

THE CLOTHING AND ARMING OF THE YEOMEN OF THE GUARD FROM 1485 TO 1685.

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Included in the late Sir Reginald Hennell's *The History of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard*, published in 1904, is a considerable body of material, both pictorial and documentary, which relates to the clothing and equipment of this corps. From a perusal of these evidences Sir Reginald drew certain conclusions regarding these important and picturesque matters. These inferences he stated at large in his *History*, and at a later date they were summarised by him and published without modification in his account of the Yeomen, which was included in the 1910-1911 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Coming whence they did these statements have been very generally regarded as authoritative and final. In their second and briefer form Sir Reginald's deductions were, that 'the dress worn by the Yeomen of the Guard is in its most striking characteristics the same as it was in Tudor times. It has consisted from the first of a royal red tunic with purple facings and stripes and gold lace ornaments. Sometimes the sleeves have been fuller and the skirts longer. . . . Queen Elizabeth added the ruff. . . . From 1485, when the Guard was created, 'till 1603, the emblems were the Tudor crown with the Lancastrian rose, and the initials of the reigning sovereign. When the Stuarts succeeded the Tudors in 1603, they substituted the St. Edward's crown for the Tudor, and added under it and the initials the Motto "Dieu et mon Droit," which is still worn . . . now the coats of the Guard are as they were in 1485, with the additions of the Motto "Dieu et mon Droit" and the shamrock and thistle. . . . There has also been little or no change in the arms of the Guard. No doubt they retained during Henry VII's reign (1485-1509) the pikes with which they had helped to win the battle of

¹ Read (in part) before the Institute, 7th December, 1927.

Bosworth Field. . . . The present weapons of the Guard are a steel gilt halberd with a tassel of red and gold, and an ornamental sword.'

When the very wide and ready acceptance, with which Sir Reginald's conclusions have been met, is remembered, it is singularly unfortunate that hardly one of these pronouncements will bear examination. The solitary exception would seem to be his observation that 'sometimes the sleeves have been fuller and the skirts longer.' Furthermore, there are included in his *History*, besides numerous antiquarian, genealogical and historical errors, other assertions regarding the liveries and arms of the Guard for which no justification has been or can be produced. Sir Reginald was not, however, alone in his responsibility for popular misconceptions regarding the appearance of the Guard in the past. The paintings of Mr. Ernest Board and of the late Mr. Byam Shaw in the House of Commons have very materially added to the confusion, fostering the belief that during the sixteenth century the coats of the Guard were faced both back and front with plackards chequered white and green. This error can be traced to a piece of ill-considered 'reconstruction' by that otherwise accurate antiquary Frédéric Hottenroth.¹ Hottenroth apparently based his figures of Yeomen upon Basire's uncoloured engraving of the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold painting at Hampton Court. These he then coloured to suit his own fancy, changing the diapered scarlet and gold bodies of the coats upon his models to chequered plackards of the Tudor colours. But unprofitable discussion of these and even worse travesties of the historic liveries of the Guard, which have more recently made their appearance, must not detain us now.

King Henry VII.

The records of the reign of the first Tudor sovereign, the founder of the Guard, are almost barren of reliable and detailed data. We do, however, find scattered here and there a very few documentary evidences, which, if not as informative as could be wished, are at least highly suggestive. 'The xxiiij archers a pie curraunts enchierment devaunt le

¹ *Le Costume*, Paris, 1892, vol. ii, pl. 68, fig. 7.

Roy per payes pur gard corps du Roy,' the King's Watchment of Edward IV, in 1478 had 'dayly allowed in the countyng-house iij*d.*, and clothing for wynter and somer . . . besides theire watchyng clothing of the King's wardrobe.'¹ And the Guard of the first Tudor sovereign can scarcely have been less well provided. This belief is borne out by the Wardrobe warrants of the period. These would seem to assure us that the Guard possessed, at all events during the last years of Henry's reign, three liveries. The first of these in importance, though it cannot claim to have been the first in use, was a State coat of a very rich character. Unfortunately for Sir Reginald's belief, it was neither 'royal red . . . with purple facings,' nor did it bear 'the Tudor crown with the Lancastrian rose and the initials of the reigning sovereign.' There is indeed no shred of discoverable evidence that the Guard wore either a State or an ordinary livery of red cloth before about 1514. It must however be admitted there are numerous references in the Wardrobe warrants of this reign to the provision of crimson velvet jackets embroidered with gold, and doublets of black satin for 'our footemen.'² But there is no reason to believe that the latter were either Yeomen of the Guard or of the Crown.

A contemporary account of the marriage of Prince Arthur and Princess Katherine on November 14th, 1501, describes the Guard as habited on that occasion 'in clothing of large jaketts of damaske whight and grene, goodly embrowdred bothe on ther brestys before, and also on their bakkys behynde, w^t rownde garlands of vyne branches, besett before richly w^t spangles of silvr and gilte, and in the mydell a redd rose, beten w^t goldesmethe's work; . . . w^t bright hawberts in their hands.'³

The fashion of these jackets is not difficult to determine. They are undoubtedly the ordinary horsemen's coats of

¹ Soc. of Antiquaries: *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the . . . Royal Household—Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ*, 1790, p. 38.

² Rec. Office: *Exchequer Q.R. Accounts*, etc., Bundle 412, No. 20, quoted by Hennell, p. 289.

The far greater richness of the livery of the footmen, when compared with that of

the Guard, is noticeable in households other than that of the sovereign at this period. See the memoranda of provisions for the forces of Henry Earl of Northumberland in 1513 (*Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv).

³ MS. preserved in the College of Arms, reprinted *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii, p. 258.

the period, probably sleeveless, and closely fitting to the body with wide bases from the waist to the knees. A jacket of this fashion, but striped red and white, is to be seen on the figure of St. George in the Henry VII altarpiece in the Royal Collection.

The second livery, that worn ordinarily by the Guard, was undoubtedly a less elaborate version of the state coat. This jacket of the Tudor colours, white and green, the Guard, following mediaeval precedent, had certainly worn upon the victorious field of Bosworth. But whether it bore Henry's badge of the red Rose of Lancaster, as is extremely probable, it is impossible to say. The Wardrobe accounts so far examined give no hint of it. And up to the present only one mention of these coats has been discovered. The following entry occurs in a Wardrobe account of 1497¹: 'twenty and four jaketts of white and grene with . . . [guards?] . . . of white and grene.' These were issued to certain Yeomen of the Crown, who were almost certainly also of the Guard. During the troubled years that immediately followed Henry's accession, this was probably the sole livery worn by the Guard.

The third livery was intended for watching only. Frequent mention of it is to be found in the Wardrobe warrants of the day. It is invariably described as of russet cloth.²

Of the arming of the Guard during the reign of the first Tudor sovereign, we possess only the most meagre details, Henry's Guard of 'proved archers; strong, valiant, and bold men,' carried not only bows and arrows, but 'bright hawberts' also, as the document of 1501, just quoted, shows. Sir Reginald's fond belief that they were armed with pikes is entirely without foundation. Like Edward IV's Watchment, when they 'made watch nightly,' they were doubtless 'gird with their swords, or with other weapons ready and harness about them.'

¹ Rec. Office: *Exchequer O.R. Accounts*, Bundle 414, No. 8, mem. 28, quoted by Hennell, p. 288.

² In the Wardrobe Accounts for 6-8 Hen. VII (*Excb. O.R. Accounts*, Bundle 413, No. 6; Hennell, p. 287) are noted issues to

certain Yeomen of the Crown and others, 'P li^{ga} sua vig^{il} sue . . . de panⁿⁱ russett.' Again in the Accounts for 8-10 Henry VII (*Excb. O.R. Accts. Bundle 413, No. 10*) a similar issue is recorded, 'pro iberata sua vigiliarum suarum . . . del panno russet' (quoted by Hennell, p. 33).

King Henry VIII.

The principal difficulty to be faced in any attempt to codify the fuller material at our disposal for the reigns of Henry VIII and his immediate successors, and to solve the problems which it raises, is the existence of unimpeachable evidence that from about 1520 until the reign of King Charles II, and possibly even later, the Guard possessed always three, sometimes four and on special occasions even more liveries, which varied in richness, in material and in colour with the services for which they were required.

A second difficulty lies in the similarity, especially pronounced during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, of all the livery coats worn by the Royal servants, the Guard included.

Sir Reginald Hennell believed that shortly after his Coronation, Henry, pursuant to his policy of magnificence at all costs, replaced the red or "russet" uniform, which, in his belief, had been the livery of the Guard during the previous reign, with one of a far greater richness and presumably of a different colour. Sir Reginald's evidence for the existence of this new livery was a series of entries relating to certain new 'riche cootes' of the Guard, which he found in the accounts for the years 1510 to 1514, as given in Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*. Unfortunately for his theory the entries in the *original* documents will not bear the interpretation which he put upon them. During the first five years of his reign King Henry, by drafts of one hundred and two hundred men at a time, increased the strength of the Guard from two hundred, to the amazing total of six hundred Yeomen. And examination of the warrants which relate to their clothing shows that with one exception the coats mentioned therein were not provided for the Guard as a whole, but only for the newly enrolled members thereof. The first issue of these 'riche cootes,' one hundred in number, took place in 1510. And there is nothing in the entries relating to them to support the belief that they were either much richer than or differed in colour from the 'jaketts of damaske whight and grene, goodily embrowdred' worn by the Guard in 1501. Some details of the decoration of these 'riche cootes,' so called to distinguish them from the

ordinary livery of the Guard, their 'jacquettes of the seconde sorte,' are preserved in the account of Robert Amadas, the goldsmith, which was settled at intervals during 1510.¹ One warrant is for certain payments to him 'for spangles gilte & white'; a second is for 'Tres Whreythes hartes² & Rosses of ffyne golde.' The total cost of the goldsmith's work was £437 9s. 11½d., while the embroidery, for which one Richard Smith was responsible, cost £50. The cost of enriching each coat must, therefore, have been just under £5, approximately £50 in the currency of to-day. A further issue of two hundred of these jackets, at a total cost for their enrichment of about £1,100, took place in 1513.³

At the conclusion of the campaign in 1514 the Duke of Suffolk was sent as Ambassador to France, and eighteen Yeomen of the Guard accompanied him. For furnishing the latter considerable quantities of both white and green 'satten of Bryges,' were required, as well as a similar allowance of scarlet cloth, which was to be made up into coats, 'wyght fustyan' and black velvet.⁴ Seventy nine yards of satin and eighty three and a half yards of cloth were purchased, so it would seem highly probable that the satin was likewise made up into coats. The white fustian was, we may assume, intended for the doublets and hose worn with them,⁵ since the black velvet was intended both for guarding the scarlet coats and for making the doublets to accompany them. It is interesting to note that the scarlet coats were by far the more costly garments, and therefore probably the richer in appearance, an indication that at this period the old state coat was yielding pride of place before a new livery of scarlet. Nevertheless these green and white satin jackets, elaborately embroidered, continued for another fifteen years to function as a

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 21, 481, ff. 31b, 33b, 34b and 40.

² There is no reason to believe that these 'letters' were the royal cypher. Similar letters formed a posy about the necks of 'the upper bodyes of syxe and thurte cootys of russette clothe and grene velvete stryped' worn by Queen Katharine's Guard at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. (*View of the Wardrobe Stuff of Katharine of Arragon—Camden Misc.* vol. III (1855), p. 35, from Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 7, F. XIV,

Art 23, taken Feb. 14th, anno xxvj, Hen. VIII).

The "harte" is not recorded elsewhere to have been used by Henry as a badge.

³ Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21, 481, ff. 114b and 116.

⁴ R.O. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 230, ff. 289-292 and 299 and 300.

⁵ In 1520 112½ yards of white kersey were provided for hose for the Queen's Guard at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. (*Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III, pt. i, p. 295).

ceremonial livery of the Guard. Both the contemporary French accounts of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 mention them. One writer describes them as 'hocquetons partiz de satin blanc et vert, et la rose dorfauerie deuant et derriere bien riches.'¹ The other represents them as 'hocquetons dorfauerie de liuree de velours blanc et vert.'² Fortunately we possess one contemporary representation of this livery. Cardinal Wolsey, when on his diplomatic missions abroad, was almost invariably accompanied both by his own Guard and by a detachment of the King's Guard. When he visited Francois I at Ardres, at the opening of the pageant of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, fifty mounted Yeomen of the Guard carrying bows brought up the rear of his cavalcade. He was again escorted by a number of the Guard on his visit to Bruges a year or two later. It is therefore extremely probable that certain of the Guard accompanied him to Amiens in August, 1527, on the occasion of the ratification of the treaty with the French King. This probability lends a peculiar value to the delineation of two Yeomen which occurs in the illuminated borders of the ratification of the Treaty preserved in the Record Office.³ They are depicted in sleeveless coats of white and green, each with a golden Rose and Crown on the breast and a broad gold border about the neck. Beneath are full sleeved doublets of pale pink shading to gold. One figure wears scarlet hose and a bonnet, which matches his doublet. The other wears a black bonnet, and hose of the same material as his doublet.

A slight digression here may be forgiven. At ordinary times when not in use the 'riche cootes' of the Guard, as Sir Reginald observed, were stored in the Great Wardrobe. When the Guard moved about the country their jackets accompanied them. And among the royal expenses for 1510 Sir Reginald found certain payments for the carriage during the royal progress of that year of 'the two standards and jackets of the Guard in a wagon.'⁴ The Guard seemingly possessed a Standard from the reign of Queen Elizabeth⁵ until the beginning of the nineteenth century,

¹ *La description et ordre du camp*, 1520, p. 4.

⁴ Hennell, p. 63.

² *Lordonnance et ordre du tourney, etc.—L'ordre de l'entrevue*, p. 11.

⁵ Soc. of Antiquaries: *A Collection of Ordinances, etc.—Queen Elizabeth's Annual Expence, Civil and Military (circa 1578)*, p. 251.

³ E. 30 Excb. T.R. *Diplomatic Docs.* 1114; Museum, Case F. 57.

but these two earlier 'standards,' in the sense that they were 'Colours,' certainly had no actual existence. Examination of the various entries in the accounts reveals that they were actually nothing more than the two large chests or standards in which the coats were packed for storage or travel. Most of the entries refer to the 'ij standerd^e w^t the Jaquett^e,' but a warrant of April 30th, 1512, calls for delivery from the Wardrobe to the bearer of 'two standerdes being of sufficient largenes to carry in the cootes of our Garde.'¹

Coats of white and green but of a less magnificent character, the ordinary liveries of the Guard, also appear in the accounts of the period. At the same time that the hundred 'riche cootes' were given to the newly enrolled members of the Guard in 1513 an issue of 'riding jackets' was also made to them. A warrant, dated Greenwich, June 26th, 1510, calls for 'as moche grene cloth and white cloth as shall suffice for oon hundred Rydyng Jaquetts for our garde, and as moche Crymsen velvet as shal suffice for bordering and gardyng of the same C. Jaquetts.'² Again, previous to the commencement of the French campaign in 1513, the Guard had been increased to six hundred men. On this occasion the entire Guard was provided with 'vj^e Jaquett^e of the seconde sorte.' These were paid for in 1541.³ The goldsmith's work cost £1,183 11s. 5d., and embroidering them £100, making the cost of the decoration of each coat just over £2. There is no recoverable description of these coats, but by putting together one or two disconnected references to what there is good reason to believe were these garments, we may obtain a very fair idea of their appearance. From one of the warrants dated May, 1514, which relates to this issue of liveries, it appears that Amadas was paid for 'Spangels gilt & white for furnysshying of vj^e plagard^e of grene satayn of Brug^e' for them. From this we are entitled to conclude that these second coats were not only of green and white material, but were enriched upon the breasts only. Furthermore, included among these payments, was one for 'a pece of

¹ R.O. *Exch. Accts.* 417 (6), f. 26 (*Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. i, no. 1168).

² *Exchequer Q.R. Wardrobe Accounts*, Bundle 417, No. 3, fol. 7. This document is

not dated by Hennell, but is included by him (p. 288) among those *temp.* Henry VII.

³ Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 21, 481, ff. 143b, 155b.

crimisyn Satten' costing 53s. 1½d. With the 'ryding jaquetts' made for the Guard in 1510 as a guide, there can be little doubt that this crimson satin was used for guarding these new coats. Lastly among the accounts of 1514 we find mention of the transport about August, 1513, from Hampton Court to the charge of John Blewbery in London of 638 coats of white and green cloth, together with eighteen others of chamlet, satin and damask.¹ These cloth coats were obviously valuable since they were wrapped in canvas for transport. But they were certainly not the 'riche cootes' of the Guard; nor were they their war coats, for the Guard had already been for some months on active service with the King of France. The only conclusion we can draw is that they were the 'cootes of the seconde sorte.'

Similar coats made of white cloth, probably guarded with green, were worn during this period as in the previous reign, by the Guard when on active service. There are references from 1511 onwards in the Wardrobe warrants for jackets for the Guard of white and green cloth 'with half sleeves and basys.'²

Unfortunately we possess no particulars of the fashion of the coats 'of the seconde sorte.' There can however be little doubt that in their cut and outline they differed in no way from those so admirably depicted in the famous Tournament Roll of February, 1511.³ These are the usual base-coats with half sleeves of the period, and are of exactly the same fashion as those which we know were worn by the Guard between 1520 and 1530.

Sir Reginald, as already noted, was convinced that the enrichments upon the liveries, both the 'riche cootes' and those of 'the seconde sorte,' included at this period not only both the Rose and the Crown Imperial, but the Royal Cypher also. There is no shred of evidence discoverable in support of such an assumption. All the existing testimony is definitely in favour of an entirely different conclusion. In 1501, as we have just seen, the green and white damask

¹ R.O. *T.R. Misc. Books III*, fol. 2; *lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. ii, 2738. *loc. cit.* 417 (6) fol. 47. (*lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. i, no. 1073).

² Oct. 31st, 1511, R.O. *Exch. Accts.* 417 (6), fol. 80 (*lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. 1, pt. i, No. 921) and Feb. 27, 1512,

³ MS. preserved in the College of Heralds reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i, see pls. xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

coats of the Guard bore 'rounde garlands of vyne branches,' with silver and gilt spangles, 'and in the myddell a redd rose, beten w^t goldesmethe's work.' Again in 1510 the embroidery for the 'riche cootes' included '† res Whreythes hartes & Rosses of flyne golde,' but no crowns. Furthermore there is good evidence for believing that it was not



FIG. 1. FROM THE BAS-RELIEF AT THE HÔTEL BOURGTHEROULDE, ROUEN.

until 1550 that the Yeomen Warders of the Tower were permitted for the first time to 'wear his [the King's] Crown' upon their plackards 'as the Yeomen of the Guard did.' Nor was it until then that they were 'sworn "Extraordinary of the Guards" to wear the same livery as they do.'¹ From this we must conclude that until about 1550 the Warders had worn a livery ensigned with the Rose

¹ See *post*, p 112.

alone. But the original twelve Warders of the Tower, who had been placed in the Royal stronghold by Henry VIII in 1509, were actually Yeomen of the Guard, and were, when taking up their new duties, presumably wearing what was then the livery of the Guard. The coats of the Yeomen depicted on the bas-reliefs on the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde at Rouen¹ (fig. 1) are charged with the Rose alone. We have already noticed that the green and white satin coats worn at the Field of the Cloth of Gold bore 'la rose dorfauerie deuant et derriere bien riche.' And the coats, too, worn by Queen Katharine's Guard upon this same occasion bore 'a large roose upon a sheffe of arrowis,' but no Crown.² Lastly there existed at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, until after 1684 the brass of Thomas Lynde, Yeoman of the Guard and of the Crown to Henry VIII, who died in 1527. He was represented 'in the habit of a Yeoman of the Guard with his Pole-Axe, a Rose on his breast, and a Crown on his left breast or shoulder.'³ The only possible inference to be drawn from these facts is that until 1527 and possibly later the 'riche cootes' of the Guard bore on back and breast the Rose without the Crown. Furthermore we are entitled to the conviction that the Rose so worn was, at least until the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, the red Rose of the House of Lancaster and not the red and white (gold and silver) Rose of the House of Tudor.⁴

The evidence, however, which is afforded by the description of the red coat worn by the Guard at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, by the illumination in the ratification of the Treaty of 1527, and by what we know of the liveries worn by the Guard towards the end of this reign, warrant our believing that the ordinary livery coat bore at least from 1520 onwards both the Rose and the Crown Imperial upon back and breast.

¹ The carvings are not quite contemporary with the events they depict. They must, however, have been produced before 1531, and from the style of the costumes shown they would appear to be not later than about 1525.

² *View of the Wardrobe Stuff of Katharine of Arragon*, p. 35.

³ MS. *Visitation of Huntingdonshire*, July 24, 1684, K.7, fol. 18, in the Coll. of Arms, quoted by G. C. Gorham in his *Hist. and*

Antiq. of Eynesbury and St. Neot's (edit. 1869) vol. i, pp. 160, 161. According to Gorham 'the whole has been long since effaced.' Lynde appears as 'Thomas Leyne' in the list of the Guard who attended at Henry VII's funeral (Hennell, p. 56).

⁴ There is ample evidence that the red Rose was Henry VII's badge, e.g. the Votive Painting of St. George, Henry VII and his Family in the Royal Collection.

The earliest reference to red or scarlet liveries for the Guard is seemingly contained in the documents relating to the preparations for the Duke of Suffolk's embassy in 1514 already referred to.¹ Sir Reginald Hennell was however convinced of the existence of such a livery from the very earliest years of the reign of Henry VII.² He even found evidence for it in Halle's description of the Epiphany Jousts in 1511. Professing to quote the chronicler, he says, 'The Guard were apparelled in russett damask and yellow, all the nether parts of every man's hosen skarlit, and yellow cappes.'³ On referring to Halle's original text, no mention of the Guard is to be found. Every one, however, who appeared in the tilt-yard in any capacity on this occasion was dressed in russet and yellow; cloth of gold and russet tinsel for lords, cloth of gold and russet velvet for knights, russet satin and yellow for gentlemen, and russet damask and yellow for 'yeomen'; and all wore scarlet hose and yellow caps.⁴ Again at the Coronation of Henry and Katharine in 1509 both Gentlemen Ushers of the Chamber and seemingly the Yeomen Ushers of the Guard were issued with five yards of scarlet cloth at 6/8 the yard, while the Yeomen themselves received 4½ yards of red cloth at 6s. the yard, and the Grooms and the Pages of the Chamber received 4½ yards each of red cloth at 5s. and 4s. respectively.⁵ But there is no evidence that this issue of cloth was anything more than the gift of 'lyueres' customary on these occasions, and in which every one from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the pages participated according to their degree. In fact we know it was so on this occasion.

Of the coats made in 1514 we possess no details. We merely know that they were of scarlet cloth guarded with black velvet, and were worn over doublets of black velvet. In preparation, however, for the Field of the Cloth of Gold certain memoranda were drawn up, from which we

¹ According to Thomas Smith (*Some Account of the Royal Body-Guard*, 1852, p. 12) it was not until 1527 that an order was issued and signed by the King which gave a livery of red cloth (as differentiated from russet and from the scarlet employed at the Cloth of Gold) for the first time to the Yeomen of the Guard; the coats were to be embroidered, the embroidery being confined

to the Rose and some about their necks. This was repeated with errors by Thomas Preston: *Yeomen of the Guard*, 1885, p. 46.

² p. 34.

³ p. 64.

⁴ edit. 1809, p. 517.

⁵ *Lord Chamberlain's Records*: vol. 424, f. 212; quoted by Hennell, p. 291.

gather that it was intended to furnish the Guard for that occasion with coats of two kinds, one of scarlet and one of red¹. The latter coats were 'to be of Red w^t the Rose on the brest and the crowne Imperiall aft such fo^rme and man^r as the Ridyng cot^{te} be nowe.' These coats are undoubtedly those described by a French eye-witness of the pageant as 'hocquitos de drap rouge & la rose dorfauerie deuant et derriere bie riches.'² The other coats—and it is very doubtful if they were ever actually made—were to be 'of goldsmythis work w^t the kinges cognisaunce [presumably the Rose] wherof the bas to be of scarlet the neyther parte to haue a garde of cloth of goolde.' These latter are possibly the 'pourpointz de velours cramoisi & chamarres de fine escarlade,' which according to the same French witness were worn by a hundred of the King's archers, who accompanied Wolsey on his visit to Francois I on the first day of the pageant.³ It is noted in the Record Office memoranda that the 'Doblett^{te} hosis and Cappis [were to be] of one sute.'

From about 1530 onwards there is no mention discoverable of green and white jackets of an elaborate character, and it may be assumed that during the second half of Henry's reign the 'riche cootes' of the Guard as well as those 'of the seconde sorte' were of scarlet or red cloth more or less elaborately embroidered. It is extremely fortunate for us that the famous painting of *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* at Hampton Court⁴ is by no means contemporary with the event it depicts since it provides us with a representation of the Yeomen's 'riche cootes' and equipment during the latter part of Henry's reign. The date of the composition is indicated as about 1538–1540 by the costumes of the figures, and by the substitution of the ageing figure of the King, bearded, gross and unwieldy, for that of the gallant and slightly bearded young man of the Rouen carving. The scarlet coats are shorter in the bases than in the earlier part of the reign, while the sleeves finish just short of the elbow instead of covering it. The

¹ Memorandum in the R.O.—*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, § 19, fol. 244b (*Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III pt. i, No. 704, p. 239).

² *Lordonnance et ordre du tournoy*, etc. 1520.

³ *Lordonnance et ordre*. There is obviously considerable confusion in the French descriptions of the scene.

⁴ Drawn by E. Edwards, engraved by J. Basire. Published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1774.

doublets appear at the widely open neck and on the arms. The plackards of the coats are covered with a network of gold cords and spangles bordered by vertical gold embroidered guards with the Rose and Crown Imperial behind and before. Each sleeve is charged with a single guard of black velvet and there are two more guards upon the bases. The hose and nether-stocks are not uniform in colour. The latter are white, yellow or black, while the



FIG. 2. FROM THE 'EMBARKATION AT DOVER,' HAMPTON COURT.

puffed and slashed hose of two colours show various combinations of red, black, yellow and white. The doublet sleeves are equally diversified, with the inclusion of green among the other colours. All the shoes are black, and each Yeoman is armed with a halberd and a sword.

The second of the Hampton Court paintings, *The Embarkation at Dover*¹ (fig. 2), furnishes us with a representation of the ordinary livery of the Guard at the same period.

¹ Drawn by S. H. Grimm, engraved by J. Basire. Published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1781.

The fashion of the body of the coat is the same as that of the 'riche coote,' but the sleeves are very much smaller and are without the horizontal guards of black velvet. The plackards are without ornament, except for the Rose and Crown, and are bordered with wide guards of black velvet in place of gold lace. The bases of the coat have two guards of black velvet towards the lower edge. The remainder of the costume seems, as in the case of the state livery, to have varied in colour and cut at the fancy of the Yeoman wearing it.

Of the 'watch liveries' we know nothing material. As in the previous reign they continued to be of russet cloth. By a warrant of the 8th November, 1509, the Yeomen Ushers, Yeomen, Grooms and Pages of the Chamber were provided 'every of them five yards of London russett of as good assuete as it hath been of old tyme used and accustomed' for their watching liveries.¹ They may have consisted of either a severely plain jacket, or a gown similar to but plainer than the furred watching gown provided yearly for the use of the Captain of the Guard. This latter possibility seems the more likely since we know that, probably following long established custom, the Guard in the reign of William and Mary were supplied with 'gounes' for watching.²

The Guard by no means always appeared in their regulation liveries during this reign, and there are numerous references to gala costumes displaying the greatest variety of colour, material and enrichment. When the King went a-maying on May 1st, 1511, both the Guard and the Yeomen of the Crown wore white sarcenet.³ And on another occasion they were disguised as Robin Hood's men in jackets and hoods of Kendal Green.⁴

The caps worn by the Guard during the earlier part of Henry's reign were of the type made familiar by many portraits of the period 1500-1530. In October 1518 '25 Myllyan bonnets for the guard' were purchased for 112s. 6d. 'against the coming of the French ambassadors.'⁵

¹ *Exc. Q.R. Wardrobe Accounts*, 417 (3).

² Warrant quoted by Hennell, p. 294.

³ Haile, edit. 1809, p. 515.

⁴ *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, 9th May,

1515 (vol. II, pt. II, p. 1504). The incident is described by Piero Pasqualigo (*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, p. 90).

⁵ *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1479.

The methods of ornamenting these Milan bonnets was twofold. Sir Thomas Elyot describes them as 'set full of aiglettes';¹ and Halle mentions others 'of crimosyn sattin drawn through with clothe of golde,'¹ 'lozenged' with cloth of gold as they are described in a note of purchases made either for the King or for the Household in 1517.² One of these methods of enrichment is obviously employed upon the bonnets depicted on the Rouen sculpture. Bright red would seem to have been the usual colour for English military headgear in the sixteenth century. In 1532 the servants of the Officers of Arms present at Henry's meeting with Francois I at Calais all wore 'red Myllen bonnetes.'³ And red Scots caps formed the usual coverings of the Elizabethan archers. In the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* painting at Hampton Court the flat caps are red, a few having an edging of white ostrich feathers, and in the following reign the caps were still red. In the illumination to the Chapter House Treaty of 1527, however, one cap is yellow and one is black. And the undress caps worn by the Yeomen in the *Embarkation at Dover* are black.

Sir Reginald Hennell for some reasons, the nature of which he gives no hint in his *History*, was enamoured of the idea that the favourite weapon of the English foot-soldier during the Middle Ages was the pike. Despite Preston, whom he quotes, he says that 'in those days [the reign of Henry VIII] and for many succeeding ones, the fighting line consisted of pikemen and bowmen, and we may be sure both weapons were carried by our Yeomen.'⁴ The value of any statement made by Sir Reginald upon the arms of the Guard may, however, be gauged by the fact that he was apparently under the impression that the terms javelyn and pike were synonymous, and on occasions he even confused the pike and the halberd and the halberd and the partisan. But so convinced was he of the truth of this assertion that he quoted⁵ an 'excellent description of our pikemen and their method of fighting in 1547' from *The Expedition into Scotland*, being entirely unaware that

¹ *Observations on Female Head-dress in England: Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 37.

² *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1509.

³ *Camden Soc.: The Chronicle of Calais*, p. 116.

⁴ Hennell, p. 34; also p. 92.

⁵ Hennell, p. 93.

the passage given by him describes not the English but the Scottish forces at the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh. As a matter of historical fact the pike did not become part of the Guard's war equipment until the reign of King Charles I.

In 1515, on the occasion of the Feast of St. George at Richmond, the two Venetian Ambassadors saw the Guard



FIG. 3. FROM 'THE MEETING OF HENRY VIII AND THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN,'
HAMPTON COURT.

paraded. Nicolo Sagudino, secretary to Sebastiano Giustiniano, described them as 'three hundred English, all very handsome men, and in excellent array, with their halberts.'¹ Piero Pasqualigo's pen picture is slightly more ample—'la guarda del re che e de trensente alabardieri tuti uestiti con petti darzeto & la sua pica in man: tutti

¹ *Four Years, etc.* p. 78. Letter of June 5th, 1515, printed in Sanuto's *Diaries*, vol. xx, fol. 243.

grādi per dio amo zīganti che feua vn molto bel ueder.¹ We can however enlarge with confidence upon these somewhat meagre descriptions. The memoranda of provisions and equipment for the four hundred horse and foot, who followed Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, upon the campaign of 1513 still exist.² These, amplified by occasional entries in the State Papers and elsewhere, furnish us with a reliable picture of the Guard when in the field. In 1513 'My Lord [of Northumberland]'s Guard,' one hundred strong, was accoutred in 'almen reuetts w^t tass[es] and all oy^r things belongynge to yeme; videl't . . . salletts . . . gorgetts . . . p^e of splints,'³ 'cotys of white cloth gartet with grene embroudert,' which were ensigned with red crosses, roses and silver crescents, and 'yellow bonnetts, singyll-nekkett,' with white feathers. The Royal Guard was however, when actually in the field, almost certainly armed cap-a-pie as were, there is very sound reason for believing, the Scots Guard of Louis XI and Charles VIII and the Alabarderos of Ferdinand the Catholic. It is therefore possible, even probable, that the two halberdiers, entirely armed except for their heads, depicted as standing at the King's crupper in the painting at Hampton Court representing the meeting between Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian (fig. 3) on August 11th, 1513, are intended for Yeomen of the Guard. For the campaign of 1513 the Royal Guard was without doubt furnished, like Northumberland's followers, with coats of white guarded with green cloth.

Northumberland's guard was armed with halberds, swords and daggers. The Royal Bodyguard, however, consisted in part of halberdiers and in part of bowmen. The Percy archers were armoured like the Earl's guard in Almain rivets, and carried for arms besides swords and daggers, bows and 'arrow-casses of rede and blake lether [the Percy colours] w^t girdells of lether to yeme, for sheuys of arrowes.' The girdles and arrow cases of Queen

¹ *Copia de vno Capitulo de vna littera del Mag^{co} miss Piero Pasqualigo*, dated London April 30th, 1515, in the British Museum, Translated in *Four Years, etc.*, p. 85.

² *Equipage of the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Northumberland: Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv.

³ Contrary to general acceptance 'a pair of splints for an Almain rivet' does not mean the skirt of lames at the lower edge of a breastplate; the phrase invariably refers to defences protecting only the outside of the arms from shoulders to wrists.

Katharine's Guard at the Field of the Cloth of Gold were of crimson velvet,¹ and so doubtless were those of the Yeomen of the Guard.

At the Field of the Cloth of Gold the Yeomen's arms were bows and arrows and gilt halberds, the last for dismounted work. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries three varieties of halberd were in use in this country—*halberdes of fflaunders making*, *halberdes of London making*, and *halberdes of the forest of Deuon or of the forest*. The first were those of finest quality and were provided for the Guards of both the King and Queen.² 'Two and thurtye Flaundres halbartis,' used at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, occur in Queen Katharine's Inventory. Javelins, mention of the purchase of which occurs with regularity in the State Papers until the middle of the seventeenth century, were provided for the use of those of the mounted Guard, who were not armed with bows. On the second day of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry rode out from Guisnes accompanied by, among others, 'LX of his gard on horsbacke, with javelyns.'³ The sculptures at the Hôtel Bourgtheroulde show figures of Yeomen bearing javelins in the background, and it is this representation of the weapons as well as the engraved decorations on the arms themselves, which enables us to identify certain so-called 'boar-spears' in the Tower Armoury as part of the equipment of Henry's Guard.

Thus much for the regulation peace and war-time arming of the Guard during this reign. But throughout the sixteenth century all servants went armed with sword and buckler. And there is no reason to doubt that the Royal servants followed the prevailing practice. In 1520 among certain purchases made for the use of the Queen's Guard at the Field of the Cloth of Gold were bucklers costing 11 shillings each. These were bought at the sign of The Coppe in Fleet Street. Two others, bought in Shore-ditch, cost 9s. 3d. each.⁴ In the picture at Hampton

¹ *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III, pt. i, p. 295.

² In August, 1518, '12 halberdes for the guard' were purchased at cost of 48/- (*Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. II, p. 1479), and in April, 1520, 'gilt halberds and

javelins for the guard' cost £91 6s. 8d. (*Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III, p. 1540).

³ *Camden Soc. : Rutland Papers*, p. 43.

⁴ *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III, pt. i, No. 852, p. 295. The swords with their scabbards for the Guard cost 2s. 6d. the halberds 4s. each.

Court representing the *Embarkation at Dover*, one of the royal soldiers is depicted carrying a buckler of a peculiar fashion, of which some dozen examples exist to-day. Bucklers of this type were, I believe, made specially for the Guard, and this conviction is confirmed to some slight extent by historical evidences. In the Musée de l'Armée is a buckler of this type (No. I. 6) of gilded steel studded with copper nails originally gilt, and engraved with King Henry's arms and the rose, portcullis and pomegranate.¹ This bears a significantly close resemblance to the silver-gilt buckler with the arms of England, roses, castles and pomegranates, which is listed among the Royal jewels in 1519.² Both these bucklers, if they are not one and the same, were certainly used by the King. And Magnus, in a letter from Scotland to Wolsey dated May 31st, 1525, wrote that the young Scots King not only admired the London bucklers worn by Magnus' servants, but also wished to possess one, and he had heard that 'the King's highness, his said uncle [Henry], at some times weareth and useth a buckler.'³ The Venetian Ambassador has recorded that the King was not only an expert archer, but that he spent much of his time in practice at the butts with his gentlemen and his Yeomen of the Guard. And no doubt sword and buckler play as well as wrestling were indulged in by the King and his Yeomen on these occasions. Certainly Henry identified himself very closely with the life and interests of his Guard. He even went as far as to wear their livery at times. Tradition, based seemingly upon a solid foundation of fact, has been crystallized by seventeenth-century writers into a number of tales of the escapades of 'Henry of the Guard,' and though the two best known stories, those in which the Cobbler and the Abbot of Reading were the victims of Henry's humour, must be regarded as apocryphal, the account of how the Tudor Haroun Al Raschid stood halberd in hand outside the King's Head in Cheapside to witness the Citizens' Midsummer March, and the Setting of the Watch is probably substantially true.

¹ Formerly in the Arsenal at Chantilly.

² *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. III, pt. i, No. 463 (3).

³ *Lett. and Pap. Henry VIII*, vol. IV pt. i, No. 1372, p. 606.

King Edward VI.

We possess only one representation of the Yeomen of the Guard in the reign of Edward VI. This is embodied in the well-known engraving of *The Procession of Edward VI from the Tower of Westminster*¹ (fig. 4). As far as can be seen the coats of the Guard are of the same fashion and enrichment as those of the latter part of the previous reign and are sufficiently long in the bases to conceal the hose. There is no uniformity in the remainder of the dress. The doublet sleeves and nether-stocks are of various colours. The bonnets are very large and were at least on one occasion, according to a clothing warrant of the period, of red cloth.²

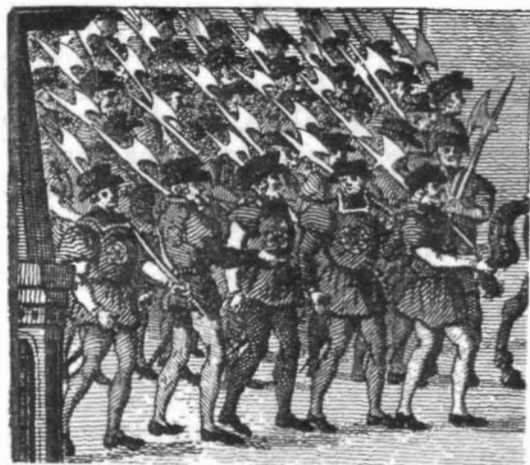


FIG. 4. FROM 'THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI.'

Sir Reginald Hennell made one very interesting discovery with regard to the livery of the Warders of the Tower of London at this period.³ As already noticed, twelve Yeomen of the Guard had been left behind by

¹ Formerly at Cowdray House. Drawn by S. H. Grimm, engraved by J. Basire, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1787.

² Thomas Smith: *Some Account of the Royal Body-Guard*, p. 12.

³ p. 94.

Henry VIII in 1509 as 'Yeomen of the Tower.' During the Protector Somerset's first imprisonment, the Duke 'noticing the daily and diligent attention of the Warders of the Tower, did out of an honourable mind to encourage them, promise them that when it please God and the King to deliver him out of prison, he would procure that favour from the King, that they should wear his Crown as the Yeomen of the Guard did. The Duke not long after being set at liberty, performed his promise and caused the Warders of the Tower to be sworn "Extraordinary of the Guards" to wear the same livery as they do, which had the beginning in this manner, and has ever since continued.'¹ This interesting event probably occurred in 1550. Evidently the Warders had until that year continued to wear their old coats embroidered only with the Rose.

Of the arming of the Guard during this reign very little information is recoverable. King Edward, however, we do know increased the Guard to 200 men, in place of the 150 fixed by the Statutes of Eltham. Of these, 100 were to be archers and 100 halberdiers. In 1550 the Guard numbered 300, and in preparation for a progress in this year, they were supplied with '300 livery bowes, 300 arrowes with girdells and cases to the same, and also 300 Halberds for the furniture of 300 of the King's Majestic's Yeomen Extraordinary to attend on His Highness's person during his pleasure.'²

Queen Mary.

Queen Mary's reign is one of great sartorial importance. It is a period of transition, of transition from the robust, square, slashed German modes, of which marked traces still survived from the reign of Henry VIII, to the graceful if rigid outlines of the 'Spanish' fashions which were paramount during the last four decades of the century. It is in some ways sartorially a peculiarly unattractive period, characterised by long-waisted round-bellied doublets and hideous pumpkin-shaped round-hose. These fashions must have made their appearance in the liveries of Her

¹ Extract from the Records of the Tower of London, made by Lieut.-Col. G. R. Milman. Smith (p. 39) quotes a letter from Sir William Waade, dated August 24th, 1612, saying "that before the first commit-

ment of the Duke of Somerset in the time of King Edward VI the Warders did never wear the King's coate, etc."

² Warrant issued by Order of the Council, quoted by Hennell, p. 95.

Majesty's Guard though we have unfortunately no pictorial record of them. What is, however, of greater importance, this reign witnessed, we must believe, the introduction of some sort of uniformity into both the state and ordinary clothing of the Guard apart from their livery coats. In the preceding reign we have seen the Guard still clad in the Merry Andrew dis-uniformity which, except on rare occasions, had characterised their clothing in the days of 'Bluff Henry.' When in 1554 the other Guard, the Gentlemen Pensioners, appeared at Boulogne they were all clad in the Royal Colours of red and yellow. And from now onwards until the end of the reign of Elizabeth red and yellow were the predominant colours in the state livery of the Yeomen of the Guard, though they still retained, except in one pictured representation, their dark sleeved doublets as of old.

A vivid contemporary description of the Guard during this reign is given in Etienne Perlin's *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*, published in 1558. Describing the passage of the Queen from the Tower through the City of London to Westminster on September 27th—he gives the date incorrectly as the 30th—1553, he says,¹—

'derniere elle suyvoient les archers tant de premiere garde que de la seconde : ceulx de la premiere garde estoient habilles d'escarlatte rouge bades de velours noir, & a leur escusson avoyent une rose dor, qui est appellée en Angloys *Ros peni* & dessus icelle rose y avoit une couronne d'or a haulte fueille au forme de couronne d'Empereur : la seconde garde estoit habillée descarlatte bandes de velours noir, & à leur escusson avoient un las d'amour entrelassé (*sic*), & un E. au millieu, & en l'autre costé une R. tellement que cestoit pour la distinction des gardes . . . Les quelz serviteurs avoiet hallebardes.'

His description of the 'first Guard,' who are obviously the Yeomen, calls for no comment. The identity of the 'second Guard,' who were still wearing the livery coats of Edward VI, however presents something of a problem.

¹ Etienne Perlin : *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*, pub. 1558, edit. 1775, pp. 19, 20.

At first it would seem possible that they were Yeomen Extraordinary of the Guard. And if so Perlin's words would seem to support Sir Reginald Hennell's contention that the two mounted figures, depicted in John Derrick's engraving of 1581 (fig. 5), representing Sir Henry Sidney's entry into Dublin in 1575,¹ are Yeomen of the Guard.² Sixty Yeomen were certainly attached to Sir Henry's train on this occasion to add lustre to his office of Viceroy. But it has already been noted that even the Tower Warders had



FIG. 5. FROM DERRICK'S 'THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE.'

since 1550 worn the same livery, with the Rose and Crown upon back and breast, as did the Yeomen in Ordinary. A second possibility is opened up by another contemporary description of the scene in 1553. The anonymous author of the *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra, etc.*,³ states that both Guards, the Yeomen and the Pensioners, *the Gentlemen of the axe, con fodra*, to the number of three hundred, guarded the Queen. It would seem therefore

¹ Reproduced as plate x in John Small's edition of John Derrick's *The Image of Irelande*, 1883.

² This statement was founded upon an assertion to the same effect made by Sir Walter Scott in his notes to the 1809 edition of *The Image of Irelande*, printed in vol. i of the *Somers Tracts*, p. 601. It is

repeated in the Dillon edition of Fairholt's *Costume in England* (1885, vol. i, p. 276, note 2).

³ *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra in Materia del Duca di Notomberlan do'o la morte di Oduardo VI*, Venice, 1558, quoted by the editor of the 1775 edition of Perlin.

probable that this second guard was that of the Gentlemen Pensioners, were it not for the fact that neither at this period nor for more than a century afterwards did the Pensioners ever wear a livery.¹ Whenever they are depicted, and that is very rarely, they are invariably dressed in the most advanced civilian mode. Unfortunately



FIG. 6. FROM BRIT. MUS. ADD MS. 28,330.

Major Brankenbury in his *The Nearest Guard* ignores all questions relating to the matter of costume.

The probability is that this 'second guard' was in

¹ The uniform of the Gentlemen Pensioners is first illustrated and described in Sandford's *Coronation of James II*, p. 77. They were 'all Habited alike, in Scarlet Cloth Coats richly Laced with Gold, wearing Black Hats with White Feathers round them,

and carrying their Gilt Axes in their hands.' Their uniform is again illustrated in *A Representation of the Cloathing of His Majesty's Houshold*, of 1742, MS. in the British Museum.

reality a group of Grooms of the Chamber, who we know wore, throughout the seventeenth century, a scarlet livery which differed from that of the Yeomen mainly in the substitution of the Royal Cypher for the Rose and Crown.

The appearance of the State livery of the Guard during the last years of Queen Mary's reign has been preserved for us in Additional MS. 28,330 in the British Museum¹ (fig. 6). The coat is of scarlet laced with gold cords and spangled and charged on the breast and back with the golden Rose with a silver centre of the Tudors and the Crown Imperial. The bases and sleeves are guarded with black velvet. The sleeves of the doublet are grey violet, while the panes of the round-hose, and the nether-stocks are yellow, the former lined and slashed with red. The shoes and cap are black.

On several occasions during this reign the Guard found occasion to appear in armour. During Wyatt's rebellion in 1554 a part of the Guard under their Captain, Sir Henry Jerningham, co-operated with the small force under the Duke of Norfolk. On January 28th, they marched out of Gravesend to participate in the assault upon Rochester, which was held by the insurgents. In the debacle, which followed the mutiny of Lord Abergavenny's *white coats*, this detachment narrowly escaped annihilation. For this service those, who went with their Captain, were furnished out of the Tower stores with one hundred jacks and one hundred morions 'all which were lost in ye sd Journey,'² a fact which demonstrates that on this occasion they were armed as archers, and not halberdiers.

In the last year of Queen Mary's reign, there seems to have been some intention to send the Guard overseas to participate in the French campaign. On April 18th, 1558, Sir Richard Southwell, Master of the Armoury, received instructions from the Privy Council to furnish Sir Henry Bedingfield, Captain of the Guard, with 'thies parcelles of armour following for furnisshing of the King and Quenes Majesties' Garde.'³

'ciiij^{xxij} brigandynes, ciiij^{xxij} payre of sleeves of male,
ciiij^{xxij} murryons or salates, CLXV corselettes full

¹ The last date mentioned in this MS. is 1568 on fol. 25b. It is the work of a traveller signing himself L. D. or L. D. H.

² Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 7457, fol. 6b.

This is a late copy of the Survey of the Storehouses taken in 1561

³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vi, p. 306.

furnished [that is with morions, collars, tassels, pouldrons, vambraces and gauntlets], CLXV halberdes, LXXij javelinges.'

These were to be re-delivered to the Master of the Armoury when the service for which they were required was completed.

This very instructive order is of interest as it demonstrates that as in the past approximately half the Guard, when on active service, was still armed with bows and arrows, and the other half with halberds. Following the general trend of the times, however, the cap-a-pie armours with which we may believe they were all armed under Henry VIII, had been abandoned in favour of brigandines, mail sleeves and morions or sallets for the archers, and complete corslets for the halberdiers. The javelins were as of old intended for the use of a mounted escort of the Guard.

An entry in Harl. MS. 7457 refers to this occasion.¹ It is therein noted that out of forty corselets and forty shirts of mail served out to the Guard three pair of vambraces, five morions, four collars and three shirts of mail were 'lost alsoe by the Guard att douor in the tyme of the Seige of Callice.'

Queen Elizabeth.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth is comparatively rich in evidence pictorial, sculptural and documentary for the livery of the Guard. Between about 1568 and 1601 we possess twelve complete or partial representations of the Yeomen of the Guard and a number of Wardrobe warrants. But it must be admitted that undoubtedly trustworthy as the evidences are, it is by no means an easy task to reduce the conclusions, which may be drawn from them, to any sort of coherent order, or to deduce from this mass of material the principles which governed the obvious variations in the livery. There is furthermore one other matter which tends to complicate the problem to no slight extent. Although our pictorial material is of greater bulk than heretofore, examination of the clothing warrants of

¹ fol. 7b.

this reign reveals the fact that not only were the Yeomen of Our Chamber and the Yeomen Hushers, the titles by which the Guard and their petty officers are invariably referred to in these documents, provided with watching liveries of tawney medley, but that the Grooms and Pages of Our Chamber were furnished with similar garments of



FIG. 7. FROM LUCAS DE HEERE'S 'THÉÂTRE DE TOUS LES PEUPLES.'

the same material and colour. Furthermore the ordinary liveries of the latter were, like those of the Guard, also of red cloth guarded with black velvet.¹ And there is ample evidence, pictorial and documentary, that these Grooms and Pages during this and the following reign had their livery jackets emblazoned either with the Rose and Crown or with the Rose alone. To distinguish therefore with certainty between Yeomen of the Guard and these other servants of the Crown, when they make their appearance

¹ Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 5750, ff. 104-117.

in contemporary engravings and paintings, is not always an easy task.

We may rest assured that the fashion of the *rich coats* of the Guard changed but seldom. Their very costly character renders it certain that they were not often replaced. On the other hand we know from warrants of the period that the ordinary liveries were renewed every year at Michaelmas.

An examination of all available material enables us to distinguish between these two habits when we meet them



FIG. 8. FROM 'DE BRUYN'S 'DIVERSARIUM GENTIUM ARMATURA EQUESTRIS.'

in contemporary representations of members of the Guard. It cannot be doubted that the Yeoman represented in Lucas de Heere's sketch book of about 1576¹ (fig. 7), who closely resembles the Yeoman in *Add. MS.* 28,330 in the British Museum, the mounted figure in de Bruyn's *Diversarum Gentium Armatura Equestris*² (fig. 8), the diminutive

¹ *Tbeatre de tous les Peuples*, preserved in the Archives at Ghent. The drawing of the Yeomen is from a sketch of a slightly earlier date.

² Abraham de Bruyn: *Diversarum Gentium Armatura Equestris*, 1575, No. 31.

Yeoman in the Duke of Portland's portrait of Queen Elizabeth,¹ and the effigy of Cornelius van Dun,² are all habited in State coats. In each instance the plackards of the coats are covered with an elaborate network of gold cords and spangles and bordered by vertical bands of gold lace or embroidery. And the short full sleeves are decorated with wide horizontal bands of black velvet edged with gold.



FIG. 9. FROM THE BRASS
OF WILLIAM PAYNE.



FIG. 10. FROM THE BRASS
OF ROBERT RAMPSTON.

Contemporary representations of the ordinary livery coat are to be found on the brasses of William Payne (1568)³ (fig. 9) of Robert Rampston (1585) (fig. 10)⁴ and of John Kent (1592)⁵ in Joris Hoefnagel's *Bermondsey Marriage Fête*,⁶ painted about 1568 or 1569, in Kretschmar and Rohrbach's *Die Trachten der Volker*⁷—this figure must be dated about

¹ Illustrated in the *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Late Elizabethan Art: Burlington Fine Arts Club*, 1926, No. 1, 18, pl. xvi.

² In St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

³ In the nave at East Wickham, Kent.

⁴ Formerly in the chancel of the ruined church at Chingford. There is a rubbing of

this brass in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

⁵ In the nave of Aston Church, Hertfordshire.

⁶ See *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Late Elizabethan Art*, 1926, No. 1, 14, pl. xxii. The date of this painting is incorrectly suggested therein as circa 1582.

⁷ Plate 73, fig. 4.

1590-1600—and in a sketch at Windsor of about 1600. With the exception of the figure reproduced in *Die Trachten*, the plackards are invariably plain except for the Rose and Crown embroidered in gold, though there is evidence that they were occasionally lightly powdered with gilt spangles. The vertical borders to the plackards are of black velvet edged with white in place of wide guards of gold lace, and the guards upon the very meagre sleeves run vertically instead of horizontally. These latter guards are wanting in the Windsor sketch.

A further distinction between the State coats and the ordinary and watching liveries would seem to be that while the first were scarlet cloth the other two were apparently red or russet in colour. That this colour distinction remained active until the middle of King Charles I's reign is probably indicated by Spalding's statement that, on the occasion of the King's visit to Edinburgh in 1633, 'the ordinary weid of thir his Majesteis foot guard' was embroidered '*broun veluot cottis . . . with boirdis of blak veluot.*'¹ I do not suggest that the words *red* and *russet* are synonymous. But I do believe that for their general duties the livery of the Guard was of a red colour other than scarlet—a red which varied at times between a brick red and a reddish yellow.

The principles governing the number and arrangement of the guards upon the skirts of the coats are undiscoverable. These details are never the same in any two representations.

Throughout the whole of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, following the example first set in or about 1520, both the ordinary liveries and those worn only upon state occasions, were always embroidered with 'the Rose and the Crown Imperial' only upon front and back, and are so depicted or described by contemporaries. The Rose is invariably represented as a double rose, silver within gold. These decorations alone appear upon the State coat worn by the figure illustrated in de Bruyn's work published as late as 1575, but dating a year or two earlier.

According, however, to Sir Reginald 'from 1485, when the Guard was created . . . the emblems [included] the initials of the reigning sovereign.'² There is not

¹ See post pp. 138, 139.

² See *ante* p. 91.

one atom of discoverable evidence to support this assertion, though the belief that it was correct seems to be an old one. R. Gough in a note to the 1775 edition of Etienne Perlin's *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse* even asserted that the initials H. R. could be seen on the coat of one of the Yeomen in the Cloth of Gold picture at Hampton Court, which was then at Windsor.¹ Examination of the picture itself, of Basire's engraving of it, and of several sketches of figures of Yeomen in it made late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century and now at Stonyhurst College,² and elsewhere, shew no vestiges whatever of the Royal Cypher.



FIG. II. FROM A MS. AT STONYHURST COLLEGE.

At some time, however, during the 'seventies' the Royal Cypher was added to the embroidered and spangled enrichments of the State coat. And thence onward to the present day the Sovereign's initials have been a prominent feature of the ceremonial livery. The earliest record of the addition of the Sovereign's initials to the other emblems is to be found on the bust of Cornelius van Dun, who died in 1577. Fortunately two eighteenth-century engravings,³

¹ p. 19, note r.

² Library at Stonyhurst College, MS. A. 18. 5, pl. lxxiv.

³ Engraved by T. Trotter, published by W. Richardson, 1794, and engraved by J. T. Smith for Smith's *Antiquities of London*, 1798.

and a water colour sketch—made 1809 and now at Stonyhurst College (fig. 11)¹—preserve for us the original appearance of this now sadly damaged memorial.

During the last ten years of the reign the full sleeves of the State coat became shorter and shorter. After about 1595, they were little more than shoulder puffs. At about the same time, the horizontal guards disappeared from the sleeves, since there was no longer room for them. The puffs were however continued half way down the upper arm by close fitting sleeves, which were guarded with one or, if the Rampston brass may be taken as a guide, sometimes with two guards of black velvet.



FIG. 12. FROM TURBERVILLE'S 'BOOKE OF FALCONRIE'.

Let us now turn to the question of the development of the livery as a whole.

The uniform of the Guard as we have already seen in the preceding reigns adhered fairly closely to the military

¹ Arundell Library at Stonyhurst College, A. 18. 5. pl. lxxxiv. This MS. was the work of John Carter (1784-1817) draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries. Even as early as 1809 this memorial had apparently suffered some injudicious restoration, since in the sketch the guards on the sleeves of the coat are painted blue instead of black. It

was not until the coronation of King William III that blue velvet was used for the guards of the coats. It is noted in the Viscount Dillon's edition of Fairholt's *Costume in England* (1885, vol. i, p. 276, note 1) that the effigy even then retained its colour.

fashions of the day. In that of Elizabeth the same principle continued to be followed. Yellow round-hose slashed and lined with red and long yellow nether-stocks and black shoes covered the lower limbs during the earlier part of the reign. Beneath the livery coat the body was clothed in a doublet, of which only the closely fitting grey-violet sleeves, seemingly of satin, were visible. At neck and wrists were small ruffles of white goffered linen. The flat cap was black with a small bunch of white ostrich feathers either on the right or left side towards the front. In de Heere's sketch the cap is worn over a black skull cap. This skull cap again appears as part of the liveries worn by the Royal servants in the woodcuts in George Turbervile's *Booke of Falconrie* and *Booke of Hunting* (fig. 12), published in 1575, and by those depicted in the famous painting of the *Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars* of 1600.

Round-hose and long nether-stocks seem to have continued to be worn with the State coats until the end of the reign. They are apparently worn by a little figure of a Yeoman in Marcus Gheeraerts' *Portrait of Queen Elizabeth*, in the possession of the Duke of Portland.

For ordinary wear with the livery coats, garments following the decrees of the military fashion of the day were used. Round-hose and long nether-stocks ceased to be regarded as a soldierly method of covering the legs after about 1575. From 1577 onwards the county levies furnished for the Irish wars were provided with complete uniforms and not merely with their arms and cassocks as had formerly been the practice. This provision, to quote the Lancashire Lieutenancy papers for this year, included 'hose of wached kersey, venison facion' with 'yellow or redd broad cloth for . . . two gardes down the hose, two fingers broad' white kersey nether-stocks, garters and shoes.¹ It is interesting therefore to note that the only three full length figures of Yeomen of this period, on the evidence of which we can rely, have their legs encased in *venetians*. The first of these is the lost brass of Robert Rampston. He wears rather close fitting but open Venetians with two guards down the outside, and stockings.²

¹ *Cbetbam Soc. : The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts*, vol. xlix, p. 89.

² This figure is very freely rendered in Wolfgang Quincke's *Kostumkunde* (Fig. 103 E, p. 180). The colouring is of course entirely imaginary.

The brass of John Kent (fig. 13) shows similar features. The third figure is that illustrated by Kretschmar and Rohrbach (fig. 14). Unfortunately the authors do not state whence they obtained this figure, but we are bound to take it into account since both this and the figure of a Gentleman Pensioner which accompanies it are evidently culled from the same source, a source which appears to be an unrecorded



FIG. 13. FROM THE BRASS OF
JOHN KENT.



FIG. 14. ILLUSTRATION BY
KRETSCHMAR AND ROHRBACH.

travelling artist's sketch book. The details of the costumes of both figures fix their date as about 1590 or a little later. The sleeves of the Yeoman's doublet are unique. They are yellow, unusually wide and profusely slashed. His *venetians* are yellow, buttoned on the outside at the knees with three buttons and guarded. His stockings are white and his shoes black. His ruff is of modest proportions.

In the last decade of the century, *venetians* were abandoned in favour of wide open hose. These garments

distinguish the figure of a Yeoman, sketched in a manuscript preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor (fig. 15). The details of the costume suggest the last years of the reign as about the period of its execution. The wide dark violet coloured hose guarded with narrow gold lace reach almost to the knees. From their open ends protrude the falling ends of the garters. The sleeves of his doublet are violet and his stockings white. From a technical point of view



FIG. 15. FROM A MS. IN THE LIBRARY AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

this drawing is of considerable interest, since it is undoubtedly the work of the same artist to whom we are indebted for two other pictures of Yeomen of the Guard. The latter, however, belong to the last years of the reign of King James I.

The scarlet and gold liveried figures in Gheeraerts' painting of the *Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars*, an event which took place on June 16th, 1600, would call for no serious attention had they not been so often described

as Yeomen of the Guard. But there is no evidence that they are Yeomen. Their livery jackets are provided with neither shoulders puffs nor skirts. They do not carry halberds. Figures dressed in exactly the same livery jackets appear in attendance upon the Queen in the plates to George Turbervile's two *Bookes* of 1575. And other figures in these woodcuts have their jackets ensigned with



FIG. 16. FROM JORIS HOEFNAGEL'S 'BERMONDSEY MARRIAGE FÊTE'
AT HATFIELD.

the Rose alone. It is quite evident that here we have Grooms of the Chamber or similar servants.

One delineation of a Yeoman calls however for special comment. It is to be seen in Joris Hoefnagel's *Bermondsey Marriage Fête* at Hatfield (fig. 16). The costume is unique. From head to toe, it is black, except for the red coat embroidered with a Rose and Crown in gold. There is abundant evidence that Hoefnagel was in England from 1567-8 to

1570¹ and to this period this picture must be attributed on the incontrovertible evidence afforded by the style of the other costumes depicted. The only possible reason that I can advance for this sombre costume is that it was a half-mourning for Queen Mary.

The head-dress of the Guard similarly followed military fashions. The red caps, which had generally formed part of the archers' dress during the middle of the century not only ceased to be worn by the county levies after about 1565 or 1570, but the civilian flat cap was thenceforward relegated to the professional classes, city folk and elderly men. From about 1570 onwards the Yeomen of the Guard wore hats. Hoefnagel's dark Yeoman of about 1568 wears a pointed copitain hat with a slightly upturned brim. De Bruyn's mounted Yeoman of 1575 wears a high, flat-crowned felt hat of Flemish fashion with a flat brim of moderate width, decorated with a wide Cyprus hat-band and a rosette and plumes in front. And the Yeomen in the funeral procession of Elizabeth all wear steep-crowned black hats with wide brims similar to those worn by the trumpeters in Ireland's engraving of the entry of Sir Henry Sidney into Dublin.² The only exception to this rule is Kretschmar and Rohrbach's Yeoman, already noticed, who wears the old-fashioned flat black cap decorated with a tuft of white feathers.

A very considerable number of warrants dealing with the delivery of arms to the Guard during this reign exist. By one dated June 19th, 1574, 'Sixe score and Eleaven livery bowes and Eleaven gilte Javelyns for the furniture of o[u]r Gurde' were to be delivered to Edward Wingate.³ Another of July 13th, 1579, is for 'Sixe score and Sixtene Lyverye Bowes . . . Seaven gilt Javellyn . . . tenne gilte Holberdes.'⁴ A third of June 19th, 1577, is for 'one hundred and fyve and thirtie Sheaff of Arrowes withe

¹ See *Le Livre* for July 1880. Joris Hoefnagel's MS. *Traite de la patience par des emblemes* in the Library at Rouen is signed and dated 'a Londres, 1569.' Further evidence, hitherto unnoticed, is afforded by a return of aliens of 1568, in which 'Georges Hoffnagle' of Antwerp is stated to be then lodging in St. Martin's Parish, Candlewick St. Ward, with Giles and Jacques Hoffnagle, merchants of

Antwerp. (*Huguenot Soc. : Returns of Aliens*, pt. iii, p. 395).

² In the College of Arms is a contemporary pen and ink drawing representing a procession of Queen Elizabeth to Parliament. In this some of the Yeomen are shown wearing high crowned hats (J. R. Planche: *A Cyclopaedia of Costume*, vol. ii, p. 180, note).

³ Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 5750, f. 121.

⁴ *loc. cit.* f. 122.

Cases and Gyrdells there unto belonging.’¹ Strangely enough in none of these documents is mention made of the supply of arquebuses to the Guard, and the only evidence that they ever carried them—and this it must be confessed is very doubtful—is furnished by de Bruyn’s engraving 1575.

A document belonging to the troubled days of 1601, when the Earl of Essex attempted by force of arms to seize the ailing Queen’s person, shows us what arms and armour were served out from the Tower ‘for the use of the Guard and Houshold.’²

		tie
Curett	Backes	CCL
compleat	Brestes	CCL
CCL, viz.—	Collers	CCL
	Spanish murrions	CCL

The Guard at this date numbered one hundred and fifty men, so that out of the 250 ‘Curett compleat’ each consisting of a back, breast, collar and Spanish morion.³ 100 must have been distributed among the household, probably to the Pensioners. Twenty targets of proof were ‘delivered to Mr. Edmonds for entrance at Essex house,’ and large supplies of ‘corne powder,’ ‘match’ and ‘muskett shotte,’ together with 300 muskets, 215 bandoliers, 120 musket rests and 361 ‘pikes long and shorte’ were also ‘sent to the Courte.’⁴ No doubt the Guard received their due proportion of these and were not left with their swords, daggers and halberds as their sole weapons wherewith to repel an attack upon the Palace.

King James I.

Before reviewing the evidence relating to the liveries of the Guard during the reign of the first of the Stuart

¹ *loc. cit.* f. 126. Other warrants for similar supplies are to be found in *Add. MS.* 5750, ff. 123, 124 and 125.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxxi, p. 376.

³ A *curett*, *cuirat* or *pair of cuiratts* is usually taken to mean a back and breast only. This passage and an entry in an Inventory of armour at Wollaton Hall taken about 1550—‘One harnesse called a payre

of curetts’—demonstrates clearly that a *curat* was a complete harness but less than either the *Almain rivet* or the *Flanders and Almain corselets*, all of which were provided with either vambraces or splints. (W. H. Stevenson: *Inventories of Furniture at Wollaton Hall: Associated Architect. Soc. Reports*, vol. xix, p. 86).

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxxi, p. 374.

sovereigns, it is necessary to correct two serious misapprehensions regarding some of its important details, for which Sir Reginald Hennell is again responsible. Sir Reginald could not see the picture of a scarlet, black and gold Royal livery without at once recognising it as a delineation of the livery of the Guard. He accordingly identified the trumpeters in the painting by A. Willarts, dated 1623, at Windsor (fig. 17), which conceivably represents the return of Prince Charles from Spain in that year, as



FIG. 17. FROM A PAINTING BY A. WILLARTS AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

trumpeters of the Guard.¹ Each figure wears a deeply skirted bright brick-red coat guarded with black velvet, two being ensigned on back and breast with J. R. and the Crown in gold. This identification had to be justified. And to this end Sir Reginald professed to quote a warrant

¹ Pl. op. p. 136.

of the year 1603 'For red cloth for summer liveries for the Garde and embroidering J. R. and for 150 livery bows and 150 sheaves of arrows for the King's Garde.'¹

Search for Sir Reginald's authority among the State Papers Domestic of James I reveals that no such document exists. Sir Reginald's 'warrant' actually consists of the summarised contents of six different warrants relating to the issue of summer liveries not to the Guard alone but to various of the King's servants. The significance of these particular warrants as they stand is liable to some misconstruction. But when they are read in conjunction with the similar groups of warrants for summer liveries issued in 1604, 1605, 1609 and 1610 their meaning becomes clear at once.² In April of each year the Yeomen of the Guard, Grooms and Pages of the Chamber, Footmen and Messengers were served out with 'summer liveries' of red cloth, guarded with black velvet. The liveries of the Grooms, Pages and certain others of the Household were embroidered with the cypher J. R. in Venice gold at the small annual total cost of about £18. The liveries of the Guard, Footmen and Messengers on the other hand, were enriched with Roses and Crowns at the very considerable cost of £130 for the actual embroidery and £700 for the gold and silver spangles used. The livery of the Royal Footmen can be seen in Georg Keller's (1576-1640) contemporary engraving of the entry of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Frederick into Heidelberg in 1613 included in the *Beschreibung der Reiss*.³ It consists of a short doublet, not a skirted coat, of scarlet cloth embroidered on back and breast with the Rose and Crown, and furnished in one instance with 'false sleeves.'⁴

Further evidence is not wanting of the similarity between the liveries of all the Royal servants at about this period. Jean Puget de la Serre includes the following very

¹ p. 129.

² *State Papers Domestic, James I*, 1604, vol. vi, § 28, Nos. 13-20; 1605, vol. xiv, § 15, Nos. 3-9; 1609, vol. xlv, § 93, Nos. 3 and 4; 1610, vol. liii, § 103-106.

³ *Beschreibung der Reiss . . . Volbringung des Heyraths . . . des . . . Herrn Friederichen . . . mit der . . . Princessin Elizabethen*, etc., 1613. The copy in the British Museum has been incorrectly coloured by a contemporary hand.

⁴ The embroidery on the Footmen's liveries seems to have been richer and more profuse than that on the Guards' coats. In 1608 the Footmen were allowed 18½ oz. of gilt and 1½ oz. of white spangles for each coat, in place of 3½ oz. of gilt and ½ oz. of white spangles allowed to the Guard. (Frederick Devon: *Issues of the Exchequer . . . during the reign of King James I.* (*Pell Records*), 1836, pp. 83 and 84).

pertinent passage in his description of the entry of Marie de Medici into London in 1638.¹

‘Les Messagers de la chambre . . . parez de leurs liurees d’escarlate, enrichies deuant & derriere, des armories du Roy en broderie d’or. Douze Trompetes vestus de mesmes, quoyque la façon de l’habit fut differante.’

The third trumpeter in the painting at Windsor may possibly have belonged to the Guard, though the fact that his plackard bears the Rose and Crown in gold embroidery is no proof of this.

The second matter is not less important. Sir Reginald states that ‘when the Stuarts succeeded the Tudors in 1603 they . . . added . . . the motto “Dieu et mon Droit,” which is still worn.’² There is no mention of this feature in any Wardrobe warrant or in any description of the Guard at this period; it is not depicted in any painting or engraving of the Yeomen during the reigns of the first three Stuart sovereigns. The ‘scrowle’ is first seen at the Coronation of James II, and is apparently first mentioned in the description of the Guard as they appeared on that occasion.

The Wardrobe warrants of this reign would seem to indicate that besides their ‘rich coats’ and watching clothing the Guard possessed two ordinary liveries, a ‘summer livery’ and a ‘winter livery.’ References to the former are frequent, since they were issued to the Guard in April each year. No mention of the ‘winter liveries’ is however to be found in any contemporary documents; but each September the Guard were issued with ‘watching liveries’ and these were probably they. A fairly adequate idea of the ‘summer livery’ may be gathered from warrants preserved among the *State Papers Domestic* and among the *Pell Records*. Each coat was made of two yards of red cloth, embroidered with Roses and Crowns Imperial, the Roses being made of crimson satin and white satin of Bruges. An allowance of 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ozs. of gilt and $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of white spangles was made for the enrichment of each coat.³ They

¹ Jean Puget de la Serre: *Historie de l’Entree de la Reyne Mere du Roy Trescrestien dans la Grande Bretagne*, 1639.

² See p. i ante.

³ Devon: *Issues of the Exchequer (Pell Records)*, pp. 24, 43, 68 and 84; warrants for issues for 1605-1608.

were guarded with black pile velvet and seemingly lined with silk.¹ Of the 'watching liveries' we know nothing beyond the fact that they cost £1 apiece.

The *Pell Records* of 1604 supply us with some very valuable material relating to the 'rich coats' at the commencement of this reign. Upon the accession of King James I, Sir Walter Raleigh, whose loyalty was suspected, was relieved of the command of the Guard and his place filled by Sir Thomas Erskine. In January, 1604, at the instigation of the new Captain, the Guard, which, numbered 150 men, as at the close of the previous reign, was increased to 200. Warrants were accordingly issued for the 'rich coats' of the 50 newly enrolled Yeomen. 'The rich coats for the guard, of a new erection, being 50 in number' were seemingly of 'crimson satin of Bruges,' stiffened with canvas, and guarded with black velvet. Each was to be charged 'with roses and crowns imperial, and with the letters J.R., and all the bodies of the said coats embroidered over with gold.' To each coat were allowed 33 ozs. of gilt and 1 oz. of white spangles.² At the same time further warrants were issued for their 'summer liveries,' for their wages, and for 50 sheaves of arrows, 50 bows, 50 gilt halberds and javelins for them.³

For pictorial representations of the livery of the Guard during the early part of this reign we have to rely upon some small and, in one instance, not entirely convincing engravings by Johan Theodor de Bry. The earliest of these was produced in 1606.⁴ Therein what is presumably the State livery is shown to have consisted of a full-skirted coat with one or two guards about its lower margin, and small puffs in place of sleeves. The body was embroidered with the Rose and Crown and J.R. upon a ground of S-shaped scrolls. The breeches were full and gathered below the knee. On one of the figures they are enriched with a series of narrow vertical guards; on the other they are slashed in the manner of the sleeves of Kretschmar and

¹ *State Papers Domestic, James I*, vol. vii, § 45, Nos. 2-7, dated April 19th, 1604.

² Devon: *Issues of Exchequer (Pell Records)*, pp. 11 and 12.

³ *State Papers Domestic, James I*, vol. vi, § 28, Nos. 13-20.

⁴ John Theodor and John Israel de Bry:

Warhafftige vnnnd engentliche Beschreibung der . . . Verräuberrey . . . wieder die Königliche Maiestat, Frankfurt, 1606. Footmen, or more probably Messengers of the Chamber, in the State liveries of King James and of Henry, Prince of Wales, are to be seen in this plate.

Rohrbach's figure. Both the figures wear the whisk and not the ruff. A second engraving¹ shows Yeomen wearing high crowned wide brimmed hats with what seem to be Cyprus bands.

A third delineation dates from 1613. The original



FIG. 18. FROM BRIT. MUS., EGERTON MS. 1264.

from which it was copied formed part of the decoration of the third triumphal arch depicted in the *Beschreibung der Reiss*.² The livery in this instance is that ordinarily worn. It consists of the usual jacket with the Rose and Crown, and a single guard about the margin of the skirts, loose breeches gathered above the knee, garters, stockings and shoes, and a whisk at the neck.

Fortunately we possess two entirely satisfactory representations of the State livery during the last years of the reign. The *Egerton MSS.* at the British Museum include two Albums, which formerly belonged to Germans who visited this country during the last years of King James'

¹ *Warbaffige . . . Beschreibung.*

² Plate op. p. 106.

reign. One group of coloured drawings, which they contain, are of London types and these are all the work of one hand. This hand is that of the artist—possibly Marcus Gheeraerts—responsible for the Windsor sketch already mentioned. Among the London types depicted are two figures of Yeomen of the Guard (figs. 18 and 19); and as the two drawings differ slightly their evidence is the more valuable, for the discrepancies must be attributed to intention and not to carelessness. The earlier album ¹ is that of Georg Holtzschuher of Nürnberg produced between 1621 and 1625. The coat on the figure in this album is scarlet embroidered in gold, with the Rose and Crown, and the royal monogram



FIG. 19. FROM BRIT. MUS., EGERTON MS. 1269.

between two broad vertical gold guards. The skirts have two black guards with blue-white borders, and similar guards form short sleeves below the shoulder puffs. The sleeves of the doublet are violet in colour as in the days of Elizabeth, while the breeches are very dark violet or black with five gold stripes on the outside. Round the neck of the figure is a ruff. The stockings are yellow as in the previous reign, with dark violet or black garters, and black shoes. The costume is completed by a high crowned hat, and a black girdle and hangers bordered with white, worn outside the coat. The halberd is gilt with a trident beak as in the Windsor miniature.

¹ Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1264.

The second album¹ is that of Tobias Oelhafen von Schollenbach of Nürnberg compiled between 1623 and 1625. In the main the costume of the Yeoman depicted therein is the same as that just described. The coat has however only one black guard on the skirt, and the garter and shoe-roses are touched with gold. A narrow double band of silver decorates the outside of the doublet sleeves, and the brim of the hat has a narrow gold border. The halberd is the same as that in the hand of the previous figure.

King Charles I.

The material we possess for the reign of King Charles I is painfully scanty. It consists of three rather disappointing engravings, a memorial brass and a few scattered documentary references of problematical value.

Sir Reginald Hennell believed that he had discovered in Henry Peacham's *The Truth of our Times : Revealed out of one Man's Experience*, published in 1638, 'important evidence regarding the dress of the Yeomen of the Guard' and which 'throws light on the controversial question.'² The evidential passage is one in which the author complains of the eccentricities of contemporary fashions; of all doublets, says Peacham 'only the coats of the Kings Guard keepe the same form they did, since they were first given them by the said King [Henry].'³ The numerous variations we have already noticed show that this sweeping statement is scarcely accurate. But had Peacham written that in 1638 the State coats were again of the same form and proportions as when they were first given he would have been substantially correct. For the first year of King Charles' reign witnessed the abandonment of the very short puffed sleeves of, apparently, both the State and ordinary coats, in favour of wide full sleeves of about the dimensions of those seen in the two paintings at Hampton Court already mentioned. This change was doubtless effected in order to bring the Yeomen's coats into line with the civil fashions of the day, one characteristic of which was the

¹ Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1269

² Hennell, p. 142.

³ Peacham, *The Truth, etc.*, p. 65.

extreme fullness of the sleeve from shoulder to elbow. At the same time the broad single horizontal guards of black velvet were replaced upon the full of the sleeves of the State coats.

The general features of the livery for ordinary wear at the commencement of this reign are to be seen on the small figure of a Yeoman in William van de Passe's engraving of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (fig. 20), which is dated 1625. Unfortunately, the figure is too small to show such



FIG. 20. FROM VAN DE PASSE'S ENGRAVING OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.



FIG. 21. FROM DE LA SERRE'S 'HISTOIRE DE L'ENTRÉE, ETC.'

details as the position and number of the guards, but it is nevertheless an extremely interesting and valuable record. Except for the dimensions of the sleeves the general proportions of the costume are the same as those of the close of the preceding reign. A second and equally valuable glimpse of the ordinary livery is obtainable in one of the plates which illustrates Puget de la Serre's *Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reine Mère du Roy Trescrestien dans la*

Grande Bretagne published in 1639 (fig. 21). Herein two Yeomen are shown wearing coats with unguarded puffed sleeves of smaller proportions than in 1625, while their 'bases' with a broad black guard at the lower edge just cover their buttocks. Their breeches have a single narrow strip, probably of gold lace, down the outside and they are armed with partizans. The plate in the same work representing the entry of the Queen Mother, Marie de Medici, into London on October 31st, 1638 (fig. 22), includes a group of Yeomen, but on too small a scale to do more than furnish confirmatory evidence of the correctness of the larger



FIG. 22. FROM DE LA SERRE'S *HISTOIRE DE L'ENTRÉE, ETC.*¹

engraving.¹ These figures carry halberds. It will be noticed that with this livery a falling collar of modest proportions was worn and not a ruff.

Spalding supplies us with a valuable piece of information with regard to the colour of this livery.² When King

¹ Puget de la Serre describes the Guard at Marie de Medici's entry into London as "couverts de leurs cottes d'escarlatte, brodees deuant & derriere, d'un broderie d'argent dore, massif, avec la Rose de deux costez, portant chacun son Halebarde." He is no doubt perfectly correct in his description of the livery worn on this occasion. From its colour, scarlet, it was

the State livery. The engraver, however, working sometime after the event drew the ordinary livery, that which he was accustomed to see worn by the Guard in their daily duties about Whitehall and Westminster.

² John Spalding: *History of the Troubles*, Spalding Club edition, vol. i, pp. 35 and 38.

Charles dined at Holyrood on June 16th, 1633, the Guard wore 'broun veluot cottis syde to thair hoche [knees], and beneth with boirdis of blak veluot, and his Majesteis armes curiouslie wrocht, in raisit imbossit wark of siluer and gold vpone the breist and bak of ilk cot. This wes the ordinary weid of thir (*sic*) his Majesteis foot guard.' On



FIG. 23. FROM THE BRASS OF THOMAS MONTAGUE.

June 20th, when the King returned to the Castle the Guard are described as marching 'with partisanis in their handis.' Sir Reginald however was very sceptical about the accuracy of Spalding's 'brown velvet coats.'¹ It is quite possible that the Scot was mistaken in the material

¹ Hennell, p. 143.

of which he states the coats were made, and that they were actually of cloth. But that the *ordinary* liveries were brown or reddish brown in colour, in contradistinction to the scarlet State coats, there can be very little doubt.

The general characteristics of the State livery may be studied in the brass of Thomas Montacue, Yeoman of the Guard (fig. 23), who died aged nearly ninety-two in March, 1630, and lies buried at Winkfield, Berkshire. The figure is unfortunately only three-quarter length, but the coat is admirably depicted. The diapered plackard is embroidered with the Rose and Crown and the Royal cypher, C.R., and is margined with gold lace. The skirts reach to about mid-thigh. They are full, with an opening in front, and are guarded with a single band of black velvet about the lower edge. The wide sleeves have single guards of black velvet, and beneath the coat is worn a doublet with close fitting sleeves. As the State coat is represented, a ruff of fairly large proportions is shown in place of the collar.¹

King Charles took a very keen personal interest in both the Body-Guards, in their organisation and in their equipment. But at his accession he found the Gentlemen Pensioners and the Yeomen both sadly wanting in that martial expertness 'through long security,' which he rightly held should be theirs. Accordingly, on the 18th January, 1627, the King in Council at Whitehall ordered that the Gentlemen Pensioners were to be exercised regularly in horsemanship and sword and pistol exercise, while the Yeomen of the Guard were to be armed for the future partly with 'crosslets' (*i.e.* corselets) and pikes and partly with muskets, and to be exercised every week 'that they may be prompt therein when His Majesty shall make use of them.'² Each musket was to be provided with six pounds of powder, two pounds of match and forty bullets. The Guard ceased in fact to be halberdiers and bowmen and now became pikemen and musketeers.

¹ This is the last recorded appearance of the ruff until its re-introduction at the Coronation of King George IV. Throughout the reigns of the later Stuart and the Hanoverian sovereigns the usual military neckwear of the period was worn, falling-band, cravat and cravat-string, and cravat alone. To say, as does Sir Reginald, that Elizabeth introduced the ruff is mislead-

ing. It was a gradual development from the shirt collar of the time of Henry VIII, and had reached full maturity by the reign of Mary I. If the word *introduced* can be used in connection with the ruff, King George IV must be credited with the introduction of this pleasing anachronism.

² Hennell, p. 141; quoted also by Thomas Preston, *The Yeomen of the Guard*, p. 80.

The fashion of the corselets served out to the Guard may be studied in the national and in many private collections. Compared with the crude plain munition corselets made by the Armourers' Company of London for the use of the Trained Bands, county levies, and the retainers of the great households, they are works of art, elaborately studded with rivets and decorated with chevron flutings. They are, unlike the work of the London Armourers, unstamped with armourers' marks and bear every sign of being the productions of the Royal Armouries at Greenwich or the Tower.

For ceremonial purposes the Guard still carried their halberds and javelins.

King Charles II.

The description of the uniform of the Guard during the reign of King Charles II, as described by Hennell¹ need not detain us here. In the main it is borrowed without acknowledgement or question from Smith's² and Preston's³ histories of the Guard, and is a highly imaginative and faulty piece of reconstruction combining features taken from plates in Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II* (fig. 24) and Sandford's *Coronation . . . of . . . James II*, with details culled from clothing warrants of the reigns of King William III, Queen Anne and King George II.

Hollar's engravings in John Ogilby's *Entertainment of Charles II*⁴ and Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany's description of the Yeomen in 1669⁵ must be our authorities for the livery of the Guard as worn at the Restoration. Hollar's engravings show us what is undoubtedly the ordinary livery. The body of the red cloth coat fits closely to the figure and is enriched with two vertical guards of black velvet and narrow lace, bordering the plackards, before and behind, and continued across the skirt. The plackards are embroidered with the Rose and Crown. The skirts are very full, but only just long enough to conceal the

¹ Hennell, p. 153.

² Smith: *Some account, etc.* p. 13.

³ Preston: *The Yeomen of the Guard* p. 93.

⁴ John Ogilby: *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II*, 1662.

⁵ Count L. Magalotti: *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England*, 1821, p. 308. The original MS. is in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

tops of the breeches. The lower edges are margined with a single wide guard of black velvet. The sleeves are unguarded and full, reaching almost to the elbows, where they are gathered into short close-fitting extensions guarded with black velvet. Below these appear the narrow sleeves of the doublet ending in turned back shirt cuffs; but of what colour the doublet is we do not know. The collar worn is the usual plain deep falling-band of the day. The lower



FIG. 24. FROM OGILBY'S ENTERTAINMENT OF CHARLES II.

limbs are clad in characteristic garments of the period. In their fulness the loose open breeches closely approach the proportions of divided *rhinegraves*; they are unguarded but are trimmed at the sides with bunches of ribbons. Stockings and 'stirrup hose' falling in a loose valence over the garters, and shoes tied with strings on the insteps complete the furniture for the legs. The sword is suspended just below the hip in a carriage of three loops probably of buff leather attached to a waistbelt worn *under* the skirt of the coat. The hat is high crowned and wide brimmed,

set about with knots of red and white and, possibly, blue ribbon attached to the hat-band.

A second and somewhat puzzling representation of the Yeomen at the Coronation occurs in Ogilby (fig. 25).¹ And it is not an easy matter to decide what reliance can be placed upon it as evidence. The coats certainly appear to be the creations of the artist's imagination. The main interest of this engraving, however, lies in the fact that several of the Yeomen are shown wearing small black skull-caps over their wigs, relics of the coifs which have been noticed at an earlier period.



FIG. 25. FROM OGILBY'S CORONATION OF CHARLES II.

Figures of Yeomen, similarly clad in the ordinary livery, appear in Dirk Stoop's contemporary engraving of *The Comming of ye King's Ma^{tie}: and ye Queenes from Portsmouth to Hampton Court on May 29th, 1662*. They differ from the preceding in that the *rhinegraves* have been replaced by close fitting breeches, and stirrup hose are not worn.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany presumably describes the 'rich coats' of the Guard,² of which unfortunately we do

¹ *A Brief Narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation*, pl. op. p. 170.

² It is interesting to note the late survival of this old phrase. On March 6th, 1662, a

warrant was made out for the fees and wages of 'the two Yeomen of the Chamber who keep the rich coats of the Guard.' (Record office: *State Papers Domestic, Charles II*, vol. lii, 26).

not possess any reliable contemporary pictorial representation. He was however undoubtedly in error when he wrote that the Guard 'wear on their back the King's cypher in embroidery that is Charles Rex, and on their breast the white and red rose.' Such an arrangement of the badges and cypher, though not impossible, is never recorded as being used. Unfortunately the original manuscript of the Grand Duke's *Travels* has never been published and it is



FIG. 26. FROM ASHMOLE'S 'THE INSTITUTIONS, LAWS, ETC.'

therefore impossible to check the English translation. The badges and the Royal cypher were certainly worn upon both the back and the breast of the State coat about 1675-1680.¹

Civilian fashions did not change with great rapidity during the early part of King Charles II's reign. And a very little alteration can have taken place in the dress of the Guard until about 1670. In the 1669 editions of Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*,² as in the editions which

¹ It is possible though not very probable that the Duke confused two liveries, the ordinary livery and an otherwise unrecorded undress livery ensigned with the cypher alone. A woodcut, which illustrates the *Protestant's Joy*, a ballad of 1689, in the Bayford Collection in the British Museum, provides a representation of Yeomen wearing liveries on the breasts of which appear the

initials W.R. without the Rose and Crown. A second woodcut, which decorates a chap-book of this period, represents Henry VIII, and the Cobbler and three Yeomen, who wear the same antiquated livery coat ensigned, however, on the breast with the Rose and Crown.

² Various 1669 editions, pp. 287, 286 and 290.

preceded it, the Guard are briefly described as 'wearing Red Coats after an ancient Mode, bearing Halberts at home, and Half-Pikes in Progress, and always wearing a large sword.' In the edition of 1670 the description is more detailed.¹ Their livery is therein stated to consist of 'Scarlet Coats down to the Knee, and Scarlet Breeches, both richly guarded with Black Velvet and rich Badges upon their Coats before and behind.' From the remainder of the passage we learn that the high crowned hats worn at the Restoration had been abandoned in favour of 'Black Velvet round broad-crownd Caps (according to the mode used in the Reign of *Hen.* 8) with Ribbons of the Kings colour.' This is no doubt the livery in which the Yeomen appear in Hollar's somewhat unsatisfying engraving of the Garter Banquet in St. George's Hall at Windsor in 1672 (fig. 26).² Herein the sleeves are shown still unguarded and reaching almost to the wrists. A slightly less artistic, but historically more valuable record is a woodcut of 1679 by Frederick Hendrick van Hove (c. 1628-1698) representing King Charles II, touching for the King's Evil (fig. 27).³ In this appear the figures of several Yeomen. They are habited apparently in State coats the skirts of which reach almost to the knees, and are charged with six horizontal guards of black velvet. On each shoulder is a guarded 'wing,' and the full sleeves, reaching to and gathered at the wrists, are overlayed from elbow to wrist with four or five horizontal guards of black velvet. The breeches are full and gathered into a garter above the knee. Stockings and shoes with shoe-strings are worn. The old falling-bands have been replaced by cravats, and on the heads of the Yeomen are flat black velvet bonnets similar to those seen in the Scottish portraits of the period. The breast of each coat is shown without vertical guards, since these were no doubt of gold lace, and is ensigned with the Rose and C.R., the Crown being omitted presumably for lack of space.

Similar liveries are shown in R. White's engraving of 1684.⁴ Herein the sleeves are slightly shorter, and the skirts

¹ pp. 301 and 302.

² Elias Ashmole: *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies . . . of the Garter*, 1672, pl. opp. p. 593.

³ *The Manner of His Majesties Curing the Disease, called the Kings-Evil*, London

*Printed for Dorman Newman at the kingly Armes in the Poultry & F. H. van Hove Sculp: 1679, reprinted in Raymond Crawford's *The King's Evil*, 1911.*

⁴ John Browne: *Charisma Basilicon*, 1684, pl. opp. p. 96.

have two guards only. Very small cravats are worn, and the Rose, Crown and Cypher are all clearly visible. The hat or bonnet is a large edition of that worn about 1560-1570.

The arms carried by the Guard during the first ten years of the reign were still, it is noted in the Grand Duke



FIG. 27. FROM 'THE MANNER OF . . . CURING . . . THE KINGS-EVIL.'

of Tuscany's *Travels*, 'an halberd when they are in London, and in the country an half pike, with a broad sword by their sides.' The halberd had by this time degenerated into a very small and feeble parody of the fine Flanders weapon carried by the Guard during the greater part of the sixteenth century. Its fashion can be seen in Hollar's engraving of 1672. The half-pikes are the descendants of the earlier javelins. They appear as partizans in Hollar's

engraving in Ogilby's *Entertainment*, but they are of an entirely different outline to those used from the reign of King James II down to the present day. Neither the Grand Duke nor Chamberlayne, in the earlier editions of his *Angliae Notitia*, make any mention of firearms carried by the Guard, but the latter in the 1670 edition of *Notitia* observes that one half of the Guard 'of late bear in their hands Harquebuzes and the other half Partisans.' And it must have been at this period that the ornamental carbine-



FIG. 28. FROM SANDFORD'S 'CORONATION OF JAMES II.'

sling first became a part of the Yeomen's livery when mounted. To-day the presence of this sling, now merely an ornamental feature, distinguishes the full dress of the Yeomen of the Guard from that of the Warders of the Tower.

King James II.

With the coronation of James II we reach the end of this somewhat lengthy survey. Sandford's famous engraving of this pageant and the text, which accompanies it, provide us with a completely detailed description of the costume worn in 1685 (fig. 28).¹

¹ Francis Sandford: *The History of the Coronation of . . . James II . . . and . . . Queen Mary*, 1687, p. 8c.

Following the Lieutenant and Ensign of the Guard in the procession and led by four Corporals or Exons, 'The YEOMEN of HIS MAJESTIES GUARD of His *Body*, being in Number, One Hundred, Marched Four a-Breast, with Partizans on their Shoulders, (for none of them carried *Carabines* that Day :) Their *Coats* of Red Broad Cloth, with large Sleeves gathered at the Shoulder and Wrists, full deep Skirts, also gathered at the Waste, with large *Breeches* of the same, were guarded thick with Black Velvet, an Inch in breadth. Upon their Breasts and Backs was Imbroidered, Embossed and Inriched with Silver Plate Gilt, the *Rose* and *Crown* with his *Majestie's CIPHER*, and underneath on a *Scroll* of Gold, the *King's Motto*, DIEU ET MON DROIT, in Black Letters.

'Their *Bonnets* were of Black Velvet, banded with White, Crimson, and Blew Ribbon interwoven, with large Knots of the same; with Grey Worsted *Stockings*, and Waste Belts of Buff.'