XXIV. Observations on the Origin and History of the Badge and Mottoes of Edward Prince of Wales. By Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, G.C.M.G., in a Letter addressed to Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President.

Read 29th January, and 5th February, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,

Torrington Square, 1st January, 1846.

So much interest has been felt in the origin and history of the *Badge* and *Mottoes* of the Prince of Wales—the Ostrich Feathers, " **Ech Dien**" and "**Moumout**," that they have been treated of by many able antiquaries; from the learned Camden in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the Messrs. Nichols, Willement, and Planché, in the present day.

Great obscurity, nevertheless, still exists on the subject; and having discovered many facts which were unknown to those writers, I have been induced to collect all the information that can be found on the Badge and Mottoes, and to submit the present statement to you, that it may, if you think fit, be laid before the Society of Antiquaries.

The popular account of the adoption of the Ostrich Feathers by Edward the Black Prince as his Badge, is thus stated by Sandford, when speaking of the Battle of Cressy:—" Among many eminent persons which died that day on the French part, John of Luxemburgh, King of Bohemia, fell by the conquering hand of Prince Edward, who deplumed his casque of those Ostrich Feathers, which in memory of this victory became his Cognizance, sometimes using one Feather, sometimes three (as appeareth in his Seals and on his Tomb), with scrolls containing this Motto, ICH DIEN, that is, I serve: John King of Bohemia meaning thereby, that he served the French King in his wars, and was his stipendiary. Others make it Prince Edward's Device, alluding to the words of the Apostle, that 'the heir, while he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant;' and this is the more probable

a Archæologia, vol. xxix. and Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. vol. xvii.

b Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 45.

c History of British Costume, p. 139, et seq.

conjecture, seeing that the Feathers and this Motto have ever since been borne by our Princes of Wales, heirs apparent to the Kings of this Realm, with the addition (by the more modern) of a Coronet, within which they are encircled. Nor were these Feathers and Motto so confined to the direct line of these Princes, but that they have been made use of as a Device (with due distinctions) by collateral branches, both of the Royal House of Lancaster and York: evidence their Seales, exhibited in several places of this History, upon which the Feathers and Scrolls are delineated." In the margin Sandford cites, "Tho. Walsingham, p. 166, n. 48," and "Camden's Remains, p. 214."

Walsingham does not, however, allude to the Ostrich Feathers or Motto; but Camden (who is the earliest writer that is known to have mentioned either) says, in the first Edition of the "Remains:"—

"The victorious Black Prince his son used sometimes one Feather, sometimes three, in token of his speedy execution in all his services; as the Posts, in the Roman times, were *Pterophori*, and wore feathers to signify their flying post-haste. But the tradition is, that he won them at the battle of Poictiers, whereunto he adjoined this old English word, It Den, (Thegn), that is, I SERVE, according to that of the Apostle, 'the heir, while he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant.' These feathers were an ancient ornament of military men, as is evident by that of Virgil—

"' Cujus olorinæ surgunt de vertice pennæ;'e

and were used by this Prince before the time of Canoy Chan, the Tartarian, who, because his life was saved by an owl, would have his people wear their feathers, from whom Haithon fableth, that the people of Europe received first the use of feathers. In the next editions of the "Remains," however, Camden made material alterations in the above statement. After the words, "sometimes three in token," he added, "as some say;"—for "the tradition is," he substituted "but the truth is:"—and instead of "he won them at the battle of Poictiers," he said, "he won them at the battle of Cressy from John King of Bohemia." The change from "the tradition is" to "the truth

d Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England, p. 182.

e "Æn. x. 187."

f Camden's Remains, Ed. 1605, p. 161.

g Ed. 1614, p. 214. Ed. 1629, p. 179. Ed. 1637, by Philpot, and ed. 1674, p. 451.

is," would justify the belief that Camden had discovered some evidence on the subject; and if so, it is to be regretted that he did not cite his authority for so positive an assertion, because none whatever has been alluded to by any subsequent writer.

There is consequently no *contemporary* authority for the popular history of the Badge and Motto; nor any earlier written account of either, than that of Camden.^h

I shall now proceed to notice all the contemporary and other early evidence on the subject that has been found, consisting of written statements, seals, and paintings, whence it must, I apprehend, be inferred that the Badge and Mottoes had a very different origin from that which popular opinion has attributed to them.

The first time the Feathers are mentioned in any Record, is in an Indenture (not hitherto known) witnessing that Sir Henry de Wakefeld, late Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, had delivered to . . . de Mulsho, his successor in that office, at Windsor, on the 24th of October, in the . . year of the reign of

h In the following passage, Randle Holme, in the unpublished part of his "Academy of Armorie" in the Harleian MS. 2035 (cited by Mr. Willement), attributes the Feathers and Motto to a very different, but, it is presumed, equally erroneous, source, though he has ingeniously contrived to combine the two traditions. "The Ensigne of the auntcient Brittaines or Welsh was three Ostrich Feathers white, which they used upon all their warlike colours. But when they were subdued, and brought under the Saxon English government and lawes, and that the King of England's eldest son was made the hereditary Prince of Wales, the Prince still retained the Badge of THE FEATHERS, adding thereunto the Prince's Crown, and the Motto Ich Dien, which is as much as to say, I SERVE; signifying thereby that though he be a Prince in his own Country, yet he is but a Subject to the Crowne of England," (f°.149.) In another part of the same MS., Randle Holme adds, "But this much let me inform you, that this bearing was after altered by the valiant Edward Prince of Wales, who, after the battle of Cressy, wherein he slew the King of Bohemia, and tooke the Crowne from his head, added the same to his three Feathers, with the Motto aforesaid, which the Princes of Wales of the English line have ever since so borne it." "Unfortunately for Randle Holmes' hypothesis," says Mr. Willement, "we have no contemporary example of the Feathers being used by the Princes of Wales before the Black Prince, nor of the Coronet which now combines the plume previous to the time of Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward the Sixth."-Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 48.

i In a careful examination of all the Wardrobe Accounts, from the reign of King Edward the Third to that of King Henry the Eighth, made a few years since for the History of the Order of the Garter, my attention was constantly directed to the Ostrich Feathers, as well as to all notices of any other Badges and Mottoes.

King Edward the Third, the plate therein mentioned. The date of the year no longer exists, but it must have been after the 43rd Edward III. 1369j. The Rollk commences with a list of plate belonging to the King, some articles of which were marked with the Arms of England and France quarterly; others with a leopard, others with a fleur-de-lis, others with a rose, others with a crowned E, others with both a leopard and a fleur-de-lis, and others with the Arms of England and France per pale.

The second membrane of the Roll is entitled the "Queen's Plate,"—"Vessellamenta Reginæ," which title, and the fact that all the articles, if marked at all, were marked with her Arms, or her Initial, are very important to this inquiry.

The first entry on this membrane is of a pair of silver basins, gilt entirely within and without, and enamelled at the bottom with the Arms of England and France quarterly.

Then follow:-

A silver ewer marked on the handle with an escutcheon of the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

A pair of large basins, silver gilt, and enamelled at the bottom with an escutcheon of the Lady the Queen Mother, given by her to Lord Lionel, i. e. given by Isabella the Queen Dowager to her grandson Lionel of Antwerp, third son of King Edward the Third, afterwards Duke of Clarence.

Three basins, silver gilt, marked with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

A silver ewer, marked on the handle with an escutcheon of the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

A pair of basins, silver gilt, and enamelled on the bottom with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

A salt cellar, silver gilt, in the shape of an elephant, bearing a crenelled castle, with five standards of divers Arms standing on the crenelles of the same castle.

Fifteen silver spoons, one of which is gilt and not marked, and fourteen of silver not gilt, marked outside with the letter .

j This date is ascertained by one of the items being, "Fourteen dishes of silver, newly made by the wife of Thomas de Hassey, in the year 43, marked on the edges with the Arms of England and France quarterly."

k A literal copy of the Roll will be found in the APPENDIX, No. I.

Four silver cups, marked at the bottom with an escutcheon of the Arms of England and Hainault, party.

Five cups, silver gilt, without covers, marked with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

Various basins of silver gilt, cups, and other articles, all marked with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

Three silver dishes chased, marked at the bottom with the Arms of England and France, and Hainault, party.

Four silver dishes chased, marked on the edges with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

Several dishes of silver, marked on the edges with an escutcheon of the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

A dish which was restored by John Chichester.

Five silver salt-cellars, marked on the edge with the letter ...

Six silver salt-cellars, marked on the edge with the Arms of England and Hainault, party.

A large dish for the alms of the Queen, silver gilt, and enamelled at the bottom with a black escutcheon with Ostrich Feathers.

A silver pot, gilt outside, with two handles, for the said alms of the said Queen.

A salt-cellar of silver gilt, with three doves, six butterflies, and six images of gold; and under the doves one crystal, with eleven escutcheons of the Arms of England and France, quarterly.

A salt-cellar of silver gilt, and enamelled in the shape of a falcon, standing on a perch, enamelled with divers Arms.

A vessel of silver gilt, enamelled with two castles.

Two cloths of diaper, of one suit on a red ground, with winged lions and a peacock of gold, with green leaves and buds.

Similar cloths of blue, with gold lions and dragons, and purple flowers and buds.

Two silver drinking-pots, marked on the covers with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

Two large silver dishes for "entremets," marked on the edges with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

Various dishes of silver, marked on the edges with the Arms of England and Hainault, quarterly.

It thus appears that, with the exception of a silver dish given to Prince Lionel by his grandmother, all the Queen's plate, if marked, either bore her Consort's Arms (as well before, as after he assumed the Arms of France); or, his Arms quartered or impaled with her own; or, the initial of her name, Philippa; except an alms-dish, which was marked with a sable escutcheon, charged with Ostrich Feathers.

The piece of plate on which the Feathers are, for the *first* time, found, is not said to have been given to her, or to have belonged to any of her Sons, which would probably have been the case, if it had been a gift from her Son the Prince of Wales, or from any other person; and the inference from all these facts is, that, like the Arms of Hainault, and like the initial letter **19**, the Ostrich Feathers in a sable shield *belonged to Queen Philippa*, either as a Badge of her Family, or as Arms borne in right of some territories appertaining to her House.

The next, and the most remarkable notices of the Ostrich Feathers occur in the Will of Edward the Black Prince, dated on the 7th of June 1376. He directed that his body should be buried in Canterbury Cathedral, and that there should be placed around his Tomb twelve laton escutcheons, each a foot high; in six of which should be "our entire Arms," and in the six others, Ostrich Feathers; and that upon each escutcheon should be written, that is to say, upon those of our Arms, and upon the others with Ostrich Feathers, "Youmout." The Prince then desired that an effigy of himself should be placed on the Tomb, "fully armed for war, with our Arms quarterly," "with

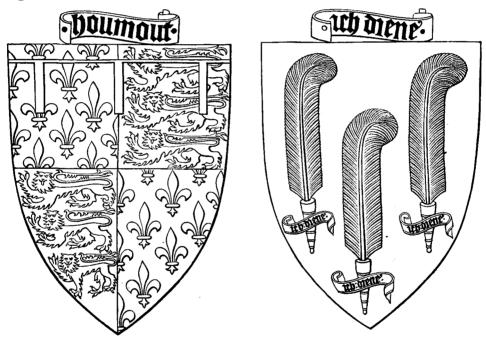
m "Et voloms que entour la ditte tombe soient dusze escuchons de laton, chacun de la largesse d'un pie, dont les syx seront de noz Armes entiers, et les autres six des plumes d'ostruce; et que sur chacun escuchon soit escript, c'est assavoir sur cellez de noz Armez, et sur les autres des plumes d'ostruce, thoumout, et paramont la tombe soit fait un tablement de laton suzorrez, de largesse et longure meisme la tombe, sur quele nouz voloms q'un ymage d'ov'eigne leve de latoun suzorrez soit mys en memorial de nous, tout armez de fier de guerre de nous Armes quartillez, et le visage mie, ove notre heaume du Leopard mys dessous la teste de l'ymage; et volons qe sur n're tombe, en lieu ou lon le purra plus clerement lire et veoir, soit escripte ce qe ensuit en la maner qe sera mielz aviz a mes executours." Then follows the well-known inscription on the Tomb.—Nichols's Royal Wills p. 67.

our Crest of the Leopard put under the head of the effigy," together with the inscription which is recited in his Will. He also desired that his corpse should be taken through the City of Canterbury as far as the Priory; that "two war horses, covered with our Arms, and two men armed in our Arms and in our Crests," should precede his corpse; that is to say, "the one for War, with our entire Arms quarterly, and the other for Peace, with our Badge of Ostrich Feathers, with four Banners of the same suite;" and that each of those who bore the said Banners should have on his head a hat with our Arms; and that he "who shall be armed for War, shall have an armed man carrying after him a black Pennon with Ostrich Feathers." The Prince, among various bequests, gave to the Church of Canterbury his hangings of Ostrich Feathers of black tapestry, having a red border with swans with ladies' heads, that is to say, a dorser and eight pieces for the sides and two bankers. He desired that his Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral should be ornamented with his Arms in divers places, "and likewise with our Badge of Ostrich Feathers." In giving the remainder of his vestments to St. Nicholas' Chapel, in Wallingford Castle, he excepted "a blue vestment with gold roses, and Ostrich Feathers." He gave to his son Richard, (afterwards King Richard the Second,) the hanging of arras "du pas de Saladyn," also the worsted hangings embroidered with

- " "Et volons que a quele heure que notre corps soit amenez parmy la ville de Cantirbirie tantq' a la priorie, q' deux destrez covertz de nos armez, et deuz homez armez en nos armez et en nos heaumes, voisent devant dit n're corps, c'est assavoir l'un pur la guerre de noz armez entiers quartellez, et l'autre pur la paix de noz bages des plumes d'ostruce, ove quartre baneres de mesme la sute, et que chacun de ceux q' porteront les ditz baneres ait sur sa teste un chapeau de noz armes; et que celi que sera armez pur la guerre ait un home armez portant apres li un penon de noir ove plumes d'ostruce."—Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 68.
- o "Item noz donnons et devisons notre sale des *plumes d'ostruce* de tapiterie noir et la bordure rouge ove cignes ove testez de dames, c'est assavoir un dossier, et huyt pieces pur les costs, et deux banqueres, a la dit eglise de Canterbire."—Ibid. p. 69.
 - p "Et auxi de noz Bages dez plumes d'ostruce."—Ibid. p. 71.
 - 4 "Horspris toutesfois le vestement blu avec rosez d'or a plumes d'ostruce." Ibid. p. 72.
- r By his Will, the Black Prince gave a silk bed, with all thereto belonging, to Sir Roger de Clarendon, who, according to Sandford, p. 189, was the Prince's natural son, and bore for his Arms "Or, on a bend sable three Ostrich feathers argent, the quills transfixed through as many scrolls of the first;" but according to a Roll of Arms, compiled in the reign of King Richard the Second, printed by Mr. Willement, "Monsr. Roger de Clarendon" bore Gules, a bend Or.

mermaids, and the border paly red and black, embroidered with swans with ladies' heads, and with Ostrich Feathers.^s

It is particularly deserving of attention, that, although the Prince does not anywhere mention the Motto "Ich Dien" in his Will, and although he expressly directed that the word "Houmout" should be placed over all the escutcheons on his Tomb, as well those containing his Arms, as those containing the Feathers, yet "Houmout" occurs only over the shields containing his Arms; and that over the shields with Ostrich Feathers "Ich Diene" is not only placed, but upon the quill of each of the Feathers is an escroll charged with the same words;—



That the Black Prince did use the Motto Ith Dien as well as Moumout is, however, placed beyond dispute by a very remarkable piece of evidence

* "Item nous donons et devisons a n're dit filz la sale darras du pas de Saladyn et auxi la sale de worstede embroudez avec mermyns de mier, et la bordure de rouge et de noir pales et embroudez de cignes avec testes de dames et de plumes d'ostruce." Ibid. pp. 72, 73. It is said by Mr. Willement, on the authority of the Lansdowne MS. 932, that there were formerly in the Church of St. Katharine, near the Tower, two shields, one with the Black Prince's Arms, and the other sable, six Ostrich Feathers erect, argent, 3, 2, and 1, each fixed on a scroll or, inscribed Ich Dien, and that a shield similarly charged once stood in a window of the south aisle, in St Olave's church, in the Old Jewry. Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 47.

which, though known to Anstis,^t has never before been published, and for which I am indebted to my learned friend Mr. Hardy. On the 25th of April 1370, the Prince issued a Warrant under his Privy Seal, dated from the City of Angoulesme, in which he styled himself "Edward, eldest son of the King of France and England, Prince of Aquitaine and of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, Lord of Biscay, and of Castre d'Ordiales," and addressed to Sir Richard de Stafford, Sir Piers de L.... and John de Henxworth, granting to John de Esquet for his good services, fifty marks per annum out of his Exchequer of Chester by the Chamberlain thereof, and commanding the said John de Henxworth to issue Letters Patent for the same under the Seal in his custody. At the bottom of this Warrant, and probably in the Prince's own hand, is this extraordinary addition:



This signature is the more remarkable from being the only known instance in which the Black Prince signed any instrument whatever; for, although there are, it is believed, some documents of the period which were signed by French Princes, and although early in the reign of King Henry the Fourth on Privy Seal Warrants are the words "De par le Roy," and in the same reign the Letters of the Prince of Wales were sometimes superscribed "De par le Prince," but not in the autograph of the King or Prince, yet the practice did not prevail in England in the time of Edward the Third. Nor is there any other example of a Motto being used, instead of the words "De par le Roi," or "De par le Prince," or instead of the name, or the initials, except in two Letters from the Earl of Northumberland to King Henry the Fourth, one in June 1403, and the other in January 1405, which are signed "Matathias." It was, however, usual to describe eminent persons in satirical or political verses by their Badges.

^t Anstis' MSS. "Officers of Arms," in the College of Arms, vol. iii. pp. 206, 207.

^u Original in the Tower. See a copy of the Warrant in Appendix, No. II. The Warrant was cancelled on the 8th of August, 4 Ric. II. 1380, because the King had granted to the said John de Esquet twenty pounds a year for life out of the County of Chester.

v Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 128, 129, et seq.

w Ibid. pp. 231, 232.

^{*} Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. i. p. 205, vol. ii. p. 103.

The Will of the Black Prince shews that the Feathers were a *Badge*, and not Armorial Ensigns, as he twice calls them "our Badge;" and it is also manifest that they were never used as his Crest.

A material inference, with relation to the supposed warlike origin of the Plume, may be drawn from that document, namely, that the Badge was wholly unconnected with War, inasmuch as the man and horse who were to precede his corpse "for Peace" were to wear his Badge of Ostrich Feathers, while the man and horse "for War," wearing his Arms quarterly, was to be followed by another man armed, carrying a black Pennon charged with Ostrich Feathers. The meaning of these directions probably was, that one horse and one man should represent the Prince as equipped for War, and that the other horse and man should represent him equipped for Jousts and Tournaments.

In further refutation of the tradition which assigns the Feathers to the Battle of Cressy, it is material to observe, that the Crest of John King of Bohemia, who fell at Cressy, was two wings of a *Vulture* semée of linden



leaves of gold expanded, and not a Plume of Ostrich Feathers. An Ostrich is said to have been the Badge of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, King of Bohemia, son of John King of Bohemia, who was slain at Cressy; and it was undoubtedly the Badge of his daughter Anne, Consort of King Richard the Second. Queen Philippa's grandmother was the sister of Henry Count of Luxemburgh, great-grandfather of the Emperor Charles the Fourth; and if, as there is reason to suppose, an Ostrich was the ancient Badge of that House, the Ostrich Feathers borne by Queen Philippa and Her sons may have been derived from that source.

y See his Seals in "Olivarii Vredii Sigilla, Genealogia et Historia Comitum Flandriæ,' vol. i. pp. 63, 64, and the Observations on the Heraldic Devices on the Effigies of Richard the Second and his Consort Anne of Bohemia, by John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A. in the Archæologia, vol. xxix. who quotes a Flemish poem cited by Baron Reiffenberg in his recent edition of Barante's History of the Dukes of Burgundy, in which the Crest of John King of Bohemia is thus described as two wings of a Vulture, besprinkled with linden leaves of gold:

"Twee ghiers vlogelen daer aen geleyt Die al vol bespringelt zyn Met linden bladeren guld fyn; Met es, als ick mercken can, Van Behem coninck Jan."

² Queen Anne, the first Consort of Richard the Second, is represented on her tomb in Westminster Abbey, wearing a dress richly embroidered with Ostriches (standing on a mound, ducally gorged and chained, and having in the beak a nail), a peculiarly formed knot, and the initials R. and A. each surmounted by a crown. See the Plates in the Archæologia, vol. xxix. and Mr. John Gough Nichols's interesting remarks on the subject. An Ostrich was also worn pendant to the Collar of the Queen's livery;—"Item i. coler de la livere de la Roigne que Dieux assoille ove un Ostriche," &c. "Item j. autre hanape appelle Gryppeshey, le hanape et le coverecle d'un sort, ove deuz peez d'argent ennorez, et en les founcez dedeins le ditz hanape et coverecle d'un sort ove deux peez d'argent ennorez, et en les founcez dedeins le ditz hanape et coverecle steiantz, deux Ostriches blanks, steant sur an vert terage, coronez, et sur le summet les Armes du Roy." Mr. Nichols' hypothesis respecting the Ostrich Feathers is, that "the Bohemian King, who was a relation of Queen Anne no more distant than her paternal grandfather, may very probably have used the Badge of an Ostrich, as well as his son the Emperor Charles, the Queen's father; and that the Prince, upon his victory over this Monarch, who, from such a Badge, would be called the Ostrich, possibly adopted the conceit that the feathers of the conquered bird formed an emblematical trophy very significant of his success. Such a conjecture may be the more acceptable from accommodating itself with the received tradition respecting the field of Crecy, and may therefore be adopted, unless it should appear that the Feather, (which we also find borne by the brothers of the Black Prince,) was used by our English Princes before that event, which, I confess, I think not improbable."

The only other contemporary evidence of the usage of the Feathers in the reign of King Edward the Third, are Seals. Upon neither the Great Seal of that Monarch, nor upon the only Seal of his Consort, in Sandford's "Genealogical History of the Kings of England," is the Ostrich Feather. There is,

however, one Seal of King Edward the Third, on which *Feathers* are introduced, namely, a Seal which is inscribed on the obverse, "S. Edwardi Regis Anglie et Francie," and on the reverse, "Pro Lanis et Coreis liberandis." The obverse contains a shield charged with the Arms of France and England, quarterly, and on each side of the shield is a *Feather* rudely engraved. On the reverse are three lions passant guardant, not placed in an escutcheon.^a



The Seals of the Black Prince afford some, but by no means satisfactory information. Eight different Seals have been found, and they may be thus described:—

I. A large Seal, having on one side the effigy of the Prince on horseback in armour, the shield and trappings of his horse charged with the Arms of England, differenced by a label of five points, and inscribed "S. Edward Illustris Regis Anglie filli." On the other side is a large shield of the Arms of England, and a label of five points, inscribed "Edwardus Princeps Wallie, Comes Cestrie, et Cornubiæ;" but there are not any Feathers on it.

II. A small Seal, attached to a deed dated on the 16th of July, 28 Edw. III. 1354, inscribed "Sigill Edward fill Regis Anglie Comitis Cestrie," and having a shield of the Arms of England, differenced by a label; c but there are not any Feathers on it.

III. The Prince's Great Seal for the Duchy of Aquitaine, engraved in Sand-

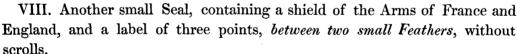
^{*} A cast, Nos. 147, 148, is in the British Museum.

^b A cast in the possession of Mr. Doubleday, from the original in the Archives du Royaume, Paris.

c Ibid. in the Augmentation Office.

ford's Genealogical History,^d on the reverse of which the Prince is represented seated under a canopy, and a large Ostrich Feather, with a scroll on the quill, is introduced on each side of him, with the letter © over one, and the letter very over the other Feather.

- IV. A small Seal, also engraved by Sandford^e, containing a helmet, the crest, and a shield charged with the Arms of France and England quarterly, differenced by a label, and having on each side of the helmet an Ostrich Feather on a scroll.
- V. The Seal represented in the annexed engraving, which is attached to a deed in the Augmentation Office, dated on the 19th of July, 37 Edw. III. 1362, and which exactly resembles the Seal last mentioned, except that there is not a scroll on the Feathers.
- VI. A small Seal, also in the Augmentation Office, very like Nos. IV. and V. except that it has no Feathers.
- VII. A Seal^g without helmet or crest, and having a shield with the Arms of France and England quarterly, but no Feathers.



As it consequently appears that the Feathers were omitted on some of the Prince of Wales's Seals, which were engraved after the year 1346, no inference in favour of the supposed connection of the Badge with the Battle of Cressy can be drawn from the omission of the Feathers on the Seal, (No. I.) which was certainly engraved before that event.

It will now be shown that the Ostrich Feathers were borne, with a slight

d P. 125, and a cast from the original in the Archives du Royaume, Paris.

e P. 125.

f There is a drawing of this Seal in the Cottonian MS. Julius C. VII. where it is said to have been attached to a deed in the 45th Edw. III. 1371.

g From a cast of the original in the Archives du Royaume, Paris.

difference^h, by some of the other, if not by all, the Sons of King Edward the Third, besides the Prince of Wales; but it must first be observed that the Prince's widow, Joan Princess of Wales, by her Will in 1385, bequeathed to her son Prince Richard a new bed of red velvet, *embroidered with Ostrich Feathers of silver*, and leopards' heads of gold, with branches and leaves of silver.

Of the Arms or Badges of LIONEL DUKE OF CLARENCE, the second Son of King Edward the Third, who died in 1368, no contemporary evidence has been discovered.

John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the third Son, and his descendants, all used the Ostrich Feathers. By his Will, dated in 1398, he bequeathed to the altar of St. Paul's his large bed, of cloth of gold, powdered with gold roses, on pipes of gold, and in each pipe two white Ostrich Feathers; and a sable shield charged with three Ostrich Feathers ermine, the quills and escrolls or, together with a shield containing his Arms, were placed near his tomb, in a window of that Cathedral. There is now in the cloisters at Canterbury a remarkable boss of the Duke of Lancaster, in allusion to his title of King of Castile and Leon. On a Castle, or, is a shield argent, charged with a Lion rampant gules, the Arms of Leon. Two hands issue from behind the shield, and grasp the exterior part of the Castle. The whole is surrounded by two Ostrich Feathers, each having a chain along the quill; and at the bottom of the device is a Lion couchant, within a coronet.

No evidence has been discovered, that EDMOND OF LANGLEY, DUKE OF YORK, the fourth Son of King Edward the Third, bore the Ostrich feather; but, as shown hereafter, his son Richard Duke of York undoubtedly did so.

h It is said in the Harl. MS. 304, f. 12, that "the Ostrich feather, silver, and pen gold, is the King's. The Ostrich feather, pen, and all silver, is the Prince's. The Ostrich feather, gold, the pen ermine, is the Duke of Lancaster's. The Ostrich feather, silver, and pen gobonné, is the Duke of Somerset's."

i "Item lego precarissimo filio meo Regi supradicto lectum meum de velvet rubrum novum operatum in broderia cum pennis Ostric' argent' et cum capitibus Leopardorum de auro, cum ramis et foliis argenteis." Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 78.

k "Item jeo devise a la suisdit aultier du Seynt Poule mon graunt lyt de drap' d'ore, le champ piers poudres des roses d'or myses sur pipes d'or, et en chescun pipe deux plums d'Ostrich blankes."

Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 149.

1 Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 244.

m Engraved in Willement's Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral, but more accurately in the Excerpta Cantiana, by the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild, F.S.A.

THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, the youngest Son, used two Badges, one an Ostrich Feather, and the other a Swan, the latter being derived from his wife Eleanor, eldest daughter and coheiress of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. Both these Badges occur on his Great Seal, the ground of which is diapered, and a Feather (without a scroll) and a Swan occur alternately in the compartments.

It will now be stated by what other descendants of King Edward the Third the Ostrich Feathers are known to have been borne, and with what peculiarities.

KING RICHARD THE SECOND, though he adopted a White Hart for his Badge, occasionally used the Ostrich Feathers. On his Seal in the first year of his reign, in the Augmentation Office, an Ostrich Feather, with a plain escroll attached, is placed on each side of the shield. In an illumination in the contemporary life of that Monarch, in which he is represented conferring knighthood upon his cousin Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry the Fifth, an attendant bears a Pennon azure, semée of Ostrich Feathers or; and the caparisons of the King's horse, which are red, are ornamented with gold Ostrich Feathers. A Feather with the escroll also occurs at the end of the legend, on his Seal as Prince of Wales; q and in the Accounts of the Great Wardrobe between 1383 and 1385, a gown embroidered with Ostrich Feathers is mentioned. In another Wardrobe Account, without date, a bed is described as of the largest size, embroidered with a fret and white Ostrich Feathers, with an escutcheon containing heads of Ladies and Feathers; "also a bed of the Prince, whom God assoil," with the Arms of Kent and Wake, and a White Hart in the centre of a circle; which tends to show that Richard the Second's favourite Badge of the White Hart was derived from his mother, Joan, daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, by Margaret daughter and heiress of John Lord Wake.

King Richard granted "two Ostrich Feathers erect," together with the Arms of Edward the Confessor, to his cousin Thomas Moubray Duke of Norfolk, the

ⁿ See some remarks on a Swan as the Badge of the Earls of Hereford in the Archæologia, vol. xxi. p. 196.

[°] Engraved in Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 125.

P Harleian MS. 1319; Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 30.

^q Sandford, p. 190.

r Roll marked W.N. 1302, at Carlton Ride.

⁸ A fragment at Carlton Ride-

Earl Marshal; and Gower, in his Metrical Chronicle called the "Chronica Tripartita," describing various personages by their Badges, designates the Duke of Norfolk as "Penna Coronata." In some remarkable Armorial bearings at Venice, which are supposed to have commemorated this Nobleman, who died in that City, the Ostrich Feathers are introduced, together with a Swan, a Collar of \$5, and a Hart. The Feathers were also borne by his son, John Moubray, second Duke of Norfolk.

KING HENRY THE FOURTH, before his accession, used the Feathers in a very remarkable manner.^z The shield is divided, per pale: on the dexter side are the Arms of Edward the Confessor, differenced by a label of three points, impaled with his own Arms (France and England, quarterly, and a label of five points); and on the sinister side are the Arms of his wife, Mary de Bohun. On each side of the shield is an Ostrich Feather, charged with four small



- t Cotton. MS. Julius C. VII. f. 238, on the authority of the Register of the Abbey of Newburgh. After stating the grant of the Dukedom of Norfolk to Thomas Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal: "Et dedit eidem Thome ad portandum in sigillo et vexillo suis Arma Sancti Edwardi; Ideirco arma bipartita portavit, viz. Sancti Edwardi et Domini Marescalli Angliæ, cum duabus pennis strutionis erectis." See an engraving of his Seal in Vincent's Discoverie of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 389, where two large Feathers encircle the Crest, and three Shields, one large containing the Arms of Edward the Confessor impaling those of Thomas of Brotherton, viz. England with a label of three points, between two escutcheons, one of the Arms of Moubray, the other also of the Arms of Moubray or Segrave, viz. a Lion rampant.
- ^u The Chronica Tripartita is printed in the Appendix to Gough's History of Pleshy. Vide Gentleman's Magazine, N. S. vol. xvii. p. 480.
 - * Archæologia, vol. xxix. p. 387.

- y Sandford, p. 211.
- ² Seal affixed to a Charter in the British Museum, (marked Addit. Charter, No. 5829) dated at Lempster on the 31st July, 23 Ric. II. 1399, wherein he is described as "Henry Duc de Lancastre, Conte de Derby, de Nycole, de Leycestre, de Herford, et de Northampton, Seneschal d'Angleterre."

scrolls, the lowest scroll having the letters **So**, the next ue, the next rey, and the uppermost, ne, forming his Motto, **Sovereyne**.

After his Accession this Monarch continued to use the Feathers, as is shewn by his Secretum affixed to his Will, and now for the first time (it is believed) engraved, a on which two Lions are placed couchant at the bottom of the Shield, each holding an Ostrich Feather with a scroll, but without any Motto. In a list of various Banners and Pennons in a Wardrobe Account of this or the preceding reign, the "Pennon of the Feathers" is mentioned.



KING HENRY THE FIFTH used the Feathers both before and after his accession. On his Seal, inscribed "S. Henrici principis Wall. Ducis Aquitan. Lancastr. Cornub. Comitis Cest." an Ostrich Feather and scroll (without any inscription) is placed in the mouth of a Swan on each side of the escutcheon; and on his Seal for the Duchy of Lancaster, inscribed "S. Henrici Dei gratia regis Anglie et heredis regni Fran' et d'ni Hibernie pro ducatu Lancastriæ," as well as on his Seal for the Office of the Coket for the Duchy of Cornwall, a Feather and scroll are introduced on each side of the shield, which, on the last-mentioned Seal, is surmounted by a Swan. His Great Seal as King exhibits, on the compartment on which his feet rest, three escutcheons, of which the centre is charged with three Ostrich Feathers, having a scroll on each: the escutcheon on the right contains the Arms of the Dukedom of Cornwall, "Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or, within a bordure sable, bezantée;" and the

a From a drawing in a MS. in the College of Arms, obligingly communicated by Sir Charles George Young, Garter.

b Roll marked T. G. 5068, now in the Repository at Carlton Ride. c Sandford, p. 239.

d Engraved in the Surtees Society's volume on "The Priory of Finchale," p. 163.

e Engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xcv. p. 11 and p. 497.

f Sandford,p. 239.

escutcheon on the left is charged with the Arms of the Earldom of Chester, "Azure, three garbs or."

There can be no doubt that KING HENRY THE SIXTH used the Feathers; for one of the dishes at his Coronation feast was "a frytour garnished with a leopard's head, and ij estryche feders;" and in a list of Banners and Pennons in a Wardrobe Account of the 33rd Henry VI. 1454—5, "three Pennons of the Feathers of entretaille; five Pennons, beaten, of the Feathers," and "three hundred and nine Pensells of the Feathers, are mentioned. A contemporary M.S. gives as the "King's Badges" "Sable, three Ostrich feathers argent, penned and labelled or; and Camden states that King Henry the Sixth bore two Feathers in saltire.

It may be here observed that the earliest notice that has been found of the Sovereign's present Motto, "Dieu et mon Droit," is in the 13th Hen. VI. 1435, when a gown embroidered with silver Crowns, and with the Motto "Dieu et mon Droyt," is mentioned. His son Edward, Prince of Wales, certainly adopted the Feathers, as his Seal contains his Arms surmounted by a Swan; and on each side of the shield is a Feather and escroll. Moreover, according to Stow, when Edward the Fourth landed at Ravenspur, and pretended to claim only his Dukedom of York, and not the Crown, he "cried in every place, 'King Henry and Prince Edward,' wearing an Ostrich Feather, Prince Edward's livery."

An Ostrich Feather was also the Badge of the younger sons of King Henry the Fourth. It occurs with a scroll on the Seal of Thomas Duke of Clarence, the second son. On one Seal of John Duke of Bedford, the third son, inscribed "Sigillum Johannis filli Henrici Regis Angliæ," an Ostrich Feather with five scrolls, containing on the first, \$0,000 the second, no, on the third, er, on the fourth, ei, and on the fifth and uppermost, ne, i. e. \$00ereine, is placed on each side of the shield. On another of his Seals

g Cotton. MS. Julius, B. 1. printed in the Chronicle of London, pp. 168, 9.

h This Wardrobe Account, for which I am indebted to Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq. contains so many curious entries, that it will be given in the Appendix, No. III.

¹ Sandford, p. 240.

^m Annals, p. 423.

ⁿ Cotton, MS. Julius C. vii, f. 147.

o Engraved in "The Priory of Finchale," p. 162.

there are Ostrich Feathers in the same position, but charged with three scrolls without any inscription; p and the Feather also occurs, but with a single scroll, on his monumental tablet. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of that Monarch, placed a shield sable charged with three Ostrich Feathers, and scrolls, surrounded by the Garter, and with his Supporters, in a window in Greenwich church. The Feathers were likewise borne by some of the descendants of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford. On the Stall plate, as a Knight of the Garter, of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset, about 1440, an Ostrich Feather, the stem gobonné, argent and azure, fixed in a scroll or, is placed on each side of the helmet; and a small Ostrich Feather and scroll occur on the Seal of Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond, the mother of King Henry the Seventh.

The House of York also used an Ostrich Feather for its Badge. Edward Duke of York, who was slain at Agincourt, in 1415 (eldest son of Edmond of Langley, fourth son of King Edward the Third,) not only introduced the Feather and scroll on his Seal, but he also placed the Motto Ech Dien on the scroll; and by his Will he bequeathed to his wife Philippa his bed with Feathers and leopards, his white and red tapestry, with garters, fetter-locks, and falcons, and his green bed embroidered with a circle. His brother RICHARD DUKE OF YORK bore the Feather and escroll, but not the Motto, as did his son RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.

The Badge does not occur on the Great Seal of King Edward the Fourth, and there is no proof that he ever used it. The Seal of his eldest son, Edward,

p Sandford, p. 240.

- q Ibid. p. 306.
- ^r MS. Lansdowne 874, f. 115; copied in The Topographer, Feb. 1843, p. 59.
- s Sandford, p. 240.

- [‡] Ibid. p. 352.
- u "Item je devise a ma tresamée compaignée Philippe mon lit de *plumes* et leopars ove l'apparaill' mes tapitz blanks et rouges au gartiers, lokers, et faucons, mon lit de vert embroude ove une compass," &c. Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 219.
- Y See a sketch of his Seal in the 13 Hen. IV. and 2 Hen. V. in the Cotton. MS. Julius C. VII. f. 166 and 176.
- w See their Seals in Sandford, p. 232, and in the 23rd and 28th Hen. VI. in the Cotton. MS. Julius C. VII. f. 177.
- * In the Wardrobe Accounts of this Monarch, in 1480, is an entry of the delivery to Hastings Pursuivant of "ten Ostrich Feathers, each of which cost ten shillings" (p. 119), but in what way

(afterwards King Edward the Fifth,) as PRINCE OF WALES, represents the Ostrich Feather in a novel manner. On the obverse the Prince appears armed on horseback, his shield and the trappings of his horse charged with three Lions passant regardant in pale, their tails between their legs, being the Arms of North Wales, and a single *Ostrich Feather* is fixed on the horse's head. ground is diapered fretté, having a rose on each fret, and in each of the compartments are an Ostrich Feather and label. On the reverse is a shield charged with the same Arms, surmounted by a Coronet, having on both sides of the shield a large Ostrich Feather erect, with an escroll containing the words ICH DIEN, and each Feather is held by a Lion. In the representation of King Edward the Fourth, his Queen and family, in the north window of the north transept of Canterbury Cathedral, the Prince of Wales is placed before a background of an arras hanging, per pale argent and vert, semé of Ostrich Feathers, each having a label charged with the motto Ic Dyn. This Prince had a Pursuivant of Arms called "ICH DIEN," who was present at the translation of the body of Richard Duke of York in 1476, and who is expressly said to have attended another Ceremonial, "for the Prince." b

The next occasion on which any notice of Ostrich Feathers occurs is in the account of materials issued for the Coronation of King Richard the Third, when Sir Thomas Tyrrell, the Master of the Horse, received sixteen yards of white and green velvet, bordered with eight yards of crimson cloth of gold, garnished with Ostrich Feathers.

they were to be used does not appear; probably, however, as an ornament of dresses. In the window of the Church of Netteswell in Essex, there were formerly, and which were apparently placed there in the early part of the reign of Edward the Fourth, some remarkable representations of the Ostrich Feather, namely, a border composed of five red and five blue Ostrich Feathers, having an escroll on each. From the information of Charles Winston, Esquire.

- y Engraved in the Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 579, where the Arms and Lions are erroneously stated to be those of *England*, and where the coronet is as erroneously called a "cap of maintenance!" The same Arms are enamelled on the hilt of the State Sword of the Earldom of Chester, which belonged to this Prince, and is now in the British Museum.
- ² See a drawing made by Schnebbelie in 1789, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. From the information of Albert Way, Esq. Director of the Society.
- ^a MS. marked M. xi. f. 108, in the College of Arms, where he is styled "HIC DIEN pour le Prince de Gales."
- b Anstis, MSS. in the College of Arms, vol. iii. f. 201, from the information of Sir Charles George Young, Garter.

The Ostrich Feathers were borne by Arthur Prince of Wales, son of King Henry the Seventh. His Seal as Prince of Wales was precisely similar to that of Edward Prince of Wales, son of King Edward the Fourth above described, except that a cross occurs on the frets, instead of a rose; three Feathers are fixed on the horse's head instead of one, and the Feather and label on each side of the shield is supported by a Dragon, instead of a Lion.^c The Feathers, with various other Badges,—Roses, Portcullises, Fetterlocks and Falcons, Fleurs de lis, Pomegranates, and Roses en Soleil,—also frequently occur on his Tomb in Worcester Cathedral, sometimes singly, but in other places two Feathers are placed together; and in others three are united by an escroll.

The annexed engraving represents the Feathers and Motto in a novel but picturesque form, as they occur on stained glass, of the time of Henry the Eighth, in the Porter's Lodge, in the Tower of London.



After that period the Badge seems to have been considered to belong exclusively to the Sovereign's Eldest Son; and PRINCE EDWARD, afterwards King Edward the Sixth (but who was never Prince of Wales), used it in an

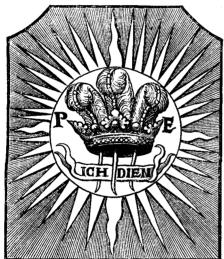
c Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 579.

d Sandford, p. 447.



unprecedented manner. In St. Dunstan's church, London, were the Arms of Henry the Eighth, having on the dexter side one of his Badges, and on the other a roundel, per pale sanguine and azure, within a wreath composed of leaves and roses, and charged with the letters E. P. Between the letters was a plume of three Ostrich Feathers argent, penned or, passing through a label, inscribed Ich Dien—the Feathers being surmounted by the Prince's coronet.^e

Another, but somewhat similar example, occurs on a piece of glass f which



is supposed to have come from Reynold's Place, Horton Kirby, in Kent. On a circle argent, rayonated or, are three Ostrich Feathers of the first, quilled of the second, encircled by a gold coronet, between the letters P. E.; and beneath the Feathers is an escroll charged with the Motto ICH DIEN.

On the Seal of KING PHILIP AND QUEEN MARY for the Duchy of Lancaster is a shield of the Arms of the Duchy, having on each side an Ostrich Feather and escroll, one escroll being in-

scribed M. R., and the other D. L.^g

Henry Prince of Wales, son of King James the First, sometimes bore the Feathers like his predecessor, Arthur Prince of Wales; and on other occasions he placed the Feathers on a sun.^h

Since that period the usual manner of bearing the Feathers is as a Plume encircled by a coronet; and from ignorance of the real character of this ancient and beautiful Badge, it has sometimes been considered as the *Crest* of the Princes of Wales.

- e Lansdowne MS. 874, f. 97.
- f Now in the possession of Albert Way, Esquire, Director S. A. From the information of Charles Winston, Esquire.
- ⁸ Attached to a Patent, dated 24th of November, 1 Ph. and Mar. 1554, in the British Museum, marked xxxij. 39.

 h Willement's Notices of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 49.

Upon the origin or history of the Prince of Wales's Mottoes, "Ich Dien" and "Houmout," I regret to say that I have not been able to discover any satisfactory information.

That "Ich Dien" are German, and not, as Camden suggests, old English words, and that they mean "Iserve,"—a simple expression indicating the illustrious bearer's position and sense of duty,—will not, I believe, be disputed. This Motto seems to have been affixed to each Feather; but the Black Prince appears to have attached more importance to his other Motto "Houmour" than to "Ich Dien," inasmuch as he does not mention the latter in his Will, while he directed the former to be placed over each of the escutcheons on his Tomb, as well those containing the Ostrich Feathers, as those containing his Arms. Few attempts have been made to ascertain the origin, or the meaning of "Houmout," which has sometimes been erroneously printed Houmont, and as erroneously supposed to be French. The Motto is however, I believe, formed of the two old German words, "Hoogh moed," hoo moed," or "hoogh-moe," i. e. magnanimous, high-spirited, and was probably adopted to express the predominant quality of the Prince's mind.

That German Mottoes were used by Queen Philippa, is shewn by the fact that in 1361 King Edward the Third presented her with two richly embroidered Corsets for the Feast of the Circumcision, on one of which was "a certain Motto of the Lady the Queen, Mynbiddenye;" and on the other, "Ich wrude much, on a gold band worked in letters of gold, silk, and pearls."

In concluding these remarks I have only to repeat that, in my opinion, there is no truth in the tradition which assigns the Badge of the Ostrich Feathers to the Battle of Cressy, or of Poictiers; and I am strongly impressed with the belief that it was derived, as well as the Mottoes, from the House of Hainault, possibly from the Comté of Ostrevant, which formed the appanage of the eldest sons of the Counts of that Province.

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

N. HARRIS NICOLAS.

To Hudson Gurney, Esq. F.R.S. Vice-President.

i "Hoogh-moed, Hoo-moed, Hoogh-moe, digheyd, magnanimitas, fastus, arrogantia, elatio animi, sublatio animi, celsitas, animi magnitudo." Etymologicum Teutonicæ Linguæ Cornelii Kiliani Dufflei, 4to. 1632.

j Wardrobe Accounts, 37 & 38 Edw. III., at Carlton Ride, Roll marked "W. N. 749." Vide Appendix No. IV.

No. I.

WARDROBE ACCOUNT OF EDWARD III. PRESERVED AMONGST THE RECORDS LATE OF THE QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER, AT CARLTON RIDE.

Hec indentura testat^r q̃d Dñs Henr̃ de Wakefeld nup custos garder̃ đni Regis libauit dñ . . . de Mulsho succedenti eidem Henr̃ in eodem offic̃ vesselament̃ subscriptum videt

ix candelabr argent alt pond p pond aur	j lxxiiij % ij d j lxxviij % j d ob j lxxv % ij d j iiij ti ij d ob j lxxv % x d j lxxviij % j d j xxxij % j d j xxxviij % j d j xxxv % v d
Vnū salar̃ argent̃ deaur̃ ponder̃ pį idem pond̃	xlij š viij đ
xxxviij coclear argent alb sign 7 tra coron pond	lxij s
Vna olla argent deaur pond p idem pondus	viij to xvj s viij d
Vna olla argent deaur eius secte ponder	viij to xiiij s ij d
Vnus aquar argent deaur ponder	xlvj š
x ciphi argent alt cursat non sigñ ponder	ix to xijs jā
Vna pelvis p clarrer * argent alb pond	iiij to xviij s iiij đ
Duo aquar argent deaur ponder	xlij 8 vj đ
Duo olle argent alt de lagen sign cum vna rosa pond p idem pond	jvjfbxđ jvjfbxđ
Vna olla argent de potelt ponder	lxiiij s vij đ
v ciphi argent alt sign ex" in fund vno leopd pond	iiij to xiij s vj đ
Duo olle argent deaur p totu t eymelt in coopetis armis Angt t Franc quart ponder	j vj to xjs iij đ j vj to xvs x đ
Quatuor olle argent alt quatt de potelt sign ext in coopcits arm Angt Tranc quart ponder p idem pondus.	(j lviij 8 iiij đ ob j lix 8 ij đ ob) j lx 8 ij đ ob j lvij 8 vj đ

^{*} pro clarret.

Vnũ calefactor argent alt cũ coopeto prorat sign ext" in tenelt armis Angt ? Franc q"rt pond"	lxv & viij đ
x ciphi argent alt plani sig cu vno leogđ ponđ	ix to xv s
Vna plata argent deaur quond Rene mris pond	viij ko xj s
Vna plata argent deaur minor pond	cxj s
Vna plata argent eiust secte pont	cxvj g viij đ
iiijor disci argent alt pui p fruct pond int se	lxxij s j đ
Vna plat p spēb3 argent deaur 7 eym in fund 7 bord cū) flor dilic	iiij to va
Tres disci p spebus sign ex" in bordur armis quartelt ponder	(j xiiij % v đ j xiiij % iiij đ j xiiij % vij đ
xv disci argent alt p fruct sign inf in bordur vno scuch de armis Angt 7 Franc q rt pond int se	xvij to xixs vj ^d ob
ix disci magni p indferctis argent deaur pond	xxv tt ij s vj đ
xxiiij disci argent deaur ponder	xxxiij to iiij s vij d
ix disci argent alb curs ponder	xvij to xv s vj đ
ix disci argent alt minor pond	xiij tb ij s xđ
Vnū calefcor sine pede cū vno magno coclear pond	vj to xix s x đ
xiiij disci alt argent de vna secta sign ex in bord vno leopdo ? vno flor de lic ponder	xx tb x s v d
Vn ⁹ disc arg alt curs sign inf" in bord arm q"rt pond	xxvj š
vj disci argent alb p interctis sign inf in bordur vno scuch arm Angt 7 Franc q"rt ponder	xvij łb
viij disci argent alt curs sign inf" in bordur vno scuch de arm Angt I Franc q"rt ponder	xjtb xjs xjd
xxj disc argent alt sign vno leopdo 7 vno flor de lic	xxix th xvijs iiijd ob
xxiiij sals argent deaur ponder	x db xviij 8 xj d
Quatuor sals argent alb sign ex in bordur vno leopdo 7 vno flor de lic ponder	xxxv & iiij đ
Duo sals argent alt sign ex vno leopt ponder	xvj š viij đ
xxx sals argent alt sign infra in bord arm quart	xj it xiij s v đ

Par peluiŭ argent deaur eymelt in fund arm Angt 7 Franc ptit ponder) j cxviij s vjđ) j cxvj s xjđ
Par peluiù argent deaur 7 eymelt in fund arm quartellat ponder) j cxiij s iiij đ) j cxj s viij đ
Par peluiù argent deaut eymelt in fundo vno scuch arm Angt 7 Franc q"rt pond) j vj łb xiij š iiij đ ∫ j cxvj š viij đ
Vna peluis argent alb cum arm Angt 7 Franc qu'rtelt deaur in fund ponder	§
Vna peluis argent deaur in fund 7 in bordur cum arm Angt 7 Franc gauat ponder)
Vna peluis argent att cu bitone deaur in fund ? circufer ? eym in fund arm Ang! ? Franc ptit pond	iiij tb vs xđ
Vnů lauator arg alt ců coopeto ponder	lvj s iij đ
Vnů lauator arg alb sine coopeto ponder	xlj s iij đ
Vnus aquar argent alb ponder	l s x đ
Duo aqual algent alb sine coopens ponger	j lvj s xj đ j lvj s viij đ
Duo aquar argent alt sign ex in tenelt vno scuch arm Angt f Franc q ^a rtelt pond) j xlv § vij đ ∫j xliiij § xj đ
Vna olla argent alb magna $\mathfrak p$ Ele^a $\mathrm{R}^{\mathrm{i} \mathrm{s}}$ pond	xiij tt xv s v đ
Vnus discus arg alb magñ p ead Ele" ponder	xiij do vjs viij đ
Quatuor disc argent alb magn p fruct sign inf in fund arm Angl 7 Franc q rt pond	
Quatuor plate argent alt cū pede aur in circūfer ? in fund) eym vno scuch arm Angt ? F"nc q"rt	xj fb vj s iiijđ
Vnus cacab3 arg alb de vna lag 7 di ponder	ix 15 xvj 8 vj đ
Vnus cacab3 argent alb minor pond	iiij to xiiij s ix đ
Vnus cacab3 argent alt ponder	x 115 x s viij đ
Vnū coclear magñ vnū skom vnū flesshok ponđ	xlviij 8 x đ
xxxvij disc arg alt curs sign in bord vno scuch armis qurtelt pond	
vj disci arg̃ alb p mantica Ris sigñ inf" in borð armis quart	viij to xviij e iii j đ

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vi sals argent alb p mantica Ris pondere
                                                               lviij 8 iiij đ
Quatuor disci arg alb magni p interctis sign infa in bord ) x tb iij s
  vno scuch arm Angł 7 Fanc qart pond
xvj ciphi arg alb curs sign exa in fund vno leopd
                                                               xvj to xiij d
Vnus disc<sup>9</sup> arg alb sign vno leopdo pond
                                                               xxviii š
vj disci argent alt p fructu pond
                                                               lxxix 8 ix d
                                                               (jiiijtbij§vjđ
Quatuor olle arg deaur sign exa in coopetis armis Angt ?
                                                              j iiij to xv đ
  \mathbf{F}^{a}nc ptit qualibet de potelt ponder p pondus aur
                                                              jiiijtb xvđ
                                                              Lj iiijtb xđ
Vnū calefactor arg alb cū coopcto pforato sign in tenelt)
                                                              lxiij s iiij đ
  vno scuch de arm Angt 7 Fanc qart pond
Tres aquar arg alt sine coopetis sign in tenelt vno scuch ( j li s
  de arm qart ponder
                                                              (j xxijš ij đ
ij broch argent alb ponder d pond aur
                                                              i xxii §
Vnus puus cacab; arg alb; ponder
                                                               lijs ixđ
vi candelabr arg alb 7 deaur in pede ponder
                                                               xix 15 xvij s j d
xij candelabr minor eiusd secte ponder
                                                               xxv to iij s ij đ
vi candelabr allius secte alb p totu ponder
                                                               cix § ij đ
xxij candelabr vni<sup>9</sup> secte p se alb p totu pond
                                                               xvi to xiii s
vi salar argent alt deaur in swag cu coopctis pond
                                                               xij to ix s iij d
vi salar eiusd secte sine coopciis ponder
                                                               ix to ij s
xxij salar consimit pond p pondus pdcm
                                                               xxj lb xviij s vj đ
ix olle arg alt de potelt sign in coopctis arm qu'rt pond
                                                               xxxitb xvis xid
quinq, aquar arg alb sign in coopetis eisd arm
                                                               xix to iiij s iiij đ
iiijor chargeours arg alb sign in bord eisd arm pond
                                                               xitb xv s ix d
vj chargeors eiusd secte sigñ in bord eisd arm pond
                                                               xvij 15 ix s viij đ
xj disci arg alb sign in bord pdict arm pond
                                                               xiiij to ix & vij d
xxiiij disci consimit sign eisd arm ponder
                                                               xxxj to viijs v d
xlviij disci maioris secte sign pdict arm pond
                                                               lxvij lb xviij s ix d
iiijor sals arg alb sign predict arm ponder
                                                               xxx § jđ
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iiij ^{or} pelv arg alb sign in fund arm q ^a rt pond	xv Ib xiij 8
xij disci arg alt p offic sparie sign eist arm pont	xij to ij s vj đ
xxiiij disci arg alt fact de nouo p vxem Thome de Hassey anno xliij sigñ inf in bord armis Angl ? Franc quartell ponder p pond aur	
Duo panni ad aurū dýaspines vnius secte campo rub cum falcoñ aur	
Duo panni ad aurū dýaspines vnius secte campo inđ cum leoñ aur	}
Due olle arg alb de lag signat in coopcut arm quartelt ponder	xij ti ij ij đ

VESSELLAM' REGINE.

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Par peluiu argent deaur p totu inf "? ext"? eym in ) j iiij to xj s
  fund arm Angł 7 Franc qart qar vna cū tenelł
                                                     ∫j iiij 16 xiiij 8
Vnus aquar argent alt sign in tenelt vno scuch de arm } lxviij & iiij đ
  Angi 7 Hanoñ qarteli ponder
Par peluiū argent deaur larg quaz vna cū bitone ? eym
  in fund vno scuch dne Rne mris dat dno Leonelt p eand { Sine ponder vel pcio
  Renam sine ponder vel pcio
Vnus aquar arg alb sigñ in tenelt vno scuch de armis Angt | xlij s xj đ
  7 Hanoñ qartelt ponder
Par peluiū argent deaur p totū t eým infa in fund arm xj th ys v..
  Angi 7 Hanon qari ponder
Salar argent deaur ad modū elifant portant castrū camelt *
  cum quinq, standard de dius arm stant in carnelt eiusd { iiij tb
  castri ponder
xv coclear argent quoz vnū deaur non sign 7 xiiij alt sign
  exta vna fra 🗗 ponder
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^{*} pro carnelt.

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iiijor ciphi argent alb curs sign exa in fund vno scuch de \j xiiij s
  armis Angt 7 Hanon ptit ponder p idem pond
                                                           (j xxij š
                                                           j xxij š
quinq, ciphi argent deaur sine coopetis 7 ped sign arm
  Angt 7 Hanoñ q"rtellat vno scuch ponder
due olle argent deaur ? eym in coopetis arm Angl ? Hanon ) j exv & x d
  q"rtelt in scuch q"si de lag pond
                                                          li vijtt ijs id
due olle argent alt de potelt sign in coopctis armis Angt ) j lxxij s vj đ
  7 Hanoñ quartelt ponder
                                                           j lxix š vij đ
                                                            jxiiijs vjā
                                                            j xiij š xjđ
                                                            j xiij š ix đ
vij ciphi argent alt curs sign ex in fund vno scuch de
                                                            j xiiij 🛭 vj đ
  arm Angt 7 Hanon ptit pond
                                                            j xiiij s v đ
                                                            j xiij s xi đ
                                                            j xjš iij đ
                                                            (j cxiij š iij . .
                                                            j cxiij § ...
quinq olle arg alb de lagen sign ex" in coopetis vno scuch
                                                            j cxviij § ...
   de armis Angt I Hanon quartelt ponder p idem pond
                                                            licxis ...
plata argent deaur p totum cum pede eym in medio arm
   Angt 7 Hanoñ q"rt ponder
plata consimit cum pede ponder
                                                             iiii lb . . .
plata argent deaur p speb3 eym in fund eisdem armis
                                                            iiij lt. vj s
   ponder p idem pond
iiijor plate p speb3 non sign ad mod disc pond int se
                                                             xlix 8 iiij đ
                                                             j xxvj š x d
 quatuor disci curs sign ex in bordur vno scuch de armis
                                                            j xxviij 8 vj đ
   Angł 7 Hanoñ ptił ponder
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tres disci argent curs sign in fundo vno scuch de armis
Angt T Franc T Hanon pt
                                                               /j xxiiijš ix d ob
quatuor disci curš sign ex in bordur arm Angt Hanon j xxiiij s j d quartelt ponder j xxv s x d j xxiiij s vij d
Duo disci magni p infferctis argent sign inf in bordur ) j lxv s ij d ob
  vno scuch arm Angl 7 Hanon qurt pond
                                                               j lxiiij š x ...
Vnus discus argent alb sign inf in bordur arm Angt 7 xxvj 3 iiij đ
  Hanoñ quartelt ponder
vn<sup>9</sup> disc<sup>9</sup> con restit p Johem Chichestre pond
                                                                 xxv & ix.
quinq, sals argent alb sign in bord tra. 11. coron
vị sals argent alb sign ex in bordur arm Angt T Hanon | j vij s vj d
  ptiř pondeř
Discus argent magñ p elemo" R<br/>ne deaur p totu 7 eym in ) ix lb x s v đ
  fund vno scuch nigro cum pennis de ostrich ponder
Olla argent deaur extius cu ij tenelt p elemo" eiusd
                                                                 x to vj s viij đ
Salar argent deaur p totum cum trib3 columpnis vj pam-
  pilion vj ymag deaur 7 sub columpn vnu cristalt eu xj { vj th x s.
  scuch arm Angt 7 Franc qurt pond
Salar argent deaur 7 eym ad modū vni falcon stant sup cx s v d vnā pticam eym cū divs arm ponder
vna nauis argent deaur p totum 7 eymelt ext" cum duob; sine pondere
  castell
                                           3 c 2
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ij panni dyaspinet vni<sup>9</sup> secte campo rub cum leon pennat )
   7 pauon aur fot 7 floritur virid
ij panni dyaspiñ vni<sup>9</sup> secte campo ind color cu leon ?)
   dracoñ aur cū flor 7 floritur prpur color
vnus pann<sup>9</sup> ad aur de Luyk campo rub color
vnus pann<sup>9</sup> dýaspyñ campo rub coloř
Due olle argent alt de potelt sign ex in coopetis armis ) i lviij s viij ...
   Angł 7 Hanoñ qurtelt ponder
                                                                   i lix s
duo disci argent alt magni p infferctis sign infa in bordur ) j lxvij s xj d
   arm Angt 7 Hanon qurtelt ponder
                                                                   j lxviij s ij đ
                                                                   \begin{cases} j & xxix & xij & d \\ j & xxix & xij & d \end{cases}
Tres disci argent alb sign inf in bordur arm Angt ?
   Hanoñ qurtelt pond
                                                                    j xxiiij 🛭 iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij s iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij 8 iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij š v đ
                                                                    j xxiiij s iij . .
                                                                    j xxiij š . .
xiij disci argent alb minor sign infa in bordur eisdem
                                                                    j xxiij . . .
   armis ponder p idem pond
                                                                    j xxiiij š ...
                                                                    j xxiiij 8 iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij 🛭 j đ
                                                                    j xxiiij s iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij s iij đ
                                                                    j xxiiij 8 iij đ
vna pelũ argent alb deaur in circufer 7 in fund cum arm ) lxxiiij s vij đ
  Angi 7 Hanoñ q"rī ponder
ij chargeours argent alt sign in bordur eisdem armis ) j lxv s ij d
                                                                  ) j lxiiij s iiij đ
  ponder p idem pondus
quatuor disci arg alb sign eisdem armis ponder pidem j xxvj z xj d pondus j xxvij z j xxvij z j xxij z xj ...
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vna pelū p claric arg alt pond p pond aur lvij ...

vna pelū arg alt deaur in fund sine

In cuius rei testimoniu ptes pdce ptib3 huius indente sigilt Dar apud

Wyndesore xxiiij die Octobr anno regni Ris Ed

No. II.

LETTERS UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL OF EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES, 25TH APRIL, 1370.
IN THE TOWER.

Eduuard ainsne fils du Roy de France 7 Dengleterre Prince Daquitaine 7 de Gales Duc de Cornewaille Comte de Cestre Seigneur de Biscaye 7 de Castre Dordiales. A nos chrs 7 bñ ames Sr Richart de Stafford Sr Piers de L... 7 Johan de Henxteworth salus. Come pour le bon svice que nre ame 7 feal Johan de Esquet nous a fait 7 fera par le temps avenir li aions dones 7 ottroies cynquente mars dest lings chun an durante sa vie. A pndre ens nre Eschequer de Cestre par les meyns de nre chamblein illeoqs qui p le temps 3ra. En fesant a nous homage lige liquel nous avons receu de ly p de cea. Volons q sur ceste nre doñ 7 ottroy so dit vous Johan de Henxteworth ly faces avoir sous nre seel esteant en vre garde nos fres patentes 7 aurs tieles que apptienent 7 ly doient suffre. Et ces fres vous en 3 ont garrant. Donne sous nre prive seel a nre cite Dengolesme le xxx. jour de Avril lan Mill ccc soixante dix.

FORDHAM.



[In dorso.]

Vac quia restitut fuer in Canc viii. die Aug anno r.r Rici Sccii quarto eo qd dns Rex in recompensacoem sume infrascr conc pfato Esquet xx.i pcipiend de exit Com Cestr ad tota vita sua. Ido iste fre cancellant f dapnant.

No. III.

SCHEDULE OF A WARDROBE ACCOUNT IN THE TOWER.

[33 Hen. 6.]

This is a parte of the good? that been delivered oute of the Armore by the King? comaundement sythen the tyme that John Stanley hath been Sergeant of the Armrye, as it apperith hereafter mor playnly by the pcell? that here followen.

Furst viij swerde and a long blade of a swerde made in Wasters, some gretter and some smaller, for to lerne the King to play in his tendre age.

Itm a lytyl harneys that the Erle of Warwyk made for the King or that he went over the see, garnysshed with gold, which was delived to Duc of Suff' for his sone.

Itm xiiij ti delyved by John Merston, clerc of the Jewelle to the said Sergeant, for to pay to certain Armurers, which is doon, as it apperith, by endentures. And the said money paied at two tymes, that is to say vij. ii at a tyme.

Itm a Scottyssh swerde hylte and pomell coved with sylver and a smale corone aboute the pomell, which was stollen oute of the Kinge Chambr and the blade broken and cast into Tempse.

Itm j. banner of satyn of entertaille of the Armes of England and Fraunce.

Itm ij. banners beten of the Armes of England and Fraunce.

Itm iij. banners of satyn of entertailf of the Armes of Fraunce.

Itm iij. banners beten of the Armes of Fraunce.

Itm vj. banners of entertaille of Seint George Armes.

Itm vj. banners beten of the Trinitee. Itm iiij. banners beten of our Lady.

It'm iij. pennons of the feders of entertaille.

It'm v. pennons beten of the feders. It'm cccix. penselle of the feders. Of the which banners ij. were delyved to John Chetewyn, and ij. to Thomas Boulde, and ij. to John Seynloo that tyme Squiers for ye Kinge body, and ij. nowe late to my Lord of Shrewesbury; and all the remanent wer delyved for ye entiermente of the iij. Quenes, that is to say Quene Kaline, the Quene of Fraunce, and Quene Johan, my Lord of Bedford and my Lady his wyf; and the pennons and ye penselt were delived in like wyse for to sett aboute ye herses of hem. And wher that it liked hem that had the rewel yrof.

Itm a breste with a boxe upon for the Egle, and a pomell of a swerd with armes yrin, which was delyved to Parker Armerer for to make ye Kinge herneys by which he hath loste.

Itm ij. lityll cote armurs which been the Sergeant? fee of the Armrye, and so delyved by the King? comaundement to hym by cause that they were so lytyll and wole serve no man, for thay wer made for hym when he was but vij yers of age.

Itm xxxiij standard of worsted of ye Armes of England and Fraunce.

Itm xxij standarde of worsted of the Armes of Fraunce.

The which standarde been woren and spendid in karying of the Kinge herneys in and oute into his chambr for faulte of their stuffe.

Itm v. banners for Trumpette, delived to ye Trumpette when the Duc of Gloucestr went to the rescowe of Caleis.

Itm viij. habergons, some of meleyn and some of westewale, of the which v. of meleyn were delyved to the College of Eyton, and and othir iij. broken to make slewys of woyders and yes.

Itm x. gowers of sylke, v. white and blewe, and othir iij. pourpul, and oy ij. pourpul and gold, which were delyved into the Kinge Chambr to serve hym when he had nede.

Itm vj. tresses of sylke, iij white and blewe and iij pourpul, and xv. smale poynte of silke for the Kinge briganders, which were in like delived in like wyse.

Itm ij. yerde iij. qrters of corse of rede sylke.

Itm d yerde d qreers of rede velewet. Itm iiii, grosses of poynte.

Itm vj c. armyng nayle.

Alle spendid and moch more to oon of the Kinge herneys.

Itm ix. olde picers, j. olde paytrift brode of ledder, xj. testures, iiij. frounters of testures, iij. olde justing sadelle peynted of divers werke, x. olde justing sadelle pceft broken for the pese, iij. olde justing sadelle for to nemente, xiij. olde bastard sadyft some pceft broken, iiij. smale olde sadylle, xij. olde sheldes peyntid, xiij. olde paveys peyntyd, x. olde banner shafte bound with yren, v. olde spereshafte for pese, j. spereshaft, j. long spere with a hed, j. olde trapper of plate broken in divse place, ij. olde grete coeffers bound with yren, lacking keys, which wer cast oute of an olde house in the Tour of London by Mais? Willm Clyf, at yat tyme Clerc of the werke, by cause that they wold serve for no thing. And ye house poulled downe.

Itm a banner, j. bequerne, j. payr of pynsons, iij. pounde of wyre which was sold by Maystr Wylliam Fox Armrer.

It is bowestaffe worme eten, delyved by the Kinge comaundement to my Lord of Gloucestr when he went over to Caleys.

Itm j. peyre of trussing coeffers, and j. payir of gardeviant, spended long tyme agoo in the Kinge cariage.

Itm a wyre hatt garnysshed ye bordour serkyll, and a sterr of sylver gylt, lacking a point in ye sterre, wtoute bocle and pendant, delyved to John Curson somtyme Squier for the Kinge body.

Itm a peyr of curasses delyvered to the Lord Powys that last died, which yat the King comaunded to yeve hym.

No. IV.

Rotulus libaconu pannoz, pellure, mocerie, 7 aliaz rez diusaz officium magne Garderobe dni nri Edwardi Regis Angt Pcij post conquestum, tangencium, p Henr de Snayth custodem eiusdem magne Garderobe factaz, a xxix die Junij anno xxxvijo vsq. xxix diem eiusdem mensis anno xxxvijo anno reuoluto p vnum annum integrum, videlicet—

[Portion omitted.]

p bre Re dat xxix° die Juñ a° xxxv¹° annot sup" in? n"ccia.

Witto de Glendale: armatori dni Regis

[Portion omitted.]

Eidem! p vno corsett de panno sanguiñ in g"no p dna Regina de dono dni Rege broudand cum pnicib; t billis de auro t sico cū qodam dictamīe dne Rue Min biddenje t libat pfate dne Regine in Camā suā cont" f'm Circumsicois dni ao supadco

j. peč sindoñ afforč v. to sič vj. to aur de cipre viij. vlñ p iiij. q"rt

Eidem ! p vno alio corsett de panno nigro in guno p eadem dna Regina de cōsimili dono dni Ris broudand cū vno Rubant larg de auro in plat tinfru dem rubant cu tris grossis de auro sico t plis cū quod dictam ith Thrube much, et libat eidem dne Rue contu eundem f'm.

dj. pec sindon afforc Sindon afforc j. th dic sicum aur in plat aur in plat j. th dj aur de cipre tele henaud

Sindon afforc

aur de cipre

tele henaud

Sicum

[Portion omitted.]