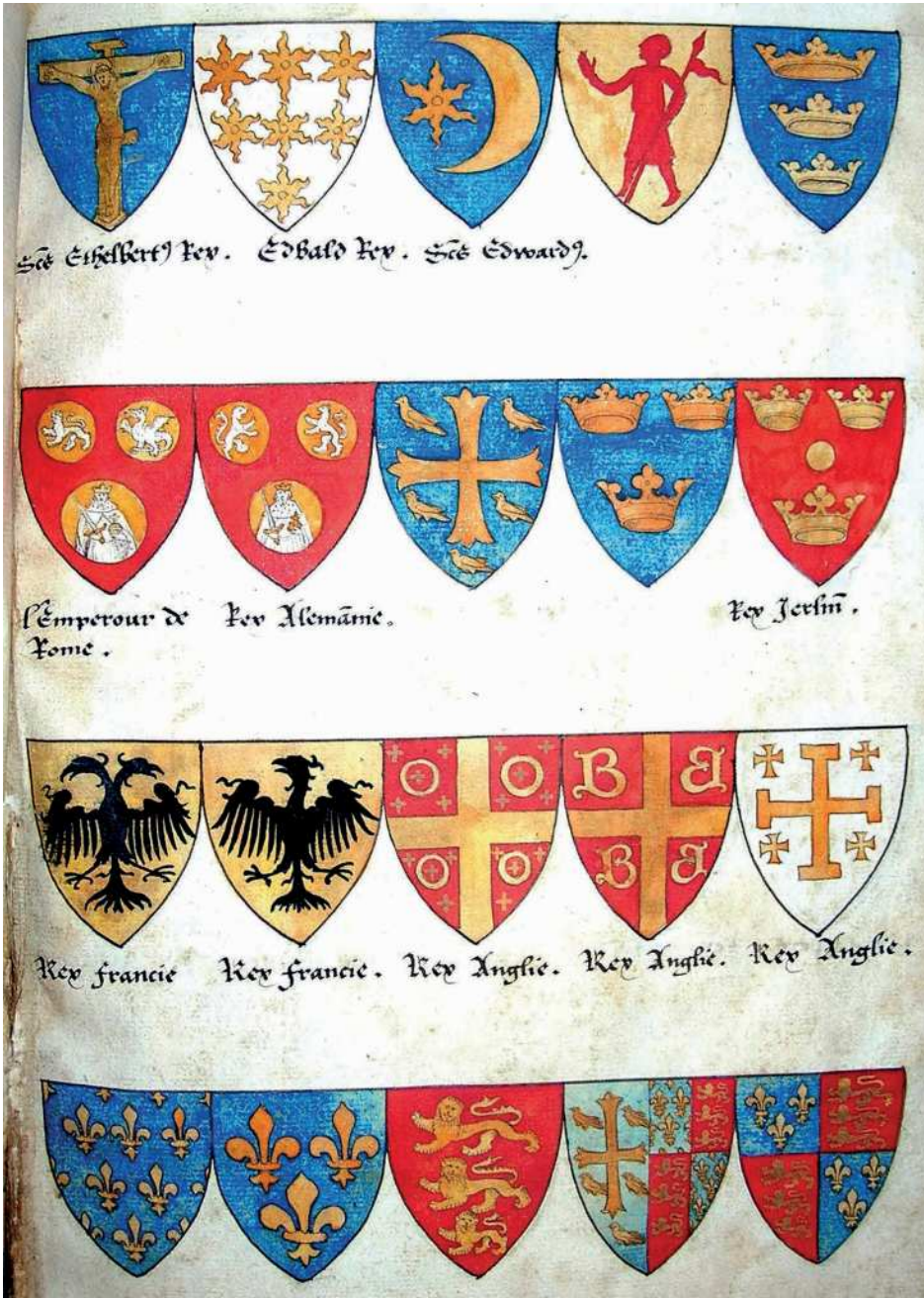


Figure 5: FK 1–20, the saints and kings at the beginning of the roll, as copied by Robert Glover in 1579, CA MS C.G.Y.660.

Kings.

The 41 kingdoms include numerous attributed arms from diverse parts of the known world. They ultimately derive from the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM) of c.1310 which lists 28 kingdoms (plus one repeat) of which 22 are in FR. A few of the entries in LM have become slightly garbled and there are a few minor changes in tincture. For example the sultan of Babylon (LM 29, FK 41), *Argent on a roundel sable a lion passant argent*, has the field changed to Or, while the king of Frise (LM 25) has been rationalised to the king of Africa, *Azure three leaves argent* becoming *Azure three heart shaped leaves Or*. The confusion between or and argent (*or* and *ar*.) can easily be made by an artist who is working from a tricked copy of a roll.

The attributed arms of Armenia have been completely changed from LM and match those found in the royal bay of the Canterbury cloister (1408–14), *Gules a bend ermine between two lions rampant or*. The three conjoined legs of the kingdom of Man which occur in LM appear in FK only as quartered with the arms of William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire and ruler of Man, who was executed for treason in 1399. They occur detached from the other kingdoms, at FK72. Of the 55 arms of saints and kingdoms in FK, 21 can be found in the roughly contemporary royal cloister bay at Canterbury.⁸ The arms given for the kingdom of Bohemia were well known in England during the reign of Richard II, being those of his queen, Anne of Bohemia. They were not the correct arms for the kingdom by the time that the roll was completed, since they contain the double-headed eagle of Anne's father the Holy Roman Emperor Charles (d.1376). Neither of the two sons of Charles who succeeded him bore these arms. Wenceslaus IV (d.1419) was never crowned as emperor, while Sigismund, who became emperor in 1433, never used the arms in the form used by his father because he was also king of Hungary.

Two shields are supplied for France, the ancient and modern varieties of *Azure semy de lis or* and *Azure three lis or* respectively. Three versions of the arms of England are given: the original three lions of Richard I, the arms devised by Richard II (Edward the Confessor impaling France ancient quartering England) and those adopted by Henry IV early in his reign, France modern quartering England (**Figure 6**).

Egypt was added at FK 287 as *Per pale azure and argent a griffin passant counterchanged*. This kingdom does not feature in LM, and the original designation was lost. Glover labelled as 'Egioké', and the attribution is confirmed with reference to Randle Holme's Book. Here very similar arms, *Per pale or and sable a griffin passant counterchanged*, are given for the king of Egypt, which may be another example of an argent-or error made when copying a source which was used for both rolls.

Peers.

There follow 80 arms of peers plus one legendary hero, Guy of Warwick. The list is headed with 33 earldoms, some of them no longer extant by the time of Henry IV, but including none that had not existed within living memory. Included, for instance, were the arms of the Bohun earls of Northampton which were not used after 1361, of the Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex which came to an end in 1373 (both ancestral to King Henry V) and the Ufford earls of Suffolk, who ended in 1382.

⁸ Paul A. Fox, *Great Cloister: A lost Canterbury tale* (Oxford, 2020) pp.13–14 (hereinafter **Fox 2020**).

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Figure 6: FK 41–60 from CA MS C.G.Y.660, with two very significant shields on the third row: Henry of Bolingbroke and Edward of York, earl of Rutland.

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The first two peerage shields are of considerable interest. Firstly, we have those of Henry of Bolingbroke (later King Henry IV): *Qtly 1+4 France ancient 2+3 England, over all a label dimidiated dexter ermine and sinister azure semy de lis or* (**Figure 6**). The name was not legible when the roll came to be re-copied, and was filled in by a late hand as the Duke of Bedford. Henry IV passed on the label that he bore prior to his accession to his son John, who became duke of Bedford in 1414, after his father's death. If Prince John ever bore the arms at FK 51, it was only for about two years between his father's accession and the alteration of the royal arms in c.1402. Next come the arms of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, prior to his accession as duke of York in 1402: *Qtly 1+4 France ancient 2+3 England, over all a label dimidiated dexter gules, on each label point a castle Or, and sinister argent, each label point charged with three bezants*. The original name which accompanied this shield was also lost, and came to be filled in as the 'duke of York'. This is not correct because when Edward acceded to his dukedom he immediately took his father's arms which had France modern and *a label argent, each label point charged with 3 bezants*. His accession resulted in him being one of the first two individuals to have a seal made incorporating the new royal arms of Henry IV, the other being the Prince of Wales.

From a dating perspective these two shields belonging to members of the royal family are intriguing. The peerage section would be a good fit for the reign of Henry IV, and would not be compatible with the reign of Henry VI, who acceded in 1422. The arms of Mowbray are labelled as earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal rather than duke of Norfolk, a title bestowed in 1425. There are no arms for Beaufort, a family which was so highly placed during the reign of Henry VI, when Thomas Beaufort became cardinal (in 1426); and none for Edmund Beaufort who became earl of Dorset in 1441 and duke of Somerset in 1447. Nor do we have John Holand, created duke of Exeter in 1443, William de la Pole created marquis of Suffolk in 1444 and duke in 1448, nor indeed Humphrey Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in 1444. Although the peerage list is not quite complete from any period, analysis of the proportion of peers summoned to parliament who are included in the roll gives some interesting insights. For the summonses of peers to parliaments held at Westminster, in 1381 37% of those summoned are omitted, falling to 21% in 1389, then 8% in 1397, late in the reign of Richard II. A similar 10% were absent from the lists for 1403 and 1409, during the reign of Henry IV. The proportion missing rises again to 16% in 1414 with the third parliament of Henry V and to 26% in 1427 in the sixth year of the reign of Henry VI. In other words, there is a discernible trend which suggests that collecting began late in the reign of Richard II and ceased sometime around the accession of Henry V, by which time the peerage section was presumably painted. Dering noted that there was a join in the roll following the end of the peerage section after FK 145, in between rows 29 and 30. It is possible that this marks the end of an original roll and that when the roll was copied in the sixteenth century this distinctive feature was maintained. The following section of the roll is certainly later in its date of composition.

Among the earls at FK 80 are the arms of a solitary dowager countess, Anne Mauny (d.1384), the widow of John Hastings, earl of Pembroke (d.1375). They are *Quarterly 1+4 Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or with a label of 5 points argent (Brotherton) 2+3 Hastings quartering Valence*. The ascription has been lost, but the arms

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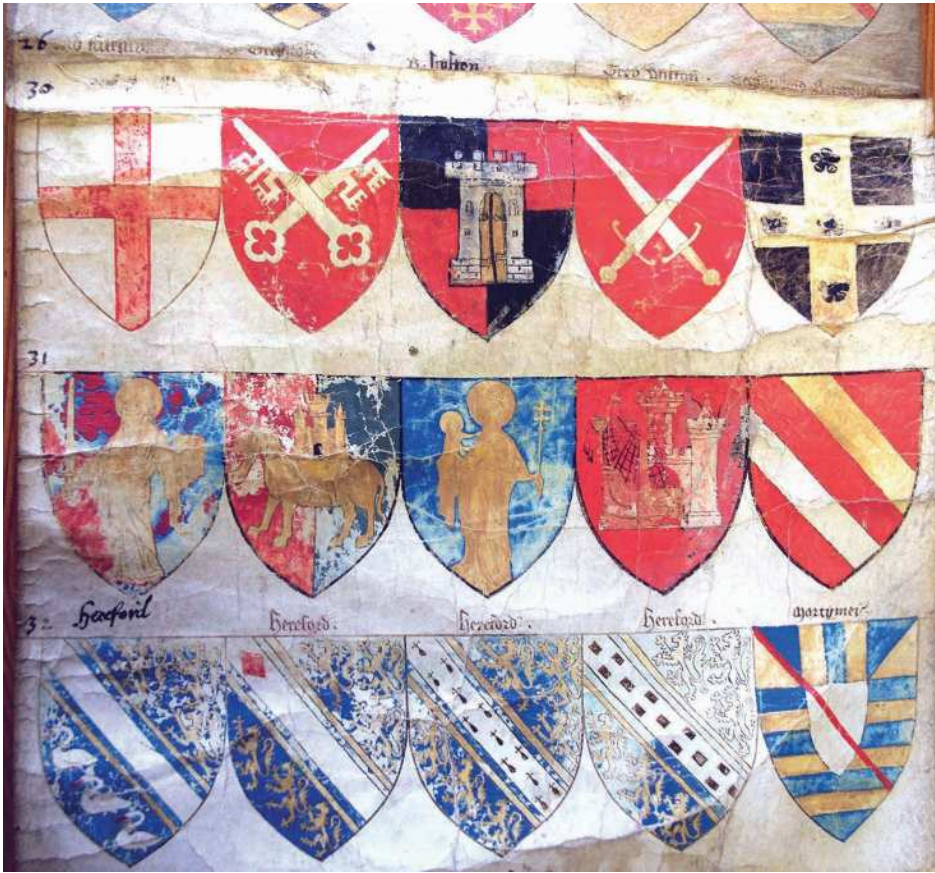


Figure 7: FK 146–160, above which is a significant join which might also have been a feature in the lost original roll. The top two rows are listed in the text.

can only be for her. She was the daughter of Margaret Marshal, the Earl Marshal, and granddaughter of Thomas Plantagenet of Brotherton. She bore the quarterings reversed, placing her ancestral arms in the first quarter, as the mark of a dowager. The Brotherton arms are not, of course, those of her father, but those of her grandfather, which she bore because of their connection with the blood royal.

The arms of the Earl of Huntingdon at FK 53 (**Figure 6**) demonstrate that the roll was created originally in blazon form and that the painter of the arms was not the same person who compiled the list. Here is an example of an argent-azure confusion. The arms were painted *Gules 3 lions passant guardant in pale or within a border argent semé de lis or*. The border which Huntingdon used was in fact one of France (*azure semé de lis or*) and here we have the misreading of a shorthand blazon or trick, argent (*ar.*) instead of the correct azure (*az.*).

Following the join below row 29 there is a brief assemblage of nine shields of saints, episcopal sees and cities, beginning with St George, whose feast became a national

day in England following the victory at Agincourt in 1415. Following on, we have the see of York, the city of Worcester, the see of London, the see of St Davids, the city of London, the city of Coventry (*Per pale gules and vert an elephant and castle or*), the see of Salisbury, and the city of Bristol (**Figure 7**). King Belinus and his brother Brennus were reputed founders of Bristol, and their figures were placed above St John's gateway there in the late fourteenth century.⁹ It will be recalled that the arms of Belinus occupy a prominent position at FK5. The reason for this interest in Bristol is undetermined, and Gloucestershire as a county is somewhat under-represented in the roll.¹⁰ It might be relevant that the citizens of Bristol made a number of significant loans to the Exchequer during the period, as did London and Coventry.¹¹ One further episcopal see, that of Ely, occurs later in the roll, at FK 286.

Next, a run of four shields of deceased fourteenth-century cadets of the extinct Bohun earls of Hereford is preceded by the attributed arms of Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford (d.1143), *Gules two bends, the upper Or, the lower argent*.¹² These arms came to be regarded as the arms of the Constable of England, which appertained to the earldom. This is the only ancient coat in the second section of the roll. The compiler seems to have had a particular connection with Hereford or Herefordshire as the county is over-represented by 2.5 times in terms of its population. As further evidence of some connection of one of the compilers with Herefordshire, two of three saints included in the gentry section were linked to Hereford: a second version of the arms of St Ethebert (*Or three chevrons azure*) at FK 360, and a version of the arms of St Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (*Gules three leopard's faces or*) at FK 813.¹³

Knights and gentry.

The main body or second section of FK comprises a fairly random collection of knightly and gentry families, priests and clerks. Some 270 cannot be identified, because they are unique to this roll and have not been matched to seals. All 39 ancient counties are represented, broadly in proportion to the population size of each.¹⁴ For instance 54 gentry shields can be linked to Yorkshire, which is 9.6% of the total and the population of the county was then 9.4% of the national population. There are three notable exceptions to this proportionate distribution, these being London with Middlesex, and Westmorland, which are represented with five and six times as many shields as their populations warranted, respectively, while Cumberland has 4.4 times the expected number of shields. The obvious explanation for this finding is that London was where the blazons

⁹ Samuel Seyer, *Memoirs historical and topographical of Bristol*, vol. 1 (Bristol, 1821) p. 55.

¹⁰ Accounting for 2% of the identifiable arms, although 3.3% of the national population resided there.

¹¹ Anthony Steel, *The receipt of the Exchequer 1377–1485* (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 77,157,196. At FK 799 is Thomas Rokes, *Azure a chevron argent between 3 chessrooks or*. Rokes was a tax collector of Bristol in 1417–18 who rendered to the Exchequer, TNA E122/17/30; see *DBA* vol. 2 p. 317.

¹² *DBA* vol. 2 p.107.

¹³ *DBA* vol. 2 p.519 and vol 4 p.147.

¹⁴ The county population figures for 1377 can be found in Stephen Broadberry et. al., *England medieval population: reconciling time series and cross-sectional evidence*, University of Warwick working paper 27th July 2010.

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were undoubtedly collected, and the collectors had a strong family connection with the Lakeland Region.

There is a high proportion of arms bearing cadency marks, the 150 examples that are so identified constituting 17% of the total (excluding the kings, peers, saints etc). Most of these are brisures which would be expected of younger sons whose work took them to the capital, where many of them doubtless also lived, as lawyers, priests, clerks and merchants. There are 34 mullets, 27 annulets, 26 crescents, 18 labels, 10 fleurs de lis, 6 martlets, 5 borders, 5 crosslets, 5 cinquefoils, 4 escallops, 2 lozenges, 2 charged bends, 2 conjoined annulets, one pinecone, one bendlet, one mallet and one heart.

Taking the group of 556 gentry, 19% had been members of parliament, 20.6% had served as sheriff and 14% had served as escheator within the period 1377–1427. There is some overlap between these occupational groups. No individual represented held his first term of office in one of the abovementioned roles later than 1430. It is instructive to make comparison with the Canterbury cloister, where only 1% of 252 gentry donors served as escheator during the period when the arms were being collected.

The Palatine counties and Westminster.

The only place where a random selection of gentry from every English county might be seen over such an extended period was in the Palace of Westminster, where the Exchequer was based, and where the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas sat in Westminster Hall. The sheriffs and escheators of nearly every county, as well as the collectors of taxes and customs, brought the revenues of their offices to the Exchequer. The palatine counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, Durham and Cornwall were the sole exceptions, and did not form part of the Exchequer tally system. It is noteworthy that the gentry from these counties in FK show a strikingly low proportion of sheriffs and escheators compared with the rest. Of the seven entries linked to Cornwall, there were five office holders and all five came to Westminster as MPs. Given their presence in parliament it is presumably coincidental that two of them had also served as sheriff. None of the twelve Cheshire gentry had served as either sheriff or escheator, and none of the nine Durham gentry had served as sheriff (usually combined in this county with the office of escheator), which cannot be said for any other counties. Lancashire appears at first sight to break this pattern. Of its nineteen gentry one was an escheator, another a sheriff, and a third, Sir Robert Lawrence d.1439 (FK 602), served as MP, sheriff and escheator. The sheriff was Sir Nicholas Longford (FK 831–2) who was a collector in the county in 1402, for which he reported directly to the Exchequer.¹⁵ This leaves only the one escheator not reporting to Westminster, who might easily have visited London for some other reason. After the duke of Lancaster became king in 1399, the duchy of Lancaster remained separate from the crown estates, but its administrative council met four times a year at Westminster at two chambers within the Exchequer of Receipt.¹⁶ All three Lancashire office holders belonged to the period of 1399 and later. The picture provided by the four palatine counties taken together provides powerful confirmation that the large concentration of sheriffs and escheators noted amongst individuals linked to each of the non-palatine counties is significant. It

¹⁵ TNA E404/18/248.

¹⁶ Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 1953), p.160.

suggests that coats of arms were being recorded within the Exchequer. But the inclusion of a representative selection from every county demonstrates that the Exchequer cannot have been the sole place where the arms were collected.

That the originator of FK was not within the inner circle of the royal household can be inferred by comparing the number of king's knights in FK with those in the Canterbury cloister, the latter being the personal project of a royal chancellor. FK has thirteen king's knights (four from the reign of Richard II, five under Henry IV, and four under both monarchs) compared with 21 in the cloister, which comprises only half as many individuals as FK. Similarly there are only four king's esquires in FK compared with 21 in the cloister, although within FK there is an additional group of some eleven royal servants working amongst other locations such as the pantry, the wardrobe, and the king's chamber. So our collector of arms was close to the centre without being a member of the innermost circle.

Exchequer officials.

If the arms were being collected in the Exchequer we would expect to find men who worked there on the roll, and this is indeed the case. So far 23 have been identified: nine from the reign of Richard II, seven from the reign of Henry IV, and two encompassing both reigns, plus five from the reign of Henry V. This is 4% of all the non-nobles in the roll. The examples include at FK 911 Sir Robert Plessington (d.1393), Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1380–86, having previously been an attorney in the Exchequer in the 1370s.¹⁷ As the younger son of a Lancashire family he bore the Plessington arms differenced with a crescent. His eldest son, Sir Robert Plessington, died in 1405 leaving his eleven-year-old son Robert in wardship to an Exchequer clerk Richard Banks, who was appointed Baron of Exchequer in 1410. At FK 814 is *Argent three cockerells and overall a bendlet sable, charged with a mullet argent for difference*. These are the differenced arms of Cokayne of Derbyshire, the undifferenced arms *Argent three cocks sable* being borne by Sir John Cockayne (d.1438), of Ashbourne, from 1403.¹⁸ He had four sons, and his uncle, Sir John Cockayne of Bedfordshire, was Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1400–13, and Justice of the Common Pleas 1406–29. The arms would be a good fit for this individual. At FK 708 is *Or a lion rampant gules charged on the shoulder with a crescent argent*, as a mark of difference from his kinsman of Edward Lord Charlton K.G. (d.1421) who died without issue. The arms are probably those of William Charlton who was Chancellor of the Exchequer 1377–81. At FK 338 are the arms of Henry Somer (d.1450) *Vert a fess dancetty ermine*.¹⁹ He was clerk of receipt at the Exchequer 1399–1404, Baron of the Exchequer 1407–10, and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1410–37. Somewhat lower down the pecking order at FK 204 are the arms of John de Findern (d. c.1419) of Derbyshire, *Argent a chevron between three crosses formy fitchy sable*. He was appointed clerk of estreats 1399, dismissed 1406, reappointed 1409, and sacked again in 1412.²⁰ At FK 879 is *Argent a chevron ermine fimbriated sable between three chaplets gules* for John Burgh

¹⁷ New DNB and Hist. Parl.

¹⁸ *DBA*, vol. 2 pp.170, 180.

¹⁹ *DBA*, vol. 3 p.317.

²⁰ Fox 2020, pp.305–6.

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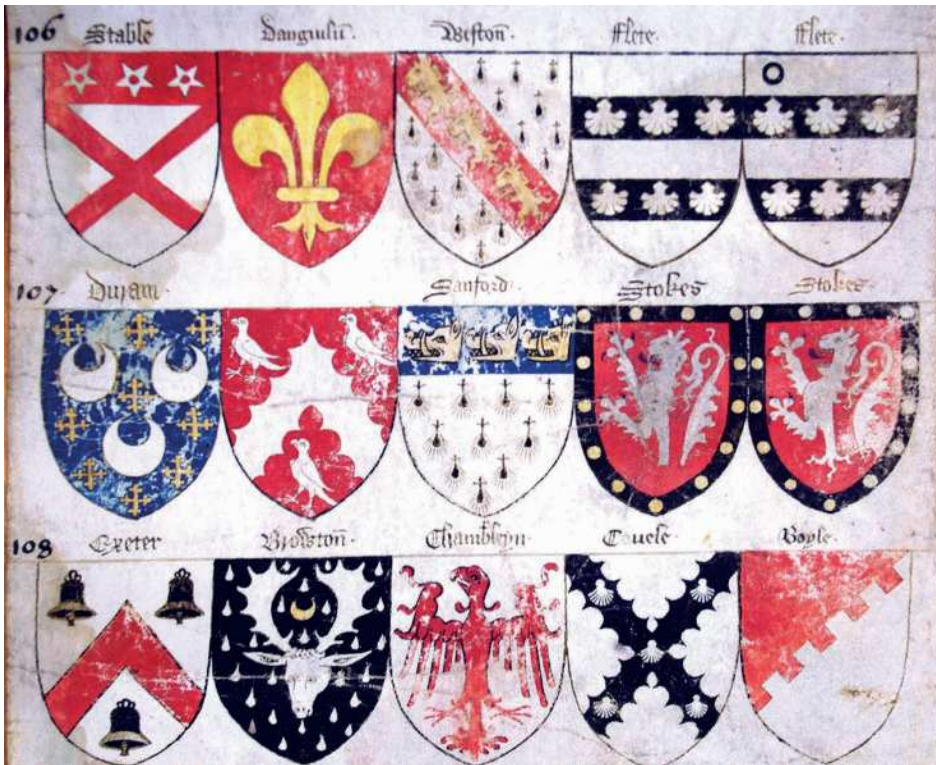


Figure 8: FK 521–535. In the centre are the arms which perhaps belonged to William Sandford, clerk, the younger.

(d. 1434) who was under-clerk of Receipt 1390–1404, clerk of Receipt 1405–1411, clerk to the Treasurer 1410–11 and 1413–16, and went on to be escheator of Surrey and Sussex 1416–17 and 1424, and sheriff of Kent 1419–20.

Having observed that the office holders can be encompassed almost entirely within the period 1377–1427, that the only place in the country where individuals from every part of the country routinely congregated was the Palace of Westminster, and that the compiler had a strong personal connection with Cumberland and Westmorland, the next task was to see if any individual whose arms occur on the roll might be a strong contender. The obvious first place to look was for families with multiple repeats of their arms. Some of the great peerage families have the arms of a number of cadets: Percy, Clifford, Beauchamp and Neville, but none of these cadets had any connection with the central administration, with a solitary exception. There are four Braybrook cadets, among them at FK 193 Sir Gerard Braybrook, *Argent seven mascles gules, a label azure for difference*. He was a king's knight of Richard II from 1390 and of Henry IV from 1399, but it would be surprising, for the reasons stated above, for the collector to have been a member of the royal household. Moreover, Gerard became head of his family in 1405 and would have then dropped the label from his paternal arms, which locates the Braybrook family grouping from before that date.

Among the knights and gentlemen are very few families with multiple entries, in fact only three. One in particular really stands out, namely Sandford, with no less than nine examples. For the Sandford family there are two overlapping individuals, the cousins William and Robert, who were linked to the royal administration at Westminster between 1370 and 1418. William was introduced into the royal administration by his uncle William de Sandford the elder, clerk (d.1375), a wealthy pluralist from Sandford in the parish of Warcop, Westmorland, who was ordained priest by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1324 on the presentation of his brother Robert.²¹ As a king's clerk he received his first royal preferment in 1347, and he went on to hold the important position of Keeper of the Rolls and Writs of the Court of Common Pleas, based in Westminster Hall.²² He began to purchase land for the benefit of his family in 1358 when he purchased the manor of Thorpe Salvin in Yorkshire from Nicholas de Salvain for £400.²³ In 1372 he purchased three further manors: Askham in Cumberland, for £200 from Sir Robert de Swinburne; and Harthill and Escrick in Yorkshire, from Sir William Bardolf of Wormegay for £400.²⁴ The latter place was known to him because he held the rectorship there from 1351.²⁵

William Sandford, clerk of the Common Pleas

In 1375, following the death of William de Sandford the elder, his brother and heir Thomas de Sandford (d.1380) settled the manors of Harthill and Thorpe Salvin on trustees, including William de Sandford junior, clerk.²⁶ The instrument was sealed with his arms *Ermine on a chief (gules) two boar's heads couped (or)*.²⁷ Thomas's eldest son and heir Robert Sandford (d.1404) who held Sandford in 1403, was a collector of taxes in Westmorland in 1386 and left two daughters as his coheirs.²⁸ Robert's widow Margaret went on to marry Robert Leybourne who represented Westmorland in parliament in 1404 and served as escheator in 1426–7. His arms, *Gules six lions rampant argent, a label azure*, are at FK 184. William Sandford, clerk, the younger was a beneficiary of Thomas's will.²⁹ In this document he is described as parson of Marholm, and his relationship with the testator is not specified. He is of the next generation, and must be either a younger son or a nephew. He received a gold and silver cup set with a beryl stone and a sapphire ring, which Thomas referred to as 'the stone of truth'. The son and heir Robert received his father's armour, a cup made from a griffin's egg, a coral rosary, and all his father's books.

²¹ *Register of John Halton, bishop of Carlisle 1292–1324*, Canterbury & York Soc. vol. 13 (London, 1913), pp. 227–8.

²² CPR 1345–48 p.371, 1350–54 p.199 (Escrick) 1354–58 p.29, 1367–70 p.40; for a list of his benefices in 1366 see R.C. Fowler and C. Jenkins, *Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria diocesis Londoniensis AD 1362–1375*, 2 vols, Cant. & York Soc. vols 34+38 (Oxford, 1927–38), p.176.

²³ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 8, Yorks Rec.Soc., p.141 no.394.

²⁴ Feet of fines Yorks, Yorks Rec. Soc., vol. 52 p.157; Feet of fines Westmorland TNA CP 25/1/249/7, no. 44.

²⁵ Harthill and Thorpe Salvin were adjacent parishes at the southern tip of Yorkshire in the West Riding, and Escrick lies just south of York in the East Riding.

²⁶ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 8, Yorks Rec. Soc., p.143 no.403. It has generally been assumed that the elder clerk was Thomas's uncle, and the younger clerk Thomas's brother, but this deed disproves that.

²⁷ *DBA*, vol. 3 p.55.

²⁸ Hist. Parl.

²⁹ *Register of Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle 1363–95*, Canterbury & York Soc vol. 96, no.562.

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The arms at FK 216, *Ermine on a chief gules two boar's heads or*, are those of Thomas and his son Robert. Those of William Sandford the younger were perhaps *Ermine on a chief azure three boar's heads erased*, labelled for Sandford at FK 528, and not otherwise attested (**Figure 8**).

William was ordained acolyte by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1357, and eventually became a priest, although the record of his ordination has not been located. He was given the rectory of Marholm in Northamptonshire in 1361 which was exchanged on royal presentation in 1382 for Thornton in Lonsdale in Yorkshire, in turn exchanged for Gilling in Richmondshire in 1402.³⁰ William was working for his uncle as clerk to the keeper of the rolls and writs, for which in 1370 he was in receipt of an annuity of ten marks.³¹ In 1380 the younger William and his cousins Thomas and William de Hornby established a chantry in the church of Thorpe Salvin for their recently deceased uncle, William Sandford the elder.³² Those whose souls were to be prayed for in the chantry included two individuals whose presence in FK would be otherwise difficult to explain. They were John de Kirkeby (d.1353) late bishop of Carlisle, whose arms are probably at FK 912, and William de Edendon (d.1366) late bishop of Winchester at FK 252.³³ William the younger's ready familiarity with the workings of the royal administration came in handy in 1411 when he requested an exemplification of letters patent to certify his own joint purchase (as William Sandford the younger, clerk) of the manor of Harthill in 1372.³⁴

Robert Sandford of the Exchequer.

Little can be determined of the career of William's cousin Robert Sandford except that it culminated in his being appointed as a Baron of the Exchequer in 1417, and that he died in office in 1418.³⁵ The Barons might participate in legal disputes, but their main role was to oversee the day to day business of running of the Exchequer in all its aspects, directing writs to the sheriffs of payments to be collected, sealed with green wax. They met the sheriffs and escheators when they arrived at Westminster to deliver payments, and issued them with tally sticks as a means of accounting. They had the power to remove an underperforming sheriff from office and to commit his county to another sheriff. One of their number visited each county annually, accompanied by a clerk, as part of the accounting process.³⁶ The career path of an Exchequer Baron in the time of Robert Sandford (the Chief Barons excepted, these being high ranking barristers) seems to have been one of internal promotion following long service. Taking the four Barons appointed before, and the four appointed after, Sandford, his successor rather

³⁰ Lincoln Register IX, f.235d; CPR 1381–85 p.176; Yorks Arch. J. vol 25 pp. 175, 189–90.

³¹ Frederick Devon, *The Issue Roll of Thomas Brantingham* (London, 1835), p.341.

³² CPR 1377–81, pp. 519–20.

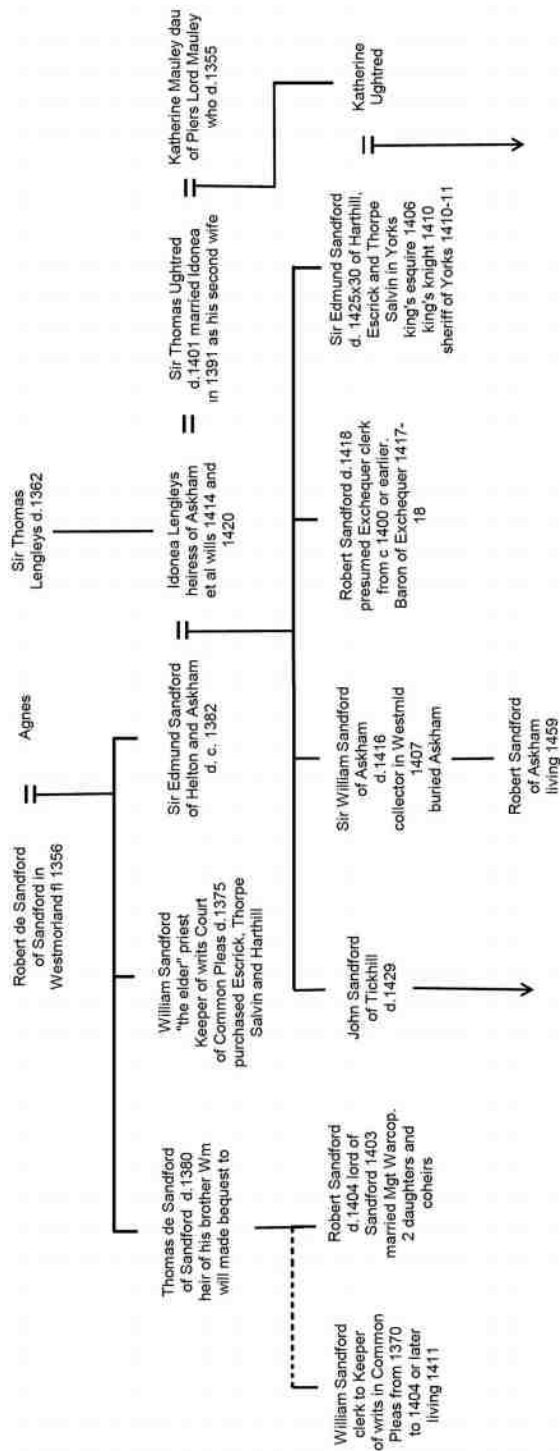
³³ The paternal arms of John Kirkeby are not known, and those attributed to him in W.K.R. Bedford's *Blazon of episcopacy* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1897), p.142 are quite unsubstantiated. According to the new DNB he is believed to have come from the north west of England, and at FK 912 are the arms of Kirkby of Lancashire, *Argent two bars gules and on a canton gules a cross moline or*. For Edendon's arms *DBA*, vol. 3 p.217.

³⁴ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 7, Yorks Rec. Soc. p.112 no.322.

³⁵ CPR 1416–22, pp. 106, 170.

³⁶ F.S. Thomas, *The Ancient Exchequer of England* (London, 1848), pp. 26–8, 32–49, 56, 107–8.

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boldly asked to be appointed as a reward for distinguished service as a customs official in Calais; four had served for an average of fifteen years as clerks in named Exchequer offices, and it is a reasonable assumption that remaining three had worked for similar lengths of time as unspecified clerical officers within the Exchequer.³⁷ Sir John Sainty's volume on the employees of the Exchequer is only a partial reconstruction, and is heavily dependent on surviving letters patent of appointment, there being no surviving record of the annual disbursements made to staff.³⁸

The numbers of sheriffs, escheators and collectors of taxes noted in FK, as defined by year of first holding office, forms a fairly even spread between 1377 and 1427, and if Robert Sandford was the informant until his death in 1418 then he might have begun to work in Westminster Hall at much the same time as his cousin, likewise introduced into the royal service by their uncle William. At about the same time that Robert Sandford became a Baron a land transaction was entered into the Close Rolls which linked him with a number of eminent personages, including the king's brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.³⁹ Robert was closely linked to two of the other parties, the brothers William and Geoffrey Lowther, who also came from Westmorland, the hamlet of Lowther being very close to Askham. William Lowther was then a trustee of the dower lands of Robert's recently deceased brother Sir William Sandford (d.1416), whose widow Maud went on to marry a friend of the Lowther family.⁴⁰ At FK 779 we have the presumed arms of William Lowther (d.1421), *Or six annulets sable a martlet gules for difference* (**Figure 13**). He bore the martlet as the younger son of Sir John Lowther, and served as escheator of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland 1397–1400, and of Cumberland and Westmorland 1405–6, and he was sheriff of Cumberland 1400–1 and 1406–7.

The family of English

Robert Sandford had three brothers (**see pedigree**). They were the sons of Sir Edmund Sandford (d. c.1382) and his wife Idonea Lengleys or English. The second grouping of knightly family arms, comprising four shields at FK 576–579 (**Figure 9**), is that of English. Idonea was the sole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas English of Helton Flechan and Little Asby, in Westmorland. Within the space of only a few years between 1362 and 1364 Thomas and his three brothers all died.⁴¹ From the Stirling Roll of 1304 the arms of their father Robert English were *Sable three lions rampant argent*, shown in FK both for him and for his eldest son John English (d.1362).⁴² Two of the brothers used the

³⁷ For Sandford's successor see TNA SC 8/185/9223; The list of Barons was taken from Sir John Sainty, *The Judges of England 1272–1990*, Selden Soc. Supp. Ser. vol. 10 (London, 1993), pp.115–6, and details of their previous careers from J.C. Sainty, *Officers of the Exchequer*, List & Index Soc. Special Ser. vol. 18 (London, 1983).

³⁸ The Exchequer issue rolls TNA E403/480–570 do not include this information.

³⁹ CCR 1413–19, pp.508–12.

⁴⁰ See the biography of William Lowther (d.1421) in the Hist. Parl. Several of the men had strong links with the Exchequer, two of them having recently served as sheriffs and escheators of their counties, the other having been mayor of Lynn at the instigation of Bishop Beaufort.

⁴¹ Frederick W. Ragg, 'Lengleys', *Trans. Cumb. & Westm. Antiq. & Archaeol. Soc.* N.S. vol 20 (1920) pp.66–96 with pedigree on p.96.

⁴² *DBA*, vol. 1 p.278.



Figure 9: FK 571–585. In the centre row are the four shields of the family of English.

border as their mark of cadency. English with a *border engrailed or* was most likely for the second son William English (d.1363), and the arms with a *border gobonny argent and or* perhaps belonged to the third brother Thomas (d.1362), which leaves the version with the *three lions crowned or*, perhaps for the youngest son, Robert. Thomas' daughter Idonea Sandford became the heraldic heiress for the whole family, and transmitted the undifferenced arms to her descendants, shown quartered with the Sandford arms in Dugdale's 1665 Visitation of Westmorland.⁴³

Sir Edmund Sandford, king's knight.

The arms recorded by Dugdale for the descendants of the eldest brother, Sir William Sandford of Askham, were *Per chevron sable and ermine in chief two boar's heads erased or* (FK 461) quartering English. The same Sandford arms, but with different quarterings, were ascribed to the descendants of the second brother, Sir Edmund

⁴³ Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees made at the Heralds' Visitations of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1891), p.115.

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Sandford (d.1425–30).⁴⁴ Edmund was the most prominent of the four brothers, but has been omitted from most of the published pedigrees.⁴⁵ He was a king's esquire by 1406, and still in 1410, but was knighted later that year, when he became sheriff of Yorkshire.⁴⁶ In 1414–5 he petitioned the king concerning the arrest and imprisonment of his bailiff at Harthill.⁴⁷ In 1405 he undertook with Thomas de Hornby to pay for the education of the three sons of Hornby's brother John.⁴⁸ The Hornby brothers were cousins of the four Sandford brothers, having a Sandford mother. In 1402 Thomas de Hornby and William de Sandford, vicar of Gilling, transferred seisin of the manor and advowson of Escrick to Edmund son of Edmund de Sandford, knight.⁴⁹ William de Sandford, acting as trustee for these estates, transferred to his cousin Edmund most of the properties purchased by the elder William Sandford, clerk. Edmund was married before 1401 to Katherine Ughtred, his stepfather's daughter, who had an illustrious descent from the baronial families of Bohun, Clifford and Mauley.⁵⁰ Katherine's mother was the daughter of Piers Lord Mauley (d.1355) and Margaret Clifford.

Sir Edmund is probably important in the genesis of FK, and his wife's Bohun ancestors probably explain the roll's preoccupation with the earldom of Hereford, Hereford cathedral and its saints, and the house of Bohun, which together account for 12 entries.⁵¹ It must have been a source of great pride that the house of Bohun made the Sandfords kinsmen of the house of Lancaster. Through Ughtred, Edmund was a kinsman of the family of Salvain, who constitute the third and final grouping of knightly family shields.

The family of Salvain.

The family was linked to North Duffield and Harswell in Yorkshire. They were kinsmen of Sandford through the baronial family of Mauley. Sir John Salvayn of North Duffield was married to Elizabeth Mauley, daughter of Piers 6th Lord Mauley (d.1383), while Edmund Sandford the younger was married to a granddaughter of Piers 5th Lord Mauley.

⁴⁴ Sir Edmund Sandford's great grandson Sir Brian, who fought for Henry VII at Bosworth and was rewarded with crown appointments in Notts and Lincs, was ascribed these arms in Writhe's book of knights, *DBA* vol 3, p.55.

⁴⁵ Frederick W. Ragg, 'Sandford of Askham', *Trans. Cumb. & Westm. Antiq. & Archaeol. Soc.*, N.S. vol. 21 (1921) pp. 174–233, pedigree facing p.232 omits Edmund and misplaces the younger William. Edmund's parentage is confirmed among other documents by *Yorks Deeds*, vol 9, p.75 no.180.

⁴⁶ CPR 1408–13, p.138; CFR 1405–13, p.204. In 1403 Edmund was holding Harthill, and was described as Edmund Sandford son of Edmund Sandford, knight, *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 8, no.405. That his father was also a knight is confirmed by *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 9, p.72.

⁴⁷ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 7, p.112 no.332.

⁴⁸ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 8, p.144 no.406. Any residue was to be spent on masses for the soul of the deceased William de Sandford, clerk, and others.

⁴⁹ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 9, p.75 no.180.

⁵⁰ Sir Thomas Ughtred (d.1401) left his daughter Katherine Sandford a mazer decorated with the arms of Ughtred and Mauley, in his will, *Testamenta Eboracensia* (hereinafter *Test.Ebor.*), vol. 1, Surtees Soc., vol. 4, p.244.

⁵¹ Bohun at FK 60–61, 156–9, 927, St Ethelbert of Hereford FK 10+360, St Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford FK 813, Miles of Gloucester, earl of Hereford FK 155 and Plukenet, who were ancestors of Bohun FK 660.

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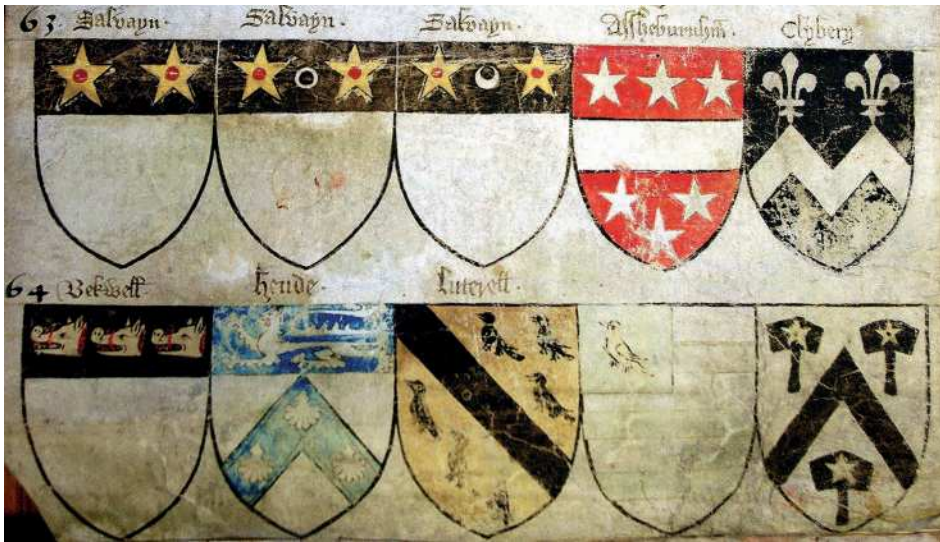


Figure 10: FK 306–315 with three Salvain shields on the first row.

Sir Thomas Ughtred, the stepfather of the four Sandford brothers, was earlier married to Katherine Mauley, the sister of the 6th Lord Mauley, and Katherine was the wife of Sir Edmund Sandford. The Salvains who sold Thorpe Salvain to William Sandford were cousins of those of Duffield and Herswell, but bore different arms, *Argent a chevron between three boar's heads gules*.⁵² It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Ughtred and Sir Gerard Salvain both had interests in the manor of Escrick in 1387–94.⁵³ The boar's heads of the arms of Sandford might well have been inspired by those of Salvain. A separate influence might have been the family of Swinburne from whom the Sandfords purchased the manor of Askham. The Swinburnes bore *Gules crusilly three boar's heads erased argent*.

The four Salvain shields are divided into a group of three and an isolated shield. The group of three at FK 306–8 comprise the undifferenced arms *Argent on a chief sable two mullets or pierced gules*, the same with an annulet argent, and the same with a mullet argent for difference (**Figure 10**). The detached member of the group at FK 444 has the arms with a fleur de lis argent for difference. The undifferenced arms were for the eldest of the four Salvain brothers, Sir Roger Salvain (d.1421) of Harswell, who as a retainer of the Percy family fought against King Henry IV at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, but went on to become a knight of the body of Henry V. This remarkable volte-face was doubtless a consequence of his father Sir Gerard Salvain having been retained by Henry IV as a king's knight in 1399. Sir Roger served as Treasurer of Calais from 1413 until his death, and was charged to collect £9000 from the Treasury in London in 1414.⁵⁴

⁵² *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 1, p.123; *DBA*, vol. 2 p.364 for seals of Sir Anketin Salvain and his son Nicholas, of Thorpe Salvain. Their crest was a boar's head, see *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 8, p.141 no.394.

⁵³ *Yorks Deeds*, vol. 9, pp. 72–4.

⁵⁴ CCR 1413–19, pp.206–7.

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Figure 11: FK 456–470 with five Sandford shields on the middle row.

The Sir John Salvain (d.1432) of North Duffield already mentioned was the second brother, and it was probably he who bore the mullet for difference. He served as Treasurer of the royal household in 1418.⁵⁵ Sir Gerard (d.1422), the fourth brother held land at North Duffield in 1407, and served as escheator of Yorkshire in 1417–18.⁵⁶ The annulet was considered as a fitting cadency mark for such a younger son, especially one who gained land through marriage (in his case Croxdale in county Durham) and since he was one of the three brothers in direct contact with the Exchequer in the same period, it is very likely that his is one of the group of Salvain arms in the roll. The third brother Thomas was left land at North Duffield under the terms of the will of Sir Roger Salvain, and perhaps bore the fleur de lis for difference.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1914) p.42.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ The order of the brothers is taken from Burke LG 1952.

The Sandford arms grouping

Returning to the grouping of five Sandford family shields at FK 461–5 (**Figure 11**), which is the only grouping of this size in the entire roll, the undifferenced arms must be for Sir William Sandford (d.1415), and differenced with a label argent for his eldest son and heir Robert Sandford. The arms differenced with a crescent would be for the next brother Sir Edmund Sandford (d.1425x30). The arms differenced with the mullet and the annulet must represent the youngest two brothers, Robert Sandford (d.1418) of the Exchequer and John Sandford (d.1429). This was more than a century before brisures came to be regularised, and it is not possible to be certain of the sequence chosen, excepting that the annulet probably denotes the youngest, which might have been Robert. In 1402 the brothers William and John were together granted the administration of the estates of their deceased stepfather Sir Thomas Ughtred (d. 1401) during the minority of his heir. It was with the specific consent of the Lord Treasurer Henry Bowet, bishop of Bath and Wells, acting through the king's council, that this was granted to them.⁵⁸ Later Archbishop of York, Bowet came from Penrith (which lies close to Askham) in Cumberland, and named John Sandford in his will.⁵⁹ In 1420 their mother Idonea left to John her furniture in the city of York. He eventually settled at Tickhill (near to Harthill and Thorpe Salvin, in Yorkshire) where from his damaged tomb all that could be discerned of his arms was that they included ermine and in chief two boar's heads.⁶⁰ A Derbyshire branch of the family stated in the Visitations to descend from Sandford of Tickhill (erroneously placed 'in Cumberland') later bore *Ermine on a chief indented sable three boar's heads or*.⁶¹ Two further examples of the Sandford arms at FK 649 and 650 must represent a single undetermined cadet of the Lakeland family because they are a variation on the same theme.⁶² The second of these was labelled by Glover himself as Sandford of Shropshire. While there might have been a later cadet of the family in Shropshire, Glover's observation led to some confusion during the sixteenth-century Visitations when various houses descended from the Sandfords of Sandford in Shropshire were given differenced variants of the arms of Sandford of Westmorland.⁶³ The correct arms of the ancient Shropshire family were *Quarterly per fess indented ermine and azure*, the form of the arms confirmed by a seal of c.1240.⁶⁴ As a consequence of the confusion even the main house of Sandford of Shropshire went on to adopt Sandford of Westmorland as a quartering.⁶⁵ In actuality the two houses are quite unconnected, and each can be traced back to separate places called Sandford in the twelfth century.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ CFR, vol. 12, p.171; CIPM, vol. 18, nos. 622–4.

⁵⁹ Bowet died in 1423, *Test. Ebor.*, vol. 1, pp.400–1

⁶⁰ Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire, the history and topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, 2 vols (London, 1828–31), vol. 1 p.241.

⁶¹ Visit. Notts, *Harl. Soc.*, vol. 4, p.168. He made his will in 1429 (*Test. Ebor.*, vol. 1, p.417).

⁶² FK 649 *Argent a pierced estoile and on a chief indented sable two wolf's heads erased or*; FK 650 the same with an annulet sable for difference.

⁶³ Visit. Gloucs, *Harl. Soc.*, vol. 21, p.142; Visit. Shropshire vol. 2, *Harl. Soc.*, vol. 29, p.432.

⁶⁴ Robert Eyton, *The antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols (London, 1854–60), vol. 9, pp.222–39 (228).

⁶⁵ Visit. Shropshire, op. cit., pp. 429–32.

⁶⁶ Eyton, op. cit., and Ragg 1921 op. cit.

The origins of Fenwick's Roll

The evidence is strong that the roll is a compilation of arms collected by at least two clerks, and perhaps by many more. It appears that the project was initiated by William Sandford, who began his service as a clerk in the Common Pleas in 1370. He seems not to have begun collecting until after the death of his uncle and namesake, the keeper of writs at the Common Pleas, in 1375. He came from a knightly family, and perhaps loved heraldry for its own sake. He was well acquainted with colleagues who worked in the Exchequer, as can be deduced from the presence of their arms in the roll. One or more of these must have been enlisted to support his project of collecting coats of arms. The urge to collect things is a common human trait, but these were highly educated men for whom the accumulation of knowledge for its own sake would have appealed. A contemporary cleric who exhibited his own interest in heraldry by collecting blazons to create an heraldic vault at Canterbury cathedral, was Thomas Arundel (1353–1414). It is distinctly likely that William Sandford junior knew him. Arundel was bishop of Ely 1374–88, and that the arms at FK 286, *Gules three crowns argent* can only have been intended for his diocese, correctly rendered as *Gules three crowns or*; another one of those artist's misreadings of the compiler's blazon. The paternal arms of Thomas Arundel, who was a Fitzalan, are in the roll. The church of Marholm, of which Sandford was rector 1361–82, is geographically close to Ely, although he would only have visited the church which brought him his income outside the legal terms. The strong personal involvement of the Sandford family is established beyond reasonable doubt by the presence of nine Sandford shields of the roll, by the fact that the only other sizable knightly groupings are those of Engleys, who were ancestral to Sandford, and of Salvain, who were kinsmen, and by the over-preponderance of shields from the Sandford home counties of Cumberland and Westmorland.

At some stage, perhaps from very early in the project, William was joined by his cousin Robert Sandford, whose promotion to become a Baron of the Exchequer in 1417 was no sinecure, and is unlikely to have occurred had Robert not had considerable exposure to the working life of that institution. The very random way in which the collection is organised in the roll—different dates, different counties, different sources—is suggestive of blazons having been collected on multiple pieces of parchment which had become thoroughly mixed up by the time that the roll was being put together. It is not known when William died, but he is last attested, in London, in 1411. Robert died in 1418, by which time an artist had been paid to draw the section on kings and peers, the information for which seems to have been collected only from the 1390s onwards. The recording of the arms of lesser individuals began much earlier, and continued after the deaths of William and Robert, which indicates that a wider network of clerks must have been recruited into the project. These other contributors may have kept it going as a tribute to their friends, or may have been asked to do so by Robert's brother Sir Edmund Sandford who was in regular contact with Westminster as a king's esquire and, from 1410, as a king's knight. It was at the time of Edmund's death, at some point between 1425 and 1430, that the collecting of arms came to an end. It is worth noting at this point that the only monastery to have its arms in the roll is Selby Abbey at FK 479—this being

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Figure 12: FK 836–850, beginning with Chaucer. the arms of the Drapers' Company on the middle row.

the closest religious foundation, barring those in the almost equidistant city of York, to Sir Edmund's manor of Escrick.

Two shields on the roll are surprisingly late in terms of dating, these being the arms of two London livery companies: the Grocers, granted sometime between 1429 and 1439 (FK 786), and the Drapers, granted in 1439, at FK 841 (**Figure 12**).⁶⁷ The companies were incorporated in 1429 and 1438 respectively. The Drapers' letters patent granting arms from William Bruges, Garter, are a rare survival, and the Grocers have not been so fortunate as to still possess their original grant. The first reference to the Grocers using arms is in 1439. The next known livery company grants date to 1454, for the Girdlers, and 1456, for the Tallow Chandlers. It is a theoretical possibility, as the original roll has not survived, that these two late entries were added to an already existing roll, but as this roll could only then have been recently created, and the layout would make such insertions quite impractical, it is more likely they were inserted while the roll was being

⁶⁷ John Bromley and Heather Child, *The armorial bearings of the Guilds of London* (London, 1960), pp. 131–2.

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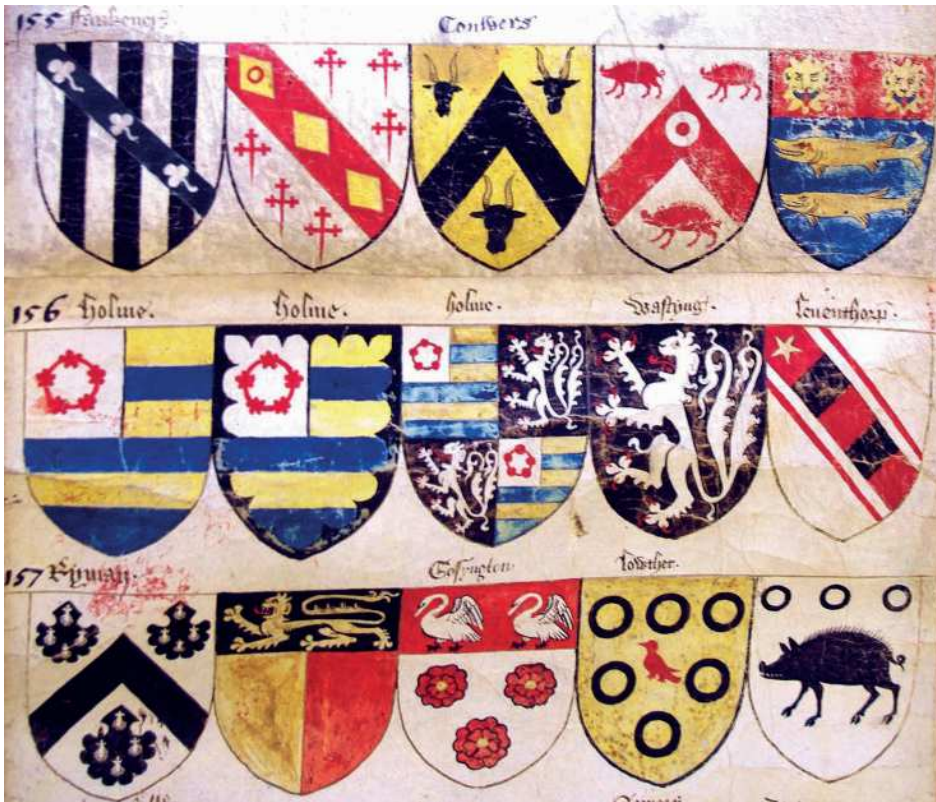


Figure 13: FK 766–780 with the Holme family assemblage on the middle row.

completed, which would place the year of completion as c.1440. In either event the owner c.1440 would appear to have had strong London interests.

Who then turned this unique collection of arms into a roll? It might have been Sir Edmund's son and heir, but the ongoing connection with London shown by the two livery companies would mitigate against this, the family having lost its direct connection with the capital. It presumably had a monetary value to somebody, and that person would have needed deep pockets to pay for the artwork of what must be considered a superlative medieval creation. The evidence would not support the collection having been made at the behest of a herald, but perhaps it may be that in around 1440 it was sold to one, and who better to offer it to than Garter King of Arms? There are no arms of heralds on FK, although by coincidence we have at FK 771 the arms later used (with different quarterings) by Sir Thomas Holme of Walden in Essex, who was Clarenceux King of Arms 1476–93.⁶⁸ The context is that of a small assemblage of three Holme family arms at FK 771–3: *Barry or and azure on a canton argent a chaplet gules*; the same with a border engrailed sable; and the same quartering Wasteneys (**Figure 13**). The undifferenced arms occur on the seal of John de Holme of Yorks, datable 1422–38. A seal of 1438, his year of

⁶⁸ Godfrey and Wagner pp.78–9.

death, impales the arms with those of his wife Elizabeth Wasteneys. His father, William Holme of Holme-on-the-Wolds in the East Riding, was escheator of Yorks in 1386–7 and 1394.

If FK was created for William Bruges then he modestly omitted his personal arms, but the arms of his Brugge kinsmen from Staunton-on-Wye in Herefordshire were included at FK 319.⁶⁹ He is not known to have made many personal grants of arms other than those which he created for the Drapers, but he must be considered as a possible originator for the arms of the Grocers. Had he commissioned the roll he would have been aware of its strong London emphasis, prompting him to include his own recent grant.

Many of the unidentified arms probably belonged to London-based clerks who were priests and left no issue, hence the large number of arms bearing the cadency marks suggestive of younger sons. It is not too surprising that despite the very incomplete record of Oxford scholars at this period, seven of the clerks can be linked to Oxford. A good example of two such Oxford-trained clerks is represented by Master Roger Corynghan (d.1412), a fellow of Queen's College 1379–99 and a king's clerk by 1400, and his nephew and executor Master John Corynghan (d.1444), fellow of Merton College 1374–89, residing at Queen's College 1410–16 and the first known registrar of the Order of the Garter from 1416, to whom the king granted a pipe of wine on him becoming M.A. in 1409.⁷⁰ The uncle replaced Philip Repingdon to become confessor to Henry IV in the period 1406–11.⁷¹ From their wills both men chose to be buried in London.⁷² The two are represented in a trio of Corynghan shields at FK 508- 10 (**Figure 14**), the undifferenced *Argent a roundel and a chief sable* perhaps representing the elder brother of Roger and father of John, differenced with a *label gules* for John and with a *mullet Or* for Roger.⁷³ Much less is known of Cambridge University graduates in this period, and none of the clerks in FK have been linked there, although at FK 336 are the arms of William Bateman (d.1355), bishop of Norwich and founder of Trinity Hall: *Sable a crescent ermine in border engrailed argent*. The college used these arms from its inception in 1350.⁷⁴ At FK 380 are the same arms without the border, presumably the arms of Bateman's father and elder brother, notwithstanding the strange and unsubstantiated theory that his father might have borne

⁶⁹ *Argent on a cross sable a leopard's face or and in dexter chief a pinecone gules*. See DBA, vol.3, p.218. Without the pinecone on the seal of Edmund de Brugges who sold the manor of Staunton-on-Wye in Herefs in 1386. Edmund made a grant to John Brugges in Bodenham, Herefs in 1408. This John, of Staunton-on-Wye, was MP for Herefs in 1420, escheator in 1406–7 and sheriff in 1409–10 and 1416–17. His descendant William Brugges (d.1523) of Longdon, Worcs, had a crescent for difference on the arms, but placed the arms with the pinecone for difference in the glass of Longdon, which did not belong to his ancestors. From which it must be concluded these are the arms of John Brugges of Staunton. The senior line, of Cobberley in Gloucs bore the arms without cadency. The connection of these arms with those is William Bruges, Garter and his father Richard Bruges, Lancaster Herald *Ermine a cross ermines voided square at the centre*, is self-evident.

⁷⁰ Alfred Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957–9), vol. 1, pp.494–5.

⁷¹ James Hamilton Wylie, *A History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 4 vols (London, 1884–98), vol. 4, p.101n.

⁷² TNA PROB 11/2A/376 and PROB 11/3/511.

⁷³ DBA, vol. 4, pp.334–5.

⁷⁴ BM Seals 4743.

THE COAT OF ARMS

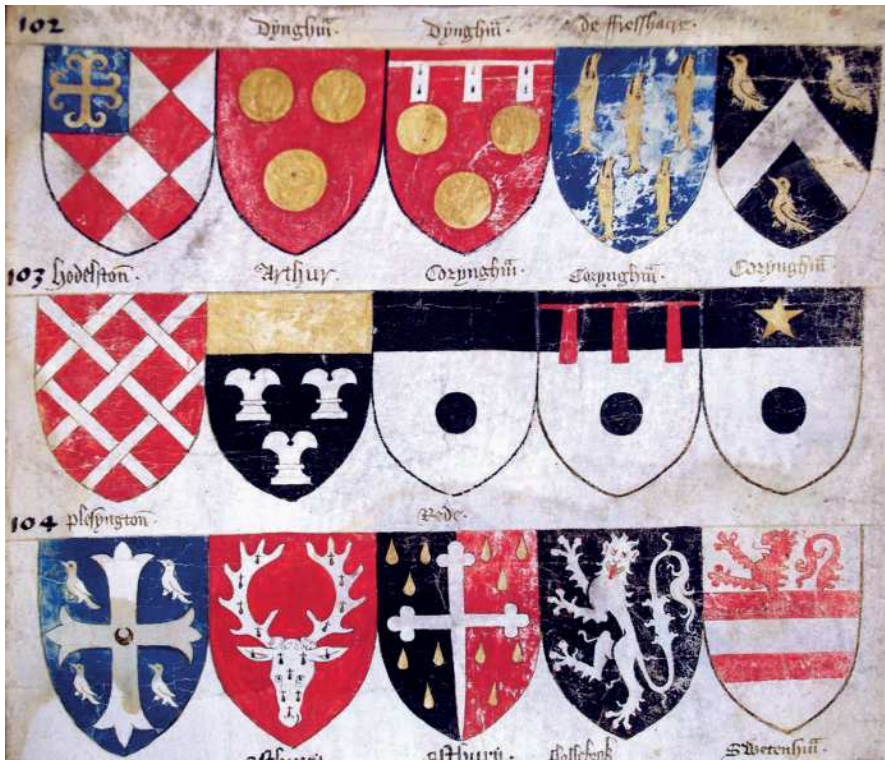


Figure 14: FK 501–515, with the Coryngham shields on the middle row.

three crescents and the second brother two crescents.⁷⁵ Bateman being the third brother, perhaps then a fourth brother would have borne half a crescent: *reductio ad absurdum*. The separation of the two shields is typical of the very disorderly state of the roll.⁷⁶

The two most surprising arms in FK belong to the family of Brus. At FK 904 are the paternal arms of no less a personage than Robert Brus, earl of Carrick, and subsequently king of Scotland, *Or a saltire and on a chief gules a lion passant guardant or*. The arms of the kingdom itself are with the other kings at FK 34. The author has argued elsewhere that the arms of Armine, *ermine a saltire engrailed and on a chief gules a lion passant or* are derived from Brus as a consequence of William Armine, bishop of Norwich (d.1336), having been a key player in the recognition by England of Robert Brus as king of Scots in 1328.⁷⁷ The arms of Armine occur close by to those of Brus at FK 919 (Figure 15). At FK 415 are the arms of Sir Robert Brus III of Clackmannan, *Or a saltire and chief gules*

⁷⁵ C.R. Humphery-Smith et al., *The Cambridge Armorial* (London, 1985) p.48.

⁷⁶ Another good example is FK 659, the Devon family of Haccombe, of which the last male member died in 1330. A daughter carried their lands to the family of Archdeacon, whose arms are at FK 434 differenced with a crescent. This individual was surely the informant for the Haccombe arms, but the blazon must have been written on a different piece of parchment.

⁷⁷ Fox 2020, op.cit., pp.82–3.

FENWICK'S ROLL

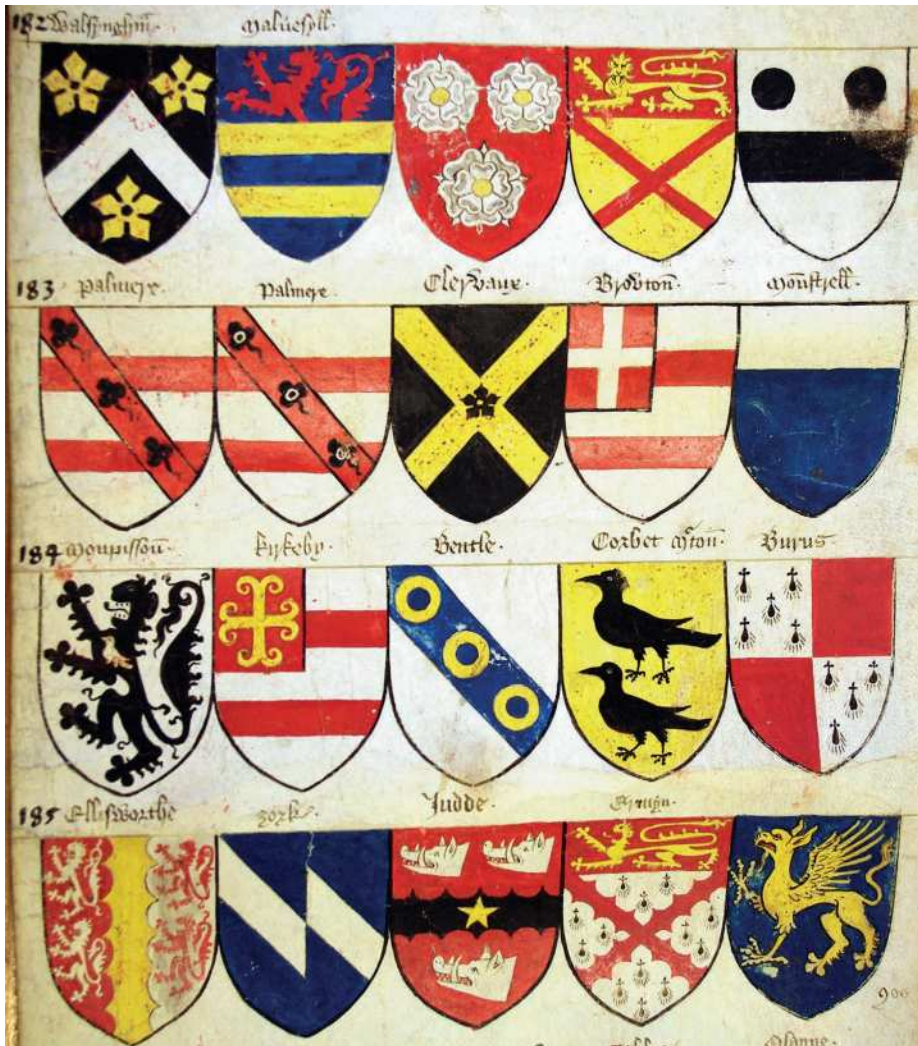


Figure 15: FK 901–920, with Brus at 904 and Armine at 919.

in dexter chief a mullet argent, who was persuaded with other Scots to join Henry Percy ‘Hotspur’ in his rebellion against Henry IV (**Figure 16**). He and Percy died together in 1403 at the battle of Shrewsbury. Brus has an indirect link to the Sandfords in that the latter’s kinsman Sir Roger Salvain, whose arms are at FK 306, fought beside Brus at Shrewsbury.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ A full listing of the arms on this roll will be published appended to the paper on the Heraldry Society website in 2021.

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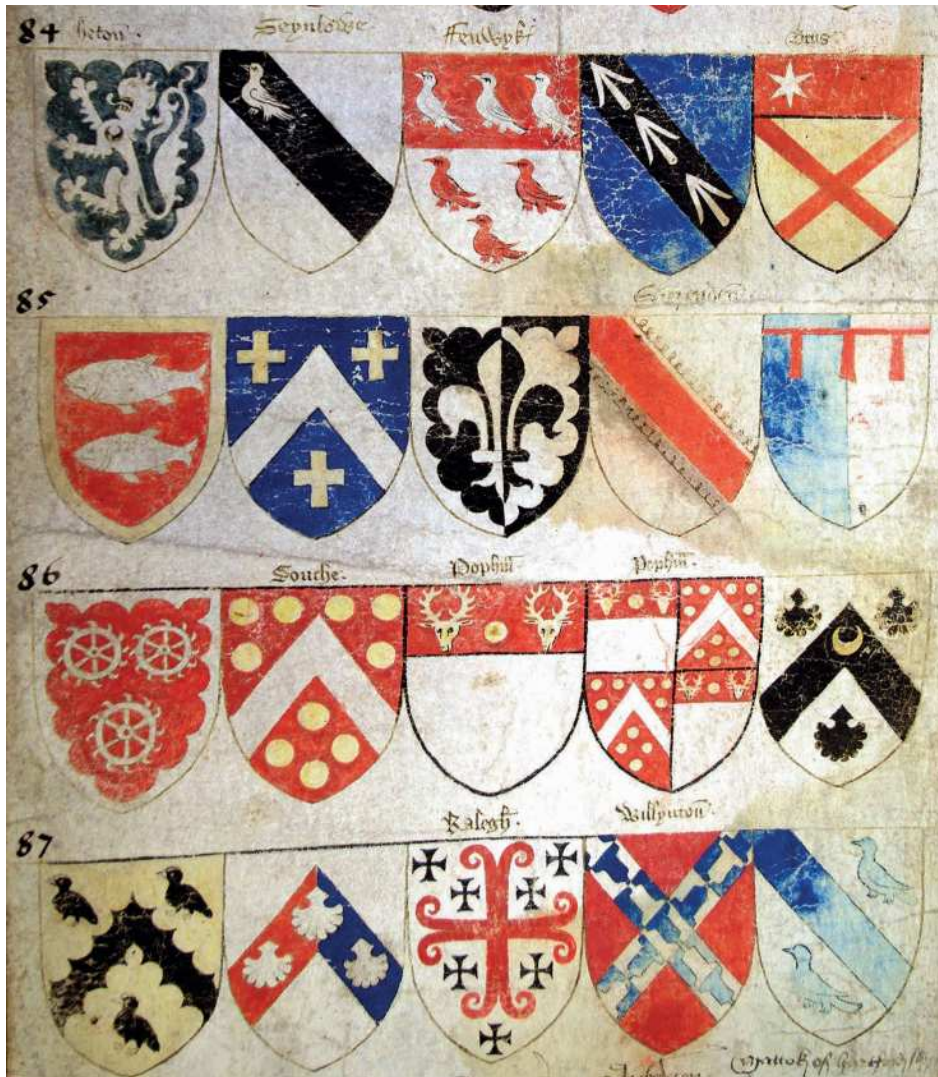


Figure 16: FK 411–430, with Brus of Clackmannan at 415.

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John Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: honsecheraldrysociety@googlegmail.com

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Jane Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: membership@theheraldrysociety.com

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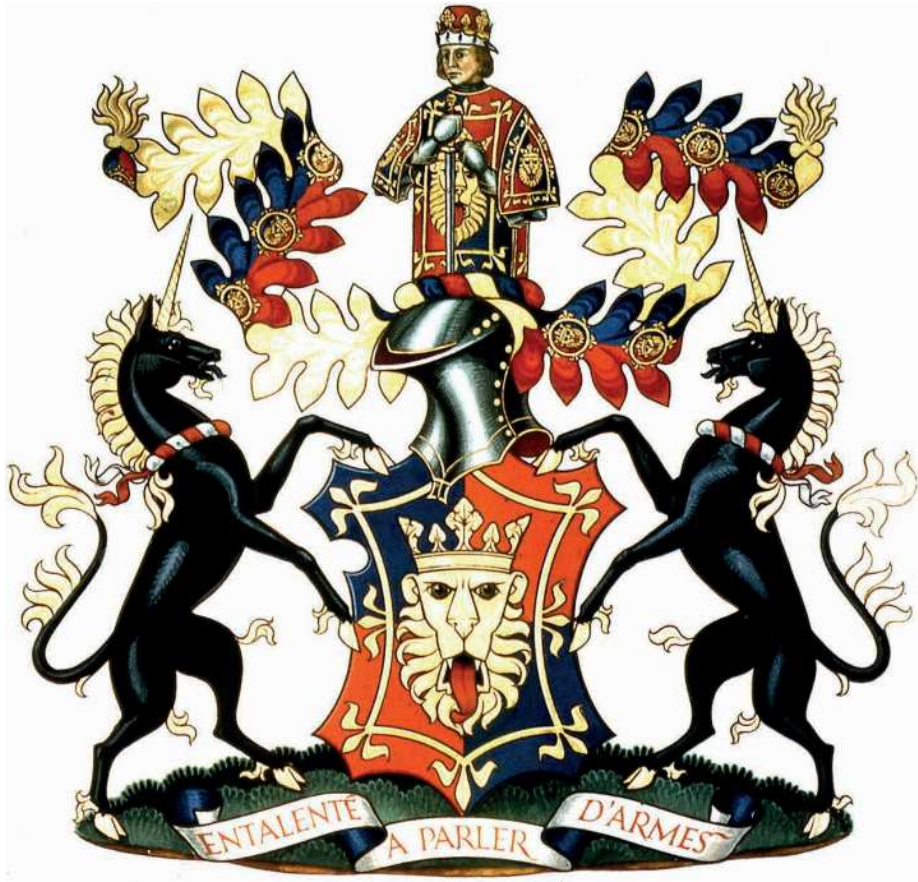
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