

## I.

DOUGLAS, PERCY, AND THE CAVERS ENSIGN. BY THE RIGHT HON.  
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In the very ancient house of Cavers, in Roxburghshire, the heritage of a distinguished branch of the great Douglas family, there exists a remarkable relic of mediæval times—the flag or ensign which has long been familiarly known as ‘The Percy Pennon.’ This relic may be described as a flag made of “thin sage-green silk,” about 12 feet long (in its present shortened state), and about 3 feet wide at the staff end or ‘hoist,’ narrowing to the ends, which seem to have been originally forked. Its colours and devices are now faded and indistinct.<sup>1</sup> On its field is blazoned (apparently in some sort of pigment) a saltire, two human hearts, a lion passant, a ‘tau cross,’ above which a mullet, the motto “Jamais Arreyre” in old English letters, and several mullets on the remains of the forked tail or ‘fly.’ The field, as stated above, is sage-green; the other devices are of a “greyish-black hue,” save the hearts and the lion’s claws and tongue, which are red.

(A) The prevalent tradition regarding this ensign represents it as the pennon of Sir Henry Percy (the famous Hotspur), captured from him at, or before, the battle of Otterburn, in 1388, by James, 2nd Earl of Douglas, who fell in that fight. Froissart states that these heroes met in single combat before the gates of Newcastle, and that Douglas, victorious, bore off the pennon of Percy, whose object in the subsequent battle was to retrieve his loss.<sup>2</sup>

(B) A variant of this tradition ignores the seizure of Percy’s pennon, and considers the ensign to be his military banner, captured in the battle of Otterburn.

<sup>1</sup> Information courteously supplied by Mr James Robson, author of *Border Battles and Battlefields* (1897), in which the history of the Cavers ensign, and the controversies regarding it, are very fully discussed (pp. 128–134). See also *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History* (1900), by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, where will be found a description and photograph of this flag (pp. 133–134).

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, translated by T. Johnes, London, 1855; vol. ii. p. 365.

(C) Another version designates the ensign as the Douglas banner displayed at Otterburn by Earl James, and on that occasion borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas of Cavers.

Besides the controversy over these hypotheses, there has been much discussion upon collateral questions :—(1) Are the devices on the ensign those of Douglas, or of Percy? (2) Are they the devices of both families mingled together? (3) If so, were Douglas badges imposed on a Percy ensign, or Percy badges on a Douglas ensign?

To examine these hypotheses and reply to these questions is the object of the present inquiry.

TRADITION A.—Accepting as historical Froissart's account of the personal combat at Newcastle between Douglas and Percy, the Cavers ensign cannot be a trophy torn from the latter's lance, its size and character rendering its presence impossible under such conditions. Apart from this, to call that ensign a ' pennon ' is a sheer misnomer. In the Middle Ages, military flags were divided into three principal classes. (1) The Pennon : small, pointed or forked at the fly, and borne below the lance-head of the knight whose personal ensign it was. It was charged with the badge, or other armorial device, of the bearer. (2) The Banner : square, and (with some early exceptions) charged with the Coat of Arms, and not with any other device. It was borne by Knights Banneret, and by Barons, Princes, and Sovereigns. A pennon with points torn off would represent a banner. It was the ensign of the Banneret himself, of his retainers and followers, and of the division of the army under his command. (3) The Standard : large, of considerable length, and tapering towards the extremity, which was split a little way from the end. This variety of flag first appeared in the reign of Edward III., and was held in special favour during the sovereignty of the Tudors. It seems to have been allowed to none but Knights; and under Henry VIII. its length was fixed, according to rank, on a graduated scale, from the eight or nine yards allotted to Kings down to a mere Knight's allowance of four.

"Standards," writes Boutell, "appear to have been used solely for the purpose of display, and to add to the splendour of military gatherings and royal pageants"; but this statement must be modified, if it be true that certain standards (to be considered presently) were borne, and captured, at Flodden. Various rules and customs as to the striping and colouring of the fields of banners seem to have prevailed in England, and in that country the red cross of St George generally occupied the nearly square compartment close to the staff. Across its usual striping, the banner was sometimes divided by bands containing the family motto, which, in one or other position, was almost certain to be present. Accompanying the cross and motto were various badges and allusive devices; but, unlike the banner, the standard seems hardly ever to have been charged with the formal armorial bearings of its owner.

The Penoncelle and the ancient Guidon were smaller versions of the standard, and of similar shape; but the former was unsplit, while the latter was swallow-tailed. Like the standard those lesser ensigns were charged with cognisances or badges, the former also with a cross of St George—but both varieties were of minor importance and need not be further discussed.<sup>1</sup>

Upon consideration of these details it is evident that the 'Percy Pennon' was neither a pennon nor a banner, but a standard; an ensign which from its size and character could never have been borne by Percy on his lance, physical conditions forbidding, even were it conceivable that an eminent noble in high command would act as his own standard-bearer. Version A of the tradition may be dismissed as absolutely false and impossible.

TRADITIONS B, C.—Apart from difficulties yet to be considered, there is nothing impossible in the former; nor in the latter, however improbable in part.

<sup>1</sup> Boutell, *Heraldry*, 3rd edition, 1864, pp. 286-292; Woodward and Burnett, *Treatise on Heraldry*, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 649-655; also vol. i. pl. xxxiv.; see also Balfour Paul (Lord Lyon), *Heraldry*, pp. 131-135; and the *Appendix* to the present paper.

Dismissing therefore Tradition A, and conditionally admitting Traditions B and C, it remains to decide on the merits of these latter versions of the story. This can best be done by a careful consideration of the three questions previously stated.

*Query 1.*—Are the devices on the ensign those of Douglas or of Percy? Assuming (as of necessity) that the Cavers relic is a ‘standard,’ we must expect to find it charged with badges and devices, all in some manner connected with the family it belonged to, though not, as a rule, identical in arrangement or details with that family’s formal armorial bearings,—by this term meaning the charges blazoned on the shield; the crest, motto, and supporters being usually more modern and always of inferior importance. Accepting this principle, we may proceed to analyse the devices on the relic, charge by charge, with a view to determining the question now at issue.

Charge 1.—A Saltire—its colour “greyish-black.” This occupies the place commonly filled in English standards by the St George’s cross. Hence it may here be considered to represent the St Andrew’s cross of Scotland, and must thus be assigned to Douglas.

Charge 2.—A Human Heart, *gules* (twice). A charge added to the Arms of Douglas after the well-known incident connected with King Robert the Bruce’s heart. It was also the recognised Douglas badge.

Charge 3.—A Lion passant—its colour “greyish-black.” Before discussing this prominent charge it is important to decide as to its colour. As already stated, all the charges on the “sage-green” ensign (except the hearts) are of a “greyish-black” hue. The colouring as thus described is of non-heraldic character, and the irregularity may have been intentional. But it seems far more likely that the original tincture of these charges was *argent*, represented by a metallic pigment now tarnished. On this view, the lion would be heraldically blazoned *argent*, the only alternative being to blazon it *proper*—that is, of the animal’s colour, which “greyish-black” by no means represents. If the “greyish-black” saltire be, as seems, the St Andrew’s cross of Scotland, its rightful colour is also *argent*.

Small Signet of  
4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Angus  
1446-1463.



1. Douglas Standard. (At Cavers).



2. Percy Standard (6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland, 1527-1537).



2\*. Percy Pennoncelle.



3. Huntly Standard. (Flodden, 1513).

Seal of 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl  
of Douglas, 1373.

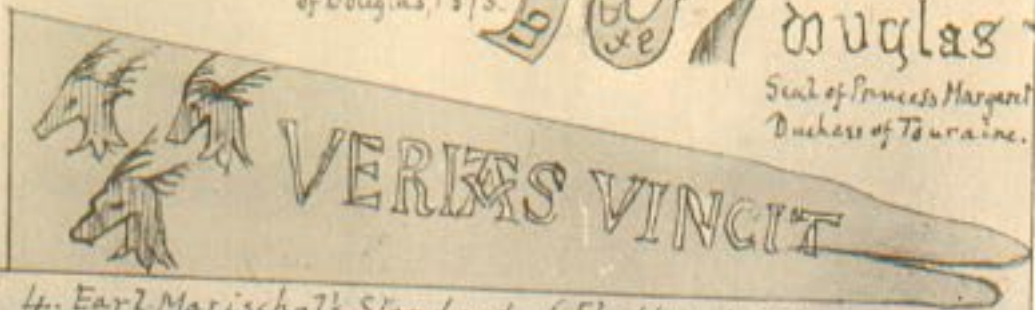


Seal of 4<sup>th</sup> E. of D.

Douglas

Douglas

Seal of Princess Margaret  
Duchess of Touraine.



4. Earl Marischal's Standard (Flodden, 1513).

As a formal armorial charge, both Douglas and Percy may claim a lion as of primary importance on their shields. At the siege of Caerlaverock, in 1300 A.D., the old chronicler states of Henry de Percy that—"Jaune o un bleu lyon rampant fu sa banriere bien vuable."<sup>1</sup> With these arms the Earls and Dukes of Northumberland generally bore in the 2nd quarter—*azure*, five fusils conjoined in fess *or*, the original coat of Percy, subordinated before 1300 A.D. to the lion quarter representing the ancient arms of Brabant and Louvaine;<sup>2</sup> and, in the 3rd quarter, *gules*, three luces hauriant, *arg.* (for Lucy); but undoubtedly the lion was an object very distinctly associated with the Percys,—who likewise bore that animal as their crest, viz., On a chapeau *gules*, turned up *ermine*, a lion statant *azure*, its tail extended. Lions also were their supporters, viz., dexter, a lion rampant *azure*; sinister, a lion rampant guardant *or*, ducally crowned, and gorged with a collar. Accordingly, on the standard of Henry Percy, 6th Earl of Northumberland (1527–37)—to be presently discussed—we find a lion portrayed much in the same position as that on the Cavers ensign, though, as might be expected, of an *azure* hue.<sup>3</sup>

But here it is important to note that in one of the versions of the ballad known as "The Battle of Otterbourne," or as "Chevy Chase,"

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas (Sir Harris), *The Siege of Caerlaverock*, 1828, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> This is the commonly accepted view (*e.g.*, see Burke, *General Armory*, and Woodward, *Heraldry*, i. 214); but in Mr W. Smith Ellis's *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 1869 (pp. 204, 205), we find a different, and perhaps preferable, account of the origin of these Percy quarterings:—"What is called the 'old coat of Percy,' viz. 5 Fusils, would appear to be of very early origin. The more modern lion first appears on the seal of Sir Henry de Percy, who married Fitz Alan, and whose lion rampant is supposed to have been assumed by him. But a more probable origin seems to have been the blue lion on a golden shield of the Earl of Devon, which in the Roll of Edward II. (1308–14) is said to be 'abatue' or extinct, whilst it is said in the same roll to be borne by Sir Henry de Percy, whose father was heir of his second brother Ingelram, who married Adeline, daughter and heiress of William de Fortibus by Isabel, daughter and heiress of Baldwin de Rivers, Earl of Devon. . . ."

"There can be no doubt that the old arms of Percy, viz., the fusils, were the bearings of Josceline de Louvaine. . . . That the fusil was a Flemish device appears from several coats which can be traced to a Flemish source."

<sup>3</sup> Woodward, ii. p. 649, fig. 100, and p. 654.

not only does the Percy claim to the lion cognisance seem to be distinctly affirmed, but its colour is specified as white. We are told how "the Dowglas . . . . took his logeynge at Oterborne" . . . . and there he "pyght his standerd dowyn," how he was wakened from sleep by a knight, who cried out:—"Yonder have I spyde the prowde Perssye, and seven standerdes wyth hym," and how:—"Nay, by my trowth, the Dowglas sayd, . . . . he durst not loke on my brede banner, for all Ynglonde so haylle."

The battle then proceeds, and during its progress occur the following stanzas:—

"The blodye harte in the Dowglas armes  
His standerde stode on hye;  
That every man myght full well knowe,  
By syde stode starres thre.

"The whyte lyon on the Ynglissh perte,  
Forsoth, as I yow sayne,  
The lucettes and the cressawntes both;  
The Skottes fowght them agayne."<sup>1</sup>

At first sight, these passages might seem conclusive on two points at least—that Percy bore a lion on his standard, and that its colour was white. But against this it must be objected, that old as the Otterburn ballad may be it is of very doubtful authority, for it appears in many distinct versions greatly differing from one another, and all differing from Froissart's historical account; all likewise, more or less, containing passages that cannot be of contemporary date. Moreover, as regards the version cited above, it will be found to stand alone in its mention of the "seven standerdes" and the other military ensigns, and of the special charges they bore—a circumstance which tends to throw doubt on its value as a guide.

It might further be objected that the "whyte lyon" is not precisely claimed as a Percy cognisance, but as displayed on the "Ynglissh perte." But, except that Edward IV. bore that device (for Mortimer) as one of

<sup>1</sup> Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, 3rd edition, 1877, pp. 83-91; Maidment, *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, vol. i. pp. 54-57. Ritson misprints 'stanes' for 'starres.'

his eight badges,<sup>1</sup> the white lion was never a royal or national cognisance in England, and in the present passage its juxtaposition with the crescent, the well-known badge of the Percys, and the "lucettes,"<sup>2</sup> a badge that might easily be derived from their third quarter—*gu. three luces hauriant arg.* (for Lucy), seems to indicate the poet's intention to assign it to Percy. It is hard, however, to believe that the Percys ever bore a lion of that colour as a badge, seeing that this was already appropriated as the badge of another great house—the Howards, who sometimes bore it plain, and sometimes charged on the shoulder with an azure crescent.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, I am inclined to suspect that the stanzas in question were written, or altered, subsequently to the battle of Flodden, where, a Howard being in command, his family badge ("Howard's lion bright"—*Scott*) was no doubt conspicuous on his standard, and became, for the time, a familiar representative of England's military glories; and, except as showing that the lion, in some guise, was associated with Percy in the popular mind, I should eliminate the ballad of Otterburn from the present discussion.<sup>4</sup>

In Froissart's account of the battle the word 'standard' never appears. It was Percy's 'pennon' that Douglas captured at Newcastle, declaring that he would fix it before his tent, whence Percy might take it away if he could. At Otterburn, it was his 'banner' that Douglas

<sup>1</sup> Boutell, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, *Historic Devices*, foot-note, p. 320. 'Lucettes' may perhaps stand for 'lockets,' an alternative term for 'manacles' ('fetter-locks,' or 'shackle-bolts'), another principal Percy badge.

<sup>3</sup> Boutell, 262.

<sup>4</sup> In ballads relating to the Battle of Flodden, Howard, Earl of Surrey, commander-in-chief of the English army, is allusively styled "The White Lion," and this term is extended into signifying England in the general sense, as, for example, in "Skelton, Laureate, against the Scottes":—

"The White Lyon, there, rampaunte of moode,  
He raged and let out your hart bloude.  
He the White and you the Red;  
The White there slew the Red starke ded."

See Appendix, p. 273.



ordered to advance, whereupon Percy "hastened to the place . . . and the two *banners* met." The Scots showed "their gallantry under the *banner* of Douglas"; and, in Douglas's dying speech, he desires Sir Walter Sinclair and Sir John Sinclair to raise up his *banner*—fallen to the ground "through the death of David Campbell that valiant squire who bore it"; and this banner, which was "borne by Sir John Sinclair" through the rest of the fight, was subsequently suspended over the "tomb of stone" in which the body of Douglas was deposited.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the Newcastle incident, the historian's only variation from the term *banner* is in the passage where he writes that the Scots, while yet in camp, "formed themselves under the *pennons* of the three principal barons"; whereas in the ballad the word *standard* occurs six times, and the only variation used by the writer is when Douglas speaks of his "brede banner" in the passage already quoted. Regarding the fate of the Percy ensign the ballad tells us nothing, merely stating that—"The gentyll Lovell ther was slayne, That the Persý's standerd bore."

As regards the claim of the Douglasses to a lion among their heraldic bearings, we find that both the 'Black Douglasses' (excepting the first and the second Earls of Douglas) and the 'Red Douglasses,' who, as Earls of Angus, succeeded them in power and distinction, bore lions on their shields, quarterly with the Douglas heart and mullets; the oldest heraldic authority, Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, in his MS. of 1542, making the 2nd quarter of Douglas, Earl of Douglas—*azure*, a lion rampant *argent* (Douglas occupying the 1st quarter); and making the 1st quarter of Douglas, Earl of Angus—*gules*, a lion rampant *argent*,

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, ii, 365-376. According to a tradition in the Douglas family, the banner suspended over the tomb was afterwards removed to Cavers, and the flag now under notice has been generally accepted as the same. I am not questioning the truth of that tradition, which is far from improbable; but, granting its accuracy, my arguments tend to prove that Earl James's banner has long ago disappeared, and that a later and subsequently acquired Douglas *standard*, has, in all good faith, been substituted for the original relic.

and his 2nd quarter—*or*, a lion rampant *gules*, debruised by a riband *sable*, while Douglas is placed on a scutcheon of pretence.<sup>1</sup>

But the silver lion on blue (generally crowned), which at a later period was also borne by the Red Douglasses, represents the lordship of Galloway, and was first borne by Archibald, 3rd Earl of Douglas (1388–1401); thus it held no place on the shield of James, 2nd Earl, who fell at Otterburn. It appears, however, that both Earl James and his predecessor used lions on their seals as supporters or *tenants* of the shields.<sup>2</sup> Of the Red Douglas quarters, the 1st represented the lordship of Angus (as will presently be shown), and the 2nd stood for Abernethy.

As regards the arms proper, therefore, Percys and Douglasses seem to have nearly equal claims to the lion cognisance. Neither family bore on its shield a lion exactly as shown on the Cavers ensign, for in every instance cited their lion is rampant, not passant; but the Douglasses have the advantage in tincture, if *argent* be admitted to be the colour of the animal in dispute. On the other hand, besides blazoning a lion on their shield, the Percys bore a lion (statant on a chapeau) as their crest, and a lion passant appears on Henry Percy's standard (1527–37);<sup>3</sup> but in both cases, be it noted, the lion, according to the Percy usage, is tinctured *azure*, and its tail is extended straight—a very distinctive point, which, conspicuously as well as heraldically, differentiates it from the lion on the standard at Cavers.<sup>4</sup> There is little ground for supposing

<sup>1</sup> *Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript . . . by Sir David Lyndsay*; Edinburgh, 1822, pl. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *V. post.*, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Woodward, ii. 649.

<sup>4</sup> In the photograph of the Cavers Standard (Balfour Paul, *Heraldry*, p. 134), the tuft of the lion's tail turns downward and rests on the animal's shoulder; but in the woodcuts (White, *Otterburn*, p. 129; Robson, *Border Battles*, p. 34) the tail's extremity is erroneously turned backward and prolonged. On the seals of the Earls of Douglas the tufts of the lions' tails generally turn inward, the only exceptions being found on seals of the 5th and 8th Earls, where the tufts turn outward, the whole tail thus resembling an imperfect letter S. The lions of the Earls of Angus invariably show the in-turned type, until upon the seal of the 8th Earl (1557–1588)—who first used the motto and salamander crest—the lions appear with out-turned S-formed tails.

This type was subsequently continued, and the only exception occurs on the small

that either family used the lion as a *badge*, the badges generally employed by each, which are of a very different type, being abundantly on record.

Charge 4.—A Mullet—or Star (several). With this charge the Douglasses have a double concern, while the Percys have none. First, the original arms of Douglas were *azure*, three mullets *argent*—afterwards borne on a *chief*; secondly, Archibald, 3rd Earl of Douglas, bore on a scutcheon of pretence the arms of Murray of Bothwell—*azure*, three mullets *or*, which his successors quartered till their ending in 1488. The number of mullets on the fly of the Cavers ensign is uncertain, owing to its dilapidated condition.

Charge 5.—A Tau Cross—beneath the single mullet near the lion. This charge is hard to account for. In *Border Battles* (p. 132) it is stated, on the authority of Mr Watson (*Ancient Pennons*, "Scotsman," 1892), that an alliance took place, "pretty far on in the 17th century," between a "grandson of William, 9th Earl of Douglas, and a co-heiress of Sir Robert Drury"—who bore as his arms (perhaps unique in Britain)—*Argent*, on a chief *Vert* a Tau between two mullets pierced *or*,<sup>1</sup>—"hence its (the Tau's) appearance on the (Cavers) pennon." But, in fact, the 9th Earl of Douglas was not William, but James, the last of his race, who became a monk, and died in 1488. The person referred to must be William, 9th Earl of Angus, who died in 1591. In any case it is clear that no marriage of a grandson of either of those Earls, "far on in the 17th century," could at all affect the charges on a standard manifestly of much earlier date, to whatever period it be assigned.

seal of the Duke of Douglas (1700-1761), where the lions' tails approximate to the in-turned form.

It is remarkable that a somewhat similar, and apparently systematic, variation is found in the form of the lions' tails on Chaldean, Assyrian, and Persian cylinder-seals, upon which rampant lions are extremely frequent. In the very early examples (c. 4000-2300 B.C.), the tails are always twice-curved and generally pendant; in the later examples (c. 900-330 B.C.) they are always once-curved and erect.

<sup>1</sup> "The original coat was without the Tau, which was added by Nicholas de Drury, who went with John of Gaunt into Spain, and thence to the Holy Land."—Burke, *General Armory*.

Or, a Tau Cross *azure*, were the arms of the Order of St Anthony, an order established on the Continent.<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that one of the Douglas Earls was a member of that Order, to which various English knights at different times belonged,<sup>2</sup> and thence its symbol on his ensign; or perhaps the Tau Cross was the badge of some fortress or territory under rule of the Douglases;—in either case, its presence here, considering the peculiar nature of a standard's emblazonment, could be easily and rightfully explained.<sup>3</sup> For reasons that will appear, it would

<sup>1</sup> Woodward, i. 161.

<sup>2</sup> On their effigies at Ingham, Sir Robert de Bois and his wife have their mantles charged with the Tau Cross within a circle, and having the word 'Anthon' in chief (c. 1360). Henry Stanley, on a brass at Hillingdon, wears the same cross attached to a chain (1528). Boutell, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> A different explanation suggests itself. The tau-cross here, perhaps, offers no reference to St Anthony, but possesses a more generalised ecclesiastical character. The *tau* symbol has been counted sacred from the earliest times; it is spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel (ix. 4-6) as the sign with which the foreheads of the just were marked, and, as a form of the cross, it is found on various Christian monuments. It appears in representations of the Holy Trinity on ecclesiastical seals, bearing the effigy of the crucified Saviour and supported by the robed figure of the Divine Father. But if that effigy be removed, the cross remains as a plain *tau*; and thus it actually appears on the seal of Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Moray (A.D. 1490)—(Laing, *Ancient Scottish Seals*, i. 157—No. 910; pl. xix. 2). It might therefore be surmised that the tau-cross in the present case holds a special reference to the Trinity. But it seems more probable that it merely denotes the usual cross of Christ, the peculiar form being chosen either from mystical reasons, or to differentiate it from the English cross of St George.

It is possible that the Douglas 'following' may have comprised the retainers of some powerful bishop, whom the cross serves to represent, in accordance with the character of a standard's blazonry. Thus in the ballad "Flodden Field" (Weber, pp. 62, 68. See Appendix to present paper) we find:

"And under Bulmer's banner brave  
The whole bishopric of Durham went."

"Next with Sir John Stanley there yede  
The Bishop of Ely's servants bold."

And in another ballad, "The Bataile of . . . Flodden Feld" (Weber, p. 261):—

"St Cutberd's banner, with the bishop's men bolde,  
In the vauntgard forward fast did hye;  
That royal relic more precious than golde;  
And Sir William Bowmer [Bulmer] nere stoode it by."

be interesting if a connection could be traced between the Tau Cross and Hermitage Castle. The Hospital of St Anthony, near Leith, bore that peculiar cross as a charge on its seals (c. 1519 and c. 1600).<sup>1</sup>

There are no apparent reasons for connecting a Tau Cross with the Percys—nor indeed with the Douglasses,—unless a horizontal cross of that type be intended in the bar-headed spike that pierces a heart within a circle inscribed with crosses, on the counter-seal of the 4th Earl of Angus.<sup>2</sup>

Charge 6.—The Motto—*Jamais Arreyre* (*Jamais Arrière*). This is a well-known motto of the Douglasses; but it does not appear on any of their armorial seals until its occurrence, in 1572, on the seal of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus, after which it was commonly used by his successors.<sup>3</sup>

As the result of this examination, we find that of the six charges on the standard,—No. 1, the Saltire, is the Scottish St Andrew's Cross, and thus should belong to Douglas; No. 2, the Heart,—No. 4, the Mulletts,—and No. 6, the Motto,—belong exclusively to Douglas; No. 3, the Lion, is about equally assignable to either Douglas or Percy; and No. 5, the Tau Cross, is at present indeterminate. We are thus far led to the conclusion that, at least in its origin, the Cavers Standard was an ensign of Douglas.

*Query 2.*—Are the devices of both families mingled on the standard? As we have now seen, an affirmative answer to this query may only found itself on an assumption that Percy can specially claim the lion. For the moment supposing it to be so, we may conveniently proceed to the question that follows.

*Query 3.*—If the devices of both families are mingled on the standard, were those of Douglas imposed on a Percy ensign, or did the opposite process take place?

Assuming this mingling of arms, two theories have been put forth by different writers,—the first, that Douglas, capturing Percy's 'pennon,' imposed some of his own devices on it, in sign of triumph; the second,

<sup>1</sup> Laing, *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, vol. i. p. 202, Nos. 1122, 1123.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser (Sir W.), *The Douglas Book*, ii. 556, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 367, 559.

that, for the same reason, Douglas placed some of Percy's devices on his own ensign. In either case the action would have been irregular, unprecedented, and utterly ignoble. One marvels that theories so injurious to the fame of a heroic warrior should have gained a single moment's acceptance. Knights of old did not deck themselves with their enemies' cognisances, like Red Indians clutching at scalps. Where augmentations of arms<sup>1</sup> were obtained in honour of some illustrious deed, these were formally granted by authority, not assumed at will, and when reminiscent of the conquered foe's devices they were allusive to them, rather than identical. Thus, after his victory at Flodden Field, it was granted to the Earl of Surrey to place on the Howard 'bend' an escutcheon *or*, charged with a demi-lion-rampant, its mouth pierced with an arrow, within a double tressure *gu.*; in this manner blazoning only a portion of the Royal Arms of Scotland, and so modified as to proclaim the reason for the charge and differentiate it from his own hereditary bearings.

Noting the arrangement of the charges on the Cavers standard, and admitting that the lion is the only charge (altogether setting aside the Tau Cross) that can at all be assigned to Percy, how singular would have been the *original aspect* of the flag, whether we assign it to Douglas without the lion, or to Percy without the saltire, the hearts, the mullets, and the motto! How unequal in the one case, how bald and barren in the other! Whatever is the true history of the flag, we may hardly doubt that its charges stood from the beginning as they now stand, save as respects some loss through the ravages of time.

Before concluding this portion of the inquiry, it will be useful to consider and compare certain ensigns of similar nature to that at Cavers, which exist or lately existed, making special note of the character and arrangements of the devices that each displays.

1. The Standard of Henry Percy, 6th Earl of Northumberland (1527-

<sup>1</sup> Termed Arms of "Concession" or "Augmentation"—granted by a sovereign or by some feudal superior. See Woodward, ii. 523-547; Boutell, 433-436.

1537).<sup>1</sup> On this noble ensign we find all the characteristics of the standard, as already defined. At the hoist appears the Cross of St George; following this, an azure lion *passant* with extended tail. This, while true in colour to the armorial lion rampant of the Percys, differs from it in position (important in heraldry), nor does it precisely agree with the lion *crest* of that family, inasmuch as the latter is *statant* and surmounts a chapeau,—though it presents the well-known peculiarity of the stiffly extended tail. In this last respect it resembles the Howard lion; but that animal is *guardant*—that is, looking full-face at the spectator, instead of holding its head in profile. We therefore find in the present lion an allusion to the formal armorial bearings rather than a copy of them, as belongs to the character of a standard.

Above and below the lion are the familiar Percy *badges*, the Crescent and the Manacles (Shacklebolts or Lockets), which are again blazoned in the fly. The other symbols—the Crowned Key, the Hunting Horn, and the Falchion, are respectively the badges of Poynings, Bryan, and Fitzpayne. Crossing the four horizontal bands of the flag (russet, two yellow, tawny), pass two bands, each charged with the Percy motto—*Espérance en Dieu*.

On a Percy penoncelle<sup>2</sup> we find the same display of a St George's Cross at the hoist, but the only charges on the three horizontal bands of the flag (red, yellow, black) consist of the family badges—a silver crescent and the manacles above it.

2. The Standard assigned to Alexander, 3rd Earl of Huntly, which was captured by Sir William Molyneux at the battle of Flodden Field, 1513. This standard is figured in Weber's "Battle of Flodden Field," from a drawing supplied by "George Chalmers, Esq.," who writes regarding it thus:—"It was hung up as a trophy in Sefton Hall, where it remained till the reign of Elizabeth . . . The heralds then and there made a drawing of this pennon (*sic*), which remains now in the Herald's College, whence I obtained the inclosed copy."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Woodward, ii. 649, 654.

<sup>2</sup> Woodward, i. 388, pl. xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, *The Battle of Flodden Field* (Edinburgh, 1808), pp. 198, 199.

Strange, indeed, will seem the charges on Huntly's ensign, if, forgetting the true character of a standard, we seek for a heraldic treatment of its devices accordant with its owner's armorial bearings! The flag itself is *gules*; nearest to the hoist is an annulet or circle in front of a running stag (*argent*?) pursued by a running greyhound (*argent*); above and between these stands an eagle with expanded wings (*or*); below the stag, and above and below the hound, respectively, are three galleys (*sable*); following these comes the motto—Clæ Tot ("Clame tot," *Call all*).<sup>1</sup>

No reference can be found here to the Arms of Huntly—either to the boar's-heads of Gordon, the crescents of Seton, or the lion's-heads of Badenoch,—and only a possible allusion to the stag's-head crest, and the greyhound supporters, which, indeed, may be of later date. If the standard be Huntly's, we are left to surmise that some of the devices symbolise the Highland districts whence most of his following came, while perhaps the galleys refer to his association in commission with the Earls of Arran and Argyll, each of whom bore a galley on a main quarter of his shield.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Flodden Field*, p. 199. Might not the annulet, in those days of 'rebuses' and 'canting' heraldry, have referred simply to the motto, indicating that the summons was to *all*—in modern phrase, a 'circular'?

<sup>2</sup> Mr Weber accepts this flag as Huntly's ensign, but in an appendix-note (p. 355) points out difficulties. Mr White (*The Battle of Flodden*, Newcastle, 1859, p. 26) writes as follows:—"There is [? no] doubt of such a standard being taken, but the bearings thereon are not those of Huntly"—whose formal arms he proceeds to blazon. As we have seen, these had no necessary representation on a standard. The standard in question may have belonged to some other knight or noble who fought at Flodden. One finds no reason for galleys on Huntly's ensign; but, among those who fell, the Earl of Argyll and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy bore galleys for Lorn, the Earl of Caithness and Lord Sinclair bore galleys for Orkney and Caithness, and Hector Maclean of Dowart bore a galley in his third quarter. The eagle, hound, and stag might have been used as district emblems by any land-owner of Highland estate. The annulet and motto tell no tale. Sir Philip Molyneux, the captor of the ensign, was a Cheshire knight, and the greater part of the forces of that county were with Sir Edward Stanley, whose division routed the Highlanders commanded by Lennox and Argyll—to the latter of whom the standard might most probably be assigned.



3. The Standard of the Earl Marischal, carried at Flodden by his standard-bearer, Black John Skirving of Plewland, and now preserved in the Advocates' Library, in Edinburgh. Regarding this flag the Lord Lyon remarks:—"It illustrated the Scottish practice of using the crest as a badge, as it bears three hart's heads erased, one hart's head being the crest of Keith; the motto *Veritas Vincit* is embroidered, not on a scroll, but straight along the fly of the flag."<sup>1</sup> The arms of Keith are:—*Arg.* on a chief *gu.*, three pallets *or*, a design to which the devices on the standard bear no trace of resemblance.

The most casual consideration of these examples will show that in every respect they conform to the conditions that regulate the form, size, and emblazonment of the Standard, as distinguished from the Banner, or the Pennon, or any other military ensign; that in all its characteristics the Cavers flag corresponds with the rest; that it is therefore neither a Pennon nor a Banner, but a Standard, and that, as such, we must not treat its emblazonment as formally armorial, but as allusive and fanciful where not displaying recognised badges and mottoes.

We may now conveniently enumerate the conclusions to which we have thus far been led. 1. The Cavers flag is a Standard, not a Pennon. 2. Such an ensign could not have been borne on Percy's lance, and if he lost a flag in single combat it could not have been this one. 3. The Cavers flag is a Douglas ensign 'pure and simple,' and it never belonged to the Percys, nor exhibits any device borne by them formally as an armorial charge, or known to have been used by them in manner of a badge.

Having thus established (let us so assume it) that the Cavers relic is a standard of the Douglases, we may turn to the questions of its history and probable date.

According to one tradition, it was the Douglas standard or banner displayed at Otterburn, and there borne by Earl James's natural son, Archibald Douglas of Cavers. Neither statement is impossible, neither

<sup>1</sup> Balfour Paul, p. 134, fig. 59.

seems entirely probable. The Earl being but thirty when he fell in battle, the younger of his two sons, who could barely have seen twelve summers at the utmost, would not have been old enough to hold the responsible office of standard-bearer,—and, apart from this difficulty, Froissart (whose account of the battle seems drawn from trustworthy sources) expressly states, as we have seen, that the Douglas banner was borne by one David Campbell, and after his fall by Sir John Sinclair;<sup>1</sup>—while, as regards the flag itself, there are several reasons, of varying force, for relegating the venerable ensign to a later date than that which has been claimed for it.

As the first step towards ascertaining its date we may examine its devices in detail, with a view to determining for which of the two great rival branches of the Douglas family—the Earls of Douglas and the Earls of Angus—the flag was originally made. In this quest we may begin by eliminating the saltire, a national emblem; the Tau cross, undetermined; and the hearts and mullets, common to both branches; and confine the inquiry to the lion passant and the motto, merely remarking, by the way, that some writers, while seeking to fix the standard's date, have pointed out that the *crowned* heart does not appear in any Douglas Arms until the period of the 11th Earl of Angus (1st Marquis of Douglas), who thus blazons it on his seal of 1617.<sup>2</sup> This seems practically true, but the small counter-seal of William, 1st Earl of Douglas (1342–1384) has been overlooked, whereon two demi-lions support a heart bearing a crown of three points.<sup>3</sup> But badges being the usual devices on a standard, and a plain heart being the Douglas badge, the presence or otherwise of the crown seems in this case to make little difference.

1. The Lion, as borne by the Earls of Douglas. William, Lord of Douglas, created Earl of Douglas in 1357, bore no lion on his shield, but it is upheld by a lion as single supporter, or *tenant*. The seal of James, 2nd Earl, who fell at Otterburn, is now lost, but it has been minutely described by the late Mr Riddell, who states that the shield

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, ii. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser, ii. 560, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 550, fig. 4.

was supported by two lions.<sup>1</sup> His successor Archibald, as Lord of Galloway, first introduced the lion as an armorial charge on his shield, bearing Douglas in the 1st and 4th quarters, and in the 2nd and 3rd the arms of Galloway—*azure* a lion rampant *argent*, crowned *or*. With variations in the order of quartering and in the crowning or non-crowning of the lion, these arms were borne by all his successors till the extinction of the title in the person of James, 9th Earl, who died in 1488. The 8th Earl bore the lion uncrowned, as did the 9th, who moreover blazoned it on a scutcheon of pretence, instead of quartering it on the main shield.<sup>2</sup> Sir David Lindesay (1542) thus blazons the arms of the Earl of Douglas:—Quarterly; 1st, Douglas; 2nd, *az.* a lion rampant *arg.* (uncrowned); 3rd, Murray; 4th, Annandale.<sup>3</sup> To Douglas, Earl of Wigton, he assigns:—1st, *az.* a lion rampant *arg.*, crowned *or*; 2nd and 3rd, Fleming; 4th, Douglas.<sup>4</sup> Whether crowned or uncrowned, this silver lion on an azure field undoubtedly represented the Lordship of Galloway.

2. The lion as borne by the Earls of Angus. The Earldom of Angus was conferred in 1389 on George, illegitimate son of William, 1st Earl of Douglas. No seal of his appears to exist, but the 2nd Earl of Angus, on one of his seals, thus quartered his arms:—1st and 4th, a lion rampant (Angus); 2nd and 3rd, Douglas; and on another seal:—1st and 4th, Douglas; 2nd and 3rd, a lion rampant (Angus). On the very beautiful seal of George, 4th Earl of Angus (1446–1463), the arms stand—1st, Angus; 2nd, Douglas; 3rd, Stewart; 4th, Abernethy. Amidst variations in other parts of the shield, the Angus lion seems to hold its place in the 1st quarter until the accession of Archibald, 8th Earl (1557–1588), on whose signet we find, for the first time, the crowned lion of Galloway, which occupies the 1st quarter, while the Angus lion fills the 2nd. The Abernethy *debruised* lion then disappears, but re-appears in the 2nd

<sup>1</sup> Fraser, i. xxv, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 549–554 (*Armorial Seals of Earls of Douglas*).

<sup>3</sup> Lindesay, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

quarter on the seal of William, 11th Earl of Angus (created Marquis of Douglas, 1633), in place of the Angus lion; which finally falls into disuse, the arrangement of the arms adopted by the 1st Marquis being continued by his successors, James 2nd Marquis, and Archibald 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Douglas,—who died in 1761, when the representation of the family in the male line devolved on the Duke of Hamilton.<sup>1</sup>

Sir David Lindesay (1542) thus blazons the Arms of the Earl of Angus. Quarterly; 1st, *gu.* a lion rampant *arg.* (Angus); 2nd, *or* a lion rampant *gu.*, debriused by a riband *sa.* (Abernethy); 3rd, Liddesdale; 4th, Stewart; on a scutcheon of pretence, Douglas.<sup>2</sup>

There can be no reasonable doubt that the lion rampant in the 1st quarter of the 1st Earl of Angus's shield represents the Earldom of Angus, yet some questions arise regarding this charge. A lion passant guardant (uncrowned) appears on a seal as the bearing of Malcolm, the last of the Celtic Earls of Angus (1225).<sup>3</sup> This coat was afterwards adopted by the Ogilvys, who claim descent from Earl Malcolm's grandfather, Earl Gilchrist, and we find Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus in 1425, bearing on his seal (1412) a lion passant guardant, crowned,—as now borne by the Earls of Airlie and the Ogilvys of Inverquhar.<sup>4</sup>

But among various seals of that family we discover constant variations in the position of the lion—statant, rampant, or courant, as well as passant. The universal usage, however, has been to blazon these arms as *arg.* a lion *gu.* Sir David Lindesay (1542) blazons the arms of Lord Ogilvy as *arg.* a lion passant (not guardant) *gu.*, gorged with a crown *or*; of Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, as *arg.* a lion rampant *gu.*; of Ogilvy of Finlater, as *arg.* a lion passant *gu.*; of Ogilvy of Straheryne (?), as *arg.* a lion passant guardant *gu.*, charged on its breast with a mullet *arg.*<sup>5</sup> Thus amidst great varieties in position the tincture remains the same, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Fraser, ii. 555–562 (*Armorial Seals of Earls of Angus*).

<sup>2</sup> Lindesay, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, ii. 555. Laing, i. 22, No. 86.

Fraser, ii. 562 (dated 1439). Laing, i. 109, No. 648 (dated 1412).

Lindesay, pp. 57, 102, 112.

clear that all these achievements of the different branches of the Ogilvy family were derived from the arms borne by the Celtic Earls of Angus.

In the case of Douglas, Earl of Angus, Sir David Lindesay (as we have seen) reverses the tincture, making the lion *arg.* on a field *gu.*, and he changes the position from passant to rampant. But considering the ancient association of the lion with the district of Angus, and the variations in its position as borne by the descendants of the ancient earls; considering, on the other hand, that the same tinctures, though reversed, are seen on the quarter in the Douglas arms (which in such a case might well possess significance), and considering that that quarter held the first place on the shields of the earlier Douglasses, Earls of Angus, and that no other quarter ever borne by them or the later earls could be held to represent the title of Angus, which would certainly claim and obtain representation<sup>1</sup>—it seems impossible to suppose that the silver lion rampant on *gules* was aught else than the lion of Angus,<sup>2</sup> and that as such it occupied the place of honour in the arms of the Douglasses that bore it, and through doing so were nobly ‘differenced’ from the kindred family, whose 1st quarter habitually displayed the heart and mullets of Douglas.

We may now pass to the motto on the standard—*Jamais Arreyre*. This motto, in the form “*Jamais Arrière*,” makes its first-known appearance on the seal of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus, ‘the good Earl’ (1557–1588).<sup>3</sup> The salamander crest also appears for the first time on this seal, and the crowned lion of Galloway for the first time occupies the first quarter on the shield, while Angus is relegated to the second. Though mottoes were of rare occurrence till an even

<sup>1</sup> Sir David Lindesay (p. 46) gives as the arms of “*Makbreid Erle of Anguss of auld*”—*gu.* a cinquefoil *or.* But these were the arms of the Umfravilles—who, for two or three generations, succeeded the Celtic line as Earls of Angus,—and could never have been accepted as the true arms of the territory.

<sup>2</sup> Describing the seal of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus, Mr Laing remarks that “the shield on the dexter wing [of an eagle displayed] bears a lion rampant for the Earldom of Angus.”—*Scottish Seals*, i. p. 131, No. 791.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, ii. 559.

later date than that engraved upon Earl Archibald's seal (1572), it does not follow that the accompanying motto may not have been in earlier use. If not so, the date of the standard would be practically determined, unless, regardless of probability, the motto were pronounced a comparatively modern addition to that ensign.

The Earls of Douglas—with one exception—inscribed no motto on their seals. The exception is found on the seal (1373) of Archibald, Lord of Galloway, who became third Earl of Douglas in 1388, where from the beak of a peacock's head, which forms the crest, proceeds a scroll inscribed with "some words that have not yet been deciphered."<sup>1</sup> Save in regard to the first, sixth, and seventh characters, the letters of the legend are distinct. From a comparison of the difficult first character, which resembles a Greek minuscule *Omega*, with the letters beginning the word "Douglas" in the legends on seals of the 4th Earl of Douglas and of Princess Margaret of Touraine,<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to view it as a monogram representing the letters D, O,—the up-stroke of the small D having been destroyed, or originally merged in the border of the scroll. The motto then reads:—"Do batt dye." The strange word "batt" seems to be the old "Bout, But, Boud, Bit, Bud, Boost, v. imp.,—Behoved, Was under the necessity of. 'He boot to do' such a thing, he could not avoid it. 'It bit to be,' it was necessary that this should take place" (Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*). Thus the motto may be interpreted—Do (daring deeds) though to die be the inevitable end. In archaic wording, we have here the chivalrous motto of the Douglases of Cavers themselves—"Do or die," and we are strengthened in the opinion that if the Black Douglases had a motto at all, it was none other than this.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laing, i. 44, No. 239. Fraser, ii. 551, fig. 1. Balfour Paul, p. 119, fig. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser, ii. 551, fig. 5, and ii. 552, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Examination of a cast from the original seal, with which the Lord Lyon has favoured me since the above was written, leads me to fear that my suggested reading can hardly be maintained, for there is no trace of the upper stroke required to constitute a d in the first character, and there is a mark or point (not shown in the engravings) between t and t, which seems to divide the legend into two words.

We may, therefore, fall back on a former reading—though it compels us to assume that b, the second character, was intended for h—and accept "What Tyde." The

To sum up: we find, as regards the white lion on the standard, that it is in some measure assignable to either branch of Douglas, through the arms of Galloway, borne at different times and in different ways by both; yet that, through the arms of Angus, which were almost always borne first on their shield, the Red Douglasses have the stronger claim; and, as regards the motto, "Jamais Arrière," we find that it unquestionably belongs to the Angus branch.

Our conclusions, so far as we have gone, may be thus stated:—the flag is a standard, not a pennon; it belonged to a Douglas, and none other; it more probably belonged to a Douglas of the Angus branch than to a member of the earlier house.

But if so, it may be asked, how comes it to be in the possession of the Douglasses of Cavers, descended from a son of the hero of Otterburn; what connection are they likely to have had with the Earls of Angus? Here history comes to our aid. It is recorded that George, 4th Earl of Angus, who, in 1454, obtained a grant of all the lands of the Douglasses, and had previously been appointed (in 1449) Warden of the Middle Marches, gave a commission, in 1452, to Douglas of Cavers, as Keeper of Hermitage Castle.<sup>1</sup> Under such circumstances, it is possible that the standard now under view was an ensign designed to be displayed from that castle's walls.

One cannot press the argument, but the standard shows such general features of likeness to those known to have been borne in the early part of the 16th century, that it is easier to assign it to that date, or to a midway period, than to the remoter antiquity of 1388. It is also worth noting that a study of the Douglas seals tends to establish that the lion on the Cavers standard<sup>2</sup> not only resembles those quartered on meaning, perhaps, "What tidings?" (*v. Halliwell, Dict. of Archaic Words, 1850*). Without historical aid, significance easily drops from specialised mottos such as this, or (*e.g.*) "I mak sikker"; "Now thus, now thus"; "Good news"; "Strike, Dakyns, the devil's in the hempe."

<sup>1</sup> Fraser, ii. 56; Robson, 131. Hermitage Castle passed from the Douglasses in 1491. Fraser, ii. 617.

<sup>2</sup> The lion as shown in the photograph in the Lord Lyon's *Heraldry* (p. 134) is here referred to. See *supra*, p. 255, note 4.

the seal of George, 4th Earl of Angus (lately spoken of),<sup>1</sup> but shows more resemblance to it than to any of the lions occurrent elsewhere in the whole range of the series during three centuries complete. The possible Tau cross on the counter-seal of the same earl—already dealt with—may also be lightly noted.

In conclusion: we are drawn to the belief that the standard was made for an Earl of Angus, towards the middle or end of the 15th century, and that it came into the hands of the Douglasses of Cavers—with whom it has since remained—at, or after, the appointment of the head of that distinguished family to the office of Keeper of Hermitage Castle, in 1452.

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#### APPENDIX.

##### ALLUSIVE HERALDIC APPELLATIONS IN A BALLAD ON THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD, ILLUSTRATING THE NATURE OF THE EMBLAZONMENT OF STANDARDS.

In the first edition of *The Mirrour for Magistrates* (1587) appears a poem—omitted in the edition of 1610—entitled “The Bataile of Brampton, or Floddon Feld,” in which several knights and nobles who took part in the conflict are symbolically named according to their heraldic cognisances. This poem will be found in the appendix of Mr Weber’s *Battle of Floddon Field* (Edinburgh, 1808), the main part of which volume is devoted to a longer poem on the same subject bearing the title “Flodden-Field,” and consisting of 2300 lines in ballad measure quatrains; which, with the author’s notes, occupy no less than 247 pages. From this source some assistance may be drawn in identifying the persons alluded to in the manner described.<sup>2</sup>

It will be perceived that in most cases these heraldic allusions relate to the badges, or to the crests used as badges, of families, rather than to their formal armorial bearings; and the apparent exceptions would probably be

<sup>1</sup> Fraser, ii. 551, fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> This ballad appears to have been written c. 1560 (Federer, p. 133): its authorship is unknown. The earliest existing manuscript copy bears date 1636, and belongs to the British Museum. The first printed edition appeared in 1664.

Several editions have since been issued, taken from different sources and varying from one another in a few unimportant passages. Among these I prefer Mr Weber’s version, referred to above. Mr Federer, in his much later edition—“The Ballad of Flodden Field” (1884)—has sometimes adopted variations that seem more modern



found to come under similar rule if the badge or badges employed by the persons concerned were ascertainable.

Whatever may have been the earlier practice, it would seem that towards the close of the fifteenth century badges and devices on standards had largely superseded formal armorial bearings on banners; and the former, having more of a general and territorial, and less of a personal, character, would naturally, rather than the latter, become associated in popular estimation with the great families of each locality or district.

The allusive verses referred to, in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, are too long to quote in full, but the extracts to follow will embody all the lines that concern the present inquiry, which seeks to elucidate the character and adornments of standards in the later mediæval period.

“THE BATAILE OF BRAMPTON, OR FLODDON FELD.”

(Verses 17-22.)<sup>1</sup>

17. “To the Earl of Surrey King Jemy is gone,  
With as comely a company as ever man did see :  
Full boldly theyr big men agaynst us did come  
Down the hill, with great myrth and melody ;  
And our men marked them to the Trinity,  
Beseeching them there to shew his might,  
In their whole defence, and in their prince’s right.
18. “The Red Lyon, with his owne father’s bloud inclynate,  
Came towards the White Lyon, both meeke and milde,  
And there, by the hand of God he was prostrate,  
By the helpe of th’ Eagle with her swadled Chylde ;  
The Buckes-heads also the Scots has beguilde,  
And with theyr grey goose-wings doulfully them dight,  
By the helpe of God, and in our prince his right.

in tone than those they have superseded. For example, the second quatrain in the ballad assumes, respectively, the following forms :—

“A fearful field in verse to frame  
I mean, if that to mark ye list,  
O Flodden Mount ! thy fearful name  
Doth sore affray my trembling fist.”  
(Weber.)

“A fearful field in verse I’ll frame,  
If you’ll be pleased to understand :  
O Floddon Mount ! thy wond’rous name  
Doth sore affright my trembling hand.”  
(Federer.)

Obviously Mr Weber’s is the earlier version, for no reviser would change the smooth commonplace of the second specimen into the rough quaintness of the first.

<sup>1</sup> Weber, pp. 264-266.

19. "The Moone that day did shine full bright,  
And the Luce-head that day was full bent ;  
The Red Crescent did blinde the Scots' sight,  
And the Ship with her Ancre many Scots spent :  
But, alas ! the good White Griffin was felde on Floddon-hill ;  
Yet escape hee did, not vanquisht in the fight ;  
So thy helpe, O Lord, preservde our prince's right.
20. "The Treyfell was true, and that did well appeare,  
And boldly the Great Griffin up the hill is gone ;  
The Antlet did lace them with arrowes so nere,  
That buffits the Scots bare, they lacked none ;  
The Cinquefoile also was stedfast as the stone,  
And slewe of the Scots like a worthy wight :  
So thy helpe, O Lord, preservde our prince's right.
21. "The yong White Lyon was angry in that stounde,  
And with his merry mariners the myrth him made,  
His bells lang lay couched on the grounde,  
Whereof the Scots were ryght sore affrayde ;<sup>1</sup>  
And round about rydeing evermore he sayde :  
Go to, my fellowes, all shal be all or night,  
By the helpe of God we save our prince his right.
22. "The Cornish Choughe did picke them in the face,  
And the Crab them blinded that they might not see.  
They flewe and fell ; they had no other grace  
With theyr new conqueror : but where now is hee ?  
Carried in a cart, to his rebuke and his posterity,  
And his bullies so bonny are all put to flight :  
So thy helpe, O Lord, preservde our prince his right."

<sup>1</sup> In seeking for sense in this evidently corrupt passage, we must begin, I think, by substituting 'bills' for 'bells,' taking the former to mean 'bill-men'—as 'bows' denote 'bow-men.' Compare :—

"There are the bows of Kendal bold,  
Who fierce will fight and never flee."

"Then on the English part with speed  
The bills stept forth, and bows went back."

(*"Flodden Field,"* ll. 71, 72, and ll. 1973, 1974 ;  
Weber, pp. 4, 102.)

'Lang' is a common northern spelling of 'long' ; 'or night' is 'ere night.' The meaning of the whole seems to be :—"For long his bill-men lay flat upon the ground (fairly secure from missiles or direct attack, but) visible to the Scots, who were daunted by the knowledge of this formidable reserve. The Admiral rode round his men, curbing their impatience and promising them action and success ere daylight failed." Mr Lambe makes confusion worse confounded by printing 'rang' for 'lang,' misled, no doubt, by the word 'bells.'

Among these allusive appellations the following have been identified—on good grounds, perhaps, but without comment or explanation—by the Rev. Robert Lambe, Vicar of Norham upon Tweed, who printed this ballad in the Appendix to his edition of the longer poem, first published at Berwick in 1774 :—

- “ 1. Red Lion, the King of Scots ;
2. White Lion, the Earl of Surrey ;
3. The Young White Lion, the Lord Admiral ;
4. The Moon, Percy ;
5. The Red Crescent, Lord Ogle ;
6. The Luce [-head], Sir William Gascoigne ;
7. The Cinquefoil, Sir George Darcy ;
8. Eagle and Child, Sir Edward Stanley.”<sup>1</sup>

To this list may be added, though in most cases with doubt :—

9. The Ship, Sir Marmaduke Constable ;
10. The Crab, Lord Scrope (of Bolton, or of Upsall) ;
11. The Buck's-heads, Sir Richard Maliver, or Sir Edward Stanley, or Sir John Stanley ;
12. The Trefoil (Treyfell), Lord Conyers ;
13. The White Griffin, Sir Walter Griffin, or Sir Philip Dacre ;
14. The Great Griffin, Sir Edward Stanley, or Sir John Stanley, or Sir Richard Bold ;
15. The Antlet (Antelope ?), Lord Ogle ? ;
16. The Cornish Chough, Lord Scrope (of Bolton, or of Upsall), or Sir John Radcliffe.

From want of information regarding the badges and devices that belonged to noble and knightly families—which were sometimes numerous, which also were varied at different times and among different branches from the same stock—it is impossible to identify with certainty more than a few on these lists ; where the badge is known we are on sure ground, where the crest is known our case is fairly good, where only the arms are known our position becomes dubious—to judge by analogy from authentically recorded examples,—but where unrecorded devices holding no reference to any part of an armorial have been made use of, we are hopelessly defeated. Sometimes, indeed, we are led to suspect that more than one of the allusive epithets in the present poem relate to the same person, regarded as the bearer of several devices on his standard, each of which probably represented a different section of his own followers, or of the division that went to battle under his immediate command.

<sup>1</sup> Lambe, *Battle of Floddon* (ed. Newcastle, 1809), p. 216. See also Weber, p. 268.

But an attempt to solve these problems may be tentatively ventured, taking each case in the order that has been indicated above.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Red Lion. Scotland. King James IV. Arms and crest, a lion *gu.*

2. The White Lion. Howard, Earl of Surrey, Commander-in-chief, and personally commanding the Mydle-warde, or centre of the Rere-warde, at the battle. Badge, a lion statant guardant, tail extended, *arg.*<sup>2</sup>

“The White Lyon, there [Flodden] rampaunte of moode,  
He raged, and rent out your hart bloude.  
He the White, and you the Red ;  
The white there slewe the red starke ded.”<sup>3</sup>

3. The Young White Lion. Howard. Thomas Howard, Lord Admiral. In command of the Fore-warde, supported on the right by Sir Edmond Howard, and on the left by Sir Marmaduke Constable. Howard Badge.

“Wherefore in foreward first of all,  
Chief Captain constituted he [Surrey]  
His loving son Lord Admiral,  
With soldiers such as came from sea.”<sup>4</sup>

4. The Moon. Percy. Sir William Percy ; in Sir Marmaduke Constable's division. Badge, a silver crescent.

“There is an earl, of antique race,  
Passing in pride and costly array ;  
In his banner brave he displays  
A half-moon in gold glistening gay.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> None but essential details are cited in blazoning the arms, crests, and badges to which reference is made. In some cases it can only be shown that certain branches of a family bore the specified charges or devices, not necessarily the members of it who took part in the battle. For coats of arms and crests, Burke's *General Armory* (3rd ed., 1851) has been chiefly consulted ; for badges, Boutell's *Heraldry* (1864), Woodward's *Treatise on Heraldry* (1892), Mrs Bury Palliser's *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (1870), and Planché's *Pursuivant of Arms* (new ed., 1859).

The illustrative quotations are mostly from the longer ballad entitled “Flodden Field,” which will be thus cited in the footnote references, followed by a statement of the lines of the poem in which the passages occur. The shorter ballad will be cited as “Bataile,” with references to the stanzas concerned. In both cases the extracts are based on the versions in Weber's “Battle of Floddon Field.”

<sup>2</sup> The White Lion badge was derived from the Mowbrays, through Lady Margaret Mowbray, mother of Sir John Howard, created Duke of Norfolk in 1483.

<sup>3</sup> “Skelton, Laureate, against the Scottes,” Weber, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 1109–1112 ; Weber, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Gold,’ instead of silver, by poetic license, for the sake of the alliteration which enters so largely into the scheme of this ballad. (See *post.* p. 279, *sub* No. 20.)

“‘That is the lusty Piercy plain,  
The King can say, and gave a stamp;  
‘There is not such a lord again,  
No, not in all King Henry’s camp.’”<sup>1</sup>

“Next him [Sir William Constable] Sir William Percy proud  
Went with the great Earl Percy’s power;  
From Lancashire of lusty blood  
A thousand soldiers, stiff in stowre.”<sup>2</sup>

5. The Red Crescent. Ogle. Lord Ogle; in the Lord Admiral’s division. Arms, *arg.* a fesse between three crescents *gu.* Crest, an antelope’s head. Badges, a bull’s head *gu.*; a slip of oak with golden acorns; and the upper half of a rose rayonnated below.

“Lord Ogle, who, as then, did lead  
A lordly band of warlike wights.”<sup>3</sup>

6. The Luce head. Gascoigne. Sir William Gascoigne of Lasingercroft; with the Earl of Surrey. Arms, Gascoigne (Yorkshire), *az.* three luce’s heads coupéd *or.* Gascoigne (Partington, Yorkshire), Crest, a demi-luce erect *or.*<sup>4</sup>

“Sir William Gascoign grave.”<sup>5</sup>

7. The Cinquefoil. Darcy. Sir George Darcy; with the Earl of Surrey. Arms, *arg.* an inescutcheon *sa.*, within an orle of cinquefoils *gu.* This identification seems doubtful; compare:—

“Sir George Darcy in banner bright  
Did bear a bloody broken spear.”<sup>6</sup>

Sir Thomas Darcy, created a baron in 1509, bore on his green standard a tiger *arg.*; three parts of a broken spear *or.*; and a buck’s head, coupéd *erm.*<sup>7</sup> A tilting spear broken in three places is the crest of various branches of the Darcy family.

8. Eagle and Child. Stanley. Sir Edward Stanley; commanded the left wing of the Rere-warde (see *post.* under No. 14). Crest (for Latham), an eagle *or.*, feeding on an infant in its nest.

<sup>1</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 205–212; Weber, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 1250–1253; Weber, p. 66, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 1115, 1116; Weber, p. 59, p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Luce, or Lucy, is the fish commonly known as a pike.

<sup>5</sup> “Flodden Field,” l. 1280; Weber, p. 68, pp. 184, 333.

<sup>6</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 1293, 1294; Weber, p. 68, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 288.

"But yet the man is left untold  
On whom the matter wholly hings,"

"Sir Edward Stanley, stiff in stour."<sup>1</sup>

"All Lancashire, for the most part,  
The lusty Stanley stout did lead ;  
A stock of striplings, strong of heart,  
Brought up from babes with beef and bread."<sup>2</sup>

9. The Ship with her Anchor. Constable. Sir Marmaduke Constable ; commanded the Left Wing of the Fore-ward. Crest, a ship in full sail *or*. Badge (in 1520), an anchor erect *or*.

"As to the ship is anchor and cable,  
So be thou to thy friend Constable."<sup>3</sup>

"Then next the left-hand wing did wield  
Sir Marmaduke Constable old."<sup>4</sup>

10. The Crab. Scrope. Lord Scrope of Upsall, in the Lord Admiral's division ; or Lord Scrope of Bolton, in the 'mydle-ward' with the Earl of Surrey. Crest, issuing out of a ducal coronet a crab. Badges, a golden crab, and a Cornish chough.<sup>5</sup>

"Lord Scroop of Upsall, th' aged knight."<sup>6</sup>

"And the Lord Scrope of Upsalle forwarde did goe,  
With the Lord Howarde, admirall of the see."<sup>7</sup>

"Lord Scroop of Bolton stern and stout,  
On horseback who had not his peer."<sup>8</sup>

"All Richmondshire, its total strength,  
The lusty Scroop did lead and guide."<sup>9</sup>

"In the mydle warde was the Earle of Surrey,  
With him Lord Scrope of Bolton and Sir George Darcy."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1327, 1328, and 1333 ; Weber, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1349-1352 ; Weber, p. 71, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn, *Book of Crests*, 1892, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1245, 1246 ; Weber, p. 66, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 329 ; Planché, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> "Flodden Field," l. 1158 ; Weber, p. 62, p. 332.

<sup>7</sup> "Bataile," v. 7 ; Weber, p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1259, 1260 ; Weber, p. 67, p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1275, 1276 ; Weber, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> "Bataile," v. 11 ; Weber, p. 262.

11. The Buck's-heads. This might refer to Maliver—Sir Richard Maliver; or to Sir William Maliver, who was in Sir Edmond Howard's division. Arms unascertained.<sup>1</sup>

"In the mydle ward was the Earle of Surrey

And Sir Richard Maliver, with buck's-heads bright."<sup>2</sup>

Coming from the same ballad as the epithet before us, the above might seem conclusive, yet from its context it ought to belong to some more important person than Sir Richard, and, together with the preceding line, to refer to one, or both, of the Stanleys, among whose badges is a buck's head, derived from their arms, *arg.* on a bend *az.* three bucks' heads *or.* Sir John Stanley, "with the Byshoppe of Elye's servaunts," was in the Earl of Surrey's division.<sup>3</sup>

12. The Trefoil (Treyfell). Conyers. Lord Conyers; with the Lord Admiral. Conyers (Sokebourne, Durham), Crest, a trefoil clipped and erect *vert.* One of the badges of Lord Conyers is a trefoil *arg.*<sup>4</sup>

"Lord Coniers stout and stiff in stoure."<sup>5</sup>

". . . The Lord Coniers of the north countrey,  
And the Lord Scrope of Upsalle, forwarde did goe,  
With the Lord Howarde, admirall of the see."<sup>6</sup>

13. The White Griffin. Griffin. Sir Walter Griffin. Arms, *sa.* a griffin segreant *arg.* According to the shorter ballad Sir Walter was with Sir Edmond Howard, in the right wing of the van.

<sup>1</sup> In the list of those who received knighthood for good service in the battle of Flodden occur the names "Sir William Maleuerdy" and "Sir Richarde Malleuery" (Contemporary black letter tract printed before 1530; see Federer, *Flodden Field*, pp. 131, 132). Can Malory be the name intended? The spelling in the tract is peculiar throughout, *e.g.*, Medlton, Strngewase, Thiuaittes, Sir Xpofe Pekerynge. "Maloure" is an old form of the name, given in Burke's *General Armory*, which might easily pass into Malovre, Malover. "Maliver" does not appear in that comprehensive book.

<sup>2</sup> "Bataile," v. 11; Weber, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1285, 1286; Weber, p. 68, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 283. William Fitzwilliam, created Earl of Southampton in 1537, bore as a badge on his standard a Trefoil with a transverse bar (Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 295). Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark was in Sir Edmond Howard's division ("Flodden Field," l. 1239; Weber, p. 66).

<sup>5</sup> "Flodden Field," l. 1148; Weber, p. 61, p. 332.

<sup>6</sup> "Bataile," v. 7; Weber, p. 261.

“ Sir Edmond Howard, of lusty franke courage,  
 Boldly advanced himselfe eke in that stounde :

Sir John Gower and Sir Walter Griffin drew nere.”<sup>1</sup>

The allusion, it is possible, may be to Sir Philip Dacre (brother of Lord Dacre), who was made prisoner in Lord Home's successful onslaught, a griffin badge being borne by Fiennes, Lord Dacre of the south,—a griffin head erased *gu.* holding in its beak an amulet *or*,<sup>2</sup>—though an escallop linked to a staff raguly was the usual badge of the Dacres.

“ But alas ! the good White Griffin was felde on Floddon-hill ;  
 Yet escape hee did, not vanquisht in the fight.”<sup>3</sup>

14. The Great Griffin. Stanley. Sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the rear-guard at the extreme left of the army during the battle. Compare “ Boldly the Great Griffin up the hill is gone ”<sup>4</sup> with :—

“ Till at the last great Stanley stout  
 Came marching up the mountain steep.”<sup>5</sup>

“ Sir Edward . . . with his Lancastrian archers, forced the right wing of the Scots . . . and decided the battle.”<sup>6</sup>

One of the Stanley badges was a griffin's leg erased *or*,<sup>7</sup>—more commonly given as an eagle's leg. Sir Richard Bold, of Bold, might have been the person intended,—

“ Next went Sir Bold and Butler brave,  
 Two lusty knights of Lancashire.”<sup>8</sup>—

were it not that he belonged to Sir Edmond Howard's division and is nowhere mentioned as conspicuous in the battle. Moreover, the griffins of his arms and crest were black, not white.

15. The Antlet. This obscure word may be a misprint for ‘antler.’ But as gantlet, in the sense of ‘running the gantlet,’ is a corruption from *gantlope*, the form used by Fielding and other eighteenth century writers, antlet may similarly be a corruption from *antelope*. The crest of Lord Ogle was an

<sup>1</sup> “ Bataile,” vv. 9, 10 ; Weber, p. 262. Other writers place Sir Walter Griffin in the Lord Admiral's division (Weber, Appendix, p. 332 ; Federer, p. 128).

<sup>2</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> “ Bataile,” v. 19 ; Weber, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> “ Bataile,” v. 20 ; Weber, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> “ Flodden Field,” ll. 2137, 2138 ; Weber, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Boutell, p. 263 ; Woodward, ii. 558 ; Planché, p. 187.

<sup>8</sup> “ Flodden Field,” ll. 1229, 1230 ; Weber, p. 65, pp. 183, 333.



antelope's head (see No. 5), which may also have served as one of the devices on his standard.

16. The Cornish Chough. Scrope. Lord Scrope of Upsall, or Lord Scrope of Bolton (see No. 10). "Lord Scrope in time of Edward IV. had a Cornish chough for his badge, and eleven of the same birds are on the banner of his successor in the reign of Henry VIII."<sup>1</sup> The Lords Scrope seem to be already referred to in No. 10, The Crab. In the present case the reference might be to Sir John Radcliffe, of Radcliffe, Lancashire, who was in the Earl of Surrey's division. Ratcliffe (Mowgrave, Yorkshire) bears for crest—On a mount *vert* a Cornish chough *sa*.

"Sir John Radcliffe in arms royal,  
With Sir William Gascoine grave."<sup>2</sup>

Four other cognisances, not referred to in "The Bataile of Brampton," receive mention in the longer ballad.

17. The Dragon. Clifford. Lord Clifford; in the Lord Admiral's division. Badge of the 13th Lord, annulets round a wyvern or dragon.<sup>3</sup>

"In order next the Admiral  
The lusty knight Lord Clifford went.

. . . . .  
"Now, like a captain bold, he brought  
A band of lusty lads elect;  
Whose curious coats, cunningly wrought,  
With dreadful dragons were bedeckt."<sup>4</sup>

18. The Cock. Tunstal. Sir Bryan Tunstal; in Sir Edmond Howard's division. Crest, a cock *arg.* combed etc. *or.*

"What lusty troop is yon I see?  
Sir Edward Stanley he did cry:<sup>5</sup>  
A yeoman said—'It is, I see,  
Bryan Tunstal that bold esquire;

. . . . .  
"For in his banner I behold  
A cock curling as he would crow."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1279, 1280; Weber, p. 68, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 1117-1132; Weber, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> 'Did enquire.' Federer.

<sup>6</sup> "Flodden Field," ll. 721-726; Weber, p. 39. Elsewhere in the ballad Bryan Tunstal is referred to as a knight—"This trusty knight"—"Sir Bryan Tunstal" (ll. 1219, 1984). In Halle's Chronicle (1548) he is classed with 'Esquyers' (Weber, p. 333).

## 19. The Red Cross. Dacre? Lord Dacre.

“The right hand wing, with all his rout,  
The lusty Lord Dacres did lead;  
With him the bows of Kendal stout,  
With milk-white coats and crosses red.”<sup>1</sup>

In this case, however, reference may be made to a national, rather than to a personal, emblem.

20. The Black Bull. Nevill. Sir John Nevill. He does not seem to have been at Flodden. A *dun* bull is generally assigned as a principal badge of that family, but in the ballad ‘black’ is substituted for the sake of alliteration (see *ante*, sub No. 4).

“There is a knight of the north country,  
Which leads a lusty clump of spears;  
I know not what his name should be,—  
A boisterous bull, all black, he bears.”

“Lord Hume then answered, loud on hight;  
‘This same is Sir John Nevill bold.’”<sup>2</sup>

21. The Talbot. Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was not at Flodden, but with the army in France. The standard of the Earl, in 1520, was *gu.* and *sa.*, a talbot passant *arg.*, with four chanfrons, each adorned with three feathers, *or.*<sup>3</sup>

“There is a lord that bold doth bear  
A talbot brave, a burly tike,  
Whose father struck France so with fear,  
As made poor wives and children skrike”

“The King then answered at one word:  
‘That is the Earl of Shrewsbury.’”<sup>4</sup>

A satirical poem, published about 1449, provides an earlier example of allusive nomenclature similar to that adopted in “The Bataile of Floddon Field.” In both we find persons of distinction referred to under the names of their badges or devices; and in the former, even more than in the latter, we

<sup>1</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 1301–1304; Weber, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 233–238; Weber, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Bury Palliser, p. 338. Chanfron (Chamfron, Chamfront) is the armour-plate for a horse’s head.

<sup>4</sup> “Flodden Field,” ll. 213–218; Weber, p. 12, p. 144.

find these devices dissociated from normal heraldry and assuming a fantastical character. The following lines will serve as a specimen :—

“The rote is ded,<sup>1</sup> the swan<sup>2</sup> is goon,  
 The fiery cressett<sup>3</sup> hath lost his lyght,  
 Therefore Ingland may mak gret mone,  
 Were not the helpe of God Almighty.  
 The castell<sup>4</sup> is wonne, where care begoun,  
 The porticolys<sup>5</sup> is leyde a doun ;  
 Yclosed we have oure velvette hatte,<sup>6</sup>  
 That keyyd us from mony stormys brown.  
 The white lion<sup>7</sup> is leyde to slepe,  
 Thorough the envy of the ape clogge.<sup>8</sup>”

<sup>1</sup> Duke of Bedford—badge, a golden *root*.

<sup>2</sup> Bohun, for Duke of Gloucester—*ob.* 1447.

<sup>3</sup> Holland, Duke of Exeter—Lord High Admiral.

<sup>4</sup> Rouen.

<sup>5</sup> Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

<sup>6</sup> Cardinal Beaufort—*ob.* 1447.

<sup>7</sup> Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>8</sup> De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.\*

\* *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition), Article “Heraldry,” vol. xi. p. 710; Mrs Bury Palliser, pp. 274, 275, 303, 323.