

NOTES ON THE RIGHT ARMS OF JOHN WHITGIFT, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1583-1604

BY

M. H. OUSELEY, M.A.

THE Arms of Archbishop John Whitgift are so variously displayed in Croydon where he once lived, and answers to enquiries about the correct form so lacking in authority that an investigation which began superficially gradually became more involved. The report which follows summarises the findings which are set out in detail. A clear distinction must be drawn between contemporary and subsequent evidence as the latter is often defective.

SUMMARY

1. Report on search for evidence of Whitgift Arms before 1577, and of the exact charging and colour of Archbishop Whitgift's Arms in 1577, 1588 and 1598, together with a statement of evidence both by Grant and by examination of usage in Whitgift's lifetime.
2. A list of B.M. MSS. with tricking of Whitgift's Arms, with evidence to support the suggestion that with one exception these are the exercises of junior Painter-Stainers.
3. A list of MSS. and Charters in the B.M. bearing Whitgift's wafer-seals as Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, as Bishop of Worcester, and as Archbishop of Canterbury, and of wax-impressions of seals used when he was Archbishop of Canterbury.
4. A list of the copies of Grants of Arms to Whitgift in the British Museum.
5. A list of MSS. and Charters in the Public Record Office, similar to those in the British Museum, but including two Seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury with Whitgift impaling the Arms of Canterbury and not the Pall for the See.
6. Evidence to show that both Archbishops Matthew Parker and Edmund Grindal when Archbishop of Canterbury also impaled Canterbury Cathedral and not the Pall to denote the See.
7. Evidence concerning Whitgift's Arms found in Lambeth Palace Library, including a 1599 letter from Mr. William Segar, then Norroy King of Arms, concerning the making of new banners.

8. Evidence of Whitgift's Arms from his Foundation Deed of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon, and from Deeds and Indentures belonging to the Whitgift Foundation.
9. Evidence of Whitgift's Arms in Trinity College, Cambridge.
10. Whitgift's Arms in Croydon Parish Church, together with evidence to show that one of these impales Canterbury Cathedral for the See as in P.R.O. Seal Wards 2/22B/1 of 1588, and not the Deanery of Lincoln as widely but erroneously reported in serious publications.
11. An estimate of reasons for Whitgift's changes in his Arms, including a suggestion that the 1588 change of colour may have been due to possible confusion of banners with those of the Duke of Parma at the time of the anticipated Spanish Armada invasion.
12. The 1588 Grant to Whitgift is given in full (the 1577 and 1598 Grants are published in full elsewhere); an extract of the 1598 Grant to Whitgift's servant, Michael Murgatroyd is also given.

THE CORRECT CHARGING AND COLOUR OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT'S ARMS

1. BEFORE 1577

There is no contemporary evidence that either Archbishop Whitgift himself or any other member of the Whitgift family, whether of established kinship, or of putative relationship, ever bore Arms before 1577.

Two men of the name of Whitgift attached seals to documents, the one in 1308, the other in 1440, but there is, as yet, no evidence to suggest that the devices on those two lost seals were heraldic.

Evidence

- a. Whitgift's father, Henry, died in 1552; had he been armigerous, John would have inherited the Arms then. (Cal. Lincoln Wills. *Brit. Record Soc.*, Vol. 28.)
- b. Whitgift's uncle, Robert, Abbot of Wellow, probably died in either 1564 or 1565. Robert was probably Henry's elder brother, as his name appears to the left of Henry's in the Surrey and Essex Visitations. Had he been armigerous, John would have inherited on Robert's death. On the dissolution of Wellow Abbey in 1534, Robert was granted a pension of £16 a year for life; the last pension recorded in the Minister's Accounts is for 1563-4. (P.R.O. Minister's A/cs S.C.6. Eliz. 1312 fo. 9b. viz. 1563-4.) The Minister's A/cs were examined for every year up to 1599 by me. A further reason for supposing that Robert died about 1565, is that in his Will,

Henry Whitgift had bequeathed his house in Grimsby to Robert. By 1565, John Whitgift held property in Clavering and later installed his second brother, William, there. Unfortunately, although Henry Whitgift's Will directs that his body be buried beside his mother's in the parish church of St. James, Grimsby, the church registers do not record the burial of either Henry or Robert.

- c. There are no MSS. with a seal bearing a Whitgift shield in Trinity College, Cambridge, for the period when he was Master (1567-1577); nor in the University Archives for that period or for when he was Vice-Chancellor of the University (1570 and 1573).
- d. The only letters signed by John Whitgift (signed 'Jhon Whitgyfte') when he was Master of Trinity, and bearing wafer-seals, are in the British Museum (B.M. MS. Lansdowne 18/26 fo. 51 and Lansdowne 24/21 fo. 45, dated 1573/4 and 1576/7). The seals show a man's head and a recording angel respectively.
- e. There is no contemporary evidence that the Whitgifts in Yorkshire were armigerous; they were saucemakers, tapeters, merchants; some were clergy. One, John Whitgift, of 1440, called himself 'civis & saucemaker' in his Will.
- f. The following records were searched for evidence of a member of the Whitgift family, or of anyone bearing the name of Whitgift, bearing Arms. Not one of them was found with any reference to any Whitgift Arms.

The Surtees Society publications: 173 volumes searched.
 The Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Series: over 100 volumes.
 Calendar of Close Rolls, Hen. iii-Ric. ii (1227-1389).
 Calendarium Genealogicum, Hen. iii-Ed. i.
 Calendar of Inquisitions, Hen. iii-Hen. vii.
 Curia Regis Rolls, Ric. i-1232.
 Black Prince's Register.
 Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-Edw. vi.
 Catalogue of Ancient Deeds.
 Feudal Aids, 1234-1431.
 Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1272-1471.
 Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1226-1417.
 Book of Fees, 1198-1293.
 Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*.
 Drake's *Eboracum*.

The following articles are particularly cited as having no reference to Whitgift Arms:

Surtees Society No. 41, 1863: Tonge's *Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties, 1530*.
Surtees Society No. 49, 1866: Kirkby's *Inquest, Knight's fees, Nomina Villarum for Yorkshire, Edward i*.

The text of the original would seem to have been in Latin and a copy is preserved in Vincent 162 f. 7 where it is dated 2 May 1577, and the operative words of the grant read 'concess & attribut ordinavi & assignavi'—i.e. 'I have given and granted ordained and assigned,' the normal phrasing for a new grant, not a confirmation.

- iii. Queen's College, Oxford MS. 146 fo. 1^v: The wording reads 'These armes were confirmed to John Whitgift Bishopp of Worcester by Sr Gilbert Dethicke Kt als Garter principall King of Armes, Dat ye 2d of May a^o 19 Reginae Elizabethae annoq Dm̄ 1577.'

The trick indicates 'b' for 'blue' on the cross (black was usually indicated by 's' for 'sable'), and 'o' for 'or' for one of the bezants. The colour of the field is not shown. A mitre surmounts the shield. Mr. Robin Drummond-Hay of Queen's College wrote saying that the MS., which belonged to Sir Joseph Williamson in the seventeenth century, is contemporary.

- iv. A description, quoting evidence from the College of Arms, is given by C. S. Perceval, F.S.A., in *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 194–202.

b. Colour

- i. Lambeth MS. ++E 175 Jugge, 1573, *Bishop's Version Bibles*, 5 vols. These are embossed on the front and back covers with two scutcheons, one of Whitgift's Arms, and the other those of the See of Canterbury, viz., the pall. The design incorporates the date 1584. In general the blue of the cross has blackened with age, but here and there the blue is unmistakable. See Fig. 1.5.
- ii. Lambeth MS. 1310: this MS. was made for Richard Argall, arm. registrar, '1584 with additions to 1588.'

c. Plain

As the 1588 change was one of colour only, it is impossible to distinguish the 1583–1588 seals from those of 1588–1598 except by the date of the document to which the seal is affixed.

- i. as Bishop of Worcester; the following are letters to which Whitgift attached a wafer seal with his personal Arms, not impaled with those of the See of Worcester.

B.M. MSS. Lansdowne 27 no. 72 fo. 158	Jan. 19. 1578.
Lansdowne 36/22	Oct. 24. 1582.
Lansdowne 37/20	Feb. 11. 1582/3.
Lansdowne 38/70	June 11. 1583.
P.R.O. MSS. S.P./12/118/11	Nov. 5. 1577.
S.P./12/124/29	June 10. 1578.
S.P./12/156/29 (p. 79)	Dec. 24. 1582.

- ii. as Archbishop of Canterbury; always impaled with the Arms of the See of Canterbury represented by the pall and cross except where otherwise stated. The following are wafer seals.

B.M. MSS. Lansdowne 42/43	May 29. 1584.
Lansdowne 42/44	June 24. 1584.
Lansdowne 42/45	June 30. 1584.

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|--|---------------------------|-----|-----|----------------|
| | Lansdowne 42/49 | ... | ... | Dec. 26. 1584. |
| | Lansdowne 57/76 | ... | ... | Dec. 13. 1588. |
| | P.R.O. MSS. S.P./12/174/2 | ... | ... | Oct. 19. 1584. |
| | S.P./12/212/41 | ... | ... | July 13. 1588. |
- iii. as Archbishop of Canterbury: seal on Deed Poll dated 13 February 1595. (*See* Notes on Solicitor's seals, No. 4a.)
- iv. Trinity College Library, Cambridge: The books which Whitgift presented to this library have his shield of Arms embossed on the outside of both covers. They all show the See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift in the block design of 1577.
I have seen a volume similarly embossed in Lambeth Palace Library.
- v. Seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Whitgift's Arms are constant in form, viz., always in the block design of 1577. The following show the Diocese of Canterbury, not with the pall and cross, but with the cross with the letters $\frac{i}{x}$ at the centre-point as do the Prerogative Court of Canterbury seals for Whitgift's two immediate predecessors, Edmund Grindal and Matthew Parker, viz., the Arms commonly known as those of Canterbury Cathedral.
P.R.O. Wards 2/22B/1 Probate dated November 22. 1588.
See Plate II(a).
E.42/335 ... A Commissary General seal of 1583.
- vi. Seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Whitgift with the 1577 block design; Canterbury with the pall and cross.
B.M. Charters: Harleian Ch. 53 H 21. 1598. (Birch 1296.)
Harleian Ch. 43 G 47b. 1600. (Birch 1297.)
Additional Ch. 6240. 1602. (Birch 1294.)
See Plate II(b).
P.R.O. Seals: E. 135/7/49 1591.
C. 108/196 1593.
SC. 13/F113 date not known.
- vii. Lambeth Palace Library MS. 275 fo. 20, A^o 1596: a pen-and-ink uncoloured drawing of the Archbishop's Arms impaled with those of the See of Canterbury is described as:
'The right Armes of the nowe Lord Archebissshop of Canterbury wth the Sie impaled.'
Further up, on the same page, the words 'the armes of the Sie of Cant' are followed by 'viz the Pall' as if there could be some doubt. (*See* note v above.)
See Fig. 1.6.
- viii. Queen's Gate, Trinity College, Cambridge: a stone carving of Whitgift's Arms. The gateway bears the date 1597. The cross is a straight-sided one, but the bezants have all been removed either by weathering or by intent.

Note: The Archbishop's second brother, William, sealed an indenture dated 7 May 1604 and a Bond of the same date with a seal bearing the same block design as the 1577 Grant, but having a

crescent at the centre-point. As there is no evidence that either Whitgift's father or his uncle were armigerous, this could only mean that William regarded himself as John's heir.

The next brother, George, and William's son, John, used seals bearing designs of no apparent significance.

3. THE 1588 GRANTS

There were two Grants.

- i. 'Argent, on a cross humette fleurettée sable, four bezants or.' Granted in July 1588. (Perceval, C. S., *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 194-202.) By Courtesy of Sir Anthony Wagner this Grant is set out in full as an appendix to these notes.
- ii. The Arms were quarterly, in the 1st & 4th quarters 'argent on a cross humette fleurettée sable, four bezants or'; and in the 2nd & 3rd quarters, 'or on a cross humette fleurettée azure, four bezants or.' Granted or drafted in June 1588. (Perceval, C. S., *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 194-202.) This form does not appear to have been used in practice.

Evidence: a. Written

- i. Letter from Sir Anthony Wagner dated 9 November 1962; he writes:

F.13, fo. 21 has a sixteenth-century trick the date 1588 being given with the cross drawn in the normal way for a cross flory. Two drafts for the text of this are in Vincent's *Old Grants* Vol. 2 nn. 413 and 414, the first dated July and the second June 1588. In the first the blazon was originally written as 'd'argent une Croyx humete flore de liz sables a quatre Besantes,' this was then struck out and a fresh version written in the lower margin: 'Argent a Crosse humette flore de liz Sables wth fower Beszantes.' There is no trick, and it would appear to be a fair copy of n. 414 (June 1588), in which the blazon reads: 'd'argent une Croyse humete flore (de ler *sic*, interlined) sables a quatre Besantes,' the accompanying trick shows the usual cross floretty.

- ii. The Grant of June 1588 from Vincent's *Old Grants* 2 in the College of Arms quoted in full by kind permission of Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms, together with a copy of the tricking in the Appendix of this article. See Fig. 1, 2 and 3.
- iii. Charles Spencer Perceval in *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 194-202, gives evidence from Thomas W. King, Esq., York Herald, for both of the 1588 Grants.

b. Colour

- i. Lambeth Palace Library MS. 555 fo. 44 gives the Archbishop's Arms in the quartered form in colour, surmounted by a mitre. The facing page gives a written description in Latin. This MS. is contemporary with Whitgift, having been started in his time. Although the Arms of subsequent Archbishops are given, the 1588 quartered Arms is the only example of Whitgift's Arms given in this MS., and it is also the only contemporary example of this form that I have found.

- ii. Stained glass said to be of 1595, in the possession of the Whitgift Foundation; argent, on a cross sable, not quartered.
- iii. The argent, on a cross sable unquartered form of Arms, is tricked in colour in *Memoriale* in Trinity College, Cambridge, Library; but, as *Memoriale* was begun in 1614, it is not strictly contemporary. (See notes on Trinity College.)

c. *Plain*

- i. B.M. MS. Lansdowne 255 fo. 5a. This is the only B.M. MS. of trickings which I have seen which tallies in detail with Whitgift's actual usage; it is said to be by the hand of Sir Wm. Dethick, Garter.

(The others, containing one or more errors, are:

B.M., MSS. Add.	4966 fo. 57b.
Harl.	1359 fo. 108b.
Harl.	1422 fo. 94.
Harl.	1441 fo. 61b.
Stowe	703 fo. 4b.
Harl.	5847 fo. 1b.
Add. 12,	454 fo. 2b.
Add.	4963 fo. 2.
Harl.	1397 fo. 1336.
Harl.	1542 fo. 12b.

Soc. Antiq. Lib., Cooke's *Grants*, f. 26a (48).

All of these are seventeenth- or eighteenth-century trickings, i.e. not contemporary, and therefore not admissible as proof. All of these MSS. of trickings have the appearance of being the work of relatively junior members of the Painter-Stainers Company.)

It is worth noting that although all of these MSS. describe the trickings as of Whitgift's Arms granted in 1577 or 1588, they all, with the exception of Dethick's, show five bezants; yet the fifth was not granted till 1598.

4. THE 1598 GRANT

The Archbishop's Arms were argent, on a cross formy fleurettée sable, five bezants or.

These Arms were granted on the 22 January 1598/9.

Evidence: a. Written

- i. Letter from Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms, dated 9 November 1962. He writes:

In the same volume (Vincent's *Old Grants*, vol. 2), n. 319, is a further draft for a like grant dated 22 Jan. 1598, in Latin, the blazon reading: 'in Scuto Argenteo quinque Byzantinos super Crucem forram [sic] floridam ex Nigro' and this is tricked.

- ii. B.M. MS. Stowe 1047 fo. 265b is without tricking, but the wording agrees with Vincent's, save that 'forram' is written 'formatam.' As this MS. is a collection by Francis Thynne who was Lancaster Herald 1602-08, it may or may not be strictly contemporary. This MS. has 'dignitatis fastigiu(m),' *v. infr.* The Grant is set out in full.
- iii. Queen's College, Oxford, MS. 137 fo. 68. The tricking and wording agree with Vincent's, save that 'forram' is written 'formatam.' Mr. Robin Drummond-Hay, Assistant Librarian of Queen's College, Oxford, thought that this MS. might be a copy. This MS. has 'dignitatis fastium,' *v. sup.* The Grant is set out in full.

b. Colour

- i. On the Archbishop's Deed of Foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon, dated 25 June 1599. There are two coloured paintings of shields on this Deed which is further sealed and signed by the Archbishop.

c. Plain

- i. On a rose-tinted drawing of the Seal of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, on the Foundation Deed. *See* Fig. 1.4.
- ii. On the Seal and on the counterseal attached to the Deed of Foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon.
- iii. On the brass impression of the Seal of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon. Mr. John Charlton, M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., is of the opinion that the impression which is in the possession of the Whitgift Foundation is an early one. Whitgift's Arms are not impaled with those of the See of Canterbury. *See* Plate III(a). This differs in details from *c.i.* above.
- iv. Carved on the overmantel of Archbishop's own room in the Almshouse, now used as the Foundation's Council Room. These Arms show Canterbury impaled. The date is 1599. *See* Plate III(b).
- v. On various deeds in the possession of the Solicitors of the Whitgift Foundation, *viz.*, Mr. L. Green of Messrs Marshall, Liddle, and Downey of Croydon; these are indentures, sealed with the Hospital Seal (*viz.*, as *c.iii.* above). (The numbers refer to my notes on the Solicitor's Deeds.)

No. 3a	...	...	...	22 August 1599.
No. 3b	...	...	...	13 March 1599/1600.
No. 3c	...	...	...	13 March 1599/1600.
No. 3d	...	...	...	13 January 1601/02.
No. 3e	...	...	...	25 March 1603/04.
No. 3f	...	...	...	7 May 1604.

- vi. On various deeds in the possession of the Solicitors of the Whitgift Foundation, sealed with the Archbishop's own Seal, his Arms being impaled with those of the See of Canterbury.

No. 4b	...	...	...	22 August 1599.
No. 4c	...	...	...	22 August 1599.
No. 4f	...	...	...	13 March 1599/1600.
No. 4g	...	...	...	13 March 1599/1600.
No. 4h	...	...	...	12 January 1601/02.
No. 4i	...	...	...	20 January 1601/02.
No. 4j	...	...	...	7 December 1602.

There are two documents of 12 December 1599 and 10 March 1599/1600 (Page 4, Nos. 4 d & e) which have five bezants on a straight-sided cross rather as if the signet seal illustrated in *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 197, had had the fifth bezant punched at the centre-point. This illustration was taken from a letter dated 2 October 1593.

Although they were erected a few years after his death, Whitgift's Arms on the Fountain of the Great Court of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the Master's Drawing Room, would not be offered as evidence but for the fact that the then Master, Dr. Thomas Neville, was one of the signatories of the Foundation Deed. These three Cambridge Arms are in keeping with the two last-mentioned Seals. They are evidence that Dr. Neville attached more significance to the fifth bezant than to the shape of the cross.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT'S REASONS FOR ARMS, AND FOR THE CHANGES

In the absence of definite statements by Archbishop Whitgift or by a reliable contemporary, it is not possible to do more than offer a tentative explanation of the variety of Arms Whitgift obtained.

1. 1577

John Strype, in *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift* (1718), says on page 80:

Now, according to the Custom of the new Bishops in those Times, in order to the making of the Seals, for the signing of their Instruments, and for the bringing them into the Rank of Gentlemen, or ratifying their Quality, out of the Office of Heralds was granted him a Patent for the Bearing of Arms, by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Knight of the Garter, bearing Date May 2, 1577, etc.

The fact that Whitgift did not use a shield on a seal while he was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the fact that he did so use the one granted him in 1577 when he became Bishop of Worcester, and that without impaling the Arms of the See, lends support to Strype's explanation.

The 1577 Grant, as given by Strype who says that it was 'taken from the Heralds' Books,' shows Whitgift's Arms impaled with those of the See of Worcester and surmounted by a mitre. It further refers to his Office as Bishop, viz., 'quod Reverendum in Christo Pater Dom. Johannes Whitgifte, Doctor Divinitatis, ac Wigorn. Episcop. diu in virtute claruit, ac veri ac Christiani praesulis officio functus est, & fungitur in dies.' This also fits Strype's explanation which may therefore be accepted.

2. 1588

In *Surrey A.C.*, II (1864), 194-202, Charles Spencer Perceval, F.S.A., quoting Mr. Thomas W. King, York Herald, attributes the fact that there were two Grants to Whitgift in the year 1588 to 'great dissensions between the King of Arms as to their several powers and jurisdictions, which may account for the two grants—one within, or nearly within, a month of the other.'

Then, in 1919, Sir Henry Berney in *The Arms of Canterbury and Whitgift* writes:

There is the question too, in Whitgift's Arms, of the colour of the Cross itself—the earliest grant (1577) giving the same as blue on a ground of gold. This was the original grant when Whitgift was made Bishop of Worcester, and it is possible that, when he became Archbishop the colour blue clashed badly with the blue background of the Arms of Canterbury and so the Whitgift Cross changed to black.

Neither explanation is really convincing. As regards the first, it is better to find definite evidence of dissension with regard to Whitgift himself before submitting that explanation of the two Grants. It should be noted first that the one Grant is a quartered one, and that the other is not; the second is a Grant of the Arms which appear in the first and fourth quarters of the quartered Arms. Grants are different from Wills; when a new Will is made, all previous Wills are revoked and cancelled by the new Will. A new Grant of Arms does not cancel the old one; for example, in the Seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Whitgift's Arms appear in the same form throughout his archbishopric. The Arms of the See of Canterbury are changed; Whitgift's are not.

The explanation here advanced for the quartering of the Arms is different from that for the changing of the colour. The Grant in Vincent's *Old Grants* refers, as the 1577 Grant did not, to Arms held by the Archbishop's father and grandfather 'whose former shield and aunciente cote of Arms was after this manner most auncientlie declared by blazon and coullors to be exemplified as appeareth depicted in this Margent.' This being supposed, then the Arms to be granted would be those of the head of the family, and thus would appear as the first quarter of any Arms in which family quarterings appeared. The quartered Arms could thus represent the idea of old family Arms together with those granted to Whitgift in 1577, without necessarily requiring a special Grant. Although the 1588 Grant here quoted specifically refers to colours, it may be doubted whether Whitgift's family ever did have identifiable Arms first, for, as has been shown, no evidence exists of any reference to them; secondly because no reference was made to them in the 1577 Grant by which time Whitgift's father and uncle were both dead; and thirdly because the 1598 Grant also calls those Arms the ancient family ones. That there was some sort of belief in an old family coat of Arms may be true because the Archbishop's brother William used a signet ring with a shield differenced from the Archbishop's by a crescent at the centre-point.

Note: I wrote to Sir Anthony Wagner about Mr. Perceval's article. He replied on 29 June 1964 as follows:

Your extract from the *Surrey Archæological Collections* was probably taken from an incomplete draft in our manuscript F.12/178. This appears to be in the same hand as F.13 which was Clarenceux Cook's docquet book. The draft, which was to be dated in June 1588, lacks the preamble and the operative clauses refer to Clarenceux giving:

'unto the sayd reverend father John Whitgift archbishops of Canterbury for his creast or Cognoysance upon the heulme out of a crowne golde a lyons pawe silver holdyng a lorell garland vert mantelled gules doubled silver, as more playnly apeereth depicted in this margent, which Creast or Cognoysance I the sayd clarenceiulx kyng of armes to unyte unto the annoynt Armes of the sayd reverend father'

There is no trick annexed to this draft but the arms and crest are given in F.13, 21b as Quarterly 1 & 4. Argent on a cross flory sable 4 bezants; 2 & 3. Or on a cross flory Azure 4 bezants. Crest: Out of a crest coronet Or 'a lyons paw al ar.' holding 'a garland vert of lorell.' A later trick in Misc. Gts. I, 114b shows the cross coupé and ending in fleurs de lis. In the margin and on the back of the draft in F.12 there are three versions of the blazon for the arms, the final one reading 'Quarterly silver and gold in the fyrst on a crosse flortey sables iiij besantes and in the second on a crosse flortey azure iiij besantes and so quarterlye,' but without any indication of where it was to go in the text.

On the evidence so far available I cannot see that it is necessary to bring the dissensions between the Kings of Arms into the explanation. According to the evidence the quartering would have been disallowed for want of evidence, and Garter Dethick may simply have stepped in and taken the matter over by virtue of his concern with the Arms of Peers.

On the assumption that the archbishops of Canterbury and the Kings of Arms are, at the very least, men of stature and eminence in their own generations, it seemed to me better to ignore trivial explanations such as a dislike of colouring after five years, or petty dissensions, to explain a change of colour, and of colour only, in the Archbishop's Arms. I looked to see if there were any considerable event in 1588 which could be a more substantial reason for the change. The following is the hypothesis which occurred to me, together with the evidence which, I submit, lends it support. In 1588 the Spaniards were expected to attempt an invasion of England, and, in particular, the Duke of Parma was expected to march on London: it is suggested that there was a risk that Whitgift's banners and pennants could be confused with those of the Duke, and that a change of colour was therefore needed.

The Duke of Parma's Arms displayed a gold field with azure fleurs de lis; Whitgift's showed a gold field also with an azure cross having azure fleur de lis terminals. In the field of battle, the shadows on

Parma's drooping banner could easily have been confused with shadows and the azure cross on Whitgift's; and for the rest both banners showed azure fleurs de lis on gold. The function of banners in battle was 'to discern their company from the enemy.' Although this explanation is a practical one, it could be objected that there is no precedent for it; it would be interesting to know of another instance of two opposing leaders with banners of the same colour, charged with like objects of like colour. Until a more adequate explanation is put forward, it is at least as worthy of consideration as the theories put forward by Mr. T. W. King and Sir Henry Berney.

Evidence

On 12 December 1587 Lord Howard of Effingham wrote to Whitgift authorising him to appoint discreet persons to muster and lead forces within the precincts of his Lieutenantancy 'such wayes youre Lp shall seeme moste fit and conveniente.' (Letter 4 in bundle of letters re mustering troops, bought at Sothebys in 1963 by Lambeth Palace Library.)

The Navy Record Society, *Defeat of Spanish Armada*, Vol. 2 (1894), p. 321, speaks of 'Pennants of sundry prices, to discern their company from the enemy, 100.' This is a copy of a contemporary record, and is therefore evidence of this usage.

That the Duke of Parma was expected to march on London. In *A Discourse concerning the Spanishe flete* published 1590 (B.M. shelf mark 292 eg 1-5) is a 'copie of a Letter sent out of England to Dom Bernadine Mendosa, Ambassador in France for the King of Spain,' dated September 1588, containing this phrase:

and that she (viz., Queen Elizabeth) understood very certainly, that the armie of the Duke of Parma should come first to destroy the Citie of London, she revoked her Commissioners, approached London in person, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbs of the same: whereby they of the Citie tooke great comfort, having daily in shew and muster of their own ten thousand men armed and trained of very able men of the Citie, and in readiness thirtie thousand more, able to fight . . .

The following sequence of dates gives further support:

20 May 1588: Spanish Armada sailed from Lisbon.

June 1588: Whitgift changes the colours of his Arms.

Second week of June: Spanish fleet scattered by storm.

19 July: Spanish fleet sighted off Plymouth.

2 August: End of Spanish fleet as a force.

Although Whitgift had changed the colour of his Arms in June, the rapid end of the Spanish fleet obviated the need to do anything about the banners.

It is extremely difficult to prove this explanation conclusively, but two tests were applied. First, I argued with myself that if I were correct, I would find some reference in the bundle of letters which Lambeth Palace Library had recently bought at Sotheby's. These letters concerned the mustering of clergy forces in anticipation of a Spanish invasion. Letter No. 72 is from Mr. William Seager, Norroy

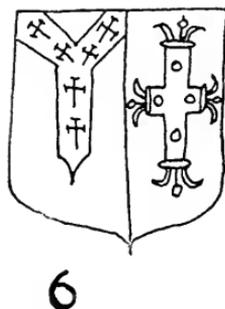
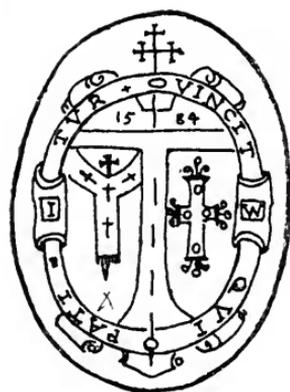
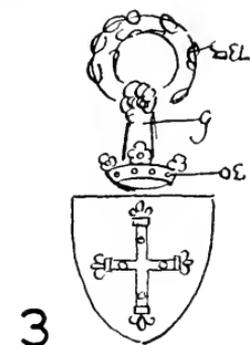
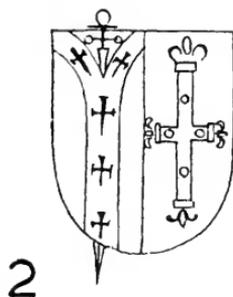
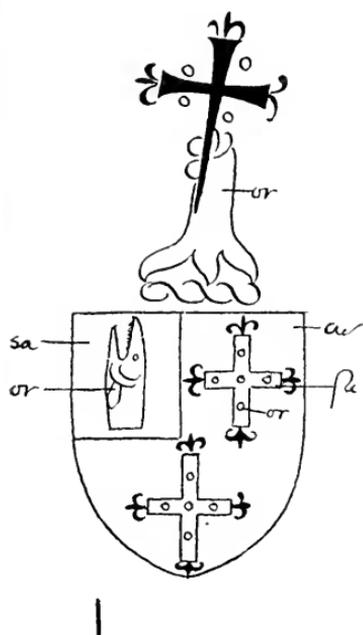
King of Arms, to the Archbishop's Attorney concerning the making of new banners for the Archbishop. The date is 9 August 1599 when another invasion, this time from Ireland, was expected. That the banners had not been made in 1588 is no surprise, for the Spanish fleet had been destroyed. The letter refers to the fact that the colours of the Arms had been changed. There are two references to the use of the Arms: first, if they were not impaled with those of the See of Canterbury they could be mistaken for those of a private gentleman, and secondly, poor workmanship involving a wrong choice of material could result in damage from rain . . . they 'will not abide one shower of rain.' The first of these two references is, at root, precisely the suggestion that I am advancing, viz., with the Arms as they were, a mistake could be made in the field of battle. The second test that I applied was based on the assumption that there would be some particular reference in the 1588 Grant. Both the 1577 and the 1598 Grants have been published in full, but the 1588 has not, so I obtained a copy of it from Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter Principal King of Arms, and include it here with his permission. I should add that he has not given any sign of agreeing with my theory, but rather to the contrary. However, the 1588 Grant includes the words: 'And that they maye vse and beare the same in their sheildes, targettes, swordes, Cotes of Armes penons, tentes, pavilions, ensignes. . . .' There is no such reference in either of the other Grants as published. While these words may well appear in the Grants of other people who may be involved in martial enterprises, it is interesting to note that, so far as Whitgift is concerned, they appear only in the Grant issued at a time when he was actively mustering troops to face an expected invader whose banners could be confused with his own both in charge and in colour. And, as has been suggested on p. 118, the opportunity was taken to clear up any doubts about the Arms of the See of Canterbury.

3. 1598

It is suggested that Whitgift changed his Arms in 1598 in order to introduce a fifth bezant to denote his new Hospital of the Holy Trinity for the poor in Croydon.

The 1596 instruction for the building of the foregate of the hospital included a drawing of Whitgift's Arms in keeping with the 1577 Grant (uncoloured). Lambeth MS. 275 fo. 20.

Assuming that the present foregate is a careful restoration of the original, not least because it looks a careful restoration, and prints of the eighteenth century are in keeping, a reason has to be found for the facts that not only are the Arms which appear over the gateway the Arms of the See of Canterbury alone, not impaling Whitgift's, but also an instruction to display 'one wth tharmes of Woster & the other what else is thought good,' was also not carried out. It is suggested that between the 1596 instruction, and the 1597 execution (or possibly 1598), Whitgift decided to add the fifth bezant. The new Arms then appear in the carved mantelpiece in his Audience Room



5
 FIG. 1.—1. ARMS AND CREST OF MICHAEL MURGATROYD, 1598 (p. 110).
 2. WHITGIFT'S ARMS AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1588 (pp. 101, 111).
 3. WHITGIFT'S ARMS AS PRIVATE GENTLEMAN, 1588 (pp. 101, 111). 4. SEAL OF
 WHITGIFT'S HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, 1599 (p. 105). 5. SKETCH OF
 ARMS, DATED 1584, EMBOSSED ON WHITGIFT'S OWN BIBLES (pp. 99, 118).
 6. SKETCH OF WHITGIFT'S ARMS IN INSTRUCTIONS TO BUILDERS, 1596 (p. 100).

in 1599, and on his Deed of Foundation, on the Hospital Seal, and on all Deeds and Indentures concerning the Croydon property. The fifth bezant appears on the fountain in the Great Court of Trinity College, Cambridge, erected in the time of Dr. Thomas Nevile, a witness of the Deed of Foundation; and on the mantelpiece of the drawing room in the Master's Lodge at Trinity College, also built in Nevile's time. But it does not appear in any seal of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, or any official Diocesan MS. that I can find.

It is interesting to note further that in thinking of his new Hospital, Whitgift was thinking in terms of his Christian Faith; in choosing the verse for the gateway (*Qui dat pauperi, non indigebit*), he chose from among thirteen possibles. In Lambeth MS. 555, Whitgift gives a written description of his Arms, but for 'bezants' he substitutes the word 'talentis.' This could imply that as a religious man he looked on his Arms as having symbolic meaning, with the bezants as talents. The New Testament has a parable of the Five Talents. It would be a natural development, a flowering of his gifts, to use the fifth talent to denote his new Foundation for the Poor, the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon, on a cross which itself tended to blossom out.

Acknowledgments

I thank the Governors and Solicitors of the Whitgift Foundation for permission to examine their ancient Deeds; and, although they bear no responsibility for my opinions, I also thank Sir Anthony Wagner, K.C.V.O., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., Garter Principal King of Arms, and Mr. John Charlton, M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., for their advice.

I further gratefully acknowledge permission to use the Libraries of the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Lambeth Palace, the Society of Antiquaries, the Guildhall, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge.

I am particularly grateful for permission to make the extracts and quotations which are printed in this article.

APPENDIX I

1598 GRANT OF ARMS TO ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT'S SERVANT, MICHAEL MURGATROYD

The following extracts are taken from a grant of arms by Garter Dethick and William Camden, Clarenceux, in 1598 from Vincent's *Old Grants* 2, n. 329, in the College of Arms. This is annotated in a slightly later hand, 'Murgatoyd—given in imitation of Archbp whitegi[ft's] armes, to which Archbp he was a servant.'

. . . Quum vero Michael Murgatrod honestissimo loco natus filius Gulielmi Murgatrod & Franciscæ vxoris eius filiae Edwardi Hippon de Fetherston in Comitatu Eboracensi, bonis literis in Academia Cantabrigiensi innutritus . . . postea Reuerendissimo in Christo patri Domino Johanni Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitanò ab epistolis inde eius familie Censor suis Contrarotulator; deiniq; dispensator siue Seneschallus & ad Facultates in Alma Curia Cantuariensi Commissarius . . . In Campo argenteo duas Cruces nigras formatas floridas vtramque bizantinis distinctam notis cum aureo Lucij piscis capite resecto in Cantone nigro . . . Pro Crista autem super tortile ex suis coloribus dextrum Leonis pedem aureum rubro armatum stringentem cruce[m] nigram formatam floridam & fixam quatuor Bizantinis interstinctam cum clamys rubra argento duplicata . . .

A trick of the Arms and Crest is given in Fig. I.1.

APPENDIX II

THE 1588 GRANT OF ARMS TO ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT¹

To all and singuler Nobles and gentills to whom theis presentes shall come Willm Detheck als Garter principall king of Arms of England and cheif Officer of Armes for the most noble Order of the garter dew comendations and greetings. Whereas it is verie expedient and of auncient custome observed that the vertuous and the valiant, the noble, and renommed persons, in all tymes and ages should be honored and rewarded and the remembrances of them continewed and preserued whereunto by vertue of office I am respectiely to take notice of all the Estates, Nobles, and gentillmen bearing Arms, generallie within the Queenes Majesty's Dominions. To the intent that as by their names parentage, estates, and degrees during lyfe, they haue and enioye the same, So the remembrances of them sondrye wayes continewed and taking increase in their children; yssuez and posterities, maye be knowne and preserued by their lawdable ensignes of honor most necessarie to be had and vsed in all vertuous and comendable actes of gentilitie. Pervsing therefore the auncient recordes and registers in my office for the prooffe of the Armes used by the most reverend and honorable John Whitegyfte Doctor of Diuinitie by the grace of God now Lord Archbischopp of Canterburie Metropolitan and Primate of all England: whose sheild and Cote of Arms then vsed and exemplefied in my office by my late predecesor was to be reduced vnto the verie trew and auncient sheild of Arms appropriate to his name and kindred rather then to be any wayes altered in matter forme or Coullors. In apparant testimony whereof being herevnto solicted and by credible report informed That Henry whitegifte late of Grymsby in the counties of Lincolne gentellman deceased, sonne of John whitegifte late in the countie of Yorke gent whose former sheild and aunciente cote of Arms was after this manner most auncientlie declared by blazon and coullors to be exemplified as appeareth depicted in this Margent: which said Henry whitegifte of Grimsbie gent had yssue fower Sonnes² whose names ar following viz John whitegifte eldest sonne and heire now Lord Archbischop aforesaid willm whitegifte second Sonne of Curles at Claveringe in the countie of Essex gent George whitegifte third sonne and Richard whitegifte fourthe sonne all yet livinge and³ three daughters Alice A A [*sic*] deceased without issue And for as muche as to the said auncient sheild and cote of Arms there is no Crest or Cognizance yet knowne to be heretofore vsed with the tyme is growne to amore generall vse In respect of honor and gentilitie and for the publication and apparant testimony of truthe in the premisses By the auctoritie of my said office graunted by the Queenes most excellent Majestie vnder the greate seale of England in this behalf and generallie for all causes and matters of Armes in all her Majesty's dominions aforesaid I the said Garter Principall king of Arms haue made manifest, declared, graunted, confirmed, and by blazon exemplefied: and by theis presentes do manyfest, declare, graunt, confirme, and by blazon exemplefie: First vnto the said most reuerend and honorable John Whitegifte Lord Archbischopp aforesaid the former and auncient sheild and cote of Arms viz⁴ Argent a Crosse humette flore deliz Sables with fower Beszantes and haue impaled therewith the ould and vsuall Armes of the Sea of Canterburie appertayning to his honorable estate, and dignitie; And moreouer vnto the foresaid willm whitegifte George whitegi[fte] and Richard whitegifte gent, aforesaid brothers vnto the said Lord Archbischop together and with this there said Arms for Crest and Cognizance uppon a helmett with mantells the legg and pawe of a Lyon Gules

¹ This is the fair copy with further amendments of a draft dated June 1588 in the same volume. The tricks annexed are taken from the former. (A trick of the Arms and Crest is given in Fig. 1.2 and 3).

² Altered from: 'fower Sonnes yet lyving and three daughters deceased without yssue by Anne Dynewell daughter of _____ in the Countie of _____.'

³ Altered from: 'one daughter named Ales.'

⁴ The blazon originally in French thus: 'D'argent vne Croix humete flore deliz sables a quatre Besantes.'

sett in a crowne Gould houlding a garland or chapletts of Lawrell or Bays proper, as more plainly appeareth depicted in this margent. To haue and to hould the said Armes vnto the said reuerend and honorable John whitegifte Lord Archbishop of Canterburie together with the said Arms and creast vnto the aforesaid willm whitegifte of Curles at Clauering in the countie of Essex gent and to George whitegifte and Richard whitegifte gent and to their yssues and posterities of Everie of them lawfully begotten with their dew differences for euer; And that they maye vse and beare the same in their sheildes, targettes, swordes, Cotes of Armes Penons, tentes, pavilions, ensignes of Armes, seales ringes or signettes or to carue, paint, or engraue the same in stone, marble, wood, Copper, mettalls vp[on] edifices, buyldinges, glasse windowes, vtensills, or in Churches for Tombes and monumentes whatsoever, or for any exercise, vse, or cause in all vertuous Lawdable and accustomed manner with priuiledges that to gentry belongethe without lett chalenge or inhibition of any man In witnes and apparant testimony of truthe hereof & for that the remembrance may contineue and endure I the said Garter Principall king of Arms haue vnto theis letters Patentes subscribed my name and fastened the Seale of my ofice indorzed with the signett of my Armes Yeuen at the the office of Arms London the daie of July the yeare of or Saluation after the Nativite of Christ Jhesus one thowsand fyve hundred fowerscore and eight and of the happie Reigne of or Soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God queene of England France and Ireland defender of the faithe &c xxxtie.

APPENDIX III

MSS. AND CHARTERS SEEN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

A. MANUSCRIPTS WITH HERALDIC TRICKING

1. *Addendum 4966 fo. 57b.*

A frontispiece stuck in is a summons to attend a Painter-Stainers Company's Court of Assistants, as follows: 'Sr You are desired to appear at Painter Stainers Hall, on Wednesday being the 12th day of October by ten of the clock in the Forenoon at a Court of Assistants. Timothy Raines. Beadle.' The MS. is described as 'A Collection of Arms, coloured, chiefly granted or allowed by Sir William Segor, principal King of Arms.' The catalogue has the inked entry 'made by S. Waken.' (Timothy Raines was Beadle 1700-1716. The only Wednesday 12 October entered in the Company's Minutes Book was 1709. I have not found the name S. Waken in the Company's records.) The Arms of 'John Whitgifte Archbishop of Canterbury 1588.'

2. *Harleian 1359 fo. 108b.*

'A Book in 4to, thus entitled, "Guiftes and Confirmations of Coats and Crests, gathered together by me, John Withie 1620."' There is the further comment that although all the Arms are tricked by Withie, the writing is not all of his hand.

As *Addendum 4966 fo. 57b*, but not coloured.

Note: Painter-Stainer's Company's *Court Minutes for 1623-49*, in the Guildhall. MS. 5667/1 f. 96. 3 July 1634: 'At this Court order was given to warne in these men to take upon them the clothing . . .' There follow nine names including 'John Withie.' Guildhall MS. 5667/1 gives a Minute for 30 September 1634: 'At this Court John Withy was chosen to be out of his Livery and to wayt his yeare as a livery man and to serve as one of the stewards the next yeare.'

MS. 5667/1 fo. 220 18 October 1647: 'It is also ordered that Mr. Warden Withie shall pay unto Mr. Willingham, etc.' Mr. Withie's name appears at many meetings at this time.

It would therefore appear that, whatever Mr. Withie's duties were in 1620, he was very junior.

3. *Harleian* 1422 fo. 94.
'An Heraldical Book in fol. whose best part was tricked and written by Mr. John Gough the Paynter-Stayner, being not only his Master-piece as to the fineness, beauty, and regularity of the Tricking, but the best in that kind that I have seen here or elsewhere: and hath also been esteemed as the best Book of Tricking by divers both Heralds and Painters, who had formerly seen the Book, and supposed it to be lost or torn to pieces.'
Arms described as granted by Cooke in 1588.
4. *Harleian* 1441 fo. 61b.
'An Heraldical Book in fol. writting tricked, and painted by divers hands, wherein are contained . . .'
The Arms are described as those granted in 1577.
5. *Stowe* 703 fo. 4b.
'Paper; ff101. xviii Cent. On a fly-leaf at the beginning is the signature "Wm Most." Folio.'
'Whittguift . . . 1577.'
6. *Harleian* 5847 f. 1b.
The lettering appears to be in a seventeenth-century hand. The latest entry is for Darnell, 1603.
7. *Addendum* 12,454 f. 2b.
'Deithickes Giuftes.' 'Whitguift . . . 1577.'
8. *Addendum* 4963 fo. 2.
Collections of Arms by Samuel Walker 'begun in 1669 and finished 1671.'
In the front of the book is a notice summoning to the Paynter-Stainers' Court of Assistants on Wednesday, 5 October. (This is probably the week before the notice in *Addendum* 4966 . . . No. 1 above, viz., in 1709. A Meeting was also held on Wednesday, 5 October, 1715.) Subject: Visitation of Surrey 1623.
(a) See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift, five bezants: mitre.
(b) Whitgift: five bezants; an incomplete coronet, paw, and wreath.
9. *Harleian* 1397 fo. 1336.
Visitations of Surrey, Cornwall, and Durham. Written in Latin, but containing no more information than appears in *Addendum* 4963. Probably seventeenth-century hand.
10. *Harleian* 1542 fo. 12b.
The date 1634 is on a page attached to the flyleaf, and the hand-writing supports such an early date. Visitation of Essex.
11. *Lansdowne* 255 fo. 5a.
A volume relating chiefly to Heraldry, but interspersed with many historical matters . . .
Legend: 'John Whitgift Bishop of Woer and now Archbp of Cant 1588.'
The first page of the first folio has the words, 'The hand of Sir Wm Dethick Garter.'
It is interesting to note that this is the only MS. of tricking which agrees completely with the 1588 Grant. All the others have errors viz.—
(a) five bezants: all the other MSS.
(b) 2nd & 3rd qtrs: 'or on a cross sable etc.' *Addendum* 4966, *Harleian* 1359 & 1422.

A possible explanation is that Sir Wm Dethick's MS. is actually in his hand, and contemporary, whereas the other MSS., being of a much later date, and looking back through the 1598 grant, have confused them. My impression is that these other MSS. are studies by painter-stainer apprentices, or their masterpieces before becoming liverymen.

B. SEALS OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY

Seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are listed on p. 177 of Birch's Catalogue of Seals.

1. No. 1295. *Harleian Ch.* 43 G 45. A.D. 1589.
2. *Additional Charter* 42,225. A.D. 1593 April.
Not in Birch's list.
3. No. 1296. *Harleian Ch.* 53 H 21. A.D. 1598.
Arms: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift four bezants.
4. *Additional Charter* 51,269. A.D. 1599 2 Jan.
Michael Murgatroyd, licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury 'for my father and mother to marry.'
The seal is imperfect.
5. No. 1297. *Harleian Ch.* 43 G. 47b. A.D. 1600.
A reddish-brown seal, cracked and imperfect.
The Whitgift half of the Arms show four bezants.
6. No. 1298. *Additional Charter* 1883. A.D. 1603.
The upper half of the seal is perfect, but the Arms are missing from the lower half.
7. No. 1294. *Additional Charter* 6240. A.D. 1602 25 May.
The Will of Dame Margaret Poulett of Sampford Peverell, Devon.
Arms: the See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift, with four bezants.
See Plate II(b).

From the foregoing it is clear that although the counterseal was changed from time to time, the face of the seal remained constant, the form of Whitgift's personal Arms not changing even after the 1598 Grant. This suggests that the change was not primarily a change of importance for the Diocese as such.

SEAL B.M. BIRCH 3016 LXXII. 60.

The seal of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon.

This is a green plaster cast which was bought by the British Museum in 1885. The design follows that of the brass impression held by the Solicitors of the Whitgift Foundation in Croydon, and is nearly perfect, although the details are not quite so sharp as are those of the brass impression. I felt it possible that this seal cast was taken from the original matrix about 1884, and that the matrix has not been returned to its proper place. It has been lost. Arms: Whitgift, on a cross formée fleurettée five bezants. Incorrectly, the Birch Catalogue refers to 'four bezants,' whereas the plaster cast has plainly five.

C. WAFER SEALS AFFIXED TO CORRESPONDENCE IN THE B.M.

A. *While Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

1. *Lansdowne* 18/26 fo. 51. 5 February, 1573/4.
Signed: Jhon Whitgyfte.
Seal: a man's head in profile.
2. *Lansdowne* 24/21 fo. 45. 15 February, 1576/7.
Signed: Jhon Whitgifte.
Seal: a part is missing, but the whole appears to be an angel holding a book.

B. *While Bishop of Worcester.*

1. *Lansdowne 27 No. 72 fo. 158.* 19 January, 1578.
Signed: Jo. Wigorn.
Seal: on a cross humette fleurettée four bezants. Above the shield, the letters 'I.W.' A clear impression.
2. *Lansdowne 36/22.* 24 October, 1582.
Signed: Jo. Wigorn.
Although the bezants are not very sharply defined, they are there. 'I.W.' surmounting. A good seal.
3. *Lansdowne 37/20.* 11 February, 1582/3.
Seal: as above, but a perfect specimen.
4. *Lansdowne 38/70.* 11 June, 1583.
Signed: Jo. Wigorn.
Seal: lower fragment only.

C. *While Archbishop of Canterbury.*

1. *Lansdowne 42/43.* 29 May, 1584.
Signed: Jo. Cantuar.
Seal: a little indistinct.
2. *Lansdowne 42/44.* 24 June, 1584.
Seal: See of Canterbury, impaling Whitgift: on a cross humette fleurettée four bezants. Above the shield, the letters, 'I.C.'
3. *Lansdowne 42/45.* 30 June, 1584.
Seal: in excellent condition. Design as C.2 above.
4. *Lansdowne 42/49.* 26 December, 1584.
Seal: damaged; paper covering largely removed. Letters 'I.C.' visible.
5. *Lansdowne 57/76.* 13 December, 1588.
Seal: damaged; Whitgift impalement visible. Letters 'I.C.' lost.

GRANTS OF ARMS IN MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1. *Stowe 1047 ff 265b & 266.*
Grant of Arms to John Whitgift, 22 January 40 Elizabeth (1598).
'in scuto argenteo quinq Byzantinos super crucem formatam floridam ex nigro.'
Catalogue gives, 'Commonplace Book of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald (1602-1608).'
2. *Stowe 676 fo. 124.* Grant of Arms to John Whitgift.
No tricks, only blazons, quoted in full below.
An^o 40 Elize. 'in scuto agenteo quinq Byzantinos super Crucem floridam ex nigro. Itee avita pro crista sup Tortile ex suis colorib^s Leonis pedem avulsum sanguincumq ex auro armatum Rubeo cum chlamide rubra argento duplicata. Confirmed by Wm Dethick Garter & Wm Camdem Clare to Jno Whitgift Archbp Canterbury the 22 Jan 1598.' Description of MS.: 'Docquets of patents for arms, a 35 H 6 ad 45 Eliz.' XVIIIth Cent.
3. *Stowe 676 fo. 125b.* Grant of Arms to Michael Murgatroyd.
An^o 40 Elize. 'In campo argenteo duas cruces nigras formatas floridas utramq Byzantins distinctam notis pro crista sup Tortiles ex suis coloribus dextrum Leonis crucem nigram formatā floridam et fixam 4 Byzantins interstinctam cum clamide rubra argent duplicata. Confirmed by W. Dethick Garter & W. Camden Clar to Michael Murgatrod 2 Jan. 1598.'

4. *Stowe* 676 fo. 132. Grant of Arms to Michael Murgatrod.
An° 41 Elize. Exactly as above.
5. *Vincent's Old Grants* No. 2.

The 1598 Grant of Arms to Michael Murgatroyd is set out in the Appendix by courtesy of Sir Anthony Wagner.

B.M. MS. COLE: ADDITIONAL 5804: fo. 136b

This MS. concerns the Churches of Cambridgeshire, and is a collection of data by 'Wm Cole Coll: Regal: Cantab: A.M. 1743.'

fo. 136b concerns Clavering in Essex.

'I remember to have seen at Mr. Barlee's House wch is called Curles, in a window the Arms of ArchBp Whitgift: wch are O. on a Cross fleury B. 4 Bezants, according to ye original Patent published by Stripe in ye Appendix p. 26 of the Life of that ArchBp but at Curles in ye window of ye Kitchen they are fairly blazoned thus A. on a Cross fleury S. 5 Bezants: Crest a Lion's Paw erected & erased O. under them is this date 1607.'

The underlining above is as in the Cole MS.

MANNING, REV. OWEN, S.T.B. AND BRAY, WM. F.S.A.

History and Topography of the County of Surrey, XIII (1847). (In B.M. North Library, Cracherode Library 1 Tab. 1.6. Binding mark: 11.539.608.)

The Grangerised edition was sought . . . there were some pencilled notes but not many. Unreliable for Whitgift.

MSS. SEEN IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

A. MSS. WITH THE SIGNATURE AND SEAL OF JOHN WHITGIFT, BISHOP OF WORCESTER

1. SP12/118/11. 5 November, 1577.

Signed: Jo. Wigorn.

Arms: On a cross humette fleurettée, four bezants, surmounted by the initials 'IW.'

The seal, which is impressed with a thin square of paper over wax, is in good condition, although the bezants are a trifle faint.

2. SP12/124/29. 10 June, 1578.

Signed: Jo. Wigorn, and others.

Arms: as SP12/118/11. The top is damaged, and the initials 'IW' are not visible.

The seal is on the back of the second sheet, and is not very clear.

3. SP12/156/29 (p. 79). 24 December, 1582.

Signed: Jo. Wigorn.

Arms: as SP12/118/11.

The seal is damaged because two pages were stuck together at some time.

Note: Whitgift did not impale the Arms of Worcester See.

B. MSS. WITH THE SIGNATURE AND SEAL OF JOHN WHITGIFT AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

1. SP12/174/2. 19 October, 1584. Hampton Court.

Signed: Jo. Cantuar.

Arms: See of Canterbury, impaling Whitgift, on a cross humette fleurettée four bezants surmounted by the initials 'IC.' Difficult to decipher, and a little stained. Seal on a separate piece of paper. Seal: 1 in. diam. Shield: 0.65 in. + 0.8 in.

2. SP12/212/41. 13 July, 1588.

Signed: Jo. Cantuar.

Arms: as in SP12/174/2. Good condition.

C. MSS. WITH THE SIGNATURE OF DR. WHITGIFT AS MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

There are a number of letters, including Whitgift's signature to letters written while he was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. None of these has a seal, but in each his signature is: Jhon Whitgyfte.

e.g.:

SP12/73/26. August 19, 1570.

SP12/88/6. June 3, 1572.

SP12/88/9. June 5, 1572.

D. SEALS OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY

1. E 135/7/49. London 10 November, 1591.

Concerning Willm Carnesew of Cornwall.

Only fragments of this seal are left, but there is sufficient for the greater part of the pall of Canterbury to be visible; and of Whitgift for there to be no doubt that this is an example of the usual Prerogative Court seal—Whitgift with four bezants.

2. C 108/196. 1593.

Probate of Will.

Although the seal is not perfect, the shield is quite clear. Arms: See of Canterbury, impaling Whitgift as above.

3. SC13/F113. Date uncertain.

The shield is partly missing, but there is sufficient to show that this was a seal like the other Prerogative Court seals.

The two following show Whitgift impaling for Canterbury the cross with the letters $\frac{i}{x}$ at the centre-point.

4. *Wards* 2/22B/1. 1588.

The last Will and Testament of William Moggridge. The Will was drawn up the 4 May 1588. The date of Probate, and therefore of the attachment of the Seal of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury is 22 November 1588 with 'Johannes providentia Divina Cant Archiepus fornis Anglic Primus et Metropolitanus.'

See Plate II(a).

E.42/335 is a Commissary General Seal of 1583.

Only a small fragment of Whitgift's Arms are decipherable, but the cross with $\frac{i}{x}$ at the centre-point is quite clear.

Note on Prerogative Court Seals 1559–1588: This representation of the Province of Canterbury by the device usually associated with the Canterbury Cathedral is found not only on the two earliest seals of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury during Whitgift's reign that I have found, but also on the seals of his two immediate predecessors—Archbishop Grindal 1575–83, and Archbishop Parker 1559–1575.

Matthew Parker, as Archbishop of Canterbury, impaled the Arms usually associated with the Cathedral in

B.M. MS. Lansdowne 15/36, July 8, 1572.

B.M. MS. Lansdowne 15/38 fo. 74b. August 17, 1572.

B.M. Harl. Ch. 75. F27, date 1563.

(This is listed as Birch 1284. Birch describes, 'dexter, Archdeaconry of Canterbury,' but the Seal itself has 'MATHEW · PARKER · DEI · GRATIA · CANT · ARCHIEPE · SIGILLUM · CURIA · PREROGATIUM.'

- B.M. Add. Ch. 5228. Birch No. 1287. 1564.
 B.M. Harl. Ch. 75. F. 28. Birch No. 1288. 1567.
 B.M. Harl. Ch. 83. C. 30. Birch No. 1290. 1571.
 B.M. Add. Ch. 18309. Birch No. 1291. 1572.

These last five seals are all of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but they impale, not the Pall, but the Arms normally assigned to the Cathedral. B.M. Harl. Ch. 83. C.30 is signed by Laurence Argall on behalf of Archbishop Parker.

- Edmund Grindal, Whitgift's immediate predecessor, shows a like usage; *see*
 B.M. Add. Ch. 28650. 1583 (listed in Index Seals).
 B.M. Add. Ch. 23973. 1579 (listed as Birch 1293).

Incidentally, Cranmer used the Cathedral Arms on a Seal as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1540; *see* B.M. Cotton Ch. X.13. Birch No. 1262.

The explanation suggested here is that in pre-Reformation days the use of a Pall may have been significant of Papal approval; indeed the Archbishop of York also used the Pall at one time as in B.M. Cotton Ch. X.13. (1540.) Parker, who had changed the Arms of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, when he was Master, because of the implied Roman teaching of the old Arms, also abandoned the use of the Pall on becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, and reverted to the Cathedral Arms which Cranmer used in 1540. Archbishop Sudbury also displayed them some 200 years earlier, *see* B.M. XL.4. Birch No. 1225. Grindal seems to have followed Parker's practice. I was unable to find any seal or impression of a seal used by either Archbishop Parker or Archbishop Grindal with a pall to denote the See of Canterbury. Whitgift, sometimes accused of Papist leanings, made the change back to the pall. In Lambeth MS. 275 fo. 20, of 1596, the words 'the armes of the Sie of Cant.' are followed by 'viz the Pall,' implying that the words 'the armes of the Sie of Cant.' did not of themselves necessarily indicate the Pall. The like implication may be seen in the 1588 Grant in Vincent's Old Grants, where the blazon of Whitgift's Arms is followed by the words: 'therewith the ould and usuall Armes of the Sea of Canterbury.' Indeed, in view of the practice of Parker and Grindal, and of the fact that a Prerogative Court Seal of 22 November 1588 showed the Cross with $\frac{1}{x}$ at the centre-point, these words may have been included for the definite purpose of resolving any doubt concerning the correct charging of the Arms of the See. Certainly the next Prerogative Court Seal that I can find with identifiable charging, viz., of 10 November 1591, shows the Pall, as do all the later ones that I have seen.

Further, Whitgift's Monument in Croydon Parish Church has three shields—one with his Arms impaled with the See of Worcester, one with the Pall for the See of Canterbury, and the other with the Arms usually associated with the Cathedral. My explanation is that during the previous 45 years, at least, people who were adult when Whitgift died had associated the latter form of Arms with the Archbishopric as much as, more recently, they had associated the Pall, and therefore they placed both forms on his Monument.

MSS. AND BOOKS SEEN IN LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

1. **E 175 *Jugge 1573 Bishop's Version*.
 The Bible in five volumes, with the Book of Common Prayer, and, at the end, a metrical version of the Psalms.
 These volumes were for Archbishop Whitgift's personal use, and were embossed with his Arms and those of the See of Canterbury on the outside of the front and back covers. The Arms were coloured, and bore the date '1584.' Whitgift is shown as Or, on a cross azure fleurettée four bezants or.
See Fig. 1.5.
2. MS. 555 *Codex membranaccus, in duodecimo*.
 'Nomina, Insignia, Etymologiae, Insigniumque Descriptiones uniuscujusque Scuti pertinentis ad singulum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum tam Anglice quam Latine, a Lanfranco ad Johannem Moore, pulcherrime scripta et depicta; inchoata tempore Johannis Whitgift, Archiepiscopi.'

'No. 41.

Etymologia:

Germ: Whitgift, vere Wýtgifte.

a wýt: i. amplu' vel efficax E

gift: i. medicames vel amuletus

A perfett medicin or preservative.

Arma: Portat a sinistra Sedis Cantuar:

Quadrifaria^s ex Argento e Auro. In primo quadro & postremo Crucē Formatā floridā, de Nigro, Talentis quatuor decoratum. In secundo & tertio, eandem Crucem Cæruleā cū totidē Talētis.'

Comment: The mitre has light blue, red, and dark blue jewels.

The use of the word 'talentis' for bezants in a book begun by Whitgift is interesting, for it does not appear elsewhere in reference to the charges on his Arms. It suggested to the present writer that when Whitgift added the fifth bezant to his Arms in 1598, he may have been thinking of the parable of the Five Talents, the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon being his fifth and new Talent.

On the page opposite the Etymologia is the only contemporary coloured representation of Whitgift's quartered Arms that I have been able to find. They do not appear to have been used at any time.

3. MS. 1310. *A chronological list of the registers of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, made for Richard Argall, arm., registrar, 1584, with additions to 1588.*

The name of each register is stated and its date of commencement. The list begins with the March Register, 1401, but another hand has added the Rous Register, 1384. The margins contain the arms in colour of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Arundel to Whitgift.

Whitgift's Arms are: Or, on a cross azure fleurettée four bezants or.

On the same page is a list of Registrars of Whitgift's day.

4. MS. 275. *The Constitutions of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, together with the Reverend Samuell Finch's Accounts Book, and some letters.*

(a) From fo. 19 . . . a letter from the Rev. S. Finch to Mr. Wormall: 'Beside this, you shall receive of this bearer a paterne of the hospitall-gate from the Free Masons; and by this paterne, vewe may be taken, where his Gr. armes shall be placed, and where the dedication S. TRINITATI. There is space one eache side for VINCIT QUI. . . PATITUR, &c. And for a enteringe stone of eache side, one with the armes of Woster, and the other what else is thought good. . . Croydon this vii of Marche 1596.'

(b) fo. 20. 'A° 1596. For the foregate of the Hospitall at Croidon. The Armes over the door must be without helmet and mantelling & must be the armes of the Sie of Cant. viz. the Pall, in pale with the now L. Archb. armes, & the yeare of the Lorde under viz. 1597. Over the saide Armes a free stone square with these words in great letters viz.,

Summae Trinitati

Sacr:

On the bare places over the gate called I think the ashler a sentence in like great letters to be writen such as my L. grace shall thinke meete to some suche effecte as is here underwriten in some of these following.

The right Armes of the nowe Lord Archebishopp
of Canterbury wth the sie impaled./

- Ei qui dat pauperi, non erit egestus. Prov. 29. 27.
 Ne claudus manum a fratre egens. Deuter. 15. 7.
 Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. 2. Cor. 9. 7.
 Beatus qui attendit ad pauperem. Psal. 41. 1.
 Quod minimo fratrum meorum, fecistis mihi. Matth. 25. 40.
 Qui dat pauperi, foeneratur domino.
 psal. 40. beatus qui intelligit super egenum, et paupereim.
 probs. 14. Qui miseretur pauperi, beatus erit.
 honorat Dominum qui miseretur pauperis.
 probs. 19. foeneratur Domino qui miseretur pauperis.
 probs. 28. + Qui dat pauperi non indigebit.
 Qui despicit deprecantem, sustinebit penuriam.
 Luk. 11. Date eleemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.

[*Note*: the + marked before the words 'Qui dat . . .' could be in Whitgift's own hand, indicating his choice of a verse from among those submitted to him.]

ffor the foregate of the hospitall at Croydon./

The Armes over the Doore must be without Helmet and Mantelling, and must be the Armes of the Sie of Canterburie, viz: the Pall in pale with the nowe Lo: Archebishops's Armes, and the yeare of the Lord under them, viz.: 1597.'

See Fig. 1.6.

Comment: It was MS. 275 which first made me think that the fifth bezant, added as a charge in the 1598 Grant of Arms, was intended to represent Whitgift's new Hospital in Croydon.

First, despite the instructions in Mr. Finch's letter of 7 March 1596 (fo. 19), the only Arms over the entrance gateway are those of the See of Canterbury, viz., the pall, with a cross, and with a mitre above. Although the gateway has been restored, the restoration appears to have been a very careful one, and there is no sign of there ever having been three shields, or even one of Whitgift himself.

Secondly, bearing in mind the date of Finch's instruction, viz., 1596; the date of the hospital building, viz., 1597; and the date of the new Grant of Arms, viz., 22 January 1598, it seems possible that the Archbishop had further thoughts about the charges on his Arms, and that, in accordance with an oral instruction, the building continued with the Arms of the See only, while he took out a new Grant . . . to incorporate a fifth bezant for his Hospital. Such changes were probably not unknown at the end of the sixteenth century, for Shakespeare makes Othello say: 'But our new heraldry is . . . hands, not hearts.' (Othello, Act III, Sc. 4.)

Thirdly, in support of the suggestion that the fifth bezant was intended to denote Whitgift's giving to the poor, there is the fact that Lambeth MS. 555 was begun in the time of Whitgift, and that the word used there for 'bezants' is 'talentis.' Whitgift's writings are full of scriptural allusions, and the text 'Qui dat pauperi, non indigebit' was chosen from thirteen biblical texts. It is therefore permissible to suppose that in thinking of his Arms, he thought scripturally, and thus of the parable of the Five Talents. If this were so, the five talents could well be: God, the Queen, the Church, Education, and, fifthly, the Poor.

Incidentally, Whitgift appears to have been interested in heraldry, for in MS. 1310 his Registrar made a list of registers up to '1584, with additions to 1588,' and added coloured Arms of the Archbishops. And on 2 January 1598 (vide B.M. MSS. Stowe 676 ff 125b and 132), Whitgift's secretary, Michael Murgatroyd, took out a Grant of Arms which included some elements also found in Whitgift's own. (Also see Appendix I, with extract and tricking from Vincent's Old Grants 2.)

5. *Letter 72 in a bundle of letters concerning the mustering of clergy forces is from Mr. (later Sir) William Segar, Norroy King of Arms, concerning the making of new banners.* The letter, which is dealt with again in the section dealing with Whitgift's reasons for changing his Arms, sets out the reasons for requiring new material, viz., the change in the colours of Whitgift's Arms; the quantities, nearly eight yards in all; the effect of rain on the materials; a reference to poor workmanship which is called an abuse; and a comment on impaling the Arms with those of the See of Canterbury.

Mr. Segar wrote one sentence of considerable interest, viz., 'Touching the Marshalling of the Armes . . . they are to be empaled wth the Armes of the Sea, otherwise, in the field they maye be reputed but as a private gentlemans.' This letter was written less than seven weeks after Segar had witnessed Whitgift's signature on his Foundation Deed of 25 June 1599. In this Deed it will be noted that Whitgift had ordained that the Seal of the Croydon Hospital of the Holy Trinity include his Arms; but the Arms used were without impalement or mitre: thus they could 'be reputed but as a private gentlemans.' That this was not the intention is shown by the fact that Whitgift's Hospital was, and always has been, under the supervision of the Archbishops of Canterbury. In 1619 Archbishop George Abbott founded the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, using the Croydon Hospital as a model; its Charter was granted on 20 June 1622, when Sir William Segar was Garter. Indeed, he attended Archbishop Abbott's funeral on 3 September 1633. The Seal of the Guildford Hospital shows Abbott's Arms impaled with those of the See of Canterbury, and surmounted by the mitre. (Surrey Arch. Coll., Vol. III, 1865, 256.) The 1599 letter could give support to the view that Sir William Segar saw the Foundations at Croydon and at Guildford not as the works of private gentlemen but of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The letter is quoted in full by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Trustees of the Lambeth Palace Library.

'Lrs from the . . . Archb. about musteringe Clergie forces. 69.' (A bundle bought at Sotheby's, October 1963.)

Letter 72.

'Sir, A Gent of my Lords Grace, hath brought me his Lps Ensigne, and Banners to be reformed, wch cannot be done wthoute newe silke, for having altered his Coat of Armes, from gould, and Azure, to silver and sable, his Coullors in the silkework must be white, and black. The pcells whereof by the workeman required, I have underwritten. Touching the Marshalling of the Armes in th'ensigne, Guyhome, and Trumpett banner, they are to be empaled wth the Armes of the Sea, otherwise, in the field they maye be reputed but as a private gentlemans. And veryllye I hould, that my Lords grace should not beare his Armes at any tyme, but empaled with the Sea/Moreover, they are to be wrought in oyle upon the silke, to endure the weather, wheras theis are wrought in Syze, and will not abyde one shower of rayne, Wherin his Lp was abused by the workeman. I praye yo send mee worde what shalbe done therein, and I will see it speedyllye pformed. And so I humblye commend mee unto you this ixth of August a^o 1599

Yor wps poore freind
W Segar Norroy.

Tow ells and a quarter of Taffata
Sarceness white for the ensigne
A yeard and half a quarter of black
damaske, and a yeard and half a quarter
of white damaske for the Trumpett
Three quarters of a yeard of black
Damaske, and as much of white for
the Guydon.

Half a yeard, and half a quarter
of redd Damaske, for St. Georges
Cross in the head of the Guydon.

Obverse side . . .

'To his worshipfull freind
Mr. Aleworthe esquire
Croydon.

Mr Segar
Norric
(Seal damaged)'

ILLUMINATIONS, MATRIX, AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS OF ABP WHITGIFT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE WHITGIFT FOUNDATION

(seen by courtesy of Mr. Leonard Green)

1. *The Foundation Deed of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity* 25 June, 41 Eliz. 1599.

In this Foundation Deed, Archbishop Whitgift ordains that the Hospital shall be a body corporate, capable of holding property, not exceeding the value of £200 by the year, and shall enjoy a common seal, engraved with the history of Dives and Lazarus, and a scutcheon of the arms of the said John Whitgift, and circumscribed with the words, 'Sigillum Hospitalis Sanctae Trinitatis in Villa de Croydon,' and shall be able to plead and be impleaded in any court of law.

The Deed is illuminated in colour as follows:

- (a) A coloured illumination of Whitgift seated at a table with a closed book in his hand, and at the base a shield with the Arms as in Ducarel. The colouring is good.
Arms: Whitgift: argent, on a cross formée fleurettée sable *five* bezants or.
- (b) The Arms of the See of Canterbury in colour, viz., the pall and cross.
- (c) The Royal Arms in colour.
- (d) The Arms of the See of Canterbury with Whitgift impaled, viz., argent, on a cross formée fleurettée sable *five* bezants or.
- (e) The Seal of the Hospital in line, tinted a brick red, viz., a tint resembling that that the Seal would have when in wax. Being monochrome, the Arms are On a cross formée fleurettée *five* bezants. This illumination is exactly like Fig. 3 in Ducarel's Appendix, both in detail and in size.
- (f) Archbishop Whitgift's Seal. This, the only specimen of this particular seal, is damaged; the lower part and the sides are missing, while the remaining part is broken in two pieces. Arms: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift. The upper part of the Canterbury pall and cross remain, and are clear. Of the Whitgift side, the bezants on the three upper shafts are quite clear, as is the central one. The seal breaks on the bezant on the lowest shaft. Arms: On a cross formée fleurettée *five* bezants.
Although the Seal is damaged, the pieces which exist are exactly as in Ducarel's Appendix.
- (g) Counterseal in perfect condition. Arms: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift On a cross formée fleurettée *five* bezants, surmounted by the letters 'I.C.'

2. *A Brass Impression of the Hospital Seal* . . . probable date, 1599.

A Brass Impression of the Hospital Seal was found in the Deed Box; it has been brazed on to a metal plate. It is of the same size as Ducarel's drawing, viz., 3·2 inches by 2·0 inches, but much more elaborate in detail, and differing from both Ducarel's drawing and the illumination on the Deed in a number of details. Mr. John Charlton examined it carefully,

and considered that it was an early one. Save for one scar, it is in perfect condition; the scar is a dent about 0·1 inch long in the space between the dogs' heads and the balcony. It is a beautiful piece of work in its own right, and illustrative of customs of Elizabethan times. As in Ducarel's drawing, the Arms are those of Whitgift: On a cross formée fleurettée five bezants.

Chief among the differences between the brass impression and the tricking on Deed are the following:

- (a) tricking: the wording around the shield is arranged so that 'sanctae' is on one side, and 'Trinitatis' on the other.
impression: the 'T' of 'Trinitatis' is on the same side as 'sanctae.'
- (b) tricking: sequence of decoration on the balcony (1) leopard's head, (2) cinquefoil is as follows: 1.2.1.2.1.2.1.2.
impression: the sequence is: 2.1.2.1.1.2.1.2.
- (c) tricking: capitals of pillars: the letter 'W.'
impression: capitals of pillars: a rampant animal, ? lion.
- (d) tricking: plain table cloth, pillars, cutlery, dresses.
impression: items are more detailed and decorative, e.g. table-cloth shows turkey-work.

Note: The original matrix has been lost; the matrix, alleged to be original, in the Croydon Public Library is much smaller than any of the old impressions of the Hospital Seal on any document.

3. *Deeds with impressions of the Hospital Seal*

- (a) An Indenture dated 22 August 41 Eliz. 1599.
This is No. 414 in C. G. Paget's 'Abstracts of the Ancient Muniments of the Whitgift Foundation Croydon,' and was in Box 10. It bears the number 209.
The top left part of the seal is missing, as is the part with the shield. This indenture also carries the Archbishop's seal.
- (b) Counterpart dated 13 March 1599/1600 of Indenture No. 417 in Paget. The Counterpart is No. 418 in Paget, was found in Box 10, and bears the number 211. The seal is, as are they all, in a dull red wax. The impression is a very good one, in good condition. The Archbishop's seal was also used.
- (c) Another Counterpart dated 13 March 1599/1600 of Indenture No. 417 in Paget. The Counterpart is Paget No. 419, was found in Box 10, and bears the number 214. The seals are those of the Hospital, with Phyllyp Jinkyns as Warden, and the Archbishop's brother George and nephew John as Trustees. The Hospital Seal is one of the best. The Arms are quite clear, and in accordance with the brass impression found in the Deed Box.
- (d) An Indenture dated 13 January 1601/2.
This is Paget No. 420.
It was in Box 12, and is No. 138.
Signed and sealed by George Whytgyft and Robert Foster, Warden. The Warden's seal was damaged, but measurements taken tally with measurements of the brass impression, e.g. width of balcony, 39 mm.; lower right-hand corner of balcony to Lazarus's left foot toes, 36 mm.
- (e) An Indenture dated 25 March 1603/4.
This is Paget No. 114.
It was in Box 25, and is No. 322.
Signed and sealed by Robert Foster, Warden.
Only the upper half of the seal remains, but it tallies with the brass impression both in detail and in size. The following measurements were made, viz., across the balcony, 39 mm., from the top of the canopy to the balcony, 28 mm.

- (f) A Deed Poll dated 7 May 2 Ja. 1604.
This is Paget No. 334. It is the appointment of Samuëll ffynche, Vicar of Croydon, as the Hospital's attorney to receive some property from William Whitgifte of Clavering, Essex.
It was in Box 15, and is No. 195.
Signed and sealed by Robert Foster, Warden.
This impression is the best of all found; the only parts missing are the letters 'T-R' at the top of the seal, and the letter 'N' and a tip of the corner of Whitgift's shield at the bottom. There is a very slight blurring of the left side of the balcony. The measurements tally with those of the brass impression as before, as do all the details.

These six impressions of the Seal of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, tallying with the brass impression, show beyond dispute that the Archbishop's Arms, as used by the Hospital, were always On a cross formée fleuretée five bezants. On this Seal Whitgift's Arms were not impaled with those of the See of Canterbury.

4. *Deeds with impressions of Archbishop John Whitgift's Seals*

- (a) Deed Poll, dated 13 February Eliz. 37. (1595.)
This appears to be Paget No. 28. The Archbishop appoints Samuëll ffynche, Michael Murgatroyd, and Phillip Jenkyns, to take livery and seisin of a house called Checker. Found in Box 14. No. 175.
Signed: Jo. Cantuar.
Seal: Canterbury impaling Whitgift, showing four bezants.
This is the only seal that I have found among the Whitgift Foundation's Deeds of a date earlier than the 1598 Grant of Arms, and it is the only one with four bezants, in accordance with the 1588 Grant, which was operative at the date of this Deed Poll.
- (b) Indenture, dated 22 August Eliz. 41. 1599.
This is Paget No. 415 or 416 (both are counterparts). It was found in Box 10, and is therefore either No. 213, or 363.
Marked 'Reg. Fol. 3. Sched. No. 3.' A tripartite agreement between the Archbishop, George Whitgift, John Whitgift (son of William), as Trustees, and the Warden and Poor of the Hospital.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop, George Whitgift, and John Whitegift. Incidentally, George's handwriting is typical of the sixteenth century, and John's of the seventeenth, and this shows especially with the letter 'h' and 'y' for 'i.'
Arms: a good, clear seal; the shield measured 17 mm. across and 19 mm. down, and is surmounted by the letters 'I.C.'
See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift with five bezants.
- (c) An Indenture dated 22 August 41 Eliz. 1599.
This Indenture bears the Hospital Seal as well.
Arms: as 4(b). See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift with five bezants.
- (d) A Deed Poll dated 12 December 42 Eliz. 1599.
This is Paget No. 178. Found in Box 17. No. 220.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop.
Arms: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift with five bezants.
- (e) A Deed Poll dated 10 March Eliz. 42 1599/1600.
This is Paget No. 197. Found in Box 8. No. 79.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop. Arms as in 4(d) above.
These two Deed Polls are the only instances I have found of a straight-sided cross with five bezants from the Archbishop's lifetime. They are clearly impressions from the same signet.
- (f) An Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600.
This is Paget No. 417. Found in Box 10. No. 210.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop and the Trustees, George and John Whitgift.
Arms: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift with five bezants.

- (g) An Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600, counterpart of (f).
This is Paget No. 418. Found in Box 10. No. 211.
Arms of Archbishop as in (b) and (f) above.
- (h) Counterpart of an Indenture dated 12 January 44 Eliz. 1601/2.
This is Paget No. 421. Found in Box 12. No. 139.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop and the Warden, but the Hospital's seal has been broken off and lost.
Arms: The Archbishop's Arms appear to be as in 4(b) above, but the seal is not in good condition.
- (i) Counterpart of Indenture dated 20 January 44 Eliz. 1601/2.
This appears to be Paget No. 422.
Signed by the Archbishop and George Whitgift.
The Archbishop's seal is badly damaged.
- (j) Deed Poll dated 7 December Eliz. 45. 1602.
Paget No. 294. Found in Box 1. No. 2.
Signed and sealed by the Archbishop.
The details of the seal are not very clear.

5. *Seals of William Whitgift, second son of Henry Whitgift*

The seal of William Whitgift is attached to two deeds.

- (a) An Indenture dated 7 May 2 James 1604. *See* 3(f).
This is Paget No. 332. Found in Box 15. No. 197.
William Whitgifte and Margaret his wife give to the Hospital three houses which the Archbishop would have made over to them had he not died.
Signed and sealed by William Whitgifte.
Arms: On a cross humette fleurette four bezants, and a crescent at the centre point of the cross. Size: 6 mm. by 7 mm.
- (b) A Bond dated 7 May 2 James 1604.
This is Paget No. 333. Found in Box 15. No. 196.
William Whitgift is bound over in the sum of £100 to see that his wife Margaret does not interfere with the Warden and Poor in their possession of the foregoing property.
Signed and sealed by William Whitgift.
Arms: as in (a) above.

These two impressions are clearly from the same signet, but they are interesting, for they could imply that the undifferenced Arms were those of Henry Whitgift before they were the Archbishop's. According to Fox-Davies, the crescent was used as a mark of difference for a second son.

6. *Seals of George Whitgift, third surviving son of Henry Whitgift*

George Whitgift was one of the Trustees of the Hospital. (There was another son, between William and George, Phillip by name, but he died in Grimsby at the age of 12 years.)

- (a) An Indenture dated 22 August Eliz. 41. 1599.
Found in Box 10. *See* 4(b) above.
- (b) An Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600.
Found in Box 10. *See* 4(f) above.
- (c) Counterpart to an Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600.
Found in Box 10. *See* 3(c) above.
- (d) Counterpart of an Indenture dated 12 January 44 Eliz. 1601/2.
Found in Box 12. *See* 4(i) above.
- (e) An Indenture dated 13 January 1601/2.
In Box 12. *See* 3(d) above.

All of the foregoing were signed and sealed by George Whitgift who used the same signet throughout. The signet was that of a man's head, the impression being of about 1 cm. diameter.

7. *Seals of John Whitgift, son of William Whitgift, and nephew of the Archbishop*

John Whitgift was one of the Trustees of the Hospital.

- (a) An Indenture dated 22 August Eliz. 41. 1599.
See 4(b) and 6(a) above.
 Signed and sealed John Whitegift, in a more modern hand than that of George.
 The seal which has a diameter of about 12 mm. is of a bird spread-eagled.
- (b) An Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600.
See 4(f) and 6(b) above.
 Signed and sealed John Whitegift.
 Seal: Arms; Qtrly, 1, three crescents; 2, fretty; 3, an engrailed chevron with three objects which could be bells in chief and at the base; 4, a rampant quadruped, ? lion.
 Arms not yet identified.
- (c) Counterpart to Indenture dated 13 March 1599/1600.
See 3(c) and 6(c) above. Seal as in 7(b) above.

8. *Incidental observations*

- (a) The practice of solicitors allowing their clients to seal documents with the solicitor's seal is seen in the following, all of which are signed and sealed with the identical seal.
- (i) Signed and sealed Edward Aylworth of the Middle Temple.
 Box 6. 29 May Eliz. 40. 1597.
- (ii) Signed and sealed Randell Carter. 10 March 1599.
 Box 8. No. 82.
- (iii) Signed and sealed John Blackett. 12 Dec. Eliz. 42. 1599.
 Box 17. No. 222.
- (iv) Signed and sealed John Blackett. 12 Dec. Eliz. 42. 1599.
 Box 17. No. 216.

The Arms used are those which appear in the stained glass window in the Almshouse Common Room. They are of the seventeenth century.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE WHITGIFT FOUNDATION

1. *The Lamborne Glass*: Major Talbot-Smith has the following note:

During the demolition of Lamborne Place, Hungerford, Berks, in 1937, this stained glass plaque was obtained from the Heraldic windows facing the Grand Staircase of the building, and brought to the Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, by Mr. Gerald Orlebar, whose ancestress Ann (1627-1650), 2nd daughter of George Orlebar (d. 1666) at the Manor House, Podington, County Bedford, married (1644) Hippisley (d. 1655) of the ancient family of Ston Easton, Co. Somerset, inheritor of the Lamborne Estate from the family of Organ of Co. Berks, the 16th Century possessors.

This glass is usually dated 1595. The Arms are the See of Canterbury impaled with Whitgift, clear glass, on a cross sable fleurettée four bezants or.

2. *Arms over the Ashlar Gate*: the Arms over the Ashlar Gate are those of the Province of Canterbury, viz., the pall and cross, with the mitre above. *See comments on Lambeth MSS. 275 & 555.* This carving in stone is either the original or an old copy.

3. *Overmantel in Audience Room*: the overmantel in Whitgift's Audience Room, now the Foundation's Council Room, is so dark a brown as to be well-nigh black. The carving is original, and contemporary with the room itself, viz., 1598-99. The Arms are carved, do not show colour, but are in the same form as those on the Foundation Deed, and the 1598 Grant, viz., with five bezants.

Comment: Taking together Lambeth MSS. 275 & 555, the Ashlar Gate Arms, these overmantel Arms, and those on the Foundation Deed, it seems probable that Archbishop Whitgift intended that the fifth bezant should represent his gift to the Poor. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that his Arms as used by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which was not involved in the affairs of the Hospital, remained unchanged with four bezants.

See Plate III(b).

4. *Rent Roll*: A Grant of rent of Land in St. Paul's Churchyard, dated 1 Jan. 1601. There are coloured representations of a number of Arms, including those of Abp. Whitgift. His are somewhat worn, and difficult to decipher. I was satisfied that the fifth bezant was in the centre of the cross . . . I used a magnifying glass to make sure. Mr. Yallop was of the same opinion concerning the fifth bezant.
5. *Sir George Paule's 'Life' of the Archbishop*, published 1612. Archbishop Whitgift's Arms, as illustrated in this 'Life,' are, in detail, like those of the overmantel in the Audience Room. As the Archbishop's secretary, Paule was in a position to know what Whitgift considered his Arms to be.

THE ARMS OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

1. *Bound Volumes of MSS*

Bound Volumes of MSS. were given to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Whitgift. These volumes are listed in the Catalogue of Western MSS. catalogued by M. R. James. The Arms, impressed and gilded on the front and back cover of the binding of each volume, are as follows: impaled with the See of Canterbury, Whitgift, with four bezants. There were probably not fewer than three dies, for the impressions are of at least three different sizes, two are upside down, viz., B.3/15 and B.1/1.

This representation of the Arms, being in block form, is in accordance with both the 1577 and the 1588 Grants which differ in colour only. They are also of Whitgift's own lifetime.

Having found no variation in 70 volumes, I did not seek out every single one; the volumes inspected are as follows:—

B.1/1-6; B.2/1-5, 7-8; B.3/2-15, 17, 28-35; B.4/1-5, 27-30; B.5/21-24, 26, 28; B.14/37, 38, 45; B.15/4; B.16/6-9; R.4/4-11; R.5/32, 35-36, 39, 41-43; R.10/31; R.16/4.

2. *'Memoriale Collegio Stae et Individuae Trinitatis in Academia Cantabrigiensi dicatū 1614.'*

With a typescript MS. descriptive of the shields therein by 'F.W.S.' and dated 2 October 1953. Mr. A. Halcrow, the Sub-Librarian, described 'F.W.S.' as a Herald.

All the representations of Archbishop Whitgift's Arms in *Memoriale* are according to the 1588 Grant both in form and in colour.

(a) p. 46. No. 124; among the 'Nomina Magistrorum.'

(b) p. 55. No. 143; among the 'Episcopi qui Collegium Trinitatis suum agruerunt Nutritium.'

- (c) p. 55. No. 144; 'Per pale
 Dexter: See of Worcester, Argent ten torteaux in pile gules.
 Sinister: Whitgift.
 For John Whitgift as Bishop of Worcester.'
 (*Comment*: I have not found any instance of Whitgift impaling Worcester in use anywhere.)
- (d) p. 55. No. 145; 'Per pale.
 Dexter: Trinity College (as No. 19 in *Memoriale*).
 Sinister: Whitgift (as No. 124).
 For John Whitgift as Master of Trinity College.'
 (*Comment*: there is no evidence that Whitgift used Arms at all while Master of Trinity College.)
- (e) p. 55. No. 146; 'Whitgift.'
- (f) p. 73. No. 184; Among the 'Benefactores.'
 'John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.'

3. Incorporated in the Buildings

City of Cambridge, Survey and Inventory by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Vol. II has on p. 412, Armorial Index: 'Argent, on a cross paty azure five bezants.' This description is not accurate for any of the representations of Whitgift's Arms found in Trinity College, or elsewhere.

- (a) *on the Queen's Gate*: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift. A cross humette fleurettée. The shield is of unpainted stone, the cross has straight sides, but the fleurettes are rather elongated, as, for example, in the Seal of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. There are no bezants. The date '1597' is carved on the parapet. If the gateway is actually of 1597 then the number of bezants should be four; unfortunately bezants do not show even in an enlargement of a photograph taken by the R.C.H.M. some years ago.
- (b) *on the Fountain, in the frieze at the top*: See of Canterbury impaling Whitgift whose cross is straight-sided with five bezants. The shield is of stone. The R.C.H.M. gives 1601-1602 as the date for the commencement of the Fountain. See (d) below.
- (c) *on the Fountain, in the angles of the arches*: This shield is smaller than the one in the frieze, otherwise there is no difference in the charge.
- (d) *in the Master's Drawing Room*: Lord Adrian, Master of Trinity College, very kindly sent me a sketch and description of the shield on the south side of the Drawing Room fireplace. The impalement is argent, on a cross humette fleurettée sable five bezants or. The Royal Commission attributes the fitting of the room to the period 1601-1613. Dr. Thomas Neville, the then Master, knew Archbishop Whitgift, and witnessed the Deed of Foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon; he would, therefore, most certainly have heard of the fifth bezant. If the Drawing Room fireplace, and the Fountain in the Quadrangle, were erected during Neville's Mastership, it would appear that he attached significance to the fifth bezant. As in each of these three shields Whitgift's cross is straight-sided, it would further appear that Neville attached a greater significance to the fifth bezant than to the shape of the cross.
- (e) *in the Roof of the Chapel*: extreme north-west end. Arms of Trinity College, impaling Whitgift in 1588 form and colouring, viz., argent on a cross fleurettée sable four bezants or. These Arms are not indexed in the R.C.H.M. but are implied on p. 219b; 'The roof . . . the panels are enriched with late 19th century painting and gilding.' There is no evidence that Whitgift either bore Arms or used them in any way while he was Master of Trinity. This roof painting was probably copied from *Memoriale*.

- (f) *in the Roof of the Great Gatehall*: Whitgift, argent, on a cross sable fleurettée five bezants. Omitted from R.C.H.M. Index but implied on p. 217b as 'of all the Masters (except Thomas Hill and John Arrowsmith) from John Redman to Montague Butler inclusive.' The date of the vault is given as 1845, and therefore this example is not authentic evidence.

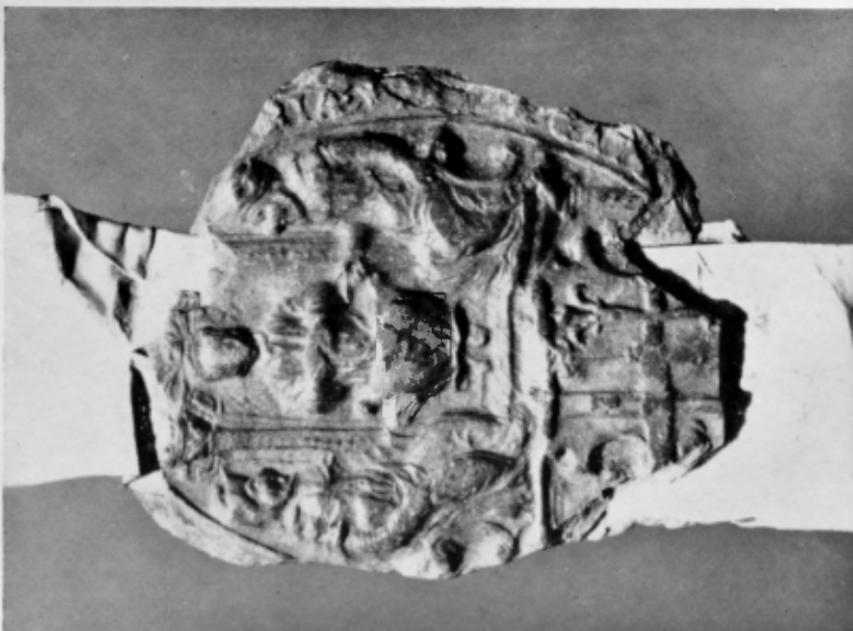
THE ARMS OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT IN CROYDON PARISH CHURCH

In Croydon Parish Church the Arms of Archbishop Whitgift appear on his Monument, and in the window above the Monument.

Whitgift's Monument: The Monument was erected in 1604 very soon after Whitgift's death; it probably fell into some disrepair, for Ducarel (1783) mentions only three bezants; was severely damaged by the fire which destroyed the church in 1867, and restored in 1888. J. Corbet Anderson's *Croydon Church, Past and Present*, being published in 1871 probably, gives a fairly faithful description of the Monument as it appeared before the fire. The Arms impaling Whitgift's on the Monument are those of the Diocese of Canterbury, those of the Diocese of Worcester, and those of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury which were sometimes formerly used for the Diocese of Canterbury.

1. Impaled with the Arms of the See of Canterbury, viz., the pall and cross, the Arms of Whitgift are shown as argent on a cross formée sable fleurettée five bezants or. This form is consistent with those in the 1598 Grant of Arms, see B.M. MS. Stowe 1047 f. 265b.
2. Impaled with the Arms of the See of Worcester, Whitgift is shown as (1) above. This form is a back-reading, and cannot be correct, for Whitgift was Bishop of Worcester from 1577 till 1583, i.e. 15 years before this particular form was granted.
3. Impaled with the Arms of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Whitgift is shown as (1) above. Whether these are correct or not depends on the date they are supposed to represent, for Whitgift used Arms according to each of the Grants during his Primacy. A curious error has crept in over the description of the Canterbury Arms: they are here depicted as Azure on a cross argent, the letters IX at the centre-point. In a notice at the foot of the Monument, in the Croydon Church Guide, in J. Corbet Anderson's *Croydon Church, Past and Present*, in the notice on Whitgift in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigiensis*, Vol. II (1586-1609), p. 371, these Arms are described as of 'the Deanery of Lincoln.' In the *Victoria County History Surrey*, Vol. IV, p. 224a, they are described as 'and on the sinister those of Christchurch Priory, Canterbury.' It is not clear who first ascribed these Arms to the Deanery of Lincoln, for in Dr. Ducarel's *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. XII (1783), there is a History of Croydon with an Appendix. Whitgift's Monument is described on p. 80 of the Appendix, but a footnote on p. 189 reads 'p. 80, l. 5, add, "Gules, a cross fleury at the ends, charged with three bezants, impaled by the see of Canterbury, Worcester, and a cross."' The Arms of the Deanery of Lincoln are the Arms of the Diocese of Lincoln with the letter 'D' in chief; there is no evidence that Whitgift ever used Arms while Dean of Lincoln.

It is interesting to note that whereas the *Memoriale* of 1614 in Trinity College, Cambridge, showed Whitgift's Arms according to the 1588 Grant—no matter to which period reference was being made—the Monument in Croydon used the 1598 form with equal lack of discrimination.



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(a) SEAL OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY
FROM WARDS 2/22B/1, 1588.



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(b) SEAL OF THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY
FROM ADDITIONAL CHARTER 6240, 1602.



[By courtesy of the Governors of the Whiggitt Foundation.

(b) WOODEN CARVING OF ARCHBISHOP WHIGGITT'S ARMS FORMING PART OF THE FIREPLACE OVERMANTEL IN THE ARCHBISHOP'S OWN ROOM IN THE HOSPITAL, NOW THE FOUNDATION'S COUNCIL CHAMBER; DATE 1599.



[By courtesy of the Governors of the Whiggitt Foundation.

(a) EARLY BRASS IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL OF THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, CROYDON.