

XXIII. *Remarks on the Seals affixed to two Documents preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, being Duplicates of the Letter from the Barons of England to Pope Boniface the Eighth, in the year 1301, respecting the Sovereignty of Scotland: By* NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 5th May, 1825.

Kew, Surrey, 15th April, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING lately had occasion to refer to the celebrated Letter written to Pope Boniface the Eighth, by the Barons of this Country, assembled in the Parliament which met at Lincoln in the 29th Edw. I. anno 1301, the series of Plates engraved by order of the Society of Antiquaries in 1729, containing drawings of the Seals affixed to the Documents preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, and which it is presumed are official duplicates of the original Letter, necessarily became an object of my attention. Through the kindness of my friend John Caley, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A. access has been afforded me to both these Documents, by which I have been enabled carefully to collate the engravings with the Seals as they now exist; and as I believe no remarks on the subject have ever been offered to the Society, I am induced to address to you such observations as a minute examination of them have produced.

It is not my intention to enter into any discussion on the authenticity of the documents in question, because, whatever objections may

exist to their being received as legal evidence,^a I am not aware that there is the slightest suspicion that they are not contemporary with the period in which they profess to have been written; or that the least idea is entertained that the Seals appended to them were not the genuine signets of the Barons to whom they are said to have belonged: and I trust I shall be borne out in my opinion, that these Seals afford not only Heraldic, but Historical information of considerable importance.

Before I proceed, it is necessary to state that there are in the Chapter-house at Westminster two DOCUMENTS to which the Seals are attached, from which the engravings published by the Society were taken. They are distinguished by the appellations of *the white* and *the blue*—a distinction arising probably from the colour of the envelopes in which they were preserved, but which is here noticed, for the purpose of identifying the one from the other in this Communication. The fact of there being *two* transcripts of the letter to Boniface is deserving of attention, because, until the appearance of the *Fourth General Report* of the Lords' Committees relative to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, on each occasion when the subject has been mentioned by writers, indeed, even in their Lordships' previous Reports, as well as in the new and every preceding edition of *Rymer's Fœdera*, only ONE document has been spoken of. They are, however, nearly verbatim copies of each

^a Since this letter was written, the question of the genuineness of these documents, upon which some doubts had existed, has been noticed by the Lords' Committees appointed to search the Journals of the House, the Rolls of Parliament, and other records and documents, for all matters touching the dignity of a Peer of the realm, in their *Fourth General Report*, pages 75 et seq.; and the arguments there advanced admit of a decided inference in favour of their authenticity. This subject had, however, previously been considered at some length in the *Synopsis of the Peerage*, vol. ii. pages 761 et seq. The remarks in that work, which bear an extraordinary resemblance to many of those since submitted by their Lordships, were made on an inspection of one of these documents only, namely, that distinguished as "*the blue*:" a circumstance which will explain the discrepancies between the observations therein, and those in the text. The collation of the seals attached to *both the instruments* occurred on the 9th of January 1826, several months after this communication was read to the Society; and many material additions have in consequence been made to it.

other,^b and the Seals affixed to both were manifestly from the same matrices, though at this moment several seals occur on *the white*^c which are not to be found on *the blue*; whilst three seals were attached to *the blue*^d which do not now exist on *the white*—a variation which may be safely attributed to those missing having been lost, for the names of the parties to each letter are precisely the same. The drawings from which the plates were engraved were unquestionably made of the seals on *the white*, as the description of the document given by Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald, in 1624, states “that all these seals were fastened to the said charter or letter with silk strings, with divers seals upon one string; and upon the back of the writing, right over against every label or string, were written the names of those whose seals depended therefrom,” could only apply to that transcript; since, though the seals to both documents are attached to silk strings, it is only on the one distinguished as *the white* that the names appear to have been added; and on which, in a hand nearly, if not quite contemporary with the date of the instruments, they are still extant.

Under all the circumstances it may, perhaps, be concluded, that both the documents in the Chapter-house were official copies of the original Letter, made for the purpose of being preserved among the archives of the kingdom, as the solemn and deliberate sentiments of the whole Baronage of the Realm assembled in Parliament upon the pretensions of the Pontiff to the crown of Scotland; and that it was not until lately that the existence of *two* transcripts was generally known. In the following Observations the Seals will be noticed as they now appear without any reference as to which of the documents they belong; those in the most complete preservation having been those selected for

^b Verbatim et literatim copies of both of the instruments will be found in the Appendix to the *Fourth General Report* of the Lords' Committees before cited.

^c Namely, those of the Earls of Hereford and Hertford, Henry de Percy, Henry de Grey, William de Roos, Nicholas de Meynill, Walter de Mouncey, John Fitz-Reginald, Robert Fitz-Payne, and Ralph Fitz-William.

^d Those of Walter de Beauchamp, Robert de Tatteshale, and John le Breton.

examination, though when one impression was imperfect, it was compared with the other, by which the legend and charges have been accurately ascertained.

The Society is aware that the Seals in question present the earliest and most authentic evidence which is extant of the armorial ensigns used by the Baronage of England in the fourteenth century; and consequently each of them is worthy of notice. To avoid, however, too great a trespass upon the time of the Society, those only will be commented upon which establish some interesting fact hitherto unnoticed; or which afford proof of the correctness or fallacy of received opinions relative to the assumption of Titles, or the usage of Arms at that period.

The first Seal which occurs, is that of John Earl of Surrey, and it is deserving of attention that the legend on the one side, is

S : IOHIS : DE : WARENNIA : COMITIS : DE : SVRREIA,

and, on the other,

✠ SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : COMITIS : DE : WARRENIA.

The Earldom of Surrey is stated to have been conferred upon his ancestor William de Warren, by William the Conqueror. WARREN, however, never appears to have been a title of dignity in this country until the reign of Henry VI., but is considered to have been an Earldom in Normandy, and though assumed by each person who inherited the Earldom of Surrey, their right to it is very questionable. It is also remarkable, that although the proper surname of this Earl was *Plantagenet*, he being the grandson of Hameline Plantagenet, natural son of Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, father of King Henry the Second, yet that he should be described, both on his seal and in the writs addressed to him as *John de Warren*. This fact would justify the conclusion, that on acquiring the inheritance of the powerful house of Warren, through the marriage of the said Hameline with Isabel the heiress of that family, his descendants abandoned the name of Plantagenet, for one to which they had more legitimate pretensions.

The arms assigned by heraldic writers to Hameline Plantagenet and his issue, are, *Azure, semée of fleurs de lis Or, within a bordure Gules, charged with lions passant guardant of the Second*, but it is manifest from this seal, that he used the arms as well as the name of Warren, *checky Or and Azure*; and which coat is also ascribed to him in the Roll of Karlaverock.

The Seal next worthy of notice is that of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England. Only one impression of it now remains, which, though very much impaired, is sufficiently perfect to show that the engraving of it is correct; and from its affording, perhaps, the first instance which is extant of an approach to the system of quartering Arms, (which was not regularly adopted in this country until the reign of Edward III.) it is deserving of particular regard. Upon the one side, this distinguished Earl, who afterwards married the daughter of King Edward the First, is represented on horseback, with the legend,

S : H : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORD : ET : CONSTABULAR : ANGL :

but on the other side, which is inscribed,

✠ S : HVMPHRIDI : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORDIE : ET : ESSEXIE :

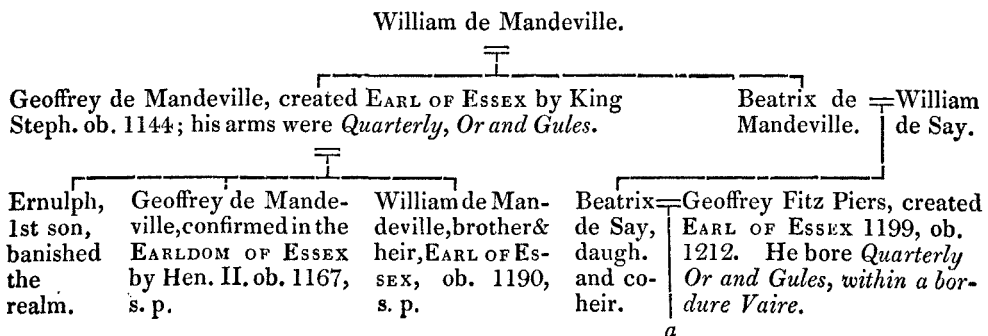
two small shields are inserted, one on each side of a large shield. The latter bears the arms of Bohun, and is suspended from the back of a Swan, afterwards the cognizance of this family,^e but each of the small escutcheons which are pendant to a sort of knot, or a trefoil, are engraved with a coat, *quarterly*, and which was evidently intended for that of Mandeville Earls of Essex, viz. *Quarterly, Or and Gules*, from whom the Bohuns inherited the Earldom of Essex: and as that descent

^e Mr. Moule, in his interesting *Antiquities in Westminster Abbey*, has conjectured that the Bohuns assumed the cognizance of the Swan from the Mandevilles, from the circumstance of its being stated in Lansdown MSS. 882, f. 59. that Mandeville Earl of Essex bore for his arms, *Gules, a swan Argent, beaked, legged, ducally gorged, and chained Or*; but there does not appear to be even the slightest authority for assigning such arms to that family.

is intimately connected with the peculiarity pointed out, its brief recital cannot be deemed misplaced.

Geoffrey de Mandeville, whose arms were what have just been described, was created Earl of Essex by King Stephen, and died in 1144. His eldest son, Ernulph, having been banished the realm, Geoffrey his second son was confirmed in that Earldom by Henry II. and dying in 1167 without issue, was succeeded by his brother and heir, William de Mandeville, who likewise died issueless in 1190; and in 1199 Geoffrey Fitz-Piers the husband of Beatrix, daughter and coheirress of William de Say by Beatrix the sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville the first Earl, was created Earl of Essex. He assumed the arms borne by his predecessor in the Earldom, but *within a bordure Vaire*. This Earl died in 1212, and was succeeded by Geoffrey his son and heir, who was one of the celebrated Barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta, but dying without issue in 1219, William his brother succeeded to his honours, who likewise died issueless on the 8th January 1227. Not long after that year, Humphrey de Bohun 2nd Earl of Hereford, son and heir of Henry de Bohun 1st Earl of Hereford by Maud Fitz-Piers, the sister of William the last Earl of Essex, was, in consequence of this descent, created Earl of Essex by King Henry the Third; and dying in 1274 was succeeded by his grandson Humphrey de Bohun, who died in 1297, when his son, Humphrey de Bohun, succeeded to all his dignities, and in 1301 was present in the Parliament at Lincoln, and being a party to the letter to the Pope, affixed the seal in question to that document.^f It must not

^f The descent noticed in the text will be best shewn by the following table :



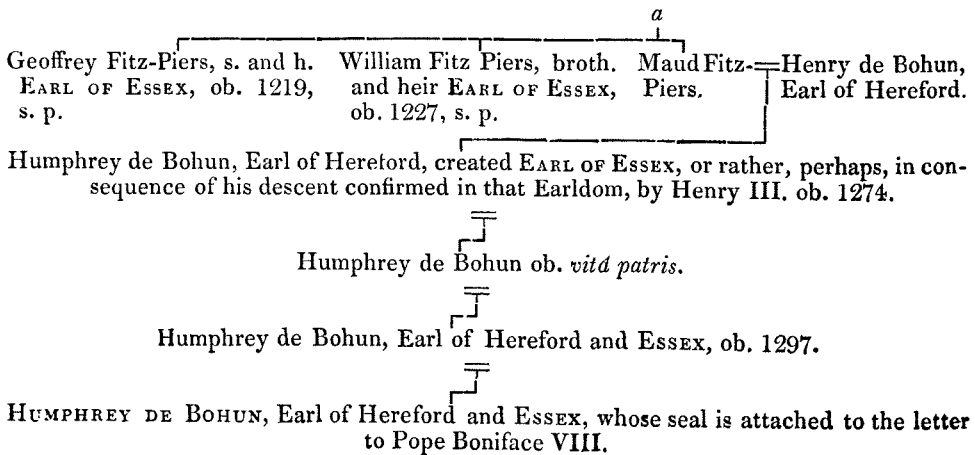
be forgotten in relation to the circumstance of the Earl of Hereford bearing the arms of Mandeville in the manner alluded to, that those arms belonged to the family which *first* possessed the Earldom of Essex, instead of that of Fitz-Piers, from which he was more immediately descended, and that they are only introduced on the side of his seal that is inscribed with the title of EARL OF ESSEX.

The first of these facts supports an opinion which will hereafter be more fully expressed, that it was then customary, when an Earldom descended to an individual, either to abandon his own arms for those of the family from which he derived the dignity, as was done by the descendants of Hameline Plantagenet before noticed, or that he should place them in some way in conjunction with his own. From this usage it may fairly be conjectured that the subsequent system of quartering the arms of each family which was represented by any particular person, with his own paternal coat, has arisen.

The Seal of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England merits a slight notice, from its being simply inscribed

∴ ✠ SIGILLVM : ROGERI : BIGOD,

nothing being said either of his Earldom of Norfolk or of his being Marshal of England, to which dignities he succeeded in 1270. This omission may possibly be attributed to the seal having been engraved before he in-



herited his honours : but as he had then borne those titles above thirty years, and was certainly little more than of age when they devolved upon him, the conjecture is not a probable one. This circumstance is rather material ; for in the instance of the seal of Milo de Gloucester, lately exhibited to the Society, an inference was drawn from the legend thereon, not describing him as Earl of Hereford (to which dignity he was raised in July 1140) that the seal was engraved before that year. The seal of the Earl of Norfolk tends therefore to establish that such conclusions are by no means to be relied upon.

The Seal of Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick calls for some observations from the confirmation which it affords to the hypothesis expressed with respect to the Earldom of Essex and Surrey, that the arms of the family from which a person inherited an Earldom were, in the reign of Edward the First, borne in some way with his own ; for though on one side of his seal this Earl appears on horseback, and his shield and the caparisons of his horse are charged with the coat of Beauchamp, namely, *a fess between six cross-crosslets*, and is inscribed,

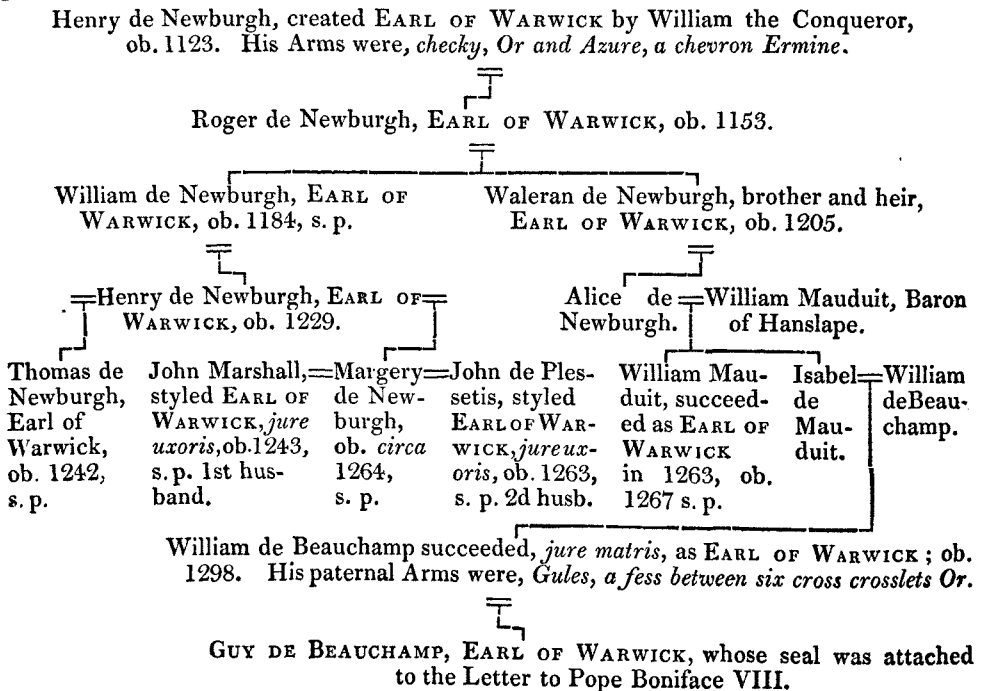
✠ S : GVIDONIS : DE : BELLOCAMPO : COMITIS : WARREWIK :

the other side of the seal presents an escutcheon with the arms of NEWBURGH the FIRST EARLS OF WARWICK, namely, *checky a chevron Ermine*, the legend, excepting an unimportant variation of a letter and the abbreviation of the word "Comitis," being the same. As the descent of the Earldom of Warwick from the house of Newburgh to that of Beauchamp can be explained in a few words, its introduction will perhaps be thought an acceptable illustration of the circumstance alluded to.

Henry de Newburgh, a younger son of Roger de Bellomont Earl of Mellent in Normandy, was created Earl of Warwick by William the Conqueror, and the dignity became vested in his heirs male for several generations. In 1242 Thomas de Newburgh Earl of Warwick, the last male descendant, died, leaving Margery his half sister his heir, who was twice married ; first, to John Marshall, and secondly to John de Plesse-

tis, to both of whom the title of Earl of Warwick is attributed. The said Margery died about the year 1265, when her inheritance, together with this Earldom, devolved upon her first cousin and heir William de Mauduit, he being son and heir of William de Mauduit by Alice the half sister of Henry Earl of Warwick, father of Thomas de Newburgh, the last Earl of that name. William de Mauduit Earl of Warwick died without issue in 1267, when his nephew William de Beauchamp, son and heir of William Baron Beauchamp by Isabel de Mauduit his sister and heir, assumed the title of Earl of Warwick, notwithstanding that his mother, through whom he derived it, was then living. He died in 1298, when this Guy de Beauchamp his son and heir succeeded to that Earldom, and having been summoned in September 28th Edward I. 1300, to the Parliament to be held at Lincoln in the January following, he attended accordingly, and became a party to the Letter to the holy Pontiff. §

§ The descent of the Earldom of Warwick is more clearly shewn by the following genealogical table :



Of the Seal of Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, the legend is extremely deserving of attention, it being

S : THOME : COMITIS : LANCAST : LEYCESTRIE : ET : DE : FERRARIIS.

In 1295 the Earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester descended to this celebrated personage in consequence of the demise of his father Edmund Plantagenet, who was created to the former dignity on the 30th June 1267, and to the latter on the 25th October in the same year; but the title of "EARL FERRERS" requires observation, as no such Earldom, according to the received opinions on dignities at the present day, ever existed. Still more, the Earl of Lancaster's only pretension to that title was founded on a principle immediately opposed to established doctrines on the subject; for he was not in any way descended from the persons who were sometimes styled EARLS FERRERS, nor does it appear that he was so created. The grounds on which he assumed it will be most satisfactorily shewn by the following detail, for the length of which, the peculiarity of the circumstance, and the important inferences of which it admits, will, it is hoped, be received as a sufficient apology.

At the time when the survey of Domesday was taken several instances may be cited, and which are particularly commented upon in the Reports of the Lords Committees on the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, of individuals possessed of Earldoms being styled by their baptismal names, and which practice it seems was not entirely laid aside for above a century afterwards. In 1137 Robert de Ferrers was created Earl of Derby, and died in 1139, and the Registry of the Priory of Tutbury is cited by Dugdale, to shew that Robert de Ferrers, the son and heir of that Earl, styled himself COMES JUNIOR DE FERRARIIS, and COMES JUNIOR DE NOTINGHAM. This record is without date, but it may be inferred that it was earlier than the year 1139, for it seems to have been written in the life-time of his father. By what right this Robert de Ferrers called himself "Comes Junior de Nottingham" can only be conjectured, as no Earl of that county is stated to have existed until many centuries afterwards; but the *Lordship* of Nottingham was then held by William Peverel, whose

daughter and heiress married William the eldest son of this Robert Earl of Derby. The Registry of Tutbury proves, however, that in the reign of Stephen the Earl of Derby was also called "Earl Ferrers," and in his descendants the Earldom of Derby continued for seven generations, when it was inherited by Robert de Ferrers; but it does not appear that they were ever styled EARLS FERRERS. In 1265 Robert de Ferrers last mentioned was dispossessed of the Earldom of Derby, and on the 5th August 1266 his lands were conferred by King Henry the Third upon his son Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, the father of Thomas Earl of Lancaster whose seal was affixed to the letter to the Pontiff, to hold during pleasure; and in the 53rd Hen. III. 1269, in consequence of security having been accepted by the King for satisfaction of the misdemeanour for which Robert de Ferrers Earl of Derby had forfeited his possessions, a precept was issued, commanding the Earl of Lancaster to make restitution of the lands in question. An agreement was consequently formed that the said Robert de Ferrers should on a certain day pay to Earl Edmund the sum of fifty thousand pounds to relinquish all his interest in the lands which had been so conferred upon him; and four Earls and several Barons are named as having been security for the payment thereof. The money was not, however, paid, and the said securities passed over their title therein to the Earl of Lancaster and his heirs for ever. Robert de Ferrers being nevertheless dissatisfied, exhibited a Bill in the Court of King's Bench in Easter Term that year, and in the 2nd Edw. I. 1274, he renewed his plea. The proceedings on the subject are fully detailed by Dugdale, and it is only necessary to state in this place, that the result was, the Court dismissed his suit, and the lands in dispute, which consisted of the castle of Tutbury and other territories, were confirmed to Edmund Earl of Lancaster; on whose death they devolved upon his son Thomas Earl of Lancaster here alluded to.

The grant of these lands to the Earl of Lancaster has induced many writers of reputation to attribute the title of Earl of Derby to him and his descendants, but not a single authority is to be found for Earl

Edmund or his son Earl Thomas (excepting the seal of the latter which is the subject of these remarks) having been considered as EARL FERRERS; and with respect to the Earldom of Derby, Dugdale expressly says, "he really had nothing of the Earldom of Derby;" in proof of which, Henry Plantagenet Duke and Earl of Lancaster the nephew and heir of Earl Thomas, who succeeded to all the honours possessed by his said uncle, was in 1337 *created* Earl of Derby; but he never assumed the title of "Earl Ferrers," nor is there any reason for supposing that it was ever attributed to him.

The fact of Thomas Earl of Lancaster having assumed the title of EARL FERRERS, admits then of conclusions of considerable importance in relation to the descent of Earldoms in the reign of Edward the First. It may be inferred that the tenure of the lands of which the Earls of Derby (or as it is evident they were at an early period called, Earls Ferrers) were seized, was at that time considered to justify their possessor in assuming the title of "Earl Ferrers," and consequently that that dignity was then deemed to be attached to territorial possessions. But, as Henry, the brother and heir of Earl Thomas, (who was fully restored to all the dignities and inheritances forfeited by the said Earl, and was indisputably seized of the same lands as were conferred on Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, his father, on the forfeiture of them by Robert de Ferrers,) did not assume the title either of Earl of Derby or Earl Ferrers, it may safely be concluded that the usage which induced Earl Thomas to style himself "Earl Ferrers" was abolished, or at all events discontinued very early in the reign of Edward the Third; and this fact affords some support to the argument, that dignities ceased to be attached to the tenure of lands during the reign of Edward the Second.

The Seal of Aymer de Valence calls for remark from its in some degree confirming a circumstance which the Writs of Summons addressed to him had rendered highly probable; namely, that though he was of full age in 1296, when he succeeded his father William Earl of Pembroke, yet that he did not use the title of that Earldom until the

accession of Edward the Second ; the legend of his seal being,

✠ SIGILLVM : ADOMARI : DE : VALENCE :

In the earliest Writ of Summons addressed to him, dated 6th Feb. 27th Edw. I. 1299, he is merely called “ Adomarus de Valence,” and he continued to be so styled in each subsequent Writ until 19 Jan. 1st Edw. II. 1308, when he was summoned by his proper title of Earl of Pembroke. During the above period, however, it is evident that though not summoned as an Earl, yet that he was deemed to have the precedence of all Barons ; for on every occasion his name occurs immediately after that of Henry of Lancaster (who being of the blood royal, probably preceded every other Baron, and who is consequently placed next to the Earls) excepting in the two earliest Writs in which the name of Aymer de Valence is placed among the Earls, though he is not described as Earl of Pembroke. To what circumstance his not having been considered Earl of Pembroke from the death of his father in 1296 to 1308, a period of nearly twelve years, is to be imputed, cannot, perhaps be satisfactorily explained ; but, as it is an anomaly in the descent of dignities, and confirms the opinion that no general principle prevailed on the subject in the fourteenth century, it is entitled to some attention, and will, it is expected, excuse a slight inquiry into the most probable cause to which it may be assigned.

Dugdale does not take any notice of the circumstance, but he informs us that in the 1st Edw. II. 1307, he did homage on the death of his mother for the lands which she held in dower. Whether the Earldom of Pembroke, like that of Ferrers, was considered to have been attached to the tenure of certain lands, and which lands were part of the dowry of his mother ; or whether on the death of an Earl his heir could not succeed to the dignity until he had obtained a confirmation of it from the Crown, and that in the instance of Aymer de Valence such confirmation was withheld until the reign of Edward the second cannot be decided. The former of these conjectures, though opposed by the general custom of not assigning the *Caput Baronie* in dower, has been suggested by the singular coincidence of his not having been summoned to Parliament as an Earl, or

using that title, until the year in which he did homage for his mother's lands : and by the circumstance that part of her dowry was the manor of Castle Gooderich and *xivl. vis. ivd.* lands and rents in the *County of Pembroke*. The ornaments around the escutcheon of Aymer de Valence are very imperfectly delineated in the plate : they consist of two sprigs of a tree with a bird on each, looking towards the shield.

The Seal used by John de Hastings is not a little curious, both from its exhibiting arms totally different from those which are generally ascribed to him, and which were borne by his descendants, and from the charges in the coat itself. The ancient arms of Hastings are considered to have been *Or, a maunch Gules*,^h but those on the seals used by this Baron are, on one side, *On a cross between four fleurs de lis, five fleurs de lis* : and on the reverse, *A cross charged with five fleurs de lis, between, in the 1st and 4th quarters, a lion passant guardant, and in the 2nd and 3rd quarters a lion rampant, each looking to the sinister*. It would appear that these singular bearings were founded on the Royal Arms of England and France, but no alliance, or other circumstance is recorded to which such an assumption on the part of this Baron can be traced. The legend round this seal is almost effaced, but the following appear to have been the words inscribed on it.ⁱ

On the side charged with a cross with fleurs de lis :

....N : T'Mq : ICH : M'AD MVNDI MI : H'GOD : NAMQNDQ : M....

^h In the Roll of Karlaverock, the arms of this John de Hastings are thus described ;

“ Escu avoit fort e legier
E baniere de oeure pareile
De or fin o la manche vermeille.”

This and the other quotations from that poem in these sheets were taken from the illustrated copy in the College of Arms, and collated with that in the Cottonian MS. *Caligula A. xviiij.*

ⁱ For the copy of these legends I am indebted to Mr. Caley, whose valuable assistance is always at the disposal of his friends in encouraging and promoting historical research. That celebrated Antiquary observes, “ I have endeavoured to make out the legend on the Seal of John de Hastings, and inclosed you have the result of my labours in that respect. I have, perhaps, traced out some words which may prove useful towards gaining a knowledge of the nature of the legend, though I am fearful I have not been completely successful.”

On the side with the cross and lions :

.. cqd : OF RODē STēT : ICē : ꝥIRēOODēSēNIDēVS ARēTR. . . .

It would be difficult, if not impossible to ascertain the meaning of this inscription, but from the little which can be made out, it seems that the seal did not belong to John de Hastings, a conjecture which the arms upon it render almost certain.

Hugh de Vere, whose Seal is in fine preservation, is supposed to have been a younger son of Robert 5th Earl of Oxford, and it appears that he bore the coat of Vere, *Quarterly Or and Gules, in the first quarter a mullet Argent, within a bordure engrailed*, and which was probably adopted as a mark of cadency. The seal of this Baron affords strong confirmation of the authenticity of the Roll of Karlaverock, which it is material to state, because it has induced me frequently to cite it in these pages: and still more, because such evidence in relation to so early a document is of considerable value. In that highly curious poem it is said,

“ Apres ceus i truis en mon conte
 Hue de Ver le filz au conte
 De Oxenfort e frere son hoir
 O le ourle endentee de noir
 Avoit baniere e long e lee
 De or e de rouge esquartelee
 De bon cendal non pas de toyle
 E devant une blanche estoyle.”

The notice taken of so minute a difference in Hugh de Vere's arms as “le ourle endentee de noir,” and the certainty from his seal that he bore it, tend to establish that his banner was described by a person who actually saw it, for it is presumed that no other proof of his having used such a border, excepting his seal, exists; and hence we may, perhaps, place entire reliance on the genuineness of the Roll. In the above extract this Hugh de Vere is clearly identified as “the son of the Earl of Oxford, and the brother of his heir.”

Nisbet describes the *border* as the *third* mark of cadency,^k and though that accurate writer cites an instance of the use of this charge before the period in question, he does not appear to have been aware that it was used as a distinction of that nature so early as the commencement of the fourteenth century. On the top of the shield of Hugh de Vere is a boar passant, which became the crest of that family, when crests were generally used.

The Seal of William de Braose is remarkable both from its containing a very curious reverse, and from the inscription round it, as engraved, being different from what actually appears on the seal. The legend on the plate is,

✠ S : WILLI : DE : BREOVSE : DNI : DE : GOWER.

but several words after Gower were clearly inscribed, and of which two only are now distinct ; these are,

DE BREMBER.

The Reverse, which is of an oval form and is much smaller than the other seal, contains a lion passant, holding a bird in his paws ; the neck of the lion appears *fretted*, and at his feet is a *cross moline*, but which is not noticed in the engraving.

The Seals of Henry de Grey and Reginald de Grey both contain the coat of Grey, *barry of six*, but that of the latter is distinguished by a label of five points ; whilst the arms of Henry de Grey, who, in the body of the letter to the Pope is called Lord of Codnor, and was the head of that illustrious family, are borne plain. Reginald de Grey was at that time Lord of Ruthyn, and he is so described in that document ; but being a younger branch of the house of Grey (his father, John de Grey having been the second son of Henry de Grey of Codnor, the great grandfather of Henry de Grey Lord of Codnor just mentioned) his arms are charged with a label as a distinction. The de-

^k *System of Heraldry*, vol. ii. part iv. p. 9, ed. 1742.

scendants of the Reginald de Grey here alluded to, are always styled Lords of Wilton, which lordship was acquired by the marriage of the said Reginald with Maud, the daughter and heiress of Henry de Longchamp; and it is deserving of remark that although the lordship of Wilton was evidently of superior importance to that of Ruthyn, (in proof of which the latter was in the reign of Edward the Second, assigned as the *appanage* of a younger son of the Baron Grey of Wilton), and though Reginald de Grey was in the year 1301 seized thereof, *jure uxoris*, he was nevertheless described in the letter to the Pope as "Lord of Ruthyn," his paternal inheritance. It must also be observed, that notwithstanding no legend appears on the seals of Henry de Grey, or of Reginald de Grey in the plate, around the latter are the words

SIGILLUM : REGINALDI : DE : GREY :

whilst, although of the legend on the former, only the letters

VNTS

are now discernible, they prove that it was inscribed. Of what word these letters formed part cannot possibly be determined; probably, however, of some *motto*, for it would be difficult to reconcile them with the name either of himself or of any part of his possessions.

The next Seal which requires observation, is that of Peter de Mauley, and which is peculiarly worthy of notice. The seal itself, however, was evidently made for the father of this baron, as on one side it is inscribed

S : PETRI : DE : MALOLACO : TERTII :

and the Peter de Mauley who lived at the time when the letter to the Pontiff was written, was for the following reasons, clearly the *fourth* of that name who are recorded to have been Barons of the realm. The *first* Peter de Mauley obtained the Barony of Mulgrave, in right of his wife Isabel, the daughter of Robert de Turnham, and dying in 1221, was succeeded by his son Peter de Mauley the *second* baron, who died

in 1242, when the barony devolved on his son Peter de Mauley the *third* baron, and for whom the seal in question is presumed to have been engraved. He died in the 7th Edw. I. 1278, and his son and heir Peter de Mauley, who at the time of his father's demise was only three years of age¹, succeeded to his inheritance, and became the *fourth* Baron of that family. He was summoned to Parliament from the 23rd Edw. I. to the 3rd Edward II. and being a party to the letter to Pope Boniface, affixed to it the seal which is the subject of these observations. Upon his death, in 1310, Peter de Mauley his son and heir, succeeded to the Barony, and who being the *fifth* Baron was in the latter part of his life styled in Writs of Summons to Parliament, "Petro de Malolaco *le quint*," and Peter de Mauley his son, the *sixth* Baron was generally called in similar Writs "Petro de Malolaco *le sisme*." It may here be remarked that this family is the only instance in which the different generations distinguished themselves by numbers, notwithstanding that several might be cited in which the successors to the dignity bore the same baptismal names as their ancestors. On the manifest utility of this custom, it would be a waste of the Society's time to offer any comments, but its singularity justifies its being brought to its notice. The legend of "S : Petri : de : Malolaco : tertii" surrounds the seal upon which the Baron is represented on horseback, armed at all points for the field; but the inscription on the reverse, which is much smaller, is particularly curious, as it tends to confirm the opinion, that two seals were used by persons of eminence in the fourteenth century; the larger one, on which they were represented on horseback, being their public or official signet; and the other, which was of a much less size, and only contained a shield of their arms, being the private signet. The lesser seal of Peter de Mauley has a small escutcheon charged with his arms, *Or, a bend Sable*, ornamented by a lion passant on each side, with another on the top of the shield, and is inscribed in old French,

"SEEL : PRIVE : : SVYA PELE."

¹ *Inq. Post Mortem.* 7 Edw. I.

This legend is erroneously given in the engraving of the seal, where it stands

“SEEL : PRIVI : : SVYA PEIE.”

The fourth word cannot, perhaps, be easily explained: the five last letters were possibly intended for the word “Appel,” but it would be difficult to make it agree with the preceding three letters “Suy,” even admitting that they were distinct words. The two first words, however, “Seel Prive,” evidently prove that it was a “private seal,” as contradistinguished from the seal on the other side, and upon these words the preceding remarks on the subject are founded.

The Seals of the Barons Mohun and Zouche are only remarkable from the shields being suspended from the necks of animals; the former from that of a demi-eagle and the latter from that of a demi-lion, and which possibly were the devices of those individuals: but as the escutcheon of William de Ferrers Lord of Groby was placed on the breast of a double-headed eagle, and that of John de Beauchamp Lord of Hache, on the breast of a common eagle, it is more probable that these additions were merely introduced as ornaments, without their being intended to convey any heraldic meaning.

The legends on the Seals of Theobald de Verdon merit a slight notice: round that upon which he is represented on horseback, are the words,

✠ : SIGILLVM : THEOBALDI : DE : VERDVN :

but the reverse, which only contains a plain shield of his arms, between two lions passant guardant, and a small bird on each of the upper corners of the escutcheon, and which appears to be suspended from a tree, is inscribed

✠ CONSTABVLARII : HIBERNIE :

Dugdale, in his account of this Baron, does not inform us in what manner he acquired the office of Constable of Ireland, but states that he was possessed of it in the 3rd of Edw. I. 1275. It was, however, apparently inherited from his grandfather Theobald le Butiler, a branch of the noble house of Butler in Ireland, who married Rohese, the daughter and heiress

of Nicholas de Verdon, a powerful Baron in the reign of John, and whose posterity assumed the name and arms of Verdon.

The arms on the seal of John de Segrave are *a lion rampant, crowned*; and on each side of the shield is *a garb*. This circumstance requires attention, because Burton, in his History of Leicestershire, in which he has been followed by a late writer,^m states that the ancient arms of Segrave were *Sable, three garbs Argent, banded Gules*; but that they afterwards assumed *Sable, a lion rampant Argent, crowned Or*. It is manifest from the seal of this Baron that Burton's statement was not entirely without foundation; though, unless by the words "*ancient arms*," he meant anterior to the reign of Edward the First, it is certain that the *arms* of that family were what they afterwards bore, but that the *Garb* was introduced on their seals, possibly as an ornament, or device. From this and similar devices, it is very likely that the subsequent usage of cognizances owed its source. The notice in the Roll of Karlaverock of the circumstance of the *garbs* and *a lion* having been borne by this family, is so illustrative of the points alluded to, that its introduction seems desirable.

“ Nicholas de Segrave o li
Ke nature avoit embeli
De cors e enrichi de cuer
Vaillant pere ot ki jetta puer
Les Garbes e le Lyon prist
A ses enfans ensi a prist
Les coragous a ressembler
E o les nobles assembler
Cil ot la baner son pere
Au label rouge por son frere

Johan ki li ainsez estoit
E ki entiere la portoit
Li peres et de la moillier
Cink fiz ke estoient chivalier

^m Banks' *Dormant and Extinct Peerage*.

Preu e hardi et defensable
 O un lyoun de argent en sable
 Rampant e de or fin couronne
 Fu la baner del ainsne.”

John de Segrave's seal is inscribed,

SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : DE : SEGRAVE,

but no notice of a legend occurs in the engraving.

The Seal of William de Cantilupe, which is very perfect, shews that the arms which are generally assigned to him, *Gules, three leopards' heads jessant fleurs de lis, Or*, were not correct, for he appears, from his seal to have borne *A fesse vaire between three fleurs de lis*, and as it is inscribed

✠ SI : WILLIELMI : DE : CANTILVPO :

we are assured that the signet he used on this occasion was his own. The Roll of Karlaverock, however, states that his banner differed from both the coats just described; but it sufficiently resembled that on his seal to induce us to believe in the correctness of the description. The omission of the leopards' heads on his signet, which is a very small one, might have arisen from the difficulty, if not impossibility in the fourteenth century, of shewing so complicated a charge thereon.

“ E Guillemes de Cantelo
 Ke ie par ceste raison lo
 Ke en honnour a touz tens vescu
 Fesse vaire ot el rouge escu
 De trois flours de lis de or espars
 Naissans de testes de lupars.”

The next seal affixed to the letter to the Pontiff upon which some remarks will be offered is that of Brian Fitz-Alan Lord of Bedale. His arms are recorded to have been *Barry of eight Or and Gules*, and

which is confirmed by the following allusion to them in the poem just cited :

“ Le beau Brian le Fitz Aleyn
De courtoisie e de honnour pleyn
I vi o baniere barree
De or e de goules bien paree
Dont de chalenge estoit li poinz
Par entre lui et Hue Poinz
Ki portoit cel ni plus ne meins
Dont merveille avoit meinte e meins.”

But the charges on his seal were evidently a device, for no shield appears. On a square are engraved, two birds, a rabbit, a stag, and a pig or boar : all these animals are looking to the dexter excepting the boar, which is regarding the chief ; but the most curious part of this signet is the legend,

✠ TOT : CAPITA : TOT : SENTENCIE :

This motto, which so nearly resembles the well-known proverb of “Tot homines quot sententiæ,” was apparently adopted to explain, if not to justify, the whimsical assemblage of animals which his seal exhibits ; and it is not a very strained conclusion to suppose that the whole was intended to convey a satirical allusion to the devices on the seals of his contemporaries.ⁿ If, however, contrary to the idea here expressed, the seal was meant for an heraldic bearing, it is no less worthy of observation, from the singularity of the charges, and its presenting, perhaps the earliest example of a motto being allusive to the bearings in the arms.

ⁿ Another instance of the assemblage of fanciful objects on signets occurs on a brass seal, of which an engraving is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1812. It consists of a circle charged in the centre with a tree, on the top of which is a large bird, and near the trunk an animal resembling a fox, lying across it, with his head turned, as if gnawing the bark. On the dexter side is a quadruped, not unlike a cat, resting on its hinder feet, and playing on a lute ; and on the sinister a hare, also standing on its hinder paws,

This signet is still perfect, but the engraving conveys a very unsatisfactory idea of it.

The Seal of William Marshall is curious from the circumstance of two batons being introduced, one on each side of the shield. This addition may be satisfactorily attributed to his holding the office of Marshal of Ireland, which dignity was granted in fee in 1207 to his great-great-grandfather by King John. Such frequent notice having been taken in these pages of the Roll of Karlaverock, it is proper to allude to the difference between the description there given of his banner, and the arms on his seal. The poem observes,

“ E Guillems li Marescaus
Dont en Irlande ot la baillie
La bende de or engreellie
Portoit en la rouge baniere,”

whilst the coat, as it appears on his shield, tends to prove the correctness of that which he is stated to have used, namely *Gules, a bend lozengy Or*. This discrepancy may be explained by the resemblance which a *bend lozengy* would present on a banner to a *bend engrailed*. Indeed it is by no means improbable, that what is always considered a *bend lozengy*, might in fact have been a *bend engrailed*; and that the mistake has arisen from the imperfect manner in which the lines have been marked.

Walter de Fauconberg's Seal contains the ancient arms of that family, *A fesse, and in chief three palletts*, and is inscribed

✠ SIGILLVM : WALTERI : DE : FAVCONBERGG.

and holding in one fore-paw a cymbal upon which it seems to be playing with the other; the legend is

SIGILLUM NULLUM TALE.

This Seal was found at Alford in Lincolnshire, in the year 1800, and from the formation of the letters of the inscription must, it is presumed, have been engraved at a period nearly contemporary with those attached to the Letter to Pope Boniface.

The arms on his seal are here noticed, because, in consequence of his marriage with Agnes, the sister and coheiress of Peter de Brus, Lord of Skelton, it is certain that his descendants relinquished the coat borne by this Baron, and adopted that of their mother, viz. *Argent, a lion rampant Azure*; but we have proof from this signet that the Baron himself continued to use his paternal arms.

The Seal of Roger le Strange, Lord of Ellesmere, who is presumed to have been a younger son of John le Strange of Knokyn, and uncle to John Baron le Strange of Knokyn, who was likewise a party to the Letter to the Pope, corroborates the conjecture hazarded with respect to the arms of Hugh de Vere, that a border was at that period a mark of cadency; for his arms are those of Strange of Knokyn, *Two lions passant guardant, within a bordure engrailed*.

It is well known that Richard Talbot, the ancestor of the Earls of Shrewsbury, relinquished his paternal coat of *Bendy of ten Argent and Gules*, and assumed that of his mother, Gwenlian, the daughter and at length heiress of Rhese ap Griffiths, Prince of South Wales; but the precise period when the change was made has not been ascertained. The proof therefore afforded by his Seal, which bears the arms of the said Princes of Wales, *A lion rampant within a bordure engrailed*, that he assumed his mother's arms before the year 1301 is of some value.

The Seal of John Botetourt is not a little curious. Within a circle inscribed,

SIGILL : JOHANNIS : DE : BOVTOVRT,

is a *cinquefoil*, each leaf of which bears *a saltire engrailed*, and which was intended for his arms, they being, *Or, a saltire engrailed Sable*; a proof of which is afforded by the description of them in the Roll of Karlaverock,

“ Cil ke a tout bien faire a cuer lie
Au sautour noir engreellie
Jaune banier e ot e penon
Johans Boutetourte ot a noun.”

This signet consequently presents another proof that the manner of using arms on Seals in the fourteenth century was not regulated by any general principle, but depended upon the taste or caprice of the individual.

Having entered into so long a dissertation on the Seals affixed to these Documents, the few which have not been noticed, but which are deserving of attention, must be alluded to as briefly as possible.

The Seal used by Hugh Pointz, like that used by Peter de Mauley, was certainly not his own, as it is inscribed

S : NICHOLAI : POYNTZ :

It possibly belonged to his father Nicholas Poyntz, who died in the 7th of Edw. I. 1279; though from the arms being charged with a *label of five points*, it is more likely that the said Hugh Baron Pointz used the seal of his eldest son Nicholas Pointz, who was in the wars of Scotland in the 27th Edw. I. 1299, and who, on succeeding to the Barony on the death of his father in 1307, was above thirty years of age. The latter conjecture is much strengthened by the arms of Hugh Pointz being thus blazoned in the poem before quoted,

“ E la baniere Hue Poinz
 Estoit barree de viij poinz
 De or e de goules ouelment”

from which, as well as from the account of them in another part of the Roll, ° it is evident that the said Hugh did not use a label in his arms.

The arms of Simonde Moncatute are remarkable, from being surmounted by a Castle with a bird on each of the outer turrets. Upon the reverse, which consists of a small square seal, is a *griffin segreant*; and it is right to observe, not only that the original arms of that family are supposed to have been a *griffin segreant* but that a *griffin's head* is still the crest, and that a *griffin* has long been one of the supporters of the arms of the ennobled branches of the houses of Montacute, or as it is now written, Montagu. It would appear from the Roll of Karlaverock that at the period when

° Cited in p. 213.

the Baron's letter to the Pope was written, this Simon de Montacute bore a *griffin segreant* both on his banner and shield, for he is thus noticed therein ;

“ Mes a Symon de Montagu
Ke avoit baniere e escu
De inde au grifoun rampant de or fin.”

The arms on the Seal of John Lovel of Tichmersh, but who is described in the letter as Lord of Dakkyng, are *Barry nebulée, a label of three points, each point charged with as many mullets* ; the charges on the label are now, however, scarcely visible. Some writers assert that this coat was assumed by John Lovel the grandfather of this Baron, in consequence of his marriage with Aliva or Katherine the daughter of Alan Bassett of Wycombe, to whom he was in Ward, and whose arms were *Barry of six undée Argent and Azure*. If this statement be correct, the label in the coat of John Baron Lovel of Tichmersh must have been adopted as a distinction from that of Basset of Wycombe.

Edmund de Hastings Lord of Enchimchelmok, whose Seal contains a shield charged with *Barry of six, wavy*, and is inscribed,

✠ S : EDMUNDI : HASTING : COMITATV : MENETEI :

but which legend is now very imperfect, was a younger son of Henry Baron Hastings, and brother of John Baron Hastings, whose seal has been commented upon in a former part of this letter. The arms of this Baron being so essentially different from those borne by his brother on this occasion, and from those afterwards used by the family of Hastings, might admit of the inference, that in the reign of Edward the First the arms of that house were not regularly settled, were it not for the evidence afforded on the subject in the Roll of Karlaverock, where, as it has been before stated, the arms of John de Hastings are described as having been *Or, a maunch Gules* ; and this Edmund de Hastings is there said to have used the same coat with a label Sable.

“ Eymons ses freres li vaillans
Le label noir i fu cuellans

A ki pas ne devoit faillir
Honnours dont se penoit cuellir.”

It is, however, impossible to explain the cause of the coat on the seal of this Baron being so materially at variance with that which is assigned to him. The place of which he describes himself was probably St. David's in Wales, in which province he had large possessions. To both documents the seals of John de Hastings and of his brother occur upon the same string, to which no other seal is attached.

The arms of Bogo de Knovill are generally described as *Argent, three estoils, Gules*; but from his Seal they appear to have been *Three mullets, two and one, with a label of three points*. As, however, his son Bogo de Knovill was then twenty-seven years of age, the label renders it likely that the seal used by this Baron belonged to his son.

Robert de Hastang is said to have borne *Azure, a chief Gules; over all a lion rampant Or*: but the arms on his seal are, *A lion rampant; over all, in chief, a barrulet*. A reverse to the signet of this Baron exists, no notice of which is to be found in the plate. It contains a small shield, with the same arms and legend as occur on the larger seal.

To the letter to the Pope, a Walter de Teye, Lord of Stengreve, and a Henry de Tyes, Lord of Chilton, affixed their signets; and from the similarity of their names it has been supposed that they were of the same family. The arms on their seals tend, however, to prove that they were not related; those of Henry de Tyes being *a chevron*, whilst the coat of Walter de Teye was, *on a fess between two chevronels, three mullets, pierced*. The Signet of Henry de Tyes is very imperfectly represented in the engraving; the head over the shield being very much larger on the seal, and was undoubtedly intended for a Saracen's or Blackamoor's head. The legend is likewise incorrectly given; as only

SIGILL : HENRICI : CIS

occurs on the plate of it, whilst after “Henrici,” the words

DE : TEIHEIS :

are very distinct. His arms are thus noticed in the poem which has

been so often quoted, and which is corroborated by the coat on his seal ;

“ Baniere ot Henris li Tyois
Plus blanche de un poli lyois
O un chievron vermeil en mi.”

The legend on the reverse of the Seal of Walter de Teye is deserving of attention, as it tends to confirm the remarks in the notice of the smaller seal of Peter de Mauley relative to the use of two seals ; for the legend round the larger signet of Walter de Teye is

S : WALTERI : DE : TEYE : DNI : DE : STEYNGREYVE :

and the Reverse is inscribed

SECRETUM : WALTERI : DE : TEYE.

The Seal of John de Moels is accurately engraved in the Plate, excepting that the legend has been omitted ; for the originals, which are in good preservation, are inscribed

S : JOHANNIS : DE : MOLIS.

As little or nothing is recorded of Walter de Muncy, Lord of Thornton, who was summoned to several Parliaments in the reign of Edward the First, his seal must be noticed, for it shews that his arms were *Checky*. Over the helmet is an animal like a fox, lying dead or asleep, and bent to the form of the helmet, but of which the Plate gives but an imperfect idea. The inscription differs from the original with respect to the spelling of his name, the latter being MOUNCI instead of MOUNCY.

The Seal of John de Greystock proves that his arms were *three lozenges, two and one*, and that the coat usually deemed that of Greystock, namely, *barry of six Argent and Azure, three chaplets Gules, two and one*, or as they are described in the Roll of Karlaverock, “ *trois chapeaus de rosis vermelles,*” was that of Ralph Fitz-William, Lord of Grimethorp, whose seal with those arms is also attached to the letter to the Pontiff. John de Greystock died in 1305, leaving Ralph Fitz-William, just mentioned, his cousin and heir, he being son and heir of William

Fitz-Ralph by Joan de Greystock, the aunt of the said John Baron Greystock, and whose posterity, though they assumed the name of Greystock, retained the coat of Fitz-Ralph.

William Touchet, who also subscribed the letter to the Pope, was summoned to Parliament from the 28th to the 34th of Edward I. He is said by Collins to have been *succeeded* by William Tuchet, the ancestor of John Tuchet who acquired the Barony of Audley *tempore* Henry IV.; but Dugdale, after noticing this William Baron Touchet, merely says, that in the 4th of Edward II. 1310-11, there was *another* William Tuchet. The arms on his seal tend to establish that he was of a distinct family; the coat of the one being *Ermine, a chevron Gules*, whilst the arms on the signet of this Baron, are *crusilly of crosses patée, a lion rampant*. In the Plate his seal is inscribed

SIGILLVM : WILLIELMI : TOVCHET :

but the legend appears to be

JESUS : EYDE : AMVR : LEL ^h

and which is remarkable from its presenting the only inscription upon these seals of a pious import.

The inscription on the Seal of Henry de Tregoz, is described in the engraving of it as being

SIGILLVM : HENRICI : TREGOZ :

but the actual legend appears to be

LA : SECRET : TREGOZ :

and which presents another instance of the use of the SECRETUM or COUNTER-SEAL.

^h Ex. Inform. John Caley, Armig. My attention has been recently drawn by an ingenious friend, to the engraving of a curious ancient Seal, with a motto somewhat similar, in the Gentleman's Magazine, Suppl. p. i. 1810, and October 1823. That Seal represents a cross formed of four leaves, conjoined in the centre, with a Dove between each leaf, and is inscribed.

† JE SUY SEL DAMVR LEL

a motto strictly applicable to the charges. It was of brass, and was found with several coins, on pulling down an old mansion at Redwick, in Monmouthshire in 1810.

On the Seal of Walter de Huntercumbe no legend is given in the Plate, but it is inscribed

S : WALTERI : DE : HUNTERCUMBE.

John de Suley's Seal is likewise inscribed with his name

S : JOHANNIS : DE : SULEYE :

but no legend appears in the engraving of it.

Many other variations between the Seals themselves and the engravings of them occur, and as some of them are important, the following will be pointed out.

The engraving of the Signet of William Martin is imperfect in many parts ; the chief of which is the omission of the legend,

S. WILLIELMI : MARTINI.

On the Seal of John le Strange his name is spelt differently from the manner in which it is engraved.

The Signet of Walter de Beauchamp is stated in the plate to have been inscribed,

S : WALTERI : DE : BELLOCAMPO : DNI : DE : ALCESTRE :

but the only letters now legible are,

✠ ALTE BELLOCAMPO : D

To this Seal there is, however, a reverse, which is not noticed in the plate ; and which is much smaller than the signet on the other side. It contains an escutcheon with the same arms as occur on the large seal, and is inscribed,

S : WALT : DE : BELLOCAMPO :

The inscription given in the engraving of the Seal of Edmund Stafford is only

EDMUNDI : STAF

but the remaining letters

FORDIE

are also visible.

A curious reverse to the Seal of William Paynell is not noticed in the plate. It is a small round seal, and is apparently an antique intaglio,ⁱ exhibiting a naked man, with his arms extended: in the right hand he seems to grasp a branch of a tree, and in the left a sword: near his left foot is a cross very similar to the form of an anchor. This Seal has an inscription, but the only letters visible are

ANINEL

The large signet of William de Paynell is also remarkable from his arms being introduced in a lozenge, and which is the only instance of the kind that appears among the seals to which these remarks refer. The arms on this Baron's seal as engraved, are *eight martlets, 3, 2, and 3, between two bars*, but on the seal itself the bars appear to be *fretted*.

John le Breton's Seal is inscribed

A : TE : SALVS,

though in the engraving of it the legend is,

SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : LE : BRETOVN.

This inscription, like that on the seal of Brian Fitz-Alan, was certainly intended for a motto, and may be considered as allusive to his shield; namely, that he derived safety from its protection.

The arms of Roger de Huntingfield are usually considered to have been *A fess, charged with three plates*; but his seal appears to contain *A bar above and below the fess*; though it is not so represented in the engraving.

In the plate of the Seal of John Fitz-Marmaduke the legend is

S : JOHANNIS : FILII : MARMADVCI :

but the actual inscription, as in the instances of Brian Fitz-Alan and John le Breton, appears to have been a motto, the words being

CREDE : MICHI.

ⁱ Mr. Dallaway, in his able *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*, p. 398, gives an example of the use of antique intaglios as COUNTER-SEALS as early as the 12th century, in the instance of Thomas Bredon, Abbot of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry the Second. Several engravings of COUNTER-SEALS, some of which are exceedingly curious, will be found in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

The Seal of Robert Fitz-Payne which is very perfect, but on which no inscription is given in the plate of it, is inscribed

S : ROBERTI : FILII : PAGANI.

Roger de Mortimer's Seal has likewise a legend, though it is now very indistinct, but no notice of it appears in the engraving.

To the Seal of John de Kingeston there is a reverse, which is not noticed in the plate. It consists of a smaller shield with the same charge and inscription as occur on the other side.

The arms on the Seal and reverse of Henry de Percy are deserving of attention, because they exhibit the coat of Brabant *only*; a proof, and which is further corroborated by the description of his banner in the Roll of Karlaverock, that that family entirely relinquished their paternal coat on marrying the heiress of Brabant, and that the combination of the arms of Percy *Azure five fusils in fess Or*, with those of Brabant did not take place until the principle of quartering arms became fully established; notwithstanding that the seals of the Earls of Hereford and Warwick afford an example of using the arms of more than one family either on the same signet or on the reverse.

In addition to what has been said in this Paper respecting the arms of the Barons who were parties to the letter to Pope Boniface VIII. it is material that a few short remarks should be submitted on the inferences which may be drawn relative to CRESTS and MOTTOES from the manner in which they appear on many of the seals attached to that document.

It has been observed that CRESTS were in the first instance assumed by the leaders of armies; ^k that after the Institution of the Order of the

^k Mr. Dallaway remarks on this subject, "Crests were originally of the highest importance, conceded by Royal grant, and confined to very few persons," in proof of which he cites the grant of a Crest of an Eagle by King Edward the Third to William de Montagu, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.—*Inquiries into the Science of Heraldry*, p. 388. Nisbet considers the earliest proof of the usage of them to have been in the reign of David I. 1125 to 1135, upon whose seal, as well as upon those of the Earls of Angus and Sutherland they appear; but he informs us that *feathers* were the general ornament of the helmet, and which is fully supported by the seals under consideration.

Garter, all the Knights of that Order adopted them ; and that they soon afterwards became generally used. This statement, so far as it relates to the usage of Crests at the period contemporary with the letter to which the Baronage of England affixed their seals, would lead us to expect that on those signets which contained the effigies of their owners on horseback, the helmets of such individuals only, as were most celebrated by their rank, or for their military prowess would be surmounted by Crests. We accordingly find that although on *fourteen* seals, those to whom they belonged are represented on horseback in complete armour, only three of them, namely, Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, Ralph de Monthermer Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and John de St. John are depicted with Crests on their helmets ; the helmets of the other ten either being plain, or terminated at the top in a plume, and which plume is always exactly alike.

One of the personages so distinguished was of the Blood Royal, and Earl of Lancaster, and the second Ralph Earl of Gloucester, was also nearly connected with the reigning Sovereign, the Earl having married his daughter Joan Plantagenet the widow of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in whose right he assumed those titles. The curious account of the Earl of Gloucester in the Roll of Karlarock would alone justify the quotation of it in this place ; but the concluding lines imperiously require its admission, because they support the hypothesis which has been more than once submitted in this communication, that about the reign of Edward the First, the individual who acquired an Earldom by inheritance or marriage, either assumed the arms of the family from whom he derived it in conjunction with his own, or entirely relinquished his paternal coat for them.

“ Celi dont bien furent aidies
 Et achievees les amours
 Apres granz doutez et cremours
 Tant ke dieus l'en volt delivre estre
 Por la Contesse de Gloucestre
 Por ki long tens souffri granz maus
 De or fin o trois chievrans vermaus

I ot baniere soulement
Si ne faisoit pas malement
Kant ses propres armes n'estoit ^q
Jaunes ou le Egle verde estoit
Et ot nom Rauf de Monthermer."

Thus the rank of two individuals of the three explains any distinction which indicated an elevated station; and John de St. John, the third, was undoubtedly a person of high military reputation, a fact proved by Dugdale's account of him. In the 53rd Henry III. 1269, that accurate writer states, that he was constituted Governor of the Castle of Porchester; that in the 21st Edw. I. 1293, "having the reputation of an expert soldier, he was appointed the King's Lieutenant in the Duchy of Aquitaine," and that he particularly distinguished himself on numerous occasions in the wars of Gascony, France, and Scotland. In the 29th Edw. I. 1301, he was one of the Ambassadors sent to treat with those of the King of France for a Peace with the Scots, and died very aged in the following year. Whether it was this John de St. John, or his son of the same name, who was summoned to the previous Parliament, that was a party to the letter to the Pontiff in the 29th Edw. I. cannot positively be decided; but as John de St. John, the celebrated warrior was never summoned to Parliament, it is more probable that it was his son; and from the many similar instances which have been adduced, it is by no means unlikely that he should have used his father's seal on that occasion. The following allusion to the Barons St. John in the Roll of Karlaverock is introduced because it shews that the seal of John de St. John, the son, was distinguished by a label; and hence, if he was one of the persons who addressed Boniface on that occasion, he must, as I have suggested, have affixed his father's signet to that document.

^q *Sic* in the copy in the College of Arms, but apparently *vestoit* in Cottonian MSS. Caligula, A. xviii. In the *Antiquarian Repertory* it is printed *o estoit*.

“ Li preus Johan de Saint Johan
 Fu par tout o lui^r assemblans
 Ki sur touz ses guarnemens blancs
 El chief rouge ot de or deus molectes

Johan de Seint John son hoir
 Lour ot baillie a compaignon
 Ki de son pere avoit le non
 Et les armes au bleu label.”

From these facts it is certain, that the only person not connected with the Blood Royal who is depicted on those seals on horseback with a Crest upon his helmet, was one of the most distinguished military commanders of his age; consequently the statement that Crests were at that time only used on helmets by the leaders of armies, or the principal commanders in them, is very strongly confirmed. On the seals of other Barons we find, however, several examples of animals being placed over the shields of their arms, from which we may suppose that the modern custom of using them in that manner, is not derived from the assumption of Crests on helmets in the field; for in addition to the many cases here alluded to, some of which have been incidentally pointed out in former parts of this letter, the helmet of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex is without a Crest, though a swan, which became the Crest of the house of Bohun, is placed over his shield on the reverse to the seal on which he is represented on horseback.

With respect to MOTTOES, Mr. Dallaway and other writers of reputation consider that they arose from the *CRIE DE GUERRE*, or exclamation

^r Edward the King's son, afterwards King Edward the Second, who is described as having then been seventeen years of age; as commanding the fourth squadron; and as bearing his father's arms with a blue label. Edward the Second was born 25th April 1284, and was consequently in his seventeenth year in June 1300, the period when the event described in this poem took place.

of triumph or encouragement peculiar to victorious commanders, and that they became hereditary in their descendants in commemoration of them; but no instance has been given of the adoption of any thing corresponding with a Motto, in the present acceptation of the word, before the reign of Edward the Third. That monarch, however, as well as his son the Black Prince, used several; in proof of which it is only necessary to cite the existence of the words, *Ich Dien*, and *Houmont*, on the tomb of the latter in Canterbury Cathedral. The inscriptions on the seals of John le Breton, John Fitz-Marmaduke, William Touchet, and Brian Fitz-Alan, and probably also on that of Henry de Grey, tend to shew that Mottoes were at that time occasionally assumed from motives precisely similar to those in which they have now their origin; for it is very unlikely that either of the expressions, "*Crede Michi*," "*Tot capita tot sentencie*," "*Jesus eyde amur lel*," or "*A te Salus*," could have been a *CRIE DE GUERRE*.

We may therefore, it is presumed, infer that if *MOTTOES* arose from the *CRIE DE GUERRE*, it must have been long prior to the fourteenth century; since we have evidence of their being used at the commencement of that period, in allusion to the disposition or opinions of those who assumed them, or with reference to the charges on their escutcheons.

A few words will now be offered upon the form of the shields on the seals affixed to the letter to the Pontiff. The shape which was most generally used is triangular, for of the whole number there are but nine of a different form—of these, one is in the shape of a lozenge,^s one is an oval,^t and the others^u are rounded at the bottom, or deviate in some other way from those which are generally termed *triangular*. Whether the same varieties of form existed in the shields used in the

^s That of William de Paynell.

^t Robert Fitz-Payne.

^u Those of Lovel, Carew, Roche, Greystock, Neville, Teyes, Montacute, and Clifford. The charges on the seals of Botetourt and Fitz-Alan were clearly not intended to represent shields.

field, it would, perhaps, be difficult to determine; but as the public have been lately favoured with a work on Armour ^w which fills a most important chasm in historical and antiquarian literature, by affording every possible information that talent and industry could produce on the subject, it is unnecessary in this place to enter into the inquiry.

The most rational deductions which the examination of those seals seems to admit with respect to the use of Mottoes and to the form of the shield on seals are, that they both then depended upon the taste of the bearer rather than upon any established principle; and with relation to Crests, it may be at least inferred, if it has not been satisfactorily demonstrated, that the usage of them on the helmet in the field was confined to the leaders of an army, or to persons of extraordinary rank; upon whom, indeed, commands were generally conferred. But it is certain that it was at that time usual to place the figures of animals on the top of the shield in the same manner as is done at the present day, a custom so very similar to the constant practice of surrounding it with various quadrupeds, birds, branches of trees, &c. that it seems as just to attribute the placing of an animal in that situation to the mere object of ornamenting the seal, as to deduce it from Crests having been borne in the field on helmets for the purpose of distinction. Nor is it at all improbable that the representation of animals on each side of the escutcheon, and which we now term SUPPORTERS, were, at the period in question, introduced with the same intention, without their being at all indicative of superior rank, or of the Royal favour—a conjecture which has the support of more than one Heraldic writer.

It is proper to observe that a beautiful copy of the Letter to Boniface, with drawings of the Seals attached to it, is preserved in the College of Arms; and which appears to be nearly a fac-simile of that from which the engravings published by the Society were taken; hence it has many, if not all, the omissions which I have pointed out in those plates.

^w *A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, by Samuel Rush Meyrick, LL. D. F. S. A. 3 vols. folio.

Before this Letter is concluded it is desirable that a correct list of the individuals who were parties to the Letter to Pope Boniface in 1301 should be introduced, and which has been taken from the *first* copy in the Appendix to the Fourth Report of the Lords' Committees on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, every material variation between which and the *second* copy in the same Report are carefully pointed out in the notes. These copies are verbatim transcripts of the two documents preserved in the Chapter-house, before alluded to.

*Johannes Comes Warenne; *Thomas Comes Lancastrie; *Radulphus de Monte Hermerij, Comes Gloucestre & Hertford; *Humfridus de Bohun, Comes Hereford & Essexe & Constabularius Anglie; *Rogerus Bigod, Comes Norff' & Marescallus Anglie; *Guido Comes Warrewik; Ricardus Comes Arundel; *Adomarus de Valencia, Dñs de Montiniaco; Henricus de Lancastre, Dominus de Munemue; *Johannes de Hastings, Dñs de Bergaveny; *Henricus de Percy, Dñs de Topclive; Edmundus de Mortuomari, Dñs de Wiggemoore; Robertus filius Walteri, Dñs de Wodeham; *Johannes de Scto Johanne, Dñs de Haunak; *Hugo de Vere, Dominus de Swainschaumpis; *Willelmus de Breuhosa, Dñs de Gower; Robertus de Monte Alto, Dñs de Hawardyn; Robertus de Tatteshale, Dñs de Bukham; *Reginaldus de Grey, Dñs de Ruthyn; *Henricus de Grey, Dñs de Codenore; Hugo Bardolfe, Dñs de Wirmegeye; Robertus de Touny, Dñs de Castro Matiff; Willelmus de Ros, Dñs de Hamlake; *Robertus de Clifford, Castellanus de Appelby; *Petrus de Malolacu, Dñs de Musgreve; Petrus Dñs de Kyme; Robertus filius Rogeri, Dñs de Claveryng; *Johannes de Mohun, Dñs de Dunsterre; Almaricus de Scto Amando, Dñs de Widehaye; *Alanus la Zuche, Dñs de Assheby; *Willelmi de Ferrarijs, Dñs de Groby; *Theobaldus de Verdun, Dominus de Webbele; Thomas de Furnivall, Dñs de Shefeild; Thomas de Multon, Dñs de Egremont; Willelmus le Latimer, Dñs de Corby; Thomas Dñs de Berkele; Fulco filius Warini, Dñs de Whit-

* The Seals of the individuals to whose names this mark is prefixed, are noticed in this letter.

x The name of William de Ferrers immediately precedes that of Alan le Zouche in the *second* copy.

ington; *Johannes Dominus de Segrave; Edmundus de Eyncourt, Dñs de Thurgerton; Petrus Corbet, Dñs de Cauz; *Wittus de Cantilupō, Dñs de Ravensthorp; *Joñes de Bello Campo, Dñs de Hacche; *Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, Dñs de Penketlyn; Joñes filius Reginaldi, Dñs de Blenleveny; *Ranulphus de Nevitt, Dñs de Raby; *Brianus filius Alani, Dominus de Bedale; *Witts Marescallus, Dñs de Hengham; *Walterus Dñs de Huntercombe; *Witts Martyn, Dñs de Camesio;^y *Henricus de^z Tyes, Dñs de Chilton; Rogerus la Warre, Dñs de Isefeld; Johannes de Riparijs, Dñs de Angre; Johannes le^a Lancastre, Dñs de Grisdale; *Robertus filius Paganì, Dñs de Lannuer; *Henricus Tregotz, Dñs de Garynges; Radulphus Pipart, Dñs de Linford;^b *Walterus Dñs de Faucomberge; *Rogerus le Estraunge, Dominus de Ellesmere;^c Johannes le Estraunge, Dñs de Cnokyn; Thomas de Chaurces, Dñs de Norton; *Walñus de Bello Campo, Dñs de Alcestre; *Ricardus Talebot, Dñs de Eckleswell; *Johannes Botetourte, Dñs de Mendesham; Joñes Engayn, Dñs de Colum; *Hugo Poynz, Dñs de Corimalet; Adam Dñs Welle;^d *Simon Dñs de Monte Acuto; *Joñes Dñs de Sullee; *Joñes de Moeles Dñs de Caudebury;^e *Edmundus Baro Stafford; *Johannes Lovel, Dominus de Dackingg; *Edmundus de Hastings, Dñs de Enchuneholmok; *Radulphus filius Wittmi, Dñs de Grimthorp; Robtus de Scales,^f Dñs de Neuseles; *Witts Touchet, Dñs de Leuenhales; Joñes Abadam, Dñs de Beverstone; Joñes de Haveringes, Dñs de Graston; Robtus la Warde, Dñs de Alba Aula; *Nichus de Segrave, Dñs de Stowe; *Walterus de Teye, Dñs de Standgreve; Joñes de Lisle^g Dñs de Woceton; Eustachius Dñs de Hacche; Gībertus Pecche, Dñs de Corby; *Witts Paynell, Dñs de . . . yngton;^h *Bogo de Knovill, Dñs de Albomonasterio; Fulco le Estraunge, Dñs de Corsham; Henricus de Pynkeny, Dominus de Wedone; Johannes de Hudleston, Dñs de Aneys;ⁱ *Rogerus deld,^k Dñs de Bradenham; Huḡo filius Henrici, Dñs de Raveneswath; *Johannes le Breton, Dñs de

y Cameiſ.

z le.

a de.

b Limford.

c Dñs Ellesmere.

d Dñs de Welle.

e Candeburi.

f de Scariis.

g Joñes de Insula.

h Dñs de Fracington.

i Haneys.

k Rogerus de Huntingfeld.

Sporle ; *Niçus de Carru, Dñs de Mulesford ; *Thomas Dñs de la R. . . ;¹
*^m de Moncy, Dñs de Thornton ; *Joñes filius Marmeduci, Dñs
de Hordene ; *Johannes Dñs de Kingeston ; *Robertus Hastang, Dñs
de la Desirée ; Radulphus Dñs de Grendon ; Witts Dñs de Leyborn ;ⁿ
*Joñes de Greystok,^o Dñs de Morpath ; Mattheus filius Joñis, Dñs de
Stokenhame ; Niçus de Meynill, Dñs de Wherleton ; & *Joñes Paynell
Dñs de Otteleye.

The preceding observations have, I am sensible, caused me to com-
mit a great trespass upon the time of the Society ; but I shall be
highly gratified if what has been advanced be deemed worthy of its
attention.

I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

your very faithful servant,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

¹ Thomas Dñs de la Roche.

^m Walterus de Muncy.

ⁿ Leyburne

^o Graistok.