

## THE SWAN OF BUCKINGHAM.

By HENRY GOUGH, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

" . . . . the swan with arched neck  
Between her white wings mantling . . . "

MILTON.

As to the origin of the Swan of Buckingham—a symbol which for well-nigh five hundred years has been more or less associated with the county—there have been various theories. From the period of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and Essex in the thirteenth century, its descent is traceable to modern times with little difficulty; but its previous history is somewhat uncertain and obscure.

In an interesting paper, lately read before our Society, it was alleged that the Swan of Buckingham is in some way connected with a wild German legend relating to the principality of Cleves. All the evidence, however, that can be adduced in support of such a theory is probably

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appointment. In 1695 Mr. Wharton succeeded to the Peerage on the death of his father. He was created an Earl and Marquis in 1706, and two years later went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, taking Addison with him as his secretary. The Marquis died in London 12th April, 1715, and was buried at Winchendon, co. Bucks, on the 22nd. The funeral procession was stopped on the road by a total eclipse of the sun.

the fact, that certain imaginative genealogists of former times pretended to trace the pedigrees of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, from that fabulous personage, "the Knight of the Swan," the hero of a popular romance of the Middle Ages, and the reputed ancestor, not only of the house of Cleves, but also of the Counts of Boulogne.\* Another claimant of the same mythical descent was Robert Tony, one of the warriors at Carlarverock in 1300.

"Blanche cote e blanches alestes,  
Escu blanc, e baniere blanche,  
Portoit, o la vermeille manche,  
Robers de Tony, ki bien signe  
Ke il est du chevalier au cigne."

"A white surcoat and white alettes,  
A white shield, and a white banner,  
Bore, with a red maunch,  
Robert de Tony, who well evinces  
That he is descended from the Knight of the Swan." †

Tony's seal, affixed to the celebrated letter of the Barons to the Pope, 1301, is surrounded by lions and swans alternately. Alice, his sister and heir, married Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1298—1315); and hence that family had a double claim to the "invaluable distinction" of this unhistorical descent.‡

\* "Carlarverock," by Nicolas, 369. "Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, caused to be translated from a French romance the legend of a king, named Oryant, who had seven children, each born with a chain of silver about the neck, and all turned into white swans, excepting one son, Helyas, the Knight of the Swan, from whom the Stafford family claimed to be lineally descended. . . . There is, besides, an old English poem on the same subject, in alliterative metre, entitled 'Chevalere de Cigne,' preserved in the Cotton Library."—(The late Rev. H. Roundell's lecture, entitled "Some Account of the Town of Buckingham," 1857, p. 9.) The French romance before named, containing the feats of Godfrey of Boulogne, and of his brothers Baudouin and Eustace, "issuing and descending from the illustrious line of the brave Knight of the Swan," was printed at Paris by or for Jehan Petit, 1504, in small folio. The English translation was made by Robert Copland, and first printed at the press of Wynkin de Worde, 1512, 4to. It was reprinted by William Copland, several years later, but without date.—(See Ames and Herbert's "Typographical Antiquities," by Dibdin, ii. 168, and iii. 152.)

† "Carlarverock," by Wright, 18.

‡ "Carlarverock," by Nicolas, 370. It was possibly in allusion to the same shadowy personage that knights of the Middle Ages were accustomed to make their vows of arms "before the swan," as Edward Prince of Wales did in 1306.—*Ib.* See also Anstis, "Knighthood of the Bath," 23.

That very able herald, Mr. Planché, in a paper "On the Badges of the House of Lancaster,"\* expresses an opinion that the cognizance which is the subject of this article originated as a rebus of the name of Sweyn.† This, in all probability, is the fact, as will presently appear; but, in reference to Mr. Planché's suggestion, that "the Mandevilles and the Nevils" (who, it is affirmed, both employed the swan as a badge or cognizance) "had a common ancestor in Adam Fitz Swanne," the writer of this paper ventures (with sincere respect and deference) to propound another theory.

Adam Fitz Swaine was a great Baron in the north of England in the time of Henry II., and founder of a Priory at Monk-Bretton, Yorkshire. He left two daughters and co-heirs—Maud, who married, first, Gerard de Glanville; secondly, Adam de Montbegon; thirdly, John de Malherb: and Annabel, who married Adam de Crevequer.‡ No descent, however, of either Mandeville or Nevill from either of these ladies appears to be recorded.

But that the swan was originally the rebus or device of a personage bearing the Danish name of Sweyn is, to say the least, not at all unlikely.§ Sweyn, King of Denmark, is called Swan by Robert of Gloucester, a rhyming chronicler of the thirteenth century:—

"Swan with his power to Engeland come."||

and Swanscombe, in Kent, is the place where he made his camp.

\* "Journal of the Archæol. Assoc.," vi. 384.

† All who recognize the historical importance of genuine heraldry, and know how grievously truth in matters armorial and genealogical has been obscured by fiction, owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Planché (now Somerset herald) for his investigations. The writer is particularly indebted to Mr. Planché's courtesy and kindness for information on some points connected with this paper.

‡ Courthope, "Historic Peerage," 199.

§ It may be here observed that the swan has a distinguished place in Danish heraldry. The kings of Denmark have long quartered *G., a swan, with elevated wings, A., beaked S., gorged with a crown O.*, for Stormerk, in Holstein. It is stated that in the hard winter of 1726 a swan was killed at Emsworth, between Chichester and Portsmouth, having a ring round its neck, with the King of Denmark's arms on it.—Hone's "Every Day Book," ii. 964.

|| Weever, "Fun. Mon.," 357.

Before the Norman Conquest, Rayleigh, in Essex, was the residence of Suene, a powerful chief, who, from his appellation, is thought to have been of Danish ancestry.\* He readily joined the invaders, and, as a reward, was confirmed by the Conqueror in the possession of his lands. Thenceforth he was a Baron of the realm, and genealogists mention him as Swene de Essex.† It appears from Domesday Book that he held numerous lordships in Essex and other counties. There is great uncertainty as to his posterity (owing chiefly to confusion between different persons bearing similar names); but it seems most probable that he had, by his wife Gunnora, two sons, Henry and Robert;‡ and that the former died *vitâ patris*, leaving two daughters, his co-heirs — namely, Alianor, wife of Roger Fitz Richard, ancestor of the baronial family of Clavering, and Adeliza, or Alice, whom some regard as the wife of Aubrey de Vere, father of the first Earl of Oxford.§ Swene's son, Robert (founder of the Priory of Prittlewell ||), and his grandson, Henry, successively inherited his lands. The latter, in the third year of Henry II. (1156), was Sheriff of Buckingham and Bedford, and the King's Standard-bearer by inheritance. His unworthy conduct in the last-named office led to his disgrace, and the confiscation of his property. Being with the King in Wales, on a warlike expedition, he threw down the royal standard in the day of battle, and betook himself to flight; whereupon the English, apprehending that the King was slain, fell into confusion, and were completely routed. The recreant Standard-bearer

\* He was son of Robert, son of Wimar or Wynmarke.—“Mon. Angl.,” v. 21; Weever, “Fun. Mon.,” 603.

† Dugdale, “Baronage,” i. 463; Banks, “Dorm. and Ext. Baronage,” i. 72. He was, it seems, hereditary sheriff of the county.

‡ Banks, i. 73.

§ Some writers (Weever, Kimber, etc.) call these two ladies the daughters and co-heirs of Henry de Essex, the after-mentioned Standard-bearer; but this is clearly a mistake. Weever (referring to *Lib. Abb. de Colne*) calls the last-mentioned daughter Agnes or Adeliza, and erroneously styles her husband the first Earl of Oxford.—“Fun. Mon.,” 615. According to Dugdale, the wife of Aubrey de Vere, the first Earl's father, was Adeliza de Clare. According to Collins, she was Adeline de Yvery.

|| “Mon. Angl.,” v. 21. Dugdale does not mention him in his “Baronage.”

was charged with treason, vanquished in a solemn trial by battle, A.D. 1163, and shorn a monk at Reading.\*

The belief that Swene de Essex may possibly have used the swan as a personal device, or, at least, that it may have been assumed in memory of him by some of his posterity not long afterwards, (though arms, properly so called, were not in use until about a century later,) seems to be fully justified by analogous examples in almost every age and nation.† And that Swene de Essex was subsequently regarded as having borne the swan, may probably be gathered from the fact that it was assumed for a crest by the Bouchiers, before they were entitled to the bearing (so far as appears) otherwise than by descent from the de Essex family.

Regarding the posterity of Henry de Essex, there are several statements, not altogether reconcilable. (1) That he left two sons, Henry and Hugh, who were both knights.‡ (2) That he had a son Hugh,§ whose son Henry was the father of Hugh and John.|| This last-named Hugh, who died about 1220, without issue male, left a daughter, Ann, who married Sir Thomas Prayers.¶ Their daughter and sole heir, Margaret, became the wife of Robert de Bouchier, Lord Chancellor of England in the reign of Edward III., and ancestor (through a younger

\* Morant, "Hist. of Essex," ii. 611.

† Take, *e.g.*, the Roman surname Corvinus, and its reputed origin, coupled with the words of Silius Italicus :

"Corvinus Phœbea sedet cui casside fulva,  
Ostentans ales proavitæ insignia pugnae."

The name Horsa (whether borne by an individual or not) has usually been associated with the old Saxon standard. The veneration in which white horses were held by the ancient Germans is mentioned by Tacitus, and their device of a white horse has descended to our own days in the ensign of Hanover, and also in that of Kent. Again, we have the wolf's head of Hugh Lupus, an ancient device, though probably not a contemporary one. The bear, in that well-known compound badge of the Earls of Warwick, the bear and ragged staff, has been ascribed to a supposed ancestor named Arthgal (Brit. *arth*, a bear), but it rather refers to their historical progenitor, Urso de Abitot, who lived in the Conqueror's time.

‡ Dugdale, "Baronage," i. 463.

§ Perhaps a younger son.

|| Visitation of Berks, 1623. MS. Harl., 1532, fo. 17 b.

¶ John Prayers. *Ib.*

son) of the Earls of Eu and Essex. The last-mentioned John is stated to have been the progenitor of the Essex family in Berkshire.\* (3) That Henry de Essex, the Standard-bearer, left two daughters, his co-heirs; but this is evidently a mistake.†

There is likewise some confusion respecting the wife of Henry de Essex, the Standard-bearer. Dugdale's statement that she was Alice, or Adeliza, daughter of Aubrey de Vere, and sister (or niece) of Rohese, who was the wife of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and mother of William de Mandeville the first and second Earls of Essex, is probably correct; but when he adds, that after her first husband's death she married Roger Fitz Richard, it is most likely that he confounds her with Alianor de Essex, who has been already mentioned. Dugdale further says that "she lived to a great age, and was buried in Walden Monastery."‡

The name of MANDEVILLE was borne by two families successively. The male line of the first, three of whom were Earls of Essex, expired in 1190. After much disputation concerning their inheritance, it was at length confirmed to Geoffrey FITZ PIERS, whose wife, Beatrice de Say, was the heiress of the former family.§ In 1199 he was created Earl of Essex by King John. His sons Geoffrey and William, who in turn succeeded him, usually bore the name of Mandeville. The latter died, without issue, in 1227.

There could not, according to any one of the above-stated pedigrees, be the least pretence of heirship to the Essex family on the part of the Mandevilles, even if the Standard-bearer's lands had not been forfeited. But it seems not improbable that the Mandevilles (of the first

\* Another statement is, that the Berkshire family was descended from Hugh, a brother of the Standard-bearer (Banks, "Baronage," i. 73). Sir William Essex, of this family, was created a Baronet in 1612, but the dignity expired with him. He and his son, who died before him, took an active part in the Great Rebellion.

† See p. 252, note §.

‡ "Baronage," i. 463. At p. 189, Rohese, wife of Geoffrey de Mandeville, is placed a generation higher in the family of Vere.

§ It is observable that the arms of Say, and those ascribed to the Mandevilles, are identical:—*Quarterly, O. and G.* Were they not originally borne by Say? Some of the later Mandevilles added a *border vair*. The subject needs further investigation.

or the second house) obtained some portion of the Essex lands by grant or otherwise, and that in consequence of such acquisition they assumed the swan as appurtenant to the property. It appears that Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, held three knights' fees and upwards, of the honour of Rayleigh, about 1210.\*

By whatever means the Mandevilles acquired the swan, the fact that they (at all events, the latter house) had it for their badge appears, to say the least, extremely probable.† The heir male of the later Mandevilles was John Fitz Piers, half brother of the last preceding Earl of Essex. From him were lineally descended the Barons Fitz John (1264—97), through whom the representation of the family passed to the Beauchamps and others, as will be mentioned ere we conclude this paper.

On the decease of the last William de Mandeville, the great estates known as the Honour of Essex devolved upon the family of BOHUN, Henry de Bohun, the first Earl of Hereford, having married Maud, sister and co-heir of the Earl last mentioned. Her son and heir, Humphrey de Bohun, was created Earl of Essex by King Henry III., and the dignity remained in his family until the death of Humphrey, seventh Earl of Hereford, sixth Earl of Essex, and second Earl of Northampton (of his race and surname), in 1372.‡

The white swan, usually, but not always, with closed wings, frequently occurs as the cognizance or "household badge"§ of this great and powerful family. Hitherto we have only presumptive evidence of its use; from this period downwards there are numerous actual examples.

A seal of Humphrey, fourth Earl of Hereford and

\* Morant, "Hist. of Essex," i. 273.

† In MS. Lansd. 882 (Br. Mus.), at fo. 59, *G.*, a swan, close, *A.*, beaked and legged *O.*, gorged with a crown and chained of the last, is ascribed to Mandeville, Earl of Essex, as arms; but this is evidently a figment of later times. The MS. is of the sixteenth century.

‡ By descent from Milo de Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford in 1140, the Bohuns were hereditary Lords High Constables of England. The chief line of the Bohuns bore *B.*, a bend *A.*, between two cotises and six lions rampant *O.*

§ "Might I but know thee by thy household badge."—Shakespeare, *Henry VI.*

third of Essex (1297-1322),\* has, on the reverse, the Bohun shield, suspended by the guige or shield-belt from a swan, which stands upon its upper part;† whilst a small shield quarterly, with a trefoil, slipped, above it, is placed on each side of the principal escutcheon. This minor shield is that of the Mandevilles, and represents their earldom. Such an arrangement was frequently adopted on seals before the introduction of quartering. The trefoil was doubtless a badge of the Mandevilles.‡

In 1319, the same Earl bequeathed to his eldest son "an entire bed of green, powdered with white swans."§ Numerous other objects, similarly decorated, are mentioned in the wills and inventories of the family.||

The secretum, or minor seal, of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton (1361-72), is described as having a shield (Bohun impaling Fitz Alan and Warren quarterly), supported by two swans.¶ Joan, his widow, used a seal of like design twenty years after his decease, the swans having elevated wings.\*\*

A seal of Oliver de Bohoun†† (a cadet of the house of Hereford, who differenced his arms by the addition of three escallop-shells upon the bend) exhibits three close swans; one above the shield, one on either side of it.

There is, then, sufficient evidence that the swan, both close and with expanded wings, was a customary badge or cognizance of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and Essex.

The family of Bohun terminated in two heiresses,

\* This seal has been frequently engraved, as in Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 22; and "Trans. of the Lond. and Midd. Archæol. Assoc.," i. 110.

† See the plate, fig. 1.

‡ In the arms of other families of the same name it occurs as a charge.

§ "Un lit entier de vert poudre de cyne blanches."—"Archæol. Journ.," ii. 341, 346. The will contains a legacy to a retainer named Robert Swan—probably a mere coincidence.

|| In Nichols's "Coll. of Wills," 1780. 4to.

¶ "Trans. of the Lond. and Midd. Archæol. Assoc.," i. 110.

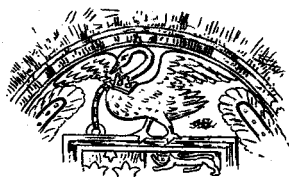
\*\* Charter of Joan, Countess of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton, 17 Ric. II., 1393—Add. Chart. 15,602, Br. Mus.

†† Engraved in the Rev. C. Boutell's "English Heraldry," p. 168. A roll, temp. Edward III., gives the arms of Sir Gilbert de Boun, as differenced with three escallops G.

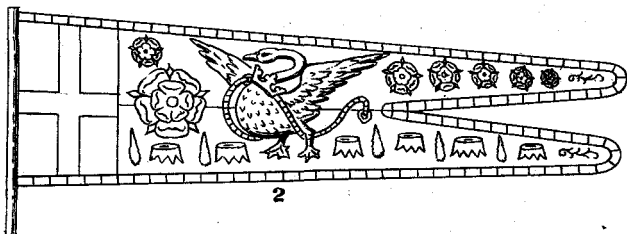




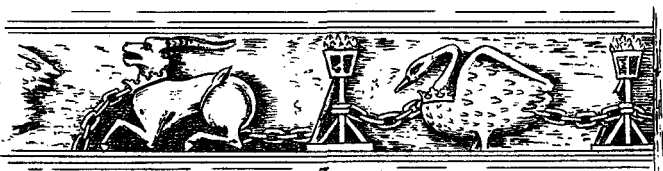
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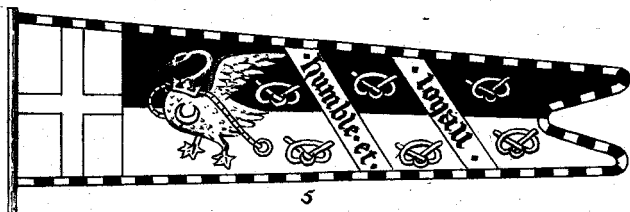
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Alianor or Eleanor, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of King Edward III.; and Mary, wife of Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV. The swan became the badge of both their husbands, and it has been supposed, with great probability, that they first added the golden coronet and chain.\*

It will be convenient to consider first the Royal line of LANCASTER, though it represents the younger daughter. Mary de Bohun became the wife of Henry of Lancaster while he was Earl of Derby, and died in 1394. In September, 1397, Henry was created Duke of Hereford, a title evidently suggested by the Bohun earldom. He succeeded to his father's dukedom of Lancaster in February, 1398-9, and in the September following assumed the Crown.

A very curious slab, discovered a few years since at Venice, and thence brought to England, exhibits some heraldic insignia of Henry of Lancaster, singularly treated by a foreign artist. The main feature of this remarkable tablet is the Bohun swan, close, but gorged and chained. It has the helm and crest upon its head, and is accompanied by the collar of SS, and other badges of the Earl. He visited Venice during his pilgrimage of 1392.†

A standard, which was probably borne by Henry as Duke of Hereford, is represented in one of the Harleian MSS.‡ It has, as usual, the national ensign, St. George's cross, next to the staff, the remainder of the flag being parted per fess of the bearer's livery colours, white and blue. This parti-coloured field is charged with the Bohun swan (now with expanded wings, gorged with a coronet, and chained): in the upper part are six red roses; in the lower six golden stocks of trees, and five foxes' tails pendant proper—all badges of the House of Lancaster. The standard is edged with the livery colours.

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\* Heralds have sometimes called a swan so gorged and chained "a cygnet royal."

† This extraordinary memorial is figured in the "Archæologia," xxix. 387, where it is erroneously ascribed to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in exile at Venice in 1399. It is also engraved in Boutell's "Heraldry, Historical and Popular," 1864, opposite p. 258.

‡ It is copied in the accompanying plate, fig. 2, from MS. Harl., 4632, fo. 238. A great number of badges, etc., from this MS. (which is of the former part of the sixteenth century), are described in "Coll. Top.," iii. 49.

At the memorable tournament between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, held at Coventry on 16th September, 1398, and which resulted in the banishment of both, Hereford displayed the Bohun swan, together with his own badge, the antelope. "His charger," Sandford says, "was barded with green and blue velvet, richly embroidered with swans and antelopes of goldsmiths' work."\*

A well-known symbol of King Henry IV., and the Royal House of Lancaster, was the collar of SS, which is generally considered to refer to Henry's motto, *Souverayne*. In one instance—that upon the sculptured effigy of the poet Gower at Southwark—the Bohun swan is added in a pendant.† The poet died in 1402.

Henry V. bore the white swan while Prince of Wales. His arms, as such, appear upon a seal, supported by two swans, close, gorged with coronets and chained; each of them holding in his beak an upright ostrich feather, the quill set in a scroll.‡

A standard of Henry V., "by the howse of Herforth" (*i.e.* Hereford), is represented in a MS. in the College of Arms.§ It has St. George's ensign next the staff; the parti-coloured residue, white and blue, is crossed obliquely by two bands, with the royal motto, *Dieu et mon droit*, and charged with a swan and ten roots of trees. The swan has expanded wings, a red beak, and black feet, and is gorged with a coronet and chained.||

Upon the chantry of Henry V. at Westminster, the swan, gorged with a crown and chained, appears, several times repeated, in union with his other cognizances, the antelope and the flaming beacon.¶ It does not seem to have been used by any of his brothers.

With Henry VI. and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, who both died by violence in 1471, the issue of

\* "Genealogical Hist.," 266. The antelope and swan, both ducally gorged and chained, are sometimes mentioned as the supporters of Henry IV. (*e.g.* in MS. Harl., 4632, before cited), but for this arrangement there is no contemporary authority.

† The usual pendant is a jewel, or mere ornament. From the Yorkist collar, formed of suns and roses, the white lion of the house of March sometimes hangs.

‡ Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 244 (plate), 277.

§ MS. I. 2., written between 1510 and 1525.

|| "Retros. Rev.," N.S. iii. 512. Bentley's "Excerpta Hist.," 61.

¶ Plate, fig. 3.

Mary de Bohun wholly failed. The King does not appear to have employed this cognizance; but Prince Edward's seal has an open swan, gorged with a coronet and chained, set above the shield.\*

Eleanor de Bohun, the elder daughter of the last Earl of Hereford, was affianced, in 1374, to Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of King Edward III., and in consideration of this alliance, the young prince was, in 1376, appointed to the Bohun office of Constable of England. At the coronation of Richard II. (1377), he was created Earl of BUCKINGHAM, when the symbol which is the subject of this paper first became associated, at least nominally, with this county. Thomas of Woodstock used the swan as his ordinary badge or cognizance, and it is in allusion to this fact that Gower styles him "Cygnus"—

"O quam Fortuna stabilis non permanet una,  
Exemplum cujus stat in ordine carminis hujus  
Rex agit, et Cygnus patitur de corde benignus—"

and so forth through many Leonine verses.†

There are several examples of the Bohun swan, as borne by Thomas of Woodstock and his Duchess.

One of the Cotton MSS.—a register of benefactors to St. Alban's Abbey—contains an illuminated portrait of the Duke, holding in his right hand a kind of wreath or chaplet, with an open swan within it. This was a jewel—a circular monile—which he gave to the church in 1388.‡

His great seal has its ground diapered with lozenge-shaped compartments, which are filled with swans (close, but gorged and chained), and ostrich feathers in alternate rows.§

\* Sandford, "Gen. Hist." 246 (plate), 307.

† "Chronica Tripartita," a poem on the deposition of King Richard II., erroneously cited as "Vox Clamantis," in Weever's "Fun. Mon.," 638 and 627. In this poem the Earl of Arundel is, in like manner, called "Equus," and the Earl of Warwick "Ursus." There is an anonymous English poem on the same subject, in which these three noblemen are denominated "the Swan," "the Hors," and "the Beere."—"Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II.," etc., ed. by T. Wright, Esq., for the Camden Society, 56.

‡ "Monile aureum circulare, in cujus medio cignus albus, alis quasi ad volandum expansis, habetur." MS. Nero D. vii. fo. 110. The figure is engraved in Strutt's "Regal and Eccl. Antiq.," pl. 57.

§ Bontell, "Heraldry," 38, 258.

Another seal of his\* has the swan (with expanded wings, gorged with a coronet and chained), standing upon the summit of his shield.

There is another seal of the same prince, on which the arms of Woodstock (*France ancient and England quarterly, within a border argent*) are suspended by the sinister corner from the stock of a tree, from which are also pendant two smaller upright shields of the arms of Milo de Gloucester, the first Earl of Hereford, viz.: two bends. The central shield is ensigned with helm and crest, while two close swans, upon the ground below, look towards the tree.†

On the Duke's minor seal or secretum, the swan appears between the bases of two shields, which contain the arms (1) of Woodstock, (2) of Woodstock impaling Bohun.‡

The seal of the Duchess Eleanor is of an unusual type. It has the representation of a boat, in which stands an angel holding an oblong panel, with the arms of Woodstock and Bohun impaled upon a lozenge, the triangular spaces at the corners of the panel containing (1 and 4) two bends, for Milo de Gloucester, (2 and 3) a swan. Two other swans, gorged with coronets and chained, stand, facing each other, on the prow and poop.§



The magnificent sepulchral brass of the Duchess Eleanor, who died in 1399 (two years after the murder of her husband), remains at Westminster, in the Chapel of St. Edmund.|| In this beautiful memorial, the swan, sometimes gorged and chained, sometimes not, generally with closed, but sometimes with open wings, is several times

repeated. The design includes six armorial shields, one

\* Engraved in Boutell's "Heraldry," opposite, p. 409. See our plate, fig. 4.

† Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 125 (plate), 229. "Jo. Arch. Assoc.," vi. pl. xxx.

‡ The swan is similarly placed on the seal of Pleshy College, Essex, which was founded by the Duke and Duchess.

§ Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 125 (plate), 229.

|| The writer desires to express his obligations to Mr. Boutell's elaborate paper on this brass, in "Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Association," i. 67.



Arms of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, K. G. 1429  
from his Seal, Plate of Windsor...

of which, now unfortunately wanting, is described by Sandford and Dart, as *Gules, a swan argent, ducally gorged and chained or*. Sandford's plate\* indicates that the wings were open. This device, though charged upon a shield, and placed in company with coats of arms, is no coat of arms itself, but the cognizance of the house of Bohun.†

With Humphrey, son of Thomas of Woodstock and the Duchess Eleanor (who did not bear his father's titles, except, perhaps, that of Buckingham) all the honours of the family expired in 1400. There were three daughters, but the only one of them who married was Anne, the eldest, who became the wife, first of Thomas Stafford, Earl of Stafford; secondly (in 1399) of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, his younger brother; thirdly, of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, in Normandy.

Humphrey STAFFORD, sixth Earl of Stafford, son of the above-named Edmund and his wife, the Lady Anne of Gloucester, was created Duke of BUCKINGHAM in 1444, but fell in the battle of Northampton, 1460. Henry, the second Duke, was beheaded at Salisbury, 1483, and Edward, the third and last Duke, on Tower Hill, in 1521. Through his attainder, the family lost their ducal rank, and the great hereditary office of Lord High Constable of England, which had been confirmed to them as the representatives of the Bohuns.

Numerous examples of the use by the Stafford family of the Bohun swan might be recorded, but we must content ourselves at present with a few of them.

The Garter stall-plate of Humphrey Stafford, sixth Earl of Stafford, and subsequently first Duke of Buckingham, affords a very fine example of the swan used as a crest.‡ He was elected a companion of the Order in 1429.

\* P. 232.

† Badges are occasionally found in shields, e.g. the ostrich feathers on the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury. The shield above mentioned may have led to that referred to in note †, p. 255.

‡ See the plate annexed. The arms are *O. a chevron G. : the crest, out of a coronet per pale S. and G. a swan rising A.* The mantle is black on the dexter side, red on the sinister, and wholly lined with ermine. The coronet, though apparently all red upon the Garter-plate, ought doubtless to be tinctured with the livery colours of the family. In order to find the origin of these, we must refer to their pedigree. The red is evidently from their own chevron; the black from the arms of Corbet (*O. a raven proper*), whose co-heir one of the Staffords married in the thirteenth century.

Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, who died in 1499, was a grandson of the first Duke of Buckingham. The head of his monumental effigy, at Luffwick, or Lowick, in Northamptonshire, reposes on a helm with the swan crest.\*

A standard which pertained to Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire (1509—23), second son of the second Duke,† is remarkable on account of the crescents, with which the swan‡ and the Stafford knots (an ancient badge of the family§) are differenced. As in the former examples of standards, we find St. George's cross next to the staff, and the remainder of the field parted of the livery colours, sable and gules. This standard has the usual addition of the motto, on two bands, crossing the flag transversely. The knots are white, the crescents red, the edging of the livery colours.

At the meeting of King Henry VIII. and the Emperor Maximilian, before Touraine, in 1513, Edward Duke of Buckingham appeared "in purple satin, his apparel and his bard full of antelopes and swans of fine gold bullion." ||

It was doubtless through the Dukes of Buckingham of the house of Stafford (who had great estates within the county) that the swan became so associated with the shire as to become its appropriate symbol, and especially the ensign of its chief town. The precise time when it was thus appropriated is uncertain, but the fact that the parted field in which it has constantly been represented consists of the livery colours of the house of Stafford, indicates that it must have been adopted during their ascendancy within the county. In the Visitation of 1566, we read: "These are the arms antiently belonging to the

\* Gough, "Sep. Mon," ii. 339.

† In Boutell's "English Heraldry," p. 260, there is another representation of this standard, with eleven knots, and some other non-essential variations. This is taken from MS. Coll. Arm, I. 2, before cited. Our representation (plate, fig. 5) is from a rough sketch in MS. Harl. 4632, fo. 247.

‡ In the Heralds' MS. it is beaked gules and membered sable.

§ It is frequently repeated on the cornice of an apartment at Notley Abbey, Bucks, with the motto *Blessaunce en tut*.

|| Willement, "Regal Heraldry," 29. In Roye's satire on Wolsey, ("Rede me and be not wrothe") the proud Cardinal is styled—

" . . . . . the red man,  
whiche hath devoured the beautifull swan."



town and borough of Buckingham.”\* Drayton represents the militia of the county as mustered beneath the swan, at Southampton, in 1415, on their way to Agincourt:—

“To be embarked when every band comes down,  
Each in their order as they mustered were,  
Or by the difference of their armings known,  
Or by their colours; for in ensign there  
Some bear the arms of their most ancient town,  
Others, again, their own devices have.”

The ensign of Buckingham is noticed thus:—

“The mustered men for Buckingham are gone  
Under the swan, the arms of that old town.”†

There is no evidence that the device was thus appropriated quite so soon, though Humphrey Earl of Stafford was then styled Earl of Buckingham in his mother's right, and held the chief manor of the town. He was afterwards (as we have seen) Duke of Buckingham; and it is highly probable that the device was adopted during his lifetime, that is to say, before 1460. According to trickings in the Visitations of Buckinghamshire (1566, 1574, 1634‡) the insignia of the town of BUCKINGHAM are, “*Party per pale, sable and gules, a swan, with expanded wings, argent, ducally gorged or.*” They were so confirmed to the borough in 1566, by William Hervey, Clarenceux. The parted field consists, as already stated, of the livery colours of the house of Stafford. In a coloured drawing, attested by Richard Lee, Portcullis, 1574,§ the swan is *beaked gules, and legged or*; but this is not material. Of late, a chain has usually been added, reflected over the swan's back; but for such an addition to the arms of the town of Buckingham



\* MS. Harl., 3968, fo. 8 b. Ratification by W. Hervey, Clarenceux.

† “Battle of Agincourt.” Chalmers's “English Poets,” iv. 9.

‡ Thirteen MSS. of these Visitations have been consulted by the writer.  
§ This drawing was exhibited by D. P. King, Esq., of Buckingham, in our Society's temporary museum at Newport-Pagnell, July, 1860, as was also a drawing not in colours, attested by John Phillipott, Somerset, 1634. To Mr. King, and to Mr. John Harrison, jun., the writer is indebted for information on several points connected with the seals and arms of Buckingham.

there seems to be no sufficient authority. Engravings, dated 1714\* and 1736,† show the coronet, but not the chain. So also does a shield over the tower entrance of the church of Buckingham, finished 1781; and in a stained glass window, of later date, recently removed from the same building, the swan was likewise chainless. The chain appears, however, in Speed's map of the county, 1610; in one MS. of the seventeenth century‡ which has been consulted; in the additions to Guillim's "Display," 1724; § in Browne Willis's description, 1755; || on a seal of the corporation, now disused, apparently of about the beginning of the last century; ¶ and on the corporation seal which has been in use since 1836.\*\* In the more recent examples of these arms another error frequently occurs, namely, the transposition of the tinctures of the field.



The town of CHEPPING-WYCOMBE, in this county, has for arms a very similar device, namely (according to trickings in the Visitation books), *Sable, on a mount in base vert, a swan, close, duccally gorged, and with a chain reflected over the back, or.* Hervey, after reciting that the corporation had used these "for their ancient arms and common seal," confirmed them to the town in 1566. In later times we find the mount mistakenly omitted, as on the corporation seal now or

\* Jackson's "Arms of all the Cities," etc.

† "Brit. Depicta, or Ogilby improv'd," by J. Owen.

‡ MS. Addit. (Br. Mus.), 9372, fo. 32.

§ App. 19.

|| "Hist. of Buckingham," 106.

¶ This seal is here copied from a cut on the title-page of the late Rev. H. Roundell's lecture, before mentioned. Hervey's confirmation is cited at p. 9, as of "a swan chained;" but this is an oversight.

\*\* This is a copy of the seal previously used, but with a different legend. It is represented in Lewis's "Top. Dict." with tincture-lines, which are not upon the seal. Lipscomb's misrepresentation of the arms of Buckingham (ii. 502) is remarkable only for its extreme absurdity.

lately used, which appears to be of the seventeenth century.\*

Henry, son and heir of the last preceding Duke of Buckingham, was raised to the dignity of Baron Stafford in 1547, by the unusual means of an Act of Parliament; but the barony became extinct, by the failure of heirs male, in 1640. Through the marriage of Mary Stafford, the last of her illustrious house, to Sir William Howard, K.B., the representation of the Bohuns devolved upon a branch of the family of Howard. Sir William and his wife were, in September, 1640, created Baron and Baroness Stafford. Two months afterwards the former was created Viscount Stafford; but he fell a victim, in 1680, to the perjury of Titus Oates. King James II. raised his widow to the rank of Countess, and made his son an Earl, in October, 1688. The family, thenceforth usually called STAFFORD-HOWARD, enjoyed the earldom of Stafford till 1762. These Earls bore for their secondary crest, *Out of a ducal coronet, per pale gules and sable, a swan, with elevated wings, issuant proper*: and for their sinister supporter a like swan, gorged with a like coronet.† The tinctures of the coronets are, it will be observed, the livery colours of the Staffords, but (no doubt inadvertently) transposed. The supporters, together with the arms of Woodstock, and eighteen cognizances which had been used by the Staffords, were granted or allowed to this family in 1720.‡ These devices are all represented (not very accurately) on the monumental tablet of John Paul, the last Earl of Stafford, in St. Edmund's Chapel, in the Abbey Church of Westminster.

The unjust attainder of William Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded in 1680, was reversed by Act of Parliament in 1824, when Sir George-William Jerningham, Bart., the heir in tail, became second Baron Stafford, under the patent of 1640. His Lordship assumed the additional name of Stafford in 1826. The Right Hon.

\* Lewis, "Top. Dict." On this seal the swan is erroneously represented with expanded wings. Other errors are found, even in copies of the Visitations. One MS. represents the mount as standing in water; another has only water in the base of the escutcheon.

† "Notitia Anglicana." Lond., 1724, 8vo. pl. 75. Sometimes the swan is represented also as the dexter supporter, and as the only crest. Add. to Guillim's "Display," 1724.

‡ Collins, "Peerage," iii. 100: ed. 1756.

Henry-Valentine STAFFORD-JERNINGHAM, his son, is now third Baron Stafford, and, as the present heir general and representative of the illustrious houses of Bohun, Woodstock, and Stafford, the chief inheritor of the famous swan, which (as borne by the preceding Earls of Stafford) is his Lordship's sinister supporter.

The long association of the Bohun cognizance with the county of Buckingham, doubtless accounts in a great measure—(though we willingly admit that the Thames, the Ouse, the Colne, and other streams, may have had an equal influence)—for the frequent appearance of the Swan as a sign for inns within and near its boundaries. Twelve instances occur within the Newport Hundreds only. A sign familiar to the men of Buckingham as any household word, is thus traced, at least in many cases, certainly to the Earls of Essex in the thirteenth century, and probably to a far remoter origin.

It is not surprising that the traditionary swan has, in a slight degree, influenced the heraldry of Buckinghamshire, from the sixteenth century downwards. This will appear from the following examples\* :—

TROUGHTON, of Great Linford. *Sable, on a chevron between three swans' heads erased argent, ducally gorged or, as many ogresses.* Granted 1566.

PERCIVAL, of Newport-Pagnell. *Vert, a saltire invecked erminois, between two pheons in pale or, and as many swans in fess argent; a chief of the second.* Granted 1745.

SWABEY, of Langley. *Gules, on a chevron engrailed or, between three swans argent, as many bees volant proper.* Crest: *On a wreath, a swan regardant argent, beaked and membered sable, wings elevated of the last, murally crowned gules, reposing his dexter foot on an escallop or.* Granted 1757.†

From the circumstance, often alluded to, of Edward III. having displayed "the wythe swan" in a hastilude at Canterbury, in 1348 or 49, it has been inferred, but it is conceived mistakenly, that the device in question was then one of the royal cognizances. It was, on that occasion, accompanied by a rhyming couplet, chiefly remarkable for its profanity. "This," says Mr. Planché, "has been considered by some writers as a challenge or defiance: on the contrary, it is an expresion of homage.

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\* From Berry's "Encylop. Her."

† This is plainly a canting coat—*swa-bee*. Still it may allude also to the county.

'I am thy man' being the words always used in the performance of that act; and this motto was doubtless assumed by the king, in compliment to some queen of beauty, presiding or present at that tournament, whose cognizance was 'the white swan.'"\*

The swan, as borne by other families connected with those before mentioned, requires a passing notice.

The family of NEVILL (if, indeed, they ever bore the swan before their match with Beauchamp), may have derived it from the Essex family through the Claverings. Robert Fitz Roger, son and heir of Roger Fitz Richard and Alianor de Essex,† had a grant of the manor of Clavering (which had belonged to Swene de Essex), from King Henry II.; and Euphemia, daughter of Robert de Clavering, his lineal descendant, became the wife of Ralph de Nevill, first Baron by writ (1295—1331). This lady was not an heiress; yet it seems that the Nevill family obtained the manor of Clavering in consequence of her marriage, not by descent, but to the prejudice of the right heirs, the Claverings, and apparently through an arrangement sanctioned by the Crown.‡

The seal of Cecilia, Duchess of York, daughter of Ralph de Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland, exhibits what appears to be a swan, displayed, bearing on its breast a shield of France and England§ impaling Nevill.|| This rather dubious instance is the only one that has been observed of the swan, as borne by any Nevill, before Richard, Earl of Warwick, styled the King-maker, who married the heiress of the Beauchamps, quartered their arms, and used their crest.

The great family of BEAUCHAMP may have claimed the swan by several different titles: (1) as themselves descended from the legendary Knight of the Swan; (2)

\* "Jo. Arch. Assoc.," vi. 385. It may be worth notice here that the Black Prince, by his will, gave to the Church of Canterbury some tapestry having a red border, "ove eignes ove testez de dames"—with swans with ladies' heads; that is, as it seems, adorned with monsters resembling harpies.

† See p. 252.

‡ Dugdale, "Baronage," i. 109. Morant, "Hist. of Essex," ii. 611.

§ Without any mark of cadency, for the Duke was *de jure* King.

|| Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 246 (plate), 374. Engraved also in Rowland's "Fam. of Nevill," 70; and in the "Journ. Archæol. Assoc.," vi. pl. xxxii.

as representing the Mandevilles ; (3) as representing the family of Tony, also descended from the mythic knight. The first and third of these claims have already been referred to : \* the second must be briefly noticed here. William Beauchamp, first Earl of Warwick (1268-98), married Maud Fitz John, one of the four sisters and co-heirs of John Fitz John, who died in 1297, the last heir of the later Mandevilles. Hence in Rous's illuminated roll of the Earls of Warwick, † Guy de Beauchamp, second Earl, quarters (with other arms) two different coats of Mandeville. ‡ Whether the swan came to the Beauchamp family through this match with Fitz John, or through that with Tony, may be doubted. But since there is, as we have seen, positive evidence that the swan was borne by Tony, and only a strong probability that it was a badge of the Mandevilles, it may, perhaps, upon the whole, be thought most likely that the swan of Beauchamp came from the former—unless, indeed, it was derived from both. The Beauchamp crest was sometimes a swan's head proper, issuing from a golden coronet ; § at other times it was a whole swan issuing from a coronet, || as now borne by the Earl Brooke and Warwick, whose supporters, and the sinister supporter of the Earl Beauchamp, are also swans, gorged with crowns, with certain marks of difference. John, Lord Beauchamp of Warwick (1350—60), a younger brother of the third Earl of Warwick, dwelt in the parish of St. Andrew, London, in a house which afterwards became

\* P. 250.

† In the College of Arms. See Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 5.

‡ (1) *Quarterly, O. and G.* (2) The same, *with a border vair.*

§ Stall-plate of Thomas, fourth Earl of Warwick, K.G., who died 1401. On a seal engraved in Rowland's "Fam. of Nevill," 70, the equestrian figure of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick (the King-maker) bears this crest.

|| Seal of the said Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, engraved, very badly, in Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 23 ; and, much more satisfactorily, in "The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon, 1613," ed. by Sir H. Ellis, for the Camden Society, p. 74. The swan does not (it is believed) appear in any form on the Beauchamp tombs at Warwick. It is seen both as a crest (out of a coronet), and as the support of the lady's head, on a Beauchamp monument at Worcester, said to be of the fourteenth century, and sometimes ascribed to John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster. If the tomb be his, it carries the use of the swan by the Beauchamps above the match with Tony.

the Royal Wardrobe. An adjacent passage was lately named Swan Alley, and perhaps is so called still.\*

The family of BOURCHIER seem to have claimed the swan in consequence of their descent from Swene of Essex, as before mentioned;† for Sir Hugh Stafford, who married Elizabeth Lady Bouchier, and was consequently summoned to Parliament as a Baron (1411), bore for his crest a swan, beaked gules, with expanded wings, issuing from a golden coronet;‡ and it does not appear that he could have obtained this crest otherwise than by his marriage, or that the Bouchiers could have obtained it otherwise than by descent from the family of Essex.§ Another branch, however, of the Bouchier family had an indubitable title to the cognizance through the marriage of William Bouchier, Earl of Eu, with the Lady Anne of Gloucester, widow of Edmund Earl of Stafford. The Bouchiers, in consequence of this high alliance obtained the dignity of Earls of Essex, which they held from 1461 to 1539.|| His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G., is now their senior co-heir, and is thus entitled, in common with other noblemen and gentlemen of the same illustrious ancestry,¶ to quarter the arms of Thomas of Woodstock, and to claim an interest in his cognizance. To the cold utilitarian, the mere political economist, an historical heraldic bearing may be nothing, or a thing worthy only of contempt; but, to the true Englishman, whether gentle or simple, every such device is, when he understands it, a link connecting him with days of old, and with the founders of our most venerable institutions. Doubtless the members of our Archæological Society will readily acknowledge this, and

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\* The present co-heirs general of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, as well as of Richard Nevill, the King-maker, are, as to one moiety, the Marquis of Hastings; as to the other, William Lowndes, of Chesham, and William Selby Lowndes, of Whaddon Hall, both in the county of Buckingham, Esquires.

† P. 253.

‡ Stall-plate, as K.G.

§ Sir Hugh Stafford's mother was a Beauchamp, but she was not an heiress.

|| And in consequence of the marriage of Sir John Devereux with Cicely, daughter and heir of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, his son received the title of Viscount Hereford in 1550, and his grandson that of Earl of Essex, in 1572. The Devereux family quarter the princely arms of Woodstock.

¶ See Long's "Royal Descents." Lond., 1845, 4to.

will feel a special interest in the fact, that an hereditary claim to the swan of Mandeville, of Bohun, and of Woodstock, is, again, so remarkably associated with the honoured name of BUCKINGHAM.

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