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A REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH HERALDRY? THE ‘FIRST CHAPTER’ OF THE ENGLISH HERALDS, ROUEN, 1421¹

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For half a millennium it has been generally agreed that the first known chapter of English heralds took place in the Norman capital, Rouen, during the Hundred Years War. The date was 5 January 1421. Two years earlier, in 1419, the city had fallen to the English king, Henry V.² The pivotal decisions said to have been taken at that momentous meeting survive in the form of twenty-eight detailed articles or ‘resolutions’. Assuming all this to be true, this would have been the first time the English heralds had met to discuss the good governance of their office under a primary officer of arms, namely Garter King of Arms. The result would, in effect, have constituted an act of voluntary self-incorporation by the heralds present – a veritable revolution in the history of English heraldry; the official incorporation of the College of Arms by royal charter did not take place for another sixty-three years. But did the 1421 chapter ever take place and, if not, how do we explain the resolutions supposedly minuted at that meeting, and why place them in Rouen in 1421?

Crucially, all the earliest surviving texts for the Rouen chapter date to the sixteenth century. The best-known is contained within British Library [BL] Additional MS 4101. This manuscript volume had belonged to Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms from 1505 to 1534. His arms and crest decorate the first folio, and he may have commissioned the work.³

The text of this important document, however, contains several copying errors and is confusing in places.⁴ For example, the date given in the preamble to the resolutions supposedly agreed at Rouen is ‘Friday 5th January 1420’, which in new style dating with the year beginning 1 January rather than 25 March, pushes it in modern terms into 1421. However, 5 January 1421 was a Saturday.⁵ The same opening preamble refers to Henry V as king of France, but under the Treaty of Troyes agreed in May 1420, he was now heir and regent of France and no longer king.⁶ The first four resolutions of the chapter meeting refer to the heralds’ adoption of a common seal for the new office of arms. Yet no such seal appears to have existed before 1484, the date of the heralds’ official incorporation. Indeed, as we shall note later, no chapters of English heralds are recorded until the 1470s. All this throws suspicion on the account as given in Wriothesley’s volume.

We know that Garter Wriothesley forged documents to prove the ancientness and primacy of his office as Garter Principal King of Arms. During his bitter dispute in the 1530s with his colleague, Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, over who could go on heraldic visitations to record the arms and pedigrees of the gentry, he frequently referred to the Rouen chapter, and to three pronouncements said to have been made by Thomas, duke of Clarence (d. 1421), brother to Henry V, constable of the army, and steward of England.⁷ We have already noted several concerns with Wriothesley’s copy of the Rouen resolutions, and it is now known that at least one of Clarence’s three pronouncements, and possibly all three, is not genuine but rather the much later work of Thomas Wriothesley. We have, therefore, to ask did Wriothesley also forge the Rouen resolutions and the evidence for the so-called first chapter of English heralds?

Wriothesley had sole access to many of the books and collections belonging to the office of arms, which had been scattered after Henry VII repossessed their home,⁸ and during his clash with Benolt he was accused of making false copies of these to prove his argument.⁹ It has recently been suggested that two of the three pronouncements Wriothesley claimed were made by Thomas, duke of Clarence, during the siege of Caen in September 1417¹⁰ and which concerned the heralds, are, in fact, highly suspect and very probably date to much later.¹¹

Clarence's third pronouncement as claimed by Wriothesley, his undated ordinances, are, like the Rouen resolutions, neatly set out in Wriothesley's volume, BL Additional MS 4101. But again, despite Wriothesley's assertions, they do not date to the duke's time in France, nor is there any proof that the duke ever issued them. Rather, they are a doctored version of genuine ordinances for the reform of the office of arms issued to the royal heralds by Richard, duke of Gloucester, whilst he was constable of England and in charge of the heralds. This dates them to between 1469 and his accession as Richard III in 1483, the year before he founded the College of Arms. Initially, Wriothesley pretended his fictional construct with its new clause setting out Garter's 'sovereignty' was still the work of duke Richard,¹² but he later he attributed it to Clarence. It is possible he made two further sets of revisions, one between 1511 and 1521, the other between 1522 and 1523. It is this last version that appears in his volume, BL Additional MS 4101. Since this was probably made for Garter Wriothesley, and he had the motive and the means to alter Richard's text, it is almost certain that he was responsible for this forgery.¹³

It appears that much the same fate happened to the resolutions supposedly decided within the city of Rouen in 1421, which are also contained in BL Additional MS 4101. Hitherto, they have been accepted as a genuine account of the events of early 1421. Close examination of another version of the resolutions in another manuscript, however, questions their stated provenance and date, and once again the finger of suspicion points to Wriothesley.

The document that throws doubt on Wriothesley's version of the Rouen resolutions is found in College of Arms [CA] MS L 6 (**Figure 1**). Until now it has been taken to be no more than another identical, early sixteenth-century copy in French of the resolutions, but this is not the case; in its original, unaltered state it may even date to the late fifteenth century. CA MS L 6, had belonged William Jenyns, Lancaster Herald, who died in 1527. At some point the manuscript had come into the possession of Garter Wriothesley.¹⁴ It appears that, as with the genuine ordinances of Richard, duke of Gloucester, Garter then set about 'revising' this early version of the 'Rouen resolutions' to aggrandize his office as principal king of arms. Fortunately, his amendments, and it is very probable that he was the person responsible, are still discernible, so that we are able both to reconstruct what was originally written and what Wriothesley wanted his contemporaries to believe.

Before examining what was added to the original text it is worth noting that the first four articles provided in the generally agreed version of the so-called Rouen resolutions as set out in Wriothesley's volume BL Additional MS 4101 are missing from CA MS L 6. These all concern the adoption by the heralds of a common seal. Since, as already noted, no such matrix is known to have existed before the incorporation of the office of arms in 1484, this suggests that the resolutions as set out here are an earlier version than those in BL Additional MS 4101, which contains the first four resolutions. Moreover, CA MS L 6 does not contain the copying errors seen in Wriothesley's volume, again suggesting it



In temps du Roy & de la Reine

Les Jours de l'office

3 **Walsby dit Jactier** S'ensuit aucunes constitucions articles et conclusions
 4 **Walsby dit Jactier** faiz et conclus par chappite touchant les ordonnances
 5 **Walsby dit Jactier** de ceulx de l'office d'armes faiz devant le siege Royal
 6 **Walsby dit Jactier** de moult sonneaux le Roy devant la ville de Roen en
 7 **Walsby dit Jactier** par Duché de Normandie le 10^e jour Janyer l'an de
 8 **Walsby dit Jactier** grace mil m^e 400^e Et premierement
 9 **Walsby dit Jactier** Est ordonne que nulles constitucions ne soient conclus ne faictes
 10 **Walsby dit Jactier** devant l'office d'armes publicquement devant tout
 11 **Walsby dit Jactier** ceulx de l'office qui pourroient estre pris aus chappite et pourroient
 12 **Walsby dit Jactier** aussi que nulle conclusion aus chappite ne se tiegne / Et ainsi nest
 13 **Walsby dit Jactier** que le premier Roy d'armes y soit pris ou soy comme premier luy

14 **Walsby dit Jactier** Il est conchi et dit aus chappite de l'office d'armes que tout pre
 15 **Walsby dit Jactier** mier le premier Roy d'armes est assavoir garettes Roy d'armes des
 16 **Walsby dit Jactier** anglois qui pour le pris est ou qui pour le temps sera promettra et
 17 **Walsby dit Jactier** jurera devant tous ceulx de l'office et en leur chappite que bien
 18 **Walsby dit Jactier** et loyamment de sa puissance en tout honneur exera son of
 19 **Walsby dit Jactier** fice d'armes et maintiendra l'office et toutes les constitucions
 20 **Walsby dit Jactier** dicelle et supportera a soy pour honnorablement les d'ours et
 21 **Walsby dit Jactier** prouffitiz aus office de tous ses foyes deus l'office

22 **Walsby dit Jactier** Il est entendu que chun de l'office qui sera professez et
 23 **Walsby dit Jactier** receu en temps advenir pour Roy d'armes des anglois soit tenu
 24 **Walsby dit Jactier** a faire ceste pris promesse et serment a toute l'office de deus
 25 **Walsby dit Jactier** leur chappite a soy premier entee et sur ce luy promettront
 26 **Walsby dit Jactier** obeissance de deus l'office d'armes et en leur chappite come ses
 27 **Walsby dit Jactier** foyes de l'office et de l'obeissance d'Angleterre / Et pareillement
 28 **Walsby dit Jactier** le feront ceulx de l'office au premier Roy d'armes qui pour le pris est

Figure 1: 'Roen resolutions' from College of Arms MS L. 6, fol. 131r. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald and Pursuivants of Arms.

is an early version of what we now think of as the Rouen resolutions. The list of heralds supposedly present at the agreement of the resolutions, and added into the margin of CA MS L 6, is clearly a later addition in another hand, presumably that of Wriothesley. So too is the shield of the office of arms and its accompanying note (in the same hand) stating that they date to the reign of Henry V. Again, no such arms can be dated to that reign; they probably date to the 1484 common seal of the College.¹⁵

Intriguingly, the opening preamble of CA MS L 6 as it now reads (translated into English below) does not make sense:

*There follow sundry constitutions, articles, and conclusions made and concluded by chapter touching the ordinances of those of the office of arms made before the royal siege of my lord sovereign the king outside the town of Rouen in his duchy of Normandy the 5th day of January in the year of grace 1420[1].*¹⁶

Why hold the meeting *outside* Rouen on 5 January 1421 when the city was then held by the English, and the meeting could have been safely held within its walls? If, however, we realise that someone has scratched out Caen in the text and replaced it with Rouen, and 5 January 1420[1] has replaced what was probably 3 September 1417, the place and date claimed for Clarence's so-called orders, then the preamble in its original form begins to make sense; Caen was yet to be taken and any meetings or orders would, indeed, have taken place *outside* the city walls.¹⁷

The original preamble as given in CAMS L 6 thus originally read (here in translation):
There follow sundry constitutions, articles, and conclusions made and concluded by chapter touching the ordinances of those of the office of arms made before the royal siege of my lord sovereign the king outside the town of Caen in his duchy of Normandy the 3rd day of September in the year of grace 1417.

Note that the chapter here is called to discuss Clarence's 1417 orders of 3 September 1417, and that the chapter is not given a place or date – all we can say is that it must have occurred after September 1417.¹⁸ There is no indication that it took place at Rouen on 5 January 1421, though it is followed by what are now taken to be all but four of the Rouen resolutions traditionally dated to 1421. The question then remains: when and where did this subsequent chapter occur?

As with most of the heralds' early chapters, it is impossible to discover its exact location. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that, as with the ordinances of Richard, duke of Gloucester, the chapter responsible for the so-called Rouen resolutions of 1421 actually took place during his constablership: between 1469 and his accession in 1483. There are several reasons for this:

First, the level of organisation and detail contained within the text suggest a degree of existing procedure and co-operation within the office of arms which for which there is no evidence in 1421. The alternative would be extraordinary foresight and forward thinking on the part of that small band of heralds meeting in the captured Norman citadel.

Second, as constable and, therefore, in charge of the office of arms, Richard, duke of Gloucester, an enthusiast for heraldry, clearly wished to reform the office of arms and set it on a more structured and disciplined footing – hence his ordinances. Under his constablership it is possible to envisage a chapter in the late 1460s or 70s having initially

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met to discuss matters of precedence, as ordered by Clarence, but ending up producing the very detailed and innovative arrangements proposed in the so-called Rouen resolutions.¹⁹

Third, the Rouen resolutions assume regular chapter meetings, headed by Garter, to exist already, or for that to be the case in the near future. Again, there is no evidence for this during the reign of Henry V, though as we shall see later the heralds may well have met informally to discuss other much more pressing matters. Regular chapters of the English heralds are not met with until the mid-fifteenth century oaths taken by the officers of arms at their creation, and the first known actual chapter meeting does not take place until 1474.²⁰ Their inclusion in the so-called Rouen resolutions thus fits more comfortably into Richard's term as constable of England than into Clarence's term as constable of the English army.

Fourth, the enormous leaps forward in the professionalisation and development of the office of arms during the mid-fifteenth century – the granting of armorial bearings by the kings of arms under their own seals of office, the heralds' regular employment at royal events and at court, their missions abroad – all required a high degree of team work, close cooperation, shared knowledge (especially of the law of arms), and agreed allotment of payment and largesse.²¹ All this was a long way off from Rouen in 1421, when such innovations and reforms were far in the future.

Fifth, another concern pressing in the 1460s and 1470s but not, as far as we know in 1421, was that of financial provision, or rather lack of it, for heralds in hard times. In 1460 Robert Legh, Clarenceux King of Arms, had died in great poverty leaving his widow to survive on charity, His successor died in great debt in 1476. It is significant, therefore, that the most detailed of the Rouen resolutions as set out by Wriothesley covers such concerns, suggesting a direct response to this particular need in the 1460s and 70s.²²

Sixth, and finally, in 1477 Walter Bellengier (or Bellingham), Ireland King of Arms, had a copy made of the Rouen resolutions. The date is significant. Were they the result of a recent chapter meeting? Perhaps such matters were being discussed at the time and Bellengier wished to possess his own copy; as an aging herald of over fifty years' experience he would have been keen to have a record of the financial arrangements agreed. Unfortunately, the only version we have of his copy is that in Wriothesley's volume, BL Additional MS 4101, which Wriothesley had almost certainly amended to suit his own agenda, and which unlike CA MS L 6 refers to Rouen and 1420[1], as well as to a common seal. Maybe Bellegier's original 1477 version was much the same as that contained in CA MS L 6 before its amendments.²³ All this suggests that the so-called Rouen resolutions commonly dated to 1421 owe their true origins to the late 1460s or 70s.

Assuming that the chapter resolutions as originally set out in CA MS L 6 are a product of the late 1460s and 70s, then why did Wriothesley later choose to ascribe them so specifically to Rouen in 1421 and, after a century had passed, why risk stating which heralds were present? As mentioned earlier, he was determined to push the primacy of Garter back to the reign of Henry V, and it is possible that he knew of some sort of informal gathering of the English heralds inside Rouen on 5 January 1421, at which Garter was present, and on which he based his fictional construct of a first chapter. He did, after all, have unique access to many records and collections once kept in the heralds' short-lived home, Coldharbour on the Thames, records which Clarenceux demanded unsuccessfully to see. Several officers of arms had been present during the siege of Rouen, and certainly the royal heralds amongst them would very probably have remained there until Henry

and his new queen, the French princess, Katherine of Valois, left Rouen on their return to England on 19 January 1421. An eye-witness account of the siege refers to Henry's kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants, private heralds of the nobility and even some from Portugal all dressed in their rich tabards and employed at various points in negotiations between the two camps.²⁴

According to Wriothesley's version seven officers of arms are recorded as having attended the chapter. They are listed by both title and personal name and as far as we know they could well have been present at a meeting in Rouen in January 1421. Four were royal heralds: William Bruges, Garter King of Arms, William Horsley, Clarenceux King of Arms, John Kirby (Kirkby or Kiteby), Ireland King of Arms, and Nicholas Serby, Leopard Herald. The other three were private heralds of nobles: John Haswell (Ashwell), Clarence Herald to Thomas, duke of Clarence, William Boys, Exeter Herald to Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter (and a deputy or 'marshal', to Norroy King of Arms, who presumably was not on campaign), and Giles Waster, Mowbray Herald to John de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal. We know that all three noblemen were present during the siege, and almost certainly remained with the king and queen before their departure for England later in January 1421. It would have been entirely appropriate for all these men to have been accompanied by their personal heralds on such a campaign, and for their heralds to be closely involved with those of the king.²⁵ It was Exeter, for example, who, under the king's command, sent heralds to Rouen in advance of Henry demanding the doggedly resolute city to surrender.²⁶

The prolonged siege would have afforded the heralds in the English camp plenty of time to mull over and discuss their individual and joint futures, perhaps together in occasional meetings. This may well have been prompted by frequent interaction with their French counterparts, who since 1407 had been established as a corporate body with their own home in Paris.²⁷ The list of English officers of arms added to CA MS L 6, and incorporated into the preamble of the Rouen resolutions (as recorded in BL Additional MS 4101) could then have possibly been taken from an account known to Wriothesley of an informal meeting of the heralds whilst the English court was still in Rouen for the Epiphany celebrations.

It is highly unlikely that such a meeting, should it have occurred, would have been convened to discuss Clarence's 1417 orders, which may not have even existed at that time, or to introduce major reforms to the office of arms – there were much more immediate concerns to sort out. The heralds may well have had to prepare for the Epiphany Feast the next day when the king and queen held open court. Henry V had been in France for nearly three and half years and needed to return to his ancient kingdom to be seen by his subjects, have his new queen crowned, and to reassure parliament and public over his new status as heir of France. The heralds probably also had to help plan the pageantry and ceremonial surrounding the consecutive entries of the new queen and her husband king into the English capital.

The heralds at Rouen would also have needed to prepare for the coronation of Queen Katherine in Westminster Abbey and for the forthcoming Garter feast in Windsor, the first attended by Henry V for several years. Four of those heralds named by Wriothesley took part in the queen's coronation on 23 February, which turned out to be an especially splendid occasion.²⁸ With both the king and queen still in Rouen it would have made

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good sense in early January 1421 for the royal heralds to discuss together matters of such high importance.

In conclusion, the so-called Rouen resolutions very probably owe more to the 1460s and 1470s, and in their further revised state to the 1510s and 1520s, than they do to the 1410s and 1420s. Whilst the founding of the College of Arms in 1484 provides *the* great tumultuous revolution in the history of the English heralds, it was, in fact, the culmination of a steady, quiet revolution in the growing professionalisation of their office over several decades, one which had gained particular momentum in the late 1460s and 70s. Nevertheless, the first silent murmurings of that revolution may well be found in a small gathering of English heralds meeting together in a captured French city some half century beforehand, though sadly we have no evidence of their deliberations should they have met. We need not thank Wriothesley for having falsified the evidence, but we can at least be grateful to him for his sometimes clumsy attempts at forgery, thereby allowing us a glimpse into what actually might have happened.

¹ I am grateful to Dr Paul Dryburgh, Peter O'Donoghue, Mark Scott, Dr Nigel Ramsay, and especially Professor Anne Curry (who first raised my doubts about the Rouen chapter) for their assistance in the writing of this paper.

² See below for chapter date. Rouen had surrendered to Henry V in January 1419 after a prolonged siege of twenty-four weeks (Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War, vol. IV: Cursed Kings* (London, 2016), p. 604).

³ BL Additional MS 4101, ff. 56v–61, 71–75, being the French text with contemporary English translation; transcribed by H. S. London in his *Life of William Bruges: The First Garter King of Arms*, Harleian Society, 111–12 (London, 1959–60, published 1970), Appendix XII. London, and later Sir Anthony Wagner (*Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967), p. 68 n. 6) believed it to have been made for Thomas Wriothesley. For further versions, all clearly related by either copying from one another, or from a common source, and all of which date from the sixteenth century or later, see Bodleian Library MSS Rawlinson B 120; Ashmole 857, pp. 11–19 (French) and 58ff (English); and College of Arms MS Vincent 151 (Precedents), ff. 69–76. A more credible account of the chapter possibly dating to the late fifteenth century is discussed below. For an earlier discussion of the of the 1421 Rouen chapter, where its authenticity was initially accepted, see Adrian Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction? Garter King of Arms and the Pronouncements of Thomas Duke of Clarence' in Katie Stevenson (ed.), *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 29–39 (37–39).

⁴ One of the chapter resolutions, which London numbers article 12A, is omitted from the French text in all the known copies, even though it appears in accompanying English translations. This is clearly an error which has been repeated either from BL Additional MS 4101 or from another source. Moreover, London's article 17 has been accidentally repeated as article 20 in all the French versions within this group; again, the English versions are correct. This is almost certainly due to eye-slip when copying since articles 17, 18, and 19 all end with 'noble(s) d'or'; and it would have been very easy to repeat an article during copying.

⁵ Jackson Armstrong suggests two meetings, 25 December 1420 and 5 January 1421 ('The Development of the Office of Arms in England', c. 1413–1485' in Stevenson (ed.), *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, pp. 29–39 (26–27). Other dates include *Wednesday* 5 January 1420 (BL MS Harley MS 6064, f. 104v, and College of Arms MS Ceremonials, Collected by Sir William le Neve, Digested by Sir Edward Walker, 1664, p. 15).

⁶ I am grateful to Anne Curry for this observation. For Henry's personal instructions for his new style see *Calendar of Close Rolls 1419–22* (London, 1932), pp. 108–9; and Malcolm Vale, *Henry V: The Conscience of a King* (Yale, 2016), pp. 107–8; the royal heralds would not have got this wrong.

⁷ For the dispute between Wriothesley and Benolt in 1530 see A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1956), pp. 83–99, and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 160–67; and Adrian Ailes, 'The Development of the Heralds' Visitations in England and Wales 1450–1600', *Coat of Arms*, no. 217 (2009), pp. 7–23, and 'The Origins of the Heralds' Visitations in England and Wales' in *Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, Glasgow, 2016* (Edinburgh, 2021), pp. 33–40. For Clarence and heralds and heraldry see Ailes, 'Ancient Precedence or Tudor Fiction?', p. 31.

⁸ The National Archives [TNA] SP 1/73 [State Papers], ff. 188v–190v, 202r–202v, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, pp. 94–95; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 181–82.

⁹ Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 857, pp. 443, 446–48, 455–56; TNA SP1/73, ff. 189v–190v.

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¹⁰ Henry laid siege to Caen between 15 August and 20 September 1417 (Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. IV: *Cursed Kings*, pp. 531–33).

¹¹ Anne Curry, 'Henry V's Order of 2 June 1417 and the 'Agincourt Exception'' in Sean Cunningham, Anne Curry and Paul Dryburgh (eds), *Status, Identity and Authority: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives and Heraldry Presented to Adrian Ailes*, Coat of Arms Supplementary vol. 2 (2021), pp. 175–91 (at p. 185); Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 66; Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction?', pp. 31–32; and G. A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 145–46. Compare the orders of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby and constable of England, dated 8 November 1487 in CA MS L 12b, f. 8v (Louise Campbell and Francis Steer (eds), *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms: Collections, I* (London, 1988), p. 58). Heralds were present at Caen. Before the siege Henry V had sent his heralds to the Dauphin offering to fight him in single combat rather than take the town by force (Titus Livius of Forli, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1716), p. 35 and see p. 14). During the siege Henry V sent heralds to call upon the town to surrender (F. W. D. Brie (ed.), *The Brut or The Chronicles of England* (Early English Text Society, 1908), p. 383; Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. IV: *Cursed Kings*, p. 533).

¹² College of Arms MS L8a, ff. 52v–54.

¹³ BL Additional MS 4101. ff. 62–64; text in Wagner, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, pp. 136–38. See Wagner, *Heraldry and the Heralds*, pp. 59–63; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 67–68; Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction?', pp. 32–36; and, with the text of Richard's original ordinances, Nigel Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms' in Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer (eds), *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donnington 2013), pp. 142–63.

¹⁴ Campbell and Steer (eds), *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms: Collections, I*, pp. 28–29, 31. For Jenyns see W. H. Godfrey, *College of Arms Monograph* (London Survey Committee, 1963), p. 132.

¹⁵ The arms are discussed in A. Colin Cole, 'The Evolution of the Arms of the Offices of Garter, Clarenceux and Norroy Kings of Arms', *Coat of Arms*, v (1959), p. 282.

¹⁶ Sensuit aucunes constitucions articles et conclusions faiz et concluz par chappitre touchant les ordonnances de ceulx de loffice darmes faiz devant le siege Roial de mondit souverain Le Roy devant la ville de Roen en sa duche de normendye le v^e jour Janvier lan de grace mil iiii^e xx.

¹⁷ In the preamble to CA MS L 6 the capital R and second letter 'o' of Rouen have been changed. The 'R' is quite unlike that in, for example, *Royal* in the line above but is consistent with the capital 'R' in the later annotation above. Bearing in mind we are talking about a royal camp outside a city besieged by royal forces then the best alternative made up of four letters and ending with 'en' would be Caen to which Henry laid siege between 17 August and 20 September 1417. Presumably the original date would not have been the 5th of the month or a January or 1420 since all three have been carefully altered to these dates. The year must still be in the 1410s or possibly 1420s since at least one Roman numeral x follows in the year of grace one thousand four hundred and ... A day in late August or early September 1417 would fit.

¹⁸ Presumably by the date of the chapter referred to in the preamble of CA MS L 6 the orders of Clarence were taken as genuine or at least worthy of discussion.

¹⁹ For Richard's interest in heraldry and the office of arms see Ailes, 'Ancient Tudor Precedent or Tudor Fiction?', p. 32; Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 141–44; and especially Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms'.

²⁰ TNA HCA 1/12 f. 118; Travers Twiss (ed.), *The Black Book of the Admiralty* (Cambridge, reprinted 2013), p. 296; Rodney Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds* (London, 1982), pp. 110–11; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 69.

²¹ These and other advances in the office of arms are discussed in Armstrong, 'The Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413–1485'; Ramsay, 'Richard III and the Office of Arms'; and Emma Cavell (ed.), *The Heralds' Memoir 1486–1490: Court Ceremony, Roya Progress and Rebellion* (Donnington, 2009), pp. 1–12.

²² Article 15; London (ed.), *Life of William Bruges*, pp. 101 (French), and 105–6 (English). For Robert Legh and his successor William Hawkeslowe see Godfrey, *College of Arms Monograph*, pp. 76, 77.

²³ Ireland King of Arms 1467, a native of Dieppe, and previously Esperance Pursuivant and Northumberland Herald; he took part in Edward IV's funeral (Godfrey, *College of Arms Monograph*, pp. 269–70; *Coat of Arms*, no. 232 (2016), p. 103; Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with R. A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (Richard III Society, 2005), pp. 29, 39, 42, 44; and Anne Curry and Rémy Ambühl, *A Soldiers' Chronicle of the Hundred Years War: College of Arms MS L 9* (Woodbridge, 2022), pp. 125–27). According to an annotation placed between one of Clarence's 1417 pronouncements and the Rouen resolutions in BL Additional MS 4101, f. 56v 'ces livres' were copied down in London on 18 December 1477 on the instructions of Bellengier, described there as an officer of arms for over fifty-five years. The annotation ends 'Explicit' which could suggest that the date only applies to the preceding material and not, therefore, to the Rouen resolutions that follow. For a transcript of the annotation see London (ed.), *Life of William Bruges*, p. 98, and Curry and Ambühl, *A Soldiers' Chronicle*, p. 126.

A CHAPTER OF HERALDS

²⁴ Joanna Bellis, *John Page's The Siege of Rouen*; edited from London British Library MS Egerton 1995 (Middle English Texts: Heidelberg, 2015), ll. 38, 48, 566, 980–86, p. 103; Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. IV: *Cursed Kings*, p. 604. Henry had used Portuguese ships to block up the mouth of the Seine (C. L. Kingsford (ed.), *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth written in 1513 by an anonymous Author commonly known as 'The Translator of Livius'* (Oxford, 1911), p. 125).

²⁵ For details of the individual heralds see Godfrey, *College of Arms, Survey of London Monograph*; 'Heralds of the Nobility', in *Complete Peerage*, IX. Appendix C, pp. 39–104; and Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction?', p. 38 and note 46. For the role of marshal see Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 857, p. 428. For the presence of the three nobles during the siege see *Collections of a London Citizen*, pp. 6, 7, 23; Brie (ed.), *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, p. 387; and Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. IV: *Cursed Kings*, p. 586. The three nobles were very probably with Henry and his new queen in Rouen in early January 1421 during the Epiphany celebrations. The earl marshal returned to England with the king on 19 January (*Chronique de la Pucelle ou chronique de Cousinot suivie de la Chronique Normande de P. Cochon*, ed. A. Vallet de Viriville (Paris, 1859), p. 64). Henry delegated authority to Clarence in his absence by letters patent dated at Rouen, 18 January, so it is reasonable to suppose his brother had also been in the city and that was to be his base in the king's absence (TNA C 64/15 [Norman Rolls], m. 17d, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscumque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer, vol. x (1710), p. 49–50). By an act made by the king at Rouen on 10 January Exeter was appointed to replace Clarence as captain of Paris and given power for him to govern the English in Paris and elsewhere during the absence of Clarence (TNA C 64/15, m 22d), though as the new captain of Paris Exeter may have been in the French capital, Paris. I am grateful to Anne Curry for much of this information.

²⁶ Bellis, *John Page's Siege of Rouen*, ll. 35–50; Brie (ed.), *Brut*, p. 387; C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V: The Typical Medieval Hero* (London, 1923), p. 240; Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. IV: *Cursed Kings*, p. 584.

²⁷ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 41. During the siege a French herald was sent to the English camp to secure safe conduct for six men to meet with the king (L. Douët-d'Arcq (ed.), *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, vol. iii (Paris, 1859), p. 304). At Christmas 1418 Henry sent heralds to the gates of Rouen to secure a truce (Bellis, *John Page's The Siege of Rouen*, ll. 565–72; Kingsford, *Henry V*, p. 253). Heralds from both sides may have been involved in organising personal combats between individuals from both camps outside Rouen during the siege (Douët-d'Arcq (ed.), *La Chronique de Monstrelet*, iii, p. 286; J. H. Wylie and J. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1929), p. 133).

²⁸ TNA E 101/407/4, f. 37 (Great Wardrobe Account Book), with duplicate entry in E 101/407/5 (Accounts of Keeper of Great Wardrobe); Anstis, *Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, vol. ii, pp. 324, 328. The seven 'heralds of the king' rewarded on that occasion were Garter, 'Clarence' (probably Clarenceux King of Arms rather than Clarence Herald since his is listed between two kings of arms), Ireland, Exeter, Nottingham, Leopard, and Richmond. Six new tabards were made (TNA E 101/407/4, f. 64). For the coronation see Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 155; Clarence Herald probably stayed with his master in France, who on 18 January had been appointed commander of the English troops in the duchy of Normandy; for the coronation, Clarence's place as Steward of England was taken by the earl of Worcester (Wylie and Waugh, *Reign of Henry V*, iii, p. 269). After the duke's death at the battle of Baugé on 22 March 1421 Clarence herald returned to England to help plan the burial of his master at Canterbury (C. M. Woolgar (ed.), *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, 2 parts (Oxford, 1993), pt 2, pp. 604, 620). Lisa Jefferson in Peter J. Begent and Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter, 650 Years* (London, 1999), pp. 57, where she discusses revisions made in 1421 to the statutes of the Order.