GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA XXXV

REFORMATION   REVOLUTION   RESTORATION

CAMBRIDGE
2022

REFORMATION REVOLUTION

RESTORATION

THE COAT OF ARMS

Supplementary Volume No. 3

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GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA XXXV

REFORMATION REVOLUTION

RESTORATION

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PAUL A. FOX

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Photographs on the rear cover: Congress banners in Clare College Scholars' Garden by Jack Sain, plaque created for the Congress baton by Paul A. Fox

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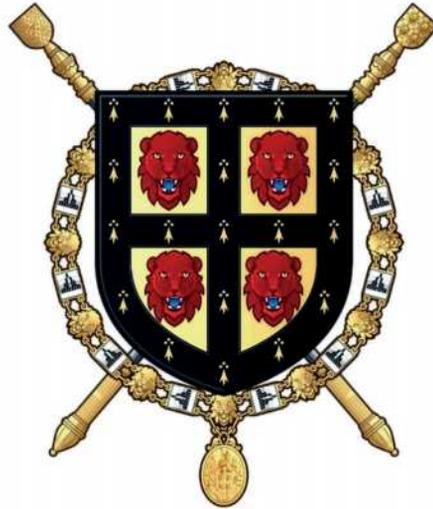
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Top: The President of the *Bureau Permanent* Kaare Seeberg Sidselrud, standing between the Congress President, Dr Richard Baker, and the Congress Treasurer, Mr David Broomfield. Bottom: The Secretary General, Dr Paul A. Fox, at the opening ceremony. Photographs by Jack Sain.

Top: Dr Richard Baker receives the Congress baton from Dr Manuel Pardo de Vera y Díaz. Bottom: The Deputy Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire opening the Congress at the Cambridge Union Society. Photographs by Jack Sain.

Top: The Congress procession from the Cambridge Union to Clare College Gardens. Photograph by Jack Sain. Bottom: At the Gala Dinner in the Great Hall of King's College, photograph by Matthew Hovious. For a link to all the photographs taken see the Congress coverage on the events tab at www.theheraldrysociety.com

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A REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH HERALDRY? THE 'FIRST CHAPTER' OF THE ENGLISH HERALDS, ROUEN, 1421[1]

Dr. ADRIAN AILES, A.I.H.

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 1417[10] 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 Wriothelsey, 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

Les armes de ... loffice

In temptz du Roy H le vj[e]

[left margin marginalia, heralds' names:]
p[re]m[ie]r Roy d[ar]mes
Bruges dit Jartier
Hauclley dit clarenceux
Kirkeby dit Irland
et heraulde
Exeby dit lieup[ar]t
Hastyngg dit c[ar]lisle
Soys dit ...
d[ar]mes dec novys
dit Walter
dit lyonheral

S'ensuit aucunes constitucions articles et conclusions
faiz et concluz par chappitre touchant les ordonnances
de ceulx de loffice darmes faiz denant le siege Roial
de mons[eigneu]r souueran le Roy denant la ville de Roen en
sa duche de normendye le x[e] iour Janmier lan de
grace mil iiij[c] xx / Et premierement /

Est ordonne que nulles constitucions ne soient concluz ne faictes
mon dedens le chap[it]re de loffice darmes publiquement denant tous
ceulx de loffice qui pourroient estre p[ri]s aus chapp[it]re et pourront
ainsi que nulle conclusion aus chapp[it]re ne se tienne / si ainsi nest
que le premier Roy darmes y soit p[rese]nt ou son comand pour luy /

Item est conclu et dit aus chapp[it]re de loffice darmes que tout p[re]
mier le premier Roy darmes est assauoir gavetier Roy darmes des
anglois qui pour le p[rese]nt est ou qui pour le tempz sera promectra et
Jurera denant tous ceulx de loffice et en leur chapp[it]re que bien
et loyaument de sa puissance en tout honneur et p[er]il sera son of
fice darmes et maintiendra loffice et toutes les constitucions
dicelle et supportera a son pouoir honnourablement les d[r]oiz et
p[ro]ffitz dud[it] office de tous s[es] f[re]res dens loffice /

Item est entendu que chun de loffice qui sera p[re]feruez et
Recen en tempz adnenir pour Roy darmes des anglois soit tenu
a faire ceste p[rese]nte promesse et serment, a toute loffice dedens
leur chapp[it]re a son premier entree et sur ce luy promectront
obeissance dedens loffice darmes et en leur chapp[it]re come s[es]
f[re]res de loffice et de lobeissance dangleterre / et pareillem[ent]
le ferout ceulx de loffice au p[re]mier Roy darmes qui pour le p[rese]nt est /

Figure 1: 'Rouen resolutions' from College of Arms MS L. 6, fol. 131r. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds 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 CA MS 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 constableship: 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 constableship it is possible to envisage a chapter in the late 1460s or 70s having initially

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

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.

[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 ve jour Janvier lan de grace mil iiij^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, *Roial* in the line above but is consistent with the captial '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.

[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 cujuscunque 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.

THE CONSTANT REFORMATION OF THE HABSBURG-AUSTRIAN COAT OF ARMS FROM 1740 TO THE END OF THE MONARCHY THROUGH TIMES OF POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

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Introduction

The year 1740 represented an annus horribilis for the Habsburg Monarchy in several respects. On the one hand, with the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, not only had the male, agnatic line of the 'House of Austria' (as the Habsburgs had called themselves as a dynasty since the Middle Ages) ceased to exist; on the other hand, the imperial crown, which they had held for centuries, had also been lost. Furthermore, old and new enemies were on the doorstep having perceived an opportunity to seize some pieces from the seemingly leaderless and powerless *Monarchia Austriaca*. Old titles, coats of arms, and seals, had become meaningless overnight. They had lost their former lustre and needed to be reformed.

Every change of monarch in the Empire had been a change of regime, with implications not just to the service around the person of the ruler, but to the wider court, and beyond it to the administration of the lands and the empire in the broadest sense.[1] As the first administrative act, all officials and functionaries had to take their oath to the new ruler. In advance of this the title, coat of arms, and seal had to be changed. By this period it was no longer the heralds, historians and scholars at court who were the advisers on matters of title and coat of arms, as in the Middle Ages, but rather the state chancellor, the cabinet and the cabinet secretaries, or state councillors.

The changes that were necessary related to the national symbols, both those of the ruling Habsburg dynasty (expressed in the ancestral coat of arms, and the imperial or state coat of arms) and those of the subject territories. These two aspects, which in earlier times always belonged together, now drifted further and further apart. The divergent systems will be examined here.

The family arms

The Pragmatic Sanction issued by Charles VI in 1713 was intended to ensure the succession of his eldest daughter and heiress Maria Theresa to the Habsburg hereditary lands and to establish the inseparability and indivisibility of the Habsburg land complex. Following the death of Charles VI on 20 October 1740 everything had to be done very quickly in order to avoid a power vacuum and to preserve continuity. On 22 November 1740, a good month after the emperor's death, the hereditary homage of the Lower Austrian estates took place at the Hofburg. At this ceremony the representatives of the state (Landstände) paid homage to the new sovereign and in return had their privileges confirmed. This event replaced the coronation in Austria, which otherwise only existed in kingdoms.

Looking at the first coat of arms and seal of Maria Theresa (**Figure 1**) in its lesser version, two significant differences from the seal of Emperor Charles VI immediately
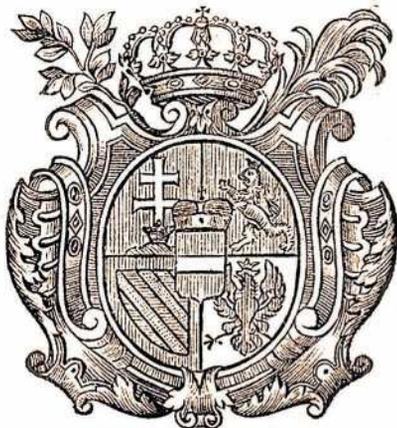
Left: *Figure 1:* the first coat of arms and seal of Maria Theresa, 1740–1745 (Archiv Gesellschaft Adler); right: *Figure 2*: her arms after 1745 as seen on a building in Herrengasse in Vienna (photograph by author).

stand out. For the first time, there was no imperial eagle or imperial crown on the Habsburg coats of arms. The shape of the crown was adapted to become an emblematic heraldic royal crown with five bows referring to the sub-kingdoms (Bohemia, Hungary etc.). On the shield are the most important coats of arms of Maria Theresa: the double cross for Hungary, the lion for Bohemia, the diagonal bars for Burgundy and the eagle for Tyrol. The family coat of arms of the Habsburg House of Austria on its escutcheon *Gules a fess argent*, which the Habsburgs had used since their acquisition of Austria in 1282, occupies the centre. The actual Habsburg coat of arms, the red lion, is not present. The central Austrian shield is crowned with an archduke's hat. The arms of the empress's husband Franz Stephan of Lorraine find no place here, while the territories of Lorraine and Tuscany, held by marriage, only feature in the more extensive second and third category arms.

Five years later, in 1745, when her husband Franz I became the Holy Roman Emperor, the Habsburg family arms (**Figure 2**) could again become imperial and all state institutions were thereafter allowed to call themselves imperial-royal (kaiserlich-königlich, or 'k.k.'). In accordance with the imperial title that Maria Theresa now held, she was permitted to use the imperial eagle, but without the sword, sceptre and imperial orb, as she did not exercise the function of a reigning empress. The three stacked crowns of her reign are also clearly recognisable: the archduke's hat on the shield, the royal crown above the shield, and the floating imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire in stylised form above the double-headed eagle.

When the long-awaited son Joseph was born in 1741, the succession to the throne was assured until the end of the monarchy. On reaching the age of seven, a male court had been established for the prince. This included the establishment of new titles, coats of arms and seals to prepare him for entry into ceremonial and public life. As hereditary prince of the two houses of Austria and Lorraine, his ancestral coat of arms had also to be recognisable in the narrower sense. The shield (**Figure 3**) is therefore given two fields:

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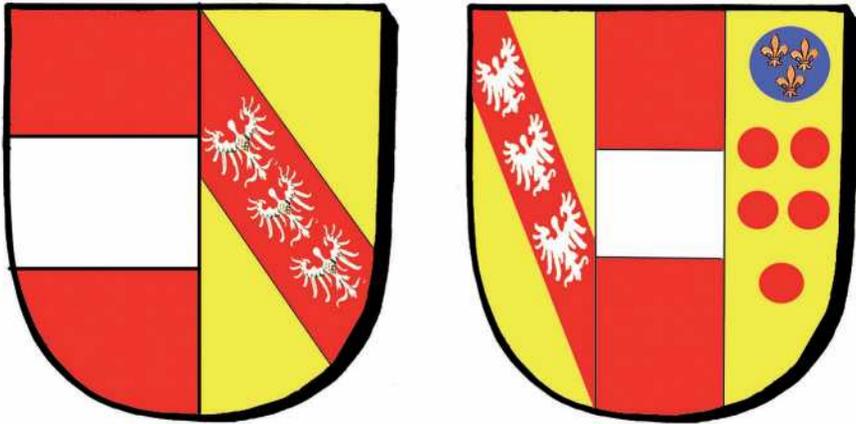
Left: *Figure 3:* arms of Joseph II; right: *Figure 4:* arms of the collateral Habsburg line of Austria-Tuscany. Both drawings by the author.

the Austrian shield of the fess and the three muzzled silver eagles of Lorraine, called alérions, on a bend gules in a golden field. Although the order of the impalements of the shield should have been reversed, since in alliance or marriage coats of arms the male coat of arms should normally have been displayed before the female, the officials who designed the coat of arms left no doubt that the House of Austria would have to be given honorific precedence over the House of Lorraine. Joseph II also used this coat of arms on his chancery seal as Holy Roman Emperor until his death in 1790.

Since Joseph II had no descendants, a collateral line of the Habsburgs established in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany came to succeed him. The Tuscan line had been founded in 1765 after the death of Franz Stephan, when his second-born son Leopold, Joseph II's brother, assumed the regency there as Grand Duke Peter Leopold (Pietro Leopoldo).[2] From the beginning of the reign, the line had a coat of arms that differed from the main line (**Figure 4**), with the fields of Lorraine and Austria being supplemented by the coat of arms of Tuscany, which they had inherited from the extinct Medici. This new family shield was used by Emperors Leopold II and Francis II, who came from this collateral line, until 1804.[3] In 1806 a new coat of arms was created for the main line. The coat of arms of the collateral line even appears in England, on a stained-glass window in Stonyhurst College, a Catholic Jesuit school, north of Manchester, which Archduke Franz Karl Salvator had visited in 1912.[4]

When Napoleon had himself proclaimed Emperor in Paris on 18 May 1804, he also demanded recognition by the Holy Roman Emperor. In order not to risk war, Emperor Francis II reacted with a diplomatic double step. On the one hand, he recognised Napoleon as Emperor of the French; at the same time, he sent out a sign of equality by proclaiming himself as Austrian Emperor.[5] This double emperorship found its visual expression in a redesigned coat of arms (**Figure 5**) which had two double-headed eagles nested one within the other, with the German and the Austrian imperial crowns placed one above the other. For the first time, the shield of Austria as the overall state symbol became the central symbol on the coat of arms. Although this actually referred to the dynasty of the 'House of Austria', the archducal house, which had been elevated to the rank of an

Left: *Figure 5:* Imperial Austria 1804; right: *Figure 6:* the same in 1806. Both drawings from the author's archive, hand coloured.

imperial house,[6] it could also be understood as a unifying territorial symbol for all the Habsburg hereditary lands. This did not go unchallenged within Austria and immediately brought the Hungarian Court Chancellor Palffy onto the scene, who demanded – but in vain – a separate Hungarian coat of arms for the Hungarian lands.[7]

Two years later on 6 August 1806, Emperor Franz II laid down the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and dissolved the imperial union. Since the effects of the Peace of Pressburg 1805, which had entailed a change in the imperial Austrian coat of arms and titles through the cession of lands, had not even been implemented yet, the design of the new titles and coats of arms was not long in coming (**Figure 6**). One of the most significant changes was made to the central or heart shield, which indicated a new genealogical constellation: the shield of Austria flanked by the arms of Habsburg and Lorraine. For a short period from 1806 to 1815, Franz I as the first Austrian Emperor included the cross of the Teutonic Order on his coat of arms in order to bind the Order closer to his house. This was because Napoleon had abolished the Order as an imperial state in 1805. When in 1809 the Order was abolished in all the Rhine Confederation states, its possessions were reduced to the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, and Vienna became the new seat of the Grand Master. After 1815 a coat of arms was instituted without the cross of the Teutonic Order which remained in use until the end of the Monarchy in 1918 (**Figure 7**).[8]

The appearance of the Habsburg lion (**Figure 8**), *Or a lion rampant gules armed, langued and crowned azure* became established towards the end of the fifteenth century. When the Habsburgs were enfeoffed with Austria in 1282, they used a lion without a crown on their seal. Duke Rudolf IV added a crown to the lion on his great seal in 1359/1360. On the obverse of his exchequer seal, the duke is seen riding a horse to the left, with the coats of arms of Carinthia, Habsburg and Pfirt visible on the horse's caparison, with a crown on the Habsburg lion. Since the crowning of heraldic animals was considered a 'royal adornment', it was subsequently forbidden by Emperor Charles IV, along with the other privileges, as presumption.[9] Both Rudolf and his successor dukes adhered to this ban. Only Frederick III, who imitated the heraldic compositions of Rudolf IV, resumed the lion with the crown, even before he as Emperor Frederick III

Left: *Figure 7:* Habsburg arms of the middle category from 1815–1918 from the author's archive, hand-coloured; right: *Figure 8:* The Habsburg red lion, photographed by the author.

had confirmed the *Privilegium maius* (the pivotal forged charter of Rudolf IV granting rights to the Habsburgs), in 1453. Thereafter, he used the lion both with and without the crown.[10] It was not until the reign of Maximilian I, from about 1500 onwards, that the lion was ubiquitously depicted crowned. The blue colour of the crown, tongue and claws is noticeable in the course of the fifteenth century. The colour blue was probably created for reasons of colour contrast. If the crown, tongue and claws were tinted in gold or silver, they could not have been properly recognised in the golden field.[11]

Since the sixteenth century this actual Habsburg coat of arms, the red lion, has played only a subordinate role, and in practice was hardly used. The same can be said of the name 'Habsburg'. When Castle Habsburg in Aargau was lost to the Swiss Confederacy in 1415, they regarded the naming of the dynasty after their ancestral castle almost as a mockery, hence they preferred to be called the 'House of Austria'.[12] Until the seventeenth century the red lion of the original Habsburgs rarely appeared, and when it was revived in the eighteenth century, it only appeared in a less prominent position among the many other national coats in the large suites of arms. It was not until 1806 that Emperor Franz I brought it back into his family coat of arms, where it remained until the end of the monarchy in 1918, and is still used by the family today. The heraldic-symbolic integration of the Hungarian lands into the state as a whole, however, remained an open question, and only became virulent again when the coat of arms of the Dual Monarchy was designed in 1912, as will be shown.

National coats of arms

The medium and large Habsburg coats of arms, with their confusing multiplicity of national arms, were as much a part of the Baroque ruler's representation as they were of his prestige and propaganda. Here he was able to show his dynastic entanglements,

the lands he actually ruled, and his claims to lost territories, in a symbolic and pictorial way. The time of Maria Theresa and Joseph II is considered as a reformist era not only for the state, but also for state heraldry. The heraldic reorientation related not only to the expansion of the suites of coats of arms, but also to the question of which, and in what order, the individual coats of arms should appear. Just as with the ranking of the countries in the imperial title, its ordering of the country coats of arms on the shield was a matter of great importance. The old heraldic rule applied here that, apart from the central place at the heart of the shield, the most distinguished area is at the top right or the top centre. The nobility of a coat of arms was largely determined by the age, importance and affiliation of a territory to the Habsburg sphere of power.[13] After the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, far-reaching reforms took place in the Austrian lands. The most important measure was the abolition of the former Court of Chancellery for Austria and Bohemia. and the creation of a central authority called the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus*.

From the old Austrian hereditary lands, combined with Bohemia, a 'core state' was formed which existed with minor changes until its demise in 1918. Hungary was excluded, having already since 1526 assumed a special role. The seal and coat of arms, designed in 1752 (**Figure 9**), were no longer to be constructed according to historical-political contexts as determined by Bohemian or Hungarian crown law. Instead, the guideline for the design was the order of rank as expressed in the monarch's title. This meant that the main shield was divided into four rows from top to bottom:
1. the kingdoms: Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia.
2. the duchies: Burgundy, Silesia, Brabant, Milan, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola.
3. the margravates, counties and principalities: Moravia, Burgau, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Habsburg, Transylvania, Flanders, Tyrol.
4. lands acquired by marriage: Jerusalem, Lorraine, Tuscany, Bar.
Placed in a circle around the shield were the shields of the smaller principalities: Parma, Guelders, Swabia, Kyburg, Gradiska, Flanders, Mantua, Luxembourg, Württemberg, Pfirt, Gorizia and Alsace.
According to the symbolism, this was an attempt to represent a centralised state structure by heraldic means. This was further emphasised by the three crowns: archduke's hat, king's crown and emperor's crown, which radiate in a hierarchical manner from the inside to the outside.

After the death of Franz I, Emperor and husband of Maria Theresa, the time had come to adapt both her coat of arms and that of her son the Emperor Joseph II to new circumstances. The leitmotif was the abandonment of the centralist division of 1752, and a turn towards a territorial-political conception. The main differences to the great coat of arms of her son (**Figure 10**) were the central shield (the Austrian fess), the missing insignia of rulership (sword, sceptre, imperial orb) and the altered coats of arms of the Lorraine group which had come from his father. A novelty was the accurate depiction of the two royal crowns of Hungary and Bohemia: the crown of St. Stephen and the crown of St. Wenceslas. There was also a naturalistic depiction of the archduke's hat above the heart shield.
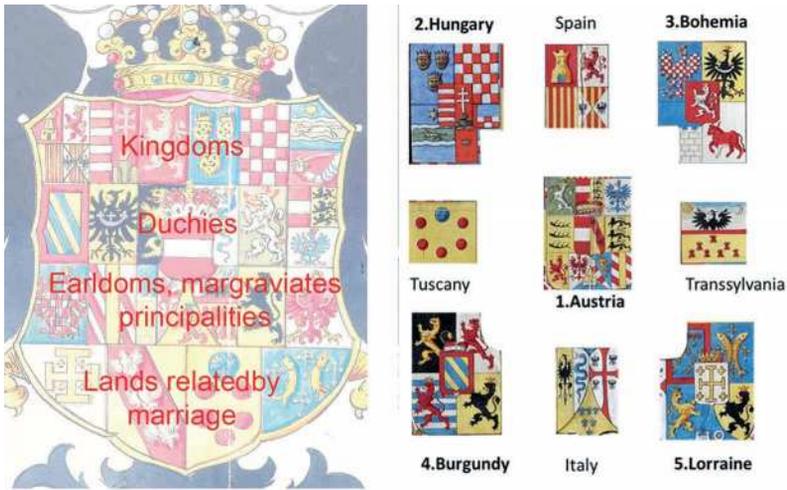
Top left: *Figure 9:* hierarchical structure of the arms of the central authority in 1752; below, *Figure 10:* the arms of Joseph II of the large category in 1765 (Wikimedia Commons); top right, *Figure 11:* structure of the imperial arms in 1765. First and last by the author.

THE HABSBURG-AUSTRIAN ARMS

A reorganisation had become necessary because several errors had been discovered in the coat of arms of 1752. For example, the Spanish quarters had been placed before the Hungarian and Bohemian quarters, even though Spain no longer appeared in the title. Likewise, the Italian duchies of Milan, Mantua and Parma had been placed before the Austrian ones. The coats of arms of Slavonia, Carinthia and Brabant had been depicted with the wrong colours, figures, and incompletely. In principle, only those countries listed in the title were supposed to appear in the arms. The result was a complete reorganisation (**Figure 11**). Nine groups were put together according to political and historical-geographical aspects, in the form of an isosceles cross.
The five main groups comprised:
1. central shield with the ancestral arms and the Austrian hereditary lands;
2. Hungary;
3. Bohemia;
4. Burgundy;
5. Lorraine.
In between were the secondary groups of Spain, Tuscany, Transylvania and the Italian Lands.

Before the great regulation of the coat of arms could be published, another circumstance intervened, which was particularly promoted by Maria Theresa, namely the elevation of Transylvania to a Grand Duchy. From the Hungarian side, it was demanded that Transylvania be included among the Hungarian fields, since it had been a land of the Crown of Hungary since time immemorial. The Transylvanian court chancellor Count Bethlen, however, rejected this, as Transylvania had already been independent for 230 years. It was not until 1848 that Transylvania became incorporated into the Hungarian group of countries.[14]

In the course of the Polish partitions in 1772, the Habsburg lands experienced a further increase, which also had to be accommodated heraldically. The new provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria had been part of the Hungarian royal title in the Middle Ages. Despite this Hungarian relationship, the two lands were annexed to the Austrian lands as a separate kingdom. New coats of arms or seals were not made for reasons of cost.

It was not until Emperor Leopold II took office in 1790 that new seals and coats of arms were made, and the two new provinces of Galicia and Lodomeria found their place between Hungary and Bohemia in the front row. The reign of the Emperor Leopold marked the beginning of an era of European reorganisation, which necessitated a constant change of devices on the Habsburg state coats of arms, right up to the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This period of constant border shifts, the end of the Holy Roman Empire, and the new Empire of Austria, left manifold traces in the state symbolism, of which only the most important and lasting changes can be dealt with here. From this time onwards until the end of the Monarchy in 1918, in all the sizes of the arms the heart shield comprised the split shield of Habsburg, Austria and Lorraine (Cf. figures 6 and 7). The central coat of arms of the Austrian Empire of 1804 was particularly influential in shaping the style of the subsequent design, in that in addition to the family heart shield the coats of arms of the kingdoms and duchies were attached in a clasp-like manner, on the two wings of the double-headed eagle.

Left: *Figure 12:* Middle category of the state coat of arms 1836–1866, author's archive, hand-coloured; right: *Figure 13:* draft of the middle coat of arms by Minister of the Interior Bach 1861, author's archive.

The constitutional situation often lagged behind the heraldic realities, as the example of the Kingdom of Illyria shows. Napoleon had created this kingdom in 1809 from the southern Austrian provinces (parts of East Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia up to Dubrovnik) thereby cutting off Autria from access to the sea. After the Congress of Vienna, the provinces returned to Austria and Emperor Francis I united them in 1816 to form the Kingdom of Illyria. The name Illyria goes back to a Roman province from the second century. The kingdom was not symbolically represented in the coat of arms until 1836, as a coat of arms for this region did not exist, and had to be newly devised. As its emblem the representation of a galley was used, which had been found on old coins from ancient Illyria. This version of the national coat of arms (**Figure 12**) was used through the change of administration to that of the Emperor Franz Joseph I in 1848, until 1867.

The new large state coat of arms of 1836 was arranged according to political and historical-geographical aspects in accordance with the scheme introduced in the time of Joseph II. Here surrounding the family arms are those of Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardo-Venetia, Illyria and Galicia, to which have been added countries which were part of the medieval Hungarian royal title: Cumania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Rascia. In addition, there were the commemorative coats of arms of: Jerusalem, Castile, Leon, Aragon, India, Sicily, Calabria and Anjou. It is notable that the Habsburg house coat of arms was not superimposed on the rest of the shield, but was adapted to the other armorial bearings without any difference in size. The year 1836 was the last occasion when such a large version of the coat of arms was defined and published, after which there is no longer a large coat of arms category.

The beginning of Emperor Franz Joseph I's reign in 1848 was accompanied by a series of constitutional reforms. He had initially adopted the devices of his predecessor, with his name newly engraved on the seals. At the same time, a coat of arms commission

was appointed. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior discussed at length the old question, should all the coats of arms of the crown lands have equal status, or should the crown lands be grouped together according to historical groups of countries. After eight years of commission work, Minister of the Interior Bach presented a draft coat of arms (**Figure 13**) that reflected the complete reorganisation of the state, which became a unitary state with centralized administration. Hungary was particularly affected by this: Croatia, Slavonia and Transylvania were separated, the Serbian Voivodeship and the Temes Banat were created, and the military border was added. Imperial approval was not granted.

Military defeats of 1859, which resulted in the loss of Lombardy, and in 1866, the loss of Venice, necessitated an internal reconciliation with the Hungarian nation, and further changes of title and coat of arms. The Lombardo-Venetian coat of arms was dropped and Styria, which had previously had to share a shield with Carinthia, was given its own shield. In 1867, a constitutional settlement with Hungary was achieved and the dual monarchy, 'the dualism', was created. Meanwhile, the endless discussions about titles, seals and coats of arms continued. Disputes about the relationship between Austria and Hungary hinged on the question of whether these were two parts of one state or two independent states, i.e. a real union or a personal union linked by the person of the monarch. Both views could be legally justified. The unity of the economic territory was to be maintained by treaties that had to be renegotiated every ten years.[15]
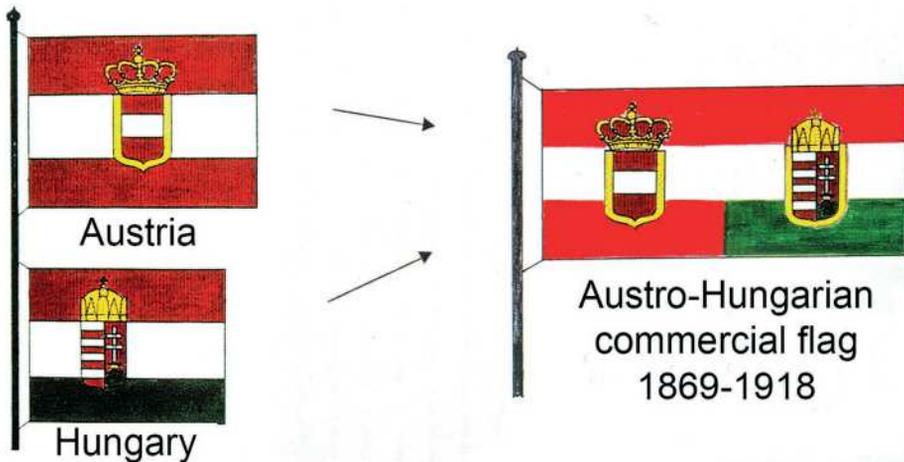
Figure 14: Joint Austro-Hungarian trade flag, author's archive, hand-coloured.

In 1869, a common trade flag was designed (**Figure 14**). The Austrian flag: red-white-red, with a crowned central shield, was impaled with the Hungarian flag: red-white-green, with the crowned small coat of arms of Hungary. This simple solution was difficult to implement in the field of the national coat of arms. Nevertheless, the Hungarian side tried to bring about an analogous solution by using two coats of arms of equal rank.

The Hungarians were of the opinion that the double-headed eagle could not be a common symbol, since it was primarily a symbol of the Roman-German imperial dignity,

Figure 15: draft Austrian coat of arms of 1871, author's collection, hand-coloured.

and as such was transferred to the Austrian Empire. Hungary had never been part of Holy Roman Empire. The symbolically expressed parity would have to consist of two shields placed side by side. The heraldic concept proposed by Hungary did not meet with approval on the Austrian side, which insisted on depicting the two halves of the empire on a heraldic shield of the double-headed eagle (**Figure 15**), but the eagle surmounted by the Austrian imperial crown could only be regarded as the heraldic animal of the Austrian hereditary emperorship as it had been created in 1804.[16] Thus, while the disputes over the national coat of arms dragged on, other sensitivities emerged at the Länder level, which had to do with the emergence of nationalism. Two crown lands, Moravia and Carniola, wanted to change the colours in their coats of arms from red-gold to red-silver.

Because the Margraviate of Moravia and also the Duchy of Carniola had supported Emperor Frederick III militarily in the fifteenth century, they had been given an

Left: *Figure 16:* arms of Moravia according to Ströhl; right: *Figure 17:* the same with the eagle checky gules and argent, author's collection, hand-coloured.

augmentation of their coats of arms, whereby the colour silver was replaced by the more noble or superior colour gold. At that time, Moravia received a red and gold checked eagle, while the eagle of Carniola was given a red and gold clasp on its breast. The infrequent use of the two coats of arms revealed colour uncertainties; in various armorial books and patents, the silver colour was retained on one occasion, and the colour gold used on the next. When Pan-Slavism, which appeared politically for the first time in 1848, propagated the colours white, blue and red as the so-called 'Slavic national colours', Moravia and Carniola swung to this national line and wanted to change their coats of arms accordingly.[17] The official Austrian state heraldry, documented by the heraldist Hugo Gerard Ströhl in his Austro-Hungarian roll of arms, however, stuck to the original improved colour of gold in the arms of Moravia (**Figure 16** and **17**) and Carniola.[18]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the lack of common state symbols came to be increasingly lamented, especially by the Austrian side. While the Kingdom of Hungary presented a much more compact picture in a geographical-national sense as a nation state with national minorities[19] , the situation on the Austrian side was much more complex. Here there was a conglomerate of countries made up of various historically grown units that had not merged into a homogeneous whole. The *Monarchia Austriaca* was a monarchical union of states, and also a monarchy composed of composite monarchies.[20] There was no crown that could have been placed above the coat of arms of the Austrian group of countries analogous to the Hungarian one. This was because the imperial crown, double-headed eagle and imperial insignia were, in Austria's view, among the most essential emblems of the overall coat of arms, and could not therefore be used for the collective coat of arms of one half of the empire, but only together.

Since the Compromise with Hungary of 1867 there had been repeated disputes in the government about the fixing and regulation of titles, seals and coats of arms. The

Figure 18: small common coat of arms according to the 1907 design, author's
collection, hand-coloured.

longer both sides persisted in their controversial positions, the more a development
occurred which amounted to a heraldic-symbolic separation of the two states, and which
had already deeply penetrated the public consciousness. A commission set up in 1907
under the leadership of the leading heraldic expert Anthony von Siegenfeld was to draw
up a new design. He compared the connection of the Hungarian coat of arms with the
single eagle of the Roman kings and the double eagle of the emperors since the sixteenth
century. His design (**Figure 18**) featured three major changes to the previous coats of
arms, which were much more in line with Hungarian demands.

He retained the double-headed eagle, contending that the eagle was never used as
a territorial coat of arms, but only as a sign of imperial dignity, as a symbol of the
empire. If the eagle was now shown without the sceptre, sword, orb and imperial crown,
he thought, the Hungarians should be able to agree. Both halves of the empire were
symbolised for the first time by two separate coats of arms with their respective crowns,
held together only by the Habsburg 'genealogical' coat of arms.
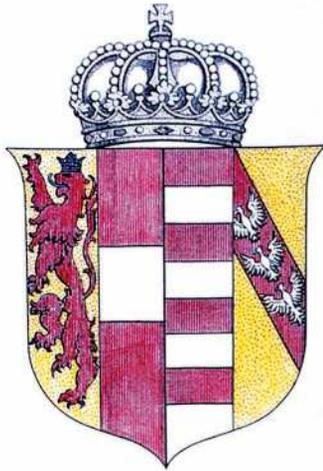
Left: *Figure 19:* Hungarian proposal for the small coat of arms 1912, author's archive, hand-coloured; Right: *Figure 20:* small common coat of arms of Austria-Hungary in 1915 as photographed on the U.S. Embassy in Vienna.

The Hungarians rejected Anthony von Siegenfeld's proposal, but in 1912 made a counter-proposal (**Figure 19**) aimed at referring the double-headed eagle only to the Austrian half of the empire. They thought that the dignity of an emperor of Austria must be distinguished from the dignity of an apostolic king of Hungary. For the genealogical coat of arms they suggested that between the arms of Austria and Lorraine there should be inserted the so-called arms of Old Hungary, *Barry of eight gules and argent*.[21]

The final position in the state symbolism of the Habsburg monarchy was set during the middle of the First World War, in 1915, when agreement was finally reached after fifty years of discussion (**Figure 20**). The dualistic structure of the state, represented in two separate shields, as an alliance coat of arms, became reality, with the two shields crowned with the two crowns. The two state coats of arms were connected by the Habsburg genealogical coat of arms, symbolising the personal union. Hungary thus enforced the demand it had made from the beginning to reject the double-headed eagle, the imperial crown and a common shield. The basic principle was that each crown land, which had its own parliament, should also be represented with its own coat of arms. At the same time, a new state name was decided: the Austrian half of the empire was no longer to be called 'Cisleithania' or 'the kingdoms and lands represented in the Imperial Council', but Austria for short.[22] Three years later, the motto affixed under the coat of arms: "*Indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter*", i.e. indivisible and inseparable, a passage from the *Pragmatic sanction*, had lost its magical effect, the monarchy broke apart and the two states went their own ways.

Although this last common coat of arms of the Habsburg Monarchy existed for only three years, it can still be admired today in Vienna on a building that was the Diplomatic Academy in the time of the Monarchy. Today it houses the U.S. Embassy.

[1] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit. Eine Biographie* (München, 2017), pp. 43, 47.

[2] Franz Pesendorfer, *Die Habsburger in der Toskana* (Wien, 1988).

[3] Michael Göbl, ‚Genealogisches Wappen', in *Wappen-Lexikon der habsburgischen Länder* (Schleinbach, 2017), pp. 75–79.

[4] ‚Franz Karl Salvator (1893–1918)', in Brigitte Hamann (ed.), *Die Habsburger. Ein biographisches Lexikon.* (München, 1988), p. 144. I am indebted to Stephen Slater for this reference.

[5] Gottfried Mraz, *Österreich und das Reich 1804–1806. Ende und Vollendung* (Wien, 1993), pp. 31–41.

[6] Anna Benna,‚Von der erzherzoglichen Durchlaucht zur kaiserlichen Hoheit', in *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 23rd edn. (1970), p. 35.

[7] Mraz, op. cit., p. 46.

[8] Göbl, *Wappen-Lexikon*, op. cit., p. 59–61.

[9] Karl von Sava*, Die Siegel der Österreichischen Regenten Tafel* I, fig. 24, pp. 117–118.

[10] Sava, op. cit.,p. 153, fig. 95.

[11] Eduard Gaston Graf von Pettenegg, ‚Das Stammwappen des Hauses Habsburg', in *Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-Genealogischen Gesellschaft ADLER* (Wien, 1882), pp. 87–112.

[12] Alphons Lhotzky, ‚Was heißt "Haus Österreich"?', in *Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Wien, 1970), vol. 1, p. 354.

[13] Michael Göbl, ‚Titel, Siegel und Wappen von Maria Theresia und Joseph II', in *Herold-Studien* 23/24 (Berlin, 2019), pp. 99–125.

[14] Albert Arz von Straussenburg, *Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Wappenkunde* (Köln-Wien, 1981), p. 27.

[15] Otto Brunner, ‚Das Haus Österreich und die Donaumonarchie', in: *Südost-Forschungen*, 14,1 (1955), pp. 122–144.

[16] Michael Göbl, ‚Staatssymbole des Habsburger-Reiches', in Norbert Leser and Manfred Wagner (edd.) *Österreichs politische Symbole* (Wien, 1994), pp. 11–36 (here p. 24).

[17] Michael Göbl, *Wappen-Lexikon der habsburgischen Länder* (Schleinbach, 2017), pp. 101–104 (for Carniola), pp. 122–124 (for Moravia).

[18] See note 21.

[19] Gerald Stourzh, ‚Die Dualistische Reichsstruktur, Österreichbegriff und Österreichbewusstsein 1867–1918', in: Helmut Rumpler (ed..), *Innere Staatsbildung und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung in Österreich und Deutschland 1867/71–1914* (Wien, 1991), pp. 53–68.

[20] Brunner 1955, op. cit., p. 126; Mat'a, Winkelbauer, *Verwaltungsgeschichte von Hochedlinger*, (Wien, 2019), p. 84.

[21] Göbl, Staatssymbole, op. cit, p. 32.

[22] Hugo Gerard Ströhl, Österreichisch-Ungarische Wappenrolle 1900, has an appendix of the state coats of arms up to 1918 annotated by Michael Göbl in the reprint (Schleinbach, 2010).

RESTORATION OF FORM, REFORM OF MATTER: HERALDRY IN LATE PROSE ROMANCES BY WILLIAM MORRIS

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Heraldry in fiction is examined mostly by historians; their interest has been to find data about its origin and development in Medieval and Early Modern texts.[1] Heraldry in nineteenth and twentieth century texts has seemed, with few exceptions[2], less interesting both for historians and literary scholars. William Morris gives a perfect example of how heraldry can provide new ways to interpret fictional plots. This paper will examine the late prose romances of William Morris, paying attention to the distribution of heraldic and proto-heraldic emblems therein. It will explore the function of this heraldry, its sources of inspiration, and the ways in which that heraldry coincides with Morris's social beliefs.

Morris's corpus of late prose romances include: *The House of the Wolfings* (1888), *The Roots of the Mountains* (1889), *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (1890), *The Well at the World's End* (1892), *The Wood Beyond the World* (1895), *Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair* (1895)[3], *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* (1896) and *The Sundering Flood* (1898). They can be divided in two groups, firstly, Germanic romances (*The House of the Wolfings, The Roots of the Mountains* and *The Story of the Glittering Plains*) which focus on Germanic tribes of late Antiquity and Dark Ages; secondly, those which imitate the world of the High Middle Ages with its feudal structure, architecture, and chivalric code.[4]

Precise dating of the action of Germanic romances is highly problematic because the books do not refer to actual historical events, and the indications are frequently contradictory. *The House of the Wolfings* may suggest the first century A.D. because the battle between the Men of the Mark and the Romans is clearly modelled after the battle of the Teutoburg Forest.[5] However, the Mark-men are labelled Goths (who did not interact with the Romans until the fourth century A.D.), and it is mentioned that the main character Thiodolf in his youth fought with three Hun kings, which might also indicate the fourth century. Nonetheless, in *The Roots of the Mountains*, a folk of Dusky Men can be easily identified with the Huns[6] which suggests both romances should be dated in the Migration Period. It is extremely difficult to reconcile a statement that the Mark-men fought with the Huns with the information given that many generations later the Huns represent an unknown and a sudden danger for the Mark-mens' distant descendants. Therefore, we should agree with Thomas Shippey that "[Morris] took pains….to avoid anachronistically direct datings and placings".[7] This is a crucial factor in understanding the peculiarities of Morris's heraldry and proto-heraldry: he did not aim to imitate the rules characteristic of a particular time and place. When a German archaeologist wrote to him expressing his admiration for his excellent research on the daily life and social structure of Teutonic tribes, and asked for the specific sources, Morris reacted furiously: "Doesn't the fool realise that it's a romance, a work of fiction – that it's all LIES!"[8]

For the romances of the second group the situation is clearer, Morris deliberately removed all reference to actual historical events. Therefore, while Germanic romances

Figure 1: the duel of Hallblithe and Puny Fox. Woodcut by Walter Crane from *The Story of the Glittering Plains*, Kelmscott Press, London 1894, p. 152.

are usually recognized as pseudo-historical, the High Medieval romances are the predecessors of fantasy genre.[9]

Proto-heraldic emblems in Germanic romances are determined by the social structure of the presented world. A characteristic aspect of his writings is that Morris does not employ the concept of a tribe, his imaginary society rather consists of Houses which can be defined as extended families. The number of their members varies from a hundred to about a thousand people. All members of the House are treated as one family, so marriages or sexual relationships within the House are strictly forbidden as incest.[10] There is almost no social hierarchy because the function of an alderman of the House is mostly ceremonial, and all decisions are made by the mote; on major issues, such as war,

all Houses gather in one mote. Such a gathering could be easily identified as a tribe (it shares language, manners and law) but it does not bear a distinguishing symbol (name or emblem). However, the symbolic identification of Houses is remarkably expressive. All Houses have visual emblems which are usually associated with their names (for example, the sign of the Wolfings is a wolf). Another symptomatic detail is that the author does not provide a complete list of the names of the Houses, although a complete list of their signs (35) is exposed and revealed in the crucial scene of *The House of the Wolfings* during the burial of the main character, Thiodolf, alongside other warriors who have fallen in the battle with Romans.

The signs of the Houses can be compared with the vexilla of actual Germanic tribes of the Dark Ages, with some important differences. Firstly, the vexillum's function was probably primarily sacral. Vexilla stood for the Gods or, even more generally, for a set of divine attributes, as represented by a particular animal.[11] Secondly, they were not firmly assigned to specific tribes, and the same sign was frequently shared by different tribes.[12] In Morris's Germanic romances, the war-signs serve as visual representations of the House's identity. It is illustrated by an episode in *The Roots of the Mountains*: when the Woodlanders discover their kinship with the Wolfings, they ceremonially present their new banner which celebrates this affinity, by creating and adopting a modified image of the Wolf. Charlotte Oberg claims that the scene should be interpreted as "a type of the future world-renewal, when all things fragmentary come together as one and are transmuted into a new creation."[13]

Morris did not abandon the sacred aspect of the war-signs. The Houses worship their mythical Fathers who can be identified with the creatures represented by the signs. However, it is suggested that the choice of sign is dictated mostly by the environment in which the House lives (for instance Wolf and Elk for forest, Bull and Sickle for fields) with no sacral component. That sacral function was added only secondarily: first there was establishment of the House as a social fact which led to the choice of the sign, and only later is the abstract concept transformed into the figure of a God-father. This fact, along with the stability of the particular sign (for example, the sign of the Wolf Jaw not being modified over many generations, despite the House having splintered into smaller groups[14] and having migrated from their original homeland) allow us to recognize the war-signs as quasi-national emblems.[15]

The comparison of the signs of the Houses with the medieval war-signs (**Table 1**) reveals that their 'anachronic' characteristics link them with heraldry, both in terms of function and in terms of the physical objects the emblem was displayed on (the banners were made of fabric, while the vexilla were usually made of metal or other stiff material and attached to the staff). In *The Roots of the Mountains* we encounter an example of two vexilla used in replacement of a fabric banner:

> *As for the Woodlanders, they said that they were abiding their great banner, but it should come in good time; 'and meantime,' said they, 'here are the war-tokens that we shall fight under; for they are good enough banners for us poor men, the remnant of the valiant of time past.' Therewith they showed two great spears, and athwart the one was tied an arrow, its point dipped in blood, its feathers singed with fire; and they said, 'This is the banner of the War-shaft.'*

On the other spear there was nought; but the head thereof was great and long, and they had so burnished the steel that the sun smote out a ray of light from it, so that it might be seen from afar. And they said: 'This is the Banner of the Spear!'[16]

	Tribal vexilla	War-signs in Germanic romances
Primary function	sacral	identity
Identification with tribe	fluent	strict
Stability	low	high
Material	mostly metal	fabric

Table 1: Comparison between authentic vexilla and war-signs of Germanic romances

The "banner of the War-shaft", a vexillum of the Woodlanders, is the same arrow which was sent by the mote as a sign to gather all the tribes for the war with the Dusky Men. Therefore, it does not identify the Woodlanders as a House (that function will be taken by their new fabric banner with the Wolf and Sunburst) but their obeyance to the call for war. The Germanic romances contain other allusions to real heraldic or proto-heraldic practices. In *The House of the Wolfings* every House has its banner-wagon. Here is the description of the wagon of the Wolfings:

> *from the midst of this wain arose a mast made of a tall straight fir-tree, and thereon hung the banner of the Wolfings, wherein was wrought the image of the Wolf, but red of hue as a token of war, and with his mouth open and gaping upon the foemen. (...) the wain of the banner was drawn by ten black bulls of the mightiest of the herd, deep-dewlapped, high-crested and curly-browed; and their harness was decked with gold, and so was the wain itself, and the woodwork of it painted red with vermilion.*[17]

The banner-wagons have a crucial role in a collective identification of the House, a loss of one of them in battle is considered the highest disgrace for the tribe. That feature allows comparison with Italian carroccio[18] and, to a lesser extent, with banner-wagons used occasionally in Northern Europe (such as in Battle of Northallerton[19]).

Another interesting detail is the House of the Raven from *The Story of Glittering Plains,* and their banner which vividly resembles the actual Raven Banner of the Vikings, which is recorded as having been used since the ninth century.[20] Its use is paradoxical because in the book another tribe (the Sea-eagles), not the House of the Raven, can be identified with the Vikings. As in the case of the vexilla, the Raven Banner was a sacred and magical symbol, a vehicle of valour and war fortune, whereas the function of the banner of the House of the Raven is primarily as a marker of identity.

The sign of the House of the Raven is the only example we have of a visual representation authorised by Morris himself in the woodcuts by Walter Crane **(Figures 1 and 9**) which illustrate the second edition in Kelmscott Press (1894). The shape of the shield is renaissance rather than medieval, and the armour corresponds with the images of ancient heroes presented in renaissance art (Figure 1). This is neither an accident nor a mistake – the physical form of the books published in Kelmscott Press (fonts, initials, woodcuts) indicate that incunables and books of the early sixteenth century were a source of inspiration. It corresponds with the language: many archaic devices Morris applied

became literary or obsolete during the sixteenth century. This metatextual quality, shared by the romances of both groups, justifies their anachronisms because they imitate a genre of chivalric romance.

The influence of the chivalric epic on the romances of the second group (high medieval romances) has been widely discussed.[21] Amanda Hodgson has claimed that Thomas Malory, with the episodic structure of his prose, and his strings of coordinated clauses, strongly influenced Morris's style, especially in *The Well at the World's End*.[22] It is an established fact that the material culture of the late romances was more inspired by Victorian 'medievalism' than by the actual medieval reality as it was described by nineteenth-century historians.[23] This observation corresponds with Morris's library: he had numerous editions of medieval romances but few historical books.[24]The discussion of these matters has to date almost completely omitted the heraldic aspects.

In his blazoning Morris did not use heraldic terms or word-order. Only about half of his arms are described completely (**Table 2**). The symbolic function of heraldry is particularly evident, which suggests that chivalric romances were his major inspiration; a genre that similarly employs heraldry for its symbolic qualities.[25]There are some examples of canting, for instance the Land of the Tower has "a silver tower on a blue sky bestarred with gold"[26] and Brookside has "blue and white waves"[27] **(Figure 2)**.

	Complete	No tincture of the field	Only charge, no tinctures	Other incomplete	No information	Total
The Wood…	-	-	1	1	-	2
Child Christopher …	2	-	2	-	2	6
The Well…	8	-	6	-	-	14
The Water …	2	-	-	1	-	3
The Sundering…	4	1	-	-	unknown number	5 + uknown number
Total	16	1	9	2	2 + unknown number	30 + uknown number

Table 2: The completeness of blazon in medieval romances

Allusive arms constitute a separate group. Among the examples of simple arms are a sword reddened with blood for the nameless tyrant of the town Cheaping Knowe, and three wool packs for Eastcheaping (the town which the main source of income was a wool trade) **(Figure 3)**. Other symbols are more complex. The arms of Sir Medard, a commander of the city guard of Eastcheaping are "*a Tower and an Eagle sitting therein*"[28] which may suggest vigilance. The arm of Gandolf of Utterbol (in *The Well at the World's End*) can be interpreted as a symbolic message about a heroine, Ursula, the etymology of whose name ("a bear") is an important trope in the plot.[29] When the protagonist, Ralph, sees the arms of Gandolf "*a black bear on a castle-wall on a field of gold*"[30] **(Figure 4)**, the arms are intended to symbolically inform him that Ursula is imprisoned in the castle of Utterbol. Sometimes the symbolism of arms can be a key to interpret the entire plot. Amanda Hodgson observes that Ralph, through all his quest, bears his purpose on
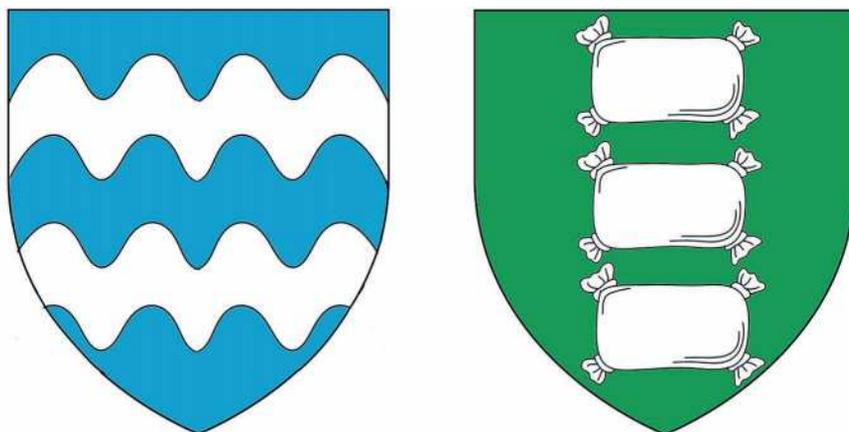
Left, *Figure 2:* arms of Sir Mark of Brookside; right, *Figure 3*: arms of the town Eastcheaping. Both from *The Sundering Flood*.

his shield because the "*fruitful tree and river*" **(Figure 5)** is a representation of earthly paradise.[31] The true purpose of Ralph's quest is not the Well at the World's End but his homeland, which he can rejuvenate due to his spiritual change symbolized by drinking the water of the Well. An earthly paradise: embodied in a small, egalitarian country (which is perceived as the opposite of both primitive nature and of a highly technical society) is a characteristic feature of Morris's social philosophy and its transformation into fantasy romance (see the discussion below).

The influence of chivalric romance is revealed by numerous characters with plain shields. Such knights are a common figure in Arthurian romances, for example the Green Knight from *Sir Gawen and the Green Knight*, the Red Knight from Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* and numerous characters from Thomas Malory's *La Morte d'Arthur.*[32] Bruno Quast has shown that monochromatic knights undermine the stabile social structures marked by multi-coloured clothing and by the arms that were characteristic of the medieval elites; heroes use the monochrome shield in disguise to perform their quest outside the structures they are constrained to live in, while villains use them to emphasize their incompatibility with human society.[33] Morris uses such figure in three romances: *The Well at the Worlds End, The Sundering Flood* and *The Water of the Wondrous Isles*. In the last of these romances three central male characters are consequently called Golden Knight, Green Knight and Black Squire, although their shields are not actually plain **(Figures 6, 7, 8)**. The names of their beloved women represent the same colours: Aurea, Viridis and Atra. In the same novel there is also a nameless character, called Black Knight, who kidnaps the main character, Birdalone. Amanda Hodson claims that the Black Knight is acting as a complementary opposition of Arthur the Black Squire, so that Birdalone's unlawful desire towards the Black Squire is impersonated in the figure of Black Knight.[34] Such a Jungian interpretation (where the Black Squire act as a Persona and Black Knight as a Shadow) can be supported by their common characteristics as monochromatic knights. In *Well at the World's End* a character, Walter the Black (who bears plain sable shield),
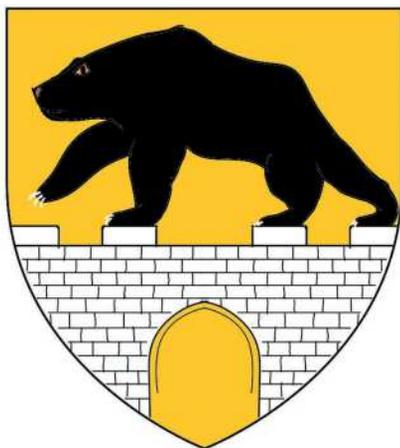
Left, *Figure 4:* arms of Lord Gandolf of Utterbol; right, *Figure 5*: arms of Upmeads. Both from *The Well at the World's End*.

also endangers a female character by his unlawful desire. In *The Sundering Flood* there is an episodic character called the White Knight who is a traitor and abuser of women. In Morris's works (not only the late prose romances, but also the political romances such as *News from Nowhere*) bright colours mark moral values, while plain argent and plain sable, by breaking the aesthetical code of the society, pose a threat to its morality.[35]

A comparison of the heraldry in the late prose romances with that in the early prose romances (written between 1850 and 1860 for *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*) and with poems published in *The Defence of Guinevere and Other Poems* (1858) reveals a substantial difference. In the early works, heraldry was much more visible. For instance, in *The Hollow Land* the narrator makes reference to crucial moments for his family (the House of the Lilies) such as military victories and defeats, and to the symbolism of their arms:

> "our house had done deeds enough of blood and horror to turn our white lilies red, and our blue cross to a fiery one"[36], "there were four thousand bodies to be buried, which bodies wore neither cross nor lily"[37], and finally, "they cast down their notched swords and dinted, lilied shields".[38]

In *Golden Wings* the charge and crest of the protagonist is the very foundation of his identity and his public image; he has no other basis for his identity because he does not know his lineage or even his father's name. In the poems collected in *The Defence of Guinevre* there are numerous arms mentioned, sometimes also properly blazoned. In both the corpus of arms of early romances and in the poems, the exposition of arms and their role in the plot is much bigger than in late prose romances. For instance, the coat of arms of the protagonist is mentioned nine times in *Golden Wings* and only four times in *Well at the World's End,* though the last novel is about 3000% longer. One of the reasons is the change of Morris's aesthetic views. In early works he used many words and expressions of French and Latin origin, but later his goal was to purify the language of these borrowings and to restore vocabulary characteristic for Germanic languages.[39]In

Left, *Figure 6:* arms of Sir Baudoin the Golden Knight; centre, *Figure 7*: arms of Sir Hugh the Green Knight; right, *Figure 8*: arms of Sir Arthur the Black Squire. All from *The Water of the Wondrous Isles*.

late prose romances he even avoided vocabulary of French origin that was indispensable for English blazon. It should be defined as a purposefully creative decision because at the same time in his letters (an even in private correspondence) Morris applied proper blazoning, with heraldic terms and word-order. In a letter to Montague Rhodes James, Morris described the arms illuminated in a manuscript he owned:

> there are 3 shields of arms, the first (Grandison) checky or and azure with a bend gules charged with 3 lioncels argent the 2nd barry of 6 (az) argent and azure, on a bend gules 3 stars or 3rd gules a cross engrailed or.[40]

and in a letter to his friend Emery Walker, he recollected his impressions on the cathedral of Beauvais, mentioning the arms of the Chapter: "*gules a cross argent with 4 keys of the same cantonnel.*"[41]

The crucial factor is that between 1850 and 1889 (when *The House of the Wolfings* was published) Morris's social ideas transformed into socialism. The first reviewers and critics did not agree over whether the late prose romances represented socialist ideas. The opinion which seems to dominate is that although these romances are not allegories[42] (contrary to the political romances, *News from Nowhere* and *A Dream of John Ball*), the socialist propaganda is still observable.[43] Philippa Bennet wrote an extensive study on how fantasy themes act as a vehicle for social ideas.[44] She employed Mark Kingwell's concept of threefold structure of *wonder*, *wonderful* and *to wonder* which captures how the sense of wonder transforms into questioning the social environment that the reader lives in.[45]

Numerous models for society presented in the late prose romances had been morally evaluated by the author. Societies which are positively evaluated can be characterised as small, egalitarian communities, while those presented as morally corrupted are tyrannies or oligarchies with a developed social ladder. In the Germanic romances the dominant social institution is "Germanic democracy"[46], an idea which was widespread among Victorian historians and writers.[47] In medieval romances the possibilities for a morally good society are more diverse. It can be a monarchy (such as Upmeads from *The Well at the World's End* and Oakenrealm in *Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair*), a city-state (such as City of Sundering Flood from *The Sundering Flood* or Starkwall from *The Wood*

Beyond the World), or a self-governing village community (such as Dale of Sundering Flood). In moral evaluation the source of legitimization of power is unimportant: it may be inheritence or tradition (for instance in Upmeads, Oakenrealm and Starkwall), direct election (for instance in Dale of Sundering Flood) or even violence (such as the rule of Bull Stokehead in Utterbol in *The Well at the World's End*); the real measure is interaction between the ruling elites and the rest of the society. Power, regardless of its source, is perpetuated by the will of the entire society; important decisions are made by the mote or, if a community is too large, by a parliament with strong representation of the least privileged groups (for example, after revolution in the City of Sundering Flood the role of "lesser crafts" in the Porte was advantaged). The mote is a recurring motive (it appears in *The Wood Beyond the World*, *The Well at the World's End*, *The Sundering Flood* and in all three Germanic romances); remarkably, it resembles the moots described in *News from Nowhere* which can serve as a model of Morris's utopian society.

These ideas are strongly reflected in the heraldry. In the Germanic romances all the emblems represent communities, not individuals, ranks or families. All members of the community use the same sign without any modification, reflecting maximal equality. The arms are a source of pride and supply a sense of belonging which does not exclude anyone, even the poorest and those with the least authority.[48] A significant group of the arms in Morris's medieval romances represent communities, such as countries, guilds or chivalric orders (**Table 3**).

	Countries/rulers	Cities	Aristocrats	Knights	Guilds/ Orders	Personal tokens	Total
The Wood…	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Child Christopher	1	-	4	-	-	1	6
The Well…	5	2	-	2	5	-	14
The Water…	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
The Sundering…	-	1	1 + unknown number	3	unknown number	-	5 + unknown number
Total	5	3	5 + unknown number	8	5 + unknown number	3	30 + unknown number

Table 3: Distribution of coats of arms in Morris's medieval romances

For example, in *Child Christopher* hundreds of knights use only the arms of their senior (rather than their individual or family arms) which makes them more equal to members of the lower social classes who use the same emblems. There is no example of abatements or cadencies because these figures could suggest a developed social stratification. A lack of brisures to represents the hierarchy within a family is a particularly important feature of the plot in *The Well at the World's End*. Here Ralph, although he is the youngest of four brothers, inherits the crown because he is the best man there, while his oldest brother and potential heir of the kingdom becomes a merchant. The possibility of such an inheritance

is inherently linked with the heraldic system where the king, his family, the elites of the country and all citizens share the same arms.

Morris propagated radically egalitarian social postulates; this perhaps suggests that he might have come to perceive heraldry negatively, as an instrument for perpetuating and justifying social hierarchies. Conversely, heraldic and proto-heraldic elements are an important component of a world full of colours, pride and a sense of belonging. To accommodate these two polarities, Morris modified heraldry in his imaginary worlds so that it represented the idea of fellowship, defined as voluntary cooperation of people with a common identity (and, in a broader sense, as a community of all human beings in utopian world without violence; but that ideal pattern is not presented in his late prose romances). This concept is crucial for Morris's interpretation of social development, which contrasted fellowship with mastership.[49]

The use of these specific characteristics of heraldry in his late prose romances, both in terms of its form (inspired by chivalric romances) and its implications for the social interpretation of the novels, has had far-reaching consequences. Morris's influence on later fantasy authors, direct or indirect, cannot be overestimated, and we find many analogies between heraldic elements in the late prose romances (though not in early prose romances and poems) and the heraldry presented in twentieth-century fantasy. Despite a fundamental difference in social beliefs between Morris and J.R.R. Tolkien, heraldry in their works is surprisingly similar. Tolkien in his legendarium included significantly fewer arms, and his arms often represent communities (such as countries or city guilds) rather than families or ranks. Just as with Morris's late prose romances, Tolkien's heraldry (with no abatements, cadency or heraldic terminology) reflects a remarkably flat social structure.

Tolkien, just as Morris, created imaginary arms mostly for their symbolic qualities, and was also influenced by chivalric romances.[50] Many other fantasy authors have used heraldry as a vehicle for elaborating imaginary societies which have a very flat social stratification and high social mobility. Complex and proper blazons can be found mostly in satirical works (such as *Feet of Clay* by Terry Pratchett) or in those which are consciously anachronic (such as *Once and Future King* by Terence Hanbury White). The influence of William Morris's late prose should be regarded among the factors which produced such interpretations of heraldry in fantasy literature. Thus can be seen that the personal literary taste and the social beliefs of a single prominent author have massively influenced an entire genre.

Chapter XX. So now saileth Hallblithe away from the Glittering Plain.

Hallblithe sails away, woodcut by Walter Crane from *The Story of the Glittering Plains*, Kelmscott Press, London 1894, p. 139.

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[1] There is a substantial number of studies about heraldry in Arthurian romances. See for example: Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des chevaliers de la Table Ronde. Etude sur Vhéraldique imaginaire à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 2006); Rolf Sutter, *Im Frühling der Heraldik*, in James Floyd (ed.) *Genealogica & Heraldica, Origin and Evolution. Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldical Sciences. Glasgow, 2016* (Edinburgh, 2021), pp. 339–362; Kenneth Tiller, 'The Rise of Sir Gareth and Hermeneutics of Heraldry', in *Arthuriana,* vol. 17, no. 3 (2007), pp. 74–91.

[2] See especially: Fiona Robertson, 'Hyperobtrusive Signs: heraldry in nineteenth-century British and American Literature', in Fiona Robertson and Peter N. Lindfield (edd.) *The Display of Heraldry, The Heraldic Imagination in Arts and Culture* (London 2019), pp. 176–190; Michael O'Shea, *James Joyce and Heraldry* (New York, 1986).

[3] *Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair* is usually recognized as a translation of Middle English romance *Havelock the Dane* rather than original work. However, *Havelock the Dane* was for Morris only the inspiration for a much longer and more complex story; Morris introduced new subplots and characters, and, what is crucial for the present discussion, four coats of arms which are completely absent in the original story.

[4] The structure of *The Story of the Glittering Plains*, with focus on a protagonist and his personal quest instead of community, makes it related to the High Medieval romances. Therefore, it is usually discussed along with that group rather than with *The House of the Wolfings* and *The Roots of the Mountains*. The social structure,

manners and, consequently, proto-heraldic emblems in *The Story of the Glittering Plains* allow us to classify it as a Germanic romance.

[5] Edward Adams, *Liberal Epic, The Victorian Practice of History from Gobbon to Churchill* (Charlottesville and London, 2011), p. 200; Charlotte Oberg, *A Pagan Prophet William Morris* (Charlottesville, 1978), p. 102.

[6] Thomas Allan Shippey, 'Goths and Huns: the rediscovery of the Northern cultures in the nineteenth century', in: Andreas Haarder et al (edd.) *6th International Symposium on the Mediaeval Legacy* (Odense, 1982), pp. 51–69, at p. 56.

[7] Ibid., p. 55.

[8] Henry Halliday Spading, *The Kelmscott Press and William Morris, Master-Craftsman* (London, 1924), p. 50.

[9] Richard Mathews, *Fantasy, Liberation from Imaginations* (London, 2011), p. 45.

[10] The concept is inspired by the theory of exogamous and endogamous marriages in tribal communities developed by John McLennan. See Nicholas Salmon, 'A Study in Victorian Historiography: William Morris's Germanic Romances', in *The Journal of William Morris Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2001), pp. 59–89.

[11] Georg Scheibelreiter, *Tiernamen und Wappenwesen* (Vienna,1992), pp. 58–63.

[12] Ibid., p. 60.

[13] Oberg, op. cit., p. 110 observes that the roots of the mountains, signalized in the title, are mentioned in Snorri's *Edda* as one of the components of Fenrir's chain. These things were lost and can be restored only after Ragnarok when Fenrir breaks his fetters. Thus the banner of the Wolf heralds a cosmic battle and rejuvenation which comes after.

[14] Such divisions are obligatory when marriages within the group are precluded (see the discussion above). At the same time the concept of division of a too numerous House contributes to Morris's social ideas: he believed only small communities can nurture the ideas of equality and justice.

[15] The concept of 'nation' or of 'national identity' is of course highly anachronical when applied to discuss the tribes of the Dark Ages, but it is important as a means of understanding Morris's social ideas. See the further discussion on the role of heraldry in social propaganda in late prose romances.

[16] William Morris, *The Roots of the Mountains*, in May Morris (ed.), *The Collected Works of William Morris*. vol. 15 (Cambridge 2012), pp. 225–6.

[17] Banner-wagons of other Houses are not described in such detail but often there is other information provided such as, for example, on the beasts that drew the wagons (sometimes associated with the name of the House, for instance the wagon of the Elkings was drawn by the trained Elks).

[18] The function of carroccio in identity communication in medieval Italy was discussed by Ernst Voltmer 'Standart, Carroccio, Fahnenwagen, Zur Funktion der Feld- und Herrschaftszeichen mittelalterlicher Städte am Beispiel der Schlacht von Worringen 1288', in *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, vol. 14 (1988), pp. 187–209, at pp. 188–9; Johannes Bernwieser, *Honor civitatis. Kommunikation, Interaktion und Konfliktbeilegung im hochmittelalterlichen* Oberitalien (Munich, 2012), p. 26.

[19] See Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright, *The Anarchy: War and Status in the 12th-Century Landscapes of Conflict* (Liverpool, 2016), pp. 43–47. The banner-wagon which served as a command point in the battle of Norhallerton bore standards belonging to minsters, so its function was sacral (and strategic) rather than relating to identity.

[20] Niels Lukman, 'The Raven Banner and the Changing Ravens: A Viking Miracle from Carolingian Court Poetry to Saga and Arthurian Romance', in *Classica et Medievalia*, vol. 19 (1958), pp. 133–51.

[21] See especially: Frederick Kirchhoff, 'Heroic Disintegration: Morris's Medievalism and the Disappearance of Self", in Carole Silver (ed.) *The Golden Chain. Essays on William Morris and Pre-Raphaelitism* (London, 1982), pp. 75–96; Ch. Oberg, op.cit.; Carole Silver, *The Romance of William Morris* (Athens, Ohio, 1982); Amanda Hodgson, *The Romances of William Morris* (Cambridge, 1987).

[22] Amanda Hodgson, op.cit., pp. 167–9.

[23] Yuri Cowan, *William Morris and Medieval Material Culture*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Toronto 2008.

[24] An incomplete catalogue of Morris's library is available on https://williammorrislibrary.wordpress.com/.

[25] William McDonald, 'The Crown Endures: Concerning Heraldry as Narrative Discourse in the Erec of Hartmann von Aue', in *Colloquia Germanica*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2000), pp. 317–322.

[26] William Morris, *The Well at the World's End*, vol. I, in, *The Collected Works of William Morris*, op.cit, vol. 18, p. 176.

[27] William Morris, *The Sundering Flood*, p. 217.

[28] Ibid., p. 89.

[29] Amanda Hodgson*, op.cit., p. 192.

[30] William Morris, *The Well at the World's End*, vol. I, p. 286.

[31] Amanda Hodgson, op.cit., p. 192. Hodgson claims that the apple-tree in the arms of Upmeads is a complementary opposition of the Dry Tree which guards the Well at the World's End. Dry Tree surrounded by a pond of poisonous water is a symbol of death, a necessary complement of the Well – the symbol of life.

[32] Michael O'Shea, op.cit., p. 30.

[33] Bruno Quast, ‚Monochrome Ritter. Über Farbe und Ordnung in höfischen Erzähltexten des Mittelalters', in M. Schausten (ed.) *Die Farben Imaginierten Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, (Berlin, 2012), pp. 169–182 (171,176).

[34] Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 175–6. Hodgson does not use Jungian terms of Persona and Shadow but her interpretation reveals a strong influence of that concept.

[35] Beauty was one of the central concepts of Morris's social philosophy; he mourned the beauty of craft lost by industrialization and postulated that the ideal society might be possible only with restoration of beauty in everyday life, not only in art (see especially 'The Lesser Arts. Delivered Before the Trades' Guild of Learning, December 4, 1877', in *The Collected Works of William Morris*, op. cit., vol. 22, pp. 3–27). Bright colours are indispensable part of that code of beauty (in *News from Nowhere* people of the utopia wonder on the ugliness and dull colours of the modern clothing worn by the narrator).

[36] William Morris, *The Hollow Land*, in: idem, *The Collected Works of William Morris*, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 268.

[37] Ibid., p. 264–5.

[38] Ibid., p. 274.

[39] Linda Gallash, *Use of Compounds and Archaic Diction in the Works of William Morris* (Berne, Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas, 1979), p. 30. Morris developed that strategy while translating Old Icelandic sagas with Eric Magnusson.

[40] William Morris, *Collected Letters of William Morris*, vol. 4: 1893–1896 (Princeton, 1996), p. 174.

[41] Ibid., vol. 3: 1889–1892, p. 341.

[42] Morris argued fiercely against the interpretation of his late prose romances as political allegories. An unsigned reviewer wrote in *The Spectator* that *The Wood Beyond the World* illustrates the fight between Capital (the Lady) and Labour (the Maiden), *The Spectator*, July 1895, pp. 52–3, reprinted in: Peter Faulkner, *William Morris*, p. 380–4). Morris wrote the editor a letter stating that: "I had not the least intention of thrusting an allegory into *The Wood Beyond the World*; it is meant for a tale pure and simple, with nothing didactic about it. If I have to write or speak on social problems, I always try to be as direct as I possibly can be. On the other hand, I should consider it bad art in anyone writing an allegory not to make it clear from the first that this was his intention" (William Morris, *Collected Letters of William Morris*, vol. 4, p. 291).

[43] See for example: C. Silver, op.cit., pp. 170–1; 'Socialism Internalized: The Last Romances of William Morris', in: *Socialism and the Literary Artistry of William Morris* (London, 1990), pp. 117–126; A. Hodgson, op.cit., pp. 158–164; Florence Boos, 'William Morris's "Lesser Arts" and "The Commercial War" ', in *To Build a Shadowy Isle of Bliss*, pp. 35–55; Philippa Bennett, 'Radical Tales: Rethinking the Politics of William Morris's Last Romances', in: *To Build a Shadowy Isle of Bliss*, pp. 85–105; Anna Vaninskaya, *William Morris and the Idea of Community. Romance, History and Propaganda 1880–1914* (Edinburgh, 2010).

[44] *Wonderlands. The Last Romances of William Morris* (Bern, 2015).

[45] Ibid., p. 6.

[46] See A. Vaninskaya, op.cit., Dustin Geeraert, 'The land which ye seek is the land which I seek to flee from'. The Story of the Glittering Plain and Teutonic Democracy', in *William Morris Journal*, vol. 20, no. 1, (2012) pp. 18–35; T.A. Shippey, op.cit.

[47] Rosemary Jann, 'Democratic Myths in Victorian Medievalism', in *Browning Institute Studies*, vol. 8 (1980), pp. 129–149.

[48] Florence Boos claims the moots in prose romances suggest the socialist gatherings in London with their colourful banners and temporal federations Florence Boos, 'Morris's German Romances as Socialist History', in *Victorian Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3, (1984) pp. 321–342, at p. 338.

[49] William Morris, *Dawn of a New Epoch*, in *The Collected Works of William Morris*, op. cit., vol. 23, pp. 121–140, at p. 122; about a universal fellowship see: *A Dream of John Ball*: "Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell: fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death: and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them"; (*The Collected Works of William Morris*, op. cit., vol. 16, p. 230; "ye know who is the foeman, and that is the proud man, the oppressor, who scorneth fellowship, and himself is a world to himself and needeth no helper nor helpeth any, but, heeding no law, layeth law on other men because he is rich" (ibid., p. 234).

[50] See detailed discussion in: Agnieszka Żurek, 'Heraldry in J.R.R. Tolkien's Legendarium', in *CoA* no. 239 (2022), pp. 145–182.

LEGISLATING *DAMNATIO MEMORIAE* IN SPAIN'S TWENTIETH-CENTURY PEERAGE

MATTHEW HOVIOUS

Sometimes it seems as if titles of nobility are no longer discussed outside of gossip columns, and their legal foundations, outside of arcane specialist texts. Their reform is currently being undertaken by the Spanish government. It is probably the most sweeping reform of any European realm's honours system in a generation, and it might have a significant impact if seized as precedent by other monarchies where such titles are still in use. In the Spanish-speaking world *nobiliaria,* which may be roughly translated as 'nobiliary studies', is usually mentioned in the same breath as genealogy and heraldry.

The primary targets of the reform are the titles of nobility created by Francisco Franco.[1] In May 1948[2] Franco's legislature reversed the Republic's suppression of titles, while at the same time it was enacted that the Spanish head of state could revoke the titles of those whose public or private behaviour was felt to render them unworthy of holding them.

Despite what might be assumed from the superficial discussion of the 1948 law which is taking place in today's press, this was not a piece of legislation empowering Francisco Franco (by name) to create titles. It rather restored to the headship of the Spanish state a prerogative long inherent to that position, and it did so in a way for which there is precedent, as we shall see. It also restored the legality of titles which had been suppressed altogether by the Republic in 1931, and this in turn led to that of the crown's heralds.[3] It was a savvy political move on Franco's part to bring on board traditional monarchists who might otherwise have felt tempted to withhold support for his regime in the hope that the exiled Prince of Asturias (who would have reigned as King Juan III), would soon return and assume the headship of the Spanish state. Franco's intent was also to reward a significant number of Carlist families; the Carlists were supporters of the claim of the male line of the Spanish Bourbons to the country's throne. They also held a variety of beliefs generally more conservative than those of the Spanish mainstream. Since the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, three successive males in that line, beginning with the dead king's brother Don Carlos, had tried and failed to seize the Spanish throne. All of them granted titles of nobility to their supporters, yet those titles had never been recognized as valid by any government in Madrid. In recognizing the titles that had been granted to their grandparents and great-grandparents by the exiled pretenders, Francisco Franco was bringing this group on board too.

The titles created by Franco (**Figure 1**) were mostly granted in the early years of his regime. They are thirty-six in number, and a surprisingly high proportion were posthumous. It is unclear whether that is because Franco felt that a title should only be the reward for an entire lifetime of service, or whether he was taking care not to empower anyone who might subsequently turn on him.

Before the final list of titles to be suppressed was made public I attempted my own classification of them by ostensible rationale for the grant, from which process four groups were created. In diminishing order of size (**Figure 2**) these were firstly, the insurgent military – the officers who actually made it possible for Franco to take power.

1948:	Duke of Primo de Rivera	1954:	Marquis of Santa María de la Almudena
	Duke of Calvo Sotelo		Count of La Cierva
	Duke of Mola	1955:	Marquis of Vigón
	Count of the Alcázar of Toledo		Count of Fenosa
1949:	Marquis of Dávila	1958:	Count of Echeverría de Legazpia
	Count of Labajos	1960:	Countess of Castillo de la Mota
	Count of Pradera		Marquis of Suanzes
1950:	Count of Jarama	1961:	Marquis of Bilbao Eguía
	Marquis of Alborán		Marquis of Casa Cervera
	Marquis of Queipo de Llano		Marquis of Kindelán
	Marquis of Saliquet		Count of Martín Moreno
	Count of Arruga		Count of Pallasar
	Count of Arteche		Marquis of Torroja
1951:	Marquis of Somosierra	1965	Baroness of Camporredondo
	Marquis of Varela de San Fernando	1969	Count of El Abra
	Marquis of Ramón y Cajal	1973	Count of Bau
	Marquis of San Leonardo de Yagüe		Duke of Carrero Blanco
	Count of Benjumea	1974	Count of Maeztu

Figure 1: chronological list of titles created by Francisco Franco.

Next come people who displayed civic or professional merits; followed by a handful of people executed by Republican forces, mostly traditionalist Catholic monarchists; and finally, there are two Falangist politicians killed in 1936, the *Falange* being the proto-fascist political party which Franco allowed to exist during his regime.

1948:	Duke of Primo de Rivera	1954:	Marquis of Santa María de la Almudena
	Duke of Calvo Sotelo		Count of La Cierva
	Duke of Mola	1955:	Marquis of Vigón
	Count of the Alcázar of Toledo		Count of Fenosa
1949:	Marquis of Dávila	1958:	Count of Echeverría de Legazpia
	Count of Labajos	1960:	Countess of Castillo de la Mota
	Count of Pradera		Marquis of Suanzes
1950:	Count of Jarama	1961:	Marquis of Bilbao Eguía
	Marquis of Alborán		Marquis of Casa Cervera
	Marquis of Queipo de Llano		Marquis of Kindelán
	Marquis of Saliquet		Count of Martín Moreno
	Count of Arruga		Count of Pallasar
	Count of Arteche		Marquis of Torroja
1951:	Marquis of Somosierra	1965	Baroness of Camporredondo
	Marquis of Ramón y Cajal	1969	Count of El Abra
	Marquis of San Leonardo de Yagüe	1973	Count of Bau
	Marquis of Varela de San Fernando		Duke of Carrero Blanco
	Count of Benjumea	1974	Count of Maeztu

- Insurgent Military
- Civic/Career Merits
- Victims of the Republic
- Martyred *Falangists*

Figure 2: rationale for titles created by Francisco Franco.

I was keen to see what impact Franco's regime and these titles had on heraldry in Spain, and was surprised to find that, for such a traditionally-minded regime, its traces in this field seem to have been very limited. The arms resulting from these grants of titles can be arranged into three groups, of which representative examples are provided in **Figure 3**. On the left is a coat of arms representing the first group, with an allusion to the grantee's service in support of Franco's cause. It was adopted by the original grantee of

Count of the Alcázar de Toledo   Marquis of Saliquet   Count of Labajos
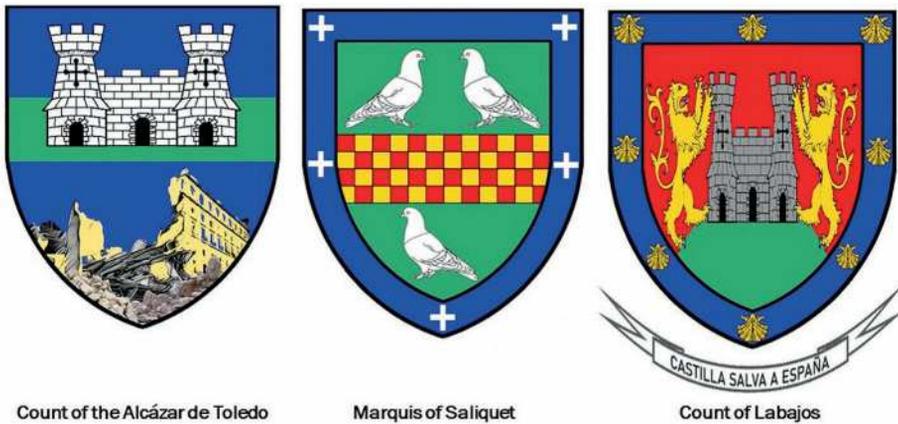
Figure 3: heraldry of some titles granted by Francisco Franco.

the title Count of the Alcázar of Toledo, General Moscardó, whose claim to fame was his resistance to the siege of that castle. This is a valuable example of arms selected during the title-holder's lifetime; so many of Franco's titles being posthumous, in many cases we cannot assume the resulting arms necessarily represent what the grantee would have chosen upon assuming arms.

Most of these titles fall into the second group represented by the middle coat of arms which have a very traditionally Spanish appearance. They show no heraldic innovations, and carry no charges directly representative of the grantee's service to Franco. The coat of arms on the right, those of the Count of Labajos, were adopted by the daughter of the original posthumous grantee of that title. He was killed in 1936, and the motto is a sort of battle cry that he used as a politician in the 1930s. Within this group some of the grantees adopted mottos alluding to their service in Franco's cause. Some of the said mottos have been retained by subsequent generations; there being no surviving state or crown heraldic office in Spain the situation is something of a free-for-all. Indeed, the first coat of arms shown here on the left may now actually be illegal, for reasons which will become apparent.

These grants of nobility became a subject of debate following the Socialist government's enactment of a statute generally referred to as the Law of Historical Memory in 2007. This legislation limits the public display of any materials glorifying Franco and his regime, and orders their removal from built heritage.[4] The pace of the removals slowed somewhat after the Socialists lost the election of 2011. Delegates to the 34th International Congress of Heraldic and Genealogical Sciences in Madrid may have seen a building with an inscription now tiled over on its façade; this was done to hide the reference to Franco's involvement in its construction (**Figure 4**).

The issue lay largely dormant until 2017, when a member of parliament submitted a written question specifically asking about these titles to a standing committee. This being something of a niche issue, I feel he probably only intended to embarrass the government in power at the time with a view to reaping electoral benefits from his action at the subsequent general election. Amongst other issues, he enquired whether those with

Figure 4: photographs of a dedication in Madrid taken in 2007 (above) and 2016 (below) by Luís Fernández García, Wikimedia Commons.

titles granted during the Franco regime were still deserving of the tribute and honourable remembrance that such aristocratic distinction entails.[5]

A few months later following a no-confidence vote the Socialist Party retook power; and to most people's surprise (as it appears to me) they immediately announced that one of their priorities was to make these titles go away. They created a new department of the Ministry for Justice, the General Directorate of Historical Memory, and tasked it with developing legislation that would allow titles to be suspended. They then replied in writing to the member of Parliament who had tabled the initial written question, saying that these steps were necessary because current legislation did not address the possibility of revoking titles of nobility.[6]

This is somewhat contradicted by King Felipe himself engineering the revocation of a title shortly after acceding to the throne, in 2015. The title in question was not exactly analogous to the ones presently under discussion in that it was a title granted to his sister, the Duchess of Palma de Majorca, purely for reasons of protocol – that is, to give her husband the rank of a Duke at state dinners and royal functions. It became expedient to get rid of that title in view of the corruption scandals which had enveloped the Duke, and

which ultimately led to his imprisonment. The decree revoking the title[7] mentions a few pieces of legislation as precedents. It appears however that none of the legislation cited in that decree actually allows Spain's head of state to cancel a title. In fact, the only thing I can find that explicitly does that is the 1948 legislation which also allowed the head of state, then Francisco Franco, to create titles. One wonders if that is why the current government feels the need to seize control of the process and of the royal prerogative in this regard. Or, was King Felipe simply resistant to the idea of removing dozens of titles at once? Of course, we don't know.

Last year, the government released the draft text of its proposed *Law of Democratic Memory.*[8] Sixty-six pages long, its chief purpose is to officially enshrine tribute to the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War by today's Spanish state, and the titles are only one aspect thereof. This draft law marked the first time that Spain's government described its intent to proceed with the eventual suppression of all titles granted between 1948 and 1978 that 'glorify war and dictatorship'. Nothing then happened for eight months because – surprisingly perhaps, for a law that restricts freedom of association and freedom of speech, and provides for the confiscation of some private property, among other provisions – it did not go far enough for the minority parties in the Spanish government. There would be no trials of octogenarian Francoist functionaries, and no investigations of supposed misdeeds by Francoists during the transition period that began with the death of the dictator in 1975.

During July 2022, in a bid to get the stalled legislation through parliament, the government accepted investigations of alleged crimes of the state up to the year 1983, and for that they received support from the political party that is the successor to the political wing of the Basque terrorist group ETA, which is a bit like a British government passing legislation at Westminster with support from Sinn Fein. The fact that the government was willing to go this far betokens a generational shift in Spanish politics. In the 80s and 90s politicians then active, and – I believe – not only politicians but most Spaniards in general, were proud of their country's bloodless transition from 40 years of dictatorship to a functioning democracy. Now that same transition is deemed inadequate.

The above deal resulted in a definitive version of the law being passed by parliament[9], in which the titles are no longer mentioned as the object of a hypothetical list for eventual removal. This version of the law actually states that the titles are to be suppressed with immediate effect as soon as the law comes into force (**Figure 5**). Listed for removal are twenty-six of the thirty-six titles granted by Franco and, unsurprisingly, that includes all of the titles granted to military officers in recognition of their support for his cause. That having been said, at least half of these titles' original grantees are utterly unknown to Spaniards today, with the exception of historians specialising in the period and activists focusing on this issue. Ten of the titles granted by Franco are to remain valid, which is a rather higher number than initially expected by pundits; there was much press discussion in the months leading up to the law's passage as to which titles would be suppressed, and the newspapers generally felt thirty-three of the thirty-six would go. The grantees of the ten remaining titles include three people executed by Republican forces for their beliefs, a papal nuncio, a distinguished surgeon, a distinguished scientist, a philanthropic businessman, a ground-breaking civil engineer, and a prominent industrialist. I feel that the survival of the last two titles in the list was probably helped by the fact that the

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Artículo 41.   *Supresión de títulos nobiliarios.*

1.   En atención al objeto de esta ley quedan suprimidos los siguientes títulos nobiliarios y grandezas de España concedidos entre 1948 y 1978:

1.   Duque de Primo de Rivera, con Grandeza de España.
2.   Duque de Calvo Sotelo, con Grandeza de España.
3.   Duque de Mola, con Grandeza de España.
4.   Conde del Alcázar de Toledo, con Grandeza de España.
5.   Conde de Labajos.
6.   Marqués de Dávila y la Grandeza de España que se le une.
7.   Marqués de Saliquet.
8.   Marqués de Queipo de Llano.
9.   Marqués de Alborán.
10.   Conde del Jarama.
11.   Marqués de Varela de San Fernando.
12.   Conde de Benjumea.
13.   Marqués de Somosierra.
14.   Grandeza de España otorgada al conde de Rodezno.
15.   Marqués de San Leonardo de Yagüe.
16.   Conde de la Cierva.
17.   Marqués de Vigón.
18.   Conde de Fenosa.
19.   Conde del Castillo de la Mota.
20.   Marqués de Suanzes.
21.   Marqués de Kindelán.
22.   Conde de Pallasar.
23.   Marqués de Casa Cervera.
24.   Conde de Martín Moreno.
25.   Marqués de Bilbao Eguía.
26.   Grandeza de España a don Fernando Suárez de Tangil y de Angulo.
27.   Conde de Bau.
28.   Duque de Carrero Blanco, con Grandeza de España.
29.   Señorío de Meirás, con Grandeza de España.
30.   Duque de Franco, con Grandeza de España.
31.   Marqués de Arias Navarro, con Grandeza de España.
32.   Conde de Rodríguez de Valcárcel.
33.   Conde de Iturmendi.

2.   Queda suprimida la Orden Imperial del Yugo y las Flechas.

Figure 5:   Official list of suppressed titles 20 October 2022.

current holders are a much-loved pop star of the 1980s, and a member of a banking and press dynasty still powerful today.

The most significant ramification of this version of the law is that it also suppresses five titles granted by King Juan Carlos between his accession in 1975, and the approval of the Spanish Constitution in 1978. Two of those titles are now held by descendants of Francisco Franco, and three were granted by the king to the last Prime Ministers or presidents of the parliament during Franco's regime. So, despite screaming media headlines to the effect that 'Franco's grants of titles are cancelled', that's not actually what is happening. The titles being cancelled are in fact being cancelled not because of which head of state granted them, but because of the original grantees' actions, choices, careers and beliefs.

In time this legislation may come to be remembered as the point at which legislators began pulling at a loose string and eventually the whole garment unravelled. Let me explain why. If titles that 'glorify war and dictatorship' are unacceptable, not only when

granted by Franco, but by a legitimate Spanish monarch who, however, was ruling without a constitution, what about the titles of Count of Playa de Ixdain, Count of Jordana and Count of Xauén, all granted by Alfonso XIII during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in the 1920s to generals engaged in military adventurism in Morocco, one of whom was indicted posthumously for crimes against humanity?

What about titles granted by Alfonso XII in 1875 and 1876? This particular process mirrors 1948 so closely that I wonder if it may not have been used as a model by whoever wrote the 1948 enabling legislation for Francisco Franco. In the 1870s Alfonso XII was the heir presumptive then in exile with his mother, Queen Isabel II, who had fled Spain six years earlier. He was proclaimed King following a military coup, and before he could even reach Madrid, the provisional government that took power restored the honours laws that had been abolished by parliament during the first Spanish Republic, restoring to Alfonso all the prerogatives and powers enjoyed in this field by previous Spanish heads of state.[10] He then created several titles over an 18-month period with no constitution, and some of the titles he created were to reward the coup plotters who put him on the throne.

What about the titles Count of Real Aprecio and Marquess of Heredia granted by King Ferdinand VII? He actually went so far as to ask a foreign power to invade his country and restore him as absolute monarch, so he could get rid of the constitution. He then ordered purges of constitution-supporting officials and professionals, and even of knights whose knighthoods he had granted under the constitutional government. Some of the titles he then granted during what Spaniards know as the 'Ominous Decade' (in which he resumed absolute rule) were to high-ranking members of the government that carried out purges at his behest.

Titles granted by Francisco Franco are being suppressed because he and his associates overthrew the government and constitution by force. Yet this law does not affect the validity of the Carlist titles that he legitimised as head of state of Spain under the law passed on 4 May 1948, and that had been granted by the pretender 'King' Carlos VII, who attempted to overthrow the government and constitution by force (but before the living memory and the advent of motion pictures). Some internal contradiction is to be expected in a sweeping sixty-six-page legal text, but if it is now enshrined in statute – as it is in Article 1 of this law – that Franco's entire regime was illegal from day one, then how can *any* titles that he granted be maintained as legal?

No rationale for the final list has been made public, but one learns more from examining the borderline cases than looking at those of the obvious military putschists. One case in point is that of Joaquín Benjumea. Although the occasion of Benjumea's grant was 18 July, the biggest national holiday under Franco's regime (it being the anniversary of the day he launched his military insurrection, also known as the national crusade) the grant only mentions Benjumea's loyal and constant service to the State.[11] Joaquín Benjumea was then age seventy-three, and his career included lengthy stints as Minister of Finance and Governor of the Bank of Spain. Would he not in most systems have received some sort of honour or public recognition?

It might be argued that he and others should have withheld their talents from the regime. A problem with that viewpoint has been discussed, for example, by historians dealing with the Horthy regime in 1920s and 30s Hungary. In that era some gifted and skilful members of prominent noble families refused participation in government because

they were 'awaiting the return of the King'. If skills are withheld on a scruple from a system with which one may otherwise largely be in agreement, those positions must still be filled, which mitigates against finding people unworthy of honours simply for having served the state after Franco took its helm.

Another cancellation that surprised me was the Dukedom of Calvo Sotelo. José Calvo Sotelo was not a Falangist, but rather the leader of the conservative faction in the Spanish parliament after the final general election held before the outbreak of the Civil War, and even in these iconoclastic times he still has a large monument in Madrid, with several schools and public squares named after him throughout Spain. He was probably cancelled for a 1936 excess of hyperbole during a speech in which he basically said, becoming increasingly exasperated, that if wanting a state where things worked properly made one a fascist, then yes, he was a fascist.[12] Tempers were running high that summer in the Spanish parliament; even before the outbreak of hostilities, Julián Besteiro, a moderate socialist, remarked that 'if the government doesn't recess parliament soon, we ourselves may start the Civil War in here'.[13] In any case, José Calvo Sotelo can hardly be guilty of glorifying Franco's war and dictatorship, as he was abducted by a left-wing death squad and murdered before the Civil War started.

In contrast, top socialist politician Prime Minister Francisco Largo Caballero repeatedly advocated war, violence and dictatorship over a period of several years.[14] Yet his party, the now-governing Socialist Party, has consistently taken legal action to stop the removal of street names and monuments commemorating him, and he is currently the subject of a popular temporary exhibition at the Document Centre for Historical Memory, formerly known as the General Archive of the Spanish Civil War (**Figure 6**).

As to whether this law is a well-crafted legal text, there are some clouds on the horizon. In the rush to get the law passed while the Basque separatists were still on board, the government apparently overlooked certain technical adjustments – 94 pages of them – suggested by serving jurists, and neglected certain legal steps that were required to be taken for its passage into law.[15] Leaked reports from the appropriate ministry to the press indicate that they are already expecting the constitutionality of this law to be challenged in the highest court of the land.

Does this law represent an impartial consensus on honours reform? To be fair, most people in Spain are at the moment more concerned with inflation, drought, rising food costs and a host of other issues; and of course, one would expect those nostalgic for Franco's era to oppose it. In this instance however there seems to have been no effort to build consensus on any aspect of the law, including the issue of the suppression of titles. Spain's third most widely read newspaper, which is hardly the nation's most conservative one, has been vigorous in its condemnation of this law.[16] Ultimately in a Civil War, everyone loses; but this law, in my opinion, is clearly informed by a certain degree of revanchism on behalf of the side militarily defeated and, under cover of redress, it attempts to settle scores by establishing in statute that everyone on one side was good and everyone on the other side was bad. In its emphasis on the misdeeds of only one side, whilst turning a blind eye to those of the other, and its incongruous indifference to honours of earlier eras that, under this current standard, are equally questionable, it seems to be guided by what I'll call the 'Robert de Niro principle': there's nothing wrong with a little shooting, as long as the right people get shot.[17]

Figure 6: commemorative exhibition for Francisco Largo Cabellero held at the Document Centre for Historical Memory in 2022.

Now some food for thought on the future implications this legislative process has for honours:

- *Will there be legal challenges in the ECHR by people who feel this legislation denies them equal treatment/unfairly discriminates based on belief?* They may be able to claim discrimination on the basis of ideology.

- *Does not this law make all existing Spanish titles de facto life peerages, subject to being revoked at any time as expedient to the politics of successive governments?* What is the point of letters patent saying 'so that you and your heirs and successors may forever and ever be titled the count of X' and so on, if electioneering politicians can hijack use of the so-called royal prerogative through a simple parliamentary majority with parties not even in the government?

- *If individuals incorporated to their personal heraldry references to their service in Franco's cause, is public display of those arms now banned for 'glorifying war and dictatorship'?* It is now prohibited to display in public any number of Francoist symbols, including the flag bearing what was Spain's legal national coat of arms until 1982.

- *Will this law influence trends in the few other remaining monarchies where titles exist in law?* As an old Spanish saying goes, 'if you see your neighbour's beard on fire, start soaking your own'.

- *Will more Spanish nobles support making inheritance of titles a private matter, outside the state?* As for example in Italy since 1947, or Spain during the Second Republic when, having been cut loose by the state, the nobles organised their own procedures to record successions. The Deputation of Grandees could easily organise such a private framework again, and I am acquainted with people affected who feel that if the crown is now just another government agency, it is time for crown and nobility to part ways.

- *Will there be litigation by those whose titles have been 'suppressed', in order to recover the fees paid to the Spanish treasury upon accession?* Good luck with that, but I have seen lawyers online already offering to take such cases and it's worth reading the fine print to see if in fact there's anything allowing the Treasury to keep the succession fees if the government unilaterally cancels a title.

- *Should Spain legally withdraw honours it has bestowed upon other tyrants such as Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi, and Nicolae Ceausescu?* Spain has given honours to a lot of dodgy people, usually – and this is ironic – the Order of Isabella the Catholic. Before anyone says that posthumous cancellations are pointless, this law also suppresses the Order of the Yoke and Arrows which was mostly granted to Hitler, Mussolini, Ribbentrop and personages of that ilk, so clearly being current is not indispensable to being a matter of interest.
- *Is merit wholly incompatible with nuance?* This is really the big question raised by the borderline cases mentioned above – not the coup-plotting generals but the people whose careers would, under different heads of state, naturally have been rewarded, and where there was even precedent; Luis Carrero Blanco was by all accounts a thoroughly disagreeable man, but he was assassinated while being Prime Minister, and traditionally all assassinated Spanish prime ministers – none of whom had been elected in anything like a perfect democracy – were honoured with posthumous titles.
- *Whose achievements may be considered settled?*

What will follow? A review of evidence for other casual or active racism, misogyny, crimes against the planet, crimes against native peoples, spousal abusers… having opened the Pandora's box of enshrining in statute that if the granting of hereditary honours is dependent upon achievements during one's lifetime, the endurance of those honours is subject to a periodic audit of the first grantee's morality under standards of subsequent eras, which other moral failings will lead to inevitable suppression of honours?

Antonio Lopez, the 1st Marquis of Comillas, was highly praised by his contemporaries. King Alfonso XII at the time of Comillas' death, eulogised him thus: 'Spain has lost one of the men who has rendered it the greatest services'.[18] It has now been established, however, that he continued trading slaves as late as the 1860s[19], when the trade was still legal in Spanish colonies under certain conditions. His statue has already been removed from a square in Barcelona. Can a move to suppress the title now held by his descendant be far behind? It will be hard for the current government to justify not doing so, with the precedent for cancellation of honours having been established not as 'association with Franco', but rather as 'original grantee's values and beliefs'. As a result of the effort to cherry-pick and spare a handful of the titles granted by Franco, the use of a precision instrument has – ironically – more far-reaching impact than would have the use of a blunter one.

The unique challenge presented by hereditary titles is that they are like a statue that must be re-erected every 30 years or so. Such honours may well have their days numbered: the Spanish case is likely just a portent of things to come in other monarchies where any form of hereditary tribute exists. There's nothing new about the wheel of fortune, but in our turbulent era, it does seem to spin faster than ever. Most people who lived in earlier ages would be horrified by our own; but the living judge the dead, not the other way around.[20]

[1] He also granted honourable augmentations. For simplicity's sake, I only discuss the titles here, but the augmentations are also going. These were the elevation to something called the 'Grandeeship of Spain', sort of a *primus inter pares* distinction Spanish heads of state can grant to existing titles.

[2] The Law of 4 May 1948 re-established the legality in force prior to 14 April 1931 regarding Grandeeships and Titles of the Realm'. Official State Gazette 4 May 1948.

[3] Separate legislation three years later (13 April 1951) alludes to the increased demand for their services since the restoration of titles' legality, and the fact that unqualified individuals were performing the functions of pre-war heralds.

[4] Officially 'Law 52/2007 of 26 December 2007 recognises and extends rights and establishes measures in favour of those who suffered persecution or violence during the civil war and dictatorship.'

[5] Question submitted to the standing committee of the Spanish parliament by Jaume Moya Matas MP, 27 Mar 2018.

[6] Reply from the General Secretariat of Relations with Parliament to Jaume Moya Matas MP. 30 Jul 2018.

[7] Royal Decree 470/2015, of 11 June, revoking the attribution to Her Royal Highness the Infanta Doña Cristina of the power to use the title of Duchess of Palma de Mallorca.

[8] Draft Law of Democratic Memory. Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with Parliament, and Democratic Memory.

[9] Final text in *Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales – Congreso de los Diputados* on 7 July 2022. Approved by the lower house of Parliament on 14 July 2022. The law came into effect on 20 October 2022 through its publication on that day in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado.*

[10] Decree re-establishing the Royal Prerogative to grant Grandeeships of Spain and titles of the Realm. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 7 Jan 1875, p. 52.

[11] *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 18/07/1951, p. 3384.

[12] Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *La Historia de España en sus Documentos: El Siglo XX – La Guerra (1936–39),* p. 44.

[13] Juan Simeón Vidarte, *Todos Fuimos Culpables: Testimonio De Un Socialista Español*, vol. I, pp. 188–189.

[14] Some of Largo Caballero's public utterances, which do not in the least glorify war and dictatorship, include "The working class must seize political power, with the conviction that democracy is incompatible with socialism and, since those who have power will not surrender it voluntarily, we must therefore start a revolution," 1936; "If we are not allowed to seize power according to the Constitution, we will have to seize it in another way," 1933; "If the right wing triumphs... we shall have to wage a full-scale civil war. Let it not be said that we say things just for the sake of saying them, we will do it," 1936; "We do not believe in democracy as an absolute value. Nor do we believe in freedom." 1934; "I doubt very much that victory can be achieved within legality. And in that case, comrades, it will have to be achieved by violence." 1933; "If the Socialists are defeated at the ballot box, they will resort to violence, for we prefer anarchy and chaos to fascism.", 1936.

[15] See for example the daily *La Razón,* 24 Jul 2022, which mentions the government ignoring the technical report prepared by the General Council of the Judiciary (CGPJ).

[16] *El Mundo* 29 Jul 2022, editorial and accompanying cartoon.

[17] Robert de Niro as Turk in *Righteous Kill*, (Lionsgate, 2008).

[18] Buenaventura Bassegoda, *Las Estatuas de Barcelona,* p. 141.

[19] See for example *El Español,* 20 Jan 2021.

[20] Disclaimer: any opinions and observations expressed herein, unless otherwise noted, are my own and not those of any organization to which I belong.

HERALDIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS – MALTA AND AUSTRALIA

RICHARD D'APICE, A.M., A.I.H.

Introduction

The right to regulate heraldry (and honours and awards) is an aspect of the power of a sovereign State, although a State may limit or even prohibit its exercise, or may simply decide not to exercise it. This may be done by provision in its constitution, or in a law, or by ministerial or bureaucratic activity (or inactivity). Even the most artistically satisfying coat of arms does not exist in a legal vacuum. Those who want their countries to embark *de novo* on the exercise heraldic power must ensure that their proposals are structured in a manner which conforms with the law of the land and the political mood of the times. Malta and Australia provide confirmation of that reality, and this is an heraldic *Tale of Two Cities*: Valetta, the capital of Malta (a republic), and Canberra, the capital of the Australia (a monarchy). Both are members of the Commonwealth of Nations, and both formerly subject to the Crown of the United Kingdom.

The Commonwealth of Nations, formerly known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, and generally simply called the Commonwealth, is a free political association of 54 sovereign member states, almost all of which are former territories of the former British Empire and which, at present, acknowledge Queen Elizabeth II as symbolic head of their association.[1] Numbering 41, less than half of the nation States which were formerly part of the British Empire continue as monarchies; not all have joined the Commonwealth; and not all have created separate heraldic authorities, although at least one monarchy (Canada) and a number of republics (Ireland, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and now Malta) have done so. This paper is intended to explore heraldic developments in two of those sovereign nation States, Malta and Australia, which have taken radically different heraldic paths.

Evolution

Until the 1920s, the British Empire was a single indivisible monarchy headed by the sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (later Northern Ireland). By a slow process of constitutional evolution, many of its constituent parts have become sovereign nation States separate from, but coequal with, the United Kingdom. The important feature of these nation States is that they are sovereign and separate from the United Kingdom and from each other so that, even though they share the same individual as their head of state, many (although, not all) are in no way dependent on, or subject to, the United Kingdom out of which they have evolved. The Queen of the United Kingdom has no power in Canada or Australia and nor does her U.K. Prime Minister, or any of the other officers to whom she has delegated the exercise of her U.K. powers.[2] Malta and Australia both had histories of heraldry and symbolism before the advent of British power.

Figure 1: Memorials to knights of Malta on the floor of St John's Co-Cathedral in Valetta. Photographs by Paul A. Fox.

In the case of Malta, no place is richer in heraldic display, in large part associated with the Order of Malta.[3] Much of this is the hereditary heraldry of the knights of the various Langues[4]; some is derived from the nation states which held or exercised sovereignty over the country both before the arrival of the Order, and since its departure; some was granted by the Grand Masters pursuant to the sovereign powers which they exercised (and continue to and exercise, although no longer over Malta itself). It can be expected that there will be an increasing amount of heraldry granted in exercise of the sovereign powers of the Republic of Malta.[5]

In Australia, First Nations' totems (or heraldry as recent arrivals would call it) is very visible but the right of our indigenous peoples in their heraldry has not been formally recognised in the same way as indigenous land rights have been recognised. This occurred as recently as 30 years ago after more than 200 years of denial and suppression under the asserted belief (in the face of the physical reality) that, at the time of arrival of the British, Australia was *terra nullius* or nobody's land with no existing law which needed to be recognised.[6]

MALTA

Malta's Heraldic Inheritance

This paper is about recent events, but these cannot be divorced from Malta's heraldic past, dominated by its historical position as the possession and headquarters of the Order of Malta from 1530 until 1798. Hospitaller heraldry is omnipresent in Malta, most wondrously in the memorial slabs of the knights of the Order in the Co-Cathedral of St John in Valetta (**Figure 1**) and in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saint Paul in Mdina. Other heraldry is also much in evidence (**Figure 2**).

Figure 2: Left: The arms of Malta (1975–1988); Right: the arms of Archbishop Paul Cremona of Malta. Photographs by the author.

The starting point of the coat of arms of Malta was the National Flag of Malta which was established by article 3 of the *Constitution of Malta Act 1964* in these terms:

> (1) The National Flag of Malta consists of two equal vertical stripes, white in the hoist and red in the fly.
>
> (2) A representation of the George Cross awarded to Malta by His Majesty King George the Sixth on the 15th April, 1942 is carried, edged with red, in the canton of the white stripe.

Being established and regulated by subject specific legislation, the coat of arms of Malta (referred to in the *Emblem and Public Seal of Malta Act 1975* (Chapter 254) as the Emblem of Malta[7]) is outside the jurisdiction of the new Office of the Chief Herald of Malta. The present coat of arms or emblem (the third since independence) was designed by the great Maltese heraldist and diplomat, Adrian Strickland. Since it became independent of the United Kingdom as a constitutional monarchy in 1964, and as a republic in 1974, Malta has been a fully sovereign nation state with the power to grant and regulate coats of arms and honours.

The indigenous exercise of heraldic power in Malta has been long delayed, and it has had a difficult gestation and birth. Its legitimacy was initially challenged, but it's standing has since been placed beyond challenge or doubt by both primary and secondary legislation. Malta first exercised its heraldic power in 2019 when the Government of Malta created the Office of Chief Herald of Arms of Malta in what was understood to be an exercise of powers under the Cultural Heritage Act 2002. The Government proceeded on the basis that heraldry was an "intangible cultural asset" and consequently "cultural heritage" and that its regulation was within the functions of Heritage Malta, an operating agency created by that Act. Contemporaneously with the establishment of the Office of the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta, Dr Charles Anthony Gauci was appointed as the first Chief Herald of Malta (**Figure 3**).[8] The Chief Herald soon entered on the duties of his office, commencing to grant and register arms (**Figure 4**).

Doubt was subsequently raised as to whether the *Cultural Heritage Act 2002* was expressed in terms sufficiently clear to provide an unchallengeable basis for those actions, and the matter was taken up by the Ombudsman for investigation and report. A review was conducted over the period from mid-2020 until a final report was issued in mid-2021. That was a period of intense review and consideration by and between the Government of Malta, the Office of the Chief Herald and the Ombudsman, and, during its course, the Government put the matter beyond doubt or contention. In 2021, the Parliament of Malta passed Government-proposed amendments to the *Cultural Heritage Act* which provided a specific power for Heritage Malta "to set up and manage the Office of the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta"[9]. The amendment was gazetted on the day before the Ombudsman's final report issued.

That was as far as the amending legislation needed to go, since the Act already provided that the Minister "may make regulations to give effect to any of the … provisions of this Act, or to regulate or otherwise provide for any matter relating to activities affecting cultural property, and may in particular, but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, make regulations for" a long list of purposes.[10] In exercise of that power, the Minister made the *Heraldry and Genealogy Regulations, 2021* (which came into effect on 21 January 2022[11]) "for the establishment of the Office of the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta and relative functions, duties and powers, and to establish procedures for the delivery of heraldic, genealogical and vexillological services". I deal later in this paper with the content and effect of those regulations.

The earlier appointment of Dr Gauci as Chief Herald of Arms of Malta was confirmed by the Minister on 31 January 2022.[12] On 22 April 2022, pursuant to his power under Articles 8 and 13 of the Regulations, the Chief Herald published guidelines on the provision of heraldic services by the name of *Criteria for the Grant and Registration of Arms*.[13]I will deal later with the content and effect of those guidelines. The Regulations implemented that power in a detailed and structured manner. It provided, in nine parts, "for the establishment of the Office of the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta and relative functions, duties and powers, and to establish procedures for the delivery of heraldic, genealogical and vexillological services."[14]

Figure 3: Arms of the Office of the Chief Herald of Malta, courtesy of the Chief Herald.

It is appropriate to first consider the last Articles of Part IX of the Regulations which establish who the Chief Herald is, and what Maltese heraldry is not, under the heading "Ancillary Matters". The Office of the Chief Herald is intimately linked to and part of the Maltese State by Article 19 which specifically permits the office to use the Arms of Malta.

Article 18 provides "All grants and registrations of Arms including the mention of honours and titles shall be without prejudice to the *Ġieh ir Repubblika Act* 1975 and are made solely for historical purposes." The *Ġieh ir Repubblika Act*[15] is the basis of Malta's system of honours, awards and decorations. The Regulations specifically reference

Articles 28 and 29 of that Act which deal with titles of nobility and foreign honours and decorations and provide as follows:

> 28. (1) Titles of nobility are not recognised and any privilege or other right ancillary to any such title shall cease to have effect.
>
> 29. (1) No honour, award or decoration, other than a university degree honoris causa, a prize, or an award for bravery, and no membership of, or office in, any order, shall be recognized unless it is conferred under this Act or any other law for the time being in force or it has been or is conferred by a foreign State or a Sovereign Order having diplomatic relations with Malta or any international organisation of which Malta is a member and, in respect of any honour, award, decoration, membership or office conferred to any person in Malta or to any citizen of Malta by any such State, Sovereign Order or any international organisation after the commencement of this Act, unless it is conferred with the written authority of the President of Malta given on the written advice of the Prime Minister.

Maltese titles of nobility have existed from at least the fourteenth century.[16] These provisions do not abolish them; they withdraw official recognition, as is laid out in Article 4:

> (4) It shall be the duty of every public officer or authority, and of every body established or recognised by law and of every member thereof, to refrain from recognising in any way, and from doing anything which could imply recognition of, any title of nobility or any honour, award, decoration, membership or office which is not recognised in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this article.

These are not provisions fundamental to the structure of the Maltese State (as is the case with the comparable provisions in the Constitution of Ireland which prohibit the creation of titles of nobility by the State and the acceptance of such titles by its citizens (without the prior approval of the Government).[17] In Malta, these are not constitutional but limitations self-imposed under Maltese legislation which may be amended or repealed by subsequent legislation. Whether the prohibitions can be amended by subsidiary legislation and whether the *Heraldry and Genealogy Regulations, 2021* purport to do so are questions for the Parliament of Malta and its politicians and tribunals.

Acknowledging the provisions of Part IX, the Regulations are structured in this manner:

Part	Subject Heading	Regulation
I.	Preliminary	1–2
II.	Appointment and Functions of the Chief Herald, and the Constitution and Composition of the Office of the Chief Herald	3–5
III.	Administrative and Personnel Provisions	6–7
IV.	Register of Arms	8
V.	All Applications	9–13
VI.	Registration of other Arms	14
VII.	Letters Patent and Certificates of Registration	15
VIII.	Genealogical Records and Services	16
IX.	Ancillary Matters	17–19

This paper is limited to a general review of the various regulations, descending into detail only where that is warranted for an understanding of the system which they establish. Some of the definitions in Regulation 2 are worthy of note, particularly:

"Arms" includes Badges and all heraldic devices;

"Certificate of Registration" means the document issued in terms of regulation 14; (which relates to Arms granted or certified by a foreign state-authorised body and personal Arms which have been in uninterrupted use for a considerable period of time by the applicant's ancestors. Arms falling into the latter category would be registered *tale quale* – "as they stand".)

"Honour" includes:

> (a) all honours and decorations granted or recognized from time to time under the Ġieh ir-Repubblika Act including the relative insignia;

> (b) all honours, hereditary or otherwise, created, granted or recognized during the government of the Malta by the Grand Masters of the Order of Saint John between the years 1530 and 1798 as resultant from the Record;

> (c) other honours, of local or foreign origin, hereditary or otherwise deemed to be of cultural or historical value by the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta;

"Letters Patent" includes Certificate of Grant;

"record" means the acts relative to honours as preserved at the National Library of Malta;

Part II provides for the appointment and functions of the Chief Herald:

- A Chief Herald of Arms of Malta is to be appointed by the Minister on recommendation of the Heritage Malta under such terms and conditions as established in the letter of appointment.
- The primary function of the Chief Herald shall be to deal with Heraldry in Malta with due regard also to Vexillology and Genealogy.
- The Chief Herald will be a public employee, appointed "from amongst persons holding the necessary competences" for renewable terms of three (3) years.
- He signs all acts in the name of the Office
- With the approval in writing of Heritage Malta, he appoints a Deputy Herald and a Registrar (called Heraldic Agents). They, together with the Genealogical Registrar appointed under Regulation 16, form part of the Office of the Chief Herald.

Figure 4: Arms of Dr. George Vella, President of Malta, courtesy of The Chief Herald of Malta (grant individual).

MALTA AND AUSTRALIA

The Chief Herald's primary function of dealing with heraldry in Malta as set out in regulation 3 is amplified in regulation 5 to include:

(a) representing the Office in Malta and internationally;

(b) advising Heritage Malta;

(c) maintaining the Register of Arms in … and establishing and maintaining such other registers, inventories and indexes as may be required in connection with the good maintenance of the Register of Arms;

(d) promoting Malta's heraldic, vexillological and genealogical heritage;

(e) safeguarding, promoting and promulgating heraldic, vexillological and genealogical heritage as an intrinsic part of Malta's heritage;

(f) participating and promoting participation in international collaborative heraldic, vexillological or genealogical projects, and entering into agreements with similar bodies outside the Maltese Islands with prior approval of Heritage Malta;

(g) compiling, publishing and distributing books, magazines, journals, reports or other printed matter, including aural, visual, computerised and internet accessible material as may be appropriate;

(h) undertaking research and consulting Government departments, public and private organisations and international organisations and other persons as may be required in the discharge of its duties under the regulations;

(i) appointing and accrediting monitors and experts as necessary for the purposes of the regulations with prior approval of Heritage Malta;

(j) publishing guidelines on the provision of heraldic services and establishing and maintaining standards in the preparation and depiction of Arms and Flags; *(These guidelines are dealt with later in this paper)*.

(k) guiding, advising, warning and consulting, particularly where arms unofficially in use may not be conducive to the harmonious rules of heraldry and or vexillology, and offering solutions;

(l) devising and granting new Arms, both personal and corporate (*The granting or registering arms is a discretionary power which reduces the possibility of litigation by disgruntled applicants*[18]);

(m) maintaining, managing and controlling the application process for persons and Bodies Corporate desirous of acquiring or registering Arms;

(n) granting Arms by Letters Patent including issuing an official blazon without artwork; (*Letters Patent are to be co-signed by the Registrar who is to certify that they have been duly registered.*)

(o) registering other Arms including issuing an official blazon without artwork;

(p) monitor the operation of the Regulations on behalf of Heritage Malta and prepare an annual report on its operation;

(q) performing any matter conducive towards the attainment of these functions.

By Part III, the Chief Herald is empowered, with the approval of Heritage Malta, to appoint up to three Pursuivants of Arms solely for the purpose of providing advice and assistance to applicants and liaising between them and the Chief Herald. Although they serve within the Office and are remunerated, they are not considered to be employees and may not sign in the name of the Office.

The Register of Arms is established by Part IV. It is divided into four sections:

(a) a record of all Letters Patent (or grants) issued in favour of individuals;

(b) a record of all Letters Patent (or grants) issued in favour of bodies corporate;

(c) a record of all Registration of other Arms, and

(d) a record of all honours (subject to provisos).

The Chief Herald is required to "ensure that the Register of Arms is maintained in a transparent and orderly manner" and to publish each year by 31 January on the website of the Office or Heritage Malta and in the Gazette full lists of grants by Letters Patent and of Registrations containing particulars of the individual or body corporate and the blazon (but publication of an emblazonment is not required).[19] Part V sets out the requirements for all applications as to form, fees, processes, etc.

Within 21 days after the Chief Herald makes a grant, an entry is to be made in the Register.

The Chief Herald is empowered to establish the procedures and requirements (including eligibility criteria) and relevant fees for individuals and bodies corporate applying to the Office for a Grant of Arms under the regulations.[20] The power to register (as distinct from the power to grant) arms is limited to arms granted or certified by "a foreign state-authorised body to the satisfaction of the Chief Herald" and to personal arms "in uninterrupted use for a considerable period of time by the applicant's ancestors, which are to be registered *tale quale* (i.e. as they stand). The registration of arms does not result in the issue of Letters Patent but to the issue of a Certificate of Registration.[21]

Part VII deals with the descent and suspension of arms. Arms granted to an individual "devolve to the grantee's descendants and where appropriate, in accordance

with the principles, traditions and rules of heraldry in respect of the use of cadency and differencing." Cadency has not been a feature of Maltese heraldry and the Regulations are silent as to where these "principles, traditions and rules" of cadency are to be found. Arms granted to a body corporate are suspended on its dissolution, abolition, wind-up or bankruptcy "pending cancellation by the Chief Herald". Certificates of Registration serve only as proof of registration, which rather limits their utility and attractiveness. Part VIII of the Regulations go on to provide for a Genealogical Registrar to be appointed by Heritage Malta and for the Chief Herald to allocate genealogical responsibilities and functions to that officer.

The final Part IX of the Regulations includes a variety of provisions. Although Maltese is the National Language of Malta, both it and English are Official Languages[22]. There is a wide power to prescribe the use of English in a particular case which the Regulations have done in relation to the operations of the Office of the Chief Herald[23].

In exercise of his power under the Regulations to publish Guidelines on the provision of heraldic services, on 22 April 2022, the Chief Herald established *Criteria for the Grant and Registration of Arms*[24]. These are worthy of detailed review if apace permitted. They include:

- Based on the founding principles of the Republic of Malta, all citizens of Malta are entitled to apply for a grant of Arms. However, a grant of Arms should be considered as a singular honour, issued at the discretion of the Chief Herald of Arms and based on a number of criteria.
- Citizens of other countries also have the right to apply for a grant of Arms, based on the above criteria at the complete discretion of the Chief Herald.
- Many other detailed provisions are included.

On 24 January 2022, the Chief Herald confirmed all of his previous grants and registrations and on 22 April 2022, together with the Guidelines, he published a list and blazons of all of the arms which has been granted or registered by him in conformity with the requirements of the Regulations.[25]At the same time pursuant to Regulation 17, he published the Seal of the Office of the Chief Herald of Arms of Malta and his personal Seal as Chief Herald.[26] Thus was brought into existence the world's newest heraldic authority. It was an eventful but successful birth. Its first Chief Herald of Arms was appointed (and reconfirmed) and he made (and remade) his first grants and registrations of arms. I take the opportunity to congratulate Malta on this act and the Chief Herald on his work and to express the envy of an Australian heraldist on what has been achieved. The criticism has not abated but the creation of a new heraldic authority should be applauded and encouraged whatever its faults may appear to be in the minds of "experts".

AUSTRALIA

Australia has followed a different path. The approximately 500 separate First Nations' peoples of Australia had strong traditions, laws and customs relating to their totems and symbols (or heraldry in the eyes of the more recent arrivals) which long predated British settlement, or, as the indigenous people view it, invasion and occupation. (**Figure 5**). In the same manner as the High Court of Australia has recognised the existence and survival of First Nations' land rights, there is every reason to believed that the laws and customs of the First Nations' peoples in relation to their heraldry also survive. This reality was long smothered by the misapplication of the legal principle of *terra nullius* to the occupied land mass of Australia as if it were vacant land without an owner. These totems and symbols have found a place in English/Australian heraldry on the form of the arms assigned to the Northern Territory by the Queen of Australia in 1978 (**Figure 6**).

Figure 5: Top left: Australian Aboriginal Flag designed by Harold Thomas, Source, Commonwealth of Australia ; bottom left: Torres Strait Islander Flag designed by the late Bernard Namok of Thursday Island, Source, Torres Straight Island Regional Council; right: Sea and the Sky totem, 1948, source, Laterthanyouthink, Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 6: Arms of the Northern Territory of Australia. Source, squiresy92, Wikimedia Commons.

Its occupants unaware and their rights ignored, Australia became a *de facto* possession of the Kingdom of Great Britain (later the United Kingdom) and part of the British Empire and subject to the Crown of the United Kingdom (**Figure 7**). It followed an almost imperceptibly slow path from being the subject of an indivisible Crown to separate sovereignty. By the tardy adoption of the 1931 Statute of Westminster in 1942[27], the federal nation of Australia became a separate sovereign nation and its Crown gradually separated entirely from that of the United Kingdom. The process was visibly finalised by the Royal Style and Titles Act 1953[28], which adopted an identifiably Australian title for the Queen which was changed to Queen of Australia in 1973[29].

Extraordinarily, while the federal Commonwealth of Australia became a separate sovereign nation by the end of 1942, its constituent parts (called States in the Australian Constitution, but really colonies) remained subject to the Queen of the United Kingdom until 1986 when they were separated from the U.K.[30] and arguably became separate monarchies, although this is not the universally accepted view. The English heralds of the Queen of the United Kingdom undoubtedly had jurisdiction over Australia (or, at least, over its constituent Colony/States) until the Australia Acts (of the U.K. and Australian

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Figure 7: Coat of Arms of Australia. Souce, bySodacan, based on the painting at the National Archives of Australia, Wikimedia Commons.

Parliaments) of 1986 but from that point the sovereign of the U.K. had no power over Australia and her English heralds had no power by virtue of their British offices. Nor has there ever been a delegation of heraldic power from the Queen of Australia. Consistently since at least 2006, the advice from Ministers and bureaucrats to every question on the subject remains the same:

> 2006: I am advised that there is nothing preventing any person or organisation from commissioning a local artist, graphics studio or heraldic specialist to design and produce a coat of arms or identifying symbol. Those arms would have the same standing and authority in Australia as arms prepared by the College of Arms in London.[31]

2017: Question No. 806. Mr Zimmerman asked the Prime Minister, in writing, on 4 September 2017:

> (1) Is it the Government's official policy to accept and accede to the claim made by the English College of Arms that it possesses 'official heraldic authority' over Australia; if so,
> (a). when was this policy determined,

(b). when and how was it made public,

(c). is there an official Commonwealth record of this policy decision being determined, and

(d). was it determined by a decision

      (i) of the Parliament,

      (ii) of the Cabinet, or

      (iii) by some other authority.

(2) If the above is not the official policy of the Government, has the Government delegated heraldic authority to the sovereign of the United Kingdom or any of her officers; if so,

      (a). when was this delegation made,

      (b). when and how was it made public,

      (c). is there an official Commonwealth record of this delegation being made, and

      (d). was it made by a decision

            (i) of the Parliament,

            (ii) of the Cabinet, or

            (iii) by some other authority.

(3) Is the Government aware that Canada and South Africa have established their own heraldic authorities independent of the English College of Arms.

Mr Turnbull: I am advised by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet that the answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

> The practice of the College of Arms in England granting armorial bearings to Australians is well established as one-way. Australians can obtain heraldic insignia if they wish to do so. There is nothing preventing any person or organisation from commissioning a local artist, graphics studio or heraldry specialist to design and produce a coat of arms or identifying symbol. Those arms would have the same standing and authority in Australia as arms prepared by the College of Arms in England.[32]

Consistently, neither politicians or bureaucrats will address the fact that the English Kings of Arms use the style and titles of the sovereign of Australia in the dating clause of their grants to Australians, implying if not directly stating, that they are validly exercising the authority of that sovereign who is a foreigner to them and their only sovereign. Nor have the Kings of Arms of England been any more forthcoming about the authority for this apparent usurpation of the power of the Queen of Australia.

Commencing in 2008 with the adoption of arms by the Honourable Gordon Samuels a former Judge of the New South Wales Court of Appeal and former Governor of New South Wales, I have utilised the execution of a Deed Poll (a deed to which there is only one party such as is used for changes of name) and its registration in the General Register of Deeds of the State of New South Wales as a public record of what would otherwise be an act which would leave little record and none of it a public record. Registration does not provide any State sanction for the adoption but provides a permanent public record. Mr Samuels, although British by birth, was unwilling to seek a grant from the Queen of the U.K. through the College of Arms as was my first proposal. He listened respectfully to the arguments of a solicitor (a long way down the legal pecking order from the exalted

positions he had occupied), expressed himself satisfied with the legality and propriety of adoption of arms and with the expedient of making a public record of his adoption by executing and registering a Deed Poll of Adoption of Arms.

Following this, his arms joined the unbroken heraldic record of the Governors of New South Wales in the Main Hall of Government House, Sydney, and later a stone carving of the arms was erected on the exterior. In this manner the practice of adoption of arms was established which has been followed by the two successive Governors who have completed their terms of office. His immediate successor, Dame Marie Bashir, added a level of formality to her adoption in 2014 by reporting it to the Executive Council and including reference to it and a copy of the registered deed in the Executive Council's minutes (**Figure 8a**). Her successor, General David Hurley, followed the path of adoption in 2019 and took the arms with him when he assumed office as the current Governor-General of Australia (**Figure 8b**). Extraordinarily, it took a Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull, to breath fresh life into this practice. He was a lawyer who had previously been the Chairman of the Australian Republican Movement. In responding to a Written Question on Notice, Turnbull informed the Australian Parliament on 7 February 2018 that:

> *The practice of the College of Arms in England granting armorial bearings to Australians is well established as one way that Australians can obtain heraldic insignia if they wish to do so.*

Figure 8: Left: Arms of Honourable Dame Marie Bashir; right: Arms of the Honourable General David Hurley in Government House, Sydney.
Photographs by the author.

There is nothing preventing any person or organisation from commissioning a local artist, graphics studio or heraldry specialist to design and produce a coat of arms or identifying symbol.

Those arms would have the same standing and authority in Australia as arms prepared by the College of Arms in England.[33]

In addition to muddying the sovereignty waters, Prime Ministers Turnbull and Albanese, in an apparent ministerial exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Australia, recognised as legitimate the acquisition of arms by an act of self-adoption.This statement gave us the worst of both worlds. It implicitly declined to create an Australian heraldic authority whilst at the same time allowing some role for a foreign heraldic authority (whose own sovereign makes no claim to jurisdiction over Australia) and virtually free rein for those who want to adopt arms. Viewed from another perspective, the statement merely puts arms designed by the Kings of Arms of England on the same level as those of local artists, graphics studios and heraldry specialists in designing coats of arms for Australians.

A referendum on the conversion of the form of government from monarchy to republic having failed in 1999, little has happened in the intervening years. The traditionally republican Labour Party, however, was returned to Government in May 2022 and, alert to the opportunities it saw in an anticipated change of monarch, the new Government commenced preparation for another referendum by the appointment of an Assistant Minister for the Republic. None of this is a rejection of our British heritage or the law (including the Law of Arms) which we have inherited from England. Nor is it a rejection of grants to Australians by the heraldic officers of the Queen of the United Kingdom for England or Scotland acting clearly and exclusively in her name, and not in the name of the Queen of Australia, whose authority they do not have.

The acknowledgement of the right to assume arms validates the longstanding practice of the Australian Heraldry Society which has been exercised at the highest level by State Governors and also by citizens, including the prelates of the Catholic Church. Having a generations old family and professional connection with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Australia, my firm has acted for the Church since the 1850s. My first introduction to Church heraldry was a request in 1960 for assistance in the design of the arms of the newly created Australian Episcopal Conference of the Roman Catholic Church, now the Australian Bishops Conference (**Figure 9**). Thereafter there was a 35 year hiatus until I received my first commission from a bishop which was the beginning of what is now a thriving practice conducted by the Ecclesiastical Working Party of the Australian Heraldry Society, which designs the arms of almost every newly appointed bishop of the Australian Church, as well as others from New Zealand and Oceania (**Figure 10**).

The work of the Society is greatly assisted by the participation of the eminent American Catholic priest heraldist, Father Guy Selvester, and a Salvationist digital artist, Sandy Turnbull. By and large, the adoption of arms by prelates and Church bodies is evidenced by the execution and registration of civil law Deeds Poll which are also canonical acts under ecclesiastical law.[34]
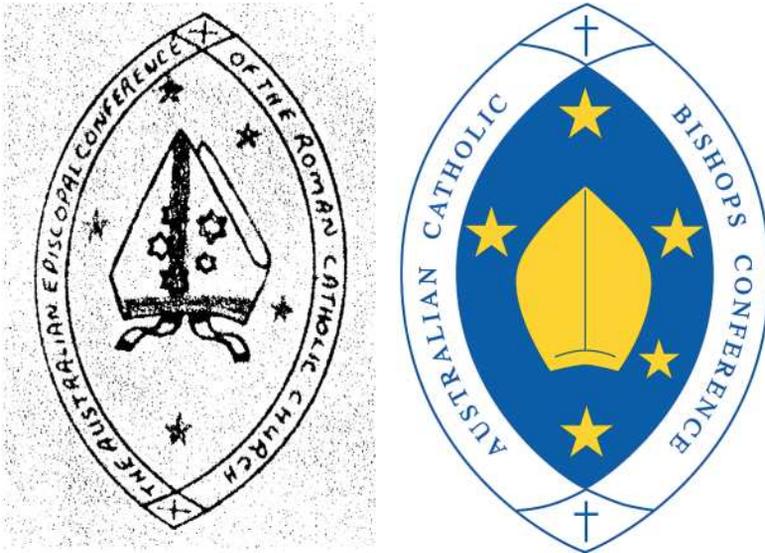
Figure 9: Left: Design for seal of the arms of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference by the Author; right Seal of the arms of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference in current usage, Wikimedia Commons.
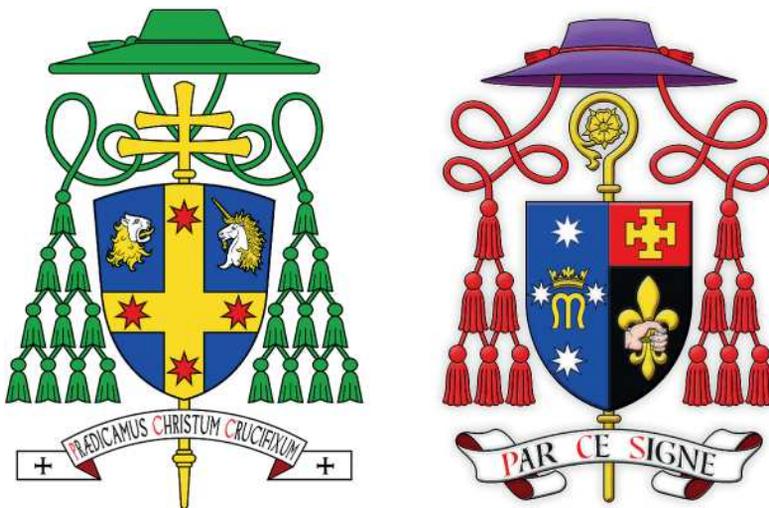
Figure 10: Arms designed by the author. Left: Arms of Archbishop Peter Comensoli of Melbourne; right: arms of Monsignor Harry Entwistle.

[1] Encyclopaedia Britannica: *Commonwealth* (2022). The last two countries to join the Commonwealth, Rwanda and Mozambique, have no historical ties to the British Empire. This paper was delivered before the death of Queen Elizabeth II and the accession of King Charles III.

[2] *Imperial Conference, 1926. Summary of Proceedings*: Journals of the [New Zealand] House of Representatives. Wellington. Session I, Appendix, A-06. 1927.

[3] The complete name of the Order is the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes and of Malta.

[4] Groupings of members of the Order according to the languages they spoke.

[5] As of April 2022, 32 Letters Patent granting arms and 20 Certificates of Registration of arms granted or certified by a foreign state-authorised body had been registered in the national Register of Arms of Malta: Government Gazette of Malta 20,842 dated 22 April 2022, pp. 7186–7218. In each case, the grant or registration was effected before the amending legislation and was confirmed contemporaneously with the gazettal of the coming into effect of the *Heraldry and Genealogy Regulations, 2021* on 24 January 2022. All of these grants were reconfirmed by the Chief Herald of Malta on 24 January 2022 following those changes.

[6] *Mabo v Queensland (No 2),* High Court of Australia, [1992] HCA 23, 175 CLR 1 (3 June 1992).

[7] Emblem and Public Seal of Malta Act 1975 (Chapter 254), section 2.

[8] Government Gazette of Malta 20.219 dated 25 June 2019, pp. 18,832 in the style "Lt Colonel Dr Chev. the Count Charles A. Gauci, OLM, KHS, MD, FRCA, FIPP, FFPMRCA, FSA.Scot, RAMC (Retd)."

[9] Cultural Heritage (Amendment) Act, 2021 (No. XLI of 2021), Article 5(a)(ii).

[10] Cultural Heritage Act, 2002 (Chapter 445), Article 55 (see footnote 10)

[11] Government Gazette of Malta L.N. 489 of 2021; S.L. 445.07; L.N. 10 of 2019 dated 25 June 2019, pp. 18,832.

[12] Letter dated 31 January 2022 from Dr José Herrera, Minister for the National Heritage, the Arts and Local Government addressed to "Dr. Charles A Gauci, Count Gauci, Chief Herald of Malta".

[13] Government Gazette 22 April, 2022, 7157, GN No. 417.

[14] Regulation 1 (2).

[15] https://legislation.mt/eli/cap/251/eng/pdf

[16] *Correspondence and Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the claims and grievances of the Maltese Nobility presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty (C.-2033.)*, May 1878,

[17] Constitution of Ireland, 1939 , Article 40 (2).

[18] Regulation 12

[19] Regulation 8 (4) and (5)

[20] Regulations 8 and 13

[21] Regulation 14

[22] Constitution of Malta 1964, section 5.

[23] Regulation 17.

[24] Government Gazette 22 April, 2022, 7157, GN No. 417, 7157.

[25] Government Gazette 20,842 dated 22 April 2022, 7186–7218.

[26] Ibid, 7218

[27] Statute of Westminster Adoption Act 1942.

[28] Royal Style and Titles Act 1953, No. 32.

[29] Royal Style and Titles Act 1973, No. 114.

[30] Australia Act 1986.

[31] Peter Rush, Assistant Secretary, Awards and Culture Branch, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet to Geoff Kingman-Sugars, letter dated 23 June 2006 (copy in possession of the author);

[32] Hansard (House of Representatives) 07.02.2018, 700.

[33] Hansard, House of Representatives, 07.02.2018, 700. This statement reinforced statements to the same effect from the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, the earliest recorded of which is a letter dated 23 June 2006 from the then (and continuing) Assistant Secretary, Awards and Culture Branch, DPMC to Geoff Kingman-Sugars (copy in the possession of the author courtesy of Me Kingman-Sugars).

[34] Acknowledgements (in alphabetical order): Dr Paul Fox, Dr Charles Gauci, Chief Herald of Malta, Laird Sky, Sandy Turnbull.

GENETIC GENEALOGY: FROM SCOTTISH BARONETS TO SERIAL KILLERS

Prof. MARK WATSON-GANDY[1]

I am the chairman of the Biometrics and Forensic Ethics Group. I should say at the very outset that any views expressed in this paper are my own. They should not be ascribed to be those of BFEG, its other members or, indeed, to the Home Office.[2] So, if I get things wrong in this paper, it is my fault alone. Before I go further, I should explain a little about BFEG and what it does.

What does BFEG do?

The BFEG is an advisory, non-departmental public body, sponsored by the Home Office. It advises Home Office Minister on ethical issues arising in in the areas of biometrics, forensics, artificial Intelligence, and big data. Its role is needed because these are areas where science and technology are rapidly innovating. Those innovations often throw up new, gritty ethical issues; part of our role is to flag up issues and suggest solutions which the Home Office can factor in when considering to incorporate those innovations into areas like policing, security and immigration.

Who are we?

Established in 2008 as the National DNA Database Ethics Group (NDNAD EG), the group was created to provide Home Office Ministers with independent ethical advice on the operation of the UK National DNA Database (NDNAD). In 2017 the Home Office extended the remit to cover all forensic identification techniques and the name was changed to the Biometrics and Forensics Ethics Group. The remit of the BFEG was further extended in 2019 to provide independent ethical review of the use of large data sets by the Home Office. Our membership includes leading experts from a broad range of areas including law, computer science, philosophy, ethics, and forensic science. Today our main stakeholders are Data and Identity Policy and other policy areas at the Home Office, the Forensic Information Database Service, the Biometrics and Surveillance Camera Commissioner and the Forensic Science Regulator. We also self-commission work.

DNA and genealogy

Two recent cases. One in Scotland and one in the United States have thrown the crucial importance of DNA into sharp relief.

The Pringle of Stichill Baronetcy Case

The first of these is the Pringle of Stichill Baronetcy case. On 5 January 1683 Charles II granted the Baronetcy of Stichill ("the Baronetcy") to Robert Pringle of Stichill "and the male heirs of his body." This case concerned a dispute as to whom the baronetcy should pass after the death of Sir Steuart Pringle of Stichill, the 9th Baronet. The two protagonists – the claimants in the case – were Sir Steuart's (the 9th Baronet's) son, Simon Robert Pringle ("Simon") and Norman Murray Pringle ("Murray") (the grandson of 8th baronet).

Murray's claim relies upon DNA evidence obtained as part of "the Pringle Surname Project". This was founded by Murray to determine the chieftainship of the clan Pringle, and the late Sir Steuart provided his DNA for the project. The DNA evidence provided "very strong support" for the contention that the 8th baronet was grandfather to Murray but not the father of Sir Steuart. Simon did not dispute the DNA evidence but argued, amongst other things, that the DNA evidence should not be admitted on public policy grounds. Murray had not told Simon's father, Sir Steuart, that his DNA would be used to challenge his parentage or his right to his title and would not have consented had he known.

This was important. Unless the DNA evidence was excluded, there is an evidential presumption of paternity under both Scots and English law. Indeed, under Scots law, a title of honour vests "iure sanguinis" (i.e., by right of blood) in the heir specified in the grant.

The Privy Council concluded that the DNA evidence should not be excluded. They reasoned that Murray did not breach an obligation of confidentiality owed to Sir Steaurt, or misuse Sir Steuart's DNA. In providing his DNA for the Pringle Surname Project, Sir Steuart must have been aware that if his DNA excluded him from a claim to be the clan chief, it might also form the basis of a challenge to his entitlement to the Baronetcy.

Even if Murray's use of Sir Steuart's DNA amounted to breaches of the statutory duties owed by data controllers under the Data Protection Act 1998, it would be a disproportionate response to exclude evidence of such probative quality from consideration.

The Golden State Killer

Between 1974 and 1986 there were a spate of murders, burglaries and rapes in California. Despite taunting messages and a $50,000 reward, the identity of criminal or criminals behind them could not be found. DNA was found on the crime scene and this revealed that a series of offences committed by the "Visalia Ransacker", "The Original Night Stalker", "The East Area Rapist" and latterly the "Golden State Killer" were being committed by a single offender. They had a one-man crime wave on their hands.

Maddeningly, whilst the police now had DNA, they were to find that it was not a match to any records held by them. "Close matches" to the "Golden State Killer" were later to be found by the FBI to his 3rd or 4th cousins on ancestry research databases. By using genetic genealogy, the killer's family tree was pieced together and, using this, the culprit was identified. In 2017, Joseph James DeAngelo, a former police officer, was given 12 life sentences for 13 murders, 51 rapes and 120 burglaries.

What is Genetic Genealogy?

Genetic genealogy is the application of DNA analysis and traditional genealogy to infer relationships between individuals. A comparison of individuals is carried out using the commercial genealogy databases. Genetic Genealogy looks at thousands of points of DNA that vary between individuals. As a result, it is far more discriminating, and the DNA sequences of individuals can be compared to find more distant relatives. Traditional genealogy is then used to build the family tree and hone down the likely identity of the suspect.

What is the position in the UK?

The position in the UK is somewhat different. Since 2003, familial DNA has been used to detect crimes. Familial DNA uses only the DNA information in the DNA profiles that are held on the National DNA database. The UK's National DNA Database is the largest in the world. This method looks at just 17 areas of DNA that vary between individuals (and a sex marker). As the amount of DNA looked at is quite small only parent/child or siblings can be identified, and only if they are on the national database.

Where did the FBI find the DNA?

The FBI found the key clues as to the killer's DNA using the commercial GEDmatch database. Currently around 26 million people have provided their DNA to the various testing companies who hold the genetic information in proprietary databases for their users for family research purposes. Most contributors are individuals of mainly northern European heritage, and many are North American residents. The main companies that provide 'direct-to-consumer' genetic testing to the public are 23andMe, AncestryDNA, MyHeritage and FamilyTreeDNA. Use of database by law enforcement is currently limited to the U.S. due to issues under the European General Data Protection Regulation.

The BFEG Report

The BFEG was asked to look at whether there might be a possible role for genetic genealogy in the UK for identifying suspects in UK cases, whether it was feasible and what the implications of that might be. On 9th September 2020, BFEG published a report "Use of genetic genealogy techniques to assist with solving crimes." A copy of the report is available on the BFEG website.

What did the BFEG Report conclude?

The Report recognised that the UK already has one of the most efficient DNA databases in the world and conventional methods will identify the bulk of perpetrators. Thus, had the same facts played out in the UK, the Golden State Killer would have been almost immediately caught using the UK's existing familial DNA resources. If a genetic genealogy approach is used, a proportion of the potential relatives will not be UK based and this could add significantly to the genealogical effort. The GEDmatch database, for example, is US-centric.

Choice of cases must be carefully managed. The systematic genetic genealogy will inevitably throw up other difficult, unexpected or unintended issues for which policy will need to be formulated going forward; one such example is the identification and prosecution of women who abandoned their new-born babies decades ago, based on analysis of the deceased baby's DNA, followed by a forensic genealogical approach. Currently the whole process of genetic genealogy is unregulated. This carries with it numerous governance, legal, and safeguarding issues.

What problems were identified in the BFEG report?

The BFEG report considered that a number of serious ethical and practical issues are thrown up. Firstly, there are issues over chain of custody. Presently, the chain of custody of evidence is carefully controlled. Genetic genealogy at present involves passing

samples of DNA outside law enforcement to commercial database providers. Once the evidence is outside the careful control of law enforcement, how can a court or a jury be confident that this is the same sample or indeed that the sample has not inadvertently been contaminated? Secondly, there were possible issues with the genealogists themselves. How could courts and juries be confident that they had the necessary skills to undertake the work? Indeed, with an unregulated profession, how could their conduct be policed? Thirdly, there was a need to avoid unnecessary invasion into an individual's privacy and data. This took BFEG onto its fourth point. This was the question of data security. There was a real risk of the inadvertent discovery in the course of genetic genealogy of highly sensitive medical and personal data. The Pringle of Stichill case provides just such an example. Fifthly, once the work had been done, consideration would need to be had as to the retention or destruction of samples and data.

So, a resounding "no" to genetic genealogy in the UK?

Not quite. Shortly before I was to give this talk, the *Evening Standard* published an article "Killer in the Family Tree: DNA sites could be used to track down suspects."Following the BFEG's report and recommendations, Scotland Yard revealed it was part of a new working group with a wide range of stakeholders which had been established to further explore the practical and ethical implications of genetic genealogy, and to assess the potential of this investigative technique for UK policing. Scotland Yard was quoted saying "No decisions have yet been taken, and we will make our findings known in due course."

Is there a potential new role for Genealogists?

Genealogist giving evidence before the courts is not new. It is certainly far too early to discount the possibility of an increased role of genealogists in law enforcement if genetic genealogy were adopted; Sir Hillary Bray may well have an added side-line as Sherlock Holmes. If that were to take place, what would be needed is a robust professional body to accredit genealogists. Law enforcement and the courts would need to have confidence in the skills of member genealogists. Such a professional body could not be a paper tiger. It would need to have powers to regulate its members' conduct to ensure that confidentiality, privacy and proper chain of control was maintained, and to have the teeth to ensure that any member who failed to do so was appropriately sanctioned. So, as regard to a new line of work for genealogists, for the time being, however, it is very much a matter of "watch this space".

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[1] Professor Mark Watson-Gandy is Chair of the Biometrics and Forensic Ethics Group, a Home Office non-departmental public body, and a member of the Home Office Science Advisory Council. Watson-Gandy is a practising barrister and is a Visiting Professor at the Universities of Westminster and Lorraine.
[2] The Home Office is a department of the UK government equivalent to the Department of Internal Affairs. It is responsible for immigration, security and law and order; it is responsible for policing in England and Wales, fire and rescue services, visas and immigration and the security service (MI5) and policy on security-related issues such as drugs, counter terrorism and ID cards.

THE FOUNDING OF THE SCANDINAVIAN ROLL OF ARMS IN 1963 AND THE SWEDISH REGISTER OF ARMS IN 2007: COMPARING TWO REVOLUTIONS IN THE PUBLICATION OF BURGHER ARMS IN SWEDEN

Dr. HENRIC ÅSKLUND, a.i.h.

When *Societas Heraldica Scandinavica* (SHS) was founded in 1959 the proposal to institute a Roll of Arms was soon put forward.[1] Agreement, however, on this could not be reached[2] and instead Jan Raneke together with Christer Bökwall founded the Scandinavian Roll of Arms (*Skandinavisk Vapenrulla*, SVR) as an independent entity (**Figure 1a**).[3] SVR was launched in 1963 and quickly became a guiding reference for the assumption of burgher arms in the Nordic countries.[4] SVR offered an opportunity to publish newly assumed arms that had been lacking, since no authority had this responsibility. SVR set a high standard both for the blazon and for heraldic art. With time a growing number of eligible arms were not submitted to SVR, mainly for financial reasons: the high fee for publication was a deterrent. In addition to the fee, a rendering of the arms of sufficiently high artistic merit had to be provided, adding to the cost.

After several years of preparation, the Swedish Heraldry Society, in collaboration with the Swedish National Committee for Genealogy and Heraldry, launched the Swedish Register of Arms (*Svenskt Vapenregister*, SV) in 2007.[5] Thanks to the work of volunteers the fee could be set to a mere fraction of the SVR fee (less than 8%), including a standardized drawing of the arms in the price. This led to a revolutionary increase in the number of registered arms (Figure 1c). The number of arms registered yearly in SV varies between 3–8 times that of SVR (Figures 1d and 1e), despite the fact that SV is limited to Swedish arms only, whereas SVR is open to arms from all the Nordic countries.

In 2011 SVR was transferred to the SHS, as was the original intent, and the fee has subsequently been substantially reduced. Today, SV often serves as a quality assurance step before also applying to SVR, commissioning a heraldic artist only after the SV approval.

The Scandinavian Roll of Arms

Founded: 1963
Geographical scope: The Nordic countries
Scope of the kinds of arms registered: All
Number of arms registered (2021): 812

Run by:

1963–2010: Jan Raneke, Christer Bökwall and Tor Flensmarck (from 1983), under the name The Heraldic Publishing House (1963–1970); break 1971–1973.
The Scandinavian Roll of Arms Foundation (1974–2010).
2011–: *Societas Heraldica Scandinavica*, with Ronny Andersen as editor.
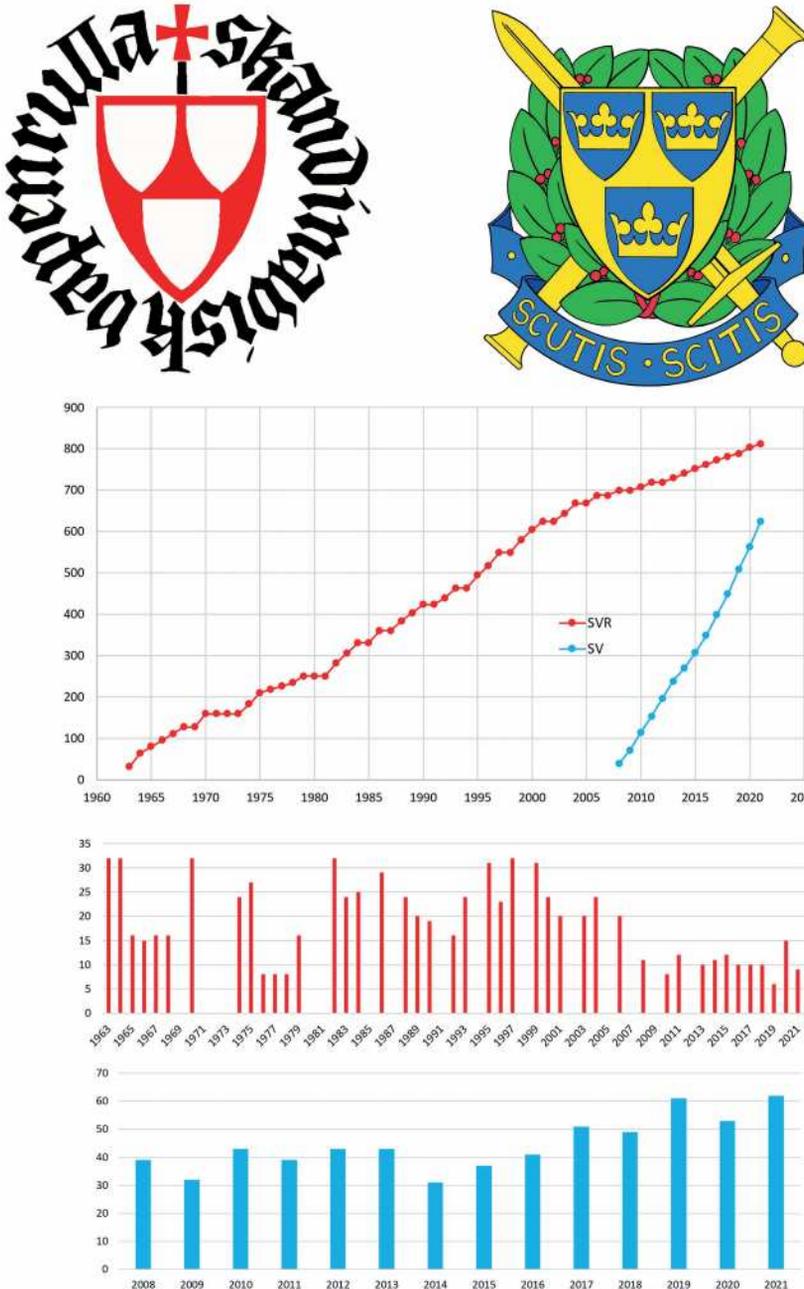
Figure 1: top left, 1a: coat of arms of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms, Artist: Jan Raneke; top right, 1b: coat of arms of the Swedish Collegium of Arms, Artist: Ronny Andersen; 1c: the accumulated number of arms in the registers; 1d: registrations per year in the Scandinavian Roll of Arms 1963–2021; 1e: registrations per year of the Swedish Register of Arms 2007–2021.

Who reviews and approves applications:

1963–2010: The editorial staff. During 1989–2010 a few people appointed to a heraldic council were also consulted.

2011-: The editorial staff, now a larger number of people than previously.

How are the arms published:

In booklets with 6–32 arms, printed annually or every second year (with some exceptions). The ten first booklets 1963–1970 had a format with two arms per page (**Figure 2**), since then the layout has been with one coat of arms per page (**Figure 3**). The scope of the publication is an artistic drawing of the arms, full blazon and a text explaining the background of the armiger and the arms.

Figure 2: The original 1963 format of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms.

Application fee:

2003: 3850 SEK

2022: 1500 SEK

This does not include the cost of the mandatory artistic drawing of the arms.

Please refer to Appendix 1 for the original publication principles of SVR and to Appendix 2 for the current publication principles.

Figure 3: The modern format of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms.

The Swedish Register of Arms
Founded: 2007
Geographical scope: Sweden
Scope of the kinds of arms registered: Burgher arms
Number of arms registered (2021): 624

Run by: The Swedish Heraldry Society in collaboration with the Swedish National Committee for Genealogy and Heraldry.

Who reviews and approves applications:
The Swedish Collegium of Arms (**Figure 1b**), a committee under the Swedish Heraldry Society. The general public is also invited to review and provide feedback on the arms about to be approved, as is The Swedish National Committee for Genealogy and Heraldry.

How are the arms published:
–When provisionally approved:
Online and in the biannual publication Announcements of the Swedish Collegium of Arms[6] with a deadline for objections (**Figure 4a**). This includes the arms drawn in a template and the full blazon.
–When finally approved:

Online (drawing and blazon, in both Swedish and English) and in Announcements of the Swedish Collegium of Arms (blazon only). Since 2018, in a series of hardback books,[7] 200 arms at a time, with blazons in both Swedish and English (**Figure 4b**). In the books, all the template drawings as well as a selection of artistic drawings are included.

Application fee:

300 SEK
This includes the cost of a drawing of the arms, following a template and made to illustrate the blazon.
Please refer to Appendix 3 for the statutes of SV.

APPENDIX 1
Publication Principles of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms 1963[8]

1. With the Scandinavian Roll of Arms, the publishers want to create a forum for the registration and publication of both newly adopted and long-established family coats of arms belonging to persons or families residing in or originating from the Nordic countries.
In addition, the Scandinavian Roll of Arms aims to increase interest in heraldry and heraldic art, stimulate genealogical research, and strengthen the Nordic sense of belonging.

2. Publication of a coat of arms must be based on data communicated in a form established by the publishers and filled in and sworn to by the informant.

3. With the publication, the publishers guarantee no legal effect in the form of priority, exclusive right to arms, or any other type of legal protection for the professed armiger.

The publication only means a date for the announcement that a person, according to their own information, is de facto using a certain coat of arms.

4. The publishers are not responsible for the accuracy of the information provided beyond what can be checked in available sources. Obvious inaccuracies will not be published, and in doubtful cases great restrictiveness is applied.

5.What will not be published:
–Any newly adopted family coat of arms that is identical to, or confoundable with, a coat of arms to which another person or family, in the opinion of the publishers, has a better right.
–Arms that are in violation of applicable law and regulation or of generally accepted heraldic rules.

JAN-ERIC OLSSON, Eksjö, ansökan: 2014:35
Sköld: I silver tre blå kollekthåvar, ordnade två över en, med vardera två röda skaft.
Hjälmtäcke: Blått fodrat med silver.
Hjälmprydnad: Två blå kollekthåvar med korslagda röda skaft.

MATTIAS ANDERSSON, Lomma, ansökan 2014:36
Sköld: I rött ett på en stam byggt grekiskt tempel med sju pelare, däröver en upplygande örn, allt av silver.
Hjälmtäcke: Rött fodrat med silver.
Hjälmprydnad: En kärve av guld mellan två oxhorn, delade i rött och silver, vartdera besatt med tre röda vinblad.

JOHAN LINDERS, Lund, ansökan 2014:41
Sköld: Två gånger kluven och två gånger delad; hörnfälten gröna och belagda med vardera ett lindblad av silver, mittfältet blått och belagt med en femuddig stjärna av silver samt de övriga fälten av silver.
Hjälmtäcke: Blått fodrat med silver.
Hjälmprydnad: En blå grip med drakvingar och med röd beväring, hållande med höger framben en grön palmkvist.

JAEL MARIA AHLIN, Lidingö, ansökan 2014:42
Sköld: Två gånger kluven och två gånger delad i svart och silver, i mittfältet ett liljekors av guld.
Claus K. Berntsen har inte deltagit i beslutet.

KAJ LINDOHF, Motala, ansökan 2014:45
Sköld: I fält, medelst en vågskura delat i guld och blått, ett lejon av motsatta tinkturer och med röd krona och beväring, hållande en uppryckt lind, över vågskuran röd och därunder av guld.
Hjälmtäcke: Blått fodrat med guld.
Hjälmprydnad: En skorsten av guld varur en uppkommande skorstensfejare med ansikte och händer av silver och med svarta kläder och kurpis, hållande i höger hand en lina med krejs, stänka och lod och i vänster hand en raffel, allt svart.
Martin Sunnqvist har inte deltagit i beslutet.

ANTJE JACKELÉN, Uppsala, ansökan 2014:46
Sköld: I guld tre gröna ekblad förenade i trepass och däremellan tre röda mantuanska stickkors ordnade radiellt.

SLUTLIGT GODKÄNDA VAPEN INFÖRDA I SVENSKT VAPENREGISTER

Följande vapen har slutligt godkänts och förts in i Svenskt Vapenregister. Vapnen har kungjorts såsom preliminärt godkända i Meddelande från Svenska Vapenkollegiet nr 15 (Vapenbilden 99:2014). De anförs här med registreringsnummer, antagarens namn, ansökningsnummer samt blasoneringen med eventuell justering till följd av Svenska Nationalkommitténs för Genealogi och Heraldik (SNGH) yttrande och Svenska Vapenkollegiets förnyade granskning.

SV-271 SIMON KARLSSON (2011:37). *Sköld:* I guld två stolpvis ordnade fläkta svarta korpar.
Anm.: SNGH har invänt att korpar inte bör vara fläkta, eftersom förväxling kan ske med örn. SVK noterar att fläkt korp har godkänts i SV-291 Karlsson. En annan sak är att skillnaden mellan korp och örn inte torde vara tillräcklig för att förväxlingsrisk mellan i övrigt lika vapen ska anses uteslutan.
Vladimir Sagerlund är av skiljaktig mening och instämmer med SNGH.

SV-272 LINUS KÄLLGREN (ansökan 2013:2). *Sköld:* I blått en balk av silver belagd med tre av vågskuror bildade blå strängar, åtföljd ovan av en orre och nedan av en ekgren med löv, allt av guld. *Hjälmtäcke:* Blått fodrat med guld. *Hjälmprydnad:* En svart orre sittande inom en krans av fyra liljor och fyra uppåtställda eklöv, varav tre liljor och två eklöv synliga framifrån, allt av guld.

SV-273 ROLAND SPORRONG (2013:19). *Sköld:* I guld en svart bjälkvis ställd sporre med sporrklinga riktad åt dexter, åtföljd nedan av en röd tupp. *Hjälmtäcke:* Rött fodrat med guld. *Hjälmprydnad:* Två korslagda svarta hammare mellan två gröna eklöv.
Anm.: Sköldens utformning förändrad av antagaren i förhållande till preliminärt godkännande. Blasoneringen av sporren preciserad på inrådan av SNGH.

SV-274 VICTOR CARLSON (2013:24). *Sköld:* I rött en grön balk avgränsad ovan och nedan av strängar av silver, åtföljd ovan av en stående knuten pansarnäve av
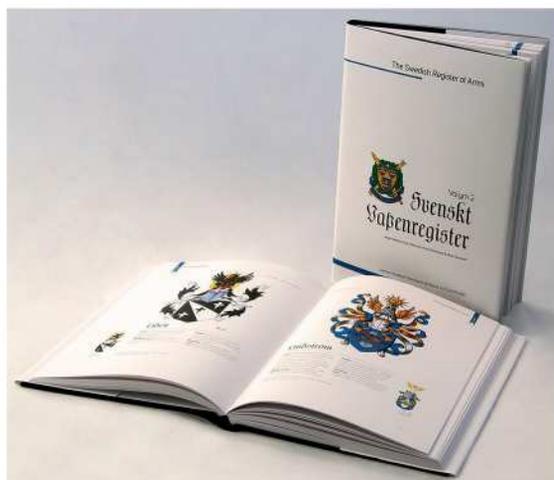
Figure 4: top, 4a: An example of a couple of pages of the printed Announcements of the Swedish Collegium of Arms, with announcements of provisionally approved arms on the left and a list of blazons of confirmed and finally approved arms on the right. Any adjustments to or special considerations concerning the approved blazons are commented on in the text. Rejections are also published and explained, but anonymized; bottom, 4b: The Swedish Register of Arms Volume 1 SV 1–200 (open) and Volume 2 SV 201–400 (standing).

APPENDIX 2
Current Publication Principles of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms[9]

1. The Scandinavian Roll of Arms (SVR) is published by Societas Heraldica Scandinavica.

2. SVR shall first and foremost be a forum for the publication of both newly adopted and long-established coats of arms, belonging to persons living in the Nordic countries, or connected to the Nordic countries, as well as institutions, authorities, private companies, etc. That are legal entities, residing in the Nordic countries.

3. SVR also aims to increase interest in heraldry and heraldic art, stimulate interest in genealogical research and strengthen the Nordic sense of community.

4. Publication of a coat of arms takes place at the armiger's own expense, and on the basis of information from the armiger. SVR's editorial staff decide which information is to be published and formulate the final text. The armiger is responsible for the correctness of the information provided, and claims of titles, nobility and holding of orders and other signs of dignity must be documented by the armiger. False and unofficial orders are not mentioned and must not be reproduced together with the drawing of the coat of arms.

5. SVR does not publish coats of arms that can be confused with existing coats of arms or that are against applicable law. A coat of arms must meet the criteria of good heraldic practice in order to be published. SVR's editors reserve the right to reject a coat of arms if it is deemed not to meet these criteria.

6. The armiger is himself responsible for submitting a heraldically correct drawing of the arms. SVR's editorial staff reserve the right to reject drawings that are deemed not to meet the criteria for good heraldic design. Digital drawings are published to the extent that they are original works of art. Plagiarism and clip-art are not accepted.

7. The publication of a coat of arms in SVR has no legal effect in terms of legal protection of the published coat of arms. The publication only states that, according to his own information, the armiger is using the coat of arms in question.

APPENDIX 3
Statutes of the Swedish Register of Arms 2007[10]

Organisational status
§ 1   The Swedish Register of Arms is a part of the Swedish Heraldry Society.

§ 2   The Swedish Register of Arms is run in cooperation with the Swedish National Committee of Genealogy and Heraldry and in participation with Heraldiska Samfundet.[11]

§ 3   The Swedish Collegium of Arms is responsible for the administration of the register.

§ 4   The Swedish Collegium of Arms is a committee of the Swedish Heraldry Society and its procedures are approved by the board of the Swedish Heraldry Society.

§ 5   The Swedish Collegium of Arms consists of at least five and at most seven members. One of the members is appointed by Heraldiska Samfundet and the rest by the board of the Swedish Heraldry Society.

§ 6   The board of the Swedish Heraldry Society appoints one of the members to be chairman of the collegium.

Purpose and scope

§ 7   The Swedish Register of Arms registers heraldic arms for Swedish private persons and Swedish legal persons.

§ 8   Shield, mantling and crest may be registered.

§ 9   Exempt from registration are those arms that belong to the state or state authorities, municipal arms and arms of the nobility.

§ 10   Requests to register arms or to have a certificate of registration issued are only accepted if the Swedish Collegium of Arms judges that the applicant has a strong enough claim to the arms.

Procedures

§ 11   Arms that are submitted for registration are examined by the Swedish Collegium of Arms.

§ 12   The examination by the Swedish Collegium of Arms shall consider: (a) Whether the arms conform to the rules of heraldic design and usage. (b) Whether the arms are unique and do not infringe on the rights of others.

§ 13   Preliminarily approved arms are made public, and objections may be made before the final approval is tried.

§ 14   The Swedish National Committee of Genealogy and Heraldry will have the opportunity to comment on the arms that the collegium plans to grant a final approval.

§ 15   Arms that are granted final approval are made public, are entered into the Swedish Register of Arms, and a certificate of registration is issued to the applicant.

§ 16   The collegium will also issue certificates of registration for arms that are already entered into the register, and in such cases the examination only concerns whether the applicant has the right to bear those arms.

§ 17   Rejections shall be accompanied by a justification in writing.

§ 18   To clarify the position of the collegium, if the reasons for a decision are of a general interest, the justification shall be given in writing and made public.

Miscellaneous

§ 19   The Swedish Heraldry Society finances the register and the work of the Swedish Collegium of Arms in such a way as the board decides. Fees are credited to the Swedish Heraldry Society.

§ 20   These statutes are approved by the board of the Swedish Heraldry Society and the Swedish National Committee of Genealogy and Heraldry. They may be altered in the same way.

§ 21   If unresolvable disagreement between the Swedish Heraldry Society and the Swedish National Committee of Genealogy and Heraldry occurs, each of these parties has the unilateral right to withdraw from the register, and in such case these statutes are no longer in force.

Approved by the Swedish National Committee of Genealogy and Heraldry: 8 June 2006, and by the board of the Swedish Heraldry Society: 10 June 2006.

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[1] Sven Tito Achen, *Et Register over Borgerlige Våbener* [A Register of Burgher Arms]*,* Heraldisk Tidsskrift, Bind 1, nr 2, October 1960, p. 45–52.

[2] The archive of *Societas Heraldica Scania*, the local branch of *Societas Heraldica Scandinavica* in the south of Sweden.

[3] Martin Sunnqvist, *Skandinavisk Vapenrullas uppkomst och utveckling* [The Origin and Development of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms], Heraldisk Tidsskrift, Bind 12, nr 120, October 2019, p. 694–706.

[4] *Skandinavisk Vapenrulla* [Scandinavian Roll of Arms], 1963-.

[5] *Statuter för Svenskt Vapenregister* [Statutes of the Swedish Register of Arms], Vapenbilden Nr 68, December 2006, p. 454–455; Martin Sunnqvist, *Svenska Vapenkollegiet – en presentation* [The Swedish Collegium of Arms – A Presentation], ibid. pp. 451–453; *Arbetsordning för Svenska Vapenkollegiet* [Rules of Procedure of the Swedish Collegium of Arms], ibid., pp. 455, 458–459, 462.

[6] *Meddelanden från Svenska Vapenkollegiet* [Announcements of the Swedish Collegium of Arms], in every second issue of Vapenbilden since Nr 71, September 2007. Vapenbilden is the journal of the Swedish Heraldry Society, published since 1976 and currently with four issues per year.

[7] Jesper Wasling (editor), *The Swedish Register of Arms Volume 1 SV 1–200*, The Swedish Heraldry Society 2018; Henric Åsklund (editor), *The Swedish Register of Arms Volume 2 SV 201–400*, The Swedish Heraldry Society 2022.

[8] Translated from Swedish by the author.

[9] Translated from Danish by the author.

[10] This is an official English translation from Swedish that is printed in *The Swedish Register of Arms* Volumes 1 and 2.

[11] *Heraldiska Samfundet* was a heraldry society based in Stockholm that since 12 July 2022 has been incorporated in the Swedish Heraldry Society. The statutes are currently being revised to reflect this change.

A NEW GENEALOGICAL ORDERING SYSTEM TO DENOTE CONSANGUINITY

Prof. Dr. DOMINIKUS HECKMANN

Introduction

Classical models of denoting kinship relationships in genealogy often introduce two separated numbering systems: one to denote ancestors and one to denote descendants. For ancestors the most commonly used system is called the *Ahnentafel-system*, or the *Sosa-Stradonitz*[1], or *Kekule-numbering*[2]. Sir Francis Galton has described it as the *sequential system*[3]. **Figure 1** illustrates this method, which is based on the *Ahnentafel* of Agnete von Ketelhodt: in it each number refers to a unique ancestor relationship.

For descendants there is the so-called *modified Henry system* which resembles the *Beichhold system*.[4] Here the children are numbered sequentially: 1, 2, 3, etc., and from the tenth child onwards these numerals are put into brackets: (10), (11), (12). Now for each new generation, the *modified Henry* numbers are simply linked together, as we see in **Figure 2** which takes as its example a pedigree of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto the Great (912–973).

If we try to combine these numbering systems we face the challenge that the same numerals will occur in both systems independently, denoting different family relationships. A potential solution, the *Gesamtverwandtschaft* (entire relationship) *system*, has been described by Rösch[5] and a further influential smart solution has been suggested by Knud Højrup with his *Knot System*.[6]

In this paper a new uniform genealogical ordering system is proposed that smoothly combines Galton's *Sequential system* for ancestors with the *modified Henry system* for descendants. It extends and modifies a journal paper that has been submitted to the local genealogical club Saarländische Familienkunde.[7]

The new system

The key idea behind this approach is to show the shortest path between two related persons via their selected common ancestor. Since any blood-relationship is defined by the existence of a common ancestor, such a common ancestor must always exist. Technically, we denote the relationship of any two blood-related persons by combining both numbers (in respect to the 'EGO' person, whom we might also call the proband, subject or self): take the identifier of the common ancestor, attach a zero to the right, and then attach the number of the descendant to the right.[8]

Figure 3 is the renumbered version of the family chart of Figure 1. Here the EGO starts with the number **101**, where the "1" on the left-hand-side of the zero represents the former ancestor id, while the "1" on the right-hand-side of the zero represents the former descendants id. The heart with the number 10 could be interpreted as the "central family", the so called "we", connecting, the father "20", the mother "30" and the self "101".

Top: *Figure 1:* Pedigree of Agnete von Ketelhodt, annotated with a classical Ahnentafel numbering for ancestors and the "self" (Wikimedia Commons); bottom: *Figure 2:* cutout of a family tree of the Ottonians from the early thirteenth century Chronica Sancti Pantaleonis, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 74.3 Aug. 2°, p. 226), with an overlay of a classical numbering of descendants.
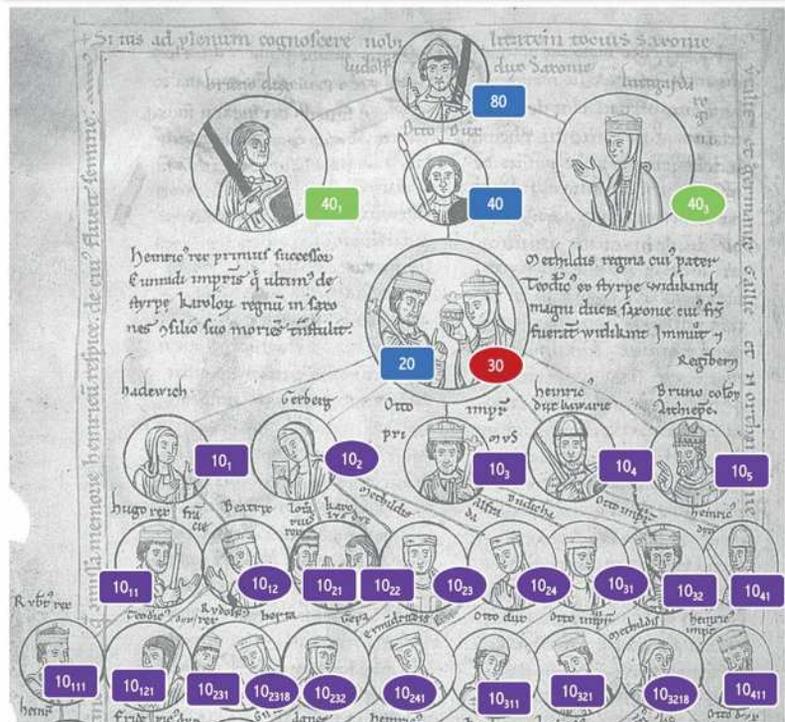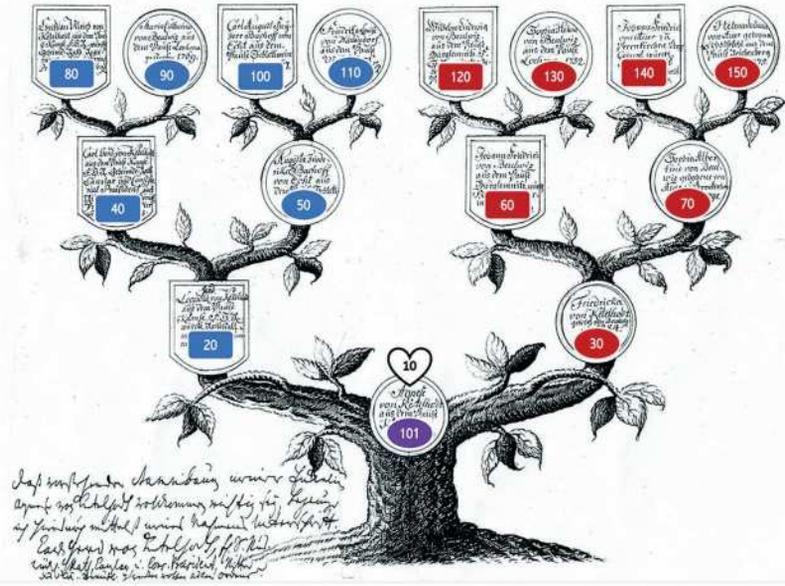
Top: *Figure 3:* Pedigree of Agnete von Ketelhodt, annotated with the new suggested numbering for ancestors and the "self"(amended from Wikimedia Commons); bottom: *Figure 4:* family tree of the Ottonians with an overlay of the suggested new genealogical numbering system for both ancestors and descendants.

Figure 4 presents a medieval German pedigree, annotated using the proposed new system to show how ancestors and descendants are numbered. **Figure 5** presents a new schematic view over six generations of how it is proposed that the numbers are ordered for consanguinity, while the variables i, j, k etc. represent the classes of possible children. It is based on and it extends a diagram of Johann Christoph Bäuerlein[9].
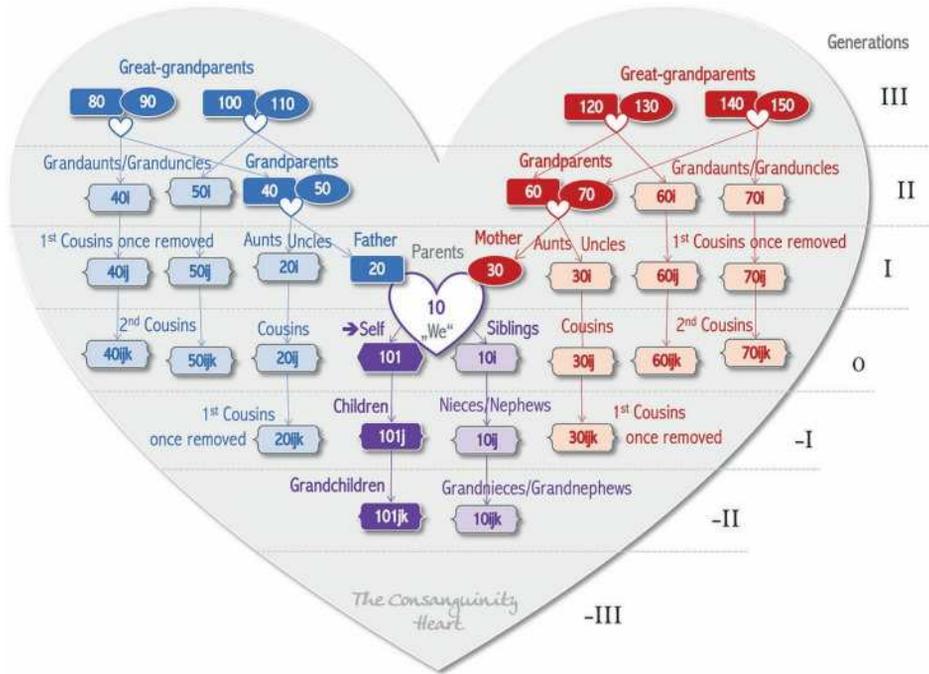
Figure 5: "The Consanguinity Heart", a schematic view of the classes of the new genealogical ordering numbers for consanguinity relations over six generations, including ancestors, descendants and collaterals, annotated with the corresponding family relations in English. The number "10", denoting the "We", can be understood as the "heart", or the "center", of the family tree, while the number "101", denoting the "Self", can be considered as "starting point" of the family relation chart.

Notice the adapted colour code:
- blue for paternal ancestors and red for maternal ancestors
- light-blue for paternal collaterals and light-red for maternal collaterals
- violet for self/descendants and light-violet for siblings and their descendants

Furthermore, notice the code of the abstract forms, carrying the numerals:
- a rectangle for a males and an oval for females
- a hexagon for a person of unspecified gender
- a form with "curly braces" to the left and to the right for a set of people
- finally, a "heart" to denote the centre of this consanguanity chart

The presented family relationships in this "Consanguinity Heart" shown in **Figure 5** are annoted in English; for a systematic translation into German or Latin, we refer to Heiko Hungerige's contributions in *Computergenealogie*.[10]

To summarize, this has been a brief diagrammatic presentation of a newly developed approach of an integrated numerical genealogical ordering system. It can be extended from the shown consanguinity types to include, for example, in-law kinship relationships or half-siblings etc. The overall aim of this new, uniform (not yet final) numbering approach, that combines well known numerical ancestor-numberings with descendant-systems, is to facilitate the deeper understanding and the structural analysis within the world of human relationships, especially for genealogical purposes.

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[1] Stephan Kekule von Stradonitz, 'Über eine zweckmäßige Bezifferung der Ahnen', in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappen-, Siegel- und Familienkunde*, no. 26 (Berlin, 1898), pp. 64–72.

[2] Arndt Richter, das 'Gesicht der Genealogie' Über listenmäßige Darstellung von Nachkommenschaften: Struktur und Bezifferung (2008), online at www.gentalogie.de

[3] Francis Galton, 'Arithmetic Notation of Kinship', in *Nature* 28 (Sept 6, 1883), p. 435.

[4] Robert Beichhold, 'Ein Vorschlag zur Bezifferung von Nachfahrentafeln und Stammtafeln', in *Familienge¬schichtliche Blätter*, vol. 27, no. 9/10 (1929), p. 289.

[5] Siegfried Rösch: 'Über Begriff und Theorie *der Ge-samtverwandtschaft*'; in *Familie und Volk* 4 (1954), pp. 97–101.

[6] Knut Højrup: 'The Knot System - A Numeric Notation of Relationship', in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly USA*, vol. 84, no. 2 (June 1996).

[7] Dominikus Heckmann, 'Ein Vorschlag zur Nummerierung der Verwandtschaft mit natürlichen Zahlen', in *Saarländische Familienkunde*, vol. 14/2, no. 54 (2021), pp. 312–321.

[8] In this paper the modified Henry numbers are used for denoting descendants, with round brackets if they have more than six children: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), … in order to cope with the counting issue of families with a large number of children. In the earlier paper cited in note 7, a more mathematically complex and purely numeral enumeration was introduced and used for decendants.

[9] Johann Christoph Bäuerlein, *Manuductio Seu Explicatio Brevis Arboris Consanguinitatis, Et Facillimus Modus Indagandi gradus maximè quoad petendam dispensationem : tam ex Jure Canonico, quam Civili deducta, & in Schemate proposita* (Frankfurt am Main, 1725), p. 17.

[10] Heiko Hungerige: 'Englische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen: Was ist ein „second cousin twice removed"?' in: *Computergenealogie – Magazin für Familienforschung*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2020), pp. 12–14.

THE ADLINGTON ROLL, A WINDOW INTO THE ENGLISH PEERAGE DURING THE REFORMATION

JOHN EDENZOR TITTERTON, F.S.A., F.H.S.

Figure 1: left, arms of the Duke of Norfolk with Plantagenet (Brotherton) in the second quarter; right: arms of the Duke of Suffolk with the 'L plate' arms of Widville in the sixth quarter. Courtesy of Chetham's Library, Manchester.

Introduction

The Adlington Roll is one section of a bound volume of manuscripts in Chetham's Library, Manchester, known collectively as the Adlington Manuscript.[1] This was deposited at Chetham's Library by Mr Edward Lloyd of Adlington Hall, Cheshire, in 1846. The material bound up in the volume includes medieval forestry accounts, a copy of the will of Henry VIII, accounts of the funerals of two Earls of Derby, and a record of the heraldic decoration on the chimney breast at Adlington Hall. There is a total of 177 folios in the work, of which folios 21 to 38 form the heraldic roll. The Adlington Roll is painted on paper, its dimensions being 40 cm by 27.5 cm (16 inches by 11 inches). The folios display sixteen shields arranged in a four-by-four matrix.

Heraldically the Roll divides into four sections: Kings, English nobility, Cheshire gentry and Lancashire gentry. The shield shapes on folios 21 to 34 are the same, while folios 35 to 38 have a slightly more ornate design, coincident with the section of Lancashire gentry. All the sections have points of interest, but the Peerage section is the one which is pertinent to this paper. There are a total of 60 heraldic peerage shields,

arranged in order of rank, proceeding from duke to marquis, earl, viscount, and lastly baron. Within each rank there is an order of precedence, which is the order by which they would have processed into parliament. The family's order of precedence was a matter of great family pride and importance.

The Dukes

There are only two dukes in the roll, the Duke of Norfolk (Howard) and the Duke of Suffolk (Grey). (**Figure 1**) This makes dating the roll (at least the peerage part) very simple. During the rule of the Houses of Lancaster and York there were very few people granted the title of duke who were not Plantagenet princes. The latter bore the titles of Cornwall, Lancaster, Clarence, Somerset, Gloucester and York.

Here is a summary of those with the rank of duke, who were not male members of the Plantagenet family, during the reign of the first Tudor monarchs.[2]

- Buckingham   created 1485   attainder 1521

The Duke of Buckingham was too closely connected to the old Plantagenet kings and some might argue that, as the legitimate heir of Thomas, Duke of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III, he had a better claim genealogically to the throne than Henry VII. He fell out with Cardinal Wolsey, was executed, and the title forfeited.

- Norfolk restored 1514   attainted 1547   restored 1553

The Howard family are still Dukes of Norfolk today. The first Howard duke lost his life and titles at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. His family was eventually restored in 1514 and that duke's son, Thomas, succeeded his father. However, he too fell out with Henry VIII, who suspected the Howard family of having aspirations to the crown. Thomas's son and heir Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was beheaded for using the arms of Edward the Confessor, and Thomas was also sentenced to death. He was saved from execution by the death of Henry the night before he was due to be executed. He remained imprisoned in the Tower until the accession of Queen Mary to the throne in 1553 when his lands and titles were restored to him. This was 3 August 1553. on the day of her entry into London.

- Suffolk (Brandon)   created 1514   extinct   1551

Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk of that creation, married Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII. After his death he was succeeded in turn by his two sons. On the death of the younger in 1551 the title became extinct.

- Somerset   created 1547   executed 1551   and
- Northumberland   created 1551   executed Aug 1553.

The Duke of Somerset, (Protector Somerset), uncle to Edward VI and John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland were both executed following of power struggles for influence over the royal succession following the death of Edward VI. John Dudley was the father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey and failed in his attempt to have her crowned as successor of Edward VI.
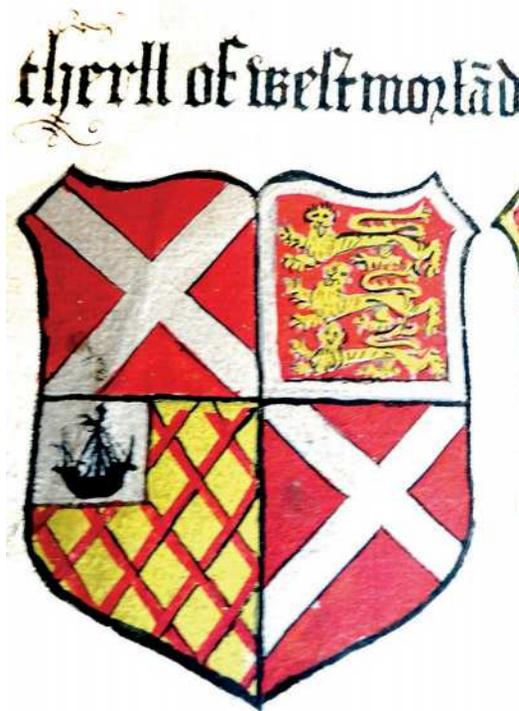
Figure 2: the Earl of Westmorland's arms with Plantagenet (Earls of Kent) in the
second quarter. Courtesy of Chetham's Library, Manchester.

- Suffolk (Grey)   created 1551   executed Feb 1554.

Following the death of the 3rd Brandon Duke of Suffolk, Henry Grey, who had married
his half-sister, was created Duke of Suffolk in 1551. His wife was the daughter of Princess
Mary, while he himself was the father of Lady Jane Grey, but managed to survive the
failed uprising to put his daughter on the throne. However Queen Mary had him (and
Lady Jane) beheaded on 23 February 1554. He had been convicted of high treason for his
part in Sir Thomas Wyatt's attempt to overthrow Mary after she announced her intention
to marry King Philip II of Spain. This was the end of the Grey line as Dukes of Suffolk.

Henry Grey is the Duke of Suffolk in the Adlington Manuscript. His elevation to
the peerage and his subsequent disgrace and execution provide start and end dates to the
production of the Adlington roll. This period can be further refined by taking into account
the date of the restoration of the Duke of Norfolk to his lands and titles (3 August 1553).
Thus the roll must date between 3 August 1553, the Duke of Norfolk's restoration, and
23 February 1554, the execution of the Duke of Suffolk, a period of only seven months.

The accession and early reign of Queen Mary

Let us examine some of the key events which took place around this time frame, which coincided with the early part of the reign of Queen Mary I:

> 6 July 1553, Edward VI died.
> 10 July 1553, Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen
> 19 July 1553, Queen Jane was deposed
> 3 August 1553, Mary rode in triumphant into London.
> 1 Oct 1553, Queen Mary crowned
> 5 Oct 1553, Parliament meets
> Feb 1554, Wyatt rebellion.

The existence of only two ducal titles at this time is a reflection of the fate of other ducal titles in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and illustrates how precarious was the ducal rank in the first half of the Tudor period.

Figure 3: left, 3a: arms of the earl of Wiltshire (Stafford family) with Plantagenet (Woodstock) in the first quarter and the paternal Stafford arms in the third; right, 3b: William Somerset, earl of Worcester with Plantagenet (Beaufort) on a fess in the first and fourth quarters, and Widville in the third. Courtesy of Chetham's Library, Manchester.

The Lesser Peerage

There is further evidence in the Adlington Roll that membership of the Peerage at this time was fluid and people were struggling to anticipate what would happen next. Adlington includes the arms of the Marquis of Exeter and the Earl of Northumberland. During the seven-month period identified above there was no one with either of these titles. The background to these two titles at the time of Mary's accession could suggest that the restoration of these titles was anticipated but did not actually happen.

The arms of the Marquis of Exeter, as illustrated in the Adlington Roll, had belonged to Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, who bore in the first quarter, *Quarterly France and England with a bordure quarterly of England and France*. Henry was son of Sir William Courtenay and Princess Catharine, youngest daughter of Edward IV, and hence the use of the augmentation of the bordure. He was the first cousin of Henry VIII. Clearly, he was promoting his royal family connections as much as possible. As had happened with others who might have aspirations to the crown, (e.g. the abovementioned Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Surrey), the Marquis fell foul of King Henry VIII and was condemned and beheaded on Tower Hill on 9 December 1538. His titles were forfeited and his wife and son, Edward, were imprisoned. The king subsequently pardoned the marchioness, who was a close friend to Princess Mary. On Mary's accession to the throne she became a lady in waiting and her attainder was reversed. She took part in Mary's coronation and all court ceremonies and was styled Marchioness. Her son Edward was released from the Tower and Mary created him Earl of Devon on 3 September 1553. Edward was acknowledged as the proper heir to the lands and titles of his father, but apparently was not allowed to succeed him as Marquess of Exeter. Confusion as to whether he was restored to the title or not persisted for some time until J. H. Round produced an article arguing that Edward had not been restored to his father's higher rank[3].

It is a similar story with the Earl of Northumberland, whose arms appear in the roll with the precedence of the original creation of 1377. The Northumberland estates were surrendered to the crown in 1537, on the execution of the tenth Earl. His male heir was restored to his estates, but not his titles, in 1549. It was not until 1557 that the title of Earl of Northumberland was restored with the precedence of his ancestors. The artist of the Adlington Roll may have been producing a Parliamentary roll for the Parliament of October 1553. Possibly he wrongly anticipated that the restoration of the titles of Marquis of Exeter and Earl of Northumberland, with its earlier precedence, would be early acts of the new Queen.

Consideration of the background of the two dukes that are present in the Adlington roll, noting the reason for the absence of other ducal titles, and events in the lives of the Courtenay and Percy families, show how uncertain matters were for members of the peerage at the transition from Protestant King Edward VI to Catholic Queen Mary. This class of the English ruling elite held a rather precarious existence as they approached the start of Queen Mary's reign.

By the time of Mary's accession the peerage had two elements:
a. Members from families of long standing
b. More recent creations whose careers were administrative rather than military.
The old guard can be seen to use heraldry and quarterings to display one or more of three features in their family background.
  • Survival of, or connections with, a prominent family

- Desire to show Royal descent
- Desire to show royal connections

A prime example of a family surviving through several branches is the Neville family. This is thanks to Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland (d.1425), who had 11 sons by two wives. In the Adlington Roll there are three Neville families, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Lords Bergavenny, and the Lords Latimer. The Neville arms also appear as quarterings of Lord Conyers and of the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose ancestors had married Neville heiresses.

Some peers vaunted their Plantagenet descents. The Duke of Norfolk (Figure 1) and the Lord Berkeley both quarter *Gules three lions passant guardant a label of three points argent.* This shows their descent from Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, a younger son of Edward I. Descent from Edmund, Earl of Kent, the youngest son of Edward I, who bore *Gules three lions passant guardant a bordure argent,* is represented by a quartering in the arms of the Earl of Westmoreland (**Figure 2**) and the Earl of Rutland. These Plantagenet descents were from before the claim to the throne of France by Edward III, which introduced the quartering of the arms of France into the English royal arms.

The following families in the roll showed descent from Edward III and include arms based on *Quarterly France modern and England*: the Earl of Worcester, with his illegitimate descent from the Beauforts (themselves illegitimate, but legitimated descendants of John of Gaunt) used the arms, *Or on a fess quarterly France and England within a bordure compony argent and azure* (**Figure 3b**); the Earl of Wiltshire, descended from Thomas of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III, placed *Quarterly France and England a bordure argent* in the first quarter of his arms (**Figure 3a**). His paternal Stafford arms were relegated to the third quarter. The arms of the Marquis of Exeter, as discussed above, also relegated the paternal Courtenay arms to be after the differenced Royal Arms.

If a peer could not show royal blood then, where possible, he vaunted his connection with other houses which had close family connections with the royal family. Edward IV married Elizabeth Widville who, together with her sisters, became heraldic heiresses to their brother Richard Widville, 3rd Earl Rivers. The Widville arms are the distinctive 'L plate' arms, *Argent a fess and a canton gules*. These are quartered by the Earls of Worcester (Figure 3), of Arundel, of Essex, and of Derby, and by the Duke of Suffolk (Figure 1).

The Suffolk arms on the roll are quarterly of eight and included Valence, which represents descent from William de Valence, the half-brother of King Henry III, a royal connection going back 350 years, almost to the start of heraldry. The arms of three of the peers on the roll are quite ancient, being noted in the poem about the Siege of Caerlaverock, in 1300. They are Percy (Earl of Northumberland), Courtenay (Marquis of Exeter), and Grey, (Duke of Suffolk). They provide examples of early peerage creations with ancestors who rose up in the military sphere.

The most recent peerage creations on the roll, namely the the last two earls on the list, and the only Viscount, had ancestors of a different stamp. The Russell (Earl of Bedford) family origins were those of courtiers. William Herbert (Earl of Pembroke) was an illegitimate descendant of the line of the Herbert, Earls of Pembroke, and was belted as in earl in 1551. He had military connections, but had been more involved in the administration of armed forces rather than leading men into battle. The same is true

for Viscount Hereford. Although he was descended from the Ferrers family of Chartley castle, whose arms he quartered, he was more of an administrator than a hardened battle veteran.

The Baronage

As well as these recently created Earls and Viscount one can see a similar theme with the background and the arms of some more recent creations in the lowest rank of the peerage, the Baronage. Three examples will be considered:

Henry Lord Cromwell was the grandson of the attainted Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Henry VIII's advisor (d.1540). The grandfather had risen to prominence in the King's court and was the son of a butcher. He had no military background, and neither did Henry's father Gregory who before the downfall of Thomas had in 1539 been created Baron Cromwell in his own right, with his own grant of arms, *Quarterly per fess indented azure and or four lions passant counterchanged*. These arms, which represent his son in the roll, were much simpler than those of the erstwhile Chancellor Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, which had been *Azure on a fess between three lions rampant or, a rose gules, between two Cornish choughs proper.*

Left, *Figure 4:* arms of William Lord Paget; right, *Figure 5:* Richard Lord Rich. Both barons have relatively simple coats and display no quarterings. Courtesy of Chetham's Library, Manchester.

William Lord Paget (1550) was the son of William Paget, a sergeant at mace of the city of London. He rose in government administration and was for a short period secretary to Queen Jane Seymour and to Queen Anne of Cleves. He served as Ambassador to France

and Clerk of Parliament. His arms were *Sable on a cross engrailed argent five lions passant sable between four eagles displayed argent* (**Figure 4**).

<u>Richard Lord Rich</u> (1547) was a man of uncertain antecedents, who embarked on a legal career and rose high in the administrations of Henry VIII and Edward VI. His arms were *Quarterly or and azure a chevron between three roundels each charged with a lion rampant all counterchanged* (**Figure 5**).

These three lords were new men and administrators who could not muster multiple quarterings. By the start of Queen Mary's reign recruitment to the peerage was changing from the knightly and military class, as had happened in the fourteenth century, to minor gentry or the families of wealthy tradespeople.

Conclusion

The Adlington roll, dating to the early months of the reign of Queen Mary, is an interesting window on the Peerage at a time when that body was facing the difficulty of a transition from the Protestant King Edward VI to the Catholic Queen Mary I. It was very easy to be imprisoned or executed if one supported the wrong faction at the wrong time.[4]

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[1] Chetham's Library, Mun. E.8.22.

[2] Details of the lives of the Peers referred to in this article are taken from the appropriate volume of G E Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage.*

[3] The Genealogist, new series, vol iv, pp. 125–6.

[4] The author wishes to thank Chetham's Library, Manchester, for the use of the images from the Adlington Manuscript.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE REFLECTED IN THE GRANTS OF ARMS ISSUED BY THE PRINCES OF TRANSYLVANIA (1570–1765)[1]

DRĂGAN-GEORGE BASARABĂ, C.N.H.G.S.

Historical Background

A land of myth and legend to most,[2] Transylvania's identity first began to coalesce in the eleventh century, when the region was ruled by a voivode or warlord as a voivodeship – a quasi-autonomous province within the Kingdom of Hungary.[3] Following the defeat at Mohács in 1526, Hungary was split between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, with the western part being ruled as a kingdom by the Habsburgs, most of today's Hungary being totally incorporated into the Ottoman Sultanate and divided into pashaliks, and the eastern part ruled as an autonomous principality under Ottoman or Habsburg suzerainty,[4] depending on its ruler's political interest.

At first, its sovereigns ruled as voivodes, with the title of Prince of Transylvania having been settled only in 1570, when Prince John Sigismund Zápolya, a former King of Hungary, had his title recognized by both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans.[5] Transylvania was thus ruled as an elective principality from 1570 until 1765, when it became a grand principality under Princess Maria Theresa of Habsburg.[6] In total, the small Carpathian entity was ruled by 25 princes during that time, with some ruling two or three times, some ruling without being elected, and some being elected without ever ruling.

As mentioned above, Transylvania was fought over by two empires that were constantly at war during that time: the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Sultanate. As such, the Carpathian region was, for most of its existence, a border province; a buffer state between the West and the East, between two different worlds. This, in turn, transformed it into a melting pot of cultures, ethnicities, and religions. Besides the native Romanians[7] and the Hungarians that conquered the region around the tenth and eleventh centuries, one should also mention the Szeklers, who helped the Hungarians in their conquest,[8] the Saxons who were invited as colonists during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[9] the Armenians, who were first attested in the late thirteenth century; and finally, the Jews, who first appear in the historical record in the fourteenth century.[10]

From a political point of view, Transylvania was ruled by the Prince and the legislative assembly or Diet, which comprised three estates. This went back to 1438, when, following a peasant revolt, these ruling estates signed a mutual aid pact, in order to keep the *status quo*. This arrangement, called *Unio Trium Nationum*, provided political rights to three nations: the nobility that ruled over the counties, the Szekler seats (or regions), and the Saxon seats. Back then, all three estates followed the Catholic Church. Although they made up most of the population,[11] the Romanians – who followed Orthodoxy – were mostly excluded from political life[12] unless they converted to Catholicism.[13] Things would only change later, during the time of the principality. If they decided on embracing the Catholic faith, they could become part of the Hungarian nobility, which would give them political and social privileges.[14] This was the case for the families of many important figures in Transylvanian history, such as Ianco Hunniate,[15]Voivode of

Figure 1:   Ornate Transylvanian grant of arms. National Archives of Hungary
HU-MNL-OL-P 491-II.-XII.-22

Transylvania, and father of King Matthias I of Hungary; Nicolaus Olahus,[16] Primate of Hungary; and Stephanus Maylad,[17]Voivode of Transylvania.

Religious Divisions

The religious policies in Transylvania became even more interesting after the Reformation. During a time when Europe was fighting its wars of religion, Prince John Sigismund Zápolya – then King of Hungary – issued the Edict of Turda (1568), the first document in European history that ensured freedom of religion. This act stated that communities could freely elect their priests, and that no living soul was to be disadvantaged by his religious convictions, nor should anyone be pressured into changing faith. Three years later, in 1571, the Edict of Târgu Mureş settled the four received (official) denominations in the Principality of Transylvania: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism. The latter was a local Antitrinitarian faith, conceived by Franz David, a Transylvanian Saxon from Cluj.[18] Orthodoxy was not mentioned, or ever granted official status, since the laws only dealt with the evolution of the former Catholic communities. However, the edict was an unprecedented act of tolerance in Europe's history.

As befits a tolerant entity, Transylvania's rulers were of many ethnicities and faiths, although the law did end up stipulating that only Calvinist Hungarians could become princes. Transylvania's first ruler, the aforementioned Prince John Sigismund Zápolya, was born a Catholic in 1540, converted to Lutheranism in 1563, then to Calvinism in 1564, and died an Unitarian in 1571.[19] After his death, Transylvania came under the rule of the Báthorys, a Catholic family of Hungarian nobles which counted a cardinal amongst its members: Prince Andrew Báthory of Transylvania; as well as a King of Poland, who also ruled as Prince Stephen Báthory of Transylvania.[20] Around 1600, the principality was conquered by Michael Pătrașcu *the Brave*, Prince of Wallachia, who was Romanian and Orthodox. It is worth mentioning that during his short rule, Orthodoxy also became an accepted faith, alongside the other four.[21] In 1603, Pătrașcu's ally and second in command, Moses Székely, was elected Prince of Transylvania. He was the second Unitarian and the only Szekler to ever rule over Transylvania.[22] After him, all Princes of Transylvania were Calvinist and Hungarian by law, culminating with Prince Francis Rákóczi II, who ended up losing his title in favour of the Habsburgs, who were Roman-Catholic.[23] An interesting case is that of Prince Acathius Barcsay, who ruled between 1658–1660. His father, a Romanian noble from Hunedoara County,[24] converted from Catholicism to Calvinism, thus allowing for his son to be elected as Prince of Transylvania.Taking all into consideration, it is fair to say that the small Carpathian principality was – for its time – a bastion of tolerance and multiculturalism.

Of the three principalities that would end up forming Romania (Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia), grants of arms were only ever issued in Transylvania, with its princes continuing a tradition set by the Kings of Hungary, who had been granting arms since the Angevin times, when the practice was brought to the country by King Charles I.[25] All grants of arms issued by the Princes of Transylvania followed a distinct Transylvanian pattern that was inspired by the one used in Hungary, with the coat of arms painted in the upper left corner of the diploma (**Figure 1**).[26] Not all diplomas, however, had the miniature painted, as that would accrue further costs, which the grantees could not always pay.[27]

Clerical grants of arms

The subject of Transylvanian grants of arms has been covered, in detail, by both Romanian and Hungarian researchers,[28] but three things are important when dealing with Transylvanian nobility and personal heraldry: firstly, there was only one noble class in Transylvania, with no titles of nobility,[29] and with the prince being *primus inter pares*, as he was elected from the aristocracy; secondly, like much of the continent, Transylvanians had familial, not personal, arms, as every grantee was raised into the nobility and received arms for himself and all of his descendants; thirdly, it was a way of repaying someone or recognising their merits, so people from all walks of life were ennobled, in order to give them and their descendants political power and privileges.[30]

This study analyses 83 grants of arms issued to clerics.[31] Of the 25 successive princes of Transylvania only eleven granted arms to men of the cloth (**Figure 2**). Other princes might have also ennobled priests or pastors, but in this region of conflict, many such diplomas were lost. It is worth mentioning that the first grants were made during a time when Transylvania was not stable, being fought over by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the Long Turkish War. During Cardinal Andrew Báthory's reign in 1599,
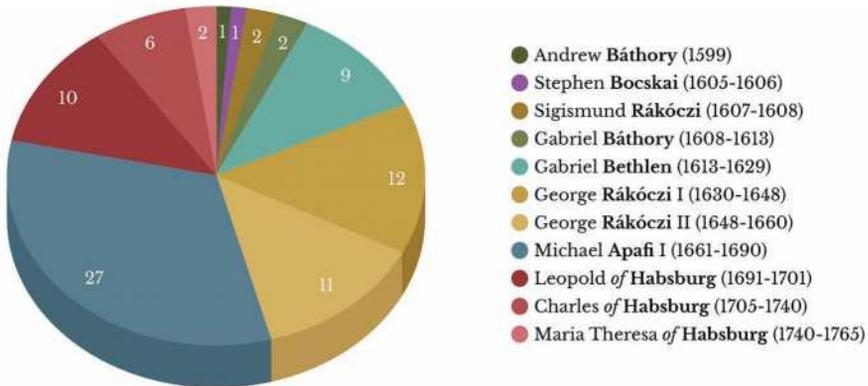
Figure 2: Number of grants issued to clerics by each Prince of Transylvania.

Transylvania aligned itself with the Ottoman Porte, although its prince was a high-ranking Catholic cleric. Once the country became a clear vassal of the Ottomans, the Transylvanian princes had the power to take care of religious matters. Thus, starting with Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629), continuing with the two Rákóczis (1630–1657), and ending with Michael I Apafi (1661–1690) – all Calvinists –, many grants were issued to clerics. This not only had to do with their long reigns, but also with their religious policies, as they were all fervent supporters of the Reformation. This trend of ennobling priests was carried on by the Habsburgs, when they took control of the principality, at the start of the eighteenth century, during a time of Counter-Reformation. Although the new monarchs were ardent Catholics, they had to uphold the laws instituted by the Edict of Turda if they were to rule in peace.[32]
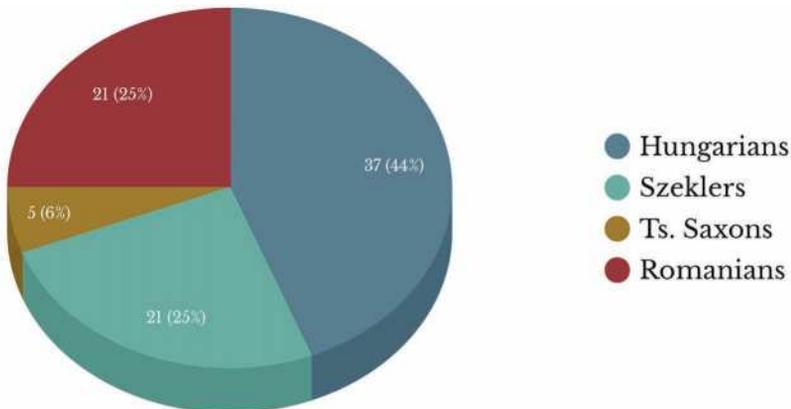
Figure 3: Number of grants by ethnicity.

From an ethnic point of view, the 83 grants were issued to 37 Hungarians, 21 Szeklers, only five Transylvanian Saxons, and – oddly enough –to 21 Romanians (**Figure 3**). Interestingly, Romanian priests were granted as many arms as were granted to their Szekler counterparts, who were part of the ruling elite, unlike Romanian clerics, who had to work the fields like any other peasant, and whose religion was only tolerated. This just goes to show that, when it came to recognising certain merits, the Princes of Transylvania truly had an open mind. They did, of course, try to convert the local Romanian population to Calvinism, an endeavour that proved successful, in part, with the princes funding the translation into Romanian of many religious works. This ultimately backfired, since the Orthodox population could not relate to the ideas of the Reformation: they had no Pope, their priests had to marry, there were no indulgences to be paid, etc.[33]
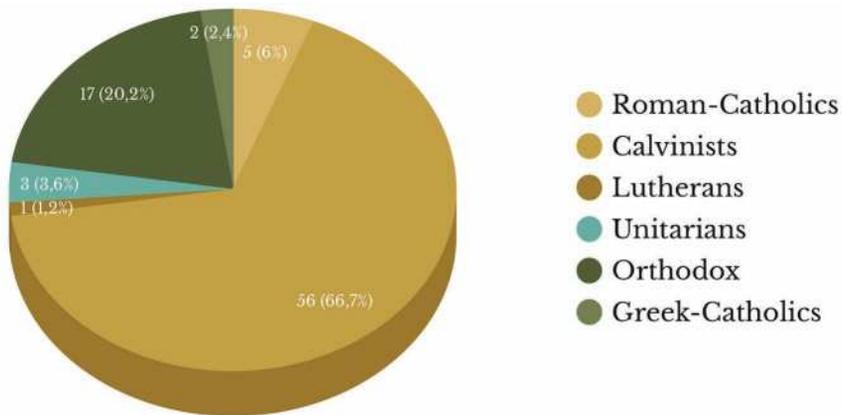
Figure 4: Number of grants by Christian denomination.

When it comes to religion, out of those ennobled, five were Roman-Catholic, 56 were Calvinists, one was Lutheran, three were Unitarian, seventeen were Orthodox, and two were Greek-Catholic (**Figure 4**). To put this into perspective, we need to look at the religious policies of the Princes of Transylvania. At first, when the principality was ruled by the Catholic Báthorys, it was mainly Roman-Catholic priests who were ennobled. When Calvinist princes came to power, in a bid to grant privileges to their own clerics, the emphasis was placed on Calvinist pastors, with some grants also to Orthodox priests. Following the Edict of Turda, which prohibited the conversion of Catholics, Lutherans, and Unitarians, the conversion of the local Orthodox population was seen as a way to bolster the number of Calvinist souls. When the Habsburgs – Catholic monarchs by definition – began to rule over the country as Princes of Transylvania, they began ennobling not only Roman-Catholics (these were newly-created Greek-Catholics – which I will cover below), but also members of the other legally recognised denominations.

From an heraldic point of view, the coats of arms granted by the Princes of Transylvania to their country's clerics can be divided into seven categories:1, Arms granted to Calvinist preachers, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 2, Arms granted to Roman-Catholic priests, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 3, Arms granted to Lutheran

preachers, mainly Transylvanian Saxons;4, Arms granted to Unitarian preachers, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 5, Arms granted to Orthodox priests (Romanians); 6, Arms granted to Greek-Catholic priests (Romanians); and 7, Notable exceptions, meaning those arms granted to clerics whose ethnicity did not match the faith of the majority of his peers.

1. Arms granted to Calvinist preachers

The most interesting case of clerical ennoblement is the diploma issued by Prince Gabriel Bethlen in 1629, by which he grants the same coat of arms – along with the noble status – to all descendants of Transylvanian Calvinist preachers (**Figure 5a**).[34] This famous collective grant of arms follows a practice quite common during the time of the principality.[35] These same arms were later nominally recognised and confirmed by Prince George Rákóczi I in 1642, for the descendants of two preachers ennobled by Bethlen with the grant of 1629. One was a bishop, and the other a pastor (**Figure 5b**).[36] From the remaining 55 grants made to Calvinist preachers, I will present the ones that best exhibit the heraldic traits of Transylvanian heraldry. One needs to keep in mind that, in this part of the world, it was the basic image that mattered. If one was a priest, one would get canting arms in most cases. People needed to be able to quickly figure out what the coat of arms was meant to represent. So, most of the arms granted to Calvinist preachers followed a simple rule, with few exceptions: they would show either preachers, angels, doves, Bibles, or divine images. For example, the arms granted to János Nagy of Milota[37]show the image of a pastor holding a Bible, accompanied by angels (**Figure 5c**).[38] We also find a preacher reading from the Bible in the arms granted to Lukács Bagdy, (**Figure 5d**), as well as in the arms granted to Balázs Bartalyus, where the pastor is standing on a defeated dragon (meant to represent the Devil), while reaching for the sun (meant to represent the Divine) (**Figure 5e**).[39]Doves (representing the Holy Spirit) appear in the arms granted to János Dayka of Cheșereu,[40] (**Figure 5f**), as well as in the arms granted to Ferenc Soós[41](**Figure 5h**), and to János Lukáts of Boroșneu,[42]Bishop of Transylvania, where we also find Bibles (**Figure 5g**). Most Calvinists were either Hungarians or Szeklers.

2. Arms granted to Roman-Catholic priests

With regard to Roman-Catholic clerics, I could only find five examples. All of them show the sign of the cross, as well as priests, divine allegories, angels, or cult objects. Thus, the arms of János Szilvássy show a pelican in her piety (representing the idea of salvation through sacrifice), as well as an angel bearing the cross on its head and using a thurible (**Figure 5i**).[43] The cross is also present in the arms granted to János Ropán of Súdovice,[44]where it is being held by a priest in his right hand, while the left holds a lit candle (**Figure 6a**). The arms granted to Sámuel Halmágyi of Etfalău[45] show the head of a stag with a cross between its antlers, in clear reference to the legend of Saint Hubert (**Figure 6b**).[46] Lastly, the cross is also present in the arms granted to Baron János Antalffy of Sânmartin,[47] Bishop of Transylvania, where it is being held by a lion issuant from a coronet, in typical Hungarian fashion (**Figure 6d**).[48] Most Roman-Catholics were either Hungarians or Szeklers.

*Figure 5: Numbering from top left to bottom right, **5a:** Arms granted to all
the Calvinist preachers from Transylvania, 1629, image from Tamás, Armales
Transylvanorum*[49]; **5b**: the confirmation of arms issued to Mihály Molnár alias
Szánthay and József Milipao Geönczy, 1642, image from *Siebmacher*; **5c**: arms granted
to János Nagy *of Milota*, 1624, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-R 64–1.-244;
5d: arms granted to Lukács Bagdy, 1618, image from the Bagdy family site; **5e**: arms
granted to Balázs Bartalyus, 1617, image from *Liber Armorum Hungariæ*[50]; **5f**: arms
granted to János Dayka of Cheşereu, 1617, image from *Armales Transylvanorum*;
5g: arms granted to János Lukáts of Boroşneu, 1758, image from *Liber Armorum
Hungariæ*; **5h**: arms granted to Ferenc Soós, 1702, National Archives of Hungary
HU-MNL-OL-F 21-S no. 34; **5i**: arms granted to János Szilvássy, 1599, National Archives
of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-R 64–1.-962.
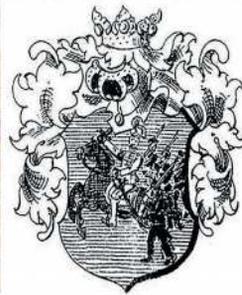
Figure 6: Numbering from top left to bottom right: **6a**: arms granted to János Ropán of Súdovice, 1649, image from *Siebmacher*; **6b**:arms granted to Sámuel Halmágyi of Etfalău, 1742, image from the National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-P 491-II.-XII.-22; **6c**: arms granted to Martin Enyedi alias Enyetter, 1699, image from *Siebmacher*; **6d**: arms granted to Baron János Antalffy of Sânmartin, 1724, image from *Liber Armorum Hungariæ*; **6e**: arms granted to Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop, 1664. Reconstruction by Mrs Bettina-Evelin Basarabă-Varga; **6f**: arms granted to Ştefan Stoia of Ciugud, 1649, image from the Union Museum of Alba Iulia; **6g**: arms granted to Toader Aron of Bistra, 1701, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 9-Cista 2. - Fasc. 7. no. 14; **6h**: arms granted to Ioan Fonai, 1658, Library of the Romanian Academy P. 605; **6i**: arms granted to Dumitru Zoicaş of Noțig alias Pop, 1673, image from *Siebmacher*.

3. Arms granted to Lutheran preachers

The only grant of arms issued to a possible[51] Transylvanian Saxon who was also a Lutheran preacher, Martin Enyedi alias Enyetter, was made not in his capacity as a man of the cloth, but rather for his military deeds against the Ottomans, as we can clearly see by studying the shield and crest, where a Turk's head is impaled in a scimitar (**Figure 6c**).[52] Very few arms were ever granted to Transylvanian Saxons in the Principality of Transylvania,[53] which might seem counterintuitive, since they were part of the ruling estates. The explanation is that they either freely assumed arms[54] – as they were a noble nation by law – or their elite was already armigerous, as a result of them migrating from the Holy Roman Empire. Such was the case of the Haller of Hallerstein[55] family, of Bavarian origin. After settling in the Kingdom of Hungary the Hallerstein became one of the most important Transylvanian 'Saxon' families.[56] On the other hand, the Saxon elites did not necessarily want to become part of the nobility, since experience showed them that those who did soon went through a process of natural Magyarization. Most Lutherans were Transylvanian Saxons.

4. Arms granted to Unitarian preachers

When it comes to the Unitarian faith, we have another singular coat of arms granted to a Hungarian (or Szekler) for prowess in battle against the Ottomans. It just so happened that the valiant Transylvanian soldier was a Unitarian preacher. His name was Mihály Kövendi of Chiend alias Nagy[57] and his coat of arms is described as having a lion issuant holding a scimitar with a Turk's head impaled at its end.[58] Most Unitarians were either Hungarians or Szeklers.

5. Arms granted to Orthodox priests

From seventeen examples, I chose six that best represent the thought process behind granting arms to an Orthodox priest. As expected, the coats of arms mainly show priests, crosses, Bibles, divine allegories, military allegories, or possibly even ethnic allegories. One coat of arms that might reference the grantee's ethnicity and religion is that of Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop,[59] (**Figure 6e**) on which the eagle holding a cross in its beak could be a nod to the coat of arms of the Principality of Wallachia[60] – the main Romanian state in the region – while the double cross is widely used in Orthodoxy.[61] Other arms simply show priests reading from the Bible, as is the case for the achievements of Ștefan Stoia of Ciugud[62](**Figure 6f**) and of Ioan Fonai (**Figure 6h**).[63] A most interesting case is that of Toader Aron of Bistra,[64] whose arms show a snake and a dove, in clear reference to the Gospel of Matthew: *"so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves"*(**Figure 6g**).[65] Furthermore, as seen in the arms of Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop, we also find examples of arms showing soldiers, weapons, or even priests holding weapons; for instance, the achievement of Dumitru Zoicaș of Noțig alias Pop[66] (**Figure 6i**) or that of Grigore Drăguș of Dejuțiu alias Pop (**Figure 7a**).[67]All Orthodox were Romanians.

6. Arms granted to Greek-Catholic priests

As mentioned above, many Romanians in Transylvania recognized the Pope as their head of faith, in order to gain more political and social rights. They were allowed to keep the Byzantine tradition of worship, but united with the Catholic Church. This was part of the Counter-Reformation, with the Habsburgs trying to get as much of the population from

the newly acquired Transylvania as possible under the obedience of the Pope.[68] Although oppressive at times,[69] this turned out to be an immense opportunity for Romanians, who could now hold public offices and even study abroad.[70]

I could only find two examples of priests who were granted arms under the Habsburgs up till 1765, both showing the sign of the cross, the Bible, or both. The only coat of arms that was also painted is that of Ştefan Pop alias Timandi, with an arm in robes, holding a Bible with a cross on it (**Figure 7b**).[71] The other coat of arms, granted to Ionaşcu Monea alias Popa, has a similarly garbed arm holding a cross.[72] It is worth mentioning that all coats of arms issued to Roman-Catholics and Greek-Catholics alike bear the sign of the cross in one way or another, in stark contrast to the arms granted to Reformed pastors of all denominations. The only other faith that has priests with crosses in their armorial achievements is Orthodoxy. All Greek-Catholics were Romanians.

7. Notable exceptions

Although one could fairly accurately describe the Romanians as Orthodox or Greek-Catholics, the Hungarians and Szeklers as Calvinists, Roman-Catholics, or Unitarians; and the Transylvanian Saxons as Lutherans, I also found a few cases that do not follow this rule. Firstly, Petru Orăşteanu of Lugoj alias Pop,[73] the Calvinist preacher for the Romanian Calvinist community in Haţeg[74] bore a coat of arms exhibiting the pastor trampling a dragon while reaching for the sun (**Figure 7c**).[75] We find another Romanian Calvinist serving as preacher at the princely court during the reign of Prince Michael Apafi I. His name was Tămaş Chiş of Făgăraş[76] and his coat of arms is a classic example of seventeenth century Transylvanian ecclesiastical heraldry, showing a kneeling pastor who is reading from the Bible (**Figure 7d**).[77]

Next, we have two Transylvanian Saxons who were Calvinist pastors: a preacher from Braşov, Jakob Gothard of Dalnic,[78] whose arms do not have any religious symbols,[79] (**Figure 7e**) and Gregor Gothard, whose armorial achievement shows a lit candle (**Figure 7f**).[80] I could find no proof that the two Gothards were related. Finally, we have the interesting case of Andreas Textorius of Idiciu.[81] He was a Transylvanian Saxon, but Unitarian. This tells us that he must have been from Cluj, the only place where such a community existed.[82] There was an interesting Unitarian community of Transylvanian Saxons in Cluj which, unlike their brethren in the rest of the principality, embraced this local Antitrinitarian faith, probably on the grounds that it was founded by another Transylvanian Saxon from Cluj, Franz David. Andreas Textorius of Idiciu received two grants of arms: one in 1688,[83] from Prince Michael Apafi I (**Figure 7g**), and one in 1703,[84] from Prince Leopold of Habsburg, it being not uncommon for the Habsburgs to confirm arms granted by the earlier princes (**Figure 7h**).[85] His two grants are clearly different, although the 1703 version purports to be just a confirmation of the one from 1688. It might be that the imperial chancellery was not too fond of the busy Transylvanian heraldic style, with a shield in which one can find a pastor praying, the hand of God holding a Bible, as well as a lit candle, among others.

To present all 83 grants in this paper would be impractical, and I have therefore made a list of all the heraldic charges that appear in these achievements, in order to best demonstrate how the princely chancellery functioned in the Principality of Transylvania with regard to ecclesiastical heraldry. Thus, we find 41 images of the Bible, 39 images of priests or pastors, 21 lilies, 20 images of soldiers, 18 weapons of various kinds, thirteen
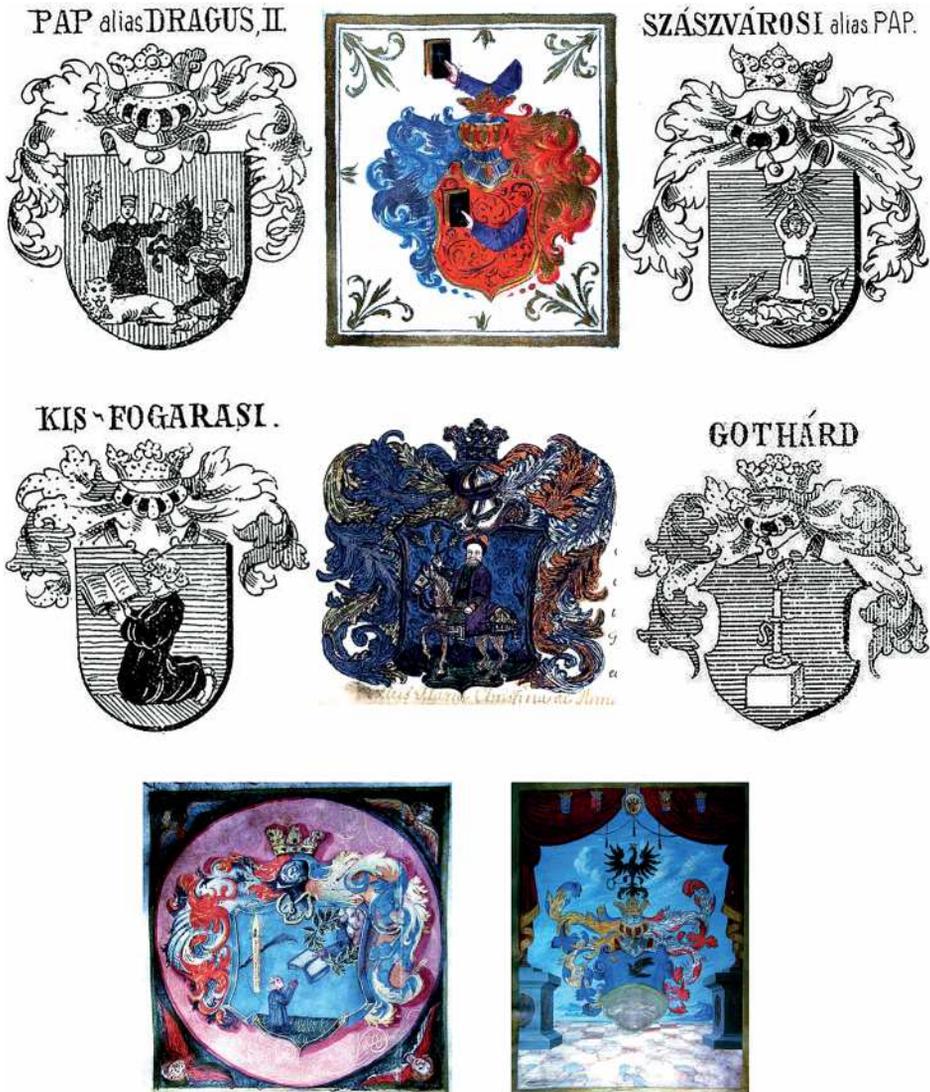
Figure 7, numbering from top left to bottom right: **7a**: arms granted to Grigore Drăguş of Dejuţiu alias Pop, 1649, image from *Siebmacher*; **7b**: arms granted to Ştefan Pop alias Timandi, 1723, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 13; **7c**: arms granted to Petru Orăşteanu of Lugoj alias Pop, 1644, image from *Siebmacher*; **7d**: arms granted to Tămaş Chiş of Făgăraş, 1699, image from *Siebmacher*; **7e**: arms granted to Jakob Gothard of Dalnic, 1676, National Archives of Romania BV-F-00001–1-744; **7f**: arms granted to Gregor Gothard, 1654, image from *Siebmacher*; **7g**: arms granted to Andreas Textorius of Idiciu, 1688, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 8; **7h**: arms granted to Andreas Textorius, 1703, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 7.

quill pens, ten crosses, ten doves, nine eagles, eight angels, seven roses, five snakes, five lions, four altars, four images of stars, four clouds representing Heaven, four suns, four palm trees or palm leaves, four wheat sheaves, three Turk's heads, three dragons representing the Devil, three lit candles, two pelicans in their piety, two swans, two stags, two crescents, two storks, two griffins, one thurible, one unicorn, one sheep, one anchor, one tree, one vine, and one organ.

As expected for an eastern European principality, the list above only goes to show how highly the figurative image was regarded, since we find so many heraldic charges directly linked to priesthood, such as literal priests or pastors, Bibles, crosses, or other liturgical objects. The same thought process went behind using lilies, doves, angels, snakes, clouds, palm leaves, dragons, pelicans, etc., albeit these symbols require some theological knowledge in order to be deciphered.

Not all ecclesiastical arms are filled with religious imagery, as we also see many military charges. The Orthodox clergy had both to work in the fields and to fight when needed, just like any other peasant or serf. The occurrence of writing quills in thirteen coats of arms reflects the fact that most priests doubled as local scribes, since they were usually the only ones who were able to write. The arms were designed with scant regard for western heraldic rules; here, it was the essential imagery that mattered, not the rule of tincture or abstractly shaped heraldic charges.

Figure 1: detail.

Conclusion

Transylvania, as a melting pot of nationalities and religions, was the first European state to allow freedom of religion, in a time when Christian blood was spilled throughout the continent for these same causes. This perfectly reflects in the grants of arms issued to men of the cloth during the existence of the Principality of Transylvania, when members of every nationality and Christian denomination were ennobled. Even though ethnic Romanians did not have political power, and Orthodoxy was barely tolerated, they did receive many grants of nobility and arms for faithful service or courage during times of war. Many Romanians then converted to Greek-Catholicism in 1698, in the times of Counter-Reformation, in order to gain some political and social power; and so their priests also received grants of arms. We do not find many grants of arms among the Lutheran Transylvanian Saxons, but not because they were being discriminated against. They certainly bore arms, which had been freely assumed, some in medieval times. Their reluctance to engage with new grants of arms might have been a reflection of their reluctance to become Magyarized. In contrast, both Hungarian and Szekler clerics received many grants of arms, as they mainly embraced Calvinism, the religion of the princes, or remained Roman-Catholic, the religion of the Báthorys and the and the Habsburgs.

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[2] See Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, as well as Jules Verne's *The Castle of the Carpathians*, both set in Transylvania.

[3] Constantin C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Scurtă istorie a românilor pentru tineret îndeosebi* (Bucureşti, 1977), p. 96.

[4] *Idem*, pp. 124–125.

[5] Călin Felezeu, 'The International Political Background (1541–1699); The Legal Status of the Principality of Transylvania in Its Relations with the Ottoman Porte', in Ioan Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, András Magyari (edd.) *The History of Transylvania*, vol. 2 (From 1541 to 1711), Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies (Bucharest, 2018), pp. 22.

[6] Csáky Imre, *Erdély nagyfejedelemség aranybullás címereslevele, 1765* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 24–27.

[7] P. I. Cernovodeanu, 'Călătoria lui Pierre Lescalopier în Ţara Romînească şi Transilvania la 1574', in *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, IV, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne (1960), pp. 444.

[8] Szekeres Attila István, Pál-Antal Sándor, Mihály János, *Simboluri istorice secuieşti*, (Odorheiu Secuiesc, 2017), p. 137.

[9] Constantin C. Giurescu (ed.), *Istoria României în date* (Bucureşti, 1972), p. 62.

[10] Constantin Rezachevici, 'Evreii din ţările române în evul mediu', in *Magazin Istoric*, September 1995, p. 59.

[11] Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Testimonies on the Ethno-Confessional Structure of Medieval Transylvania and Hungary (9th-14th centuries)', in *Transylvanian Review*, XIX, Supp. no. 1 (2010), pp. 9–41.

[12] Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Religiones and Nationes in Transylvania During the 16th Century: Between Acceptance and Exclusion', in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, vol. 12, no. 34 (2013), pp. 209–236.

[13] Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* (Bucureşti, 2013), p. 129.

[14] Ioan Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile vlahilor schismatici* (Bucureşti, 2011), p. 19.

[15] Liviu Cîmpeanu, 'Diplome regale de danie ca izvoare pentru biografia lui Iancu de Hunedoara', in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu*, XXVI (Sibiu, 2019), p. 67, footnote 1; RO: Ioan/Iancu Huniade/ de Hunedoara; HU: Hunyadi János.

[16] Tonk Sándor, 'Diplomele de înnobilare ale lui Nicolaus Olahus', in *Revista Arhivelor*, 12, 1, pp. 13–31; RO: Nicolae Valahul; HU: Oláh Miklós.

[17] Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Ştefan Mailat şi Ţara (cu cetatea) Făgăraşului', in *Medievalia Transilvanica*, II, 1, 1998, pp. 243–244.; RO: Ştefan Mailat; HU: Majláth István.

[18] Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* (Bucureşti, 2013), pp. 158–160.

[19] Csepregi Zoltán, 'Egyházi irodalom és reformáció a Szapolyai-uralkodók országrészében (1526–1570)', in Fodor Pál és Varga Szabolcs, *Egy elfeledett magyar király dinasztia: a Szapolyaiak*, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközp (2020), pp. 243–260.

[20] Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai. Czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, első kötet, Kiadja Friebeisz Istvan, (Pest, 1857), pp. 216–234.

[21] Ana Dumitran, *Religie ortodoxă - religie reformată: ipostaze ale identităţii confesionale a românilor din Transilvania în secolele XVI-XVII* (Oradea, 2015), pp. 71–72.

[22] Szekeres Lukács Sándor, *Székely Mózes. Erdély székely fejedelme* (Székelyudvarhely, 2017), p. 4.

[23] Mihai Bărbulescu, Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Şerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, *Istoria României*, (Bucureşti, 2007), p. 237.

[24] Sorin Bulboacă, 'Acaţiu Barcsai de Bârcea Mare, ultimul ban al Lugojului şi Caransebeşului (26 decembrie 1644 - 14 septembrie 1658)', in *Banatica*, 21, (Reşiţa, 2001), p. 105.

[25] Nyulászi-Straub Éva, Öt évszázad címerei - A Magyar Országos Levéltár címereslevelein (Szekszárd, 1999), pp. 9–10.

[26] Szálkai Tamás, 'Allgemeine Übersicht: Wappenverleihungen der Fursten von Siebenburgen', in *Acta Terræ Fogarasiensis*, V, Editura ALTIP (2016), p. 239.

[27] Tudor-Radu Tiron, 'Despre dreptul la stemă în Transilvania secolului XVII', in *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, XXIV (2006), p. 228.

[28] See the works of Oscar Bárczay, Dan Cernovodeanu, Victor Coroianu, Géza Csergheö, Costin Feneşan, Éva Nyulászi-Straub, Ioan Puşcariu, Constantin Reichenauer, Imre Sándor, József Sebestyén, Tamás Szálkai, Attila István Szekeres, Tudor-Radu Tiron, etc.

[29] There have been two extraordinary grants of a barony in Transylvania, for Lupaşcu Alia of Crocna (HU: koroknai Alia Wolfgang) in 1597 and for János Petky in 1607. These were exceptions, however.

[30] Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[31] This study is based on coats of arms extracted from multiple sources, such as: The National Archives of Romania, The National Archives of Hungary, The Library of the Romanian Academy, The Archives of the Reformed Diocese of Transylvania, The *Siebmacher* for Transylvania (*Der Adel von Siebenbürgen*), *Czímerlevelek*, *Magyarország címeres könyve (Liber armorum Hungariae)*, *Armales Transylvanorum*, *Diplome de înnobilare şi blazon din Banat*, and other papers on this topic.

[32] Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[33] A more in-depth analysis of the religious identity of the Romanian communities in Transylvania during the Reformation can be studied in Ana Dumitran, *Religie Ortodoxă - religie reformată. Ipostaze ale identităţii confesionale a românilor din Transilvania în secolele XVI-XVII* (Oradea, 2015).

[34] Tonk Sándor, 'Bethlen Gábor címeres nemeslevele a lelkipásztorok utódai számára', in *Cselekvő hit. Emlékkönyv Csiha Kálmán püspöki szolgálatáról* (Kolozsvár, 2000), pp. 225–234.

[35] Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–232.

[36] Constantin Reichenauer von Reichenau, Géza von Csergheö, Oscar von Bárczay, *Der Adel von Siebenbürgen*, Verlag von Bauer und Raspe (Nürnberg, 1898), p. 195, table 133.

[37] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64–1.-244; RO: János Nagy *de Milota*; HU: *milotai* Nagy János.

[38] Szálkai Tamás, *Armales Transylvanorum. Válogatás az erdélyi fejedelmek címeradományaiból*, (Attraktor, 2009), p. 72.

[39] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 120.

[40] Sándor Imre, *Czímerlevelek*, I. Füzet (1551–1629), (Kolozsvár, 1910), pp. 69–70 ; RO: János Dayka de Cheşereu; HU: *keserűi* Dayka János ; RO: János Dayka de Cheşereu; HU: keserűi Dayka János.

[41] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-S no. 34.

[42] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 133 ; RO: János Lukáts de Boroşneu; HU: borosnyói Lukáts János.

[43] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64–1.-962.

[44] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 213 ; RO: János Ropán de Súdovice; HU: felsőszudi Ropán János.

[45] RO: Sámuel Halmágyi de Etfalău; HU: etfalvai Halmágyi Sámuel.

[46] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 7 no. 11/2.

[47] RO: Baron János Antalffy de Sânmartin; HU: csíkszentmártoni báró Antalffy János.

[48] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 101.

[49] Szálkai Tamás, *Armales Transylvanorum* (Máriabesnyő - Gödöllő, 2009).

[50] Gyula Andrássy gróf, *Magyarország címeres könyve (Liber armorum Hungariae)*, I (Budapest, 1913).

[51] He also might have been Hungarian, as all former Catholics that lived in the Saxon seats followed the Lutheran faith, regardless of ethnicity.

[52] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 152.

[53] The *Siebmacher* armorial for Transylvania only mentions few arms granted to Saxons: Samuel Miller *of Braşov* (HU: brassói Miller Sámuel) in 1605, Michael Herman in 1653, Martin Closius in 1680, as well as Andreas Conrad de Heidendorff (HU: heidendorffi Conrad András).

[54] Tudor-Radu Tiron, op. cit., pp. 225–226.

[55] RO: familia Haller de Hallerstein; HU: hallerkői Haller család.

[56] Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai. Czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, ötödik kötet, Kiadja Ráth Mór, Pest, 1859, pp. 26–38.

[57] RO: Mihály *Kövendi de Chiend zis Nagy; kövendi* Kövendi alias Nagy Mihály.

[58] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64–2.-419.

[59] RO: Ioan Zoba de Vinţ zis Pop; HU: oláhalvinci Zoba alias Pap János.

[60] It could also be a simple coincidence, as Ioan Zoba was known to dislike everything that had to do with the Principality of Wallachia. See Ana Dumitran, Ioan Mircea, Gúdor Botond, 'Nobleţe prin cultură: Ioan Zoba din Vinţ', in *Apulum*, XXXVII/2, 2000, p. 19.

[61] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64–1.-516.

[62] Ioan Mircea, Ana Dumitran, 'Nobleţe prin cultură: Ştefan Stoia din Ciugud', in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «Gheorghe Şincai» al Academiei Române*, III-IV, 2000–2001, Târgu-Mureş, pp. 365–371; RO: Ştefan Stoia de Ciugud; HU: csügedi Sztoja István.

[63] *Library of the Romanian Academy*, P. 605.

[64] RO: Toader Aron *de Bistra*; HU: *bisztrai* Áron Tódor.

[65] *National Archives of Hungary*, cota HU-MNL-OL-F 9-Cista 2. - Fasc. 7. - No. 14.

[66] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-Z - no. 1. Also, von Reichenau et. al, op. cit., p. 254; RO: Dumitru Zoicaş de Noţig zis Pop; HU: nagyszegi Zajkás alias Pap Dömötör.

[67] von Reichenau, et al, op. cit., p. 204 ; RO: Grigore Drăguş of Dejuţiu alias Pop; HU: décsfalvai Dragus alias Pap Gergely.

[68] Aurel Dragne, 'Biserică şi societate în secolul al XVIII-lea. Situaţia clerului român din Ţara Făgăraşului', in *Acta Terræ Fogarasiensis*, V, Editura ALTIP, 2016, pp. 53–54.

[69] Constantin C. Giurescu (ed.), op. cit., p. 153.

[70] Neagu Djuvara, O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor (Bucureşti, 2013), pp. 182–185.

[71] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 13.

[72] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 4-Alba - Cista 2. - Fasc. 3. - no. 9.

[73] Costin Feneşan, *Diplome de înnobilare şi blazon din Banat (secolele XVI-XVII)*, (Timişoara, 2007), pp. 130–134 ; RO: Petru Orăşteanu de Lugoj zis Pop; HU: lugasi Szászvárosi alias Pap Péter.

[74] Ana Dumitran, 'Petrus Szászvárosi alias Pap de Lugoj. Consideraţii asupra statutului social-economic al preotului român calvin în secolul al XVII-lea', in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 4–5, 2000–2001, pp. 67–72.

[75] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 224.

[76] RO: Tămaş Chiş de Făgăraş; HU: fogarasi Kis Tamás.

[77] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-F - no. 13a.

[78] RO: Jakob Gothard de Dalnic; HU: dálnoki Gothárd Jakab.

[79] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64–2.-346.

[80] von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 109.

[81] RO: Andreas Textorius de Idiciu; HU: jövedicsi Textorius András.

[82] The fact that the Transylvanian Saxon community from Cluj adhered to the Unitarian faith resulted in the city being expelled from the *Universitas Saxonum*.

[83] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 8.

[84] *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 7.

[85] Tudor-Radu Tiron, op. cit., pp. 235–236.

HERALDIC REVENGE AND REWARD IN THE DUTCH REVOLT. THE EFFECTS OF A CAMPAIGN AGAINST COATS OF ARMS (1569–1571)

Dr. STEVEN THIRY, A.I.H.

On 14 February 1568, a delegation accompanied by twelve halberdiers marched into the university city of Leuven. Bearing orders of the Spanish governor-general of the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba, their intimidating presence was not meant for any ordinary student. They had been sent to take Philip William, count of Buren, and eldest son of the country's most prominent nobleman, the Prince of Orange. The thirteen-year-old boy had little choice but to comply. He was escorted out of the city, despite protest about this breach of academic immunity, and then shipped off to Spain in the company of – as his high status demanded – two pages, a couple of servants, and a small honorary guard. He would never see his father again.[1]

The reason for this action, which later patriotic histories imagined as a brutal abduction, lay in the outbreak of an open revolt in the Habsburg Netherlands. By taking such precious hostage the Duke of Alba tried to dissuade prince William of Orange from leading the opposition. In preceding years high nobles like Orange, who considered themselves natural leaders of the country, felt frustrated by the way the Spanish king Philip II as sovereign of the Netherlands overlooked their interests. They at the same time expressed concern about the persecution of Protestants. While their petitions went unheeded, a broad group of lesser nobles allied in a covenant or 'compromise of nobles' to extort concessions from the Habsburg government. Yet things turned ugly when an Iconoclastic Fury erupted in the summer of 1566, ravaging countless churches and convents on its course. For King Philip II such disobedience and sacrilege were intolerable. However, his untimely decision to send a punitive expedition led by the ill-reputed Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, provoked an armed conflict that is now known as the 'Dutch Revolt' and which would rage for decades to come.[2]

It was Alba's intention to stamp out all dissent. Upon his arrival in the Netherlands, he therefore imposed a set of repressive measures, even though the troubles had by then cooled down.[3] These repressive measures, as the following pages will explore, likewise affected the visual field, including heraldry. Needless to say, coats of arms functioned in the early modern period as symbols of honour and widespread markers of aristocratic power and possession.[4] In that sense they formed a conspicuous reminder of, in particular, the 'noble' involvement in the troubles that affected the Habsburg Netherlands. One now almost forgotten sanction used in response to the upheaval of the mid-1560s was a systematic denial of the armorial identity of men banished and executed for their involvement. This focus on heraldry is indicative of a wider symbolic side to the confiscations and other repressive measures, and underscores the specific meanings and concerns that these emblems evoked.[5] Most directly, Alba ordered the removal of arms that marked the confiscated properties of convicted 'rebels'. His instruction resulted in a destructive campaign documented for several localities and noble residences through the last months of 1569 and 1570, the full scope of which is difficult to determine for reasons which will be discussed below.

Figure 1: armorial panels of the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral.

Heraldic images were of course more than just personal signs. Punitive measures that concentrated on the use of these hereditary designs and shared symbolism unavoidably caused discussion about the extent of guilt, and on the consequences that such punishment might have for the crown's relation with relatives and future successors of rebel nobles. What kind of heraldic display, if any at all, could the king allow for indirect 'associates' like Philip William, the son of the rebel leader now under Spanish control? Did the boy automatically bear guilt for his father's crimes, up to an extent that this should affect his own status? Another issue concerned the memory of noble ancestors once prized for their loyalty to the dynasty, but now sharing the infamy of their progeny.

The cases under discussion reveal that heraldic punishment of rebellion needed to be applied with caution. Aside from being a target of revenge, this was a medium with the potential to promote loyalty and show attachment to the crown. As a mark of princely favour it rewarded supporters, and as such could be used to promote good relationships with the next generation of nobles, such as Philip William, whose allegiance still mattered for the Habsburg regime. The example of the Dutch Revolt therefore helps us to better understand a practice that scholars recently highlighted as a part of early modern dealings with treason and rebellion.[6] At the same time, I would argue that the period also marks an important point in the evolution of noble heraldry in the Netherlands itself. Precisely at the intersection of punishment and favour, the heraldic image – if not also the social identity it expressed – came to depend on princely consent. The heated actions taken in the 1560s and 1570s, in that regard paved the way for the orderly law of arms

installed from the late sixteenth century onwards in those provinces that reconciled with Habsburg rule.

Counter-iconoclasm under the Duke of Alba

The political unrest and the Iconoclastic Fury were not seen as mere religious dissent. They were considered treacherous deeds against both God and king which required the most serious of punishments.[7] Alba's first action was the erection of a 'Council of Troubles' or, as locals soon dubbed it, the 'Council of Blood'. This extraordinary tribunal traced down everyone implicated in the troubles. Many had by then moved to safety, so most of the thousands of sentences were pronounced in absentia. But that did not prevent the Council from applying traditional punishments for treason and rebellion on an unprecedented scale. Convicts, at least if they possessed anything substantial, saw their goods confiscated and publicly sold or, in the case of larger noble estates, annexed to the crown. To inventory and manage all these forfeited goods, a separate Chamber of Confiscations was set up, run by a 'treasurer-general' and a team of local receivers. If the confiscations and sales offered the prospect of extra income for the crown, the seizure of properties that had defined people's standing in society also formed a symbolic assertion of royal authority.[8] It is in this context that heraldry comes into view.

Alba's sentences spared no one. Most famously, in June 1568, the public beheading for treason of two of the country's most prominent nobles, the counts of Egmont and Hornes, caused a public outcry. Both men were unquestionably Catholic, and their interventions had helped to restore order after the Iconoclastic Fury. Philip II, however, could not pardon their opposition against his royal policies. The Council of Troubles likewise condemned the Prince of Orange, along with a series of other dissatisfied grandees, but these men had managed to escape in time. The outrage caused by the beheadings confronted the new administration with the persistent memory of recalcitrant nobles. In death, the question of their guilt became the subject of visible strife.[9] One way to stress the executed counts' treacherous intentions was the manipulation of heraldic remembrance. In spite of their high status, the Duke of Alba only permitted the executed men to have modest funeral services in their respective local seats. When Egmont's widow, Sabina of Bavaria, had a funeral blazon attached above the gate of his Brussels residence – a practice customary for noble mourning – the new governor ordered the sign to be torn down. As not everyone could just stand by to watch their lord posthumously humiliated, Alba had to insist twice to get the actual work done.[10]

Reprisals against coats of arms were not unheard of. Thanks to Laurent Hablot we know how the practice developed in the Middle Ages, taking several forms from breaking to ritually shaming or modifying arms.[11] For the early modern period, the phenomenon has been studied by Antoine Robin. He drew attention to the case of the Constable of France, Charles III of Bourbon, whose defection in 1523 to the Habsburg side led the French king to unleash an iconoclastic campaign against the man's armorial memory.[12] While knowing French precedents, the Habsburg government had its own experience with heraldic punishment. In the early 1520s, for instance, the repression of the Spanish *Comuneros* revolt against Emperor Charles V had also involved the erasure of the coats of arms of some rebels.[13] In the Netherlands, the removal or even ritual inversion of armorial panels went back to the fifteenth century, when it had been applied to punish some of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece who had failed to live up to their

Figure 2: armorial panels from the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral, source www.artinflanders.be; left, 2a: panel of prince William of Orange; right, 2b: panel of Count Lamoral of Egmont.

oath of loyalty.[14] The noble opposition of the 1560s certainly recalled these cases but, as will become clear, the situation was now more complicated.

For all these precedents, concern about the armorial presence of rebels seemed to have surfaced through the very practice of repression. This is at least suggested by an early incident. At the time of the beheadings, Alba's commissioners investigated the iconoclasm and pillaging committed by a rebel gang in the abbey of Mariënweerd near the Dutch place of Arnhem. What struck them were the still untouched windows showing the arms of the gang's noble leader, whose family had in the past always patronized the abbey. Reporting back, the commissioners asked if they had to remove or alter these arms in revenge for the sacrilege. The duke of Alba took up their suggestion. He had them removed throughout the abbey.[15]

Only once the confiscations were fully underway did the new governor-general turn to a more systematic approach. On 4 October 1569, Alba dispatched an instruction letter to all provincial courts and audit chambers. These, in turn, had to order the administrators of the confiscated residences, castles, villages and lordships of those executed or banished for the troubles to 'remove, break and shatter' all their arms present ('*a faire oster, romper et casser touttes les armoiries*').[16] The instruction letter made clear that a thorough execution was expected: either in sculpted, painted or engraved form, whether

in public or private spaces, no spot with arms was to be neglected – though the removal had to be done 'at the least possible expense for His Majesty'. Furthermore, the task had to be accomplished within one month, after which each administrator had to report back.

Alba's instruction thereby curiously echoed the religious destructions in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566. By removing material signs of honour, the proclaimed enemies of God and king faced a similar fate as the saints whose images some of them had damaged. The targeting of their profane arms thus mirrored the violent denial of sacred capacities in that it denied the social identity of those who bore them.[17] Both acts reveal the sentiments that visual expressions evoked. But for all this similarity, the counter-iconoclasm ordered in late 1569 which continued through the early months of 1570, was distinct in focus. The Duke of Alba himself did his best to avoid the association with religious violence. His instruction letter explicitly excluded those arms appearing in churches, abbeys, monasteries and 'other places of piety'. All sacred places were thus to be left untouched, thereby abandoning his earlier stance.[18]

Another reservation concerned the armorial panels of the Order of the Golden Fleece which adorned a number of churches. These panels, including those of implicated Golden Fleece knights, were a reminder of the solemn chapter meetings of the Order (**Figure 1**). As already mentioned, treacherous behaviour of knights could be punished by shaming or rejecting their armorial panel at a new chapter. However, the Order's statutes also stressed the consent of all other members. Given organizational difficulties, and confronted with the protest of still loyal knights against the execution of their peers, Alba admitted that the armorial panels of discredited members were to be kept in place for the time being (**Figures 2a-2c**). He advised the king to investigate the possibility of convoking only the knights residing in Spain and organize a new chapter over there, where the question could be solved.[19] But at that time not enough Golden Fleece knights could be assembled for such a valid assembly. In fact, no chapter of the Order in its traditional form would ever be convoked again. This likewise meant that convicted members were never formally ousted from the Order.[20]

The call to reject every other heraldic sign of convicts seemed more straightforward. Carrying out the instruction proved another matter, since these things cropped up in the most diverse places. Moreover, the Netherlands lacked a tradition of heraldic visitations. With no clear overview local commissioners had to dig through the long list of condemned people and then try to get the heraldic identification right. How difficult this could be was experienced by one local receiver in the west of Flanders. For two days, the man crossed the countryside on horseback, enquiring where banished or executed rebels had left their marks, but with little success. He only discovered the bearings of two banished lords on the windows of some parish churches, which would thus fall under the exception rule.[21]

Other obstacles such as financial considerations caused hesitation. In November 1569, for instance, the Spanish keeper of the confiscated castle of Hoogstraten, the family seat of the condemned count of Hoogstraten, wrote to his superior. For the time being he had not executed the instruction concerning the arms. Just those adorning stone columns in the castle, he sighed in his letter, amounted to more than two hundred, without mentioning the bearings carved in woodwork or wrought in iron. And did the castle's consecrated chapels fall under the religious exception? He was particularly unsure about what to do with the massive (and costly) tiled stoves in the castle, bedecked with heraldic

Left, *Figure 2c:* armorial panel of Count Philip of Hornes from the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral, source www. artinflanders.be; right, *Figure 3*: arms of Prince William of Orange from the *Armorial of the Ghent Calvinist Republic*, 1578, Lieven Vander Schelden, University Library Ghent.

motifs. Destroying the arms depicted on them would leave everyone in the cold as it would then be necessary to entirely replace these stoves.[22]

From all these examples we learn that Alba's heraldic punishment served two objectives. On the one hand, the destruction divested treacherous subjects of their status. In a kind of counter-reaction to religious iconoclasm, the punishment also affirmed in a negative sense that the king was the source of these honorific marks. On the other hand, there was clearly a practical side to the instruction. Arms visually marked the possession of the goods and domains in question. Now that these fell to the crown there had to be no doubt about the change of ownership. The removal of signs that reminded of former inhabitants and functions also made it easier to repurpose some of the confiscated residences. This motive partly explains why Alba's instruction letter mentioned 'all arms of private individuals'. He later specified in an additional instruction (26 November 1569) that this also included arms of predecessors, even though strictly 'private' spaces could be spared 'to avoid greater expense'.[23] However, as turned out, this inclusive approach brought up some uneasy questions.

Harming ancestors and progeny… or the extent of heraldic memory

Alba's repression did not remain unchallenged. The exiled prince of Orange organized an armed resistance, and after some military confrontations gained a foothold in the northern provinces of the Netherlands. When the opposition hardened in the early 1570s, lawyers in the service of Alba looked to neighbouring France – where a similar civil war was raging – to devise a proper response. Once again, heraldry was part of the plan.

In September 1569, the Parlement of Paris had condemned Admiral Gaspar de Coligny and his brother, along with other Huguenot leaders, for treason. Part of the sentence was the confiscation of their lands and a revocation of nobility, which was also extended to their offspring. Because these men were fugitives, effigies of them were publicly strangled instead, after which their family arms were dragged at the tail of a horse through the muddy streets of Paris.[24] In Alba's view, the Prince of Orange merited a similar treatment for his 'hostilities and heinous devilry (*maleficios)*', even though he had already been formally condemned by the Council of Troubles. The governor-general therefore suggested that the King have the Prince of Orange executed 'in effigy and arms' by dragging his bearings through the dust and then having them shattered by an executioner. Following the French example, Orange's sons should be deprived of their nobility and declared unworthy to possess any land in 'the realm of His Majesty'.[25]

The king did not pursue the proposal, yet the heraldic repercussion of such 'guilt by association' had, in fact, been explored earlier for the abducted Philip William. As early as March 1569 (months before the counter-iconoclasm) Alba sent Philip II a possible 'design of arms' for Orange's heir.[26] We unfortunately have to guess about this 'design', as well as about the arms Philip William used before his Spanish captivity. Being the titular 'Count of Buren', a small county he had inherited from his mother, the boy likely did not just use the paternal charges (**Figure 3**). This seems confirmed by the undated ensign of a messenger of the Count of Buren. It shows an impaled shield combining the paternal Orange-Nassau arms to the dexter with his maternal arms of Egmont-Buren on the sinister side.[27]

Was this also the composition debated in 1569? The appearance of the title 'Prince of Orange' on the piece points to a later date, after his father's death in 1584, but it may reflect earlier usage. In any case, after personally reviewing the heraldic design sent to him, the King noted to Alba that it contained the arms 'of the Nassau lineage' in the 'principal quarter' (he was perhaps not making reference to the Nassau lion as such, but rather to the entire paternal part). Since the prince of Orange had 'so rightly lost [these arms]' Philip II requested further judicial counseling before he could make up his mind. Until then, the King decided to formally suspend Philip William's armorial – and thus noble – identity.[28]

The pending verdict reflects a wider debate on the extent of noble treachery. While Alba's men went ahead with cancelling heraldry, they also harmed innocent ancestors, relatives and offspring. For instance, in the castle of Zottegem, the seat of the beheaded count of Egmont, no arms escaped.[29] Material testimony of this intervention has survived in the form of two renaissance corbel pieces with erased armorial bearings (**Figure 4**), with those of the Count himself still showing the dynastic collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which the carpenter charged with the task had carefully preserved. That other armorial bearings suffered, such as those of the count's widow,

Figure 4: Wooden corbel pieces originally from the castle of Zottegem with the erased arms of count Lamoral of Egmont on the right, and of his wife Sabina of Bavaria on the left, 16th century, City Hall Zottegem – Egmontkamer.

Sabina of Bavaria, even though she was not seen as complicit, is suggested by the other corbel. It is marked by a completely shaved off female shield in a lozenge shape.

At the aforementioned castle of Hoogstraten, where heraldic decoration abounded, the initial reluctance ended with shipping away both the arms carved in wood, and those sculpted on the stone columns and fireplaces throughout all chambers and dependencies.[30] But these comprised mainly shields placed there by a former count, Antoine I of Lalaing, and his spouse Elizabeth of Culemborg, who in their time had been celebrated for their services to the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty.[31] Because of the impact on the memory of often well-respected figures, commissioners unavoidably hesitated. Some delayed their task, unsure about the identity of a shield, or confronted with local obstruction.[32] In another case, that of the convicted and deceased Marquess of Bergen, the council of the family town of Bergen-op-Zoom agreed to remove their lord's funeral blazons and banners from the local church. This curiously deviated from the exception for sacred places, but the funerary accoutrements were perhaps not considered a fixed part of the church interior. Be that as it may, the council did make sure to execute the instruction in the evening, 'silently', to cause no disturbance.[33]

It seems that the commissioners sometimes made their own discernment. One final, exceptional testimony still exists today in the urban residence of squire Jan van Renesse in the northern town of Utrecht. Van Renesse was banished for joining the Compromise of nobles and his alleged involvement in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566.[34]

That same year he had also received William of Orange in his Utrecht home at Drift 25. Although the house was heavily rebuilt in the eighteenth century, a hall on the first floor still preserves some renaissance corbel pieces with armorial decoration. The arms that would have adorned the shield-shape are completely erased. There is little doubt this was done by the local artisan who after Alba's instruction had entered the house to 'erase and cast down thirty-five coats of arms standing high and exalted in the air', along with fifty-six others located 'low and at ground level, as well as above the gate, in front of the chimney piece, and on the beams'.[35] These removed arms were likely those of the banished nobleman's late father (also called 'Jan'), sharing now posthumously in his son's infamy (**Figure 5a**). However, unlike the example of the lozenge from the Egmont castle in Zottegem, one of the Utrecht pieces shows a damaged shield of alliance whereon the family charges of Jan van Renesse's mother, Alyt van Bronckhorst Batenburg, were left untouched (**Figure 5b**). Like her son, the still-living widow had been forced to flee the country for her reformed sympathies. One explanation made is that a dividing wall only later removed hid the 'female' part from view.[36] But it is equally plausible that the artisan in question interpreted his task in a restrictive way, perhaps in view of the mother's local reputation.

The idea that treason not only incriminated the offender personally, but also incapacitated relatives, had been applied before. When the cash-strapped Charles V in 1552 set out to sell knighthoods in Castile, he specified that they should not be conferred on 'the son or grandson' of any rebel involved in the *Comuneros* revolt thirty years earlier.[37] The duke of Alba and his advisers subscribed to a similarly rigorous line. They held that offspring of rebels could be rightfully deprived of the heritage and honours of their fathers, which the counter-iconoclasm seems to have projected − retroactively − on predecessors too. In this view Orange's children were as sons of both a rebel and heretic
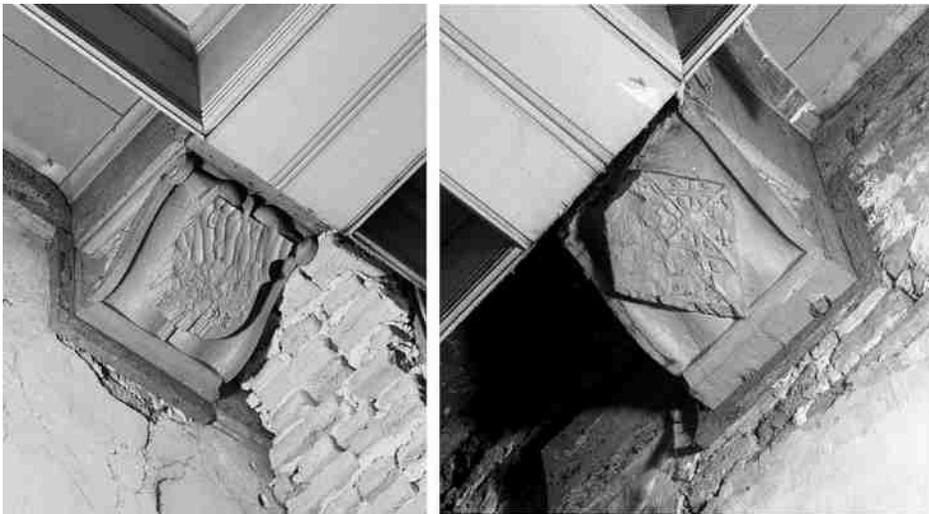
Figure 5: wooden corbel pieces with erased arms in the former house of Jan van Renesse, Drift 25 Utrecht, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed; right, 5b: the sinister half still showing the arms of Alyt van Bronckhorst Batenburg. Photographs by J. Du Jr. Saar.

incapable of any dignity and honour, and thus could not bear arms and titles without special grace of the king, not even those from the mother's side.[38] Other legal advisers advocated a more moderate stance. They reminded King Philip II of the importance of royal clemency, arguing that the next noble generation would be crucial for the restoration of royal authority in the Netherlands.[39] In this perspective, heraldic memory served not only as an object of retribution but it also provided a way to mend relations.

By royal grace: rehabilitating arms

After it became clear who the opposing sides in the conflict were, attention became more focussed on the more beneficial possibilities of the usage of arms. Alba's methods had only fuelled the rebellion. Philip II therefore soothed the repression by introducing a more reconciliatory approach. In the 1570s and 1580s he began rewarding supporters with a series of ennoblements, leading to new grants and recognitions of arms.[40]

One notable example of this is today illustrated by the imposing heraldic mural above a fireplace in the *Chateau du Pin*, an old fortress in the then Habsburg principality of the Franche-Comté (now France) (**Figure 6**). It was commissioned in the seventeenth century by the owner in honour of his father Benoît Charreton, seigneur de Chassey. This Charreton turns out to have been Alba's confidant in charge of the abduction of Philip William. He defended the royal cause on several other occasions and later made it to the

Figure 6: Heraldic mural above the fireplace of *Chateau du Pin* (Franche-Comté), depicting the arms of Benoît Charreton, seigneur de Chassey, and those of his children and alliances, 1643, photograph by the author.

post of 'treasurer-general of the confiscations'. Already in 1573, Charreton was ennobled for his services, and ten years later he was created a *chevalier*. The ennoblement also earned him 'marks of honour' of a special kind, which still proudly adorn the fireplace at *du Pin*: a shield with a lion and a chief displaying the characteristic golden billets on azure of the Franche-Comté − a charge referring to the king's own heraldry. It is, moreover, combined with a Burgundian saltire, and topped with another lion in the crest. Below the shield features a Latin motto: UT CUM IGNE, CUM PRINCIPE ('beware of the king, as of fire').[41]

And the King's revenge could be fiery indeed… The most notorious of heraldic favours befell one of Charreton's compatriots, a young Catholic zealot named Balthasar Gérard. On 10 July 1584, having infiltrated the prince's household at Delft, Balthasar Gérard fulfilled the royal will by shooting William of Orange to death, a deed he paid for with his own life. Philip II later showed his gratitude by elevating Gérard's siblings to the nobility. In addition, they were granted the confiscated estates of Orange in the Franche-Comté, together with appropriate – albeit unconventional − arms visualizing the force of royal wrath: *Party per bend sinister argent and gules, a lion counterchanged ready to strike with Jupiter's bolt,* with the same lion returning in the crest (**Figure 7**).[42]

This positive use of heraldry cannot be isolated from its destructive counterpart. Apart from explicit grants of arms, the earlier punitive campaign laid the foundation for heraldic rewards of a tacit kind. The denial of nobles' visual identities under Alba meant

Figure 7: arms granted to the Gérard family, depicted on the royal letter patent which rewarded the family of Balthasar Gérard with the lordships of Lièvremont, Hostal and Dommartin in the Franche-Comté, 1590, Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

that the continuation of the same signs by their posterity had now also become a matter of royal favour. It brings us back one last time to the fate of Orange's captive son.

During his detention in Spain, Philip William was allowed to continue his education, but was afterwards confined in a remote castle after correspondence with his father came to light. For all that, the king clearly did not follow the suggestion to deprive him and other offspring of rebels of their noble status and accompanying honours. However, and this is confirmed in the juridical discussion at that time, the fact that they were spared their fathers' dishonour was considered a special grace of His Majesty.[43] We do not know when Philip II made up his mind about Philip William's arms. Yet he did eventually recognize him as successor to the sovereign principality of Orange. Only as late as 1596, the by then forty-two-year old nobleman, who had grown into a good Catholic faithful to the Habsburg cause, was allowed to return to the Netherlands. Over the decades that followed, Philip William managed to take possession of his inheritance, whereas his reformed siblings continued as 'stadholders' of the now independent Northern provinces. Among these restituted lands were, in another ironic twist, the lordships in the Franche-Comté previously awarded to the brothers of his father's murderer.[44]

When the lost son of Orange made his comeback on the noble stage, the arms he flaunted were now the full paternal charges.[45] In 1599, he followed in his father's footsteps when being inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece. In accordance with the established procedure, now that chapter meetings were no longer held, his bearings and crest were required to be registered in the Order's official register, leaving no doubt as to the king's approval.[46] The once disputed arms now reconfirmed Philip William in his noble identity by way of royal intercession. The Orange-Nassau charges, encircled by the Golden Fleece, were erected for example on the town hall in the old family lordship of Diest, on the occasion of Philip William's formal entry there in 1602 (**Figure 8**).[47] Some years later they were placed on top of a new altar gifted by Philip William to the nearby shrine of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, a place of special importance for the restoration of Catholic Habsburg power and the ongoing fight against the rebellious north.[48]

As to other successors and relatives of compromised nobles, they were of course not controllable in the resumption of ancestral charges that had suffered public disgrace under the Duke of Alba. But here too, the unstated permission to restore and use these arms openly in Habsburg territory did entail an implicit royal recognition. It marked the political re-integration of these men, signifying how the fate of their family patrimony depended on royal obedience.

Conclusion

What do the events above tell us about heraldic evolution in the Netherlands at large? Once markers denoting the relative independence of grand noble families, the symbolic onslaught in the early years of the Revolt asserted royal control over coats of arms (and the noble status they expressed). The high nobles who had been notably critical – who had considered themselves almost equal to their sovereign – were visually stripped of honour in revenge of their disobedience.

Yet the nullification of arms, with their familial dimension, proved a difficult exercise. Because royal authority depended on noble support, heraldic punishment interacted with heraldic reward, either by explicit grants or implicit recognition. The new generation of nobles who resumed contested bearings, did so with a new connotation. The arms

Figure 8: arms of Philip William of Orange, erected on the facade of the town hall of Diest on the occasion of his Joyous Entry in 1602, City Museum 'De Hofstadt', Diest.

still served as a reminder of high noble independence, but suggested that such identity existed by royal grace. In that regard, the radical focus on heraldic images provoked by the troubles paved the way for the development of an orderly law of arms from the late sixteenth century onwards which unmistakably denoted all arms as royal privilege.[49]

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[1] W.C. Mees, *Philips Willem van Oranje* (The Hague, 1965), pp.2 9–30; P.J. Blok, 'Philips Willem van Oranje's gevangenschap in Spanje', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* 5th ser., VII (1940), pp. 1–13.

[2] A concise, factual overview of the Dutch Revolt in: A. Van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands. The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*, transl. A. Brown (London, 2018).

[3] V. Soen, 'The Beeldenstorm and the Spanish Habsburg Response', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review*, no. 131 (2016), pp. 99–120.

[4] S. Thiry and L. Duerloo, (edd.), *Heraldic Hierarchies. Identity, Status and State Intervention in Early Modern Heraldry* (Leuven, 2021).

[5] In a paper presented on 20 October 2022 to the *Société Française d'Héraldique et de Sigillographie*, Dominique Delgrange brought to light some examples of this heraldic destruction from Artois, drawing similar conclusions about the significance of Alba's order. The symbolic dimension of the Habsburg repression – though not focusing on heraldry – is stressed in: Y. Junot and V. Soen, 'User ou abuser des confiscations : les voies tortueuses de la punition, du pardon et de la récompense par les Habsbourg d'Espagne durant la Révolte (Pays-Bas espagnols, 1566–1609)', in: Y. Junot and V. Soen, (edd.), *Confisquer, restituer, redistribuer. Punition et réconciliation matérielles dans les territoires des Habsbourg et en France (XVIe et XVIIe siècles)* (Valenciennes, 2020), pp. 87–133; P. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts & Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch* Revolt (Ithaca/London, 2008); J. van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden, 2015).

[6] L. Hablot, '"Sens dessubz dessous". Le blason de la trahison au Moyen Âge', in: M. Billoré and M. Soria (edd.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge. De la monstruosité au crime politique (Ve-XVe siècle)* (Rennes, 2010), pp. 331–347; L. Hablot, 'Le bris des armes : l'iconoclasme héraldique dans la société médiévale', in: P. Charron,

M. Gil and A. Vilain (edd*.), La pensée du regard. Etudes d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 181–191; A. Robin, 'Emblematic Iconoclasm: The Case of Charles of Bourbon in 1527', in: Thiry and Duerloo, *Heraldic Hierarchies*, pp. 191–212.

[7] Soen, 'The Beeldenstorm'.

[8] Junot and Soen, 'User ou abuser des confiscations'; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le conseil des troubles* (Flavion-Florennes, 1981); J. Spijkers, 'De erfenis van Bergen. Confiscaties als financiële strategie van de Raad van Beroerten', in: B. van Eekelen and J. Spijkers (edd.), *Jan IV van Bergen 1528–1567: leven en nalatenschap van een (on)fortuinlijk markies* (Hilversum, 2020), pp. 129–135, 150–158.

[9] Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts & Civic Patriots*, p. 189.

[10] Alonso Ulloa, *Comentarios del s. Alonso de Ulloa* (Venice, 1569), f. 26v.; G. Dansaert, *La Comtesse Lamoral d'Egmont* (Brussels, 1934), p. 58; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le conseil des troubles. Liste des condamnés (1567–1573)* (Brussels, 1961), pp. 558, 560: Alba to receivers de Helmont and le Rouck, 9 December 1569.

[11] Hablot, '"Sens dessubz dessous".

[12] Robin, 'Emblematic Iconoclasm'; Hablot, 'Le bris des armes'.

[13] G. Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven/London, 2019), p. 140.

[14] F. de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'or depuis son institution jusqu'à la cessation des chapitres généraux* (Brussels, 1830), pp. 47, 50, 108–109, 111, 197, 235–236. This topic was also presented at the Congress by Hannah Itterbeke and Claire Toussat.

[15] G. Van Hasselt, *Stukken voor de vaderlandsche historie, uit de verzameling van Mr. G. van Hasselt* (Arnhem, 1792), I, pp. 256–261, n° 129: van der Boe to Alba, 10 June 1568, and pp. 266–268, n° 131: Alba to van der Boe, 24 June 1568. On the pillaging of the Mariënweerd abbey, see: B. van Bavel, *Goederenverwerving en goederenbeheer van de abdij Mariënweerd (1129–1592)* (Hilversum, 1993), p. 557.

[16] Verheyden, *Liste des condamnées*, pp. 557–558: Alba to Council of Brabant, 4 October 1569; Jacob Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen van den hertog van Alba uitgesproken en geslagen in zynen bloedtraedt* (Amsterdam, 1735), pp. 432–434: Alba to Audit chamber of Holland, 4 October 1569. An example of how this instruction was subsequently passed on to local levels in Petri Bondam, *Oratio secularis de Foedere Trajectino* (Utrecht, 1779), pp. 42–44: Audit chamber of Gelre to town magistrate of Elburg, 25 October 1569.

[17] On the mechanisms and motives behind the religious iconoclasm, see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, pp. 90–165.

[18] Verheyden, *Liste des condamnées*, pp. 557–558.

[19] Alba to King, 1 June 1569, transcribed in: *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* vol. 38 (Madrid, 1861), pp. 115–116; L.P. Gachard, ed., *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1851), p. 93. See also: Gachard, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 583–584: Alba to King, 9 October 1567.

[20] On the failed attempts to convoke a new chapter and the subsequent reinvention of the Order of the Golden Fleece, see: S. Thiry, 'Chivalric Solidarity or Royal Supremacy? The Symbolic Revival of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1566–1598)', *Dutch Crossing,* no. 43(2019), esp. pp. 31–32.

[21] C. de Coussemaker, ed., *Troubles religieux du XVIe siècle dans la Flandre Maritime*, vol. 3 (Bruges, 1876), pp. 322–323 (confiscation account of Jean Willaert for Bergues Saint Winnocq and Berchambacht).

[22] General State Archives, Brussels (hereafter ARA), Conseil des Troubles, 16: don Luis Carillo de Castilla to Juan de Vargas, member of the Council of Troubles, 28 November 1569.

[23] Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen*, pp. 439–440: Alba to Audit Chamber of Holland, 26 November 1569.

[24] Pierre Bruslart, 'Journal des choses plus remarquables arriveès en France', in: *Mémoires de Condé*, vol. 1 (London, 1743), pp. 207–209, 211; D. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de dieu. La violence au temps des troubles de religion vers 1525-vers 1610*, vol. 2 (Seyssel, 1990), pp. 48–49. The effigies were removed from the gallows in August 1570 on the occasion of the Peace of Saint-Germain. For the reception of the condemnation in the Netherlands, see: Godevaert Van Haecht, *Kroniek over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders*, vol. 2 (Antwerp, 1929–1930), pp. 107, 132; *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo* (Madrid, 1952), II, pp. 591–592: Alba to King, 8 May 1571.

[25] *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, II, pp. 591–592: Alba to King, 8 May 1571; Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Consejo de Estado (hereafter E) 546 n° 110 (French original); AGS, E 550 n° 50 (Spanish translation); G. Janssens, 'L'emploi des biens confisqués par le Conseil des Troubles : un moyen pour le roi Philippe II de restaurer la fidélité de ses loyaux sujets (Pays-Bas espagnols, 1569–1573)', in: Junot and Soen, *Confisquer*, p. 175. Philip II asked further investigation: AGS, E 547 n° 156: King to Alba, 20 June 1571.

[26] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos,* vol. 37, p. 574: secretary Albornoz to de Zayas, 11 March 1569.

[27] The ensign is preserved in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: A reproduction in: T. Coppens, *Buren, Egmond en Oranje* (Baarn, 1989), p. 178.

[28] Gachard, *Correspondance,* II, p. 113: King to Alba, 18 November 1569; AGS, E 542 n° 57

[29] ARA, Rekenkamers. Delen en banden. Comptes des confiscations 19213, f. 96r. (Zottegem, 1570).

[30] ARA, ibid. 19285, ff. 9r.-v.

[31] Antoon I of Lalaing and Elisabeth of Culemborg. The convicted 3rd count of Hoogstraten, Antoon II of Lalaing, was their grand-nephew.

[32] E.g., Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen*, pp. 439–440: Alba to Audit chamber of Holland about the rejection of arms of 'predecessors', 26 November 1569; Van Hasselt, *Stukken*, II, pp. 24–25 n° 11: Johan van Aefferden to Audit chamber of Gelre, 29 May 1570.

[33] Spijkers, 'De erfenis van Bergen', p. 132.

[34] Haak, 'Renesse (Jan van)', in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1921), pp. 585–587.

[35] Excerpt from an account book of the local receiver of confiscations, after 18 October 1569, transcribed in: Antonio Matthaeo, *De jure gladii tractatus* (Leiden, 1689), p. 625.

[36] A. Jordens, 'Drift 25', *Steengoed*, 61 (2017), pp. 10–11.

[37] Parker, *Charles V*, p. 140.

[38] Gachard, *Correspondance*, p. 120: Alba to King, 15 January 1570; *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, II, pp. 312–313. See also: AGS, E 550 n° 49: legal advice of Hieronymus Olrignanus and Luis del Rio, endorsing the applicability of the Paris arrest on Orange and his offspring.

[39] AGS, E 550 n° 52: legal advice of Julio Claro to dr. Velasco on the status of Orange's sons.

[40] See the entries in: L. Duerloo and P. Janssens, *Wapenboek van de Belgische adel: van de 15de tot de 20ste eeuw* (Brussels, 1992–1994).

[41] A. Bouvard, 'Un exemple d'architecture militaire comtoise : le château du Pin', *Société d'émulation du Jura. Travaux présentés par les membres de la Société en 1977 et 1978* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1979), pp. 405–406, 425–427.

[42] J.M. Suchet, 'Balthazar Gerards', in: *Annales Franc-Comtoises, cinquième année*, vol. 10 (1868), pp. 334–346; Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, p. 117. The letter patent was issued on 20 July 1590, yet dated 4 March 1589.

[43] See footnote 38.

[44] P. Vanhoutte and M. Van Der Eycken, 'Van Madrid naar Diest (1595–1602)', in: M. Van der Eycken, ed., *Filips Willem. Prins van Oranje, heer van Diest* (Amsterdam, 2018), pp. 62–68.

[45] E.J. Th. À Th. Van der Hoop, 'Het wapen van Oranje-Nassau in zijn historische ontwikkeling', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 51 (1933), pp. 147–167.

[46] S. Thiry, 'Van wapenbord tot koningsboek. Herinnering, herstel en herbestemming in de heraldiek van het Gulden Vlies (1559–1795)', *Virtus*, 25 (2018), pp. 179–202.

[47] Vanhoutte and Van der Eycken, 'Van Madrid naar Diest', pp. 67–68.

[48] L. Duerloo and M. Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 86–87.

[49] L. Duerloo, 'Het blazoen ontsmet. Adellijke heraldiek als toe-eigening van eer en deugd, 1550–1650', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 123 (2008), pp. 633–654.

WHEN THE SAINTS WENT MARCHING IN: REPRESENTATIONS OF SAINTS IN THE MUNICIPAL HERALDRY OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

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Before the French Revolution, very few local authorities in the Low Countries bore a coat of arms featuring a depiction of a saint. Saints appeared quite frequently in the arms of monasteries and of trade guilds, but not in civic arms. In what was one of the proverbial exceptions that prove the rule, the arms of the city of Brussels featured St Michael slaying a devil.[1] This relative absence came abruptly to an end in 1816, when the restoration regime of the newly created kingdom of the Netherlands started confirming old arms and granting new ones to municipalities.[2] Since then, more than 430 municipalities in the present-day Netherlands or Belgium have obtained a coat of arms in which an entire saint appears either on the shield or as a supporter (**Figure 1a**). That number excludes subsequent confirmations. Most present-day heraldists would agree with the late Archbishop Bruno Bernhard Heim that including a saint in a coat of arms rarely produces an aesthetically pleasing result.[3] The traditional way of representing saints through their attributes is much to be preferred. Yet that consideration should not keep us from trying to understand the phenomenon.

This paper touches on two of the guiding topics of the congress. It describes how the restoration of local heraldry under King William I introduced a cohort of saints as charges or as supporters in municipal arms. After the secession of Belgium in 1830, the High Council of the Nobility in The Hague and the Council of the Nobility in Brussels developed different approaches to the treatment of saints in local heraldry. In the process municipal heraldry in the Low Countries came to reflect the religious divisions that were brought about by the Reformation, a second guiding topic of the conference. Protestants and Catholics held radically different beliefs about the veneration of saints. What was considered idolatry by one, was a practice for seeking heavenly patronage for the other. Having a closer look at which communities petitioned a coat of arms featuring a saint, and what determined the selection of the saintly patron, will help to clarify the process. It will also allow us to make a list of the most popular saints featuring in the local heraldry of the Low Countries. Finally, and by way of conclusion, this paper will contemplate the factors that are leading to the gradual decline of the presence of saints in local heraldry over the last half century.

This contribution is based on the official records of the heraldic authorities who deal, or have dealt in the past, with municipal heraldry in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Kingdom of Belgium. With the Decree of 24 December 1814 number 32, the Sovereign Prince William – the future King William I – empowered the recently formed *Hoge Raad van Adel* or High Council of the Nobility to re-establish the heraldic bearings of local authorities. This could be done through the recognition of an historic coat of arms or the granting of a new one. The Royal Decree of 24 August 1815 number 72 extended the procedure to the recently annexed Belgian provinces. As far as the Netherlands are concerned, the High Council has continued to exercise that power to this day.[4] A few

Figure 1: left, 1a: arms of Baarle-Hertog, originally granted in 1819, here shown as confirmed in 1910 (official register); right, 1b: page from the official registers of the High Council of the Nobility, province of North Brabant, 1818.

years ago, the registers that contain the official drawings and the blazon of the armorial bearings of local authorities situated in the present-day Netherlands were made available online (**Figure 1b**).[5]

After she had attained her independence, the Kingdom of Belgium annulled all Dutch grants of local arms with the Royal Decree of 6 February 1837. Municipalities wishing to continue using their arms now needed to have these confirmed. As of 1843, the *Conseil héraldique* or Council of the Nobility advised the competent minister on these matters. On 28 January 1977 the *Cultuurraad voor de Nederlandstalige Cultuurgemeenschap* or Cultural Assembly of the Dutch Speaking Community – a forerunner of the Flemish Parliament established in 1996 – approved a decree that brought municipal heraldry within the purview of the Flemish Community. It did so in the wake of a large-scale amalgamation of local councils, that reduced the total number of municipalities in Belgium from 2,359 to 596. Under the terms of the decree the 315 remaining Flemish municipalities were obliged to have an official coat of arms and flag. To ensure itself of expert advice, the Flemish administration soon created an advisory body, known since 1984 as the *Vlaamse Heraldische Raad* or Flemish Heraldic Council.[6] The French Speaking Community approved a comparable decree on 5 July 1985. It provides a legal framework for the recognition or creation of municipal arms, flags and seals, without, however, making any of these obligatory. Established four years later, the *Conseil d'héraldique et de vexillologie de la Communauté française* or Heraldic and Vexillological Council of the French Community gives its expert opinion on the applications. The right to determine the arms of the nine municipalities in the German

Speaking Community has devolved on its government, while the heraldic status of the nineteen municipalities of the Brussels-Capital Region is currently in legal limbo.[7] In 2002 all arms granted or confirmed to municipalities in Belgium or its predecessor states since Napoleon were gathered in dual publications of two volumes each. On the one hand, they deal with the municipal heraldry of Flanders and Brussels; on the other with Wallonia, Brussels and the German Speaking Community. Just as in the case of its Dutch online counterpart, here too the blazons and depictions are based on the official records.[8]

The kingdom of the Netherlands that emerged from the turmoil of the French Revolution combined the outward trappings of the Ancien Régime with many of the institutions created by the revolutionaries. Although ostensibly committed to the restoration of the old order, it did not revive the complex jurisdictions that had been swept aside. Instead, it left the highly centralized administrative structures created by the French largely intact. Only the names changed. The *départements* were henceforth called provinces. The *préfet* now became a governor. The names of provinces no longer referred to geographical features such as rivers but reverted to the names of the erstwhile duchies, counties and lordships that had constituted the former United Provinces, the Habsburg Netherlands and the Prince-Bishopric of Liège. The inhabitants of the *départements Bouches-de-l'Yssel, Escaut* and *Forêts*, now found themselves in the provinces of Overijssel, East-Flanders and Luxembourg respectively. On the local level the new kingdom maintained the municipalities that had in most cases been created along the boundaries of the parishes, albeit that the *maire* now became the burgomaster.

In an effort to endow these local governments with the trappings of days gone by, from 1814 onward the government encouraged them either to have their old arms confirmed, or to have new arms granted. The response to this appeal was mixed. By 1830, every municipality in Friesland had acquired its own coat of arms. North Brabant came second with 93%. In Zeeland, North Holland and South Holland the numbers ranged between 88% and 75%. Between half and a third of municipalities used their own arms in Utrecht, Gelderland, East Flanders and Antwerp. In the other parts of the kingdom the numbers were low to extremely low. Of more than 300 municipalities in Namur only three bothered to put their arms on record.

In sharp contrast with the virtual absence of saints in local heraldry until then, by 1830 one in seven municipal coats of arms featured a saint. Normally this was the only, or the principal charge. In a tenth of the cases, the saint acted as the supporter of the shield. In a great many instances, the design was based on an old seal that did not have a heraldic character and merely displayed the patron saint of the local parish standing free in the centre. With the colours obviously unknown, the standard procedure was to use the tinctures of the royal arms, which resulted in a golden saint on a field of azure. In the case of Anderlecht it would seem that an altarpiece in the parish church determined the composition, but here too the *Or and azure* solution won the day. It wasn't always clear which saint was actually being depicted. The information provided by the municipalities could be quite vague. Very much pressed for time, the arms selected by High Council of the Nobility in The Hague had at times to be imprecise. Unaware that it was dealing with St Valentine, it blazoned the arms of Poppel (province of Antwerp) in 1819 as *Azure, the figure of a saint or*. In Teteringen (province of North Brabant, 1817) St Willibord became "a bishop" and for Mater (province of East Flanders, 1818) St Amelberga was styled "the image of a woman".

A pronounced geographical distribution can be discerned: three quarters of the municipal arms bearing a saint were to be found in four of the twenty provinces of the kingdom. In all other provinces they were rare or simply non-existent. In the province of Antwerp, half of all arms that were confirmed or granted displayed a saint. In the contiguous North and South Brabant it was about a third. In East Flanders it was only a sixth, but since many municipalities had become armigerous there, that still represented twenty instances. In the course of the Eighty Years' War, the eastern parts of North Brabant, Antwerp and East Flanders became frontier regions bitterly fought over between the United Provinces and the Habsburg Netherlands. From the 1590s onward, on the southern side of the frontline church and state pursued a vigorous policy to restore the religious monopoly of Roman Catholicism there. Their efforts bore fruit. Even though the parts of North Brabant were lost to the Dutch Republic in 1629, its population remained steadfast in its faith.[9] Two centuries later, local heraldry came to reflect to what degree the Counter-Reformation had succeeded in those parts.

The initial drive to endow municipalities with a coat of arms had largely passed by the Catholic province of Limburg, where only one in ten local authorities had heeded the call. In what became Dutch Limburg in 1839, this state of affairs changed rapidly from the 1880s onwards. By 1895 almost half of the municipalities were entitled to bear arms. In the process, depictions of saints proliferated, sometimes with two or three gathered together on a single shield. In the three years between 1888 and 1890 alone, more than twenty grants featured at least one saint. In most cases he or she was combined with the arms of an erstwhile local authority or of a noble family that had exercised power over the area. While the adoption of saints did not abate after the turn of the century, it now became more usual to employ them as supporters.

Across the border with Belgium, changes introduced in 1913 in the regulations regarding the creation of municipal arms produced a similar effect. Here too, the local patron saint once more became a regular feature. Most often he or she took on the role of supporter. Whether or not based historical precedents, this was particularly the case where several municipalities shared the same shield for historical reasons, and some form of differentiation was therefore desirable.[10] In an echo of that practice, the most recent grant featuring full figure saints was that to Puurs-Sint Amands (province of Antwerp) in 2019. The two supporters are the patron saints of the two localities that gave their name to the new municipality (**Figure 2**).[11]

So, who were these saints? In all, 84 different saints feature, or have at some stage featured, in the local heraldry of the Low Countries. The majority only appears once or twice. Regardless of the number of times that they feature, they cover a broad spectrum. Apart from archangels, they are mainly drawn from Christ's immediate family, his apostles, the martyrs of early Christianity, and early popes, bishops, abbots and abbesses. As such, most of them lived between the first and the eighth centuries. A smaller group consists of saints who are venerated in a specific region. Either way, the saints chosen almost always reflect the times that saw the formation of parishes in the Low Countries, and thus predate heraldry.

It is worthwhile to have a closer look at the top ten. The tenth place is shared by St Nicholas of Myra, who is traditionally depicted as a bishop resurrecting three children who were being pickled by an evil butcher; and by St Gertrude of Nivelles – on whose abbess' staff three mice crawl up. St George occupies the ninth spot, prudently wearing
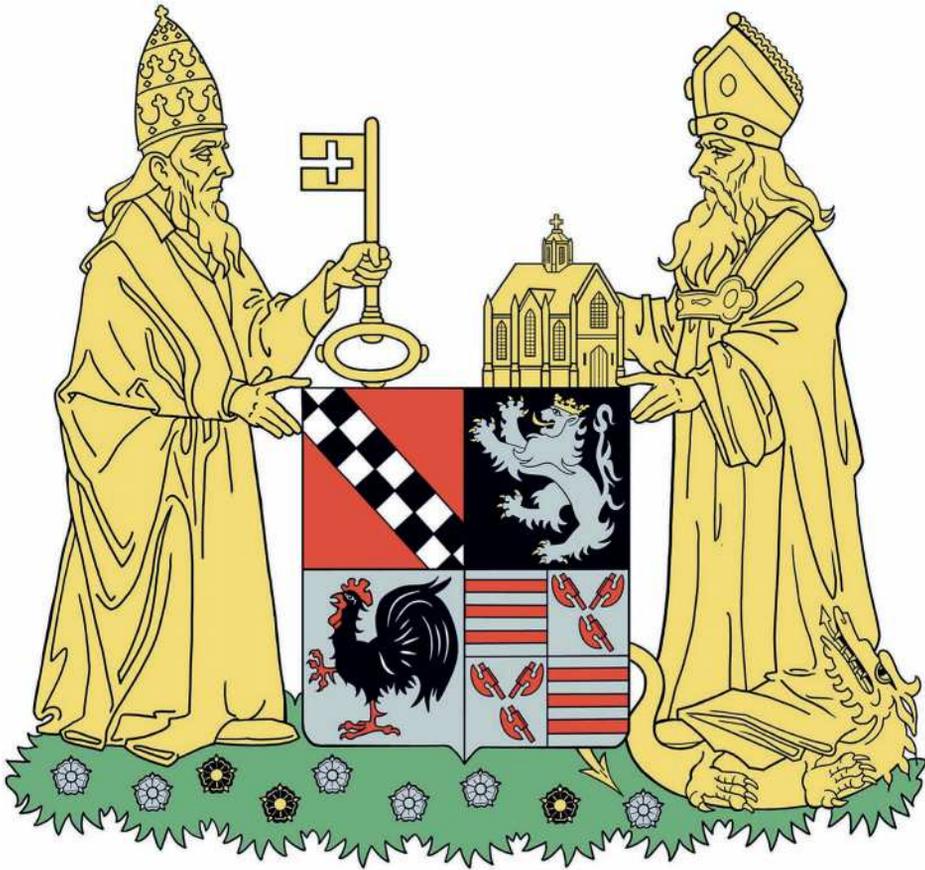
Figure 2: arms of Puurs-Sint Amands, granted in 2019 (official register).

full armour while valiantly fighting a dragon. Then comes St Willibrord, a Northumbrian missionary who preached to the Frisians and founded the see of Utrecht. Seventh and sixth place are for St Lawrence, holding the grill on which he was martyred, and St Michael, the winged archangel fighting the devil. Fifth is St John the Baptist, clad in a camel hair cloak, holding a cross and usually accompanied by a lamb. Depicted as a balding man holding a set of keys, St Peter is narrowly beaten for third place by St Lambert, whose murder in Liège resulted in the see of Maastricht being moved there. St Lambert together with his predecessor St Servatius and his successor St Hubert, appear in 46 municipal arms, a clear reminder of the importance of the medieval see of Liège. As the runner up, St Martin of Tours, generously shares part of his mantle with a beggar in 41 local coats of arms. The first place goes to the Virgin Mary, who, contrary to almost all others, appears in a variety of ways, depending on her invocation.

An unusual case concerns the arms of Tremelo. In 1970 that municipality was granted Father Damien as a supporter. On 1 October 1991 these arms were confirmed for the recently enlarged municipality of Tremelo. Father Damien –whose full name was– Jozef Damien De Veuster (1840–1889) – is by far Tremelo's most famous son, and

enjoys an international reputation as the missionary who went to live and die with the lepers of Molokai in Hawaii. In 2005 he was voted the Greatest Belgian, on the Flemish side of the competition at any rate. Strictly speaking, Father Damien was not a saint when these grants were made. He was only beatified in 1995 and canonized in 2009. Yet ever since the canonization process was opened in 1968, he was generally expected to be declared a saint sooner or later.

This paper took a cumulative approach to the way saints feature in the local heraldry of the Netherlands and Belgium. In that sense the number 430 is deceiving. Not all municipal coats of arms that have been granted or confirmed since 1816 have survived to this day. In fact, there are clear signs that the marked presence of saints has decreased over the last fifty years. The gradual decline of faith in western societies might be a factor, but it would seem that two other factors carry more weight. Today's local authorities are expected to perform a series of tasks and deliver a whole range of services that would have been unheard of two centuries ago. They can only do so by increasing in size, either through voluntary or forced amalgamation. As a result, the close link between the parish and the municipality has been broken. When designing arms for the new administrative unit, very few have chosen to retain one or more of the parishes' patron saints. The arms of Ravels, that bring together St Michael, St Servaas and St Valentine are exceptional in this regard. Lievegem's decision to evoke the common landscape is more representative of current trends. The other important factor is the heraldist: we prefer to replace saints with their attributes. When Simpelveld and Bocholtz were joined together in 1982, St Remy of Simpelveld and St James of Bocholtz were thanked for their services. Their place was taken by their attributes of a dove bearing a vessel with sacred oil, and an escallop. With this evolution in mind, it would seem that the saints are now marching out.

[1] Lieve Viaene-Awouters and Ernest Warlop, *Gemeentewapens in België: Vlaanderen en Brussel* ,2 vols (Brussels, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 454–457.

[2] Luc Duerloo, 'Belgian Local Heraldry under Dutch Rule', in: Jean-Claude Muller (ed.), *Actes du XXIᵉ Congrès International des Sciences Généalogique et Héraldique,* vol. I: *La ville et ses habitants: Aspects généalogiques, héraldiques & emblématiques* (Luxembourg, 1999), pp. 117–128.

[3] Bruno Bernhard Heim, *Heraldry in the Catholic Church: It's Origins, Customs and Laws* (Gerrards Cross, 1978), p. 147.

[4] *Gemeentewapens in Nederland* (The Hague, 1989), pp/ 11–20. See also: Willem Jan d'Ablaing van Giessenburg, *Nederlandsche gemeentewapens of wapenboek der gemeenten, heerlijkheden, waterschappen en corporation, welke sedert 1815 deel hebben uitgemaakt van, of behoord hebben tot het koningrijk der Nederlanden, zoowel noordelijk als zuidelijk gedeelte* (The Hague, 1862), pp. 1–16.

[5] https://www.hogeraadvanadel.nl/heraldiek/databank-overheidsheraldiek.

[6] Viaene-Awouters and Warlop, *Gemeentewapens in België*, vol. I, pp. 23–48.

[7] *Armoiries communales en Belgique: Communes wallonnes, bruxelloises et germanophones*, 2 vols (Brussels, 2002), pp. 11–53.

[8] See notes 1 and 7. The arms of the current Flemish municipalities can be found on https://www.sarovlaanderen. be/wapenregister.

[9] Christine Kooi, *Reformation in the Low Countries, 1500–1620* (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 143–161.

[10] Andrée Scufflaire, 'Armoiries familiales et emblèmes locaux: La Maison de Ligne et Beloeil', in Jean-Claude Muller (ed.), *Actes du XXIᵉ Congrès International des Sciences Généalogique et Héraldique,* vol. I: *La ville et ses habitants: Aspects généalogiques, héraldiques & emblématiques* (Luxembourg, 1999), pp. 100–116.

[11] https://www.sarovlaanderen.be/puurs-sint-amands-0.

DONALD LINES JACOBUS AND THE SCHOLARLY GENEALOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1922–1964

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A patent of a grant of arms from 1480 (**Figure 1**) may serve as an unlikely point of departure for this survey in American genealogical historiography – a token of the status quo of what passed as scholarly genealogy in the United States at the outset of the twentieth century. The grant is by John More, Norroy King of Arms, to Christopher Browne of Lincolnshire and Rutland. It is among very few original patents of grants of arms surviving from before the College of Arms was incorporated four years later, in 1484, and is almost certainly the only such original now in the United States,[1] where it is among the heraldic treasures of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston.[2]

Figure 1: the Browne patent of 1480. New England Historic Genealogical Society, R. Stanton Avery Special Collections. Reproduced by permission of the Society.

One great-grandson of the grantee was Robert Browne, a dissenting clergyman in Elizabeth I's reign (subsequently reconciled to the Church of England), after whom separatists at the beginning of the seventeenth century were often called "Brownists." Robert Browne's family figures in one of the interesting lateral pedigrees in Sir Anthony Wagner's 1975 *Pedigree and Progress* (lateral pedigrees demonstrate surprising connections, often by marriage, linking diverse contemporaries).[3] This lateral pedigree

demonstrated a connection between Robert Browne, the separatist, and William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, who helped shield his kinsman from persecution for dissent. But this chart includes a gross error: in it, Robert Browne is given a son named Edward who was said to have sailed to Maryland in North America with Lord Baltimore in 1634. But Robert Browne had no such son.[4] Wagner, in error, had taken the statement about the American son at face value from Browne's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* [DNB].[5] The false son Edward had not been in Robert Browne's *original* DNB entry, published in 1886,[6] but was only added to an *Errata* volume in 1904[7] and thence to the second edition in 1907.

The source of the 1904 'correction' to Browne's DNB article seems to have been a 1902 article in an American journal, improbably titled *The American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly*, published at the Peabody Normal College in Nashville, Tennessee.[8] The claimed author of the article (though it seems doubtful, from style and content, that it could have been written that early) was Morgan Brown IV (died 1840), an early Tennessee pioneer whose claimed first male-line ancestor in North America was Edward Brown, said to be a son of the separatist Robert Brown, and among the first Catholic founders of Maryland. This first Edward Browne of Maryland, however, was a Protestant, not a Catholic, and he settled in Maryland twenty years later than the first ship with Lord Baltimore and his Catholic gentlemen. There could have been no connection to Robert Browne the separatist.[9]

It is perhaps the authority suggested by the title *American Historical Magazine* – forgetting the subtitle about Tennessee – that led to the pious fiction of this Brown narrative being credulously accepted by the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. At the other end of the publication spectrum, though with a similar title, was the journal *American Historical Review* (AHR). Founded in 1891 in imitation of *English Historical Review* (five years older), *American Historical Review* was the flagship of the new academic discipline of history, only recently introduced to American universities along lines pioneered by German academics. The publishing organization was the American Historical Association, still (in 2022) the leading professional organization of professors of history in United States universities. A stark organizational contrast with another subtle difference in name was the *American Historical Society*, an incorporated, for-profit publisher of genealogies and local histories, particularly the genre of local history. It was padded with self-written biographies (including genealogies) of wealthy residents of a given county, assembled into one or more fat appendix volumes following a more pedestrian town or county history. As these competing similar titles suggest, in 1902, publishing of both historical and genealogical periodicals in the United States was in something like a "Wild West" – caveat lector.

But the broader landscape of genealogical publications and sponsoring organizations had already matured considerably by 1900 from origins in the mid-nineteenth century by a few leading organizations and journals.The oldest and largest such organization was the New England Historic Genealogical Society (1845), whose journal *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1847), is the oldest continuously published dedicated *genealogical* periodical in the world. Leading regional or state followers included *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, published since 1870 by a state organization founded in 1869; *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, begun in 1877, and *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, begun in 1893. Many

other states began publishing genealogical periodicals from 1880 to 1900 and even more did so in the following century. The National Genealogical Society, founded in Washington, D.C., in 1903, grew slowly into its titular national scope, with its journal, *The National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, begun in 1912.

Along with journals, the other pillar of the field was the publication of books documenting an individual family's genealogy. This was the paradigmatic form of genealogical publication, a genre whose growth can be traced in bibliographies already printed from the mid-nineteenth century. The first bibliography of single-family genealogies was actually published in 1862: a prescient annotated bibliography organized by date of publication, running to 272 pages.[10] Bibliographies blossomed to encompass thousands of individual works by 1900.[11]

One other great institutional development in genealogy from the turn of the twentieth century was the lineage societies, a uniquely American phenomenon. These are social organizations in which descent from a particular type of qualifying ancestor is the principal criterion for admission. Joining was, or became, a necessarily genealogical exercise. The *Daughters of the American Revolution*, founded in 1890, is the largest and most iconic such organization. Many similar organizations appeared in the 1890s and they are still ubiquitous today. The genealogical standards employed by such groups have evolved over time, and form a separate avenue of inquiry into the history of genealogical scholarship, not addressed in this paper.[12] One by-product of these organizations was the publication of compendia of qualifying ancestors, some of which evolved into sophisticated research reference works.[13]

Certain hallmarks are identifiable for genealogical and local-history scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century. Local historical material that predominated in most regional and even national venues included editions of letters and documents; military history (including memoirs and ephemera related to the Civil War and earlier conflicts, depending on region); and narratives of the founding of communities (defined by geographical migrations, religious denominations, etc). In genealogical literature, male-line single-family genealogies dominated the private presses, with the periodicals often including indexes and editions of source material not published elsewhere. On the whole, neither the genealogical nor the local-history periodicals included anything that could be used as a case study or for a methodological, process-oriented discussion.

This, then, was the scene when Donald Lines Jacobus (1887–1970) of New Haven, Connecticut, came of age (**Figure 2**). Jacobus was a man of modest means, well educated at Yale university, but not trained specifically in historical research and methodology. His first genealogical article appeared in 1905, while still a university student. He graduated from Yale with the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in 1908[14] and Master of Arts in 1911. Always a writer, he published volumes of poetry.[15]

Jacobus, in his self-written eulogy, gave thanks for "the ability and the luck to make a living and a career out of a boyhood hobby." He also noted wryly that "in extreme youth I was called the 'Boy Wonder of Genealogy', and I have lived to hear myself referred to in old age as the 'Dean of American Genealogists'."[16]

In a sixty-five-year career Donald Lines Jacobus produced a very large number of single-family or all-my-ancestor genealogical compilations under contract to clients – some books bearing his name, some not – but his stature in the field was principally through the influence of his scholarship as displayed in his own journal, *The American*

Figure 2: Donald Lines Jacobus while a student at Yale University. Courtesy of the American Society of Genealogists.

Genealogist, and finally also through his personal example, as a genial mentor to many other genealogists, male and female, in his own generation, and in that which followed.

The American Genealogist began with a humbler title, *The New Haven Genealogical Magazine*; the first issue was published in July 1922. The principal content of the magazine for its first eight years was a serialized compilation, alphabetically arranged, of genealogies of the early colonial families of New Haven Colony. New Haven, established in 1637, was an independent colony until its merger with Connecticut Colony following a royal charter of 1662. The genealogies followed many New Haven families down to the mid eighteenth century, when many New Havenites migrated north or west. Though intended as a superficial compendium, vital dates are almost everywhere accompanied

by highly abbreviated citations to the original town records from which they were drawn. Interspersed throughout the eight volumes are insightful book reviews, occasional editorials, and a few other source compilations. Beginning with the ninth volume in 1932, the journal expanded its title, tone, and scope. It became *The American Genealogist and New Haven Genealogical Magazine*, then dropped the *New Haven* subtitle five years later, in 1937 (**Figure 3**). In this new incarnation, the journal inaugurated a model of genealogical case studies, thematic articles, book reviews, and editorials, and developed into a vehicle for instruction of a new generation of scholarly genealogists.

As the journal soared in scope, Jacobus became widely known for the pithy and conversational tone with which he wrote on a variety of genealogical topics. This style had already debuted in a slim book he produced during one hot summer week in 1930: *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession*.[17] This book combines thematic essays and casually-narrated case studies – some mere anecdotes – selected to be particularly instructive to those desiring to build skills and experience as genealogists.

Case studies are the genre missing from prior genealogical literature. In most genealogical journals, including *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and others emulating it, the goal of running compiled genealogies had been to read the family into a permanent record, beginning with the most notable families and filling in the corners with, say, the ranks of the first colonial settlers of a given locale. With case studies, on the other hand, the point was not so much who the family was (and where it fit into the social and political life of their particular colony or state), but how one might *learn* from the way in which a genealogy was solved and presented. In his short genealogical articles, Jacobus was writing for other professionals, or for amateurs who appreciated learning method while doing research. For other professionals, Jacobus presented a candid insider's view, including frank discussion of such topics as problematic clients and the myths from which they must be dissuaded.

It must not be forgotten that *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession* includes a chapter on eugenics. This was to be expected from a well-educated writer in 1930 who combined an interest in new methods with the outlook and beliefs common to his generation. To his credit, Jacobus critiqued eugenics specifically on the basis that the quality of genealogical data underlying many eugenics studies was so poor as to cast their conclusions in doubt. He reserved judgment about the validity of eugenics-derived hypotheses, saying "let the research continue," confident that fashionable but untenable generalizations – particularly dangerous in the 1930s – would be sifted out.[18]

Genealogy as Pastime and Profession, in print for decades, solidified the concept of a "Jacobus School" of genealogists embracing his example. It is not a straightforward exercise to characterize the generation of genealogists in the "Jacobus School" of the 1930s to 1960s. Many were well educated – professionals, academics, etc. – but were not professionally trained in the field of academic history. (A lone exception to this rule was John Insley Coddington, mentioned below.) Many, therefore, had research, analytical, and writing skills built in other fields that they then creatively applied to genealogy. Many were women, gifted and competent, but who did not, in the inter-war period, have the career paths open to them that would later be accessible. Most were in the Northeast, or in the Mid-Atlantic or Chesapeake regions. But Jacobus's influence would increasingly be felt nationally after World War II, a geographical expansion from the East Coast fueled in part by the activities of the Genealogical Society of Utah. Among these men and women,
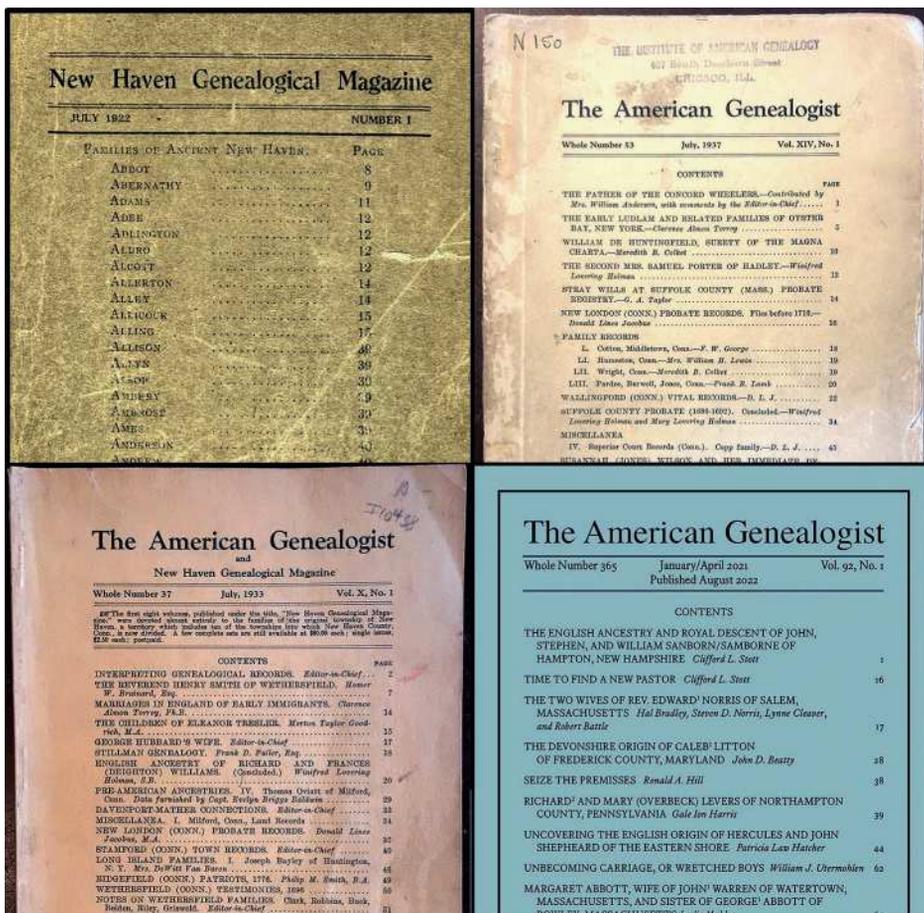
Figure 3: The American Genealogist: cover montage: issues from 1922, 1933, 1937, and 2022. Courtesy of *The American Genealogist*.

some pursued genealogy as commissioned work; others as an unremunerated passtime. What they shared was the realization that genealogical scholarship involved dedication and standards, as well as experience, skill, and a certain knack.

A major step in the institutionalization of the "Jacobus School" was the establishment in 1940 of the American Society of Genealogists. This is an honorary society, with membership capped at fifty living fellows, honoring the most skillful, prolific, or influential genealogical writers, judged principally through the corpus of published genealogical work. The American Society of Genealogists was conceived by three genealogists – not including Jacobus, who with his modest income and elderly mother rarely traveled – who met during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1940, at a hotel bar in New York City: Arthur Adams, Meredith B. Colket Jr., and John Insley Coddington.[19] Of these three, only Coddington was a trained academic historian; Adams was an English professor and librarian, as was Colket. By this time the American Historical Association, the organization of professional academic historians, had long

looked down on genealogists. It should be no surprise that the first person the three founders tapped to join the newly conceived society of fellows was Donald Lines Jacobus, who is therefore number four on the roll of Fellows of the American Society of Genealogists.[20]

The organization went on to play a major role in spreading and codifying the ethos of the Jacobus school over the next fifty years, and arguably, still today. By the 1950s the society had grown to its full complement of fifty fellows, including some foreigners whose work was influential on or of use to Americans – including Sir Anthony Wagner, elected in 1944.[21] Fellows' ranks included prolific or influential genealogists, both professional and amateur, and journal editors.

Two very different organizations that may be identified in part as offshoots of the American Society of Genealogists suggest different aspects of the influence of the Jacobus School. The first, founded in 1950, was a bit of a *jeu d'ésprit* in the field of lineage societies: the "Descendants of the Illegitimate Sons and Daughters of the Kings of Britain," or "Royal Bastards." Founded in 1950 by ten charter members (including Sir Anthony Wagner) who were all fellows of the ASG, it was intended to be a tongue-in-cheek, yet scholarly, mirror-image of the lineage societies such as "Americans of Royal Descent" or "Order of the Crown of Charlemagne" that, since the end of the nineteenth century, had enshrined unscholarly claims of remote royal lineage. The organization exists today, and is generally viewed as the most scholarly and educational among lineage societies – one for which, uniquely, the application process is essentially a tutorial learning experience.[22]

A more sober contribution of the ASG to genealogical scholarship was the publication, in 1960, of a genealogical primer, *Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources*.[23] Like Jacobus's *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession* thirty years earlier, it was conceived as a guide for practitioners and experts as well as novices. No longer the conversational discourse of a single writer, it distills decades of knowledge from top experts in various thematic subfields – although Jacobus himself wrote four of the six chapters in Part 1, 'General Considerations.' In some thematic chapters it has not been superseded, even after sixty years and the computer and internet eras.[24]

Another second institutional offspring – in part – of the American Society of Genealogists, is the Board for Certification of Genealogists (BCG), created in 1964 by a group including fellows of the American Society of Genealogists, officers of the National Genealogical Society, and others.[25] The BCG was the first credentialing organization in genealogy in the United States.[26] The Board awards the postnominals "CG," for "certified genealogist," to those who complete a rigorous educational program and submit a qualifying dossier of professional work. As there is no statutory regulation of the genealogical profession in the United States or in any U.S. state, this credentialing process is entirely voluntary. But one measure of the wide impact of the BCG on the field as a whole is the general currency of the Board's codification of professional genealogical standards, gathered for the first time in 2000 and revised three times since then, most recently in 2021, with the incorporation of additional standards applying specifically to the use of DNA evidence in genealogical research.[27]

On the other hand, those who write genealogy, especially for publication, and especially for genealogical journals, know that codifications of standards are sterile without frank and candid exploration of case studies, with opportunities to discuss those

cases and build on them. This was, in large measure, the gift to the field of Donald Lines Jacobus and his contemporaries in the 1930s to 1960s, even though the field has changed so much in the decades since.

This survey leaves off at the end of the 1960s, at the cusp of even more revolutionary changes in the genealogical world. In the United States, a seminal moment was the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots*, both a cause and an effect of the explosive democratization of genealogy stemming from the social revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s. Within the next decade came another revolution: the application of computers to problems of project management, data indexing and access, and other areas profoundly affecting genealogical research among myriad other fields. The decade after that saw the advent of DNA data of use for both the 'deep' genealogy of the human species and proximal genealogy in historical generations.[28] Each of these developments has, on its own, further revolutionized the fields of genealogy, but these new transformations have taken place within the context of a field professionalized and enriched by the scholarly genealogical revolution of the Jacobus School.

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[1] For one collection of fifteenth-century patents with texts and sources see Sebastian Nelson, "Fifteenth Century English Patents of Arms," online, http:// verysleepy.itgo.com/grants.htm.

[2] Boston, New England Historic Genealogical Society, R. Stanton Avery Collection, bequest of Edward Ingersoll Browne (1901). Browne had purchased it in England sometime in the 1860s–1880s, and erroneously believed himself descended from the patentee.

[3] Sir Anthony Wagner, *Pedigree and Progress: Essays in the Genealogical Interpretation of History* (London, 1975), pedigree chart 67 (p. 226), discussed in text at p. 102.

[4] F. Ives Cater, 'Robert Browne's ancestors and descendants', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* vol. 2 (1905–6) pp. 151–159. Cater's discussion of Robert Browne's nine children, apparently complete, includes no mention of an alleged son Edward, implying that Cater was not aware of the claim in the 1904 DNB errata volume before his article, still the last word on Robert Browne's family, went to press.

[5] *DNB* 2nd ed., (London, 1908–9), vol. 3, pp. 57–61.

[6] *DNB,* 1st ed.], (London, 1885–1900), vol. 7, pp. 57–61.

[7] *DNB: Errata* (London, 1904), p. 39. Typically in the *new DNB* less information is given on family members of subjects, and the article on Robert Browne does not discuss actual or alleged children (Michael E. Moody, 'Browne, Robert (1550?–1633)', *New DNB*.

[8] "Sketches and Anecdotes of the Family of Brown and Some Others With Whom They Are Connected, or From Whom They Are Descended," *The American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly* vol. 7 (1902), pp. 148–64, 219–43, 362–71.

[9] Based on Wagner's mention in *Pedigree and Progress* [note 3], this Edward Brown of Maryland was included in the *Roll of Arms* of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The registration has been canceled; notice will appear in *A Roll of Arms of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society: Twelfth Part*, projected for publication in 2023.

[10] William H. Whitmore, *A Handbook of American Genealogy, Being a Catalogue of Family Histories… Chronologically Arranged* (Albany, 1862).

[11] William H. Whitmore, *The American Genealogist*, 2nd and 3rd eds. of title in prev. note (Albany, 1868 and 1873). In 1898, an alphabetical arrangement was published as *Munsell's American Genealogist* (Albany, 1898). The same Albany publisher, Munsell, also produced terse indexes to genealogies appearing in local histories or other compilations, as *Index to American Genealogies….*in several editions from 1868 to 1900, similar to Marshall's *Genealogist's Guide* for England.

[12] For an excellent sociological overview see Shannon Combs-Bennett, 'A New Aristocracy? The Evolution of Lineage Societies in the United States', also presented at this Congress.

[13] Two of these are *Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607–1624/5*, 4th ed., ed. John Frederick Dorman, 3 vols. in 4 (Baltimore, 2004–7), orig. ed. 1954, published by the Order of First Families of Virginia; and Meredith B. Colket Jr., *Founders of Early American Families: Immigrants from Europe, 1607–1657*, 2nd rev. ed., ed. Keith M. Sheldon (Cleveland, 2002), orig. ed. 1975, published by the Order of Founders and Patriots of America.

[14] By coincidence, one of Jacobus's classmates in the class of 1908 at Yale was another nationally renowned genealogist, Walter Goodwin Davis (1885–1966) of Portland, Maine, who followed Jacobus as the second genealogist named to the National Genealogy Hall of Fame in 1987 (Jacobus had been elected in 1986 as the

founding inductee in this project, under the aegis of the National Genealogical Society: ngsgenealogy.org/hall-of-fame-members). Davis came from more wealth and sophistication than Jacobus; the two did not know each other as students, but worked cordially together as genealogists in later years.

[15] *Poems* (New Haven, 1914); *Five Currant Bushes and Other Verse* (New Haven, 1927)

[16] "The Jacobus Memorial Service," *The American Genealogist* vol. 47 (1970), pp. 259–62, at 260. This unique tribute includes several photographs and personal reminiscences.

[17] Donald Lines Jacobus, *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession* (New Haven, 1930; rev. ed., 1968).

[18] "Genealogy and Eugenics," *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession* [note 16], 1st ed. (1930), pp. 121–126, at 126; retained in the rev. ed. (1968), pp. 102–5, at 105.

[19] Dr. Arthur Adams, Meredith B. Colket Jr., and John Insley Coddington (on whom see above).

[20] A chronological roll of fellows is at the website of the American Society of Genealogists (fasg.org/fellows/all-fellows/).

[21] The two other Englishmen elected the same year were Alfred Trego Butler (Windsor Herald, d. 1946), and C. L'Estrange Ewen (d. 1949, author of books on surnames, witchcraft persecutions, and East Anglian families).

[22] Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., "Descendants of the Illegitimate Sons and Daughters of the Kings of Britain," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* vol. 62 (1974), pp. 182–191. The website is royalbastards.org.

[23] Milton Rubincam and Jean Stephenson, eds., *Genealogical Research: Sources and Methods* (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Genealogists, 1960).

[24] (A notable thematic chapter that is still of value is that on heraldry by Dr. Harold Bowditch.) A companion volume, *Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources, Volume II* was published in 1971, with chapters of specific guidance on research in various American regions beyond the East Coast, and additional special topics.

[25] "History of BCG" (online: bcgcertification.org/about/history), citing Kay Haviland Freilich, "BCG History," *OnBoard* 7.1

[26] Another organization, the Utah Genealogical Association, also began awarding a credential to professional genealogists in 1964; the credentialing arm of the Utah Genealogical Association has since been renamed the International Commission for the Accreditation of Professional Genealogists.

[27] These standards were codified successively in *BCG Standards Manual* (2000), *Genealogy Standards: 50th Anniversary Edition* (2014), *Genealogy Standards*, 2d ed. (2017), and *Genealogy Standards*, 2d. ed. revised (2021).

[28] Some of these changes have been addressed from a personal perspective by Dr. Janet Few, 'The Family History Revolution', in this Congress. Many of these more recent trends, as well as the earlier developments traced here, have also been addressed in the past decade in histories of the field of genealogy, written both by professional historians (François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* [New York, 2013]) and by practitioners of genealogy (Michael Sharpe, *Family Matters: A History of Genealogy* [Barnsley, 2011]).

DNA TESTING: THE GENEALOGICAL REVOLUTION

LAURA ANN HOUSE, M.Sc.

Abstract

The field of genealogy has experienced two major cultural and scientific changes in the last 30 years. The first is the advent of the World Wide Web, which has forever changed the way we access information, conduct research, and store our data. The second is the sequencing of the human genome, which was closely followed by the development of affordable and effective direct-to-consumer (DTC) genetic testing. Professional genealogists are currently re-evaluating the 'genealogical proof standard' in light of this new technology. We are learning to view traditional historical records with scepticism when the DNA evidence leads us in a different direction. The revolution that has taken place since the accessibility of direct-to-consumer DNA testing means that we must now approach genealogical research as both historians and scientists. Any methodology that does not incorporate both elements may be lacking, and if researchers wish to remain at the cutting-edge of the field, they must learn to work with this new and invaluable resource.

   DNA testing serves its greatest purpose when it restores the histories of those who do not have access to the documentation that makes traditional research possible. Every person has a right to information about their heritage, and genetic genealogy has enabled researchers to connect both modern and historical adoptees, foundlings, and people with unknown paternity, to their missing roots. It is hoped that someday genetic genealogy will become a better resource for other disenfranchised groups, such as those whose personal histories have been rendered inaccessible by wars, the transatlantic slave trade, and colonialism.

DNA For Genealogy

There are several different DNA tests currently available to genealogists. The autosomal DNA (atDNA) test analyses the markers inherited across the 22 pairs of autosomes, and at the time of this writing, the companies offering this test to people in Europe and the United States include AncestryDNA, MyHeritage, 23andMe, and FamilyTreeDNA. There are companies catering specifically to Asia and Africa, but some of these do not offer the matching of relatives, which is an essential component of genetic genealogy.[1] The autosomes recombine with every reproductive event (meiosis), which results in the quantity of atDNA inherited from an ancestor decreasing by 50% with every new generation.

   Except in the case of rare birth anomalies most people have two sex determining chromosomes. Those who are born biologically male usually have one X and one Y chromosome, and those who are born biologically female usually have two X chromosomes. Markers from the X chromosome are included in an atDNA test, as the X chromosome recombines like an autosome when it is passed from mother to child. The X chromosome does not recombine when passed from father to daughter, so X-DNA follows a slightly different pattern of inheritance when compared with atDNA.

Y-DNA is located on the male determining Y chromosome, which is passed almost perfectly intact from father to son. Y-DNA tests analyse short tandem repeats (STRs) and single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs). The Y chromosome does not recombine, but the STR and SNP markers can mutate during a meiosis event. These mutations are measured in genetic distance (GD). At the time of this writing, the market leader offering Y chromosome sequencing for genealogical purposes is FamilyTreeDNA.[2]

Mitochondrial DNA is located outside the nucleus of the cell. The function of mitochondria is to generate the energy required by the cell to power its biochemical reactions.[3] Mitochondria are present in human eggs but not in spermatozoa, and are passed directly from a mother to all her children, mutating approximately once every 500 years.[4] Mitochondrial DNA is not located on a chromosome, and it does not recombine during a meiosis event. It is useful when researching deep matrilineal ancestry, but it has limited applications to genealogical research. At the time of this writing, the market leader offering mitochondrial DNA sequencing for genealogical purposes is FamilyTreeDNA.

The Genealogical Proof Standard

According to Tyler S. Stahle, "the Genealogical Proof Standard is a process used by genealogists to demonstrate what the minimums are that genealogists must do for their work to be credible."[5] In practice, this is usually applied by locating a minimum of two primary sources before determining that a recorded fact is likely to be accurate. For example, if a census record states that Ann Smith was born in about 1886 in Lancashire, to John and Mary (Jenkins) Smith, we would search for a corresponding civil birth record before disseminating this information in print or online. If a civil birth record was not available, we would at least need to obtain a corresponding parish baptism entry, or another census record. If we can only locate one source referencing this specific historical event, we need to explicitly state in all publications that Ann Smith may have been born in about 1886 in Lancashire to John and Mary, but that the evidence supporting this assertion does not meet the genealogical proof standard.

Until the introduction of DTC genetic testing, the genealogical proof standard referred to the quality and quantity of documentary evidence, but in 2019, the Board for Certification of Genealogists revised their publication *Genealogy Standards* to include DNA-based evidence.[6] Genetic evidence is invaluable for verifying genealogical relationships, but crucially, DNA can supersede documentary evidence by confirming that a documented relationship does not exist, and by demonstrating that the true genetic relationship is not recorded in any traditional sources.

Let us explore a hypothetical scenario, in which Ann Smith's birth certificate, baptism register entry, and census records all state that she was born in 1886 to John and Mary (Jenkins) Smith. In this case, the documentary evidence meets the genealogical proof standard by any traditional measure. Ann's living grandchildren take an atDNA test and they are matched with genetic relatives descended from the ancestors of each of their great-grandparents, except one – Ann's father, John Smith. They are matched with descendants of Mary (Jenkins) Smith's parents, Griffin and Sarah Jenkins, but they do not match with any descendants of John Smith's parents, James and Alice Smith (**Figure 1**).

To complicate matters further, they are matched with several great-grandchildren of a man named Richard McAllister, who is not a documented ancestor. The quantities of DNA shared by Ann's grandchildren and the grandchildren of Richard McAllister show
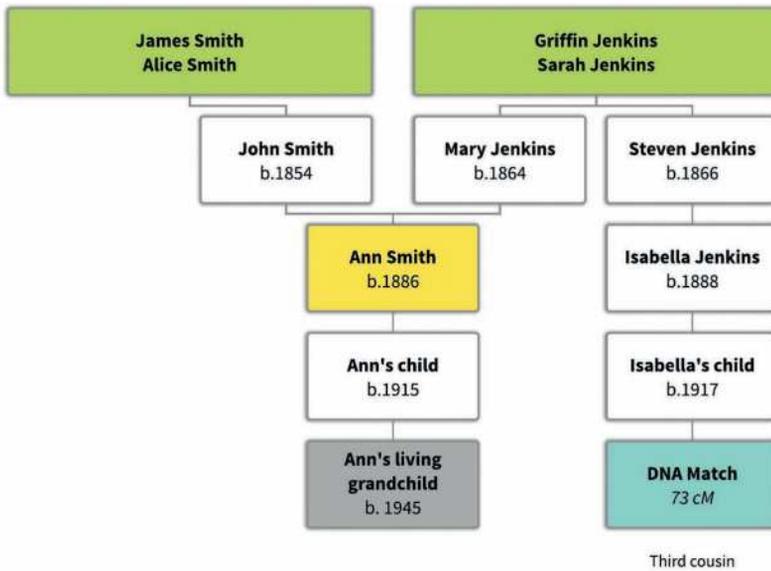
Figure 1: Family tree demonstrating the documented relationships between members of the hypothetical Smith family.

that they are likely to be half-second cousins. The 1881 and 1891 England and Wales census shows that Richard McAllister lived on the same road as Mary (Jenkins) Smith around the time that Ann Smith was conceived. The DNA and documentary evidence show that Ann Smith was not fathered by John Smith, and that she was likely to have been fathered by Richard McAllister, or a brother of Richard (**Figure 2**). In this scenario, the evidence produced by autosomal DNA analysis demonstrates that the birth certificate,
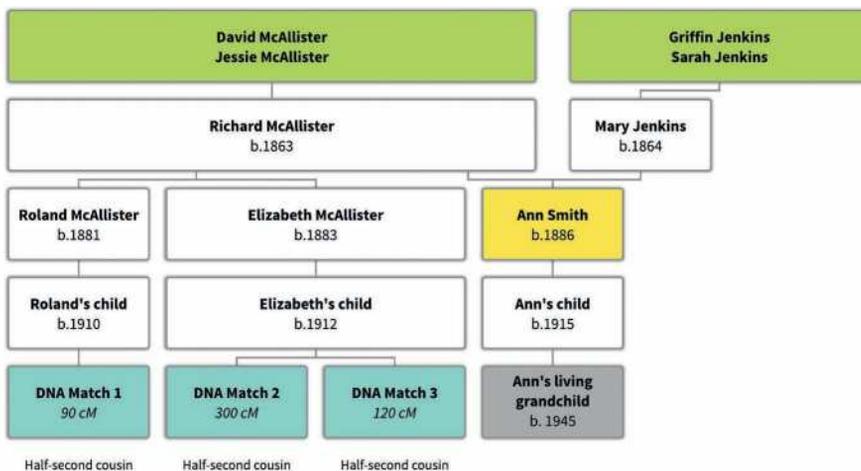
Figure 2: Family tree demonstrating the undocumented genetic relationship between Ann Smith and the McAllisters.

baptism register entry, and census records are all incorrect with regard to the paternity of Ann Smith. Despite meeting the genealogical proof standard, the documentary evidence led to a false conclusion, and this could only have been revealed by testing the DNA of living descendants.

Case Study: Magda, Mari, and Juanita

As DTC- DNA testing grows in popularity, discoveries of this nature are becoming commonplace. This case study concerns three sisters: Magda, Mari, and Juanita, all of whom are now deceased. They were born in Gran Canaria, Canary Islands, to a woman named Maria del Carmen. Their documented father was their mother's husband, Luis, and the sisters never had any reason to question their paternity (**Figure 3**). After Mari and Juanita died, Juanita's three children took direct-to-consumer autosomal DNA tests. Mari's daughter also took a test, as did Magda, who at this time was the only surviving sister.

Figure 3: The documented parentage of Magda, Mari, and Juanita.

Shared autosomal DNA is measured in centiMorgans (cM). The quantity of centiMorgans shared by two individuals indicates the closeness of their genealogical relationship. A parent and a child share 3,400 cM of DNA. It is possible for two people who share zero DNA to have no recent genealogical relationship, but they might potentailly be third (or more distant) cousins.[7] A full aunt and niece should share autosomal DNA in the region of 1,201 to 2,282 cM. The DNA test results show that Magda and Mari's daughter share 2,149 cM (26%) of autosomal and X chromosomal DNA, perfectly within the expected (**Figure 4**).

Juanita's daughter, however, shares just 807 cM of autosomal and X chromosomal DNA with Magda, significantly below the lower threshold for an aunt/niece relationship. This quantity of DNA is indicative of a half-aunt/half-niece relationship, for which the expected range is 493 to 1,315 cM. Juanita's daughter shares 398 cM with Mari's daughter, placing them at the lower threshold for a full first cousin relationship (396–1,397 cM) and perfectly within the expected range for a half-first cousin relationship (156–979 cM).(Figure 5).The DNA test results of other family members confirmed that the only explanation for this event was a half-sibling relationship between Juanita and her sisters, Magda and Mari, suggesting that Magda and Mari were fathered by Luis, and that Juanita was fathered by someone other than Luis. The documentation supporting a
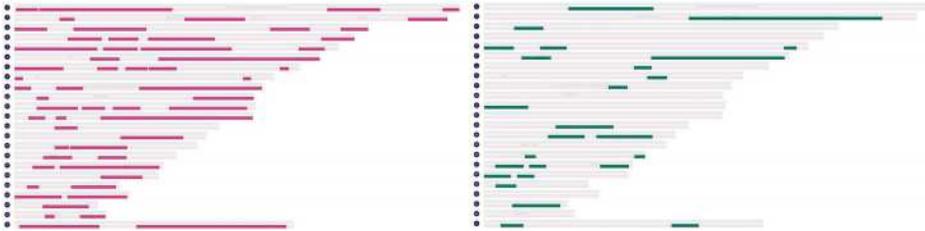
Left: Figure 4: the autosomal and X-DNA shared by Magda and the daughter of Mari; right: *Figure 5:* the autosomal and X-DNA shared by Magda and the daughter of Juanita. Both © DNA Painter . https://dnapainter.com.

father/daughter relationship between Juanita and her purported father, Luis, meets the genealogical proof standard, but the documentation in this case is incorrect. If researchers had relied solely on historical records when studying the family of Magda, Mari, and Juanita, they would have drawn false conclusions about the nature of the relationship between Juanita and Luis.

It is possible that any given documented relationship could be invalidated by DNA analysis; however, some researchers do not want to engage with genetic genealogy and consider documentation to be sufficient evidence of kinship. *Genealogical Standards* addresses this by differentiating between 'genetic relationships' and documented relationships. It defines a genetic relationship as "A familial relationship reported by a DNA testing company or resulting from a genealogist's use of DNA evidence to estimate the relationship."[8] The standards state that, "Genealogists declare that a relationship is genetic only when their evidence supports a genetic relationship. If DNA evidence could overturn a conclusion, genealogists explain that limitation."[9] Therefore, the Board for Certification of Genealogists does not insist that all available DNA-based evidence is obtained before a conclusion is reached, but it does suggest that researchers should be transparent when a relationship is not supported by genetic evidence.

The genealogical proof standard could be revised further to the extent that the standard can only be met if all relationships have been tested using any attainable DNA data. In practice, this would mean that any descendants of the ancestors in question are offered the opportunity to participate in DNA testing. The DNA data of any consenting participants is then collated and compared. If this analysis produces any evidence to suggest that the hypothesised genealogical relationships are false, the documentary evidence cannot be considered to meet the genealogical proof standard. If the hypothesised relationships withstand DNA analysis (even as the result of an absence of conclusive evidence), they can be considered to meet the genealogical proof standard. This would be optimal in terms of verifying kinship, but the dependence on living people raises some ethical issues. This may be one reason that *Genealogical Standards* emphasises 'genetic relationships' as a distinct category of genealogical relationship, rather than insisting that all genealogical events are confirmed with DNA testing.

The Limitations of DNA as a Component of the Genealogical Proof Standard

It is important that all attainable evidence is collated and analysed before researchers draw conclusions about genealogical relationships; however, there are limitations to consider when applying DNA data to the genealogical proof standard. DNA analysis provides us with evidence of genetic relationships, but it does not provide us with the context needed to identify the precise degree of a relationship. Two people who share 2,000 cM of autosomal DNA could be half-siblings, aunt/uncle and niece/nephew, or grandparent and grandchild.[10] To interpret the precise nature of a genetic relationship, we need the total quantity of centiMorgans, the ages of the two test-takers, and we may also need other information, such as circumstances of birth, that can only be provided by traditional records. This contextual information is more important when analysing smaller quantities of DNA, which are easier to misinterpret due to the larger number of potential relationships that can account for a smaller quantity of shared DNA.

Two people who match closely on the Y chromosome could be siblings, parent and child, patrilineal first cousins, second cousins, third cousins, or more distant. Two people with matching mitochondrial DNA are related on the matriline at some point within the last 500 years, but we cannot interpret the nature of the relationship without more information.[11] Therefore, when we use DNA as evidence of a relationship, it is important to understand the limitations, and to frame the evidence in its context.

Autosomal, Y, and mitochondrial DNA are also limited in their scope. With Autosomal DNA as segments of ancestral DNA are lost with each new generation it is possible to inherit zero autosomal DNA from a fourth great-grandparent, which means that a test-taker will not be able to use their own autosomal DNA to investigate the identities of all their 64 fourth great-grandparents.[12] If these ancestors have other descendants who have inherited their autosomal DNA, then it may be possible to use these segments as evidence of a relationship, but there will be many ancestors in the average person's tree from whom they have inherited no autosomal DNA. The genealogical proof standard must allow for this situation, and we cannot expect researchers to produce autosomal DNA-based evidence of relationships this distant.

Y-DNA is passed from father-to-son and does not recombine, so while it can be used to evidence distant genealogical relationships, an individual researcher can only use their Y-DNA data to analyse their patriline. This data may be entirely inaccessible to biologically female researchers with no living male relatives, and it may not be possible to obtain Y-DNA data for every male line in a family tree.

The same issue exists with mtDNA. People of all sexes carry the mtDNA of their own matrilineal ancestors, but it may not be possible to obtain mtDNA for every female line in a family tree, and as outlined above, Y-DNA and mtDNA cannot be used to determine precise degrees of relatedness.

The Genetic Revolution
Developing Methodologies for the Application of Y and Autosomal DNA

The field of genealogy was fairly stable for centuries, utilising oral history, physical documentation, and archival collections, until the advent of the World Wide Web in the 1990s, closely followed by the sequencing of the human genome, which was completed in 2003.[13] In 2000, FamilyTreeDNA launched the first commercial direct-to-consumer

genetic testing service, which offered members of the public the opportunity to purchase a 12-marker Y-STR test.[14] Since 2000, both the World Wide Web and DTC genetic testing have grown in scope, accessibility, and affordability, forcing leaders in genealogy to adapt in order to remain at the cutting-edge of the field.

In addition to being adept historians, genealogists must now be technologically and scientifically literate. Most professionals and academics have been using computers and the internet for decades and find that these enable access to record collections and resources all over the world, but many have struggled with the introduction of genetics to genealogy. DTC genetic testing websites are user-friendly and highly commercialised, and there are excellent tools designed to simplify processes such as chromosome mapping and calculating relatedness, but even with these resources, a certain level of knowledge is required to optimise genetic data, which is not required to utilise traditional historical sources.

To avoid further alienating traditional historians and genealogists, we should ensure that tools and resources continue to improve, and that educational programmes (particularly at undergraduate and postgraduate levels) emphasise both traditional and genetic genealogical research methods, so that future professionals and academics do not have to navigate this transition. Where applicable, a thorough genealogical research methodology must incorporate both documentary and genetic evidence, and the training of new genealogists should reflect this.

Developing Methodologies for the Application of Y and Autosomal DNA

An unpublished 2019 dissertation titled '*What are the Limitations of Y and Autosomal DNA When Applied to the Investigation of Surname Changes?*' focuses on developing accessible methodologies applicable to a range of common scenarios faced by genetic genealogists in their work, such as undocumented adoptions, illegitimacies, surname changes, and other situations in which individuals did not assume their patrilineal family name.[15] To develop these methodologies, five undocumented surname change cases were resolved using a combination of documentary research and genetic genealogy, and the steps taken to identify the original patrilineal surname are outlined in a series of flowcharts, depicting the methodologies in their simplest form. These flowcharts could be adapted to create a guide or a computer programme (such as an app) that would enable genetic genealogists at all levels of expertise to navigate these complex scenarios. Genetic genealogy is most powerful when knowledgeable test-takers collaborate, and it is therefore to everyone's advantage if casual genealogists understand the benefits and limitations of these techniques (**Figures 6 and 7**).

The internet has democratised genealogy, giving access to those who might previously have been prevented from carrying out research, for example, people with disabilities who cannot physically travel to archives; those living in rural communities without access to a major archive; and people without the financial means to travel to archives. DNA testing should similarly democratise genealogy by restoring the personal histories of those who do not have access to the traditional resources many researchers take for granted.
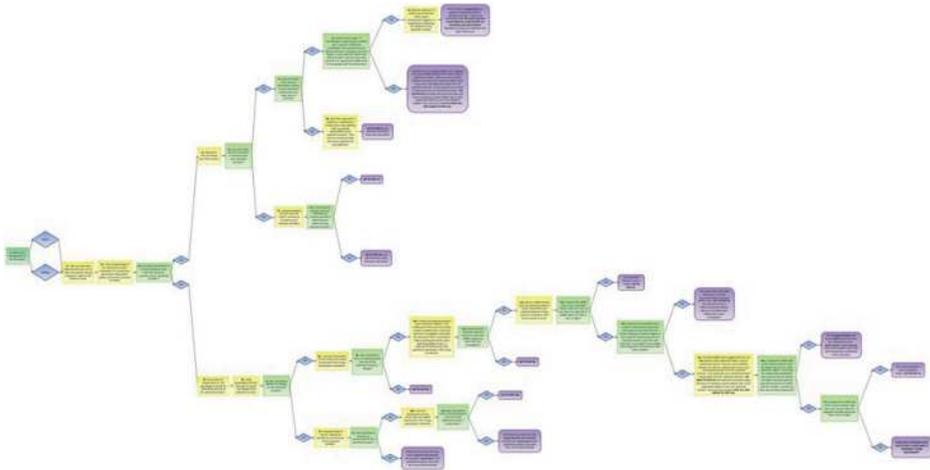
Figure 6: a full view of one flowchart (the text is not visible in this view because the chart is too large). Source: author's unpublished M.Sc. dissertation.
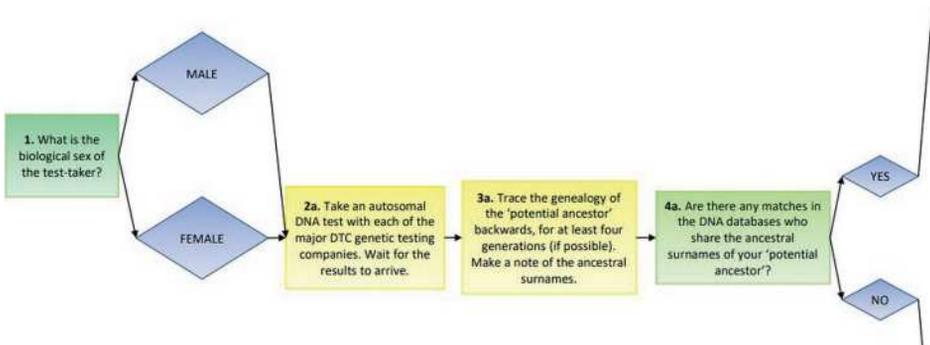
Figure 7: a close-up view of the first four steps in the above flowchart.

Restoring the Personal Histories of Disenfranchised Peoples

There are several groups of people for whom traditional genealogical research sometimes serves no function:

- People with unknown paternity, who often have no father recorded on their birth record
- Adoptees, particularly those without accurate adoption records
- Foundlings, for whom no birth documentation exists
- Descendants of enslaved peoples, for whom few useful genealogical records exist
- Descendants of refugees, who have lost access to any relevant archives, and whose genealogical records may have been destroyed in conflict
- Descendants of ancestors whose lands were colonised, whose names were forcibly changed, and whose original autonomous governments were overturned

For some people in these groups, genetic genealogy is the only means by which their personal histories can be restored. It is when working on cases like these that we can appreciate the extraordinary potential of genetic genealogy, even for people with no accessible documented history.

Restoring Personal Histories: A Case Study

During the Second World War, approximately 240,000 African American servicemen (GIs) passed through the United Kingdom. Many of these men had relationships with white-British women, and an estimated 2,000 children were born as a result. Servicemen needed the permission of their commanding officer to marry, and the United States Army had forbidden them to grant this permission to interracial couples, which meant that all these children were born to unmarried mothers, despite many of these couples wanting to remain together.[16]

The children born from these relationships were referred to in the African-American press as Britain's 'Brown Babies,' and many were subject to rejection, discrimination, and injustice throughout their lives. One of these babies was Diane Harris, who was born in about 1944 to Annie Harris, an unmarried woman. Annie was seventeen years old when she became pregnant by an African-American GI, and unlike many of the children born in these circumstances, Diane remained with her mother's family for some time. According to oral history, Diane was raised by her grandparents Frederick George and Annie (Baker) Harris. Frederick died in 1949, and Diane was entered into the care system soon after, although she maintained contact with her family into her adult years.

Diane eventually had a daughter of her own whom she was unable to raise, and her daughter was adopted out, losing all contact with the Harris family. Diane later died young in tragic circumstances, and her daughter eventually had children of her own, before also dying young in tragic circumstances. This series of events meant that Diane Harris's grandchildren lost all access to their maternal family history. As descendants of two generations of adopted Black women, they were multiply disenfranchised.

In 2020, Diane's granddaughter Charlotte[17] took a DTC-DNA test with AncestryDNA and was matched with a great-granddaughter of Frederick George and Annie (Baker) Harris. Charlotte and her DNA match, Louise, share 187 cM of DNA, suggesting a relationship in the range of second-to-third cousins, with second cousins once removed being the most likely degree.[18] Their respective family trees were reviewed, and it was determined that Charlotte is a granddaughter of Diane Harris, who in turn, is a granddaughter of Frederick George and Annie (Baker) Harris. Charlotte and Louise are second cousins once removed, and Charlotte has been reconnected with her matrilineal ancestors and their stories (**Figure 8**). In this case, DNA testing restored Charlotte's matrilineal family history under circumstances that would have been difficult to navigate using documentation alone. By connecting Charlotte with her second cousin once removed, it was possible to identify her previously unknown grandmother, great-grandmother, second great-grandparents, and the ancestors who precede them.
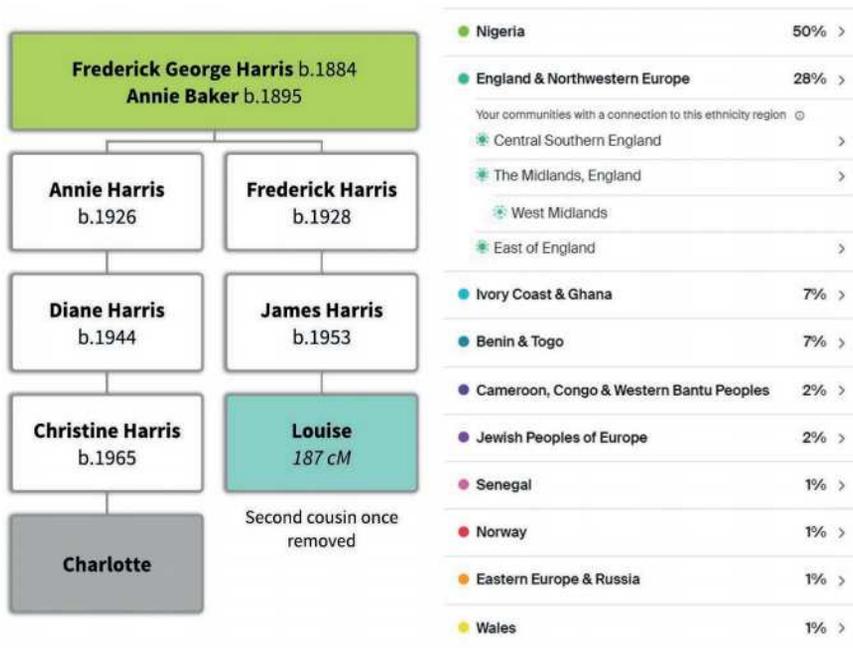
Left: Figure 8: family tree outlining the relationship between Charlotte and her DNA match Louise; right: *Figure 9:* Charlotte's DNA Story™ © Ancestry.co.uk

The Current Limitations of DNA Testing for Disenfranchised Peoples

This is not, however, the only example of a disconnect in Charlotte's family tree. The identity of the African-American GI who fathered Diane remains unconfirmed, and furthermore, as the descendant of an African-American man, it is likely that Charlotte is also descended from enslaved peoples. Genealogists with enslaved ancestors face challenges and obstacles, both with traditional documentary research, and when utilising genetic genealogy. Enslaved people were viewed as property, and consequently, their names rarely appear in historical records.[19] Where names are included, genealogical relationships are often excluded, especially relationships between fathers and their children. This can create genealogical 'brick walls' for researchers attempting to extend family trees beyond the American Civil War in the 1860s, and in theory, genetic genealogy is the ideal resource for navigating these obstacles; however, there are also unique challenges when researching African-American ancestors using genetic genealogical techniques.

Enslaved people were often given the surnames of their slaveholders, and when they were sold, their names were changed to those of their new slaveholders. No record was created to document the change. Consequently, African American test-takers may find that the surnames in the family trees of their DNA matches do not correspond to their own ancestral surnames. Even if the test-taker and their matches had the same ancestor in their respective trees, it might be difficult to confirm their relationship if the ancestor was recorded under multiple names.

This issue is exacerbated by the lower numbers of African-American test-takers in DNA databases, which mean that the majority of DNA matches are descended from white slaveholders, and the matches descended from enslaved ancestors tend to be more distant.[20] Distant matches share smaller quantities of DNA, and researchers must use extreme caution when working with small segments of DNA, as it can be difficult to determine whether they are identical by descent (indicative of a genuine genealogical relationship) or identical by state (a false-positive segment, not inherited from a shared ancestor). Genealogists use chromosome browsers to triangulate segments of DNA shared by a test-taker and two or more matches, which can enable researchers to determine whether a segment is likely to be identical by descent, but at the time of this writing, AncestryDNA does not include a chromosome browser – nor do they allow test-takers to access shared segment data.

There are legitimate reasons to withhold access to shared segment information, but the unintended consequence of their limited online tools is that AncestryDNA, which is currently the largest DTC genetic testing database, is significantly less useful to African-American test-takers and to test-takers from endogamous communities (in which unions are more likely to be consanguineous) than it is to white European test-takers, and those from non-endogamous populations. AncestryDNA counteracts some of these limitations with its segment threshold of 8 cM, which prevents genetic genealogists being led astray by small, identical by state segments, and its Timber algorithm automatically removes any segments that are likely to be identical by state; however, there are many additional means by which AncestryDNA might improve their features for descendants of enslaved people.

All DTC genetic testing companies have limitations when determining biogeographical ancestry. Each company has its own reference panels, which it uses to gauge allele frequency in specific populations.[21] This produces accurate results on a continental scale – if a DTC genetic test tells you that you have European, African, or Asian DNA, this is likely to be true; however, on a national level, it is more difficult to precisely designate biogeographical origins. This is partly due to the genetic similarities between neighbouring countries and countries with historical intermigration, but it is also caused by inadequate reference panels. In each of the main DTC genetic testing companies, the reference panels for European populations are larger than those for African, Asian, Indigenous-Australian, and Native-American populations.[22] As a result, estimates of biogeographical ancestry are more accurate for white European test-takers than they are for any other groups.

Charlotte's *Ethnicity Estimate*™ has designated her African ancestry to specific groups and countries. Her father is Nigerian, which accounts for the entirety of this designation. The remaining designations: England and North-western Europe; Ivory Coast and Ghana; Benin and Togo; Cameroon, Congo, and Western Bantu Peoples; European Jewish; Senegal; Norway; Eastern Europe and Russia; and Wales; are from her less well-documented maternal heritage (**Figure 9**).[23]

Charlotte's only documented maternal ancestors are on her matriline, extending through her great-grandmother Annie Harris to her great-grandparents Frederick George Harris and Annie Baker, and their ancestors. This line accounts for approximately 12.5% of her genetic inheritance, and we can estimate from Charlotte's documented pedigree that approximately 4.68% of her known ancestry is English, 3.12% is German, and 4.68%

is European Jewish. We do not expect Charlotte's biogeographical ancestry to perfectly reflect her documented heritage, as individuals inherit more DNA from some ancestors than they do from others, which may partially explain Charlotte's 2% European Jewish designation and the absence of any detectable German DNA.

Charlotte's remaining European and African DNA pertains to her maternal grandfather and to the African-American father of Diane Harris. In terms of her more historical African origins, the information offered by the biogeographical ancestry estimate is limited. The countries referenced, such as Ghana, Cameroon, Congo, and Senegal, are post-colonial constructs. What these designations tell us is that Charlotte's ancestors were almost certainly enslaved when they arrived in the United States. If Charlotte wanted to know more about the origins of her African ancestors, these estimates give her approximate regions, but they reveal little about the unique cultural groups to which those ancestors belonged. There is a disconnect for people with African-American heritage that does not exist for people whose countries of origin and cultural inheritance have not been impacted by colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade.

As with so many issues relating to diversity, the primary solution is to improve representation. Recent studies, such as that carried out by O'Connell, Yun, Moreno, *et al.* of 23andMe in 2021, show that progress is being made towards improving the accuracy of biogeographical ancestry estimates for African Americans, and that DTC genetic testing companies are aware of the limitations that exist for people with heritage outside Europe.[24]

DTC genetic testing will increase in popularity globally as the technology improves for people outside Europe and the United States. The increase in popularity will result in larger DNA match databases for test-takers with ancestry in non-European countries, creating a resource that can begin to compensate for the massive record loss and record destruction inflicted by colonists, wars, and corruption.

Conclusions

DTC genetic testing is a spectacular development in the field of genealogy, creating a solution to the once-insurmountable obstacles of record loss and falsification. It has changed the way we view documentary evidence and the genealogical proof standard, and it has challenged us to broaden our knowledge of genetic relatedness and inheritance. Crucially, genetic genealogy has given disenfranchised groups (such as adoptees, foundlings, and descendants of enslaved people) access to their heritage, without the need for physical documentation or oral history. Leaders in the field must strive to make this resource useful and accessible to disenfranchised groups around the world, not only by improving the biases in the technology, but also by continuing to provide educational resources and tools for interpreting DNA data.

There will come a day when every person on our planet who wants to learn more about their history has access to this information, and the knowledge to utilise it to the best effect, and there will no longer be anyone who feels removed from their heritage and their ancestors. At the time of this writing, there are people who are not aware that DNA testing can offer material genealogical information to individuals with no documented family history – even to those with no documented parentage. As a genealogist, the genetic revolution is a source of endless wonder and fascination – the reformation of the field is a subject of enormous academic and professional weight; however, most

important of all is the restoration of history to people whose origins have been rendered inaccessible. Genealogy has deeply problematic roots; it has often been a weapon of fascism and bigotry. We must take genetic genealogy in the opposite direction by ensuring that it becomes a resource for the many, not the few.

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THE HISTORY OF HERALDRY REVISITED: INTRODUCING DIGITAL HERALDRY ONTOLOGY TO DESCRIBE, CONTEXTUALISE, AND ANALYSE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN COATS OF ARMS

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Introduction

In the Middle Ages and in early modern times, coats of arms were a widely used form of communication. They appeared on a diverse array of objects, executed with a vast variety of techniques on a wide range of materials. Applied in the most public and most private places, they could convey power, property, identity, kinship claims, or political and genealogical concepts – to name but a few, illustrating their ubiquitous usage.[1] As such, heraldry was being used in different regions of Europe, by different social groups and institutions. Above all, heraldry was a very powerful and versatile means of communication throughout much of European history. This begs the question how coats of arms developed from simple identification marks on the armour of knights to the complex means of communication that had evolved by the fifteenth century. This question was examined by the research project *Coats of arms in practice*, which ran from 2013 to 2018. Its research output, which led to a number of publications,[2] revealed the following key observations[3]: firstly, that visual communication via heraldry did not develop separately from written communication, but in parallel with it; secondly, that its ongoing development resulted in increasing complexity and differentiation of usage; and thirdly, that this whole process took place without the intervention or control by authorities of any kind – which means that the study of pre-modern heraldry must be based on research into the practice of its use rather than on normative sources. Finally, it can be assumed that the development of visual communication is closely linked to social and cultural development processes.

The findings of the *Coats of Arms in Practice* project raised new research questions: How did coats of arms as a means of communication differentiate and become increasingly complex over time? What led to the expansion of the repertoire of charges and patterns, and when did this occur? How did the practice of combining different coats of arms by marshalling develop and spread throughout Europe? How were new or altered concepts and forms of representation, such as the usage of cadencies and crests, established, and when did this occur? And how can these changes in visual communication be culturally and socially categorised? In essence, the results of this project indicate the need for a deeper historical perspective on heraldry. This means viewing it not as a fixed system with occasional variations, but as a dynamic system that undergoes continual evolution and change over time, shaped by changing social, cultural, and political conditions.

Thus, the goal of the second phase of the *Coats of Arms in Practice'* project (2019–2023) has been to better understand the history of heraldry. The limited research on this subject is not unexpected given the challenges involved. Firstly, studying the use of heraldry requires working with a large number of heraldic sources, with an estimated
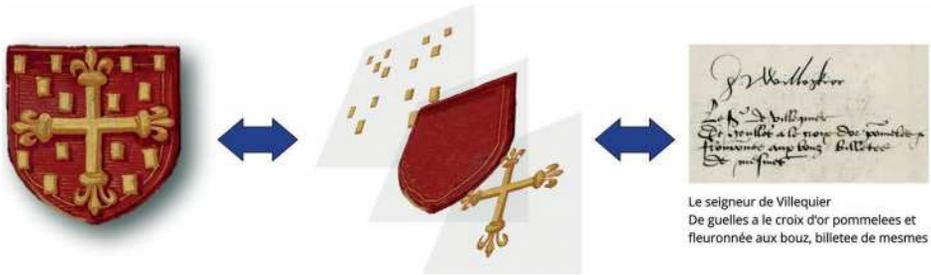
Figure 1: Coats of arms as layered, conceptual images.

one million different coats of arms used during the Middle Ages alone.[4] Secondly, the system of visual communication used in heraldry is relatively complex. Thirdly, the widespread use of coats of arms results in a diverse array of sources and repositories, where those sources can be found, ranging from archives and libraries to museums and cultural heritage management. Fortunately, more and more of this material is being made available online, in the form of digital copies of documents, object descriptions, and databases. To tackle those challenges involved in researching heraldry, a digital approach is essential. To that end, we are developing and providing a database that can be used (1) to describe individual coats of arms as well as heraldic sources (2) to find unknown coats of arms, and (3) to research and comprehend the historical development of heraldry as a sign system.

In the following pages, we would like to present this project in more detail. Starting from the current state of research, we will show how the database was designed, and introduce step by step its individual parts on heraldic concepts, blazon, the individual representations of coats of arms in the sources, and finally, the description of these sources themselves. We will then show first examples of what is possible, using this database, before presenting the planned further development.

State of the art: Heraldry and Computers

The idea of using computers for the study of heraldry is not new. There have been several early adopters of technology in the field,[5] with the most notable being the creation of the *Dictionary of British Arms* in the twentieth century.[6] Today, the largest projects include the databases by Philippe Palasi[7] and Steen Clemmensen,[8] both of whom provide extensive data on the usage of coats of arms both in manuscripts and monumental decoration, including full heraldic descriptions. Conceptually, these databases share a common characteristic of providing their descriptions in natural language.

These projects offer important resources for the heraldic community by providing a large reference tool. But the use of natural language for the blazon in the database comes with a few shortcomings. In particular, it is difficult to search within the data. Since it is possible to describe the same coat of arms in slightly differing ways, it is necessary to be as exact as possible in phrasing a search query. Even minor typing errors can lead to missing the desired outcome. Furthermore, it is difficult to search for the usage of certain charges and tinctures – in particular, when one is interested in how they were combined. A research question, pertaining to the general history of heraldry, like "when did coats of
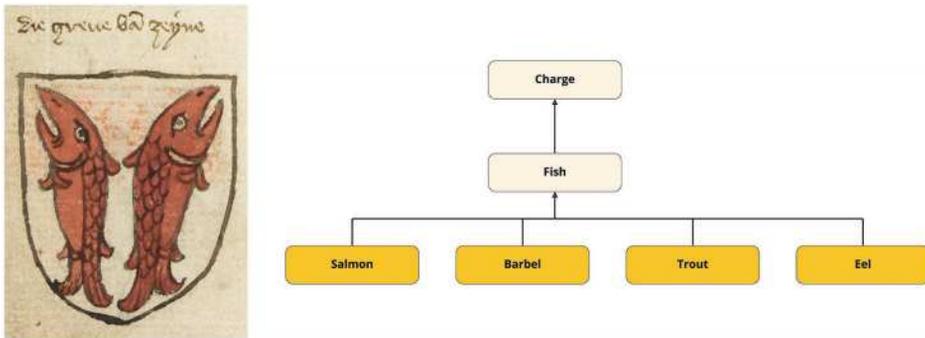
Figure 2: Identifying heraldic charges with the help of a class structure.

arms become more complex by using a higher number of charges?" is very difficult or even impossible to answer, based on such data.

To address these difficulties, the *Coat of arms in practice* project relies on AI-based methods to research the history of heraldry. Primarily, this means developing and providing a graphical database, using *Semantic Web Technologies*.[9] This entails, among other aspects, that data is stored in a graphical or network structure, where each node and each connection have a clearly defined semantic meaning. This semantic meaning is structured by an *ontology*, an abstract model which can be read and understood by humans and computer programs alike. Such an approach has a number of advantages compared with other database models: semantic web databases and ontologies rely on concepts rather than natural language to store information, making them language-agnostic. This means they are independent of any particular language.[10] Because ontologies are highly structured hierarchically, searches and analyses in any combination at different levels of abstraction are possible. (e.g. "which coats of arms depict any four-legged animal in conjunction with a label azure or argent?") And lastly, this technological approach makes it possible to easily link the contents of our database to other information, like the historical sources that depicted the coats of arms, or the historical people and institutions who used coats of arms.

Introducing the Digital Heraldry Ontology

How can such a database be created in practice? To answer this question, we must first clarify what is meant by a "coat of arms" in the context of our database. As Michel Pastoureau once wrote:[11]

"[...] l'armoirie est une image fortement conceptuelle. [...] Elle n'a aucunement besoin d'être peinte, dessinée ou gravée pour devenir une image véritable. Elle l'est déjà conceptuellement et structuralement."(The coat of arms is a highly conceptual image. It does not need to be painted, drawn or engraved to become a true image. It already is, conceptually and structurally).

A coat of arms, therefore, is firstly understood by us as a *conceptual* and *structural* image. Secondly, it is also understood as a layered image[12], where the charges are imagined as different superimposed layers on top of each other upon the background of the field (**Figure 1**). We are not providing a completely new paradigm on how we

Figure 3: Coat of arms, representing the family of Vergy in the Armorial de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg, f. 14r

describe coats of arms, rather, the project is founded on existing and established heraldic and historiographic practices.

An heraldic database that overcomes the challenges mentioned above has to describe more aspects than just the blazons of the coats of arms in question. It must also account for the usage of these coats of arms in their historical contexts, information about the sources which have conveyed them to us, and of the people or other entities that were the bearers of those coats of arms whom the arms identify. This broader perspective is imperative in order to meet our requirement of studying the actual use of heraldry as a historical practice, as outlined in the introduction.
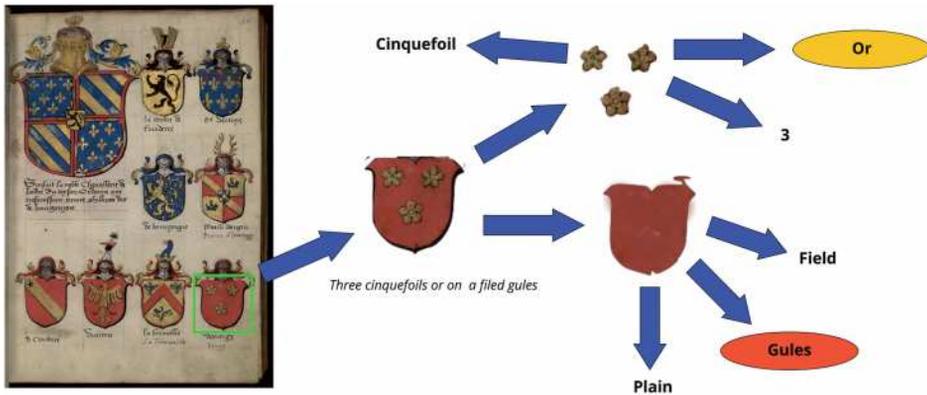
Figure 4: Structural elements of a coat of arms.

Accordingly, the *Digital Heraldry Ontology* encompasses those various aspects, and is thus constructed from five different components, each of them modelling different aspects and contexts of heraldic data, and the use of heraldry in historical sources:

- Heraldry:[13] a collection of heraldic terms which are needed for blazoning and how they interrelate,
- Blazon:[14] the conceptual descriptions of coats of arms as heraldic combinations, based on those terms,
- Representation:[15] describing the concrete, material representations of coats of arms in historical sources,
- Object:[16] information about the historical sources that display those *representations* of coats of arms,
- Entity:[17] persons, groups, or other entities that are represented by those coats of arms.

Each of these components will be discussed briefly in the following sections.

Heraldry

Instead of using concrete images or language-specific words which are different in English, French or German, the ontology describes a coat of arms as a combination of different heraldic concepts, which are all represented by a specific id, consisting of the unique internet address where this concept is defined in detail.[18] Each of these concepts that can be used to describe a coat of arms (e.g. lion, azure, gironny, palewise) represents a so-called "class" in the ontology. To be able to use these classes to describe coats of arms accurately, they have to be as granular as possible, so that they can be combined as needed when describing a coat of arms. To name an example: a heraldic charge like "cross pommy and flory", which is displayed as a single item on the image of a coat of arms, in fact consists of three classes – cross, pommy, and flory – that can be used
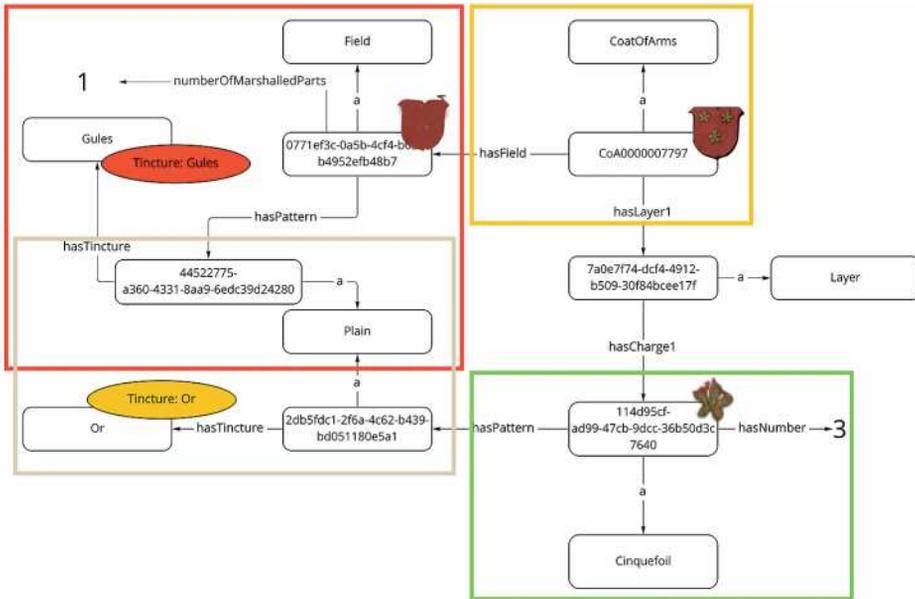
Figure 5: Coat of arms of the family of Vergy, as defined in the *Digital Heraldry Ontology.*

together or in conjunction with other classes in the ontology in different descriptions. Only then will we be able to search for coats of arms in the database that, for instance, are charged with any kind of cross. Each of these classes includes multiple definitions from heraldic literature that describe the underlying concept, as well as multiple terms that are used to describe it. Currently, we provide terminologies in English, French, and German.[19] The current version of the ontology contains over 300 classes, which will eventually reach over 1,000 different classes in total.[20] These classes encompass all heraldic charges, patterns, tinctures, lines, and terms to arrange and modify charges that are used to describe medieval and early modern coats of arms.

All of these classes are hierarchically structured; especially charges and tinctures. This way, searching for coats of arms will be much easier. Consider for example the coat of arms in **Figure 2**. Clearly, it shows two fish as charges, but without further context it is difficult to ascertain which type of fish is displayed – it could be interpreted as a *Salmon*, a *Barbel*, or maybe even a *Trout*. In the ontology, all of these classes are modelled as a subclass of *Fish* (which is itself a subclass of *Animal*, which itself is a subclass of *Charge*). As a result, it is possible to simply search for coats of arms that display two *Fish* (instead of trying out different species of fish whose names may not even be known to us) and get the coat of arms in figure 2 as a result nonetheless. All in all, such a deep semantic class structure makes the usage of the *Heraldry* ontology much more accessible and much less error prone.
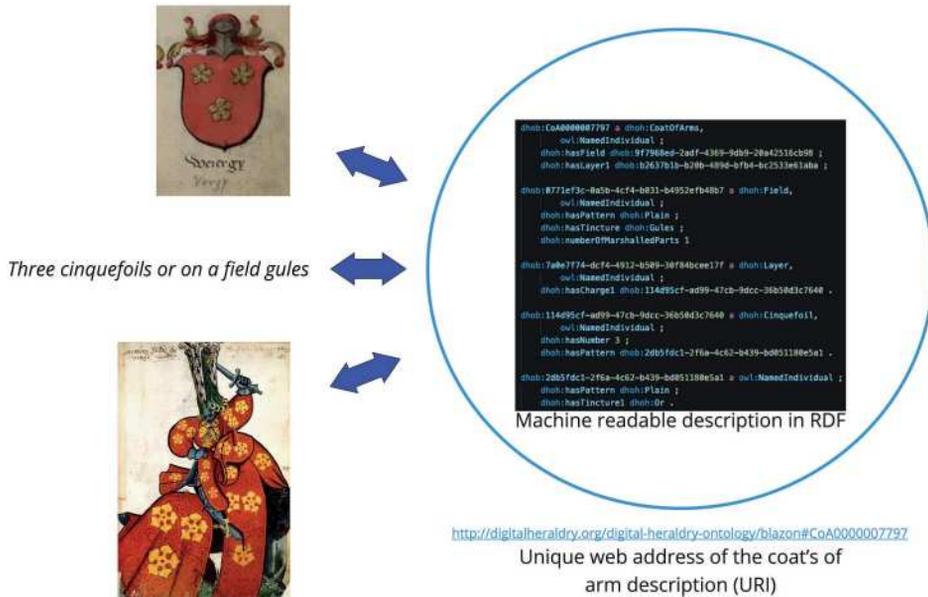
Figure 6: the coat of arms ascribed to Vergy as a unique object on the web, independent of its representation in the *Armorial de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg*, f. 14r, or the *Grand Armorial de la Toison d'or*, f. 142r.

Blazon

How can this structure be used to describe coats of arms as data? That's where the second ontology, called *Blazon*, comes in. This second ontology is more or less a storage of all blazons, i.e. of all the specific combinations of heraldic terms representing the different conceptual images known as coats of arms, that are part of our database.

To illustrate how this works, let's look at the concrete example in **Figure 3**. This coat of arms, taken from the Armorial de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg,[21] and representing the family of Vergy, could be blazoned as *Three cinquefoils or on a field gules*. Such a description in natural language contains two units of information: firstly, the information on the field (here: field gules), and secondly information on its charge (the number, the tincture(s), and the fact that it is of the type "Cinquefoil") (see **Figure 4** for reference).

This linguistic structure as it is shown in the image is of course not machine-understandable and therefore not representable as conceptual data, but only as text (string). But it is immediately transferable into the coat of arms' representation in the *Blazon* ontology, using the different heraldic concepts of the aforementioned *Heraldry ontology* and combining them. The coloured frames in **Figure 5** correspond to the different nodes in figure 4 – essentially the different parts that a coat of arms is composed of. The nodes framed in bold are representing heraldic terms, defined in the *Heraldry ontology* which was described in the last paragraph. The four nodes containing numbers and letters are essentially the entities in our database, actually representing this particular description of a coat of arms and its parts (its charges, fields, patterns, and groups of charges).
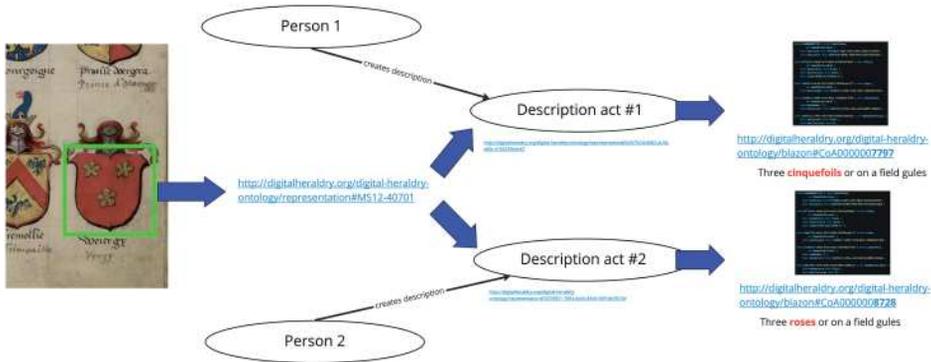
Figure 7: Conflicting descriptions of the same instance of a coat of arms in the *Digital Heraldry Ontology*.

The structure described here is of course only a minimal example. It can be scaled up and – by utilising the classes and terms from the *Heraldry ontology* – used to describe any coat of arms of any complexity. Through the graphical structure explained here, it is also possible to easily and accurately describe complex marshalling, by just combining different blazons as part of the same shield.

Note, that everything we talked about up to this point represents the coat of arms as an abstract entity, i.e. existing only conceptually, and not yet either visualised in a material way,[22] attributed any meaning, or linked to a given family. This changes with our next ontology, called *Representation*.

Representation

In practice, we can encounter different representations of the same coat of arms – like the one of the family of Vergy – in different historical sources. We can find it in a manuscript, on a seal, or in its blazoned form as a textual representation. These three *instances* or *representations* of this coat of arms can be described in the same way – because they refer to the same conceptualisation or specific combination of charges, patterns, and tinctures. And this description or conceptualisation can be represented by the same machine readable structure, as described in the last section, which is referred to by the same URL, identifying this specific combination of heraldic concepts in our database and on the web (**Figure 6**).

To account for these different representations of the same coats of arms in different material contexts, the ontology models each instance of a coat of arms that is represented in a historical source as a unique entity, with a unique URL identifying it. This means that the visual *representation* of the coat of arms in both manuscripts in figure 6 are being represented as two different entities in the database – both referring to the same *Blazon* ("CoA0000007797"), since they depict the same combination of heraldic charges and patterns. But why not just refer to the description of the coat of arms directly? Why do we need this "detour" of modelling the occurrence of a description in a historical source as a unique entity?

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Figure 8: Distribution of the commonality of charges in the dataset.

One of the challenges of studying the history of heraldry is having to deal with different descriptions of the same coat of arms by different scholars. Let's assume, that the coat of arms of Vergy, represented in the Armorial de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg, from our example was described by two different people – the first one describing its heraldic charge as a *cinquefoil*, the second one blazoning it as a *rose*. This might just be due to a "reading error", but often such diverging readings can be attributed to other reasons such as damage to the historical object, or its deterioration, making it more difficult to identify a heraldic tincture.[23]

Such differences in interpretation are one aspect of uncertainty, inherent with historical sources.[24] Data must be modelled as explicitly as possible to be able to study it, and so it is imperative to include aspects of uncertainty in our representations of historical sources as data. This is done by introducing a third entity which links the single occurrence of a coat of arms in a source with the different descriptions attributed by different scholars. We call this entity in the middle the *description act* (**Figure 7**). It allows us to store additional information about the *act* of description such as the date when the description was created, or information about the person responsible for the description, plus other attributions he or she linked to this representation. Effectively we are separating the concept of blazon from the concrete act of its representation.

Objects and entities

How the representation of a coat of arms is to be interpreted as a historical source itself heavily depends on the historical context of its creation, presentation, and usage. Researching coats of arms is only possible when taking the historical context of their use into account. This historical context is modelled in our database by the last two ontologies, *Object* and *Entity*. The *Object* ontology provides information about the physical historical sources that feature the *Representations* of coats of arms. This includes various types of metadata, such as the dates of creation of the source and its further history, the specific usage of the source, places associated with it, owners of the object, artists involved in its creation, among others. Due to the special format of the database, which is based on Semantic Web technologies and on Linked Data, it is possible to directly import these different pieces of information from the databases of libraries, archives, museums, etc. – which significantly facilitates the necessary work of collecting data. Different types of historical sources, such as manuscripts, seals, deeds, and ceiling paintings, require different types of metadata to accurately describe them. By including these different types of metadata in our ontology, we are also able to analyse the use of specific coats of arms across different historical sources.

Finally, *Entity* encompasses all things that can be identified through a coat of arms or to which a coat of arms can be attributed. These can be persons, families, territories,
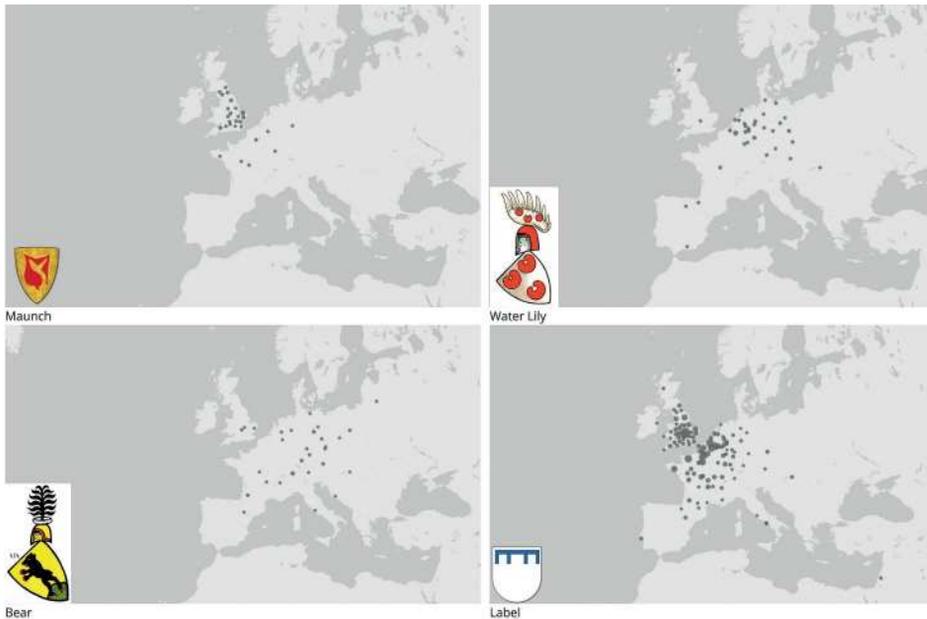
Figure 9: Geographical distribution of the use of Maunch, Water Lily, Bear, and Label as charges.

offices, institutions, cities, or abstract concepts and ideas. Like the historical *Object*, *Entities* are also described through metadata in order to place them in their historical contexts, e.g. names, dates, offices, members of a group, or social roles. Again as with the *Objects*, which metadata is being provided depends on the particular type of an *Entity*. The metadata itself will largely be drawn from authority files, like Wikidata, Biblissima, or the *Integrated Authority File* of the national library of Germany.

Case studies on the history of heraldry, using the *Digital Heraldry Ontology*

The Digital Heraldry Ontology, as described in the previous section, enables users of our database to search, to identify, and to study the usage of coats of arms in their historical contexts. At present this can only be done using code-based queries in the Semantic Web query language SPARQL. However, as we write, we are developing a user interface that will greatly simplify the possibilities to interact with our data. In the following section we will present three preliminary case studies to demonstrate the potential of our database for studying mediaeval heraldry. Our focus will be on the evolution of heraldic practices, specifically with regard to marshalling, as well as the number and variety of charges and brisures.

We will here focus on only one type of source: armorials in mediaeval manuscripts. The data were created by re-using the database "Medieval Armorials"[25] by Steen Clemmensen, which provided us with 87,638 occurrences of coats of arms in mediaeval armorials and 38,970 textual descriptions of different combinations (blazons). We
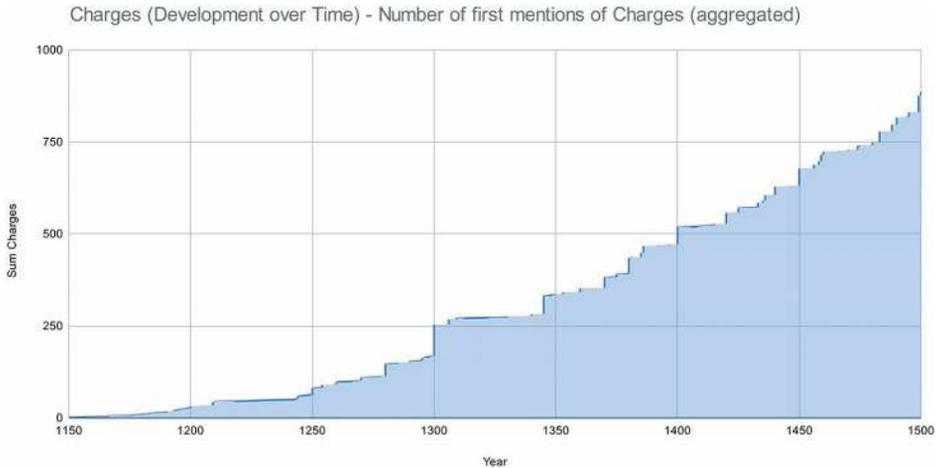
Figure 10: Aggregated number of charges over time after their first occurrence in a manuscript.

transformed these textual descriptions into the graph-based Representations according to our *Digital Heraldry Ontology*. The collection is based on 286 manuscripts which were mainly created in France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire between 1150 and 1500 – offering us an extensive and broad corpus of historical sources. Some of the data still has to be checked and revised, so that the results of these case studies can only be seen as preliminary.

For our first example, let us examine the distribution and utilisation of the various charges in coats of arms throughout space and time. The distribution of charges is highly irregular, with only 24 out of 875 charges in the database being used in over 1% of the coats of arms (**Figure 8**). Some charges have been favoured more in certain regions than in others, as shown in **Figure 9**.[26] The number of available charges for use in a coat of arms has steadily increased from 1150 to 1500 (**Figure 10**). This increase in complexity warrants further exploration.

The increasing complexity of heraldry is manifested not only in the increasing number of charges, but also in the practice of marshalling, where multiple coats of arms are combined into one. Marshalling may serve various purposes, such as visually communicating alliances or genealogical relationships (e.g. a married woman's coat of arms which combines the coats of arms of her father and those of her husband), or as a form of political communication to represent multiple dominions and titles held by an individual, or to vaunt claimed origins.

We need to know how the practice of marshalling developed. The earliest examples of marshalled coats of arms in our data can be traced back to the end of the twelfth century, but until the second half of the fourteenth century they were relatively uncommon in newly mentioned coats of arms. As marshalling became more widespread there was a change in practice: the shield was no longer divided into two parts, but into four. Could this indicate an increase in heraldic complexity, or was it just a change in custom? Our

Figure 11: Percentage of number of arms in marshalled coats of arms over centuries.

data suggest the latter, as most quartered shields still only show two different coats of arms.

In other respects, however, an increasing complexity can be observed. As can be seen in the **Figure 11**, marshalled coats of arms consisting of more than four different parts were introduced in the fourteenth century. Our database also allows us to compare the number of different layers in the coats of arms. Several such layers in a single coat of arms indicate a more complex heraldic representation. The majority of the coats of arms in our database show only a single layer. During the course of the later Middle Ages, however, we observe a slight increase in the number of layers used **Figure 12**. If we place these coats of arms on a map, we see quite a heterogeneous distribution. The map in **Figure 13** shows the number of layers in coats of arms described in the data from "Medieval Armorials", geolocated as described above. Some heraldic centres can clearly be identified, especially in Burgundy and the Netherlands, England, and northern France. In these regions we find a greater number and a greater proportion of more complex coats of arms, in terms of the number of layers.

These results are far from comprehensive, but can show what a powerful and versatile tool the graph-based database approach in combination with the ontology can provide. We must stress that these are only preliminary results to test the ontology. An important next step will be to include data on the historical context of the sources in which the coats of arms are depicted, and on their use. This will allow for much more nuanced research questions, such as whether and how the increase in complexity developed in the same way in different social groups. The picture seems to indicate that there was indeed a difference in heraldic practice between patricians and nobles. While the former seems to have been characterised by the use of only single layers, and of only a few different charges, and a more frequent use of *naturel* instead of a tincture, most of the

Number of Layers in Coats of arms over time
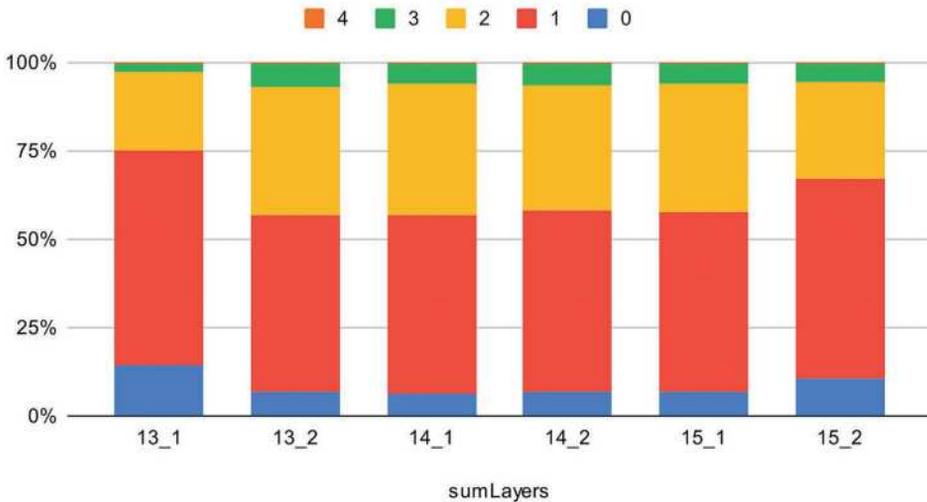
Figure 12: Number of Layers in coats of arms over time.

latter examples are the exact opposite from a heraldic point of view. But how widespread were these differences in different cultures and regions? The inclusion of more data on historical, spatial and social contexts will allow us to examine research questions like these more extensively and in a comparative way from a European perspective.

Outlook

We conclude with an outlook on the ongoing and future work of the project *Coats of Arms in Practice*. Besides the continuous refinement and extension of the ontologies, one of our main goals is to integrate more data, not only from manuscripts, but also from other types of historical sources. An ongoing Ph.D. project is currently focusing on coats of arms on painted walls and ceilings. Here we are not only creating and making available new heraldic data, but also developing an extension of the object ontology that will allow us to model and explore heraldry as part of architecture. In addition, a masters thesis is being written that will integrate heraldic data on inscriptions, gravestones and epitaphs into our database. In a next step, other databases on various objects with coats of arms will be integrated alongside the *Ordinary of Medieval Arms*, in particular the French project *Sigilla* with data on coats of arms on seals. Furthermore, the inclusion of the *Medieval Ordinary* from the *Dictionary of British Arms*[27] will further increase the number of available heraldic descriptions and representations. Finally, in order to integrate early modern collections of coats of arms, we would like to tackle the integration of sources such as the works of Johann Siebmacher[28] and Hozier's *Armorial Géneral de France en 1696*.[29]
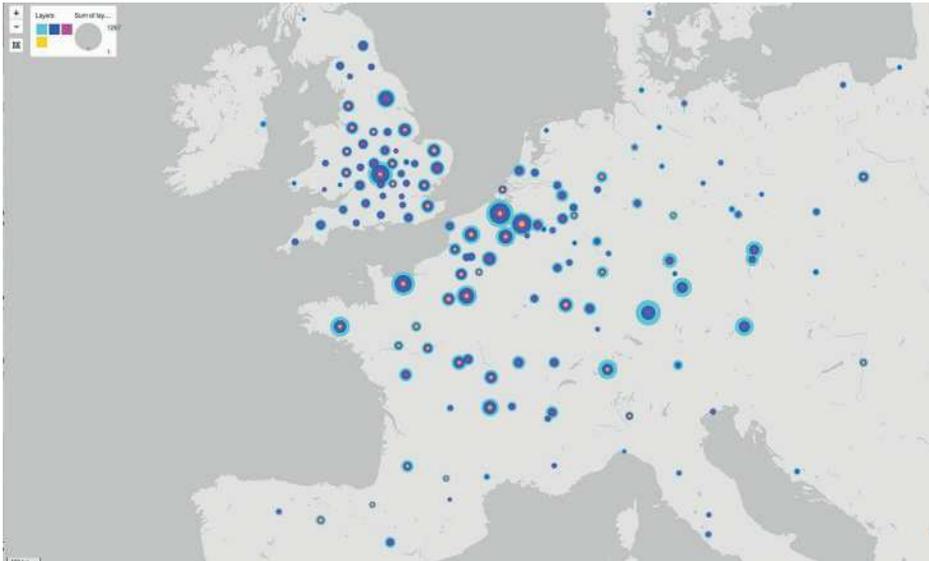
Figure 13: Geographical distribution of the number of layers in coats of arms.

In addition to integrating more data, we need to make the existing data more accessible. Currently, all heraldic data already published can be reused and queried, but this requires at least some knowledge of the Semantic Web query language SPARQL. In order to make our data accessible and reusable via a graphical user interface that anyone can easily use, we are currently working on the development of a web app that will allow users to work with both the ontologically structured data and the illustrations for the individual heraldic representations at the same time.

The web app will offer a range of functions. A facet search will enable a complex search for individual coats of arms. This can be done using the heraldic terms of the *Heraldry Ontology*. Such a search will also be possible using flexible combinations of metadata relating both to objects and to persons identified by coats of arms. It will provide users with tools to explore and analyse the results of their search (e.g. visualisation tools with displays of location-based information on maps). Furthermore, it will be possible for users to add to the database (and to edit) new descriptions and representations of coats of arms, and of the objects on which they are represented.

The class structure of the heraldry ontology will make both the input and the query of heraldic data more accessible to people without deeper heraldic knowledge. Accessibility will also be improved by the provision of a similarity search which will allow users to upload the image of a coat of arms to find similar representations with their related details. A crucial aim is that the data, the web application and the ontologies will be freely accessible and usable by everyone. In this respect, the goal of our current work is to provide a tool to (1) identify unknown coats of arms, (2) conduct heraldic research and collect and analyse data, and (3) provide a participatory resource for a community interested in heraldry, enabling them to share their knowledge with others.

[1] Werner Paravicini, 'Gruppe Und Person. Repräsentation Durch Wappen Im Späteren Mittelalter', in *Die Repräsentation Der Gruppen. Texte – Bilder – Objekte*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, vol. 141, Veröffentlichungen Des Max-Planck-Instituts Für Geschichte (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 327–390.

[2] Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (edd.), *Heraldic Artists and Painters*, vol. 1, Heraldic Studies (Ostfildern, 2017); Torsten Hiltmann and Miguel Metelo de Seixas, *Heraldry in Medieval and Early Modern State Rooms*, vol. 3, Heraldic Studies (Ostfildern, 2020); Miguel Metelo de Seixas, Torsten Hiltmann, and João António Portugal, *State-Rooms of Royal and Princely Palaces (14th–16th Centuries). Spaces, Images, Rituals* (Porto, 2022); Elmar Hofman, *Armorials in Medieval Manuscripts. Collections of Coats of Arms as Means of Communication and Historical Sources in France and the Holy Roman Empire (13th – Early 16th Centuries)*, vol. 4, Heraldic Studies (Ostfildern, 2021); Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot, *Heraldry in the City. The Case of Italy in Its European Context*, vol. 5, Heraldic Studies (Ostfildern, 2023); 'Heraldica Nova – Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry in Cultural-Historical Perspectives', https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/.

[3] Torsten Hiltmann, 'Zwischen Grundwissenschaft, Kulturgeschichte und Digitalen Methoden. Zum aktuellen Stand der Heraldik', *Archiv Für Diplomatik* 65 (2019): p. 318.

[4] Michel Pastoureau, *L'Art héraldique au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2008), p. 42.

[5] N. M. Brooke, 'The Computer and Heraldry', *Coat of Arms*, no. 92 (1974): pp.112–16; N. M. Brooke, 'The Computer and Heraldry', *CoA*, no. 93 (1975): pp.137–43; N. M. Brooke, 'The Computer and Heraldry', *CoA*, no. 94 (1975): pp.172–80; Katharina Urch, 'Digitalisierung Und Erschliessung Einer Historischen Wappensammlung. Erfahrungen Im DFG-Projekt HERON (Heraldry Online)', *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 28 (2000), pp.187–203.

[6] Hubert Chesshyre, 'History of the Project', in *DBA* vol. 1 (London, 1992), pp. viii–xiv.

[7] Philippe Palasi, 'Palisep', https://palisep.fr/home/.

[8] Steen Clemmensen, 'Medieval Armorials', http://www.armorial.dk/.

[9] Aside from that, we are also working with Machine Learning approaches to deal with large amounts of images of coats of arms. Up until now we have created models that detect coats of arms in scans of manuscripts and on images of seals and coins as well as another model for a similarity search, to find and help blazoning unknown coats of arms. In contrast to the Semantic Web approach, this works on a visual rather than a conceptual level. This part of the project is not discussed in detail in this paper.

[10] e.g. a charge like "dhoh: Label", used throughout multiple heraldic descriptions in the database, can be linked to a number of corresponding translations in different languages ("lambel", "label", "Turnierkragen"). Through these links, it is possible to search e.g. for "lambel" in French, which would yield all coats of arms that use a label as one of its charges.

[11] Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, Grands Manuels Picard (Paris, 1979), p. 315.

[12] Michel Pastoureau, 'L'armoirie médiévale. Une image théorique', in Gaston Duchet-Suchaux (ed.), *Iconographie médiévale. Image, texte, contexte* (Paris, 1990), p.122; Pastoureau, *L'Art héraldique au Moyen Age*, p.131.

[13] http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/heraldry

[14] http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/blazon

[15] http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/representation

[16] http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/object

[17] http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/entity

[18] Such as http://digitalheraldry.org/digital-heraldry-ontology/heraldry#Gironny to denote the concept of *gironny*.

[19] The following heraldic textbooks are being used to provide the definitions and aliases: Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909); James Parker, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry*, 1st ed. (London, 1894); Johann Baptist Rietstap, *Armorial général precédé d'un dictionnaire des Termes du blason*, 1st ed. (Gouda, 1884); Emmanuel De Boos, *Dictionnaire du blason* (Paris, 2001); Gert Oswald, *Lexikon der Heraldik* (Leipzig, 1984); Maximilian Gritzner, *Handbuch der heraldischen Terminologie in zwölf Zungen* (Nürnberg, 1890).

[20] The documentation of the most current version of the ontology can be accessed at http://digitalheraldry.org/dho/heraldry.

[21] Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg. Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1727 ff.14r–115v.

[22] Pastoureau, 'Pastoureau, L'armoirie médiévale', p.122.

[23] Steen Clemmensen, 'Evaluating Armorials (IV) – Grünenberg, the Unfortunate Armorist', Billet, *Heraldica Nova* (blog), https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/1975.

[24] Michael Piotrowski, 'Accepting and Modeling Uncertainty', in Andreas Kuczera, Thorsten Wübbena, and Thomas Kollatz (edd.), *Die Modellierung Des Zweifels – Schlüsselideen Und – Konzepte Zur Graphbasierten Modellierung von Unsicherheiten*, vol. 4, Zeitschrift Für Digitale Geisteswissenschaften / Sonderbände (Wolfenbüttel, 2019); Jennifer Edmond, 'Managing Uncertainty in the Humanities: Digital and Analogue

Approaches', in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Technological Ecosystems for Enhancing Multiculturality*, TEEM'18 (New York, 2018), pp. 840–44.

[25] Clemmensen, *Ordinary of Medieval Armorials*, www.armorial.dk.

[26] The geographical data is based on the coats of arms in our database that can be assigned to marches of arms. For these marches of arms, the corresponding historical (or modern, where not otherwise possible) territories, which also have entries in Wikidata were identified, These entries then provided the coordinates to place them on a map.

[27] *DBA*.

[28] Johann Siebmacher, *New Wapenbuch, darinen deß H. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation hoher Potentaten, Fürsten, Herren und Adelspersonen auch anderer Ständt und Stätte Wappen in der Zahl über 3320, beneben ihrer Schilt und Helmkleinoten, mit besonderm Fleiß erkundiget...* (Nürnberg, 1605); Johann Siebmacher, *Johann Siebmachers Wappen-Buch : Faksimile-Nachdruck der 1701/05 bei Rudolph Johann Helmers in Nürnberg erschienen Ausgabe : alle sechs Teile mit Anhang, Register und allen Erweiterungen bis zum Abschluss der Stammausgabe von 1772* (München, 1975); Johann Siebmacher, *Johann Siebmachers Wappenbuch : Faksimile-Nachdruck der von 1753 bis 1806 im Verlag der Raspischen Handlung in Nürnberg erschienen zwölf Supplemente* (München, 1979).

[29] Charles Hozier, *Armorial général de France, recueil officiel dressé en vertu de l'édit royal du 20 novembre 1696* (Paris, 1903).

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND IN TIMES OF REVOLUTION – REFLECTIONS IN ARMORIALS

Dr. STEEN CLEMMENSEN, A.I.H.

War, conflict and heraldry are inseparable. That goes for the shoulder patches of the soldier on today's battlefields as much as for the medieval mailed knight – and all that time people have collected the emblems used and noted their affiliations. Some armorials, English as well as Continental, can be related to specific conflicts, and give at least a partial composition of an army. In most cases this was introduced in a heading, and subsequent research has confirmed that the contents support the declaration. For others, the connection between a conflict and an armorial is more subtle. The present paper will concentrate on five such collections. The three armorials central to the discussion are related to two of the major conflicts within the English royal family in the fourteenth century, while the other two have been implicated, but shown to have no connection to either of the parties. The favouritism and egotism behind the conflicts during the reigns of Edward II (ruled 1307–27) and Richard II (ruled 1377–99) have been recorded in both chronicles and numerous books, as have their depositions and presumed murders.

The Overthrow of Edward II

The sad story of Edward II (1284–1327), who succeeded his father on July 7th 1307, is well known, as are his problems: favourites, unsuccessful wars and being an inept politician.[1] The relevant highlights are his major favourites, two crucial battles, and a political confrontation. The first, Piers Gaveston (c.1284–1312), son of a Gascon baron, became a companion of Edward from their late teens, was knighted with him in 1306, but was regarded as having an unhealthy influence, so Piers was banished in February 1307, shortly before Edward I died. The first act of government by Edward II was to recall Piers and create him earl of Cornwall – an unprecedented ennoblement as this rich earldom was formerly kept as an appanage for a senior member of the royal family. A few months later Piers married Edward's niece Margaret de Clare, sister of Gilbert de Clare, who as Earl of Gloucester was the second richest magnate in England. Piers' arrogance and greed so provoked the magnates that they twice forced Edward to banish him again for two periods: June 1308 – June 1309, and November 1311 – January 1312. On his last return he took shelter in a Yorkshire coastal fortress. Besieged there, he surrendered for guarantees to his life, but was abducted on his way to London, summarily tried, and executed.

    The king subsequently adopted as his principal favourites Hugh Despenser, father (1260–1326), and son (1288–1326). Both had influence on Edward from childhood, but only gained prominence after the fall of Gaveston and the end of the activities of the 'ordainers', a group of magnates, who in effect ruled England during the period 1310–11.

Armorials from the reign of Edward II

Let us first consider the struggle by Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the king's senior agnatic cousin, to get the position of influence which he regarded as his birthright. Two armorials, the *First Dunstable Roll* and the *Boroughbridge Roll*, have long been associated with this power struggle, which ended with the execution of Lancaster on March 22nd 1322 after he lost the battle of Boroughbridge.[2] It is now established that the latter armorial had nothing directly to do with the conflict, any more than did the *Nativity Roll*, a list of attendees at a tournament in 1306 or 1308.

The Parliamentary Roll

From this same period we have the *Parliamentary Roll*, which is structured in such a way as to suggest that its compiler had chosen sides in that conflict.[3] It is a collection of 1030 names and arms in blazon among which were inserted a further 80 entries in the late fifteenth century. With 52 known manuscripts it is the most copied armorial, though all except two were made in the sixteenth century or later. There are also fifteen transcriptions, editions or websites. A closer examination of the layout and additions suggests that the principal manuscript, British Library *MS Cotton Caligula A.xviii*, ff. 3r–21v (known in Papworth and the DBA as roll N) is the original, and that the major part was written during August–November 1309, with cancellations and a contemporary addition in the same hand added from May 1310 until October 1311.[4] The key figure is Piers Gaveston (N3), and the original nominal dating of 1307–12 corresponds to his period as Earl of Cornwall. The more nuanced dating given above is based on Gaveston's place in the armorial, his exiles, his date of death, and some significant cancelled entries denoting death (Henry Lacy N4; Anthony Bek N15; Robert FitzRoger N26; Robert Tony N49/1049).

The *Parliamentary Roll* has three parts: a first segment of 169 entries of magnates mentioned as earls or bannerets, which indicate that they were known as military leaders. Most of these were of baronial rank, i.e. they were summoned to parliament by name. The second part consists of 30 segments, each with between five and 62 members of the knightly class noted for a specific shire or a pair of shires. Analysis reveals that between 53% and 100% of the men in each segment had property in those shires, or at least relatives who had. It appears from some sets of relatives that family association with a shire was more important for the compiler than that of the named individual. The roll concludes with four segments that appear to be a contemporary addition of nine extinct comital families, nine magnates (of which six had probably been overlooked), six Frenchmen, and 52 other knights – mostly from the northern shires.

Opinion on the value of the armorial has been divided. On one side stood Noël Denholm-Young, who claimed it as a survey of all the knighthood of Edward I made by herald of Robert Clifford, the then acting marshal.[5] On an absolute other side was Nigel Saul, who judged it next to useless, having too many knights misplaced in the shire studied.[6] David Simpkin might be placed in the middle, stating it as being a survey of contemporary war-capable knights, ordered by county, but with hardly any direct military connection.[7] The present evaluation has it as a survey of influential people at the beginning of the reign of Edward II. Denholm-Young's claim that it is representative of the knights serving during the 35 years of Edward I is patently wrong. Too many names are missing, even for a survey of the Scottish Wars of 1295–1304. His arguments for Clifford
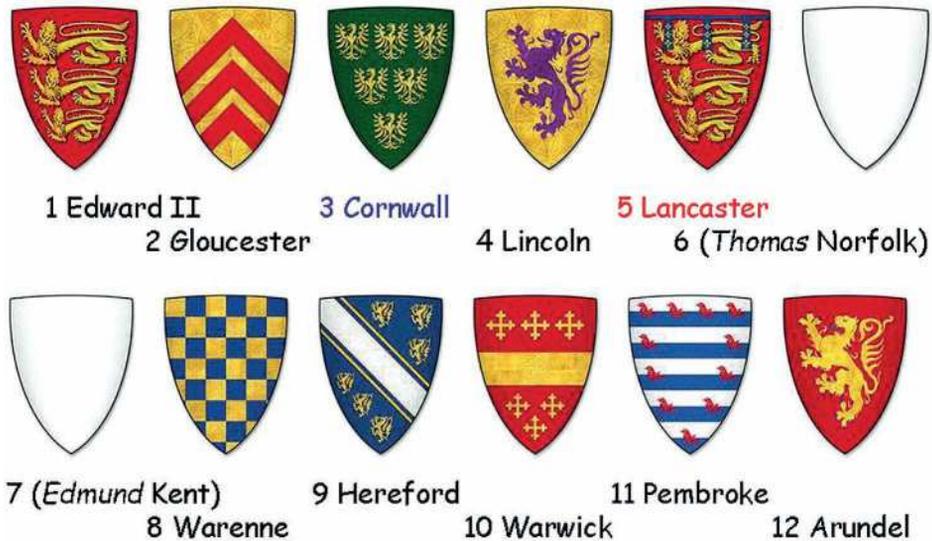
Figure 1: the earls in the *Parliamentary Roll*, 1309, numbers 1–12.
Drawings courtesy of Aspilogia.com, 2014.

are thin, at best! Nigel Saul had a point in claiming that 43% of the 'Gloucestershire' knights had no possessions in that shire; but Saul focussed too much on one of the least accurate segments. A careful study of the names shows that the accuracy is high in the East and South East, usually in the order of 85–100%, but lower in the West and North.[8] There are no indications that the information in the *Parliamentary Roll* was collated, compiled or written by government officials using information collected by sheriffs, though the compiler may have had access to records of summonses, inquests or from the treasury. His knowledge obviously varied between regions.

The First Dunstable Roll

This roll (*Papworth* roll L) is said to record followers of the opposition led by Thomas, earl of Lancaster as they gathered at Dunstable in June 1309 to confer under the guise of partaking in a tournament.[9] Dunstable was a standard venue for tournaments, and being close to London, a convenient place for gathering an impressive armed following when attending Parliament.[10] The original was lost long ago, but we have 22 surviving copies agreeing on 235 names and blazons. The vast majority (226) can be found in the *Parliamentary Roll*, indicating that they were men of some renown. The sequence with six earls spread among the entries and a collective *commune* suggests parties, which supports the title claiming it as teams at a tournament.

Comparing the entries with records of indenture, feudal relations, and military service revealed a finer structure, with at least sixteen retinues belonging to earls and magnates, and a complex residue. A quarter are documented as members of the

opposition, so-called contrariants. Taken together with the known sympathies of the major names, this relatively high proportion of people whom the government wanted to punish or had to forgive, should be evidence enough to include the remaining three quarters as at least sympathizers, who were willing to stake their life and possessions in support of these magnates.

The earls headed six segments or retinues, and major magnates another nine. Six of the magnate retinues were placed between those of the Earl of Warwick (L37, segment 4) and the Earl of Lancaster (L92, segment 11), and included Robert de Clifford (L47, segment 5) the acting marshal, and Hugh le Despenser (L61, segment 7), later the principal favourite. This suggests that the gathering was less anti-king than anti-Gaveston. The header 'la commune' was written above the entry for the baron Robert de Tony (L165), but the commune has probably been split into two segments as segment 16 (L165–186). It appears to include some leaderless groups, including men retained by the absent Earl of Pembroke. It is likely that the men in 'la commune' had looser ties to the magnates, but were tied to the opposition by personal interest, or in defence of their property against interference from men in the affinity of Gaveston. A quarter of the known contrarians belong to 'la commune'.

The Nativity and the Boroughbridge Rolls
The armorial listing the participants in the tournament held on the Nativity, i.e. September 8th in either 1306 or 1308 has nothing to do with contemporary political conflicts.[11] It has no discernible structure; most of the 79 men came from the northern shires. Like the *First Dunstable* it has a large overlap with the *Parliamentary Roll* of some 81%, but very little overlap with the former. The so-called *Boroughbridge Roll* has nothing to do with battle of 1322 or the list of proscribed Lancastrians, but contains participants in a tournament held outside Newcastle in 1319, while the army waited to move to Berwick to fight the Scots.[12] Neither armorial has anything to do with the political problems of Edward II, but the latter could be of interest for scholars of medieval armies.

Comparisons
If we compare the *First Dunstable* and the *Parliamentary Roll*, it is evident that affinities and retinues had no place in the mind of the compiler of the latter. The main, if not the only, political statement is the placing of Piers Gaveston (N3), recently created Earl of Cornwall, as second only to the king's nephew Gloucester (N2), and two steps above the king's closest adult agnatic relative Lancaster (N5). In between is placed Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln (N4), an elder statesman and at the time regent of England (custos regni), see **Figure 1**. The compiler made room for two earls after Lancaster. These places must have been intended for the king's two brothers, still minors. This lead sequence is unusual compared to contemporary summonses.[13] Gloucester is usually the first name among the earls followed by Lincoln, Lancaster – and then Gaveston. The only exception was for the muster called for September 1310, when it was uncertain whether Lancaster would appear at all. In this summons, Gaveston and Warenne were placed ahead of him. Gaveston is not found in any other contemporary armorial.

Compilers of armorials are not infallible. They make mistakes, and too often misread and misspell notes and sources. If one compares the *Dunstable* and the *Parliamentary* there are 61 differences in the blazons for men present in both armorials, comprising

26% of those in the *Dunstable*. It can take a lot of research to decide which blazon is the correct one. Two examples must suffice, one with resolution, and one left open. The former is the example of the brothers Edmund and John de Mauley whose arms are reversed between the *Stirling Roll* (from the siege of the castle in 1304) and the *Parliamentary Roll*. The head of the Mauley family then bore *Or a bend sable*, which John differenced on the bend with *Three wyverns argent* in the *Stirling* (ST93), while the more famous Edmund, a steward of the household in the affinity of Gaveston, who died at Bannockburn in 1314, added *Three dolphins argent* (ST95). The *Parliamentary* has the reverse attributions: *dolphins* (John, N720), *wyverns* (Edmund, N721).[14] The resolution of this contradiction came by a reassessment of a tomb with the wyvern arms in a Yorkshire church, which had for a century been assigned to the famous Edmund. The history of the church and family clearly indicated that this magnificent tomb was made for John – and that the compiler of the *Parliamentary Roll* got the arms of the brother wrong.

The second example with inconclusive outcome concerns Roger le Brett [N821], a minor gentleman who left descendants. Roger began his career as a man-of-arms with Edmund Deincourt, a baron by 1299. David Simpkin suggested that Roger similarized his arms to his captain – changing the tincture of the field to *gules* and its powdering to *roundels*.[15] The arms of this Deincourt line are *Azure a fess dancetty billety or* (N105). So far, no problems, but all other Brett arms are billety, and these arms are identical to those of Roger Deincourt (fl.1301–05), a knight from Cumberland.[16] Two knights having identical arms and quarrelling over it is well-documented, but in such cases the contest always concerned the precedence of age-old family arms. It seems highly unlikely that a newly knighted person would select or be granted arms identical in every detail to one borne by a living relative of his captain or benefactor. In this case the compiler might be right, but Roger's descendants probably preferred the 'Deincourt billets'.[17]

The overthrow of Richard II

While Edward II had gained considerable experience before he became king, Richard II (1367–1400) was only ten when he succeeded his grandfather in 1377. Though he mostly escaped unsuccessful wars, he developed the same penchant for favourites as his great grandfather, and over time became a self-centred and revengeful egotist. During his minority and early years he became dependent on his personal household, not least Michael de la Pole (created Earl of Suffolk), and his chamberlain Aubrey de Vere. Aubrey's nephew Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, who was given unprecedented honours as Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, was compared by contemporaries with Piers Gaveston for his undeserved elevation and evil influence. Among the lesser favourites and long-time supporters were the king's Holand half-brothers, Thomas, earl of Kent and John, earl of Huntingdon. Richard II's disregard for the magnates led to a violent confrontation in the 'Merciless' Parliament of 1388, where the 'Lords Appellants' took control of the royal administration and removed fourteen of the king's 22 chamber knights (four of them executed).

During the following years Richard II gathered support until he in 1397 he felt ready to strike back. His first step was to charge his uncle Thomas, duke of Gloucester with treason. The duke was convicted, and secretly murdered. At the September parliament he crushed most of the other 'Appellants', and elevated the Holands and three cousins
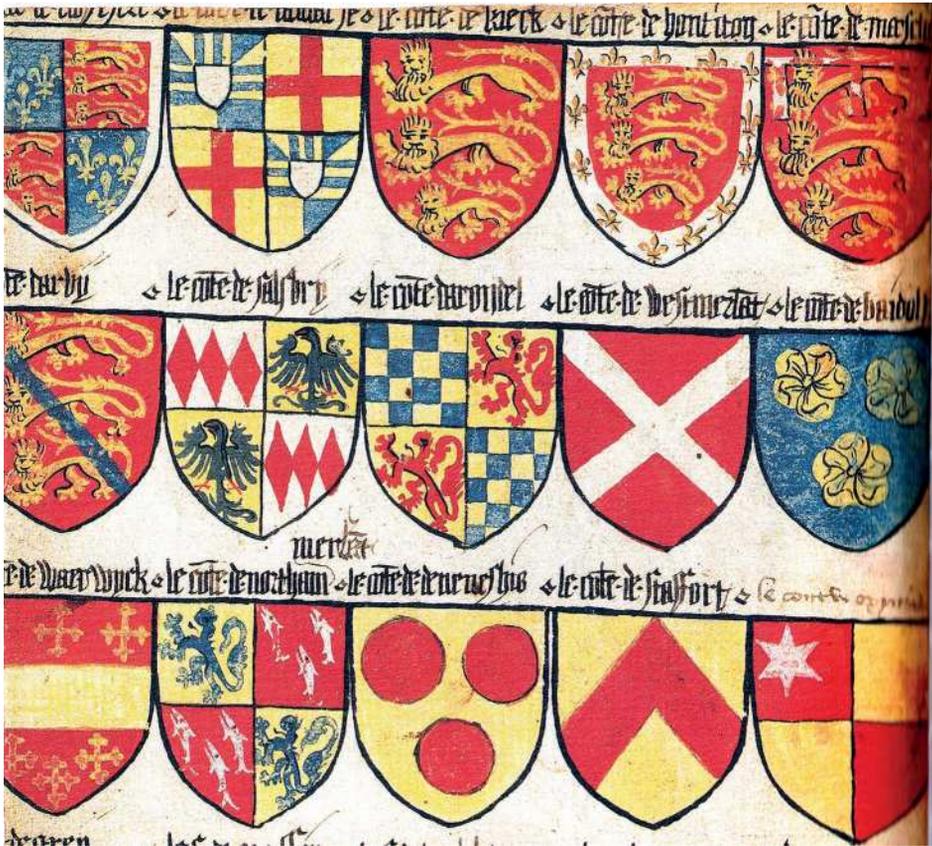
Figure 2: The principal series of earls in Armorial de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or (Golden Fleece), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms.4790, fo.78v, nos. 707–721. 1 Gloucester, 2 March, 3 Kent, 4 Huntington, 5 Earl Marshal, 6 Derby, 7 Salisbury, 8 Arundel, 9 Westmoreland, 10 mistake, 11 Warwick, 12 Northumberland, 13 Devon, 14 Stafford, 15 Oxford. Photograph: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

to dukedoms (revoked October 1399), creating some other supporters as earls. The third step was to have the last 'Appellants', the Earl of Derby and the Earl of.Arundel, exiled. The final act in the drama followed in 1399, when following the death of his uncle John of Gaunt, who as Duke of Lancaster was by far the richest magnate, Richard II denied the duke's son, the exiled Derby, his rightful succession. The response came promptly. Derby landed in England, gathered the opposition, chased, captured, and deposed Richard. Several of Richard's supporters were killed or executed during a feeble counter-rebellion, leaving the peerage much changed and Derby as King Henry IV.[18]

This sad story is known not only from English chronicles and documents, but also from French sources. Richard's queen was a French child princess, who had brought a native entourage. At least one of these, who lived with the Holands and was more interested in ceremonials than politics, wrote a chronicle of the deposition. He may have

compiled the collection of arms, which c.1435 was incorporated in a composite armorial, the *Golden Fleece* (Toison d'or) and much copied.[19] The armorial has 21 segments featuring Scots, Poles, Germans, Frenchmen, the knights of the Order of The Golden Fleece, and a segment with 168 English names and painted arms. The best fit for the English section would be c.1397, but some of the arms point to a revision c.1420, during in the reign of Henry V, after Agincourt, and during the Anglo-Burgundian alliance.

The section is headed with a duke and thirteen earls, a collection of arms and titles only found in the spring and summer of 1397 (**Figure 2**). The six earls at the top of the opposite page comprise two doubles, three of them anachronistic, and a Pole Earl of Suffolk. The latter earldom was forfeited in 1388, revived in 1397, lost again in 1399, and revived later the same year. A single baron (Bardolf) was placed out of sequence with the higher nobility. It appears that the compiler 'lost' Richard II's two eldest uncles John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and Edmund, duke of York.

The whole sequence is slightly unusual. Richard's youngest uncle Thomas, duke of Gloucester leads, followed by Roger Mortimer, earl of March who was the king's senior agnatic cousin as grandson of Lionel, second son of King Edward III. March was by some regarded as next in line to the throne. Next come Richard's two non-royal Holand half-brothers, in the place which would normally be ascribed to members of the royal family. The brothers and the Earl of Nottingham are ahead of the king's agnatic cousin Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby and by September 1397 Duke of Hereford.[20]

Henry of Bolingbroke appears to have been slighted, with his arms anachronistically rendered as those of the earldom of Derby, as had been used by Henry Plantagenet (d.1345) before acceding to the earldom of Lancaster in 1324, and by his son Henry, earl of Derby (d.1361) prior to becoming Earl of Lancaster in 1345: *Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or with a bendlet azure*. Bolingbroke's arms are given correctly in *Willement's Roll* of c. 1392 as *France quartering England with a label party per pale ermine and France*[21]). This and the other anomalies suggest that, as with the *Parliamentary Roll,* the compiler had political preferences and changed the precedence in favour of his 'heroes'. Thus we have two similar examples of armorials from times of revolution, one belonging to the reign of Edward II, the other from the reign of his grandson and admirer Richard II, which demonstrate the political manipulation of heraldry by supporters of two monarchs and their favourites who were subsequently deposed.

[1] Edward II is credited with cunning political manoeuverings by his recent biographer, but the 'inept' remains a valid descriptor: his realm almost disintegrated during his reign. Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London, 2010).

[2] *First Dunstable Roll* (**L**), edited in C.E. Long, 'Tournament at Stepney, 2 Edward II', *Coll. Top. & Geneal.*, vol. 4 (1837), pp. 61–72, analyzed in A. Tomkinson, 'Retinues at the tournament of Dunstable, 1309', *English Historical Review*, vol. 290 (1959), pp. 70–89. *Boroughbridge Roll, recte Newcastle Tournament* (**O**), edited in Steen Clemmensen, *The Newcastle armorial, formerly known as the Boroughbridge roll of arms. An armorial of knights in the host collected for the siege of Berwick in September 1319* (Farum, 2016), www.armorial.dk/ english/Newcastle.pdf , analyzed by Bridget Wells-Furby: "The 'Boroughbridge roll or arms' reconsidered", *Historical Research*, vol. 86 (2013), pp. 196–206.

[3] *Nativity Roll* (**M**), in Gerard J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms Edward I 1272–1307* (Woodbridge 1997), vol.1, pp. 495–505; *Parliamentary Roll* (**N**), in Michel Popoff , *Parliamentary Roll* (Paris, 2020); Steen Clemmensen, *The Parliamentary Roll a.k.a. The Great or Banneret's Roll* (Farum,2022), www.armorial.dk/english/ Parliamentary.pdf.

[4] Clemmensen *Parliamentary Roll*, pp. 8–10, 75–76, 79.

[5] Noël Denholm-Young. 'The Song of Carlaverock, the Parliamentary Roll of Arms, and the Galloway Roll', *Collected Papers* (Cardiff. 1969, original paper 1949), pp. 121–122.

[6] Nigel Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1981), p. 30.

[7] David Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War. From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 22–23; idem, 'Total War in the Middle Ages? The Contribution of English Landed Society to the Wars of Edward I and Edward II', in A.R. Bell et. al. *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 68.

[8] Percentages may be misleading, when the actual number is only 20 as is the case for Derbys & Notts segment 17. Here the accuracy of the roll is 60%, with seven living in one of the shires, three having property there, two without other evidence of ownership, six without apparent interests in the shires, one who had served as sheriff, and one with next to no information at all. In addition, there were twelve bannerets with interests in those shires – a dominant group, each with an affinity.

[9] Tomkinson *Retinues*.

[10] Phillips *Edward II*, p.155, suggesting a meet before the April 1309 Parliament.

[11] Brault *Rolls of Arms*, vol.1, pp. 495–505.

[12] See Clemmensen *Newcastle*, Wells-Furby *Boroughbridge*.

[13] Francis Palgrave (ed.): *Great Britain. Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, 4 vols. (London 1827–34), vol. 2, pp. 15, 30, 38, 43, 45 (1308–10).

[14] Clemmensen, 'A question of wyverns or dolphins', *The Coat of Arms* no.239 (2022), pp. 120–126. There are also anonymous glazed windows with the arms in York Minster. Brault *Rolls of Arms*, vol. 1, pp. 492–493.

[15] Simpkin *English Aristocracy*, p. 27; Brault *Rolls of Arms*, vol. 2, p. 73 (LM411, billety).

[16] Brault *Rolls of Arms*, vol. 2, p. 138.

[17] *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 314–316 citing PRO seals for John le Brett, 1359.

[18] Michael Bennett, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud, 1999).

[19] Paris, Bibl. Arsenal, ms. 4790, ff. 78r–81v (*Toison d'or / Golden Fleece*); Steen Clemmensen, "The English in the Golden Fleece group of armorials", *The Coat of Arms* no. 211 (2006), pp.11–44.

[20] The important events to consider here are: The Duke of Gloucester was imprisoned and murdered in 1397;
The Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey was in executed 1400, dying without issue;
The Earl Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter was executed 1400, earldom restored 1417;
The Earl of Nottingham, also Earl Marshal and Duke of Norfolk was exiled in 1398;
The Earl of Salisbury was executed in 1401, and restored 1409;
The Earl of Arundel was executed in 1397; earldom restored 1399; line extinct 1415;
The Earldom of Westmoreland was created in 1397;
The Earl of Warwick was exiled 1397–99.

[21] BL, Ms. Egerton 3713, membrane 1, row 1, no. 4, (S29).

THE GENEALOGY OF THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1776, AND WHY IT HAS NO RELATIONSHIP TO THE ARBROATH LETTER OF 1320

Dr. BRUCE DURIE, A.I.G.

Abstract

The 1320 Baron's Letter of Arbroath is commonly but wrongly called the *Declaration of Arbroath*. It was never 'declared', but was a private letter to the Pope in Avignon. Nor was it any kind of statement of individual rights, and it does not concern itself with individual 'freedom'. The 1776 American Declaration of Independence is also widely misunderstood: in particular, it has no connection with or influence from the 1320 Arbroath Letter. In fact, Thomas Jefferson, author of the 1776 Declaration, did not even like the Scots.

Tartan Day and Tartan Week, U.S.A

Each year on 6 April, and in the surrounding week, North America holds a celebration of Scottish heritage. The date is that on which the Barons Letter from Arbroath (popularly but wrongly called the *Declaration of Arbroath*) was signed in 1320. Although the best-known celebration is the one held in New York, there are a number of other Tartan Days and Tartan Weeks around the U.S.A., notably Tartan Day South, held across various locations in South Carolina and North Carolina.

The idea actually originated in Canada in the mid-1980s as 'Tartan Day in Nova Scotia' and within sixteen years it had been approved as a special day in every Provincial Assembly in Canada. Meanwhile, in the U.S.A. in 1998 a coalition of Scottish Americans successfully lobbied the Senate for the designation of 6 April as National Tartan Day "to recognize the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States". Reference was made to the predominance of Scots among the Founding Fathers, and it was claimed that the American Declaration of Independence was "modelled on" the Declaration of Arbroath.[1] This was stimulated by communications within and among the Scottish-American community asking everyone to write to their Senators to support the National Tartan Day proposal. To explore this contention, we must first explore the genesis of the Arbroath Letter of 1320 and the part played in it by Robert I, King of Scots ('Robert the Brus') and his coterie.

1314 was a momentous year

Robert Brus (1274–1329) was King of Scots from 1306. He became involved in the resistance to the English King Edward I (1239–1307, ruled from 1272) in his attempt to rule Scotland via the puppet king John Balliol (c. 1249–late 1314, ruled 1292–1296, and finally repelled Edward I's son Edward II at the Battle of Bannockburn, in the shadow of Stirling Castle (June 23–24, 1314). Bannockburn did not secure a lasting peace – complete victory would not be secured until 14 years later with the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton of 1328[2] – and the path of Brus and Scotland to the events known as the "First War of Independence" was far from straightforward. In brief, Brus was not the

unalloyed patriot-hero of popular imagination. He was focussed on securing what he saw as his family's and his own birthright as King, vacillated over his support for the various factions, changed sides five times, and in the process managed to get himself (and by extension the whole of Scotland) excommunicated for his part in the murder of John Comyn III of Badenoch, nicknamed the Red Comyn, a nephew of the rival Balliol competitor, in Greyfriars Church, Dumfries in 1306 (**Figure 1)**. He was excommunicated again in 1317 for disobeying the Pope's demand for a truce with England. However, by 1306 Brus was King, at least in the eyes of his own supporters, although there was still a considerable pro-Balliol and pro-English faction in Scotland.

Figure 1: An example of Victorian romanticism: Felix Philippoteaux's imagined "Death of Comyn in the Greyfriars church in Dumfries"–Bruce and Roger de Kirkpatrick are wearing kilts, which they would not have at that time. The "great kilt" with over-the-shoulder plaid (*feileadh mòr*) developed over the course of the sixteenth Century. The story of the murder, and the participants, is variously told by different contemporary and near-contemporary historians. Source: *Cassell's Illustrated History of England, vol. 1.*

Apart from Robert Brus's defeat of Edward II at Bannockburn, a number of other tides turned in 1314:

1. The death of John Balliol, puppet King of Scots from 1292 to 1296, in exile in Picardy as a Papal prisoner. Balliol had been a prisoner in the Tower of London until allowed to go to France in July 1299 into the custody of Pope Boniface VIII, on condition that he remained at a papal residence. In fact, he was released around the summer of 1301 to live at his family's château at Hélicourt, Picardy, and died in late 1314. Edward II of England wrote to King Louis X of France that he had heard of Balliol's death and requested the fealty and homage of his son, Edward Balliol, who struggled to maintain a foothold in parts of Scotland until 1356.[3]

2. Pope Clement V died. He it was who had excommunicated Brus. He was from Bordeaux, and therefore a subject of England; had suppressed the order of the Knights Templar; and had been less than keen on the claims of the Scots. He was replaced by Pope John XXII.

3. The death of Philip IV 'The Fair', King of France and of Navarre, Pope Clement's close personal friend, and Edward II's father-in-law. Philip IV expropriated outright the Templars' French estates and their vastly wealthy bank, abolished slavery, and emphasised the 'liberty' of people and nations. He was replaced briefly by his son Louis X, then by his other son Philip V 'the Tall'.

4. As a consequence of all this and parallel developments, good relations were established between France and Flanders. France started harassing Edward II over his rule of Aquitaine and Gascony. Robert Brus's brother Edward was set to become High King of Ireland, the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France (1295) was in play, and Brus had begun raids into northern England, initially Carlisle and Berwick, then further south, into Lancashire and Yorkshire.

5. The consequences included: England lost influence in Europe and with the Holy Roman Empire.Edward II felt threatened by France in the south, Scotland in the north, Ireland in the west, Flanders in the south-east, and was faced with the possible loss of Wales. England might have been left as a rump state, riven by Civil War and economic problems, with bad weather and famine until 1321 affecting trade and finances, plus internal revolts in Lancashire and Bristol in 1315, and in Glamorgan and the Welsh Marches, culminating in the Despenser Wars (1321).

The time was ripe for a Scottish charm offensive with the Pope

At this point, Brus was still excommunicated, despite absolution granted by his friend and supporter Bishop Robert Wishart. He had been crowned at Scone in 1306 – twice, in fact. The first was by a bishop, then the next day by Isabella, Countess of Buchan. She was the sister of the Earl of Fife (Donnchadh IV MacDuff), who had the right of coronation,

but he was a minor at the time, and in the hands of the English. The politics of this are interesting, as Isabella was the wife of the 3rd Earl of Buchan, a cousin of the murdered John Comyn, and a Balliol supporter. However, these coronations were without Papal sanction or unction, a major issue for a Catholic king in Catholic Europe. Therefore, Brus wanted Pope John XXII to recognise him as a king, to cancel the excommunication, and to tell England to recognise himself as King of a non-vassal Scotland. In order to bring all this about, certain members of the Scottish nobility and clergy who were of the Brus faction submitted a letter to the Pope in Avignon in 1320. The nature and contents of this letter are addressed below, but among its *sequelae* were:

1324 – the Pope recognised Robert Brus as king of an independent Scotland;

1326 – the Franco-Scottish alliance was renewed in the Treaty of Corbeil;

1327 –Edward II was deposed in favour of his son, Edward III (1312–1377), whose youngest sister, Joan, had married Brus's eventual successor David II in 1321 when he was four years old and she was seven;

1328 – peace was concluded between Scotland and England with the Treaty of Edinburgh–Northampton and Edward III renounced all claims to sovereignty over Scotland;

1328 – the Pope eventually cancelled Brus's excommunication, in October of that year;

1329 – Robert Brus died in June, and not of leprosy, as is often stated.

Six days later, Brus's posthumous triumph was complete when papal bulls were issued granting the privilege of unction at the coronation of future Kings of Scots. His viscera were interred in the chapel of Saint Serf, Dumbarton, his body was buried in Dunfermline Abbey, and his heart was removed and taken his friends Sir James Douglas ('the good'), Sir William St. Clair of Rosslyn, Sir Simon Locard and others to be buried in Jerusalem, thus fulfilling, in spirit at least, Brus's promise to go on a Crusade. In the event, they got as far as Spain, where they fought the Moors at the Battle of Teba alongside Alfonso XI of Castile. The heart was thrown into the fray, the Scots chased after it and won the day. The heart (or at least *a* heart) was recovered, and returned to be buried at Melrose (rediscovered in 1921 and 1998). Sir James Douglas died, but Locard survived and changed the family name to Lockhart, in reference to the locked reliquary box containing the heart of the King.

The Barons' Letter from Arbroath 1320

The famous letter was dated 6 April 1320, possibly actually composed at Newbattle Abbey after a meeting of the Brus faction. The main actor was Bernard of Linton (or of Kilwinning), Abbot of Arbroath and Chancellor of Scotland. The final version was possibly written at Arbroath Abbey, which kept Brus's chartulary (and the equivalent of a national archive). Brus at the time was living at nearby Montrose.

The authorship is uncertain. The man who drafted it was certainly a Latin scholar and an experienced writer of narrative prose. Although the text would have been approved by the Chancellor, Bernard of Linton, that does not mean that he actually wrote it. He may
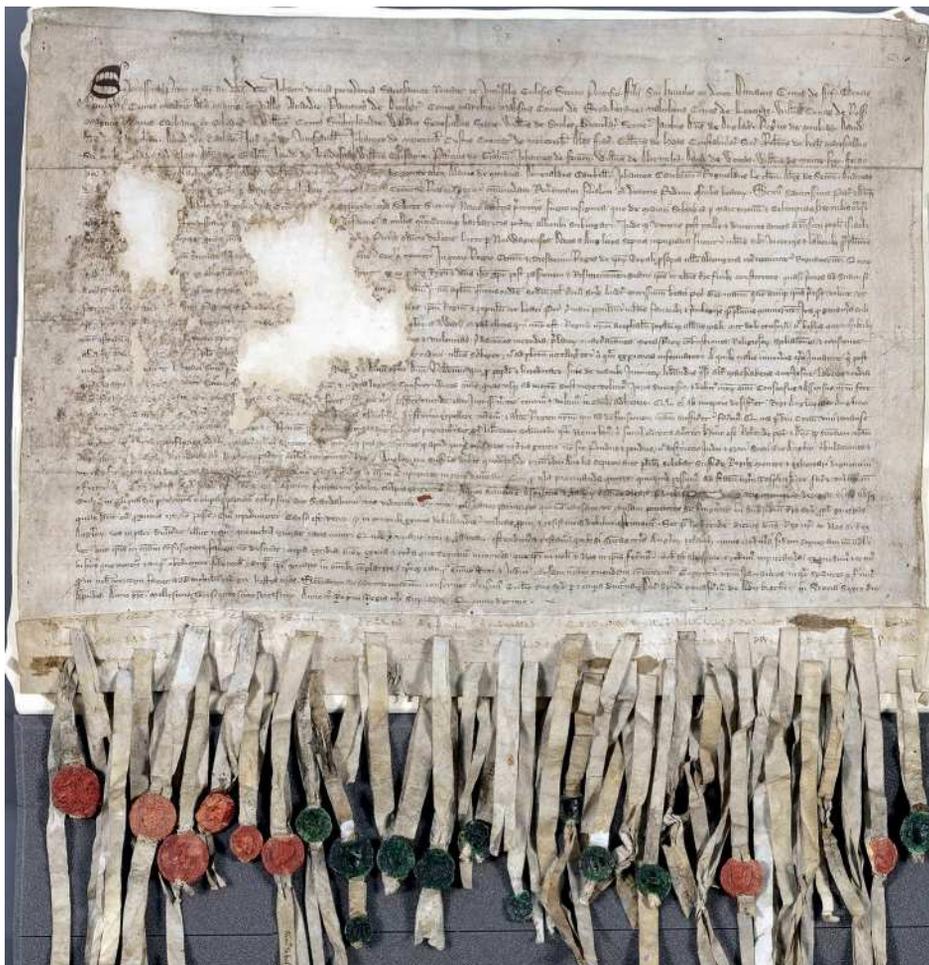
Figure 2: The Arbroath Letter of 1320, National Records of Scotland, SP13/7
© Queen's Printer for Scotland.

have. Another suggestion is Alexander Kinninmonth, one of the emissaries who took the Declaration to the Pope. He would need to have known in detail what the text said, and the thinking behind it. Likely, we will never know.

The letter bore the seals of 51 Scottish magnates, nobles and barons attached to pre-cut slits with their names above (see the list at the end of this article). Only two copies of the letter ever existed – one kept in Scotland (**Figure 2**), the other sent to Pope John XXII in Avignon (now lost).[4]

In essence, it was the response of Robert Brus's friends and supporters to his excommunication for disobeying the Pope's demand in 1317 for a truce with England. It also asserted the antiquity of the Kingdom of Scotland (complete with a fake origin story) and denounced English attempts at subjugation. It was one of several such communications. The letter opens with a list of 39 nobles sending devout greetings to the

Pope. It is formally presented as written in the voice of these individuals and 'the other barons, freeholders and the whole community of the realm of Scotland'.

There then follows a mythologised, recent and unhistorical account of where the Scots came from…

> "among the other great nations of course, our nation of Scots has been described in many publications – that crossing from Greater Scythia, via the Tyrhennian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and living in Spain among the fiercest tribes for many years".[5]

… a direct counter to the British-English origin myth, that the nation was founded by Brutus of Troy, and how they arrived in Scotland and took over the country after they had "destroyed" the Picts (not exactly how the Gaels and Picts came together) and:

"as the histories of ancient times bear witness, it has held them free of all servitude ever since".

…and that the Scots, "even though settled in the uttermost ends of the earth", were among the first to become Christian through St Andrew, brother of St Peter (a signal to the Pope that they should be taken seriously, even though St Regulus or St Rule by tradition brought St Andrew's relic-bones to Kilrymont (which became St. Andrews) from Patras in Greece via Constantinople at some point after 345 CE; Christianity may already have existed in southern Scotland, courtesy of the Romans.

The Scots [we are told], lived in freedom and peace until Edward I "came in the guise of a friend and ally to invade them as an enemy" at a time when the Scots were without a king; "innumerable outrages" by Edward are listed.

The Scots were saved by the efforts of Robert Brus who was made king (i) "by divine providence", (ii) after "succession to his right according to our laws and customs which we will maintain to the death", and (iii) with the due consent and assent of "us all". (We will return to the meaning of "us" in this context.)

The most-quoted passage is:

> "For as long as a hundred of us remain alive, we will never on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English; for it is not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we fight, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life".

As was first pointed out by G. W. S. Barrow, Professor of Scottish history at the University of St Andrews, and subsequently of the University of Edinburgh,[6] this is a direct lift from *De coniuratione Catilinae* (63 BCE) by Sallust, Roman historian and politician, partisan of Julius Caesar. However, it is not mere plagiarism – the idea was to show the Papal scribes and scholars that the Scots knew their classics and Roman law, and understood certain of Sallust's concepts, notably *libertas*. Although usually rendered into English as 'freedom', *libertas* actually meant, in Sallust's formulation, the condition of not being a vassal. Roman *libertas* was "an aristocratic concept, which signified the unhindered operation of a system of hierarchical institutions, and the freedom of members of a noble elite to compete equally and openly for political honours".

The Letter is a statement of the State's right to rule, not of the rights and liberties of individual citizens. In this context it means one nation not being in homage to another, i.e., Scotland as feudal vassal to England. It says nothing of individual 'freedom' of individual Scots.

The much-touted "a hundred of us" cannot be taken to mean 100 Scotsmen, as the idea of anything involving the collective feeling of the common herd would not even

occur to the mediaeval aristocratic mind. It refers to 100 of the knights, nobles and others of the Brus faction, who were keen to assert and cement their authority over Scotland. A few months later there was the Soulis conspiracy against King Robert, including at least four of those who had appended their seals to the Arbroath Letter.

What the Arbroath Letter of 1320 is not

It is not a 'Declaration'. It was never 'declared' or made public – read out at town crosses, nailed to church doors, etc. It was written expressly for one person, the Pope, and his advisers. Further, it is not an expression of the 'Rights of the Common Man' or 'Sovereignty of the People' both of which would have been unthinkable to the aristocrats and churchmen responsible. Finally, it is not about freedom in the sense of individual freedom– rather, it is a contractual theory of monarchy within a nation-state not ruled by or in homage to another.

What the Arbroath Letter of 1320 really is

On its surface, it is a letter to the Pope asking for Scotland and its chosen king to be taken seriously, a justification of the legitimate rule of Brus *vs* Balliol, and an agreement to abide by the Pope's wishes. It also contains a veiled threat that if the Pope does not agree, the consequences "will, we believe, be surely laid by the Most High to your charge". The subtext, as stated above, is an attempt by a group of aristocrats in the Brus faction to secure Scotland's relationship with the Church, and thereby their own positions, powers and lands, and an assertion of the rights of the prominent and the landed to determine the fate of the nation. It includes a promise to go on a Crusade, which all Christian kings should, if only the war with England would allow it. It also contains an appalling piece of self-deprecatory sentiment when it asks the Pope to defend those "living in this poor little Scotland" (*in exili degentes Scocia*)

The Arbroath Letter was almost forgotten

To hear people speak of the *Declaration of Arbroath* now, it is possible to get the impression that it has been in the forefront of Scottish consciousness for 700 years. This is misleading. It was largely forgotten for 350 years, or considered an antique curiosity, then rediscovered in the late seventeenth century by Sir George McKenzie of Rosehaugh the noted lawyer, antiquarian and (incidentally) brutal anti-Covenanter,[7] and given a single and inaccurate mention by Sir Walter Scott. The Latin text was printed for the first time in the 1680s, and was only translated into English in the aftermath of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689,[8]and sometimes described as a 'declaration of independence' after that time.[9] Then it was almost forgotten again, right through the Enlightenment – there is not a hint of it in the writings of Adam Smith, David Hume and others, who might have been expected to discuss it or at least acknowledge its existence. It did not form part of Scottish consciousness until 1947, when it was 'translated' by Sir James Fergusson, who did not even have the entire document to work from, although he was able to consult various conflicting transcripts. It was re-popularised in the 1970s, with the rise of Scottish Independence and the commemoration that marked the 650th Anniversary of 1320.

It was not called a declaration until well into the twentieth Century, except for one little-known nineteenth century instance – a mention by a local history society of the Tay

region, which includes Arbroath. It certainly had no influence whatsoever on the 1776 American Declaration of Independence.

Declaration of Independence – the process

A committee of five was charged by the Second Continental Congress to produce a draft. These were: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman, who sat, in theory, from 11 June to 5 July 1776 (**Figure 3**). Franklin made some suggestions, none of which was adopted, so he left the other four to get on with it. The three remaining – Adams, Livingston and Sherman – decided that Jefferson could produce a draft by himself. Jefferson did so, producing various initial drafts in the process,[10] and presented his final version in late June. Congress voted on 2 July to declare independence, and John Adams wrote to his wife that "The Second Day of July 1776, will be the most memorable *Epocha* in the History of America". That day has now been overshadowed by the 4th of July, the date an Irish immigrant printer in Philadelphia called Dunlap was asked to print 200 copies of a broadside which were widely distributed and read to the public, the version most people know, although it lacks the famous John Hancock signature.

Jefferson's draft was largely influenced by the writings of his philosophical hero, John Locke (1632–1704) together with the works of Burlamaqui and Vattel. The precursors for the text were:
– Jefferson's own draft of a proposed Constitution for Virginia, part of which was adopted on 29 June 1776;
– George Mason's Declaration of Rights, which became the Virginia Bill of Rights, adopted on 12 June 1776 – also largely built on the works of Locke. The first paragraph of Mason's Declaration reads:

> "That all men are born equally free and independant (sic) and have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they cannot, by any Compact, deprive or divest their Posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the means of Acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety".

George Mason (1725–1792), who had family origins Worcestershire and Yorkshire, England, was an advocate of popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights (**Figure 4**). Other nations held the belief that the state granted its citizens their rights, but Locke (and Jefferson) believed these rights were always held by people, and that it was the job of the State to protect them, not to grant them. Mason declared the axiomatic concepts of government as being:
– sovereign power rests in the people;
– officials of government exist for common benefit and security;
– when any government was found unworthy of its trust, a majority of the community "hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefensible Right to reform, alter or abolish it"

The concept that sovereign power rests in the people is completely at odds with the sentiments of the Arbroath Letter of 1320, and with the British concept of Parliamentary sovereignty ("The King in Parliament is Sovereign"). So is the very idea that there exists common (i.e., universal) "benefit and security". Thus, the 1776 American Declaration was all about indicting a king and replacing him with democratic institutions, whereas the 1320 Arbroath Letter had been about cementing the power of a king and his friends,
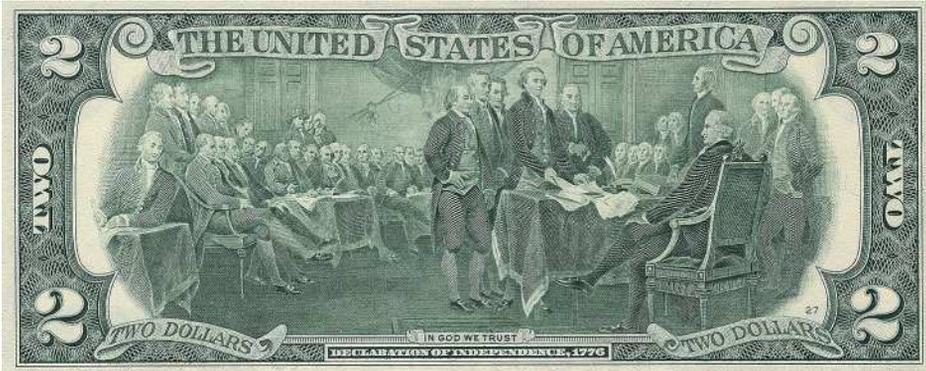
Figure 3: An engraving on a two-dollar note, taken from John Trumbull's 1819 painting *A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled.* It depicts the Committee of Five presenting the final draft of the Declaration to Congress on 28 June 1776.
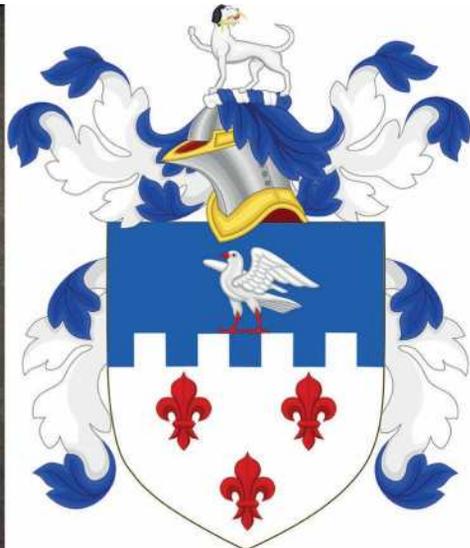
Figure 4: Left: George Mason (1725–1792) was a Virginia planter, politician, delegate to the U.S. Constitutional Convention of 1787 and "Founding Father of the Bill of Rights". Mason was one of three delegates who refused to sign the Constitution. Along with large parts of the Fairfax Resolves of 1774 and the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776, Mason wrote *Objections to this Constitution of Government* (1787). This opposed ratification of the Constitution, and influences American political thought to this day. The Virginia Declaration of Rights (of which Mason was the main author) were the basis for the US Bill of Rights of 1789. Right: like many Americans of proximal English descent, Mason bore 'his' coat of arms.

and asking a greater emperor – in this case the Pope, not the people – for sanction to govern.

Various drafts exist – some sent by Jefferson to others for comment, and some copies made by others – and have been compared. From close study of these, it is clear that Congress made a few minor changes to Jefferson's draft before adopting it – mostly in phraseology. But there were two major deletions. The first was the removal of a 168-word passage condemning slavery as "one of the evils foisted upon the colonies by the British Crown". Jefferson explained decades later in his autobiography that this was:

> "struck out in complaisance to S. Carolina & Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importance of slaves & who on the contrary still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for tho' their people have very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others".

This is a wry observation that even in the 'non-slaving' States, there was considerable profit to be made from the slave trade. The other notable striking out was Jefferson's evident dislike of the Scots. His draft had said that King George had sent over:

> "not only soldiers of our own common blood but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to destroy us invade and deluge us in blood"

Jefferson did not regard the Scots as being of the same "common blood" as Americans. He wrote in a letter to Robert Walsh on 4 December 1818, that:

> "The words "Scotch and other foreign auxiliaries" excited the ire of a gentleman or two of that country… altho' the offensive expressions were immediately yielded, these gentlemen continued their depredations on other parts of the instrument."

These other "depredations" the Scots-born might have made to the draft Declaration were minor, and only subtractive. They added nothing. Further, their influence on the initial draft was minimal, if any. Nor does the 1320 Arbroath letter get a single mention in any discussion or document leading up to the drafting of the 1776 Declaration.

As for the 1689 English Bill of Rights, Jefferson saw this as persuasive of the dangers of religion in government. The American First Amendment (1791) starts by prohibiting "the making of any law respecting an establishment of religion". In Jefferson's own notes about influences on the emerging 'American Mind', he obviously took in Thomas Paine's massively popular pamphlet, *Common Sense*, and (as described above) the Virginia Declaration of Rights. Jefferson was concerned with the Common Man, or at least the free white English-origin American adult male. Further, America was not looking for a new king, or seeking permission to be independent, so the 1320 Letter was not any sort of template for the emerging American Mind.

"A gentleman or two of that country…"

It is often claimed, as a way of substantiating some influence of Scottish thinking, and therefore of some lingering influence of the 1320 Arbroath Letter, that almost half the signatories of the U.S. Declaration of Independence were of Scottish origin. Well, obviously that means over half were not, and in any case only two were born and grew up in Scotland, and had any influence whatsoever–John Witherspoon and James Wilson, the "gentleman or two" whom Jefferson singled out.

John Knox Witherspoon (**Figure 5a**) born in Yester, East Lothian, some twenty miles due east of Edinburgh, Scotland, was a Scottish American educator, Presbyterian

minister, farmer, slaveholder, and a Founding Father of the United States, particularly its university system. Witherspoon brought the concepts of Scottish common sense realism[11] during his time as President of the College of New Jersey (1768–1794), now Princeton University, and truly based the university's structure and syllabus on those of the University of Edinburgh and the four other Scottish universities. He was a delegate from New Jersey to the Second Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence – the only College President active clergyman to sign the Declaration. He later also signed the Articles of Confederation, and supported ratification of the Constitution of the United States. In 1789 he was the Convening Moderator of the initial General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Witherspoon frequently spoke against the abolition of slavery, but in his *Lectures on Moral Philosophy* he advocated the humane treatment of workers and servants, including slaves, and disapproved of the slave trade as such. [12] He baptised, educated and even privately tutored slaves and free Africans. Much is made of his Scottish birth, although Witherspoon himself seems to have ignored it. A friend said of him that he was fully American the moment he stepped ashore, and Witherspoon rejoindered that no, it had actually taken about three months.

James Wilson (**Figure 5b**) the other native-born Scot who came in for Jefferson's scorn was born into a farming family at Carskerdo, near Cupar in Fife, Scotland. He studied at the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh, but never graduated.

He emigrated to Philadelphia in 1766 at the age of 24 and initially was a teacher at the College of Philadelphia, which fine body awarded him an honorary M.A. (and later, in 1790, an honorary LL.D.). After studying law there under John Dickinson and being admitted to the bar, Wilson set up legal practice in Reading, Pennsylvania and took up farming. Among his early writings were a pamphlet - well-received, apparently – on the premise that the British Parliament's taxation of the Thirteen American Colonies, and
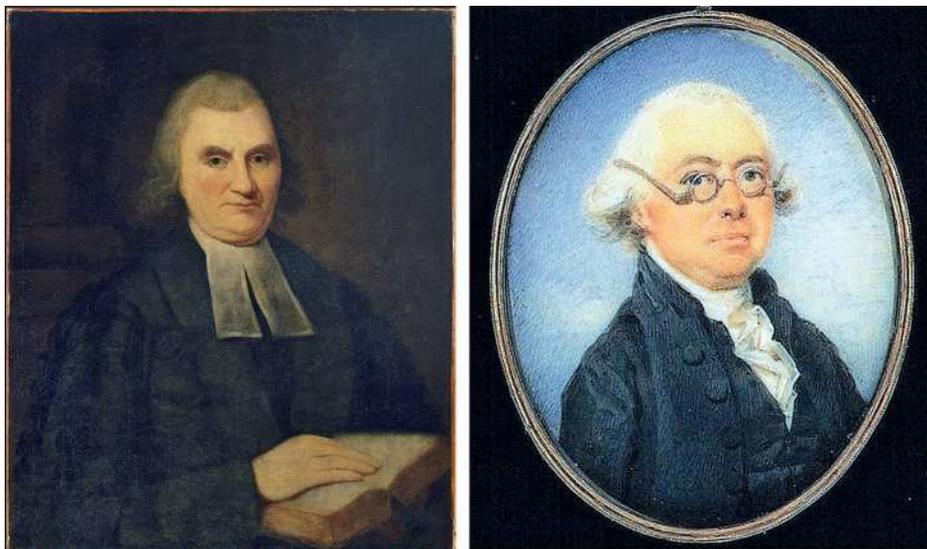
Figure 5: left, 5a: John Witherspoon (1723–1794), proponent of Scottish common sense realism; right, 5b: James Wilson (1742–1798), noted legal scholar, jurist and politician.

indeed passing any laws at all concerning America, was illegal because the colonies lacked representation in Parliament ("No taxation without representation").[13] He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, signed the Declaration of Independence the next year (after objecting to Jefferson's portrayal of the Scots as 'foreign') and yet held that the populace owed their allegiance to the British king, George III, although a firm advocate for independence. In a very real sense, Wilson designed both the Presidency (he has been called "principal architect of the executive branch") and the Supreme Court.[14] Yet he is rarely spoken of when Founding Fathers are discussed.[15]

There is no evidence whatsoever that Jefferson, Mason, John Adams, John Hancock, Witherspoon, Wilson or anyone else who could have influenced the text, had any knowledge of the 1320 Arbroath Letter. The author (B.D.) has explored the library catalogues of Jefferson himself, of William and Mary College where he studied, and other resources to which Jefferson might have had access. There is no hint of a copy of the Arbroath Letter – or any book having even a partial transcript of it, or a discussion of its contents. Euan Hague, a scholar at Syracuse University, New York, has also examined sources used by the drafters of the Declaration of Independence, as well as records of their personal libraries, and concluded:

"…the Declaration of Arbroath is conspicuous only by its total absence".[16]

That view is shared by any number of American and Scottish historians and cultural scholars.

Summary

- There is no influence of the Letter from Arbroath of 1320 on the Declaration of Independence of 1776.
- The Arbroath Letter was not common philosophical or constitutional currency during the Scottish Enlightenment.
- A greater influence on the constitutional basis of Scotland was the "Claim of Right" at the Revolution settlement of 1689 and in 1988 - the concept of the "sovereignty of the people of Scotland", as opposed to the English "absolute sovereignty of Parliament".
- The Arbroath letter came to be popularly called "The Declaration of Arbroath" in the 1970s – in emulation of the American Declaration of 1776.
- If Jefferson even knew of the Arbroath Letter, he never mentioned it in any of his writings.
- The true influences on the 1776 Declaration of Independence were Locke, and Scottish common sense realism.
- The main propositions in the 1320 Letter and the 1776 Declaration are in many ways polar opposites – philosophically, legally and socially. The 1320 Letter is completely counter to the egalitarian spirit of the USA.
- The two signatories "of Scottish origin" only influenced the Declaration of 1776 in the negative as to the Scots.
- Jefferson himself considered the Scots as being not "of our *own* common blood" and "foreign" – why then would he acknowledge Scottish political philosophies?

Appendix
Those named in the 1320 Letter from Arbroath

At the start of the document there are 39 names – eight earls and 31 barons – all of whom may have sent their seals to be appended, probably over the space of some weeks. The folded foot of the document shows at least eleven additional barons and freeholders (not noble), not listed on the head but associated with the letter. On the extant copy of the letter there are only nineteen seals, and of those only twelve are named within the document. At least eleven more seals than the original 39 might have been appended.

Actual signatories – those in italics are of doubtful loyalty, or later went against King Robert I and the Brus faction.

Duncan, Earl of Fife (changed sides in 1332)

Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray (nephew and supporter of King Robert although briefly fought for the English after capture, Guardian of the Realm after Robert the Brus's death)

Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March or Earl of Dunbar (changed sides several times)

Malise, Earl of Strathearn (King Robert loyalist)

Malcolm, Earl of Lennox (King Robert loyalist)

William, Earl of Ross (earlier betrayed King Robert's female relatives to the English)

Magnús Jónsson, Earl of Orkney

William de Moravia (Moray), Earl of Sutherland

Walter, High Steward of Scotland (King Robert loyalist)

William de Soules, Lord of Liddesdale and Butler of Scotland (later imprisoned for plotting against the King)

Sir James Douglas, Lord of Douglas (one of King Robert's leading loyalists)

Roger de Mowbray, Lord of Barnbougle and Dalmeny (later imprisoned for plotting against King Robert)

David, Lord of Brechin (later executed for plotting against King Robert)

David de Graham of Kincardine

Ingram de Umfraville (fought on the English side at Bannockburn but then changed sides to support King Robert)

John de Menteith, guardian of the earldom of Menteith (earlier betrayed William Wallace to the English)

Alexander Fraser of Touchfraser and Cowie

Gilbert de la Hay, Constable of Scotland (King Robert loyalist)

Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland (King Robert loyalist)

Henry St Clair of Rosslyn

John de Graham, Lord of Dalkeith, Abercorn & Eskdale

David Lindsay of Crawford

William Oliphant, Lord of Aberdalgie and Dupplin (briefly fought for the English)

Patrick de Graham of Lovat

John de Fenton, Lord of Baikie and Beaufort

William de Abernethy of Saltoun

David Wemyss of Wemyss

William Mushet

Fergus of Ardrossan
Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock
William Ramsay
William de Monte Alto, Lord of Ferne
Alan Murray
Donald Campbell
John Cameron
Reginald le Chen, Lord of Inverugie and Duffus
Alexander Seton
Andrew de Leslie
Alexander Straiton

Names not in the document text, but written on seal tags, and the seals are present
Alexander de Lamberton (became a supporter of Edward Balliol after the Battle of
    Dupplin Moor, 1332)
Edward Keith (subsequently Marischal of Scotland; d. 1346)
Arthur Campbell (Brus loyalist)
Thomas de Menzies (Brus loyalist)
John de Inchmartin (became a supporter of Edward Balliol after the Battle of Dupplin
    Moor, 1332; d. after 1334)
John Duraunt
Thomas de Morham

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[1] Senate Resolution 155, March 20, 1998. Senator Chester Trent Lott (Republican, Mississippi), who was largely responsible for this, repeated and popularised the myth when he stated "By honouring April 6, Americans will annually celebrate the true beginning of the quest for liberty and freedom… Arbroath and the declaration for liberty". It is worth noting that while serving in the Senate, Lott consistently opposed and voted against a number of Civil Rights measures.

[2] Signed in March 1328, ratified by the Parliament of England on 1 May. See Scott, Ronald McNair, *Robert the Brus King of Scots* (London, 1982).

[3] G. P. Stell, 'John [John de Balliol] (c.1248x50–1314)', in *DNB*.

[4] The Barons' Letter is the sole survivor of three created at the time which all made similar points, and were part of the same political campaign. The others were a letter from four Scottish bishops, and one from Robert himself as King of Scots.

[5] The account of where the Scots originated is taken mainly from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, written in the twelfth century at the behest of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln to commemorate the accession of Henry II in 1154. Henry was responsible for a number of enduring but fanciful myths, such as King Canute failing to turn back the tide by royal command, and Henry I dying of eating "a surfeit of lampreys" against his physician's advice.

[6] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The idea of freedom', *Innes Review* 30 (1979), pp. 16–34; reprinted in G. W. S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), chapter 1.

[7] Other antiquarians knew of is existence, including Sir James Balfour of Denmilne and Archbishop John Spottiswoode.

[8] This was partly as a justification of the deposing of the Catholic James VII & II in favour of the Protestant William and Mary.

[9] 'Arbroath, declaration of', in John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft (eds.), *A Dictionary of British History* 3rd (Oxford, 2015).

[10] These can be read in J.P. Boyd, and G.W. Gewalt, *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of a Text* (Monticello, 1999).

[11] He had read the works of Thomas Reid and two of his followers Dugald Stewart and James Beattie.

[12] See https://slavery.princeton.edu/stories/john-witherspoon

[13] 'Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament', in C.P. *Smith, James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742–1798 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1956).*

[14] M.W. McConnell, 'James Wilson's Contributions to the Construction of Article II', In R.E. Barnett (ed.), *The Life and Career of Justice James Wilson* (Washington, D.C., 2019).

[15] N. Pederson, 'The Lost Founder: James Wilson in American Memory', in *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 22.2 (January 2010).

[16] E. Hague, 'National Tartan Day: Rewriting history in the United States', in *Scottish Affairs*, vol. 38 (First Series), no. 1 (February 2002), pp. 94–124.

GARTERS AT WAR:
THE EXILED SIR EDWARD WALKER AND THE RENEGADE EDWARD BYSSHE, THEIR WORK AND ITS FATE UNDER THE RESTORED KING CHARLES II

Dr. ANDREW GRAY, F.H.S., a.i.h.

The triumph of the Parliamentary army and the subsequent execution of King Charles I in 1649 might have been a catastrophe for English heraldry, and the College of Arms in particular; but Parliament had taken the precaution of filling the vacant office of Garter Principal King of Arms with one of its own members, Edward Bysshe, who was able to safeguard the priceless collections of the College, and maintain it as a fully staffed, fully functional office of state. Meanwhile, the royal appointee Edward Walker accompanied King Charles on campaign. He subsequently joined the king's successor Charles II in exile. Both Garters issued grants of arms in significant numbers, but when the monarchy was restored in 1660 the acts of the London-based Kings of Arms were annulled. However, Bysshe was allowed to continue as Clarenceux King of Arms under Garter Walker. This offered opportunities for reinstating grants of the Commonwealth heralds, and this talk will trace how far this succeeded.

The English Heralds were probably never busier than in the seventeenth century, when there were visitations in progress, the High Court of Chivalry was in frequent session, there was a constant demand for grants, certificates and pedigrees to validate the new elite, and they enjoyed the steady business afforded by their participation in heraldic funerals and in the creation of monuments.

In 1642 King Charles I's differences with his parliament became insoluble, and the First English Civil War of 1642–46 ensued, later followed, in 1648, by the Second Civil War. Following the King's execution in January 1649 the Rump Parliament ruled as a republican 'Commonwealth' until Oliver Cromwell overthrew his own Parliament in 1653, and soon afterwards began to rule as Lord Protector. Essentially this was a military dictatorship. These were certainly troublesome times; not least for the practice and administration of heraldry, as Wagner stresses in his *Heralds of England*.[1] The English have a talent for muddling through such calamities, and nothing shows this more clearly than the career of Edward Bysshe.

At the outset of the war in early 1642 the College of Arms had a full complement of heralds under Sir John Borough as Garter, with Sir William le Neve and Sir Henry St George as Clarenceux and Norroy. The heralds were Walker, Thompson, Manwaring, Philipot, Norgate and Owen, and the pursuivants were Ryley, Beauchamp, Dugdale and Crowne.[2] The timeline in **Figure 1** shows the official, or royal, perspective of the succession of heralds through this period. In these timelines I am using shades of reds for kings of arms, blue for heralds, and green for pursuivants. Borough was succeeded as Garter first by St George, and then in 1645 by Edward Walker. A number of heralds remained in office, some of them promoted. Note particularly William Ryley to Lancaster, and William Dugdale to Chester.
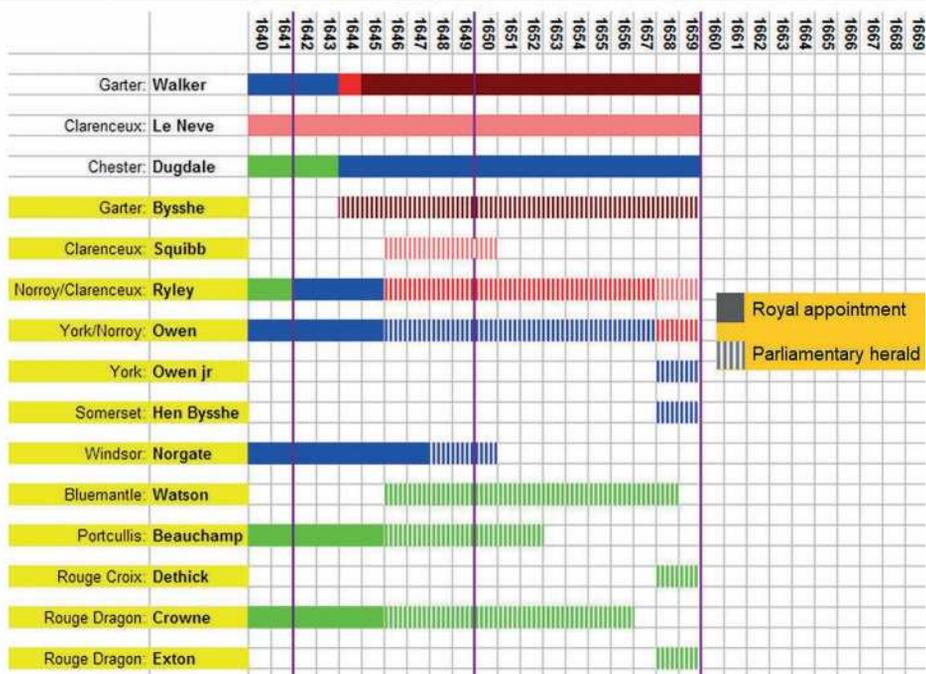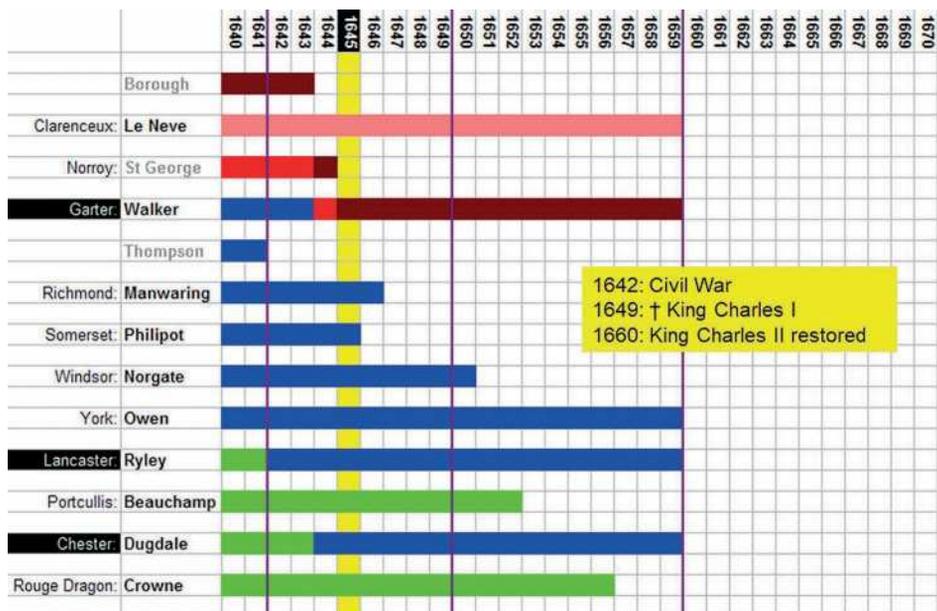
Top: *Figure 1:* Succession of royal heralds through the Interregnum; bottom: *Figure 2*: Succession of parliamentary heralds. All figures in this paper by the author unless otherwise stated.
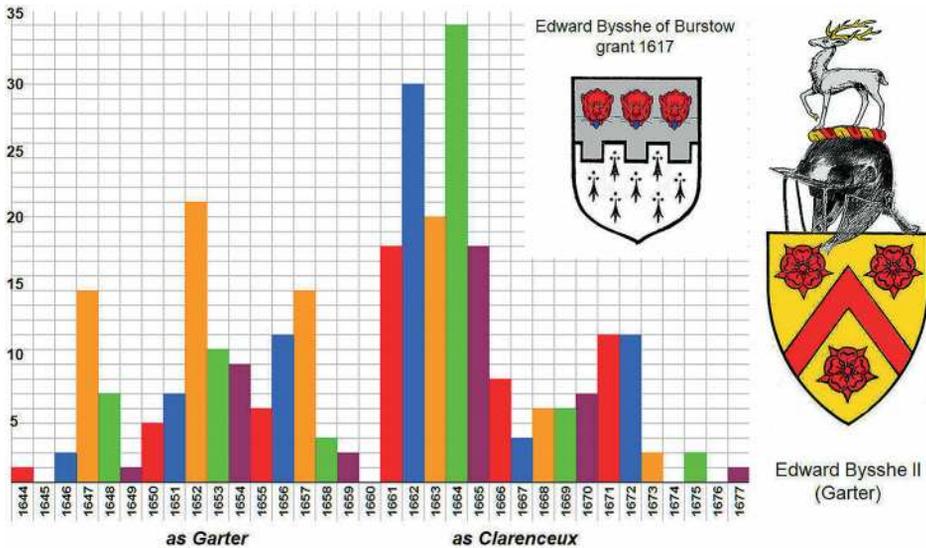
Figure 3: grants by Edward Bysshe as Garter and Clarenceux, with his arms, and those of his father.

By 1645 King Charles had moved his headquarters to Oxford, where the newly-appointed Walker remained with him, and went on to share the exile of young Charles II (which began in 1651) as a key member of his roving court. Le Neve and Dugdale remained loyal to the King; the former vanished into exile and probable dementia, while Dugdale retired to his estates to work on his *Monasticon Anglican*um and his *Antiquities of Warwickshire.*[3] Other heralds went back to work in London. The College's job was still considered to be important, with or without a king. Parliament took steps to ensure that the work was ongoing, while safeguarding the heralds' records; in 1646 it appointed half a dozen officers of arms, some new, some to their existing titles (**Figure 2**). Among them was Edward Bysshe, not then a herald, but an M.P. and antiquary.[4] It is evident that he was personally concerned about the future of the College, because he had already been occupying the vacated office of Garter for two years.[5] Beside him was Arthur Squibb as Clarenceux and William Ryley, as Norroy and later Clarenceux. Bysshe's father Edward – also a member of the House of Commons[6] – had been granted arms in 1617[7], but later took a different coat, which his son used (**Figure 3**).[8] I shall be using the 'lobster' helm of parliament's 'New Model Army' as a visual clue to Bysshe's work Bysshe always identified himself as Garter Principal King of Arms of Englishmen, then the standard formula, as previously used by Borough. Significantly, as late as 1647 Bysshe would put a regnal date in one of his grants, which hints at the pragmatist rather than the servant of the rebellion.[9]

Bysshe's output of grants was not huge, and was higher in the 1650s than it had been in the 1640s (**Figure 3**). Systematic enrolling of grants began with the Restoration, and we are therefore largely reliant on the work of Joseph Foster for information on the grants during Bysshe's Gartership. Foster scoured documents in various repositories including the British Museum and the College of Arms; his researches were published

by the Harleian Society about a century ago.[10] This forms the core of the figures utilised here, but with a few data added, primarily from College of Arms sources. There is some documentation on the grants made by other Commonwealth heralds, particularly Ryley, but in general the others are less well documented (**Figure 4**).[11]
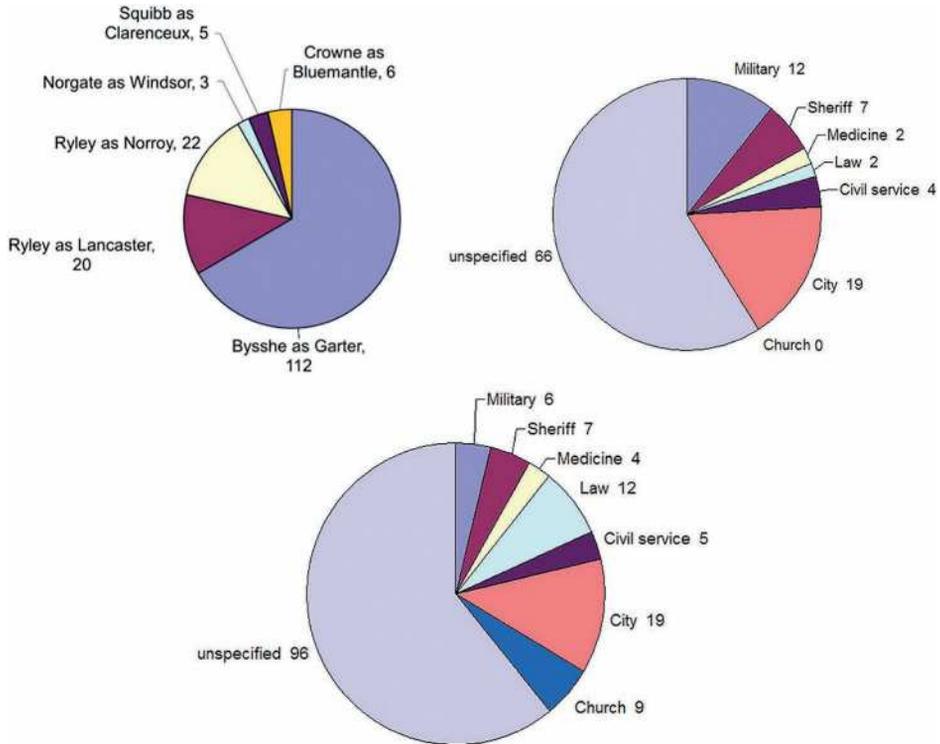
Top left: *Figure 4:* Grants by the Parliamentary heralds; top right: *Figure 5:* Bysshe grants as Garter by occupation; bottom: *Figure 6:* Bysshe grants as Clarenceux by occupation.

As to the grantees of arms in this period, where information is available, the majority were to serving military officers and to liverymen, aldermen, and mayors of London (**Figure 5**). Compared with Bysshe's grants from after Restoration of 1660, when he was kept on as Clarenceux, the only real difference is an increase in grants to churchmen and the rise of the Law versus the Army (**Figure 6**). Some examples of arms granted by him to the different occupations is provided to present a flavour of Bysshe's designs: liverymen and mayors, Civil servants and lawyers (**Figure 7**), and a staple of his trade, the sheriff, who to this day has to hang his shield on taking office (**Figure 8**). The dates are dates of grant, where known.[12]

Bysshe: military grants

Capt John Francke
of the Lord General's
regiment 1652

Major John Bramston
1653
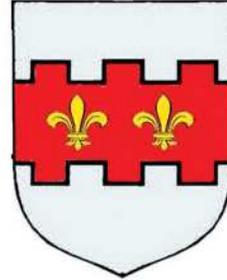
Lt-Col William Dysney
1651

Bysshe: civic and livery grants

John Gorst Merchant
of London 1652

Alderman Richard
Scottow of Norwich 1647

Alderman Edmund Sley
of London 1657

Bysshe: civil service and legal grants
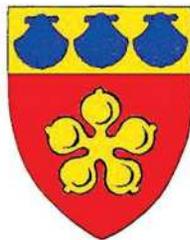
William Rowe
Secretary to Parliamentary
Commissioners for Treaties
Scout-master General
1651
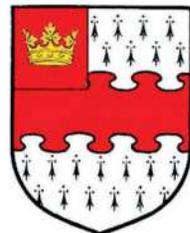
Walter Norborne
Reader Inner Temple
1651

Figure 7: Examples of Bysshe grants as Garter by occupation.
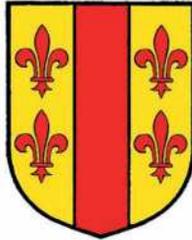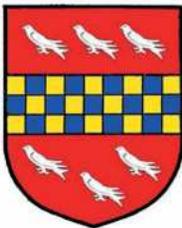
Top: *Figure 8:* Bysshe Garter grants to Sheriffs; bottom: *Figure 9:* his grants to Royalists.

We should not assume that all his grantees were supporters of the new regime. In the 1650s a sensible man would accept the status quo. Thus, a captain in the late King's army, a sacked royal excise officer, the mayor who had defended Bristol against Parliament, all came to Bysshe (**Figure 9**). There was nowhere else to go. Bysshe's grants have been gathered from many sources, in the College of Arms and elsewhere.

The other Garter, Edward Walker (**Figure 10**), whose portrait is in the College of Arms, filled important civil service roles for the King, being one of the key personnel in the royal camp even after the capture of the monarch by the forces of parliament in 1646. Since he stayed loyal, he became a nomad, first with the elder then with the younger Charles, and this is reflected in the places of origin of his various grants (**Figure 11**).[13]

1635 Blanch Lyon
1637 Rouge Dragon
1638 Chester
1643 Norroy
1645 Garter

1642 King's Secretary
1644 Sec^y Privy Council

Figure 10: Sir Edward Walker by William Dobson c. 1645 (Wikimedia Commons), with his arms, and details of his career.

1658-59 Brussels
9

1645-48 Oxford
22

1653 Amsterdam
1

1649-50 Jersey
6

1649-50 Hague
5

1649 St Germain
2

- 1645-48 Oxford
- 1649 St Germain
- 1649-50 Hague
- 1649-50 Jersey
- 1653 Amsterdam
- 1658-59 Brussels
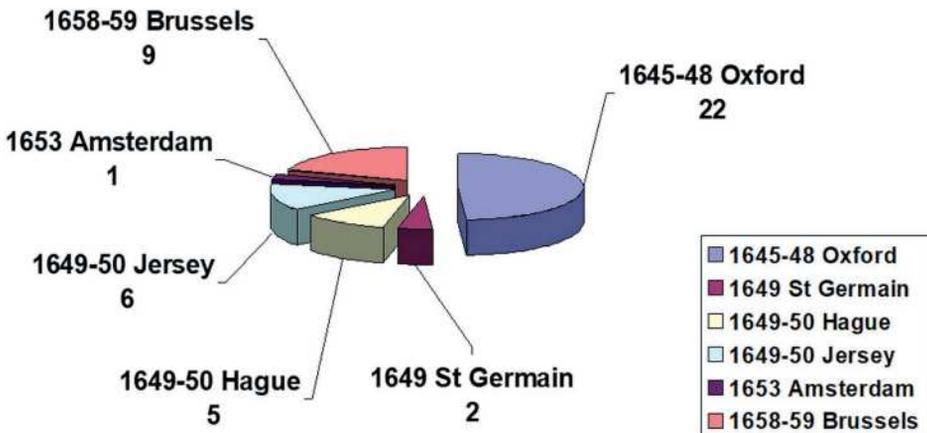
Figure 11: Garter Walker's peripatetic grants

Much of his work has the character of reward to royal supporters, either by explicit or implicit augmentation. Common charges used by him include the lion passant and the rose, sometimes Tudor. Under Charles II in exile, his augmentations diversified. Crowns often appear, and lions passant guardant. His recipients included French, Dutch, and German members of the entourage. All these reward grants were specifically logged as "Gratis" (**Figure 12**).[14]

Ferdinando Marsham
Esquire of the body to the King
Oxford 1645

Patrick Ruthven
Earl of Brentford and Forth
Oxford 1645

Sir John Wallpoole
Cornet of the King's Troops
Oxford 1646

Sir Richard Bishopp
Sergeant-at-Arms to the King
Oxford 1645

Colonel Sir George Boncle
Lieutenant-Governor of Oxford
Oxford 1645

Capt Henry Yonger
Comptroller of HM
Trayne of Artillery
Oxford 1645

Sir Theodore Graswincle
of Delft
St Germain 1649

Dr Richard Steward
Dean of Royal Chapel
Jersey 1650

Figure 12: Examples of Walker's pre-Restoration grants.

After Oliver Cromwell's death, his son and heir Richard Cromwell wanted only to return to the life of a country farmer. The restored Parliament begged the King to come back. With him came Garter Walker, and Dugdale, so that by 1661 the College was back to strength – and legal (**Figure 13**). Several were new appointments; some had served Parliament, but were permitted to resume their roles of nearly twenty years before. Two of them, Dethick and Bysshe, had never received a royal warrant. Walker objected to the renegade Bysshe, but he had run the College competently and preserved its archives, and was permitted to stay on as Clarenceux.[15]

Walker's output surged, as the crown sought to recognise everyone who had assisted it during the *Troublesome Times*. Many famous augmentations date from this period (**Figure 14**).[16] There was the matter of the grants which had been made without royal authority by 'disloyal' heralds. This was all struck out by Royal Warrant.[17]

Bysshe's output also surged following the Restoration of the monarchy. This included rewards for royalists, but some (as Walker had feared) comprised regrants or confirmations of his former grants. No less than a third of his grants were reissued by
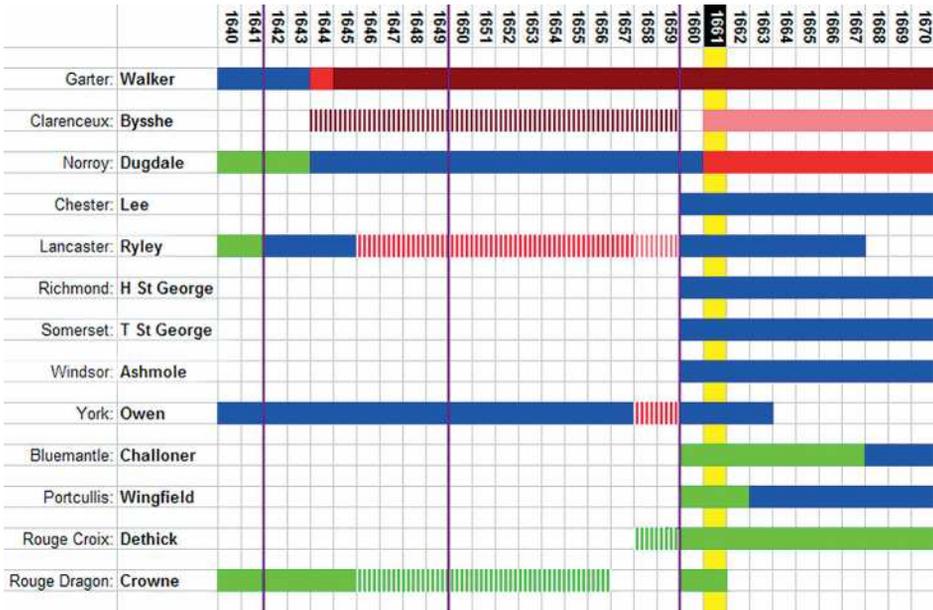
Figure 13: Succession of the heralds at the Restoration.
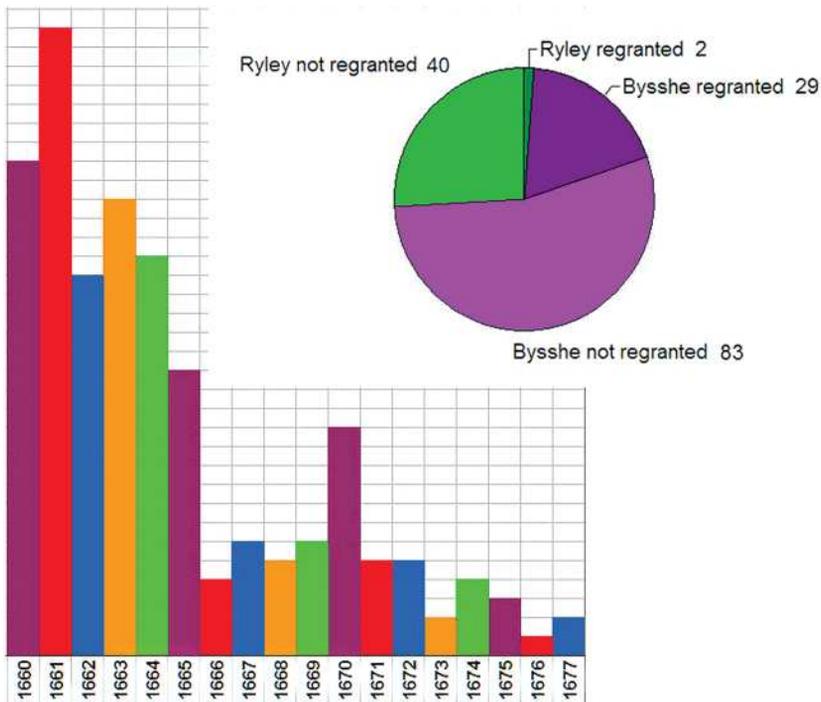
Left: Figure 14: Walker's post-Restoration grants per year; right: *Figure 15:* Regrants of Bysshe's and Ryley's Parliamentary grants.
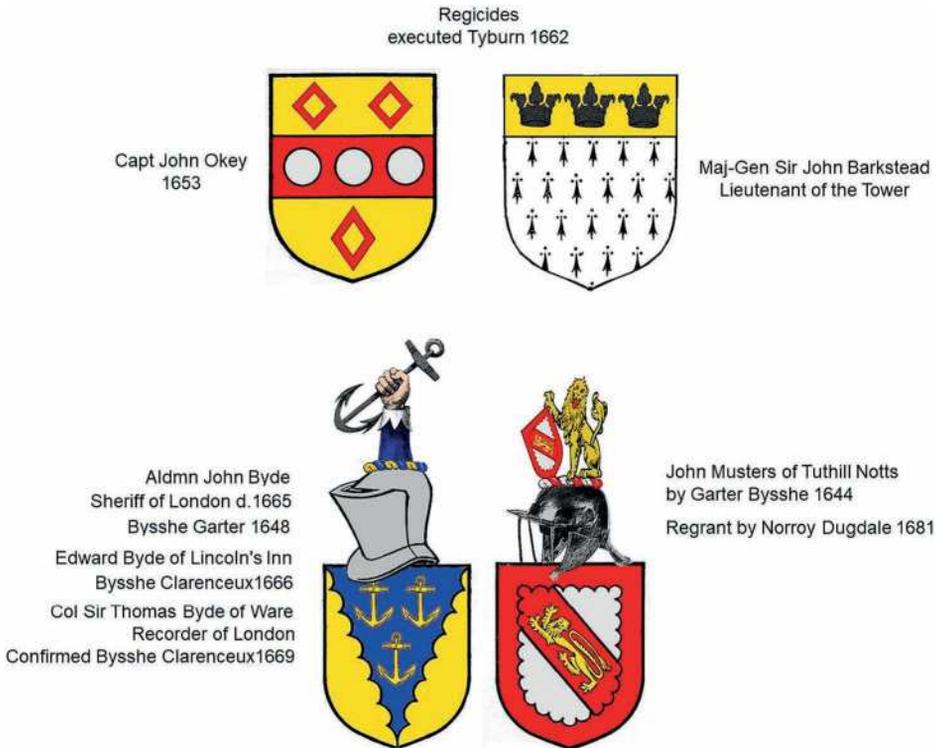
Figure 16: Regicides and regrants.

him, or sometimes by Walker or Dugdale (**Figure 15** and **16**). Ryley's grants following the execution of Charles I appear to have stood, perhaps because at least some of them were under the office of Lancaster – his legitimate title.[18] Some republican grantees were in no position to re-apply. These included John Okey and John Barkstead (the latter a recipient of one of the Lord Protector's knighthoods) who had both had signed the execution warrant for Charles I. As regicides they became fugitives and outlaws, and were hanged drawn and quartered at Tyburn in 1662 (**Figure 16**).

One of Bysshe's first grants, made to John Musters in 1644 when he was strictly speaking only the "caretaker Garter", was not regranted until 1681. Some, such as the grant to John Byde of London in 1648, were regranted or confirmed to heirs of grantees (**Figure 16**). Some of his grants to royalists actually received augmentations: William Cann's son Robert, also a Mayor of Bristol, was embellished with leopard's heads by Walker. Robert Foley, supplier of shot to the Navy, was given a crown, also by Walker (**Figure 17**).[19] Some families with grants that were technically invalid continued to use their arms. For instance, the Norfolk family of Long, whose Bysshe-granted arms were illustrated in a contemporary manuscript[20], were still using them in the late eighteenth century.[21]

The Bysshe grant to Paul Nicoll of Hendon was featured in the *Heraldry Gazette* nearly fifty years ago.[22] It was in the hands of a descendant who kept a pub in Northamptonshire, as a newspaper cutting from the *Morning Advertiser* shows.[23] The arms feature magpies,

William Cann
Royalist Mayor of Bristol
1652 Bysshe

Sir Robert Cann
Mayor of Bristol
1663/64 Walker

Richard Foley
by Bysshe 1647

Robert Foley
Supplier of iron to Royal Navy
by Walker 1671

**Foley of
Stourbridge**
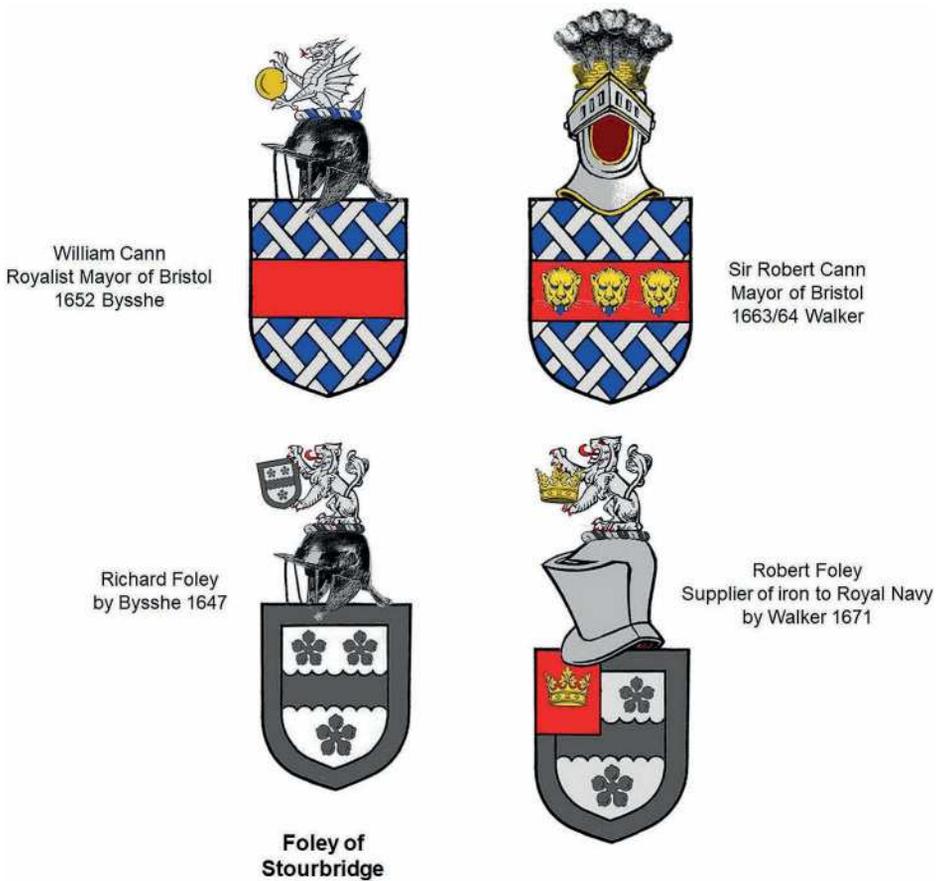
Figure 17: Regrants with augmentation.

appropriate to the recipient as one of a family of hereditary moneyers at the Tower Mint. The family flourished into the nineteenth century, using these arms on monuments and on hatchments in Middlesex.[24] Another example is provided by the well-known contemporary Deedes family of Hythe in Kent. The original recipient was Julius Deedes, in 1653.[25] No regrant was obtained, but the Deedes family used these arms consistently for the next three and a half centuries. They appear on monuments in Hythe church, and on the gateway to the townhouse of Brigadier General Sir Wyndham Deedes (d.1956) at Bethnal Green. The irregularity of the grant came to a head when the General's nephew, William Deedes, long-serving editor of *The Daily Telegraph*, was elevated to the House of Lords and Garter Colin Cole suggested granting him supporters. When shown the Bysshe grant Cole pronounced it null and void and offered a new one, a proposal which Lord Deedes dismissed contemptuously, but with humour in his column.[26] A petition to the Queen to annul the annulment was considered, but came to nought.

There is no known portrait of Bysshe, but we may know what sort of tabard he wore; in Hugh Stanford London's opinion, the Commonwealth heralds wore the Commonwealth arms of England and Ireland.[27] At the Restoration there was a frantic

hunt for royal tabards for the heralds.[28] Two of them were included in a set of sketches by Peter Lely of a Garter procession in the 1660s, and it has been suggested that they are William Ryley (Lancaster) and Elias Ashmole (Windsor). Unfortunately the sketch does not include any of the kings of arms.[29]

In summary, the 1640s and 1650s were a disruptive yet productive period for English heraldry. A generation when authority was disputed left a rich source for research, but also left issues which may never be properly resolved.

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[1] Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London, 1967), chapter 8.

[2] Biographical information on the seventeenth-century heralds and their armorial bearings are for the most part based on the information gathered by Hugh Stanford London in *The College of Arms* (London, 1963).

[3] Sir William Dugdale,*The antiquities of Warwickshire*, (London,1656); *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols (London,1661–82).

[4] J. S. Crossette, 'Edward Bysshe (c.1615–79)',in B.D. Henning (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660–1690* (1983). Online at www.historyofparliamentonline.org.

[5] Wagner, op. cit., and London, *College of Arms*, op. cit.

[6] Alan Davidson and Ben Coates, 'Edward Bysshe (d.1655)', in *History of Parliament,* op. cit.

[7] B.L. Harleian MS. 1507, f. 388.

[8] Willoughby A. Littledale (ed.), *A collection of Miscellaneous Grants, etc* part I p. 29 (Harl. Soc. vol. 76, 1925), p. 29.

[9] College of Arms MS R.22, Grants of Arms by Byshe, Squibb Ryley &c.

[10] Joseph Foster, W. Harry Rylands(ed.), *Grantees of Arms named in Docquets and Patents to the end of the Seventeenth Century* (Harl. Soc. vol. 66, 1915).

[11] College of Arms, Miscellaneous Papers per Anstis & Hunter Blair.

[12] Foster, *Grantees*, op. cit.

[13] College of Arms MSS R.19 and R.23, *Walker's Grants*.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Wagner *Heralds, op. cit.*

[16] *Walker's Grants*, op. cit.

[17] College of Arms MS I.25 f.82v, Royal Warrant 6 Sep 1660.

[18] College of Arms MS R.22, op. cit.

[19] College of Arms MSS R.19 and R.23, op. cit.

[20] BL Harleian MS.1105 f.15.

[21] Hatchments and Armorial Panels (Heraldry Archive, the Heraldry Society)

[22] *Heraldry Gazette* Old Series, vol.2, no.29, Jan 1964.

[23] *Morning Advertiser*, 1 March 1964 (Society of Licensed Victuallers).

[24] Hatchments and Armorial Panels (Heraldry Archive, the Heraldry Society)

[25] BL Additional MS. 8932, f. 225.

[26] *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 November 1994.

[27] H. Stanford London, 'The Heralds' Tabards under the Commonwealth', in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 198 (1953), pp. 276–8.

[28] Wagner *Heralds*, p. 262.

[29] Edward Croft-Murray, and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings* vol. 1, p. 409 (British Museum, 1960).

KING GUSTAV I (1523–1560) OF THE VASA DYNASTY AND THE SYMBOLS OF ROYAL POWER

Dr. HENRIK KLACKENBERG, A.I.H.

In 2023 the 500th anniversary of the election of Gustav Eriksson of the Vasa family as king of Sweden will be celebrated in many ways. In Swedish historiography King Gustav, ever since his death in 1560, has held a very special position as father of the nation.[1] In Jacob Binck´s portrait (**Figure 1b**) from 1542 he is about 45 years old and had been king for almost 20 years, but is presented without any princely attributes. During his lifetime he worked hard on establishing a hereditary kingdom and wished to be remembered for all his deeds. Among his descendants are his grandson King Gustav II Adolf (ruled 1611–1632) and the latter's daughter Queen Christina (ruled 1632–1654), who were both important political actors in seventeenth century Europe.

Figure 1: left, 1a and right, 1c: seal impression and seal matrix of Gustav Eriksson Vasa as regent c. 1522; centre, 1b: portrait of King Gustav I by Jacob Binck, 1542.

The image of Gustav Vasa and his journey to royal power was for a long time influenced by an uncritical reading of the historiographer Peter Svart´s chronicle, which is a biography very much coloured by the authors proximity to the king.[2] A more critical view was not established among historians until the late twentieth century, when despotic and paranoid aspects of his rule came to be noticed. Notwithstanding, I find the story of Gustav Vasa's route to kingship a fascinating one. Starting in 1520 as a young fatherless aristocrat, he became the leader of an uprising against Danish rule within the Kalmar union, and went on to establish a hereditary kingdom.

In this paper my intention is to study particular aspects of this story, specifically the symbols of power that Gustav Vasa acquired and used on his way to power. The sources are not rich, but a certain development can be traced through a closer look at the use of heraldry on seals, coins and other insignia. The splendour of his coronation in 1528 and his funeral in 1560 are other important sources.

Top left: *Figure 2:* coin of 1522, possibly a half gyllen; Top right: *Figure 3*: seal of the realm 1439–1520; lower left: *Figure 4:* royal seal of 1527; lower right: *Figure 5*: half gyllen coin of 1523.

In november 1520 a decisive event in the history of the Scandinavian countries took place. It is known to history as the *Stockholm blood bath*, and was the spark that ignited Gustav Vasa's rebellion and led to him becoming a monarch. The Danish King Christian II, in Swedish historiography known as Christian the Tyrant, was holding a coronation party in Stockholm after having finally broken Swedish resistance. At this party more than 80 people were executed, most of them part of the Swedish elite. They included bishops, nobility, and prominent Stockholm burghers. Christian's intention was, in the spirit of Machiavelli, to once and for all suppress the Swedish opposition, that had successfully resisted his military efforts to keep Sweden within the Kalmar union. The conflict was almost as old as the union itself, and during the previous century the Swedes had for periods elected kings and regents of their own.

Many of the higher Swedish nobilty lost their lives in the *Stockholm blood bath*, Gustav Vasa's father among them. Gustav escaped the fate of his father as he was abroad at that time. He soon returned to Sweden, and from 1521, beginning in the province Dalarna, he led a rebellion against Danish rule. As the leader of the rebellion he called himself regent (in Swedish, riksföreståndare), a title which in its latin form can be read on the legend of a seal from 1522 (**Figure 1a** and **1c**)*: Sigillum Gotstavi Erici Gubernator.* From this period there also survives his silver seal matrix. Here we have no sign or symbol of princely pretention other than the title *Gubernator*. The seal is simply a very elegant one made for a noble.[3]

The Vasa family coat of arms is displayed on these seals. What the emblem represents has been given many diffrent interpretations by heraldists, including a sheaf, a point of a

spear, and a chessman. The arms are known from the fourteenth century and have been drawn in many different ways, which explains the many ideas of what the motif is. It is interesting to note that in the 1540s King Gustav himself stated that the emblem was a sheaf (Swedish vase/stormvase), that in a more modern military terminology is called a fascine, which is a bundle of twigs and brushwood used for traversing ditches and trenches.[4]

As regent and leader of the rebellion in 1521 to 1523, Gustav Vasa struck coins with his portrait and arms on the obverse side (**Figure 2**). The regent is there displayed with sword and armour, but without a crown. In its place he wears an elegant hat. The reverse has more to say from a heraldic perspective. It is decorated with a coat of arms charged with three crowns, two crossed arrows and the initial G. The three crowns are the emblem of the kingdom and G stands for Gustav. The arrows are the arms of the province of Dalarna, which tells us that the coin was minted in this province, where Gustav started the uprising. The shield is surmounted by a crown to express that it is the arms of a kingdom, although without a king.[5]

The question is, why didn´t Gustav as the leader of an uprising use the seal of the realm (**Figure 3**), displaying the patron saint Erik and the arms with three crowns of Sweden? His predecessors had used it frequently from the 1430s to 1520 to express their independence vis-à-vis the kings of the Kalmar union seated in Denmark.[6] I suppose that the matrix was not available to him. Probably it was under Danish control, and might have been taken to Copenhagen together with former regent´s archives. If the matrix never left Sweden it lost its relevance when Gustav was elected king.

The war against the Danish troops was successful, and in June 1523 Gustav Vasa made his triumphal entrance into Stockholm, just a few weeks after he had been elected king of Sweden. He was the first native king since Karl Knutsson Bonde in 1470, although regents of the Sture family had periodically maintained Swedish independence during the preceeding fifty years. Gustav´s new position as elected king soon found its heraldic expression on both seals and coins.

The new royal seal (**Figure 4**) was of a larger size than Gustav's earlier seal, and displayed the royal coat of arms as it had been composed during the reign of Karl Knutsson Bonde in the middle of the fifteenth century, with the addition of an escutcheon of the Vasa family arms. The first and fourth quarters show the arms of the three crowns, while the second and third quarters are charged with the lion of the Folkunga family that ruled Sweden in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For centuries this combination had made, as they still make, the arms of the kingdom.The legend of the seal can be read as: *Sigillum Gotstavi Svecorum Gothorumqve Electi Regis 1523*, which means that Gustav calls himself King of the Swedes and Goths elected in 1523.[7]

The new coins (**Figure 5**) depicted on the obverse a king in full armour with orb and sword.[8] Between his feet the Vasa emblem is visible, which makes it possible to see this image as a transition from the St Erik picture on the earlier seal of the realm to an image of the new king. On some of the coin series the legend still refers to St Erik, as had been the tradition during the fifteenth century. The reverse of the coin display a coat of arms with three crowns laid on a cross. Between the crowns there is an initial that refers to the mint: S for Stockholm.
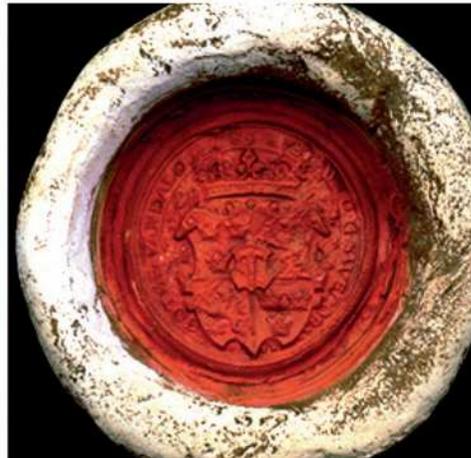
Top left: *Figure 6:* woodcut from New Testament printed in Stockholm 1526; top right, *Figure 7:* detail of a funeral procession in 1594; bottom: *Figure 8:* royal seals of 1532 and 1560.

Another interesting heraldic expression from this early period of King Gustav´s reign is an image (**Figure 6**) in the first Swedish edition of the New Testament, printed in Stockholm in 1526.[9] Here is depicted what is explained as *Insignia Gotstavi, Suecorum Gothorumqve Regis*. The woodcut shows the royal arms with those of Vasa on an escutcheon, and supported by two savages. The lions that we see today in this position were introduced in the sixteenth century.

It was not until 1528, almost five years after the election in Strängnäs and the triumphal entrance into Stockholm, that King Gustav was crowned. The coronation was a very important ceremony for a king at this time, because it gave him his mission from God. This was also an opportunity for developing a royal splendour full of symbols of power. Heraldry was an important part of this, but let us dwell for a moment on the other insignia that then were in use. We have no depictions of the coronation in Uppsala cathedral in 1528, but in the chronicle of Peter Svart there is a description of the ceremony and the regalia that were in use. A drawing (**Figure 7**) showing a royal funeral

procession in 1594, gives us an idea of what a procession with the regalia might have looked like.[10]

The chronicle tells us, that three types of regalia were carried into the cathedral by prominent members of the nobility. A golden orb was carried by the king's steward, the sword by his marshal, and the sceptre by a prominent lawman. At the investiture the king was given a ring as a token of fidelity, a small sword as a symbol of his office and finally, kneeling at the altar, he was invested with a purple mantle and a crown. The purpose of the crown was to symbolise that the king held his office by the grace of God. Seated at a throne in the choir of the cathedral the king also recieved the sceptre as a symbol for justice, the orb as a symbol for the prosperity of the realm, and the sword to protect the good and punish the evil.[11]

Unfortunately, none of these regalia survive today, but we can get an idea of the design from their illustration on royal seals and coins. About the royal crown not much more is known, other than that it was made by a goldsmith in Stockholm, and presumably it was of the medieval type without arches. A more concrete understanding of the regalia can be derived from a study of the corresponding objects in the grave of King Gustav, as will be described later.

In terms of heraldic content, no important change took place in the royal seals during the period between the coronation and the death of the king in 1560. From about 1540 the Vasa arms in the escutcheon were changed in some details, and the design came bear a stronger resemblance to the sheaf that we are used to see today.[12] The seals also came to be created in progressively higher artistic quality, as can bee seen on the two from 1532 and 1560 (**Figure 8**). The legend was changed following the coronation: *Electus* was deleted and *Dei Gratie* added, both as a consequence of the coronation and the new title. *Rex Vandalorum* was added to the legend as a title of pretention on seals from the king´s final years. The land of the Vends on the southern shores of the Baltic sea was not, and had never been, under the Swedish crown. This addition to the royal title was part of a conflict with the king of Denmark concerning the rights of the two kingdoms. During the reign of King Gustav the conflict never found actual heraldic expression, but it did so during the reign of his son King Erik XIV, when the conflict led to a war caused by the use of heraldry, among other things.[13]

Most of the larger coins (**Figure 9**) from this period show on the reverse side the well established picture of the royal arms with four fields and an escutcheon under an open crown. In the 1530s the obverse side of the coins show a more contemporary image of the king, but in most cases with the same royal insignia: crown, sword and orb. The legends are sometimes abbreviated to *Gostavs Dei Gratie Rex Svecorum*, due to lack of space. There are also some other series of coins with the reverse displaying three free standing coats of arms united under a crown.The third shield so depicted is the Vasa arms; I would not ascribe any new heraldic meaning to this composition.[14]

A special coin was struck for distribution at the coronation in Uppsala (**Figure 10**). Its reverse displays the royal arms laid on a cross, while on the obverse we meet a king in full armour with sword and orb. Between the feet the Vasa coat of arms is visible. It is not known how many of these coins were actually distributed to the people at the coronation, but the intention to spread the image and arms of the king is obvious.[15]

The artistic peak among the coins struck during the reign of King Gustav are the 'daler' coins from 1542 and 1559 (**Figure 11**). It has an obverse displaying the royal

Top: *Figure 9:* daler coins of 1534 and 1535; middle left: *Figure 10*: coronation coin of 1528; middle right, *Figure 11:* daler coins of 1542 and 1559; below, *Figure 12:* royal helmet, armour and sword of 1540s.

arms in combination with a demi-figure of the king in armour, with crown, sword and orb, and a reverse side showing Christ the Saviour. The legend reads *Gostavus D G Sweci Got Wan Rex*, but the title *Rex Vandalorum* is not expressed. A similar daler coin dating 1559 shows an aged king.[16]

By the 1540s King Gustav was well established on the throne, which gave him the opportunity to make Sweden a hereditary kingdom with a more advanced administration and court. It was in this period that, as an expression of royal splendour and power, Gustav acquired from Germany a crowned helmet, a suit of armour and a sword of the

Top left: *Figure 13:* detail of a funeral procession in 1594; Top right: *Figure 14:* provincial arms in an armorial from 1562; bottom: *Figure 15:* royal tabard of 1560 and detail of mourning procession in Brussels 1558.

highest quality (**Figure 12**). The sword was called the *sword of majesty* and was intended for royal ceremonies. It is decorated with the royal arms.[17]

When King Gustav died in 1560 the ceremonial and heraldic splendour at his funeral surpassed anything that had been seen before in Sweden. For his heirs it was very important to show the world that this new royal dynasty was the equal of the older ones in the neighbouring kingdoms. The impressive mourning ceremony for the Emperor Charles V in Brussels in 1558 served as a model.[18]

For three days in December 1560, a funeral cortege comprising more than a thousand followers moved slowly from Stockholm to Uppsala cathedral, where the funeral was to take place. No depictions of the procession have survived, but several participants have given detailed verbal accounts. From these we can conclude that the heraldry used was contextually very important, with the royal arms displayed in various ways, including on the coffin, the banners, and on tabards.

A company of 700 footsoldiers led the procession preceeded by a black banner. They were followed by 200 cavalrymen in black and the same number of singing scholars, priests and bishops. After the clergy went four heralds on horseback with the royal arms on their tabards. Next were 24 nobles on horseback, each carrying a black banner on which the arms of a province was painted. The horses were all caparisoned in black.

An idea of what this might have looked like can be gained from a drawing of a similar funeral procession in 1594 (**Figure 13**), with the difference that in the case of the mounted banner holders both the horse caparisons and banners were black.

This is the first time that a complete collection of provincial arms is mentioned in the Swedish historical record. They were probably composed for the occasion by the royal secretary Rasmus Ludvigsson to show the world the great number of provinces that made up the kingdom. The artistic design was by Anders Målare, who at that time was one of the best in the country. Since no depiction of the procession is known, we do not know the design of the arms precisely, but an armorial from 1562 (**Figure 14**) gives a good idea.[19]

Following the 24 banners of provincial arms a few men of the higher nobility on horseback conveyed the royal insignia. The leader of this group carried a banner decorated with the royal arms in gold. The man after him carried the royal tabard on a pole, as can be observed in a depiction of the imperial mourning procession in 1558 (**Figure 15**). The royal helmet was carried together with the tabard. After this noble rider there followed another dressed in the royal armour. Immediately in front of the coffin was placed the most prominent nobleman who carried the sword of the realm, that at this time was the most important symbol of royal power. It had been acquired in Germany in 1541 and can, together with the armour, helmet and tabard, still be inspected at the museums in the royal palace in Stockholm. After the coffin, carried by four horses with black caparisons, followed the king´s horse, the princes, the councillors of the realm, other nobility, princesses, the widow queen, ladies of the nobility, more soldiers on horse and on foot, and finally burghers and others, but for all these categories nothing is mentioned about displaying heraldic devices.

An impressive sepulchral monument of marble (**Figure 16**) was erected for King Gustav and his two queens in Uppsala cathedral. It was richly decorated with royal and provincial arms, but not completed until 1583. It is today the most visible and concrete memorial to King Gustav, and has for centuries contributed to the image of the king as a father of his land. Considering that the monument was completed more than twenty years after the death of the king, it has more to say about the use of heraldry of his successors King Erik and King John.[20]

The royal grave has been opened and investigated more than once, the last occasion being in 1945. (**Figure 17**). Through these investigations we are familiar with the regalia that were put in the grave in 1560: a crown with arches and orb, a sceptre, and a sword. It is worth noting that this kind of crown was never worn by King Gustav during his lifetime, if we are to believe the examples provided on his coinage. The heir King Erik XIV probably wished that the founder of the dynasty (at least in the grave) should have the same kind of crown as the kings in the greater European kingdoms. The first Swedish crown with arches is the one that was made for the coronation of King Erik himself in 1561, and that crown was a lot more expensive than the one that his father had at his coronation in 1528.[21]
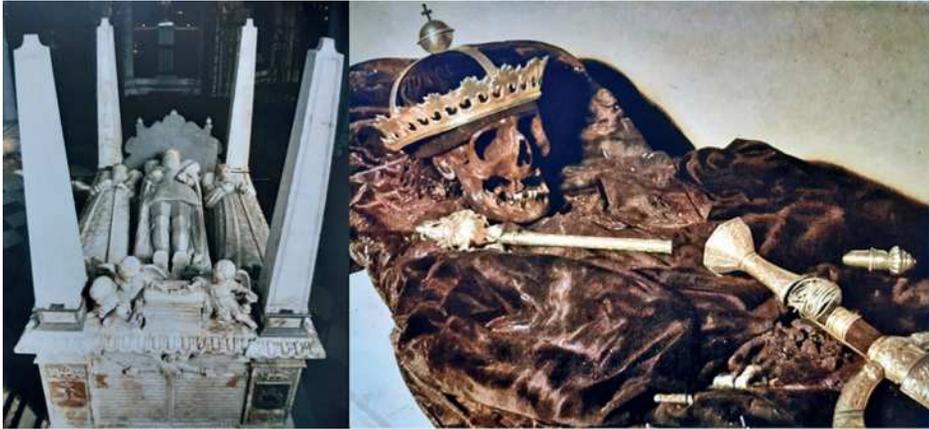
Left: *Figure 16:* royal tomb of Gustav I completed 1583, Uppsala cathedral; right: *Figure 17:* King Gustav in his grave, investigated in 1945.

We have now followed how the use of royal symbols of power developed during the time of King Gustav. To sum up: when he as a rebel in the 1520s he possessed neither the seal of the realm, nor a crown in his hand. A crown, and armour with a crowned helmet, a sword of majesty, and other insignia, were acquired during his reign. Depictions of the king and his arms were given wide circulation on seals and coins. The result of his effort was that his heir began his reign in a considerably enhanced position regard to his insignia of office.

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[1] L-O Larsson, *Gustav Vasa – landsfader eller tyrann* (Stockholm, 2002).

[2] G. Westin, (ed) *Peter Svart, Gustav Vasas krönika* (Malmö, 1964).

[3] G. Fleetwood, Sigill, *Gustav Vasa Minnen* ed. Livrustkammaren (Stockholm, 1938), pp. 48–49, 55–57.

[4] Larsson, op. cit., p. 25.

[5] L. O. Lagerqvist, Äldre Vasatid, *Myntningen i Sverige 995–1995, Numismatiska Meddelanden XL* (Stockholm, 1995), p. 132.

[6] C. Nevéus, *Medeltida småkonst – Sigill i Riksarkivet* (Stockholm, 1997), p. 52.

[7] Fleetwood, op. cit., pp. 49–52, 59–61.

[8] Lagerqvist, op. cit., pp. 131–132.

[9] Larsson, pp. 129–130.

[10] Westin, op. cit., p.152; M. Olsson, *Vasagraven i Uppsala domkyrka*, del 1–2 (Stockholm, 1956), pl. 68.

[11] Larsson, pp. 165–169.

[12] Fleetwood, pp. 52–53,63.

[13] N. Bartholdy, *Det danske kongevapen. Fra Valdemarerne til Frederik VI* (Copenhagen, 2021), pp. 193–227.

[14] Lagerqvist, pp. 135–141.

[15] Ibid., pp. 133–134.

[16] Ibid., pp. 140–144.

[17] R. Cederström, *De svenska riksregalierna och kungliga värdighetstecken* (Stockholm, 1942), pp. 87–102; Olsson, op. cit., pp. 36–37, pl. 53–56; L. Rangström, *Dödens teater. Kungliga svenska begravningar genom fem århundraden* (Stockholm, 2015), pp. 21–26.

[18] Olsson, pp. 32–47; Rangström, op. cit., pp. 18–43.

[19] C. Nordenfalk, *En svensk vapenbok från år 1562*, *Meddelanden från Riksheraldikerämbetet IX* (Malmö, 1941); Olsson, pp. 35–36.

[20] Olsson, pl 1–2; Rangström, pp. 27–29.

[21] Ibid., pp. 9–28, 47–56; Rangström, pp. 30–34.

ROYAL HERALDRY IN TIMES OF REVOLUTION: INTERPRETING ADAPTATIONS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF BELGIUM

CÉDRIC PAUWELS, a.i.h.

This study analyses a number of emblematic cases of adaptations to the coats of arms of members of the Royal Family of Belgium, resulting from revolutions or major political changes. Five case examples will be presented:
– The accession to the throne of the first King following the Belgian Revolution.
– The Second Empire of Mexico, a compromise between local terroir and European imperial tradition.
– the heraldic consequences of the creation of the independent state of Congo
– The impact of territorial changes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire on Belgian royal heraldry.
– And finally, the saga of the Saxon shield in Belgian royal arms

1. The Belgian Revolution and a search for political stability – Leopold I, King of the Belgians (1831–1865)

Figure 1: arms of Leopold I, left to right 1a: 1816; 1b: 1818; 1c: 1831; 1d: 1839. Source: Archives du Palais Royal, except for 1c, a stained glass window from the church of Notre-Dame au Sablon in Brussels.

In 1830, less than a month after the fall of Charles X, the last King of France, revolutionary fever swept through Brussels. The provisional government proclaimed Belgium's independence on 4 October 1830, and opted to become a constitutional monarchy. In June 1831, the Chambers elected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as King of the Belgians. He took the oath of office on 21 July 1831, the date that in 1890 became Belgium's national holiday.

The first King of the Belgians belonged to a German ducal family that was to have an exceptional destiny, since in addition to Belgium, the house of Saxe-Coburg came to occupy the thrones of Great Britain, Bulgaria and Portugal, in addition to their historic duchy. When he took the oath of allegiance to the Belgian Constitution, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg already had a prestigious past. He was the godson of Emperor Leopold II of the Holy Roman Empire, a general in the Russian army during the military campaigns that

led to the fall of Napoleon I, and would have become the Prince Consort of Great Britain had the tragic fate of his first wife Charlotte of Wales not decided otherwise. He was then approached to occupy the throne of Greece, an offer which he declined just a few months before becoming King of the Belgians. For all these reasons Leopold I gave his new country international status and a guarantee of stability.

What then of the heraldic consequences of his accession. Before acceding to the Belgian throne, Leopold bore the German arms of the Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld branch (**Figure 1a**), which he used at his marriage to Princess Charlotte of Wales in 1816. Following the tragic death of the princess in 1817, her father-in-law the Prince-Regent of Great Britain, the future George IV, granted him the right to quarter his personal arms with those of his late wife (**Figure 1b**). A characteristic feature of this complex coat of arms is that it shows the princess's cadency mark of the label of five points as the granddaughter of a king, in this case George III, the central pendant charged with a rose gules.

When Leopold I arrived in Belgium this characteristic feature of the British heraldic system was often misdrawn. The rose disappeared and the label was reduced to one of three points before eventually disappearing altogether. In the meantime the sovereign himself considered his shield to be overly complex, and decided to simplify his German quarters, keeping only the shield of Saxony. At the beginning of his reign, he placed the shield of Brabant, *Sable a lion rampant or armed and langued gules*, over England quartering Saxony on an escutcheon (**Figure 1c**). Brabant should not be confused with the arms of Flanders, which have the colours reversed. The shield of Brabant was adopted by the Constitution for the new Kingdom.

In 1839, a major change was made to the heraldic composition of the coat of arms, altering the order of importance of the shield's furnishings (**Figure 1d**). The quarterly Great Britain-Saxony was placed on the shoulder of the lion of Belgium, a sign of the kingdom's preponderance over the King's origins.

On the rare initiative of Queen Victoria, a second plaque of knighthood in the Order of the Garter was placed in St George's Chapel Windsor to reflect heraldically the change in her uncle Leopold's political status following his accession as King. The fact that on his stall plate the lion is faces to the sinister is not a mistake as the animals on the coats of arms in the north stalls are turned towards the choir as a courtesy.

1831–1850

King Leopold I used two types of external ornaments, neither of which was ever ratified by a royal decree. It was not until 1880 that the arms of the royal house were laid down in an official text.

In the first composition, the King placed his coat of arms on a panoply of six flags (**Figure 2a**). He later adopted more conventional external ornaments, with supporters, a mantle, and behind these the banners of the nine provinces of his realm (**Figure 2b**). From the time of Leopold II onwards, the provincial banners were reserved for the Great Seal of the State, and the monarch no longer used them in his personal arms.

Comparing the arms of Louis-Philippe, King of the French, with those of his son-in-law Leopold I, there are obvious similarities in the arrangement of the outer ornaments. Father-in-law and son-in-law became king just one year apart. The hand of Justice and

Figure 2: the full achievement of King Leopold I. Left, 2a: 1831–39; right, 2a: 1850.

the sceptre surmounted by the cruciferous globe are similarly arranged in the arms of both, whereas in Belgium the sceptre is normally surmounted by the lion of Brabant.

2. The Second Mexican Empire, a compromise between local custom and European imperial tradition

The end of the reign of Leopold I saw the start of the Mexican adventure in which his daughter Charlotte lost everything: her throne and her sanity, her husband shot by revolutionaries. When she disappeared in 1927, Mexico's second empire was a distant memory. When the Western powers decided to put their house in order in Mexico, they created an empire that was entrusted to Maximilian, brother of Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria. The new Mexican court invented armories that were a synthesis of typically Mexican elements: an eagle from Anahuac (a region in central Mexico), perched on a nopal (a kind of flowering prickly pear) and devouring a snake that it was holding in its right talon. The nopal springs from a rock in the middle of a lake, drawn in the stylised manner of Aztec scribes. The two griffin supporters are a reminder of the supporters used by the Austrian emperors (**Figure 3a**).

The Imperial Crown of Mexico was an international design. The crown combines French and Austrian influences, combining the eagles of the French imperial crown with the mitre shape of the crown of Rudolf II of Habsburg. This had repercussions on the personal arms of the Empress, who as Grand Mistress of the Order of Saint Charles of Mexico, an order reserved for ladies, also bore the cross of the order between the two shields of the couple's arms (**Figure 3b**). A version of the Grand Cross insignia, made from ivory and malachite which belonged to Queen Louise of Denmark is kept at the Amalienborg Palace in Copenhagen (**Figure 3c**).

3. The heraldic consequences of King Leopold II's accession to sovereignty over Congo

In 1885, when Europe was dividing up Africa at the Berlin Conference, in order to establish colonial empires, King Leopold II manoeuvred to have himself recognised as

Figure 3: Left, 3a: arms of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico; centre, 3b: arms of Empress Charlotte of Mexico; right, 3c: Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Charles (Mexico) - copy of Queen Louise of Denmark, born Princess of Hesse-Cassel, wife of King Christian IX of Denmark, from the Didier de Meester de Betzenbroeck Collection Royal Palace of Amalienborg, Copenhagen (Denmark).

sovereign of the independent state of Congo, a highly controversial page in history today. This major geopolitical change had heraldic repercussions. In 1886 the State of Congo adopted a coat of arms published in an official Bulletin specific to the colony, a sign that the king was keen to use the legal attributes of a sovereign state to establish his legitimacy. It is worth noting that the King's personal shield with a lion, the shoulder charged with a Saxon escutcheon, is repeated in the Congo shield. The composition of the great arms shown here (**Figure 4**) is unofficial, but clearly reflects the concept of the
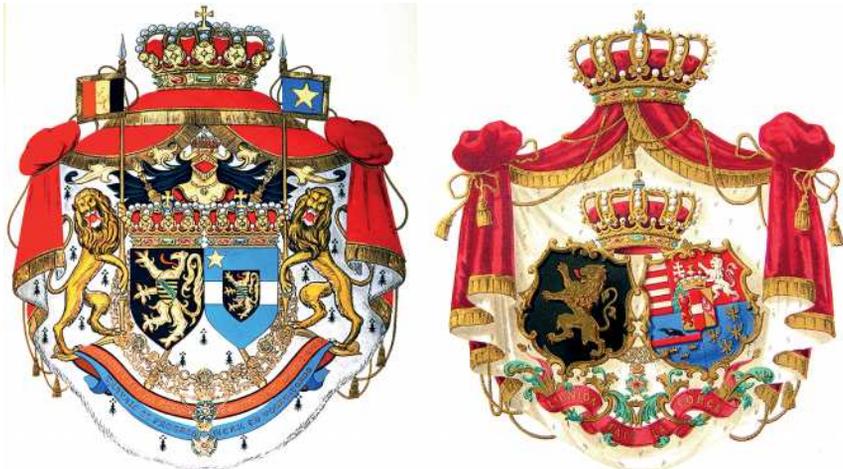
Left, *Figure 4:* Great arms of Leopold II as sovereign of Congo, from the guestbook of the Grand Serment Royal and Saint-Georges des Arbalétriers, Brussels, Artist Julien Bal; right, *Figure 5* arms drawn in 1853 by Jules Géruzet for the marriage of the Duc de Brabant to Marie-Henriette-Anne, Archduchess of Austria, Archives du Palais Royal, Brussels.

personal union of two states, with its banners, its collars of two orders (of Leopold and the African Star), and having two mottoes.

4. Impact of the evolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the arms of Queen Marie-Henriette
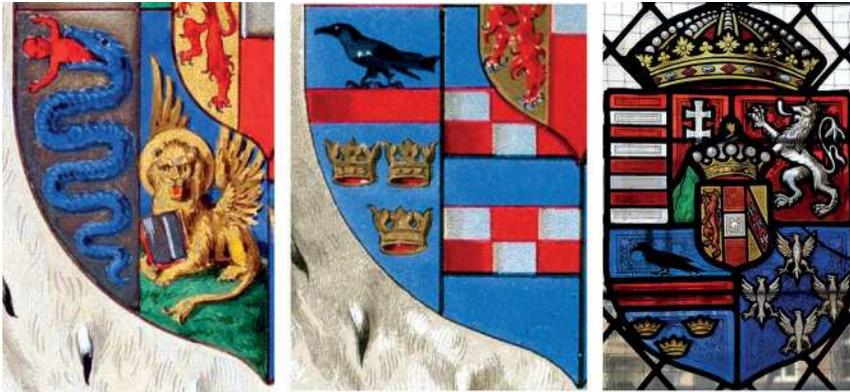
Top left, *Figure 6a:* Austrian quarters of Lombardy-Venice; top centre, *Figure 6b:* revised Austrian quarters of Galicia and Lodomeria from the Austrian State Archive in Vienna; top right, *Figure 7*: arms of Queen Marie-Henriette in a window from the church of Notre-Dame au Sablon, photographed by the author; below, *Figure 8*: funeral hatchment of Queen Marie-Henriette, 1902, Royal Collection, Brussels.

On 31 March 1896 the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified Count Paul de Borghrave d'Altena, the King's Chef de Cabinet, of the modification to the arms of the Imperial and Royal Family of Austria-Hungary in accordance with an Imperial and Royal Decree of 11 February 1896. This modification concerned all members of the Imperial House of Austria, with the exception of the reigning branches of Tuscany and Modena. In the shield of the Archdukes and Archduchesses of Austria, the quarters of Lombardy-Venetia were replaced with those of Galicia-Lodomeria (**Figures 6a and b**). Queen Marie-Henriette of Belgium (1836–1902), the consort of Leopold II, was born an Archduchess of Austria as daughter of the Palatine of Hungary. The arms that she bore on her marriage to the Duc de Brabant in 1853 are illustrated in **Figure 5**. The Queen made a somewhat free adaptation of the imperial directive, taking only the quarter of Galicia, and adding an archduke's crown to the shield (**Figure 7**) which was not at all foreseen in the instructions from Vienna. However, on the funeral hatchment used at her funeral in 1902 (**Figure 8**), the district of Lodomeria took its place, and the archduke's crown disappeared from the whole; a sign of the complexity of the practice.

5. The saga of the Saxon shield 1831–2019

The inclusion of the shield of Saxony in the royal coat of arms was enshrined in a royal decree of 13 July 1880, which was the first regulatory provision governing the arms of the King and members of the royal family. Previously, the only provision had been the royal decree of 15 June 1858 governing the royal ensign. As a result of the First World War, anything that sounded German was discarded. The King no longer used his German titles of Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and removed the Saxon shield from his coat of arms. However, King Albert I did not formalise these changes by royal decree. It was not until 1921 that the removal of the Saxon shield from the King's coat of arms was translated into a legal text (**Figure 9**). This was enacted indirectly via a royal decree relating to the flags and pennants of members of the royal household. The abandonment of the titles Duke of Saxony and Prince of Saxony-Coburg-Gotha was not the subject of any royal decree.

The Archives of the Royal Palace hold a letter from the King's Chef de Cabinet, Count d'Arschot Schoonhoven, addressed to M. De Ridder, Director General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 23 April 1921, which states the following: "*I spoke to the King yesterday afternoon about the subject of the letter you sent me on 9 October 1920 and the conversation we had yesterday: the removal from the titles of the King and members of the royal family of the titles of Princes and Dukes of Saxony implies the removal of the Saxon coat of arms from the coats of arms of Our Sovereign and his children, and this removal should be enshrined in a royal decree. The King considers it preferable not to make this deletion the subject of a decree, as this would unnecessarily draw attention to the arms and their disappearance. It would be better to let them fall into disuse and not reproduce them when we have the opportunity to reproduce the royal arms. You will understand that I am telling you the above on a personal basis. If I wrote it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, my letter would be an official communication and I think that its character would then exceed that which the King wishes to see given to this affair*".

Figure 9: Evolution of the royal shield of Belgium, top row, left to right: 1831, 1839, 1880, 1921, 2019; bottom row, the Great Arms before and after 1921, artist Léon Diekmann.

It was therefore a decision not to use the coat of arms, rather than an outright repeal. As a result, the Royal Decree of 1880, which defined the arms of the royal house with the Saxon shield, remained legally in force, but was no longer used in practice. This means that in 2019, when the Saxon shield once again began to be used as a reminder of the family origins of the dynasty, no change in the law was required.[3]

Leopold III (1934–1951)

The future Leopold III, as Duke of Brabant, bore the shield of Saxony on the lion's shoulder until the age of 20. The shield subsequently disappeared from his coat of arms and did not reappear for him either as reigning king or in the Archives of the Royal Palace after his abdication.

Baudouin I (1951–1993)

King Baudouin never used the shield of Saxony (**Figure 10**), having been born following the 1921 decision of his grandfather. His status as royal prince exercising the constitutional powers of his father Leopold III during the "Royal Question" of 1945–1951 had no heraldic impact. Leopold III was ostracised for his refusal to join the Belgian government in exile in 1940, contrary to his perceived constitutional role, and was forced to abdicate in 1951. During this difficult period the crown prince continued to bear his arms as Duke of Brabant.

Figure 10: arms of Baudouin I, left to right, as comte de Hainaut 1930, as duc de
Brabant 1934, as Prince Royal 1950, and as King in 1951.

Albert II (1993–2013)

Albert II, the younger brother of Baudouin I, himself abdicated as King of the Belgians
on 21st July 2013, in favour of his eldest son Philippe. He did not use the shield of Saxony
until the 2019 reform, a particular feature of which was the introduction of a brisure for
kings who have abdicated, a label charged with a royal crown (**Figure 11**), which was
directly inspired by the heraldic solution to fix the situation of the Duke of Windsor, who
had abdicated as King Edward VIII of Great Britain. This was the first time in Belgium
that the question of the heraldic response to the abdication of a sovereign was settled.
In the case of his father King Leopold III, the King had retained his arms unchanged
(together with the full royal title) so that it was not possible to see any difference between
Leopold and the then reigning King, Baudouin.

Philippe, King of the Belgians, epilogue to a Saxon shield

In 2019 King Philippe issued a decree to reorganise the arms of the members of the royal
house of Belgium. One of the effects of this royal decree was the re-establishment of the
use of the Saxon shield and the officialization of the national motto in the three national
languages of French, Flemish, and German: l'Union fait la Force, Endracht maakt macht,
and Einigkeit macht stark. (Unity is strength). (**Figure 12**).

Above, *Figure 11:* arms borne by Albert II. Left to right, as prince in 1934 and 1937, as King in 1993, and following his abdication in 2019. Below, *Figure 12:* arms borne by King Phillipe on his accession and following the decree of 2019.

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[1] J.A. Tiroff, *Wappenbuch der regierenden Monarchen Europas*, 1846

[2] Grand gala royal saloon „Louise-Marie", 1856, Bodywork by Jones Frères, door panel from the Musée du Cinquantenaire. Brussels.

[3] Royal Decree of 12 July 2019 determining the coat of arms of the Royal House and its members, *Moniteur Belge* of 19–07–2019, no. 2019030777, p. 72666.

NOBLE AND BURGHER ARMS IN REVOLUTIONARY TIMES: SOME EXAMPLES OF POLITICAL PROFILES IN EIGHTEENTH TO TWENTIETH-CENTURY DENMARK

Prof. Dr. PETER KURRILD-KLITGAARD, A.I.H.

Introduction

The period from the end of the eighteenth to the early twentieth century was a tumultuous time in Europe in terms of social and political change. There were probably more institutional and ideological changes in the span of those 150 years than at any time in the previous 1,500 years. From Enlightenment thinkers came new views of mankind and the world: 'older' ideas of, say, God, king and country now battled newer ideals such as liberty, equality and justice. Simultaneously, demands for greater political influence from the broader classes of society became widespread. It was also a time where 'new' men more easily rose to the top of society, while older families were often displaced. These changes quite naturally also left their mark on heraldry – including in the arms granted to or assumed by the new men who came to power.

My focus here is on my native Denmark – a country which, like its Scandinavian brethren, in some ways is an outlier compared to much of the rest of Europe. Denmark had since 1660 been Europe's only constitutionally ruled absolutist state, and hence with no powers delegated to elected or representative bodies. Despite this Denmark never experienced any French-style revolutions in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and while some popular unrest and political turbulence occurred in 1848, in that year the last absolutist king, Frederik VII, seemed almost happy to hand over almost all his powers to a constitutional assembly. On 5 June 1849 he signed a new constitution with separation of powers, independent courts, a two chamber (predominantly, elected) parliament and an executive which limited royal prerogatives. While the next decades had constitutional conflicts, partisan infighting, and some popular demonstrations, first by liberals, and later by socialists and communists, Denmark was arguably among the politically most peaceful and gradualist states in Europe.

But the attitudes of those coming into power gradually changed – and so did their heraldry. For the present purposes I shall give some examples of new armorial bearings of political figures ranging from the 1770s until shortly before World War I. They are all derived from Danish politics. This will not constitute a comprehensive survey of, say, all Danish prime ministers, but will consider some of the more interesting or more widely known personalities. These individuals often made opposite or conflicting choices when it came to heraldry, taking different 'tacks' not only on personal values but also on aspects of social status.

Two counts of the Enlightenment: Struensee and Moltke

Let us begin with two Danish counts of the late eighteenth century whose very different backgrounds and outlooks had heraldic ramifications. They were both Danes of German background – one of them a burgher who rose quickly, the other a member of the ancient nobility, the *Uradel*. They were both counts – but where one was willingly so ennobled,

the other cared nothing for his title, and would have happily put it aside. The two men chose quite different armorial expressions.

Count Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772)

The Prussian born Johann Friedrich Struensee studied medicine and was strongly influenced by Enlightenment thinking, in particular by Rousseau, and he was essentially a utilitarian and a deist. His antecedents were well-educated bourgeois, a family known since the fifteenth century, but which was not noble. His father, Adam Struensee (1708– 1791) was a professor and Protestant priest from Halle in Southern Prussia who married the daughter of the personal physician to King Christian VI of Denmark-Norway. Johann Friedrich in his turn became personal physician to a king of Denmark-Norway – the less than capable and mentally unstable Christian VII, who seems to have been schizophrenic.

Due to Struensee's abilities and the king's disabilities the doctor quickly rose to being the king's foremost advisor, and from this position in 1770 he became the de facto head of government, and bore the important title of *Maître des requêtes*, i.e., in charge of all petitions to the king. In a short time Struensee initiated about 1,800 more or less wide-ranging, liberalizing reforms – designed by him, but implemented in the king's name. These included: improvements of due process and rule of law; prohibition against torture; abolition of all censorship (as the first state in the world); abolition of the death penalty for theft and of penalties for adultery; abolition of some public monopolies, and liberalization of trade; reform and downsizing of the military; the easing of forced labour for manorial tenants; reduction in public spending, and in the number of courtiers and civil servants – including a rule that public offices should be allocated exclusively on qualifications. He even implemented an informal moratorium on new admissions to the nobility and on awards of the royal orders – although in 1771 he and his close associate, Enevold Brandt (1738–1772), were both made counts and received the new, exclusive Order of Mathilda, named after the British born Queen, Carolina Mathilda.

In 1772 Struensee was, under dramatic circumstances, arrested, jailed, sentenced, and executed by a cabal lead by prominent nobles, the king's stepmother and the king's younger half-brother. His downfall was partly a consequence of court factionalism, plus dissatisfaction with the reformist agenda; but a non-trivial element was the fact that Struensee since 1770 had been the young Queen's lover and was widely believed to be the biological father of her second child, Princess Louise Augusta.[1]

When Struensee was made a count 30 September 1771, he needed armorial bearings. In fact, he already had something to build upon: his father had apparently assumed arms of *A ship on water* and for the crest an anchor with what appears to be a snake around it.[2] The arms were no doubt canting: Struensee can be translated as 'rough sea'. Struensee himself had used the ship in his own seals before being made a count (**Figure 1**). In the short period between January 1771, when he received the Order of Mathilda, and September 1771, when he was created a count, Struensee had no less than (at least) seven different signets made displaying a shield with the ship.[3] The shield is surmounted with a coronet of somewhat indeterminate character; it does not precisely resemble any of those designed for the various grades of Danish nobility, and Struensee had at this point not yet be made a count. But rather than seeing this as usurpation by an upstart, we might see it as Struensee's rightful claim that he, through the offices held and their place

Figure 1: Seals used by Johann Friedrich Struensee in 1771, before and after he was granted the comital title. Danish National Archives. Photographs by Ronny Andersen.

in the Order of Precedence, already enjoyed personal nobility.[4] It could be hypothesized that Struensee chose to use a somewhat indeterminate coronet given that his precedence already at this time was far higher than untitled noblemen, barons and counts.

Figure 2: Comital arms of Johann Friedrich Struensee from his letters patent of 1771 (Danish National Archives).

In Struensee's comital arms from 1771 (**Figure 2**) the ship was given first place as if it had been an ancient *Stamwappen*, albeit with the Danish national flag, the Dannebrog, flying.[5] In the first and fourth quarters we see what might be interpreted as two streams – perhaps also canting on the name. The second quarter contains two keys – no doubt a reference to his charge as head of the king's privy council and his being in charge of access to the king. The third quarter contains palm leaves and a coronet.

The coat of arms has three crests: the central being a ship – corresponding to the family arms; the second is an owl – the bird of wisdom – holding a key, thus symbolizing how wisdom gives access to the state; and the third is a coronet and palm leaves between two eagle's wings. For supporters the utilitarian Struensee chose two beavers – an animal known for hard work, and often used to symbolize industry.

Two aspects of the arms are striking: firstly, aside from the beavers, and perhaps the owl, there is no visible reference to Struensee's worldview; secondly, the whole design of the coat of arms is exactly as if from a template for Danish counts over the previous century: a quartered shield with various pseudo-quarterings; the family's *Stamwappen* in the centre; supporters and three helmets – as was the near universal standard for Danish counts; the helmets with nine gold bars as reserved for counts, and the appropriate coronets of rank.

It seems incongruous that the great social reformer chose armorial bearings which in their structure and symbolism looked virtually identical to the arms of such families as say Ahlefeldt, Bernstorff, Moltke, Reventlow or Wedell, each of which were ennobled as Danish counts in the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries. This has been a source of wonderment to some observers, but it really should not be: Struensee although a classical liberal, was not an egalitarian, and certainly not a democrat.

Struensee's life and heraldry came to an abrupt end in 1772. When he had been found guilty of *lèse-majesté* and sentenced, he was taken to the Eastern Commons of Copenhagen, where his comital arms, painted on a shield, were broken into pieces, his right hand was chopped off, he was beheaded (in the third attempt), quartered, and finally the body parts put on public display.

Despite this his heraldry lived on. His very capable brother, the economist Carl August Struensee (1735–1804), who had originally shared in Johann Friedrich's downfall, was later rehabilitated, and in 1789 he was ennobled twice – first a 'confirmation' dated 1 March 1789 in Prussia, where he then lived and became minister of finance, and then a few months later (15 May 1789) in Denmark with the surname Struensee von Carlsbach.[6] He used the same simple arms as their father, but for crest he used two eagle's wings – no doubt derived from his brother's crest. Their youngest brother Gotthilf Christoph Struensee (1746–1829) succeeded Carl August as bank director in Prussia and on 26 December 1803 was ennobled in Prussia with the same arms. Here one may note that the ship sails the opposite way to that of his brothers, but this may be accidental.

In 1820 a great-grandson of a cousin of Adam Struensee, (Georg Karl) Philipp Struensee (1774–1833), was also ennobled in Prussia. He was given quartered arms, where the first and fourth quarters bear a striking resemblance to those of his more famous great-grand-uncle.

Count Adam Gottlob Detlef Moltke (1765–1843)

A generation younger than Struensee was another Danish count, also with German roots: Adam Gottlob Detlef Moltke (1765–1843). He was grandson of the most important member of the family in Denmark, Adam Gottlob Moltke (1710–1792), who had been King Frederik V's Lord Chamberlain and for two decades *de facto* first minister. He was also one of the largest landowners in Denmark.

Adam Gottlob Detlef was the oldest surviving son of Adam Gottlob Moltke's third surviving son and could easily have become his grandfather's primary heir. However, after having first been an officer and then studied law in Germany his life took a different path. He became influenced by Enlightenment ideals and following the French revolution he declared his opposition to nobility and inheritances. He supposedly did so c. 1790 during a dinner at his grandfather's estate – after which the old count called him into his

Figure 3: Coat of arms of the Counts Moltke af Bregentved, granted in 1750 (Danmarks Adels Aarbog).

office, quizzed him, and soon afterwards had him written out of the succession to the Bregentved county estates.[7]

The younger Moltke thereafter took the name "Citoyen Moltke" and became a poet and writer, but with the passage of time he gradually became less revolutionary and took over the family estates of Nøer and Grønwohld from his father. He also became the owner of several other estates in Holstein, including Nütschau.

The Moltke family had for centuries borne a coat of arms with three "black grouse" – originally in Germany always on a field *Argent*, but since the medieval period Moltkes in Denmark have occasionally used a field *Or*, and this was formalized in 1750 when the grandfather had been made Count Moltke af Bregentved and had the original arms "improved" as it was termed in those days (**Figure 3**).[8] When the old count died his revolutionary grandson must have inherited and used his signet. We know it must be the old count's because it has the insignia of both a knight of the Order of the Elephant and a Knight of the Order of the Dannebrog, which only he had. Close inspection of the signet reveals that "Citoyen" Moltke had it partially re-engraved – changing the three black grouses into three Phrygian caps, the well-known symbol of the revolutionary Jacobins

Figure 4: Signet originally made for Adam Gottlob Count Moltke (1710–1792) but modified for, and used by, his disinherited grandson Adam Gottlob Detlef Count Moltke (1765–1843), "Citoyen Moltke", where the original three black grouse of the family were replaced with three Phrygian caps. Photograph by Elizabeth Moltke-Huitfeldt.

(**Figure 4**). In this fashion the disinherited, radical nobleman symbolically had the last laugh.

Two brothers during late-absolutism and the rise of the middle classes

Let us now turn to two remarkable brothers who played an important role in Danish intellectual life in the decades immediately before and after the abolition of absolutism in 1848. They were the legal scholar and politician Anders Sandøe Ørsted (1778–1860) and his brother, the scientist Hans Christian Ørsted (1777–1851). Both were influenced by the philosophy of Immanuel Kant – in ethics, law, to some extent in politics, and certainly in epistemology. They lived during a period when Denmark was still an absolutist monarchy, in which all reforms – as evidenced by the Struensee experience – had to come gradually, carefully and from above.

Anders, the younger brother, had a career as lecturer, judge, civil servant, and member of parliament. He is seen as the father of Danish jurisprudence, with his career culminating with a period as prime minister, 1853–1854. He is considered to have been a pragmatic, moderate liberal, who defended freedom of the press during absolutism, and
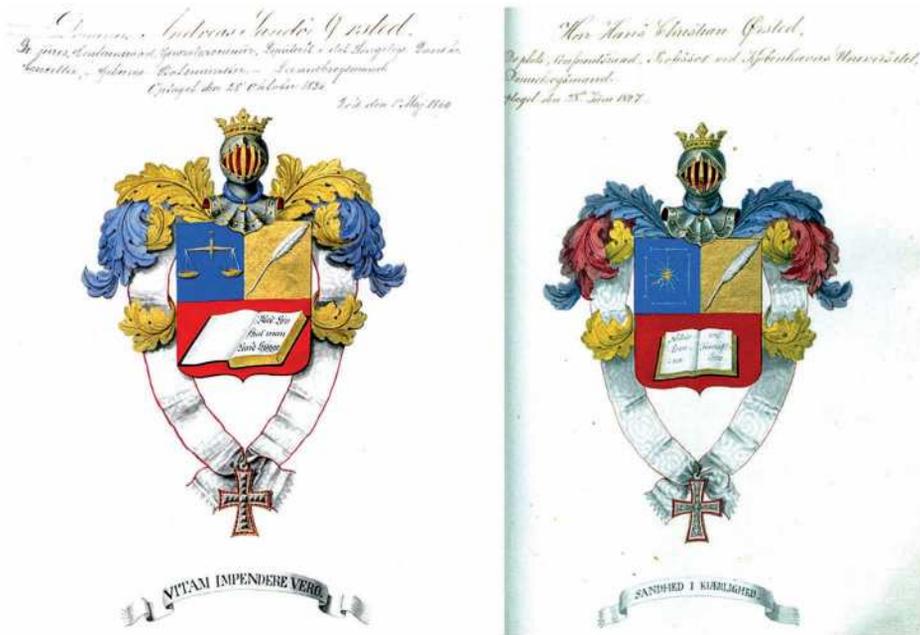
Left, *Figure 5:* Arms of the prime minister Anders Sandøe Ørsted (1778–1860) as Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog 1836; right, *Figure 6:* Arms of the scientist Hans Christian Ørsted (1777–1851) as Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog 1847 (Chancery of the Danish Royal Orders).

tended to be a gradualist reformer rather than a radical revolutionary. In 1831 Anders was tasked with designing a resurrection of the Estates General as an advisory body – the first semi-representative body in Denmark for more than a century and a half. Although a monarchist he was the proponent of a constitutionally limited monarchy, and in his constitutional design he supported broader popular representation. His older brother Hans Christian shared many of the same philosophical ideas, but was less political. Among his many contributions were the discovery of electromagnetism and the isolation of aluminium.

Both brothers, who were scions of a burgher family, had need to devise arms in consequence of having each received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog (in 1836 and 1847 respectively), while Anders was also created a Knight of the Order of the Elephant in 1847. Accordingly, they had their heraldry recorded in the rolls of arms of the Royal Orders and put on display in the Chapel of the Royal Orders at Frederiksborg Castle in Hillerød. Anders chose a shield partitioned into three (**Figure 5**) with the quarters 1, *Azure the scales of justice or*; 2, *Or a quill pen in bend sinister argent*; 3, *Gules with an open book proper*. The three charges signify his background as a writer and academic and his legal career. The book contains the opening line of the legal Code of Jutland (1241): *Med lov skal land bygges*: "With law the country shall be built".

Hans Christian chose a very similar coat of (**Figure 6**), the key differences being that the book gives a Kantian instruction: *Naturlove ere fornuftslove*: "The laws of nature are

laws of reason", and the first quarter contains something resembling a sun or energy burst surrounded by four arrows each pointing in one of the directions of the compass. This must be seen as representing the force of electromagnetism, which he had discovered.

Both brothers used the helmet and the coronet of an untitled nobleman, as designed in the second half of the seventeenth century. This warrants explanation since the family had never been ennobled by letters patent. They lived through an era where the nobility's privileges were declining. Anders was very well aware – because he had actually published on the topic – that since 1808 Danes who held certain high offices and appointments which placed them in one of the three first classes of the Royal Table of Precedence enjoyed *rangadel* – i.e., "nobility-by-precedence". This entailed personal nobility, for themselves, their spouses and children – a concept going back to the privileges of royal officers of 1679. It is still in existence today, even if of no practical importance.[9] Both brothers had royal appointments giving them precedence in Class I, which also gave them the style of excellencies.

The new political class

When in 1848–1849 Denmark transitioned from being what was perhaps the only constitutional absolutist autocracy in the world to a constitutional monarchy with popular representation, the resulting separation of powers and rule of law meant that the old nobility gradually lost their political influence. The new men who rose up to high office such as prime minister or cabinet member would be awarded the Order of the Elephant or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog, and coming from burgher families like the Ørsted brothers they needed new coats of arms. Many of them chose symbols and mottoes signifying their political or moral beliefs – something that has continued to this day.[10]

Jacob Brønnum Scavenius Estrup (1825–1913)

Arguably the most important profile in Danish politics in the second half of the nineteenth century is that of the conservative Jacob Brønnum Scavenius Estrup (1825–1913), who served as member of parliament for half a century, and who with nineteen years in office remains the longest serving prime minister in Danish history. Estrup was a controversial figure who became the founder of conservatism as a political party, opposed an extended parliamentary vote, and for decades controlled executive power even while a majority of the lower chamber was held by the liberal *Venstre*, "the Left". Most members of this broad coalition of radical reformers had a background in the peasant class, and to a smaller extent, the middle class of the cities.

Estrup's own family had for some generations been academics, but his father had acquired an estate and married into the nobility, as did the politician himself, followed by all his children and grandchildren.[11] It has been claimed that the king offered to ennoble Estrup and make him a count – and that he declined this offer.[12] It might be seen as unlikely that he would have declined the honour, as he had already accepted decorations, was a large landowner related to the nobility, and to all practical purposes ranked as a peer of the aristocracy. There are, however, some indications that he was somewhat hesitant to receive honours: he is known, throughout his two decades as prime minister, to have declined all foreign orders offered during state visits, except in the case of a

Portuguese decoration which for some reason he felt he could not decline. Aside from this he only accepted those from his own king.

Of perhaps greater significance is his attitude towards personal heraldry. Two of his relatives had earlier assumed arms. These were his great-uncle, the Danish state councillor Lauritz Christian Estrup (1753–1826), and his uncle, the medical doctor Peter Jungersen Estrup (1791–1830), who became a Russian district doctor, and as such ranked as imperial councillor. The former used a seal, which seems not to have survived, but supposedly comprised a half man holding a book and a crest of three roses. The latter's shield (**Figure 7**) was *Purpure a book displayed and upon it a snake*. The snake's layout resembles an E and may, aside from a reference to the symbol of medicine, be a play on the first letter of the family name.

Left, *Figure 7:* Seal used by Dr. Peter Jungersen Estrup (1791–1830), uncle of Conservative prime minister Jacob Brønnum Scavenius Estrup (1825–1913) (Danish National Archives, photo: Ronny Andersen); right, *Figure 8:* Arms of Liberal prime minister "I.C." Christensen (1856–1930) as Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog 1905 (Chancery of the Danish Royal Orders).

When J.B.S. Estrup was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog (1869) and later a Knight of the Elephant (1878) he could easily have chosen to build on these precedents, but he did not – he chose, as one of the few Danish knights of both orders, never to let a coat-of-arms be painted in the armorials of the orders. When he was made a member of the exclusive Royal Copenhagen Shooting Society (*Det Kongelige Kjøbenhavnske Skydeselskab og Danske Broderskab*) in 1886 he could also have chosen, as many members have done, to have armorial bearings painted on his membership plate. Instead, he chose to have a naturalistic painting of his estate, Skaføgaard.

I.C. Christensen (1856–1930)

My final case example is one of the first men to succeed Estrup as head of government – a man of quite different temperament who for some years was an active opponent: the schoolteacher Jens Christian "I.C." Christensen (1856–1930). For many years he was the *de facto* leader of the major opposition party, *Venstre*, which had a majority in the lower house of parliament, the *Folketing*. In 1901 the King gave in to political pressure and finally appointed a non-conservative government based in this social-liberal, predominantly agrarian party. Four years later "I.C." Christensen became prime minister, and the following year (1905) he received the Grand Cross from the king – and had to assume arms. It should be noted that only a few years before this his party, while still in opposition, had been in favour of abolishing all orders and all titles of nobility, and a large part of the party remained republican.

But with the political ascent of the socialists, the liberals gradually moved right on some issues, and Christensen accepted his king's order and for a coat of arms he chose *Azure three wheat sheaves two and one and in chief a lark ascending argent* (**Figure 8**). The charges are very natural symbols for the son of a humble farmer. Blue may have been chosen as the primary tincture due to it often being seen as a colour representing (among other things) liberty, and historically many liberal parties have adopted blue as their colour.[13] It is worth noting that, unlike many other "upstarts" – including the Ørsted brothers – Christensen chose to have neither the helmet nor the coronet of an untitled nobleman that he could have used.

Summary

These examples of coats of arms of political figures from Denmark over a century and a half do not represent an exhaustive survey but are intended to illustrate how through a period of dramatic political change new ideals crept into heraldry – and how attitudes towards the design of new armorial bearings changed.

In essence we have seen

- A radical reformer – who strove for the heraldic trappings of a count;
- A radical count – who changed his arms to seem revolutionary;
- Two moderate, Enlightenment intellectuals who used the trappings of noblemen in an age where the nobility's privileges were being diminished and abolished;
- A conservative politician who deliberately did not want arms and noble trappings;
- A radical, reforming politician – who accepted decorations from his king, albeit with a 'modern' look.

The times they were changing, and heraldic usage changed with it – sometimes in unpredictable ways.[14]

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[1] Among the numerous descendants of Princess Louise Augusta are German Empress Augusta Victoria, King Constantine II of the Hellenes, King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden and King Felipe VI of Spain.

[2] Olaf Kirstein, 'En borgerlig pendant til det gamle adelslexicon', *Heraldisk Tidsskrift* vol. 3, no. 28 (1973), pp. 345–371 (366–7) contains an unpublished nineteenth century manuscript by Svend Grundtvig with a draft of a roll of burgher arms and arms of non-noble families. What in the drawing of the crest resembles a snake wrapped around the anchor might simply be a rope.

[3] On Struensee's signets, see Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Greveligt signet endte som urlod', *Siden Saxo* no. 4 (1997), pp. 36–39.

[4] On the coronets and helmets of the Danish nobility see, Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Ranghelme und -kronen wahrend des älteren Dänischen Absolutismus', in Hans-Ulrich von Ruepprecht, Jürgen Arndt, Constantin Dichtel & Heinz F Friederichs (edd.) *Kongressbericht: 12. Internationaler Kongress Für Genealogische Und Heraldische Wissenschaften, München 1974* (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 9–22.

On the Danish nobility-by-precedence and its accompanying heraldic implications, see, Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Adelsbegrebet under den ældre enevælde', *Historisk Tidsskrift* vol. 12 no. 4 (1971), pp. 577–65; Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, 'Armorial rights and customs of Danish knights', in Guy Stair Sainty & Rafal Heydel-Mankoo (edd.), *Burke's Peerage & Gentry: World Orders of Knighthood and Merit* (London, 2006); Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, 'The Danish nobility-by-precedence (Rangadel): An introduction', in: *Actas I. Coloquio Internacional Sobre La Nobleza, Madrid, 21–24 Octubre 2015* (Madrid, 2017), pp. 307–314.

[5] *Adelige Patenter* C7, Danish National Archives; in Sven Tito Achen, *Danske Adelsvåbener: En Heraldisk Nøgle* (København, 1973), p. 570.

[6] *Adelige Patenter* C7, Danish National Archives; in Achen, op. cit., p. 239.

[7] On this, see Poul Holstein, 'Slægten Moltke', in Knud JV Jespersen, Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen, Hanne Raabyemagle & Poul Holstein (edd.) *Moltke: Rigets Mægtigste Mand* (København, 2010), pp. 391–413 (400–403).

[8] The first and fourth quarters are of Moltke's wife's family, von Brüggemann, while the lion with the Danish flag in the second and third are augmentations symbolizing royal favour. On the heraldry of the Moltke family, see Poul Holstein, 'Stamtavle med våbenafbildninger og portrætter over slægten Moltke', in Knud JV Jespersen & Leon Jespersen (edd.), *Danmarks Adels Aarbog* (København, 1994), pp. 521–909.

[9] On the *rangadel*, see the sources cited above in note 5; see also his own commentary on the topic, Anders Sandøe Ørsted, 'Om de Rangspersoner tilkommende adelige Rettigheder, med Hensyn til den nyeste Lovgivning', *Juridisk Arkiv* no. 23 (1810), pp. 208–250.

[10] Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, 'For frihed i fred og fællesskab': Storkorsvåben for Anders Fogh Rasmussen, in *Heraldisk Tidsskrift* vol. 11, no. 103 (2011), pp. 137–140.

[11] His mother was a Scavenius; his wife a baroness Holsten-Charisius; his children-in-law were a Juel, a Skeel and a de Neergaard; his grandchildren's spouses included another Skeel, a baroness Wedell-Wedellsborg, a Bornemann, a countess Krag-Juel-Vind-Frijs, and a count Scheel – all Danish noble families.

[12] This is a story retold among the descendants but has not been documented.

[13] On blue as a colour of liberal parties dating back to the seventeenth century, see, Graham Lippiatt, 'Liberal party colours', in *Journal of Liberal History* no. 84 (2014), pp. 37–40. Of the five subsequent Danish Liberal Party chairmen who have received the Grand Cross and have had to adopt armorial bearings all five have chosen blue as one of the primary tinctures (Madsen-Mygdal; Eriksen; Hartling; Ellemann-Jensen; Fogh Rasmussen), see Kurrild-Klitgaard, 2011, op. cit., p. 140.

[14] The author is grateful to archivist and heraldic consultant Ronny Andersen (A.I.H.) for useful suggestions and help with illustrations.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HERALDS AND HERALDIC ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE.

DAVID B. APPLETON, a.i.h.

In the summer of 1776, thirteen of the nineteen colonies of British North America declared their independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain, an independence recognized in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Up until that time, American subjects of the British Crown had recourse to the College of Arms in London for grants of arms and heraldic advice. Following the 1776 Declaration of Independence, as Dom William Bayne has said, in America "the bearing of arms … was set adrift to shift for itself."[1]

Beginning from that time and continuing to the present, I will offer a chronological look at some of the attitudes about the use of heraldry in the new republic, the books and articles that have been published regarding it, and the organizations that have been founded to educate, guide, or assist Americans in their use and creation of coats of arms. I will restrict my review to books and pamphlets published in the United States for a North American audience as it would fall outside the scope of this review to consider the various European armorials which are well-known and regularly referenced by American heraldists.

During the United States' War of Independence, five of the thirteen seceding former colonies assumed official arms: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware in 1777, New York (**Figure 1**) in 1778, and Massachusetts in 1780. In 1782, a committee, the fourth established to do so, submitted a proposal which was accepted by the Continental Congress, creating a great seal for the United States with its coat of arms.[2] In 1783, following the end of the Revolutionary War, the Society of the Cincinnati was founded to perpetuate the remembrance of the achievement of American Independence, "to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature," and to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers of the Continental Army during the war. Its membership was largely restricted to those officers who had served in the Continental Army and their descendants. Because of that restriction, it received wide criticism as it was seen as an attempt at establishing a hereditary elite in the new republic, excluding as it did the enlisted men of the army and the officers and men of the militias. This criticism is important, as it affected the later response to the idea of establishing an official heraldic office in the U.S.

In 1788, William Barton, who had studied heraldry in England, and was a consultant on the third committee created to design a seal for the United States, published his *Concise Account of the Origin and Use of Coat Armour; with Some Observations on the Beneficial Purposes by which Heraldry May be Applied, in the United States of America*.[3] In it, among other things, Barton proposed that a new officer, a "Herald-Marshall, be invested with the sole & exclusive right of registering, Marshalling and Confirming family Coats-of-Arms, etc. of granting them to those individuals to whom they might be decreed by Authority; and of recording Genealogies."[4]

Later that same year, Barton wrote to George Washington, enclosing a copy of the treatise for his review, and said:

Figure 1: arms of the State of New York, 1778. The lower second motto was added in 2020. Wikimedia Commons.

"I have endeavoured, in my little tract, to obviate the prejudice which might arise in some minds, against Heraldry, as it may be supposed to favor the introduction of an improper distinction of ranks. The plan has, I am sure, no such tendency; but is founded on principles consonant to the purest spirit of Republicanism and our newly proposed Fœderal Constitution. I am conscious of no intention to facilitate the setting up of any thing like an order of Nobility, in this my native Land: far from my mind, is such a design."[5]

Part of Washington's reply is often quoted:

"[I]t is far from my design to intimate an opinion, that heraldry, coat-armour, &c., might not be rendered conducive to public and private uses with us; or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress and the States; all of which have established some kind of Armorial Devices to authenticate their official instruments."[6]

But Washington further noted:

> "I make these observations with the greater freedom, because I have once been a witness to what I conceived to have been a most unreasonable prejudice against an innocent institution, I mean the Society of the Cincinnati. I was conscious, that my own proceedings on that subject were immaculate. I was also convinced, that the members, actuated by motives of sensibility, charity, and patriotism, were doing a laudable thing, in erecting that memorial of their common services, sufferings, and friendships; and I had not the most remote suspicion, that our conduct therein would have been unprofitable, or unpleasing, to our countrymen. Yet have we been virulently traduced, as to our designs; and I have not even escaped being represented as short-sighted in not foreseeing the consequences, or wanting in patriotism for not discouraging an establishment calculated to create distinctions in society, and subvert the principles of a republican government."[7]

In 1814, still attempting to place the use and regulation of heraldry on a statutory footing, Barton published his *Observations on the Advantages to be derived from a proper use of Coats-of-Arms, in the United States*.[8] In 1819, Washington's belief "that heraldry, coat-armour, &c., might not be rendered conducive to public and private uses with us; or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism"[9] is counter-balanced by a quote from John Quincy Adams, later the sixth President of the United States, who wrote:

> "..as there is no heraldry in the United States, seals-at-arms are an absurdity, used by a public officer of this country. I have used a seal-at-arms in Europe, as my father [John Adams] had done before me. [Indeed, his father used such a seal on the 1783 Treaty of Paris.] But so far as there is any significancy in such seals, they are utterly inconsistent with our republican institutions. Arms are emblematical hereditary titles of honor, conferred by monarchs as badges of nobility or gentility, and are incompatible with that equality which is the fundamental principle of our Government".[10]

And there, for the next three decades, the matter of heraldry in the United States sat quietly, until in 1851 T.W. Gwilt Mapleson published *A Hand-Book of Heraldry*, whose purpose was "to throw a little light on the subject of Heraldry generally, and to correct many preconceived notions concerning it, which are frequently entertained by persons in this country".[11]This marks the early beginnings of a new era of interest in heraldry and armorial bearings. On February 3, 1864, in the middle of America's 'Great Civil War', The New England Historic Genealogical Society's (NEHGS) Committee on Heraldry was established to "collect and preserve information in regard to heraldry" and to otherwise deal with all matters to do with that subject for the Society. Its members included William H. Whitmore, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Augustus T. Perkins, and William S. Appleton [no relation to me].

From 1865 through 1868, *The Heraldic Journal; Recording the Armorial Bearings and Genealogies of American Families*, was published in Boston, Massachusetts under the direction of the Committee of Publication, consisting of the same members as the Committee on Heraldry of the NEHGS.[12] *The Heraldic Journal* can thus be seen as "a quasi-official first publication of the Committee" on Heraldry.[13] In 1866, William H. Whitmore, an active member of both the NEHGS' Committee on Heraldry and the Committee of Publication, published the book *The Elements of Heraldry*, subtitled *An explanation of the principles of the science and a glossary of the technical terms employed and with an essay upon the use of coat-armor in the United States*.[14]Next, in July 1868,

Whitmore published his pamphlet "reasons for the regulation of the use of coat armor in the United States, including a plan for taxing the employment of such insignia."[15] This proposal was further explained and propounded by him in the September 1868 issue of *The Historical Magazine*.[16]

If the publication of books on heraldry can be taken as an indication of a general enthusiasm for the subject, the 1880s began an era of explosive interest. In 1886, *Dame Heraldry* was published by an author known only by his initials, F.S.W., with the aim of introducing heraldry to young people.[17] The following year E. de V. Vermont published *America Heraldica: A Compilation of Coats of Arms, Crests and Mottoes of Prominent American Families Settled in This Country Before 1800*.[18] From the next decade we have Eugene Zieber's seminal work, *Heraldry in America* (1895)[19], Edward S. Holden's *A Primer of Heraldry for Americans* (1898)[20], and the NEHGS's *Report of the Committee on Heraldry* (1899). The Report included, among other things, the recommendation that, "As there is no person and no institution in the United States with authority to regulate the use of … coat[s] of arms, your Committee discourages their display in any way or form."[21]

In October 1900, an article entitled 'Who May Bear a Coat-of-Arms in America' was published in the monthly magazine *The Spirit of '76*, which was reprinted into a 12-page booklet that same year.[22] Countering the advice of the Committee on Heraldry, their answer was "Everyone." The first decade of the twentieth century saw no diminution in heraldic interest. It saw the publication of *The American Heraldic Journal, An Eclectic Quarterly Magazine* (1901 and 1902) edited by Horace W. Whayman, Wm. Rupert Elliott, and Alexander W. MacKenzie[23]; Henry Stoddard Ruggles had his article on the "Right to Bear Arms" published in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (1903)[24]; in the same year was John Matthews' *American Armoury and Blue Book* (with additional volumes coming out in 1907 and 1911–23)[25]; again in 1903 (a *very* busy year for American heraldry!), the Order of Americans of Armorial Ancestry was founded as the only lineage organization based on the right to bear arms as a qualification for membership:

> "The objectives of the Order… are to promote genealogical, biographical, and historical research with emphasis on the ancestry of American families of armorial descent and as far as possible the publication of results stemming from such research." "Any person aged eighteen or over, of good moral character and reputation is eligible for membership in the Order provided the candidates prove descent from an immigrant ancestor who settled on or before 04 July 1776 within a territory that became the forty-eight contiguous states of the United States of America and who had a proven right to bear arms in the settler's country of origin."[26]

In 1904, there was the publication of William Armstrong Crozier's *General Armory: A Registry of American Families Entitled to Coat Armor*.[27] He followed this in 1908 with his *Virginia Heraldica: Being a Registry of Virginia Gentry Entitled to Coat Armor with Genealogical Notes of the Families*.[28] In 1909, the Department of Heraldry of The Bailey, Banks & Biddle Company of Philadelphia produced a booklet, *Rules for the Proper Uses of Heraldry in the United States and Other Extracts From the Popular Authority "Heraldry in America"*.[29] Printed in the booklet was a notice that you could purchase a fine copy of Eugene Zieber's *Heraldry in America* from The Bailey, Banks &

Biddle Company for $5.00. Also enclosed was a bifold from the company's Department of Heraldry promoting their heraldic engraving and embossing services.

On July 15, 1915, the National Society Colonial Dames XVII Century was founded, an organization of women who are lineal descendants of an ancestor who lived prior to 1701 in one of the original thirteen colonies that became the United States of America. The Society's work is dedicated to the preservation of historic sites and records, to the support of charitable projects and education, and, important to our subject today, to the promotion of heraldry and coats of arms.

In 1919, just after the end World War I, a Heraldic Program Office within the War Department General Staff was delegated the responsibility for the coordination and approval of coats of arms and insignia of certain Army organizations. This marks the first official governmental involvement in regulating coats of arms and other insignia. Formal staff responsibility for specific military designs was delegated to The Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army in 1924.

From the 1920s we have *Bolton's American Armory*, subtitled *A Record of Coats of Arms Which Have Been in Use Within the Present Bounds of the United States* (1927)[30]; the first part of *A Roll of Arms Registered by the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society* appeared in 1928.[31] Parts 1 through 10 were published as a single hardbound volume in 2013.[32] And the first part of Part 11 was published in the first quarter of this year, 2022, in the NEHGS's *The NEHG Register*, followed by the second part in July.[33] In 1929, Howard M. Chapin published a new resource of historical heraldry, *A Roll of Arms Used in the English Colony of Rhode Island in New England, 1636–1776*.[34]

During World War II, the U.S. Army Air Force established a system of unit emblems. In 1947, when it became an independent organization, the United States Air Force, its official arms were approved by President Harry Truman (**Figure 2**). 1949 saw the establishment of the Air Force Historical Research Agency (AFHRA). In addition to its primary role as the repository for U.S. Air Force historical documents, AFHRA also reviews and processes requests for Air Force organization emblems, making sure that the designs meet the standards set by the Air Force for such emblems. Also in 1949, the Munitions Board, acting for the Army, Navy and Air Force, directed the Army to provide heraldic services to all military departments. In September 1957, that program was codified and expanded further as a result of the enactment of Public Law 85–263, "An Act … to authorize the Secretary of the Army to furnish heraldic services" to the military departments and other branches of the federal government.[35]On 10 August 1960, the U.S. Army Institute of Heraldry (TIOH) was established under Army General Orders Number 29, but with its roots, already noted, going back to World War I. Its work encompasses all elements of national symbolism associated with research, design, development, standardization, quality control, and other services which are fundamental to the creation and custody of official heraldic items. TIOH also provides the general public with limited research and information services.

Outside the military sphere, a group of amateur and professional scholars established The Augustan Society, Inc., in 1957 with a remit to focus on the fields of chivalry, genealogy, heraldry, and history before 1700.[36] Its Heraldry Committee reviews petitions for registration of arms.

Figure 2: Emblem of the United States Air Force, 1947. Wikimedia Commons.

Coming to the 1960s, in 1961 J.A. Reynolds published *Heraldry and You: Modern Heraldic Usage in America* [37]. This decade also saw the foundation of the American College of Heraldry and Arms, Inc., in 1966, based in Baltimore, Maryland. It was founded by Donald F. Stewart, William H. Lloyd, Charles F. Stein, Jr., and Gordon Malvern Fair Stick to promote heraldry in the United States. The titles of the founders were, respectively, Chief Herald Marshall, Herald Genealogist, Herald Chancellor, and Telorum Rex [king of darts]. The College was divided into two administrative divisions: the American College of Arms researched inherited arms, verified genealogy, and granted new arms to individuals across the country; the College of Arms of the United States assisted corporate entities, such as businesses and municipalities, to design and use coats of arms. On 1 June 1968, the College granted arms to President Lyndon Johnson and presented them to him in the White House. It also devised arms for then-Governor of Maryland Spiro Agnew in October 1968, and for President Richard Nixon in 1970.[38] The College existed for just four years, closing in 1970.[39]

1968 saw the publication by Harry Wright Newman of *Heraldic Marylandiana: A Compilation of Maryland Armorial Families Which Used Coats of Arms in the Colonial and Early Post-Revolutionary Periods Proved by Original Documents and Other Authentic Sources*.[40] On January 2, 1970, Halbert's Inc. was organized, with its principal office in Bath, Ohio. Halbert's was a company that sold coats of arms and books for surnames. It obtained a list of more than 70,000,000 names of American motorists arranged by zip code, and rearranged the list in alphabetical order by surname. It then mailed a solicitation letter to each person on the list with that surname. The letter offered to sell a research report for the recipient's surname for US$2. The company compiled a new list of people who had purchased surname research reports, and used it to solicit orders for more expensive genealogical or heraldic products,[41] particularly a detailed collection of information entitled "The Wonderful World of [Surname]" or "All About the [Surname] Family." But these books were "little more than glorified phone books."[42] Genealogical associations and individuals regularly protested Halbert's misleading

advertising to the U.S. Postal Service, resulting in cease and desist orders issued to Halbert's in 1985 and in 1988. The National Genealogical Society protested again in March 1995 with a 120-page report on Halbert's marketing practices. Halbert's stopped marketing in August 1999 and ended operations September 30 that year.

In 1972 (and thus currently celebrating its 50th year), the American College of Heraldry was established for "aiding in the study and perpetuation of heraldry in the United States and abroad." In the words of its founder, David Pittman Johnson, "The College's intent was to bring some semblance of order into the American heraldic arena and to begin meeting the quite pressing heraldic needs of the public in this country."[43] In 1983, the College of Arms Foundation was established "for the purpose of raising funds towards the upkeep and renovation of the College of Arms building in the City of London and to promote the study of heraldry".[44]

A Guide to Air Force Heraldry was written by William M. Russell of the U.S. Air Force Historical Research Center, and published in 1985. Its purpose is to guide the development of design proposals for Air Force organizational emblems and flags. It was revised and updated in January 2013 to conform to changes made to the governing policy on Air Force heraldry.[45] The American Heraldry Society was founded in 2003 "to study and promote the proper use of heraldry in America. The Society seeks to educate the American public about the art and practices related to personal and organizational heraldry." It formulated and published its Guidelines for Heraldic Practice in the U.S. four years later.[46] 2005 saw the establishment of the U.S. Heraldic Registry. It is a private enterprise for the registration of contemporary and historical American heraldry for individuals, organizations, and civic institutions.[47]

For those interested in the descendants of settlers from the Netherlands, 2010 saw the publication of the book *An Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent*, a collected series of 36 articles covering 94 families by William J. Hoffman, originally published in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* over nine years from 1922 through 1941.[48]

In 2017 another on-line registry was founded, the Society of American Armigers, designed "to create a place where Americans can register their arms, but also discuss heraldry with other like-minded members" and "to provide assistance in researching arms, blazons, and history." The Society subscribes to the "Guidelines for Heraldic Practice in the United States Recommended by the American Heraldry Society."[49] More recently, the on-line social media site Facebook offers the American Heraldry Society Discussion Group and the American Heraldry Society Members group, not to mention the many Americans who regularly participate in the hundred or so other Facebook groups which have a named interest in heraldry.

Finally, we have the publication in June 2022 of the *Golden Anniversary Edition of the Heraldic Register of America*, Series II, Volume 1, a book by the American College of Heraldry. It is a compilation of several articles on aspects of heraldry written by, among others, Sir Conrad Swan, former Garter Principal King of Arms, and artist Anthony Wood, with a forward by Dr. Joseph Morrow, Lord Lyon King of Arms. It also includes registrations of armorial bearings in England and Scotland from September 2009 through June 2022.[50]

Conclusion

In 1776, the United States of America declared its independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain. One manifestation of that independence was the belief that coats of arms were badges of hereditary honor, granted by the monarch, restricted by class and thus incompatible with the stated ideal that "all men are created equal". As a consequence, there was never a state or national institution for creating and regulating heraldry similar to the College of Arms in London or the Court of the Lord Lyon in Scotland. Nevertheless, there has been for much of the nation's history a growing interest in the subject by individuals and institutions. As a result, we find in the last 250 years an increasing number of articles and books about heraldry and its use in America, as well as the establishment of a number of shorter- and longer-lived private organizations to educate the public about heraldry and coats of arms, and to help to design and register armorial devices for American citizens. For all that the United States claims it was throwing off the "oppressive yoke" of British rule in 1776, and such trappings of that rule as the use of heraldry, coats of arms have come to be seen less "utterly inconsistent with our republican institutions"[51] and more as symbols of family connection that can be utilized by anyone.

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EARLY AMERICAN STATE HERALDRY, 1775–1783: SOURCES, SYMBOLS, AND MESSAGES

JOSEPH MCMILLAN, a.i.h.

The American political and military revolution of 1775–1783 was inevitably accompanied by an iconographic revolution as well. The British royal arms, seals, and associated devices that had dominated the symbolic landscape throughout the colonial era clearly could not serve to represent the emerging polities that would go on to form the United States of America. The Revolution thus presented both a need and an opportunity to express independent identities in graphic form, primarily on seals, but also in other applications.

But where did these new symbols come from? Why were they important? How were they developed? What messages were they meant to convey? And do they tell us anything about how the American founders viewed heraldry vis-à-vis other modes of state iconography?

The Status Quo Ante: Seals

Before the Revolution, the British royal arms were the dominant political symbol in British North America. They were most prominent in the seven crown colonies – where the governor and council were directly appointed by the king – and only slightly less so in the proprietary and charter colonies where royal control was less direct. They appeared on and inside public buildings, in Anglican churches, and in many other contexts, but for official purposes the most important usage was on the seals of nine of the colonies. The geographically smaller crown colonies – New Hampshire and New Jersey – as well as the charter colony of Massachusetts, had virtually identical single-sided seals. Each used the royal arms and was about 51 mm in diameter; they differed only in the name inscribed on the legend. Delaware, although not a crown colony,[1] had a seal of similar form.

The larger crown colonies – New York, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia – had two-sided great seals measuring about 108 mm in diameter. The reverse of each was engraved with the royal arms, practically identical to the emblazonment on the single-sided seals. Each obverse showed an allegorical scene in which the monarch interacted with other figures, generally personifying the province. In three, the figures were native Americans kneeling to offer tribute: for New York a woman and man offering beaver pelts and wampum; for Virginia a man presenting tobacco; for Georgia a woman with a skein of silk. South Carolina's showed a European woman in classical dress wearing a mural crown and imploring the king to "look more closely on our affairs." On North Carolina's seal, Liberty stood at the shoulder of the seated King, introducing Plenty, who knelt to spill the contents of cornucopia at His Majesty's feet.[2]

Maryland and Pennsylvania were proprietary colonies, so called because power to govern them was vested by royal patent in the owners of the territory: the Calvert Lords Baltimore in Maryland[3] and the descendants of William Penn in Pennsylvania. The seals of both were emblazoned with the arms of the proprietorial families, which served as the provincial arms for non-sigillary purposes as well.[4]

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were known as 'charter colonies' because their institutions were established by charters forming their inhabitants into corporations with extensive rights of self-government. Their founding charters authorized each to adopt a seal of its own choice.[5] That of Massachusetts originally depicted a Native American holding a bow and arrow, with a scroll issuing from his mouth reading "Come over and help us." The text refers to a vision of the apostle Paul in which a man pleads with him to "Come over into Macedonia and help us" by bringing the gospel.[6] Connecticut's originally showed fifteen grapevines, reduced in the early eighteenth century to three, with a hand issuing from clouds at the upper edge holding a scroll inscribed *Sustinet qui transtulit* (He who transplanted sustains).[7] Rhode Island's design originated in 1647 when the colony's General Court ordered at its first meeting "that the seale of the Province shall be an anchor," a well-known Christian symbol of hope.[8] The colonies used these devices not only on seals, but also in contexts where we would ordinarily expect a coat of arms, such as currency, the headings of gubernatorial proclamations, and militia flags and accoutrements.

All three charters were cancelled in 1687 and the seal matrices confiscated. Connecticut and Rhode Island's charters were restored in 1689, and each immediately procured a new seal of the same basic design as before.[9] Massachusetts' old charter was not restored, and the new, more limited charter of 1691 reserved to the crown the right to prescribe the provincial seal. What it prescribed was the seal with the royal arms discussed above.[10]

Status Quo Ante: off the Seal

Two colonies were using heraldic symbols distinct from their seals at the time of independence. The most notable was Virginia's, *Argent a cross gules* for St. George, and in each quarter a crowned escutcheon, each escutcheon being charged with the corresponding quarter of the royal arms. The crest was the bust of a "maiden queen" and the supporters two men-at-arms wearing surcoats of St. George. The arms were originally designed c.1620 as a new seal for the Virginia Company of London, but the company went bankrupt before the grant could be issued. Knowledge of the arms had already become public, however, and a century and a half later they were nearly as prominent in the colony as the royal arms themselves.

The province of New York did not possess arms of its own but borrowed (or usurped) those of New York City for use in settings ranging from currency, to tax stamps, to silver presentation pieces given by the governor as rewards for service, and tokens of favor.

The Revolution and the Adoption of New Symbols

Why did the states need new symbols of sovereignty as they split from their imperial overlords? Could they not simply drop the royal imagery and go without such devices for the time being, at least while more pressing issues loomed? The answer can be found in a principle of English law which legally trained colonists accepted as given. Unlike a monarchy, a republican government is a corporate body, and corporations could act officially only through their seals.[11]The main motivation for acquiring new symbols was therefore not a mere desire for decorative display, but a practical legal necessity.

Three of the new states – Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maryland – continued to use their previous arms, both on seals and for stand-alone decorative purposes.[12] The other ten all adopted new devices between 1775 and 1779.

Left: *Figure 1:* Massachusetts Seal 1775 from Zieber, *Heraldry in America* (1895); right: *Figure 2*: Massachusetts arms 1780, source: handbill, *c.* 1780–81 (New England Historic Genealogical Society).

Massachusetts. On 26 July 1775, the General Court (legislature) appointed a committee "to consider what is necessary to be done relative to a Colony Seal." Ten days later, the committee submitted a proposal derived from the pre-1687 seal, "an Indian holding a tomahawk and cap of liberty." It is somewhat surprising that this proposal was rejected, considering that the image of the Native American had, over time, become a popular symbol of nostalgia for the rights lost when the 1629 charter was taken away. Instead, the General Court adopted a seal showing "an English American holding a sword in the right hand, and Magna Charta in the left hand … and around him these words: *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* (By the sword [this hand] seeks a quiet peace under liberty)[13] [**Figure 1**]. The motto is a quotation from the seventeenth-century Whig politician and theorist Algernon Sidney, whose works were highly influential with the state's revolutionary leaders.

The sword-bearing "English-American" remained the symbol of Massachusetts until late 1780, when the commonwealth adopted a constitution to replace the 1691 charter, and a new seal to go along with it. This time, popular sentiment in favor of the 1629 device would prevail. The arms were blazoned as *Sapphire [azure], an Indian dressed in his shirt and mogossins, belted proper; in his right hand a bow topaz [gold]; in his left, an arrow, its point towards the base, of the second; the dexter side of the Indian's head, a star, pearl [argent], for one of the United States of America*. The motto was the one from the revolutionary seal, the crest an arm brandishing the sword to which the motto refers [**Figure 2**].[14]

New Hampshire. In late summer 1775, with the collapse of royal authority in the colony, New Hampshire's Provincial Congress found itself in need of a seal to conduct business. No legislative basis is known, but by 5 September a new seal was in use, depicting a sheaf of five arrows palewise, bound with a cord, flanked by a codfish on

one side and a pine tree on the other [**Figure 3**]. The bundle of arrows represented New Hampshire's then-five counties, and also provided a gloss on the motto, *Vis unita fortior* (Strength united is stronger).[15]
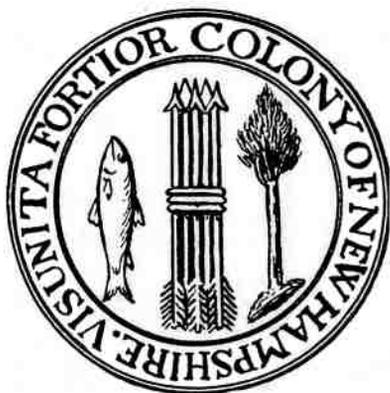
Left: *Figure 3:* seal of New Hampshire 1775, source: Zieber, *Heraldry in America* (1895); right: *Figure 4:* arms of Pennsylvania 1777, source: proclamation of 1780 (Library of Congress).

Pennsylvania. On 31 August 1775, the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety (a body created by the Assembly to manage the strengthening of the militia) ordered the acquisition of a small seal depicting a liberty cap accompanied by the motto "This is my right and I will defend it."[16] A few months later a different device, a bundle of lictor's rods set diagonally and surmounted by the word "SEAL," was created for printing on officers' commissions.[17] Neither, however, was truly a symbol of the province as such.

On 28 September 1776, the same day the state's new constitution was ratified, a committee was appointed to prepare the seals required by that document to replace the old proprietary seals. The design of the arms was evidently complete by early 1777, *Per fess argent and azure, on a fess or a plow between in chief a three masted ship under sail on waves of the sea proper and in base three garbs or.*[18] The matrix of the great seal was delivered by early 1778, with the shield of the arms on the obverse and an emblematic image of Liberty with her foot on a lion's neck (accompanied by the motto "Both can't survive") on the reverse. A full achievement was later engraved for broadsides issued by the state government, including a rising eagle as the crest and two horses in draft harness as supporters [**Figure 4**].[19]

South Carolina. The process of designing a seal was initiated by the Executive Council on 2 May 1776 and completed within a few months.[20] The principal element of the obverse (defined in the design committee's report as "the Arms") was dominated by a palmetto tree standing on a shore with an uprooted oak trunk lying at its foot. Below was the inscription *Meliorem lapsa locavit* (A better has replaced that which is fallen). The reverse depicted the figure of Hope walking along another shoreline, this one strewn with discarded weapons. Both faces referred to the recent battle of Sullivan's Island, at which South Carolina militia fighting behind palmetto-log breastworks repulsed a

numerically superior British landing force.[21] But the basic concept of the obverse, at least, was already in hand more than two months earlier, when South Carolina issued a £25 banknote bearing the image of a tree of uncertain species – although clearly not a palmetto – with a fallen tree at its foot and the same motto. This in turn derived from a medal struck in 1690 to celebrate the coronation of William III and Mary II as co-monarchs of England, on which a fruit-bearing orange tree supplants the uprooted royal oak of the Stuarts [**Figure 5**].[22]

Left: *Figure 5:* obverse of great seal of South Carolina 1776, sources: A. S. Salley, *The Seal of the State of South Carolina* (1906); right: coronation medal of William and Mary 1689, see *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1908), pl. 71.

Virginia. As the only colony with a seal and coat of arms that were iconographically distinct from one another, Virginia could have taken either the heraldic or emblematic route (or both) in selecting its new symbols. It opted for the allegorical emblematic style, notwithstanding the independent development of two heraldic designs that could have been considered, but apparently were not.

Virginia took only four days between appointing a committee to design the seal and approving its recommendation on 5 July 1776. The obverse shows the classical figure of Virtus, "the genius of the Commonwealth," as an Amazon holding a spear and sword and trampling on a fallen king, accompanied by the motto *Sic semper tyrannis* (Thus ever to tyrants).[23] In this context, the term 'genius' refers either to a semi-mythological personification of a collective entity, or to an abstract concept.[24] The kneeling native American on Virginia's former seal, for example, could be interpreted as the genius of the colony. Thus, juxtaposing the new seal against the old one, we can perceive a dramatic reversal of fortunes. Virginia was once on its knees in submission but now stands in triumph; King George used to be up and is now emphatically down [**Figure 6**].[25]

Left: *Figure 6:* obverse of colonial seal of Virginia 1767–75; right: later redrawing of the obverse of state seal of Virginia 1776 Source: Evans, *The Seals of Virginia* (1910).

Had the committee followed British precedent, the reverse would have been engraved with a heraldic coat of arms, although naturally not the existing one. A few weeks earlier, the publisher of one of Williamsburg's competing newspapers – all confusingly named the *Virginia Gazette* – had replaced the colony's arms on his paper's nameplate with an original armorial achievement, in which the shield bore a rattlesnake curved in a circle on a field gules. But the seal committee took no note of this example – of which it must have been aware – and instead produced a reverse in the same allegorical style as the obverse: the goddess of Liberty standing between Plenty (Ceres) and Eternity, accompanied by the motto *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit* (God has given us this leisure).[26]

Thomas Jefferson, one of the state's delegates to the Continental Congress, was then asked to find a qualified seal cutter in Philadelphia to produce the matrix.[27] He did so, but also wrote back expressing strong dislike for the seal's reverse, both the image, and especially the motto.[28] He then proceeded to develop an alternative in concert with the Swiss-born Pierre Eugène du Simitière, a heraldically knowledgeable Philadelphia artist. Du Simitière proposed a traditional armorial achievement based loosely on the old arms, replacing the crowned escutcheons in the first three quarters with images of characteristic agricultural products, and that in the fourth with bars wavy representing the state's major rivers [**Figure 7**].[29]

The seal's principal designer, George Wythe, expressed openness to altering the reverse (although whether he ever saw the Jefferson-Du Simitière design is unknown),[30] but ultimately nothing came of it. The only substantive change – a minor one – occurred in 1779, while Jefferson was governor, revising the motto on the reverse to *Perseverando* (By persevering).[31]

New Jersey. The legislative committee appointed on 6 September 1776 to develop New Jersey's seal[32] immediately sought the advice of Francis Hopkinson, a member of

the state's Congressional delegation with an interest in heraldry, emblems, and related subjects.[33] Based on Hopkinson's work and a drawing prepared by Du Simitière, the General Assembly on 3 October approved an armorial seal engraved with "three Ploughs in an Escutcheon, the Supporters Liberty and Ceres, and the Crest a Horse's Head" [**Figure 8**].[34]
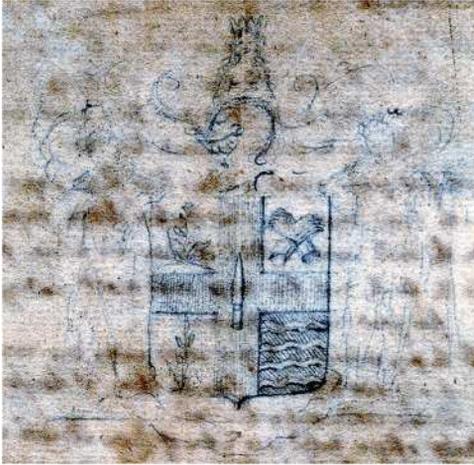
Left: *Figure 7:* arms of Virginia proposed by Jefferson and Du Simitière, August 1776, source: Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; right: *Figure 8:* New Jersey seal of 1776, source: New Jersey State Archives.

Delaware. The initial item of business for independent Delaware's legislature, when it convened for the first time on 30 October 1776, was to appoint a committee "on the subject matter of making a Great Seal for this State." Three days later the committee came back with its recommendation, a complicated allegorical scene in which Britannia instructed the goddess of Liberty, "Go to America," accompanied by representations of books labeled "The Bill of Rights" and "The System of Government" [of Delaware]. The proposal was immediately approved, and two members were appointed to procure a matrix.[35]

Two and a half months later, on 16 January, the two men returned to say that (a) all the competent engravers were otherwise engaged, and (b) they had consulted "an ingenious gentleman in the art of heraldry" who had advised them that the device chosen was "more suitable for a medal than the seal of a State." A new committee was then appointed and came back the very next day with a coat of arms depicting a "river" (i.e., a fess wavy) between a wheat sheaf and an ear of corn in chief and an ox in base, supported by an American soldier and a husbandman, with a ship under sail for a crest [**Figure 9**]. The accompanying drawing was by Du Simitière; either he or Hopkinson was presumably the "ingenious gentleman" mentioned in the report. This proposal was promptly accepted and within a few weeks the arms were being printed on state currency.[36]

Left: *Figure 9:* seal of Delaware 1777, source: Credentials of Sen. Joseph Reed, 1789 (National Archives and Records Administration); right: *Figure 10:* obverse of great seal of Georgia 1777.

North Carolina. North Carolina's Provincial Convention appointed commissioners to design and procure a great seal on 22 December 1776, only four days after the state's new constitution was adopted, but there is no evidence that they ever made a report. No further record appears until 2 May 1778, when a law was passed appointing William Tisdale to engrave the matrix under the governor's direction. It is unclear whether any design had yet been settled upon even then. In any case it took a further eighteen months before the work was completed and Tisdale received payment.[37]

Like Virginia's, North Carolina's new seal derived from the royal provincial seal. The figure of Liberty, formerly standing at the king's shoulder, now appeared by herself on the obverse (in her guise as "Armed Liberty," wearing a helmet) holding an open scroll inscribed "Constitution." The goddess of Plenty was placed alone on the reverse, now standing upright instead of kneeling. The two sides of the seal taken together seem to signify that North Carolina remained what it had always been – except for having gotten rid of George III [**Figure 11**].[38]

Georgia. Alone among the states adopting new seals, the design of Georgia's was prescribed in the state constitution itself, adopted on 5 February 1777. The obverse was described simply as a scroll inscribed "The Constitution of the State of Georgia,"[39] but on the actual seal (delivered almost exactly a year later) the upper edge of the scroll is held by a hand issuing from above and appearing to pass the document down through the branches of a tree [**Figure 10**].[40] The reverse contains the only genuine landscape among all the original state seals, described by the constitution as "an elegant house, and other buildings, fields of corn, and meadows covered with sheep and cattle; a river running through the same, with a ship under full sail, and the motto, *'Deus nobis haec otia fecit.'*"[41]

That the constitution is being handed down from on high is an obvious expression of belief in the aid of divine providence in attaining independence. A recent historian further

Figure 11: North Carolina: left – Provincial seal, 1767–76 (obverse); center – Great seal, 1779 (obverse); right – Great seal. 1779 (reverse). Source: Grimes, *The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina* (1916).

suggests that the tree (presumably an oak) may be intended to symbolize the strong roots of the republican cause and perhaps also its pedigree in the rights of Englishmen, the tree and hand together thus signifying both "ancient right [and] divine sanction."[42]

New York. New York was the last state to undertake the development of its new symbols, a design committee having been appointed only on 15 April 1777, nearly two years after the outbreak of fighting, and nine months after independence was declared.[43] Even then, five months passed with no apparent progress, at which point the state's Council of Safety intervened by requesting that the governor take charge of the matter personally.[44] The design was then settled within a few months, the matrix for the great seal being completed by the end of December.[45]

The obverse of the two-sided seal depicted a range of hills or mountains with a sun rising above them, accompanied by the motto *Excelsior,* meaning "higher yet, more exalted, ever upward." This image (usually with a narrow strip of the sea appearing in base) also served as the shield of the complete arms that were developed in conjunction with the seal, the crest of which was an eagle rising from a terrestrial globe, the supporters the goddesses of Liberty and Justice.

The arms of New York have been interpreted in recent times as straightforward landscape heraldry, but are better understood as an emblem in the Renaissance tradition, on which the pictorial components express in graphic form the idea stated verbally in the motto: the expectation that New York will grow ever more exalted. The emblematic nature of the reverse of the great seal is equally and perhaps even more obvious, a rock battered by waves of the sea, accompanied by the motto *Frustra,* "in vain."

Both images have precedents in early modern emblem books. A rock battered by waves is found in Orazio Carrara's *Theatrum Honoris et Amoris* with the motto *Frustra conantur* (They strive in vain).[46] As it was already axiomatic by the late eighteenth century that Britannia ruled the waves, the emblem as used on New York's seal seems to assert that Britain's efforts to subjugate New York that will be in vain [**Figure 12**]. As for the obverse of the seal, the shield, and especially the crest of the arms, a possible source is the emblem entitled *His altiora* (Loftier than these) in Henry Peacham's 1612 *Minerva Britanna.*[47] It includes all the elements that are present in the New York's shield

Figure 12: New York: left – Great seal, 1778 (reverse), source: Credentials of Sen. Rufus King (National Archives and Records Administration); right – "Frustra Conantur," *Theatrum Honoris et Amoris* (1687).

and crest – eagle and globe, sun, mountains, and sea [**Figure 13**]. Moreover, the motto of Peacham's emblem is practically identical in spirit with New York's *Excelsior.*

On 16 March 1778, the state legislature officially adopted the arms and the great and privy seals as delivered and assigned the governor to have verbal descriptions prepared "as soon as conveniently may be."[48] Unfortunately, that task seems never to have been completed; the earliest known blazon is the unofficial one published in Philadelphia's *Columbian Magazine* in October 1787, *"Argent, a sun rising over a hilly country, proper."*[49]

Interpreting the New Devices

From a purely statistical perspective, the revolutionary era ultimately saw a net gain of three colonies/states with symbols of armorial form, from five to eight. Four states that had no official armorial bearings before the war adopted them: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. Two of these, Delaware and Massachusetts, found their way to heraldic arms only after initially approving seals of allegorical-emblematic form, although in the former the change took only a matter of months, in the latter more than five years. Only one that previously had arms – Virginia – rejected the heraldic idiom entirely.

It is important, in analyzing the results, to bear in mind that all the new devices were created first and foremost for use on seals. This was an important factor in both the process and the results, especially in explaining what modern heraldists have seen as defects in their design. Most obviously, the images on a seal, whether matrix or impression, inherently have no colors. This may explain the almost universal omission of tinctures in the laws adopting even armorial seals. In other words, it was the image that mattered, not what color it was. The need to create new seals quickly, understood to be a legal necessity, also had an impact on the process and the outcomes – the time from

Figure 13: New York: left – Coat of arms, 1778, source: gubernatorial proclamation, 1792 (Library of Congress); right – "His altiora," *Minerva Britanna* (1612).

initiation of the design process to approval of the result was generally quite short. And once a seal was adopted it was rarely altered.

Although the process was driven mainly by legal necessity, the new devices also served purposes beyond the purely utilitarian. Just as British seals reinforced an image of royal dignity and authority, the new American state seals offered a vehicle for propagating republican ideals and post-colonial identity. They provided an exceptionally potent vehicle, given their inherent aura of authority.[50] Impressions of provincial/state seals were surprisingly ubiquitous, surpassed only by the devices printed on currency (which were generally replicas of those on the seal), and thus were singularly effective in disseminating knowledge of the state's new graphic identity.[51]

With few exceptions, state leaders sought to utilise the devices on the new seals to reinforce the political messages found in their writings and speeches, messages aimed not only at their own citizens, but at British opinion-makers as well. In some ways the emblematic genre could be more effective for this purpose than traditional heraldry. Even such an enthusiastic heraldist as Francis Hopkinson remarked how the emblematic style, properly employed, permitted mutual reinforcement of a message in both words and picture in a way traditional heraldry often did not. "I have often puzzled my brains to no purpose," he wrote, "to translate some of the mottos in heraldry; there being seldom any connection between the device and the inscription."[52]

Of the political messages to be transmitted, the highest priority seems to have been framing the American Revolution as a logical extension of the English Revolution of 1689. South Carolina's borrowing from the *Meliorem lapsa locavit* medal was the most overt example, but the theme can also be detected in the allusions to the sanctity of written charters on Massachusetts' seals of 1775 (Magna Charta) and 1780 (its own 1629 charter); Delaware's abortive first design (the English Bill of Rights and the state's own new System of Government); and the scrolls labeled "Constitution" on North Carolina and Georgia's seals. It is also implicit in Connecticut and Rhode Island's retention of the devices they had previously adopted under their own colonial charters.

The violation of rights guaranteed by charter was felt most acutely in Massachusetts, whose citizens understood their ancient charter as "an inviolable compact between them and the king," and where, even nine decades after the fact, the unilateral abrogation of the 1629 charter continued to rankle.[53] Against that background, the 1775 decision not to revive the old "Indian" seal, even in modified form, is noteworthy. One might surmise that restoring the old seal would have put the focus on the colonists themselves. By contrast, an "English-American" defending Magna Charta portrayed the struggle as being not about the colonists alone, but about the rights of all Englishmen.

Another element of seventeenth-century Whig ideology was the principle that rebellion against tyrants is not merely a right but a positive duty.[54] This is directly expressed by the mottoes of Massachusetts and Virginia. Politically attuned observers on both sides of the Atlantic would have recognized the sources of both. That of Virginia – *Sic semper tyrannis* – would have had special resonance to the classically educated as the words attributed to Brutus when he thrust his dagger into the body of Caesar on the ides of March.

Allusions to the Roman republic in particular served not only to connect the American Revolution with the English one (the figure of Liberty with her staff and cap having first assumed a major role in British political iconography at that time) but also asserted a classical foundation for "the new republican order."[55] At the same time, such motifs also expressed the widely-held view that republicanism was naturally suited to the agrarian society which many American thinkers held up as the ideal. This concept is expressed just as clearly in the pairing of an "American soldier" and a husbandman as supporters in the arms of Delaware[56] as in the subsequent selection of the farmer-general-statesman Cincinnatus as the namesake for the fraternal society of former officers of the Continental Army. The predominance of agricultural and, to a lesser extent, commercial charges in the arms of all three Delaware Valley states also expresses the same concept.

The states also used their new symbols to assert that independence was a *fait accompli*. As John Higham points out, Americans "needed symbols that would connect them to the civilized world while declaring their political separation,"[57] the specific symbolic idiom employed being less important than the message conveyed. It is striking that, with the exception of Massachusetts (the 1775 seal), Virginia's obverse, and Pennsylvania's reverse, the new devices contain little overt reference to the conflict in the midst of which they were created. Nowhere is this clearer than in the use of the motto *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit* on the seal reverses of Virginia and Georgia. Although Jefferson was puzzled by the sentiment that (as early as July 1776) God had granted the colonists peaceful leisure[58] the original context clarifies the intent. The phrase comes from a scene in Virgil's *Eclogues* in which two shepherds discuss the successful outcome of a long struggle to recover property that had been unjustly taken away, one of whom attributes the peaceful enjoyment of their restored rights to divine assistance.[59] Like South Carolina's assertion that a better tree had already replaced the one that had fallen, and New York's emblematic claim that efforts to thwart its rise to greatness would be in vain, the references to Virgil's shepherds conveyed confidence in the ultimate triumph of American Independence.

Despite the rush to completion, the symbols adopted between 1775 and 1780 have proven remarkably durable. Of the thirteen state seals and arms in use when Britain recognized American independence, only three would be substantially altered, and for

one of those three – Maryland – the original form was subsequently restored. This, I would contend, is the ultimate proof that the committees' efforts were a success.

¹ From 1704 to 1776, the present state of Delaware was a semi-autonomous appendage of Pennsylvania known as the "Lower Counties upon Delaware," under the authority of the proprietary governor appointed by the Penn family but with its own elective legislature.

² J. B. Grimes, *The Great Seal of the State of North Carolina, 1606–1909* (Raleigh, 1916), pp. 6–7. The design may have alluded to the royal takeover of the former proprietary province of Carolina, whose arms were two cornucopias in saltire.

³ The proprietor as of 1775 was not a Calvert but an illegitimate son of the 5th and last Baron Baltimore. This had no effect on Maryland's use of the Calvert arms on its seals and for other purposes.

⁴ See J. McMillan, 'From Provincial Arms: Heraldry and Colonial Identity in British North America,' in *Genealogica & Heraldica: Origin and Evolution,* Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences 2016 (Edinburgh: Heraldry Society of Scotland, 2021), pp. 289–303.

⁵ Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 4 March 1628/29; patent of incorporation of Providence Plantations, 14 March 1643/44; charter of the Colony of Connecticut, 23 April 1662.

⁶ Acts 16:9–10.

⁷ S. E. Baldwin, 'The Seal of Connecticut', *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* vol. 8 (1914), pp. 91–100. At the same time the number of vines was reduced the motto was rearranged (with no change of meaning) to *Qui transtulit sustinet.*

⁸ H. M. Chapin, *The Seal, the Arms and the Flag of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1913), [pp. 1–2].

⁹ Baldwin, p. 97; Chapin, [p. 8].

¹⁰ Charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 7 October 1691.

¹¹ Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* I:*475.

¹² Maryland's retention of the old proprietarial seal was rationalized as a stopgap until a new seal could be devised; it was ultimately not until 1794 that a new, non-armorial seal was adopted.

¹³ T. C. Amory, 'Seals of Massachusetts', *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.,* vol. 10 (1867–69), pp. 94–99.

¹⁴ Amory, p. 103.

¹⁵ Whitney Smith, *The Flag Book of the United States,* rev. ed. (New York, 1975), pp. 167–68.

¹⁶ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1771–76,* Colonial Records of Pennsylvania 10 (Harrisburg, 1852), p. 328.

¹⁷ W. H. Egle, *The Arms of Pennsylvania and the Great Seal of the Commonwealth* (Harrisburg, 1895), p. 7.

¹⁸ There was no legal text prescribing the tinctures but they are indicated on impressions of various lesser seals as early as February 1777, currency issued by the state the following month, and later on the great seal itself.

¹⁹ J. E. Pilcher, *The Seal and Arms of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1902), pp. 7, 12.

²⁰ A. S. Salley, Jr, ed., *Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, March 26, 1776-April 11, 1776* (Columbia, 1906), p. 29; *Seals and Symbols of South Carolina Government through Three Centuries* ([Columbia:] S.C. American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission, 1982), no. 33.

²¹ Salley, "The Seals of South Carolina," *S.C. Historical Mag.* vol. 7 (1906), pp. 226–27.

²² E. E. C. Nicholson, "*Revirescit,* Y'All: The South Carolina Afterlife of an Old *Impresa,"* in Simon McKeown, (ed.), *The International Emblem from Incunabula to the Internet* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2010), p. 350.

²³ E. S. Evans, "The Seals of Virginia," *Seventh Annual Report of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library* (Richmond VA, 1910), p. 31.

²⁴ D. J. D. Boulton, "The Origins of a Damnosa Haereditas," *Genealogica et Heraldica: Brugge 2004* (Brussels, 2006), p. 135.

²⁵ Boulton, p. 139, makes the same observation.

²⁶ Evans, p. 34.

²⁷ John Page to Thomas Jefferson, 20 July 1776, *Founders Online,* U.S. National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01–01–02–0189

²⁸ Ibid, Jefferson to Page, 30 July 1776, *Founders Online.*

²⁹ 'DuSimitière's Design for a Coat of Arms for Virginia, [August 1776]', *Founders Online/*

³⁰ George Wythe to Jefferson, 18 November 1776, *Founders Online.*

³¹ Du Simitière's design for the shield would be adopted by Jefferson when he was governor for use on the seal of the state land office.

³² Resolution of 6 September 1776, *Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the State of New-Jersey, at a Session begun at Princeton on the 27th Day of August 1776* (Burlington, NJ, 1777), p. 5.

³³ Hopkinson would later design the American flag and the armorial seals of the Continental treasury and admiralty boards and participate in designing the seal of the United States.

³⁴ *Votes and Proceedings,* pp. 33, 118.

[35] *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792,* Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware vol. 6 (Wilmington, 1887), pp. 12–13, 16–17.

[36] *Minutes of the Council,* pp. 42–46; Report of Committee to Settle the Public Accounts, 18 Jan 1779, *Delaware Archives* 3 (Wilmington, 1919), p. 1088. The law does not mention tinctures but the seal matrix and woodcuts for the currency show the field hatched for *azure.*

[37] Grimes, pp. 8–9.

[38] Cf. Boulton, p. 135.

[39] Constitution of Georgia (1777), art. 57.

[40] B. Marsh, "The Meanings of Georgia's Eighteenth-Century Great Seals," *Ga. Historical Qtly* 96 (2012), p. 223.

[41] Minutes of the Executive Council, 6 Feb 1778, cited in A. D. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia,* 1 (Atlanta, 1908), p. 26.

[42] Marsh, p. 225.

[43] Journal of the Provincial Convention, 15 Apr 1777, *Journals of the Provincial Congress … of the State of New-York, 1775–77,* 1 (Albany, 1842), p. 882.

[44] Journal of the Council of Safety, 10 Sept 1777, *Journals of the Provincial Congress,* p. 1059.

[45] Journal of the Council of Safety, 31 Dec 1777, *Journals of the Provincial Congress,* p. 1105.

[46] Orazio Carrara, *Theatrum Honoris et Amoris* (Brixen, 1687), pl. 8.

[47] Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), pl. 15.

[48] "An Act to Organize the Government of this State," 16 Mar 1778, secs. 2 and 5, *Laws of the State of New-York,* 1 (New York, 1792), p. 18.

[49] "The Armorial Bearings of the State of New-York," *Columbian Magazine* vol. 1 (1786–87), p. 715. The lack of a legal blazon ultimately led to the legislature's requiring by law that the arms be depicted as a naturalistic landscape, obscuring the apparent intent of the design. See B. R. Betts, "The Arms of the State of New York and How They Have Been Altered," *N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record,* vol. 16 (1885), pp. 145–53.

[50] Nicholson, p. 352; Marsh, p. 196. Cf. the mocking comment of Peter Stuyvesant, Director General of New Netherland, that an Englishman in sight of the great seal "commonly gapes as at an idol" (letter to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, 10 Nov 1663, in J. R. Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* 2 (Albany, 1858), p. 488).

[51] Something not adequately recognized by modern observers; see, e.g., the description of seals as being used in an 'intimate' rather than public context (Boulton, p. 122). The southern states in particular were issuing hundreds of land grants a year, each patent bearing the seal of the state.

[52] F. Hopkinson, "On Motto's [sic]," *Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings,* vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1782), p. 42.

[53] J. F. Hrdlicka, *War and Constitution-Making in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1754–1788*, PhD Diss, Virginia, 2016, pp. 96–7.

[54] R. Ashcraft and M. M. Goldsmith, "Locke, Revolution Principles, and the Formation of Whig Ideology," *The Historical Journal,* vol. 26 (1983), p. 773.

[55] Marsh, pp. 205–06, 226.

[56] Marsh, p. 230.

[57] J. Higham "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," *Proc. Amer. Antiquarian Soc.* vol. 100 (1991), p. 57.

[58] Jefferson to Page, 30 July 1776.

[59] Marsh, p. 225–26; Evans, p. 34.

A NEW ARISTOCRACY?
THE REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS OF LINEAGE
SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

The study of genealogy has shifted focus in the United States from purely antiquarian studies to mainstream media. Americans have suffered from a love-hate relationship with the field, particularly when it comes to the subject of lineage societies. These organizations, whose membership is based on genealogical proof of descent from an applicable ancestor, have thrived and multiplied even when the public media were calling them elitist and classist. This presentation focuses on the birth of lineage societies at the end of the American Revolution through to the 21st century, discussing public perceptions, how many of them have shaped the field of genealogy in the United States, and the preliminary results of a Ph.D. study analyzing their history and impact on society.

Introduction

A person may want to join a lineage society because of family tradition, the organization's representation, and / or to honor an ancestor. I joined my first society as a way to prove my grandmother's stories were correct. Later, as people reached out to me for help with applications, I gained a new perspective on the types of genealogical information these organizations stored. Coupled with the historic preservation that many of these groups take on, I feel they are an underused resource by many researchers.

For this paper, I will focus on lineage societies, defined as a group of people descended from an individual who played an instrumental role during a specific period in history. In the United States, two types of organizations can fall under this categorization: hereditary lineage societies, and family associations. Here the focus is on the former. The role of the ancestor on whom the group is focused may have been associated with the military, employment, a colony, a specific religion, or many other possibilities. Each organization has specific guidelines defining who is eligible for application, varying from group to group. A commonly expressed perception of such organizations amongst professional genealogists is a tendency to be lax in lineage requirements, which are not in accordance with currently acceptable genealogical standards.

A Brief History

Without the institutions of the aristocracy, genealogy in the United States departed quickly from European norms. After the American Revolution, there was a near shunning of any semblance of elitism and usage of titles, of which genealogy was considered a part. Even President George Washington, who was also the president of the first hereditary society in the United States (the Order of the Cincinnati, **Figure 1**), stated that "showing interest in your ancestry could be seen as elitism," and attempted to dissuade those of the upper class of the new American states from actively pursuing interest into their past. [1]

Left: *Figure 1:* George Washington as President General of the Society of the Cincinnati, 1790, by Edward Savage, Harvard Art Museums; Right: Badge of the Order of the Cincinnati drawn by George Turner, 1784. Society of the Cincinnati Archives.

As the popularity of genealogy and family history research spread through the United States, many people discovered distant cousins they previously never knew, and groups of descendants drew together to celebrate their belonging to this shared heritage.[2] Lineage societies quickly formed, celebrating descendants' shared pasts, ideals, and pride in their lineage.[3] Scarcely could Washington have predicted (nor indeed could later antiquarians, or the new gentry class) the expansion and development of a national interest in family history over the next two centuries. By the end of the nineteenth century Americans came to rely more and more on genealogical research to define who they were. In doing so, they often showed how their lineage deserved to be in the United States, while other lineages did not.[4] By the twentieth century, genealogy had become a popular vehicle utilised by groups and individuals alike to promote their beliefs of nationalism, racism, and classism.[5]

Fraternal organizations such as the Masons were more palatable to the masses due to their nature of being more like a social club, which people of different backgrounds could join. Many organizations accepted both men and women, while others were gender segregated. Lineage societies differed in that their appeal was often based on patriotism, and in particular on descent from the founders of the United States.[6] Some, however, looked upon these groups as a veiled attempt by the growing wealthy class of Americans to secure an aristocratic type of social standing over others.[7] Criticism was voiced from the very beginning following the inception of The Society of the Cincinnati in 1783. One

critic from South Carolina, Aedanus Burke, declared that this society was creating "a race of hereditary patricians or nobility."[8]

The American Civil War (1861–1865) impacted the practice of genealogy in the United States in several ways. Social changes consequent upon the war included new patterns of urbanization and migration. During this tumultuous period, many citizens turned to researching their roots to stabilize their situation and, in some instances, to give themselves a sense of superiority over others. These developments led to the eventual outcome of using genealogy to show nationalism and racial purity as the primary objective for many researchers.[9]

For example, researching common ancestors through family histories united many white northerners and white southerners after the Civil War. Many could reconcile their differences by showing descent from common ancestors, usually from the revolutionary and colonial periods. This reconciliation frequently came at the expense of minorities within the United States. Specifically, formerly enslaved persons, including those who were freed before the Civil War.[10]

Like other Americans, African Americans also wanted to connect to their past. Unfortunately, this caused classism within their communities as well. While formerly enslaved persons searched for family members to reunite with during the reconstruction period, those freed before the Civil War engaged in genealogical research to demonstrate they were above those whose heritage was from more recent enslavement.[11]

While it may seem contrary to common knowledge, by the end of the 1800s northern cities had an upper class similar to southern elites, who wanted to set themselves apart from the lower classes. For example, the genealogical pursuits of the upper classes in New York City became a way to legitimize their position in society. Those with the 'right' lineage gained and kept positions of power within social circles and politics.[12] Journalists of the 1890s picked up on these feelings, often pointing out the situation's irony. An article from the *Washington Post* dated 19 August 1897 (**Figure 2**) stated:

> "It is to be hoped that the social and aristocratic side of these [patriotic or lineage] societies will not become too prominent, for the [mere] fact of American descent should be the controlling condition, and putting in permanent form American local history the main object in view."[13]

With the centennial of the United States in 1876, the zeal of national pride and celebration brought about a push to link oneself to the country's founders. This manifested as romanticized narratives around the country's founding, and what might be characterized as a type of group amnesia about what occurred historically. People became obsessed with stories of their ancestors, and the national pride they felt, and often overlooked the more unsavoury aspects.[14] Lineage societies formed in droves at this time, all touting their members as 'real' Americans. That they were not recent immigrants or the formerly enslaved, gave them a sense of ownership or pride over the areas where they lived and settled, when in fact, everyone in the United States (including those with first nation descents) had ancestors who were immigrants and/or had been enslaved persons brought here against their will.

Organizations such as the National Society Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Colonists, Daughters of Union Veterans, and Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War were the first societies whose membership was based solely

Patriotic Societies.

From the Hartford Courant.

There are now twenty-seven societies in the United States, membership in which depends on descent from ancestors who distinguished themselves by coming ever to America at an early date or by being officers in American wars prior to 1861. Most of them are in a flourishing condition. The old aristocratic Cincinnati leads them in age and dignity. Some of them are restrictive, not only to descendants of a certain line of ancestors, but still further to those of the descendants who may be agreeable to the corporators. This brings in a social element and keeps the society select. Generally, however, the historic claim is recognized as paramount without regard to the wealth or social standing of the applicant. But, as a rule, all persons who can trace their blood to a pre-revolutionary ancestry are desirable people. It is to be hoped that the social and aristocratic side of these societies will not become too prominent, for the fact of American descent should be the controlling condition, and putting in permanent form American local history the main object in view.

Left: *Figure 2:* article on Lineage Societies from *The Washington Post* 19 August 1897; right: *Figure 3:* Alice Paul (1885–1977), leader of the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, in 1918. U.S. Library of Congress.

on lineage. Americans clamoured to join these groups and show their national pride, but were often deterred due to the difficulties of genealogical research. In pursuit of such, wealthy Americans turned to antiquarian and historical organizations, or hired professional genealogists, to make their lineage dreams a reality.

Publications of family lineage books during the nineteenth century and later became the primary resource for many wishing to join the ever-growing list of lineage societies. These histories were written and / or commissioned by wealthy, often white, Americans. Many of these publications were frequently used by prospective members of societies, further perpetuating the stereotype of wealthy white persons as members of these organizations. Commissioned genealogies were often seen to suppress lower classes of individuals and promote ultra-nationalistic and racist ideas.

The many lineage societies founded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mirrored in terms of racial, class, and social stratification what was occurring in the general population. These organizations often excluded unwanted members who might otherwise have qualified based on lineage, by requiring the chapter to vote on the prospective member.[15] These votes allowed chapter members to decline membership to anyone considered as being the wrong type of person.

Regardless of race the upper classes had by the end of the nineteenth century turned to genealogy to distinguish themselves.[16] Genealogy bound wealthy people together, making them different from others. Persons of higher status, who also tended to have ancestors of a higher status, found genealogical research easier to perform. This was because ancestors who were wealthy, influential, or famous were more frequently

found in records, unlike poorer, impoverished, or transient ancestors who left few to no records.[17]

One of the most popular types of lineage society is those whose ancestors were the 'first' to a new location. Often called first family societies, they are dedicated to settlers of an area, or the first arrival on ships. In the past, they were often seen to further divide communities into those who founded an area, and the outsiders who immigrated to the location later.[18] In response to the overly selective Anglo-Saxon-oriented societies, other ethnic groups formed based on their particular heritage and lineage across the United States. Through the early twentieth century, organizations were formed for descendants of Huguenots, German, Irish, Jewish, and others.[19]

Women's lineage organizations and volunteer clubs thrived in the United States during the early twentieth century. Women from all walks of life became 'sisters' in these organizations. For example, Alice Paul (**Figure 3**) was the leader of the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, and a member of the *Daughters of the American Revolution*. When she organized the national suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., on 3 March 1913, the parade ended at the *Daughters of the American Revolution* headquarters. Instead of the planned reception, the *Daughters* took statements from marchers about the atrocities that they had endured from the crowd and police.[20]

By the middle of the twentieth century, leaders at the national level in many lineage societies found themselves again in a precarious position. Segregation was ceasing to be socially acceptable and it was time for people of 'other' backgrounds to be accepted as legitimate members. Membership at the chapter level, however, often reflected the communities where members lived. If exclusivity and segregation were found in their home or town, those traits tended to persist in the chapters to which they belonged.[21] When national organizations attempted to change policy to reflect how the nation was changing, they discovered members were often more loyal to their chapter's wants than to the directives of the national organization.[22] Many organizations could not forcibly change chapters that would not integrate, or continued to exclude people due to their 'acceptability' to that chapter.[23] For example, many white women refused to work on mutual problems with African-American women.[24]

Beginning in the 1960s, a wider variety of people were becoming interested in learning about their heritage, and the nature of genealogical research also began changing. Instead of focusing on a single line, typically the direct paternal line, researchers started researching their whole genealogy, including maternal lines and collateral relatives.[25] By the 1970s, Americans researching their family histories began to turn away from documenting specific lines that would elevate their status. Instead, they looked for stories showing diversity with unusual stories or immigrant heritages.[26]

In the 1970s and 1980s, new researchers to the field of genealogy began to look more for what is coined 'black sheep' ancestry. They wanted to know about ancestors who fell outside the boundaries of polite society: those who were more infamous than famous. This trend in genealogical research has continued until today.[27]

As the interest in genealogy increased in the general population, so did the interest in lineage societies. While there was a decline in interest and membership in the years after World War II, with only seven lineage societies formed in the 1950s and 1960s, 39 organizations were formed between 1976 and 1996. The release of the book and television series *Roots* stimulated great interest, with a subsequent surge of membership

applications to lineage societies, especially from African-Americans, many of whom were introduced for the first time to the awareness that they too had a family story to share.[28]

Articles covering genealogical topics and the many lineage societies have been abundant since the 1970s in popular cultural magazines and mainstream newspapers. In an interview with the *Washington Post*, dated 13 December 1976, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) local history and genealogy specialist James D. Walker believed "genealogical research [was] the third largest avocation in the United States behind stamp and coin collecting."[29]

Access to digital records and online research has levelled the playing field, drawing various ages to genealogy, and lineage societies into the 21st century.[30] In the early days of online research and digitization, the internet was simply a series of signposts directing researchers to documents.[31] Today this is not the case. Repositories are placing digitized documents online for research in large numbers, giving researchers access to primary documents without a need to leave their homes or pay someone to research for them.

In 1999 Stephen Kyner, former editor of *Computer Genealogist Magazine,* stated, "the internet has helped democratize genealogy."[32] During the last two decades, younger generations have interacted and engaged with genealogical research more easily through advancing technology.[33] This has facilitated younger members joining lineage societies since it is no longer necessary to have quite so much free time for, or to spend as much money on, the research required to join these organizations.

While American genealogy in general has changed significantly in the past 200 years, lineage societies have often failed to keep pace with developments, although they have moved from the realm of elites to the everyday man, and from a white-dominated endeavour to one for all ethnicities.

Preliminary Survey Results

This study aims to inform a Ph.D. project on how lineage organisations are perceived, whether they contribute to historical preservation or knowledge, and the reliability of genealogical research used to apply for membership. As part of this research, I conducted a written survey and began conducting interviews with volunteers. Volunteers for the survey and interviews included members and non-members of lineage societies, and professionals who interacted with genealogical researchers.

The survey was conducted online from October 2021 through February 2022 using the *Qualtrics* computer platform.[34] In total, 1,163 persons took the survey, broken into several parts. Data processing is ongoing using a program called *Elasticsearch*, a machine learning software for analytics, and will be presented later.[35] As of 2 August 2022, the first 40 participant interviews had been conducted. The gender breakdown showed most respondents, 86.6%, identified themselves as female, 12.7% male, and 0.69% non-binary/other. Ethnicities were determined using the United States National Institutes of Health guidelines on their website.[36] These were used as the guidelines because most people taking this survey would be from the United States, and these are the typical descriptions used for demographics in this country. Overwhelmingly, participants identified as Caucasian (95%), with the second highest category as mixed race at 2%. While not an overwhelming cross-section of the American population, the responses will be broken down by gender and ethnicity to look for trends.

On questioning participants whether they believed themselves to be eligible for membership of a lineage society, or knew of a family who belonged to such, the responses were nearly even, with 59% stating the believed they might qualify for membership, and 54% stating they had a family member who was a member of such an organization.

When those who already belonged to a lineage society were asked why they had joined, 29% stated they had joined out of a sense of family pride. This was closely followed by 23% who wanted to verify a lineage, 18% who had come from an organization with similar goals, and 13% who wished to prove a family story. Only 6% stated they joined because of a family member or a friend. Those who identified as not a member of a lineage or heritage organization were asked why they chose not to join one. The largest group of respondents, some 30% did not feel that they had sufficient knowledge about these organizations. Next, 22% stated they were too busy to join. Importantly, 17% stated they had an unfavorable opinion of these groups, or they saw them as too expensive. Only 10% considered they did not qualify to join, with 5% stating they might do so following retirement.

Another question asked if respondents felt that lineage societies should open their archives and allow access to their historical applications for genealogical research. Most respondents (80%) felt lineage society applications are important for this type of genealogical research. While 15% expressed the view that such resources ought to be publicly available, and a further 5% stated that historical applications for membership are under-utilized as a resource in research by most genealogical researchers.

In general, historical applications for membership of lineage societies do not often hold up to current standards of genealogical research methodology, particularly those made more than 40 years ago, in which more often contain erroneous information. Tellingly 39% of respondents felt that historical applications to lineage societies could not be considered as proof of lineage, with only 27% stating that yes, they were proof.

Unfortunately the rigors of appropriate genealogical research appear too much for some of the respondents, as 40% felt that some of the organization's requirements for proof of lineage were too strict, and 27% felt the entire application process was too strict. An option now being considered is to make DNA analysis part of the application process, but there are as yet no standardized guidelines for accepting applications with DNA, just as there are no standard genealogical requirements for lineage societies.

All participants were asked their opinions on using DNA as proof of lineage. This is a topic that brings out definite opinions in people. However, in this survey, 16% of respondents replied that they did not know enough about DNA testing for genealogy to make an informed opinion about using it in lineage applications. Conversely, 49% stated that DNA should only be used in accordance with strict guidelines from the organization, with only 3% feeling DNA testing should not be used. Further, 12% of respondents felt DNA should be allowed at any time without strict guidance from an organization. Finally, 15% responded that DNA should never be used for lineage applications.

Data collected so far has been insightful for this project. Going forward with the analysis will take several months, and I do plan to publish those results in the future. I look forward to comparing the data from the survey to the stated opinions and thoughts of those interviewed. Connecting relayed stories and personal examples to the data will make the information more meaningful to those interested in the longevity of lineage societies and those using their gathered genealogical data for research.

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A HERALDIC AMERICAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION: HONORARY GRANTS OF ARMS TO AMERICANS BY BRITISH HERALDIC AUTHORITIES, 1916–1960

Dr. NATHANIEL LANE TAYLOR, F.A.S.G.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society, founded in 1845, is the oldest and largest American genealogical organization, with New England roots but a national focus; it now also bears the by-name "American Ancestors," which is the address of its website.[1] The Committee on Heraldry was established within the society on 3 February 1864, "to collect and preserve information in regard to heraldry."[2] A history of the Committee on Heraldry has recently been published in the introduction to the newest installment of its longest-running project, the *Roll of Arms*, begun in 1914.[3] Put most briefly, the *Roll of Arms* is a compilation of the arms of colonists on land that is now part of the United States, or of immigrants to the United States, either in colonial times or more recently, which were borne by right according to the laws or customs in their mother countries.

Registration in the *Roll of Arms* began on 6 January 1916, with John Washington of Westmoreland County, Virginia (*Roll* #1),[4] colonial immigrant ancestor of President George Washington (although it is the project of a New England learned society, the *Roll* has always been national in scope, as evidenced by the fact that the first entry was for a Virginian, not a New Englander). As of August 2022, the *Roll of Arms* contains 968 entries from twenty different countries of origin.[5] It is this century-old *Roll*, along with related records and files of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, that permits an historical overview of the phenomenon of grants of 'honorary arms' to Americans (or similar actions worded differently) by British heraldic authorities.[6]

The wording of the original 1914 mandate for the *Roll of Arms* is particularly relevant here. As originally conceived, the *Roll* could contain "any original settler in this country" [with an inherited coat of arms from their mother country], or "any inhabitant of this country [who] received a grant of arms."[7] In 1914, grants of arms to Americans by British heraldic authorities – honorary or otherwise – did not exist. The phrase "received a grant of arms" was intended to encompass those resident in the colonies when they received a grant, or colonists falling within the limitations of a grant to a relative. An analogous category is that of colonists falling within the recorded pedigree of from a seventeenth-century visitation.

Within the following ten years, a new phenomenon was born: the grant of 'honorary' arms.[8] Through the *Roll of Arms* it is possible to trace something of the origin and evolution of honorary grants of arms to Americans by British heraldic authorities. The first such grant was registered in the *Roll* in 1926. The grant was to a member of the Committee on Heraldry, Dr. Arthur Adams of Hartford, Connecticut, in 1923; the arms were registered as no. 23 in the *Roll* (**Figure 1**).[9] Although Adams's 1923 grant was the first such act registered in the *Roll*, in the next few years the *Roll* included several others, of which the most important set were grants to John Ross Delafield, whose armorial activities with British authorities predated Adams's and will be considered here first.[10]

Together these two men were largely responsible for both instituting and promoting, from the American side, the practice of honorary grants to Americans.
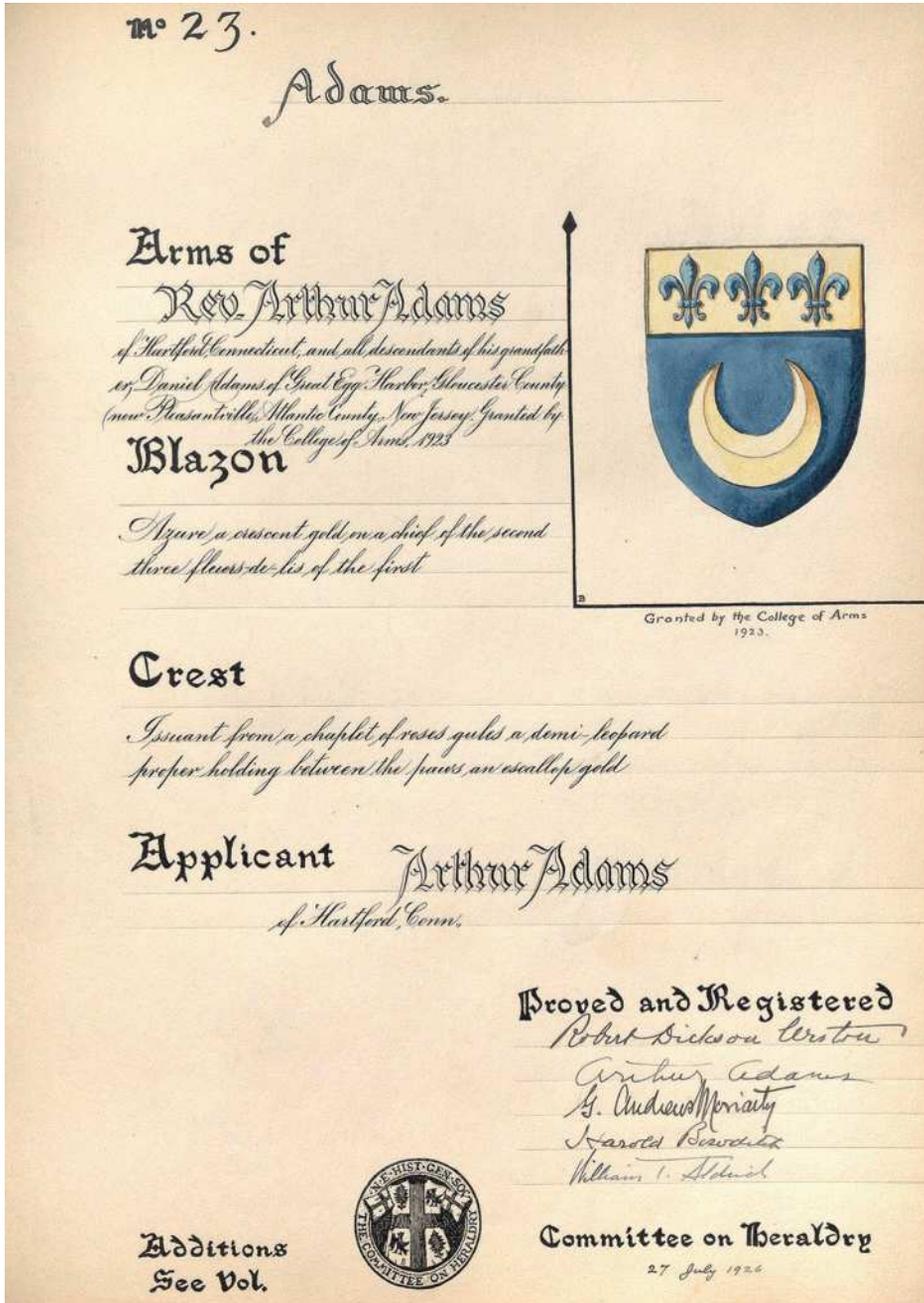

Figure 1: Arthur Adams: Roll of Arms, no. 23 (hand-painted certificate), 1926.
Courtesy of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

In all, over ninety modern honorary grants or confirmations from British authorities were recorded in the *Roll of Arms* from 1923 to 1972. In 1972, the decision was taken to exclude modern honorary foreign grants from further registration in the *Roll*. By this time the practices of granting or matriculating honorary arms to Americans had become standard for the College, Lyon, and the Chief Herald of Ireland.[11] After that date, while no longer added to the *Roll of Arms*, they have been separately recorded by the Committee on Heraldry.[12]The majority of the modern foreign grants recorded in the *Roll* were acts by officers in the College of Arms; a small minority were by Lyon, and a smaller remainder concerned acts by Ulster and then the office of the Chief Herald of Ireland. In lieu of a statistical approach, it seems most instructive to focus on the cases of Delafield and Adams, as it is with them that the practice originated.

John Ross Delafield (1874–1964) was an New York attorney (**Figure 2**). Patrilineally English, Delafield's ancestry also included politically and socially prominent New York families of Dutch and Scottish origin. Delafield was active in New York hereditary societies and other social organizations.[13] He crowned decades of genealogical and heraldic interest by publishing a copious genealogy of his Delafield family in 1945.[14]

Delafield's first known interactions with British heraldic authorities date to 1916. But first it is instructive to jump ahead to something he wrote three years later, in 1919. In emulation of the New England Historic Genealogical Society's Committee on Heraldry, a younger sister society, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, founded in 1869, had established its own Committee on Heraldry about 1900.[15] For that committee, in January 1919, Delafield published a three-page essay entitled 'Arms and Crests for Americans' in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*.[16] The essay was based partly on his own experiences with Scottish and English heraldic authorities (as will be seen), and partly it projected what he hoped would come true. The opening sentence sets the tone: "As the United States has made no provision for the grant or registration of arms or crests, it is of interest to note under what circumstances Americans may bear them."[17] He went on to summarize the jurisdictions of the British authorities as he understood them. He stated that "Americans have sometimes been made armigerous through a confirmation of arms to their British ancestor;" he noted that Ulster King of Arms had already confirmed arms to Americans. Concerning Dutch arms – of abiding interest to New Yorkers – he wrote,

"Holland has never had an official herald;.. as a result there are many families of Holland origin which have borne arms for centuries, and yet can show no grant or official recognition. The official heralds of Great Britain and Ireland would, no doubt, confirm these arms to members of these families who became British subjects, and as quarterings to the descendants of British subjects who had married heiresses from these families."

In some of these particulars, he was writing of things he had already brought about.

A timeline of Delafield's British heraldic interactions can be fleshed out through the files of the Committee on Heraldry.[18] Delafield's first actions concerned the Livingstons.

Date	Surname	Action
1916	Livingston	Lyon matriculation (to his mother)
1917	Delafield	College grant (to a male-line cousin)
1917	Livingston	Lyon matriculation (to a cousin)
1919	Hallett	College grant as quartering
1920	White	College honorary grant (to wife's brother)
1923	Wetmore	College honorary grant (to wife's brother) as quartering
1927	Schuyler	College grant as quartering
1927	Beekman	College grant as quartering
1932	Vanbrugh	College grant as quartering
1932	Hawarden	College grant as quartering

Delafield descended through both parents sides from the New York Livingstons – a prominent family whose seventeenth-century colonial founders, Robert Livingston "the Elder" and "the Younger," uncle and nephew, were descendants of the 4th Lord Livingston.[19] In 1916, Delafield's mother, Mary (Livingston) Delafield, matriculated arms with the Lord Lyon. She was descended from a Livingston-Livingston marriage through which, under English custom, she was entitled to quarter Livingston with Livingston. The matriculated arms are complex since the stem arms, Livingston of Callender, had been grand-quartered since the fifteenth century; Mary's two Livingston quarters are distinguished by different bordures, presenting a kaleidoscopic aspect, especially in lozenge form (**Figure 2**).[20] In 1917 a Lyon matriculation followed for Delafield's first cousin once removed – Julia Livingston, a niece of his paternal grandmother.[21] These two Lyon matriculations, other than stating the petitioners' domicile in New York and descent from (pre-1672) Scottish armigers, do not include any language drawing attention to the foreign citizenship of the petitioners, nor how their standing before Lyon was established; nothing appears to distinguish the matriculations from those for British subjects.[22]

The arms of Delafield have an awkward history.[23] The family's use of arms goes back to a memorial (extant) in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, erected for Delafield's male-line ancestor who had died in 1763, and whose son subsequently emigrated to the young United States.[24] The memorial is quite likely later than 1763 – perhaps by 20 years – since these arms for this family were unknown in the visitation period and any time before the first textual source in which they appear, in Edmondson's *Complete Body of Heraldry* of 1780. Oswald Barron wrote about this case in *The Ancestor*:[25] Edmondson indexed a cross flory for the surname *de la Feld*, based on a seventeenth-century manuscript derived from Glover's Ordinary.[26] Barron suggested, convincingly, that the odd surname *de la Feld* associated with these arms came from a copyist's error, since these arms belonged to the Lascelles family, whose surname, as *de Lasels* – especially with a long 's' – had probably been misread as *de la Feld*, or *Delafield*, in one or more later copy.[27] Delafield's ancestor, a son of the man memorialized at Aylesbury, came over in the 1780s and began using the cross flory, based on surviving seals, bookplates, and silver.[28]

What Delafield sought from the College, presumably in 1916, was a confirmation of the cross flory, long in use. But at that time the College did not grant arms to those who were not subjects of the Empire. The method Delafield settled on was to engage as a proxy a British male-line cousin, descended from a son of Delafield's first New York
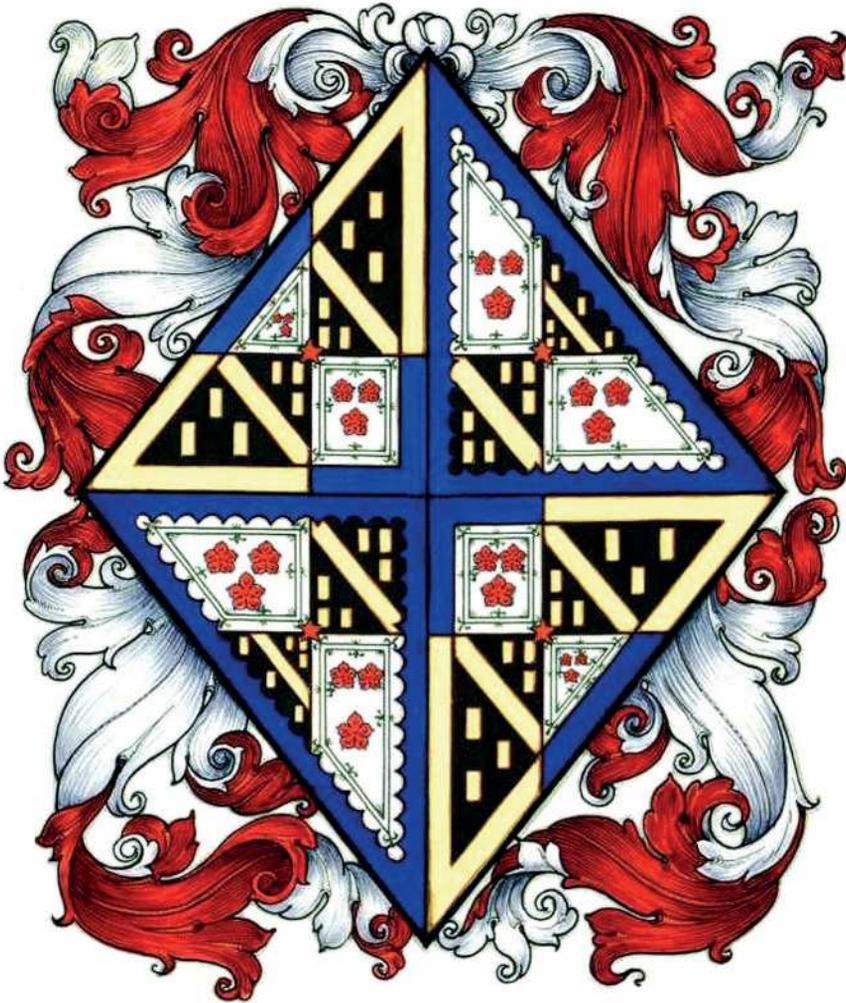
Figure 2: the Lyon office exemplification of arms matriculated for Mary Coleman (Livingston) Delafield, mother of John Ross Delafield, 1916.

ancestor in a line that had returned to England. On 10 February 1917, the College did "grant and confirm" to Arthur John Lewis Delafield of Naples, Italy (a British subject), with extension to all descendants of the original New York Delafield ancestor, a *new* coat of arms combining the Lascelles cross flory with a different charge found on the arms of another (Anglo-Irish) Delafield family: a lion rampant.[29] The resulting coat, a cross flory charged with a lion, infelicitously shrinks the lion onto the cross. And it may have rankled Delafield that, in seeking a confirmation of the coat his ancestors had long used, he got something else: a patent contradicting his family tradition.

Figure 3: John Ross Delafield. Portrait published in
Delafield: The Family History

Family silver handed down from Delafield's earliest American male-line ancestor, John Delafield, bore the cross flory impaled with arms representing John's wife, Ann Hallett, the daughter and heraldic heiress of a New Yorker named Joseph Hallett. Her arms – *Two bars wavy between three eagles wings expanded* – do not appear in standard references and their origin and prior use, if any, are not known. On 7 July 1919, the English kings of arms did "grant and assign" these same arms "to be placed on a monument or otherwise to the memory of the said Ann Delafield (formerly Ann Hallett) and to be borne as a quartering by her descendants."

Having set a precedent for quartering, Delafield next sought arms to impale. He enlisted a brother-in-law, Alain Campbell White of Litchfield, Connecticut, to petition for arms. On 16 November 1920, White received a grant of "honorary arms" – probably the first grant to use the term "honorary" in this way – with limitation to other descendants of his father (including his sister, Delafield's wife).[30] A grant of honorary arms for Wetmore to Alain White as a quartering for his mother's family followed in 1923.[31]

With the White grant fresh in hand, in July 1921 Delafield published a supplement to his "Arms and Crests for Americans." He reported volubly on certain developments, again overstating generalizations from his recent experiences:

> *"During the recent war the rules governing grants and confirmations of arms by the College of Arms were modified….An American may now…obtain from the college a confirmation or a grant of arms." "Confirmations…will not be made….except in cases where… the arms were in use by the ancestor in the male line prior to 1783…Grants may be obtained in any case where the proven use does not extend back to 1783… [or] where the family has not used arms at all."*
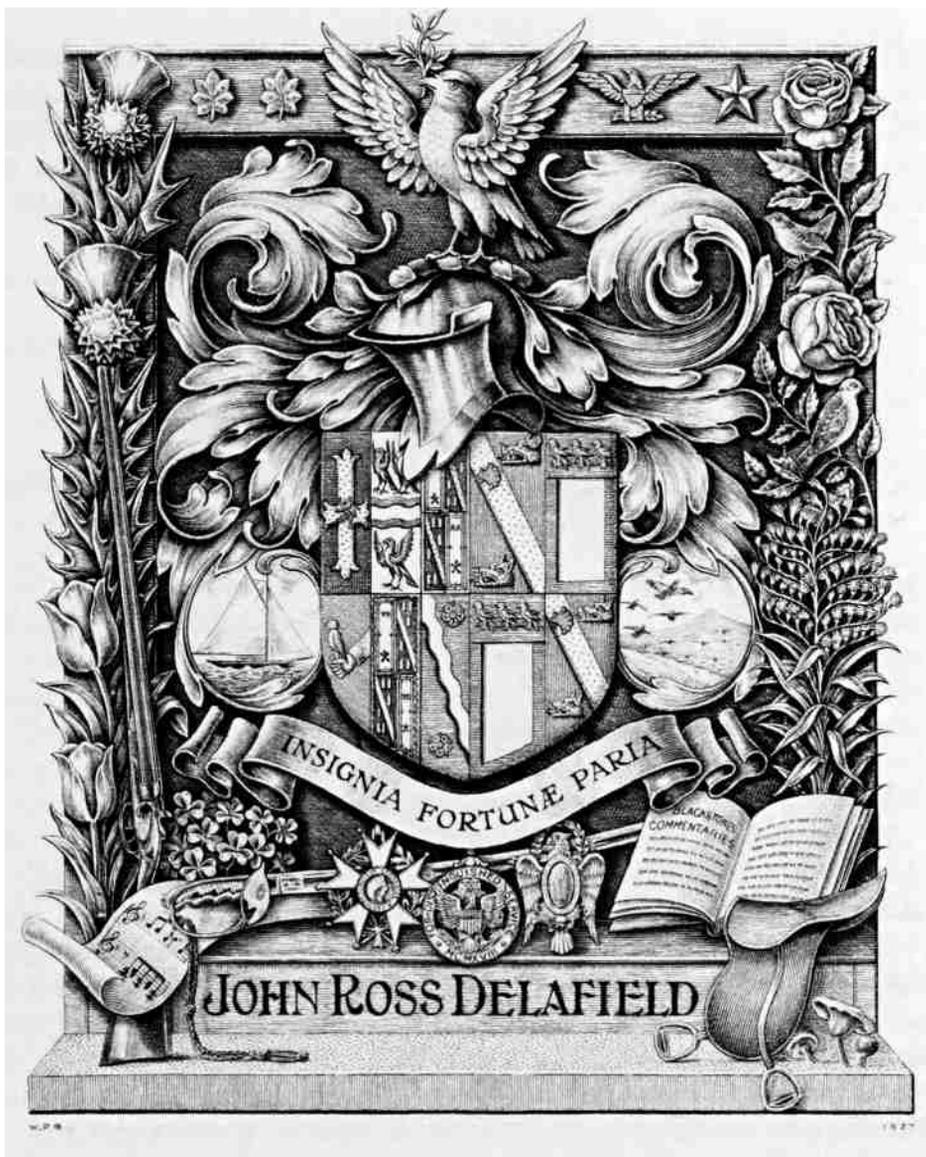
Figure 4: Delafield bookplate, 1927. Bound into (from original plate) *Delafield: The Family History*

On who may obtain such, he said: "[*T]hese privileges extend to anyone whose ancestor in the male line was a British subject before 1783.*" And further, that "*Americans of the families of the Dutch and French and other nationalities who became British subjects are in the same position as those descended from English stock.*"[32]

    This last passage presaged Delafield's efforts to obtain College patents for arms representing Dutch ancestors. Two actions for Dutch arms came on 14 April 1927,

when the College did "grant and assign" coats of arms for two Dutch New Netherland colonists. One was Beekman, consisting of *A bend wavy between two roses*, to be borne as a quartering by Delafield or other descendants of his mother, Mary (Livingston) Delafield, through whom the descent was derived. That these same arms had been borne by these Beekmans in the Netherlands before emigration to the colonies did not deter Delafield from seeking sanction by the English heralds in the form of a new grant.[33] On the same day the College also granted arms for Schuyler, another prominent Dutch New Netherland family. Unlike Beekman, the Schuyler arms have not been proved to antedate emigration: they date only to 1656, when the arms were painted in an armorial window in the church at Beverwijk [now Albany, the state capital].[34] As this was (just) before the Dutch ceded New Netherland to the English, a case can also be made for the Dutch tradition of free assumption. Delafield sought to register both Beekman and Schuyler in the *Roll of Arms* in 1932.[35]

Delafield's success in securing matriculations, confirmations, or grants of arms through 1927 is beautifully summed up in his engraved bookplate (by William Phillips Barrett) featuring impaled arms for Delafield, quarterly of six: Delafield, Hallett, Livingston "of Teviotdale," Schuyler, Livingston "of Clermont,"[36] and Beekman; impaling, for Delafield's wife, quarterly White and Wetmore (**Figure 4**). But this 1927 bookplate did not mark the endpoint of Delafield's armorial odyssey. Two more College actions followed in 1932, for Hawarden and Vanbrugh. Hawarden was an English family, with new arms granted as a quartering in the now-customary manner. Vanbrugh was the same Dutch family that produced the famously un-heraldic herald, Sir John Vanbrugh, Clarenceux in the early eighteenth century. An allied branch of the same Haarlem family had gone from the Netherlands to New York in the seventeenth century. Delafield received a patent by which the same arms that had been confirmed to Clarenceux Vanbrugh in 1714 were "granted and confirmed" as a quartering for Delafield. Evidence was later found that the arms predated the 1714 patent and had been borne in Haarlem by the common ancestor of the English and New York lines.[37]

A 1932 exemplification with all eight quarterings, signed by Windsor Butler, is shown here (**Figure 5**).[38] There is no evidence that Delafield commissioned a new bookplate in or after 1932; the 1927 bookplate was included in his 1945 *Delafield: The Family History*, and remains the best visual clue to Delafield's armorial aspirations. His ancestors had been prominent for generations, using armorial display in abundance. For Delafield, arms made him the equal of those prominent ancestors; marshaling allowed him to claim and display his diverse English, Scottish, and Dutch armigerous ancestry together (following English custom for quartering Dutch and Scottish heraldic heiresses).

Delafield's essays on "Arms and Crests for Americans," together with his armload of patents, all testify to his firm belief that the only morally correct way for Americans to bear arms, whatever the nationality of their ancestors, was through the evolving actions of the College of Arms, Lord Lyon, or Ulster King of Arms. This held true even in the case of the pronomial Delafield arms, where the heralds "granted" him a coat distinct from that engraved on generations of ancestral plate. The imposition of the lion on the cross flory might exemplify the aphorism "be careful what you wish for." The 1917 Delafield arms were registered by the Committee on Heraldry in its *Roll of Arms* in 1932, with the entry, published in 1936, stating that the arms had been "granted."[39] As late as 1950, Delafield was asking the Committee to alter its language to indicate the arms had
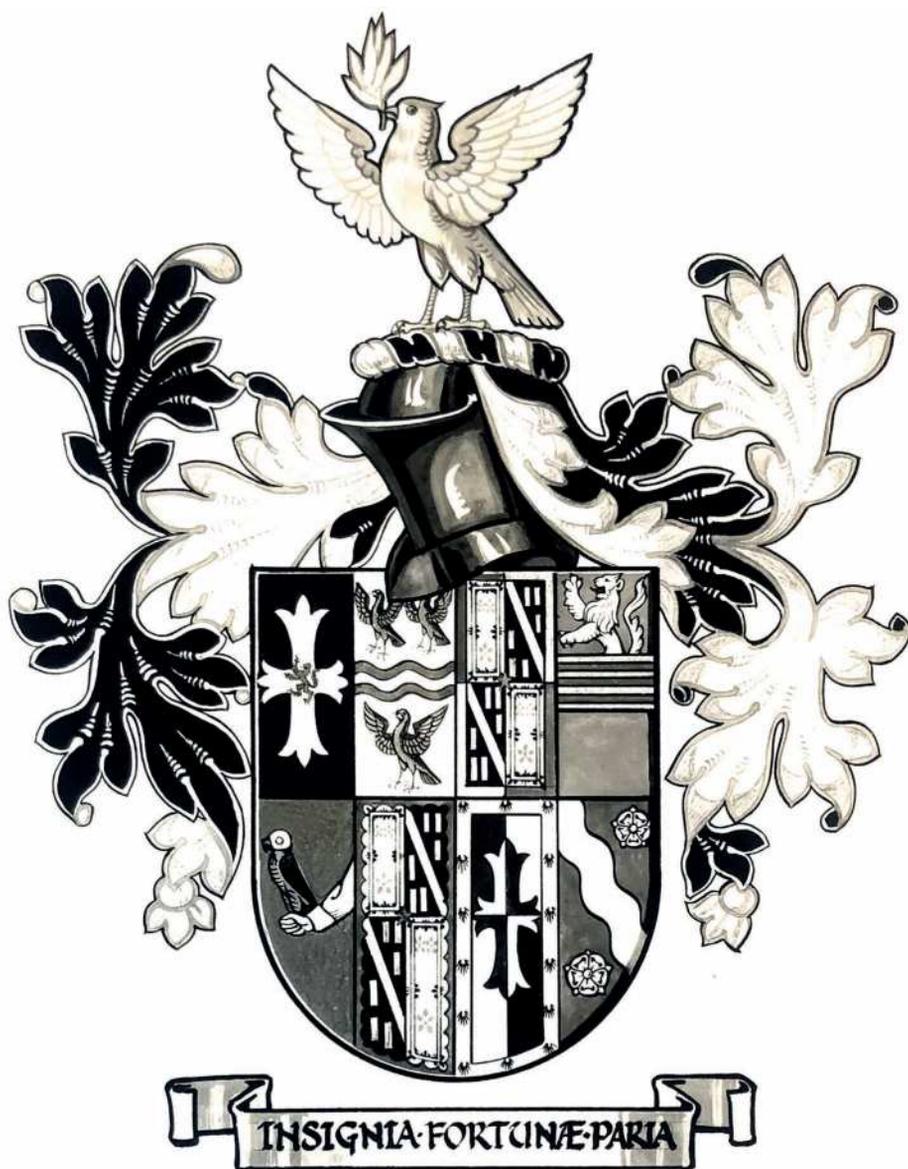
Figure 5: exemplification of the arms of John Ross Delafield, 1932.
Photograph courtesy the New England Historic Genealogical Society.
(Committee on Heraldry files).

been "confirmed;" he was overruled.[40] One wonders whether his 1917 experience with
the hybrid Delafield arms had spurred Delafield to atone in quantity of quarterings for
what he may have deemed a fumble with the paternal arms.

Figure 6: Dr. Arthur Adams. Photograph courtesy of
The American Society of Genealogists.

The Revd. Dr. Arthur Adams (1881–1960, **Figure 6**), unlike Delafield, was a member of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. And also, unlike Delafield, he was primarily identified as a scholar (of both genealogy and philology);[41] he was the only American to edit a Harleian Society visitation volume[42] and was for many years editor of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Dr. Adams's armorial timeline has fewer episodes than Delafield's, but both men seem to have helped to define Americans' interactions with British heraldic authorities.

On 17 May 1923, the College did "grant and assign" to Dr. Adams "honorary arms," with extension to all descendants of his grandfather.[43] Adams's paternal grandfather had been born a British subject in the Province of New Jersey in 1773, so in 1923 he had an unusually short distance to travel back to a pre-independence British subject: three generations. The arms were new as Dr. Adams was not aware of any connection, however distant, with any other armigerous Adamses, nor of any prior use of arms in his family.

From the outset, Adams sought the compass of his grant to extend as far back as possible. "I was much grieved," he wrote, that "I could not have the College register the coat of arms for all the descendants of Jeremy" [his male-line ancestor Jeremy Adams, born about 1604, who settled in New England in 1633].[44] So Adams enlisted the aid of a nonagenarian maiden aunt. On 8 July 1930 the College granted the same arms, but with a different crest, to Hannah Adams, whose grandfather – Arthur's great-grandfather – had been born in 1730,[45] extending the armorial umbrella by a generation.

On 7 November 1940, Adams matriculated with Lyon a compound coat combining the English Adams coat with arms newly devised to represent his mother's (Scottish) family.[46] The Scottish arms were not registered with the Committee on Heraldry, suggesting that Adams, both personally and in his role on the Committee, was above all interested in the scope of English sanction for his arms.

Finally, on 30 December 1957, Adams secured a special patent extending the limitation of his 1923 grant to all descendants of his ancestor, Jeremy Adams, the immigrant of 1633. Adams knew this was special: "Wagner tells me that this was a very unusual act of grace. Certainly I never heard of a similar case. It took me about three years

to persuade them to do it."[47] By this time, Adams had known members of the College for decades as a consulting scholar, not as a client. This act was perhaps sought, and certainly granted, as a personal favor, but it is likely that Adams had sought a precedent for a way in which Americans descended from non-armigerous colonial families could acquire a unifying heraldic identity.[48] Like many genealogists of his generation, he was above all interested in the original colonial founder of his family, and by extension, other colonial founders of families.

For all American petitioners other than Delafield and Adams, there is less in the files of the Committee on Heraldry through which to discern motives and aims, or other aspects of the processes by which arms were sought and granted. Copies of patents, as well as correspondence around these registrations, permit some observations to be made. From the 1920s to the 1960s, the few Lyon matriculations also registered in the Committee's *Roll of Arms* suggest that in many cases, if not most, the American petitioner was able to recite descent from a known Scottish armiger. This is consistent with the requirement, since 1672, that all armigers individually matriculate arms even if ancestors had borne them. One 1947 matriculation, for George Linkeletter of New York, includes a separate definition of the "proper armorial tinctures of the arms of Linkletter of that Ilk" while also granting and matriculating a differenced coat to the American petitioner.[49] For Ulster, unfortunately, no actions in Committee on Heraldry files are accompanied by any original patent images; only very few Ulster actions are noted at all, mostly from correspondence between the Committee and members of the College, and based on copies of Ulster records made for deposit there. It was only in 1921 that Delafield, in his "Arms and Crests for Americans," had noted Ulster's readiness to grant arms to Americans. Events of 1922 meant that relatively few American petitioners would contact Ulster thereafter; and furthermore, those who had dealings with Ulster, and then the Chief Herald of Ireland, may have been somewhat less cognizant of the Committee on Heraldry's *Roll of Arms* than those of English and Scottish descent. The earliest patent with a grant of arms from the Chief Herald of Ireland on file with the Committee on Heraldry dates to 10 October 1951, with arms confirmed to descendants of James Donnell of County Tyrone and Philadelphia.[50]

By 1960, the date of death of Arthur Adams, processes for actions by Lyon and the College with regard to American petitioners for arms were well set on precedents dating back to 1916–1923, although continued brainstorming is evident in correspondence and memoranda in the files of the Committee on Heraldry through to 1960 and even beyond. Accessible English records reveal continued creative discussion of such processes into the 1970s,[51] and of course these practices continue to evolve today.

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[1] John A. Schutz, *A Noble Pursuit: The Sesquicentennial History of the New England Historic Genealogical Society* (Boston, 1995); François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), pp. 66–68. Website: americanancestors.org.

[2] *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* [NEHGR] vol. 18 (1864), p. 215 (proceedings), p. 386 (amendment to by-laws).

[3] 'A Roll of Arms Registered by the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society: Eleventh Part,' NEHGR vol. 176 (2022), pp. 97–116, 213–228, 326–344, at 97–103. (*A Roll of Arms… Eleventh Part* is forthcoming as a book in late 2022 or early 2023.) See also Henry L. P. Beckwith (ed.) *A Roll of Arms Registered by the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Parts 1–10, with Additions and Corrections and a History of the Committee on Heraldry* (Boston, 2013); reprinted, with additions and corrections, 2014), pp. 291–300.

[4] The Roll of Arms consisted originally of hand painted folios, one for each entry, with a painted emblazonment and bearing the committee members' signatures and registration date. The certificates are online (member access only) at americanancestors.org, database "Roll of Arms Registered by NEHGS, 1915–1945." This practice was discontinued in 1945; thereafter, Roll entries were typeset for publication with no hand-painted certificate original created. Published entry: *A Roll of Arms . . . Parts 1–10* [note 3], 8; NEHGR vol. 82 (1928), p. 151. Reference is also made to the Roll of Arms files in the records of the Committee on Heraldry (CoH Roll Files) in the archives of the Society, housed with the R. Stanton Avery Special Collections, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

[5] A name index to the Roll of Arms, online at americanancestors.org/committee-heraldry, shows entries through no. 968 Jernigan (numbering is provisional for entries not yet published). Entries are currently published through no. 813 Dunlop ("A Roll of Arms …Eleventh Part," NEHGR vol. 176 [2022], p. 336).

[6] This phrase began to be used in the patents of the College of Arms from 1920 (see below), but is here used to indicate also the broadly equivalent (though differently worded) actions by other British heraldic authorities, principally the Lord Lyon.

[7] Printed in 1915 from a report dated 1914: "Special Report of the Committee on Heraldry," NEHGR vol. 69 (1915), supplement, pp. xii, xvi–xxiii.

[8] As will be seen, this became the customary formula used by the College of Arms as the practice evolved; the term "modern honorary grant" is used to refer generally to analogous actions by both English and Scottish (and, later, Irish) authorities throughout a period of evolution in language and practice.

[9] Enrolled 27 July 1926 (*A Roll of Arms . . . Parts 1–10* [note 3], 10; NEHGR vol. 82 [1928], p. 151); CoH Roll File, 23 Adams.

[10] While the *Roll of Arms* had begun compilation in 1916, applications to register arms brought from outside the Committee began in earnest with the publication of the *First Part* of the *Roll* (entries 1–72) in April 1928.

[11] The change in criteria for the *Roll of Arms* was briefly defined, in the 1979 introduction to the Roll's *Ninth Part* (*A Roll of Arms . . . Parts 1–10* [note 3], 227), as excluding any application "in which the claim does not predate the twentieth century;" the change was said to be due to "a feeling of the Committee that such material was not appropriate for publication in the journal of an antiquarian society." In effect this was also to lessen the appearance that the Committee was extending preferential treatment for modern honorary foreign grants that would appear to elevate them, in American heraldic custom or law, over frankly assumed arms; and to lessen the potential that foreign honorary grants using such ambiguous double terms as "grant and confirm" might mistakenly be taken as evidence for an historical right to arms when no independent evidence was known.

[12] Only since 2020 has the Committee published all recorded modern arms in its annual reports; discussions are underway for cumulative publication of arms created by modern foreign grants recorded as far back as 1972, and other modern arms (newly assumed, etc.) recorded from the 1930s onward.

[13] Some of his many affiliations are listed in his entry in *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, new ser., vol. 27 (New York 1957), pp. 392–395. (This series was a commercial enterprise in which subjects wrote their own blurbs and paid for their appearance.)

[14] A magnum opus encompassing both heraldic and genealogical research is John Ross Delafield, *Delafield: The Family History*, 2 vols. (privately printed, 1945).

[15] The organization of this committee seems to be noticed in "Announcements," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* [NYGBR] vol. 31 (1900), p. 122.

[16] "Arms and Crests for Americans," NYGBR vol. 50 (1919),pp. 4–6.

[17] Delafield, "Arms and Crests for Americans" [note 4], 4. Here, as elsewhere, Delafield does not envision that assumed arms have any validity.

[18] Some of these are mentioned in [Sir] Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), pp.168–169; Woodcock and Robinson mentioned White but without noting his relation to Delafield (p. 169); White's two grants (White and Wetmore) were at Delafield's instigation.

[19] The family was by then well studied in print, with careful placement of the New York branches, by Edwin Brockholst Livingston in *The Livingstons of Callendar and Their Principal Cadets: A Family History*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1887–1890) and *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor* (New York, 1910).

[20] Lyon Register 23:6A-B, 23 Oct. 1916.

[21] Lyon Register 23:24A-B, 2 April 1917. With its *bordure engrailed azure*, Julia's coat resembles the second quartering matriculated to Mary the prior year, giving the armorial impression that Julia was closely connected to Mary's second Livingston line. But Julia's male-line immigrant ancestor was Robert Livingston "the Younger," nephew of Robert Livingston "the Elder," who was the progenitor of both of Maria's Livingston lines (which descended through two sons of Robert "the Elder").

[22] The Livingston arms were registered as no. 96 in the *Roll of Arms* on 17 Jan. 1929 – not on Delafield's initiative, but through Arthur Adams for another descendant. Arms matriculated with differences for different descendants of an American immigrant were not separately registered in the *Roll*. Delafield brought the two Livingston matriculations for registration in the *Roll* early in 1932, but was notified that Livingston had already been registered (published later in 1932).

[23] As an aside: Delafield had in 1913 registered his Delafield arms with a private body, misleadingly titled "The College of Arms of Canada," apparently the creation of a man named Frederic Gregory Forsyth (on which see Yves Drolet, "The Aryan Order of America and the College of Arms of Canada, 1880–1937" [typescript, Montreal, 2015], citing, among other sources, F. E. Barber, "College of Arms of Canada," *CoA* no. 26 [1956], pp. 57–60).

[24] Photographed in *Delafield: The Family History* [note 9], opposite 1:246.

[25] Oswald Barron, "The Delafields and the Empire," *The Ancestor* vol. 11 (1902), pp. 97–128, at 117–118.

[26] Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry*, 2 vols. (London, 1780), vol. 1:[Glover's Ordinary], p. 105.

[27] Delafield reproduced a 17th-century tricked manuscript of Glover corroborating this at *Delafield: The Family History* [note 9], opposite vol. 2, p. 470 (depicting British Library, MS Harley 1407). The caption bears both "de la Felde" and "Lasels."

[28] Photographs of armorial silver, seals, and bookplates in the collection of John Ross Delafield are on file CoH Roll Files: 170 Delafield, and in *Delafield: The Family History* [note 9], plates opposite vol.1, p. 246 etc.

[29] Patent photostat, CoH Roll File, 170 Delafield; published in *Delafield: The Family History* [note 9], plate opposite vol. 1, p. 246.

[30] Patent photostat, CoH Roll File, 172 White. Noted as "an early example" in Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide to Heraldry* [note 17], p. 169; it is certainly the first such patent recorded in the files of the Committee on Heraldry. One prior twentieth-century grant registered in the *Roll of Arms* had suggested a possible earlier precedent: the arms of James Atkins Noyes, a United States citizen and native of Cambridge, Massachusetts were registered on 15 May 1951 as no. 434 in the *Roll*. Noyes had a grant from the College on 6 Jan. 1915, in which he was described as "of Suffolk Street in the Parish of St. James in the County of London;" he had apparently been living or visiting only briefly in England. Later correspondence suggests that the heralds had not been aware that Noyes was not a British subject: the grant was an anomaly, not a precedent (Bowditch to Wagner, 9 April 1951, CoH Roll File, 434 Noyes).

[31] Patent photostat, CoH Roll Files, 172 White and 422 Wetmore. White was registered in the Roll in 1932; Wetmore not until 1949. In 1932, Dr. Bowditch (Secretary of the Committee) wrote to Delafield that "the registration of arms to be used as a quartering is new to me," and furthermore, some of the actions of the English heralds in granting the Wetmore arms to be used as a quartering were surprising to him. This presumably accounts for the Committee's delay in registering Wetmore arms until Delafield pursued it again in 1949.

[32] John Ross Delafield, "Arms and Crests for Americans," NYGBR vol. 52 (1921), pp. 229–230.

[33] William J. Hoffman, "Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent," NYGBR vol. 64 (1933), pp. 358–362; repr. *Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent*, ed. Francis J. Sypher Jr. (New York, 2010), pp. 39–43.

[34] Hoffman, "Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent," NYGBR vol. 65 (1934), pp. 101–2 (contributed by Delafield); repr. *Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent*, ed. Francis J. Sypher Jr. (New York, 2010), pp. 60–62.

[35] Beekman, like Livingston, had previously been registered in 1929 on the initiative of Adams (CoH Roll File, 95 Beekman); Schuyler was registered in 1932 (CoH Roll File, 163 Schuyler).

[36] The two distinct Livingston coats are those matriculated for his mother in 1916. The toponymic distinctions are those captioning the 1935 exemplification (cited below, note 38).

[37] Correspondence, Bowditch to Delafield, and memoranda to file, CoH Roll File, 184 Vanbrugh; Hoffman, "Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent," NYGBR vol. 66 (1035), pp. 178–179.

[38] Two exemplifications, dated 30 Nov. 1932 and 4 March 1935, both signed by A. T. Butler, Windsor, are in the CoH Roll File, 170 Delafield (black-and-white photographs).

[39] (Roll no. 170)

[40] The phrase had been "grant and confirm" (CoH Roll file, 170 Delafield). Memoranda on file include correspondence between Bowditch and Wagner on the College's use of the phrase "grant and confirm."

[41] With a Ph.D. in English literature, he was a long-time professor of English and librarian of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut; he was also an ordained priest in the Episcopal Church (Biographical entry, *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. F [New York, 1942], pp. 268–269; obituary, NEHGR vol. 115 [1961], pp. 3–7, by Harold Bowditch). Both Adams and Delafield were Fellows of the American Society of Genealogists. Adams was the principal founding fellow in 1940; Delafield was elected in 1956 (Roll of Fellows, fasg.org).

[42] Arthur Adams (ed.), *Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees*, Harl. Soc. vol. 93 (London, 1941). Another American, Joseph Lemuel Chester (1821–1882), had edited volumes in the Harleian Society's Registers section.

[43] Patent photostat, CoH Roll File, 23 Adams. The arms were registered in the *Roll* in 1926, immediately following those for his colleague Dr. Harold Bowditch (Roll, no. 22) (Bowditch's arms were inherited from a Dorset visitation family).

[44] A. Adams to H. Bowditch, 6 Aug. 1926, CoH Roll File, 23 Adams.

[45] Patent photostat, CoH Roll File, 23 Adams.

[46] *An Ordinary of Arms Contained in the Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, vol. 2: *1902–1973* (Edinburgh, 1977), 404, citing Lyon Register 34:22. Special thanks to Elizabeth Roads, formerly Snawdoun Herald, for consulting on this matriculation.

[47] Typescript of patent, made by Richmond Wagner (as College Librarian); Adams to Bowditch, 16 Aug. 1957, CoH Roll File, 23 Adams.

[48] An idea to encourage the systematic assumption of coats of arms to be borne by all (or all personally qualified) male-line descendants of non-armigerous colonial founders was floated within the Committee on Heraldry in 1912 (William Sumner Appleton to William S. Richardson, 11 May 1912, CoH Files). A parallel matter, beyond the scope of this paper, is the evolution of corporate devisals, by both the College and Lyon, for American family associations and other corporate bodies. The Committee on Heraldry began recording modern corporate devisals (or assumptions) in the 1930s: mostly to schools, churches, and clubs. These records are unpublished.

[49] Patent photostat, CoH Roll Files, 406 Linkletter. Linkletter had not appeared in Lyon Register prior to 1905, suggesting the novelty of the arms. George Linkletter had previously received a grant of honorary arms in 1924 from the College of Arms (mentioned by not present in CoH Roll File; the difference, if any, between the arms in the two patents is therefore unknown; the 1947 Lyon matriculation correctly makes no reference to any action by the College).

[50] Patent photostat, CoH Roll Files, 444 Donnell. Mistakenly published as a grant in 1953, the notice was amended in 1958 to indicate a confirmation of old arms (*A Roll of Arms… Parts 1–10* [note 3], pp. 150, 169). The language in the patent was for "a full confirmation of such armorial ensigns as…have been long used and borne by the said family of Donnell, which do not appear to have been heretofore recorded in my office…with such distinctions as I think proper."

[51] See, for example, the correspondence between Garter Wagner and others in Government in the papers of the Foreign and Colonial Office from 1969–1970 in The National Archives (TNA) FCO 7/1851, file titled "Designing Arms for Citizens of United States of America" (thanks to my Committee on Heraldry colleague John Shannon for bringing this file to my attention).

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY:
SHOULD WE RESTORE AN OLD METHOD?

PETER G. R. HOWARTH

As a medieval historian, I want to know when heraldry began so that I can see what else was happening at the time in order to place the start of heraldry into context. Anthony Wagner, who did so much for the study of English medieval heraldry, looked at seals from France, England and Germany and found heraldry to have started in the second quarter of the twelfth century.[1] Michel Pastoureau, the doyen of French heraldry, placed the start a little later, between 1140 and 1160.[2] He too based his dates on the study of seals.

Top left: *Figure 1:* seal of Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders and Vermandois: type II, used 1170, diam 88 mm; top right: *Figure 2*: his seal type I, used *c.*1157, diam 82 mm. Both seals reproduced by kind permission of the National Archives of Belgium in Brussels, seal impressions nos. 21704 and 19505; bottom: *Figure 3:* seal of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, type I, used *post* 1166, diam 76 mm, from *BM Seals* vol 2, plate ix.

Another who looked at medieval seals for heraldry was Germain Demay (1819–1886), the eminent French sigillographer, who compiled several catalogues of seals, and who wrote a book on medieval dress based on seals.[3] He also wrote an article on several aspects of heraldry based on medieval seals.[4] In the first section of this article, he began by describing a seal of Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders 1168–1191. It is from 1170, and shows the count on horseback with a lion on his shield and a lion on his helmet (**Figure 1**). He then describes one from six years earlier, 1164, but this seal has no heraldry at all – the shield just has a boss and a few strengthening bars (**Figure 2**).[5] This raises the question why, if others were putting heraldry on their seals a generation earlier, Philippe did not bother in 1164 but then did so in 1170. He was not out of touch socially. He was famous internationally for his success on the tournament circuit with his retinue of knights, and he was a well-known patron of trouvères and their romances, being mentioned by name by Chrétien de Troyes. On his first crusade in 1177 he was offered, but declined, the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and on his return from the Holy Land he was made guardian of the eldest son of King Louis VII. Philippe was the sort to start a fashion rather than to let one pass him by; and he was not the only one at this time to use a non-heraldic seal.

Demay had looked at the seals of other twelfth-century families to find the last time that they used a non-heraldic seal and the first time that they used a seal with heraldry. The data he collected is set out in **Table 1**. In the Montmorency family for example, Mathieu I, who was Constable of France and died in 1160, had a non-heraldic seal, and it was his son who used an heraldic seal in 1177.[6] Conon, count of Soissons, used a non-heraldic seal in 1172 and an heraldic one at some time between 1178 and 1180. The other families follow on. It is noticeable that the counts of Hainault and Champagne, two important counties, were still using non-heraldic seals in the 1180s. Most of the families came from the north-east of France and the adjoining francophone region of the Empire. Looking at the fourth column, the dates for the heraldic seals, we can see that they start off slowly, but after 1190 they come much faster. This is the pattern one would expect for a new fashion, slow to start, but picking up speed as the fashion gradually spread geographically and more people joined in. The most important aspect of Demay's article

Family	Names	Date: non-heraldic	Date: heraldic	Arms
Flanders	Philippe d'Alsace	1164	1170	lion rampant
Montmorency	Mathieu I/Mathieu II	*ante* 1160	1177	cross and four eagles
Soissons	Conon	1172	1178–80	lion passant
Beaumont-sur-Oise	Mathieu III	1177	1189	lion rampant
Coucy		1150	1190	barry ermine and plain
Garlande		1170	1192	lion rampant
Saint-Aubert	Gérard	1185	1194	chevrony and border
Hainaut	Baudouin	1182	1195	chevronny
Champagne	Henri II	1180	*ante* 1197	bend coticed
Perche	Rotrou III/Geoffroi	1190	1197	three chevrons
Avesnes	Jacques/Gautier	1186	1199	bendy
Clermont	Guillaume		1199	two lions passant
Picquigny	Gérard/Enguerran	1190	1199	checky, a chief vair

Table 1: Seals given in G. Demay, 'Le Blason, d'après les sceaux du moyen-âge' (1876): last use of non-heraldic seals, first use of heraldic seals.

is his method, the way he concentrated on the change from non-heraldic to heraldic and saw it not as a single event but as a process over time.

Demay was limited to where he could still find both non-heraldic and heraldic seals within the same family. In order to provide a wider context for his data, I have looked at three of Demay's catalogues, Flanders, Artois and Picardy, and extracted all the early seals. They were then divided into three time periods (see **Table 2**). The first period, from 1130 to 1169, includes the dates suggested by Wagner and Pastoureau for the start of heraldry. The second period, from 1170 to 1189, is when Demay's list had its early stages, and the third period, 1190–1210, is when the numbers of Demay's heraldic seals started to pick up. Within each period the number of seals is divided between non-heraldic and heraldic. Counts and seigneurs are kept separate to see when the different levels of the aristocracy adopted heraldry.

Number of seals N = non-heraldic H = heraldic						
	1130–1169		**1170–1189**		**1190–1210**	
	N	H	N	H	N	H
Counts	7	(4)*	7	8	3	9
Seigneurs	6	0	30	3	21	45
* Vermandois, Lorraine, and Candavène (2)						

Number of seals N = non-heraldic H = heraldic						
	1130–1169		**1170–1189**		**1190–1210**	
	N	H	N	H	N	H
Counts	15	(3)*	16	18	17	29
Seigneurs	17	0	17	4	31	51
* Vermandois and Meulan (2)						

Above: *Table 2:* seals from G. Demay's catalogues, *Flandre, Artois* and *Picardie;* below: *Table 3*: seals from Douët d'Arcq's *Collection de sceaux.*

Most of the counts' seals in the first period were non-heraldic. In those forty years there were just four with devices that looked as if they might be heraldic, devices that are sometimes called proto-heraldic to differentiate them from true heraldry.[7] In the second period, non-heraldic seals and heraldic ones were about equal; and in the third period a large majority of seals had heraldry. Seigneurs were about twenty years later in adopting heraldry, and even in the last period there were a substantial number who were still using non-heraldic seals.

Whilst Wagner's collection of seals appeared rather suddenly across a wide area of Western Europe,[8] Demay's list suggests that heraldry spread out more gradually from the region of Flanders. It would help to examine seals from France as a whole to see whether the numbers were any different there. Louis-Claude Douët d'Arcq produced a catalogue of the national collection of seals in Paris.[9] All the early seals were again extracted and placed into the same time periods as before, with the same division into non-heraldic and heraldic, and the same separation of counts and seigneurs (see **Table 3**). The results are very similar to those for the Flanders region. In the first period, there are only three

comital seals with heraldic-looking devices, for Vermandois and Meulan, and they will be examined in more detail later on. In the second period the numbers of non-heraldic and heraldic seals are about equal, but in the third period, although heraldic seals are in the majority, there are still an appreciable number of seals without heraldry, mostly from the south of France. The figures for the seigneurs are very similar to those for the Flanders region.

Left: *Figure 4:* seal of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, type II, used c. 1180, diam 82 mm. London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, WAM XCIII. By kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; right: *Figure 5*: seal of Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders and Vermandois, type III, used 1170, diam 88 mm. From G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre* (Paris, 1873).

With a particular interest in the heraldry of English medieval families, I wanted to apply Demay's method to English earls to see how their seals changed from non-heraldic to heraldic. I started with William de Mandeville, third earl of Essex 1166–1189. His first seal had no heraldry. He is shown on horseback carrying a plain shield with just a central boss (**Figure 3**). Since he did not become earl until 1166, the seal cannot be any earlier than that. Then, around 1180, he adopted a new seal where his shield is divided Quarterly (**Figure 4)**. This seal is interesting, and not just for its coat of arms. Sandy Heslop has drawn attention to the style of this second seal and compared it to the third seal of Philippe d'Alsace (**Figure 5**).[10] William was brought up with Philippe at the court in Flanders, and they later fought alongside each other in the Holy Land. Comparing the two seals, it can be seen how the helmet on both of them pushes into the space for the legend, and the tip of the sword does the same, with just enough room between them for a single letter. The shape of the horse is the same, and the riders' legs are straight, pushing forward against the stirrups. William's seal is not a slavish copy, but the likeness is there.[11] Once William started using his new seal, other earls followed (see **Table 4**). Unfortunately, there is a problem with English seals in the twelfth century. The Anglo-Norman aristocracy normally did not bother to date their charters, and we therefore have

to estimate dates for seals, using biographical information. Hence the vague dates for these seals, making this list not nearly as tidy as Demay's.

Family	Names	Date: non-heraldic	Date: heraldic	Arms
Mandeville of Essex	William I	*post* 1166	*c.* 1180	quarterly
Clare of Hertford	Roger/Richard III	*c.* 1153	1184	three chevrons
Huntingdon	William/David	*ante* 1185	1185	three piles
Bigod of Norfolk	Hugh I/Roger II	*c.* 1130–40	1189–1205	lion passant
Beaumont of Leicester	Robert III/Robert IV	1168–90	1190	checky
Bohun of Hereford	Henry		1190 or later	bend and six lions
Ferrers of Derby	William II	1191–99	*post* 1191	vairy
Aubigny of Arundel	William II/William III	*c.* 1180	*post* 1193	lion rampant
Longespee of Salisbury	William I		*post* 1196/1219	one lion/six lions
Warenne of Surrey	Hamelin/William IV	1164–1202	1202 or later	checky
Quincy of Winchester	Saher IV	'late 12th century'	1207 or later	fess + label/ seven mascles
Vere of Oxford	Aubrey IV/Robert I	1194–1214	1214 or later	quarterly and mullet
Chester (and Lincoln)	Hugh/Ranulf	1153–81	1217	three garbs
Beaumont of Warwick	Henry II/Thomas	1204–29	1229 or later	checky, a chevron
Redvers of Devon	William/ Baldwin III	1193–1217	*c.* 1230 or later	lion queue fourchy

Table 4: English comital seals: last use of non-heraldic seals, first use of heraldic seals.

Some of the entries deserve further comment. Amongst the Beaumont earls of Leicester, Robert III Blanchesmains was earl until 1190 and used a non-heraldic seal.[12] His son, Robert IV fitz Pernel, also used a non-heraldic equestrian seal, but in 1195 began to use a small counterseal bearing a checky shield.[13] This counterseal has the legend ✠ SECRETVM ROBERTI DE BRETVEL, the name he used before he became earl. However, he also used a different counterseal, an antique gem with the legend SIG . . . . . COMITIS, which must date from after he became earl.[14] Again as earl, on a charter to the city of Leicester, he used a double-sided seal with a non-heraldic equestrian obverse and a free-standing ermine cinquefoil on the reverse.[15] Seen together, these three seals must question how significant the one with a checky shield really was.

Several families did not adopt heraldry until the thirteenth century. Hamelin de Warenne was earl of Surrey until 1202 and used a non-heraldic seal with 'a long convex shield with ornamental star and central spike'.[16] His son, William IV, was the first in the family to use heraldry.[17] Aubrey IV de Vere, like his father, used a non-heraldic seal and was earl of Oxford until 1214.[18] His brother, Robert I, did not use his heraldic seal until after that date.[19] William, earl of Devon until 1217, used seals with the Redvers griffin and elephant on them.[20] Baldwin III, his grandson, succeeded him as a babe in arms and presumably did not adopt his coat of *Or, a lion rampant queue fourchy azure* before he was at least thirteen in 1230.[21] It might have been later, since he was knighted and invested with the earldom by Henry III in December 1239.

The fourth column of Table 4, showing when each comital family first used an heraldic seal, has dates ranging from 1180 to 1230, a spread of fifty years. This raises a question about how the other levels of the aristocracy fitted in with their adoption of heraldry. Walter Birch, in his catalogue of seals in the British Museum, was really only interested in heraldic seals, but he did produce a list of equestrian seals where he included both heraldic and non-heraldic seals. Equestrian seals were used by all levels of

the aristocracy from knights to earls. Because of the lack of dates on charters, Birch was only able to allocate them either to the twelfth or to the thirteenth centuries. During the twelfth century they would have included those who were most likely to have adopted heraldry. However, around the turn of the century a few men of baronial rank or similar started to use armorial seals, those where the principal device was a shield of arms, instead of using equestrian seals.[22] By about 1230, ordinary knights also started using armorial seals. In summarising Birch's figures (see **Table 5**), I have therefore limited his thirteenth-century seals to those up to 1230, even though there were many equestrian seals being used after then. Within each time period the seals are divided amongst three levels of the aristocracy, earls, barons and knights.

| Number of seals	N = non-heraldic H = heraldic			
	'12th century'		'13th century' (1200–1230)	
	N	H	N	H
Earls	28	6*	6	9
Barons	37	6	12	18
Knights	192	2	143	10
* includes Waleran de Beaumont of Worcester, Gilbert de Clare of Pembroke, William de Aubigny of Arundel				

Table 5: 'Equestrian Seals' from *BM Seals*, vol. 2, pp. 235–373.

Amongst the earls, there were many with non-heraldic seals in the twelfth century. Of the other six, three were from late in the century (Leicester, Hertford, Derby) and three of them earlier on and had proto-heraldic devices (Worcester, Pembroke, Arundel). Amongst the barons, there were only six from the twelfth century with heraldry, all late in the century, and four of them were still alive in 1210. Even in the thirteenth century, there were still a substantial number without heraldry. There were hardly any knights in the twelfth century using heraldry on their seals, and even up to 1230 there were only a few. The pattern with all three ranks of the aristocracy was similar, being spread over time, with the barons later than the earls, and the knights later still. However, by the time of Glover's Roll in the 1250s, although most of the entries in the roll were for earls and barons, there were a good few well-to-do knights as well.

There is now a need to examine at least some of the proto-heraldic seals used to place the start of heraldry in the first half of the twelfth century, in order to see how close they are to being true heraldry. An early pair of such seals are those of Raoul I, count of Vermandois, and his nephew, Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester. Both men, at the same time, used equestrian seals where they are carrying banners with chequers on them.[23] Demay's drawings, taken from these seals, appear at the top of **Table 6**.[24] Later, they both had new seals where the chequers decorate their shields as well as their banners.[25] These seals, seen on their own, have naturally led writers to believe that the chequers formed the family arms. However, Table 6 shows that adding the rest of the family's seals raises questions about that belief.

In Waleran's family, his eldest son used a non-heraldic seal; and whilst his younger son used an armorial seal, it bore a lion, not chequers. Waleran's twin brother, Robert II of Leicester, had a non-heraldic seal, as did his son, Robert III. The result is that nobody else in Waleran's immediate family used chequers.

Raoul I of Vermandois had three children, none of whom had any issue of their own. Raoul II had a non-heraldic seal. He had succeeded under age and by then was

Table 6

already suffering from leprosy. He soon had to relinquish control of the county to his elder sister Élisabeth, which in fact meant her husband, Philippe d'Alsace. She had a normal seal, a pointed oval with a standing figure, and we have already seen Philippe's two seals. His counterseal as count of Vermandois still used his Flemish lion. When Philippe died, his sister-in-law Éléonore became at least titular countess of Vermandois. By then, she was married to Mathieu of Beaumont-sur-Oise, another one who had a lion on his seal. Éléonore had an ordinary seal similar to her sister's, but she may also have used a privy seal with a lion on it to match her husband's. When she died in 1192, the county of Vermandois disappeared completely, its lands absorbed into the royal domains of Philip Augustus of France. The result was no more chequers, and no more counts of Vermandois.

It really does not look as though the rest of the two families saw the chequers as a family symbol. A more likely explanation is that Raoul used the chequers as personal decoration, and they were then copied by Waleran because he wanted favours from a highly influential relative. Later on, as we have already seen (Table 4), the son of Robert III of Leicester, Robert IV fitz Pernel, used a checky shield on one of his counterseals, but that would have been a fresh decision. Whether he thought he was copying a distant ancestor or not, it could not have waved a retroactive wand to change the status of the checky seals of Raoul of Vermandois and Waleran of Meulan. They could only ever be forerunners.

After these French and Anglo-Norman families, the next proto-heraldic seal comes from Germany. Henry the Lion (d. 1195), duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had a life-size statue of a lion in the courtyard of his castle in Brunswick and he used an equestrian seal in 1144 with a lion rampant on the shield. Donald Galbreath and Anthony Wagner saw the lion as his coat of arms.[26] But they did not realise that he used a total of eight different seals in four different styles.[27] On both of the first two seals, he had a lion on his shield. But seals three, four and five have shields that are left blank. On seals six and seven, the shield is decorated once more, but this time with a central boss and radiating lines. Unfortunately, in 1180, Henry fell out with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, with the result that he was stripped of his duchies and banished from the Empire. He stopped using his earlier large seals, with a banner on them to represent his status as an imperial prince, and used a much smaller seal which might well have been the one he used to seal his letters. This small seal has a lion statant guardant, but not on a shield.

Taking all the seals into account, including those with blank shields and with radiating lines, the lions look as if they were just decoration. Shields had been decorated ever since the time of the Greeks and Romans. Perhaps Henry was just showing that he too had some decorated shields.

We now need to look at some early English seals, those of the Clare earls of Hertford and Pembroke. We have seen how families changed their seals from non-heraldic to heraldic. In the case of the Clare earls of Hertford, Roger the second earl used a non-heraldic equestrian seal around 1153 where the rider carries a plain shield.[28] His son, Richard III, at sometime after 1184, used an equestrian seal where the shield bears his newly devised arms of three chevrons.[29] Roger's cousin, Richard fitz Gilbert, earl of

Pembroke, also known as Strongbow, had a seal like Roger's where the shield is plain.[30] Strongbow's son, Gilbert de Strigoil, unfortunately died before he got past the age of thirteen, and so the Clare earls of Pembroke never had any arms.

Of course, as **Table 7** shows, other members of the family used seals that look as if they might have been heraldic; but the question is whether they in fact change anything. The seventeenth-century drawings at the top of Table 7 show the double-sided seal, now lost, of Gilbert fitz Gilbert of Pembroke, Strongbow's father.[31] On the obverse, he is shown carrying a striped shield. This side of his seal is very similar to the one-sided seal of his nephew, Gilbert III, earl of Hertford – both men alive at the same time and both with striped shields. Since only half the shield is visible, the stripes are supposed to be half of six or seven chevrons. This idea is based on the seals of Rohese, Gilbert of Hertford's sister, and her daughter, Alice. But the men's stripes do not look like chevrons, which raises the question of just how important it was that the chevrons should be recognised. Perhaps the stripes – or chevrons – were just decoration.

On the reverse of Gilbert fitz Gilbert's seal is a most unusual figure carrying an oversized arrow and the same striped shield. As Horace Round put it, he looks as if he is defending himself after being surprised at night.[32] On the other hand, with the long hair, the figure might be that of a woman. Whatever the image represents, it was important enough for Strongbow to use the same figure on the reverse of his seal. In fact, it looks as if he used his father's matrix and just changed the legend; but then comes the big difference. Strongbow did not copy the obverse of his father's seal. He chose something new, with a plain shield – just as Roger of Hertford did. Both men were alive at the same time and both had non-heraldic seals.

We are then left with the two women's seals. The main thing that worries me about them is their shape. The pointed oval was used by women and churchmen to distinguish their seals from the belligerent world of the male warriors; it seems an inappropriate shape for heraldry with military connotations. In addition, other women's seals, even much later in the twelfth century, either did not have any heraldry at all or, if they did, it was shown on a shield. Perhaps the decorations on the pointed ovals had a different significance. Chevrons do not have to be heraldry.[33] These additional Clare seals do complicate matters, but for me the most telling evidence is the way Strongbow copied the reverse of his father's seal but not the striped shield on the obverse.

There is not space to look at all the evidence used to support the idea of heraldry starting in the first half of the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the examples given here show the effect of setting the evidence back into its context of non-heraldic seals. In looking for the start of heraldry, I find myself attracted much more to the idea that it spread out gradually from Flanders and the neighbouring region from 1170 onwards rather than its sudden emergence over a wide area of western Europe in the second quarter of the twelfth century. But in order to make such a choice, we need the different approach used by Demay, where we look not just at those seals with heraldry but also at those without it. The context of non-heraldic seals is just as important as the early heraldry we are seeking. We must take the non-heraldic seals into account, one way or another, when considering how heraldry started. What I am really pushing is the restoration of the approach to the start of heraldry used by Germain Demay nearly a hundred and fifty years ago.
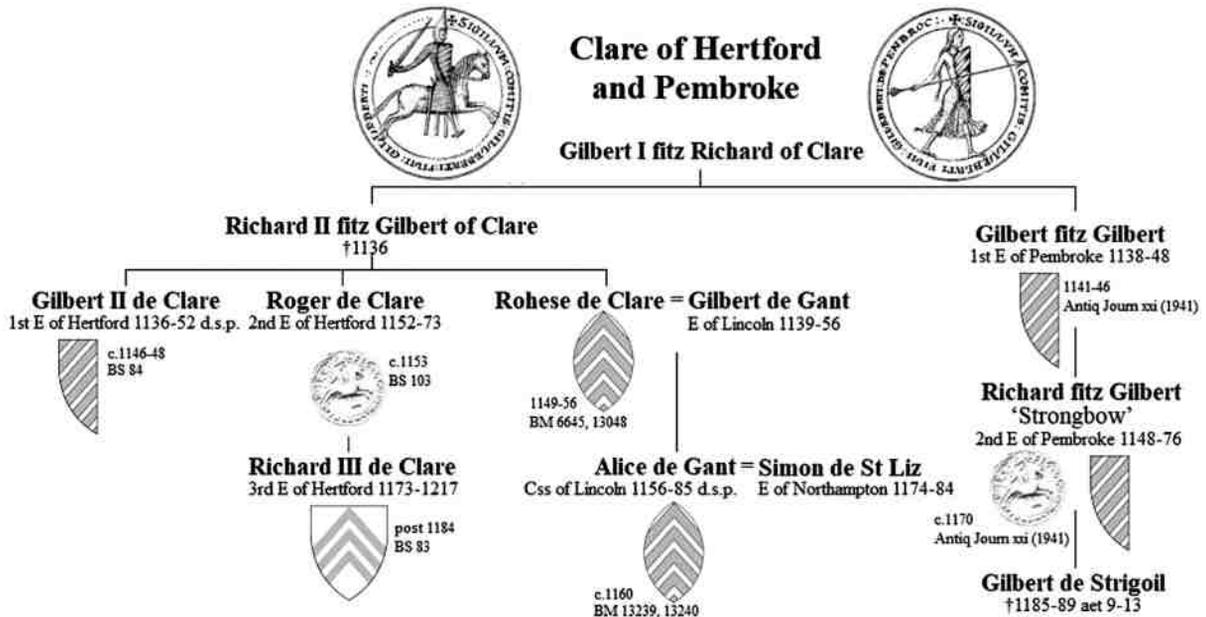
Table 7

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[1] A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1956), pp. 13–14.

[2] M. Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1997), p. 32.

[3] Demay catalogued seals from the provincial archives of Flanders (1873), Artois and Picardy (1877), and Normandy (1881) and from the Collection Clairambault (1885). He also wrote *Le Costume au Moyen Âge d'après les sceaux* (Paris, 1880).

[4] G. Demay, 'Le blason, d'après les sceaux du moyen-âge', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. 37 (1876), pp. 39–88; also reprinted as a separate pamphlet (1877). As one would expect, some of the details in his article have since been amended by later research, but the overall conclusions remain valid.

[5] For more detailed research into the seals of Philippe d'Alsace and their dates see T. de Hemptinne, A.E. Verhulst and L. de Mey (edd.), *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (juli 1128-september 1191)*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1988–2009), vol. 2.

[6] Demay mixed up the names. Mathieu I's son was called Bouchard. Mathieu II was Bouchard's son.

[7] For example, R. Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London, 1975), p. 29; M. Pastoureau, 'La Diffusion des armoiries et les débuts de l'héraldique' in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, ed. R. Bautier (Paris, 1982), p. 749.

[8] Wagner himself mentioned 'this sudden appearance at one time over so wide a region', *Heraldry in England* (Harmondsworth, 1946), p. 6.

[9] L-C. Douët d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux*, 3 vols (Paris, 1863–68).

[10] T.A. Heslop, 'Seals as Evidence for Metalworking in the Later Twelfth Century', in S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (edd.), *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, (London, 1986), p. *52*.

[11] There are others amongst Philippe's family and neighbours who copied his seal: Mathieu III, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, Gerard, count of Guelders, Conon, count of Soissons, Bouchard de Montmorency, and Henri II, count of Champagne. For illustrations, see P. Bony, *Un siècle de sceaux figurés (1135–1235)* (Paris, 2002), figs 286, 273, 199, 192, 275.

[12] L.C. Loyd and D. Stenton (edd.), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, (Oxford, 1950), [hereinafter **BS**], no. 4.

[13] *BM Seals* 5674.

[14] *Douët d'Arcq* 10161.

[15] John Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester*, 4 vols in 8 (London, 1795-1811), vol. 1, plate xi, fig. 3.

[16] *BM Seals* 6319.

[17] *BM Seals* 6524.

[18] *BM Seals* 6500-1.

[19] *BM Seals* 14133, BS 72.

[20] R. Bearman, *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090-1217* (Exeter, 1994), p. 51.

[21] Thomas Daniel Tremlett, 'The Matthew Paris Shields', in *Rolls of Arms Henry III* (London, 1967), p. 29, no. 75.

[22] Robert fitz Meldred, lord of Raby, Durham, from 1195 to 1242-48, and of the barony of Ashby, Lincs, jure uxoris, used an armorial seal (*BM Seals* 9746, Durham Seals [**DS**] 1742); so did his half-brother, Gilbert Hansard of Hornby, Yorks, and eleven other manors (DS 1184). Another who used an armorial seal was Robert de Pinkeny (*BM Seals* 12,646), who held the barony of Weedon Pinkeny, Northants, from 1209 to 1232. For **DS** see W. Greenwell and C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Durham Seals', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (1911–20).

[23] *Douët d'Arcq* 716 and 1010.

[24] G. Demay, *Le Costume au Moyen Âge d'après les sceaux* (Paris, 1880), p. 111 fig. 59, p. 113 fig. 62.

[25] *Douët d'Arcq* 715; G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Picardie* (Paris, 1877) [hereinafter **DP**], no. 38.

[26] D.L. Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason* (Lausanne, 1942), p. 26; A.R. Wagner, 'Heraldry', in A.L. Poole (ed.), *Medieval England*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1958), vol. 1, p. 344, and fig. 67 on p. 342.

[27] For illustrations, see 'Welfensiegel: Ein Projekt der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen e.V.' www.historische-datenbanken.niedersachsen.de/ nos. 1220, 3, 1221, 1512, 4, 1, 5, 1126; also J. Luckhardt and F. Niehoff (edd.), *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit* (Brunswick, 1995), i. 154–57, 594–96, nos. D 1, D 2, D 3, D 4, G 90, D 5, D 6.

[28] BS 105.

[29] BS 83.

[30] A.R. Wagner, 'A Seal of Strongbow in the Huntington Library', *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 21 (1941), pp. 128–32.

[31] From J.H. Round, 'The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 51 (1894), between pp. 46 and 47 (copied from BL Lansdowne MS. 203).

[32] Ibid., p. 45 n.

[33] See the many chevrons used as decoration in Norman churches, including, for example, Durham cathedral and the parish churches of Adel, Leeds, and Kilpeck, Hereford.

CROWN AND RESTORATION:
A PROJECTION OF THE PAST IN THE DESIGN OF THE BULGARIAN HERALDIC CROWN

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Introduction

In the modern history of Bulgaria, three historical events which were revolutionary in nature can be identified, each of which resulted in fundamental social, political, economic and ideological reforms. Each of these transformations was reflected in the national heraldry. The first event was the restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878, following a movement for secular education, for an independent national church, and for political emancipation. This culminated in the declaration of independence and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Bulgaria on September 22, 1908.

The second event was as a consequence of the Soviet occupation of 1944–1947 and the related coup d'état of 9 September 1944, which the communists called "the 9 September Socialist Revolution." This led to the abolition of the monarchy in 1946, the destruction of the multi-party system, the nationalisation of industry in 1948, and ultimately to the establishment of a totalitarian regime, incorporating the country into the Soviet bloc as the 'People's Republic of Bulgaria.'

The third event was the transition from a totalitarian state to a democracy, which began with the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, leading to the gradual reduction of Kremlin influence, the establishment of a democratic political system, a market economy, and eventually – joining the Euro-Atlantic organisations (N.A.T.O. in 2004 and the European Union in 2007). With the restoration of the Bulgarian state the former Soviet-style emblem was abandoned. The resurrection of the old Bulgarian heraldic crown was debated for almost seven years, and during this time Bulgaria effectively had no coat of arms. The aim of the present study is to analyse the arguments that emerged during this time of debate. It was a time when some feared the restoration of the monarchy, while others were apprehensive of a possible return to totalitarianism.

Historical Background
The Crown and the Bulgarian National Revival.

During the struggle for national liberation in the nineteenth century, Bulgarian revolutionary organisations used various lion charges on flags, cockades and seals. It is believed that they were influenced by two main sources. The first one was the attributed coat of arms of Bulgaria in Zhefarovich's *Stemmatographia* (1741), which was reproduced in several issues during the Revival period (**Figure 1**).[1]

The second was inspired by the first, and published in Hristaki Pavlovich's *Tsarstvenik* (1844) (**Figure 2**).[2] Both claimed to depict the arms of the Bulgarian Empire before its conquest by the Ottomans. Through the adoption of such symbolism the idea of the restoration of the mediaeval Bulgarian kingdom was incorporated into revolutionary ideology.

Even those revolutionaries who imagined the future state as a democratic republic did not give up the crowned lion. The question of the crown as an attribute of the

Top: *Figure 1:* Arms attributed to Bulgaria, 1741 from Hristofor Zhefarovich, *Stematography* (1741), f. 5v. Bottom: *Figure 2:* "The Arms on Bulgarian Banners", from Hristaki Pavlovich, *Tsarstvenka, or Bulgarian History* (Buda, 1844), p. 77.

Bulgarian lion was likely raised for the first time during the making of a seal for one of the revolutionary organisations. Vasil Levski, one of the leaders of the national liberation movement of the late 1860s and early 1870s, despite being a passionate republican,[3] ordered the seal of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee to have as its principal charge ''a crowned lion, and out of his mouth 'Death or Republic', surrounded with the legend *Provisional Bulgarian Government of Bulgaria* ''(letter dated February 5, 1871).[4] The seal produced differed from the one ordered: the lion was without a crown, the motto was missing, and the inscription read "I div. of BRCC[5] – Interim Government in Bulgaria". In a feedback letter dated July 6, the revolutionary expressed his opinion about the design of the seal – ''The seal is good overall, only the lion does not have a crown, why is it so? If that was a mistake, another one must be ordered.''[6] Whether the authors of the design abandoned the crown because of republican views can only be speculated. This correspondence was subsequently cited by those who the supported the use of the crown on the Bulgarian coat of arms in the 1990s, as proof that the crown was a symbol of independence, and not of monarchy; after all, the most prominent republican among the Bulgarian revolutionaries had asked for a crowned lion.[7]

Restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878

After the restoration of Bulgarian statehood as a principality which was nominally a dependency of the Ottoman Empire, but in practice under the dependency of the Russian Empire, a commission was created in St. Petersburg to draft a constitution. This commission followed the tradition already established in Bulgarian revival society and used the *Stemmatographia* coat of arms. In the first version, the constitutional description of the arms was *A golden lion on a dark red shield; on the lion's head and above the shield a princely crown.* In Article 21 of the constitution of April 16, 1879, which related to the coat of arms, the word 'shield' was replaced by 'field' – "a golden crowned lion on a dark red field. Above the field a princely crown."[8] The constitution had the Bulgarian arms overlaid on its cover (**Figure 3**), the design of which was not standardised by a separate law. As a consequence the arms such as were used on banknotes and coins at times differed significantly in their peripheral elements.[9] State and princely/royal arms functioned in parallel, and the differences in characteristics and uses were not taken into account by the Bulgarian public.[10]

The Crown of the Principality and of the Kingdom

Ivan Voinikov, a researcher of the history of Bulgarian symbols, has defined several types of crown: *princely crown type I* (1881) – without cap (**Figure 4**); *princely crown type II* (1885) – with cap (**Figure 5**), and *royal crown*, first used in 1891 as a crown above the shield, while above the mantle is his *princely crown type II* (**Figure 6**).[11] There are no characteristics by which one crown can be defined as 'princely' and another as 'royal'. According to Voynikov, the designer of the *royal crown* was probably the *Hofmarschall* of the Court, count Amédée de Foras, who used the French crown as a prototype, reflecting Prince Ferdinand's particular pride in his Orléans and Bourbon ancestry.[12] Other sources report that the royal crown was designed by the Austrian heraldist Friedrich Heyer von Rosenfeld, designer of the orders *For Bravery* and *St. Alexander*.[13] Prior to the declaration of independence the particular type of crown used has been termed as the *Bulgarian royal heraldic crown* (**Figure 7**).[14]
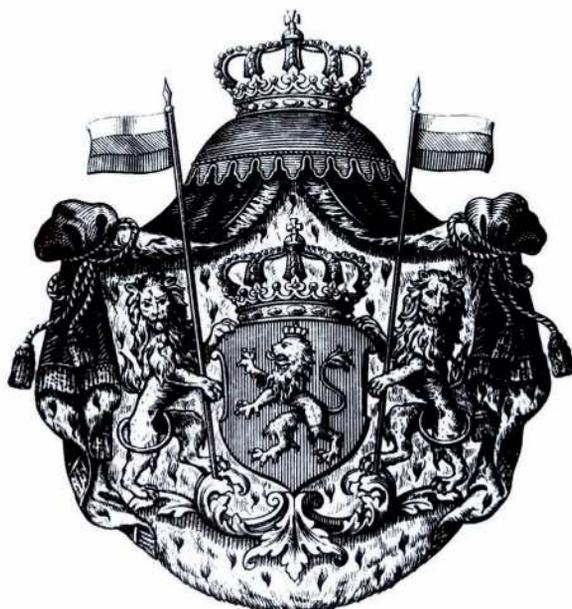
Top: *Figure 3:* The first arms of the Principality of Bulgaria from the cover of the Tarnovo Constitution, 1879. Bottom: *Figure 4*: The State Arms, 1881–1927, type I. Both figures, source: *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms.* Calendar, 2002.
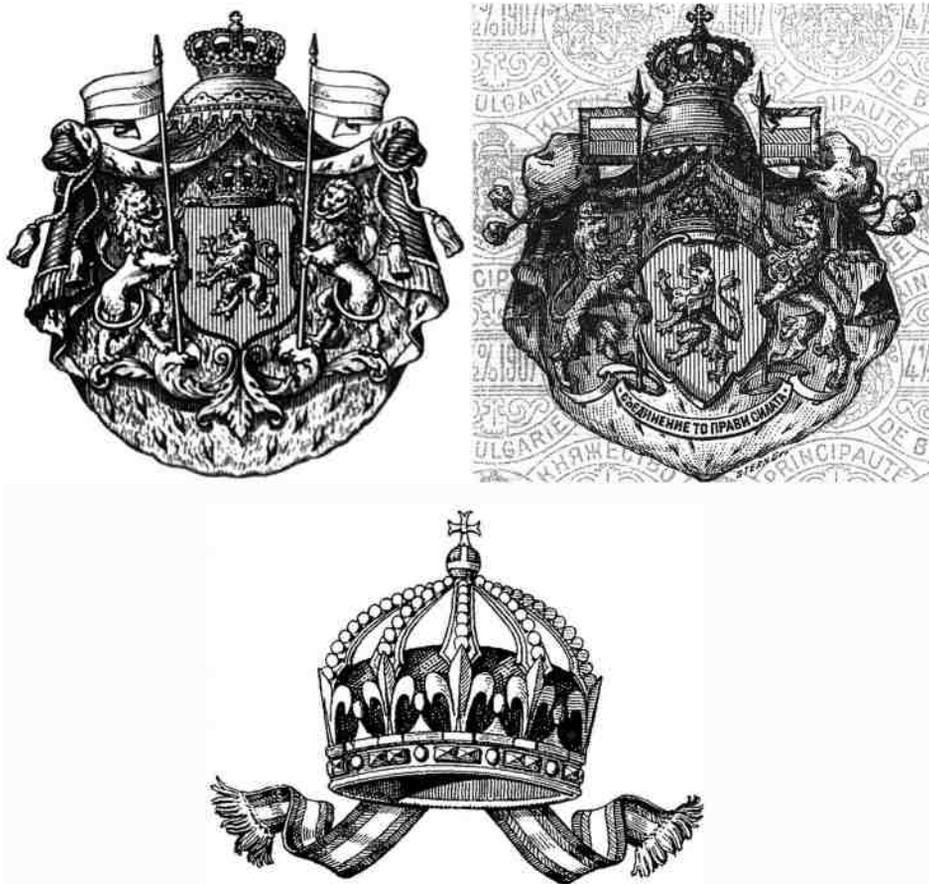
Top left: *Figure 5:* The State Arms, 1885–1927, type II from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms* Calendar,2002. Top right: *Figure 6:* The State Arms, c. 1907 – c. 1915 from Ivan Voinikov, History of the Bulgarian state symbols (Veliko Tarnovo, 2017).
Bottom: *Figure 7:* The Bulgarian Heraldic Crown from Ströhl's *Heraldischer Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1899), Tafel XV., Fig. 40.

Following the declaration of independence in 1908 the country was proclaimed a Tsardom/Kingdom, and in an amended constitution the word 'princely' was replaced with 'royal'.[15] On this basis it can be concluded that the Bulgarian heraldic crown is not royal by design, but by definition. To complicate matters further, between 1915 and 1920 the royal arms, designed by Joseph Emmanuel van Driesten, were also used as state arms (**Figure 8**).[16]

Figure 8: The Bulgarian royal arms used as state arms, 1915–1920 from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms* Calendar, 2002. Bottom: *Figure 9:* Tsar John Alexander, 1355/6, from The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander, British Library, Add. MS 39627, f. 3r, ©British Library.

Harmonisation of the royal and state arms

The official use of two separate coats of arms led to a decision to "establish an obligatory coat of arms for all institutions and state papers" in 1923.[17] Among other specifications, the appointed commission recommended that the crown be spherical, analogous to the crowns from mediaeval images of Bulgarian emperors (**Figure 9**). Haralampi Tachev proposed a design fulfilling these requirements, but the project of Stefan Badzhov was approved instead – one following the general design of Joseph Emmanuel van Driesten from 1911 (**Figure 10**).[18] The use of the past in the discourse of Bulgarian symbols resulted in the idea of a symbolic restoration of the mediaeval state once more. After about 70 years, the reference to the 'mediaeval Bulgarian crown' would resurface once more.

Soviet occupation and the Soviet-style state emblem

The next revolutionary change occurred towards the end of World War II, when the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria (September 5, 1944), and four days later occupied the country, installing a government dominated by communists and Soviet agents. Under the conditions of foreign military occupation, which lasted until the end of 1947, a referendum was held, following which, on September 15, 1946, the monarchy was abolished, and the country was declared a *people's republic*. The crown was removed from the state coat of arms, as well as the crowns from the lions' heads (**Figure 11**). The reformation of the country based on the Soviet model was legalised by the Constitution of December 4, 1947, which replaced the coat of arms with a Soviet emblem.[19] In the wake of this transformation, images and signs (especially images of the crown) in public spaces (for example on the facades of buildings), which served as reminders of the old regime, were removed in a *damnatio memoriae*-like process (**Figure 12**).

In Search of New Arms

Bulgaria welcomed the collapse of the Soviet system. An intra-party coup deposed the dictator Todor Zhivkov on November 10, 1989, and in the summer of 1990 a Great National Assembly was convened, tasked with drafting a new constitution. A committee on state symbols was established within the parliament, before which a redesign of the coat of arms from 1927 was presented.[20] Thus, the question of restoring the coat of arms from the pre-totalitarian period was raised. This was the beginning of the conflict in the field of symbols between, on the one hand, the political supporters of the former regime, together with others from the left of the political divide, and, on the other hand, those fighting to end the Soviet legacy. In March 1991, the representatives of the socialists (the former communists who ruled the country), together with the agrarian party and the social democrats, declared their opposition to the crown in the parliamentary committee. They were opposed by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).[21] On July 2, 1991 the national assembly held a vote on the proposal that: "The coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall be a rampant golden lion on a dark red field in the form of a shield."[22]

   This left open the question of the crown. A national competition was held from April 24 to September 25, 1992 under the aegis of the government of the Union of Democratic Forces for the artistic rendering of the state coat of arms. The chairman of the competition

Top: *Figure 10:* The Bulgarian Arms, 1927–1946 from The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms Calendar, 2002. Bottom: *Figure 11:* The Bulgarian Arms, 1946–1947 © Bulgarian Heraldry and Vexillology Society.

commission was Hristo Dermendzhiev, who was recognised as a heraldic expert at the time, and he imposed heraldic criteria in the evaluation of the proposals.[23]

Proposals for the state blazon

Out of the forty proposals presented, the winning one was by Georgi Chapkanov and Kiril Gogov. The proposal of Kuncho Avramov and his son Emil Avramov came second, while a submission from Bogomil Nikolov and Ekaterina Dimitrova attained third place. As noted by Ivan Voynikov, the proposals were ranked according to their proximity to the 1927 coat of arms, which unequivocally demonstrates Dermendzhiev's preference for restoring the former arms.[24] However, the government resigned before the winning proposal was submitted for a vote by the parliament. The new government "did not like crowns" and requested the winners of the competition to revise their proposals.[25] As a result, the authors substituted a sun in splendour with ears of wheat added between the rays (**Figure 13**), which the ministers liked, but the parliamentary committee on culture rejected as it had not gone through the competition procedure.[26] The next government was that of the socialists (former communists), and disregarding the results of the competition, in 1995 it assigned the runners-up to prepare a new proposal in keeping with the constitutional description.[27] The Avramovs produced a blazon which followed the constitutional text literally; that is, presenting a coat of arms without a crown (**Figure 14**). On February 23, 1995, the government approved the design.[28]

Subsequent to this 74 deputies submitted a request for an interpretative decision of the Constitutional Court on the question "Is the cited text (§ 164) violated if, in addition to the main elements outlined for the coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria, the image also contains additional ones?" Here, under 'additional' elements, the presence of the crown is assumed. The court decided that there was no obstacle for the state coat of arms to have a crown, because the absence or presence of a crown on the coat of arms did not mean the approval of the form of the government.[29] Parliamentary proceedings followed, hand-to-hand combat ensued in Parliament, and disputes flared up on the pages of newspapers, accompanied by all sorts of new proposals for the coat of arms, with caricatures of the opposing proposals and opinions.[30] The Union of Bulgarian Artists issued a statement against Avramovs' proposal, declaring it devoid of symbolism.[31] The president (from the UDF) imposed a veto, which was almost overcome by the parliament. A severe crisis during the winter of 1996–1997 then led to protests and the overthrow of the socialist government.[32]

On July 1, 1997, the new president Petar Stoyanov (also from UDF) convened an advisory council regarding the coat of arms. Two options were being discussed: restoration of the 1927 coat of arms, or acceptance of Gogov–Chapkanov's redesign. Historians insisted on following tradition, while the artists wanted a redesign, for easier perception and reproduction.[33] Opposition to the crown among politicians and society remained strong, so the president suggested using the crown of Tsar John Alexander (1331 – 1371) as a compromise. Gogov and Chapkanov did not implement this suggestion, but replaced the fleurs-de-lis with crosses, which were supposedly 'Bogomilian' (**Figure 15**).[34] Finally, on July 24 and 25, 1997, the Culture and Media Committee of the Parliament examined the *Bill for the State Arms of the Republic of Bulgaria*. Four proposals were submitted for discussion:
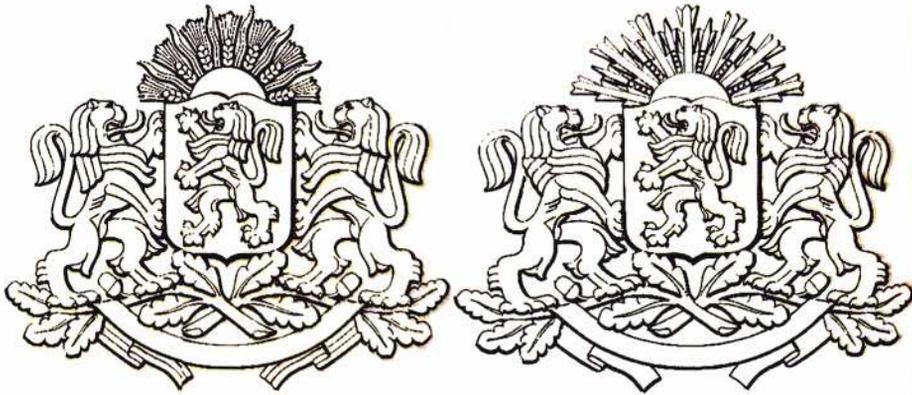
Top: *Figure 12:* Coat of arms on the facade of the old post office in Veliko Tarnovo (1930s) with the crown removed. Photograph courtesy of Simeon Zhelev, 2022.
Bottom: *Figure 13:* Gogov-Chapkanov's proposal from 1995, illustrated in Borislav Nikolov and Maria Cherneva, Coat of Arms Sofia: "Gergeovden" Movement, 2000, p. 34.

1. The coat of arms of 1927.
2. Gogov-Chapkanov's first proposal (the redesign of the 1927 arms).
3. Gogov-Chapkanov's proposal with the 'Bogomil crosses'.
4. The constitutional description of the arms, presented without depiction.[35]

On July 25, at the first reading, the last option was dropped, and it was proposed to prepare a general bill based on the three remaining suggestions.

On July 31, 1997, the 'Law for the Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria' was adopted: whereas *Art. 2. (1)* says: *The Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall be a rampant golden crowned lion on dark red field in the form of a shield. Above the shield a large crown based on the crowns of Bulgarian kings of the Second Bulgarian state, with five crosses and another cross over the crown. The shield supported by two golden crowned rampant lions, turned towards the shield from the right and left heraldic side (sic!). They stand upon two crossed oak branches with fruits. Below the shield on a white scroll resting upon the oak branches, the golden letters "Unity renders power".*[36] Later, in an

interview, Chapkanov would state that the crosses were the compromise which united the political spectrum, and that this decision was ridiculous, but in the name of "ending this agony" it was accepted by "everyone".[37]

Arguments and examples for and against crowns

A media circus formed the backdrop to all this socio-political angst, with comments which were at times scandalous, at other times comical. There were displays of both ignorance and arrogance which might form the suitable subject of another study with a more anthropological focus. Here I will comment only on the most important arguments and how they impacted on the heraldic expertise. The proponents of different options preferred the exchange emotional and provocative statements to heraldic argument. Despite this there was a feeling that some heraldic knowledge had to be demonstrated. For example, the word 'heraldic' is present in the text of the said law, but the context in which it occurs is entirely meaningless, and the very inclusion of the word seems to be done to claim knowledge of some technical terminology from the language of the blazon.

Some of the essential arguments appear to be pseudoscientific. The most important ones drawn from the media and political discourse can be arranged as follows:
Against the crown:
- The crown is not mentioned in the constitutional description of the arms.[38]
- The crown is a symbol of monarchy.[39]
- Republican arms are not crowned.[40]

For the crown:
- The constitutional description could not prescribe every element of the arms.[41]
- The crown is a symbol of independence and sovereignty.[42]
- The other countries from the former Soviet bloc restored the crowns on their arms.[43]

Strictly speaking, in classical heraldry, to some extent, the crown is implied and therefore omitted from the blazon, but this argument was not used by the advocates of the crown, nor by the judges of the Constitutional Court, and arguments were sought in the descriptive powers of language and the impossibility of matching text to image. In the first pair of arguments, neither side uses a valid heraldic argument. However, it can be said that the supporters of the crown do have heraldry on their side, and not only linguistics.

As for the second pair of arguments, it can be noted that both statements have some validity, but the argument of the opponents of the crown is here on firmer ground. What then of the third pair of arguments? Certain so-called aristocratic republics have crowns on their arms, for instance San Marino; while in the modern age during revolutionary changes from a monarchical to republican forms of government, solutions with a *couronne civique* (or in several cases the *mural crown*) can be pointed out. Examples include the two Spanish republics, some of the German lands[44], and the coat of arms of Malta. Although I followed these debates with great interest, I did not detect, and subsequently did not find in the public space, anyone taking advantage of these counterexamples, which would discredit the thesis of the opponents of the crown. Moreover, the defenders of the crown gave the alleged restoration of the crowns in the arms of Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Russia as examples[45], but with the exception of Hungary, in none of the other cases is there a crown on the arms, only crowned charges. None of the opponents of the crown used as a counter-argument this difference between the crown

Top: *Figure 14:* Avramovs' proposal from 1995, Wikimedia Commons. Bottom: *Figure 15:* The approved proposal of 1997 from *The Bulgarian Coats-of-Arms*. Calendar, 2002.

as a crown and the crown as an attribute of the charges. The case of Hungary can be defined as an exception, because, according to the *Holy Crown doctrine*, all Hungarians are considered to be '*members*' of the *Crown of St. Stephen*, which is a fundamental source of national sovereignty and identity, and a subject of state power.[46] Neither was this fact used by the opponents of the crown. Supporters of the crown in this situation very skilfully used the comparison with other post-socialist countries, which is supposed to be a good example for Bulgarian society. An analogy was drawn with the *Peugeot* emblem: without a crown, the coat of arms was said to be like the emblem of a company, rather than a country. Such a statement has no heraldic value, but it was one of the most repeated and persistent references against which, in a similar style, the opponents of the crown compared the coat of arms of 1927 (and the proposal of Gogov-Chapkanov) with the cigarette emblems of *Rothmans*, *Marlboro*, etc.[47]

Essentially, the disputes between opponents and supporters of the crown on the Bulgarian coat of arms were not based on heraldic arguments, but on political views. The former communists, and some political parties from the left wing, perceived a threat in the fact that a restoration of the arms of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, or the adoption of a coat of arms with a crown similar to the royal heraldic crown, might lead to the restoration of the monarchy. For their part, supporters of the crown rather insisted on breaking with the totalitarian regime and Russian influence in the country by symbolically emphasising Bulgarian sovereignty and independence with a reference to the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

The new Bulgarian heraldic crown

What ultimately united the two opposing sides was the ephemeral connection with mediaeval Bulgaria, supposedly represented by the imperial crown of John Alexander, and the crosses purporting to be Bogomil. While advocates of the crown wished to distance themselves from the totalitarian past, its opponents preferred to maintain their connection with it, but with regard to the distant past there was no opposition. The definition of the "Bogomil" crosses can be explored as a lure to both sides. During the period of socialism, Bogomilism was praised as an anti-feudal reformist social movement. On the other hand, crosses can be seen representing religion, and therefore as anti-communist.

Conclusion

In modern Bulgarian history, the state coat of arms and the attitude towards the crown in particular is a powerful reminder of revolutionary changes in the socio-political, economic and ideological foundations of society. In the debates about the crown on the coat of arms of Bulgaria, heraldic arguments did not take priority, although some of the arguments used have been presented in heraldic form. Deep divisions in society manifested themselves in a failure to decide the question of the state arms over a six years period, until a compromise was reached by avoiding the recent past and referring to the distant past of the Middle Ages; however, the iconography of the crown itself has no prototypes in this past, regardless of what is stated in the law. The restoration of the state arms was really only a pseudo-restoration, but the Bulgarian example did set a kind of precedent. In 2004, two more republics adopted arms with crowns: Serbia restored its historical arms, and Georgia adopted a coat of arms with the Georgian heraldic crown.

[1] Христофор Жефарович, Стематография (факсим. издание на книга от 1741 г.). София, 1986, fol. 5v. For the depictions of the arms from the *Stemmatographia* in different issues, see Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербовете от "Стематографията" на Христофор Жефарович в късните преписи на Паисиевата "История славяноболгарская"', Векове, I (1972), 1, 20–29; Христо Дерменджиев, 'Художественото наследство на Христофор Жефарович и неговото значение за Българското национално възраждане', Векове, VIII (1979), 5, 48–56; Иван Войников, История на българските държавни символи. Велико Търново: Абагар, 2017, pp. 187–189.

[2] Христаки Павловичъ, Царственкъ или исторія болгарская. Будимъ, 1844, p. 77.

[3] 'Levski' is a pseudonym and means *lionlike, lionish, lion's*. For his biography and ideology, see Захари Стояновъ, Василъ Левски (Дяконътъ). Черти изъ живота му. Пловдивъ, 1883, Критично издание под редакцията на Стефанъ Каракостовъ,(София, 1943).

[4] Васил Левски, Народе*???* Писма. Личен бележник. По повод 165 год. от рождението на Васил Левски. (София, 2002), p. 43.

[5] E.g. 'First division of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee'.

[6] Васил Левски,, op. cit., p. 105.

[7] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, Гербът. София: Движение „Гергьовден", 2000, pp. 20–21; Севда Диновска, 'Народното събрание заприлича на джунгла от толкова много лъвове', Труд, 13.11.1995.

[8] Иван Войников, op. cit., pp. 191–192.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 195.

[10] *Ibidem*, pp. 196–199.

[11] *Ibidem*, pp. 193–196.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 196.

[13] Sf. Peter Stoyanovich, *Zar Ferdinand I. (geb. Prinz von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha). Seine Herkunft, Bildung, Motivation und der Aufbau des modernen Bulgarien. 1861–1887 – 1912.* (Münster, 2021), S. 331, Fußnote 141.

[14] Hugo Gerard Ströhl, *Heraldischer Atlas. Eine Sammlung von heraldischen Musterblättern für Künstler, Gewerbetreibende, sowie für Freunde der Wappenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1899), Tafel XV., Fig. 40.

[15] "*Art. 21. The arms of the Bulgarian State consist of a crowned lion of gold on a dark red field. The shield is surmounted by the royal crown.*", Herbert F. Wright (ed.), "Bulgaria", *The Constitutions of the States at War 1914–1918.* (Washington, D.C., 1919), p. 90.

[16] Иван Войников*, op. cit.,*pp. 196–199

[17] *Ibidem*, p. 199.

[18] Милена Георгиева, 'За авторството на държавния ни герб през 20-те и 30-те години на XX в. Историята на един нереализиран проект от Харалампи Тачев', *Art in Bulgaria*, 2002, pp. 54–61.

[19] Държавен вестник, № 284/6.12.1947; Конституция на Народна република България от 6.12.1947 г., https://www.parliament.bg/bg/18.

[20] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., p. 31.

[21] *Ibidem.*

[22] The official translation is as follows: "*The coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria shall depict a gold lion rampant on a dark gules shield*". *Constitution*, Prom. SG 56/13 Jul 1991, Amend. SG 85/26 Sep 2003, SG 18/25 Feb 2005, SG 27/31 Mar 2006, SG 78/26 Sep 2006 – Constitutional Court Judgment NO. 7/2006, SG 12/6 Feb 2007, SG 100/18 Dec 2015, (Art. 164.) https://www.parliament.bg/en/const.

[23] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева,op. cit., p. 32.

[24] Иван Войников, op. cit., p. 223.

[25] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., pp. 33–34, 92–97.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 34.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 35.

[28] Иван Войников, op. cit., p. 225.

[29] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева,op. cit., p. 36.

[30] *Ibidem*, pp. 37–39, 92–93 96–97.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 37.

[32] *Ibidem*, p. 39.

[33] *Ibidem*, p. 40.

[34] *Ibidem*, p. 41.

[35] Иван Войников, op. cit., p. 226.

[36] Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria (Law for the Coat of arms of the Republic of Bulgaria, Prom. SG. 62 4.08.1997), https://www.parliament.bg/en/20. In the confirmed blazon the motto is written in black.

[37] Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., p. 97.

[38] 'Лъв без корона ще краси герба', Стандарт, №881/24.02.1995; Весела Донева, 'Опозицията поиска референдум за герба', Дума, VI, №277/24.11.1995; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., pp. 34, 38.

[39] Иво Атанасов, 'Мадарският конник промушва царя на животните', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995.

[40] Ивайло Манев, 'Гербът да не бъде приеман на парче', Труд, 1.07.1997.

[41] Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов" е символ на национален нихилизъм', *24 часа*, 9.03.1995.

[42] Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов"',op. cit.; Димитър Иванов, 'Короната е символ на независимостта ни', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995.

[43] Христо Дерменджиев, 'Гербът „Виденов" op. cit.'; 'Повече проекти за гербове, отколкото правителства се смениха след Десети', Труд, 24.02.1995; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., p. 38.

[44] Ottfried Neubecker, *Le grand livre de l'héraldique. L'histoire, l'art, et la sciennce du blazon* (Paris,1981), p. 245.

[45] 'Повече проекти', op. cit.

[46] Cf. László Péter, 'The Holy Crown of Hungary, Visible and Invisible'. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 81, no. 3, 2003, pp. 421–510.

[47] Cf. 'Повече проекти', op. cit.; 'Съображения за лъва и герба', *24 часа*, 17.03.1995; Севда Диновска, op. cit.; Борислав Николов и Мария Чернева, op. cit., pp. 38–39, 97.

THE GREAT COAT OF ARMS OF LITHUANIA: TO BE, OR NOT TO BE?

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The coat of arms of Lithuania, named *Vytis*, has a long and rich history which begins in the fourteenth century. *Vytis* is a mounted knight represented with his sword raised above his head. In time its representation became more complex, for example, a ducal crown or hat and supporters appeared. The use of the great and small coats of arms of the state is probably best reflected in the sigillography. After Lithuania came under the rule of the Russian Empire in 1795, the heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had up till that time been used for several centuries, disappeared from public use. It reappeared during the national revival and when Lithuania gained independence in 1918. During the inter-war period when the state was being revivified, national and municipal symbols appeared. The legal bases for these were also being prepared. At that time there was a goal to create a standard form of the coat of arms of the Lithuanian state, following the legal precedents established by Estonia and Latvia. These attempts were fruitless, and the subsequent Soviet occupation demolished Lithuanian heraldry down to its foundations. It was only to rise again with the creation of the Sąjūdis, the Lithuanian reform movement in the latter days of the Soviet Union, and the restoration of independence in 1990. Along with the question of the standard coat of arms for the Lithuanian state, the idea of the great coat of arms, which still pops up sporadically even today, was revisited. To be or not to be, that is the question.

This article presents a short journey through the ages underscoring the key events in the development of the Lithuanian knight as the national arms. It looks back to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and to the form that these arms took as recorded in old armorials and seals.The primary focus will be on various attempts to render the great versions of state coat of arms both during the inter-war period, and after 1990, when Lithuania regained its independence. I will examine the message that the designs, some of them only simple draft sketches, might convey.

A Brief History of *Vytis* and Lithuanian Dynastic Signs

The fact that Christianity was not adopted by Lithuania until 1387 resulted in the region lagging behind Christian European cultural trends. One of the most important consequences of this was a delay in the spread of literacy, so that those important monuments of historical memory, politics, culture and writing – the Lithuanian Chronicles – were only written down in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Lithuanian annals relate that the first Grand Duke of Lithuania was the eldest of five brothers who came to Lithuania as descendants of the Romans. He originally used a Centaur coat of arms, which he left to his brothers, and started using *Vytis* for himself.[1] The imagery of the device is that of a mature ruler who can defend the country with his arms. In a commemorative publication about *Vytis* in 1639 it was stated that "*this coat of arms was first invented by Narimantas, who, on his deathbed, reminded his subjects that they should always choose only a brave man for [to rule] the state, who would lead them*
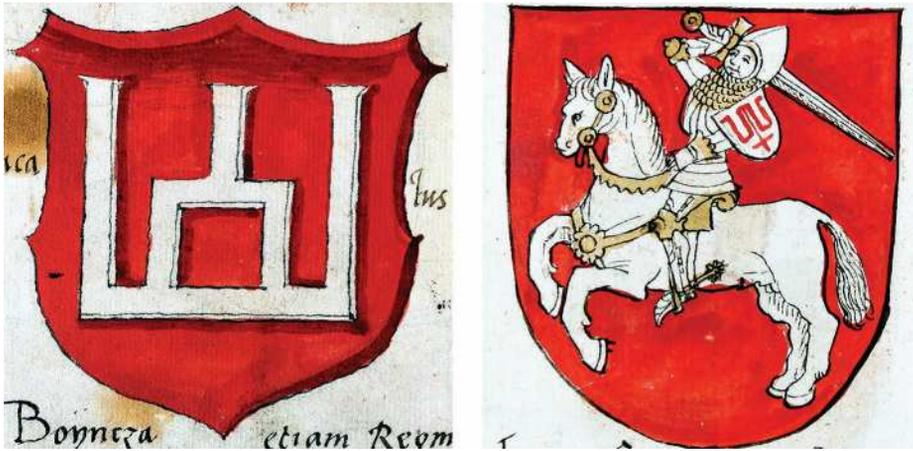
Left, *Figure 1:* The Pillars of Gediminas, Recueil d'armoiries polonaises (1601-1700), Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Ms-1114, f. 2v; right, *Figure 2:* Coat of arms of Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in a German armorial of c.1447–1449, Lambeth Palace Library, MS774, f. 26v.

skilfully, defend the borders of the Principality bravely and expand their state using the sword."[2] The arms were also used by the Sanguška family.

The legendary part of the Lithuanian annals is a constellation of anachronisms, for example, the names of places in the annals are anachronistic, with cities already in existence being given archaic names. The same can be said about the coat of arms of the state. The equestrian seal was first employed in the fourteenth century. Algirdas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1345 until his death in 1377, might have been the first to depict himself as a knight in the Western manner on his seal. He was the father of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland Jogaila, and the uncle of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great, whose seal has not survived. Jogaila and his brothers had several seals with a knight represented on them. This tends to indicate they inherited this symbol from their father.[3] There is a theory that Narimantas, the brother of Algirdas and Duke of Polotsk, used a horseman on his seal even earlier, i.e., around 1338–1341. It is believed the Duke of Polotsk did not depict himself as a knight, however, but rather as St. Gleb, whose name was given to him after baptism under to the rites of the Eastern Church.[4]

The first mounted warriors in full armour on the seals of Lithuanian rulers and their relatives were armed, but did not always carry a shield. The coat of arms was not held by supporters, and neither were there any further additional decorative elements. The tinctures and composition of the arms of Lithuania had stabilised by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Over time, during the reign of the Kęstutis Dynasty (1337–82), the tradition developed for the knight's shield to depict the 'Pillars of Gediminas' (**Figure 1**), and during the reign of the Jogailaitis Dynasty (1377–1572) the double cross. It is interesting to note that in 1382 the seals of Jogaila and his brother Skirgaila were affixed to the Treaty of Dubysa with the Crusaders. Jogaila's red wax seal depicted a knight holding a sword in his right hand, while Skirgaila's green wax seal depicted a knight holding a spear in his right hand and a late Gothic shield with a lion to his left.[5]

Left, *Figure 3:* Coat of arms of Švitrigaila, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in a German armorial (c.1447–1449), Lambeth Palace Library, MS774, f. 27r.; right, *Figure 4*: Coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Recueil d'armoiries polonaises (1601–1700), Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Ms-1114, f. 2r.

The coat of arms of Lithuania is depicted in many ways in the old armorials, with differences in the direction that the knight is riding, in the composition of the horse and knight, and sometimes in the tinctures (**Figures 2, 3 and 4**). The most interesting aspect is the variation in what is depicted on the knight's shield, when it is painted. A number of variations of the Gediminas Pillars are seen. The marshalled coat of arms of Steponas Batoras (Stephen Bathory), King of Poland (1575–86) and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1576–86) depicts the Lithuanian mounted knight bearing a shield with the Pillars of Gediminas (**Figure 5**) in a sixteenth century armorial created in Munich.[6] The latter symbol is depicted almost identically to the seal that Vytautas the Great used in 1420–1430, minus the lower connecting line in the middle.[7] Worth noting also is that during the reign of Stephen Bathory the knight's shield actually depicted the three wolf fangs of the Bathory Dynasty.[8] It is obvious that the compiler of the armorial received erroneous information.

One of the most beautiful examples of Grand Ducal crests, of a red eagle wing with the Pillars of Gediminas, is to be found in the Bergshammar armorial (**Figure 6**).[9] The available sources suggest that such a crest was never actually used in Lithuania. Nevertheless, the artist drew attention to the Lithuanian dynastic sign and this crest seems convincing.

Over time supporters began to be depicted on the state's great seals, and numerous types can be noted, including angels, allegorical figures, unicorns, griffins, cupids, and warriors. The first were the angels which came into use during the reign of Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellon) at the very beginning of the sixteenth century (**Figure 7**).[10] The large or small ducal crown, later the ducal hat, which came to be placed above
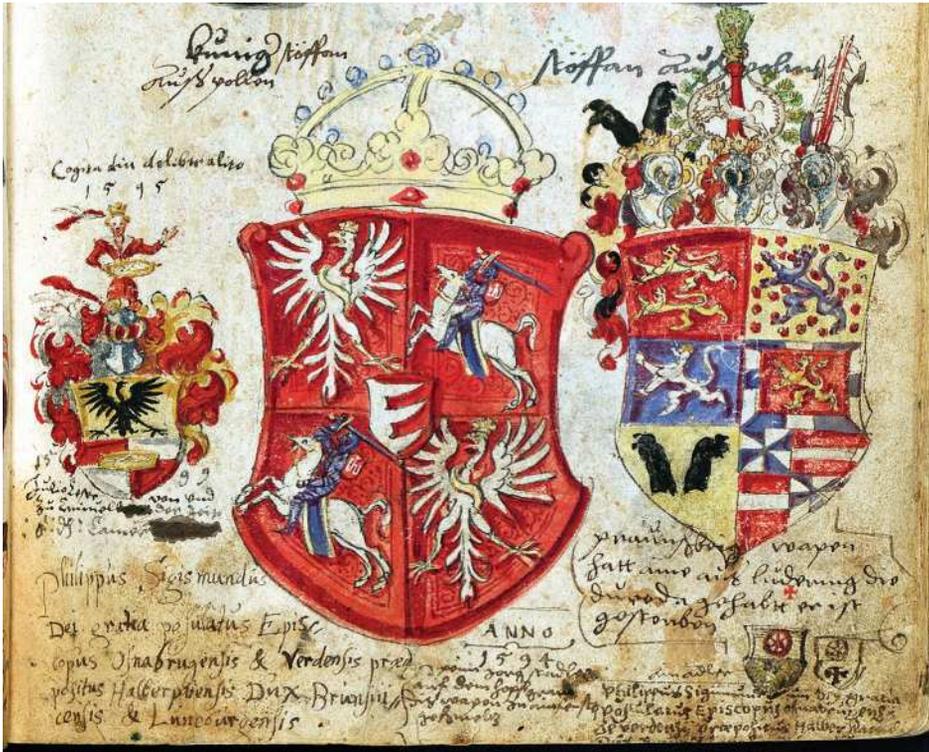
Figure 5: The marshalled coat of arms of Steponas Batoras (Stephen Bathory), the king of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania (in the middle), Hofkleiderbuch (Abbildung und Beschreibung der Hof-Livreen) des Herzogs Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V. 1508–1551, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1952, f. 46r.

the heraldic shield, together with the ermine mantle, symbolized Lithuania's status as a duchy.

Attempts at (Re)Creating the State Coat of Arms in the Inter-war Period

During the period between the two world wars the restoration and creation of state and national and municipal symbols took place. A draft constitution and other legislation had to be prepared for this. Unfortunately the legal framework for heraldry was insufficiently developed. The constitution of the Republic of Lithuania adopted in 1922 specified a white knight on a red field as the state emblem.[11] Silver was not mentioned, nor were any other details given for the design of the state coat of arms.

The restoration of independence in 1918 inspired a new search for the definition of individual and national identity, drawing experience from history and applying it to a completely new state system. This period presented an opportunity to publish analytical books about the coat of arms of the state, which, bearing in mind the special circumstances and opportunities of the time, were distinguished by careful work in collecting historical material, and a fairly professional analysis, given the constraints of the time. The artist

Figure 6: Lithuanian coat of arms (top left corner) in Bergshammars vapenbok
(c. 1440), Riksarkivet, SE/RA/720085/Z, f. 112r.

Mstislavas Dobužinskis did invaluable work in this field, not only in publishing, but also in creating a considerable collection of sketches of the state coat of arms of Lithuania.[12]

During this time several commissions were established to determine the state coat of arms. The first commission was established by the cabinet of ministers in 1925. It was also to consider a new national flag. The committee's findings were presented to the Government, but not adopted. The next attempt to accomplish this task came in 1929.[13] It was the commission's opinion that the shield of the state arms should be crowned. In 1929 Lithuanian diplomat and writer Jurgis Savickis made a statement claiming that the head of state endorsed this position, having spoken personally with president of the Republic of Lithuania Antanas Smetona. He reported that it was the President's wish to have two coats of arms: the great and the small.[14] In 1931 the head of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the authoritative advisor to the president, participated at the commission's tenth meeting. In his opinion, both the great and small state coats of arms should feature *Vytis*, and the only difference should be in the added details. The advisor felt the great coat of arms should be used exclusively on the flag and seal of the Office of President. It is not known what happened over the next few years, but in 1934 Mstislavas Dobužinskis presented two more drafts for the state's small coat of arms to the commission. Since his proposals were composed solely of

Left, *Figure 7:* Great seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the reign of Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellon), The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Unit, F6-85; right, *Figure 8:* A sketch for the great coat of arms of Lithuania, Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania Rare Books and Manuscript Unit, F30, ap. 1–2002, f. 33r.

Lithuanian dynastic signs, the commission declined them, and moreover saw no need for establishing a great and a small coat of arms.[15] The commission felt that supporters as decorative embellishments should only be used in the state coat of arms in certain contexts, such as in architecture. "...Angels (*argent*), lions (*gules* or *or*), or a lion and an angel" were considered most appropriate for this purpose.[16]

Despite the commission's negative attitude towards the great and small Lithuanian coats of arms, Dobužinskis drew a number of sketches for the great coat of arms. Unfortunately none of the existing designs is final, only draft versions have survived, and perhaps final versions never existed. One of the more unusual proposals is for a coat of arms composed of three shields.[17] Besides *Vytis*, the artist incorporated the principal Lithuanian dynastic emblems and accoutrements of the ermine mantle and the grand ducal crown. He also suggested that two angels as supporters be re-introduced, following several centuries of absence.[18] He gave priority to the Pillars of Gediminas which was depicted in the dexter shield, the place of greater honour.

Another of his sketches displaying supporters is even more elaborate. Two lions (the draft is not clear, therefore the sinister supporter could also be a griffin) stand on the compartment and hold *Vytis*. A collar is placed below the compartment from which might be suspended the Jagiellonian cross. The shield is enfolded by the duke's mantle and crowned with a coronet.[19] The latter detail is inappropriate, because in Polish and Lithuanian heraldry when such coronets were placed between the helm and the crest it indicated that the coat of arms belonged to a noble person. The mantle with ermine is also inappropriate as in Lithuanian heraldry it served to indicate the grand ducal status of the armiger. In essence we might conclude that this attempt to transfer some of the heraldic traditions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the twentieth century lacked balance and was perhaps unduly romantic.[20]
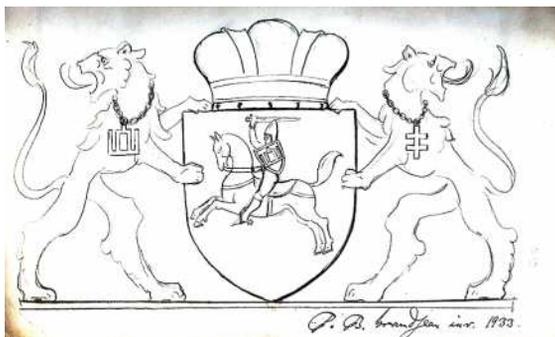
Left, *Figure 9:* The project of the great coat of arms of Lithuania (1933) by Poul Bredo Grandjean (Denmark), Lithuanian Central State Archives, F923, ap. 1, b. 1600, f. 209r.; right, *Figure 10:* Draft project of the great coat of arms of Lithuania by unknown author (inter-war period), Lithuanian Central State Archives, F. 923, ap. 1, b. 1600, f. 169a.

The same coronet is depicted in another design of the great coat of arms created by Dobužinskis. In it, two griffins stand on the compartment and hold the Lithuanian knight (**Figure 8**).[21] The depiction of angels and griffins was historically grounded because the angels which started appearing in the fifteenth century heraldry performed the function of supporters up until the end of the seventeenth century. Griffins have deep roots in the history of Lithuanian heraldry. One example found at the Gate of Dawn in Vilnius has survived to the present day.[22]

Regarding Dobužinskis, it should be noted that, as a member of the commission to resolve the issue of the coat of arms of the state, he cooperated with foreign experts. Dobužinskis personally corresponded with several, including M. Gumowski (Poland), T. Borenius (United Kingdom) and P. B. Grandjean (Denmark).[23] The latter made by far the biggest contribution, and he even made a design for the great coat of arms of Lithuania with supporters (**Figure 9**), which he sent to Dobužinskis on May 8, 1933.

Grandjean's linear drawing depicts two lions rampant regardant standing on the compartment and holding *Vytis* (the Pillars of Gediminas appear on the knight's shield), with the grand ducal crown placed above him.[24] The lions' necks are adorned with collars; the Pillars of Gediminas decorate the lion in the dexter and the Jagiellonian cross decorates the lion in the sinister.[25]

Although the authors of the aforementioned sketches of the great coat of arms of Lithuania are known, and the sketches are interesting, other attempts to create the great coat of arms of Lithuania which have survived to this day are no less intriguing.[26] Unfortunately it is not always possible to identify the authors of these other proposals for the coat of arms. One such draft is probably the most unprofessionally drawn sketch (**Figure 10**) of all the coats of arms analyzed in this article. Unfortunately neither the author nor its date of creation are known. Keeping in mind the poor drawing skills employed, it might have been one of the patriotic enthusiasts who proposed certain ideas to authority. The motto comprises lines from the Lithuanian national anthem. The supporters standing on an oak leaves base as drawn are entirely unintelligible, but fortunately the author left us a description which explains what we are seeing. The dexter supporter is supposed

Left, *Figure 11:* Coat of arms of Samogitia (bottom left corner), Großes Wappenbuch, enthaltend die Wappen der deutschen Kaiser, der europäischen Königs- und Fürstenhäuser, der Päpste und Kardinäle, Bischöfe und Äbte bis zu den lebenden Repräsentanten zur Zeit der Regentschaft Kaiser Rudolfs II. und Papst Gregors XIII., Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.icon. 333, f. 14r; right, *Figure 12:* Postcard with the coat of arms of Lithuania, Trakai History Museum, TIM AT 17780.

to be a bear, and that to the sinister is the iron wolf of Lithuanian legend.[27] The story of the iron wolf is well known in Lithuania, and has played an important role in history. It was first recorded sometime around the 1520s in the Lithuanian annals. The legend says:

Once the Grand Duke Gediminas went hunting from his capital, Kernavė, five miles beyond the Neris River, and found in the forest a beautiful mountain surrounded by oak groves and plains. He liked it very much, settled there where the Old Trakai was and moved his capital from Kernavė to Trakai. Not long after, Grand Duke Gediminas went hunting four miles from Trakai and found a beautiful mountain by the Vilnia River, on which he encountered a huge beast, an aurochs, and killed it on that mountain, which is still called by the animal's name. And since it was too late to return to Trakai, he stopped in Šventaragis Valley, where the first princes were burned, and spent the night here. While he was sleeping, he dreamed that on the mountain that was once called Crooked, and is now called Bald, there stood a huge iron wolf, and in it howled, as it seemed, like a hundred wolves. He woke up from his sleep and said to his priest named Lizdeika, who was found in the eagle's nest (this Lizdeika was the prophet of Gediminas and the chief priest of the pagans) "I had a strange dream." And he told everything that had appeared to him in the dream. Then the priest Lizdeika said: "Grand Duke, the iron wolf means: the capital will stand here, and the howling inside means that its sound will spread throughout the world." And Grand Duke Gediminas, not leaving

anymore, sent people and founded one castle in Šventaragis Valley, the Lower Castle, and a second on the Crooked Hill which is now called the Bald one, and gave the name of Vilnius to those castles. And, having established the city, he moved his capital to Vilnius.[28]

The idea of using the iron wolf in heraldry suggests a digression from the topic. Under the Soviet occupation the Lithuanian Heraldry Commission, which operated for several years before it was banned, tried to approve a coat of arms for Vilnius. St. Christopher, who had been depicted on the coat of arms of Vilnius for centuries, could no longer be depicted under the Soviets, as a religious figure. The idea of the iron wolf was again promoted, and it was one of the suggestions of the heraldic project for the Vilnius coat of arms. It was believed that if the iron wolf was depicted on the coat of arms, then everyone would surely understand that it was the coat of arms of Vilnius.[29] Although in the commission's brief work of several years in the 1960s the coats of arms of 46 localities were created, or recreated, the coat of arms of Vilnius was never approved. Only after Lithuania freed itself from Soviet occupation did St. Christopher return as the symbol of the national capital. The great coat of arms of Vilnius was restored using the old seal of the magistrate.[30]

The popular notion of the iron wolf as a symbol of Vilnius likely prompted the designer of the previously mentioned sketch to use the legendary creature as a sinister supporter of the great coat of arms of Lithuania. Between 1920 and 1939 Vilnius and its surrounding area were occupied by Poland. It is assumed the iron wolf bearing the coat of arms of Lithuania was supposed to show Lithuania's indisputable right to its capital Vilnius.

The dexter bear supporter symbolizes the region of Žemaitija (the historical Samogitia), an important territorial administrative unit of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1411 to 1795. The bear of Samogitia is one of the oldest coats of arms in Lithuania, and is known from the sixteenth century.[31] It can be seen in certain old European armorials (**Figure 11**), in the great seals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and even in the seals of Lithuanian nobles.[32]

Regarding the representation of the iron wolf in the coat of arms in the inter-war period, one can examine the quite rare example of the Lithuanian state coat of arms used in the period of 1918–1940 in the town of Jurbarkas. A Lithuanian knight is displayed in a wooden cartouche, but there are a few more elements at the base, namely the castle (or tower) of Gediminas with the Lithuanian tricolor flag flying above, and a howling iron wolf. They are depicted against the background of the rising sun.[33] It was discovered unexpectedly among museum virtual exhibits, lacking any provenance, and so unfortunately we know nothing more about it. Perhaps it was a décor element, or an effort by some local artist to imagine how the state coat of arms should look for use by some local institution. One thing is clear: although the legend of the iron wolf was not widely used as a motif for the coat of arms of Lithuania, we do find sporadic manifestations of it in heraldry.

There is another group of sources depicting greater versions of the state coat of arms that deserve mention: posters and heraldic postcards. These feature the shield with the Lithuanian knight in combination with various flags and other elements. An unofficial great coat of arms was displayed on one such inter-war poster. It is richly decorated with two griffins as supporters, symbols of Vilnius, Samogitia, Gardinas, various antique weapons, and the ducal hat.[34] The same coat of arms was issued as a postcard in New
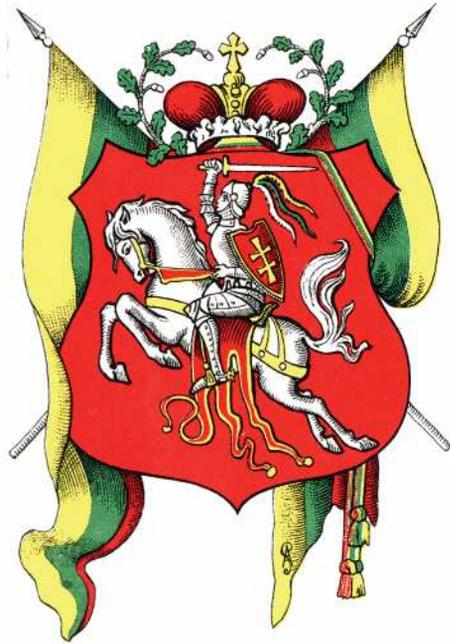
Postcards with the coat of arms of Lithuania. Left, *Figure 13:* Trakai History Museum, TIM AT 17792; right, *Figure 14:* Dating to 1910s, Trakai History Museum, TIM AT 17782.

York (**Figure 12**).[35] Another example shows a quite different proposition. It contains floral elements and an interesting attempt at displaying a musical instrument placed above the shield. This is the *kanklės*, the Lithuanian national folk music instrument. This coat of arms contains two mottos, the upper translates as "May freedom, science and morality make Lithuania more beautiful" and the lower as "Whatever is going to happen will happen, but Lithuania will not perish" (**Figure 13**).[36]

Another example shows an early Renaissance shield with two Lithuanian tricolor flags, the ducal hat and two oak branches with acorns on either side (**Figure 14**).[37] On another postcard the tricolor flag of Lithuania Minor (green, white and red), a halberd and a red flag bearing the image of the Lithuanian knight are crossed behind the coat of arms. The motto "God save Lithuania!" is embedded under the shield. This postcard was issued in Latvia.[38]

As can be readily seen, public interest and activity regarding state heraldry was high during the inter-war period. State symbols were not only the care and subject of individual citizens of the country, but specially-created commissions, foreign specialists and companies were also involved. Despite all this activity no official coat of arms of Lithuania, either great or small was adopted.

Left, *Figure 15* and right, *Figure 16:* Two of several proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania (1991) by artist Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis, published with the kind permission of the artist.

The Concept for a Lithuanian Great Coat of Arms Today

The Soviet occupation shook Lithuanian heraldry to its foundations, but it was restored again following independence in 1990. Alongside the issue of the standard for the Lithuanian state coat of arms, the idea of a great coat of arms, which has arisen sporadically over the years, is being revived.

Following independence in 1990, a system of Lithuanian state symbols was designed as follows: the national flag (tricolor), the flag of state (with a mounted knight displayed), the coat of arms, the great coat of arms, and the presidential flag, which was a derivative of the great state coat of arms. Unfortunately the constitution of the Republic of Lithuania adopted in 1992 named only the tricolor as the state flag and *Vytis* as the state coat of arms. A presidential flag depicting the *Vytis* with a griffin and unicorn as supporters was subsequently introduced in the Law on the President of the Republic of Lithuania adopted in 1993. The old flag of Lithuania (a red cloth with the Lithuanian knight on it) was only introduced into the legal framework in 2008 following great efforts, and was enshrined as the state historical (armorial) flag of Lithuania. Lithuania is thus a unique country possessing two flags of state.

Although the process of creating the great coat of arms was underway at that time, it was not completed. Some proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania were made by Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis, the author of Lithuania's contemporary state coat of arms. In one of them (Figure 15)[39], *Vytis* is depicted on a Renaissance shield. It differs from the *Vytis* in use today, who is placed on a late Gothic shield. In Každailis's design two angels were chosen as shield bearers, which are among the oldest supporters in the state's heraldry. They not only hold the central shield, they also bear smaller shields in their hands. The dexter angel holds the bear of Samogitia, while the sinister one holds the symbol of the land of Trakai. Samogitia and Trakai were important lands in the state. During the reigns of Algirdas and Kęstutis a sub-monarch even resided at Trakai. The shield supporters stand upon the motto where the last two words of the Lithuanian
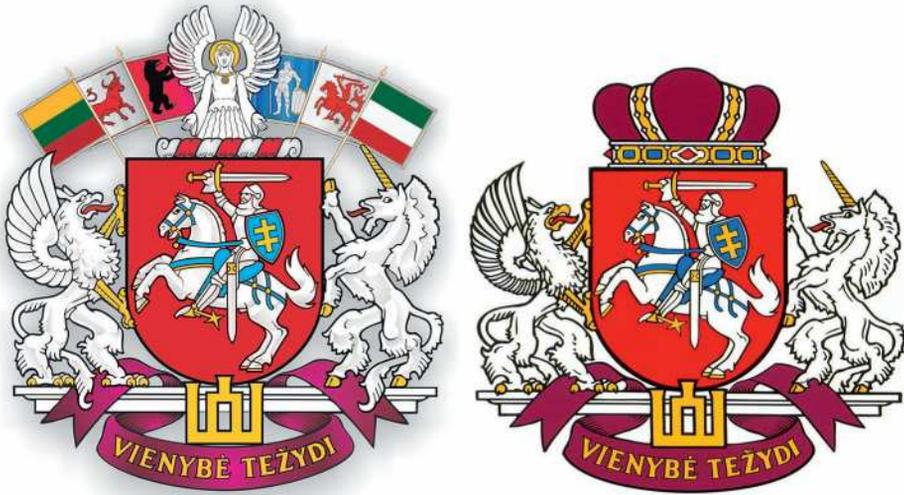
Left, *Figure 17:* The newest version of the great coat of arms of Lithuania created by Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis (post-2015), published with the kind permission of the artist; right, *Figure 18:* A version of the same with the grand ducal crown, source, with the kind permission of the artist.

national anthem are written: Vienybė težydi (Let unity blossom). Additionally, an oak wreath with acorns is depicted above the shield. Oak is called the national plant of Lithuania, and its symbolism is widespread. Oak leaves were especially popular in inter-war Lithuania. The oak leaf is currently also one of the most popular motifs communities aspire to display on their local coats of arms. Inside the wreath we see the initials L.R. which stand for *Lietuvos Respublika*, or, the Republic of Lithuania.

Another proposal for the great coat of arms is very similar (**Figure 16**)[40], but this time the shield supporters are not angels but armored warriors. They hold in their hands the same symbols of the lands, but now depicted on a completely different type of shield which is atypical in Lithuanian heraldry. Above the main shield is an oak wreath with acorns, while behind the shield are two pennons with swallowtail flags, each flag being charged with a highly stylized (one might say archaic) horseman holding a sword and shield.

The next proposal is quite different. The supporters are the representatives of the mythical world, a griffin on the dexter and unicorn sinister. Again, they stand above a motto with a line from the national anthem. The very important historical symbol of the Pillars of Gediminas is displayed both on a shield of the same shape as the main shield, and at the bottom of the achievement. Tribute is thus paid to the Gediminas dynasty from which the Jagiellonian dynasty later arose. In this project we see another novelty: three flags with the symbols of Vilnius, Trakai and the Samogitian lands[41].

Vytautas the Great was held in great esteem in Lithuania during the inter-war period as he personified the golden age of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania thus in the heraldic sphere there was strong promotion of the Pillars of Gediminas. There was a natural desire
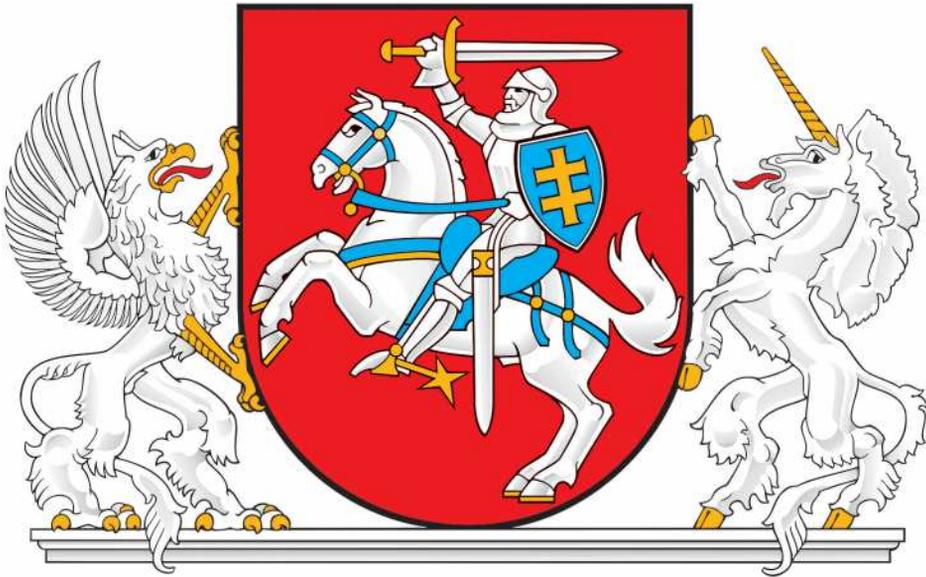
Figure 19: The coat of arms of the Lithuanian presidential flag, published with the kind permission of the artist.

to emphasise the most ancient roots of independence, so that the Pillars easily won out over the double cross of Jogailaitis.

We see six flags on the newest version created by Každailis (**Figure 17**).[42] These are the flags of Lithuania's four ethnographic regions (Sūduva, Samogitia, Dzūkija and Aukštaitija), with the Lithuanian tricolor and the historical flag of Lithuania Minor on either side. A completely unexpected element is the torse which is atypical of Lithuanian heraldry. At the current time this element is being used to create commoner's heraldry. The female angel as crest is also a novelty. As mentioned earlier, angels were used in state heraldry for a very long time but they were usually depicted as male, and functioned as supporters. In truth it must be admitted that the head and wings of the angel were occasionally displayed above the shield, but never as a crest, which was never present in state heraldry.

One of the best-known proposals for the great coat of arms of the state (**Figure 18**) comprises the main elements as previously described, but drawn in a more restrained manner. An absolutely new, although historical, element is the grand ducal crown encrusted with precious stones.[43] This coat of arms is sometimes referred to by non-Lithuanians as the great or parliamentary version, probably because the draft project remained visible on the parliament's website for a significant period of time. The coat of arms of the presidential flag (**Figure 19**) is a derivative of this, but the great coat of arms was never approved. The biggest stumbling block was the grand ducal crown, which was not felt to be suitable for the arms of a modern republican state. The coat of arms displayed on the flag of the President of the Republic of Lithuania could be employed as the great coat of arms of the state of Lithuania. If it were to be legalized as the great coat

of arms, a gap which appeared in the system of state heraldry three decades earlier would be bridged. The Lithuanian Heraldry Commission has made the proposal to do so.[44] The inter-war heraldry commission submitted its conclusions regarding the standard for the state coat of arms, but it was never adopted. What fate awaits the proposal by the current commission? It is necessary to reiterate: to be, or not to be, that is the question.

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[1] *Lietuvos metraštis: Bychovco kronika*, [Annals of Lithuania: The Chronicle of Bykhovts], translated, introduction and explanations by R. Jasas (Vilnius, 1971), p. 65.

[2] Tomasz Dygon(ia), *Przemiana koni poszonycz pod lektyke Jaśnie Oświecone Xiążęcia Jego Mści Simeona Samvela Lvbartowicza Sanguszka y Kowła woiewody Witepskiego starosty Suraszkiego [...]*, Zakonu Franciszkas. Deobservantia gvardzana konwentv Orszanskiego (Vilnius, 1639).

[3] Analogously Vytautas, the future Grand Duke of Lithuania, inherited the symbol of a foot soldier from his father Kęstutis who was second in importance as ruler of the state. His headquarters were the Duchy of Trakai. The foot soldier was the symbol of Trakai as well. It is not known if Kęstutis had another seal when he became Grand Duke of Lithuania, but after his assassination, Kęstutis's son Vytautas began using a mounted knight instead of a foot soldier on his seal, thus showing his intention to occupy the throne as the Grand Duke of Lithuania. See: Edmundas Rimša. *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto antspaudai ir žemių heraldika*, (Vilnius, 2016), p. 87.

[4] Edmundas Rimša. *Heraldry: Past to Present* (Vilnius, 2005), pp. 59–60.

[5] Ibid, p. 60; Juozas Galkus. *Lietuvos Vytis. The Vytis of Lithuania* (Vilnius, 2009), p. 14.

[6] Hofkleiderbuch (Abbildung und Beschreibung der Hof-Livreen) des Herzogs Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V. 1508–1551 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1952), f. 46r.

[7] Published seal of Vytautas the Great. See: Edmundas Rimša. *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Vytauto…*, p. 153–154.

[8] Small coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1579), The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Unit (hereinafter WLLAS MU), F301-1; Greater coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1580), Vilnius University Library, F48-32774.

[9] Bergshammars vapenbok (c. 1440), Riksarkivet, SE/RA/720085/Z, f. 112r.

[10] Great seal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the reign of Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellon), diameter 95 mm. Legend: ALEXANDER DEI GRACIA MAGNVS DVX LITHWANIE RVSSIE SAMAGITHIE Q(ue) (et) C(etera) D(omi)N(u)S ET HE(re)s, WLLAS MU, F6-85. For further reading see: Edmundas Rimša, Aleksandro antspaudai – naujas etapas valstybės sfragistikoje, *Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Aleksandras ir jo epocha*, Vilnius, 2007, p. 152–165.

[11] *Vyriausybės žinios*, No. 100, Kaunas, 1922, p. 1.

[12] Ignas Jonynas, *Vytauto ženklas*, 1930; Mstislavas Dobužinskis, *Apie Vytauto ženklą*, Kaunas, 1932; Mstislavas Dobužinskis, *Vytis: Didžiosios Lietuvos Kunigaikštystės herbo istorinių variantų bruožai*, Kaunas, 1933; Jonas Ilgūnas, *Lietuvos valstybės ženklo kilmė* (Kaunas, 1938).

[13] Agnė Railaitė-Bardė, Mstislavo Dobužinskio heraldinis ir vekcologinis palikimas. Mstislavas Dobužinskis's Heraldic and Vexillological Legacy, *Mstislavo Dobužinskio heraldika: ne tik mokslas, bet ir menas. Mstislavas Dobuzinskis's Heraldry: Not Only a Science, It Is an Art* (Vilnius, 2018), pp. 38–39.

[14] Minutes of the second meeting of the Commission for the Establishment of the State Symbol, Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania Rare Books and Manuscript Unit (hereinafter MMNLL RBMU), F30, ap. 1–1991, f. 1r.

[15] Minutes of the twenty second meeting of the Commission for the Establishment of the State Symbol, Lithuanian Central State Archives (hereinafter LCSA), F923, ap. 1, b. 1600, f. 431r.

[16] Commission's opinion regarding supporters, MMNLL RBMU, F30, ap. 1–1999, f. 51r.

[17] Sketches of the great coat of arms of Lithuania, MMNLL RBMU, F30, ap. 1–2002, f. 27r.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid, f. 32r.

[20] Agnė Railaitė-Bardė, Mstislavas Dobužinskis's Heraldic..., p. 44.

[21] A sketch of the great coat of arms of Lithuania, MMNLL RBMU, F30, ap. 1–2002, f. 33r.

[22] Edmundas Rimša. *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, Vilnius, 2004, p. 63–64.

[23] Minutes of the meetings of the Commission for the Establishment of the State Symbol, MMNLL RBMU, F30, ap. 1–1991, f. 22r–23r.

[24] It is interesting to note that this element is not depicted in the traditional way. The bottom of the grand ducal crown is decorated with an ermine fur, which is typical of the ducal hat rather than crown.

[25] Commission for the Establishment of the State Symbol activities file, LCSA, F923, ap. 1, b. 1600, f. 209r.

[26] Thanks to Ronny Skov Andersen, it was discovered that Poul Bredo Grandjean did not himself draw. As a result, the artist of the Danish version of the great coat of arms of Lithuania remains unknown.

[27] Draft project of the great coat of arms of Lithuania by unknown author (inter-war period), LCSA, F. 923, ap. 1, b. 1600, f. 169a.

[28] *Lietuvos metraštis: Bychovco kronika*, [Annals of Lithuania: The Chronicle of Bykhovts], translated, introduction and explanations by R. Jasas (Vilnius, 1971), pp. 71–72.

[29] Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Permanent Commission on Architecture and Aesthetics of the Vilnius City Council of the Deputies of Working People (August 9, 1967), Cultural Heritage Conservation Library of the Cultural Heritage Center, F.2, ap. 1, b. 240, f. 41r.

[30] *Lietuvos heraldika*, compiled by E. Rimša (Vilnius, 2008), p. 493.

[31] Coat of arms of Žemaitija, Lithuanian State Modern Archives, Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania (hereinafter LSMA, LRPK), F. 1, ap. 15, b. 396, f. 3–4r.

[32] In the representation of rulers, the bear was a direct reference to Samogitia, but in the heraldry and sigillography of the nobles, the bear could be an allusion to the noble's legendary self-consciousness, i.e. alleged family origin from Roman patricians who came to Lithuania. The bear used as a supporter (or supporters) in the noble's armorial seals could also be a reference to the officials who carried out activities in Samogitia. See: Agnė Railaitė-Bardė. *Origo et arma. Kilmė ir herbas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVIII amžiuje*, Vilnius, 2020, pp. 288–289, 320–321, 324.

[33] Vytis used in Jurbarkas area (1918–1940), Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, photo: Renata Bugvilionytė.

[34] Unofficial great coat of arms on an inter-war poster, MMNLL, NPDAF V764908/1919.

[35] Postcard with the coat of arms of Lithuania, Trakai History Museum (hereinafter THS), TIM AT 17780.

[36] Postcard with the coat of arms of Lithuania, THS, TIM AT 17792.

[37] Postcard with the coat of arms of Lithuania (1910s), THS, TIM AT 17782.

[38] Postcard with the coat of arms of Lithuania (early 20th century), THS, TIM AT 17786.

[39] One of several proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania (1991), artist Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis.

[40] One of several proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania (1991), artist Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis.

[41] One of several proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania (1992), artist Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis.

[42] The newest version of the great coat of arms of Lithuania created by Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis (post-2015).

[43] One of the best-known proposals for the great coat of arms of Lithuania created by Arvydas Stanislavas Každailis.

[44] Minutes of the 568th meeting of the Lithuanian Heraldry Commission (2020), LMSA, LRPK, F. 1, ap. 16, b. 46.

THE SWEDISH ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD: ALLEGED RESTORATION, ALMOST REVOLUTIONARY REFORMATION, AND RESTORATION AGAIN

Prof. Dr. MARTIN SUNNQVIST, A.I.H.

Introduction

The Swedish system of orders of knighthood consists of four orders, the Order of the Seraphim, the Order of the Sword, the Order of the Polar Star and the Order of Vasa. The first three of these were established in 1748, and the last in 1772. In this article, I will discuss how the orders came to be established, how and why two of them were made dormant in 1975, while at the same time the functions other two were greatly curtailed; and I will conclude with the plan to resume using the orders again from 2023 as rewards for meritorious achievements. The author wrote a legal historical report for the committee preparing the 2023 reform,[1] and the findings of that report are part of the basis for this article. To those findings will be added a discussion about the heraldry and symbols in the insignia of the orders. A fifth order, the Order of Carl XIII, was established in 1811. It is a state order but only for freemasons, and is thus a very peculiar entity which will not be covered here.[2] Also not included are the medals that are part of the central honours system.

In Sweden, during the late Middle Ages and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, collars of knighthood of a more temporary nature existed, and there were plans which never materialised to establish actual knightly orders. However, an understanding of these predecessors (and the misunderstandings about them) is important to set the historical context for the orders that were founded in the later eighteenth century, primarily the Orders of the Seraphim and the Sword.[3]

Alleged Restoration: The establishment of the orders
The decision-making process 1748–51

The Swedish orders of knighthood were established through an ordinance 23 February 1748 entitled 'three orders of knighthood'.[4] The background to this development can be traced to the short reign (1718–1720) of Queen Ulrika Eleonora, when ennoblement had been used frequently to reward meritorious contributions, but it was felt that as an alternative a means of distributing honorary titles was needed along the lines of the many other countries which at that time had orders of knighthood as part of their reward systems.[5] Already in the 1720s and 1730s, there were plans for two or three orders with seraphs, swords or the polar star as significant symbols. Baron Carl Hans Wachtmeister made sketches for the insignia of three orders in 1727.[6] In 1738, the matter was discussed in Parliament but came to nothing.

A decade later, the successor to the throne, Adolf Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, who was elected as such in 1743, happened to hold a Russian order, that of St Andrew. Only if there existed Swedish orders could he avoid wearing the Russian one. If he, as a monarch, wore only a Russian order, Sweden might have been seen as subordinate to Russia. Along similar lines, it was considered important that Swedish citizens should

Left, *Figure 1:* Count Carl Gustaf Tessin wearing a robe of a councillor of the realm, the collar and insignia of the Order of the Seraphim, and the insignia of the Orders of the Sword and the Polar Star. Painting by Gustaf Lundberg (1695–1786), photo: Hans Thorwid, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; right, *Figure 2:* coin from the reign of Eric XIV with the collar of the Order of the Saviour surrounding the royal coat of arms, Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, photograph by Thomas Adolfsson.

receive Swedish orders and so not be tempted to receive foreign orders which might encourage dependency on a foreign power. The Russian ambassador was known for having tried to bribe members of parliament in this way.[7]

The president of the chancellery (roughly equivalent to a prime minister) Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (**Figure 1**) was behind the proposal, which was formally put forward to the secret committee ('sekreta utskottet') by the superintendent Carl Hårleman, and it was written either by Anders Johan von Höpken or by Tessin himself.[8] In the proposal, the Order of the Seraphim, the Order of the Sword and a third order, so far without a name, were mentioned. The reason why the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Sword were mentioned by name was that their names and insignia took inspiration from collars with angels' heads, and the Baltic Order of Knights of the Sword (see below).[9]

The orders were to be granted by the King in Council. This was during the Swedish Age of Liberty 1719–1772, when parliament, especially the estate of the nobility, and the council were the central arenas for power; with the king having a more symbolic role. The ulterior motive of Tessin might have been that the orders could be useful for the governing party in the two-party system of the time.[10] After a presentation before the King in Council, a group consisting of among others Tessin, von Höpken and Hårleman were assigned to draft statutes for the orders. The draft was put forward for the first time 23 February 1748, was approved in council 14 March and was signed by the King 21 March; however, 23 February 1748 counted as the formal day of approval.[11]

The last parliamentary session had finished in 1747, and the next session started in 1751. The same year, King Frederick I died, and Adolf Frederick succeeded to the throne. According to § 45 of the Instrument of Government of 1720, parliament had to scrutinize the actions of the Council since the previous parliamentary session, including the statutes made by the King in Council.[12] The ordinance about the orders was discussed extensively at the House of Nobility. Baron Johan Didrich Duwall suggested that the orders of knighthood were to be removed from the council to a separate chapter of the orders, and the King then made a proposal to the same effect. The reason for this reform was, according to Duwall, that the method had developed to grant orders not for meritorious achievement, but rather based on rank and years of service in a specific position. The problem could be avoided, according to Duwall, if the King was given the independent right to grant orders, and that would make a wider distribution of the orders possible. Others, such as Baron Carl Otto Hamilton, thought that the orders were to be dealt with by the council, otherwise there was a risk for having two parallel councils. However, the changes in the ordinance were approved with 372 votes to 277.[13] The estate of peasants also approved the change.[14] Within the clergy, the view was that the council ought to have influence over the appointment of Knights of the Seraphim and the Commanders of the other two orders.[15] The burghers wanted the function of the council unaltered.[16]

As the constitutional law was at the time, in such a matter approval from two estates was sufficient for the King's proposal to be adopted. A new ordinance was published 25 November 1751.[17] The orders were now independent from council. The chapter of the orders took the place of the council with regard to the decision-making powers relating to the orders. The King (formally in the chapter) was the sole decision-maker appointing new knights and commanders.[18] In practice, the president of the chancellery kept his seat as chancellor of the orders until 1768.[19]

Let us now turn to the different orders and discuss the way two of them were not established but – allegedly – restored; they got a Swedish-Baltic 'invented past',[20] a 'medieval past',[21] though they were actually based on French models. This history has been researched especially by Antti Matikkala (1979–2019),[22] and I would like to honour his memory by mentioning that his research – on which I base my text – was always rigorous and careful.[23]

The Order of the Seraphim

This order was defined as 'restored' in the preamble to the 1748 ordinance. Its purpose was to honour foreign kings and princes, and Swedish men who had made exceptional contributions in public service and were dignified enough to have the highest offices in the realm, ranking as lieutenant-generals and higher. Princes of the Swedish Royal Family were to be born knights of the order.[24]

During the seventeenth century, there was a belief that a collar with angel's heads had been handed out by Swedish kings to knights during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There is no evidence for this, and it is highly unlikely – collars developed only later in other countries.[25] There is a collar on the monument of the thirteenth century king Magnus Barnlock ('Ladulås', r. 1275–1290) in the Riddarholmen church in Stockholm, but that monument was erected only in the sixteenth century, a
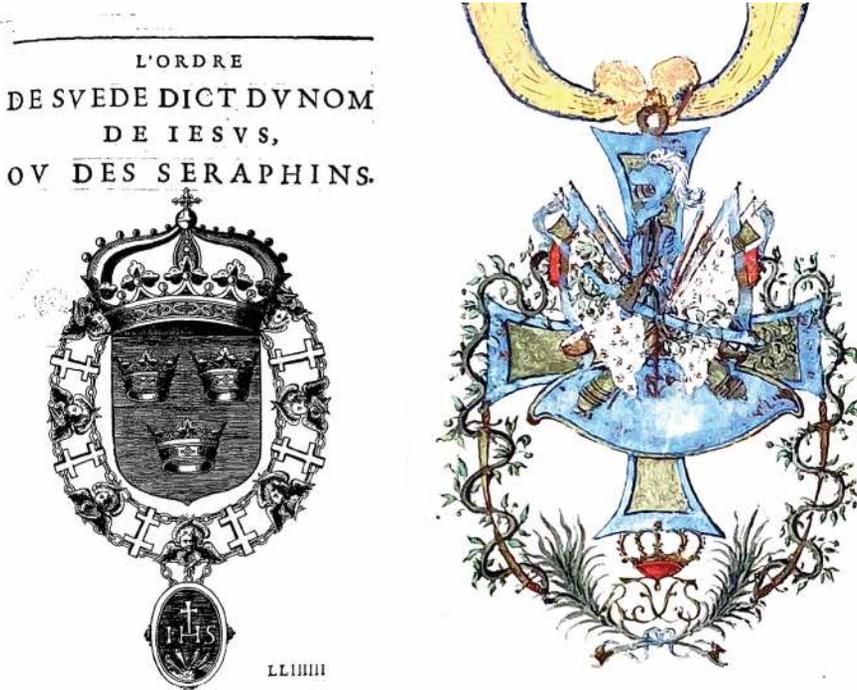
Left, Figure 3: The 'Order of the Seraphim' from André Favyn, Le théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie [---], Paris 1620, part II, p. 1365; right, *Figure 4:* Baron Carl Hans Wachtmeister's sketch for an Order of the Sword, 1727, photograph by the author.

fact that was forgotten in the seventeenth century when it was used as evidence for the thirteenth century origin of the order.[26]

From the time when king John (Hans) was crowned as King of Sweden in 1497 (r. 1497–1501), during the Kalmar union, there is more certain information that a collar with angel's heads was handed out to Henrik Gyllenstierna. This collar was, however, not related to an organised order of knighthood, but was rather a personal gift of honour.[27]

Eric XIV (r. 1560–1568) used a collar, called the Order or Collar of the Saviour. On coins (**Figure 2**), his coat of arms was surrounded by a collar with angel's heads and the Vasa symbol, which is probably a sheaf.[28] Eric XIV himself described the collar in Latin as consisting of fleurs-de-lis and angel's heads (a collar 'qui liliis et capitibus angelicis constat'), but this still probably refers to the Vasa symbol and the angel's heads.[29] The Vasa symbol in this context was, by the Flemish writer Frans Mennens in 1613, interpreted as patriarchal crosses.[30] An illustration in André Favyns book *Le Théâthre d'Honneur* from 1620, 'l'ordre de Svede dict dv nom de Iesvs, ov des Seraphins'[31] (**Figure 3**) appears to be a continued misunderstanding of Eric XIV's order and its alleged predecessors from the fourteenth century.[32] However, the design was brought back to Sweden in the 1690s through a preliminary drawing by Elias Brenner (1691)[33] and a final version by Erik Reitz (1694) for Erik Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*.[34] Both pictures are

divided into six parts, with the Order of the Seraphim according to Favyn top left, the Baltic Order of the Swords and Belts top right and the actual Order of the Saviour of Eric XIV in the second row right. Favyn's design later served as a model for the 'restored' Order of the Seraphim.[35]

In the sketches of Carl Hans Wachtmeister from the 1720s, the insignia differed from Favyn's drawing and Eric XIV's collar, but seraphs were included.[36] In the 1748 ordinance, the collar was defined in Ch. 1 § 20 of the statutes for the Order of the Seraphim, and it consists of eleven golden seraphs and eleven blue patriarchal crosses. The design now resembled closely the one of Favyn. In the centre of the badge, the letters IHS, a cross and four nails derive from Favyn's drawing. Eric XIV had used a picture of the Saviour in the badge of his order,[37] but the insignia have a connection to another short-lived Swedish order, the Order of the Name of Jesus that was briefly used by Charles X Gustaf in 1656.[38] The ribbon is light blue, and the French Order of the Holy Spirit (Order of the Holy Ghost) was used as a model in this regard.[39]

The Order of the Sword

This order was also defined as 'restored' in 1748 and its purpose was to honour commanding officers after having served for more than twenty years in times of peace, or fewer years in times of war, or after having shown bravery. Princes of the Swedish Royal Family were to be born knights of the order.[40]

Historically, there is a background in the Livonian Order of Sword Brothers, established in Riga in 1202 but subsumed in the Teutonic Order in 1237. The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order was dissolved in 1561, when Sweden began to conquer parts of the order's holdings. Livonia was Swedish during the period 1629–1721.[41] Supposedly, the same order was also called the Order of the Military Belt, and this is why a belt is seen in the insignia. The belt was illustrated in Mennens' book from 1613. Elias Ashmole followed Mennens in presenting the swords with curved blades.[42] Drawings of these insignia were included in Elias Brenner's and Erik Reitz's drawings for Erik Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*.

The insignia in use from the 1720s as sketched by Carl Hans Wachtmeister differed from those described by Brenner and Reitz, and the ribbon in Wachtmeister's drawing was yellow with blue stripes near its borders (**Figure 4**). This coincides with the ribbon that was adopted in 1748. Thus, the collar with swords and belts was a result of a mainly invented past: Even though there had been a Livonian Order of Sword Brothers, that order had little to do with the new order and its insignia. The design of the ribbon was perhaps influenced by Wachtmeister's sketch, or independently based on the Swedish colours. (**Figure 5**.)

The Order of the Polar Star

The purpose of the Order of the Polar Star was to honour those who through civic virtues, genius and acts beneficent to society deserved it. The reference to the Polar Star was explained in the preamble; as the polar star does not know decline (*nescit occasum*), the same should be valid for the reputation of Swedes. Princes of the Swedish Royal Family were to be born knights of the order.[43]

The Order of the Polar Star could not have drawn on an ancient order, but on the other hand, the polar star was an important Swedish symbol. As Heribert Seitz wrote

Left, *Figure 5:* the star and sash of a Commander Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword; right, *Figure 6:* the star and sash of a Commander Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star. Photographs by The Royal Orders of Knighthood.

in 1938, it was not a coincidence that the polar star was chosen as a symbol for the third order: In the seventeenth century the polar star had become a symbol of Sweden and its position in the north, and it was used by Charles XI and Charles XII in cyphers. The motto *nescit occasum* referred not only to the polar star but also to Sweden and its honour. In the eighteenth century, the symbol was connected to learning and genius, something that seems to have started when the Royal Academy of Sciences adopted the polar star as its symbol in 1741.[44]

Carl Hans Wachtmeister used the polar star as the insignia of the third order. Even though the insignia got a different design in 1748, the polar star remained. In the collar, the polar star and the cypher of Frederick I are represented. The ribbon is black, to contrast the light of the star to darkness, and there is reason to believe that the French Order of St Michael with its black ribbon was used as a prototype. The latter order was founded in 1469 and had developed into an order for civil achievements.[45] (**Figure 6**)

The Order of Vasa, added in 1772
In 1772, King Gustaf III established the Order of Vasa for those who had made important contributions to agriculture, the arts, or commerce. He wished to display his maternal descent from the Vasa dynasty. It was the first order where the awards were not linked

Figure 7: the collar of the Order of Vasa, photograph by the author.

to the recipient's birth or rank; princes of the Royal Family were not to be born knights of the order.[46] This was a time when industrialists, factory and foundry owners, peasants and workers were observed – they could have an impact on the Swedish economy, and were to be rewarded through orders and medals.[47]

The order of Vasa was given a different form to the three earlier orders, with an oval rather than a star-shaped badge. A green ribbon was often used for rewards with connection to the countryside and its industries, for example the medals of the Royal Patriotic Society, where the ribbons are green and yellow.[48] In the collar, the Swedish coat of arms is accompanied by the caduceus (staff of Mercury) and cornucopia, indicating the purpose of the order; in between we see alternating the Vasa symbol and the nettle leaves of Holstein, referring to King Gustaf's Holstein-Gottorp descent (**Figure 7**).[49]

An Almost Revolutionary Reformation: Making the Orders dormant in 1975

During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the distribution of the Order of the Sword and the Order of the Polar Star was increasingly linked to rank within the hierarchies of the military and civil services.[50] This had partly been the case from the outset. This had been especially the case with the Order of the Sword, which was Baron Duwall's reason for suggesting that the decision-making power should be transferred to a chapter of the orders in order to make the assessments freer, but unfortunately this administrative change did not have any effect. On the contrary, the vast majority of the grants followed rank. This led to recurring criticism by Members of Parliament.[51]

In 1947, a new system of classes and degrees of salaries of civil servants was introduced.[52] Soon after, in 1955, a similar system was introduced for the Orders of the Sword and the Polar Star. The number of years of employment in specific positions defined what degree of an order the recipient would be granted. For example, a professor or a district judge would receive a knighthood of the Order of the Polar Star after four years of service and be raised to commander after 18 years. Similarly, a lieutenant

colonel would receive a knighthood of the Order of the Sword after 15 years of service. The Order of Vasa was the only one considered a 'free order', meaning that it could be distributed according to more open criteria.[53] Notwithstanding, this order came to be distributed to leaders of companies etc. in a way that was comparable to the Orders of the Sword and the Polar Star, albeit in another sector of society.[54]

This more or less automatic system for granting knighthoods led to strong criticism against the orders. The criticism led to a radical re-examination of the orders of knighthood in the 1960s and 1970s. The Social Democrats in particular refused to accept orders for political reasons,[55] and the matter was brought before parliament again in 1969 through a private bill. This time, parliament made an unfavourable statement with regard to the orders. The knighthoods were understood as remunerations for being employed by the state, and the parliamentary committee concluded:

> *'The system of orders of knighthood has its origins in the social system of past times, and the principles for awarding orders as a reward for community efforts can hardly be reconciled with a contemporary democratic approach. The committee therefore sees with satisfaction that steps have been taken to dismantle the orders as a state reward for public service.'*[56]

Parliament approved this conclusion,[57] and the 'steps already taken' were that the coordination of the proposed grants of knighthood were no longer to be done by the ministries. Proposals were instead to be sent directly from state and private entities to the Royal Orders of Knighthood.[58] Thus, the orders of knighthood were no longer understood as rewards for meritorious achievements for society at large, but rather primarily attached to public service – that is, public employment.

In 1972, the government published its investigation on how to handle the orders of knighthood[59], in a paper which focussed to a great extent on the orders as part of the remuneration for civil servants:

> *'Such a system [where the orders and medals are based on rank and level of salary] mirrors an outdated society of classes and is contrary to modern principles of equality. In many circles, orders are seen as more "posh" than medals, and such an estimation seems actually to be the basis of the present system of honours. [---] Thus, the present system is clearly unsatisfactory and ought to be changed as soon as possible.'*[60]

There were proposals to start awarding orders of knighthood following individual examination of the recipient's merits by the Royal Orders of Knighthood,[61] but such a reform was not considered feasible 'for practical reasons'.[62] It was not explained further in any detail why such a reform was not possible, rather giving the impression that the decision had already been made.[63]

At much same time, a new Instrument of Government was adopted which reduced the formal powers of the King, although his formal decision-making power as regards grants of orders was not affected. Parliament was given the power to limit the categories of people to whom orders could be distributed.[64] The institution that was 'The Royal Orders of Knighthood' (*Kungl. Maj:ts Orden*) has retained its peculiar legal status as being neither a state agency within the civil service nor a private entity. It is a foundation-like independent organisation that can be attributed to a group of organisations that I have defined as 'legal entities attached to the office of Head of State'.[65] It retains this status, in line with the similar status of the royal household, accepted in the preparatory works to the 1974 Instrument of Government.[66]

In the 1973 governmental bill, the understanding of the orders as part of the remuneration for civil servants was even further enhanced:

> 'It is [---] out of the question that the state maintains or participates in a reward system that is considered unfair by large groups of employees. This, as has emerged from the discussions with the staff organisations, is the case with the current system. [---] A reformed system of orders cannot in practice be designed and applied in a way that corresponds to the basic requirement of equality and uniformity in the assessment of the work efforts of different categories of personnel.'[67]

The decision by parliament was that the orders were no longer to be distributed to Swedish citizens.[68] According to the new governmental ordinance that entered into force January 1st, 1975, the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Polar Star were retained, but were only to be granted to foreign heads of state, holders of similar offices, and foreigners who had undertaken important services for Sweden;[69] and to foreign diplomats as part of reciprocal exchange.[70] The Orders of the Sword and of Vasa became dormant.[71]

At this time, the colour of the ribbon of the Order of the Polar Star was changed from black to blue and yellow. This was probably done to strengthen its symbolic connection with Sweden. In 1995 the possibility of distributing the Orders of the Seraphim and the Polar Star to members of the Royal Family was reintroduced. This was in the context of Crown Princess Victoria turning 18 and becoming eligible to act as head of state.[72] Nowadays, the Order of the Polar Star is again granted within the Royal Family with the black ribbon instead of the blue and yellow, which is used for foreign recipients. There is reason to believe that the black ribbon will be reintroduced more generally in 2023.

Restoration Again: A new system of rewards in 2023

In 2018 a political agreement between all political parties except the Left Party was announced. A committee was to be established to review the public system of orders and medals, the public flag flying days, and the public funding of the royal family and the royal household. The basic political compromise was that orders of knighthood were to be granted again, whilst the number of working royals and the number of flag flying days were to be reduced.[73] In the meantime, on October 7th, 2019, the King decided that the title of Royal Highness was to be used only for the children of the King and the Crown Princess.[74] This resembles the rules applied in Denmark[75] and the United Kingdom.[76]

The King's decision was in line with what could be expected from the committee, which therefore dealt primarily with the orders of knighthood, the public statement of accounts of the royal household, and the flag flying days. When it was appointed, the government instructed the committee to draw up proposals for changes that were necessary to resume the awarding the Order of the Polar Star and the dormant Orders of the Sword and of Vasa.[77]

The political parties were represented in the committee, and the former Speaker of parliament Björn von Sydow was appointed chairman. Entirely in line with the political agreement of 2018, the committee suggested that the orders of knighthood were to be distributed again to Swedish citizens. The main work of the committee with regard to orders of knighthood dealt with how the cooperation between the chapter of the orders of knighthood and the government was to be arranged.[78] In the Governmental bill to Parliament April 13th, 2022, the Government made clear that the eighteenth-century orders were to be restored:
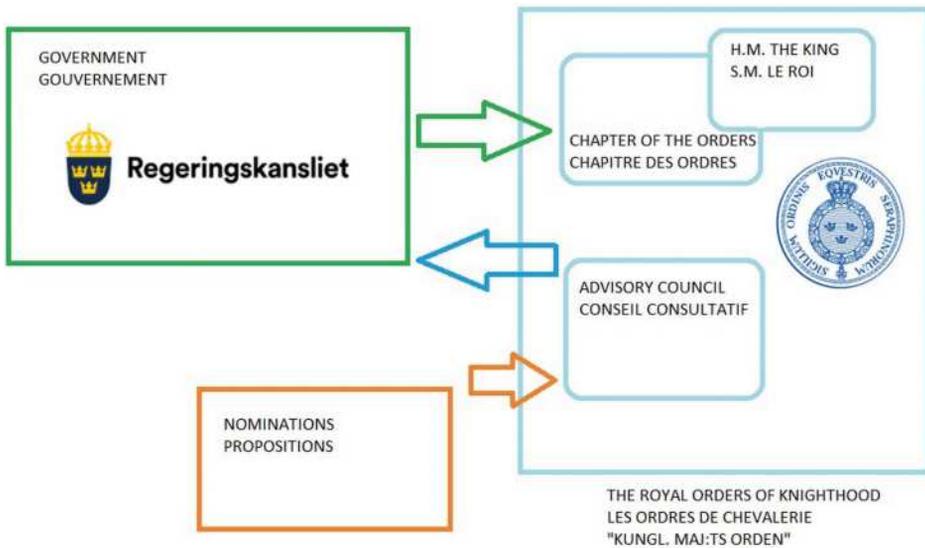
Figure 8: the new structure of the decision-making process, diagram by the author.

> *'Sweden has for a long time had a reward system with different types of awards that have been used to cover the need that our community has had of recognizing and rewarding individuals and their efforts. [....] Some of the rewards in today's award system are over 250 years old and are already for that reason of a cultural historical interest.'[79]*

This attitude is an almost complete reversal of that which prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s. The difference cannot be explained by a shift in political parties governing Sweden: even though majorities have shifted back and forth, the Social Democrats governed Sweden when both the 1973 bill and the 2022 bill were handed to parliament. The political compromise in 2018 made the reintroduction of the orders acceptable, and presumably the Social Democrats also found reason to believe that rewards could have a function in a modern society. But the distribution of orders is not going to be connected to classes and degrees of salaries of civil servants:

> *'It is the government's view that a re-introduction of the orders of knighthood is based on the premise that the system is democratised and modernised. Such a reformation is possible, however it should be done in a careful way, as the system of orders is more than 250 years old [....]. Against that background, the government shares the committee's view that a reform of the reward system should be based on the awards that the state has [...]. A reward reform of the kind currently in question means primarily, as regards the state orders, that the awarding of rewards within the Order of the Sword and the Order of Vasa be resumed and that both Swedish and foreign citizens will be able to be awarded with decorations.'[80]*

When 'the awards that the state has' are mentioned, it is in opposition to the possibility of instituting new orders. The cultural historical value of the existing orders forms the argument for them being restored – quite contrary to the 1960s and 1970s arguments that they belonged to 'past times.' The Orders of the Sword, Polar Star and Vasa will be granted to Swedish and foreign citizens for meritorious military achievements or achievements in the public or private sector, respectively.[81] The Order of the Seraphim

Figure 9: portrait of H.M. King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden, in 2023 celebrating his Golden Jubilee. He is wearing the collars of the Orders of the Seraphim, the Sword, the Polar Star and Vasa. Photograph by Thron Ullberg ©The Royal Court of Sweden.

shall continue to be reserved for members of the royal house and foreign heads of state, and holders of similar offices.[82] On 15 June 2022 parliament approved the guidelines proposed by the government, as regards the reformed public reward system and how it should function.[83] A new ordinance was issued by Government on December 15, 2022.[84]

In the new system, the general public will be encouraged to nominate persons to be considered for knighthoods. An advisory council will be organised within the Royal Orders of Knighthood, and its members will be appointed by the Chapter of the Royal Orders of Knighthood on proposal from the government. The advisory council will assess the nominations and can also add names. The council will make a suggestion to the government, which then will approve or reject names. This list will be handed back to the Chapter of the Royal Orders of Knighthood, where the King will make the final decision.[85] (**Figure 8**) This somewhat complicated structure is arranged in order to combine the King's position as head of the orders and fountain of honour (*fons honorum*) with the Government's political responsibility according to the constitution (**Figure 9**).

Conclusion

In 1748 three Swedish Orders of Knighthood were established. Two of them, the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Sword, were considered restorations of old orders. Even though there had been collars with angel's heads and symbols of Christ, and a Baltic order of the sword, the 1748 orders were inventions connected to some useful historical facts and fictions. The Order of the Polar Star did not have such an invented background, but the polar star had a history as a Swedish royal symbol and as a symbol of learning.

In the 1970s, an almost revolutionary reformation took place. The orders were not formally abolished, but were reduced significantly in importance. Only the need for international diplomatic exchange kept the chapter of the orders and the organisation around it functioning. The arguments were critical towards the traditional approach, and the change took place at the same time as the reduction of the King's constitutional responsibilities.

The most recent development has seen a reconnection with the historic background, utilising a cultural historical heritage that was waiting to be used and appreciated. The government has invoked this heritage in a way that is opposite to the attitudes of the 1960s and 1970s. It also represents a reformation in the sense that the old way of distributing the orders based on employment status will not be resumed, and only meritorious achievements will be rewarded. The cultural heritage is to be used in a modern and democratic way. It remains to be seen how the new traditions will develop.

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[1] Martin Sunnqvist, 'Under konungens enskilda styrelse*,* Statschefen, kungahuset, hovet och ordensväsendet i konstitutionellt och rättshistoriskt perspektiv'*,* appendix to SOU 2021:74, *Ett modernt belöningssystem, de allmänna flaggdagarna och redovisningen av anslaget till hovet* (Stockholm, 2021). Important texts include Ernst E. Areen and Sten Lewenhaupt, *De nordiska ländernas riddarordnar,* vol. 1–2, (Stockholm, 1942); Karl Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar,* (Stockholm, 1948); Tom C. Bergroth, 'En Swensk Riddare=Orden', *Kring instiftandet av ett ordensväsende* i Sverige år 1748' in *Livrustkammaren* 1997–98, pp. 2–90; Staffan Rosén, 'From the Common History of the Russian and the Swedish Orders of Knighthood' and 'Swedish Orders Today' in Antti Matikkala and Staffan Rosén (edd.), *Perspectives on the Honours Systems. Proceedings of the symposiums Swedish and Russian Orders 1700–2000 & The Honour of Diplomacy,* (Stockholm, 2015), pp. 85–100 and 309–313; and Antti Matikkala, 'Gustaf Adlerfelt, Orders of Knighthood and Charles XII' in Matikkala and Rosén 2015, op. cit., pp. 13–84.

[2] See Tom C. Bergroth, 'The Royal Order of Charles XIII – the Fifth Swedish Order' in Matikkala and Rosén 2015 pp. 101–116; and Tom C. Bergroth, *Kungliga Carl den XIII:s Orden,* (Stockholm, 2002).

[3] Antti Matikkala, 'Creating a 'Medieval Past' for the Swedish Orders of Knighthood' in Katie Stevenson and Barbara Gribling (edd.), *Chivalry and the Medieval Past* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 35–60.

[4] Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning den 23 februari 1748 angående Trenne Riddare-Orden, printed separately, and e.g. in Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 2 appendix I, and Löfström 1948 pp. 239–282.

[5] Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 pp. 3–11, Bergroth 1997–98 pp. 6–11 and 19–20, and Rosén 2015 pp. 86–88.

[6] Bergroth 1997–98 p. 7.

[7] As ref. 5.

[8] Bergroth 1997–98 pp. 18–19.

[9] Bergroth 1997–98 pp. 22–26.

[10] Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 p. 11.

[11] Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 p. 27; Bergroth 1997–98 pp. 21–26.

[12] Nils Herlitz, *Grunddragen av det svenska statsskickets historia,* 3rd ed. (Stockholm, 1946), pp. 164–165.

[13] Ridderskapet och adelns protokoll, vol. 18, 1751–52 (Stockholm, 1911), pp. 78–81, 129–130, 176–178, 181–186, 197–199, 213–215, 216 and 337–373.

[14] Bondeståndets protokoll, vol. 7, 1751–56 (Stockholm, 1963), pp. 60–63.

[15] Prästeståndets protokoll, vol. 3, 1751–52 (Stockholm, 2007), pp. 69–91, 95–101.

[16] Borgarståndets protokoll, vol. 10, 1751–52 (Stockholm, 2008), pp. 74–80, 82–89, 95, 97 and 343–344

[17] Kongl. Maj:ts Förnyade Nådige Förordning den 25 november 1751 angående Trenne Riddare-Orden, printed separately and e.g. in Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 2, appendix III.

[18] Ordinance of 1751, 1 ch. § 3 in the statutes of each of the orders. See also Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 pp. 30–33, 44.

[19] Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 p. 94.

[20] Matikkala 2016 p. 35.

[21] Ibid.

[22] See above all Matikkala 2016.

[23] Antti Matikkala was a past chairman of the Cambridge University Heraldic and Genealogical Society and also a board member of the Societas Heraldica Scandinavia. A bursary for young heraldists' participation in congresses and colloquia has been set up in his name.

[24] Ordinance of 1748, preamble and Ch. 1 § 7 of the statutes for the Order of the Seraphim.

[25] Hans Hildebrand, 'Heraldiska studier. I. Det svenska riksvapnet' in *Antiqvarisk tidskrift för Sverige,* vol. 7, 1884–85, no. 1, pp. 71–74; D'Arcy Boulton, 'The Curial Orders of Knighthood of the Confraternal Type. Their Changing Forms, Functions, and Values in the Eyes of Contemporaries 1325–2006' in Guy Stair Sainty and Rafal Heydel-Mankoo (edd.), *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit,* vol 1–2 (Delaware, 2006), pp. 205–239.

[26] Matikkala 2016 p. 52.

[27] Matikkala 2016 p. 36.

[28] Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, 'Svenska ordensdekorationer på mynt. En heraldisk-numismatisk studie' in *Meddelanden från Riksheraldikerämbetet,* vol. IX, 1940, pp. 123–124.

[29] Hildebrand 1884–85 pp. 52 and 75.

[30] The picture is reproduced in Matikkala 2016 p. 39.

[31] André Favyn, *Le théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie [---],* Paris 1620, part II, p. 1365.

[32] Matikkala 2016 pp. 38–42.

[33] Matikkala 2016 p. 47.

[34] Erik Dahlbergh, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna,* 1698–1715, plate 1:9. Brenner's picture is reproduced in Matikkala 2016 p. 47; both pictures in Matikkala 2015 p. 25.

[35] Matikkala 2016 p. 42.

[36] 'Skiss till Serafimerorden målad av friherre Carl Hans Wachtmeister 1727', Livrustkammaren, europeana. eu. Original kept by the Royal Orders of Knighthood in the exhibition in the Apartments of the Orders of Chivalry at the Royal Palace, Stockholm.

[37] Bergroth 1997–98 p. 22.

[38] Matikkala 2015 p. 24.

[39] Bergroth 1997–98 p. 39; Matikkala 2016 p. 50.

[40] Ordinance of 1748, preamble and Ch. 1 §§ 6–8 of the statutes for the Order of the Sword.

[41] Matikkala 2016 pp. 36–38.

[42] Matikkala 2016 p. 45.

[43] Ordinance of 1748, preamble and Ch. 1 § 7 of the statutes for the Order of the Polar Star.

[44] Heribert Seitz, 'Nordstjärnan, symbol för fosterland och snille' in *Fataburen. Nordiska Museets och Skansens årsbok 1938,* pp. 89–116; Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 pp. 6–7.

[45] Bergroth 1997–98 p. 25.

[46] Statutes for the Order of Vasa, 29 May 1772, Ch. 1 § 7, printed separately and e.g. in Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 2, appendix IV.

[47] Ylva Haidenthaller, *The Medal in Early Modern Sweden. Significances and Practices,* (Lund 2021), pp. 253–306.

[48] Bengt Gustaf Jonshult, *Kungl. Patriotiska Sällskapets medaljer och hedersbelöningar* (Stockholm, 2019).

[49] Areen and Lewenhaupt 1942 vol. 1 p. 304.

[50] Rosén 2015 p. 309.

[51] Sunnqvist 2021 p. 350.

[52] Statens allmänna avlöningsreglemente, SFS 1947:411.

[53] Protokoll hållet vid extra ordenskapitel den 16 februari 1955, Kungl. Maj:ts Ordens arkiv, Ordensprotokoll vol. XXXIII, 1951–1955, AIa:33.

[54] Ordnar och medaljer. Promemoria upprättad inom statsrådsberedningen och finansdepartementet, mars 1972, Ds Fi 1972:5, p. 41.

[55] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5, p. 28.

[56] Allmänna beredningsutskottets bet. 1969 p. 6 (my translation).

[57] Rskr. 1969:118.

[58] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5, pp. 15–17.

[59] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5.

[60] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5, pp. 32–33 (my translation).

[61] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5, pp. 3–4; Kungl. Maj:ts Ordens arkiv, Handlingar rörande utredningen om ordensväsendets avskaffande, FXI:3, 1972–73, promemoria den 26 september 1972, utredning angående ett reformerat ordensväsen, bilaga 1, remissyttrande.

[62] Ordnar och medaljer [---] Ds Fi 1972:5, pp. 33–34.

[63] Cf. Rosén 2015 pp. 309–310.

[64] Ny regeringsform, ny riksdagsordning, SOU 1972:15, pp. 139–140.

[65] Sunnqvist 2021 pp. 76–79, 82–86 and 363–378. See also Rosén 2015 p. 311.

[66] Prop. 1973:90 p. 176.

[67] Prop. 1973:91 p. 25 (my translation).

[68] Rskr. 1973:266.

[69] Ordenskungörelsen, SFS 1974:768.

[70] Rosén 2015 p. 312.

[71] Rosén 2015 p. 311; prop. 2021/22:232 p. 6.

[72] Förordningar om ändring i ordenskungörelsen, SFS 1995:497; SFS 1995:1205.

[73] Konstitutionsutskottets bet. 2017/18:KU28; rskr. 2017/18:337.

[74] Protokoll i hovärenden Nr 13/2019 H.D.

[75] Christian VII, anordning 23 september 1774, Rigsarkivet, Kongehuset, diverse dokumenter 1668–1868.

[76] Decisions by George V and Elizabeth II, The London Gazette 14 December 1917 issue 30428 p. 13086 and 8 January 2013 issue 60384 p. 213.

[77] Dir. 2019:76.

[78] SOU 2021:74, pp. 77–107.

[79] Prop. 2021/22:232 pp. 5 and 7 (my translation).

[80] Prop. 2021/22:232 p. 10 (my translation).

[81] Prop. 2021/22:232 p. 16.

[82] Prop. 2021/22:232 p. 17.

[83] Konstitutionsutskottets bet. 2021/22:KU39, rskr. 2021/22:393.

[84] Förordning (SFS 2022:1800) om Sveriges främsta utmärkelser.

[85] SOU 2021:74 pp. 79–90, prop. 2021/22:232 pp. 4–33.

RESTORING THE HERALDIC CORPUS OF HENDRIK VAN HEESSEL, KING OF ARMS OF THE RUWIEREN

KLAAS PADBERG EVENBOER, a.i.h.

The heraldic codex B89.420 is part of the collection of old prints and manuscripts of the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library (EHC) in Antwerp. In addition to several segments with coats of arms, this codex contains a collection of statutes of knightly orders, chronicles, iconographic material, and a few other topics. It is written in Latin, German and Middle Dutch. The heraldic codex is constructed chronologically and compiled between 1433 and circa 1460. Research by professor Wim van Anrooij has clearly shown that Hendrik van Heessel is the compiler of this manuscript.[1] In this article I will refer to it as Heessel Compendium.[2]

Hendrik van Heessel, Austria Herald and King of Arms of the Ruwieren of the Holy Roman Empire, documented 1433–1470, served under Emperor Sigismund, King Albert II, King Frederick III, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He has enjoyed growing interest since 2006, partly stimulated by Van Anrooij. The attention of the various publications has not so much been focused on his heraldic oeuvre, but rather on his role as a diplomat in the service of Philip the Good.

In this article I will discuss the different drawing styles that can be distinguished in the Heessel Compendium, and their development. I will discuss why certain family coats of arms were drawn with more care, and attempt to determine what that means. The styles will also be compared with some known and less known heraldic manuscripts.

The Ruwieren

The function of King of Arms of the Ruwieren was a supra-regional one, above the functions of pursuivant and herald, and higher than the other kings of arms, who all bore a regional title. The title of King of Arms of the Ruwieren of the Holy Roman Empire was the highest heraldic honour that could be bestowed in the northwest of the Empire. As a geographical area the Ruwieren lies between the rivers Meuse and Rhine, with the Moselle as its southern border. It is the area where Ripuarian was spoken, and the word Ruwieren is derived from Ripuaria. In this region John III, Duke of Brabant, had more than hundred vassals, including the Counts of Jülich, Cleves, Mark, Meurs, Katzenelnbogen, Salm, Sayn, Solms and Virneburg. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire conferred this title of King of Arms of the Ruwieren on the recommendation of the Duke of Brabant as Margrave of the Empire.

Five Kings of Arms of the Ruwieren are known to us:

1. Jan van Steensel, documented 1362–1376, was King of Arms from 1362 onwards and died before or in 1384.[3]

2. Claes Heynenszn, Gelre Herald, later Beyeren Herald, documented 1371–1414, mentioned as King of Arms in 1405.

3. An unnamed herald, documented 1427–1431, mentioned as King of Arms, and on one occasion known as Louvain Herald.[4]

4. Hendrik van Heessel, Austria Herald, documented 1433–1470, King of Arms from 1440 to 1466.

Left, *Figure 1:* coats of arms of Van Heessel, Van Oudheusden, Van der Zijdewijn and Van Heeswijk. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 53v; right, *Figure 2:* quartered arms of Van Heessel and Van der Zijdewijn, ibid. fol. 55r.

5. Hermann von Brüninghausen, Jülich Herald, documented 1461–1501, listed as King of Arms from 1471 to 1501.[5]

After 1501 there is no more mention of a King of Arms of the Ruwieren. The office of King of Arms of the Golden Fleece, created in 1430 by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, came to predominate at the Burgundian court.

The Emperor Sigismund granted his pursuivant Hendrik van Heessel a coat of arms on 17 July 1433 in Rome.[6] The arms were not new, being differenced with a label.[7] Before 9 December 1437, the date of death of Emperor Sigismund, Hendrik van Heessel was appointed King of Arms of the Ruwieren by the Emperor, on the recommendation of Philip the Good, Duke of Brabant. This appointment was confirmed a few years later, on 28 May 1440 in Neustadt, by Frederick III, King of the Romans. In this charter Hendrik is mentioned as Austria Herald for the first time.[8]

A closer look at the Heessel Compendium

On folio 53v there are four coats of arms (**Figure 1**). They comprise the arms of Hendrik van Heessel (*die von heessel*) beside those of his wife Van Waardenburg tot Oudheusden (*die von werdenberch czu althuesden*), while below are the arms of Van der Zijdewijn (*die von der zijdewijn syn brucker czu straed)* and Van Heeswijk (*dy von heeswick – freyen*).

If we look at the quartered arms Van Heessel – Van der Zijdewijn on folio 55r (**Figure 2**), we must conclude that the four arms on folio 53v form a pedigree (**Figure 3**). In a lecture for the Dutch Heraldy Society (NGH) and the Royal Netherlands Society for
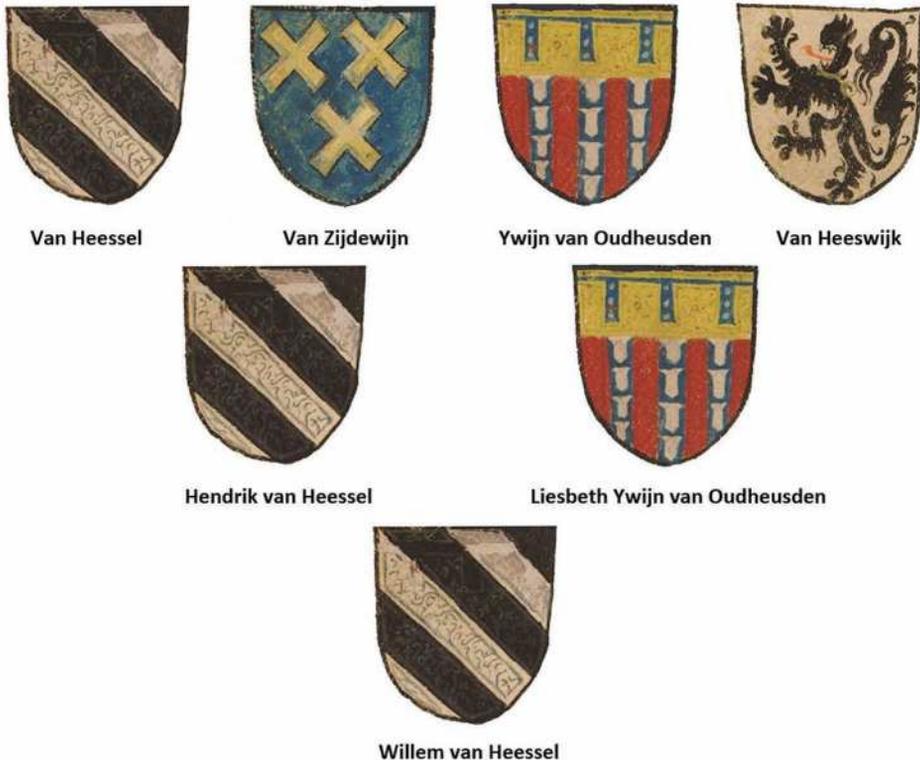
Figure 3: heraldic pedigree of Van Heessel.

Genealogy and Heraldry (KNGGW), held in the Maltese House in Utrecht on 9 October 2021, I discussed these new genealogical data.

Wim van Anrooij assumed that Hendrik van Heessel hailed from the village of Heesselt in the Duchy of Gelre.[9] Since he was not entirely sure about Hendrik van Heessel's origin, he explicitly asked for further information in an article dated 2008.[10] My research has shown that Hendrik van Heessel hailed from the market town (*vrijheid*) Waalwijk in the duchy of Brabant.[11] His wife Liesbeth hailed from Oudheusden in the County of Holland, from a family named Ywijn van Oudheusden.[12] She and her brothers are mentioned in a charter dated 1415 in which they dedicate a farm with yard (*hofstad*) in Oudheusden to a familymember.[13] Waalwijk and Oudheusden are only five miles apart. The Van der Zijdewijn and Van Heeswijk families belong to the lower nobility, and both come from the nearby Land van Heusden and Altena in the County of Holland. It must be noticed that the progenitor in this pedigree is not Hendrik van Heessel, but his son Willem, who bears a first name that frequently appears in the Van der Zijdewijn family.

The seal of Hendrik van Heessel

There is only one known seal of Hendrik van Heessel (**Figure 4b**). It is on a charter from the year 1440.[14] The charter relates to a diplomatic mission of Hendrik, as Austria Herald and King of Arms of the Ruwieren, with his French colleague Henry de Riche,

Figure 4: left, 4a: Seal of Claes van Heessel, 1404. SALHA, 1090, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, No. 95A; centre, 4b: Seal of Hendrik van Heessel, 1440. Munich, Bavarian State Archives, Pfalz-Neuburg Urkunden, Landesteilungen und Einungen 593; right, 4c: seal of Claes van Heessel, 1413. SALHA, 1090, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, No. 48A.

Hungary Herald.[15] The seal bears a shield, bendy of six with a label.[16] There is also a label gules on the drawing of his personal arms in the Heessel Compendium, but this is hard to recognize.

Hendrik's seal corresponds to that of Claes van Heessel, documented 1404–1423, alderman (*schepen*) of Waalwijk. That seal shows three bends, and above an annulet between the first and second bend. His seals of 1404 and 1413 have a clearly legible inscription: /*S* CLA/ES VA/HEESSEL/ (**Figures 4a** and **4c**).[17] As to the tinctures of these arms, these appear in a segment of the Armorial Lyncenich arms which corresponds to the Tournament of Utrecht in 1441 (**Figure 5**).The participant here was Jan van Heessel called Back, documented 1429–1445, the son of Peter Robberts van Heessel.[18] He owned a fortified house and farmhouse (*stenen kamer en hofstad*) and some land in Waalwijk. His coat of arms indicate a family connection with Hendrik van Heessel. It is also an indication of the social status of members of this family, as participation in these tournaments was restricted to the gentry and patricians.[19]

In a charter in the city archive of 's-Hertogenbosch a Hendrik, son of Claes van Heessel is mentioned.[20] This may prove the family ties between Hendrik van Heessel and Claes van Heessel, alderman of Waalwijk. I must emphasize possible, because I have no further supporting evidence. The arms of Hendrik van Heessel can be found in a few armorials, the earliest of which is the Ortenburg armorial of c. 1470.[21] Hendrik appears for the last time in the accounts of the Burgundian court on 9 February 1464 when, together with the kings of arms of the Golden Fleece, Artois and Brabant, he was given a cloak and cap (*robe et chappron*).[22] This was on the occasion of the funeral ceremony of Maria van Gelre, wife of King James II of Scotland, and since 1460 regent for her son James III.[23] She died at Roxburgh Castle, Edinburgh, on December 1, 1463.

On 1 September or 1 October 1466 Hendrik van Heessel left office as King of Arms of the Ruwieren at the Burgundian court with a pension, retiring to the County of Holland until his death on 17 April 1470.[24] He probably lived in Heusden or Oudheusden, close to his birthplace Waalwijk. His wife Liesbeth van Oudheusden is mentioned in the Death Book of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in Heusden.[25]

Left, *Figure 5:* Jan van Heessel, participant at the tournament in Utrecht of 1440. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 170r; right, *Figure 6:* arms of Ulrich II, Count of Celje with four ancestral arms. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 57v–59r.

Stylistic and other connections

In the aforementioned Van Heessel pedigree, the artistry of the execution is noticeable, and highly reminiscent of a unique depiction of the complete coat of arms of Ulrich II of Celje, last Princely Count of Celje (**Figure 6**).[26] The arms presented are those of Celje in the context of his four ancestral arms: 1. Celje; 2. Krabaten = Croatia, Frankopan, Count of Veglia; 3. Schaunberg; 4. Da Carrara, lords of Padua and Verona. On the facing page is Sanneck (Žovnek), and on the subsequent pages Ortenburg and Sagor (Zagorje). Robert Kurelić, assistant professor at the University of Pula in Croatia, wrote an article about these drawings in 2018.[27] He concluded that these coats of arms are depicted separately to indicate the power and status of the family. A close personal connection with Hendrik van Heessel is suggested by the fact that the coats of arms of several older and more powerful families, such as those of Wittelsbach or the Habsburgs, are depicted in a notably more modest manner.

It must be emphasized that van Heessel and Ulrich II of Celje both belonged to the court of Emperor Sigismund. In 1433 they were both present at the imperial coronation in Rome, and they are known to have met in 1447 and 1448. Van Heessel and his son Willem were at the court in Vienna as emissaries of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who at that time negotiated the elevation of Burgundy to a kingdom with Frederick III, King of the Romans, and later Emperor. Given the sensitivity of the matter, talks were conducted by proxy to enable both duke and king to protect their honour and to save face. King Frederick III was represented by the Royal Chancellor Caspar Schlick and by Count Ulrich II of Celje, councillor to the king, who had performed a series of confidential tasks for Frederick III since 1444. The self-written messages by Hendrik van Heessel and his son Willem show a good relationship with the Count of Celje during the talks.[28]
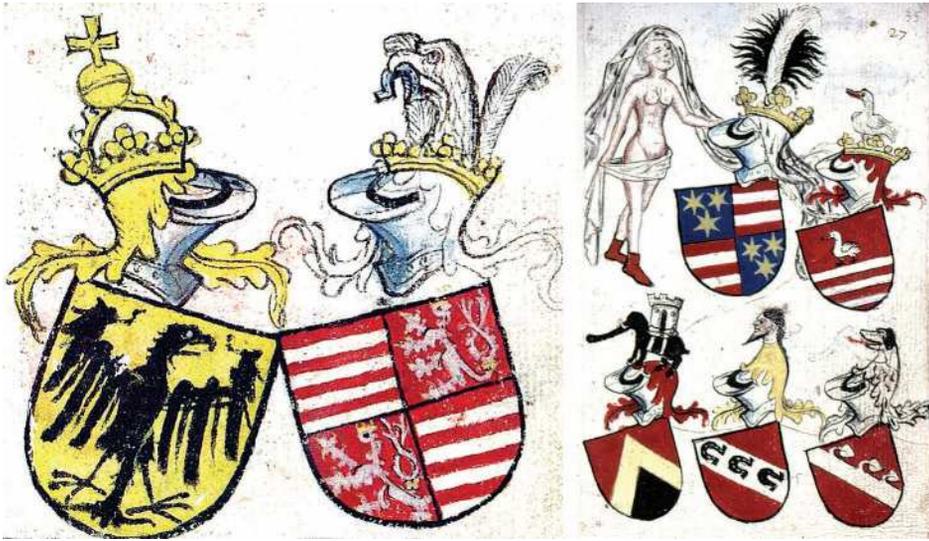
Figure 7: Left, 7a: the imperial arms (left) and those of Hungary-ancient. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 57v; right, 7b: the retinue of Ulrich II, count of Celje. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 35r.

Ulrich II Count of Celje and his retinue 1430

A drawing exists of the arms of Ulrich II, Count of Celje by an unknown hand (**Figure 7b**) which bears strong stylistic similarities to work in the Heessel Compendium (**Figure 7a**).[29] The former comes from a folder with a collection of miscellaneous genealogical and heraldic papers which I found twenty-five years ago at the Royal Library of Brussels (KBR).[30] It comprises two folios, with coats of arms on both sides. The rendition of the tilting helmets, the mantling, the shape of the shields aspects of the crowns are seemingly by the same hand. The goddess Fortuna supports the arms on Ulrich, just as on his seal dating from November 1429 (**Figure 8**).[31]

The other coats of arms from the Royal Library manuscript belong to nobility from the Duchy of Austria, the Habsburgs dominions of Styria, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, and scattered areas in Swabia. Some of these were vassals of Celje. These fragments are probably from a complete series of arms. Sixteen of the arms also occur in a series of twenty-four arms, beginning with Count Ulrich of Celje, in the L'Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg (NLU).[32] This armorial has been described by Jean-Christophe Blanchard and also by Steen Clemmensen.[33] The names of these nobles correspond with the retinue of the Count of Celje on his pilgrimage or 'knight's journey' to Spain.

To make this pilgrimage possible Ulrich borrowed 32,000 Hungarian gold coins from his father Herman II, and 5,000 gold coins from his aunt Barbara.[34] Ulrich arrived in Spain in 1430 with sixty escorting knights. On 21 March they visited King Alphonso of Aragon in Segorbe. In a Spanish description of this visit, Ulrich is named as Emperor Sigismund's nephew – and that is correct, because the Emperor was married to Barbara of Celje, his aunt. During their stay, fourteen knights were admitted to the chivalric Order of the Jar and the Griffin, the house order of Aragon.[35] In Hamusco, on 15 April,

Left, *Figure 8:* seal of Ulrich II on a charter of 1 November 1429. Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, CE II, No. 175; right: *Figure 9:* Order of the Jar. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium, fol. 18v.

they were the guests of King John II of Castile, who provided the group with horses and mules, and gave pieces of brocade as gifts. Four knights were admitted to the chivalric Order 'Devisa del collar del escama', the Order of Scales, also called 'Order of the Fish Scales', the house order of Castile.[36]

The journey continued to Santiago de Compostela, before departing for the sultanate of Granada.[37]

It seems clear that Hendrik van Heessel made the two folios with their twenty coats of arms, in view of the similarity in drawing style. In 1433 he was pursuivant in the retinue of Emperor Sigismund. The question is: when did Hendrik enter the service of the emperor? It is quite possible that he travelled with Ulrich II, Count of Celje, in 1430. The group included participants from the Duchy of Austria in the Habsburg dominions, Hendrik van Heessel's working area when he became Austria Herald. The journey, which was also a diplomatic mission, certainly required the presence of a herald. His knowledge of German, French and Latin would have served him and the group well during this pilgrimage. An indirect proof of his participation is the description of the regulations of the Aragonese Order of the Jar and the Griffin in the Heessel Compendium, including a very precise depiction of the decorations of this order (**Figure 9**).[38] For a herald to learn his craft it was essential that he should travel the world and get to know as many courts as possible, learning languages, and taking part in ceremonies and meetings.[39]

Figure 10: the Armorial series Neuenahr. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6617 fol. 147v

The armorial series Neuenahr

In the same folder at the Royal Brussels Library there is another folio which has coats of arms on both sides.[40] In yet another folder, called Anticque, there is a similar folio.[41] Both folios are drawn in the same style and have a similar handwriting, analogous with the fragment on folio 71v of the Heessel Compendium. The tilting helmets and form of the shields is the same, as are the crowns. Only the mantling is slightly different. Each folio features twelve coats of arms in three rows of four (**Figure 10**). A total of 48 coats of arms are depicted. It is unusual that in the handwriting both the Dutch preposition 'van' and the German 'von' is used. Dutch first names such as Joris, Jan, Coenraet and Claes are used alongside such German first names as Ulrich, Claus and Heinrich. This clearly indicates that it was written by a person who was familiar with both the Dutch (Middle Dutch) and the German language.

This armorial series can be dated between 1430–1435. Whether these two folios were part of a larger armorial, or constitute a complete set, remains unclear. We could be dealing with participants of another jousting tournament, perhaps the tournament which took place in Basel in 1434, during the Council of Basel, and in the presence of Emperor Sigismund, Hendrik van Heessel's employer.[42] Alternatively, a tournament on the Charles Bridge, Prague, in late August 1436, when Emperor Sigismund held his entry in the Bohemian capital, is possible.

The same folder includes the pedigree chart of a count of Heinsberg (**Figure 11a**), with his four ancestral arms: Heinsberg, Gennep, Blanckenheim and Loon.[43] On the shield are two helmets, complete with crest and mantling. The left tilting helmet is depicted in the drawing style associated with Hendrik van Heessel. The image with the barred helmet is new and forms the key to yet another armorial series.
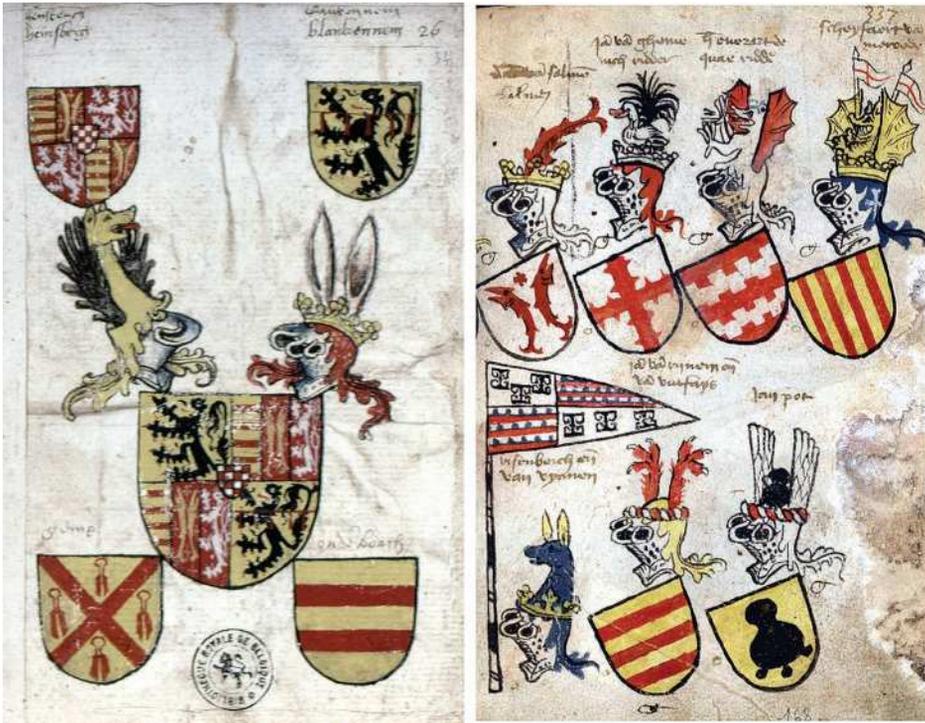
Figure 11: left, 11a: Heinsberg pedigree. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616 fol. 34r; right, 11b: the Utrecht Tournament. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 168r.

The Tournament of Sinzig, February 18, 1397

The coats of arms of this series were found in two different folders at the Royal Brussels Library.[44] At the top of one folio is written in Middle Dutch *"Dit is die tornoy tot Zinsich in den jare van 1397 de sondaechs voir cathedra petry."* This is the tournament of Sinzig, held on Sunday 18 February 1397 and organized by William, Duke of Guelders who from 1393 had also been Duke of Jülich. The city of Sinzig is situated on the Rhine in the extreme southern corner of his combined Duchy of Gelre and Jülich. From the archival sources of the Duchy of Gelre, it can be concluded that Claes Heynenszn, Gelre Herald, was present at this tournament. He left for Sinzig on 5 February in the retinue of Duke William.[45] The herald is the putative creator of a lost original heraldic record of the tournament, which Hendrik van Heessel copied as the successor of Claes Heynenszn.[46] There are eighty-five participants, depicted only with barred helmets, mantling and crests (**Figure 12**).The barred helmet was used in the *buhurt*, a form of mounted close combat. The participants came from the region of the Ruwieren as far as Nassau an der Lahn near Koblenz, and Friedberg near Frankfurt.

Remarkably, three of the ten folios are double, meaning they are drawn twice. Presumably this was a copy for a second manuscript.

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Figure 12: the Tournament of Sinzig. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616 fol. 37v.

The Armorial Lyncenich

Formerly known as the Armorial Gymnich, this armorial shows both the tilted helmet and the barred helmet in the styles already discussed.[47] A characteristic mix of Middle Dutch, German and French names and words, and the use of prepositions identify the maker as Hendrik van Heessel. The coats of arms of the nobles of the Habsburg dominions and the Kingdom of Bohemia are found here (**Figure 13**) as in the Heessel Compendium, and sometimes in the same order. A detailed study of this armorial has been made by Steen Clemmensen.[48] One segment of the Armorial Lyncenich shows the participants of the tournament of Utrecht, held in 8 to 12 September 1414 (**Figure 11b**).[49] This tournament was organised by Jacob van Gaesbeek and held at the Neude, at that time an unpaved square in the city of Utrecht. Participants from the Duchy of Brabant, the Duchy of Jülich and the Bishopric of Utrecht took part, as well as two Spanish nobles, one of them the famous knight Pedro Vasquez de Saavedra, chamberlain to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy in 1443.

More than a year after his confirmation as King of Arms of the Ruwieren by King Frederick III we meet Hendrik van Heessel for the first time at the Burgundian court in Brussels.[50] On 28 August 1441 he was ordered on a secret diplomatic mission to Jakob I, Archbishop and Elector of Trier and Imperial Chancellor to King Frederick III. It is tempting to identify him with a record in the Utrecht Yearbooks that the "*Coninck van den Erauden der wapen van Brabant*" was present on behalf of the Bishop of Utrecht and the city of Utrecht.[51] Since the wording King of Heralds of Arms "van" Brabant is used, this can be interpreted in two ways. Is Brabant the name of the office, or an indication of the officer's place of origin? From 1440 to 1471 Jean de la Haye was King of Arms of Brabant.[52] He was one of the four kings of arms at the Burgundian court; but the bishopric of Utrecht, as well as the participants, fell under the heraldic jurisdiction

Figure 13: the arms of Hungary-ancient and of Austria and Bohemia. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 56r.

of Hendrik van Heessel in his capacity as King of Arms of the Ruwieren, and he lived in Brussels, the residence of the Duke of Brabant.

Steen Clemmensen noted that this particular style of barred helmets can also be seen in the later additions in the Danish segment of the Armorial Gelre.[53] Indeed similar additions can be found in other parts of this armorial.[54] It is known to have been in the possession of a herald from Brabant, as documented in the Burgundian archival records in Brussels.[55] This could refer to Hendrik van Heessel, who perhaps added the arms with barred helmets.

The winners of the jousts of The White Bear in Bruges, 1380–1458

The coats of arms in the Armorial Lyncenich bear a stunning resemblance in form and style to the arms series of the winners of the jousts of the tournament group *The White Bear in Bruges*.[56] I found these folios in two different folders at the Royal Library of Brussels.[57] The four folios contain 133 coats of arms comprising 68 large and 65 small arms (**Figures 14** and **15a**). The series begins in 1380 and ends with the tournament of 1458. Hendrik van Heessel, as a member of the household of Philip the Good, is known to have been present at the tournament of 2 May 1457, when the Duke of Burgundy was present with his entire court. Hendrik may also have been present at the tournament on 17 April 1458, when Philip the Good and his son Charles, Count of Charolais, presented the prizes.[58]

Figure 14: comparison of the arms in the *Armorial Lyncenich* (above) and *The jousts of the White Bear* (below).

The Bergshammar Armorial[59]

Jan Raneke, in his dissertation *Bergshammarvapenboken: en medeltidsheraldisk studie* of 1975, had already noticed the similarity between the Bergshammar and Lyncenich armorial,[60] and again the similarities in drawing style with the Heessel Compendium are obvious. This can be clearly seen on folio 2r (**Figure 15b**). It is remarkable that most of the coats of arms in the Bergshammar Armorial are drawn in a more careless manner. The handwriting is in Middle Dutch, German and French, the languages used by Hendrik van Heessel. It has been noticed by several heraldic researchers that the Bergshammar Armorial corresponds in content to the Armorials Gelre and Toison d'Or. Hendrik van Heessel was in the possession of the Armorial Gelre, as is stated earlier, so he could copy it freely. But what is Hendrik van Heessel's relation to the Armorial Toison d'Or (ETO)?

The Heessel Compendium and the Armorial Toison d'Or

Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy was King of Arms of the Golden Fleece from its foundation until his death in 1468. He was a colleague of Hendrik van Heessel. In 1445 there were four kings of arms in the Burgundian Household: Toison d'Or, Brabant, Artois and Ruwieren.[61] In 1458 the office of the kings of arms was extended with Flanders and Hainaut.[62] Only Hendrik van Heessel and Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy had a fulltime job, meaning they got paid for a whole year, and they both had a servant and two horses. The other kings of arms were only paid for half a year. In the Armorial Toison d'Or we see strong similarities with various coats of arms from the Heessel Compendium (**Figure 16**), suggesting that Le Fèvre and van Heessel worked together on the former.

An Armorial of the Low Countries

In the folder Anticque there is an armorial with 460 coats of arms matching the coats of arms on fol. 109v and 110r (**Figure 17a**) in the Heessel Compendium.[63] Jean-Marie van

Figure 15: Left, 15a: *The Jousts of the White Bear*. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG,Ms II 6616 fol. 40v; right, 15b: the Armorial Bergshammar. Stockholm, Riksarkivet, SE/RA/720085/Z, Bergshammars vapenbok, fol. 2r.

den Eeckhout has studied this armorial (**Figure 17c**), and described 57 coats of arms from nobles of the County of Flanders.[64] The handwriting and language correspond to that of the Armorial Lyncenich. This armorial can be dated between 1452 and 1456.[65] There is a striking change of style in this armorial which matches the arms of knights of the Golden Fleece in the Heessel Compendium. This change was most probably inspired by the way that artists depicted arms on stall plates.

Ninth Chapter of the Golden Fleece in The Hague 1456

On 2 May 1451 Hendrik van Heessel was present at the eighth chapter of the Golden Fleece in Mons. It appears that he was also present at the ninth chapter in The Hague on 2 May 1456.[66] On fol. 115v to 145r of the Heessel Compendium twenty-eight coats of arms of the knights of the Golden Fleece of the ninth chapter of 1456 were drawn (**Figure 17b**).

Figure 16: comparison of the arms in the Heessel Compendium (paired left) and the Armorial Toison d'Or (paired right).

Conclusion

The results of this research show that Hendrik van Heessel is not only the compiler of the Heessel Compendium, but also of a number of hitherto unrecognised heraldic manuscripts, and two well-known armorials. This has been demonstrated by comparing the style of drawing, initially taking the Heessel Compendium as the starting point. It is clear that Hendrik van Heessel, as king of arms of the Ruwieren, had taken over the archives of his predecessors. Only in this way was he able to reproduce the Sinzig tournament of 1397, and to copy the majority of the Armorial Gelre into the Armorial Bergshammar. The abrupt change in style, seen in his drawings of the arms of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece and in the folder Anticque, has surely been influenced by the artistic way in which arms were depicted at that time. It has also been shown that fellow heralds collaborated by copying material from each other. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research into Hendrik van Heessel as King of Arms of the Ruwieren. He certainly was one of the most important heralds of the Low Countries during the Middle Ages, both as a compiler of armorials and as a high emissary of some of the most powerful monarchs of his time. Much remains to be explored. In particular, the results will have to be tested by codicological examination of all the material.
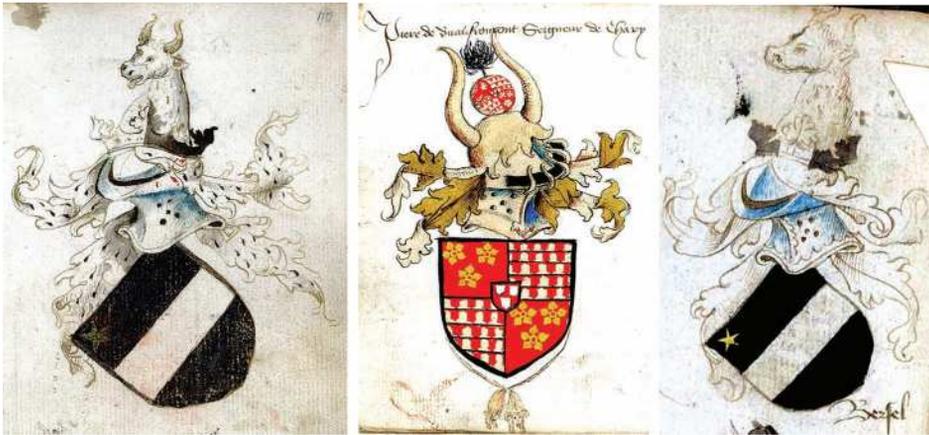
Figure 17: left, 17a: the Heessel Compendium. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, fol. 110r; centre, 17b: arms of Pierre de Bauffremont, Comte de Charny, present at the Toisson d'Or in 1456 from the Heessel Compendium, Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, fol. 125v; right, 17c: arms from the Armorial of the Low Countries. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Anticque fol. 113v.

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[1] W. van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour impériale et à la cour de Bourgogne', in *Revue du Nord 88* (2006), pp. 709–726.

[2] The name Heessel Compendium is also used by Steen Clemmensen: S. Clemmensen, *Editing Armorials: Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2017).

[3] City archives of 's-Hertogenbosch (SAH), BPR, R. 1177, fol. 165. In November 1384, Lucas van den Kelre dedicated to Mechteldis, daughter of the late Jan van Steensel, an annuity of nine pounds *paijement* from his corn-tithe and other possessions. Lucas van den Kelre was married to Beatrix, daughter of Jan van Steensel.

[4] G. Croenen, 'Review of W. van Anrooij Spiegel van Ridderschap', in *Millennium 7* (1993), pp. 52–55; C. van Lom (ed.), *Beschrijvinge der stad Lier in Brabant* (The Hague, 1740), pp. 268–269; W. van Anrooij, 'King of Arms of the Ruwieren', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 209) p. 123; H. Simonneau, 'Le roi d'armes dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons d'après une ordonnance de 1497', in *Les 'autres' rois*, ed. T. Hiltmann (Munnich, 2010), p. 46, note. 15.

[5] H. von Seggern, 'Hermann von Brüninghausen, Wappenkönig der Ruwieren', in S. Selzer, U.C. Ewert (ed.), *Menschenbilder – Menschenbildner. Individuum und Gruppe im Blick des Historikers* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 109–117.

[6] W. Altmann (ed.), *Regesta Imperii XI, Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437)* (Insbruck, 1897–1900), vol. 2, no. 9495.

[7] Heessel Compendium, folio 53v. It should be noted that there is written proof of this grant of a coat of arms for Hendrik van Heessel (*Herssel*) in the Austrian State Archives, but no depiction of the arms. Ref. code: AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 182.44.

[8] J. Chmel, Regesta Friderici, no. 63.[online]

[9] Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', pp. 709 and 714.

[10] W. van Anrooij, 'Het Wapenboek Gelre, een boek van Europese allure', in *Mededelingen Historische Kring West-Betuwe 36* (2008), pp. 67–72.

[11] Waalwijk received town privileges in 1303.

[12] Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', p. 714. The Ywijn van Oudheusden family shares the same coat of arms with the noble Van Waardenburg family, but with a label. This could indicate that they are a younger branch, but this is not proven. The genealogy of the family can be traced back to 1323.

[13] Streekarchief Langstraat, Heusden, Altena (SALHA), Archief van de heerlijkheid (lordship) Oudheusden, Elshout en Hulten, 0155, charter no. 332.

[14] Bavarian State Archives, Pfalz-Neuburg Urkunden, Landesteilungen und Einungen 593. This charter is a confirmation that Duke Ludwig the Elder of Bavaria-Ingolstadt is acting in accordance with the royal commandment of peace.

[15] Henry de Riche, Hungary Herald, is probably the creator of L'Armorial dit de l'hérault Hongrie (HUN), Paris BnF fr. 5242, dated around 1460.

[16] The seal is described as *"6 mal links geschrägt mit Turnierkragen belegt"*, in the book by K. Primbs, 'Wanderung durch die Siegel des deutschen und namentlich bayerischen Adels aus der Sammlung von Metallabgüssen im algemeinem Reichsarchiv', in *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, Neue Folge, vol. 3 (Munich, 1892), pp. 205 and 221.

[17] SALHA, 1090 Burgerlijke en gemengde instellingen van weldadigheid, Waalwijk, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, nos. 95A (1404) and 48A (1413).

[18] Royal Library of Brussels (KBR), Fonds Houwaert-De Grez (FH-DG), Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich, fol. 170r, no. 2768.

[19] The Van Heessel family is documented in Waalwijk from 1311. Members of this family were alderman and sheriff (*schout*).

[20] SAH, BPR, R. 1245, fol. 144.

[21] Ortenburger Wappenbuch (ORT), BSB Cod.icon 308, fol. 137, *die herschell*; BSB Cod.icon 312, fol. 12r, *h(err) v(on) hessell*; BnF Fr. 24049, Armorial Allemand (QDB), fol. 64v, no. 322, *sr. de heessel* [M. Popoff in AHS 2006-II, pp. 175 and 186]; BnF Allemand 304, fol. 413r, *von hessel*.

[22] Database Burgundian Heralds, Fiche 2140.

[23] W. van Anrooij, 'Bayern, Herolde und Literatur im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', *650 Jahre Herzogtum Niederbayern-Straubing-Holland*, ed. A. Huber, J. Prammer (Straubing, 2005), p. 261.

[24] A.G. Jongkees, *Het koninkrijk Friesland in de vijftiende eeuw* (Groningen, 1946), p. 27, endnote 12.

[25] National Archives of the Netherlands, Manuscripts Third Section, 3.22.01.01, inv.nr. 1315. A. van der Tuijn, *Doodboek van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap te Heusden*, second part, women, folio 2.

[26] Heessel Compendium, folio 57v to 59r.

[27] R. Kurelić, 'Ulrich II of Celje's Coat-of-Arms in Hendrik van Heessel's Armorial – a Unique Depiction of a complete Coat-of-Arms in the Historiography of the Counts of Celje', in *Zgodovinski casopis (Historical Review)* (Ljubljana, 2018), vol. 72, nos. 1–2, pp. 104–124.

[28] E. Birck, 'Actenstücke Herzog Philipp's von Burgund Gesandtschaft an den Hof des römischen Königs Friedrich IV. in den Jahren 1448 und 1448 betreffend', in *Der Österreichischer Geschichtsforscher*, ed. J. Chmel (Vienna, 1838), vol. 1, pp. 231–273.

[29] Heessel Compendium, fol. 71r.

[30] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 35r.

[31] K. Žvanut, *Pečati Grofov Celjskih – Seals of the Counts of Celje* (Ljubljana, 2001), pp. 109–110; Charter of 1 November 1429 in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (ARS), CE II, No. 175. Special thanks for providing an image of this seal to Katja Mahnič PhD of the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Art History.

[32] L'Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg, Bibliotheque Municipale de Nancy, Ms. 1727, fol. 14r115v.

[33] S. Clemmensen, *An Introduction to and blazons of Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg* (Farum, 2013).

[34] I. Voje, 'Romanje Ulrika II. Celsjskega v Kompostelo k sv. Jakobu', in *Zgodovinski casopis (Historical Review)* (Ljubljana, 1984), vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 225–230.

[35] Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Barcelona, ACA, Real Cancillería, Registros, 2757, fol. 115r116r; K. Häbler, *Das Wallfahrtsbuch des Hermannus Kunig von Vach und die Pilgerreisen der Deutschen nach Santiago de Compostela* (Strassburg, 1899), pp. 43–45.

[36] F. Pérez de Guzman, *Crónica del señor rey don Juan, segundo de este nombre en Castilla y en Leon* (Valencia, 1779), p. 298.

[37] R. Salicru I Lluch, 'Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo islámico', in *Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt*, (Münster, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 227–228 and 283.

[38] 1414

[39] R. Kälin, Review of Die Herolde Im römisch-deutschen Reich by Nils Bock, in *Archivum Heraldikum* (2016) p. 286.

[40] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 21.

[41] KBR, FH-DG, Anticque, Ms II 6617, fol. 147.

[42] From 11 October 1433 to 11 May 1434 the Emperor Sigismund attended the Council of Basel (1431–1448). In January 1434 he held an Imperial Diet. He was present at banquets, dances and tournaments. These tournaments (*Gestech*) were held on Shrove Tuesday (*Faßnacht*). Hendrik van Heessel will certainly have been present. Christian Wurstisen, *Bassler Chronick* (Basel, 1580), pp. 270–411, here p. 329.

[43] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 34r.

[44] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 20r, 20v, 23r, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v and 47r; Ms II 6617, fol. 133r and 133v.

[45] Gelders Archief, HA 228 fol. 1r; G. Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 186.

[46] W. van Anrooij, *Spiegel van Ridderschap* (Amsterdam, 1990) p. 244, note 110.

[47] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich.

[48] S. Clemmensen, *The Lyncenich armorial* (Farum, 2016).

[49] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich, fol. 167v170r.

[50] Mandement donné le 28 août 1441: A Henrry, roy d'armes des Roiez, que mon dit seigneur a ordonné lui estre bailliee et delivree comptant pour aller pour son ordonnance dez la ville de Brouxelles a Treves et aillieurs pour certaines choses secretes touchans mon dit seigneur et dont il ne veult aultre declaracion estre faitte XX l (Database Burgundian Heralds, Fiche 1236).

[51] K. Burman, Utrechtsche Jaarboeken van de Vijftiende Eeuw (Utrecht, 1751), vol. 2, p. 6.

[52] H. Simonneau, *Grandeur et décadence d'une institution aulique. Les hérauts d'armes dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons entre 1467 et 1519*, Annexes, Thesis, University of Lille (Lille, 2010), p. 12.

[53] S. Clemmensen, *The Lyncenich armorial*, p. 18. Danish segment in the Armorial Gelre on fol. 55v56r, Nos. 550, 551, 553.

[54] Armorial Gelre, fol.27r, No. 16; 28r, No. 54. There are even more samples with closed helmets 'a la Heessel' in the Armorial Gelre. It is clear that several people have worked on this armorial.

[55] Croenen, 'Review Spiegel van Ridderschap', pp. 52–55.

[56] K. Padberg Evenboer, 'De winnaars van de steekspelen van de Witte Beer, 1380–1458. Kopie van het verloren tableau in de Poortersloge?', in: *Miscellania Heraldica I*, ed. M. Van de Cruys (Wijnegem, 2020), pp. 259–317.

[57] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, folio 36r, 36v, 39r, 39v, 40r and 40v; Ms II 6565, folio 3r and 3v. The contents of the three folders is described in: C. van den Bergen-Pantens, L'héraldique dans les manuscrits antérieur à 1600 (Brussels, 1985), pp. 25, 26, 37, 38, 42 and 43.

[58] C. Custis, *Jaer-Boecken der stadt Brugge*, vol. 1 (Ghent, 1735), pp. 422–423.

[59] Stockholm, The National Archives (Riksarkivet), Bergshammars vapenbok, SE/RA/720085/Z.

[60] J. Raneke, *Bergshammarvapenboken: en medeltidsheraldisk studie* (Lund, 1975), p. 40.

[61] H. Kruse and W. Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund, Vol. I, Herzog Philipp der Gute 1407–1467* (Ostfildern, 2005), pp. 253–254.

[62] Kruse and Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen,* vol. I*,* pp. 416–417.

[63] KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6617, fol. 106r179v.

[64] J.-M. Van den Eeckhout, *Wapenboek van het middeleeuwse Vlaanderen*, 2 vols (Sint-Niklaas, 2009).

[65] Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', p. 726 (Annex).

[66] W. van Anrooij, '1456. Het negende kapittel', in K. Buijinck, N. de Goederen, M. Haak et. al.(edd.), *Hofboek. Verleden van het Binnenhof* (2021), pp. 56–63; Van Anrooij, 'Bayern, Herolde und Literatur', p. 260.

ARMORIAL GRAFFITI IN NORWICH CASTLE KEEP

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.H.S., a.i.h.

Abstract

The Anglo-Norman Caen stone keep at Norwich was built on the site of the original fortification of earth and timber, probably sometime between c. 1100 and c. 1130. An extravagant expression of royal power and authority, it was originally a royal residence and served as the county gaol for Norfolk from at least 1220 until 1887. The stone walls bear many marks and much armorial or pseudo-armorial graffiti dating from the twelfth or thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Some of this graffiti may have been inscribed by those on castle guard, others by those incarcerated within, including prisoners of state captured in conflicts and wars of conquest and revolution.

History of the castle

Norwich Castle was originally founded as a motte-and-bailey[1] under William the Conqueror, perhaps early in 1067, during the campaign to subjugate East Anglia. The stone keep was built later, probably between *c*. 1100 and *c*. 1130,[2] on the heightened and extended south-western part of the motte. The keep had a ground floor, a principal floor with a great hall, and mezzanines, with the entrance to the principal floor on the eastern side accessed via an external stone staircase to the forebuilding, later known as Bigod's Tower.[3]

Knights were provided to garrison the castle under the feudal obligation of castle-guard. Under this arrangement individual knights who were subtenants of the lord or the king, held their fiefs by virtue of performing such service for a fixed period every year. Records survive for the provision of knights from Ely (Cambridgeshire) to guard Norwich Castle during the reign of Henry I (1100–1135).[4] Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) provided forty knights a year, each for a three-month term.[5] It is likely that some of the graffiti described below was inscribed by members of the castle guard.

The royal castle was captured by rebels against the Crown in 1173–4, when Hugh Bigod, first earl of Norfolk, joined Henry II's sons in the fight against their father. When peace was restored, the castle was returned to the control of the king. Parts of Norwich Castle were used as a prison from 1220.[6] An Act of Parliament passed during the reign of Edward III (1327–1377) gave sheriffs control over prisons within royal castles, during which time Norwich Castle became the public gaol for the county of Norfolk. The king retained ownership of the castle, and continued to appoint a constable to look after it in his name.

The prison was rebuilt by the architect, John Soane,[7] between 1789 and 1793, and walls within the keep were removed, as was the stone staircase to the forebuilding. Some of the forebuilding including the top storey and the east elevation was rebuilt *c*. 1825.[8] The exterior of the keep was refaced in the 1820s and 1830s (**Figure 1a**).[9] The restoration also entailed the anachronistic replacement of the battlements and stone refacing over what was originally flint rubble on the lower elevations, to principal floor
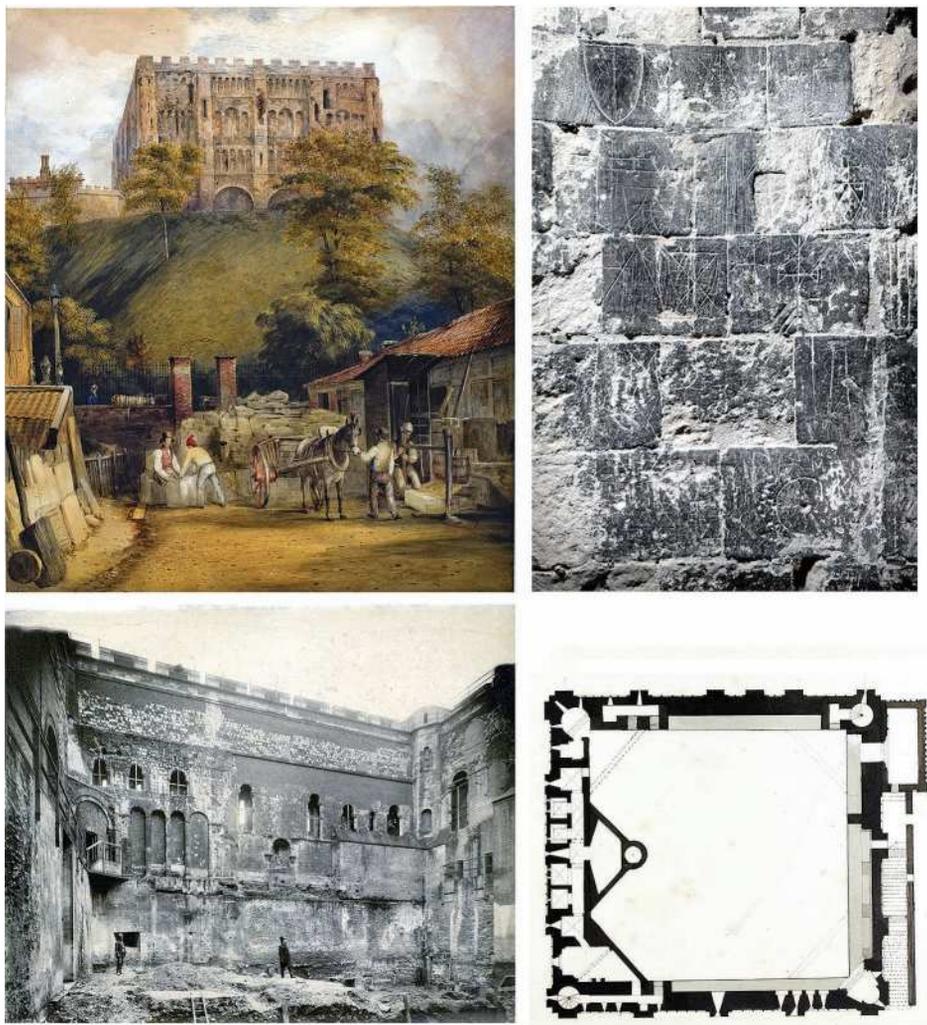
Figure 1: top left, 1a: 'Norwich Castle' by James Bridges 1833, showing the west face of the keep prior to refacing, with the stonemason's yard in the foreground; top right, 1b: Graffiti in the Chapel; bottom left, 1c: the gutted interior of the keep looking south. The arch in the south-east corner (on the left in the photograph) opens into a small apsidal chamber, originally part of the chapel, and is the location of much of the graffiti; bottom right, 1d: plan of the first floor of the keep, most internal walls removed, the remains of the chapel are located at the south-east angle, Francis Stone, 1826. All illustrations courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

level. Nevertheless, much original architectural detail appears to have been faithfully reproduced, and some original features were revealed and restored.[10] The castle ceased to be used as a gaol in 1887, and was then converted to a museum, which opened in 1894.

The interior of the keep was gutted to accommodate the gaol, so that little remains of its original medieval layout other than that which can be extrapolated from foundations, stumps of walls and other features on the ground floor and on the extant internal elevations (**Figures 1c and 1d**). Although many details of the lost rooms within the keep are uncertain or speculative, it is known that, amongst other things, there was a kitchen, a chapel (the location of much graffiti, see **Figure 1b**), a great hall, and four double-garderobes.[11] Recent programmes of archaeological survey, excavation and other research have continued to add to our understanding of this complex building and its context.[12]

Earlier references to the graffiti

An illustration of the graffiti in the keep appears in Samuel Woodward's volume, *The History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle*, which was edited by his son, Bernard Bolingbroke Woodward, and published posthumously in 1847. It is one of a series of 'Additional Illustrations', entitled 'Etchings of Armorial Bearings, &c., from the Oratory, &c.' by J. Basire (**Figure 2a**).[13] Of the eleven carvings that are shown, five are shields, four of which have been identified. The arms given here with their attributions comprise (with original numbering retained): 1. *Checky* (Vaux); 2. *A fess dancetty* (Burgh); 3. *Gyronny* (Bassingbourne); 4. A non-armorial or pseudo-armorial geometric device (Unidentified); 6. *Three chevrons* (Clare).

Different attributions appear in the text from those in the captions above the shields in the supplementary illustration. The identifications on the figure are likely to be those of the editor, Samuel's son Bernard. A major impediment to a reliable attribution of arms inscribed on stone is the lack of tinctures. That said, and taking the attributions in turn, the checky coat (no. 1) may well be that of Vaux.[14] John de Vaux (d. 1287) bore: *Checky argent and gules*, and held many lands in Norfolk and neighbouring Suffolk.[15] However, the checky shield is equally, if not more likely to represent the arms of Warenne, *Checky or and azure*.[16] These arms are first known to have been used by William IV de Warenne (d.1240), Earl of Surrey, whose country seat and castle at Castle Acre underlined the importance which the Warennes attached to their Norfolk holdings.[17]

The arms on shield no. 2, *A fess dancetty* were named in the text as 'probably the arms of William de Norwich, Sheriff of Norfolk in the time of Henry II'.[18] Also known as William de Chesney (his mother's surname),[19] he was the son and heir of Robert FitzWalter.[20] The arms recorded for William (de) Norwich are *Ermine a fess engrailed azure*.[21] This interpretation is not entirely convincing, and the caption above the shield gives a possibly even less likely alternative attribution for the arms, *A fess dancetty*, to De Burgh, ('de Burgo'). This appears to be based on a small number of examples.[22] Hubert de Burgh was constable of the castle and sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1216–1224.[23] Hubert's brother Thomas, who was chatelain of the castle under him, was held prisoner (possibly in the keep) after the castle fell to Prince Louis of France in 1217, during the Barons' revolt against King John.[24]

The shield engraved with a cross on saltire (no. 3, and **Figure 2b**), interpreted as *Gyronny* [*of eight*], the arms of Bassingbourne,[25] may be those of Edmund de Bassingbourne, of Blythburgh in Lincolnshire, who bore: *Gyronny of eight or and azure*, and served for William Bardolf, of Wormegay, Norfolk, in 1282,[26] although other members of the family used these arms, differently tinctured.
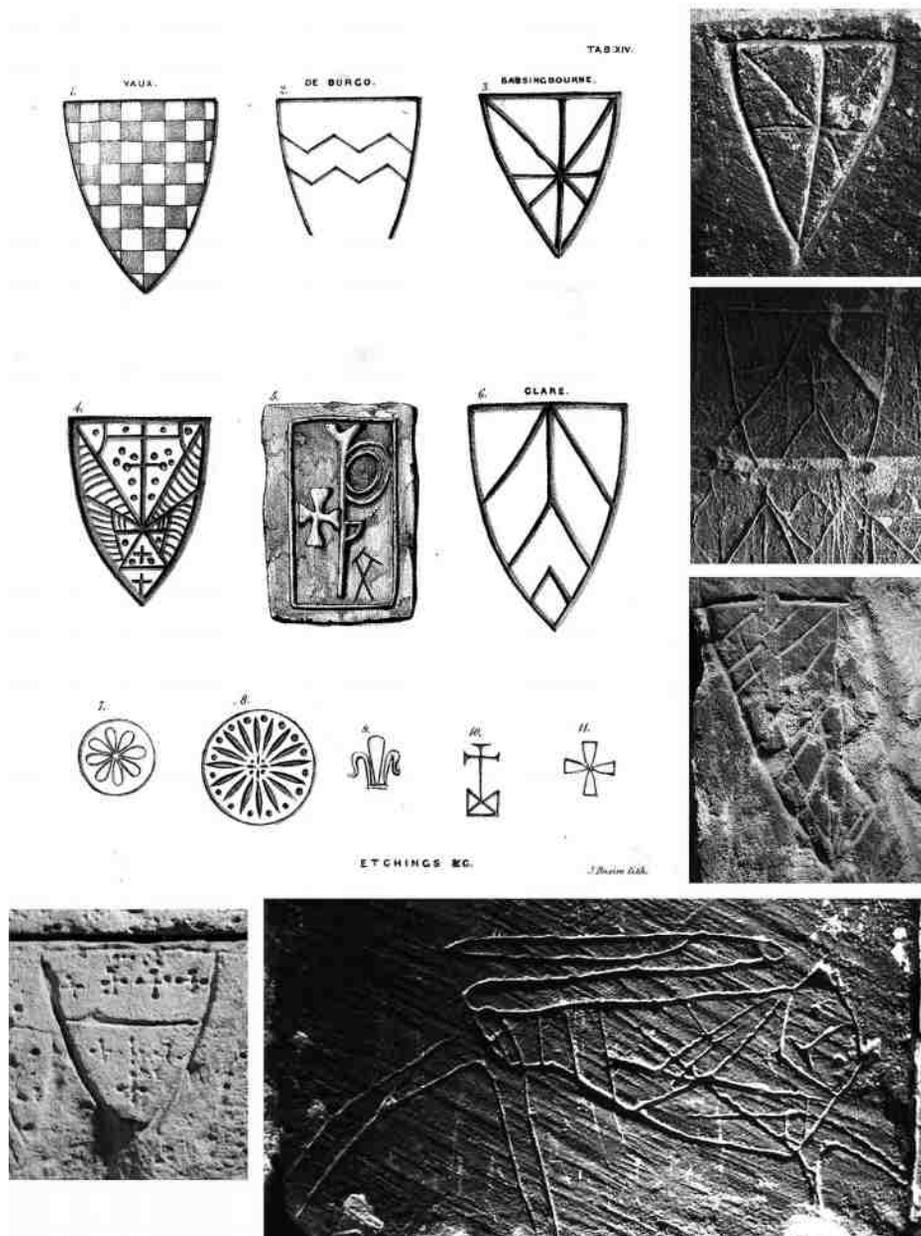
Figure 2: top left, 2a: 'Etchings of Armorial Bearings, &c., from the Oratory, &c.' by J. Basire, in Woodward 1847; clockwise from top right, 2b: a shield in the Chapel engraved with a cross on saltire, interpreted as *Gyronny* [*of eight*], possibly the arms of Bassingbourne; 2c: Arms of Clare in the Chapel; 2d: *Chevronny* arms of Clare; 2e: An 'early heraldic lion…incised on the splay of a window in what was originally the hall' (Pritchard, 1967); 2f: *A fess between eight crosslets (4, 3, 1)* the arms of Beauchamp. 2b to 2f courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

The elaborate geometric arrangement found on shield no. 4, 'a fancied device' with its complex arrangement of radiating lines, dots, and crosses, seems unlikely to be truly armorial. It bears a passing resemblance to a butterfly, a charge borne by a few armigerous families, but it is likely that the engraving is purely decorative.

The arms of de Clare: *Three chevrons* also appear in Woodward's illustration (no. 6). In the figure the familiar three chevrons[27] are shown with an additional vertical line rising from the apex of the middle chevron. This can also be seen in photographs of the shield along with traces of other incised lines, some possibly forming small crosses (**Figure 2c**). The vertical line, and crosses (which appear to be less deeply engraved than the chevrons), are likely to be secondary additions to the original arms. A damaged shield found elsewhere in the chapel also displays the *chevronny* arms of Clare,[28] with seven engraved oblique lines on the dexter half, and traces of at least five corresponding oblique lines on what remains of the sinister half (**Figure 2d**). Less prominent vertical and bordering lines are also present on the shield, some of which, again, may be secondary to the somewhat crudely executed original design.[29]

Rather than representing arms inscribed by members of the families of Warenne, Clare, etc., these familiar shields are perhaps expressions of loyalty to powerful factions within the complex array of feudal families jostling for power in uncertain times. The prominent Clare group of families with their distinctive *chevronny* arms, spring from Richard Fitz Gilbert (1035–1090), Lord of Clare in Suffolk, and his legendary antecedents in Normandy.[30] These ancestors include Richard I of Normandy, who features in Wace's *Roman de Rou*.[31] Indeed, contemporary perceptions of '*les Clarreaux*' in the 1170s, demonstrate regard for their kin-group identity, solidarity, and common political purpose.[32] The inspiration behind the act of inscribing graffiti of well-known arms may have been to link oneself with the glamour associated with whom and what a shield represented, somewhat in the manner of displaying one's allegiance to a football team.[33]

Elsewhere, *A fess between eight crosslets (4, 3, 1)* surely represents the arms of Beauchamp (**Figure 2f**),[34] and a simple cross on a shield could refer to Bigod,[35] or St George.[36]

Violet Pritchard in 1967 noted an 'early heraldic lion…incised on the splay of a window in what was originally the hall' (**Figure 2e**)[37] in her pioneering attempt to catalogue and consider the significance of medieval graffiti 'mostly within a radius of sixty miles of Cambridge'.The lion is crudely inscribed as passant guardant to sinister and, although reversed in this way, is probably intended to refer to the English royal arms: *Gules three lions passant guardant or*, in use from about late 1197/1198.[38] Pritchard's seminal volume also provides a broader context and parallels for some of the other examples of graffiti described herein.

Arms of Jerusalem

A complex inscribed device appearing like a monogram is probably intended to represent the arms of Jerusalem: *Argent a cross potent between four crosslets or*. It comprises a cross crosslet with a second vertical transverse bar on both horizontal arms, set on a lozenge[39], from each angle of which projects a small lozenge, or spear-shaped, finial (**Figure 3a**). A very similar engraving can be found in the Church of All Saints, Worlington, Suffolk, displaying *A cross paty fitchy between four crosslets paty fitchy*, on
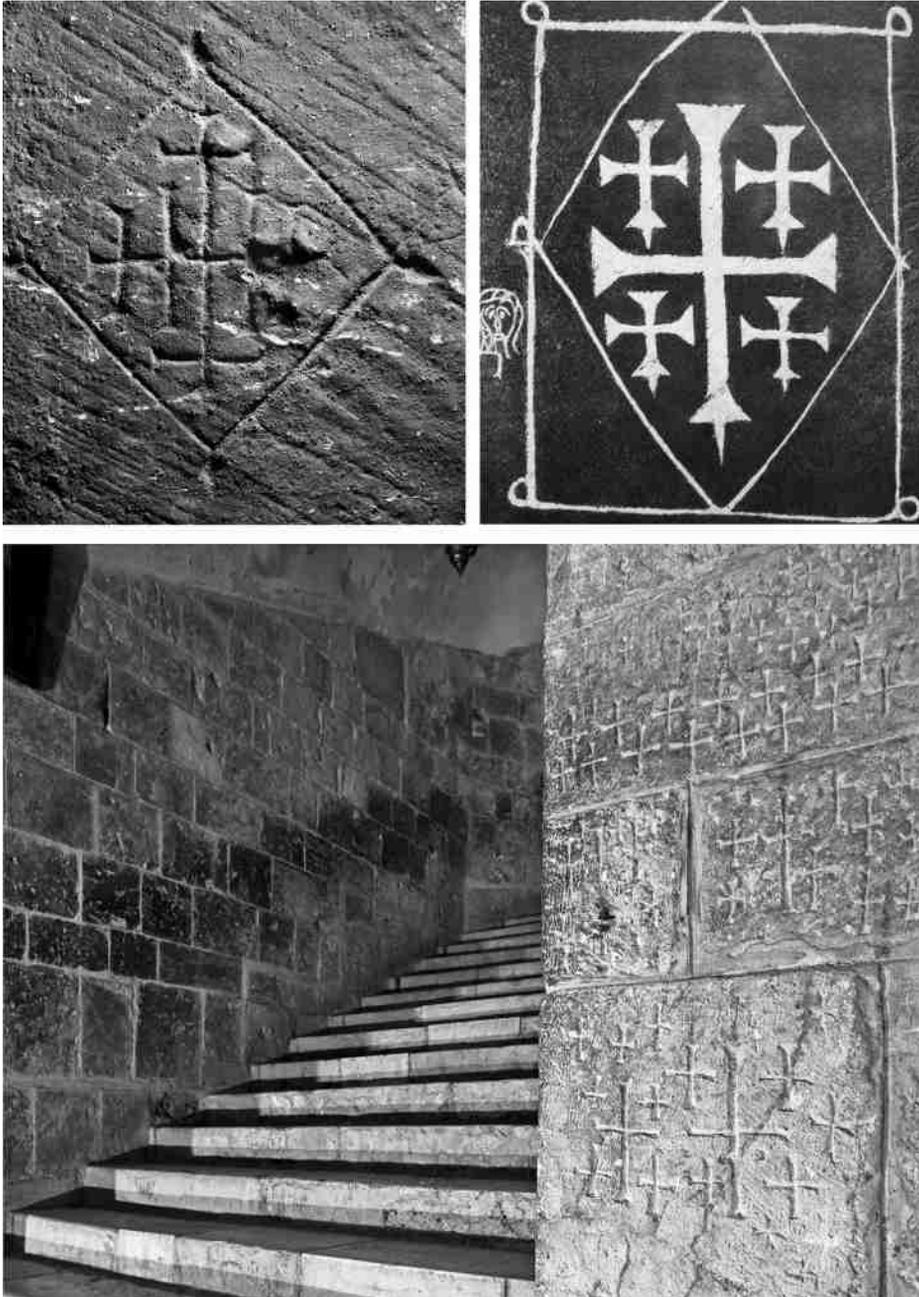
Figure 3: top left, 3a: Probable version of the arms of Jerusalem, source Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery; top right, 3b: The arms of Jerusalem in All Saints church, Worlington, Suffolk, after Pritchard 1967; bottom, 3c: part of the face of the west wall at the foot of the stairs to the Chapel of St Helena, Church of Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, photograph by John Crook.

a lozenge within a rectangle resembling a banner (**Figure 3b**).[40] Not only are the crosses placed on a lozenge, as at Norwich, but one of the angles of the lozenge, and all four angles of the rectangle, terminate in a small, looped finial, in a similar manner to those on the lozenge in the keep. To one side of the possible banner at Worlington is a diminutive head, which appears to be wearing a mail coif. Nearby is another version of the arms of Jerusalem, this time set on a shield, and with the main cross placed between six crosses paty fitchy (possibly representing a crusilly field). A small shield to one side is charged with another small head wearing a mail coif, suggesting that both Worlington examples of the arms are by the same hand.[41]

The arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem originally took the form of *Argent a cross or*, as illustrated in a manuscript prepared for Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in *c*. 1188. The field then became crusilly, and sometimes included four annulets bearing a cross set between the arms of the larger central cross. The central cross appears as a cross potent in Walford's Roll of *c*. 1275.[42] The multiple crosses in the field are then reduced to four and, combined with the cross potent, are seen on the impaled arms of the kingdom of Cyprus: *A cross potent between four crosslets* (Jerusalem) *impaling Barry a lion rampant crowned* (Lusignan) employed on coins of Almaric of Tyre as king of Cyprus (1306–10).[43] That said, the example in Norwich Castle keep depicted on a lozenge shield (**Figure 3a**) is not a straightforward depiction of the arms of Jerusalem, but a sacred monogram, playing with the familiar form of the central cross in combination of the letters I and H, standing for 'Iesus and Hierusalem'.[44] It is just possible that the cross was carved by a later crusader or a pilgrim on their return from the Holy Land. A visitor to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site of the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Christ,[45] would certainly have found a great number of exemplars for such an inscription, see for example the multiplicity of crosses on the face of west wall at the foot of stairs to the Chapel of St Helena (**Figure 3c**).[46] However, the example in the keep is perhaps more likely to have been engraved as a symbolic reference to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Lowis de Vinck

A neat armorial or pseudo-armorial engraving comprises *A fleur-de-lis ensigned with a crown* on a shield set between laurel leaves, also ensigned with a crown, with an accompanying inscription beneath the foot of the shield: LOWIS DE VINK (**Figure 4a**). A dozen or so entries for armigerous nobles of the family/families of de Vinck (Vink, Vinke, etc.) can be found in Rietstap's *Armorial Général*,[47] scattered about the Low Countries and Germany, but none has arms that correspond with those engraved here. These arms may have been inscribed by a soldier of William III, and perhaps represent a regimental badge rather than personal arms.[48] Alternatively, they could belong to an imprisoned nobleman[49] taken during the Seven Years War (1756–1763), or from Napoleon's *Grande Armée*. An account of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1814), reveals that after disembarking at Great Yarmouth 'Columns of prisoners often 1,000 strong, were marched from Yarmouth to Norwich, and were there lodged in the Castle'.[50] The eventual destination of the prisoners being the purpose-built prison camp or depot at Norman Cross in Huntingdonshire, which held many captured French and Dutch soldiers.[51]
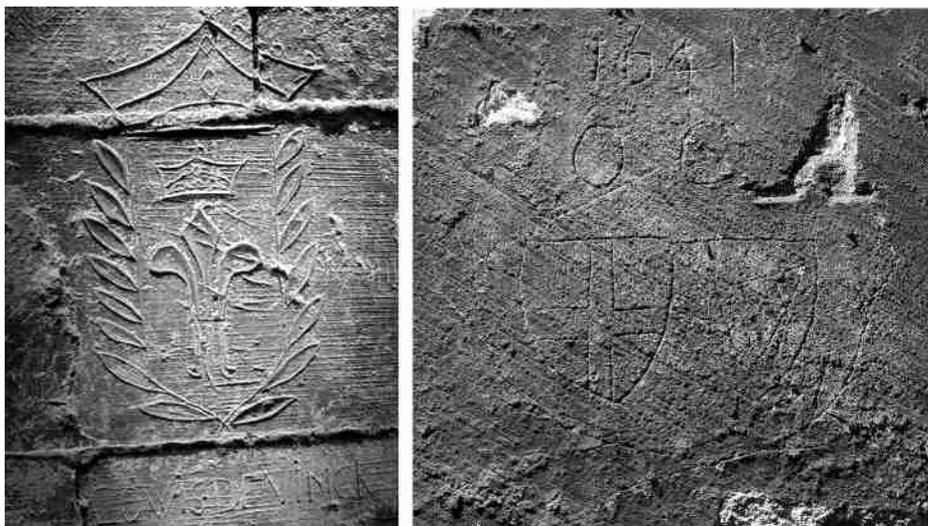
Figure 4: left, 4a: arms of Lowis de Vinck, lower keep window embrasure; right, 4b: arms of the Commonwealth, inscribed by William Squire in the nineteenth century. Both photographs courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

William Squire and the arms of the Commonwealth

Norwich Castle was held by Parliament during the English Civil War (1642–1651). In 1643 the castle was refortified by order of Oliver Cromwell, who was a colonel in the Eastern Association at the time. The ditch was cleaned out, a rampart was substituted for the curtain wall, and a battery was built for the city's artillery on the north-eastern side of the castle mound.[52]

One ashlar block in the keep is inscribed with the date 1644[53] above the initials O C, below which are the conjoined shields of England (*A cross of St George*) and Ireland (*A harp*) between branches of a wreath[54] (**Figure 4b**). The shields are those of the Commonwealth of 1649–1653 (and 1659–1660). These were replaced during the Protectorate (1653–1659) by a single shield with the quartered arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with an escutcheon of Cromwell, the Lord Protector, in pretence.[55]

Although authorship of the graffiti is clearly implied to be that of O(liver) C(romwell), perhaps not unexpectedly it is not the work of the future regicide, but a nineteenth-century concoction.[56] This is clear from a consideration of the combined date and arms. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, the conjoined arms of England and Ireland were introduced by order of Council of State to replace the royal arms, five years *after* the date given in the inscription above the shields.[57] Later sources confirm one's suspicions of deception here and link the authorship of the graffiti with one William Squire, as an attempted hoax by him on Samuel Woodward (1790–1838), the Norfolk

antiquary and historian of Norwich Castle. As the celebrated Victorian historian Thomas Carlyle, who also had dealings with Squire, noted:

> ……… *In Norwich Castle somewhere (on some window rather perhaps) there was found cut out "O. C. 1640," [sic] by the elder Woodward, who searched much after antiquities and histories of that Castle in particular. It turned out that W. S. had done it, —but whether with any view of bamboozling Woodward, or merely to express his own indolence and nonsense, I did not learn. Ohe, jam satis!*[58]

> *T. C. (same date)*[59]

Squire was known for other attempts to pass-off antiquities as having notable Civil War associations.[60] These include *"a lance head from Naseby Field,' the stock of a lance belonging to one of Cromwell's soldiers'*; an old black orange studded with cloves which Charles I had held in his hand on the day of his execution (said by Squire to have been given to him by his grandfather), and *'a pair of stirrups, Oliver Cromwell's'* now in the collections of Norwich Castle Museum.[61] Squire's most notable forgery was a series of letters which he claimed had been written by Cromwell, as to the authenticity of which he convinced the unfortunate Carlyle, who published them as genuine.[62]

Present and future work

At present, work is being undertaken to attempt to restore the appearance of the keep to its early twelfth-century form. During this work, in February 2022, five ashlar blocks bearing graffiti were discovered in the northernmost of the two south-east ground floor rooms: two blocks have a cross paty in relief; one has obscure decoration portraying either a pair of shields or a pair of heads side-by-side; another has an incised compass-drawn flower, and, lastly, an irregular block is decorated with an unusual counter-relief crowned and standing figure of a king, his right hand on his hip and his left hand extended in a gesture of command. To the left of this figure are the possible remains of a cross, above a deeply incised cross flory fitchy.

As part of the restoration project a metric survey was undertaken to record the ancient (and not so ancient) fabric of the keep. It is to be hoped that in the future it will be possible to copy and add the extant armorial (and other) graffiti to the CAD drawings from this survey and tie it in to the various phases of the structural development and use of the building.[63] Thereafter an attempt could be made to produce an ordinary of all examples of arms incised on the walls of the great Anglo-Norman keep at Norwich.[64]

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[1] A mound (motte) topped by a timber palisade and tower, surrounded by a ditched and palisaded enclosure (bailey).

[2] The dating is contentious, see R.B. Harris, 'Norwich Castle: Gateway to Medieval England Project. Assessment of the Norman Keep' (Unpublished report, 23.5.2018 v.1.6), pp. 3, 7–16.

[3] See also S. Ashley, 'Lions Confronted on Bigod's Tower: Proto-armorial decoration on the forebuilding of Norwich Castle keep and elsewhere' in S. Cunningham, A. Curry, and P. Dryburgh (eds), *Status, Identity and Authority: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives presented to Adrian Ailes* Coat of Arms Supplementary vol. no. 2, (London, 2021) pp. 12–28.

[4] See J.H. Round, 'Castle Guard' *Archaeological Journal,* 59, (1902), pp. 144–59, at p. 144.

[5] B. Green, *Norwich Castle, a Fortress for Nine Centuries* (Norwich, 1970), unpaginated.

[6] R. Nevell, 'Castles as Prisons' *Castles Study Group Journal* 28, (2014), pp. 204–24, at p. 219.

[7] Sir John Soane (1753–1837).

[8] Harris, 'Norwich Castle', op. cit., section 2.4.6, pp. 105–9.

[9] Figure 1 is a watercolour by James Bridges (1819–1853), painted in 1833, showing the west face of Norwich Castle during refacing, with the stonemason's yard in the foreground.

[10] Harris, op. cit., pp. 3–5.

[11] Lavatories.

[12] The most recent and most reliable of which is Harris 2018. See also T.A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Architecture and Social Context* (Norwich, 1994) and 'The shifting structure of Norwich Castle keep, 1096 to *c*. 1230' in J.A. Davies, A. Riley, J-M. Levesque, and C. Lapiche, (eds.) *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 43–54; P.J. Drury, 'Norwich Castle Keep' in G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones, (eds.), *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800–1600* (Oxford, 2002); E. Shepherd Popescu, B. Green, and S. Ashley, 'Norwich Castle Fee', *Medieval Archaeology* 48.1 (2004), pp. 209–19; E. *Shepherd Popescu, 'Norwich Castle: Excavations and Historical Survey 1987–98 (in four parts), Parts I Anglo-Saxon to c.1345 and II c.1345 to Modern', East Anglian Archaeology 132 (2009); B.* Ayers, ''…traces of the original disposition of the whole'. Excavated evidence for the construction of Norwich Castle keep' in Davies, et. al., eds.) (Oxford, 2016), pp. 31–42; E. Popescu, 'Norwich Castle' in Davies, et. al., (eds.) (Oxford, 2016), pp. 3–30; S. Ashley (2021).

[13] S. Woodward (B.B. Woodward, ed.), *The History and Antiquities of Norwich Castle* (London, Norwich, 1847). There were four generations of engravers of the Basire family, the first named Isaac, followed by three Jameses, who had overlapping careers that continue to cause difficulties in attribution. The first James employed William Blake as an apprentice in 1772 for a term of seven years. Blake's time spent copying images in Westminster Abbey during his apprenticeship had a profound effect on his later work (article on Blake by Robert N. Essick in *DNB*).

[14] *DBA*, vol. 1, p. 255.

[15] G.J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 433–4.

[16] *DBA*, vol. 1, pp. 256–7.

[17] J. *Coad* and A. Streeten, 'Excavations at *Castle Acre* Castle, Norfolk, 1972–77', *Archaeol. J.*, 139 (1982), pp. 138–301, at pp. 139–143.

[18] Woodward 1847, p. 22.

[19] Chesney, De Caineto, etc. derive from Le Quesnay: Seine-Inf. arr. Neufchâtel, cant. and comm. Saint-Saëns (L.C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* Harleian Society, 103 (Leeds, 1951), pp. 27–8.

[20] T. Barratt-Lennard, 'Some Account of the Manor or Castle of Horsford' *Norfolk Archaeol.*, 15, (1904), pp. 267–292, at pp. 270–71, and pedigree chart, p. 291.

[21] *DBA*, vol. 3, p. 318.

[22] With one example of *A fess dancetty* for John de Burgh listed in *DBA* vol. 3, p. 313 (seal of 1370/1, PRO seals card index) and three entries for various de Burghs in William Jenyns' Ordinary: 966 *A fess dancetty*, 967 *A fess dancetty charged with 3 roundels*, 968 *A fess dancetty and label*, www.armorial.dk, S. Clemmensen (ed.) pp. 107–8. The arms of de Burgh usually appear as *Lozengy gules and vair* (*DBA*, vol. 4, pp. 216–7), and arms charged with a fess dancetty are more often associated with the family of Vavassour (*DBA* vol. 3, pp. 313–4).

[23] F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*: Volume 3 (London., 1806), p. 42.

[24] Green, *Norwich Castle* 1970.

[25] *DBA*, vol. 4, pp. 116–118. The Woodwards' text and caption agree.

[26] Brault, 1998, p. 36.

[27] *DBA,* vol. 2, pp. 515–16.

[28] *DBA*, vol. 2, pp. 531–32.

[29] The vertical lines on this and the preceding example of a shield with chevrons are imprecise and unlikely to represent a palewise division for counterchanged arms.

[30] See M, Maclagan, 'The Heraldry of the House of Clare', *Family History* vol. 12, no. 85/86 (October, 1981), pp. 2–11.

[31] The verse chronicle *Roman de Rou*, by the Anglo-Norman poet Wace (*c*. 1100- post 1174).

[32] D. Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry, 1050–1250', in P. Coss and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 17–37, at 32–5, fig. 3.

[33] On a more elevated level, it was not unknown for individuals to decorate a church or gateway with the arms of great lords and place their own arms amongst them, thus basking in reflected glory and positioning themselves amongst distinguished company, as if an equal.

[34] *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 396–400, 404–5.

[35] *DBA*, vol. 3, pp. 97, 103–4.

[36] *DBA*, vol. 3, p. 100.

[37] V. Pritchard, *English Medieval Graffiti* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 172.

[38] A. Ailes, 'The Governmental Seals of Richard I' in P.R. Schofield (ed.), *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 101–110, at p. 107.

[39] It is not uncommon to find medieval arms placed on a lozenge as an alternative to a shield, as can be seen on many examples of armorial horse furniture (see S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology, vol. 101 (2002), pp. 16–18, figs. 17–18) and, notably, on the Valence Casket (M. Campbell, 'The Valence casket' in J. Alexander and P. Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987), pp. 357–58, Cat. 362).

[40] Pritchard op. cit., p. 162, fig 211.

[41] Pritchard op. cit., pp. 158–164, figs 211, 212.

[42] T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, *Aspilogia 2* (London, 1967), p. 12.

[43] J.A. Goodall, 'An Armory for Cyprus and the Latin East' in S. Ashley (ed.), *At the Roots of Heraldry: Collected Papers of John Archibald Goodall* Harleian Society New Series 21 (London, 2018), pp. 27–74, p. 16. See also P.A. Fox, *Great Cloister: A Lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 419–20.

[44] C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Romance of Heraldry* (London 1929, rep. 1951), pp. 54–6; or possibly as an abbreviation for 'Jesus Hominum Salvator'.

[45] M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (London, 1999).

[46] In a crypt built by the Crusaders in 1130, G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Beauty of Jerusalem* (London, 1983). See also Y. Friedman, 'Pilgrims in the Shadow of the Crusader Kingdom' in S. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land, the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 100–9, at pp. 101–2, and Fig. 2.

[47] Rietstap, vol. 2, p. 1009.

[48] Personal communication Steven Thiry, who kindly checked for me (without success) the standard repertory of noble heraldry of Belgian families: L. Duerloo and P. Janssens (ed.), *Wapenboek van de Belgische Adel* (Brussels, 1994).

[49] The laurels and crown suggest a Dutch baron. They are the type of arms used for barons/friherre and counts/greve in Denmark around 1671 / 1710 (Personal communication Steen Clemmensen).

[50] F. Abell, *Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756 to 1815* (Oxford, 1914), p. 268. The quote is taken from notes on Yarmouth by G.N. Godwin published in the *Norwich Mercury* in 1905.

[51] T.J. Walker, *The Depot for Prisoners of War at Norman Cross, Huntingdonshire, 1796 to 1816*, (London, 1913). A recent internet search for De Vinck on www.wiewaswie.nl, turned up a reference to a 'Louis De Vinck in the Netherlands, Dutch East India Crew Index, 1633–1795', recorded as working as a sailor on a contract from Holland to India and Batavia leaving on 15 January 1702 - returning on 11 November 1702. There is no further information to show whether he set sail again after Christmas in Holland, or whether by some means he washed up on England's shores and ended up in gaol in Norwich. This De Vinck may have been a common deck hand, or a ships' master – 'Sailor' in this context could just be a general collective term. However, it is tempting to see him as a sailor of some pretensions, perhaps from a captured Dutch vessel disembarked at Yarmouth with the crew lodged in the County gaol at Norwich Castle (personal communication Nick Arber).

[52] P. Kent, *Fortifications of East Anglia* (Lavenham, 1988), p. 182.

[53] The oblique line and crossbar of the second 4 are lightly engraved and now hard to discern.

[54] A Commonwealth Standard of *c.* 1652–4 has the conjoined arms set within branches of laurel and bay (in the Collections of the National Maritime Museum, London, first noted in *Gent's Mag.* 1803, pp. 101–2).

[55] W.G. Perrin, *British Flags* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 62–6.

[56] The initials AW can be found to the right of the inscription and are broadly contemporary but by a different hand.

[57] Perrin *op. cit.*, pp. 62–6.

[58] 'Hey! That's enough already' (Horace).

[59] 1849. See W. Aldis Wright, 'The Squire Papers' *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, April 1886, vol. 1, no. 2 pp. 311–348, at pp. 344–5.

[60] See S. Tucker and W. Rye, 'The Squire Papers' *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1886, vol. 1, no. 4 pp. 744–756. The inscription is described on p. 745.

[61] Accession number NWHCM : 1839.26.5.

BOUNCING BACK: MIGRANTS WHO RETURN HOME

JOHN TITFORD F.S.A., F.H.G.

Here's a thought regarding this fine town in which we find ourselves: Frank Stubbings, in *Bedders, bulldogs and bedells*, says: "In a place like Cambridge, no civilized person lives wholly in the present".

This lecture is about migrants who returned home, became "bounce-backers" within England. Many people migrate, but a surprising number then come back home, *as if they had never been away.* If you're compiling a pedigree, you need not even have reasons for supposing that this happened – just bear in mind that it might have done. Bounce-back doubles the questions to be answered: why did somebody leave? Why did they return? Migrants usually returned to a place that is safe, familiar, is home. We will proceed like this: I'll tell one or two simple stories, then in each case I'll explain what source material I've used to create such a story.

This is very self-indulgent: it's based on own male-line ancestry – but that's where I have most data and where I first noticed this phenomenon. An unusual surname is a great advantage!

A quick look at the *Family Search* website makes it clear that during the sixteenth century nearly every parish register entry for the surname Titford or its variants can be found in one of two counties only: Bedfordshire and Wiltshire. We'll focus on Wiltshire. All known Titfords alive today, anywhere in the world, are provably descended from one of two men (brothers or cousins) who were living in the second half of the sixteenth century in the village of Bratton (**Figure 1**), which lies below the western edge of
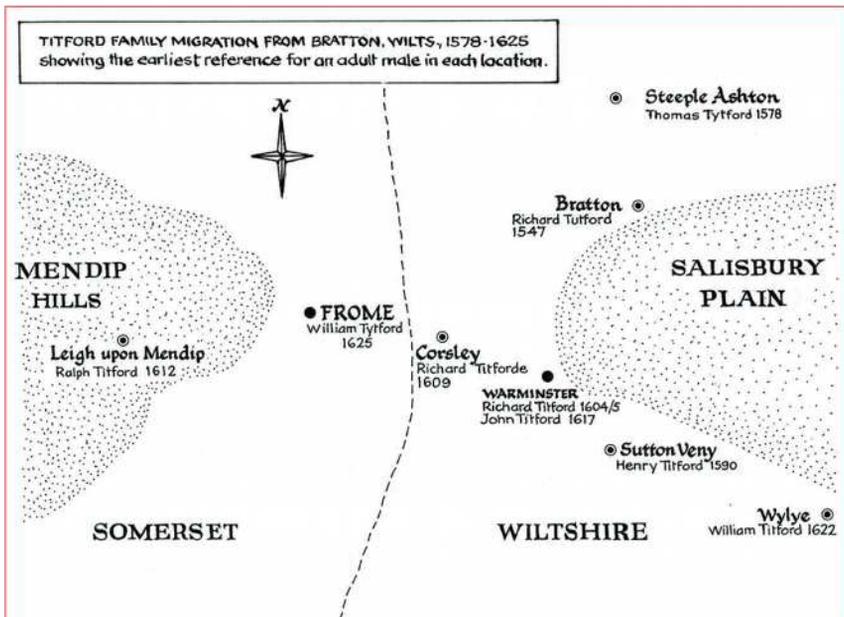
Figure 1: Titford migration map: showing Bratton and its surrounds.

Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire. Here we have a surname with a single-family origin; my wife's maiden surname is Flockton (from a place-name in Yorkshire), and all Flocktons, like all Titfords, are related, being part of one large family.

Our first little story:

> "A couple named Richard and Alice Titford or TUTFORD had a number of children (**Pedigree 1**), including a son called Thomas, who was baptised in Bratton in 1556. In adult life he moved to the neighbouring village of Steeple Ashton, where he was a husbandman, an alehousekeeper and a tailor. He married a widow named Elizabeth Davis, but she died during an epidemic in 1597, whereupon Thomas made a journey northwards to a village called Shipton Under Wychwood in Oxfordshire, where he married Margaret Ferfield. The couple returned to Steeple Ashton, where they had children together".

RICHARD TITFORD　　　=　　**Alice Smyth**

Marr 1547, Bratton, Wiltshire

THOMAS TITFORD = (1) **Elizabeth Davis** = (2) **Margaret Ferfield**

| 1556 – 1632 *Husbandman, Alehousekeeper, Tailor* of Steeple Ashton, Witshire | Bur 1597, Steeple Ashton | Marr 1598, Shipton Under Wychwood, Oxfordshire Bur 1632/3, Steeple Ashton |

Mary 1579 Richard 1583　　　　**Alice 1600/1**
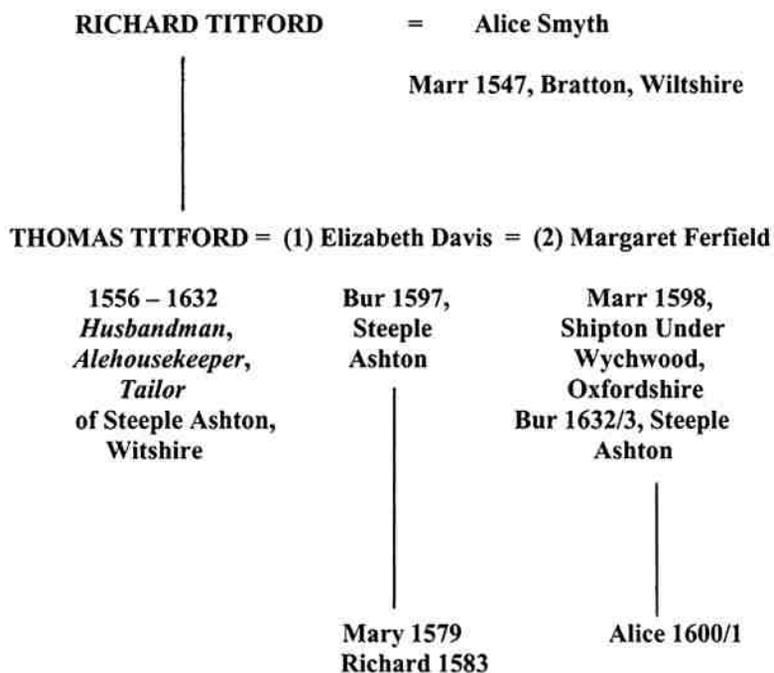
Pedigree 1:　Richard and Alice Titford of Bratton; Thomas Titford of Bratton and of Steeple Ashton.

Richard and Alice had married in Bratton in 1547, just into the reign of Edward VI. How do we know this story is true? What are the sources?

Wife Elizabeth died during an epidemic in 1597 (**Figure 2**).
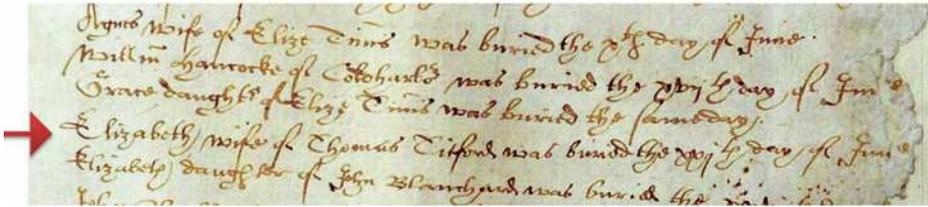
Figure 2: extract from the Steeple Ashton burial register 1597, Wiltshire Record Office.

As with census returns, it's imperative to take a holistic view, to get the full context. The burial register of Steeple Ashton shows an exceptional number of burials at this time, 42 in total from May to August 1597.The year 1597 saw the outbreak of a widespread rural epidemic known (with no attempt at euphemism) as the Great Sweat. What was Thomas Titford to do, widowed and in a village full of sickness?

Figure 3: Thomas Titford's migration.

He made a substantial journey to Shipton Under Wychwood in Oxfordshire (**Figure 3**) and there he married Margaret Ferfield in 1598, returned home, and "bounced back" to Steeple Ashton. Here is the parish register marriage entry for the parish of Steeple Ashton, written on vellum (**Figure 4**).
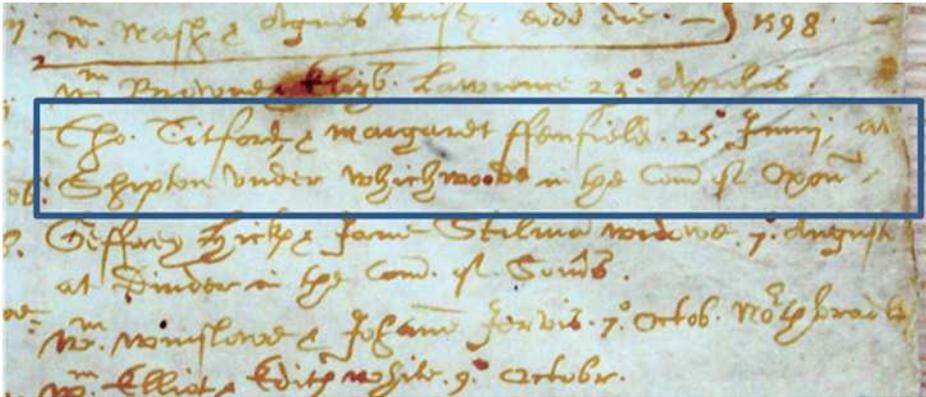
Figure 4: Thomas Titford & Margaret, from the Steeple Ashton marriage register on vellum, Wiltshire Record Office.

In the 1590s parishes were instructed to copy their paper registers onto vellum. Most did so, but often missed out extraneous details, to save time and effort. Here is the *paper* register, which has survived – most have not (**Figure 5**). Here we find that a series of marriages which had happened away from Steeple Ashton during the abandonment of the village has been entered retrospectively. Had there perhaps been a parish meeting to determine this?
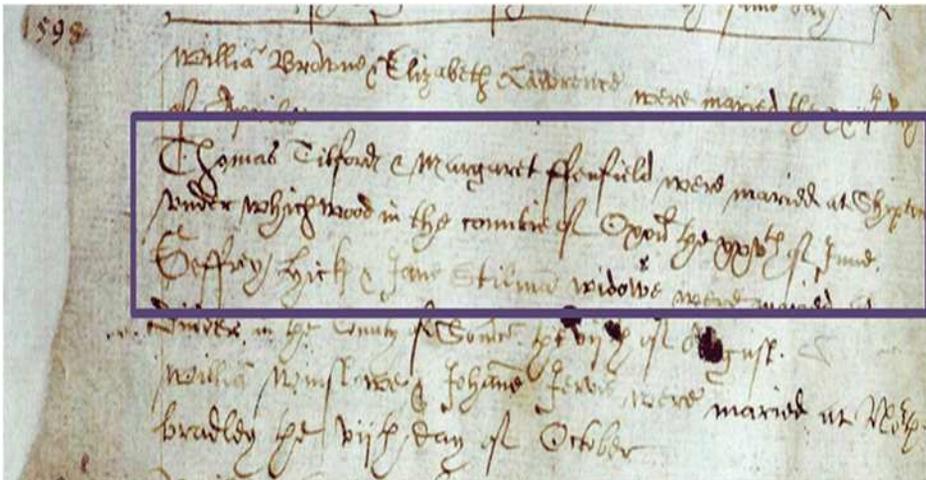
Figure 5: Thomas Titford & Margaret, from the Steeple Ashton marriage register on paper. Wiltshire Record Office.

Let's take stock so far: The story has only just begun, yet already we have a man moving away from his roots, marrying in another county, and returning home. Do you believe in "Searching the neighbouring parishes" to find a marriage? Good luck! The fact is that people might get married a hundred or so miles from their home, not just ten miles. Of

course a rare surname helps no end… Then came a Great Migration. The Titfords had arrived in Bratton from Bedfordshire in the early decades of the sixteenth century, but all adult Titford males had left the village by the 1620s, some long before that. To find out why, do the background reading: the wool trade in Western Wiltshire was in a state of serious decline at that time, and those who could do so moved away.

So what had appeared to be the home village for all Titfords was only a place of temporary sojourn. Essentially they were just passing through. The last to leave was my direct ancestor, William Titford, presumed to be the son of another Thomas Titford, a Bratton shoemaker, cousin to Thomas of Steeple Ashton. William moved west from a village in Wiltshire to a substantial town in Somerset called Frome, and married a lady named Mary Smith there in 1625. Consider what challenges are posed by a family living near to a county or other border – let alone crossing it. William had moved to a different parish, within a different county, located in a different diocese (and this will affect, in particular, wills and marriage licences).

THOMAS TITFORD = Agnes Davie
1558 – 1624
Shoemaker of
Bratton, Wilts

WILLIAM TITFORD = Mary Smith
c.1596 – 1678/9   Marr 1625
Of Frome, Somerset   Frome

THOMAS TITFORD
1628/9 – 1677
Wiredrawer
Of Frome and London
Marr Margaret…

HENRY TITFORD
1630 – 1665
Wiredrawer
Of Southwark,
London

WILLIAM TITFORD
1635 – 1717
Wiredrawer
Of Frome

RALPH TITFORD
1636/7 – 1708
Of Frome

Six daughters,
1652/3 – 1665

Pedigree 2: William Titford of Frome and his sons.

Times were hard even in Frome – but they must have been better there than in Bratton. William had made a move from a rural parish where dual occupation was the norm (tailor and alehousekeeper, shoemaker and alehousekeeper) and from a largely subsistence economy, to wage dependency in the wool trade, which was controlled by clothiers. William Titford in Frome had four sons, three of whom are known to have been wiredrawers (**Pedigree 2**).Wiredrawing in this case was the drawing out of wire to be fitted into cards for the carding of wool. This occupation was very particular to the wool trade, and especially to Frome itself. Below is an engraving of a wiredrawer

(**Figure 6**), practising his mysterious-looking trade. Two of William and Mary's sons stayed in Frome. Two made their way to London. One of these, named Henry, settled in Southwark, but he didn't return.
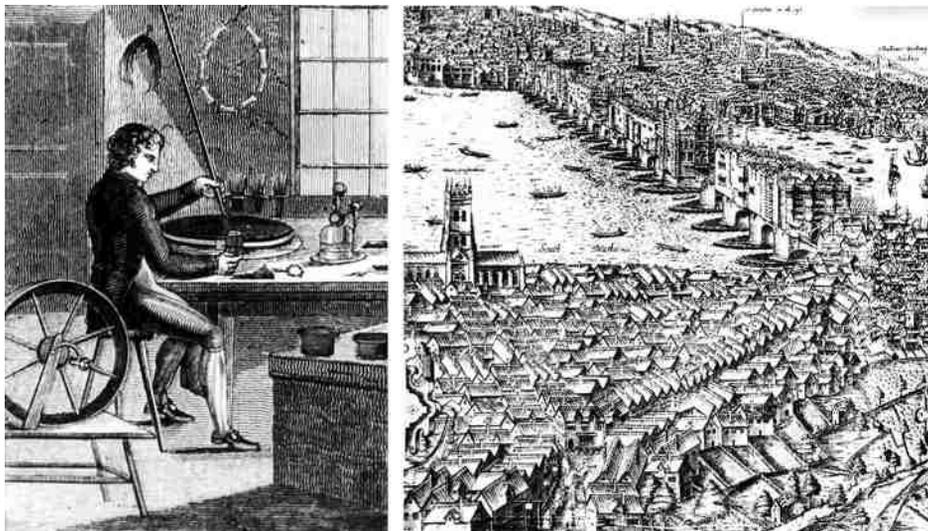
Left, Figure 6: a wiredrawer; right: *Figure 7:* Old London Bridge, with Southwark in the foreground.

Here is London Bridge (**Figure 7**). The city of London lies to the north; Southwark is to the south, with Borough High Street trickling through it. In the burial register for St Saviour's parish, Southwark Henry Titford, helpfully described as being a wiredrawer, was buried on 26th August 1665. A holistic view suggests very strongly that he would have died of the plague.

William of Frome's eldest son, Thomas Titford, also went to London, but he bounced back.

Another little story:

"Thomas Titford, a wiredrawer, son of William Titford and Mary Smith, and possibly named after his putative grandfather, Thomas the shoemaker of Bratton, left Frome as a young man and ran into trouble in far-away London. Once this crisis was over he returned to Frome, where he and his wife had a number of daughters."

Below is an extract from the printed edition of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions (**Figure 8**). We read here of recognizances in Westminster, London in 1651, for "Thomas Tydford of Frome in the county of Somerset, wyre-drawer", who had been ordered to appear before the justices, with others, "to answer for averring and maintaining diverse erroneous damnable and blasphemous opinions against the Holy Trinity". Maybe Thomas had

been apprenticed to a master in London, where he already had some respectable Titford cousins? Patrick Wallis has indicated that "Between 5 and 10 percent of English teenage males entered apprenticeships in London in the seventeenth century."

12 JUNE, 1651.—Recognizances, taken before Laurence Whitaker esq. J.P., of Elizabeth Sorrell the elder widow and Elizabeth Sorrell the younger spinster, both of Brayntree co. Essex, and Thomas Atkyn and Thomas Baugh, both of Boston co. Lincolne gentlemen, all four in the sum of four-score pounds each ; For the appearance of the said Elizabeth Sorrell the elder and Elizabeth Sorrell the younger at the next Quarter Sessions for the City and liberty of Westminster, "to answeare for averringe and meynteyneinge diverse erroneous damnable and blasphemouse opinions against the Holy Trinity."—Also, three sets of similar Recognizances, taken on the same day before the same Justices of the Peace, for the appearance of Thomas Tydford of Frome co. Somersett wyer-drawer, Margarett Dunlopp of Martin's-in-the-Fields co. Midd. widow, Frances Bedwell of Brayntree co. Essex spinster, and Anne Burley of Margarett's Westminster co. Midd. at the next Q. S. P. for the City and Liberty of Westminster, "to answer for averringe and meynteyninge diverse erroneous damnable and blasphemous opinions against the Holy Trinitie." S. P. (West.) R., 20 June, 1651.

Figure 8: the Middlesex Quarter Sessions in print.

The legal case which followed was so extraordinary that an enterprising printer named Thomas Harper published a pamphlet about it (**Figure 9**), now to be found in the so-called Thomason tracts in the British Library – a collection of printed ephemera, accessed initially by way of an index in two printed volumes. Imagine the broad Somerset accents up in London. Thomas Titford would no doubt have been regarded by seventeenth-century Londoners as a bucolic peasant. When Shakespeare wanted to indicate that a character in one of his plays was something of a village idiot, he'd give him a "Zummerset" accent.

The case against Thomas Titford:
"All the proceedings at the sessions of the peace holden at Westminster on the 20 day of June 1651, against Thomas Tydford, etc."

> *"Thomas Tydford being asked where John Robins, alias Roberts, dwelleth, he saith he knoweth not, nor what trade he is of, but he doth believe that the sayd Robins alias Roberts is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and saith that the wife of the sayd Robins alias Roberts shall bring forth a man child that shall be the Saviour of all that shall be saved in this world……he affirmeth further, that Caine who slew his brother Abell is the third person of the Trinity, and that those that deny it, deny their own salvation; he saith further that the sayd John Robins, alias Roberts, hath power to raise the dead".*

The Examination of Thomas Tydford Eliza-
bet. Sorrell *the elder* , Margaret Dunlape,
Anne Burley, Frances Bedwell, Elizabeth
Sorrell *the yonger, &* Thomas Kearby,&c.

Homas Tydford being asked where *John Robins, a-
lias Roberts* dwelleth, he faith he knoweth not,
nor what trade he is of, but he doth believe
that the fayd *Robins* , *alias Roberts* , is the God
and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jefus
Chrift, and faith that the wife of the fayd *Ro-
bins, alias Roberts,* fhall bring forth a man child that fhall be the
Saviour of all that fhall be faved in this world ; he affirmeth
further, that *Caine* who flew his brother *Abell* is the third Per-
fon of the Trinity, and that thofe that deny it, deny their own
falvation ; he faith further, that the fayd *John Robins, alias Ro-
berts,* hath power to raife the dead.

The marke of M *Thomas Tydford.*

All the above named Examinants agree with *Thomas Tydford,*
and affirme the fame, and put thereto their hands at the fame
time.

The marke M of *Margaret Dunlape.*

Anne Burley.   *Thomas Kearby.*

Elizabeth Sorrell fenior, her marke.

Elizabeth Sorrell junior, her || marke.

A 2   *Frances*

Figure 9: Thomas Tydford: the legal case.

"Erroneous damnable and blasphemous opinions against the Holy Trinity" indeed!

Thomas Tydford signed his mark to this amazing statement, as did all the other accused. All eventually signed a grovelling recantation, except Thomas Kirby, who remained obstinate, entered the court like a mad man, cursed all present, and was sentenced to six months' hard labour with corporal punishment for his pains.

Thomas "Tydford" and several of his female co-accused had clearly fallen under the spell of John Robins, the so-called "King of the Ranters" (for whom see DNB). Robins had hoodwinked his followers and gone off with their money. This was not untypical of life during the years after the Civil War – the old certainties had vanished, bishops had been abolished, everything was up in the air, political and religious "nutters" were everywhere. Nowadays Thomas would have joined the Moonies or the Branch Davidian (in Waco, Texas). He was clearly an impressionable young man... And then what did Thomas do after this unsavoury episode? He bounced back home, as if nothing had ever happened; he was having children in Frome one year later by his wife Margaret (perhaps Margaret Dunlop, one of his co-accused?).

In my book *The Titford family 1547–1947* (**Figure 10**) I recounted all that I then knew about Thomas: "He paid the Hearth Tax". Slim pickings; I'd sold him short. I should have known: you always discover some riveting fact the day after your book is published!

My male-line family had bounce-backers in nearly every generation from the 1570s to the 1750s. We may say that the Titford family bounced back no more nor no less than other artisan families. They weren't tied to the land, and in Frome they had skills which were not especially easily transferable to other parts of the country, being very specific to the wool trade. In theory wiredrawers and cardmakers would be less mobile than more general craftsmen such as carpenters, tailors or masons. But here in the seventeenth century were West Country artisans on the move, making their way to the capital, where no doubt they would hope that the streets were paved with gold. In short, never take your ancestors for granted – many of them were not as boringly rooted to the spot as you may think.
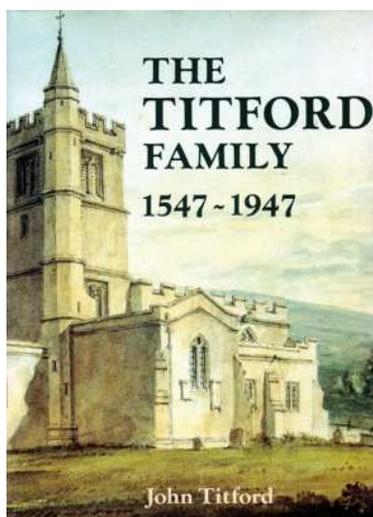

Figure 10: Bratton church, Wiltshire, on the cover of the author's book on the Titfords.

SCOTS HERALDRY AND THE SCOTTISH LEGAL SYSTEM: A PARTNERSHIP OF OVER 400 YEARS

Dr. JOSEPH J. MORROW, C.B.E., K.C.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Lyon King of Arms

The office of Lord Lyon is threaded throughout Scottish history and is said to be linked to the High Sennachie of the Celtic Kings. It emerged in the documentation of Scotland in the early fourteenth century and has been operationalised through successive statutes and legal cases since that period of Scottish history.The office of Lord Lyon and Scots law have developed together since the sixteenth century. It has been a journey that narrates the development of Scotland as a nation. Indeed, Scots heraldry is often described as "the garden of Scottish history" – that history includes not only the history of Scots heraldry but also Scotland's legal history.

For his office to come into effect, the Lord Lyon has first to be sworn in before the Lord President of the Court of Session. In my case, this took place on 24th February 2014, when I took both the Royal Oath and the judicial oath – "**to act without fear or favour**".There is a long-established relationship between the Crown and the Lord Lyon. Indeed, at one time, a direct insult to the Lord Lyon was regarded as a direct insult to his Master. In 1515, when Lord Drummond struck the Lord Lyon King of Arms, the case was tried as a capital offence. Drummond was saved only through the personal intercession of the Lord Lyon together with that of some of the more powerful nobles.[1]

The *Stair Memorial Encyclopaedia* describes the Lyon Court as an "undoubted court of law".[2] This is the key reason why the office of Lord Lyon has survived and remains a part of Scottish life. The Court of the Lord Lyon sits formally to swear in new Officers of Arms or to determine cases relating to rights to arms, to peerages, to baronetcies, and in particular to Scottish Clan or Family Chiefships. Since the Lyon King of Arms Act 1592, the Lord Lyon has had enforcement power where a criminal prosecution is brought before him by the Procurator Fiscal for the Court of the Lord Lyon. Whilst prosecutions in the Lyon Court are rare, the ability to have the means of enforcement serves to stabilise the heraldic system in Scotland. The Procurator Fiscal is appointed by Scottish Ministers and is independent of the Court and, with regard to the separation of powers, the office of Procurator Fiscal is deemed compliant with the Human Rights Act 1998.

Being a court of law, of which the Lord Lyon is the sole Judge, the decisions of the Lord Lyon are subject to appeal. There is, however, no appeal against a decision not to grant arms, as such a decision falls within an administrative (and *not* judicial) function of the Lord Lyon; it is an example of the Lord Lyon's ministerial function. If, however, it can be demonstrated that the Lord Lyon has acted unreasonably, then a decision can be challenged by way of judicial review.

When the Lord Lyon is acting in a judicial capacity, the Court of Session has confirmed its jurisdiction to review proceedings in the Lyon Court.[3] From the Court of Session, an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court. In *McDonnell v McDonald*[4] in a decision of 1826, Lord Robertson stated:

"The power of granting ensigns armorial is part of the royal prerogative, but every thing belonging to that power has been given by sundry statutes to the Lord Lyon's grant. His power to grant new armorial bearings is merely discretionary and ministerial, and with that this Court cannot interfere."

The Head of the Lyon Court is a Judge of the Realm and is always the Lord Lyon King of Arms, who must be a qualified lawyer, admitted as a solicitor or advocate in Scotland. The law to be applied in the Court is Scots law. The Court of the Lord Lyon holds a singularly unique position in the legal system of Scotland, as well as within the Scottish cultural system.

After Cromwell's successful invasion of Scotland in 1650–1652, the writing seemed to be on the wall for the Lyon Court and the office of Lord Lyon. Charles I had appointed Sir James Balfour as Lord Lyon in 1630 and granted him a baronetcy three years later. Balfour had remained consistently loyal to the royalist cause through the period of civil war, and it was Balfour who read the Coronation Oath to Charles II when he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone.[5] The story of Cromwell's soldiers burning Lyon Court records in Perth in 1651 while Balfour was attempting to transport them to his castle at Denmilne created the impression that, from the beginning, the Cromwellian regime in Scotland was specifically hostile both to the Lyon Court and to Balfour personally.[6] It is therefore surprising that it took until 1654 for Balfour to be deprived of his title, despite the official abolition of all independent Scottish judiciaries in 1652 whereby "… *no power, jurisdiction or authority was to be exercised in Scotland which was not derived from the Parliament of England*".[7]

On 13 May 1658, at Whitehall, Cromwell signed a declaration appointing Sir James Campbell of Lawers as "Lord Lyone King-at-Arms" for life. Commentators remarked on the irony of a regicidal republican government explicitly undertaking to "crown" a King.[8] The question of why it was deemed appropriate in 1658 to restore the title "Lyon King of Arms" deserves to be taken seriously. The preamble to the 1658 declaration, which observed–

"it hath ever bein found as necessarie as it is suteable to the dignitie of the state of PRINCES That…They should have…Fitt and Convenient Officers at Armes alsweill in tymes of peace as warre"

seems to suggest a definite shift in the regime's approach to the Scottish nobility and the role of the state as the protector of hereditary dignities.[9]

It is unclear how the Lyon Court operated between 1658 and the Restoration of 1660. With no primary records available, we cannot currently reconstruct the business which the Lyon Court handled under James Campbell of Lawers. However, we can observe that 1658 was not an auspicious time for such work to begin. Oliver Cromwell himself would be dead within months of the Court's reinstatement, and the mounting political instability from 1658 onwards caused a rapid haemorrhaging of state authority. In fact, the end of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate in 1659 officially invalidated every act passed in the previous five years, including the Act of Union itself. Therefore, while the Lyon Court may not have been totally inactive in the two years leading up to the Restoration, it is highly unlikely that it would have achieved its goals. In the chaos of 1660, Campbell of Lawers – possibly wishing to be out of the spotlight when Charles II returned – relinquished his title to Gilbert Stewart. Stewart himself has made no visible impression

on the historical record, and only held the title for a matter of days until he himself was replaced by Charles' appointee, Sir Alexander Durham of Largo.[10] The Restoration of Charles II meant that the republican Lyon Court, along with all other ordinances and establishments of the republican period, had never legally existed. In the Act of Parliament of 1672 which appointed a successor to Alexander Durham of Largo, James Balfour was named as Durham's direct predecessor as Lord Lyon. In other words, James Campbell of Lawers and Gilbert Stewart were written out of history entirely, presumably along with all their heraldic judgements, whatever those may have been.[11]More generally, the post-Restoration reaction of most Scottish political and legal commentators to the period of the Lyon Court, like many similar policies for republicanising Scotland in the 1650s, would have proved to be something of a damp squib.

The Lyon King of Arms Acts between 1592 and 1672

During the 80 year period from 1592 to 1672, four acts were passed by the Scottish Parliament concerning the office and jurisdiction of the Lyon King of Arms, culminating in the establishment of the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings* in 1672.[12] 350 years have now passed since the creation of the *Register*; but this legislation continues to underpin the role and functions of the Lord Lyon and his Court in the present day. The 1672 Act, and its parent legislation – passed in 1592, 1662 and 1669 – are best understood as the outcome of political and financial pressures; intellectual influences, linked to the first enlightenment, were also important.

Although the Lord Lyon King of Arms is known to have had jurisdiction over armorial bearings since before 1503, the first statutory reference to the armorial jurisdiction of the Lyon came in 1592, when the twelfth parliament of James VI passed legislation "Concerning the office of [*Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*], Lyon King of Arms, and his brother heralds". The 1592 legislation was enacted following Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's investiture as Lyon King of Arms in 1591, whereupon he succeeded his uncle Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet as Lord Lyon, thereby becoming the latest member of the heraldic Lindsay dynasty.

A letter from Rathillet to the Lord Clerk Register in July 1590 suggests that Rathillet was not receiving all of the fees due to him as Lord Lyon. That letter, and the timing of the 1592 legislation – which was enacted immediately following Sir David Lindsay's appointment – would seem to indicate that the statute was introduced under impetus from Sir David Lindsay in order to ensure that the emoluments due to him as Lyon were forthcoming, and that the rights and perquisites of his office were respected. Using legislation was a common means of ensuring that such rights were recognised, and acts in favour of individuals made up a large amount of parliamentary business. Rules, laws and rights had to be continually reiterated and affirmed to ensure that they remained common knowledge, and to prevent them slipping quietly into desuetude. The 1592 Act contained provisions for restraining fraud and increasing security in armorial property. It states:

> *"...by this present act, gives and grants full power and commission to Lyon King of Arms and his brother heralds to visit the whole arms of noblemen, barons and gentlemen borne and used within this realm, and to distinguish and discern them with congruent differences, and thereafter to matriculate them in their books and registers."*

The 1592 Act attached a fine of £100 payable to the Lyon in respect of any contravention relating to armorial bearings. The power of prosecution was introduced. The Act also required the Lyon to matriculate and register armorial bearings in the records of the Lyon Office. Nevertheless, the 1592 Act ultimately appears to have had little meaningful long-term effect.

Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo is the Lyon to whom we owe the existence of the current *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*. He was crowned Lyon on 4th June 1663. Bills for the purchase of a new gold chain of office are detailed in the Exchequer records.

The Lyon King of Arms Act 1669 revived provisions in respect of the Lord Lyon made in the statute of 1592. It empowered Erskine to hold two courts a year: on 6th May and on 6th November. It also strengthened the enforcement process, with any offender being declared an outlaw and a fugitive. The 1669 Act concluded by reiterating that all the concessions and privileges accorded to Lyon and his brother heralds by Charles I were to persist. Erskine received the customary pension of £1,200 as paid to his predecessors, and the office of Lord Lyon was to be for the life of the holder. After a document was executed in his favour, Erskine's son Alexander with his father jointly held the office of Lyon for the duration of their natural lives. Following Parliamentary ratification, this document put the office of Lord Lyon on a hereditary basis.

Grants of patronage such as described above were often followed by Acts of Parliament in favour of the new Lord Lyon – an example being the Lyon King of Arms Act 1672, when the privileges of the Lyon passed into law. Although the 1672 legislation is probably best regarded as the ultimate expression of Erskine's personal ambitions – both for his family's social and economic position and for the reinvigoration of the office of the Lord Lyon – the ideas contained within the legislation did not arise in isolation, but rather reflected wider intellectual concerns and developments. The content of the legislation and a renewed interest in recording armorial bearings appear to have been inspired by developments in textual scholarship. This feature of the European Enlightenment placed increasing importance on the use of archival documents and authenticated records in the construction of history. These ideas, in turn, had a great impact on the study and science of genealogy, of which armorial bearings were an important part.[13] Erskine's register of arms use was ratified: fines, escheat and, failing this, imprisonment. The Act of 1672 concludes with a further general ratification of existing regulations.

It was the Lyon King of Arms Act 1672 that established the *Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, which celebrates its 350th Anniversary this year. The *Register* has become a rich source of our Scottish heraldic heritage; but it is through the Court of the Lord Lyon being part of the legal system in Scotland that the *Register* is still actively expanding month by month.

The Court of the Lord Lyon regularly hears cases, one illustration that the legal system of heraldry in Scotland is still alive today. The following two cases were heard recently. In the case of the Petition of William St Clair Inglis of Nether Cramond, the Petitioner sought official recognition in the name, style and dignity of Sir William St Clair Inglis of Nether Cramond as heir to the baronetcy of Inglis of Nether Cramond through matriculation in the Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.

The baronetcy was granted on 22nd March 1687. The Petitioner matriculated his own coat of arms on 27th September 1982. The Petitioner had proved his right to succeed to the baronetcy.

In the Petition by John Michael Baillie-Hamilton Buchanan of that Ilk of Arnprior, the Petitioner sought to be recognised as Chief of the Name and Arms of Buchanan of that Ilk. The evidence, for aught yet seen, proved the Petitioner's descent from the chiefly line – supported in a matriculation of Arms dated 1953 – and that the Petitioner's family line was now the senior line.

My final point relates to the direction in which the law should develop, if legislative time could be found. Firstly, there is a need to remove the criminal sanctions relating to breaches of heraldic law. Secondly, there is a need for modern penalties of enforcement. Thirdly, there is a need to review and revise the law of succession in relation to arms and dignities, which should follow the established law of the country. It is essential for the development and survival of the Court of the Lord Lyon that we remain firmly within the Scottish legal system, with the Lord Lyon as the Heraldic Judge in Scotland.

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[1] Sheriff Strathern, 'Origin, Coronation and Jurisdiction of the Lord Lyon King of Arms', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1868) p. 218.

[2] The Laws of Scotland in Stair Memorial Encyclopaedia / Courts and Competency, vol. 6/8, para. 1010.

[3] *Dunbar of Kilconzie* 1985 SLT 158.

[4] *McDonell v McDonald* (1826) 4S 371, at 312 per Lord Robertson.

[5] John Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences, Chiefly in Scotland, from January 1650 to June 1667* (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. 4346 (*Nicoll*).

[6] J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, (Glasgow, 1914), p. 116.

[7] F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 16511660* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 36; Nicoll, op. cit., p. 80.

[8] "Appointment by Oliver Cromwell…" in Francis J Grant (ed.), *Memorial Catalogue: Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh 1891* (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 145; [R.R.], 'Lord Lyon King-of-Arms" in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. vi (1858), p. 96; James Balfour Paul "*Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art: being the Rhind lectures on archaeology for 1898"* (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 86.

[9] Charles L. Stainer (ed.), *The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 16441658* (London, 1901), p. 304.

[10] "*Memorial Catalogue: Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh 1891"*, ed. Francis J Grant (Edinburgh 1892), p. 14.

[11] J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, [Glasgow 1914], pp. 118–119.

[12] Acts in favour of the Lord Lyon Balfour of Kinnaird were also made in 1633 and 1639.

[13] Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The First Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2020), p. 231.

THE COAT OF ARMS OF SPAIN

Dr. MANUEL PARDO DE VERA Y DÍAZ

Introduction

This paper follows the creation and evolution of the coat of arms of Spain consequent upon firstly the dynastic changes of the Spanish crown and secondly the many political changes in the government of the nation, in particular the period of reform and the revolutions between 1808 and 1981. The key events in this later period have been the occupation of the throne by Joseph Bonaparte (1808–1813), the reign of Isabella II (1813–1868), the provisional government (1868–1870), the kingdom without a king, the reign of Amadeo of Savoy (1871–1873), the first republic (1873–1874), the reign of Alfonso XII (1874–1931), the second republic (1931–1936), the regime of General Franco (1936–1975) and finally the reigns of Juan Carlos I (1975–2014) and Felipe VI (2014-present).

## The medieval origin of the heraldic emblems that make up the coat of arms of Spain

The lineage of the coat of arms of the Spanish nation can be traced back over nine centuries to the origins of heraldry around the middle of the twelfth century, when a widespread use of emblems of a personal nature began in western Europe, which soon led to the birth of the heraldic system. Of relevance to this story are the coats of arms of the kings of the different kingdoms of Spain that arose in the Middle Ages, the different dynastic links, the conflicts in the succession to the throne, and historical vicissitudes from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, when the current coat of arms was established.

The Kingdom of León

Heraldic emblems are, first and foremost, personal emblems which, being transmissible by inheritance, can represent membership of a lineage as well as the possession of a hereditary dignity or jurisdiction. The king's seal is a personal sign, but, through his person, it is a sign of the identity of the kingdom.

The lion can be considered the first heraldic emblem, and it occurs on the coins of Alfonso VII, who was born in 1105 and died in 1157. He was King of Galicia (1111), King of Castile and León (1126) and Emperor of the Spains (1135). The lion is also found on the royal signum (**Figure 1**) of his son Ferdinand II, who reigned between 1157 and 1188 as Imperator Hispania and Rex Hispaniarum. This usage might be regarded as pre-heraldic; it was not depicted with a crown until the reign of Sancho IV, King of Castile and León (ruled 1284–1295).

The oldest artistic depictions of the lion of León are found in paintings of kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus, in the chartulary known as *Tumba A* of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela we see vignettes painted around 1130, showing two lions seated at the feet of Alfonso V (999–1028). A red lion with an undoubtedly emblematic character appears in the lower part of the image of Vermudo III (1028–1037,
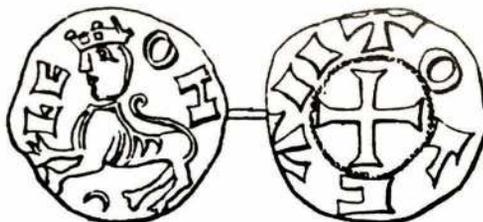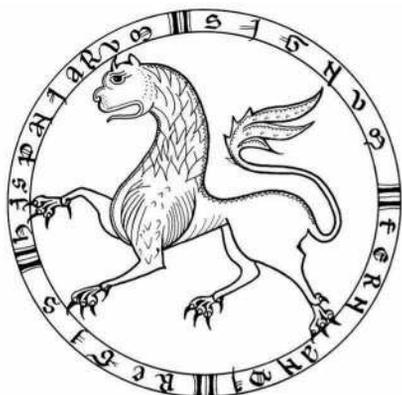
Lions of León. Top left, *Figure 1:* signum of Ferdinand II; Top right: *Figure 2:* King Vermudo III from *Tumba A* of the chartulary of Santiago da Compostella; bottom left, *Figure 3:* King Alfonso VII; centre right, *Figure 4:* King Sancho I, with his lion sceptre, this and the last both from *Tumba A*; bottom right: *Figure 5:* human headed lion on coin of Alfonso VII.

Figure 2) and in the vignettes of Fruela II (924–925), Ordoño III (951–956), Sancho I (956–958 and 960–966), Ferdinand I (1037–1065) and Alfonso VII (1126–1157). In some paintings, the sceptres of the monarchs are surmounted by lion heads (**Figure 4**). Against this background, by the time of Alfonso VII the lion was had become a heraldic

symbol, but without a fixed position or design. It was depicted in some instances with a human head (**Figure 5**). The lion was first represented in purple, the imperial colour par excellence, during the reign of Ferdinand II. In the equestrian representation of Ferdinand II in *Tumba A* of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, made around 1180, a lion appears at the bottom of the painting (**Figure 6**). The king carries a golden shield on which is outlined, uncoloured, a lion in a rampant position.

The vignette of Alfonso IX in the aforementioned manuscript, dated around 1210, shows an emblem that already has the characteristics of armorial bearings, i.e. a white shield on which a purple lion is painted in a rampant position and adapted to the shape of the shield (**Figure 7**). This is the oldest known representation of the arms of the King of
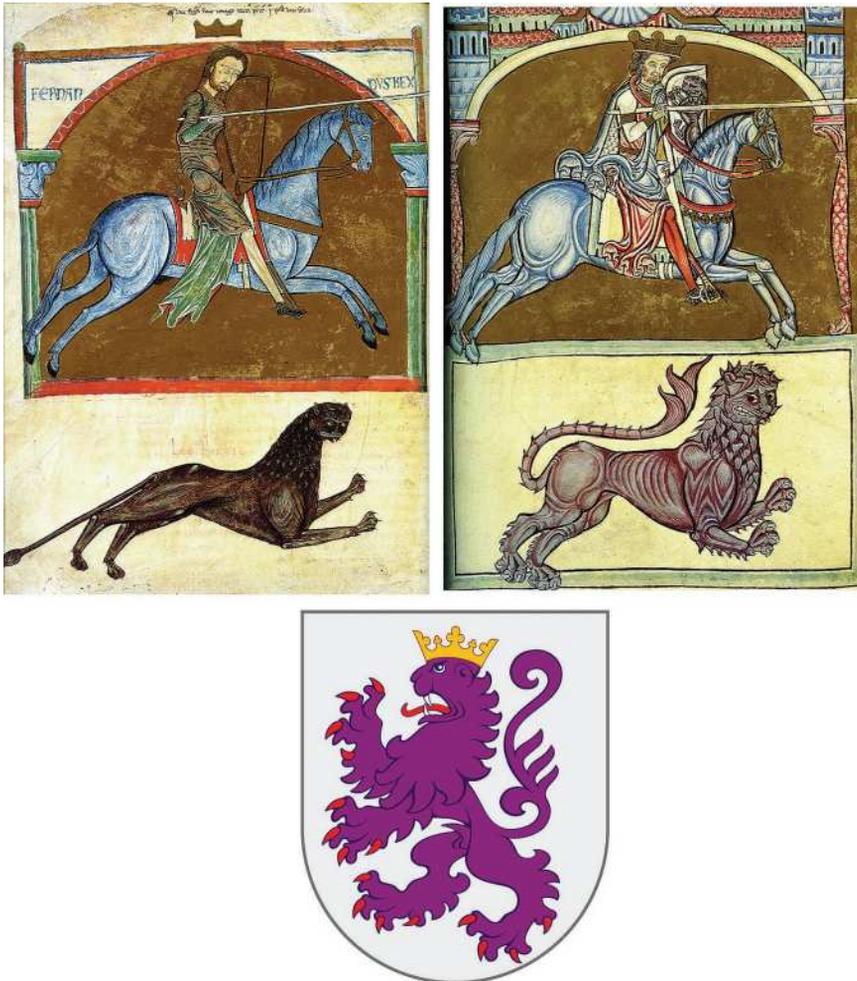
Lions of León part 2. Top Left, *Figure 6:* Ferdinand II from *Tumba A*; top right, *Figure 7:* purple heraldic lion of Alfonso IX from *Tumba A*; bottom, *Figure 8:* the arms of the kingdom of León.

León in these colours. We consider that, with this brief description, the medieval origin of the lion in the coat of arms of Spain (**Figure 8**) is sufficiently clarified.

The Kingdom of Castile

The emblem of Castile was created about a century following the establishment of the Kingdom of León. It is considered to date to late in the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214). During this reign, the castle is first noted on the coinage and on the reverse of the royal seal (**Figures 9 and 10**), and thereafter was borne on the shield carried by the king, as can be seen on a piece of green brocade found within the king's tomb, which shows the castle on multiple shields (**Figure 11**). The castle is a simple canting device based on the name of Castile. The arms are blazoned *Gules a triple-towered castle or*, the gate and windows usually represented in azure (**Figure 12**). Other artefacts which preserve the crown of Castile from the reign of Alfonso VIII include the royal crown, and the joint tomb of the king with his wife Queen Eleanor Plantagenet, in the monastery of Las Huelgas, in Burgos, where the castle is not placed on a shield (**Figures 13 and 14**). We
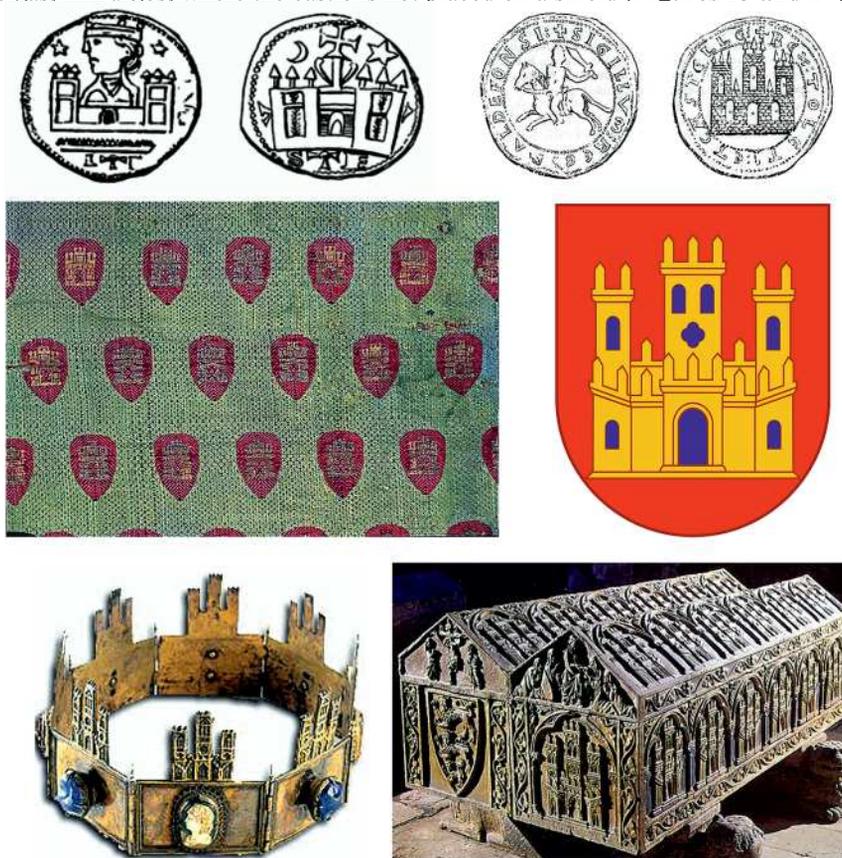
The castle of Castile. Top left, *Figure 9:* coin of Alfonso VIII; top right, *Figure 10*: seal and counter-seal of Alfonso VIII c. 1175; centre left, *Figure 11:* fabric from the tomb of Alfonso VIII; centre right, *Figure 12:* arms of Castile; bottom left, *Figure 13:* crown of Alfonso VIII; bottom right, *Figure 14:* tomb of Alfonso VIII and Queen Eleanor.

can see the difference between the use of the castle to stand for the kingdom, not placed on a shield, and separately in true heraldic fashion representing the royal family.

The Kingdom of Castile and León

Ferdinand III of León inherited the throne of Castile as his mother's inheritance, becoming King of Castile in 1217. On the reverse of his seal dating to 1224 (at which date he was king of Castile only, **Figure 15**) is the emblem of the kingdom, the castle, accompanied by the lions which are the arms of his lineage, as secondary elements. On ascending to the throne of León in 1230, Ferdinand III adopted new arms, which are the quartered coat of arms of Castile and León (**Figure 16**). These are not arms of lineage, but of dignity,

Castile and León. Top left, *Figure 15:* seal of Ferdinand III as King of Castile 1224; Bottom left*, Figure 16:* seal of Ferdinand III as King of Castile and León; right, *Figure 17:* arms of Castile and León.

with a territorial significance. This quartered coat of arms (**Figure 17**) has subsequently persisted (for the most part) in the coats of arms of the kings of Spain, as we shall see.

The Royal House of Aragon

The first record of the use of the *paly* arms is the seal of Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, dated around 1150, the period when heraldic emblems first appeared (**Figure 18**). It is a coat of arms that retains the distinctive style and characteristic shape of the period. Ramon Berenguer IV married Petronila, Queen of Aragon between 1157 and 1164, and was therefore also Prince of Aragon. Their son reigned under the name of Alfonso II, *the Chaste*, King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona between 1164 and 1196.

On the seal of Alfonso *the Chaste* (**Figure 20**) we see that he assumes as the *paly* arms of his lineage, which can be seen on the shield, on the horse's caparison, and on
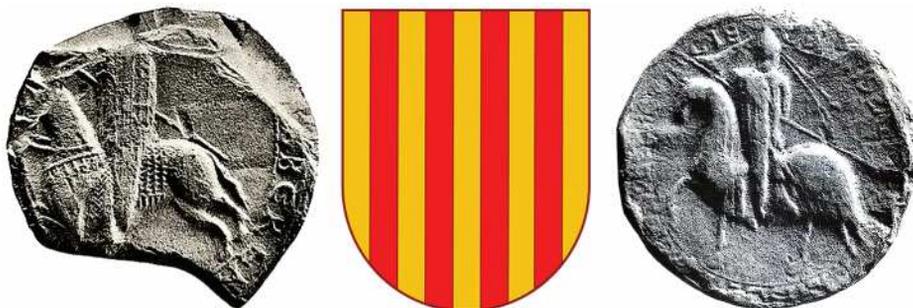
Kingdom of Aragon. Left, *Figure 18:* seal of Raymon Berengar IV; centre,
Figure 19: arms of Aragon; right, *Figure 20:* seal of Alfonso II.

his lance banner. Thus, it can be affirmed that the device *Paly or and gules* (**Figure 19**) originated as a personal emblem of Ramon Berenguer IV and being transmitted to his descendants, became the arms of the House of Aragon, initially without any territorial relationship, although this occurred with the passage of time. We see that when Alfonso II allowed its use by the municipality of Milhau in 1187, he called it "vexillum nostrum". Until the reign of Peter IV, *the Ceremonious* (1336–1387) all members of the lineage
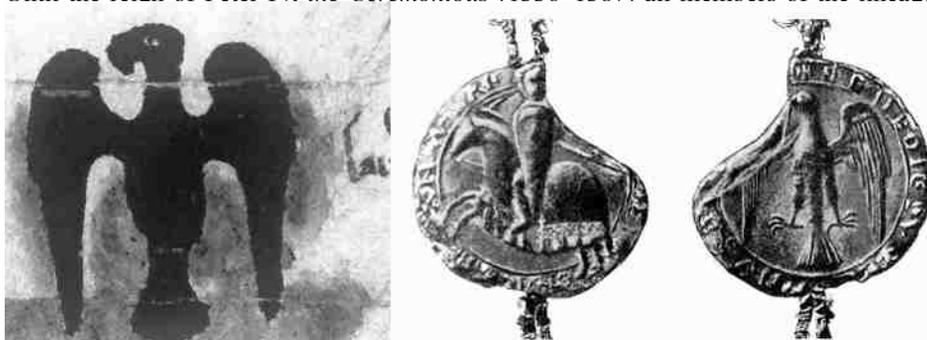
Kingdom of Navarre. Left, *Figure 21:* eagle device on manuscript of Sancho VII; right, *Figure 22:* seal and counter-seal of Sancho VII.

would use the arms without distinction, but from that time onwards, differences were established for those who did not hold the crown.

The Royal House of Navarre

We have very precise information on the heraldic emblem used by the King of Navarre, Sancho VII, *the Strong* (1194–1234), which was an eagle, as can be seen in documents and seals (**Figures 21 and 22**). It is very likely that the origin of this emblem lies with the king's grandmother, Marguerite de l'Aigle, Queen of Navarre (d. 1141). Sancho's successor was his nephew Theobald I, *the Troubadour*, who was King of Navarre from 1234 to 1253. He bears an escarbuncle shield on his seal (**Figure 23**), which cannot be classified as a heraldic coat of arms, as is clear from an architectural relief from the cathedral of Tudela (**Figure 24**). This shows his decision not to continue with the eagle

Kingdom of Navarre. Left, *Figure 23:* seal of Theobald I; centre, *Figure 24:* shield of Theobald I from the Cathedral of Tudela; right, *Figure 25:* seal of Theobald II.

emblem of his predecessor. The escarbuncle had evolved into a truly heraldic device by the reign of his successor Theobald II, on whose seals it can be seen on both the shield and the horse caparison (**Figure 25**).

The origin of the escarbuncle device is the strengthening metal bars of a war shield fastened with nails or rivets. Due to a certain similarity, in the fifteenth century the legend spread that the coat of arms of the King of Navarre was not an escarbuncle, but chains whose origin was in the battle of Navas de Tolosa, in which Sancho VII, King of Navarre, had broken the chains that protected the tent of the Caliph Muhammad An-Nasir. In the centre was placed the emerald taken from the Caliph's treasure (**Figure 26**). The first references that mention the chains are in the *Genealogía latina de los reyes de Navarra* and in the *Crónica de los reyes de Navarra*, by the Prince of Viana, both dating to the
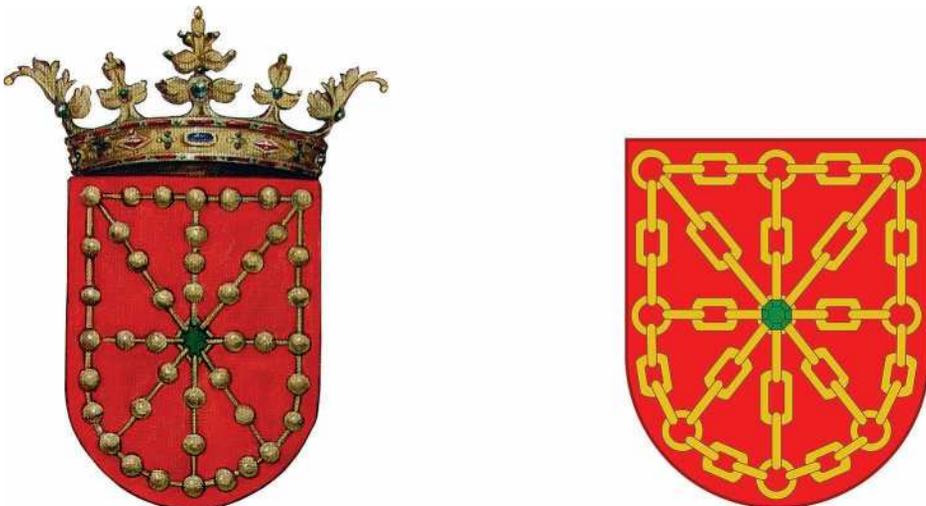
Figure 26, left: original shield of Navarre; right: later arms of Navarre.

fifteenth century. Thus, the arms of the kingdom of Navarre officially became chains with an emerald in their centre.
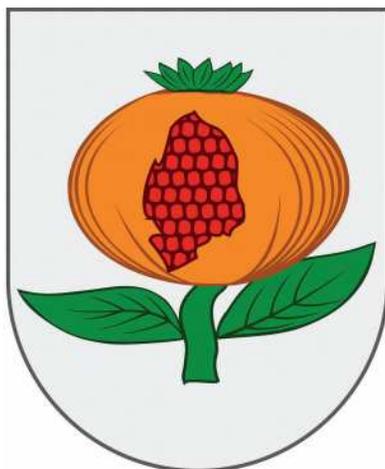
Figure 27: the granada or pomegranate of the Kingdom of Granada.

The Kingdom of Granada

After the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada in 1492, the Catholic Monarchs decided to incorporate a heraldic emblem representing the kingdom into their coat of arms. They used the canting device of the pomegranate (granada, **Figure 27**).

Evolution of the arms of the Kings of Spain

Let us now consider the arms of the kings of Spain, which are not the arms of the Spanish nation, since, although on many occasions the equivalence is made, they are not the same thing. Spain, as a nation, did not have its own arms until the end of the nineteenth century. In order to guarantee the accuracy of this account, the coinage has been utilised as the primary point of reference, further illustrated with the author's own drawings.

The 'Catholic Monarchs' Isabella I (1451–1505) and Ferdinand V (1452–1516), of Trastámara

It is with these monarchs that the development of Spain as a unified kingdom began in a process which lasted a century. Isabella was proclaimed Queen of Castile in Segovia on 12 December 1474, and Ferdinand in early January 1475. On the 15th of that month, in the *Concordia de Segovia*, they agreed on the titles and coats of arms that both would bear. Titles and armorial bearings would belong to both spouses.

The joint arms of the Catholic Monarchs (**Figure 28**) are a quartered coat of arms: 1 and 4, quartered Castile and Leon (arms of the Queen); 2 and 3, parted, 1, Aragon (an inheritance of the house of Trastámara); 2, Sicily (the Kingdom of Sicily was inherited with that of Aragon). With the conquest of Granada, in 1482, a pomegranate (canting emblem) is added, pointed at the point. Holding the shield, the eagle of Saint John, nimbate (haloed) which was originally the device of Isabella. Supporting the shield below is the yoke badge of Ferdinand and the bundle of arrows of Isabel. The appearance of the

Figure 28: Versions of the arms of the 'Catholic Monarchs'. Top left: grille from the Cathedral of Granada; top right: Missal of Queen Isabella; centre left: eight real coin; centre right: excelente coin of Granada; bottom left, manuscript version of the arms; bottom right: arms carved in the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo.

pomegranate as a quarter referring to the kingdom of Granada should not be confused with the bouquet of pomegranates used as a badge by Henry IV of Castile.

Joanna, *the Mad* (1479–1555) of Trastámara

Queen Joanna, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, was the first sovereign to reign over all the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, except Portugal, which would be incorporated in the reign of her grandson Philip II. The arms of the Catholic Monarchs were quartered with those of her husband, Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy (**Figure 29**) which are: quarterly: 1 Austria; 2 Burgundy modern; 3 Burgundy ancient; 4 Brabant, overall an escutcheon party of Flanders and Tyrol.

Figure 29: Arms of Queen Joanna and Philip the Fair. Left: real coin of Joanna minted at Amberes in 1505; right: the quartered arms of the couple.

Charles I (1500–1558) of Habsburg (the Emperor Charles V)

Charles of Habsburg inherited the kingdom of Spain in 1516. A key reference for his arms is the edition of the *Siete Partidas* of 1555 (**Figure 30**). In this work the coat of arms is charged with the heraldic emblems associated with Castile, León, Aragon, Navarre, Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, Austria, Brabant and Burgundy, and in the escutcheon, of Tyrol and Flanders. Navarre is here represented with an escarbuncle, not chains, although the king's arms on the façade of the cathedral of Granada (**Figure 31**) has chains. This is explained by what has already been said about the origin of the coat of arms of Navarre. The essential differences between the coat of arms of Charles I and that of Joanna are: the double-headed eagle with the imperial crown; the addition of the cross of Jerusalem and the barry arms of Hungary (which together represent the kingdom of Naples); and the ribboned columns of Hercules with the legend *Plus Ultra*. Although these columns were a personal motto of Charles I, they have remained in the coat of arms of Spain, and are the origin of the dollar sign (**Figure 32**).

The above-mentioned coat of arms on the façade of the cathedral of Granada has some minor differences of position in the arrangement of the quarters from those in the *Siete Partidas*, and the Pillars of Hercules are absent.

Philip II (1527–1598) of Habsburg

When, on 22 November 1566, Philip II approved the pragmatic and provision that we know under the name of the *Nueva Estampa*, he established that gold and silver coinage

Arms of Charles I. Top left, *Figure 30:* as illustrated in the *Siete Partidas* of 1555; top right: author's drawing of the same; bottom, *Figure 31*: as carved at the Cathedral of Granada.

be made with the royal arms, which are: shield quarterly: 1, quarterly of Castile and Leon; 2, party per pale 1, Aragon, 2, Sicily; 3, party per fess, in chief Austria, in base Burgundy ancient; 4, party per pale, in chief Burgundy modern, in base Brabant; between quarters 1 and 2, in base, an escutcheon of Grenada; between quarters 3 and 4 an escutcheon of Flanders impaling Tyrol. Later, in 1580, an escutcheon of the royal arms of Portugal was
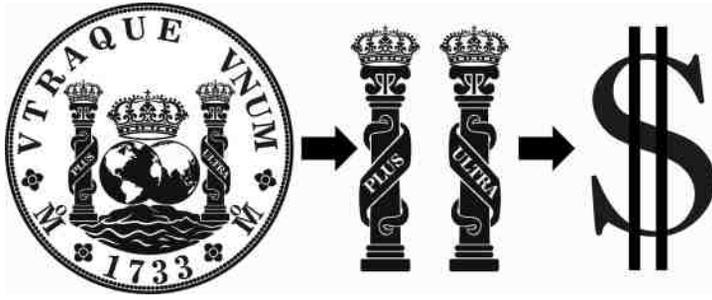
32: origin of the dollar sign.

added between quarters 1 and 2 (**Figure 33**). This followed Philip II's proclamation of himself, by right of succession, as King of Portugal. For the ensuing sixty years all of the kingdoms of Iberia were united under a single sovereign. Unlike Carlos I, Philip II did not bear the arms of Navarre or Naples (Jerusalem and Hungary).

Figure 33: Arms of Philip II. Top left: as carved on El Escorial; top right: as drawn by the author; bottom: eight real coin.

Figure 34: Arms of Philip V, Louis I and Ferdinand VI. Left: as drawn by the author; top right: eight escudos coin of Philip V from his second reign in 1730; bottom right: eight escudos coin of Louis I from his brief reign in 1724.

Philip III (1578–1621), Philip IV (1605–1665) and Charles II (1661–1700), of Habsburg
These three kings used the same arms as Philip II, except at the end of the reign of Charles II when the escutcheon of Portugal was withdrawn following a revolution in that country which had restored an independent Portuguese monarchy.

Philip V (1683–1746), Louis I (1707–1724) and Ferdinand VI (1713–1759), of Bourbon

Charles II bequeathed all his possessions to Philip of Anjou, of the House of Bourbon. As Philip V he was proclaimed King of Spain at Versailles on 16 November 1700. The change of dynasty led to changes in the royal arms, both in the general arrangement and with the addition of an escutcheon with the arms of his Bourbon lineage, France with a bordure gules (for Anjou). This displaced the embattled point of Granada from the centre point of the shield, and displaced the arms from the escutcheon of Flanders and Tyrol to a new embattled point at the base of the shield (**Figure 34**).

Charles III (1716–1788) and Charles IV (1748–1819) of Bourbon

King Charles III had a greater and a lesser coat of arms, the lesser being Castile quartering León with an escutcheon of Anjou and Granada in base. The lesser arms were later widely used on coins and elsewhere, and were placed as an escutcheon on the full armorial bearings, with all the various quarters. He was the son of Philip V (1683–1746) and his second wife, Isabella de Farnese (1692–1766). The infant Charles, the future king, had inherited the duchies of Parma and Piacenza from his great-uncle Antonio Farnese in 1731, and possessed the hereditary right to Tuscany, which came to him through the grandmother of Queen Isabella de Farnese, daughter of the Grand Duke

Figure 35: Arms of Charles III and Charles IV. Left: as drawn by the author; top right: four escudos coin of Charles III, 1779; bottom right: eight escudos coin of Charles IV, 1791.

Cosimo de Medici. The Medici (Duchy of Tuscany) and Farnese (Duchy of Parma) arms were added to the royal arms, significantly modifying the layout of the ensemble (**Figure 35**).

Joseph I (1768–1844) Bonaparte

After the invasion of Spain by French troops in 1808, Napoleon proceeded to appoint his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, as King of Spain and to impose a new constitution on Spain. The Statute was approved on 6 July 1808, and the following day the Assembly accepted Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain and the Indies. Since the new king had no connection with the lineages that reigned in Spain, new arms had to be designed, taking some of the previous emblems, but referring to territories, not dynasties. These arms were approved by a Royal Decree dated 12 October 1808 in Vitoria. The royal arms consisted of six quarters of Castile, León, Aragon, Navarre, Granada, and an entirely new quarter of the eastern and western terrestrial hemispheres accompanied by the Pillars of Hercules (for the Indies); over all was a central escutcheon of the Napoleonic imperial eagle (**Figure 36a and b**). These arms laid the foundations for the future arms of the Spanish nation.

Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) and Isabella II (1830–1904) of Bourbon

Once the invading French army had been defeated, on 24 March 1814 Ferdinand VII returned to Spain and, restored to the throne as the legitimate king, restored the former royal arms (**Figure 36c**) which were also used by his daughter and successor, Queen Isabella II

Figure 36. Left, 36a: arms of Joseph I as drawn by the author; top right, *36b:* twenty real coin of Joseph I, 1809; bottom right, *36c:* two escudos coin of Ferdinand VII.

The Revolution of 1868 and the Provisional Government (1868–1871)

The Provisional Government of 1868–1871 was the executive formed in Spain after the triumph of the 1868 Revolution, known as the Glorious Revolution, which put an end to the reign of Isabella II and approved a new Constitution in June 1869. On 19 October 1868, the then Minister of Finance signed a Decree establishing the peseta as the monetary unit, for which new coins were to be minted. Article 6 of the Decree stipulated that "All coins of the size permitted will bear a figure representing Spain, with the arms and attributes of national sovereignty, and will show their value, weight, law and year of manufacture". In order to comply with this mandate, the Government requested an opinion from the Royal Academy of History, which on 6 November 1868 proposed the following arms: "*Shield quartered in cross: first, of gules and a castle Or, crenellated with three battlements, and donjoned with three towers, the middle one greater, each one also with three battlements, the whole Or embattled sable and charged with azure; second, of argent a lion gules, crowned Or, armed and langued of the same; third, of Or four pales gules: fourth, of gules and a chain Or placed in border, in cross and in saltire; in point, of argent a pomegranate proper showing its grains of gules, supported, carved and leafed with two leaves vert. Lying, one on each side, the two columns of Hercules argent, the bases and capitals Or, bound with a scroll gules, charged with the motto Plus Ultra in Or*"(**Figure 37**).

It might be argued that this is the first historically defined coat of arms of Spain, as distinct from the arms of the monarch. The report states that "The new coat of arms, the coat of arms of the Spanish nation, as a political unit and without relation to the persons who govern it, must declare the history of this great State, as it is constituted, combining

Figure 37: arms and 200 peseta coin (1869) of the Provisional Government.

the devices of the independent Kingdoms that successively merged and achieved a coat of arms of dominion composed of the various arms of community, excluding any idea of family or alliance: Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Granada are, together with the overseas dominions, the component states of this great whole".

A mural crown replaces the royal crown because the Constitution was being discussed which was to decide what type of regime Spain would have, and for this reason a neutral type was chosen, not to be confused with the seal that years later was adopted by the Second Republic. It represents a territory waiting to decide its form of government, which in the end would be a monarchy. Thus, there remain two types of arms, the great arms of the kings, since Charles III, and the purely territorial arms adopted by the Provisional Government, which are intended to be free of monarchical significance, except for the seal and the dynastic escutcheon when Spain becomes a monarchy.

Amadeus (1845–1890) of Savoy

The functions of the Provisional Government came to an end on 2 January 1871 with the swearing in before the *Cortes Constituyentes* of the new king elected by that government, Amadeus of Savoy. He was the son of Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy, unifier and first king of Italy, and his wife, Archduchess Adelaide of Austria. Amadeus soon became discouraged by the political struggle and the behaviour of the Spanish people towards

Figure 38: arms as drawn by the author, and five peseta coin (1871) of Amadeus I.

himself and the Queen, leading him, on 11 February 1873, to submit his irrevocable renunciation of the Crown, both for himself and for his successors. For his coat of arms, the only change was the replacement of the mural crown with the royal crown, and the addition of an escutcheon with the arms of his Savoy lineage (**Figure 38**).

The First Republic (1873–1874)

The First Spanish Republic existed from 11 February 1873 until 29 December 1874, when the declaration of General Martínez Campos led to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. With the proclamation of the First Republic, a report was again requested from the Royal Academy of History, which stated that "The coinage of 1868 was already characterised by its independence from all personal or hereditary power and only the Spanish nation appeared on it as the master of its destiny". This meant that the coat of arms established by the provisional government was maintained. The First Republic did not mint coins.

Figure 39: Arms of Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII. Top left, 39a: arms as drawn by the author; top right, 39b: bookplate of Alfonso XIII; bottom left: five peseta coin of Alfonso XII, 1885; bottom right: 100 peseta coin of Alfonso XIII, 1897.

Alfonso XII (1857–1885) and Alfonso XIII (1886–1941) of Bourbon

Alfonso XII was the son of Queen Isabella II and King consort Francisco de Asís de Borbón. On 29 December 1874 the monarchy was restored when General Arsenio Martínez-Campos Antón declared himself in favour of Prince Alfonso's accession to the throne in the Valencian town of Sagunto. This put an end to the brief period of the First Spanish Republic. In January 1875, Don Alfonso de Borbón arrived in Spain and was proclaimed king before the Spanish Cortes, in what became known politically as the Restoration.

The coat of arms established by the provisional government was maintained, although, as in the reign of Amadeo I, the mural crown was replaced by the royal crown and a shield was added with the arms of the Bourbons (Anjou), as the reigning dynasty in Spain (**Figure 39a**). This was established in the Decree of 6 January 1875 signed by Cánovas del Castillo. As an example of the clear separation between the King's personal arms and those of the nation, the arms used by Alfonso XIII on his ex Libris are shown in **Figure 39b.**

The Second Republic (1931–1939)

Municipal elections were called in Spain and held on 12 April 1931. The victory of the Republican parties, especially in urban areas, led Alfonso XIII to renounce the crown and to go into exile in Spain. Thus, on 14 April 1931, the Second Republic was proclaimed and a provisional government was formed which called elections for a Constituent Cortes, which were held on 28 June 1931.

The Decree of 27 April 1931 of the Provisional Government of the Second Republic established the new tricolour flag, with three red, yellow and purple stripes, stating "In the centre of the yellow stripe will appear the coat of arms of Spain, adopting as such that which appears on the reverse of the five-peseta coins minted by the Provisional Government in 1869 and 1870" (**Figure 37**).

General Franco's regime (1936–1975)

On 18 July 1936 a military uprising took place in Spain, leading to a civil war that lasted until 1 April 1939. Among the rebel generals was General Franco, who in October 1936 was elevated to the dual position of head of state and government of "national" Spain and generalissimo of the army. With the victory of the rebels, a dictatorship began that ended with the death of the dictator on 20 November 1975. During the war there was a legitimate Republican government and a government operating in the Spain won by the rebels.

A Decree of 29 August 1936, published in the Official Gazette of the Junta de la Junta de España (Official Gazette of the Junta) of National Defence of Spain, re-established "the bicolour flag, red and yellow, as the flag of Spain". An Order of 13 September 1936 developed the previous decree, stipulating that "The shape and dimensions of the Flags or Standards of the Units of the Army and Navy shall be the same as those they had before the proclamation of the Republic, and their coat of arms, the current one, without bearing, for the time being, any inscription whatsoever". There was no change to the Spanish coat of arms in the "national" zone until the Decree of 2 February 1938 approved the new Spanish coat of arms. In its explanatory memorandum it said "... this coat of arms was preserved, with modifications, by the Savoy monarchy, the first Republic, the Bourbon restoration and the Republic of 1931. With the establishment, by the glorious national revolution of 1936, of a new state, radically different in its essence from the one it has come to replace, it is necessary to reflect it in the national emblems".

Article 1. *Spain is constituted with the heraldry of the Catholic Monarchs, substituting the arms of Sicily for those of the ancient Kingdom of Navarre, thereby integrating the coats of arms of the groupings of medieval states that make up present-day Spain.*
Article 2. *The coat of arms of Spain shall be described as follows: Quarterly, the first and fourth, quartered also; first and fourth, gules a castle Or crenellated with three battlements, with three towers with three battlements each, masoned sable and clarified azure; second and third, argent a lion rampant gules crowned Or, langued and armed of the same. Second and third, party per pale, the first, or four pales gules; the second, gules a chain Or of eight segments that meet in the centre in a jewel, centred with an emerald. Pointed in point, argent a pomegranate Or slashed gules and leafed with two leaves vert. A crowns of eight fleurons (five visible). The whole on the eagle displayed of St. John sable, nimbate Or, the beakand talons of gules, the latter armed Or. To the right of the eagle's tail, a yoke gules, with its*

Top, *Figure 40:* arms of Francoist Spain, source Wikimedia Commons; below, *Figure 41:* arms of Juan Carlos I and Felipe VI as drawn by the author.

ribbons of the same, and to the left a bundle of arrows, gules, with its ribbons of the same. The motto " Una Grande Libre" (One Great Free). The whole flanked by two columns of silver, on waves of azure surmounted by gold crowns. On the right-hand side, a ribbon with the word "Plus"; on the left-hand side, another with the word "Ultra".

The decree cited adds that the coat of arms, as described, "has its proper place in those places where the national emblem can be represented in a relatively large size, or beautifully drawn or engraved, but its excessive complication makes it unsuitable for the summary and sometimes careless representation which is usually employed for bureaucratic attentions. For this reason, it seems advisable to admit, for these purposes, a simplification which, while containing all the essential elements of the great coat of arms, is easier to represent". A Decree of 11 October 1945 illustrated the arms and showed the two mottos on ribands gules (**Figure 40**). With minimal change this coat of arms remained in force until 1981, and is the one that appears in the signed copy of the 1978 Constitution.

Juan Carlos I (1975–2014) and Felipe VI (2014–today) of Bourbon

In 1981, after six years of democratic rule, with Juan Carlos I reigning, Law 33/1981 of 5 October 1981 was passed, which established a new coat of arms for Spain. The criterion for the new arms was to ... "faithfully reproduce the Historic Coat of Arms of Spain, with a description that, in heraldic terms, is at the same time intelligible to the people". As on other occasions, the opinion of the Royal Academy of History was sought.

The first article of the law describes the coat of arms as follows: "*The Spanish Coat of Arms is quartered and pointed. In the first quarter, gules a castle Or crenellated, clarified of azure and masoned sable. In the second, argent a lion rampant purpure langued and armed gules and crowned Or. On the third Or four pales gules. On the fourth gules a chain Or, set in a cross, saltire and border, charged in the centre with an emerald proper. Tierced in base argent a pomegranate proper, slashed gules with two leaves vert. Accompanied by two columns argent with base and capital Or resting upon waves azure and argent, surmounted by an Imperial crown to the right, and a royal crown to the left, both of gold; and surrounding the columns, a ribbon gules charged with letters Or, on the right "Plus" and on the left "Ultra". At the helm, a royal crown, closed, which is a circle of gold, set with precious stones, composed of eight fleurons of acanthus leaves, five visible, adorned with pearls, from whose leaves emerge two diadems with pearls added, converging on an orb azure with the semi-meridian and the equator Or, surmounted with a cross Or. The crown lined gules". The second article adds: "The Coat of Arms of Spain, as described in the previous article, bears on an escutcheon azure, three lis Or, set two and one, the bordure plain, of gules, proper of the reigning dynasty*". This is the national coat of arms still in force in Spain.

THE PARISH REGISTERS IN ENGLAND FROM THE REFORMATION THROUGH TO THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH ERA AND BEYOND: THE EVIDENCE FROM EAST KENT

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It is a truth, perhaps not quite universally acknowledged, that a man in search of a pedigree must be in need of a good parish register. Such registers are amongst some of the largest single sources of historical documents from the post-mediaeval period. In England and Wales every one of some 11,000 parishes should have commenced recording baptisms, marriages and burials from 1538. The original parchment volumes, despite the many well-known threats, still survive in their tens of thousands, and are the mainstay of genealogy, without which many pedigrees would easily fail before the later eighteenth century.

I will explore three aspects of parish registers, partly based on an exhaustive survey of all those surviving for the Diocese of Canterbury, that is, the eastern two-thirds of Kent.

1. Their introduction, and the problems of the first half-century.

2. The greater problems of the Commonwealth period, which includes a remarkable, but very short, flowering of extra information.

3. Clandestine marriages which overarched the whole marriage system for more than a century.

The introduction of parish registers

In July 1535 Henry VIII, by virtue of the Act of Supremacy, appointed Thomas Cromwell (at that time Lord Privy Seal) to be his Vicar-General. In early life Cromwell had resided in the Low Countries, and would doubtless have had knowledge of the baptismal registers introduced there by the Spanish clergy; now he would introduce (at very little expense) a greatly improved scheme to secure the registration in his own country of baptisms, marriages and burials. The inevitable rumours and fears of a tax on the sacraments aroused widespread resentment, and this, along with fresh memories of popular risings against his opening steps in the suppression of the monasteries, led to a temporary withdrawal of the initial plan. A revision was drawn up by Cromwell on 5 September 1538 and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, on 30 September. Cranmer issued his mandate for publication on 11 October. Item 12 of the royal injunction stated that all clergy should now keep a register in which to record all 'weddings, christenings and buryings' made within the parish.

Not all parishes by any means started recording in 1538, and too many by far began considerably later. Early concerns about the safe-keeping of registers and their due maintenance by clergy, doubtless jealous of their long-held rights, led to much wrangling, but prepared the way for the adoption of a scheme of general registration to be adopted in 1597. On October 25 of that year a constitution issued by the convocation of the

archbishop, bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, and approved by Queen Elizabeth under the great seal, directed the more careful keeping of parish registers, now pronounced as being of the greatest utility (*quorum permagnus usus est*).

Thus did parliament request better safe-keeping of what were clearly and increasingly being perceived as priceless national assets. The registers were to be kept more efficiently in parchment books, and parchment copies were to be made of the extant paper registers. For the prevention of negligence and deception in the keeping of the registers, all entries of the previous week were to be read out openly and distinctly by the minister on Sunday at the conclusion of either matins or evensong. The names of the two churchwardens and minister were to be appended to every page upon its completion, and copies of the last year's entries (that is, the so-called Bishop's Transcripts) were to be sent annually within a month of Easter, without any fee, to the diocesan registrar.

The 1597 constitution was embodied in the 70th Canon of 1603 which reiterated that each parish was to procure at its own expense a parchment book into which were to be copied the former paper registers 'so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the beginning of the reign of the late Queen'. The registers were now to be kept in 'one sure Coffer with three Locks and Keys', in the several respective custodies of the minister and churchwardens.

Scattered references to what must have been widespread early teething troubles may be found. The churchwardens of Alkham near Dover in 1593 declared that, 'We know not whether our Register Book be duly kept, nor whether the Minister do enter the marriages, christenings and burials therein as required, for that our Minister would not bring his key to open the chest by the space of 12 or 13 weeks together.' At Boughton Monchelsea near Maidstone the wardens lamented in 1594 that, 'Our register Book hath been duly and orderly kept since our Minister came unto us, but before that it was mangled and many things cut out by whom we know not.'

The new system under way

Cromwell had not prescribed the nature of new register books and therefore a paper volume was the choice of the vast majority because of its relative cheapness over parchment. Most parishes maintained a single volume in which were recorded the three types of event either in a single continuous sequence until the volume was full and a successor commenced, or, much more commonly, three distinct sequences in one book, with staggered starting pages, but often jumbled up and entered on odd pages (sometimes upside down or back to front) as one type of event outnumbered the other two and space became at a premium.

The first paper registers

Once the original paper register been copied up neatly into a new parchment volume, and now seemingly displayed the cachets of completeness, greater legibility and permanence, the paper book would naturally be presumed as redundant and so discarded. It is the sad lesson of history that this was the majority practice, for today in east Kent only a handful have survived: Biddenden, Brenzett, Brookland, Canterbury St Andrew, Charing, Chislet, Hawkhurst, Little Chart, Maidstone, Minster-in-Sheppey (recorded but lost), Seasalter, Staplehurst and Stone-in-Oxney.

By far the most interesting of these is Staplehurst. The first paper register of this parish (KHLC: P347/1/1) is a substantial book, and indeed a precious survival. There is a single sequence for all three events, the first, a burial, dated 29 September 1538. The second parchment book (copied in 1598) opens in 1558. The fact that the paper 1538 book still survives is irrefutable proof that the scribe of the second elected to dispense with the first two decades when copying began. The Staplehurst paper register may be compared with its parchment copy with considerable profit, not least for the types of error which occurred as thousands of entries were laboriously transmitted from one volume to another, as, in this case, an extremely modern-looking transcript was produced.

An exact collation of several hundred entries in 1561 and 1562 reveals mostly predictable types of error, but not all accidental ones. There are myriad slightly different surname spellings and Christian names which have now shed their original Latinity. Of more concern are the omissions: the loss of one baptismal entry is easily attributed to the preceding entry bearing the same surname, but more worrying are the many omissions of epithets such as 'baptised at home', 'from Ulcombe', 'his owne child', '10 years of age', 'being but a ladde', 'a lustie yongman', 'late before decessed', and so on. It does not look as if all of these omissions are deliberate in order to produce a transcript with neat line-endings, as the copy has many entries running over onto a second line. Elsewhere, others have noticed the suppression of Catholic sentiments, such as 'on whose soul God have mercy' and the like.

The first parchment registers

In east Kent 35 registers open in 1538 – some 15 per cent of all parishes. What can be observed from these earliest beginnings? Cranmer's mandate was dated 11 October 1538, but how long did this take to reach the parishes? The opening dates of registers are extremely variable.

Canterbury St George (CCA: U3/3/1/1) has a note on the flyleaf explaining the problems it has encountered:

> "The minister and churche Wardens of the parrish of St George within the Cittie of Canterburye finding certain Records of Christenings, mariages and burials bearing date from the yeare of oure Lorde 1538 have thought it necessarie to Coppye oute the same and so to proceed according to the st'ute in that behalf Provided but findinge the saide records (some of theim) Imperfectly Wrotten, and Confuzedlye bounde toghether, they could not so orderly proceade as they desired." The next page adds: "A true Copie so neere as may be taken out of the Olde Register booke…".

One wonders how much editing and how many omissions occurred in making the untidy tidy.

Registers opening in 1558 or later

The splendid opening calligraphic page of Cranbrook's first register (KHLC: P100/1/15), which states that it begins in August 1559, explains what has been done and who has done it:

> 'These were first written in a book of Paper appointed for that purpose and so continued from the yeare above written unto the First day of December Anno Domini 1598 at which tyme all that were written before until then were taken oute of the sayed booke of Paper

and placed into this Booke of Parchment by commandement from authorities for the better continuance of the same unto Posteritie ... The Pastor or minister then of this parrish of Cranbrook was William Eddye in artib' magister of the universitie of Cambridge and borne in the Cittie of Bristoll whoe wroat or coppied it owte this Register to the end it mighte more faithfullie donne with his owne hand.'

In east Kent some 69 registers in the diocese begin in 1558, twice as many as those opening in 1538, and so an indication that the majority of clerks chose the easier copying task.

What of registers with more widely varying starting dates? These are not easy to explain satisfactorily. Some ministers may have been too busy or too anti-authority to implement what would be a possibly demanding and certainly continuous duty. In the south-western corner of the diocese, which includes some large and prosperous parishes and towns, there are many opening dates through the 1540s and 1550s. For the most part these parishes have many entries annually from the very beginning, so does this presuppose a first paper register already full after the initial decade and so either lost or simply not copied? Other late opening years include Maidstone (1541), Minster-in-Sheppey (1568), Walmer (1560), Canterbury Cathedral (1564), and Hythe (1566).

The 1653 Registration Act

On 4 January 1644/5 there was passed '*An Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publique worship of God.*' The 'inconveniences' of the Prayer Book, unchallenged for over a century, were abolished in favour of a new Puritan rubric for all priests, called the *Directory for the Public Worship of God*, a manual of directions, not devotions.

There are not many parishes in east Kent in which these new regulations were obeyed to the letter; indeed, not one commenced a new register in deference to the 1645 Act, probably because most, if not all, were already maintaining a parchment book and saw little need for extra expense. But civil war and the attendant chaos of the interregnum would have been the subject of much concern for efficient record-keeping and this was now supplied by one of the twenty-six Acts passed between 4 July and 13 December 1653 by the Assembly of Nominees, known as the Little or Barebone's Parliament.

On 24 August 1653, but only after severe criticisms and referral to committees, '*An Act touching Marriage and the Registring thereof; and also touching Births and Burials*' was promulgated, coming into force on 29 September 1653, and ordering the purchase of a parchment book, and that before 22 September 1653 each parish should choose one man approved by a Justice of the Peace to have keeping of the same. He would confusingly be called the '*Parish Register*' and his details entered in the volume. Some 59 east Kent parish registers record this appointment, including men described as schoolmaster, victualler, minister, parish clerk, joiner, yeoman, maltster, gentleman, town clerk, husbandman and tailor.

Concerning marriage, it was directed that any couple desiring to be wed on or after 29 September 1653 must deliver to the Register of the parish where they were resident, and at least three weeks before the intended date, the names, surnames, 'additions' and places of abode of both themselves, and of their parents, guardians or overseers. The Register was then to publish this information on three several Lord's Days next following

at the close of the morning 'exercise' in the public meeting-place 'commonly called the church or chapel', or (if the couple desired it) in the market-place next to the church or chapel on three market-days in three several weeks following, between 11 and 2 o'clock. Afterwards, the Register was to make a true certificate of the proceedings, without which no wedding could proceed. If there were any objections, its nature and the name of the complainant and his parish were to be added to the certificate.

All parties were then to go before a Justice of the Peace of the same county and town, show him their certificate and, if either was under 21, prove the willing consent of parents or guardians. The Justice would then examine witnesses concerning the veracity of the certificate, any objections to be investigated by him at a subsequent quarter-sessions. If all was in order, the marriage could then proceed in the presence of two witnesses. Any marriage conducted after 29 September would be lawful only if conducted in this manner. A parchment certificate of the ceremony could be prepared by the Justice, his clerk receiving 12*d*. A final rider added that in the case of dumb persons the usual words spoken by the parties at the ceremony might be dispensed with, and that the traditional joining of hands need not apply 'in case of persons that have not hands.'

The information from such certificates would be a splendid ancillary source to the parish register entry, but it would seem that their loss has been universal, for not a single one has ever been seen by the present writer.

The new officials

The Register was to attend the Justice to subscribe every marriage, discharge his position for three years and longer until either a successor be chosen or he was removed. Attractive fees were applicable: for the publication of banns and the certificate, 12*d*.; for entering a marriage, 12*d*.; and for every birth/baptism or death/burial of a child, 4*d*.

Existing ministers, or at least those whose sympathies had not led to their ejection from the parish, were now doubly deprived. Marriages were now the sole prerogative of a justice (but after which the minister could perform a religious ceremony, then to be entered in the parish register by the Register who now had care of the records), or, in the rare cases where the minister himself had been elected as the Register, he would then be constrained in performing only civil ceremonies.

At Nonington between Canterbury and Dover the prospect of a new system was not looked forward to. '*A newe Regessor to bee kepte in the Parish of Nonington the Justices being to marry and the Regessor to aske, 29th Sept, this to be put in execution in the yeare 1653 a simple and silly practice*'.

What happened under the new system?

Compulsory civil marriage did not survive the Commonwealth: the clause from the 1653 Act '*And no other marriage whatsoever in the Commonwealth of England after 29 September 1653 shall be held and accounted a marriage according to the laws of England.*' was subsequently annulled when the 1653 Act was confirmed on 26 June 1657, and indeed, marriages in the busiest parishes drop away suddenly and sharply around that time. Some marriages thereafter, however, do show justices' signatures, indicating that such marriages were not made illegal in 1657, and indeed from now until

the end of the Commonwealth many marriages were performed jointly by the magistrate and Register, and even also by the minister. The legality of civil marriages solemnised between was retrospectively confirmed by an Act of 12 Charles II, *c*.33. (1660).

The act remained unpopular, and many parochial clergy, especially rural ones not seriously affected by political and religious upheaval, did indeed continue to maintain their registers. In such parishes a Register would be appointed *pro forma* but his office, by common assent, would remain a sinecure, his principal concern being the collecting of the stipulated 4*d*. and 12*d*. fees. Marriages suffered more as additional factors affected them. After the ejections of 1643 and 1645 it was not uncommon for Royalists in a parish with an intruded minster to go to the nearest Anglican clergyman who had managed to retain his living – Which might explain no or few marriages in some parishes and large numbers in others.

Commonwealth marriages

Along with baptisms and burials, a new sequence of marriages (and, for the first time, banns) would begin in 1653. Here the need was more pressing, as by now many parishes were bereft of a minister and therefore without any legally sanctioned officiant, whereas baptisms and burials might still continue to be recorded, albeit in increasingly broken sequences.

The 1653 Marriage Act was something of a two-edged sword. Tiresome though it might have been for prospective couples to present themselves with a licence before a justice from within the county in order to have their credentials verified, at least the new system was available to anybody of any faith with the funds to pay. Enforcement of the new rules was almost impossible. Information about them took time to spread, and many refused to accept them. Secular marriage was highly unpopular, and doubts persisted about its legality since it violated the traditional customs and habits of most of the population. Chaos ensued, some being married by a JP as ordered, some persisting in being married by a clergyman in church, while others seem to have gone through two ceremonies, one by a JP and one by the clergy; and yet others resorted to clandestine marriages in private houses. These were conducted by clergymen who might have been ejected from their livings because of loyalty to the Church of England, or merely be vagrants whose prime object was to obtain a fee. Some couples made simple promises before the congregation in an independent sectarian chapel; others went back to private verbal contacts.

In 1657 there was long and angry debate in Parliament which did nothing but make matters worse. The existing legislation was prolonged for another six months, the clause which invalidated all forms of marriage other than that prescribed in 1653 was abolished. This appeared to mean that almost any form of marriage was now legal. At the Restoration the Convention Parliament tried to tidy up the mess by retroactively legitimating all marriages carried out by JPs since 1642, leaving all the other kinds of marriage, including contracts and clandestine ones, to be sorted out by the newly restored ecclesiastical courts.

The result was an avalanche of matrimonial suits falling upon the courts which now faced two problems: 1) how to roll back the revival of private verbal contracts; and 2)

how to persuade the population to abandon clandestine marriages in private houses and return to regular public weddings in church. Despite the scepticism of the courts towards poorly supported claims of contract marriages, the courts were still full of spurious claims where canon lawyers sought verification of the unverifiable. Things would never improve, and legal exasperation with women who had been seduced and impregnated on the promise of what proved to be an unenforceable contract led to Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 (on which see below).

Banns had never previously been recorded (and after this short period would not be again until 1754 and the passing of the Hardwicke Act), but now a great many parishes show both banns and marriages, nearly always in a single well-written sequence. As happened in succeeding centuries, the publication of banns was no guarantee that a marriage would follow, and thus those which did so proceed were often annotated to that effect, usually with the officiant's signature.

The system would seem to have worked well in those relatively few parishes where there are sufficient numbers of entries from which to make meaningful inferences. The marriage centres all peak around , after which there is a sudden collapse, marked by dramatic drops in the annual numbers of entries. Many parishes, mostly rural ones, were more or less impervious to the new regulations, made no comment pertaining to it or the election of a Register, and maintained entry-keeping just as before, and often with substantial lacunae of a decade or more. Large numbers of rural parishes have a handful (at best a page or two) of marriages with the greatly increased details, sometimes with banns as well, but they more or less universally and rapidly fall away, perhaps in part because there were by now enough urban centres set up where the justices had established regular marriage business in places most convenient for them to attend.

Hawkhurst in the Weald of Kent offers evidence from overlapping paper and parchment registers. The two volumes agree exactly between 1635–1642 with up to fifteen entries annually, when the parchment book now shows a complete lacuna until 1662. The paper register has entries 1645–1648, resuming in 1653 with twenty entries in 1654 before dropping away to lowish single figures by the late 1650s. Thus the act seems to have been obeyed, even if no reference is made to it in either volume. Very curiously, of the 87 entries between 1653–1660, almost every single one shows at least one party (usually the groom) being of this parish, in great contradistinction to the large numbers of 'foreign' couples in most of the other 'busy' parishes.

This third group of what I call the 'busy' parishes, although not numerically large, offers much fascinating information as each parish obeyed the letter and spirit of the new Act. Many of these would amply repay further individual study. At Ashford from 1635–1643 there were around ten marriages annually. There is nothing at all 1644–1652, after which 26 in 1655, 48 in 1656, 54 in 1657, 34 in 1658, and then a marked drop after the Restoration to the levels of the 1630s. The entries are generally full with occupations and fathers' names. Banns note any objections, and marriages are all signed by John Hayter. Of the 162 entries over 1655–1658, about a half have both parties from some 40 other parishes, including most of the Weald, many others within a ten-mile radius, and the usual outliers.

A note in the nearby Benenden register alerts the reader to marriages by justices in one section and marriages by a minister in another. Typically, after 1662 no officiant's name is given. There are 146 civil marriages over 1653–1661, peaking with 54 in 1654,

and eighteen religious ones over 1657–1660 (all repeated from the earlier volume), these latter mostly conducted by the minister, William Hieron, or the master of the free school, Alexander Reade.

> *15 January 1656. Robert Earle of Goudhurst in the Countie of Kent, Broadweaver, sonn of Abraham Earle, late of Brenchley, and Elizabeth Faukner of the sayd Goudherst, Singlewoman, daughter of Steeven Faukner of Wythyam in the Countie of Sussixe, husbandman, did Solempnize there marriage in due forme of law before Edward Sharpe of Benenden Esq. Also in the Presence of Thomas Earle And Abraham Earle, Broadweavers, both of Goudherst. (KHLC: P20/1/2)*

Cranbrook was another substantial Wealden parish, and one which dutifully commenced a new 1653 register in conformity to the new Act. However, the preceding register, which ran on as far as 1667, ignored the Act altogether and continued to maintain a patchy run of marriages (sixteen between 1653–1662) even whilst its successor was now recording in far greater detail. From 1635–1645 annual figures are in the high twenties; then there is a drop until 1652 until much more regular business ensues: 31 in 1653, 58 in 1654, 100 in 1655, 77 in 1656, 56 in 1657, 36 in 1658, then dropping by half or more by the early 1660s.

Many entries show the father's name and parish (quite often different from that of the groom). Of entries between 1653–1657 around a half have both parties originating from 48 parishes other than Cranbrook, these including every parish within an eight-mile radius, plus many outliers. There are separate sections for marriages 1653–1661 solemnized by Justices of the Peace, and for 1657–1661 solemnized by ministers, the former including Thomas Plumer and John Rabson, the latter William Goodrich, who sometimes signs alongside one of the justices.

Maidstone was the largest parish in the diocese, and with correspondingly interesting figures. From 1635–1653, amazingly, no year exceeds single figures; then 92 in 1654, 155 in 1655, 136 in 1656, 129 in 1657 and 112 in 1658, including many banns. After the restoration there are twenty to thirty annually. The question arises whether before the 1653 Act some nearby parish in west Kent handled most of the local marriage business. Of the 247 entries in 1654–1655, 110, or nearly half, have both parties from 74 parishes other than Maidstone. These include almost every parish within an eight-mile radius, many outliers, and the usual strays from London, Surrey and Sussex.

Wye, a small country town, had up to a dozen marriages annually between 1635 and 1642, then dropping away rapidly until there were 90 between 1654 and 1657, then none for five years before a slow resumption over 1663 to 1665. Of the group of 90 no fewer than 81 have both parties originating from 39 other parishes, mostly within a five-mile radius, and in nearly every case bride and groom are both from the same foreign parish.

Considering all the evidence for marriages, it is clear that in many smaller parishes, and indeed probably in a substantial majority, the 1653 Act was a retrograde step in that far fewer marriages (and often none at all) were recorded, such losses probably not being balanced, and certainly not exceeded, by high totals in a relatively small group of other 'busy' parishes. The benefits are to be seen in the few parishes which did adhere to the new registration system, even if generally only for about five years, when enormously increased amounts of personal details are given, greatly superior to both pre- and post-Commonwealth levels.

Clandestine marriages

I have already touched on clandestine marriages, which were operating from immediately after the Commonwealth, if not a little before. Before the mid-nineteenth century, laws of marriage administered by the ecclesiastical courts were neither more nor less than mediaeval canon law. The situation was left unaltered at the Reformation except for a drastic reduction in the number of forbidden degrees of incest. England was unique in Europe, since it preserved the lax mediaeval canon laws about marriage which had been swept away in Catholic Europe by the Council of Trent, and severely modified in most parts of Protestant Europe. But now England had the worst of all worlds: marriage was far too easy to enter into, but extremely difficult to get out of.

This mess continued for centuries, there being no consensus within society at large about how a legally binding marriage should be performed. Popular custom, the church, and the state with its propertied laity each took a different view. Parliament was at odds within itself, the Lords favouring parental veto over the marriage of minors, and the Commons, replete with heiress-seeking younger sons and small gentry, just as naturally opposed. A state of moral and legal confusion seemed to maximise insecurity and misery, the explosion of the clandestine marriage industry reflecting confused conflict between deeply entrenched vested interests.

After inheritance, marriage was probably the single most important method for the transmission of property, and in consequence, a great deal of litigation about marriage was in reality litigation over property and the ever-present responsibility of married men for debts incurred by their wives. How easy it was therefore for a man to arrange a clandestine marriage in order to seize the wife's property, perhaps to pay off his own debts, and for an unscrupulous woman to arrange a faked clandestine marriage in order that a cast-off lover might pay off her debts. Since common law had jurisdiction over questions of credit, the courts frequently found themselves deciding upon whether or not a woman sued by her creditors for debt was legally married.

In order to be legally binding, marriages before 1753 did not have to be performed in church by a clergyman of the Church of England according to the rites laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. The essence was free consent of both spouses alone, and thus a valid and binding marriage was created by a mere verbal contract, and performed by an exchange of vows in the presence of two witnesses. The vows must be in the present tense to imply present consent; but a future statement was only binding if followed by consummation. Under church law these unions were indissoluble, and made any later marriage -even one in church - voidable by a court sentence as bigamous. In common law, however, the contract had no jurisdiction over property for either the husband or the wife, and gave the children no rights as legitimate heirs to any property.

A clandestine marriage was a ceremony conducted by a man who at least purported to be a clergyman, and which followed the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer. But it could be irregular and in violation of canon law chiefly by 1) being conducted in secret without banns or licence; 2) by not being performed in the parish church of one of the couple, but rather in a busy venue where the clerk could not ascertain the residential requirement for the calling of banns, or in a private house, coffeee shop, prison or brothel; 3) or was outside the canonical hours of 8-12am; and was not recorded in any official parish register but rather in a grubby personal notebook kept by the officiating clergyman.

During the interregnum such ceremonies would only increase during the ban on Church of England weddings as the ejected clergy fulfilled a pious duty by marrying people in private houses. Church control over marriage had been weakened by the creation of a system of secular marriages by JPs and by a large body of dissenters who conducted their own ceremonies in their own chapels and with their own rituals.

A clandestine marriage had great advantages over a mere contract marriage. A clergyman gave respectability; it was recognized by canon and common law as legally binding with full property rights; it was easier to prove by way of witnesses and a written certificate; it was secret; and it was cheaper than a church marriage service by about a third. Couples could avoid opposition from friends or family; those under 21 could remain safe until they came of age, or perhaps until a cantankerous relative had died and an uncertain inheritance now materialised.

With the outbreak of civil war in 1642 ecclesiastical courts stopped functioning, the old marriage service was denounced as 'Popish' and it was no longer clear how a legal marriage should be conducted. Many people now took to being clandestinely married by clergy or laymen. But neither Parliament nor the clergy could agree on a new policy for marriage until the legislation of 1653. This long and fraught period came to an end only in 1753 when lay, legal and religious opinion was sufficiently powerful enough to push through Lord Hardwicke's act, after which, with the exception of Jews and Quakers, marriages could be solemnised only in parish churches and after the calling of banns or purchase of a licence. All marriage contracts were declared invalid, regardless of whether the present or future tense had been used, and despite the reliability of the witnesses.

No minor could now marry without the written consent of parents or guardians, and any clergyman performing a clandestine marriage was subject to transportation to America for fourteen years. The clandestine marriage trade died overnight and left just the option of fleeing over the border to Gretna Green or perhaps to the Channel Islands. England now stood at great variance with the law in both Scotland and Ireland. The strangest thing is surely why Parliament failed time and time again to stop the trade. The abuses were obvious, but presumably many thought the remedy would be worse than the disease.

Mention must be made of one valuable source for missing marriages in this difficult period. London witnessed the rapid emergence of a huge clandestine marriage trade which attracted people from great distances. Certain churches and chapels, such as Holy Trinity Minories and St James Duke Place, saw prodigious increases in marriage totals, so much so that between the combined totals (of these two places alone) of around 2,500 marriages annually, equalled perhaps half of all weddings taking place in the capital at that period. Such registers of clandestine and irregular marriages are now for the most part indexed and coming online.

Parish registers are the mainstay of English genealogy, but, in conclusion, something ought to be said very briefly about other types of information, some of it of the highest interest, which may be found throughout the centuries down to the advent of printed books in 1812 when, ironically, neat and efficient pre-printed spaces automatically precluded such additional casual record-keeping.

Anyone who idly scans the inside-covers, fly-leaves and marginalia of such registers may find a veritable microcosm of human life in past centuries: there are contemporary references to church fabric, furniture and plate, ecclesiastical fees, rites and usages,

crime, the weather, social behaviour, human peccadilloes and misfortunes, local censuses, parochial libraries, lists of parish officials, the children of Anabaptists and other dissenters, the collecting of money for local and national disasters (when sometimes extraordinarily large sums were offered), excommunications and much more besides, all haphazardly but carefully penned by a zealous clerk or minister in the recording of daily life in his own little part of the great patchwork of English parishes.

To take a few examples at random: Stone-in-Oxney has detailed lists of churchwardens, sidesmen, collectors and surveyors for the 1620s-1630s (KHLC: P353/1/2); at Rolvenden there are analyses and totals of baptisms and burials from (KHLC: P308/1/1); and Thurnham notes churchwardens, overseers and sidesmen and (KHLC: P369/1/1). In summary, then, there is no telling what is to be found other than by serendipitous casual browsing, for all such details will not appear in published indexes.

BROTHERS IN ARMS: HERALDS AND ANTIQUARIES WORKING TOGETHER IN POST-REFORMATION AND CIVIL WAR ENGLAND

NATHANIEL NAGAR

Heraldry is everywhere, mostly in the public space and especially in the sacred one[1] because it provides, on the one hand, full exposure to the public in a place of regular gathering (thus contributing to the commemoration of the deceased), and, on the other hand, it exposes heraldry to destruction. England, like other regions of Europe in early modern times, experienced a Reformation, which lasted for about a century and a half. It might be defined as beginning with the dissolution of the monasteries, and terminating with the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688/9. A feature of the Reformation was its iconoclasm and the destruction of images, including both religious and secular – monuments, coats of arms, brasses, and inscriptions. This situation threatened to bring about the irrevocable loss of a vital historical source. To mitigate against this antiquarians and heralds have walked through churches and other buildings to record arms and monuments in case they would be destroyed.

Historical Background

Two main factors put church monuments and heraldry in danger: firstly the iconoclasm that was part of the 'Long Reformation', as defined by Alexandra Walsham[2], as being a time of religious upheaval during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary the First, and Elizabethan I, followed by ongoing religious and political conflicts throughout the seventeenth century. Since the religious space was the focus of the disturbance, heraldry was drawn into the centre of the storm. Secondly, there was a consciousness that carvings, monuments and stained glass which to date had survived the attacks of religious reformers, were ephemeral things. Stones, brasses, wood etc. were susceptible to weathering and erosion, and paint was continually being lost from surfaces.

Concurrently, these were times of great social mobility, a movement that began during the reign of Henry VII's, who appointed "new men" in key positions to run the country. These educated, professional men were not of noble of blood, but chosen merely by their merit. They were socially aspirational and coveted some of the traditional accoutrements of the nobility, such as the possession of coats of arms, and fine pedigrees. Their natural interest in heraldry went hand in hand with a desire to discover gentry ancestors who had been armigerous, and who might have the potential to provide additional quarterings to recently granted arms. It was from this group that most heralds and antiquarians sprang.

Who were the antiquarians?

During the sixteenth century a movement of antiquarianism emerged in Europe, starting in Rome. Its exponents sought to establish an historical knowledge, based not only on literature, but also on material evidence such as coins, inscriptions, epitaphs, tombs, deeds, seals, and coat of arms. At the turn of the seventeenth century, a group of about

forty antiquaries under the title "the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society", used to meet in London every Friday to discuss two issues at a time. For example, "Of the antiquity of Seals &c"; "Of what antiquity the name of dux or duke is in England […]"; "the Antiquity & exposition of the word Sterlingor[u]m or Sterling"; and "Of th'antiquity of armes here in Englande".[3]

Their works have contributed to the history of England in three different ways: firstly, by assisting genealogists tracing back pedigrees; secondly, by recording what has since been destroyed, defaced, harmed, or burned; and thirdly, by making it possible to make comparisons between the appearance of objects when they were recorded, and how they are today. An important sub-group of these English antiquarians whose focus was primarily on heraldry went on to become heralds.[4] Prominent among them were William Camden, William Dugdale, and William Dethick.[5] There might have been more, but while to be an antiquarian is not an official appointment, heralds are officials, and their number in the College of Arms is limited to thirteen at a time.
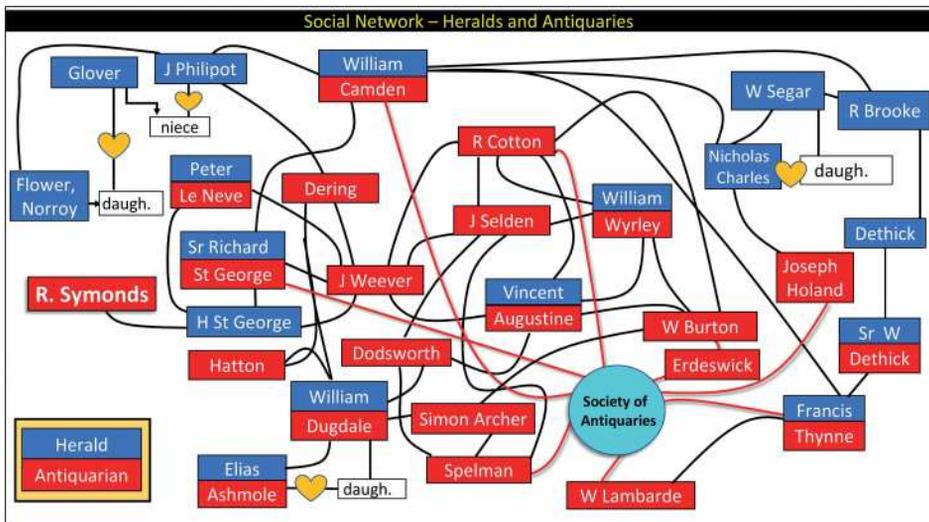
Diagram 1: a social Network of heralds and antiquaries from the late 16th to the second half of the 17th centuries.

The bond between heralds and antiquarians

Sir Henry Spelman, an illustrious learned antiquarian, wrote an essay in 1614 about the "Terms" (of Law) in which he provided a seemingly insignificant detail concerning the circumstances for the social and family ties between heralds and antiquarians:

"The Place, after a Meeting or two, became certain at Darby-house, where the Herald's Office is kept: and two Questions were propounded at every Meeting, to be handled at the next that followed…"[6]

Here was an opportunity for meetings between members of the two groups which led on both to professional collaborations and to friendly (and also family) ties. From another antiquarian, John Weever (1575/6–1632), we may learn more about the deep cooperation
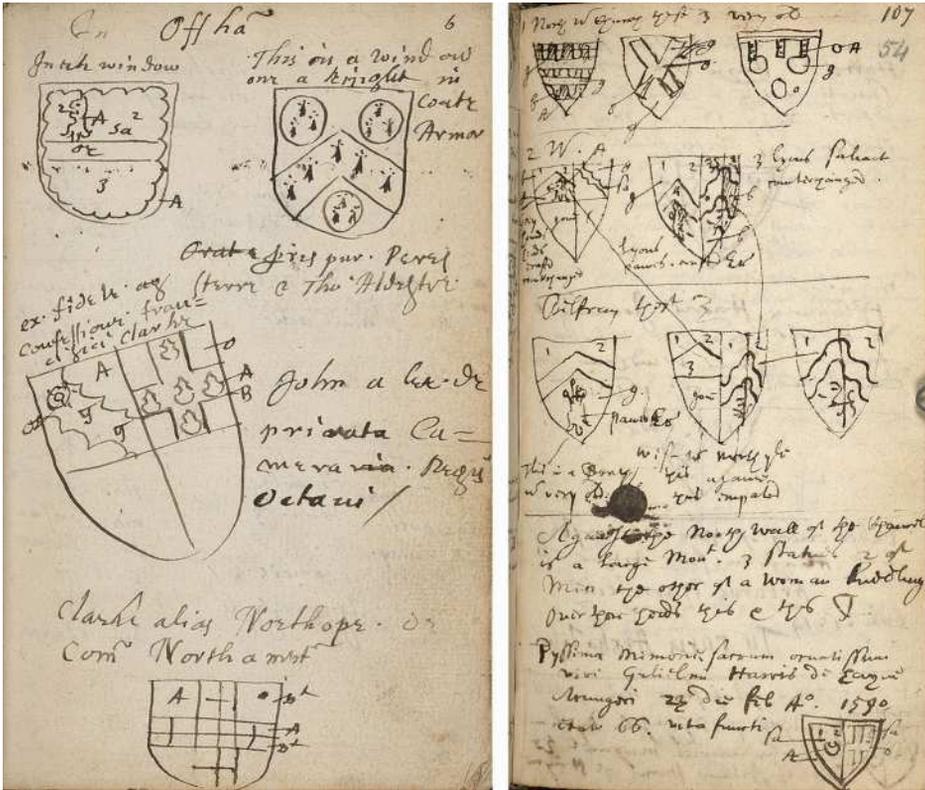
Figure 1: using the agreed notation. Left: Somerset Herald, John Philipot, BL, Harley MS 3917, f. 6r; right, the antiquary Richard Symonds, BL. Add MS 17062, f. 54r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

between these two groups. In his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* he complained he was tired of writing –

> *"…until I came casually into the acquaintance of my dear deceased friend, Augustine Vincent, Esquire, Windsor Herald[7] […] who persuaded me to go forward as I had begun, and withal gave me many Church-Collections […] and by his means I had free access to the Heralds Office…"[8]*

This excerpt well illustrates the high level of closeness between the heraldry and antiquities and leads me to my first argument, that, through this use of the Heralds' office, the interaction between the two groups was strengthened. Mapping the network of connections between the heralds and antiquarians of that time reveals that this network was quite extensive (**Diagram 1**): some of the contacts are entirely professional, while others are linked by marriage. It can be seen that Camden, Weever, and Augustine Vincent had particularly strong connections; Ashmole (an antiquarian and herald) married the daughter of Dugdale – another antiquarian and herald. Others, such as the antiquarian Richard Symonds, on the basis of the available evidence, seem to have worked more in isolation.

Figure 2: Sharing Information: Burton and Nicholas Charles. Top, 2a and b: Nicholas Charles from BL, Lansdowne MS 874, ff. 94v–95r; bottom, 2c and d: Burton from Egerton MS 3510, ff. 97v–98r. Courtesy of ©British Library

Through these connections, each group was able to learn from the other: on the one hand, antiquaries became more familiar with this 'esoteric' field and heraldic language; on the other hand, heralds began to add to their practice of visitations some antiquarian methods, notably, in making itineraries and perambulations for notetaking.

Most non-textual information cannot be easily or sufficiently converted into textual information, and until the early sixteenth century no rules of notation were established for the recording of antiquities.[9] Gradually, the importance of using an accurate common language for notation was understood. As for heraldry, information on recording methods must be transmitted with extra care to establish a reliable family tree. There were two[10] practicable methods of recording, both of which are perfectly satisfactory. The quicker and more economical of the two is the use of blazon, but this requires the highest expertise in heraldic language; the second is to record arms 'in trick', by making a roughly executed sketch labelled with short, agreed-upon, notations of colours and charges.[11]

A common language of notations developed out of the collaboration between the groups. For instance, when noting colours they used "G" or "Gu" for *Gules* (red); "A" or "Arg" for *Argent* (silver / white); "O" for Or (gold / yellow) etc; when a charge appears more than once, it is adequate to draw it once only, and write the times it appears on the shield, in their right setting **(Figure 1)**.[12]

Sharing information

One important outcome of the relationship between the two groups was the sharing of information that can be observed through comparison of their heraldic note-taking works. In this paper I will demonstrate this through an exploration of the works of several individuals who were either antiquaries or heralds: the antiquaries William Burton, Richard Symonds, and Gervase Holles; the heralds John Philipot, Nicholas Charles, and Sir Henry St. George.

For my first example here are two different monuments **(Figures 2a-d)** drawn by the antiquarian William Burton on multiple pages (1597), and over ten years later – almost identically drawn – by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald (1609–13). Burton's drawings are not coloured while of Charles's are well-coloured.[13] The two sets of drawings are a fairly precise match, the original drawings being from "Mr. Stewards House", and from the church of St Andrew's at Holborn. There can be little doubt that Charles was copying directly from Burton's records, or from an intermediate copy thereof.

Antiquaries

William Burton (1575–1645) produced a veritable fountain of church notes recording heraldry and monuments. He was born into a noble family in north England, and inherited from his father an estate in Lindley, Leicestershire. His manuscriprs[14] are loaded with rich information, though characterized by disorder and a dense handwriting. Nevertheless, he did try to create some order: he used double lines to create a distinction between various churches and broken lines to distinguish different parts within an individual church (**Figure 3**).

Figure 3: a typical page in Burton's notetaking, BL, Egerton MS 3510, f. 87v.
Courtesy of ©British Library.

Figure 4: The monument of Lord Berkeley in the Temple Church, Bristol, by Burton.
BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 85r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

Figure 5: Symonds's pedigree and arms. Courtesy of The College of Arms MS Church Notes, Symonds's Essex, vol. 1, f. 612v. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants of Arms

Burton, like other antiquaries, drew his own genealogy and arms as part of his recording work. His achievement in trick, which he himself drew, is shown in his work.[15] The same was drawn coloured in another of his works (BL Add MS 6046[16]), and is probably by a heraldic painter. It is signed by William Segar, Garter, and Nicholas Charles, Lancaster. This manuscript also contains his pedigree sketched in 1598 over multiple pages[17], and he had a good reason to show off as his roots are connected to the famous family of Hardwick, starting in the twelfth century. The family tree ends with Burton himself, and somebody added later the year of his death (1645)[18] with the names of his son (Cassibelan) and his grandson (Constantinus).[19]

Of his two surviving manuscripts Burton's most significant one is Egerton MS 3510, in which he covered areas other than his home county during the years 1597 to 1641: Warwickshire, Northampton, and Staffordshire. Most of the material was collected by Burton himself, but some of it he has copied or collected from heralds and antiquarians.

Although the focus of his interest was heraldry, he did not neglect church monuments and in quite a few cases documented them as well, albeit in a sloppy manner, according to his limited skills in painting. He paid little attention to the aesthetics of the painting, but was focussed on the transmission of information. For example (**Figure 4**)[20], the monument of Lord Berkeley in Temple Church, Bristol: the effigy is shown as if it was lying on his side instead of on his back. I will return to his work through others.

Richard Symonds (1617–1660)

A very different character from Burton is Richard Symonds. His biography is very obscure, his social network was limited, and he appears to have been both lonely and introverted. Symonds came from of Black Notley in Essex where he was baptized in 1617, going on to develop a great desire for history and antiquities. He collected many works, manuscripts, deeds, and other papers, for example, of John Leland – probably a draft of his *Itinerary*; John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*; Camden's *Britannia*; and the *Stonehenge* of Inigo Jones, just to name a few.[21] At about twenty years of age he began to take notes of arms and monuments. His family tree appears in the second of three volumes, now in the possession of the College of Arms, titled "Essex I-III". The seal attached to this folio displays his portrait in profile, and his incomplete coat of arms, impaled: on the dexter half – his own arms; the sinister was supposed to be the arms of his wife to-be; but he never married (**Figure 5**).

Symonds's life course can be mapped out utilising his sixteen manuscripts (**Diagram 2**): he started his own antiquarian journey in Essex 1637, then continued to the Midlands before the Civil Wars, right before he joined the King's Guard Regiment from 1644 to 1645. He left the war for Paris and Rome in 1648 for about three years (on a kind of 'Grand Tour'), ending his antiquarian experience back home in Essex. At the beginning of his mission, he took notes in his home county of Essex. For example, in Black-Notley, his own village, he has recorded arms accompanied by a description of their exact location, the material they are made of (stone), and inscriptions in their original writing (black letters, Gothic font).[22] He also drew some genealogies (**Figure 6**), but copied very few monuments, aware of his bad drawing skills (**Figure 7**).

During the months before joining the King's Guard in the Civil War he walked through Berkshire and Oxfordshire, taking notes wherever he could. In Oxford he took
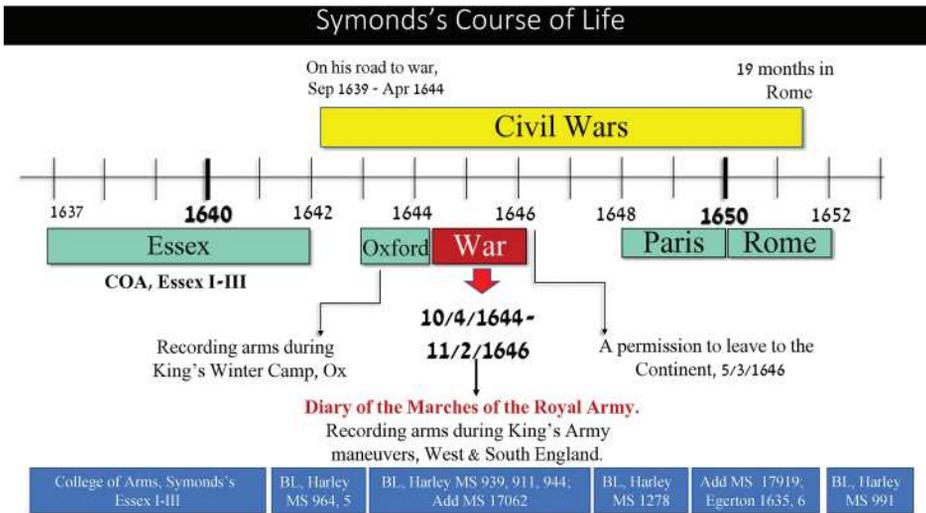
Diagram 2: Symonds's course of life through his works.

notes from the colleges –mainly arms from windows, and generally avoiding drawing a whole monument. He went as far south as Cornwall and as far north as Worcester Cathedral (1643–4), where he took note of King John's tomb; he only described the monument, rather than drawing it. He did not copy the king's arms, perhaps because they were so well known. At the bottom of the same page he described the tomb and drew the arms of Prince of Wales Arthur, son of Henry VII.[23]

He joined the King's Guard at Oxford in December 1643, the second year of the Civil War, serving as a cavalier. Due to his battalion's unique mission, he was far from the hustle and bustle of battle. This provided him with free time to look for antiquities around his camp, and to scribble his observations in a diary,[24] the extant part of which comprises four notebooks. The atmosphere of urgency during the war can be felt through these diaries (**Figure 8**): his writing is hasty, and sometimes he was short of time to copy all the arms he encountered, as he testified: "Divers other coats of arms: but time would not suffer me to take them."[25] The same atmosphere can be felt through the next entry he wrote right after he drew the arms of Englefield and Rossel: "Orate p[ro] a[n]i[m]a Inglefeld, &c. 1514 or thereabouts, as I remember",[26] using "&c." and "as I remember" for he had no time, and this might suggest that he wrote it down only when he got back to his tent, trying to recall what he just saw.

Symonds's passion for heraldry is revealed by comments made when he found only a few arms or no arms at all: In Kilmersdon Church, Somerset, he wrote (1644): *"No armes els or monuments in this church, though a very faire & large one"*[27], or: *"...at Lamiat, co. Somerset [...], a small church without either armes or monument."*[28] And finally: *"Chilton church hath no armes in it"*. [29] Symonds is still an unsolved riddle, because he is not much discussed among researchers, though he left us many works. Being solitary is an unusual characteristic among antiquaries of his generation.
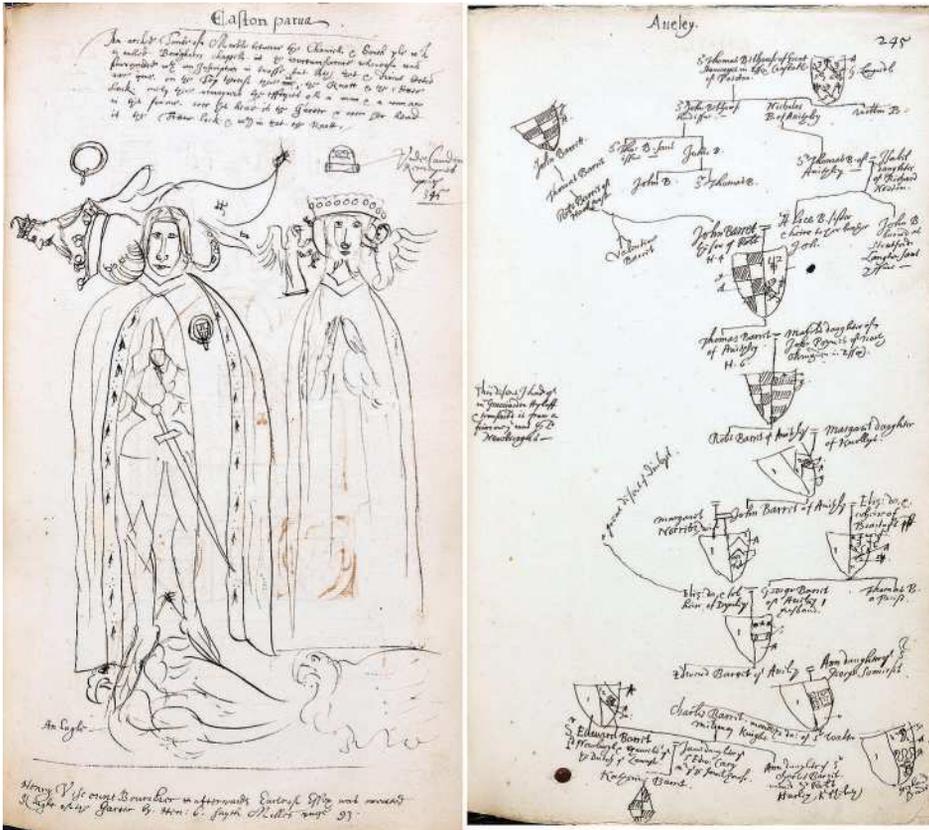
Left, Figure 6: a Brass of Henry Bourchier, 1st Earl of Essex, and his wife Isabel of Cambridge recorded by Symonds from Easton Parua, from College of Arms MS Church Notes, Symonds's Essex, vol. 2, p. 412.; right, *Figure 7:* Genealogy by Symonds from College of Arms MS Church Notes, Symonds's Essex, vol. 3, p. 245. Both images reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants of Arms.

Gervase Holles (1607–1675)

Gervase Holles of Grimsby, Lincolnshire in his thirties studied at the Middle and Inner Temples in London, going on to serve in local government and at the House of Commons (1640). In between he devoted four years to the study of antiquities, "pleasing my time", as he said.[30] In 1642 he joined the royalist army as a captain,[31] as he himself testified in a family tree that he drew up: *"Geruasius Holles, Colonellus peditums sub auspiciis Caroli regis Angliae, necnon Ludouici 14 regis Franciae anno 1646"*.[32] During the Civil War he was exiled to Rotterdam in the Netherlands, returning home following the Restoration of the monarchy.

While eight of his nine manuscript works deal with deeds, documents, local stories and genealogies, in Harley MS 6829 we have his "heraldiquary"[33] work. It contains about 350 pages of notetaking from sacred space, mainly in Lincolnshire. Holles usually avoided drawing monuments or houses, although he provides a clear description of them.

Left, *Figure 8:* a page from Symonds's Diary, notetaking from *"Lifton Church, Devon, 11 myles from Okehampton"* 31 July 1644, BL. Add MS 17062, f. 53v; right, *Figure 9*: a typical page in Holles's manuscript. BL. Harley MS 6829, f. 113r. Both images courtesy of ©British Library.

Above all, he was interested first and foremost in coats of arms. A typical page of his work is illustrated in **Figure 9**[34]; margins are lined on four sides; the arms are coloured, usually painted in the margins. He provides the location, supplies the blazonry; and almost always the bearer of each coat of arms is named. This appears to be a unique quality of Holles – drawing, colouring, blazoning, naming.

The importance of such note taking is immense when it comes to places or monuments that were subsequently destroyed, as is demonstrated in a note taken from the Bishop's Palace (*"Palatio Episcopi"*)[35] in Lincoln which was damaged during the Civil Wars and subsequently largely abandoned. The same has happened with St Peter's Church in in Eastgate, Lincoln, which was damaged during the siege in 1643, but thanks to Holles we can trace back names and families, to establish reliable family trees.[36]

To conclude this brief survey of antiquaries I will point out a manuscript from the Society of Antiquaries, London. This includes, in addition to accounts on families in Suffolk, notes *"and arms in the churches, taken by Mr. Tilletson in 1594, later copied by the compiler of this manuscript in about 1655–7, and added to by Mr. Leverland in about 1660–1662."* It is very probable that the said Mr. Tilletson is the antiquary of that

Figure 10: Heraldic notes from St Stephen Church Walbrook, by Nicholas Charles, BL. Lansdowne Ms 874 ff. 103v–104r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

county.[37] The volume is very thick and contains rich information about nobles, arms (in colour) and the description of monuments. The shape of the pages is very similar to that of Holles with the arms painted in the margins of the pages and the description in the centre, although not as neat as Holles.

For example, a page of notes taken from St Margaret's Church, Ipswich, with four coats of arms on the margins, of Cardinal Wolsey – a native of that city, Devereux, Wythipoll and Gaunt. The text next to the arms provides genealogical information and local history of the families related. A genealogy is given of the Wythipoll family starting with Edmund, the high sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk in 1571, and ending with Elizabeth Wythipoll who married Leicester Devereux, 6th Viscount Hereford (1617–1676), *"who in the right of his wife is now owner of Christ church, this present yeare 1655"*. The compiler noted that Mr. Tylletson found in the aforesaid mansion of Wythipoll in 1594, a quartered arms which have consisted of Wythipoll, Gaunt, Thurland, and Wythipoll "as the first".[38] Given the breadth of this manuscript, it is possible to extract a great deal of genealogical information from it.

Heralds as antiquarians

As part of their mission to saving the social memory and order, several heralds have acted like antiquarians in their perambulations and itineraries, and in the visiting of sacred space for note taking. One of them was John Philipot, Somerset Herald (between

1624–45). He was well-connected with other heralds by marriage: his wife was the nephew of Robert Glover, a former Somerset Herald, who in turn, married the daughter of William Flower, Norroy King of Arms. He entered the College of Arms two years after his marriage to Glover's nephew, and from then on, he had a heraldic career that lasted almost thirty years.

His following manuscripts (BL.Add Ms 53782; BL. Harley Ms 3917; BL. Egerton Ms 3310A) are *not* visitation books, but more like "heraldiquary" works – church notes he took in Kent: monuments, inscriptions and especially coat of arms. It is very easy to be impressed by his clean work. By virtue of being a herald, it is likely that he was assisted by a painter or that he acquired painting skills. One of his manuscripts includes many arms from Canterbury Cathedral. He opened the section of the Cathedral as follows:

> *"These be the Armes which are fixed on the Roofe of the Cloysters of the most Beautifull Cathedrall Church of Our Sauiour Christ in ye Citty of Canterbury, Collected by me in the Second day of March Anno Domine 1613."*[39]

In a wonderful note he took from a window in Lenham Church, Kent, there is a fine example of his writing, while wearing the hat of an antiquarian: he used the agreed notations to note colours; he gave a description of the type of material from which the arms were made of

> *("these armes are cut in Marble [...]"), its exact location ("The window next above ye Doore in ye north Ile [...]", the position of figures and its defaced colours–*

> *"There are 3 esquires kneling in there Coates of these Armes In this window ye coulors are soe decayed it cannot be diserned [discerned]").*[40]

Fonts in churches are typical elements on which the arms of donors are commonly displayed. In separate manuscripts Philipot in noting the fonts of different churches recorded their arms in different ways: from the font of St Martin's Church in Herne (Kent), the arms are recorded in blazon only[41], while from the font of St. Clement's Church, Sandwich (Kent), the arms are given in trick.[42] To all his abilities and methods of work, I should add that Philipot was a collector of both heraldic manuscripts and charters – a hobby that places him between the Herald and the Antiquarian.

Two heralds with an antiquarian spirit

One of the most impressive note-taking works of which I am aware, BL Lansdowne MS 874, was executed mainly by two heralds of that time: Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, and Sir Henry St. George, Norroy King of Arms [43] (1581–1644), who both adopted the practices and methods of antiquarians. Before Nicholas Charles became a herald he was in touch with Joseph Holland, a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, according to some hints given in several of his manuscripts. His Visitation of Huntingdonshire under Camden (Clarenceux) gives a good idea of the value of his work as a herald, for he paid attention not just to pedigrees, but to other things of an antiquarian interest.[44]Some of his notes taken in 1611 include monuments and arms from churches that were destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666, like the church of *"St Nicholas Colde Abbey behinde ould Fish street"*[45], the church of *"St. Albons in Wood Streete"*,[46] and many more. Some of Charles's notes can be found in Burton's manuscript (BL, Egerton MS 3510), while some of Burton's notes appears in Charles's manuscript almost identically. This is the case in notes taken in St Stephen Church in Walbrook,

London (**Figure 10),** by both Burton and Charles: both records are very similar (the very same pattern and layout of the arms), and there is a high chance that Charles (b.1582) is the one who copied it from his elder colleague Burton (b.1575).[47] One way or another, it demonstrates the sharing of information between heralds and antiquaries, though one cannot deny they both – separately – visited this church.

If we return to one of the manuscripts of the antiquarian William Burton, there are notes written in the handwriting of Nicholas Charles, taken from "St Katharine's by the Tower", and from St Olave's Church in the city of London. A free space below Charles's note was used by Burton to record arms from another medieval London Church – St Mary Abchurch, which was destroyed by fire in 1666.[48]

The extraordinary story of Mary, Queen of Scots makes the recording of her funeral arms by Nicholas Charles especially interesting. The queen was first buried at Peterborough Cathedral in late July 1587. Her body was exhumed in 1612 when her son, King James I (and VI), ordered that she be reinterred in Westminster Abbey in a chapel opposite the tomb of Queen Elizabeth. The heraldic symbols – Tabard, banners etc., were copied in 1611 – the year before the exhumation – by Charles, in papers collected in Burton's manuscripts.[49] Sir Henry St George, few years later, documented it once again, this time in MS 874[50], and gave a reference or credit to Francis Thynne, an antiquarian who served as a Lancaster herald (1602–1609) immediately before Nicholas Charles. There are few differences, which raises the question as to whether these are a result of inaccurate copying, or whether there were some changes in reality.

The other major contributor to MS 874 was Sir Henry St. George, Norroy King of arms. Henry was born in Hatley St George, Cambridgeshire, the fourth of eight children and third of five sons of Sir Richard St George (1554/5–1635), Clarenceux king of arms.[51] His rich notes are replete with monuments, effigies, brasses, detailed inscriptions, and heraldic funeral items – tabards, hatchments, banners etc.[52] His most important additions to this manuscript are items from "the chappell w[i]thin the Royall Castle of Windsore",[53] recording the stall plates of the knights of the Garter, the tomb of king Edward IV and the standards of king Henry VIII.[54]

Certain monuments excited particular antiquarian interest, and are noted from multiple sources. One such is that of Robert Curthose in Gloucester Cathedral which appears in three different manuscripts: the first of these chronologically dates to the sixteenth century and now belongs to the College of Arms;[55] the second is in Burton's work;[56] and the last is by Nicholas Charles (**Figure 11**).[57] In all cases, priority was given by the recorder to convey the maximum visual information to the reader rather than an aesthetic and realistic drawing of the monument. The same approach can be seen by a note on the tomb of John de Nowers (d.1386) taken in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.[58]

Conclusion

This paper has focussed on two groups – heralds and antiquarians, the trigger for their connection, and their joint efforts to preserve the heraldic and genealogical record, and indirectly to help maintain the social order in England. Their co-operation has not received the attention in research which it warrants, and one of the principal aims of my ongoing research is to fill that gap. The circumstances that led to the connection between these two groups were on the one hand prosaic– antiquaries who were looking for a place to gather on Fridays, while developing family and social ties, but led to a common goal of
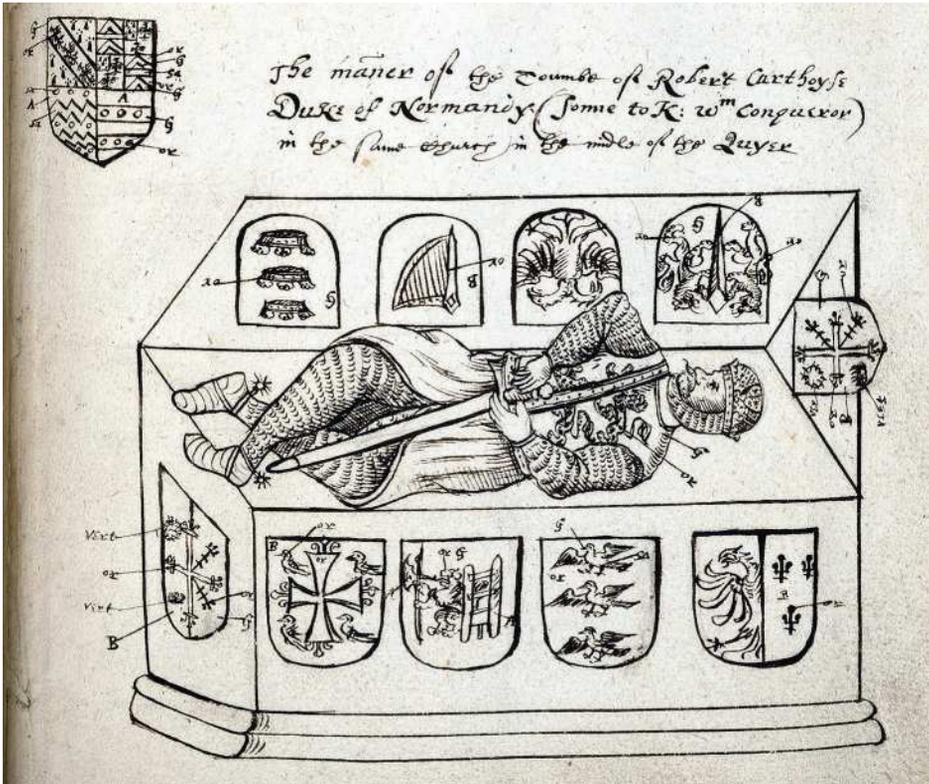
Figure 11: The monument of Robert Curthose in Gloucester Cathedral as recorded by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald. BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 88r. Courtesy of ©British Library.

creating history based on evidence –primarily heraldic–which provided a physical visual material encapsulating a rich historical story. There was a particular interest in quartered arms. It is no coincidence that ten antiquarians later became officers of arms. Through the examples shown in this paper, the cooperation between them can be clearly seen – both in formulating a brief notation method, and in the sharing of information by circulating materials from one to another. The characters I discussed in this article understood very well the importance of their work, although each chose to emphasize materials he was more interested in and which matched his drawing skills. Their dedication to this task of heraldic note-taking created a great resource with which to build reliable genealogies. The social history of England owes them a huge debt.

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[1] Sacred space – i.e., monasteries, temples, cathedrals, churches, chapels, pilgrim routes, religious processions, and funerals.
[2] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), p. 94.

[3] Taken from an account of the Society's secretary, the Judge and Antiquarian Francis Tate (1550–1616), BL. Add MS 4015, ff. 7r, ,8r, 43r.

[4] By the word "herald" I include pursuivants, heralds, and kings of arms.

[5] There were many others who wrote heraldic works or took notes of heraldry, either for self-interesting or to show their knowledge in this field.

[6] Bod. MS e Mus. 107, f. 1r.

[7] Augustin was an antiquary as well.

[8] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), To the Reader.

[9] Christopher S. Wood, "Notation of visual information in the earliest archeological scholarship," *Word & Image* 17, no. 1&2 (2001), p. 95.

[10] The system of hatching, developed in the 16th century by the Italian herald Silvestro Petra-Sancta, was not in use in notetaking.

[11] Peter Summers, *How to Read a Coat of Arms* (Sherborne, 1986), p. 23.

[12] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 12v; BL. Harley MS 3917, f. 13v; BL. Add MS 17062, ff. 59r, 28r.

[13] BL. Egerton MS 3510, ff. 97v–98r; BL. Lansdowne MS 874, ff. 98v–99r.

[14] BL. Egerton MS 3510; BL. Add MS 6046.

[15] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 29r.

[16] BL. Add MS 6046, f. 3r.

[17] Ibid., ff. 13v–14r, 14v–15r.

[18] Writing unclear, looks like 1641.

[19] The family tree was made in 1598, with some late additions by Burton and others.

[20] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 85r. On the title of the page Burton gave a credit to Ralph Brooke, York herald (1593–1625): once again – sharing information between a herald and antiquarian.

[21] The full list of his materials is in his first work, College of Arms, Essex-I, f. 51r

[22] College of Arms, Essex-I, p.120.

[23] BL Harley MS 965, f. 41v

[24] Symonds's war diary was transcribed and edited by C. E. Long, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Cambridge, 1998), but with no arms drawings, while in my research I emphasis the way arms were copied.

[25] BL Harley MS 965, f. 41v.

[26] BL Add MS 17062, f. 10v.

[27] Ibid., fol.46v.

[28] Ibid., fol.48v.

[29] Ibid.

[30] P. R. Seddon. "Holles, Gervase (1607–1675)." In *New DNB*.

[31] His commission in written on a piece of parchment, presented by James Berry. BL. Add Ch. 70817.

[32] BL. Add MS 5531, f. 19r. English: "Colonel of the infantry under the auspices of King Charles of England, as well as Louis XIV of France in 1646".

[33] 'Heraldiquarian', A term coined by Nigel Llewellyn in his article *The manuscript remains of the Randle Holmes, herald antiquaries of the 17th century*. https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-manuscript-remains-of-the-randle-holmes-herald-antiquaries-of-the-17th-century.

[34] BL. Harley MS 6829, f. 113r.

[35] Ibid., f. 46.

[36] Ibid., f. 56.

[37] During my attempts to trace his identity, the conclusion narrows towards William Tillotson (d. 1615), Suffolk clergyman and antiquary. https://collections.sal.org.uk/mss.0004

[38] SAL. MS 667, p. 7.

[39] BL. Egerton Ms 3310A.

[40] BL. Harley MS 3917, ff. 60r–60v.

[41] Ibid., f. 32v.

[42] BL. Add MS 53782, p. 20. These two fonts survived the iconoclasm, and they can be compared with the notes.

[43] The description of BL Lansdowne MS 874 "[…] by Henry Saint George, Esquire, Clarencieux […]", while this was Norroy King of Arms.

[44] Nicholas Rogers, "Nicholas Charles (bapt. 1582, d. 1613)." In *New DNB*.

[45] BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 7r. "Colde" – Cole. Fish street is now Queen Victoria Street. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666 and rebuilt by the office of Sir Christopher Wren.

[46] Ibid., f. 15v. This St Alban's medieval church was rebuilt in 1634, then destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666.

[47] Compare Charles's BL. Lansdowne 874 ff. 103v–104r, with Burton's BL. Egerton MS 3510 f. 99v.

[48] BL. Egerton MS 3510, ff..95r–96v.

[49] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 57v.

[50] BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 35v.

[51] Rouge Rose pursuivant-extraordinary in May 1610, Bluemantle pursuivant in 1611, accompanied his father in his visitations of Derbyshire (1611) and of Cheshire (1614). He became Richmond herald in 1616, William Camden's deputy for the visitations in 1619, 1620 and 1623. Between 1633 and 1635 he acted as his father's deputy for the visitation of London, and in 1635 St George was created Norroy king of arms. From Thomas Woodcock. "St George, Sir Henry (1581–1644)." In *New DNB*.

[52] See for example, BL. Lansdowne MS 874: ff. 60v–61r (brasses); f. 58r, f. 62r (inscriptions).

[53] Ibid., ff. 48r–52r.

[54] Ibid., f. 49r.

[55] College of Arms, L17, f. 205v, 16th cent.

[56] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 87v, late 16th cent.

[57] BL. Lansdowne MS 874, f. 88r, early 17th cent.

[58] BL. Egerton MS 3510, f. 78r.

THE BARONETS OF NOVA SCOTIA AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE THISTLE

ELIZABETH ROADS, L.V.O., A.I.H.
Secretary of the Thistle

Left, *Figure 1:* arms of Sir William Alexander, earl of Stirling, from the Kings and Nobilities Armorial, Vol II Lyon Office MS 21; right, *Figure 2:* panel of Nova Scotia Baronets, Menstrie Castle.

For Scotland the seventeenth century was a period of great change politically and religiously, and these changes altered the face of Scottish life around the time when the Scottish king King James VI had succeeded to the English throne. His accession followed the death without issue of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 which had brought to an end the Tudor dynasty. The two countries and their parliaments were to remain distinctly separate for a further century; and even after that certain aspects of life were preserved as individual in the treaties of Union, amongst them the preservation of Presbyterian worship in Scotland, and the legal system.

King James's succession was not definite until almost the last moment of Queen Elizabeth's life. On hearing that almost with her dying breath she had nominated him as her heir, he travelled south immediately, and although he had promised to return to Scotland every two to three years, he did not do so until 1617. Moreover, this was to be his only visit before his death on 27 March 1625. He did, however, have strong lieutenants in place in Scotland to ensure the governance of his northern realm, and he kept closely in touch with what was happening north of the border. He was not what might be thought of as an absentee landlord with no interest in his Scottish possessions and people.

James was responsible for the creation of the baronets of England in 1611[1] and those of Ireland in 1619, so the idea of a Scottish order of baronets was firmly in his

mind. He had promoted the thought the year before his death. On 18 October 1624[2] he wrote from Royston that "*we were pleased to erect the honour of Knights-Baronet within the Kingdome of England, so We doe desire to confer the like honour within that our Kingdome of Scotland*." The Privy Council responded to this letter on 23 November 1624[3] and a proclamation relating to the institution of the order of Nova Scotia baronets was made by the Privy Council on 30 November 1624. It was ordained that this proclamation be given by the heralds, pursuivants and messengers at arms at the Mercat (market) cross in Edinburgh giving the new baronets their precedence before all knights and setting out their entitlement to land in the colony.[4] The creation of this order was confirmed in an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1630[5] and ratified by a similar Act in 1633.[6] The three orders of baronets were a distinctly Stuart creation which lasted until the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, when baronets who were designated specifically as Scottish or English ceased to be created. New baronets created thereafter were baronets of Great Britain from 1707, while from 1801 when the union of Great Britain and Ireland took effect the baronets created from then on were designed as baronets of the United Kingdom. The old orders ceased to have new members, but continued as distinct orders held by the heirs of the original baronets. Thus today there can be baronets of England, baronets of Nova Scotia, baronets of Great Britain and baronets of the United Kingdom. There are no longer baronets of Ireland.

The aim of these creations of orders of baronets was partly to raise funds for the Crown, but also to allow King James to follow his desire to colonise, firstly Ireland, and later Nova Scotia. He did so by making land grants with a title in exchange for finance. Thus, the money obtained from those who took up the offer of grants of lands was not, at least initially, to fill the royal coffers, *per se*, but to finance settlement schemes. Indeed, as narrated in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, the order of baronets was established to advance plantation in New Scotland.[7] It is stated in the Acts that the baronets offered to undertake plantation on their own charge without honours.[8]

Things had been set in motion when the King signed a Charter on 10 September 1621 granting *"the lands and islands within the promontory of Cape Sable, westward to the roadstead of St. Mary, crossing its entrance or mouth of that roadstead to the St. Croix River, following to its remotest source, from that indefinite place, direct north to the St. Lawrence; eastward along the south shore of that river to Cape Gaspé, then south-southeast to the right of the Bacalaos Isles, onward to the mouth of the Gulf at the northernmost point of Cape Breton and from there southward to and including Sable Island, and to the starting point of that Cape."*[9] This land between New England and Newfoundland, known to the French as Acadia and to the Scots as New Scotland, was to be central to the creation of the Nova Scotia Baronets.[10] Since 1612 the idea had been mooted and the colonisation of Nova Scotia as a Scottish colony appealed to King James. Plots of 16,000 acres were drawn up to be the bait to attract people to the idea of baronetcies.

A key figure in the Nova Scotia plantation was Sir William Alexander (d.1640) who in 1601 made a useful marriage to Janet, the only daughter of Sir William Erskine, a family which had been closely involved in the lives of successive Scottish monarchs. Sir William began to receive honours from as early as 1614, when he became the English
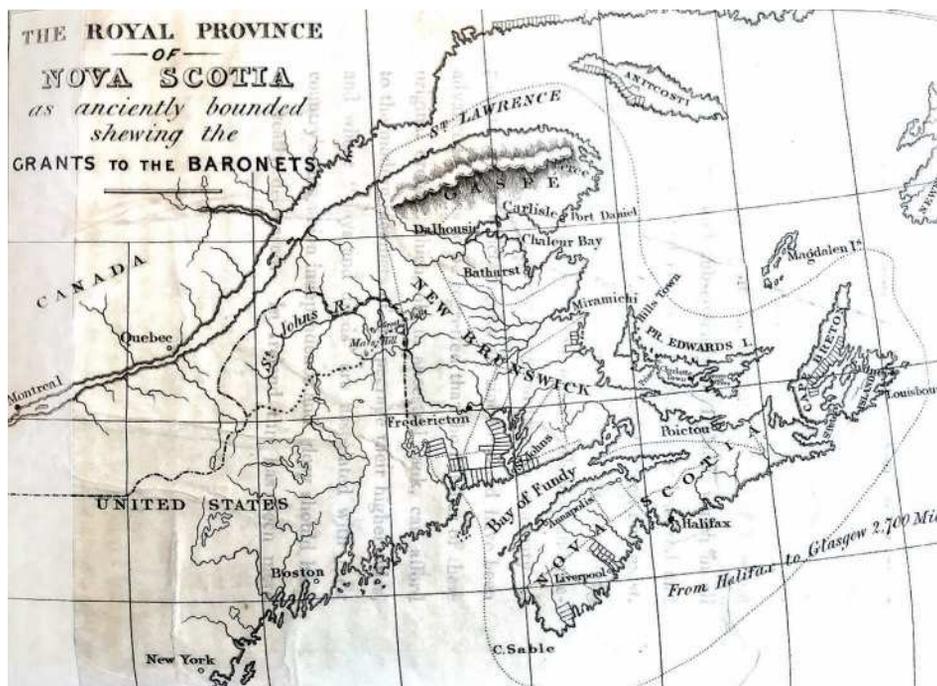
Figure 3: land distribution to the baronets of Nova Scotia from John Mortimer, Memoranda, Opinions, Extracts and Notes relating to the Nova Scotia Question (London, 1845).

Master of Requests. In 1621 he was appointed Lieutenant of New Scotland with the power to do anything necessary to establish the colony.[11]King Charles I created him Viscount Stirling in 1630, promoting him three years later to Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada (**Figure 1**).[12] In 1639 he received the additional title Earl of Dovan. Sir William's lands in Scotland were based around Menstrie Castle in what is now the county of Clackmannan in central Scotland. In what were originally the cellars of Menstrie Castle is a small display giving the background to the Nova Scotia baronets. A wall displays the shields of 110 baronets, although one, presumably for Gordon of New Embo, is blank. Many of the early baronets had territorial designations which included the word 'New'(**Figure 2**).

Colonisation was not an easy task and was not successful during King James's reign. It was not until 1628 that sufficient people arrived safely in Nova Scotia to start the colony. Whilst raising finance was a driver, it was also the need for the new colony to be settled which led to the creation of what was originally to be 100 baronets, later increased to 150 (and later again still further). The issue of the costs associated with the creation of baronets and paid to the heralds was addressed by King Charles when he specifically addressed a document to Lyon on 28 July 1626 in which the king stated "*since their creation within that our Kingdome is for so good a cause whereby a Colonie is making readie to sett forth this next Spring to beginne a work that may tend so much to the honour and benefite of that Kingdome. We wold have them everie way to be incouraged*

and not (as wee wrote before) put to needlesse charges and our pleasure is that none as Baronet be bound to pay fees, but what they salbe pleased to do out of their own discretion to the Heraulds or to any such officer of who they have have use."

Each baronet was to support two settlers for two years, or pay the equivalent to do so, and give 1000 marks to Sir William to cover his expenses. Sir William did not make any money from the exercise and was always in considerable debt. In return, however, the baronet would receive 16,000 acres of land. A map shows the areas of land to be distributed (**Figure 3**).[13] Although King James died before the first baronet was created it was only two months following his death that Robert Gordon (who had already been granted land in Cape Breton, and had been involved in the earlier attempts at colonisation) was created the first baronet.[14] By 1638 a further 109 baronets had been created with lands on mainland Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick, Anticosti and Cape Breton. Nine of these were English and Irish rather than Scots. The grants of land ceased in 1638, not least because Nova Scotia was by then held by the French. The award of baronetcies from 1639–1707 ceased to be concerned with physical colonisation, and they were given instead as a reward for services rendered.

The order of baronets of Nova Scotia had one distinction which the other two orders did not: there were visible attributes. On 17 November 1629 King Charles directed the Privy Council of Scotland to note that he had authorised Nova Scotia baronets to wear around their necks an orange tawny ribband with a pendant badge showing an escutcheon *Argent, thereon a saltire azure with overall an escutcheon of the Royal Arms of Scotland with a crown above the scutcheon and the motto Fax Mentis Honestes Gloria* - Glory is the torch that leads on the honourable mind.'[15] This reverse of the St Andrews cross with the inescutcheon of the royal arms form the arms of the province of Nova Scotia. There was obviously some confusion about which escutcheon was to bear the crown, and thus the arms when they appear on shields show the crown above the inescutcheon of the royal arms, whereas on the physical badge to be worn around the neck it appears above the shield (**Figure 4**).The award of a badge to the Nova Scotia baronets led to the other baronets seeking the same honour, and although they made several petitions to the crown it was not until 1929, 300 years later, that King George V granted by Royal Warrant a badge for the other baronets, be they of England, Ireland, Great Britain or the United Kingdom. Thus the insignia for a baronet of Nova Scotia is unique.

There are differing lists naming between 205 and 315 people who were created baronet between 1625 and 1707. About 100 of these baronetcies are still extant. The first was Gordon of Gordon. Of the first eight created on 28, 29 and 30 May 1625, six are now dormant or extinct, the two survivors being Innes of New Innes, now held by the Duke of Roxburghe, and Wemyss of Wemyss, now held by the Earl of Wemyss. As noted above it was only those created between 1625 and 1638 who were awarded grants of land. The sasine, which means taking up title to the lands, took place at Edinburgh Castle, where a plaque commemorates this connection. This arrangement avoided the new baronet in a hazardous journey to the new world.

The *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings* was established in 1672, 350 years ago, in obedience to an Act of the Scots Parliament. It is very rare for a pre-Union Act to still be in force, and unique in being an act implemented almost every day. The first volume of the *Register* contains few illuminations of grants, although a few were added
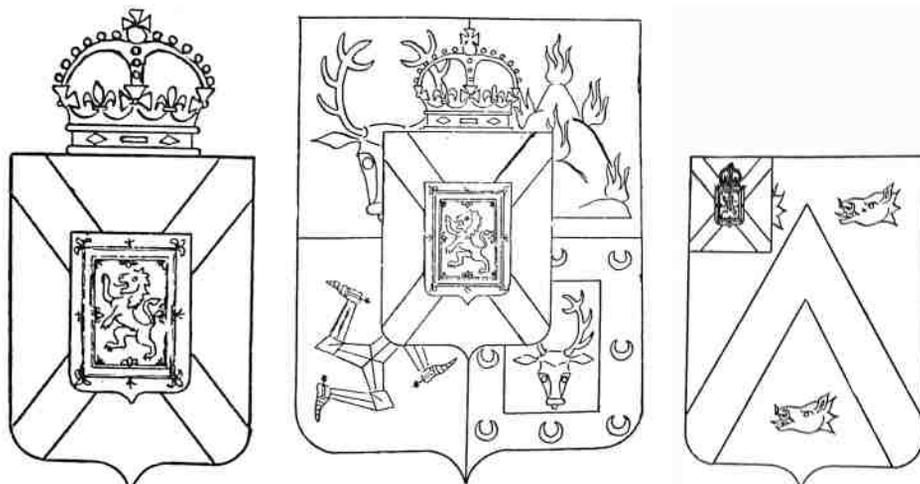
Left, *Figure 4:* badge; centre: augmentation; and right: canton, of a baronet of Nova Scotia, drawn by Ruth McQuade in 1976.

later. The additions include some for baronets, such as Sir Harry Wardlaw of Pitreavie (created in 1631) where the inescutcheon can be seen at the centre of the shield (**Figure 5**).[16] A portrait of the baronet shows the badge from its ribbon around his neck.

Figure 5: entry for Sir Harry Wardlaw in the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

In 1630 Lord Lyon Sir James Balfour of Denmylne, who was one of those anxious for a Register of Arms to be created (and who later himself became a baronet), wrote that baronetcies were to be conferred on men of weight and standing, such as chiefs and barons, and they were created not for money but for settlement.[17] One of those created, in 1629, was Patrick Agnew of Agnew whose descendant, the 11th baronet, is Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochaw, sometime Rothesay Herald, whose arms, painted by the remarkable artist and herald Don Pottinger, show the badge pendent therefrom (**Figure 6**). Sir Crispin is chief of the Agnews and since the first baronet was also a feudal baron he fulfilled the criteria suggested by Sir James. The order was not originally a huge success since although Scottish barons had rights, baronets did not. Furthermore, many saw no need to support the colonisation of lands far away. In 1639 the association with the plantation of New Scotland ceased completely, although baronets continued to be created.

Left, *Figure 6:* arms of Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochaw; right, *Figure 7:* arms of Sir George Pretyman Tomline. Both paintings from the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

A long list of baronets was compiled by Sir Edward Mackenzie Mackenzie, baronet, which contains far more names than the lists more generally deemed accurate. Amongst those names is one Sir John Pretyman of Lodington, said to have been created in 1641, whose descendant Sir George Pretyman Tomline matriculated his arms in Scotland in 1824, even though the family appears to have had no connection to Scotland at all (**Figure 7**).[18] It appears that patents of baronetcies were given to Sir Alexander to confer on whom he wanted, no doubt to try and ease his precarious financial state. Patents appear to have been for sale, and false assumptions of genuine titles occurred. However, the arbiter became the Lord Lyon, and as Sir John's arms are recorded in Lyon Register as a Nova Scotia baronet he must have been such even if the name does not appear on some lists. If Mackenzie's list is accurate 315 baronets were created between 1625 and 1707, the vast majority after 1650.

Only one lady was ever created a baronetess: Dame Mary Bolles of Osburton, in 1635. She was a widow and the designation being to her heirs male ironically she could not be succeeded by a woman, although there were creations which have permitted female succession. Dame Maureen Dunbar of Hempriggs was recognised in 1965 by the Lord Lyon as the lawful successor to a baronetcy created in 1706, one of the last handful of baronetcies to be created (**Figure 8**).[19] Dame Maureen was followed in 2005 by Dame Anne Stirling Maxwell of Pollok, who succeeded to a 1682 baronetcy, one with a 1707 extension which allowed her to petition to be the heir. Dame Anne was 99 when she succeeded, and she died at the remarkable age of 105.Thus what might be thought a revolution is the creation of hereditary knights and using them as a means of colonising
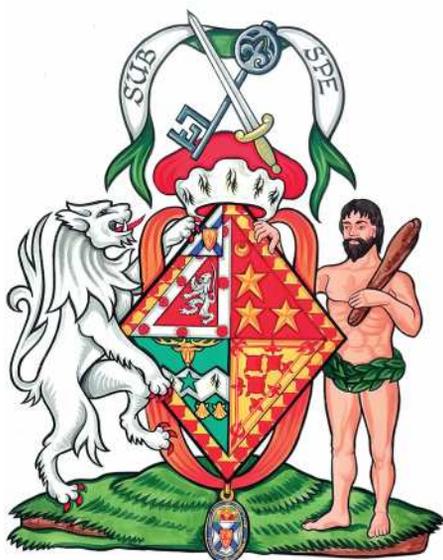
The Arms of LADY DUNBAR OF HEMPRIGGS
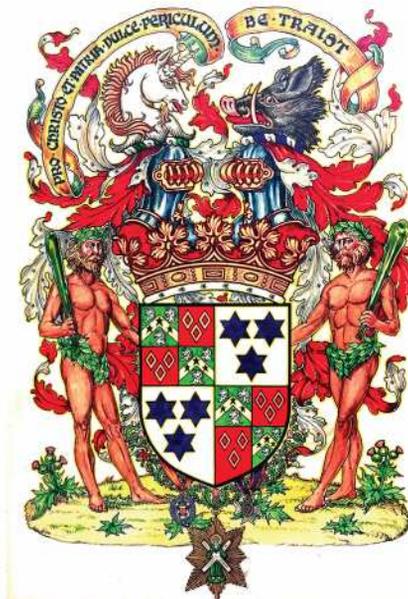
Left, *Figure 8:* arms of Dame Maureen Dunbar of Hempriggs; right, *Figure 9:* arms of the Duke of Roxburghe. Both paintings from the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland,* Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

Nova Scotia. Poor Sir Alexander, later Earl of Stirling, did not make much from the 1000 marks each baronet was to give him, and he died in relative poverty in London in 1640.

The oldest baronetcy still extant is that of Innes of Innes, one of the initial eight. His arms as Duke of Roxburghe shows not only the baronet's badge on the left, but also the collar of a Knight of the Thistle (**Figure 9**), which links him to the second theme of this paper. There are in fact many baronets who have also become Knights of the Thistle over the last 335 years.

The Order of the Thistle

King Charles I was executed in 1649, and although in Scotland his son was proclaimed king almost immediately, the full restoration of the monarchy did not happen until 1660. King Charles II died in 1685, to be succeeded by his brother as King James II & VII, and it was he who was instrumental in the organisation of the Order of the Thistle.

The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, to give it its full title, has a foundation which is far from clear. While myths abound, it is certain that earlier Scottish monarchs had used the idea of bestowing the collar as an order of chivalry to eminent people. Although it did not become a formal order with statutes until 1687, we know that, at least pictorially, its collar was well known long before that, and public records from fifteen years earlier most certainly refer to such an order. The opening pages of the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland give details of the royal arms of Scotland, and of royal badges and insignia. Amongst these are included the arms of King Charles II as King of Scotland surrounded by a collar of thistle and rue. On folio 16 there is given
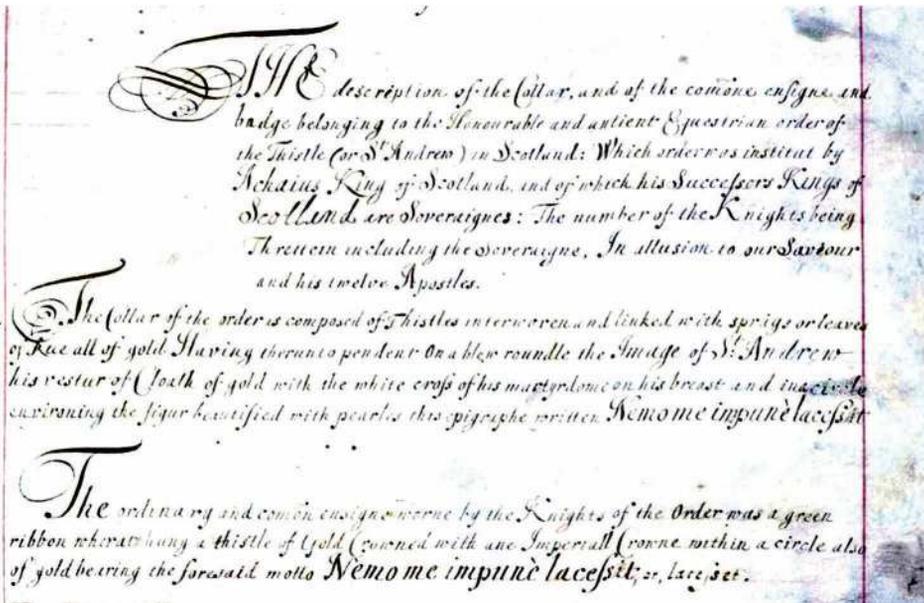
Figure 10: first ordinances for the Order of the Thistle from the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

a description of the collar and of the insignia and badge of the Order of the Thistle or St Andrew, and a record that there were to be thirteen knights including the Sovereign. There follow three instructions or ordinances. The first describes the collar of thistles and rue all in gold with a pendent badge of St Andrew and the motto *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit* - no-one provokes me with impunity. The second describes the badge, which is to hang from a green ribbon, and to be a thistle crowned within a circlet bearing the same motto. The third designates 30th November as the feast day, when a service is to be held in the Cathedral at St Andrews (**Figure 10**).

The writing is in the same hand as on the earlier pages, and the three ordinances are different from those promulgated in 1687. There is no reason to suppose these three were not written in the very early years of the Register in 1672–5.They stipulate a green ribbon with a pendent thistle, whereas the 1687 Statutes stipulate a purple-blue ribbon with pendent St Andrew which has a thistle only on the back of the badge. As to the service in St Andrews on 30th November, the Statutes are silent about any service; although a second statute does designate 30th November as a collar day.

By 1687 the royal chapel at the Palace of Holyroodhouse had been nominated as the chapel of the Order, from which it is clear that the idea of services in St Andrews had been forgotten. Some of the stipulations made in the 1687 Statutes in their turn also sadly fell by the wayside. For instance, the original mantle was of green velvet powdered with green thistles, and one of these survives, but this was abandoned by the Statutes of 1703, to be replaced with a plain green velvet mantle.

King James's arms on his great seal, in common with those of his predecessors, show a collar of thistles surrounding the shield (**Figure 11**).This pattern has continued

Figure 11: Great Seal of King James VII with the chain of the Thistle and the ribbon of the Garter.

into modern times. King William III and Queen Mary II, who succeeded to the thrones following the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 which saw King James VII going into exile, took no interest in the Order. It is considered that William III had little interest in Scotland at all, although his seal for Scotland does show the arms surrounded by a collar of thistles.

Queen Anne succeeded her sister and brother-in-law on the throne in 1702, and it was she who reigned over the two kingdoms when the parliaments of Scotland and England were united in 1707. However, in 1703 her attention was drawn to the Order of the Thistle. Much that was contained in the revised 1703 Statutes very closely follows the dictates of 1687, but with two notable exceptions: as already noted, the mantle was to lose its golden thistles, whilst the ribbon of the Order was to be changed to green. The Queen also instituted a medal which was missing in 1687, and it is that design which today forms the badge suspended from the green ribbon. The jewel mentioned in the early Statutes seems to have been quietly forgotten, probably because it was not conferred, but had to be made and purchased by the knight himself.

The first knight to be created by Queen Anne was John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, and he was also the first whom she later created a Knight of the Garter. Whilst in the present day only members of the royal family can receive both of these dignities, it was the case that between 1703 and 1911 thirteen people received both collars, and of these nine resigned the Thistle collar on becoming Garter knights, but four did not. These included the 8th Duke of Argyll, who became a Thistle knight in 1856, and a Garter knight in 1883.
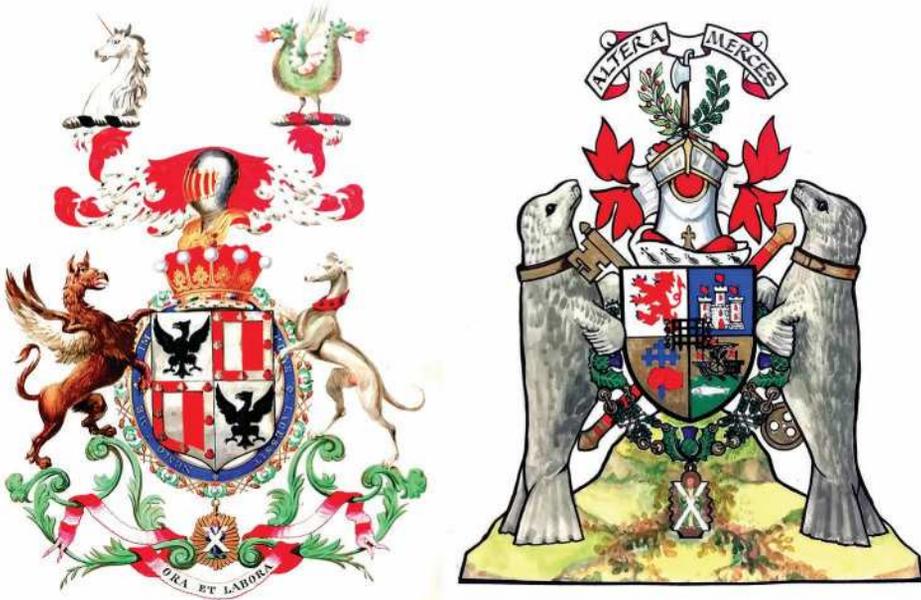
Left, *Figure 12:* arms of the Earl of Dalhousie; right, *Figure 13:* arms of Sir Fitzroy Maclean of Dunconnel. Both paintings from the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, Courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

But what happened when King James VII abdicated, against his will? He fled abroad together with many of his supporters, and so he retained a form of court. He felt the need to reward this loyalty. He and his successors continued to bestow peerages and baronetcies, and he also made some Knights of the Thistle. James, titular Earl of Perth and Marquess of Drummond was a loyal Jacobite and son of the first person to be made a Thistle knight in 1672. In 1705 he became a Jacobite Thistle knight.

Curiously, there was one individual who was a knight both of what one must term the legitimate Order of the Thistle, and also of the Jacobite Order, namely James, 5th Duke of Hamilton. He held Jacobite opinions and was said to have been made both a knight of the Thistle in 1722 and of the Garter in 1723 by James VII. However, he seems to have abandoned those politics and was in 1726 made a Knight of the Thistle by Queen Anne. He changed his politics again and appears to have been a Jacobite Knight of the Thistle in 1740, so it must be assumed that the first appointment in 1722 was never finalised. Clearly a somewhat mercurial man.

Turning once more to the Public Register it seems that the first specific mention therein of a Knight of the Thistle is in 1719 when John, Earl of Sutherland recorded his arms. He is described as a Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, but there is no mention of his arms being surrounded by a collar of the Order.

We need to move forward in time before we find depictions of the arms of Thistle Knights surrounded by the collar, as in the arms of the Earl of Dalhousie (**Figure 12**) which seems to be the earliest depiction of the collar for a knight in the Public Register.[20] Since 1861 the collar has appeared in the Register only in the case of those who have
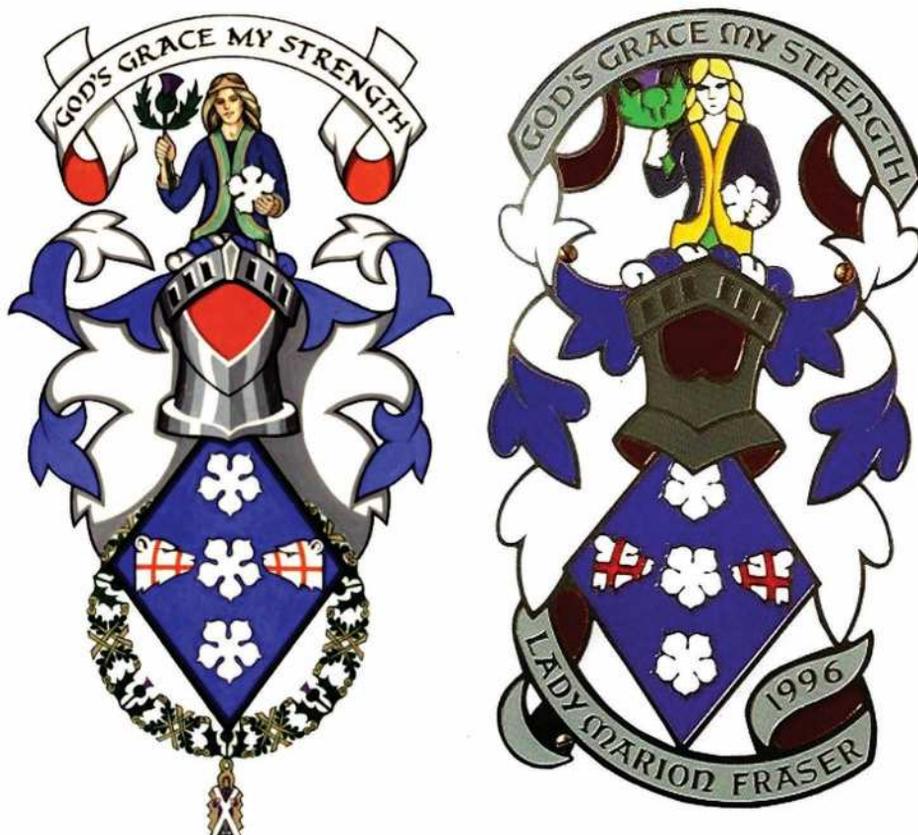
Figure 14: two variants of the arms of Lady Marion Fraser, that on the right being the design for her Thistle stall plate. Both paintings courtesy of the Court of the Lord Lyon.

recorded arms subsequent to becoming Knights of the Thistle. There are no instances of arms being drawn with two collars.

If one looks back at the category of person whom in 1630 Sir James Balfour of Denmylne said was to be created baronet, we see that it was those who although not peers were still of considerable influence. In the case of those who were to be made Knights of the Thistle, the emphasis was very much on those who were peers. Indeed, the first person of non-peerage rank to be made a knight was not until 1876, when a baronet of Nova Scotia, the grandfather of the baronetess Dame Anne Stirling Maxwell of Pollok, was made a knight. The next knight of non-peerage rank was his son in 1929. From then on, however, the appointment of those not of peerage rank has been frequent, and the award is now very much one to reward merit and service, with the conferring of the Order being in the personal gift of the sovereign. For this reason we do not know, although we may hazard a guess, just why the distinction is conferred. This might be construed as a modern revolution or reformation.

There are those who were neither born in Scotland, nor indeed are obviously Scottish who have become Knights, including Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia

and Lord Patel who came to this country from Tanzania as a student and has devoted his life to medicine within and outside Scotland. Other famous Knights are Sir Charles Maclean of Duart, Chief of the Name of Maclean, a former Chief Scout and Nova Scotia baronet. Sir Fitzroy Maclean of Dunconnel was also a baronet, but not a Nova Scotia one. He had been both a spy and a diplomat, and according to some was the model upon whom James Bond was based (**Figure 13**).

And whilst now we take it for granted that there should be no suggestion that women should not be treated equally with men, it was not always so, and it was not until 1987 when the revived Order was 300 years old that women, other than royal ladies, were admitted to its ranks in the same manner that they were to the Order of the Garter. To date there have been only two non-royal ladies, Lady Marion Fraser, in 1987 (**Figure 14**), and Lady Elish Angiolini, who was installed in June 2022.

The creation of hereditary knights as baronets of Nova Scotia with distinctive insignia and heraldic additaments was a revolution in terms of non-peerage hereditary titles even to the extent of including one woman grantee, together with a few destinations which allow for female descent; a concept already established, although infrequently, in the Scots peerage system. The statutory establishment of the Order of the Thistle by King James VI in 1687 can be seen as a re-formation of an existing practice, and was followed by a restoration in 1707 by Queen Anne. The idea of women Knights would at both dates have seem revolutionary in the extreme.

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[1] Letters Patent under Great Seal of England 22 May 1611.
[2] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. XIII, p. 616.
[3] Ibid., p. 633.
[4] Ibid., p. 649.
[5] Act of the Parliament of Scotland 16 July 1630, *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (APS)*, vol. V, p. 223b.
[6] Act of the Parliament of Scotland 1633 Act XXVII, APS, vol. V, p. 43b.
[7] *APS*, vol. V, p. 223b.
[8] *APS*, vol. V, p. 184b.
[9] *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (*RGSS*), vol. VIII, p. 226; *Royal Letters, Charters and Tracts relating to the Colonization of New Scotland*, etc. (Bannatyne Club, 1867).
[10] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. XII, p. 570.
[11] Ibid., p. 226.
[12] *RGSS*, vol. VIII, p. 2173.
[13] John Mortimer, *Memoranda, Opinions, Extracts and Notes relating to the Nova Scotia Question* (London, 1845).
[14] *RGSS*, vol. VIII, p. 790, 28 May 1625.
[15] *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol. III, p. 392, 24 December 1629.
[16] *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, vol. 1, f. 222.
[17] *Annals of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne*, vol. II, p. 117.
[18] *Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland*, vol. 3, f. 7.
[19] Ibid, vol. 49. f. 1.
[20] Ibid, vol. 6, f. 46.

THE IMPACT OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND THE RESTORATION ON CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS

SUSAN T. MOORE, M.A., F.S.A

Introduction

The courts of equity came into existence in the late medieval period when people applied directly to the king with their grievances, as the common law courts were too cumbersome and slow. The Chancery court was the main court of equity, whose principle was to do 'what a good man of moral conscience' would do, and was not subject to the strictures of the common law. It was concerned with the possession of, rather than the legal claim to, lands, and thus was involved in the restoration of lands to the rightful possessor. Chancery Proceedings are therefore an invaluable source of information for people and lands.

Disputes arose when there was a major political change such as the Reformation of the 1530s and the ensuing Dissolution of the Monasteries, and with the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 after the Civil War. These records can shed light on the real effect these great changes had on ordinary people, and the lands they held. These two periods should have had a similar effect on landholding, but actually they had very different effects. In the case of the Dissolution the Crown took possession of the monastic lands and, ignoring earlier grants by the monastic houses, granted the same lands to new people, without much thought as to the original grants.

With the period of the English Civil War, the Protectorate and the Restoration of 1660 we find that after 1649 new grants were made by the Protectorate ignoring the earlier grants, and with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 lands reverted to their original owners. Disputes would surely arise, but actually they are very rare, in fact any reference to the period of Civil War and the disruption it must have caused to people is singularly lacking in the Chancery court records between 1640 and the 1660s. It appears that life just continued as usual; people had disputes about inheritance, about land, about loans, about mortgages etc just as they always had. One of the criteria for a case to be heard in the Chancery court was that the relevant documents were not available to the plaintiff, and very occasionally there is reference to the 'troubles' having resulted in documents being lost.

Courts of Equity

The Court of Chancery was one the courts of equity, the other principle ones being the Court of Requests, the Court of the Star Chamber, and the Court of the Exchequer. There were also a number of minor equity courts with jurisdiction over specific areas of the country. The courts of equity operated in a very different way to the common law courts. The common law courts, the King's Bench and the Common Pleas, required full documentation to be submitted, and one or more of a large variety of writs to be issued. The hearings were verbal, and the records often do not give very much information.

The courts of equity were quite different, in that there was one legal procedure for all cases, the court could order an injunction, there was no jury or cross examination,

and the final judgment was based on all the written documentation. Chancery cases are usually about inheritance of land, repayment of mortgages, disputed wills and marriage settlements.

The Records
In general, Chancery documents are a real goldmine for genealogists, often with four or five generations being described in detail, usually with dates, and especially usefully with people of the same name being differentiated. There are ten miles of Chancery records, kept at The National Archives, Kew (TNA). Most of the pleadings have been catalogued in the TNA online catalogue *Discovery*, others can be found in the calendars at TNA. They are in English rather than Latin, they are handwritten, and are reasonably legible, and in good condition. The drawback is that the records of any one case are found in multiple series of records (**Figure 1**). The keywords are:
- Plaintiff: demandeur
- Bill of complaint: acte de plainte
- Defendant: defendeur
- Answer: défense
- Interrogatory: interrogatoire
- Deposition : déposition
- Court order: ordonnance du tribunal
- Affidavit: déclaration sous serment
- Witness: témoin

The records consist of
- Bill of Complaint – by the plaintiff
- Answer - by the defendant
- Interrogatories - by the plaintiff and the defendant
- Depositions - by witnesses for the plaintiff and defendant
- Orders and Decrees – by the Judge
- Affidavits
- Masters' Exhibits

How to find documents, an illustrative case: Crocker of Pulham
The main pleadings are well catalogued and can be found by entering the surname and place that you are interested in with the word Chancery and the dates you wish to cover.

A search for Crocker of Pulham in Dorset in *Discovery* shows the reference for this document is C 3/142/11. I am interested in this case because it concerns a grant by an abbot, which was then disputed after the Dissolution. John Phelps alias Phillippes of Sherborne, butcher claims that the Abbot of Cirencester held the manor of Pulham and that in 1534/5 he granted a reversion of lands in Pulham to the plaintiff, lands which were held by Agnes Lullington for life, to be held as copyhold lands, as confirmed by a copy of the manorial court roll. Agnes Lullington died, and so the lands came to the plaintiff as the person holding the reversion. He has held the lands until recently he claimed he was expelled by William Crocker and his wife Edith, who had got hold of all the relevant deeds; but in view of his holding the reversion he asks the court to allow him to have the lands back again. In their Answer William Crocker and his wife say that the reversion was granted to John Cooke and his daughters. John Cooke was the father of Edith and
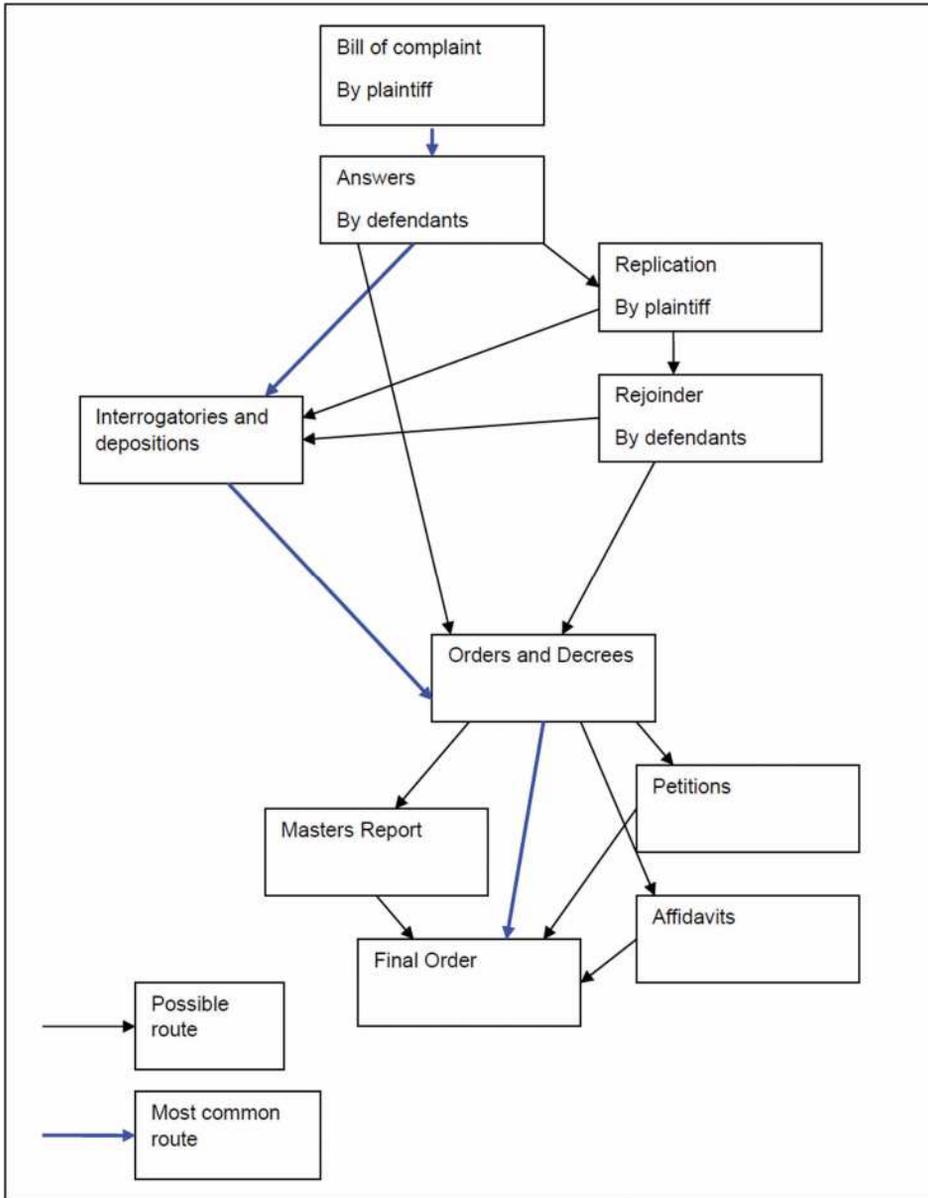
Figure 1: Chancery diagram.

Johanne. The implication is that this Edith daughter of John Cooke is the Edith who is now married to William Crocker, and so the defendants William Crocker and his wife Edith have a right to the land through this grant to John Cooke.

The plaintiff John Phillippes alias Phelps replies to the Answer saying that there was no such grant by the abbot of Cirencester to John Cooke and his daughters Johanne and Edith. As this was about the time of the dissolution of the monasteries there would

probably have been some confusion over the various grants. So we learn that William Crocker's wife was Edith had a sister Joan who was unmarried at the time of the Chancery case, and that they were the daughters of John Cooke who was dead by this time, so a share of the lands passed to Edith's husband William Crocker. This is not a very complicated family tree, but could be full of crucial evidence that you have been seeking for years.

The Malmesbury case – another Reformation case

This case revolves around land that had belonged to the monastery of Malmesbury which was dissolved under Henry VIII and the lands were annexed by the Crown. According to the plaintiff, Henry VIII granted lands in Lyttleton-upon-Severn co Gloucester to Sir Richard Long, who then granted the land to Edmund Hampden. On his death the lands came to Elizabeth, one of his daughters, and so to her husband William Fytton. However, and there is always a 'however' in a Chancery case, a claim has been made to the same lands by Margery Orchard widow and her son Richard. They claim that the lands were granted by the Abbot of Malmesbury, long before the dissolution of the monastery at Malmesbury, to William Orchard, the now deceased husband of Margery, and father of Richard. The amount of land in question was substantial, consisting of 100 acres of arable, 40 acres of meadow and 100 acres of pasture.

One of the criteria for a case to be heard in the Chancery court rather than in a common law court was that the relevant documents were either missing or held by the defendant, and so could not be produced by the plaintiff. In this case the plaintiff claims that the grant to William Orchard was a lease for a certain number of years which have now expired, but Margery and her son have all the paperwork and so he cannot prove it.

Richard Orchard then puts his side of the story in his Answer and indeed says that Robert abbot of Malmesbury granted the lands to William Orchard on 4th October 1533 for a term of 60 years, i.e. to expire in 1593, at a rent of £4 per year. William Orchard then died and the lands descended to his son Thomas who left them to Margery in his will for her life and then to the defendant Richard their son. This is a very straightforward and typical case for this period, where the crown grants lands with no regard for any pre-existing lease.

The Monmouth case and the English Revolution

This is a rare example of a Chancery case which makes reference to the Civil War. The action was brought in 1651 by John Price of Penros co. Monmouth against Andrew Probert. We learn that John Price is a lawyer who was trained by his father, an attorney in the court of Common Pleas, and has been active for about 30 years. Once his father became elderly, John took over his father's work as clerk of the peace in Monmouthshire, which involved much travelling between London and Monmouth. For the previous twelve years John's work was confined to defending acquaintances and friends, but the 'war and unfortunate disasters' put a stop to this. One of his clients was Andrew Probert of Mago in Monmouthshire, another was Thomas Morgan of Penarne in the same county. Price ran up bills for expenses for these two men, but then war intervened. He gives us a vivid picture of living through the Civil War: "which war was so cruel in the county of Monmouth by reason of the great garrison of Ragland and the other great garrisons kept in these parts and multitude of soldiers that marched to and fro in these parts". He goes

on to say that his house was often plundered and his books of accounts and law causes were "quite lost taken away and consumed or burned." So, he cannot prove that he is due to be reimbursed by these clients. Yet again we find that the lack of documents is specifically mentioned as the justification for the case being heard in the Chancery court.

These records can look daunting, but there is a trick to deciphering them. There are key phrases. The Bill of Complaint always starts with "Humbly complaining" or 'Humbly showeth". The plaintiff then sets out his, or her (and it often is a woman), side of the story, often with quite a bit of background information. About half-way through he then states his grievance with the words "Now so it is…" He might set out the various points that he wants the defendant to answer. Then at the end he asks for a Writ of Subpoena to be issued to the defendant, and it is worth noting that this is the only place in the whole document where the defendant is actually identified as such.

The Answer is similarly structured in that the opening phrase will be a complete denial of everything that has been said in the Bill of Complaint. This will be followed by a rather begrudging phrase, and he will then go through the points raised in the Bill of Complaint answering them in turn with phrases such as 'admits it to be true' or 'denies'. As an aside I would always recommend transcribing Chancery documents in full as the word 'denies' is very small and is very easily overlooked, so you might miss the whole point of the defendant's case.

A case making no reference to Civil War: the Exeter case
This case dates to 1669 and refers to land grants and other documents going back to 1608 (C6/79/33). The Plaintiff is William Slade and the defendants is John Lavers.

Property in Exeter, Devon is referred to on these dates:
- 20 May 6 James 1608
- 22 November 1623
- 27 March 1628
- 25 November 1628
- 23 May 1632
- 14 October 1637
- 18 July 1642
- 1 October 1642

In addition to the parties, there are references to:
- Peter Beavis of city of Exeter merchant deceased
- John Moone of city of Exeter fuller deceased, died 14 years ago, 1655
- John Lavers of city of Exeter goldsmith, the defendant
- John Moone son of John Moone the elder, deceased
- Thomas Moone son of John Moone the elder, deceased
- Anne Moone dau of John Moone the elder now wife of John Browning of city of Exeter who granted their interest to the complainant William Slade, the plaintiff

In summary Peter Beavis granted the land to John Moone in 1628. John Moone borrowed money from John Lavers, who has since taken possession of the lands. William Slade as heir to John Moone is reclaiming the land. Although this case covers the period from 1608 to 1669, and so goes right through the civil war, there is no mention of it.

What next?

When you have looked at the Bill and Answer, which are fairly easy to find as they are listed in some detail on *Discovery*, you may well ask, what next? There are many other records that you might consider looking at to get more information on the case that interests you.

Depositions

There are two types of depositions: those taken in London known as Town Deposition (C 24) and Country Depositions (C 21 and C 22). After 1714 they are filed with the pleadings, but before that date they are separately filed. Depositions are often really useful in shedding more light on the facts. The interrogatories are the questions that will be put to the various deponents (witnesses) and will start with a phrase such as:

> 'Interrogatories to be administered to witnesses to be produced, sworn and examined on the Part and behalf of John Slaney, John Boyce and Elizabeth his wife, Lydia Troward widow, Stephen Beesley and Sarah his wife, Thomas Maynard and Hannah his wife in a Cause depending in the High Court of Chancery wherein they are complainants against James Crump, defendant'.

The individual questions are then listed and numbered, with the first question nearly always asking how long the deponent has known each of the parties, and any other person who is crucial to the case. In some cases the interrogatories for both the plaintiff and defendant have survived, in some cases just one or the other. The depositions usually start with details of where they are taken, such as:

> Depositions of witnesses taken at the house of Thomas Morthwaite innkeeper known by the sign of the White Swan in Clitheroe in the county of Lancaster the 14th day of January 1651

The deposition of each deponent then starts with his/her name, age, and occupation. The answers to the questions are then given in order and are numbered often with the word 'Item' written in bold at the start of the answer to each new question. Each deponent will only answer the questions that are relevant to him/her.

Other documents – Orders & Decrees

Once you have looked at the pleadings (Bills and Answers), and the interrogatories and depositions, the next important sources are the Orders and Decrees. The calendars for the these are on the open shelves at TNA, and once you find the entry you want you need to match up the volume of the calendar with the reference number for the relevant volume, noting the folio number. The actual Orders & Decrees are usually in large volumes, sometimes very, very large and heavy volumes, so having the folio number of the entry you want from the calendar is essential, although the handwriting in these can often be quite small and difficult to read. Many of the entries are purely administrative, such as requesting a defendant to put in his answer. Many, however, are much more interesting, and can include a summary of the case, with details of other orders, petitions, affidavits, and Masters' Reports.

A typical order will start with the words:

- Upon motion this day made unto the court by xxx it was alleged… .

Followed midway through with:

- it was prayed that… .

And ending with:

- it was ordered that…

One final case

This case involves lawyers, who obviously continued all through the troubled mid-seventeenth century. Richard Colchester was one of the 'Six Clerks' of the Chancery Court, a valuable position, and there is a dispute between his son by his first wife against his trustees concerning the various inheritances. The case is brought in 1658, and concerns the will of Richard Colchester which was made in 1642. There is reference to two daughters, both called Elizabeth (one married to William Knight, and one married to John Cotton), and to two sons: Duncombe the son by the first wife, and Hugh the son by the second wife, as well as other unnamed children. The lands concerned were all over Gloucestershire. Yet again we find no mention of the Civil War, or any troubles or disruption to life.

Following a case

As could be seen from the illustrative cases, land had been granted by one body before the upheaval, and yet the same land was granted by another body after the upheaval, with no thought or recognition of the first grant. Because one of the qualifications for a case to be heard in the Chancery court was the lack of documentary evidence, which was essential if a case was to be heard in the common law courts, many cases will recite what the party thinks is in the missing documents. Thus we find that deeds, grants of land, marriage settlements, entailments, leases, copyhold grants, which have long disappeared are quoted in full. As I am sure you are all well aware tracing the history of a piece of land is a way of tracing the genealogy of a family.

In addition to legal documents being quoted, accounts can be some of the most useful aspects of Chancery records. If land is being disputed, it is usually the value of the land as a source of income that is the most important to the parties, so details of acreage, land use, and rents paid will often be quoted. It should always be remembered in Chancery cases that at least one of the parties is lying, and often all of them are. This means that sometimes an order will be made for a Master to investigate the truth, to determine who is receiving the rent, to have sight of the documents if the defendant holds them, and to create an inventory of all the personal goods of one of the parties. This will be produced in a Master's Report. The Masters were also often responsible for taxing the costs of the case, and so details can be found of the expenses and charges of the lawyers involved.

From a purely genealogical point of view the 'whereas' clause at the start of the plaintiff's bill of complaint is the most interesting. It is not uncommon to start with 'my great grandfather was seised of in his demesne as of fee of a piece of land'. The great grandfather will then be named, as will his son the plaintiff's grandfather, and then the father, usually with details of their wives and several or even all of their children. This way John the great grandfather, John the great uncle, John the father, John the uncle's son, and John the plaintiff are all clearly differentiated.

Might we consider that times of disturbance are a bonus when it comes to searching Chancery records? In the case of the Dissolution of the Monasteries when the lands all came into the hands of the crown, there were many cases brought to the Chancery court as grants by former abbots rivalled new grants by the Crown, whereas, in the case of the

Civil War, life tended to just go on. People continued to have disputes about lands and possessions, but the Civil War appears to have been incidental to ordinary life; and yet Parliament took control of a large number of estates of royalist supporters, which one would have thought would have led to cases in the Chancery court. This anomaly surely deserves to be the subject of an academic study.

In summary, I would recommend Chancery records for any genealogical research due to the wealth of information included in them, the sheer volume of documentary evidence, and in particular I would suggest that they are source that cannot be ignored in or soon after a period of reformation, revolution, or restoration.

REVOLUTIONS, RESTORATIONS AND HERALDIC POLICY DURING THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII (1808–1833)

Dr. GERARD MARÍ i BRULL

Every country in the world, whether still in existence or not, has experienced at some time an important social or political change that modified the emblems of the State (flag, anthem, coat of arms, etc.).

This Paper[1], in particular, deals with one of the most complex periods of the Kingdom of Spain, the Reign of Ferdinand VII (1808–1833). During this period there occurred the following overlapping major events:

a) Entry of a foreign army, first as an ally, soon as an invader (1807–1808).
b) Complex changes of king and of dynasty in 1808: transfer of power between Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, from father to son and vice versa; transfer of power in favour of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, called the *abdications of Bayonne*, and the appointment as king of the emperor's brother, Joseph Bonaparte.
c) A period of war, both international and civil war (1808–1814), the emergence of some provincial boards (Juntas Provinciales) and a Junta Central (which did not always agree), plus a regency during the time when the King was absent.
d) A political revolution trying to transform an absolute monarchy into a constitutional one (the Cortes de Cádiz, 1812).
e) Some annexions of territories to the French Empire, organized as French military governments in Aragón, Navarre and the Basque Country, with a separate civil government under French control in Catalonia (1810–1814).
f) A restoration that rejected all the previous institutions and became a counter-revolution (1814).
g) Six years later there was another attempted revolution that lasted for three years (1820–1823);
h) The invasion of the French Army called *Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis* commanded by the Duke of Angoulême (1823), which ended that revolution and started a second counter-revolution which lasted util the death of the Ferdinand VII and the end of his reign (1833).

Consequently, there were different loyalties to different governments and kings: loyalty to the Spanish Bourbons, Charles IV, and Ferdinand VII; loyalties to the Regency, to the Provincial and Central Boards; to the *Cortes de Cádiz* and the laws they passed; loyalty to Joseph I, King of Spain, Napoleon's brother; loyalty to Emperor Napoleon, who commanded the French generals, and created military and civil governments in those territories not linked to Joseph I.

All those abdications, successions, appointments, governments, revolutions, and restorations entailed changes in the heraldic insignia of the administration, one after another. There were also innovations of the royal coat of arms of Joseph I and his government in Madrid; the imperial eagle of the military government of Aragón; and

the arms of the Government of Catalonia. All the while in the background there was the continuity of the traditional heraldry of the monarchy of Fernando VII in the territories not occupied by alternative governments.

The Sources: Sealed Paper

The main source for the study of the heraldry of the period are the *sealed papers* used by notaries between 1808 and 1823. The *sealed paper* was a monopoly of the King (*Estanco del Papel Sellado*) created in 1632 by the Parlament of Castile to be applied to the Kingdom of Castile, and later to the overseas territories. It was implemented through the royal pragmatic decree of December 15, 1636, to the effect that from January 1 of the following year all new documents written on unsealed paper would no longer be accepted as valid.[2] The new papers had to bear a printed mark consisting of a small cross, the mention of its category, price, year, and a printed seal with the representation of the king's coat of arms.

This was a tax based on royal rights and regalia, collected through the paper used for official documents: administrative, legal, judicial, etc. It was valid for a single year and there were many different categories depending on the value of the documented fact (*Mayor*, *Segundo*, *Tercero*, *Quarto*, *para despachos de oficio*, *para pobres de solemnidad, de ilustres*...) Its function was not just to provide new income for the crown, but also to give more security to public and semi-public documents, avoiding forgeries.[3] Since it was mandatory, there is a third function which is to give validity to the document, which would not be legal if it was not written on *sealed paper.*[4] Finally, in a symbolic sense, it is also the iconic representation of the king, the monarchy, the political power, and/or the state.[5]

All political changes had an impact on the *sealed papers*, ranging from successions (natural or forced) within the same monarchy to unexpected dynastic, ideological, or territorial mutations. The *sealed paper* marked all these changes of power[6], serving also to create and reinforce the change by building awareness and producing ideology[7]. That is the reason why all political forces that held even partial power have expressed it as soon as they could on sealed paper; by modifying, adding, removing, or entirely changing the seals, arms, or other printed items. No iconographic changes can be considered insignificant, there being continuous adaptations to the political ideology of the moment.[8]

It is important to note that each new seal, coat of arms, or modification was only permitted at the beginning of the next year. For sudden changes, a qualification (*habilitación*[9]) was issued until the end of the year, first handwritten, then printed. This was a short sentence giving validity to the document despite the seal and the arms not corresponding to the new political moment, for example: *VALGA POR EL GOBIERNO DEL LUGARTENIENTE GENERAL DEL REYNO* (*It is valid for the Government of the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom*). This was provided as a temporary measure until the special paper of the new government could be printed.

The Sources: registers of notary deeds

The method utilised for this study was to consult the notary books of at least one representative notary in each of the cities of the different territories in the years 1808–1823: Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Navarra, Basque Country, Valencia, and Cádiz.[10]

We selected those notaries who had books without chronological interruptions, and who continued to live and work in their homeplace, because those who escaped to areas free of the French governments would represent an ideologically distorted view. We began with the notaries of Madrid as a point of reference for the monarchy and the capital of the kingdom, but without regarding these as the normal archetypes because all the cities followed different chronologies and evolutions.

Evolution in Madrid

The year 1808 begins with its specific paper for that year, that is, with the name of the current king Charles IV. After his abdication in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII, as a consequence of the so-called Mutiny of Aranjuez, on March 19, we have the printed authorisation: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DEL SEÑOR DON FERNANDO VII (Valid for the reign of Ferdinand VII)* in documents dated March 19. Ferdinand entered Madrid on the 24th, where he was proclaimed king (without being recognized as such by Marshal Murat, head of the French troops stationed in Madrid). [**Figure 1**]
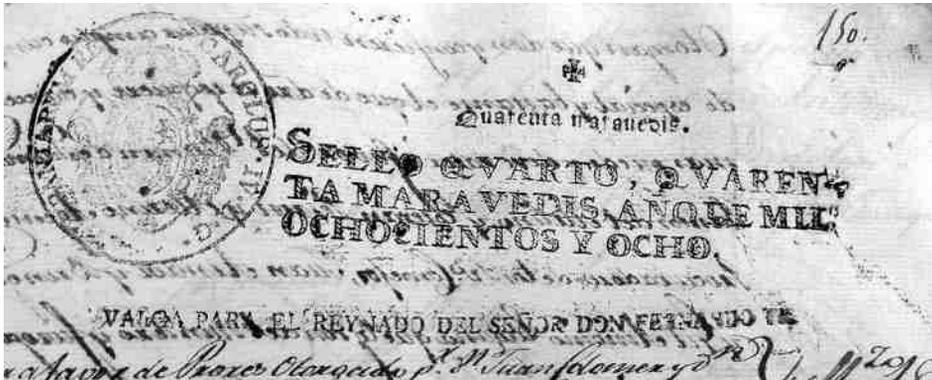
Figure 1: (AHPM, 22873, f. 150r, March 4, 1808).

In April, Emperor Napoleon summoned Ferdinand VII and Charles IV to Bayonne, (they arrived separately on the 20th and 29th respectively) to clarify their status, and he forced Ferdinand to renounce the throne. Charles IV argued that his abdication was forced by circumstances; after a meeting on May 5, with a complex political situation, (Charles IV was afraid of a revolution after the Madrid uprising of May 2) Ferdinand returned the Crown to his father. This was the day before Charles relinquished the crown to Napoleon. From there, Charles IV and Queen María Luisa settled in Rome, while Ferdinand VII was confined in the Château of Valençay.[11] Napoleon appointed Marshal Murat Lieutenant of the kingdom, and thus we find on May 17 the first qualification: *VALGA POR EL GOBIERNO DEL LUGAR-TENIENTE GENERAL DEL REYNO (Valid for the government of the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom)*. [**Figure 2**]
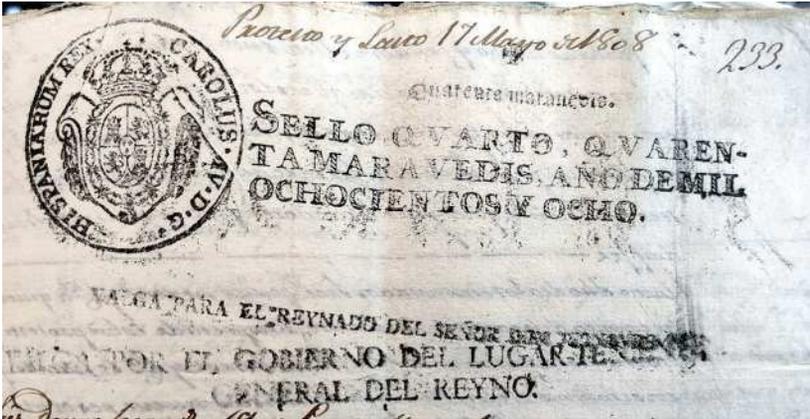
Figure 2: (AHPM, 22873, f. 233r, May 17, 1808).

A month later, by a decree published on June 6, Napoleon named his brother Joseph I king of Spain, who met that same month a *Cortes* or Assembly of Notables in Bayonne, where a Constitution was drawn up, sworn to on July 7.[12] After this, Joseph I entered Spain, being proclaimed king in Vitoria on the 12th of that month.

The normal process would be to enable the current *sealed paper* for the new king, until the beginning of the following year, when new *paper* with his coat of arms would be printed. But there was no time for any authorisation for him because a few days later, as a result of the French defeat in the battle of Bailén (July 16–19), Joseph I left Madrid on the 28th and the Spanish troops entered. Thus, to the previous qualifications (the last one of the Lieutenant) a new one was added: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DEL SEÑOR DON FERNANDO VII (Valid for the Reign of Ferdinand VII)*. Thus, the legal documents now carried on a seal and three authorisations, one of them repetitive.
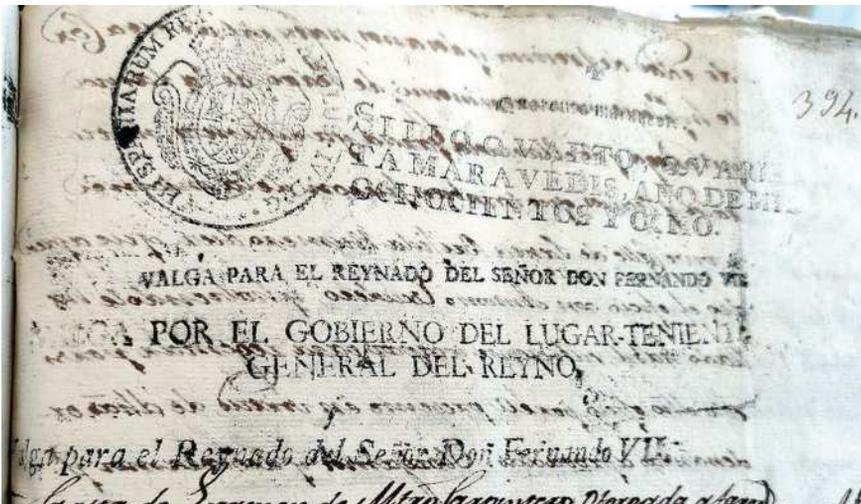
Figure 3: (AHPM, 22873, f. 394r, August 13, 1808)

The situation soon changed again. With Napoleon's successful campaign to recapture Madrid, and the taking of that city on December 2, everything was once again under his control. Thus, at the beginning of the following year 1809, there was a new Sealed Paper with the arms of King Joseph Bonaparte that lasted until 1812, with no modifications.

Figure 4: (AHPM, 22876, f. 38r, February 16, 1809)

In 1812, as a result of the Battle of the Arapiles on July 22 and the defeat of the French army, Joseph I left Madrid for the second time (albeit temporarily), which was occupied on August 12 by General Wellington. The Sealed Paper of Joseph I was then replaced with that of Ferdinand VII. A further military reversal saw Joseph I returning to Madrid on 2nd November, following which an authorisation in favour of Joseph I marked that *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII: *VALGA POR EL REINADO DEL SEÑOR D. JOSEF PRIMERO (Valid for the reign of Joseph I).* [**Figure 5**]

Figure 5: (AHPM, 22879, f. 358r, December 20, 1812)

The new Sealed Paper of Joseph I for the following year 1813 was used for only a short period, because on March 17, due to the difficult war situation, he left Madrid forever.

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On June 11 a paper of Ferdinand VII was issued with the Constitutional seal approved by the *Cortes of Cádiz* the year before: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX. (Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy, king of Spains).* [**Figure 6**]
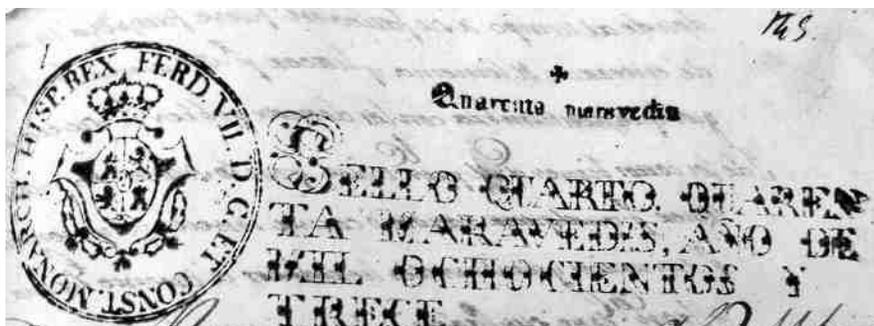
Figure 6: (AHPM, 22880, f. 145r, June 11, 1813).

The French defeat at Vitoria on June 21 and the Treaty of Valençay on December 11 ended the war, and with it the changes of sealed paper and the authorisations thereof. With the restoration to the throne of Ferdinand VII another policy began, to cancel the seals and symbols with constitutional content.

Evolution in Barcelona

The notary studied from Barcelona is Josep Maria Torrent i Sayrols. In common with all parts of the kingdom in early 1808 he used paper of Charles IV for the year 1808, plus the authorisation in favour of Ferdinand VII following the abdication of March 19[13], and the authorisation for the lieutenant after the resignations of Bayonne May 5.[14] The situation in the subsequent months and into the year 1809 is confused: he uses neither the paper of Joseph I nor that of Ferdinand VII, but rather that of Charles IV for the years 1807 and 1808, with the usual authorisations for Ferdinand VII and Murat, plus a validation for the year 1809: *VALGA PARA EL AÑO DE MIL OCHOCIENTOS NUEVE (Valid for the year 1809).*[15] [**Figure 7**]
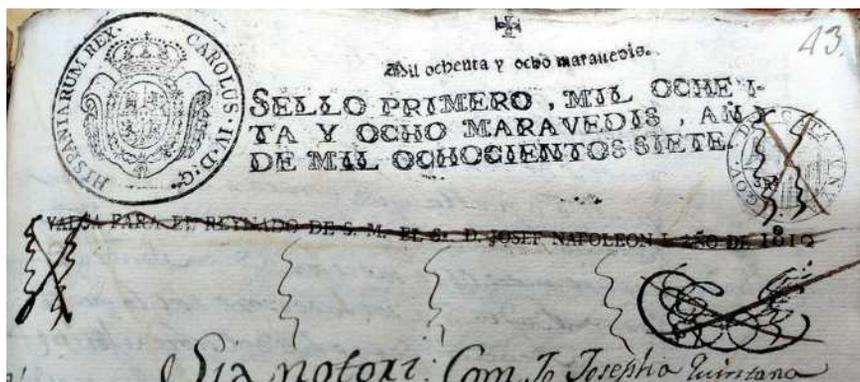
Figure 7: (AHPB, 1199/4, f. 43r)

Only at the beginning of 1810 (**Figure 7**) do we find the first authorisation for the reign of Joseph I: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DE S.M. EL SR. D. JOSE NAPOLEON I AÑO DE 1810 (Valid for the reign of His Majesty Joseph Napoleon I year 1810)*. And on July 4th, two new seals were added: one ink stamp and another on the dry stamp, belonging to the Government of Catalonia. The quality of stamped seals is poor in this document, so we have illustrated it with a clearer sample from other documents (**Figure 8 and 9**):

Left, *Figure 8:* (AHPB, 1199/6, f. 82r). Right: *Figure 9:* (AHPB, 1199/5, f. 1r)

The fact that the *paper* of Joseph I was not used in 1808 and 1809 and the addition of the two stamps just mentioned in 1810 informs us that Catalonia was not following the government of Joseph I. This fact is made quite evident from May 1812 when the *paper* only bears the following two stamps on the left margin (**Figure 10**):

Left, *Figure 10:* (AHPB, 1199/6, f. 153r). Right: *Figure 11:* (AHPB, 1199/7, f. 194r).

These seals changed their design in June 1813, when the impaled Napoleonic eagle and pales was replaced by a seal with the Golden Fleece collar and a civic crown (**Figure 11**).

The withdrawal of the French army from Barcelona in 1814 leads to the first local *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII on June 1, 1814, with the constitutional legend on the border of the seal: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX. (Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy, king of Spains)* [**Figure 12**]
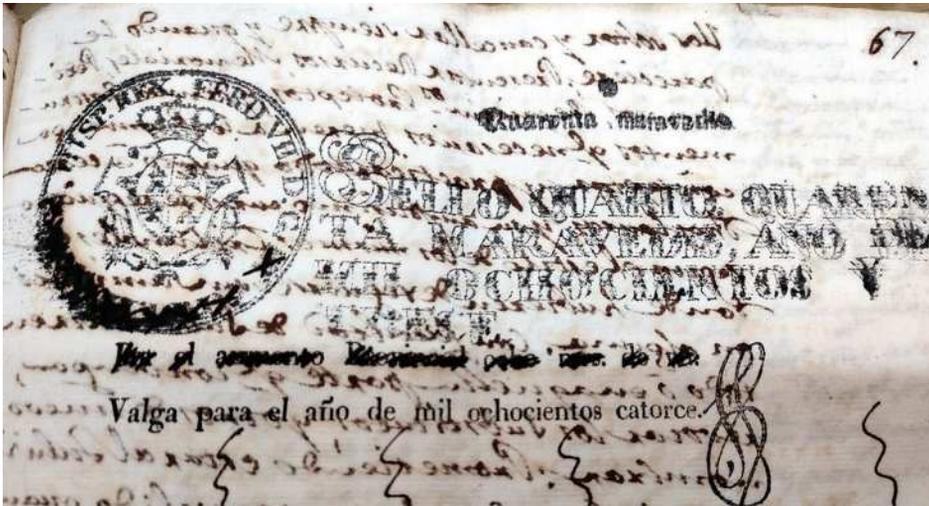

Figure 12: (AHPB, 1199/8, f. 67r).

Evolution in Zaragoza (Aragón)

In Zaragoza our enquiry was conducted through books of the notary Joaquín Vicente de Almerge. As in Madrid and Barcelona, following the abdication of Charles IV there are qualifications for Ferdinand VII[16] and after that monarch's resignation we have the qualification for Lieutenant Murat.[17] The difference between Madrid or Barcelona and Zaragoza is that the first two cities were already occupied by the French army before the start of the war, while Zaragoza was not; so, when the war began, they refused the *paper* of Murat or Joseph I and used only *paper* of Charles IV with validation for Ferdinand VII.

The sealed paper of Joseph I only came to be used after the capture of Zaragoza by the French army, on February 21, 1809, first with a handwritten authorisation (February 28) and then printed (March 14)[18]; from January 1, 1810, his proper *paper* with his coat of arms was used.[19] This *paper* remained in use until January of the following year, 1811, when an authorisation in the name of the Emperor was added: *Valga para el Reynado del S. M. I. Y R. Napoleon I. y año de mil ochocientos once (Valid for the Reign of His Imperial and Royal Majesty Napoleon I and the year 1811)* [**Figure 13**].

After March 7, 1811 Napoleon *paper* was used, with its seal bearing the Napoleonic eagle and the legend *NAPOLEON I. EMPERADOR DE LOS FRANCESES Y REY DE ITALIA (Napoleon I, Emperor of French and King of Italy*, and the addition *Gobierno de Aragón (Government of Aragón)*. [**Figure 14**]
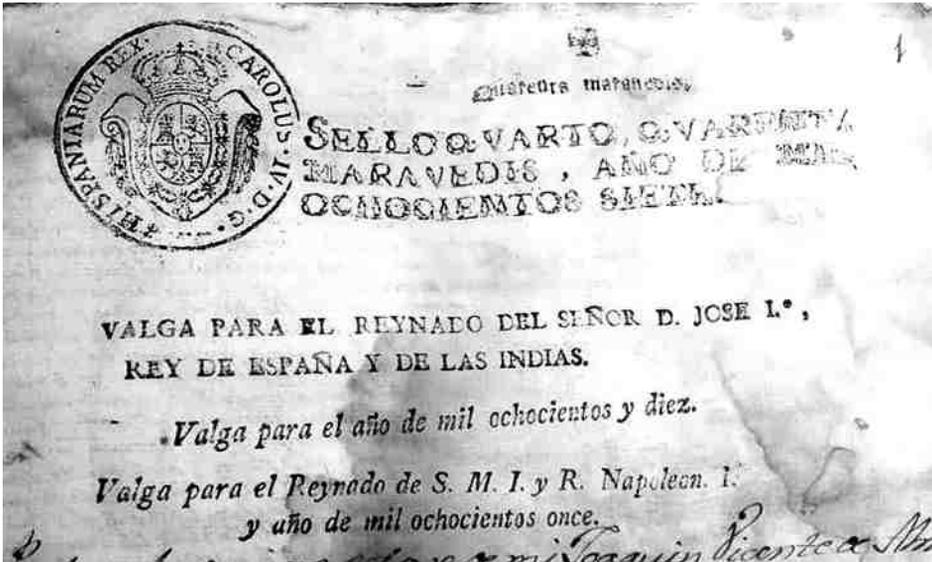
Figure 13: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1811, f. 1r).

Figure 14: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1811, f. 71r).

The abovementioned *paper* was continuously used for the following two years, until July 14, 1813, when the *paper* of Ferdinand VII was used with the constitutional seal as shown previously (**Figure 15**).

Figure 15: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1813, f. 266r).

Evolution in Pamplona (Kingdom of Navarre) and in the Basque Country.

Many historians believe that the Royal Pragmatic of December 15, 1636, created *sealed paper* in both kingdoms of Castile and Navarre, [20] but our research in the notarial and municipal books of this period shows that this was not the case: at least Navarre and the Basque Country were exempt.[21]

The kingdom of Navarre was united with the crown of Castile after the conquest of 1512, but kept its *Fueros* (territorial privileges) and its legislative institutions, "*as an equal union, each one retaining its ancient nature, both in law and in territory and government, remaining a proper kingdom, with its territory and jurisdiction, institutions and privileges*".[22] In this situation, it is logical to think that the provisions of the Cortes of Castile in 1632 might not be directly applicable to Navarre, and that the King would have difficulties in imposing the Royal Pragmatic of 1636.

Scholars of taxation in the nineteenth century readily admit that Navarre was exempt from *sealed paper* from the time of the Law of Modification of *Fueros* of 1851. Only after 1852, by royal order of April 29, did documents addressed to other provinces have to be written on *sealed paper*.[23] In reality, the kingdom of Navarre had been exempt for a long time before; at least in the period studied here, from 1807 to 1820, it was not used. This is how it appears in the books of the notaries of Pamplona Faustino Ibáñez[24] and José Francés[25]; here the sealed paper was only used during the Liberal Triennium, from 1821 to 1823.

As far as the Basque Country is concerned, the introduction of *sealed paper* as early as 1637 would be plausible since it was part of the kingdom of Castile, but in reality, it followed the same cycle as Navarre: there was no *sealed paper* between 1807 and 1820, and it was used only during the Liberal Triennium. The notary studied here was Primo León de Arrieta, from Hernani. Despite having initially selected the city of San Sebastián, the notarial books of that city were completely destroyed in the assault, looting, and fire in September 1813 by Wellington's English and Portuguese troops. The fact that there is no sealed paper in this period prevents us from specifying whether there was any link between Navarre and the Basque Country with the government of Joseph I, but it confirms the idea that the *sealed paper* and its emblems are a good resource to easily determine the link to a specific government or monarchy.

Evolution in Valencia

The notary studied is Mateu Manuel Boix; his books are kept at the Real Colegio Seminario Corpus Christi, in Valencia (RCS CC). Here the year 1808 follows the common evolution since the *paper* of Charles IV: validation for Ferdinand VII (on April 4[26]) and validation for Lieutenant Murat (on May 19[27]). But on May 23, the so-called *Crit del Palleter* (the shout of the straw seller) took place, that is, the uprising against Napoleon and Joseph I, in such a way that after the 28th[28] there is no more authorisation of the Lieutenant and there is only the authorisation for Ferdinand VII; and from the outset of the following year 1809 there is only *sealed paper* of this King.

This situation continues for the following two years until Valencia was occupied by the French army on January 9, 1812, and then began the *sealed paper* of Joseph I, with the legend *JOSE NAP. I. P. L. G. DE DIOS REY DE L. ESP. Y DE L. IND. (Joseph Napoleon I by the Grace of God King of the Spains and of the Indies)*.[29] It therefore seems

that the kingdom of Valencia was under the rule of Joseph I, but there is the particularity that on the sides of the oval shield there is the inscription: *EXERCº DE ARAG. (Army of Aragón)*. Valencia was taken by General Suchet, head of the Aragón Army, where there was a military government of its own, alien to Joseph I. This note on the seal implies that, although Valencia officially maintained a dependency on the government of Joseph I, it is in fact linked to General Suchet, who extended his power beyond Aragón (**Figure 16**).
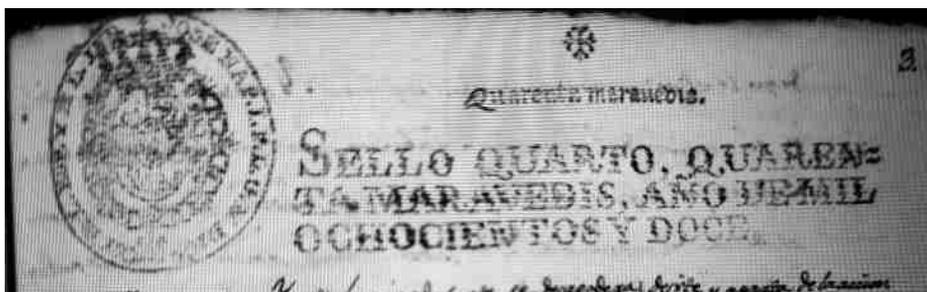
Figure 16: (RCS CC, 8013, Boix, 1811–1813, f. 3r, February 8, 1812).

As a result of the battle of Vitoria (June 21), Suchet had to leave Valencia on July 5, 1813, and the next day the Spanish army of General Villacampa entered. Thus, on August 9 we have the first *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII.[30]

Evolution in Cádiz

Cádiz was a town that was never conquered by the French army and it was also here that the famous courts were held which on March 19, 1812 approved the so-called *Constitution of 1812*. It is useful to compare the changes in the *sealed paper* in this city with the other cities that were under the control of French authorities at some point. The books of the notary Luis Barrera de los Heros, whose complete documentary series is preserved for the entire period, were investigated.

Since the beginning of 1808, Cádiz follows the same dynamic as all the previous examples: *sealed paper* of Charles IV, authorisations in favour of Ferdinand VII from April 7 (whether handwritten[31] or printed[32]), and authorisation for Lieutenant Murat on the 18th. of May.[33] From this date, there is no notarial activity until June 3, then using the stamped paper of Charles IV with the authorisation of Ferdinand VII. There is no paper of any French authority (neither the Lieutenant nor King Joseph I). From the beginning of the year 1809, the *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII was used without any changes until the year 1812 inclusive, and there was no *paper* from any French authority (neither from the Lieutenant nor from King Joseph I)

In 1813 there is a significant change; a new *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII was created with the constitutional legend on the seal: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX. (Ferdinand VII, King of Spain by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy)*.[34] Although the Constitution was approved in March 1812, the *sealed paper* with the reference to the constitutional monarchy began in January of the following year, according to the custom of political changes of any kind, the only difference being that there was no prior authorisation (**Figure 17**).
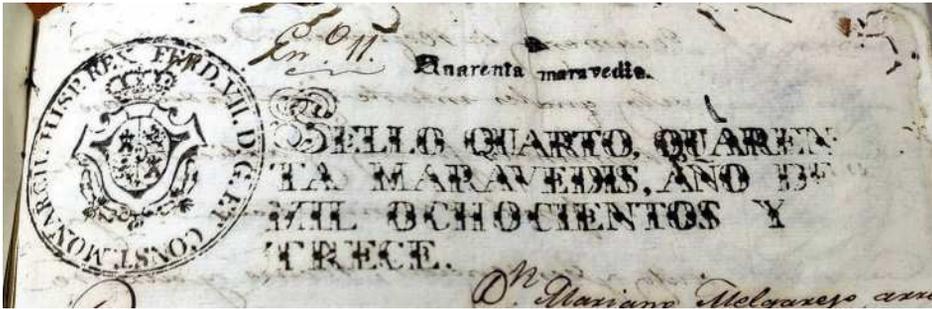
Figure 17: (AHPC, 5011, 1813, f. 1r).

The use of the Constitutionalist *paper* was of very short duration because in 1814 the absolutist restoration of Ferdinand VII took place and there was a return to the *sealed paper* without references to the Constitution of 1812: *1814 FERD.VII. D. G. HISPANIARUM ET INDIAR. REX. (1814. Ferdinand VII, by the Grace of God King of Spains and the Indies)*. [**Figure 18**]
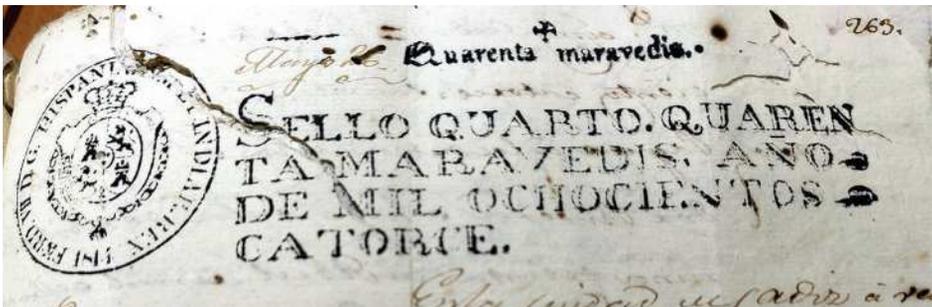
Figure 18: (AHPC, 5011, 1813, f. 263r).

The Liberal Triennium (1820–1823)

With the pronouncement of Lieutenant Colonel Riego in Cabezas de San Juan (Seville), the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed and sworn to by Ferdinand VII on March 9, 1820. Thus began a period of about three years (the *Liberal Triennium*) that also had an impact on *sealed paper*, but unlike the years of the Peninsular War, which had seen political and territorial fragmentation in many governments, this period was territorially united.

The year 1820 began with a stamped *paper* of Ferdinand VII for that year, which consisted of the coat of arms in the center with the legend *FERDIN. VII. D. G. HISP. ET IND. REX. (Ferdinand VII by the grace of God King of the Spains and the Indies)* surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece; on the left, it bears reference to the category and value of the stamp (*Sello 4° 40 mrs*) and on the right to the year (*Año de 1820*). After the swearing-in of the Constitution the following validation was added: "*Enabled, sworn by the King to the Constitution on March 9, 1820*" (**Figure 19**).

Left, *Figure 19:* (AHPM, 22886, f. 69r, April 11, 1820). The dry stamp bears the bust of the king in uniform with the same legend. Right: *Figure 20:* (AHPM, 22886, f. 69r, April 11, 1820).

The new liberal government made changes to the *paper* for the following year, 1821. This included the procedural addition of the category, the value, and the year in rectangular borders. The coat of arms was also simplified to quarterings of Castile and León, Granada and Anjou. The most important change, however, was in the legend of the seal: *1821. FERN. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARC. HISPANIC. REX. (Ferdinand VII, King by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy)* [**Figure 21**].

Figure 21: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 2, 1821).

Almost the same characteristics are observed for the following year 1822, with the difference of removing the year from the inside of the seal (**Figure 22**).

In the year after that, 1823, there were two changes, which were both symbolic and very significant: first, the legend of the seal was written in Spanish and the numeral was no longer written in Roman letters: *FER.7º. POR LA GRA. DE DIOS Y LA CONST. REY DE LAS ESP. (Ferdinand 7th, by the Grace of God and the Constitution, King of the Spains)* [**Figure 23**] A second change that year was the dry stamp. This bore the same legend in Spanish, but the king was represented in the form of a short bust, without any uniform and more naturalistically, as an elderly person (**Figure 24**).

In April 1823, the invasion of the so-called One Hundred Thousand Sons of San Luis began, marking the restoration of the absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand VII and a return to the political model prior to the Triennium. This change appears on the *sealed*

Figure 22: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 10, 1822).

Left, Figure 23: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 14, 1823). Right: *Figure 24*: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 14, 1823).

paper as an authorisation, with the announcement of the repeal of the Constitution of 1812. In the case of Madrid, this occurred after the entry of the French army on May 23: *Habilitado en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor, quitada la Constitución en 23 de mayo de 1823 (Authorized in the name of the King our Lord, removed from the Constitution on May 23, 1823)*. As the cities fell under the power of the Duke of Angoulême there were new and different validations (**Figure 25**).

Figure 25: (AHPM, 22886, f. 74r, June 6, 1823).

Finally, the paper of 1824 confirmed the return to the absolutist monarchy with the modification of the legend of the stamp, eliminating the reference to the Constitution: FERD. VII. D. G. HISP. E.T. IND. REX. There was a concurrent return to the dry seal prior to 1822: FERDIN. VII. D. G. HISP. ET IND. REX (**Figure 26**).
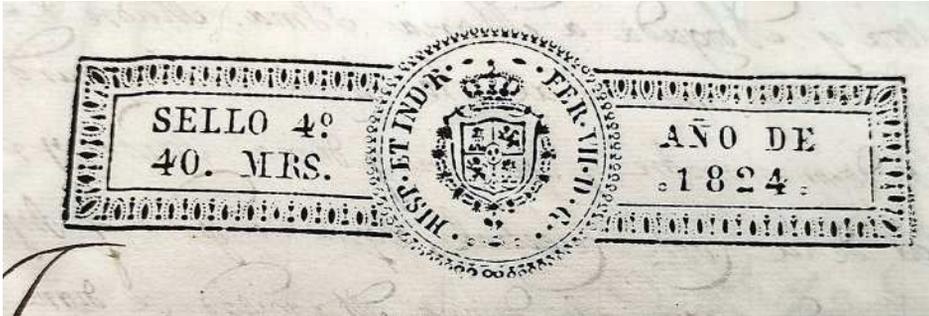
Figure 26: (AHPM, 22887, f. 1r, January 3, 1824).

Once again attention is drawn to the specific cases of Navarre and Basque Country, where *sealed paper* was not introduced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and came into use for the first time under the liberal government of the Triennium. In Navarre, the notary Faustino Ibáñez used it for the first time on September 16, 1821,[35] (a year and a half after the oath of the Constitution) and for the last time on March 28, 1823[36]; since which time sealed paper was never used again. A few days later Ibáñez escaped from Pamplona to Miranda de Arga and Puente la Reina, returning to Pamplona on October 12.

In the case of the Basque Country, the notary of Hernani, Primo León de Arrieta, did not use the *sealed paper* until November 17, 1821, in a small book just entitled *Register of Sealed Paper of Public Deeds granted by Primo León de Arrieta, Public Notary at the town of Hernani...*[37] A year and a half later, on April 20, 1823[38], he stopped using *sealed paper.* Thus in the case of both Navarre and the Basque Country *sealed paper* was only ever used for just over a year and a half.

In conclusion it is evident that the sealed paper and its validations was a useful vehicle for the demonstration of political power because it could be adapted rapidly in the face of political changes, showing the existence of new governments within between two weeks and a month of their institution.

[2] You can see the text complete on that Royal Pragmatic in AMADOR, Joaquín: El papel sellado español. http://www.rahf.es/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Academvs6_art%C3%ADculo-JOAQUIN-AMADO.pdf
[3] Baltar, Juan Francisco, 'Notas sobre la introducción y desarrollo de la renta de papel sellado en la monarquía española (siglos XVII y XVIII)', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 66 (1996), pp. 523–528.

[4] The signature, sign and remark of the notary give to the document public faith, but without *sealed paper* it was no longer legally valid. Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, Natalia: *El Papel Sellado en el Antiguo y Nuevo Régimen: Heráldica y alegorías en el sello*, (2007) pp. 38–39.

[5] Pérez-Ainsua Méndez*, op. cit.*, pp. 3–4, note 10.

[6] Ibid., p. 152 calls it "un microcosmos en el que todo cambio que se producía referente al poder central quedaba ahí reflejado."

[7] Hunt, Lynn: *La Rivoluzionw francese. Politica, cultura, classi sociali*, (2007) p. 31.

[8] Romero Tallafigo, Manuel: "Prólogo"; Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 18.

[9] Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, pp. 61–72.

[10] The archives and notaries studied are as follows: Archivo Històric de Protocolos de Madrid (**AHPM**) notary Antonio López de Salazar; Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona (**AHPB**) notary Josep Maria Torrent i Sairols; Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza (**AHPZ**) notaries Joaquín Vicente de Almerge and Pablo Fernández Trebiño; Archivo Real y General de Navarra, Pamplona (**ARGN**) notaries Faustino Ibánez, José Francés y Juan José Francés, as well as books at the Archivo Municipal; Archivo Histórico Provincial de Gipuzkoa, Oñati (**AHPG**) notary from Hernani, Primo León de Arrieta; Archivo Històric Provincial de Cádiz (**AHPC**) notary Luis Barrera de los Heros; and Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi (**RCS CC**) notary Mateu Manuel Boix.

[11] Rodríguez Pérez, Gabriel, 'Los preliminares de la guerra de la Independencia', *Aspectos inéditos de la guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, 2018), pp. 48–62.

[12] Argumosa Pila, Jesús, 'Antecedentes geopolíticos de la guerra de la Independencia', *Aspectos inéditos de la guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, 2018), p. 23.

[13] The first validation in favour of Ferdinand VII came into force on March 31, AHPB, 1199/3, f. 59r.

[14] The first validation in favour of Murat came into force on May 21, AHPB, 1199/3, f. 85r.

[15] AHPB, 1199/3, f. 1r.

[16] Handwritten on 1st April (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 58v) and printed on 20 May (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 93v).

[17] Handwritten on 20 May (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 93v).

[18] AHPZ, Almerge, 1809, f. 40r and f. 104r.

[19] AHPZ, Almerge, 1810, f. 1r.

[20] Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 42.

[21] Natalia Pérez-Ainsúa cited in Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 44, note 20; Allende, Ángel, *Timbres españoles* (*Catálogo, 1969*), p. 221.

[22] Miranda, F.; Ilundain, E., Balduz, J., *Cien años de Fiscalidad en Navarra (1841–1891)*, (Pamplona, 1998), p. 154.

[23] Ibid., p. 237.

[24] There is no *sealed paper* in 21455–3 (1807), 4 (1808), 5 (1809), 6 (1810), 7 (1811) 8 (1812); 21456–1 (1813), 2 (1814), 3 (1815), 4 (1816) 5 (1817); 21457–1 (1818), 2 (1819) 3 (1820).

[25] There is no *sealed paper* in 21346–1 (1807), 2 (1808) y 3 (1809); 21349–1 (1816), 2 (1817) 3 (1818); 21350–1 (1819) 2 (1820).

[26] RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 7818, f. 231r

[27] Ibid., f. 337r

[28] Ibid., f. 365r

[29] RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 8013, f. 3r

[30] RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 8014, f. 45r

[31] AHPC, Notaria 20, Luis Barrera de los Heros, 5006 (1808), f. 90r.

[32] Ibid., f. 92r.

[33] Ibid, f. 131r.

[34] AHPC, Notaria 20, Luis Barrera de los Heros, 5011 (1813), f. 1r.

[35] ARGNavarra, 21457–4, 16 de septiembre de 1821.

[36] ARGNavarra, 21458–2, 28 de marzo de 1823.

[37] AHPGipuzkoa, Oñati, 3–1483, Portada.

[38] AHPGipuzkoa, Oñati, 3–1484, f. 48r, April 20, 1823.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS AND LECTURES

MONDAY 15TH AUGUST

10–13.40 Registration at Clare College Memorial Court

13.45–16.30 **Grand opening ceremony at the Cambridge Union Society**, Bridge Street CB2 1UB.

Procession of dignitaries

Address of welcome by the Secretary General **Dr Paul A Fox**, A.I.H.

Opening of Congress by **Major Tim Breitmeyer**, D.L. on behalf of **H.R.H The Prince Edward**, K.G., Earl of Wessex, Patron of the Congress. Major Breitmeyer is a Member of Her Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen at Arms, and Her Majesty's Deputy Lord Lieutenant for Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.

Welcoming address from **Kaare Seeberg Sidselrud**, A.I.H, President of the Bureau Permanent des Congresses.

Dr Manuel Pardo de Vera y Díaz, A.I.G., President of the preceding 34th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences in Madrid, made his address, and handed over the Congress baton to Dr Richard C.F.Baker, President of the 35th Congress.

Dr Richard C.F.Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H, President of the Congress, received the baton and made his own adddress of welcome.

Plenary Lecture 1: **Mr Timothy Milner**, M.A., Hon F.B.S., former Proctor of the University of Cambridge, Fellow and Deputy College Praelector of Darwin College, and Vice Chancellor's Ceremonial Officer and Pro-Proctor for Ceremonial.

The ceremonial life of the University. Mr Milner delved into a world whose traditions have evolved over many centuries, exploring little know aspects, and providing an insider's view. He considered the principal actors involved, and the academic costumes that are worn.

Plenary Lecture 2. **Dr David L. Smith**, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., is Fellow, Director of Studies in History, and Graduate Tutor at Selwyn College, Cambridge. His books include *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640–1649* (1994), *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603–1707: The Double Crown* (1998), *The Stuart Parliaments, 1603–1689* (1999), and (with Patrick Little) *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate* (2007). Most recently, he has edited (jointly with Patrick Little and Joel Halcomb), *Letters, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, III: 1653–8* (2022).

Oliver Cromwell and the University of Cambridge. This talk set the tone of the Congress by considering University itself in a period of Revolution, Reformation, and Restoration. The Lord Protector and Regicide Oliver Cromwell was a local magnate and a graduate of Sidney Sussex College. The talk considered why Cromwell has divided opinion so dramatically since his own lifetime and why he remains such an intensely controversial figure.

16.30–16.45. **Parade with military escort to Clare College**. The order of procession:
Congress banner
Military drummers
Congress banners
Honour guard formed by The Honourable Artillery Company
Deputy Lord Lieutenant
Heralds and Heraldic Officers
Congress Dignitaries
Private Banners
Delegates.

16.45–19.30 **Musical drinks reception in the Clare College Scholars' Garden**.

LECTURE PROGRAMME
Clare College Congress Centre

Tuesday 16th August 09.00–10.30 Session 1. Elton-Bowring Room.

Scholarly genealogy in the 20th century. Chair Dr David Wright, F.S.A, F.S.G.

09.00 **Dr Janet Few** (**England**) is a writer, lecturer, and President of the *Family History Federation*, where her particular focus is promoting family history societies and making family history a more inclusive activity. She is the author of several non-fiction books and two historical novels.

    The Family History Revolution. This talk explored how the genealogical landscape has changed over the 45 years since this congress was last held in England. Topics covered included: the role of genealogical societies in the family history boom of the 1970s and 1980s; how televisual genealogy has impacted on genealogical research; the digital revolution and the evolution of online data provision; the influence of social media and the part played by genetic genealogy.

09.45 **Dr Nathaniel Lane Taylor**, Ph.D, F.A.S.G. (**U.S.A.**) is Editor and Publisher of *The American Genealogist*. He holds a doctorate in medieval European history from Harvard University (1995), and taught history and medieval studies at the university level for several years before turning to focus on genealogical writing. His published research includes genealogical investigations in medieval Europe and colonial North America; the history of genealogy; heraldry, and related fields. Dr. Taylor is Secretary of

the American Society of Genealogists, and Registrar of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

The Scholarly Genealogical Revolution in the United States, 1922–1964. At the end of the nineteenth century, the study of history was elevated to an academic discipline within American universities, following a predominantly German academic model, while genealogy and local history remained amateur pursuits. It was not until the 1920 and 1930s that a revolutionary wave of genealogists emerged to elevate scholarship emulating the rising standards of academic history—and they did so entirely outside the academy. Donald Lines Jacobus of New Haven, Connecticut, embracing the genealogical exactness exemplified by Horace Round, established a new genre of evidence-based genealogy. He inspired a network known as the "Jacobus School." These revolutionary foundations trained the next generation of genealogists who were to make use the second genealogical revolution of the twentieth century: the advent of computer-based genealogical data both before and during the Internet age.

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Tuesday 16th August 09.00–10.30 Session 2. Riley Auditorium.

Restoration of orders of knighthood and a Revolutionary Heraldic Database. Chair: Nils Bartholdy, A.I.H.

09.00. **Dr Martin Sunnqvist**, LL.D., A.I.H. (**Sweden**), is Chairman of the Societas Heraldica Scandinavica and an Associate Professor of Law at Lund University. Between 2014 and 2020 he served as a District Judge in the Malmö City Court.

The Swedish Orders of Knighthood: alleged restoration, almost revolutionary reformation, and restoration again. When the Swedish royal orders of knighthood were established in 1748, two of them (the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Sword) were allegedly restored ancient orders. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the Order of the Sword, the Order of the Polar Star and the Order of Vasa (the latter added in 1772) were more and more handed out based on rank and time of service. This led to strong criticism, connected to general criticism against monarchy and its institutions, which resulted in that the orders were not granted to Swedish citizens from 1975 onwards. In 2021, a parliamentary committee suggested that the orders will again be granted from 2023 onwards, a suggestion that is based on a broad political agreement. The value in using the historically established orders is emphasized, but at the same time the granting of orders will not be based on rank and time of service but on an assessment of an individual's efforts for Sweden. The history of the Swedish orders of knighthood thus provides examples of restoration by way of inventing traditions, reformation of the system of orders in the context of a deep change in the formal constitutional framework, and a new reformation, striving to re-establish traditions but at the same time introducing radically new approaches.

09.45. **Prof. Dr. Torsten Hiltmann**, a.i.h. and **Philipp Schneider**, M.A. (**Germany**). <u>Torsten Hiltmann</u> is a professor of Digital History at Humboldt-Universität Berlin and an associate member of the Academie international d'héraldique. His research focuses on heraldry and visual communication in the late medieval and early modern period as well as on the integration of computer based methods into historical studies, especially Machine Learning and Semantic Web Technologies, and on the epistemological change of historical research through the application of digital methods. As a trained medievalist, his dissertation dealt with compendia of late medieval heralds in France and Burgundy. He heads the research project "Coats of Arms in practice", funded by VolkswagenFoundation, where currently a heraldic database is being built, linking coats of arms and their descriptions to the contexts of their use. <u>Philipp Schneider</u> is a research assistant at the chair of Digital History at Humboldt-Universität Berlin since 2020. He works in a project called "Coats of Arms in practice", where he is among other things responsible for modeling and contextualizing heraldry as a historical source with the help of Semantic Web Technologies. His dissertation project – also situated in this project – deals with the study of coats of arms on wall and ceiling paintings in French and German speaking areas.

> **The history of heraldry revisited. Computer-assisted analysis of the development of the composition of coats of arms in the Middle Ages and Early modern times.** The presentation explored the issue of increasing complexity and differentiation in heraldry over the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Period, based on digital methods. For this purpose, we introduced the *Digital Heraldry Ontology* whose first version is soon to be released within the "Coats of arms in practice" project at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Since the early times of computers, those machines have been used to describe coats of arms. We present a new approach, and demonstrate how it can be used to analyse the development of heraldry over time. Using so called Linked Data, these descriptions are embedded into a larger dataset, which links the single heraldic description to the historical objects and sources, where the corresponding coats of arms have been depicted, as well as to information about these sources, the bearers of the coats of arms, and the social roles they inhabited, thus also integrating the historical context of the coats of arms into our system. In our presentation, we would like to use selected examples to illustrate in which way such an ontology can be employed to better understand the developments of heraldic compositions throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

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Tuesday 16th August 11.00–12.30 Session 3 Elton-Bowring Room.

The Protestant Reformation and its impact of Germany and the New World. Chair: Dr Paul A. Fox, F.H.G., A.I.H.

11.00. **Dirk Weissleder**, A.I.G. (**Germany**), is Secretary General of the C.I.G.H., and national chairman of the German Working Group of Genealogical Associations (D.A.G.V).

From Luther to the peaceful revolution: Families and individuals between 1517 and 1989 in Central Germany. The lecture described how for nearly half a thousand years – between the reformation in 1517 and the peaceful revolution of 1989 – Central Germany has been an epi centre of European history. The reformation led to the peasant war of 1525, while The Thirty Years` War (1618 – 1648) burnt Central Germany to the ground, reducing the population to small numbers. The dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 by Napoleon, the failed German revolution in 1848, two world wars, German division (1945), the peaceful revolution of 1989, and the German reunification in 1990, have all had a fundamental impact on families and individuals, and on how genealogists can trace back noble and non-noble protagonists of history. *In English, with slides in French.*

11.45. **James R. Terzian**, F.S.A. Scot., F.H.F, and **Virginia Morgan (U.S.A.)**. James Terzian is the Project Co-Director of *The Miles Morgan Origins Project*.

The Miles Morgan Family: A Case Study in Utilizing Genetic Genealogy to Validate Primary and Secondary Documentation for Scholarly Research. The upheavals of the early 17th century drove minority Christian sects to colonize what became New England. In the four centuries since, a good portion of the documentation on these emigrants, their origins and the vital statistics critical to scholarly understanding of the families has been damaged, disaggregated, or lost. But advances in the past two decades in commercially available DNA analysis is making possible the restoration and reconstruction of some of this information. At the beginning of the 20th century research into Miles Morgan's origins, funded by the branch of his descendants including J. P. Morgan, seem to have led to fabrication of records and destruction of sources in Britain. Family genealogists have been trying to recover the losses since the 1970's. Because of the historic figures and companies involved, nothing less than academically defensible results could be accepted. DNA analysis has succeeded in resolving conflicts in the descents to a mathematically and biologically significant degree.

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Tuesday 16th August 11.00–12.30 Session 4. Riley Auditorium

Scotland: The Lyon Office. Chair; Mark Dennis, a.i.h.

11.00. <u>Plenary Lecture 3</u>. **Dr Joseph J. Morrow**, C.B.E., Q.C., LL.D., Ph.D., D.L**,** The Rt Hon the Lord Lyon King of Arms (Scotland).

Scots Heraldry and the Scottish Legal System – a partnership of more than 400 years. 2022 marks the 350th anniversary of the 1672 Act of the Scottish Parliament which established the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.

11.45. **Elizabeth Roads**, L.V.O., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., A.I.H. (**Scotland**), is Secretary and Councillor of the A.I.H., Secretary of the Order of the Thistle, sometime Snawdoun Herald, Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records at the Court of the Lord Lyon.

The history of the Baronets of Nova Scotia and the Knights of Thistle through heraldry. The Baronets of Nova Scotia (1624 to 1707) and the Order the Thistle (revived in 1687) were both the result of revolution and restoration in the life of the Crown of Scotland when it and the Crown of England were separate but held by the same person. The heraldic history of both orders can be traced in various armorials and in the development of the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland (established in 1672). The paper looked at the establishment of these three evocative expressions of Scottish sentiment in the 17th century and how that sentiment has been reformed over the succeeding three centuries. *Language English-slides French and German.*

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12.30–14.00: Lunch meeting of Bureau Permanent, Bennett Room, Clare College.
12.30–14.00: Lunch provided for delegates in the Garden Room. Visits to Exhibition Areas.

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Tuesday 16th August 14.00–15.30 Session 5 Elton-Bowring Room.

New understandings of rolls of arms and analogous sources part 1. Chair: Dr Paul Fox, A.I.H.

14.00. **Dr Steen Clemmensen** dr.phil., A.I.H., F.S.A. (**Denmark**) has published extensively on medieval armory, armorials, the origin of the use of arms, armorial practice, and funeral monuments. He is a former secretary of Societas Heraldica Scandinavica, and in 2012 was awarded both the *Arvid Berghmans heraldiska pris* , and the *Prix Dr. Walburga von Habsburg Douglas* from the C.I.G.H.

Medieval England in times of revolution – reflections in armorials. England suffered two major internal conflicts during the 14th century during the reigns of Edward II (1307–27) and Richard II (1377–99) at the end of which both kings were murdered. Four armorials have been connected to those crises. One, the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms*, surveys the top layer of the lay community at the beginning of the first reign with a glimpse of the favouritism of Edward II. A second, *First Dunstable*, lists members of the early opposition, while a third, *Newcastle* (formerly *Boroughbridge*) was presumed to give the core of the royal army at the defeat of the king's enemies. The last, part of the *Golden Fleece*, includes the top lay layer at the end of the reign of Richard II, but modified after the accession of Henry IV – when fortunes had changed. The structure of the armorials, the ranking of key players, the associations and arguments for the assessments will be discussed and compared with contemporary armorials, which appear oblivious of politics. **NOT GIVEN** due to Covid. See Supplemental Lectures below: Asklund. Has been published in this volume.

14.45. **John Edenzor Titterton**, M.A., F.S.A., F.H.S. (**England**) is a retired engineer and a council member of both the Heraldry Society and the Monumental Brass Society. His M.A. is in Local History and Archaeology. He co-edited of the *Hatchments in Britain* series. He researches, speaks and writes upon heraldry, other antiquarian subjects and local and family history.

The Adlington Roll, a window into the English Peerage during the Reformation. The Adlington Roll is an heraldic roll of arms bound into the Adlington MS, (Chetham's Library, Manchester). There are four sections, Kings, English peerage, Cheshire gentry and Lancashire gentry. It evidently dates *circa* Christmas 1553, during the first few months of the reign of Queen Mary I, and shows how uncertain matters were at the transition from Protestant King Edward VI to Catholic Queen Mary. That there are only two dukes present, Norfolk and Suffolk, demonstrates the fluidity surrounding those few months. Norfolk is present, only a month or so after he was restored to the title by Mary (October 1553). Whereas Suffolk is only a few months, even weeks away from losing his title and head (February 1554). The roll's artist included some arms which suggest there were some ennoblements anticipated to be made by Mary, which did not happen. It can illustrate some of the factors impacting the evolution of the English peerage at this uncertain time.

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Tuesday 16th August 14.00–15.30 Session 6 Riley Auditorium.

Consequences of the English Reformation and of the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Chair: Dr Bruce Durie, A.I.G.

14.00. **Susan T. Moore,** M.A., F.S.A (**England**) graduated from the University of St Andrews in the 1970s and has spent all her working life in archives and libraries carrying out historical and genealogical research for clients. For many years she has specialised in Chancery Proceedings and other legal records, particularly those in the period 1500 to 1800. She is the author of *Family Feuds – An Introduction to Chancery Proceedings*, and of *Tracing Your Family History in the Courts of Equity*. She is a trustee of the British Association for Local History and an accredited member of the *Association of Genealogists and Researchers in Archives* (AGRA).

The English Chancery court for land disputes following political upheaval. Chancery Proceedings are an invaluable source of information for people and lands. Disputes arose when there was a major political change such as the Reformation of the 1530s with the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and with the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, these records can shed light on the real effect these great changes had on ordinary people, the lands they held, and the disputes that inevitably arose.

14.45. **Dr David Alan Wright**, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., F.S.G., F.H.G. (**England)** is Principal of the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies in Canterbury. A professional genealogist since 1976, He taught classics and palaeography at University College, London, and at the University of Kent at Canterbury, and is the author of various works, with a primary focus on his home county of Kent.

Parish Registers 1538–1660: Reformation, Revolution, Restoration. In the reign of Henry VIII still no national system obtained for registering the births, marriages and deaths of the general population, even if there was already a clear precedent from certain Catholic countries. Proof of age and descent therefore remained problematical. This would all change in October 1538 following general enquiries and a final injunction by Thomas Cromwell that the incumbent of every parish would henceforth register all events on a weekly basis. The dislocation of the Civil War and consequent ejection of many ministers led to much abandonment of careful record-keeping, but, contrariwise, a temporary new system of registering banns and civil marriages suddenly produced quantities of information never seen previously or indeed thereafter for another century. From 1660 some retrospective entry-keeping along with the validation of recent weddings made up in some degree for a return to a generally minimal level of recording. The talk is based on the author's forty years of familiarity with the material and will be illustrated by Kentish examples.

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Tuesday 16th August 16.00–17.30. Session 7. Elton-Bowring Room.

Heraldry of national arms 1. Chair: Dr Rolf Sutter, A.I.G., A.I.H.

16.00. **Dr Michael Göbl**, A.I.H. (**Austria**), was archivist at the Austrian State Archives from 1977–2019. At the end of 2019 he retired as Deputy Director of the Department of House, Court and State Archives. His publications focus primarily on research into written and pictorial sources of the Middle Ages and modern times, covering coats of arms, seals and insignia in the broadest sense. Related to this is his research in the fields of aristocratic history, genealogy and archives.

Das habsburgisch-österreichische Wappen als Herausforderung zwischen Dynastie, Anspruch, Föderalismus und Zentralismus von 1740 bis zum Ende der Monarchie The Habsburg-Austrian coat of arms as a challenge between dynasty, pretensions, federalism and centralism from 1740 to the end of the monarchy. The lecture will examine the development of the Habsburg-Austrian coat of arms from 1740 to 1918. In 1740 the Habsburgs became extinct in the male line (agnates) and continued in the female line (cognates) via Maria Theresa and Franz Stephan of Lorraine. In 1804, the Austrian Empire was established and two years later, in 1806, the Holy Roman Empire, which the Habsburgs had ruled for almost four centuries, was declared over. Sixty years later, 1867, the Compromise with Hungary created two halves of the Empire. However, the dispute over a common national coat of arms lasted until 1915. The impacts on the state coat of arms in the course of the political

conflicts and the newly awakening national influences and its new composition will be examined, as well as the challenges to the Habsburg dynastic coat of arms in the narrower sense. *Language: German, with slides in English.*

16.45. **Dr Manuel Pardo de Vera y Díaz**, LL.D., A.I.G. (**Spain**), is President of the Royal Association of the Nobility of Spain, and Vice President of the C.I.G.H. He is a corresponding academic of various learned societies, director and professor of nobiliary and heraldic emblems at the School of Genealogy, Heraldry and Nobility, of Hidalgos of Spain. He was awarded *Lazslo Bohus de Villagos Prize* by the C.I.G.H. in 2014. He is a member of the Editorial Board of the magazine *Hidalguía* and a member of the Advisory Council of the magazine *Estudios Nobiliarios y Emblemáticos*.

El escudo de España- the coat of arms of Spain.Creación y evolución del escudo de España. Entre la reforma y la revolución (1808–1981). Las diferentes composiciones y simbología del escudo de España, consecuencia de los cambios dinásticos en la corona de España y los cambios políticos en el gobierno de la nación: ocupación del trono por José Bonaparte (1808–1813), reinado de Isabel II (1813–1868), gobierno provisional (1868–1870), reino sin rey, reinado de Amadeo de Saboya (1871–1873), I república (1873–1874), reinado de Alfonso XII (1874–1931), II república (1931–1936), dictadura (1939–1975) y reinado de Juan Carlos I (1975-hoy).
The creation and evolution of the coat of arms of Spain. Between the reform and the revolution (1808–1981). The different compositions and symbology of the coat of arms of Spain, consequence of the dynastic changes in the Spanish crown and the political changes in the government of the nation: occupation of the throne by Joseph Bonaparte (1808–1813), reign of Isabella II (1813–1868), provisional government (1868–1870), kingdom without a king, reign of Amadeo of Savoy (1871–1873), 1st republic (1873–1874), reign of Alfonso XII (1874–1931), 2nd republic (1931–1936), dictatorship (1939–1975) and reign of Juan Carlos I (1975–1981). *Language-Spanish with slides in English.*

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Tuesday 16th August 16.00–17.30 Session 8 Riley Auditorium.

Heraldry of national arms 2. Chair: Elizabeth Roads, A.I.H.

16.00. **Dr Stoyan Antonov**, Ph.D., a.i.h. (**Bulgaria**), is an Assistant Professor at Plovdiv University "Paisii Hilendarski". He is a founder and the first chairman of the Bulgarian Heraldry and Vexillology Society (2004 – 2019), and an honorary member of the Macedonian Heraldry Society. He lectures in heraldry at degree level at the Academy of Music, Dance and Fine Arts in Plovdiv and the University of Veliko Tarnovo.

Crown and Restoration: A Projection of the Past in the Design of the Bulgarian Heraldic Crown. Only one element of the state arms – the crown, will be studied. It is loaded with meanings, both in terms of revolutionary changes and connotations of the past. Despite the blazon being set in the 1991 Constitution, no consensus was

reached on the emblazon, as it was unclear whether a crown should be present and what its design should be. The republic "restored" the royal coat of arms, but with a newly designed crown. This communication problematizes the arguments of various political parties, emphasizing the *fear of restoration* among former communists that the symbolic return to the old coat of arms will become a step towards the restoration of the monarchy.

16.45. **Dr. Agnė Railaitė-Bardė**, A.I.H. (**Lithuania**), is Chair of the Lithuanian Heraldry Commission and works as Chief Specialist for Lithuanian Heraldry in the Office of the President of the Republic of Lithuania. She also works at the Lithuanian Institute of History and recently published a monograph "Origo et Arma. Origins and the Coat of Arms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th–18th Centuries" (in Lithuanian). She gave lectures for bachelor students at Vilnius University (2014–2020). Her main academic fields of interest are heraldry and genealogy of the nobility and the Lithuanian state, and municipal heraldry.

The Greater Coat of Arms of Lithuania: To Be, or Not to Be? The coat of arms of Lithuania, named Vytis, has a long and rich history which begins in the 14th century. After Lithuania came under the rule of the Russian Empire in 1795, the heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had been used for several centuries, disappeared from public spaces. It returned when Lithuania gained independence in 1918. During the inter-war period, the restoration and creation of state, national and municipal symbols took place. The Soviet occupation once again shook the history of Lithuanian heraldry to its foundations, restored again following independence in 1990. Alongside the issue of the standard of Lithuanian state coat of arms, the idea of a greater coat of arms, which is still sporadically alive today, is being revived. To be, or not to be, that is the question.

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17.30–19.00 Board meeting of the A.I.G, Bennett Room, Clare College
18.00–19.00 College Library visits to Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Wren Library, Trinity College and Gonville & Caius College Library.

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Wednesday 17th August 09.00–10.30 Session 9 Riley Auditorium.

Reformist Themes. Chair: Jan Anema, A.I.G., a.i.h.

09.00. **Matthew Hovious (Spain)**, holds an Advanced Degree in Genealogy, Heraldry and Nobility Studies from the *Marqués de Avilés* school in Madrid. He works as a professional genealogist and has nearly two decades' full-time work experience building lineages from primary source records at archives in every area of Spain, and in other European nations. He has worked for assorted American television programmes included on-screen appearances on *Who Do You Think You Are?* with actor Martin Sheen and *Faces of America* with politician Linda Chavez.

Legislating Damnatio Memoriae in Spain's Twentieth-Century Peerage.The Spanish government has taken the revolutionary step of bringing forward legislation to abolish at a stroke all titles of nobility granted between 1948 and 1974 by a previous head of state, General Francisco Franco, a singular reformation of the country's field of Honours Law. Many outside Spain will be unaware that from 1948 Franco routinely granted new titles as well as augmentations of honours bestowed by earlier Spanish sovereigns. We will examine the legal precedents and the basis for a government's decision to selectively void honours granted in previous eras. In closing, the talk will consider the wider implications for Spain's peerage and for honours systems as a whole if, against the backdrop of campaigns to 'decolonise' everyday life and to remove statues and other memorials to earlier achievements now deemed controversial, elected governments opt for the annulment en masse of all honours bestowed by a specific fons honorum.

09.45. **Gonzalo Borda (Peru)** is a Full Member of the Peruvian Institute of Genealogical Research. He has been awarded the Cross of Benemérito of the Society of Founders of the Independence of Peru and the Medal of the Bicentennial of Peru.

The Reform of an Inca social genealogy. The aim of this talk is to penetrate the forest of a genealogy linked to the new race which extinguished the original native lineages. It will consider the creation of this new ethnic group, while revealing the transparent concepts and stony impostures which informed the two worlds. Peru has just completed the Bicentennial of its Independence (1821–2021). Therefore, it is a reasonable moment to reassess the nature of the amalgam, and to look afresh at the sixteenth century genealogies contained within the sagas from a turbulent era. **NOT GIVEN** due to military action in Ukraine. See Supplemental lectures: Findlater, below.

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Wednesday 17th August 09.00–10.30 Session 10 Elton-Bowring Room

Restoration of heraldic authority. Chair: Robert Watt, A.I.H.

09.00. **Richard d'Apice** A.M., A.I.H. (**Australia**), is a former President (2003–2020) of the Australian Heraldry Society and current Registrar of its Australian Heraldic Register. A career lawyer, he was the principal author of the State Arms, Symbols and Emblems Act 2004 of the Australian State of New South Wales. He is a former office holder of the National Trust of Australia, the Society of Australian Genealogists and the Royal Australian Historical Society. As heraldic adviser to the Australian Roman Catholic bishops he has designed arms for many bishops and church bodies in Australia and Oceania.

Restoration of heraldic authority in Malta and a comparison with the current situation in Australia. The exercise of heraldic jurisdiction by the Republic of Malta, after its absence from the island nation for nearly 50 years, is an exciting development both for what it represents for Malta and for what it demonstrates can be achieved in the other Commonwealth countries which do not yet have their own heraldic

authorities, whether monarchies or republics. Maltese developments are compared with those in Australia where jurisdiction is still claimed by the English College of Arms. A ministerial exercise of the Australian Royal Prerogative has accorded grants by the College of Arms the same standing as self-assumed arms in Australia. This was followed by an overview of recent developments in the manner of exercising the right to self-assumption and the creation of the Australian Heraldic Register.

09.45. **David B. Appleton**, B.S., a.i.h. (**U.S.A**.), is an author of three books on heraldry and a frequent speaker at the international heraldry congresses since 1996, in addition to regularly posting on his blog, *Heraldry: Musings on an esoteric topic*.

A brief history of heralds and heraldic organizations in the United States of America following independence. Following independence, and continuing up through today, there have been a number of proposals for and organizations which have attempted to fill the "heraldic void" created by American autonomy from Britain, some with more, and some with less, success. How have these proposals been received? What laws have been introduced which affect heraldry in the United States? What organizations have been established to guide or to assist Americans in their creation and use of heraldry? And what is the status of the use of heraldry in America today? We will try to answer these questions in a chronological review of the regulation and use of heraldry in the United States from the War of Independence through today.

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Wednesday 17th August 11.00–12.30 Session 11 Riley Auditorium.

The DNA Revolution part 1. Chair: Dr Paul Fox, F.H.G., A.I.H.

11.00. <u>Plenary Lecture 4</u>. **Prof Dr Toomas Kivisild**, Ph.D. (**Belgium**), is Professor of Human Genetics at the University of Leuven. Of Estonian origin, between 2006 and 2018 Prof Kivisild was a lecturer in human evolutionary genetics at the University of Cambridge Department of Archaeology and Anthropology. He has published widely, and eloquently, in his field.

Genetic connectedness between modern and ancient genomes. The main focus of this lecture will be insights gained from European skeletal remains, with a particular focus on Cambridgeshire, and how these relate to living populations. Advances in ancient DNA methods have enabled us to explore the genetic ancestries and relationships with past communities in ever increasing detail. In this presentation specific focus will be on approaches that link community structures extracted from large biobank-scale data from present-day populations of Estonia, the UK and Belgium with ancient genomes from Iron Age, Roman and Medieval periods. Genetic ancestry and relatedness refer to different levels of population structure at which we can identify our common origins with others within and outside our own community. While mitochondrial DNA and Y chromosome analyses have been useful in allowing

us to trace deep in time connections between uniparentally related individual, they cover only tiny fraction of the genetic links to our ancestors and living relatives. With whole genome analyses we can identify wide spectrum of ancestries and relationships not only between us and other living individuals but also with those from past populations. We need to proceed with caution as the identification of relatedness can be influenced by demographic events and mating customs in population histories.

11.45. **Laura Ann House**, M.Sc. (**England**) graduated with distinction in Genealogical, Palaeographic, and Heraldic Studies from the University of Strathclyde, focusing on the application of Y and autosomal DNA to the investigation of surname changes. She has written articles, led courses, and spoken at numerous conferences about genetic genealogy, also appearing on the television and radio. Laura currently works as the primary genetic genealogist in the UK division of Ancestry Pro Genealogists, and she is a member of the Register of Qualified Genealogists (RQG). In her work she uses DNA data to solve unknown parentage cases and historical genealogical quandaries.

DNA Testing: The Genealogical Revolution. This talk discussed the ways in which DNA testing has reformed genealogical best practice, revolutionised the field of genealogy beyond our wildest imaginings, and restored the personal histories of people who previously had no access to this information. In terms of reformation, professional genealogists are currently re-evaluating the genealogical proof standard in light of this new technology. Any methodology that does not incorporate both elements may be lacking, and if researchers wish to remain at the cutting-edge of the field, they must learn to work with this new and invaluable resource.

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Wednesday 17th August 11.00–12.30 Session 12 Elton-Bowring Room

Development of the Office of Arms in England. Chair: Prof Dr Luc Duerloo, A.I.H.

11.00. **Dr Adrian Peter Ailes**, M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.H.S., A.I.H. (**England**) is a retired archivist at *The National Archives*, UK, and currently an Honorary Research Associate at Bristol University, and Leverhulme Emeritus Research Fellow, preparing an edition of Elias Ashmole's Berkshire church notes taken on his Visitation of that county. He is a Vice-President of The Heraldry Society and member of several editorial boards including The *Coat of Arms* and *Heraldisk Tidsskrift.* He is a former chair and current member of Education Committee of the A.I.H.

A Quiet Revolution: New light on the first chapter of English heralds, 1421. Towards the end of Henry V's reign, and not that long after his famous victory at Agincourt, a quiet revolution took place in English heraldry. As far as we know the first ever formal chapter of English heralds was convened. Detailed examination of a hitherto little-known account of this important event has thrown important new light on what was agreed on that occasion. It is a sad tale of deceit, forgery, and shameless propaganda, but is hoped that recent finds concerning this turning point in English heraldry will go some way to uncovering what did happen and when.

Lectures by Academic Bursary Winners part 1. Chair: Prof Dr Luc Duerloo, A.I.H.

11.45. **Agnieszka Żurek**, M.A. (**Poland**), has just completed her M.A. in English philology at the University of Wrocław. She hopes to continue her studies in the Doctoral School of the same university. Her paper on 'Heraldry in J.R.R. Tolkien's *Legendarium*' will shortly be published in *The Coat of Arms*. William Morris's works and the archaization in his novels was the theme of her earlier B.A. dissertation.

> **Restoration of Form, Reform of Matter: Heraldry in Late Prose Romances of William Morris.** The study focuses on eight late prose romances of William Morris. The heraldic elements are discussed in relation to the authentic heraldry of the times the story is set (if it is identifiable), to the imaginary heraldry of medieval chivalry romances, and to the heraldry of the author's time. The heraldic systems which can be reconstructed from the plots of these romances are largely influenced by imaginary heraldry, especially from the Arthurian canon, as there are numerous allusive coats of arms and archetypal figures of knights bearing plain shields, such as Black Knight and White Knight. Morris combines elements derived from heraldry of different places and times (including pre-heraldic). The great majority of the coats of arms belong either to sovereign nations/tribes or to communities such as municipal guilds and knightly orders. Morris's heraldry may be interpreted as an instrument of social reform, corresponding with Morris's political ideas.

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12.30–14.00: Lunch meeting of the C.I.G.H., Bennett Room, Clare College.
12.30–14.00: Lunch provided for delegates in the Garden Room. Exhibition Area visits.

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Wednesday 17th August 14.00–15.30: Session 13 Elton-Bowring Room

Lectures by Academic Bursary Winners part 2. Chair: Mrs Elizabeth Roads, L.V.O., A.I.H.

14.00. **Drăgan-George Basarabă (Romania**) is currently enrolled in a master's degree in art history at the University of Alba Iulia, with a thesis focused on the monumental heraldry in Timișoara. He is a member of the "Sever Zotta" Romanian Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry and an honorary member of the Transylvanian Association of Heraldry and Vexillology.

> **Religious Tolerance Reflected in the Grants of Arms Issued by the Princes of Transylvania (1541–1765).** This paper aims to examine how the policy of religious tolerance adopted after the confessional diversification resulting from the penetration of the Reformation in Transylvania in the 1540s was reflected in the policy of granting heraldic insignia to priests or pastors belonging to Roman-Catholic and Orthodox denominations, as well as to Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians. After the Habsburgs took control of the principality, we once again see arms granted to Roman-Catholics,

but also to Greek-Catholics – former Orthodox priests united with the Catholic Church as a result of the Counter-Reformation. Thus, the grants of arms issued to priestly figures in the Principality of Transylvania perfectly reflect the religious tolerance, diversity, and state policy of this Carpathian state.

14.45. **Nathaniel Nagar**, M.A. **(Israel),** is a Ph.D. student at the University of Haifa. His subject is Cultural and Religious Aspects of Early Modern English Heraldry. Between 2010 and 2014 he was engaged in historical studies at Tel Aviv University.

Heralds and Antiquaries as Keepers of the Social Order in Early Modern England. This paper dealt with the extraordinary cooperation between Heralds and Antiquarians during the 'Long Reformation' in England – a period characterized by an iconoclasm that endangered the genealogic memory inherent in heraldry. At the same time, attempts of unworthy people were made to integrate into the nobility class illegally based on forged arms and genealogy. In the 16th and 17th centuries various antiquaries operated throughout England, some of whom chose to focus on recording arms from public spaces, probably out of fear of their loss. At the same time, heralds used the method of visitations to England's counties to verify genealogies. These two groups – both of nobility class – ultimately worked for the same goal: preserving social order. The Elizabethan Antiquaries Society, which operated in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, chose to hold their meetings at the Heralds' Residence. My contention is that this choice created connections hence cooperation between the members of the two groups, like information sharing, joint ventures, and the use of the same documenting convention. On the one hand the antiquarians learned the heraldic language, and on the other hand, heralds learned the antiquarian method of perambulation, rather than merely making visitations, passively oriented.

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Wednesday 17th August 14.00–15.30: Session 14 Riley Auditorium.

The DNA Revolution, part 2. Chair: Dr Richard Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H.

14.00. **Prof Mark Watson-Gandy (England)**, is Chair of the Biometrics and Forensic Ethics Group, a Home Office N.D.P.B., and a member of the Home Office Science Advisory Council. He is a practising barrister and is a Visiting Professor at the Universities of Westminster and Lorraine.

Genetic Genealogy: from Scottish Baronets to Serial Killers. Genetic genealogy is the application of DNA analysis and traditional genealogy to infer relationships between individuals. Comparison of individuals is carried out using commercial genealogy databases. Were the UK to adopt genetic genealogy to solve crimes, processes would be needed to ensure the security of the data and to ensure the genetic analysis was carried out in an accredited analytical environment which could offer security, proper process, and confidentiality. To support this there would be a need for genealogists to undertake this work, with a new professional body to regulate them.

Medieval Genealogy. Chair: Dr Richard Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H.

14.45. **David E. Rencher**, A.G., C.G., F.U.G.A., F.I.G.R.S. (**U.S.A.**), is Director of the Family History Library and Chief Genealogical Officer for *FamilySearch*. A professional genealogist since 1977, he has earned both U.S. professional credentials: Accredited Genealogist with ICAPGen in Ireland research and Certified Genealogist with the Board for Certification of Genealogists. He is a fellow of the Irish Genealogical Research Society, London, and the Utah Genealogical Association. He is a past president of the Federation of Genealogical Societies and currently serves on the board of directors of the National Genealogical Society.

Using the Resources of FamilySearch for Medieval Genealogy and Heraldry Research. This presentation focussed on an examination of the resources available through the FamilySearch website, currently available in thirty international languages. Participants were invited to explore the resources of the FamilySearch catalogue and the FamilySearch Research Wiki. The catalogue serves as the portal to exploring the wealth of resources available and the wiki contains numerous pages with links to medieval and heraldic resources.

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Wednesday 17th August 16.00–17.30 Session 15 Riley Auditorium.

Heraldry of national arms, part 3. Chair: Prof Dr Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, A.I.G, A.I.H.

16.00. **Dr Henrik Klackenberg** Ph.D., A.I.H. (**Sweden**), recently retired as State Herald at the Riksarkivet in Sweden, a post which he held from 1999. He was appointed as Chamberlain in 2013. His earlier career included Researcher at Riksantikvarieämbetet (National Board of Antiquities) 1979–1984, Doctoral research and teaching at Lund university 1984–1992, Curator at Statens Historiska Museum (Museum of National Antiquities) 1992–1993, and Director of Kungl. Myntkabinettet (Royal Coin Cabinet) 1993–1998.

King Gustav I of the Vasa dynasty and the symbols of royal power. In 1521 the nobleman Gustav Eriksson of the Vasa family initiated a revolt that finally broke Sweden out of the Kalmar Union, made himself king and founder of a royal dynasty. This lecture will focus on the development of heraldry on seals, coins, regalia and other symbols of royal power during his reign (1523–1560). Important sources for this study are the seals of Gustav Vasa as a nobleman, regent and king. The coins of this period also carry information of the heraldic development. The king's funeral in 1560 was an ambitious display of royal power, modelled on the funeral of the emperor Karl V which had taken place in Brussels in 1558. Here, heraldry had an important role and in Sweden this was the first time that arms for each province appeared.

16.45. **Bruce Patterson** B.A., B.Ed., F.R.H.S.C., a.i.h. (**Canada**), has been Deputy Chief Herald of Canada since 2010. He was appointed Saguenay Herald in 2000, and promoted to Saint-Laurent Herald and Registrar in 2008. He is an Associate of the Académie international d'héraldique, and a Fellow of the Royal Heraldry Society of Canada.

A Bourbon Restoration in the Arms of Canada. In 1921, King George V proclaimed arms for the Dominion of Canada. The design, intended to show continuity with the Royal Arms of the United Kingdom, included a quarter of the royal arms of France. In spite of the title of the lecture, this reflected not a claim to the throne of France, but an acknowledgment of the French fact in Canada, and it could not have happened without a reclamation of the royalist and Catholic heritage of New France in the iconography of francophone Canada at the beginning of the last century, very much in opposition to the anti-clerical nature of the government of the French republic and the symbolic heritage of French Canadians in the 19th century. This choice would have a lasting legacy in the symbolic representation of Canada in the following century. This paper reflected on the choices made in the creation of the arms of Canada, and provided an analysis of the importance of the fleur-de-lis in grants from the Canadian Heraldic Authority, with a statistical analysis of the occurrence of the emblem in modern Canadian heraldry. Ironically, while the symbol has decreased in importance in post-royalist France, it has found a solid home, and even a form of symbolic restoration, in Canada, in spite of the fact that modern francophone Canada retains few other links to the outlook of the ancient regime.

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Wednesday 17th August 16.00–17.30 Session 16 Elton-Bowring Room.

Impact of Reform on territorial arms. Chair: Dr Adrian Ailes, A.I.H.

16.00. **Dr. Gerard Marí Brull**, Ph.D (**Spain**), has been an Associate Professor at the Unit of Medieval History, Modern History, Palaeography and Diplomacy, within the Department of History and Archaeology, Faculty of Geography and History, at the University of Barcelona, since 1985. He teaching subjects include palaeography, heraldry, genealogy and sigillography.

Revolutions, Restorations and Heraldic Policy during the Reign of Ferdinand VII (1808–1833). The Reign of Fernando VII (1808–1833) is very complex one, and included several translations of power between Carlos IV and Fernando VII (from father to son and again son to father), and abdication in favour of Napoleon Bonaparte, a liberal revolution in 1820, and a second restoration in 1823. Therefore, there were different loyalties to different governments and kings: loyalty to the Spanish Bourbons, Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, loyalty to Joseph I, Napoleon's brother and King of Spain, loyalty to the Emperor, who commanded the French generals and also created military and civil governments in some territories not linked to Joseph I. These resignations, appointments, revolutions and restorations brought changes in

the heraldic signs of the administration and of power, one after another. The goal of this paper is to draw a heraldic map with the different emblems used in each territory.

The science of sigillography and new interpretations of early heraldry. Chair: Dr Adrian Ailes, A.I.H.

16.45. **Peter G.R. Howarth**, B.Ed. (**England),** is a retired solicitor and educationalist. Since retiring in 2006 he has focussed his efforts on medieval social history, especially the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, on sigillography, and on heraldry.

Looking at the start of heraldry: should we restore an old sigillographic approach? In 1876 the French sigillographer, Germain Demay, looked at the seals of twelfth-century families, mainly from the north-east of France, to find the last time they used conventional, non-heraldic seals and the first time that they used seals with heraldry. Applying Demay's method to early English comital seals produces similar overall results. Although there are heraldic-looking seals from the 1140s, like those of the Clare earls of Hertford and Pembroke, the counts of Vermandois and Meulan, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, there are also non-heraldic seals associated with them that question how far they constitute true heraldry. We therefore need to take relevant non-heraldic seals into account, and not limit ourselves to studying just heraldic examples. We need to restore Demay's approach.

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17.30–19.00 Board meeting of the A.I.H., Bennett Room, Clare College
18.00–19.00 College Library visits to St John's College Library and the Wren Library, Trinity College.

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Thursday 18th August 09.00–10.30: Session 17 Elton-Bowring Room.

Revolutionary systems for Genealogy. Chair: Dr Rolf Sutter, A.I.G, A.I.H.

09.00. **Simon Fowler (England**), has worked for *The National Archives* on and off for over thirty years. A former editor of *Family History Monthly* and *Ancestors* magazines, he has authored well over a dozen books, mainly genealogical help guides. He is a Council member of AGRA, an Associate Teaching Fellow at Dundee University, and regular lecturer at the *Society of Genealogists*.

The Card Index: a revolution in record keeping. This paper will describe how card indexes evolved from the 1870s. They were originally a key tool in the transformation of American business practices after the Civil War. The idea was quickly adopted by governments and businesses around the world as they were easy to create and maintain. The paper will also describe how a few of the key sets of card indexes still used by genealogists today were created. In particular it will look at how the Red Cross used cards to keep trace of prisoners of war from every nation during the First

World War, how the British Foreign Office summarised the despatches and telegrams that arrived by their tens of thousands each day, and finally how the International Tracing Service used cards to record details of the victims of the Holocaust.

09.45. **Prof. Dr-Ing Dominikus Heckmann** Ph.D. (**Germany**), of the East Bavarian Technical University Amberg-Weiden.

A new genealogical ordering system to denote all kind of Kinship and Affinity relations. This talk presented an extended and refined new, simple, uniform genealogical ordering system that combines smoothly Galton's Sequential system to denote ancestors with the modified Henry system to denote descendants.

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Thursday 18th August 09.00–10.30: Session 18, Riley Auditorium.

New understandings of rolls of arms and analogous documents, part 2. Chair: Dr Stephen Thiry, A.I.H.

09.00. **Klaas Padberg Evenboer (Netherlands**), is editor of the heraldic magazine *Blazoen* and chairman of the College of Heralds of the Dutch Heraldry Society (N.G.H.). He is a regular contributor to the Flemish magazine *Heraldicum Disputationes*. His research focuses on medieval tournaments and heraldry in connection with genealogy, mainly of the Burgundian Netherlands and adjacent territories. He is a member of the Royal Dutch Society of Genealogy and Heraldry, of Herold (Berlin), and of the Société Suisse d'Héraldique.

Development of style in the heraldic codex of Hendrik van Heessel, King of Arms of the Ruwieren. A new analysis of the heraldic codex compiled by Hendrik van Heessel between 1433 and approximately 1460. Van Heessel served under Emperor Sigismund, king of the Romans Albert II and Frederick III, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. This lecture analysed the different drawing styles that can be distinguished in his heraldic codex and the development thereof. It examined the question of why certain coats of arms series are drawn in more detail and what that means. The distinguishable styles were linked and compared with some known and unknown heraldic manuscripts.

09.45. **Hannah Iterbeke** M.A. & **Claire Toussat** M.A. (**Belgium**). Claire Toussat is scientific assistant at Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA), Brussels and an Independent painting conservator, having obtaining separate Masters in art history and in conservation of paintings at the University Panthéon Sorbonne in Paris.
Hannah Iterbeke is Curator at the Museum Hof van Busleyden in Mechelen. After obtaining her Master's degree in art history at Leuven in 2015, Hannah worked as a junior researcher at Illuminare – Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Art in Leuven. In 2017 she joined the ArtGarden research project (2016–2020). Her publications have included papers in the journals *Textile: Cloth and Culture* and *IKON – Journal for Iconographic Studies*.

Searching for Unity: Revisiting the Coats of Arms of the 1491 Chapter of the Golden Fleece held in Mechelen. The 15th chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, held in the city of Mechelen in 1491, was an important instrument for Maximilian of Austria to restore and perpetuate the power and authority of the Burgundian-Habsburg monarchy. Witnesses to this crucial chapter of 1491 are the coats of arms which hung in the stalls above each knight in choir of the St. Rumbold's church, and are still preserved in situ today. More than 500 years later, these pieces are in poor condition and in need of a thorough conservation treatment. To this end, an interdisciplinary research project was launched focussing on material-technical analyses and (art) historical research. The study has already led to some exciting discoveries concerning the politically charged arrangement of the heraldic panels in their original display context. As a result, this paper can shed new light on the physical and hierarchical position of the knights of the Order during the 1491 chapter and will simultaneously attempt to embed these findings in the tense period after the Flemish revolts. *Language: English, slides in French.*

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Thursday 18th August 11.00–12.30: Session 19, Riley Auditorium.

Protest and migration. Chair: Dr David Wright, F.S.G., F.H.G.

11.00. Plenary Lecture 5. **Dr Nick Barratt**, Ph.D. (**England**), is a genealogist and Director of the Senate House Library at the University of London. He worked at the *Public Record Office*, now *The National Archives*, from 1996 to 2000 before leaving to work as a specialist researcher at the B.B.C., whilst establishing Sticks Research Agency. He is also CEO of Nation's Memory Bank and advisor at Digital Estate Corporation. He is currently involved in the project the *Family History Show*, a genealogy video magazine. He is perhaps best known as genealogical consultant for series 1 to 4 of the BBC show *Who Do You Think You Are?*

A march through time: the genealogy of protest and reform. This talk looked at a key protest or reform movements of each century, and highlighted how sources can reveal the impact on communities and the role our ancestors played in the movement.

11.45. **John Stuart Titford** M.A., MèsL, F.S.A., F.S.G., F.H.G. (**England**) is a professional genealogist, a freelance writer, a lecturer, and an antiquarian bookseller. He has written a number of books and articles on family history, and is the author/editor of the latest edition of the *Penguin Dictionary of British Surnames*. He is a Trustee, and Chairman of Examiners, of the *Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies*.

Migrants on the move: "bounce-backers". Many of our ancestors and their families left home in search of a better life elsewhere, but a good number later returned to the place they had left originally, as if they had never been away. They were *restored* to their homes and their loved ones. Using detailed examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this lecture aims to describe the phenomenon of migrants who

returned home, while introducing original source material, some of it mainstream, some delightfully different.

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Thursday 18th August 11.00–12.30: Session 20. Elton-Bowring Room.

Counter Reformation and Counter Revolution. Chair: Dr Andrew Gray, F.H.S., a.i.h.

11.00. **Dr Tamás Körmendi**, M.A., Ph.D., dr. habil., A.I.H. (**Hungary**), is associate professor and head of the Department of Auxiliary Studies of History at Eötvös Loránd University [ELTE] —Budapest, School of History. He obtained his dr. habil. Inheraldry in 2014. He is the author of more than 100 scientific publications on medieval and early modern history and heraldry, among them two monographs. He is a specialist in heraldry, archival studies, and latin philology. **NOT GIVEN**, see Supplemental lectures, Combs-Bennett, below.

Symbols Related to Catholic Counter-Reformation in the Heraldry of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 17th–18th Centuries. This paper is an attempt to fill a gap in Hungarian heraldic research, taking as its theme the complex picture of the Hungarian noble and municipal heraldry in the early modern period. It draws upon the totality of the armorial letters issued by Hungarian kings in the period (about 2,500 charters). Special attention has been paid to the heraldic representations of catholic saints which is a general feature in Hungarian municipal heraldry from the middle ages. This developed different characteristics during the period of the counter-reformation and was greatly influenced by Central European baroque aesthetics. Particular attention is paid to the symbol of the cross and its revival in the heraldry of Hungarian aristocrats, noblemen and municipalities, both as a symbol of Christianity against the Ottomans and as a symbol of the counter-reformation against all protestant confessions. Hungarian protestants did not use the cross as a symbol. The use of so-called catholic symbols in their coats of arms was not simply a choice of confession in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary, but also a gesture of loyalty to the state and the reigning Habsburg dynasty.

11.45. **Dr Nathaniel Lane Taylor**, Ph.D., F.A.S.G. (**U.S.A**.), is Editor and Publisher of *The American Genealogist*. He holds a doctorate in medieval European history from Harvard University (1995), and taught history and medieval studies at the university level for several years before turning to focus on genealogical writing. His published research includes genealogical investigations in medieval Europe and colonial North America; the history of genealogy; heraldry, and related fields. Dr. Taylor is Secretary of the American Society of Genealogists, and Registrar of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society

An Heraldic American Counter-Revolution: Honorary Grants of Arms to Americans by British Heraldic Authorities, 1918–1960. The American Revolution severed all claims to jurisdiction by the English and Scottish heraldic authorities over their populations in their former colonies. The leaders of the new republic, notably President Washington, declined to erect similar heraldic regulatory authorities. A

century later, Americans saw a great surge in interest in their colonial ancestry, and public interest in heraldry grew in parallel. Beginning just after the First World War, several Americans sought validation of their British roots through grants of arms from English and Scottish heraldic authorities. John Ross Delafield of New York, a veteran of the War, led this charge by securing English and Scottish grants or matriculations representing his ancestral and allied families. The precedents sought and established by Delafield and other counter-revolutionaries in these years ushered in the systems of honorary heraldic action by British authorities—English, Scottish, and later Irish— that persist to this day. Drawing on the abundant archives of the New England Historic Genealogical Society's Committee on Heraldry, where many such granted arms were registered, this presentation will illuminate the development of British honorary grants or matriculations of arms to Americans from 1918 to 1960. Correspondence, memoranda, and patents allow us to explore the motives and perspectives of the Americans, and the British heraldic authorities, who worked to set these systems in motion.

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12.30–14.00. Lunch meeting of the I.C.O.C., Bennett Room, Clare College.
12.30–14.00 Lunch provided for delegates in the Garden Room. Visits to Exhibition Areas

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Thursday 18th August 14.00–15.30: Session 21 Riley Auditorium.

The Genealogy of Revolutions. Chair: Dr Richard Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H.

14.00. **Dr Bruce Durie**, B.Sc, Ph.D., A.I.G. (**Scotland**) is a Genealogist, Heraldist, Author, Broadcaster and Lecturer. He is a Fellow of the University of Edinburgh, *Shennachie* to the Chief of Durie, a Freeman and Burgess of the City of Glasgow and has Right of Audience at the Court of the Lord Lyon.

The genealogy of the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, and why it has no relationship with the Arbroath Letter of 1320. An examination of : the origins of the American Declaration of Independence and possible influences (its "genealogy"); the nature and intent of the Arbroath Letter of 1320 and the erroneous readings of it; the lack of evidence that the two are in any way connected; the mediaeval mindset, the Scottish Enlightenment mindset and the proto-American mindset; how the mistaken connection to Tartan Day in the USA has come about and is perpetuated.

The impact of the Protestant Reformation on Heraldry, part 1. Chair: Dr Richard Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H.

14.45. **Prof. Dr. Luc Duerloo** A.I.H. (**Belgium**), is professor in ordinary at the University of Antwerp and a member of the Class of the Humanities of the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts. He is a co-author of the *Armorial of the Belgian*

nobility and serves as president of the Flemish Heraldic Council and as a board member of the A.I.H.

When the Saints went marching in: Representations of Saints in the Municipal Heraldry of the Low Countries. Representations of saints were a rarity in the municipal heraldry of the Low Countries before the nineteenth century. The newly established Kingdom of the Netherlands brought a radical, if unpremeditated, change. A textbook example of a Restoration regime that sought to cloak the institutional structures installed by the French Revolution with the outward trappings of the *Ancien Régime*, it ordered all municipalities to either have their old coats of arms confirmed or have new ones granted. In some predominantly Catholic regions of the country that led to the largescale adoption of representations of the patron saint of the local parish as the sole or main charge in the municipal arms. For a long time these stereotypical saint's arms occupied an important place in the municipal heraldry of the Netherlands and Belgium. Over time almost 80 different saints came to feature in the municipal arms of either country. There has been a gradual disappearance of local patron saints from municipal heraldry from the final decades of the twentieth century onward.

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Thursday 18th August 14.00–15.30: Session 22. Elton-Bowring Room.

Revolutionary era heraldry, part 1. Chair: Dr Henrik Klackenberg, A.I.H.

14.00. **Dr Andrew Gray**, Ph.D., F.H.S., a.i.h. (**England**). Formerly an industrial research chemist, Andrew became on retirement a Council member and officer of the Heraldry Society. As well as managing the Society's digital image library and overseeing the relaunch of its website, he has initiated a programme to collect and digitally publish documentary sources not readily accessible to the student of heraldry, under the title Heraldry Archive. This has included an image library of funeral heraldry, armorials of the Order of the Garter, and various surveys, journals and bibliographies. The Society awarded him a Fellowship.

Garters at War: The exiled Sir Edward Walker and the renegade Sir Edward Bysshe, their work and its fate under the restored King Charles II. The triumph of the Parliamentary army and the subsequent execution of King Charles I in 1649 might have been a catastrophe for English heraldry, and the College of Arms in particular. But Parliament had taken the precaution of filling the vacant office of Garter Principal King of Arms with one of its own members, Edward Bysshe, who was able to safeguard the priceless collections of the College and maintain it as a fully staffed, fully functional office of state. Meanwhile the Royal appointee, Edward Walker, accompanied King Charles on campaign and then his successor Charles II in exile. Both Garters issued grants of arms in significant numbers, but when the monarchy was restored in 1660 the acts of the London-based Kings of Arms were annulled. However, Bysshe was allowed to continue as Clarenceux King of Arms under Garter Walker. This offered opportunities for reinstating grants of the Commonwealth heralds, and this talk will trace how far this succeeded.

14.45. Prof Dr Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, Ph.D., F.S.A. F.R.Hist.S., A.I.H, A.I.G. (Denmark).

Noble and burgher arms in revolutionary times: Examples of political profiles in 18th-20th century Denmark. This was a time where new men more easily rose to the top of society, while older families were displaced, and where new ideas of liberty, equality and justice often found their ways into heraldry. The paper focussed on an examination of the choices of armorial bearings of two Danish counts, who were both proponents of radical reforms, but with quite different social backgrounds, and with different choices of symbols: Count Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772) and Count Adam Gottlob Detlev Moltke (1765–1843). The arms of various other prominent 19th century Danish politicians were also considered.

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Thursday 18th August 16.00–17.30: Session 23. Riley Auditorium.

The impact of the Protestant Reformation on Heraldry, part 2. Chair: Elizabeth Roads, A.I.H.

16.00. **John Malden**, M.Phil., F.H.S., F.H.S.S. (**Scotland**), is Slains Pursuivant to the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland, and the immediate Past President the Heraldry Society of Scotland. He served as Unicorn Pursuivant of Arms at the Court of the Lord Lyon 2012–2015. He is a retired local government officer (Museums); late Director of the Paxton Trust. Editor the *Dunvegan Armorial* 2006 and *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* 2014. He has been elected to the Fellowships of the Heraldry Society of Great Britain and the Heraldry Society of Scotland.

Reformation ? – what Reformation ? Religious symbolism in Scottish Heraldry. Following the unsuccessful attempts of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St.Andrews to negotiate reforms for the church in Scotland an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed on 24th August 1560 banning the Pope's jurisdiction in Scotland. Subsequent legislation forbade the use of religious imagery and the iconoclasts had a field day of destruction in the Nation's churches. Whilst religious imagery, such as the use of altar breads as a charge, disappeared from personal heraldry, burghs in Scotland stood fast in the use of their ancient seals. When it came to matriculating burghal arms in later years, at least three Lords Lyon allowed blatant religious imagery – Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo from 1672; Sir Francis Grant from 1929 and Sir Thomas Ines of Learney from 1950 (all staunch episcopalians) granted thirty two burgh arms between them. In spite of a long history of legislation to discourage Roman Catholicism and the associated religious imagery, Scotland has retained a diversity of local authority heraldry clearly referring to pre-Reformation times.

16.45. **Dr. Steven Thiry,** Ph.D., A.I.H. (**Belgium**), obtained his Ph.D. in 2015 from the University of Antwerp with a dissertation titled '*Matter(s) of State. Heraldic Display and Discourse in the Early Modern Monarch (c. 1480–1650)'*. As a postdoctoral researcher he has worked and published on dynastic culture and political symbolism in France, the Spanish Monarchy and the Habsburg Netherlands, with a specific focus on the political

use of heraldic imagery. Since 2019 he had serves as the secretary of the Flemish Heraldic Council and as a heritage policy advisor to the Flemish government. He chairs the Education Committee of the A.I.H.

Heraldic Revenge and Reward in the Dutch Revolt. In the second half of the sixteenth century civil strife ravaged the Habsburg Netherlands. Dissatisfied nobles and rebel factions with Protestant sympathies defied royal authority in a violent conflict that eventually tore the country apart. Central to the imagery of revolt, heraldry proved a potent means to express dissent, as well as an instrument to redefine political relations. The Spanish king Philip II was faced with disobedient noble subjects whose heraldic identity depended upon his consent. Stripping them of these visual honours (alongside corporal punishment and confiscations) thus affirmed Habsburg power. At the same time, such heraldic punishment asked for careful consideration. Armorial concessions, after all, could equally promote loyalty to the royal cause. The present paper explores this interaction between heraldic punishment and reward during the Dutch Revolt. It sheds new light on a destructive campaign against the arms of rebel nobles in 1569–1570, followed by armorial gestures intended to restore Habsburg authority and which changed heraldry's nature in the attempt.

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Thursday 18th August 16.00–17.30: Session 24 Elton-Bowring Room.

Revolutionary era heraldry, part 2. Chair: Prof Dr Luc Duerloo, A.I.H.

16.00**. E. O. Joseph McMillan**, a.i.h. (**U.S.A**.), is a retired member of the U.S. Senior Executive Service with 34 years in the Department of Defense. His heraldic research focuses on the colonial and early post-Independence eras in the United States, on which he has produced more than a dozen published articles, chapters, and presentations. He is past president of the American Heraldry Society, a member of the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and an associate member of the *Académie internationale d'héraldique.* He has been honoured with the Presidential Rank Award of Meritorious Executive and the Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Medal.

Early American State Heraldry: Sources, Processes, and Symbolism. The military and political American Revolution of 1775–1783 was inevitably accompanied by an iconographic one. The British royal emblems that dominated the official heraldic and sigillographic landscape throughout the colonial era could no longer serve to represent the emerging independent polities that would go on to form the United States. The great seals of nine of the thirteen colonies were engraved with the royal arms of George III; five of them bore his effigy as well. The Revolution thus presented both a need and an opportunity to express independent identities in graphic form, not only in the form of seals but also on printed forms, coins and banknotes, military flags and accoutrements, and in many other applications, both official and unofficial. But where did these new emblems of sovereignty come from? *Language English, slides French.*

16.45. **Cédric Pauwels,** a.i.h. **(Belgium**) is a lawyer and notary, a heraldic author, and a member of the Council of heraldry and vexillology of the French Community of Belgium. He serves as administrator of the Genealogical and Heraldic Office of Belgium.

Héraldique royale en période de révolutions. Sens de l'adaptation des membres de la Famille Royale de Belgique. Royal heraldry in times of revolutions. Adaptations by members of the Royal Family of Belgium. Léopold Ier, roi des Belges, dont les variantes successives de ses armoiries, reflètent les évolutions géopolitiques européennes d'un prince de Cobourg à la Cour de Saint-James jusqu'au fondateur d'un nouvelle dynastie, sera le point de départ de réflexions relatives aux incidences politiques sur les armoiries personnelles des membres de la Famille royale au travers de cas particuliers comme celui de l'accession de Léopold II à la souveraineté sur le Congo, la création de l'empire du Mexique et son influence austro-français, la transposition dans l'ordre juridique belge de l'arrêté impérial et royal pris par l'empereur d'Autriche en 1896 ainsi que la disparition de l'écu de Saxe par non usage suite à la 1ère guerre mondiale et son rétablissement par l'arrêté royal de 2019.
Leopold I, King of the Belgians, whose successive variants of his coat of arms reflect the European geopolitical developments from a Prince of Coburg at the Court of Saint-James to the founder of a new dynasty, will be the starting point for reflections. relating to the political effects on the personal coats of arms of members of the Royal Family through specific cases such as the accession of Leopold II to sovereignty over the Congo, the creation of the Mexican Empire and its Austro-French influence, the transposition into the Belgian legal order of the imperial and royal decree taken by the Emperor of Austria in 1896 as well as the disappearance of the Saxon shield by non-use following the 1st world war and its reinstatement by the royal decree of 2019. *Language-French.*

SUPPLEMENTAL LECTURES.

Shannon Combs-Bennett, B.S., M.Sc, **(U.S.A.)** studied biology with genetics at the University of Indiana, and graduated with an M.Sc. in Genealogical, Heraldic, and Paleographic Studies from the University of Strathclyde in 2019, where she is currently a Ph.D. candidate. In 2017 she was awarded the Benjamin Franklin Silver Award from the Independent Book Publishers Association for *Genealogy Basics In 30 Minutes.*

Birth of a new Aristocracy: The controversial birth of lineage societies in the United States. The study of genealogy has morphed over the past 250 years in the United States. From purely antiquarian studies to mainstream, Americans have suffered from a love hate relationship with the field particularly when it comes to lineage societies. These organizations, whose membership is based on genealogical proof of descent from an applicable ancestor, have thrived and multiplied even when the public media were tearing them apart for being bourgeoise. This presentation focuses on the birth of lineage societies at the end of the American Revolution through to the 21st century discussing public perceptions of elitism in these organizations and how many of them have shaped the field of genealogy in the United States.

Dr Henric Åsklund, Ph.D, a.i.h. **(Sweden)** is Chairman of the Swedish Heraldry Society, Vice Chairman and Treasurer of the Societas Heraldica Lundensis and Chairman of the election committee of the Societas Heraldica Scandinavica.

> **The Founding of the Scandinavian Roll of Arms in 1963 and of the Swedish Register of Arms in 2007: Comparing two Revolutions in the Publication of Burgher Arms in Sweden.** When Societas Heraldica Scandinavica (SHS) was founded in 1959 the proposal to institute a Roll of Arms was soon put forward, but agreement could not be reached and the Scandinavian Roll of Arms (SVR) was founded as an independent entity. SVR quickly became a guiding reference for the assumption of burgher arms in the Nordic countries. The Swedish Heraldry Society, in collaboration with the Swedish National Committee for Genealogy and Heraldry, launched the Swedish Register of Arms (SV) in 2007 a principal aim of which was to reduce the cost of registration. This led to a revolutionary increase in the number of registered arms. The number of arms registered yearly in SV varies between 3 and 8 times that of SVR, which is open to arms from all the Nordic countries. In 2011 the SVR was transferred to SHS, as was the original intent, and the fee has subsequently been substantially reduced. This paper charts the story of the reformation of a national heraldic system.

Alex Maxwell Findlater, A.I.H. **(Scotland)** has authored-edited several books on Scottish heraldry and is a former Chairman of the Heraldry Society of Scotland. He was Secretary General of the 32nd International Congress, held in Glasgow, and has recently stepped down as Treasurer of the A.I.H.

> **The Earldom of Carrick**. Fergus King of Galloway was reformed to become Lord of Galloway. His son Gilbert revolted against the king, and was a very turbulent man all in all. His son Duncan was restored in the King's good graces, and became a model Earl. However in his youth Duncan had not been so compliant, and it was as late as 1225 that he was allowed the comital title. Duncan would have been born in about 1272, and died in 1250. He arranged the marriages of his son, Nicholaus, who died soon after, and also of his grandson Nigel. Nigel left an eldest daughter who married Robert Bruce the elder, and thus Robert Bruce the younger became a King, not of Galloway, his ancestor, but of the whole of Scotland, in another form of restoration.

POSTER PRESENTATION

Steven Ashley, F.H.S., F.S.A., a.i.h. **(England)** is a Norfolk archaeologist and a former Chairman of the Heraldry Society.

> **Armorial graffiti in Norwich Castle keep.** The Anglo-Norman keep at Norwich was constructed between c.1096 and c.1120 as an extravagant expression royal power and authority. The poster attempts to restore the identity of anonymous arms depicted on the walls, which bear many marks and scars from their long history, preserving both evidence of structural changes to the fabric of the building, and a variety of deliberately inscribed meaningful symbols and texts. The latter include masons'

marks from the construction of the building, and religious, pseudo-armorial, armorial, and other personal graffiti, some of which may have been inscribed by those on castle guard, others by those incarcerated within, including prisoners of state captured in dynastic conflicts and wars of conquest and rebellion. Due to problems of access during the current programme of restoration and reconstruction in the keep, this study remains a work in progress. Therefore, a selection of notable examples of armorial graffiti is described and discussed below and potential further research outlined.

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17.30–18.15 Prize-giving by C.I.G.H. and Closing Ceremony, Riley Auditorium
18.15–19.00. General Assembly of the A.I.G, Elton-Bowring Room
18.15–19.00. General Assembly of the A.I.H., Riley Auditorium.
19.00–20.00 **Closing drinks at the Wren Library, Trinity College**.

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Friday 19th August. Day of visits and College tours. There were two half day excursions to

Ely Cathedral and Museum, taking in also the interesting medieval churches at Bottisham and Swaffham Prior. The first departed at 09.00 from the south side of Queen's Road, just to the west of the intersection with West Road. The second coach departed at 13.00, returning at 16.50.

College and University tours. There were ten options.

Christ's College (afternoon only 16.30–17.15, guide Mr David Broomfield**)** was a re-foundation of an earlier college by Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of King Henry VII, in 1505. The north range of the First Court is from the earlier fifteenth century foundation. In the chapel, the monument to Sir Thomas Baines and Sir John Finch was the subject of a recent paper in the *Coat of Arms*. Notable alumni: Charles Darwin, Admiral of the Fleet the Earl Mountbatten of Burma (former Patron of C.U.H.A.G.S.).

The Fitzwilliam Museum Library (morning 11.00–11.45, afternoon 14.30–15.15) provided a special display for delegates curated by Dr Suzanne Reynolds, F.S.A. in the Graham Robertson Room. The kernel of the library collection was 10,000 books donated in 1815 by Richard 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion.

Gonville and Caius College (morning 10.00–10.45, afternoon 14.30–15.15 guided by Dr Paul Fox). Founded in 1348, the college was re-endowed by the physician Dr John Caius (a graduate of the University of Padua) in 1557. The Elizabethan Caius Court is largely as Queen Elizabeth I would have seen it when she visited. There is much Renaissance symbolism here, and the medieval chapel contains some fine heraldic tombs. Notable alumni: William Harvey, Francis Crick, Stephen Hawking; and a total of 14 Nobel prize winners.

Jesus College (afternoon only 13.30–14.15 guided by Mr David Broomfield) was founded in 1496 by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, utilising the buildings of a Benedictine Priory founded in the 1130s. It incorporates some of the original monastic buildings. The chapel, which was restored by Pugin in the Arts and Crafts style, contains a monument which has recently excited considerable controversy. Notable alumni: HRH The Earl of Wessex (Congress Patron), Jacob Bronowski, Robert Malthus.

King's College (morning 09.00–09.45, afternoon 15.30–16.15 guided by Mr David Broomfield) was founded by King Henry VI in 1441. The main focus of the visit is the famous chapel with its fan vaulting, its carved heraldry and its screens and stalls bearing the cyphers H.R. and A.B. for Henry VIII and his ill-fated queen, Anne Boleyn, and its Renaissance stained glass, also provided by Henry VIII. There is a small museum within one of the side chapels. Notable alumni: Alan Turing, John Maynard Keynes, E.M.Forster.

Magdalene College (morning only 10.00–10.45 guided by Mr David Broomfield) was founded in 1428 as a monastic college, and re-founded in 1542 by Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. In the early 1700s Samuel Pepys, the noted diarist, left his library to the college, which can be visited as part of a separate tour (see below). Notable alumni: Thomas Cranmer, Samuel Pepys, Charles Kingsley.

Queens' College (morning only 12.00–12.45 guided by Mr David Broomfield) was originally founded in 1446, and subsequently re-founded by queens, by Margaret of Anjou, wife of King Henry VI in 1448, and in 1475 by her bitter two enemy Elizabeth Woodville, wife of King Edward IV. Richard III was another benefactor. The Old Court is one of the best preserved examples of a medieval Cambridge college, and there is the famous Mathematical Bridge. Notable alumni: Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Stephen Fry.

Senate House (afternoon only 13.30–14.15, guided by Mr Timothy Milner and Ms Nicola Hardy). At the heart of the University within the precinct known as "The Old Schools", the Senate House is the ceremonial centre and was constructed 1722–30. It is not normally open to the public.

Sidney Sussex College (morning only 12.00–12.45) with a special display in the library entitled "Lines of life" which has a genealogical focus, hosted by Dr Nicholas Rogers. The college occupies the site of the Grey Friar's Priory which was suppressed in 1538, and was founded by Lady Frances Sidney, dowager Countess of Sussex, in 1594. It was remodelled by Wyatville during the same period when he was transforming Windsor Castle of George IV. The college's most famous alumnus was Oliver Cromwell, whose skull rests in the college chapel.

Trinity College (morning 11.00–11.45, afternoon 16.30–17.15, guided by Dr Nicolas Bell). Founded 1546 this is the largest, wealthiest, and most magnificent of the Cambridge Colleges. It was founded by King Henry VIII on the sites of two earlier foundations, King's Hall (1337) and Michaelhouse (1324). There is much heraldry to be seen in the chapel and the Great Hall. Notable alumni: Isaac Newton, Lord Byron, William Thackeray, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Ernest Rutherford, Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Jawaharlal Nehru, Ralph Vaughan Williams.

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19.15–20.00 Drinks reception in the gardens of King's College
20.00 -23.00 Congress Dinner in the Great Hall, King's College.
Dress code: Evening dress with decorations. Following the long-established tradition of the Cambridge University Heraldic & Genealogical Society, gentlemen were invited to wear white tie. Black tie, mess dress, and national costume could also be worn.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Dr Adrian P. Ailes, A.I.H. UK
Ronny Andersen, A.I.H., Denmark
Jan Anema, A.I.G., a.i.h., Netherlands
Dr Stoyan Antonov, a.i.h., Bulgaria
Richard d'Apice, A.M., A.I.H. Australia
David B. Appleton, a.i.h., USA
Steven Ashley, a.i.h. UK
Dr Henric Åsklund, a.i.h. Sweden
David Babington-Smith, UK
Jenny Baker, UK
Prof Sir John Baker, UK
Dr Richard C.F. Baker, F.H.G., A.I.H.,
    UK
Ann Ballard, UK
Virginio Baptista, Spain
Marc Baronnet, France
Dr Nick Barratt, UK
Nils Bartholdy, A.I.H., Denmark
Dragan-George Basaraba, Romania
Dr Robert Beaken, UK
Richard van der Beek, Netherlands
Remigijus Bimba, Lithuania
John Boeren, Netherlands
Gonzalo Borda, Peru
Jos van den Borne, Netherlands
David Broomfield, UK
Dr Gerard Mari Brull, Spain
Wilhelm Brummer, Finland
Paul Campbell, UK
Fernando Gonzales de Canales y Ruis,
    Spain
Carolyn Alderson, UK
Charles Charles-Dunne, UK
Ciara Chivers, USA
Carl-Thomas von Christierson, Denmark
Dr Steen Clemmensen, A.I.H., Denmark
Shannon Combs-Bennett, USA
Howard Connell, Isle of Man
Lisa Constanti-Duggan, USA
Stephen Coombs, UK
Tania Crossingham, *Artist in residence*,
    Finland

Timothy Cutts, Wales
Edward Hilary Davis, UK
Mark Dennis, A.I.H., Scotland
Liam Devlin, Rothesay Herald, Scotland
Simon Dietlmeier, Germany
Marius Dolhan, UK
Peter O' Donoghue, York Herald, UK
Andrew Douglas, UK
James Drabble, UK
Anthony Drew, UK
Prof. Dr Luc Duerloo, A.I.H., Belgium
Dr Bruce Durie, A.I.G., Scotland
Klaas Padberg Evenboer, a.i.h.,
    Netherlands
Dr Janet Few, UK
Alex Maxwell Findlater, A.I.H., Scotland
Michael Fowle C.B.E., UK
Simon Fowler, UK
Dr Paul A. Fox, A.I.H., UK
Valérie Gautier, France
Edmund Gazeley UK
Roberto Gherseni UK
Dr Michael Göbl, A.I.H. Austria
Martin Goldstraw, UK
William Grassick, UK
Dr Andrew Gray, F.H.S., a.i.h. UK
Manuel Ladron de Guevara e Isasa, Spain
Olivier Guionneau, France
Cathy Haines, UK
Robert Harrison, UK
Prof Dr Dominikus Heckman, Germany
Dr Harald Heimbach, Germany
Edward P.J. Herbert, UK
Clemens Herzog, a.i.h., Germany
Prof Dr Torsten Hiltmann, a.i.h., Germany
Shirleen Hoffman, USA
Dr John Horton, UK
Laura House, UK
Lucy House, UK
Matthew Hovious, Spain
Peter G.R. Howarth, UK
Stephen Humphreys, UK

LIST OF DELEGATES

Wendy Ingle, UK
Hannah Iterbeke, Germany
Edward Kelly, UK
Euan Kennedy, UK
Rosemary Kennedy, UK
Prof. Dr Toomas Kivisild, Belgium
Dr Henrik Klackenberg, A.I.H., Sweden
Dr Tamás Körmendi, A.I.H., Hungary
Prof. Dr. Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard A.I.G.,
    A.I.H. Denmark
Torsten Kux, U.S.A.
John Malden, F.H.S., Slains Pursuivant,
    Scotland
Eileen Malden, Scotland
Tahita McCabe, USA
E.O. Joseph McMillan, a.i.h., USA
Susan T. Moore, UK
Dr Joseph J. Morrow, C.B.E., Lord Lyon
    King of Arms, Scotland
Nathaniel Nagar, Israel
Sami Nahas, Sweden
Dr Manuel Pardo de Vera y Diaz, Spain
Geoffrey Parsons, UK
Bruce Patterson, F.R.H.S.C., a.i.h.,
    Deputy Chief Herald, Canada
Cédric Pauwels, a.i.h., Belgium
Quentin Peacock, *Artist In residence*, UK
John Petersen, USA
Caroline Pheby, UK
David Phillips, UK
Maria Loredana Pinotti, A.I.G., a.i.h., San
    Marino
Dr Agné Railaite-Barde, A.I.H., Lithuania
Martin Reavley, UK
David E. Rencher, USA
Elizabeth Roads, L.V.O., A.I.H., Scotland
Simon Rousselot, France

Guy Stair Sainty, UK
Dr Antonio-Pedro Sameiro, A.I.H.,
    Portugal
Prof Dr Georg Scheibelreiter, A.I.H.,
    Austria
Philipp Schneider, Germany
Huw Sherrard, UK
Kaare Seeberg Sidselrud, A.I.H., Norway
Dr Brenton Simons, USA
Janet Skirrow, UK
Brigitta Steinbruch, Germany
Karl-Heinz Steinbruch, a.i.h., Germany
Prof. Dr. Martin Sunnqvist, A.I.H.,
    Sweden
Dr Rolf Sutter, A.I.G., A.I.H., Germany
Dr Nathaniel Lane Taylor, USA
James Terzian, USA
Dr Steven Thiry, A.I.H., Belgium
Katrina Tinkler, Australia
John Titford, F.S.G., F.H.G., UK
John Titterton, F.H.S., UK
Jane Tunesi of Liongam, Hon. F.H.S., UK
John Tunesi of Liongam, Hon. F.H.S., UK
Lynn Turner, USA
Pier Felice degli Uberti , A.I.G., A.I.H.,
    Italy
Prof. Mark Watson-Gandy, UK
Robert Watt, A.I.H., Canada
Dirk Weissleder, A.I.G., Germany
David Vines White, Garter King of Arms,
    UK
Roger Whitworth, UK
Anthony Willenbruch, UK
Ryan Woods, USA
Dr David Wright, F.S.G, F.H.G, UK
Davor Zovko, Sweden
Adam Zurek, Poland

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Al. Cant.	J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (2 parts in 10 vols., Cambridge 1922–54)
Al. Ox.	J. A. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (2 series in 8 vols., London 1887–92)
Ant. J.	Antiquaries' Journal
ar.	argent
b	born
Balfour Paul, Ordinary	Sir James Balfour Paul, *Ordinary of Arms* (second edn., Edinburgh 1903)
BL	The British Library, London
BM	The British Museum, London
BM Seals	W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols., London 1887–1900)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford
Boutell, rev. JBL	*Boutell's Heraldry*, revised by J. P. Brooke-Little (rev. edn., London 1970)
BRS	The British Record Society
Burke GA	J. and J. B. Burke, *The General Armory* (London 1842; enlarged edn. London 1878, re-issued with a supplement 1884). Unless otherwise specified, a citation of this book refers to the frequently reprinted edition and supplement of 1884.
Burke LG	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* (first edn., 3 vols. 1843–9; many subsequent edns.) Cite by year only; e.g. Burke LG 1952. Editions and their years are conveniently listed in Burke's Family Index (London 1976)
Burke LG Scot	*Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain together with members of the titled and non-titled contemporary establishment*. 19th edn., volume 1: The Kingdom in Scotland; ed. Peter Beauclerk-Dewar (Wilmington, Delaware, 2001)
Burke PB	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*. Cite by year only: e.g. Burke PB 1970.
Burke PB 1999	*Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*. 106th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Crans, Switzerland, 1999)
Burke PB 2003	*Burke's Peerage Baronetage & Knightage. Clan Chiefs. Scottish Feudal Barons*. 107th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Wilmington, Delaware, 2003)

Agnieszka Zurek, Poland

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	The College of Arms, London
CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CEMRA	A. R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* [Aspilogia 1] (London 1950)
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CIMisc	*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
CLR	Calendar of Liberate Rolls
CoA	The Coat of Arms
co.	comitatu: in the county of
Coll.Top.&Gen.	*Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica* (1834–43)
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CSP Dom	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
CSP For.	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*
CSP Ire.	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*
CSP Ven.	Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice
CTB	*Calendar of Treasury Books*
CTP	Calendar of Treasury Papers
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DBA	*The Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary*. Vol. 1 ed. D. H. B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock (London 1992). Vol. 2 ed. T. Woodcock, Hon. J. Grant and I. Graham (London 1996). Vol. 3 ed. T. Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2009). Vol 4 ed T.Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2014).
Debrett	J. Debrett (original editor), *Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London 1802). Many subsequent edns. with various titles down to Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, ed. Charles Kidd (London 2003). Cite by year only.
d.	died
div.	divorced
dsp	Decessit sine prole- died without issue
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography*. Unless specified otherwise, the original edition is intended. The 2004 edition should be referred to as ' new DNB'.
Douët D'Arcq	M Douët D'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux*, 3 vols (Paris 1863–68).
erm.	ermine
Fairbairn	*Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland* (fourth edn., 2 vols., London and Edinburgh 1905).
Fox-Davies AF	Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *Armorial Families. A Directory of Gentlemen of Coat Armour* (first edn., Edinburgh 1895; seventh and last edn., 2 vols., London 1929. Cite by year only.
fun. cert.	funeral certificate

GEC	G. E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage* (first edn., 8 vols., London and Exeter 1887–98; revised and enlarged edn. by Hon. Vicary Gibbs and others [G. E. C.'s editorship nominal], 13 vols. in 14, London 1910–59; supplement vol. 14, Stroud 1998). Unless otherwise specified the revised edition is intended.
Genealogical Mag	*The Genealogical Magazine* (1897–1904)
Genealogist	*The Genealogist* (1876–1922)
Gen Mag	*The Genealogist's Magazine* (1922-)
Gent's Mag.	*The Gentleman's Magazine*. Up to 1810 cite by year and page number only: thus Gent's Mag. 1779, p. 643. From 1810 the pagination started afresh halfway through the year, so cite (e.g.) Gent's Mag. 1843 (ii), p. 221.
Godfrey & Wagner	Walter H. Godfrey and Sir Anthony Wagner, with H. Stanford London, *The College of Arms* (London Survey Committee monograph 16: London 1963)
Grantees of Arms	Joseph Foster, ed. W. Harry Rylands, *Grantees of Arms named in Docquets and Patents to the end of the Seventeenth Century* (Harl. Soc. vol. 66, London 1915).
gu.	gules
Harl. Soc.	Harleian Society
Hist. Parl.	*The History of Parliament*. Cite the various parts in the form Hist. Parl.: The Commons 1660–90.
HMC	*Historical Manuscripts Commission*. The folio series of HMC reports may be cited in the form HMC Seventh Report (1881); the octavo series as HMC Portland IV (1891).
IPM	inquisition post mortem
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
m.	married
MI	monumental inscription
Misc.Her.& Gen	*Miscellanea Heraldica et Genealogica* (1874–1938)
Moule	Thomas Moule, *Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnae Britanniae* (London 1822)
N & Q	Notes & Queries
NEHGR	New England Heraldic and Genealogical Register
NLW	The National Library of Wales
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections
Pap. Reg.	*Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters* (14 vols., 1894–1961)
Pap Petits	*Petitions to the Pope* (one vol., 1897).
Papworth	J. W. Papworth, ed. Alfred W. Morant, *Ordinary of British Armorials* (London 1872)
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PCY	Prerogative Court of York
PPR	Principal Probate Registry

PR Scot   Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.
PRO   Public Record Office
PROME   *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, gen. ed. C. Given-
                     Wilson, edd. P. Brand, A. Curry, R. E. Horrox, G. Martin, W. M.
                     Ormrod, J. R. S. Phillips (16 vols., Woodbridge 2005: also online
                     at www.british-history.ac.uk and www.sd-editions.com)
purp.   purpure
qtly.   quarterly
Reid & Wilson   *Ordinary of Arms* volume II, ed. David Reid of Robertland and
                     Miss Vivien Wilson (Edinburgh 1977)
Rietstap   J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* (2nd ed., 2 vols., Paris 1884–7,
                     with 8 supplement vols. and 6 vols. of illns. by V. and H. V.
                     Rolland, Lyons 1904–54)
Rot Parl   *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols., ed. J. Strachey, 1767–77, repr.
                     1783, with index 1832).
sa.   sable
Shaw, Knights   Wm. A. Shaw, with G. D. Burtchaell, *The Knights of England* (2
                     vols., London 1906).
Siddons DWH   Michael Powell Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry* (4
                     vols., Aberystwyth 1991–3, 2007). Volume 2 (A Welsh Armorial)
                     may be cited as DWH 2; volume 3 (An Ordinary of Welsh
                     Arms together with Mottoes of Welsh Families) as DWH 3; and
                     volume 4 (supplementary volume) as DWH 4.
Siddons Badges   Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic badges in England and Wales*
                     4 vols
                     (Woodbridge 2009)
Soc. Ant.   The Society of Antiquaries of London
TNA   The National Archives, London
unm.   unmarried
V&A   The Victoria & Albert Museum, London
VCH   *The Victoria County History of England*. Specific county
                     histories may be cited as, e.g., VCH Bucks, VCH Oxon and so
                     forth.
vt.   vert
WG 1   P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 300–1400* (8 vols.,
                     Cardiff 1974). Cite by ancestral or regional heading, e.g. Adam
                     ab Ifor 1, Tegeingl 5.
WG 2   P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 1400–1500* (18 vols.,
                     Aberystwyth 1983). Cite as for WG 1. A descent running from
                     WG 1 to WG 2 with the same name and number may be cited
                     simply by reference to WG.