The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society

Series 4 Volume 8 Number 242 2025

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Registered office
53 Hitchin Street, Baldock, Hertfordshire SG7 6AQ
The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

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Printed in Exeter by Short Run Press Ltd..

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ISSN 0010-003X

Cover illustration: submission drawing from the Maharajah of Rewah 1876, source *Taylor* supplement f. 15v, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms, see pp. 160-1.

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CIVIC SPLENDOUR: THE USE OF CIVIC INSIGNIA IN HERALDRY

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Abstract

There is a longstanding connection between heraldry and the ceremonial insignia used by mayors and local councils to lend dignity to their proceedings. Symbols of mayoral authority first seem to have been used in heraldry in the late eighteenth century, when Lord Mayors of London using unregistered arms decided to apply for lawful armorial bearings. London has a rich heraldic usage of civic insignia, with treasures like the Pearl Sword, Crystal Sceptre and even human supporters in ceremonial dress being used alongside more obscure symbols such as keys. Outside London, mayors from several other cities have received arms featuring ceremonial great maces. In corporate heraldry, by comparison, the use of civic insignia only appears to have started in the twentieth century. While heraldry has long been used to adorn items like ceremonial maces and swords, the use of such objects in heraldry has created an impressive armorial showcasing these beautiful and historic treasures.

Throughout much of the world, coats of arms form part of the identity and heritage of local authorities, whether granted by the responsible national authority, or designed locally and adopted unofficially. Another component of municipal councils' traditions, history and identity are its insignia, like collars or ceremonial maces, and there are different ways in which heraldry and civic insignia intersect. Coats of arms frequently appear on swords of state, maces and badges of office, while conversely, these objects have also long featured in heraldry, either used to ensign armorial bearings, or blazoned. This paper will examine a selection of arms featuring maces, swords, badges and ceremonial headgear. Following a brief look at how civic insignia have been used to ensign corporate or personal arms, a selection of arms of London's Lord Mayors which showcase the corporation's splendid treasures, will be examined. It will move on to explore personal arms from outside London featuring other cities' symbols of authority and pageantry. Finally this survey will conclude with some corporate arms which celebrate civic tradition and pageantry by including items of insignia.

The principal item of insignia used in heraldry is the mace. From the reign of Richard I (1189-99), adopting a French practice, monarchs were protected by two dozen or so serjeants at arms. These were men of good birth with powers of arrest who carried maces, bows and arrows. By the thirteenth century their iron maces were plated with silver or silver gilt, reflecting the status of their royal association. Eventually, civic bodies adopted mace-bearing sergeants-at-arms to dignify their proceedings. In 1344 Edward III's sergeants petitioned him to allow mayors and councils copper maces only, with silver maces to remain exclusively theirs.[1]

In 1354 London's sergeants were allowed a gilt or silver mace, followed by York in 1396, and Norwich in 1403, although some towns simply adopted silver maces without

1 G. Bernard Hughes, 'The Story of English Maces', *Country Life* (8 August 1952), pp. 406-7.

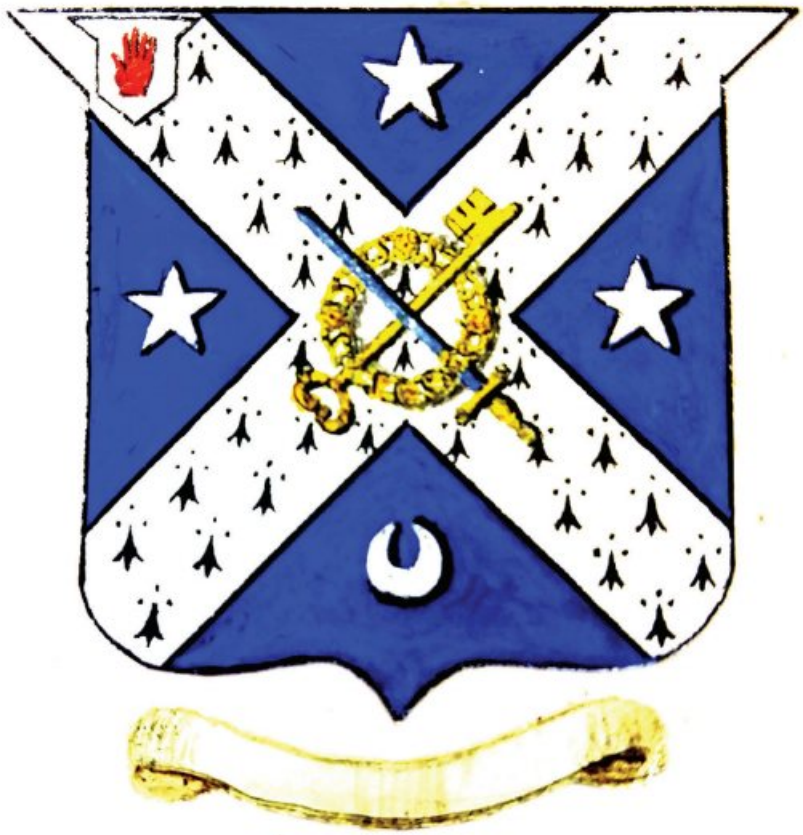

Figure 1: arms of Sir John William Anderson (1797). Source: CLC/282/MS00020, London Archive, Lord Mayors' Autograph Book.

authority. These maces had decorative heraldic devices on the base, which became larger and more ornate as the items evolved into ceremonial symbols of authority. Eventually the fighting end became smaller and the decorative end was carried upward, often adorned with a crown.[2] Hedon in East Yorkshire is believed to have Britain's oldest extant mace, presented by Henry V in 1415.[3]

As for ceremonial swords, the earliest known records of civic usage date to 1389 when Coventry's mayor was granted the right to have a sword-bearer in the same manner as London, indicating that London had already been using one.[4] None of London's current six swords are this old, although Bristol, Lincoln, and Dublin still have fourteenth-century swords. In Britain and Ireland today, around seventy-three swords are held by forty-eight town and city councils.[5] Like maces, these swords were often decorated with

2 Hughes, op. cit., pp. 406-7.
3 G. Bernard Wood, 'Maces as emblems of authority II', *Country Life* (16 February 1961), p. 342.
4 Robert W. Jones, *A cultural history of the medieval sword* (Woodbridge, 2023), pp. 63-4.
5 Edward Barrett, *Ceremonial Swords of Britain: State and Civic Swords* (Stroud, 2017), p. 57.

royal or civic arms.

Such objects are to be found supporting the arms of the cities of Coventry, Exeter and Warrington, whose arms are typically depicted with a mace and sword in saltire behind the escutcheon. Since at least the eighteenth century, York's medieval arms have been similarly ensigned with a sword and mace in saltire, while above the shield is placed the city sword-bearer's medieval red and ermine cap of maintenance.[6] Some cities' sword-bearers wear a tall fur hat and such a hat usually adorns Norwich City Council's sixteenth-century arms, although Norwich's sword-bearer today wears a top hat.[7]

The fur hat also ensigns the arms of the cities of London and Dublin. The latter has been lavishly embellished with Dublin's sword, mace, the Lord Mayor's wand and his seventeenth-century collar of office; also scales acknowledging his role as clerk of the market. Such depictions appear on Dublin's eighteenth-century state coach and eighteenth-century Mansion House, the oldest permanent mayoral residence in the United Kingdom or Ireland.[8] London's arms have been less generously adorned, shown variously with the hat (as can be seen atop the Guildhall's porch), a mace and sword (on Tower Bridge), and the hat and Lord Mayor's collar and badge (on St Dunstan-in-the-West, Fleet Street).

Such symbols also appear on the shields of individual Lord Mayors, as can be seen on the Guildhall crypt's window commemorating Sir Edward Howard (1971-72). Mayoral heraldry was the subject of Windsor Herald Colin Cole's lecture to the Guildhall Historical Association in 1972. Cole observed that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries symbols of office which previously merely surrounded the shield, in the manner of insignia of knighthood, came to be used as charges on shields or crests. This was done with medals and trophies for military officers, and with appropriate charges for Lord Mayors who had been using unregistered arms but who petitioned for proper arms after attaining office.[9]

The earliest known examples of this practice, following a search back to 1659, are from the 1790s. One of these grants was to Lord Mayor Sir John William Anderson (c.1736-1813), the son of a Danzig-based Scottish merchant. Anderson worked both as an agent for Danzig and for a Baltic merchant in London, being first elected as MP for London in 1793.[10] After becoming Lord Mayor in 1797, Anderson received armorial bearings differenced from his forebears' unregistered arms with a sword proper surmounting a gold key saltireways, interlaced with the Lord Mayor's collar (**Figure 1**). Unlike many collars of esses which were granted by the sovereign, the Lord Mayor's was bequeathed to the city in 1544 by Sir John Aleyn, twice Lord Mayor in the 1520s and 1530s.[11] It includes esses, knots, Tudor roses and a Tudor portcullis. Originally worn by a range of officials, collars of esses were eventually used mainly by senior judges, although sergeants at arms, kings of arms and certain mayors still wear them today.

Gold keys appeared on at least five Lord Mayors' arms, and keys have played different roles in City ceremonial. Historically the Lord Mayor presented the monarch

6 Alberic Stacpoole, *The Noble City of York* (York, 1971), p. 799.

7 A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1909), p. 381.

8 Michael English, *Three Castles of Dublin: An Eclectic History of Dublin* (Dublin, 2016), pp. 51, 76.

9 Colin Cole, 'Mayoral Heraldry', *Transactions of the Guildhall Historical Association* (1982), pp. 93-4.

10 *Hist. Parl*.: The Commons 1790-1820, p. 65.

11 Michael Hall and Ralph Holt, *The Honour and Grandeur: Regalia, Gold and Silver and Mansion House* (London, 2015), p. 28; Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and* Affinity (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 32.

Figure 2: arms of Sir John Eamer (1809), CA Ms Grants 25, p. 157.
Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

with the sword and keys to the City upon the latter's arrival at Temple Bar, beginning in 1588.[12] At the 'Silent Ceremony' each November, the outgoing Lord Mayor hands over the key to the city's seal box. His successor then entrusts this to the Swordbearer who stores it in a pocket inside his hat.[13] This image of Anderson's arms comes from the Lord Mayors' Autograph Book, a large volume held by the London Archives which records every Lord Mayor's arms and signature since 1659. The book was started by Samuel Gregory (1802-1858), an attorney working in the Lord Mayor's court office who collected mayoral memorabilia. Each year the new Lord Mayor signs the book and has their arms painted in it.[14]

Between 1797 and 1854, eight mayors' arms featured either a sword and key, a sword and fasces, or two swords in saltire, usually inside the collar. An especially splendid item recurring in mayoral heraldry was the Crystal Sceptre, London's oldest piece of insignia, which appears on at least four coats of arms, starting with those of Sir John Eamer (1750-1823). Originally a grocer, and sometime Master of the Salters' Company, Eamer served as Lord Mayor in 1801-2. He subsequently became colonel of the Royal East London Militia. Eamer was court-martialled in 1805 but acquitted, whereupon his accusers were displaced from the regiment.[15] In 1809 he received a new grant to replace his unregistered arms (**Figure 2**). These featured the Crystal Sceptre fessways between two lions passant, with the blazon describing the sceptre's rich ornamentation. His crest was a demi-lion holding a sword and wearing a key hanging from a collar.

The Crystal Sceptre (or Crystal Mace) was presented by Henry V in appreciation of the corporation's loan of 10,000 marks for the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Probably crafted in France, it features Henry's arms inside a jewelled crown, bands of pearls, and a shaft with two tapering rods of rock crystal (although Eamer's arms depict three) with gold-inlaid spiral fluting. Generally it is only used in the Silent Ceremony or carried by Lord Mayors in coronation processions.[16] Eamer chose it for his arms as he had carried it in May 1802 during a horseback procession to celebrate the Treaty of Amiens, briefly establishing peace with France and Spain.[17]

The same Napoleonic Wars were subtly referenced in the arms of Sir William Domville (1742-1833), a successful City bookshop owner and Master of the Stationers' Company.[18] As Lord Mayor in 1814, he hosted the Prince Regent, the Russian Emperor and the King of Prussia at a Guildhall banquet to celebrate Napoleon's exile to Elba. Soon afterwards the Prince Regent granted him arms recalling this event (**Figure 3**). These bore a lion holding the sword of London and on a chief three radiate crowns encircled with olive branches. The chief is one of several contemporary augmentations of honour relating to the Napoleonic Wars, although these usually recognised military victories.[19] His crest was a demi-lion emerging from a mural crown, holding a shield charged with three radiate crowns. Mural crowns evoking city walls appear in civic

12 Anna Milford, *Lord Mayors of London*(London, 1989), p. 8.

13 Julian Paget, *Discovering London Ceremonial and Traditions* (Princes Risborough, 1989), p. 16. The saying 'keep it under your hat' is said to come from this custom.

14 London Archives, CLC/283/MS00020, The Lord Mayors' Autograph Book.

15 *Gent's Mag* (1823), pp. 471-2.

16 Michael Hall, 'The Crystal Sceptre of the City of London', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 157, no. 1353 (December 2015), pp. 827, 829.

17 *CA* Ms Grants 25, p. 157.

18 *Gent's Mag*. (1833), p. 271-2.

19 J.F. Huxford, *Honour and Arms: The Story of Some Augmentations of honour* (London, 1984), p. 115.

Figure 3: arms of Sir William Domville (1814), CA Ms Grants 28, p. 248. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

heraldry around the world.

Although the collar had first appeared in heraldry in the 1790s, it was not until 1837 that it was used on arms with the Lord Mayor's badge appended, specifically those of Sir John Cowan (1774-1842). Cowan established a successful wax and tallow chandlery near the Mansion House and became Lord Mayor in 1837 while serving as Master of the Wax Chandlers. On his first day in office Queen Victoria attended a Guildhall banquet as the new monarch and awarded him a baronetcy.[20] Fleet Street's Temple Bar memorial features a relief depicting her arrival for this visit and receiving the sword. Cowan's arms granted soon afterwards show two crossed swords encircled by the Lord Mayor's collar, between two fasces (**Figure 4**). The lord mayor's badge also hangs from the collar on Cowan's crest of a demi-lion ermine. Originally Lord Mayors wore a gold cross on their collar, donated by Lord Mayor Sir Martin Bowes in 1558.[21] The current badge dates from 1802-3, made using components of earlier badges, and features an onyx cameo engraved with the City's arms. In 1867 the badge was remodelled to incorporate thistles, shamrocks and the Garter circlet. As with the collar, two replicas are used in order to preserve the original.[22]

The collar and badge appear on the arms of Sir James Duke (1792-1873), who like Anderson was one of a few Scottish-born London Lord Mayors. During his naval service he befriended the future Duke of Northumberland, who helped establish his later civilian career as a coal merchant.[23] Sir James sat in parliament for Boston from 1837, becoming London's Lord Mayor in 1848, and its MP in 1849. That year he received arms charged with three ostrich feathers between two chaplets, above the collar and badge encircling a civic mace (**Figure 5**). Chaplets have appeared on other arms borne by families surnamed Duke, as has the demi griffin which was Sir James's crest.[24] This griffin holds a sword (imprecisely blazoned) as a representation of the City of London's sword, but is depicted here as the Pearl Sword, identifiable by its crimson velvet scabbard decorated with 2600 pearls. This sword was possibly presented by Elizabeth I on the opening of the Royal Exchange in 1571 and is carried by Lord Mayors when processing before the Sovereign.[25] James Duke's arms appeared on a drinking fountain which he had installed outside St Dunstan-in-the-West in 1860.[26] The fountain remains, but no longer functions , and is missing the arms.

The nineteenth century subsequently saw one further coat of arms with a chain, sword and fasces, and one with the Crystal Sceptre. Early-twentieth century mayors' arms instead used red swords, red crosses or dragons from the corporation's arms to mark their tenure, until the 1930s when the heraldic use of mayoral insignia was revived; for instance on the arms of Sir Stephen Molyneux Killik (1861-1938). After leaving school aged twelve, he became an accountant then a successful stockbroker. As Lord Mayor for 1934-5, he hosted a Silver Jubilee reception for George V and Queen Mary. Only the fifth Catholic mayor since the Reformation, Killik also honoured the Archbishop of Westminster with a Guildhall reception, where he noted that many City traditions had

20 W. and R. Woodcock, *Woodcock's Lives of Illustrious Lords Mayors and Aldermen of London* (London, 1846), pp. 321-22; *Gent's. Mag*. (1843), p. 315.

21 Hall and Holt, op. cit., p. 32.

22 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

23 'Sir James Duke Late Lord Mayor of London', *Paisley Herald*, 30 July 1864.

24 See *Fox-Davies AF*, (1929), p. 579.

25 Hall and Holt, op. cit., p. 34.

26 'New Drinking-Fountain in Fleet-Street', *Illustrated London News*, 21 July 1860.

Figure 4: arms of Sir John Cowan (1837), CA Ms Grants 42, p. 228. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

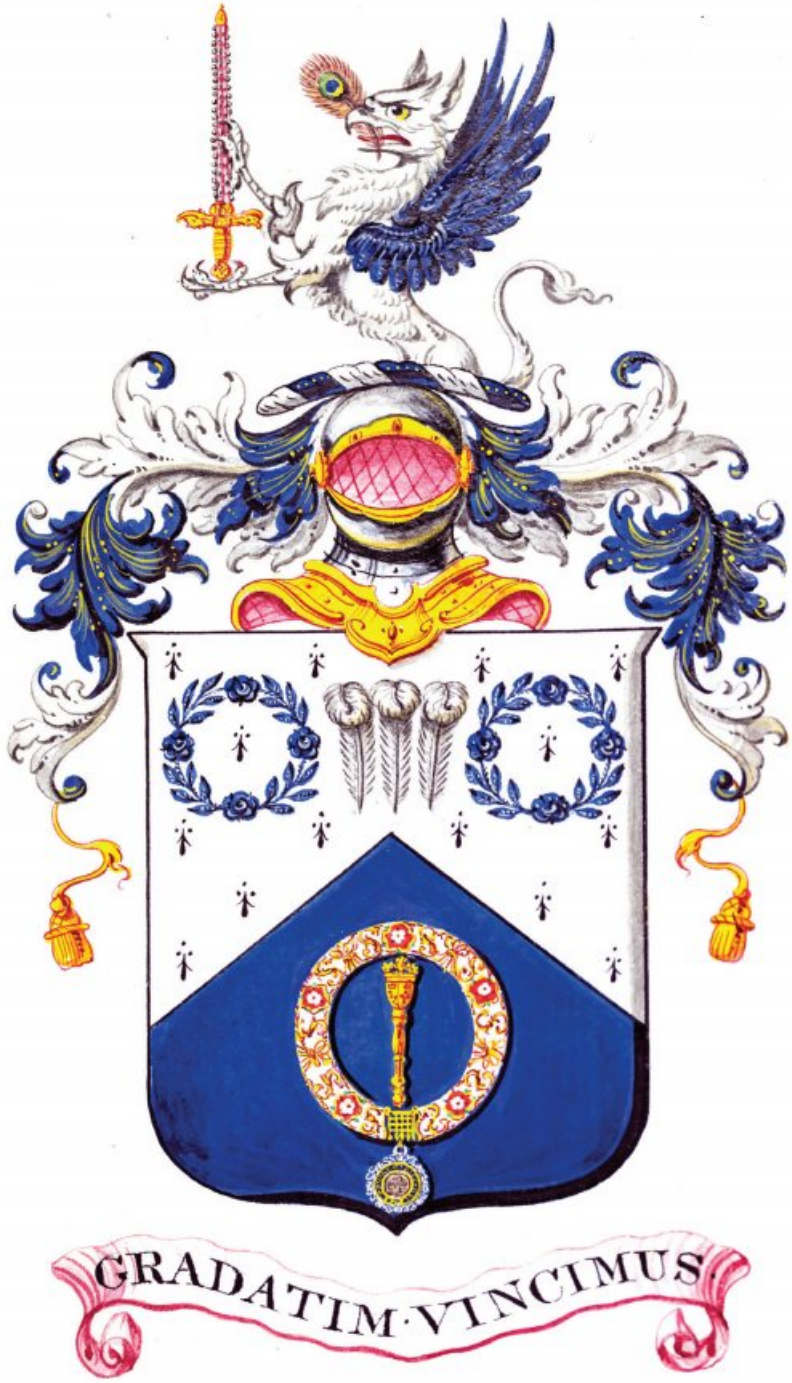

Figure 5: arms of Sir James Duke (1849), CA Ms Grants 49, p. 236. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Catholic origins.[27]

His arms, granted in 1922, bore a cross moline, canting on his mother's maiden name Molyneux. After becoming a G.B.E. in 1936 he added as supporters two swans proper gorged with collars of esses (**Figure 6**). This was the collar's first appearance in mayoral heraldry since the 1840s. Killik's arms were added to the display of mayoral arms adorning the Guildhall's beautiful seventeenth-century Aldermen's Court Room. However, in 1940 this visual record of London's heraldic heritage was destroyed in an air raid.[28]

Like Killik's, most modern heraldic allusions to London civic ceremonial came through the addition of supporters. Sir Gilbert Inglefield (1909-1991) was an architect whose love of music helped him survive his wartime ordeal on the Burma railway. Elected alderman in 1959, he chaired the committee planning the Barbican Centre, before becoming Lord Mayor in 1967. In office he championed culture and raised funds for *War on Want* at every banquet and luncheon.. He presided over the original London Bridge's transfer to Arizona before serving as Master of the Musicians' Company.[29] Inglefield had inherited arms from his father, the last in a long line of admirals, whose service was acknowledged by the crest's nautical crown.[30] In 1969 he added two lion rampant supporters, each standing atop an Ionic column representing architecture, and each holding a Crystal Sceptre (**Figure 7**). The rarely-seen sceptre was publicly displayed to mark the Battle of Agincourt's quincentenary in 2015.

Sir Hugh Wontner (1908-1992) marked his connection to the City with the addition of human supporters in ceremonial dress. A long-serving managing director of the Savoy Theatre and Savoy Hotel Group, Wontner was named Catering Adviser to the Royal Household, and received the long-abeyant post of Clerk of the Royal Kitchens in 1953. Elected a London alderman in 1963, he served as Lord Mayor in 1973-4, and later helped secure the return of Christopher Wren's Temple Bar to London from Hertfordshire.[31] He had inherited arms granted in 1934 to his father Arthur Wontner, an actor best known for playing Sherlock Holmes; note the drama mask on the crest (**Figure 8**). Sir Hugh Wontner was able to add supporters on becoming a G.B.E., for which he chose the Lord Mayor's Swordbearer and the City Marshal.

The first City Marshal was appointed in the late 1500s with an under-marshal and six marshalmen to help him maintain order and apprehend vagabonds. Nineteenth-century policing reforms made his role largely ceremonial, but he still clears the Lord Mayor's way, preceding him at indoor ceremonies, and riding ahead of his carriage.[32] A swordbearer has processed before the Lord Mayor since at least 1419, about a hundred years before the corporation acquired a permanent sword.[33] His black satin gown resembles the Lord Mayor's but lacks the gold lace. Previously the office-holder alternated between a silk or velvet summer hat and a fourteenth century-style fur winter hat, but today he only wears

27 'Sir Stephen Killik', *The Times*, 19 April 1938.

28 John James Baddeley, *The Guildhall of the City of London*, 7th edn. (London, 1939), pp. 91-5

29 'Sir Gilbert Inglefield', *The Times*, 15 October 1991; *The Gilbert Inglefield Lodge No. 8009 – The History 1964-2015* (2015), pp. 5-6, available at https://www.8009.org.uk/history.

30 Sir John Chalstrey, *The Aldermen of the Corporation of London 1900-2010* (2011), p. 298.

31 Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Sir Hugh Walter Kingwell Wontner (1908-1992)', *New DNB*.

32 'Looking at City Officials: The City Marshal', *City Guides* (Autumn 2006), p. 16.

33 Previously, swords used belonged to Lord Mayors themselves or their livery companies. See Hall and Holt, op. cit., p. 34.

Figure 6: arms of Sir Stephen Killik (1936), CA Ms Grants 103, p. 35. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

the 8-inch high Russian sable Muscovy hat; the present hat dates from 1975.[34]

The final two Lord Mayors of London in this survey were both ground-breakers in their own way. Canadian-born Sir Peter Gadsden (1929-2006) left Alberta aged five for his parents' native England but remained close to both Canada and Australia, where his father had ministered for over decade, and with which he had strong business links involving mining. In 1979, aged 50, he became London's youngest Lord Mayor in many years – and its 'unstuffiest ever'. His energetic tenure developed the role's ambassadorial side which is now standard.[35]

34 Barrett, op. cit., pp. 131-2.

35 'Sir Peter Gadsden, *The Times*, 14 December 2006.

Figure 7: arms of Sir Gilbert Inglefield (1969), CA Ms Grants 132, p. 78. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

He had received arms in 1970, with two Canadian maple leaves, a teazel from the arms of the Clothworkers' Company (of which he became Master), and a wyvern with a Tau Cross for the crest. Three years later he quartered his arms with his wife's after hyphenating her surname of Haggerston, adding supporters in 1980 (**Figure 9**). These were *a lion guardant holding a cross-crosslet fitchy gules* (for his ward of Farringdon Without), and a Koala holding a geologist's hammer. Each wears the Lord Mayor's badge on a collar, and stands on a compartment strewn with London Pride flowers. Five thousand mugs with these arms were produced for distribution as official gifts during Gadsden's mayoral year.[36] The motto '*Thoroughly with Enthusiasm*' captured his dynamism and became

36 Ina Taylor, *Thoroughly with Enthusiasm: The Life of Sir Peter Gadsden GBE AC FR Eng* (Shrewsbury, 2004), plate 1, pp. 176-7.

Figure 8: arms of Sir Hugh Wontner (1976), CA Ms Grants 139, p. 159. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 9: arms of Sir Peter Gadsden (1980), CA Ms Grants 143, p. 185. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

the title of his biography. Following his mayoralty he was the Worshipful Company of Engineers' first Master in 1983.[37]

Soon after London's first Canadian Lord Mayor, the corporation elected the first of only two women to hold the office of chief magistrate since the origin of the position in 1189. This was Dame Mary Donaldson (1921-2003), who as Mary Warwick had been a wartime nurse before marrying a Royal Signals officer. Once their three children were grown, she entered local government, becoming the first woman elected to London's Common Council in 1966, the first female alderman to take her seat in 1975, and London's first female sheriff in 1981. That year both she and her husband John, a senior judge, were granted arms (**Figure 10**). The *three Petasi* [broad brimmed hats] *argent winged or*

37 'Sir Peter Gadsden', *The Times*, 14 December 2006.

Figure 10: arms of Dame Mary Donaldson (1981), in St Margaret Lothbury Church. Photograph by the author.

commemorate his wartime service while the shield *Sable two bars or* evokes his judicial robe. On her shield, a ship reflects their love of sailing, with its three sails representing their three children, while a pair of scales acknowledge her work as a juvenile magistrate. Red and white roses allude to the garden of Middle Temple, where the Donaldsons lived, and the serpents are for medicine, signifying her nursing career and involvement with various hospitals, health-related charities and campaigns.[38]

Plaques with sheriffs' arms decorate the Old Bailey judges' dining room, and her shield there is ensigned with a triple chain and a badge of the corporation's arms. There exists no standard sheriff's badge, but since the late nineteenth century each has worn a triple chain with a unique, specially-commissioned badge purchased by friends and supporters. This usually features the holder's arms and symbols of their life and interests. Donaldson's badge, with the ship, snakes, sword and roses, is displayed near her portrait in the Old Bailey's City Lands Room.[39] When taking office, a Lord Mayor is presented to senior judges at the Royal Courts of Justice, and in 1983 this included Donaldson's husband, as Master of the Rolls. Her mayoral charity was the NSPCC, and she fined anyone who incorrectly called her 'Lady Mayoress' (the Lord Mayor's wife's title) £5 for the cause.[40] The triple chain collar and badge are used to ensign her shield on the sword rest at St Margaret Lothbury and in the Lord Mayors' Autograph Book.

38 Information from Mr Michael Donaldson (2024).

39 Guildhall Art Gallery, *The Sheriffs' Chains and Badges* (London, 2001), p. 2.

40 Robert Woolf, *Lord Mayors' Portraits: Dame Mary Donaldson to Dame Fiona Woolf, 1983-2013* (London, 2015), p. 10.

Figure 11: arms of the Worshipful Company of Engineers (1983). Source: Worshipful Company of Engineers.

In 1983 Donaldson attended the inaugural banquet of the newly-established Worshipful Company of Engineers, where the company received its grant of arms (**Figure 11**).[41] The crest is John Smeaton's Eddystone lighthouse, acknowledging the father of civil engineering, and the compartment is the world's first iron bridge, in Shropshire. This was probably Peter Gadsden's suggestion, as he had been Shropshire raised and educated, and later retired there. The wyvern supporter wearing the Lord Mayor's badge honours Gadsden, while the Pegasus, symbolising horsepower and flight, wears the company Master's badge. A plaque with these arms – possibly the only impersonal arms

41 Bryan Gibson, 'A Well Engineered Company: A History of the Worshipful Company of Engineers 1983-2008' (2008), pp. 9-10, available at www.engineerscompany.org.uk.

showing Corporation of London insignia – was unveiled on the bridge at Ironbridge.[42]

Outside London, Norwich has perhaps Britain's finest collection of civic insignia, and this was reflected on the arms of Sir Arthur Samuel (1872-1942), a successful businessman elected Lord Mayor in 1912.[43] As mayor he donated sixteen aldermen's macelets, each inscribed with their ward's name.[44] He was elected MP for Farnham in 1918 and became Financial Secretary to the Treasury in 1927. Upon receiving a baronetcy in 1932 he was granted arms with a checky chevron symbolising the Exchequer, portcullises for parliament, and Farnham Castle from his constituency (**Figure 12**). The chief and crest borrow elements from Norwich's sixteenth-century arms, with, respectively, a *lion passant guardant* (sable rather than or) and a mace and sword in front of a triple-domed castle. In 1961 these arms were painted on the sign for Norwich's (now-closed) Mancroft Arms pub, opened by the second Lord Mancroft, who pulled its first pint.[45]

Although the blazon only describes a 'Mace Gold', the one painted resembles the oldest of Norwich's six maces: the Crystal Mace, donated around 1549 by sometime MP and Lord Mayor Augustine Steward. This has seven longitudinal glass sections (replacing the original rock crystal), separated by silver gilt bosses. Atop the mace are the Tudor royal arms inside a crown imperial, while the four brackets supporting the crown are dragons and lions: Tudor royal supporters.[46] At 38 inches long, it is twice the length of London's Crystal Sceptre.[47] In 1404 Norwich became the eighth city permitted to carry a sword of state, but the current sword, made in Toledo, is dated 1705. Queen Anne's arms appear on the hilt, while the scabbard bears Norwich's arms and the Tudor and Stuart royal arms.[48]

During the preparation of Samuel's arms in 1932, rough sketches were made of a possible badge – a circlet enfiling a mace – and supporters, which were two Whifflers.[49] Whifflers were ushers who cleared a path by dexterously flourishing swords and the name purportedly came from the whiff or breeze generated by this action.[50] These supporters were finally granted in 1937 after Samuel was created Lord Mancroft. In Norwich, Whifflers led the new mayor and the corporation when processing to the cathedral on Guild Days. Dressed in breeches, jerkins and hats with feathers and ribbons, Norwich Whifflers could reportedly catch their short, two-handed swords by the hilt after tossing them high into the air.[51] A note by Mancroft recorded that their costumes were blue or pink, and his supporters wear the latter.[52] Referenced in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Whifflers were discontinued in Norwich in 1835, while apparently continuing in London's Lord Mayor's Show until the 1840s.[53] In 1996 the tradition was revived for Mayor-Making

42 Taylor, op. cit., pp. 232, 235.
43 Lord Mancroft, *Bees in Some Bonnets* (London, 1979), p. 172.
44 'Macelets for Aldermen', *Lowestoft Journal*, 25 October 1913.
45 Frederick Ellis, 'My grief at leaving old family firm', *Daily Express*, 1 December 1963.
46 *Guide to the Regalia and Civic Plate of Norwich* (Norwich, 1939), pp. 5-6.
47 *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* first series, vol. 1 (1860), p. 356.
48 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
49 Garter House Archive, 'Baronetcy creations 1930-32', Pencil sketches for Sir Arthur Samuel. I am grateful to Garter King of Arms David White for permission to consult this material.
50 *Gent's Mag.* (1852) p. 152.
51 Robert Forby, *The Vocabulary of East Anglia*, 2 vols (1830), vol. 2, pp. 372-3; Edgar Breitenbach, 'Guild Days in Norwich', *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, vol. 29, no. 1 (January 1972), p. 8.
52 Garter House Archive, 'Baronetcy creations 1930-32', 'A Norwich Whiffler' (note by Samuel).
53 *Henry V*, Act V, Prologue; 'Lord Mayor's Day', *Morning Post*, 9 November 1844.

Figure 12: arms of Lord Mancroft (1937), CA Ms Grants 103, p. 262. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Day by the Norwich Society and local Morris dancers.[54]

A near-contemporary of Samuel's was Sir Johnstone Wallace (1861-1922), Lord Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne from 1913-14. After being knighted in 1917 for his contributions to the war effort, Wallace petitioned for arms (**Figure 13**). Wallace was a major fundraiser for the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, locally and nationally, and the life buoy on the crest recalls these efforts.[55] His lion rampant is a symbol used by other Wallaces, while the trefoils vert on the chevron may allude either to the Tyneside Irish and Scottish battalions he raised during the war, or to his own Irish ancestry. The

54 'Whifflers', available at www.norwich.gov.uk.
55 'Obituary', *The Lifeboat*, (March 1923), p. 25.

grenade possibly acknowledges his local wartime work with the Ministry of Munitions.[56] He was a coal and iron merchant, and the coal and metal hammers in saltire mirror the crossed mace and sword commemorating his mayoralty.[57] These are simply blazoned as '*A mace and sword*' but Newcastle council's four-foot-eleven mace, used since 1687, is possibly Britain's largest after Winchester's. Newcastle's two civic swords date from 1460 and 1791.[58]

Other cities were much slower to adopt maces. Manchester's was commissioned following a lecture on civic regalia presented to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society at Manchester town hall in 1893. This raised awareness of Manchester's lack of a civic mace, almost unique among comparable cities.[59] The society commissioned one for the corporation, but the initial fanciful design by Art Nouveau pioneer Walter Crane, best known for children's book illustrations, found little favour. A more conventional design was then obtained from Birmingham's Elkington & Co silversmiths, the inventors of electroplating.[60] Presented in 1895, it features the arms of Manchester and Lancashire, Lancashire red roses, allegorical figures of art, science, literature and the cotton industry, and masks of Vulcan, Neptune, Thor and Mercury, reflecting the importance of shipping and heavy engineering.[61]

Manchester's mace appeared on arms granted in 1976 to Douglas Edwards, Lord Mayor of Manchester for 1971-2. A Grenadier Guards captain during the Second World War, Edwards helped run his family's wholesale meat company and was first elected a Conservative councillor in 1951.[62] The mace appears on his crest, held by an antelope gorged with a chained collar (**Figure 14**). This antelope is taken from the arms of Manchester corporation, granted in 1842, where it refers to the Duchy of Lancaster.[63] Edwards' bees, ship, and rose are also from Manchester's civic arms, and have appeared on multiple corporate arms, including the Manchester Port Health Authority, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and Manchester College, Oxford.[64]

Soon after crafting Manchester's mace, Elkington's offered to donate one to Birmingham for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Councillors debated the utility and necessity of maces before voting to accept the offer.[65] This mace has appeared on two coats of arms, including those of Sir Peter Barwell (c.1935-2020), a businessman and Lord Mayor in 1992-3 (**Figure 15**). The crown of crosses and white roses refer respectively to his Gold Cross of Merit from Poland's government-in-exile, and to his wife's home county of Yorkshire. On the shield, three barrulets symbolising his children cant on his surname, while the griffin is a Barwell family symbol. It holds a flame representing the combustion engine, as Barwell raced in rallies in the 1950s and 1960s.[66]

56 Craig Armstrong, *Newcastle in the Great War* (Barnsley, 2015), p. 131.
57 *Who Was Who 1916-1928* (1947), p. 1083.
58 J.R. Boyle, 'The Plate and Insignia of the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne', *Archaeologia Aeliana,* vol.12 (1887), p. 237; Barrett, op. cit., pp. 165-7.
59 *Presentation of a Great Mace to the City of Manchester* (Manchester, 1895), pp. 5-6.
60 'Notes of the month', *The Antiquary*, vol. 32, no. 195 (1896), p. 35.
61 *Civic plate charters and letters patent statues and busts* (Manchester, 1977), p. 6.
62 'Ald Edwards to be Lord Mayor', *Manchester Evening News*, 1 June 1971.
63 H. Ellis Tomlinson, *The Heraldry of Manchester* (Manchester, 1944), p. 5.
64 Tomlinson, op. cit., pp. 12-14.
65 'A mace for the Birmingham Corporation', *Leamington Courier*, 6 February 1897.
66 A.P.S. De Redman, *The Armorial Bearings of Councillor Peter Barwell C.B.E., Hon. C.S.M., Lord Mayor of Birmingham 1992-93* (information sheet).

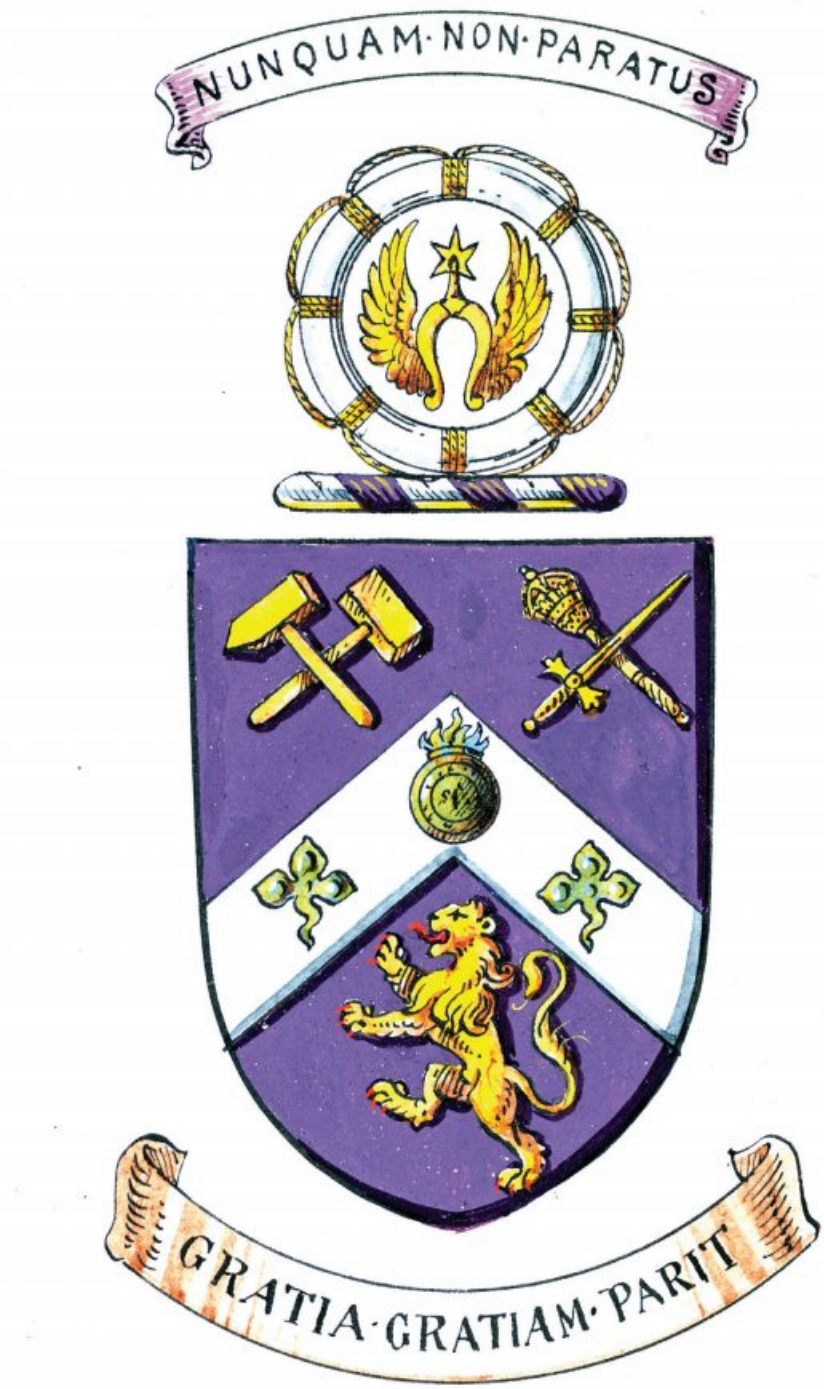

Figure 13: arms of Sir Johnstone Wallace (1917), CA Ms Grants 85, p. 149. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 14: arms of Douglas Edwards (1976), CA Ms Grants 139, p. 75. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

He first proposed a Birmingham road race in the 1960s, and founded the Birmingham Super Prix which was held between 1985 and 1989. Birmingham council named one landmark on the route 'Peter Barwell Hill' to acknowledge his effort in establishing it.[67]

The tradition of carrying maces and wearing collars has been adopted in certain Commonwealth countries, and the last two personal arms in this survey come from overseas. Sir Arthur Coles (1892-1982) was one of five brothers who operated a large Australian grocery store chain. From 1938 until 1941 he was Melbourne's Lord Mayor, a title bestowed by the sovereign on mayors of certain Australian cities, primarily state capitals. All five Coles brothers were knighted, including Arthur in 1960, and he received arms in 1961 (**Figure 16**). The bezants may symbolize commerce and business and the wings acknowledge his role in establishing Trans Australia Airlines while serving as the Australian National Airlines Commission's first chairman in the late 1940s.[68] On the crest, the garbs may refer to the unofficial arms of Geelong, where he was born and educated, and the mace acknowledges his service as mayor, although Melbourne City Council does not actually have one.

The first city council in New Zealand to acquire a mace was that of Auckland, presented by one of its councillors in 1949.[69] It appeared on the arms of Auckland's first female mayor, Dame Catherine Tizard (1931-2021), who served from 1983 until 1990. In 1990 she became Governor General, and subsequently received arms (**Figure 17**). Born Catherine Anne McLean, her main charge is the lymphad of the McLeans, which also recalls Auckland, 'the city of sails', and her parents' migration from Scotland. Both Auckland harbour and the colours of Scotland's flag are evoked by the field *azure and argent barry wavy* while escallops recall her career as a zoology tutor. She was maternally descended from the McPhersons and her crest is the McPherson of Cluny wildcat sable, holding a white camelia which was worn by New Zealand women's suffrage supporters. The cat is also a pun on her initials. Her crest, helmet and escutcheon are unusual for women armigers, and raised some eyebrows.[70] However as commander-in-chief of New Zealand's armed forces she was deemed entitled to these masculine features, similar to Canada's first female governor general several years earlier.[71]

Her New Zealand wood pigeon supporters reflect her interest in flying (she took lessons without qualifying as a pilot) and created a visual joke with the cat, later referenced by her memoir's title *Cat Amongst the Pigeons*.[72] These are charged with the maces of Auckland City Council and New Zealand's House of Representatives.[73] Use of the former mace ceased after Auckland merged with seven other councils in 2010. The arms are carved on a wooden panel at Wellington's Government House, alongside other governor generals' arms.

67 'Timely tribute to former race ace councillor', *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 5 July 1986.

68 Stella M. Barber, 'Sir Arthur William Coles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

69 'Mayoral mace possessed by Auckland', *Gisborne Herald*, 4 November 1949.

70 Cath Tizard, *Cat Amongst the Pigeons: A Memoir* (Auckland, 2010), p. 234.

71 Conrad Swan, 'The Armorial Bearings of H.E. The Right Honourable Jeanne Sauvé', *Heraldry in Canada* (December 1986), p. 6.

72 Tizard, op. cit., p. 311.

73 Roger Barnes, 'The Armorial bearings of Dame Catherine Tizard', *The Heraldic Craftsman,* no. 26 (Autumn 1997), pp. 14-15, 27. For other maces from the Commonwealth, see Duncan Sutherland, 'Commonwealth Parliamentary Maces and their Symbolic Use of Coats of Arms', *The Parliamentarian*, vol. 103, no. 2 (2022), pp. 166-9.

Figure 15: arms of Sir Peter Barwell (1992), CA Ms Grants 158, p. 158. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms

Figure 16: arms of Sir Arthur Coles (1961), CA Ms Grants 123, p. 349. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 17: arms of Dame Catherine Tizard (1994). Source: Roger Barnes.

As well as personal arms, several civic coats of arms have featured maces, including those of Somerset County Council (**Figure 18**). After this council was established in 1889 it used a seal with a dragon, inspired by the attributed arms of the Kingdom of Wessex. The council's arms, granted in 1911, are based on this, but the *dragon rampant gules* holds in its claws a *Mace erect azure*, indicating that these are a council's arms. Not shown here is the motto '*Sumorsaete Ealle*', a quote from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle meaning 'All the Men of Somerset' in reference to their support for King Alfred against the Danes in 878 A.D.[74] A crest and supporters were added in 2003.

After 1911 there appear to have been no more maces in civic heraldry until Colyton Parish Council in Devon in 1954 (**Figure 19**). The lion rampant argent on a chief semé-de-lys is from the arms of the Carew-Pole baronets, local lords of the manor for nearly 400 years. Colyton's parish church is named for St Andrew, represented by the saltire argent. The two *torteaux* are from the arms of Henry Courtenay, a lord of the manor who was executed in 1538 for alleged treason against Henry VIII. His forfeited lands were transferred to the Chamber of Feoffees which has used the proceeds for good works. The ostrich feathers on the crest are another Courtenay symbol, from the Earl of Devon's arms, while the mace and sword recall the ancient Borough of Colyford.[75] Colyford's actual mace is an earlier, plainer type than the one illustrated here.[76]

In 1956 Great Dunmow Parish Council in Essex became perhaps the only other armigerous parish council (**Figure 20**). For the crest, a boar azure on a woolpack holds a hop plant, to acknowledge the town's historic wool industry and more recent interests in brewing and bacon. The shield's tinctures and charges reflect the arms of sixteen families, including various owners of the manors of Great Dunmow over the centuries. Two mascles are for the Ferrers family while the fleurs-de-lys are for the Jenoures, the Beaumonts and the Virgin Mary, for whom the parish church is named. The pomegranate was the badge of Catherine of Aragon, to whom Henry VIII presented the manor of Great Dunmow with her dower in 1509. In base, the lion carries a mace recalling Great Dunmow's former borough status. The designer of these arms was West Sussex county archivist Francis Steer, previously Essex assistant county archivist and later Maltravers Herald Extraordinary.[77]

74 'Somerset County Arms', *Somerset County Herald*, 2 October 1937.

75 Rowland Bretton, 'Civic heraldry', *CoA* no. 44 (October 1960), p. 144.

76 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, (11 June 1891), p. 347.

77 'Town and District Topics', *Herts and Essex Observer*, 3 August 1956; 'Francis W. Steer, MA, DLitt, FSA, FRHist.', *Heraldry Gazette*, no. 76 (February 1979), p. 179.

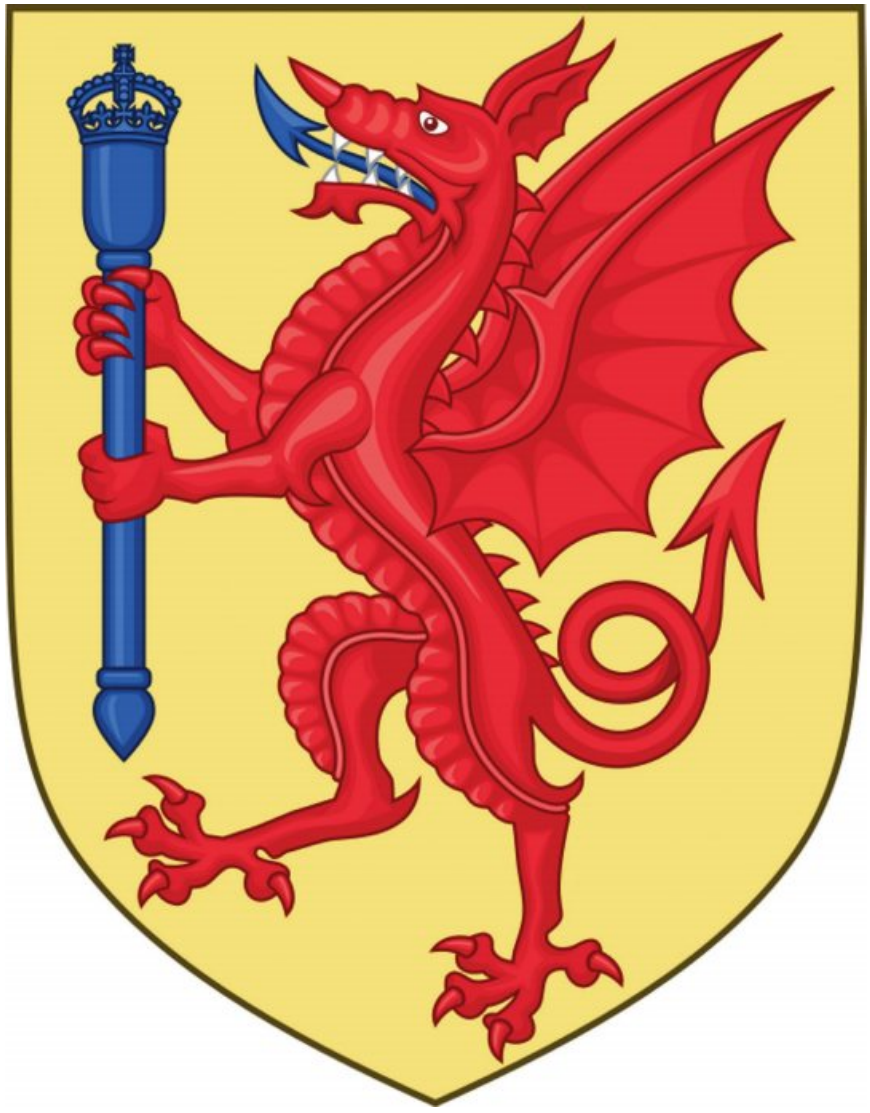

Figure 18: arms of Somerset County Council (1911), Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 19: arms of Colyton Parish Council (1954). Source: Colyton Parish Council.

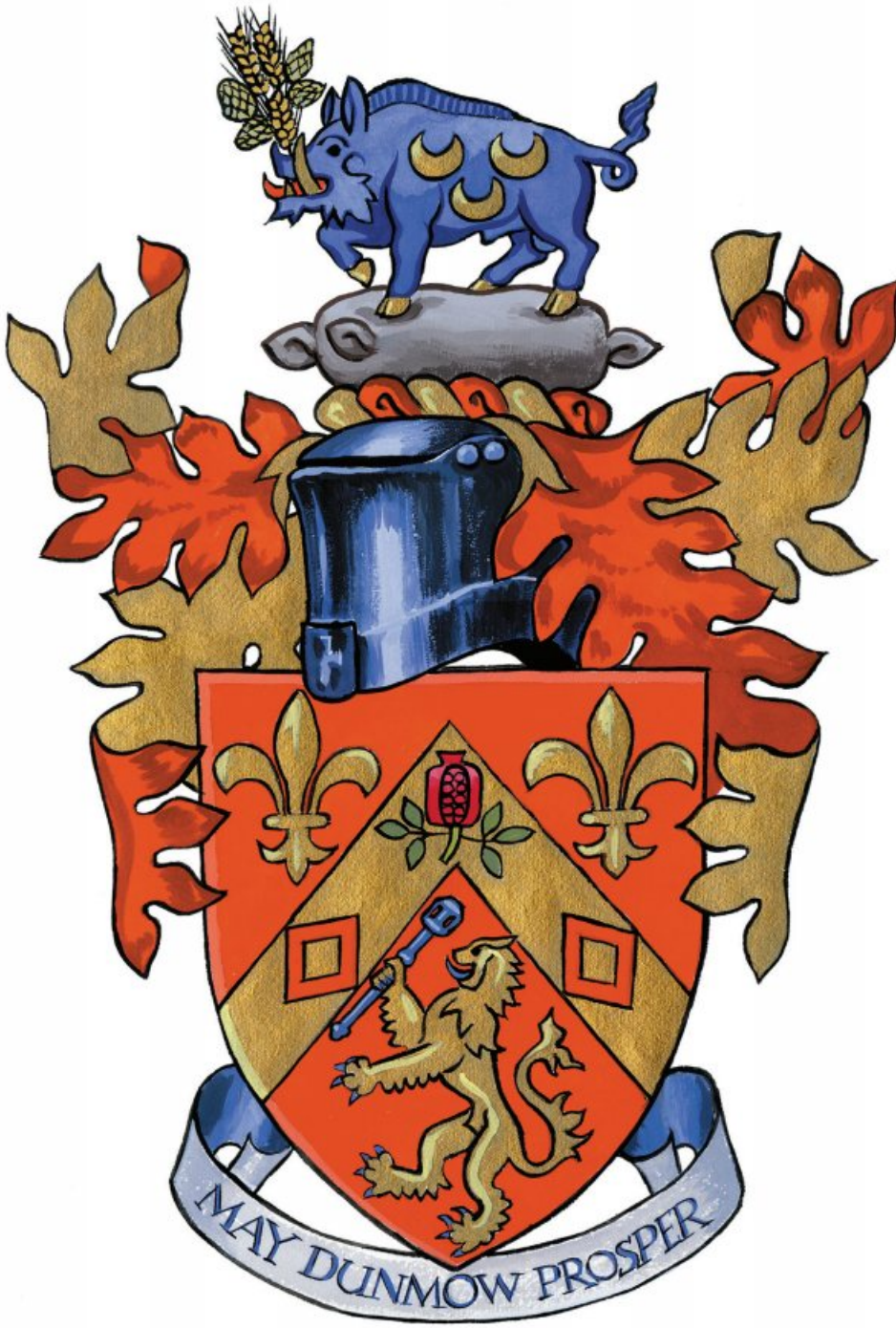

Figure 20: arms of Great Dunmow Parish Council (1956).
Source: Great Dunmow Parish Council.

Not long afterwards, arms were granted in 1960 to Darlington County Borough Council (**Figure 21**). George Stephenson's Locomotive Number One made the world's first railway journey from Stockton to Darlington in 1825, and appeared on the corporation's earlier, unregistered arms. St Cuthbert's reliquary cross honours Darlington's patron saint to whom the parish church is dedicated. The church was erected on the site where Lindisfarne's monks lay Cuthbert's body after fleeing with the holy relic to escape from Danish marauders. The azure is from Durham's diocesan arms, as are the lions argent on the crest, which support a civic mace.[78] Darlington's mace was bought by public subscription in 1881.[79]

Lion and wyvern supporters were added in 1967 to mark the council's centenary, with the crowned lion commemorating the Queen's visit that year. More dramatically, the wyvern with a falchion [broad sword] severing its shoulder recalls the legendary slaying of the 'Sockburn Worm', a local dragon. Following the local government reforms of 1974, Darlington Borough Council received slightly altered arms that year, adding a mount inside a mural crown to the crest, and a garb and short-horned bull's head to the shield, acknowledging Darlington's market town status.[80]

The year after Darlington's original grant, Saffron Walden Borough Council also received arms (**Figure 22**). Saffron was grown there from the fourteenth century and upon the borough's incorporation in 1549, it received a common seal showing a saffron crocus 'walled in' by town walls. This canting device was used unofficially as arms. Plans to obtain proper arms, which were shelved on the outbreak of World War One, were finally realised in 1961.[81] Francis Steer, overseeing the design, added a crest with a cap of maintenance for the Audley family and a lion rampant from the arms of Humphrey de Bohun, who granted Saffron Walden a market charter in the thirteenth century. The lion holds one of the two nine-inch silver maces purchased in 1549 after Edward VI granted Saffron Walden's second charter; they are now kept in the local museum.[82] These arms were retained after Saffron Walden became a town in 1974.

No Scottish local authorities appear to have arms with maces, but in Northern Ireland, Castlereagh Rural District Council received arms in 1966 with a demi Irish elk issuant from a castle tower's battlements, holding a ceremonial mace (**Figure 23**). The massive extinct Irish elk has appeared in multiple Northern Irish armorial grants, including those of Down County Council and of Northern Ireland's government from 1924 until 1972. These battlements allude to the O'Neills' fifteenth-century 'grey castle' from which Castlereagh takes its name; their arms included the red hand of Ulster which has long been used to represent the region. Cogwheels represent Castlereagh's industrial development and the crown with ears of wheat and acorns refers to agriculture and the countryside.[83] This 'rural crown' was designed by H. Ellis Tomlinson, the Rural District Council Association's heraldic adviser, and has been used in over a dozen grants of arms

78 Rowland Bretton, 'Stephenson's Locomotion on Darlington CBC Arms', *Municipal Journal* (16 August 1963), p. 2368.

79 'Local and District', *York Herald*, 6 May 1881.

80 Information provided by Darlington council (2024).

81 'After hundreds of years Saffron Walden may now have registered 'arms'', *Saffron Walden Weekly News*, 20 January 1961.

82 Rowland Bretton, 'Civic Arms – Saffron Walden borough', *Municipal Journal* (8 November 1963), p. 3403; L.F.W. Jewitt, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales*, vol. 1 (London, 1895), pp. 202-4.

83 www.civicheraldry.co.uk/northern_ireland_pre73.html.

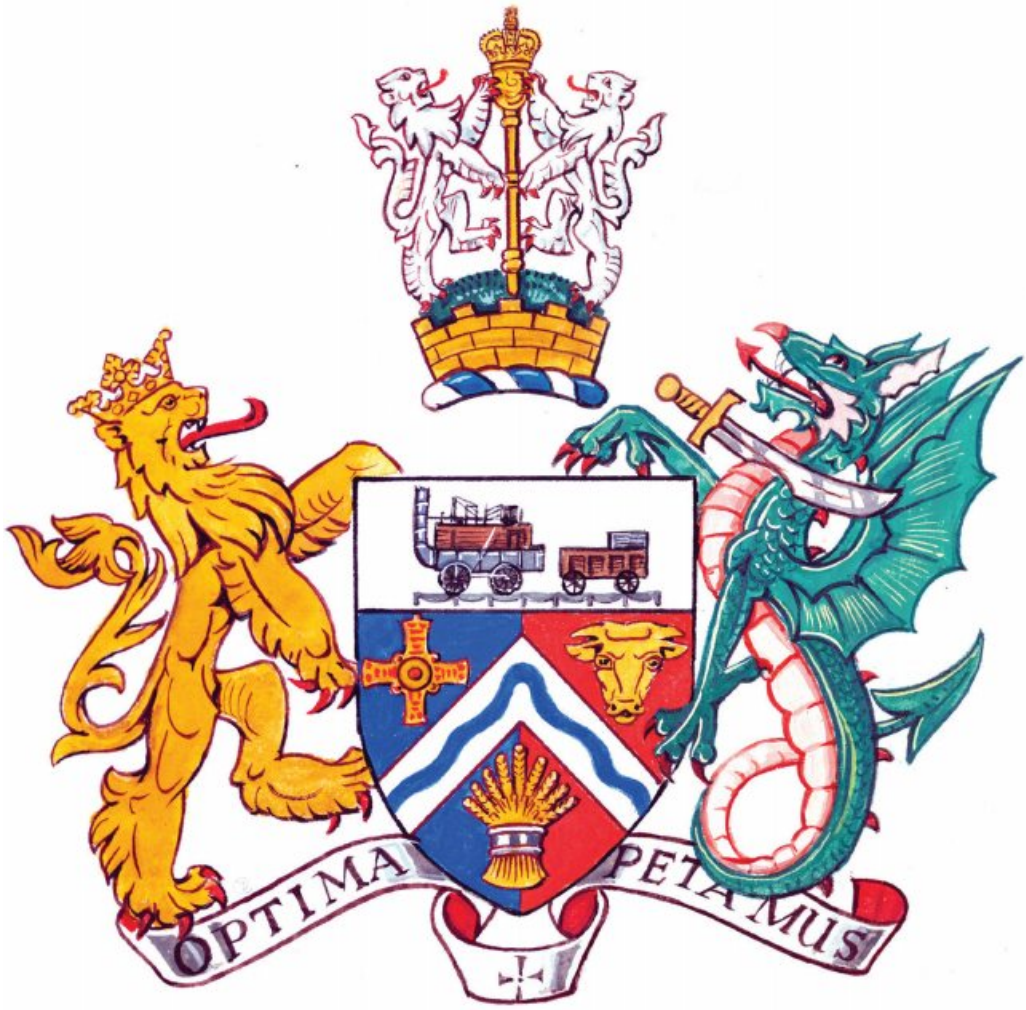

Figure 21: arms of Darlington Borough Council (1975), CA Ms Grants 138, p. 153. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

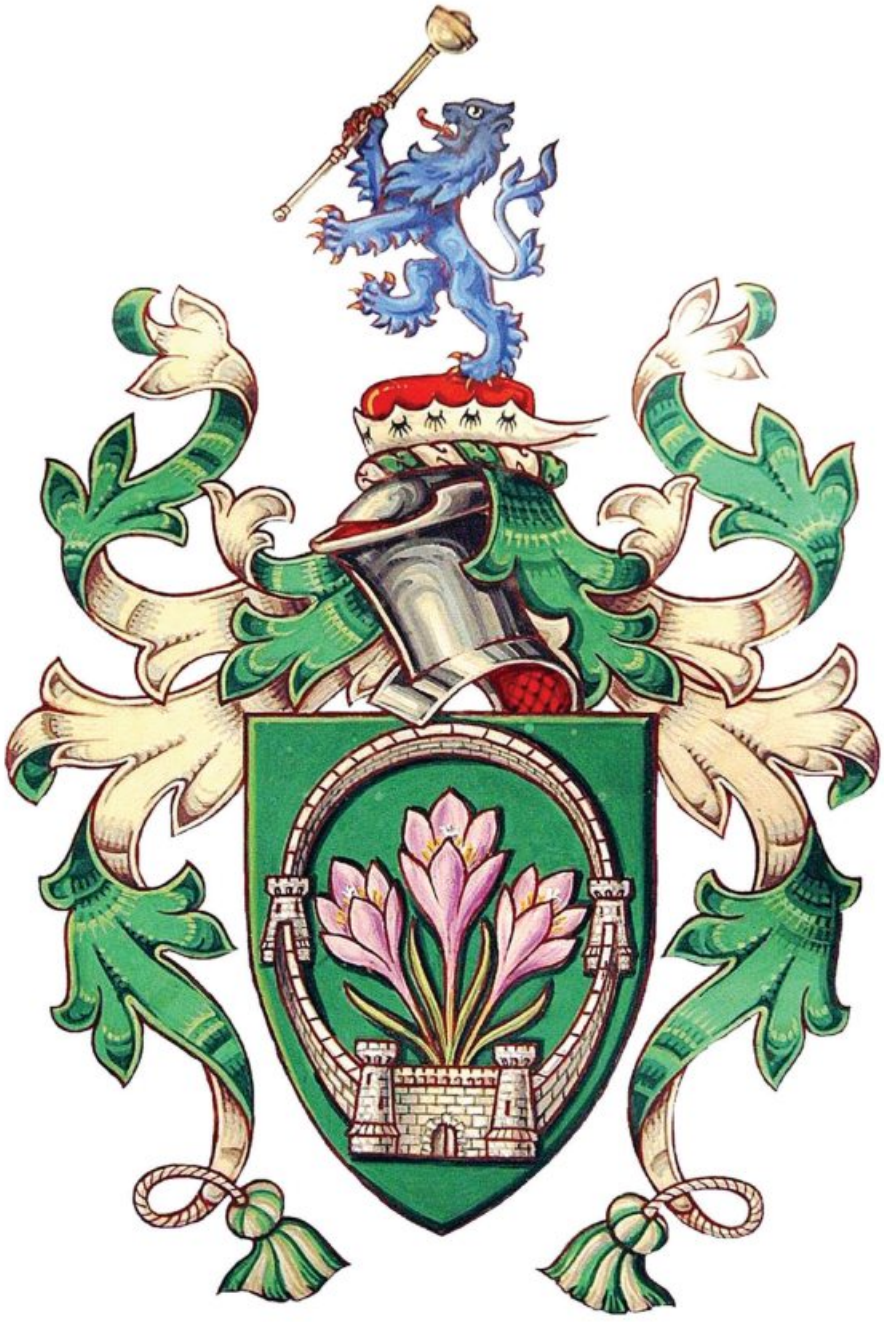

Figure 22: arms of Saffron Walden council (1961). Source: Saffron Walden Council

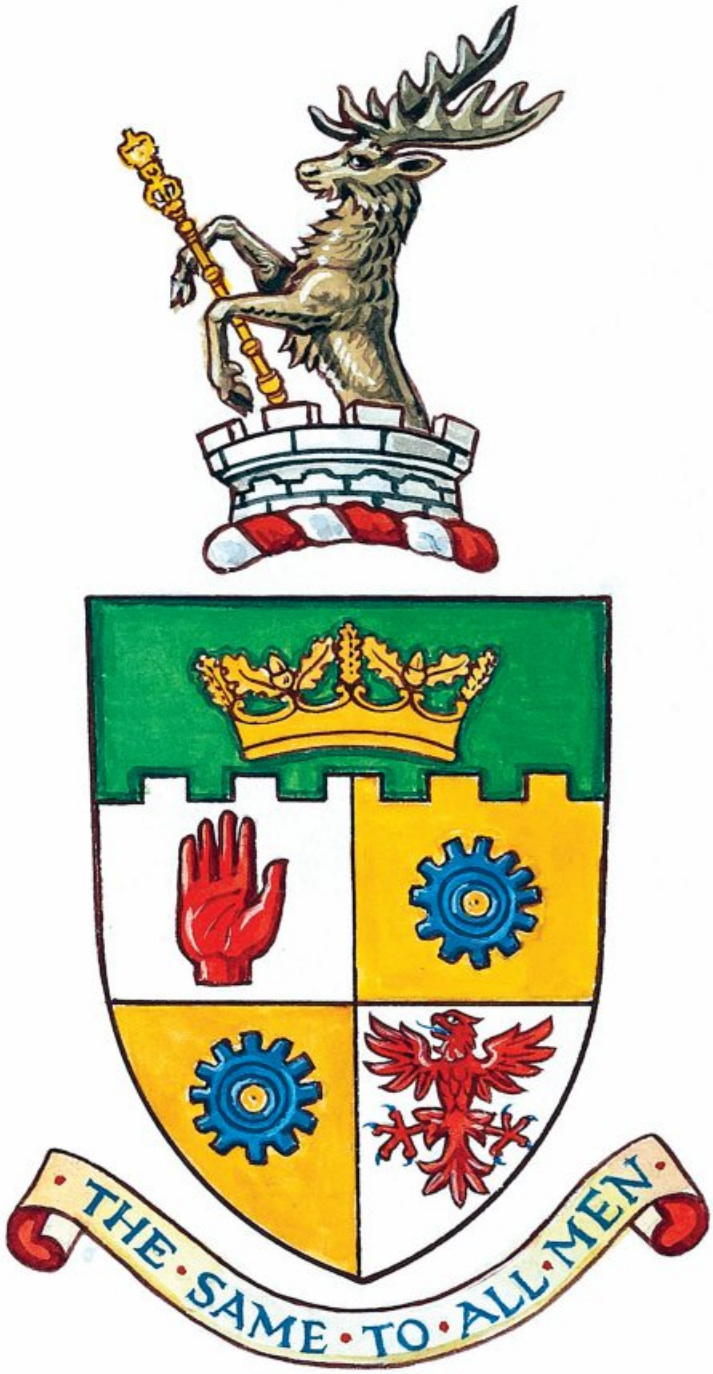

Figure 23: arms of Castlereagh Rural District Council (1966), CA Ms Ulster 4, p. 41. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

from 1960.[84] The council waited sixty-six years from its founding to acquire arms, but all rural district councils were abolished just seven years later. In 1977 Castlereagh Borough Council received arms which retained the crown, and also acquired a badge of a mace issuing from battlements.[85]

Tomlinson's rural crown was further used by the Association of District Councils of England and Wales. Following the local government reforms of 1974 there was a merger between the urban and rural district council associations which had been founded in the 1890s. This new body represented 332 councils nationwide and received arms in 1979 (**Figure 24**).[86] The shield features the rural crown, two mural crowns and a portcullis. The latter appears on several local authorities' arms, but also symbolises parliament, so may refer to the association's role in monitoring relevant legislation. The crest is a lion sejant guardant or on a mural crown carrying a mace and gorged by a riband suspending a red wax seal, as used on town charters and official documents. In 1997, after just twenty-three years, this body was incorporated into the Local Government Association.

A more enduring organisation is the London Mayors' Association which was founded in 1900 on the initiative of Westminster's Lord Mayor Henry Fitzalan-Howard (d. 1917), the 15th Duke of Norfolk. He convened a meeting of Inner London Borough mayors to discuss matters of ceremonial, etiquette and protocol to encourage uniform high standards. Eventually this non-partisan association of mayors and former mayors extended its remit to allow members to meet socially and consider general matters affecting the Metropolis.[87] The arms, granted in 1977 (**Figure 25**), feature a *bend wavy argent charged with a bendlet azure*, evoking the river Thames. The overall effect suggests a uniformed mayor, with a lace jabot and a demi chain on the shield, and a tricorn hat atop a mural crown for a crest. Two uniformed macebearers act as supporters, and the motto means 'We serve as citizens of London.' Aside from its wider functions, the association – always chaired by Westminster's Lord Mayor – continues to guide new mayors on best practice regarding public occasions. It is therefore appropriate that these arms perhaps go furthest in celebrating the splendour and pageantry which has enriched civic government for centuries.

84 'Rural Crown', *Heraldry Gazette*, 61 (March 1975), p. 47.

85 *CA* Ms. Ulster vol. 4, p. 127. Another relevant Northern Irish coat of arms was that of the Association of Municipalities of Northern Ireland (1954), which had *a mace fessewise or on a demi tower proper* for a crest. No Welsh examples are known, although Bangor's seal is simply that of the diocese with a mace added. See A.C. Fox-Davies and M.E.B Crookes, *The Book of Public Arms* (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 15.

86 Chris Cook, *The Routledge Guide to British Political Archives* (London, 2012), p. 232.

87 Information provided by the London Mayors' Association (2024).

Figure 24: arms of the Association of District Councils of England and Wales (1979), CA Ms Grants 142, p. 78. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 25: arms of the London Mayors' Association (1977), CA Ms Grants 140, p. 173. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.